从《盛世危言》[®]看郑观应的体用观

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摘 要: 郑观应的体用观上承洋务派的"中体西用",下启维新派的体用合一,表现出极强的时代性。他的以"实用"为取舍标准的体用观主要包含以下三个方面: 概念上, 西体西用是"大用";两者关系上,体用合一,发展前景上,反省传统,融西学于中学,促生体用兼备的新"中学"。

关键词: 体用观; 西学; 中学

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体用观,即"体"与"用"的概念以及两者间关系的总称。自冯桂芬在《采西学议》中提出"以中国伦常名教为原本,辅以诸国富强之术"这一著名论断之后,随着洋务运动的层层推进,中学与西学、体与用、道与器、主与辅等等,就成为每一个向西方追求救国真理的仁人志士无法回避的问题。郑观应作为我国最早具有完整维新思想体系的启蒙思想家之一,也围绕这一问题作了阐述,集中体现在其传世巨著《盛世危言》中。

在《盛世危言》全书中郑观应保持着一事一议的务实风格。唯有首篇《道器》是从理论上阐述体用、本末、道器之间的关系,这说明他整套的洋务观念都是以其特殊的体用观为哲学理论依据的。"道"、"器"本是一对古老的哲学概念,老子在探讨宇宙的本原时提出"道"的概念。郑观应在《道器》篇中也因之提到"道"为宇宙本原的问题:"盖道自虚无,始生一气,凝成太极。太极判而阴阳分,天包地外,地出天中。……由是二生三,三生万物……阴阳全而万物备矣。"[1] (P56) 但是郑观应的道器论的本意并不在此哲学范畴。他主要是为了解决洋务与中务、西学与中学之间的关系,从而为其改良活动提供理论基础并作辩护。因此,郑观应的体用观着重论述的是"体"与"用","道"与"器"之间辩证统一的关系。

体用、道器,作为文化的研究对象可以划分开 来讲,但以此为依据,人为地把构成文化整体的物 质层面、制度层面和精神层面割裂成两个非此即彼的阵营,则是不利于中西文化的交流融合的。郑观应虽然不能从理论上系统论述,但他凭借对东西文化的切身了解,为"体"、"用"的范畴作了独到的注释。正是对"体"、"用"定义的不同奠定了郑观应体用观在中国近代思想史上的地位。

一、 突破洋务派的"中体西用"论

洋务派是典型的"中体西用"论者。认为中国传统的伦理教化为体,为主,格致制造之学等为用,为辅。郑观应也说过"……合而言之,则中学其本也,西学其末也。主以中学,辅以西学"。[2⁽¹⁷⁶⁾单看此句,与洋务派如出一辙。但通读《盛世危言》全书又不难发现诸多突破之处。其最大处在于对体与用的定义。他在界定两者的具体范围时,把"体"的内容大大缩小,甚至把学习西方的政教法度,开议院、整吏治都归到"用"的范围中。这些"西体西用"俱备的"西学"在"孔孟之常经"面前都是"大用"。

郑观应说:"寂然不动,无声无臭者,道之体;感而遂通有情有信者,道之用。"具体到中西文化上,则是西学重博,重器;中学重约,重道:"夫博者何?西人之所鹜格致诸门,如一切汽学、光学、化学、数学、重学、天学、地学、电学,而皆不能无所依据,器者是也。约者何?一语已足以包性命之原,而通天人之故,道者是也。"郑观应同时肯定了中国文化

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重道、重虚的理论价值和西方文化重器、重实的实用价值:"学人莫窥制作之原,循空文而高谈性理,于是我堕于虚,彼征诸于实。"也就是说西学与中学的关系并不仅仅是简单的"体""用"之别,还可以用"虚"与"实","博"与"约"来区分。

那么西学到底是什么?郑观应在《盛世危言自序》中借用当时知名的地方大员张树声的"中的之论"来说明,西学是包括政治制度和科学技术西"体"西"用"在内的,中国只学习西"用"而抛弃西"体",只能是亦步亦趋。即使铁舰成行,铁路四达,就能迎头赶上西方,甚至超越西方吗?其结果同样是"难臻富强"。他引用说:"西人立国具有本末,虽礼乐教化远逊中华,然其驯致富强亦具有体用。育才于学堂,论政于议院,君民一体,上下同心,务实而戒虚,谋定而后动,此其体也。轮船火炮,洋枪水雷,铁路电线,此其用也。中国遗其体而求其用,无论竭蹶步趋,常不相及。就令铁舰成行,铁路四达,果足恃欤?"[2](PSI)

在《盛世危言·西学》篇中,郑观应把西学视为 医治中国"危疾"的良方。他说:"今日之洋务如君 父之有危疾也, 为忠臣孝子者将百计求医而学医 乎? 抑痛诋医之不可恃, 不求不学誓以身殉而坐视 其死亡乎 ?" 从这一点出发, 他把凡是具有实用价值 的西学都归干"器"的范围,突破了洋务派格致制造 之学的窠臼。这就大大扩展了"用"的范围,相应地 "体"则只剩下了一点点抽象的道统和政治思想而 已。郑观应说"故善学者必先明其本末,更所谓大 本末而后可也"。[2](P76)也就是说,西学西体合起来 才是这"大本末"之"末"的内容。例如在《盛世危 言》中介绍西方的议院制度、学校制度、官僚制度、 财政制度、司法制度等等,他认为这些对于清政府 的改革自强都有借鉴价值,都是一些有效的霸王之 术。他把"今西人所用皆霸术之绪馀耳"看作传统 法家"法"、"术"、"势"在新时代的延伸,认为这些政 治经济制度也是"器",是"大用"。

二、 开启维新派体用合一论

维新派在体用观上比之洋务派大大进步,郑观应则在这一思想发展进程中起了承接作用。尤其在论述"体"与"用"的关系上,他认为两者是统一的,"有体必有用","用"变"体"也会变,只不过是时间先后、轻重缓急的区别而已。

作为一个出身买办的实干家,郑观应的救国理 论也是极为务实的,非常注重其可行性。他认为中 国的当务之急是求得"富国强兵",所以要"知其缓 急、审其变通、操纵刚柔、洞达政体"^{[2] (176)}才是上策,所以不必急于"下猛药,治重病",而只需顺应规律逐渐由末向本转变。因为本与末是统一的,"末"不断变化的结果必然是"本"的变化。

他在《道器》篇的附言中说:"器固不能离乎道","道又寓于器之中","道非器则无以显其用,器非道则无以资其生"。由此可见,道和器是互相渗透,互为表里,互相统一的。两者之间的发展变化也并不存在不可逾越的鸿沟。郑观应还借用孔子的话说明,"孔氏云:'物有本末,事有始终。知其先后,则近道矣。'既曰物有本末,岂不以道开其始,而器成其终乎?"[1] (P56)

具体表现到中学与西学的关系上,郑观应认为中西同源,实质上是主张中西体用合一。中"虚"与西"实"的关系实际上是"虚中有实,实者道也;实中有虚,虚者器也"。西学与中学源出同宗,二者不存在根本上的互相排斥,中国古老的文化能传到西方,并被西方文化所吸收,成为西学的历史和文化渊源所在,那么西方文化也能再回流到中国来,为中国文化接受并发展出新的更高的文化。这在中国历史上也不是破天荒没有过的事,"礼失求诸野"的例子在正统的儒家经典中也不乏其辞。

例如, 西方有报纸, 而我国古代"谤有木, 谏有 鼓,善有旌,太史采风,行人问俗"。[2](P113)之所以有 了今天形式上的截然不同,是因为后来的发展路线 有了分歧,"盖我务其本,彼逐其末;我晰其精,彼得 其粗。我穷事物之理,彼研万物之质"。[1](P57)今天 我们学习西学无非是"以中国本有之学还之于中 国",既没有什么值得大惊小怪的,也没有什么可 耻辱的。相反,倒是那些以"通儒"为贵的人应该为 自己的无知感到羞耻。因为"通儒"贵在"博古耳, 通今耳",而今他们一来不知古:西学本出自中国古 代诸子百家之书,被泰西智士"推衍其绪"再传回中 国故土。但是,那些于百家之书,历代之事不能博 考的中国士子们竟然以为"西法创自西人"而以之 为异物, 诧为惊奇; 二来他们更不知今: "方今各国 之人航海东来,实创千古未有之局。而一切交涉之 事,亦数千百年以来所未有之科条。而犹拘守旧 法, 蹈常习故, 其将何以御外侮, 固邦本哉? [2] (P76)

洋务派与维新派在体用之争中最大的分歧在于:是否学习西方的政治体制,首当其冲的是议院的设立与否。郑观应在《盛世危言。议院上》中明明白白地讲,中国有必要设议院:"……故欲行公法,莫要于张国势;欲张国势,莫要于得民心;欲得民心,莫要于通下情;欲通下情,莫要于设议

院。"^{[2] (197)}他还把设议院提升到一个前所未有的高度,认为设议院是中国走上富国强兵之路的前提条件。他说:"中国而终自安卑弱,不欲富国强兵为天下之望国也则亦已耳,苟欲安内攘外,君国子民持公法以永保太平之局,其必自设立议院始矣!"^{[2] (197)}甲午战后,中国面临亡国灭种的危机,郑观应则进一步提出当务之急非变法不可:"中国当此危急之时,而求安图治,上下皆知非自强不可,而自强非变法不可。"^{[2] (PIII)}此后维新派的言论也多与郑观应相类似。

三、 启蒙者的困境

身为启蒙者,郑观应的思想还只刚刚从旧营垒中走出,其身心仍然生活在旧营垒中,他的思想表达也不得不使用能被旧营垒所认同的传统话语。举"中体西用"之名,行"体用俱西"之实,一来可以减少阻力,二来也反映了郑观应在主张体用俱西挽救危亡的同时,也思考着另外一个同样严峻的现实问题,那就是如何对待传统文化的"体用"?《盛世危言》只能提供一个模棱两可的解决方案:一方面大声疾呼全面汲取西方治国的政教法度,另一方面又坚持"万世不易之大经大体"是中华传统的"尧舜周孔之道"。面对西方文化"体用俱备"的强式进入,如何对待中国传统文化,中国文化的"体用"出路又在哪里?

这又引出了另外一个问题: 为什么中国古代的"名物象数"等学术能够移植到西方,并得到发扬光大,而在其发源地却一落千丈音沉响绝了呢?前半问的回答是中学西学之间没有鸿沟,中移到西,西移到中,都可以激发出新的生命力。后半问的回答是"自学者骛虚而避实,遂以浮华无实之八股与小楷试贴之专工,沽没性灵,虚费时日,率天下而入于无用之地就,而中学日见其荒,西学遂莫窥其蕴矣"。其结果自然是"不知我所固有者,西人特踵而行之,运以精心,持以定力,造诣精深,渊乎莫测"。[2](P75)这些论断又引发了时人乃至后人连绵不断的对中国传统文化的深刻反省,也更坚定了引进西学的决心。

这也就有了郑观应的断论, 取他山之石用来攻

玉的发展趋势是西学向中学的回归,融合中西文化,兼得两者优势,并包中学的思维与西学的实用,促生体用兼备的新型文明。"今西人由外而归中,正所谓由博而返约,五方俱入中土,斯即同轨、同文、同伦之见端也。由是本末具,虚实备,理与数合,物与理融,屈计数百年后,其分歧之教必衰,而折入于孔孟之正趋;象数之学必研精,而潜通乎性命之枢纽,直可操券而卜之矣。"[1(187)

综上所述,既然西体西用都是"霸王之术",既然中西同源,既然体用合一,那么,只要是先进的文化,只要能挽救中国的危亡,只要能让中国进一步走向富强,不论它是哪来的,尽管学来就是。纵观《盛世危言》全书,这才是身为实干家的郑观应就体用方面的真实观点和行动指南。

应该指出的是, 西学是指近代西方的资本主义文化, 它是以科学、理性和实证精神为特征的。中学, 或者说中国传统文化则是自然经济条件下产生的农业文明, 它注重的是直观经验和伦理道德。二者固然有一些相似甚至相通的地方, 但完全是两种性质不同的文化。这也是"体用观"最终无法构成一个严整的文化观念的根本原因。以"体用"、"本末"、"道器"之类的概念来表述中西异质文化之间各层次、各方面的交流和融合, 本身就不是客观科学的标准。在中国近代历史上, 无论是顽固派、洋务派、维新派都同样是左右为难、无法自圆其说的,言辞含糊、前后出入的情况也并非郑观应所独有的困惑。

【注释】

① 经郑观应手定的《盛世危言》共有三个版本,本文所用版本为中州古籍出版社 1998 年版,醒狮丛书之《盛世危言》,郑观应著,王贻梁评注。

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A study of LIANG Shu-ming's change in belief from Buddhism to Confucianism

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Abstract: LIANG Shu-ming is recognized as the founder of neo-Confucianism in its modern sense. His belief experienced the great change from Buddhism to Confucianism in the first decade of the National Republic of China. The paper argues that his natural disposition, his strong will of preserving the traditional culture and his father's suicide constitute the very causes of his inevitable change in belief.

Key words: LIANG Shu-ming; Buddhism; Confucianism

A tentative study of Mozi's idea on helping people get wealthy

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Abstract: Mozi was the founder of Mo school. As a thinker he was second only to Confucius during the periods of Chunqiu and Warring States. Many people such as Mengzi, Hanfei and Lubuwei even looked at him as influential a thinker as Confucius. But study of Mozi has always focused predominantly on his ideas about "love", "talent" and "non-violence" but little on his views on economy. This paper points out that Mozi's idea on helping people get wealthy was one represented by his philosophy in all its aspects.

Key words: Mozi; idea on helping people get wealthy; farming; taxes

A review of SHAN Tao

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Abstract: This paper presents a study of SHAN Tao, one member of "Seven Bamboo Forest Virtuous Men"—a well-known hermits' society during the Wei and Jin Dynasties. The study came up with the view that SHAN Tao's political career and personal life complied with Confucianism and Taoism.

Key words: SHAN Tao; "Seven Bamboo Forest Virtuous Men"; Wei and Jin Dynasties

A study of ZHENG Guan-ying's idea on root and branch in Shengshi Weiyan

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Abstract: ZHENG Guan-ying's idea on root and branch, serving the bridge between the Westernization advocates and the Reformists, strongly features the times. The criterion of choice based on pragmaticality is represented on three di-

mensions. In concept, the west root and branch is the "big branch"; in interaction, the root and the branch are integral; on the dimension of prospect, integration of western civilization with eastern civilization boost's the development of eastern civilization.

Key words: idea on root and branch; western civilization; eastern civilization

Glorious models of keeping pace with the times

An analysis of the emphasis of the Party construction for the leadership cores over the past three generations

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Abstract: For the Party's leadership cores over the past three generations, the emphasis of the Party construction differed from one another. MAO Ze-dong gave priority to the Party's ideological construction; DENG Xiao-ping focused on the institutional aspect while JIANG Ze-min highlighted the style of the Party. The difference in their emphasis is the objective reflection of different historical epochs, historical conditions and social environments. Historically it well portrays the Party's keeping pace with the times and continuously being innovative.

Key words: the leadership cores over the past three generations; ideological construction; institutional construction; style construction; keeping pace with the times

A textual research on LIU Yong's tour and career as a government official

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Abstract: This paper makes meticulous textual researches on LIU Yong's tour and career as a government official in Muzhou, Changguo, Suzhou, Sizhou, Huayin, Lingtai, Jiangxia, Jiuyi Mountain and Chengdu, based on the important clues provided by Yue Zhang Ji and by referring to historical literature like history books, notes, and local history records since Song and Yuan Dynastyies. The research comes up with some opinions against and viewpoints different from those of the academic circles.

Key words: LIU Yong; career as a government official; tour; textual research

The breakthrough achieved in LI Shang-yin's epics compared against Du Fu's

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Abstract: This paper starts with an analysis of the works themselves. By comparing with Du Fu's epics, it mainly focuses the breakthrough and innovation that Li Shang-yin achieved in his epics on both the content and technique dimensions. In content, Li Shang-yin's criticism and attach against the feudal governors were more direct and forceful; Moreover, LI Shang-yin's combining the discussion of epics with description and lyricism greatly enhanced the beauty and integrity of the epics. Thanks to the breakthroughs on these two dimensions achieved by the late Tang poets like LI Shan-yin, late Tang Dynasty epics surpassed Du Fu's works and hence reached a new peak.

Key words: epics; LI Shang-yin; Du Fu; criticism; sarcasm; poetic beauty; integrity