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History and Religion / 历史与宗教



Can the Wall be Penetrated?

--- On Contemporary Travel Literature on China Written in English (1970-2010)

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Abstract: In some contemporary travel writings on China published from 1970 to 2010, China is codified as exotic, problematic, incomprehensible, and a place depressingly causing feelings of nostalgia and homesickness. Such a representation sets up an ideological wall between China and its Western readers and forbids them from obtaining a fair picture of the country. Through analyzing some passages of these narratives, this paper examines the building of the invisible wall from the aspects of temporal distancing, arbitrary generalization, negative caricaturization and self-distancing skills. All these othering strategies turn out to be an essential mode in English travel writings on China. If various othering strategies are the building materials, the writers also invent different construction styles to make the wall real, powerful and attractive. With the wall erected before their eyes, readers cannot visualize China in its much broader historical and cultural context and can only be fed by these travel narratives predicated upon the West's epistemological, ideological, and cultural patterns.

Keywords: Travel writings; ideological wall; othering strategies

Introduction

Colin Thubron entitles his travel book on China *Behind the Wall* (1987), and it is

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not hard to imagine that, more than the Great Wall on top of tourists' sight-seeing list, Thubron insinuates China's Communist wall that sets the country apart from the capitalist West. However, reading his book and other contemporary travel writings on China published from 1970 to 2010 envisions a wall erected by these narratives: they contain various strategies in othering China and contribute to building the imaged community of the West concerning its Other by predicating themselves upon stereotypes or a rigid Western standard of judgment symbolically. With different maneuvers of appropriating the genre, the travel writers codify contemporary China as exotic, problematic, incomprehensible, and a place depressingly causing feelings of nostalgia and homesickness. Such a representation sets up an ideological wall between China and its Western readers and forbids them from obtaining a fair picture of the country. Therefore, I contend that the wall between China and the West is, for a considerable part, constructed by contemporary travel writing I am exploring here. Despite variations of representational strategy, these narratives jointly serve the same ideological function of othering the traveled country: China needs to be a country inferior to the industrial, capitalist West and a place geographically, temporally, and most of all, epistemologically out there and far away.

A group of professional travel writers finds China a good place to fuel their creative imagination that sells well in the English-speaking market. Paul Theroux traveled to China three times and produced *Sailing through China Riding the Iron Rooster*, published in 1980, 1988 and 2000, with the second book selling half a million copies. Pico Iyer's *Video Night in Kathmandu and Other Reports from the Not-So-Far-East* was first published in 1988 and reissued in 2000. What picture of China is presented to readers through these popular travel books? What is knowledge of China produced and codified? Here is a passage from Paul Theroux's recent travel account about China:

China now looks the childhood cityscape of so many middle-aged Americans. It reminded me of my childhood, just as busy, just as fully employed and go-ahead, just as ugly and confusing. There had been a time when all American cityscapes looked like Xiamen's industrial Zones--street after street of factory buildings. They are lighted working versions of the mills in Massachusetts that fell into dereliction after World War II....South China's would

be familiar to anyone who has lived in an urban area in Europe or America, where the factories are now empty and the machines are stopped. Not just Boston and Chicago, but Bradford and Manchester, and Derry in Northern Ireland, and so many others. China is doing it now, for everyone. (Theroux, 2000: 225)

Any reader recognizes that contemporary China is represented here as backward in industry and city planning compared with Europe and America. However, at least three points can be fleshed out from this codification of China as problematic. First, the simple present and past perfect tenses are used respectively to depict the cityscape of China and America embody temporal othering: China is plugged out of its historical trajectory and positioned downstream of the US's industrializing (and colonizing) history. The writer refuses to recognize China as coeval with contemporary Europe or America and as a country with its own pace of development. Besides, this relegation of China contains an arbitrary generalization: the writer applies what he saw in Xiamen to not only South China but also the whole China, and he imaginatively equates America with Europe in urban planning and signifies the two continents with a random list of cities of Boston, Chicago, Bradford, Manchester, and Derry. Also worth noting is the writer's personalized stance and his alliance with his imagined western contemporaries: childhood memories of the first-person narrator are brought in to validate the invented hierarchy between China and the US, while "middle-aged Americans" and "anyone who has lived in an urban area in Europe or America" are used to interpellate western reading public. This is a typical example of how travel literature builds and consolidates China's ideological wall apart from western readers. If temporal distancing and random generalization are the essential building blocks, the personalized narrative voice proves to be the writer's constructive stratagem to solidify the wall. Let us examine the wall more closely.

Othering Strategies of the travel literature

Temporal othering of contemporary China is an essential mode that governs the travel literature I am studying here. As the above example shows, it confines the readers behind the wall of the Western linear Time (Fabian, 2002: 41), forbidding them to see

China as a country with its history and trajectory of evolving and to think of China's present situation as being complicatedly molded by historical, political, economical and cultural forces from both within and outside the country. Moreover, the West Time also misleads the readers to see contemporary China as permanently anarchic and futuristically despotic. Take the following passage from Theroux's *Riding the Iron Rooster*, for instance:

...they also had a long history of convulsions and reverses. ...Look at the upheavals that had taken place in just the past hundred years or so: the Taiping revolt, the humiliating colonialism of Europe and Japan, the Boxer Rebellion, the fall of the empire in 1911, the republic of Sun Yat-sen, the Sino-Japanese War, World War II, the battling between Chiang Kai-Shek's Guomindang and Mao's communists, the Great Leap Forward and all the other witch-hunts and hysterical purges that followed the emergence of the People's Republic, culminating in the Cultural Revolution. Who wouldn't be uneasy? And these sudden agonies were undoubtedly the reason few people ever showed confidence in the future. (Theroux, 1988: 229-230)

Readers unfamiliar with China soon understand that this country has a history of chaos, upheavals and disasters. The arbitrarily chosen events are piled together to create a sense of repetitiveness in anarchic Chinese history, leading to an overarching conclusion of China as futuristically hopeless. Theroux's simple-minded illogical way of thinking is symptomatic of the "Western linear Time" or, more specifically, his American-centered notion of history. No wonder we find Theroux so hard to please by whatever he sees in China during his three visits from 1980 to 2000, a time when China was fast-changing: both "backwardness" and "never-changings" as he saw in 1980 and its fast economic development witnessed in 1988 and 2000 bother Theroux. He accuses what he calls "the Chinese clock" of having "a tick unlike any other on earth, sometimes fast, sometimes slow, contracting, expanding, with an alarm that might go off at any moment" (Theroux, 2000: 183).

I would argue that it is not the Chinese clock that troubles. What is wrong is Theroux's Western-clock mentality that does not allow him to see China as having its way of evolving. It is also true for non-professional travel writers. In his book called *Chinese Encounter*, Arthur Miller compares the Chinese revolution to the eighteenth and nineteenth-century revolutions in Europe, saying that the latter "had at least

declared the rights of the person to be the centerpiece of society” and that in China, “the state had rights and powers” (Miller, 1979: 45). Here what Johannes Fabian calls “anachronism,”--the mode of temporal distancing--reappears, and China’s despotism becomes even worse gauged against a generalized and romanticized version of the European revolution.

Also familiar is Miller’s belief in China’s “cyclical Time” and dark future. In his conversation with Frank Coe, a long-time American expatriate in China, and Sol Adler, an Englishman who used to work in the US Treasury, all three agree that “there could be a repetition of the Four”; Coe and Adler both said the problem is that “this country moved directly from semi-feudalism into socialism, without the interval of capitalism,” and that “they never had a tradition of Western-type individualism” (Miller, 1979: 27). Again, their common mindset of West-time-centeredness leads to a quick conclusion of the repetitiveness of disasters in China and the country’s dyspotic future.

In addition to temporal distancing, arbitrary generalization is another building block for constructing the metaphorical wall. As is already evidenced in Theroux, who designates a specific place to represent a whole country or a random list of events constituting the whole history, this illogical generalization permeates contemporary travel writings on China. Reading these books, one is bombarded and then unconsciously gets used to a fabricated Chineseness. Just recall Thubron seeing within a specific story of a specific group of dancers “a deeply Chinese problem” (Thubron, 1987: 35), calling the smell in his hotel in Beijing “an indefinable but peculiarly Chinese smell” (Thubron, 1987: 9), and viewing Kunming--a city inhabited by heterogeneous minority peoples-- “a city seamlessly Chinese” (Thubron, 1987: 211); or read “Chinese cook no good” and “excited holidaying Chinese faces” in Gavin Young’s *Slow Boat to China* (334;339), or “One always eats dumplings at the end of a Chinese meal” by Julie Checkoway(110), not to mention Theroux’s “wild generalization” such as “Chinese thinking” (Theroux, 1988: 129), “Chinese way of living” (Theroux, 1988: 451), “The Chinese are bird-mad” (Theroux, 1988: 175), “Chinese fascination with freakishness” (Theroux, 1988: 244) and so on. Anything

contingently seen, heard, smelled, tasted or touched in China can be labeled “Chinese” to signify the whole country. “Chinese,” the modifier, is no longer a denomination with diverse and rich connotations historically, politically, and culturally but homogenized into a “topological stereotype” that stands for the Other of the West.

Moreover, the travel writers use the word all the time, but no one ever appears to think and tell the readers what it is to be “Chinese”. This thoughtless homogenization of China can hardly present a “real” picture of the country. Using the word without considering what it means results in its usage predicated upon stereotypes already existing in the travelers’ knowledge system. To use the word mindlessly only rearticulates the stereotypical notions about China without any original contribution to the country’s learning. It only enhances the otherness of the explored culture and perpetuates its otherness.

In addition to temporal distancing and random generalization, negative caricaturization of the people and the culture further exoticizes and relegates China on an epistemological and ideological level. One reads “slow-moving ancients...ghosting their way through a daily tai chi ballet in the early light” (Iyer, 1988: 116), people eating “little withered worms of pork” (Theroux, 1988: 178), and houses “inserted” into walls “with doors and windows gaping like mouths and eyes of a Humpty Dumpty face” (Spender and Hockney, 62). It is not the personal vision of these writers I am critiquing but the ideological work of distancing and exoticizing the culture through such vision.

Such personalized vision can also turn inward, leading readers to see the traveler himself as foreign, innocent, and even barbarous. Indeed, one finds it hard not to be impressed by the outer planetary kind of encounter dramatized in Vikram Seth’s 1981 travel in West China. When in a shop buying a cap, Seth insisted on paying three yuan for the cap, which the shop-owner was willing to give him as a gift:

He refuses to take it, and I refuse to do him out of a yuan. Suddenly, with an exasperated gesture, he grabs the cap from my head and rips it apart. I am horrified. What is he doing? What have I done? Have I insulted him by refusing his gift? Fifteen young boys suddenly appear at the door with Hussain at their heads. They gather at the open entrance in a jigsaw of heads and gaze unblinkingly at the man from India. They are all speaking simultaneously, and I am even more concerned and confused than before (27).

Seth appears to be an innocent victim threatened by a group of the incomprehensible mob. No reader can predict that this is a scene registering the shop-owner's generosity, friendliness, and hospitality, which means making the cap's stitching firmer, knowing that his customer will be traveling a long way, as Seth shows later. Such dramatization of the cultural encounter impresses the readers with the otherness of China's minority people rather than the genuine hospitality that the incident truly suggests. A shopping experience that registers a communication process between the traveler and the native people turns out to be an encounter causing horror, confusion, and antagonism.

The writers' distancing skills become extreme when the travelers start to depict themselves as barbaric and detestable. To exoticize Xining as a place remote and off-season, Theroux needs to depict himself as "a barbarian so far from his home" (Theroux, 1988: 424-425). Iyer also degrades himself as a "barbarian" to distance a Chinese guard. On another occasion, to condemn the Chinese for eating rare animals, Theroux represents himself as disgusting for eating with them (Theroux, 1988: 275).

This intentional distancing from the Chinese Other is evident in the writer's ventriloquism strategy: he remains an innocent traveler and lets another person speak for him. This is the case in the following quotation from Gavin Young's *Slow Boat to China*:

The steward's voice again. "Tea, sir?" He laid a tray on a small table. "My name is Wong," he said, "Sir, *Perak* is now a cargo ship. Good cook at homesick. This cook maybe makes European food, maybe not."

"Mr. Wong, I'll eat Chinese or Malay food."

"Chinese cook no good, food very greasy," cautioned Mr. Wong, "Captian and chief officer eat Malay, hot food, more better."

"I'll eat Malay."

"No problem," he said, relieved. "I tell Cook." (334)

Here Young appears to be a relatively silent person; Mr. Wong disseminates the information containing double othering. Given that Wong is a predominant family name in China, one may well guess that, on the one hand, Young means to add credibility to his codification of Chinese food, and on the other, he intends to dramatize his encounter with the Other by representing Mr. Wong speaking broken English.

Theroux, however, does not pretend to be as innocent in using a travel companion to another China. On the train to Canton, he spots a mid-aged Hong Kong lady, “an enterprising person, with enough cultural and commercial interest” and “well connected” to speak for him (Theroux, 1988: 161). They talk about the great changes that have been happening in Canton, and after throwing out a provocative affirmation that “there have been many improvements,” Theroux records the lady’s saying as follows:

“I don’t think so,” Lisa said. “I hate the changes. All they want are trinkets and toys--color TVs, cameras, watches...They’re greedy, they’re starting to be very crooked, they don’t trust each other, they lie. Remember how you used to hear they’d give back your used razor blades? “Oh, we don’t need these. We have razor blades of our own.” So honest! So straight! So Chinese! (Theroux, 1988: 162)

One doubts if the speech is Theroux’s or Lisa’s. However, one thing is clear: Theroux has carefully selected her to speak for him in his book.

Miscellaneous as the othering strategies are, they are all employed with the writers’ personalized stance as the genre allows them. One needs to examine the personal narrative voice to assess the othering effect of their writings. Arthur Miller assumes a persona of an objective observer of China at the beginning of his book. He announces his unbiased attitude toward Chinese politics, saying that he arrives in China “quite without preconceived notions on the merits of any of the arguing sides” of Chinese sectarianism (Miller, 1979: 8). He provides an example showing how travel in China helps dispose of his preconceptions about the country. As Miller calls, these “cautionary words” establish him as a serious, thoughtful, sophisticated, honest and objective reporter of China. Similarly, Charlotte Y. Salisbury’s loyalty to the truthfulness of her account is made clear in the introduction to her *China Diary* by his diplomat husband, who claims that his wife is “a woman who looks on the world with clear, unclouded eyes and records her responses with a warm and frank heart”. He ends his introduction by saying that “if it is not possible to make a personal journey, you can see almost all of China come to life before your eyes on the pages of Charlotte’s diary.” This endeavor is easily understandable: they want their books to be trusted, respected and valued.

Hence the sign of reciprocity in their travel narratives. One cannot agree more when reading Harrison Salisbury’s caution against understanding China through “one

ready cliché” or Miller’s willingness “to be educated not merely in things Chinese but in matters of ... American and European society” (Miller, 1979: 8), or Alice Walker’s self-reflexive rather than self-centered comment on Chinese people speaking English (Walker, 1994: 198-199). These instances, demonstrating the consciously unbiased vision, are further evidence of their purposefully constructed “objectiveness”.

The professional travel writers, however, completely negate the objectiveness of travel. Theroux insists that travel be completely personal:

There is a good argument for going back and verifying your impressions in any travel. Perhaps you were a little hasty in judging the place? Perhaps you saw it in a good month? Something in the weather might have sweetened your disposition? In any case, travel is frequently a matter of seizing a moment. It is personal. Your trip would not be mine if I were traveling with you. Our accounts of the journeys would be different (Theroux, 1988: 389).

Colin Thubron similarly asserts that “the whole history of travel writing... is not simply an account of objective voyage and description” and that “it is a commonplace that the most simple events can be reported utterly differently by different witnesses” (“Travel” 168; 178). Pico Iyer also declares that his collection of Asian travels, *Video Night in Kathmandu*, is “just a casual traveler’s casual observations, a series of first impressions and second thoughts loosely arranged around a few broad ideas” (Iyer, 1988: 24). This univocal devaluation of objectiveness and appeal to the personalization of travel narrative is another way to interpellate the readers: personalization serves to depoliticize the narrative, and the denouncement of objectiveness puts the writer in a candid light that helps them win readers’ trust. Put in another way, with a denial of objectiveness of their writing and an emphasis on the subjective experience of travel; the writer can hide comfortably behind an honest and personal mask to do the impersonal--ideological and political--work.

While the alleged objective representation of China seen in Miller and Salisbury appeals to thoughtfulness and sophistication to win readers’ consent to their texts, personalized accounts call for readers’ sympathy and admiration by fabricating the nature of their travel adventure. First, they appear as lonely travelers, distinguishing themselves from what they usually call vulgar and illiterate tourists who usually assume easy means of travel. The status of a lonely traveler enables the writer to appear as one

who intends to come closer to the traveled culture and have a “truer” vision than tourists on a guided package trip who only see superficial things. Secondly, they stress the difficulties they encounter during their travel to create a heroic nature of their experience. Permeating their writings is difficulty regarding language obstacles, slow visa application, insufficient transportation facilities, bad hotels and weather, etc.

On the one hand, these difficulties enhance the otherness of the traveled land. On the other, they mean to glorify a common travel experience and elicit readers’ sympathy and admiration for the traveler/writer so that they are more easily interpellated by the ideology articulated in the texts. Therefore, the authority of the text and the reader-friendly persona of the writer constitute the aesthetic and literary devices that facilitate the ideological and political commitment of the narrative (interesting enough, most professional travel writers are also or used to be journalists who know how to connect political and ideological issues to the general public).

With all these othering maneuvers and the writers’ ways of interpellating the readers, what is the overall picture of China? In addition to being exotic, backward, and despotic, as we have already seen, China is ultimately inscrutable. Even though Salisbury has provided a fairer picture of China, she finally concludes: “Of course, I am being very western; there is not any reason I should understand everything, or anything, Chinese or Asian. I should learn to accept without insisting on understanding” (Salisbury, 1973: 173). The introduction reaffirms this point: “We cannot know too much about China and the Chinese... The mysterious east is a phrase that came into being to describe China. She still is”.

China is also a place that makes travel writers feel homesick and want to leave forever. Alice Walker’s short-travel account, delightful as it is, expresses a desire to escape: “Now that we are out Mainland China, there is an eagerness to be gone entirely. I look down on the bay and hills of Hong Kong, and all I can think about is San Francisco. China already seems a world away. And is.”(Walker, 1994: 207).

Conclusion

Surrounded by a pile of contemporary travel books on China, I gradually envision an invisible wall separating China and their targeted “West”. The contact zone created by the writers’ travels within the traveled space fails to provide an arena of communication and understanding. Western readers are subjected to the travelers’ manipulative gaze to see China as exotic, chaotic, dyspotic, inscrutable, a place to leave permanently. If various othering strategies are the building materials, the writers also invent different construction styles to make the wall real, powerful and attractive. With the wall erected before their eyes, readers cannot visualize China in its much broader historical and cultural context and can only be fed by these travel narratives predicated upon the epistemological, ideological and cultural patterns of the “West”.

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此墙能否破

——有关中国的英文游记文学（1970-2010）浅析

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摘要：在 1970 年至 2010 年出版的一些关于中国的当代游记中，中国被编纂为异国情调的、有问题的、难以理解的、令人沮丧地引起怀旧和思乡的地方。这样的呈现在中西方读者之间筑起了一堵意识形态的墙，阻碍了他们对中国的正确认知。本文通过文本分析，从时空错位、任意泛化和漫画式丑化等方面检视意识形态这面“隐形墙”的写作策略建构。这些他者策略是关于中国的英文游记文学不可忽视的写作构成，不仅如此，西方作家还通过各种表现手法，使这面墙的建构显得真实、强大且具有吸引力。墙的建构让西方读者对中国的认知无法建立在中国悠久的历史 and 深厚的文化底蕴之上，只能通过这些基于西方认识论、意识形态和文化定势思维的游记文学来支撑。

关键词：游记文学，意识形态的墙，他者策略

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**Seeking the Common Tie:
Religions and Religious Activities of Chinese Miners in Nineteen-
Century West Borneo**

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Abstract: Facing hardship in their motherland and hoping for a better future in the goldfields, more and more Chinese immigrants joined the mining community in West Borneo. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Chinese gold mining settlements had experienced a golden time in West Borneo and developed their unique social organization, *kongsi*, with a strong religious undertone. Religions among Chinese miners included common beliefs, religions related to immigration, and religions related to mining. Religious activities, such as the *fenxiang* custom, created new links between the *kongsi* and the home village in China and between new members and the *kongsi*. Religious festivals offered opportunities to enhance the communications among the believers. In this sense, religions and religious activities helped shape Chinese miners' identity and maintained the social order in nineteenth-century West Borneo.

Keywords: Religions; Chinese Miners; West Borneo

Introduction

As early as 1750, Chinese miners arrived in West Borneo (西婆罗洲 in Chinese). Due to their superior mining technology, they got a warmly welcome from local rulers. Facing hardship in their motherland and hoping for a better future in the

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goldfields, more and more Chinese immigrants joined the mining community in West Borneo. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Chinese gold mining settlements had experienced a golden time in West Borneo until the Dutch colonial power defeated them from 1850 to 1854.

Unlike Western colonizers, Chinese immigrants went abroad and made a living in alien and complex circumstances without the military support from their own country. In order to survive, they developed their unique social organization, “*kongsi*” (公司 in Chinese, literally “common management,” “public company”) with a strong religious undertone. Misunderstanding and discrimination led to the contemporary rumors in the local society and the Dutch Indies regime depicting that the Chinese were bandits, thieves, robbers, and rebels. Nevertheless, the Chinese made a big contribution to the prosperous development of the mining industry in the West, even though they ravaged the environment. To a large extent, these factors explain why scholars are interested in studying this topic and even feel sympathy for their research subject.

The existing studies on the Chinese mining communities in West Borneo usually focus on the organization, namely *hui* (会 in Chinese) and *kongsis*. Earlier Dutch historians, such as P. J. Veth, Jan Jacob Maria de Groot, and S. H. Schaank, have provided primary and insightful studies on this topic.¹ Being the author of a monumental work on the religious system of China, sinologist De Groot studied the origin, characteristics, development, and influence of the Chinese *kongsis* from a sociological perspective. His working experience in West Borneo as a Chinese translator and his friendliness to these Chinese immigrants make his research significant and unique. Recently, James C. Jackson, Wang Taipeng and Yuan Bingling

¹ P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester-afdeeling, Geographisch, Statistisch, Historisch, Voorafgegaan door eene Algemeene Schets des Ganschen Eilands*. Zaltbommel: Joh. Noman, 1854-1856; J.J.M. de Groot, *Het Kongsuwezen van Borneo: Eene Verhandeling over den Grondslag en den Aard der Chineesche Politieke Vereenigingen in de Kolonien: Met Eene Chineesche Geschiedenis van de Kongs Lanfong*. Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1885; J.J.M. de Groot, *Jaarlijksche Feesten en Gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezzen: Een Vergelijkende Bijdrage tot de Kennis van onze Chineesche Medeburgers op Java: Met Uitgebreide Monogrophien van Godheden, Die te Emoy Worden Vereerd*. Batavia: Bruining, 1882; S.H. de Schaank, *Kongsis van Montrado: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis en de Kennis van het Wezen der Chineesche Vereenigingen op de Westkust van Borneo, met eene Schetskaart*. Batavia: Albrecht & Busche, 1893.

put forward new points on this topic. ¹Based on her Ph.D. thesis, Yuan examines the history of the *kongsi*, the nature of these organizations, and their roots in traditional Chinese society in her monograph *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*.

Rather than evaluate these works, this paper aims to explore the characteristics of Chinese mining communities by studying their religions. As Dr. Yuan pointed out, religions played a more important role in developing Chinese communities than the sources suggested.² Nevertheless, the explanation or analysis of Chinese religions was fragmented, if not missing, in most works on this topic. Even concerning Yuan's monograph, she just describes it in two sections, only a few pages, and the arrangement of this division, according to my opinion, is not very reasonable. As a set of common beliefs and practices, religion forms a part of cultural tradition and changes slowly. Although there might be some changes in different periods, this is not the case in her division. Therefore, in this paper, I would like to focus on the religions among the Chinese communities. My research question is: what were Chinese mining communities' religions and religious activities in West Borneo during the nineteenth century? Based on existing studies and the archival source material, some pieces of archive on the *kongsi* war in Borneo (1850-1855) in Main University Library of Leiden University, I will firstly set my story in its historical background, and then illustrate the religions of Chinese mining communities in West Borneo and their religious activities.

1. West Borneo and Chinese Mining Communities

Before introducing the religions among Chinese mining communities, it is necessary to describe the story's historical background. What was the nineteen-century West Borneo? What was the role of Chinese mining communities there?

¹ J. C. Jackson, *Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields: A Study in Cultural Geography*. Hull: University of Hull, 1970; Wang Tai Peng. *The Origins of Chinese Kongsis*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1994; Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, Leiden: CNWS, 2000.

² Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 33

1.1 West Borneo

West Borneo was still a sparsely populated territory with vast tropical rainforest areas in the nineteenth century. Coastal Borneo had recently come under the influence of Malay sultans, while the hinterland remained the domain of the so-called *Dayak* peoples. Meanwhile, European colonial powers began to pay attention to this region to monopolize local trade.

The Malay arrived in Borneo rather recently and were also newly converted to Islam. The beginning of Malay rule on the island commenced with the establishment of the Brunei sultanate, founded by traders from Malacca probably at the end of the fifteenth century.¹ Under sultans, Malay settlements grew up along the coast and mouths of the rivers. Their domains were not precisely defined territorial units but rather zones of fluctuating politico-commercial influence.² Malay sultans engaged in taxing transport routes, trading, and piracy by controlling the trade routes along the sea and river. They were able to manage and profit from the exchange of forest products from upriver areas for imported rice, salt, and other goods. In this way, they extended a claim to control over interior territories and authority over the peoples of the interior.³

The island's original inhabitants were homogeneous neither in composition nor in culture. A contemporary European writer applied the collective term "*Dayak*" to them.⁴ They inhabited the lowland parts and hillsides of the forests. Each village was usually composed of one or two so-called "longhouses." Built of wood, bamboo, and thatch, these varied in size, generally housing families from one to two dozen.⁵ The village would remain in one place until all the cultivated land within walking distance had been exhausted, usually after five to ten years.⁶ Then they would move on to a new location within the larger territory. Some *Dayak* peoples were nomadic forest-dwellers, living

¹ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 20.

² James C. Jackson, *Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields: A Study in Cultural Geography*, p. 16.

³ Mary Somers Heidhues, "Chinese Organizations in West Borneo and Bangka: Kongsis and Hui," In David Ownby & Mary Somers Heidhues (eds.), *"Secret societies" Reconsidered: Perspectives on the Social History of Modern South China and Southeast Asia*. Ammon, N. Y. [etc.]: Sharpe, 1993, p. 70.

⁴ James C. Jackson, *Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields: A Study in Cultural Geography*, p. 14.

⁵ James C. Jackson, *Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields: A Study in Cultural Geography*, p. 14.

⁶ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 21

from fishing or hunting with blow-pipes and poisoned darts.

West Borneo received little serious European attention until the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, when they desired to monopolize local trade. By the mid-1820s, almost all the powerful Malay chiefs had recognized Dutch authority and ensured their commercial monopoly over the Dutch. The treaties also passed jurisdiction over the growing Chinese community in the goldfields to the Dutch. Nevertheless, Chinese *kongsis* did not want to relinquish their hard-won autonomy. Despite several violent clashes between Dutch troops and the miners in the 1820s, the Dutch failed to establish authority over the northern field. After the Java War (1825-1830), the activities of Brooke in Sarawak and the British occupation in the north Borneo forced the Dutch to take more energetic measures to preserve their claims to sovereignty in West Borneo. In 1849, the administrative structure was reorganized, and the Dutch control over the whole southern three-quarters of the islands was established.¹ Then the Dutch started to use force to intensify their colonial rule in Borneo. The Chinese community lost independence during the bloody *kongsi* war on the northern field. Except for Mandor,² the whole west coast was under a formal Dutch government by the late 1850s.

1.2 Chinese Mining Communities

After illustrating the three important characters in nineteen-century West Borneo, now I would like to introduce the main character of my story, the Chinese miners.

The existence of the gold deposits was known centuries before the coming of Chinese miners, and they had long been worked on a small scale by *Dayaks* under the support of local Malay rulers. The methods used by these early indigenous miners were, however, simple.³ Thanks to the fine reputation and superior mining technology, the Chinese miners were firstly invited by the Malay sultans to exploit the goldfields around 1750.⁴ More and more Chinese miners, who had faced hardships in their motherland,

¹ James C. Jackson, *Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields: A Study in Cultural Geography*, p. 5.

² The Chinese of the Mandor goldfield had long proved co-operative and the administration of this area was left with the current Chinese headman until his death in 1884.

³ James C. Jackson, *Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields: A Study in Cultural Geography*, p. 13.

⁴ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 1.

arrived and hoped for a better future in the Borneo goldfields. Almost all of them were single young males. Most of the miners were Hakka (客家 in Chinese) and *banshanke* (半山客 in Chinese), who were reputed passionate miners for centuries in China. *Banshanke* were bilingual Hakka and *Hoklo* (福佬 in Chinese) and culturally spoke very close to the *Hoklo* and Hokkien groups. Although from different places in South China, they shared linguistic and cultural unity.

The working conditions in the mining regions were hard and extortion by the Malay overlords and harassment by the *Dayak* tribes. Chinese miners developed certain social organizations to adapt to the “frontier” circumstances they had never experienced before. The first mining organizations of the Chinese were kind of *hui*, initiated by members of the same clan or village. Their members varied from any small number up to several hundred people. As the mining community tended to expand in size, people with many different surnames, backgrounds, and ethnicities inevitably joined into one *hui*. In order to be integrated into the *hui*, new members had to swear an oath of allegiance to the god and contribute a sum of money to the treasury.¹ In this way, the original associations and partnerships gradually developed into a larger and more powerful *kongsi*. A patron god, a clan society or a regional club of overseas Chinese was often named *kongsi*.² As a traditional common economic organization, *kongsi* is numerous in China and other overseas Chinese societies, such as in Dutch colonies, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines. In West Borneo, Lanfang *kongsi* (兰芳公司在 Chinese) in Mandor and Dagang *kongsi* (大港公司在 Chinese) in Montrado were among the most famous. Probably due to the fight against the Tiandihui (天地会在 Chinese), *kongsis* began to unite to establish an official alliance.³ Their executive councils were called *zongting* (总厅 in Chinese, literally “assembly halls”). The *kongsis* which formed the *zongting* were called “kaixiang *kongsi*” (开香公司在 Chinese), and they had the privilege of recruiting new members, establishing new villages, and

¹ S.H. Schaank, *De Kongsi's van Montrado: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis en de Kennis van het Wezen der Chineesche Vereenigingen op de Westkust van Borneo, met eene Schetskaart*, p. 87.

² Wang Tai Peng, *The Origins of Chinese Kongsi*, p. 2. Scholars have offered a variety of definitions of *kongsi*. See Wang Tai Peng, *The Origins of Chinese Kongsi*, pp. 4-5.

³ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, pp.42-43.

opening a temple dedicated to a god. The *kongsis* that joined later had to pay taxes in return for receiving the protection of the *zongting*.¹

While the sultans controlled the mouths of the rivers and the *Dayaks* inhabited the hinterland, the *kongsis* came to control much of the upland river valleys north of Borneo's great Kapuas River, between Pontianak and Sambas, by the end of the eighteenth century.² The *kongsis* organized their food production and developed fighting capacity. They fought with Malays, *Dayaks*, the Dutch, and, most of all, each other. As the winners absorbed the domains of the losers or weaker *kongsis* joined with stronger ones, *kongsi* federations became larger and larger. By the early nineteenth century, the *kongsi* federations were virtually independent of the sultans and could be viewed as autonomous democratic republics. After more than thirty years of conflicts, the Dagang republic was destroyed by the Dutch during the *kongsi* war of 1850-1854.

In nineteenth-century West Borneo, within the background of the activities of indigenous Malay rulers, *Dayaks* peoples, and Dutch colonizers, Chinese mining communities experienced a rise and fall.

2. Religions of the Chinese Mining Communities

As I mentioned, new members had to swear an oath of allegiance to the god before joining the *kongsis*, which showed a religious aspect of this organization. The historical data showed that their religion was not prominent. Nevertheless, considering carefully the details related to the cults, temples, festivals, and rituals, it turned out that religion was more important than the sources suggested. Without interpreting the religion, the institutions of Chinese mining communities could not be understood properly. In this chapter, I would like to focus on the religious belief of Chinese miners. In general, religions among Chinese mining communities could be divided into three categories: common beliefs, religions-related to immigration, and religions related to mining.

2.1 Common Beliefs

¹ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 45.

² Mary Somers Heidhues, "Chinese Organizations in West Borneo and Bangka: Kongsis and Hui," p. 70.

Chinese mining communities in West Borneo shared some common beliefs with their compatriots. The most important one was the worship of *Tudi* (土地 in Chinese, literally “the Earth God”), or according to his Taoist canonical title, *Fude zhengshen* (福德正神 in Chinese, literally “the Correct Spirit of Blessed Power”). His colloquial name in Hakka was *dabogong* (大伯公 in Chinese, Great Paternal Uncle). The worship of the Earth God is fundamental and widespread in China, where almost every village in the countryside has one or more of its shrines. He is always seated, wearing a “dragon robe.” He often wears clothes belonging to the wealthy country gentleman without official rank.¹ It is believed that this deity was in charge of administering the affairs of a particular village. Not being all-powerful, he was a modest heavenly bureaucrat to whom individual villagers could turn for wealth and well-being.

One is *Guansheng dijun* (关圣帝君 in Chinese, literally “His Imperial Majesty the Holy Guan,” *guandi* or *guangong* for short).² Known originally as Guan Yu (关羽 in Chinese), he was the apotheosized hero of the Three Kingdoms period. The spread of the worship of Guan Yu as a folk deity beyond the confines of sectarian religion was communicated in the vernacular novels and plays of the Song-Yuan transition.³ As the embodiment of trust, valor, and loyalty, he was venerated as God of War, especially by army men and sometimes also by merchants. In West Borneo, *guandi* had his place in all the *kongsi* houses and was especially prominent in Mandor.⁴ For instance, in Lanfang *kongsi*, *Guangdi*’s picture was hung in the hall.⁵

Another was the Most Merciful Bodhisattva *Guanyin* (观音菩萨 in Chinese).

¹ K. Schipper, “Neighborhood Cult Associations in Traditional Tainan”, in G. W. Skinner (ed.), *The City in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977, p. 660.

² J.J.M. de Groot, *Jaarlijksche Feesten en Gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezten: Een Vergelijkende Bijdrage tot de Kennis van onze Chineesche Medeburgers op Java: Met Uitgebreide Monogrfhien van Godheden, Die te Emoy Worden Vereerd*, pp. 74-98.

³ Prasenjit Duara, “Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol. 47, No. 4 (Nov., 1988), p. 781.

⁴ J.J.M. de Groot, *Het Kongsiwezen van Borneo: Eene Verhandeling over den Grondslag en den Aard der Chineesche Politieke Vereenigingen in de Kolonien: Met Eene Chineesche Geschiedenis van de Kongsi Lanfong*, pp. 124-125.

⁵ J.J.M. de Groot, *Het Kongsiwezen van Borneo: Eene Verhandeling over den Grongslag en den aard der Chineesche Politieke Vereenigingen in de Kolonien, met eene Chineesche Geschiedenis van de Kongsi Lanfong*, p. 124.

¹ Originated as the Sanskrit Avalokitesvara, she was (and is) an extremely popular goddess in Chinese folk belief. She was (and is) worshipped widely as the “Goddess of Mercy and Compassion.” Some Taoist scriptures give her the title of *Guanyindashi* (观音大士 in Chinese). She is generally seen as a source of unconditional love and a savior who answers all beings’ cries and pleas. Some coastal and river areas of China regarded her as the protector of fishers, sailors, and the people who would travel at sea. Among traders, she was (and is) looked upon as a Goddess of Luck and Fortune. Her cult is so prominent among the Indonesian Chinese that the name of her temple has become the generic word in Indonesian for a Chinese temple.²

Besides, other gods were also worshipped in some places, like *Tianshi* (天师 in Chinese, literally “the Heavenly Master”) in Montrado.

2.2 Religions-Related to Immigration

Chinese miners emigrated from south China to Borneo, usually by sea. The influence of their immigration on their religions was shown in the fact that they worshipped certain gods or goddesses who were the great protectors of seamen. Besides venerating *Guanyin*, whose part function was to bless the people at sea, they brought with them the cult of *Tianhou* (天后 in Chinese, literally “Heavenly Empress” or “Heavenly Queen”) or *Mazu* (妈祖 in Chinese, literally “Mother-Ancestor”).³ She was (and is) the Taoist goddess of the Sea who protected fishers and sailors.

Her mortal name is Lin Moniang (林默娘 in Chinese). According to the legend, she did not cry when she was born, so her given name means “silent girl.” She was an excellent swimmer and had magic power. She could predict shipwrecks as well. After her death, the families of many fishermen and sailors began to pray to her in honor of her acts in trying to save those at sea. Her first temple was built in 987 in Meizhou, an island off the coast of Fujian. She was given the Titles by twenty emperors around forty

¹ J.J.M. de Groot, *Jaarlijksche Feesten en Gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezzen: Een Vergelijkende Bijdrage tot de Kennis van onze Chineesche Medeburgers op Java: Met Uitgebreide Monographien van Godheden, Die te Emoy Worden Vereerd*, pp. 142-160.

² Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 35.

³ J.J.M. de Groot, *Jaarlijksche Feesten en Gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezzen: Een Vergelijkende Bijdrage tot de Kennis van onze Chineesche Medeburgers op Java: Met Uitgebreide Monographien van Godheden, Die te Emoy Worden Vereerd*, pp. 207-212.

times.¹ Starting from Fujian, the worship of *Mazu* spread to the neighboring coastal provinces and thence to all coastal areas of mainland China, which had strong seafaring traditions. In Taiwan, Zheng Chenggong once ordered to change a Dutch church into a *Mazu* temple.² Emigration, especially the Chinese Diaspora of the 19th and 20th centuries, further spread to Vietnam, Japan, Southeast Asia, and America. The role of *Mazu* as patron of the seas ensured that newly arrived immigrants often constructed temples to her to give thanks for arriving safely. Although she was not as popular as *Tudi*, *Guandi*, and *Guanyin* in China, whose influences almost covered all over the country, as a sea goddess, she played an important role in the immigrants' society.

In West Borneo, most Chinese immigrants worshiped *Mazu*. Important temples dedicated to her were to be found at the Old Port (Lao putout, 老埔头 in Chinese) of Pontianak and Singkawang, and most temples on the coast had secondary shrines dedicated to her.³

2.3 Religions-Related to Mining

As mining communities, they also venerated the gods related to their profession. Although the Earth God might have had a special significance for those who prospected the soil to find gold deposits, *Tudi* was never considered a special patron saint of the miners.⁴ An important one is *Sanshan guowang* (三山国王 in Chinese, literally "Three Mountain Kings").

The Three Kings were called Jin (巾 in Chinese), Ming (明 in Chinese), and Du (独 in Chinese). The three mountains that respectively contained iron, tin, and lead are situated in the vicinity of the founding temple of the cult, the Lintian zumiao (霖田祖庙 in Chinese) at Hepo in Guangdong. They were firstly venerated by indigenous minorities

¹ 陶思炎 (Tao Siyan): "妈祖信仰略论" (A discussion of Mazu godliness), 《东南大学学报 (哲学社会科学版)》 (Journal of Southeast University (Philosophy and Social Science)), Vol. 9, No. 5 (Sep., 2007), p. 95.

² 刘福铸 (Liu Fuzhu): "论清代福建妈祖信仰的兴盛及其原因" (Flourishing of Mazu belief in Fujian during the Qing dynasty: an explanation), 《武汉科技大学学报 (社会科学版)》 (Journal of Wuhan University of Science and Technology (Social Science Edition)), Vol. 9, No. 2, (Apr., 2007), p. 186.

³ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 34.

⁴ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 34.

living in the neighborhood. As the *Han* majority increasingly emigrated there, *Sanshan guowang* became one of the main folk beliefs of Hakka and Hoklo.¹ As they immigrated overseas, they brought this cult with them. Now this belief is found in many places in Southeast Asia. For instance, in Malaysia, the earliest temple of *Sanshan guowang* was built in 1875.²

This cult was of extreme importance in Borneo. The main temple of the *Sanshan guowang* was built around 1780 at Budok, between Singkawang and Sambas, which became the center of all activities in the region. A *kongsi* was founded with the name of Lintian *kongsi* (霖田公司 in Chinese) to express the link with the Lintian zumiao back home. At Montrado, there was another temple, a subsidiary of the one at Budok.³

Unlike other Chinese communities in China or in other overseas societies, the experience of immigration and engaging in mining activity enhanced the significance of the cult of *Mazu* and *Sanshan guowang* among the Chinese miners in West Borneo. Meanwhile, the cult of *Tudi*, *Guanyin*, and *Guandi* was still fundamental to their lives. In order to pray and venerate, Chinese miners built various temples. Unlike the exclusive principle of Christianity or Islam, Chinese religions allow diversity if not encouraged. Buddhism could get along well with Taoism and other folk beliefs altogether. One temple may have the shrines of several gods. One person may worship several gods simultaneously, which was the case in nineteenth-century West Borneo as well. Almost every temple, for example, has a secondary shrine for the worship of the Earth God.⁴ Montrado had at least five temples dedicated to the *Sanshan guowang*, *Guandi* situated in the township, *Guanyin*, *Dabogong* at the *zongting*, and Heavenly Master in the township of Montrado itself.⁵

¹ 谢重光 (Xie Chongguang): “三山国王信仰考略”(Sanshan guowang Belief), 《世界宗教研究》(Studies in World Religions), 1996, Issue. 2, pp. 101-110.

² 李天锡 (Li Tianxi): “三山国王信仰及其在马来西亚的传播”(Sanshan guowang Belief and its Spread in Malaysia), 《八桂侨刊》(Overseas Chinese Journal of Bagui), 2004, Issue. 3, p. 28.

³ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 34.

⁴ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 34.

⁵ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 36.

3. Chinese Religious Activities

Some special religious customs, festivals, and ceremonies helped integrate the Chinese mining communities. The religious activities came from the religions and, in turn, reinforced the religious faith.

3.1 The *Fenxiang* Custom

The *Fenxiang* (分香 in Chinese, literally “division of incense”) was a custom related to the founding of new cult groups and the acceptance of newcomers. First of all, when a new cult group was formed or a new temple was built, the ashes collected in an incense burner of an already existing cult group of the same saint would be filled in the new incense burner of the new temple. The new incense burner was the main ritual object of the newly affiliated cult group, and the act of filling it with the ashes provided by the senior cult was its founding rite.¹ Second, by bringing ashes from his home village to the incense burner of the *kongsi* temple, the newcomer obtained acceptance as a trustworthy member. This custom symbolized that the immigrants maintained their home link, and based on this link, they formed a new identity and obtained reciprocal recognition and trust.

In West Borneo, most immigrants brought their *fenxiang* from their village temples, from a *Tudi* temple. Since the *xianghuo* (香火 in Chinese) came mainly from these rural communities, it was principally to *Tudi* that the main incense burner was dedicated. When the immigrants were wealthy enough to build temples, they preferred to build the *Tudi* temple.² Adherence to a cult community also entailed a sharing in its financial holdings. During the *fenxiang* custom, the newcomer should hand in a small sum of money, the so-called *chalujin* (插炉金 in Chinese). This money did not constitute a real share in the *kongsi* mining enterprise but symbolically expressed the qualification of the new member as a shareholder.³

¹ K. Schipper, “The Cult of Pao-sheng ta-ti and its Spreading to Taiwan: A Case Study of Fen-hsiang”, in: E. Vermeer (ed.), *Development and Decline in Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Leiden: Brill, 1990, p. 397.

² Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 34.

³ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 33.

This custom was widely adopted in traditional China, where federations of communities were organized into a large number of religious, commercial, and political networks. The *fenxiang* custom made any village, any community part of a large communication system. Beyond the federations of temples, which structured the cult groups into a large family network with seniority playing a very important role, were the federations of communities. The federation shared responsibility for the defense, irrigation, and so forth. The federation tended to be equal rather than conform to the official class system. No group could exert any authority over another, no matter what place was on the genealogy of the cult.¹

3.2 Religious Festival

The anniversary of the gods brought religious festivals to the adherents. Religious festivals could last from one day to several days. They offered opportunities to shape the identity and enhance the communications among the believers.

The anniversary of *Sanshang Guowang* was the greatest festival at Montrado. On the twenty-fourth day of the second lunar month, a large festival was held in and around the temple. The celebration lasted several days. The crowds of spectators of every age gathered from all directions, even traveling from far inland for the festive atmosphere. According to Van Rees' description, a large parade took place, in which participants carried a large paper image of "a giant" and a paper boat through the township. There were theatre performances in front of the temple as well. The plays were performed "in the court's language", and most of the public did not understand the meaning, but the clowns sometimes performed funny acts in the spoken language to amuse the crowd.² As Yuan analyzes, this description fits the so-called *luan tan* (乱弹 in Chinese) genre of Chinese theatre that became popular during the eighteenth century, especially in temple festivals. The *luan tan* was military pieces based on the stories of the *Three Kingdoms* (三国演义 in Chinese) and *Water Margin* (水浒传 in Chinese). The

¹ K. Schipper, "The Cult of Pao-sheng ta-ti and its Spreading to Taiwan: A Case Study of Fen-hsiang", pp. 397-416.

² W. A. van Rees, *Montrado: Geschied- en krijgkundige bijdrage betreffende de onderwerping der Chinezen op Borneo, naar het dagboek van een Indisch officier over 1854-1856*. 's Hertogenbosch: Muller, 1858, pp. 64-65.

luantan was normally performed in the language used by the officials at court, but the servants and the clowns in the theatre might speak in the dialect belonging to where the play was performed.¹

Other records on the religious festival were fragmented. Von Faber also referred to the Taoist *dajiao* (大醮 in Chinese) as celebrated whenever the occasion called for them.² Haccoû witnessed a festival in 1830. It took place on September 28 and 29, the twelfth and the thirteenth day of the eighth lunar month of that year. It probably was the second festival of Guangong.³ The religious festival among Chinese miners in nineteenth-century West Borneo was similar to that in China, consisting of the parade, theatre performances, and sometimes trading.

3.3 Religious Ceremony

The religious ceremony is another kind of religious activity. The practice of religious ceremony embodied the religious belief. Sometimes it was politically significant.

The offering ceremony in honor of *Guangdi* was a solemn ritual. In Lanfang *kongsi*, this ceremony takes place in January, May, and August according to the lunar calendar every year. It was led by the company chief, who functioned as a priest at that moment. The sacrificial offering was usually a whole goat or whole pig. It was also a good time to appoint a new leader if possible.⁴ Equally politically important place was the temple of the Loyal Servants, the *Zhongchenmiao*. Here the spirit tablets of those who had been leaders or priests of the community were placed, along with those who had performed meritorious deeds in the service of the community or had suffered a glorious death on the battlefield.⁵

¹ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 86.

² M. von Faber, "Schets van Montrado in 1861", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 13 (1864), p. 478.

³ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, pp. 87-88.

⁴ J.J.M. de Groot, *Het Kongsiwezen van Borneo: Een Verhandeling over den Grongslag en den aard der Chineesche Politieke Vereenigingen in de Kolonien, met eene Chineesche Geschiedenis van de Kongsi Lanfong*, p. 124.

⁵ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 89.

Religions were relevant to military action. During the war against the Dutch, Chinese miners named their troop divisions after the gods, such as the “army of *Guanyin*” and “army of *Sanshan guowang*.” Before and after each military action, offerings were made in the temple, and the gods were consulted by way of divination through the priest. In April 1853, for example, when the Dutch government troops occupied Sepang, the Montrado *kongsis* hesitated about what kind of attitude should be adopted, as this occupation was viewed as a threat to them. First, they turned to ask the *Sanshan guowang* through the priest, but the gods did not reply as the priest failed to be inspired. Thereupon the priests of other shrines were consulted. One of the *Tianshi* temples at Lumar declared that the Dutch should be refused to install at Sepang, as it would not take long before they would move on from that place and march on Montrado. The gods of the *Sanshan guowang* temple then manifested the same thing. The military expedition to drive the Dutch away from Sepang was thus decided upon, and the gods even indicated a suitable day to start the military action.¹

The religious activities may suffice to show the important role these religions played within the society of the West Kalimantan Chinese. Besides the festival, religions influenced the daily life of Chinese miners. In a text of Dagang *kongsi*, for instance, its reverse side included the name of the god, probably *Mazu*.²

Conclusion

West Borneo was still a sparsely populated territory with vast tropical rainforest areas in the nineteenth century. Coastal Borneo was under the influence of Malay sultans, while the hinterland remained the domain of the so-called *Dayak* peoples. Meanwhile, European colonial powers began to pay attention to this region to monopolize local trade. More and more Chinese miners arrived and anticipated a better future in the goldfields within this background. To adapt to the “frontier” circumstances, Chinese miners developed their organizations, from the original associations and

¹ Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies: A Study of the Kongsis of West Borneo (1776-1884)*, p. 36.

² Archive in Leiden University Library, J. J. Hoffmann collection, N. Kongsis War in Borneo 1850-1855, no. 17.

partnerships to a larger and more powerful *kongsi* and the federations of *kongsis*.

These organizations were with a religious undertone. Without interpreting the factor of religion, the institutions of Chinese mining communities could not be understood properly. In general, religions among Chinese miners could be divided into three categories: common beliefs, religions-related to immigration, and religions related to mining. Common beliefs included *Tudi*, *Guangdi*, *Guanyin*, and some other gods. Religions related to immigration were mainly *Mazu*, and religions related to mining were mainly *Sanshan guowang*. Different from other Chinese communities in China or in other overseas societies, the experience of immigration and engaging in mining activity enhanced the significance of the cult of *Mazu* and *Sanshan guowang* among the Chinese miners in West Borneo.

Religions of Chinese mining communities in West Borneo were rooted in Chinese religions themselves. Unlike the exclusive principle of Christianity or Islam, Chinese religions allow, if not encourage, diversity. Buddhism could get along well with Taoism and other folk beliefs altogether. One temple may have the shrines of Buddhist gods and Taoist gods. One person may worship several kinds of gods at the same time. It was the case in nineteenth-century West Borneo as well.

However, a big distinction from Chinese religious culture was the Confucian doctrine's weakness, if not absent. The Confucian doctrines seemed weak to them. It was Taoism that played a prominent role in their society. Almost all the helpful gods were relevant to Taoism. It may be because of the status of miners since the Confucian doctrines were mostly believed by intellectuals and scholars who hoped to obtain official positions in the court. Furthermore, according to the Confucian doctrines, people should not travel far away from their parents if their parents were still alive, so the immigrants themselves were disgraceful.

Religions not only influenced people's daily life but also were embodied by religious activities. In this paper, I introduced the *fenxiang* custom that created new links between the *kongsi* and the home village in China and between new members and the *kongsi*. Religious festivals offered opportunities to enhance the communications among the believers. In West Borneo, the religious ceremony usually had political

significance as well. In this sense, religions and religious activities helped shape Chinese miners' identity and maintain social order.

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寻求共同点：十九世纪西婆罗洲矿场华工的宗教信仰及宗教活动

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摘要：19 世纪上半叶是西婆罗洲华侨采金业的黄金时期。由于国内处境艰难，越来越多的华侨来到西婆罗洲，成为淘金者，希望通过开采金矿发财致富。他们组建了独特的矿业公司，而这些矿业公司往往带有浓厚的宗教色彩。这一时期，矿场华工的宗教信仰主要分为三类，即一些共同信仰、与移民相关的宗教信仰、与采矿相关的宗教信仰。诸如分香建庙这类的宗教活动建立了公司和故国桑梓以及新成员和公司之间的新的联系纽带。宗教节日的宗教活动为维护华侨团结、增强华侨的凝聚力提供了很好的契机。从这个意义上说，宗教信仰和宗教活动有助于塑造 19 世纪西婆罗洲矿场华工的身份认同，维持华侨社会的公共秩序。

关键词：宗教；矿场华工；西婆罗洲

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On Charles Alexander Aylmer's Sinology Classics Research in the China-UK Cultural and Educational Exchanges

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Abstract: This article centers on the contributions of Charles Alexander Aylmer, the famous British sinologist and the director of the Chinese Section of Cambridge University Library, and his relation to other famous sinologists, combs in detail his unique study experience at Peking University, his findings in the collection and management of Chinese documents, and the Sinology classics research of the University of Cambridge, and specifically his talks about the oracle bone collections of the Cambridge University Library, which provides many methods and inspiration for oracle bone script research. Charles is always willing to share his study and pass on the ancient Chinese culture. This article highlights his unique contribution to the spread of Chinese culture in the West for a long time.

Keywords: Oracle Bone Inscriptions; Sinology Classics; Sino-English Cultural Exchange; Chinese Collection in Cambridge University Library

Introduction

Charles Alexander Aylmer, a well-known British sinologist and director of the Chinese section of the Cambridge University Library, is the “manager” of the Chinese literature collection in the Cambridge University Library. Born in London in October 1953, he was engaged in Chinese Studies at Pembroke College, Cambridge University,

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and received his bachelor's degree in 1977. From 1977 to 1979, he was selected as the first batch of British-Chinese exchange students to study in the Departments of Philosophy and History of Peking University. In the next two years, from 1979 to 1980, he served as a guest lecturer in Chinese at the School of Languages of Central University of Encyclopedia, London. In 1980, he re-entered Cambridge and studied under the famous British Sinologist Professor Denis Twitchett (1925-2006). From 1980 to 1986, he served as a researcher and a Chinese supervisor in the Chinese Language Teaching and Research Section of the Oriental Studies Department of Cambridge University. In 1986, he became the director of the Chinese Section of the Cambridge University Library and a Chinese supervisor in the Department of Oriental Studies.

His representative works include *Origins of the Chinese Script: An Introduction to Sino-palaeography* (《中国古文字学入门》, 1981), *Electronic Index of Three Hundred Tang Poems* (《唐诗三百首电子索引》), *Forty-two Poems of Mao Zedong* (《毛泽东诗词四十二首电子索引》), *Memoirs of H. G. Giles*, and *Sir Thomas Francis Wade and the Centenary of Chinese Studies at Cambridge* (1888-1988).

At 2:30 PM on January 29th, 2020, Mr. Sun got the opportunity to interview Charles Aylmer, the class 1977 alumni of Peking University and director of the East Asian Library Department. He talked about the Chinese collections, his story as a famous sinologist and his anecdotes about the University of Cambridge in his office, which is full of books. Charles has deep empathy and spoke like drifting clouds and flowing water, with the style of PKU discussion. Charles Alexander Aylmer has been working in the Library all year round and has gradually become a library on foot, reflecting the words "You are what you read."

Forty-four years had passed in a flash when Mr. Charles mentioned his stay at Peking University, his impression is still as clear as yesterday, and he cherishes the old things and those old friends. He feels he was Chinese in a previous life and has also treated himself as Chinese in this world. The given name "Chaoshi" in Pinyin means "beyond this worldly life" due to the love of China, and he has also become an extraterritorial guardian and inheritor of Chinese culture and a loyal messenger of Sino-

British exchanges.

1. Chinese Characters Lead him to China, His Second Hometown

Charles said his connection with the Chinese and China seems to be destined. Charles has liked language learning since he was a child. He has studied French, German, Russian, Latin, and Greek at school. When he was 11, he saw Chinese characters in a book. They were so unique that he became interested in them. Charles's father is a scholar of classical literature, teaching Greek and Latin. No one in the family had been exposed to Chinese learning. Later, Charles came to China and found that he liked China very much, as if he had been a Chinese in his previous life, and felt that he had returned to his hometown where he was full of great interest in everything. In this regard, Charles could not explain it, which may be what people often call "Déjà Vu."

Later, Charles entered the University of Cambridge, majoring in ancient Chinese characters, under Professor Denis Twitchett (崔瑞德), Cui Ruide in Pinyin. Professor Cui has never been to mainland China, only once to Taiwan; although he taught Chinese and could read Chinese books, he did not speak Chinese. Teacher Michael Loewe (1922-), specializing in studying Qin and Han Dynasties, taught them classical Chinese, but Michael did not speak Chinese very much. When Charles came to work in the Library, Professor Gustav Haloun (1898-1951) had long retired, but Charles knew that he had researched the dialects of southern China, such as the study of dialects and customs in Fujian Taiwan and other places. Among the early generations of sinologists, Thomas Francis Wade (1818-1895) and Herbert Allen Giles (1845-1935) spoke many dialects of southern China.

After graduating from university, as a member of the first batch of UK-China exchange students, Charles was exchanged to the Departments of Philosophy and History of Peking University in 1977 and studied Chinese history and archaeology. When he was studying at Peking University, Charles named himself Ai Chaoshi (艾超世) in Chinese based on the transliteration of Charles Aylmer, hoping that he could live a little more otherworldly.

Because he works in the University Library, Charles has close ties with the academic circles of mainland China. He purchases many academic books and periodicals from mainland China annually for the Chinese Collection Section. When vital political and academic figures in China visit the University of Cambridge, they usually come to the Chinese Collection Section of its Library. Charles often has the opportunity to give Chinese guests a collection introduction and campus tour guidance.

Charles deeply remembers studying abroad at Peking University and has many impressions of China at that time. When Charles went to Peking University to study in 1977, it was the first year after the Tangshan Earthquake on July 27th, 1976. The impact of the earthquake still existed. Everyone was still living in the earthquake-proof sheds, which deeply impressed him. In 1979, the lively scenes of China celebrating the 30th anniversary of its founding remained in Charles's mind. As a fleeting show, this year is the 71st anniversary of the founding of New China. Over the years, China's development and changes have amazed the world, and its achievements are unprecedented and attract worldwide attention. However, the National Day Parade in 1979, marking the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, was still nostalgic because it was an essential node in China's development and transformation, which opened the prelude to China's reform and opening up.

Students usually had classes in the morning and could arrange freely in the afternoon and evening when studying at Peking University. Charles went to the Peking University Library to study almost daily and read many books there. Charles studied ancient Chinese philology and was very interested in oracle bone inscriptions, which he had learned much at Peking University. During this period, Charles met the American professor Robert Winter (1887-1987). Winter's family was originally from France, and he grew up and was educated in the United States. Later, Winter studied in France and Italy and returned to teach at the University of Chicago. In 1923, with the recommendation of Wen Yiduo (闻一多), a Chinese poet who studied at the University of Chicago, Winter came to China and taught at Southeast University, Southwest Associated University, and Tsinghua University, Peking University, where he taught

English, French and Western literature. He had personally experienced China's Northern Expedition, Anti-Japanese War, Civil War and Cultural Revolution and could be described as a witness to Chinese history. In 1952, when the faculties of the Chinese Universities were adjusted and reorganized, Mr. Winter was transferred to Peking University, lived in Longrunyuan Compound for 35 years, and became a century-old legend in China's English teaching circle.

Robert Winter was the teacher with whom Charles was most familiar when he was at Peking University. He liked planting flowers and listening to Western classical music. As long as there was no class in the afternoon or accessible in the evening, Charles would chat with Robert Winter when he was still clear-minded. Charles's knowledge and understanding of China benefited from their in-depth discussions, especially night talks. Mr. Winter said that he wrote many diaries, recording his work experience and friends in China. It was a pity that these diaries were burned during the "decade of turmoil," namely, the Cultural Revolution in China. Winter wrote to his alma mater Wabash College, saying he was the oldest alumnus, which attracted Professor Bert Stern from Wabash College to come to Peking University for an interview and write a biography for Winter. However, Professor Stern himself did not understand Chinese, so his scope of collecting materials was limited. Winter was keen on teaching and had written less for publication.

Charles was pleasantly surprised to learn that the Chinese version of Professor Stern's Biography of Winter, *Winter in China*, was published in 2016 by Peking University Press. Yang Jiang once said Mr. Winter loved China, Chinese culture, and Chinese people. Many of his friends were well-known progressive intellectuals. In addition, Mr. Winter was mentioned many times in *Wu Mi's Diary*¹, his colleague for many years in different schools.

2. Sitting in the Book Castle and Recommending It Carefully

There are many Oracle collections as the current treasure of the Cambridge

¹ Wu Mi (吴宓), *Wu Mi's Diary*, Sanlian Bookstore, 1998.

University Library. More than 800 pieces of oracle bones were bequeathed by Jin Zhang (Lionel Charles Hopkins, 1854-1952) in 1952 and became the oldest cultural relics in the Library.

Mr. Lionel Charles Hopkins was a British diplomat in China at the turn of the 20th century. He was also a well-known early collector and researcher of oracle bones. In 1874, he was sent to China to engage in diplomatic work. In 1908, he retired and returned to the United Kingdom. He once served as the consul general of the British Consulate in Tianjin. During his stay in China and after his retirement, he did not hesitate to buy Oracle bones and always focused on Oracle research. Between 1908 and 1913, Lionel Charles Hopkins purchased 1013 oracle bones, of which more than 600 were genuine. He had written extensively throughout his life, including 49 papers and three book reviews related to the study of oracle bones (respectively commented on *Yinxu Inscriptions* (《殷墟卜辞》) *Ku Fang Ershi Oracle Bone Inscriptions* (《库方二氏藏甲骨卜辞》),¹ *Seven Collections of Oracle Bone Inscriptions* (《甲骨卜辞七集》) ², which are three kinds of oracle bone records. In addition, in the Lionel Charles Hopkins archives in the Cambridge University Library, there are more than 100,000 characters of manuscripts related to the study of oracle bone inscriptions, including the interpretation of oracle bone inscriptions and the textual research and comments, the lineage of the Shang kings and the titles of the ancestors of the Shang Dynasty, Genealogy, celestial phenomena, animals, divination and its languages, and numbers.

From 1908 to 1913, the American missionaries in Weixian county of Shandong Province, Doctor and Rev. Frank Herring Chalfant, DD, 1862-1914 and W. P. Yetts, 1878-1957, the Art Professor at the University of London, purchased the oracle bones mentioned above from China with the help of Lionel Charles Hopkins. These copies of the oracle bones are mainly recorded in *The Oracle Bone Inscriptions Collected by*

¹ F. H. Chalfant (方法敏). *The Couling-Chalfant Collection of Inscribed Oracle Bone*, Shanghai, 1935.

² F. H. Chalfant, Revised by Bai Ruihua (白瑞华). *Seven Collections of Oracle Bone Inscriptions*, 1938.

Lionel Charles Hopkins¹(《金璋所藏甲骨卜辞》), and the rubbings are mainly recorded in *The Collection of Oracle Bones Collected in Britain* (《英国所藏甲骨集》)². In addition, a small number of oracle bones from Lionel Charles Hopkins are also recorded in *Remains of Overseas Oracle Bone Inscriptions*³(《海外甲骨录遗》) and *The Oracle Bone Inscriptions of White's Collection* (《怀特氏等收藏甲骨文集》)⁴.

Pastor Chalfant is the earliest collector and researcher of oracle bones in the United States. He started collecting and researching oracle bones very early and achieved rich results. He was “the first person who studied Yinxu inscriptions among Westerners.” Professor W. P. Yetts taught archaeology at the College of Art at the University of London. Among the more famous Chinese students were Xia Nai (夏鼐), Wu Jinding (吴金鼎), Zeng Zhaoxue (曾昭燏) and others.

On December 22nd, 1999, when the then Chinese President Jiang Zemin visited the University of Cambridge, Charles especially showed Chairman Jiang and the visitors the Oracle bone as the Library's treasure. Charles believes these were the highlight moments in the cultural exchanges between Britain and China. After studying at Peking University, Charles returned and chose to work at the University of Cambridge. The treasure of this Library mainly attracted him. Time goes so fast; Charles has been working there for nearly 40 years.

The Cambridge University Library has a vibrant Chinese collection, established over 600 years, with a collection of more than 8 million books and 3.15 million Chinese books. The literature in the Chinese Collection includes various engraved books, manuscripts, paintings, rubbings, and other cultural relics, including oracle bones in the Shang, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties, among which there are many treasures.

¹ F. H. Chalfant, *The Hopkins Collection of Inscribed Oracle Bone* (《金璋所藏甲骨卜辞》), New York, 1939.

² Edited by Li Xueqin et al, *The Collection of Oracle Bones Collected in Britain*, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985.

³ Jao Tsung-yi (饶宗颐), *Overseas Oracle Bone Records*, 1958.

⁴ Xu Jinxiong, *The Oracle Bone Inscriptions of White's Collection* (《怀特氏等收藏甲骨文集》), 1979.

Here, the earliest Chinese collection is a fragment of a medical book collected by Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624) of Leiden University, presented in 1632 by the Duke of Buckingham (George Villiers, 1592-1628) to the Cambridge University Library. This book is the Ming edition of *Danxi Xinfu* (《丹溪心法》)¹, and then the Library collected some of his scattered Chinese books.

The first collection of many Chinese books of 4,304 volumes was donated by Thomas Francis Wade, the first Chinese professor at the University of Cambridge.² Thomas Francis Wade lived in China for 40 years, including ten years as the British envoy in Beijing. After retiring, he served as the first professor of sinology at Cambridge University. His collection contains not only many reference books but also a large number of court rituals, politics, law, diplomacy and other related materials in the Qing Dynasty, including rare and only-copy extant books, such as the early manuscript *Ming Shilu* (《明实录》)³, *Yangzheng Illustration* (《养正图解》) in Qing Dynasty⁴, the only-copy extant edition, *Exotic Pictures* (《异域图志》) of the Ming Dynasty⁵ and scarce publications of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Since then, he has added more than 1,300 volumes.

The donations mentioned above of Thomas Francis Wade were all sorted and cataloged by its successor, the second Chinese professor H. A. Giles, in his book entitled *A Catalogue of the Thomas Francis Wade Collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (《剑桥大学图书馆威妥玛文库汉、满文

¹ [Yuan] Zhu Zhenheng, revised by [Ming] Cheng Chong. *Danxi Xinfu*, 1481.

² See: Thomas Francis Wade and the Centenary of Chinese Studies at Cambridge.

³ *Ming Shilu*, an official chronicle of the Ming Dynasty. The book records a large amount of information about two hundred and fifty years of the ruling of fifteen emperors from Ming Taizu (Zhu Yuanzhang, 朱元璋) to Ming Xizong (Zhu Youxiao, 朱由校), which has important historical value and is one of the basic historical records for studying the history of the Ming Dynasty.

⁴ *Yangzheng Illustration*, written by Jiao Hong (焦竑) in the Ming Dynasty, a block-printed version of *Wuying Dian* (武英殿) in the 21st year of Guangxu reign, Qing Dynasty (1895).

⁵ The original edition of *Exotic Pictures* was handed over to the collection by Wang Wenyuan and Peng Yuanrui, and later returned to the British Minister to China, Thomas Francis Wade, and he donated it to the Cambridge University Library. There are various disputes about its author, but according to *Zhejiang Caijin Yishu Records* (《浙江采进遗书总录》), the possibility of the Emperor Ningxian's (Zhu Quan) work is the greatest, and which is also said by overseas Sinology circles.

书目录》)¹ and *A Catalogue of the Thomas Francis Wade Collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge: A Sequel* (《剑桥大学图书馆威妥玛文库汉、满文书籍目录续编》)², successively published by Cambridge University Press. The historical materials of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in the collection came from the personal donation of Mr. Giles. At that time, Giles was sent to China as a British envoy, which coincided with the “Taiping Heavenly Kingdom” movement from 1850 to 1864. He experienced it personally and carefully collected a lot of essential documents that recorded the history of the time. In addition, the University Library has also collected the books from Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart (1858-1937), Ernest Alabaster (1872-1950), Professor Arthur Christopher Moule (1873-1957) and Gustav Haloun, and it also contains a complete set of 3000 kinds of *the Peking Library's Rare Books Filmed by the Library of Congress of the United States* (《美国国会图书馆摄制北平图书馆善本书胶片》), and a complete set of miniature copies of Dunhuang Chinese Documents collected by the British Library, the French National Library in Paris, and the Beijing Library.

After the end of World War II, the University Library began to increase its collection of Chinese books, which were primarily gifts from China. The Cambridge University Library has a set of large-scale books called *The Collection of Ancient and Modern Books Made by Imperial Order* (《钦定古今图书集成》)³, which was a total of 5,000 volumes, originally and were gifted to the Chinese Studies Association in London by Emperor Dezong of the Qing Dynasty in the 34th year of Guangxu (1908),

¹ Edited by Herbert Allen Giles (1845-1935), England, *A Catalogue of the Wade Collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge University Press, 1898. There are 4304 volumes of 883 Chinese books in 8 categories, with an index of names of people and titles at the end of the volume.

² Edited by Herbert Allen Giles, UK, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Wade Collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, published by Cambridge University Society, 1915. It contains 1300 volumes of Chinese books newly acquired by Cambridge University through purchases and donations since 1898.

³ Compiled by Chen Menglei (Qing Dynasty), later edited by Jiang Tingxi named *The Collection of Ancient and Modern Books Made by Imperial Order*, 10,000 volumes, 40 volumes of catalog, printed in copper movable type in the 4th year of Yongzheng in the Qing Dynasty.

and then transferred to Cambridge University Library.

In 1949, Professor Gustav Haloun made a memorable trip to China and purchased more than 10,000 Chinese books with the special approval of the British government. Subsequently, the famous British Sinologist Dr. Joseph Needham received many gift books from China and later transferred them to the University Library for collection.

On the whole, among the Chinese collections of university libraries, books on traditional Chinese culture, history, literature, and art are the most numerous and characteristic. The quantity and quality of literature on modern Chinese history and politics collected by the Chinese Collection Section has been improved in recent years. Currently, the Chinese Collection Section has ordered more than 1,000 Chinese periodicals.

The generous gifts or bequests from the Cambridge University Library have always been a steady stream. For example, the Chinese government donated 4,468 books in 1986. In 1988, the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, China, presented a set of *Jingyin Lizaotang Si Ku Quan Shu Huiyao* (《景印离藻堂四库全书荟要》)¹, with a total of 500 volumes. In 2009, the then-Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao donated more than 200,000 Chinese e-books, making the Chinese Collection of the Cambridge University Library the most extensive collection of Chinese e-books among the foreign libraries. So far, the Chinese Collection of the Cambridge University Library has been ranked among the top globally due to its range and quality of book collection.

Charles is also responsible for improving the catalog of Chinese books in the Library that can be searched and browsed, and he presides over the Chinese Collection of Digital Library Project. Charles and his team have tried to digitize the critical Chinese documents collected in the Chinese Collection so that more readers in the world can retrieve them.

For the past 41 years, Charles has been collecting and managing Chinese books as his profession and hobby. He has contributed to the cultural exchanges between Britain

¹ Yu Minzhong (于敏中), Wang Jihua(王际华) (Qing), et al. eds., *Jingyin Lizaotang Si Ku Quan Shu Huiyao*, Taiwan World Bookstore, 1987.

and China, which has been widely acknowledged. Charles hopes he can do his best to collect Chinese books in his lifetime so that more British people can understand China more comprehensively.

3. Collecting Treasured Books as Many as Brilliant Stars

3.1 Zai Ze's Political Investigation Diary

When managing the Chinese Collection, Charles has made many unique discoveries. In the overseas traveling poems of the Chinese in the late Qing Dynasty, Charles once saw the relevant records in Zai Ze (載澤)'s *Political Investigation Diary* (《考察政治日记》)¹: On April 11th, 32nd year of Guangxu reign (1906), the University of Cambridge awarded Zai Ze an honorary degree. Charles was very interested in this, so he translated the full text of Zai Ze's diary and compared it with the official records of the *Cambridge University Reporter*, which proved that the Ph.D. degrees obtained by Zai Ze and Wang Daxie (汪大燮) were not necessary. The fee was free for an honorary degree; this degree was mainly awarded to foreign celebrities. Rafting in the sea of books, occasionally, what Charles found was shocking.

3.2 Sinology Institutions at Cambridge

As one of the European and British Sinological Research Centers, Cambridge has many Sinological documents. The institutions involved in Sinology books mainly include the Chinese Collection Section of Cambridge University Library, Oriental Research Institute Library of Cambridge University, East Asian Science History Library of Needham Research Institute, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum and Cambridge University-Related Department Libraries. The Chinese Collection Section of Cambridge University Library is the core.

It is worth noting that the East Asian Science History Library attached to the Needham Research Institute and the Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum are independent and not affiliated with the University of Cambridge. However, they are still the two

¹ At the end of the Qing Dynasty, Zai Ze wrote *Political Investigation Diary*. Zai Ze and other five ministers went abroad for investigation in 1905. This book is the diary at that time.

major databases of Cambridge Sinology literature. The Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge contains a small number of ancient Chinese books and many historical and archeological objects, such as Chinese jade and bronze. The Sinology collections of the East Asian Science History Library mainly involve books about all aspects of Chinese history of science and technology. It is mainly based on Needham's database and various newspaper clippings and precious manuscripts in the early stage. The Needham Research Institute also publishes the "Needham Institute Newsletter" occasionally. From the first issue in January 1987 until July 1999, 18 issues were published.

3.3 Thomas Francis Wade and H. G. Giles

Charles mentioned a letter attached to the donation of Thomas Francis Wade in his article "Sir Thomas Francis Wade and the Centenary of Sinology at Cambridge University." This letter was discovered by accident while preparing for the Centenary celebration of Thomas Francis Wade as a professor of sinology. Charles was fortunate to find the original of this letter in the archives, which had not been published. It roughly reflected the current status of Sinology in England, introduced the causes and consequences of establishing Chinese professors, and was of high historical value. As a result, it was organized and exhibited together with the other two related letters written from May 17th, 1886, to October 6th, 1886. April 21st, 1888, was the first day of Thomas Francis Wade's professorship of Sinology at Cambridge University. Before that, he planned to donate his collection of books to Cambridge University. When donating books, he wrote to the Vice President of Cambridge University on October 11th, 1886, specifying his donation of books, and hoped the school could record his letter to eliminate some unnecessary misunderstandings and doubts. Later, this letter was collected by Giles, his successor of Sinology professorship, in the foreword of the bibliography catalog, in which Thomas Francis Wade donated all the books.

When he was a professor of Sinology at the University of Cambridge, Thomas Francis Wade was nearly seventy years old and had been engaged in diplomatic work in China for 40 years. In June 1842, Thomas Francis Wade arrived in Hong Kong for the first time and participated in the First Opium War as a soldier. Later, he was promoted to an interpreter in the British embassy to engage in diplomatic work because

he knew Chinese well.

Thomas Francis Wade, 1818-1895, Wei Tuoma in Pinyin, had been in China for many years, and he had been deeply aware of the importance of cultural diplomacy and appreciated the importance of language training. In order to better help the student translators of the British embassy in China to learn Chinese, he also compiled a Chinese learning manual. Thomas Francis Wade said that his primary purpose in collecting Chinese documents was to make his translation more accurate because a good translation needed to refer to many local sinology documents. In addition, his significant contribution was also reflected in his original Thomas Francis Wade's phonetic method, which has been used for a long time in the West. Thomas Francis Wade said that the books he collected were hard-attained and costly.

In 1877, when Thomas Francis Wade was on vacation in the UK, someone informed him that Cambridge University intended to have a professor of sinology. He hoped to be selected. However, there was no salary for this professor of Sinology and no relevant financial support. In 1878, before Thomas Francis Wade returned to Beijing again, he stated in his testament that he would donate his book collection to Cambridge University.

Charles has also edited the memoirs of H. G. Giles, the second professor of Chinese at Cambridge University and one of the founders of the Thomas Francis Wade-Giles phonetic method derived from the ancient Roman language system. Before the modern Chinese phonetic alphabet emerged, it had always been the phonetic Romanisation system of Chinese Mandarin.

Giles had been engaged in diplomatic activities in China for 25 years. At the same time, he was also committed to promoting the Chinese language and culture to the British. He was prolific, published 60 books and pamphlets, and wrote many journal articles and book reviews. *The Chinese-English Dictionary*¹ written by Giles had become a classic, covering an extensive range, including Chinese poetry, prose, philosophy, and religion. In addition to these academic activities, he was also a

¹ Herbert Allen Giles edited, *The Chinese-English Dictionary* (《华英字典》), Kelly and Welsh, 1892.

controversial speaker. He expressed his views clearly and eloquently on many issues, such as criticizing opium addiction, women's infanticide, and other vices in China.

Giles passed the fiercely competitive examination on February 2nd, 1867, and became a student interpreter for the British Embassy in China. Served in China for 25 years in many places, he resigned and returned to British on October 10th, 1893. Giles did not get a more significant promotion in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, mainly because of his flawed personality and social interaction. He once said he could not get along with those stupid people and liked expressing his views on controversial events. To a certain extent, what Giles said was contrary to his foreign policy and duties, which have been criticized in domestic circles. The ups and downs of his diplomatic career gave him more time and energy to conduct Chinese studies, and he became a famous sinologist.

The post of Professorship of Chinese at the University of Cambridge had been vacant since the death of Thomas Francis Wade. On December 3rd, 1897, Giles was selected as the second professor of sinology at Cambridge University. At that time, there were no other sinologists at Cambridge University. Giles had very few students. He enjoyed being the manager of the Thomas Francis Wade book collection and began to read and publish many articles and writings. He retired in 1932 and died on February 13th, 1935, at 90. In terms of translation, Giles' selection of materials was more traditional, such as *San zi jing* (《三字经》), *Fo guo ji* or *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* (《佛国记》) and *Zhuang-zi* (《庄子》). Their most famous works were his selection of *Gems of Chinese Literature* (《中国文学荟萃》) and *Selected Translations of Strange Tales from a Liao Zhai* (《聊斋志异选译》) and so on. In poetry translation, Giles used the method of rhyming; in prose translation, he would do some deletions in his translation, which was criticized. In addition, Giles's ruthless criticism of other scholars also made him more enemies.

4. Cambridge Sinology as a Bridge between English and China

The “Professor of Chinese” at Cambridge University is also known as the “Professor of Chinese Language and History,” it can be connoted that Chinese studies at Cambridge University are mainly about Chinese language and history studies, which can be confirmed from the research results of the previous professors mentioned above. One of the main contributions of Sinology at Cambridge is the Romanization system of Chinese characters by Thomas Francis Wade, which profoundly influences the Western Sinology community. In addition, Denis Twitchett and Harvard University Sinology Professor John K. Fairbank (1907-1991) co-edited a multi-volume Chinese history series *Cambridge History of China*¹ (《剑桥中国史》), which is a series of Sinology research works with worldwide influence. 105 Chinese history researchers came from the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, Canada, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Australia, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore and others. As for their nationalities, there are more than a dozen Chinese scholars from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland besides Anglo-American Sinologists. Regarding the characteristics of future development, Charles believes that Chinese studies at Cambridge University are becoming more and more diversified.

Looking back at more than 40 years of work experience, Charles said that the tremendous changes in China had attracted the world’s attention. At the end of the 1970s, when Charles was studying at Peking University, he opened the dorm window and looked west— when the weather was fine, he could see Xiangshan (the Fragrant Mountain). At first glance, the sun setting outside the window was as beautiful as pastoral scenery. Now when looking at the surroundings of Peking University, there are tall buildings everywhere. Sometimes, the street scenes of Beijing seen on TV make him hard to recognize its original historical appearance. Sadly, it is so different from his familiar Beijing. Beijing is developing very fast now, and it will not be easy to recognize her old appearance after a few years, especially for foreign friends. The

¹ Edited by John K. Fairbank, Denis Twitchett, et al. *The Cambridge History of China* (《剑桥中国史》), Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1992.

development of China in the past 40 years can be described as rapid changes, which is unique in China's history of more than 5,000 years.

However, what remains unchanged is the Chinese people's spirit of self-improvement and selfless dedication, which has increasingly influenced the world. China's international influence is now more significant, and its role on a global scale is becoming more critical. It fulfilled Chairman Mao's great prediction in the 1950s: "The Chinese people will make significant contributions to the development of all humanity."

The 72 years of development of New China has conceived a brighter future. As W. Churchill said, China's future development, "[This] is not the end, but a beginning, it may be the end of the prologue."

Conclusion

In short, we have discussed Charles Alexander Aylmer's school experience, education, research on oracle bone inscriptions and his contribution to the cultural exchange between UK and China, which looks like a jigsaw puzzle. Charles has provided huge help to Sinology researchers, at home and abroad, year in and year out, which is impressive. It can be concluded that Charles has made a unique contribution to the collection and the study of Sinology classics in the West.

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论艾超世在中英文化教育交流中的汉学研究贡献

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摘要:本文以英国著名汉学家、剑桥大学图书馆中文处主任艾超世的汉学研究贡献及其与其他著名汉学家的关系为中心,详细梳理了他在北京大学求学的独特经历、中国文献收藏和管理贡献以及剑桥大学汉学经典研究等。特别是他对剑桥大学图书馆甲骨文藏品的介绍,这为甲骨文研究提供了许多方法和灵感。艾超世乐于分享自己的研究,自觉传承中国文化,对中国文化的西方传播做出了独特贡献。

关键词:甲骨文; 汉学名著; 中英文化交流; 剑桥大学图书馆中文典藏

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On General Secretary Xi Jinping's Cultural References to *GUANZI*

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Abstract: General Secretary Xi Jinping has profound cultural feelings about *GUANZI*. The political philosophy, governance, official morality, culture and education, and diplomacy of the book, *GUANZI*, have directly and deeply impacted Xi Jinping's governance. Xi has set an example of combining the basic principles of Marxism with the fine traditional Chinese culture through the creative transformation and innovative development of *GUANZI* culture. The excellent traditional Chinese culture can provide historical resources in private morality and cultural nourishment in the public fields such as national governments and even international governance.

Keywords: *GUANZI*; Xi Jinping; feelings

Combining the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific conditions and the fine traditional Chinese culture is a primary theoretical consciousness and theoretical declaration for Chinese Communists to continuously promote Marxism in the new era and create a new realm of Marxism in the new era. The fine traditional Chinese culture is the outstanding advantage of the Chinese nation and the foundation for our Party to stand firm in the turmoil of world culture. General Secretary Xi has stressed that "since its founding, the Communist Party of China has been an active leader and practitioner of China's advanced culture, but also a faithful inheritor and promoter of the fine traditional Chinese culture" (2020, p.35).^[2] *GUANZI* (《管子》) is one of the essential

¹ FANG Xiao (1997-) is a female graduate student of Chinese Marxism, School of Marxism, Anhui Medical University. CUI Lanhai (1978-), male, Doctor of history, associate professor, School of Marxism, Anhui Medical University, master tutor, Deputy Secretary-general and director of Research Association of *Guanzi Studies in Anhui*.

^[2] Xi Jinping. (2020). *THE GOVERNANCE OF CHINA* (Vol.3). Foreign Languages Press.

classics of the “axis era” in China. Xi attaches great importance to the practical value of culture about *GUANZI*, and he quotes at least 22 times in a series of talks, which is unique in classical literature. Xi has set an example of adhering to “serving the past for the present and bringing forth the new,” highlighting his profound cultural feelings about *GUANZI*.

Xi Jinping’s innovative development of political philosophy about *GUANZI*

They are, first, adhering to historical thinking. On December 13, 2014, General Secretary Xi stressed in his speech at the National Memorial Ceremony for Nanjing Massacre Victims: “‘Those who would question the present should investigate the past. Those who do not understand what is to come should look at what has gone before.’ In the past 100 years since modern times, the Chinese people have experienced the hardships of war countless times. They know more about the value of peace. The law of the jungle is not the way of human coexistence, and militarism is not the measure of human peace. Peace rather than war, and cooperation rather than confrontation. This is the eternal theme of human social progress.”^[1] With the help of *GUANZI* culture, Xi Jinping’s speech exudes profound historical thinking. Chinese Communists summed up the rules of human social development from the vicissitudes of national history: peace and cooperation are the right paths for the evolution of human society. We look back on history to illuminate reality and reveal the future that the Chinese people will unswervingly uphold humanity’s noble cause of peace and development. *XingShi* (形势, On Conditions and Circumstances) : “Those who would question the present should investigate the past. Those who do not understand what is to come should look at what has gone before. Handling many affairs may lead in different directions, but they all reach a common goal. From ancient times to the present, it has always been so.....Whatever Heaven assists, even though small at first, is certain to become large. Whatever Heaven opposes, even though successful at first, is certain to fail. Those to

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2014).Speech at the National Memorial Ceremony for the victims of the Nanjing Massacre. *Guangming Daily*, 14 December.

accord with Heaven will retain their achievements. Those who act contrary to Heaven will embrace misfortune and cannot be saved” (Rickett, 2001, p.84-86).^[1] *XingShi* explains the rule of historical evolution from the historical dimension: conforming to the rule of heaven and becoming the premise of the sustainable development of human beings. Here, *GUANZI* expounded from “heaven” to “humanity” and sublimated from “humanity” to “Tao governance,” constructing the basic principles of traditional Chinese political philosophy. Xi endows the historical thinking and consciousness about *GUANZI* with more relevance in the new era, emphasizing that the Chinese people love peace and seek cooperation. This is not only a profound summary of the development of modern Chinese history but also a profound grasp of the development rule of human history by Chinese Communists. It has a deep historical basis, profound cultural background, distinct reality care, and conforms to the future of human society.

Second, building scientific thinking. On December 18, 2018, Xi stressed in his speech at the 40th Anniversary of Reform and Opening-up, “the ancients said: ‘now production materializes through planning, succeeds through diligent attention, but fails through negligence.’ Great dreams are not to be waited for and shouted but to be spelled out and done. We live in a time when the boat is more urgent, and the mountain road is steeper. It is more difficult and dangerous.”^[2] Xi quoted the sentences of *ShengMa* (《乘马》, On Military Taxes). It stressed that the success of the cause is vital through persistence, struggle, and hard work. We should continue to promote the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics to achieve greater achievements in the new era and make unremitting efforts to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. *ShengMa*: “Now production materializes through planning, succeeds through diligent attention, but fails through negligence. Without planning, it will never materialize; without diligent attention, it will never succeed. Without negligence, there will be no failure” (Rickett, 2001, p.119).^[73] *ShengMa* means: Work begins with

^[1]Guan Zhong (2001). *GUANZI*. A study and translation by W. Allyn Rickett, Volume I. Boston: Cheng&Tusi Company.

^[2]Xi Jinping. (2018). Speech at the conference to celebrate the 40th anniversary of reform and opening up. *Guangming Daily*, 19 December.

planning, succeeds in diligent attention, but fails through negligence. No planning and it will not find problems; nothing can be done without active attention, which is a minor fault with modesty. Xi uses the culture flexibly about *GUANZI*. It means political politicians are good at applying scientific thinking methods to promote the development of their cause and ensure the success of their cause in the new era.

Third, respecting ecological thinking. On December 20, 2015, General Secretary Xi pointed out in an important speech at the Central Urban Work Conference, “Mountains, rivers, forests, farmland, and lakes are an organic part of urban life, which cannot be occupied and destroyed at will. This truth was realized by our ancients more than two thousand years ago. Guanzi said: ‘When situating his capital, the sage makes certain it is placed where it may not be overthrown and, in terms of topography, selects a site that is rich and fertile, faces mountains on both sides and is bordered by a river or marsh.’ Our beautiful cities with harmonious and picturesque cities are gradually constructed under the guidance of ideas” (Huang, 2018, p.79).^[1] Xi has deeply revealed that Chinese civilization has attached great importance to the relationship between environment and urban construction since ancient times by theory of ecological city construction about *GUANZI. DuDi* (度地, On Appraising the Terrain): “When situating his capital, the sage makes certain it is placed where it may not be overthrown and, in terms of topography, selects a site that is rich and fertile, faces mountains on both sides and is bordered by a river or marsh. Inside the capital, he provides for drainage by an encircling canal that feeds its water into a large river. He then utilizes what the resources of Heaven and the benefits of Earth produce to nurture his people and has the raise the six domestic animals. The men of the world are all attracted to his benevolence and conform to what he considers right” (Rickett, 1998, p.242-243).^[2] *GUANZI* emphasizes the founding that all need to choose landform: standing up in the deep hillock, the plain,

^[1]Huang Chengliang. (2018). *Introduction to Ecological Civilization Construction Thought in the New Era*. People’s publishing house.

^[2]Guan Zhong. (1998). *GUANZI*. A study and translation by W. Allyn Rickett, Volume II. Princeton:Princeton University Press.

and the fertile land. They all stand along the mountains and border by a river or marsh. The capital must have ditches and water in the rivers, the resources of mountains, and Earth's benefits. It is enough to provide help to the people. In this way, the capital building can gather and benefit the people. In the new era, the consciousness that pursues the harmony between man and nature in the ecological environment is rooted in the thought of environmental city construction about *GUANZI*.

The cities and the planning of townships in the new era should also follow the ecological law. They do not have to be the same. On December 12, 2013, Xi stressed at the Central Urbanization Work Conference: "More than two thousand years ago, Guanzi put forward 'take advantages of the resources of heaven and adapt yourself to the strategic features of Earth. Hence city and suburban walls need not rigidly accord with the compass and square, nor roads with the level and marking line'. Some city planning experts say we should fall in love with land to do a good job. These all reflect the concept of respecting nature, conforming to nature, and the unity of man and nature."^[1] Xi stressed that urban construction in the new era should follow the ecological law by *ShengMa*. It also should be good at relying on natural resources and following the terrain's convenience. You do not need to follow the rules and keep the road straight. That is an essential concept for the Chinese people to realize the unity of man and the harmony between man and heaven.

Xi Jinping's innovative development of the governance in *GUANZI*

First, succeed in government and follow the hearts of the people. On December 26, 2013, General Secretary Xi said in a speech at the symposium commemorating the 120th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong: "To uphold the mass line, we must adhere to the fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly. 'Success in government lies in following the hearts of the people. Failure lies in opposing them.' Serving the people wholeheartedly is the fundamental starting point and goal of all our

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2017).Speech at the Central Urbanization Work Conference. *Guangming Daily*, 12 December.

Party's actions, and the fundamental symbol that distinguishes our Party from all other political parties.”^[1] Xi has deeply explained the Party's mass line culture and its fundamental purpose through *GUANZI*. They are meeting with the hearts of the people and winning over them. It is the key point of the Party's fundamental purpose, and also the Party's distinctive political character and the greatest political advantage. *MuMin* (牧民, On Shepherding the People) : “Success in government lies in following people's hearts. Failure lies in opposing them. The people hate trouble and toil, so the prince should provide them with leisure and freedom from care. The people hate poverty and low position, so the prince should provide them with riches and honor. The people hate danger and disaster, so the prince should ensure their existence and provide them security. The people hate death and annihilation, so the prince should enable them to live and propagate” (Rickett, 2001, p.54).^[73] The theory of running a country from *GUANZI* is good at proceeding from the people's wishes, making the decrees conform to the people, and reaching the goal to ensure the smooth flow of the government orders. So it is called “following the people's hearts, the orders will act”. The popularity of the people is the biggest political, which is the governance maxim precipitated from the history of 5,000 years of Chinese political civilization. It is also the in-depth summary and sublimation of the governing law of the Communist Party, the law of socialist construction, and the development of human society in the new era. In the same citation, on September 21, 2014, Xi was once again quoted in the speech at the conference celebrating the 65th Anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He stressed: “ ‘Success in government lies in following the people's hearts. Failure lies in opposing them.’ For a political party and a regime, its future fate finally depends on the popular support of humans.”^[2] Over the past hundred years, the foundation, blood, and strength of the Party were among the people. The people are the greatest confidence in our Party to govern and rejuvenate the country.

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2013).Speech at the symposium commemorating the 120th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong. *Guangming Daily*, 27 December .

^[2]Xi Jinping. (2014).Speech at the celebration of the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. *Guangming Daily*, 22 September.

At the seventh plenary session of the 18th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection on January 6, 2017, Xi stressed that party and government cadres should treat the symptoms and root causes, consolidate the foundation, and build an internal noble and righteous spirit to resist external evil. “If its base is in good orders, the state will be secure; if it is in disorder, the state will be endangered,” he uses the sentence from *BaYan* (霸言, Conversations of the Lord Protector). The original is “Now, a lord protector or king begins by taking people as basic. If its base is in good orders, the state will be secure; if it is in disorder, the state will be endangered” (Rickett, 2001, p.362-363).^[73] *BaYan* emphasizes that the human problem is the fundamental problem of national governance. The country will survive only by convincing people; otherwise, there will be a crisis. Xi has repeatedly stressed that “the people are the biggest politics” in the new era. The noble and righteous spirit of Communists must come from the consciousness of staying true to their original aspiration and keeping in mind.

Second, listening to public opinion. On September 21, 2014, a speech at the conference celebrated the 65th Anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. Xi stressed: “Facing the future, we can develop various undertakings, consolidate the political situation and promote party relations, ethnic relations, religious relations, class relations, and the harmonious development of compatriots at home and abroad. A critical condition must be through democratic centralism to open, learn and mobilize everyone to think and work together. So it is called ‘If one takes the eyes of the world to see, there is nothing that will not be seen. If one takes the ears of the world to hear, there is nothing that will not be heard. If one takes the mind of the world to think, there is nothing that will not become known.’”^[79] Xi quoted the sentence from *JiuShou* (九守, Nine things to Be Preserved), which is intended to emphasize that democratic centralism should be good at listening to and observing public opinion so that the world can work together and achieve the great cause of national rejuvenation. *JiuShou*: “The eye values clarity of sight. The ear values sharpness of hearing. The mind values impartiality. If one takes the eyes of the world to see, there is nothing that will not be seen. If one takes the ears of the world to hear, there is nothing that will not be heard. If one takes the mind of the world to think, there

is nothing that will not become known. If his ministers, rallying around him like the spokes of a wheel, come forward one by one, his clarity of vision will never be obstructed” (Rickett, 1998, p.233-234).^[76] It is emphasized that the leader should listen more and observe more to understand and master the feelings or wishes of the masses.

Third, running a country is to make its people better off. In the Keynote Speech at the APEC CEO Summit, held on November 18, 2015, Xi stressed, “An ancient Chinese philosopher remarks that the key to running a country is to make its people better-off. The ultimate aim of development is to serve the people by bringing more and more fruits of development to all our people.”^[1] *Zhiguo* (治国, Maintaining the State in Good Order), it is emphasized that running the country should enrich the people, “Running a country is to make its people better-off. Rich people are easy to manage, and poor people are difficult to manage.” The governance theory from *GUANZI* attaches special importance to the economic foundation, called ‘Granaries are full and know the etiquette, enough food, and clothing and know honor and disgrace.’ The way to strengthen a country is to make it thriving and robust, to educate its etiquette and righteousness. In his keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the 2022 Boao Forum for Asia, Xi Jinping again quoted the chapter *Zhiguo*. He said, “ ‘a state that is well ordered is always prosperous, and a chaotic state is always poor’. Security is a prerequisite for development, and humanity is an indivisible security community.”^[2] This is the last time Xi cited the culture of *GUANZI* to demonstrate national governance in the new era when this article was completed. According to statistics, this is also the 22nd time Xi quoted *GUANZI*. Xi emphasized the importance of a peaceful, orderly and secure external environment for people’s livelihood and development by using the chapter *Zhiguo*. When governance is orderly and security is guaranteed, the country is often rich; Conversely, disorderly governance and unrest breed poverty. Drawing on the

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2015). We will give full play to the leading role of the Asia-Pacific region and address world economic challenges. *Guangming Daily*, 19 November.

^[2]Xi Jinping. (2022). Rising to Challenges and Building a Bright Future Through Cooperation—Keynote Speech by Xi Jinping at the Opening Ceremony of the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference 2022. *People’s Daily*, 22 April.

culture of *GUANZI*, Xi Jinping called on Asian countries to work together to maintain peace and tranquility. He has greatly contributed to achieving sustainable development and prosperity in Asia and the joint construction of an Asian security community.

Fourth, sharing the benefit with all people. On May 22, 2020, during the 13th National People's Congress session, General Secretary Xi talked about the people should always come first when he attended the Inner Mongolia delegation. "The ancients said: 'with the world, the world hold; good at the world, the world seeks.' The Party Constitution stipulates that our Party has no special interests and then puts the interests of the people first at all times."^[1] Xi has deeply stressed that the Communist Party of China must never become the spokesperson of any interest group; the Chinese Communists can benefit and share with the masses. *BanFajie*: "people all love profit and harm. Therefore, the world supports him when he shares common interests with the masses; the world plots against him when he monopolizes everything. What the people of the world plot, although their status is established, will inevitably fall; the world supports, although the high status is not dangerous. To consolidate our high status is to share our interests with the people." *GUANZI* emphasizes sharing interests with the people to enhance people's recognition and support for the regime.

On the contrary, once the government becomes the spokesman of vested interest groups, the people disagree, and such a regime cannot be stable. The man for a country must remember to share the benefits with the masses. Xi gave a new-age interpretation of this theory which is from *GUANZI*. It highlights Xi's profound historical thinking and the sense of danger of Chinese Communists and shows the political consciousness of Chinese Communists to carry out self-revolution in the new era.

Xi Jinping's interpretation of the virtue of being an official in the new era in

GUANZI

First, indifferent to fame and wealth. An article titled *Xi Jinping: How Did I Enter Politics*, in the 7th issue of *The Sons and daughters of China*, 2000. Xi said:

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2020).I was very impressed by this deputy's words. *Guangming Daily*, 23 May.

“During the whole process of politics, you do not take personal development and promotion as a goal what you want to win.....if you take the initiative to pursue and fail, life will be very disappointed and painful! This requires a common mind for promotion, as Guanzi said, “not impossible, not seeking, not long, not be restored.”^[1] This is what Xi uses *GUANZI* culture to express the official mentality that communists should have. “Do not undertake to do what cannot be completed. Do not seek what cannot be obtained. Do not assume positions that cannot be maintained for long. Do not do what cannot be undone” (Rickett, 2001, p.55).^[73] *MuMin* highly affirmed that being an official should think about people’s abilities and follow people’s hearts. As an official, you should conform to the people’s hearts and win their opinions for pursuit. Do not care too much about the official personal promotion. Do not bully public opinion and make a temporary image project. This kind of project will not last long, and there is no value in learning. “I will fully commit to the people and never fail them” this official ambition and official ethics are full of life with the help of the *GUANZI* culture.

Second, pay attention to official morality. On February 24, 2014, General Secretary Xi pointed out during the 13th joint study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, “Since the Way and the Power occupy his person, he is not misled by the material world.” The excellent traditional Chinese culture contains rich ideological and moral resources. He stressed that we should make good use of these precious resources in the fantastic traditional Chinese culture, enhance people’s value judgment and moral responsibility, constantly improve people’s moral level, and enhance people’s moral realm. *Jie* (戒, Admonitions) : “For this reason, the sage esteems the Power and plays down achievement, honors the Way, and disdains the material world. Since the Way and the Power occupy his person, he is not misled by the material world” (Rickett, 2001, p.381).^[73] *Jie* focuses on the importance of morality that instead of living in external fame and fortune, it is better to rebel and cultivate character. A virtuous man will not be confused between fame and wealth. This will

^[1]Yang Xiaohuai. (2000). *XI JINPING: How did I get into politics*. The literature of leadership, (11).

achieve a sound effect: “Few are his close associates, but many rallies around him. This is called knowing people. Few are his undertakings, but his accomplishments are complete. This is called knowing how to employ people”. Xi profoundly explained the importance that Chinese Communists pay attention to official morality in the new era with the help of *GUANZI* culture, and official morality is more important than the official position. “Don’t worry about the position is not high enough, but you should think about whether your morality is perfect” (Xi, 2018, p.67).^[1]

Xi stressed as early as his work in Ningde, ““By not expending useless effort or engaging in meaningless activity, it should be our practical motto for the people”” (Xi, 1992, p.14).^[2] On February 28, 2013, Xi once again quoted the sentence to demonstrate the virtue of being an official in the speech at the Second Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee. *Jincang* (禁藏, On Maintaining Restraint): “Therefore, place the self in a middle position and nourish it with moderation. See that places are just sufficient to guard against heat and dampness, food and drink are just sufficient to harmonize blood and breath; clothing is just sufficient to suit the temperature, and rules of propriety and ceremony are just sufficient to distinguish the honored from the lowly, amusements are just sufficient to provide enjoyment, inner and outer coffins are just sufficient to hold decaying bones, shrouds are just sufficient to wrap decaying flesh, and grave mounds are just sufficient to mark the burial spot. By not expending useless effort or engaging in meaningless activity, one’s thoughts become settled, and one does not let one’s vital force and true nature become preoccupied. If one’s vital force and true nature are not thus preoccupied, one’s ears and eyes will be sharp and clear and one’s clothing and food sufficient” (Rickett, 1998, p.218-219).^[76] *GUANZI* emphasizes that private morality should be positive, and health preservation should be prudent. Do not be disturbed by the useless effort or meaningless activity, then have a calm mind. Be clear, and you can be nourished and also prosperous. When everyone is rich and

^[1]Comment Department of the People’s Daily. (2018). *Xi Jinping with the codes* (Vol.1). Beijing: People’s Daily Press.

^[2]Xi Jinping. (1992). *Shake off poverty*. The people publishing house of Fujian.

healthy, the disputes within the country are reduced. Xi has innovatively developed the theory of official morality of *Jincang*, and transferred the cultivation of personal ethics to the public morality of being an official. He emphasizes that officials should not do image projects, face projects, and more practical things for the masses in the new era.

Third, to avoid cliques. On October 29, 2015, General Secretary Xi stressed in his speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, “When the various ministers form factions, it sets the stage for internal disorder” (Xi, p.203).^[1] The inner-Party will never allow mountain leadership, groups, and gangs to create a clean and upright political-ecological environment. *Canhuan* (参患, In Consideration of Evil Consequences) : “The violent and reckless among rulers of men are always subject to attack; the irresolute and weak are always killed.....Now, when the throne kills the innocent, those whose way of conduct is correct are no longer safe. When it is remiss in dealing with the guilty, those whose way of conduct is wicked will not reform. If those whose way of conduct is correct are no longer safe, men of talent and ability will flee. If those whose behavior is wicked do not reform, the various ministers will form factions. When men of talent and ability flee, it sets the stage for external difficulty. When the various ministers form factions, it sets the stage for internal disorder” (Rickett, 2001, p.395).^[73] This paragraph from *Canhuan* emphasizes that politics should avoid fortitude and hesitation. Grit means hasty and boast, or even killing at random; uncertainty means cowardly and indecisive, with no punishment for the guilt. The former leads the men of talent and ability to flee, while the latter leads to factions. If one country’s governance is disorderly, it eventually leads to internal troubles and foreign invasion. The politics of sections is a great taboo in national governance. Xi has deeply revealed the harm of this politics and found profound historical and cultural nourishment for constructing a clean and upright political ecology in the new era with the help of *GUANZI* culture.

^[1]Comment Department of the People’s Daily. (2018). *Xi Jinping with the codes* (Vol.2). Beijing: People’s Daily Press.

**Xi Jinping's innovative development of the cultural and educational thought
about *GUANZI***

First, propriety, righteousness, integrity, and a sense of shame. On May 4, 2014, General Secretary Xi stressed at the symposium between teachers and students at Peking University, “Every era has the spirit of each era, and each era has the values of each era. The state has four cardinal virtues: propriety, righteousness, integrity, and a sense of shame. ‘If the four cannot be promoted, the country will perish’. This is the Chinese ancestors’ understanding of the core values of that time. What core values should our nation and country adhere to in contemporary China? This problem is a theoretical problem and a practical problem.”^[1] Xi thoughtfully explained the important theoretical value and practical significance of core values in history and reality with the help of “the four cardinal virtues of one country” about *GUANZI*. *MuMin*: “The state has four cardinal virtues. If one is eliminated, the state will totter. If two, it will be in danger. If three, it will be overthrown. If all four are eliminated, it will be destroyed.....What are these four cardinal virtues? The first is propriety, the second is righteousness, the third is integrity, and the fourth is a sense of shame” (Rickett, 2001, p.54).^[73] *GUANZI* attaches great importance to the role of values in maintaining and supporting social harmony and stability. The further explanation in the *MuMin*: propriety consists in not overstepping the bounds of proper restraint; righteousness consists in not pushing oneself forward at the expense of others; integrity consists in not concealing one’s faults; having a sense of shame consists in not following those who go awry. They gain inexhaustible vitality and influence only when the core socialist values are rooted in the fine traditional Chinese values. The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics can only demonstrate its cultural soft power.

Second, attach importance to talent. On June 9, 2014, General Secretary Xi delivered an important speech at the opening meeting of the 17th Conference of academicians of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the 12th Conference of the

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2014). Young people should conscientiously practice their core socialist values. *Guangming Daily*, 5 May.

Chinese Academy of Engineering and stressed, “ ‘When planning for one year, there is nothing better than planting grain; when planning for ten years, there is nothing better than planting trees; when planning for a lifetime, there is nothing better than planting men.’ We should give top priority to the development of human resources in scientific and technological innovation; reform the mechanisms for training, introducing and using talents; strive to create a group of world-level scientists, leading scientific and technological talents, engineers and high-level innovation teams; focus on training front-line innovative talents and young scientific and technological personnel.”^[1] Xi has stressed the significance of talent development for implementing the strategy of strengthening the country through science and technology by quoting from *Quanxiu* (权修, On the Cultivation of Political Power) . We are closer than ever in history to achieving the grand goal of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. we are more eager for talent than at any time in history but regarding cultivating young people as “the great country.” *Quanxiu*: “When planning for one year, there is nothing better than planting grain; when planning for ten years, there is nothing better than planting trees; when planning for a lifetime, there is nothing better than planting men. Grain is something that is planted once and produces only a single harvest. Trees are things that are planted once but may produce ten harvests. Men are things that are planted once but may produce a hundred harvests. Having once planted them, spirit like I make use of them. To undertake affairs as would the spirits, such as the gate to kingliness” (Rickett, 2001, p.97).^[73] *Quanxiu* profoundly explains the importance of talent training. If the country is full of talents, it will reach an unexpected and fantastic governance effect. More importantly, *Quanxiu* has touched on the initiative of talent training: to train talents on our own rather than relying on introducing foreign talents, we will take the initiative to keep the country continuously strong and strong.

Third, pay attention to choosing your talents. On July 3, 2018, General Secretary Xi stressed the precautions for identifying and selecting talents in a speech at

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2014).Speech at the 17th Conference of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the 12th Academician of the Chinese Academy of Engineering. *Guangming Daily*, 10 June.

the National Organization Work Conference. “Some political problems are deep in the soul, especially the two-faced people in politics. They are highly concealment and confusing. It is indeed difficult to identify, but it is not impossible to detect. ‘By examining their likes and dislikes, their strengths and weaknesses may be known. By observing their associates, their worthiness or unworthiness may be learned.’ We should pursue the essence through the phenomenon, listen to its words and actions, observe its appearance and analyze its inner. Then look at political loyalty, political willpower, political responsibility, political ability and political self-discipline.” (Xi,p.5) ^[1] Xi emphasized that the organization should follow the rules in identifying and selecting talents and be good at pursuing the essence through phenomena. *Quanxiu*: “Human nature is all the same. That is why it is impossible to control the people. Their strengths and weaknesses may be known by examining their likes and dislikes. By observing their associates, their worthiness or unworthiness may be learned. If these two are not neglected, those of ability among the people may be placed in office” (Rickett, 2001, p.96).^[73] The stability of human nature provides the basis for finding and judging people. *Quanxiu* reveals two ways to investigate and grasp personal characters: by examining their likes and dislikes, we can grasp the pros and cons of human nature; by observing their associates, we can judge the character of a good or bad. If we are good at observing people from these two aspects, we can identify real talent and give them official positions. Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Xi has taken the perspective of “historical cycle law.” He attaches great importance to purifying the inner-party political ecology and deeply explains the harm of the two-faced people in the party. *Quanxiu* provides a pearl of important historical wisdom for identifying and selecting talents in the new era.

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2018).Speaking at the National Conference on Organizational Work. People’s publishing house.

**Xi Jinping interprets diplomacy in the new era with the help of *GUANZI*
culture**

First, the friendship between the two countries requires the mutual respect of the people of both countries. On January 21, 2016, General Secretary Xi delivered an important speech titled “Jointly Creating a Better Future of China-Arab Relations” at the Arab League headquarters in Cairo, Egypt, “ ‘When the ruler has never been seen, yet the people still give him their allegiance, they may be said to have gone to him. When the ruler is still not forgotten after a long time, it may be said that the people have come to him.’ Coming to Arab countries, my colleagues and I all have a sense of affinity. This is because China and Arab contact between time and space; they treat each other sincerely, make friends along the ancient Silk Road, share weal and woe in the struggle for national independence and help each other on the journey of building a country. This trust is unbreakable, and we cannot use the money to buy it.”^[1] Xi intends to explain that the people between China and Arab are close by quoting from *Xingshi*. Although they are thousands of miles away, they are willing to come and go often. This affinity between ethnic groups comes from historical friendship and genuine goodwill. *Xingshi*: “People from the four directions will turn towards those who act from a pure heart.....The prince who maintains his state in isolation will be despised and not inspire awe. Disgraced and distrusted is the woman who acts as her go-between. When the ruler has never been seen, yet the people still give him their allegiance, they may be said to have gone to him. When the ruler is still not forgotten after a long time, it may be said that the people have come to him” (Rickett, 2001, p.88-89).^[73] *GUANZI* thinks that people have a pure heart and will come from the four directions; If the country is isolated, it is inevitable to be weak without dignity. This is like a woman who acts as her go-between; it is difficult to be trusted. Countries feel friendliness toward each other without interaction. It still remembers the other side’s favor for a long time, which

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2016). We will jointly create a bright future for China-Arab relations. *Guangming Daily*, 22 January.

country can keep in constant touch. Xi has expressed the profound historical friendship and sincere, practical friendship between China and Arab through the innovative development of *GUANZI* culture.

Second joint development. General Secretary Xi stressed in his keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the Forum on Beijing Summit on September 3, 2018, “ ‘The ocean does not reject water. Therefore it can achieve immense size’. China, the world’s largest developing country, and Africa, the continent with the largest number of developing countries, have long formed a community with a shared future. Indeed, we share a common stake. China will work with Africa to achieve our shared goal of building a closer China-Africa community with a shared future and turn it into a pacesetter for building such a community for humanity.”^[1] Xi quoted this paragraph from *Xingshijie* to illustrate that China and Africa have a superior realistic foundation for building a community with a shared future for humanity. As the largest developing country, China is not only focused on China’s level of development but also notes that China can better connect and integrate with the African continent, which is the largest concentration of developing countries. The two countries have a high degree of convergence on development issues; they can achieve their respective development goals through mutual synergy and integration. *XingShijie* (形势解, On Conditions and Circumstances, and Explanation of the XingShi) says, “The ocean does not reject water. Therefore it can achieve immense size. The Mountain does not reject earth and rocks. Therefore it can achieve immense height. The enlightened ruler does not grow tired of men. Therefore he can acquire a large population. The scholar does not grow tired of studying. Therefore he can become a sage” (Rickett, 2001, p.76).^[73] *GUANZI* uses an analogy to explain that the external king and the inner saint need to change the old to the new and constantly enrich themselves. Xi has transformed the theory of changing and inclusive development from *GUANZI* into a diplomatic thought of developing China-Africa relations and realizing a joint story in the new era.

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2018).Join hands for a common destiny and promote development. *Guangming Daily*, 4 September.

Third, win-win cooperation. On June 28, 2014, General Secretary Xi stressed in his speech at the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, “ ‘If its base is in good order, the state will be secure; if it is in disorder, the state will be endangered.’ Win-win cooperation should become the basic policy orientation of all countries in handling international affairs. This cooperation is a universal principle to the economic field and other fields such as politics, security, and culture”.^[1] Xi emphasized the importance of the spirit of international collaboration; win-win cooperation applies to many areas of national exchanges and should be the primary policy orientation for handling international affairs. *Bayan*: “Now, there are certain conditions that produce importance or unimportance, strength or weakness. When the feudal lords are united, they are strong; when they are isolated, they are weak. With all its capability, even a thoroughbred is bound to be exhausted when challenged by a hundred ordinary horses. By its time, the most powerful state is bound to be weakened when attacked by the entire realm. A strong state achieves success by bringing together those that are small but fail if it comes to depending on them. A small state succeeds by conserving its resources but fails if it breaks with its strong neighbors” (Rickett, 2001, p.364).^[73] *BaYan* is an important chapter reflecting the theory of Guanzi’s hegemony over political diplomacy. This passage holds the banner of alliance and cooperation and advocates that strong countries should treat small countries well and not bully the weak. In contrast, small countries should behave in moderation and not provoke great powers. Xi has creatively interpreted this diplomatic idea about *GUANZI*, stressing that international relations should pursue win-win cooperation and achieve balanced and inclusive development.

Fourth, be good-faith diplomacy. On October 30, 2021, General Secretary Xi stressed in his speech at Session I of the 16th G20 Leaders’ Summit. “As an ancient Chinese philosopher observed, ‘he who has credibility connects the world.’” In other words, credibility is the foundation for interactions with the world. China will stay

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2014). We will promote the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and build a better world of win-win cooperation. *Guangming Daily*, 29 June.

committed to the fundamental state policy of opening up to unleash the potential of its huge market and enormous domestic demand.....and ensure a fair and equitable market order for domestic and foreign companies. I am convinced that China's development will bring even greater opportunities to the world and inject more new impetus to the world economy.”^[1] To be honest, diplomacy is a fine tradition of China's traditional diplomatic thought. Honesty is the virtue of the Chinese people. Moreover, a more profound understanding is to transform the political literacy of domestic politicians into foreign national characters. *Shuyan* (枢言, Cardinal Sayings) : “The former kings valued honesty and trustworthiness. The honest and trustworthy hold the realm together” (Rickett, 2001, p.222).^[73] It emphasizes that integrity can solidify the heart of the world. Xi has activated the vitality of honest diplomacy in the new era.

Fifth is the Spirit of law. On September 26, 2017, General Secretary Xi stressed in his keynote speech at the Opening ceremony of the 86th General Congress of Interpol, “over 2,000 years ago, the ancient Chinese thinker GUAN ZHONG (管仲) said: ‘Now the law is the means to elevate those who are meritorious and frighten those who are cruel. Administrative statutes are the means to fix responsibilities and stop disputes. Orders are the means to cause people to know what to do.’ The rule of law is an important achievement of human political civilization and a basic means of modern social governance.”^[2] Xi emphasized the theory of the rule of law from *GUANZI* as an important achievement of human political civilization. The rule of law is the basic means of modern social governance, and the international community should maximize the role of the rule of law in promoting social fairness and justice. *Qichenqizhu* (七臣七主, Seven Ministers and Seven Rulers) : “Now the law is the means to elevate those who are meritorious and frighten those who are cruel. Administrative statutes are the means to fix responsibilities and stop disputes. Orders are the means to cause people to know what to do. Laws, administrative statutes, and official orders are the compass

^[1]Xi Jinping. (2021).Unity and action for a better future. *Guangming Daily*, 31 October.

^[2]Xi Jinping. (2017).We will continue to innovate the rule of law for win-win cooperation and jointly promote global security governance. *Guangming Daily*, 27 September.

square, marking the line between government functionaries and the people. If the square is false, one cannot expect it to produce squareness. If the marking line is not stretched tight, one cannot expect it to produce straightness. Laws and orders are things the prince and his ministers establish jointly” (Rickett, 1998, P210).^[76] This paragraph highlights the system consciousness and the thinking of the rule of law about *GUANZI*. Xiao Gongquan said: “Guanzi’s rule by law theory means that the ruler must establish a fixed system, and the leader can not be decided without permission” (Xiao, 2016, p.199).^[1] Through the rule of law theory from *GUANZI*, General Secretary Xi has profoundly explained that the rule of law is not only the political wisdom of ancient China but also the typical value pursuit of modern and contemporary humanity.

^[1]Xiao Gongquan. (2016). *The History of Chinese Political thought*. Beijing: Commercial Press.

习近平总书记的《管子》文化情怀

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摘要：习近平总书记有深厚的《管子》文化情怀。《管子》的政治哲学、治理思想、官德思想、文教思想、外交思想等对习近平治国理政产生直接、深远影响。习近平总书记对《管子》文化创造性转化和创新性发展，树立了马克思主义基本原理同中华优秀传统文化相结合的典范。中华优秀传统文化不仅可以在“修身”私德领域提供历史资源，也可在国家治理乃至国际治理等公共领域提供文化滋养。

关键词：管子，习近平，情怀

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论清代湖南文化家族的赈济观

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摘要: 清代是湖南文化家族形成和发展的黄金时代。湖南文化家族重视家族赈济, 他们热心家族事务, 常常对亲人和族人施以援手。湖南文化家族赈济观的形成受传统睦族观、官府的倡导与支持以及农民运动和湘军崛起等多方面因素的影响。湖南文化家族的赈济活动主要表现在赡亲、济族、兴教三方面。湖南文化家族保族兴家的家族赈济观增强了家族凝聚力, 有利于弘扬社会正能量、减轻国家和社会的负担, 有助于缓和了社会矛盾, 形成重教乐学的优良家风。

关键词: 文化家族; 赈济观; 赡亲; 济族; 兴教

湖南地处我国南部中央地区, 是一个传统的农业大省, 也是封建理学的发源地。特定的地理环境、传统的农耕文化和封建宗法伦理观的影响, 使得湖南地区的宗族观念尤为浓厚, 正如《湖南民情风俗报告书》所说: “楚俗尚鬼, 重祖先, 故家族之念甚深。”²清代是湖南文化家族形成和发展的黄金时期。王勇、唐俐的《湖南历代文化世家·四十家卷》选录了40家湖南历代文化家族, 其中在清代以后发展成文化家族的就多达32家。曾国藩、左宗棠、郭昆焘、何绍基、胡林翼、彭玉麟等即是清代湖南文化家族的杰出代表。梳理他们的家训思想可以发现湖南文化家族重视家族赈济, 热心家族事务, 常常对亲人和族人施以援手, 形成了保族兴家的家族赈济观。

一、湖南文化家族赈济观的形成

扶危济困、乐善好施是中华民族的传统美德。清代湖南文化家族继承了这一传统美德, 形成了保族兴家的家族赈济观。清代湖南文化家族注重对族人的扶持, 尤其是人口众多, 财力雄厚的家族在赡养和救助族人方面更为积极。

¹ 1 陈杨(1980-), 男, 湖北襄阳人, 衡阳师范学院文学院讲师, 博士, 主要研究方向为: 古代文学与地方文化, 电子邮箱: 1011606440@qq.com。秦紫雪为衡阳师范学院南岳学院本科生。

² 劳柏林校点:《湖南民情风俗报告书》, 湖南教育出版社, 2010年版, 第1页。

“湘中族姓，富庶者往往预筹多金，为慈善事业。凡族人力不能营丧葬嫁娶，或嫠妇孤儿之无可存活，胥资助有等。”¹湖南文化家族保族兴家的家族赈济观的形成受传统睦族观、官府的倡导与支持以及农民运动和湘军崛起等多方面因素的影响。

清代湖南文化家族赈济观的形成受传统睦族观的影响。《尚书·虞夏书·尧典》曰：“克明俊德，以亲九族。”《诗·大雅·文王》云：“本支百世。”睦族即整个家族和睦共处，宗族和睦就要处理好族人之间的关系，使宗族能够保持繁荣和稳定。为了实现睦族的目标，不少湖南文化家族把睦族的要求写进了家训。《浏宁刘氏家劝》曰：“吾族之伯叔昆季，虽有亲疏远近之不同，然自吾族吾宗视之，则皆子孙也。故凡我族人务宜相亲相近，言归于好。”²由族人之间和睦共处推而广之，许多宗族也要求族人与乡邻、姻亲等诚心相待，和睦共处。《宁乡靳水双江陶氏五修族谱》云：“渊里当厚。曰渊者，族之亲；曰里者，族之邻；远则情义相关，近则出门相见，凡事皆当厚，通有无，恤患难。不论曾否相与，俱以诚心和气遇之。”³在传统睦族观的影响下，越来越多的湖南文化家族扶危济困，帮助族人，维护宗族的和睦与繁荣。

官府的倡导与支持是清代湖南文化家族赈济观形成的又一原因。封建时代社会保障机制不健全，封建统治者也特别注意借助宗族的力量对贫苦的人民进行赈济以加强基层治理，维护和巩固其政权。为了增强宗族的凝聚力和提高了宗族的整体力量，宗族内部也倡导家族赈济观。宗族的做法与封建统治者的目标一致，因此，宗族对族人的赈济行为得到了官方的支持和鼓励。乾隆皇帝就提倡和鼓励家族赈济行为：“如提倡义庄、义田、义仓、义学、义冢，许具呈本州县，详报上司立案，仍听本人自身经营，胥吏土豪，不得干涉，希图渔利。该督抚体公核实，大者题请，小者著量行旌奖。”⁴此外，清朝统治者还以法律的形式对家族赈济行为予以肯定和支持，对在赈济活动中做出了突出贡献的人还给予建坊或给匾旌表。《大清会典事例》即明确规定：“凡士民人等，或养恤孤寡、或捐资赡族、

1 劳柏林校点：《湖南民情风俗报告书》，湖南教育出版社，2010年版，第3页。

2 《浏宁刘氏族谱》卷三之《家劝总言》，民国序伦堂木活字本。

3 《宁乡靳水双江陶氏五修族谱》卷十八之《彝训》，民国18年（1929）刻本，湖南图书馆馆藏。

4 《乾隆实录》卷之五。

助賑荒歉、实与地方有裨益者，均造册送部；其捐银至千两以上，或田粟准值银千两以上者，均请旨建坊，遵照钦定乐善好施字样，由地方官给银三十两，听本家自行建坊，若所捐不及千两者，请旨交地方官给匾旌表，仍给予乐善好施字样。”¹宗族通过实施家族赈济活动既团结了族人，也得到了官方的肯定和表彰，同时也提高了宗族头面人物和宗族在社会上的知名度。

农民运动和湘军崛起是清代湖南文化家族赈济观形成的再一原因。咸丰元年（1851），洪秀全在广西桂平县金田村发动了太平天国起义，短短几年就席卷了半个中国。为了镇压太平天国起义，咸丰帝命令各地士绅自办团练，协助官军战斗。在官府集中全力与太平天国作战时，地方上出现了权力真空，给了地方宗族扩大族权的机会。有些地方的社会秩序就完全依靠宗族来维持，甚至因为战争造成的饥荒和流民也依靠宗族来赈济。在平定太平天国的战争中，湘军势力崛起。湘军将领立功受奖，衣锦还乡，有的成为地方官员，有的成为宗族头面人物。他们利用手中的权力和钱财，积极支持家族活动，施行家族赈济，设置义田、义庄，开办义学，赡济弱者，资助家族子弟，不但缓和了家族内部的矛盾，而且维护了家族的利益，提高了家族的影响力。

二、湖南文化家族赈济观的内容

湖南文化家族重视扶危济困，敬宗收族。左宗棠在《与癸叟侄》中即谈到了其济人原则：“济人之道，先其亲者，后其疏者；先其急者，后其缓者。”²左氏的一席话即道破了清代湖南文化家族的赈济原则。湖南文化家族的家族赈济观首先体现在赡亲，对亲人的帮助；其次体现在济族，对族人的扶持；最后体现为兴教，热心家族教育。

（一）赡亲

湖南文化家族重视人伦孝悌。《礼记·礼运》云：“父子笃，兄弟睦，夫妇和，家之肥也。”³家庭和谐幸福就要理顺父子、兄弟和夫妻关系；《孝经》曰：

1（光绪）《大清会典事例》卷403之《礼部·风教·好义·放表乐善好施》。

2 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第7页。

3 陈戍国点校：《四书五经》上册，岳麓书社，1991年版，第518页。

“不爱其亲而爱他人者，谓之悖德；不敬其亲而敬他人者，谓之悖礼。”¹爱护他人，尊敬他人首先就要爱护尊敬自己的亲人。湖南文化家族诗书传家，对己方的兄弟姐妹和妻子的亲人都给予了力所能及的帮助。

左宗棠竭尽全力帮助亲人。他重视家教，在家信中常告诫儿子孝威、孝宽、孝勋、孝同要敦兄弟之情：“吾愿尔兄弟之读书做人，宜常守我训。兄弟天亲，本无间隔……兄弟之间情文交至，妯娌承风，毫无乖异，庶几能支门户矣”。²左宗棠不仅教育儿子要重视兄弟之情，他自己也非常重视“兄弟天亲”，他的伯兄左宗棫英年早逝，留下寡嫂和侄儿左世延相依为命。左宗棠的长姐因贫病交加，早年去世，遗下外甥朱元敬即朱和哥。左宗棠对嫂子、侄儿以及外甥都极力帮衬，承担了扶助大嫂，抚养侄儿和外甥的责任和义务。同治八年（1869），左宗棠特地从养廉银中拿出重金，为侄儿世延和外甥和哥买田置地：“尔言延哥光景艰难，欲为其买田作久远计，于义甚当……延、和有子，近并不知其光景何似，拟各予以千金之产，俾有饭吃，有衣穿，以完吾素愿。”³除了资助侄儿和外甥买田置地，左宗棠还多次敦促儿子为侄儿世延代还欠款：“世延负债甚多，前谕勋、同，允其向代为清还”⁴“延哥负债甚多，未知确数……尔等概与代还其银，仍交其亲手领讫可也。”⁵左宗棠的夫人周氏的娘家因家庭变故而衰落。他经常嘱托儿辈关心帮助外家亲人：“尔母每念外家家业中落，尔姨母景况甚苦，虽未向我说过帮贴一字，而意中恒不自释，尔等须体此意，时思所以润之。”⁶“尔舅母、姨母处光景何如？恐不可不点缀，尔等当酌致之。”⁷“二舅决意移居县城，当有以周之，毋失其欢。尔母兄弟仅存一矣。”⁸“尔姨母无复佳况，大舅母亦然，时当周恤，以慰尔母之意，能为代谋长久更佳。”⁹左宗棠谆谆告诫儿辈帮助关心外家，既是报答外家当年对自己的帮助，也是寄托对妻子的一片哀思，更是其家族赈济观使然。

1 胡平生译注：《孝经译注》，中华书局，1996年版，第19-20页。

2 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第123页。

3 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第128页。

4 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第183页。

5 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第193页。

6 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第138页。

7 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第140页。

8 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第149页。

9 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第156页。

胡林翼对父辈孝敬有加，对同辈的兄弟姐妹也非常关心。胡氏自幼受父亲胡达源教诲，和夫人陶静娟成亲后又得到了岳父陶澍的提携和指点。他长年领军在外，与家人离多聚少。父亲去世后，他对叔父蕊轩公、墨溪公也非常关心，问寒问暖。在写给叔父蕊轩公的信中，他为叔父寻医问药：“悉吾叔近因疟病，精神颇萎顿。此病医治得法，三四次后本可即愈，然使医治不加慎、则纠不已，最足困人。……署中有以截疟药囑为转奉者，据云已屡试屡验，叔盍一试之？谚云：‘丹方一味，气死良医。’服后竟能使疟鬼退避三舍也。”¹七叔墨溪公是胡林翼父辈中健在的最后一人，胡林翼在家信中时常嘱咐夫人陶静娟要好生供养并馈赠特产给七叔，对七叔所请也总是竭力满足：“七叔年高，面色太白，家中有好饮食好菜物，时时供养为要。我父辈四人，只有叔父耳。”²“再，麋茸酒一坛……可以小瓶封一斤送七叔。自交，莫假手于人。七叔亦见老态矣！上辈四昆仲，只剩七叔尚存，不可不敬、七叔曾向我欲肉桂，可送二三枝。”³胡林翼也重视手足之情，对兄弟姐妹也非常关心。表姐安真去世后，表弟怀琪又在弱冠之年早卒。胡林翼时在贵州安顺知府任上忙于政务。他交代枫弟前去致礼，并嘱其要多给赙金，以示哀痛和慰问：“四姊夫家前年因迁居乡间，丧表姊安真，今又丧表弟怀琪，四姊夫夫妇纵善自达观，老怀必为之不豫矣。怀琪表弟姿质极佳，且沉静用工，作事又有条理，似非无寿者、乃弱冠年华，遽赴修文之召，伤哉！此次五七，赙仪宜较前为重，并望亲到姊夫处，善为劝慰之。”⁴

曾国藩对亲人也关心帮助备至。曾国藩出生在湘乡一个普通的耕读家庭。祖父曾玉屏勤劳善良，父亲曾麟书为塾师秀才。作为长子长孙，他深受祖父和父亲的影响，恪守儒家孝悌思想。即使考中进士，贵为高官，他仍然孝顺父祖，关心兄弟，挂念亲人。道光二十七年（1847），皇帝赏赐其袍褂一付，他另买一付连同此袍褂一起寄回家孝敬父祖：“寄回祖父、父亲袍褂二付。祖父系夹的，宜好好收拾。每月一看、数月一晒，百岁之后，即以此为敛服，以其为天恩所赐，其材料外间买不出也。父亲做棉的，则不妨长着，不必为深远之计。盖父亲年未六

1 胡林翼：《胡林翼集》第二卷，岳麓书社，1999年版，第972页。

2 胡林翼：《胡林翼集》第二卷，岳麓书社，1999年版，第1016页。

3 胡林翼：《胡林翼集》第二卷，岳麓书社，1999年版，第1018页。

4 胡林翼：《胡林翼集》第二卷，岳麓书社，1999年版，第967页。

十，将来或更有君恩赐服，亦未可知。”¹作为长兄，曾国藩对弟弟们也非常关爱，主动承担起他们的学费：“寄回银五十两。其四十两用法：六弟、九弟在省读书用二十六两，四弟、季弟学俸六两，买漆四两，欧阳太岳母奠金四两。”²曾国藩宦游在外，也很挂念其他亲戚。道光二十四年（1844），曾国藩寄银千两回家，专门拿出一部分用于馈赠族中亲人：“各亲戚家皆贫，而年老者，今不略为资助，则他日不知何如。自孙入都后，如彭满舅曾祖、彭王姑母、欧阳岳祖母、江通十舅，已死数人矣。再过数年，则意中所欲馈赠之人，正不保何若矣！家中之债今虽不还，后尚可还。赠人之举，今若不为，后必悔之。”³

彭玉麟常年在外领军作战，但也将亲人的冷暖记挂于心。他因为战功获得四千两白银的奖赏，便将此中一部分用来接济穷苦的亲人：“前寄白银四千两，乃攻克田镇时，帅营所犒赏。侄思此银，都从头颅血肉丛中取得来，于心不安，想家乡多苦百姓、苦亲戚，正好将此银子行些方便，亦一乐也。彭城老伯母，苦节五十年，族中无贤子侄可以靠傍，侄意按月赡养之。五舅年老，穷守村塾，虽是乐天知命，无求于人，做小辈理宜孝敬。可惜守敬叔和王、丁两家遭匪难，路途杳远，音问莫从，侄意派人四出寻访，馈金酬报曩昔知遇之恩，省得末世变犬变马。其余可以偿清旧债。渠等见侄做官，不敢来索，适以增吾罪恶，吾必还清，便是夜来睡眠也觉安宁。”⁴彭玉麟还特别关心族中年长的亲人，并按时给予接济：“吾每恨入世太晚，致贵太迟，不能见以前诸尊长提携捧抱我时之欢容笑貌。到此亦按时馈赠，以慰吾心。只剩几位鬓萧齿豁之老年人，虽时供养，殆润等勺水，而感甚晨霜者矣。”⁵

（二）济族

湖南文化家族诗礼传家，重视血缘伦理，珍惜同宗亲情，相对一般家族而言，更加重视家族赈济，在赈济方式上不仅多样，而且在赈济力度上更大，对族人有着更多的接济和帮助。

1 曾国藩：《曾国藩全集·家书一》，岳麓书社，1985年版，第183页。

2 曾国藩：《曾国藩全集·家书一》，岳麓书社，1985年版，第148页。

3 曾国藩：《曾国藩全集·家书一》，岳麓书社，1985年版，第74页。

4 襟霞阁主编：《清十大名人家书》，岳麓书社，1999年版，第315-316页。

5 襟霞阁主编：《清十大名人家书》，岳麓书社，1999年版，第327页。

左宗棠热心帮助族人，通过置买族田、爵田，兴办义庄，周给钱粮寒衣，对族人进行赡养周恤。他接济的对象主要有宗族中鳏寡孤独及穷困的族人。他在同治三年（1864）写给孝威的家信中云：“族中苦人太多，苦难普送。拟今岁以数百金分之，先俸五服亲属及族中贫老无靠者。”¹“义学之外，尚须添置义庄，以赡族之鳏寡孤独，扩充备荒谷以救荒年，吾苦力不赡耳。”²光绪二年（1876）左氏在写给孝宽的信中言：“宗族中应赈恤者，除常年义谷外，随宜给予。先近枝，后远枝，分其缓急轻重可矣。此后爵田有成，则归爵田支销耳。”光绪四年（1878）左宗棠写给孝宽、孝勋、孝同的信中强调：“族众贫苦患难残废者，无论何人，皆宜随时酌给钱米寒衣，无稗冻饿。至吾五服之内必更有加，愈近则宜愈厚也。九十两伯老而多病，除常年应得外，每年酒肉寒衣，不可不供也。吾每念及，心滋戚焉！尔曹体之。”³光绪五年（1879），左宗棠在写给孝宽、孝勋、孝同的信中再次告诫：“凡我五服之内兄弟贫苦者，生前之酒肉药饵，身后之衣裳棺木，均应由我分给。否则路人视之，于心何忍？至亲亲之杀，虽有权衡，却以从厚为是。”⁴左宗棠举人出身，曾经的贫苦经历和地方大员的从政经验，使得他既有着一颗善良忠纯之心，又有着民胞物与的胸怀，使得他倾力济族，在赈济族人的过程中体现出了其责任感和使命感。

曾国藩生活俭朴，做官之后不赞同存钱私肥一家，尽力救济生活困难的贫困族人。道光二十七年（1847），他从寄回家中的五十两银子中特地拿出十两救助族中贫苦者：“后又有十两，若作家中用度则嫌其太少，添此无益，减此无损。侄意戚族中有最苦者，不得不些须顾送。求叔父将此十金换钱，分送最亲最苦之处。叔父于无意中送他，万不可说出自侄之意，使未得者有怨言。”⁵曾国藩还把救助族人作为一贯的生活志向。他在道光二十九年（1849）三月给诸弟的信中写到：“大凡做官的人，往往厚于妻子而薄于兄弟；私肥于一家而刻薄于亲戚族党……若禄入较丰，除堂上甘旨之外，尽以周济亲戚族党之穷者。此我之素志也。”

⁶曾国藩是这样说的，也是这样做的。同年七月，他在写给诸弟的家信中，郑重地

1 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第77页。

2 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第78页。

3 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第183页。

4 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第187页。

5 曾国藩：《曾国藩全集·家书一》，岳麓书社，1985年版，第148页。

6 曾国藩：《曾国藩全集·家书一》，岳麓书社，1985年版，第183页。

决定在家乡设置义田，赡救贫苦族人：“乡间之谷贵至三千五百，此亘古未有者，小民何以聊生！吾自入官以来，即思为曾氏置一义田，以赡救孟学公以下贫民；为本境置义田，以赡救二十四都贫农。……予之定计，苟仕宦所入，每年除供奉堂上甘旨外，或稍有赢余，吾断不肯买一亩田，积一文钱，必皆留为义田之用。此我之定计，望诸弟皆体谅之。”¹除了例定的救助之外，为了帮助更多的族人，曾国藩还计划模仿朱子的做法，设置社仓。咸丰元年（1851），他在写给弟弟的信中云：“国藩欲取社仓之法而私行之我境。我家先捐谷二十石，附近各富豪亦劝其量为捐谷……本家如任尊、楚善叔、宽五、厚一各家，亲戚如宝田、腾七、宫九、荆四各家，每年得借社仓之谷，或亦不无小补。澄弟务细细告之父大人、叔父大人，将此事于一二年内办成，实吾乡莫大之福也。”²

湖南文化家族还将济族的思想正式写入家训规条中。有的家训规条中明确详细的列出了济族的要点和措施，具有很强的实践性和操作性。如《常德府武陵县皮氏宗规》“宗族当睦”条云：“尝谓睦族之道有三要：曰尊尊、曰老老、曰贤贤；又有三务：曰矜幼弱、曰周窘急、曰解忿争。引伸触类，为义田、义仓、义学、义冢，教养同族，使生死无失所，皆同气所当为。总之，人能以祖宗之念为念，自知宗族之当睦矣。”³有的家训规条针对家族中的部分特定弱势群体，提出了济族原则。如《上湘成氏敬爱堂族规》“恤鰥寡”条云：“天下穷民，鰥寡居先。俯仰无资，更为可怜。形枯容槁，理宜生全。矧属同宗，安忍忽然。周饥济寒，升斗可捐。惠鲜有道，吾愿勉旃。”⁴还有的家训从情理上指出族人之间不仅要和睦共处，而且还指出对鰥寡孤独应加以赈济。如《邵阳隆氏家训》：“睦宗族”条曰：“伯叔兄弟，虽有亲疏远近之殊，然自始祖视之，皆属一本。故九族既睦，《虞书》所重；万殊一本，太极所衍。须有无相通，患难相济，勿倚大压小，勿恃强凌虐，鰥寡孤独尤宜矜恤。”⁵

1 曾国藩：《曾国藩全集·家书一》，岳麓书社，1985年版，第194页。

2 曾国藩：《曾国藩全集·家书一》，岳麓书社，1985年版，第209-210页。

3 上海图书馆编：《中国家谱资料选编·家规族约卷上》，上海古籍出版社，2013年版，第30页。

4 上海图书馆编：《中国家谱资料选编·家规族约卷上》，上海古籍出版社，2013年版，第134页。

5 上海图书馆编：《中国家谱资料选编·家规族约卷上》，上海古籍出版社，2013年版，第170页。

（三）兴教

湖南文化家族信奉耕读传家，重视知识文化，多有匡时济世理想的儒家士大夫，他们对教育的作用有着清醒的认识，因此热心家族教育，对家族中的教育事业大力倡导，并予以支持和襄赞。

胡林翼出生于书香门第，其父胡达源为嘉庆年间进士，林翼本人为道光年间进士。胡氏家族历来重视家族教育，胡达源著《弟子箴言》十六卷以教育子孙。胡林翼更是深刻认识到教育的重要作用。他热心家族教育事业，个人出资兴建了箴言书院。他在《箴言书院启事》中云：“夫世事之治乱，系乎人才，而治术之盛衰，根于学术。”¹但是因为太平天国等农民运动的爆发，时局动荡，他认识到：“然人不知学，则乱之生，将无日以已，将欲弭天下之乱，终必自正学术、培人材始。”²胡林翼在写给七叔墨溪公的信中，表达了他兴教济族的想法：“我有钱，须做流传百年之好事、或培植人才，或追崇先祖，断不至自谋家计也。”³为培养家族人才，胡林翼捐银建设箴言书院：“林翼负罪在军，不获躬亲版筑之役，其一切规画之费，敢自任之，尊师养士之大经，田亩庐舍之细目，皆赖我邑诸君子互为经营筹画，则所以培植善类而昌明正学者，固有以知其乐观厥成也。”⁴

左宗棠积极襄赞家族兴办义塾、义学、改造试馆。他不仅对家族中的公共事务非常关心，而且也对事关家族教育的事务尽心尽力。他认识到优秀的家族子弟对家族发展至关重要，鼓励子孙勤耕苦读。他在家信《致宽勋同》中谆谆告诫儿子：“吾总以世泽之兴隆要多出勤耕苦读子弟，家祚之昌盛总在忠孝节义，它不足贵也。”⁵同治五年（1866），左宗棠从陕甘总督廉俸中拿出一千多两白银为族人兴建试馆，方便族中子弟参加科举考试时居住。左宗棠还积极支持筹办义塾和义学。光绪五年（1879），他在写给孝宽、孝勋、孝同的信中关注义塾的筹建：“西园等归时，告以合族建祠，置义塾及为中年未娶、世绪将绝者谋娶妻延祀计，需费可与尔等谋之，大约总在数千金以内。如有成议，可寄信来。”⁶

1 胡林翼：《胡林翼集》第二卷，岳麓书社，1999年版，第1044页。

2 胡林翼：《胡林翼集》第二卷，岳麓书社，1999年版，第1044页。

3 胡林翼：《胡林翼集》第二卷，岳麓书社，1999年版，第1023页。

4 胡林翼：《胡林翼集》第二卷，岳麓书社，1999年版，第1045页。

5 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第160页。

6 左宗棠：《左宗棠全集》第13册，岳麓书社，2009年版，第190页。

彭玉麟心系家族的教育事业。他认识到族人穷苦的根源在于教育的缺失，便将因军功受赏的四千两白银中的一部分委托五舅作为兴学之资，为家乡和国家培养人才：“吾觉乡里间，惟侄显达，人皆穷苦，是天之待侄独厚，或者天非待侄独厚，把许多人福命完全归我，要我去代他方便，所以想村中塾师多是冬烘头脑，没个博学鸿儒来启蒙庸俗，想请五舅屈尊，把一般孩子好好教导，替吾乡造就几个人才，便是替国家增若干元气。可从四千两银子中分拨若干，作为兴学之用。”¹彭玉麟还出资兴办乡塾，为家族培养人才：“侄辈肯读书向上，宜时加奖劝。前办乡塾，乃思转移风气，造就人才，使一乡于耕耘贸易之余，处处教品立行。亦便我之子弟随在观感，敬恭桑梓耳。”彭玉麟以秀才而至显达，他在丰富的人生阅历中认识到了知识的重要性，个人出资兴学育才，体现了他的高风亮节和高瞻远瞩的精神，更表现了他对家族的关心和对族人教育的重视。

有的湖南文化家族还专门制定了奖励读书规程，对族中读书者给予相应的资助和奖励，冀望于家族子孙成才。湘潭泉冲王氏家族还制定了《奖励读书章程》明确对读书的奖励标准：“入塾，给钱五仟文。应小试，给考费二两。列前茅，给银五两。入泮，奖银五十两。纳饩及出贡，给银十两。拔贡，奖银五十两。应乡试，给银四两。中乡试，奖银一百两。应会试，给路费五十两。中会试，奖银二百两。点词林，奖银三百两。以上所列，系专就宗祠而言。至泽山公祠对于贫儿入塾，给三仟文。县府试终场者，给完场费二两。入泮，奖银百六十两。纳饩及出贡，奖银八十两。中乡试，奖银三百两。中会试奖银四百两。点词林，奖银六百两。得鼎甲连元及元者，另奖银数十两或百两不等。得五贡，视中乡试小试，得首，亦另有奖。列前茅之奖，及考费、路费均等于宗祠所给之数。予山公祠惟无入塾学费，其余小者，多等于宗祠奖银，则较宗祠倍之。仕益公祠亦无入塾学费及考费，他项奖励概照泽山公祠之规订。其余各支私公，对于各项给奖，均视公之大小肥瘠，或仿各祠临时酌定数两至百两不等，初无一定章程，以其繁也，不备载之。”²湘潭泉冲王氏对宗族子弟的读书考试给予大力支持，在《奖励读书

1 襟霞阁主编：《清十大名人家书》，岳麓书社，1999年版，第316页。

2 上海图书馆编：《中国家谱资料选编·教育卷》，上海古籍出版社，2013年版，第26页。

章程》中提出了总的奖励原则，同时根据宗族中各支的经济情况略有微调，体现出王氏家族对家族教育的重视。

三、家族赈济观的影响

在以儒家伦理价值体系作为主导的中国传统宗法社会，人们认为家族繁盛都是祖宗之德所佑护，如果感念祖宗之德，就要修持自己的德行。《孝经·开宗明义章》曰：“夫孝，始于事亲，中于事君，终于立身。《大雅》云：‘无念尔祖，聿修厥德。’”¹清代湖南文化家族重视收宗睦族，不仅具有强烈的家族认同感，而且也有着强烈的利济家族的愿望和实际的行动，其保族兴家的家族赈济观对国家和社会也产生了深远的影响。

湖南文化家族保族兴家的家族赈济观有助于增强家族凝聚力。文化家族帮助亲人，赡济族人，尤其是对鳏寡孤独和艰难贫苦和陷入困境的弱势族人进行赡养和救助，使他们能够度过难关，避免了流离失所，免除了冻饿之虞。同时家族赈济也有效的规避了贫困族人因生活无着而流离失所甚至铤而走险，甚至为整个宗族带来更大的危机和风险，进而削弱宗族的整体力量。这些都有助于增强家族的凝聚力和向心力，从而起到敬宗收族的作用。

文化家族保族兴家的家族赈济观有利于弘扬社会正能量。清朝统治者以法律的形式对家族赈济行为予以肯定和支持，对在赈济活动中做出了突出贡献的人还给予表彰。同时，家族中对享受家族赈济的族人还有一定的要求和限制，湘乡蒋氏家族就规定：“如有违犯法律，游手好闲只图坐食者，均即扣除。”²要求族人品行端正，遵纪守法，不能游手好闲，如果违反则不能享受家族赡济。因此，家族赈济活动有助于族人改邪归正、弃惰从勤，培养勤劳的品质。官方对家族赈济行为的肯定和表彰也有利于发挥榜样示范效应，鼓励更多的人加入家族赈济活动之中。因此，文化家族保族兴家的家族赈济观有利于弘扬社会正能量，提高宗族声誉，对良好家风和社会风气的形成有着促进作用。

1 胡平生译注：《孝经译注》，中华书局，1996年版，第1页。

2 蒋德钧：《求实斋类稿续编》卷四，《泽山公义庄条规并序》。

文化家族保族兴家的家族赈济观有助于减轻了国家和社会的负担,缓和了社会矛盾。对鳏寡孤独和生活陷入困境的人提供帮助,本应由官府承担。清代社会保障机制不健全,贫困人民很难从官府获得必要的经济援助。湖南文化家族通过自发、自愿的家族赈济活动,主动担负起了本应由官府承担的责任和行为,对鳏寡孤独和生活陷入困境的族人进行帮扶,解决他们的生活困难,帮助他们渡过难关。这些行为不仅有利于家族秩序的稳定,减轻了官府的经济负担,而且有助于缓解了社会矛盾,对国家和社会秩序的稳定也有着重要的意义。

文化家族保族兴家的家族赈济观还有助于形成重教乐学的优良家风。文化家族有着耕读传家的家风,重视家族文化教育。他们在家族赈济活动中兴办义学,设置义塾,改造试馆,建设书院,对家族中的教育事业大力倡导,鼎力支持。尤其是近代以来,长期战乱,文教废弛,文化家族采取的兴教劝学措施对恢复和促进文化教育起到了积极的作用。文化家族在家族赈济中积极开展兴教劝学的教育活动,不仅在家族内部形成了重视教育,鼓励读书的良好家风,而且对地方上其他家族在兴教劝学方面也起到了正面影响和引导作用。

四、结论

综上所述,文化家族的家族赈济活动在家族赡亲、济族、兴教方面发挥着积极的作用。文化家族保族兴家的家族赈济观有利于增强家族凝聚力,有利于弘扬社会正能量,有利于减轻国家和社会的负担,有利于形成重教乐学的优良家风。现代社会面临着新的社会环境,出现了一些新的社会问题,如子女在老人如何赡养方面的纠纷,亲人陷入困境如何处理,家庭财产分配引发的家庭不睦、亲情淡漠等。这让我们不得不回过头来重新审视湖南文化家族家训中的赈济观,从中汲取经验和方法,在当代社会中发挥其积极作用。

On the Hunan Cultural Family's Concept of Relief in the Qing Dynasty

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Abstract: The Qing Dynasty was a golden age for the formation and development of cultural families in Hunan. Hunan cultural families attach great importance to family relief. They are enthusiastic about family affairs and often lend a helping hand to their relatives and clansmen. The formation of the family relief concept in Hunan culture was influenced by many factors, such as the traditional concept of family harmony, the advocacy and support of the government, the peasant movement and the rise of the Hunan Army. The relief activities of Hunan cultural families are mainly manifested in three aspects: supporting relatives, helping the clan, and promoting education. The cultural family's relief concept of preserving the family and revitalizing the family enhances the family cohesion, which also helps to promote the positive energy of the society, reduce the burden on the country and society, ease social conflicts, and form an excellent family tradition that emphasizes teaching and learning.

Keywords: Cultural families; Family relief concept; Supporting relatives; subsidizing the clan; promoting education

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Literature / 文学



探索“日语”写作范式：上田秋成的《雨月物语》论

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摘要：日本江户时代以中国朱子学为“官学”，当时的许多日本知识分子热衷于研究中国文化、学习中国白话文，亦不得不直面如何建构日本本土文化的问题，这也是日本“国学”生成与发展的历史文化背景。日本前期“读本”小说巅峰之作《雨月物语》可谓是上田秋成对此问题的积极回应，上田秋成对日语写作范式的思考与实践颇富于启发意义。本文将《雨月物语》置于日本汉文学历史长河中，通过上田秋成在日本本土文化与中国文化、日语书写与汉语书写之间的探索与实践，思考日本江户时代诞生的“读本”小说的文学史及文化史意义。

关键词：日本文学；中国明清白话小说；上田秋成；雨月物语

引言

汉字的传入为日本民族带去了第一道文明的曙光，日本民族由此开启了迈向文明的重要步伐。汉字的传入还使日本文学获得了从“口传文学”向“书面文学”进行飞跃发展的基础。在此文化背景下，汉文学亦长期占据了日本文学的主流地位。千余年来，日本汉文学的作者、读者群不断变迁，大致上经历了宫廷文学时代、贵族文学时代、僧侣文学时代、儒者文学时代（户田浩晓，1998：4-7）。其中，宫廷文学时代、贵族文学时代以日本奈良、平安时代的遣隋使、遣唐使为背景；僧侣文学时代以京都、镰仓的五山禅僧学习宋元明文化为背景；儒者文学时代以日本江户时代经长崎港大量输入中国明清白话小说为背景，尤其明清白话小说热第一次波及至日本庶民阶层，影响深远。本文将日本前期“读本”巅峰之作《雨月物语》（1776）置于日本汉文学历史长河中，通过作者上田秋成（1734-1809）在日本本土文化与中国文化、日语写作与汉语写作之间的探索，思考日本江户时代诞生的“读本”小说的文学史及文化史意义。

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一、“读本”小说的诞生

日本江户时代以中国朱子学为“官学”，当时的许多日本知识分子亦热衷于研究中国文化、学习中国白话文。从长崎港输入的中国明清白话小说首先被作为中国白话文教材，后来又作为文学作品被翻译成日语，受众日趋广泛，于是又出现了“翻案”之作。江户时代传入日本的中国白话小说包括三言两拍、《今古奇观》、《三国志演义》、《水浒传》、《西游记》、《红楼梦》、《儒林外史》、《聊斋志异》等等。（金灵，2008：2）“翻案”是日语，可以理解为“翻改”之意，是介于翻译、改编和模仿创作之间的一种写作方法，（李树果，1998：2）由此产生“读本”小说。“读本”是区别于“看图读物”而言的，指江户时代后期出现的以阅读为主的传奇小说，明治时代亦流行了一段时期。

读本一般采用朗朗上口的和汉混合、雅俗折衷的文体。其另一特点是与中国文学关系密切，作品规模庞大、情节复杂。一般分为前后两期，前期读本多为短篇集，主要在京都、大阪一带出版，多取材于中国的《剪灯新话》、《今古奇观》、《古今说海》等短篇小说集，代表作家是都贺庭钟（1718-1794？）、上田秋成。

实际上，江户初期已有改写中国小说者，浅井了意（1612-1691）创作的怪谈集《御伽婢子》即其先驱之作，受到了广泛的好评，但浅井了意只是将作品的人名、地名、历史背景改换成日本的，其翻译或改编色彩浓重。较早介绍中国白话小说者有冈岛冠山（1674-1728）、冈白驹（1692-1767）、都贺庭钟三人，其中都贺庭钟被称为读本作家之祖，他还是儒学者、医师，并擅长书、画、篆刻等。受当时流行的中国白话小说的影响，都贺庭钟一生创作了30多种读本，代表作有《古今奇谈 英草纸》（1749）、《古今奇谈 繁野话》（1766）、《古今奇谈 莠句册》（1787）等，均取材于中国文学，但进行了日本式改写。这些作品为当时的日本文学界吹入了一阵新风，最终催生出了前期读本的巅峰之作《雨月物语》。《雨月物语》是短篇集成，其中作品多以中国文学为摹本，但人物、地点设在日本，几乎不留改写痕迹，对后世日本文学影响颇大，亦为后期读本指明了创作的方向。

后期读本的代表作家是曲亭马琴（1767-1848）、山东京传（1761-1816）。后期读本的特点是以长篇为主，规模庞大，如冈岛冠山将中国《水浒传》译介到日本后，相关的翻改作品层出不穷，如建部绫足《本朝水浒传》（1773）、佐佐木天元《日本水浒传》（1777）、伊丹椿园《女水浒传》（1783）、振鹭亭《伊吕波醉故传》（1794）等，均对其后的日本文学产生了影响。需要指出的是“醉故传”三

字表音，其发音与“水浒传”一致，“醉故传”亦即“水浒传”之意。山东京传的成名作是将中国《水浒传》与日本《忠臣藏》融于一体的《忠臣水浒传》（1799—1801）。曲亭马琴是一位高产作家，一生笔耕不辍，一共创作了三百余种作品，而读本创作更使其美名远扬。曲亭马琴的读本包括复仇类、传说类、史传类、市井类等，其中最受欢迎的是取材于历史人物或历史事件的史传类作品，如《椿说弓张月》、《朝夷巡岛记》、《俊宽僧都岛物语》、《近世说美少年录》等，其家喻户晓的代表作则是《南总里见八犬传》（1814—1842），亦称《八犬传》，共 98 卷，106 册，费时 28 年完成，与上田秋成的《雨月物语》一起，并列为江户文学的代表作。

二、上田秋成及其《雨月物语》

上田秋成是江户后期的读本作者、和歌及俳句诗人、茶人、日本国学者，而《雨月物语》的作者是其最著名的身份。他的本名是东作，幼名仙次郎，俳号渔焉、无肠，生于大阪，相传是艺伎的遗腹子，4 岁时被母亲遗弃，成为堂岛纸油商上田茂助的养子。5 岁时染上天花，生命垂危，养父每天求神拜佛，祈祷其病愈，最终挽回一命，但其右手中指和左手食指被截短，他戏称自己为“剪枝（指）畸人”，其俳号“无肠”亦以螃蟹比喻自己的残疾。在上田秋成的成长过程中，幼小时被亲生母亲抛弃的精神创伤，以及手指残疾造成的肉体创伤的印记非常大。6 岁时养父再婚，上田秋成迎来了第二位养母，此后便在养父母的关爱下健康成长，家中还有一个姐姐，一家生活富裕。上田秋成于 27 岁那年结婚，翌年养父去世，上田秋成继承家业，并尝试创作浮世草子。浮世草子是江户时代前期至中期出现的一种小说样式，“浮世”即“现世”之意，主要描写新兴市民阶层的享乐主义生活态度，具有强烈的庶民性、通俗性色彩。处女作《诸道听耳世间猿》（1766）以及《世间妾形气》（1767）刊出时，上田秋成均使用和译太郎这个笔名。与此同时，他拜国学者加茂真渊（1697—1769）的高徒加藤宇万伎为师，由此成为真渊学术圈的一员。与加藤宇万伎的邂逅是其人生中的重要事件，“真渊学”成为上田秋成重要的思想背景之一，亦为其假借古典进行翻改创作提供了理论支撑。

38 岁那年家中遭遇火灾，店铺和家财全部付之一炬，上田秋成决心通过行

医重整家业，拜儒医都贺庭钟为师。与都贺庭钟的邂逅使他更加明确了前进方向，其文学创作亦受到都贺庭钟的诸多影响。43岁开始在大阪开业行医，同年以“剪枝畸人”之名出版《雨月物语》。该书初稿完成于35岁时，其间经过了大约8年的修订时间。《雨月物语》与都贺庭钟的《英草纸》一样，亦取材于中国小说，但其中倾注了作者对人性的诸多思考。此后十余年，上田秋成生活安定，先后完成了《歌圣传》、《汉委奴国王金印考》、《也哉钞》等论述。上田秋成具有高深的汉学修养，其学术观点与同为国学家的本居宣长不同，这是二者于1786年两次展开学术争论的原因。基于日本文化发展的客观脉络，上田秋成对本居宣长通过日语发音、日本神灵强调“纯粹”日本思想的做法予以了驳斥。相对于本居宣长的情绪化和偏执倾向，上田秋成展现了客观理性的学者形象。1784（天明4年），日本筑前那珂郡志加岛（今福冈市志贺岛）发现一枚“汉委奴国王金印”，引发了日本考古学界的关注，上田秋成亦积极参与讨论，写下《汉委奴国王金印考》一文，从日本史记载始于中国史料这一事实展开论述，论证了“毋庸置疑汉委奴国王印为正式汉印”（上田秋成，1977：495）这一结论，充分展示了其深厚的学术功底。57岁时患眼疾，左眼失明，但依然著述不断，写作了一系列有关和歌、茶道的著作。64岁时，妻子去世，上田秋成备受打击，但他在孤独与眼疾的双重折磨中依然笔耕不辍，除学术写作外，还校勘了《落洼物语》、《大和物语》等日本古典小说，并在《万叶集》研究方面倾注了较多心力。晚年靠卖书画维持生计，《春雨物语》就是在这种情况下完成的，可见其坚强的毅力。《春雨物语》完稿不久，上田秋成撒手人寰，享年76岁。1832年，即上田秋成去世23年后，遗稿《春雨物语》被发现。

《雨月物语》正文采用日语书写，但序文采用汉文书写，一定程度地反映了当时日本的汉日双轨文化模式，亦反映了“国学者”上田秋成对日语写作范式的努力摸索。上田秋成在作品开篇之“雨月物语序”中写道：

罗子撰水浒、而三世生哑儿、紫媛著源语、而一旦堕恶趣者、盖为业所逼耳、然而观其文、各奋奇态、嗟呀逼真、低昂宛转、令读者心气洞越也、可见鉴事实于千古焉、余适有鼓腹之闲话、冲口吐出、雉雏龙战、自以为杜撰、则摘读之者、固当不谓信也、岂可求丑唇平鼻之报哉、明和戊子晚春、雨霁月朦胧之夜、窗下编成、以畀梓氏、题曰雨月物语云、剪枝畸人书（上田秋成，

1977: 229)

上文“罗子”指中国元末明初作家罗贯中，“紫媛”指《源氏物语》的作者紫式部，“恶趣”指六道轮回中的“三恶道”，即地狱道、饿鬼道、畜生道。当时日本受到中国儒佛思想影响，认为《水浒传》诲盗、《源氏物语》诲淫，所以这两部书的作者都受到了报应。序言中还写明完稿时间是“明和戊子”年，即明和5年，公元1768年，当时上田秋成虚岁35岁。当时的书商野村长兵卫刊出的《诸人一代道中图之解》(1771)的版权页中亦印有“雨月物语、剪枝山人著、怪谈全五册、近日出版”的广告词。翌年出版的其他书中亦有类似广告语，但作品并未如期出版，无论原因怎样，作者肯定因此有了充分的修改润色的时间。

《雨月物语》出版时，做为一名浮世草子作者，上田秋成已经小有名气，但《雨月物语》的出版标志着作者完全抛弃了世间流行的文学模式，而开始摸索一种新的文学模式，《雨月物语》无疑是当时最高雅、最不同凡响之作。《雨月物语》非同寻常的创作水准与作者长年的精雕细凿有关，与都贺庭钟文学的启发亦密切相关。都贺庭钟的第一部作品《英草纸》(1749)还较为稚拙，但此后的《繁野话》(1766)的创作技巧已相当纯熟，这对上田秋成颇有启发意义。《雨月物语》在文体、体裁、技法等诸多方面都留有都贺庭钟上述两部作品的印记，如5卷5册9篇的体裁，完全延袭都贺庭钟“古今奇谈”系列作品。但正如《雨月物语》的题名所示，上田秋成并未延用“古今奇谈”或当时一般流行的浮世草子的常用题名，而用了具有古典气息的“物语”之名，这与作者通过加藤宇万伎建构起的真渊学术圈的影响不无关联，这亦是作者使用“和汉混和”的拟古文体的原因所在。《雨月物语》由此得以超越浮世草子的流俗之风，而成为引领时代的创新之作，作品对人性 and 生命的深入思考亦使其成为当之无愧的经典之作。

三、在“本土”与“外来”之间：《雨月物语》的经典性

《雨月物语》共5卷、9篇作品，分别为《白峰》、《菊花之约》、《荒宅》、《梦应之鲤》、《佛法僧》、《吉备津釜》、《蛇性之淫》、《青头巾》、《贫富论》。其中《白峰》描写西行法师(1118-1190)在各地参访途中，路经白峰时遇到崇德院(即崇德天皇)闹鬼之事。故事原型见于西行法师的和歌集《山家集》等文献中。

1763年，京都及白峰亦举办过崇德院六百年祭。做为一名和歌及俳句诗人，上田秋成对西行法师的关注很自然。西行与崇德院的对话场景与日本“梦幻能”的场面类似。“梦幻能”指以神灵、精灵等超自然生命体为主人公的能剧剧目，以配角所体验的梦幻形式展开。“白峰”位于香川县坂出市，有崇德天皇陵及庙宇。作品构思与中国明代《剪灯新话》中的“永州野庙记”等篇目亦有异曲同工之处。上田秋成在描写西行与崇德院的对话时，频频引用中国典籍或援用中国典故，这与平安时代贵族物语的创作方法亦有一脉相承之处，亦是《雨月物语》之“物语”特征的重要表现之一。

《菊花之约》中的“菊花”指“菊花节”，亦称茱萸节，即中国传统九月九日重阳节。中国古时在重阳节有登高、赏菊、佩插茱萸等习俗。“菊花之约”即约定重阳节再见之意。原典见《后汉书·独行列传》中的范式故事、《喻世明言》、《古今小说》之“范巨卿鸡黍死生交”等，但作者将原典的“范式”改为“丈部左门”、“张劭”改为“赤穴宗右卫门”，还依据日本《阴德太平记》，将时代背景改为日本战国时代，以突显在人际失去信赖的乱世，呼唤着武士或人际之间的诚信之交。开篇三句“庭院莫栽垂杨柳，结交莫结轻薄儿。杨柳不耐秋风吹，轻薄易结还易离。杨柳逢春发新绿，轻薄永无再访时”（上田秋成，2014：21）译自“范巨卿鸡黍死生交”的开篇文，文笔典雅，朗朗上口，由此亦可见上田秋成对中国明代白话小说相当熟悉。

《荒宅》典出《剪灯新话》之“爱卿传”。日本古典文学中不乏妻子盼夫归家的故事，如《今昔物语集》卷二十七之“人妻死后会旧夫”故事、《伊势物语》第二十四段、世阿弥的谣曲《砧》等作品均描写了苦等丈夫归家的女性形象。但本篇将人鬼殊途的悲剧归于“战乱”这一历史背景，这是对《剪灯新话》之“爱卿传”的借鉴，其他用词、谋篇亦多参照“爱卿传”，如妻子自杀、家宅荒废、老翁告知来龙去脉等均情节基本一致，但上田秋成的翻改技法纯熟，没有丝毫生搬硬套之感，在整部作品中亦成为经典之作。1953年，由本篇及《蛇性之淫》改编而成的电影《雨月物语》非同凡响，获得了第十三届威尼斯国际电影节银狮子奖。

《梦应之鲤》典出《太平广记》卷四百七十一“水族八”之薛伟篇、《古今说海》中的“鱼服记”、《醒世恒言》中的“薛录事鱼服证仙”等，这些文献中均

有薛伟变鱼的故事。本篇参照这些作品，又将《古今著闻集》卷十一中仅留名字的“三井寺的兴义”作为主人公改写而成。作品结尾处所谓“此事古代物语集中有载”中所言“物语集”，亦指《古今著闻集》。本篇亦是一篇内涵丰富的文学作品，其中包含的艺术与自由、生命本质等问题值得探讨，对后世日本文学亦影响深远，如中岛敦的经典之作《山月记》亦一定程度地借鉴了本篇的诸多精华。

《佛法僧》描写梦然居士带着幼子参拜空海大师开辟的日本真言宗大本山高野山，晚上遭遇丰臣秀次（1568-1595）显灵的故事。丰臣秀次是丰臣秀吉的外甥、养子，曾经一度成为丰臣秀吉的接班人，他在丰臣秀吉晚年得子后失宠，被流放高野山赐死。作品充满了灵异气息，但其间穿插汉诗、和歌，并涉及三宝鸟、玉川河等相关人文、地理考据知识，格调高雅。如在汉诗方面，引用空海《性灵集》卷十之“后夜闻佛法僧鸟”诗篇，其诗写道：“闲林独坐草堂晓，三宝之声闻一鸟；一鸟有声人有心，性心云水俱了了。”（渡边照宏，1969：453）“三宝鸟”贯穿始终，是本篇的一个重要意象。“三宝”原指“佛法僧”三宝，这也是本篇题名的由来。三宝鸟通体蓝绿色，分布在西伯利亚东部、中国东北、华北、华中地区，以及东北亚、喜马拉雅山区，日本高野山亦是三宝鸟的著名栖息地，其羽毛鲜艳，亦是价值较高的观赏鸟。日本《太平记》之“官方怨灵会六本杉事”、明代《剪灯新话》之“龙堂灵会录”、“天台访隐录”亦属于同类故事。关于“佛法僧”、“玉川河”的歌学考证提升了本篇的文学性，这点与《剪灯新话》“龙堂灵会录”中的表述方式亦具有共通之处。

《吉备津之釜》典出明代谢肇淛《五杂俎》卷八的妒妇论，同时还参照了《剪灯新话》之“牡丹灯记”等篇目。“吉备津”是日本地名，位于冈山县冈山市。

“吉备津之釜”指吉备津神社的釜祓神事，亦可谓“鸣釜神事”，即通过煮饭锅的响声占卜吉凶。“牡丹灯记”中亦有“盖闻大禹铸鼎，而神奸鬼秘莫得逃其形；温峤燃犀，而水府龙宫俱得现其状”（瞿佑，1981：52）的描写。所谓“大禹铸鼎”指夏禹把九州所贡金铸成九鼎，以象百物。左丘明《左传·宣公三年》记载：“昔夏之方有德也，远方图物，贡金九牧，铸鼎象物，百物而为之备，使民知神奸。”现代汉语中亦有“问鼎”一词，但《吉备津之釜》的改写技巧相当纯熟，全然不见原典的痕迹。

《白蛇传》传说源远流长，与《梁山伯与祝英台》、《孟姜女》、《牛郎织女》

并列为中国四大民间爱情传说之一。早期只是口耳相传，文字版成型故事最早见于冯梦龙《警世通言》之“白娘子永镇雷峰塔”，上田秋成的《蛇性之淫》即典出“白娘子永镇雷峰塔”，但在白蛇精真女儿的细节描写方面亦参照了《源氏物语》、《伊势物语》等日本古典文学的相关法笔。上田秋成将原典的地名、人名一律改为日本地名、人名，如“许宣”改为“丰雄”，白娘子“白素贞”改为“真女儿”（Manako）。本篇寓意深刻，文笔流畅，是《雨月物语》中最为脍炙人口的篇目，其中可见上田秋成基于男性视角的人性探索、女性观等诸多问题意识。

《青头巾》描写一位山僧因执著于情欲，而变成“食尸”山鬼的故事，亦是一个有关修道的故事。其中的食人话题与《今昔物语集》卷十九“参河守大江定基出家的故事”、《宇治拾遗物语》第四“三河入道遁世事”中的大江定基故事有类似之处。在具体描述方面，亦多处参照了《五杂俎》卷五、《水浒传》的相关内容，尤其山僧形象与《水浒传》之花和尚鲁智深有诸多相仿之处，与佛教“白骨观”亦有一定的关联。快庵禅师听村人讲述“食尸”山鬼之事后，感叹道：

天下离奇之事，真是数之不尽。人生于世，倘若不识佛法无边，不知佛与菩萨教化广大，就会浑浑噩噩，虚度一生，最后被爱欲邪念所蒙蔽，犯下罪孽，陷入业障苦海中。某些人前生乃是兽类，今生为人便兽态复萌，残暴瞋恚；某些人前生是鬼是蟒，今生就要蛊惑作祟。此类例子，古往今来不胜枚举。又有一种人，虽然活着，却要化作鬼魅。如楚王宫女化为蛇，王含之母变夜叉，吴生之妻变成飞蛾，等等。（上田秋成，2014：104）

快庵禅师为了点化“山鬼”，赠其一首偈语“江月照松风吹，永夜清宵何所为”，（上田秋成，1977：286）这句偈语出自永嘉《证道歌》，为唐代高僧永嘉玄觉禅师悟道后所撰，唐宋时期曾经广为流传。在快庵禅师的慈悲点化下，“山鬼”最终得度，作品以大团圆的方式落下帷幕。

《贫富论》实际上是一个“财神对谈”故事，其写作背景与江户时代町人势力的崛起以及大阪重商主义流行有关。主人公冈左内是一位以节俭、蓄财著称的真实人物，生卒年不详，大致活跃在安土桃山时代至江户时代初期，曾是日本东北福岛猪苗代的城主。中国西晋隐士鲁褒创作的《钱神论》中就有财神化作人形的故事，《伽婢子》中亦有“和铜钱”化作人的描述。本篇亦显示了上田秋成深厚的汉学功底，他在作品中高度评价了司马迁的《史记·货殖列传》，且看下文：

富而不骄,乃圣人之道。但刻薄之人常谓:富者多吝,豪者多愚。其实,这只是指晋之石崇、唐之王元宝等豺狼蛇蝎之徒而言。往古之时,富者皆是凭借审天时、察地利,顺其自然而发家。周之吕望,封于齐地,教民依地利之便置产创富,海边百姓因此趋利而来;齐国管仲,九合诸侯,一匡天下,虽只是臣子,其富却胜过列国之君。范蠡、子贡、白圭等,皆鬻货谋利,身家巨万。司马迁罗列上述诸公,撰《货殖列传》。后世学者却口诛笔伐,非议甚多,责其立论鄙陋。那一众学者实则是黯于世理也。孟子云:“无恒产者无恒心。”农夫勤劳耕作,五谷丰登;工匠制造器具相助,商贾为其流通货物。大家各司其职,各凭本事置产发家,祭祖先、孝父母、育子孙,此乃人生于世的最大本分。除此之外,尚有何为?《史记·货殖列传》云:“千金之子,不死于市。”又云:“千金之家比一都之君,巨万者乃与王者同乐。”又有云:“渊深而鱼生之,山深而兽往之,人富而仁义附焉。”(上田秋成, 2014: 114)

从上文可知,上田秋成以“读本”的形式,认真地思考着人性以及与之相关的贫富、金钱等问题,其问题意识具有超越时代的普遍意义。《雨月物语》完稿于作者 35 岁时,正式出版于 43 岁时,期间相隔了 8 年时间,想必作者在此期间亦进行了一定的修改。总之,看似独立的各篇目之间存在着严密的结构性,从另一层面展现着经典的魅力。第一篇《白峰》描写被流放的天皇,第二篇《菊花之约》描写日本战国时代的武士,第三篇《荒宅》聚焦普通民众的悲恋故事,这种编排方式呈现出若隐若现的关联性,仿佛《史记》中的本纪(帝王)、列传(人臣)等的体例。第三篇《荒宅》结尾处提及《万叶集》时代的美女“真间手儿奈”投水的故事,第四篇《梦应之鲤》即与“水府”这一异界相关,第五篇《佛法僧》亦是一篇关于“异界”的故事,但将“异界”放在充满宗教气息的“高野山”。第六篇《吉备津之釜》、第七篇《蛇性之淫》、第八篇《青头巾》分别探讨男性、女性、修道人如何面对“色欲”的问题,其中《吉备津之釜》描写背叛妻子的男人受报而亡的故事,第七篇亦可谓女性因“色欲”而亡的故事,第八篇描写修道人几乎因“色欲”堕入万劫不复的境地。第九篇《贫富论》则将“色欲”话题导向“金钱”话题。一说“食色名利睡”是人类最更本的五种欲望。《礼记·礼运》亦言:“饮食男女,人之大欲存焉。死亡贫苦,人之大恶存焉。”可见在接

连探讨了“性欲”问题后，将视角转向“金钱（利）”问题亦属于自然而然的脉络。作者在第九篇《贫富论》的结尾处写道：

自古以来，凡骄奢无度者当政，绝难长久；但若过于节俭，又会陷于吝啬。故而明察节俭与吝啬之界限，甚为重要。今秀吉秉政万难长久，但万民安居乐业，家家讴歌称颂的千秋盛世，即将来临。吾有八字真言，赐君牢记。”说罢高声咏道：

尧蓂日杲，百姓归家。

二人一夜长谈，至此尽兴。远方传来寺院的钟声，已是五更。老翁道：“彻夜清谈，有扰安眠。目下天将破晓，在下告辞了。”站起身来，霎时间消失无踪。

左内仔细回思夜间所闻，揣摩歌中含义，慢慢领悟了“百姓归家”的真谛，深以为然。由此推想到“尧蓂日杲”四字，正是寓意着“瑞草生，旭日明”的吉兆！（上田秋成，2014：119-120）

财神（黄金精灵）所言“八字真言”中，其中“尧蓂”相传为帝尧阶前所生的瑞草，“日杲”是日出明亮之意，“百姓归家”指百姓归于德川家康之意。德川家康是真正统一日本者，这是对丰臣秀吉必然灭亡的预言，又和第一篇《白峰》结尾处对平氏灭亡的预言交相呼应，整部作品成为环环相扣的知性空间。就这样，《雨月物语》的各个作品独立成篇，但又若隐若现地相互联系，这种富于知性的结构形式营造出文学色彩浓郁的“雨月”世界。上田秋成以其生花之妙笔建构了一个怪异、虚构的文学空间，但他在这个虚构的空间中，切切实实地探讨着人性及人的欲望等问题，这是《雨月物语》成为江户文学代表作的原因之一。

不仅如此，上田秋成在日本学术、日语写作等方面的贡献亦有目共睹，《雨月物语》亦是这种探索的重要结晶之一。但上田秋成并非国粹主义者，《雨月物语》对明代白话小说的充分借鉴以及这部作品所采用的“汉文”序言形式都说明了这一点。事实上，他的这种客观理性的日本文化立场随处可见。《藤篓册子》是上田秋成将其日常所感集结成册之作，正如他本人在汉文“后序”中所言：“盖吾见世善和歌者矣、未闻善国文者、凡国文之难、非啻今也、自古而然。”（上田秋成，1977：142）可见这亦是他尝试用“日语”写作日常所思所感，将“日语”

写作导入日常写作中的努力结晶，但作者依然在作品前后各附一篇汉文序言，这与《雨月物语》的体例具有一脉相承之处。上田秋成在《藤簑册子》开篇处的汉文“自序”中写道：

古人云：文章穷而后工、非穷之能工也、穷则门庭冷落、无车尘马足之鬻、事务简约、无簿书酬应之繁、亲友断绝、无征逐游宴之忙、生计羞涩、无求田问舍之劳、终日闭门、兀坐与书为仇、欲其不工不可得已、不独此也、贫文胜富、贱文胜贵、冷曹之文胜于要津、失路之文胜于登第、不过以本领省而心计间耳、到圣人、拘囚演易、穷厄作经、常变如一、乐天安土、又不当一例论也、适有此语、聊足以畅闲情焉、顷一夜梦、垢面短须之老翁来云、兄也薄命不遇、去乡土离六亲、无居无产、自恣为狂荡、而乘闲作文、然句句皆寒酸夏愁。世涂之人谁不以蔽目哉、夫前人慷慨之言、各自爱才舞文、解闷发愤者矣、兄也不然、居常读书有感、将以安不遇乎、抑亦遇不遇、共天地间之动物、人禀之性、不可以为如何已、故来慰问云、觉后思之、冷落失路、为之穷厄、则不可乐、为之命禄、则何以忧耶、余之薄命、及毫而无居无产、惟是愚盲浅识之叹、终日闭门、兀坐乘笔、虽不胜富胜贵之文、聊以为消闲之策耳、享和壬戌晚春、鸭塘头乞丐翁鹑无常居士、拭盲眼书之（上田秋成，1977：2）

上田秋成在这篇汉文“自序”中提及自己的为文为人之道，其理性、冷静、特立独行的个性跃然纸上。在尝试进行“国文”（日语）写作的作品中，亦采用“汉文”序言，其文化象征意义是深刻的，亦表明其“语言”探索是基于日本文化传统基础之上进行的。

结语

明代白话小说的舞台多在杭州、苏州、南京、汴京等地，亦多以皇帝年号开篇以示时间。上田秋成的“日本化”写作，首先将作品的时空背景移到日本，主人公的名字自然也用日本名字。在上田秋成所处时代，中国文化传播到了日本社会的各个角落，当时日本知识分子直面的问题是如何建构本土文化的问题，这亦是日本国生成和发展的历史文化背景。田中优子指出：“近世日本抑或当时日本知识分子所面临的两个问题是‘日语问题、日本神灵问题’，但那决非明治日

本的思考模式。近世的日本意识是‘日本’缺失问题，是相对于‘中国文明’的边缘神灵、边缘语言的存亡问题。”（上田秋成，1990：1）《雨月物语》可谓是上田秋成对“当时日本知识分子直面的问题”的积极回应，其对日本本土文化与中国文化、日语书写与汉语书写关系的客观理性的思考颇有建设意义，较好地呈现了一种“日语”写作范式。可以说，以《雨月物语》为代表的日本江户时代的通俗小说不仅为此后的日本文学创作提供了题材、审美等诸多方面的经验，还在职业作家和读者群建设、出版业发展等方面积累了丰富的经验，这是明治文学得以进一步发展的重要基础之一。明治时代的一些重要作家，如尾崎红叶、幸田露伴、泉镜花、永井荷风等的创作即从江户文学传统中汲取了诸多的经验。可以说，这时期的通俗小说在日本小说发展史上起着承前启后的重要作用，是日本小说史上的重要篇章之一。

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Exploring the Writing Paradigm of the Literature in Japanese: On *Ugetsu Monogatari* by Ueda Akinari

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Abstract: During the period of Edo Shogunate, when Chen-Zhu School was posited as the official school of Confucianism, the Japanese intellectuals who were keen to study Chinese culture and its vernacular literature had to proceed with constructing an indigenous culture. It was nothing but the historical and cultural context of the Japanese kokugaku being bred and developed. *Ugetsu Monogatari*, the pinnacle of the early Japanese *yomihon* novel, is achieved by Ueda Akinari. His thinking and practice of the Japanese writing paradigm are highly inspiring. The paper focuses on analyzing Ueda Akihisa, his exploration of Japanese and Chinese culture, and his practices in Japanese and Chinese literature writing. By placing *Ugetsu Monogatari* in the context of the development of *Kanbungaku* (Chinese literature) in Japan, the paper considers the significance of the *yomihon* novel in the Japanese history of literature and culture.

Keywords: Japanese literature, Chinese vernacular novel of Ming and Qing dynasties, Ueda Akinari, *Ugetsu Monogatari*

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台港暨海外学者文学史著作中的鲁迅、郭沫若书写

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摘要：台港暨海外学者文学史著作中的鲁迅、郭沫若书写，具有以下几个特征：其一，相对于大陆学者史著格局中“中心化”特征，鲁迅、郭沫若在台港暨海外学者史著格局中呈现出“去中心化”、“非中心化”特征。其二，“冷战”时期台港暨海外学者对鲁迅、郭沫若的评价则带上较为明显的意识形态印记。当然，除了意识形态的影响之外，亦有部分学理性的阐释。“冷战”之后，对于鲁迅、郭沫若作品解读的视角则更加个性化、多元化，且能对他们的文学成就与文学史地位作出客观公正的评价。

关键词：鲁迅，郭沫若，去中心化，意识形态印记，公正评价

中国现代文学史的编撰，不但在国内取得显赫的成就，而且在台港和海外，也有不俗的表现，从有数十部之多。^[1]代表性史著有周锦的《中国新文学简史》（台湾、1980）和《中国新文学史》（台湾、1983）、刘心皇的《现代中国文学史话》（台湾、1971）、尹雪曼的《中华民国文艺史》（台湾、1975）、皮述民等的《二十世纪中国新文学史》（台湾、2008）、马森的《世界华文新文学史》（台湾、2015）、林莽的《中国新文学廿年》（香港、1971）、司马长风的《中国新文学史》（上、中、下）（香港、1975）、顾彬的《二十世纪中国文学史》（德国、2008）王德威的哈佛版《新编中国现代文学史》（美国、2017）、孙康宜、宇文所安主编的《剑桥中国文学史》（美国、2013）、梅维恒主编的《哥伦比亚中国文学史》（美国、2016）、^①张英进的《中国现代文学指南》（美国、2016）邓腾克（Kirk Denton）的《哥伦比亚中国现代文学指南》（美国、2016）、罗鹏（Carlos Rojas）和白安卓（Andrea Bachner）的《牛津中国现代文学手册》（美国、2016）等。还有部分专题史著作，代表性的有夏志清的《中国现代小说史》（美国、1961）、唐翼明的《大陆现代小说小史》（台湾、2007）、尹雪曼的《五四时代的小说作家和作品》（台湾、1980）、和《鼎盛时期的小说》（台湾、1980）、周丽丽的《中国现代散文的发展》（台湾、

¹ 古大勇（1973-），男，文学博士，泉州师范学院“桐江学者”讲座教授，绍兴文理学院鲁迅研究院教授，研究方向为鲁迅研究、中国现当代文学研究。本文系2021年度四川省教育厅人文社会科学（郭沫若研究）“海内外文学史著作中的‘郭沫若书写’研究”（批准号GY2021B02）、2020年教育部人文社科研究规划基金项目（批准号20YJA751009）“台港暨海外‘鲁郭茅巴老曹’文学史书写研究（1957-2018）”阶段性成果。

1980)、舒蘭的《五四时代的新诗作家和作品》(台湾、1980)、陈敬之的《中国文学的由“旧”到“新”》(台湾、1980)、赵聪的《新文学作家列传》(台湾、1980)、李牧的《三十年代文艺论》(台湾、1973)等。鲁迅、郭沫若作为文学史中两位举足轻重的作家,在台港暨海外学者文学史著中是如何书写的呢?

一、去中心化:鲁迅、郭沫若在台港暨海外学者新文学史著中的地位

鲁迅、郭沫若是传统的“鲁郭茅巴老曹”中的两位作家。“鲁郭茅巴老曹”名称起源于大陆“毛泽东时代”的文化语境,它有两种内涵,其一是指鲁迅、郭沫若、茅盾、巴金、老舍、曹禺在文学经典化的过程中,已经成为中国现代文学史上最具代表性、最重要的经典作家。其二还隐含这六位作家在“英雄榜”上的位次,即作家文学史地位的排序。“鲁郭茅巴老曹”是大陆“毛泽东时代”被建构的一项国家文化工程。“鲁郭茅巴老曹”经典化建构首先是国家意识形态层面的需要,毛泽东、周恩来、周扬等党的领导在其中起了首要的作用。其次,“毛泽东时代”的文学史家对“鲁郭茅巴老曹”文化工程也起了推波助澜的作用。上世纪50年代出现了一个中国现代文学史写作的热潮,如王瑶、丁易、刘绶松、蔡仪、张毕来等文学史家根据党的文艺政策以及高等教育的需求,分别撰写了文学史著作,在这些史著中,基本确立了“鲁郭茅巴老曹”文学史秩序。具体表现在如下两个方面:首先确立了“鲁郭茅巴老曹”是中国现代文学史上最重要的六位作家的地位;其次,在文学史章节内容的设置上,给予这六大家最充分的文字篇幅,并且绝大多数都能设以专章或专节的形式在目录标题中显现。上世纪五十年代确立的“鲁郭茅巴老曹”文学史秩序一直延续到新时期之后的各种中国现代文学史著作中,六大家依然雄踞各类文学史的作家排行榜之首,并予以专章专节、用最充分的文字予以突出。^[2]因为大陆一直延续至今的“鲁郭茅巴老曹”文学史秩序,鲁迅、郭沫若也因此在大陆学者的新文学史著作格局中一般占据冠军、亚军的位置,保持了“中心化”的地位。然而这种“中心化”现象在台港暨海外学者的文学史著作中却发生了逆变,由“中心化”转变为“去中心化”、“非中心化”。这主要体现在两个方面:其一,在史著的目录上,鲁迅、郭沫若一般不再设以专章或专节的形式,甚至不在标题中出现。第二,在文学史的具体论述内容中,有关鲁迅、郭沫若的论述内容很简单,字数较少,与大陆的文学史相比,差别较大。笔者曾就海峡两岸的新文学史著作比较,统计出如下数字:在上世纪50年代大陆出版的文学史著作中,刘绶松的《中国新文学史初稿》约54.8万字,其中鲁迅占5.2万字,郭沫若占2.2万字;丁易的《中国现代文学史略》约33.3万字,其中鲁迅占4万字,郭沫若占0.78万字;王瑶《中国新文学史稿》约50万字,其中鲁迅占1.25万字,郭沫若占0.9万字。而“戒严”时期的台湾,周锦的《中

国新文学史》约 60 万字，其中鲁迅占 0.26 万字，郭沫若占 0.37 万字；尹雪曼的《中华民国文艺史》约 68 万字，其中鲁迅占 0.13 万字，郭沫若占 0.2 万字；刘心皇的《现代中国文学史话》约 62 万字，其中鲁迅占 0.2 万字，郭沫若占 0.06 万字。新时期之后的大陆，钱理群等的《中国现代文学三十年》约 58.7 万字，其中鲁迅占 3.45 万字，郭沫若占 1.35 万字；朱栋霖等的《中国现代文学史》（现代部分）约 39 万字，其中鲁迅占 3 万字，郭沫若占 1.7 万字。而在同时期的台湾，皮述民的《二十世纪中国新文学史》约 51 万字，其中鲁迅占 1 万字，郭沫若占 0.08 万字；马森的《世界华文新文学史》约 126 万字，其中鲁迅占 1 万字，郭沫若占 0.55 万字。比较大陆和台湾学者文学史对鲁迅、郭沫若两位作家的论述字数以及在整个史著中所占比例，“中心化”和“去中心化”的区别非常明显。^[3]

再以台湾的文学史著具体论述详情来看，在周锦的《中国新文学史》中，鲁迅散落于五四众多有名无名的小说家之中，与汪敬熙、王统照、庐隐、冰心、杨振声、叶绍钧、孙俚工、落花生、郭沫若、张闻天、张资平、郁达夫、周全平、冯沅君、倪贻德、蒋光慈、许钦文、冯文炳、王鲁彦、刘大杰、黎锦明等人并列论述，并无得到作者特别的“优待”，自然亦不能引起读者格外的关注。在尹雪曼的《中华民国文艺史》中，对于鲁迅和郭沫若的论述内容也非常简单，对郭沫若的评价不如王独清、穆木天和冯乃超。在刘心皇的《现代中国文学史话》“论新文学运动初期的新诗”一节，郭沫若竟然“失踪”；徐志摩、李金发、戴望舒等诗人为作者所推崇，重点推介；胡适、刘半农、沈尹默、康白情、俞平伯、周作人、刘大白、沈玄庐、朱自清、宗白华、“湖畔诗人”等也一一在文学史中“露面”，唯独不见郭沫若。而在大陆的现代文学史著作中，谈及新文学运动初期的新诗，郭沫若绝对不可回避，被认为是领时代风骚的“主将型”诗人，通常作为重点内容予以突出。马森的《世界华文新文学史》中，早期白话诗人胡适、刘半农、康白情皆出现在小节标题中，郭沫若却缺席。^[4]在香港李辉英《中国现代文学史》中，郭沫若名字虽然出现在小节标题中，但却是和蒋光慈并列在一起，与胡适、沈尹默、刘半农、刘大白、沈玄庐等出现在标题中诗人是被同等看待的，并且郭沫若的名诗《凤凰涅槃》并没有提及，只提到他的诗歌《立在地球上放号》。对在司马长风的《中国新文学史》中，第七章“‘后放脚’的新诗”一节中，同时提及刘半农、周作人、沈定一、郭沫若、田汉等新诗诗人，对刘半农、沈定一的诗歌大加赞赏，郭沫若的诗歌不以为然，认为他的诗歌“缺点是大喊大叫，很多诗酷似口号的集合体”。^[5]

这种情况同样体现在海外学者的文学史著作中。王德威主编的哈佛版《新编中国现代文学史》，由海内外 143 位学者作家撰写了 161 篇相对独立成章的小论

文,以作家作品、重要文学事件等为中心,构成一部千页巨制的文学史。这161篇文章就如161个“衲衣片”,共同缀合成一部“百衲衣式的文学史”,^[6]而鲁迅、郭沫若不过是其中的两块“衲衣”片而已。在澳大利亚的杜博尼、雷金庆所著的《二十世纪中国文学》第二章第8节“诗歌:大众化的挑战”中,郭沫若是与以下诗人并列提出或介绍的:毛泽东、柯仲平、臧克家、冯至、戴望舒、苏金伞、方敬、高兰、田间、邹荻帆、艾青、卞之琳、何其芳、王辛笛、杭约赫、陈敬容、穆旦、郭小川、柯蓝、郑敏、李季、贺敬之、李瑛等诗人。郭沫若混杂在这么多有名无名的诗人中,显得非常普通。另外,在孙康宜、宇文所安主编的《剑桥中国文学史》和梅维恒主编的《哥伦比亚中国文学史》中,鲁迅、郭沫若书写的“去中心化”特征也表现十分明显。^[7]

总之,在大陆,包括鲁迅、郭沫若在内的“鲁郭茅巴老曹”在文学史版图中处于中心的地位,属于最重要的作家;而在台湾暨海外,则不再处于中心位置,并不比其他很多同时期作家更加重要,表现为“去中心化”、“非中心化”倾向。如果说,三十年的中国现代文学宛如一个布满星星的夜空,那么在大陆,“鲁郭茅巴老曹”就是最大、最璀璨夺目的六颗,^②鲁迅、郭沫若又是其中最为耀眼的两颗,而其他作家不过是分布在周围或相对暗淡、或黯然无光的小星星,分布在“六大家”的周围,对“六大家”形成众星拱月之势。而在台港和海外,则呈现为另外一种格局:在群星密布的文学史夜空中,“鲁郭茅巴老曹”不再是最大最亮的几颗,和周围星星的相比,并无特殊显著之处,所有星星的亮度大致一样,作为一分子共同组成了群星闪烁的现代文学星空。

二、“冷战”时期台港暨海外学者对鲁迅、郭沫若评价的意识形态印记

意识形态的影响主要体现在1947年至1991年之间的冷战时期,冷战时期,社会主义和资本主义两大阵营处于对峙状态,文学研究也一定程度上受制于两大集团之间的战略需要,受到意识形态的影响,带上了浓厚的意识形态印记。

首先,意识形态的影响是指意识形态一定程度上决定文学史的基本构架和评价立场。不少冷战时期的文学史家在写作中,以意识形态和作家政治身份作为重要标准,形成“共产作家”(左翼作家)与“非共产作家”的二元对立的基本框架,贬抑前者而抬高后者。如周锦的《中国新文学史》,对于左翼作家,或在创作上,或在人格上予以贬抑嘲讽。陈敬之的《中国文学的由旧到新》把左翼文学、革命文学视为新小说发展中的“逆流”,为受到左翼文学批判的“新月派”和“现代派”声援。夏志清的《中国现代小说史》,诚然在“发现”张爱玲、沈从文、

钱钟书、张天翼等四大家方面功不可没，但是对于鲁迅、茅盾、郭沫若、丁玲等左翼作家则戴着意识形态的“有色眼镜”，评价有失公允。

其次，意识形态的影响表现为冷战时期文学史家对鲁迅、郭沫若等作家基于意识形态的偏见、贬抑甚至辱骂，其中陈敬之咒骂鲁迅最不遗余力，如他说鲁迅是“共党‘文特’和‘左派仁兄’们的横眉竖目、其恶无比的帮凶”；^[8]骂鲁迅“狂妄骄横”、“领袖欲极强，而自视又甚高”，“‘左联’时代之与赤匪合流，助桀为虐，致国家民族，深受危害，其心可诛，其罪莫赎”；“鲁迅对整个中华民族所造下的罪孽来说，实在是够深重够悲惨了！”^[9]周锦认为：“中国新文学中的散文，一开始就遭到厄运，那是鲁迅在无意中惹下的”。^[10]周丽丽认为鲁迅的杂文“制造是非、颠倒黑白、反对政府、挑拨感情”。^[11]舒简说：“后人或谓‘郭沫若是才子加流氓地痞的机会主义者’，又认为‘郭沫若是出风头、拍马、吹牛的‘风、马、牛’专家’……从第一段他的简历中，见其‘历久弥新’的精神可知一二。”^[12]周丽丽认为郭沫若“终于改变不了一个机会主义者的劣根性”。^[13]周锦认为郭沫若“一直是政府的高级官员，却总认为自己是高人，甚至以‘屈原’自居。但碍于身份，又不能明目张胆，因此大量制造历史剧”。^[14]刘心皇认为在“新文学运动初期”，郭沫若“已开始左倾，给共党送秋波”。^[15]纵观以上文学史家的措辞，对鲁迅、郭沫若进行冷嘲热讽，甚至人身攻击，有些言论形同“骂街”，缺乏学术研究最基本的品格，严重伤害了文学史著作的学理性。

再次，意识形态的影响指文学史家基于意识形态的偏见而对于鲁迅、郭沫若作品的否定。如夏志清贬低一些鲁迅的传统名作如《狂人日记》和《阿Q正传》等，认为“他（鲁迅）十五本杂文给人的总印象是搬弄是非、啰啰嗦嗦”；^[16]认为《故事新编》是“浅薄与无聊”；^[17]认为鲁迅早期文言论文《文化偏至论》《摩罗诗力说》和《科学史教篇》是“说教”^[18]之作，言辞之间充满不屑。就郭沫若而言，对于五四白话诗的杰作《凤凰涅槃》，周锦认为：“把做诗变成了喊口号”；“他的诗的风格，实在没什么好。只是运用了一些新名词，但显得不伦不类，再就是创造了新的语法和句法，但是冗长得有些累赘”。^[19]舒简批评郭沫若的诗“只是一种狂热的发泄和幻想的渲染，而缺乏在客观上的真实性”，是“无蕴藉的标语口号”。^[20]夏志清认为《女神》“节奏的刻板，惊叹句的滥用，都显示缺乏诗才。……郭沫若最好的诗是在四十年代所写历史剧里穿插的几首歌词，运用传统节奏和情感，朗朗可诵”。^[21]司马长风认为郭沫若诗歌的“缺点是大喊大叫，许多诗酷似口号的集合体”。^[22]众所周知，鲁迅的《狂人日记》和《阿Q正传》、郭沫若的《女神》是中国现代文学绕不过去的伟大经典作品，此点已成为学界共识，不必再饶舌。因此，台港暨海外文学史家试图通过放大作品的局部不足来达到完全否定作品成就的做法无疑是欠妥的。同时，对于他们的作品，文学史家进行意

识形态化的强制解读。尹雪曼在解读《狂人日记》“吃人”主题时，引出如下结论：“如果以军阀时代和今天大陆上的共党统治相比，军阀吃人比共党吃人还瞠乎其右，简直可以说是小巫见大巫哩”；^[23]尹雪曼认为鲁迅写《高老夫子》“是以他独到的眼光看清了共产党的真面目”。^[24]周丽丽认为鲁迅的杂文“伤害了（国民党）政府，帮助了苟延残喘的共产党”。^[25]夏志清认为鲁迅的《故事新编》的创作初衷是“讽刺时政”，“做政治讽刺工作”。^[26]李牧认为鲁迅后期的杂文“完全以中共的好恶为依据”。^[27]尹雪曼认为，郭沫若的戏剧《棠棣之花》、《屈原》、《高渐离》、《南冠草》、《孔雀胆》、《虎符》等，“皆把历史故事加以曲解，并以恶意攻击政府，宣传毛共思想”。^[28]夏志清甚至对郭沫若进行全方位的否定：“他（郭沫若）的译作是否可靠，译文是否可读，大有研究的余地，他对古代中国的研究有无价值，也有问题。至于文名所系的创作，实在说来，也不过尔尔。民国以来所有公认为头号作家之间，郭沫若作品传世的希望最微。到后来，大家只会记得，他不过是在他那个时代一个多彩多姿的人物，领导过许多文学与政治的活动而已。”^[29]对郭沫若成就的评价学界虽然也有争议，但不至于虚无到如夏志清那样解构到一无是处的程度吧，由此可见，夏志清对郭沫若的“成见”深也！

三、“偏见”之外的部分学理性阐释和“冷战”之后的个性化解读

冷战时期特别是台湾国民党戒严时期，文学史家在评价鲁迅、郭沫若一方面带着意识形态的偏见，另一方面在部分作品或微观内容的解读上，也能从学理层面进行实事求是的客观评价。尹雪曼对鲁迅的作品既有穿凿附会、无中生有的意识形态化解读，也有客观公正的评价。在《中华民国文艺史》中，他极力肯定鲁迅对新文学的开创之功，认为“当鲁迅第一个尝试成功的短篇小说《狂人日记》，在民国七年五月的《新青年》杂志出现时，不但还没有第二个惹人注意的作家，同时也找不出同样成功的第二篇作品”^[30]。对于鲁迅的散文和杂文，他十分认同郁达夫在《中国新文学大系，散文二集导言》中对鲁迅的积极评价。^[31]陈敬之既恶毒地咒骂鲁迅，同时又不得不公正评价鲁迅的文学地位和成就。她说：“我们如果基于不‘以人废言’，而有只从新散文发展的观点来看周氏兄弟，则他们俩在这一方面的成就和表现，确是我们重视和不容抹煞的地方，……所以他们两人在新文艺运动后期的中国文坛，不仅为新散文开创了两种风格；而同时也为新散文建立了千秋功业。”^[32]对于鲁迅的小说，她也能予以公正评价，如认为鲁迅“吸收了西洋小说的体式和技巧而为中国的短篇小说的奠基人”；^[33]认为《呐喊》、《彷徨》“是比较成功的一种乡土文艺”；^[34]认为《阿Q正传》是“一篇最成功的作品”^[35]；《孔乙己》“文字的经济，技巧的卓越，真可谓传神阿堵，妙到毫巅了”^[36]。此外，赵聪、周锦、舒兰等人都对

鲁迅或其代表性作品作出较高的评价。总之,“台湾“戒严”时期文学史家,虽然对鲁迅有这样那样的意识形态偏见甚至辱骂,但是,“大部分对鲁迅的小说集《呐喊》和《彷徨》,特别是对其中的《阿Q正传》与《狂人日记》,以及散文(诗)集《朝花夕拾》和《野草》皆作出较高评价,由此可以间接看出文学史家对鲁迅的基本价值判断”^[37]。周锦认为郭沫若的《屈原》“文学成就高,舞台效果小,剧中多‘诗的语言’,但是观众必须耐着性子听朗诵,这种情形在他的剧本中很普遍,由这里的例子也可以看出其他”;^[38]司马长风对郭沫若的新诗评价不高,但对其以《虎符》和《屈原》为代表的历史剧创作却比较赞赏,认为它是“从‘题材必须与抗战有关’的牛角尖解脱出来”。^[39]对于郭沫若的新诗,周锦定其风格多样的“求变”性特征,认为“他的求变,对那个时代的青年确是发生了不少影响”。^[40]以上的解读,拔散了意识形态的雾障,回归了学理立场。值得注意的是,冷战时期的文学史家如夏志清、周锦等,在同一本史著中,表现出意识形态化阐释和学理立场同时存在的现象,如果解释这种矛盾现象呢?事实上,“这事实上是史家政治立场和学术立场、功利诉求和史家良知产生内在矛盾和悖逆的一种体现。……该时期的文学史家往往处于政治功利的外在要求和学术良知的内在自律的博弈较量中,造成史著政治色彩和学理品格的混杂性存在。”^[41]

“冷战”之后,文学史家对于鲁迅、郭沫若作品解读的视角更加个性化、多元化,很多视角颇具学术前沿性,有令人耳目一新之感。王德威的史著对鲁迅的书写几乎是离经叛道的。该著中的鲁迅一节标题是《“救救孩子……”——周豫才以鲁迅为笔名写〈狂人日记〉》,并附了一则“编者按”语:“此文是哈金对鲁迅创作《狂人日记》时的创作体验充分研究的基础上,所写的一篇小说式的描述。”^[42]撰写者哈金采用了充满想象的小说式写法。皮述民把《祝福》和《离婚》视为“《新三言二拍》”,认为“明末《三言》、《二拍》中颇有这类主题的小说”;^[43]认为《狂人日记》的小序乃是“类同《红楼梦》的障眼法”;^[44]马森从叙事学的角度来分析鲁迅的小说,强调鲁迅小说创作“隐含的作者”和“第二自我”的作用。^[45]孙康宜从“现代意识”的角度来阐释鲁迅思想的独特性。^[46]邓腾克的史著中有一章名为《“狂人”阿Q,鲁迅小说中的传统与现代性》,也是从现代性的角度来评价鲁迅的作品。^[47]孙康宜在郁达夫小说“情爱书写”的坐标上,衡量出鲁迅小说创作题材的欠缺,指出《狂人日记》“中国本土的文化血缘”:“他的形象可以追溯至屈原的《离骚》、庄子笔下的孤僻隐士,以及六朝时期放荡不羁的名士狂人”。^[48]梅维恒则指出鲁迅在语言改革以及在文学批评方面所做出的贡献,肯定了鲁迅写作的“卢梭式的方式”。^[49]郭沫若《女神》的古典资源一般认为是受到庄子和屈原《离骚》的影响,然后孙康宜却认为:“他(郭沫若)营造的意象

同样也带有晚清诗人如龚自珍末世诗学观念的印记”。^[50]梅维恒指出郭沫若早期历史剧系列“父亲”形象塑造与时代主题之间的关系：“郭沫若作品中的父亲形象——《卓文君》中的家庭之父，《王昭君》中的王权之父，《聂嫈》中的侵略国之父——显示了文明戏中的种族/民族主义主题和五四话剧中反儒家主题之间的关系。在郭沫若的‘历史剧’中，所有这些主题都充满技巧地混合起来并得到探索。”^[51]由以上内容可知，冷战之后境外文学史家对鲁迅、郭沫若的解读视角和书写方法可谓琳琅满目，众声喧哗，这种繁荣的现象在冷战时期是不可能出现的。

顾彬文学史在解读的创新方面尤为值得称道，它的一个最大特征就是“世界视野”，即把鲁迅、郭沫若置于“世界文学”的坐标上进行观照审视。顾彬引入西方的“罪”观念以及现代性视角来解读鲁迅。该著有关鲁迅的标题就是：“救赎的文学：鲁迅（1881-1936）和《呐喊》”；顾彬发现鲁迅早期作品中出现的“旷野”意象与拉丁文《圣经》之间渊源关系：“《以赛亚书》40:3 说到了‘有人在旷野里呼喊’（*vox clamantis in deserto*）”，^[52]从而引出了鲁迅文学“救赎”主题的新质。顾彬认为“只有从当时的国际精神出发才能理解他（郭沫若）的作品”，因此，他把《女神》界定为“自我救赎的文学”，引入了与“上帝（神）的显灵”相对应、埃里克·费格林提出的“自我的显灵”的概念，认为《女神》正体现了“自我的显灵”的特征，而这种“自我”的功能与“把以色列的孩子们从埃及的囚牢中拯救出”的“《旧约》的上帝一样”，“能够把受奴役的中国人民从帝国主义和（半）殖民主义压迫下解放出来”。^[53]顾彬还认为《女神》中常用的“我是”的公式“源于《旧约》：‘我是自有永有的’以及‘我将是我之所是’（《出埃及记》3:14）”。^[54]由以上内容可以看出，顾彬凭借“世界视野”的知识结构优势而带给读者的“陌生化”解读内容，在传统的大陆学者的文学史著作中确实是难觅踪迹。

四、冷战前后：鲁迅、郭沫若文学成就评价的变化

如果说，冷战之前，由于意识形态等的原因，文学史家对于鲁迅、郭沫若的评价相对不公正；那么，冷战之后，文学史家对鲁迅、郭沫若的评价发生了改变，基本能客观公正地评价两位作家的文学成就与文学史地位。例如，皮述民认为“《狂人日记》是现代小说史上一个重要的里程碑”；“《孔乙己》、《药》两篇，可以称为杰作，而《阿Q正传》，实可称为不朽之作”；“我们对鲁迅在新文学史上的地位，绝对持肯定的态度”。^[55]马森肯定《狂人日记》开创性的时代“影响”；认为《阿Q正传》“是为鲁迅赢得广大的读者和国际声誉的一篇小说”；“鲁迅一开笔就有如此成熟的作品问世”。^[56]梅维恒认为“鲁迅被公认为二十世纪中国最伟大的作家，……它们（指作品）对中国社会的影响是其他任何二十世纪中国作

家远远无法超越的”。^[57]孙康宜肯定鲁迅是“现代中国文学和中国意识的奠基者”。^[58]唐翼明指出“鲁迅是中国现代小说的奠基者，也是迄今为止最伟大的现代中国作家”。^[59]顾彬对于郭沫若甚为重视，他的史著中享有专节设置“待遇”的作家仅有鲁迅、郭沫若和郁达夫，可见顾彬对郭沫若的重视。顾彬认为：“诗集《女神》还是不止具有纯粹历时性价值，郭沫若开了一派之风，确定了思想和写作的规范”。^[60]顾彬站在五四时期诗歌由传统向现代转型时代背景下，肯定了郭沫若开一代诗风、确立新诗写作规范的贡献。孙康宜对郭沫若评价亦较高：“现代诗先驱胡适和沈尹默都曾尝试以自由体写作白话诗，郭沫若声誉最隆”；“1921年，他出版了诗集《女神》，由此成为现代文学中最激动人心的声音。《女神》是五四运动之后出现的首部现代诗集。人们普遍认为它代表着当时新青年的浪漫主义情怀与活力。”^[61]孙康宜从“自由体白话诗”写作的最早尝试者、《女神》作为“首部现代诗集”、《女神》反映五四时代精神等三个层面，彰显了郭沫若新诗的文学史价值。总体上看，顾彬和孙康宜都从大处着眼，返回历史语境，从文学史发展的链条上来评估郭沫若《女神》的成就和意义。对比冷战时期文学史家之评价郭沫若，则可以看出区别：后者抓住郭沫若《女神》等早期诗歌的“直白”、“口号化”等特征不放，进行放大，视之为根本性缺陷，从而作出否定性评价。殊不知，《女神》的“直白”、“口号化”不能作脱离时代语境的孤立化评价，如果把它置于白话战胜文言、追求“诗体大解放”的五四文学革命的背景下，“直白”、“口号化”就具有不言而喻的进步性意义。另外，在具体作品的评价上，能摆脱意识形态的偏见，站在学理立场，肯定作家作品的思想艺术成就。如对于郭沫若，孙康宜认为：“郭沫若以为大众歌唱的名义塑造了浪漫主义的自我形象，气魄堪与日月寰宇比肩，在这一方面，他预示了国家话语体系中的‘崇高形象’的出现。如果说郭沫若以夸张的辞藻和神秘的意象征服了五四后读者，徐志摩则攻占了他们的心灵。”^[62]顾彬认为：“郭沫若使用新的象征物（太阳、大海、血液）创造了一种新的神话，这是以动能和反叛为特征的现代的神话。……郭沫若偏爱电光，郁达夫则偏爱自然的黑暗，前者所宣告的新世界似乎被后者又收了回去。”^[63]孙康宜、顾彬指出了郭沫若诗歌对于“崇高形象”的塑造、“现代的神话”建构的贡献，并分别甄别了郭沫若与徐志摩、郁达夫之间的区别，肯定了郭沫若的独特价值。

“冷战”时期，由于意识形态的原因，台港地区的文学史家对郭沫若以《女神》为代表的早期诗歌评价较低，但有一个例外，就是香港的林莽（又名李辉英）。林莽对于郭沫若的《女神》和《前茅》，他也予以高度赞赏。对于郭沫若的《女神》等早期诗歌，林莽认为：“含有尊重个性，景仰自由的内容，那也正好是五四之后人性解脱运动中的一环。他不但对社会有所诅咒，更在正面的歌

颂出强烈的抗拒之声。”^[64]但《前茅》的文学成就高于《女神》，因为前者“内容方面又向前跨了一步”，“他已经把局限于个人范围之内的自由和生活，扩大而为大众的了。由此，纵使他最后唱出激昂慷慨的富有进步意识的诗篇，为创造社诗人中有着成就的一个。”^[65]而郭沫若的初期历史剧，“虽然形式上未臻完美之境，但他的雄浑气魄和时代呼声，则是充满在作品之中，而成为了反封建反强力的有力的标志。”^[66]林莽的文学史强调内容重于形式，又因为他早年来自大陆，与鲁迅等左翼作家有过交往，并受到过他们的影响，因此比较推崇政治倾向激进、偏于左翼的作家作品。这也决定了他对文学史中作家的评价。但以思想内容的进步以及左翼立场作为评价作家作品的标准无疑是偏颇的，所以也就得出了《前茅》的文学成就高于《女神》的结论，事实上，《前茅》是一部缺乏艺术感染力、概念化比较明显的无产阶级文学作品。

结语

以上从几个方面总结了台港暨海外学者文学史著作中的鲁迅、郭沫若书写的特征，由此也可以得出如下启示：首先，从整体上来看，冷战时期，由于意识形态的影响，文学史中的鲁迅、郭沫若书写笼罩上一层厚厚的意识形态迷雾，个别甚至沦为“反共”的工具，因此，其作为学术研究的学理性和客观性大打折扣、受到伤害。冷战之后，意识形态对于学术研究的干扰渐渐消除，学术生态走向正常化，文学史研究也回归学理轨道，因此能相对客观公正的评价鲁迅、郭沫若的文学成就。这一前后变化也大致反映了台港暨海外鲁迅、郭沫若研究乃至文学史研究，由幼稚走向成熟和学理化的坎坷发展历程。其次，台港暨海外学者对于鲁迅、郭沫若的评价，虽然有基于意识形态的偏见，但部分学者也指出了鲁迅、郭沫若作品的缺点，如《女神》的“口号化”特征，如鲁迅后期杂文文学性的降低，虽然这并不影响两部作品的整体成就和文学史地位，但毕竟也是“瑕疵”，然而大陆的文学史家，却罕有人在文学史中明白指出此点缺憾，一定程度上表现出在大陆沿袭已久、习焉不察的“为尊者讳”思维倾向。第三，台港暨海外学者文学史著作对于鲁迅、郭沫若书写的“去中心化”、“非中心化”书写固然轻视、弱化了两位大家的文学史地位，诚不可取；然而，大陆新文学史著作中那种聚焦“鲁郭茅巴老曹”、形成众星拱月之势的“中心化”写作模式就一定是最先进最科学的文学史写作思路？能否采取两者之间适当调和、以一种新的写作思路来进行文学史写作范式的尝试？总之，台港暨海外学者文学史写作思路虽然存在这样那样的问题，但亦有它的特色和优势，在全球化的文化语境下，可否以拿来主义的开放思维，将之作为大陆文学史写作的一种镜鉴和参照呢？

注释：

- ① 值得注意的是，《剑桥中国文学史》和《哥伦比亚中国文学史》是包含中国古代文学与现当代文学在内中国文学史。
- ② 新时期之后特别是 1990 年代后中国现代文学史著作中，除“鲁郭茅巴老曹”之外，也许要加上沈从文、以及稍次于沈从文的艾青、张爱玲、赵树理等作家。

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On the Writing about Lu Xun and Guo Moruo in the History of Literary Works by Taiwan, Hong Kong and Overseas Scholars

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Abstract: The writing about Lu Xun and Guo Moruo in the history of literary works by Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas scholars had the following characteristics: First, compared with the "centralization" characteristic in the pattern of the history works by mainland scholars, Lu Xun and Guo Moruo in the history of literary works by Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas scholars had the characteristics of "decentralization" and "non-centralization". Secondly, the evaluation of Lu Xun and Guo Moruo by scholars in Taiwan, Hong Kong and abroad during the "Cold War" was very ideological. Of course, there were also some theoretical explanations in addition to the influence of ideology. After the "Cold War", the interpretation of Lu Xun's and Guo Moruo's works was more personalized and diversified and could make an objective and fair evaluation of their literary achievements and status in literary history.

Keywords: Lu Xun; Guo Moruo; decentralization; marked by ideology; objective evaluation

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论席慕蓉诗歌中的古典意蕴

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摘要: 席慕蓉诗歌采用的是现代自由诗的形式,但字里行间却透出古典诗歌的影子,主要表现在:闺怨主题、诗画结合的意境美、哀而不伤的抒情方式、引典入诗的技巧。这种对古典诗歌创作理论的沿袭不仅让她赢得广大读者的喜爱,同时也为当代诗坛对经典的继承与发扬带来许多启示与思考。

关键词: 诗歌;席慕蓉;古典意蕴

八十年代初,席慕蓉出现于台湾诗坛,首部诗集《七里香》半年内销售一万册²,随后出版的诗集《无怨的青春》和《时光九篇》亦名列畅销书榜首,在海峡两岸形成一股“席慕蓉热”。时至今日,仍有一大批读者为其作品倾倒。为什么在“快餐文化”肆虐的当代社会,席慕蓉的诗歌仍能得到如此宠爱?原因之一或许在于“席慕蓉的诗不像某些现代派诗人公开排斥传统,她能在首先消化传统的基础上发扬传统。”³八十年代,当先锋诗歌席卷诗坛,席慕蓉却选择对中国古典诗歌的回归。

席慕蓉族裔蒙古,但自小深受中国古典文化熏陶,尤其热爱古乐府诗歌。她在《子夜变歌》的后记中写道:“今日在灯下细读《乐府》,在南朝数十首《子夜歌》里,原来颇有几首是在十几岁时就开始铭记在心的。……所有的诗句都是在上学下学的路上轻轻背诵,轻轻记起来的。”⁴正是这种对古诗的情有独钟,令她在创作中自觉或不自觉地运用其深厚的古典诗歌底蕴。她的诗歌虽然选择现代诗的外形,却让人读出古典诗歌的韵味。

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² 唐宝珍:《浅析席慕蓉诗歌艺术》,《景德镇高专学报》,1999年第14期,第69页。

³ 吴奔星:《台湾三家诗·序》,见郭济仿、王建选评:《台湾三家诗精品》,合肥:安徽文艺出版社,1990年版,第6页。

⁴ 席慕蓉:《在黑暗的河流上》,海口:南海出版公司,2003年版,第200页。

一、闺怨主题

正如评论家们所说：“爱的抒发已成了席慕蓉诗歌的第一主题”¹，席慕蓉写下了大量温婉清丽的爱情诗。这些诗歌多以“我”为抒情主体，但“我”并不独指席慕蓉自己，而是深深印记于她心中的充满中国传统文化色彩、显现古典文化规范的女性。可以说，席慕蓉是以一个“代言人”的身份，将自己化作爱恋中的女子不温不火、不急不慢地浅吟低唱着或缠绵悱恻、或哀婉多思、或绵密长情的故事。她们的情感沿袭着古乐府、商风唐雨里每一个女子所能够表达的闺思闺怨，留恋青春、相信爱情。如《古相思曲》：

在那样古老的岁月里
也曾有过同样的故事
那弹箜篌的女子也是十六岁吗
还是说 今夜的我
就是那个女子

就是几千年来弹着箜篌等待着的
那一个温柔谦卑的灵魂
就是在莺花烂漫时蹉跎着哭泣着的
那同一个人

那么 就算我流泪了也别笑我软弱
多少个朝代的女子唱着同样的歌
在开满了玉兰的树下曾有过
多少次的别离
而在这温暖的春夜里啊
有多少美丽的声音曾唱过古相思曲²

席慕蓉在低吟的古曲中缓缓述说每一个相思谦卑的故事，体味她们甜蜜而忧伤的情感并为之感动落泪。在她看来，几千年来中国女性都是那个“感君一回顾，思君暮与朝”的乐府少女，都是那个因情而梦、因梦而痴的杜丽娘。《悲喜

¹ 蔚天骄：《台港文学名家名作鉴赏》，北京：北京大学出版社，2003年版，第292页。

² 席慕蓉：《古相思曲》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第6页。

剧》中等待千帆过尽的悲喜不分，与王昌龄《闺怨》中“春日凝妆上翠楼”的少妇之心如出一辙；“在千层万层的莲叶之间/当你一回眸/许多事情就此决定了”（《缘起》），此回眸又何尝不是“蓦然回首，那人却在灯火阑珊处”的现代演绎？与此同时，她热爱并赞美这些温柔谦卑、为爱而生的女子，不标榜女权，不倡导改变。当“男女平等”成为现代社会的口号，对爱情的全身心投入似乎成为女人生命的拖累，席慕蓉仍执着地在诗中抒写相信爱情、忠于爱情的古典女性，在她们的爱情意识中，来不及灌入平等的现代概念，只有爱与不爱本身。

“水笔仔是一种珍贵罕有的植物，就像一种珍贵罕有的爱情，在这世间越来越稀少，越来越不容易得到，因为，太多的人已经不愿意再去爱，再去相信。而我对你，自始就深信不疑。”¹正如席慕蓉在《给我的水笔仔》后记中的爱情宣言，她笔下的女性相信至死不渝的爱情，如同《白鸟之死》中“决心不再闪躲的白鸟”，固执地相信“你若是这世间唯一/唯一能伤我的射手”，那么“让我死在你的手下”，也如同“终于能死在你怀中”那么幸福²；而《泪·月华》中的女子，明知爱人已逝，却宁愿相信“这悠长的梦/还没有醒/但愿现实变成古老的童话/你只是长睡一百年/我也陪你”。这种真爱甚至超越时空、亘古不变，《楼兰新娘》在千年后被鲁莽地惊醒后，心中只有爱人最后的形象，“把鲜花洒落在我胸前/同时洒落的/还有他的爱和忧伤”，并责怪世人敲碎其温柔的心，只愿“还我千年旧梦/我仍是/楼兰的新娘”，甘愿埋葬于“亘古的甜蜜与悲凄”。

闺中女子痴迷于爱，却不一定得到圆满的爱情，诗中所写的往往只是她们深埋于心的情愫在某个情境下如溪水般缓缓流出，迷离凄美。她们总是在等待，如同盛开的夏荷在最美丽的时刻，“我已亭亭/不忧/亦不惧”，“多希望/你能看见现在的我”（《莲的心事》）；又总是在迟疑，因迟疑而错过，年轻时无从启口，“而今夜相见/却又碍着你我的白发”，最终只是“我用一生/来思索一个问题”（《疑问》）；即使有缘相聚，“他给了我整片的星空……我是一个/受纵容的女子”（《他》），也只是走过一段静静的岁月，终归别离，“年轻的爱/原来只能像一场流星雨”（《流星雨》），“余生将成陌路/一去千里”（《送别》）；日后再相逢，“只有月色能如当

¹ 席慕蓉：《给我的水笔仔》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第144页。

² 席慕蓉：《白鸟之死》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第109页。

初一样美丽”，两人已无法回头，“我们今世一无所有/也再/一无所求”，这般物是人非的感慨，不禁令人想起陆游与唐婉令人扼腕的爱情，这首《重逢之一》一如《钗头风》般哀怨凄美、肝肠寸断。

“惟草木之零落兮，恐美人之迟暮。”两千多年前，浪漫诗人屈原就发出如此感叹，青春逝去、韶华不再的感伤在我国古诗中比比皆是。席慕蓉作为一个承袭了千年古典文化传统的女诗人，她笔下的传统女性在相信爱情之余，也时时流露出华年惆怅。如《千年的愿望》中“多少个闲情的少女”：

总希望
二十岁的那个月夜
能再回来
再重新活那么一次
然而
商时风
唐时雨
多少枝花
多少个闲情的少女
想她们在玉阶上转回以后
也只能枉然地剪下玫瑰
插入瓶中¹

席慕蓉笃信这种对美好时光、美丽情怀的追怀几千年来未曾变更，古往今来，那么多个温婉的少女最后也只能在现实生活中日渐失色，如张爱玲所言：“黄卷青灯，美人迟暮，千古一辙”。韶光已远、青春逝去是一种伤感，“含着泪/我一读再读/却不得不承认/青春是一本太仓促的书”（《青春之一》），亦是一种怀念，“而在陌生的城市里/我夜夜举杯/遥向着十六岁的那一年”（《十六岁的花季》）。

翻开席慕蓉的爱情诗歌，每一个“我”都恍如从《诗经》、古乐府、唐诗宋词中漫化而来的闺阁女子，展现着中国传统女性对爱情、对青春的哀怨之情。

¹ 席慕蓉：《千年的愿望》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第11页。

二、诗画结合的意境美

中国自古以来诗与画的关系就颇为密切。早在东汉时期，王充在《论衡》中就将诗画进行比较，曹植的《洛神赋》便是在诗歌基础上的作画。魏晋时期，诗画结合的意境观念逐步形成。降至唐代，“神似”也一度成为诗画的美学追求，王维便是盛唐诗人中诗画结合的鼻祖。自此，“诗中有画，画中有诗”，一直是我国古代诗画艺术创作的一条规律。席慕蓉本是习画的，十三岁开始写诗，她说：对于绘画和写诗“两者我都极爱。不过，对于前者，我一直是主动地去追求，……对于后者，我却从来没有刻意地去做过些什么努力，我只是安静地等待着，在灯下，在芳香的夜晚，等待它来到我心中。”¹艺术的门路虽“殊途”但向往却“同归”，在席慕蓉看来，绘画与写诗也是如此。她总能在诗画合一的水乳交融中找到最天真浪漫的自己。读她的诗歌仿佛身临一幅幅万物生灵的画面感中，品味她的绘画又如同被千年古韵的诗意春风所裹挟。这一点，与盛唐山水田园诗人王维极为相似。

首先，绘画讲究色彩与线条的有机组合，而席慕蓉的诗歌充满色彩美，多种色彩往往先后出现在同一首诗内，形成强烈对比。如《山月——旧作之一》：

在山中 午夜 松林像海浪
月光替松林剪影
你笑着说 这不是松
管它是什么 深远的黑 透明的蓝
一点点淡青 一片片银白……²

席慕蓉将山中的松月美景用“黑、蓝、淡青和银白”等渐变色彩一点一点勾勒出来，由深至浅，如同一幅散发着淡淡墨香的中国山水画。

其次，她善于精心选择意象，将单纯而优美的意象层叠起来，营造一种美的氛围。如《山路》：

我好象答应过
要和你 一起
走上那条美丽的山路

¹ 席慕蓉：《一条河流的梦》，《七里香》，广州：花城出版社，1987年版，第109页。

² 席慕蓉：《山月——旧作之一》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第90页。

你说 那坡上种满了新茶
还有细密的相思树
我好像答应过你
在一个遥远的春日下

而今夜 在灯下
梳我初白的头
忽然记起了一些没能
实现的诺言 一些
无法解释的悲伤
在那条山路上
少年的你 是不是
还在等我
还在急切地向来处张望¹

在这首诗中，我们依稀看到那些层峦叠嶂般的意象群向我们一一展开：满山遍野的“新茶”，枝叶繁茂的“相思树”，过去的承诺都发生在“一个遥远的春日”。紧接着，时空更迭，沧海桑田，故事轮转至“今夜灯下”，才恍然想起曾经“春日”的誓言，物是人非的恍惚刹那间，唯一不变的永恒却是尘封于“山路”的记忆。穿插在意象堆砌的人生变奏图中，却如同江河湖海般汇入了更多对生命真谛和时空变幻的思考。

无论是对比强烈的色彩，还是层叠的优美意象，它们营造的美丽境地都蕴涵着诗人的情思。王国维曾在《人间词话》中论到：“有有我之境，有无我之境……有我之境，以我观物，故物我皆著我之色彩。无我之境，以物观物，故不知何者为我，何者为物。”²席慕蓉的诗歌虽然大多采用第一人称的视角，但是她在诗歌创作上仍然追求意境美，用移情入景的方式完成“有我之境”。如《时光的复仇·山芙蓉》：

斜阳里 山芙蓉迟迟开放

¹ 席慕蓉：《山路》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第127页。

² 王国维：《人间词话》，南宁：广西人民出版社，2017年版，第4页。

前来的却是傲然的时光
生命中所有的犹疑与蹉跎
仿佛都在此刻现身责问
剑气森冷 暮色逼人

云雾从花树间流过 群峰静默
我们刚刚绽放的笑容瞬即凋落
看啊 那山径的转角
年少时曾经携手并立的地方
在沉沉下降的浓云里
朝我们迎来的是复仇之神¹

诗歌将不再年少的“我们”对韶光转瞬即逝的哀伤、对青春情怀的不舍移入山芙蓉上，清丽的山芙蓉终敌不过时光君主，在静默的群山中连同我们的笑容瞬即凋落。这首诗令人不禁想起王维的《辛夷坞》：“木末芙蓉花，山中发红萼。涧户寂无人，纷纷开且落。”迟迟开放的山芙蓉，与《辛夷坞》中的芙蓉花一般孤芳自赏，只是少了份清静自得的禅意，多了份好景不长的无奈与心伤。

移情入景的意境生成方式在席慕容的诗歌中很常见，如《莲的心事》《春蚕》《树的画像》《海鸥》《鹰》等，这些诗歌巧妙地将生动的形象、美丽的画面与浓郁的诗意融为一体，充满诗情画意。以画入诗，对席慕容而言是十分自然的，如同那一千多年前的王维。

席慕容另辟蹊径，诗歌中也不乏以景带情的佳作。这与席慕容随性而起的情怀、直抒胸臆的写作手法不无关系。正如前文所述，她诗歌中的景物大多采取纯粹客观的白描笔法，与王维的诗风不谋而合，尽管轻描淡写的景物显得极为平凡质朴，且毫不起眼，但在这些审美生活日常化的景物的衬托下，深厚浓郁的情思如抽丝剥茧般缓缓铺开，愈发营造出依依不舍、欲说还休的情境。如《时光的河流》《送别》《给你的歌》等都是以景带情的代表之作。

¹ 席慕容：《时光的复仇·山芙蓉》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第180页。

三、哀而不伤的抒情方式

孔子在整理修订《诗经》时，曾赞赏《关雎》：“乐而不淫，哀而不伤”，并将其列为诗三百篇之首。自此之后，“哀而不伤”作为一种情感抒发原则，随处可见于古典诗歌中，尤以张若虚的《春江花月夜》为代表。“……江畔何人初见月？江月何年初照人？人生代代无穷已，江月年年只相似。……”诗人虽有对人生短暂的感伤，但并不是颓废与绝望，而是缘于对人生的追求与热爱，从大自然的美景中感受到几许欣慰。

席慕容深受古典诗歌影响，写诗时深谙节制之道。她并不像很多现代诗人那样大肆宣泄情感，而是借鉴国风，让心中之情如泉水淙淙，在情感表达上做到“哀而不伤”。如她所言，诗歌带来的世界应是“一个温柔敦厚的世界”。¹同是写乡愁，不妨拿《祖训》一诗与王维的《杂诗》作比较：

君从故乡来，应知故乡事。来时绮窗前，寒梅著花未？（王维《杂诗》）

当独处他乡忽遇故人时，多想从他口中得知故乡的点滴一二，心中的狂喜本是难以掩藏和言表的。但诗人却有着出奇的克制力，只是浅浅地道一句窗前的梅花可曾绽放。这是王维诗歌一贯的风格，纯粹客观的白描写法，看不到丝毫的热烈和张扬，但平淡如涓涓细流的字里行间却凝聚着诗人不曾外溢的浓郁之思。席慕容的《祖训》，又何尝不是如此？

就这样一直走下去吧
不许流泪 不许回头
在英雄的传记里 我们
从来不说他的软弱和忧愁

就这样一直走下去吧
在风沙的路上
要护住心中那点燃着的盼望
若是遇到族人聚居的地方
就当做是家乡

¹ 席慕容：《诗教》，《透明的哀伤》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第125页。

要这样去告诉孩子们的孩子
从幹难河美丽母亲的源头
一直走过来的我们啊
走得再远 也从来不会
真正离开那青碧青碧的草原¹

席慕蓉对想象中的故乡那一片北方的草原充满深情，而她在几十年的时光里没能回归故土，其中有多少思念、多少悲伤，但这首乡愁诗却没有铺张、详尽地诉说伤痛之情，而是从祖训中寻找坚强的理由，只要铭记自己的根在何处，那么“走得再远/也从来不会/真正离开那青青碧碧的草原”。

中华民族的审美观，从儒家思想开始，就一直主张中和节制、温柔敦厚的审美观念。强调理性占主导、克己复礼的情感控制，并将“发乎情、止于礼”视为中庸之道。席慕蓉在她的诗歌中表现的情感节制、哀而不伤，无疑有着民族性格和民族文化的基础。

四、引典入诗的技巧

“用句”，是一种将前人的语句引入自己的作品中的用典方法。²席慕蓉善于从古诗词中“量体裁衣”，这也是其诗歌沿袭古典诗词创作理论的最鲜明的表征。这些随处可见飘零在她诗歌行文中的古风余韵，很容易让人察觉她不经意间向古典传统复归的意图。席慕蓉诗歌的用句大体可以分为三种方式。

一是在诗题之下引用古诗透露诗情。如《古相思曲》，不但用的是乐府诗题，而且引用古乐府的“只缘感君一回顾，使我思君暮与朝”以为题记，开篇便将读者带回两千多年前，体味古今如一的少女心情。同样的还有《子夜变歌》一诗，以“人传欢负情，我自未尝见。三更开门去，始知子夜变”为题记，随后在诗中诉说被遗弃的女子惊觉“所谓幸福啊/早已悄然裂成片段”。这种用句方式为席慕蓉诗歌独有，别具古诗韵味。

二是原句借用，将古诗句直接嵌入诗中，一字不改。如《在黑暗的河流上》：“灯光灿烂/是怎样美丽的夜晚/你微笑前来缓缓指引我渡向彼岸/（今夕何夕兮

¹ 席慕蓉：《祖训》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第273页。

² 雷学军：《席慕蓉与中国古代诗歌》，《海南师范学院学报》（社会科学版），2004年第2期，第42页。

/中塞洲流/今日何日兮/得与王子同舟)”¹，将《越人歌》的诗句直接移入诗中，但并不给人以组装嫁接的感觉，这与其用典时注意情感的暗合、节奏的趋同不无关系。

首先，席慕蓉根据诗歌抒发情感的需要，甄选古诗句入诗，呈现古典与现代的混融视界却不显突兀。如述说对故乡粗犷辽阔的蒙古草原思念之情的《长城谣》中巧妙地借用北朝民歌《敕勒川》中的“敕勒川，阴山下”，异曲同工地尽显苍茫宇宙洪荒中的赤子之心。虽然是用典，但是将敕勒川与阴山作为蒙古草原的代表，合情合理。

其次，席慕蓉十分注重诗歌的节奏感和音律感。现代诗歌不像古体诗讲究格律和字数，但席慕蓉却做到了“化零为整”，在看似错落不齐中追求节奏韵律的一致性，使人读起来朗朗上口，铿锵有力。如《生别离》：

悲莫悲兮/生别离
而在他年/在/
无法预知的/重逢里/
我将/也不能/
再也不能/再/
如今夜/这般的美丽/²

全诗每句都被顿开一次，形成“两句”的节奏，“悲莫悲兮/生别离”中的“兮”字明显源于“离骚体”的典型范式，并且此处节奏的停顿处理与屈原《九歌》中的“悲莫悲兮生别离”如出一辙。因此虽是现代诗中汇入古典“兮”的元素，却全然不会读来不顺，倘若不告诉读者该诗作者，或许很难想象竟是出自席慕蓉之手。

三是句意化用，将古人诗句重新组织安排，融进自己诗歌中。席慕蓉在《历史博物馆》中浑然不知地化用王昌龄的“葡萄美酒夜光杯，欲饮琵琶马上催”，笔锋从血气方刚的男儿壮志转向送君惜别的柔情女儿：

归路难求 且在月明的夜里
含泪为你斟上一杯葡萄美酒

¹ 席慕蓉：《在黑暗的河流上——读〈越人歌〉之后》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第209页。

² 席慕蓉：《生别离》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第40页。

然后再急拨琵琶 催你上马
 知道再相遇又已是一世
 那时候
 曾经水草丰美的世界
 早已进入神话 只剩下
 枯萎的红柳和白杨 万里黄沙¹

这种古为今用的句式，对席慕蓉的诗歌写作而言，可谓信手拈来。如“那女子涉江采芙蓉”（《悟》）化用《古诗十九首》的“涉江采芙蓉，兰泽多芳草”；“多情应笑我/千年来/早生的岂只是华发”（《囚》）化用苏轼的“多情应笑我，早生华发”（《念奴娇·赤壁怀古》）；“而千山万径都绝灭了踪迹”（《树的画像》）化用柳宗元的“千山鸟飞绝，万径人踪灭”（《江雪》）等等。²

此外，席慕蓉还十分注重诗歌意境与所选诗句的情境合一，相得益彰。我们读她的诗，虽闪烁着古典的余音袅袅，却也徜徉着具体诗境下碰撞交汇的情思。这的确是席慕蓉诗歌艺术的高明精妙之处，每一字一句乍看上去都似巧夺天工、语出精心，但却散发出浑然一体，天然去雕饰之感，仿佛不知不觉走进几千年前纷纷扬扬的商风唐雨，令人神往痴迷。

五、结语

席慕蓉的诗歌在两岸刮起一股旋风，这种现象在新诗史上被称为“席慕蓉现象”。³虽然评论界对此各有褒贬，莫衷一是，但无论如何，席慕蓉诗歌的发行量堪比《唐诗三百首》的不争事实便足以说明其诗歌的精湛艺术和独特魅力。而让席慕蓉诗歌赢得读者喜爱的深层次原因之一在于其深谙闺阁主题、哀而不伤的抒情方式、诗画结合的意境美和引典入诗的技巧等古典诗歌的创作理论和艺术手法。翻开席慕蓉的诗册，洋洋洒洒的千年余音古韵扑面而来，仿佛从中走出一个个“楼兰新娘”或“箜篌女子”，较之“门前冷落鞍马稀”的当代诗坛来说，席慕蓉对古典诗歌的继承与发扬带来许多启示与思考。

¹ 席慕蓉：《历史博物馆》，《在黑暗的河流上》，海口：南海出版公司，2003年版，第191页。

² 参见雷学军：《席慕蓉与中国古代诗歌》，《海南师范学院学报》（社会科学版），2004年第2期，第42页。

³ 参见唐宝珍：《浅析席慕蓉诗歌艺术》，《景德镇高专学报》，1999年第14期，第69页。

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On the Classical Meanings in the Poems of Xi Murong

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Abstract: In his poems, Xi Murong used modern free verse to express her understanding of classical poetry which was mainly featured in the forms of the boudoir theme, the beauty combined with poetry and painting, the lyricism of mourning, and the technique of quotations and allusions from classics into her poetry. This inherited adherence to classical poetry in her creation has won her the love of readers and brought many inspirations to the contemporary poetry world regarding the inheritance and development of classics.

Keywords: Poetry; Xi Murong; classical meanings

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如何为阿 Q 作“后传”？

——论三部同名《阿 Q 后传》的创作得失

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摘要：本文从思想旨趣和艺术表现两方面对《阿 Q 正传》的三部同名续写之作《阿 Q 后传》展开研究，从“承续与突破”角度综合考察其成败得失。其中林礼明和韶华在其著作中都基本继承了原著主旨，戴品宏的著作则背离了原著主旨。韶著中的阿 Q 形象基本符合原著中的个性化特点，林著和戴著中的阿 Q 形象则较为单一；而在情节构思上既有对原著大胆挖掘，处理成功的地方，也有不少值得商榷之处。总之，作品续写一方面凸显了原著的生命力，另一方面也有助于原著的传播。

关键词：《阿 Q 后传》；续书；创作得失；《阿 Q 正传》

《阿 Q 正传》自诞生之后，产生了多部重写和续写之作，仅就续写之作而言，就出现了林礼明的《阿 Q 后传》、韶华的《阿 Q 后传》和戴品宏的《阿 Q 后传》等长篇小说。^①作为“接续原著的人物、情节继续加以发展而成”^[1]的特殊创作，续书在小说史上并不多为人关注，零星的评价也是多贬少褒，但其作为一种创作现象却伴随中国小说的成熟而绵亘至今。有学者将其置于由“经典与非经典”共同建构的文学生态中进行认识：“如果把经典作品比作高峰的话，非经典作品就是围绕着高峰的群山，二者是一种相互依存、相互映衬的关系，缺一不可。”^[2]作为名著的附骥，续书自然大多是非经典作品，它不仅和一般的非经典作品一样具

¹ 桂亚飞（1995-），女，绍兴文理学院人文学院硕士研究生，主要从事中国现代文学研究，邮箱：764472045@qq.com。本文系绍兴文理学院 2021 年研究生校级科研课题“新世纪以来《阿 Q 正传》研究述评”（Y20210109）、2020 年教育部人文社科研究规划基金项目（20YJA751009）“台港暨海外‘鲁郭茅巴老曹’文学史书写研究（1957-2018）”的阶段性成果。本文的选题和写作得到古大勇教授的指导帮助，特此谢忱。

有研究社会思想,总结创作经验,满足多元化阅读需求等价值,还因为和前文本的关系,具有特殊的鉴赏和批评意义,“是认识经典、烘托经典、发现经典乃至刷新经典的重要途径之一。”^[3]基于此,本文试图对林礼明、韶华和戴品宏的三部同名续写之作进行研究,从主旨思想与艺术表现两个方面考察其成败得失。

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鲁迅先生的《阿Q正传》意在“写出一个我们现代的国人的魂灵来”^[4],“刻画出隐伏在中华民族骨髓里不长进的性质——阿Q相”^[5],他煞费苦心地使用“纠缠、模糊、空白、特征等叙事策略”^[6],希望“使读者摸不着在写自己以外的谁,一下子就推诿掉,变成旁观者,而疑心到像是写自己,又像是写一切人,由此开出反省的道路。”^[7]林礼明、韶华和戴品宏的同名《阿Q后传》均在原著的基础上,巧妙构思阿Q死里逃生后的命运,展开阿Q新的人生传奇,但思想旨趣却表现各异,既有在准确理解原著基础上的继承与发展,也存在对原著思想的歪曲与背离。

其中林著讲述了吴妈以牺牲自己的肉体救回阿Q,他们流落在贺家坳土谷祠组建家庭,后阿Q参加革命,在不断地接受“阎王”以虚伪为本质的封建礼教的洗礼以及古久等谋士以韬略和狠毒为精要的帝王术的辅佐下,一步步成为土皇帝式的“Q庄家”并树碑立传的传奇故事。不难看出,林礼明是以“阿Q革命”为核心进行故事的续写。这一点他在《后记》中也进行了一定的说明:“有阿Q,就会有‘阿Q似的革命党’;有‘阿Q似的革命党’的出现,就必然会有阿Q:此二者是相辅相成的”^[8]。而在具体的表现上,他则以“阿Q似的革命一如中国历史上传统的农民革命”^[9]为旨要,使后传中的阿Q革命遵循古代农民革命的模式展开,竭力展现其自私、残暴的一面,在阿Q身上渗透了朱元璋、张献忠一类“农民革命家”的影子。例如在“行状”上,从阿Q当和尚,成为蓝盔蓝甲军的小头目到称王、树碑立传都是有迹可循的,而在性格上,基于批判性主旨则主要参照“农民革命家”们权谋、猜忌、狠毒的一面。作者对原著的理解是深刻的,他指出,在封建大文化背景下我国历史上的每一次农民革命,“鲁迅都是持否定的、谴责的态度的”,“认为他们的‘革命’、‘造反’不过是为了满足自己当皇帝的私欲,他们动辄杀戮,比原来的主子更坏。”^[10]而阿Q在土谷祠的革命畅想曲则恰

恰表明其革命的基本属性也正如这里的“农民革命”一样，也是“刀与火”，追求的“是纯粹兽性方面的欲望的满足”^[11]，革命成功之后，只会建立另一个以他为首的封建等级社会，阿Q革命的目的和古代农民革命在本质上并无二致，因此要予以否定和批判，在此点上，后传作者林礼明和原著作者鲁迅的态度是相同的。

韶著叙述了阿Q因意外揭露自己是县太爷本家的身份被救，略施计谋得到小尼姑之后却被抓壮丁进入国民党军队，后荣回未庄，在土改、大跃进、文革及改革开放等历史洪流中升沉起伏的人生经历。虽然也是以“阿Q革命”为主要表现内容，但韶华没有向上去追溯其历史本相，而意在“展示这种‘国民精神’是如何延续和发展的”^[12]，对现实政治运动和社会生活中借尸还魂的“阿Q精神”予以挖掘。鲁迅在《〈阿Q正传〉的成因》中说：“……但此后倘再有改革，我相信还会有阿Q似的革命党出现。我也很愿意如人们所说，我只写出了现在以前的或一时期，但我还恐怕我所看见的并非现代的前身，而是其后，或者竟是二三十年之后”^[13]，就已经指明了这种国民劣根性的顽固性。但在特殊的民族历史语境下，政治救亡的主题不可避免会压倒思想启蒙的主题，“长久封建社会产生的社会结构和心理结构并未遭受资本社会的民主主义和个人主义的冲毁，旧的习惯势力和观念思想仍然顽固地存在着，甚至渗透了人们意识和无意识的底层深处”^[14]。农民更是一度在优越社会政治地位的掩护下给其精神顽疾穿上了隐身衣，最终酝酿了惨痛的历史教训。韶华通过对《阿Q正传》的续写再次提出了这一历史问题。其作品中的阿Q已经不再是当初为要革命而走投无路的可怜虫，他上过解放军的政治课，还在“土改学习班”深造了一个月，“满嘴新名词，成了本村的‘革命博士’”，再加上低无可低的阶级地位，直接当上了“未庄农民会”的主任，开始了以他为领导展开的斗地主、分田地、搞生产的革命事业。在时代政策的掩护下，阿Q不仅报了旧仇，还名利双收，娶了“鸡食分子”（阿Q总是把“知识分子”说成“鸡食分子”）当老婆，在文化大革命、改革开放等改革运动中，也是无所不用其极的假公济私，大饱私囊。除了阿Q“招牌虽换，货色依旧”之外，作者还描绘了其身边如张部长、李队长、王胡、赵白眼等革命事业中大大小小的干部人员，对他们身上的形式主义、曲意迎合、排斥异己等劣根性进行了表现，刻画诸多在新时代的外衣下依然缺乏个性、在等级制度下讨生存的魂灵，诙谐的小说语言中流露出沉重的现实忧虑。由此可以看出，韶著不仅是对极左路线的揭露，

更是对国民劣根性的继续批判，稍感缺憾的是，原著中的阿Q革命只是阿Q个性的自然发展，鲁迅先生借此是为更深层次地表现出“阿Q相”的特征；而韶著虽然采用了有利于内心刻画的长篇小说文体，对小说人物的精神世界的开掘却并没有达到理想的程度。

戴著记叙了阿Q被吴妈意外救回，二人在亲友的见证下喜结连理，并学得拳脚功夫外出谋生，后在抗日战争中带领百姓创立游击队保家卫国，并经历文革动乱最终迎来改革开放幸福生活的人生旅程。和韶著一样，戴著也经历了较长的时间跨度，从辛亥革命之后的军阀割据一直到改革开放，其中以阿Q剿匪、参加抗日战争、经历文革动乱为主要情节内容，因此，也可以说戴著仍然是对“阿Q革命”的再演绎。但是和原著对阿Q革命的批判性意旨相反，作者在小说中展示的是阿Q革命的正义性、传奇性。以小说中花了七章内容来写的抗日战争为例，阿Q为什么会组织游击队参加抗日战争呢？为了报复“未庄的一群鸟男女”？为了“威福、子女、玉帛”？均不然。小说中叙述的是阿Q有感于日本铁蹄对国土的践踏，致使民族和家乡陷入了水深火热、生灵涂炭的境地才愤然带领自己的亲朋好友组织抗日游击队的。而在一场场的战斗经历中，他们有谋有略，无比神勇，大挫日本军，队伍也越来越壮大，不仅有男兵班，还有以女戏子为首的女兵班、由僧人组成的小分队及大力士率领的武术班，可谓群英荟萃，他们均在阿Q的带领下抗敌御侮，赈济市民，为战争的早日胜利抛头颅洒热血。而赵太爷和钱太爷的后代则成了汉奸与反革命分子，均被阿Q绳之以法，大快人心。如果说在民族危难面前阿Q身上有激发出民族大义的可能，但作者写其在文化大革命中，仍能保持清醒的认识自觉远离斗争，一心为百姓做实事就完全脱离原著思想了，而从文中见缝插针不断展现的浙江地区人文典故及民间艺术来看，作者续写的主旨实是歌颂浙江底层人民讲义气，明大义，勇敢无畏的优良品质，以及弘扬家乡的地方文化和民间艺术。从对“阿Q相”的批判与反思一转为对阿Q行为的肯定与赞美，从对虚伪、残酷、腐朽的封建文化的鞭挞一转为对祖国山河与传统艺术的沉醉，续作与原著前后矛盾，难成一体，这表明作者没有真正理解《阿Q正传》的思想意趣，也没有妥善处理好这前后转变的接续逻辑，使得续作不仅完全背离了原著主旨，也违背了艺术真实的创作原则。

刘廷玑在对明末清初的小说续书现象分析说：“近来词客稗官家，每见前人

有书盛行于世，即袭其名，著为后书副之，取其易行，竟成习套。有后以续前者，有后以证前者，甚有后与前绝不相类者，亦有狗尾续貂者。”^[15]从思想主旨的角度来看，三部续写之作与原著的关系大致可分为：林著、韶著是对原著主旨的继承与发展，戴著只是“袭其名”而主旨与原著无关，各有其成败得失。

二

续书的艺术成就往往难与原著比肩已为多数研究者所指承。这自然有其难以克服的主观因素，即与原作者相比，续书作者难免“德之不合”与“才之不逮”^[16]。也有续写自身所无法规避的客观原因，即如写过《水浒后传》的陈忱所指出的：“‘前传’镂空画影，增减自如；‘后传’按谱填词，高下不得；‘前传’写第一流人，分外出色；‘后传’为中材以下，苦心表微”^[17]。因此在艺术表现上，续书创作必须要面对承续与突破的两难问题，这影响了续书艺术的成败得失。下面笔者从这一视角对三部后传的人物塑造及情节构思展开分析。

（一）人物个性的不同表现

三部后传均仍以阿Q为主人公，以其为中心展开故事情节。但如上文所指出的，当以“阿Q革命”为主要表现内容，并且使其取得“成功”时，阿Q的人生经历、生活处境都必然发生转变，那么如何表现在这种“转变”中的阿Q性格呢？这就涉及续作者对原著人物的理解以及对人物性格可能性的发展的探索。

关于原著中阿Q的性格特征，已有较多的研究成果，这些成果大多指出了阿Q性格的“二重性”，其中林兴宅还运用系统论理论详细列举了其十对性格矛盾^[18]，由此可见，阿Q不能用单纯的善恶眼光视之，他是一个立体的丰满的圆形人物。正如周作人在阅读时所感受到的：“……著者本意似乎想把阿Q痛骂一顿，做到临了却觉得在未庄里阿Q却是唯一可爱的人物”^[19]。但续书在把握阿Q的个性化特点上却表现出不同的倾向。其中林著将阿Q处理成了一个狰狞丑陋的恶魔。在革命前，他因为邻居不予施舍就扬言报复，因为吴妈外出行乞而怀疑猜忌，因为阿W长得像自己就要用火钳捅他的眼睛；革命后，更因为权力的攫取而愈加自私狠毒，对于女人和地位表现出极其变态的占有欲。例如当他看到只剩赵一人接回吴妈和阿S时，他的第一反应就是二人有什么蹊跷，随后找时机分别审问，让赵一死于非命。林礼明在《后记》说，其续作是按照“固有的阿Q典型模

式”进行的，即“阿 Q 是以精神胜利法为主要特征的漫画式的庸人典型。此阿 Q，无论有否移植于他人身上，也无论把他放在什么环境、什么层面上去活动，都离不开‘阿 Q 相’”^[20]。但显然，他对“阿 Q 相”的理解是有点概念化，这也造成小说在表现阿 Q 的劣根性时，常常因为脱离实际环境，过分“忠实”于原著而使人物性格矛盾失真，例如小说描写阿 Q 强行坐船，面对一群船工的威胁也坚持不掏钱，这固然表现出了阿 Q 的无赖，但却与其欺软怕硬的性格特征相矛盾，也违背了生活真实，和原著中阿 Q 去静修庵偷萝卜，在老尼姑面前耍无赖的细节相比就高下立见了。韶著则依然刻画出了革命后阿 Q 性格的二重性，小说中的阿 Q 既学会了偷奸耍滑，如为了多分好田，旁敲侧击让赵白眼替他出头，也依然保留了愚昧呆傻，如“成问题”与“不成问题”傻傻分不清，常常闹笑话；既有狠毒的一面，如百般斗争赵太爷，也有善良的一面，如收养落难的阿善，人物整体上是比较真实可信的。但在部分细节上则出现了不少疏漏，和原著人物之间出现了罅隙。如原本排斥异端（如小尼姑之类）、缺乏恋爱经验的阿 Q 死里逃生之后竟一转为情场老手，作者讲述他为打小尼姑的主意，精心策划“慢火煮”计谋：先是假装“英雄救美”，护送被野兽吓到的小尼姑回去，后又上演“苦情戏”，诉说悲惨的身世经历，这和突兀笨拙地向吴妈下跪求爱的阿 Q 还是同一个人吗？又如原著中写阿 Q 想革命去找假洋鬼子商量，一连运用了“怯怯的”、“轻轻的”、“用十二分的勇气开口”^[21]等形容他的惧怯，而在韶著中，他不仅大方地去找李队长要求领导革命，在“不准革命”后，还懂得抓住张部长这个大官眼泪汪汪地喊冤。在此后的土改运动、大跃进、困难时期中更是大展“韬略”，能屈能伸，游刃有余。固然，在复杂多变的时代，在不同的社会地位上，阿 Q 性格必然会朝着成熟老练的方向发展，但这绝不是一蹴而就的，既然是“续写”阿 Q，就需要尊重原著，妥帖处理好这种“转变”，过于突兀和生硬都是失败的。如果说林著将阿 Q 写成了恶魔，那在戴著中阿 Q 则变成了天使，变成了英雄。他不仅聪明机智、充满正义，多次巧设计谋智斗土匪和日本兵，替受难民众出头；还勤奋好学，志向远大，虚心向阿龙学识字，认为“一个人活在上，不但能赚钱过日子，还要能文又能武，一旦国家、百姓需要，就能出去干大事，这才算真正的有本领！”^[22]；他不仅有情有义，知恩图报，对救命恩人也是结发妻子的吴妈不离不弃、患难与共；还明是非知善恶，远离文化大革命的斗争，看出其实质是在搞政治夺权，

为百姓叫苦……总之，阿Q被塑造成了“高大全”式的英雄传奇人物。显然，这里是对其形象的过分拔高，表明作者不仅曲解了原著的思想主旨，没有体会到原著在塑造人物方面取得的巨大艺术成就，对基本的艺术创作规律也缺乏了解，将“人”拔高成了“神”，使人物丧失了应有的生命力。

鲁迅曾指出，“‘讽刺’的生命是真实”^[23]，他批评《三国演义》“欲显刘备之长厚而似伪，状诸葛之多智而近妖”^[24]，在实际的创作过程中，也一直秉持现实主义的根本精神，阿Q就是他笔下众多极具个性化的人物形象之一。林著和戴著则没有很好地贯彻这种写实手法，使作品中的人物走上了“恶则无处不恶，美则无一不美”的单一化、简单化的道路去了，使原本独特而又丰富复杂的人物形象沦为公式化、概念化的人物图解。但也不是说它们在人物塑造上一无是处，相反在某些次要角色上倒多有突破，如林著中的吴妈、古久等人物。吴妈在原著中只是封建社会一个“正经”的小孤孀，在续作中的性格则得到了多层次的展开，作者不仅表现了她因为害得阿Q丢掉饭碗而歉疚自责，并由此对阿Q暗生情愫的复杂内心世界，还描写她敢于和何先生做权色交易而救出阿Q、敢于和恶狼作斗争的果敢决断，在小说中她既是一个对丈夫百依百顺的传统女人，以至遭到阿Q抛弃时失智疯癫，也有明事理不畏权威的一面，如当所有人畏惧阿Q的淫威栽赃阿顺时，只有她一直坚持说实话，如此一个有血有肉的人物形象就跃然纸上。古久本是《狂人日记》中一个概念化的象征性人物，在后传中作者赋予他生命，使他成为阿Q身边最重要的谋士，满嘴仁义道德，内里男盗女娼，在革命中是一个阴险狡诈的狠角色，但在权势面前又摇尾乞怜，媚态百出，表现出这类人物的两面性特征。

（二）情节构思上的“开放”与“封闭”

关于三部《阿Q后传》的情节构思，主要探讨两点，一是它们的情节构成，二是它们的情节结构。《阿Q正传》是一部中篇小说，鲁迅不仅以极其精简的文字提炼出“阿Q相”这样一种人类精神现象，同时勾画出了极其复杂的社会生活面貌，为续写之作提供了诸多可供挖掘的空白和可供利用的线索。首先三部后传都关注到原著中扑朔迷离的人物身世。原著为了“消除各种无聊的副作用，使作品的力量较能集中，发挥得更强烈”^[25]，特意使阿Q姓名、籍贯一一虚化，但这在续书的长篇体制中难免会成为情节展开的障碍。韶著在与原著的接续点上就巧

妙利用了阿 Q 身世的线索，对原著中阿 Q 的一句台词：“我们先前——比你阔的多啦”^[26]展开挖掘，在审案中通过阿 Q 自己的回忆，让其身世之谜浮上了水面：他不仅先前阔，还是县太爷的真本家，这既使阿 Q 免于杀头，开启“死而复活”的新人生，最后又成其银铛入狱的重要原因，作者的安排可谓别有匠心。在林著和戴著中，不仅阿 Q 的身世，吴妈的身世也成了推动情节发展的重要线索。戴著讲述吴妈救下阿 Q 之后，意外和自己的亲生父母相遇，才得以和阿 Q 喜结连理，并双双从父亲那里学得本事，为后文情节展开做了铺垫。林著则详细记叙了吴妈被不断贩卖的坎坷经历，表明这是她选择和阿 Q 在一起的重要原因。其次，人物的感情线也得到了挖掘。和韶著利用阿 Q 身世的线索使其死里逃生不同，林著和戴著都选择从吴妈切入。在林著中，吴妈怀着愧疚和暧昧的心思救下了阿 Q，她认定阿 Q 是一个和伊同病相怜，老实可靠的“白马王子”，为他操持家庭，生儿育女，在阿 Q 参加革命后苦苦相守，却最终遭到抛弃而发疯。在戴著中，吴妈和阿 Q 同样惺惺相惜，却做到了真正的相敬相爱，不离不弃，谱写了“一生一世一双人”的爱情佳话。韶著也挖掘了人物的情感线，如他对原著中小尼姑的内心世界展开描写，续写了她和阿 Q 的恋爱史。

三部后传在情节构思上既有对原著大胆挖掘，处理成功的地方，也有不少值得商榷之处，突出表现在两个方面：其一是过于模仿而牺牲独创品格；其二是忽视利用失去情节的丰富性。前者典型的表现林著《阿 Q 后传》中，小说有意无意的大量模仿了原著中一些精彩的故事情节。例如第三章“兽眼和人眼”中写阿 Q 和吴妈在破庙中遭遇狼的袭击，作者反复描写阿 Q 对狼眼睛的恐惧，明显是对原著中相关情节的重复；第六章中对被长官戏称为“阿乌”、“好鸟”的屈辱的转移和忌讳属下说“亮”字则是原著“优胜记略”内容的直接翻版，其他如押牌宝、画圆圈、打耳光、重回未庄等情节也表现出对原著近乎直接的借鉴。作者不仅模仿原著中的情节，还大量参考引用了鲁迅其他小说中的人物、情节，甚至地名：如古久、四铭、高尔础、狂人等人物在小说中都扮演了一定的角色；《白光》中的“看见白光”、《药》中的“吃人血馒头”等情节也反复出现在续作中；“贺家坳”、“狼子村”这样的地名被频频使用……随着鲁迅作品的广泛传播和深入研究，这些“元素”早已被赋予了特殊的文化意义，过多的杂糅在一起，难免造成“众声喧哗”而失去本有的批判意义，同时也牺牲了自身宝贵的独创价值。后

者以韶华的《阿 Q 后传》为例。小说第四、五两章记叙了阿 Q 穿着一身军装回到未庄正碰上土地革命，如何时来运转，成为时代典型大出风头的故事。虽然他一开始也遇到了“不准革命”的挫败，发生了他和王胡争夺领导地位的插曲，但很快凭其政治敏感和聪明机智顺利成为“土改”一把手，在此期间，赵太爷乖乖被斗，赵白眼成为阿 Q 的下属，小 D 及其子孙“不见踪影”……阿 Q 在未庄成为除了组织以外的第一大能人，要风得风要雨得雨。这里显然简化了原著中复杂的社会关系和人物面貌。在原著中，阿 Q 想去静修庵革命，假洋鬼子和赵秀才却先他一步；阿 Q 将辫子盘在头顶上，“小 D 也将辫子盘在头顶上了，而且也居然用一支竹筷”；假洋鬼子还进城替秀才拿到了“柿油党”的“银桃子”，“赵太爷因此也骤然大阔……”^[27]如果将韶华的《阿 Q 后传》与丁玲的《太阳照在桑干河上》进行对比，就会发现，后者如何真实生动地反映了土改中农村尖锐复杂的阶级斗争，表现出了各个阶级不同的精神状态，而这本是鲁迅在《阿 Q 正传》中就已经“暗示”出来的东西，但在续作中却被有意无意的忽视了，使得小说在情节构思上略显单薄。

最后来看三部后传的情节结构。王富仁在对鲁迅小说的研究中曾指出，和绝大多数古典小说由单一的外在因果链构成不同，内外两条因果链的存在及其相互关系构成了鲁迅小说结构艺术的基础，这使得他的小说在结构上表现出鲜明的特征，包括“形式上的高度封闭性与内涵意义上的高度开放性的统一”、“外部时空的狭小性与内部时空的开阔性的结合”以及“故事情节的弱化趋势”，而“面的构成，是鲁迅小说结构的本质”，这决定了细节在其文本中的重要地位^[28]。三部后传在情节结构上与鲁迅小说表现出形同实异、同中见异的特点。首先，三部后传与原著在情节模式上表现出一定的相似性，都可以归纳出“阿 Q 谋生（恋爱）——参加革命——走向大团圆”这样的框架。故事情节也同样被大大弱化了——这里指的是情节的“作用”被削弱了，即情节仅仅是“人物在环境中走过的人生轨迹，而不是某种有形斗争产生、发展、激化、解决的起伏过程”^[29]，如在林著中，阿 Q 与黄军、青军抑或黑军的战斗过程是怎样的以及孰胜孰败根本无关紧要，人物在革命中的行为表现及活动环境的展现才是关键。但和原著外部时空的狭小性不同，三部后传均极力拉长和开拓了小说的时空规模。从时间来看，林著中的故事时间长达 30 余年，而韶著和戴著中的阿 Q 从辛亥革命时代一直活到改

革开放，并且后传中的阿Q还各有长生不老的妙方；从空间来看，无论是林著中的贺家坳、赵家渡口、牯山村，韶著中的有庄、未庄，还是戴著中绍兴、宁波、嵊县、临海，从根本上说都不具有实际的指涉，从而暗示了人物活动空间的广阔性。故事的结构形式也有别于原著呈现出开放样态，林著以阿Q巡游故地，刻石颂德作止，韶著以阿Q被判有期徒刑结篇，戴著以阿Q夫妇在外游山玩水搞摄影完稿，无论是人物，还是场景、事件从始至终均一直处于动态波动的点上，并以相同振幅指向未来时空。但如果细究，则发现三部后传的内部时空及思想内涵却偏向于封闭单一，其中林著和韶著没有跳脱出原著本有的主题意义之范畴，戴著封闭在作者手造的“伊甸园”中。这就是三部后传的情节一直陷于“重复”的原因，如林著反复描写“画花押”、“打耳光”等情节；韶著中阿Q一再成为“典型”；戴著中人物总是经历“战斗——庆祝”的循环……外在形式的开放性和内在主题的相对封闭性是三部后传共同的情节结构特点，这就是它们与原著——“说不尽的《阿Q正传》”之间的差距所在。

结语

续写一方面凸显了原著的经典性和生命力，另一方面也有助于原著的传播。文学作品的经典性是在不断认知、对话和阐释的过程中建构的。从以上对三部同名《阿Q后传》的分析中可以看到，无论是直接以“后记”、“序言”的方式，还是间接反映在续书的思想旨趣、人物塑造和情节构思中，续作和原著都构成了一种对话的态势，一种阐释与被阐释的交缠关系，尽管这种对话与阐释可能存在误区，可能是片面的、庸俗的甚至错误的，但均从不同的层面丰富着、提高着读者对原著的认知，也从中折射出当今时态的社会思想文化景观，构成连接过去与当下、传统与现代的桥梁。鲁迅先生曾表明，其《阿Q正传》的用意在于使读者由此开出反省的道路，但放眼于当今的文学生态，大众文化的繁荣发展明显挤压着具有严肃思想意义的文学作品，使它们不再能进入人们的眼球，逐渐为人们所遗忘。从这个意义上来看，续书恰是一泉“活水”，以一种清新的面目出现在以娱乐占据主导的时代风潮中，启迪着人们去思考，去再次借由“经典”反顾自身，当然，这也对《阿Q正传》的续写提出了更高的要求。期待更优秀的续写之作出现，如果我们还承认阿Q没有断子绝孙的话。

注释:

- ① 林礼明:《阿Q后传》,海风出版社1994年版,以下行文中简称“林著”;韶华:《阿Q后传》,春风文艺出版社2005年版,以下行文中简称“韶著”;戴品宏:《阿Q后传》,中国戏剧出版社2004年版,以下行文中简称“戴著”。

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How to Write a “Sequel” for Ah Q?

--- On the Gain and Loss of the Creation of Three Sequels to

The True Story of Ah Q

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Abstract: This paper studied the three sequels of *The True Story of Ah Q* from two aspects of ideological purport and artistic expression and comprehensively examined its success and failure from the perspective of “continuity and breakthrough”. Lin Liming’s and Shao Hua’s works inherited the original motif, while Dai Pinhong’s works deviated from the original motif. The image of Ah Q in Shao’s works accords with the individual characteristics of the original works, while the images of Ah Q in Lin’s and Dai’s works were relatively simple. Moreover, in terms of plot design, there was bold exploration and successful adjustment of the original work and many points worth discussing. In a word, the continuation highlighted the vitality of the original work; on the other hand, it also contributed to the dissemination of the original work.

Keywords: *The Sequel to The True Story of Ah Q*; sequel; gain and loss of creation;
The True Story of Ah Q

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西洋洪流下的“知性” ——《梦十夜》第五夜再考察

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摘要: 夏目漱石在《梦十夜》中为读者描绘了十个光怪陆离的梦境, 并通过梦境阐释了其内心世界的一隅。第五夜的故事中, 夏目漱石通过人物刻画勾勒出了自己内心理想的两性关系, 并基于时代背景下通过引用民俗神话为日本的近代化和全盘西化敲响了警钟, 与此同时, 行文中也显露出其掩藏于内心深处对世间不可知的不安。夏目漱石以“知性”为基盘, 以伦理道德观、世界观与文明批评理念为框架构建了一个超越时代的精神世界。

关键词: 夏目漱石; 梦十夜; 知性; 文明批评

继《文鸟》后, 夏目漱石(1867-1916)于明治41年(1908年)7月至8月开始在朝日新闻上连载《梦十夜》。这十个以梦境为背景的故事相互独立, 构思巧妙且文笔优美, 其独特的风格深受人喜爱。起初, 人们认为这十个梦境故事是浪漫主义性质的作品, 仅作为有趣的故事欣赏。到了战后, 随着“人的漱石”研究的兴起, 《梦十夜》才开始逐渐被日本学者重视。对此, (佐藤泰正 1996, p. 239)提出《梦十夜》确实可以说是漱石文学的“原液”, 也可以说是重要的“登山口”。但它是如何成为探究漱石文学核心的入口呢? 是否拥有足够浓厚的文学本源? 这并不是一个简单的问题。

迄今为止的研究中, 对《梦十夜》的研究分为两类, 一类是作为梦来研究夏目漱石的潜意识, 如伊藤整的“原罪”说、荒正人基于弗洛伊德精神分析的梦解

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析等等。另一类是作为作品的研究，如相原邦夫基于传统文化、民间传承和时代背景的考据与笹渊友一对梦解析的反对。（笹渊友一 1996，p. 273）认为第五夜中无论是开头的“那也该是一段十分古老的故事，想来当是临近神治时代的一段往昔之事。”、“这是当时的一种惯例”还是“自己”能看到恋人坠入深渊的一幕都不是当时的“自己”能做到的事，其作为梦境是不成立的，因此把第五夜看做作品更合适。目前对于《梦十夜》的解析多从叙事学、比较文学的角度对全篇进行分析，对第五夜的研究相对较少，且大多停留于悲剧故事层面上批判“天探女”一角。本文将第五夜为文本，结合夏目漱石的其他作品与时代背景进行再考察，尝试通过第五夜一窥夏目漱石独特的精神世界，揭示其笔下“俘虏”、“女人”和“天探女”的真实面目与历史身份。

一、从爱情观到个人主义——“知性”的萌芽

《梦十夜》中描写男女间爱情的有两夜，分别为第一夜与第五夜，且两夜中的人物性格差异较大，结局也截然相反，通过第一夜与第五夜的对比，能够更加细致地了解夏目漱石的爱情观。

第五夜的梦境中，我在一场战争中不幸战败被俘，在我拒绝投降即将被处刑之际，我向对方大将提出希望能见自己思念的女人最后一面。大将表示愿意等到鸡鸣再处刑，我只能坐下静等。而她也没有辜负我的期望，骑着白马于夜色中往敌方大将的大本营奔赴而来，但却因为途中听到鸡鸣不慎坠落深渊，惊奇的是，那声鸡鸣竟是天探女模仿的叫声¹。

“天探女”是来源于《古事记》和《日本书纪》等日本神话的女神，在《古事记》中名为天佐具壳，在《日本书纪》中名为天探女。相传，高皇产灵尊命无名雉降于天稚彦家门前，质询天稚彦为何不复命。天探女一听便表示此鸟的啼声不吉利，建议天稚彦用弓箭射杀她。天稚彦射杀无名雉后，箭矢洞穿无名雉的胸膛后直达高皇产灵尊的座前。高皇产灵尊见到箭矢染血，便说：“此乃吾赐给天稚彦之矢。”并出示给众神说：“如果此箭是天稚彦照命令行事射杀恶神而来，那么此箭就不会射中天稚彦；如果天稚彦有邪心，那么他就会死于此箭之下”。随后投还箭矢，箭矢顺着来时的方向射回，睡梦中的天稚彦因此胸部中箭身亡。

¹ 文中引用《梦十夜》第五夜的翻译皆来自于李振声的译本。

神话中天探女看穿了天稚彦玩忽职守，不愿复命的邪心，因而怂恿天稚彦射杀无名雉。由此可见，第五夜中天探女看穿的是男人不顾女人安危，只想见最后一面的邪心，才阻止了两人的相见。梦境中男人即将面临处刑，临死之际却希望自己的恋人能来见他最后一面。一个俘虏的女人在黑夜里策马狂奔前往敌人大将的大本营，即使不考虑漆黑夜晚骑马的危险性，到了篝火处见面后其下场也不言而喻。而男人即使清楚知道这一点也呼唤她的到来，哪怕她会遭遇不幸，在潜意识中是希望能与自己的女人共同赴死，是典型的殉死想法。此时夏目漱石所刻画的男人是一个具有殉死意向的日本男性形象。而第五夜中对女人的刻画非常少，仅仅有女人从牵马出发至坠入悬崖的过程描写，没有任何的心理描写。夏目漱石特意描写了女人不顾一切策马疾驰的画面，似乎刻画出一个为爱人奋不顾身的女性形象，却又安排了一个未见到爱人便坠崖身亡结局，其爱可叹，却又显得盲目可悲。

而同是临死之前，第一夜中女人的表现与第五夜的“自己”产生了鲜明对比。第一夜中女人即将死去，但此时她并不是自私地希望男人一起殉死，她希望的是男人能够继续活下去，为此约定了一百年后重逢。而男人也没有辜负她的期望，即使有过怀疑，也一直等待着她，最终百年之后女人转生成百合与男人重逢，是《梦十夜》唯一的一个美好结局。第一夜中的女人是一个具有典型日本古典美、心怀无私之爱的传统女性形象，同时也是夏目漱石心目中理想的女性形象。第一夜的男人们对女人产生过两次怀疑，一次是女性是否真的要死去，一次是百年等待后男人突然怀疑自己是否被女人欺骗了。夏目漱石一方面通过佛教的轮回转世与具有西方宗教性质的月光、珍珠贝等一系列象征物为女人赋予了神性，再次强调这是属于只存在于理想中的女性形象，一方面又通过对男人的心理活动赋予其人性，表示其处于两性关系中所应该具有的独立思考的人格。可以说，在夏目漱石理想的两性关系中，哪怕知道对方深爱着自己，哪怕自己是爱情中的另一方，也要保持自己的理智，而非盲目相信。

第一夜中的两性双方，一方临死前仍为对方着想，一方在爱情中仍保留着理智，最终虽然女人死了，也得以轮回转世与男人再重逢。与此相对，第五夜中，一方临死前想的却是殉死，不顾对方安危；一方只想着对方，置自身于危险之中，可谓是双向赴死。最终结果是女人坠入深渊，男人也将被杀死，不得

相见。未殉死者得以重逢，愿殉死者无法相见，自私的爱没有好下场，盲目的爱更显得可悲。

明治时代的日本盛行殉死文化，作家太宰治多次情死，有岛武郎与女记者自杀，日俄战争中乃木希典携家眷殉死等等。在文学作品中，殉死的情节更是屡屡可见。在这样的时代背景下，夏目漱石对于殉死文化却是站在批判立场上的。在其日后的作品《心》中，夏目漱石更是通过“先生”这一利己主义角色的悲惨结局，将对殉死文化的探讨提升至对国家主义与个人主义的探讨。

通过第一夜与第五夜的结局安排，夏目漱石理想中的两性关系也得以一窥：给予对方的无私的爱与归于自身的理智。明治维新时期，西洋文化席卷了整个日本，从各项制度、衣食住行、言行举止乃至习俗上日本都在模仿西洋，实行全盘西洋化。与此同时，接触到新思想新文化的女性逐渐觉醒了女权意识，成为新时代的新型女性。但当时的西洋化基本是对西洋文化的生搬硬套，与其说是学习不如说是拙劣模仿。夏目漱石在英国留学时寄给妻子的信中提到过希望自己的妻子以淑女为理想，其本人尽管在英国直接受到西洋文化的冲击，但仍然对于新世代女性持保守意见。后来，从英国伦敦留学归来的夏目漱石从日本女性对西洋文化的过度追捧中感到了违和感，对于当时国内所谓的新型女性并不看好。在《梦十夜》前一年连载的《虞美人草》中外交官的女儿藤尾和同年连载的《三四郎》中从小接受新思想熏陶的美弥子都是夏目漱石视角下的新型女性。作为同是西洋文化的推崇者，前者只爱自己，玩弄男人，最终却因被抛弃而恼羞成怒选择自杀。后者思想开放，憧憬西方文化，却最终为了生活，选择嫁给不喜欢的人，留下一句：“我知我罪，我罪常在我前”。这句话来自《圣经·旧约》，指人在有意识之前，就已经犯下了罪孽。而美弥子的罪便是向往着新时代女性，却最终还是如传统女人一样成为男人的附属品。无论是哪一种，都是在西洋文化冲击下打着自由恋爱旗号的自私的爱。夏目漱石既不认同在爱情利用别人的爱，也不认同成为对方附属品的过度盲目，这样的爱情其结果也逃不过如第五夜一般的悲惨下场。真正理想的爱情应该是第一夜中无私而又理智的爱。

这一早期的认识也为日后夏目漱石洞悉与看破明治时代下的利己主义，发表《我的个人主义》埋下了伏笔。夏目漱石日后的作品《心》中利用卑鄙手段抢走房东女儿，最终因逼死k而忏悔自杀的利己主义者“老师”与《虞美人草》的“藤

尾”是有相似之处的，他们最爱自己，并不惜伤害别人，最终也因此而得到了报应。他们都是在明治维新西洋化背景下个人主义的过度延伸，损害了他人的利益。夏目漱石曾在其演讲《我的个人主义》中提到过“为了自己的幸福而发展自己的个性的同时，也必须给予别人同样的自由”、“正如前言，在个性的发展上个人的自由是非常必要的，这样的个性发展又与你们的幸福密切相关。因此，只要在不影响他人的情况，我左你右，互不妨碍的自由是理所应当的，不必附着他人，这就是我所说的个人主义”。夏目漱石早期的爱情观已经能看到其个人主义的影子，即爱情中的“知性”与个人主义中的“知性”。

值得一提的是，无论是第一夜中有所怀疑的男性，还是《虞美人草》中幡然醒悟的小野、《三四郎》中最终获得成长的“迷途羔羊”三四郎，在故事中都是属于被动一方。而在日后《门》与《心》中，主导者又回归到了男性，除第一夜中的理想女性，夏目漱石的作品中探讨爱的中心人物都是男性，这也是夏目漱石对西洋化下两性关系中男性地位的探讨。

二、从不可知论到则天去私——思想演变中的悲观哲学

第五夜在描写敌方大将的大本营时没有对周围环境进行描写，反而是凸显了篝火：

“篝火不时地发出崩塌的声响，每崩塌一次，火焰便惊慌失措似的斜向大将一边，浓黑的眉毛下，大将的眸子熠熠生辉于是，不知是谁走了过来，将新树枝扔进熊熊篝火之中，霎时间，篝火发出了劈劈啪啪的爆鸣。这声响就像是要把黑暗反弹回去似的，勇猛而泼辣。”

漫漫长夜中，被俘虏的男人在大营中只能看到眼前的篝火和敌方大将，除此之外一概不知，不知隐藏在黑暗中的大营，不知大营外的一切，连添柴的人也不知是谁，只看到篝火如战士般与无边黑夜斗争，不愿熄灭这唯一的光明。女人骑马时在黑暗中朝着光明飞奔而去，眼中已无他物。

夏目漱石描写了篝火与天边微光这唯二的可视物，凸显出黑夜的不可知，即目所不能及处尽是未知，所感所知皆为能感能知。（江藤淳 1996, p. 193）曾提及：“如此想来，若对前文所述的‘事与愿违’主题进行更深一层的探究，便会发现可以将其归结于与某种绝对的力量、超越的意志对立时所产生的作为人的无

力感……如命运般无法知晓的力量总是使人的期待落空。”

其认为梦十夜中每一夜都存在不可知的力量。2018 年，日本学者发现夏目漱石的新藏书，其中一本是由 Henry Wace 所编写的《论不可知论：对已故赫胥黎教授的回答》¹。1900 年，夏目漱石前往英国留学，1902 年才应召回国。这两年正处于英国宗教与科学之间产生纷争的时间段。在这样的环境下，夏目漱石购买过不可知论相关的书籍，且书上还留有他的笔记，再加上其本人还购买过赫胥黎的《人类在自然界的位置》，不难认为夏目漱石受到过赫胥黎的影响，更是了解过不可知论。

所谓不可知论是一种悲观的认知论，指对自在之物的不可认识。（方志德、戴茂堂 2010, p. 55）提及，在康德哲学中，不可知对象是指作为本体对象的“自在之物”和“理念”，人的认识活动虽然是从自在之物刺激感官产生感觉开始的，但是人的认识活动不是去认识那个产生刺激的客体对象，而是要反过来去认识接受刺激作用的感官能力。即人无法认识客体本身，只能认识人感官系统所能感觉的一部分，除此之外不可知、不可解。

回到第五夜中，故事中女人是从一棵栎树上牵走了白马，并最终坠入深渊死亡。对此，（赖怡真 2017, p39）认为栎树与坠落死亡对于夏目漱石来说，是代表其学生自杀事件的符号。夏目漱石曾经在东京帝国大学（现东京大学）担任教师一职，在他的学生中，有一位名为藤村操的男生。他在 1903 年 5 月 22 日于华严瀑布留下一封名为《巖頭之感》的辞世文跳楼崖自杀，而留文处正是一棵栎树的树皮。内容如下：“悠悠天壤，辽辽古今，五尺之躯参不透如此大哉问。赫瑞修之学问值权威何许？万有之真相以一言蔽之，曰：‘不可解’。心怀此恨，胸中烦闷，终决意一死。既已立于严头之上，胸中再无不安，此时方知，最大的悲观竟同于最大的乐观。”²

其中赫瑞修是莎士比亚作品《哈姆雷特》中的登场人物，哈姆雷特曾经对他说过：“世界如此辽阔，以你的哲学来思考仍然有想不透的事情。”这段话与《巖

¹ 原文为 On Agnosticism: Replies to the late Professor Huxley，国内无译本，此处为笔者译

² 原文为：“悠悠たる哉天壤、遼々たる哉古今、五尺の小軀を以て此大をはからむとす。ホレーショの哲學竟に何等のオーソリティーを價するものぞ。萬有の真相は唯だ一言にして悉す、曰く、「不可解」。我この恨を懷いて煩悶、終に死を決するに至る。既に巖頭に立つに及んで、胸中何等の不安あるなし。始めて知る、大なる悲觀は大なる樂觀に一致するを。”

頭之感》中“五尺之軀參不透如此大哉問”一段类似，具有典型的不可知论色彩。藤村操深感天地古今之辽阔，学问之深奥，却悲于以人的身躯不得知，不可解，最终怀着心中之恨与烦闷跳崖自杀。这件事在当时引起了社会轰动，对夏目漱石也造成了极大影响，他在日后的作品《吾辈是猫》和《草枕》中均有提及此事。

夏目漱石本身便有精神衰弱，藤村操的自杀在加深其病症的同时，也加深了不可知论对他的影响。与此同时，夏目漱石本身也受到过禅宗的影响，第二夜中，武士参悟的“无”的故事来源于夏目漱石的亲身经历，在那之前，他还有过另一次参禅的经历，当时的公案是“父母未生”，即父母未生前自己的本来面目，这同时也是《门》中宗助参禅时禅师所给公案的来源。这两次参禅夏目漱石都没有能达到公案的境界，在他心中留下了深刻的印象。不可知论是现在的不可知，禅修是“父母未生”过去的不可知。在夏目漱石的世界观中，世间不可知，在所知之外还有许多的不可知。在第三夜，夏目漱石曾把“自己”背上的小和尚比作闪耀着过去、现在和未来的镜子，然而背着小和尚的“自己”却一无所知，根源性的罪恶被分离，转而产生对生的不可知与不可解的不安。对此，（胡兴荣 2020, p. 132）指出，《第五夜》就是把战争与爱两大文学永恒的话题巧妙地关联在一起，表现世界不可知性、不条理性与人生存盲动性所产生的悲剧作品。

如前述，悲观哲学与宗教理念对夏目漱石的影响不断加深，为晚期提出“则天去私”的哲学理念埋下了伏笔。早期的文明批评，到中期个人主义与国家主义的探讨，到晚年提倡“则天去私”，不可知论的影响逐渐显现。在《虞美人草》、《三四郎》时期，全盘西洋化热潮汹涌，夏目漱石试图通过笔下的人物呼吁国民不可盲目西化。到了创作《心》与发表《我的个人主义》时期，利己主义、武士道精神盛行，夏目漱石的创作核心提升至个人主义与国家主义，呼吁相互尊重的个人主义，质疑“殉死”式的国家主义，提倡人的“知性”。最终，超越个人主义，提出摒弃私心，遵从人的绝对知性与天理的“则天去私”。从盲目西化、利己主义再到为国殉死，夏目漱石亲身经历了明治时代日本国民的精神浪潮，深感“知性”之重要，认为在这个一切不可知的世界上，回归人类内心，回归“父母未生之前”的纯粹，回归人类的绝对理性，才是人类哲学的终点，即如“则天去私”所言，摒除私心，遵从天理。

三、从民间传统到文明批评——“天探女”的历史认知

夏目漱石在《文学论》中曾提到，若要用一个公式来表示文学，就是(F+f)。其中F表示焦点印象或观念，f则表示与F相伴随的情绪。其中焦点是处于波形意识的顶点，包括发生于意识的一瞬间的F、个人一生中某一时期的F，乃至社会进化某一时期的F。其中一个时代的F，以东洋式的名词形容即“势”，曰：天也，命也。夏目漱石的作品中，这种“势”则体现为鲜明的文明批评。而当我们基于文明批评的视角进行理解时，第五夜的内容又得到了新的阐释。

从背景来看，第五夜的开头虽然交代了时间为与神代相近的时代，但“自己”在阐释时所使用的语气为“那也该是一段十分古老的故事了”、“那年头”，是明显的后人视角。神代结束后神武天皇建国即位，而明治则是大政奉还后，重新建立以天皇为核心的国家，两次都是日本历史中开天辟地的新篇章。赖怡真认为夏目漱石把故事背景设置为神代，一来为后文中民俗神话的引用埋下了伏笔，二来也是借神代这一日本建国时期暗示后文对明治时代的文明批评，为故事增添了讽刺性。

从角色来看，第五夜中“自己”曾提及：

“这是当时的一种惯例，不管是谁，大致都会对俘虏这样发问的。回答想活，那就代表打算降服之意，若回答想死，便是表示绝不屈服，我只答道：想死！”。这点明凡被俘虏者没有一人投降，询问也不过形式罢了。战败后宁死不屈，此处“自己”所代表的是武士道精神中典型的忠君思想。

骑马的女人与栌树、马蹄石是相互关联，有机一体的。马蹄石是日本一种留有马蹄痕迹的石头，分布于日本全国，其由来众说纷纭，早期的说法是天上的神骑着白马下凡时在石头上留下了痕迹，后来神的信仰薄弱后骑马的角色延伸为英雄和名将，但骑马者作为领导者、开拓者的形象却没有改变。第五夜中曾提及岩石上马蹄的痕迹，而女人骑的是白马，可见女人骑白马是引用自马蹄石传说。栌树如前文所述，对夏目漱石来说，代表着藤村操坠崖事件。从栌树上牵走白马的女人最终如藤村操一般，坠崖而死，也是暗示女人代表藤村操。或者说，是代表像藤村操一样于明治时代中陷入不安和迷茫的日本知识分子，而所驾驭着的白马，显然寓意明治时代的文明开化。

明治维新为日本民众带来了各种西方先进的哲学理念与思想潮流，使得有识

之士都渴望得到个人意志的觉醒。然而，明治十四年（1881年）政变后，日本走向普鲁士德国式的国家主义与军国主义道路，知识分子们主张的英式自由民主成为了无稽之谈。政治力量的打压下，个人的解放无从说起，这使得明治社会陷入了深深的矛盾中。夏目漱石在《我是猫》中借苦沙弥之口嘲讽当时大肆渲染的“大和魂”，在《文学论》中质疑“为国捐躯”都可见一斑。可以说日本国民一边接受着国内“大和魂”的洗脑，一边又接收着国外西洋文化的冲击。当时的日本初步建立国家自由资本主义，社会主流的价值观是“立身出世”和“成功”，金权主义盛行，国民思想并未获得彻底的解放。（陈婷婷 2020, p. 19）认为，明治中期藤村操的自杀警醒了整个社会，效仿其自杀的知识青年不在少数，日本才开始正视国民的精神道德，并在之后推行修养主义，人们相信只要阅读哲学、宗教、文学等相关的书，就能成为精神高尚的人。然而这种盲目跟风式的修养主义又怎会出现真正的意识觉醒呢？后来，随着大正教养主义兴起，这种追求走向极端，《心》中K的自杀，便是因为丧失了“精神的向上心”。

国民一边盲目于“大和魂”，一边狂热推崇不为学问、有功利性的教养主义，而知识分子们一边惶惶于学问之深，一边迷茫于未来，为不见前路而烦闷。这些社会现象都映在夏目漱石的眼中。夏目漱石在题为“日本现代的开化”的演讲中表示，日本的文明开化是“外发性”的，是在没有考虑日本社会的实际情况下推行的，必将颠覆日本国民价值观和伦理观。女人如西洋化下迷茫、矛盾、终日烦闷的知识分子，乘着文明开化的时代浪潮不断前进，仿佛是马蹄石传说中引路的英雄，然而路途中却尽是伸手不见五指的黑暗，其中既有西洋学问之不可知，又有文明开化下日本未来的不可知，前途暗淡无光，最终，对文明开化持悲观态度的夏目漱石，为女人与白马写下了坠入万丈深渊的悲惨结局。女人、男人、白马、黑暗共同构建了夏目漱石眼中日本国内扭曲的精神样貌与社会环境。

然而，在第五夜的结尾，夏目漱石却特意安排了天探女这一神话人物的出现。对此。（胡兴荣 2020, p132）指出，天探女在现实中也指性格特别、不入流俗、故意与人作为、不受喜欢的人，与夏目漱石《文学论》中论及的，不被世人接纳，却有知性、肯钻研、精通某领域、掌握真理的“天才”相通。而且一直以来的研究都倾向于把天探女看作邪恶的存在，忽略了日文原文中最后一句：

“この蹄の痕の岩に刻みつけられている間、天探女は自分の敵である”。

目前的论文都倾向于解读为“只要马蹄的痕迹仍刻印在岩石上，天探女就是我的敌人”。但这样的结尾却颇显累赘。此处若把前段理解为从马蹄刻印石头开始至马蹄离开石头的过程，即：“马蹄的痕迹刻印于岩石的过程中，天探女是我的敌人”，此处的结局便显得耐人寻味。这意味着，当马蹄离开岩石，往深渊坠落时，我对天探女便没有了恨。我在那一刻意识到，无边的黑暗中，横在女人的面前的是无底深渊，继续前进也终将难逃坠崖身亡的结局。我不禁怀疑，如果天探女再早点模仿鸡鸣，女人是否就停在深渊前得救了呢？如此一想，我的恨意自然也就消失不见了。

夏目漱石真正想表达的，是在日本文明开化的浪潮之中，如果有更多像“天探女”一般逆流而上，敢于做敲响警钟的人，日本文明开化的结局或许会有所不同。在西洋化的洪流之下，随波逐流者、不愿发声者比比皆是，唯有夏目漱石愿作“天探女”，为国家的未来发声，鼓吹“忠君爱国”者只做到了“忠君”，而批判它的夏目漱石却真正做到了“爱国”。

四、结语

夏目漱石作为亲身经历过日本文明开化的先进知识分子，对于西洋化下的日本社会与日本国民的变化有着敏锐的洞察力，从《我是猫》中辛辣的文明批评到《心》中自我本我与国家主义的探讨，再到《明暗》的“则天去私”，从《我的个人主义》的演讲到《玻璃窗户中》具有普世意义的伦理道德观，夏目漱石的作品反映了日本社会的时代变迁。作为“余裕派”的大文豪，夏目漱石的作品摆脱了日本近代文学的狭隘格局，摆脱了个人的束缚，以宏观、冷静的眼光俯瞰着整个社会。其中，《梦十夜》作为夏目漱石的早期作品，以光怪陆离的梦境为载体，通过独特的表现方展现了夏目漱石的伦理道德观与时代意识，每一夜都可谓是夏目漱石文学的“原液”。通过《梦十夜》与日后作品的比较，能够清晰地看到夏目漱石在文学创作期间的思想演变。时至今日，夏目漱石的文学研究依然繁盛，其对自我本位、文明批评的深刻认识仍然闪耀着灿烂的光芒。21 世纪的今天，文化软实力已成为国力竞争中新的制高点，面对欧美文化的入侵，夏目漱石文学的研究或许能为我们提供新的启示。

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“Intellectuality” under Westernization

—— A Further Investigation on the Fifth Night of *Ten Nights of*

Dream

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Abstract: In *Ten Nights of Dream*, Soseki Natsume describes ten strange dreams to readers and exposes a corner of his inner world through dreams. In the story of the fifth night, Soseki Natsume outlined the ideal gender relationship in his mind through characterization and sounded the alarm for Japan's modernization and overall Westernization by quoting folk myths under the background of the times. At the same time, his writing also revealed his uneasiness about the unknowable world hidden in his heart. Soseki Natsume built a spiritual world beyond the times based on "intellectuality" and within the framework of ethics, world outlook and civilization criticism.

Keywords: Soseki Natsume; *Ten Nights of Dream*; intellectuality; civilization criticism

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Walter Henry Medhurst: A Sinologist Who Bridged Chinese and Western Cultures

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Abstract: As a missionary, Sinologist Walter Henry Medhurst of the 19th century had been engaged all his life in academic cultural studies. His achievements include Chinese translation of the Bible and compiling dictionaries and monographs introducing China to the western world. He was a pioneer in Chinese publishing history, with London Missionary Society Mission Press and magazines he established. He also cultivated some leading Chinese scholars who became acquainted with the west to facilitate the introduction of western knowledge to China. His anti-opium efforts and respectful attitude to Chinese culture contribute to sino-western exchanges.

Keywords: Walter Henry Medhurst; translation, dictionary; London Missionary Society Press

Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857) was a renowned sinologist in the nineteenth century, born in London, England, in 1796. The London Missionary Society sent him to the Strait of Malacca in 1816, and after arriving there in 1817, he devoted himself to learning Chinese (Lin, 2018: 163-172). In 1819, he had appointed a missionary. He

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became familiar with Chinese culture and was also fluent in the Hok-këèn and Cantonese dialects since he spent much time with Chinese people who settled in Southeast Asia. He came to China in 1843 and spent the rest of his life there, during which he developed an in-depth understanding of Chinese culture.

According to Professor Liu Liyi (刘立壹), Medhurst adopted a flexible missionary strategy. He put much emphasis on the flexibility and tactic of disseminating the Christian doctrine, which was partly the legacy inherited by him from the missionary strategy of Morrison and Milne and partly the result of his innovation in response to the concrete historical and cultural context. (Liu, 2013: III) He traveled extensively and wrote prolifically, and 59 out of his nearly 100 works were written in Chinese, which reflected his mastery of the Chinese language. These works objectively intended to introduce western knowledge to China and enlighten the public. He also introduced China to the western world by translating Chinese classics and writing books about China, thus bridging the East and the West. Medhurst was an expert in many fields and made great contributions to translation, academic publications, publishing and printing.

1. Translation Works

One of Medhurst's most important contributions during his missionary journey was translating the Bible into Chinese, which facilitated the spread of Christianity in China. He came up with four versions of translation, all of which were extremely popular and satisfied people's need for the Chinese version of the Bible since the language adopted was accurate, poetic and easy to understand (Liu, 2013: 1). Among them was *Xin Yizhao Shu* (《新遗诏书》), the translation of the New Testament, which was published in 1837 and revised by Karl Gützlaff, a famous German missionary and Sinologist. It was adopted by the authorities of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom as the official translation of the Bible and was of unique historical significance (Liu, 2013: 115-126). Medhurst also translated other Chinese books into English, such as *The Chinaman Abroad: An Account of the Malayan Archipelago* (《海岛逸志》), *Comprehensive Treatise on Agricultural Administration: Silkworm* (《农政全书·蚕桑

篇》), *A Topographical History of the City and District of Shanghai* (《上海县志》). His most high-profile translation was *The Shoo King or Book of Documents* (《尚书》). The language of *The Shoo King* was so obscure that it was never translated. Medhurst was the first westerner who translated it into English and published it in 1846.

Medhurst believed that by translating *The Shoo King*, a masterpiece of Chinese history, into English and presenting it to British people, they would understand China better. His attitude was manifested in the preface to his translation of *The Chinaman Abroad: An Account of the Malayan Archipelago* (1849), which was “to promote a better acquaintance between the eastern and western world” (Medhurst, 1849: 21-28). Among the Five Classics, Medhurst chose only *The Shoo King* for translation, and this was probably the result of the influence of William Milne and others, who believed that the traditional light of revelation has not been obscured by idolatry and superstition and that there may well be Biblical inspiration in it.

Medhurst’s translation was characterized by “thick translation”: there are more footnotes in half of the translation than the text itself. Medhurst focused more on cultural and historical evidence than Qing dynasty scholars focused on the wording. Medhurst also analyzed astronomy, calendars, geography, and music from a westerner’s point of view, reflecting his approach to studying Chinese culture using western scientific research methods (Liu, 2019: 169). For example, a paragraph in *Canon of Yao* documented a time when Emperor Yao sent someone to the East to study the stars. (“Emperor Yao asked his follower to tell the time when the sun rises in the east. The day and night were of equal length, and the bird appeared in the south of the sky at dusk, which determined the time of mid-spring.”) Medhurst not only translated the original footnotes for the bird by Cai Chen (蔡沈) but also added his footnotes which were much lengthier than the original. By quoting western research on astronomy in his footnotes, he confirmed that Yao’s reign ended in 2254 BCE (Medhurst, 1846: 4). Medhurst had adopted a strict word-for-word translation. He explained in the preface to his translation: “For the benefit of students in Chinese, the text is interspersed with the translation, to afford a pretty correct clue to the meaning of each particular character.” (Medhurst, 1846: ix) However, this sometimes made his translation stiff and dry.

Although Medhurst's translation of *The Shoo King* is less accurate than the later translation by James Legge, John Minford, a leading British sinologist, included Medhurst's translation of *Canon of Yao* in his *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations*. He wanted to remind people that the achievements of these pioneering translators should never be forgotten. However, without their dedication, the progress of translating classic books would have been much slower. Just as the King James Version of the Bible was based on earlier versions, so was the "standard" translation by James Legge based on translations by early translators like Robert Morrison, David Collie and Walter Henry Medhurst (Minford, 2000: 66). Thanks to the efforts of those pioneers, those who came later could stand on the shoulders of giants to see farther and translate better.

2. Academic Publications

Medhurst was more active in promoting Chinese culture by writing books than translating classic works. As an outstanding linguist, he compiled many dictionaries. Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884), a pioneering American sinologist, lauded Medhurst for his unparalleled contributions as a sinologist of his time. Hong Weiren (洪惟仁), a contemporary scholar, also regards Medhurst as the greatest linguist. Medhurst compiled six dictionaries during his lifetime, covering languages like English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Hok-k'èen dialects, and Favorlang, the dialect spoken in southern Taiwan. Although Robert Morrison had already written *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* before Medhurst, Medhurst's dictionaries had their unique characteristics. He often used phrases as examples for words. He preferred simpler Chinese translations and was meticulous about marking pronunciations. Medhurst's *Dictionary of the Hok-k'èen Dialect* was the second dialect dictionary in China and the first dictionary of the Southern Min dialect. When explaining why he compiled a dialect dictionary, Medhurst said that the official language was used only among those well-informed people. His experience interacting with the middle and lower classes who had migrated to the eastern islands taught him that very few people could speak the official language, nor

could they use it to communicate effectively. (Shen, 2011: 123) It demonstrated Medhurst's diligent and practical approach when communicating with Chinese people.

The preface to *The Dictionary of the Hok-k'èen Dialect* introduces the historical and cultural background of the Hok-k'èen language. The dictionary contains 12,000 Chinese characters, each with the pronunciation in its Southern Min dialect, the English explanation, and quotations from classic books like the *Four Books and Five Classics* and *the Book of Han* to help readers better understand how to put those characters into use. The dictionary not only made it much easier for foreigners to learn the Hok-k'èen language but also helped them learn Chinese classic texts. It had a profound influence on the compilation of later dialect dictionaries. Herbert Allen Giles (1845-1935), a famous British sinologist, believed that from 1816 to 1874, Robert Morrison and Walter Medhurst had the most significant impact on the compilation of Chinese dictionaries. Japanese scholar Yoshihide Murakami also praised him as a Chinese dialectologist whose name would live on through the ages.

One of Medhurst's most intriguing works was *China: Its States and Prospects*, published in 1838. He devoted over 500 pages to China's chronicles, territory, population, science, language, politics, religion, and art. It opened a window on Chinese culture for Europeans. After reading this book, James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), a prominent British Protestant missionary, decided to come to China and contributed a lot to local development, such as founding hospitals and schools. In addition, Medhurst wrote books about world history and geography, such as *Geographical Catechism* (《地理便童略传》) and *Comparative Chronology* (《东西史记和合》), which greatly boosted Chinese people's understanding about world history and geography.

3. Printing and Publishing

Walter Medhurst was also a pioneer in China's publishing and printing industry in the nineteenth century. He was the author and editor of several magazines and the founder of *A Monthly Record of Important Events* (《特选撮要每月纪传》). From the first modern Chinese periodical *Chinese Monthly Magazine* (《察世俗每月统计传》)

to *Eastern Western Monthly Magazine* (《东西洋考每月统记传》), which was highly influential in modern Chinese history, there were fewer religious elements in magazines founded by missionaries. Western science and culture, including social sciences and natural sciences, gradually became the main content of missionary publications (Liu, 2013: 51). Medhurst was a historical figure because he founded the London Missionary Society Press, the earliest modern printing establishment in China, with Joseph Edkins (1823-1905). During 1844 and 1860, the London Missionary Society Press published many books on modern western sciences, including mathematics, physics, optics, electricity, medicine, botany, geography, astronomy, and history. They had a major influence on the Chinese academia at that time, broadening the horizons of Chinese people and inspiring the idea of learning Western sciences.

Moreover, Medhurst also invited a group of Chinese intellectuals such as Wang Tao (王韬), Li Shanlan (李善兰), Zhang Fuxi (张福禧) and Guan Sifu (管嗣复) to translate, write and edit books about western ideas together with sinologists such as Joseph Edkins and Alexander Wylie. Influenced by western ideology, many Chinese intellectuals became the trailblazers of western learning in modern China. For example, Wang Tao, China's earliest political scientist, spent thirteen years in the London Missionary Society Press and was deeply influenced by modern western culture. He became an advocate for bourgeois socialism and translated books introducing western politics, science and religion, such as *Concise History of Sino-British Trade* (《华英通商事略》), *An Elementary Introduction to Mechanics* (《重学浅说》), *Pictorial Optics* (《光学图说》), *A History of Astronomy of the Western Countries* (《西国天学源流》), all of which played an important role in the introduction of Western learning. Hong Rengan (洪仁玕), an important leader of the Taiping Rebellion, also worked in the London Missionary Society Press in his early years, where he learned about the western news industry. He later proposed the idea of establishing news agencies and employing news workers to Hong Xiuquan (洪秀全), the leader of the Taiping Rebellion.

Moreover, bookstores and newspaper agencies emerged near London Missionary Society Press, forming the "Medhurst's Circle". Scholars from Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces gathered to attend important academic conferences to learn about cutting-

edge scholarship, and many academic publications were also available in this area. Undoubtedly, the London Missionary Society Press was the center of the new culture movement in Shanghai in the nineteenth century and was at the forefront of the introduction of Western learning to the East.

4. View of China

The Opium Wars sounded the death knell for the Qing Dynasty. Meanwhile, Western civilization was at its peak, and many westerners viewed China with arrogance and hostility. Medhurst, however, still respected, embraced and appreciated Chinese culture. He praised China as a nation with one of the most abundant resources and intelligent people (Liu, 2013: 109). He fully appreciated the value of *The Shoo King*, in which he learned about ancient China's achievements in astronomy, music, and traditional Chinese philosophy and was fascinated by these accomplishments. He abhorred the opium trade and sympathized with the Chinese people. He wanted to travel north and continue his missionary journey, but he passed on the opportunity because the only ship going north was one used to carry opium. He was repulsed by the idea of traveling by ships specifically used to carry opium and thought that the shady trade and passengers who sourced opium from the ship showed that nothing good would happen on that ship. For him, it would be shameful to associate missionaries with opium ships, and anyone who had a brain and a good heart would consider it a sin against God if he boarded that ship. (Liu, 2013: 51) An "alien" among westerners, Medhurst made an important contribution to the cultural exchange between China and the West.

Like Eugene A. Nida, one of the founders of the modern discipline of translation studies, Medhurst developed his translation theory from the translation of the Bible, emphasizing localization strongly. In 1836, he suggested that a faithful translation should not be constrained to the structure of the original text and that it should give Chinese readers the same reading experience as Jews or Greeks would have when reading the original text (Liu, 2013: 52). It was more than one hundred years before Eugene Nida proposed his translation theory of functional equivalence. In addition, Medhurst believed that translations should conform to Chinese sentence structure and

language style to meet the expectation of Chinese readers. While William Jones Boone, the first Anglican missionary bishop of Shanghai, upheld word-for-word translation of The Hebrew Bible and Greek Bible, Medhurst insisted that the translation should be intelligible to readers, reflecting his respect for the target language readers and his efforts to reconcile the original text with the local culture (Han, 2012: 8). However, his philosophy was seen as unorthodox in the nineteenth century when conventional belief held that the Bible must be translated literally. While facing a strong backlash from westerners, his translation of the Bible was acclaimed by Chinese scholars for its elegant style, fluency and exemplary readability.

In the history of the Chinese translation of the Bible, how to translate ‘God’ was one of the most famous controversial subjects. Medhurst, as well as James Legge, insisted on using “Shangdi” (上帝), a vocabulary used in ancient Chinese texts, as the translation of “God”, reflecting his efforts to embrace Chinese culture and reconcile the differences between Chinese and Western religions, which was uncommon among westerners after the Opium War. His attitude towards the Chinese culture was quite similar to that of the Jesuits, which is also the product of his in-depth understanding of Chinese culture. Medhurst also appealed to China and other countries to negotiate friendly trade agreements and believed that the world was one family and men of different languages and cultures were brothers. (Liu, 2013: 109)

Liu believes that Walter Medhurst ushered in the transition from missionary sinology to professional sinology in British sinology. Missionaries to China in the early nineteenth century, such as Robert Morrison, William Milne, and David Collie, had only translated a fraction of Chinese classics. They did not delve into languages spoken in China, nor did they comprehensively understand Chinese culture. Starting from Medhurst, sinologists like James Legge, John Francis Davis, Thomas Francis Wade, and Herbert Allen Giles led the transition of British sinology from the preliminary stage of introducing China to the later stage of an in-depth study of China. Starting as missionaries and diplomats, they became sinologists and laid the foundation for British sinology in the early twentieth century and beyond (Liu, 2012: 221). Walter Medhurst’s respectable attitude towards Chinese culture, in particular, was praiseworthy as manv

foreigners' impressions of China were quite negative at that time. This attitude leads to his appropriate approaches that bring about convincing outcomes of his research on Chinese culture based on his objective survey and academic analysis without prejudice. Also, this attitude stimulated him into protests against such evil conduct as the opium trade for justice for humanity.

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麦都思——架设中西文化交流桥梁的英国汉学家

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摘要：19 世纪汉学家麦都思一生致力于传教和学术文化事业，在翻译、著述和出版方面都有很大的建树。他汉译《圣经》，编撰词典，出版专著向西方介绍中国的方方面面。他还是中国近代印刷出版史上的先锋人物，其所创墨海书馆印刷出版了一批影响很大的刊物，并培养了一批中国学者成为通晓西学的先驱，对西学东渐起到了重要作用。麦都思尊重、亲和、赞赏中国文化，反对鸦片贸易，为沟通中西做出了伟大贡献。

关键词：麦都思，翻译，词典，墨海书馆

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How General Translators Transform into Medical Translators

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Abstract: it is discussed in this paper how general Chinese-English translators can transform into medical translators based on translation theories. Firstly, the current situation, characteristics and development prospects of medical translation were elaborated on, and the current situation and existing problems of the medical translation market were analyzed. Secondly, the author proposed several methods for the transformation from general-purpose translators to medical translators based on the needs of personal translation career development and through a large number of medical translation practices, to provide a reference for practitioners in the translation industry, encourage general-purpose translators to attempt and explore translation transformation into specific professional fields, constantly improve translation abilities in professional fields, and make a certain contribution to the improvement in the present situation of translation in professional fields and solution to professional translation problems.

Keywords: general translators; transformation; current situation and problems in medical translation markets; medical translation; medical translators

Introduction

Language services have been around for a long time, and the providers for these services (translation service providers, TSP) are companies that offer varying degrees of service. Language services generally include the following services: translation, translation and interpretation, dubbing, language courses, language assessment, language technologies, and more. Within language services, translation and interpretation services can be defined as the facilitation of communication between users

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of different languages, encompassing both spoken and signed communication. The International Standards Organization (ISO) definition for translation is a “Set of processes to render source language content into target language content in written form,” and for translation services, an “intangible product that is the result of interaction between clients and translation service providers (TSP).”

The translation is a mode of conveying one form of language in other. With growing customer outreach, the scope of translation services is growing to fulfill the customers’ needs based on their language preferences. In today’s world of multicultural communities comprising people who belong to different races, regions, and linguistic and ethnic groups, effective communication has now become a sort of challenge. The translation is crucial for communication and exchanging information between different languages and cultures. However, when it comes to an industry as important as the healthcare industry, the need for competent translators is even higher since it involves human lives (Alpi, 2018)! Proper diagnosis is difficult when doctors, nurses and other healthcare advisors do not speak the same language as the patient. The consequences could be as serious as errors in diagnosis, mistreatment and even death.

1. What is medical translation?

Medical translation is the process of translating texts in the areas of healthcare, medicine, pharmaceutical products, medical devices and clinical trials. This includes translating informed consent forms, medical device manuals, hospital documents and medical reports. Medical advisors and regulatory bodies engage the services of medical translators to translate patient records, prescriptions, pharmaceutical labels, post-discharge details, clinical trial protocols and instructions on locally-sold medical devices written in foreign languages. Medical translations must be carried out by certified medical translators qualified in the appropriate subject matter and field of practice.

The common type of medical documents and common subjects for medical document translation are as shown below:

Common Type	Common Subject
Research Articles	Immunology
Labels	Oncology
Medical Trials	Orthopedics
Healthcare Websites	Cardiology
Nursing Records	Radiology
Manufacturing Records	Anesthesiology
Health Insurance	Neurology
Biomedical Engineering	Pediatrics
Safety Manuals	Dermatology
Prescriptions	Surgery
Patient Records	Genetics
Toxicology & Other Reports	Nuclear Medicine
Outcomes Data	Neurology
Informed Consent	
Patents	
Equipment Files	

1.1 Current situation of medical translation

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, medical translation (and interpreting) is expected to grow by 29 percent between 2014 and 2024. The demand is high for medical translators. Globally, there is a great demand for medical translation because labeling and literature associated with pharmaceuticals and medical devices must be provided in the national language. More importantly, documents required for clinical trials must be translated into other languages so local regulatory representatives, clinicians, and patients can read them. With the number of publications, books, medical devices, and drugs and medicines manufactured regularly, the need for medical translation would not abate.

According to the *Translation and Language Service Industry Development Report of China for 2022*, the development of translation talents has played an important

supporting role in various fields with the increasing diversification of translation businesses and contents. Among them, education and training, information and communication technology, and intellectual property are the most important translation business fields, accounting for 41.1%, 40.8%, and 38.3%, respectively, while the bio-pharmaceutical language translation accounts for 28.5%, showing growth potential.

1.2 Characteristics of medical translation

Medical translation is one of the most important types of specialized translation. Unlike other types of translations, it focuses on subject matter experts to translate the content of medical texts. In medical translation, the language used should be as clear as possible to avoid misunderstanding. It should not be considered a general translation because it often consists of delicate information, far more delicate than general texts. The semantic differences within the translations may cause big time. In medical translations, incorrect translation might harm someone's health or well-being. It could lead to interventions, like surgery or prescription of powerful medications associated with a risk of serious complications. Thus, it is an activity that has to be carried out by highly proficient people concerned with ensuring the quality of their work.

Medical English has the common features of scientific English, such as objectivity, strictness and norms. Therefore, in the translation process, it is necessary to convey the information and ideas of the original text accurately, use professional terminology skillfully, and the translation structure must be compact and logically clear.

1.1.1 Characteristics of medical vocabulary

The sources of medical vocabulary are complex, and the affixes are rich, most of which are derived from Latin and Greek. Examples: -crani, -cranial, craniotomy, oophor-/oophoro-ovarian, and oophorocystectomy - excision of ovarian cysts.

The meaning of medical English vocabulary is relatively stable, and its terminology is scientific and serious. For example, Ketones are products of fat metabolism and occur as an increasing amount of fat are metabolized to make up for the failure of carbohydrate metabolism caused by uncontrolled diabetes.

1.1.2 Syntactic features of medical English

The syntactic features of medical English are complex clauses and lengthy and

difficult sentences. For example: Unlike disinfectants, which cannot be taken into the body without damage to its tissues, chemotherapeutic agents exert a selective action; that is, they act against the parasites without harming the host.

1.3 Development prospects of and problems in the medical translation market

In 2020, the global language services industry bucked more than a decade of steady year-over-year growth in the face of the devastating COVID-19 pandemic. Although communication between different countries and regions was blocked due to the impact of the pandemic, and it did cause an economic downturn, people's desire for smooth communication increased. According to the 2021 annual industry report of CSA Research, an authoritative language service industry research agency: "As of March 2021, CSA Research's analysis indicates that the language services industry as a whole experienced flat to barely positive growth through the first three quarters of 2020 compared to 2019, but it experienced a strong fourth quarter that boosted the industry into positive territory. The firm predicts that final figures for 2020 will show revenue below the pre-COVID forecast of US\$51.94 billion, but will perform near the upper range predicted in November 2020."

At the beginning of 2020, only a few people in relevant professions or industries cared about or knew what coronavirus or the binding behavior of spike protein and receptor binding domain, the difference between vaccine efficacy and vaccine efficiency and spacetime companion were. As the current COVID-19 surge shows no signs of abating, it is reasonable to assume that medical translation will continue to generate a large demand for language services in 2022 and the near future.

However, there is still a shortage of high-quality and professional translation talents in non-general languages. Foreign language colleges and universities are still the main force in training translation talents. Less than half of the graduates of translation majors are engaged in translation, causing a certain brain drain.

2. Qualification of medical translators

With the dynamic development of medicine and natural sciences, as well as the global nature of the international community, the demand for medical translation is

significant. However, it remains a controversial question who should translate medical text---a medical professional, a linguist, or a linguist with some medical background (IMIA 2009). Ideally, a medical translator would not be a medical professional but an especially trained translator, i.e., a linguist who underwent appropriate training, a view supported by IMIA (2009: 4-5). According to IMIA (International Medical Interpreters Association), medical documents should be translated by professionals who have “a native or near-native, formal level of language proficiency, analytical capabilities, and deep cultural knowledge in the source and target languages” (2009:3), other requirements include at least college level formal education covering courses in translation theory and practice, proficiency in the source and target languages, expert knowledge of the subject matter terminology, terminology research skills and adequate writing skills. Other components of medical translator competence include applying translation strategies, relevant procedures, conventions or standards, medical databases, text banks, dictionaries, CAT tools, and certain psycho-physiological features such as decision making, thoroughness, and honesty.

Required A college-level formal education or completion of a medical education assistant program may be beneficial

Other Fluency in at least two languages and knowledge of medical terminology; certification may also be necessary

2.1 Demand for medical translators

Medical expertise has always been valued in the translation market. Medical translators are highly rewarded for their unique body of knowledge and language skills. At the end of 2019, the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic created an unprecedented demand for medical translation - rapid transmission of information about the pandemic across the globe. These include sharing detailed medical information back and forth between providers and the government, often communicating and updating several times a day.

Timely and accurate medical translation is essential to facilitate medical information sharing. Two years later, official channels for these translations have been

established, but that does not mean the demand for medical translations in the language services market will decline. In fact, with the Omicron variant spreading like wildfire in early 2022, we are likely to see significant demand for medical translation services from governments, medical institutions, and pharmaceutical companies throughout the year.

2.2 Features, advantages and outlook

One of the benefits of medical translation is that it plays a key role in helping healthcare providers implement the necessary treatment needed for patients in their care who do not speak their language well enough to allow proper communication. Doctors who have patients on their enrollments who do not speak their language need to be able to provide instructions to these patients in a language they can understand. They also may need medical translators to translate the medical histories of patients who have recently moved to the country and do not speak the host country's language well but have brought the medical records that only they can understand. Patients also have to have a full understanding of their health condition and how their doctor is going to treat it. Additionally, pharmacists who provide drugs for patients prescribed by a doctor need to get medical translators to translate dosages and other drug information so that the patient does not misunderstand the instructions and how to use the drugs correctly. Therefore, a speedy and accurate document translation is of utmost importance.

Medical translators, also known as healthcare translators, are responsible for converting physicians' advice and diagnoses, written patient information, pharmacological instructions, and hospitals' informational brochures into a second language. Some medical translators work for companies that produce medical equipment. Such translators are responsible for translating the instructions of use for the equipment.

Most medical translators must convey the necessary information in only one other language and do so in writing. As they are not medical or healthcare interpreters, translators are not responsible for assisting patients or healthcare professionals in the physician's office. Instead, they act as the written liaison between the company, healthcare professionals, and patients.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), salaried translators working in general medical, surgical and hospital fields earned a mean wage of \$53,600 per year in 2019 (www.bls.gov). Since several translators work on a freelance or contract basis, the BLS also notes that translators in the field earn a mean hourly wage of \$27.40. The BLS mentioned that the employment of all types of translators could grow by as much as 20% from 2019 to 2029.

3. Transformation drivers

3.1 New business growth point

Since the Spring Festival in 2020, The COVID-19 pandemic has not only had a huge impact on individuals' lives but also dealt a fatal blow to the development of many businesses, especially in the context of the continuous economic downturn in recent years. For some companies, the pandemic made things worse still. As for translation services, it is obvious that customers in many industries have reduced or even cut translation expenditures to control costs because their revenue cannot return to the level before the pandemic. The pandemic affected the global economy and trade, radiating outbound tourism, study abroad, and foreign trade. Thus, there was no escape for translation services and TSPs that depended on the foreign economy, which may also lead to some translators restructuring or switching to another job. However, the translation service industry is very special. It allowed remote office early, with refined development, flexible organization and relatively low office costs. In the cut-throat competition highlighted by the pandemic, TSPs will be eliminated if they do not seek breakthroughs. During the pandemic outbreak, documents involving the instruction for the uses of medical devices such as masks, thermometers, ventilators, and protective clothing, as well as the development trend and pandemic prevention and control, gradually increased. With increasing cooperation opportunities in this field, the demand for translating relevant legal contracts or agreements such as purchase contracts and certificates of conformity will also increase. YGYM Translation Service Co., Ltd., a TSP the author has been working for four years, based in Fuzhou, with offices in Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen and Wuhan, seized the opportunity to adapt to change and take the

initiative to make reform. It further tapped the market potential and found a new business growth point---medical translation. It established a medical language translation department consisting of sales managers, medical translators, revisers and project management, bringing opportunities for in-house translators working on translating general-purpose texts.

3.2 Machine translation + posting-editing (MTPE)

With the continuous innovation of artificial intelligence technology, machine translation has made great progress and has been applied more and more widely in the industry. Although it may not produce satisfactory results, many TSPs or individuals select free or professional machine translation for cost considerations. Since the emergence of neural network translation, TSPs have adopted machine translation and post-editing, an intelligent hybrid translation mode. Its biggest advantage is to improve translation efficiency, improve translation quality and reduce translation cost.

3.3 Individual career development needs

It has been seven years since I worked as a full-time English-Chinese/Chinese-English translator. During these years, I have made countless plans, dreamed of becoming a professional translator, read several legal books, and translated many legal manuscripts. However, it has never been further deepened; thus, the author was lost due to the lack of systematic learning and guidance.

Fortunately, there is an opportunity. Our new medical colleagues came, followed by the medical department and new medical translation training for in-house translators. This bought new hope to us who have been trying to get out of our comfort zone and find something new. Although it was a great opportunity that I wanted, it was new for me and finally opened a new chapter for my professional development.

4. Medical translation practice

4.1 Background knowledge

As a special technical style, medical English is characterized by rigorous structure, strict logic, well-worded text, and accurate terminology. Due to the knowledge of medicine, medical English covers many vocabularies, which are both long and difficult.

obscure, hard to remember, and with the use of lengthy sentences and subordinate clauses, the sentence structure is sophisticated. These factors have a great impact on medical translation. Therefore, in medical language translation, it is necessary to master basic translation theories and skills, understand the basic characteristics of medical English words and sentences, and master relevant medical background knowledge to understand and translate the medical texts correctly. Generally, we could search on the Internet for background information based on the translated text type. For example, suppose we work on sterile syringes for injection. In that case, we could search for our national standard “Sterile Syringes for Single Use” or the ISO standard “Sterile Hypodermic Syringes for Single Use - Part 1: Syringes for Manual Use”, in which we could get to know the purpose, use, composition, technical terms and other related standards and specifications of such medical device, laying a good foundation for our later translation work.

4.2 Understanding of terminology

Technical terms are usually used in a specific field and are generally divided into two categories: one is the term specific to a certain trade, such as appendicitis, diarrhea, and splenomegaly. These are all specific terms in the medical field, generally characterized by a word corresponding to a single meaning; there is also a type of technical term that evolved from ordinary words. Such terms embody multiple meanings. It must be comprehensively analyzed using linguistic and professional knowledge and continuously enriched and expanded in translation practice. For example, the original meaning of “confirmed” is “firm”, which is often translated as “diagnosed” in medical English.

Here is a comparison between the original meaning and specific meaning of words in the general language environment and Medical English.

Term	Original meaning	Meaning in medical texts
Murmur	低语、低音	(心区) 杂音
Tender	温柔的	触痛
Dressing	穿衣/衣服	敷料/换药

Code	代码	紧急抢救
Absent/present	缺席/出席	未检出/检出
Confirmed	确认	确诊
Split	分裂、撕裂	裂解
Vessel	船/舶	容器、血管
Appendix	附录、附件	阑尾
Rabbit/dog	兔子/狗	家兔/犬

4.3 Translation methods and standards

Methods and standards of medical Language translation are the criteria for the translation practice and the quality of the outcome. There have always been many suggestions about translation standards. “Faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance” is a translation criterion proposed by Yan Fu, while others proposed “faithfulness and obedience” and so on. However, there is one thing in common - all translations should include the ideological content of the original text and the language form of the target text. Therefore, two criteria should be adhered to in medical translation.

4.3.1 Faithfulness

Faithfulness is probably the most common criterion when evaluating a translation (Paragraph). The translation should be faithful to the original languages, accurately, completely and scientifically express the content of the original text without any tampering, distortion, omission or arbitrary addition or deletion. The content mentioned usually refers to the facts described in the text, the facts explained, and the thoughts, viewpoints, positions and feelings revealed by the author in narration, explanation and description.

The results in the certain medical text are taken as an example:

结果：不合理用药处方占审核处方的 2.1%，主要体现在给药频率不合理、重复给药、无指征给药、溶媒选用不合理以及药物配伍不合理。

Translation: Results: the irrational drug prescriptions accounted for 2.1% of all the prescriptions, mainly reflected in the unreasonable administration frequency, repeated

administration, administration without indications and unreasonable drug combinations, etc.

The phrase “审核处方” in the original Chinese text is translated inaccurately as “all the prescriptions”, which expands the scope of “审核处方”. An important phrase “溶媒选用” in the text is not translated, and only “etc.” is used, a mistake of deletion of key segments, violating the fidelity rules. The sentence should be translated as:

Results: the irrational drug presentations accounted for 2.1% of all the prescriptions checked, mainly reflected in the unreasonable administration frequency, repeated administration, administration without indications and unreasonable choice of solvent and drug combination.

Here is another example:

原文: 如在加入供试品后或在培养过程中, 培养基出现浑浊, 培养 14 天后, 不能从外观上判断有无微生物生长, 可取该培养液适量转种至同种新鲜培养基中, 培养 3 天, 观察接种的同种新鲜培养基是否再出现浑浊; 或取培养液涂片, 染色, 镜检, 判断是否有菌。

Original translation: During the culturing, the growth of bacteria should be observed and recorded daily after addition of the sample for test or during the culturing, there is turbidity in the medium; after culturing for 14 days, take the medium of suitable amount and transfer to the fresh medium of same kind, culture for 3 days, observe whether there is turbidity; Or take culture solution smear to dye for microscopic examination, and judge whether there is any bacterium.

Obviously, the phrase “During the culturing” and the “after addition of the sample for a test or during the culturing” are overlapped in the translation, resulting in a confusing structure; and the phrase “微生物生长” is incorrectly translated as “growth of bacteria” which means “细菌生长”, incorrect usage of words; in addition, “转种至同种新鲜培养基中” is translated as “transfer to the fresh medium of the same kind”, which is confusing and implicit information is missing - the container with the same kind of medium; so, it should be translated as “transfer xx to a fresh container with the same kind of medium”. Hence, the sentence is translated as:

New translation: After the addition of the test product or during the incubation of

the test product, if the test product renders the medium turbid so that the presence or absence of microbial growth cannot be readily determined by visual examination 14 days after the beginning of incubation, transfer 1 mL of the medium to a fresh container with the same kind of medium, and incubate the container for no less than 4 days, then examine whether the container is turbid, or smear medium on microslide, stain and examine with microscope for the suspected microbial growth; conduct a strain identification test if necessary.

4.3.2 Expressiveness

The translation must be fluent, in popular and easy-to-understand language, conform to the norms, with scientific and popular wording and phrasing in line with the habits of the native language. Lack of unity and coherence, chaotic structure, word-by-word translation and unintelligibility should be avoided. This is what Lu Xun meant when he said, “All translation must consider two aspects; one, of course, is to make it easy to understand, the other is to keep the charm and style of the original work.” (Fu Li, 2002). He deemed it a feasible way to preserve the original flavor with equivalent grammatical structures as well as the thoughts of the foreign works.

Thus, translators need to distinguish sentence structure types and clarify the logical relationship to make the translation smoother.

The medical English language is generally impersonal and passive, and it is more formal and concise by using impersonal sentences to show its objectivity. For example, the symptoms may precede the headache result of a transient decrease in blood supply to brain areas. Translators should pay attention to the “result from” part, which shows the causal relationship between the symptoms and a transient decrease in blood supply. Thus, we could translate the sentence by the causative expression in Chinese.

译文：头痛之前的症状有可能是由大脑部分区域供血瞬间减少所导致的。

Furthermore, translators should also clarify the grammatical relationship of sentences.

The lengthy and difficult-to-understand sentences are commonly used in medical English. A sentence often contains several clauses. This requires the translators to use grammatical knowledge to distinguish the relationship between the trunk and each

clause. We could look at this example: The joints, where the bones come together, allow the bones, powered by the muscles, a great variety and range of motion.

原译文：关节，骨头连接的地方，允许骨头，由肌肉牵引，产生各种活动。

Analysis: the translation here seems to include all the contents; however, the translator does not understand this sentence's true meaning. In fact, in this sentence, "where" leads to a non-restrictive attributive clause, with "joints" as the subject, "allow" the real predicate verb, "powered" a post-positive attributive, and "a great variety and range of motion" as the complement of the object "bones".

Therefore, the revised translation reads: 骨与骨相连的关节使骨头在肌肉的牵引作用下产生各种活动。

As Xu Yuanchong, China's most renowned master translator, said, "All in all, if we think that the standard of translation is only faithfulness and expressiveness, then faithfulness should include the three aspects, clarity, accuracy, and precision (or can be said to be similarity in meaning, similarity in form, and similarity in spirit). Fluency not only includes understandability but also should be extended to include the best use of strengths and give full play to the language advantages of the translation (Xu, 2018).

Now a brief description is listed below:

Standard	Low	Medium	High
Faithfulness in content (Xin (信), in Chinese)	Clear	Accurate	Precise
Three similarities	Similarity in meaning	The similarity in the form, in addition to the similarity in meaning	Similarity in spirit
Three levels	Plain	Equalized	Deepened
Smoothness in form (Da (达) in Chinese)	Easy-to-understand	Coherent	Strengths fostered (elegance (Ya (雅), in Chinese)

Conclusion

In medical English translation, to achieve accurate meaning, one must understand the knowledge of relevant medical fields and be proficient in both Chinese and English expressions of the same concept to express the original text's meaning accurately. While extensive domain knowledge is a prerequisite, the medical translator should be equally well-versed in the local market's cultural differences and language barriers. Since even a single error in medical translation can result in serious consequences, standard medical translators should ideally comply with international certifications such as ISO 9001, ISO 13485 for medical device manufacturing and EN 15038 for vendor quality interpretations as imposed by the European Union. They must be able to keep learning because medical knowledge is constantly updated and changing. New medicines and guidelines are emerging, and there are always numerous incurable diseases in clinical practice. The road is obstacle-packed and long. However, you will get through if you keep going.

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论通用型译员如何实现向医学译员的转型

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摘要：本文以翻译理论为基础，探讨了通用型中英互译译员如何实现向医学译员的转型。首先对医学领域翻译现状、特点和发展前景等进行阐述，分析当前医学翻译市场的现状及存在的问题。其次，作者基于个人翻译职业发展需要，通过大量医学翻译实践，提出从通用型译员实现向医学翻译转型的几种方法，为翻译行业从业者提供借鉴，鼓励通用型译员尝试和探索向专业领域翻译转型，不断精进专业领域的翻译能力，为改善专业领域翻译现状，解决专业领域翻译问题作出贡献。

关键词：通用型英语译员；转型；医学翻译市场现状和问题；医学翻译；医学译员

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译者惯习与理雅各《太上感应篇》的学术性英译探析

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摘要: 善书在中国传统社会的流通曾遍于州县, 充于街衢, 对中国民众的影响不逊于儒家正典。而《太上感应篇》是善书鼻祖, 在民间享有“三圣经之首”的美誉。本文以理雅各的英译本为研究对象, 借助布迪厄的社会实践论和西梅奥尼的惯习理论, 通过追踪译者的职业发展轨迹探讨了理雅各的学术性译者惯习在《太上感应篇》英译中的表现, 主要包括以传统典籍为选材对象、坚持忠实求真的翻译原则, 偏好厚重翻译的策略, 并在此基础上对理氏译本的特点进行描写和解释。从译者角度研究译文, 可以丰富《太上感应篇》的研究体系, 并在一定程度上弥补其英译研究的不足。

关键词: 理雅各; 译者惯习; 《太上感应篇》

引言

《太上感应篇》作为中国民间善书的代表, 其译介频率在 19 世纪达到峰值, 法、德、俄、英译本均有出现, 英译本产出最丰, 共诞生了六个译本, 数量远多于其他语种, 其中理雅各 (James Legge) 的译本因其具有的学术性特征而独具考察价值。

值得注意的是, 学界对理雅各的《太上感应篇》译本关注不多, 其中何立芳 (2010) 归纳了理雅各译本的英译特色, 并以纽马克 (Peter Newmark) 的语义翻译观和伽达默尔 (Hans-Georg Gadamer, 1900-2002) 的解释学为理论依据, 探讨了理雅各译本的翻译方法, 在学术性和通俗性间实现了平衡, 有效呈现了中文文化的要义; 何勇斌 (2014) 则面对道教经籍难理解难翻译的问题, 主张英译要得意而不忘言, 列举了理雅各英译《太上感应篇》“天道”和巴尔福英译“道”两个例子, 认为理雅各以 “heaven” 译 “天道” 和巴尔福以 “nature” 译 “道”

¹ 毕淑霞, 厦门大学海外教育学院中外语言交流合作中心项目助理。本文的写作与修改得到了厦门大学国际中文教育学院方环海教授的大力支持与帮助, 本文系教育部中外语言交流合作中心国际中文教育创新项目“汉学视域下国际中文教育的四维特色案例库建设与研究”(21YH019CX2)的阶段性研究成果, 在此一并致谢。

都不好，无法传达原文内涵；何亚琴（2016）则将善书《太上感应篇》和蒙学典籍《弟子规》的英译进行对照，探讨中国传统典籍的英译策略问题，提出风格彰显、理解调变、选词灵活、逻辑顺组等四种英译方法，并以原文-译文-分析的行文形式进行阐释。

由此可见，学界对《太上感应篇》英译的相关研究，不管在英译汉还是汉译英方面、抑或是在译本诠释还是在翻译策略方面，不管是在译本批评，还是译者行为批评方面等仍然存在深入研究的很大空间。我们知道，“惯习”（habitus）是布迪厄（Pierre Bourdieu, 1930-2002）社会实践理论的三大核心概念之一，指一种思想模式的倾向性系统，能够引导人类的实践。（Bourdieu, 1990）由于个体社会运行轨迹因人而异，个体惯习便因人而异，西梅奥尼（Daniel Simeoni）在此基础上又引申出了“译者惯习”的概念，认为译作是译者惯习的物化产品，通过考察译者惯习可对翻译实践的发生和译者行为等进行解释，也是译者研究的有效分析工具。（Simeoni, 1998）言下之意，考察译者的职业发展路径即可掌握其译者惯习形塑过程，而形塑后的译者惯习一般又由翻译选材、翻译观和翻译策略等方面构成，且以翻译风格为综合表征。文章拟借助布迪厄的社会实践理论和西梅奥尼的译者惯习理论，通过追踪译者的职业发展轨迹，来探讨理雅各的学术性译者惯习在翻译选材、翻译原则和翻译策略的具体体现，并在此基础上对理雅各《太上感应篇》的英译文本的不同特征进行描写和阐释。

一、理雅各的译者惯习形塑过程

理雅各生于苏格兰阿伯丁，作为家中幼子，理雅各从父亲处获得了许多陪伴和关爱，受其影响很大，其成年后在重要节点上的决定，都与父亲有关，包括其在中国的传教事业。虽然是虔诚的基督徒，但理雅各家信奉的却是非国教的独立教会，热衷于前往海外传教。理雅各的父亲是独立教会的坚定拥护者，他曾公开表态只会祝福那些前往海外传教的孩子。（岳峰，2006:30）

作为由传教士转型而来的汉学家，理雅各的汉籍译介必定同他的基督信仰有着千丝万缕的联系，香港浸会大学费乐仁教授也主张从非国教信仰的角度对其进行考察。（岳峰，2006:32）一方面，理雅各保留了大多数西方人的“西方中心主义观”，认为从各个方面看英国都要优于中国，在审视一些问题时带有明显偏见。另一方面，受到非国教信仰的影响，在对华问题上的一些观点与其他传教士存在

分歧。他在两件事上立场坚定：一是对英政府的鸦片贸易强烈抵制。与德庇时、道格拉斯和巴尔福相比，理雅各在政治上参与度较低，“甚至看到‘报效女王’的字眼就不舒服”（岳峰，2006:335）；二是对传教事业倾尽心力。理雅各在中国传教是抱有纯粹的宗教理想，是为了践行荣耀上帝的基督教理念，他认为在中国传教的前提，是精准地了解中国人的文化体系和宗教观念，理雅各将中国同波斯、罗马和希腊等帝国对比后，发现唯独中华帝国一直在繁衍和成长。于是，理雅各笃定中国人中间潜藏者卓越的道德和社会准则，坚信自己在熟谙中国典籍和思想体系之前，不具备传教资格。（理雅各，2011:29）因此，理雅各决定要完成中国典籍的研究和翻译。

有了宏伟的计划，还需要保证计划顺利实施所必不可少的语言功底、文学修养、翻译经验和社会资助等基础。理雅各在中学时代就开始表现出极高的语言天赋，尤其擅长拉丁文和英文的互译，少年时代就掌握了英外文互译技巧。他自己曾说“我学得非常快，阅读，拼写从来就不是问题，记忆力很好”（岳峰，2006:32）。除此之外，理雅各还有着超出常人的自律和刻苦学习的精神。赴华前，理雅各在海布里神学院接受了系统的神学训练，并专门在伦敦大学学习了汉语。（王辉，2003）

1842年理雅各进入香港，居留香港的30年里，他建教堂、办教育、做慈善、坚持汉学学习和儒经研读，不仅积累了深厚的中华文化素养，打下了坚实的语言文化基础，还积攒了广泛的人脉和名望，在华英商为其译作出版和销售提供了赞助和补贴。（理雅各，2011:40-41）

从1861年到1872年间，五卷本的《中国经典》全部出版等。这些儒家经典都的译文体例统一，包括译文和大量的副文本信息，是一种翻译加研究的方法，形成英译儒经的理雅各模式，并参与构建了英国汉学初创时期主流学术形态的面貌。（王琰，2012:75）儒莲、艾约瑟、穆勒甚至“汉学界的公敌”（王绍祥，2004.）翟理斯等都对译本给予了极其高的评价，理雅各也认为他二十几年艰苦学术研究的成果，“处于中国学术研究的前沿”（理雅各，2011:41）。凭借《中国经典》，理雅各荣膺“儒莲奖”，后又进入牛津大学，进行了长达21年的教学、研究和翻译实践，正式确定中国研究的专业学者身份，成为名副其实的汉学泰斗。

如果说《中国经典》时期的典籍翻译是建立在研究的基础上，已经具有很鲜明的学术气息，那么牛津时期的翻译实践则是教学与研究结合，学术性氛围更加

凸显。担任牛津大学汉学教授后，受缪勒(Friedrich Max Muller, 1823-1900)所托，理雅各同时着手翻译《东方圣书》(The Sacred Books of the East)中的中国圣书。《东方圣书》是为促进学术研究而出版的世界宗教丛书，具有鲜明的学术性目的，缪勒明确指出“其出版只能建立在学术基础上，并不面向接受普通教育的大众”(王琰, 2012: 57)。1891年完成的《东方圣书》收录了包含了《太上感应篇》在内的三部道经译本。事实上，在译本完成之前，理雅各已对原文进行过深入的研究。除了继续秉承他的翻译习惯进行大量译前研究外，理雅各还将此作为课堂内容，牛津大学的教学中有《太上感应篇》的课程安排，(沈建青, 李敏辞, 2008)而其在长老会大学开设的讲座讲义集经编辑整理后被出版，其中也涉及到了《太上感应篇》。(James Legge, 1881)

根据布迪厄的社会学理论，可将理雅各的职业发展轨迹概括如下：家庭层面上，父亲之于理雅各是至亲也是权威，塑造了理雅各的宗教价值观和人生信念，使理雅各以传播福音为最高理想；学校教育层面上，理雅各自身天资聪颖、勤奋好学、具备英外翻译技巧和经验。通识教育成绩优异、具有系统化神学训练和汉语学习经历，为其准备了文化资本；跟随伦敦会进入东方传教后，克服种种困难，磨砺了意志、坚定了信念，立志要通过精准的典籍翻译为在华基督教事业开辟道路；迁入香港后，通过几十年的积淀，具备了深厚的中国语言文化素养，文化资本进一步累积。

借助教育、慈善和传教事业得到了中国文人协助，以便于其进行典籍研究和翻译。此时，理雅各研究和翻译中国儒家典籍的学术性惯习被初步行塑，又通过积累的人脉和名望，理雅各得到了商人赞助，成为其社会资本。理雅各的职业惯习与初始资本相遇，五卷本的学术性巨著《中国经典》一举成名，帮助他顺利介入西方汉学界的中国古代典籍翻译场域。进入牛津任教后，前期的社会资本继续累积，并继续参与了《东方圣书》翻译场域的实践。其《太上感应篇》的学术性英译特征是其翻译加研究惯习的最终反映，以下分别从翻译选材、翻译原则和翻译策略三个方面进行具体论述。

二、理雅各的译者惯习与《太上感应篇》英译

(一) 专攻典籍译介

从翻译选材看，理雅各的译者惯习表现为专攻中国古代典籍，英译《太上感

应篇》是这一惯习的延续。

理雅各认为,了解中国的前提是掌握其古代典籍。理雅各最初的译经目标是儒家经典,计划将四书五经完整系统地译出,原因在于他认为这九部著作掌控着中国的教育、政治和几百万知识分子的思想头脑,居于最尊崇的地位,他甚至计划过将十三经全部译出。不管是儒家典籍还是道教典籍,都是中国古代典籍的一部分,都能用于挖掘中国人的思想世界。理雅各还认为,应当投入时间和精力去了解中国的宗教,(理雅各,2011: 210)而道教是土生土长的中国宗教。因此,介绍儒家学说的任务完成后,理雅各决心着手道教思想体系的译介。早前他就对基督教和儒道进行过宗教对比,对道教经典有过一定的研究。同时,顺应西方汉学界的翻译场域面向道教开放的趋势,理雅各的翻译选材也开始转向道经。以穆勒的邀请为契机,理雅各承担了《东方圣书》中的中国圣书翻译任务,收录了道教的《老子》《庄子》和《太上感应篇》。因此,英译《太上感应篇》符合理雅各的选材惯习。

(二) 恪守求真原则

从翻译原则看,理雅各的译者惯习可以概括为忠实存真,这也是许多西方汉学家和学者型译者翻译价值取向的共性。理雅各认为,唯有忠实才能维护经典的权威性,其忠于原作的翻译理念得到汉学家们的高度评价。其中,湛约翰评理雅各的《礼记》英译,认为“这部著作自始至终保持着高品质,标志着一个翻译的精益求精与忠实”(理雅各,2011: 210);苏慧廉评理雅各的《论语》英译,认为“读之文愈多,愈感怀于其学术造诣之渊博,为达译文精确之勤勉,研究深度之惊人,以及语言表达之清晰”(Soothill, 1910.)。

理雅各恪守忠实的译者惯习,在《太上感应篇》中亦得到了充分贯彻,英译中国古代典籍时基本都是全译,《太上感应篇》自然也是如此。穆勒在同理雅各沟通《东方圣书》的出版事宜时,就已定下一个准则,要求所有出版的作品必须是全译本,原文中精彩和乏味的部分都应当被译出,否则将被视为对经典的歪曲。(理雅各,2011: 208)因此,理雅各全译《太上感应篇》既是其译者惯习的直接表现,也体现了其译者惯习对所处翻译场域规则的服从。

此外,对《感应篇》原文的忠实,还体现在直译法上。18世纪末,西方进入由泰勒(Alexander Fraser Tytler, 1747-1814)“翻译三原则”构筑的译学场

域,好的译文被规定为应当尽量复制原文的思想、风格和流畅度。(沈思芹,2020) 受此影响,19 世纪初《太上感应篇》的英译者大都以忠实翻译为价值取向,并采用直译法,以求做到忠实于原文。如理雅各自己所言,“译者先来追求忠于原作,决不诉诸释意(意译),释意是懒人之道,学者不为”。(王辉,2003)《太上感应篇》中的语句绝大多数是四字短语组成的单句,且这些单句绝大部分是动宾结构。虽然中英文的动词和宾语语序一致,在语义呈现上达到了同构,双语转换的信息通道是畅通的(陆振慧,2010),但是与彼时其他译者的译文相比,理雅各对直译法的运用则具有更高的识别度。列数例如下:

例 1. 轻蔑天民,扰乱国政。

道格拉斯译: Do not think lightly of the lives of the people. Do not introduce vexatious reforms into the administration of the empire.

巴尔福译: if, as a mandarin, he neglects the welfare of the people, brings sedition into the State,

理雅各译: If he slights and makes no account of Heaven' s people; if he troubles and throws into disorder the government of the state;

《太上感应篇》的原文“轻蔑天民,扰乱国政”是一组并列的动宾短语,其中“天民”为“轻蔑”的宾语,“国政”为“扰乱”的宾语。从整体上看,三组译文皆以动宾结构译原文动宾结构,保持同原文句法结构基本对应的基础上兼顾意义的传达,采用直译法是译文主旋律。但逐字剖析后却不难发现,虽然各位译者都以忠实为翻译指导原则,但忠实的程度具有内部差异性。

首先,在“天民”的翻译上,道格拉斯译为“the lives of people”,丢失了“天”的含义,但又增加了“命”的含义;巴尔福译为“the welfare of the people”,舍弃了“天”的含义,同时加塞了“福利(尤指政府保障的)”的含义;而理雅各则严格按照原文,译为“Heaven' s people”不增不减,保留了“天”和“民”,虽然对“天”的翻译是否恰当须另当别论,但可以看出译者在形式上为尽力求真于原文的立场;其次,在“国政”的翻译上,道格拉斯译为“the administration of the empire”,形式上似乎对应了原文的“国政”,但这里的“empire”指由多个邦国或盟国组成的宽泛意义上的帝国;巴尔福则译为“the State”,再次舍弃了原文本来的形式和意义;理雅各译为“the government of the state”,意及国家的管理、统治,从形式和意义两方面来

说都更加贴近原文；第三，“轻蔑”的处理上，道格拉斯用词组“think lightly of”来对应原文，巴尔福用一个动词“neglects”来阐释原文，而理雅各则选择了一个动词加一个词组，使用“slights and makes no account of”分别来传达“轻”和“蔑”。这样对比来看，不管是形式的对应还是意义的传达上，理雅各明显是忠实程度最高的。最后，“扰乱”的译文同“轻蔑”有类似之处。道格拉斯用一个词组“introduce vexatious reforms into”，巴尔福用一个词组“brings sedition into”，而理雅各再次使用一个动词加一个词组“troubles and throw into disorder”，保存了原文的形式，重现原文的意义。

例 2. 祸福无门，惟人自召。

道译: The good and bad fortune of a man is not determined in advance; man brings them on himself by his conduct.

巴译: Happiness and evil do not come spontaneously; it is men who bring them upon themselves.

理译: There are no special doors for calamity and happiness(in men's lot); They come as men call them.

“祸福无门，惟人自召”一句以“门”作喻，形象生动地阐明了祸福自造的原理。将道格拉斯的译文译回中文则是“祸福并非事先注定”，而将巴尔福的译文译回中文却是“祸福并非自然发生”。或许是因为“门”在英文中的对应项“door”或者“gate”并没有用作修辞的先例，道格拉斯和巴尔福选择舍弃直译法，忽略其在原文中的“喻体”功能，采用意译的方法进行解释。但这种译法不仅丧失了原文中以“门”作比的修辞效果，而且使其意义也有所改变。相比之下，理雅各采用直译，忠实于原文，将“门”的隐喻保留下来，既不妨碍读者理解，又使原文劝诫时形象生动的效果得以保存。

例 3. 弃法受赂，以直为曲，以曲为直，入轻为重，见杀加怒。

道格拉斯译: Do not violate the law and receive presents. Do not make crooked that which is straight, nor make straight that which is crooked. Don't rank faults as crimes. Don't indulge in anger in punishing a culprit.

巴尔福译: accepts bribes in violation of the law, treat the straight as if they were crooked and the crooked as if it were straight, treats

trivial misdemeanors as grave crimes, and waxes still fiercer against those who deserve death instead of pitying them;

理雅各译: if he casts the laws aside and receives bribes; holds the right to be wrong and the wrong to be right; enters light of offenses as heavy and the sight of execution makes him more enraged (with the criminal);

对“弃法受贿,以直为曲,以曲为直,入轻为重,见杀加怒”一句的英译,虽然各位译者基本做到了忠实,但是在务实程度上还存在差异,理雅各显然是求真度最高的译者。

第一,在翻译“弃法受贿”时,道格拉斯保留了原文的形式,但将“贿”译为“present”,但意思上显然又偏离了原文,因为“贿”英文中有现成的对应词“bribe”;而巴尔福译文虽然在意义上与原文一致,但语序变成了“受贿弃法”;第二,在翻译“以直为曲,以曲为直时”,道格拉斯的译文将语序调整为“为曲以直,为直以曲”;而巴尔福的译文虽然保持了原来的语序,但是又增添了自己的理解,将其译文回译成中文是“像对待曲的那样去对待直的,像对待直的那样去对待曲的”,留下了过多译者的痕迹。只有理雅各的译文不仅保持了原文的结构,语义和语序也紧扣原文;第三,尤其在翻译“入轻为重”时,为追求字字直译,理雅各将“入”译为“enter”,但在原文中,“入”是判罪的意思。在翻译“见杀加怒”时,为追求同原文在形式和意义上的等值,竭力再现汉语原有的特点,理雅各译为“The sight of an execution makes him more enraged (with the criminal)”。不过,这种“类似《圣经》译本风格的字面翻译法”(王琰,2012),在表达上显得生硬,因此导致不少学者指责他的译文“力图忠于原文而直译得过分”。(沈思芹,2020)

(三) 延续厚译策略

从翻译策略看,理雅各的学术性译者惯习还体现在厚译法上。早在儒经英译时期,其研究加翻译的学术性译者惯习就已形塑,儒经译本全部采用厚译策略,即在文本上附有译者导言、译者序、脚注、题解、附录等副文本信息,提供了许多译者对原文本的个人评价观点,构成了译者对译本的学术性研究,实现了文本诠释同文化诠释的结合,(陆振慧,2010)能够为读者提供理解原文必需的社会文

化语境。(杨翠翠, 2014) 惯习具有稳定性, 理雅各早期儒家典籍译介生涯中定型的译者惯习, 在《太上感应篇》的英译中继续发挥作用, 具有典型的“学术性”特色。

《太上感应篇》是作为道经被译介的, 因此,《道教经籍》导言和译序也是理雅各对《太上感应篇》进行学术性阐释的一个层面。在长达 14 页的《道教经籍》导言中, 理雅各探讨了以下几个学术问题:

第一, 关于道家 and 老子孰先孰后的问题。根据理雅各的分析, 道家先于老子, 老子不是道家思想的创立者, 而是道家思想的记录者, 这就在一定程度上消磨了老子在中国人心中的神圣性。理雅各重视道教的溯源问题, 认为早期道家思想存在于极为久远的远古时代, 在老子及其《道德经》更早以前, 道教在人伦政教方面的教义就已在流传。理雅各甚至提出, 儒家和道家都存在一个比他们的创始人更早的源头, 儒家和道家的思想合于这一相同的源头, 只是经由二人传于后世才出现分歧, 孔子成了道德主义的先师, 老子成了形而上学的代表。(理雅各, 2011) 理雅各所在此处要探究的古老起源是有一种“GOD”的暗示在里面, 儒道是都是由那个古老的起源发端, 实质无非还是要将接受度较高的早期道家思想同基督信仰相联系, 最大程度地利用一切机会来为基督教在中国的合理化铺平道路。另一方面, 关于早期“道家”和后世“道教”的问题。理雅各论述了两者的联系和区别, 认为很难将老庄时期的道家思想同后世流行的道教思想等同。理雅各认为,《老子》和《庄子》中所蕴含的是早期的道家思想, 而《太上感应篇》则是道教发展到很久以后阶段的一种文本, 若要研究道教的宗教起源和宗教本质, 这些经文都是必备的。但理雅各割裂原始道家和道教的二分法, 受到了翟理斯等人的批评。著名学者诺曼·吉拉多特也批评他的道教研究表现出了汉学东方主义现象(岳峰, 2006:95)。

第二, 关于“道”的意义考证。在新教传教士的“GOD 译名之争”中, 理雅各认为儒家思想中的“上帝”就是指 GOD, 坚持以《诗经》和《书经》等儒家典籍里的“上帝”对译基督教的 GOD,。而对于早期道家思想, 理雅各虽然也赞扬了他认为合理的部分, 比如老子以德报怨的思想同基督教宽容的箴言一致, 但在英译道家和道教的核心概念“道”时, 理雅各又放弃这种附会的做法, 转而在音译的“Tao”来表示。他说处理‘道’的最好办法是将其直接转写到译文里, 而非引入一个英语等价词”。(理雅各, 2011) 通过对比理氏对“道”和“帝”英译,

可以看出理雅各对待儒家、道家和道教的不同态度，以及在附会儒道典籍核心文化概念时的不同倾向。这种差异也反映在《太上感应篇》的译文中。

第三，对《太上感应篇》的认识。理雅各提出《太上感应篇》与《老子》、《庄子》存在巨大差异，将其视作后期道教文本的典型。理雅各简要考察了该书的成书年代和作者，也注意到了该书的劝诫性质、报应思想和承负论。同时，理雅各也论及了《太上感应篇》及其后产出的道书与佛教的关系。理雅各认为佛教对道教的影响是根本性的，提出道教基于佛教的造像、建筑风格和仪轨对自身进行了改造，而且道教三清也是源自佛教的三宝。他还提出，《太上感应篇》写成时佛教的教义已被道教引用，其中的“报应观”并未超出今生的范围等等。（理雅各, 2011）事实上大约两汉之际佛教传入中国时就遭遇了传播困难，常借助道家文化概念翻译佛教术语，并在宣传方式上借鉴道教的神学方术，后来道教又在戒规仪式和教义上等问题上受到佛教影响，在三教融合的过程中二者之间的关系更是剪不断理还乱，因此佛教和道教对彼此都有影响。但是，理雅各只看到了佛教对道教的影响，甚至夸大了这种影响，却忽略了道教之于佛教的影响。通过导言这一副文本的阐释，多少可以看出理雅各对《太上感应篇》的态度，这种态度会在译文中有所反映。

理雅各《中国经典》中的文献目录学意识，被《东方圣书》承袭下来。（丁大刚, 2021）在《道教经籍》的译序中，理雅各列举了翻译《道德经》、《庄子》和《太上感应篇》的参考书目。准备《太上感应篇》的英译时，理雅各参考了《感应篇图说》、《太上感应篇经史集说通解》、惠栋的《太上感应篇笺注》等。最难能可贵的是，每个参考书目都不是简单的罗列，除去这些书目的作者年代版本等基本信息外，理雅各还附有书本的评价信息，包括前辈对同一本参考书的利用情况以及利用情况的评价，这种学术态度在当时的汉学界首屈一指。

《太上感应篇》的英译本也延续了《中国经典》的注释风格，理雅各将注释用小于译文的字体赋予正文下方，译文和注释之间以直线隔开，在 19 世纪《太上感应篇》英译本中，这是理雅各译本的独有的特点。《太上感应篇》译本共包含 28 个脚注，这些文内注释增强了译本的学术性，（沈思芹, 2020）但也展示了译者的西方中心主义立场。

比如，关于“三尸神”的注释中，理雅各写道，“《康熙字典》解释三尸是‘一个神的名称’，但是“三尸”这个短语明显是复数，字典也给出了这三个神

的不同名称和他们在人体的不同位置。不过，我们为什么非要为这样一个纯属荒谬的迷信概念寻求肯定且令人满意的翻译呢？”（James Legge, 1959）。

理雅各的中国典籍英译一贯重视求真，甚至连动植物的名称都要做到尽量精确，在翻译《诗经》时，他“考证了 159 种动物与 139 种植物”（岳峰，2006:163）。不过，在翻译道教民间信仰神的名称时，他却丢掉了一个学者的严谨态度和对事物穷根究底的耐心，原因在于他的一神论思维方式对异教的蔑视，没能超越西方中心主义的局限性。

结语

从 1861 年《中国经典》第一卷出版、到 1891 年《东方圣书》出版、再到 1895 年《中国经典》再版，理雅各的中国典籍翻译跨越了三十余年。作为典型的学者型译者，理雅各自始至终都在践行“研究加翻译”的译经方法，其译者惯习的“学术性取向”逐步定型，并在《太上感应篇》的英译中得到了鲜明的展现。通过研究，具体可以归纳为：在翻译选材上，理雅各的译者惯习表现为专攻中国古代典籍，英译《太上感应篇》是这一惯习的延续，通过翻译道教典籍进一步窥探中国人的精神世界，客观上也为宗教对比学界贡献了供研究专用的学术性道教译本；在翻译原则上，理雅各恪守忠实求真的价值取向，竭尽全力维护经典的权威性，译文在语义和形式传达的准确度上远超同侪；在翻译策略上，理雅各延续了学者型译者的风格，采用厚重翻译的策略，为译文添加了长篇导言译序和详尽的注释，为读者呈现颇具参考价值的宝贵研究成果。

《太上感应篇》是中国善书的鼻祖，其刊印流传之广在世界各国文化典籍之中很是罕见，但目前对其英译文本的研究十分有限，本文从译者惯习角度进行尝试，希望可以在一定程度上弥补早期中国善书英译与传播研究之不足。

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On James Legge's Academic Translation Habits: Focusing on the English Translation of *Taishang Ganying Pian*

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Abstract: The spread of morality books (Shanshu) in traditional Chinese society was so extensive that they once reached every corner of the country. Its influence in traditional China is not inferior to that of the Confucian canon. *Tai Shang Gan Ying Pian* is the first one created in all morality books and enjoys the reputation of “the head of the three holiest Shanshu” among the common people. This research focuses on James Legge's English translations of *Taishang Ganying Pian*. Based on Bourdieu's social practice theory and Simeoni's translator's habitus theory, the paper makes a study of the shaping process of the James Legge's academic translation habitus and its reflection in the translations of *Taishang Ganying Pian*, namely, preferring translating traditional Chinese classics, adhering to the principle of faithful translating, and insisting on translating by high academic standards. From the translator's point of view, this paper can enrich the research system of *Taishang Ganyin pian* and make up for the lack of English translation studies to some extent.

Key Words: James Legge; Translator's Habitus; *Taishang Ganying Pian*

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早期西方汉学中的中国语言观¹

托马斯·沃特斯 著 范梓硕 方环海 译

当今，世界各地各种各样说汉语的人数应不少于四亿人。即使我们以西方作者所给出的那样合理看待中国人口，这一数值恐怕也被大大高估了。不过，如果将那些生活在中国十八个省以外的仍在当地使用各种方言土语的人数加上，或许说汉语的人数会更多一些。更何况如果再把考察范围扩大一下，就会发现世界上使用汉语书面语的人数要多得多，这是因为书面语在很大程度上是中国以外周边的几个国家官方媒体一直使用的，并用来文献记录和进行交流，同时还有其各自的口语形式。

很长一段时期内，就东亚和东南亚住民所知、所用的汉语口语和书面语而言，汉语都被视为最高的文明形式，甚至也是最令人向往的一种语言。虽然历经朝代更迭和人口动荡，但是中国的社会生活法则与政治的制度因为汉语而得以代代相传，这不仅对生活在天子荫庇之下的普罗大众产生了巨大影响，更对中国以外处于不毛之地的一些部落国家产生了深远而持久的影响。虽然在中国的广大国土上，汉语对整个中华民族的县城居功至伟，然而，在世界历史上，它并没有起到一个很重要或非常明显的作用，也并没有对人类其他民族做出同样的贡献。但同时我们必须看到，这是仅从西方人的笔下了解到的这个世界的历史。此外，对于远离这个国家的人而言，中国的语言和文学作品不太可能引起大家的浓烈兴趣，比如近期一些西方学者对于闪米特语和印欧语的研究，就可以说明这个问题。

不过，对于中国语言与文化有没有引起西方的好奇和注意这一说法，也不能一概而谈。当思考汉语的本质和其书写的方式时，我们不应期望汉语与我们所熟悉的其他语言完全不同。就像盖格（Geiger）所观察到的那样，任何一个意在洞悉人类本质的人，都不应该忽视汉语的存在，究其原因，一是由于汉语所传

¹ 范梓硕，厦门大学国际中文教育学院；方环海，厦门大学国际中文教育学院。该文原文系 Thomas Watters 所著的 *Essays on the Chinese Language* (1889) 一书的第一章，该部分内容全面回顾了早期西方的汉语观，对今天的汉语学界而言，具有极其独特的学术参考与借鉴价值，特此译出以飨学界。本文系教育部中外语言交流合作中心国际中文教育创新项目“汉学视域下国际中文教育的四维特色案例库建设与研究”(21YH019CX2)的阶段性研究成果。

中包含很多大相径庭的观点。一些资深权威学者甚至把汉语从人类所有的语言谱系之中排除出去，使其成为孤立的没有任何亲属语言的一种陌生语言。比如，戈留丝(Golius)提出，“如果存在的话应像一位非常的诚挚、彻底的东方主义者”，“汉语并非从永生的古老话语中衍生而来，而是由哲人的技能和天分建造出来的”——“由一些聪明人一下子全部发明的，供居住在我们所称为中国的伟大国度中的许多不同民族进行口头交流使用”；而像莱布尼茨(Leibniz)这样的大学者竟然会同意这一幻想性观点，并把它写入他的哲学论著中，现在看来，这一观点似乎是很怪异的。同样的，善于雄辩且成就加身的法勒(Farrar)也拒绝承认汉语的所有亲属关系，并说它“与其他语言如此相差如此之多，就像是生活在另一个星球的居民所使用的语言”，他将汉语置于一个语言的混合体之中，“(也许有一千种)但这种语言不是雅利安语也不是闪米特语，也尚未按照彼此的亲属关系而集合在一起”。对于这些语言，他认为是“极好的、简单的、完全无可非议的”，又是“零星的，即分散的，同源异体的，即人类大家庭其他氏族所使用的”。

然而，很少有人会认同汉语是中国的奇特产物这一异端邪说这一观点，尽管很多人坚持汉语孤立于其他语言之外，其语言本身既没有起源也没有传承。与这种观点直接对立的理论认为，汉语是最初的、第一种语言——行走在伊甸园的树林间时，亚当和夏娃与神和毒蛇交谈及他/她们之间彼此交谈所使用的语言——也就是世界其他所有人类语言的先祖。这一理论最初也最为人知晓的创立者是约翰·韦伯(John Webb)，一个生活在文艺复兴时期的英语人。他关于这一主题的文章充满了少见且有趣的知识、有说服力的推理及奇怪的想象，展示出对于直到他所生活的年代间关于中国的认知水平。他大量引用马蒂亚斯(Martinius)、基歇尔(Kircher)、塞梅多(Semedo)、门多萨(Mendoza)、特里戈特(Trigault)的观点，并且韦伯似乎也从前人那里学到了一些关于汉语本质的观点。

韦伯认为，极有可能是诺亚(Noah)和他的家人迁至中国并在那里建造了他的诺亚方舟，而现代的帆船只是一种“低劣的复制品”。他还说，“在大洪水前后，诺亚本人生活在中国是极有可能的”，认为汉语的出现、书写和口头使用，直接来自诺亚的儿子闪(Shem)或者后来的后裔。无论他们的祖先是否在中国定居，他们至少在某段时间迁至西方来避免语音的混乱，因此汉语躲过了成为“基础语言”的厄运。值得注意的是，艾约瑟(Edkins)也认为汉语早在巴比塔出现前就

已传至西方,但这一博学的汉学家运用异端邪说让诺亚的另外一个儿子含(Ham)成为中国人的始祖“舜”,基歇尔和其他一些西方人也曾认同这种说法,可想而知,韦伯(Webb)对这一说法进行了批驳。在论文中,韦伯认为,对于那些对汉语持有赞同态度的作者而言,汉语具有所有原始语言要求的特性,即古老、简单、通用、表达灵活、实用、凝练,亚当夏娃的这一语言传递给了他的后代直到诺亚,后又通过闪传递给早期的中国人。汉字的书写,也是由古老的元老中的一位教授所为,不必提及早期的论文。如果亚当的第七代—伊诺克(Enoch)没有留给舍巴(Sheba)女王一部天文著作,晚期的德尔图良(Tertullian)哪里能够“看过并读过全部的书页?”这本书由“有意义的且象形的”字母书写而成,没有人会否认这种描述已经被运用到了汉字之中,且这些汉字有着古老的历史,就像基歇尔所说的,是“古籍中的象形图画”,在所有方面都是象形文字。作为韦伯的一个有力论据,“如果全部事情都能用来密谋,证明汉语是世界上最初的语言,那么我们可以了解到自然是如何竭尽全力来证明这些的。在来到这个世界最初那一刻,我们对生命的第一次表达,正如前面所提到的那样,这不仅是第一次,而且确实是仅有的和唯一的人类可以从自然中公正地要求的表达。”

许多其他人认为,中国人和汉字从那个有着让人宽慰的名字—美索不达米亚的古老国家的邻近地区发源。第一个讲汉语的人也很有可能就是闪的后代。他们明显有着超过同时期其他部族的艺术、科学知识。难道诺亚会那么对待他的儿子含,而“不顾念怜惜他的后代”吗?事实上,基歇尔认为,含将他的封地移出埃及,通过波斯移入了巴克特利亚。从巴克特利亚,他们可能会途径中国,“最适宜居住的国家,同时还有最早的字符,这遗传自他们的父亲闪,闪的儿子米特雷姆(Misraim)的顾问——第一位象形文字发明者墨丘利·特里梅吉斯托斯(Mercurius Trismegistus),尽管他们也只是学到了皮毛而已”。

但这一观点被认为是异端邪说,且如上文所言,遭到韦伯的强烈反对。至于诺亚的其他儿子,雅尔弗(Japhet)无疑也从他父亲那里学到了闪曾被教授的全部。但很明显的是,雅尔弗或至少他的孩子,见证了他们长期使用石器和燧石并逐渐使用更有技巧性的工具,但却失去了交流所需的知识。而闪的后代,包括原始的中国人,都是聪明机智的,并且绝不会遗忘他们已学会的知识。在这礼,一个比较早期的实用的例子就是,中国人他们永远充满智慧。当最初的种族之父

受到无法抗拒的命运推动而离开了家乡，走向东方时，不管尼姆罗德种族开始的“不可完成的工作”突然停止之前或之后，他们都带走了他们的“铁锹、镐和泥铲”。他们还收集了少部分从父辈那里获得的用文字写成的书籍，而这些文字是他们的后辈一直留存的。这些事实圆满解释了国家自象形时期起石器和燧石工具的长期缺失，以及口头和书面语言中的原始特点。

大部分早期在中国的耶稣会士、其他罗马天主教的传教士们以及他们故乡的教条似乎都支持、符合汉语的闪米特语起源说，尽管他们不赞同闪的后代是真正的直系先祖。因为有些人认为，几乎没有足够的证据来确认中国第一位伟大的皇帝唐尧是闪的曾孙约旦（Joktan）。正如所见，有些人提出含是所有中国人之始祖，另一些人则认为他们是雅尔弗（Japhet）的后代。一些作家认为汉语和古埃及语之间存在某种亲缘关系。该理论最初也最伟大的支持者—德金（De Guignes）提出来的，他认为古中国是埃及的殖民地，他大胆地证明在记忆中中国就是埃及的殖民地，但他在很大限度上用人造字符的文字相似性来支持他的理论假说。学者和汉学家认为汉字和希伯来语有关，后者被认为是世界的源语言。许多人也相信，当天使们被派去巴比伦尼亚阻止建造巴比塔时，汉语是上帝所创造的七十或七十二种语言之一。

艾约瑟（Edkins）博士曾尝试证明“汉语和希伯来语之间存在关联”以及汉语和其他古代语言之间的亲属关系。他认为，这些语言“在美索不达米亚和亚美尼亚地区”有着共同的起源，时间和空间的差异赋予了这些地区巨大的魅力。据艾约瑟博士的观点，第一个中国人“很有可能是含米特人”；但汉语，“像蒙古语和土耳其语一样，属于日本语系”；且古希伯来语和古汉语很可能是一种更久远的始于亚当时期的母语的方言，其历史十分悠久”。所以汉语比起其他语言要更“古老”，因为“汉语其本身是人类语言的最初母语的第一个后裔，我们不能在其中追溯到后来任何语言的信息。”

在某种程度上，马士曼（Marshman）的勤勉精神弥补了他汉语学习的不足，实在找不到足够的希伯来语、梵语和汉语之间存在原始联系的证据，因此留下了这一未决问题，尽管他可能更希望看到这种语言和印度语之间存在亲属关系。

在汉语起源研究过程中，查莫斯（Chalmers）博士尝试用语言来“追溯中国和西方国家之间的联系”。他选取了 300 个汉字并将其与希伯来语、梵语、希腊

语、阿拉伯语、藏语和其他语言中意义近似的单词作比较。关于汉语的亲属关系，他的看法是有限制条件的，正如下面这句话所说，“如果中国人从人类种族最初的家园直接穿过印度库什和西藏，来到这片土地，很有可能他们从最初就与西藏原住民保持联系，并通过他们与更遥远的文明进行交流。我们应该在喜马拉雅地区的语言中寻找汉语的亲属语言，包括缅甸语和暹罗语，而不是遥远的通古斯语或者蒙古语族。查莫斯博士对这个问题的结论很简单，“中国人和其文明开化源自西方，且仅有一些重大发明属于这个民族。艾约瑟博士梦想着一种语言的普遍亲属关系，汉语是其中现存的最古老的亲属语言。在他的梦想中，随着其他棘手工作得以解决的同时，他奋力证明汉语和其他雅利安语言的语源或所谓的词根之间存在亲属关系，这项工作后来由一位杰出的荷兰汉学家古斯塔夫·施莱格尔（Gustave Schlegel）承继下来。在后者的论述中，我们第一次采用学术上和方法上的尝试来对汉语和雅利安语进行比较。比如，采用波特（Pott）的两种语言里动词和代名词存在的相似之处的方法来证明“种族融合”，同时给出了他认为证明了汉语和雅利安语存在联系的例子。

至于中国西部的一些单音节语言，大家公认的说法是，汉语是这些语言的母语，或者至少是早于这些语言的。然而，洛根（Logan）认为，“据语言证明我们可总结如下：当中国文明兴起时，更西式的、或者单音节的部落、或者它们的原型已经存在。无法辩驳的语言事实反驳了这一假说：在中国文明出现后，它们发源于中国的任一种语言。”但在洛根的其他论述中，可以推断出他认为汉语至少与他所提及的一些现存的单音节语言有关。马士曼也说安南（越南）、老挝、暹罗（泰国）和一些其他方言：“它们发源于中国，但大部分也受外来的混合语所影响，在这些语言中，我们可以发现排斥所有屈折结构的简化的起源。因此，从它的后代来看，汉语的灵感可以简单推断出。”硕特（Schott），惠特尼（Whitney）和其他学者也发表了汉语本质相似的观点。1878年，在佛罗伦萨召开的东方会议前，博学的德国汉学家G·冯·德·甲伯连孜（G. von der Gabelenz）教授宣读了一篇短小但极具启发性的论文。论文的目的旨在提出证明汉语方言和西藏、阿萨姆和跨恒河半岛的语言之间存在亲属谱系的可能性。作者的观点明显是这种亲属谱系是存在的，并能够被证实，期望从他所从事的工作中对这个问题知晓更多。我们必须承认的是，即使是现在可获取的信息也不充足，更没有适当检验和

安排来就汉语和边疆地区的单音节语言的亲属关系得出普遍性结论。据此，我们不能毫无保留地接受伟大的印度通 W. W. 亨特（W. W. Hunter）几年前的断言。他说：“迄今为止，汉语被视作一种独立的语言，不存在什么亲属关系或语族。”这一说法虽然不够准确，但这本书证明了汉语不仅曾传播至南海群岛，更传至整个东半岛、暹罗、特纳瑟琳、布尔玛，而传至中亚、许多喜马拉雅部落和一些印第安地区的前雅利安人的可能性比较低。以上所提及的学者有可能把现在已经消亡或遗失的古代中国语言看作是现存的中国方言和包括在印度支那称号下的语言的母语，至少到目前，它仍旧与后者的语言框架或语言实质相关，但这一局限性的理论是否能被证实仍旧存疑。

我们不能错过易被忽视的由汉学家拉克伯里（M. Terrien de La Couperie）所提出的对汉语的谱系亲缘的看法。经过长期研究，拉克伯里提出汉语口语属于“黏着语大家族中古老的一员，即乌拉尔-阿尔泰语系”。他补充认为，“这样做，有可能需要在这个语族中建立一个由最近发现暂时构成的第三分类，可以适当称之为阿玛尔第安语支；第一分类的集合中包括了阿卡德语及其方言，第二分区包括原始医疗语苏塞安语和科斯安语。”道格拉斯（Douglas）教授在此处引用了其他文章，他提到：“简单来说，这些，以及其他可以很快被引证来支持它们的大量丰富词汇，证明了古代中国、巴比伦尼亚语言和传统的其他语言存在明确无误的相似之处”。随即在另一本书中，我们看到拉克伯里有如下极具特色的陈述：“中国自改变以来接受了它的语言和艺术、科学和机构的元素，这些元素在有较高文化的人的带领下，从公元前二十三世纪来自西亚的乌格罗阿尔泰家族的殖民下通过他们的邻居苏赛亚人习得，这一文明开化发源于巴比伦尼亚并在获得二次关注时被修改。这通观点现在毋庸置疑，因为支持它的证据是不可置喙的”。遗憾的是，有证据推翻了拉克伯里的观点，并使他无法再传授给他的学生。然而，我们从他已编纂的作品中获得了启发、接受了引导，如《中国文明起源》和《中国人之前的中国：中国的土著和非华裔种族》等。

弗里德里希·穆勒（Fried. Muller）教授根据海克尔（Haeckel）对人类“毛发”的分类给出了语言的谱系分类。他的第九类语言称作蒙古语，包括如下：（1）乌拉尔-阿尔泰语系语言；（2）日语；（3）柯南语；（4）单音节语言，即藏语和喜马拉雅语、缅甸语和洛希塔语、暹罗语、安南语、汉语和印度支那半岛的孤立语。

这一分类被萨西教授在对所有已知语言的谱系分类中借鉴并作出大量修改。然而，萨西（Sayce）教授将汉语置于一个单独的分类中，并在分类下给出如下的一些独特的方言：“厦门，广州或香港，福州，围头话，上海，普通话。”萨西教授没有从他笔记中所引用的权威人士那里学到“围头话”也是一种中国方言。

我们可以说，以上所引用的观点主要关于汉语和其他语言的语料组成的比较。它们基于对源语言或原始部件的研究或所谓研究的基础之上，很少提及形式结构。我们现在开始关注从后一种观点出发对汉语提出的一些意见。且关于这一点，我们没有在西方学者的观点中发现非常显著的差异，尽管如我们所见，他们之间也绝没有达成一致意见。

第一个对语言做出形态分类的或许是弗里德里希·冯·施莱格尔（Friedrich von Schlegel）的一篇关于印度教徒的语言和智慧的论文。借用自然科学的名词，他把语言分为有机和无机两类。在后一分类中，他把没有屈折变化而由一直不变的词根组成的语言，还有所谓的黏着或附加，其中的语法完全由后缀和前缀所形成，这些后缀和前缀仍能够轻易分离，在某种程度上仍保留其独立的意义这两种放置其中。在前者或有机划分中，他把那些由内部变化的词根和由屈折变化来表达语法差别的语言放置其中。汉语作为单音节无屈折变化的语言，他将其放在第一层或最底层，标示词根意义变化的助词是单音节的，且总是单独、独立存在。汉语的词根既不会出现也不会产生屈折变化的可能，它们仅仅是没有生命、无机的产物。

W. 冯·施莱赫尔（W. von Schleicher）紧随其后，把语言分成三大类，其中没有任何语法结构、黏着语或者屈折语。之后葆朴（Franz Bopp）出现，他支持这种分类方法但以一种略有不同的方式来划分语言层次。他把没有实词词根、无法成词的语言放在第一层，因此其中是无机和非语法的。他把汉语安排在这一层中，其中的所有似乎——仅仅是似乎——都是词根而没有别的什么东西，语法的类别和从属的关系仅通过词在句中的位置表示。葆朴把有成词能力的单音节词根置于第二层。他的第三层囊括了有二音节词根和三个不可缺少的辅音来表达其最初或原始意义的语言。葆朴还否认汉语有词根，而事实似乎并非如此。另外，还有 W·冯·洪堡特（W. von Humboldt），他学习汉语多年，也能将汉语与缅甸语和其他欧洲语言进行比较，他把汉语、闪米特语和印欧语一起放在“完美语言”

的标题下，根据自身规律和自由的法则，作为自我发展的语言之一，洪堡特不认为汉语和缅甸语在起源或结构方面有关。汉语的一个重要区别是说汉语的人和写汉字的人完全相信他的听、读的心理活动，也相信句中单词的放置顺序。他写道：

“我认为我可以将汉语和其他语言之间所存在的差别减少到一个简单的基本点，这个基本点能够表明字词在短语中的联系，它并不将语法建立在字词分类的基础之上，而是以一系列思想活动中语言要素的关系为基。其他语言的语法有语源和句法的部分，而汉语仅有后者。

随后我们就有了施莱赫尔对语言所作的著名的三重划分，即单音节（孤立的）、固定的（黏着的）和活动的（屈折变化的）。第一层次是“由不变的不连贯的意义音、单音节简单构成的语言，如汉语、安南语、暹罗语、缅甸语”，马克斯·穆勒（Max Muller）教授及其他人紧随施莱赫尔的分类之后，构成了波特（Pott）的语言分类的基础，但是是一个四重的分类。波特将黏着语分为两类，黏着和包含。在他的第一层分类是语料和形式仍保持完全分离的孤立语，他将汉语和印支语放在这一层中。

也有从形态学观点作出的其他语言分类，如 M. 吕西安·亚当（M. Lucien Adam）的分类。他的分类有五个层次，第一个是包括汉语、安南语、暹罗语、缅甸语和藏语的孤立语。其中，像基于这一原则的其他语言分类一样，汉语处于低位。从其形态表现评判，汉语是低级语言。它和梵语处于语言世界中的两极，而其他语言处于这两者之间。在汉语中，单词是合成的，它们不能够附着，也没有任何可识别的作为复合词或派生词的关系。据葆朴和他的一些追随者的观点，它们甚至不是词根。然而，马克斯·穆勒把它们当作词根，因为在他的语言的第一阶段中“词根可以被用作单词，每一个都词根保留了它完全的独立”，且这一阶段的“最佳代表是古代汉语”。这里观念的分歧似乎部分因为作者将词根的意义赋予单词，两者在很大程度上存在不同，而且并不一致。

汉语中完全单音节的词也遭到一些人的质疑。显然雷慕沙（Remusat）是第一个这么做的人，但他的论点在很久以前就被驳斥，何况也只有很少的人支持他。在世的汉学家 W. 格鲁伯（W. Grube）博士将中国现存的语言置于孤立语和单音节语言的范畴之外。他认为像藏语、缅甸语和其他的印支语一样，现存的汉语处在孤立和黏着的中间地带。格鲁贝认为古典和非古典汉语由单音节组成，但他也认

为这并不是汉语的原始本质。

然而，大家公认的是，对于一个适用于所有语言的分类系统而言，形态不是一个好的或充分的基础。更具体地说，语言的三重分类如孤立语、黏着语和屈折语以及建立在其基础上的发展的理论导致了与语言的历史和特征有关的严重错误。

从内容和总体特征评判而言，西方学者们对书面汉语和汉语口语的一些观点现在仍有待商榷。这里所回答的问题相当模糊且笼统，不能被准确的处理和进行统一解答。我们想要知晓的是，在表达人们的精神和物质需求的词汇和短语中，汉语是否被发现并被宣布为丰富的还是贫瘠的。与其他语言相比，作为思维工具，汉语的工作方式是否是粗鲁的或不够文艺的，或者它是否很好、很利索地展露它的功能？在这里，根据汉语的比较标准和批评家在汉语方面的成就，我们发现了不同的意见。16 和 17 世纪，研究中国的传教士和其他欧洲汉学家似乎在很大程度上醉心于汉语的语法范畴和没有词缀或屈折变化的简明扼要的形式。塞米多称赞了汉语的这种简洁，虽然使得汉语确实模棱两可，但在同时也让它简明扼要。他还认为当说话得体时，汉语的这种柔软，比如南京话，能够使听者着迷，提高听觉感受。但他也承认，尽管汉字丰富但汉语的词汇非常贫乏，即词的出现对应不同的音。塞米多发现汉语的甜美之处，韦伯也是一样。韦伯说“如果我们欧洲人能全面学习汉语发音”，将会发现汉语有非常多的词，“他们借此来如此优雅地表达自己，希伯来语或希腊语或其他任何语言都不能表达地如此优雅。此外，虽然希伯来语听起来刺耳又粗粝，但在当今已知的全世界所有语言中，汉语却是最甜美流畅的语言。传教士、汉学家马若瑟（P. Premare）以权威的口吻说，他对汉语十分狂热。他说，汉语语法大部分都摆脱了我们现有的苦难，但它仍有自己的规则，且在当今世上没有比汉语更丰富的语言，也没有比汉语使用时间更长的语言。我们还发现了来自 P. 埃蒙特（P. Amyot）对于汉语的更高的赞美，他是一位同时十分了解汉语和蒙语的学者。他为汉语辩护，免于别人对它的指控，并因汉语的丰富和完整而称赞其杰出，认为汉语特别适合政治科学的记录和交流。

到后来，当语言研究和语言学开始以一种彻底批判的方式进行时，W·冯·洪堡特已经给予了汉语极高的赞美。从语法结构的观点来评判，他说，最初一个人或许会认为汉语完全背离了话语的本质要求，是最不完美的。然而，在彻底检查

后，这种想法会消失，取而代之的是相反的，汉语被发现是极致优秀的，其对精神能力的锻炼的影响即使是片面的，也仍是强大有力的。

斯坦塔尔（Steinthal）是言语和语言最新、最达观的人之一，他的二重分类法把语言分为无形式语言和形式语言两类。后者中最低的是只有语言材料的汉语。形式只由并列位置来标示。然而，他说汉语是一种富含抽象概念和丰富词汇的语言。它也是高度开化了的语言，在现代文学中它展现了温柔、优雅、神气、智慧和幽默。斯坦塔尔说，“汉语的意义和其产物之间的对比是语言历史上一种独特的现象。”当惠特尼谈及中国的历史和其特性时，他滔滔不绝，认为“在基础的重要性的某些方面”，汉语“是所有已知语言中最基础但有所欠缺的”，他继续说：“人类思想对工具的力量，并不受其不完美之处的影响，通过语言形式的演变鲜明展露出来，其中，成功地解答了一个有教养的、善思考的、勤奋且有天分的人的全部问题；比起人类使用的众多高度组织化方言，这些方言的用途非常高且更多样——这些方言富有灵活性、适应性和扩张能力，但对于使用他们的人而言，在精神贫困且软弱方面十分匮乏。”所以，一位在世的汉语权威格奥尔格·冯·德·甲伯连孜（Herr Georg von der Gräbelenze），说汉语是世界上最发达的语言之一，并说成是给所有亚洲国家提供了最伟大、最好的文学作品。他认为汉语不仅是最重要的代表，也是孤立语阶层最丰硕的成果。然而在另一方面，我们发现标示的汉语词汇量贫瘠并不偶然，且作为表达的方式，在统筹上它是粗劣和生硬的。几位西方学者宣称，他们特别希望能够用术语来表达抽象和精神化的想法，以及普遍的高度文明的诉求。上世纪（指十八世纪）在民间学习汉语的一位耶稣传教士在广州写下这么一句话：或许世界上没有比汉语更贫于表达的言语了。作为研究的结果，他给出建议并通过信的很大一部分来阐述汉语的缺陷。法勒和其他人采用了相似的贬义词，萨西称汉语为一种时代遗旧以及语言形式的衰败。然而，没有人像 M. 雷南（Renan）一样用如此愤愤不平、严厉抨击的语言来对汉语进行强烈批评。虽然这位专家也认为，汉语和梵语一样达到了它的目的，但他说：“汉语这种无机物的、不完善的结构，不正反映了中国种族所特有的天分和内心的空泛无味吗？满足了生活所需、手工业技艺、低标准的通俗文学和哲学的浅显表达，通常还算过得去但从没有提高过的常识表达，汉语以我们理解这些词的的感受排斥了所有的哲学、科学、宗教。上帝在其中无法拥有姓名，形而

播区域很广，二是由于汉语的典型特性，三是从公元8世纪前到现在，汉语绝对是一流的文学语言。然而，直到十六世纪末，欧洲学者才知道中国及其语言的重要，许多学者的著作中也透露出他们对汉语存在迷惑和不解。对他们而言，汉语的绝佳魅力在于首先是它书写的汉字，我们可以看到它们被描述为“真实的文字：大体上不描述字母和单词而是事物或概念；在那么多不懂对方语言的国家和省份中，人们仍能够阅读对方语言所写的作品，因为比起汉语口语的接受情况，文字更为普遍，也因此才有更复杂多样的汉字。据我们推测，其数量和部首一样多。”

此外，对于汉语的特性，比如丰富、精练、简便等，也都成为讨论的话题。关于汉语的起源、谱系和历史，也出现了多种充满争议的理论。然而，很长一段时间，鲜少有人切实将其引入西方学者的知识体系之中。但在过去的五六十年里，中国与欧洲国家的关系产生逆转，这种情况造成的结果之一就是，欧洲开始饱含热情地开展并推进了对中国语言和文化的研究。因此我们可以发现，在这段时期内，西方学者编写的关于学习中文、语法、字典和中国典籍翻译的著作数量迅速增加，对于其他语言、文学多种特性的研究也进展迅速。这些书籍中，许多都是为了满足实际需求而编出来的，当然，机械复制的作品也不在少数，这些就对学生而言毫无益处。汉语的研究日趋科学化，经过科学训练的西方人开始尝试在世界语言体系中确立汉语的地位和价值。因此，研究汉语的新的、更自由的方法不断涌现，且已经取得了一些重要进展，并且前景可期。

迄今，我们西方学者在进行讨论时，对汉语抱有不同的看法，且充满争议。根据考察，他们对这一学科的视角不同，导致观点也不同，同时，根据他们的学习情况，受到偏见的影响，关于汉语的看法也多半不同。其中一些观点当然是认真研究而得出的结果，也有一些仅仅是很少或几乎没有得到任何验证的猜测。现在，我们就需要对这些观点和评判做一个简短而概括的回顾，为了方便，我们将这类观点分成三类进行概述：第一类是关于汉语的起源和谱系问题；第二类是关于汉语结构和特点的分类问题；第三类一些关于对汉语的评判，比如汉语的表达能力问题。我们可以看到，这一分类虽不够精确，但一定程度上还是基本符合语言分类的三个角度：谱系分类、形态分类以及根据语言作为表达工具时相互比较所得出的语言的一般价值的分类。

因此，从关于汉语的起源和亲属关系的西方语言谱系理论入手，我们发现其

上学的事物在它里面只能用迂回形式的语言来表达。”

必须承认，某种程度上说，此处所引用的一些观点是冲动且是无知的，其他也有一些观点显然都是经过了认真、理性的研究和比较之后得出的结论，但又缺少足够的权威。这些信息是我们对于汉语作为表达和交流工具形成正确且常规的判断所必需的，但直到今天，我们也不能说都是唾手可得的。当与其他语言进行比较时，就其类属和价值、源语言和亲属语言，我们现在尚难以得出最后的结论。有新的和有趣论据不断增加，这对于未来的哲学家形成全面和普遍同时也很准确的结论大有裨益。但在世界语言中，在汉语的本质和构造被全面解析之前，或者说汉语所处的语言等级和存在的价值能够确立之前，学界需要做的还有很多，后续会用到的语言材料也会更加规范，有利于用来建立和形成准确而又科学的汉语知识。

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《魔鬼字典》之后的魔鬼寓言

——译述安布罗斯·皮尔斯的《奇异的寓言故事》序言

孙童言¹ 译

在四十多年文学作家和新闻记者的职业生涯中，安布罗斯·皮尔斯(1842-1914?)创作了850多个寓言故事。这些寓言故事最初发表在各种杂志和报纸上，而在之后的一百多年，其中半数寓言得以重印再版；皮尔斯本人也在他主编的《离奇寓言集》(1899年，1911年)中重印了其中三分之一的寓言故事。皮尔斯的寓言故事构思奇特，充分显示了作者对寓言故事这一文学形式发展的悠久历史的精确把握，并且，许多寓言的成功还要归功于皮尔斯对古老寓言的成功改编和出色扩写。

皮尔斯的寓言故事之所以区别于其它寓言故事，除了令人赞叹的创作数量和一贯的工匠精神外，主要在于他的作品中富有尖锐的道德讽刺意味，以及对政治、社会和文学等方面的广泛涉猎；还有皮尔斯本人对人类的本质和人类抗争等问题的深刻怀疑。皮尔斯时刻都在提示作为作家的自己：“世界不乏傻瓜和流氓，他们被迷信迷住了双眼，被嫉妒折磨得死去活来，品味着虚伪、自私、谬误和残酷，诅咒着飘渺的幻想——整个世界一片疯狂。”在他的寓言故事里，我们看到了作者这一深刻的忧虑和思考。

英语寓言故事的文学传统不太突出，在美国尤其如此。寓言故事在文学史上也无法与诗歌、戏剧、小说和短篇故事等相提并论。寓言故事的辉煌只是暂时的，大多数情况下它都处于被忽视和平凡的地位。尽管寓言故事的精确本质和特点很难界定，但这也不是问题的根本所在。根据古希腊修辞家西奥恩(Theon)的经典定义，寓言故事是描述真理的虚构故事。然而，他的这一定义适合于所有的文学形式，因为每种文学形式都含有真理，而简洁明了也算不上寓言故事的独特之处。同样，故事里的道德寓意也是可有可无的。在古代寓言中，动物拟人化的手法十分常见，但也不是其专利。因为寓言中也有普通人、神、甚至一些无生命

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的物体。

毋庸置疑，寓言是文学中最古老的一种形式。伊索寓言和东方印度及中东地区的寓言故事由来已久。英语国家的人们对伊索寓言大多耳熟能详，但东方印度及中东地区的寓言故事其实要比伊索寓言要早一千年。尽管人们对伊索的存在与否不太肯定，对他的奴隶身世却十分熟悉。伊索生活在公元前 6 世纪，然而，到了公元前 4 世纪才有了寓言集的出版。

早期的希腊人并不把寓言当作文学作品看待，而是把它当作演讲术中的修辞手段。后来，拉丁诗人费德罗斯(Phaedrus) 和希腊诗人巴布瑞斯(Babrius) 把许多伊索寓言改写成了诗节形式，从而也使伊索寓言为世人所熟知。东方寓言故事拥有自己的独特传统，后来也受到了伊索寓言的某些影响。早在公元前 1800 年，一些智慧书中就出现了寓言性质的故事，后来，东方寓言故事有了两大集子《比德排寓言书》和《马祖班故事集》。第一部寓言集起源于印度，是佛教文学的一部分。到了公元前 570 年，这部东方寓言故事集才传到波斯。第二部寓言集成书于公元前 13 世纪的古老波斯。东方寓言与伊索寓言的最大不同就是东方寓言的篇幅较长，内容松散，其寓意不太容易把握。尽管东方寓言早在 1570 年就被托马斯·诺斯译成英语，并在 1747 年、1818 年和 1819 年又出现了其他几个版本，然而东方寓言对英美文学的影响甚微。

威廉·卡克斯顿于 1484 年把伊索寓言从法文译成英语；然而，是罗杰·莱斯特珩治的译本(1692-1699 年)才使英文读者对伊索寓言熟悉起来。1722 年撒缪尔·科若科索的伊索寓言译文一直重印到 19 世纪。另外，还有若干译文影响较大。

1765 年的诗体译文使得伊索寓言流行起来，但同时，译文离原文的本来面貌也越来越远。让·德·拉·芳谈的寓言有一大半来源于伊索寓言，不过，其中一小部分也极具独创性。在后来的一些寓言集，特别是当代一些寓言故事集，形式和内容上离伊索寓言越来越远，甚至有时很难让人相信它们也是寓言。故事中动物的拟人化已不能成为寓言的独特标志，因为现代作品中，这种手法已经司空见惯。

现在，我们无法得知当时安布罗斯·皮尔斯读的伊索寓言是什么版本；但可以肯定的是，皮尔斯在其文学生涯的早期就已读过伊索寓言，因为在他早期的写

作中，皮尔斯就改编了古希腊寓言家的许多作品。有证据表明，皮尔斯还读过让·德·拉·芳谈的寓言。皮尔斯也翻阅过东方寓言故事集，因为他改写了一些作品，但却摒弃了东方寓言的冗长和散漫。皮尔斯发表在英国幽默杂志《滑稽》及其作品集中的作品就说明了这一点。

为什么安布罗斯·皮尔斯对寓言故事情有独钟呢？安布罗斯·皮尔斯在寓言故事方面的多产，似乎表明了他对这一文学形式的厚爱，他认为这也是抒发自己对人生、文学、社会等思考的正确途径；他对寓言的驾轻就熟，表明他已掌握了英语中最为简洁，意义更加丰富的表达形式。但是，这并不意味着我们要对皮尔斯的一生做个详实的考证，也不是为了考证他的深刻思想及其他对讽刺的理解等。但是，对上述几个方面的思考有利于我们深入理解他的寓言之寓意。

安布罗斯·皮尔斯的幼年是在美国俄亥俄州和印第安那州的农场里度过的，他还经历过美国内战的残酷洗礼。后来他终于定居在旧金山。他的早期文学活动是在《旧金山新闻报》和《加州广告报》（1868-73 年）发表文章。在《旧金山新闻报》为期 3 年半的记者生涯中，皮尔斯锐意进取，畅所欲言。他的文章短小精悍，针对时弊。有的文章有 2500 字，十几个段落；有些段落仅有一两个句子。这种简练的写作风格也是皮尔斯一生的追求。

他的第一个寓言故事大约也出自这一时期。1871 年 9 月 16 日他结集出版了自己的第一部寓言集，后来又以《金块和尘土》（1873 年）为名再版。

1872 年皮尔斯移民英国。本来打算长期定居英国的皮尔斯只在英国呆了 3 年。移民英国之后，皮尔斯就开始为英国喜剧周刊《滑稽》创作《帕西人寓言》，并很快与该刊的年轻主编托马斯·胡德成了知心朋友。在同一期《滑稽》上，皮尔斯最多发表 8 篇寓言；最少的时候也有两篇寓言。当时皮尔斯发表的作品多用笔名：多德·格瑞尔（Dod Grile）。他的第一部寓言集共有 57 篇，出版效益极为成功；两个月后，作者又乘兴出版了第二部作品集，罗织了 78 篇寓言。相对于他的后期作品来说，这两部作品集略显松散而冗长；由于写作时间短促，有些寓言的寓意也缺乏生动和深刻。这时的作品是年轻而富有才华的作者的练笔之作；这些优秀的练笔作品同时也预示了作者后来更加伟大的成就。

当皮尔斯的妻子茉莉自己带着两个孩子，怀有第三个孩子的身孕时，她开始厌烦伦敦文艺圈的生活。于是，她带着孩子于 1875 年春天返回了美国旧金山。

几个月后，皮尔斯也回到了旧金山。经过两年的平静生活，皮尔斯参与了周刊《亚尔古》的创刊行列，（英雄亚尔古，是位希腊神，曾随同贾森乘亚尔古舟去海外寻找金羊毛）。皮尔斯在新创周刊上只是重印了《帕西人寓言》里大量作品，并没有新作问世。他的富有争议的《闲话》专栏发表了许多新作，也表明了他的一些寓言的评论片段。也正是在这一时期他开始了《寓言和轶事》的创作，作品是以一个虚构的森林小男孩小约翰的视角而展开的。男孩小约翰最早出现在英国的《滑稽》杂志上，它的读者对此并不陌生。《寓言和轶事》里的语言满是语法错误和拼写错误，并且大多是令人费解的行话。其风格也与皮尔斯的其他作品迥然不同。这类作品自己完全可以自成体系，分卷出版。

1880年到1881年皮尔斯在达科他州黑山地区的淘金生活并不成功，于是他又重返旧金山。他谢绝了周刊《亚尔古》的加盟邀请，很快就担任了一份新创周刊《黄蜂》的助理编辑，得以重施其辛辣独特的写作才能。他还在周刊《黄蜂》上开辟了“闲话”专栏，创作了大量的诗歌、小说、幽默随笔及论文集等。

至于在寓言故事方面所取得的成就，皮尔斯在1883年12月出版了一部题为《动物轶事》作品集。在1884年9月和10月，皮尔斯又出版了五卷本的《没有政治寓意的寓言》。然而，上述作品均没有署名皮尔斯。那么，它们是不是皮尔斯的作品呢？在《黄蜂》周刊上，皮尔斯发表了许多没有署名的文章；并且，在其他作品集中，皮尔斯发表过其中一些作品。比如，《动物轶事》就曾出现在周刊《亚尔古》的关于男孩小约翰的文章中；《没有道德寓意的寓言》也曾在旧金山的《考察者》报上出现过。另外，这些寓言的风格和内容也极具皮尔斯特色，因此，我可以断定，上述作品的作者应该非皮尔斯莫属。

在周刊《黄蜂》上，皮尔斯开始了《魔鬼词典》的编写工作，这一系列作品于1881年开始发表。《魔鬼词典》也是皮尔斯简洁凝练风格的最成功的典范写照：他把强烈的感情凝聚在一个句子里，甚至是一个单词中，这种写作风格无人能比。有时候，他又会用寓言的形式来形象地描述一些定义。

1886年秋天，皮尔斯又失业了。然而，到了第二年的春天，23岁的威廉·伦道夫·赫斯特（1863-1951，美国新闻经营者）亲自来皮尔斯的奥克兰家中拜访了他，力邀他加盟旧金山的《考察者》报。在以后的20年，皮尔斯拥有在该报发表一切文章的特权。尽管皮尔斯的大量杰作源于《闲话》专栏，但是，在《考

察者》报上他又有新的力作：大量的短篇小说，其内容多为内战故事，后集于《战士和平民的故事》（1891年）；还有一些神奇传说，如《如此事情？》；另外，他还创作了诗歌和散文，当然还有寓言故事。在这20年的时间内，他一共创作了600多个寓言故事。在赫斯特的热情支持下，皮尔斯终于成为了一名杰出的寓言家。

然而，直到1899年，皮尔斯的寓言故事才得以集结成书。1898年帕特南（Putnam）重新发行了皮尔斯的第一部故事集《在生命中间》，后来不久，他又出版了一部寓言集。《奇异的寓言故事》在1899年上半年出版，仅有245个寓言故事。我说“仅有245个”是因为当时皮尔斯单单为《考察者》报写的寓言就有500多篇，更不用说他在《滑稽》和《黄蜂》上发表的。《奇异的寓言故事》基本上包括了在1887至1893年期间皮尔斯发表在《考察者》报上的全部寓言故事。在这些寓言中，皮尔斯充分显示了他对伊索寓言的理解和消化。他提升了伊索寓言的道德寓意，显示了皮尔斯本人对人类愚蠢和狡诈的深刻揭露和讽刺。

此后，皮尔斯的寓言创作时断时续，极为零散。即使在他的创作全盛时期（1887-1899），也是如此。有时，几个月，一两年，也无一篇作品面世。1888年，皮尔斯没有创作一篇寓言；在1893年9月至1896年11月间，他在寓言方面也无所建树。在1896年的2月到5月，皮尔斯曾忙于撰文反对铁路巨头科利斯·P·亨廷顿的提案：用发行长期债券的方法来收回短期债券。这一活动最终以胜利告终，这也是皮尔斯新闻生涯中最为辉煌的一页。1899年终，皮尔斯因健康原因被迫搬到华盛顿特区进行休养。旧金山的多雾天气对皮尔斯的哮喘危害极大。以后的十几年里，皮尔斯忙于和赫斯特及其编辑们的工作指导和交接的繁忙事务。皮尔斯的专栏文章先是出现在《纽约杂志》（后改名为《美国人》），然后再发表在《考察者》报上。有些文章只发表在《纽约杂志》上。也许皮尔斯的创造力有所减弱，他的专栏文章越来越短，辛辣的笔触有所淡化，文章和寓言的创作也时断时续。

然而，皮尔斯拥有足够的寓言故事来重版《奇异的寓言故事》。在他的第六本《作品集（1909-1913）》中，他仅收进59篇新寓言故事，同时剔除了《奇异的寓言故事》第一版里的10个寓言故事。在59篇新寓言故事里，有8篇取自1897年至1902年发表的《韵诗寓言》；15篇来自在《滑稽》周刊。有些寓言多

是原来寓言的创新改写。

对于以书的形式出版发行寓言故事，皮尔斯在内容和版式上都有自己独特的观点。我希望我编的这本集子能符合皮尔斯的口吻和要求。皮尔斯对再版作品总是精益求精，力争观点与时俱进，切中时弊。并且，根据个人的爱好和趣味，我尽可能多地搜集了皮尔斯过去略去的寓言故事以及一些寓言的变体。

皮尔斯之所以没有把自己的大量寓言故事以书本的形式发行，与他对寓言故事这一文体本身的性质和作用的认知有着密切的关系。我们没有找到皮尔斯本人关于寓言这一文体的书面阐释，甚至在他的寓言前言中我们也找不到相关说明。因此，关于他本人对于寓言故事的理解和看法，我们只能从他与别人的通信和报纸的专栏文章以及寓言人物的只言片语中做一个大体的推测。他的寓言故事在形式和内容方面都经历了一个显著的发展过程。因此，除了《魔鬼词典》以外，他最好的寓言故事（指 1890-1899 年间的作品）就是其哲学思想最有力、最明显和最泼辣的表现形式。

然而，皮尔斯的哲学思想又是什么呢？当然，皮尔斯并不是一个哲学家，我们也不能期望从他那里得到什么系统的哲学论述。从他早在 1872 年以“城市哭泣者”的名义发表的一系列评论中，我们可以粗略地看出他对世界的基本看法：他拥有的唯一天份就是他痛恨伪善、虚假以及对仇恨的隐瞒。要尽可能地大方端庄。没有证据，就不要轻信。以尊重的心态看待一切神灵万物，但不要与他们有丝毫的瓜葛。不要相信没有任何保障的仁慈和博爱；否则，就会受到他的愚弄。记住：对待敌人要尊重为先，对待朋友要热情真挚；这样，敌人也会成为朋友。要培养自己对不喜欢的真理的兴趣。最后，也是最为重要的是，要客观公正地看待一切；不要想当然地去看待一切。

从上述可知，皮尔斯在强调以下几点：怀疑主义，尤其是对政治和宗教的怀疑；对人类行为的许多动机的真诚表示不信任；对伪善、虚假以及对仇恨的伪装等人性的面具拥有持久地探索和揭示。在他的魔鬼词典中，皮尔斯给“愤世嫉俗者”下了一个经典的定义：“流氓对事物的错误看法是由于他们按事物的本来面貌去认识事物，而不是按他们在人们心目中是什么样子去认识他们。”皮尔斯不论是在自己的生活中，还是在公众演说中，一生都在极力倡导上述观点。

皮尔斯在《帕西人寓言》里（帕西人，公元 8 世纪为逃避穆斯林迫害由波斯

移居印度，印度拜火教徒)仅部分提出了上述问题，并运用他所熟知的伊索寓言的形式进行了一些探索。关于人类，他冷嘲热讽地说：“除了在邪恶方面以外，人类处处不如蛇类聪明。”另外，他还大量讽刺了人类道德的弱点和虚伪，如必要的道德标准，利用欺骗手段获取好处，逃避惩罚，个人和家庭的感情冲突等，试图唤起人们的道德良知，告诫维多利亚时期的读者们，家庭生活的平静和圣洁是一种虚假的表象。有些寓言还嘲弄了人们对宗教的轻信，宗教的死敌科学也难以幸免，当然讽刺大多是针对个别科学家的。对哲学家们的夸耀、不切实际和轻信也大加鞭挞。

皮尔斯对寓言传统的最大胆的背离就是他运用寓言对政治的讽刺。但这在《帕西人寓言》里并不太明显。《38. 乌龟国王》是皮尔斯的第一篇政治寓言，讽刺了国王对篡夺王位的担忧；《44. 愚蠢的熊》又是对费边社会主义的嘲弄。

《帕西人寓言》在形式上渐渐脱离了伊索寓言故事的束缚。几乎所有的寓言都运用动物作为谈话对象，而《50. 恐慌的人》则反用了这一寓言手法，描述了一个人遇到动物与他的对话而倍感惊慌的滑稽故事。书中的寓言大多缺乏明确的道德寓意，或因字面上的琐碎而弱化了其道德含义。有的寓言语义双关或模仿拙劣。

很明显，从《帕西人寓言》到《黄蜂》周刊上的 50 篇寓言故事（1883-1884 年）的十年，皮尔斯对寓言的认识经历了一定的变化。尽管《奇异的寓言故事》和他在《考察者》报上发表的寓言质量不算上乘，但是，皮尔斯在寓言的内容和形式上进行了比《帕西人寓言》写作时更多的思考和摸索。《黄蜂》周刊上的许多寓言故事显示了作者关注点的转向。另外，寓言故事中还出现了“无劣迹记录”、“贪求垄断”和“信服的雄辩”等离奇的对话者。

对皮尔斯发表在《考察者》报上的近乎 600 篇寓言进行分类梳理无疑是十分困难的，但是我们已经注意到他几乎脱离了动物作为寓言故事中的对话者的老套做法。皮尔斯运用动物和人类的形体上的相似点来嘲讽人类。例如，《65. 斑马的问题》。

同样，细心查看皮尔斯在《奇异的寓言故事》再版或删节的寓言故事也有助于了解他的寓言风格。《奇异的寓言故事》涉及到大量的政治、法律和社会话题，但是皮尔斯只是再版了那些具有广泛道德或政治意义的寓言故事。值得一提的

是，皮尔斯能够及时快速地把当地、国内或国际发生的事情消化吸收，并以寓言的形式表达出来。因此，有些寓言故事由于其自身的时效性未能再版发行；有些寓言再版时又进行了改写；有些寓言因为其寓意深奥晦涩而进行了删节。

如果上述再版原则确实是皮尔斯本人的动机，那么这在一定程度上是有悖于他的创作初衷的。他的大量文学和新闻作品，甚至他的小说，都具有辛辣的讽刺特征。自初涉文坛，皮尔斯就被他的对手称为羽毛未丰的讽刺小生，其温和而亲切的风格略具希腊哲学大师贺拉斯的遗风。然而，通观皮尔斯的一生，他对一些个别人的讽刺还是相当准确的。如果没有皮尔斯的讽刺，这些人可能早就被人忘却了。这又是多么大的讽刺呀！

皮尔斯曾有言：“讽刺具体的人时，我一般追随历代讽刺大师们的做法。无论讽刺多么晦涩，都无关紧要。重要的是要去讽刺他们。我们无法断定海涅、拜伦、蒲伯等对具体人的攻击和他们的性格有何关系，但是其意义是内在的，无法言说的。攻击什么人是不重要的，也没有哪个愚蠢的出版商想要加注标明……我十分赞赏拜伦的做法，公开地攻击敌人，不加丝毫的躲闪和隐蔽。因此，我讽刺别人也从不玩文字的捉迷藏游戏。”

也许，在他的寓言故事中，皮尔斯考虑到寓言本身的年代久远、社会问题的时效性以及当今读者的阅读兴趣等问题，从而认为有些寓言业已丧失了它们的讽刺和批评的威力了。

《奇异的寓言故事》中就有不少攻击人类的虚假和伪善的作品。皮尔斯对律师、政客及法庭的受贿现象也大加攻击，使人极易想起愤世嫉俗者的哀鸣。这种激愤在他的新闻作品中也常常出现。

更为重要的是皮尔斯对愚蠢乏味的竞选者的指责，认为任何选举活动都是散布谣言的大好时机。这也使我们能透视到皮尔斯本人的政治思想的本质。皮尔斯拒绝加入任何党派，认为任何党派都有大量的不轨行为。在其新闻作品中，他对共和党的批评多于民主党，这也许与共和党在 19 世纪后期执政时间长有密切关系。他不但指责了民主体系，而且，他的矛头还直指民主制度的根本基础。但是皮尔斯本人似乎也未能找到一个合适的政治制度。

皮尔斯长居加州，对加州的法庭宽容大为不满。皮尔斯经常感伤，明明有罪的人往往会被判无罪。加州对死刑的排斥也让皮尔斯大为恼火。皮尔斯对当时流

行欧洲和美洲的无政府主义也多有讽刺。当时的无政府主义往往与政治暗杀活动有着密切关系。对此，我们今天的读者可能理解不深。皮尔斯对军队民兵滥用经费也颇有微词。有些寓言对一些女诗人、女记者和女作家似乎也有不敬之语。皮尔斯对妇女的选举权也极力反对，对女政客更是极尽讽刺之能事。

在《奇异的寓言故事》中，皮尔斯对宗教的讽刺极为大胆。如，《159. 神圣的执事》，《197. 种族平行线》，《207. 错误宗教》，《301. 两个虔诚的教徒》，《299. 苏醒了信仰复兴者》，《317. 宗教怀疑者》……对宗教的受贿、狭隘、文盲、玩世不恭等多有挖苦。皮尔斯本人是一个不可知论者，也许是一个无神论者，他深知宗教上的伪善和虚假丝毫不逊色于政治上的伪善和虚假。

如果说皮尔斯的晚期寓言故事仅仅局限于政治、宗教和社会问题，这似乎有些偏颇。皮尔斯的寓言故事也有许多是关于文学题材的，尤其是文学批评方面。作为一个作家，皮尔斯受到许多无端的攻击和恶毒的批评，因此，他也不忘揶揄那些所谓的批评家们。如《318. 劣拙的演技》《350. 无权的诗人》。另外，皮尔斯未结集的寓言故事可能是处于寓意不具有普及意义的考虑，有些寓言所指已经淡出了人们的记忆。

那么，皮尔斯是不是美国最伟大的散文寓言家呢？我们在美国似乎找不出可以和他相媲美的寓言家，更不用说比他优秀的作家了。约耳书·C·哈里斯(Joel Chandler Harris, 1848-1908)的《瑞摩斯大叔》可称得上是寓言故事类的上乘之作，是一部非洲裔美国人的民间故事精华。但是，它大体上还是属于短篇故事类，至少在篇幅上是这样的，最短的文章也有750字，最长的有2500字之多。他们最初发表在1879年的《亚特兰大机关报》上，后又结集在《瑞摩斯大叔》、《歌曲和俗语》等其他书中。而当时，皮尔斯已经完成了他的《帕西人寓言》，尚未开始他的后期寓言写作。然而，皮尔斯对哈里斯在行文中大量使用方言大为不满。皮尔斯痛恨使用方言写作。

乔治·埃德(George Ade, 1866-1944, 美国幽默作家)也曾以《俚语寓言》(1900年)而名噪一时。《俚语寓言》的文章最初发表在1897年的《芝加哥档案报》上，后来又以十几种形式得以再版。埃德的寓言故事在篇幅上长于皮尔斯的作品，并且文质参差不齐，其口语化语言也比不上皮尔斯严谨的古典风格。因此，人们很难把《俚语寓言》归为真正的文学作品。有些人认为，埃德的作品给人以

玩世不恭的亲切感。但我却认为多数成熟的读者还是比较喜欢皮尔斯冷峻的呐喊。

皮尔斯在 1901 年至 1902 年以《没有俚语的寓言》为题先后出版了几个小册子。这一简单的事实足以说明，皮尔斯本人是不喜欢埃德的俚语寓言的。在 1907 年 7 月写成的《一点贡献——关于俚语的冷静思考》一文中，他坦言相告：

“大多数同胞对俚语都极为尊重；以致于有了用通篇俚语写出的书籍。这无疑会为作者和出版社带来不菲的收入。最近一部名为《俚语寓言》的书籍大受读者欢迎，在各大报纸竞相刊出。然而，《俚语寓言》中的寓言根本称不上是寓言。但确实给其作者带来了巨大收入，并且还顺理成章地出版了它的第二系列书籍。”尽管《俚语寓言》得到了 H·L·门肯的推崇，但是乔治·埃德的这部作品仍显晦涩难懂。

对于詹姆士·瑟伯（James Thurber, 1894-1961）的《我们时代的寓言》（1940 年）和《我们时代的寓言再编》（1956 年）来说，它们是独特的，也比皮尔斯的寓言温和平静，但比乔治·埃德的作品辛辣有力。人们不应该以作品的数量来评定作品的美学价值，但是仅就作品的数量而言，皮尔斯创作的作品要比瑟伯的多出许多；其优秀作品也比瑟伯的优秀之作要多得多。瑟伯和埃德都在自己的作品结尾处加上了自己的道德寓意说明，从而给人一种机械的感觉。而皮尔斯则避免了这一做法，让读者自己去思考寓言的道德含义。

比较往往令人生厌。至于谁可称得上是美国最伟大的寓言大师也可能暂无定论。然而，无论在数量和质量上，安布罗斯·皮尔斯都能凭借出色的寓言成就在美国文学史上占有自己的一席之地。尤其是在现在，人们能有接触到他全部作品的大好机会。我们可以把皮尔斯的成就看作是美国人民对伊索的崇高敬意，也可以看作是一个美国人不愿耐着性子与蠢人相处之心态的自然流露，甚至也可看作是对文学想象的一种贡献。安布罗斯·皮尔斯的寓言故事以其智慧、简洁以及对人类罪恶、伪善和荒谬的深刻揭露征服了广大读者的心。

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Book Reviews / 书评



拨开小说时间现代性迷雾 ——评《中国近现代小说中的时间问题研究》

陶凤^[1]

（内江师范学院文学院，四川，中国）

摘要：在《中国近现代小说中的时间问题研究》中，赵斌从时间问题的角度对“中国小说的现代转型”问题进行重新探索。他采用全景呈现与主题解读相结合的讨论模式，将历史理论与深度修养相结合，打破常规的学术考察角度和思想观念，这让他的小时现代转型研究具有鲜明的学术特色。

关键词：赵斌；中国现代小说中的时间研究；时间

一、引言

学界对“中国小说的现代转型”问题曾做过不同阐释，似乎没有论述的必要了。2020年11月，赵斌博士的专著《中国近现代小说中的时间问题研究》由复旦大学出版后，好评如潮，使学界重新思考“中国小说的现代转型”这一复杂问题。正如赵斌所说：“中国小说的现代转型过程并非是一目了然的，而是复杂多变的，有狂飙突进，也有迂回曲折。”在该书中赵斌博士提出的“时间说”，打破晚清、“五四”的“断裂说”，把晚清、“五四”小说放在20世纪大小说史框架来考察，把新旧时间、历史时间与个人时间作为晚清、“五四”小说书写的重要主题，也是“中国小说的现代转型”的关键所在。他提出：“‘中国小说现代转型’不同于以往小说史上任何朝代、任何阶段小说的变化，而这一变化的关键是小说的时间问题。”圣·奥古斯丁就曾感叹说：“时间究竟是什么，假使人家不问我，我像很明了，假使要我解释起来，我就茫无头绪。”^[2]确实时间是复杂的，却是问题的本质。赵斌博士从时间问题入手，重新讨论中国文学的现代转型问题，无疑体现了他富于探索、善于深耕细作的学术精神。

二、全景呈现与专题阐释

[1]陶凤，文学博士，内江师范学院文学院副教授。

[2]吴国盛：《时间的观念》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，1996年版，第3页。

诺沃特尼说：“在社会生活中也存在着一种人人都离不开的本征时间——一个人时间(proper time)。它的出现相对较晚,而它在政治上的表达能力尚待发展。在几乎不存在符号的早期社会中,也不存在对某种个性化时间的需要。群体的(部落的)社会时间适用于所有成员。”^[1]时间无处不在,漫漶于个人与历史之中。《中国近现代小说中的时间问题研究》是一部力图展示中国现代小说与时间问题关系的论著,其关注点从明清章回小说、到晚清“五四”时期小说,聚焦于中国小说现代转型中的时间问题。全书采用了历史分析的方法,以政治、文化的历史变迁为宏观背景,以小说文本分析为微观视角,描述、探寻中国转型期的小说现代化特征,呈现出了中国现代小说发生的历史图景。

西尔维娅·阿加辛斯基说:“历史作为整体的运动,作为过去的、现在的和将来的运动,它把世界的短暂仿佛瓦解的东西又集结在一起,时间,变质的因素,对人类来说,成了人类得以实现的条件。作为唯一一项运动的时间,时间满足了把不变的永恒和短暂的运动之间分裂调和的愿望,把时间外的无限和短暂事物的有限,一个和多个相协调的愿望。”^[2]在历史线性时间的主轴上,论述现代小说转型与时间相关问题时涉及大量小说文本,论者扒开历史的迷雾,对于相关文本,如数家珍,一一道来。对于所涉及的如此大量文本,著者并没有选择蜻蜓点水般的略过,而是对大部分文本都有较为精准的分析与论述。从明清章回小说的“缀段”结构说起,到中国现代小说的个人时间与公共时间的形成,历经一个多世纪,从《七侠五义》到鲁迅的《阿Q正传》、郁达夫的《沉沦》等,论者在探索“中国现代小说的转型”过程中所涉及小说文本达数百篇。这虽然是一本关于时空叙事的理论著述,读起来就像一部近现代小说史,不枯燥乏味,只让人感到论述经纬纵横,覆盖全面,同时结构清晰而层次分明。让人感受到了该书作者夯实的基础、开阔的视野与丰富的学识,同时也证明了其在复杂时空叙事学领域的学术造诣。

除了采用“全景呈现”的论述模式外,《中国近现代小说中的时间问题研究》也立足于专题阐释,整部论著分为“形式篇:叙事时间及其空间化”与“内容篇:

[1] (奥)诺沃特尼:《时间:现代与后现代经验》,金梦兰、张网成译,北京:北京师范大学出版社,2011年版,第24页。

[2] (法)西尔维娅·阿加辛斯基:《时间的摆渡者:现代与怀日》,吴云凤译,北京:中信出版社,2003年版,第16页。

现代性时间及其历史化”两大专题，在这两大专题之下又分别分枝出若干的小专题，一树千枝，寓繁于简，论述既有纵深，又有广度，缜密完整，逻辑清晰，让读者一目了然。

“形式篇”围绕“叙事时间”，分为“从空间到时间的叙事转移”“小说结构的再空间化”两大专题展开论述。小说的时间性首先表现在叙事时间上，也就是表现在叙事时间对故事时间的“裁剪”上。就小说文本而言，故事时间是底本，是潜在的，不会在小说文本中出现，但可以根据叙事时间大致还原出来。并且，任何小说文本的叙事时间和故事时间很难做到一致。也就是说，小说的叙事时间都会对故事时间造成某种变形。小说叙事时间与故事时间会出现错位，而这种时间错位有一定的规律，这种叙事时间随时代的变化规律对小说来说就具有现代转型意义。对此本书的作者围绕“‘缀段’的消失”论述了“从空间到时间的叙事转移”的专题，又几乎从相反的方向论述了“小说结构的在空间化”这一专题。

“内容篇”围绕“现代性时间及其历史化”，其基本按照小说的线性时间结构展开论述。小说中的现代性时间以进化论为基础，以新旧时间意识为小说的精神命脉，按照国家和个人两个历史主体构置“进步”维度的时间叙事。“现代性时间”是一种追求进步、价值单一的线性时间。这种整齐划一的“现代性时间”推动了社会的进步，却湮没了发展的丰富性。具体到晚清、“五四”小说，现代性时间整体上表现在新旧时间意识上，具体又表现在民族国家的历史时间上和人的个人时间上。对于此，本著述论者从“新旧时间”“历史时间”“个人时间”等三个专题展开论述。这样以专题的结构展开论述，让读者看到了著者清晰的学术思维，对著者的论述路线与写作目的一目了然。同时，对小说时间的阶段性特征也富有阐释，诚如谢曼诺夫所说：“鲁迅看现实有异乎寻常的开阔。鲜明生动地呈现在他眼前的不但有中国人民痛苦的现在，而且有更为悲惨的过去。谴责小说作家不善于充分描绘过去的悲剧，许多地方好象只好由鲁迅来替他们‘完成’。”

[1]

三、史论结合与深耕细挖

把“时间”当成近现代小说转型的关键，不是本书论者的首创，“时间”在

[1]（苏）谢曼诺夫：《创新的古典作品——鲁迅的〈呐喊〉与清末谴责小说》，李明滨译，《中国现代文学研究丛刊》1981年第3期，第159页。

古典文学作品中已经出现，在西方从柏拉图、亚里士多德等早期古希腊哲学家，还有罗马帝国时代的奥古斯丁与康德、胡塞尔、海德格尔等西方哲学家，到中国早期的时间观，再到现当代西方夏志清的《中国现代小说史》、王德威的《想象中国的方法：历史·小说·叙事》《被压抑的现代性——晚清小说新论》等。本书是站在前人的肩膀上全面展开论述的，论者对古今中外对文学中时间问题有所论及的著述进行了比较全面的论及，在前人研究的基础上对中国近代小说中的时间问题展开了全面的探索、分析与研究。

《中国近现代小说中的时间问题研究》这部著述在总结、反思和借鉴已有成果的基础上，形成自己的现代小说时间诗学阐述框架，找到晚清、“五四”小说的新的研读视角和方法——以“时间”为关键，最后的研究思路是：论著的前半部分“形式篇”围绕“叙事时间”分两章，从“缀段空间到时间”“小说结构的再空间化”等方面来论述；论著的后半部分“内容篇”围绕“现代性时间”分三章从新旧时间、历史时间、个人时间等方面来论述。

《中国近现代小说中的时间问题研究》一书以时间问题入手，重新讨论了中国文学的现代转型问题，深入探索，详细论述。比如第一章对“从空间到时间的叙事转移”。首先追述到明清章回小说的“缀段”问题，就从“说书人”及其说书套语、“史官”及其实录精神、“名士”及其“无事之事”三方面进行了深入的剖析。然后第二节的《胡适、〈孽海花〉及其“缀段”问题》，先是从“胡钱对话”“胡曾争议”与“缀段”问题展开论述；然后从小说中的“误解”与“新小说”家的“缀段”情节展开剖析；又从“五四”“新文学”家对“缀段”的舍弃。第三节叙事时间的嬗变则从“缀段”叙事、外在情节时间叙事与内在的主体时间叙事三个方面进行了详细的阐述。筚路蓝缕，玉汝于成，最终厘清从古典小说“缀段”式的空间叙事到现代小说的时间叙事有一个大致的发展脉络：“缀段”叙事→外在情节时间叙事→内在主体时间叙事。具体地说，清末民初小说主要是“缀段”叙事向外在情节时间叙事转变，“五四”小说主要是内在主体时间叙事。

本书作者从“叙事时间及其空间化”论述到“现代时间及其历史化”，如剥笋一般层层深入条分缕析，深耕细挖，始终围绕“时间”这一“中国现代小说转型”的关键问题进行了详细的论述。

四、结论

基于以上论述,《中国近现代小说中的时间问题研究》在很多地方都有独到的创新处:首先将“缀段”作为古典小说结构的时空形式,对其形成、消失乃至被“时间”所代替的过程做出清楚的学术梳理是阐释现代小说产生的一个路径;其次对从满格时间到“横截面”的小说时空形式的转变及其原因进行分析;第三是从“新旧时间”阐释晚清、“五四”小说的现代特征;第四是从“历史时间”看晚清、“五四”小说的“未完成性”;第五是从晚清、“五四”小说个人时间的“立”“破”及“重组”看小说的时间现代性。赵斌博士打破陈规,挑战、解构已有的学术思想与观念,创建了属于自己的小说的现代转型研究,令人耳目一新。

Dispel the fog of time modernity in Novels

——A Review on *the Study of Time in Modern Chinese Novels*

TAO Feng

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Abstract: In *The Study of Time in Modern Chinese Novels*, Dr. Zhao Bin transformed the complex modern transformation of Chinese literature into a "time problem". His works adopted the discussion mode of panoramic presentation and thematic interpretation, combining historical theory and deep cultivation, broke the stereotypes, challenged and deconstructed the existing academic ideas and concepts, and created his modern transformation research of novels, which has refreshing academic characteristics.

Keywords: Zhao Bin; The study of time in Modern Chinese novels; time

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百年烟台，芳华再现 ——评《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》

王丽斌¹

（福州理工学院商学院外语系）

摘要：烟台山是福州历史文化名片之一，见证了西方文明和中国传统文化的碰撞与交流。《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》是首部讲述烟台山的双语新形态著作，本文拟从历史地位、研究内容、英文可读性和传播价值四大角度剖析其特色。

关键词：《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》；福州烟台山；文化传播

引言

福州作为福建省省会和海峡西岸经济区核心城市，迄今已有 2200 多年的城市发展史和 7000 多年的历史文化底蕴。悠悠岁月，福州在历史长河中留下了不可磨灭的足迹，特别是中国近代化以来，孕育出了三坊七巷文化、上下杭文化、烟台山文化、船政文化等独特的文化奇观。其中烟台山是福州文化的璀璨明珠之一，记录着西方文明和中国传统文化碰撞的火花。藉由世界遗产大会在福州举办契机，仓山区委宣传部与仓山区烟台山管委会联合福建师范大学外国语学院重磅推出《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》，向全世界推介烟台山百年璀璨芳华。该书是第一部讲述烟台山的双语新形态著作，也是烟台山文化的强劲传播者，笔者从历史地位、研究内容、英文可读性和传播价值四大角度，陈述该书特色。

一、历史地位

《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》是第一部全面展示烟台山历史文化遗产的中英双语书。厦门鼓浪屿被誉为“万国建筑博物馆”，成功申遗，闻名于世，福州烟台山的历史价值不逊于前者，但知名度却相距甚远，有关烟台山遗产的研究也寥寥无几，坊间仅有 5 本相关书籍流传。林恩燕主编的《行走烟台山》重在描写烟台

¹ 王丽斌（1996-），女，福建福安人，福州理工学院商学院外语系教师，硕士研究生，主要从事翻译研究。

山的发展变迁，叙述烟台山背后深藏的重大历史事件和人物；孟丰敏著作的《流翠烟台山》是一部旅游指南，按照观光线路依次对烟台山各景点进行介绍；陈东主编的《烟台名山》从地理环境、建置沿革与人口变化、金融工商业、教育事业、近代文化生活、民俗宗教、各类建筑、名胜古迹、历史人物、重要事件、艺文等十一章节，介绍烟台山的方方面面，虽面面俱到，但内容颇有博而不精之憾。《烟台山史话》由福州市政协文史资料委员会组织福州各专家学者汇编而成，全书图文并茂，重点介绍烟台山的地理环境、历史沿革、外事往来、商贸旧事、建筑风韵、人文习俗等方面，史料性较强，具有一定的历史价值和社会价值。郑芳主编的《看不见的烟台山》重点挖掘烟台山建筑背后的人文历史，以“看得见的建筑+看不见的历史”的方式，再现烟台山的区域历史。在学位论文方面，仅有两篇硕士论文探讨了烟台山地区的建筑价值评价和旧址的修复设计问题，而相关期刊论文对烟台山的研究主要集中在对历史街区风貌特征的描述、建筑的保护与改造、老洋房的述古、历史风貌区的精神探究等。以上对烟台山文化遗产的研究主要囿于建筑保护修缮与景点人文叙述，既不太全面，也缺乏系统性。《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》一书，首次采用中英双语模式，多维度全面展示烟台山文化，向世界推介烟台山。

二、研究内容

《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》结构清晰，内容详实，从地理位置、街巷格局到建筑风韵、民宅旧址，从文化交流、领馆旧事到商贸旧事、隐秘遗迹，从西洋名人、本土精英到人文习俗、轶闻旧事，多维视角深耕烟台山文化翡翠。该书还包括上百幅珍稀照片，包括昔日烟台山遗迹的旧照，以图文混排的方式再现凝结的灿烂与辉煌。由于该书涉及主题广泛，内容十分丰富，本文仅举每章节主要内容，以资说明。

在地理位置与街巷格局章节，作者主要从地理位置、气候、地貌角度分析福州烟台山成为清朝重要贸易港口的自然环境原因，并介绍了烟台山周边街巷的组成和独特布局。书中分析，烟台山属于亚热带季风气候，冬暖夏凉，百年之前，烟台山脚下的梅坞路摘种着成片梅花，“琼花玉岛”美不胜收，吸引着文人墨客汇聚。烟台山位于闽江南岸，有着天然的海运便利，周围的南台岛为商贾提供储

存销售之地，中洲岛连接烟台山与台山，成为政治重地、万寿桥、三县周连通闽江两岸、泛江蒲码头停泊货船，得天独厚的地理优势使得洋人商贾云集，“十里洋场”繁华，因而周围乐群路、仓前路、观井路、马厂街、公园路等街道的西式建筑拔地而起，自此奠定了烟台山近代建筑群的重要地位。

在建筑风韵与民宅旧址章节，作者以严谨的学术态度，在前人研究的基础上，广泛查阅资料，组织内容，详细介绍烟台山“万国建筑”的风格与特点。恢弘雄伟的泛船浦天主教堂、天安堂和圣约翰教堂；具有外廊式建筑风格的美国、法国、荷兰领事馆；颇具异国情调的闽海关税务司官邸；福州传统中式建筑罗宅；庄严、雅静的欧式建筑群马厂街民居；历经百年沧桑的学府风情；殖民地券廊式建筑群：汇丰银行福州分行旧址等，其建筑风格与特点在书中一览无余。烟台山风格迥异、蔚为大观的各式建筑，堪称近代福州的“活化石”，诉说着福州中西交融的历史故事。

在文化交流与领馆旧事章节，作者列举了福州烟台山文化碰撞与融合的实例。传教士抵闽后，转战福州，在烟台山创办教会教育与教会医院。书中详细介绍了华南女子大学、福建协和大学、英华书院、私立陶淑女子学校等学校，以及福州塔亭医院、马高爱医院、毓英保安亭、圣若瑟育幼院等医院的建成原因，实例展现烟台山地区中西文化的交流与融合。此外，书中还介绍了烟台山领事馆的旧事，日本领事馆在闽的势力发展、英国领事馆的建馆波折、美国领事馆的来之不易、法国领事馆的中国情愫，通过讲述一个个建馆故事，让民众了解罕为人知的烟台山历史记忆。

在商贸旧事与隐秘遗迹章节，作者首先叙述了福州烟台山商贸中心的历史演变。书中记录了烟台山从宋朝时期的盐储运中心到近代商贸中心的发展历程。作为繁华的贸易场所，烟台山主要通过水陆通道和驳船进行商贸往来，并建立洋行、银行、钱庄、海关、洋关等重要商贸机构，处理商务外事，书中对于这些交易融资机构和金融机构的诞生和发展均有详细描写。

在西洋名人与本土精英章节，作者讲述西洋人士、政商名士和文教精英的传奇故事，追寻烟台山的名人印迹。美华书局主理麦利和、三一学校创始人万拔方，不远万里，安家烟台山，传播福音；一代传奇侨领黄乃裳、国府主席林森、福建省辛亥革命元老郑祖荫、崇尚教育救国的革命家黄展云、挑战哥德巴赫猜想的数

学家陈景润等一众徘徊在灰白建筑间的历史名人,承载着专属于烟台山的厚重历史。这一个个与烟台山密切相关的名人故事,使读者对烟台山文化的认识更加完整、丰富和立体。

在人文习俗与轶闻旧事章节,作者叙述了烟台山人民的宗教信仰、民间信仰以及社会风俗。基督教新教、天主教、本土道教、佛教,共同构成了烟台山人民的宗教信仰,相互包容、和谐共生。烟台山一带民间信仰包括戚继光崇拜、包公崇拜等,没有严格的教规和组织形式;同时书中还介绍了烟台山人民的衣着服饰、婚嫁习俗、祭祀等社会风俗,让普通读者从生活中体会烟台山文化的趣味与内涵,做到讲述烟台山文化,贴近现实生活。

三、英文可读性

《福州烟台山:文化翡翠》是福建历史文化类双语书籍,该书的中英文均由福建师范大学外国语学院教师编写完成。其英文版旨在传播烟台山文化,向世界讲好烟台山故事,促进中外文化交流,最终落脚点是为了取得最佳的文化传播效果。该英文版强调“受众思维”,根据海外读者的语言表达习惯和思维模式,以可读性高、受众易于接受、理解的语言,达到文化传播目的。该书英文版可读性如何?笔者以《福州烟台山:文化翡翠》英文文本为研究对象,从书中随机扫描,获取英文 10583 字符;并以同类型、原版英文作为对照文本,从世界联合国教科文网站任意选取英国世界文化遗产的相关英文文本 9638 字符,利用 Readability Analyzer 软件进行可读性宏观对比,得到 Flesh Reading Ease 和 Dale-Chall Score 分数,其中 Flesh Reading Ease 基于音节数和句子长度确定文本阅读的难易程度,总分 100,分数越高,表明文本越简单,60 分认定为简单英语。Dale-Chall 指标基于系统 3000 个简单单词列表,根据样本是否出现系列单词来计算可读性,分数越高,说明阅读文本要求的教育水平越高;如分数 9-9.9 分,说明阅读该文本需要大学学历。

表 1 文本可读性

可读性指标	《福州烟台山:文化翡翠》英文	英国世界文化遗产英文
Flesh Reading Ease	43.91	30.4
Dale-Chall Score	9.72	10.58

数据显示, 烟台山英文版 Flesh Reading Ease 得分为 43.91, 英国世界文化遗产英文得分为 30, 均低于 60 分, 可见阅读两文本均有一定难度, 但前者难度低于后者。烟台山英文版 Dale-Chall Score 分数为 9.72, 可知该文本处于大学可读水平; 而英国世界文化遗产英文得分为 10.58, 对英语阅读水平要求更高。文化遗产类书籍往往涉及丰富的文化负载词, 《福州烟台山: 文化翡翠》包含人名、地名、建筑名、机构名等百余条文化术语, 书籍性质决定了其文本阅读难度不低。但总体来说, 该书英文版对于具有本科学历以上的海外读者可读性较高。该书英文版以海外读者为出发点, 以中文为导向, 在词汇、句子和语篇层面贴合目的读者的语言习惯, 契合其文化语境, 英文可读性高, 如下例所示。

(一) 词汇层面

汉语重意境, 追求词汇华丽, 英语重逻辑, 要求表达清晰。英文版避免华而不实的辞藻, 强调客观事实的精炼陈述, 具有“简洁之美”。

(1) 闽江自西而东入海。在这江海交汇的城邑, 多少过客征鸿, 偶然将生命之锚暂抛于此, 于焉感悟于焉畅怀(p.001)。

Sitting at the estuary where Minjiang River flows into the sea from the west, Fuzhou witnessed a great many visitors who was greatly inspired during their temporary stay in the city (p.004).

作者吊古感怀, 感叹昔日闽江出海口的福州人杰地灵, 过客纷至沓来, 在此感悟人生的过往。中文版多使用古词, 充满古风古韵, “城邑”即古代城市的统称; 征鸿为“征雁”, “于焉”即“于此”; “过客征鸿”、“生命之锚”等比喻修辞的使用, 一幅诗情画意之感。英文版抛弃了原文意象, 传达出文本信息, “过客征鸿”明晰化为“Visitors”; “将生命之锚暂抛于此”简化为“temporary stay”; “于焉感悟于焉畅怀”使用了重复的手段, 使汉语节奏悦耳, 英文“greatly inspired”传递出主要意思。英文版去除华丽的辞藻与修辞, 符合海外读者的语言习惯, 增强了英语的可读性。

(二) 句子层面

中文重意合, 英文重形合。书中不少汉语言辞华丽, 文采浓郁, 采用排偶对仗、四字连珠等修辞书写长句, 传递气势或意境。英文版讲究句子之间的逻辑, 长短句搭配, 通俗表达出文本内容。此外英文版根据语义强调, 灵活使用句式,

并增加呼唤式语言，达到宣传吸引的效果。

(2)时时可见三角梅下掩映下的红砖老洋房，斑驳却兀自风姿绰约，是颓而不丧的老派风华，那老红砖的暗沉里，藏着有阅历的稳重高贵。让我们好奇的是，这些古旧的洋房到底经历了什么样的沧桑？烟台山在那个风雨飘摇的年代，在这一地区，扮演了一种什么角色？（p.002）。

Every now and then, we will find old red-brick western-style houses shadowed by bougainvilleas. In the depth of grey red deposit, the houses still radiate vigorous mottled charm out of ancient aristocratic nobleness. They must have experienced a dizzying Odyssey. We need to make our own acquaintance find out their role in the transcending society in this place. (p.005).

中文版首句一气呵成描写三角梅掩映之下的烟台山老洋房的建筑风貌。”斑驳却兀自风姿绰约”，“颓而不丧的老派风华”，“藏着有阅历的稳重高贵”三个短句修饰老洋房，文气连贯，意境优美。英文版根据逻辑断成两个独立句子，前句引出描述对象红砖老洋房，后句刻画其面貌，层次分明，语义清晰，缓解了读者的阅读压力，提高了外宣效果。中文版后两句为疑问句，引起读者注意，并启发他们回顾红砖老洋房历经的百年沧桑。英文版使用陈述句，首先强调老洋房的悠久历史，再以人称代词“We”作主语，呼吁海外读者探索一百年前老洋房在烟台山地区扮演的角色。英文版行文清晰，句式灵活，号召目的突出，达到外宣引导说服的效果。此外，该英文版用词也颇为简洁地道“风姿绰约”简明为“charm”，“颓而不丧”反向表述为“vigorous”，“老派风华”简化为“ancient”，“稳重高贵”精炼为“aristocratic nobleness”，“沧桑”表述为“a dizzying Odyssey”简单却达意，简单却传神，简单却地道，传递给海外读者烟台山建筑在历史沉淀下散发的魅力。

（三）语篇层面

英文版按照目的读者的语言习惯，在章节开头、段落间添加大量过渡句，使得上下文衔接自然紧密，英文阅读流畅。此外基于内外宣文本的差异，英文版改换汉语结语内容，根据西方思维进行写作，以收获理想的跨文化传播成效。

(3)烟台故地书写半部福州，而写不尽的巷陌市井、前世今生，道不完的

百年繁盛、魂牵梦绕，都在烟台山经年的老巷子里、斑驳的古建筑中，沉淀、蜕变。它恰如中西合璧的博览园；它拥有如璀璨繁星般的历史人物群；它是福建辛亥革命的策源地；它所延伸和浓缩的，是福州人海纳百川、有容乃大的胸襟和情怀，体现了福州文化的包容与多样，堪称福州文化的翡翠。

仿佛思绪只停了一秒，岁月却已过百年。今天的烟台山藏着太多的欲言又止，欲语还休。历史文化是一座城市的灵魂，百年烟台山，在一代代人的守护和坚持中，带着过往的沧桑，希冀更大的辉煌（结语）。

If you want to get away from the hustle and bustle, do come to Yantai Mountain. Sit under an ancient banyan tree, smell the plum blossoms or take pictures of the old red buildings. Let Yantai Mountain soothe you and renew your edges.

If you are thinking of an instructional tour, again, come to Yantai Mountain, where East met West. The mountain has seen poets and pirates, missionaries and revolutionaries, merchants and soldiers who came and left, who cried or smiled. Come and let the scroll of history unroll before you while you stroll through the cobbled lanes (Epilogue).

汉语文章结尾当如“豹尾”，短小精悍，响亮有力；又如撞钟，清音有余，给读者以回味的余地。本书的中文结语运用比喻、排比修辞，巧用四字连珠，凝练生动地总结烟台山蕴含着的文化血脉与精神传承，表达作者对复兴烟台山文化辉煌的希冀，气势不凡，强劲有力。但由于汉英两种语言的差异，原文内容不适合移植入英文版结尾。汉语读来声势夺人，华丽花哨的结尾，英语转之则空洞无物，无法起到外宣效果。英文版根据海外读者的语言习惯，改换结尾，通过呼唤性语言与目的读者产生互动，使文本充满生机与活力。开头两段“if”引导的从句形成对偶，前后呼应，相互补充，语言表现力强；第二段“who came and left, who cried or smiled”，从句形成正对偶，从句内部自成反对偶，音韵和谐，产生一种令人愉快的节奏感；“soothe”，“renew”，“meet”，“seen”，“stroll”等词巧妙使用，地道优美。此外人称代词“You”作主语，拉近了海外读者与烟台

山的距离感，使得文化宣传更具亲和力，激发了海外读者前往烟台山亲身感受历史文化的兴趣。

四、传播价值

该书有望强劲传播烟台山文化遗产。越是具体、形象、能看到、听到的事情，就越能吸引民众的兴趣，留下深刻的印象。《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》一书不仅使用中英双语编写，而且创新采用实地拍摄短视频模式，以英语推介烟台山遗址。书中穿插二维码，读者扫描即可获取泛舟浦天主堂、美国领事馆旧址、私立华南女子文理学院等 16 个烟台山遗址的真人实景英文介绍，使枯燥的文化遗产丰满立体。书中的烟台山人文遗址借助视频，仿佛走进了现实世界，读者也好似走进了书中，虚虚实实，生动具体。再者，传播渠道决定传播效力，传统的纸质书籍只能精准传播读者，受众有限，但短视频传播拓宽了传播范围，提高了传播效力。目前福州烟台山系列视频单条最高点击量已达上千次，并经福建电视台推送给《中国日报》、《香港商报》、《凤凰卫视》、《华人头条》、《海峡导报》等媒体，传播影响力在持续增长中。该书将烟台山文化遗产传播与现代媒介相结合，以民众喜闻乐见的方式呈现，既快速传播了文化，也与时代产生了共鸣。值得一提的是，该视频的拍摄、剪辑、英文推介，皆由福建师范大学外国语学院烟台山中英文讲解志愿服务队执行完成。福建师范大学青年学生心怀责任，勇于担当文化传播重任，此举也将鼓舞更多福州本地的学生加入到烟台山文化遗产的传播行列中，让学生成为文化传播的重要力量。

五、总结

习近平主席在中共中央政治局第三十次集体学习时强调，在推动中化文化走出去时，“要注重把握传播基调，既开放自信也谦虚谦和，努力塑造可信、可爱、可敬的中国形象。”《福州烟台山：文化翡翠》是目前国内第一部多维度介绍福州烟台山的中英双语书，在语言上关照海外读者，贴近受众的思维表达习惯，注重英语可读性，书写易于海外观众理解的软文化；在形式上打破传统纸质书单一枯燥的视觉语言传播形式，创新采用学生实地推介烟台山遗址，以真人话真事表真情，在轻松愉悦的氛围中，与海外读者产生友好互动；在传播方式上，以时下国

内外受众喜闻乐见的短视频方式，推进“好感传播”。该书以海外民众看得懂、听得进、愿意听的传播方式，讲述好烟台山故事，让世界看到可爱可亲的烟台山形象。

Book Review: *Fuzhou's Yantai Mountain: A Cultural Story*

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Abstract: As one of the city cards bearing Fuzhou's history and culture, Yantai Mountain has witnessed the collision and communication between western civilization and traditional Chinese culture. *Fuzhou's Yantai Mountain: A Cultural Story* is the first bilingual book on the renowned mountain. The paper tries to analyze the characteristics of the work from four aspects: historical status, research contents, English readability and dissemination value.

Keywords: *Fuzhou's Yantai Mountain: A Cultural Story*; Fuzhou's Yantai Mountain; Cultural Dissemination

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协译势盛，并资博练

——《翻译项目管理：实操、案例与研究》评介

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摘要：翻译项目管理能力关乎当今翻译市场的核心竞争力，但囿于师资、教材与观念等原因，翻译项目管理内容的研究并未落到实处，教学内容与翻译职场对接存在巨大鸿沟。岳峰所编《翻译项目管理：实操、案例与研究》一书独辟蹊径，以校企合作和产学研的政策定位内容，着眼市场需求，以速度为核心，以项目为引导，提出翻译教学的问题，以案例辅助教学，深入浅出予以分析，兼具教学性和学术性。

关键词：翻译项目管理；案例；市场；速度

引言

“人之禀才，迟速异分。文之制体，大小殊功”（刘勰，1995：248）。古人“十年磨一剑”、“吟安一个字，捻断数茎须”的佳话似乎并不适用今日的市场语境。如今的翻译市场，讲究效率，几万字翻译任务要求翌日交付已是常态，而传统经院的习得往往与之脱节，囿于字、词、语篇的译法，且与企业翻译鲜有往来（岳峰，2019：1-3）。

不同于往日工科学者的撰写角度，此书不落窠臼，致力让纯外语背景的教师亦可快速登门入室，掌握翻译项目管理系列知识（岳峰，2019：3）。兼具教学案例实用分析和学术探讨研究性，合璧高校与企业优势，助力翻译项目管理与翻译教育接轨，确为翻译教育完整化的壁龙点睛之作。

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一、全书内容概要

翻译项目管理是新兴翻译技术的重要内容，总体上属于创新写作，此书分为上中下三篇，分别为基础篇、案例篇、研究篇，下学上达，循序渐进。其中上篇是翻译项目管理的基础研究，分为六章，前五章专注笔译角度，介绍本地化翻译的基本要求、以 Trados 软件为例的计算机辅助翻译软件、译员管理与团队协作、翻译项目的质量监控以及后期管理与语言资产管理，第六章则是聚焦口译项目管理，讲述口译项目的启动、计划的制订，执行与监控以及后期管理，口笔译之间的项目组织和管理之间的区别由此可明。中篇则以案例为线索，所作分享不仅有福建师范大学、山东师范大学的产学研结合的教学案例，还编有 CAT 在复杂版面书籍翻译中的技术应用案例，还包括翻译公司常见问题、市场流程探究的调查案例，甚至还将译员的心声也纳入其中，例如与审校的协调、工具和非专业领域的工作、二次翻译、插稿、加班等问题，将其整理成文，为管理进一步提供不同视角的借鉴。下篇则是关于翻译项目管理的研究，通过对比国内外 MTI 高校教学模仿，借鉴翻译项目管理知识及翻译行业需求，提出调整 MTI 教学与翻译行业供需关系的方案（岳峰，2019：1-3）。

二、独具匠心之处

（一）校企互补合作

翻译教育的改革著作并非向壁虚构，它对编者对该领域学有所成、深有所悟提出要求，再者高校老师虽在语言基础占得先机，但往往在计算机辅助软件的经验乏善可陈，而企业的一线翻译经验则丰富多元，两者优势互补，就可以合力编写出更为优质的翻译教育改革著作（岳峰，2019：2）。

在校翻译教师可以帮助学生夯实基本功，所谓“万丈高楼平地起”，扎实的双语语言功底是基础要求，而企业翻译则是侧重从业务、职业素养等方面进行针对培训，通过与翻译公司联合开展在线实习项目，打破以往人数和地点的限制，节约成本且提升效率，所学内容主要包括“工作流程、CAT 基本操作、翻译工作规范、基本计算机与办公软件使用、信息检索能力、质检与审校技能以及整稿技能等七大类，共 58 个小类，此外还有翻译技能提升的内容（岳峰，2019：194）。”当然，线上实习对学生的自律要求较高，课堂气氛也难以如同面授一般热烈，故

而，在实际操作中还可通过考勤、撰写实习日志、设置组长岗位、评选优秀实习生、对实习协议予以方便等措施来克服线上授课的局限性。（岳峰，2019：194-195）在学习完基本课程后，进而为后续的团队翻译的完整流程做铺垫。首先需要熟知派单的基本原则、明确术语、数字与句子译法的统一细则、熟练掌握翻译的辅助工具，同时也需具备疑难、难点的分析和解决能力；另外，实习生还需养成自审的习惯，举一反三，学会处理相关的其他情况。这些职业素养与技能更多依赖于一线翻译人士的亲自传授，而这种深入的校企深度合作在全国范围内也不多见，必将成为推动中国翻译事业大发展的巨大力量。

（二）跨学科思维

翻译项目管理需要多学科的辅助，仅依靠翻译学的内容是无法支撑这一研究课题。首先，在语言服务需求激增的情况下，如何借助科学技术提高翻译效率不仅是译员的能力要求，更是翻译团队，乃至翻译公司所必须掌握的技能，方能在翻译市场中占据一席之地，经受大浪淘沙的考验。

在执行翻译项目时，译员总会遇到快速检索、使用参考文献、保证术语统一等问题，而这些问题，利用技术便可迎刃而解，这是技术层面的转换，再者是思维层面的更新。译员需要从单打独斗的纯人工思维逐步过渡到巧用技术，提升翻译质量，把握项目管理的整体观。从最初级的电子词典到网络翻译，再到依托术语库、记忆库等计算机辅助翻译软件，书中以 Trados 为例，简介其使用方法以及译后审校等技术软件，展示其在翻译项目中的巨大作用，同时也不断更新译员的翻译思维（岳峰，2019：27）。

其次是翻译项目管理中“管理”的作用，管理就有如穿起珍珠项链的那根线，无形贯穿于翻译项目的始终，先是折射在译员的管理中，而译员又分为专职译员和兼职译员，两者的管理方式各有技巧和方法；再是打造具有强大竞争力和生命力的团队，需要汇聚每位译员的力量；根据译员特点，最大程度发挥其用，去应对需求各异的翻译任务；还有翻译项目的质量监控过程中，如何以“三化”视角进行翻译与翻译质量评估，不失在“艺术创造”的前提下，把握翻译商业化、产业化、工业化的时代发展脉搏，这更是需要借鉴各行业的质量保证理念和手段（岳峰，2019：83-86）。

（三）本地化深入

本地化翻译不同于传统翻译，传统翻译更多专注于语言层面，而本地化翻译至少要有语言、文化两个层面的考量，另外两者的翻译对象、对技术的依赖程度、质量标准等也不尽相同。此书不仅介绍了传统翻译与本地翻译的异同，还辅以表格罗列了国内外本地化翻译的规范和标准，进而讲述本地化翻译的基本原则、具体要求，最后以一些本地化翻译案例进行评析，关注其中可能出现的问题及其解决方式。编撰思路兼顾宏观的原则把控和微观的案例分折，言之有物、言之有理，且契合当下“中国翻译协会本地化服务委员会正在推进本地化校园行活动，走进课堂，与大学翻译师生交流，通过讲座、座谈、研讨的形式，介绍本地化服务，介绍语言服务行业。”此书相关内容的呈现也折射出编者敏锐而广阔的翻译视野，扩展语言服务行业密切相关的领域分析，探讨翻译市场、校企合作、课程设计与教学、外语教育与翻译职场的对接等话题，为本地化进入校园做好一定的前期基础铺垫（岳峰，2019：3）。

三、结语

所谓“结虑司契，垂帷制胜”（刘勰，1995：252），编者凝神构思，专注校企合作和产学定位要求，以市场为导向，牢牢把握速度的核心要求，以问题驱动层层深入，树立博而能一的跨学科的意识，引入项目案例，实现理论实践相辅相成，为翻译教学和研究提供市场稀缺的资源。

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**A Review of *Management of Translational Projects:*
*Operations, Cases & Studies***

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Abstract: The ability of translation project management has much to do with the core competitiveness of today's translation market, but due to the lack of teachers, teaching materials and concepts, the research on translation project management has not been put into practice, and there is a huge gap between the teaching content and the translation workplace. In the light of governmental policies of vocational education and collaborations between colleges and enterprises, *Management of Translation Projects: Operations, Cases & Studies*, edited by YUE Feng, targets market demands by focusing on operation speed and quality of translation projects with a wealth of cases analyzed in depth. The book sheds light on both theories and practices of project management of translation and its teaching.

Keywords: Management of translational projects; Cases; Market; Speed

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译略纵横，驰骋职场 ——《科技翻译教程》评介

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摘要：科技翻译涉及专业领域繁多，市场需求量大，但高校相关课程仍较稀缺，且相关教材的编撰未与职场实况紧密结合。岳峰与曾水波所著《科技翻译教程》一书，领衔校企合作之风，以市场需求为指引，聚焦典型案例，技能与素养齐头并进，同步解决语料、素材、案例与理论的问题，为科技翻译的教材编撰和教学实践拓宽了新的思路。

关键词：科技翻译；市场；案例

引言

科学技术的发展日新月异，“一带一路”的布局紧锣密鼓，国内科技翻译的市场需求激增。如今的翻译市场，渐以复门类杂的科技翻译为主导，且多为一线翻译，高校的教学重点与实践是否能与真枪实弹的职场完成能力匹配？所培养的翻译人才是否具备翻译团队的现代意识？真实的翻译职场已然不是过去的个人模式的孤军奋战，面对几万字的翻译量，翌日交付已成常态。正因如此，科技翻译亟需与校企合作，以此改善闭门造车式的课堂教学。

纵观目前的科技翻译教材，缺少立足于语言服务行业中的科技翻译的译审视角，此书采用了高校教师与企业一线翻译合作编写的创新模式，形式和内容都令

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人耳目一新。从企业长期积累的典型案例入手，分门别类地深入分析，且辅以详述翻译工具、查询及质检方式，进行深入浅出的教学经验分享，其苦心孤诣，不言自明。

一、全书内容概要

《科技翻译教程》包含七个章节，每一章皆围绕科技翻译内容展开。第一章并非直入案例分析，而是着眼于入门准备工作。由于科技笔译的准确性、专业性等复杂要求，行规繁多，注意点密集，所谓“工欲善其事，必先利其器”，学习者必须打好扎实的基本功，精确把握其间细则。首先是译前准备，本章不仅介绍了查词工具的选用，也提示词典与网络解释的可信度，因此译者应综合多种资讯，做出合理的判断。再者，英汉词典大多只提供对应的中文表述，其间的信息缺失或者移位现象难以避免，故推荐辅以英英查词方式，判断准确的词义。英汉标点符号混用的例子也比比皆是，译者需牢记英文中不得使用的全角中文标点符号、中英标点符号写法规则、及时修正或补充原文的标点以及关注特殊符号的翻译，如 1. 234. 567. 89，其小数点可能代表千位符，意为 1, 234, 567, 89，这种写法多出现于德、法等欧洲国家，和中国刚好相反。其次是常规要求，包括术语统一、简洁翻译、原文异常处的处理、疑难点和不确定译法的处理、需使用固定译法的内容、大小写、数字、项目编号等的翻译以及译后自检等译员的一般要求。译员的质检首先要从自检开始，在操作方面，介绍了如何运用 WORD “查询与替换”功能，输入通配符，标黄突出显示数字以及英文中的中文字符，利于快速检查。

第二章聚焦于应用类文件的翻译技巧。首先介绍了简洁化翻译原则与方法，类比新闻翻译的特点，皆对传递信息的具体性、准确性、简明性方面提出要求，介绍简洁化翻译的方法，如省略次要成分、使用缩写词、习惯性省译、图片、表格内容的简化译法等，予以具体案例说明，其次介绍时态、语态和句式的选择，解析中译英、英译中案例，根据具体上下文，灵活采用主被动语态，或者采用多种句式。例如在英文祈使句翻译对策部分时，无主语式祈使句或以 must 和 should 引导的祈使句皆可使用。最后介绍了译文的行文表达，应关注正式用语、位置与语序、目的语行文习惯等问题。在实用翻译中，要达到符合译文的行文表达，在选词方面不仅要避免口语化，而且还要保证译文中的字词“各得其所”，

放在各自的正确位置；在句子方面，要求在对原文理解透彻的基础上，做到“得意忘言”，深层次把握原文的侧重点，把句子的顺序合理化。尤其需重视 each, every, some, any, all 等短小定语的位置，包括其他定语的位置以及更复杂的括号内容位置的准确性，最后对译文进行审视，要求行文方式要符合目标语的表达方式，避免翻译腔或句式生硬等现象，加强对原文的透彻理解以及目标语的遣词造句能力。

第三章、第四章围绕中英理解与表达展开案例剖析。初学翻译者经常会陷入蹩脚的母语表达和中式英语的双重打击中。作为外语学习者首先更应熟练掌握翻译相关的中文基础知识，重视连词的搭配、易用错的中文词，如“抑或”和“亦或”之分、易误译的中文词，如“高压”、“低压”等译法，这类词汇在文后皆附表格总结，利于课后整理复习，涉及专业性较强的物理术语时，文中附图予以辅助说明，更易于理解；对于常见的中国特色词表达，需要进行一定的思考和转换，书中详举名词、动词、形容词、虚词等具有中国文化特色的词，同时也补充了一些少见的疑难词，如半墙、250 厚/120 厚、95 砖，公斤力等，附图展示其检索思路，加强理论和实际的紧密结合，遵循从普遍性到特殊性的论述逻辑，兼具放射性和重点突出的特点。再者聚焦英语理解与表达，尤其关注遣词造句中英文小词与词义辨析。英语理解的难点不仅在于复杂的句式和语法，还包括一些重要实词，甚至是虚词或小词组的意思或用法，例如 in, of, for, that, plus, as such 等，看似简单，翻译中往往难得其意，进而造成中文逻辑混乱。例如原文：The observation is made of some phenomenon. 原译：这一观察是由某一现象组成的。改译：（我们/人们）对某一现象进行了观察。本句是个倒装句，正常的词序应为：The observation of some phenomenon is made. 两句一比较，即可发现其中的“of”，并非“属于……的”，而是“对……”或“关于……”，书中针对性地列举了一些实例，启发关注小词的理解。对于词义辨析，文中详解了 10 个多义词、辨析了 9 组近义词、展示了熟词僻义以及缩写词的案例，在具体语境中体会英文词义的丰富张力，并在文末列出了更多的例子供学员学习理解。

显性的翻译疑难，如句子结构的复杂、重要词组的不易理解等，解决起来还相对容易，但对于一些较为隐性的疑难点，看似不难，实则深藏若虚。第五章着力解析翻译中的疑难点，聚焦疑难词中最具代表性的英文缩写词，首先对英文缩

略词进行了简要分类,总结了其中的缩略规则。一般缩略规则有首字母缩写、截短缩写,其他缩略规则还包括利用数字、读音或意思缩略、利用符号或代号缩略、缩写套缩写、缩略词的最后一个单词的重复出现、源自其他语种的缩略、参数、量级于计量单位的缩写等。对于缩略词的大小写、复数形式等,书中也作了详尽的解读和翻译方法的说明。接着介绍了疑难点的更为具体的解决办法,即查词法、句子理解、回译、原文纠错、专有名词等,列举典型例子,阐述各种解决思路。此处的查词法,主要针对原文中难以确定意思的缩写词、疑难词,通过联系上下文,综合运用词典、捆绑搜索、逻辑推理等方法确定出最为准确的译文。句子理解方面则是关注关键词理解、原文理解陷阱、习惯性不规范表达、填空式句子、复杂句式理解以及逻辑背景知识。回译或称返译,在讲话的回译和文件名的回译中,皆可通过增加一些相关关键词进行搜索,查询既有的表达法。原文纠错内容,在实用翻译中,也会遇到逻辑混乱、表述不明的原文,作为合格的译者应该有批判思维,能够识别出尽可能多的原文错误,厘清原文逻辑,形成条理有序的译文。常见的原文错误包括错别字、文字位置错误、文字转化错误、格式错误、中英混杂等现象。最后是专有名词和非专有名词的译法,书中通过一些典型译名确定过程,让译员掌握一些基本的检索方法,并引申介绍汉字文化圈的文化相通性。

第六章讲述了其他相关技巧与知识,针对各种文字的辨识、数字、量级与单位表达法举例分析。在翻译过程中,遇到 PDF 或者图片格式的原文,若是出现无法转化而且难以辨认的繁体字、异体字、手写字或艺术字等,都对译者的知识库提出更高要求,在平时有必要学习繁体字和异体字,在实践中通过关键词查找,推知手写字内容,若实在认不出,可用 XXX 或者***先行代替。数字、量级与单位表达法也各有其严格的书写规范,注意阿拉伯数字的表达法、数字量级,货币单位符号和货币量级、单位的译法、常见标准、指令、条例、协会的缩写等,各自列举典型案例进行分析之后,列示了一些常见例子供查询、记忆,提高翻译的效率。最后一章为科技类文件的实战分析,列举了通用类、管理体系、机械工程制造、物理、电子电工、化学化工、生物、医学医药和石油地质采矿等行业语篇翻译,提供中译英、英译中的练习篇章,并在页尾标注相关知识点或难点的翻译解释或背景知识,译者可以在学习阶段以此作为练习素材,译后再对校参考答案和解析,更能提高自己的学习效果。

二、《科技翻译教程》内容之丰、译例之真、习题之精

科技翻译教材的适用性选择与合理化编写可从内容、译例、习题三个维度进行分析（单宇、何苗，2021）。

（一）内容之丰

全书从审校发现的典型案例入手，将其目别汇分，分为七章，既注重正确的行文方法，如正式用语、位置语序、表达习惯等，也介绍各种翻译辅助知识，如查词、自检法，具有很强的实践性；综合宏观层面翻译原则的把控和微观层面科技翻译方法和技巧的阐述，从科技笔译入门、理论方法、中英理解表达达到重难点案例分析，难度梯级分布，由浅入深；语言简明晓畅，准确具体，且文中多用表格列举案例，详略得当，排版尤为清晰合理，让人一目了然。

全书所涉学科广泛，尤以第七章的行业语篇翻译最为凸显跨学科的需求，真正聚焦科技文本，而非举“科技之名”，套“老旧材料”之实，教材选用的多行业素材也体现了从单一的语言学研究转向交叉学科的发展趋向，呈现出多样化和专业化特点。

科技翻译门类复杂，传统的语言学框架理论难以指导如此繁杂、艰深的翻译任务，要做好科技翻译不仅需要扎实的双语基本功，更要有广博的知识面，尤其是科技基础知识，而翻译专业学生大多出身社科专业，科技基础较为薄弱，在科技翻译中，不免屡屡出错，跨学科的必要性不言而喻。好在如今的教育也在不断改革，逐渐走上“大文科”、“大理科”的综合路线，致力发展无所不通的综合性人才，不久的将来，必能使科技翻译插上跨学科的“有利翅膀”。

（二）译例之真

此书从语言服务行业科技翻译译审的视角撰写，立足真实、实践，洋溢着鲜活、浓厚的职场气息。从译例呈现方式来看，至少提供两个译文版本进行对比，即原译和改译，下划线标注重点，并提供详细译例解析；同一具体方法也提供了多个译例，强调重点的同时，更增添说服力；在对比的过程中，易错点以及解析思路呈现得更加鲜明。

从译例单位来看，以句子为主，词汇、篇章为辅，起于基础的词汇、句子形式，将其层层剖析，关注细微之处，立足于职场要求，再强调译后自检，包括拼写错误、数字错误、语法错误等的检查方法，搜商、译功左右开弓，稳扎稳打查

询、语言、质检基础；最后一章对语篇单位进行翻译分析，始于通用类，再分列管理、物理、化工、地质等其他具体行业，行文思路从一般到特殊，参考解析也不止于呈现答案，而是通过脚注，深入解释相关知识点、翻译疑难或补充背景资料，形成文本内外的互文性，实现知识迁移，触类旁通。

（三）习题之精

课后习题的设置既可检验教师教学情况，也可作为检验学生学习情况的有效方法。课后习题经由编写者精心挑选，是教材编撰以及课堂教学中非常重要的组成部分，既可以夯实基础知识，学练结合，又可以此为基础，深化知识点。

从习题题型来看，书中以翻译题为主，通过对科技术语、句子、篇章的中英互译多层次考察学习成果，提取每小节极具代表性的关键知识点，进一步巩固所学知识，同时书中也不乏思考论述题，如第一章第一节所言，比较网络词典、纸质词典、教科书、个人专著与网络搜索的准确率。译员的翻译过程几乎离不开各类查词工具的使用，此题设计用心不仅在于掌握多个网络词典与搜索引擎工具，而且还引导译者正确选用工具，对各类工具的可信度了然于心，才能在翻译中根据不同需求灵活搭配，有的放矢。

从习题知识量来看，教材既考察学生对单个知识点的掌握情况，如词组翻译、误译词区分、独立主格用法等，又重视多个知识的综合牵引作用，如篇章中填空式句子解析、逻辑背景推敲理解等，综合科技翻译所涉及的背景知识、专业知识、术语问题提供案例指导，整体习题编排呈现从易到难，循序渐进的梯度。

三、《科技翻译教程》先锋之士，勇闯职场天涯

职场翻译教材尤重市场、技术、实践三大要点，《科技翻译教程》并不囿于传统编撰思维，而是直击高校科技翻译教学的痛点，敏锐把握翻译市场的脉搏，壮大职场翻译教程的这股暗流。此“职场翻译教材系列”还包括覆盖翻译技术内容较为全面的《翻译技术实践教程》、对读者知识储备不做高要求的《翻译项目管理》、结合新技术，扫一扫可得丰富教学视频的《职场翻译：数字人文新形态教程》、以及分类更为细化的《工程翻译教程》、《文博翻译》、《商务英语笔译》、《医学翻译教程》等，无一不是面向真实的职场，开启校企合作之风，重视翻译工具和技术。在译例选用方面，皆是从多年职场实战中精选典型案例指导，

涵盖数、理、化、医、电、工程、机械、采矿、制造等等行业，很大程度弥合高校教育与企业需求的鸿沟，不仅对企业译员专业培训大有裨益，对高校学生而言，也同样受益匪浅。

此书不仅对教材编撰深有启发，对翻译教学，同样也有豁然开朗之效。本书的侧重点不限于传统的翻译策略和框架，而是另辟蹊径，引导译者做好入门准备，熟练掌握应用类文本的翻译要求，注重双语理解和表达，重点攻克翻译疑难，尤其重视一线翻译中的经典案例在教学中的使用，关注项目的实际操作与演练，逐步带领译员登堂入室，培养学习者的专业素养以及翻译应对能力。

其意深且丰，职场之气且浑成，足见两位编者精益求精之功，夙兴夜寐之劳，如切如磋，如琢如磨，在这场涌动的职场翻译云海中，一苇杭之，呈以此书，传译道，解疑惑。

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A Review of A Textbook for Translating Texts of Science & Technology

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Abstract: The translation of science and technology involves a wide range of professional fields and is in great demand in the market, but related courses in universities are still in need, and older textbooks do not seem to meet the demands of professional operations now satisfactorily. *A Textbook for Translating Texts of Science & Technology* written by YUE Feng and ZENG Shuibo intends to activate collaborations between colleges and enterprises and targets market demands through case studies. The textbook stimulates innovations, brings about fresh blood and broadens vision in both theories and practice of the translation for science and technology.

Keywords: Translation of science and technology; Market; Case studies

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书 讯



《문화적 시야 속의 현대 실크로드문학》 《文化视域中的现代丝路文学》

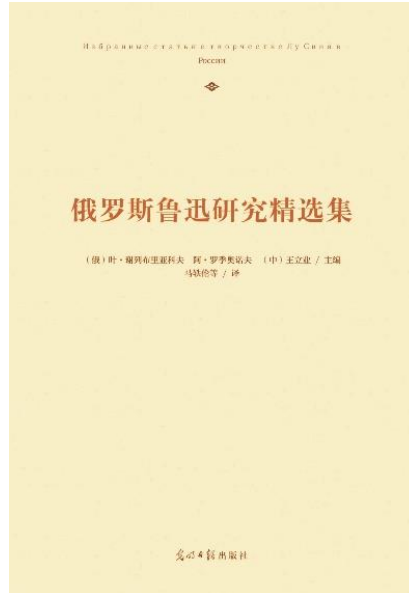


이 《문화적 시야 속의 현대 실크로드 문학 文化视域中的现代丝路文学》(중국 과학출판사 科学出版社, 2020.11)은 산시(陕西)사범대학 인문사회과학 고등연구원 원장인 리지카이(李继凯) 교수와 쉰위쿤(荀羽琨), 왕아이홍(王爱红) 교수 등이 집필한 연구서로 이 분야 연구 저서가 생각보다 별로 없는 상황에서 우리의 시야를 넓혀주고 중국 현대 실크로드 작가 작품 이해에 적지 않은 안내서 역할을 할 역저라고 할 수 있다.

이 저서는 “일대일로”로 상징되는 중국의 현 시대적 배경 속에서 문화적 시각으로 중국 현당대 실크로드 문학에 대해 전면적인 고찰을 함과 동시에 개별적인 사안들을 새로운 시각으로 분석하고 있다. 나아가 실크로드문학 연구체계를 건립하고 또 작가와 작품 텍스트에 대한 의욕적인 탐구를 통하여 그 내면의 다원적이면서도 공생적인 문학 형태와 그 풍부한 문화적 내용을 여실하게 드러내 보여주고 있다. 이 저서는 동시에 “실크로드문학” 개념에 대한 정의를 통해 중국 실크로드문학의 창작과 그 발전 맥락을 정리하고 있을 뿐만 아니라 현당대 실크로드문학의 계보를 탐구하고 있으니 이는 또한 중국 현당대문학 연구의 심화 확대를 위한 창의적

노력의 일환이라고 할 것이다. 이 저서는 내용이 풍부하고 넓은 시야 속에 집필되어 중국학계 뿐만 아니라 세계 각지의 중국 현대 실크로드 문학 탐구에 많은 계시를 줄 수 있으리라 생각된다.

《러시아 루쉰연구 논문 정선집》
《俄罗斯鲁迅研究论文精选集》

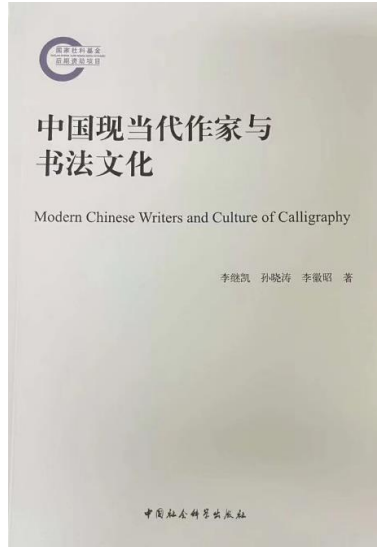


현대 중국의 문호 루쉰에 대한 세계 각지에서의 번역과 연구는 근 100 여년의 역사를 갖고 있다. 이미 상당한 수준을 보여주고 있기에 중국학계에서도 일본, 한국, 미국과 호주, 독일, 러시아 등의 루쉰 연구에 대해서는 상당히 높게 평가하며 그 연구성과에 대한 중국어번역 출판을 계속하고 있다. 한국외국어대 박재우(朴宰雨) 명예교수(중국 장강학자 석좌교수, 산시陝西사범대학 인문사회과학 고등연구원 특임연구원)와 중국 거타오(葛涛) 연구원(북경 루쉰박물관)이 총 주편한 “세계 각국 루쉰연구논문 정선집” 계열 총서 제 3 권 《러시아 루쉰연구 논문 정선집 俄罗斯鲁迅研究论文精选集》이 2022 년초 중국 광명일보출판사(光明日报出版社)에서 출간되었다. 이는 2016 년 출간된 《한국 루쉰연구 논문 정선집 韩国鲁迅研究论文精选集》과 《일본 루쉰연구 논문 정선집 日本鲁迅研究论文精选集》(中央编译出版社 중앙편역출판사)에 이어 출판된 것이다.

1925 년 《아큐정전》에 대한 번역으로부터 시작된 러시아에서의 루쉰에 대한 번역과 연구는 이미 근 100 년의 역사를 갖고 있다. 이는 러시아 한학사에 있어 중요한 이정표적 의의가 있다 할 것이다. 100 년 가까운 세월

속에 중러간 정치적 원인 등으로 우여곡절을 겪었지만 러시아에서의 루쉰에 대한 번역과 연구, 교학 등은 부단히 계속되어 상당히 비중 있는 루쉰 연구 대오를 이루었고 상당히 수준 있는 번역가와 연구자들을 배출하였다. 이번의 《러시아 루쉰연구 논문 정선집(俄罗斯鲁迅研究论文精选集)》은 러시아 세인트 페테스부르크 대학의 예 세레브리야코프와 로지아노프 교수, 중국 북경외대의 왕리에王立业교수가 공동 주편하였는데, 그 속에는 셰묘노프, 페도랑코, 피터로프, 솔로진 등 대표적인 러시아 루쉰연구전문가들의 논문 혹은 저서의 한 절이 절록 중역되어 있어 러시아 루쉰 연구사의 역사적 맥락을 이해하고 현재 루쉰 연구의 관점이나 수준을 가늠할 수 있다. 이는 한국적 루쉰 연구가 세계적 선진 수준으로 나아가는데 있어 유익한 참고 자료, 혹은 타산지석으로서의 의미가 적지 않다고 할 것이다.

《중국 현대 작가와 서예 문화》 《中国现当代作家与书法文化》

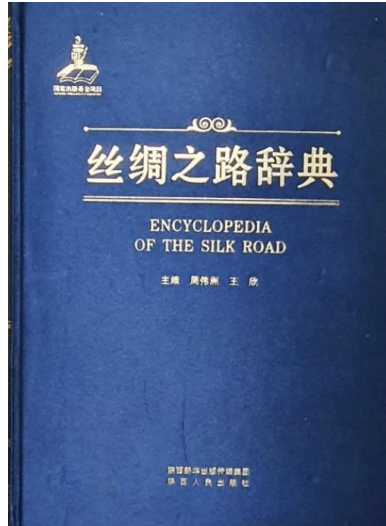


중국의 저명 서예가인 리지카이(李继凯)와 쑤샤오타오(孙晓涛), 예술전문가 리웨이샤오(李徽昭) 교수가 공동 집필한 이 《중국 현대 작가와 서예문화 中国现当代作家与书法文化》(중국사회과학출판사 中国社会科学出版社, 2021.6)는 문학과 서예를 넘어서서 중국현대문학에 대해 새로운 접근법으로 연구를 시도한 역작이라 할 것이다. 이 저서는 우선 그 연구 범위가 넓어 현당대 작가가 자라나는 과정에서 받은 가정 교육과 학교 교육 등 성장환경의 요인으로부터 작가들의 서예와의 개별적 인연, “문학과 서예가 융합적으로 형성한 문화적 특징”, 현당대 작가의 서예문화에 대한 태도 및 서예관 등을 두루 다루고 있다. 다음으로 이 저서는 작가와 서예가를 겸한 경우의 예에 대해 세밀한 분석을 하고 있다. 구체적으로는 량치차오(梁启超), 선충원(沈从文), 왕징치(汪曾祺), 루쉰(鲁迅), 귀모뤄(郭沫若), 마오둔(茅盾), 린위탕(林语堂), 원이뉘(闻一多), 선인머(沈尹默), 자핑와(贾平凹) 등 저명 작가와 옌안(延安) 작가들, 남방 작가들, 북방 작가들 등 많은 작가들의 서예에 대한 태도와 대표적 서예작품에 대해 해석하고 논술을 가하고 있다. 마지막으로 이 저서에서는 작가와 서예에 관련된 이론을 모색하고 그 기초를 마련하면서 연구방법에 있어 학과

융합적인 면에서 적지 않은 성과를 거두고 있다고 할 것이다.

이 저서에서 보여준 창의력 있는 시도에 대해 중국학계에서는 중국
현당대 문학 관련 융합 연구에 있어 차감할만한 이론적인 제시와 방법론적
경험을 개척하여 상당한 학술적 성과를 거둔 것으로 평가하고 있다.

《실�크로드 사전》 증보판
《丝绸之路词典》增订版



중국 실�크로드 연구의 권위자인 저우웨이저우(周伟洲)와 왕신(王欣) 선생이 주편한 이 《실�크로드사전》 증보판(산시陝西인민출판사, 2018.12)은 약 3 백만자에 이르는 방대한 분량의 최대의 실�크로드사전이다. 도로교통, 지리환경, 행정구역, 정치, 경제무역, 문화와 과학기술, 소수민족종교, 문물고적, 방언 습속, 실�크로드 인물, 해상 실�크로드, 서남 실�크로드, 실�크로드 문헌, 실�크로드 연구, 오늘날의 실�크로드 등 15 개 분야의 관련 어휘와 사안 11,529 개에 대해 사전식으로 설명하고 있다.

이 사전은 출간된 후 “실�크로드학”의 기초 저작이요, 실�크로드 백과전서, “일대일로”의 필수 참고서, 실�크로드에 대한 장기적인 학술연구성과가 망라된 역저, 실�크로드 관련 포함 범주가 가장 완벽한 실�크로드 도구서, 중외관계사학에 큰 공헌을 한 저서 등 중국학계의 광범한 호평을 받았다. 한국에서도 실�크로드를 연구하려면 필히 참고해야 할 사전이라 하겠다.