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## 《罗浮待鹤山人诗草》中的变法自强思想

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摘 要:郑观应的《罗浮待鹤山人诗草》洋溢着变法自强思想。他用诗歌凸显"古今之变 局"论和"春秋战国"说的历史观和时局观、作为亟言"变法宜决断"的依据。他在吟咏中所表 达的变法自强思想,始终把"改科举"、"设学校"、"育人才"放在首位。在主张"练兵将"、"制 军器"的同时,强调"决胜于商战"。其又一特色是明确主张进行以改官制为中心的政治改革, 并有抨击"专制"、向往"民权"的吟咏。"此际朝廷求变法,可如俄日合经营",郑的这种心声 与维新派同调。但他缺少实践维新的献身精神和主体意识,故只是维新论者,还不是维新派。

关键词:罗浮待鹤山人:诗草:变法自强

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郑观应是晚清商人出身的改革思想家。他在同光年间,"目击时艰"、"愤彼族之要求, 惜中朝之失策",在积极从事"商战"实践的同时,著文呼吁"救时",阐陈"自强之 道"。[1](p.63,p.233)先后著为《救时揭要》、《易言》和《盛世危言》。"又出其余力为诗歌", "直记时事","寓意规谏",抒发"救时共发愤,变法尤宜速"的心声。<sup>[2](pp.1243 - 1316)</sup>他的诗 歌在戊戌(1898)年间刊刻有《罗浮待鹤山人诗草》一卷,到宣统元年(1909 年)增订为两 卷。本文谨对《罗浮待鹤山人诗草》戊戌本(以下简称《诗草》)中的有关吟咏进行议析, 以期丰富对郑观应戊戌维新时期变法自强思想的认识。

## 一、"危急存亡秋,变法宜决断"

识时务者为俊杰。郑观应在《诗草》中多次使用"变法"、"自强"和"变法自强"等述 语,如咏称"变法求俊杰"、"变法分缓急"、"变法尤宜速"、"堪羡东瀛能变法"、"中国果能 急变法"、"急宜变法图自强"、"变法自强资启沃"等。[2](pp.1306-1328)郑观应在诗歌中凸显其 变法自强思想,是与他对晚清时局的正确认识和把握分不开的。

鸦片战争后,中国社会性质和中外关系发生了前所未有的变化。此后,特别是洋务运动 兴起后,中国官员和士人中的有识之士认定中国所面临的是一场"古今之变局","几千年未 有之变局"。<sup>①</sup>并用一种"春秋战国"说诠释这场变局的特征。<sup>②</sup>历史表明,"'古今之变局'论 先后成为洋务派和维新派反对封建顽固派的'不变'论的思想武器"。[3]郑观应如同许多洋 务论者和维新论者们一样,也用"古今之变局"论和"春秋战国"说的历史观和时局观作为 亟言"就法宜决断"的依据。<sup>③</sup> 甲午战后、特别是胶州湾事件后, 郑观应在诗歌中一再表露

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54

对"国势危蹙"的忧愤,如在《与西客谈时事志感》中有这样的诗句:

"群雄各觊觎,权利暗侵夺。俄德窥北辕,法日界南辙。英复图中央,围棋布子密。或借港泊船,或租地筑室。……虎视兼狼吞,海疆终决裂。奋笔作此诗,字字含泪血。"[2](p.1295)

他为了立论变法自强的急迫性,一再在吟咏中显露"春秋战国"说的时局观。如他在《答英国广学会董李提摩太及世爵贝思福论中外时事》中咏称:"群雄共逐中原鹿,连衡合从阴谋伏","各国纷纷悉效尤,就迁世事感陵谷"。<sup>[2](p.1319)</sup>在《答日本小田切总领事亚细亚协会歌》中吟咏道:"群雄兀峙五大洲,南争北战如春秋。……俄若强秦肆兼并,英为东帝同齐侯。……中华贫弱莫并驾,奄奄日蹙成西周。……连横合从得休息,散从离衡兴戈矛"。<sup>[2](p.1313)</sup>他对中华"贫弱"得像"奄奄""西周"一样不胜杞忧。他在《感时即事上盛杏荪太常》中再次表达对时局的忧心忡忡:"中东肇衅后,国势尤疲癃。……自失胶州澳,咸知国虚空。海口争割据,瓜分兴更浓"。他认为处此危局下,应该效法春秋战国时连横合纵的办法:"亟联日、英、美,变法挽颓风"。<sup>[2](p.1327)</sup>这种主张变法并与英、美、日结盟的吟咏与当时一些维新派人士和帝党官员的看法大致相同。

言为心声。郑观应所以在甲午战后的吟什中凸显"古今之变局"论和"春秋战国"说,都是为了表达担心"国势日蹙"的忧患意识,都是为了宣释"危急存亡秋,变法宜决断"的心声。<sup>[2](p.1315)</sup>郑观应的这种变法救亡思想一再在诗歌中得到反映。如,《赠日本驻沪小田切总领事论时事歌并序》:"邻邦虎视而鹰瞵,迫欲瓜分肆饕餮。急宜变法图自强,痛除浮华务笃实。……中国果能急变法,免使强邻恣侵割";《时事感怀》:"惊闻西士筹分策,欲割东方据要津。……势如一线悬危卵(日本伊相云中国现在情形,势如一线悬危卵),转弱为强在得人";《上孙燮臣师相邓小赤师帅论时事》:"此时沧海正横流,蚕食何堪竞效尤。莫再因循须奋愤,维新国事共绸缪";《书愤》:"昏昏醉梦者,疾呼宜警觉。救时共发愤,变法尤宜速"。<sup>[2](pp.1306-1321)</sup>由此可见,在甲午战后维新运动日益兴起的时候,郑观应不仅用《盛世危言》为维新变法潮流推波助澜,而且也用众多的感时即事的吟咏为变法救亡呐喊。<sup>②</sup>

## 二、"变法图自强,商战共筹边"

郑观应在甲午战争前是一位洋务论者,他甚至在 1892 年春所写的《盛世危言》(五卷本)自序中宣称,"全书五十五篇""所论"都是"洋务"。<sup>[1](p.236)</sup>但他是"中法战争后早期维新思想之集大成者",<sup>[4](p.26)</sup>是比较激进的洋务论者,即洋务思潮的左翼。他于甲午年春刊刻的《盛世危言》,"是甲午战前早期维新思想的集大成的著作"。<sup>[3]</sup>甲午战争后,他赞同维新变法,但对康梁的维新变法活动颇有保留,认为"变""政治","事速则不达,恐于大局有损无益",<sup>[2](p.1165)</sup>可以说是一位稳健的维新论者。而由激进的洋务论通向稳健的维新论的连接点正是他的变法自强思想。

郑观应在《诗草》中吟发的变法自强思想,在 1897 年底所写的《海禁宏开利权外溢甲午以后事变日亟盛杏荪京卿关心时局因赋长歌借相质证》中得到较集中的反映。

"为献治安策,条陈计有五:其一设学校,士途宜宽取。肄业专一门,材艺不踰矩。其二农工商,振兴有法度。丕旦奖制造(西例:凡有制造新器给予执照,准其专利若干年,名曰丕旦),矿务资铁路。其三练将才,兵强由将驭。巡捕兼民团,内地可安堵。其四制军器,工师慎选雇。弗受外人胁,腹省尤宜顾。其五定律例,中外无偏护。日报与议院,公论如秉炬。时势今已危,奋发耐勤奋。文士弃帖括,武卒改石弩。内既平反侧,外可却狡虏。……十载臻富强,同德慰君父"。[2](pp.1299-1300)"变政知先后,利弊烛如神"。从上首《长歌》及相关吟什来看,郑观应变法自强思想的

一个显著特色是把"改科举"、"设学校"、"育人才"放在第一位。他在《中日变法志感》中称咏日本维新后"选招佳子弟,负笈到西邻。学优归故国,升迁作元臣"。而对"吾华惟泥古,八股为儒珍。肄业美国者,废为闲散人"[2](p.1274)表示愤慨。他批判洋务运动"变法仅皮毛,八股依然重"。[2](p.1317)他强调"人材根学校","取士今宜变"[2](p.1328);咏赞"西学资实用,繙绎考格致"。并记咏自己:"所译时务书,久已赠知契"(所译英国报馆律例,及欧洲各国水陆商政比例通议等书,均已持赠盛京卿)。[2](pp.1331-1332)他在《答黄幼农、黄花农、蔡毅若、岑馥庄观察论时事》中吟咏说:"耻惧不若人,科制变宜先。……群黎须教养,义塾开万千。更建大书院,聘彼名师传。程式仿英法,所学贵精专。人才日蔚起,制造万物全"。[2](p.1281)百日维新开始后,他咏赞:"朝廷下诏求英才,广辟学堂资教育。圣明天纵一发奋,集思广益勤典学。考试策论改时文,习练枪炮废弓镞"。[2](p.1319)表明他对光绪帝变通科举、改各地书院为各级学堂的上谕由衷的拥护。

"非富不能强,非强不能富。富强互为根,当国宜兼顾"。<sup>[2](p.1287)</sup>郑观应变法自强思想的另一大特色是在重视"练兵将"、"制军器"的同时,强调"决胜于商战"。郑观应早在中法战争前的《易言》中就倡导学习"欧洲各邦,以通商为大经,以制造为本务","寓兵于商",主张"自理商务","收回利权,扩我远图"<sup>[1](p.73,pp.196-197)</sup>。至甲午战争前夕,他在《盛世危言》中更明确认定"习兵战不如习商战",<sup>[1](p.586)</sup>主张"藉商以强国,藉兵以卫商","特设一商部,兼辖南北洋通商事宜","南北洋分设商务局于各省水、陆通衢",务使"上下之情通,官商之势合"。<sup>[1](pp.614-617)</sup>在甲午战争后的维新潮流中,他批评"官不恤商","华官不惟不能助商,反胲削之,遏抑之",主张"凡通商口岸,内省腹地,其应兴铁路、轮舟、开矿、种植、纺织、制造之处,一体准民间开设,无所禁止。或集股,或自办,悉听其自便。全以商贾之道行之,绝不拘以官场体统"。<sup>[1](pp.605-612)</sup>

郑观应要求"俯顺商情"、"以通商为大经"的思想在《诗草》中不仅屡有显露,而且还有不少发展。如在前引的答黄幼农等《论时事》诗中有"国以民为本,民以财为天"的诗句,对"彼族夺我利"、"更垂矿路涎"的情况十分担忧,要求改变"利源皆外溢,喧宾夺主权"的困境,提出"商律固宜定,报律亦当编。商董书准上,利弊无不宣",希望通过"立法"改善商人地位、保障商民利益,以收"富强从此卜,商战共筹边"[2](p.1281)之效。与此同时,他常有这样的吟吁:"武备固讲求,工商亦保护"[2](p.1287);"民强国自强,道由策富致。致富勿愚民,广学开其智"[2](p.1271);"选匠广制造","商律宜早设"。[2](p.1322)他于1896年受任汉阳铁厂总办后,作《铁厂歌》,咏叹"建厂"、"经营"中的种种"弊失",提出:"奇谋猛得变通法,改官为商机可转"[2](p.1303),主张将该厂由官办改为商办。

另外,郑观应在吟咏中还表达了中外合股办路矿、让外商"承办"企业的设想。如在《莫若篇》中咏及甲午战后"群雄肆蚕食,非分时相干"时,提出:"既知难固守,旧章须改蠲。莫若参外股,合力庶保全。得暇以图治,榷税助筹边。至于炼钢铁,制造枪炮船。……技艺未深造,安能精且坚。莫若招彼族,承办几何年。期满则归我,庶可接心传"。[2](p.1305)这当是近代中国最早表达的采用中外合股和招外商定期承办发展近代经济的主张之一。戊戌年间,他一再有类似的吟咏:"体用不明莫妄行,千古成败皆由此。朝廷近颇重商农,裕民富国振困穷。不颁商律严赏罚,外侮频仍难折冲。……昔言矿产恐难守,中西合股或可久";[2](pp.1320-1321)"整顿工商开利源,重订律例惩翻覆。……华夏矿路约同盟,合股举办利源握"。[2](p.1319)并憧憬:"各事无掣肘,百艺亦兴隆。兵强可卫商,商富兵亦雄。一洗历年耻,奏捷甘泉宫"。[2](p.1327)这种期盼"富强从此卜,商战共筹边"的心声是对《盛世危

言》所阐发的"商战"思想的一种润色和补充。

"中华官制异泰西,奏请朝廷当变易"。<sup>[2](p.1306)</sup>郑观应变法自强思想的又一特色是明确主 张进行以改官制为中心的政治改革。他在早期维新思想家中不仅以全面阐发"习兵战不如习 商战"的商战思想影响卓著,而且也是晚清较早关注西方议院政治的一位历史人物。但是, 郑观应在其《易言》和《盛世危言》中,一般是较正面地谈论"国运"、"民心"和"吏治" 的关系,赞赏泰西都城"有上、下议政院"[1](p.103)之设,提出"欲借公法以维大局,必先 设议院以固民心"。主张行"君民共主"之政,"上下一心,君民一体"。[1](pp.311-314)甲午战 后,他又从当时清廷现实情况出发,认为议院之设,"必须行于广开学校人才辈出之后,而 非可即日图功也"。[1](p.316)比较来说,郑观应在《诗草》中不仅表露了上述改革主张,而且 增添了一层批判意识。如他在《书愤》中批评:"中国不自振,晏安中酖毒。……兵部不知 兵,武官无韬略。刑部不晓律,胥吏弊易作。户部不兴利,农工日萧索。坐论推元老,部员 供唯诺。事苦上不明,动为下所黩。畏难图苟安,袖手观棋局"。[2](p.1316)又在《治乱歌》中 "上下隔阂不相通,官吏权重民太贱。……诸公衮衮立朝端,结舌无人贡育 谏"。<sup>[2](p.1291)</sup>在《阅万国史记感作》中更作抨击"专制"、向往"民权"的吟咏:"粤稽上古 达民权,尧舜无为重择贤。专制不从平等政,普天那望大同年"。"欧洲议政院无私,究竟君 民共主宜。试看富强英吉利,女皇端拱扩洪基"。[1](p.1291)作为最终实行君民共主的人手,他 主张先"变易"官制,除前已引述的"设商部"、"定律例"外,又提议:"文部专理学校事, 商务货财均擘画。聘请欧洲退位臣,教育经营两裨益"。<sup>[2](p.1306)</sup>除主张"取士今宜变"外, 又赞咏:"下情得上达,大哉议政院"。[2](pp.1328-1329)但他认为当时"议院未能设,舆论须参 研"。[2](p.1281)加强报纸的设立和舆论监督。他一再沉重指出:"欧洲之长采众议,中华之短多 自是"。"此时沧海正横流,蚕食何堪竞效尤。莫再因循须奋愤,维新国事共绸 缪"。[2](pp.1320-1321)这些吟咏表露了郑观应热切主张改革官制、维新国事的心音。

### 三、"此际朝廷求变法,可如俄日力经营"

郑观应在甲午战争后一度与强学会有关系<sup>[5](p.722)</sup>,但总的说来很少涉足维新派的政治活动。<sup>⑤</sup>就甲午战后的诗文的思想倾向来说,他是一位温和的维新论者。他强调改科举和育人才为先,呼吁"商战共筹边",主张进行以改官制为中心的政治改革,其"维新国事"的主张大体上与戊戌维新同调。百日维新中他有这样的诗句:"维新变法下部议,其奈守旧诸臣仆。泄沓苟安不思变,变自卤莽丛怨。维新守旧乏通才,贾生上书徒痛哭。否极泰来参易爻,革故鼎新愿启沃"。<sup>[2](p.1319)</sup>但他在诗歌中又多次强调:"复古荆公成弊政,维新彼德是雄才";"鼓舞奇才须破格,扶持国运在和衷";"维新与守旧,共济当和衷。上下期一德,发愤励始终"。<sup>[2](pp.1310-1327)</sup>他在感情上反对守旧,却在政治态度上主张新旧调和。在诗歌中虽偶有向往"民权"的吟咏,但更多的是"变政如彼得"、"急效俄彼得"、"彼得是雄才"、"维新如彼德"<sup>[2](pp.1281-1328)</sup>的呼吁。可见他的维新论更注目于倚重君权。他在《读〈俄彼得变政记·日明治变法考〉有感》一诗中写道:

"证今考古事推评,英主何曾泥守成。天以艰难资振奋,世将中外合升平。卧薪尝胆师勾践,剪旧维新企汉京。此际朝廷求变法,可如俄日力经营"。[2](pp.1311-1312)

可以认为,郑观应在主张效法俄日维新方面是与维新派同调的。所不同的是,他的变法自强思想只是一种建言与企盼,而缺少维新派们的勇于实践的献身精神和舍我其谁的主体意识。因而他只是维新思潮中的一位维新论者,而不是维新派。 (责任编辑 付长珍)

#### 注 释:

①近代中国面临一场"古今之变局"的提法,最早见于黄钧宰、徐继畲19世纪40年代后期的著述。但对这种认识加以阐发,形成一种系统的时局观,则是在洋务运动中。参见刘学照:《论洋务思潮》,《历史研究》1986年第3期。

②冯桂芬在 1861 年写成的《校邠庐抗议》中说: "今海外诸夷,一春秋时之列国也,不特形势同,即风气亦相近焉"。随后,张斯桂在《万国公法序》中也"以春秋列国比欧洲"。

③郑观应在《易言》和《盛世危言》中多次作这样的论述,如:"方今俄与英、美、普、法、澳、日诸国,争逐海上,何殊战国七雄"、"尤属古今之变局"、"此乃中国一大变局"、"诚历代未经之变局"、"乃中国非常之变局"、"此诚中国非常之变局"、"乃数千年未有之变局"等,见上册,第66、114、125、132、178、391、237页。

④《盛世危言》五卷本于1894年春(4月)出刻本,同年秋冬又两次出排印本。1895年4月《马关条约》订立后,由江苏藩司邓华熙进呈光绪帝。饬总署刷印两千部,分送臣工阅看。1896年秋,《盛世危言》增订为十四卷本。协办大学士翁同龢和礼部尚书孙家鼐又先后向光绪帝推荐,以后又十多次印刷。《罗浮待鹤山人诗草》在戊戌年间付印前,郑观应曾将手写本附呈孙家鼐。

⑤有一个例外,就是1900年7月他参加了维新派人士策动的上海国会活动。

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#### (上接第 47 页)

#### 注释:

①1970 年美苏在赫尔辛基和维也纳先后进行的限制战略武器会谈中,苏方代表谢苗诺夫一再提出一项建议,即一旦获悉"挑衅性"行动或进攻计划,美苏要联合采取行动予以制止;或在来不及采取制止行动时就对犯罪者采取联合的惩罚行动。这一建议明显表现出苏联对中国核能力的恐惧程度,但它遭到华盛顿的拒绝。见参考文献 [6], 408 - 409 页。

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## Abstracts and Key Words of Major Articles

### The Ontological Meanings of Daily Life

(by YANG Guo - rong)

Abstract: The daily life displays its positive meanings in many respects, such as its confirming and safeguarding life value, its sublating human instrumental formulations through its intersubjective communicative action, its participating in and ensuring a continuance of culture, and its constantly mixing individuals with the world and making them acquire a sense of identity of the world. On the other hand, owing to its free and accomplished nature, the daily life tends to lead people to accept an already existing life and a behavioral model of following ordinary people. The daily life checks a reflection on the meaning of existence, and meanwhile it seems to keep human free developments under certain restraint.

Keywords: daily life, human existence, individual

Abstract: The Thracians who inhabited the East Balkans was an influential ethnic group in ancient Europe. They made many – sided communications with their neighboring peoples and learned a lot so as to develop themselves. As a result, their unique national and cultural traits took shape. In the course of their long – term communications with the Roman Empire, the Thracians drew on much nutrition from the Roman civilization.

Keywords: Thracians, foreign communication, the Roman Empire

## The U. S. Policy Adjustments towards China's Nuclear Weapons Development in the 1960s and 1970s (by LIU Hong – feng)

Abstract: With the longstanding hostility and suspicion between the U. S. and China since the Cold War, the U. S. government concluded that China's possession of nuclear weapons would cause a huge threat to its national security and to global strategic interests. A present systematic analysis of the released archival documents from the U. S. shows that the countermeasures of the U. S. towards China's nuclear capability during that period eventually promoted its policy transition from hostility to acknowledgement in spite of a general limit from the Cold War and a yoke of ideological factors. That proves that the U. S. had to adopt a more realistic and flexible nuclear policy following the development of the international situation.

Keywords: military strike, regional containment, strategic nuclear deterrence, strategic triangular relations among the U. S., China and the Soviet Union

# Zheng Guanying's Reformative and Self – Strengthening Thought in His Collection of Poems (by LIU Xue – zhao)

Abstract: In his collection of poems, entitled Luofu Daiheshanren Shicao, Zheng Guanying ex-

121

pressed his claims to uphold reform and self – strengthening. He put forward his conception of history and conception of current situation concerning change, based on which he insisted that reform should be carried out immediately. He constantly suggested that the first of all be to reform the conventional national examination system, set up schools, and bring up qualified talents. In the meanwhile he advocated training troops and manufacturing military weapons. Also, he emphasized that the triumph of commercial trade depended on market competition. Another special feature of his thought was that he regarded the improvement of bureaucracy as the core of political reforms. With his poems he attacked autocracy and longed for civil rights. And in his poems he claimed that China might be cooperative with Russia and Japan in reforms. Zheng's tone was quite similar to those reformists', but he was only a thinker of reform other than a reformist, for he wanted a devoted spirit and subjective consciousness in practicing reform.

Keywords: Luofu Daiheshanren Shicao, reformative and self - strengthening thought

### Yang Tingyun and the Orthodox Confucian Tradition (by ZHANG Xiao – lin)

Abstract: Yang Tingyun, a Chinese convert of the Catholic Church, expressed his system of theological philosophy which was called Confucian monotheism in his writings, in accordance with the way of synthesis between Christianity and Confucianism advocated by his Jesuitical teacher. The Confucian monotheism, deviating from the Neo – Confucian tradition on some fundamental points of cosmology and values, constituted a new trend of thought together with the Western theological philosophy introduced by missionaries. This new trend of thought, however, does not have a proper orientation in the history of Chinese philosophy up to now. For one thing, people tend to evaluate its significance in the vision of the Confucian tradition.

Keywords: Yang Tingyun, Confucian monotheism, Confucian tradition

# An Examination of the Discourse on Debate in the Lu Shi Chun Qiu in the Perspective of Philosophy of Language (by JIN Rong - dong)

Abstract: On the basis of a many – sided analysis of debate the Lu Shi Chun Qiu (Lu's Almanac) expounded the necessity and possibility of intersubjective communication, discussed some normative rules for successful communication, and outlined the limit of ordinary language in expressing the universal Dao (Way). The Lu Shi Chun Qiu not only inherited many achievements in the field of philosophy of language in the pre – Qin period, but also carried those relative discussions a step forward, thus becoming an important phase of historical development in ancient Chinese philosophy of language.

Keywords: Lu Shi Chun Qiu, debate, philosophy of language

#### The Three Moral Mandates in the *Laozi*

(by MA De - lin)

Abstract: The dao - de metaphysics in the Laozi begins from human "virtue", and seeks the highest practical ethic taking "nothingness" as its core through the critique of experience and establishment of the principle of life. So, it has a pure nature. A person who wants to obtain "Dao" must transcend his intrinsic nature of body life, that is, the integrity including virtues of the baby state, and go back to the "eternity" and "independency" of the life - self. The Laozi shows its orientation of moral values from