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齊宋度尺 許承先生屬徐同柏鈐寫人文并識此二字

廿甲庚午白圭廟
手盛拜其而下
諧承穀皆亦
寧公號德為皇
帝了甜感相
以繪德志度厚
影不畫新好
者皆圖會出



史記秦的皇
本紀二十六年
一齊度衡石
丈尺此即度
九全文四字
載顏氏家訓
歐陽集古錄
董廣川書跋
道光二十年
庚子七月廿日
吉嘉興張廷濟
臧并識
時年辛巳二

齊宋度尺
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嘉慶癸酉 宋葆淳審定題

易奇而法
詩正而葩
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韓文板本始蓋同板本初
但文十六卷林氏先易
一詞歐子所云近世信東雅
堂列論已沿何況後世
編斷天平壽此寸銅國
子先生直而日其謂屬政
刻石經全讀上與合平開
成一勤校錄
道光二十年庚子七月七日
嘉興張廷濟林未甫

唐末益州書假版本權輿此種流傳其始始
刺前蜀後蜀宋之述此范毛序廣政年張均均
孫時周德貞或其弟得龍石印皆宋也時有
唐中書省校書郎薛稷取舊本寫或相傳文或杜詩
注餘韻要及均作生蹟大宋家刻方餘及黃華圖不
不身今得以此書宋末七印一紙起晉宋南齊諸刻是
宋之山 題八分獨授亦方亦朱氏紅義考林氏鑄
此書自中世中世後世以古文古物師能具其到代
西四十十年作詩人述知文錄又得易詩為先春
氏印行時刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻刻
道志庚子六月廿一日七十三歲老者張廷濟

亦示而不世假銅板及也
也乞印一者
其未克先

五三

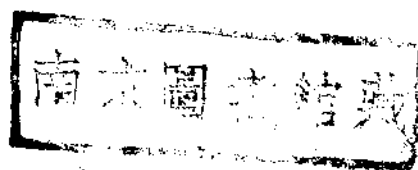


論說一

中國四部書闡原

孫德謙

中國之書美矣備矣。約而言之。則爲四部。四部者。經史子集是也。昔者劉向氏之校書中祕也。條其篇目。撮其指意。撰別錄二十卷。向歿後。其子歆卒成父業。遂爲七略七卷。七略者。一曰輯略。二曰六藝略。三曰諸子略。四曰詩賦略。五曰兵書略。六曰術數略。七曰方伎略。觀其分別部居。經子而外。史無專部。詩賦雖自爲一略。猶未名之爲集也。自晉祕書監荀勗。因魏鄭默中經。更著新簿。始分四部。以總括羣書。一甲部。則紀六藝及小學等書。二乙部。有古諸子家。近世子家。兵書兵家術數。三丙部。有史記舊事。皇覽簿雜事。四丁部。有詩賦圖讚。汲冢書。所異於後世著錄者。乙爲子。丙爲史而已。然唐修隋書。經史子集。四部之名。由此而定矣。雖然。自有四部以來。治經則訓詁義理。各守門戶之見。作史則紀傳編年。斤斤於體例之間。孔子修春秋。所謂其義竊取者。則不復知之矣。至於諸子專家之學。方且屏爲異端。無有究其源流得失者。故兩漢以降。一切名墨從橫。皆成絕響。卽間有治其書者。亦僅疏釋字句。玩索辭章。試問其意指所在。則概乎未之得也。又自集部旣興。凡能文之士。志在不朽。亦幾人各一集。其體則有解有傳。其旨則忽儒忽墨。偶然無所歸宿。是以歷覽藏家目錄。四部之中。莫多於詩文別集。有由然也。記有之。或原也。或委也。



此之謂務本。世亦有取中國四部書，一攷其原者乎？吾請爲推闡之。學者蓋不可不知者也。經爲孔子所刪定，其實則古之史籍也。古者政教不分，學統於官，故易掌太卜，書藏外史，禮在宗伯，樂隸司樂，詩領於太師。春秋存乎國史，皆古帝王經世之大法，所以垂誡後王者也。周既東遷，官失其守，孔子歷聘周流，所如不合，於是追跡三代之禮，序書傳，上紀唐虞之際，下至秦穆，編次其事，詩三千餘篇，去其重，取可施於禮義，上采契后稷，中述殷周之盛，至幽厲之缺，三百五篇，皆弦歌之，以求合韶武之音，正樂雅頌，贊易序彖繫象說卦文言，因史記作春秋，上至隱，下訖哀，據魯親周，故殷運之三代，七十子後學，因相與尊之爲經。經者常也，謂萬世不易之常道也。夫載之空言，不如見之行事，孔子自言之矣。然則六經者，其道爲世常行，要皆堯舜以來相傳之事實，前史所記錄者也。或曰：經之爲史，固已，惟既尊之爲經，必謂原本於史者，何哉？曰：史以記事，人無不知之，吾慮乎後之說經者，不求之事，以爲法守，章句之儒，則失之穿鑿，性理之家，則失之迂遠，遂使先聖經教，不能措之於治術，惟明乎其爲史，則禹貢行水，春秋決獄，漢世通經之士，以其素所誦習者，出而推之世用，不難於今日遇之也。不寧唯是，典章制度，後人所憑藉者，稽之史而已矣。吾讀漢書宣帝紀，詔曰：蓋聞堯親九族，以和萬國，朕蒙遺德，奉承聖業，惟念宗室屬未盡，而以罪絕，若有賢材，改行勸善，其復屬，使得自新，又詔曰：書云文王作罰，刑茲無赦，今吏修身奉法，未有能稱朕意，朕甚愍焉，其赦天下，與士大夫厲精更始，姑舉一二事明之。可知漢代庶政，咸能依經而行，亦以其時率循故事，非羣經莫可規隨，不若唐宋而後，有漢魏諸史，爲足取而損益也。由是言之，卽謂經爲上古三王

之史。奚不可哉。史者。初始於司馬遷。其後班固繼之。自時厥後。遞相祖述。有一朝必有一朝之史。或出當時載錄。或係後代纂修。雖立國不及百年。地處偏隅。亦有人焉。爲之秉筆。以紀其興衰大略。其間又有私家之史。若陳壽之三國志。此類是已。至其是非得失。劉知幾論之綦詳。則無待言也。吾嘗沿流而溯其原。知史部之出於經。何也。經固上世史策也。周易爲伏羲至文王之史。尙書爲堯舜至秦穆之史。詩爲湯武至陳靈之史。春秋爲東周至魯哀之史。禮樂則虞夏殷周之通史也。史記自序曰。伏羲至純厚。作易八卦。堯舜之盛。尙書載之。禮樂作焉。湯武之隆。詩人歌之。春秋采善貶惡。推三代之德。褒周室。非徒譏刺而已也。蓋以經本相續爲史。班志藝文。故不立史部。以太史公書。卽附春秋之後。明其踵春秋而作也。抑又攷之。漢獻帝時。以班書文煩難省。命荀悅依左傳爲編年體。作漢紀三十篇。則編年一史。豈非導原於經哉。其他陸賈之漢楚春秋。孔衍之後魏尙書。襲用經名。則尤顯然易見矣。宋世袁樞。復創紀事本末。其爲體也。因事命篇。不爲常格。彼殆病溫公通鑑之合。而分之以事類耳。然苟非深知古今大體。天下經綸。不能網羅彙括。無遺無濫。說者曰。文省於紀傳。事豁於編年。決斷去取。體圓用神。真尙書之遺也。則紀事本末者。其原亦託始於經。不亦彰明較著哉。且史部之中。有職官篇也。則原於周官。有儀注篇也。則原於儀禮。若夫地理刑法。則又原於書之禹貢呂刑。攷之隋志。凡舊事各類。作爲敘錄。無一不援經立說。其知言之選哉。昔王通有元經矣。而昌黎韓子。嘗欲作唐之一經。發潛德之幽光。誅奸諛於旣死。夫不謂之史。而謂之經者。誠以史之大原出於經也。吾更有說焉。史家之天官平準。自子長作志。其後雖名目變更。而整派

依源。理枝循幹。則無有起而議之者。獨鄭樵謂其出於爾雅。至近世章實齋氏。又謂出於周禮。所言雖不同。要之不離乎經者。近是。諸子者。極盛於戰國。而其造端則在周初。何以知其然哉。劉彥和諸子篇曰。鬻熊知道。而文王諮詢。餘文遺事。錄爲鬻子。子自肇始。莫先於慈。是可證矣。當七國時。天下相務於戰爭。彼諸子者。皆思用其所學。救世之急。雖道家之弊。在乎獨任清虛。墨家之弊。在乎不別親疎。法家則傷恩薄厚。名家則鈎鈇析亂。各有所偏。然其志將以持急扶傾。則未可妄訾也。其間若申不害之相韓。國富兵強。諸侯不敢侵。張儀蘇秦。約從連橫。天下因而。不交兵者。十五年。其功效豈不卓然著哉。乃後儒從而擯斥之。以爲是皆離經畔道者。嗚呼。抑何弗思之甚也。夫儒家如荀孟。一則長於禮。一則長於詩書。所謂游文六經者。固無論矣。其原於易者。曰道。曰陰陽。易者憂患之書。觀於乾卦云。貴而無位。高而無名。賢人在下位。而無輔。是以動而有悔。坤卦則云。臣弑其君。子弑其父。非一朝一夕之故。所由來者漸。其爲人主戒者深矣。道家者。君人南面之術也。老子曰。貴以賤爲本。高以下爲基。又曰。國之利器。不可以與人。是其宗旨。與大易相表裏。班志以道家合於易之謙謙。蓋得之矣。陰陽家。子韋鄒衍。書雖亡佚。不傳。莊子有曰。易以道陰陽。知其不外是也。其原於詩者。曰縱橫。曰小說。縱橫家者。出行之人官。周之掌交。乃其職也。子曰。不學詩。無以言。又曰。誦詩三百。使於四方。不能專對。雖多亦奚以爲。若是儀秦輩。歷說時君。於一國之山川風物。皆能瞭然如指諸掌。非通於詩教者。不足語此。小說家。出古之稗官。解者謂王者欲知閭巷風俗。故立稗官。使稱說之。則青史周考諸書。道聽塗說者之所造。亦太師陳詩以觀民風之道也。其原於禮者。曰

墨曰名。墨家爲清廟之守。周則宗伯掌之。宗伯所司。以禮爲主。禮莫重於祭祀。故曰國之大事。在祀與戎。墨子尊天事鬼。非達於禮者乎。又其書有非攻篇。備城門以下。詳言戰守之法。徵之周禮。小祝有寇戎之事。則保郊祀於社。先鄭作注。謂保守郊祭諸祀。及社。無令寇犯之。則其以非攻爲說。本祝史典禮之義也。名家出於禮官。禮所以明貴賤。別上下。定是非。今若鄧析也。尹文也。其書則在正名辨物矣。雖公孫龍之白馬非馬。堅白石三。或不免辭勝於理。然彼特惡名稱之淆亂耳。豈悖於禮哉。其原於春秋者。則曰法。春秋以道名分。爲聖人之刑書。故孟子曰。孔子成春秋。而亂臣賊子懼。法家循名責實。崇上抑下。韓非子以有功當賞。有罪當罰。爲治國之要。又以愛臣貴臣。謂爲衰亡之徵。斯直春秋誅亂賊之意也。往讀史至十二諸侯年表。歷敘春秋之學。自左氏而下。并及韓非。及觀非書。所論春秋時事。其文辭均與左傳同。以此可見非師荀子。能上接邱明之傳。而法家之原於春秋。益可信矣。諸子之原於經者如此。善乎班孟堅之言曰。合其要歸。皆六經之支與流裔。蓋明示人以諸子之業。各推所長。以明其指。未有不原始於經者也。不此之察。竭力舐排之。曰吾以尊經也。可不謂僞乎。文集之稱。始於曹魏。子桓有云。頃撰其遺文。都爲一集。此其緣起也。東京以前。則未有其名矣。不觀范史乎。列傳之中。其人有造述者。咸舉所著碑箴頌誄。標其篇題。不言集若干卷。是可悟矣。然自蔚宗創立文苑。而後之文人。仰希乎名山之盛業。莫不飛藻騁翰。冀附於作者之林。及探其立言之指。則茫然也。誠有如梁簡文所歎。煙墨不言。受其驅染。紙扎無情。任其搖裂者矣。聞之韓愈爲儒家。杜牧爲兵家。柳宗元爲名家。王安石爲法家。蘇洵爲縱橫家。世之論文者。類

能道之。此數賢者，不幾自成一子哉？夫言乎其原，諸子卽古之專集也。不然，荀子何以有賦篇，董子何以有山川頌乎？隋經籍志載楚蘭陵令荀况集一卷，漢膠西相董仲舒集一卷，其書今不存。由吾論之，未必於新書繁露而外，足以登之集部者，當卽從子部篇籍爲之別裁耳。文選自序云：老莊之作，管孟之流，蓋以立意爲宗，不以能文爲本。今之所撰，又以略諸昭明去取謹嚴，此固言其不載諸子，搜采之審慎矣。然而賈生錄其過秦，子雲錄其解嘲，誼與雄則儒家也。復有東方朔答客難，鄒陽上吳王書，彼二氏者，不一爲雜家。一爲從衡家乎？吾亦不敢輕加掎摭也。世之紛紛稱集，欲以傳世而行遠者，亦知上窮其原，果能指趣純正，與諸子不甚相殊也。苟明乎此，所有酬應牽率之作，決科俳優之篇，夫然而芟夷務盡，不復入之集中，庶幾體裁精粹，足爲一家言矣。問者曰：蕭氏以還，總集繁富，擬之諸子，則又何如？答之曰：是蓋原於雜家者也。雜家兼儒墨，合名法，無乎不貫，非駁雜之謂也。呂覽淮南，包綜百家，而仍能秉道以進退之。擊虞孔道諸賢，未必具雜家之所長。然其宏覽博收，則根原於是矣。且也文體備於諸子，孫卿成相，詞典之初祖也。韓子儲說，連珠之所肇也。莊生齊物，以論爲名。其論說之濫觴乎？張儀檄楚，書以尺二，其檄移之權輿乎？孟子說大人章，疊言我得志不爲，枚乘七發，有所仿矣。而或以問齊王之大欲，歷舉輕暖肥甘，聲音采色，爲七林之所啓，非也。如是則爲文辭者，箴誄以原乎經，傳贊以原乎史，其餘則取法諸子者爲多。凡事必究其原，集部之與諸子，乃歧而二之，宜乎文無家法，而集之日出，而未有窮期也。嗚呼！中國四部之書，至今日而若存若亡，將在無足重輕之列矣。慨自異說盛興，爲之士者，擯棄吾國舊有之學，所

書者。唯佞盧左行之文。所習者。爲鮮卑通解之語。於是經可束閣。史可掛壁。更復造爲文字。苟趨簡易。出其詩歌。則以諺言之。將古人文集。皆可屏而不觀。獨於諸子。尙有研閱之者。然便辭巧說。一任我之所爲。而牽合傳會之。是其於諸子也。豈真能章明其學說哉。有好古者。羅列四部。置諸一室之中。晨夕欣賞。不可謂非篤守之儒矣。其究也不過宋刻元槧。侈奇炫富。以供插架之美觀。雖比之玩生表志可也。夫書不善讀。徒矜其充箱照軫。又何益於身心哉。然而中國之大。豈無博覽多識者乎。吾聞叢刊既出。天下爭先購求。近又有搜羅要籍。彙爲四部。將以付之殺青。人且如景星慶雲。並謀快睹者。則是中國學術。乃轉衰爲盛之絕大幸事也。異日者。釋經則深通義據。攷史則諳練掌故。子集兩者。亦能條晰其流別。鴻彥響臻。余甚願拭目竢之。願學術之大患。患乎逐末而忘其原。余故爲此闡原之說。以告夫世之愛讀四部書者。



論 說 二

禮經纂疏序

曹元弼

粵若稽古周文公攝政踐阼。誕保文武受命。大平德洽。郊祀后稷以配天。宗祀文王以配上帝。立萬世人倫之極。朝諸侯於明堂。制禮作樂。頒度量。上承天明。下則地義。中理人情。監於二代。損益制中。經禮三百。曲禮三千。事爲之制。曲爲之防。以正君臣。以篤父子。以睦兄弟。以和夫婦。以設制度。以養生送死。以事鬼神上帝。吉凶賓軍嘉以經之。冠昏喪祭朝聘射鄉以緯之。自大經大法。以至一名一物。莫不加聖心焉。於是尊親之義。達於四海。孝友睦婣任恤。比戶可封。災害不生。禍亂不作。成王康王率由其道。囹圄空虛。四十餘年。後王稍更陵遲。夷身失禮。至厲大壞。故孔子曰。吾觀周道。幽厲傷之。然而東遷之難。諸侯同日興師。以扞王艱。平桓以降。齊桓晉文既賢。尙挾天子以令諸侯。天下莫敢窺守府者。豈非逆順之勢。率土皆知。裂冠毀冕。衆所不容。禮教之所維繫者。大且遠哉。迨五伯之末。上無天子。下無方伯。人綱絕紐。大經將墜。上天不忍斯人之淪於禽獸也。於是篤生大聖孔子於秉禮之國。爲萬世制作禮樂。孔子以天縱之德。生而知之。嬉戲卽設禮容。從心所欲不踰矩。適周問禮。教弟子雅言執禮。思以周公之道。易春秋之天下。至形夢寐。嘗曰。周監於二代。郁郁乎文哉。吾從周。又曰。吾其爲東周乎。天下旣莫能用。乃親定禮樂。昭示

來世贊周易。刪詩書與禮相表裏。作春秋。祖述堯舜。憲章文武。據魯史成文。立素王之法。約之以禮。作孝經以明禮之始。稱聖人之德。無以加於孝。舉周公之事以明之。蓋先聖後聖。其揆一也。伏羲神農黃帝堯舜禹湯文武之道。至周公制禮而大備。周公之禮教。至孔子而垂法無窮。孔子既經論禮經。極言其義。天下復知有君臣父子之綱。仁義忠信之道。天經地義。民行昭昭乎。若日月之光明。燎燎乎。如星辰之錯行。卜子子夏親受聖旨。爲喪服經作傳。曾子有子。子言子諸賢。相與論撰微言大義。傳諸其人。子思子述聖祖之德。明中和之爲用。立坊表之常經。七十子後學之徒。各記所聞。變禮逸文。補二禮闕遺。以光贊大道。雖當諸侯去籍之日。道墨名法異端並起之時。而服儒服。行儒行。則古昔稱先王。敘彝倫。一制度。近聖人之居者。以時講禮。鄉飲大射於夫子冢。延及孟子孫卿。正人心。明王道。立言爲百世法。禮之大綱。不墜於地。秦政滔天不道。絕滅聖典。特疾惡禮書。搜求焚燒之殆盡。勢至暴也。然而伏生浮邱伯叔孫通之徒。傳授弟子不絕。著書述遠代禮文甚詳。陳涉之王也。魯諸儒持孔氏禮器往歸之。孔甲爲涉博士。卒與俱死。項籍既亡。漢高帝舉兵圍魯。魯中諸儒。尙講誦習禮樂。絃歌之音不絕。於是高帝以爲守節禮義之國。於戲。聖人之禮教。深入人心。乃至於此乎。漢興高堂生傳禮十七篇。蓋當時士大夫通習之禮。而古文禮五十六篇。及記百三十一篇。出孔子壁中。及河間獻王所得。其十七篇經。與高堂生所傳同。而字多異。其十七篇外。多三十九篇。所見多天子諸侯卿大夫之制。獻王又得周官五篇。缺事官。以考工記足之。周官後出者。六典本天子所乘。以治天下。諸侯不得用。不在樂正四術之內。孔子問禮之後。儒者始得聞。然後學或

未通習。故今禮記雖兼記經曲。而除雜記贊大行朝事儀述典命諸職外。皆說威儀三千爲多。蓋焚坑之後。其傳泯焉。尙有孤本出於山巖屋壁。則天之未喪斯文也。古文禮記及周官初出。禮家蓋未有傳之者。高堂生之業。歷蕭奮孟卿至后蒼。當孝宣世最明。校書曲臺。傳古禮十七篇。與其本業相似者。然仍以今文爲主。餘三十九篇。以絕無師說。付書館。名爲逸禮。又傳記百三十一篇。益以明堂陰陽記三十三篇。孔子三朝記七篇。與自著曲臺記九篇。共百八十篇。爲后氏學。疑皆篇以今文以授大戴延君。小戴次君。二戴經文。篇次不同。互有脩短。而皆未得其本。大戴刪后氏記爲八十五篇。名大戴禮。小戴又刪大戴禮爲四十六篇。名小戴禮。大戴又著喪服變除。小戴以博士論石渠。今其遺說尙可攷見。禮學之興。於是爲盛。小戴授橋仁季卿。著禮記章句四十九卷。號曰橋君學。先儒以爲益以明堂陰陽記之月令明堂位二篇。及樂記也。於時后氏戴氏之經。立於學官。孝成時。達才通人劉子政。校中古文。條錄十七篇。目次尊卑吉凶倫敘。及其子歆。孝哀時。欲建立逸禮周官。名儒龔勝師丹皆非之。蓋西京儒者。保殘守闕。不敢出入師法。抑亦以振興禮教。歆非其人與。自高堂生以後。二百餘年。傳學至今存者。授受源流如此。外又有慶氏學。當時與二戴並顯。其餘名德大儒。兼通五經者。若賈誼董仲舒王吉之倫。皆議制禮作樂。以化天下。著書立言。有功禮道云。王莽之亂。禮樂分崩。聖文殘落。光武中興。愛好經術。立博士。各以家法教授。禮用大小戴。又修起大學。建三雍。明帝卽位。親行其禮。應經義。式古典。又令天下誦孝經。章帝大會諸儒於白虎觀。考詳五經同異。命史臣班固。著爲通義。皆先王之法言。禮師之典訓。又詔高才生受古學。廣業甄微。崇化厲賢。

東漢士大夫敦氣節重禮義其風世篤蓋由於此於時英儒瞻聞之士務欲興滅繼絕故周官自杜子春通讀後鄭大夫司農及賈侍中咸遵其業而潤色之作爲解詁而二戴之禮爲博士之業傳授不絕然未有顯於儒林者後世薄於藝文敦學之道寢衰學者章句漸疏多以浮華相尙黨禁之世賤儒或私行金貨定蘭臺奏書經字以合其私文各經皆譌雜而禮尤甚是以熹平四年立大學石經正五經文字時通儒盧君子幹上書言今之禮記特多回穴欲考其失得刊正碑文卒不果行夫以聖道之深若彼歷年之久如此科斗篆隸轉寫失真發疑正讀差忒難免經師各立其義學徒務習其師推士禮以致天子執常法以議變禮縱令博學洽聞不能無誤是以鄉飲燕禮之服皮弁與朝服雜糅東房西室之文宗廟與居室不別大宗可絕聞人之議乖長子五世季長之解誤以及三虞卒哭之異說折俎胙俎之殊文聚訟紛紜不可勝數又况守文之徒滯固所稟不務尋求其理徒繁其章條穿求崖穴以合一家之說非所謂章句小儒破碎大道者耶且天下之生久矣一治一亂漢重經術實事求是民得離於戰國之苦者四百年炎運旣衰天下將有處士橫議四夷割據之憂不有亞聖命世之儒出而刊正聖典揆敘人倫文武之道將誰屬乎夫子在天之靈知非其入之道不虛行也乃於近聖人之居生先師鄭君康成鄭君好學實懷明德造次顛沛非禮不動初從東郡張師受周官禮記與盧君相善從馬融參攷同異鄭但與融考論同異非融弟子詳闕所爲鄭君非馬融弟子考遭時否塞隱修經業守死善道盛德之容至使黃巾望而皆拜作六經注義窮理盡性而三禮之學尤集大成卽以十七篇注論今文古文各求其是二戴別錄必從其長本周禮以提其綱引戴記

以闡其義。參之易書詩春秋論語孝經。以觀其會通。考訓詁。摭祕逸。轉相證明。發一義而全經貫。起一例而衆篇明。吉凶常變。各止其科。辭所不及。通之以指。辨傳記之譌。正舊讀之失。案圖立文。舉今曉古。若網在綱。如晦見明。其正人倫也。唯君專惠。詳於燕禮之篇。臣無作威。著於鄉射之記。明正體之重。而尊禩之義彰。推高祖之服。而正本之道著。於繼父同居。達從一之本意。於他邦加等。顯大功之自親。略舉一端。餘可隅反。古昔聖人。所以辨君臣上下長幼之位。別男女父子兄弟之親者。無不昭然備見。仁之至。義之盡。深而通。約而明。故范武子以爲仲尼之門。不能過也。特是鄭君於易書詩春秋。皆先通今文。後注古文。於禮亦本習小戴之學。後不專注古文者。以盧子幹等皆治小戴。小戴學既最精。而古文自前世以來。傳其書。未有名家。不敢以一己之見。盡改先儒之舊。故但參取二本。擇善而從。鄭注存。卽今古文皆存。然則禮之兼注古文。實自鄭君創通大義也。於是鄭氏三禮各經之學。爲天下儒者宗。魏有亂人王肅者。妄思奪而易之。僞造家語孔叢子。據之作聖證論。以難鄭。夫君子有三畏。畏聖人之言。小人侮聖人之言。肅不難於侮孔子。何有於鄭君哉。幸當時去鄭未遠。馬昭之等。辭而闢之。聖道不至爲邪說所亂。嗣有干令升注周禮。雷次宗注喪服。孫叔然注禮記。雖別立注。要皆以鄭義爲宗。其爲義疏者。禮經有黃慶李孟恚二家。禮記有賀循賀瑒庾蔚之崔靈恩沈重范宣皇侃徐遵明李業興李寶鼎侯聰熊安生等。又有李軌劉昌宗徐邈射慈以下諸人。作三禮音。當時南國清談。墮壞名教。北郊戎馬。蕩覆典文。人臣反顏事讎。習爲故事。文章綺靡。階厲淫昏。三綱淪。九法斁矣。而守道諸君子。說經鏗鏗。風雨如晦。雞鳴不已。以縣絕學於一

綫其餘儒者議禮之文亦根據經注酌理準情足爲典要先儒謂魏晉以後天下大亂而聖人之道不絕唯鄭氏禮學是賴豈不信哉唐儒承六朝義疏之學陸氏德明撰經典釋文三禮以鄭爲主孔氏穎達奉勅撰五經正義禮記據皇熊爲本賈氏公彥撰周禮儀禮疏儀禮據黃李爲本又旁摭各家貫穿經傳鄭學之徒遺言與義多賴以存雖不免小有乖違而發揮旁通言富理博後有作者監儀在時非可輕議也特正義以禮記配易書詩春秋爲五經而禮之本經反居後唐制以禮記爲大經儀禮爲中經經記分習始變后氏以來治經舊法是以禮經傳習者少賈氏之疏譌舛日滋唐人實貴文章薄於經術孔賈以後禮學名儒未有著者唯杜氏佑作通典蒼萃歷代禮制漢儒佚說六朝禮議學者取則焉又開成二年石刻九經至今存關中校勘家奉爲高曾規矩儀禮十七篇尤賴以見古今之遺五季之衰民彝泯亂儒者之風或幾乎息宋初聶氏崇義作三禮圖據舊圖爲本考正疑譌申釋隱滯猶近唐儒精實之學景德元年呂蒙正等上邢昺孫奭等所校定儀禮疏其書見於今爲疏本之最古者其後儒臣多敦崇古學橫遭儉人王安石變亂舊制廢罷儀禮非聖無法天下憤之南渡後張氏淳據當時所存各本校嚴州所刊儀禮經注作識誤有功此經而朱文公以上賢純德紹鄭君於百世之上知治天下之必本於禮而儀禮爲禮之本經周官其綱領禮記乃其義疏深忿安石遺本宗末博士諸生於儀法度數之實咸幽冥而莫知其源上疏乞修三禮不果行晚乃與弟子編儀禮經傳通解取十七篇經文分章附記全錄鄭注節引賈疏經所不具以記補之別立門目以類相從凡各經傳記史志有及於禮者靡不畢載自定家鄉學邦國

王朝諸禮。而以喪祭二禮屬弟子黃氏幹。黃氏成喪禮。於祭禮未及精專修改。復以其書授弟子楊氏復。楊氏別成祭禮通解。蓋禮書若此之難也。文公弟子。又有李氏如圭。與修通解。別撰儀禮集釋。闡發亦多。自文公作通解後。鄭氏禮學復興。文公嘗稱鄭注三禮大有功。歎爲大儒。又於宋孝宗之喪。得鄭注天子諸侯之喪。皆斬衰無期一條。深服鄭君。以爲其說足以補經定制。蓋高密紫陽。易地則皆然。嗣有岳氏珂。刊三禮鄭注。魏氏了翁撰九經要義。儀禮疏卽據景德本。字間有異。元明之際。經術荒蕪。學者名宗文公。而於文公所深信篤好之禮經。束之不讀。妄人敖繼公。襲王肅故智。務與鄭立異。或隱竊疏義而小變之。卽成巨謬。改竄經文。以就其私。郝敬繼之。重慳地謬。狂妄之極。至於詆經。當時無有能正言力辨之者。蓋聖經雖存若亡矣。夫六經同歸。其指在禮。禮者天地之經緯。民之所以生也。書曰天敘有典。天秩有禮。傳曰民受天地之中以生。所謂命也。是以有動作禮義威儀之則。以定命也。聖人承天之道。因人之情。而爲之節文。作爲父子君臣。以爲紀綱。教之孝弟忠順睦友。子愛習之。進退容止。觀之揖讓酬酢。範之服物采章。使尊卑上下外內。粲然有文。以相接。驩然有恩。以相愛。放心邪氣。不使得接。臻仁壽而去鄙天。天地位。萬物育。故曰安上治民。莫善於禮。孝經言禮者三章。論語言禮者四十餘章。自視聽言動。與凡事親教子。事君使臣。使民爲國。莫不以禮。其所謂禮。皆指周公所制曲禮正篇也。王制曰六禮冠昏喪祭鄉相見。經解曰朝覲之禮。所以明君臣之義也。聘問之禮。所以使諸侯相尊敬也。喪祭之禮。所以明臣子之恩也。鄉飲酒之禮。所以明長幼之序也。昏姻之禮。所以明男女之別也。今十七篇。雖於先聖所定。才十之一。而諸

禮具在其中。則先王所以綱紀人倫。使人日徙善遠罪者。猶可舉而措之也。夫禮禁亂之所由生。猶坊止水之所自來。以舊坊爲無所用而壞之者。必有水敗。以舊禮爲無所用而去之者。必有亂患。壞國喪家亡人。必先去其禮。末世棄舊禮不用。至於賊民興而蠹害之。舉其所以通者而充塞之。而莫知其非。何怪乎事無其治。動失其宜。刑肅俗敝。民無所措手足哉。聖清龍興。承天建極。列聖道德純備。同符堯舜。周孔。聖學所指。海內嚮風。御纂。欽定諸經。兼收自漢以來經義。而三禮以鄭氏康成。冠百代師儒之首。褒而不名。伏讀。高宗純皇帝御案。表章鄭氏羽翼聖經之功至矣。古經晦於千載。而明於我朝。先賢不得行道於當日。而論定於百世。聖人於是四方好學樂道之士。莫不鑽研經術。誦法注疏。詁釋聖言。精發古義。禮經自張氏爾岐。創通大義。後婺源大儒江氏永繼之。作禮書綱目。成朱文公之志。又作儀禮釋宮增注。儀禮釋例。弟子達者。戴氏震。金氏榜。戴氏校。儀禮識誤。儀禮集釋。武英殿刊板行世。又爲學禮篇。未成。以其學授段氏玉裁。孔氏廣森。段氏以六書聲音訓詁。攷儀禮漢讀。未成。後胡氏承珙。作儀禮古今文疏義。足以補之。孔氏作禮學卮言。金氏著禮箋九篇。以授張氏惠言。張氏作儀禮圖。詳審精密。勝於宋楊氏書。凌氏廷堪。承江戴之學。作禮經釋例。以言禮之節文等殺。作復禮三篇。闡明禮教。以授胡氏培翬。胡氏本承其祖匡衷之學。又從凌氏問。爲學深通洽熟。作儀禮正義。其餘專精此經之儒。吳中有沈氏彤。作儀禮小疏。江氏筠。作讀儀禮私記。說多精確。褚氏寅亮。作儀禮管見。斥繼公敬邪說。尤爲有功。其爲校勘者。盧氏文弼。有儀禮詳校。金氏曰。追有儀禮經注疏正譌。而阮氏元。徧校十三經注疏。於儀禮

尤詳。集諸本異同。以唐石經宋嚴州本注景德本疏為主。又有黃氏丕烈影刊嚴本經注。張氏敦仁合嚴本景德本刊注疏。景德本缺卷。依要義補編。汪氏士鍾影刊景德疏。顧氏廣圻為之讎校。皆有功此經者也。夫此經自宋末以後。晦盲否塞。三百餘年矣。而國朝諸儒。闡明絕學。如此其博且精。非聖治之盛而能然與。綜核諸家校勘。以阮氏為宗。解誼以胡氏為備。二家之業。集羣儒之大成。視唐陸氏釋文賈氏疏。非但無不及而已。第張氏江氏以來。雖皆推尊鄭學。而一二異同。時所不免。三復思之。皆不如鄭義之當。近百數十年間。有金氏鶚等。博聞強識。而好變亂是非。繁稱博引。多非其本。穿鑿附會。不可究詰。充其類。必至盡改古義。人用其私。使天下學者。日馳騁於巧說衰辭。而不暇致力於身心倫物之間。忠厚敬文之道。考據至此。不可復問。未始非先儒不能拔本塞源大為之坊之過也。元弼躬逢聖世。生長儒門。幼及見先祖考雲洲公。公博稽六藝。藏書極富。年七十餘。猶明誦經傳。承及至今。鄉里誦德不衰。四歲教之方名。既卒業。家大人授以聖經賢傳。課讀甚嚴。先妣倪太恭人。以仁孝恭儉。淑德懿行。著于宗族鄉黨。事詳行述及北堂立言記。佐家大人示以禮法。稍長。從兩昆後。不令有燕朋昵友。年十一。從舅氏倪先生濤學。先生教以多讀經史。詳為指示。勗以古大儒之業。年十三。受知於座主督學瑞安黃先生體芳。時先生以經學提倡江南。示諸生以通經致用之方。元弼得聞緒論。日將經文尋誦。不敢廢倦。年十五。讀毛詩注疏。大好之。日夜研求。幾忘寢食。以餘力略涉各經注疏。見儀禮經文。古懋淵懿。向所未習。慕而讀之。似有所會。潛與讀詩所得合記之。是時私心已向往鄭學。讀後漢書鄭君傳。想見其為人。不勝悠然千載之

情。嗣見陳氏毛詩稽古編及惠氏易江氏孫氏書孔氏公羊江氏凌氏禮段氏說文郝氏爾雅之學。粗明各經師法。而專力在詩。十六家大人授以陳氏免毛詩傳疏。謹受而讀之。見其舍箋疏傳於文字聲音訓詁詳矣。而言禮多與鄭異。疑其說之不合於經。非毛公本意也。取鄭箋孔正義反覆求之。竊思鄭君以禮箋詩。必專精三禮。乃能通箋。以三禮之中。儀禮爲本。又用力差多。乃取十七篇經注。熟讀深思。詳釋疏義。疏文脫譌不可讀。則求之校勘記所載各本。又不得。則就其原文。旁推互勘。以義讀正。日有常課。以餘力讀周禮疏禮記正義。其年黃先生選拔以備貢士。因謁先生。先生勗以學問經濟氣節。責以名臣之學。有體有用。因益深自奮於學。十七問學於定海黃先生。以周又得交婁君子張氏錫恭。論禮甚相得。以學行交勉。歸就吳名儒管氏禮耕質諸疑義。多有所授。於時校讀禮經。時有闡發。而疑難百出。憤悻相尋。先太恭人授以胡氏正義。受讀之下。積疑多釋。中心好之。乃取賈氏疏與正義互相參證。日有所得。誦讀考辨。每至中夜。嚴寒盛暑。未嘗廢離。竊以胡氏之書。融會全經。旁通午貫。參稽衆說。擇精語詳。自訓故名物。儀節器數。微言大義。以及傳記之參錯。同事相違。注義之深微。言不盡意。莫不廣尋道意。條貫科分。其盡思窮神之處。實能洞見本原。不墜周公之遺法。自國初以來。禮學之業。未有盛於先生者也。惜士昏鄉飲。鄉射燕大射五篇。未及寫定。弟子楊大培。取其叢殘之稿。率爾付刊。脫爛錯誤。至不可讀。又多引謬說而無案語。蓋先生未及辨正者也。弼初欲取五篇正義。理而董之。使就繩墨。繼以先生之例。有未可盡遵者。蓋先生之疏。以鄭義爲宗。而旁采各家。以解經誼。於後儒說之異於鄭。而義似可從者。附錄之。謂

之附注。於鄭義之深遠難見。覽文如詭者。或以爲違失而訂之。謂之訂注。夫注本以解經。治經爲經也。非爲注也。苟後人之說果是。鄭君之說果未是。何必唯鄭之從。且從善服義者。君子之心也。屈經以就傳。學者之惑也。鄭君之意。在經義之明。不在己說之申。苟其說果有未合於經者。方深望後人之彌縫其闕。而匡救其違。又何必反爲之曲護。然今就先生所訂所附。一一考之。多與經不合。附旣不必附。而訂又非所訂。尤可見者。喪服爲人後之禮。持重於大宗者。降其小宗。小宗有四。經舉父宗有定者以爲例。而此外凡屬小宗者。皆可準之爲服。鄭於姊妹適人下。補姑服以舉一隅。使經文降等。若子兩服不相互之旨。豁然而解。可謂抉經之心。而先生從繼公之說。謂除經所見一體之外。悉以所後親疏爲服。斯降其小宗之義。不可通矣。舉此一端。餘可推見。蓋鄭君時去古未遠。師傳未失。邪說未興。先秦傳記。曲臺石渠。劉氏五經通義。許君異義。盧氏三禮解詁等書。完然具存。足以取證。而又重之以上哲之姿。純賢之德。博極淵深之學。沈靜精妙之思。神與古會。心與道一。宜其囊括大典。網羅衆家。刪裁繁誣。刊改漏失。無一字一句。不得乎先聖之元意也。以胡氏之學。而猶未盡得其所。以然。大哉淵乎。未易窺測已。胡氏又多采繼公敬兩妄人說。而引賈疏特少。夫賈氏之書。誠不能無誤。然以彌觀之。誤者十之二。不誤者猶十之八。皆平實精確。得經注本意。蓋承爲鄭學者相傳古義。非賈氏一人之私言也。特唐中葉後。治此經者鮮。故其文衍脫誤錯。多非其舊。學者當依文剖裂。以雪其誣。不得遂以爲非。李氏如圭張氏爾岐。取其文而刪節之。飲水思源。義固猶賈義也。至繼公敬則離經叛道。喪心病狂。其是者皆隱竊注疏之義。其非者至於改經詆經。而

無忌憚。學者所當鳴鼓而攻。屏之不齒。不得反有取焉。以此而論。胡氏之書。盡美矣。未盡善也。於是竊取鄭君讚辨二鄭之義。有重疏禮經之志。然未敢遽作也。仍取疏正義反覆推求。條錄所得。積二年得若干條。爲儀禮正義訂誤。又從管氏禮耕段張氏敦仁所刊注疏本。其書阮氏以配十三經注疏。而阮本與此又有小異。張多得之。實此經注疏本之最善者。據以爲本。正其一二譌文。合前所讀正錄之爲儀禮注疏後校。於是專治禮經三年矣。校賈疏之譌。十得七八。正胡氏所引諸家之誤。十得五六。確然知鄭注之萬不可易。而自量竭畢生之力。尙足以發明之。乃於光緒十三年丁亥二月初吉。定禮疏條例。依鄭注。解經文。據賈氏胡氏爲本。備載其是。刊去其非。隱惡揚善。增簡削繁。屏絕肅繼公敬邪說。以正人心。閑聖道。自周官二戴易書詩春秋三傳國語論語孝經孟子荀子爾雅說文鄭志禘祫議。以及毖緯逸書周秦兩漢至唐以前古籍列代禮書禮樂志通典玉海等篤實可據之書。有涉此經一字一義。爲賈氏胡氏所未及引者。搜輯靡遺。以經證經。以注證注。補凌氏之例。正張氏之圖。博采通人。稽譌其說。於經之正例變例。注之曲達經意。迥異俗說之處。精思而詳辨之。一器物陳設。一行禮節次。必推求其義。以合乎人心之所同。然由訓詁名物。以達聖人作述之原。所以治人七情。修十義。講信修睦。尙辭讓。去爭奪。以天下爲一家。中國爲一人之故。俾學者知禮之所尊。尊其義。帝王質文。世有損益。而尊尊親親長長男女有別。不可得與民變革。爲之人也。舍之禽獸也。真積力久。以行其義。則始乎爲士。終乎爲聖人。修身及家。平均天下之道。一以貫之也。大意既定。乃先爲十七篇釋疑。備引各家之說。別其是非。爲禮疏長編。以喪服一篇。五禮之

本聖人精義之學。彙倫攸紘。於是乎在。賈胡疏義。亦最精詳。首從事焉。於是沈研鑽極。積精覃思。詳考博辨。兼及後世變禮。宵則莊誦各篇經注。誦之既久。恍然如見。當日升降獻酬之儀。惻然自動。其孝敬子良之心。依注義求經文。不啻周公孔子臨上質旁耳。提而面命之。卓爾如有所立。確乎可以持循。乃益知禮之協於天地之性。而爲斯人所固有。不可斯須去身也。如是者一期有半。而先太恭人抱恙。輟禮疏業。不意侍奉無狀。天降鞠凶。又越一年餘。太恭人竟棄養。苦塊餘生。心摧氣絕。日征月邁。及將再葺。乃於讀祭禮外。粗理舊稿。竊念儀禮正義。爲太恭人手澤所存。元弼歷年考正。粗有端緒。謹取往時後校訂誤及釋疑未成稿。合而編之。補其闕漏。刊其乖違。勒成一書。名爲禮經校釋。寫成清本。以呈家君。家君以爲近得其正。命授梓人。以質當世。達於禮者。又與兩昆詳論可否。無所疑滯。乃鈐諸板。元弼嘗於先聖前自誓。願爲禮疏。孝經纂疏。歷代經儒法則篇三書。闡明聖道於萬一。以孝經者制作禮樂仁之本。子曰先王有至德要道。以順天下。至德孝弟也。要道禮樂也。古之君子。盡愛敬於事親。而後推以及人。言思可道。行思可樂。德義可尊。作事可法。容止可觀。進退可度。以臨其民。是以其民畏而愛之。則而象之。謂之有禮。後儒不務躬行。孝弟之道。淺薄。禮俗日壞。記問之學。不足以爲人師。故撰集前言往行。輔翼聖經。三書者。殊途而同歸。而禮疏尤繁密。今校釋已刊。將專心纂輯禮疏。博學詳說。以反說約。務於國家化民成俗之道。學者修身克己之功。實有小補。不敢說不急之言。以炫奇矜博。欺世盜名。元弼之於禮。沒身而已矣。禮經校釋。始於光緒九年。成於十七年。十有一月。禮經纂疏。始於十三年二月。其成與否。則先聖先

師在天之靈實主之。非小子之所敢知也。

論說二 禮經纂疏序



論說三

章氏遺書序

張爾田

實齋先生著述宏富。易簣時以全稿屬蕭山王穀陸編定。今所行世文史通義。校讎通義。蓋不及全稿三分之一。且多其子姓丐人竄改。識者病之。吳興劉翰怡京卿。得嘉興沈寐叟丈。暨王雪澄廉訪所藏先生原稿。則穀陸所編次皆在焉。又益以未刻諸書。鳩緝最錄。合若干種。若干卷。於是先生之學。賅備。殺青可繕寫。以序命余。余曰。此夙昔之志也。書既成。序之曰。宙合之學之肇也。因夫恆幹。皆有所藉。瞿曇氏觀。二因緣而悟道。海彼之學。純籀物質。邦學而無藉也。如其有。則非史不足當之。人之一生。曰始曰壯曰究。人類之一期亦然。彼其古今成敗禍福存亡之迹。與夫蕃變之所由。然苟無史焉。雖聖者無所麗其思。而一切道術。且將不立。史也者。彰往而察來者也。老之術。葆之於始孩。孔之術。贍之於既壯。而皆所以坊其究。究則聖者不忍言矣。故六藝大原。厥維史。諸子立言。雖其精粗本末不同。而皆籀於史。自劉向氏後。經籍道熄。綴學溝猶。以自爲方。晉泊於玄。宋明以來。蒞於理。乾嘉間。休寧高郵諸儒起。始稍稍窺於遺經。然而一出焉。一入焉。恆幹之亡。已伏於茲。儒者智不足以知聖。其於六籍之原。匪特不敢言。抑且不能言。則相與正訓詁。明音韻。考名物。覈度數。曰吾且爲之郵焉。及其蔽也。棄本逐末。至視前經往誥。與商之龜甲。

文周之毛公鼎散盤秦漢之瓦當曾無以異暖姝相循。汔今若絕而未遽絕者恃好古之一念。僅以維繫於人心也。一旦好古之念去而人之禍亟矣。先生當舉世溺於訓詁音韻名物度數之時。已慮恆幹之將亡。獨昌言六藝皆史之誼。又推其說施之於一切立言之書。而條其義例。比於子政辯章舊聞。一人而已。然而世之宗休寧高郵者。其議先生也。且百端。吾則以爲先生之召世疾也。蓋有五焉。何則。爲休寧高郵之學者。憑據左驗。得一孤證。即可間執承學之口。而不必問其全書宗旨之如何。不通則引申假借以說之。又不通則錯簡衍文以遷就之。爲先生之學。則每立一例。必穿穴羣籍。總百氏之所擇。而我乃從而管之。故爲先生之學也拙。而爲休寧高郵之學也巧。人情憇巧而惡拙。一也。爲休寧高郵之學者。勞於目治。逸於心獲。但使有古類書字學書數十種。左右鈎稽。一日可以得三四條。爲先生之學。則其立義也。探賾甄微。徬徨四顧。有參考數年而始得者。亦有參考數十年而始得者。及其得也。適如人所欲言。則人之視之也。亦與常等矣。故爲先生之學也難。而爲休寧高郵之學也易。人情趨易而避難。二也。爲休寧高郵之學者。嚴絕勦說。故必引据成文。往見時賢解經之書。王伯申說。段茂堂說。開卷爛然。非是則人以爲陋。爲先生之學則不然。有隳括成文者焉。亦不必隳括成文者焉。同不是。異不非。惟義之與比。放諸四海而準。公諸四達之衢。而人不能竊。故爲先生之學也約。而爲休寧高郵之學也博。人情尙博而鄙約。三也。爲休寧高郵之學者。意主疏通以求是。解一名。詳一訓。雖繁殺殊科。而其義也。皆有所底。爲先生之學。則規渠誠設。其用無乎不在。有略引其端。以俟好學深思之自反者。有泛稱廣譬。驗之造述。而後確者。雖復節

目有疏落。援考有舛繆。而正無害其大體。故爲先生之學也。虛而爲休寧高郵之學也。實。人情畏虛而夸實。四也。抑又有其可異者。爲休寧高郵之學者。以墨守爲宗。再傳而後。疲精許鄭。至甘以大義微言。拱而讓之。宋儒佞程朱者。憚其不我抵牾也。則往往援之以自重。爲先生之學。則務矯世趨。羣生殺列。必尋其原。而遂之於大道。雖以舉世所鄙棄之鄭漁仲。舉世所訾毀之象山陽明。先生揚摧所及。亦且時時稱道焉。先生以不黨救黨。而守門戶者。以爲黨。先生以不表治表。而味別識者。以爲表。故爲先生之學也。逆風會。而爲休寧高郵之學也。順風會。逆則不樂從。而順則人人皆驚之。五也。五者浸以成俗。則先生之書之不大顯於時也。固其宜矣。雖然。學之爲術。有統有宗。必倫必脊。或治其分。或攬其總。雖相迕而實相濟。譬則振裘然。先生絜其領。而休寧高郵諸儒。則理其氄。爲先生之學。而不以休寧高郵精密徵實之術佐之。憑臆膚受。其病且與便詞巧說者。相去不能以寸。爲休寧高郵之學者。苟無先生。則經藝大原。學之恆幹。必至盡亡。始也以古爲菑畚者。繼且敵之而薦芻狗。以芻狗爲學。則我宗邦之學。乃真可以拉雜而燒之矣。今者聖伏神徂。一二儒子。守見聞。槁項箝舌。日乞殘鉛蠹槩。以自潛。向之訓詁音韻名物度數之學。舉不足以堙斷流之禍。而先生之書。乃稍稍有好之者出焉。意者古哲人憂患前民之一縷。其將自先生而復歟。抑惟異欲聞。或借先生之說。摧陷舊藩。以爲秦火之導歟。宣尼悲麟出非時。反袂沾袍而傷道窮。吾今幸見先生之書之傳。雖憚也。而又不能無慰焉已。喪亂餘生。精神遐漂。不復欲以語言文字禍古人。感京卿繼絕之雅心。所蘊轡。聊復一書。



論說四

台莪兒自我擴大與赫爾褒茲自然征服論爭辯書後

敬 庵

瑞士哲學教授赫爾褒茲，在新蘇黎世日報發表批判印度台莪兒哲學論文（見東方雜誌十八卷十七號）中多中西文化爭論之端。赫氏著書，余所未見。台氏著書，僅見譯本。茲就赫氏新蘇黎世日報發表論文原有之意義，加以思辯，則東西文化調和為不可能，蓋非信論矣。

赫爾褒茲氏以文明要素是占有的權力，必須滴額上之汗，以征服自然，以滿足自己的生活，更必須勝過同類而排除之，以達較高之地位。文化是自然的克服，不是自然的同化。人所以能成為主人，能高出於自然經驗之上，而不受一切的支配，就在這一點。文化之起源亦在於茲，是完全以佔有的權力，克服自然，為西方文明的要素者也。

台莪兒氏以文化要素，是由於聯合的權力。此理想是基於人和宇宙全體的聯合。印度哲人以為人與自然中之神聯合一致，是人類最高之目標。最高之完成，是完全以聯合的權力，自我擴大，為東方文明的要素者也。

一以文化無一不建築自然科學基礎之上。一以文化無一不建築於自然立學之上。彼此非難。遂各趨於極端。赫氏之反對自然同化論曰。人類的主我。是宇宙大王所不能管領。這是完全自由的。上帝放棄人心支配權。思想者。文化佔有者。已從天真的亞當更進了一步。他已嘗偷嘗了智識之果。已從消極經驗的無意識。降服自然的樂園裏被攆了出去。所以不能安穩依靠自然。祇能流自己額上汗。去賺麵包。智慧麵包。亦復如是。所以祇有用佔有的權力。以代聯合的權力。因為聯合的權力。只在樂園有用。樂園中是無文化的。反言之。即文化的領域內。亦不會有樂園。此極端反對自我擴大論也。

台氏反對自然的克服論曰。古代希臘文化。是發展於牆壁之中。一切歐洲文化。都生長於磚石和堅壁所造搖牀之內。此一種牆壁。印入於人類的精神界。已根深蒂固。是以歐人有諺曰。分裂而征服之。其意思就是要保障各人利益。須各自築起壁壘而守衛之。西方文明要素。實純是佔有的權力。所以西方人但知崇拜勢力。彷彿世間一切都可用強力取得。此權力崇拜之文化。是極殘忍而無人道。此極端反對自然征服論也。

其爭論極端相反。實在希臘文化與印度文化根本不同。即希臘人主張自己造成人格。造成運命。而印度哲學。則主張自我擴大。以消滅於宇宙之中。因希臘與印度文化上有此根本之差異。乃對於現在歐洲文化的救濟方法。亦絕對不能相合。台氏信歐洲文化已陷於滅亡。非灌輸東方思想。印度與中國的思想。不足以資救濟。即由歐洲的推理科學。和印度的自然哲學聯合。歐洲便產生新文明佳果。赫氏則

引阿爾登堡氏之評論以反駁之。阿爾登堡謂印度哲學所述不外空想夢幻。凡玄想的思想家缺乏嚴格的科學所用精嚴之推理方法與文化全無影響。不能生出文化的佳果。赫氏更引佳爾氏之說曰。回反於希臘方是進步。此又赫氏與台氏東西文化調和可能不可能之極端爭論也。

雖然於此相異之爭而有一相同之點。即台氏所不滿足於現代西方之文明。謂已瀕於破產。在赫氏自身亦承認有茲缺陷。須覓一救濟之途徑。意復相同。台氏爾在德國打模時塔東方文化講演會。所演東西問題。其大意謂歐洲是一種有統系有組織之自私民族。祇有外部的物產生活。而無內部和協的精神生活。且妄自尊大。欲以西方之物質思想。征服東方精神生活。致使中國印度最高之文化。皆受西方物質武力之壓迫。務使東方文化與西方文明。所有相異之點。皆完全消滅。統一於西方物質文明之下。然後快意。此實為歐人共同所造之罪惡。又有為世界和平問題之討論。其大意略謂。歐人因欲滿足物質慾望。故以武力為後盾。盡力搶劫。此實為一種佔有本能之衝動。自大戰後主張維持世界和平。一為減少軍備。一為共同組織。然物質欲望不減少。佔有本能不改良。則搶劫之事。不能絕迹。世界和平終不可保。當首先改良佔有之本能。歐人一切組織。皆築在外面強力之上。而非築於內心愛力之上。故其社會組織。極不穩固。歐洲社會。恰如一公事房。個人行動。恰如機器之行動。將來個性。必日漸消滅。創造力亦日漸減少。氏之言論。遂受瑞士德意志盛大之歡迎。凡赫爾褒茲氏。阿爾登堡氏。狄森氏。拉孫氏。佳爾氏。反對自然同化論者。於台氏兒以上評論。均無辭以自為辯護之餘地者也。

且其所以爭論不決，非真東西文化不能調和之問題。實赫氏以台氏一家之哲學，據以概括印度一切哲學，復據印度之文化，以推定中國之文化，其推理作用，先自乖妄，故乃於東方文化，有此懷疑。今即其所論純粹認識論一事，可以證明之。

赫氏謂台莪兒所言挽救西方文化的靈藥，就是所謂純粹認識。復引據叔本華詮說純粹認識，謂是自我放大，與宇宙合為一體，即以個人意識擴大，使沒入宇宙之內，所以不必用個人權力去佔有，祇要去和萬物合成一體，不必再向現象界要求，但使心如明鏡一般。凡目前經過的一切，都歷歷映在心上，是即純粹意識，即是東方文化基礎。夫赫氏觀東方文化，止於叔本華之純粹認識，無惑乎懷疑於東西文化調和，不能生出文化之佳果矣。

按叔本華所繹純粹認識，近佛經所言之空，但叔本華止理解相空一邊於實有一邊，即未嘗下一語，是知有大乘經中般若為空，而不復知般若之後，仍有方便與善權之真實在也。如金剛經，應無所住，而生其心，應無所住，即是言空，以破人執法執，而生其心，則言應機，便是實有，此所以事相無礙，非有非無，亦無亦有，而融通於人天兩界也。又如孟子，萬物皆備於我矣，即是般若，反身而誠，樂莫大焉，疆恕而行，求仁莫近焉，即是方便與善權。叔本華之純粹認識，若有孟子萬物皆備於我之第一語而已。純粹認識，其理想實與列子出世主義相同，明羣以至虛為宗，萬品以終滅不驗，想念以着物自喪，生覺與化夢同情，聯合的權力，與莊子之萬物皆一，不謹是非，無成與毀之旨相近，則叔本華之純粹認識，僅有類於東方

文化之一端。未可據以推定儒佛兩大教之本體也。

於是吾人於知識論上。乃有一重要之問題。即印度玄學所言天道。近於中庸二十二章所言之至誠。而誠明則有所未至。故於人道之明動變化。全無理會。歐洲現實主義。所言法則。近於中庸二十三章所言之人道。而致曲則有所未至。故於人物之性。全無理會。蓋聯合的權力論。仍與墨子兼愛之說近。其所謂以內心愛力。謀各民族間相互了解。極易與歐洲現代社會主義之互助論與解放論相混合。赫氏之佔有的權力論。仍是楊子爲我說。與現代德意志主戰哲學論相合。赫氏所謂現實法則。即自然界所行之根本大法。惟競爭。一切文化之進步。皆由於爭鬪而得之。如希臘人海拉克利刺丁於達爾文以前二千年。謂戰爭者萬物之父。克羅斯瓦克納所著戰爭爲創造的原則。凡此歐洲之思想。乃造成第一期之宗教革命。於文化上仍不得究竟。再有政體革命。於文化上仍不得究竟。再有社會革命。一部歐洲思想史。是循環破壞之歷史。集文化之大成者誰乎。惟印度思想缺乏人與人聯合之學理。故一部印度史。是世界孤立之歷史。其統一者爲誰乎。

更進而論之。赫氏所謂自然之征服。與中國老氏所言制。完全相似而相反者也。老氏謂惟天下之至柔。乃馳騁乎天下之至堅。乃以柔制剛。赫氏之佔有的權力。完全以力服人者也。且老氏之言制。在乎未來。西方之佔有征服。專重現在。此所以有建設必先言破壞也。惟英國國性。不達老氏之言。而動靜則無端暗合。有史以來。常以其至柔以摧天下之至強矣。至台義兒之自然同化論。全是消極放任。亦未能如老

氏之人法地。地法天。天法道。道法自然。無所因寄。至於無爲者也。

深切考慮印度文化與希臘文化之所爭持者。在東方儒教之精神。均可以補偏救敝而調和之。無所謂克服。亦無所謂自然。而兩義自保合於太和之中。而迭相爲用。儒教之自我擴大。卽中庸思脩身不可不事親。思事親不可以不知人。思知人不可以不知天。孟子親親而仁民。仁民而愛物。務民之義。知所先務。故能成天下之務。此可以補印度元祕哲學嚴於天而不知人之敝。儒教之推理作用。卽大學所謂絜矩之道。論語所言己所不欲勿施於人。彊恕而行。故能通天下之志。此可以救歐洲現事主義知及之仁不能守之之害。夫言愛而不言敬。歐洲倫理學之缺陷也。知有仁而不知有恕。歐洲社會學之缺陷也。是以報復循環。破壞不絕。非調和以儒教敬恕之精義。則西方文化本身之危險。更無補救之術。隋唐以來。中國儒教之東行於日本。有佛教爲其先河。將來儒教之西行。黃老之學。其漸爲之前驅乎。德人近日研究中國文化。成爲一種風尚。老子哲學。尤爲學者所樂道。夫以重現實思想。以自然科學稱霸於世界之德國。一旦厭苦科學之束縛。遂有相率反於自然之趨勢。卽可表證征服自然。損人而不利己。自然同化。乃有樂利之可言。然大戰以後。歐洲思想。亦羣向於其所謂自然主義矣。彼德國學者。既不流爲國內原有之馬克思的自然主義。復不傾向於法國柏格森的玄學。獨急轉直下。研究東方老氏之學。誠爲易進於道者。蓋西方科學專制之毒。法律專制之毒。惟老氏之學。能爲其唯一之消毒機。齊一變至魯。再變至道。調和融合。必曲而漸。儒教東行於日本。論語朱子之書。皆由釋門而傳譯。老氏之書。先倡於德。卽孔教西

行之漸也。

至於佳爾氏謂回返於希臘方是進步。其事則真爲不可能者。姑無論台莪爾著書薩達那到完成的路。開卷批判希臘文化。與現代歐洲文化。均是殺機。且就歐洲學者創化論與進化論。以思考其回返於希臘之道路。實絕對不可能。蓋希臘文明自盛時以迄今日。其間或歸東羅馬東方帝國。或受阿託曼帝國之統治。斯拉夫民族亦不時侵襲。人種言語風俗。屢經極大之變化。現代歐洲之文明。實已非昔日希臘之文明。第歐洲文明。不論經何種變化。唯極強之排他性。則終古不滅。即今日希臘國民。亦是徙住於古代希臘人所居住之土地而已。故回返之途。早已絕滅。猶中國封建與井田。誠是三代之美制。而由今之世。以復古之道。亦爲不可能者。但中國文教獨有之保合性與繼續性。則終古不滅。非如歐洲文化。經一度革新。并前代文化之美者。亦無存在之餘地也。再者歐洲教育。不論屬於何種教育主義與制度。而同一遵循斯巴達之滅他的狹義主義。以如是主義盛行之歐洲。而欲回返於希臘之文明。又爲不可能之事也。赫氏以東西文化調和爲不可能。是不爲耳。非不能也。且歐洲自阿力山大王東征小亞細亞。十字軍東征。與印度阿拉伯之文明接觸。而歐洲思想界。屢生極大之變遷。則現在東方文化之西漸。亦莫之爲而爲之事。謂西方採用東方文化有危險。猶是一種排他論而已。又何待辯哉。

赫氏原論。尙有引證中國學者辜銘鴻評歐洲文明數事。其大意亦與台氏語相近。按辜氏爲主張以孔教大義調和東西文化者。彼於歐洲一切文教的缺陷。有徹底之了解。但彼並不似赫氏論東方文化一

概抹殺。謂西方文化爲無存在價值者。第以東方文明。無機會輸入歐洲。實爲歐洲文化進化上之缺陷。謂歐人自有淫於基督教義之文明。歐民地位。較前史確向上一。步。至今日百尺竿頭。最求進一步。則非歐洲原有文化所能接引。此則必須待於東方孔教之精神矣。復次歐洲文化輸入中國太多。如進出口貨。太不平均。且其輸入於中國者。非銷耗品。卽危險品。而歐洲人又祇知中國之天產品。如米茶絲暨一切原料。爲其生活與工業界所必需。而未知孔孟之微言大義。爲歐民精神界將來所必待需助者也。更進而論之。氏於一千九百十四年。歐洲兵禍未兆前。氏之東西文化調和。乃爲中國與歐洲之問題。自一千九百十九年。巴黎和約成後。氏之東西文化調和論。乃全重在美國思想。謂美國之教育。亦全是教民爭。中國孔子教育。是教民讓。蓋歐洲之使民奪爭。是過去。是世界已經顯著者。美國之文化就是民爭奪。全倚仗於未來者。故其調和東西文化之方法。猶宿昔所主張。而調和之方向。則已有改易。茲因赫氏引論而繹及之。

論說五

中國之弭兵學說續

達庵

附錄實行弭兵事實

實行弭兵。擇其著者數人。節錄事實。以資印證。曰管仲。曰向戌。曰子產。曰漢文帝。曰姚崇。宋璟。曰宋太祖。趙普。

管仲

子曰。晉文公譎而不正。齊桓公正而不譎。論語憲問

按管仲相桓公。能以信懷諸侯。以衣冠會。而不以兵車會。結好息民。召陵之役。問罪而不戰。故孔子美其正而不譎。美桓公乃所以美管仲也。

子曰。桓公九合諸侯。不以兵車。管仲之力也。如其仁。如其仁。論語憲問

按仁莫大於博愛。禍莫於兵戎。天下止兵。列國君臣。皆同樂生。功莫大焉。故孔子再三歎美其仁。

諸侯多沈亂。不服於天子。於是乎桓公東救徐州。分吳半。存魯蔡陵。割越地。南據宋鄭。征伐楚。濟汝水。喻方地。望文山。使貢絲於周室。成周反胙於隆獄。荊州諸侯。莫不來服。中救晉公。禽狄王。敗胡貉。破屠何。而

騎寇始服。北伐山戎。制冷支。斬孤竹。而九夷始聽。海濱諸侯。莫不來服。西征攘白狄之地。遂至於西河。方舟投柎。乘桴濟河。至於石沈。縣車束馬。踰大行與卑耳之貉。拘秦夏。西服流沙西虞。而秦戎始從。故兵一出而大功十二。故東夷西戎。南蠻北狄。大諸侯國。莫不賓服。與諸侯飾牲爲載書。以誓要於上下。薦神然後率天下定周室。大朝諸侯於陽穀。故兵車之會六。乘車之會三。九合諸侯。一匡天下。甲不解壘。兵不解翳。弢無弓。服無矢。寢武事。行文道。以朝天子。管子小匡篇

是故天下之於桓公。遠國之民。望如父母。近國之民。從如流水。故行地滋遠。得人彌衆。是何也。懷其文而畏其武。故殺無道。定周室。天下莫之能圉。武事立也。定三革。偃五兵。朝服以濟河。而無怵惕焉。文事勝也。是故大國之君。慚愧。小國諸侯。附比。是故大國之君。事如臣僕。小國諸侯。驩如父母。管子小匡篇不稱動甲兵之事。以遂文武之迹於天下。桓公能假其羣公之謀。以益其智也。其相曰夷吾。大夫曰寧戚。隰朋。賓胥無。鮑叔牙。用此五子者。何功。度義光德。繼法紹終。以遠後嗣。貽孝昭穆。大霸天下。名聲廣裕。不可掩也。則唯有明君在上。察相在下也。管子小匡篇

按小匡篇所述。皆管仲輔桓公以義兵平諸侯之亂。以文德結諸侯之信。諸侯皆信其仁而懷其武。莫不懷服。孔子曰。管仲相桓公。霸諸侯。一匡天下。民到於今受其賜。微管仲。吾其左衽矣。蓋美其不以武力征服諸侯。而用以存亡繼絕。用德以懷柔遠人。講信以輯和諸侯。使諸侯皆要於會盟。講信修睦。而天下免於兵爭之禍也。茲將其弭兵之事功詳述於下。

五年伐魯，魯將師敗，魯莊公請獻遂邑以平。桓公許與魯會柯而盟，魯將盟，曹沫以匕首劫桓公於壇上，曰：「反魯之侵地，桓公許之，已而曹沫去匕首，北面就臣位。桓公後悔，欲無與魯地而殺曹沫。管仲曰：夫劫許之而倍信殺之，愈一小快耳，而棄信於諸侯，失天下之援，不可。於是遂與曹沫三敗所亡地於魯。諸侯聞之，皆信齊而欲附焉。七年，諸侯會桓公於甄，而桓公於是始霸焉。」史記齊太公世家

按此乃管仲教桓公以信懷諸侯也。公羊傳要盟可犯，而桓公不欺。曹子可讎，而桓公不怨。桓公之信著乎天下，自柯之盟始焉。何休解詁，諸侯猶是翕然信鄉服從，再會於鄆，同盟於幽，遂成霸功。

二十三年，山戎伐燕，燕告急於齊。齊桓公救燕，遂伐山戎，至於孤竹而還。燕莊公遂送桓公入齊境。桓公曰：「非天子，諸侯相送不出境，吾不可以無禮於燕。於是分溝割燕君所至與燕，命燕君復修召公之政，納貢於周，如成康時。諸侯聞之，皆從齊。」史記齊太公世家

按史記管仲列傳，桓公實北伐山戎，管仲因而令燕修召公之政。

冬，齊高子來盟。高子者何？齊大夫也。何以不稱使？我無君也。然則何以不名？喜之也。何喜爾？正我也。其正我奈何？莊公死，子般弑，閔公弑，比三君死，曠年無君，設以齊取魯，曾不興師，徒以言而已矣。桓公使高子將南陽之甲，立僖公而城魯。或曰：自鹿門至於爭門者是也。或曰：自爭門至於吏門者是也。魯人至今以爲美談，曰：吾猶望高子也。公羊傳閔公二年

二十八年，衛文公有狄亂，告急於齊。齊率諸侯城楚邱而立衛君。史記齊太公世家

四年春王正月公會齊侯宋公陳侯衛侯鄭伯許男曹伯侵蔡。蔡潰。潰者何。下叛上也。遂伐楚。次於涇。其言次於涇。何。有俟也。孰俟。俟屈完也。何休解詁。時楚強大。卒暴征之。則多傷士衆。桓公先犯其與國。臨蔡。蔡潰。兵精威行。乃推以伐楚。楚懼。屈完來受盟。脩臣子之職。不頓兵血刃。以文德優柔服之。故詳錄其止。次待之。善其重愛民命。生事有漸。故敏則有功。春秋公羊傳 僖公四年

楚屈完來盟於師。盟於召陵。屈完者何。楚大夫也。何以不稱使。尊屈完也。曷爲尊屈完。以當桓公也。其言盟於師。盟於召陵。師在召陵。師在召陵。則曷爲再言盟。喜服楚也。何言乎喜服楚。楚有王者則後服。無王者則先叛。夷狄也。而亟病中國。南夷與北夷交。中國不絕若綫。桓公救中國而攘夷狄。卒帖荆。以此爲王者之事也。其言來何。與桓爲主也。前此者有事矣。後此者有事矣。則曷爲獨於此焉。與桓公爲主。序績也。何休解詁。累次桓公之功。莫大於服楚。明德及強夷。最爲盛。春秋公羊傳 僖公四年

按召陵之役。管仲重愛人命。不忍一戰。臨之以威。綏之以德。責楚以苞茅不貢。楚人服罪。遂退而受盟。以累世稱雄南方之強楚。柔而服之。曾未交兵接刃。以一矢相加遺。而楚人已帖然。使諸侯之師。整旅而歸。較之文公城濮之役。用武力決戰而後取勝者。相去豈不遠乎。管子可謂善弭兵爭矣。春秋大之。宜哉。

是歲晉獻公卒。里克殺奚齊。悼子秦穆公以夫人入公子夷吾爲晉君。桓公於是討晉亂。至高梁。使隰朋

立晉君遠。史記齊太公世家

三十八年周襄王弟帶與戎翟合謀伐周齊使管仲平戎於周

史記齊太公世家

按當是時南夷與北夷交中國不絕若綫管仲輔桓公救中國而攘夷狄尊周室而安撫諸夏曾不頓兵血刃而外夷畏服諸侯懷德脩好尋盟結言而退牲陳而不殺朝服濟河而無懼惕之心夷狄不得亂中國諸侯不相尋兵戈九合之而合一匡之而匡功迹炳然昭耀後世孔子曰書之重辭之復烏乎不可不察其中必有美者焉孔子自稱堯舜文王外未有若管仲者夫曰如其仁如其仁寧無深意存乎哉非以其能弭天下之兵爭靖諸侯之內亂耶宜乎功次三王爲五伯長也

向戌

宋向戌善於趙文子又善於令尹子木欲弭諸侯之兵以爲名如晉告趙孟趙孟謀於諸大夫韓宣子曰兵民之殘也財用之蠹小國之大災也將或弭之雖曰不可必將許之弗許楚將許之以召諸侯則我失爲盟主矣晉人許之如楚楚亦許之如齊齊人難之陳文子曰晉楚許之我焉得已且人曰弭兵而我弗許則固攜吾民矣將焉用之齊人許之告於秦秦亦許之皆告於小國爲會於宋

左傳齊襄二十七年

按晉楚爭雄爲日久矣在向戌之前能合晉楚之成者厥爲華元史記宋微子世家共公九年華元善楚將子重又善晉將欒書兩盟晉楚左傳魯成公十一年冬華元如楚遂如晉合晉楚之成成公十二年宋華元克合晉楚之成夏五月晉士燮會楚公子罷許偃癸亥盟於宋西門之外曰凡晉楚無相加戎好惡同之同恤菑危備救凶患若有害楚則晉伐之在晉楚亦如之交贄往來道路無壅謀其不協

而討其不庭。有渝此盟，明神殛之，俾隳其師，無克胙國。鄭伯如晉，聽成，會於瑣澤，成故也。華元克合晉楚之成，爲當時會盟和好之事（與今之聯盟性質相同）所謂具體之弭兵，非純粹之弭兵，故越四年而有鄆陵之戰。然晉楚之合成，則固自華元倡其端，向戌乃踵其後而大成耳。故附識於此。

按當時之弭兵，晉齊二國均有難色，晉人之加入，乃純爲外境所迫而然。一則以兵爲民之殘，迫於公議而不得不應允。一則懼楚人許之以召諸侯而已，失爲盟主。故韓宣子曰：雖曰不可，必將許之。若齊人之應許，則更屬勉強，蓋爲二國所迫。故陳文子曰：晉楚許之，我焉得已。晉楚齊秦已許，其他小國，則更人云亦云，更無操奪可否之權。可見當時諸國之弭兵，皆非出自中心誠悅而爲之者也。或心目中有所企圖，或則被迫而加入，無禮讓之心，而存僥倖之志，故終不能保障永久之和平。今將當時盟會之情形，節述於下。

以籓爲軍，晉楚各處其偏。伯夙謂趙孟曰：楚氛甚惡，懼難。趙孟曰：吾左還入於宋，若我何？辛巳，將盟於西門之外。楚人衷甲，伯州犁曰：合諸侯之師，以爲不信，毋乃不可乎？夫諸侯望信於楚，是以來服。若不信，是棄其所以服諸侯也。固請釋甲。子木曰：晉楚無信久矣，事利而已，苟得志焉，焉用有信。左傳襄公二十七年

按此敘楚人之無信也。

趙孟患楚衷甲，以告叔向。叔向曰：何害也？匹夫一爲不信，猶不可，單斃其死。若合諸侯之卿，以爲不信，必不捷矣。食言者不病，非子之患也。夫以信召之，而以僭濟之，必莫之與也。安能害我？且我因宋以守，則夫

能致死。與宋致死。雖倍楚可也。子何懼焉。又不及是。曰弭兵以召諸侯。而稱兵以害我。吾庸多矣。非所悉患也。左傳襄公二十七年

按此叙晉人之患楚衷甲也。

晉楚爭先。晉人曰。晉國爲諸侯盟主。固未有先晉者也。楚人曰。子言晉楚匹也。若晉常先。是楚弱也。且晉楚狎主諸侯之盟也久矣。豈尙在晉。叔向謂趙孟曰。諸侯歸晉之德。只非歸其尸盟也。子務德。無爭先。且諸侯盟。小國固必有尸盟者。楚爲晉細。不亦可乎。乃先楚人。左傳襄公二十七年

按此敘晉楚爭先也。

按向戌當時之發起弭兵會也。亦不過欲得罷兵息民之名。冀以爲利。故事成而請賞。晉人則懼失爲諸侯之盟主。而加入楚人。則借此會有所利用。欲以奪晉之諸侯。而爲盟主。各國之心目中。均存一利字。非真出自中心。而欲罷兵息民者也。故楚人衷甲。以詐駕晉。有事利而已焉。用有信之言。晉人亦預爲左旋。入宋與之致死之計。內無仁義之心。外無禮讓之行。盟而爭先。乃勢之所必然。其不致爲平涼川者。幸而已矣。子罕謂其以誣道蔽諸侯。其不然乎。

宋左師請賞。曰。請免死之邑。公與之邑六十。以示子罕。子罕曰。凡諸侯小國。晉楚所以兵威之。畏而後上下慈和。慈和而後能安靖其國家。以事大國。所以存也。無威則驕。驕則亂生。亂生必滅。所以亡也。天生五材。民並用之。廢一不可。誰能去兵。兵之設久矣。所以威不軌而昭文德也。聖人以興。亂人以廢。廢興存亡。

魯明之術皆兵之由也。而子求去之，不亦謬乎？以誣道蔽諸侯，罪莫大焉。縱無大討，無又求賞，無厭之甚也。削而投之。左傳襄公二十七年

按子罕所論乃偃兵，與弭兵不同。偃兵者偃而不復用也。如周武王縱馬於華山之陽，放牛於桃林之野，偃干戈示天下不復用之類是。弭兵者戢兵之禍也。用兵以誅暴靜亂，而不用以爭鬪取利也。

按自此會之後，於魯定公元年，曾爲一度之會於統，尋宋之盟，要言未退，而魯人取鄆，自是之後，戰無虛日。其間得免於戰禍者，僅五年耳。夫以利成事者，鮮不以利敗。蓋人已存乎利於己之心，斯難免有害及人之舉。故向成之弭兵，成績乃僅僅如此。尙未歃血，已啓爭競之端。厥身未沒，親覩戰鬪之慘。烏乎！所謂君以此始，必以此終，信乎其然矣。

子產

子產之從政也，擇能而使之。馮簡子能斷大事，子大叔美秀而文，公孫揮能知四國之爲，而辨於其大夫之族姓，班位貴賤能否，而又善爲辭令。裨諶能謀，謀於野則獲，謀於邑則否。鄰國將有諸侯之事，子產乃問四國之爲於子羽，且使多爲辭令，與裨諶乘以適野，使謀可否，而告馮簡子使斷之。事成，乃授子大叔使行之，以應對賓客，是以鮮有敗事。左傳襄公三十一年

按春秋時，晉楚爭雄，皆欲服鄭。鄭居二大之間，事晉則楚侵之，事楚則晉問罪。外兵之來，幾於無歲無之。子產爲政，善於辭令，事二大國，左幹右旋，皆能得其歡心。終子產之世，晉不復加兵於鄭。子產可謂

能善事大國以弭兵矣。既以免己國之日被侵凌。又令晉楚二國不相交兵。（非近代所稱之外交家專主挑撥者比）保境息民。厥功不亦偉乎。孔子之稱子產。一則曰惠人也。再則曰古之遺愛也。意在斯乎。意在斯乎。後人謂子產德不勝才。未爲確論也。

漢文帝

南越王尉佗自立爲武帝。然上召貴尉佗兄弟。以德報之。佗遂去帝稱臣。與匈奴和親。匈奴背約入盜。然令邊備守。不發兵深入。惡煩苦百姓。史記孝文本紀

按史記孝文本紀二年詔曰。朕既不能遠德。故憫然念外人之有非。是以設備未息。今縱不能罷邊屯戍。而又飭兵厚衛。其罷衛將軍軍。大僕見馬遺財足。餘皆以給置傳。文帝之尙德而不貴兵。於此詔可見。自三代以後。君臨天下者。誠未有能若文帝之深仁厚澤者也。專務以德化人。在位二十三年。方內安寧。靡有兵革。海內殷富。興於禮義。烏乎。仁哉。雖三代之賢王。何以加諸。其服尉佗和匈奴二事。尤能得古人弭兵之意。

文帝元年初。鎮撫天下。使告諸侯四夷。從代來卽位。意諭盛德焉。迺爲佗親冢。在真定。置守邑。歲時奉祀。召其從昆弟尊官厚賜寵之。詔丞相平舉可使粵者。平言陸賈先帝時使粵。上召賈爲大中大夫。謁者一人爲副使。賜佗書曰。皇帝謹問南粵王甚苦心勞意。朕高皇帝側室之子。棄外。奉北藩於代。道里遼遠。墮蔽樸愚。未嘗致書。高皇帝棄羣臣。孝惠皇帝卽世。高后自臨事。不幸有疾。日進不衰。以故悖暴乎治。諸呂

爲變故亂法不能獨制。迺取它姓子爲孝惠帝嗣。賴宗廟之靈。功臣之力。誅之已畢。朕以王侯吏不釋之。故不得不立。今卽位。乃者聞王遣將軍隆慮侯書。求親昆弟。請罷長門兩將軍。朕以王書罷將軍博陽侯。親昆弟在真定者。已遣人存問。修治先人家。前日聞王發兵於邊。爲寇災不止。當其時。長沙苦之。南郡尤甚。雖王之國。庸獨利乎。必多殺士卒。傷良將吏。寡人之親。孤人之子。獨人父母。得一忘十。朕不忍爲也。朕欲定地。大牙相入者。以問吏。吏曰。高皇帝所以介長沙土也。朕不能擅變焉。吏曰。得王之地。不足以爲大。得王之財。不足以爲富。服領以南。王自治之。雖然。王之號爲帝。兩帝並立。亡一乘之使。以通其道。是爭也。爭而不讓。仁者不爲也。願與王分棄前患。終今以來。通使如故。故使賈馳諭告王。朕意。王亦受之。毋爲寇害矣。上褚五十衣。中褚三十衣。下褚二十衣。遣王。願王聽樂娛憂。存問鄰國。陸賈至。南粵王恐。乃頓首謝。願奉明詔。長爲藩臣。奉貢職。漢書南粵王傳

按趙佗役屬閩粵西甌駱。據地數千里。帶甲百餘萬。當高后時。因禁粵關市鐵器。遂自尊爲南武帝。發兵攻長沙邊。敗數縣焉。高后曾遣隆慮侯周竈擊之。會暑溼。士卒大疫。兵不能踰嶺而罷。而佗益自恣。稱制與中國侔。乃文帝僅遣一介之使。賜之詔書。示以德音。曾無亡矢遺鏃之費。而佗已奉命唯謹。至景帝時。仍稱臣。遣使入朝。請迄孝武建元四年。佗孫胡立爲南粵王。閩粵興兵攻之。猶守職約。不敢興師。而請命於漢。若是乎德之服人也。蓋深入乎其肌髓矣。古之聖王。貴以文德來遠人。而不貴以兵威懾天下。豈願不以此哉。若使漢文帝當日興十萬之兵。傾全漢之力。以誅南粵之罪。雖能罪人斯得。然

其所得所失，必有能明辨之者。孔子曰：遠人不服，則修文德以來之。漢文帝其知此意乎？詩云：弛其文德，洽此四國。漢文帝足以當之矣。烏虜，真仁主哉。真仁主哉。

後二年，上曰：朕既不明，不能遠德，是以使方外之國，或不甯息。夫四荒之外，不安其生，封畿之內，勤勞不處。二者之咎，皆自於朕之德薄而不能遠達也。間者屢年，匈奴並暴邊境，多殺吏民，邊臣兵吏又不能諭處內志，以重吾不德也。夫久結難，連兵，中外之國，將何以自寧？今朕夙興夜寐，勤勞天下，憂苦萬民，爲之怛惕不安，未嘗一日忘於心。故遣使冠蓋相望，結軼於道，以諭朕意於單于。今單于反古之道，計社稷之安，便萬民之利，親與朕俱，棄細過，偕之大道，結兄弟之意，以全天下元元之民，和親已定。始於今年。

史記
孝文

紀本

按蓋聞王者修文德以懷來遠人，未聞用兵力以威強天下也。聞湯武興師誅暴君以安元元，未聞弊諸夏以事夷狄也。豈非以戰者危事，難保其必勝，兵者凶器，深戒於不虞，且動搖百萬之衆，所得者少，所喪者多，是以古之聖王，遠人不服，置之度外。漢文之和匈奴，匈奴入盜，備守而不深入，儻知此意乎？說者謂當漢文之時，民力殷盛，國勢富強，若興兵以討匈奴，固足以擣彼王庭，擒其名王，掃塵滅迹，夷其巢穴，顧屈萬乘之尊，與之聯歡，長匈奴之驕，以遺後世子孫憂，以爲計之失者，此殊昧乎知德之言也。漢武之撻伐，雖能封燕然山而還，然敗軍覆將，死者不可勝數，耗天下之財，爲黔首之禍，嚴尤之論，以爲下策。歷觀後世，隋征高麗而社稷滅，宋開邊功而康王南，則尤其彰彰然較著者也。傳曰：好武窮

兵。未有不亡者也。文帝惜元元之命，弭天下之兵，真三代以後之賢主哉。史稱其仁，不亦宜乎。

姚崇 宋璟

朝廷覆師青海，未有牽復之悔，臣願不倖邊功，可乎。

新唐書姚崇列傳

按新唐書，玄宗欲相姚崇，崇知帝大度，銳於治，乃先設十事以堅帝意，此其一也。唐書贊云：姚崇以十事要說天子而後輔政，顧不偉哉。而舊史不傳，觀開元初皆已施行，信不誣也。

聖慶後，突厥默啜負其彊，數窺邊，侵九姓，拔曳固，負勝輕出，爲其狙擊，斬之。入蕃使郝靈佺傳其首京師，靈佺自謂還必厚見賞，環顧天子方少，恐後干寵蹈利者，夸威武爲國生事，故抑之。踰年纔授右武衛郎將。

新唐書宋璟列傳

按此唐玄宗開元四年事也。默啜自武氏世爲中國患，朝廷旰食，郝靈佺得其首，自謂不世之功，會宋璟爲相，以天子好武功，恐好事者競生心傲倖，遂抑其賞。

烏乎！崇勸天子不求邊功，環不肯賞邊臣，而天寶之亂，卒蹈其害，可謂先見矣。

新唐書姚崇宋璟列傳

按玄宗開元時，諸賢相如蘇許國、張燕公、張曲江等，皆不求邊功，力抑邊臣之賞。今節述之於下。按新唐書蘇頌傳：吐蕃盜邊，諸將數敗，虜益張，秣騎內侵，帝怒，欲將兵討之。頌諫曰：古稱荒服，取荒忽之義，非常奉貢職也。來則拒，去則勿逐。又上言王者之師，有征無戰，藩貢或闕，王命征之，於是乎治兵其郊，獲辭而止。嵩州蠻其院作亂，與吐蕃連謀入寇，獲諜者，吏請討之，頌不聽，移書還其諜曰：毋得爾。其院

羞悔不敢侵邊。張說傳始為相時，帝欲事吐蕃，說密請講和，以休息鄯塞。據通鑑載張說之言曰吐蕃無禮誠宜誅夷但連兵十年過求和願，聽款服以紓邊人。帝曰：朕待王君奭計之，說出告源乾曜曰：君奭好兵以來，利彼入吾，言不

用矣。後君奭破吐蕃於青海西，說策其且敗，因上嵩州鬪羊於帝，以申諷諭。曰：使羊能言，必將曰鬪而

不解，立有死者，所賴至仁無殘，量力取勸焉。據通鑑此開元十五年事也是秋吐蕃攻陷瓜州執刺史

兵吐蕃要瓜州城而去張九齡傳：范陽節度使以斬可突于功，帝欲以為侍中，九齡曰：宰相代天治物，有其人然

後授，不可以賞功，國家之敗，由官邪也。帝曰：假其名若何？對曰：名器不可假也。有如平東北二虜，陛下

將何以加之？遂止。此其大略也。

按開元之初，諸賢輔政，姚宋之徒，危言切諫，天子虛心聽納，言聽計行，貞觀之風，一朝復振。於斯時也，

烽燧不驚，華戎同軌，南蕃君長，款玉關而內附，北狄酋渠，趨雁塞而來歸。天子志在昇平，與民休息，戎

馬不生，兵革用弭，戴白之民，不識兵戈，垂髻之兒，皆知禮讓，冠帶百蠻，車書萬里，康哉之頌，溢於八弦，

烏乎盛矣！自王君奭勝西海，而邊功始驚，張守珪王忠嗣哥舒翰高仙芝封常清之徒，承望風旨，日事

拓土，以要上賞，勝敗相尋，不可紀極，而邊境之間，始多事矣。天寶改元，置十節度使，十經略使，以備邊

凡鎮兵四十九萬人，馬八萬餘匹，自是之後，益兵浸多，每歲供邊兵衣糧費，較開元之前，幾相倍蓰。據

鑑云開元之前每歲供邊兵衣糧費不過二百萬飛輓轉輸，狼藉道路，公私勞費，民始困苦矣。天子益

好大事功，務拓邊境，而軋犖山以邊功進用，承天子之寵，兼制三鎮，時兵積穀，遂畜逆謀，馴至天寶十

四載。遂稱兵內犯。河北郡縣相繼陷沒。潼關兵潰。玄宗蒼皇奔蜀。兩京不守。宮嬪妃主。虜辱於戎卒。近屬皇子。連頭受戮。虜性慍悍。肆爲殘虐。斬艾生靈。肝腦塗地。祿山已死。繼以思明朝義。厥禍蔓延。生靈塗炭。當亂之熾也。郡縣豪傑。多殺賊守將以迎王師。賊復攻陷之。前後反覆十數。城邑爲墟。其間如潼關之役。兩京之收復。陳濤斜之敗。睢陽之陷。相州之潰。河陽之戰。邙山之敗。宋州之圍。無不相斫相殺。死人如麻。則尤其甚焉者也。杜少陵悲陳陶詩云。孟冬十郡良家子。血作陳陶澤中水。野曠天清無戰聲。四萬義軍同日死。羣胡歸來血洗箭。仍唱胡歌入都市。都人回首向北嘯。日夜更望官軍至。悲青坂詩云。青是烽烟白人骨。北征詩云。靡靡踰阡陌。人烟渺蕭瑟。所遇多被傷。呻吟更流血。又句云。夜深經戰場。寒月照白骨。潼關百萬師。往者散何卒。遂令半秦民。殘害爲異物。其人民顛沛流離之狀。戰爭相殺相斫之慘。至今讀之。猶有餘哀也。幸得李郭爲將。假回紇之兵。幾逾十稔。僅乃平之。其亂至矣。烏乎。倖生邊功。已忘姚崇之言。厚賞邊臣。曾無宋璟之諫。事武皇窮兵之計。昧禍起蕭牆之憂。兵端不戢。生此厲階。終之胡離亂華。身播邊陲。傳曰。兵猶火也。弗戢將自焚也。其唐玄宗之謂乎。安史救平。藩鎮禍起。河北三鎮。日尋於兵。衍及天下。垂於百年。至於僖昭三十年間。藩鎮爭立。幾成列國。歲月互攻。暴骨如莽。凡數千百戰。中國幾墟。綿連而入五代。其亂日甚。梁與唐戰於河上者二十年。唐已滅梁。又滅蜀。三敗契丹。孟知祥自立於蜀。又累戰。石敬瑭以契丹之師入。三大舉而滅唐。楊光遠又以契丹寇晉。晉少帝時。契丹再舉而滅晉。劉知遠自立於晉陽。走契丹。郭威凡五大攻漢。周既立。與北漢三大戰。世宗

又取蜀。伐南唐。取十州。兩大破契丹。其他十國之互爭紛如也。於時生民水火。蓋數千年兵禍之久。且慘。未有過於此時者也。蓋自安史之亂。二百年間。迄至於宋。而天下始大定。生民始得休息。而天下戶口之亡。蓋已過大半矣。悲夫。不圖開邊功之禍。一至於此也。夫豈特安史之亂。卒蹈其害而已哉。使明皇不倖邊功。不厚賞邊臣。則不致有祿山之亂。不有安史之亂。何有藩鎮之禍。由藩鎮而成五代。乃事理之必然者也。烏乎。賢人之言。豈欺我哉。明皇味焉。遂至肇亂。二百餘年而後定。詩云。謀之不臧。亂是用長。唐玄宗之謂矣。由是言之。漢文帝招尉佗以德。而南粵屢世稱臣。玄宗倖生邊功。而天下大亂。以德則如彼。以兵則如此。得失之效。豈不彰彰然明著也哉。故孔子有言。兵之作與民皆生。聖人利用而弭之。烏乎。天下之大害。生民之大劫。誠莫兵若也。世之仁人。欲拯蒼生之扼。可不少味此言乎。

宋太祖 趙普

初帝既克李筠及李重進。一日召趙普問曰。自唐季以來數十年。帝王凡易八姓。戰鬪不息。生民塗地。其故何也。吾欲息天下之兵。爲國家計長久。其道何如。普曰。陛下言及此。天地人神之福也。此非他故。方鎮太重。君弱臣彊而已。今欲治之。惟稍奪其權。制其錢糧。收其精兵。則天下自安矣。時石守信王審琦皆帝故人。各典禁衛。普數言於帝。請授以他職。帝曰。彼等必不吾叛。卿何憂。普曰。臣亦不憂其叛也。然熟觀數人者。皆非統御才。恐不能制伏其下。萬一軍伍作孽。彼亦不得自由耳。帝悟。於是召守信等飲。酒酣。屏左右。謂曰。非爾曹力不及此。然天子亦大艱難。殊不若爲節度使之樂。吾終夕未嘗高枕臥也。守信等請其

故。帝曰。是不難知。居此位者。誰不欲爲之。守信等頓首曰。陛下何爲出此言。今天下已定。誰敢復有異心。帝曰。卿等固然。設麾下。有欲富貴者。一旦以黃袍加汝身。汝雖欲不爲。其可得乎。守信等頓首涕泣曰。臣等愚不及此。惟陛下哀矜。指示可生之途。帝曰。人生如白駒過隙。所爲好富貴者。不過欲多積金錢。厚自娛樂。使子孫無貧乏耳。卿等何不釋去兵權。出守大藩。擇好田宅市之。爲子孫立永遠之業。多致歌兒舞妓。飲酒相歡。以終其天年。朕且與卿等約爲婚姻。君臣之間。兩無猜疑。上下相安。不亦善乎。皆拜謝曰。陛下念臣等至此。所謂生死而肉骨也。明日皆稱疾請罷。帝從之。續資治通鑑卷二

按五代之亂甚矣。凡五十年間。更十三君。其間類多以兵力取之者。遞興遞廢。戰鬪不息。或存或亡。生民斯殃。宋太祖以杯酒釋石守信王審琦之權。息天下之兵。使天下無分崩之憂。蒼生保安寧之福。百餘年間。黎民熙熙。不知兵戈。烏乎。仁人之言。其利溥哉。

秋七月。帝聞西川行營有大校割民妻乳而殺之者。亟召至闕。斬之都市。近臣營救頗功。帝因流涕曰。興師弔伐。婦人何罪。而殘忍至此。當速置法。以償其冤。續資治通鑑卷四

曹彬與諸將入辭。帝謂彬曰。南方之事。一以委卿。切勿暴掠生民。務廣威信。使自歸順。不須急擊也。且以劍匣授彬。曰。副將而下。不用命者。斬之。潘美等皆失色。自王承斌平蜀多殺人。帝每恨之。彬性仁厚。故專

任焉。續資治通鑑卷八

按宋史王全斌傳。全斌伐蜀。縱部下掠子女。奪民財。又殺降軍二萬餘人。爲蜀人所告。全斌等引伏。太

祖乃下詔曰。有征無戰。雖舉於王師。禁暴戢兵。當崇於武德。蠢茲庸蜀。自敗姦謀。爰伐罪以宣威。俄望風而歸命。遽令按堵。勿犯秋毫。庶德澤之涵濡。俾生聚之寧息。而忠武軍節度王承斌。武信軍節度崔彥進。董茲銳旅。奉我成謀。既居克定之功。宜體輯柔之意。比謂不日清謐。卽時凱旋。懋賞策勳。抑有彝典。而罔思寅畏。速使悔尤。貪殘無厭。殺戮非罪。稽於偃革。職爾玩兵。尙念前勞。特從寬貸。遂責授全斌爲崇義軍節度觀察留後。開寶末。始以爲武寧軍節度。謂之曰。朕以江左未平。慮征南諸將不遵紀律。故抑卿數年。爲朕立法。

十二月己亥朔。江南捷書至。凡得州十九。軍三。縣一百有八。戶六十五萬五千六十有五。羣臣皆稱賀。帝謂左右曰。宇縣分割。民受其禍。攻城之際。必有橫罹鋒刃。此實可哀也。卽詔出米十萬石以賑城中饑民。

續資治通鑑卷八

按太祖每命將出師。輒戒以毋妄殺戮。毋暴掠生民。止伐罪以宣威。俾生息之寧息。庶德澤之涵濡。冀兵革之用弭。軍校以殺無辜。立斬都市。王全斌軍律不修。坐廢頓者屢年。誅其君不及其民。可謂能得古人利用而弭之之意矣。而曹彬之伐江南也。亦能體君上愛民之心。務廣威信以服敵人。金陵之克。兵不血刃。自出師至凱旋。士衆畏服。無敢輕肆。不敢妄殺一人。倘傳所謂止戈爲武之義耶。稽之偃革之意。可以無愧矣。史稱彬爲宋良將第一。豈不宜哉。

雍熙三年春。大軍出幽薊。久未班師。普手疏諫曰。伏觀今春出師。將以收復關外。屢聞克捷。深快輿情。然

晦朔屢更。薦臻炎夏。飛輓日繁。戰鬪未息。老師費財。誠無益也。伏念陛下自剪平太源。懷徠閩浙。混一諸夏。大振英聲。十年之間。遂臻廣濟。遠人不服。自古聖王。置之度外。何足介意。竊慮利諂之輩。蒙蔽睿聰。致興無名之師。深蹈不測之地。臣載披典籍。頗識前言。竊見漢武時。主父偃徐樂嚴安所上書。及唐姚元崇獻明皇十事。忠言至論。可舉而行。伏望萬機之暇。一賜觀覽。其失未遠。雖悔可追。臣竊念大發驍雄。動搖百萬之師。所得者少。所喪者多。又聞戰者危事。難保其必勝。兵者凶器。深戒於不虞。所繫甚大。不可不思。臣又聞上古聖人。心無固必。事不凝滯。理貴變通。前書有兵久生變之言。深爲可慮。苟或更圖稽疑。轉失機宜。旬朔之間。時涉秋序。邊庭早涼。弓勁馬肥。我軍久困。切慮此際。或誤指蹤。臣方日冒寵以守藩。曷敢興言而阻衆。蓋臣已日迫西山。餘光無幾。酬恩報國。正在斯時。伏望速詔班師。無容玩敵。臣復有全策。願達聖聰。望陛下精調御膳。保養聖躬。挈彼疲氓。轉之富庶。將見邊烽不警。外戶不扃。率土歸仁。殊方異俗。相率嚮化。契丹獨將焉往。陛下計不出此。乃信邪諂之徒。謂契丹主少事多。可以用武。以中陛下之意。樂禍求功。以爲萬全。臣竊以爲不可。伏願陛下審其虛實。究其妄謬。正姦臣誤國之罪。罷將士伐燕之師。非特多難興王。抑且從諫則聖也。古之人尙聞尸諫。老臣未死。豈敢面諛爲安身之計而不言哉。宋史趙普列傳

宰相李昉等相率上疏曰。昔漢高祖以三十萬之衆。困於平城。卒用奉春之言。以定和親之策。文帝外示羈縻。內深抑損。於是邊城宴閉。黎庶息肩。所傷匪多。其利甚博。倘陛下深念比屋之罄懸。稍減千金之日費。密諭邊將。微露事機。彼亦素蓄此心。固乃樂聞其事。不煩兵力。可弭邊塵也。續資治通鑑卷十三

按趙普李昉二人之疏均以開邊功爲戒。豈不以整我王旅。大發驍雄。百萬家之生聚。飛輓是供。數十州之土田。耕桑半失乎。烏乎。可謂深得古人弭兵之意矣。當太祖時。契丹相抗。西夏未服。太祖命李漢超屯關西。馬仁瑀守瀛洲。韓令坤領常州。賀惟忠守易州。何繼勳領棗州。以拒北敵。趙贊屯延州。姚內斌守慶州。董遵海屯環州。王原昇守原州。馮繼業鎮靈武。以備西夏。固我疆圉。捍其來侵。二十年之間。邊鄙不聳。天下安樂。及太宗太平興國四年伐遼。戰於高粱河。敗績。帝急乘驢車走免。喪資械不可計。自是遼好遂絕。歲有契丹之虞。而岐溝之敗。(在雍熙三年)死者尤衆。沙河爲之不流。遼人乘勝入侵。陷蔚寰州。陷雲應朔諸城。是冬遼人復入寇。劉廷讓全軍盡沒。掠邢深德州。端拱元年。契丹復陷涿州。入祁州。二年。陷易州。數年之間。凡數十戰。死者不可勝數。北邊黔首。騷然不寧。於是宋琪等上言。兵凶器。聖人不得已而用。若選使通好。弭戰息民。此亦策之得也。李昉王禹偁等亦多以修好爲言。帝嘉納之。亦會契丹有沙河之敗。不敢大入寇。太宗又內徙李彝興馮暉之族。致李繼遷之變。二邊皆擾。而朝廷始旰食矣。真宗咸平二年。契丹復入寇。都部署康保裔戰死於瀛洲。真宗自將禦之。契丹引還。景德元年。契丹大舉入寇。進寇澶州。帝自將禦之。契丹請和。真宗曰。吾不忍生靈重困。許之。使曹利用如契丹軍。利用以銀十萬兩。絹二十萬匹。成約而還。戒諸將勿出兵邀其歸路。契丹遣其閭門使丁振持誓書來。以兄禮事帝。引兵北歸。自是之後。與宋和好。慶弔往來。道路無壅。四年。趙德明亦納款。遼夏旣平。邊鄙無虞。凡數十年間。雍雍熙熙。中國無事。人不識兵戈。烏乎。可謂盛矣。迄仁宗聖道初。趙元昊立。而

夏始叛服不常。當元昊僭表之初至也。諫官吳育請置之。示不足責。而宰相張士遜庸人寡慮。卽議絕和問罪。輕動干戈。趣彼速反。乃自用兵以來。一敗於延州。再敗於好水川。三敗於鎮戎軍。橫尸盈野。二三年間。喪師屢告。有道之世。戰危若此。佳兵不祥。此言信矣。慶歷二年。遼人乘夏人之釁。欲取瓦橋以南十縣地。當是時也。契丹之兵壓境。戰雲密佈。賴富弼爲使。善於辭令。折之以義。而契丹辭屈。僅議每歲增錢絹各十萬兩。自是通好如故。而滿天戰雲。消於烏有矣。用張士遜之謀。兵敗西方。得富弼爲使。而北鄙無虞。息兵安民。厥功豈淺鮮哉。及神宗卽位之初。青澗守將种諤襲虜。夏監軍嵬名山。遂復綏州。欲因以取河南地。西方之用兵自此始。而王韶獻復河湟之策。王安石力主之。於是勤兵遠略。事結釁連。雖能招包順。築古渭。克河州。獲木征。然撫寧挫折。西兵日剽。功不補患矣。元豐不懲。復謀大舉。俞允一言。五路並發。靈州師潰。永樂被陷。夏人大舉。入寇蘭州。用兵之得失。固不待智者而辨矣。其他若章惇之平五溪蠻。熊本之招降瀘夷。沈起之經略交趾。其間乍降乍叛。大軍往返勞費。雖得其地。不足以償所失。逮及哲宗之元符。章惇諸小人用事。益開邊隙。雖平夏之捷。夏人不復振。然興役進築。而民益困矣。徽宗之崇寧。蔡京任政。益以開邊疊上。於是王厚復湟州。復鄯廓州。戰爭相尋。財匱民困。而關輔爲之蕭條矣。遼自澶淵和好以來。百餘年間。北鄙無事。童貫旣得志於西羌。遂謂遼亦可圖。聽馬植之邪說。而復燕雲之議生。泛海通金。與議夾攻之計。銳意用兵。竭天下之財。僅獲七空城。而怨結四海矣。而君臣上下。方舉觴相慶。以爲奇功萬年。遠駕祖考。俄而金人藉口索叛。兵端遂啓。大舉南侵。而克

朔代州。盡取燕山州縣。圍太原。梁方平師潰於黎陽。而金人渡河。京師被圍。上皇南幸。三鎮遂割。再舉而破太原。破真定。破河東諸州郡。破西京。汴京亦陷。徽欽北狩。自是之後。宋鼎遂南。而中原之地沒於金。河北生靈肝腦塗地矣。烏乎。內政不修。府庫空虛。而好大事功。連釁不解。味唇亡而齒寒。事佳兵以黷武。兵端不戢。卒以自焚。傳所謂好武窮兵。未有不亡之言。益可信矣。觀夫昔之與夏遼平者。其成效如彼。後之主開邊釁者。其致禍如此。得失之效。概可睹矣。嗟夫。趙普李昉之諫開邊功。蓋亦早見及於此哉。而宋卒以開邊功亡。兵之不弭。厥禍如此。可不鑒哉。

結論

右所列儒道諸家之弭兵學說。及附錄實行弭兵諸人事實。以資印證。儒家之說。以仁義爲體。以禮讓爲用。道家之說。以恬淡無欲爲體。以退讓不爭爲用。墨家之說。以兼愛爲體。以義正爲用。法家之說。則歸於至善不戰。兵家之說。亦歸於不戰而屈人之兵。小說家之說。則以見侮不辱爲主。雜家之說。若呂覽淮南。則兼採儒道二家者也。呂覽則踦重於儒。淮南則踦重於道。其說歸於自勝以德。然後可以勝人。此諸家弭兵學說之大旨也。

夫生人之禍。莫大於兵。諸家之所以弭兵者。其說詳矣。盡矣。救世之戰。拯民之扼。誠天下之良方也。諸家之說。惟儒家能得弭兵之本。洵博大精深。至美至善哉。其餘各家。皆支流枝葉而已。駁雜不醇。精粗互見。瑕瘡不掩。然歸之於救世則一也。茲節述其說而論略焉。

儒家之說以仁義禮讓爲主。博愛之謂仁。有所不爲之謂義。禮之用和爲貴。讓之實恕爲本。孟子曰。雖存乎人者。豈無仁義之心哉。又曰。所以謂人皆有不忍人之心。今人乍見孺子將入於井。皆有怵惕惻隱之心。非所以內交於孺子之父母也。非所以要譽於鄉黨朋友也。非惡其聲而然也。由是觀之。無惻隱之心。非人也。無羞惡之心。非人也。無辭讓之心。非人也。無是非之心。非人也。惻隱之心。仁之端也。羞惡之心。義之端也。辭讓之心。禮之端也。是非之心。智之端也。夫人之有四端。猶其有四體。固與生而俱來者也。然其爲端甚微。重以物欲之誘。旦旦而伐。於是夜氣之生。日以寢薄。而不足以存其仁義之良心。人而不仁。則安人之危。而利人之菑。人而不義。則無羞惡之心。而不知其所爲之非。仁義之端既喪。禮讓之心。亦隨之而亡。此爭殺相殘之所由起也。聖人知其然。以爲欲弭天下之兵爭。須先弭人心之競爭。人心之競爭既弭。而後天下之兵爭可弭。欲弭人心之競爭。須使其仁義之心。足以敵權利之心。仁義之心既勝。則禮讓之心自生。而權利之念自去。爭奪之根自滅矣。夫人皆有所不忍。達之於其所忍。仁也。人能充其不欲害人之心。而仁不可勝用矣。人皆有所不爲。達之於其所爲。義也。人能充其無受爾汝之實。而義不可勝用矣。故聖人因其個人固有仁義禮讓之天良。擴而充之。人誠能以仁存心。則無相殘相暴之事。以義存心。則無侵人自利之舉。行之以禮。則化暴慢之心。持之以讓。則消爭競之意。夫殺一無罪。非仁也。己所不欲。且勿施諸人。而况於戰爭之殃民乎。取非其有。非義也。一介之爲。且不取諸人。况於殘民以爭利乎。和則上下相安。恕則反諸己。而不求諸人。反身而誠。強恕而行。則人己之界自平。而一切畛域之爭自消矣。且

夫愛人者人恒愛之。敬人者人恒敬之。故曰苟能一日克己復禮，天下歸仁。又曰一家讓一國興讓，一國興讓，一國與仁。夫如是也，豈特有形式之兵可弭，而人心無形之兵亦弭。競爭之念既泯，權利之心自滅。民族之爭自息，社會之爭自平。固不必禁兵寢攻，而爭奪報復之禍根自滅。否則雖儘去天下之兵，而人心之兵未去，人心之兵一日未去，則禍亂之萌一日仍存。縱得一時之安寧，難保永久之和平。禍機潛伏，肇發必巨。生人將有相食之憂，神州將見陸沉之慘。大劫頻來，豈有既哉。吾故曰惟儒家能得弭兵之本者，此也。

道家弭兵之說，亦先自弭民心之爭始。此則與儒家之旨同者也。而其所持之道，則與儒異。道家以爲人羣居雜處，分物不均，求欲不澹，於是乎始有爭，有爭而後有兵。是則兵之起，由於個人之爭，而個人之爭，則在於物欲。有欲斯有爭，無欲則無爭。故道家以見素抱樸，少私寡欲爲旨。其言曰：不見可欲，使民心不亂。又曰：不欲以靜，天下將自定。雖然，道家之說，高則高矣，而反人之情，其行難爲也。中庸曰：道不遠人，人之爲道而遠人，不可以爲道。又曰：君子以人治人，故夫婦之愚，可以與知焉。夫婦之不肖，可以能行焉。夫人生而有欲，傳曰：飲食男女，人之大欲存焉。雖古之聖人，亦不能使民無欲，故順乎人情，而爲之節文，示之以仁，使其相愛，示之以義，使其知恥，示之以禮，使其相和，示之以讓，使其相下。夫然，則人得其所，各安其分，爾不我侵，我不爾犯。今老子之言曰：不見可欲，使民心不亂，是欲以民俗澆漓之日，反之結繩至治之世，不綦難乎。又曰：不欲以靜，天下將自定，是必使天下之人，皆有士君子之行，然後可。老子雖獨能任。

奈天下何。

墨子之弭兵。曰兼愛。曰義正。兼而愛之。則人類無相殘之憂。義而正之。則列國無相攻之舉。墨家以爲爭端之起。由於別。別則人之界分。人之界分。斯有利害之見。而爭端以起。若兼而愛之。則人之界平。一視同仁。其說與儒家之主仁相似。然儒家之所謂仁者。於愛人之中。寓有差等焉。禮運曰。故人不獨親其親。不獨子其子。孟子曰。老吾老以及人之老。幼吾幼以及人之幼。又曰。親親而仁民。仁民而愛物。此儒家之仁也。夫仁人心也。故順乎人情而爲之節文。賢者俯而就之。不肖者跂而及之。其道坦而易行。今墨子之兼愛也。則是愛無差等。其失至於無親疏之別。必使愛他人之父。若愛己之父。愛他人之子。若愛己之子。孟子曰。墨氏兼愛。是無父也。反天下之情。其果可以行乎哉。墨家以爲攘人貨財。竊人犬豚。皆爲不義。人皆知恥之。今至大爲攻國。則弗之非。故墨子正之以義。其言曰。義正者何若。曰。大不攻小也。強不侮弱也。衆不賤寡也。詐不欺愚也。貴不傲賤也。富不驕貧也。壯不奪老也。是以天下之庶國。莫以水火毒藥。兵刃以相害也。其所持之義。亦與儒異。春秋繁露仁義法篇曰。義者我也。又曰。義云者。非謂正人。謂正我。又曰。義在正我。不在正人。此儒家之所謂義也。故禮人不答。反其敬。求諸己而不求諸人。人人各反身責己。則患自平矣。墨家之說。則其言曰。義者正也。何以知義之爲正也。天下有義則治。無義則亂。我以此知義之爲正也。然而正者無自下。正上者。必自上。正下。是以義正不義也。孟子曰。以善服人。未有能服人者也。以善養人。然後能服天下。然則以義正人。焉能使人必義乎。且夫攻伐侵略者。未嘗不自知其不義也。

然而敢冒天下之不韙而爲之何也。以其有利之心存也。故權利之心仍存。爭競之念未消。終必有衝突暴發之一日。又焉能使大小不相攻。強弱不相侮。天下列國之不以兵戈相害乎。孔子曰。能以禮讓爲國乎。何有。蓋得其本矣。外則相和。內則相安。夫然故天下之兵能弭也。

法家之弭兵也。一言以蔽之。曰以讓飾爭而已。務積餘藏。羨待之於國。爲兵有數。威聲服人。故曰戰衡戰准。戰流戰權。戰勢五戰而至於兵。兵強無敵。使人莫敢撓其鋒。然後懷之以仁義。其揆度篇曰。國有患憂。輕重五穀以調用。積餘藏。羨以備賞。天下賓服有海內。以富誠信仁義之士。故民高辭讓。無爲奇怪者。彼輕重者。諸侯不服。以出戰。諸侯賓服。以行仁義。孟子所謂以力假仁者也。霸道也。夫以力服人者。非心服也。力不贍也。其心未服。則爭念仍存。厥力不贍。必將擴張其勢。與之相抗。各務強其力而不相下。則觸端而發。終必至於戰。越王勾踐之滅吳。其事之明證者也。故荀子譏之曰。彼非本政教也。非致隆高也。非棊文理也。非服人之心也。鄉方略。審勞佚。畜積修鬪。而能顛倒其敵者也。詐心以勝矣。彼以讓飾爭。依乎仁而蹈乎利者也。小人之傑也。彼固曷足以稱乎大君子之門哉。荀子仲尼篇

兵家之弭兵也。在於不窮兵黷武。其言曰。兵者國之大事。死生之地。存亡之道。不可不察也。故戒主不可以怒而興師。將不可以愠而致戰。又曰。亡國不可以復存。死者不可復生。故進不求名。退不避罪。唯民是保。其用兵也。非危不戰。其戰也。以全國爲上。其勝也。無智名。無勇功。潛運其智。專伐其謀。信己之仁義。以威加於敵。故曰。百戰百勝。非善之善者也。不戰而屈人之兵。善之善者也。夫慎兵則不以耀兵爲威。不輕

戰則不致糜爛其人民。戰勝而不求赫赫之功。則不殘民以逞。不戰而屈人之兵。則不自戮其民。其說與儒家止戈爲武之意相近。雖然。兵家之弭兵。乃不玩兵耳。治標之法。而非澄本之計也。彼之所謂仁者。欲以附其衆而致其死力。彼之所謂義者。欲以折其敵而伸其威。思以全道爭於天下。操必勝之算。以臨其敵而已。非以弭爭也。荀卿子所謂依乎仁而蹈乎利者也。夫我能以全道爭於天下。則彼亦能以全道爭於天下。爭心未除。各欲競勝。充其極也。雖欲不戰。其可得乎。荀子議兵篇曰。王者有誅而無戰。城守不攻。兵格不擊。上下相喜則慶之。不屠城。不潛軍。不留衆。師不越時。故亂者樂其政。不安其上。欲其至也。又曰。彼兵者所以禁暴除害也。非爭奪也。故仁人之兵。所存乎神。所過者化。若時雨之降。莫不說喜。是以堯伐驩兜。舜伐有苗。禹伐共工。湯伐有夏。文王伐崇。武王伐紂。此四帝兩王。皆以仁義之兵行於天下也。故近者親其善。遠方慕其德。兵不血刃。遠邇來服。德盛於此。施及四極。此儒家所謂仁義之兵也。又曰。古之兵。戈矛弓矢而已矣。然而敵國不待試而誅。城郭不辨。溝池不措。固塞不樹。機變不張。然而國晏然不畏外。而明內者。無它故焉。明道而分鈞之時。使而誠愛之。下之和上也。如影嚮。有不由令者。然後誅之以刑。故刑一人而天下服。此儒家之所謂以禮和上下也。夫如是。則暴悍勇力之屬。爲之化而愿。旁辟曲私之屬。爲之化而公。矜糾收繚之屬。爲之化而調。然則兵家之所謂不戰而屈人之兵。又烏足以爲善之善乎。小說家弭兵之說。曰。見侮不辱。曰。情欲寡淺。曰。言其不利。曰。禁兵寢攻。強聒不舍。日夜不休。以救世息民。爲願。其說孟子與荀子辨之詳矣。荀卿子正論篇曰。子宋子曰。明見侮之不辱。使人不鬪。人皆以見侮爲

辱故鬪也。知見侮之爲不辱，則不鬪矣。應之曰：然則亦以人之情爲不惡侮乎？曰：惡而不辱也。曰：若是則必不得所求焉。凡人之鬪也，必以其惡之爲說，非以其辱之爲故也。今俳優侏儒狎徒，詈侮而不鬪者，是豈鉅知見侮之爲不辱哉？然而不鬪者，不惡故也。今人或入其央，竄其豬彘，則援劍戟而逐之，不避死傷，是豈以喪豬爲辱也哉？然而不憚鬪者，惡之故也。雖以見侮爲辱也，不惡則不鬪。雖知見侮爲不辱，惡之則必鬪。然則鬪與不鬪邪？乃在於惡之與不惡也。夫今子宋子不能解人之惡侮，而務說人以勿辱也，豈不通甚矣哉！金舌弊口，猶將無益也。不知其無益則不知，知其無益也，直以欺人則不仁。不仁不知辱，莫大焉。將以爲有益於人，則與無益於人也。則得大辱而退耳。說莫病是矣。子宋子曰：見侮不辱，應之曰：凡議必將立隆，正然後可也。無隆正則是非不分，而辨訟不決。故所聞曰：天下之大隆，是非之封界分職，名象之所起，王制是也。故凡言議，期命是非，以聖王爲師，而聖王之分榮辱是也。是有兩端矣。有義榮者，有執榮者；有義辱者，有執辱者。志意修，德行厚，知慮明，是榮之由中出者也。夫是之謂義榮，爵列尊，貢祿厚，形執勝，上爲天下諸侯，下爲卿相士大夫，是榮之從外至者也。夫是之謂執榮，流淫汗漫，犯分亂理，驕暴貪利，是辱之由中出者也。夫是之謂義辱，詈侮摔搏，捶笞臍脚，斬斷枯磔，藉靡舌綽，是辱之由外至者也。夫是之謂執辱，是榮辱之兩端也。故君子可以執辱，而不可以有義辱；小人可以有執榮，而不可以有義榮。有執辱無害爲堯，有執榮無害爲桀。義榮執榮，唯君子然後兼有之；義辱執辱，唯小人然後兼有之。是榮辱之分，聖王以爲法，士大夫以爲道，官人以爲守，百姓以爲成俗，萬世不能易也。今子宋子案不然。

獨誦容爲己慮。一朝而改之。說必不行矣。譬之是猶以塼涂塞江海也。以焦僥而戴太山也。踣跌碎折。不待頃矣。二三子之善於子宋子者。殆不若止之。將恐得傷其體也。子宋子曰。人之情欲寡。而皆以己之情欲爲多。是過也。故率其羣徒。辨其談說。明其譬稱。將使人知情欲之寡也。應之曰。然則亦以人之情爲欲。目不欲綦色。耳不欲綦聲。口不欲綦味。鼻不欲綦臭。形不欲綦佚。此五綦者。亦以人之情爲不欲乎。曰。人之情欲是己。曰。若是則說必不行矣。以人之情爲欲。此五綦者。而不欲多。譬之是由以人之情爲欲富貴。而不欲貨也。好美而惡西施也。古之人爲之不然。以人之情爲欲多。而不欲寡。故賞以富厚。而罰以殺損也。是百王之所同也。故上賢祿天下。次賢祿一國。下賢祿田邑。愿慤之民。完衣食。今子宋子以是之情爲欲寡。而不欲多也。然則先王以人之所不欲者賞。而以人之所欲者罰邪。亂莫大焉。今子宋子嚴然而好說。聚人徒。去私學。成文曲。然而說不免於以至治爲至亂也。豈不過甚矣哉。此荀子攻見侮不辱及情欲寡之說也。孟子曰。先生以利說秦楚之王。秦楚之王悅於利。以罷三軍之師。是三軍之士。樂罷而悅於利也。爲人臣者。懷利以事其君。爲人子者。懷利以事其父。爲人弟者。懷利以事其兄。是君臣父子兄弟。終去仁義。懷利以相接。然而不亡者。未之有也。此孟子攻其以利爲名也。由是觀之。見侮不辱之說。不足以救民之鬪。情欲寡淺之說。不足以息人之爭。以利爲名。不足以弭天下之兵。豈不彰彰然明著也哉。况夫利爲亂始。放於利而行多怨。孔子罕言利。孟子之首章。亦曰。何必曰利。常防其原也。利心存則爭端起。故曰。苟爲後義而先利。不奪不饜。好利之弊。可勝言哉。今夫戰爭攻伐。不惜犧牲其士民者。以求利也。然則以

利弭兵。是猶揚湯以止沸。抱薪以救火也。適足以亂天下耳。又何兵之能禁。戰之能寢乎。且夫禁兵寢攻。是偃兵也。自五帝以來。未有能偃兵而不用者也。而况於末世乎。荀卿子曰。彼仁者愛人。愛人故惡人之害之也。義者循理。循理故惡人之亂之也。彼兵者所以禁暴除害也。非爭奪也。又曰。凡誅非誅其百姓也。誅其亂百姓也。故古之聖王。有義兵而無有偃兵。亂則用。治則止。兵苟義。則所攻者無道。而所伐者有罪也。攻無道而伐有罪。則黔首利莫厚焉。亂而弗討。則天下之害莫大焉。故曰。舉凶器必殺。殺所以生之也。威不軌而昭文德者。兵之用也。故夫仁人之兵。所存者神。所過者化。東征而西夷怨。南征而北狄怨。民之望之。若大旱之望雲霓也。夫如是也。則攻戰爭奪之禍自弭矣。又何以禁兵寢攻爲哉。禁兵寢攻之說勝。則長暴亂而害善良也。攘天下擾百姓者。若論爲大亂之上也。治之下也。

雜家之弭兵也。以義兵爲弭兵。呂氏春秋召類篇曰。三王以上。固皆用兵也。亂則用。治則止。治而攻之。不祥莫大焉。亂而弗討。害氏莫長焉。論威篇曰。凡兵天下之凶器也。勇天下之勇德也。舉凶器。行凶德。猶不得已也。舉凶器必殺。所以生之也。淮南子兵略訓曰。古之用兵。非利土壤之廣。而貪金玉之略。將以存亡繼絕。平天下之亂。而除萬民之害也。與儒家所謂彼兵者所以禁暴除害也。非爭奪也。凡誅非誅其百姓也。誅其亂百姓也。之意相近。夫天生五材。民並用之。廢一不可。誰能去兵。故孔子云。有文事者不忘武備。兵之作固與始有民俱。不可廢。不可偃。兵苟義。則誅無道而罰不義。不以利而動。而無強暴相侵之舉。一切爭鬪之禍自弭。然則欲弭天下之兵。而救蒼生之劫。舍義兵其道何由。而呂氏之言。尤爲精當。昔符堅

率百萬之師攻晉，大敗於淝水，一蹶而不振，身不得死所，國祚遂絕。所謂治而攻之，不祥莫大焉者，非耶？唐代藩鎮擁兵自衛，腴削民財，日與鄰藩攻擊，而在上者不能討，朝命不出國門，寔淫而成五代。天下大亂，死人如麻，所謂亂而弗討，害民莫長焉者，非邪？烏乎可不懼哉！雖然，雜家以義兵爲弭兵，其說誠精矣，然詳於弭形式之兵，而不及弭無形之兵，爲根本解決之計，此其所短也。

由是言之，儒道諸家，其弭兵之說，則無不先自弭兵之爭，及救民之鬪始也。夫由個人之爭，進而爲族姓之爭，由族姓之爭，變而爲團體聯合之爭，由團體聯合之爭，而成爲國家觀念之爭，其造端之始，則由乎個人之爭。大學云：一家讓，一國興讓；一家仁，一國興仁；一人貪戾，一國作亂。其機如此，故平天下歸於正心誠意，意誠而後心正，心正而後身修，身修而後家齊，家齊而後國治，國治而後天下平。故天子至於庶人，壹是皆以修身爲本。夫個人之意不誠，則其心不正，心不正，則其身不修，而其家不齊，而欲國治而天下平，其可得乎？故曰：其本亂而末治者，否矣。民心之兵未弭，而天下之兵能弭者，未之有也。

顧諸家之所以弭人心之兵者，其道則異，其詳旣如上所論矣。道家之無欲，其說太高，墨家之兼愛，其說大博，宋鉞之見侮不辱，情欲寡淺之說，拂乎人情，然則舍儒家仁義禮讓之說，其道何由？善乎荀卿子之言曰：夫貴爲天子，富有天下，是人情之所同欲者也。然則從人之情，則執不能容，物不能贍也。故先王案爲之制禮義以分之，使有貴賤之等，長幼之差，知賢愚能不能之分，使人載其事而各得其宜，然後使慤祿多少厚薄之稱，是夫羣居和一之道也。故仁人在上，則農以力盡田，賈以察盡財，百工以巧盡器械，士

大夫以上至於公侯，莫不以仁厚知能盡官職。夫是之謂至平。故祿天下而不自以為多，或監門御旅抱關擊柝而不自以為寡。故曰斬而齊，枉而順，不同而一。夫是之謂人倫。荀子榮此荀子言仁義禮讓之效也。

或曰：儒家之道多迂闊而不切於事情。徐偃王以行仁義而亡，宋襄公以行仁義而敗，是仁義之道適足以促國家陷於危難之境，驅人民受荼毒之慘而已。夫何兵禍之能弭乎？應之曰：彼徐偃王、宋襄公者，所謂假仁義也。偃王欲假仁義以王，宋襄公欲假仁義以霸，非真行仁義者也。且偃王之亡，亡於偃武；襄公之敗，敗於黷武，非行仁義之過也。夫儒家之所謂仁義者，非偃革不用之謂也，所以弭戰爭侵伐之兵禍耳。故曰：彼兵者所以禁暴靜亂也，非為爭奪也。

烏乎！一將功成萬骨枯，戰爭之慘，兵燹之禍，誠生民之大劫哉！古之兵，僅以戈矛弓矢而已，以一人而殺一人，而有史以來所述之戰禍，其足以怵目驚心如此。况今者戰爭之器械日精，鎗彈所及，血肉橫飛，其殺人之慘，傷害之多，較之昔時，又不知其幾萬倍也。殺人之器日進而愈精，而戰爭之禍亦愈激而愈烈，幾何而不使全世界之民盡充矛盾也哉！

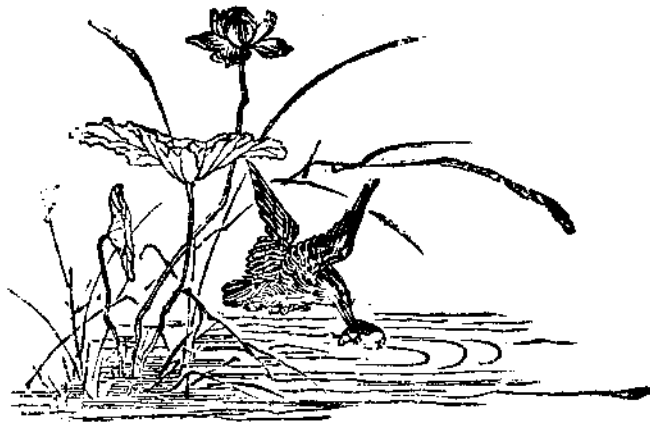
在今日東方西方，亦莫不感受兵之痛苦矣。我國十年來之擾亂，地方之被蹂躪，生民之遭塗炭，事實彰然，亦昭昭在人耳目矣。歐洲大戰數年，其死人之多，尤為罕聞。其敗者則岌岌乎難支，其勢幾不能以自存。而其勝者亦民窮財盡，幾鄰於破產之虞。今者各國亦知軍國主義之不能行矣，惜焉憂之，思所以弭

之之策。而創和平主義。排斥戰爭。以求達其永久和平之希望。而救斯民於水火之中。顧其所以求之之道。則非也。所謂國際聯盟會議者。不過權利公開。權利分配而已。所謂限制軍備者。不過毀人之軍器與武裝而已。夫爭競之念。根乎權利之心而來。權利所在。爭端隨之。權利之慾壑難填。則爭競之禍難已。故日倡和平。日言弭兵。而暗中之權利競爭如故也。個人有個人權利之競爭。社會有社會權利之競爭。國家有國家權利之競爭。世界人類終不能遠猛獸強盜之心。而欲人性止於至善。人道至於太平。是猶令虎狼之食齋茹素也。是猶南轅而北其轍也。故夫和平之約。等於紙屑。墨藩未乾。反覆無狀。軍備限制矣。而各圖張大其勢力如故也。而美名之曰。吾有此巨大之武裝。乃所以保障世界之和平。夫和平與武裝。乃立於絕對之地位者也。和平者息爭以求幸福者也。武裝者戰爭之利器。與和平背道而相馳者也。以擴充武裝爲和平之保障。人誰信之。且也此擴張軍備以保和平。彼亦將擴張軍備以保和平。彼此相競。勢不相容。及其極也。各國之勢力澎漲。達於極點。一旦偶於權利上有所衝突。相爭而不下。則必不免以干戈相見。申言之。今日之以武裝保障和平。適所以促成後日之殺伐耳。換言之。今日之擴充武備。乃預爲爭權利之後盾耳。是假仁義之名以濟其黷武之計也。昔者德人之敗。人固知爲軍國主義之失敗矣。然今者以武裝保障世界和平者。果非軍國主義乎。所謂超軍國主義者。乃軍國主義之變相耳。換其面目而行其實。是猶以暴易暴也。試觀列強無日不求富強之術。惟恐其軍備之不厚。仍欲各憑其實力以圖一舉。但牽於一時之利害。暫相調協耳。盲人騎瞎馬。夜半臨深池。不自知其禍之在眉睫也。烏乎。爲國

不以禮讓。止戈專求法律。反諸身不誠。藏乎心不恕。以此而欲求和平。殆夢焉耳。而將來之爲禍。必將愈烈。英相喬治有言。如有第二次戰禍。則歐洲將成灰燼。豈不然乎。且權利競爭之心日勝。則唯利是視。唯爭是競。充其極也。道德破產。人將相食。家庭且將有流血之虞。吾昧昧而思之。生民之大劫。正未有涯也。故欲弭人心之爭。非去權利之心不可。欲勝權利之心。非濟於儒家仁義之禮讓之說不可。反身而誠。強恕而行。而後權利之心可滅。權利之心滅。而後爭奪報復之禍根滅。夫然則孔子之太平世。其庶幾乎。夫儒家仁義禮讓之說。數千年經驗之良方也。有史以來。禍變多矣。而一治一亂。社會之秩序依然。天民之秉彜如故者。以有絜矩之大道存也。積春秋戰國三百餘年之分裂擾亂。漢高祖四年統一之。積五代五十六年之分崩戰爭。宋太祖不十年統一之。和平之勝殘去殺。無間然矣。卽今十年來。吾國之擾亂。亦云甚矣。而社會之秩序。尙未破壞者。賴儒家之道德學理以維持之也。烏乎噫嘻。當今之兵禍甚矣。民生之苦。蔑以加矣。果欲救世拯民。則此仁義禮讓之說。不可不察也。其諸君子亦樂道之耶。

(完)

論說五 中國之弭兵學說



專 著 一

孝經學 續

曹元弼

要旨第二

子曰。吾志在春秋。行在孝經。

中庸曰。唯天下至誠。爲能經綸天下之大經。立天下之大本。鄭氏曰。大經。謂六藝而指春秋也。大本。孝經也。

史記仲尼弟子列傳曰。孔子以曾參爲能通孝道。故授之業。作孝經。

陶淵明五孝傳曰。至德要道。莫大於孝。是以曾參受而書之。游夏之徒。常咨稟焉。

漢書藝文志曰。孝經者。孔子爲曾子陳孝道也。夫孝。天之經。地之義。民之行也。舉大者言。故曰孝經。

白虎通曰。孝經者。制作禮樂仁之本。

鄭氏六藝論曰。孔子以六藝題目不同。指意殊別。恐道離散。後世莫知根源。故作孝經以總會之。又孝經序曰。孝經者。三才之經。緯五行之綱。紀孝爲百行之首。經者。不易之稱。

黃氏道周曰。孝經者。道德之淵源。治化之綱領也。六經之本。皆出孝經。而小戴禮記四十有九篇。大戴禮

記三十有六篇。皆爲孝經疏義。蓋當時師偃商參之徒。習觀夫子之行事。誦其遺言。尊聞行知。萃爲禮論。而其至要所在。備於孝經。觀戴記所稱君子之教也。及送終時思之類。多繹孝經者。蓋孝爲教本。禮所由生。語孝必本敬。本敬則禮從此起。

曹元弼述孝篇曰。天地之大德曰生。生人者。天地也。父母也。天地父母能全而生之於始。而不能使各全其生於終。聖人者。代天地爲民父母。以生人者也。故曰產萬物者聖。聖之言生也。聖人將爲天地生人。必通乎生民之本。而順行之。故聖人能以天下爲一家。中國爲一人者。非他。順其性而已。性者生也。親生之膝下。是謂天性。惟親生之。故其性爲親。而卽謂生我者爲親。孩提之童。無不知愛其親也。親則必嚴。孩提之童。其父母之教令則從。非其父母不從也。父母之顏色稍不悅。則懼。非其父母不懼也。是嚴出於親。親者天性。嚴者亦天性也。親嚴其親。是之謂孝。是孝者性也。性者立教之本也。水之性流。掘地而注之。可以達於海。火之性烈。鑽燧而取之。可以燎於原。使人而本無性也者。人之性而本不親嚴其父母也者。則悖逆詐僞。爭奪相殺。固其所。而聖人將無所施其教。今人之性。旣親嚴其父母。若是則順而推之。可以無所不親。無所不嚴。無所不親之謂愛。無所不嚴之謂敬。試觀孩提愛親。少長卽知敬。由父兄而推之。凡在天屬。無不親也。其尊長無不嚴也。是卽率性而順行之。親嚴可以教愛敬之明效也。故曰君子務本。本立而道生。孝弟也者。其爲仁之本與。又曰親親仁也。敬長義也。仁義禮智之端。擴而充之。若火之始然。泉之始達。苟能充之。足以保四海矣。苟不充之。則不足以事父母。何也。人少則慕父母者。性也。及其長而好色。

也。妻子也。仕也。嗜欲攻取。天性日漓。親者疏而嚴者忽矣。何怪乎事君不忠。誤國殃民。犯上作亂。覆家亡身。以災及其親乎。卽或本心無他。而不達於道。以爲吾親則愛之。非吾親則不愛。吾親則敬之。非吾親則不敬。不敬則慢。不愛則惡。惡人者人亦惡之。慢人者人亦慢之。居上則亡。爲下則刑。在醜則兵。毀其身。危其親。雖日用三牲之養。其得爲孝乎。若此者。非無性也。無教也。無教則逆其性。逆其性則失其生。上古聖人。有生人之大仁。知性之大知。知人之相生。必由於相愛相敬。而相愛相敬之端。出於愛親敬親。愛親敬親之道。必極於無所不愛。無所不敬。使天下之人。無不愛吾親。敬吾親。確然見因性立教之可以化民也。推其至孝之德。卓然先行博愛敬讓之道。而天下之人。翕然戴之以爲君師。於是則天明。因地義。順人性。正夫婦。篤父子。而孝本立矣。序同父者爲昆弟。而弟道行矣。因而上治祖禰。下治子孫。旁治宗族。而親親之義備矣。博求仁聖賢人。建諸侯。立大夫。以治水火金木土穀之事。富以厚民生。教以正民德。司牧師保。勿使失性。勿使過度。上下相安。君臣不亂。而尊尊之道著矣。聖法立。王事修。民功興。則有同講聖法。同力王事。同卽民功者。謂之朋友。而民相信任信矣。三綱旣立。五倫旣備。天下貴者治賤。尊者畜卑。長者字幼。而民始得以相生。且賤者統於貴。卑者統於尊。幼者統於長。而民不得以相殺。於是教以孝。以敬天下之爲父者。而子說。教以弟。以敬天下之爲兄者。而弟說。教以臣。以敬天下之爲君者。而臣說。子說則孝。孝則親愛。弟說則弟。弟則禮順。臣說則忠。忠則居官理治。且愛親者不敢惡於人。敬親者不敢慢於人。天子愛敬四海之內。則得萬國之歡心。以事其先王。諸侯愛敬一國之人。則得百姓之歡心。以事其先君。卿大夫士

庶人愛敬其家。則得人之歡心。以事其親。自上至下。皆競競焉爲子臣弟少之事。雖天子必有父。必有兄。不敢驕溢。非法以取亂亡。是以天下和平。兆民乂安。重社稷。嚴宗廟。守祭祀。保體膚。禮教興行。刑措不用。集天下和睦之氣。升之天祖。尊之至而事天明。親之至而事地祭。大孝尊親。嚴父配天。普天率土。各以其職。生民之本盡。死生之義備。是謂大順。大順者。順其性也。夫人藏其心。不可測度也。凡有血氣。皆有爭心。知者詐愚。勇者威怯。强者陵弱。衆者暴寡。泯泯棼棼。散無友紀。至難治也。而聖人能爲之建極錫福。達禮定分。用人之知去其詐。用人之勇去其怒。用人之仁去其貪。尙辭讓。去爭奪。一道德。同風俗者。亦順之而已矣。孟子曰。天下之言性也。以利爲本。利者順也。禹之行水也。行其所無事也。教不肅而成。政不嚴而治。何事之有。蓋人之性。莫不愛親敬親。故可導之以愛人敬人。所謂順也。非強之使愛人敬人。乃以各遂其愛親敬親。所謂孝也。人之相與也。譬如舟車然。相濟達也。人非人不濟。馬非馬不走。水非水不流。不仁愛。則不能羣。不能羣。則養不足。懷於人者。亦懷之。出乎爾者。反乎爾者。故古之爲政。愛人爲大。不能愛人。不能有其身。傷其身。卽傷其親。故烹熟羶膻。嘗而荐之。非孝也。養也。養可能也。敬爲難。敬可能也。安爲難。安可能也。卒爲難。君子之所謂孝者。愛人以愛其身。愛其身以愛其親。生則親安之。祭則鬼享之。親沒而名立。是故有弗言。言思可道。有弗行。行思可樂。將爲善。思貽父母令名。必果。是故居處必莊。事君必忠。莅官必敬。朋友必信。戰陳必勇。是故父之齒隨行。兄之齒雁行。朋友不相踰。又能敬親之朋友。又能帥朋友以助敬也。是故愛人不親。反其仁。禮人不答。反其敬。有終身之憂。無一朝之患。是故克己復禮。天下歸仁。出

門如賓。承事如祭。己所不欲。勿施於人。在邦在家。和睦無怨。是故天子以德教光於四海爲孝。諸侯以保社稷。利人民爲孝。卿大夫以守宗廟爲孝。士以守祭祀爲孝。庶人以謹身爲孝。地以平。天以成。封建以固。井田以均。軍賦以出。學校以修。人才以多。官方以飭。禮俗以成。民氣以樂。寇昏以時。喪祭以嚴。朝聘以尊。處則有備。出則有威。天子守在四夷。諸侯守在四鄰。而天下莫敢有越厥志。是故天子以天下養。天子之祭也。與天下樂之。諸侯之祭也。與境內樂之。卿大夫士庶人之祭也。與宗族外姻朋友樂之。是故天子有田以處其子孫。諸侯有國以處其子孫。大夫有采以處其子孫。士食舊德之名氏。農服先疇之畎畝。商修族世之所鬻。工用高曾之規矩。其鬼神歆其禋祀。其民人享其土利。是故上好仁而下好義。事有終而財不匱。上之使下。如父兄之畜子弟。耳目之役手足。下之事上。如子弟之衛父兄。手足之捍頭目。開誠心。布公道。集衆思。廣忠益。爲天下得人。以定天下之業。以斷天下之疑。四方有患。必先知之。至明也。作內政。寄軍令。明恥教戰。信賞必罰。將帥協和。少長有禮。說以使民。民忘其死。無事則順治。有事則無敵。至強也。躬行節儉。爲天下先。務財訓農。通商惠工。地無餘利。人無餘力。家給人足。養生喪死無憾。至富也。備物致用。立成器以爲天下利。知者創物。能者世守。博師萬物。精益求精。黃帝用蚩尤之五兵。武王收肅慎之楛矢。通其變。神其化。至巧也。天下卽有卒然大患。而上下相親。人心固結。合天下之謀以爲謀。何詐之不破。合天下之力以爲力。何強之不服。天下人人出其財。何用之不足。天下人人竭其巧。何器之不利。天子勞心以拯生民之災。庶人效死以急君父之難。九年之水。七年之旱。不能殺。鬼方之師。昆夷之患。不能病。是故

勞動心力耳目而不必爲己。節用水火財物而不必藏於己。人不獨親其親。不獨子其子。老有所終。壯有所用。幼有所長。窮民有所養。男有分。女有歸。天地位。萬物育矣。此順之實也。孝之至也。故曰人之行莫大於孝。聖人之德無以加於孝。蓋聖人者爲天地生人者也。人非父母不生。亦非君不生。何也。爪牙不足以供嗜欲。趨走不足以避利害。無毛羽以禦寒暑。苟無君焉爲之興利除患。養欲給求。人之類必滅。欲既得矣。飲食則有訟。訟則有衆起。人人有賊人自利之心。橫行無忌之勢。苟無君焉爲之區處條理。勞來鎮撫。人之類亦必滅。故君者生人之大者也。天下一日無君。則猛虎長蛇。人立而搏噬。上下不交。而天下無邦。非無邦也。原野厭人之肉。川谷流人之血。邦無人也。聖人取類以正名。而謂君爲父母。謂民爲赤子。赤子離父母而能生者。未之有也。故曰父者子之天也。君者臣之天也。聖人作爲父子君臣。以爲紀綱。所以生人也。故孝子事君必忠。君臣之義與父子終始相維持。天下君君臣臣。而後人人得保其父子。上下各思永保其父子。而後爲君盡君道。爲臣盡臣道。君臣父子各盡其道。則天下相愛相敬。以相生養保全。永無奔亡篡奪生民塗炭之禍。是之謂孝治。夫天下至大也。治天下至難也。以一孝順之。而千萬人之心如一心。以千萬人之性本一性也。能盡其性。卽能盡人之性。故謂之至德要道。三皇五帝禹湯文武成王周公。未有不由此者。孔子兼包其盛德。以爲孝經。而仁覆萬世矣。

(未完)

專 著 二

諸子要略 續

孫德謙

宗旨

讀古人書，必能識其宗旨所在。斯誠非易事矣。然而有不可不知者焉。昔漢志之論諸子也，曰各推所長，以明其旨。是言諸子各自爲家，而其學則自其宗旨以爲之統。非偶然無所歸宿者也。雖然，宗旨維何？曰名家辨名，法家崇法。蓋必有一二字爲全書之綱領是已。夫諸子者，專家之業，其所以持之有故，言之成理。豈如後之文人，或則說經，或則論史，或則記事，或則言情，都爲一集，而雜糅無主哉。然自唐以下，一切屏之異端，不復考其宗旨矣。卽間有好之者，不失之附會，則失之瑣屑。恐千載以來，能辨別其宗旨者，未有此真識之士也。夫祖述堯舜，憲章文武，宗師仲尼，游文六經之中，留意仁義之際，此儒家之宗旨也。孟荀諸書，有不本諸古帝王，闡發經義，以孔子之言爲法者乎？清虛自守，卑弱自持，爲君人南面之術，此道家之宗旨也。今觀老莊關列，有不以清靜無爲爲南面聽治者，立之準乎？必也正名，名不正則言不順，此名家之宗旨也。其已佚者不可見，今所傳者，若鄧析，若尹文，若公孫龍，無不綜覈名實者，固其宗旨若是也。信賞必罰，以輔禮教，此法家之宗旨也。今雖慎子五篇，不足以窺其全。商君韓非，未必能合於禮。然其

以刑賞二者爲治國之大柄。則宗旨未嘗或乖也。推之農墨諸家。其原書誠有放佚不存者。然苟取班氏諸子一略。以探其立言之宗旨。則不難紬繹而得也。且吾讀墨子魯問篇曰。凡入國。必擇務而從事焉。國家昏亂。則語之尙賢尙同。國家貧。則語之節用節葬。國家憲音沈湎。則語之非樂非命。國家淫僻無禮。則語之尊天事鬼。國家務奪侵凌。則語之兼愛。然則墨子宗旨。於此數言盡之矣。故凡尙賢諸說。具有專篇者。可勿論。自親士以至三辯。彼七篇者。要之亦不外乎是。何以明之。親士也。所染也。謂人主必得人而理。非尙賢乎。尙同者。言臣必上同於君。親士篇。今有五錐而下。論人臣不同之害。及王者取同之義。則是尙同也。修身篇。有生死貧富之說。蓋言人貴修身。而生死貧富。則可存而不議。所以非命也。法儀篇。欲人法天鬼之明。非卽尊天事鬼乎。七患辭。過二篇。則顯爲節用節葬。不待煩言矣。三辯篇。以聖治不待於樂。其爲非樂。又灼然可見。由此觀之。墨子一書。宗旨備於魯問。有無事它求者也。設非然者。經上經下。與大小取六篇。皆名家之學。乃莊生所謂別墨。而非其要指矣。雖然。非徒墨子爲然也。吾嘗讀孫卿子矣。其言曰。老子有見於紂。無見於信。莊子蔽於天。而不知人。然後知老子之宗旨在紂。莊子之宗旨在天也。老子道德經。所言曲則全。王公自謂孤寡不穀。欲上人必以身下之。凡若此者。其意則主於卑紂矣。莊子以任天爲道。天謂天性也。卽其菲薄堯禹。剝削儒墨。在不知者。或譏其放言高論。啓後世清談之禍。而在莊子崇真黜僞。彼方痛堯舜而降。儒墨立仁義以爲教。人之喪其天真者。轉足竊其美名。而欺世以惑衆。故天者莊子之宗旨也。夫諸子道術。同歸殊塗。觀於荀子。不且一家之內。又有派別乎。然老莊宗旨。得其言而可

以推求矣。卽如荀子。其宗旨則歸諸禮。故曰人無禮則不生。事無禮則不成。國家無禮則不寧。不此之察。於性惡則闢之。於非思孟則訾之。將其修明儒術。潤色夫子之業。功在後祀者。皆從而掩沒之。嗚呼。何荀子受誣若斯之甚哉。夫性惡之說。在荀子特原禮之所由起。禮論篇曰。先王惡其亂也。故制禮義以分之。則禮義之作。爲人性惡而設。明矣。性惡篇。辯孟子之性善。則又曰。惡用聖王。惡用禮義。其意謂性必待禮教而後善。若人性有善而無惡。古之聖王。亦無用定禮也。後之輕肆詆諆者。無論矣。彼強爲扶護者。亦過謂末俗澆薄。荀子但有激而云然耳。若究其實。皆非也。荀子惟長於禮。故言性惡。斯真其宗旨在茲也。至於非十二子。並及思孟。近有以朱陸異同爲之排解者。是固足息鸞鷟之謗矣。然由吾言之。荀子所以非之者。亦懸禮以爲衡。何則。子思子非全書。誠不妄敢議。孟子嘗云。諸侯之禮。吾未之學。於周室班爵祿。則言其詳。不可得聞。豈非孟子所指者仁義。而禮正其所略乎。荀子曰。略法先王而不知其統。蓋以思孟二子。未能統宗於禮也。是故得乎宗旨。荀子之學。約之於禮可矣。且夫宗旨者。與家數相符者也。後之學者。旣不明其何者爲儒。何者爲道。去取則任心。是非則憑臆。於是儒家之晏子。道家之鸞子。甚有疑其爲假託者矣。夫周秦諸子。豈後人所能作僞哉。惟當考其宗旨何如耳。晏子春秋。其開宗明義。戒莊公之好勇。而示之以禮。此其所以爲儒也。若鸞子者。所言皆經國之務。此真可見道家之術。有裨治理。非可與神仙等視也。乃不先剖析其家數。而又不研研其宗旨。則何怪乎諸子專家之業。至於今而無以顯白於天下乎。豈不惜哉。夫諸子固各有其宗旨在也。

（未完）



專 著 三

補宋書宗室世系表

上虞羅振玉輯補

宋世系表序

沈約宋書表不傳。今采宋氏宗室之見紀傳者。輯爲此篇。且序之曰。宋武帝受終晉室。自永初改元。至於昇平之末。凡五世。六十年。本支百二十九人。其被殺者。百二十有一。而骨肉自相屠害者。八十。當齊初紀。彭城之族。蓋有存者。而帝之血屬。并長沙臨川二系。斬焉。夫一興一廢。國家代有。凡在公族。休戚同之。是以商孫不億。侯服于周。漢世王公。爭言符命。當易姓之際。忍恥事讎。并爲臣僕。以全生保姓者有矣。未有君臨天下。傳序九君。一朝革命。覆宗絕祀。殄無遺育。如宋氏之甚者也。方其完如景平。治如元嘉。威如大明。國祚未傾。羣生咸遂。而父子兄弟。日翦月屠。如恐不及。甚至舉宗就戮。禍及嬰兒。使幼者不得長。壯者不得育。遂致宗姓寡弱。王室陵遲。奸雄睥睨其旁。拱手以成斷流之禍。豈不哀哉。或者謂武帝起自布衣。經營天下。十有餘年。竟成王業。於時晉室宗親。誅鋤略盡。而同力舉義之人。罕有存者。創業垂統。取濟一時。非有積德累仁之舊。婁敬干寶之陳言。稍已迂闊而遠於事情矣。昔漢魏末世。雖見偪奪。而歷年傳嗣。終保元吉。下至昌邑海西。猶得盡其天年。未至公然操刃也。自平固解璽。人望未絕。武帝因之。以傾桓氏。

第

二

期

殷鑒在夏。零陵遂以不免。自是以降。禪代之君。異世同轍。而君親殺戮之禍。相沿而莫之革。實自帝始。象人以殉。猶或無後。况乎身爲戎首。禍流異代。而欲子孫令聞長世。豈有得哉。當帝踐阼之初。威德在人。中外帖服。所長慮卻顧。莫克遑息者。惟故主耳。及其揜被告殂。子孫磐石之計。雖至今存可也。曾不再稔。而前事之師。繼體之元子。先嘗其害。豈所謂天道好還。爲法自敝者乎。後嗣之陵夷。又其所矣。嗚呼。無一民尺土之藉。戰必勝。攻必取。總攬英才。振厲風俗。遺令詔繼嗣之意。信乎人傑矣。謂禍患之來。不可逆知。務增修於德。而毋或多殺不辜。以爲之備。斯三古哲王。所以祈天永命也。江都汪中

幼讀汪容甫先生補宋書宗室世系表序。而善之。深惜其表不傳。欲爲補輯。勿勿未果。閱歲四十。始以三日之力。成書一卷。而書其端曰。觀於有宋宗室之慘禍。知五倫之闕其一。其害竟如斯之酷矣。人之生也。親親長長。本乎天則。於是父子有親。長幼有序。夫婦有別。朋友有信。君臣有義。人紀於是乎立。夫父子兄弟。天屬之合也。若夫夫婦朋友君臣。則以人合者也。以愛由親始之。義言之。則天屬者爲親。而人合之夫婦朋友爲疏矣。推之君臣。則益疏矣。而以事實言。則無君臣。則國無統治。國無統治。家將安在。家無所托。身將疇依。譬以爲車。三十輻共一轂。而成輪。輪成。乃有車之用。使壞其一輻。而輪不固矣。若壞其轂。則羣輻皆無所麗。輪壞而車廢矣。方車工之爲輪也。先爲羣輻。而後爲之轂。以納焉。猶之先有身。有家。有鄉井。而後有君臣。以統治焉。轂廢而輻無所麗。君臣之倫廢。而羣倫得以保全。固未之前聞也。於是悖逆禍亂。一時俱起。其始也。忍於他族。其卒也。極其猜疑嫌忌之所至。馴及於天屬之親。勢不至自相剪屠不止。所

謂以其所不愛及其所愛不仁之至。人道遂與獸道邇矣。試觀夫宋武之詒謀與夫一門之慘禍。固可證吾說而無疑也。容甫先生謂自宋武受終晉室。迄於昇平之末。凡五世六十年。本支百二十九人。其被殺者百二十有一。而骨肉自相屠害者八十。予核以史官所紀。則帝之本支實百五十有八人。其令終者三。而子弑父者一。臣弑君者四。骨肉相賊者百有三。見殺於他人者六。夭折者三十六。無子國除及出奔者三。其令終與否不可知者二。更推之臨川長沙營浦三系。凡五十有四人。骨肉相賊者九。被殺於他人者十。夭折者七。令終者十二。不可知者十有六。是容甫先生所舉猶未盡核。殆欲爲之表而未果歟。今既列其世系。並將其人致死之由。一一疏於名字之下。以示不仁於人。鮮不馴及於己而益加酷焉。且以示君臣之倫廢。人紀罔不與之俱廢。宋室之禍。固前事之師矣。後世亂臣賊子。尙鑒之哉。辛酉八月上虞羅振玉書

一世

高祖武皇帝裕

字德輿。小字寄奴。漢楚元王交之後世居彭城綏輿里。至武原令混始居晉陵丹徒之京口里。混生東安太守靖。靖生郡功曹

二世

少帝義符

小字車兵。卽位逾年。被廢徐羨之使人弑之。金昌亭年十九

三世

南豐縣王朗

字元明。以江夏王義恭長子繼湘州刺史。爲元凶劭所殺

四世

嗣王銑

以長沙成王義欣子韞之子繼與韞同誅。嗣王績。以興安侯義賓子琨之子繼齊受禪。國除

五世

翹翹生高祖高祖代
晉尊翹為孝穆皇帝
高祖在位三年崩年
六十七

廬陵孝獻王義真

小字車士南豫州刺
史徐羨之奏廢之尋
遇害年十八

嗣王紹

字休胤以太祖第五
子繼揚州刺史薨年
二十一

恭王敬先

本名敬秀以南平王
鑠第三子繼景和二
年為前廢帝所殺

嗣王子輿

字孝文敬先見殺以
世祖第二十一子繼
尋為太宗所殺

嗣王德

子輿被殺復以桂陽
王休範第二子繼淮
陵南彭城二郡太守
後廢帝元徽二年與
休範同被誅

元王暠

字淵華以臨澧侯襲
第三子繼給事申昇
明元年薨無子國除

偉之

迪之

彬之

太祖文皇帝義隆

小字車兒在位三十
年為太子劭所弑

元凶劭

字休遠以弑逆伏誅

始興王濬

字休明小字虎頭荆
州刺史黨於元凶劭
伏誅

世祖孝武皇帝駿

字休龍小字道民在
位十一年崩年三十
五

劭四子其一子尚未

名並與劭同誅

長文

長仁

長道

並與濬同誅

前廢帝子業

小字法師在位逾年
晝寢之等弑之於華
林園年十七

豫章王子尚

字孝師都督揚南徐
二州諸軍事領尚書
為廢帝所殺年十六

晉安王子勛

字孝德江州刺史太
宗定亂不受命兵敗
被殺年十一

松滋侯子房

字孝良初封尋陽王
會稽太守以與子勛

同拒命貶爵尋廢徙
被殺年十一

臨海王子頊

字孝烈平西將軍以
應子助賜死年十一

始平孝敬王子鸞

字孝羽南徐州刺史
前廢帝時賜死年十
歲

永嘉王子仁

字孝和湘州刺史未
拜賜死年十歲

始安王子眞

字孝貞南兗州刺史
遷丹陽尹未拜賜死
年十歲

邵陵王子元

字孝善湘州刺史未

冲王延年

字德冲以建平王景
素子繼薨年四歲

嗣王延之

延年既薨復以長沙
王纂子繼昇明三年
薨國除

之鎮賜死年九歲

齊敬王子羽

字孝英年二歲薨

淮南王子孟

字孝光泰始二年改

封安成王未拜賜死

年八歲

晉陵孝王子雲

字孝舉年四歲薨

南海哀王子師

字孝友為前廢帝所

害年六歲

淮陽思王子霄

字孝雲年四歲薨

東平王子嗣

字孝叔初出嗣東平

王休倩生母謝昭容

奏請還本從之尋賜

死年四歲

子深

子鳳

南平穆王鑠
 字休玄小字烏羊侍
 中司徒世宗以其黨

子玄
 子衡
 子文
 子况
 子雍
 以上七人並未封早
 殤
 子趨
 子期
 子悅
 並未封為明帝所殺
 武陵王贊
 字仲敷小字智隨明
 帝既盡殺孝武諸子
 乃以第九子繼孝武
 昇明二年薨年九歲
 國除
 懷王敬猷
 黃門郎為前廢帝所
 殺

元凶劬納藥食中殺
之年二十三

敬淵

後軍將軍為前廢帝
所殺

嗣王子產

字孝仁以孝武帝第
十八子繼未拜被殺

嗣王伯玉

以衡陽恭王嶷弟二
子繼給事中昇平二
年被殺國除

世子景粹

為沈慶之所殺

竟陵王誕

字休文南兖州刺史
以猜疑舉兵反兵敗
被殺年二十七

建平宣簡王宏

字休度中書監尙書
令卒年二十五

嗣王景素

南徐州刺史以猜疑
舉兵被殺年二十五

秭歸侯恬

以長沙成王義欣子
總第三子繼昇明二
年卒國除

嗣子延齡

與二少弟同坐誅

廬江王禕

字休秀南豫州刺史
坐怨譏逼令自殺年
三十五

晉熙王昶

字休道徐州刺史以
被嫌奔魏

充明

南彭城東莞二郡太
守被廢卒年二十八
無子

思遠

早卒

池陽縣侯懷遠

早卒追封

承緒

魏駙馬都尉早卒

文遠

輝

字重昌魏駙馬都尉

嗣王燮

字仲綏以太宗第六
子繼揚刺史齊州受
禪降封隆安縣侯尋
賜死

武昌王渾

字休淵雍州刺史以
狂悖見廢逼令自殺
年十七

(未完)

專 著 四

和林三唐碑跋

釋 持

闕特勤碑跋

右闕特勤碑。唐玄宗御製御書。事見唐書突厥傳。一云默啜既爲拔曳固殘卒所殺。骨咄祿子闕特勤合故部攻殺小可汗及宗族略盡。立其兄默棘連。是爲毗伽可汗。默棘連本蕃稱小殺。性仁友。自以立非己功。讓於闕特勤。特勤不敢受。乃嗣位。開元四年。以特勤爲左賢王。專制其兵。開元八年。敗拔悉密兵。又敗涼州都督楊敬述。突厥遂大振。九年。天子東巡。張說議調兵備邊。裴光庭不可。說曰。突厥雖請和。難以信結也。其可汗仁而愛人。闕特勤善戰。噉欲谷愈老愈智。李靖世勳流也。十九年。闕特勤卒。使金吾將軍張去逸都官郎中呂向奉璽詔弔祭。帝爲刻辭於碑。仍立廟像。四垣圖戰陣狀。詔高手工六人往。繪寫精肖。其國人以爲未嘗有。默棘連視之。心悲哽。未幾。默棘連卒。帝遣宗正李佺爲立廟。詔史官李融文其碑。不若待闕特勤之優渥矣。碑在鄂爾昆河側。元之和林路。卽遼史太祖本紀所謂古回鶻城之地。耶律鑄雙溪醉隱集取和林詩注云。和林城。苾伽可汗之故地也。太宗於此起萬安宮。城西北七十里。有苾伽可汗宮城遺址。城東北七十里。有唐明皇開元壬申御製御書闕特勤碑。新舊唐書特勤皆作銜勒之勒。誤

也。諸突厥遺俗，猶呼其可汗之子弟爲特勤。特謹字，按突厥語無可攷，而蒙古口語歷久相沿，可敦之爲哈屯，達干之爲答爾罕，葉護之爲詳穩，爲桑昆，爲想昆，舊語斑斑，可相證合。然則古之所謂特勤，卽元史之的斤，亦卽今蒙語所謂台吉矣。闕特勤樹立毗伽，專其兵柄，開元十年以後，北邊無警，實賴其功。故元宗待之恩禮優隆，迴踰恆等。全唐文錄元宗弔突厥可汗弟闕特勤書，有追念痛惜，何可爲懷，今申弔賻，並遣致祭之語，蓋卽呂向等所奉璽書。而此碑不傳，獨耶律雙溪一人見之耳。此碑爲攷據和林之堅證，得此碑而和林所在，異說紛紛，不待考而自破矣。

突厥苾伽可汗碑跋

右突厥苾伽可汗碑，唐開元二十三年勅賜建立，起居舍人李融文，書人無名，而字體與闕特勤碑甚相似。彼爲明皇御書，或疑此碑亦當然。顧御書不應無題識，碑多斷蝕，不能臆決矣。碑在鄂爾坤河傍，與闕特勤碑相近。土人稱闕特勤爲秋王，稱此碑爲莫紀鄰王陵碑。莫紀鄰卽默棘連，亦作默矩。苾伽之名，唐人又謂之小殺。開元詔書初稱爲突厥煞，後稱爲兒可汗。賢力毗伽公主墓誌謂之三十姓天上得毗伽煞可汗。新舊唐書暨唐人文字，皆作毗伽。惟張曲江文集作苾伽，與耶律鑄雙溪集合，今題爲苾伽可汗者，依雙溪集文也。碑文殘剝特甚，文句難可創通，所以知爲苾伽碑者，第藉首行撰人銜名及文末使佺立廟云云，與唐書默棘連死帝爲發哀使宗正卿李佺弔祭因立廟史官李融文其碑相證合耳。雙溪集言苾伽可汗宮城，言闕特勤碑，獨不言此碑，當時不應不見，或亦以其殘泐，不可省視而忽之，計碑壞之

時固在元代以前矣。突厥盛於周隋之間。至頡利被擒亡國。唐太宗欲建思摩。纘阿史那統緒。而不克有成。骨噶祿默噶弟兄挺身亡虜之中。鳩合散亡。驅率迸逸。北摧葛祿。東服契丹。處木典以拓西。回紇避之。河右巨地萬里。幾復舊疆。其材力似鮮卑檀石槐。其剽悍過匈奴赫連屈丐。苾伽繼之。仁惠有聞。始終親唐。靡有異意。明皇結以父子。恩逮存亡。冊命貺榮。璽書褒德。凡諸詔令。與碑文詞意大同。摩塗殘石。可以想見當時撫御微權也。苾伽沒而諸子不振。自後回紇乃雄據朔陲矣。碑立在開元二十三年。苾伽之沒。在二十二年。新舊書並無苾伽卒年。此可補闕者。新書稱苾伽子嗣位者。先伊難。後登利。唐會要開元二十二年。毗伽爲其臣梅錄噶毒死。子登利立。據文末稱口利可汗度承遺訓。明指登利言之。則與會要相證明。又可糾新書之誤者矣。張曲江集有勅突厥可汗書云。勅兒登利突厥可汗。天不福善。禍鍾彼國。苾伽可汗頓逝。聞以惻然。又聞可汗繼立。蕃落甯靜。可汗先人與朕爲子。可汗卽合爲孫。以孫比兒。似疏少許。今欲可汗還且爲兒。又一勅與登利云。日月流邁。將逼葬期。朕以父子之義。情與年深。及聞宅兆。良以追悼。所請葬期。料事事不違。禮物有加。將答忠孝。今遣從叔金吾大將軍佺持節弔兼營護葬事。且以爲保。忠信者可以示子孫。息兵革者可以訓疆場。故遣立碑建廟。貽範紀功。因命史官正辭。朕亦親爲篆寫。云云。前一勅足證登利之繼苾伽。後一勅則建碑命意具焉。云親爲篆寫。則竟是開元御書矣。碑在三音諾顏旗界中。與額爾德尼招相距匪遠。倘有內地良工。精施氈罽。度所得字。當不止此。諸字句可疑者。亦當待精拓定之耳。此碑與闕特勤皆有碑陰。有碑側。皆突厥字形。與唐會要所載羣牧印字略相同。

唐口姓迴鶻受登里囉汨沒密施合毗伽可汗聖文神武碑跋

此碑在喀喇庫魯木城中。喇喀庫魯木。卽元世之哈喇和林。唐書回鶻傳之回鶻城。會要所謂常居北山。以比長安者。遼史太宗本紀之古回鶻城。元史巴爾朮阿爾忒的斤傳之別力跛力。皆一地也。碑文殘闕。文無首尾。亦無年號歲月。不能知爲何時所立。以文中所述諸汗事跡攷之。當在貞元中。此愛登里囉汨沒密施合毗伽可汗。當卽唐書愛騰里邏羽錄沒密施合胡祿毗伽懷信可汗。碑首所稱國於北方都於噶崑明智治國積有歲年者。總略骨力裴羅以上諸世也。口口嗣位天生英斷。萬姓賓服。數年之間。復國革命者。指骨力裴羅也。回紇自骨力裴羅始。奄有北方。居突厥之牙廷。殲滅其遺胤。而收其全土。故有革命之稱。先是薛延陀滅。回紇吐迷度已私稱汗。號於同羅水上。盡領磧北諸蕃。暨則天時。突厥默啜復彊。回紇乃與契苾等三部徙避甘涼間。失其故地。至裴羅擊走突厥烏蘇可汗。復襲殺拔悉密頡跌伊施可汗。徙牙烏德。鞭山噶昆河之側。而後復其磧北故地。故有復國之言。裴羅自稱骨咄祿毗伽闕可汗。遼史太祖紀。克回鶻。磧闕遏可汗碑紀功。闕遏卽闕之長言。義與闕特勤闕俟斤闕噉同。契丹人不能知回鶻古事。磧碑時必據碑字名之。此嗣位上文字全損。惜無由攷其爲作闕可汗抑作闕遏可汗矣。頡翳德密施毗伽可汗者。唐書之磨延曠也。頡咄登密施合俱錄口者。唐書之牟羽可汗也。新書稱牟羽汗號曰頡咄登里骨噉密施合俱祿英義建功毗伽可汗。舊書稱牟羽汗號曰登里頡噉登密施合俱祿英義建功可汗。頡噉卽頡咄。以碑文證之。則舊書爲是。新書里骨二字錯出。蓋沿會要文誤。所謂幣重言重乞師滅

唐者。卽史所載史朝義誅牟羽可汗以唐薦有喪社稷無主請可汗南收府庫其富不貲事。其所謂可汗憤彼孤恩親口驍雄與王師尅復京洛。則指牟羽與僕固懷恩收復東京事。是時牟羽實爲朝義所誘而南。而碑文若仗義以討朝義者。唐旣歸功。因而飾之。文其過舉耳。其云口口可汗嗣位雄才勇略內外脩明者。頓莫賀殺牟羽而自立。唐册拜爲長壽天親可汗者也。其云愛登里囉沒密施俱錄毗伽可汗者。頓莫賀之子多邏斯。唐册拜爲愛登里沒密施合俱錄毗伽忠貞可汗者也。多邏有子曰阿噉嗣立。受册五年而卒。此略去不書。徑以汨咄祿爲其子。汨咄祿唐書作骨咄祿。會要稱爲骨噉祿將軍。唐書敘其嗣位事云。本踈跌氏少孤。爲大首領所養。辨敏材武。天親時數主兵。諸酋尊畏。阿噉無子。諸酋扶而立之。以藥羅葛氏世有功。不敢自名其族。盡取可汗子孫納之朝廷。會要云懷信不敢言奉誠。從人望也。然則碑之略去阿噉者。蓋探汨咄祿之隱情而爲之諱避。旣直以爲多邏斯子。則疑史所謂大首領養以爲子者。卽多邏斯養以爲子矣。碑所言可汗龍潛之時都督刺史內外宰相口官等奏云云。蓋追叙其爲相時事。唐以六都督七州名鐵勒諸部。而回紇官有內宰相六外宰相三。回鶻所統僕固拔曳古等部爲都督。渾契苾爲刺史。囉羅勿等九姓爲內外宰相。侈大其辭。與史言諸酋畏服合。其言葛祿與吐蕃連口庭半收半圍之。次天可汗親統大軍討滅元凶收復城邑者。當多邏斯世。三葛祿與白服突厥沙陀同附吐蕃。攻陷北廷。大相頡干迦斯救之。大敗奔還。葛祿又取浮圖川。回鶻震恐。阿噉世回鶻擊吐蕃葛祿於北廷。勝之。且來獻俘。史不言取北廷。然唐末積西之地。西州北廷。仍爲九姓所居。以逮宋初。常通朝貢。元時諸部。

猶存奠系。是北廷之失於吐蕃。無幾時而汨咄祿卽復之。史文不載。可以相補。碑首行內宰相頡干迦思。卽史之大相頡干迦斯也。真珠河見西域傳。云石西南有藥殺水入中國。謂之真珠河。亦曰質河。準其地望。蓋元之霍闡沒輦。今之那林河。救龜茲而兵及那林。蓋兵出今新疆南路。由阿克蘇踰騰格里山之貢古魯克卡。而西向敖罕。此爲唐世天山南北相通之孔道。其下云追奔逐北。西至拔賀那。拔賀那卽今敖罕地也。黑姓毗伽可汗者。突騎施之酋。突騎施有黃姓黑姓。皆立可汗。互相攻伐。史言乾元中黑姓可汗阿多裴羅猶能入貢。大曆後浸微。臣服葛祿。據此碑。則貞元末黑姓尙有可汗。與葛祿並峙。國未亡也。十箭爲西突厥之遺民。三姓亦突騎施之部落。史稱開元中以都摩支闕頡斤爲三姓葉護。與碑語可相證。發第史本傳。惟言娑葛後爲黃姓。蘇祿爲黑姓。西突厥傳。唐平賀魯。以突騎施索葛莫賀部卽娑葛爲嗚鹿都督府。以突騎施阿利施部爲絜山都督府。亦祇二部。其又一姓。蓋不可攷矣。碑文所稱明教。卽摩尼教之文言。史稱回鶻可汗與摩尼共國。唐會要。元和二年。迴紇請於河南府河東府置摩尼寺。佛祖統紀。大曆三年。迴紇請於荆揚洪越置摩尼寺。其徒白衣白冠。相聚淫穢。會昌中。迴紇旣亡。詔廢其寺。女末尼皆斬。係回鶻人流之遠道。外宅迴鶻。修功得者。並勒冠帶。陸游論吃菜事魔事狀云。江東謂之牟尼教。福建謂之明教。其事神曰明使。白衣烏帽。所在成社。末尼本出西胡。蓋杜環經行記所謂尋尋法者。開元以後。爲大食所驅。乃東徙而入回鶻。法王明使。其教之規模習尙。大略可知。牟羽始尊之。汨咄祿復揚其波焉。作碑者疑卽其教人。故詆佛甚力。尊之曰明教。猶大秦碑之言景教。若唐世官私文字。固但有大秦寺末

尼寺。無景教明教之目也。碑題姓字上所闕蓋九字。舊唐本紀。回鶻冊封汗號皆繫九姓於其端。與突厥賢力公主墓志稱三十姓。天上得突厥煞可汗例同。舊書稱回紇改爲回鶻。在元和四年。新書稱在貞元四年。通鑑依新書。攷異云。續會要統紀北荒君長錄。鄴侯家傳並同新書。此碑立於汨咄祿世。而字作迴鶻。亦可爲新書作一證也。愛登里囉。猶華言果報。毗伽華言足意智。譯義見舊書。嗚崑卽鄂爾坤和。



專 著 五

長春道教源流

羅浮酥醪洞主陳教友著

全真教總論

酥醪洞主曰。道教之興。以元爲盛。其始全真教。邱長春子。見太祖於西域。賜號神仙。爵大宗師。掌管天下道教。而其時有真大道教者。始自金季劉德仁。五傳而至酈希誠。見知憲宗。授真人。領教事。世祖時。復命其徒孫德福。統轄諸路真大道。錫銅章銀印。三傳而至張志清。授演教大宗師。又有太一教者。始自金天眷中蕭抱珍。四傳而至蕭輔道。世祖居潛邸時。召至和林。留居宮邸。以老請授弟子李居壽。掌其教事。至元十三年。賜居壽太一掌教宗師印。又有正一教者。始自漢張道陵。至三十六代宗演。當世祖平江南時。召之入覲。命主領江南道教。其後子與棣與材。暨與材子嗣成。皆襲掌教爲天師。而其徒張留孫吳全節者。並授爲玄教大宗師。位上卿。其事備見於元史。又明王圻續文獻通考。稱至元十七年。以三茅上清四十三代宗師許道杞別主道教。十八年。詔三茅山三十八代宗師蔣宗瑛赴闕。此其爲教。蓋別於前數家。續文獻通考又言金章宗時。禁以混元受籙私建庵室者。而元耶律楚材西遊錄序。亦言混元爲老氏之邪。此又別自爲教。其徒不見於史。不能詳也。故道教至元而極盛。亦至元而多歧。

然考宋邵博聞見後錄稱東坡書上清宮碑云。道家者流。本於黃帝老子。其道以清淨無爲爲宗。以虛明應物爲用。以慈儉不爭爲行。合於周易何思何慮。論語仁者靜壽之說。當時伊川誦此數語。以爲古今論仁。最有妙理。是則爲道教者。必當以此爲依歸。元之世他教不必論。若全真教者。核其行事。與此膾合。至邱長春子。當殺運方熾之時。以七十餘歲之老翁。行萬數千里之絕域。斷斷然以止殺勸其主。使之回車。此則幾於禹稷之已溺已飢。而同符於孔席不暇煖。墨突不得黔之義。蓋仁之大者也。予故輯此書。名曰長春道教源流。而並采當時論全真之說。先揭之。使後之學道者。知所趨向焉。

王重陽事蹟彙紀

附馬譚劉王郝孫紀略

酥醪洞主曰。世稱道教有南北二宗。其南宗謂自東華少陽君得老聃之道。以授漢鍾離權。權授唐進士呂巖。巖授遼進士劉操。操授宋張伯端。伯端授石泰。泰授薛道光。道光授陳楠。楠授白玉蟾。玉蟾授彭相。其北宗謂呂巖授金王嘉。嘉授七弟子。其一邱處機。餘爲馬鈺。譚處端。劉處玄。王處一。郝大通。及鈺之妻孫不二。明宋濂潛溪集都印三餘叢筆云。出自鍾呂。金密國公瑋碑云。重陽遇二異人於醴泉。詢其鄉貫。答曰。濮人。姓則不知也。以續文獻通考。鍾離權咸陽人。呂真人本傳。巖世爲河中府永樂縣人。核之重陽所遇。既云濮人。必非鍾呂可知。瑋碑又云。後復遇至人。飲以神漢。亦不稱爲何人。而樗櫟道人金蓮正宗記云。重陽所遇二道者。問其鄉里。答曰。蒲板永樂。又云。重陽飲甘河仙酌。道人告曰。吾海蟾公也。所述與瑋碑大異。其書前序題太歲

辛丑。蓋撰於蒙古太宗十三年至至元六年。詔贈教主東華紫府少陽帝君。鍾離正陽開悟傳道真君。

呂真人純陽演正警化真君。劉真人海蟾明悟弘道真君。王真人重陽全真開化真君。令掌教張志敬

執行。見姚繼撰王玉陽道行碑及仙源像傳於是重陽出自鍾呂海蟾。竟成故實。自爾北宗遂有五祖七真之說。元劉天素謝西

韓仙源像傳李道謙撰七真年譜皆明言所遇為純陽海蟾竊嘗考之。純陽仙蹟。顯於宋世。如稱回道道人回處士無上宮主無心昌

老及作二方竅山下三口之類。諸家紀載不一而足。朱子亦謂渡江以前說甚。呂洞賓鍾離權。而宋何

蓮春渚紀聞云。真廟時有天神憑。鳳翔民言海蟾新得道。諸天皆賀。惟未肯便就仙職。折旋塵中。尋人

而度。是海蟾靈蹟。亦著關中。當時學道人必皆以此為宗祖。重陽全真集有酹江月詞云。正陽的祖。又

純陽師父。修持深奧。更有真尊。誰是叔。海蟾同居三島。弟子重陽。侍尊玄妙。手內擎芝草。歸依至理。就

中偏許通耗。詳詞意。蓋文王我師。願學孔子之謂。非謂親承授受。仙源像傳即引此詞為附會集內又有虞美人詞

下註云。余嘗從甘河攜酒一瓢。欲歸菴。道逢一先生云。害風肯與我酒喫否。余與之。先生一飲而盡。却

令余以瓢取河水。余取得水。授與先生。先生復授余令飲。余飲之。乃仙酌也。詞云害風飲水知多少因此通玄妙白麻納襪布青

申好模好樣真箇好精神不須鏡子前來照事重陽自言祇云一先生。不稱海蟾。與璿碑合。然則金

蓮正宗記所述。其為附會無疑義矣。故茲編所錄。不溯諸鍾呂海蟾。而斷自重陽始。明王世貞弇州山

人稿云。重陽所為說。未嘗引鍾呂。而元世以正陽純陽追稱之。蓋處機意所謂張大其說而行之者。考

長春磻溪集。述其師行教事甚夥。無一字及鍾呂。集中惟題鍾呂畫一詩云。無我無人性自由。一師一

專著五 長春道教源流

四

弟話相投談經演法三山坐駕霧騰雲萬里游泛為稱讚不作私淑景行語也

西遊記稱丙戌盤山清長春師黃籙醮有吳大

柳德明者以四絕旬來上師次韻答之其一云燕國海蟾公亦此州超凡入

聖洞寶德一時鶴駕歸蓬島萬劫仙鄉出土邱其於海蟾亦不作私淑語當日張大其說實始於樗櫟道

人時長春化去已十餘年矣矣州偶未之考耳

馬了道丹陽去得乘風又譚真重陽師父遇師呂祖玄通十年

呂海蟾相傳玄奧其詞隱約似謂親承授受此疑樗櫟道人所點竄若分梨十化集云丹陽問余不住飲冷

偽又相矛盾此為託不待言矣

(未完)

專 著 六

摩尼教流行中國考

王國維

志磐佛祖統紀卷三十九延載元年波斯國人拂多誕西海大秦國人持二宗偽經來朝。

案二宗摩尼教經名見佛祖統紀卷四十八拂多誕摩尼教僧侶之一級見摩尼教殘經是為摩尼經入中國之始。

册府元龜卷九十七開元七年六月大食國吐火羅國南天竺國遣使朝貢其吐火羅國支汗那王上表獻解天文人大慕闍其人智慧幽深問無不知伏乞天恩喚取慕闍親問臣等事意及諸教法知其人有如

此之藝能望請令其供奉并置一法堂依本教供養。
太平寰宇記卷八十六開元七年吐火羅國葉護支汗那帝除獻天文人大慕闍請加試驗。

按九姓回鶻可汗碑摩尼傳教師謂之慕闍此大慕闍疑亦摩尼師也。

通典卷四十四開元二十年七月勅末摩尼本是邪見妄稱佛教誑惑黎元宜嚴加禁斷以其西胡等既是鄉法當身自行不須科罪。

九姓回鶻愛登里囉汨沒蜜施合毗伽可汗聖文神武碑上師將睿息等四僧入國闡揚二祀洞徹三際。

况法師妙達明門，精通七部，才高海岳，辯若懸河，故能開正教於迴鶻。□□□□□□□□為法立大功績，乃□□倭悉德於時都督刺史，內外宰相，中今悔前非，願事正教，奉旨宣示，此法微妙，難可受持，再三懇口，往者無識，謂鬼為佛，今已誤真，不可復事，特望□□□□□□□□，既有至誠，任即持受，應有刻畫魔形，悉令焚熱，祈神拜鬼，並中受明教，薰血異俗，化為蔬飯之鄉，宰殺家邦，變為勸善之國，故□□□之在人，上行下效，法王聞受，正深讚慶。□□□□□□德領諸僧尼，入國闡揚，自後慕闡徒眾，東西往來，循環教化。

案此記摩尼教人回鶻事，碑記於□登里囉汨沒蜜施頡啜登蜜施合俱錄毘伽可汗（即唐書之英義建功毘伽可汗）之世，回鶻助唐滅史朝義之後，事殆在唐代宗廣德元二年矣。

祖佛統記_{十一卷四}大歷三年，勅回紇奉末尼者，建大雲光明寺，六年，回紇請於荆揚洪越等州置大雲光明寺，其徒白衣白冠。

唐會要_{十九卷四}貞元十五年，以久旱，命摩尼師求雨。

資治通鑑_{三十七卷二百}元和元年，是歲回鶻入貢，始以摩尼偕來，於中國置寺處之，其法日晏乃食，食葷而不飲，酒酪，回鶻信奉之，或與議國事。

舊唐書憲宗紀，元和二年正月庚子，回紇請於河南府太原府置摩尼寺，許之。

白氏文集_{十卷四}與迴鶻可汗書，其東都太原置寺，已令人勾當，事緣功德，理合精嚴，又有彼國師僧，不必更勞人檢校，其見撚拓勿施鄔達等，今並放歸，所令帝德將軍安慶雲供養師僧，請住外宅，又令骨都祿

將軍充檢校功德使。其安悉立請隨班次放歸本國者。並依來奏。想宜知悉。今賜少物。具如別錄。內外宰相及判官摩尼師等。並各有賜物。至宜准數分付。內外宰相官吏師僧等。並存問之。遺書指不多及。

舊唐書回紇傳。元和八年十二月二日。宴歸國回鶻摩尼八人。令至中書。見宰臣。先是回鶻請和親。憲宗使司計之。禮費約五百萬貫。方內有誅討。未任其費。以摩尼爲回鶻信奉。故使宰臣言其不可。

又穆宗紀。長慶元年五月。迴鶻宰相都督公主摩尼等五百七十三人入朝。

唐國史補。下卷回鶻常與摩尼議政。故京師爲之立寺。其法日晚乃食。敬水而茹葷。不飲乳酪。其大摩尼數年一易。往來中國。小者年轉。江嶺西市商胡囊橐。其源生於回鶻有功也。

會昌一品集。五卷賜回鶻書。朕二年以來。保護可汗一國。內阻公卿之議。外遏將帥之言。朕於可汗。心亦至矣。可汗亦宜深鑒事體。早見歸還。所求種糧及安存摩尼。尋勸退渾黨項。劫掠等事。並當應接處置。必遣得宜。

同上。五卷賜回鶻可汗書。摩尼教天寶以前。中國禁斷。自累朝緣回鶻敬信。始許施行。江淮數鎮。皆令闡教。近各得本處申奏。緣自聞回鶻破亡。奉法因茲懈怠。蕃僧在彼。稍似無依。吳楚水鄉。人情囂薄。信心既去。翕集至難。且佛是大師。尙隨緣行教。與蒼生緣盡。終不力爲。朕深念異國遠僧。欲其安堵。且令於兩都及太原信嚮處行教。其江淮諸寺權停。待回鶻本土安寧。卽却令如舊。

同上。八卷十 討回鶻制。其回鶻旣以破滅。義在剪除。宜令諸道兵馬。並同進討。河東立功將士以下。優厚給

賞續次條疏處分。應在京外宅及東都修功德回鶻。並勒冠帶。各配諸道收管。其回鶻及摩尼等莊宅錢物。並委功德使與御史臺京兆府各差精強幹事官。點檢收錄。不得容諸色職掌人及坊市富人。輒有影占。如有犯者。並當極法。錢物納官。摩尼等僧。委中書門下。卽時條疏聞奏。

唐書回鶻傳。回鶻元和初再朝獻。始以摩尼至。其法日晏始食。飲水茹葷。屏湏酪。可汗常與共國者也。摩尼至京師。歲往來。西市商賈頗與囊橐爲姦。武宗詔回鶻營功德使在二京者。悉冠帶之。有司收摩尼經。若象。燒於道。資產入之官。

日本僧圓仁入唐求法巡禮日記。三卷會昌三年四月中旬。勅下令殺天下摩尼師。剃髮令著袈裟。作沙門形。而殺之。摩尼師卽回鶻所崇重也。

贊寧僧史略。下卷會昌三年。勅天下摩尼寺並廢入官。京城女摩尼七十二人皆死。及在此國回紇諸摩尼等配流諸道死者大半。

舊五代史梁書末帝紀。貞明六年冬十月。陳州妖賊母乙董乙伏誅。陳州里俗之人。喜習左道。依浮屠氏之教。自立一宗。號曰上乘。不食葷茹。誘化庸民。揉雜淫穢。宵聚晝散。州縣因循。遂致滋蔓。時刺史惠王友能恃威藩之寵。動多不法。故姦慝之徒。望風影附。母乙數輩。漸及千人。攻掠鄉社。長吏不能詰。是歲秋。其衆益盛。南通淮夷。朝廷累發州兵討捕。反爲賊所敗。陳穎蔡三州大被其毒。羣賊乃立母乙爲天子。其餘豪首。各有署置。至是發禁軍及數郡兵合勢追擊。賊潰。生擒母乙等首領八十餘人。械送闕下。並斬於都

市。

案此條雖不言摩尼餘孽。然與宋人所記摩尼教大同。故亦錄之。

徐鉉稽神錄。清源都將楊某。為本郡防遏營副將。有人見一鵝負紙錢入其第。俄化為雙髻白髮老翁。變怪遂作。二女驚病。召巫女壇召之。鬼亦立壇作法。愈甚於巫。巫懼而去。二女遂卒。後有善作魔法者名曰明教。請為持經一宿。鬼乃唾罵而去。

張君房雲笈七籤序。臣於時盡得降到道書。并續取到蘇州舊道藏經本千餘卷。越州台州舊道藏經本亦千餘卷。朝廷續降到福建等州道書。明使摩尼經等。

佛祖統紀十四卷嘗考夷堅志云。喫菜事魔。三山尤熾。為首者紫衣寬衫。女人黑冠白服。稱為明教會。所事

佛衣白。引經中所謂白佛言世尊。取金剛經一佛二佛三四五佛。以為第五佛。又名末摩尼。采化胡經乘

自然光明道氣。飛入西那玉界蘇隣國中。誕降王宮。為太子出家。稱末摩尼。以自表證。其經名二宗三際。

二宗者。明與暗也。三際者。過去未來現在也。大中祥符興道藏。富人林世長賂主者。使編入藏。安於亳州

明道道宮。復假稱白樂天詩云。靜覽蘇鄰傳。摩尼道可驚。二宗陳寂默。五佛繼光明。日月為資敬。乾坤認

所生。若論齊潔志。釋子好齊名。以此八句表於經首。其修持者正午一食。裸屍以葬。以七時作禮。蓋黃巾

之遺習也。原注嘗檢樂天詩樂天知佛豈應為此不典之辭

方勺泊宅編五卷宣和二年十月。睦州青溪縣場村居人方臘。託左道以惑眾。縣官不即鉏治。臘自號聖公。

改元永樂。置偏裨將。以巾色飾爲別。自紅巾而上凡六等。無甲冑。惟以鬼神詭祕事相扇誑。同上。後漢張角張燕輩。託天師道陵立祭酒治病。使人出米五斗而病隨愈。謂之五斗米道。至其滋盛。則剽劫州縣。無所不爲。其流至今。蔬食事魔。夜聚曉散者是也。凡魔拜必北向。以張角實起於北方。觀其拜足以知其所宗。原其平時。不飲酒食肉。甘枯槁。趨靜默。若有志於爲善者。然男女無別。不事耕織。衣食無所得。則務攘奪以挺亂。其可不早辨之乎。有以其疑似難識。欲痛繩之。恐其滋蔓。置而不問。馴致禍變者。有之。有捨法令一切弗問。但魔迹稍露。則使屬邑盡驅之死地。務絕其本根。肅清境內。而此曹急則據邑聚而反者有之。此風日扇。殆未易察治。如能上體國禁之嚴。下念愚民之無辜。迷而入於此道。不急不怠。銷患於冥冥之中者。良有司也。

建炎以來繫年要錄。紹興四年五月。起居舍人王居正言。伏見兩浙州縣。有喫菜事魔之俗。方臘以前。法禁尙寬。而事魔之俗。猶未甚熾。方臘之後。法禁愈嚴。而事魔之俗。愈不可勝禁。州縣之吏。平居坐視一切。不問則已。間有貪功或畏事者。稍蹤跡之。則一方之地。流血積屍。至於廬舍積聚。山林雞犬之屬。焚燒殺戮。靡有子遺。自方臘之平。至今十餘年間。不幸而死者。不知幾千萬人矣。所宜惻然動心。而思欲究其所。以然之說也。臣聞事魔者。每鄉每村。有一二桀黠。謂之魔頭。盡錄其鄉村姓名。相與詛盟爲黨。凡事魔者。不肉食。而一家有事。同黨之人。皆出力以相賑恤。蓋不肉食則費省。費省故食易足。同黨則相親。相親故相卹。而事易濟。臣以爲此先王導其民使相親相友相助之意。而甘淡泊務節儉。有古淳樸之風。今民之

師帥既不能以是爲政。乃爲魔頭者竊取以瞽惑其黨。使皆歸德於魔。於是從而附益之。以邪僻害教之說。民愚無知。謂吾從魔而食易足。事易濟也。故以魔說爲皆可信。而爭趨歸之。此所以法禁愈嚴而愈不可勝禁。伏望陛下念民迷之日久。下哀矜之詔書。使人曉然知以爲不肉食則費省。故易足。同黨則相親。故相卹。而事易濟。此自然之理。非魔之力。至於邪僻害教。如不祭其先之類。則事魔之罪也。部責監司。郡縣責守令。宣明詔旨。許以自新。又擇平昔言行爲鄉曲所信者。家至而戶曉之。其間有能至誠用心。率衆歸附者。優加激賞。以勵其徒。庶幾舊染之俗。聞風丕變。實一方生靈赤子之幸。詔諸帥憲司措置。毋得騷擾生事。

廖剛高峯先生文集_{二卷}乞禁妖教劄子。臣伏覩刑部關報。臣寮上言。乞修立喫菜事魔條禁。務從經典。奉聖旨。令刑部看詳。上尙書省。臣謹案。王制曰。執左道以亂政。殺假於鬼神。時日卜筮。以疑衆。殺非樂於殺人。爲其邪說詭道。足以疑惑愚衆。使之惟己之從。則相率爲亂之階也。今之喫菜事魔。傳習妖教。正是之謂。臣訪聞兩浙江東西。此風方熾。創自一人。其從至於千百爲羣。陰結死黨。犯罪則人出千錢。或五百行。賊死則人執柴燒燬。不用棺槨衣衾。無復喪葬祭祀之事。一切務滅人道。則其視君臣上下。復何有哉。此而不痛懲之。養成其亂。至於用兵討除。則殺人不可勝數矣。臣聞傳習事魔爲首之人。蓋有所利而爲之。誑惑愚民。誑以禍福。而取其財物。謂之教化。此最不可恕者。推究爲首之人。峻法治之。自當衰息。若不分首從。概欲以不應爲坐之。恐非所以戢姦弭亂也。臣謂貧窮而爲盜賊。情或可恕。事魔非迫於不得已也。

故爲邪僻敗壞風俗之事。其措心積慮。已不順矣。是故易誘爲亂也。如被誘之人。尙或可以關略。彼爲首者。雖未有不順之跡。豈可輕恕。欲望睿旨。并送刑部看詳施行。

莊季裕雞肋編。事魔食菜。法禁甚嚴。有犯者。家人雖不知情。亦流於遠方。以財產半給告人。餘皆沒官。而近時事者益衆。云自福建流至温州。遂及二浙。睦州方臘之亂。其徒處處相扇而起。聞其法斷葷酒。不事神佛祖先。不會賓客。死則裸葬。方斂。盡飾衣冠。其徒使二人坐於尸傍。其一問曰。來時有冠否。則答曰。無。遂去其冠。逐一去之。以至於盡。乃曰。來時何有。曰。有胞衣。則以布囊盛尸焉。云事之後。致富。小人無識。不知絕酒肉燕祭厚葬。自能積財焉。又始投其黨。有甚貧者。衆率財以助。積微以至於小康矣。凡出入經過。雖不識。黨人皆館穀焉。人物用之無間。謂爲一家。故有無礙被之說。以是誘惑其衆。其魁謂之魔王。佐者謂之魔翁。魔母。各誘化人。且望人出四十九錢於魔翁處燒香。翁母則聚所得緡錢。以時納於魔王。歲獲不貲。云亦誦金剛經。取以色列見我爲邪道。故不事神佛。但拜日月。以爲真佛。其說經如是。法平等。無有高下。則以無字連上句。大抵多如此解釋。俗訛以魔爲麻。謂其魁爲麻黃。或云易魔王之稱也。其初授法。設誓甚重。然以張角爲祖。雖死於湯鑊。終不敢言角字。傳記何執中守官台州。州獲事魔之人。勘鞠久不能得。或云何處州龍泉人。其鄉邑多有事者。必能察其虛實。乃委之窮究。何以雜物數件示之。能識其名。則非是。而置羊角其中。他皆名之。至角則不言。遂決其獄。如不事祖先裸葬之類。固已害風俗。而又謂人生爲苦。若殺之是救其苦也。謂之度人。度多者則可以成佛。故結集旣衆。乘亂而起。甘嗜殺人。最爲大患。尤

憎惡釋氏。蓋以戒殺與之爲戾耳。但禁令太嚴。每有告者株連既廣。又當籍沒。全家流放。與死爲等。必協力同心。以拒官吏。州縣憚之。率不敢案。反致增多。余謂薄其刑典。除去籍財之令。但治其魁首。則可以已也。

同上。余既書此。未一歲而衢州開化縣余五婆者。爲人所告。逃於嚴州遂安縣之白馬洞繆羅家。捕之則阻險爲拒。殺害官吏。至遣官軍平蕩。兩州被患。延及平民甚衆。殊可傷閔。

陸游渭南文集卷五條對狀一。自盜賊之興。若止因水旱饑饉。迫於寒餓。嘯聚攻劫。則措置有方。便可撫定。必不能大爲朝廷之憂。惟是妖幻邪人。平時誑惑良民。結連素定。待時而發。則其爲害未易可測。伏緣此色人處處皆有。淮南謂之二禩子。兩浙謂之牟尼教。江東謂之四果。江西謂之金剛禪。福建謂之明教。揭諦齋之類。名號不一。明教尤甚。至有秀才吏人軍兵。亦相傳習。其神號曰明使。及有肉佛骨佛血佛等號。白衣烏帽。所在成社。僞經妖像。至於刻板流布。假借政和中道官程若清等爲校勘。福州知州黃裳爲監雕。以祭祖考爲引鬼。永絕血食。以溺爲法水。用以沐浴。其他妖濫。未易概舉。燒乳香則乳香爲之貴。食菌蕈則菌蕈爲之貴。更相結習。有同膠漆。萬一竊發。可爲寒心。漢之張角。晉之孫恩。近歲之方臘。皆是類也。欲乞朝廷戒敕監司守臣。常切覺察。有犯於有司者。必正典刑。毋得以習不根。經教之文。例行關略。仍多張曉示。見今傳習者。限一月聽齋。經像衣帽赴官自首。與原其罪。限滿重立賞。許人告捕。其經文印版。令州縣根尋。目下焚毀。仍立法。凡爲人圖畫妖像及傳寫刊印明教經等妖妄經文者。並從徒一年論罪。庶

可陰消異時竊發之患。

陸游老學庵筆記。閩中有習左道者。謂之明教。亦有明教經甚多。刻板摹印。妄取道藏中校定官銜贊其後。燒必乳香。食必紅葷。故二物皆翔貴。至有士人宗子輩。衆中自言。今日赴明教會。予嘗詰之。此魔也。奈何與之游。則對曰不然。男女無別者爲魔。男女不親授者爲明教。明教遇婦人。所作食則不食。然嘗得所謂明教經觀之。誕謾無可取。直俚俗習妖妄者所爲耳。又或指名族士大夫家。曰此亦明教也。不知信否。偶讀徐常侍稽神錄。之有善魔法者名曰明教。則明教亦久矣。

佛祖統紀^{卷三}引釋門正統。良渚曰。準國朝法令。諸以二宗經及非藏經所載。不根經文傳習惑衆者。以左道論罪。二宗者。謂男女不嫁娶。互持不語。病不服藥。死則裸葬等。不根經文者。謂佛佛吐戀師佛說啼淚大小明王出世經。開元括地變文。齊天論五來子曲之類。其法不茹葷飲酒。晝寢夜興。以香爲信。陰相交結。稱爲善友。一旦郡邑有小隙。則馮狼作亂。如方臘呂昇輩是也。其說以天下禪人。但傳盧行者十二部假禪。若吾徒卽是真禪。有云菩提子達摩。栽心地種透靈臺。或問終何所歸。則曰不生天。不入地。不求佛。不涉餘途。直過之也。如此魔教。愚民皆樂爲之。其徒以不殺不飲不葷辛爲至嚴。沙門有行爲弗謹。反遭其譏。出家守法。可不自勉。

同上^{卷四}良渚曰。白雲白蓮摩尼三宗。皆假名佛教。以誑愚俗。猶五行之有沴氣也。今摩尼尙扇於三山。而白蓮白雲處處有習之者。大抵不事葷酒。故易於裕足。而不殺物命。故近於爲善。愚民無知。皆樂趨之。

甚至第宅姬妾爲魔女所誘入其衆中以修懺念佛爲名而實通姦穢有識士夫宜加禁止。至正金陵新志^{八卷}風俗志陸子適除妖害記自夫白雲魔教之滋也而雄據阡陌豪奪民業銜辛茹毒罔所訴理有司一問則羣譟釀賄白黑淆亂弱下糞乏困於徭征則獨偃然自肆寸絲粒粟不入公上羣口邑毗或以赴訴則賊吏鬻證反爲所誣根深蒂固歲月滋久民視若禽獸視法令無如也^{略中}歲在己卯先疆域民之習魔教者奪民業則正而歸之不輸賦則均而取之囂頑之俗革於一旦黨與之衆散於反掌。西山先生真文忠公文集^{十卷四}再守泉州勸農文莫習魔教莫信邪師。

右古書所記摩尼教事其概如此當宣統元年吳縣蔣伯斧郎中跋巴黎所藏摩尼教殘經卷附考摩尼教入中國源流僅及唐會昌而止後上虞羅叔言參事印行京師圖書館所藏摩尼教經一卷法國伯希和教授譯之後復附摩尼教考并增宋世摩尼教事實較蔣君所考甚爲該博伯氏書用法文余曩曾抄撮其所引漢籍數年以來流覽所及頗有增益計增日本僧圓化求法記一則贊寧僧史略一則方勺泊宅編莊季裕雞肋編各二則建炎以來繫年要錄高峯先生文集至正金陵新志真西山文集各一則與前所抄者彙爲一編庶唐宋二代彼教情形略可觀覽考唐代置摩尼寺之地北則兩都太原南則荆揚洪越諸州會昌禁絕後回鶻摩尼師雖絕迹於中土然中土人傳習者尙如其故至於五季尙有陳州母乙之亂明教禳鬼之事及大中祥符重脩道藏明教經典乃得因緣編入東都盛時其流蓋徼南北之交死灰復熾尋其緣起別出三山蓋海舶賈胡之傳非北陸大雲之舊矣南渡文人

不能紀遠。僉謂出自黃巾。祖彼張角。放翁筆記。亦僅上援稽神錄。爲其濫觴。實則二宗三際明使等語。具見唐譯摩尼經中。故唐宋彼教。其源或殊。其實則一。觀於上所抄撮。可知斯言之不誤矣。

專 著 七

西夏國書略說 續

上虞羅福萇

說字第二

西夏國書取漢字之筆畫積累而成。驟視之不能明其制字之意。然審諦既久。漸得其部類。又發見其中多會意之字。乃知其全仿漢字爲之者。茲分三項考之。曰形曰義曰聲。

字形。字形之中。可考見者。凡八事。分說如下。

一左形 一右形 一兩形 有左右兩側。書法相同者。雖不能遽知其意。而此類字頗不少。略舉如次。

𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳
集	集	集	集	集	集	集	集	集	集
獸	獸	獸	獸	獸	獸	獸	獸	獸	獸
花	花	花	花	花	花	花	花	花	花
高	高	高	高	高	高	高	高	高	高
虎	虎	虎	虎	虎	虎	虎	虎	虎	虎
寅	寅	寅	寅	寅	寅	寅	寅	寅	寅
𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳
戲	戲	戲	戲	戲	戲	戲	戲	戲	戲
𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳
八音	八音	八音	八音	八音	八音	八音	八音	八音	八音
𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳
喜	喜	喜	喜	喜	喜	喜	喜	喜	喜
神	神	神	神	神	神	神	神	神	神
過	過	過	過	過	過	過	過	過	過
禮	禮	禮	禮	禮	禮	禮	禮	禮	禮
品	品	品	品	品	品	品	品	品	品

異二形近

有字形微別而實非一字不得淆視者如

殿官殿臣形近

激人僻心形近

辨魚激水形近

銷小銷細形近

銷無銷盡形近

殺十殺所形近

統葵統句形近

勅帝勅勢形近

纒衆纒有形近

玼城玼如形近

敝光敝被形近

覲觀覲行形近

辭受辭許形近

死夏死諸形近

龍衣龍藏形近

戔指戔身臂戔指形近

殺神殺花殺夜形近

戮江戮珍戮救形近

繳常繳高繳堅形近

猶福猶四猶日形近

歎盛歎寶歎垂形近

慈應慈發響承慈摧形近

勳鹿勳禍形近

龍良龍藥形近

報字報品形近

轍善轍破形近

藪獲藪若形近

蔴正蔴金形近

薇頭薇丑形近

藪河藪軍形近

說文說解形近

澤寺洋船形近

三
一
字

漢文一字。西夏國書。有數形者不少。今舉二十餘字。以示一斑。

天 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

日 𠄎

日月之日

露 𠄎 𠄎

日 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

時日之日

夜 𠄎 𠄎

年 𠄎 𠄎

祐 𠄎 𠄎

女 𠄎 𠄎

一 𠄎 𠄎

喜 𠄎 𠄎

安 𠄎 𠄎

如 𠄎 𠄎

言 𠄎 𠄎

來 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

滅 𠄎 𠄎

專著七 西夏國書略說

養 𠄎 𠄎

聞 𠄎 𠄎

俱 𠄎 𠄎

虛 𠄎 𠄎

樂 𠄎 𠄎

徽 空虛妄

能 聲音

散 教導

敬 渡越餘

翁 自己

磬 限第

易形左右 有一字易置其左右之兩半而仍其意者如

殺 豬 大

蕞 荊 來

徽 前過漏

能 講說

散 在任

敬 重復

翁 以故

磬 鷹飛榴

殺 豬 放救

六增減 有依漢字例於一字上稍增點畫而為他字者如漢字今加點為令西夏書今作訛加言如訛亦

為令是也

又有一字稍省略其筆畫而仍其意者如

媿 姦 女

媿 姦 有

媿 姦 高

媿 姦 來

專著七 西夏國書略說

魏曉得

魏曉得

魏曉得

魏曉得
龍辰

文苑

孫詒讓傳

章 榘

孫詒讓，浙江瑞安人。同治六年舉人。報捐刑部主事。簽分未久，引疾歸。窮經著書，垂四十年。光緒二十九年，開經濟特科。吏部尚書張百熙、工部左侍郎唐景崇、兩湖總督張之洞交章薦之。病未與試。嗣禮部設禮學館，聘爲總纂，亦不就。詒讓僻處浙之海濱，後進之請業者，甄植衆多。嘗與黃紹箕創立學計館，及方言學堂，以教邑人子弟。又以溫處二郡距省寫遠，文化蔽塞，非設一總會學務之處，不足以廣教育。呈請巡撫設溫處兩府學務處，衆遂舉爲總理。改温州校士館爲師範學堂，開設博物理化講習所，以備小學格致教習之用。三年之間，兩府中小學堂增至三百餘所。所籌經費，均與地方官紳切實規畫而得。其苦心勸學，蓋如此。三十三年，學部奏充二等諮議官。浙江提學使復聘爲學務公所議紳。又舉爲教育會會長。詒讓之學淹貫古今中外，以通經爲體，以識時務爲用。著有周禮正義八十六卷、周禮政要二卷、墨子間詁十五卷、尚書駢枝周書斟補禮記斟補古籀拾遺九族古義述六厯甄微名原契文舉例廣韻姓氏刊誤扎遂籀履述林各若干卷。其平生精力萃於周禮。次墨子、周禮正義自序云：粵昔周公續文武之志，光輔成王，宅中作雒，爰述官政，以垂成憲。有周一代之典，炳然大備。然非徒周一代之典也。蓋自黃帝顓

項以來。紀於民事。以命官。更歷八代。斟酌損益。因襲積累。以集於文武。其經世大法。咸粹於是。故雖古籍。淪佚。百不存一。而其政典沿革。猶約略可考。如虞書義和四子。爲六官之權輿。甘誓六卿。爲夏法。曲禮六。大五官。鄭君以爲殷制。咸與此經相符合。是職名之本於古也。至其閔章。緡典。并苞遠古。則如五禮六樂。三兆三易之屬。肇端於五帝。而放二王。以逮職方州服。兼綜四朝。大史歲年。通賅三統。若斯之類。不可殫舉。蓋鴻荒以降。文明日啓。其爲治靡不始於蠱。而漸進於精詳。此經上承百王。集其善而革其弊。蓋尤其精詳之至者。故其治躋於純太平之域。作者之聖。述者之明。蟠際天地。經緯萬端。究其條緒。咸有原本。是豈皆周公所胤定而手勑之哉。其閔意眇眇。通關常變。權其大較。要不越政教二科。政則自典。法刑禮諸大端外。凡王后世子。燕游羞服之細。嬪御閹閹之昵。咸隸於治官。宮府一體。天子不以自私也。而若國危國遷。立君等非常大故。無不曲爲之制。豫爲之防。三詢之朝。自卿大夫以逮萬民。咸造在王庭。與決大議。又有匡人。擢人。大小行人。獻五物之書於王。以周知天下之故。大司寇。大僕。樹肺石。建路鼓。以達窮遠。誦訓夾王車。道圖志以詔觀事。辨物所以宣上德而通下情者。無所不至。君民上下之間。若會四枝百脈。而達於匈。無或離閔而不鬯也。其爲教則有大學小學。自王世子公卿大夫士之子。洎夫邦國所貢鄉遂所進賢能之士。咸造焉。旁及宿衛士庶子。六軍之士。亦皆輩作輩學。以德行道藝相切劘。鄉遂則有鄉學。六州學三十。黨學百有五十。遂之屬別如鄉。蓋郊甸之內。距王城不過二百里。其爲學已三百七十有奇。而郊里及甸公邑之學。尙不與此數。推之郟縣。置之公邑采邑。遠極於畿外邦國。其學蓋十百倍於於是。

九州之內。意當有學數萬。信乎教典之詳。殆莫能尙矣。其政教之備如是。故以四海之大。無不受職之民。無不造學之士。不學而無職者。則有罷民之刑。賢秀挾其才能。愚賤貢其忱悃。咸得以自通於上。以致純太平之治。豈偶然哉。此經在西周盛時。蓋百官府咸分秉其官法。以爲司存。而大宰執其總會。司會天府大史藏其副貳。成康既歿。昭夷失德。陵遲以極於幽厲之亂。平王東遷。而周公之大經良法。蕩滅殆盡。然其典冊。散在官府者。世或猶遵守勿替。雖更七雄去籍之後。而齊威王將司馬穰苴。尙推明司馬法爲兵家職志。魏文侯樂人竇公。猶抱大司樂一經。於兵火喪亂之餘。他如朝事之議。大行之贊。述於大小戴記。職方之篇。列於周書者。咸其枝流之未盡漸滅者也。其全書經秦火而幾亡。漢興。景武之間。五篇之經。復出於河間。而旋入於祕府。西京禮家大師。多未之見。至劉歆。杜子春。始通其章句。著之竹帛。三鄭賈馬諸儒。賡續詮釋。其學大興。而儒者以其古文晚出。猶疑信參半。今文經師何休。臨碩之倫。相與擯廢之。唐趙匡。陸灑。以逮宋元諸儒。皆議之者尤衆。或謂戰國瀆亂。不經之書。或謂莽歆所增傳。其論大都逞凡不經。學者率知其謬。而其抵觸索疇。至今未已者。則以巧辭衰說。附託者之爲經累也。蓋秦漢以後。聖哲之緒。曠絕不續。此經雖存。莫能通之於治。劉歆。蘇綽。託之以佐王氏。宇文氏之篡。而卒以踏其祚。李林甫。託之以修六典。而唐亂。王安石。託之以行新法。而宋亦亂。彼以其詭譎之心。刻覈之政。偷效於旦夕。校利於黍秒。而謬託於古經。以自文。上以誣其君。下以杜天下之口。不探其本而飾其末。其僥倖一試。不旋踵而潰敗。不可振。不其宜哉。而懲之者。遂以爲此經詬病。一二閱攬之士。亦疑古之政教。不可施於今。是皆膠柱

鏗舟之見也。夫古今者積世積年而成之者也。日月與行星相攝相繞。天地之運猶是也。圓顛而方趾。橫目而直幹。人之性猶是也。所異者其治之迹。與禮俗之習已耳。故畫井而居。乘車而戰。裂壤而封建。計夫而授田。今之世必不能行也。而古人之祭。則坐尸孫而拜獻之。以爲王父尸。婚則以姪媵而從姑姊。坐則席地。行則立乘。今之情必不能安也。而古人安之。凡此皆迹也。習也。沿襲之久而無害。則相與遵循之。久而有所不安。則相與變革之。無勿可也。且古人之迹與習。亦有至今不變者。日月與地。同行度則相掩蝕。地氣之蒸蕩。則爲風雨。人之所稔知也。而薄蝕則拜跪而救之。湛旱則號呼而祈之。古人以爲文。至今無改也。祝敵拊搏。無當於鏗鏘之均。血腥全烝。無當於飲食之道。而今之大祀。猶沿而不廢。然則古人之迹與習。不必皆協於事理之實。而於人無所厭惡。則亦相與守其故常。千百歲而無變。彼夫政教之閔意眇眇。固將貫百王而無敵。而豈有古今之異哉。今泰西之強國。其爲治非嘗稽覈於周公成王之典法也。而其所爲政教者。務博議而廣學。以及通道路。嚴追胥。化土物。礦之屬。咸與此經冥符而遙契。蓋政教修明。則以致富強。若操左契。固寰宇之通理。放之四海而皆準。此又古政教必可行於今者之明效大驗也。詒讓自勝衣就傅。先太僕君卽授以此經。而以鄭注簡奧。賈疏疏略。未能盡通也。旣長。略窺漢儒治經家法。乃以爾雅說文。正其詁訓。以禮經大小戴記。證其制度。研擇累載。於經注微義。略有所寤。竊思我朝經術昌明。諸經咸有新疏。斯經不宜獨闕。遂博采漢唐宋以來。迄於乾嘉諸經儒舊詁。參互證釋。以發鄭注之淵奧。裨賈疏之遺闕。艸剟於同治之季年。始爲長編數十巨冊。綴輯未竟。而舉主南皮張尙書。議集

刊國朝經疏來徵此書。乃隳括鯁理。寫成一帙。以就正。然疏誤甚衆。又多最錄近儒異義。辯論滋繁。私心未慝也。繼復更張義例。刪繁補闕。二十年以來。橐草屢易。最後彙錄爲此本。其於古義古制。疏通證明。校之舊疏。爲略詳矣。至於周公致太平之迹。宋元諸儒所論多闕侈。而駢母枝指。未盡揭其精要。顧惟秉資疏闇。素乏經世之用。豈能有所發明。而亦非箋詁所能鉤稽而揚榷也。故略引其端。而不敢馳聘其說。覲學者深思而自得之。中年早衰。倏然孤露。意思零落。得一遺十。復以海疆多故。世變日亟。晷懷時局。撫卷增喟。私念今之大患。在於政教未修。而上下之情。睽闕不能相通。故民竄而失職。則治生之計。陔隘而譎觚。干紀者衆。士不知學。則無以應事偶變。效忠勵節。而世常有乏才之憾。夫舍政教而議富強。是猶泛絕潢斷港而薪至於海也。然則處今日而論治。宜莫若求其道於此經。而承學之士。願徒奉周經漢注爲考證之淵藪。幾何而不以爲已陳之芻狗乎。旣寫定。輒略刺舉其可剴今而振敝。一二犖犖大者。用示槩揭。俾知爲治之迹。古今不相襲。而政教則固百世以俟聖人而不惑者。世之君子。有能通天人之故。明治亂之原者。偷取此經而宣究其說。由古義古制。以通政教之閱意。眇愴理董而講貫之。別爲專書。發揮旁通。以俟後聖。而或以不佞此書。爲擁篲先導。則私心所企望。而且莫遇之者。與墨子閒詁自敘云。漢志墨子書七十一篇。今存者五十三篇。魯問篇。墨子之語。魏越云。國家昏亂。則語之尙賢。尙同。國家貧。則語之節用。節葬。國家熹音澆。則語之非樂。非命。國家淫僻無禮。則語之尊天。事鬼。國家務奪侵凌。則語之兼愛。非攻。今書雖殘缺。然自尙賢至非命三十篇。所論略備。足以盡其旨要矣。經說上下篇。與莊周書所述惠

施之論。及公孫龍書相出入。似原出墨子。而諸鉅子以其說綴益之。備城門以下十餘篇。則又禽滑釐所受兵家之遺法。於墨子學爲別傳。惟修身親士諸篇。誼正而文靡較之他篇殊不類。當染篇又頗涉晚周之事。非墨子所得聞。疑皆後人以儒言緣飾之。非其本書也。墨子之生。蓋稍後於七十子。不得見孔子。然亦甚老壽。故前得與魯陽文子公輸般相問答。而晚得見田齊太公和。又逮聞齊康公興樂。及楚吳起之亂。身丁戰國之初。感悒於獷暴淫侈之政。故其言凜復深切。務陳古以剴今。亦喜稱道詩書。及孔子所不修百國春秋。惟於禮則右夏左周。欲變文而反之質。樂則竟屏絕之。此其與儒家四術六藝必不合者耳。至其接世務爲和同。而自處絕艱苦。持之太過。或流於偏激。而非儒尤爲疵鑿。然周季道術分裂。諸子舛馳。荀卿爲齊魯大師。而其書非十二子篇。於游夏孟子諸大賢。皆深相排拏。洙泗斷斷。儒家已然。墨儒異方。跬步千里。其相非寧足異乎。綜覽厥書。釋其紕駁。甄其純實。可取者。蓋十六七。其用心篤厚。勇於振世救敵。殆非韓呂諸子之倫比也。莊周天下篇之論墨氏曰。不侈於後世。不靡於萬物。不暉於度數。以繩墨自矯。而備世之急。又曰。墨子真天下之好也。將求之不得也。雖枯槁不舍也。才士也夫。斯持平之論。與墨子旣不合於儒術。孟荀董無心孔子魚之倫。咸排詰之。漢晉以降。其學幾絕。而書僅存。然治之者殊尠。故挽誤尤不可校。而古字古言。轉多沿襲未改。非精究形聲通段之原。無由通其讀也。舊有孟勝樂臺注。今久不傳。近代鎮洋畢尙書沅。始爲之注。滕縣蘇孝廉時學復刊其誤。剏通涂徑。多所謚正。余昔事讎覽。旁摭衆家。擇善而從。於畢本外。又獲見明吳寬寫本。顧廣圻校道藏本。用相勘覈。別爲寫定。復以高郵王氏

父子臨海洪氏及德清俞氏戴氏所校參綜考讀竊謂非儒以前諸篇誼旨詳焯畢王諸家校訓略備然亦不無遺失經說兵法諸篇文尤奧衍凌雜檢覽舊校疑滯殊衆研覈有年用思略盡謹依經誼字例爲之詮釋至於訂補經說上下篇旁行句讀正兵法諸篇之譌文錯簡尤私心所竊自喜以爲不謬也輒就畢本更爲增定用遺來學昔許叔重注淮南王書題曰鴻烈問詁問者發其疑悟詁者正其訓釋今於字義多遵許學故遂用題署亦以兩漢經儒本說經家法箋釋諸子固後學所晞慕而不能逮者也今周禮正義周禮正要墨子問詁皆行於世蓋詒讓爲太僕寺卿衣言之子幼承家學衣言官江寧布政使久時兩江總督曾國藩幕中多方聞閎達之士衣言出國藩門下故詒讓得習與諸老生揚榷討論以成其所學且當日巨亂初平故家祕藏流散城市往往爲所收獲聞見益廣研覈特爲精審衣言故治永嘉學刊其鄉先正鄭薛陳葉諸遺集多詒讓所校定詒讓治漢學而於宋代諸儒未嘗輕詆蹈尊漢卑宋之習三十四年卒翰林院侍讀吳士鑑奏請宣付國史館列入儒林傳從之

劉孝女贊

曹允源

光緒十有六年秋九月某日寶應劉孝女偕其嫂某刲股療母疾已獨燔香籲天願損己算以益母壽於是母恍惚見緋衣人以褻揮之歸遂瘡越二年孝女病竟卒年二十有四夫搯臂而痛精感萬里撤璜不嫁孺慕終身並性行純愨載光謠詠若迺殞身全親毀體成孝亙古無聞世典或漏昔遺履梅治之爐終

傷父志旌門上虞之里。靡益親年。竹素所傳。方茲蔑矣。孝女之兄。佛卿農部。條舉事狀。以眎同歲生吳縣曹允源。爲之贊曰。

粲粲處子。侍疴寢門。屏息彌月。不離夕晨。母兮眇懂。一語回春。母疾不瘳。燔香告天。曰母鞠我。同氣異息。我身誰遺。我心彌盡。母獲其祚。我丁厥戾。明明在上。鑒茲懇悃。事母不終。泪眼波橫。順命勿藥。諱疾猶妝。日昃曲阿。月沈虛房。永保親壽。雖死踰生。

漢書藝文志舉例序

張爾田

目錄之學。何昉乎。昉於史。而大別則有三。七略中經簿崇文總目。則官家之目錄也。直齋解題郡齋讀書志。下至絳雲樓愛日精廬諸書。則藏家之目錄也。各史藝文經籍諸志。則史家之目錄也。三者惟史家目錄。其體最尊。隋書經籍志序。旣以經籍之用。探原於史。而史部簿錄類。則云古者史官。旣司典籍。蓋有目錄。以爲紀綱。徵之古。周官五史皆掌書。而外史且達書名於四方。旣有書名。則必有目錄以載之。目錄之見於史者。厥惟班氏藝文志。班志之部居羣籍也。考鏡源流。辯章舊聞。不詡詡侈談卷冊。與藏家目錄殊。不斷斷詳論失得。與官家目錄亦異。蓋所重在學術。用吾識別。以示隱括。同於法家之定律。所謂例也。史通序例篇云。史之有例。猶國之有法。國無法。則上下靡定。史無例。則是非莫準。此雖指全史言。而藝文爲學術流別所關。尤不能外是。昔王儉撰七志。嘗作條例九篇。編手卷首。目錄之有例。實自儉始。夫七志官

家之目錄耳。尙有條例。以明筆削之義。曾謂囊括一代之國史。緯六經。掇道綱。而如春秋之無達例乎。且史家目錄。詳備不及官家。繁密不及藏家。正賴有例提挈綱要。所以卓然成一家之學。使藝文而無例。虛占篇幅。將焉用之。無感乎劉子元曠代通人。謂凡撰志者。宜除此篇也。吾友孫君益葦。於學無所不闕。博精諸子。而尤邃於流略。冥心捷獲。援王儉之法。創通班志。成舉例一卷。宏綱細領。恢恢康莊。班志之例定。而後族史之得失定。卽一省一府一縣。徵文考獻之書。亦莫不定。整派者依源。理枝者循幹。爲功史學。蓋不在劉子元下。夫自來治班志者多矣。在宋則有王伯厚鄭漁仲兩家。王但詳於考古。於史無裨。鄭亦惟辨其編次之當否而已。至近代章實齋。始深寤官師合一之旨。其所著校讎通義。廣業甄微。傑然知言之選。而史家發凡起例。爲後世著錄成法。則未及條別。尙不能無待於後人。君素服膺章氏者。此書補實齋之未獲。推見孟堅之至隱。不獨爲史家祛惑。實可爲目錄家起衰。近今之驚鑒別者。百宋千元。矜多炫祕。不有君書。又安知目錄一學之關繫史裁。若是之鉅且要乎。嗚呼。二千餘年。無此作也。君書成。謂必得深於實齋之學者。序我書。余之服膺實齋也。與君同。曩嘗纂史微。闡明實齋六經皆史之誼。每相與撫塵而笑。莫逆於心。海內同志。落落兩人。今籀君書。雖不能文。泚筆以附簡端。所不辭云。

吳郡駢體文徵序

孫德謙

昔者宣尼有言。物相雜謂之文。蓋日月代明。山川逴造。文章之道。奇偶相生。斯自然也。李唐而後。今體始

更仲塗振復古之聲。子瞻起衰之說。於是承學之士。鑽厲孤行。言乎齊梁。羣焉蚩鄙。嗚呼。是豈然哉。夫文無駢散。各有攸能。六代之中。苟馳夸飾。士恢病其華僞。彥和謂之訛新。則亦有也。其善者爲之。伏采旁流。得比興之妙。潛氣內轉。極抗墜之能。子桓所謂辭義典雅。足傳於後者矣。選樓之建。肇自昭明。觀其舉牢百家。網羅八代。搜采英雋。是曰知言。自茲以降。遞相師祖。寶臣諸子。斷代爲編。體既殊歸。文亦雜錄。有明之世。太原法海。純用麗辭。文孝嗣音。於是乎在。爰逮我朝。撰輯益富。暨川則榮。古賓谷則揚。今全椒異家。淵源師友。復莊類苑。分別部居。析其條流。可略而言焉。夫孝侯風土。承祚者舊。紀其聞見。斐然有述。蓋生斯鄉者。童年釣游。尙戀其山水。故都文獻。豈等乎煙雲。古者子由類吳興之詩。仲元纂滌陽之集。誠知其可緩也。唯夫最錄偶章。曠世尠覩。陳留創作。別囿常州。丁燧掇東越之英。曾紘廣西昌之派。亦可謂自闢戶牖。茂緒攸先者矣。同郡曹復盦觀察。長於駢文。類稿一編。卓乎不朽。嘗取而讀之。標格清新。詞旨適麗。北江甘亭。兼擅其勝。每嘆吾吳人文。夙稱皋藪。以論駢體。自有顯家。特無樂圃其人。爲之糾聚。用是暝鈔所寫。擷藝苑之華。煅歲鍊年。定禮堂之本。凡自顧炎武以下。得若干家。合若干卷。各爲小傳。叙其生平。鑒識之精。志趣之正。莫不斂衽讚歎焉。世有恆論。皆謂吳中文史。昔盛今衰。權而爲言。不逮常州遠甚。此實不然。亭林以勝朝遺逸。志節同欽。國史儒林。蔚然稱首。其學博極古今。會通經史。郡國攷其利病。音韻研其深微。雕琢辭章。綴緝故實。則不屑爲也。然其文賈生俊發。多經世之言。越石清剛。行轍古之氣。復乎所詣。弗可及已。斯固海內宗仰。豈與常州較短量長。同年而語哉。常州駢儷文字。首推孫洪。淵如風骨。迨

上思至理合。稚存朴質若中郎。肅穆若燕公。山尊定評。吾何間然。聞夫荀慈太史。嘗主龍城講席。其時亮吉輩親從受業。夫理枝者循幹。沿波者討源。玉芝之文。體格高簡。神韻蕭疎。震陸機之才。且思焚硯。傳馬融之學。自善鼓琴。常州羣彥響臻。其師承則在此。蓋猶歐陽夏侯。各自名家。而言尙書者。必本之伏生也。昔蕭氏選文。去取特嚴。自序故曰。老莊之作。管孟之流。蓋以立意爲宗。不以能文爲本。今之所撰。又以略諸。復盪此編。搦管和墨。抉雕龍之心。闡潛表微。秉獲麟之筆。虞山一老。以節行有虧。點世塵家。遂致擯棄。是則開卷伊始。冠以寧人。匪第讓功。沈謝標美辭宗。抑乃抗節夷齊。取先列傳。有助風教。於此可見矣。以余少好斯文。授簡命序。一言之贊。所不敢辭。語云。非附青雲之士。烏能施於後世。竊不自揆。亦欲與之並傳云爾。

勝朝粵東遺民錄後序

張其淦

張南軒先生曰。名節之稱。起於衰世。士君子道學未至。則以名節自負。吁亦小矣。雖然。士君子不幸而生於末世。併名節而不講。則亦何以爲國哉。吾嘗讀漢書。至王莽居攝。卽真。頌功德。獻符瑞者盈天下。又嘗讀史至五代。見夫搢紳之徒。充然無復廉恥之色。喟然嘆曰。此洪水猛獸之天下也。王荊公乃謂揚雄之仕。合於孔子無可無不可之義。謂馮道爲能救衆生。噫異矣。夫西漢末世。名節之不競。其始壞於叔孫通。其後則公孫弘。張禹。孔光之倫。皆足以敗壞風俗。衍成哀平末世之陋。光武中興。崇尚風節。先舉遺逸。子

陵高節起懦激頑。於是東京風俗之美，賢才之盛，卓絕千古。迄今讀黨錮獨行逸民諸傳，皎然與秋霜比潔，日月爭光焉。五代之季，禮義廉恥，四維不張，人倫大壞，天理幾滅。有宋藝祖興，褒表韓衛，薄海向化，真宗仁宗之世，范唐歐陽諸賢，以扶翼名教爲己任。及濂洛關閩諸大儒出，闡孔孟之教，嚴義利之辨，天下之士，皆以廉恥爲尙，氣節爲高，迄乎宋亡，正氣獨伸，死節相望，卽彼鐵函心史，痛哭西臺，汐社諸賢，且與西漢逸民後先輝映也。嗟乎，漢哀平之世，可變而爲東京，五代之世，可變而爲宋，以此見人心之不死，天理民彝之未盡澌滅，剝極斯復，亂極斯治，雖曰天意，豈非一二人提倡之力哉。有明一代，士大夫爭尙氣節，死事之烈，逸民之衆，超越前史。試觀建文遜國，王午殉難，如方孝孺、練子寧輩，揚灰湛族，蹈死如歸，卽彼饘棗從亡諸臣，四十餘載，沐雨櫛風，老死於山巔水涯而不悔。夫諸臣雖有射鉤之嫌，然無身事異姓之辱也。使其改事成祖，亦可曰天下一家，喪君有君，不必倡爲新異之學說，以自便身圖也。而其守義也若此，迨夫甲申之變，懷宗殉社稷，殺身成仁之士，史不絕書，往往闔室自焚，肝腦塗地，而四方起義之師，田橫島中，五百從死，度彼諸賢，蓋亦視爲遭際之當然，而不自矜爲奇節。若夫蹈東海、隱西山之流，睠懷君國，憔悴閒吟，疵物以激其清，垢俗以動其概，隱姓匿名，方自咎其身死之不速，又遑計後之人蒐訪之而表章之也哉。當是時也，吾粵陳文忠公、陳忠愍公、家文烈公起兵殉義，英魂毅魄，嶺海生光，其餘義師蠶起，指不勝屈，瑣尾遺黎，如陳喬生、獨漉兩先生及家瓊子先生，咸有著作，表見於後世。維時同道得朋，履潔全貞，所在多有，其姓名泯沒而不彰者，何可勝道。蓋陵谷變遷，已二百七十有餘年矣。九龍真逸博

學好古。避地海濱。搜羅文獻。成勝朝粵遺民錄四卷。得二百九十餘人。表章前哲。不遺餘力。顧亭林先生曰。易姓改號。謂之亡國。仁義充塞。至於率獸食人。謂之亡天下。保國者其君其臣謀之。保天下者匹夫之賤與有責焉。真逸此篇之成。其有保天下之心歟。

上仁和王相國書

曹元忠

蓋聞一文一質。春秋推其再復。或素或青。禮家傳其一致。升降因革。道原於此。朝廷懲前毖後。百度更始。將以憲邦。達於四海。夫王居渙號。既在致新。則故府皮藏。必先除舊。比聞內閣將次議裁。深恐列聖硃批。累朝檔案。皇史宬之實錄。國史館之列傳。典籍廳之簿書。勢必拉雜摧燒。傷心於蓋闕。朽折散絕。太息於俄空。文武方策。盡墜於地。念先王之成憲。問後嗣而何觀。不及百年。此其夷乎。往歲乘輿西狩。公私塗炭。典章文物。幾就陵遲。尙不聞長安之遷。文章剖散。大清之亂。故事無存。比及迴鑾。靈光巍然。臺閣士夫。引爲天幸。何意數年之間。文章蕩盡。後有良史。必謂我朝掌故。不亡於兵火。而絕於中興之世也。神州赤縣。誰其諒之。若謂五帝不沿樂。三王不襲禮。斟酌損益。因時制宜。何妨敝屣前聞。綴旒舊物。則宋臺初建。何取故晉之圖書。漢鼎財新。胡假先秦之律令。彼於前代。尙思率由。此屬本朝。可忘繩武乎。且某昔遊日本。覘國問俗。見彼都人士。雅慕中朝。方購會典。則例諸書。以爲文思允臻。其極。近復觀書太史。來訪永樂大典。嗟乎。海隅島夷。且知好古。而我乃棄同芻狗。去等餽羊。則古稱先。盡斥爲無用。棄知絕聖。自居於文明。

國家若有大事，再訪延閣廣內，臣無安世，孰記亡書，世之孟軻，焉聞去籍，恐不免禮失而求諸野，官亡而學在夷也，豈不悲哉！某明知不達通變，戾俗違時，尙貢一得之愚，冀復九變之貫，閣下優賢揚歷，坐鎮雅俗，倘鑒董生上平津之書，使劉洪檢東觀之作，則拾遺補闕，各有司存，祖述憲章，尙可覆視，庶幾魯藏象魏，毋令舊章之亡，漢上計書，猶在丞相之副，謹啓。

反切求蒙跋

荔垣

小學者治經之門徑，故漢唐經師，無不通小學者。小學凡三家，曰六書，曰訓詁，曰音韻，而以音韻之學爲至難。蓋古音屢變，則復古難，方言各別，則正讀難。昔者孔門傳經，根據雅訓，雅者正也，謂正其音，正其義也。音既正，然後緣音以得義。若古音不復，更雜以方言，音已不正矣，而欲正其義也，不亦難乎！漢儒解經，凡同音之字，曰讀若某，曰讀如某，未有用反切者。迨後漢之世，反切來自西域，諸儒多採用之，挾兩音以求一音，而音讀益正確而不可混，其間或稱反，或稱切，或兼稱反切，而其例則一，凡以求正其音而已。音正，然後義正。於孔子雅言之教，庶有合焉。漢唐以來，治小學者，以有清爲盛，而音韻之學，其辨晰亦至精。二百餘年，經術文章，度越前古，咸同以降，茲學蓋寢微矣。梁京卿伯乞先生，爲吾粵耆宿，致仕後，杜門著述，而尤致力於小學，著有四聲韻譜等二十餘種，藏於家，而反切求蒙一書，生前嘗手定付梓，是書引據賅博，義例精審，尤稱善本。越己未，版遭蠹蝕，其長孫穎孫君，重付剞劂，而屬儉爲之跋。自頃以來，世之庸

妄者。且倡言廢經。違論小學。今穎孫君獨汲汲於是。誠濁世中之賢士。而能不墜其家學爲可嘉也。抑吾聞治經之道。小學其門戶。而義理其堂奧也。治經而不通小學。誠末由至於堂奧矣。若以小學自限。而不進求義理之歸。是無異迴翔於門徑之間。而終其身自屏於堂奧之外。以云通經。去之尙遠。昔者阮文達嘗慨乎言之。伯乞先生。以碩學孤抱。淡於仕進。中歲乞休。有闇然之志。其於義理之學。必有所造。獨深者。茲篇之傳。又烏足以盡先生哉。然方今大道淪喪。斯文歇絕。若茲篇者。亦已成絕學矣。儉於小學。所得至淺。以穎孫君之屬。辭不獲已。謹跋而歸之。海內英秀之士。或緣是而進求羣經之義理。以相持於斯文絕續之交。則豈惟先生之志。抑亦吾道之幸也。



叢 錄

蕙風移隨筆

悲迴風之搖蕙兮。心憂鬱而內傷。蒙自乙未南轅。眴更十稔。所處之境。誠如靈均所云。不為可已之事。何以遣不得已之生。隨筆云者。隨得隨書。無門類次第也。昉洪容齋例。繼此有作。曰二筆。光緒乙巳良日。況周儀叢筮自記於金陵四鳥橋北寓廬。

飴古文餼。當是元作飴。目台篆文形近。因承作飴。

四皓一作顛。說文。商山四顛。白首老人也。齊書徐伯珍傳。兄弟四人。白首相對。人嘖四皓。是又一四皓。

豎石為碑。橫石為帖。方者為碑。圓者為碣。陰字凹入曰款。陽字凸出曰識。在外曰款。在內曰識。夏器有款。無識。商器無款。有識。碑崱圓孔曰穿。近穿側理下垂曰暈。一曰帶。南碑刻淺。北碑刻深。謂之溝道。造佛像

之匠。謂之博士。出摩利支天經凡斯之類。謂之鏤雅。刻畫金石曰鏤。

說文。辮交也。謝靈運曇隆法師誄。慧心朗識。發於髻辮。辮字作辮。髮解始此。

唐書百官表。漢以太常光祿勳衛尉太僕廷尉大鴻臚宗正司農少府為九卿。後魏以來。卿名雖仍舊。而所蒞之局。謂之寺。因名九寺。按漢明帝時。攝摩騰自西域白馬駝經來。初止鴻臚寺。遂取寺名。為創立白

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二

期

馬寺。後名浮屠。所居皆曰寺。則是卿寺之名。自漢已然。不自後魏始。漢書何並傳。林卿今騎奴還至寺門。拔刀剝其建鼓。師古曰。諸官曹之所通。噓為寺。後漢書南蠻傳。和帝永元十二年夏四月。日南象林蠻夷二千餘人。寇掠百姓。燔燒官寺。則雖遠在蠻方。官府亦稱曰寺矣。蕙棟松崖筆記云。漢制總羣臣而既曰省。分務而專制曰寺。

方勺泊宅編引劉中壘謂泥中中露。衛二邑名。按其說本於毛傳。不自中壘始。

漢建初石刻在山東登州。文曰。□□□□□□□□。荻道司馬長元石。□門建初六年十月三日戊。登州府志。

金石志云。右刻文八分書十六字。當云二十四字。大五寸許。上四字。當云六字。泐。第五字。當云七字。弟。亦漫滅。濰縣陳壽卿

學士釋為荻。亦無稿證。此等石登州所在多有。如海陽招虎山西之石。土人呼為石劍。明文太青太僕令

萊陽時。嘗為賦東極篇。亦莫辨為何許石也。今以此刻證之。知為當日墓表耳。此石刻打本。余購感數年。

徧攷它書。未詳所在。偶於地攤幡帛斯志得之。開卷有益。勿以體例未善。版本欠精而忽之也。

唐張祜詩。內人已唱春鶯轉。花下傚傚軟舞來。按教坊記伎女入宜春院。謂之內人。亦曰前頭人。近人稱

妻曰內人。謬甚。

陶隱居畫傳曰。隱居號華陽真人。晚號華真逸。則瘞鶴銘為隱居不疑。宋高似孫緯略。按此為隱居書瘞鶴銘之

稿證。

梅宛陵詩。不上樓來今幾日。滿城多少柳絲黃。晁氏客語記歐公云。非聖俞不能到。宋無名氏愛日齋叢鈔。按李易

安詞。幾日不來樓上望。粉紅香白已爭妍。由此脫胎。卻自是詞筆。

盤查之盤當作啖。按篇海啖蒲官切音盤。以言難人。盤字徧檢字書無釋。察義者。啖从采。說文辨別也。象獸指爪分別也。於盤查之義為近。

曩輯薇省詞鈔。婁訪顏修來曹頌嘉趙雲菘三先生詞弗獲。例言引為恨事。比閱茶餘客話。壬午春王月偶作望江南詞二十闕。分詠淮南歲寒食品。王蓬心宸讀而豔之。為寫歲朝填詞圖云云。唐山先生曾官中書。据此知先生亦嘗填詞。惜無從搜訪矣。

南史梁元帝徐妃傳云。帝制金樓子。述其淫行。按金樓子六卷。凡十四篇。知不足齋本其后妃篇未載徐妃事。唯志怪篇言及徐妃。亦無所謂淫行。事涉宮闈。攸關風化。史氏何所據而云然。不可不辨。

東坡詩。大勝劉伶婦。區區為酒錢。按晉書劉伶傳。伶妻諫曰。君酒太過。非攝生之道。必宜斷之。非為酒錢也。又張耒詩亦有此二句。蓋耒從坡遊。習聞而承用之耳。

伍子胥吳市吹簫。史記作吹箎。運籌帷幄之中。史記作帷帳。市駿骨燕策。是市千里馬首。韓信拔趙幟。易漢幟。夏侯夔拔魏幟。建梁幟。通鑑梁大元年近人但知韓信事。

過激主義之夢想與事實

轉錄英國牛津大學圖書公司刊本

第一章 過激主義之勃興

俄國之鮑爾雪維克。即現今所通稱為過激派者是也。此字若含有悲慘恐怖之意。實則其始亦不過一

極平常之名詞耳。攷鮑爾雪維克之原義，在俄文爲多數派。然以一名詞屬之任何事物，不久即因所屬事物之性質而得一新意義，與原有之意義迥殊矣。例如桀紂堯舜，盜跖顏回，一言其名，而人皆知其爲善爲惡，毋煩贅述也。今此鮑爾雪維克一字，其原義僅爲多數派，向使此多數派而安分守己，無聲無臭，則傳之後世，將仍不失其多數派之意義也。乃不幸而此名詞竟屬之革命黨，尤不幸而此革命黨者，又皆以誅鋤異己爲職志，而於是多數派三字，遂一變而爲過激派，與原義相去遠矣。夫過激派之所爲如何，效果如何，使其鼓動世界大革命之目的得達，則我人全體所受之影響將如何，各國健全分子，又何以不能阻其進行而轉被捲入漩渦，凡此種種問題，皆本書所欲加以研究，而逐一作答者也。第一我人必須追原其始。夫過激派即俄之多數派，然所謂多數者，非俄民全體之多數也。是故鮑爾雪維主義（即過激主義）爲團體專制制度，即首倡此項行動之李寧，亦先嘗藉辭掩飾，以其所創建之共和國爲根據於國民公意也。攷多數派之得名，係在一九〇三年俄國社會黨於倫敦會議之時，此革命委員會有一共同之目的，即擺脫俄皇之壓制是也。然其目的雖同，而主用之方法則異。一派主張民治主義，社會改革，與夫自由平等進步，不分階級。此派我人將稱之曰自由黨。其又一派則主張極端革命，實行階級戰爭，以消滅一般與勞動工人競爭優勢者。由是以觀，則前者主張改良社會，而不破壞社會，主張矯正現有之不公不義，而不主張誅鋤異己，以冒天下之大不韙。若夫後者之目的，則在以較大之專制，代狹小之專制。此即當時之多數派，亦即今日之所謂過激派也。過激派爲全世界人民所咒詛，羣視爲文

化之敵。而在俄國則已釀成恐怖時代。其暴虐無人道。殆有甚於黑暗時代之專制君皇。草昧時代之野蠻民族者焉。一九一七年三月。俄國大革命起。推翻皇室。脫離專制。是爲倫敦會議後十四年。亦即歐洲大戰之第三年。然而與過激派無與也。過激派此時並未出現。其解放俄國者。乃社會革命黨之力。而過激派則破壞此救國黨者也。以彼等之愚昧無識。形同狂易。遂令俄國自由之新精神。被其遏抑。而希望亦幾因之絕。俄國之智識界。即中等階級與受教育階級。爲大部份學生所自出。而過激派則誅鋤之。饑之壓迫之。以強令服從。至彼不幸之農民。雖縱一時之欲。殺其地主。乘機劫掠。然而轉瞬之間。已復入於奴隸之域。其苦且有甚於一九一七年三月解放農民之大革命以前者。而一九一七年十一月之二次革命。則戕殺拯救俄國之愛國志士。且爲俄民確定其新主人。此即過激派革命是也。今著者於詳述此新派之目的與行動以前。當先說明其如何得勢。夫過激派之所以能與文化宣戰。此其機會。實德人有以與之也。李寧一派。首賣祖國。繼賣協約。而其藉故掩飾之辭。則曰工人無所謂祖國。若爲政府而戰。即爲自賣其同類。蓋所謂愛國主義與國家主義。在過激派視之。實無物耳。彼等僅爲工界而戰。非爲國家而戰。其目的在建一普徧全球之勞動國家。無分畛域。故其仇敵。非德非土。亦非任何種族。信奉任何宗教之人。而爲律師地主與商人。向使有華工入其國。即可得一麵包票與註冊名片。然使爲一印度律師。或俄國地主。或英國商家。則非立即投身於勞動界者。有死而已。故李寧之所以號召俄國農民者。爲勿與德軍交戰。因德軍之中。多爲其同胞也。彼之目的。即在變帝國戰爭而爲平民戰爭。或階級戰爭。然

當其初時。則於任何戰爭。均不提及。蓋欲以俄國之救主自居。使人民得享太平。而獲其信仰也。夫俄國方當損兵折將之餘。糧械俱竭。人民厭戰已久。而政治腐敗。工業停滯。國內有大亂之憂。敵軍復將臨城下。則和平自爲俄國人民所最希望之一事。而於是不惜代價。以求和平。忍辱含垢。亦所不顧。當此之時。李寧乃以三事相許。曰和平。麵包。與土地。夫以數千萬水深火熱之人民。大禍迫於眉睫。則聞李氏之言。有不靡然從之者乎。饑不擇食。渴不擇飲。其勢蓋有必至者焉。是故李寧之言曰。「君等何其愚也。君等何爲而與德人戰。彼德人之於我。與英法無殊也。而協約諸國。又何恩於我。君等實爲外國資本家之傀儡。爲之斷頭流血。爲之犧牲生命。而若輩乃因以自肥。君等何其愚也。」李寧之言如此。而其於英國之所以加入戰團。不惜犧牲一切。以救俄法比三國之急難。而踐其昔日之約言。於中歐列強之謀吞塞爾維亞。甘與文化爲敵。凡俄國稍具常識。稍知自愛之人。皆當抱敵愾同仇之志。則一不之提。而於是此白里斯利托伏斯克之辱國條約。遂於一九一八年三月三日。由俄過激派與德國簽字。夫李寧以此條約。售其國於公敵。向使協約國不能戰勝。則俄國全境。或其一大部份。必爲德人所蹂躪。爲德人所經營。而歸其支配。名義雖無變更。實際則必如是。幸也。協約諸國。雖爲俄過激派所賣。而卒獲戰勝。以救俄國。然彼李寧一派。則已早加羈軛於俄人之頸矣。夫李爲過激主義之創造人。爲擁護過激主義之勇士。而其聲名遠播。爲全世界所屬目者。卽在於賣祖國。仇文化。自白里斯利托伏斯克條約簽字而後。俄國之種種慘劇。爲歷史上從來所未見者。皆以李寧爲中心人物。一切惡勢力之歸之也。正如水之就下。而不可

制止。雖然李果何如人也。我人聞其爲一隱秘人物。除同黨外。不易與之接近。而藉其隱秘。匿處暗中。愈示人以不可測度。顧李之行動雖祕。實爲俄國革命以來最大之勢力。全球各處。無不聞其名者。而李寧主義。卽爲恐怖主義之代名詞。人或稱之爲擁護自由之勇士。或稱之爲俄皇室之篡竊者。我人若能就過激主義之歷史。一攷其理想與實行。則於李氏之目的與主義。當不難窺見一斑也。當白里斯利托伏斯克條約簽字之時。世人何嘗能夢想俄國數千萬人民之新地獄。其性質乃如是。當時以爲李寧者。一和平家也。不顧一切。而但求和平之懦夫也。且皆以爲李氏實受德人之賄。及其反抗文化之運動。逐漸發展。殘酷暴虐。無所不至。於是人始視爲人類之惡魔。卽不然亦爲一富於虛榮。而漫無節制之人。一切皆爲其虛榮心所支配。雖然。我人論事。貴能持平。凡茲所言。均非確論。彼李寧者。固一自信極深。且確信其所抱主義之人也。思想單純。爲一狂熱之理想家。而抱不能實行之理想。至其和平主義。則事後觀之。其意固在於戰。彼之與德媾和也。以其時方預備實行級階戰爭。而與德媾和。實爲必要。故毅然行之。而過激派之所以能得勢。純由於其和平計劃。與德媾和。乃過激派之一種手段也。而德人與定命。皆入其掌中。夫德國所最懼者。無過一強大自由之俄國。故望其亂。不望其治。而李寧其代理人也。過激主義。則其利器也。是皆德國之所欲也。德之目的。首在破壞新共和國社會之基礎。使失其抵抗力。然後以俄國爲尾閭。而償其所失之屬地。俾得無窮之人力與原料。以延長戰事。故俄德一經媾和。德於物質及精神方面。均爲一振。而自東歐戰場。盡撤其軍。至西歐。作最後一次之進攻。此時之李寧。一若處處爲德國盡

力者。然謂李寧爲德國之傀儡。受敵之金。而爲其利用。則殊大誤。蓋德雖利用李寧。而李寧亦利用德國。並利用德國之金錢。然初無愛於德也。普魯士主義之於德。其壓制人民。猶專制主義之於俄也。而李寧則欲轉移其統治權。故卒愚弄德國。使其軍隊之士氣沮喪。全國因以瓦解。蓋德意志藉李寧爲媒介。以陰謀注射於俄國之毒。終且受其感應。而影響及於本國矣。至若德國與協約國之繼續交戰。於俄國過激主義之發展。亦係同一重要。此李寧之所以不絕運動反抗協約也。彼之出此。初非有親德之意。亦僅利用德國。以求遂其目的耳。其目的維何。則先確立過激主義於俄國。繼由俄國而歐洲。而蔓延及於全世界。以武力強迫推行之。是也。夫過激主義之意義如何。著者迄未加以說明。然欲就李寧之信條。一攷其理想與原則。宜先略述俄國數千百萬之無知愚民。何以能信奉此主義。一聞土地麵包與和平。遽以爲千年難遇之幸福時代將至。則以戰爭不息。歐洲各國。莫不筋疲力盡。而俄國尤甚。民生憔悴。國內騷然。最足使人懷世界大革命之夢想。而第一次革命與俄皇退位後。所以鼓舞俄民之熱誠。不久即歸消滅。種種希望。如爲俄國別開一新紀元。上下一心。以力抗德國之武力主義。始終不屈。轉瞬之間。亦成空花泡影。彼執政諸人。毫無能力經驗。各項行政。仍極腐敗。彼革命政府。雖以利國福民爲心。而至此遂覺建設之難。甚於破壞。竟不能發號施令。使軍民服從。至於李寧一派。則始終主張破壞。自由黨也。社會黨也。維新黨也。皆李寧一派所視爲大敵。其危險尤甚於彰明較著之帝制派。及一班擁護舊派之人者也。彼蓋以爲改革之危險。在使人民侈然以社會革命黨之新政府爲已足。而不復他有所求。然在李寧之

計劃中。則初無自由主義之容足地。何以故。則因自由主義。各界一律平等。而欲過激派之得勢。則惟以己之一階級。力與各界宣戰。勝負既分。始能達其目的也。李寧此時。已確定剷除中等階級。即不以工作度日之人民是也。彼始終不承認其存在。於彼之夢想的世界中。僅有一階級。亦僅有一政治信條。若夫其他制度。則無論若何傾向於民治方面。資本主義。終或有仰首伸眉之一日。故惟將社會中足以抵抗及破壞彼計劃之分子。一掃而空之。敵既肅清。始有勞動界專制之餘地。故李氏之進行計劃。其最初而亦最簡單之一步。為破壞。而天下最易之事。莫如令人破壞當其始也。以立即媾和與自由分配糧食。呼籲於人民。此固彼饑疲欲死之數千百萬人民所樂聞者也。軍中農民。則令其離伍歸家。承襲地產。彼力役之徒。既得脫除一切束縛。毫無節制。而李氏復詔之曰。「今者舊政府已被推翻。君等不復能被迫工作。或為之盡力戰爭矣。君等之所為無端犧牲生命。如牛羊之任人宰殺者。以俄皇室故也。而俄皇室已倒矣。奴隸牛馬君等之資本家。已泰半死亡矣。其尚有存焉者。君等可從而報復之。劫殺任意。凡為君等之力所能及者。取之可也。工人當承襲地球。君等昔日以汗血之所得。而歸諸他人者。今皆屬之君等矣。」夫導人為惡。固無需巧妙之手段。投骨於地。羣犬爭逐。不待人之教之也。彼李寧所抱之理想主義。在彼所解放之饑鷹餓虎。則固一無所知。但逞一己之欲。以放縱自恣而已。夫欲一種計劃之實現。必須有紀律。而李氏之所以詔其國人者。何竟絕無紀律可言也。雖其意若曰。事必先破壞而後建設。若斷斷於紀律。則人將裹足。其事又何能行。今日者。始其昌言紀律之時也。然而亦已晚矣。夫教人行劫為一事。止

人行規。則又一事也。乃欲混而一之。不亦慎乎。雖然。李寧所抱之理想主義。我人亦既言之矣。我人於理想的過激主義。如廢除產業私有。各種生產。悉由工人管理。以謀工人之利益等。我人亦不欲置辯。至其實際能行與否。則將於一攷世界各國所受李氏福音之效果。後再論之。今茲所欲言者。則凡真實無妄之人。決不願居於此誅鋤異己。惟我獨尊之烏托邦。(理想的國家)彼無聊之夢想家。大率受過激派之愚弄。而奉李寧如神明。視爲解放人類之救主。實則殊未之思耳。夫欲試人所言之善惡真僞。當先自問曰。彼令我與乎。抑令我取乎。彼之信條。爲使人頑梗乎。抑使人克己乎。夫欲事之舉。必不可無紀律。耶佛天方各教之聖哲賢良。皆以此爲重。而約束其信徒。其所以教人也。曰節制。曰義務。曰天職。曰與人而非取諸人。從無扼人之吭。而強奪其所有者。大盜之行劫也。猶以非金錢卽生命。使人自擇於二者之間。况其他乎。向使李寧而傳布其福音於東方。則所有信徒。必爲一班亂民。而其所以靡然從之者。意在攫人之財。據爲己有。至於李氏之所謂烏托邦。則不足以號召之也。其在西方亦然。故千人之中。真實之理想的過激派。僅居其一。而其餘之九百九十九人。則皆無知愚民。望風響應。以求遂其貪得無厭之獸性者也。雖然。我人於無知人民之受其愚弄。固當憐而恕之。彼以水深火熱之人。而其外誘。又如如是之強。夫何怪振臂一呼。而應者四集。人爭趨之。如水勢之就下也。夫好生惡死。好逸惡勞。人之常情也。出水火而登衽席。人之望之。未有不若大旱之望雲霓者。俄民之所以信奉李寧。蓋亦有以驅之使然耳。故聞李氏之言。莫不曰。我人信受愚矣。是皆俄皇之故也。我人果何爲而戰。彼德人者。我儕之友也。敬謝上帝。今戰事

已告終矣。我儕可不復從事操練，以供大砲之犧牲，可不復枵腹從公，跋涉長途，而服此卑劣之制服。彼過激派已許我以土地麵包與和平矣。此俄民之所以靡然從風也。

德國人之傾向東方文化 錄申報

印度大詩哲太戈爾 Rabindranath Tagore 最近來德游歷，大受一般德國人士之歡迎。連日在柏林、打模時塔、Darmstadt、佛蘭克、Frankfurt 諸城，大開演說。德國學者多紛紛專車前往各城聽其講演。其一種歡迎東方學者之狂熱，遠在吾國歡迎西方學者杜威羅素以上。此亦戰後東西文化對流作用之一種表現也。

此次太戈爾來歐任務，第一係答謝「世界學者獎金」之賜予。太戈爾於戰前曾受世界學者之獎金。照例應到歐洲一次，以致答謝之意。第二，太戈爾為東方文化之擁護者。此次來歐即欲傳播其思想，並以其講演所得之金錢，持歸印度，以經營彼所創辦之學校。故此次講演分正式演說與自由談話兩種。正式演說售賣入場券，每人十五馬克或二十馬克。購者須數日前預定，遲則不能購得。自由談話則任人前往，不加限制。計記者所參與者為正式演說一次，自由談話兩次，皆在打模時塔城中。打模時塔為近日德國東方文化運動之中心地。德國傾向東方文化之哲學家凱色林 Keyserling 於此城內辦有「智慧學院」Schule der Weisheit 一所以實行其理想教育。凱色林係德國伯爵，曾旅行世界一週。著有「哲學家旅行日記」一書，批評西洋文化，不遺餘力。為最近德國出版界風行一世之著作。當太戈爾

未到該城一星期之前，該城已舉行「東方文化講演會」數次。記者前次通信所謂研究中國文化之威廉博士，亦為該會聘請之一。有一次在會場中，曾有一德人語記者友人宗白華君云：君等現在來德留學，吾等不日亦將赴中國留學，即此一端，已可以想見該城近日東方文化之空氣矣。

記者先期函託宗君白華代購入場券一張。於太戈爾講演之日，特乘火車前往。既至，偕宗君入會場。場可容千餘人。場上有演說臺一，陳列鮮花綠樹，如一小小森林。環臺而坐者約千餘人。德國大教育家新康德派首領那士蒲 Natopp 即坐於記者席次前面。蓋一八十餘歲之老翁也。四時許，太戈爾入場。着灰色僧衣，黑色圓帽，鬚髮蒼然，神情閒靜，立於花樹叢中，向大眾合掌致禮。是日演題為「東西問題」。太戈爾用英語講演，由凱色林用德語傳譯。其大意略謂：歐洲人是一種有統系有組織之自私民族。只有外部的物質的生活，而無內部的精神的生活。而且妄自尊大，欲以自己之西方物質思想，征服東方精神生活。致使中國印度最高之文化，皆受西方物質武力之壓迫。務使東方文化與西方文明所有相異之點，皆完全消滅。統一於西方物質文明之下。然後快意。此實為歐洲人共同所造之罪惡。希望今後青年將從前種種盡行忘去，努力為新世界之創造云云。語至沈痛處，聲色俱厲。滿漢座為之肅然。太戈爾哲學思想係反對用一種外面的強力，以統一各民族，而主張用內心的愛力，以謀各個人間各民族間之相互了解。保存各個人各民族之固有特性。凡欲以一種思想統一世界者，皆在彼反對之列。今日所講，大概反覆申明此義，無甚特點可記。惟此次講演之特色，不在其含義之深邃，而在其文辭之優美。態

度之閒靜，使人於無形中受其人格之感化。在歐洲擾擾社會中，大有欲曉聞晨鐘令人發深省之感也。第二次講演，在黑森大公爵行宮之花園中。太戈爾此次來打模時塔城講演，為大公爵所招待，即寓居於該行宮中。午前十鐘，記者偕友人前往行宮之園中立候。是日為自由談話，由聽者提出問題，請其答覆。十時許，太戈爾由宮中步到花園，即有無數妙齡佳麗女郎，上前與之行禮，更有無數兒童，各贈鮮花一束，以表敬意。太戈爾笑容可掬，一一領受。一時瑤草琪花，共呈媚媚，玉宇瓊樓，如登極樂。太戈爾獨立於大樹之下，向大眾合掌為禮。是日所討論者為世界和平問題，其大意略謂：歐洲人因欲滿足物質慾望，故以武力為後盾，盡力搶劫，此實為一種佔有本能之衝動。自大戰後，世人主張維持世界和平，其法有二：一為減少軍備，一為共同組織。（指國際聯盟）然若物質慾望不減少，佔有本能不改良，則搶劫之事終不能絕跡。即世界和平終不能維持，故欲世界和平，當首先改良佔有之本能。又謂歐洲人之一切組織，皆築在外面強力之上，而非築在內心愛力之上，故歐洲社會組織之基礎，極不穩固。又謂歐洲社會恰似一個公事房，個人行為恰如機器之動作，將來個性必日漸消滅，創造力亦將日漸減少。余對於歐洲文化甚抱悲觀云云。

第三次在打模時塔城外之森林中，林中有小邱一名曰『上帝山』。山上有石一，德國大詩人詞德 Goethe 曾題名於上。午後四鐘，太戈爾偕大公爵等乘馬車到林中，威廉第二之皇子亦在座。太戈爾緩步登山，立於岩上，環邱而立者數千人，歡呼之聲達於雲際。由大公爵令聽眾高唱各種國歌，以娛太戈爾。

約一鐘之久。歌畢。太戈爾答謝。並贊揚其音樂曰。『從地上而發爲花草。由心中而發爲音樂。遵此滋生發展之途。以達於自由和平之極樂。』五鐘許。太戈爾登車而歸。方登車時。羣衆又在車前爭相握手。其中以婦女爲最多。並有男子一人。向前吻太戈爾之手。其一種崇拜之狂熱可想而知。登車後復有男女數人在車前。作古時德意志人之山林跳舞。隨舞隨歌。別饒風味。舞畢。太戈爾馬車緩緩出林。羣衆狂呼歡送。太戈爾揚帽爲禮。總之今日之會。無處不表現「動的社會」之精神。不知太戈爾以東方學者靜的眼光觀之。將作何感想也。

當太戈爾到德國時。德國著述家及各書店。皆爭送太戈爾書籍。太戈爾曾在報上專函致謝。又聞巴黎方面學者。擬收集太戈爾著作。及各國學者對於太戈爾研究之著作。成立一『太戈爾圖書館』。惟法國有一部分學者。甚不願德國著述雜入其中。因而此議。遂致擱淺。

戰後德國學者對於西洋文化頗多懷疑。如『歐洲之衰落』一書。即係近來德國出版界最時髦之著作。最近各大學教授對於該書特別開會加以討論。結果贊成反對者各得其半。該書大旨即謂現在歐洲只有物質文明。已無文化之可言。該書對於西洋哲學科學以至於文學藝術。無不加以極詳細之評論。頗多特見精義。此亦爲近日德國學術界之一種潮流。太戈爾既係咀咒西方物質文明擁護東方精神文化者。故此時來德。正合德人口味。其受熱烈之歡迎。亦不足爲怪也。

羅素之中國文化觀

錄商報

中國文化現象。近日亦甚可觀。一般學生求學。非常專心。余在中國時。每與學生說話。無不以智識饑荒爲言。且深慕西方文明。余意中國最切要者。不在西方文化吸收。反在東方舊有文明之復興。中國學術遠在二千前。已經燦然大備。若加以整理。使之復興。卽影響世界。極爲偉大。最後中國將爲世界文化中心。」云云。

列寧對於布爾希維克之失望

錄申報

路透社二十四日巴黎電。某俄報載列寧致友人之函。略曰。研究俄國革命各狀態。迄今三年。未嘗間斷。而此研究之結果。則予我以教訓。詔我勿處處屬望於社會方面之良心行動。或民羣方向促其自對必要方面活動進行之集會的本性。但詔我求取志願。超出其社會和平線上者之個人強力耳。布爾希維克太重視社會。遂鑄一大錯。如以社會爲能以立即直接表示其志願之有知識的團體而研究之。則任何社會。以全體言之。顯爲毫無各種知識。毫無人的志願與行事能力之團體而已。革命所呈之極大觀察範圍。常予我以機會。使我自覺布爾希維克主義之虛誕。以我個人而言。我已倦矣。且覺倦之程度。與日俱增。我同志之無功效。與其中級社會之趨向。現已蝕毀我黨之組織者。漸使我神經不安。政事不能以我輩所用之形式施之。而少年布爾希維克官吏復全蹈其前人之覆轍。勞農之集合的本性與天良。全不能符合吾人之希望。我惟有自認錯誤。並自認過分重視黨人力量與俄國勞農力量而已。換言之。我謂俄國勞農自毀其利益。而黨人亦於無意中毀其利益。此乃心理荏弱所致也。其結果爲革命進行

叢錄 列寧於對布爾希維克之失望

十六

之阻遏與革命思想發展之中止。技能也。文化也。殘暴也。不知爲前途努力之必要也。不能卽理會新思想也。合爲布爾希維克主義所莫能勝之阻力。我覺黨人力量日減。而重視個人利益輕視民羣利益者。日促我黨之傾覆。四面喬奮。卒無所遺。將惟遺跡僅存耳。我久知我方面讓步以吸收新份子而增我黨實力辦事人才之重要。苟無此新力量。則我輩將無以存立。我輩最後之努力在此。俟精力告竭。我黨亡矣。我已告克拉新氏以與外來社會黨祕密磋商之必要。以期調停可成。君爲我老友。不入黨派。我特對君有同樣之請求云云。

The Spirit of the Chinese People

BY KU HUNG-MING

(A Paper that was to have been read before the Oriental Society of Peking.)

(Continued)

I have often been asked to say what Confucius has done for the Chinese nation. Now I can tell you of many things which I think Confucius has accomplished for the Chinese people. But, as to-day I have not the time, I will only here try to tell you of one principal and most important thing which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation—the one thing he did in his life by which, Confucius himself said, men in after ages would know him, would know what he had done for them. When I have explained to you this one principal thing, you will then understand what that something is in Confucianism which can give to the mass of mankind the same sense of security and sense of permanence which religion affords them. In order to explain this, I must ask you to allow me to go a little more into detail about Confucius and what he did.

Confucius, as some of you may know, lived in what is called a period of expansion in the history of China—a period in which the feudal had come to an end; in which the feudal, the semi-patriarchal social and form of government had to be expanded and reconstructed. This great change necessarily brought with it not only confusion in the affairs of the world, but also confusion in men's minds. I have said that in the Chinese civilisation of the last 2,500 years there is no conflict between the heart and the head. But I must now tell you that in the period of expansion in which Confucius lived there was also in China, as now in Europe, a fearful conflict between the heart and the head. The Chinese people in Confucius' time found themselves with an immense system of institutions, established facts, accredited dogmas, customs, laws—in fact, an immense system of society and civilisation which had come down to them from their venerated ancestors. In this system their life had to be carried forward; yet they began to feel—they had a sense that this system was not of their creation, that it by no means corresponded with the wants of their actual life; that, for them, it was customary, not rational. Now the awakening of this sense in the Chinese people 2,500 years ago was the awakening of what in Europe to-day is called the modern spirit—

the spirit of liberalism, the spirit of enquiry, to find out the why and the wherefore of things. This modern spirit in China then, seeing the want of correspondence of the old order of society and civilisation with the wants of their actual life, set itself not only to reconstruct a new order of society and civilisation, but also to find a basis for this new order of society and civilisation. But all the attempts to find a new basis for society and civilisation in China then failed. Some, while they satisfied the head—the intellect of the Chinese people, did not satisfy their heart; others, while they satisfied their heart, did not satisfy their head. Hence arose, as I said, this conflict between the heart and the head in China 2,500 years ago, as we see it now in Europe. This conflict of the heart and head in the new order of society and civilisation which men tried to reconstruct made the Chinese people feel dissatisfied with all civilisation, and in the agony and despair which this dissatisfaction produced, the Chinese people wanted to pull down and destroy all civilisation. Men, like Laotzu, then in China as men like Tolstoi in Europe to-day, seeing the misery and suffering resulting from the conflict between the heart and the head, thought they saw something radically wrong in the very nature and constitution of society and civilisation. Laotzu and Chuang-tzu, the most brilliant of Laotzu's disciples, told the Chinese people to throw away all civilisation. Laotzu said to the people of China: "Leave all that you have and follow me; follow me to the mountains, to the hermit's cell in the mountains, there to live a true life—a life of the heart, a life of immortality."

But Confucius, who also saw the suffering and misery of the then state of society and civilisation, thought he recognised the evil was not in the nature and constitution of society and civilisation, but in the wrong track which society and civilisation had taken, in the wrong basis which men had taken for the foundation of society and civilisation. Confucius told the Chinese people not to throw away their civilisation. Confucius told them that in a true society and true civilisation—in a society and civilisation with a *true* basis men also could live a true life, a life of the heart. In fact, Confucius tried hard all his life to put society and civilisation on the right track; to give it a true basis, and thus prevent the destruction of civilisation. But in the last days of his life, when Confucius saw that he could not prevent the destruction of the Chinese civilisation—what did he do? Well, as an architect who sees his house on fire, burning and falling over his head, and is convinced that he cannot possibly save the building, knows

that the only thing for him to do is to save the drawings and plans of the building so that it may afterwards be built again; so Confucius, seeing the inevitable destruction of the building of the Chinese civilisation which he could not prevent, thought he would save the drawings and plans, and he accordingly saved the drawings and plans of the Chinese civilisation, which are now preserved in the Old Testament of the Chinese Bible—the five Canonical Books known as the *Wu Ching*, five Canons. That, I say, was a great service which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation—he saved the drawings and plans of their civilisation for them.

Confucius, I say, when he saved the drawings and plans of the Chinese civilisation, did a great service for the Chinese nation. But that is not the principal, the greatest service which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation. The greatest service he did was that, in saving the drawings and plans of their civilisation, he made a new synthesis, a new interpretation of the plans of that civilisation, and in that new synthesis he gave the Chinese people the true idea of a State—a true, rational, permanent, absolute basis of a State.

But then Plato and Aristotle in ancient times, and Rousseau and Herbert Spencer in modern times also made a synthesis of civilisation, and tried to give a true idea of a State. Now what is the difference between the philosophy, the synthesis of civilisation made by the great men of Europe I have mentioned, and the synthesis of civilisation—the system of philosophy and morality now known as Confucianism? The difference, it seems to me, is this. The philosophy of Plato and Aristotle and of Herbert Spencer has not become a religion or the equivalent of a religion, the accepted faith of the masses of a people or nation, whereas Confucianism has become a religion or the equivalent of a religion to even the mass of the population in China. When I say religion here, I mean religion, not in the narrow European sense of the word, but in the broad universal sense. Goethe says:—“*Nur saemtliche Menschen erkennen die Natur; nur saemtliche Menschen leben das Menschliche.* Only the mass of mankind know what is real life; only the mass of mankind live a true human life.” Now when we speak of religion in its broad universal sense, we mean generally a system of teachings with rules of conduct which, as Goethe says, is accepted as true and binding by the mass of mankind, or at least, by the mass of the population in a people or nation. In this broad and universal sense of the word Christianity and Buddhism are religions. In this broad and universal sense, Confucianism, as you

know, has become a religion, as its teachings have been acknowledged to be true and its rules of conduct to be binding by the whole Chinese race and nation, whereas the philosophy of Plato, of Aristotle and of Herbert Spencer has not become a religion even in this broad universal sense. That, I say, is the difference between Confucianism and the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle and of Herbert Spencer—the one has remained a philosophy for the learned, whereas the other has become a religion or the equivalent of a religion for the mass of the whole Chinese nation as well as for the learned of China.

In this broad universal sense of the word, I say Confucianism is a religion just as Christianity or Buddhism is a religion. But you will remember I said that Confucianism is not a religion in the European sense of the word. What is then the difference between Confucianism and a religion in the European sense of the word? There is, of course, the difference that the one has a supernatural origin and element in it, whereas the other has not. But besides this difference of supernatural and non-supernatural, there is also another difference between Confucianism and a religion in the European sense of the word such as Christianity and Buddhism, and it is this. A religion in the European sense of the word teaches a man to be a good *man*. But Confucianism does more than this; Confucianism teaches a man to be a good *citizen*. The Christian Catechism asks:—“What is the chief end of *man*?” But the Confucian Catechism asks:—“What is the chief end of a *citizen*?” of man, not in his individual life, but man in his relation with his fellowmen and in his relation to the State? The Christian answers the words of his Catechism by saying: “The chief end of man is to glorify God.” The Confucianist answers the words of his Catechism by saying: “The chief end of man is to live as a dutiful son and a good citizen.” Tzū Yu, a disciple of Confucius, is quoted in the Sayings and Discourses of Confucius, saying: “A wise man devotes his attention to the foundation of life—the chief end of man. When the foundation is laid, wisdom, religion will come. Now to live as a dutiful son and good citizen, is not that the foundation—the chief end of man as a moral being?” In short, a religion in the European sense of the word makes it its object to transform man into a perfect ideal men by himself, into a saint, a Buddha, an angel, whereas Confucianism limits itself to make man into a good citizen—to live as a dutiful son and a good citizen. In other words, a religion in the European sense of the word says:—“If you want to have religion, you must be a saint, a Buddha, an

angel;" whereas Confucianism says:—" If you live as a dutiful son and a good citizen, you *have* religion."

In fact, the real difference between Confucianism and religion in the European sense of the word, such as Christianity or Buddhism, is that the one is a personal religion, or what may be called a Church religion, whereas the other is a social religion, or what may be called a State religion. The greatest service, I say, which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation, is that he gave them a true idea of a State. Now in giving this true idea of a State, Confucius made that idea a religion. In Europe politics is a science, but in China, since Confucius' time, politics is a religion. In short, the greatest service which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation, I say, is that he gave them a Social or State religion. Confucius taught this State religion in a book which he wrote in the very last days of his life, a book to which he gave the name of *Ch'un Ch'iu* (春秋), Spring and Autumn. Confucius gave the name of Spring and Autumn to this book because the object of the book is to give the real moral causes which govern the rise and fall—the Spring and Autumn of nations. This book might also be called the Latter Day Annals, like the Latter Day Pamphlets of Carlyle. In this book Confucius gave a résumé of the history of a false and decadent state of society and civilisation in which he traced all the suffering and misery of that false and decadent state of society and civilisation to its real cause—to the fact that men had not a true idea of a State; no right conception of the true nature of the duty which they owe to the State, to the head of the State, their ruler and Sovereign. In a way Confucius in this book taught the divine right of kings. Now I know all of you, or at least most of you, do not believe in the divine right of kings. I will not argue the point with you here. I will only ask you to suspend your judgment until you have heard what I have further to say. In the meantime I will just ask your permission to quote to you here a saying of Carlyle. Carlyle says: "The right of a king to govern us is either a divine right or a diabolic wrong." Now I want you, on this subject of the divine right of kings, to remember and ponder over this saying of Carlyle.

In this book Confucius taught that, as in all the ordinary relations and dealings between men in human society, there is, besides the base motives of interest and of fear, a higher and nobler motive to influence them in their conduct, a higher and nobler motive which rises above all considerations of interest and fear, the motive called *Duty*; so in this

important relation of all in human society, the relation between the people of a State or nation and the Head of that State or nation, there is also this higher and nobler motive of Duty which should influence and inspire them in their conduct. But what is the rational basis of this duty which the people in a State or nation owe to the head of the State or nation? Now in the feudal age before Confucius' time, with its semi-patriarchal order of Society and form of Government, when the State was more or less a family, the people did not feel so much the need of having a clear and firm basis for the duty which they owe to the Head of the State, because, as they were all members of one clan or family, the tie of kinship or natural affection already, in a way, bound them to the Head of the State, who was also the senior member of their clan or family. But in Confucius' time the feudal age, as I said, had come to an end; when the State had outgrown the family, when the citizens of a State were no longer composed of the members of a clan or family. It was, therefore, then necessary to find a new, clear, rational and firm basis for the duty which the people in a State or nation owe to the Head of the State—their ruler and sovereign. Now what new basis did Confucius find for this duty? Confucius found the new basis for this duty in the word *Honour*.

When I was in Japan last year the ex-Minister of Education, Baron Kikuchi, asked me to translate four Chinese characters taken from the book in which, as I said, Confucius taught this State religion of his. The four characters were *Ming fen ta yi* (名分大義). I translated them as the Great Principle of Honour and Duty. It is for this reason that the Chinese make a special distinction between Confucianism and all other religions by calling the system of teaching taught by Confucius not a *chiao*—(教)—the general term in Chinese for religion with which they designate other religions, such as Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity—but the *ming chiao* (名教)—the religion of Honour. Again the term *chun tzu chih tao* (君子之道) in the teachings of Confucius, translated by Dr. Legge as “the way of the superior man,” for which the nearest equivalent in the European languages is moral law—means literally, the way—the *Law of the Gentleman*. In fact, the whole system of philosophy and morality taught by Confucius may be summed up in one word: the Law of the Gentleman. Now Confucius codified this law of the gentleman and made it a Religion,—a State religion. The first Article of Faith in this State Religion is *Ming fen ta yi*—the Principle of Honour and Duty—which may thus be called: A Code of Honour.

In this State religion Confucius taught that the only true, rational, permanent and absolute basis, not only of a State, but of all Society and civilisation, is this law of the gentleman, the sense of honour in man. Now you, all of you, even those who believe that there is no morality in politics—all of you, I think, know and will admit the importance of this sense of honour in men in human society. But I am not quite sure that all of you are aware of the *absolute* necessity of this sense of honour in men for the carrying on of every form of human society; in fact, as the proverb which says: "There must be honour even among thieves," show—even for the carrying on of a society of thieves. Without the sense of honour in men, all society and civilisation would on the instant break down and become impossible. Will you allow me to show you how this is so? Let us take, for example, such a trivial matter as gambling in social life. Now unless men when they sit down to gamble all recognise and feel themselves bound by the sense of honour to pay when a certain colour of cards or dice turns up, gambling would on the instant become impossible. The merchants again—unless merchants recognise and feel themselves bound by the sense of honour to fulfil their contracts, all trading would become impossible. But you will say that the merchant who repudiates his contract can be taken to the law-court. True, but if there were no law-courts, what then? Besides, the law-court—how can the law-court make the defaulting merchant fulfil his contract? By force. In fact, without the sense of honour in men, society can only be held together for a time by force. But then I think I can show you that force alone cannot hold society permanently together. The policeman who compels the merchant to fulfil his contract, uses force. But the lawyer, magistrate or president of a republic—how does he make the policeman do his duty? You know he cannot do it by force; but then by what? Either by the sense of honour in the policemen or by *fraud*.

In modern times all over the world to-day—and I am sorry to say now also in China—the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic make the policeman do his duty by fraud. In modern times the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic tell the policeman that he must do his duty, because it is for the good of society and for the good of his country; and that the good of society means that he, the policeman, can get his pay regularly, without which he and his family would die of starvation. The lawyer, politician or president of a republic who tells the policeman this, I say, uses *fraud*. I say it is fraud, because

the good of the country, which for the policeman means fifteen shillings a week, which barely keeps him and his family from starvation, means for the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic ten to twenty thousand pounds a year, with a fine house, electric light, motor cars and all the comforts and luxuries which the life blood labour of ten thousands of men has to supply him. I say it is fraud because without the recognition of a sense of honour—the sense of honour which makes the gambler pay the last penny in his pocket to the player who wins from him, *without this sense of honour*, all transfer and possession of property which makes the inequality of the rich and poor in society, as well as the transfer of money on a gambling table, has no justification whatever and no binding force. Thus the lawyer, politician, magistrate or president of a republic, although they talk of the good of society and the good of the country, really depend upon the policeman's unconscious sense of honour which not only makes him do his duty, but also makes him respect the right of property and be satisfied with fifteen shillings a week, while the lawyer, politician and president of a republic receive an income of twenty thousand pounds a year. I, therefore, say it is fraud because while they thus demand the sense of honour from the policeman; they, the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic in modern society believe, openly say and act on the principle that there is no morality, no sense of honour in politics.

You will remember what Carlyle, I told you, said—that the right of a king to govern us is either a divine right or a diabolic wrong. Now this fraud of the modern lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic is what Carlyle calls a diabolic wrong. It is this fraud, this Jesuitism of the public men in modern society, who say and act on the principle that there is no morality, no sense of honour in politics and yet plausibly talk of the good of society and the good of the country; it is this Jesuitism which, as Carlyle says, gives rise to “the widespread suffering, mutiny, delirium, the hot rage of sans culottic insurrections, the cold rage of resuscitated tyrannies, brutal degradation of the millions, the pampered frivolity of the units” which we see in modern society to-day. In short, it is this combination of fraud and force, Jesuitism and Militarism, lawyer and policeman, which has produced Anarchists and Anarchism in modern society, this combination of force and fraud outraging the moral sense in man and producing madness which makes the

Anarchist throw bomb and dynamite against the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic.

In fact, a society without the sense of honour in men, and without morality in its politics, cannot, I say, be held together, or at any rate, cannot last. For in such a society the policeman, upon whom the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic depend to carry out their duty, will thus argue with himself. He is told that he must do his duty for the good of society. But he, the poor policeman, is also a part of that society—to himself and his family, at least, the most important part of that society. Now if by some other way than by being policeman, perhaps by being an anti-policeman, he can get better pay to improve the condition of himself and his family, that also means the good of society. In that way the policeman must sooner or later come to the conclusion that, as there is no such thing as a sense of honour and morality in politics, there is then no earthly reason why, if he can get better pay, which means also the good of society—no reason why, instead of being a policeman, he should not become a revolutionist or anarchist. In a society when the policeman once comes to the conclusion that there is no reason why, if he can get better pay, he should not become a revolutionist or anarchist—that society is doomed. Mencius said:—“When Confucius completed his *Spring and Autumn Annals*”—the book in which he taught the State religion of his and in which he showed that the society of his time—in which there was then, as in the world to-day, no sense of honour in public men and no morality in politics—was doomed; when Confucius wrote that book, “the Jesuits and anarchists (lit. bandits) of his time, became afraid” (亂臣賊子懼).*

But to return from the digression. I say, a society without the sense of honour cannot be held together, cannot last. For if, as we have seen, even in the relation between men connected with matters of little or no vital importance such as gambling and trading in human society, the recognition of the sense of honour is so important and necessary, how much more so it must be in the relations between men in human society, which establish the two most essential institutions in that society, the Family and the State. Now, as you all know, the rise of civil society in the history of all nations begins always with the institution of marriage. The Church religion in Europe makes

*Mencius Bk. III, Part II IX, 11.

marriage a *sacrament*, *i.e.*, something sacred and inviolable. The sanction for the sacrament of marriage in Europe is given by the Church and the authority for the sanction is God. But that is only an outward, formal, or so to speak; legal sanction. The true, inner, the really binding sanction for the inviolability of marriage—as we see it in countries where there is no church religion, is the sense of honour, the law of the gentleman in the men and women. Confucius says, “The recognition of the law of the gentleman begins with the recognition of the relation between husband and wife.”* In other words, the recognition of the sense of honour—the law of the gentleman—in all countries where there is civil society, establishes the institution of marriage. The institution of marriage establishes the *Family*.

I said that the State religion which Confucius taught is a Code of Honour, and I told you that Confucius made this Code out of the law of the gentleman. But now I must tell you that long before Confucius' time there existed already in China an undefined and unwritten code of the law of the gentleman. This undefined and unwritten code of the law of the gentleman in China before Confucius' time was known as *li* (禮), the law of propriety, good taste or good manners. Later on in history before Confucius' time a great statesman arose in China—the man known as the great Law-giver of China, generally spoken of as the Duke of Chou (周公) (B.C. 1135)—who first defined, fixed, and made a written code of the law of the gentleman, known then in China as *li*, the law of propriety, good taste or good manners. This first written code of the gentleman in China, made by the Duke of Chou, became known as *Chou li*—the laws of good manners of the Duke of Chou. This code of the laws of good manners of the Duke of Chou may be considered as the pre-Confucian religion in China, or, as the Mosaic law of the Jewish nation before Christianity is called, the Religion of the Old Dispensation of the Chinese people. It was this religion of the old dispensation—the first written code of the law of the gentleman called the Laws of good manners of the Duke of Chou—which first gave the sanction for the sacrament and inviolability of marriage in China. The Chinese to this day therefore speak of the sacrament of marriage as *Chou Kung Chih Li* (周公之禮)—the law of good manners of the Duke of Chou. By the institution of the sacrament of marriage, the

*中庸—The Universal Order XII 4.

pre-Confucian or religion of the Old Dispensation in China established the Family. It secured once for all the stability and permanence of the family in China. This pre-Confucian or Religion of the Old Dispensation known as the laws of good manners of the Duke of Chou in China might thus be called a *Family* religion as distinguished from the *State* religion which Confucius afterwards taught.

Now Confucius in the State religion which he taught, gave a new Dispensation, so to speak, to what I have called the Family religion which existed before his time. In other words, Confucius gave a new, wider and more comprehensive application to the law of the gentleman in the State religion which he taught; and as the Family religion, or Religion of the Old Dispensation in China before his time instituted the sacrament of marriage, Confucius, in giving this new, wider and more comprehensive application to the law of the gentleman in the State religion which he taught, instituted a new sacrament. This new sacrament which Confucius instituted, instead of calling it *li*—the Law of good manners, he called it *ming fen ta yi*, which I have translated as the Great Principle of Honour and Duty or Code of Honour. By the institution of this *ming fen ta yi* or Code of Honour Confucius gave the Chinese people, instead of a Family religion, which they had before—a State religion.

Confucius, in the State religion which he now gave, taught that, as under the old dispensation of what I have called the Family religion before his time, the wife and husband in a family are bound by the sacrament of marriage, called *Chou Kung Chih Li*, the Law of good manners of the Duke of Chou—to hold their contract of marriage inviolable and to absolutely abide by it, so under the new dispensation of the State religion which he now gave, the people and their sovereign in every State, the Chinese people and their Emperor in China, are bound by this new sacrament called *ming fen ta yi*—the Great Principle of Honour and Duty or Code of Honour established by this State religion—to hold the contract of allegiance between them as something sacred and inviolable and absolutely to abide by it. In short, this new sacrament called *ming fen ta yi*, or Code of Honour which Confucius instituted, is a Sacrament of the Contract of Allegiance, as the old sacrament called *Chou Kung Chih Li*, the Law of Good Manners of the Duke of Chou which was instituted before his time, is a sacrament of marriage. In this way Confucius, as I said, gave a new, wider and

more comprehensive application to the law of the gentleman, and thus gave a new dispensation to what I have called the Family religion in China before his time, and made it a State religion.

In other words, this State religion of Confucius makes a sacrament of the contract of allegiance as the Family Religion in China before his time, makes a sacrament of the contract of marriage. As by the sacrament of marriage established by the Family Religion the wife is bound to be absolutely loyal to her husband, so by this sacrament of the contract of allegiance called *ming fen ta yi*, or Code of Honour established by the State religion taught by Confucius in China, the people of China are bound to be absolutely loyal to the Emperor. This sacrament of the contract of allegiance in the State religion taught by Confucius in China might thus be called the *Sacrament or Religion of Loyalty*. You will remember what I said to you that Confucius in a way taught the Divine right of kings. But instead of saying that Confucius taught the Divine right of kings I should properly have said that Confucius taught the *Divine duty of Loyalty*. This Divine or absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor in China which Confucius taught derives its sanction, not as the theory of the Divine right of kings in Europe derives its sanction from the authority of a supernatural Being called God or from some abstruse philosophy, but from the law of the gentleman—the sense of honour in man, the same sense of honour which in all countries makes the wife loyal to her husband. In fact, the absolute duty of loyalty of the Chinese people to the Emperor which Confucius taught, derives its sanction from the same simple sense of honour which makes the merchant keep his word and fulfil his contract, and the gambler play the game and pay his gambling debt.

Now, as what I have called the Family religion, the religion, the religion of the old dispensation in China and the Church religion in all countries, by the institution of the sacrament and inviolability of marriage establishes the Family, so what I have called the State religion in China which Confucius taught, by the institution of this new sacrament of the contract of allegiance, establishes the State. If you will consider what a great service the man who first instituted the sacrament and established the inviolability of marriage in the world has done for humanity and the cause of civilisation, you will then, I think, understand what a great work this is which Confucius did when he instituted this new sacrament and established the inviolability of the contract of allegiance. The institution

of the sacrament of marriage secures the stability and permanence of the Family, without which the human race would become extinct. The institution of this sacrament of the contract of allegiance secures the stability and permanence of the State, without which human society and civilisation would all be destroyed and mankind would return to the state of savages or animals. I therefore said to you that the greatest thing which Confucius has done for the Chinese people is that he gave them the true idea of a State—a true, rational, permanent, and absolute basis of a State, and in giving them that, he made it a religion,—a State religion.

Confucius taught this State religion in a book which, as I told you, he wrote in the very last days of his life, a book to which he gave the name of Spring and Autumn. In this book Confucius first instituted the new sacrament of the contract of allegiance called *ming fen ta yi*, or the Code of Honour. This sacrament is therefore often and generally spoken of as *Chun Chiu ming fen ta yi* (春秋名分大義), or simply *Chun Chiu ta yi*—(春秋大義) *i.e.*, the Great Principle of Honour and Duty of the Spring and Autumn Annals, or simply the Great Principle or Code of the Spring and Autumn Annals. This book in which Confucius taught the Divine duty of loyalty is the Magna Charta of the Chinese nation. It contains the sacred covenant, the sacred social contract by which Confucius bound the whole Chinese people and nation to be absolutely loyal to the Emperor, and this covenant or sacrament, this Code of Honour, is the one and only true Constitution not only of the State and Government in China, but also of the Chinese civilisation. Confucius said it is by this book that after ages would know him—know what he had done for the world.

I am afraid I have exhausted your patience in taking such a very long way to come to the point of what I want to say. But now we have got to the point where I last left you. You will remember I said that the reason why the mass of mankind will always feel the need of religion—I mean religion in the European sense of the word—is because religion gives them a refuge, one refuge, the belief in an all powerful Being called God in which they can find a sense of permanence in their existence. But I said that the system of philosophy and morality which Confucius taught, known as Confucianism, can take the place of religion, can make men, even the mass of mankind do without religion. Therefore, there must be, I said, something in Confucianism which can give to men, to the mass of mankind, the same sense of security and sense of permanence

which religion gives. Now, I think we have found this something. This something is the *Divine duty of loyalty to the Emperor* taught by Confucius in the State religion which he has given to the Chinese nation.

Now, this absolute Divine duty of loyalty to the Emperor of every man, woman, and child in the whole Chinese Empire gives, as you can understand, in the minds of the Chinese population, an absolute, supreme, transcendent, almighty power to the Emperor; and this belief in the absolute, supreme, transcendent, almighty power of the Emperor it is which gives to the Chinese people, to the mass of the population in China, the same sense of security which the belief in God in religion gives to the mass of mankind in other countries. The belief in the absolute, supreme, transcendent, almighty power of the Emperor also secures in the minds of the Chinese population the absolute stability and permanence of the State. This absolute stability and permanence of the State again secures the infinite continuance and lastingness of society. This infinite continuance and lastingness of society finally secures in the minds of the Chinese population the immortality of the race. Thus it is this belief in the immortality of the race, derived from the belief in the almighty power of the Emperor given to him by the Divine duty of loyalty, which gives to the Chinese people, the mass of the population in China, the same sense of permanence in their existence which the belief in a future life of religion gives to the mass of mankind in other countries.

Again, as the absolute Divine duty of loyalty taught by Confucius secures the immortality of the race in the nation, so the cult of ancestor-worship taught in Confucianism secures the immortality of the race in the family. Indeed, the cult of ancestor-worship in China is not founded much on the belief in a future life as in the belief of the immortality of the race. A Chinese, when he dies, is not consoled by the belief that he will live a life hereafter, but by the belief that his children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, all those dearest to him, will remember him, think of him, love him, to the end of time, and in that way, in his imagination, dying, to a Chinese, is like going on a long, long journey, if not with the hope, at least with a great "perhaps" of meeting again. Thus this cult of ancestor-worship, together with the Divine duty of loyalty, in Confucianism gives to the Chinese people the same sense of permanence in their existence while they live and the same consolation when they die which the belief in a future life in religion gives to the mass of mankind in other countries. It is for

this reason that the Chinese people attach the same importance to this cult of ancestor-worship as they do to the principle of the Divine duty of loyalty to the Emperor. Mencius said: "Of the three great sins against filial piety the greatest is to have no posterity." Thus the whole system of teaching of Confucius which I have called the State religion in China consists really only of two things, loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety to parents—in Chinese, *Chung Hsiao* (忠孝). In fact, the three Articles of Faith, called in Chinese the *san kang* (三綱), three cardinal duties in Confucianism or the State religion of China, are, in their order of importance—first, absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor; second, filial piety and ancestor-worship; third, inviolability of marriage and absolute submission of the wife to the husband. The last two of the three Articles were already in what I have called the Family religion, or religion of the old dispensation in China before Confucius' time; but the first Article—absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor—was first taught by Confucius and laid down by him in the State religion or religion of the new dispensation which he gave to the Chinese nation. This first Article of Faith—absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor—in Confucianism takes the place and is the equivalent of the First Article of Faith in all religions—the belief in God. It is because Confucianism has this equivalent for the belief in God of religion that Confucianism, as I have shown you, can take the place of religion, and the Chinese people, even the mass of the population in China, do not feel the need of religion.

But now you will ask me how without a belief in God which religion teaches, how can one make men, make the mass of mankind, follow and obey the moral rule which Confucius teaches, the absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor, as you can by the authority of God which the belief in God gives; make men follow and obey moral rules given by religion? Before I answer your question, will you allow me first to point out to you a great mistake which people make in believing that it is the sanction given by the authority of God which makes men obey the rules of moral conduct. I told you that the sanction for the sacrament and inviolability of marriage in Europe is given by the Church, and the authority for the sanction, the Church says, is from God. But I said that was only an outward formal sanction. The real true inner sanction for the inviolability of marriage

as we see it in all countries where there is no Church religion, is the sense of honour, the law of the gentleman in the man and woman. Thus the real authority for the obligation to obey rules of moral conduct is the moral sense, the law of the gentleman, in man. The belief in God is, therefore, not necessary to make men obey rules of moral conduct.

It is this fact which has made sceptics like Voltaire and Tom Paine in the last century, and rationalists like Sir Hiram Maxim to-day, say, that the belief in God is a fraud or imposture invented by the founders of religion and kept up by priests. But that is a gross and preposterous libel. All great men, all men with great intellect, have all always believed in God. Confucius also believed in God, although he seldom spoke of it. Even Napoleon with his great, practical intellect, believed in God. As the Psalmist says: "Only the fool—the man with a vulgar and shallow intellect—has said in his heart, 'There is no God.'" But the belief in God of man of great intellect is different from the belief in God of the mass of mankind. The belief in God of men of great intellect is that of Spinoza: a belief in the Divine Order of the Universe. Confucius said: "At fifty I knew the Ordinance of God."*—*i.e.*, the Divine Order of the Universe. Men of great intellect have given different names to this Divine Order of the Universe. The German Fichte calls it the Divine idea of the Universe. In philosophical language in China it is called *Tao*—the Way. But whatever name men of great intellect may give to this Divine Order of the Universe, it is the knowledge of this Divine Order of the Universe which makes men of great intellect see the *absolute* necessity of obeying rules of moral conduct or moral laws which form part of that Divine Order of the Universe.

Thus, although the belief in God is not necessary to make men obey the rules of moral conduct, yet the belief in God is necessary to make men see the *absolute* necessity of obeying these rules. It is the knowledge of the absolute necessity of obeying the rules of moral conduct which enables and makes all men of great intellect follow and obey those rules. Confucius says: "A man without a knowledge of the Ordinance of God, *i.e.*, the Divine Order of the Universe, will not be able to be a gentleman or moral man."† But then, the mass of

* 論語—Discourses and Sayings Chap. II 4.

† Discourses and Sayings Chap. XX 3.

mankind, who have not great intellect, cannot follow the reasoning which leads men of great intellect to the knowledge of the Divine Order of the Universe and cannot therefore understand the absolute necessity of obeying moral laws. Indeed, as Matthew Arnold says: "Moral rules, apprehended as ideas first, and then rigorously followed as laws are and must be for the sage only. The mass of mankind have neither force of intellect enough to apprehend them as ideas nor force of character enough to follow them strictly as laws." It is for this reason that the philosophy and morality taught by Plato, Aristotle and Herbert Spencer have a value only for scholars.

But the value of religion is that it enables men, enables and can make even the mass of mankind who have not force of intellect nor force of character, to strictly follow and obey the rules of moral conduct. But then how and by what means does religion enables and makes men do this? People imagine that religion enables and makes men obey the rules of moral conduct by teaching men the belief in God. But that, as I have shown you, is a great mistake. The one and sole authority which makes men really obey moral laws or rules of moral conduct is the moral sense, the law of the gentleman in them. Confucius said: "A moral law which is outside of man is not a moral law." Even Christ in teaching His religion says: "The Kingdom of God is within you." I say, therefore, the idea which people have that religion makes men obey the rules of moral conduct by means of teaching them the belief in God is a mistake. Martin Luther says admirably in his commentary on the Book of Daniel: "A God is simply that whereon the human heart *rests* with trust, faith, hope and love. If the resting is right, then the God, too, is right; if the resting is wrong, then the God, too, is illusory." This belief in God taught by religion is, therefore, only a *resting*, or, as I call it, a refuge. But then Luther says: "The resting, *i.e.* the belief in God, must be true, otherwise the resting, the belief, is illusory." In other words, the belief in God must be a true knowledge of God, a real knowledge of the Divine Order of the Universe, which, as we know, only men of great intellect can attain and which the mass of mankind cannot attain. Thus you see the belief in God taught by religion, which people imagine enables the mass of mankind to follow and obey the rules of moral conduct, is illusory. Men rightly call this belief in God—in the Divine Order of the Universe taught by religion—a faith, a trust, or, as I

called it, a refuge. Nevertheless, this refuge, the belief in God, taught by religion, although illusory, an illusion, helps towards enabling men to obey the rules of moral conduct, for, as I said, the belief in God gives to men, to the mass of mankind, a sense of security and a sense of permanence in their existence. Goethe says: "Piety (Frommigkeit), *i.e.*, the belief in God, taught by religion, is not an end in itself but only a means by which, through the complete and perfect calmness of mind and temper (Gemuehsruehe) which it gives, to attain the highest state of culture or human perfection." In other words, the belief in God taught by religion, by giving men a sense of security and a sense of permanence in their existence, calms them, gives them the necessary calmness of mind and temper to feel the law of the gentleman or moral sense in them, which, I say again, is the one and sole authority to make men really obey the rules of moral conduct or moral laws.

But if the belief in God taught by religion only helps to make men obey the rules of moral conduct, what is it then upon which Religion depends principally to make men, to make the mass of mankind, obey the rules of moral conduct? It is *inspiration*. Matthew Arnold truly says: "The noblest souls of whatever creed, the pagan Empedocles as well as the Christian Paul, have insisted on the necessity of inspiration, a living emotion to make moral actions perfect." Now what is this inspiration or living emotion in Religion, the paramount virtue of Religion upon which, as I said, Religion principally depends to make men, to enable and make even the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct or moral laws?

You will remember I told you that the whole system of the teachings of Confucius may be summed up in one word: the Law of the Gentleman, the nearest equivalent for which in the European languages, I said, is moral law. Confucius calls this law of the gentleman a secret.* Confucius says: "The law of the gentleman is to be found everywhere, and yet it is a secret." Nevertheless Confucius says: "The simple intelligence of ordinary men and women of the people even can know something of this secret. The ignoble nature of ordinary men and women of the people, too, can carry out this law of the gentleman." For this reason Goethe, who also knew this secret—the law of the gentleman of Confucius, called it an "open secret." Now where and

*中庸—The Universal Order XII 1.

how did mankind come to discover this secret? Confucius said, you will remember, I told you that the recognition of the law of the gentleman began with the recognition of the relation of husband and wife—the true relation between a man and woman in marriage. Thus the secret, the open secret of Goethe, the law of the gentleman of Confucius, was first discovered by a man and woman. But now, again, how did the man and the woman discover this secret—the law of the gentleman of Confucius?

I told you that the nearest equivalent in the European languages for the law of the gentleman of Confucius, is moral law. Now what is the difference between the law of the gentleman of Confucius and moral law—I mean the moral law or law of morality of the philosopher and moralist as distinguished from religion or law of morality taught by religious teachers. In order to understand this difference between the law of the gentleman of Confucius and the moral law of the philosopher and moralist, let us first find out the difference that there is between religion and the moral law of the philosopher and moralist. Confucius says: “The Ordinance of God is what we call the law of our being. To fulfil the law of our being is what we call the Moral Law. The Moral Law when refined and put into proper order is what we call Religion.”* Thus, according to Confucius, the difference between Religion and moral law—the moral law of the philosopher and moralist—is that Religion is a refined and well-ordered moral law, a deeper or higher standard of moral law.

The moral law of the philosopher tells us we must obey the law of our being called Reason. But Reason, as it is generally understood, means our reasoning power, that slow process of mind or intellect which enables us to distinguish and recognise the definable properties and qualities of the outward forms of things. Reason, our reasoning power, therefore, enables us to see in moral relations only the definable properties and qualities, the *mores*, the morality, as it is rightly called, the outward manner and dead form, the body, so to speak, of right and wrong, or justice. Reason, our reasoning power alone, cannot make us see the undefinable, living, absolute essence of right and wrong, or justice, the life or soul, so to speak, of justice. For this reason Laotzu says: “The moral law that can be expressed in language is not the absolute moral

*中庸 The Universal Order I 1.

law. The moral idea that can be defined with words is not the absolute moral idea.”* The moral law of the moralist again tells us we must obey the law of our being, called Conscience, *i.e.*, our heart. But then, as the Wise Man in the Hebrew Bible says, there are many devices in a man’s heart. Therefore, when we take Conscience, our heart, as the law of our being and obey it, we are liable and apt to obey, not the voice of what I have called the soul of justice, the indefinable absolute essence of justice, but the many devices in a man’s heart.

In other words Religion tells us in obeying the law of our being we must obey the *true* law of our being, not the animal or carnal law of our being called by St. Paul the *law of the mind of the flesh*, and very well defined by the famous disciple of Auguste Comte, Monsieur Littré, as the law of self-preservation and reproduction; but the true law of our being called by St. Paul the *law of the mind of the Spirit*, and defined by Confucius as the law of the gentleman. In short, this true law of our being, which Religion tells us to obey, is what Christ calls the Kingdom of God within us. Thus we see, as Confucius says, Religion is a refined, spiritualized, well-ordered moral law, a deeper higher standard of moral law than the moral law of the philosopher and moralist. Therefore, Christ said: “Except your righteousness (or morality) exceed the righteousness (or morality) of the Scribes and Pharisees (*i.e.*, philosopher and moralist) ye shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.”

Now, like Religion, the law of the gentleman of Confucius is also a refined, well-ordered moral law—a deeper higher standard of moral law than the moral law of the philosopher and moralist. The moral law of the philosopher and moralist tells us we must obey the law of our being called by the philosopher, Reason, and by the moralist, Conscience. But, like Religion, the law of the gentleman of Confucius tells us we must obey the *true* law of our being, not the law of being of the average man in the street or of the vulgar and impure person, but, the law of being of what Emerson calls “the simplest and purest minds” in the world. In fact, in order to know what the law of being of the gentleman is, we must first *be a gentleman* and have, in the words of Emerson, the simple and pure mind of the gentleman developed in him. For this reason Confucius says: “It is the man that can raise the standard of the moral law, and not the moral law that can raise the standard of the man.”†

* 道可道非常道名可名非常名。

† 論語—Discourses and Sayings Chap. XV 28.

Nevertheless Confucius says we can know what the law of the gentleman is, if we will study and try to acquire the fine feeling or *good taste* of the gentleman. The word in Chinese *li* (禮) for good taste in the teaching of Confucius has been variously translated as ceremony, propriety, and good manners, but the word means really *good taste*. Now this good taste, the fine feeling and good taste of a gentleman, when applied to moral action, is what, in European language, is called the sense of honour. In fact, the law of the gentleman of Confucius is nothing else but the sense of honour. This sense of honour, called by Confucius the law of the gentleman, is not like the moral law of the philosopher and moralist, a dry, dead knowledge of the form or formula of right and wrong, but like the Righteousness of the Bible in Christianity, an instinctive, living, vivid perception of the indefinable, absolute essence of right and wrong or justice, the life and soul of justice called Honour.

Now, we can answer the question: How did the man and woman who first recognised the relation of husband and wife, discover the secret, the secret of Goethe, the law of the gentleman of Confucius? The man and woman who discovered this secret, discovered it because they had the fine feeling, the good taste of the gentleman, called when applied to moral action the sense of honour, which made them see the undefinable, absolute essence of right and wrong or justice, the life and soul of justice called Honour. But then what gave, what inspired the man and woman to have this fine feeling, this good taste or sense of honour which made them see the soul of justice called Honour? This beautiful sentence of Joubert will explain it. Joubert says: "Les hommes ne sont justes qu'envers ceux qu'ils aiment. Man cannot be truly just to his neighbour unless he *loves* him." Therefore the inspiration which made the man and woman see what Joubert calls true justice, the soul of justice called Honour, and thus enable them to discover the secret—the open secret of Goethe, the law of the gentleman of Confucius—is Love—the love between the man and the woman, which gave birth, so to speak, to the law of the gentleman; that secret, the possession of which has enabled mankind not only to build up society and civilisation, but also to establish religion—to find God. You can now understand Goethe's confession of faith which he puts into the mouth of Faust, beginning with the words:

Lifts not the Heaven its dome above?
Doth not the firm-set Earth beneath us lie?

Now, I told you that it is not the belief in God taught by religion, which makes men obey the rules of moral conduct. What really makes men obey the rules of moral conduct is the law of the gentleman—the Kingdom of Heaven within us—to which religion appeals. Therefore the law of the gentleman is really the life of religion, whereas the belief in God together with the rules of moral conduct which religion teaches, is only the body, so to speak, of religion. But if the life of religion is the law of the gentleman, the *soul* of religion, the source of inspiration in religion,—is Love. This love does not merely mean the love between a man and a woman from whom mankind only first learn to know in. Love includes all true human affection, the feelings of affection between parents and children as well as the emotion of love and kindness, pity, compassion, mercy towards all creatures; in fact, all true human emotions contained in that Chinese word *Jen*, (仁) for which the nearest equivalent in the European languages is, in the old dialect of Christianity, godliness, because it is the most godlike quality in man, and in modern dialect, humanity, love of humanity, or in one word, love. In short, the soul of religion, the source of inspiration in religion is this Chinese word *Jen*, love—or call it by what name you like—which first came into the world as love between a man and a woman. This, then, is the inspiration in religion, the paramount virtue in religion, upon which religion, as I said, depends principally to make men, to enable and make even the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct or moral laws which form part of the Divine Order of the universe. Confucius says: “The law of the gentleman begins with the recognition of husband and wife; but in its utmost reaches, it reigns and rules supreme over heaven and earth—the whole universe.”

We have now found the inspiration, the living emotion that is in religion. But this inspiration or living emotion in religion is found not only in religion—I mean Church religion. This inspiration or living emotion is known to every one who has ever felt an impulse which makes him obey the rules of moral conduct above all considerations of self-interest or fear. In fact, this inspiration or living emotion that is in religion is found in every action of men which is not prompted by the base motive of self-interest or fear, but by the sense of duty and honour. This inspiration or living emotion in religion, I say, is found not only in religion. But the value of religion is that the words of the rules of moral conduct which the

founders of all great religions have left behind them have, what the rules of morality of philosophers and moralists have not, this inspiration or living emotion which, as Matthew Arnold says, *lights* up those rules and makes it easy for men to obey them. But this inspiration or living emotion in the words of the rules of conduct of religion again is found not only in religion. All the words of really great men in literature, especially poets, have also this inspiration or living emotion that is in religion. The words of Goethe, for instance, which I have just quoted, have also this inspiration or living emotion. But the words of great men in literature, unfortunately, cannot reach the mass of mankind because all great men in literature speak the language of educated men, which the mass of mankind cannot understand. The founders of all the great religions in the world have this advantage, that they were mostly uneducated men, and, speaking the simple language of uneducated men, can make the mass of mankind understand them. The real value, therefore, of religion, the real value of all the great religions in the world, is that it can convey the inspiration or living emotion which it contains even to the mass of mankind. In order to understand how this inspiration or living emotion came into religion, into all the great religions of the world, let us find out how these religions came into the world.

Now, the founders of all the great religions in the world, as we know, were all of them men of exceptionally or even abnormally strong emotional nature. This abnormally strong emotional nature made them feel intensely the emotion of love or human affection, which, as I have said, is the source of the inspiration in religion, the soul of religion. This intense feeling or emotion of love or human affection enabled them to see what I have called the indefinable, absolute essence of right and wrong or justice, the soul of justice which they called righteousness, and this vivid perception of the absolute essence of justice enabled them to see the unity of the laws of right and wrong or moral laws. As they were men of exceptionally strong emotional nature, they had a powerful imagination, which unconsciously personified this unity of moral laws as an almighty supernatural Being. To this supernatural almighty Being, the personified unity of moral laws of their imagination, they gave the name of God, from whom they also believed that the intense feeling or emotion of love or human affection, which they felt, came. In this way, then, the inspiration or living emotion that is in religion came into religion; the inspiration that lights up the rules of moral conduct of religion and supplies

the emotion or motive power needful for carrying the mass of mankind, along the straight and narrow way of moral conduct. But now the value of religion is not only that it has an inspiration or living emotion in its rules of moral conduct which lights up these rules and makes it easy for men to obey them. The value of religion, of all the great religions in the world, is that they have an organisation for awakening, exciting, and kindling the inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct. This organisation in all the great religions of the world is called the Church.

The Church, many people believe, is founded to teach men the belief in God. But that is a great mistake. It is this great mistake of the Christian Churches in modern times which has made honest men like the late Mr. J. A. Froude feel disgusted with the modern Christian Churches. Mr. Froude says: "Many a hundred sermons have I heard in England on the mysteries of the faith, on the divine mission of the clergy, on apostolic succession, etc., but never one that I can recollect on common honesty, on those primitive commandments, 'Thou shalt not lie' and 'Thou shalt not steal.'" But then, with all deference to Mr. Froude, I think he is also wrong when he says here that the Church, the Christian Church, ought to teach morality. The aim of the establishment of the Church no doubt is to make men moral, to make men obey the rules of moral conduct such as "Thou shalt not lie" and "Thou shalt not steal." But the function, the true function of the Church in all the great religions of the world, is not to teach morality, but to teach *religion*, which, as I have shown you, is not a dead square rule such as "Thou shalt not lie" and "Thou shalt not steal," but an inspiration, a living emotion to make men obey those rules. The true function of the Church, therefore, is not to teach morality, but to *inspire* morality, to inspire men to be moral; in fact, to inspire and fire men with a living emotion which makes them moral. In other words, the Church in all the great religions of the world is an organisation, as I said, for awakening and kindling an inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct. But how does the Church awaken and kindle this inspiration in men?

Now, as we all know, the founders of all the great religions of the world not only gave an inspiration or living emotion to the rules of moral conduct which they taught, but they also inspired their immediate disciples with a feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love and

enthusiasm for their person and character. When the great teachers died, their immediate disciples, in order to keep up the feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm which they felt for their teacher, founded a Church. That, as we know, was the origin of the Church in all the great religions of the world. The Church thus awakens and kindles the inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct, by keeping up, exciting and arousing, the feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for the person and character of the first Teacher and Founder of religion which the immediate disciples originally felt. Men rightly call not only the belief in God, but the belief in religion a *faith*, a trust; but a trust in whom? In the first teacher and founder of their religion who, in Mohammedanism is called the Prophet and in Christianity the Mediator. If you ask a conscientious Mohammedan why he believes in God and obeys the rules of moral conduct, he will rightly answer you that he does it because he believes in Mohammed the Prophet. If you ask a conscientious Christian why he believes in God and obeys the rules of moral conduct, he will rightly answer you that he does it because he *loves* Christ. Thus you see the belief in Mohammed, the love of Christ, in fact the feeling and emotion, as I said of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for the first Teacher and Founder of religion which it is the function of the Church to keep up, excite and arouse in men—is the source of inspiration, the real power in all the great religions of the world by which they are able to make men, to make the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct.*

I have been a long way, but now I can answer the question which you asked me awhile ago. You asked me, you will remember, how without a belief in God which religion teaches—how can one make men, make the mass of mankind, follow and obey the moral rule which Confucius teaches in his State religion—the absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor? I have shown you that it is not the belief in God taught by religion which really makes men obey moral rules or rules of moral conduct. I showed you that religion is able to make men obey the rules of moral conduct principally by means of an organisation called the Church which awakens and kindles in men an inspiration or living motion necessary to

*Mencius, speaking of the two purest and most Christlike characters in Chinese history, said: "When men heard of the spirit and temper of Po-yi and Shu-ch'i, the dissolute ruffian became unselfish and the cowardly man had courage." Mencius Bk. III, Part II IX, 11.

make them to obey those rules. Now, in answer to your question I am going to tell you that the system of the teachings of Confucius, called Confucianism, the State religion in China, like the Church religion in other countries, makes men obey the rules of moral conduct also by means of an organisation corresponding to the Church of the Church religion in other countries. This organisation in the State religion of Confucianism in China is—the *school*. The school is the Church of the State religion of Confucius in China. As you know, the same word "*chiao*" in Chinese for religion is also the word for education. In fact, as the Church in China is the school, religion to the Chinese means education, culture. The aim and object of the school in China is not, as in modern Europe and America to-day, to teach men how to earn a living, how to make money, but, like the aim and object of the Church religion, to teach men to understand what Mr. Froude calls the primitive commandment, "Thou shalt not lie" and "Thou shalt not steal"; in fact, to teach men to be good. "Whether we provide for action or conversation," says Dr. Johnson, "whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next, an acquaintance with the history of mankind and with those examples which may be said to embody truth and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions."

But then we have seen that the Church of the Church religion is able to make men obey the rules of moral conduct by awakening and kindling in men an inspiration or living emotion, and that it awakens and kindles this inspiration or living emotion principally by exciting and arousing the feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for the character and person of the first Teacher and Founder of religion. Now, here there is a difference between the school—the Church of the State religion of Confucius in China—and the Church of the Church religion in other countries. The school—the Church of the State religion in China—it is true, enables and makes men obey the rules of moral conduct, also like the Church of the Church religion, by awakening and kindling in men an inspiration or living emotion. But the means which the school in China uses to awaken and kindle this inspiration or living emotion in men are different from those of the Church of the Church religion in other countries. The school, the Church of the State religion of Confucius in China, does not awaken and kindle this inspiration or living emotion in men by

exciting and arousing the feeling of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for Confucius. Confucius in his lifetime did indeed inspire in his immediate disciples a feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm, and, after his death, has inspired the same feeling and emotion in all great men who have studied and understood him. But Confucius even while he lived did not inspire, and, after his death, has not inspired in the mass of mankind the same feeling and emotion of admiration, love, and enthusiasm which the founders of all the great religions in the world, as we know, have inspired. The mass of the population in China do not adore and worship Confucius as the mass of the population in Mohammedan countries adore and worship Mohammed, or as the mass of the population in European countries adore and worship Jesus Christ. In this respect Confucius does not belong to the class of men called founders of a religion. In order to be a founder of a religion in the European sense of the word, a man must have an exceptionally or even an abnormally strong emotional nature. Confucius indeed was descended from a race of kings, the house of Shang, the dynasty which ruled over China before the dynasty under which Confucius lived—a race of men who had the strong emotional nature of the Hebrew people. But Confucius himself lived under the dynasty of the House of Chow—a race of men who had the fine intellectual nature of the Greeks, a race of whom the Duke of Chou, the founder, as I told you, of the pre-Confucian religion or religion of the old dispensation in China was a true representative. Thus Confucius was, if I may use a comparison, a Hebrew by birth, with the strong emotional nature of the Hebrew race, who was trained in the best intellectual culture, who had all that which the best intellectual culture of the civilisation of the Greeks could give him. In fact, like the great Goethe in modern Europe, the great Goethe whom the people of Europe will one day recognise as the most perfect type of humanity, the *real European* which the civilisation of Europe has produced, as the Chinese have acknowledged Confucius to be the most perfect type of humanity, the *real Chinaman*, which the Chinese civilisation has produced—like the great Goethe, I say, Confucius was too educated and cultured a man to belong to the class of men called founders of religion. Indeed, even while he lived Confucius was not known to be what he was, except by his most intimate and immediate disciples.

The school in China, I say, the Church of the State religion of Confucius, does not awaken and kindle the inspiration or living emotion necessary to make men obey the rules of moral conduct by exciting and arousing the feeling and emotion of admiration, love, and enthusiasm for Confucius. But then how does the school in China awaken and kindle the inspiration or living emotion necessary to make man obey the rules of moral conduct? Confucius says: "In education the feeling and emotion is aroused by the study of *poetry*; the judgement is formed by the study of good taste and good manners; the education of the character is completed by the study of music." The school—the Church of the State religion in China—awakens and kindles the inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct by teaching them poetry—in fact, the works of all really great men in literature, which, as I told you, has the inspiration or living emotion that is in the rules of moral conduct of religion. Matthew Arnold, speaking of Homer and the quality of *nobleness* in his poetry, says: "The nobleness in the poetry of Homer and of the few great men in literature can refine the raw, natural man, can *transmute* him." In fact, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue and if there be any praise—the school, the Church of the State religion in China, makes men think on these things, and in making them think on these things, awakens and kindles the inspiration or living emotion necessary to enable and make, them obey the rules of moral conduct.

But then you will remember I told you that the works of really great men in literature, such as the poetry of Homer, cannot reach the mass of mankind, because all great men in literature speak the language of educated men which the mass of mankind cannot understand. Such being the case, how then does the system of the teachings of Confucius, Confucianism, the State Religion in China, awaken and kindle in the mass of mankind, in the mass of the population in China, the inspiration or living emotion necessary to enable and make them obey the rules of moral conduct? Now, I told you that the organization in the State Religion of Confucius in China corresponding to the Church of the Church Religion in other countries, is the School. But that is not quite correct. The real organization in the State Religion of Confucius in China corresponding exactly to the Church of the Church Religion in

other countries is—the *Family*. The real Church—of which the School is but an adjunct—the real and true Church of the State Religion of Confucius in China, is the Family with its ancestral tablet or chapel in every house, and its ancestral Hall or Temple in every village and town. I have shown you that the source of inspiration, the real motive power by which all the great Religions of the world are able to make men, to make the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct, is the feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love and enthusiasm which it is the function of the Church to excite and arouse in men for the first Teachers and Founders of those Religions. Now the source of inspiration, the real motive power by which the State Religion of Confucius in China is able to make men, to enable and make the mass of the population in China obey the rules of moral conduct is the “Love for their father and mother.” The Church of the Church Religion, Christianity, says: “Love Christ.” The Church of the State Religion of Confucius in China—the ancestral tablet in every family—says “Love your father and your mother.” St. Paul says:—“Let every man that names the name of Christ depart from iniquity.” But the author of the book on Filial Piety (孝經), written in the Han dynasty, the counterpart of the *Imitatio Christi* in China, says: “Let every one who loves his father and mother depart from iniquity.” In short, as the essence, the motive power, the source of real inspiration of the Church religion, Christianity, is the Love of Christ, so the essence, the motive power, the source of real inspiration of the State Religion, Confucianism in China, is the “Love of father and mother”—Filial Piety, with its cult of ancestor worship.

Confucius says:—“To gather in the same place where our fathers before us have gathered; to perform the same ceremonies which they before us have performed; to play the same music which they before us have played; to pay respect to those whom they honoured; to love those who were dear to them; in fact, to serve them now dead as if they were living, and now departed, as if they were still with us, that is the highest achievement of Filial Piety.” Confucius, further says:—“By cultivating respect for the dead, and carrying the memory back to the distant past, the good in the people will grow deep.” *Cogitavi dies antiquos, et annos eternos in menti habui.* That is how the State Religion in China, Confucianism, awakens and kindles in men, the inspiration or living emotion necessary to enable and make them obey the rules of moral

conduct, the highest and most important of all these rules being the absolute Duty of Loyalty to the Emperor, just as the highest and most important rules of moral conduct in all the Great Religions of the world is fear of God. In other words, the Church Religion, Christianity, says:—"Fear God and obey Him." But the State Religion of Confucius, or Confucianism, says:—"Honour the Emperor and be loyal to him." The Church Religion, Christianity, says:—"If you want to fear God and obey Him, you must first love Christ." The State Religion of Confucius, or Confucianism, says:—"If you want to honour the Emperor and be loyal to him, you must first love your father and mother."

Now I have shown you why it is that there is no conflict between the heart and the head in the Chinese civilisation for these last 2,500 years since Confucius' time. The reason why there is no such conflict is because the Chinese people, even the mass of the population in China, do not feel the need of Religion—I mean Religion in the European sense of the word; and the reason why the Chinese people do not feel the need of religion is because the Chinese people have in Confucianism something which can take the place of Religion. That something, I have shown you, is the principle of absolute Duty of Loyalty to the Emperor; the Code of Honour called *Ming fen ta yi*, which Confucius teaches in the State Religion which he has given to the Chinese nation. The greatest service, I said, which Confucius has done for the Chinese people is in giving them this State Religion in which he taught the absolute Duty of Loyalty to the Emperor.

Thus much I have thought it necessary to say about Confucius and what he has done for the Chinese nation, because it has a very important bearing upon the subject of our present discussion, the Spirit of the Chinese People. For I want to tell you and you will understand it from what I have told you, that a Chinaman, especially if he is an educated man, who knowingly forgets, gives up or throws away the Code of Honour, the *Ming fen ta yi* in the State Religion of Confucius in China, which teaches the absolute Divine Duty of Loyalty to the Emperor or Sovereign to whom he has once given his allegiance, such a Chinaman is a man who has lost the spirit of the Chinese people, the spirit of his nation and race: *he is no longer a real Chinaman.*

Finally, let me shortly sum up what I want to say on the subject of our present discussion—the Spirit of the Chinese People or what is the

real Chinaman. The real Chinaman, I have shown you, is a man who lives the life of a man of adult reason with the simple heart of a child, and the Spirit of the Chinese people is a happy union of soul with intellect. Now if you will examine the products of the Chinese mind in their standard works of art and literature, you will find that it is this happy union of soul with the intellect which makes them so satisfying and delightful. What Matthew Arnold says of the poetry of Homer is true of all Chinese standard literature, that "it has not only the power of profoundly touching that natural heart of humanity, which it is the weakness of Voltaire that he cannot reach, but can also address the understanding with all Voltaire's admirable simplicity and rationality."

Matthew Arnold calls the poetry of the best Greek poets the priestess of imaginative reason. Now the spirit of the Chinese people, as it is seen in the best specimens of the products of their art and literature, is really what Matthew Arnold calls imaginative reason. Matthew Arnold says:—"The poetry of later Paganism lived by the senses and understanding: the poetry of mediæval Christianity lived by the heart and imagination. But the main element of the modern spirit's life, of the modern European spirit to-day, is neither the senses and understanding, nor the heart and imagination, it is the imaginative reason."

Now if it is true what Matthew Arnold says here that the element by which the modern spirit of the people of Europe to-day, if it would live right—has to live, is imaginative reason, then you can see how valuable for the people of Europe this Spirit of the Chinese people is,—this spirit which Matthew Arnold calls imaginative reason. How valuable it is, I say, and how important it is that you should study it, try to understand it, love it, instead of ignoring, despising and trying to destroy it.

But now before I finally conclude, I want to give you a warning. I want to warn you that when you think of this Spirit of the Chinese People, which I have tried to explain to you, you should bear in mind that it is not a science, philosophy, theosophy, or any "ism," like the theosophy or "ism" of Madame Blavatsky or Mrs. Besant. The Spirit of the Chinese People is not even what you would call a mentality—an active working of the brain and mind. The Spirit of the Chinese People, I want to tell you, is a state of mind, a temper of the soul, which you cannot learn as you learn shorthand or Esperanto—in short, a mood, or in the words of the poet, a serene and blessed mood.

Now last of all I want to ask your permission to recite to you a few lines of poetry from the most Chinese of the English poets, Wordsworth, which better than anything I have said or can say, will describe to you the serene and blessed mood which is the Spirit of the Chinese People. These few lines of the English poet will put before you in a way I cannot hope to do, that happy union of soul with intellect in the Chinese type of humanity, that serene and blessed mood which gives to the real Chinaman his inexpressible gentleness. Wordsworth in his lines on Tintern Abbey says:—

“ nor less I trust
 To them I may have owed another gift
 Of aspect more sublime :—that blessed mood
 In which the burthen of the mystery,
 In which the heavy and the weary weight
 Of all this unintelligible world
 Is lightened :—that serene and blessed mood
 In which the affections gently lead us on—
 Until the breath of this corporeal frame
 And even motion of our human blood
 Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
 In body, and become a living soul :
 While with an eye made quiet by the power
 Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
 We see into the life of things.”

The serene and blessed mood which enables us *to see into the life of things*: that is imaginative reason, that is the Spirit of the Chinese People.

Constitutionalism and China

II

BY KU HUNG-MING

I once asked Mr. Rodney Gilbert, the American newspaper correspondent, who is considered by foreigners in China as an expert on Chinese politics, whether he knew anything of Chinese history. His answer was: "What history have you got? Your Chinese history tells us nothing, except about Emperors' wives and concubines." "Yes," I said to him, quoting the words of Horace.

"Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli Causa." (For before Helen of Troy, the most untranslatable thing of a woman, has been the dreadful cause of war.)

In my last article, I said that an epoch of paper constitution is always an epoch of moral bankruptcy in a nation. Now, in order to prove that Chinese history gives information about other things besides Emperors' wives and concubines, I propose here to show briefly from Chinese history: first, how we Chinese people once also, like the people of Europe and America to-day, became morally bankrupt; second, how owing to this moral bankruptcy, the people in China then were ruled not by a moral standard, but by the lawyer's law and a paper constitution; third, how this lawyer's law and paper constitution ended in Bolshevism; and finally, how this Bolshevism in China was put down and the beginning of a real democratic government was first established in China two thousand years ago.

A student from a college here in Peking a few days ago showed me a book called "Outline of Political Science" in which, he told me, he was obliged to pass an examination. I told the young boy that if he did not quickly forget all the jumble of learned nonsense he learnt from that book, he would become an incurable idiot!

Now, the fundamental *falsity*, I want to point out here, of all European Political Science from Aristotle down to Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Herbert Spencer in our day, is that all their theories of the origin and *raison d'être* of the State are based on the assumption that it was the desire for material benefit, *interests*,—the desire to protect persons and property, or, as Carlyle puts it, to protect "pigs and pigs' troughs" that men first came to form themselves into a society called a

State. But that assumption, I say again, is a false assumption. Indeed, as it has been pointed out by somebody, even the wearing of clothes by man was not first prompted by the need or material necessity of being protected from the cold, but by the inner moral sense in man for beauty,—for decency. From this, you can see that the demented soulless Republican Chinamen, who cut off their queues and put on European smoking jackets, because they say, the queue is an inconvenience and the smoking jackets is more practical for business—do not understand the meaning of wearing clothes. For, with only convenience or “business” as an object and without the sense for beauty—for decency, there is absolutely no reason why on a hot summer day or in the warm dancing-hall of the Hotel de Pekin, men and women should wear clothes at all!

In the same way, then, as the wearing of clothes arose not from material or utilitarian, but from a moral necessity, so human society called a State also had a moral origin. Confucius says, “The law of the Gentlemen first arose from the relation between husband and wife.” Now in early primitive time, a man met a woman; and inspired, both, not by animal sexual passion, but for the first time, by human affection, by the divine passion of *love*, they became husband and wife; and because the relation between the husband and wife was inspired by a divine passion, that relation called a “marriage” became a sacred, divine relation—or, as they call it in Europe,—a *sacrament*. Thus, this sanctity or sacrament of marriage became a moral standard,—or, as Confucius calls it, the Law of the Gentleman. As soon as the moral standard governing the relation between a man and woman was established, the Family arose and from the Family,—the Feudal State, the Family-State in early Feudal time.

Thus, we see that the origin, *raison d'être* and fundamental basis of all human society, whether it be a Family or a State, is not interests, but *love*,—human affection, and, born out of this love and human affection, a moral standard, the Law of the Gentleman. In fact, without love, human affection and sympathy, you cannot make even a man and a woman live in peace in a family, not to say, communities, nations and Leagues of Nations. For, as the French Joubert says, “A man cannot even be *fair* to his neighbour, unless he *loves* him,—“*les hommes ne sont justes qu'envers ceux qu'ils aiment.*”

But, now in a State, why must there be a government? In other words, what is the origin, the *raison d'être* of government? As we have seen, before human society, a family, or a State, can exist, there must first be a moral standard and this moral standard is what is called civilization. Thus, the *raison d'être* and true function of government is not to protect persons and property, not to protect "pigs and pigs' troughs," but to protect this moral standard called civilization. But who first found and gave to the people this moral standard called civilization? The Canon of History (書經) of Confucius says, "As a help to the people, God created for them *rulers* and *teachers*" (作之君作之師). Thus, in the beginning, God-sent holy men were born who first found and gave the people this moral standard called civilization, and they were the ruler class and the teacher class. In China, as in Europe in early Feudal times, the ruler class was called the *Shih* (士), the knight, the gentleman of the sword; and the teacher class was called the *Szu* (史), the clerk, *clericus* or priest, the gentleman of the robe. The function of the priest, was to teach and make men understand and the function of the knight, was to uphold and protect against men called the heathens,—the moral standard called civilization.

This, then, was the state of society and government in China, as in Europe, in the early Feudal period. The people in China then were not ruled by the lawyer's law or paper constitution, but by the unwritten moral standard of the ruler class and the teacher class,—the knights and the priests and because the teacher class and the ruler class kept up the moral standard called civilization, the people enjoyed peace.

A time, however, came in China about eight centuries before Christ when the ruler class and the teacher class became degenerate. A saying of Confucius will explain how this degeneration came about. Confucius said, "A man who has not the ability to 'talk' like that *parson* (祝史, lit. prayer clerk) T'o or the 'fine appearance' of my Lord Chao of Sung, will never get on in society now-a-days" (Confucius Sayings VI. 14). From this, we can see that the teacher class, the priest who ought to teach, took to "talking" and the ruler class, the knight, the gentleman of the sword who ought to uphold and protect the moral standard called civilization, took to putting a "fine appearance"—wearing red lacecoats and twirling their moustaches. Thus in every nation and in the world when the ruler class *live for show* and the

teacher class *live to talk*, then you may be sure that the nation and the world are in a bad way.

But, before I go further, let me here again quote a passage from the American book which, as I said, gives a Red Lantern View of China. Dr. D. Z. Sheffield, President of Union College, Tungchow, North China, in a lecture on the "New Learning" in China, says, "Chinese scholarship has produced a marvellous system of word-signs. And yet it has failed to train its students in the *important art of speech-making*. Chinese scholars have never learnt to talk. Their minds have been educated, but *their tongues have been neglected!* They have recently created a new word for a new thing, *Yen shuo* 'lecture,' now imported from the West."

Now, here, I am going to tell this learned American Professor who thinks that "talking" forms such an important part of education,—that this *Yen shuo*, this art of talking and speech-making once nearly destroyed all civilization in China. For the teacher class who, in Confucius time, took to "talking," later on became and called themselves *Ju* (儒), "professors," who taught political science (國策) and new theories of the universe (異端), which, as Mencius said, came as a calamity worse than the Deluge and the danger from wild beast (洪水猛獸) in early times. Finally the teacher class from being professors became *Shuo k'e* (說客), "professional talkers" or propagandists, who, like J. O. P. Bland and Lenox Simpson in our day, *Yen shuo*, lectured on "patriotism," "international tutelage" and League of Nations for anybody who were willing to pay them for it. Of one of the most famous of these professional talkers, named Chang Yi (張儀), a story is preserved that having been once accused of theft and beaten almost to death, on returning home he said to his wife "Look, and tell me whether my tongue is still in its place?" On receiving an affirmative reply, he exclaimed, "If my tongue is still there, I have enough left to me!" The American Professor, you see here, is quite wrong when he complains of Chinese scholars that their tongues have been neglected!

In fine, the result and outcome of the political science, new theories of the Universe and the *Yen shuo* or lectures on "patriotism" of the teacher class, the professors and propagandists, was that for more than two hundred years, we had constant, devastating wars in China during the period known now as the period of Warring States (戰國) which not only brought unspeakable suffering and misery upon the

people, but also, as in Europe to-day, destroyed all moral standards; in fact, brought the Chinese nation to a complete moral bankruptcy.

At last, a man arose in China who, like President Wilson to-day, tried to put a stop to war and militarism, and this was the First Emperor of the Tsin Dynasty (B.C. 221). Like President Wilson, the First Emperor was able for a time to put down militarism not because he was a great man, but because the whole people of China were thoroughly tired of war and militarism. However, in order to make sure that there would be no cause for future war, the First Emperor sent for the most notorious of the "talking professors,"—four hundred and sixty of them,—dug a deep pit and *buried them all alive*. He then burnt all their books. As for the ruler class, the gentleman of the sword, who, in Confucius' time, took to wearing red lacecoats and twirling their moustaches,—most of them, they, their sons and grandsons had been killed off in the two hundred years' war; the few who remained after war and militarism were put down, became fanatic "bravoes" (俠) and took to assassination and throwing bombs or poisoned mistles; these the First Emperor put in chains and sent to build the Great Wall.

In this way, then, the old aristocracy of the Feudal time in China, the teacher class, the priests, who, as a modern scholar says, had become "truth-perverting professors" (亂道之儒) and the ruler class, the knights, the gentleman of the sword, who had become "bravoes" or fanatic militarists—were wiped out. The great historian of the Han Dynasty, Szu-ma Chien (司馬遷), summing up his opinion of the degenerated aristocracy, the teacher class and the ruler class of this period says: "The professors make men lose all knowledge of what is civilization and the fanatic militarists make men misunderstand what real militarism means."

A Japanese gentleman here in Peking once said to me: "Now in Japan, militarism is finished." I said to him, "When you take away the militarists now from Japan, what have you left?" He answered that he did not know. I then said to him, "Professors and *Bureaucrats*."

Thus in China two thousand years ago, when the old aristocracy of the Feudal time, the knights and priests disappeared, a new aristocracy arose,—*the aristocracy of Lawyers or Bureaucrats* (吏). All moral standards, as I said, having been destroyed, the Bureaucrats set up a new,—

not a moral, but an artificial standard, called *Law*. A British judge once when a man against whom he gave judgment asked, "My Lord, is that justice?" answered, "No, but I am here to give law, not justice." In order to enforce this "lawyer's justice" called *Law*—instead of the gentleman of the sword, a new class of professional paid men of arms, *gen d'armes*, was formed,—called the Policeman (尉). Thus, as I said in the beginning of this article, the Chinese nation having become morally bankrupt, the Chinese people were then ruled not by a moral standard, but by the lawyer's law and paper constitution. Indeed it was at this period in Chinese history that the word "Constitution" (憲) came into prominence. But the final outcome of the lawyer's law and paper constitution, of bureaucrats and bureaucracy in China two thousand years ago was, as we see it in Russia to-day,—*Bolshevism*.

Many people, like President Wilson, now say that the Absolutism of Might must be put down and the Absolutism of Right must be set up. But before we set up the Absolutism of Right, we must first be sure what we mean by Right. "For Right," as Matthew Arnold says, "is something moral and implies an inward recognition, free assent of the will; therefore for other people enamoured of their own newly discerned right to attempt to impose it upon us as ours, is an act of tyranny"—the worst of tyranny as we see it in the terrible persecution of the Christian Church at one time in Europe.

In fact it was against the tyranny of the Absolutism of Right of the Bureaucrat and Lawyer under the First Emperor of the Tsin Dynasty that the whole population of China rose up as Bolsheviks and nearly destroyed all civilization in China.

Finally, however, a really great man from the people arose, who put down the Bolshevism and become the first *democratic Emperor* in China,—the "cloth-coat" Emperor (布衣天子) as we Chinese call him. He was the Emperor who found the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206). Now the way in which he put down Bolshevism was by substituting for the Absolutism of Right of the Bureaucrat and Lawyer,—the *Absolutism of Might of the Emperor*. For the first thing he did when he became Emperor was to *burn all the Law books and paper constitutions* and, like the Russian Baron now in Urga, he promulgated a short simple Constitution of *three articles* (約法三章) namely:—

I.—All *murderers* must be killed.

II.—All *robbers* must be killed.

III.—All *damage* done must be *paid for*.

He then set up, as I said, the Absolutism of Might when he declared, "I got the Empire on horseback *with my sword!*" (乃公馬上得天下). With this Absolutism of Might, however, he created the first democratic government in China and this, as I have explained it in my article "The Chinese Body Politic,"—by making the Absolutism of Might of the Emperor *responsible to the public opinion* (清議) *of the best educated men in the country*. It was thus, as I said, that the beginning of a real democratic government was first established in China two thousand years ago.

Thus we see from this short survey of Chinese history that what really "make the world unsafe for democracy" are *not* "Militarists," but—*Professors and Bureaucrats!* Professors are *miseducated* men and Bureaucrats are *half-educated* men. The cure for professor and bureaucracy, therefore, is—*real education*. But before there can be real education, there must first of all be real government and before there can be real government, there must first be "Kingship." Lord Beaconsfield says, "I do not know whether the theory of the 'divine right of Kings' is now any longer tenable, but I believe that, unless the man responsible for the good government in a country, has *absolute power* to do what he thinks right, government, good government is an impossibility."

In conclusion then, what is wanted in China and in the world to-day is not "Constitutionalism," but *Kingship*. For living now as we are in this, what the learned American Professor calls a constitution-securing epoch, we can say with Confucius, "*Even among uncivilized people*"—such as the Mongols and Buriats now under the Russian Baron, the real *samurai* from the Baltic Province,—"*there is 'Kingship,' whereas among the so called civilized nations now there is none*" (夷狄之有君不如諸夏之無也).

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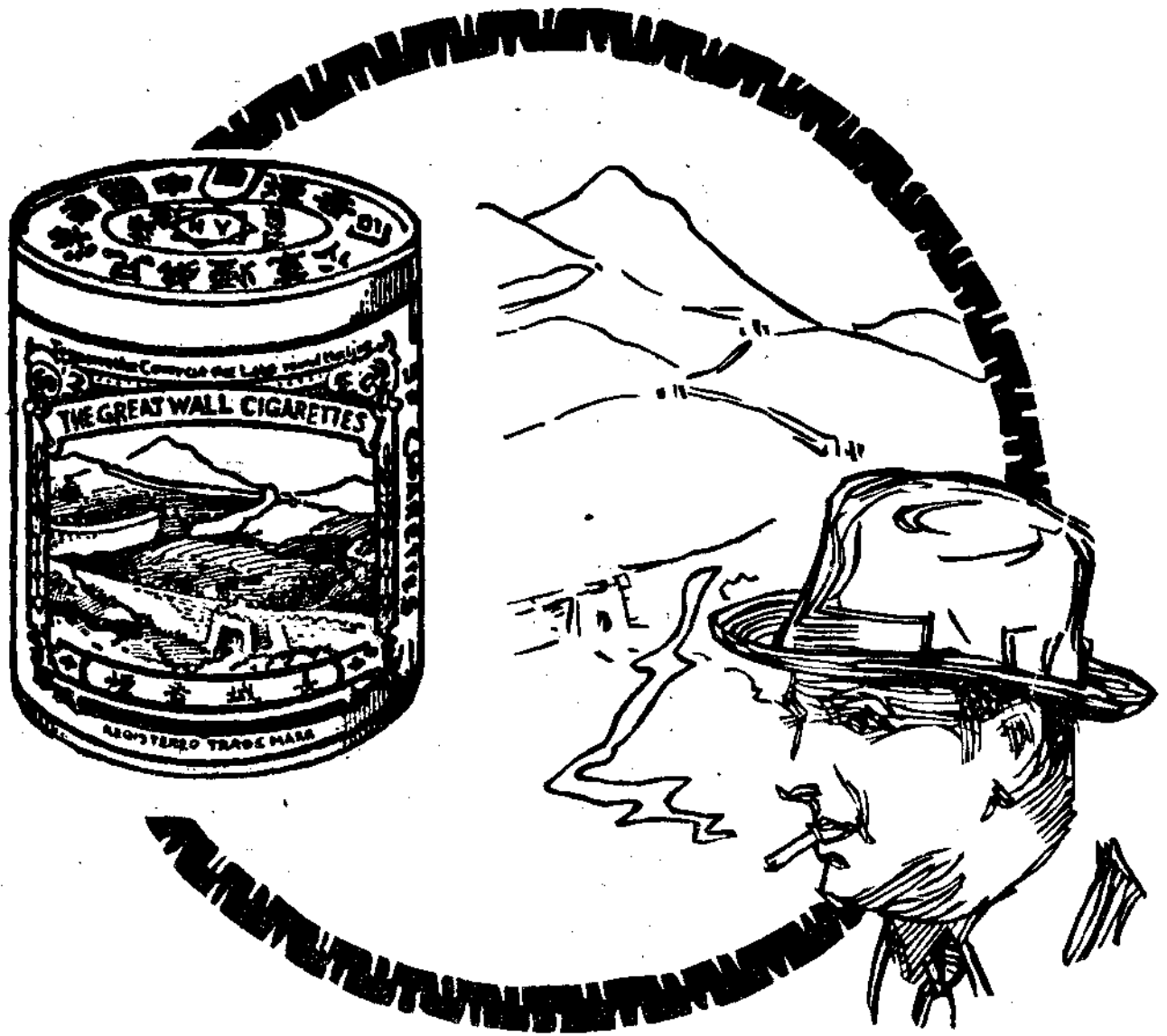
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