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# Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies

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# Introduction

The articles in this special issue were originally presented as papers at the conference "International Conference on New Horizons on East Asian Studies in the Age of Globalization" held at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences at National Taiwan University in December of 2008. The presenters included historians, cultural critics, social scientists, as well as scholars from business, economists, and psychologists. Jörn Rüsen, the first keynote speaker, is German; the second keynote speaker, Zhang Longxi teaches at the City University of Hong Kong. Other scholars at the conference are Chinese, most of whom hold academic positions in Taiwan. (Nan Lin is at Duke University.) Most of the Chinese scholars received their graduate training in the United States and regularly publish scholarship in both Chinese and English. They thus occupy positions characterized by intellectual cosmopolitanism. These essays come out of this dual location; the multiplicity of locations is underscored by the fact that the conference was held at Taida but the language of discussion was English, and that I, an American and American-trained scholar of Chinese history, have been asked to edit these articles and write this introduction. In a sense, these essays are a constructive critique of the humanities and the social sciences as currently practiced by the academy, both western and Chinese. It is a critique which has methodological and theoretical dimensions, and it is a critique which posits a plan (or, multiple plans) for action.

A reader might ask: What do these authors mean by East Asian Studies? A reader who expects essays which take as a starting point the old American concept of area studies will be surprised and perhaps confused. What these authors do is to look at the various topics that they study from the standpoint of East Asia. In studying from East Asia, they are also studying about East Asia, and providing new insights and new plans of action, which have the potential to

illuminate not just what we know about the disciplines but also what we know about East Asia. They are asking questions such as "What does the discipline of psychology (or business theory) look like from the vantage point of East Asia? And how might taking the gaze from East Asia seriously change the practice of the discipline?" A reader might further ask: What do these authors mean by globalization? Globalization in this context also has a variety of meanings; of course the essays reflect the global flow of people, ideas, products, and capital that is normally meant by globalization. But in these essays globalization takes on a particular valence—it means the globalization of the academy. And what these authors mean by the globalization of the academy is not simply the movement of people from one academic realm into another but the transformation of the ways in which academics ask questions. That there is a need for the Anglophone academy to ask new questions in light of Asian or African or Latin American experiences is not a new insight, but it is an insight that has at this juncture still been imperfectly realized. Asking these questions has the potential to change the academic enterprise in both the humanities and the social sciences, in both the Anglophone and the Sinophone worlds. The questions raised by these papers read as a collective are about connecting data and experiences from East Asia into disciplinary theoretical models. How does one do it? What are the implications of making these connections? Will working this way simply make incremental changes in social science and humanities methodologies? Or is there a potential for this work to radically re-evaluate what we mean by humanities and social sciences in the twenty-first century?

The papers are very different from one another, which made for a lively conference and which may make for challenging reading. But I would suggest that there are several themes which run through them, despite the very different disciplinary casts. At the risk of simplifying rich discourses, I would boil down the questions asked by many of the papers into a single question: "How do we theorize similarity and difference, and once we have theorized similarity and difference, what do we do next?" In other words, once areas of similarity and

difference (or universality and particularity, which are of course not the same thing as similarity and difference, but which operate along much the same axis) are conceptualized, how can we make interventions into our various disciplines so that the disciplines encompass East Asian experience? This is not a trivial issue, and it is not simply about the Euro-American academy becoming more diverse and inclusive. As Jörn Rüsen suggests in his provocative keynote, the disciplines of the humanities and social sciences were developed in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European universities. One of the key aspects of that development was a universalistic framework, which implied a very specific view of universal history and world civilization. But the world has vastly changed since this original formation, as have the frameworks which form our way of looking at the world. As Rüsen writes in his essay in this volume: "What happened to the concept of universal history and its corresponding idea of world civilization? The answer to this question is short and provocative: It has fallen into pieces." The task at hand is to make productive use of these pieces.

Zhang Longxi is also concerned with the shattering of universalistic claims. His essay suggests ways in which scholars who study Asia have recognized the fallacies of universalist claims which in fact are derived from Euro-American experiences and concentrate on relativism instead. But this is not an intellectual position which satisfies Zhang. He writes: "The fact is that cultures and peoples of different nations are both different and similar, and it is misleading to overly emphasize either side of the opposites." He goes on to suggest that arguments about unity and diversity, similarity and commonality, need to be made in specific context and investigated in response to specific questions.

Young-tsu Wong is concerned with the problem of world history and the ways in which world history as practiced in the west remains Euro-centric. He is interested in the question of how the study of Chinese history might change our conceptualizations of world history, and help move it out of the "west and the rest" mold which it so often falls into in American universities. He suggests two

arenas in which Chinese history has the capacity to have a serious impact on world history—one is a careful attention to the human dimensions of suffering and the other is thorough investigation of environmental history. The example of human suffering that Wong raises is the Taiping rebellion; he suggests that by careful analysis of human response to suffering on such a massive scale, we will learn about the human response to suffering in ways that can perhaps be generalized across cultural borders. Wong also makes the argument that any environmental history must be global; and environmental history which does not take China into account is merely local history. There is an increasing amount of work being done on the history of China's environment, some of it being done by Wong himself. The responsibility for seeing to it that this work gets done lies on both sides of the Pacific. Scholars who study Chinese history need to do this work and then need to insist that the work be taken seriously by world historians. (One of the ways of insisting that the work be taken seriously by world historians is writing in ways that are accessible to non-specialists and publishing in journals, whether in English or Chinese, which are read by world historians.)

An example of the specificity of investigation suggested by Zhang Longxi can be seen in the article by Bor-shiuan Cheng, Yi-cheng Lin, and Li-fang Chou. Their article begins by narrating intense debates in the field of organizational theory about insider versus outsider perspectives, and the ways in which models derived from North American experience still remain dominant. They write that "the most important reason [for the dominance of western models] is the lack of methodological guidance about how to develop a Chinese theory of organizational behavior." They put forward a theory of paternalistic leadership as a case study as to how what they call indigenous organizational behavior can be studied. Thus, in this article, as in other articles in this volume, the question is not whether or not the East Asian (or Chinese) experience provides different perspectives which would be of use to disciplinary development, but rather how to conceptualize, articulate and investigate that difference.



Kwang-kuo Hwang, in talking about indigenous psychology, notes the problem of proliferation of ideas of difference when he writes: "If every culture has to develop its own psychology, how many indigenous psychologies should there be? How many psychologies would have to be developed for Africa? What is the optimal number of indigenous psychologies? What is the meaning of an indigenous psychology developed in a specific culture to people in other cultures?" He answers the question by endorsing an argument made by P. M. Greenfield that psychology must uncover "deep structures of culture." He posits what he calls Confucian relationalism as one such deep structure of culture.

Nan Lin's work is instructive here. Nan Lin writes about two theories of exchange; transactional and relational. Although he is careful to point out that both forms of exchange exist (or have the capacity to exist) in all societies, he suggests that relational exchange may be more prominent in Asian, particularly Chinese, societies than it is in the west, for a series of specific historical reasons. He writes: "I propose that the dominance of a rationality as an ideology reflects the stylized accounting of a society for its survival using its own historical experiences as data. The theorized accounting becomes "truth" as it becomes embedded in its institutions (Lin, 2001a)." He suggests that as long as there is a calculation of profit or loss in the context of an exchange, that exchange may be termed rational, and there is no reason to assume that such calculations which center on relationships are any less rational than those which surround more economic transactional exchanges. In the course of a carefully argued exposition, he writes of his frustration with his discipline:

This essay to an extent reflects the roots of the "Eastern discontent" in theoretical contributions to the normative practices of science and the historical development of sociological theories during the 19th and 20th centuries in Western Europe and North America. Since scientific communities are expected to transcend national or societal boundaries,

and theories are attempts at universal principles, scholars in the East are constrained in the number of options available to them in order to receive acceptance and recognition in the global scientific community dominated by practitioners from the West. Discrepancies of evidence from other societies are often questioned for their "generalizability" or explained by way of contingencies.

Having made a brief excursion through these interesting papers, I'd like to return to the opening plea of Jörn Rüsen in the keynote address of the conference, that we take our common humanity as a basis for proceeding, and his advocacy of fine arts as a way of evoking and invoking that common humanity. Rüsen is not an easy sentimentalist: the common humanity must be uncovered through strong analysis and hard work. In some ways, the papers in this volume are all engaged in the question of finding these commonalities.

I'd like to conclude with one of my favorite metaphors. It comes from the early Qing dynasty literary critic Jin Shengtān, who was a creative and strong reader of texts. Despite the difference in temporal location, I think it's apt. So let's let Jin instruct us about how to read texts that are difficult and different. He is writing about how to read Du Fu, a poet who lived nearly a millennium before he did. He writes:

I have heard since I was a child that a person who gathers coral from the sea must first believe that coral can be found in that sea. He then sinks an iron net into the water. After several years, new branches of coral gradually grow through its meshes. The coral-gatherer will then assemble many other people, who will exert their strength and retrieve the net from the water; and thus the coral is lifted up completely. The first two lines in a Tang regulated verse are exactly like this. Whenever you meet a topic, no matter whether it is smaller or larger, it is similar to

the sea. You should first look carefully at it and think how it should start--- this is similar to a firm belief in the fact that the sea ought to have coral in it. Therefore you use your vast and deep thoughts as a net, you go directly into the topic and hover there with unfettered feelings, which is similar to sinking the net in the sea for many years. Once you obtain its principle, then you hurry to write it down, which is similar to gathering people and striving with effort to retrieve the net from the sea. After you have written it down and have cast it to the other people around you, none of those people who read it will fail to show great surprise at its greatness; and this is similar to the brilliance that occurs when the coral is pulled from the sea.

弟自幼聞海上采珊瑚者，其先必深信此海當有珊瑚，則預沉鐵網其下，凡若干年，以俟珊瑚新枝漸長過網，而後乃令集眾盡力，舉網出海，而珊瑚遂畢舉也。唐律詩一二，正猶是矣。凡遇一題，不論小大，其猶海也，先熟睹之，如何當有起句，其猶深信海之有珊瑚處也。因而以博大精深之思為網，直入題中盡意躊躕，其猶沉海若干年也，既得其理，然後奮筆書之，其猶集眾盡力舉網出海也。<sup>1</sup>

Several points are relevant here. Finding meaning, finding commonality is like finding coral-if one does not believe that there is coral (or meaning or commonality), then one will certainly not find it. But the simple belief that coral is there does not make it appear; the seeker patiently exerts effort and creates the framework in which the coral can grow. It is not simply a matter of finding the coral, it is a matter of locating the conditions under which coral can grow, and then making it grow. Hoisting the coral from the sea with the iron nets is a

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<sup>1</sup> *Jin Shengtan quanji*, 44:4. Cited and discussed in Hao Ji, "Influenception: Jin Shengtan's interpretations of Du Fu's poems," MA Thesis, University of Minnesota, 2008. My translation is slightly modified from Hao Ji's.

collective effort—one must assemble a team of seekers/scholars with whom to collaborate.

One does not know what Jin Shengtian would have said about seeking coral in an age of global warming, but surely in these conditions, the need to believe that the task is possible and the urgency of working together to find a solution are even more important.

I commend these articles to you.



Ann Waltner\*  
Guest Editor

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Feature Article 【專題論文】

Intercultural Humanism:  
How to Do the Humanities in the Age of  
Globalization

跨文化的人文主義：  
如何在全球化時代從事人文研究

Jörn RÜ SEN\*

**Keywords:** Humanities, humanism, intercultural communication, cultural identity, civilization

**關鍵詞：**人文研究、人文精神、跨文化溝通、文化認同、文明

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## Abstract

The paper starts with a diagnosis of new needs for cultural orientation in the globalizing process. The challenge of cultural difference in processes of identity formation demands a strategy of understanding and recognizing this difference, which can be accepted by all participants in intercultural communication. The place for developing such a strategy is the humanities. The humanities as academic disciplines emerged at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century in Europe. Their main task was to come to terms with the growing experience of cultural difference in space and time. In order to fulfil their task as institutionalized places for understanding cultural difference they developed cognitive strategies, which claimed for universal validity. These strategies mainly consisted of a concept of universal history and a method of hermeneutics. Both elements are deeply influenced by modern humanism.

The paper describes the basic elements of this humanism, its advantages and limits. It critically picks up the tradition of this humanism attempting to re-new its basic patterns and methods of interpretation. This will be demonstrated by analyzing the basic category of intercultural understanding — the idea of humanity. Present-day cultural orientation is deeply influenced by different ideas of humanity and humankind stemming from different cultural traditions. Within the unbroken validity of these traditions different ideas of humankind and humanities each scooped each other. This mutual exclusion has caused tensions, even clashes. In order to overcome them the logic of understanding brought about by the humanities has to be changed from an exclusive to an inclusive interrelationship of the concepts of the humanities and of its related methods of research and interpretation.

## 摘要

本文指出，在全球化趨勢裡，研究者必須採取新的角度來檢視文化並重建身分認同，此一過程勢必會遭遇「文化差異」的問題，此時就需要發展出新的研究策略，使得參與文明對話的所有角色均能了解並欣賞這些差異。所謂的人文學科，就是發展這種研究策略的領域。人文之為一種學術訓練，起源於十八世紀末、十九世紀初的歐洲。由於歐洲勢力拓展日廣，對於異文化的接觸日趨頻繁，促使學者發展出一套研究與歸類方法，以解釋歐洲與其他世界的文化差異；從這套研究方法衍生出來的思維與認知模式，很快就被賦予「放諸四海皆準」的價值。究其實，這種人文研究預設了一套能夠全面概括的世界史，並仰賴固定的詮釋學步驟以進行分析，這些都只是近代西方學術產物。

本文目的在於描述歐洲人文研究的特徵，指陳其長處與侷限，並嘗試更新其慣常的研究模式及詮釋策略，進而分析跨文化理解的基本原則，而所謂的跨文化理解，才符合真正的「人文主義精神」。當代的世界文化由許多不同的傳統構成，他們對於何謂「人類」，何謂「人文」，各自有不同的理解；當這些文化均各持己見，以為自身傳統牢不可破，則彼此間的傾軋、衝突便無可避免。為了平息類似紛爭，我們必須調整人文研究的視角，將文化間的互動關係理解成「包容」而非「排斥」，進而全盤重構研究方法以及詮釋策略。

We live in a time of a growing density of intercultural communication. The globalization process in the economy and on the level of mass media has transgressed all limits of life forms throughout the whole world and it forces people to readjust their lives according to the changes these processes have brought about.

In the realm of academic work, this globalizing tendency has already been established in many fields. This is evident for the natural sciences, but in all other fields of academic thinking, similar processes of internationalization and interculturalization have also taken place. I would like to analyse some fundamental issues of this process in the humanities.

In the modern form, the humanities emerged at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth century, many of its disciplines achieved a well-established form, which is still valid today. This form is characterized by a special field of investigation and a specific method of research. Its development started in Europe in the late eighteenth century. At that time, the frames of reference and patterns of significance for studying the human world were universalistic. An accelerating amount of knowledge about different cultures had to be systematized. This was done by establishing a universalistic perspective in which humankind became the basic category of significance and meaning. This can easily be demonstrated by the approaches to "universal history"<sup>1</sup> and the new philosophical discipline called "Philosophy of History." Voltaire invented the term. His "Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations" (1756) destroyed the traditional sacred historical framework of universal history in the Western world. It transgressed its limitation by the temporal dimension of the bible, and it widened the horizon of historical experience and interpretation into a global perspective. The Scottish Enlightenment is another example of the universalistic approach to the human world at the end of the eighteenth century.

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1 A remarkable beginning was the *Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time*, which was published in London between 1736-1766 in 66 volumes.



The Scottish intellectuals developed a so-called 'theoretical history' which presents a universalistic concept of stages of social evolution all over the world.

A new understanding of history emerged, intending to integrate all peoples and times into one comprehensive temporal totality from the origin of the human race to the present-day-situation with a clear future perspective. These universalistic ideas and concepts made possible a new understanding of the human world. It was an understanding in which temporal change was the most important quality of human life. This evaluation of change strictly runs against the enormous efforts of the human mind in premodern times to overcome change by stressing the duration and continuity of the true human life form or the super-temporal validity of its values and norms. In the logic of historical sense generation, this new approach to the temporal dimension of human life has brought about a shift in the basic concept of historical sense, from an exemplary mode of historical sense generation to a genetic one.<sup>2</sup>

European intellectuals have developed an idea of humankind in the form of a universal temporal development of civilization. Civilization has been understood as the outcome of a fundamental and universal ability of men to improve their life conditions by using the power of reason and by accumulating knowledge across the change of generations by education. The humanities in the West are historically rooted in the fundamental presuppositions of this understanding of civilization as the work of the human mind and spirit (Geist).<sup>3</sup> By these mental and spiritual forces, humans were able to improve their life conditions by gaining knowledge about how to technologically dominate nature and by morally organizing human life according to a solid and growing knowledge about its forces, determinations, possibilities and developments. Since it is the human mind and spirit which bring about this civilization and keep it in

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2 Cf. Jörn Rüsen, *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 9 ff.

3 Cf. Friedrich Jaeger and Jörn Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus: Eine Einführung* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1992), pp. 30 ff.

its permanent temporal change and development, the humanities are a work of the same spirit and therefore are able to disclose the logic of this formation and temporal change of the human world: The knowledge brought about by the humanities is a mirror which reflects the real world with its constitutive mental forces governing the variety and changes of human life forms. It is a mirror of humanism in a universal historical perspective. Looking into this mirror, the present-day situation gets a temporal feature which allows an outlook into the future. This outlook can serve as a cultural orientation of human agency bringing about further progress in realizing the potentials of the human mind and spirit to create a humane world, based on the essence of the human mind: freedom and reason.<sup>4</sup>

This humanistic idea of civilization has been deeply influenced by the paradigmatic experience of the ability of the educated people in the West to create a new world according to their insight into the moving mental forces of history. With their abilities they have furnished their world with progress in its different dimensions: in economy by the forces of market economy and the use of scientific knowledge in technological innovations, in social life by dissolving all limits of the feudal society and by opening up a free labor market, in politics by gaining a growing participation in political domination by the dominated people, and in culture by the forces of methodical rationality and their disenchanting the understanding of nature and of the human world.

It was the same spirit and mind (Geist) of the educated people in the West which has initiated the humanities. It gave the intellectual world a discursive

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4 Immanuel Kant has presented this essence in his "Idea of a Universal History in a Cosmopolitan Intent" (1784). See Jörn Rüsen, "Following Kant: European idea for a universal history with an intercultural intent," *Groniek: Historisch Tijdschrift*, 160 (2003), pp. 359-368; also in *Ex/Change* (The Newsletter of the Centre for Cross-Cultural Studies at the City University of Hong Kong), 10 (2004), pp. 4-8; Chinese version in "Zunxun Kangde: Kuawenhua shiyexia ouzhourende shijieshiguan 遵循康德：跨文化視野下歐洲人的世界史觀," *Shixue Lilun Yanjiu* 史學理論研究 (Historiography Quarterly), 1 (2004), pp. 117-122; Bindu Puri and Heiko Sievers (eds.), *Terror, Peace, and Universalism: Essays on the Philosophy of Immanuel Kant* (Oxford: University Press, 2007), pp. 111-121.

form of an international discussion inspired by a permanent improvement of knowledge about the human world due to the methodical procedures of empirical research.

So far, I have referred to the master narrative of the West presenting the cultural origins of modernity. It is a narrative of achievements and of progress which leads into a future perspective of a growing humanism all over the world.<sup>5</sup> Telling this story today makes it necessary to integrate into it the dark shadows Western civilization has thrown over the rest of the world and (not to forget) over itself: a growing potential of destructive forces leading to radical inhumane events and tendencies.

What happened to the concept of universal history and its corresponding idea of world civilization? The answer to this question is short and provocative: It has fallen into pieces.

In the West, the traditional assumptions of the constitutive forces of the human mind and spirit and their potential for improving human life conditions by the use of reason and rationality have remained, but the universalistic approach of the cognitive forces in the humanities has narrowed. The progress of knowledge could only be organized by specialization. The realm of civilization or culture has become compartmentalized into the special realms of different disciplines. This fragmentation in the study of the human world went along with the emergence and growing power of nationality as a moving force for politics. During the nineteenth century, the humanities got a clear national form within which they shared the tensional interrelationship of nations in the struggle for

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<sup>5</sup> Leopold von Ranke, who radically criticized the Enlightenment's idea of progress, nevertheless expressed this universalistic and humanistic perspective in the following way: "In der Herbeziehung der verschiedenen Nationen und der Individuen zur Idee der Menschheit und der Kultur ist der Fortschritt ein unbedingter." (In attracting the different nations and individuals to the idea of humankind and culture, progress is unconditional) Leopold von Ranke, *Über die Epochen der neueren Geschichte*, in Theodor Schieder and Helmut Berding (eds.), *Aus Werk und Nachlaß*, vol. 2 (München: Oldenbourg, 1971), p. 80.

power. Within this struggle, the humanistic approach of the humanities weakened. Finally leading Western intellectuals, starting with Nietzsche, including Heidegger and ending with the French master thinkers Foucault, Derrida and Lacan, dominated Western self-understanding with a radical criticism of the tradition of humanism.<sup>6</sup>

Until now, the work of the humanities breathes the spirit of nationalism. The universalistic idea of humankind as the regulative idea of the discourse in the humanities in the period of Enlightenment has broken into a variety of nationally featured life forms. The unity of humankind has become a constellation of diverse nations and their tensional relationship—at least in the self awareness of Europe and the West as it is reflected in the work of the humanities and their representation of human life in the variety of time and space.

But one should not forget that the national boundaries of the work of the humanities have never been closed. There have always been international discourses, transnational perspectives and generalizing approaches in research and interpretation, but the shaping power of national identity has been very strong. Today we can observe a weakening of this power. It goes along with the weakening of national states in pursuing independent policy and the emergence of supranational forms of life like the globalizing economy or the media of communication. But the spirit of national diversity is still effective. What makes it so strong? The reason for its dominating role in shaping human life on the cultural level is the necessity of collective identity formation under the conditions of modern life forms.

Identity is a matter of difference, of a fundamental distinction between belonging to a certain group of people and being different from other groups of

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6 Hassan Givsan, *Heidegger: das Denken der Inhumanität. Eine ontologische Auseinandersetzung mit Heideggers Denken* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1998); Luc Ferry and Renaut Alain, *Antihumanistisches Denken: Gegen die französischen Meisterphilosophen* (München: Hanser, 1987); orig. *La pensée*, 68 (1985).

peoples. National identity is the most successful concept of political identity in modern times. It is very dynamic, thus meeting the accelerating change of human life conditions in the modernizing processes. It is very flexible and has developed a broad variety of forms, contents and functions, thus responding to the various circumstances of establishing modern states. It is rather difficult to define nation. For me the most convincing definition of a nation is: a historical consciousness with the relationship to a territory shared by a group of people and realized in the form of their political identity.

With the growing globalization process, national identity has not vanished nor lost its cultural importance in shaping the political mentality of most of the peoples in the world. Nevertheless the realm of political experiences has substantially changed and therefore more and more sub- and super-national dimensions of identity have emerged and achieved political power in the minds of the people. The best example is the peoples of Europe. They have not given up their national identity, nevertheless they are developing (to very different degrees) a supranational historical and political identity of a European dimension.<sup>7</sup> Corresponding to these tendencies in widening the horizon of togetherness and being different from others there is a growing complexity of identity in the sub-national realms of human life: Regions are gaining in importance. Here the most interesting examples in Europe are Spain, Belgium and Great Britain where movements of regionalism are increasing in political power.

One of the most remarkable dimensions of supranational identity is that of cultural identity. Here "culture" means a very wide realm of togetherness and difference integrating different regions and nations. In the more elaborated form of a so-called "world civilization" it is the broadest perspective within which identity has emerged. Very often geographical terms like "the West," "the near

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Jörn Rüsen, "Future-directed Elements of an European Historical Culture," *Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4, 2 (Dec., 2007), pp. 209-223.

East," "Africa," "East Asia" etc. were used in order to designate this realm. Yet it is not a geographical dimension which is of concern, but a dimension of identity.<sup>8</sup> It has its cultural place just one level under the most general dimension of human identity, namely the identity of being a human being or belonging to humankind.

These civilizations or cultures are addressed when universal or global history is in concern and when cultural difference and intercultural communication is discussed on the fundamental level of world views, modes of self understanding, and life forms shaped by basic principles of thought, feeling and intentionality.

The idea of "culture" or "civilization" as a variety of unities of human life forms can be understood as a result of the same process of fragmentation which the idea of nationality has brought about. The universality of humankind has fallen into the pieces of different civilizations. They are—so to speak—supranational nations.

It is not yet sufficiently clear what "culture" or "civilization" in this broader scope really means. Nevertheless, the category is very important in the topical political, cultural and academic discussions about human identity and intercultural communication. It is the intention of this paper to contribute to more analytical clarity in using the concepts of "culture" or "civilization" as a supranational dimension of human identity in the discourse of the humanities.

The first step of my argumentation is criticism.

The most problematic way of conceptualizing civilization or culture is to essentialize its features into a semantic totality of a fundamental world view which remains unchanged in the historical changes of time rather as a core and basic element of cultural orientation. With this conceptualization, the theory of

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8 For Africa e.g. see Elísio Macamo, *Was ist Afrika? Zur Soziologie und Kulturgeschichte eines modernen Konstrukts* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999).

civilizations follows the tradition of an ethnic understanding of nationality. Although nations have been conceptualized ("invented") in an intellectual discourse which has deeply influenced the minds of non-intellectual people to an astonishing degree, this understanding of the distinctive nature of nationality has been a metaphysical one ascribing to this dimension of togetherness and of being different from other essential mental factors. They were understood as originating in a rather early time and continuing through the changes of time in history as remaining the same in different forms of their manifestations. It could have got a political realization in a state, the inhabitants of which to a large degree share this nationality, but it could also be manifest against or besides states as a "culture" in the minds of the citizens of these states. Friedrich Meinecke has made this very important distinction between Staatsnation and Kulturnation well known.<sup>9</sup> But in every case, the core of the nation in this understanding is a *longue durée* of the cultural specificity in world views and self understanding which gives the people self-esteem and a clear awareness of their peculiarities and differences from others.

These kinds of essentializing dimensions and realms of identity have been applied to the broader scope of cultural identity or civilizations as a totality of a life form shared by a lot of people in a supranational constellation of their relationship to each other and their distinction from others. The most important and influential example of this essentialized understanding of culture is the work of Oswald Spengler.<sup>10</sup>

For Spengler civilizations are semantically composed totalities of life forms which live according to a specific cultural code. They follow their own internal law of development, of rise, flourishing, and fall. Their relationship to each other is only an external one. The metaphorical expression of this understanding of

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9 Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*. Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaats, 6th ed. (München: Oldenbourg, 1922, c1907).

10 Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*, 2 vols. (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973, 1922, c1918).

cultures (as it is used by many academics in illustrating intercultural comparison or communication) is a line of circles placed besides each other without any intersection. A more complicated way of conceptualizing cultures in this way has been presented by Arnold Toynbee.<sup>11</sup> He argues much more empirically and historically oriented, but the logic of his thinking of world civilizations principally is the same. Until today, this understanding of cultures or civilizations is a very powerful element within and outside of the academic discourse.<sup>12</sup> Very often, it is presented in an implicit way, as an unreflected and undiscussed epistemological presupposition of intercultural comparison. The usual oppositions of "East" and "West," the insistence of "Asian values" against "Western values" (recently Putin claimed for "Russian values" against the Western ones—simply to legitimate the permanent violation of human and civil rights in Russia)—this follows the Spenglerian line of argumentation. Such line can be explicated and presented in a higher sophisticated and intellectually fascinating form. A good example for this theoretical explication is Johann Galtung's typology of World Civilizations.<sup>13</sup> He characterizes six different world civilizations by a set of basic assumptions in understanding man and world, and by doing so he gives these civilizations sharp and fundamental distinctions from each other, ignoring the historicity of these world-views, their commonality and intersections. Anthropological universals are not addressed at all, and neither is the possibility of transcending these cultural codes into a comprehensive typology made plausible.

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11 Arnold J. Toynbee, *Der Gang der Weltgeschichte*, vol. 1: Aufstieg und Fall der Kulturen. vol. 2: Kulturen im Übergang (München: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag 3. Aufl., 1979).

12 An example: Amaury de Riencourt thematizes "the soul of India" and deals with the Indian Civilization as "self-contained, self-inclosed and autonomous." Amaury de Riencourt, *The Soul of India* (Great Britain: Honeyglan Publishing, 1986), p. XIV.

13 Johan Galtung, "Die 'Sinne' der Geschichte," in Klaus E. Müller and Jörn Rüsen (eds.), *Historische Sinnbildung: Problemstellungen, Zeitkonzepte, Wahrnehmungshorizonte, Darstellungsstrategien* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1997), pp. 118-141; Johan Galtung, "Six Cosmologies: an Impressionistic Presentation," in *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 211-222.



This kind of essentialization of cultural differences is based on an anthropological universal: that every social unit is defined by a self-awareness of its members within which they make a clear distinction between themselves and the others outside their group. The widest horizon of this fundamental distinction between self and others refers to these realms of "cultures" or "civilizations." But this anthropological necessity of humans to live a life characterized by setting and keeping up differences does not necessarily have a metaphysical or essentialist form.

In an essentialized form its historicity, its intersections with each other, its changes and potentials of critical self-reflection have marginalized or even vanished. If one takes the essentialist concepts seriously, they even lead into a contradiction: There is no place outside such a semantic totality of a culture; therefore, there is no possibility of presenting the variety and differences of cultures or their typological peculiarity and difference in a plausible way. Everybody lives in the semantic constraints of cultural world views, so the awareness of otherness is determined by the presupposition of one's own culture. Therefore, any idea of cultural diversity and any characterization of world civilizations which follow the Spenglerian line of conceptualizing culture or civilization is rendered impossible although exactly this conceptualization occurs all the time outside and inside the academic discourse, implicitly and explicitly.

Any acceptable distinction between cultures and any idea of cultural variety and differences needs reasons for their plausibility which go across the idea of culture as a semantic totality in a monadic structure. How should understanding between different world views be possible if one could not refer to something common going across this difference?

So, every conceptualization of cultures or civilizations and their relationship should start with a comprehensive and more dynamic concept of civilization or

culture. In order to do so, one meets a special difficulty: it has to emphasize sameness and distinctiveness at the same time. How is this possible?

I see two possibilities:

Starting with the present-day situation one can look at the main features of a world civilization going across all cultural differences. One could call that ecumenical civilization.<sup>14</sup> There are a lot of examples for this kind of world-wide civilizational elements. I only mention a few in a random sequence: Pop Music, entertainment in the new media (Disney parks all over the world, Hollywood and Bollywood at the same time), trends in fashion, basic elements of market economy, elementary mathematics, the methodical rationality of the sciences, highly developed technology, human and civil rights. Even our academic discourse in the humanities has become a universal phenomenon of scholarly life all over the world.<sup>15</sup> These elements may stem from the West, in the mean time they have become common use all over the world where the life forms of modernity have evolved. They have become universal and they constitute what we could address as ecumenical world civilization.

This argumentation emphasizes sameness. What about difference? This question can easily be answered, since this ecumenical world civilization is lived by the people in a diversity of cultural life forms. Apparently, there is no one and only modernity, but a multiplicity of modernities as Shmuel Eisenstadt and others have clearly demonstrated.<sup>16</sup>

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14 With this term I pick up Hermann Lübbe's idea about "Die Zivilisationsökumene." Cf. Hermann Lübbe, *Die Zivilisationsökumene: Globalisierung kulturell, technisch und politisch* (München: Fink, 2005).

15 This all the more the case, when cultural differences are academically discussed. The scholars worldwide use the same logic of argumentation in stressing the diversity of contexts within which they pursue their work. Cf. e.g. Jörn Rüsen (ed.), *Western Historical Thinking: An Intercultural Debate* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002). Chinese translation is in preparation.

16 Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus*, 129, 1 (Winter, 2000), pp. 1-30; *Theorie und Moderne: Soziologische Essays* (Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006).

This way of looking at cultural diversity can be fruitful for a lot of research in the social sciences and in the humanities. But I doubt whether it meets the core of the problem of cultural difference: namely the cultural procedures of identity formation. Identity is not a variation of a general world view, but something which is defined by difference and distinction from the very beginning onwards. Civilizational universals belong to the context of human life, within which identity emerges, develops, is kept up and related to other identities, but they do not belong to the core of the phenomenon. Identity on the other hand is rooted in a fundamental basic self-relatedness of every human being in its personal and in its social way of life.

What does this mean for the concept of culture or civilization and the interrelationship between civilizations? They have to be conceptualized not as a diversity of variations of one world civilization, but as an individualization of the cultural potentials of humankind. In order to understand what cultures are about in respect to the powerful forces of human identity one should indeed start from anthropological universals, basic and elementary features of human life. These general features should be applied to the variety of human life forms in space and time. On the level of theoretical reflection and explication of concepts of academic thinking, this step would mean to proceed from anthropological universals to historical ideal types which disclose the realm of difference and variety.<sup>17</sup> In order to meet the core of identity formation, this difference and variety has to be considered as the outcome of cultural processes of identity formation. They have to be disclosed in the depth of human subjectivity.

Human life is impossible without the ability of making distinctions in personal and social life. Humans have to refer to themselves as possessing a coherent subjectivity, either personal or social, and that means that they have to

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17 I have tried such an approach to intercultural comparison of historical thinking in: Jörn Rüsen, *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 109-128. (Theoretical Approaches to an Intercultural Comparison of Historiography).

distinguish themselves from others. Belonging to others and being different from others is an elementary and universal form of human life. We usually call its manifestation identity.

What identity is about and how it can be conceptualized is a matter of controversial debate.<sup>18</sup> Two main strategies of understanding identity can ideal-typologically be distinguished: An essentialist and a procedural one. The essentialists think that identity is constituted by a fixed set of elements which define the peculiarity of a person or a social unit. The proceduralists think that this peculiarity is a matter of a permanent work the people have to bring about by permanently interpreting themselves and by negotiating their interpretation with others they have to live with. There is no essence in this interpretation and negotiation; everything is a matter of invention and construction. There are good arguments on both sides. Every human being lives from the very beginning in a relationship to itself which has to be developed towards a coherent personality and social belonging. This is the pre-given "essence" of human identity. But the outcome of this development is a matter of circumstances and mental activities. Identity is pre-constructed and constructed at the same time. It is the outcome of compelling destiny and creative freedom. Goethe expressed this in the saying "Geprägte Form, die lebend sich entwickelt." ("Coined form self-evolving in life.")<sup>19</sup>

Stating differences and dealing with them constitutes the life-form of human identity. Therefore, the issue of cultural difference is of highest importance for human life in respect to its internal dimension we call subjectivity. Subjectivity is

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18 Cf. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, *Theorie und Moderne*; Jürgen Straub, "Identitätstheorie, Empirische Identitätsforschung und die Postmoderne Armchair Psychology," *Zeitschrift für qualitative Bildungs-, Beratungs- und Sozialisationsforschung*, 1 (2000); "Personale und kollektive Identität. Zur Analyse eines theoretischen Begriffs," in Aleid Assmann and Heidrun Friese (eds.), *Identitäten* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998), pp. 73-104; Jürgen Straub and Joachim Renn (eds.), *Transitorische Identität: Der Prozeßcharakter des modernen Selbst* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002).

19 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Urworte, orphisch," *Works*, vol. 1 (München: C. Hanser, 1985-1989), p. 443.

a matter of mental work within a pregiven cultural pattern of orientation. The work consists of internalizing these patterns into the constitutive human self-relatedness and at the same time of externalizing the inner world of subjectivity into the social world of intersubjective relationships. In this process of individualization and socialization, the cultural patterns of human life display enormous dynamics. Here lies one of the roots of the historicity of human life forms. For our understanding of intercultural communication, it is necessary to stress one very powerful quality of this dynamics: tension and struggle.

We all know the famous thesis of Samuel Huntington that the basic form of intercultural communication is clash.<sup>20</sup> This has been intensively criticized, but one should not overlook that there is an inbuilt tendency of clash in the procedures of human identity formation. The reason for this is rather simple: In order to bring about a coherent and sound self-relationship in personality and social belonging humans tend to furnish their self-relatedness with a set of positive values and norms. Otherness stands for its opposite. We can call this asymmetrical evaluation in the constitution of self as being different from others ethnocentrism.<sup>21</sup> The logic of this ethnocentrism can be characterized by three main principles: First, the already mentioned asymmetrical evaluation, second, the idea of an unbroken continuity of oneself in all temporal changes, and third, a perspective of world interpretation and self-understanding which places oneself and one's own life-form into the middle of the world. In this monocentric perspective, others are fundamentally marginalized.

This ethnocentric logic of identity formation has a quasi-natural power in the mental activities of human life. Its way of referring to otherness is reproduced by the others, and this constitutes a tension or a "clash." This "clash" is a part of

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20 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

21 Cf. Jörn Rüsen, "How to Overcome Ethnocentrism: Approaches to a Culture of Recognition by History in the 21st Century," *Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies*, 1, 1 (June, 2004), pp. 59-74; also in *History and Theory*, 43 (Theme Issue "Historians and Ethics," 2004), pp. 118-129.

the unsocial sociability of the human race which Immanuel Kant has described as the moving force of historical change in universal history.<sup>22</sup> There are not only mental forces constituting this clash, of course. Human nature is characterized by a structural surplus of needs and desires essentially reaching beyond the possibilities of fulfilling them. Every fulfilled need in human life creates a qualitatively new one which is not yet fulfilled. Thus, human life is characterized by a fundamental shortage of the material means to achieve the pursuit of happiness. In addition to this materialistic dimension in the clash of civilizations a mental or spiritual shortage has to be taken into account: Since the self-affirmation of humans in their personality and as well as in their social life-form needs recognition by the others with whom they live, the ethnocentric form within which this self-affirmation is culturally realized cannot structurally bring about a sufficient recognition by the others because of its unbalanced impact of values in the image of oneself and of the others.

Consequently, there is an inbuilt unrest in human culture emerging from the vital procedures of identity formation. This unrest is a matter-of-fact in human life which has to be taken into account by the humanities. But it is more than only a matter-of-fact, it is a matter of interpreting this fact as well: The humanities as a part of human society fulfil the social function of producing a convincing idea of their own culture as well as of that of the others.

Taking into account the "unsocial sociability" (Kant) of human identity formation the humanities may proceed in a twofold way to meet their task of information and orientation.

By assuming the quasi-natural form of human life which leads to a clash by ethnocentrism the humanities can become a part of the clash. They even can offer

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22 Immanuel Kant, *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht*, 4. Satz (Idea of a Universal History in a Cosmopolitan Intent, Thesis 4).

themselves as a producer of cultural weapons for this clash. The best examples stem from nationalistic concepts of historical interpretation and presentation.

By striving to civilize and mediate this struggle they have to apply—at least—a minimum of recognition in conceptualizing otherness, so that the ethnocentric power of identity formation may be stripped of its aggressive quality. Here in this attempt to civilize the potential tensions in intercultural communication we can rely on a solid quality in human nature since most humans share a fundamental interest in survival by their interrelationship.

We can call this interest the inbuilt humanism in humankind. It enables people to realize their survival by cultural means in such a way that the others from whom they differ in their identity have a chance to survive as well. Hobbes' well-known political theory, that on the level of elementary life forms all men are struggling against each other, thus can be completed by a cultural theory of human life which stresses the sense generating forces of the human mind in all the constitutive unrest of practical life.

What does this mean for the humanities which address the issue of intercultural communication today?

I would firstly propose to ask for what we should not do, what we should avoid in conceptualizing, researching and representing difference. Otherwise, there are two mistakes which very often occur: a traditional one and a rather new one. The traditional one is falling back into the traps of Spenglerianism. This is the case, when civilizations are addressed as autonomous units of human life, self-sufficient and defined by a definite set of basic assumptions about the world and human life. Then we speak of "the West," "East Asia," "Africa," "the Near East," or "the Islamic World" which may transport this kind of assumption, even undeliberately. This may easily end up in a cultural essentialism of civilization. Next, we should not overlook the power of difference in the social and even natural world and in the human mind. It has often been addressed as

"construction" or as an "invention," and this metaphor implies the idea of negating the elements of experience and factuality in the cultural processes of setting and coming to terms with differences. Accordingly, the concept of hybridity has become very fashionable. I do not want to deny its analytical usefulness in disclosing special forms of human identity, but I see the danger that it tends to underestimate the power of deeply-structured exclusive identities as the ethnic, national or religious ones which bear the sharp distinction between self and others.

Instead, the anthropologically universal ethnocentric tendency in human identity formation has to be recognized, but at the same time the internal dynamics of its cultural and intercultural manifestation have systematically be taken into account. In order to do so, a good deal of theoretical reflection has to be done in order to develop a framework of research and representation which may enable the academic work of fulfilling its function in civilizing ethnocentrism.<sup>23</sup> If an intercultural comparison is set up, this reflection may bring about a paradigm of comparison which does not measure other cultures along the lines of one's own.

If intercultural communication on issues of identity is asked those elements of discourse should be strengthened which avoid the principles of ethnocentrism. So the principles we need are the following:

The unbalanced or asymmetrical evaluation should be replaced by the value of equality and by the rule of mutual recognition of differences.

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23 I doubt whether "a sympathetic and self critical attitude" is sufficient, as David Carr proposes in his very subtle, precise and clear analysis of my theoretical approaches to historical thinking suggests. See David Carr, "History as Orientation: Rsen on Historical Culture and Narration," *History and Theory*, 45, 2 (2006), pp. 229-243; quotation on p. 243. I think that a "self-critical attitude" should include theoretically explicated frameworks of interpretation.



The concept of an unbroken teleological continuity of identity forming concepts should be replaced by a stronger historicity of these concepts stressing their internal dynamics and the importance of contingent circumstances.

The monocentric world view should be replaced by a temporal multiperspectivity and a multi-centred spatial dimension of human life, kept together by the inclusive universality of the regulative idea of mutual recognition of cultural differences.

The plausibility of this rule depends upon the degree to which it can be supported by convincing examples of its practical plausibility. One of the most striking experiences of recognizing differences is the fine arts. In its aesthetic understanding, Fine Art furnishes the human mind with an unlimited openness for variety and change. It has essentially overcome the constraints of aggressive distinctions and exclusions; it loosens the rigidity of coherence in human identity and integrates otherness into the self relatedness of the human mind. This achievement has its limits indicated by the fundamental distinction between fiction and fact, phantasy and experience. But even beyond the realm of an aesthetic disburdening from the load of reality there are achievements of recognition in history. The most prominent example I can offer is the idea of human dignity and its embodiment in political and social life-forms. Another most prominent example is human and civil rights. We all know about the fragility of the basic and universal value of recognition. All the more I think that it is necessary to concretize and develop its validity by our work as humanists.♦

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Feature Article 【專題論文】

East Asia in the Globe:  
Beyond Universalism and Relativism  
在全球視野中審視東亞：  
超越普遍主義和相對主義

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**Keywords:** universalism, relativism, historicism, incommensurability, Giambattista Vico, Peter Winch, Richard Nisbett, cross-cultural understanding

**關鍵詞：**普遍主義、相對主義、歷史主義、不可通約性、維柯、溫奇、  
尼斯貝特、跨文化理解

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## Abstract

In cross-cultural understanding, universalism and relativism are two opposite paradigms, of which relativism predominates in contemporary scholarship. In comparison with Vico's historicism, contemporary relativism does not just acknowledge cultural diversity, but it insists on cultural incommensurability, thereby questioning the possibility of cross-cultural understanding and communication. By examining the arguments of Peter Winch, Richard Nisbett and others, this essay exposes the limitations and internal difficulties of the relativist paradigm and argues for a broader perspective on East Asia in the globe well beyond the dichotomy between universalism and relativism.

## 摘要

在跨文化理解中，普遍主義和相對主義是互相對立的兩種範式，而在當代學術研究中，相對主義佔有主導地位。與維柯之歷史主義相比，當代相對主義不僅承認文化的多元，而且堅持文化之間不可相通，於是懷疑跨文化理解及交往之可能。本文通過考察彼得·溫奇、理查·尼斯貝特等人之議論，揭示相對主義理論範式之局限和內在矛盾，主張超越普遍主義與相對主義之對立，以更開闊的眼光看待全球與東亞之關係。

In understanding different cultures, universalism and relativism are two approaches that set up very different and almost opposite paradigms. Universalism maintains that basic human values are everywhere the same despite superficial differences, while relativism holds that cultures and traditions are fundamentally different and incommensurable, with no criteria available across linguistic and cultural gaps for comparison and evaluation. In the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the rejection of positivism, scientism, and the questioning of objective truth and the universal claim of truth, the limitations of universalism are readily recognized. What is wrong with universalism is often the realization that the so-called "universal" is not universal at all, but only European and North American, and, as such, it is related to the hegemonic and oppressive power of Western imperialism and colonialism. This is clearly put by David Buck in his introduction to a "Forum on Universalism and Relativism in Asian Studies" in the February 1991 issue of the *Journal of Asian Studies*, of which he was the editor at the time. According to Buck, the universalist position is an ethnocentric position related to Western colonialism and imperialism, a position adopted by those Europeans and North Americans who "chauvinistically held that their civilization was superior to others."<sup>1</sup> With such ominous implications in moral and political terms, universalism is totally discredited and has lost its appeal to most scholars in Asian studies. As a result, says Buck, relativist views are "advanced with much more frequency" than universalist ones among American scholars in Asian studies.<sup>2</sup> The relativist position thus appears to be a morally commendable one, because Western scholars have condemned Eurocentric and colonialist prejudices that looked down upon non-Western cultures by measuring them with Western standards and found them lacking. Against the imposition of Western concepts and values upon non-Western cultures, the relativists argue that each culture must be judged by its own standard and measured by its own value system. When we discuss East Asia in the global context, it is very likely that we may emphasize

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1 David D. Buck, "Editor's Introduction: Forum on Universalism and Relativism in Asian Studies," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 50 (Feb., 1991), p. 30.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

the distinct nature of East Asia vis-à-vis the West and argue for the necessity to look at Asia without imposing Western views and values.

That argument is of course reasonable, but insofar as it advocates the legitimization of an internal value system, it is not so different from the kind of historicism we find in the eighteenth-century Neapolitan philosopher Giambattista Vico's *New Science*, i.e., the "conviction that every civilization and every period has its own possibilities of aesthetic perfection; that the works of art of the different peoples and periods, as well as their general forms of life, must be understood as products of variable individual conditions, and have to be judged each by its own development, not by absolute rules of beauty and ugliness."<sup>3</sup> Vico, however, does not deny the possibility of understanding despite cultural differences, for he is convinced of the intelligibility of all the diverse forms of cultural expressions, past and present, of foreign origin or of one's own tradition. "There must in the nature of human institutions be a mental language common to all nations," says Vico, "which uniformly grasps the substance of things feasible in human social life and expresses it with as many diverse modifications as these same things may have diverse aspects."<sup>4</sup> That is very well said indeed, because here the acknowledgement of the diversity of forms of human life and human expressions goes hand in hand with a vision of the shared humanity represented by a common mental language underneath all the different forms and expressions, a universal language that makes it possible for people to understand and communicate with one another. Vico's idea of the common mental language, as Isaiah Berlin puts it, provides a "unifying factor, which makes history the story of the development of a single species—mankind."<sup>5</sup> That is a significant point Vico made that proves to be particularly relevant to our own world today, namely,

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3 Erich Auerbach, "Vico and Aesthetic Historicism," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays* (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), pp. 183-184.

4 Giambattista Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, Thomas G. Bergin and Max H. Fisch (trans.) (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), section 161, p. 67.

5 Isaiah Berlin, *Three Critics of the Enlightenment: Vico, Hamann, Herder*, edited by Henry Hardy (London: Pimlico, 2000), p. 69.



that despite and above all differences, people of different nations and cultures can find a way to communicate in a genuine dialogue of civilizations, that they have a common mental language that binds all of us together as human beings.

In contemporary relativist thinking, however, that is precisely a point of contention, for relativists today, as David Buck observes, go much further in questioning "whether any conceptual tools exist to understand and interpret human behavior and meaning in ways that are intersubjectively valid."<sup>6</sup> That is to say, relativists today do not just acknowledge cultural diversity, but they insist on cultural incommensurability; and they maintain a skeptical attitude towards the possibility of cross-cultural understanding and communication. The rise of relativism in our time thus involves much more than the mere denunciation of colonialism, for it is based on the radical change of many fundamental concepts and values. In the whole range of humanities and social sciences, as Richard Bernstein observes, there is a "movement from confidence to skepticism about foundations, methods, and rational criteria of evaluation," and consequently the relativist paradigm reigns supreme. "There seems to be almost a rush to embrace various forms of relativism. Whether we reflect on the nature of science, or alien societies, or different historical epochs, or sacred and literary texts, we hear voices telling us that there are no hard 'facts of the matter' and that almost 'anything goes.'"<sup>7</sup> Christopher Norris also remarks that the collapse of old orthodoxies tend to give rise to a new orthodoxy equally, if not more, dogmatic. In the postmodern critique of the concepts of truth, reality, and so forth, "the proclaimed liberation from old disciplinary constraints goes along with a whole new set of orthodox bans on any talk of 'reality' or 'truth', or any questions concerning the conceptual adequacy of these various textualist paradigms."<sup>8</sup> Although Norris dissociates Derrida from the widely held view that

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6 Buck, "Editor's Introduction," p. 30.

7 Richard J. Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics, and Praxis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), p. 3.

8 Christopher Norris, *Against Relativism: Philosophy of Science, Deconstruction and Critical Theory* (Malden: Blackwell, 1997), p. 6.

deconstruction forms part of this post-structuralist and postmodern trend, he does acknowledge that the influence of Foucault seems to lead to just such a relativist "rhetoric of multiple decentred 'subject positions', of reality as a wholly discursive—narrative or textual—construct, and of truth as a species of operative fiction sustained by the current (juridico-linguistic) status quo."<sup>9</sup> From this we may understand that cultural relativism maintains at least these two related points: first, cultures are fundamentally different and incommensurable, and second, cultures, like everything else, are conceptual constructs that are internally coherent but mutually incompatible, and there are no such things as reality or truth outside or beyond conceptual constructs to form the basis of any objective criterion for understanding, comparison, or evaluation. But if such a relativist outlook is not just a moral position in reaction against colonialism and imperialism, what would be its theoretical and practical consequences?

Let us look at the controversy around Peter Winch's works as a particularly revealing example. Drawing on Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of language games and arguing against the positivistic notion of objective truth, Winch maintains that knowledge or truth does not coincide with any reality outside the language in which that knowledge or truth is expressed, and that different cultures may have distinct rules for playing their language games and may thus understand reality differently. "Reality is not what gives language sense," says Winch in one of his most controversial essays. "What is real and what is unreal shows itself *in* the sense that language has."<sup>10</sup> If different cultures are all different forms of life engaged in different language games, and if there is nothing outside the various languages to provide an independent basis for description and evaluation, this type of thinking would lead inevitably to a sweeping cultural relativism that sees various cultures as totally incommensurable, intelligible only to those already living within limits of a

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Winch, "Understanding a Primitive Society," in *Ethics and Action* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 12.

specific cultural system. Winch's argument indeed leads to such a relativism even though he himself declares that "men's ideas and beliefs must be checkable by reference to something independent—some reality," and explicitly rejects "an extreme Protagorean relativism."<sup>11</sup> He may have realized the danger of a nihilistic, "anything-goes" relativism, but his theoretical framework does not allow him to avoid such a danger. Bernstein tries to disentangle Winch's argument from the very relativism Winch disclaims, but eventually he also finds Winch's work leading to "a new, sophisticated form of relativism."<sup>12</sup> In facing an alien society, says Winch, the social scientist must become a participant in a language game different from his own, and his "reflective understanding must necessarily presuppose, if it is to count as genuine understanding at all, the participant's unreflective understanding."<sup>13</sup> That is to say, the Western sociologist or anthropologist must suspend his or her own views and must think, feel, and act like a native of the alien society in order to understand it "unreflectively," from the native's point of view.

But how does one achieve such "unreflective understanding" in thinking about an alien culture? If "unreflective" means completely assimilated and internalized to the point of being unaware of the very rules of the language game, one may wonder how anyone can enter and participate in a different game in the first place. Such a relativist move actually turns out to be predicated on an old notion of objectivity that completely negates one's own subjective position. The desire to escape from one's own prejudice and to assume an alien point of view, as Bernstein notes, simply reenacts "a parallel move in nineteenth-century hermeneutics and historiography, where it was thought that we can somehow jump out of our skins, concepts, and judgments and grasp or know the phenomenon as it is in itself."<sup>14</sup> Georgia Warnke also sees a connection between

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11 Ibid., p. 11.

12 Richard J. Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism*, p. 27.

13 Peter Winch, *The Idea of a Social Science and Its Relation to Philosophy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 89.

14 Richard J. Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism*, p. 104.

Winch and romantic hermeneutics. "Does Winch suppose, as Dilthey does," she asks, "that social scientists can simply leave their native languages behind them in learning a new one? Or, as in Gadamer's hermeneutics, are the two languages or sets of prejudices brought into relationship with one another and, if so, how?"<sup>15</sup> These are of course crucial hermeneutic questions that Winch's argument prompts us to consider, questions that are particularly relevant to the understanding of East Asia in a global context. Winch constantly calls our attention to the differences between cultures and languages, but the important hermeneutic question is: How does one achieve understanding beyond and in spite of those differences? Unfortunately, his advice to assume a participant's "unreflective understanding" does not offer a very helpful answer.

The debate still goes on. In a more recent book, Richard Nisbett, for example, claims that Asians and Westerners think differently. "Human cognition is not everywhere the same," he declares. Not only do "members of different cultures differ in their 'metaphysics,' or fundamental beliefs about the nature of the world," but "the characteristic thought processes of different groups differ greatly."<sup>16</sup> The dichotomy he sets up is a familiar one: Asians are "collective or interdependent," whereas Westerners are "individualistic or independent." The result of such an absolute dichotomy is also made clear, for Nisbett warns us that because of the fundamental differences between Asians and Westerners in thinking and behavior, "efforts to improve international understanding may be less likely to pay off than one might hope."<sup>17</sup> These words may give us pause in believing that the relativist position is necessarily morally or politically commendable. We may wonder whether the relativist emphasis on difference may always lead to respect and acceptance of other people's ways; or whether it may just as easily lead to quarrel, conflict, and violence. We may be reminded of

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15 Georgia Warnke, *Gadamer: Hermeneutics, Tradition and Reason* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 110.

16 Richard E. Nisbett, *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently, and Why* (New York: The Free Press, 2003), p. xvii.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. xvii-xviii.

the words of Rudyard Kipling—"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,"—which are often quoted to articulate the cultural difference between East and West and their incommensurability, even though these words are quoted out of context to give voice to the colonialist ideology of a bygone past, the age of the British Empire in the height of its global power.

In highlighting the intercultural differences, the relativist argument also minimizes or even totally ignores differences within regions and cultures. East Asia as a notion is not one homogeneous entity, but a large region that contains different cultures, histories, political systems, and many other important characteristics. It is true that China, Japan, Korea, and to some extent Vietnam, share many cultural values and characteristics, and the Chinese written language was used widely in this region and is still used in some parts, which constitutes a shared cultural background based on the written language and, with it, some of the typically East Asian concepts and values. The shared philosophical traditions of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist teachings in the history of East Asia need to be studied more extensively than has yet been done, and the ways East Asian countries have developed economically and politically can be fruitfully explored as significantly different from that of Europe and North America. At the same time, each of the East Asian countries has undergone a different path of transformation in modern times, with internal differences among them significant enough to be differentiated from one another. When we speak of East Asia, therefore, we must understand the internal complexity and differences among the East Asian countries as well as the differences between East Asia and the West.

Given the influence of the relativist paradigm not just in the West, but in the East as well, however, it is quite common to find the dichotomous argument about the fundamental differences between Asia and the West. As early as 1965, Raghavan Iyer already pointed out that not only Europeans but some modern Asian intellectuals "have also been more or less complacent (or defensive) in their own sweeping contrasts between Asia and Europe, between Eastern and

Western thought and culture." He clearly depicted the motivation behind such "facile contrasts," saying that they "are sometimes needed as devices for criticizing the values and institutions found in Asia (or Europe) by idealizing those of Europe (or Asia), and more often are used for compensatory self-praise through a sly debunking of alien peoples."<sup>18</sup> He mentioned as examples "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's contrast between Eastern wisdom and Western learning, Kitaro Nishida's distinction between the rule of the intellect in European culture and the stress on feeling in Eastern culture, Kitayama's opposition of 'space' and 'time' cultures, and Nagayo's emphasis on the difference between 'soul training' and 'mental culture'. Okakura held that Christian Europe never ascended above a human godhead to the Eastern vision of the universal in its 'eternal search for unity in variety'."<sup>19</sup> Even today, we still hear from time to time such "facile contrasts" that are sometimes thinly disguised expressions of self-praise or sentiment of narrow-minded nationalism rather than careful research and scholarly argument, and that is not at all helpful in our effort at cross-cultural understanding in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The fact is that cultures and peoples of different nations are both different and similar, and it is misleading to overly emphasize either side of the opposites. In a book on human unity and diversity based on discussions of a large amount of recent research in developmental psychology, social anthropology, different branches of biology, and cognitive science, Geoffrey Lloyd finally comes to a conclusion that tries to strike a balance between opposite concepts. He points out the errors of simplistic generalizations made on assumptions rather than careful research, particularly the either / or dichotomy between total identity and total incommensurability. "We are all aware of the amazing diversity of human talents," says Lloyd:

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18 Raghavan Iyer, "The Glass Curtain between Asia and Europe," in Raghavan Iyer (ed.), *The Glass Curtain between Asia and Europe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 20.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

Without such diversity, there would be far less of the creativity that we naturally prize and celebrate. At the same time our basic membership of the same human species, a matter of our genetic make-up, is undeniable, and we also all importantly share the experience of acculturation in general and of language acquisition in particular, however much the cultures, and languages, in question differ. The relativist must make room for those latter common factors, just as the universalist cannot afford to ignore diversity.<sup>20</sup>

Unity and diversity, shared humanity and local identity, general ideas and specific characteristics, all these are important in self-understanding and understanding others. It is pointless to ask, without a particular context that situates the question under discussion, whether we should pay more attention to similarities or to differences in our effort at East-West cross-cultural understanding. Overemphasis on either of the two is a mistake, but very often the mistake is to set up the two in an absolute opposition as though they were mutually exclusive, that is, either to see Asia and Europe as completely different or to see them as completely identical. The truth is that there are both important differences and significant similarities between Asia and Europe, and we should try not to dichotomize the two. When we look at Asia and Europe, when we make an argument about their difference or similarity, we will not be arguing in a vacuum, but always answering to a particular question or responding to a particular situation. Given the predominance of a relativist paradigm in our time, it is perhaps more useful now to pay attention to cultural affinities and similarities rather than fundamental differences, but it is also important to understand that cultures are never identical with one another, and that diversity plays a crucial role in the continuation of each of the world's cultural traditions. There is diversity in unity, and unity with diversity: the two are not mutually

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20 Geoffrey E. R. Lloyd, *Cognitive Variations: Reflections on the Unity and Diversity of the Human Mind* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 175.

exclusive. There is nothing wrong with emphasis on difference, but the problem with the extreme relativist position is that cultural differences are set up in an absolute opposition. The point is that we need to go beyond simplistic notions of universalism and relativism, and to keep a healthy balance between local distinctions of cultures and traditions on the one hand and the shared values and broad global visions on the other. It is in relation to others that we best achieve our self-understanding, and it is in the context of the shared humanity that we see ourselves as individual human beings with our own personalities and characteristics. Let me end my discussion on the positive note of a sincere hope that our effort to understand East Asia as part of the global culture will eventually help to correct the simplistic views of the East and the West, and to come to a better understanding not only of the diversity of human life and human culture, but also of the shared humanity that bind us all together in peace and prosperity.♦

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Feature Article 【專題論文】

# Chinese History in the Age of Globalization 全球化時代的中國史

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Keywords: Chinese History, Globalization, Cultural Pluralism, human sufferings, environment

關鍵詞：中國史、全球化、文化多元論、苦難、環境

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## Abstract

This paper deals with a particular discipline in Asian studies, namely, Chinese history, in the age of globalization. It includes a review of the writing of Chinese history in the traditional as well as in the modern time and an analysis of why and how to integrate the unique Chinese history into the universal human experiences of the past. The author argues that the homogenous world does not need a monotonous culture. Cultural pluralism would serve the global age well, and Chinese history should be able to facilitate mutual understanding among nations in the age of globalization.

## 摘要

此文將專注東亞範疇中的中國史研究，首先回顧中國史研究的傳統經驗以及在現代所受西方影響的經驗，而後在回顧過去與現在的經驗之餘，設想如何建構全球化視野的中國史研究。作者認為全球化並不需要一元化的文化，多元文化可以適用於全球化時代，中國史也大有助於全球化時代國與國之間的相互瞭解。

## Introduction

It is well known that China has a history of several thousand years, but the main block of it from ancient times through the imperial period was written, with few exceptions, by government-appointed "historiographers" (*shiguan* 史官). This unique feature easily invites modern critics to denounce the bureaucratization of Chinese historiography. Etienne Balazs, for example, said in contempt that Chinese history "was written by officials for officials," and thus concluded that the salaried historians inevitably praised their own dynasty while blaming the preceding one.<sup>1</sup> Such criticism disregards the fact that the paid historians' duty was to do their best to tell the true story for the sake of learning the proper lessons from historical examples, as if a carriage driver learns lessons from other's mishaps on the road. Hence, history is usually compared to a "mirror," helping one to see his appropriateness or inappropriateness by looking at it. If history is inaccurate, how is it possible to draw a proper lesson or to see the mirror without being caricatured? In addition, history was perceived as a reflection of glory or shame, right or wrong, good or bad in the past so the reader could learn correct and appropriate historical lessons. In this regard, moral judgments in the Confucian mold were hard to prevent. Nevertheless, Chinese history in traditional China, however truthful or not, by and large served the imperial ruler and his bureaucracy, or an aide to run government. It seems quite appropriate to address traditional Chinese history as "dynastic history."

Under the influence from the West in modern times, the traditional Chinese world of historiography was crumbling. In 1902, the reformer Liang Qichao 梁啟超 first made fierce attacks on the dynastic system of histories, which he

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1 Etienne Balazs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy*, edited by Arthur F. Wright (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 132, 135. Cf. Etienne Balazs, "L'histoire comme guide de la pratique bureaucratique," in William G. Beasley and Edwin G. Pulleyblank (eds.), *Historians of China and Japan* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1961), p. 78.

compared to a senseless royal genealogy. Instead, he advocated for a Western-style national history. Moreover, he taught essentially Western methods for historical studies while teaching at the prestigious Tsing Hua University during his final years. His fame and prestige helped set the tone for the modernization of Chinese historiography. Subsequently, the rise of a Western-style academic system in China and the return of Western-trained historians from abroad further enhanced the Westernization of history curriculum in modern China.<sup>2</sup> Simply put, Western historiography emancipated Chinese history from its tradition and inspired Chinese historians to embrace "national history" and its methods.

Indeed, the model of "national history" (*guoshi* 國史) written in Western mold prevailed, accelerating with the rise of nationalism after the May Fourth Movement, 1919. Professor Zhu Xizu 朱希祖 of the prestigious Peking University, for example, declared in the 1920s that his goal was to reform the traditional Chinese historiography by borrowing concepts and methods from Europe and America.<sup>3</sup> All the same, the newly launched historical journals in many parts of China took the Western model, such as He Bingsong 何炳松's *Shidi xuebao* 史地學報 (Journal of History and Geography), launched in 1917 with the declared purpose of emulating the American "new history." The historical profession, not just in Beijing and Nanjing but also in other parts of China, was overwhelmed by Western historiography.

The study of national history in modern China has since honored and admired the positivist approach to historical writing, in particular the Rankean methodology, such as criticism of source materials, archival research, fact-finding, and the search for truthful past. On the positive side, modern Chinese

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2 Cf. Chen Yiai 陳以愛, *Zhongguo xiandai xueshu yanjiu jigou de xingqi* 中國現代學術研究機構的興起 (The Rise of Modern Chinese Academic Institutions) (Beijing: Jiangsu Jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002).

3 Quoted from Liu Longxin 劉龍心, *Xueshu yu zhidu: xueke tizhi yu xiandai zhongguo shixue de jianli* 學術與制度：學科體制與現代中國史學的建立 (Scholarship and institution: The academic system and the establishment of modern Chinese historiography) (Taipei: Yuanliu chuban gongsi, 2002), p. 136.

skeptics, especially Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, questioned the reliability of the ancient Chinese history, which in his view was replete with myth and legends.<sup>4</sup> On the downside, however, modern Chinese historians, in particular Fu Sinian 傅斯年, who tried desperately to make history a scientific discipline, had been so preoccupied with archaeological excavation and archival source materials that he believed "history is nothing but historical materials" (*shixue ji shiliao xue* 史學即史料學). With sufficient source materials, Fu insisted, Chinese history could be transformed into something as scientific as biology or geology. The impressive archaeological findings at Anyang further enhanced Fu's conviction that scientific history was obtainable.<sup>5</sup> Fu seemed to have echoed J. B. Bury's dictum that "[history] is herself simply a science, no less and no more."<sup>6</sup> Incidentally, Bury left his followers around the world cold-footed when he at last abandoned the famous dictum in his later years by admitting that "scientific history" was impossible after all.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, scientific history as Fu understood it is beyond anyone's reach. Consequently, the study of Chinese history, though professionalized, has since become increasingly fragmented. Talented historians have been able to exhaust primary sources and acquire significant findings in highly specialized subjects. Here are a few outstanding examples. The early Qing-period historian Meng Sen 孟森 answered numerous specific questions with regard to the Manchu institutions on the basis of documentary sources and meticulous textual criticism.<sup>8</sup> Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, thanks to his remarkable skills in using and illuminating historical sources, established his fame as the leading historian in the

4 Cf. Liu Qiqian 劉起釪, *Gu Jiegang xiansheng xueshu* 顧頡剛先生學述 (An Account of Mr. Gu Jiegang's scholarship) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), pp. 102-112.

5 See for example Xu Guansan 許冠三's *Xin shixue jiushinian* 新史學九十年 (Ninety Years of the New History) (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1986), chapter 7.

6 See John B. Bury, "The Science of History," in Fritz Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of History* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), pp. 223, 210.

7 John B. Bury, *Selected Essays* (New York: Freeport, 1968), p. 70. Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 285-286.

8 See Meng Sen 孟森, *Ming Qing shi lunzhu jikan huibian* 明清史論著集刊 (Collected Historical Studies of Ming-Qing History) (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1959), p. 167.

field of the Sui-Tang period.<sup>9</sup> Chen Yuan陳垣 was known for his mastery of bibliography and for his skills in textual research in men and events with regard to religious matters during the Yuan and Ming period.<sup>10</sup> Cen Zhongmian岑仲勉 set the record straight by ascertaining the actual practice of the "equalization of land system" (*juntianzhi*井田制) during the period of disunity.<sup>11</sup> By citing exhaustively the newly excavated artifacts and hand-written manuscripts from the caves of Dunhuang敦煌, Xiang Da向達 pinpointed the precise influence of the Western Regions (Xiyu西域) on the city of Chang'an長安.<sup>12</sup> Marshaling multi-language materials, Han Rulin韓儒林 confirmed every name of the persons and the tribes of Genghis Khan's "Thirteen Wings" (*shisanyi*十三翼).<sup>13</sup> Most historians, however, being less able, accomplished very little, except for assembling and compiling historical sources into chronicles.

Chinese history in the Marxist mode also claimed to be scientific. Marxism made its way to China during the May Fourth era, and the Marxist interpretation of Chinese history has carried great weight ever since the founding of PRC in 1949. But Karl Marx's theory of history, such as the evolution of human society in five stages,<sup>14</sup> derived mainly from the experiences of the West, is difficult to fit the Chinese particularity. Marxism is not really a scientific law capable of universal application. Even though Guo Moruo郭沫若 claimed to have fitted the

9 Cf. Young-Tsu Wong汪榮祖, *Shijia Chen Yinke zhuan* 史家陳寅恪傳 (A biography of the historian Chen Yinke) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2005), pp. 80-137.

10 For details see Chen Yuan陳垣, "Kaifeng yicileyejiao kao 開封一賜樂叢教考 (A Study of the Jewish religion in Kaifeng)," in *Chen Yuan shixue lunzhu xuan* 陳垣史學論著選 (Selected Historical Works of Chen Yuan) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 65-108.

11 See Cen Zhongmian岑仲勉, "Yuxisheng nianpu huijian pingzhi 玉谿生年譜會箋平質 (Questions to Annotated Chronological Biography of Li Shangying)," in *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊, 15 (1948), pp. 281-313.

12 Xiang Da向達, *Tangdai Changan yu xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Tang Dynasty Changan and the Western Region Civilization) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1957, 1979).

13 Han Rulin韓儒林, "Chengji sihan shisanyi kao 成吉思汗十三翼考 (Studies in Genghis Khan's Thirteen Wings)," in *Qionglu ji* 穹廬集 (My Collected Works) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1982), pp. 1-17.

14 For a concise account of Marxist conception of history see David McLellan (ed.), *Marx: the First 100 Years* (London: Frances Pinter, 1983), pp. 57-102.



progress of Chinese society into the Marxist scheme,<sup>15</sup> his findings were as arbitrary as they are controversial.<sup>16</sup> After so many years of practice, a recent Marxist historian in Mainland China finally admitted that "in the process of constructing a Marxist historiography in China, we embarked on a wrong road and paid a heavy price for it."<sup>17</sup>

After the Second World War, Chinese historians gradually learned from the West how to use social sciences in historical research. As the distinguished Annalist Fernand Braudel prominently declared, the social sciences, such as geography, sociology, economics, psychology, and anthropology, were close neighbors of history.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, books and articles of Chinese history were replete with statistics, charts, and jargon. Historical facts were forced into theories or models, having little, if any, story to tell. Then no sooner had they been told about the revival of the historical narrative by Lawrence Stone and Peter Burke<sup>19</sup> than the Chinese historians were dumfounded by the postmodern views of history that virtually reject objective truth and consider history as fictive as literary works,<sup>20</sup> which debunked everything they had learned from the

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15 Guo Moruo 郭沫若, *Zhongguo gudai shehui yanjiu* 中國古代社會研究 (Studies in Ancient Chinese Society) (Beijing: Beijing Renmin chubanshe, 1954). In this book Guo saw the progress of the Chinese society in four stages, namely, the primitive commune of the Western Zhou, the slavery of Eastern Zhou, the feudal society of the Spring-Autumn period, and the capitalist society of the post-Opium War period. He matched the first four Marxist stages to Chinese historical periods and looked forward to the final realization of communist society.

16 Albert Feuerwerker, "China's History in Marxian Dress," in Albert Feuerwerker (ed.), *History in Communist China* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), pp. 14-44.

17 See Zhang Guangzhi 張廣智, *Xifang shixueshi* 西方史學史 (History of Western Historiography), 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2005), p. 391. Cf. Helmut Fleischer, *Marxism and History* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1969).

18 Fernand Braudel, *On History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

19 See Lawrence Stone, "The revival of narrative: reflections on a new old history," in *The Past and the Present* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 74-75. Peter Burke, "History of Events and the Revival of Narrative," in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), pp. 233-248.

20 For sharp reactions to postmodernism see Du Weiyun 杜維運, "Houxiandai zhuyi de diaogui 後現代主義的弔詭 (The Paradox of Postmodernism)," in *Hanxue yanjiu tongxun* 漢學研究通訊, 21, 1 (No. 81) (Feb., 2002), p. 2; and Huang Jinxing 黃進興, *Houxiandai zhuyi yu shixue yanjiu* 後現代主義與史學研究 (Postmodernism and Historical Studies) (Taipei: Sanmin chuju, 2006), pp. 1, 38-44, 80-88, 156-162, 222.

modern West in the first place. The rising postmodernism in the 1980s at last awoke Chinese historians to see the problem of the slavish borrowing from the West.

Then, in which direction should the research and writing of Chinese history go? Perhaps it is about time to deliberate a new perspective beyond the Western national history as well as the traditional dynastic history to serve the age of globalization. Our project of considering the new horizons of East Asian studies in the global age provides such an opportunity. East Asia as a field of study was once successively dominated by the Sinic world order and Japanese imperialism. What followed next were essentially the Americanization of East Asian studies in terms of perspectives, theories, and methodologies. The time has come to adopt first and foremost a global perspective for East Asian Studies to be instrumental in facilitating the process of world homogenization. Such agenda could help contribute to the integration of the rising Asia into the rest of the world not just on the physical or economic level but also on the cultural or spiritual level. Chinese history is a particular discipline in the realm of East Asian studies, on which this paper shall focus.

## The Changing World toward Globalization

One may argue that mankind had global contacts back to the very remote past, but only with the increasing intercontinental, international, and intercultural activities in the modern time could people around the world assume that globalization has come of age. Indeed, in this particular age, as we witness, not only is the world becoming smaller but also worldwide connections are closely linked. Strictly speaking, however, it is still unclear whether this new era will truly lead to the globosity that would demolish territoriality and spatially linked sovereignty. The concept of nation-state and the passion for nationalism remain

strong. In the last analysis, the philosophical and psychological gaps of various nations and cultures around the world have not yet been bridged. A genuinely worldwide integration remains a goal to reach.

Long-distance trade began very early in human history, but global commerce came in a much later time. The expansion of colonial empires in the nineteenth century resulted in a surging globalization parallel to a free trade imperialism rather than an integrated global economy. Big power rivalry only politicized globalization, generating oppression, resentments, and nationalism. The Great War ended the European era, and self-determination, collective security, and free trade seemed to have moved onto globalization. But none of these worked out well. The clash in 1929 intensified protectionism, thus diminishing world trade. Fascism was a fanatic version of imperialism, and the World War Two that defeated Fascism launched the "American Century," Americanization transformed much of the world into the process of globalization in the postwar era. A planned new global order, however, unexpectedly broke into two rival camps. Only the collapse of the Soviet block in the 1980s ended the "bipolar" international system. Although the U.S.-led global order has not yet been clearly defined and the global issues, such as human rights, environment, and trade, become ever more complicated, a new thrust in globalization is propelled by the frequency of transoceanic flights and the increase in the volume and velocity of internet, data processing, and electronic media, all of which facilitate the togetherness of the one world.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, whether the emerging new type of globosity would turn out to be a central feature of history and universal human experiences still deserve our close attention.

It is true that the geographical space of the world at the present time has become ever smaller due largely to the transformation of transportation and

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<sup>21</sup> For a concise history of globalization see Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Peterson, *Globalization: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), esp. chaps. v and vi.

communication. Less time and money are needed to do border-crossing travels. International cooperations are flourishing and the world economy is more integrated than ever before. But a faster globalization also accelerates worldwide cleavages, inequalities, and frictions. International cooperations have often come together with national competitions, and a global social structure is not at all in sight. Nor will the political structure of nation-states likely disappear. Moreover, locality remains a matter of fate. In short, there are still undeniable differentiations in this age of globalization.

Obviously, technology and communication alone cannot bring forth world homogenization. We would have to reach certain global conformity through moral consensus and some sort of common standards. To be sure, global transformation is mainly inspired and encouraged by the West in general and America in particular, but globalization cannot be equated with Westernization or Americanization. The standards to which the world might conform must be sought from mutual understanding, reconciliation, and adaptation among all concerned nations and cultures. To reach this goal, we must endeavor to decipher national discrepancies and cultural diversities in the era of fast communication and the increasingly integrated world economy. A worthwhile and workable globosity, however, could not simply depend upon political co-operations and economic integration. Cultural differences between the East and the West, as well as the North and the South, have to be seriously dealt with.

Shall we work toward a worldwide cultural homogenization? In view of the fact that the global communication and economical integration have eliminated much of the cultural differences in clothing, food, housing, travel, and entertainment, Kenneth Boulding assumes that the life style of humanity would be getting increasingly more similar.<sup>22</sup> Although Boulding was not so sure how a common language for all could be obtained in the foreseeable future, the English

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22 Kenneth E. Boulding, *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1964), p. 18.

language seems to have already done much of the job. In other words, for Boulding, cultural universalism seems within reach. Likewise, Arnold Toynbee optimistically anticipated that the men of future would be the descendents of Confucius, Lao-tzu, Socrates, as well as Plato.<sup>23</sup> But Mike Featherstone, a more recent writer, is not so sure, as he writes that "It would be impossible to identify an integrated global culture without the formation of a world state—a highly unlikely prospect."<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, in my opinion, globalization should not and need not lead to one monotonous culture. The world of humanity could not be as precise and as regulated as those in the world of nature. Johann Gottfried Herder once said, "nature separated by language, customs, character, let no man artificially join together by chemistry."<sup>25</sup> Although Herder did not perceive the unprecedented process of globalization, which diluted the differences in language, customs, and character, such differences would never totally disappear, nor need to be. Most importantly, historical experiences of every nation or culture are unique. With no evidence of showing his knowledge of the German philosopher, Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 in the early twentieth-century echoed Herder that history is one of the few most essential elements to retain the distinct character of a nation or a culture. History in this sense constitutes the real substance of national essence, upon which a nation relies to survive and continue.<sup>26</sup> Differences in historical experiences made the minds and the languages express in markedly different fashion.<sup>27</sup> "Human minds and affairs," as Zhang put it, "can never be universally generalized like geometry, physics,

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23 Arnold Toynbee, *Civilization on Trail and the World and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 85.

24 Mike Featherstone, "Global Culture: An Introduction," in Mike Featherstone (ed.), *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), p. 1.

25 Isaiah Berlin, *Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), p. 159; see also Young-Tsu Wong 汪榮祖, *Kangzhang helun 康章合論* (A study of Kang Youwei and Zhang Binglin) (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1988), pp. 55-56.

26 Cited in Xu Fu 徐復, *Qiushu xiangzhu 墟書詳注* (A detailed annotation to the book of urgency) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), pp. 831-832.

27 Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, *Qiwulun shi 齊物論釋*, in Zhang Binglin, *Zhang Taiyan quanji 章太炎全集* (The complete works of Zhang Binglin), vol. 6 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1985), pp. 28-29.

acoustics, and chemistry."<sup>28</sup> Zhang's remark also reminds us of Giambattista Vico, who distinguished the World of Minds from the World of Nature, or the outer knowledge from the inner knowledge. Vico's inner knowledge is the *Scienza nuova*, or New Science, which elevates the "science of mind" to the same level as "science of matter."<sup>29</sup> Even if globalization may one day truly cut through national and ethnic boundaries, the unique history still should not and need not be ossified. If distinct historical experiences are not to be universalized, historical particularities should definitively be maintained in the process of globalization. Distinct histories, however, would not prevent the world from homogenization; on the contrary, they would facilitate it through mutual understanding, and the distinct Chinese history is no exception.

## A Chinese History for the Age of Globalization

If various particular histories and cultures could flourish in the global age, there would be nothing wrong for globalism to embody, in Isaiah Berlin's term, "cultural pluralism." Cultural universalism, by contrast, could entice cultural hegemony and may anticipate a colorless monotonous humanity or an arbitrary common truth of mankind. At the present time, few, if any, continue to take Westernization for globalization. In short, globalism is not marked by universal traits that leave only trivial particularities.

The question that follows is how will Chinese history be written in the new era so as to let the particularities of the Chinese historical experiences serve the age of globalization? First of all, we must acquire a global perspective that goes

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28 Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, "Shehui tongchuan shangdui 社會通詮商兌," in *Zhang Taiyan quanji* 章太炎全集 (The complete works of Zhang Binglin), vol. 4 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1985), p. 323.

29 See Wang Rongzu (Young-Tsu Wong), *Shizhuan tongshuo* 史傳通說 (Studies on historiography) (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1988), p. 198.

beyond the conceptual frameworks of dynastic and national history mentioned above so as to juxtapose the pieces, to borrow the McNeills' term, and help construct a pluralistic and plausible "human web."<sup>30</sup> Chinese history would provide the rest of the world with highly informative knowledge for mutual understanding. Webs of interaction have been taken as a "centrality" in human history.<sup>31</sup> In the rather isolated premodern world, connections of distant people mainly took the form of chance encounters. Mankind has missed more than one opportunity to weld the East and the West together; in fact, many possibilities failed to turn into realities for one reason or another. For instance, Alexander the great once climbed across the mountains into India, penetrating deep into Punjab in 326 BCE. Despite a mutiny which forced him to retreat to Babylon, he was not discouraged. His plan of an even larger scale of expedition was called off only because of his premature death at the young age of 33. Had he lived longer, he would have likely made contacts with the Chinese people and their brilliant thinkers during the age of Warring States (403-221 BCE). Had the Greek philosophers met with their Chinese counterparts, it is not farfetched to suggest that a spectacular Sino-Hellenic culture or civilization could have been born. When being informed of an empire lying far west, Governor Ban Chao班超 of late Han dispatched Gan Ying甘英 to set off an exploratory mission in 97 CE. Gan reached Parthia near the Caspian Sea, but he was misinformed by the natives that it would have to take as long as three-year voyage over the Mediterranean before reaching the destination, the Roman Empire. He was discouraged and headed home with his mission unaccomplished. Had Gan Ying been determined enough to move forward, the link between Loyang and Rome would have been almost surely established in a much earlier time.

For still another missed opportunity, Bishop Alopen of Antioch led in 635 a Nestorian Mission to Chang'an, the capital of the Tang dynasty, where the

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30 John R. McNeill and William H. McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003).

31 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Nestorians were allowed to build an abbey. Many Chinese, including scholars and officials, seemed enthusiastic about this new faith. In 781, reportedly, thousands of the Chinese attended the Nestorian council held in the Tang capital.<sup>32</sup> Only because the Tang court's preoccupation with internal problems at the time allowed the chance slip by, the Nestorian Christians did not serve as the match-makers to bring the Chinese and Byzantine empires together. Buddhism and trade, however, successfully connected Tang China to some parts of the world, in particular Asia, beginning from the sixth and seventh centuries.

After many centuries went by, during which international link between the East and the West, the Mongols rose to build a Eurasian Empire in the thirteenth century. Thanks to a wonderful communication system, direct travels became possible between East and West, and Marco Polo whose description of Chinese life and culture won the hearts and minds of many Europeans. The fall of the Mongol Empire suddenly ended the communication between Europe and Asia. It was not until the sixteenth century, thanks to geographical discovery, that a Sino-European linkage was reconnected to an unprecedented extent. The Jesuit father Mateo Ricci arrived in China to preach Christianity and successfully baptized a number of distinguished Confucian scholars, such as Xu Guangqi徐光啟 and Li Zhizao李之藻. But the notorious ritual controversy brought Ricci's particular approach to preaching Christianity to an unsuccessful end, as well as killing Ricci's dream for a Chinese Christianity.<sup>33</sup> China also missed the opportunity to catch up in time with Western science and technology. At last, China was forced to enter into "the family of nations" in the mid-nineteenth century. Because of her repeated military defeats and socio-economic weakness, however, China had little significant political cooperation with the rest of the world, still less meaningful competition or even rivalry to speak of in the age of imperialism.

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32 Cited in Kuang Schü徐子明, "What the World's History Might Have Been," in *Yixing Xu Ziming xingsheng yigao* 宜興徐子明先生遺稿 (The Works of Late Dr. Schü Kuang) (Taipei: Huagang chubantu, 1975), p. 3.

33 For details see Donald W. Treadgold, *The West in Russia and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), vol. 2, pp. 8-12.



What was plentiful was blind enmity. While the Chinese knew very little of the world, the rest of the world had scant interest in knowing China. For most parts of the twentieth century, to many political and intellectual leaders in the West, China remained a "mysterious Middle Kingdom." Although Chinese history has been taught and studied in major European and American universities since the end of World War Two, it is often considered a part of regional study rather than an integrated part of human history.

With the rise of China as a world power in this emerging global era, it seems essential to link the Chinese to other peoples in the world, so as to communicate information for mutual understanding and help set standards for all. The Internet advances the transmission of information, but no better information would facilitate understanding than historical knowledge. One may see in the mirror of history what China really looks like. In this sense, Chinese history would help ensure world homogenization by minimizing fear, insecurity, and suspicion, while enhancing the shared goal and value in the process of globalization. Economic integration and communication links alone could not complete a single cosmopolitan human web, which connects one people with another in the forms of friendship and cooperation rather than enmity, competition, and conflict. If so, we could then rely on the knowledge of the past to better understand the world of the present.

Secondly, thinking globally, we must add at least two new dimensions to Chinese history, namely, the dimension of human sufferings and that of environment. Like others, Chinese history is replete with wars, battles, rebellions, uprisings, disease, and natural disasters. Yet the sentiments of the enormous human sufferings derived from violence and tragedy are rarely substantiated in history books. For instance, the Taiping rebellion in the nineteenth century, arguably the worst civil war in human history, caused no less than 20 million people dead during a period of 15 years. Yet most modern studies of the subject focused on campaigns, institutions, and ideology, while giving a little space, if

any, to the trauma in the wake of war and violence.<sup>34</sup> When the rebellion was over, the most prosperous regions in southeast China were severely devastated. So many towns and villages had no trace of living beings. This writer's own ancestors at Jinde旌德 in south Anhui province virtually all perished in 1859, when the Taipings besieged the town for more than 40 days, followed by a bloody massacre. Those who escaped to the hills and woods eventually died of hunger. Only one male in my ancestral family survived simply because he was out of town. "Nowhere in the southeast China has not filled with tears and blood," as Shi Dakai石達開, the Wing King of the Taiping Kingdom, noted in a famous poem, "when my ambition is still far from fulfilled."<sup>35</sup>

This great human tragedy began in June, 1850 when Hong Xiuquan洪秀全 started his rebellion at Jintian金田 in southwest China. From the outset, the casualties on both sides ran extremely high. The weapons were used not just spears and swords but also guns and cannons purchased from foreigners. Four top Qing commanders were killed at the battle of Yong'an永安 in April, 1852, the Manchu general Wulantai烏蘭泰 died from wounds during the siege of Guilin桂林, almost all the officials from governor onward were killed and murdered when Wuchang武昌 fell in January, 1853, and the Governor-general Lu Jianying陸建瀛 together with nearly 20,000 banner troopers were massacred after the fall of Nanjing (Nanking). On the Taiping side, the loss of lives was equally huge. The West King Xiao Zhaogui蕭朝貴 followed the South King Feng Yunshan馮雲山 to be killed in the battle. The Taiping's northern expedition from Nanjing was eventually annihilated in its entirety at the beginning of 1855, and the western expedition, though initially successful, lost Wuchang at last on

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34 See for example Franz H. Michael in collaboration with Chung-li Chang, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and documents* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976, c1966).

35 The poem can be found in Shi Dakai石達開, *Shi Dakai quanji*石達開全集 (the complete works of Shi Dakai) (Taichung: Putian chubanshe, 1971), p. 30.

14 October 1854. No one really knows the death and wounded figures following the years' seesaw battles around Wuchang.<sup>36</sup>

The fratricidal fights within the Taiping Kingdom in 1856 spilt blood and tears no less than a major military campaign. When the two Taiping kings, Wei Changhui 韋昌輝 and Qin Rigang 秦日綱, taking orders from the Heavenly King, suddenly attacked the palatial residence of the East King Yang Xiuqing 楊秀清, not just the king himself but his associates, including women and children, were mercilessly slaughtered. The king's severed head was hung high from a pole in the street.<sup>37</sup> As an unnamed Irishman, who served as a mercenary, witnessed the horrible scene: "the dead bodies were in some places five and six deep; some had hung themselves and others were severely scorched from the explosions of the powder bags thrown in." He saw in the following weeks the "people were brought to the execution ground in parcels of fives, tens, hundreds, and thousands,<sup>38</sup> who were all beheaded. All the women and children also, any one who had eaten of No. 2 [East King]'s rice suffered."<sup>39</sup> Hong Xiuquan would not end the killing here; he lured Yang's 6, 000 bodyguards into a trap and killed them all. For the next three months, the horrendous slaughter virtually put to death everyone related to Yang, including 500 woman soldiers, in one way or another without mercy. In early October, 1856, on his way back to Nanjing from Wuchang, the Wing King was in anger over the senseless killing. Before long, however, his life was threatened and hastily escaped from Nanjing on the same day of his return. Still his wife and children stayed behind were unable to escape from death. Estimates of the number of dead in this bloody episode range from

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36 See Franz H. Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, pp. 69, 97, 103-104, 123, 153; cf. Young-tsu Wong, *Zouxiang shijie de cuozhe: Guo Songtao yu Dao Xian Tong Guang shidai* 走向世界的挫折：郭嵩燾與道咸同光時代 (Frustration over reaching out the world: Guo Songtao and late Qing China) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), pp. 15-24.

37 For the story of this bloody power struggle see Jen Yu-wen 簡又文, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 294-295; Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), p. 242; Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, pp. 109-115.

38 Spence, *God's Chinese Son*, p. 243.

39 Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

20, 000 to 40, 000; however, a recent scholar compared different sources against the then population in Nanjing and concluded that 20, 000 was the more likely number.<sup>40</sup> "How terribly sad the fratricide is," as the Wing King sighed in a poem.<sup>41</sup> Under Shi's pressure, Hong Xiuquan executed both King Wei and King Qin. But the two executions did not prevent Shi from breaking with Hong, and the subsequent mutual slaughters between the different Taiping factions were particularly senseless, causing what the philosopher Nietzsche called the "pointlessness of suffering." The Qing government forces under the leadership of Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 and Zeng Guoquan 曾國荃 finally pinned down the Taipings in Nanjing, and captured the city on 15 July 1864 following the three horrible days of street fights. Of no less than 100, 000 Taiping men and women, except for those committing suicide, were all executed, including the capable leader Li Xiucheng 李秀成, by the order of the Zeng brothers. "This slaughter," as Franz Michael noted, "was the combined result of the fanatical Taiping defiance and of the policy of Tseng Kook-fan [Zeng Guofan]."<sup>42</sup>

In retrospect, the intense battles and prolonged civil war left much of South China in ruins, not to speak of the countless lives lost. After Suzhou had fallen into the rebels' hands, the governor and ten of his associates committed suicide, 20 to 30 percent of the city dwellers were murdered, and another 20 to 30 percent drowned themselves in the wells or hanged themselves over the beams. The aftermath slaughtering and suicides appeared especially horrifying. The rich and wealthy Suzhou, having more than 3.41 million tax payers in 1830, of whom only 1.28 million remained in 1865, a loss of almost two-thirds of the

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40 See Xu Che 徐徹, "Tianjing shijian zhong Wei Changhui sharen wenti xintan 天京事件中韋昌輝殺人問題新探 (A new study regarding how many people were killed by Wei Changhui during the Nanjing incident)," in Shehui kexue zhanxian bianjibu 社會科學戰線編輯部 (ed.), *Zhongguo jindaishi yanjiu luncong* 中國近代史研究論叢 (Research papers on modern Chinese history) (Changchun: Jilin Renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 60-71. The author points out that it was impossible for Wei to kill all 20,000 men; the figure he believes is the total death toll of the incident.

41 See Shi Dakai, *Shidai quanji*, pp. 30-31.

42 Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, p. 174.

population.<sup>43</sup> A foreign businessman found the city almost empty in the wake of war and littered with rotten bodies and white bones.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Yangzhou揚州, perhaps the most affluent city in eighteenth-century China, was also devastated by the Taiping war. An epidemic afterward raised the death rate even higher. An anonymous author who lived in Yangzhou between February and July 1853 saw for himself the fall of the city into the hands of the Taipings and vividly described the subsequent epidemics as the death toll ran so high that the "bodies piled up like hills and blocked streets and alleys."<sup>45</sup> None of the 16, 000 Taipings lived to see the recapture of Anqing安慶 by the government on 5 September 1861. In the year that followed, Chen Yucheng陳玉成, one of the younger generation of the Taiping kings, was captured and executed on June 4. Shi Dakai, who had fought alone for six long years, surrendered to the Qing authorities in Sichuan, wishing that his execution would spare the lives of his remaining 2, 000 men. At the age of 33, he was sentenced to death by the slow process of slicing the limbs before beheading. But none of his men was spared as Shi had pled. The cruel reprisals, in particularly the horrendous killing of the captives, drew strong protests from the foreigners in China. In fact, the government troops even killed the ordinary people who were suspected to have willingly subordinated themselves to the enemy.

The terrible Taiping story is merely one of numerous catastrophes recorded in Chinese history. Indeed, the records of wars, violence, killings, murders, famine, epidemics, disasters, and devastations are abundant, but the historians had rarely labored to describe lively and in detail the sufferings of the people, let

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43 According to *Suzhou fuzhi* (The gazetteer of the Suzhou prefecture), the precise population figure of the prefecture was 3,412,694 in 1830, and when the war ended in 1865, only 1,288,145 left, a dramatic reduction of almost two-third of population. See Gao Jiyan高紀言 et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng: Jiangsu fuxianzhi ji* 中國地方志集成：江蘇府縣志輯 (Collected gazetteers of China: The section on Jiangsu), vol. 13 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 343-344.

44 The eye-witness account appeared in a Shanghai newspaper on 13 January 1865.

45 Anonymous, *Guangling shigao* 廣陵史稿 (a draft history of Yangzhou), in *Siku weishoushu jikan* 四庫未收書輯刊 (A series of books not included the Four Treasuries), vol. 2 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997), 4, 16, p. 13.

alone analyzing the miserable state of minds. We need to know a lot more about how the people in historical time dealt with misfortune, pains, cruelty, fear, trauma, and anxiety. When these unique Chinese experiences of not so unique human sufferings add to global history, we would surely enrich tremendously the universal knowledge of human sufferings.

As for the environmental issue, the impact of nature on human life is decidedly global. The interactions of man and nature are destined to have worldwide implications. The role nature has played in historic China can contribute significantly to understanding the environmental history as a whole. Chinese perceptions of, and reactions to, the severely cool weather during the transitional period from Ming to Qing China in particular would enrich a global knowledge of the "Little Ice Age" in general, which had devastating effects on the seventeenth-century world. The study of ecological exchange between China and the rest of the world can reveal the physical attributes of past environments in a more complete fashion, and enable us to know better the changing climate, distribution of plants as well as animals, and the transformation of landform in a global space during historical time.

Ecological changes in history could bear lasting imprints on living beings and human culture, such as the effects of epidemic diseases or lost forest coverage, to say nothing of drought and flood that wrought catastrophes to living beings. Studies on China's historical ecology can no doubt help understand the past environmental processes leading to the present time.<sup>46</sup> Take forest cover, for example, which was fast disappearing during the five hundred years from the mid-Ming through the Qing. At the outset of the Ming, forests in north China remained nicely covered.<sup>47</sup> The population explosion plus urbanization, which demanded endless fuel and construction materials, slowly and steadily exhausted

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46 Cf. Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

47 Walter C. Lowdermilk and Dean R. Wickes, *History of Sail Use in the Wu T'ai Shan Area* (Shanghai: North China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society), pp. 4-5.

woods and trees. Before long, the forest cover along the Great Walls was quickly shrinking. In late Ming China, woodcutting had penetrated into deep forest in the remote regions in Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan provinces.<sup>48</sup> The persistent deforestation gradually wiped out exceedingly large wooded areas throughout China, so much so that her landforms had been changed and resulted in severe sandstorms and other natural disasters, such as flood and drought, in modern China.<sup>49</sup>

Cleaning forest for farming inevitably reduced the living space of animals of various sorts. Many species, including panda, had already faced the danger of extinction before the seventeenth century,<sup>50</sup> and the starving tigers came out from mounds to hurt people. During Ming-Qing China, in a vast area south of the Yellow River, the shrunken forest compelled herds of tigers to search for food in villages and towns. A record shows that a tiger had once intruded into a residence in Hangzhou.<sup>51</sup> By late Ming, the tiger menace was heightened in the Yangzi Delta, and it continued into the Qing period. When the Qianlong Emperor ruled China in the eighteenth century, villagers still needed to set up traps for catching intruding tigers.<sup>52</sup> Not until mid-Qing, following persistent search and hunting, that finally kept tigers out of sight, so much so that eventually the fierce animal

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48 Refer to Lan Yong 藍勇, "Ming Qing shiqi huangmu caiban 明清時期皇木採辦研究 (The acquisition of woods for the imperial court during Ming-Qing China)," in *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究, 6 (1994), pp. 86-98.

49 Refer to Ding Jianmin 丁建民 and Xu Tingbi 徐廷弼, *Woguo de senlin* 我國的森林 (Forestry in our country) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1985).

50 Cf. He Yeheng 何業恆, "Da xiongmao de xingshuai 大熊貓的興衰 (The Panda Story)," in *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中國歷史地理論叢 (Collected Essays on Historical Geography), 4 (1998), pp. 10-11. For the ecological consequences of land clearance in late imperial south China see Robert B. Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in late Imperial South China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 309-332.

51 See Chen Jiru 陳繼儒, *Hu hui* 虎薈 (Tiger Talks), in Wang Yunwu 王雲五 et al. (eds.), *Congshu jicheng* 叢書集成, vol. 1364 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983).

52 Xu Qiucai 許秋垞, *Wenjian yici* 聞見異辭 (Strange things heard and seen), vol. 2 in *Xinwenfeng chubanshe* (ed.), *Congshu jicheng sanbian* 叢書集成三編, vol. 67 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe 新文豐出版社, 1996).

also faced the danger of annihilation.<sup>53</sup> The tiger crisis provides us with another example of China's ecological problems.

An ecological perspective of Chinese history, including ecological crises, relations between men and nature, environmental consciousness and policies, and epidemic diseases and their socio-cultural effects, can no doubt contribute to knowing the more comprehensive and balanced past environment in global space. It remains a challenge to pursue and parse a global ecology with a cross-cultural dimension. Without China, environmental history will inevitably end up incomplete, having only regional significance and possessing no meaning outside the locale. It is necessary, even required, to press on heading in the direction of understanding the role and place of nature in human life in the fashion of crossing boundaries and cultures.

Finally, how can Chinese history be really integrated into global history? To be sure, world history has been written for a long time, but it has been essentially the history of the West. The famous *Outline of History* by the celebrated writer H. G. Wells, though claiming "being a plain history of life and mankind," gives only a sketchy coverage of "the early history of China" and admits that "Chinese history is still very little known to European students, and our accounts of the early records are particularly unsatisfactory."<sup>54</sup> Yet, Wells' *Outline of History* was a popular text for the study of world history in pre-WWII China since the availability of its Chinese translation in 1928.<sup>55</sup> The noted *Historians' History of the World* in twenty-five volumes has assembled enormous amounts of materials, but largely a combination of numerous separate national histories.<sup>56</sup> Garraty and

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53 Cf. Lan Yong 藍勇, "Qingchu Sichuan huhuan yu huanjing fuyuan wenti 清初四川虎患與環境復原問題 (The threat of the tiger and the question of environmental revival)," in *Zhongguo lishi dili lunji* 中國歷史地理論叢 (Collected essays on Chinese historical geography) 3 (1999), pp. 203, 210.

54 See Herbert G. Wells, *The Outline of History: Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind*, vol. 1 (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1971), p. 150.

55 Herbert G. Wells, *Shijie shigang* 世界史綱 (The Outline of [world] History), Liang Sicheng 梁思成 et al. (trans.) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935).

56 Henry S. Williams (ed.), *The Historians' History of the World: A Comprehensive Narrative of*



Gay's multi-volume *History of the World* compartmentalizes different regions in volume one and then the rest two volumes in chronological form, in which the flow of Chinese history is disrupted from time to time.<sup>57</sup> Many of the other texts by and large fall into the similar category of un-satisfaction. The Chinese historian Zhou Gucheng 周谷城 tried his hand at compiling a world history with emphasis on national and cultural inter-relations among different regional entities, in particular Europe's relations with Asia. Zhou had the ambitious intention of dispelling Euro-centric interpretation of world history, namely, the spread of the Western civilization to the rest of the world. Zhou, however, did not complete his work as he planned, ending abruptly at the Industrial Revolution. The author was also inclined to adopt a determinist view of history with in mind the Marxist scheme of societal development.<sup>58</sup>

To integrate Chinese history into world history is, no doubt, a formidable task. Professional historians nowadays are mostly specialists who rarely gain the mastery of a worldwide spectrum of historical knowledge. It is not at all easy for them to select from the massive sources of information and prevent lopsidedness of judgments. In addition, the recent trend toward the deconstruction of historical knowledge, as well as the tendency toward a fragmented history, likewise runs counter to any global perspective. Histories, in other words, took priority over history. Moreover, nationalism that has not much receded made a fair and just global perspective all the more difficult to pursue. But the global age needs a global history to legitimate it. Perhaps we may at least begin with a global history of modern world, in which the family of nations appeared to be ever more closely connected human web. Hopefully, the growing globalism would at last make the

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*the Rise and Development of Nations as Recorded by the Great Writers of All Ages* (London: The Times, 1907-1908).

57 John A. Garraty and Peter Gay, *A History of the World*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972).

58 Zhou Gucheng 周谷城, *Shijie tongshi* 世界通史 (A General History of the World), 2 vols. (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000).

world truly a village of diverse people and pluralistic culture, and Chinese history is not only fully integrated but also an inalienable part of human knowledge.

## Conclusion

Up to the present time, globalization goes little beyond trans-continental links, political cooperation and economical integration. Philosophical and psychological gaps among nations and cultures are still being bridged. For a genuine global age to come about, we need to find world homogenization by deciphering national discrepancies and cultural diversities before setting common standards for generally accepted conformity.

We are working for a global perspective for East Asian studies, and this paper deals with Chinese history, a particular field in East Asian studies. It is an attempt to move Asia into the global age in the moral, cultural, or spiritual sense. For several thousand years, Chinese history had served the Chinese world only. In the recent past, thanks to the influence from the West, Chinese history became a national history written according to the conceptual framework of the West in general and America in particular. It seems timely to pursue a new perspective, but a global view of Chinese history is not to universalize the particular traits of the Chinese historical experience. Rather, it is desirable to wedge the Chinese particularity into a pluralistic human web. The particular Chinese stories of human sufferings and ecological disasters are destined to enrich our global knowledge. The trauma of misfortunes befallen on the Chinese in the past, the role the nature had played in historic China and the Chinese memory and coping of their living conditions can help understand the global history in a major way. Meanwhile, in order to overcome the shortfalls of nationalist aspirations, academic specialization, and postmodern nihilism, we historians are duty-bound to make Chinese history truly a part of world history rather than a separate

sinology. Hopefully, Chinese history will be written to provide the rest of the world with informative knowledge for mutual understanding.♦

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♦ Responsible editor: Pei-Shi Lin (林沛熙).

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Feature Article 【專題論文】

# The Relational and Transactional Rationality: Exploring Eastern and Western Bases of Exchanges<sup>§</sup>

## 關係理性與交易理性：探討 東西方交換的基礎

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林南\*

**Keywords:** Rationality, East-West comparisons, relations, transactions, exchange

**關鍵詞：**理性、東西比較、關係、交易、交換

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## Abstract

In this essay, I explicate a theory of cultural identity based on exchanges. Exchanges have two components: economic transaction and social relations. Both are rational in that each involves deliberate decisions among choices. Economic transactions favor benefit over cost in gains in transactional trades; social relations favor benefit over cost in gains in social relations. Economic transactions accumulate to wealth—economic standing; social relations accumulate to reputation—social standing. In optimal situations, exchanges may promote both transactional and relational gains. However, through historical and experiential processes, the priority ranking between the two rationalities becomes institutionalized in a given society or community. In some societies (e.g., North America and Western Europe) transactional rationality has become dominant, while in others (e.g., East Asia) relational rationality has prevailed. Immersed in each institution, individuals in each institutional field acquire its value and resources as the focal identity. Thus their ideology and behaviors reflect the affinity and affirmation for wealth or reputation.

## 摘要

本文基於「交換」的概念，闡釋文化認同的理論。所謂「交換」包含兩種成分，及經濟交易和社會關係。因為兩者均包含了在多種選擇中做決定的過程，因此皆具有理性基礎。經濟交易著重在貿易往來中，使利潤大於成本；社會關係則著重在人際互動中，使利潤大於成本。經濟交易通往財富，即經濟地位；社會關係則通往名聲，即社會地位。在最佳的情況下，上述兩種「交換」可同時提升經濟的和社會的利益。然而，在歷史經驗中，這兩種理性常有先後之分，特定的社會或團體又往往將排序的過程予以制度化。在諸如北美或西歐等社會，「交易理性」居於首出地位，然而在東亞，則是「關係理性」佔了上風。生活在不同的制度裡，人們會對於該制度所提供的價值觀與資源產生認同，他們的思想與行為模式也因此反映了各自對於財富或名聲的重視程度。

## INTRODUCTION: Exchange and Identity

Cultural identity, like most other concepts, has both definitions and theories. For the lack of a consensus, I will simply here define cultural identity as the affirmation of a group of people in regard to certain symbolic and materialistic resources and their affinity with social institutions that value such resources. Affirmation reflects the affect attached to the resources and affinity describes the cognitive and behavioral adherence to institutions in upholding such values and resources. Identity can be forged on shared values on ascribed (e.g., race, gender, family, or physical location) or acquired (e.g., education, occupation, moral symbols, or behaviors) resources and such shared and valued resources can be upheld in social institutions such as family, clan, village, religion or nation-state. There are also multitudes of theories about cultural identity. My interest, being a sociologist and a social network person, focuses on a theory assuming cultural identity is forged and sustained in social exchanges. The assumption is that people form identity through shared understanding and orientation through exchanges and their exchanges further maintain and sustain their identity. Thus, social exchanges offer an arena of inquiry that unveils collective as well as individual identities. They thus also reveal the values and resources embedded in identity.

In this essay, I will construct two prototypes of exchange rationality: relational rationality and transactional rationality. The essay is an extension of my theoretical discussion on the two types of exchanges in the context of social capital, available elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Here, I will explicate these two rationalities and explore how these prototypes may shed some light on a possible contrast of identity between the East and the West. The argument can be summarized as

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<sup>1</sup> Nan Lin, *Social Capital: A Theory of Structure and Action* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Chapter 9.

follows. Exchanges have two components: economic transaction and social relations. Both are rational in that each involves deliberate decisions among choices. Economic transactions favor benefit over cost in gains in transactional trades, social relations favor benefit over cost in gains in social relations. Economic transactions accumulate to wealth—the economic standing; social relations accumulate to reputation—the social standing. In optimal situations, exchanges may promote both transactional and relational gains. However, through historical and experiential processes, the priority ranking between the two rationalities becomes institutionalized in a given society or community. In some societies (e.g., North America and Western Europe), transactional rationality has assumed the dominant institution, while in others (e.g., East Asia) relational rationality has prevailed. Immersed in each institution, individuals in each institutional field acquire its value and resources as the focal identity. Thus their ideology and behaviors reflect the affinity and affirmation for wealth or reputation.

## EXCHANGE: Social and Economic Elements

Exchange, a central concept in sociological analysis, can be defined as a series of interactions between two (or more) actors in which a transaction of resources occurs. By this definition, exchange has two central components: it requires a relationship between the actors, and it evokes resource transaction. Thus, exchange is social in that the relationship can be seen as interactions<sup>2</sup> in which the action of an actor during the process takes into account the action of the other actor(s).<sup>3</sup> The process can be seen as economic since transaction of resources is typical of economic acts. Therefore, an elementary exchange,

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2 Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. and edited by Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe: Free Press, 1950).

3 Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 111-115.

evoking a relationship between two actors and a transaction of resource(s), contains both social and economic elements. It is useful here to refer to the relational aspect of the exchange as social exchange and to the transactional aspect as economic exchange.

This distinction between the social and economic elements of an exchange is often blurred in the research literature, due to the common co-occurrence of both elements. This is especially true for the usage of the term social exchange. That social exchange is more than social interaction is reflected in the understanding that social exchange contains the added element of resource transactions. As a result of this common usage, social exchange as a concept has been employed by scholars who have selectively focused on one of the two elements in their theoretical or research schemes.

The focus on the economic element in the discourse on social exchange can be traced to Weber. While pointing to four types of action (goal-oriented, value-oriented, affectual and traditional action), he concentrated his analytic effort on instrumentally rational (or rational goal-oriented) actions, which are based on the calculation of alternative means to the end.<sup>4</sup> Value-oriented action is determined by a conscious belief in the value (for its own sake) of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior independent of its prospect. Both types of action are based on consciously regulated comparison and choice—that is, on rationality.<sup>5</sup> The theoretical embedding of the transactional aspect of exchange in rationality of action was thus identified.

This line of argument was brought home forcefully by George Homans who clearly stated this position: "Interaction between persons is an exchange of goods, material and nonmaterial."<sup>6</sup> An incidental advantage of an exchange

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4 Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, edited by G. Roth and C. Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 25.

5 Barbara A. Misztal, *Trust in Modern Societies: The Search for the Bases of Social Order* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1996), p. 54.

6 George C. Homans, "Human Behavior as Exchange," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63, 6

theory is that it might bring sociology closer to economics—that science of man most advanced, most capable of application, and, intellectually, most isolated." For Homans, social behavior or exchange<sup>7</sup> focuses on the gain (value) and cost for an actor in the transaction; "the problem of the elementary sociology is to state propositions relating the variations in the values and costs of each man to his frequency distribution of behavior among alternatives, where the value (in the mathematical sense) taken by these variables for one man determines in part their value for the other." Thus, the interests of two actors in continuing interactions or the relationship are contingent on the relative utility or pay-off to each in each transaction. Interest in the relationship diminishes as the relative payoff (the marginal utility) decreases. It is logical, therefore, for Homans to argue that "the principles of elementary economics are perfectly reconcilable with those of elementary social behavior, once the special conditions in which each applies are taken into account."<sup>8</sup>

Blau's work on exchange also reflects this emphasis.<sup>9</sup> While admitting that social exchange may follow from social attractions, a primitive psychological tendency left as exogenous,<sup>10</sup> the major theoretical focus of his analysis is the linkage between transactions in exchanges and the distribution of power. When an actor (ego) is unwilling or unable to reciprocate<sup>11</sup> transactions of equal values

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(1958), pp. 597-606.

7 Homans sees social behavior "as an exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons." See George C. Homans, "Human Behavior as Exchange;" George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), p. 13.

8 George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (1961), p. 68.

9 Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), p. 22.

10 "The basic social processes that govern associations among men have their roots in primitive psychological processes, such as those underlying the feelings of attraction between individuals and their desires for various kinds of rewards. These psychological tendencies are primitive only in respect to our subject matter, that is, they are taken as given without further inquiry into the motivating forces that produce them, for our concern is with the social forces that emanate from them." See Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (1964), p. 19.

11 Reciprocity, in this case, and in many other sociological works, implies balanced exchange or transactions of equal value (e.g., in price or money) This requirement for interaction goes



in an exchange with another actor (alter), one choice available to ego to maintain the relationship with the alter is to subordinate or comply with the alter's wishes—the emergence of a power relationship. Collective approval of power gives legitimacy to authority, the backbone of social organizations. Thus, in his theoretical scheme, patterns of transactions dictate patterns of relationships, and this fundamental microstructural process evokes, though not necessarily explains, the much more complex macrostructural (organizational) process.

Coleman carried this analysis further in his theory of social action, in which social exchange is a means by which actors with differential interests and control over resources (events) negotiate (through relative value of the resources one controls, or power) with each other to maximize control over interested resources (a new equilibrium).<sup>12</sup> The mechanism between exchanges and power seems quite similar to Blau's scheme, but the focus is on an actor's maximization of gain (control over interested resources) in this process.

By now, the sociological explication of the process of exchange seems to have fulfilled Homans' prophecy or design that sociology is being brought very close to, if not identical to, the economic stance on the centrality of rational choices in economic behaviors. That is, given choices in the market place, an actor will choose a transaction to maximize profit (e.g., more reward at less cost). Neo-classical economists have realized that certain assumptions of this profit-seeking theory are not likely to be met in reality (perfect market, full information, and open competition), and have proceeded to specify conditions or institutions (bounded rationality, transaction costs, market failure) under which profit-seeking behavior may be moderated and other non-economic institutions (e.g.,

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beyond Weber's original conceptualization about social action, which only requires taking the other actor's interests into consideration. In that context, reciprocity does not require balanced exchange.

12 James Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 134-135.

the government, organizations) be brought to bear.<sup>13</sup> Many of the same arguments and conditions have been adopted by sociologists in analyzing organizational behaviors, power relationships, institutions, and social networks and social exchanges, under the general rubrics of neo-institutionalism or economic sociology.

However, the significance of relationships in exchanges has not been ignored. From early on, anthropologists have paid attention to the relational aspect of exchanges and argued strongly that many of these patterns are not based on economic or "rational" calculations. For example, Radcliffe-Brown described the process of exchange among the Andaman Islanders as "a moral one—to bring about a friendly feeling between the two persons who participate."<sup>14</sup> Malinowski drew sharp distinctions between economic exchange and social exchange (ceremonial exchange) in his analysis of Kula exchanges in the Trobriand Islands. He suggested that "the real reward (of exchanges) lies in the prestige, power, and privileges which his position confers upon [the person engaging in the exchange]."<sup>15</sup> Levi- Strauss cited studies by Mauss, Firth and other anthropologists in his argument that exchanges<sup>16</sup> including economic transactions, are "vehicles and instruments for realities of another order: influence, power, sympathy, status, emotion (and) it is the exchange which counts and not the things exchanged."<sup>17</sup> For example, gifts are transacted between actors, but buying oneself a gift at Christmas is quite meaningless.<sup>18</sup>

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13 Ronald H. Coase, "The New Institutional Economics," *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, 140 (1984), pp. 229-231; Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Oliver E. Williamson, *Markets and Hierarchies: Analysis and Antitrust Implications* (New York: Free Press, 1975).

14 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1952).

15 Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1922).

16 Claude Levi-Strauss, *Les Structures Elementaires de la Parente* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

17 Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structure of Kinship* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 139.

18 Peter P. Ekeh, *Social Exchange Theory: The Two Traditions* (Cambridge: Harvard University

Among sociologists, Comte spoke of subordinating personal to social considerations,<sup>19</sup> and Durkheim refuted Spencer's economic assumptions regarding the development of social groups. None of these scholars deny the implications of economic transactions in social exchanges, but they also emphasize the supra-individual<sup>20</sup> and supra-economic<sup>21</sup> nature of social exchanges and the significance of relationships. In each of these schemes, the relational orientation to social exchange is demonstrated in the commitment of specific actors to the exchanges on grounds other than the utility of specific resources transacted.

How are these two perspectives on exchanges to be reconciled? Several positions have been taken. One approach would simply dismiss the significance of relationships in that any particular relationship is subjected to the decision-making choice of maximizing or optimizing profit. When a relationship generates a profit in transactions, it may be maintained; when it does not, then it is not. However, most neo-classical economists and their sociological allies take a moderate position, treating relations as the necessary "transaction cost" or "calculative trust"<sup>22</sup> in an imperfect market and under the condition of less than full information. In this modified position, the relationship is recognized but clearly subsumed under the transactional analysis.

Alternatively, relationship-inclined scholars have argued that relationships are necessary and significant because not all behaviors and interactions are "rational." This argument agrees that economic behavior follows the principle of rational choice, but points out that not all behaviors are economic, and thus

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Press, 1974), p. 47.

19 Auguste Comte, *General View of Positivism* (Stanford: Academic Reprints, 1848).

20 Claude Levi-Strauss, *Les Structures Elementaires de la Parente* (1949).

21 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (1952).

22 Oliver E. Williamson, *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism* (New York: Free Press, 1985); Oliver E. Williamson, "Calculativeness, Trust, and Economic Organization," *Journal of Law and Economics*, 36, 1-2 (1993), pp. 453-486.

rational. Social attractions and attachments are primitive survival instincts rather than the result of calculating alternative gains and losses. The problem here is that rational choices are in fact seen as natural tendencies: rewards or reinforcements elicit actions and transactions, and the survival of the fittest. Consciousness or unconsciousness is irrelevant as this principle applies to pigeons as well as to men.<sup>23</sup> Furthering this analysis, it becomes problematic why some instincts are "rational" and others are not.

Still another identifiable argument concedes, sometimes more implicitly than explicitly, that rationality applies to social exchanges; and that there are rational principles other than the individual's profit-seeking motive. Since human beings take into account each other's interests in interactions and exchanges, relationships may be maintained to accommodate this rationality. There are many sub-arguments along this line of reasoning. Two seem quite pervasive in the literature. First, there is the argument that social approval, esteem, liking, attraction and such are important motives for exchange. Notably in exchanges where the transactions are imbalanced, the reward for the short-changed actor may be the approval, esteem, like, or attraction from the other actor. In this case, these symbolic rewards, rather than material rewards (and their generalized medium, money) usually identified with economic exchanges, constitute meaningful rewards. However, for Homans, Blau, and Coleman, such rewards are different in kind but not in nature. Whether material or symbolic, as long as they represent value (or profit, or interest), they are part of the rational calculation. Further, how such values have been developed is irrelevant to the theoretical development of social exchanges.

Second, another sub-argument is that human beings need trust.<sup>24</sup> Trust may be defined as confidence or expectation that an alter will take ego's interests into

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23 George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (1961), p. 80.

24 Bernard Barber, *The Logic and Limits of Trust* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983); Niklas Luhmann, *Trust and Power* (Chichester: Wiley, 1979); Barbara A. Misztal, *Trust in Modern Societies: The Search for the Bases of Social Order* (1996).

account in exchanges. It represents a faith that an event or action will or will not occur, and such faith is expected to be mutual in repeated exchanges. It is faith in morality. Misztal argues that trust serves three functions: it promotes social stability (as a habitus), social cohesion (friendships), and collaborations.<sup>25</sup> In other words, its motive is to maintain a group or community. Durkheim suggested that feelings of obligation and altruism as well as moral pressure, which restrain egoistic behavior, are the bases of solidarity.<sup>26</sup> "Men cannot live together without acknowledging, and consequently, making mutual sacrifices, without tying themselves to one another with strong, durable bonds".<sup>27</sup> Durkheim strongly asserted the existence of a moral element in social life, which may entail the sacrifice of rewards, in quality and/or quantity, on the part of the actors.

If solidarity and community are fundamental elements in human survival, why can they not be based on rational choices or economic behaviors? Simmel attempted one response, positing that exchange involves "a sacrifice in return for a gain (and exchange) is one of the functions that creates an inner bond between people—a society, in place of a mere collection of individuals".<sup>28</sup> He adds, "without the general trust that people have in each other, society itself would disintegrate, for very few relationships are based entirely upon what is known with certainty about another person, and very few relationships would endure if trust were not as strong as, or stronger than, rational proof or personal observation".<sup>29</sup> The functioning of complex societies depends on a multitude of promises, contracts, and arrangements. Since "the single individual cannot trace and verify their roots at all, (we must) take them on faith".<sup>30</sup> Faithfulness, or loyalty, refers to the feeling of "the preservation of the relationship to the

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25 Barbara A. Misztal, *Ibid.*

26 Emile Durkheim, *Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1973).

27 Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society* (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 228.

28 Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (London: Routledge, 1978), p. 175.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

30 Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (1950), p. 313.

other".<sup>31</sup> This need for rules of interactions and trust in complex modern society is clearly demonstrated in Parsons' proposal that trust is the basis for legitimating power so as to achieve collective goals and societal integration.<sup>32</sup> Hechter's analysis of group solidarity, likewise, advances the rational basis for collectivity.<sup>33</sup>

Luhmann further elaborates Parsons' media theory and his concept of symbolic generalization.<sup>34</sup> Trust is seen as one of the generalized media of communication (others being love, money, and power), and as such reduces the complexity of the world faced by the individual actor by providing the capacity for "intersubjective transmission of acts of selection over shorter or longer chains".<sup>35</sup> However, Misztal points out that "Luhmann is less forthcoming on the issue of how this function of trust helps to explain the actual formation of trust."<sup>36</sup>

The explanatory basis for trust, then, is the need in a complex society for individuals to rely on rules that are accepted by many people and would guide both interpersonal and impersonal exchanges—the institutions. Without such consensual rules and trust in them, societal functioning would cease. But Homans reminds us that "institutions, as explicit rules governing the behavior of many people, are obeyed because rewards other than the primary ones come to be gotten by obeying them, but that these other rewards cannot do the work alone. Sooner or later the primary rewards must be provided. Institutions do not keep on

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31 Ibid., p. 387.

32 Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 27 (1963), pp. 37-62.

33 Michael Hechter, "A Theory of Group Solidarity," in Michael Hechter (ed.), *The Microfoundations of Macrosociology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), pp. 16-57.

34 Niklas Luhmann, "Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives," in Diego Gambetta (ed.), *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 94-107.

35 Niklas Luhmann, *Trust and Power* (1979), p. 49.

36 Barbara A. Misztal, *Trust in Modern Societies: The Search for the Bases of Social Order* (1996), p. 74.

going forever of their own momentum".<sup>37</sup> By primary rewards, of course, Homans is referring to the basic individual need for profit. Misztal agreed: "In Parsons' theory the significance of trust as a single explanatory device is clearly overstated. The notion of trust, used as a substitute for familiarity, conformity and symbolic legitimation, does not provide us with an effective instrument with which to analyze social reality."<sup>38</sup> According to Williamson,<sup>39</sup> unless cooperation also serves an egoistic motivation, the practices of cooperation will be unstable. This means that a social order based on trust not grounded in self-interest will be unpredictable and unstable, and, for this reason, trust is not always functional.

In summary, none of the arguments thus far which defend the significance of relationships in exchanges, once the transactional rationality is presented, seem satisfactory. What I will propose in the remainder of the essay is another attempt to assert the significance of relationships in exchanges. The argument begins with the premise that rationality should be used as the basis for the theoretical development. Rationality is not a matter of conscious versus unconscious behavior. Nor does it rely on some norms or institutions; these come later. It is also not based on an expectation of ultimate transactional balance in the long run (e.g., repeated transactions will balance out gains and losses. See Homans' refutation of these arguments for treating elementary social behaviors as rational).<sup>40</sup> Here, simply, an exchange is seen as a process engaging two actors whose actions are based on calculations of gains and losses and on alternative choices in relationships and transactions. As long as such calculations and choices are made, it is considered as rational. Further, I assume these calculations and choices are self-interest based. This assumption does not rule out considerations of collective interest. What is assumed is that collective interest

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37 George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (1961), pp. 382-383.

38 Barbara A. Misztal, *Trust in Modern Societies: The Search for the Bases of Social Order* (1996), p. 72.

39 Oliver E. Williamson, *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism* (1985).

40 See George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (1961), pp. 80-81.

comes into calculation only when it is embedded in self-interest—there is a self-gain if the collective interest is served. What is not assumed is that collective interest, excluding self-interest, drives calculations and choices.

## Transactional and Relational Rationalities

The critical element, instead, is the ultimate pay-off: what kinds of rewards or resources sustain or interrupt relationships and/or transactions? There are two ultimate (or primitive) rewards for human beings in a social structure: economic standing and social standing.<sup>41</sup> Economic standing is based on the accumulation and distribution of wealth (as indicated by commodities and their symbolic value representations, such as money). Social standing is based on the accumulation and distribution of reputation (as indicated by the extent of recognition in social networks and collectivities).<sup>42</sup> Each standing reflects the ranking of an individual relative to others in the structure over the command of the "capital" concerned. Wealth, therefore, is a functional calculus of the worth of commodities in terms of their value representation, money; and reputation is a functional calculus of the worth of public awareness in social networks in terms of its value representation, recognition. Wealth is indicative of economic capital because the commodities and their value representation can be invested and reinvested to generate certain returns. Likewise, reputation reflects social capital because the social networks and their value representation can be mobilized to generate and reproduce certain returns. Through reputation, it becomes possible to mobilize the support of others, for both instrumental and expressive actions. The capacity

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41 A third reward, political standing (or power), is also important, but probably not as primitive as the other two rewards. Power or the process of legitimation reflects a process by which the other two primitive rewards are preserved or gained. The relationships among wealth, reputation, and power (legitimation) emerge in the discussion in this essay.

42 The usual indicators of social standing include status (for position) and prestige (for occupant) (see Nan Lin, *Social Capital: A Theory of Structure and Action*, Chapter 3). I adopt the more general term, reputation, to capture both, as an overall esteem accrued to an actor by others.



of resource mobilization through social ties, or social capital, makes social relationships a powerful motivation for individual actors to engage in exchanges. Both economic and social standings enhance an individual's power and influence in the structure (over other members) and, thus, the individual's psychic well-being and physical survival, as well. Both economic and social standings of individuals have implications for the larger entity—a group or a nation. The topic is beyond the scope of this essay, but it should be recognized that through certain accumulation processes and collective actions, individual accumulations can be extended to the economic and social standings of a nation, for example.

Economic standing and social standing are complementary in that the former requires social legitimation and enforcement for its symbolic value (money), and the latter builds on the economic well-being of the group (or embedded resources in the network) in which the reputation is sustained. Without social enforcement, economic standing collapses; and without collective wealth, social standing is meaningless. Yet, each standing can be seen as an independent motive in exchanges. Exchanges can be used to extract economic capital (resources through transactions) or to extract social capital (resources through social relations).

Thus, transactional rationality drives the calculations of transactional gains and costs in exchanges, and relational rationality propels the calculations of relational gains and costs. Transactional rationality sees relationships as part of transactional gain-loss calculations and relational rationality sees transactions as part of relational cost-benefit calculations. Relational rationality favors the maintenance and promotion of the relationship even when the transactions are less than optimal. Transactional rationality favors the optimal outcome of transactions, even if it is necessary to terminate specific relations. While both rationalities are enacted by actors in most exchanges, for a given society at a particular time, institutions favor one rationality over the other, allowing moral judgment on the relative "merits" of one type of capital (economic or social) over

the other. Indeed, one may argue that cultural identity, to a significant extent, is based on the favored exchange rationality. The remainder of this essay will elaborate on these arguments.

### Relational Rationality Elaborated

It seems intuitive, due to the natural law and natural instinct, to understand the argument of transactional rationality—gain over cost in transactions and maintenance and accumulation of resources through transactions. Further, its calculation is helped enormously with the generalized medium of money.<sup>43</sup> Gains and losses can be counted, and credits and debts documented, with ease. Accounting in relational rationality is not so easy or clear, even though Coleman notes that social credits (or credit slips) are central to the notion of social capital as well.<sup>44</sup> In economic exchanges, not every episode is symmetric or balanced in the trade of goods. Imbalanced transactions incur economic credits and debts. However, it is strongly assumed that the balance of credits and debts will be achieved in the long run, but in a finite time frame, in repeated transactions.

In social exchanges where persistent relationships take on significance, episodic transactions are not necessarily symmetric or balanced. However, even in repeated transactions in a finite time frame, balanced transactions are not required. The critical element in maintaining relationships between partners is social credits (and social debts). In a persistent relationship where transactions are not symmetric even in the long run, the engaging actors are in an ever greater creditor-debtor relationship—the tendency of one actor giving "favors" to another in imbalanced transactions. While the debtors gain, why would the creditors want to maintain the relationship and thus "suffer" transactionally? It is argued that the

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43 Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (1978).

44 James Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (1990).

crediting actor gains social capital in maintaining the relationship. How? Presumably the creditor could call on (or threaten) the debtor to repay the debt. But so long as the creditor does not make such a demand, the debtor is perpetually indebted to the creditor. To be able to maintain the relationship with the creditor, the debtor is expected to take certain social actions to reduce the relational cost (or increase the utility of exchanges) for the creditor. That is, the debtor should propagate to others through his/her social ties his/her indebtedness to the creditor—a social recognition of credit-debt transactions, or social credit given to the creditor. Propagation of indebtedness, or social recognition, is a necessary action on the debtor's part for maintaining the relationship with the creditor. It leads to greater visibility of the creditor in the larger social network or community, and increases general awareness (his/her reputation) that this is an actor who is willing to take a transactional loss in order to sustain the well-being of another actor in the community. The greater the social debt, the greater is the need for the debtor to make an effort to disseminate (recognize) the indebtedness. From the creditor's point of view, imbalanced transactions promote the creditor-debtor relationship, and the propensity to generate recognition.

Furthermore, two actors can maintain a relationship when each becomes creditor and debtor to the other, as imbalanced transactions over different kinds of commodities take place between them (giving different favors to each other). Each, then, is expected to propagate the favors rendered by the other in his/her social circles, thus promoting recognition of the other. Transactions are means to maintain and promote social relations, create social credits and social debts, and accumulate social recognition.

In a mass society, recognition can be accelerated with the use of public media as the means of transmission. Public recognition in a mass society makes recognition a public good, just as money is. Public recognition may take on a variety of forms, including testimonies and banquets in one's honor, honorific titles, medals of honor, awards of distinctions, certifications of services, and

ceremonies of all types, none of which need involve any substantial economic payback. Thus, recognition can transcend particular social networks and become a mass-circulated asset, like money, in a social group.

Reputation, then, is defined as a function of (1) the creditor's capability to sustain unequal transactions (human and social capital), (2) the persisting credit-debt relationship, (3) the debtor's propensity (willingness and ability) to acknowledge the relationship through his/her social networks (recognition), and (4) the propensity (size) of the social networks (and generalized network—the mass network) to relay and spread recognition.<sup>45</sup> Reputation, then, is the aggregate asset of recognitions received. It is a function of the extent one receives recognition in a social group. Collectively, a group's reputation is defined as the extent of reputed actors in the group and the extent recognition is shared by the members known in other groups. Thus, the reputation of actors in social networks and a social group promotes the collective reputation of the social group.

Social credits, recognition and reputation are all relationally and structurally based utilities. Without persistent social relations, these profits vanish. It is therefore rational for actors to engage and commit in persistent relations that allow social credits and social debts to remain meaningful, and to facilitate recognition. The greater the reputation of certain actors and the more actors enjoy a high reputation, the more the group's reputation increases. Identification with a more reputable group also enhances an actor's own reputation. Thus, there is an association between a group's reputation and the incentive for individual members to engage in persistent and maintained social exchanges and to identify

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45 Another element, density of the network or strength of relations among actors, may also figure in the formulation of reputation. However, the association is not necessarily a linear one (neither positive: the denser the network, the more likely recognition will spread, nor negative: the more sparse the network the more likely it will spread), as rumors do spread, sometimes quickly in less dense networks, as presumably more bridges become available (Ronald S. Burt, *Trust, Reputation, and Third Parties*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998). Because of the uncertainty in the association, I have left it out of the present formulation. Further research may identify the proper form of association, if any.

with the group—group identification and group solidarity. Likewise, the group's reputation and the reputation of an actor in the group propel the actor to continue engaging in exchanges in which he/she may remain a creditor. Reputation and group solidarity enhance the sharing of resources—the creation and sustaining of public capital. At the same time, reputation and group solidarity provide positive feedback and reinforcement of unequal transactions, social creditor-debtor relationships, and thus social capital, for the actors.

This micro-macro link can be elaborated. For the sake of description, the process may begin at exchanges where transactions are seen as the means by which social creditor-debtor relationships emerge. Such creditor-debtor relationships then propel the spread of recognition in social networks, which eventually creates a generalized reputation which reinforces group solidarity and encourages public capital. With reputation and group solidarity, the social creditor and debtors gain social capital (embedded in social networks with strong ties and rich resources), and are further reinforced to engage in exchanges. Here, the reciprocal and interactive processes between micro- and the macro-level linkages are seen as being facilitated by social networking—an essential element between exchanges and capitalization.

A group may promote solidarity and reputation by recruiting actors with a reputation established elsewhere in the society. By conferring recognition to specific actors, the group expects that these actors will identify with the group and be prepared to engage other members of the group in future exchanges. In this process, reputation and recognition are not consequences of micro-level exchanges, but antecedents to them. While the actors granted with such recognition and reputation may not have been exchange partners with others in this particular group, they will become obligated to carry out such exchanges in the future, should they accept such recognition and added reputation. In this sense, micro-level exchanges and more macro-level recognition and reputation are eventually reciprocal in causal relations.

## A Summary

To summarize, some distinguishing characteristics of the two rationalities are presented in Table 1. The contrasts are necessarily sharp to highlight the comparison. In transactional rationality, typically implicated in the analysis of economic exchange, the interest is to gain economic capital (resources through transactions). The interest lies in the transactional aspect of the exchange—the extent to which resources are transacted and sometimes mediated by price and money. The utility of the exchange is to optimize transactional profit, and the rational choice is based on a conduct of an analysis on alternative relationships producing varying transactional gains and costs. On this basis, there are two rules of exchange participation. First, if the relationship with a particular alter produces relative gain, then the decision is to continue the relationship for further transactions. If the relationship fails to produce relative gain, then there are two decision choices: (1) to find an alternate relationship that may, or (2) to maintain the relationship but to suffer or to reduce the transactional cost. The decision between the two choices is based on the relative weights given to the likely gain from a likely alternate relationship and to the likely transactional cost or its reduction in the maintenance of the current relationship. The critical analysis in economic exchanges focuses on symmetric transactions in episodic or repeated transactions.

Table 1. Rationality of Economic Exchange and Social Exchange

Element	Economic Exchange	Social Exchange
Exchange Focus	Transactions	Relationships
Utility (optimization)	Relative gain to cost in transactions (Transaction at a cost)	Relative gain to cost in relations (Relationship at a cost)
Rational Choices	a. Alternative relations b. Transactional cost and reduction	a. Alternative transactions b. Relational cost and reduction
Episodic Payoff	Money (Economic credit, economic debt)	Recognition (Social credit, social debt)

Generalized Payoff	Wealth (Economic standing)	Reputation (Social standing)
Explanatory Logic	Law of nature: a. Survival of the actor b. Optimization of gains	Law of humans: a. Survival of the group b. Minimization of loss

Transactional rationality can be seen as a neo-Darwinian theory applied to exchanges—the survival of the fittest individuals. It is instinctual to find the partners optimizing gains of resources through transactions to ego. The ability of ego to find relationships so that the transactional gain is relatively high or positive and the transactional cost is relatively low or none follows this instinct. Commitment to a particular alter-actor tends to be episodic and short-term, and the expectation is that the transactions are fair (more gain and less cost). Partnerships are incidental to the transactional requirements and may become binding through contractual rules so that the relationships reduce the transactional cost and justify their persistence. Therefore, transactional rationality follows the natural law and the rationality of natural choice. The actors benefiting more from repeated transactions not only enrich themselves, but also collectively build a richer collectivity. Such is the argument for the invisible hand of transactional rationality.

Relational rationality, on the other hand, as implicated in social exchange, focuses on the relational aspect of the exchange—the extent to which a relationship is maintained and promoted, usually mediated by recognition (or expectation in the other actor to spread it). The motivation is to gain reputation through recognition in networks and groups and the utility of an exchange is to optimize relational gain (maintenance of social relationships)—also an analysis of gain and cost. On this basis, there are also two exchange participation rules: One, if a specific transaction promotes a persistent relationship and the spread of recognition, then the transaction will be continued. Two, if the transaction fails to promote a persistent relationship, then two choices are considered: (1) either to find an alternate transaction that will (e.g., to increase favors in transactions to

entice and encourage recognition), or (2) to maintain the transaction and to suffer or reduce relational cost (no or reduced gain in recognition). Again, the decision is a weighing process involving the relative likelihood of finding an alternate transaction and the relative relational cost.

Persistent relations promote the extension and dissemination of one's recognition through social connections. More persistent relations increase the likelihood of the spreading of recognition. For recognition to keep spreading, the maintenance and promotion of persistent relationships is paramount. Social standing takes on meaning only when a network or group of individuals sharing and spreading the sentiment toward a particular actor persists. Thus, the larger the social connections (direct and indirect), the greater the effect of recognition and reputation. Individuals depend on the survival, persistence, and indeed, ever-expanding social circles to sustain and promote their social standings. Even those lower in social standing may gain transactionally if they remain participants in the social network and group.

Transactional rationality is seen as invisible as it builds collective capital from individual capital, yet it depends on the generalized medium of money—a very visible form of capital requiring documentation in every transaction. Relational rationality builds on collective capital from individual capital also; the more reputation its members possess, the greater the standing of the group. This relies on an even less visible medium: recognition, or the spread of the sentiment toward an actor in a social group. It is this invisible hand that drives persistent social relations and group solidarity.

Transactional rationality can survive on an individual basis, where partners in exchanges are interchangeable as long as they meet the requirements of transactional utility. Relational rationality depends on the survival of the group and group members. The more resources embedded in the social networks and



the stronger the ties, the greater the collective benefit to the group and relative benefit to each actor in the group.

Relational rationality is based on the principle of survival of the fittest group, a group with persisting relationships among its members. While animal instincts also show such relational rationality for family and clan members, it is only humans who show extensive and generalized relational rationality for solidarity of constructed groups beyond kin and clan criteria. Humans show an interest and ability to maintain persistent and profitable relationships at a reasonable transactional cost. Thus, relational rationality is a human law and based on the rationality of human choice.

## Further Analyses

Several further issues need clarification. First, why is the term reputation preferred to other terms such as social approval, social attraction, and particularly mutual recognition or social credits already available in the literature? Second, why is there empirically a tendency in one community or society to focus on one type of rationality (transactional or relational) rather than on another? Further, is it an indication of a historical tendency to have one rationality (transactional) superceding another (relational)? Third, what breaks down this exchange-collective solidarity linkage? Finally, are social and economic capitals two polarized points on a single dimension, thus dictating a choice?

### Reputation as an Individual and Group Capital

So far, the argument for social standing such as reputation or social capital does not seem to differ from other similar arguments. Credits are seen as debts to be collected in later exchanges. Pizzorno, for example, argues that mutual

recognition promotes self-preservation.<sup>46</sup> In order to preserve oneself, the price to pay is to recognize that others will preserve, which presumably brings about others' recognition for one's right to preserve, a principle consistent with the argument here. However, one difficulty of using mutual recognition as the motive or justification for exchange is that mutuality implies reciprocal and symmetric actions, and equity in ranking among actors. These actions and interactions would lead to cohesive but homophilous memberships in a group—group solidarity without differentiation among members. What has been developed here is that recognition can be asymmetric, in return for favors received in transactions, and an episodic account of actions and reactions. Other terms such as social approval and social attraction also suffer from a similar problem. What is argued here is to take the next step: that it is possible to have unequal transactions in relationships, and these unequal transactions form the basis of differential social standing (reputation) among actors in a group.

Recognition legitimizes the alter's (the creditor's) claim to his/her resources. As recognitions increase in episodes and spreads in the networks, we need a more generalized notion to capture the aggregation of episodes of such recognition accrued to an actor in a social group or community. Reputation is the choice proposed here, as it captures the notion that the asset can be possessed and differentiated by groups or individuals. A group can build, maintain or lose a reputation. Likewise, within a group, individuals acquire, attain or suffer from different levels of reputation or ill repute. Thus, like wealth in economic exchanges, reputation is both an individual and a collective asset. Two other concepts seem to capture such an asset: prestige and esteem. However, prestige has been appropriated and understood in the literature to grade positions in the hierarchical structure (e.g., occupational prestige). Esteem is widely used as either a social or psychological process (e.g., self-esteem).

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46 Alessandro Pizzorno, "On the Individualistic Theory of Social Order," in Pierre Bourdieu and James S. Coleman (eds.), *Social Theory for a Changing Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 209-231.

In the present argument, reputation is understood as a network asset (see, for example, Burt, 1998b). It is built on the processes of transactions and creditor-debtor relations, and the acts of recognitions and dissemination in social and mass networks (see Figure 1). It reinforces the legitimacy of certain actors claiming their resources and positions, and at the same time, offers incentives for further social exchanges and unequal transactions among actors, enhancing their social capital. It also enhances group or collective reputation, and thus solidarity and the building of public capital. I do not rule out other pathways leading to reputation; however, the present argument makes explicit a pathway to the construction and utility of reputation.

#### Institutionalization of Rationalities

If transactional rationality follows neo-Darwinism and natural law, it may be deduced that the natural selection process will eventually favor transactional rationality over relational rationality. Indeed, many examples and studies demonstrating the relational imperative of exchanges, especially from anthropological studies, draw on data and observations from ancient or primitive societies. It has been suggested that emphasis on interpersonal relationships reflects the nature of communities that are more homogeneous, less technologically developed, and less industrially developed, and where rituals, ascription, and emotion define exchanges. As a society develops technologically and industrially and becomes more diverse in skills, knowledge and production, division of labor requires more rational allocation of resources, including the increasing importance of rationality for resource transactions in exchanges. It has further been argued that the relational significance in economic exchanges today represents residual effects from the past. As the selective process proceeds, relational significance will eventually be superseded and replaced by transactional significance. An analysis of exchange relations can be seen in a

particular society, such as *guanxi* in the Chinese context,<sup>47</sup> or *blat* in the Russian context.<sup>48</sup>

This view is paradoxical in that if transactional rationality is the law of nature, then one would find exchanges in more primitive or archaic communities to resemble natural instincts more closely. Indeed, Homans sees the development of more complex societies with increasing institutions as evidence of why more "primary" social behaviors (and exchanges) are becoming less visible.<sup>49</sup> However, these "subinstitutions" remain powerful, and unless satisfied by the new institutions and "good administration," they can come into conflict and disrupt them. Modern society and its multitude of institutions, then, are seen as the enemy of both transactional rationality and relational rationality.

Further, this thesis simply is not supported by empirical facts. Studies show that in contemporary societies (such as China, Japan, northern Italy, and much of East Asia), even among those well-developed and economically competitive societies as the United States, Britain, Germany and France, relationships remain an important factor even in economic transactions. The evidence is that the significance of relationships in exchanges not only exists, but thrives in diverse contemporary societies.<sup>50</sup>

If there is no logical ground or empirical evidence to support a developmental view between relational rationality and transactional rationality, what, then, accounts for the dominance of one rationality over the other? I propose that the dominance of a rationality as an ideology reflects the stylized accounting of a society for its survival using its own historical experiences as

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47 Nan Lin, "Guanxi: A Conceptual Analysis," in Alvin So, Nan Lin and Dudley Poston (eds.), *The Chinese Triangle of Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong: Comparative Institutional Analysis* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), pp. 153-166.

48 Alena Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking, and Informal Exchange* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

49 George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (1961).

50 Nan Lin, "Chinese Family Structure and Chinese Society," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, 65 (1989), pp. 382-399.

data. The theorized accounting becomes "truth" as it becomes embedded in its institutions.<sup>51</sup>

It is not hard to document that in some societies, survival and persistence are attributed to the development of wealth. Theories of wealth and its development dictate institutionalization of transactional rationality, as it characterizes the building of individual wealth, and thus of collective wealth. Competition, an open market (and thus free choices of relations in transactions), and reduction of transactional costs dictate analytic assumptions and organizational principles. In other societies, survival and persistence are attributed to the development of social solidarity. Theories of group sentiment dictate the institutionalization of relational rationality, as it characterizes the building of collective solidarity, and thus of individual loyalty. Cooperation, networking, and thus maintaining *guanxi* even at the cost of transactions, also dictate analytic assumptions and organizational principles. Once rationality becomes the dominant ideology, institutions are developed to implement, operationalize, and reinforce specific individual and collective actions. Further, its explanatory scheme treats the other rationality as irrationality, noise or constraint.

The prevalence of institutional rules and the dominant ideology ebbs and flows in accordance with the fortune of the historical experiences as theorized. Since the 19th century, the Anglo-American experiences of industrialization, technological innovations, and electoral democracy have clearly led to its theorizing of accounting as the dominant ideology. Wealth-building takes the central stage in political strategies and intellectual analysis. Social exchanges are markets for transactions. Any relations that sacrifice transactional gain are attributed to an imperfect market due to lack of information, and social organizations and social networks are necessary constraints due to such imperfections. Even then, they inevitably incur transactional costs and should be analyzed as such.

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51 Nan Lin, "*Guanxi*: A Conceptual Analysis" (2001).

On the other hand, there exists in many societies and communities, as, for example, *guanxi* in the Chinese context, the willingness to maintain social relations is seen as expressions and practice of the higher-order law of morality, ethics, and obligations to other human beings. An actor's social reputation and social standing are paramount. Reputation and face are the core concepts in political strategies and intellectual enterprises, and transactions are of secondary importance in exchanges. Sacrificing relationships for the sake of transactional gain is considered a lower-order rationality; as immoral, inhuman, unethical, or animalistic.

#### Misrecognition and Ill-Reputation

Breakdown of the linkages among exchanges-relationships-recognition-reputation can occur at every link of the process. It may begin at the exchange level, when a rendered favor in transactions is not recognized. When a creditor-debtor relationship is not recognized, then the only basis for persistent exchanges is transactional utility, where relations and partners are accidental and secondary in choice considerations. When the transactional cost exceeds the benefit, then the incentive to maintain the relationship no longer exists.

When recognition for a rendered favor does take place, the creditor can still disengage from the relationship, if the network in which the recognition takes place is not resource-rich for the creditor. Recognition in a circle of braggers is not meaningful for a fashion designer or scholar. Recognition in the "wrong" network or group may also be useless or even undesirable for a creditor. Acknowledging a scholar's advice in a publication in a third-tier journal will not help the reputation of the scholar and a piece in a mimeographed journal may even damage the scholarly reputation. Further, if the recognition is not sufficient to reflect the extent of the favor given, disengagement may result. For example, acknowledging one's help in a footnote while the helper did all the data collection and analysis would provide a disincentive for such help in the future.

Negative recognition may also occur if the debtor does not consider that the favor rendered meets the expectation. Spreading a bad word in the network can lead to negative recognition and bad reputation (ill-repute). In this case, the creditor can decide either to increase the favor in future transactions, reverse the direction of recognition, or disengage from future transactions. The decision is a weighing process where the relational gain (or recognition gain) is weighed against the added transactional cost, or the cost of disengaging from the debtor and possibly from the network is weighed against having a tarnished reputation but remaining in a resource-rich group.

Similar considerations can be given from a debtor or group perspective. When would a debtor be expelled from further exchanges? Is it the behavior of spreading bad word while gaining transactional profit, or playing the debtor game without ever considering granting favors? When would a group's solidarity begin to break down? If group solidarity is indeed based in part on the extent of reputation among its members and the extent of reputation of its leading "citizens," then is it the group size, or the relative sizes of debtors and creditors, or a function of both that would bring about the erosion of group solidarity?

In short, while the present paper focuses on the "positive" processes, there is a great deal to be developed regarding breakdowns in social exchange processes. Such developments are just as important for a theory of social exchanges.

### Complementarity and Choice between Social and Economic Capital

These stylized arguments suggest that both economic and social standings are meaningful criteria for survival, and constitute fundamental bases for rational choices. Lest it sounds as if it is being argued that the two types of rationality are polarized values on a continuum, and that the two types of rationality are mutually exclusive (an either-or proposition), then let me hasten to add that there is no theoretical or empirical reason to propose that this should be the case. It is

conceivable that relational and transactional exchanges are complementary and mutually reinforcing under certain conditions. In an ideal situation, a particular relationship may be profitable for both relational and transactional purposes. It generates transactional gain for both actors and both actors engage in social propagation of the other party's contribution to one's gain, thus increasing each other's social capital. In this case, it is said that there is an isomorphic utility function for both the relationship and the transactions. An isomorphic utility function promotes exchanges between two actors, as the survival of each individual and the survival of the interacting group are both being enhanced. In this idealized situation, the two types of rationality co-exist, complement, and interact.

This does not hide the potential violence between the two rationalities. Transactional rationality recommends abandoning a particular relationship in favor of better-off transactions. Partners in exchanges are incidental, so long and only to the extent that such partnerships generate transactional gain. This principle clearly puts relational rationality in the second-order of choice criterion. Thus, more often than not, a choice needs to be made between transactional rationality and relational rationality.<sup>52</sup> That is, optimal transactions do not match optimal relationships. According to the decision rules specified earlier, then, optimizing transactions would lead to seeking alternative relationships, and optimizing relationships would lead to imbalanced transactions. We may speculate that the choice over the two types of exchanges is related to public capital—wealth and reputation—in the larger group. Several alternative hypotheses may be posited. First, when one collective capital, say wealth, is low, it is expected that individuals favor the gaining of the other particular capital, say reputation. In this situation, two alternative and competing hypotheses are possible. In one formulation, the marginal utility principle would guide the

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52 For primordial groups, the choice seems to favor relational rationality over transactional rationality (transmission of properties to children, see Nan Lin, *Social Capital: A Theory of Structure and Action*, 2001, Chapter 8).



explanation. What is expected, then, is that in a community abundant with wealth but lacking in reputation consensus (say, in a community with a great number of newcomers and immigrants, but with plenty of physical and economic resources), reputation is more valuable for individuals than wealth. Likewise, in a community abundant with reputation but lacking in wealth (say, a stable community with scarce physical or economic resources), then individuals would tend to favor gaining wealth. However, in another formulation, the collective utility drives individual desires as well. When the collective asset is low on one capital, say wealth, but high on another, say reputation, then the collective would favor standings based on the more abundant capital, reputation. Individuals, likewise, would ascribe a higher value to reputation as well. Here, I speculate that it is the collective utility principle that should operate.

Second, when both types of public capital are abundant, then it is expected that there is a strong correspondence and calculus between the two types of capital. That is, having more of one type of capital increases the desire and likelihood of having more of the other type of capital. In a community where both wealth and reputation are abundant, then either choice of striving for more wealth or for reputation is a rational one. The gaining of one type of capital would also increase the likelihood of gaining the other type of capital. Thus, in a stable community with abundant physical and economic resources, both wealth and reputation are important and complementary.

When a community lacks both wealth and reputation (unstable population and scarcity of physical and economic resources), it is expected that the community will be fragmented and contested in terms of valuation assigned to wealth and reputation. Individuals are expected to strive for either wealth, reputation or both, depending on the size of the social networks one is embedded in (the larger the network, the more likely reputation gains will be favored), and accessibility to physical and economic resources. The lack of collective

consensus and patterns of exchanges make such a collectivity vulnerable to chaos or change. These conjectures should be investigated.

Nevertheless, beyond a level where bare survival is at stake, or where capital has been accumulated by only a few members, desirable economic and social capital can be obtained in exchange relationships. An actor with a high social status and a wealthy actor can "borrow" each other's capital, further promoting their own capital or building up the other type of capital. Accumulation of one type of capital also allows the actor to engage in exchanges promoting his/her other type of capital. If a wealthy banker donates money to the needy and the transaction is well publicized, it generates social credit and social recognition for the banker. Likewise, an esteemed physicist may lend her/his reputation in advertising a product and generate handsome monetary returns. Good capitalists understand that they must be both instinctive and human, and that this is good for them and for others as well.

It is also important to note that in the final analysis both transactional and relational rationalities are socially based. Without the legitimization and support of a social and political system and its constitutive members, the economic system, based on its symbolic and generalized medium—money—simply cannot exist. To say that relational rationality is subsumed under transactional rationality is instinctively attractive, but humanly impossible.

### Eastern Rationality and Western Rationality as Bases for Identify

By now, we may reflect on the "cultural" significance of my effort at delineating relational rationality in contrast to transactional rationality. It would be wrong to argue that the Eastern culture favors relational rationality in exclusion of transactional rationality or/and that the Western culture favors

transactional rationality in discarding relational rationality. Nor is it correct to argue that only one type is rational and the other type is merely irrational. In every culture, I argue, both types of rationality are present. However, history plays a huge and decisive role in elevating one type of rationality over the other as a favored institution. Due to a combination of political and economic events (e.g., failures of imperial and urban/rural elites, decentralized urban centers and markets), technology (e.g., textile machinery, and steam engines) and resource acquisitions (e.g., silver in the New World), success (e.g., material triumphs in colonies and "spiritual" triumph in the New World) gradually formed ideations of individualism, freedom, and competition over time and a cultural identity based on transactional rationality in exchanges emerged. Over time, such ideology has formed the basis of identity—people believe in its values and merits, sustain them as favored institutions, and behave and interact by the rules.

In contrast, the East, principally in China, relational rationality has had its own deep and historical root. Over time, Confucian scholars consolidated the meaning and significance of relational rationality as institutions and empires reinforced the ideology and implemented it in the construction of bureaucracy and local organizations. Individuals are expected to take reputation as the guide in behaviors and exchanges.

It should be noted that relational rationality has always existed in the West, even during the heyday of the industrial revolution and colonial expansion (see Adam Smith on sentiment). Transactional rationality also persisted in China and elsewhere in the East. But the priority of institutions in identity is clear. Individual freedom and "rational choice" are favored in intellectual and political arenas in the West. Group solidarity (e.g., a harmonious society) and reputation remain paramount in intellectual and political discourse in the East.

Yet in the prevailing scholarly discourse, largely dominated by the Western identity, transactional rationality has become an overwhelmingly favored

"theory." This essay to an extent reflects the roots of the "Eastern discontent" in theoretical contributions to the normative practices of science and the historical development of sociological theories during the 19th and 20th centuries in Western Europe and North America. Since scientific communities are expected to transcend national or societal boundaries, and theories are attempts at universal principles, scholars in the East are constrained in the number of options available to them in order to receive acceptance and recognition in the global scientific community dominated by practitioners from the West. Discrepancies of evidence from other societies are often questioned for their "generalizability" or explained by way of contingencies. Further conservation of received theories was made possible with the extension of the received theories through developmental theories.

Theoretical formulation or paradigmatic contribution is very difficult, because it represents a challenge to received theories. For this challenge to occur, several conditions are necessary. First, there must be consistent and persistent evidence that the alternative theory explains a set of phenomena that cannot be adequately explained by an existing or received theory. Secondly, there has to be a critical mass of scholars who support this claim. And, thirdly, it must be demonstrated that the alternative theory may supplement a received theory, or supersede a received theory. Supplementation indicates that there are phenomena that are outside the realm of prediction from the received theory, but can be explained by the alternative theory. Superseding means that the phenomena that can be explained by a received theory can also be explained by the alternative theory, and yet, there are additional phenomena that the received theory cannot explain but the alternative theory can.

Placing relational and transactional rationalities on an equal footing in intellectual discourse is a preliminary step in engaging such a challenge. Placing the discourse in the context of cultural identity may be one viable perspective in this challenge. Just like transactional rationality benefited from the rise of the

industrial West, relational rationality may as well gain a good footing as the industrial East emerges.♦

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Feature Article 【專題論文】

## New Approach of Indigenous Social Psychology in the Age of Globalization

### 全球化時代本土社會心理學研究的新取向

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**Keywords:** indigeneous psychology, Confucian Relationalism, Confucian ethics, Face and Favor, research tradition

**關鍵詞：**本土心理學、儒家關係主義、儒家倫理、人情與面子、研究傳統

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## Abstract

The epistemological goal of indigenous psychology is to construct a series of formal theoretical models which should be able to represent the universal structure of human minds on the one hand, and account for people's specific mentalities in indigenous culture on the other hand. In order to attain this goal, three levels of breakthrough must be made for the sustainable progress of indigenous psychology: philosophical reflection, theoretical construction, and empirical research. In my book *Confucian Relationalism*, I explained how I constructed the Face and Favor model which may reflect the deep structure of universal human mind for dealing with interpersonal relationships. Then I used it as a framework to analyze the inner structure of Confucianism which might enable us to understand the specific mentality of people living in Confucian society. The attributes of Confucian ethics were analyzed from the perspective of modern ethics, and a series of mini-theories had been constructed on the presumption of relationalism to integrate findings of previous empirical researches on social exchange, achievement motivation, concept of face, *quanxi* and organizational behaviors, and strategies of conflict resolution in Confucian society. Through the efforts of this book, it is expected that we may not only achieve the epistemological goals of indigenous psychology, but also establish the research tradition of Confucian relationalism in social psychology.

## 摘要

本土心理學的知識論目標是建構一系列的形式性理論，它們既能夠反映人類心智普遍的結構，又能夠說明本土文化中特有的心態。為了達成這樣的目標，本土心理學在持續發展的過程中必須作三個層次的突破：哲學的反思、理論建構和實徵研究。《儒家關係主義》一書首先說明我如何建構〈人情與面子〉的理論模型，以反映人類處理人際關係的普遍心智；再以之作為架構，分析儒家思想的內在結構，藉以瞭解儒家社會中人們特有的心態；並從現代倫理學的觀點，說明儒家倫理的屬性，再以之作為預設，建構出一系列的理論，來整合儒家社會中有關社會交換、成就動機、臉面觀念、關係與組織行為、以及衝突化解的實徵研究。藉由這樣的努力，希望不僅能達到本土心理學的知識論目標，而且能夠建立社會心理學中儒家關係主義的研究傳統。

Since the end of the 1970s, some psychologists have begun conducting research on the indigenous psychology of non-Western countries, such as Mexico, Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and India. This trend attracted increasing attention from mainstream psychologists in the 1990s. The emergence of indigenous psychology can be understood as a search by non-Western psychologists for cultural identity in the power structure of the new world order.

In the beginning of the 1990s, the communist countries of Eastern Europe collapsed, and the long-lasting cold war between East and West that had persisted since the end of World War II came to an end. Many previously communist countries began to participate in the competition of the world market of capitalism, especially the People's Republic of China, whose leaders have been devoted to economic reform since the mid-1970s. Chinese products penetrate the world market. China's huge population also constitutes an attractive market for most international businesses. Globalization has become an inevitable trend, and the concept of multi-culturalism has accordingly been proposed as globalization's opposite but matching concept. People need to understand people from various different cultures, and yet they also need to seek their own cultural identities. As a consequence of frequent cultural contact, the possibility of intercultural conflict has also increased. Various types of interracial or international conflict have broken out in many regions around the world, and the clash of civilizations has become a core issue for human beings to resolve in the new age of globalization.<sup>1</sup>

## I. Indigenization Movement of Psychology

Indigenous psychology has emerged in this new power structure of world politics and economy. Generally speaking, indigenization movements have been

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1 S. Huntington, *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order* (New York: Simon & Schuster).

initiated by non-Western psychologists in a spirit of nationalism and academic anti-colonialism. They have argued that current mainstream psychology is basically a kind of Westernized or Americanized psychology. Both its theory and research methods contain Western ethnocentric bias.<sup>2</sup> When the research paradigm of Western psychology is transplanted blindly to non-Western countries, it is usually irrelevant, inappropriate, or incompatible for understanding the mentalities of non-Western people.<sup>3</sup> Such a practice has been regarded as a kind of academic imperialism or colonialism.<sup>4</sup> By ignoring the fact that many Western theories of social psychology are culturally bound, duplication of a Western paradigm in non-Western countries may result in neglect of cultural factors that may influence the development and manifestation of human behavior.

Based on such reasoning, many indigenous psychologists have advocated "a bottom-up model building paradigm"<sup>5</sup> to promote "the study of human behavior and mental processes within a cultural context that relies on values, concepts, belief systems, methodologies, and other resources,"<sup>6</sup> and that treats people "as interactive and proactive agents of their own actions" that occur in a meaningful context.<sup>7</sup> They perform "the scientific study of human behavior (or the mind) that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its peoples"<sup>8</sup> in order to develop a "cultural-appropriate psychology,"<sup>9</sup> "a

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2 J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, M. H. Segall, and P. R. Dasen, *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and applications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

3 D. Sinha, *Psychology in a third world country: The Indian Experience* (New Delhi: Sage, 1986); D. Sinha, "Indigenisation of psychology in India and its relevance," *The Indian Journal of Social Science*, 1 (1988), pp. 77-91.

4 D. Y. F. Ho, "Relational orientation in Asian social psychology," in U. Kim & J. W. Berry (eds.), *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), pp. 240-259.

5 U. Kim, "Indigenous, cultural, and cross-cultural psychology: A theoretical, conceptual, and epistemological analysis," *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 3 (2000), p. 265.

6 D. Y. F. Ho, "Indigenous psychologies: Asian perspectives," *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 29, 1 (1998), p. 94.

7 U. Kim, Y. S. Park and D. Park, "The challenger of cross-cultural psychology: The role of the indigenous psychologies," *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 31, 1 (2000), p. 71.

8 U. Kim and J. Berry (eds.), *Indigenous cultural psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), p. 2.

9 H. Azuma, "Psychology in a non-Western country," *International Journal of Psychology*, 19, 1,

psychology based on and responsive to indigenous culture and indigenous realities"<sup>10</sup> or a psychology whose "concepts, problems, hypothesis, methods, and tests emanate from, adequately represent, and reflect upon the cultural context in which the behavior is observed."<sup>11</sup>

## II. Challenges to Indigenous Psychology

The indigenous psychology approach just described has been criticized by mainstream psychologists. For example, Triandis pointed out that anthropologists have used a similar approach for years, and that accumulating anthropological data with an idiosyncratic approach may not have much significance in terms of contribution to the development of scientific psychology.<sup>12</sup> Poortinga indicated that the restriction for development of indigenous psychology is implied in the usage of the plural "indigenous psychologies" by many indigenous psychologists.<sup>13</sup> The development of multiple psychologies not only contradicts the scientific requirement of parsimony, but also makes the demarcation of cultural populations a pending problem. If every culture has to develop its own psychology, how many indigenous psychologies should there be? How many psychologies would have to be developed for Africa? What is the optimal number of indigenous psychologies? What is the meaning of an indigenous psychology developed in a specific culture to people in other cultures?

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(1984), p. 53.

- 10 V. Enriquez, "Developing a Filipino psychology," in U. Kim & J. Berry, *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), p. 158.
- 11 J. G. Adair, B. N. Puhana and N. Vohra, "Indigenous of psychology: Empirical assessment of progress in Indian research," *International Journal of Psychology*, 28 (1993), p. 149.
- 12 H. C. Triandis, "Dialectics between cultural and cross-cultural psychology," *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 3 (2000), pp. 185-195.
- 13 Y. H. Poortinga, "Do differences in behavior imply a need for different psychologies?" *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 48, 4 (1999), pp. 419-432.

David Ho, a supporter of indigenous psychology, advocated the development of an Asian psychology,<sup>14</sup> but also pointed out that if every culture develops its own psychology, another kind of ethnocentrism in reverse would arise. Poortinga made a similar criticism, arguing that over-emphasis on the nature and extent of differences in psychological functioning between people of different cultures may make indigenous psychology a kind of "scientific ethnocentrism in a new guise."<sup>15</sup>

Hermans and Kempen proposed the concept of "moving culture," which emphasizes the fact that cultures change over time, and discussed the perils of proposing cultural dichotomies in a globalizing society.<sup>16</sup> When intercultural communications become so frequent that the whole world is a global village, can culture be regarded as internally homogenous and externally distinctive? If individuals are able to choose their own behavior, culture may have no necessary influence on the individual, and psychological traits and mechanisms would be incidental. The notion of regarding culture as a psychological system becomes less feasible. Instead of regarding culture as a stable system geographically located in a particular area, it would be more viable to define cross-cultural differences in terms of specific ecocultural and sociocultural conditions.<sup>17</sup>

Poortinga strongly suggested that "differences in behavioral repertoires across cultural populations should be understood against the background of a broader frame of commonness."<sup>18</sup> He argued that over-emphasis on cross-cultural differences in behaviors and negation of important invariance in

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14 D. Y. F. Ho, "Asian psychology: A dialogue on indigenization and beyond," in A. C. Paranjpe, D. Y. F. Ho, & R. W. Rieber (eds.), *Asian contributions to psychology* (New York: Praeger, 1988), pp. 53-77.

15 Y. H. Poortinga, "Indigenous psychology: Scientific ethnocentrism in a new guise?" in J. Pandey, D. Sinha, & D. P. S. Bhawuk (eds.), *Asian contributions to cross-cultural psychology* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996), p. 59.

16 J. M. Hermans and J. G. Kempen, "Moving cultures: The perilous problem of cultural dichotomy in a globalized society," *American Psychologist*, 53, 10 (1998), pp. 1111-1120.

17 Y. H. Poortinga, "Do differences in behavior imply a need for different psychologies?" *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 48, 4 (1999), pp. 419-432.

18 *Ibid*, p. 425



psychological functioning across different cultures is not only "factually incorrect," but also "theoretically misleading".<sup>19</sup>

### III. The Epistemological Goal of Indigenous Psychology

In order to respond to these challenges, most indigenous psychologists have argued that the development of numerous indigenous psychologies is not their final goal. Rather, their final goal is to develop an Asian psychology (Ho, 1988),<sup>20</sup> a global psychology,<sup>21</sup> a universal psychology,<sup>22</sup> or a human psychology.<sup>23</sup> To achieve this goal, they have proposed several research methods or approaches, including the derived etic approach,<sup>24</sup> the metatheory method,<sup>25</sup> the cross-indigenous method,<sup>26</sup> as well as the cross-cultural indigenous psychology.<sup>27</sup>

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19 Ibid, p. 419.

20 D. Y. F. Ho, "Asian psychology: A dialogue on indigenization and beyond," in A. C. Paranjpe, D. Y. F. Ho, & R. W. Rieber (eds.), *Asian contributions to psychology* (New York: Praeger, 1988), pp. 53-77.

21 V. Enriquez, "Developing a Filipino psychology," in U. Kim & J. Berry, *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), pp. 152-169; K. S. Yang, "Why do we need to develop an indigenous Chinese psychology?" (in Chinese) *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, 1 (1993), pp. 6-88.

22 U. Kim and J. Berry (eds.), *Indigenous cultural psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), pp. 1-29.

23 K. S. Yang, "Why do we need to develop an indigenous Chinese psychology?" (in Chinese) *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, 1 (1993), pp. 6-88.

24 J. W. Berry, "Imposed etics-emics-derived etics: The operationalization of a compelling idea," *International Journal of Psychology*, 24 (1989), pp. 721-735; J. W. Berry & U. Kim, "The way ahead: From indigenous psychologies to a universal psychology," in U. Kim & J. W. Berry (eds.), *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), pp. 277-280.

25 D. Y. F. Ho, "Indigenous psychologies: Asian perspectives," *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 29, 1 (1998), pp. 88-103.

26 V. Enriquez, "Filipino psychology in the Third World," *Philippine Journal of Psychology*, 10 (1977), pp. 3-18; V. Enriquez, "Developing a Filipino psychology," in U. Kim & J. Berry, *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), pp. 152-169.

27 K. S. Yang, "Indigenous compatibility in psychological research and its related problems," (in Chinese) *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, 8 (1997), pp. 75-120; K. S. Yang, "Towards an indigenous Chinese psychology: A selective review of methodological,

The transition from indigenous psychologies to an Asian psychology, global psychology, universal psychology or a human psychology, implies a significant change in philosophical assumptions. Indigenous psychologists must change their ontology, epistemology, as well as methodology if they want to attain this goal.

On this point, I strongly agree with Greenfield, who delivered the following statement in her keynote speech to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference of Asian Social Psychology in Taipei, August, 1999:

The incorporation of culture into mainstream psychology will not come from simply presenting data on group differences, no matter how exciting or dramatic these differences may be. My most important theoretical mission is to introduce the idea of a *deep structure of culture*. As in language, deep structure of culture generates behaviors and interpretations of human behavior in an infinite array of domains and situations. I believe that the concepts behind individualism and collectivism, independence and interdependence, a relational vs. an individual orientation and so on are all indexing a common deep structure.<sup>28</sup>

But, how are researchers to identify the common deep structures of the human mind? In order to answer this question, the concept of deep structure must be expanded from the perspective of structuralism.

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theoretical, and empirical accomplishments," *Chinese Journal of Psychology*, 41 (1999), pp. 181-211.

28 P. M. Greenfield, "Three approaches to the psychology of culture: Where do they come from? Where can they go?" *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 3 (2000), p. 229.

## IV. Confucianism Relationalism

This is a really complicated issue. Since I constructed the "Face and Favor" model in early 1980s, I have devoted myself to the development of indigenous Chinese psychology. Since I was appointed as the principal investigator of the project entitled "In Search of Excellence for Chinese Indigenous Psychological Research" in 2000, I have paid close attention to issues related to this goal, engaged in conducting psychological research, and published a series of papers in attempt to resolve these issues. In the annual evaluations on the performance of this project, examiners from the Ministry of Education and the National Science Council have always pointed out that each of my published papers has its justified arguments. But, how can I integrate those arguments together to illustrate my advocacy of the development of indigenous psychology or indigenous social science?

This book entitled *Confucian Relationalism* is indeed my response to this request. In my article "The epistemological goal of indigenous psychology,"<sup>29</sup> I emphasized that three levels of breakthrough must be made for the sustainable progress of indigenous psychology: philosophical reflection, theoretical construction, and empirical research. This book contains 12 chapters; the first chapter elaborates the epistemology strategy of indigenous psychology with a reference to the content of this book.

### 1. Philosophical reflection

For the task of philosophical reflection, I suggest that the indigenous psychologist has to consider a fundamental question: what is the meaning of modernization for non-Western countries? There are reasons modernization

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29 K. K. Hwang, "The epistemological goal of indigenous psychology: The perspective of constructive realism," in B. N. Setiadi, A. Supratiknya, W. J. Lonner, and Y. H. Poortinga (eds.), *Ongoing themes in psychology and culture. The International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology* (2004), pp. 169-186.

theory gained popularity in many fields of social science in non-Western countries after the end of World War II up to the late 1970s. However, the book did not take the position of personality psychology; I have no interest in asking how to study, to measure, or even to develop the personality traits of modern man. On the contrary, I advocate that, as social scientists in non-Western societies, we should ask the question: what are the essential differences between the knowledge created by scientists after the Renaissance Movement in Europe and the knowledge developed by various cultures over history of human beings?

### Constructive Realism

In other words, it is unlikely to find a standard modern man, but it is certain that we are able to define what is modern knowledge in terms of the Western philosophy of science. I published a book entitled *The Logic of Social Sciences* in early 2000.<sup>30</sup> This book systematically introduced the ontology / epistemology / methodology proposed by 17 major Western philosophers during 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its content is divided into five major parts: (1) Positivism, (2) Post Positivism, (3) Structuralism, (4) Hermeneutics, and (5) Critical Theory, with the last chapter on Constructive Realism as its conclusion. The Positivism and Post Positivism introduced in the first two parts of the book are philosophies applicable to natural science. Because most psychologists have defined psychology as a science, both of these two philosophies have frequently been used by psychologists. The paradigms of Structuralism, Hermeneutics, and Critical Theory as discussed in the latter three parts, they are often adopted by social scientists. The Constructive Realism described in the last chapter is a philosophy of science advocated by Professor Dr. Fritz Wallner of the University of Vienna. In recent years, he organized the Vienna School, in distinction from the Vienna Circle which was very active in the scientific community of the world in 1930s, with the goal of the

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30 K. K. Hwang, *The Logics of Social Science* (in Chinese) (Taipei: Psychological Publishers, 2001).

development of the philosophy of science since the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Constructive Realism divides reality into three categories: reality itself cannot be understood by human beings. Human being can understand only the lifeworld constructed by a certain cultural group with their mother language in their history, as well as the scientific microworld constructed by a certain scientist with their professional terminology.

It seems to me that, the distinction between scientific microworld and lifeworld made by Constructive Realism is crucially important for us to resolve problems encountered in developing indigenous psychology. Nevertheless, the descriptions of these two worlds provided by Constructive Realism are not enough for us to attain this goal, therefore, in Chapter 2 "Modernization of Non-Western Societies: A Perspective of Constructive Realism," I compare differences of knowledge between these two worlds from five aspects, namely, constructor, ways of thinking, types of rationality, mode of construction, and functions of worldview, in order to describe the characteristics of modern knowledge which can be used to explain the modernization of non-Western societies.

### Philosophical Switch

From such a comparison and exposition, it can be seen that the modernization of Western societies has emerged from the inner core of their civilization, while the modernization of non-Western societies is a consequence of transplanting the essence of Western civilization from outside. In order to develop indigenous social sciences, social scientists of non-Western societies not only have to renounce the mentality of colonialism which is characterized with a blind transplantation of Western research paradigms, but also to adjust their mentality from anticolonialism to postcolonialism.<sup>31</sup> They must absorb the essence of Western civilization, and learn how to use the philosophy of science as

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31 K. K. Hwang, "From anticolonialism to postcolonialism: The emergence of Chinese indigenous psychology in Taiwan," *International Journal of Psychology*, 40, 4 (2005), pp. 228-238.

a basis for constructing scientific microworld which is applicable to domestic society.

Therefore, in Chapter 3 "The Concepts of Person and Paradigm Switch in Western Philosophy," I cite the arguments of French philosopher François Jullien, make a clear distinction between modern Western philosophy and traditional Eastern wisdom, and discuss the evolution of Western philosophy from the concepts of person implied in the philosophies proposed by Aristotle, Kant, Wittgenstein, and Popper. My discussion is focused on the major paradigm shift from Positivism to Post-Positivism. Several important scientific philosophies of science which appeared after the rise of Post-Positivism are introduced in expectation that they may help psychologists of non-Western societies to grasp rules of the game for constructing a scientific microworld.

## **2. Theoretical construct**

Based on Western philosophy of science, we can investigate the question: how to achieve the epistemological goals of indigenous psychology? Before doing so, first we have to clarify such questions as: What is structure? And what is deep structure?

### People in Nature

From the perspective of structuralism (Lévi-Strauss, 1976), the formation and variation of cultural phenomenon have evolved from the universal structure of the human mind.<sup>32</sup> Human beings are a part of nature; human cognitions and behavior are profoundly influenced by nature. Nature is sensible. All phenomena in nature operate in accordance with objective rules. Those rules are connected with one another, so as to make the whole of nature a united entity over a long

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32 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural anthropology*, trans by M.Layton (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

period of time. The stability of natural rules over time and their linkage across space have long-term influence on human beings, Human social lives are conditioned by the operation of nature.

For the sake of survival and prosperity, human rationality has to handle the various events encountered in a person's lifeworld in terms of bipolar cognitive dimensions so as to adjust to the environment. In view of the development of human culture, all human activities, including cognitions as well as actions, result from simulating various relations in nature. Nature is a system with steady, unchangeable, and mutually linked relations among its various components. The diversified social phenomena seen in a given society are manifested from an undetectable underlying structure that originated from the inherited capability of the human mind.

As a part of nature, from generation to generation people have gradually developed various sets of customs in their lifeworlds that are congruent with the natural order. These customs, rites, and various forms of life are the consequences of routinization, crystallization, or systematization of human practices in simulation of nature. The network of relations between people and nature or between people and people is the structure.

### Pre-modern Civilization

Pre-modern civilizations that evolved from primitive cultures were created unconsciously with a psychological mechanism synchronous with nature. The creative mechanism of pre-modern civilization was neither rationality in opposition to nature, nor the process of evolution as described by historians, but the principle of maintaining homeostasis by simulating the operation of nature. Like the stability and certainty of the natural order, there exists a stable structure underlying every pre-modern civilization created by human beings. Various types of culture manifested in different historical stages are merely the independent

performance of the same inherited capability of human minds in different circumstances, like the fossils buried in different stratum of the earth they share the same structure.

The human capability to simulate nature is manifest in the customs and social relationships of pre-modern civilization. The more advanced the society, the more progressed the civilization, and the more complicated the social relationships. Many linkages among people depart from the natural order, which makes recognition of the original appearance of some pre-modern civilizations difficult. The goal of structuralism is to reveal the fundamental structure of cultural relations that might be very complicated in appearance. These structures are the unconscious models of human rationality, which are a kind of autonomous model followed by human thinking. All of the empirical facts in human social life are a result of the arrangement and combination of these models.

According to structuralism, language is the basis of social structure. An individual who wants to connect with others must first separate himself from others, and then exchange messages with others through a linguistic or symbolic system. The structure of language is the prototype of social structure. All social life and cultural activities are constructed on the basis of the deep structure of language. Use of language and social exchange behavior links people as a social entity, enabling them to depart from nature, and to form their own cultural systems.

### Deep Structure of Universal Mind

With this understanding of the fundamental position of structuralism, I return to the context of this thesis, and explain the importance of studying the deep structure of a culture in indigenous psychology. From the perspective of structuralism, both the language games played by people in their lifeworlds and



the microworlds of knowledge constructed by scientists have their own structures. But, there are tremendous differences between these two kinds of structure. In terms of Piaget's genetic epistemology, the structure of scientific knowledge is a conscious model constructed with formal operational thinking by an individual scientist with fully developed intelligence.<sup>33</sup> In contrast, the language games played by people in their lifeworlds are constituted by the rationality of a cultural group under the influence of their collective unconscious over the history of their evolution. These language games originate from the deep structure of the culture, which is an unconscious model. People are unaware of it directly in their daily lives, but researchers may reveal the deep structure using the methods of structuralism.

### Unconscious Model

In accordance with Greenfield's point of view, the most important academic mission of indigenous psychology is to reveal the deep structure of culture, and transform it from structure of unconscious to that of conscious by utilizing the research methods of Western social science, then use it as a framework of reference to construct various theories of psychology, for conducting empirical research in the lifeworld of domestic society.<sup>34</sup>

Chapter 4 "Theoretical Construction of Face and Favor Model" aims to explain how I perform critical review over Western theories of social exchange, equity theory, and justice theory, and construct the theoretical model of Face and Favor on the basis of philosophy of science. In this chapter, I want to emphasize that the theoretical model thus constructed may reflect the deep structure of universal human mind for dealing with interpersonal relationships.

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33 J. Piaget, *The Principle of Genetic Epistemology*, W. Mays (trans.) (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Rawls, 1972, 1981).

34 P. M. Greenfield, "Three approaches to the psychology of culture: Where do they come from? Where can they go?" *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 3 (2000), pp. 223-240.

Chapter 5 analyzes the inner structure of Confucian thoughts by using the theoretical model of Face and Favor as a framework of reference. Such an analysis enables us to see that there exists an isomorphic relationship between the theoretical model of Face and Favor and the Confucian ethics for ordinary people. From the theoretical model of Face and Favor, we can see the universal human mind for dealing with interpersonal relationships. From the Confucian ethics for ordinary people, we can understand the specific mentality of people living in Confucian society.

### **3. Empirical research**

The theoretical model of Face and Favor and the Confucian ethics for ordinary people constitute the core of Confucian relationalism. Viewing from Popper's evolutionary epistemology, any scientist may construct a theory to explain a certain phenomenon in a particular domain.<sup>35</sup> The theories constructed by different scientists for explaining the same phenomenon will compete with one another, therefore, they must be examined through rational critique and empirical test.

#### Attributes of Confucian Ethics

There were many psychologists who have studied moral thinking in Chinese community by different research paradigms. Chapter 6, "Paradigms for Studying Chinese Moral Thinkings: Meta-Theoretical Analysis," aims to provide a critical review of findings of previous researches following these paradigms. Chapter 7, "Moral Thoughts in Confucian Society," tries to analyze the attributes of Confucian ethics from my perspective of ethics, and to re-interpret findings of previous research done in Taiwan which could not be adequately explained by

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35 K. Popper, *Objective knowledge: An evolutionary approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

Western theories. The analysis of Confucian thoughts presented in this chapter is a key for understanding the uniqueness of Confucian culture, which deserves our special attention.

Chapter 8 presents a series of empirical research results which have been accomplished on the basis of Confucian relationalism. From the point of view of the philosophy of science, a scientist may construct a theory to explain a phenomenon in a certain domain with a set of specific presumptions. Previous theories and research paradigms proposed by Western psychologists were mostly constructed on the presumption of individualism. Based on the presumption of rationalism, a series of theories can certainly be constructed serve as guidelines for empirical research on one hand, and to explain findings of previous empirical researches on the other hand. Chapters 9 to 12 construct a series of mini-theories to integrate findings of previous empirical researches on achievement motivation, face, *quanxi*, and strategies of conflict resolution in Confucian society.

Following the same logic, a series of relevant theories on phenomenon of other domains in Confucian society can further be constructed. Through the efforts of the book, I hope we may not only achieve the epistemological goals of indigenous psychology, but also establish the research tradition of Confucian relationalism in social science.♦

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♦ Responsible editor: Yeh-Ming Chin (金葉明).

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Feature Article 【專題論文】

## Chinese Organizational Behavior Studies in the Age of Globalization

### 全球化時代華人組織行為之研究

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**Keywords:** paternalistic leadership, family business, indigenous psychology,  
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**關鍵詞：**家長式領導、家族企業、本土心理學、全球化、在地化

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## Abstract

Because of globalization, cultural-specific organizational behavior rooted in local cultural origins has received more and more research attention. Compared to the tremendous achievement of organizational behavior research in a Western context, research progress on Chinese organizational behavior is still in its infancy. In this article, we argue that a popular cross-cultural research approach cannot lead to a deep understanding of Chinese organizational behavior. Instead, a full-cycle indigenous research approach has to be employed. Taking the development of the paternalistic leadership model in the Chinese organization context as an example, we illustrate how to apply empirically the full-cycle indigenous approach to organizational research and discuss the implications of such an approach for organizational behavior studies in the age of globalization.

## 摘要

在全球化的趨勢之下，根植於本土文化、具有文化特殊性的組織行為已逐漸成為重要的研究議題。然而，相較於組織行為研究在西方情境下的卓越成就，針對華人特有組織行為所累積的研究成果仍處於起步階段。在本文中，我們認為普遍受到歡迎的跨文化研究取向，並無法真正獲得對華人組織行為的深度了解，真正應該被採用的是一種全方位的本土研究取向。我們以華人組織中家長式領導模式的理論發展為例，說明應該怎樣實際應用全方位取向來研究組織議題，並且討論此一取向能為全球化時代下的組織行為研究帶來哪些啟示。



## Introduction

As globalization has fostered the thought of multiculturalism, the relationship between culture and organizational behavior has become increasingly valued. However, intense debates on how to approach the relationship between culture and organizational behavior have restricted research progress in this field. For example, some scholars claim that research should be based on results of existing studies, that is, tailored to the findings of the research, which is mainly done in North America, and applied to different cultural contexts in order to develop generalized organizational behavior theories.<sup>1</sup> Others think that theories with rich cultural meanings could only be constructed by examining the indigenous culture, which aims to grasp local cultural characteristics and their relationship between organizational behavior.<sup>2</sup> The former is called an etic approach or outsider's view, and the latter is named the emic approach, or insider's view. For organization studies, most of the research in the past 20 years usually took the etic approach to intercultural comparisons. Only limited research was done in the emic approach. Therefore, our current knowledge and insights regarding organizational behavior in different cultural contexts appear rather limited.<sup>3</sup> The same conclusion can also be applied to the Chinese research community in which most of the researchers tailor mainstream theories that developed in North America, rather than probe into unique organizational behavior in a Chinese context.<sup>4</sup>

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- 1 D. A. Whetten, "An examination of the interface between context and theory applied to the study of Chinese organizations," *Management and Organization Review*, 5, 1 (2009), pp. 29-55.
  - 2 J. B. Barney & S. Zhang, "The future of Chinese management research: A theory of Chinese management versus a Chinese theory of management," *Management and Organization Review*, 5, 1 (2009), pp. 15-28.
  - 3 M. J. Gelfand, M. Erez, & Z. Aycan, "Cross-cultural organizational behavior," in S. T. Fiske, A. E. Kasdin, & D. L. Schacter (eds.), *Annual Review of Psychology*, vol. 58 (Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews, 2007), pp. 479-514.
  - 4 H. Y. Cheng, "Research on intragroup conflict management in Taiwan," (in Chinese) in B. S. Cheng, D. Y. Jiang, & H. Y. Cheng (eds.), *Organizational behavior studies in Taiwan* (2nd ed.)

Why do current researchers in the Chinese societies tend to modify the existing theories but ignore the indigenous organizational behavior in certain cultural contexts? Although most researchers are trained in North America at the institutions that publish articles in the Western journals or outlets, and the cross-cultural approach is easy to follow, the most important reason is the lack of a methodological guidance about how to develop a Chinese theory of organizational behavior.<sup>5</sup>

The purpose of this study is to use our experience in Chinese indigenous organizational behavior studies in the past fifteen years to demonstrate the research methodology and inspire more organizational studies to be conducted in a Chinese cultural context. We chose a study of paternalistic leadership as an example to describe how indigenous organizational behavior is explored; then, the research logic—a full-cycle indigenous research approach is explained; finally, the implication of the approach on Chinese organizational behavior in the global age will be discussed.

## Paternalistic Leadership: A Brief Review

Leadership has long been a critical research subject in organizational behavior studies, most of which were conducted in North America.<sup>6</sup> Before the 1980s, scholars suggested that research results in North America could be generalized to other regions with different cultures. They followed the nomothetic approach, indicating that universal leadership was a quality not

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(Taipei: Hwatai, 2007), pp. 340-375; M. P. Huang, "Research on leadership in Taiwan," (in Chinese) in B. S. Cheng, D. Y. Jiang, & H. Y. Cheng (eds.), *Organizational behavior studies in Taiwan* (2nd ed.) (Taipei: Hwatai, 2007), pp. 248-279.

5 B. S. Cheng, A. C. Wang, & M. P. Huang, "The road more popular versus the road less traveled: An 'insider's' perspective of advancing Chinese management research," *Management and Organization Review*, 5, 1 (2009), pp. 91-105.

6 G. Yukl, *Leadership in organizations* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998).

influenced by culture, regions or nations.<sup>7</sup> However, after the 1980s, the idea of universal leadership was challenged by many practitioners and researchers.<sup>8</sup> They suggested that leadership might be universal in terms of a kind of social process but that the content of leadership was affected by the culture. Different cultures would lead to different contents, styles and effectiveness of leadership.<sup>9</sup> In most situations, leadership styles might not reveal leaders' personal will, but reflect the culture and tradition of the societies they are in.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the effectiveness of leadership would also be influenced by local social context.<sup>11</sup>

Cultural psychologists have found Chinese culture with its characteristics of collectivism and "high power distance" is extremely different from North American or Anglo-Saxon cultures.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the performance of the Asian economy controlled by the Chinese (including Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, many Southeast Asian nations and China) is outstanding. Therefore, the managerial philosophy and practices in Chinese firms and organizations has become quite interesting to many researchers.<sup>13</sup> These researchers, though not guided by any particular research trend adopted an indigenous approach in

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7 R. J. House, N. S. Wright, & R. N. Aditya, "Cross-cultural research on organizational leadership: A critical analysis and a proposed theory," in P. C. Earley, & M. Erez (eds.), *New perspectives on international industrial / organizational psychology* (San Francisco: New Lexington Press, 1997), pp. 535-625.

8 M. M. Chemers, "An integrative theory of leadership," in M. Chemers & R. Ayman (eds.), *Leadership theory and research: Perspectives and directions* (New York: Academic Press, 1993); T. J. Cox, *Cultural diversity in organizations: Theory, research and practice* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1993).

9 M. M. Chemers, "An integrative theory of leadership," *Leadership theory and research: Perspectives and directions*; G. H. Hofstede, *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980).

10 G. H. Hofstede, *Ibid.*; G. H. Hofstede, "Cultural constraints in management theories," *International Review of Strategic Management*, 5 (1994), pp. 27-48.

11 J. L. Farh & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations," in A. S. Tsui & J. T. Li (eds.), *Management and organizations in China* (London: McMillan, 2000), pp. 94-127.

12 G. H. Hofstede, *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values* (1980).

13 S. G. Redding, *The spirit of Chinese capitalism* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990); R. Whitley, *Business system in East Asia firms, markets, and societies* (London: Sage, 1992); B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO," (in Chinese) *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica*, 79 (1995), pp. 119-173.

exploring the leadership in Chinese Family Business (CFB) in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Singapore and Taiwan,<sup>14</sup> and suggested that top leaders in Chinese enterprises revealed significant and definite characteristics that could be called a paternalistic leadership style. They referred to this leadership style as being similar to patriarchal style. The leaders have specific and strong authority, but consideration for their subordinates, and moral leadership is also involved.<sup>15</sup> The leadership style was found not only in CFB, but also in non-CFB organizations and governmental institutions in Asian countries.<sup>16</sup>

With the introduction of the paternalistic leadership concept, issues related to paternalistic leadership have become more and more valued by Chinese and Western leadership researchers. Farh and Cheng generalized the related studies on Chinese business leadership conducted by Silin, Redding, Westwood, and Cheng,<sup>17</sup> and then analyzed the historical and cultural foundations of paternalistic leadership. Based on the assumptions that Chinese leadership was embedded in the cultural traditions of Confucianism and Legalism, they further suggested that Chinese leadership involves three critical elements: authoritarianism, benevolence and moral leadership. They also developed a conceptual framework of leader behavior and subordinate responses to elaborate the relationship between paternalistic leadership and subordinates' responses of awe, obedience, gratitude and identification. In addition to the past studies on a dual model of paternalistic leadership and the framework of tripartite model,

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14 B. S. Cheng, *Ibid*; S. G. Redding, *Ibid*.

15 B. S. Cheng, *Ibid*; J. L. Farh, & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations," *Management and organizations in China* (2000); R. I. Westwood & A. Chan, "Headship and leadership," in R. I. Westwood (ed.), *Organizational behaviour: A Southeast Asian perspective* (Hong Kong: Longman Group, 1992).

16 L. W. Pye, *Dynamics of Chinese politics* (Cambridge, MA: OG and H, 1981); *Asia power and politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

17 J. L. Farh, & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations;" R. H. Silin, *Leadership and value: The organization of large-scale Taiwan enterprises* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); S. G. Redding, *The spirit of Chinese capitalism*; R. Westwood, "Harmony and patriarchy: The cultural basis for 'paternalistic headship' among the overseas Chinese," *Organization Studies*, 18 3 (1997), pp. 445-480; B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (in Chinese).

Cheng, Chou, and Farh developed a measurement tool of paternalistic leadership that validated the constructs of paternalistic leadership and made further exploration on related issues possible.<sup>18</sup> The researchers launched a series of quantitative studies that not only studied the effectiveness of paternalistic leadership by exploring the relationships between the leadership characteristics of benevolence, authoritarianism, moral and the subordinate response, but also probed into possible mediating and moderating effects between paternalistic leadership and subordinate effectiveness.

### Proposal of the Concept

The Chinese researcher who first targeted Chinese indigenous leadership studies without applying the Western leadership model was B. S. Cheng who probed into familism and leadership.<sup>19</sup> His idea was based on his personal experiences in a Chinese family enterprise, as well as Silin's case study on a large-scale Taiwanese firm,<sup>20</sup> Weber's analysis of domination in human society,<sup>21</sup> and Hamilton's sharp observations on the patriarchal authority in Chinese society.<sup>22</sup>

In order to probe into the leadership in patriarchal system, at the end of the 1980s, Cheng explored the leadership of Taiwanese CEOs and managers of family enterprises through case study research, participant observation, and a clinician approach.<sup>23</sup> He found that Chinese supervisors' leadership dimension was similar

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18 B. S. Cheng, L. F. Chou, & J. L. Farh, "A triad model of paternalistic leadership: The constructs and management," (in Chinese) *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, 14 (2000), pp. 3-64.

19 B. S. Cheng, "Familism and leadership," (in Chinese) in C. F. Yang & H. Kao (eds.), *Chinese and mind* (Taipei: Yuanliu, 1991), pp. 366-407.

20 R. H. Silin, *Leadership and value: The organization of large-scale Taiwan enterprises* (1976).

21 M. Weber, *Economy and society*, translated by G. Roth and C. Wittich (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1968).

22 G. G. Hamilton, "Patriarchy, patrimonialism, and filial piety: A comparison of China and Western Europe," *British Journal of Sociology*, 41, 1 (1990), pp. 77-104.

23 B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (1995).

to Silin's and Redding's observations.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, from 1993 to 1994, he interviewed 18 heads of private enterprises and 24 high-ranking managers in Taiwan, and confirmed that paternalistic leadership prevailed in Taiwanese firms, and then named the style paternalistic leadership. The values of Cheng's study were that by using dyadic relationships as units of analysis, a detailed quantitative description of leadership behavior and subordinate response was provided, as well as a dual model of paternalistic leadership.<sup>25</sup>

In brief, Cheng proposed the concept of paternalistic leadership and a dynamic relationship between leaders and subordinate response; he also introduced a dual model including benevolence and authoritarianism to allow us to understand the content of paternalistic leadership. Cheng did not investigate for moral leadership directly in related studies; however, by studying his research carefully,<sup>26</sup> it can be found that moral leadership was present in benevolence leadership, and benevolence leadership also included integrity and modeling. The reason was that in Chinese society, benevolence showed by the upper level would tend to be treated as morality by the lower level. Thus, it was difficult to separate moral from benevolence in Cheng's studies.

## Establishing the Tripartite Model

After synthesizing Silin's on-site observations of the leader of a large-scale enterprise in Taiwan,<sup>27</sup> Redding's interview and study on the leadership of Chinese Family Business,<sup>28</sup> Westwood's theoretical analysis on Chinese

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24 R. H. Silin, *Leadership and value: The organization of large-scale Taiwan enterprises* (1976); S. G. Redding, *The spirit of Chinese capitalism* (1990).

25 J. L. Farh & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations" (2000).

26 B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (1995); B. S. Cheng, *Paternalistic authority and leader behavior* (in Chinese) (Technical Report for National Science Council, Taiwan, 1996).

27 R. H. Silin, *Leadership and value: The organization of large-scale Taiwan enterprises* (1976).

28 S. G. Redding, *The spirit of Chinese capitalism* (1990).

corporate leadership in Southeast Asia<sup>29</sup> and Cheng's observation, interview, and analysis of the leaders of several private Taiwanese enterprises,<sup>30</sup> Farh and Cheng proposed the tripartite model on paternalistic leadership that suggested that paternalistic leadership contained three critical elements: authoritarianism,<sup>31</sup> benevolence, and moral leadership. Authoritarianism leadership was found to be similar to authoritarianism as defined by Cheng,<sup>32</sup> meaning that leaders emphasized that their authority could not be challenged and subordinates were controlled severely and required to totally obey. Benevolence leadership was found to be related to benevolence as proposed by Cheng,<sup>33</sup> indicating that leaders had individualized, complete, and long-term care for subordinates' welfare. As to moral leadership, it could be described that leaders must show higher personal integrity to win subordinates' respect; especially, modeling and being just (not to abuse power and gain private profits) were the most significant traits.

Farh and Cheng defined paternalistic leadership as: "a father- like leadership style in which clear and strong authority is combined with concern, considerateness, and elements of moral leadership."<sup>34</sup> They proposed the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership based upon complementary roles and interaction between leaders and subordinates; then they constructed the initial model of paternalistic leadership and subordinates' psychological responses. They indicated that with regard to leaders' moral leadership, subordinates would

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29 R. Westwood, "Harmony and patriarchy: The cultural basis for 'paternalistic headship' among the overseas Chinese," (1997).

30 B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (1995); B. S. Cheng, *Paternalistic authority and leader behavior* (in Chinese) (Technical Report for National Science Council, Taiwan, 1996); B. S. Cheng, *Leadership in Chinese organizations: Theory and reality* (in Chinese) (Taipei: Laureate, 2005).

31 J. L. Farh & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations" (2000).

32 B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (1995); B. S. Cheng, *Paternalistic authority and leader behavior* (in Chinese) (Technical Report for National Science Council, Taiwan, 1996).

33 B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (1995).

34 J. L. Farh & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations" (2000), p. 139.

follow and identify with them; with regard to authoritarianism leadership, subordinates would express awe and obedience; as to benevolence leadership, subordinates would be grateful and desire to repay the leaders with loyalty. The cultural foundation of this framework is based upon the assumption of the in-depth influence of *zun-zun* (respect for the superiors) principle or "higher power distance" in Chinese culture on leadership. The tripartite model of paternalistic leadership is shown in Figure 1.

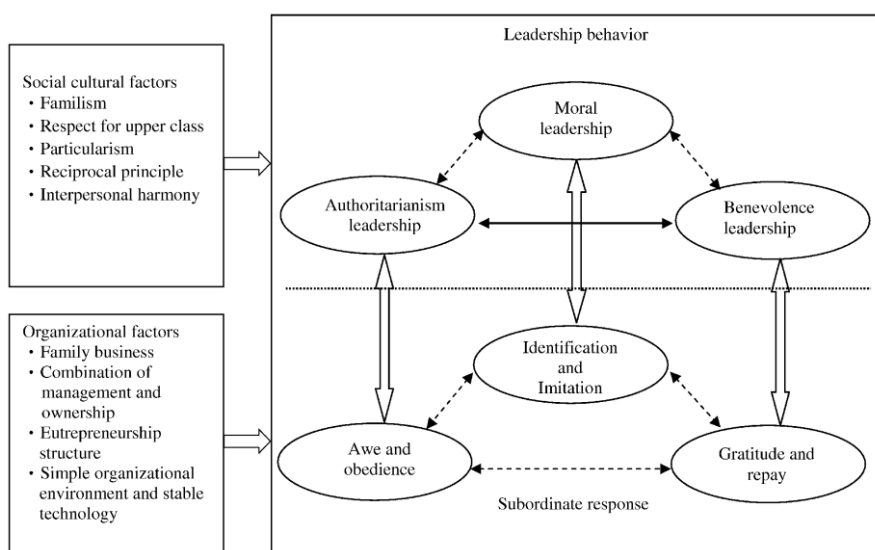


Figure 1 Tripartite model of paternalistic leadership Source: Farh & Cheng, 2000

## Measurement Development

According to the theory of concept evolution, a proposed new concept should be examined through legitimation, which means that researchers not only have to explain the definition and the importance of the new concept through teaching academic community or researchers, but they should also propose feasible research methods and use quantitative techniques to illustrate that the



concept can be applied to the real world.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, it is critical to construct a measurement of paternalistic leadership with reliability and validity in order to verify the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership and the related factors. Thus, Cheng, Chou, and Farh continued Farh and Cheng's analysis on the concept of paternalistic leadership to probe into benevolence, moral, and authoritarianism leadership in paternalistic leadership.<sup>36</sup> They modified Cheng's dual (benevolence and authoritarianism)<sup>37</sup> model questionnaire of paternalistic leadership and added moral leadership items to establish a new scale to measure the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership. The new scale revealed satisfying reliability and validity from samples of Taiwanese corporations and educational institutions. It led to a series of empirical studies of paternalistic leadership, such as: (1) What is the relationship between leadership style of benevolence, moral and authoritarianism and subordinate response? Are there interaction effects between the three leadership elements and outcome variables? (2) What effect does the psychological mechanism and mediating process of paternalistic leadership have on subordinate effectiveness? Compared with previous leadership models such as transformational leadership, what are the incremental validity and effects of paternalistic leadership? (3) What is the external validity of paternalistic leadership? What contextual factors moderate the effect of paternalistic leadership?

## Validation on the Tripartite Model

The tripartite model of paternalistic leadership inferred that authoritarianism leadership would lead to higher level of the subordinates' awe and obedience;

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35 P. Thagard, *Conceptual revolutions*. Princeton (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

36 B. S. Cheng, L. F. Chou, & J. L. Farh, "A triad model of paternalistic leadership: The constructs and management" (2000); J. L. Farh, & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations" (2000).

37 B. S. Cheng, *Paternalistic authority and leader behavior* (1996).

benevolence leadership would result in subordinate's gratitude and repay actions; moral leadership would cause more subordinate's identification and imitation. After investigating 543 subordinates in 60 private firms in Taiwan, the researchers found that benevolence leadership led to the strongest effect on gratitude, repayment, identification and imitation; moral leadership led to the greatest effect on obedience. In addition, benevolence and authoritarianism leadership revealed a positive interaction effect on subordinate response; moral and authoritarianism leadership revealed negative interaction effect. Benevolence and moral leadership did not reveal interaction effect.<sup>38</sup> The positive interaction effect of benevolence and authoritarianism leadership showed that this kind of leadership was better than leadership styles with high level of benevolence and low level of authoritarianism, high level of authoritarianism and low level of benevolence, and low levels of both benevolence and authoritarianism. In terms of the negative interaction effect of moral and authoritarianism leadership on subordinate response it was found that the effect of high moral and authoritarianism leadership was not necessarily better than high level of moral and low level of authoritarianism. The results can be understood from traditional Chinese political reality. When officers with integrity and justice use authoritarianism to govern people, they punish those violating the laws severely, regardless of the reasons and relationship. Thus, the lower level or subordinates would regard them as indifferent people, and interpersonal distance between the subordinates and the leaders is increased.<sup>39</sup>

In addition, the study sampled 248 dyads in 57 firms in Beijing, China and also showed that benevolence, moral, and authoritarianism leadership revealed positive effects on subordinate response.<sup>40</sup> In terms of subordinates' attitudes,

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38 B. S. Cheng, L. F. Chou, M. P. Huang, T. Y. Wu, & J. L. Farh, "Paternalistic leadership and subordinate responses: Establishing a leadership model in Chinese organizations," *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 7, 1 (2004), pp. 89-117.

39 L. W. Pye, *Asia power and politics* (1985).

40 B. S. Cheng, L. F. Chou, M. P. Huang, J. L. Farh, & S. Peng, "A triad model of paternalistic leadership: Evidence from business organizations in Mainland China," *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, 20 (2003), pp. 209-250.

moral leadership had the greatest influence. As to the interactive effect of benevolence, moral and authoritarianism leadership, two aspects were consistent with the sample in Taiwan: there was a positive interactive effect between benevolence and authoritarianism leadership; negative interactive effect between moral and authoritarianism leadership.

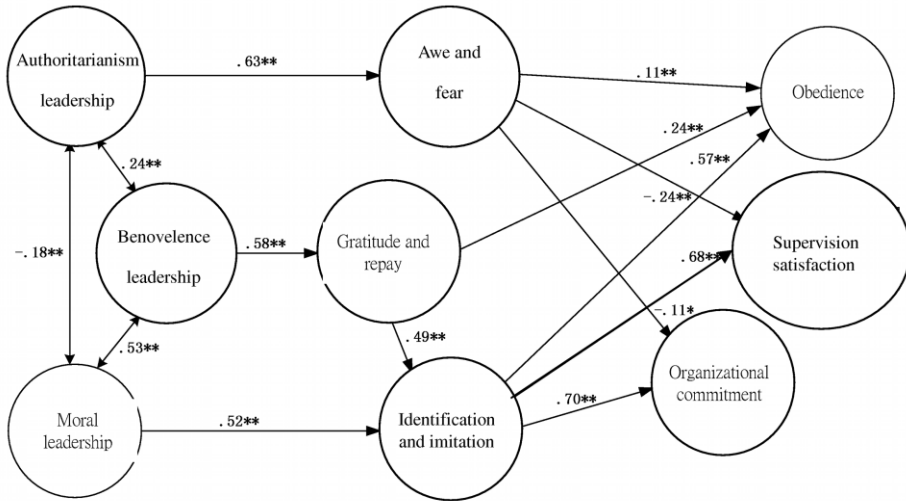
The above two studies only partly validated the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership, and did not probe into validity of an overall model. To validate an overall model, Farh, Cheng, Chou, and Chu used 292 employees as participants and adopted structural equation modeling (SEM) to examine the fitness of the tripartite model (Figure 2) in private firms in Suzhou of China.<sup>41</sup> They found the fitness index was over the criterion and most of the paths in tripartite model were validated in the structural equation model. Authoritarianism leadership revealed indirect and negative effects on supervision satisfaction and organizational commitment that resulted from awe and fear; authoritarianism leadership also revealed weak, indirect, and positive effect on obedience that was caused by fear. The influence of moral leadership on obedience, supervision satisfaction and organizational commitment came about through identification and imitation. Finally, the positive effect of benevolence leadership on obedience was mediated by gratitude and repay; moreover, benevolence leadership also had indirect and positive effects on supervision satisfaction and organizational commitment; the effects were mediated by gratitude, identification, and imitation.

The research result not only confirmed the past research findings with regard to paternalistic leadership and its effectiveness, but a further examined the overall model of the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership. The researchers found that the three elements of paternalistic leadership would influence

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41 J. L. Farh, B. S. Cheng, L. F. Chou, & X. P. Chu, "Authority and benevolence: Employees' response to paternalistic leadership in China," in A. S. Tsui, Bian, Y., & Cheng, L. (eds.), *China's domestic private firms: Multidisciplinary perspectives on management and performance* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2006), pp. 230-260.

subordinates' work attitude through awe and fear, gratitude and repay, as well as identification and imitation.



\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$  ; unimportant paths were omitted in the figure ; adapted from Farh *et al.* (2006)

Figure 2 Validation on the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership

### Comparison with Transformational Leadership

In the theory of conceptual evolution, a new concept must be unique and able to elaborate the aspects which could not be explained by old ones. Thus, to compare the model of paternalistic leadership with previous leadership concepts, it is necessary to use transformational leadership to clarify the unique effect of paternalistic leadership.

Cheng and his colleagues conducted studies regarding the unique effect of paternalistic leadership in industrial and educational organizations in Taiwan and China. The research results showed that after controlling for transformational leadership, in firms of Taiwan and China, paternalistic leadership still revealed significant and unique effects on the subordinate response and attitude. With

regard to gratitude and repayment, sacrifice for supervisor, supervision satisfaction and organizational commitment, the unique effects of paternalistic leadership were stronger than for transformational leadership; as to identification and imitation, as well as subordinates' job satisfaction, the unique effect of transformational leadership was more significant; in terms of obedience, the influences of paternalistic leadership and transformational leadership were the same.<sup>42</sup> In a study on educational institutions in Taiwan, after controlling for transformational leadership, paternalistic leadership revealed unique and significant effect on the quality of supervisor-subordinate relationships and subordinate performance.<sup>43</sup>

### Moderators of paternalistic leadership and outcomes

Many leadership researchers emphasize that there is no single leadership style that could be applied to all scenarios in the same cultural context.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the effects of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations could be different because of different contextual factors. The contextual factors identified in past studies included subordinates' authority orientation, subordinates' dependence on the leaders, and the leaders' competence.

In terms of *subordinates' authority orientation*, Cheng et al. reviewed past studies and found that the modernization of Chinese society has had significant impact on the foundation of Chinese authority orientation.<sup>45</sup> In the present,

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42 B. S. Cheng, L. F. Chou, M. P. Huang, T. Y. Wu, & J. L. Farh, "Paternalistic leadership and subordinate responses: Establishing a leadership model in Chinese organizations" (2004).

43 B. S. Cheng, P. Y. Shieh, & L. F. Chou, "The principal's leadership, leader-member exchange quality, and the teacher's extra-role behavior: The effects of transformational and paternalistic leadership," (in Chinese) *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, 17 (2002), pp. 105-161.

44 R. G. Lord, D. J. Brown, J. L. Harvey, & R. J. Hall, "Contextual constraints on prototype generation and their multilevel consequences for leadership perceptions," *Leadership Quarterly*, 12, 3 (2001), pp. 311-338.

45 B. S. Cheng, L. F. Chou, M. P. Huang, T. Y. Wu, & J. L. Farh, "Paternalistic leadership and subordinate responses: Establishing a leadership model in Chinese organizations" (2004).

obedience to authority is not necessarily the shared value of all Chinese; different attitudes of subordinates' obedience to the authority might be a critical moderator between organizational behavior and outcomes.<sup>46</sup> Researchers infer that for subordinates with different authority orientations, paternalistic leadership has different effects on the subordinate response. If subordinates had less authority orientations, they were less likely to accept authoritarianism leadership, or the influence of authoritarianism leadership might be less. As the functions of moral and benevolence leadership are similar to traditional society, the moderating effect of authority orientation might not be that significant. Based on this inference, researchers conducted an empirical study to test the hypothesis by participants from Taiwan and China respectively. The results showed that the moderating effect of subordinates' authority orientation in paternalistic leadership effectiveness was in accordance with the hypothesis.

As to *subordinates' dependence*, Hamilton suggested that Chinese leaders' authority was based upon subordinates' dependence.<sup>47</sup> Thus, subordinates' dependence on supervisors might moderate the effect of paternalistic leadership on the outcomes.<sup>48</sup> When subordinates have strong dependence on leaders, they accept high authoritarianism leaders and accomplish the works assigned by supervisors; on the contrary, when subordinates had strong need for independence, they prefer finishing the work by themselves and don't want leaders' interference. Therefore, for subordinates with low dependence, high authoritarianism leaders would usually reduce the subordinates' effectiveness while low authoritarianism leaders could increase subordinates' work effectiveness and satisfaction. The hypotheses were also supported by the data from Taiwan and China. When subordinates relied more on

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46 J. L. Farh, P. C. Earley, & S. C. Lin, "Impetus for action: A cultural analysis of justice and organizational citizenship behavior in Chinese society," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42 (1997), pp. 421-444; J. L. Farh, F. Leung, & K. Law, "On the cross-cultural validity of Holland's model of vocational choices in Hong Kong," *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 52 (1998), pp. 425-440.

47 G. G. Hamilton, "Patriarchy, patrimonialism, and filial piety: A comparison of China and Western Europe" (1990).

48 B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (1995).

supervisors, the effect of authoritarianism leadership on subordinates' supervision satisfaction, loyalty towards supervisors, and job performance are found to be stronger.<sup>49</sup>

With regard to *leaders' competence*, Farh and Cheng argued that the effect of paternalistic leadership could be moderated by leaders' competence.<sup>50</sup> In other words, authoritarianism leadership style by a competent supervisor tended to be accepted by the subordinates. As to benevolence leadership, researchers inferred that when supervisors were more competent, the influence of benevolence leadership on subordinate effectiveness would be more significant. With regard to moral leadership, when supervisors showed more moral leadership, the effects of supervisors' talents on effectiveness would be relatively insignificant. Leaders' competence revealed a positive moderating effect on authoritarianism leadership, benevolence leadership and subordinate effectiveness, but revealed negative mediating effect on moral leadership and subordinate effectiveness.<sup>51</sup>

In summary, as a concept of Chinese indigenous organizational behavior, paternalistic leadership has been valued by many researchers and many rich empirical studies can be found.<sup>52</sup> Based on our review of the literature on paternalistic leadership in the Chinese context, we find that paternalistic leadership prevails in greater China region, and Chinese, Taiwanese and overseas Chinese employees still place a high value on it. The results of empirical studies provide evidence of construct, internal and external validity to the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership.

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49 L. F. Chou, B. S. Cheng, & C. K. Jen, *The contingent model of paternalistic leadership: Subordinate dependence and leader competence* (Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of Academy of Management, Hawaii, USA, 2005).

50 J. L. Farh & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations" (2000).

51 L. F. Chou, B. S. Cheng, & C. K. Jen, *The contingent model of paternalistic leadership: Subordinate dependence and leader competence* (2005).

52 B. S. Cheng, J. L. Farh, & L. F. Chou, *Paternalistic leadership: Model and evidence* (in Chinese) (Taipei: Hwatai, 2006); E. K. Pellegrini, & T. A. Scandura, "Paternalistic leadership: A review and agenda for future research," *Journal of Management*, 34, 3 (2008), pp. 566-593.

## A Full-Cycle Indigenous Research Approach

As a new area of leadership research, paternalistic leadership has drawn more and more attention, though some important issues, such as how to conduct paternalistic leadership research and related methodology are often neglected. Therefore, we introduce the approach to be applied further to the paternalistic leadership studies. We claim that it is a feasible way to study Chinese indigenous organizational behavior.

Taking a series of studies of paternalistic leadership as examples, some researchers first conducted observation study, cultural analysis, and then proposed an initial model to develop instruments for empirical validation. They gradually modified the theoretical model to make it more precise. The method is obviously different from traditional organizational behavior studies. In most studies, theory-building and theory-testing were separated, and researchers have different views and positions.<sup>53</sup>

According to the experience acquired through the paternalistic leadership studies and the suggestions of few organizational scientists such as Chatman and Flynn,<sup>54</sup> we propose a full-cycle indigenous research approach to study Chinese indigenous organizational behavior. The essence of the research cycle upon the phenomenon is first introduced; subsequently, both inductive and deductive method should follow; then researchers further deepen the research framework and concept by constructing a theoretical model with construct, internal, and external validity. Moreover, we suggest that only one researcher or one research team instead of several different research groups should conduct the entire research process. Thus, the researchers can fully understand the model and possibly find a precise and sophisticated theory that complies with Chinese organizational behavior in reality. In the following, the processes of the full-cycle indigenous research approach will be further discussed. The process is shown in Figure 3.

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53 J. A. Chatman, & F. J. Flynn, "Full-cycle micro-organizational behavior research," *Organization Science*, 16, 4 (2005), pp. 434-447.

54 Ibid.



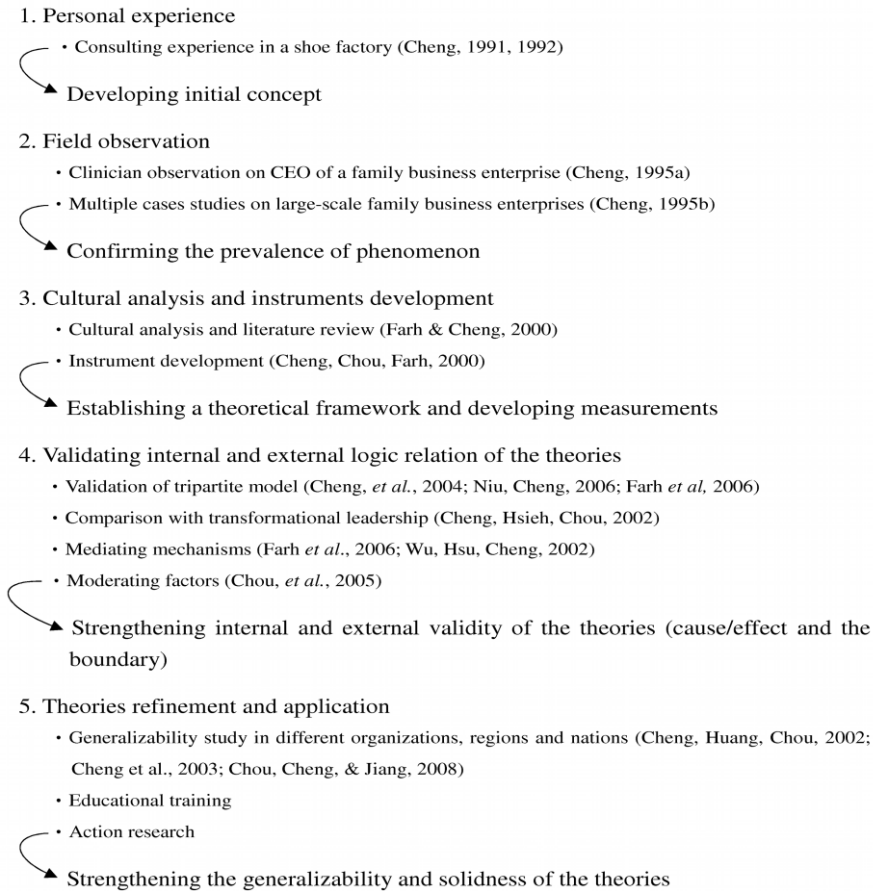


Figure 3 A full-cycle indigenous research approach of paternalistic leadership

*Phase 1: From personal experience to concept construction.* The concept of paternalistic leadership was inspired when Cheng was a human resources and organizational consultant for an owner in a shoe factory in Taiwan. Cheng systematically observed the leadership style of the CEO. He found that what he had learned in the factory for four years did not match the idea of current Western leadership theory; instead, it revealed Chinese familism characteristics and met Weber's concept of traditional domination. Cheng proposed a conceptual framework involving familism, interpersonal values, and leadership, indicating

that paternalistic authority, and the relation (or *guanxi*) differences, were two critical cultural values that influence Chinese leadership.<sup>55</sup>

As Cialdini suggested, systematic personal observation and experience tend to contribute to future theoretical insights and breakthroughs.<sup>56</sup> With the consulting experience in shoes factory, Cheng changed "believing is seeing" into "seeing is believing," and acquired a different perspective on leadership. Moreover, he also found that this kind of leadership was critical in Chinese organizations and significantly affected behavior in organizations.<sup>57</sup> However, he still could not fully discover the uniqueness of this kind of leadership. What was the prevalence in Chinese organizations? What were the basic concepts and research framework? He conducted two qualitative case studies to search for the answers.

*Phase 2: From on-site observation to verification of prevalence.* In order to further grasp the characteristics of paternalistic leadership, Cheng used a clinical ethnography approach to select a CEO in a medium-scale firm in Taiwan and his subordinates as the subjects. He found that paternalistic leadership included at least two factors: authoritarianism and benevolence. These two elements of leadership were totally different from researchers' claims in Western leadership studies.<sup>58</sup> In order to probe into the prevalence of the leadership in firms in Taiwan, he further interviewed 42 managers and upper level supervisors of large-scale enterprises in Taiwan, as well as collected the necessary documents and data for empirical validation. The results confirmed that this kind of leadership did generally exist in various Taiwanese firms.<sup>59</sup> In a study of organizational behavior, using a qualitative case study tends to be one of the necessary phases to

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55 B. S. Cheng, "Familism and leadership" (1991).

56 R. B. Cialdini, "Full-cycle social psychology," in L. Bickman (ed.), *Applied social psychology annual*, vol. 1 (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980), pp. 21-47.

57 B. S. Cheng, "Clinical approach in organization: Interests and models," (in Chinese) *Applied Psychology Research*, 33 (2007), pp. 101-125.

58 B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (1995).

59 B. S. Cheng, *Paternalism and leadership: Empirical studies on Taiwanese Private Enterprises* (1995); B. S. Cheng, *Leadership in Chinese organizations: Theory and reality* (2005).

construct theories.<sup>60</sup> After proving the uniqueness and prevalence of paternalistic leadership, Cheng and the research team started to consider how to define this type of leadership. They further conducted cultural and literature analysis to probe into the relationship between the leadership and Chinese culture, as well as into the existing literature on this issue.

*Phase 3: From cultural analysis to development of theoretical framework.*

In order to study the relationship between paternalistic leadership and traditional Chinese culture values, the researchers conducted precise cultural and literature analysis, examining the function of Confucianism and Legalism in traditional Chinese culture on the construction of paternalistic leadership. Critical research results were reviewed, such as research findings of Silin (1976), Redding (1990), Westwood (1997), and Cheng (1995a).<sup>61</sup> Subsequently, they worked on an operational definition of paternalistic leadership, extracted moral leadership from benevolence leadership, and proposed an initial theory framework of the tripartite model (see Figure 1) as the basis of empirical study.<sup>62</sup> Afterwards, they developed a questionnaire of paternalistic leadership, and testified to its validity and reliability.<sup>63</sup>

*Phase 4: From examining internal and external logic relation to validating internal validity of the theory (including cause-and-effect relationship and the theoretical boundary).* In order to check the validity of the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership, the researchers observed the main effects, interaction effects, and contextual boundaries of authoritarianism, benevolence and moral

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60 K. M. Eisenhardt & M. E. Graebner, "Theory building from cases: opportunities and challenges," *Academy of Management Journal*, 50, 1 (2007), pp. 25-32.

61 R. H. Silin, *Leadership and value: The organization of large-scale Taiwan enterprises* (1976); S. G. Redding, *The spirit of Chinese capitalism* (1990); R. Westwood, "Harmony and patriarchy: The cultural basis for 'paternalistic headship' among the overseas Chinese," (1997); B. S. Cheng, "Paternalistic authority and leadership: A case study of a Taiwan CEO" (1995).

62 J. L. Farh & B. S. Cheng, "A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations" (2000).

63 B. S. Cheng, L. F. Chou, & J. L. Farh, "A triad model of paternalistic leadership: The constructs and management" (2000).

leadership on effectiveness by using questionnaires and scenario design. In addition, they probed into mediating effects of paternalistic leadership on subordinates' and organizational effectiveness, and looked for a significant mediating effect caused by subordinates' psychological responses as well as studied the quality of leader-subordinate relation. They also compared the predictive effects of paternalistic leadership and transformational leadership on outcomes. The results showed that paternalistic leadership was unique and different from transformational leadership in terms of constructions and effects. As to the main effects of authoritarianism, benevolence and moral leadership, the researchers found that the influence of authoritarianism leadership on objective performance was positive and significant; the influence of benevolence and moral leadership on subordinate's attitude effectiveness was more significant. In addition, subordinates' psychological reaction and the quality of leader-subordinate relation could mediate the relationship between paternalistic leadership and outcomes.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, subordinate's dependence and authority orientation, as well as leader's competence could moderate the relationship and outcomes.<sup>65</sup> These empirical studies demonstrated the internal validity and boundary of the tripartite model of paternalistic leadership.

*Phase 5: Theory refinement to strengthen evidence of the theory.* After confirming internal validity and boundary of the theoretical model, the researchers continued probing into the generalization of the tripartite model in different organizations, regions, and nations. Since the concept of paternalistic leadership was based on Chinese culture and high power distance, the researchers

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64 C. P. Niu, A. C. Wang, & B. S. Cheng, "Effectiveness of a moral and benevolent leader: Probing the interactions of the dimensions of paternalistic leadership," *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* (2009) (in press); B. S. Cheng, P. Y. Shieh, & L. F. Chou, "The principal's leadership, leader-member exchange quality, and the teacher's extra-role behavior: The effects of transformational and paternalistic leadership" (2002); T. Y. Wu, W. L. Hsu, & B. S. Cheng, "Expressing or suppressing anger: Subordinates' anger responses to supervisors' authoritarian behaviors in a Taiwan enterprise," (in Chinese) *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, 18 (2002), pp. 3-49.

65 L. F. Chou, B. S. Cheng, & C. K. Jen, *The contingent model of paternalistic leadership: Subordinate dependence and leader competence* (2005).

examined the generalizability of the model in different organizations located in different regions and nations to validate the cultural boundary of model and its generalizability.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, researchers applied the tripartite model to organizational fields and examined practical applications of paternalistic leadership by field studies such as educational training or action research to see whether paternalistic leadership is useful and whether it would lead to similar results as in the basic studies. If the answer is positive, the researchers could re-confirm the results of the basic study, and apply it to the organization to solve actual problems. If the answer is negative, the researchers can return to the previous phase and review the characteristics of various organizations or contexts to understand what caused the possible results. In conclusion, through phase 5, they could recognize the on-site application of paternalistic leadership and further strengthen the solidness and generalizability of the theory.

## Implication for Chinese Organizational Behavior Studies

In Figure 3, a series of studies about paternalistic leadership is reviewed. Although it was simple, it clearly elaborated upon the practice of the full-cycle indigenous research approach. The method is highly consistent with Cialdini's and Chatman & Flynn's approach.<sup>67</sup>

Cialdini suggested that an ideal research process of social psychology should involve participant observation, theoretical construction, and theoretical validation in order to increase internal and external validity.<sup>68</sup> Based on

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66 L. F. Chou, B. S. Cheng, & D. Y. Jiang, *Paternalistic leadership: A generalization study under globalization, Proceedings of workshop on Taiwan, China, and the regionalization of global production networks* (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2008).

67 R. B. Cialdini, "Systematic opportunism: An approach to the study of tactical social influence," in J. P. Forgas & K. D. Williams (eds.), *Social influence: Direct and indirect processes* (Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press, 2001), pp. 25-39; J. A. Chatman & F. J. Flynn, "Full-cycle micro-organizational behavior research" (2005).

68 Ibid.

Cialdini's suggestions, Chatman & Flynn proposed the concept of a full-cycle organizational research method, suggesting that in order to further understand individual and group behavior in organizations, researchers should do the following: (1) use participant observations to discover interesting organizational phenomenon, (2) construct a cause-and-effect theoretical framework of the phenomenon, (3) examine empirical validation on cause-and-effect relationship of the theory, (4) conduct further participant observations to strengthen the application quality of the theory. Furthermore, different studies should be connected, and the researchers should think over and validate all the research processes repetitively in order to construct inspiring and precise theoretical models.<sup>69</sup>

Although they proposed the above views, they did not emphasize the cultural and historical knowledge and high levels of cultural sensitivity as the basis of theorization about causes of observed phenomena. Thus, we will use the research of paternalistic leadership as an example to further analyze the advantages of adopting a full-cycle research approach on Chinese indigenous organizational behavior studies. The approach involves advantages of participant observation and experimental study, as well as characteristics of qualitative studies that may possibly lead to a theoretical concept matching the local context. By repetitively working through the whole cycle, researchers can develop an inspiring indigenous model.

First of all, since there is no perfect study,<sup>70</sup> it is better to conduct a series of studies and use multiple methods than conduct a single study; obviously, the full-cycle research approach matches this requirement. In the initial stage, researchers can enter the research field and learn surprising or contradictory concepts from real phenomenon. Additionally, they can approach the Chinese organizations and

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> J. E. McGrath, "Dilemmatic: The study of research choices and dilemmas," in J. E. McGrath, J. Martin, R. Kulka (eds.), *Judgement calls in research* (Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage, 1982).

make significant breakthroughs; subsequently, cultural analysis helps researchers to clarify the phenomenon or concepts and the complicated relation among Chinese culture, history and system, and further develop the theoretical framework matching local context. As to well-controlled experimental studies or questionnaire surveys, the validity of the theory can be examined to order to decide whether to modify the theory or model. Finally, on-site application studies cannot only validate external validity of the theory and the practical significance, but also further expand and modify the theory.

Secondly, a single individual or a group instead of the whole research community should follow the full-cycle research approach. The reason is in that one researcher or one team can judge more precisely and decide whether to enter the next phase or return to the previous one. Thus, a single researcher or a team should go through the whole process of theoretical and practical cycle based on the phenomenon observed and the theory constructed, instead of only extracting certain aspects and focusing on certain types of studies.<sup>71</sup> In this way, a bridge between practicability of organizational behavior and academic study can be built. The practices can be more precise and the theory can be more practical. Therefore, it is also one of the reasons why many prominent organizational researchers only pursue few critical issues in their lives.

Finally, it might take several years to conduct a full-cycle research study or finish the research cycle. Therefore, researchers need more academic persistence; otherwise, research findings cannot be effectively accumulated. In this situation, it is necessary to build a research team— through members' cooperation, exchange and support, a full research process can be accomplished in shorter time. Moreover, research findings can be published in individual papers or integrated into one book, which should facilitate the complete and immediate communication of the research findings. We call for indigenous scholars to go

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71 J. A. Chatman & F. J. Flynn, "Full-cycle micro-organizational behavior research" (2005).

through the full research cycle and building new theories with indigenous cultural origins in the global age.

## Conclusions

This paper elaborates upon the construction, development, and current research situation of paternalistic leadership that has emerged from Asia and is a new area for leadership research. It then discusses the methodology issues of theoretical construction and model validation of paternalistic leadership, suggesting the advantages of taking a full-cycle research approach in studying Chinese indigenous organizational behavior. Since a full-cycle research study involves participant observation, cultural analysis, model construction, theoretical validation, and on-site application, it can effectively enhance the solidness, preciseness and practicability of the theory and meet cultural values.

We also suggest that although it takes time and energy to conduct a full research study, this method facilitates creation and accumulation of knowledge. Therefore, it should be encouraged that indigenous organizational behavior studies be conducted by taking this approach, and go through the whole process with a single researcher or a team for better results. Having the persistence for continuous development is necessary. We hope that our review encourages other researchers to take the full-cycle indigenous research approach for studying Chinese organizational behavior and help the field to reach maturity by considering both theory and practice in precise and useful terms to subsequently promote the work and living quality of one-fifth the population of the world.♦

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♦ Responsible editor: Yeh-Ming Chin (金葉明).



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General Article 【研究論著】

## Creative Globalization: The Age of Global Studies 創意全球化：全球化研究時代

Alain-Marc RIEU\*

**Keywords:** Globalization, epistemology, Human and Social Sciences,  
self-reflexivity, complexity, essentialism

**關鍵詞：**全球化、知識論、人文社會、自我反省、複雜性、本質主義

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## Abstract

East Asian Studies have introduced in Human and Social Sciences a self-reflective process, which is transforming them. These disciplines learn how to criticize their presuppositions and how to reach a level of abstraction beyond National Studies. The conception of the "universal" is criticized and reconstructed. This evolution opens a different perspective on the Globalization process and leads to the emergence of Global Studies.

## 摘要

東亞研究引進了在人文社會科學裡自我反省的過程，而這個自我反省過程也改變了東亞研究。這些學科學會批判原本的假設，以及如何達到國學之外的抽象層次。「全球」這個概念已受到評論並重建。這個進化為「全球化」的過程開啟了不同的概念，並朝融合全球化研究邁進。



## Historical transition

This paper is a comment on a conference "New Horizons of East Asian Studies in the Age of Globalization" organized by Professor Chun-chieh Huang, dean of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences, at Taiwan National University on 13-14 December 2008. This remarkable conference offered the possibility to explore and synthesize how Globalization is transforming research in the Humanities and Social Sciences as well as the role played by East Asian Studies in this transformation.<sup>1</sup> "Globalization" is an ambiguous notion encompassing many different problems and conflicting issues. For some specialists Globalization is the new and last stage of the Modernization process. This interpretation explains many phenomena but it conceals the emergence within globalization of a new and different process. In the 1990s, Globalization meant the unavoidable emergence of a economic process submerging all societies and touching all aspects of each society, a new historical dynamics and power: the new Leviathan. Globalization was something one had to adopt and adapt to. Economic Globalization had many positive and negative effects: it redistributed wealth around the world but it also generated new poverties, exclusions and intensified exploitation of natural resources, including accelerated global warming.<sup>2</sup> But Globalization opened another process: it intensified interactions between cultural, intellectual and social traditions to such a level that a new page of world history is now turned. The French language allows a distinction between Globalization and *mondialisation* (*Worldization*), understood as the emerging awareness of a world common to all individuals,

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1 I am very grateful to Professor Chun-chieh Huang for having invited me to comment on the various papers and debates. This article is derived from these comments. I express also my gratitude to Professor Ming-huei Lee.

2 See Alain-Marc Rieu, "Deconstructive Globalization. Universalism, Globality, Diversity," *IHS Newsletter* (Institute of Advanced Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences, National Taiwan

cultures and nations.<sup>3</sup> The idea of *worldization* denies and even rejects the idea of a whole and totality subordinating, dominating or controlling the diversity of cultures, histories and nations. Deconstructive globalization is leading to creative *worldization*. It is too early to assess what will be the outcome of this historical transition. But, the 2008 Taiwan conference showed that a major change and progress are underway.

Until the 1990s, specialists in the Humanities and Social Sciences remained within the realm of National Studies, be it Chinese, Japanese, French, German, South African, etc. National Studies remain within historical boundaries and they tend to reproduce and justify these boundaries. The source of these boundaries is usually identified as "cultural". In this sense, "culture" is reduced to what divides and opposes. Hybrid cultures are considered marginal, impure and inauthentic. What takes place between the boundaries is reduced to "exchange", "dialogue", "comparison" and "transfer". Boundaries are the black box of the Humanities and Social Sciences. Cultural boundaries have such a long and deep history that it is impossible to ignore them. But, for decades, Human Sciences have explained how these boundaries were and are still constructed. Furthermore, Globalization has intensified dialogue and comparison between societies and cultures to such a point that it is now possible to shift from comparing national or regional cultural traditions to building joint research on common problems and issues. This is a historical change. This colloquium is a very significant contribution to this transition.

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University, 2009), pp. 11-22.

3 The distinction between "global" and "common" is beyond the scope of this article.

## 1. Self-reflexivity: Beyond National Studies

Because of the diversity of their methods, objects and presuppositions, East Asian Studies have introduced into the Humanities and Social Sciences a self-reflective process, which for years has been questioning their established presuppositions. This questioning is starting to have a strong feedback effect on the nations and cultures where these disciplines originated, the nations traditionally called the "West". This is a decisive evolution for these disciplines. For instance, my own research was deeply transformed in the late 1980 when I started to be invited by Japanese universities. To discover Japan was also to discover Japanese Studies. The sophistication required to apply Human & Social Sciences to the Japanese context, the need to adjust their presuppositions in order to explain Japan's evolution and present situation, resulted in a critical examination of these presuppositions.<sup>4</sup> The demarcations introduced by Humanities and Social Sciences, between religion, politics, society and economy, reshape and reorganize social experience and societies themselves. This is particularly true concerning the conception of the "market" and of a "market economy".

The new level of reflexivity introduced by East Asian Studies acts as an embedded epistemology. When presuppositions become explicit, they are tested, proven wrong or validated, reshaped or discarded. This progress in raising problems and redefining concepts is so powerful that these innovations are now providing a new framework extending far beyond the case of Japan or China. If this framework is valid, it can be used to study Europe as well as East Asia or the rest of the world. This is the reason why East Asian Studies, when they themselves are adapted to this historical conjuncture, are then progressively reshaping the demarcations between all Human and Social Sciences. This is a real scientific progress for these disciplines. The impact is deepest in the Humanities. Indeed, Social Sciences, typically Economics, are supposed to be

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<sup>4</sup> See Alain-Marc Rieu, *Savoir et pouvoir dans la modernisation du Japon* (Paris: P.U.F., 2001), p. 332.

already global. But, this assertion conceals the fact that Economics, Psychology and Sociology are disciplines born in Western Europe. Even as reshaped in the U.S., according to the American context and interests, they carry within them the weight of European history and societies, including colonialism and imperialism. Until now, they participated in the globalization process and even reinforced it. They have until now escaped the self-reflective and critical process generated by this process. If Social Sciences are supposed to be "global", the Humanities have a paradoxical status. On one hand, they are supposed to be regional, national or local; at the same time, they are supposed to search for universal or common values. This paradox brings about the fact that they are considered less or even non scientific, a sort of by-product of historical prejudices and "imagined" identities. But, in fact, economics and Economics are themselves historical constructions. If there were laws in Economics like in Physics, our societies might have predicted and avoided the 2008 financial and economic crisis.

One effect of Globalization is, therefore, the integration of East Asian Studies into the main stream of Human and Social Sciences. This, in turn, transforms these disciplines, the role they play in International Relations, in the evolution of societies, in cultural and cognitive innovation, in general. All in all, new knowledge is produced. This new knowledge is disconnected from purely French, European, American, Chinese or Japanese presuppositions or hypotheses. This evolution is a sort of deconstructive/ reconstructive epistemology, a case of creative globalization. This self-reflexive process generates a degree of abstraction and generality, beyond usual "national studies", "area studies" and other "civilizational" perspectives in the style of Samuel Huntington. This comparative process is properly *scientific* without having to rely on formal and quantitative models in order to ground its validity. It leads to the construction of a proper theory, independent from its source contexts. It is or should be capable of explaining with the same conceptual pattern and method the evolution of different societies, wherever they are geographically situated. This is a typical

case of "symmetric epistemology".<sup>5</sup> Such a theory is a substitute for a conception of the universal which, in the end, is always based on some cultural presuppositions.

The meaning of the colloquium "New Horizons of East Asian Studies in the Age of Globalization," of its communications and debates, can be summarized as such: in the age of globalization, East Asian Studies are merging within Human and Social sciences; because of the distinctive characters of East Asian societies, this merger transforms Human and Social Sciences in proportion to the capacity of each discipline to evolve. The result is that Human and Social Sciences are gradually being emancipated from their Western origin. They are shared and practiced all over the world by people specialized in their theory as well as in a specific area or culture. Societies are certainly different, but the way to study them is becoming increasingly more and more similar and even unified. These differences are an appeal for both theoretical progress and empirical studies. This conjunction opens up a new field of research and teaching, even a new discipline: *Global Studies*.

## 2. Advancement in Human Sciences

Various communications in this conference contributed to such progress in Human and Social Sciences and also to a better understanding of social, cultural and economic diversity, without falling into the trap of relativist ideologies and philosophies. Relativism is spreading a dangerous doubt on the validity of Human and Social Sciences, on their capacity to explain the diversity of societies according to common (scientific) standards. Multiculturalism is a positive and strong political claim but with toxic epistemological and philosophical

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<sup>5</sup> A notion introduced by Bruno Latour, *Nous n'avons jamais été modernes: Essai d'anthropologie symétrique* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991).

consequences. The Taipei conference developed five main conceptual perspectives and themes, which are structuring research in Global Studies.

## 2.1 Decentering and distancing

Chun-chieh Huang explained how decentering and distancing have become a method and research requirement in order to reformulate concepts and problems.<sup>6</sup> He insisted on the diversity of East Asian Confucianisms, on the method and concepts required to analyze this diversity. "Confucianism" is not a word commonly used in the plural. What is at stake in Huang's approach is to constitute as a full theme of inquiry and debate the role and meaning of Confucianism in each East Asian society, without denying its major historical role and meaning. Chun-chieh Huang transforms an established and imagined evidence into an object of inquiry. Such a transformation is always a sign of progress. In retrospect, it is not certain that such a distancing and objectification are fully achieved in Europe. There are still many heated debates on Europe's distinctive character, on "what makes Europe Europe or European." The list of answers always repeats the same assertions: democracy and market-based economy, science and innovation, Human Rights and International Law, freedom and the role of the individual, Christianity and Judeo-Christianism. Today these shopworn assertions and their universalist implications have produced more questions than answers. Given its importance for the emancipation of mankind, the process introduced by these notions can only be further implemented by questioning and narrowing their presuppositions. This is the only way to prevent relativism.

The work of Mme Mireille Delmas-Marty, professor at the Collège de France in Paris<sup>7</sup> is a typical example of such an approach. In the last six years, she has

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6 The title of Chun-chieh Huang's presentation was: "Some Reflections on the Study of East Asian Confucianisms: Its Rationale and Its Problematiques."

7 Her 2007 and 2008 seminars are available as podcasts at the Collège de France's Web site. They belong to the general enquiry *Les forces imaginatives du droit*, three volumes (Paris: Le seuil, 2004-2007).

been exploring the concept of an "international common legal system." The objective of her seminars is to solve "the enigma of a world community, which, in order to become inter-human instead of inter-national, needs to build itself without any preexisting or universal ground."<sup>8</sup> Her solution is based on the three "principles of interaction", required for "ordering pluralism": "coordination", "harmonization" and "hybridization".<sup>9</sup> These principles create the possibility to effectively open a path beyond the opposition between "comparative Law" and "international law". This method in International Law theory replicates the opposition between Globalization, Self-reflexivity, Decentering as well as Deconstruction. Such a theoretical approach is also a practical method: to collaborate in a joint project by negotiating a conceptual framework, with the goal of constructing not a universal or transcendental philosophy but a common public philosophy.<sup>10</sup>

This decentering and distancing effect<sup>11</sup> constitute an efficient methodological procedure. Decentering was achieved first by introducing a point of view, which is both inside East Asia and outside the debate over "State-centrism as the basis of Confucianism," then by introducing the case of Japan with all its historical and ideological weight. Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese intellectuals in the media, policy making and academia have tried to express, fabricate or imagine an "essence" of Japan by interpreting and reinterpreting various sources. This exclusivist approach resulted in "Ultra-nationalism", an extreme nationalism and a vision of Japan as the center, model and leader of all potential modernization of East Asian nations. Decentering and distancing tend to immunize research in the

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8 My translation, seminar, 25 April 2008. I reinforce the meaning of preexisting (*préalable*) by adding "universal".

9 *Le pluralisme ordonné*, 1 partie "Les processus d'interaction," *Les forces imaginatives du droit*, volume 2, pp. 39-138.

10 Such a joint research was started in April 2008 by Alain-Marc Rieu with Professor Yang Guorong, Eastern China Normal University, Shanghai. The second meeting took place in Lyon in September 2009. See <http://w7.ens-lsh.fr/amrieu/spip.php?rubrique153>.

11 In a sense similar to what Bertold Brecht called "*Verfremdungseffekt*," a defamiliarization and estrangement effect.

Humanities and Social Sciences against repeating the same mistakes at another level or in another case.

## 2.2 A standard for research

Decentering and distancing were also the main issue raised by Professor Jörn Rüsen's presentation.<sup>12</sup> These two requirements were introduced as the outcome of a powerful procedure, similar in many ways to Huang's. This convergence proves that a decisive step is reached for building future research. Jörn Rüsen's argumentation was constructed upon a detailed introduction leading to the following statement: "The first step of my argumentation is criticism." This first step and introduction expressed the presuppositions presiding over the later steps of his argumentation. They opened a debate over these presuppositions. Jörn Rüsen's argument was made explicit so that it could be evaluated, criticized, modified, reproduced or rejected. This academic procedure sets a standard essential for Human and Social Sciences in the age of globalization, in an age when all systems of thought interact with each other. This standard strengthens the integrity and validity of the Humanities.

In this approach, presuppositions become a full object of research and criticism. Those who criticize or even reject presuppositions reject assertions and conclusions derived from these presuppositions. But, presuppositions cannot be simply denied or rejected by being replaced by other presuppositions or prejudices, coming, for instance, from national cultures or regional traditions. Such criticism has any legitimacy and value only if it is based on open inquiry and debate over all presuppositions, wherever they come from. The resulting decentering and distancing effects formulate problems situated at a *global* level, beyond national studies. This level is purely conceptual and theoretical but these concepts and their theory are based on case studies with practical consequences.

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12 Title: "Intercultural Humanism: how to do the Humanities in the Age of Globalization."



This global level cannot be said "universal" because universality supposes an *a priori* or transcendental universal ground (if not a cultural, national or religious taboo), which is finally always criticized and contested. This is quite a challenging task and such a task can only be achieved by collaborative research.

There is, of course, no ideal situation of transparency, free from all presuppositions. But, this collective and reciprocal examination and rectification of presuppositions is probably the initial progress introduced by Global Studies. These are prerequisites for producing new knowledge.<sup>13</sup> This explains why the emergence of Global Studies is a major historical transition. It challenges academic, cultural and national traditions. It modifies the way societies both understand themselves and study each other. This transforms one's relations to one's own culture. This call for innovation has unpredictable consequences.

### 2.3 History reopened

Jörn Rüsen explained in detail his presupposition and this explanation became his presentation. This approach and method opened a debate and inquiry on the diversity of discourses, interests and theories covered by this confusing notion of Globalization. His presupposition is a Hegelian conception of history reformulated in order to express the end and goal of the Globalization process. This style of argument explains how the universalist approach proper to the European Enlightenment was understood as a progress of Reason. It also explains why it led in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the recognition of differences, of distinct peoples and nations requiring from each other reciprocal recognition. This universalist conception of Reason has been the historical ground for the study of these differences. It also required a mutual recognition of these differences as the basis for a new conception of a world order and international Peace. The Universal ground justified its own dialectical specification in effective

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13 This rectification process satisfies the basic Popperian scientific criteria. Presuppositions are treated as conjectures considered as historical, social or cultural hypostases.

particularities. But, the spirit of universal reason and rationality was not lost. It continued its process and this evolution led to overcoming particularities in a new version of the Universal identified as the Global. The Global is the Universal at work and taking an effective shape. Therefore, according to this Hegelian presupposition developed by Jörn Rüsen, Globalization is understood as a major step in the advancement of universalism and Humanism. It is the effective interaction of distinct political and cultural identities in search of their mutual recognition. The resulting conflicts and tensions lead, in the end, to their overcoming in the conception and construction of global institutions. This explains why Globalization does not bring Peace but a world order made of tensions, conflicts and even local wars, why it generates an unstable equilibrium, which mankind has to learn to organize and manage. It does not lead to the "end of history" as diagnosed by Francis Fukuyama.<sup>14</sup> It has opened a new historical cycle, beyond Euro-American historical identification with Universalism.

This is a practical statement on the present world situation and a conception of a goal for the future of Humanity. It means that international organizations established after World War II express an abstract, formal and ideal conception of the world order. This explains also why the United Nations is generally considered as powerless. The new step introduced by the globalization process is the effective construction of a world order associating one with other nations and cultures, economies, conceptions of politics, social institutions and even religions. However dangerous and violent, competition, conflicts, rivalries are conceived as a step toward the emergence of a different world order. This is the meaning and message of Jörn Rüsen's presentation. It is both a practical description of the present situation and a conception of an emerging common goal for Humanity. This conception of Globalization is explicitly structured around the dual notions of identity and recognition within the realm of the Hegelian dialectics and its multiple interpretations.

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14 "The End of History?" Review *The National Interest* (Summer, 1989).

## 2.4 Subjectivity

A convergence and common horizon between Chun-chieh Huang, Jörn Rüsen and other participants could be observed. This convergence expresses a mutation typical of the emergence of Global Studies. The lines of convergence leading to this transition are the following: the self-reflexive process of a given society or culture cannot today be separated from research and innovation in the Humanities and Social Sciences. These disciplines are the mirror in which societies build a fragmented image of themselves in order to recognize themselves and act on themselves. This mirror operates, at the same time, within each individual and group composing a society. Research and debates in these disciplines express and reinforce change in cultures and societies. The search for identity and recognition is, therefore, both an individual evolution as well as a collective process. These two levels are different but closely related to each other. Collective representations shaped by individual experience and fields of research and communication studying behaviors and evolutions associate these two sides of the same mirror. All these micro and macro images are not bounded by national cultures and histories. They integrate various and distant societies in an open and unpredictable set of connections. This unlimited system of mirrors associates from inside and within. Things do not happen *between* but *within*. This emergence is not a "global village" or "global community". It is not "global" because nothing is there to *globalize*. This is a world *à la Leibniz* where everything is connected and resonating from inside. But, such metaphors are in the end misleading: what is important is theory, joint research, communication and collective debate.

Subjectivity is the term expressing this conception of the world today.<sup>15</sup> Subjectivity means first an interaction with oneself (*rapport à soi*), how an individual appears to himself, sees and thinks himself in relation to others in a

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<sup>15</sup> These comments are very much influenced by the evolution of Michel Foucault at the end the 1970ies and until his death.

given society with its institutions and in a culture with its values and patterns of behavior. Subjectivity also designates how all entities, individuals, cultures, institutions and environments are connected within each other and form a complex or network. Subjectivity finally expresses how evolutions take place within individual subjects. In his interaction with and within him or herself, an individual is situated both in a theoretical complex (ideas, language games, established knowledge, etc) and in a practical world (institutions, conventions). Collective evolutions converge in the "*rapport à soi*" where subjectivities are shaped and evolve, where the Self is formed and transformed. All different, all connected. Within these subjectivities, a *world* is expressed and communicated, a *complex* is thought and debated.

The study of Globalization is therefore just one aspect of Global Studies, one level of contemporary reality. It supposes other sets of issues and perspectives. Problems, which cannot be solved at a given level, should be addressed or reformulated in the light of different perspectives. This is a perplexing situation, transcultural and transdisciplinary. Large-scale entities like "culture", "religion", "politics", "economic system" and even "society" become quite different issues and problems from the point of view of individuals, of the formation of the Self, the expression of subjectivities, of group and class behaviors and values, from the point of view of power structure and power relations.

This shift from Globalization to subjectivity, from global issues to the formation of the Self and even intimate issues is perplexing and a major challenge. According the initial perspective, Humans, societies and nations are searching throughout history for their identity and fight for recognition. The problem of the subjectivity, the formation of the Self and the internal relations of subjectivities reach far beyond the search for identity and recognition. The Hegelian model associating the individual and the collective is transformed: the notion of "society" covers many different levels and modes of investigation.

Internal interactions of subjects generate a community and a society. This society resides within each individual and within their relations, beyond institutions, States and cultures. Therefore, at that level, a society is a multifaceted complex of subjectivities, all different from one another but also all related to each other. Each level constituting a society is a specific field of inquiry and knowledge. At the level of interacting subjectivities, the problem is to study the formation of various types of subjectivity according to different historical and social contexts, in East Asia or Europe. But the level characterized by the couple identity/recognition is constituted by discrete entities in situation of conflicts and competition. The level characterized by the notion of subjectivity tends to dissolve entities in order to study the emergence of subjectivities, the resulting trends in society, their evolution and adaptation. The conception of culture is quite different according to the level under study. A typical contemporary phenomenon is the hybridization of cultural patterns, values and individual attitudes. This hybridization has a major impact on the formation of the Self and on the relations between individual subjects. All subjectivities are hybrids.

## 2.5 Complexity

Professor Zhang Longxi's presentation<sup>16</sup> insisted on the idea of complexity. This is indeed a major step forward, typical of the impact of East Asian Studies on Human Sciences. This is an interesting convergence with the work of Naoki Sakai, who explains that "complexity" is a version of deconstruction.<sup>17</sup> As a method and perspective, complexity supposes problems raised by the idea of "deconstruction". Deconstruction is the cognitive attitude, which led in Human Sciences to exploring complexity. Deconstruction seems to have gone out of fashion before having been sufficiently understood and its role in the emergence of Global Studies fully evaluated. Basically, as a methodological approach and

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16 Title: "East Asia in the Globe: beyond Universalism and Relativism."

17 See for instance "Translation" in *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 23, No. 2-3 (2006), pp. 71-78.

philosophy, Deconstruction questions the core assumption of Modern European thought: the capacity to practice and justify criticism in all fields, from politics to science, including religion. Criticism is the core of modern philosophy. But, the practice, legitimacy and validity of criticism always imply to find or establish a universal or common ground, a "cornerstone" or a "truth". The problem is that this ground or truth has itself become an object of inquiry and criticism. Deconstruction expresses the moment when criticism itself is under criticism in order to reduce and overcome cultural presuppositions and historical prejudices. Deconstruction is a progress, a form of advanced criticism. Complexity is a practical version of deconstruction.

Zhang Longxi explained how the idea of complexity raises issues reaching beyond the opposition between universalism and relativism. But, these issues reach also beyond the distinction between National and Global, between identity and recognition. Zhang Longxi refers to the Hegelian source of this opposition and he explains how to overcome an opposition, which has become an epistemological obstacle. He explains that the source of universalism is the projection of the self-expressed difference of a given culture as a globalized norm. Universalism is an exclusivist version of an "imagined" cultural or national difference. From the perspective of complexity, the opposition between universalism and relativism vanishes. What emerges as a field of study is the complexity of interactions, the joint formation and co-evolution of intertwined subjectivities, the emergence of collective behaviors unpredictable from the point of view of political institutions and economic rationality.

As conceived by Zhang Longxi, complexity defines a field of research as well as method to analyze the objects of this field. To deconstruct is to *complexify*. Dissolving at a given level entities proper to another level is to complexify, to make more complex. To introduce complexity, a new level of complexity in Human Sciences, is therefore a major progress. The practical consequences are many: to admit as a methodological perspective the complexity

of East Asia transforms the comparison of broad entities, like Chinese or Japanese cultures, identities, economies, etc, into the analysis of the links, influences, interactions within and between these entities.<sup>18</sup> At this level, opposing "between" and "within" is not relevant. The formation of broader entities can be better explained from the point of view of these interactions. This applies most of all to the quasi-metaphysical opposition between "East" and "West". This opposition is the ultimate epistemological obstacle in Human and Social Sciences, because research proves the constant historical flux of interactions between the two. To *complexify* pseudo-categories like "Europe", the "West" or the "East is to dissolve them. To free the Humanities from these oppositions is to open a wide field of research, typical of the Globalization age. Globalization is an age of "creolization".<sup>19</sup>

"Hybridization" and "creolization" are other names given to the problem of subjectivity and complexity. These notions are theoretical perspectives based on the problem of "difference" developed in the last forty years in the Humanities and Social Sciences, then in the media, politics and international relations. The search for diversity is the source of the search for identity and recognition. But, it is first of all a search and experience of difference. Difference is a cognitive attitude and methodological requirement which question pre-formed entities, institutions, conventions, ideologies and discourses at the basis of societies, economies, cultures and religions. Global Studies open a world of differences and dissolve imagined entities. This explains why Global Studies are converging toward issues of subjectivity and power. Power on the formation and development of the Self, of social relations and collective representations. But, in

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18 The complexity of relations, influences and interactions in East Asia is the object of the COE research program undertaken by Kanagawa University, *Systematization of nonwritten Cultural materials for the Study of Human Societies*. See <http://www.himoji.jp/index.html>. In his paper "Digital Anthropology: The Internet as Virtual Museum" (*Interpreting Human Culture through nonwritten materials*, Bulletin No. 4 (Yokohama: Kanagawa University, 2007), pp. 3-34. <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00360153>), Alain-Marc Rieu argues pp. 28-32 that this research is redrawing maps of East Asian cultures and societies.

19 I refer here to the work of Edouard Glissant.

accordance with the work of Michel Foucault, power means also empowerment of subjects and subjectivities, of their experience and ethics as well as their capacity to produce and share knowledge.

### 3. Overcoming Essentialism

The internalization of East Asian Studies has been transforming Human Sciences for years. Globalizing Human Sciences is also reshaping Globalization because it transforms it into an open field of inquiry and criticism. Concepts are reconstructed, problems redefined. A major outcome of the Taiwan colloquium is a repeated criticism and even a call for an overcoming of essentialism. Essentialism is a thought pattern, which reduces differences to identities. It supposes that each identity is grounded in an essence. In return, this essence is considered as the trans-historical source of this difference and identity. To fight for one's identity and recognition is to rediscover or invent a lost or repressed essence. Differences are reduced to identities. Conceptions of an "imagined" essence are many. But, essentialism is presupposed by national studies and of nationalist ideologies. At a broad level, national similarities can indeed be observed and should indeed be studied as such. But, it is wrong to infer from similarities or "family resemblances" (the notion used by Chun-chieh Huang), the existence of an essence.

From this point of view, the opposition between East and West is obsolete. Edward Said's legacy is to question the relevance of this opposition. When Edward Said explained how the West had invented the "Orient",<sup>20</sup> he was explaining that there was no essence of the Orient. European "high and low" culture had constructed a set of features as proper to the Orient and had projected these features as the essence of the Orient. But, the construction of an essence of

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20 *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978).



the Orient was also a construction of an essence of the West. If there is an Orient, there needs to be another entity according to which this imagined Orient is defined, a non-Orient called the West. By explaining there was no Orient, Edward Said was also implying there was no Occident. This reciprocal construction and deconstruction of an Orient and an Occident remains an issue today. There was a major dissymmetry: the West is the origin of this construction and its deconstruction is initial task of Global Studies.

This paradigmatic case shows how intertwined are the Orient and the Occident, how essentialism is a pattern of thought which is repressing this reciprocal construction, how it has historically reduced the complexity of interactions to a list of oppositions classifying what is Eastern, Western, Asian, East Asian, etc. Geographical positions and observed differences are transformed in an ontology through a complex cultural, religious, political and economic process. Refuting essentialism is crucial for Human Sciences at the age of Globalization. Due to the history of both East Asia and Europe, it is essential for both East Asian Studies and European Studies to overcome essentialist biases.

Essentialism is paradoxical, false and dangerous. Essentialism is paradoxical. If the essence of a cultural, national or regional entity is an object of knowledge, this study is producing cognitive results, which are communicated and debated. The essence vanishes because the cognitive results, which are supposed to be expressions of this essence, become a substitute for this essence. Research presupposes the existence of the essence it is investigating. Therefore the knowledge of this essence becomes a substitute of this essence and dissolves it. If one decides, for whatever reason, that such an essence indefinitely remains beyond the knowledge produced, this essence becomes posited beyond knowledge, as an ultimately unknowable source. How can something, which cannot be fully known, be taken as the essence of a culture or of a region? How does one know that there is something in this culture or region, which always remains beyond actual and potential knowledge, as an endless source of identity

and difference? The work undertaken in this colloquium is a criticism of all approaches supposing the existence of "substantive" differences in any given "place", beyond all possible study by Human Sciences. The definition of this imagined essence is necessarily so broad, diffuse and general that it explains anything, everything and nothing: it cannot be communicated, tested, refuted and rectified. It is the "degree zero" and a denial of knowledge. In the end, Essentialism simply asserts that what people have in common is what distinguishes some of them from others.

Secondly, if it is false to assert that this difference is beyond study, it is also false to interpret this difference as a spiritual or transcendental unknown and to transform this unknown into the essence or character of a nation or civilization. The content of these differences is either observed, studied and communicated. In this case, it becomes an object of knowledge. Or this essence is defined as being beyond language and knowledge, in this case, because it is a non-object of knowledge, it is a myth, a creed, a collective belief or ideology. But, all Studies, East Asian, European, American or African, transform creeds or ideologies into objects of knowledge. Therefore, the assertion that such an essence is beyond knowledge is false and as such it becomes an object of study.

Thirdly, if essentialist positions are false and yet are still asserted, then they are dangerous. This danger is clarified by asking the question: who are those stating that there is an essence beyond knowledge and who also pretend to know that such an essence exists and is at the same time unknowable? Another version of the same idea argues that the people of a given nation are the only ones able to understand the spirit of this nation. Foreigners, the "others" in general, cannot understand it simply because they are foreigners.<sup>21</sup> This is confusing: individuals, who assert such ideas are often considered "intellectuals", like those

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21 For many years, Japan has been a place where one could find many people sharing this creed or prejudice that Japan had an essence, which made it exceptional and that only Japanese could truly understand the spirit or essence of Japan. This idea was a typical feature of Japan's nationalism.

working in universities and other places of higher learning. But, by holding such ideas, these individuals situate themselves outside the scientific community. Because the essence is posited beyond language or knowledge, they implicitly assert that they have a special access to the national spirit or the national essence and that their cultural mission or social duty is to express this essence and communicate it to those, who are not endowed with the same privileged access. The fact that they pretend to have access to an entity, which others cannot know, is not only a contradiction but it is also dangerous: it delineates a community by excluding the non-members, the others, eventually the potential enemies. This pattern of thought contradicts the historical meaning of Globalization: knowledge beyond borders. It also contradicts the advancement of Human Sciences induced by Globalization: an open access to knowledge based on shared problems, issues and methods. It is also a counter-effect of a conception of Globalization reduced to industry and trade.

Chun-chieh Huang's presentation offers a good example of this progress: by using the word "Confucianism" in the plural he opens a study of Confucianism within its historical and geographical diversity, without the frequent supposition that Confucianism is the essence of China or the unifying principle of a "Chinese world". Furthermore, the historical construction of Confucianism, its diverse appropriations and related power struggles, become objects of study with great significance for East Asian Studies. Another example proves the danger of essentialism. In the second half of the 1990s, in different sectors of the American intelligentsia and power structure, it became clear that Globalization, this "new world" emerging after the Cold War, was detrimental to US interests and dangerous for US security. In contradiction with the international institutions established after 1945, a new conception of foreign policy and foreign relations was designed in order to identify threats for US interests and security and respond to them. Samuel Huntington synthesized this conception in the late

1990s:<sup>22</sup> the world is divided into broad areas identified as "civilizations" and each civilization is supposed to have at its source a religion or a transcendental set of beliefs acting as a religion. This religion (or religious function) is the essence and the defining difference of this civilization. From this essence are deduced typical collective behaviors as well as a level of danger for American civilization and interests. Because an essence has many variations around a stable core, a consequence was implied that it was necessary to be prepared against potential dangerous actions expressing this essence. Preemptive polices were justified and even necessary. Samuel Huntington's conception asserted the existence of a Confucian civilization, having its core in China and a sphere of influence covering all East Asia. This analysis intends to make clear that Huntington's conception is essentialist and therefore false, paradoxical and dangerous. If his conception had been a real heuristic hypothesis, it would have produced knowledge on the diversity of regions, societies, histories and cultures. This knowledge would have contradicted the initial essentialist conception, which would have been abandoned. So, if Huntington's conception had not been an ideology but a biased hypothesis, we would have never heard of it. The problem with such a conception is not that it is valid or not, but with who those individuals and groups are who gave credit to such a conception, manipulated it, promoted it and eventually transformed it into a vision of international relations.

A consequence of this criticism of essentialism concerns the distinction between the Humanities and Human Sciences. If the Humanities are producing knowledge, then nothing should distinguish them from Human Sciences.<sup>23</sup> The difference between the Humanities and the Social Sciences should be a simple problem of definition, convention, field of study and method. But, this distinction is often conceived as an opposition. In this case, the Humanities take as their

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22 "The clash of civilizations?" *Foreign affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (1993).

23 For a more precise refutation of this distinction, see my report *Emerging Knowledge Societies in the EU and Japan: reconfiguring collaboration in the Social Sciences and the Humanities* (A study for the Delegation of the European Commission to Japan, July 2006), pp. 18, 19. ([http://www.deljpn.ec.europa.eu/data/current/Rieu\\_EmergingKnowledgeSocieties.pdf](http://www.deljpn.ec.europa.eu/data/current/Rieu_EmergingKnowledgeSocieties.pdf)).

object the core values and even the real ground of a society, culture and civilization; the Social Sciences are considered technologies studying how people, nations or societies are organized and how they have been managed and can be managed today. This opposition is false and potentially dangerous: disciplines considered as the Humanities do not have objects or fields of inquiry beyond knowledge, above or below "science". To discriminate the Humanities because they are not "scientific" is a common and potentially dangerous mistake. The difference is a simple problem of definition and convention. The denomination "Human and Social Sciences" intends to overcome this opposition. It also indicates their function: to express and articulate the reflexive process at the core of society.

#### 4. A set of interlocked oppositions

Essentialism is a pattern of thought with many different aspects, with deep presuppositions often difficult to overcome because deeply embedded in established "language games". As a pattern of thought and a frame of mind, it is probably as old and common as the distinction between male and female. Essentialism is based on a series of interlocked oppositions. At the age of globalization, criticizing essentialism begins with overcoming the opposition between East and West, the Occident and the Orient and other related oppositions enveloped into it. Drawing a tentative list of these interlocked oppositions is a step forward:

Western	Eastern
Rational	Irrational
Universal	Particular (local)
Global	Local (indigenous)
Knowledge	Faith
Science	Technics (technology)

Technology	Science (absolute knowledge)
Scientific (positivistic)	Intuitive
Science	Religion
Hard science	Soft science
Social sciences	Humanities
Rationalism	Phenomenology
Explicit	Tacit
Transactional (contractual)	Relational
Work	Interaction
Society	Community
Rationalization	Spontaneous expression
Artificial	Natural
Modern	Traditional
Capitalist	Socialist (society as community)
Advanced	Backward
Developed	Underdeveloped
Domination	Harmony
Predator of Nature	in Harmony with Nature
The Occident	The Orient

This list finds its source in an exclusivist opposition between separate entities, instead of perceiving or studying the differentiation and interplay presiding over the formation of these entities. These entities do not exist behind high walls. They are just names given to processes associated within one another and which remain intertwined. Furthermore, oppositions on this list are external to evaluative oppositions between Right and Wrong, Good or Bad as well as True and False. What is considered good for some is obviously bad for others. Several value judgments on this list are reversible: what was good in the past might be bad at present or in the future. Furthermore, this series of oppositions is the

source of many different and even contradictory narratives. For instance, Western societies are considered masculine, rational, scientific, based on hard science and rationalization. As a result, they are supposed to be capitalistic, advanced and imperialist. This leads to the domination of nature and mankind, to a conception of society based on exploitation and contractual relations between individuals instead of cooperation and harmony. This list of oppositions is a matrix of prejudices. When intellectuals intend to think, to build "conceptions" or narratives, these interlocked oppositions are actually controlling and guiding their thought. It is this series of oppositions, which thinks, not the people who reproduce them.

This pattern of thought is therefore an obstacle for effective knowledge. In the age of globalization, at this historical moment when all cultures and societies interact with each other, no society or culture can assert that it has its own separate essence. These interlocked oppositions should be abandoned. They are indeed commonly found in European intellectual history but they also are commonly found in many East Asian ideologies. This is the reason why East Asian Studies are transforming Human and Social Sciences, emancipating these disciplines born in Western Europe from their historical presuppositions, potentially transforming the visions Asian and European societies have of themselves and of the others. For instance, to presume that there is something like the West and that this *entity* can be characterized by instrumental rationality and to presume that there is entity like the East characterized by relational rationality cannot be substantiated and justified anymore.

## 5. Conclusion: the age of Global Studies

This 2008 Taiwan conference showed that Humanity is leaving behind the period when intellectuals in the East and the West were studying each other in the

hope of finding the defining characters of one another. The more we study each other, the more we become part of each other. This does not magically bring peace and harmony but it certainly produces new knowledge. Essentialism is the problem to overcome: when one searches for an essence, an essence is always found. Each essence is excluding another one.<sup>24</sup> Essentialism implies, supposes and leads to the opposition developed by Carl Schmitt between "us" and the "others".<sup>25</sup> The Taiwan colloquium asked us to change this pattern of thought deeply rooted in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Differences do not separate and oppose; they distinguish and associate at the same time. All depends on the cognitive attitude, on the preselected "language game". Essentialism is just one language game or pattern of thought among others. All over the world, these oppositions are deeply embedded in National Studies. Deconstructing and overcoming these oppositions is a decisive opening for Human and Social Sciences.

Participants in this conference have performed this opening. I simply tried to extract from the communications and debates some main ideas and themes and show them as decisive steps for future research. But, these ideas could be formulated only because people from different countries, cultures and disciplines were associated and freely interacted. This is an important lesson. In the age of globalization, Human and Social Sciences are in a situation where joint research and collaboration are required in order to produce new ideas, thus aiming at mutual understanding. What is new is the attitude and method. This conference proved that what makes a difference today is the recognition that transnational and transdisciplinary collaboration is necessary. Particular cultural or academic traditions are certainly able to innovate. But, these innovations will have a real impact and meaning when they overcome their cultural borders and become a

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24 The impact of the Globalization process on the theory and practice of political sovereignty is beyond the scope of this study. See my Web site: <http://w7.ens-lsh.fr/amrieu/>; publications; teaching (graduate seminars).

25 In *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George D. Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996; Original publication: 1927).



theme of joint research. Where an idea is born does not really matter anymore. What matters is when an idea becomes a theme of collaborative research. Academic institutions need to adapt fast to this evolution. Finally, the will and understanding required to produce new ideas, to deconstruct, compare and imagine, shape a new Ethics of knowledge, a new Enlightenment. Kipling's time is past. His famous formula is completely rewritten: the West is not the West, the East is not the East and the two have always met. They need to meet even more in order to generate a shared knowledge on common issues.♦

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【研究論著】 General Article

從修身成德到家國事功——論大學之道  
From Self-Cultivation to Accomplishing Exploits  
in Family and Nation—On the Way of the Great  
Learning

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**關鍵詞：**大學之道、作者時代、思想承傳、成德進路、體知基礎、當代意義

**Keywords:** the Way of *the Great Learning*, period in the author's life, the thinking which inheriting and passing on, the access to virtue, knowing as a transformative act, contemporary significance

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## 摘要

秉承往聖先賢德性政治實踐及其理論教言的大學之道，形成於戰國以迄秦漢之際，在其後兩千餘年的中國古代社會中，發生了愈來愈重大的思想影響。大學之道以格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身相貫通而齊家、治國、平天下相分途或相遞進的進路，指明了所有人都須以修身成德為本，從而基於各自的主客觀條件而明明德、親民乃至止於至善。大學之道將成德進路得以實現的基礎確立在可以被概括為「體知」的身心工夫之上。大學之道的本末內外觀、身心工夫論和道德社會說，對於當今人們的立身行己、為人處世乃至實現社會和諧，都仍然具有現實指導意義。

## Abstract

The way of the Great Learning which takes the morally political practice and theoretical teaching by ancient sages is formed among Warring States and Qin and Han dynasties, it had exerted a greater and greater thinking influence in Chinese ancient societies over two thousand. The way of the Great Learning which links up studying physical nature (格物), extending knowledge (致知), making will sincere (誠意), rectifying mind (正心), and cultivating character (修身), but separates or develops gradually regulating family (齊家), making state in order (治國), and bringing peace to the world (平天下), indicates clearly that all persons must take self-cultivation as their foundation, thereby achieve to manifest the clear character (明明德), love the people (親民), and abide in the highest good (止於至善) based on their subjective and objective conditions. The way of the Great Learning takes body-mind overall practice as the foundation which moral virtue can be achieved. The outlook of ins and outs, body and mind, and moral society of the way of the Great Learning still have real value for persons' self-cultivation, conduct in society, as well as for making a harmonious society.

儒家思想的真精神，是一種以德性貫穿天道、人道、社群、自然的包容性人文主義。這種包容性人文主義精神比較集中地表現於〈中庸〉一篇，由之展示了儒家形上形下一體打通的道德本體論、道德主體論、德性倫理政治論和德性宇宙論。<sup>1</sup>與〈中庸〉同載於《禮記》、且在宋代同被列入作為儒家基本經典的「四書」的〈大學〉一篇，則在德性之天的思想背景下，專門闡論了形下層面的個我成就及其與社會的關係問題，其中由本末內外觀、身心工夫論和道德社會說所構成的大學之道，不僅在中國古代社會參與型塑了民族性格，而且對於當今人們的立身行己和為人處世，仍然具有現實指導意義。

## 壹、大學之道的思想承傳脈絡

### 一、大學之道的思想前源

以〈大學〉三綱領為旨歸、八條目為進路的從主體終生不輟的德性修養到由近及遠地成就其社會政治事功的大學之道，乃是儒家紹續往聖先賢之垂範而一以貫之的實踐和學思傳統。《尚書·虞書·堯典》所載「曰若稽古帝堯，曰放勳，欽明文思安安，允恭克讓，光被四表，格于上下。克明俊德，以親九族；九族既睦，平章百姓；百姓昭明，協和萬邦，黎民於變時雍」，<sup>2</sup>正是大學之道的原始表述。而孔安國釋「曰若稽古」為「能順考古道而行之」，則表明帝堯修德行仁的立身從政方式，還有其更加久遠的華夏初民生活淵源，此或即孔氏〈尚書序〉所謂《三墳》之「大道」與《五典》之「常道」的一脈相承。<sup>3</sup>

1 參見拙文〈《中庸》新詮〉，載《齊魯學刊》，2007年第4期（2007年）。

2 《尚書·虞書·堯典》，《十三經注疏》（北京：中華書局，1980年），頁118-119。

3 本文在此不分今文、古文地引述《尚書》以及孔傳孔序，乃是根據近年來李零、王世舜、楊善群、楊朝明、劉建國、劉義峰、張岩、離揚等學者關於古文《尚書》不偽的論證。參見國學網「閻若璩研究」專題（<http://www.guoxue.com/zt/yrq/yrq.htm>）；張岩：

作為帝堯道統之後繼者，虞舜同樣是「濬哲文明，溫恭允塞，玄德升聞，乃命以位。慎徽五典，五典克從；納于百揆，百揆時敘；賓于四門，四門穆穆」；<sup>4</sup>大禹是「文命敷於四海，祇承于帝」；<sup>5</sup>商湯是「不邇聲色，不殖貨利，德懋懋官，功懋懋賞，用人惟己，改過不吝，克寬克仁，彰信兆民」；<sup>6</sup>文王是「刑于寡妻，至于兄弟，以御于家邦」，<sup>7</sup>「克明德慎罰，不敢侮鰥寡，庸庸祇祇威威，顯民，用肇造我區夏」，<sup>8</sup>武王是「率惟敕功，不敢替厥義德；率惟謀，從容德，以竝受此丕丕基」，<sup>9</sup>周公是「德明，光于上下，勤施于四方」。<sup>10</sup>這種源遠流長的德性政治實踐傳統也被二王三代政治家和思想家概括為理論性教言，如十二牧所謂「柔遠能邇，惇德允元」，<sup>11</sup>大禹所謂「德惟善政，政在養民，水火金木土穀惟修，正德利用厚生惟和，九功惟敘，九敘惟歌」，<sup>12</sup>皋陶所謂「慎厥身，修思永，惇敘九族，庶明勵翼，邇可遠在茲」，<sup>13</sup>仲虺所謂「德日新，萬邦惟懷；志自滿，九族乃離」，<sup>14</sup>伊尹所謂「立愛惟親，立敬惟長，始于家邦，終于四海」，<sup>15</sup>「一人元良，萬邦以貞」，<sup>16</sup>周公所謂「王惟德用，和懌先後迷民，用懌先王受命。已若茲監，惟曰欲至于萬年惟王，子子孫孫永保民」，<sup>17</sup>成王所謂「惟孝，友于兄弟，克施有政」，<sup>18</sup>乃至孔子所謂「修己以敬」、「修己以安人」、「修己以安百姓」，<sup>19</sup>等等。所有這些凸顯從內

《審核古文〈尚書〉案》（北京：中華書局，2006年）。

- 4 《尚書·虞書·舜典》，《十三經注疏》，頁125-126。
- 5 《尚書·虞書·大禹謨》，《十三經注疏》，頁134。孔安國釋「文命」為「文德教命」。一說「文命」為禹之名。
- 6 《尚書·商書·仲虺之誥》，《十三經注疏》，頁161。
- 7 《詩·大雅·思齊》，《十三經注疏》，頁516。
- 8 《尚書·周書·康誥》，《十三經注疏》，頁203。
- 9 《尚書·周書·立政》，《十三經注疏》，頁232。
- 10 《尚書·周書·洛誥》，《十三經注疏》，頁215。
- 11 《尚書·虞書·舜典》，《十三經注疏》，頁130。
- 12 《尚書·虞書·大禹謨》，《十三經注疏》，頁135。
- 13 《尚書·虞書·皋陶謨》，《十三經注疏》，頁138。
- 14 《尚書·商書·仲虺之誥》，《十三經注疏》，頁161。
- 15 《尚書·商書·伊訓》，《十三經注疏》，頁163。
- 16 《尚書·商書·太甲下》，《十三經注疏》，頁165。
- 17 《尚書·周書·梓材》，《十三經注疏》，頁209。
- 18 《尚書·周書·君陳》，《十三經注疏》，頁236。
- 19 《論語·憲問》，《十三經注疏》，頁2513-2514。



在成德到外在立功之先後次序的記述和論說，正是由《大學》所經典地表述的大學之道得以形成的深厚思想資源。

## 二、〈大學〉的作者及其成篇時代

如同許多先秦文獻一樣，〈大學〉文本的作者及其成篇時代，也是一個因史料缺載而頗難論定的問題。最初編定包含〈大學〉一篇在內的傳世本《禮記》的西漢戴聖、首先為《禮記》作注的東漢鄭玄、以及復為之作疏的初唐孔穎達，均未涉及〈大學〉的作者和時代問題。由於「〈大學〉自唐以前無別行之本」，<sup>20</sup>故《漢書·藝文志》、《隋書·經籍志》、《舊唐書·經籍志》乃至《新唐書·藝文志》對之皆無著錄，遑論其作者和時代問題了。

最先對〈大學〉的作者提出看法的大概是北宋二程，其曰：「〈大學〉，孔氏之遺書，而初學入德之門也。」<sup>21</sup>這應該是著眼於〈大學〉的思想內容而作出的判斷。但是，由於〈大學〉中不僅引有孔子之言，而且引有曾子所論，因此，所謂「孔氏之遺書」就不當坐實為孔子本人著述，而只能理解為孔門之遺書，這樣，二程對於〈大學〉作者的判斷就只是一種泛論了。

真正坐實〈大學〉作者的是南宋朱熹。在〈大學章句序〉中，朱熹指出：

及周之衰，賢聖之君不作，學校之政不修，教化陵夷，風俗頹敗。時則有若孔子之聖，而不得君師之位以行其政教，於是獨取先王之法，誦而傳之，以詔後世。若〈曲禮〉、〈少儀〉、〈內則〉、〈弟子職〉諸篇，固小學之支流餘裔，而此篇者，則因小學之成

20 《四庫全書總目·經部·四書類一·大學章句論語集注孟子集注中庸章句》（北京：中華書局，1965年），頁293。

21 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》（長沙：嶽麓書社，1998年），頁5。

功，以著大學之明法，外有以極其規模之大，而內有以盡其節目之詳者也。三千之徒，蓋莫不聞其說，而曾氏之傳獨得其宗，於是作為傳義，以發其意。<sup>22</sup>

在〈大學〉首章之末，朱熹又說：

右經一章，蓋孔子之言，而曾子述之。其傳十章，則曾子之意而門人記之也。<sup>23</sup>

這就大致確定了〈大學〉乃是根據孔、曾之意而由曾子及其弟子先後記述而成的作品，其時代也就是春秋戰國之際。終宋明之世，儘管對於〈大學〉的章句和內容有過許許多多爭論，但幾乎無人疑及朱熹關於〈大學〉作者的說法。王守仁力攻朱熹「合之以敬而益綴，補之以傳而益離」，但卻也承認〈大學〉出於孔子。<sup>24</sup>首先對朱熹的說法提出討論的是清代崔述，不過他的結論只是，〈大學〉的思想內容「蓋曾子得之於孔子，而後人又衍之為〈大學〉者也」，<sup>25</sup>也就是否定了曾子本人的參與，而將記述者下推了一代或數代，與朱熹的說法實際差異不大。晚清陳澧認為，〈大學〉與《禮記·學記》均論「大學之道」，文本內容有相近之處，當為相互發明之作；而「大學之道」亦即大學制度遲至西漢方才形成，故〈大學〉應與〈學記〉一樣，乃是西漢以後作品。對於陳澧的觀點，已有學者作了具有說服力的辯駁。<sup>26</sup>

22 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁2。

23 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁7。詳按朱熹兩處所言，似又微有鑿柄。在〈大學章句序〉中，朱熹似言《大學》之經為孔子自著，其傳則為曾子親作；而首章之末按語又明言《大學》之經乃曾子記述孔子教言，其傳則為曾門後學記述曾子之意。

24 〈大學古本序〉，《王陽明全集》（上海：上海古籍出版社，1992年），頁243。其曰：「聖人懼人之求之於外也，而反覆其辭。」

25 見崔述：〈「大學」非曾子所作〉，《洙泗考信餘錄》（上海：商務印書館，1937年），頁16。

26 參見《中國人性論史·先秦篇》，《徐復觀文集》（武漢：湖北人民出版社，2002年），第3卷，頁244-245、頁279注9。又見梁濤：〈《大學》早出新證〉，《中國哲學史》，2000年第3期（2000年）。

現代學者對於〈大學〉作者及其成篇時代的討論漸多。日本學者武內義雄基於他所理解的儒家思想發展進路以及《古文尚書》、《大戴禮記》與〈大學〉的承傳關係，斷定〈大學〉是漢武帝以後的作品，這一觀點受到徐復觀的全盤否定。<sup>27</sup>徐氏本人則根據〈大學〉引述《尚書·秦誓》以及《爾雅·釋訓》又引述〈大學〉等證據，推論〈大學〉乃是「秦統一天下以後，西漢政權成立以前的作品」。<sup>28</sup>徐氏將〈大學〉成篇的下限置於西漢以前，是有見地的；不過他僅因〈大學〉引〈秦誓〉就排除與秦敵對的六國之儒或西漢之儒為其作者，從而將其成篇時代鎖定在秦朝十餘年間，則恐怕未必。《尚書》各篇的義理價值容或有差等，但作為儒家經典，其總體意義對於儒者應該是相同的，儒者不致因現實的軍事政治紛爭而對其中篇什有所好惡取捨。且按照徐氏推論，則〈大學〉作者必須是抱持與六國之儒或西漢之儒相反立場的認同秦朝暴政及其法家觀念者，否則即使身處秦朝卻也完全可以不引〈秦誓〉。但揆諸〈大學〉文本，其德性倫理政治取向顯然與秦朝的政治觀念相對立；徐氏自己也說〈大學〉乃是「某一個今日無從知道姓名的偉大儒者，為了反抗法家，乃將儒家的思想，有計劃地整理綜合而成的教本」，<sup>29</sup>這樣，〈大學〉引〈秦誓〉就與其作者是否身處秦朝並無必然關係，〈大學〉也就不必是秦朝年間形成的作品。

馮友蘭通過對〈大學〉與《荀子》之〈不苟〉、〈非相〉、〈解蔽〉諸篇文句和文義的比較，認為〈大學〉出於荀子後學，其時代為秦漢之際。<sup>30</sup>馮氏關於〈大學〉形成時代的看法也是大致可以接受的，但將〈大學〉歸於荀學作品，一則面臨〈大學〉主德重仁的主導思想傾向與荀子主知重禮的主導思想傾向扞格不通的困難，二則也很難判定〈大學〉與《荀子》諸篇文句和文義的相似就一定是前者襲取後者。關於第一點，唐君毅剖論甚詳。<sup>31</sup>唐氏認為，〈大學〉應為七十子後學之宗奉孟子之學者在酌取墨、莊、荀思想的基礎上所完成的作品，其時代在「二千數百年前」，當

27 見《中國人性論史·先秦篇》，《徐復觀文集》，第3卷，頁244。

28 見《中國人性論史·先秦篇》，《徐復觀文集》，第3卷，頁244-246。

29 見《中國人性論史·先秦篇》，《徐復觀文集》，第3卷，頁246。

30 見馮友蘭：《中國哲學史》（北京：中華書局，1961年），第14章，頁437。

31 見唐君毅：《中國哲學原論·導論篇》（北京：中國社會科學出版社，2005年），頁209-210。

即先秦戰國時期。<sup>32</sup>唐氏對〈大學〉形成時代的推論同樣大致可以接受，但他將〈大學〉歸入孟子一系，則問題多多，實際上也與他自己的論述不甚融洽。<sup>33</sup>關於第二點，當今學者梁濤依據郭店楚簡作出了與馮氏不同的論述。<sup>34</sup>梁濤基於〈大學〉明引曾子之言及其孝行、忠恕之論與曾子思想的切合，乃至〈中庸〉對〈大學〉修齊治平之論的承接等論據，得出了〈大學〉「應成于曾子或其弟子之手」的結論，<sup>35</sup>在作者問題上，採取了介於朱熹與崔述之間的立場，而更多地是向朱熹的回歸。

應該說，朱熹將〈大學〉的作者坐實為曾子及其弟子的說法，是很有吸引力的。這樣一來，《論語》、〈大學〉、〈中庸〉、《孟子》「四書」就構成孔、曾、思、孟之間沒有缺環的完整的思想譜系，從而由孔子上承堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武、周公的「渾無罅縫」的教言，直到孟子關於內聖外王和心性天道的「十字打開」的論說，再到標舉「四書學」的程、朱的闡發，便形成一個基於學統遞續而一脈貫通的嚴密道統。誠如此，當然是儒門的莫大幸事。然而問題是，朱熹畢竟是在距曾子一千六百多年以後，在缺乏文獻根據的情況下，對〈大學〉作者作出的論斷，這就不能不使後人對之有所保留。那種通過傳世文獻的文句和文義的分析比較來證明朱熹論斷的做法，充其量也還是推測，實在坐實不得。在尚未發現強硬證據之前，將〈大學〉作者及其成篇時代置於一個相對合理且具有迴旋餘地的時段之中，或許是解決這一問題的比較妥當的辦法。

〈大學〉載有曾子「十目所視，十手所指，其嚴乎」一語，孔穎達疏曰：「作記之人引曾子之言以證之。」<sup>36</sup>朱熹也注曰：「引此以明上文之意。」<sup>37</sup>均說明是〈大學〉作者引述曾子，故〈大學〉當非曾子自著，而是其後學作品。退一步說，即使確如朱熹所謂〈大學〉之「經」乃「孔子之言而曾子述之」，但畢竟其「傳」還是「曾子之意而門人記之」，因此

32 見唐君毅：《中國哲學原論·導論篇》，頁82、183。

33 見唐君毅：《中國哲學原論·導論篇》，頁80-88。

34 見梁濤：〈《大學》早出新證〉。

35 見梁濤：〈《大學》早出新證〉。

36 《禮記·大學》孔穎達疏，《十三經注疏》，頁1674。

37 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁12注5。

〈大學〉成篇必於曾子後學之手。據《史記·仲尼弟子列傳》記載，曾子少孔子四十六歲，故其生年當為西元前五〇五年。復據清孔繼汾《闕里文獻考》記載「曾子年七十而卒」，則其卒年當為西元前四三六年。<sup>38</sup>據此，則無論是曾子及門弟子或是再傳弟子著定〈大學〉，無疑都須以西元前四三六年前後作為上限。

至於〈大學〉成篇的下限，從有關傳世本《禮記》（即《小戴記》）編訂過程的文獻記載中可以發現其線索。據《隋書·經籍志》載，《小戴記》四十九篇乃是由西漢初期河間獻王所得「仲尼弟子及後學者所記一百三十一篇」遞續刪訂四十六篇、再加上東漢馬融補入〈月令〉、〈明堂位〉、〈樂記〉三篇而成，<sup>39</sup>如此則《小戴記》中的〈大學〉一篇應該已包含在河間獻王所得一百三十一篇之中。河間獻王立於景帝前元二年（西元前155年），《漢書·景十三王傳》載其「修學好古，實事求是。從民得善書，必為好寫與之，留其真，金帛賜以招之。繇是四方道術之人不遠千里，或有先祖舊書，多奉以奏獻王者，故得書多，與漢朝等。〔……〕所得書皆古文先秦舊書，《周官》、《尚書》、《禮》、《禮記》、《孟子》、《老子》之屬，皆經傳說記，七十子之徒所論」。<sup>40</sup>又據《史記·五宗世家》集解引《漢名臣奏》：「杜業奏曰：『河間獻王經術通明，積德累行，天下雄俊眾儒皆歸之。孝武帝時，獻王朝，被服造次必于仁義。問以五策，獻王輒對無窮。孝武帝色然難之，謂獻王曰：『湯以七十里，文王百里，王其勉之。』」王知其意，歸即縱酒聽樂，因以終。』」<sup>41</sup>由此似可推斷河間獻王搜求古籍多在武帝即位（建元元年，西元前140年）之前，此後便自汙避禍。因此，若按《隋書·經籍志》記載，〈大學〉應該成篇於西元前一四〇年以前。即使此說尚存疑問，那麼河間獻王卒於武帝元光五年（前130年），如此則〈大學〉成篇最遲不能晚於西元前一三〇年。

38 轉引自錢穆：《先秦諸子繫年》（北京：商務印書館，2001年），頁180。從該著所附〈諸子生卒年世約數〉來看，錢氏信從此說。另如《中國歷史大辭典》、《哲學大辭典》、《辭海》等工具書之「曾子」條，亦皆按此說著錄曾子生卒年。《中國儒學百科全書》著錄曾子卒年為西元前四三二年，但標明存疑。

39 見《隋書·經籍志》，《二十五史》（杭州：浙江古籍出版社，1998年），第3冊，頁1060。

40 《漢書·景十三王傳》，《二十五史》，第1冊，頁462。

41 《史記·五宗世家》，《二十五史》，第1冊，頁178。

不過，《隋書·經籍志》的上述記載為清儒所疑。《四庫全書總目·禮記正義》考證《小戴記》本有四十九篇，不待馬融補足；但對《小戴記》的來源卻未提出不同看法。<sup>42</sup>皮錫瑞《經學通論》則引述陳壽祺考辨而力駁小戴刪大戴以及馬融補小戴之說，並標舉陳氏根據魏張揖〈上廣雅表〉所言而提出的「百三十一篇之記，第之者劉向，得之者獻王，而輯之者蓋叔孫通」的新論。皮錫瑞雖然肯定陳壽祺發明叔孫通撰輯百三十一篇之說，卻並不否認此百三十一篇為河間獻王所得、復為劉向所整理、乃至最終由二戴所分別刪訂這一傳承脈絡。<sup>43</sup>這樣，《小戴記》中的〈大學〉便仍應包含在百三十一篇之中，只不過這百三十一篇從始出於河間獻王更上推到了叔孫通那裡。叔孫通由秦入漢，歷仕高、惠二帝，呂后用事時乃無聞焉，故其卒年不應超過惠帝七年（西元前188年），準此則〈大學〉成篇不能遲於西元前一八八年。

在叔孫通與河間獻王之間，究竟是誰首先輯得包含〈大學〉在內的百三十一篇，這在目前是一個難以考訂、但也不必考訂的問題。寬泛地說，百三十一篇見於西漢初期，其中包含的〈大學〉也必定成篇於西漢初期以前，它應該是戰國中前期至西漢初期二、三百年間的作品。至於它的作者，就其內容來看，應該是既微別於致思心性天道的思孟學派、更大異於強調重知隆禮的荀子學派、而特重德性德行亦即內聖外王之道的曾子的後學。

### 三、大學之道的思想影響

〈大學〉從成篇直到北宋儒學復興之前的千餘年間，作為經學化的《禮記》中的一篇，並未受到特別的重視。此間雖有鄭玄為之作注，孔穎達為之作疏，卻都是並《禮記》而行。另外犖犖大者如南梁皇侃、北周熊安生二家的《禮記義疏》，其中應該也有對於〈大學〉的闡釋，但已亡佚而不可見。

42 見《四庫全書總目·經部·禮類三·禮記正義》，頁168-169。

43 見皮錫瑞：《經學通論》（北京：中華書局，1954年），〈三禮〉，頁2-4、64-65。

雖然如此，〈大學〉所秉承的往聖先賢德性倫理政治之道，卻並未中絕。據《漢書·董仲舒傳》載，董仲舒以賢良文學應對漢武帝策命時曾曰：「故為人君者，正心以正朝廷，正朝廷以正百官，正百官以正萬民，正萬民以正四方。四方正，遠近莫敢不壹於正，而亡有邪氣奸其間者。是以陰陽調而風雨時，群生和而萬民殖，五穀孰而草木茂，天地之間被潤澤而大豐美，四海之內聞盛德而皆徠臣，諸福之物，可致之祥，莫不畢至，而王道終矣。」<sup>44</sup>這顯然是以內聖外王之道鞭策武帝，其思想來源雖不必出自〈大學〉，但從董仲舒對策中引曾子所謂「尊其所聞，則高明矣；行其所知，則光大矣。高明光大，不在於它，在乎加之意而已」的言論來看，其對曾子之學的瞭解應該是沒有問題的。

洎乎中唐，韓愈鑒於佛、老二家「欲治其心而外天下國家，滅其天常；子焉而不父其父，臣焉而不君其君，民焉而不事其事」的嚴重現實，直接引述〈大學〉「古之欲明明德於天下者，先治其國；欲治其國者，先齊其家；欲齊其家者，先修其身；欲修其身者，先正其心；欲正其心者，先誠其意」一段，以〈大學〉所秉承的堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武、周、孔內外貫通、德業兼修的德性倫理政治之道，批判佛、老的「一人之私言」。<sup>45</sup>正是由於在儒家與佛、老的激烈思想交鋒中所凸顯的獨特而重大意義，〈大學〉逐漸為世人所看重。

迨及北宋中期司馬光《中庸大學廣義》出，〈大學〉始離《禮記》而單行。<sup>46</sup>其後宋元明清通儒碩學，幾乎鮮有不對〈大學〉加以闡發者。諸代《藝文志》以及《四庫全書總目》著錄〈大學〉專門著述達六十餘種，而以「四書」為名論及〈大學〉的著作尚不知凡幾，更兼許多關於〈大學〉的篇章被收入學者文集而未另行著錄（如〈明道先生改正大學〉、〈伊川先生改正大學〉便被收入《二程全書》中），因此完全可以說，〈大學〉

44 《漢書·董仲舒傳》，《二十五史》，第1冊，頁470。下引曾子之言見該冊頁471。

45 〈原道〉，《韓愈集》（長沙：嶽麓書社，2000年），頁145-147。

46 據南宋王義山《稼村類稿》卷四〈宋史類纂序〉載，北宋仁宗曾於天聖四年（1026年）賜新科進士〈大學〉篇，其卷十五〈稼村書院《甲戌秋課試》〉又載仁宗曾於寶元元年（1038年）賜新科進士〈大學〉篇，誠如此，則〈大學〉離《禮記》而單行當稍早於司馬光《中庸大學廣義》。然查《宋史》，並未見仁宗賜新科進士〈大學〉篇之記載，故本文不取王氏之說。

乃是由宋迄清九百年間最為流行的經典之一，它對當時社會思想產生的影響也就可想而知。而在所有依〈大學〉立論的著述中，對社會思想發生了最為重大和深遠影響的，當推朱熹的〈大學章句〉，其次便是王守仁的〈大學古本注〉。

在〈大學章句〉中，朱熹遵從程子觀點，認為《禮記》中的〈大學〉一篇（即後來王守仁所謂「大學古本」）「為書猶頗放失」，故「采而輯之」，「補其闕略」。<sup>47</sup>所謂「采而輯之」，除了將古本「在親民」之「親」注改為「新」、「身有所忿懣」之「身」注改為「心」之外，最主要地是將古本分為「經」一章、「傳」十章，並按「經」之「明明德」、「新民」、「止於至善」、「本末」、「格物致知」、「誠意」、「正心修身」、「修身齊家」、「齊家治國」、「治國平天下」的論說次序，對「傳」文直接進行了調整。所謂「補其闕略」，則是在「傳」之第五章下，以案語形式補入一段曰：「所謂致知在格物者，言欲致吾之知，在即物而窮其理也。蓋人心之靈莫不有知，而天下之物莫不有理，惟於理有未窮，故其知有不盡也。是以大學始教，必使學者即凡天下之物，莫不因其已知之理而益窮之，以求至乎其極。至於用力之久，而一旦豁然貫通焉，則眾物之表裏精粗無不到，而吾心之全體大用無不明矣。此謂物格，此謂知之致也。」<sup>48</sup>朱熹的輯補，從形式上看，是為了使〈大學〉的結構更加嚴謹，文句更加完整；且如「傳」之第二章所引〈盤銘〉、〈康誥〉、《詩·大雅·文王》均突出「新」義，亦可證明「經」之相應部分的「在親民」當作「在新民」。不過，在實質上，對〈大學〉的這種大刀闊斧的調整，則是為了凸顯程朱一系內外並重、格物明理、德知兼修而最終以知輔德的本體—工夫論。這一點，從上引朱熹「格物致知補傳」所謂「眾物之表裏精粗無不到，而吾心之全體大用無不明」已可見出；而其〈大學章句序〉關於通過「外有以極其規模之大，而內有以盡其節目之詳」的「大學之明法」以變化氣質之稟而復歸天賦德性的觀點，則更加明確地表達了這一思想。朱熹的〈大學章句〉，隨其《四書章句集注》一道，歷元明清

47 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句序》，頁3。

48 以上均見朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁5-20。



諸朝一直被作為學校教育及科舉取士的基本程式，<sup>49</sup>由此，〈大學〉的思想內容也就通過朝野士大夫的思行言教而輻射到整個社會心理之中。

在朱熹〈大學章句〉大行於天下的歷史氛圍中，王守仁起而對之提出了異議。他批評朱熹對〈大學〉舊本的調整是「合之以敬而益綴，補之以傳而益離」，認為「舊本析而聖人之意亡矣」，故而「去分章而復舊本，傍為之什，以引其義」。<sup>50</sup>王守仁這種「悉以舊本為正」的做法，甚至連其親密弟子都「始聞而駭」。<sup>51</sup>究其實質，王守仁是基於「聖人之道，吾性自足，不假外求」的「格物致知之旨」，<sup>52</sup>標舉「〈大學〉之要，誠意而已」的所謂「聖人之心」，<sup>53</sup>以反對程朱理學格物明理、內外並重的工夫進路。王守仁所謂「格物致知之旨」，即「致吾心之良知於事事物物也。〔……〕致吾心之良知者，致知也。事事物物皆得其理者，格物也」，<sup>54</sup>這也就是專一用力於內以求本心之誠、進而將本心之誠顯發推擴於外的工夫進路。毫無疑問，在心與理的本體論以及內與外的工夫論方面，王守仁與朱熹確實大相徑庭，王學以其完成形態的心學體系而與程朱理學相頡頏。<sup>55</sup>然而，朱、王之異，克就其形下層面的意義來看，只是對於大學之道成德進路之擇取方式及其工夫次第的不同，而對以「止於至善」為歸宿的大學之道本身的服膺，則是一致無二的。在〈大學〉思想影響的普及和深入方面，朱、王之爭非但沒有產生消極作用，反而具有非常積極的意義。王守仁之後的儒者，幾乎鮮有不究心於〈大學〉而在朱、王之間作出抉擇或加以折中者，關於這一點，《四庫全書總目·經部·四書類》頗有反映。<sup>56</sup>由

49 參見《元史·選舉一》，《二十五史》，第7冊，頁669-672；《明史·選舉一、二》，《二十五史》，第8冊，頁173-178；《清史稿·選舉一、三》，《二十五史》，第9冊，頁421-424、427-431。

50 〈大學古本序〉，《王陽明全集》，頁243。

51 〈傳習錄上〉徐愛引言，《王陽明全集》，頁1。

52 見黃宗義：《明儒學案·姚江學案》（北京：中華書局，1985年），頁181。

53 〈大學古本序〉，《王陽明全集》，頁242-243。

54 〈傳習錄中·答顧東橋書〉，《王陽明全集》，頁45。

55 由此可見，朱、王〈大學〉之爭，看似圍繞文本問題而發，但實質上都是在闡發各自的學理和思想。因此，唐君毅認為，克就〈大學〉文本而言，朱的重訂章句與王的固守古本皆有不當；但就朱、王各自的思想體系而言，則二者對〈大學〉隱義的發揮又都有所貢獻（見《中國哲學原論·導論篇》，頁183-184）。唐論可謂持平。

56 見《四庫全書總目·經部·四書類二》、《四庫全書總目·經部·四書類存目》，頁299-320。

此，〈大學〉通過理學和心學兩大學脈而更加全面地包絡了士人思想和社會意識，成為中國古代社會後期最重要的儒家經典之一。

## 貳、大學之道的成德進路及其體知基礎

### 一、大學之道的成德進路

在儒家個我、社群、自然、天道面面俱到的包容性人文主義思想體系中，〈大學〉主要關注的是個我與社群這兩個向度，即從主體修身成德推擴到家、國、天下事功的所謂「內聖外王」之道。當然，這並不意味著〈大學〉只具有世俗取向而對德性的形上本源缺乏關照，〈大學〉傳一章引《尚書·商書·太甲上》「顧諟天之明命」，<sup>57</sup>表明它也是以德性之天作為思想背景的。正是有見於此，唐君毅說：「據〈大學〉之釋明明德，乃以人之明德，上原於天之明命，而為一內在人心之光明之德。」<sup>58</sup>

〈大學〉關於內聖外王之道的闡述，集中見於其經一章。經曰：

大學之道，在明明德，在親民，在止於至善。知止而後有定，定而後能靜，靜而後能安，安而後能慮，慮而後能得。物有本末，事有終始，知所先後，則近道矣。古之欲明明德於天下者，先治其國。欲治其國者，先齊其家。欲齊其家者，先修其身。欲修其身者，先正其心。欲正其心者，先誠其意。欲誠其意者，先致其知。致知在格物。物格而後知至，知至而後意誠，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。自天子以至

57 本文以朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》的文本排序為依據，這主要是由於朱熹本的層次比《禮記》本更加清晰，便於引述，但這並不意味著筆者專從朱熹對〈大學〉的詮釋。

58 見唐君毅：《中國哲學原論·導論篇》，頁210。

於庶人，壹是皆以修身為本。其本亂而末治者否矣。其所厚者薄，而其所薄者厚，未之有也。

此章又可分為兩個層次，其一是自「大學之道」至「慮而後能得」的「三綱領」層次，其二是自「物有本末」至「未之有也」的「八條目」層次。<sup>59</sup>前一層次提出了「止於至善」這一基於「明明德」和「親民」內外倚伏的兩個方面之上的大學之道的最高目標，並規定了主體為達到（得）這一最高目標（止）所必需的志有定向（定）、心不妄動（靜）、所處而安（安）、處事精詳（慮）的心理狀態和行為方式。<sup>60</sup>後一層次則以「從盛以本初」和「從初以至盛」的「上下相結」方式，<sup>61</sup>展開了格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身、齊家、治國、平天下的「八條目」，明確了「修身」以上為本、「齊家」以下為末的本末終始次序。據朱熹所謂「『修身』以上，明明德之事也。『齊家』以下，新民之事也」，<sup>62</sup>則「八條目」又是「明明德」和「親民」的基礎。由此，大學之道的「三綱領」和「八條目」構成以「止於至善」為最高目標、以「明明德」和「親民」為上達「至善」而下統「八條目」的中間環節、以「八條目」為具體成德進路的結構。

那麼，「八條目」的成德進路究竟以哪一節為開端？其由內而外的推擴方式究竟是一體貫通還是內通外分？這是正確理解大學之道必須解決的兩個問題。

關於前一個問題，從〈大學〉文本來看，應該是以「格物」作為成德進路之起點的：格物乃是明明德於天下、治國、齊家、修身、正心、誠意、致知的先在或初始環節；也正是通過格物且物格，而後才得以知至、

59 孔穎達〈正義〉、朱熹〈章句〉也將此章分為兩層，但都顯然將第一層斷於「則近道矣」；王守仁〈大學古本傍釋〉大致也是如此斷法。筆者以為，「物有本末，事有終始」云云，意在領起關於「八條目」之本末終始的論述，且與章末所謂「本亂而末治者否矣」相照應，乃是一個完整的意義部分，故不從先儒斷法。

60 參見朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁6。

61 見《禮記·大學》孔穎達疏，《十三經注疏》，頁1673。

62 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁7。此處照引「新民」一語，並不表明筆者認同朱熹改「親民」作「新民」。

意誠、心正、身修、家齊、國治、天下平。然而從鄭玄開始，對於「格物」在大學之道中的地位就有了不同於原文的理解。鄭玄注「致知在格物」曰：「格，來也。物猶事也。其知於善深，則來善物；其知於惡深，則來惡物。言事緣人所好來也。」<sup>63</sup>這就將「知善惡吉凶之所終始」的「致知」作為「格物」的先決條件了。孔穎達對於「格物」的解釋含糊其辭，其曰：「欲誠其意者先致其知者，言欲精誠其己意，先須招致其所知之事。言初始必須學習，然後乃能有所知曉其成敗，故云先致其知也。致知在格物，此經明初以致知，積漸而大，至明德。」<sup>64</sup>這是將「致知」與「格物」並作一處說，實質上是遵從鄭玄注解而將「格物」歸入「致知」之中了。鄭、孔均以「致知」統攝甚至消泯「格物」，將「致知」亦即客觀事物的內化所形成的道德認識置於首位，這與〈大學〉關於「八條目」的闡述是不相應的。

朱熹超邁前賢，對格物、致知作了隻眼獨具的闡發。其釋「致知在格物」曰：「致，推極也。知，猶識也。推極吾之知識，欲其所知無不盡也。格，至也。物，猶事也。窮至事物之理，欲其極處無不到也。」<sup>65</sup>又釋「物格而後知至」曰：「物格者，物理之極處無不到也。知至者，吾心之所知無不盡也。」<sup>66</sup>更作「格物致知補傳」曰：

所謂致知在格物者，言欲致吾之知，在即物而窮其理也。蓋人心之靈莫不有知，而天下之物莫不有理，惟於理有未窮，故其知有不盡也。是以大學始教，必使學者即凡天下之物，莫不因其已知之理而益窮之，以求至乎其極。至於用力之久，而一旦豁然貫通焉，則眾物之表裏精粗無不到，而吾心之全體大用無不明矣。此謂物格，此謂知之致也。<sup>67</sup>

63 見《禮記·大學》鄭玄注，《十三經注疏》，頁1673。

64 見《禮記·大學》孔穎達疏，《十三經注疏》，頁1673。

65 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁6。

66 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁6。

67 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁11。

這就清楚明白地將格物、致知分作兩節：前者向外窮索事物當然之理，後者向內擴充主體德性之知；前者在邏輯上是後者的起點，後者在事實上與前者相須以進；當「格物」臻於「眾物之表裏精粗無不到」的地步，「致知」也就同時實現「吾心之全體大用無不明」的境界了。這可以說是〈大學〉成篇以後對於格物、致知的最符合文本原義的精當解釋。照此解釋，「八條目」的起點就確定在「格物」一節了。

但是，王守仁卻起而反對朱熹的「格物致知說」，他批評朱熹「務外遺內，博而寡要」，是「告子『義外』之說」。<sup>68</sup>王守仁認為，所謂「格物」，乃是以合於天理的本心之良知去端正事物，其曰：「格者，正也，正其不正以歸於正之謂也。正其不正者，去惡之謂也。歸於正者，為善之謂也。夫是之謂格。」<sup>69</sup>又曰：「若鄙人所謂致知格物者，致吾心之良知於事事物物也。吾心之良知，即所謂天理也。致吾心良知之天理於事事物物，則事事物物皆得其理矣。致吾心之良知者，致知也。事事物物皆得其理者，格物也。」<sup>70</sup>之所以要以致良知去正事物，乃是因為心意由事物而起；事物不正，則心意不得其誠正矣。王守仁曰：「凡意之所發必有其事，意所在之事謂之物。〔……〕良知所知之善，雖誠欲好之矣，苟不即其意之所在之物而實有以為之，則是物有未格，而好之之意猶為未誠也。良知所知之惡，雖誠欲惡之矣，苟不即其意之所在之物而實有以去之，則是物有未格，而惡之之意猶為未誠也。」<sup>71</sup>又曰：「何謂修身？為善而去惡之謂也。吾身自能為善而去惡乎？必其靈明主宰者欲為善而去惡，然後其形體運用者始能為善而去惡也。故欲修其身者，必在於先正其心也。然心之本體則性也。性無不善，則心之本體本無不正也。何從而用其正之功乎？蓋心之本體本無不正，自其意念發動，而後有不正。故欲正其心者，必就其意念之所發而正之，凡其發一念而善也，好之真如好好色；發一念而惡也，惡之真如惡惡臭；則意無不誠，而心可正矣。然意之所發，有善有惡，不有以明其善惡之分，亦將真妄錯雜，雖欲誠之，不可得而誠矣。

68 〈傳習錄中·答顧東橋書〉，《王陽明全集》，頁45。

69 〈大學問〉，《王陽明全集》，頁972。

70 〈傳習錄中·答顧東橋書〉，《王陽明全集》，頁45。

71 〈大學問〉，《王陽明全集》，頁972。

故欲誠其意者，必在於致知焉。〔……〕『致知』云者，非若後儒所謂充廣其知識之謂也，致吾心之良知焉耳。」<sup>72</sup>這就將格物、誠意、正心、修身一概納入經過王守仁重新闡釋的「致知」（即「致吾心良知之天理」）之中，這種「致知」在王守仁看來，也就成為止於至善的首要且唯一工夫了。

王守仁的「致知說」在知行合一的意義上突出道德主體的內在自制性和外向主導性，這是具有積極意義的。不過他將其「致知說」作為「八條目」的首要且唯一工夫，則不僅竄亂了〈大學〉「八條目」的次序，而且在理論上也存在著困難。按照〈大學〉的論說，止於至善亦即作為心之本體的良知的朗現，應該是在一系列修養工夫之後，是修養工夫的極致境界。若至善本具、良知現成，則何必還要設定一系列修養功夫？如果說王守仁的「致知說」只是對於上根之人而言，則上根之人無待於斯言；如果也是對於中下之人而言，則中下之人又何來先在良知以格物、誠意、正心、修身？王守仁批評朱熹的「格物致知說」為「務外遺內」，這是他基於自己的心學理路而對朱熹以知輔德、內外兼修思想的誤解。平心而論，朱熹以格物為起點的「格物致知說」比王守仁以良知包攬內外的「致知說」更能圓滿解釋「八條目」的成德進路，也更符合〈大學〉的本義。

那麼以格物作為起點的「八條目」的推擴方式又當如何理解呢？鄭玄《三禮目錄》曰：「名曰大學者，以其記博學可以為政也。」孔穎達疏曰：「此大學之篇，論學成之事，能治其國，章明其德於天下。」均將格物致知一體貫通於治國平天下。<sup>73</sup>朱熹稍有不同，其曰：「修身以上，明明德之事也。齊家以下，新民之事也。物格知至，則知所止矣。意誠以下，則皆得所止之序也。」又曰：「正心以上，皆所以修身也。齊家以下，則舉此而錯之耳。」<sup>74</sup>這是將內外本末分作兩段，似乎有將修身之成就分別運用於不同事功領域的意思，但畢竟語焉不詳；且以「物格知至」作為其餘各節「所止之序」的發端，仍不免含有直通之意。至南宋真德秀《大學衍

72 〈大學問〉，《王陽明全集》，頁971。

73 見《禮記·大學》孔穎達疏，《十三經注疏》，頁1673。

74 朱熹《四書集注·大學章句》，頁7。

義》依傍〈大學〉而闡論帝王為學之本及其為治之序，<sup>75</sup>明代丘濬《大學衍義補》更是廣採治平之事而將《大學衍義》輯補為一部政典，<sup>76</sup>這樣，〈大學〉便儼然成為與常人無關的最高統治者的專書了，而這顯然是與〈大學〉所謂「自天子以至於庶人，壹是皆以修身為本」的教言相違背的。

當然，從個人修身成德直到成就家、國、天下事功的進路也並不是完全不可能的，這不僅有文獻中關於堯、舜事蹟的記載作為依據，而且兩漢以及曹魏時代基於孝悌等德行而擢拔治才的察舉制和九品中正制，在廣義上也正是一種由德到政的直通方式。即是說，通過修身，是有可能參與到治國平天下的政治事務之中並建功立業的。不過，由於能力、境遇等主客觀條件的制約，能夠實現德政直通方式的，在任何時代都總是少數甚至極少數人，大多數乃至絕大多數人並無這種機會。有鑒於此卻仍然強調「自天子以至於庶人，壹是皆以修身為本」，這就表明〈大學〉本意主要地不是要將修、齊、治、平一體貫通，而是按照內通外分的思路，在強調各色人等無一例外必須格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身的前提下，將其德性之彰明分別導向齊家、治國、平天下的不同事功領域。齊家、治國、平天下的事功領域既具有分途平行的關係，又具有由齊家可能達於治國、由齊家治國可能達於平天下的升進關係，以及平天下必先齊家治國、治國必先齊家的蘊涵關係。條件具備者可以在治國、平天下的領域中實現明明德、親民乃至止於至善的大學之道，一般人則在由「齊家」所涵蓋的政治以外的領域中同樣可以實現明明德、親民乃至止於至善的大學之道。<sup>77</sup>之所以提出「由『齊家』所涵蓋的政治以外的領域」這一說法，乃是因為〈大學〉以家、國、天下指稱事功領域，本屬一種概稱。實際上，在家、國以及家人、國人之間，還存在著村社、城鎮、都邑等廣闊的社會空間以及宗族、

75 參見《四庫全書總目·子部·儒家類二》，頁785。

76 參見《四庫全書總目·子部·儒家類三》，頁790-791。

77 孔穎達釋「親民」為「親愛於民」（《禮記·大學》疏，《十三經注疏》，頁1673）；朱熹改「親」作「新」，注曰「新者，革其舊之謂也。言既自明其明德，又當推以及人，使之亦有以去其舊染之汙也」（《四書集注·大學章句》，頁5）；王守仁將「明明德、親民」解作「修己安百姓」（〈大學古本傍釋〉，《王陽明全集》，頁1193），如此則「親民」乃為治國平天下之事。不過王守仁又以堯「以親九族」、孟子「親親仁民」釋「親民」（〈傳習錄上〉，《王陽明全集》，頁2），如此則「親民」亦為齊家之事。

姻親、鄰里、鄉黨、師友、同儕等複雜的人際關係，這些都是一般人踐履其德行的領域或對象，並非凡是無緣參與國家政治者，便惟有局促於家庭而無從在較大範圍實踐其道德行為並彰明其至善德性。正是通過為「自天子以至於庶人」的一切人設置踐履其德行的領域或對象，大學之道便向一切人敞開了由格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身的「壹是」途徑，經過齊家、治國、平天下的不同事功領域而達致明明德、親民乃至止於至善的最高目標的成德進路。

## 二、大學之道的體知基礎

那麼大學之道的成德進路何以實現呢？〈大學〉曰：「物有本末，事有終始。知所先後，則近道矣。」即是說，從本、始、先的工夫入手，便可能實現成德進路。而本、始、先的工夫，根據〈大學〉所謂「自天子以至於庶人，壹是皆以修身為本」以及朱熹「正心以上，皆所以修身也」的注釋來看，<sup>78</sup>當指以修身所涵括的格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身這五個根本環節。

格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身這五個根本環節具有一個共同特點，即它們都是承載著天賦德性的道德主體基於對天賦德性的不同程度的自覺而在自我身心上做工夫。以格物、致知來說，〈大學〉傳五章釋「格物致知」曰：「此謂知本，此謂知之至也。」朱熹認為「此謂知本」一句為衍文，而「此謂知之至也」一句則「別有關文，此特其結語耳」；其「補傳」曰：「所謂致知在格物者，言欲致吾之知，在即物而窮其理也。」<sup>79</sup>這就表明「窮至事物之理」的格物乃是為了使「吾心之所知無不盡」的致知。王守仁一方面強調「格物致知」乃是「致吾心良知之天理於事事物物，〔……〕致吾心之良知者，致知也。事事物物皆得其理者，格物也」，<sup>80</sup>堅持一條由內而外的進路；但另一方面卻也承認「然在常人不能無

78 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁7。

79 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁11。

80 〈傳習錄中·答顧東橋書〉，《王陽明全集》，頁45。



私意障礙，所以須用致知格物之功勝私復理」，<sup>81</sup>雖然依舊遵循由內而外的進路，但畢竟肯定一般人首先必須顯發其良知。以誠意來說，〈大學〉傳六章釋「誠意」曰：「所謂誠其意者，毋自欺也。」朱熹注曰：「誠，實也。意者，心之所發也。實其心之所發，欲其一於善而無自欺也。」又曰：「誠其意者，自修之首也。〔……〕言欲自修者知為善以去其惡，則當實用其力，而禁止其自欺。使其惡惡則如惡惡臭，好善則如好好色，皆務決去而求必得之，以自快足於己，不可徒苟且以徇外而為人也。」<sup>82</sup>王守仁也說「誠意只是慎獨工夫」。<sup>83</sup>以正心、修身來說，〈大學〉傳七章釋「正心修身」曰：「所謂修身在正其心者：身有所忿懣，則不得其正；有所恐懼，則不得其正；有所好樂，則不得其正；有所憂患，則不得其正。心不在焉，視而不見，聽而不聞，食而不知其味。」朱熹注曰：「程子曰：『身有之身當作心。』〔……〕蓋是四者，皆心之用，而人所不能無者。然一有之而不能察，則慾動情勝，而其用之所行，或不能不失其正矣。心有不存，則無以檢其身，是以君子必察乎此而敬以直之，然後此心常存而身無不修也。」<sup>84</sup>王守仁也說「修身工夫只是誠意。就誠意中體當自己心體，常令廓然大公，便是正心」。<sup>85</sup>凡此均表明，格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身一概歸於道德主體的自我身心工夫，此正如王守仁所謂「蓋身、心、意、知、物者，是其工夫所用之條理，雖亦各有其所，而其實只是一物。格、致、誠、正、修者，是其條理所用之工夫，雖亦皆有其名，而其實只是一事。〔……〕蓋其功夫條理雖有先後次序之可言，而其體之惟一，實無先後次序之可分。其條理功夫雖無先後次序之可分，而其用之惟精，固有纖毫不可得而缺焉者」。<sup>86</sup>其所謂「體之惟一」的「一物」，就是自我身心；而所謂「用之惟精」的「一事」，則不過工夫而已。因此，格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身，說到底，就是一個自我身心工夫。

81 〈傳習錄上〉，《王陽明全集》，頁6。

82 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁6、11-12。

83 〈大學古本傍釋〉，《王陽明全集》，頁1193。

84 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁12-13。

85 〈大學古本傍釋〉，《王陽明全集》，頁1195。

86 〈大學問〉，《王陽明全集》，頁971-972。

正是通過終生不輟的自我身心工夫，道德主體不僅對於內在的天賦德性獲具日益明晰的道德覺知，並逐漸養成「如惡惡臭，如好好色」般的道德情感和道德意志，而且不斷發生「睟面盎背」的體貌轉化，並不斷提升「四體不言而喻」的道德行為。在特定的工夫水準上，由道德覺知、道德情感、道德意志所形成的道德心理結構總是直下作用於道德主體的體貌，使之相應地「踐形」，並同時支配道德主體的行為，使之成為對等於主體道德境界的覺行和篤行；而道德主體的「踐形」及其覺行和篤行又直接給予主體的道德心理結構以積極影響，深化並強化主體的道德覺知、道德情感和道德意志，特別使得作為道德心理結構之主導的道德覺知成為一種親知和真知。這種身心互動、知行相兼、內外夾持、觀體受用的德性活動，正是杜維明著眼於儒家傳統的認識論和工夫論而提出的所謂「體知」，即一種「整個『身心』的介入」的體認方式，一種「瞭解同時又是轉化的行為」(knowing as a transformative act)的德性之知，一種在極致意義上臻於「知(體認)的本身就是一個創造性的行動」而「行必然包含著更加深刻的自我認識」的「知行合一」之知。<sup>87</sup>體知使得主體的道德踐履具備自覺性、趨向性、堅定性和實在性，此即〈大學〉兼知、情、意與心、身、行而為言的「知止而後有定，定而後能靜，靜而後能安，安而後能慮，慮而後能得」。<sup>88</sup>因此，體知乃是主體積極進行道德踐履的深刻基礎。有了通過身心工夫而獲得的體知作為基礎，主體就可能立足於給定條件而扎扎實實、堅持不懈地日新其德以致趨於至善，從而大學之道的成德進路也就可能由本而末、由始而終、由先而後、由內而外、由己而人地逐步實現。

87 分別參見〈內在經驗：宋明儒學思想中的創造性基礎〉，載《杜維明文集》（武漢：武漢出版社，2002年），卷5，頁101；〈儒家「體知」傳統的現代詮釋〉，載《杜維明文集》，卷4，頁371；〈王陽明四句教考〉，載《杜維明文集》，卷4，頁153。

88 朱熹：《四書集注·大學章句》，頁6。

## 參、大學之道的當代意義

由儒家往聖先賢的德性實踐或其道德教言提煉而成的大學之道，由於為個體—主體的自我成就及其與社會的關係這兩個具有普遍性的問題提出了一種儒家特有的以德為本的解決方式，因而不僅在儒家思想作為主流—正統意識形態的中國古代社會成為參與型塑民族性格的人生哲學，而且在當今社會對於人們立身行己、為人處世乃至對於實現社會和諧都仍然具有現實指導意義。

大學之道以包含格物、致知、誠意、正心等自我身心工夫的修身作為人的立身根本，基於這一根本，人才可能了悟自己所以為人的內在天賦德性，從而自我提升為一種現實的道德存在；進而以修身成德作為起點，人才可能在類似小社會的家庭乃至類似大家庭的社會中有益於他人，從而獲得與其主客觀條件相適應的事功成就。這就是大學之道的本末內外觀。在經過從五四到「文革」半個多世紀反傳統思潮的猛烈蕩滌以及一九八〇年代「西化」思潮和一九九〇年代商業大潮的巨大衝擊之後，當今與儒家傳統相隔絕的兩三代人多已不知大學之道的本末內外觀為何物，即或略有所知也鮮有不將其視為所謂「封建思想遺毒」而棄之如敝屣者。以德為本意識的淡漠或喪失，導致非道德或反道德的個人主義、罔顧他人甚至殘賊同類暴殄天物的利己主義、不切德能而捨近求遠地追撲和貪占外功外物以求所謂「自我實現」的功利主義成為不少人的信念，並且公行於世。由於社會生活的複雜性而使有德無福、無德有福、德不勝詐、德不勝力一類現象往往存在，這也導致許多人認為道德是一種迂闊而不周世用的贅物，從而影響其道德信念的確立。<sup>89</sup>所有這些，不僅給經濟秩序、政治運作、社會治

89 有德無福、無德有福、德不勝詐、德不勝力一類現象，可以概括為德福相悖。德福相悖是德福一致的否定形式。關於德福一致，雖然〈中庸〉第十七章有所謂「大德必得其位，必得其祿，必得其名，必得其壽」的樂觀論斷，但這一論斷只是以舜的生平經歷作為根據，故並不具有普遍性；康德通過預設上帝存在和靈魂不滅企圖解決德福一致的普遍性問題，但卻受到牟宗三的駁難（見《圓善論》，《牟宗三先生全集》〔臺北：聯經出版事業公司，2003年〕，卷22，頁335-338）；牟氏將這一問題的解決訴諸三千果成而常樂我淨的宗教體驗以及既是成德根據亦是存在根據的無限智心（見《圓善論》，序言頁15、頁343-346），即使肯定其在圓教或道德形上學的層面解決了德福一致的問題，但這種解決卻仍然無助於世俗或經驗世界中的人們正確看待德福不一致即德福相悖現象。

安、生存環境乃至世道人心造成了嚴重問題，而且最終也禍及那些因迷失根本而本末倒置、捨本逐末的人本身。療救這些社會人生的病症，僅靠只具有外在約束或事後懲治功能且這些功能終不可能完備周密的政令和法制，或可獲一時之功但卻並不能收根本之效。因此，治本之道還是需要大力重振道德信念，使人明確成功本於成德、為大先須為小、立己乃為立人以及立人恰所以立己的道理，從而使之以道德的自覺自律規範自己的立身行己和為人處世。在這一方面，大學之道的本末內外觀基本上可以直承地予以接受並發揮其現實作用。

大學之道以可以被概括為「體知」的身心工夫論作為道德實現的基礎，這對當今人們的道德實踐也是具有現實意義的。當今人們或有知修身之理者，但卻往往徒然玩弄光景，而不願落實到自己身心上做工夫。更有一些人對道德全無體認，但卻看出道德可能給自己帶來利益，因而以道德裝飾言行，藉冠冕逞其陰私。這種知而不行或偽知偽行的情況，非但不可能使主體真正轉變氣質、提升境界從而成己成人，特別就後一種情況來說，最終還可能害人害己，並且破壞道德的社會公信度，瓦解公眾的道德信心。因此，主體若誠然有志於修身成德，就必須遵循身心互動、知行相兼的途徑，以知兼行而使道德覺知成為親知和真知，同時以行兼知而使道德行為成為覺行和篤行，庶幾乎可收明德、親民之效。在這一方面，大學之道的「體知」論同樣基本上可以直承地予以接受並發揮其現實作用。

大學之道以統括「明德」和「親民」內外兩個向度的「至善」作為個體—主體修身成德的最高目標，並明確要求自「天子」以至於「庶人」的

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對於世俗或經驗世界中的人們正確看待德福相悖現象，可以作出以下幾點提示：其一，德與福能否達到一致，除了德性因素之外，智力、能力、體質等因素也具有不可或缺的作用。例如得位並履行職責，就需具有相當的智力和能力；得壽則與體質存在著密切關係。其二，修身成德應該作為目的而不是手段，「人爵」只能隨順「天爵」，而不能「修其天爵以要人爵」。其三，從社會歷史經驗來看，有德者或許先無福而後有福，無德者或許先有福而後無福；有德者或許生前無福而身後受到千秋景仰，無德者或許生前有福而身後不免百代唾罵。這種吊詭表明德福終究可能一致。因此，世俗或經驗世界中的德福相悖現象不應影響人們的道德信念的確立。當然，德福相悖和德福一致是道德哲學以及道德形上學中非常複雜的問題，在此只是順帶涉及，深入討論則需另具專文。

各色人等都基於各自給定的主客觀條件，通過身心工夫和本末內外之道去追求實現這一最高目標。這就不是將修身成德作為個別人或少數人的專用品以及社會的點綴物，而是將其作為人皆可行且人皆必行的常道以及社會的常態，其指向無疑在於一種德性周洽的道德社會。這種道德社會說的現實意義更是不言而喻的。在一個社會中，如果修身成德不能最大限度地成為其成員共同的基本價值取向和行為準則，那麼形形色色非道德或反道德的觀念和行為便會公行於世，並像瘟疫一般蔓延於社會意識和社會生活之中，人際關係將充斥著隔膜或緊張；那些如同點綴物的道德樣板，那些自發的道德行為，在非道德或反道德的社會氛圍中不免被視為怪異而受到流俗排抵，從而很難撐持，整個社會將載胥及溺。這樣的社會，無論其物質上多麼充裕，現代化程度多麼高，由於缺乏基本的和諧，故必定是一種非人性或反人性的社會。只有將最大多數社會成員的思想行為都導入修身成德的常道，在肯定人的道德水準差異的前提下，以「先知覺後知，先覺覺後覺」的方式，造成一種「士希賢，賢希聖，聖希天」的道德提升序列，由此對極少數非道德或反道德的社會成員產生帶動作用或形成輿論壓力，使之或者朝著道德方向轉化，或者不免受到社會的譴責或制裁，這樣的社會才可能成為一種符合人性的和諧社會，其經濟、政治、文化建設才會由於具有道德的靈魂而富於實際意義。在這一方面，大學之道的道德社會說無疑也是基本上可以直承地予以接受並發揮其現實作用的。◆

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◆ 責任編輯：金葉明。

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【研究討論】 Research Note

越南儒學資料簡介  
Introduction to Sources in Vietnamese  
Confucianism

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臺灣大學人文社會高等研究院「東亞經典與文化」研究計畫，最近十年來延續自一九九八年以來各階段研究計畫成果，致力於「東亞儒學」新領域的開拓與研究，出版《東亞文明研究叢書》、《東亞文明資料叢書》、《東亞文明書目叢書》等三大書系，至今（2009年）已出版近百冊。

由於研究資料的關係，過去十年來的研究工作主要集中在中國、日本、韓國的儒學發展。為了更聚焦「東亞儒學」的研究，所以從二〇〇九年起開始出版《東亞儒學研究叢書》與《東亞儒學資料叢書》兩種出版品。前者以研究論著為主，後者則蒐集並出版東亞儒學的相關原典與史料。現在重印出版的這一批「越南儒學資料」，就是本院開拓東亞儒學新視野的重要工作。這批資料的影印出版，都獲得原度藏單位正式授權。我們願就越南儒學的發展概況以及這一批資料的狀況，略作說明。

儒學、漢字以及其他中國文化要素，雖然早在秦漢時代便已傳入越南。但從公元二到十世紀之間，儒家思想對越南社會的影響，似乎僅限於華僑、行政官僚等上層社會人物，尚未普及到社會其他階層。因此，這段期間並未出現出色的儒家學者及儒學著作。

第十世紀李朝成立之後，統治者有意識地採納儒家思想和制度，致力於建設一個文明的國家，儒學對越南社會的影響才全面地加速展開。儒家思想首先深入政治領域，接著擴展到教育制度、學術思想、文藝創作、社會文化、民間風俗等等。從第十到第十五世紀，儒學在越南的地位逐漸提升，但因佛教盛行，儒學在三教之中未能取得優勢，仍與佛、道兩家平分秋色。

自公元十五世紀的黎朝起，儒家的地位才開始超越佛、道兩家，成為越南社會的主流思想，儒學也逐步滲透到越南社會的各個領域及階層，這種發展一直延續到十九世紀。在儒家思想的影響之下，越南文化產生了根本性的轉變，原來的東南亞特質逐漸失色，而浸潤在中國文化中的東亞特色佔了上風。雖然受到法國統治的干擾，越南最後一個王朝阮朝仍然繼承

並發揮儒家傳統，這種持續性的發展，使儒家思想對於越南的社會文化、人民生活、社會價值體系等方面的影響，在十八及十九世紀達到最深刻的程度。越南人在接受儒家思想的同時，也無可避免地將其「在地化」，以符合越南本土文化及本地人的個性，而在這種「在地化」過程中豐富了原始儒學的內容。

越南的儒學文獻使用兩種文字記載：漢字及越南文字（稱為「字喃」）。越南人用漢越讀音來念漢字，字喃則是越南人參考漢字造字原則所創的標音方塊文字，用來記錄越南語言。字喃的發明雖然早在第十世紀之前，但目前公認最早的長篇字喃著作遲至十三世紀才出現。在最近七個世紀裡，越南人同時使用漢字及字喃兩種文字著書立說，雖然字喃的使用並未如漢字頻繁，但以其寫成的文獻也構成了越南儒家典籍中非常重要的部分。

越南現存的儒學文獻僅是歷代著述的一小部分而已。政治的動蕩、戰爭的摧毀、濕熱的氣候等因素，使得不少儒學文獻毀損或流失。很多文獻現在徒留書名，內容卻無跡可尋，殊可惋惜。文獻不足自然也使越南儒學的重建與研究加倍困難。

越南儒學資料大致可分為以下幾種：一、儒家經典詮釋著作；二、國史、法律、典章制度、禮儀、文教、科舉等官方文獻；三、儒家的文學類文獻；四、風俗民情及人民日常生活中的綜合性記載，如家譜、家訓、家禮、信函等。茲分項說明如下：

### 一、儒家經典詮釋著作

越南儒家注重經世之學，對純理論的研究興趣不高，所以越南儒者在經典詮釋方面成就不大，但仍有些明經博學的儒學者為了滿足政治、文教、科舉等方面的需求，著手解釋儒家經典。

朱文安(1292-1370)是第一個著書討論儒家經典的學者。他的《四書說約》以朱熹(1130-1200)的《四書集註》為基礎,概略地介紹《四書》內容,這是朱子學傳入越南的最早證據。十四世紀末的胡季犛(1336-1407)也撰有一些詮釋性質的著作,他編《明道》一書討論儒家思想的某些問題意識,並且將《詩經》及《尚書·無逸》轉譯成字喃詩。胡季犛首先將儒家經典逐譯成字喃詩,可視為這種充滿越南特色的經典詮釋方式的創始人。

在十五與十六世紀,儒學在越南發展快速,但是有關儒家經典詮釋的著作仍為數不多。直到十七、十八世紀,有關儒學經典的論著才有明顯的成長,許多儒學者都參加解經工作,最具代表性的儒者有馮克寬、鄧太滂、黎貴惇、范阮攸、范貴適、吳時任、裴輝璧等。十九世紀曾著書討論儒家經典的有阮德達、阮文超、阮福洪任(嗣德皇帝)、阮綿禩等。十九世紀末二十世紀初有潘佩珠、黎文啟等。

越南漢喃研究院目前所留存的儒學典籍文獻總共有1686種,<sup>1</sup>其中涉及討論、解釋《四書》、《五經》的有122種。<sup>2</sup>這些文獻使用漢字及字喃兩種文字;體裁方面也包括韻文及散文兩大類。整體觀之,此類著作的內容主要是討論儒家經典的義理、記錄作者研究儒家經典的心得、或提出個人對經典的見解。也有一些著作以問答的方式進行論述,提供教學及科舉考試之用。這些文獻反映了越南儒者對於儒家思想的見解及接受方式,同時也顯示越南儒者如何將儒家思想運用於修身治國等方面。

## 二、國史、法律、典章制度、禮儀、文教、科舉等官方文獻

儒家文化圈非常重視史學,東亞各國史籍撰述相當發達,越南也不例外。越南剛獨立之後的李朝與陳朝時代,已有一些歷史著作問世,如《越

1 參考阮春面:〈漢喃研究院現存有關儒學典籍文獻概況——關於儒學文獻的數量及價值的考察與判斷〉,《漢喃研究雜誌》,2005年第1期(2005年)。

2 參考鄭克孟:〈漢喃研究院現存的有關四書五經之漢喃書籍〉,《漢喃研究雜誌》,2005年第1期(2005年)。

史略》（佚名）、黎文休的《史記》等。十五世紀以降出現許多卷帙浩繁的書籍，例如由吳士蓮及其後代史家接續編纂的《大越史記全書》、由諸多史家編纂的《史記續編》、《越史通鑿綱目》、《大南實錄》等。越南歷史著作採用的體裁甚多，包括編年史、通鑿、史記、實錄、史論、史評、史考等等。現存的史籍書目高達數百。越南的歷史論述基本上遵循儒家史觀，敘述方式則借鑑《春秋》、《史記》的風格，但內容也透露了越南人的民族精神，著述目的也是為了滿足越南本地的政治、社會生活及學術研究等需求。

法律文獻及記載典章制度的著作在漢喃書庫裡也有重要地位。越南最有名的法律文獻是《國朝刑律》（黎朝洪德律）及《皇越律例》（阮朝法律）。關於典章制度方面的記載，有《黎朝會典》、《大南會典》、潘輝注的《歷朝憲章類志》等。

關於教育、科舉考試制度的記載，除了儒家經典的介紹書、入門及高級教材、考卷樣本之外，還有記載歷次科舉上榜者簡歷的《登科錄》、搜集歷次考試的優秀試卷、記載考場規定等文獻。這類文獻是研究越南儒學教育、科舉制度和越南儒學傳播史等課題的珍貴原始資料。

### 三、儒家的文學類文獻

文學類文獻在越南漢喃文獻中所佔的比例最高，雖然尚未有精細的統計，但此類著作應有上千種。由於越南各王朝都取法中國「以文取士」的制度，透過科舉考試來選拔人才，因此儒學者都具備良好的文學技巧，並使用漢字及字喃兩種文字進行創作。文學體裁方面，除了繼承中國古典文學的各種體裁，文人學者還使用越南特有的體裁，這些特有體裁的作品大部分都以字喃寫成。越南儒者的創作基本上遵循儒家的文學規範，講究「文以載道」、「詩以言志」等道德文學觀。依照傳統儒家的文學觀，越南儒者將文學視為一種修身、教化、實施治道、寄託經世抱負的工具，另一方面，他們也用詩歌來抒發個人情懷。這類文獻集中反映了儒學對於越

南人的思維模式及審美觀念的深刻影響，但在儒家思想的籠罩下，越南古典文學作品仍隱約透出作者的民族精神。文學類著作基本上都是以單獨的詩集、文集形式面世，但也有不少儒者廣泛搜集各家作品編成總集，像黃萃夫的《摘艷詩集》、阮天縱的《群賢賦集》、黎貴惇的《全越詩錄》、《皇越文海》、裴輝璧的《皇越詩選》、《皇越文選》等。

#### 四、風俗民情及人民日常生活中的綜合性記載

這類文獻屬於風俗民情的記載，例如家譜、鄉約、族規、家訓、家禮、家約等，內容貼近民眾生活，在越南漢喃文獻當中佔據的比例很高。這類文獻一般來說篇幅較短，而且作者、年代等資訊都比較模糊，記載的傳承也相當複雜。越南儒者筆下的漢文與中國本土的文言文，在語法及辭彙方面本有出入，在這類作品中差別尤其明顯。但這類文獻反映出儒家思想普及於人民日常生活的狀況，所以也很值得深入研究。

整體看來，越南的儒學文獻源遠流長、價值豐富，是構成越南文化及傳統的重要部分。它們是儒學在越南傳播發展結晶，同時也是越南儒學「在地化」的碩果。越南儒學典籍文獻豐富了儒學的面貌，成為東亞儒學及全球儒學不可分割的一部分。

【研究討論】 Research Note

當代俄羅斯的文明概念  
Conception of Civilization in Contemporary  
Russia

陳啟能、曹特金  
CHEN Qineng<sup>\*</sup> and CAO Tejin<sup>\*\*</sup>

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我們這裡說的「當代俄羅斯」指的是一九九一年蘇聯解體後的俄羅斯，也有被稱為「後蘇聯時期的俄羅斯」。要考察這段時期的文明概念問題，有必要簡略地回顧一下在這之前的時期——即蘇聯時期的大致情況。

## 壹、形態方法的式微和革新

應該承認，在蘇聯時期的大部分時間裡，「文明」問題和「文明方法」都是「空白點」，是無人問津的，甚至是被禁止的。至少從二十世紀三〇年代以來，一套固定的「形態方法」成了蘇聯社會科學界，特別是史學界運用的主要方法。眾所周知，社會經濟形態是馬克思主義學說的主要內容。因而，從表面上看，似乎「形態方法」就是由社會經濟形態學說直接來的，甚至兩者被等同起來。誠然，這兩者之間有著不可分的聯繫，然而畢竟不是一回事。這裡的問題是：馬克思主義在蘇聯（包括學術界）被嚴重地教條化、簡單化了。「形態方法」主要是這種教條化、簡單化的產物。一位俄羅斯的學者在談到形態理論時指出：「一般說來，在歷史學家的實踐中，形態學說並不是一種社會—歷史分析方法，而成了目的：具體的歷史認識被用來證實歷史哲學體系的正確。」他並進一步指出：「馬克思提出的科學假設後來被變成了絕對正確的教條。」馬克思本人「從一位勤勉鑽研探索的思想家」變成了「一個『教皇』，一個絕對真理的代表」，「這不能不導致對馬克思思想的庸俗化和直接的歪曲」。<sup>1</sup>

在相當長的時期內，「形態方法」在蘇聯學術界沒有引起爭論。然而，在二十世紀六〇年代，由於蘇共二十大的影響，蘇聯學術界就理論方法論問題進行了反思和討論。特別在與「形態方法」直接有關聯的蘇聯史學界，展開了關於史學方法論的熱烈討論，其中涉及唯物史觀與史學方法論的關係、亞細亞生產方式等問題。如何克服教條化的問題在一定程度上被提了出來。在這一時期，蘇聯學術界越來越重視對文明問題的研究。史學界也是如此。

1 А. Я. Гуревич, "Теория формации и реальность истории," *Вопросы философии*, № 11 (1990), с. 36.



不過，在七〇年代直至八〇年代上半期，對文明問題的研究雖然多了起來，但是並未見有人提出要用「文明方法」取代「形態方法」的。八〇年代下半期，戈巴契夫的「改革」引起蘇聯社會—政治的巨大變化，而這又導致社會指導理論，以及社會科學和歷史學的不穩定。一場空前的歷史科學的危機隨之而來。關於這場危機的原因、程度、消除的途徑等問題，在歷史學家中間是眾說紛紜，但有一點是比較一致的：即這場危機是理論、方法論的危機，而當前存在著歷史知識被非職業化的危險。這場危機有兩個明顯的表現：一是對蘇聯歷史學的否定，一度甚至達到幾乎全盤否定的程度。這就在相當程度上導致理論上的真空和對方法論問題的偏執追求。二是圍繞如何選擇對歷史過程的宏觀解釋模式所進行的爭論。爭論的焦點是「形態」和「文明」兩種方法孰優孰劣，應該選擇哪一個的問題。

應該客觀地說，在八〇年代下半期至九〇年代初的這場爭論中，佔優勢的是形態方法的支持者。如有學者強調說，如果是為了剷除對形態概念和階級概念的簡單化的、圖解式的運用（這種情況幾十年來確實在歷史科學中存在著），那是值得歡迎的；如果是為了完全忘卻階級性思想和形態思想本身，那就是另一回事了，因為今天如果沒有這些思想，從原則上說就不可能有什麼廣泛的概括。<sup>2</sup>還有學者指出，有兩個不同的概念應該加以區分：一個是形態方法，另一個是形態簡化論（*формационный редукционизм*）。形態簡化論是把形態方法絕對化了，從而也就歪曲了形態方法。形態簡化論的主要特點是把「人類社會」活動的全部多樣性完全歸結為形態特徵，而形態方法本身「過去是，現在依然是巨大的科學成就」。<sup>3</sup>他的結論是，形態方法在弄清推動社會發展的那些矛盾的基礎上，用以分析發展的規律，其目的是研究使社會分裂的東西。文明方法把社會看作各種整體性的類型，所研究的是使社會聯合的東西。總之，形態方法是用以研究社會變化的機制，而文明方法則研究社會繼承性。<sup>4</sup>因而，作者認為，兩者是互補的。

2 См. "О тенденции исторической науки," *Новая и новейшая история*, № 5 (1991), с. 65.

3 См. Я. Г. Шемякин, "Проблема цивилизации в Советской научной литературе в 60-80 гг.," *История СССР*, № 5 (1991), с. 88-89.

4 Там же, с. 100.

這兩種方法互補的論調逐漸地多了起來。這既說明「形態方法」論者的且戰且退，已不像他們在蘇聯時期那樣獨霸天下了；也說明他們在尋求「形態方法」的革新。如另一位學者也力圖革新「形態方法」。他認為，「形態方法」導致歷史學家在「優先選擇」研究課題時的「傾斜」：過多地選擇階級鬥爭和農民分化，而對農民生活中的許多方面（農業生產的工藝、農民的日常生活）卻很少研究。最嚴重的疏漏是對自然—地理因素在俄國歷史上的作用的忽視。他提出的革新方案是從俄國革命前的史學傳統中（索洛維約夫〔С. М. Соловьёв〕、克柳切夫斯基〔В. О. Ключевский〕）吸取養料，豐富自身。<sup>5</sup>另一位在平黎市的學者寫信給《祖國史》（現已更名為《俄國史》）雜誌說：「多數學者認為形態方法是正確的和必要的」，但是「文明方法可以解釋那些偏離總趨勢的例外情況」。<sup>6</sup>

雖然在八〇年代下半期至九〇年代初的這場爭論中，形態方法的支持者占了上風，但「形態方法」卻受到了全面的批判。它的「缺陷」（主要是方法論方面的）被指了出來，大致有：經濟決定論、一線發展論、形態簡化論。《哲學問題》編輯部指出：「把『人的世界』的全部多樣性歸結為形態特徵只能是『形態簡化論』。」<sup>7</sup>在批判形態方法的同時，自九〇年代初起，文明方法在俄國較快地發展起來。巴爾格（М. А. Барг）主編的《文明》文集的出版，文明研究中心在俄國科學院世界歷史研究所的成立，西方文明研究大師（斯賓格勒〔O. Spengler〕、湯因比〔A. Toynbee〕、索羅金〔P. Sorokin〕等）的著作的翻譯出版，一些有關的重要著作的出版，<sup>8</sup>無不說明文明概念的流行。然而，對文明方法的可行性，在學界還存在著不同的意見。對文明範式本身的研究也還不夠。

簡言之，到八〇年代以後，文明方法和文明問題的討論逐漸多了起來，到蘇聯解體以後，更是進入高潮。對此，俄國學者有很好的說明。如俄羅斯

5 См. Л. В. Милов, *Великорусский пахарь и особенности Российского исторического процесса* (М.: Росспэн, 1998).

6 *Отечественная история*, № 1 (2001), с. 208.

7 "Формации или цивилизации? (Материалы 'круглого стола')" *Вопросы философии*, № 10 (1989), с. 34.

8 *Сравнительное изучение цивилизаций мира* (М.: ИВИ РАН, 2000 и 2003); *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1., *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002).

科學院世界歷史研究所於一九九七年出版的《文明》叢書第四輯的「出版說明」指出：「近十年來，『文明』的概念和文明的理論在我國的歷史科學、歷史社會學和文化學都得到了廣泛的承認。在歷史知識還缺乏一個主導的範式的情況下，文明理論遂得以成為最流行的、被學術界承認的概念。」<sup>9</sup>

俄國歷史學家科瓦利欽科（И. Д. Ковальченко）在歷史研究從形態的單一性向文明的多樣性的轉變中起了重要的作用。他在二十世紀九〇年代中期發表的晚年的著作中<sup>10</sup>認為：「目前最中心的方法論問題是在研究社會－歷史進程中的形態方法和文明方法的相互關係問題。」<sup>11</sup>科瓦利欽科的實際意思是，這兩種方法各有長處，應該互補。他認為，社會的發展有其內在的因素（如社會、政治關係的性質、人類的思想－文化和精神－心理面貌等）和外在因素（如自然條件、宇宙的條件、人們的地域生活環境等）。他把根據這些因素構成的世界文明的一般歷史劃分為以下階段：前工業階段（原始公社、奴隸的、封建的）；工業階段（資本主義的和社會主義的）和後工業階段（資訊的）。這實際上是放大的形態模式。其基礎還是垂直的分段模式，是允許多樣形式存在的人類統一性思想。

總之，自上世紀八〇至九〇年代以來，俄國學者中對俄羅斯文明問題感興趣的人多了起來，報刊上登載了不少討論俄羅斯文明的文章，出版了一批專著，俄羅斯文明問題也列入了中學第十一年級的教科書。探討文明問題的學者來自多個不同的學科：有社會學家、政治學家、哲學家、文化學者、東方學學者等，自然，還有歷史學家，其中不乏知名度甚高的學者。當時的形勢是：過去長期由「形態方法」一統天下的壟斷地位被打破了。隨之而來的並不是「文明方法」的壟斷。雖然也有俄國學者認為，

9 *Цивилизации*, Вып. 4 (М., 1997), с. 6.

10 И. Д. Ковальченко, "Теоретико-методологические проблемы исторических исследований. Заметки и размышления о новых подходах," *Новая и новейшая история*, № 1 (1995); его же: "Историческое познание: индивидуальное, социальное и общечеловеческое," *Свободная мысль*, № 2 (1995); его же: "Сущность и особенности общественно-исторического развития (заметки о необходимости обновленных подходов)," *Исторические записки*, Вып. 1 (119) (М., 1995).

11 И. Д. Ковальченко, "Теоретико-методологические проблемы исторических исследований. Заметки и размышления о новых подходах," *Новая и новейшая история*, № 1 (1995), с. 23.

「出現了一定的『文明方法』的絕對化」，<sup>12</sup>然而不能把這理解為「文明方法」的壟斷。比較普遍的看法是：「形態方法」的壟斷被打破後出現的是理論—方法論的某種不確定性，是缺乏主導的理論學派和流派，是方法論的模糊性。圍繞著歷史是單線發展還是多線發展出現了若干不同的流派，彼此所依據的概念不盡相同。應該說，「文明方法」是其中影響較大的一個。

「文明方法」的興起並不是偶然的。首先，如上所述，俄國在蘇聯解體前後出現的歷史學危機表現為理論方法論上的真空。「形態方法」受到越來越多的質疑和批評。「文明」和「文明方法」受到越來越多的關注。這可以說是學者們對理論上探求對宏觀歷史現象和過程進行解釋的反應，是尋找新的宏觀歷史模式的努力。

蘇聯解體後，俄國經歷了一個十分複雜的歷史過程。俄國的社會思想也處於一種十分複雜的狀態。這是蘇聯解體這個「歷史劇變」的後續變化。這種狀況要求思想精英們為社會和國家的發展和前景尋求一種理論的說明和瞻望。有位俄國學者對此做了闡釋。他認為，現在的俄國社會是有能力融入「世界文明」的「正常」社會的。社會思想家們必須闡明建設這樣的社會的原則。這應該是建設性的理論闡述。解體以後那種情緒性的揭露性作品是不能適應社會需求的。這裡沒有關於社會發展的探討性的理論知識，有的是意識形態的色彩和對西方的盲目模仿。九〇年代在激進的自由主義的「衝擊風暴」失敗以後，俄國的社會思想顯得更為複雜。然而，接連發生的這些巨大的變化也是對以前用來研究歷史和社會的方法的全面批判，而這種批判為新方法的有效的探討和掌握掃清了道路，其中就有對文明制度和文明過程的比較研究。這位學者還警告說，「文明」成了一個時髦的詞；各種各樣的人，為了各自的目的，都會應用它，都會提出觀點和理論。因而，需要聯繫充滿矛盾的俄國現實進行認真深入的研究分析。<sup>13</sup>

12 А. О. Чубарьян, "Историческая наука в России к началу XXIв.," *Новая и новейшая история*, № 3 (2003), с. 12.

13 См. Б. С. Ерасов, "О статусе и содержании теории цивилизации," *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 9-12.

此外，從國際學術發展的角度看，文明問題的重要性也越來越突出。近幾十年來，文明和文化問題在人文社會科學的各個學科都受到特別的重視，成為研究的「熱點」。如哲學研究重心向文化的轉移，「新文化史學」的興起，人類學對各門人文社會科學影響的加強，各種文化思潮、文化理論的相繼問世，聯合國教科文組織第廿六屆大會（1991年）決定建立一個世界文化與發展委員會，負責起草一份關於文化和發展的國際報告，如此種種無不說明：文明和文化問題正受到前所未有的重視。這並不是偶然的，而是有其歷史的、現實的、社會的根源。其中重要的一點是，國際格局的變化，科學技術革命的興起和全球人性問題的受重視等，從各個方面把人本身的價值和命運、人類生存和發展的問題，十分尖銳地凸顯出來，迫使人們去反思，去探索，特別是從理論上去思考。因此可以說，文明和文化問題的研究熱的興起集中反映了對人的關注，對處於不同文明背景、不同文化環境的人們的命運的擔憂和思索。這樣的國際背景促進了俄國學術界對文明問題的探討和研究。如不少俄國學者明確指出，歷史研究中的「文明方法」把歷史的唯一創造者——人——放在歷史研究的中心；<sup>14</sup>「運用文明方法時，正是人被提升到了歷史研究的中心地位。」<sup>15</sup>

## 貳、文明概念的歷史回顧

蘇聯解體前「形態方法」的式微和「文明熱」的興起，並不是一件偶然的事，也不純粹是「學術問題」。這裡有著深遠的社會、歷史背景。我們需要簡單地回顧一下。

我們知道，近代（或現代）意義上的「文明」概念出現在十八世紀中葉的西方，以後逐漸地流傳於世界各地，並被國際上廣泛使用。近代「文明」概念的出現，既是自古典時期以來「文明意識」發展的結果，也是近

14 См. М. А. Барг, "Цивилизационный подход к истории: дань конъюнктуре или требование науки?" *Коммунист*, № 3 (1991), с. 33.

15 А. А. Искендеров, "Историческая наука на пороге XXI века," *Вопросы истории*, № 4 (1996), с. 18.

代西方社會經濟、政治、文化、思想發展的產物。在古代，「文明意識」不僅在古希臘、古羅馬有發展，而且在古代中國、古印度也有很大發展，稍後在阿拉伯世界也是如此。如果說，世界各地的古文明和「文明意識」是各有千秋、相互輝映的話，那麼在西方出現近代「文明」概念後，情況就有所不同。當時在西方，「文明」概念往往與「西方中心論」聯繫在一起。十七世紀時，歐洲被看成是統一的地理整體，由基督教國家組成，具有相似的社會機制和國家機制。這是歐洲中心論的開始，到十八世紀下半葉已發展成為把歐洲看成是全世界社會發展的理想模式的觀念。這種觀念認為，所有國家、民族文化發展的道路都是相同的，而西歐是率先的模範，非西歐的人民和文化是「不文明的」、「野蠻的」，因此要推行「教化」政策，也就是要對不同於西歐的社會和文化加以根本的改造，使之「文明化」。俄國的主要部分雖然也在歐洲，但地處偏遠的東歐，也屬於需要「教化」的國家。不過，俄國人認為，他們有一定的「民族性」，比亞洲國家要「文明」些。俄國沒有達到西歐的文明水準，但已走在半道上。<sup>16</sup>

一般認為，俄國的「啟蒙時代」是在十八世紀下半葉。此時，西方的「啟蒙思想」被系統地引進。但從「文明理論」的角度看，探討「俄羅斯道路」的特點的任務還沒有提出來，俄國自己的文明理論的構建還處於初步的準備階段。十九世紀時，情況有了很大的變化。民族意識的高漲，探討俄國發展特點的熱情，對俄國文明的認同需求，觸動了俄國各類各派的知識精英，包括十二月黨人、斯拉夫派、「官方人民性理論」的支持者，甚至西方派。俄國在文明理論上的探討有兩個明顯的特點：一是特別注重兩種文明理論（即線性一階段文明理論和地域文明理論）中的地域文明理論；二是喜歡拿俄羅斯與歐洲作比較分析。在十九世紀二〇年代時已有學者明確提出一個影響至今的問題：「俄國的歷史與其他歐洲國家以及亞洲國家的歷史的不同在哪裡？」自那時起，俄國的社會思想一直在探討、回答這個問題。到十九世紀三〇年代，獨特的「俄羅斯道路」的思想已經相當深入社會的意識。十九世紀中期以後，有更多的俄國學者從文明的理論

16 See D. Hay, *Europe. The Emergence of the Idea* (Chicago, 1968); В. Н. Никифоров, *Восток и всемирная история* (М.: Наука, 1975).

上、從哲學上探討這個問題。其間出了不少有名的學者，如達尼列夫斯基（Н. Я. Данилевский）、列奧契耶夫（К. Н. Леонтьев）、米留柯夫（П. Н. Миллюков）等，特別是達尼列夫斯基在其名著《俄國與歐洲》（1869年）中提出的「文化－歷史類型」的理論對二十世紀的文明理論大家斯賓格勒和湯因比文明形態理論很有影響。

從以上的回顧中可以清楚地看出，文明概念和文明理論問題的探討不是憑空出現的，不是杯中的風波，而是有著深刻的背景的。從俄國的歷史看，就是與對俄羅斯的文明認同、與俄羅斯發展道路的特性、與俄國與周圍世界的關係、與俄國的命運息息相關的。明白了這點，對近來俄國學者對文明問題的關注的原因就不難理解了。

在蘇聯時期，蘇聯的強國之路不是通過「文明」來論證的，主要是通過社會形態和意識形態。因而在蘇聯的學術界，包括史學界，「文明」問題長期沒有得到重視，沒有提上日程。只是在蘇聯的晚期，尤其是在蘇聯解體前後，「文明」問題才成為「熱門」。蘇聯解體以後，文明問題的探討更加熱烈。探討的重點是俄羅斯文明及其文明史。很明顯，研究俄羅斯文明史的目的，就是要探討俄羅斯獨有的、從誰那兒也無法借用的通向未來之路的客觀前提。

從學術、文化方面說，近年來文明問題在俄國的興起有著多方面的原因。有國際人文學術界在二十世紀晚期興起的「文化熱」的影響，有對冷戰後美國學者亨廷頓（Samuel P. Huntington）提出的「文明衝突論」的反響，有蘇聯解體前「文明方法論」討論的延續，有純粹學術上的興趣原因，等等。但是，從根本上說，這次文明問題的討論和探討是與俄國在新形勢下對本身文明的認同，與俄羅斯的重新崛起所面臨的挑戰和需要回答相關的各種問題有關。一位俄國學者沙帕瓦洛夫（В. Ф. Шапавалов）在專論俄羅斯文明的一篇文章中寫道：「研究俄羅斯文明的需求呈現出上升的趨勢是和社會意識到自我認知以及自我辯識能力的重要性相關聯的，也是和社會對在此道路上將要遇到的困難與問題之規模有所瞭解相關聯的

〔……〕。看來，俄羅斯文明也能找到應對當今時代挑戰的適當答案。」<sup>17</sup>這裡，這位學者提出了社會的自我認知能力和文明的關係問題。這對探討文明問題很是重要。具體到俄羅斯社會來說，這點就更為明顯。經過了二十世紀八〇年代的巨變和隨後的蘇聯解體，俄羅斯各界民眾「對文明的自我認知能力有所提高」，「對祖國文化傳統的世界意義提高了認識」，<sup>18</sup>因而對俄羅斯文明的興趣得以增強就是順理成章的了。

### 參、文明概念的探討

二十世紀九〇年代以來，「文明」概念在俄國流行起來，幾乎成了口頭語。然而，略加觀察就不難發現：這裡的概念應用並不都是學術意義上的，而是有不少意識形態的色彩。就史學界而言，對文明概念和文明問題的理論探索熱情甚高，可惜這些探索成果遠未與具體的歷史研究結合起來。不過，無論如何，這些理論探索本身就是難能可貴的。更重要的是，或許是由於在歷史研究中尚沒有主導的範式，文明理論逐漸成為被學術界承認的若干最有影響的概念之一。

文明概念本來就是多義的、有爭議的。俄國學術界圍繞著「文明」的定義問題進行了長期的爭論。「文明方法」的反對者也正是強調「文明」概念的不具體、不確定的特點來加以反對。然而，不具體、不確定的特點並不表明這一概念的非科學性。約諾夫（И. Н. Ионов）指出：「當代文明理論和俄國文明史的基本問題是：在當代認知傳統的條件下，不可能有一個統一的、沒有矛盾的文明概念。」<sup>19</sup>所以，我們目前並不是要在俄國的學者中尋找他們對文明概念的統一的定義，而是不妨先看一些有代表性的觀

17 В. Ф. Шапавалов, "Россия как цивилизация," *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 113.

18 И. Н. Ионов, "Проблемы статуса и специфики истории российской цивилизации (либеральная версия)," *Новая и новейшая история*, № 3 (2005).

19 Электронная версия материалов семинара А. С. Ахизера "Социокультурная методология анализа Российского общества": (<http://scd.centro.ru/5.htm>)



點，俄羅斯學者的一些具體的看法。它們可謂是眾說紛紜，五花八門。不同的觀點主要圍繞著這樣一些問題：俄羅斯文明是一種什麼樣的文明？對俄羅斯文明應作何評價？

一種有代表性的看法是從文化學的角度來解讀文明。已故的葉拉索夫（Б. С. Ерасов）就力主文化學的方法。如前所述，葉拉索夫強調文明的普遍性原則，指出，文明的普遍價值也就是跨地域的價值，而普遍的價值表現在世界宗教、道德、法和藝術體系上。<sup>20</sup>由此可見，葉拉索夫對文化因素的重視。

這種文化學的方法可以說是在當前俄國文明研究中影響最大的。從葉拉索夫的論述來看，他繼承了文明研究史上「歷史—文化學派」的傳統。他詳細論述了這一學派對「文明」概念的定義的看法：（一）文明是實際運作的大的社會—文化系統。這些系統擁有自身固有的規律，它們並不歸屬於國家、民族或社會團體所有的規律。文明的規律在某種程度上可以影響這一社會—文化體系的其他成分（包括物質文化和精神文化）的運作。（二）文明有自己的社會結構和精神結構。這些結構反映了價值—意義成分和機構成分的一定的相互關係。（三）每一個文明都是單獨存在的，都有自身固有的特點。文明的獨特性表現在它們的精神生活內容、結構和歷史命運的差異上。（四）世界文明的總數是不多的。雖然大師們提出的具體數字各不相同，但是達尼列夫斯基、斯賓格勒、湯因比提出的文明總數都沒有超過三十個。而在現代和當代仍有生命力的文明數目就更少了。（五）多數理論家認為，每一個超大的文化體系都依據於某個精神的出發前提，某個「偉大的思想」，某種最初的符號或最終的神聖價值。在文明形成的過程中，圍繞著這些價值或思想會構建起複雜的精神體系。後者會賦予其餘的成分以意義，並使它們具有美學上的或風格上的一致和統一。（六）文明有自己的運動，長達若干歷史時期，其間經歷週期和起伏，包括起源、生長、成熟、枯萎、衰落、崩潰等階段。雖然經歷這些變化，文

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20 См. Б. С. Ерасов, "Цивилизация: смысл слова и определение термина," *Цивилизации*, Вып. 4 (М., 1997), с. 185-187; Б. С. Ерасов, "Россия в евразийском пространстве," *Общественные науки и современность*, № 2 (1994), с. 22, 26, 28.

明固有的特性不會改變。每一文明的運動是由它的內部規律決定的。  
(七) 文明間的相互關係的基礎是自我決定原則。雖然這種相互關係可以加速或減緩、幫助或阻撓文明的發展，但每一文明可以有選擇地吸收對它有益的因素，並不會破壞它固有的特性。<sup>21</sup>

葉拉索夫也提出了自己對「文明概念」定義的看法。他強調了文明的普遍性原則，指出：文明的根基是個人和團體的普遍的社會－文化聯繫，這種聯繫構建了空間和時間上的關係網和大範圍的統一。文明的普遍性不只是由商品－貨幣－生產關係或法制調節體系產生的，以社會生產的普遍的精神因素為仲介的個人間的關係也可能具有普遍的形式。文明的普遍性表現為精神形式、社會組織的結構原則和機構以及精英的活動。這種普遍性是克服任何地域性和分立主義的，是文明的重要原則。葉拉索夫還強調了文明能解決過去、現在和未來的相互關係，也就是繼承性問題。<sup>22</sup>

持這種文化學方法的俄國學者還有不少，儘管他們的具體看法或著重點會有所不同。如約諾夫、哈哈圖梁（В. М. Хачатурян）認為，文明是人們的社會－文化共同體。這些人們是由共同的精神傳統聯合起來的，而這種傳統使他們可以把行動準則、地方文化的價值和理想加以協調和完善；也是由物質文化的共同基礎、對空間和時間的相似的接受形式、周圍環境及對它的利用方式聯合起來的。<sup>23</sup>凱勒（В. Т. Келле）也把文明看作是社會－文化構成物，並強調文化領域與社會領域（包括經濟、政治、社會領域）之有機結合。<sup>24</sup>很明顯，實際上，作者在這裡是把文化看作是構成文明的出發點。謝緬尼科娃（Л. И. Семенникова）則認為文明的內容不只是文化。她指出，文明是社會的生命活動的方式，或者說存在的方式。這種方式由下列的共同因素所決定：地理（或自然）環境、經濟運行體系（經

21 См. Б. С. Ерасов, "Цивилизация: смысл слова и определение термина," *Цивилизации*. Вып. 4 (М., 1997), с. 181-182.

22 Там же, с. 185-187; его же, "Россия в евроазиатском пространстве," *Общественные науки и современность*, № 2 (1994), с. 22, 26, 28; его же, "Цивилизация: слово, термин, теория," *Сравнительное изучение цивилизаций. Хрестоматия* (М.: Аспект Пресс, 1999), с. 25.

23 См. И. Н. Ионов, В. М. Хачатурян, *Теория цивилизации: от античности до конца XIX-го века* (Санкт-Петербург, 2002), с. 6.

24 См. В. Т. Келле, "Культура в системе цивилизованных механизмов," *Сравнительное изучение цивилизаций мира* (М.: ИВИ РАН, 2000), с. 13.

濟)、社會組織、精神價值(宗教、意識形態)和文化、政治體系、心態、時代特點。<sup>25</sup>作者在這裡雖然也提到文化,但把它與別的因素並列在一起。雅科文科(И. Г. Яковенко)則把文明與文化看作是整體與部分的關係。他認為世界文明是相互作用的地域文明(文化)的整體。這些地域文明(文化)是人類存在的不同戰略方案,它們在時間和空間上受到限制。<sup>26</sup>

我們可以看到,這種從文化學的角度給文明概念作的定義,主要有兩大特點:

一是強調文明的普遍性,即超地域性;一是強調文化的作用和內容。還有人把文明概念進行了分類。如謝緬尼科娃把「文明」概念劃分為三類:第一類概念用於專門的領域,如社會學。第二類概念數量最多,是通過文化概念來定義文明的(斯賓格勒、別爾嘉耶夫〔Ф. Бердяев〕、克羅伯〔A. L. Kroeber〕<sup>27</sup>等)。按這種看法,在文化發展史上,相對於野蠻而言,文明是更高的階段。第三類概念把文明看作是歷史的基本的類型學單位。俄國的達尼列夫斯基和英國的湯因比都是較早運用這類概念的先驅者。<sup>28</sup>從這種分類中,可以看出從文化概念來定義或分析文明的想法影響是比較大的。

除這種文化學的看法外,另一種有代表性的看法是把「文明」概念看作是歷史過程的階段和形式。如阿希葉澤(А. С. Ахиезер)就持這種看法,但他從價值判斷出發。他認為,劃分文明重要的根據是價值方向,它們表現為社會關係和文化的再生產。他把人類的歷史劃分為兩大基本的價

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25 Л. И. Семенникова, "Концепт цивилизации в современной историографической ситуации в России," *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 33.

26 И. Г. Яковенко, "Российская история и проблемы цивилизационного анализа," *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 48.

27 克羅伯(1876-1960),美國民族學家、文化史理論家,著有印第安民族志和民族學通論方面的著作。

28 Л. И. Семенникова, "Концепт цивилизации в современной историографической ситуации в России," *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 32.

值類型，與此相應的是兩大文明：「傳統文明」和「自由主義文明」。這是人類歷史發展的兩大階段。<sup>29</sup>

在對文明概念和歷史發展過程的理解中，在當代還有一個值得注意的特點，那就是在數學的混沌理論和協同學的基礎上進行探討。協同學在廿一世紀到來之際被認為是最基本的科學概念之一，而協同學的一演進的範式被提到了當代科學的前沿。在協同學中，發展被看成是新質成分的成長過程，而這種新質成分是與處在兩歧點的事件相聯繫的。不少俄國歷史學家認為，這種新的跨學科方法對歷史發展的選擇性問題的分析創造了新的條件，而且對產生於「文明斷折處」的複雜過程的研究很有幫助。<sup>30</sup>

## 肆、自由派觀點和「地域文明」觀點

在當代俄羅斯有關「文明」概念的爭論中，最有代表性和最重要的是以下兩派。它們反映出對俄羅斯當前的地位、今後的發展前景的不同看法。

其中影響比較大的一類看法可以歸納為自由派的觀點。所謂自由派的觀點，是指一些俄羅斯學者，他們儘管在具體問題上的表述不盡相同，但大多把俄羅斯文明同理想的文明對立起來，認為俄羅斯不存在完整的文明，不存在成熟的文明，認為俄羅斯是一個「不文明」、「不夠文明」、「處於多種文明之間」的空間，是「不同文明的堆積物」。

例如，社會學家皮沃瓦洛夫（Ю. С. Пивоваров）和政治學家富爾索夫（А. И. Фурсов）創建了一個「俄羅斯體系」的學說，<sup>31</sup>用來解釋俄國的政治和歷史。他們對俄羅斯現有的所有定論都提出疑問，認為，西方的科

29 А. С. Ахиезер, "Динамика цивилизационного анализа российского общества," *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 90-97.

30 А. Ю. Андреев, Л. И. Бородин, Левандовский М.И. "История и хаос: новые подходы в синергетике," *Сравнительное изучение цивилизаций мира* (М.: ИВИ РАН, 2000), с. 75-104.

31 См. Ю. С. Пивоваров, А. И. Фурсов, "Русская система," *Политическая наука. Теория и методология. Проблемно-тематический сборник*, Вып. 2 (М., 1997).

學、現代的社會科學術語只能解釋西方的現實，而不能解釋發生在俄國和亞洲的事情。表面上，他們似乎沒有使用「文明」的概念，實際上，他們的觀點體系是否定俄羅斯文明的本性的。他們強調，和西方不同，政權在俄羅斯體系裡不是一種歷史性的機構，而是嚴厲的神祇，類似一種虛無縹緲的現象。由於對政權的崇拜，俄國社會經歷了無數次的失敗。在俄羅斯歷史發展的進程中，政權控制著社會。新的政權在經常出現的紛亂中建成，接著就來控制民眾。他們還認為，俄國的改革基本上都是無所作為、毫無成果的，往往是在國家積累了一定程度的財富後，為滿足政府的利益而實施的。而二十世紀九〇年代自由派所進行的改革所得到的結果則是在很大的程度上逆轉了俄國的現代化進程。總之，有權勢的氏族的形成，這種現象的周而復始，將導致俄國回到前文明時期。<sup>32</sup>

還有一種觀點形容俄羅斯是一個介於「自發勢力」和文明之間的存在。譬如，哲學家坎托爾（В. К. Кантор）在一九九七年寫了一篇文章，標題是〈就是歐洲強國。俄羅斯——走向文明的艱巨之路。歷史概要〉。和令人振奮的書名不大合拍的是作者的見解。其中寫到，俄羅斯之所以會成為一個介於「自發勢力」和文明之間的存在，是因為基督教教會於十二世紀的分裂和俄羅斯脫離了正在形成中的西歐文明中心的結果。而隨之而來的蒙古—韃靼人的入侵使俄羅斯在經歷了一個短時期的文明發展之後，再次遭到野蠻化，致使「文明的生活中斷了」。總之，俄羅斯雖然在朝著「文明」前進，但總是達不到真正的「文明交替」。<sup>33</sup>

流傳得很廣的一種看法是，俄羅斯並沒有一個完整的文明體系，她是同時存在的幾個不同的文明的堆積物，或者說是週期性地一個接著另一個地輪換的幾個文明傳統的堆積物。俄國知名東方學家科比山諾夫（Ю. М. Кобищанов）就持這種看法。他一九九六年在《社會科學與當代》雜誌的一篇論文裡寫道：「我基於這樣的看法：俄羅斯是作為一個活躍多變的文

32 См. Ю. С. Пивоваров, А. И. Фурсов, "Власть, собственность и революция в России. Проблемы анализа в контексте методологических сдвигов современной науки," *Историк во времени: Третьи Зиминские чтения* (М., 2000).

33 См. В. К. Кантор, *Есть европейская держава. Россия—трудный путь к цивилизации. Исторические очерки* (М.: Российская политическая энциклопедия, 1997).

化和文明的體系而出現和發展起來的。俄羅斯從來不是任何單獨一種文明的領域。」他在引用大量的民族學資料的基礎上指出：在俄國，和「純粹」的東正教、伊斯蘭教以及佛教區域同時存在的還有一些過渡性質的、中間性質的、「無主的」介於多種文化之間的領域。在分析俄羅斯內部的多種文明的相互關係時，他展示了在俄國的不同地區，多神教、東正教、伊斯蘭教和佛教這些文化成分是怎樣組成一些混雜的不同情況湊合的堆積體的。按照科比山諾夫的看法，俄國人行事的糟糕的「不可預見性」正是同俄國文化的這種五花八門的雜燴性質分不開的。<sup>34</sup>歷史學家謝緬尼科娃也持相同的觀點。她在一九九六年發表的一篇文章裡寫下了這樣的一段話：「〔……〕俄羅斯是一個特殊的、歷史地由凡是存在的各種不同類型的文明形成、並由一個強大的集中制的國家聯合起來的各民族的堆積物。許多有著不同的文明取向的民族同為一個國家的一個成分，這就把俄羅斯變成了一個成分駁雜的、多節體的社會。」<sup>35</sup>如此等等。

縱觀自由派學者的觀點，可以看到存在這樣一些片面性。其一是把一種文明視同一塊「單成岩」，或者說看成是用同一種材料製作的磚塊蓋成的大廈。如果遇到在一種文明裡同時存在著幾種民族的、宗教信仰等方面的不同成分，就名之曰「不完整的文明」、「不同文明的堆積物」，這樣組成的國家就只能是「多節體的社會」。殊不知「文明是多樣性的統一」，俄國學者沙波瓦洛夫指出，在多數情況下多樣性在某些文明中是如此廣泛地存在，以致很難從理論上去充分地概括其本性。除此之外，在文明的框架內也可能存在一些系統外的成分，即由於地域原因而產生的某些和該文明具有共性的成分，它們並未完全融入到該文明的機制和系統中。這些成分就好似特殊的「附加物」，對文明發展的總進程施加著不同的影響，有時在很大程度上和該文明一體化，有時則遠離而去。<sup>36</sup>二是在關於俄羅斯文明問題的討論中自由派流露出明顯的歐洲中心論觀點，對人類歷史

34 См. Ю. М. Кобищанов, "Место исламской цивилизации в этноконфессиональной структуре Северной Евразии—России," *Общественные науки и современность*, № 2 (1996).

35 Л. И. Семенникова, "Цивилизационные парадигмы в истории России. Статья 1," *Общественные науки и современность*, № 5 (1996), с. 108.

36 См. *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 115.

長河中所形成的幾大文明不能客觀地實事求是地予以評價。對歐美以外的文明，無論其歷史如何悠久，無論它們為人類帶來了多少成果，統統都是「不文明」、「不夠文明」、「野蠻化」的。以俄羅斯的歷史發展為例，有學者認為，俄羅斯之所以相對於西歐落後，淪為「一個介於自發勢力和文明之間的所在」，是因為在基督教教會分裂時脫離了正在形成中的西歐文明中心。也就是說，這些學者總是把西方的文明看作理想的文明，看作標準，以此來衡量俄羅斯的或別的文明。

另一類比較有影響的看法可以歸入「地域文明」理論。對此，需要做些說明。前面已經提到，「文明理論」可以分為兩種，即「線性－階段文明理論」和「地域文明」。它們的發展情況大致如下。近代（現代）意義上的「文明」概念出現在十八世紀中葉的西方。當時「文明」一詞用的是單數。在這之前，即在上古和中古時期，存在的是超民族的「文明意識」。那時也曾出現過一些早期的「文明理論」，如古羅馬的盧克萊修（Titus Lucretius Carus）和阿拉伯的伊本·赫勒敦（Ibn Khaldun）創建的理論，但存在的時間都不長，沒有形成傳統。近代以後出現的「文明理論」已是一種穩定的「文明意識」。這與社會的現代化過程密切相關。十八世紀下半葉至十九世紀上半葉，存在的主要是「線性－階段的文明理論」，並有不同的表現形式。反映在諸如伏爾泰（Voltaire）、弗格森（A. Fergusson）、杜爾閣（A. Turgot）、孔多塞（Jean Condorcet）、孔德（A. Comte）、基佐（F. Guizot）、黑格爾（Hegel）等人的著作中。在十九世紀上半葉，由於歷史樂觀主義的危機、法國大革命的影響等原因，「線性－階段的文明理論」逐漸衰弱。浪漫主義思潮雖然帶有宗教色彩，卻最早提出了「地域文明」概念。到一八一九年，「文明」一詞有了多數形式（civilizations）。這表明各民族的文明結構的多樣性得到了承認。到十九世紀下半葉，「地域文明」概念已獲得正式身分。這表明，過去只認為歐洲文明具有普遍意義和世界性影響，現在已擴及其他文明。法國社會學家戈比諾（Joseph Gobineau）在十九世紀中指出，各個地域文明是平等的，而德國學者呂克爾特（H. Rückert）最早認為，「地域文明」理論中說的「地域文明」指的是獨立的文化世界，這些文化世界有一定的對抗外來文化影響的能力和擴散自己的精神經驗的能力。

一位俄國學者指出，在十九世紀，「地域文明」概念和理論的應用經歷三個階段：一、1813-1827：這是這個概念出現的階段，當時的應用是自發的，其背景是歐洲的文明自我意識還不發達；二、1827-1857：當時是試圖把其他文明及其精神基礎——宗教——「納入」歐洲歷史觀的解釋模式中；三、1857-1869：在這一階段，對非歐洲文明的生命力的積極表現越來越關注。只有到第三階段才奠定了地域文明理論發展的堅實基礎。<sup>37</sup>之後，地域文明概念和理論有了很大的發展，其間也出現了若干大家。但應指出，「線性－階段的文明理論」和歐洲中心論公式並未消亡，其影響一直存在。

在文明理論的發展中，「地域文明」概念和理論的提出和應用十分重要。應該說，它的出現是一大進步。它已被列為兩大類文明觀念之一。一般說來，「地域文明」是指某種文明，它包含了地球上的一定的地域（或區域），這個地域可以包括一個或數個國家。不同的地域文明之間自然是有差異的，但是也有共同的特點，那就是區別於野蠻狀態和蒙昧時期的特點：如一定的規範和準則、理想和價值觀、有序的社會結構的存在等。然而，這些共同的特點在不同的地域文明裡的性質和表現卻又各不相同。應該指出，一定的較穩定的結構的存在是地域文明的重要特點。

再來簡單看看俄國的情況。一般說來，十八世紀時，線性－階段的文明方法已進入俄國的歷史思維，但是對發展本國的文明思維來說，還是很初步的。到十八世紀下半葉，即俄國的「啟蒙時代」時，文明的自我意識和文明理論才有了明顯的發展。當時，俄國在引進西方的文明理論時完全是為了自身的「實用」需要，即為了反對農奴制，為了反思國家與社會的關係。也就是說，文明思想和文明理論的引入不是為了構建新的歷史哲學，而是為了構建新的社會意識。十九世紀時，在文明理論方面，俄國逐步走出模仿西方的階段，但直到四〇年代才出現獨立的文明思想。在這一世紀，除了線性－階段文明理論，也開始探討地域文明。兩者在整個世紀同時存在，但只有在世紀初和六〇年代，地域文明理論佔據上風，其餘時

37 См. И. Н. Ионов, "Понятие и теория локальных цивилизаций: проблема историографического приоритета," *Цивилизации*, Вып. 4 (М., 1997), с. 151-152.



間占上風的都是線性－階段文明理論。然而，在俄國卻出現了達尼列夫斯基等地域文明理論的大家。

俄國的地域文明理論是與俄國民族－歷史意識的形成和發展過程密切相聯的，是為了尋找文明的自我認同的理論基礎。俄國的思想家們努力尋找確立自己文化特點的途徑，同時又不把「地域文明」與「世界文明」對立起來。在十九世紀至二十世紀初，這個問題在俄國學術界中一直爭論不斷。但對這個問題的再次熱烈討論已是在蘇聯解體以後。

在最近這次熱鬧的討論過程中，我們可以看到一條線索，那就是學者們首先強調的是要用文明的方法來研究俄國歷史，特別是強調俄國是一個獨特的文明。如沙帕瓦洛夫提出，俄羅斯是不是一個獨特的文明呢？意識到這一點的時機是否已成熟了呢？他指出，這不是由「上面」下指示可以解決的。這一觀念「要求俄國的人民和所有認為自己是俄羅斯人的人對（共同的）未來自願地、有意識地作好準備」。<sup>38</sup>沙帕瓦洛夫雖然沒有明確指出俄羅斯文明就是地域文明，但是已經包含這一思想。他說，地域文明概念要求一些穩固的結構在長時間內存在，這些結構不能相對地依賴於諸如政治、經濟、文化產品等因素。運用文明方法，就是要在歷史變化的海洋中找出那些在很長的歷史時期內，在文明存在的全程內不變的、恆久的東西。他認為，俄羅斯文明正擁有這樣一些不變的、恆久的結構，因而一九一七年的革命、一九八五年的改革和之後的蘇聯解體都不能根本地改變它。<sup>39</sup>

如果俄羅斯是一個獨特的文明，那麼是什麼樣的文明呢？這裡有眾多不同的探討，譬如，謝苗諾夫（С. И. Семёнов）提出了一個有趣的概念「邊際文明」，認為俄羅斯文明就屬於這種「邊際文明」。什麼是「邊際文明」呢？這種文明不同於東西方的古典文明，而是在幾種古典文明的夾縫中誕生的。它往往形成於邊境，以不同形式吸納了起源不同的多種文明

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38 В. Ф. Шапавалов, "Россия как цивилизация," *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 123.

39 Там же, с. 135-136.

的多種成分。作者認為，俄羅斯—東歐和歐洲的巴爾幹、伊比利亞半島屬於這種文明。<sup>40</sup>舍米亞金(Я. Г. Шемякин)把俄羅斯文明和拉丁美洲文明進行比較，認為也可把它們視作「邊際文明」。<sup>41</sup>

約諾夫等學者明確地把俄羅斯文明定義為「地域文明」。普羅斯庫里亞科娃(Н. А. Проскурякова)指出，最近十年來，俄羅斯學者的文明意識明顯增長，可謂出現了「文明復興」，其表現是形成了不同的對俄國歷史的解釋模式。這些模式大體可以歸納為兩大類：一是把俄羅斯的形象與理想的文明相對立，否認俄羅斯存在完整的、成熟的文明；二是約諾夫等人主張的，俄羅斯文明是「地域文明」，並以這種主張反對上述第一類看法。<sup>42</sup>持這一主張的俄國學者都強調俄羅斯文明的獨立性和完整性。這種文明的完整性不僅包括俄羅斯人，而且包括屬於這一文明的各民族、各文化。約諾夫指出：「要確定俄羅斯的文明的完整性，就必須明白，進入這一整體的各種文化的親緣關係和內部開放性的原因，以及跨文化的共同體和發展前景是如何形成的。」還強調「首先應該相信俄羅斯，相信她的文明的完整性和文化的豐富。」<sup>43</sup>

誠然，我們還可以舉出俄國學者關於俄羅斯文明的其他種種看法，但上述幾種主要的看法已經可以勾畫出概貌，就不需再多說了。

最後應該指出，俄國學者關於俄羅斯文明及其概念的探討和爭論還會繼續下去，正如俄羅斯文明本身還在不斷的發展變化一樣。所有這些，我們也還會繼續關注和研究。

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40 См. С. И. Семёнов, "Ибероамериканская и восточноевропейская общности как пограничные культуры," *Общественные науки и современность*, № 2 (1994).

41 См. Я. Г. Шемякин, *Европа и Латинская Америка: Взаимодействие цивилизаций в контексте всемирной истории* (М.: Наука, 2001), с. 353-357.

42 См. Н. А. Проскурякова, "Понятия цивилизации и модернизации в отечественной историографии," *Вопросы истории*, № 7 (2005), с. 158.

43 И. Н. Ионов, "Парадоксы российской цивилизации," *История России. Теоретические проблемы*, Вып. 1, *Российская цивилизация: опыт исторического и междисциплинарного изучения* (М.: Наука, 2002), с. 150, 155.

【研究討論】 Research Note

清代州縣檔案中的命案處理實態  
—— 從「巴縣檔案(同治)」命案部分談起§  
Some Remarks on the Criminal Procedure in the  
District Level during Qing Dynasty: From  
Homicide Cases in Baxian Archives (Tongzhi era)

寺田浩明 講演  
Hiroaki TERADA\*  
陳宛妤\*\*譯

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■四川省檔案館「巴縣檔案(同治)」案件分類(案件號碼)

[ 1] 內政 1~442	[ 2] 外交 443~462	[ 3] 軍事 463~804
[ 4] 財經 805~968	[ 5] 工交 969~1059	[ 6] 農林 1060~1112
[ 7] 文教 1113~1269	[ 8] 社會 1270~1296	[ 9] 司總類 1297~1387
[10] 命案 1388~2123	[11] 地權 2124~3349	[12] 房屋 3350~3470
[13] 借貸 3471~4210	[14] 欺詐 4211~6781	[15] 家庭 6782~7094
[16] 婦女 7095~8455	[17] 繼承 8456~8482	[18] 商貿 8483~9007
[19] 兇毆 9008~10357	[20] 盜竊 10358~13649	[21] 租佃 13650~14035
[22] 賭博 14036~14287	[23] 烟泥 14288~14391	[24] 水運 14392~14416
[25] 工礦 14417~14473	[26] 宗教 14474~14516	[27] 契稅 14517~14714
[28] 移關 14715~15789	[29] 其他 15790~16980	

■事案(1) 巴縣檔案(同治)命案：1452 (左邊是文件號碼、已訂正排列順序。以下相同)

- 1 同治2/10/24 名單：屍親王肅氏、屍兄王興順、兇犯鄧春
- 2 同治2/10/24 錄供①
- 3 同治2/10/24 報狀
- 4 同治2/10/24 稟：廂差呈報同上。
- 5 同治2/10/24 票稿
- 6 同治2/10/25 報狀：具報狀人王德遠
- 7 同治2/10/25 勘得
- 8 同治2/10/25 驗得  
同治2/10/25 檢屍格(誤分類為文件號碼1455)
- 9 同治2/10/25 名單
- 10 同治2/10/25 錄供②
- 11 同治2/10/25 領屍掩埋狀：王德遠
- 12 同治2/10/28 名單
- 13 同治2/10/28 錄供③

- 14 同治2/10/28 結狀：王德遠等
- 15 同治2/10/28 結狀：李雙和等
- 16 同治2/10/28 結狀：街臨等
- 17 同治2/11/01 名單：鄧春一人 ※
- 18 同治2/11/01 錄供：最後有左手食指的畫押 ※
- 19 同治2/11/03 詳冊摺稿：通詳
- 20 同治2/11/27 稟：廂捕役。「解費」問題。
- 21 同治2/11/07 申（批廻）：重慶府批「仰即再行研審該犯鄧春……按擬招解」。
- 75 同治3/01/?? 札：對於通詳重慶府的答覆
- 22 同治3/02/13 稟稿：與解費有關連的傳喚
- 23 同治3/02/10 詳冊摺稿：依鬪毆殺人者不問手足他物金刃並絞律擬絞監候的詳文
- 24 同治3/02/25 點解單：本監招犯鄧春與解役二人
- 25 同治3/03/21 札：重慶府所發出。請告知護送關係的負責人與起程日期。
- 26 同治3/03/23 移稿：給璧山縣等。
- 27 同治3/03/24 點解單：鄧椿之外，指名長解、護解、營兵各二名。
- 38 同治3/02/25 申：巴縣招解鄧春時之申文。
- 28 同治3/03/25 解役照銷
- 29 同治3/04/10 名單：撥役李升
- 30 同治3/04/11 錄供：似乎是遺失長文，而被斥責。
- 31 同治3/04/12 稟稿：紅白稟：巴縣向府報告遺失招冊文批的稟
- 32 同治3/04/11 稟：捕總役李升。請求再發給長文，有批文。
- 33 同治3/04/09 · 4/13?奉到 札：兼任按察使的布政史給巴縣的札飭。
- 34 同治3/??/?? 巴縣給重慶府的、因遺失公文懇請□發一案由的請求文。
- 35 同治3/06/08 移：署璧山縣知縣所發
- 36 同治3/06/21 札：重慶府給巴縣：將鄧春從省都被送回縣。
- 37 同治3/07/02 申稿：陳報鄧椿收明監禁的申文。
- 39 同治3/12/26 札：重慶府。告知按察使擬罪詳文+總督批的內容。
- 40 同治4/08/29 · 9/4奉到 札：重慶府。三法司題本+諭旨。彙入來年秋審辦理
- 41 同治5/02/01 哀狀：申請留養。

- 42 同治5/02/15 稟稿
- 43 同治5/03/01 名單：「監犯鄧椿」也被借提出來訊問。
- 44 同治5/03/01 錄供
- 45 同治5/03/01 甘結狀：王德遠。關於鄧椿該當於留養的內容。
- 46 同治5/03/01 甘結狀：同上
- 47 同治5/03/01 甘結狀：鄧椿之父。
- 48 同治5/03/01 甘結狀：同上
- 49 同治5/03/01 甘結狀：嚴興和等。
- 50 同治5/03/01 甘結狀：同上
- 51 同治5/03/01 甘結狀：絞犯鄧椿。懇請留養
- 52 同治5/03/01 甘結狀：同上
- 53 同治5/03/16 詳冊摺稿：申請留養的詳文及甘結的原稿。
- 70 同治5/??/?? 四張關於留養王德遠等的甘結＋一張知縣印結之組合。
- 71 同治5/??/?? 關於留養王德遠等的甘結＋知縣的印結。
- 72 同治5/??/?? 關於留養王德遠等的甘結＋知縣的印結。
- 73 同治5/??/?? 關於留養王德遠等的甘結＋知縣的印結。
- 54 同治5/03/22 點解單。王德遠或鄰人或鄧椿之父也一起護送。
- 74 同治5/03/22 批廻：護送時的票單
- 55 同治5/03/27 札：重慶府給巴縣、接到留養的申請了。
- 56 同治5/03/25到・4/17奉到 申：巴縣。
- 57 同治5/05/04・5/14奉 札：重慶府（署理道台）：駁回留養的申請。
- 58 同治8/07/23 名單：鄧椿。名字下面寫著「係奉文減流著追埋葬銀兩」
- 59 同治8/07/23 錄供：「小犯人實係赤貧，無力承繳，亦無隨行赴配」
- 60 同治8/08/02 詳冊摺稿。依照秋審緩決三次就減等流刑的札，減等發配為流刑。
- 61 同治8/08/22 比單：鄧椿「係比追埋葬銀兩」「限五日」。
- 76 同治8/08/22 錄供：「小犯人實係赤貧，無力呈繳」
- 62 同治8/08/06・8/18奉 申：發配之事
- 63 同治8/09/12 比單：鄧椿。「係比追埋葬銀兩」。
- 64 同治8/09/12 錄供：供稱家寒無力措繳。
- 65 同治8/10/09 點解單

- 66 同治8/??/07 札：重慶府。解配流刑的命令。
- 67 同治8/10/20 詳稿
- 68 同治8/11/?? 申：埋葬銀免除申請詳摺之票單
- 69 同治9/09/12 札：重慶府（完成配流）

### ■事案(2) 巴縣檔案（同治）命案：1401

- 1 同治1/閏8/09 報狀：王興成（兄）。批「顯係藉死圖索，砌詞妄控」
- 2 同治1/閏8/09 票稿
- 3 同治1/閏8/22 訴狀：賈文仲（公公）
- 4 同治1/11/04 名單
- 5 同治1/11/04 錄供
- 6 同治1/11/08 結狀：王興成
- 7 同治1/11/15 驗得
- 8 同治1/11/15 名單
- 9 同治1/11/15 錄供
- 10 同治1/11/15 領屍狀：賈光和（夫）
- 11 同治1/12/13 名單（刑房計開覆訊單） 「掌責鎖押」
- 12 同治1/12/13 錄供

### ■事案(3) 巴縣檔案（同治）命案：1468

- 1 同治3/01/29 報狀：孀婦羅裴氏。姪子羅廷萬。
- 2 同治3/02/01 票稿
- 3 同治3/02/06 稟狀：胡松榮
- 4 同治3/02/07 摺狀：羅玉勝等「為協哀免驗事」。「不忍兄弟廷萬屍身暴露」。  
批「……如懇免驗、著將屍□領埋、仍候集案訊奪」
- 5 同治3/02/08 稟：刑仵黃汝珍楊倬。「胡松榮幫給葬費錢五千文，業已和案」
- 6 同治3/03/03 名單
- 7 同治3/03/03 錄供
- 8 同治3/03/11 結狀：盧元發、胡松榮

9 同治3/03/11 結狀：羅玉勝等

■事案(4) 巴縣檔案(同治)命案：1477

- 1 同治3/04/11 報狀：劉先榮。弟弟劉先華3/27死亡。批「顯因事後搵索未遂，□詞聳聽，已可概見」。
- 2 同治3/04/11 票稿
- 3 同治3/04/12 訴狀：施大興。追趕偷菜賊之後「跌傷自行回家於二十七日在家物故」。付銀二十兩「出約安埋」。
- 4 同治3/04/19 稟狀：陳春山、楊興發。偷菜賊是「回家後因風身故」。同上。
- 5 同治3/05/03 稟狀：劉先榮。與4/11同旨。
- 6 同治3/05/03 稟狀：施大興。「事息半月，仕發劉興泰不飽，重□要銀五十兩無措，翻意捏報」。
- 7 同治3/05/03 名單
- 8 同治3/05/03 錄供
- 9 同治3/05/06 領結狀：劉先榮、劉興泰。
- 10 同治3/05/06 結狀：施大興、陳春山、楊興發。
- 11 同治3/03/28 領屍埋葬文約：立約人為劉先榮、劉知卿。多數的立會人。

■日本關於清代刑事審判的本質論：自認罪狀的重要性。

「而裁判官心中就有了一個固定的心證，到了犯人也全盤托出的地步時，重新將罪狀寫成具有一定格式〔注：大多用『不合』這個字〕而完整的文章，於是將該文讀給犯人聽，取得畫押。這個就是『招狀』〔……〕這個招狀並非只是單純的筆錄、記錄，而是自認罪狀的意思表示。」（滋賀秀三：《清代中國的法與裁判》〔東京：創文社，1984年〕，頁69）

「行為的真相，行為人本身是最清楚的。讓本人信服，使其說出真相，這是裁判官的任務。」（前揭書，頁71）



■「未信編」第一卷刑名上 章程 問擬

招狀式

一問得一名犯人某，年若干歲，係某府某州某縣，某都圖籍貫。狀招：某年月日，不合與某云云、某各不合云云、又不合云云、各又不合云云、亦不合云云、亦又不合云云、却不合云云、却又不合云云。有某不甘，通將前情，首告某衙門某官案下。當蒙提弔一千犯証到官，當堂研審、錄取口供云云在卷。蒙審得云云各情，允服無詞。除將無干人証某某等先行摘放、某某等取問實招犯外，結得某某物件，時值估價銀若干兩。所結是實。

年 月 日招狀人某某背押

■事案(5) 巴縣檔案（同治）命案：2059

- 同治13/05/14（之後改為21日） 發生鄭元等傷害監禁事件  
同治13/05/25 覃洋生，因病身死。  
同治13/05/27 應該有被害人方提出的報狀，或地方稟約王萬一的報狀。
- 23 同治13/06/01 驗屍格。除此之外，應有驗屍現場的錄供等。  
……（應有名單）
- 21 同治13/06/24 錄供①
- 1 同治13/06/27 收監中犯人·李安順生病等的稟。
- 2 同治13/06/28 稟狀：覃純齋
- 3 同治13/07/01 訴狀：許一堂
- 4 同治13/07/22 覆訊名單
- 5 同治13/07/22 錄供②
- 6 同治13/07/27 稟稿 追加傳喚未到的人
- 7 同治13/08/06 稟：許一堂（7月中所寫的）。
- 8 日期咸豐01/5/23的「出請認文約」之抄錄。
- 9 同治13/08/06 提訊名單
- 10 騷動中被奪走物品的清單。指示返還。

- 11 同治13/08/06 錄供③：全體達到原因在於通姦的共識。
- 12 同治13/08/06 結狀：許楊亭、許一堂、王萬一
- 13 同治13/08/06 結狀：覃純齋、覃春如
- 14 同治13/08/06 結狀：許照榮、許卓之、許光吉
- 16 同治13/08/13 告狀：覃純齋等。向重慶府提出。
- 22 同治13/08/19 詳冊摺稿：通詳。
- 17 同治13/09/01 申文：重慶府的批：10/17日奉到。
- 24 同治13/09/03 名單（撥監）：現押・鄭潤名單。 ※
- 25 同治13/09/03 錄供 ※
- 26 同治13/09/03 結狀：鄭潤。左手食指指印。 ※
- 27 同治13/09/06 稟：覃純齋等的告狀：主犯是許一堂。「案已擬辦。毋庸□  
瀆」。
- 15 同治13/09/10 「審解」詳摺冊稿：予定原稿？
- 18 同治13/10/12 重慶府的札：命按擬招解（10/17日巴縣奉到）
- 19 同治13/10/29 重慶府的札：命覆加研訊（同日巴縣奉到）
- 20 同治13/11/16 點解單

### ■「巴縣檔案（同治）」中「招狀」的形式①

事案(1)1452-17 名單



事案(1)1452-18 錄供

問訊供詞：壁山縣人年二十四歲，父在母故，並沒弟兄妻室。與這死的王春，素好沒仇，都在西水廂碼頭，推架橫江渡船度日。本月二十三日，有素不認識的一人正要趕小的船隻，就王春喊過他船去了。彼此爭角一陣各去。〔……〕是夜王春因傷死了。〔……〕前蒙驗訊。小的實係誤把王春戳傷，並非有心致死，亦無起衅別故。沐把小的撥監，祇求與小的從輕擬辦。就是。

天月  
日  
李春春

問據鄧春供：壁山縣人，年二十四歲，父在母故，並沒弟兄妻室。與這死的王春，素好沒仇，都在西水廂碼頭，推架橫江渡船度日。本月二十三日，有素不認識的一人正要趕小的船隻，就王春喊過他船去了。彼此爭角一陣各去。〔……〕是夜王春因傷死了。〔……〕前蒙驗訊。小的實係誤把王春戳傷，並非有心致死，亦無起衅別故。沐把小的撥監，祇求與小的從輕擬辦。就是。

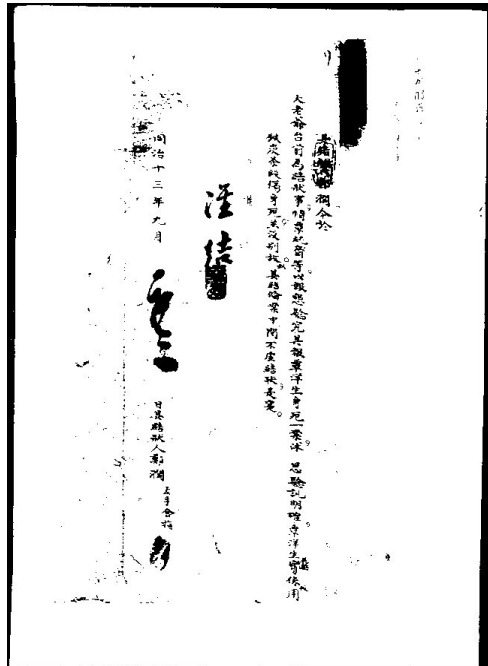
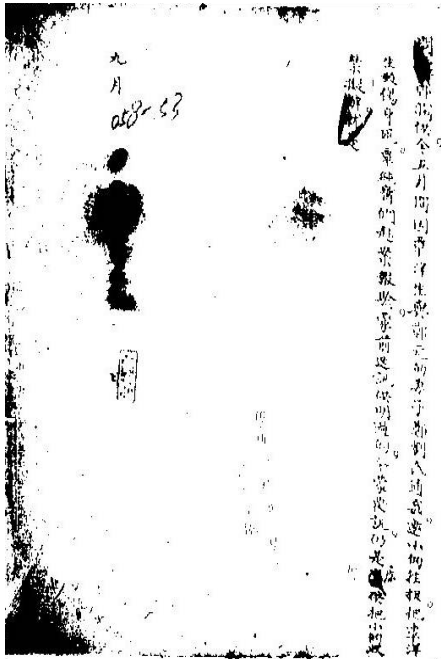
■「巴縣檔案（同治）」中「招狀」的形式②

事案(5)2059-24 名單

刑房計開  
監  
居差周未帶  
楊呈周未帶  
現押  
九月  
日

事案(5)2059-252 錄供

事案(5)2059-26 結狀



問據鄭潤供：今五月間，因覃洋生與鄭元的妻子鄭劉氏通姦，邀小的往捉，把覃洋生毆傷身死。覃純齋們赴案報驗，蒙前迭訊供明過的。今蒙覆訊，仍是原供，把小的收禁擬解。就是。

具結狀人 鄭潤，今於

大老爺台前為結狀事。情覃純齋等，以報懇驗究具報覃洋生身死一案，沐 恩 驗訊明確。覃洋生屍軀，實係蟻用鐵炭条毆傷身死，並沒別故。蟻具結備案。中間不虛，結狀是實。

## 壹、前言

今天我將以「清代州縣檔案中的命案處理實態——從「巴縣檔案（同治）」命案部分談起」為題，來跟各位談談最近我個人感興趣而正在進行的研究。

世界上的中國法制史研究者們，向來主要都是利用清代州縣檔案，去討論民事審判（也就是聽訟）的實態。確實，在傳統中國的民事裁判，原則上是在州縣內部就定案了，所以要進行細緻的研究，就只能看州縣檔案。首先，以州縣檔案來說，要做民事裁判研究不是不可能。但是，仔細想想，即使在皇帝所主導的刑事裁判（亦即命盜重案的處理），裁判程序的發動還是在州縣，而州縣官所做的事實認定或擬罪，大部分的情況也都成了皇帝的最終判斷。從而，當然也有利用州縣檔案，探求在州縣層次處理刑事案件的實態、並使之明確的餘地和必要。然而到目前為止，這樣的研究是欠缺的。

這也不是沒有原因的。因為在利用環境最完備的淡新檔案中，雖然有很多關於人命或竊盜強盜的訴訟文書，此外也看得到很多關於逮捕、護送犯人等司法行政報告的上行文、下行文、平行文，但是不可思議的是，竟然沒有一件是從事件的報告開始、經過擬罪到正式審轉的正統刑事裁判文書。約有四件是到通詳（事件報告）的事案，而這些案件最後不是沒抓到犯人，就是在擬罪之前嫌犯就在牢裡病死了。此外，也有兩件強盜集團首領處以死刑的事案，但沒有依照一般的審判程序處理。結果在真正的刑事案件中，沒有一個線索可以連結到裁判制度論所言之「命盜重案」「必要的覆審制之審判」的討論中，此外，以當事人間和解而了結的暴力事件中，也只能論為是「州縣自理之審判」中的一部分、暴力性較高的民事紛爭罷了。

但是，並非所有的州縣檔案都是這樣的情況。例如四川省檔案館所保存的「巴縣檔案」中，刑事審轉案件就十分常見。最近，京都大學的夫馬進老師買了「巴縣檔案」同治年間全部一百卷的微卷，也開始進行研讀這些檔案的研究會。我也參加了，並負責分析分類表的〔10〕七百數十件份的檔案。單就我負責部分的微卷張數就有二萬張，因為數量相當龐大，目前我大概只看了其中的一小部分，但即使如此，對我來說，還是有幾個新的發現。而這些知識或許也會對於研讀「淡新檔案」的刑事部分有所幫助。

因此，今天我想一邊介紹幾個巴縣檔案中的命案處理事案，一邊談談目前想到的論點，還有今後應該深入的問題。

## 貳、關於州縣檔案中審轉案件之內容

案件在真正開始審轉時，州縣檔案中會留存哪些文書？首先來看一下這一個例子，請看發給各位的資料中，事案（1）案件號碼1452文書一覽表。

事件本身是非常單純的鬪毆殺人事件，在渡口擺渡船的同業間，因爭奪客人而發生衝突，結果有一人死亡。犯人鄧春在發生衝突的現場馬上被被害人親族所制伏，帶到州縣衙門，立即接受知縣的審訊，並輕易地承認自己的罪行。這是文書編號的1跟2。此外，與此平行的，地方的保正甲長廂差也以文書3、4、6，陸續提出事件的報告書。知縣根據這些文書，即在當日以文書5，命令召集關係人到殺害現場，以進行驗屍與審訊。翌日，知縣親赴現場，首先進行現場勘驗與驗屍，又在該處訊問犯人和關係人，隨即交付遺體後結束。這是到文書11為止。

數日後，十月廿八日，這次犯人與關係人一起被傳喚到州縣衙門進行訊問，再次確認、確定事件的經過，取得犯人以外之關係人的結狀，內容表示這樣的事件經過無誤。十一月一日，再次以文書17在法庭提訊鄧春一

人，使其在錄供的最後按押左手食指指印。知縣根據以上資料，在十一月三日擬定了「通詳」，也就是為了向上級陳報事件發生所做的事件報告一詳文，在檔案中留下了原稿（文書19）。上級對這樣的事件報告，幾乎必定是批明「再度審理後，按擬招解」，亦即審問擬定適用條文，做成判決原案，和犯人一起送來。本件是隔年一月重慶府下了這樣的命令，為此，知縣在二月十日以文書23，撰寫了擬罪的正式詳文，文書24以下是關於犯人護送的文書。

唯，與此平行的，出現了文書20和22的「解費」，也就是關於護送經費的文書。在清代依時期和地域的不同，護送犯人的經費出處也有差異，在這個時期的巴縣，是由與犯人有某種人際關係的在地人負擔解費。文書20是衙役向知縣稟報：「依照慣例向在地人，本件是向事件發生家的地主和房主請求籌出解費，可是對方竟相應不理」。文書22是知縣為調查該件，而傳喚該當地主、房主的傳票。此外，如前所述審轉文書是跟犯人一起送到上級官府。但本件麻煩的是，似乎是護送的衙役在中途遺失了審轉文書，從而再製作文書、斥責遺失文件的護送衙役等紛擾就持續到四月底。文書29到35就是這些關連文件。

然而因為事件本身是單純明確的，所以六月經重慶府、由在省都的按察使、督撫進行覆審即結束。這時候犯人又會再送回縣內，收押在縣的監獄中。在州縣裡留有關係文書36、37。但是刑事裁判的本案，之後都是在上級官府進行的，所以州縣中已不會產生裁判文書。但從文書39來看，單就裁判進行的狀況，似乎上級還是會親切地跟州縣告知一聲。文書39是十二月時督撫寫給皇帝的題本。而後皇帝將此題本交給三法司覆審，由三法司重新做出題本，皇帝再對此頒布諭旨，傳到州縣已是隔年八月。從事件發生到判決為止共一年十個月，相當耗費時間。

而且這次的刑罰是「絞監候」，亦即雖然判定是絞刑，但目前先收監，實際上是否執行要在每年舉行的秋審，也就是全國性的再審理程序中重新考量的一種刑罰。雖然秋審程序的最終審議會是在秋天八月，但這之前因為刑部、省方面必須為預備審理做成原案，所以實際上的程序是從春

天就開始了。也因此八月處以絞監候判決的人，已無法趕上今年秋審的程序。從而其秋審只能排到下一年，就更花費時間了。

文書41是同治五年以後秋審時的州縣文書。地方秋審的審理是在省都所進行的，因此有將犯人從州縣監獄移送到省都的必要。此外，在傳統中國裡，父母七十歲以上且是獨子，在處以死刑就無人照顧老父母的情況下，有一種免除刑罰執行的「留養」制度，清代後期是在秋審階段進行審查的。本件也提出這樣的申請。但是從結果來說，上級官府識破了犯人父母實際上未滿七十歲，因而留養的申請輕易地被駁回了。此外，雖然沒有明示，但從之後的發展很容易看到，這年秋審的結論是「緩決」，也就是今年不執行交由明年秋審決定。

同治六年、七年都沒有文件。原因在於秋審時，護送犯人從州縣監獄到省都是相當麻煩的。而且第一次秋審被裁定「緩決」的犯罪者，一般第二次以後的秋審仍然還是「緩決」。將犯人傳喚到省都除了麻煩以外，並無意義。因此清代中期以後，就固定了第二次以後的秋審，不用將犯人護送到省都，省的高官們只以文書審查做成原案的作法。如此，州縣方面就完全沒有留存任何關於當事人秋審的文件。同治六、七年文書的短缺，反而證實了實務上是依照制度進行的。

同治八年朝廷頒布了一個一般性的諭旨，即「秋審緩決三次減等為流刑。但此時，犯人要交出埋葬銀二十兩給付給死者家」。本件犯人也蒙受了這樣的恩典。文書58以下，是從監獄提押出犯人，因為減為流刑，知縣命犯人要五天之內交出銀二十兩，然而犯人家屬沒有這二十兩。但因為也並非是死刑，所以就申請免除埋葬銀，犯人被送到流刑地，最後的文書是流刑地來的受領通知文件。

以上就是關於命案處理，州縣所留存文書的內容。首先可確認的第一點是：實際上的實務的進行大致上是如同制度書上所寫的。細部來看，也發現了很多有趣的地方，但因為時間的關係省略之。



## 參、州縣自理「命案」之內容

從以上我們可以知道「巴縣檔案」的命案部分，包含了審轉事案的文書，同時這些文書幾乎是如制度規定般進行的。只是，如果這樣就說「命案」微卷裡所有的文書，都是這樣的審轉案件的話，當然並非如此。雖然我還沒有全部讀完，而且有相當多文件是前缺後漏不完整、或是都是蟲蛀無法閱讀，很難說個正確數字，不過以直覺的比例來說，像上面說的正式進入審轉的案件數，大約只到全部的一、二成。那麼，審轉事案以外的命案文書中，又處理了什麼樣的問題呢？

首先，在當時的定義中，「人命」案件中包含了全部有事件性的「人的死亡」。不是只有殺人事件才是命案。從而，實際上巴縣檔案的命案部分中，有幾件是關於船隻翻覆而有人溺死、或旅館裡客人病死等案件，由當地的地保或旅館主人自發報告官府。但是，大多數的案件還是由被害人親屬提告開始的，呈控自己的親人被某人殺害，或是看起來是自殺，但之前有遭到某人的暴行對待，而請求地方官驗屍。為何這些沒有進入到審轉的程序呢？首先來看一個例子，發給的大家文件中的事案（2）案件號碼1401。

有一位叫王興成的人，以文書1呈控表示：四天前接到出嫁的妹妹因病死亡的消息，因而前去察看，妹妹已經被裝入棺中，口鼻的地方可以看到血痕，妹妹生前一定是受到夫家一家的暴行，而懇請驗屍。知縣在訴狀上批明「顯係藉死圖索，砌詞妄控」的同時，為了開庭立即以文書2傳喚關係人。兩個禮拜後，夫家的父親賈文仲以文書3提出反訴，其表示：媳婦從結婚開始就因病弱而有自殺的想法，而在前幾天上吊自殺了；因此立刻叫媳婦的母親來看明，此外當時也將埋葬銀廿五千錢交給了媳婦的繼父；媳婦的兄弟們欲從中索取八千錢不成，因而這次想用別的方法從我這邊勒索金錢，所以才提起這樣的訴訟。十一月開庭時，哥哥王興成仍重複當初的主張，甚至還寫下了倘驗無傷自甘坐罪的甘結狀。於是知縣只好進行遺體的驗屍，這是文書7。然而在調查之後，確認了果然這是單純的上吊自殺。因

此將遺體交由夫家埋葬，在一個月後的法庭上，哥哥王興成被宣告處以「掌責鎖押」的處罰。

再來看另外一個例子，事案(3)案件號碼1468。一個七十歲的老寡婦羅裴氏表示，自己的姪子羅廷萬在去收取借款途中，遭對方胡松榮抵抗，兩人在扭打中羅廷萬因跌倒撞到頭死亡，因而提出文書1請求驗屍。知縣立即決定進行現場勘驗和驗屍，而以文書2命令傳喚關係人到現場。但五天之後，對造胡松榮提起反訴，其表示羅廷萬其實是在別處跌倒死亡，之後羅氏一族故意將屍體運到其土地內，欲敲詐索取金錢不成，因而提出這樣的訴訟。有趣的是，在隔一天，連死去的羅廷萬的親兄長羅玉勝也說弟弟是自己跌倒的，誰也沒有罪，因為不忍弟弟遺體暴露在外，而提出免除驗屍之請求。隔天，為了傳喚而到當地的差役提出報告書(即文書5)，從中可以明顯地看得出來案情急轉直下、沉靜下來的原因在於：「胡松榮幫給葬費錢五千文，業已和案」。似乎應該是提訴之後，當事人間達成和解了。不過知縣為了確認這個和解，在三月又開了一次法庭。那次所陳述的錄供或結狀的內容，只有在確認羅廷萬是自己跌倒死亡這件事，並未正式提到葬費錢五千文。

像這種宣稱有殺人的嫌疑而請求驗屍的訴訟，大部分在調查之後，馬上就可以清楚知道是單純的自殺，抑或是病死，或是因事故而死；關係人到齊後，提出確認的結狀，案件就簡單地結束。且有一個明顯的發展是，像第二個的案子，雖然是自己請求驗屍，一旦知縣實際上命令驗屍，就慌慌張張以「不忍屍體暴露」這樣的理由，請求「免驗」。驗屍的呈控近似於使訴訟得以受理的一種手段。然而知縣也知道這樣的情形吧，所以只要當事人提出免驗的請求，幾乎都無條件接受。然而，這種情況(免驗之後)，幾乎一定會在之後傳喚當事人開庭。我認為知縣雖然不喜歡在必要的範圍外再擴大案子，但是既然已經發生涉及人命的糾紛，還是要先做一個公的處理才是適當的一種判斷。從而，通常在這個過程中的某個階段，被告的一方會交付死者親屬數兩到數十兩的金錢。

上述的兩個案例中，從前後的文脈來看，很明顯是將實際上只是自殺或事故死亡，裝作是殺人而呈控，但是也有就這一點，是處於模糊灰色地帶的微妙例子。例如事案（4）案件號碼1477。

四月十一日，原告劉先榮以文書1呈控表示，自己的弟弟劉先華遭施大興以棍棒毆打，於三月廿七日死亡，因而希望驗屍。知縣雖然認為死亡已過了兩週才請求驗屍，相當奇怪，但總之還是以文書2命準備驗屍。隔天，被指為暴行犯的施大興提出反訴表示：「這個劉先華是三月廿五日偷跑到我家田裡的偷菜，在追趕的時候自己跌倒受傷，廿七日死在自己家裡。之後親屬跑來要錢，因此隔天廿八日在團鄰的仲裁下，我已經付了銀二十兩息事。但想不到劉先榮們想勒索更多的錢，所以提出這樣的呈控」。施大興的佃農陳春山等，也以文書4陳報同樣的內容。之後雙方發生爭論，甚至出現了要付五十兩這種毫無道理的數字。於是五月三日開庭，結果在法庭裡，是由全體確認如施大興所言的內容，雙方提出不再取鬧的結狀而結案。最後附上的文書11「領屍埋葬文約」，是三月廿八日以銀二十兩和解時，劉先榮們所寫文書的抄錄。

這個案子形式上也是以自己跌倒的事故死亡來處理，但同時也記載了是在追緝作物小偷時所發生的事情。說不定劉先華會跌倒，是地主跟佃農們已經抓到他狠狠毆打之後的事。更誇大一點來想的話，說不定劉先華在被毆打時就已經死亡了。且不可思議的是，在巴縣檔案的命案文書中，偷菜賊幾乎一定都會在逃跑的途中，自己絆倒跌倒受傷，然後隔天以後在自己家中生病死掉。再怎麼想都很不自然，我認為如果正式成案的話，事件背景中，是有得構成鬪毆殺人的事實，這樣的想法毋寧比較合理。此外，正因為有這樣的事實，劉先榮們也想到不只是二十兩，順利的話可能可以要到五十兩的金錢。

像這種請求驗屍而來呈控，最後卻以和解結案的案子，一個極端是，儘管是沒有任何案件性的死亡，死者親屬還是把這個死作為一種事由而向對方敲詐強取金錢，另一個極端是，實際上是有犯罪性的事件，加害人向被害人支付金錢後，事件就煙消雲散，像是和談一樣。然而大多數的案件

裡，這兩個要素都是以不可分的形態混同在一起。在被害人強要勒索的感覺較強的前兩個事案中，很難說事案（2）中完全沒有夫家威逼人致死的要素；此外，事案（3）中要在互毆當中找到鬪毆殺人的要件也不是不可能。反之事案（4）中，最早三月廿八日的和解階段，說不定也是犯罪的和談，但之後被害人親屬敲詐的要素變強了。從而不論哪個才是實情，有一點是共通的，亦即雙方當事人用金錢就解決的話，事實本身的徹底解明、基於這個事實對加害人處以的刑罰，反而都被規避掉了。

恐怕，只要出了人命，被害人家屬必定會出來主張些什麼，被認為是加害人的一方如果經濟上寬裕的話，首先會拿錢堵住被害一方的嘴，這是所有共通的出發點。但是，如果圍繞著死者這個問題爭執，就可以拿到一定的錢的話，因為有這樣的期待，結果反而變成一出人命，家屬中的某人就故意出來吵鬧的惡性循環。在有關人死亡的金錢紛爭中，以前只重視像「圖賴」這種意圖式自殺與明清律「威逼人致死條」所見之「埋葬銀」的關連，但是，看到上述這些事案之後，似乎一般對於人的死亡，有金錢的請求是很平常的，圖賴或威逼人致死條或許可以認為是這種大現象的一部分。

且從檔案的某些地方可以知道，這種當事人間的金錢交涉常不待訴訟，事情一發生民間社會中就立即進行了。上面的事案（4）中，死亡的隔天就已經達成銀二十兩的和解。此外，如同事案（4）一開始訴狀的批裡，知縣所說的（死後亦經二週始行具報的是）「顯因事後搵索未遂，□詞聳聽，已可概見」，顯然知縣這一邊也是明白的。而和談不順利的話就會到訴訟，或者將訴訟作為一種為了讓和談交涉對自己有利的施壓手段，特別是利用要求驗屍的這種麻煩，這些裁判文書中俯拾即是。

按照裁判和民間交涉同時並行的事實來看，也有裁判文書本身沒有出現任何關於金錢討價還價隻字片語的情況，例如像事案（3），其背後通常可能有當事人就金錢討價還價，如此在法庭上輕易地被處理掉也很奇怪。更進一步來說，如果說民間一開始就是站在金錢的基礎上來談，也可能都不用到起訴。事實上，即使在最後立案而審轉的殺人事件，也有案例是從

文件的小地方可以讀出，事件發生之後周圍關係人為收拾事態努力奔波的樣子。那麼，在當時的社會中，殺人事件「標準的」解決方法是哪一個呢？這是今後應該解明的一個非常有趣的問題。

## 肆、關於自認罪狀

圍繞在巴縣檔案命案部分的，不只關於如以上紛爭類型的論點，我還發現了幾個在思考刑事裁判本質論時的線索。在此，先來談當中關於犯人自認罪狀的問題。

以前日本的清代刑事裁判論裡，滋賀秀三老師反覆重申自白的重要性。「而裁判官心中就有了一個固定的心證，到了犯人也全盤托出的地步時，重新將罪狀寫成具有一定格式〔注：大多用『不合』這個詞彙〕而完整的文章，於是將該文讀給犯人聽，取得畫押。這個就是『招狀』〔……〕這個招狀並非只是單純的筆錄、記錄，而是自認罪狀的意思表示。」（滋賀秀三：《清代中國的法與裁判》，頁69）「行為的真相，行為人本身是最清楚的。讓本人信服，使其說出真相，這是裁判官的任務。」（前揭書，頁71）

我想很多人讀了這樣的文章，就產生有一種印象：即如同現代的檢察官，在調查室中對犯人進行審訊，使其在稱作是招狀的詳細自白筆錄上簽名。而確實在明代至清初的官箴書中，必定載有「招狀式」（參見本文第六頁）。但在巴縣檔案中所看到的實態，卻與此相當的不同。

首先在剛剛看的審轉事案（1）中，要找相當於「招狀」的自認罪狀文書的話，可以看第二頁旁邊有※標記的文書號碼17、18。第七、八頁有附上照片。傳喚被科以刑事處罰的人到法庭，且在文件最後有本人左手食指的畫押這一點，相當於滋賀老師所說的「招狀」。但研讀其內容，也沒有出現「不合」這樣特殊的詞彙，毋寧說文體與一般的錄供相同；此外，這裡所寫的內容，事實上也幾乎和之前文書13的錄供③中鄧春的陳述一樣。

這並非是在那裡才初次自認罪狀，而是其內容已經在之前傳喚全體關係人的法庭中做成了，這裡只不過是再確認、最後確認罷了。毋寧說，對於相同的錄供<sup>③</sup>，關係人提出文書14以下的結狀，犯罪者則在文書18的錄供上畫押，我認為這樣的說法比較接近實態。

此外，在之後會介紹的事案（5）案件號碼2059中，第七頁同樣旁邊有※標記的文書號碼24、25、26是相當於自認罪狀的。而在此更有意思的是，連犯人都跟關係人一樣提出結狀，那裡還有「准結」的批文。也就是即使有自認罪狀的形式，也與一般法庭同樣的，是以名單+錄供+結狀的形態出現。且如同從照片中所知道的，因為文章很短，所以在內容上，也難以與先前的錄供文書11分離而單獨成立。

亦即，巴縣檔案中，確實有自認罪狀的線索，不過並非是以具有特有文體或格式的招狀形式存在，而是不論在內容上、形式上也好，都是混同在包含證人在內的一般性錄供或結狀之中，亦或是實質上成為其中的一部分。

而自認罪狀為何和全體關係人的供述是一體不可分的？從事件處理的細節來看就很會清楚。所以，最後再來看一件審轉事案，事案（5）案件號碼2059。這是到鬪毆殺人的犯人押解到上級官府的一件文書。

因為文書前面有缺漏，欠缺最初稟報事件的數件文書，以後面的錄供還原的話，是同治十三年五月十四日，一個叫覃洋生的人因某些緣故，遭一個叫鄭元所率領的五人集團毆打綁走，全身衣物被剝光監禁，要想釋放的話就要付贖金八千文。這時仲裁人介入，最後決定等覃洋生傷好之後再行調解，覃洋生被救出帶回自己家裡，而不幸的是，在數日之後，五月廿五日的夜裡，覃洋生傷勢惡化死亡。廿七日覃家提出驗屍的請求，而此時地方的稟約王萬一逮捕扭送下手毆打的數人，剩下逃走的人不久也被逮捕。並在相當早的階段就確定了造成覃洋生致命傷的，是最後抓到的叫鄭潤的男子。其實只有這樣的資料也可以立即做出通詳，但就如案件一覽所示，在事件發生近三個月後的八月十九日，知縣才做出通詳的原稿（文書22）。

明明是看似單純的事件，為何到通詳為止要花這麼多時間？研讀文書的話就會清楚知道。亦即，關於覃洋生為何遭鄭元等毆打，多數的證言畫出了這樣一個事件圖像：覃洋生與鄭元的妻子通姦，鄭元知道後，就拜託朋友毆打擄走覃洋生。相對於此，死去覃洋生的族長覃純齋則主張，原本覃洋生是在到鄭元家收取借款時被綁架，而這件綁架暴行事件的背後有一個叫許一堂的許家族長，此外，捉拿實行犯的王萬一事實上也是許一堂一派的，這也是想要隱瞞許一堂參與的一個計畫。

從錄供①的階段就出現不一致，文書2中覃純齋亦重複其主張。對於此，許一堂一方則附上古文書反訴表示，從數代之前開始覃姓跟許姓之間，就因爭奪市場支配權而對立，覃姓在這個過程中沒落了，覃純齋只是利用這次的事件，想來報當年的仇。整體看來許一堂的說法是比較有壓倒性的說服力，但反過來，若依覃純齋所言，這個事件是謀殺，主嫌犯並非實行者，而是主謀的許一堂。唯有去處理這個爭點，或者更極端的說，唯有想辦法讓強烈主張不停的覃洋生安靜下來，否則知縣也無法處理這個事案。

為打破這個僵局，知縣在七月廿二日開庭傳喚關係人，或許是不喜歡被取證，覃純齋、許一堂、王萬一，在幕後的主要人物沒有人出庭。知縣在八月六日的法庭上，訓斥這些人，被覃純齋指為許姓一派的王萬一，也因為不出庭而遭到解除稟約的職務，恐怕這是作為交易的代價；也成功讓覃純齋接受了覃洋生因通姦遭丈夫鄭元的朋友圍毆，這樣一個事件圖像。文書13八月六日的結狀就是證據。如此一來終於畫一了全體事件關係人間對於這到底是一個什麼樣事件的認識。至此已是事件發生以來，歷經兩個月以上了。

然而，知縣至此還是遲遲不進入通詳的程序。說不定是考量到雙方當事人還有和解、金錢解決的可能性。諷刺的是，推動審轉的是文書16覃純齋向重慶府的告狀。在這個告狀中，覃純齋儘管之前提出過結狀，卻還是再度提出許一堂才是主嫌犯的說法。而初次知道事件存在的重慶知府，在告狀的批裡，訓斥巴縣知縣明有事件發生竟未通詳。接到這個的知縣也下

了一個決定，其以第三次的錄供為基礎，開始擬定通詳的文章，此外從牢裡借提出犯人鄭潤，使其提出自認罪狀的結狀。看到這樣發展的單純齋，再次頑強地向巴縣知縣提出主張許一堂為主犯說詞的稟，但知縣表示已經完成擬罪而未理睬。在此情況下，知縣寫了擬罪的詳文——文書15，而以文書20將此詳文與犯人一起送到重慶府。

亦即，從州縣層次的審判實態來看，絕非如自白重視說所設想的那般，有一客觀的犯罪事實等待著犯人自己來自白。事件是在社會的脈絡中所發生的，也能在其中賦予意義。即使如事案(1)的單純事件，為了確認這是單純的衝突就開了三次庭，於是包含當事人在內的全體關係人共有一樣的事件圖像，犯人鄧春的自認罪狀也是作為其中一部分存在。而像這次的事案(5)，雙方當事人間若有一定的緊張關係，事件圖像本身從一開始就是分裂的，比起取得犯人的自白，裁判官大部分的精力都花在統一雙方勢力的事實認識，或是提示雙方勢力可以接受的事件圖像。除非進行統合否則無法向前邁進，此外，反而正是有進行統合，取得犯人的自認罪狀，毋寧是接近一般事務性的作業。

向來重視犯人自己自認罪狀的討論，主要是以審轉之後，換句話說，是以徹底地整理過後的事件圖像為基礎而立論的，因此多少是有些輕視州縣刑事審判現場中所展開的力學關係。在州縣階段來看，要審轉的刑事審判也是通過反覆開庭，確立全體事件關係人間共通認識的作業。而在聽訟即民事審判中，確立關係人間共通認識，當然是裁判官所處理的主要工作。我認為這次看的刑事裁判檔案，包含審轉事案的州縣審判部分，與民事裁判有相同形式的根本理由即在於此。

這種追求全體關係人認識的一致，而又以此為基礎的事實認定形態，一方面產生刑事審判的公正性，另一方面，若全體關係人的說法已統一為「所發生的就是這樣的事情吧」之後，審判者一方就很難再做出與此不同的事實認定，有這樣的性質。這麼想的話，今天演講第二段所說的，關於人命的各種金錢解決的實態，也說不定可以看做是這種刑事審判基本性格的一個歸結。



## 伍、結語

以上，走馬看花地介紹了幾個同治期巴縣檔案的命案部分案件，也看到了清代刑事審判的特徵。

過去的研究裡，民事裁判主要是使用州縣檔案、刑事裁判主要是以給皇帝的題本為資料。因為在州縣檔案與題本中，案件整理的程度是完全不同的，所以從各自所導出的兩個裁判圖像自然也相當不同。但是，這次從州縣檔案層次的命案處理實態來看，我想可以讓各位理解到民事審判與刑事審判，州縣自理案件和審轉案件之間，有比過去所思考的更強的類似性、共通性存在。我認為今後依據這樣的實態，有必要去思考民事裁判與刑事裁判間共通性或連續性的問題。



【書評】 Book Review

林志宏：

《民國乃敵國也：政治文化轉型下的清遺民》

(臺北：聯經出版公司，2009年)

區志堅\*

易代之際，前朝遺留下來而不仕新朝的社群，稱為「遺民」，他們多表達對故國舊君的眷戀，選取隱居或參與反抗新朝的活動。歷來較多學者注意元、明遺民表達忠貞前朝、對抗外族的漢人思想及行為，較少研究清遺民。其實，清遺民的社群包括：漢人及非漢人；非漢人的社群主要是滿洲人，滿族遺民忠貞對象自是清政權，但漢人仍然忠於這個非漢族建立的政權，而不是由漢人建立的民國政府，這樣漢族清遺民的種族立場及政治道德就更值得研究。更重要的是，忠清的遺民不獨面對朝代的鼎革，還要面對民國建元，數千年來「普遍皇權」(universal kingship)的瓦解，中國傳統社會及政治秩序走向民主共和的政體，遺民身分上自「臣民」被迫成為「國民」的問題，他們秉承傳統儒家政治文化，怎樣面對晚清民初變法、革命及五四新文化運動後，政治、經濟、社會、學術文化的轉變？不少遺民更參與導致中國割地賠款、「喪權辱國」的列強政權，他們的政治及民族認同怎樣從傳統華夷之辨轉化為「用夷變夏」？可見清遺民的思想、心態及行為，均較元、明遺民更為複雜。若把清遺民放還在二十世紀的中國從帝制走向共和及現代化進程，更見政治文化轉型下，不同社群的政治認同問題，「忠誠」等傳統價值觀在與現代社會的改變，及傳統文化

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在中國走向民族國家的變化情況。前人多視清遺民為「保守」、「落後」及「多染阿芙蓉癖」（吸鴉片）的社群。自八十年代，才注意清遺民研究，先後有胡平生、陳豪滿、林毓生、竹內弘行、栗林幸雄、葉嘉瑩、周明之、黃興濤、熊月之、吳志鏗、彭海鈴等。近日林志宏運用新文化研究方法，宏觀地從二十世紀初中國政治文化轉型及思想文化層面，研究清遺民的生活及政治認同，並撰成《民國乃敵國也：政治文化轉型下的清遺民》一書，檢視清遺民群體及生活文化的多元化面貌，又能澄清世紀之交「當中個體／集體的心理傾向，都將有助進行更深刻地反思。〔……〕那些被視為『負面』而忠誠清室的遺民，身處轉型時代之際，他們看似違背主流價值、卻又兼具理性和感性的政治抉擇，亦能幫助我們檢視對二十世紀中國政治文化轉變的過程」（頁363），也可見「從帝國邁向現代國家的道路上，人們處於種種難以適應現實的心境」（頁364）。

此書除了導論及結論外，共有七章，並有附錄。以下介紹此書的特色。作者成功運用政治文化的研究角度，突破「革命史觀」及「五四型新文化史觀」的偏失，推動清遺民的研究領域，注意研究人物心態轉變與時代政治發展的關係。昔日因不少學者視「革命」及「五四運動」標舉推倒舊文化及破壞帝制的行動為「正」面，發表反對這兩方面聲音的人物視為「負」面，由是忽略了很多研究領域。作者運用近年倡導「政治文化」（political culture）的研究方法，從「心理層面，探討個人與政治體制間互動關係的知識，企圖自個人的認知、情感、態度和行動等各種角度，考察並解釋政治體制本身的穩定和變化」（頁19）。因為遺民自知「文本」為公開發表的言論，甚至會出現隱諱，閱讀這些「文本」，未必全然了解著者的內心世界，故林氏突破「文本」的限制，從「文本」探討其意象及文化含義，注意人物的歷史記憶、制度、服飾、持守的儀節、發表的書畫及感情世界等文化象徵符號，結合著者的日記資料，探討人們的私生活及內心世界，深入研究遺民藉對過去的認知，以肯定當下的身分認同及表現行為的依據，也注意遺民認知、情感世界與時代政治、社會文化的互動關係。

昔日學者多認為辛亥革命以後，社會趨向進步，然而林氏已指出「認定帝制與共和係屬兩種不同性質的政治和文化，然而在兩者轉型之際，許

多人由於短時間無法適應，出現政治生活的矛盾及不和諧」（頁22），清遺民的心態可以呈現近代中國政治轉型中，民初人們並未認知民主及共和的意思，這是一種在走向共和體制下的「不完整的政治文化型態」（頁22）。同時，作者在堅實資料下，藉宏觀及人物個案研究，清楚指出研究遺民的政治主張，不獨注意他們的言論，更要注意他們表現的文化活動的意義，及時人對遺民的評價形塑遺民的身分，引證了林氏所言「要談論清末民初的文化思想課題，政治其實還是無可逃避且須面對的一環」。

作者運用政治文化研究方法，重新檢視「清遺民」群體的意義及心態。前人以「清遺民」一詞，指稱那些積極參加民初復辟運動、深懷故國、自我形塑忠誠的身分認同、隱居不仕民國政府的人士。林氏認為此觀點不太準確，因民初大一統的國家模式已瓦解，中國走向民族國家的道路，遺老已不從「忠君」及忠於「前朝」作出仕隱的抉擇；有些具有維新思想的遺民，更不認為清亡及民國建立是重要事情，故應多注意遺民心態及與政治發展的關係，清遺民是對清要忠誠，也要反對民國的政治體制，心態上不接納民主共和的政治理念；更重要的是，作者指出時人如錢玄同等，也指稱贊同傳統學問的舊學人士為遺老或遺民，學者不獨要注意遺民自我身分的認同，也要注意社會輿論對遺民社群形象的「形塑的評價和變化」（頁29）。換言之，遺民的價值觀就是一種社會群體的共識及表象，「清遺民」也是一個多元含義的概念。

作者首次從地理上劃分清遺民的活動範圍，開拓遺民區域研究的先河。遺民因溥儀居紫禁城，可以即時謁見，又可以尋求故友支持復辟，故選居北京、天津，他們的心態也是不滿共和，多傾向恢復帝制，也有出仕民國政府，待時復國，林氏指出「身在京津地區遺民的人際關係，非可全以政治的態度為分野。也就是說，他們過往密切的友朋當中，不乏出仕民國的舊官僚」（頁41）。青島為德國租借地，居此地的遺民多是清室重要遺臣，他們在此地接受異國政治庇護，既可逃往海外，又可與故友交往。遺民因上海為列強租界區域，較為安全，又因當地富商、出版商資助，生活也較優裕。

林氏也研究居廣東及港澳的遺民，此點應為讀者多加注意。廣東素視為「革命」及「新文化」發源地，較少注意其保存傳統文化的特色。林氏指出「這區域亦存有極『頑固』的保守樣貌」（頁57），廣東遺民多受清中葉東塾學派及學海堂遺風的影響，他們多取宋、明遺民的史事為歷史記憶，「發明」過去史事強化當下遺民身分認同，又積極參與地方政府編撰方志和教學工作，卻不直接參與政治復辟行動。他們既因廣東及港澳較北方安定，又受當地華商所器重。也有遺民亡命日本，他們多因中國戰亂及經濟困拮而選居此地。

作者談及遺民的出處問題，甚有卓見。前人論歷代遺民出處，多只注意遺民們自述詩文，但林氏除了注意詩文外，更運用「儀式」的文化學研究方法，注意遺民參與儀式的社會象徵符號。譬如遺民不棄髮辮，多穿清朝衣冠主持儀禮，在書畫上多署前朝官名或不書民國年月，也發表反對陽曆、緬懷陰曆的言論，主要藉此「標榜自我的政治認同」（頁83）。

作者藉研究遺民的私生活，以見其認同清朝的政治態度。有些遺民參加清室公開舉辦祭典，卻未必發表其支持清室言論，但遺民撰寫的日記內，可見他們參加慈禧祭典、祝賀溥儀大婚等儀式，參與京劇表演後，多呈現對故國思念。林氏又注意部分遺老雖厭惡這位曾為清朝的官僚、後任大民國總統的袁世凱，卻寄望袁氏保存清室的地位，故在革命黨人與袁氏之間，只可選擇支持袁氏政權，但也有遺民借助革命黨力量抗袁氏，藉此求復辟，故林氏說：「反對袁世凱主政，實在難以做為釐清遺民們對政治的考慮與認同」（頁116），遺民主觀傾向帝制的心意，只有在「私密的史料裡，才會透露同情袁氏的想法與作為」。林氏也指出遺老面對民初政治紛亂，對袁氏政權失望，又求復帝制及表達忠清的心態，故主張親德國的外交政策及支持張勳復辟，但也有遺民主張「虛君共和」，有些遺民主張不可共和，由是作者指出遺民「認同模糊」，並認為「如果只把遺民的政治認同，視作與民國對立而絕不可逾越的界線，不加以考察其中人事複雜的關係，則似乎過分簡化了他們出處的課題」（頁127）。遺民為表示忠誠及認同清室，只可參與洪憲帝制、張勳復辟，但復辟失敗，終放棄籠絡軍閥，卻又面對民國政府壓迫，故只可藉出仕滿洲國實踐其政治認同，他們

的抉擇正是林氏所言：「儘管個人出處的角色係由自我界定，可是社會的賦予卻又超出原先個人的設想以外」（頁129）。

既然清遺民自我認同十分重要，遺民多以詩文書寫身分認同，這些文字不獨是文化層面的表述，也是政治實踐的工具。林氏以編修《清史稿》的事情為例，說明遺民維護清室的歷史記憶，以及形塑了遺民身分認同；如《史稿》內既稱「史臣」，部分遺民曾反對《清史稿》立「興學志」，以示興學是革命之原。此書也談及「遺民敘事」體裁，遺民整理歷代遺民傳記，取歷史記憶以支持當下的遺民身分。林氏以廣東遺民汪兆鏞編撰《元廣東遺民錄》、《碑傳集三編》為例，說明遺民「發明」過去的歷史及表述前朝遺民史事，以見遺民主張應泯去滿漢之別，求潔身自愛及扶持綱常倫理秩序為己任，清室是社會恢復秩序的代表，汪氏蒐集所選取的史事及人物就是「將政治理念由隱諱的歷史著作來發衷心曲」（頁176），「以事存人」達到「緬懷現今」（頁159）的目的。另外，部分遺民雖反對參與民國政府主持編方志的行動，但也有不少遺民藉編志書以存地方文獻，以喻遺民認同忠清的身分，有些遺民藉此以「揭袁世凱的面目」。

前人多認為民國建元後，遺民發表的忠清言論是「落後」，林氏指出這論點是不了解遺民所處歷史環境。遺民生於晚清，為中國走向現代化的重要階段，表面上，他們的言論只是思想文化史的領域，其實是與清亡有關，遺民面對民初舊帝制瓦解，共和制未立的混亂情況，故希望復辟以回復帝制的常態。林氏注意清遺民表述五代史事的敘事策略，遺民認為清亡、軍閥混戰、五四時攻擊傳統文化的言論代表綱常毀裂、廉恥淪落及社會動亂，猶如五代之象，所謂「五代式民國」，只有恢復倫常載體的經學及孔子地位，社會才可大治，故多支持讀經及參加倡立孔教的活動，以宗教強化倫理價值。有些遺民更認為立孔教復綱常，綱常立便擁舊君，由是在提倡新文化及反對復辟者的眼中，把復辟、孔教及清遺民的言論連成一體，既攻擊傳統文化及孔子，又批評遺民的言行。

作者除了注意清遺民自我認同的主體外，更研究民初社會言論形塑遺民的觀點，讀者可以更客觀地了解從民初政治及學術的變動，把傳統視為

「蜷懷故國故君、深具節操」的「遺民」，轉變為「負面」的形象，促成這種轉變就是林氏所言「社會集體創造和實踐的結果，來自不同場合、動機，甚至是說服群眾的管道」（頁226）。書中以康有為涉及「盜經事件」為例，說明康氏為遺民代表，民初輿論批評康氏的人格之餘，帶動貶低遺民群體的地位。又在一九二四年發生溥儀出宮的事件，昔日視皇家藏品為「維繫遜帝的政治定位和圖騰，亦即統治正當性所在」（頁253），以及後民國政府要求溥儀出宮，接收宮禁，遺民大表反對，但提倡新文化的知識分子，認為溥儀不出宮代表了民國放了一位復辟而保存舊道德的皇帝，把遺民聯繫上民國復辟現象，指斥遺民不認同民國體制，把遺民視為「廢物」，使「遺老」、「遺民」成為「負面」形象；又隨民眾參觀了皇宮景點，昔日神祕的皇帝生活被「去神聖化」（頁247），皇宮成為「故宮」，藉「儀式本身亦說明有意終結清室」。隨著民國政府地位確立，反對帝制和接受新式學問的知識分子佔領學術界的領導地位，這群曾發表反對迫宮言論的遺民，再一次受到社會輿論「污名」，遺民地位更為低落。

林氏運用文化學的研究方法，重新闡發舊課題的研究意義。前人多從文化、政治角度研究王國維之死因，林氏指出：遺民金梁認為，王氏自沉，既表現道德高尚行為，也表達忠君的政治思想，這樣「道德政治化」的用意是「成為一項政治符號，讓他們可以藉此來鼓吹忠節，甚至成為標榜高尚道德的闡釋架構」（頁304）。當時學者如顧頡剛已從學術的角度，指出王氏為追求學術，不是表達忠節及忠清而自沉。王氏的老師羅振玉早年憶述王氏的文字，多表述其與清室的關係，後期改為強化其關心中國未來及具有科學的治學精神；陳寅恪則從學術的角度，肯定王氏的學術成就，藉此二例，已知民國學界要求建立一個「學術社會」去政治化的風氣，由此也成功引證林氏所說：「『道德政治化』在民國以後的沒落，至少說明在政治取向裡，道德已經失去了它本來的光芒。新的知識分子不再將追求崇高的道德價值和政治串聯一起，『士』的理想似乎也將終告結束」（頁305），這樣便衝擊遺民代表崇高道德理想的社會地位。作者一再提醒讀者：「過去我們在探求這些史料的真相時，往往忽略資料本身之間的差異性；若是無視於這些文本彼此間些微的不同，或許將難以得到其中弦外之音」（頁303），若不比較羅氏的言論前後有異，也未必可見民國學術典範的變異情形。



作者也從情感與政治互動的關係，探討遺民參與「滿洲國」的問題。自抗戰以還，前人在全面肯定抗日是「正義」的論調下，不注意研究日人扶植下滿洲國的運作，近年學者才多談及滿洲國的現代性問題，但尚未注意為「中華民族」的遺民，面對背上「分裂國家」的罪名，卻出仕滿洲國，遺民們的政治認同及情感是怎樣的？作者從國際視野，展示三十年代，國際恐共思想熱烈，遺民陳曾矩等警覺赤化，不少富有遺民曾受到共產黨徒迫害，多認為只有孔教才可對抗赤化，既恐共，民國政府又不可憑依，故遺民雖知日人以滿洲國行「以華制華」，仍認為此是復辟時機，部分遺民更欲「以夷制華」抗民國政府及共產思想，「即從反對民國的角度審視，滿洲立國某方面亦屬清遺民對政治認同和抵制的一項體現」（頁356）。作者以後人詬病甚多的清遺民鄭孝胥出仕滿洲國為例，說明遺民支持此政權有其深層心意，不可簡單視作「賣國」行為。鄭氏欲滿洲國如意大利一樣，建立一個具有宗教信仰的政權，把溥儀與日本昭和天皇並列，奉溥儀為帶給世界和平的「賢君」，只要恢復中國傳統王道統治，世界便和平。正值三十年代，日人宣傳「王道樂土」的統治理念，契合鄭氏以中國禮治、孔孟思想，為團結東方民族抗衡西方強權及文化入侵的理念。換言之，鄭氏倡導的王道精神是「披著傳統『思想資源』的外衣，以『概念工具』的形式，夾雜現代化武力為後盾。站在遺民的立場，希望重新詮釋傳統，目的為了塑造『中華世界秩序』」。 （頁359）王道思想既成為恢復帝制的理論基礎，又是解決道德淪喪的良方，滿洲國「以皇帝為政治之本位，以孔子為文化之本位」，享有道統與治統合法管治的地位。由是可見，林氏以同情諒解的角度，重新闡述鄭氏「在痛苦煎熬和希望掙扎之間的擺盪」（頁358），以及遺民「究竟如何在文化主義和民族主義兩者間做出抉擇」（頁374）。

雖然作者研究屢有創獲，但近日新出版的研究成果，可以補足林氏的觀點。秦燕春《清末民初的晚明想像》<sup>1</sup>一書，已說明清末民初革命黨員、南社成員與遺民以不同觀點表述晚明史事的情況。有關民初遺老及蒙藏王公的經濟收入苦況，亦可見章猷才《民國初年社會結構論稿》<sup>2</sup>一書；讀者

1 秦燕春：《清末民初的晚明想像》（北京：北京大學出版社，2009年）。

2 章猷才：《民國初年社會結構論稿》（北京：人民出版社，2009年）。

可以從近日出版《溥儀日記》<sup>3</sup>中，可以補足此書所述溥儀對遺民的看法及鄭孝胥在宮中生活的情貌。

至於論點及研究範圍方面，讀者尚可以注意以下地方：一、讀者可以多注意研究居留香港的清遺民。遺民住在上海等地的租界，尚可謂居於中國國境，如今香港成為英國殖民地，遠離中國，但遺民任教香港大學，協助港大中文學院籌款，部分遺民又任「夷人」港督的老師，他們身分認同為清遺民，又欲把香港成為「海濱鄒魯」，他們表示對清忠誠，又欣賞港英政府，有時又與國民黨黨元老鄒魯聯絡，相信未必可以簡單地用「與殖民地政府合作」（Collaborative Colonial Power）或「事仇民族主義」（Collaborationist nationalism）、「文化遺民」（Cultural Loyalist）等概念指稱他們的行為，而要多注意他們的複雜心態，近日廣東省文史資料委員會編《香海傳薪錄：香港學海書樓紀實》<sup>4</sup>一書，概括居港清遺民的活動情況。二、清廣東宣撫使梁鼎芬、翰林桂坫太史等擔任廣東民國政府主持廣東修志活動的總纂、監修的職位，廣東素視為「革命策源地」，遺民理應與廣東民國政府劃清界線，但他們卻參與這政權，究竟他們的心態如何？肖自力在《陳濟棠》<sup>5</sup>一書，指出不少清遺民支持廣東軍閥陳濟棠籌劃「廣東復古運動」，遺民們的心態又是怎樣？三、周薇在《傳統詩學的轉型：陳衍人文主義詩學研究》<sup>6</sup>一書，指出上海遺老陳衍曾說：「余不主張『遺老』二字，謂一人有一人自立之地位，老則老耳，何遺之有」，陳氏也不認同遺老的身分，那樣今天有些學者把陳衍，與陳三立、沈曾植均視為遺民，是否可以再思考他們之別；同時，讀者可在林氏提出研究遺民應注意遺民的主體身分認同及外在輿論「形塑」遺民的觀點外，尚可研究那些主體不認同遺民身分，卻為外界認同為「遺民」的人物，他們的政治認同又如何？四、讀者也可注意列強及海外華僑對遺民的態度，日本政府對遺民的態度自不待言，張勳失敗逃入荷蘭使館，遺民萬繩棧避入法國使館，駐

3 愛新覺羅·溥儀：《溥儀日記》（天津：天津人民出版社，2009年）。

4 廣東省文史資料委員會（編）：《香海傳薪錄：香港學海書樓紀實》（北京：中國文史出版社，2008年）。

5 肖自力：《陳濟棠》（廣州：廣東人民出版社，2002年）。

6 周薇：《傳統詩學的轉型：陳衍人文主義詩學研究》（上海：上海三聯書店，2006年）。

華公使團首席代表、英國公使朱爾典（Sir John Jordan）決定給張氏保護，西人莊士敦（Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston）、李佳白（Gilbert Reid）支持溥儀及遺民，這些洋人對遺民的觀感又如何？還有，海外華商如香港中華總商會、大阪中華總商會、上海旅滬華商維持會等，多在經濟上支持遺民，海外華商的際遇及政治認同與遺民有哪些相同地方？五、清遺民江孔殷太史喜蛇宴，今天流行的「太史蛇羹」就是他曾盛宴朋友的食物，相傳不少遺民也喜美食佳餚，讀者可以多注意研究遺民的飲食文化，他們的品味可視為一種身分象徵。陳振濂在〈民國書法史論〉<sup>7</sup>中，提出「遺老群書法」的概念，盛稱遺民沈曾植、羅振玉的書法，今後可以多從書法藝術的角度，研究遺民書畫與身分認同的關係。

誠然，林氏已成功運用清遺民的個案，說明中國在二十世紀時如何從帝王邁向民族國家的歷程，不同知識分子群體的精神、思想及生活形態面對那些困難及轉變，呈現生活的多樣性，引證了林氏所說「在現實生存狀態下所形成的認同，毋寧也是以『複數的型態』來呈現的」（頁366），遺民認同問題非是某人或獨特價值聯繫，而是由獨特歷史背景，構成遺民主體及集體內在精神是多面體的特色。最後，本書「附錄：清遺民基本資料表」中羅列二百六十七位遺民的生卒、籍貫、任官經歷、辛亥後動向，對日後研究甚有貢獻。結合作者參考的資料，已見林氏成功地運用新文化研究方法，廣泛蒐集很多未刊日記及詩文集，發微遺民的私人場域、內心世界，及其與外在環境的互動關係。深信此書是作者研究清遺民的第一步成果，日後將對個別遺民及區域遺民作微觀的研究，也相信此書成為研究清遺民的必要參考書，期待作者由研究清遺民擴至歷代遺民，並確立遺民史學的研究領域。

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7 陳振濂：〈民國書法史論〉，《書法研究》，1993年第2期（1993年），頁56-90。



【附錄】 Appendix

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# 稿約

- 一、 《臺灣東亞文明研究學刊》（以下簡稱本學刊）於二〇〇四年六月創刊，為純學術性刊物，主旨期望以東亞為視野與方法，以經典及價值理念為主要課題，重新省思「傳統」與「現代」的關聯性，並以「東亞世界」之整體性觀點來研究文明與文化之內涵及其發展，奠定廿一世紀東亞文明與其他文明對話之基礎。本學刊為半年刊，發表園地全面公開，竭誠歡迎海內外各界人士賜稿。
- 二、 本學刊刊載以研究性論文為主，兼及研究討論、述評、書評及其他相關之論述。本學刊兼收中、英、日三語文稿，來稿應依本學刊〈撰稿格式〉寫作：中、日文論人文稿以一萬到二萬字為原則，英文論人文稿以十五頁到四十頁（兩倍行高或隔行打字）為原則；譯稿以學術名著為限，並須附考釋、註解及分析討論；其他各類文稿，中、日文以一萬字為限，英文以十五頁為限（以上均含註腳、註解、參考文獻及空白字元）。
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標示西文書籍、期刊或報章雜誌之主要名稱與次要名稱時，請以英文冒號區隔；冒號後首字字首請一律大寫；  
西文書籍、期刊或報章雜誌之名稱中，若字首大寫會變更該字字義時，該字首請維持小寫；

西文書籍、期刊或報章雜誌之名稱中，若有標音符號時，請依原文標示。

七、中文文稿標示中、日文書籍篇章、期刊論文、研討會論文、學位論文、新聞報導、專欄散文、讀者投書等之名稱時，請加篇名號（〈、〉）表示；

日文文稿標示中、日文書籍篇章、期刊論文、研討會論文、學位論文、新聞報導、專欄散文、讀者投書等之名稱時，請加單引號（「、」）表示；

文稿標示西文書籍篇章、期刊論文、研討會論文、學位論文、新聞報導、專欄散文、讀者投書等之名稱時，請加半形引號（"、"、'、'）表示；

西文書籍篇章、期刊論文、研討會論文、學位論文、新聞報導、專欄散文、讀者投書等之名稱中，若有標音符號時，請參考原文及學界慣例標示。

八、中文文稿內文段落首行縮排兩格全形字元，並以「新細明體」字型表示；

日文文稿內文段落首行縮排一格全形字元，並以「MS Mincho」字型表示；

英文文稿內文段落首行縮排四格半形字元，並以「Times New Roman」字型表示。

九、引用詞句時，請以引號標示（優先使用單引號）；標示引話，請依原文將句尾標點符號標於下引號之前；標示專有名詞或特殊用意之詞句，請將句尾標點符號標於下引號之後；

引用段落時，不必加引號，一律隔行抬頭，並左右縮排三格全形字元；

引用文字，中、日文文稿以「同級數標楷體」字型表示，英文文稿以「縮一級Times New Roman」字型表示；

引用時若有所按，請加夾注號（〔、〕、[、]）表示；引用時若有省略，請加夾注號並刪節號（〔……〕、[……]）表示。

十、文稿一律使用每頁下緣之註腳；

註號一律置於標點符號之後；

註腳參照一律使用半形上標之阿拉伯數字，如：<sup>註23</sup>。

十一、文稿中之西曆紀年，正文部分請以漢字數字表示，夾注號內則以阿拉伯數字表示，如：一五三三年（1533）；

朝代年號一律以漢字數字表示；日、韓朝年號並請標注中國朝年號或西曆紀年，如：〔朝鮮〕世宗五年（明成祖永樂廿一年，1423）；

干支或其他曆法之紀年，均請標注西曆紀年；

文稿中之計量數字，原則上請以漢字數字表示，若以漢字數字表示

頗為冗長累贅時，則請改以阿拉伯數字表示，如：五十三人、3748名。

- 十二、翻譯人名第一次提及時，請附原名  
人名之翻譯，原則上請以其著作之中文、日文譯本所列者為準；中、日、韓文譯音，請參考學術慣例、教育部《中文譯音使用原則》或中國大陸《漢語拼音方案》。
- 十三、內文如需使用圖、表、照片，須註明資料來源或出處，並加以編號；表格名稱列於表格上方，表格註解列於表格下方；圖片名稱、圖片註解均列於圖片下方。圖片或照片之電子檔案，請以灰階之JPG或GIF檔案格式儲存。
- 十四、論文性質之文稿，文末應列引用書目，並以文稿中確有引用者為限；  
除引用書目外，另可增列參考書目。
- 十五、若一文獻同時引用相異版本時，請個別標注版本別。

## 貳、首次引用

- 一、古典文獻：
  - 例：毛亨：《毛詩傳箋》（清嘉靖廿一年木瀆周氏枕經樓刊本，鄭玄箋，陸德明音義），卷1，頁8。
  - 例：〔宋〕司馬光：《資治通鑑》（〔南宋〕鄂州覆〔北宋〕刊龍爪本，約西元十二世紀），卷2。
  - 例：那波魯堂：《學問源流》（〔日本〕寬政十一年刊本）（大阪：崇高堂，1733年），頁22。
  - 例：《聖經·創世紀》（和合本）二章7節。
  - 例：《聖經·約伯記》（和合本）卅八至四十一章。
  - 例：《聖經·詩篇》（和合本）一一九篇。
  - 例：《古蘭經》二章1節。
  - 例：《古蘭經》五至七章。
  - 例：《古蘭經》五十五章26-35節。
  - 例：《大乘唯識論》，《大正新脩大藏經》，第31冊。
  - 例：《大寶積經》，第20卷，《大正新脩大藏經》，第11冊。
  - 例：《法句經》，南傳《經藏·小部》。
- 二、書籍（單一著／編者）：
  - 例：李明輝（編）：《中國經典詮釋傳統》（臺北：喜馬拉雅基金會，2002年），頁19-25。

- 例：上海古籍出版社（編）：《明代筆記小說大觀》（上海：上海古籍，2005年），頁24-36。
- 例：溝口雄三：《日本人視野中的中國學》，李甦平、龔穎、徐滔（譯）（北京：中國人民大學出版社，1996年）。
- 例：福井憲彥（編）：『歴史のメトドロジー』（東京：新評論出版社、1984年）、頁119-125。
- 例：牧野謙次郎：『黙水居隨筆』（東京：東洋文化学会、1932年）、頁32。
- 例：相良亨：『日本人論』（『相良亨著作集』、第5冊）（東京：ペリかん社、1992年），頁37。
- 例：劉明鍾：『韓国의陽明學』（首爾：同和出版公社、1983年）
- 例：Frank-Jurgen Richter (ed.), *The East Asian Development Model: Economic Growth, Institutional Failure, and the Aftermath of the Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), pp. 133-140.
- 例：Kodansha (ed.), "Yamaga Sokô (1622-1685)" in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), pp. 221-257.

三、 書籍（兩位著／編者）：

- 例：楊儒賓、黃俊傑（編）：《中國古代思維方式探索》（臺北：正中書局，1996年），頁25-45。
- 例：吉田忠雄、李天民（編）：『現代中国の政治と經濟』（東京：新評論出版社、1976年）、頁20-28。
- 例：Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner (eds.), *The Founders' Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 115.

四、 書籍（多位著／編者）：

- 例：廖正宏等：《光復後臺灣農業政策的演變：歷史與社會的分析》（臺北：中央研究院民族學研究所，1986年），頁33-55。
- 例：Edward O. Laumann et al., *The Social Organization of Sexuality: Sexual Practices in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 20-35.

五、 書籍篇章：

- 例：張光裕：〈出土古文字材料與經典詮釋〉，收於葉國良（編）《文獻及語言知識與經典詮釋的關係》（臺北：臺大出版中心，2004年）。
- 例：賀麟：〈知行合一新論〉，收於張學智（編）《賀麟選集》（長春：吉林人民出版社，2005年），頁388。

- 例：張君勱：〈王陽明的哲學〉，《王陽明：中國十六世紀的唯心主義哲學家》江日新（譯），（臺北：東大圖書，1991年），頁69-90。
- 例：高瀨武次郎：〈自序〉，《陽明主義の修養》（東京：東亞堂書局，1918年）。
- 例：子安宣邦：「先王の道は礼楽のみ」、『江戸思想史講義』（東京：岩波書店、1998年）。
- 例：黃進興：「學術与信仰——論孔廟從祀制与儒家道統意識」、『優入聖域——權力・信仰与正当性』（台北：允晨文化、1994年）。
- 例：Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Aesthetic and Religious Experience," *The Relevance of the Beautiful and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- 例：W. Freeman Twaddell, "A Note on Old High German Umlaut," in Martin Joos (ed.), *Readings in Linguistics I: The Development of Descriptive Linguistics in America, 1925-1956*, 4th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).
- 例：Lai, Yuen-Ting, "Leibniz and Chinese Thought," in Allison Coudert, Richard H Popkin and Gordon M. Weiner (eds.), *Leibniz, Mysticism, and Religion* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998), pp. 228-249.

## 六、 期刊論文：

- 例：李豐楙：〈傳承與對應：六朝道經中『末世』說的提出與衍變〉，《中國文哲研究集刊》，第9期（1996年9月），頁91-130。
- 例：張如安、傅璇琮：〈日藏稀見漢籍《中興禪林風月集》及其文獻價值〉，《文獻》，2004年第4期（2004年）。
- 例：吳鐘逸：「陽明伝習録伝来考」、『哲学研究』、第5号（1978年）
- 例：Joshua A. Fogel, "'Shanghai-Japan:' The Japanese Residents' Association of Shanghai," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 59, 4 (Nov., 2000), pp. 927-950.
- 例：John M. Smith, "The Origin of Altruism," *Nature*, 393 (1998), pp. 639-40.
- 例：Chun-Chieh Huang, "Mencius' Hermeneutics of Classics," *Tao: A Journal of Comparative Philosophy*, 1, 1 (Dec., 2001), pp. 15-30.

## 七、 研討會論文：

- 例：房學嘉：〈芻議明清傳統禮制與地方化禮制的互動——以粵東梅州地區祖先崇拜為重點考察〉，東亞客家文化圈中的儒學與

教育：比較的視野研討會（臺北：臺灣大學東亞文明研究中心，2004年5月24日）。

例：Brian Doyle, "Howling Like Dogs: Metaphorical Language in Psalm 59", paper presented at the annual international meeting for the Society of Biblical Literature (Berlin: Society of Biblical Literature, June 19-22, 2002).

#### 八、學位論文：

例：吳宏一：《清代詩學研究》（臺灣大學中文研究所博士論文，1973年），頁20。

例：栗原剛：『伊藤仁齋の「道德」觀——「本体」「修為」論の構造から』（東京大学人文社会系研究科博士論文、1991年）、頁62。

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#### 九、報章雜誌：

例：余國藩：〈先知・君父・纏足——狄百瑞著《儒家的問題》商榷〉，李爽學（譯），《中國時報》，1993年5月20-21日，第39版（人間副刊）。

例：北田暁大：「評宮本直美『教養の歴史社会学——ドイツ市民社会と音楽』」、『朝日新聞』、2006年4月9日。

例：Michael A. Lev, "Nativity Signals Deep Roots for Christianity in China," *Chicago Tribune* [Chicago], Mar. 18, 2001, Sec. 1, p. 4.

例：William S. Niederkorn, "A Scholar Recants on His 'Shakespeare' Discovery," *New York Times*, June 20, 2002, Arts section, Midwest ed.

例：Steve Martin, "Sports-Interview Shocker," *New Yorker*, May 6, 2002, p. 84.

### 參、再次引用

例：余國藩：〈先知・君父・纏足〉；吳宏一：《清代詩學研究》，頁30。

例：廖正宏等：《光復後臺灣農業政策的演變：歷史與社會的分析》，頁17。

例：John M. Smith, "The Origin of Altruism;" 例：Edward O. Laumann et al., *The Social Organization of Sexuality*, pp. 92-95.

例：前揭文；前揭書；前揭書，頁55。



例：Ibid; Ibid., pp. 22-30.

## 肆、引用書目

- 一、 引用書目不須編號，其格式比照註腳。
- 二、 引用書目請依文獻撰寫語言順序排列：與文稿所用語言相同者排列於前，其他語言則依條目多寡依序排列於後；  
中、日文書目請合併排列，西文書目請單獨排列；  
翻譯作品書目請依原作語言與原作者其他書目合併排列；  
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- 三、 中、日文書目請依作者姓氏筆畫序昇冪排列；西文書目請依作者姓氏字母序昇冪排列，並將姓氏置前；  
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同一作者之著作，請依著作出版年份序昇冪排列；  
若同一作者同一年有二本（篇）以上著作出版（發表）時，請於年份後依序加記小寫英文字母，如：1953a、1953b；  
若出版年份不詳者，請標明「出版年不詳」；  
古典文獻作者請於作者姓名前標示朝代，如：〔明〕羅欽順：《困知記》、〔清〕顧炎武：《原抄本顧亭林日知錄》；  
古典文獻可不標出版資訊，但請依中國朝代序昇冪排列；相同朝代者，請依作者姓氏筆劃數序或字母序昇冪排列；  
書目中若間雜有中、日、韓、越等多種東亞文獻時，可於作者姓名前標示國族或文化區，如：〔朝鮮〕李種徽：《東史志·高句麗藝文志》。
- 四、 引用書目所列之作者、名稱、年份及版本，請與內文、註腳保持一致。
- 五、 參考書目之格式，比照引用書目。