從「宗法社會」到「軍國社會」: 中國近代思想史上的嚴譯社會階段論*

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隨著進化論傳入中國以及「社會」話語在1900至1903年前後大致形成,「怎樣判定中國「社會」性質以及如何對中國「社會」史分期成了一個迫切需要。在清末做這項工作的主要人物是嚴復(1854—1921)。他通過《社會通詮》對人類社會從蠻夷社會到宗法社會到軍國社會(國家社會)一般進化規律的輸入,以及對中國社會「宗法而兼軍國」的判定,影響深遠。目前學界對進化論在中國傳播的討論,已經有不少研究成果,2對上世紀三十年代中國社會性質和社會史論戰也有不少討論,3但對嚴譯社會階段論的討論卻不多。這當然與三十年代的論戰規模更大,且直接確立了中國革命「反帝、反封建」的性質有關;但清末對中國「社會」性質和「社會」史分期的討論,作為第一次對中國社會性質判定和社會史分期的嘗試,同樣值得關注。

既往對這一問題的研究主要是在嚴復研究的框架內進行的。⁴早期研究多把《社會通詮》的翻譯視為以反對民族主義(主要指排滿)為目的,如蔡元培、賀麟、侯外

^{*} 承蒙四位匿名審稿人對拙文提出極有價值的修改意見,在此謹致謝忱。此文亦曾在華中 師範大學歷史文化學院所舉辦的青年教師學術論壇上宣讀,得到與會的朱英、吳琦、尤 學工、周月峰等老師和同事的寶貴建議,在此一併致謝。

¹ 關於晚清「社會」話語的形成,參考黃碧雲:〈清末民初知識分子的「社會」觀念〉(新竹:國立清華大學碩士論文,1996年);承紅磊:〈「社會」的發現——晚清「社會」話語考論〉(香港:香港中文大學博士論文,2014年)。

² 參見浦嘉珉 (James Reeve Pusey) (著)、鐘永強 (譯):《中國與達爾文》(南京:江蘇人民出版社,2009年);王中江:《進化主義在中國的興起:一個新的全能式世界觀》(北京:中國人民大學出版社,2010年);吳丕:《進化論與中國激進主義》(北京:北京大學出版社,2005年)。

³ 參見何幹之:《中國社會性質問題論戰》(上海:生活書店,1937年);何幹之:《中國社會史問題論戰》(上海:生活書店,1937年);德里克(Arif Dirlik)(著)、翁賀凱(譯):《革命與歷史:中國馬克思主義歷史學的起源,1919-1937》(南京:江蘇人民出版社,2005年)。

⁴ 浦嘉珉在《中國與達爾文》中即討論到嚴復的孔教觀、「民族主義」及嚴復與梁啟超和革命派

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廬、王栻均主其説。⁵周振甫雖把自1900年起的嚴復思想歸為「中西折衷」和「偏於保守」,但已同時指出嚴復此時「對於社會各方面的討論很可以補第一期的不足」,⁶實際上是以一種綜合的觀點來看此時期的嚴復著譯。史華兹 (Benjamin Schwartz) 從嚴復譯作的前後承繼性上來看,認為「嚴復早在第一次接觸到達爾文 (Charles Darwin, 1809–1882) 和斯賓塞 [Herbert Spencer, 1820–1903] 的著作時,就已熱誠地信奉他的關於人類歷史不斷前進、進化的説法」,「嚴復通過甄克思 [Edward Jenks, 1861–1939] 的著作可以表達他對社會有機體進化論的深深信仰」。⁷近年來的研究,也已多能全面來看嚴譯《社會通詮》的目的,如俞政認為「嚴復譯書〔《社會通詮》〕的動機,是為了借助西學來闡明中國社會發展緩慢的原因」。⁸王憲明則通過對嚴復翻譯的詳盡討論,認為嚴復翻譯《社會通詮》,動因複雜,主要是為了「借助於譯介西方社會政治發展的歷史,來探討近代國家的建國歷程」。⁹

另外一個值得注意的動向是,自史華兹從翻譯的角度討論嚴譯作品以來,對嚴譯作品的研究已不能不注意到嚴復的翻譯。王憲明藉著對《社會通詮》譯文和原文的詳細對照,發現在所謂「譯文」中有不少嚴復添加的內容》「10擴展了史料的範圍,有不少的發現和啟示。不過因主題限制,在嚴譯作品中、王著較局限於《社會通詮》本身,對嚴譯作品前後的聯繫考慮稍顯不足。且就《社會通詮》的翻譯而言,在嚴復與當時思想界及時局的呼應上還有可探討之處。因此,本文從進化論和「社會」話語傳

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的異同,但對《社會通詮》形成過程未予深論。王中江《進化主義在中國的興起》也涉及到嚴復在《社會通詮》中所表達的觀點,但同樣對《社會通詮》本身關注不多。王汎森〈近代中國的線性歷史觀〉一文論及幾種歷史分期方法並重點討論了嚴譯《社會通詮》的影響,是為數不多的超出嚴復研究範圍對《社會通詮》加以討論的作品。另須説明,本文所用的「孔教」,只是沿用嚴復等人在清末民初的用法,無意涉及孔教是否宗教的爭論。見浦嘉珉:《中國與達爾文》,頁222-33、326-34;王中江:《進化主義在中國的興起》,頁82-84;王汎森:〈近代中國的線性歷史觀——以社會進化論為中心的討論〉,《新史學》第19卷第2期(2008年6月),頁1-46。

- 5 見蔡元培:〈五十年來中國之哲學〉,載沈善洪(主編):《蔡元培選集》(杭州:浙江教育出版社,1993年),頁73;賀麟:〈嚴復的翻譯〉,載牛仰山、孫鴻霓(編):《嚴復研究資料》(福州:海峽文藝出版社,1990年),頁235;侯外廬:〈嚴復思想批判〉,原載《新建設》1952年3月號,收入商務印書館編輯部(編):《論嚴復與嚴譯名著》(北京:商務印書館,1982年),頁57;王栻:《嚴復傳》(上海:上海人民出版社,1957年),頁84-86。
- 6 周振甫:《嚴復思想述評》(臺北:臺灣中華書局,1964年),頁212。
- ⁷ 史華兹(著)、葉鳳美(譯):《尋求富強:嚴復與西方》(南京:江蘇人民出版社,1996年), 頁160、162。
- 6 俞政:《嚴復著譯研究》(蘇州:蘇州大學出版社,2003年),頁246。
- 9 王憲明:《語言、翻譯與政治:嚴復譯《社會通詮》研究》(北京:北京大學出版社,2005年),頁231。

¹⁰ 同上注,頁25-26。

From "Patriarchal Society" to "Militant Society": Yan Fu's Translated Social Stage Theory in Modern Chinese Intellectual History

(Abstract)

Cheng Honglei

As evolutionary theories were introduced into China, and the principle of evolution was established in the last years of the Qing dynasty, it became a pressing problem to fix the position of China in an evolutionary sequence. Many kinds of evolutionary orders emerged around the year 1900, among which the order from savage society to patriarchal society to militant society proposed by Yan Fu's Shehui tongguan, translated from Edward Jenks's A Short History of Politics, was the most influential. To explain Yan Fu's purpose in translating this work, the political and intellectual situation of China and the works he had read but had not translated should also be taken into consideration, besides his expositions through the preface, comments and translation of this work. In Shehui tongquan, Yan Fu labelled China as "patriarchal as well as militant," and on many occasions expressed the wish for China to rise above patriarchal society and enter militant society. His label of Confucius as "Sage of patriarchal society" shook the position of Confucianism in China. Meanwhile, Yan Fu criticized the tendencies of conservatism, xenophobia and anti-Manchuism in contemporary China. His criticism of conservatism and xenophobia was widely accepted and occasioned no debate, while his criticism of anti-Manchuism became involved in the debate between the revolutionary party and the constitutional party. Zhang Taiyan refuted Yan from the aspect of understanding "nationalism" correctly. There were also some faults in Zhang's refutation. However, his opinions that there are differences between social science and natural science, and that the particularity of China should be taken into consideration in studying Chinese society, were very insightful. Yan Fu's introduction of a social evolutionary sequence, and his location of Chinese society therein, were influential among intellectuals until the 1920s and 1930s, around which time it was replaced by a five stage theory. But the pattern of analysing Chinese society from general truth or general rules did not change. Actually, Herbert Spencer had once refuted Auguste Comte's practice of taking different forms of society as different stages in the evolutionary series, but he

himself also accepted the existence of a principle of evolution, and used "universal," "general," and "special" to differentiate them, in a way that is not completely clear. Yan Fu's works were often aimed at specific occasions rather than something unchanging. It should be noted that, in his late years, especially after the breakout of the First World War, Yan experienced a re-valuation of eastern and western cultures, as well as of "militant society," and reaffirmed the value of traditional Chinese culture.

關鍵詞: 嚴復 《社會通詮》 宗法 孔教 排滿

Keywords: Yan Fu Shehui tongquan kinship Confucianism anti-Manchuism

