

氣的含義及其積極意義

金鵬程 (Paul R. Goldin)

唐梓彬譯, 陳偉強校對

提 要

“氣”作為一個含義豐富的字,與相當多的概念相互關聯,表現出極為複雜的內涵。但“氣”是中國哲學中的重要命題,所以歷來的研究者都希望梳理出“氣”的概念史。最近白一平(William H. Baxter)和沙加爾(Laurent Sagart)重構“氣”為 *C. qhəp-s, 其中 *C-表示不確定的輔音,與“吸”顯示出明顯的聯繫;而 *q^həp則表示呼吸。毫無疑問,“氣”的基本含義是“呼吸”(breath),而所有其他感官(senses)都從它派生出來。本文在此基礎上繼續對“氣”及其相關概念如陰陽、五行等進行研究,闡述“氣”之所以在中國上古時期能夠作為重要概念的三個主要原因及其積極意義:(1)“氣”以“神靈”的形式允許了疾病的概念化;(2)“氣”能賦予“天命”政治承襲理論合法性的地位;(3)傳統認為可藉學習控制“氣”以獲得非凡力量。最後為求使研究更完整,本文亦對“氣”的局限性作一討論。

關鍵詞: 氣 五行 陰陽 中國政治理論 中醫理論

一、什麼是“氣”?

“氣”作為一個含義豐富的中國文字,與相當多的各具獨特意義的概念相

互關聯。任何中國哲學研究者都希望了解“氣”的這些關聯意義，作為了解這一概念的歷史的途徑。若能明晰有關“氣”的字源(Etymology)，¹無疑能縮小那些模糊且令人費解的翻譯的範圍，例如“stuff”、“fluid”、“pneuma”、“ether”、“energy”(有時作“material energy”)和“vital force”等。其中一個著名的翻譯甚至應用了“心理物理元素”，²勇敢地嘗試以一個短語捕捉“氣”的全部突出內涵，但其效果卻顯得怪異。

“氣”一般有兩組含義：³一是指“呼吸”(breath)、“水氣”(vapor)和“空氣”(air)；另一方面則指“事物”(matter)、“材料”(material)、“存在於世界的實質形體”(the physical substance of the world)，因此也是“構成人體的物質”(the substance of the human body)及“維持個人能量的物理基礎”(the physical basis of one's energy)，甚至是“鬥志”(fighting spirit)。⁴但是到底哪一個意義先出現呢？而這些眾說紛紜的意義又是如何出現呢？

最近白一平(William H. Baxter)和沙加爾(Laurent Sagart)出版了《上古漢語新擬音系統》(*Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*)一書，當中詳細析述了一系列的上古小舌音聲母(uvular initials)，對上述疑問有頗大的啟發。⁵他們把“氣”擬音為*C. qhəp-s，其中*C-表示不確定的輔音，與“吸”顯示出明顯的聯繫；而*q^həp表示呼吸；所以“氣”(C. qhəp-s)只是反映了一個未知的前綴(prefix)(在小舌音的擬音出現以前，“氣”與“吸”之間的聯繫並不明確)。⁶

1 字源(Etymology)指字的歷史，這些字根據語言學原理重構，而不是一系列以圖形組件的形態來代表某字的臆斷(這是中國研究中有害的常見錯誤)。見 Axel Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, ABC Chinese Dictionary Series (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 1—28, 這是簡要而權威的概述。

2 Daniel K. Gardner, *Learning to Be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), esp., p. 50.

3 《孟子》2A. 2 中的“浩然之氣”，兼具“氣”的兩種含義。

4 關於這最後的意義，參看 Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany, 1990), pp. 222—231.

5 *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 43—46. 該書的論述建基於前人潘悟雲(Pan Wuyun):《喉音考》，《民族語文》，1997年第5期，頁10—24。

6 例如 Schuessler 對“氣”的擬音為*kə(t)s，“吸”為*^həp，正是因為其所使用的系統並不包括小舌音聲母(uvular initials)。

“氣”的基本含義是“呼吸”(breath),殆無疑義,而所有其他意義都從它派生出來。這種見解在 21 世紀以前是不可行的,那時大多數的研究都集中於字形(graph),而較少關注字音;由於這些研究的方法論站不住腳,因此略欠說服力。⁷

當“氣”與“吸”的聯繫建立起來,顯然,“翕”、“噏”和“歙”三個含義為“吸入”的字同屬一個家族。在白一平和沙加爾的擬音系統中,三者均可識別為 *q^həp。這是個不小的問題,因為“翕”在醫學文獻中經常與“氣”相關,例如馬王堆出土文獻載:

幾已,內脊毋動,翕氣,抑下之,靜身須之,曰待贏。⁸

When you are nearly finished, do not move the inner spine; suck in the qi and push it down; keep your torso still while you wait for it; this is called “attending to gain.”⁹

這份出土文獻被現代編輯題名為《天下至道談》,內容主要記錄房中養生之道。¹⁰ 在這個特定的語境中,“翕”並非指呼吸之吸,而是特指把女性發生性

7 例如 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954—), II, p. 228。與很多人一樣,Needham 遵循許慎(卒於公元 120 年後)的觀點,認為“氣”是蒸氣的象形字。參考蔣人傑編纂,劉銳審訂:《說文解字集注》(上海:上海古籍出版社,1996 年),頁 77。也許,許慎是正確的;但沒有對該字本身作任何解說。前川捷三嘗試從古文字學的角度(然而沒有從語言學角度考慮),得出較公允的判斷。前川捷三著,小野澤一編:《甲骨文·金文に見える氣—氣の思想:中國における自然觀と人間觀の展開》(東京:東京大學出版會,1978 年),頁 14—17。

8 馬繼興:《馬王堆古醫書考釋》(長沙:湖南科學技術出版社,1992 年),頁 1039。

9 本文中所有英文翻譯都是筆者自己完成的。此段譯文,可比較 Donald J. Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Silk Manuscripts*, The Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998), pp. 430f。

10 這種技術被 R. H. van Gulik 冠名為“性的吸血鬼”(sexual vampirism)。見 R. H. van Gulik, *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period: With an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch'ing Dynasty, B. C. 206—A. D. 1644*, [typeset edition], Sinica Leidensia 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), I, p. 12。此外,筆者對此也有論述,見 Paul R. Goldin, “Introduction,” in R. H. van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca. 1500 B. C. till 1644 A. D.*, [revised edition], Sinica Leidensia 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. xxif; 其後又有:“The Cultural and Religious Background of Sexual Vampirism in Ancient China,” *Theology and Sexuality* 12.3 (2006), pp. 285—307。又見坂出祥伸、梅川純代:《“氣”の思想から見る道教の房中術:いまに生きる古代中國の性愛長壽法》(東京:五曜書房,2003 年)。

高潮的瞬間呼出的氣吸入。在上古音擬音系統裏,“翕氣”擬作 *q^həp C. qhəp-s, 這個詞組的半諧音(assonance)屬性,甚至對於那些不知二字同源的聽者來說也不會有錯。

《論語》時代較早的文獻材料,筆者以為它是相對較早的史料的寶庫,¹¹其中,“呼吸”這個較早的含義,確有文獻可徵:

出辭氣,斯遠鄙倍矣。¹²

May he avoid boorishness and turpitude in the words that he utters with his breath. ¹³

攝齊升堂,鞠躬如也,屏氣似不息者。¹⁴

He would gather up his skirt while ascending to the hall, as though bending his body; he would hold in his breath and seem not to be respiring. ¹⁵

但是在同一文獻中,“氣”(qi)也更普遍地指“軀體”:

肉雖多,不使勝食氣。¹⁶

Even when meat was plentiful, he did not let himself exceed what would

11 詳參 Paul R. Goldin, “Confucius and His Disciples in the *Analects*: The Basis for the Traditional View,” in *The Analects Revisited: New Perspectives on the Dating of a Classic*, ed. Martin Kern *et al.* (forthcoming).

12 程樹德撰,程俊英、蔣見元點校:《論語集釋》(北京:中華書局,1990年),卷15,《泰伯》,頁520。

13 可比較劉殿爵的翻譯。D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, 2nd edition (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press), p. 71.

14 程樹德撰,程俊英、蔣見元點校:《論語集釋》,卷19,《鄉黨上》,頁651。

15 可比較劉殿爵的翻譯。D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, p. 87.

16 程樹德撰,程俊英、蔣見元點校:《論語集釋》,卷20,《鄉黨中》,頁694。

batten his *qi*.¹⁷

同樣地，檢“氣”字在《墨子》和《晏子春秋》的用例，得知亦非單純指“呼吸”。如：

其為食也，足以增氣充虛，彊體適腹而已矣。¹⁸

[Under the Sages,] one would eat no more than what was sufficient to augment the *qi*, fill the emptiness, fortify the limbs, and satiate the belly.¹⁹

氣鬱而疾，志意不通，則仲由、卜商侍。²⁰

When (Confucius's) *qi* grew stagnant and he fell ill with his aspirations unrealized, Zhong You (542—480 B. C.) and Bu Shang (b. 507 B. C.) served him.

這種“氣”的概念在一系列的文本與哲學觀中得到印證。最有名的兩個例子是《管子》和《莊子》：

氣者，身之充也。²¹

17 可比較劉殿爵與筆者非常不同的翻譯，其讀“氣”作“餽”。D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, p. 91。

18 吳毓江撰，孫啓治點校：《墨子校注》（北京：中華書局，1993年），卷1，《辭過》，頁47。比較《墨子校注》，卷6，《節用中》，頁255：“足以充虛繼氣，強股肱，使耳目聰明，則止。”（When it is enough to fill the emptiness and sustain the *qi*, to strengthen the thighs and forearms, and to make the ears and eyes keen of hearing and keen of sight, stop [eating].）

19 可比較 Ian Johnston 的翻譯。Ian Johnston, *The Mozi: An Annotated Translation* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2010), p. 43; and Yi-pao Mei, *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse*, Probsthain's Oriental Series 19 (London, 1929), p. 25.

20 吳則虞：《晏子春秋集釋》（北京：中華書局，1962年），卷3，頁182。“景公問欲善齊國之政以干霸王，晏子對以官未具。”

21 黎翔鳳撰，梁運華整理：《管子校注》（北京：中華書局，2004年），卷13，《心術下》，頁778。可比較何寧：《淮南子集釋》（北京：中華書局，1998年），卷1，《原道》，頁82。“氣者，生之充也。”（*Qi* is what fills living things.）

Qi is what fills the body. ²²

人之生，氣之聚也；聚則為生，散則為死。²³

The birth of a human being is an agglomeration of *qi*. While it agglomerates, there is life; when it disperses, there is death. ²⁴

最後，如上所述，“氣”也可以指一個人的氣質、風度或情緒，例如：

居移氣，養移體。²⁵

One's dwelling affects one's temperament [just as] nourishment affects one's body. ²⁶

孝子之有深愛者，必有和氣。²⁷

A filial son who has deep love [for his parents] must have a harmonious temperament. ²⁸

百姓無怨氣。²⁹

22 可比較 W. Allyn Rickett 的翻譯。W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), II, p. 59.

23 郭慶藩輯，王孝魚整理：《莊子集釋》（北京：中華書局，1961年），卷7下，《知北遊》，頁733。

24 可比較 Burton Watson 的翻譯，他解釋“氣”為“呼吸”（breath）。Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang tzu, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies 80* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 235.

25 焦循撰，沈文倬點校：《孟子正義》（北京：中華書局，1987年），卷27，頁933。

26 可比較劉殿爵的翻譯，D. C. Lau, *Mencius: A Bilingual Edition*, revised edition (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2003), p. 303.

27 《禮記正義》，載《十三經注疏》，卷47，《祭義》，頁1594a。

28 可比較 James Legge 的翻譯，其將“和氣”譯作“a bland air”。James Legge (1815—1897), *The Li Ki, in The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1885), II, p. 215.

29 《史記》（北京：中華書局，1959年），卷118，《淮南衡山列傳》，頁3090。

The common people are not inclined to complain.³⁰

論及“氣”與人的性情最有趣的是以下出自《春秋繁露》這段文字：

公孫之《養氣》曰：“裏藏泰實則氣不通，泰虛則氣不足，熱勝則氣□，寒勝則氣□，泰勞則氣不入，泰佚則氣宛至，怒則氣高，喜則氣散，憂則氣狂，懼則氣懾。凡此十者，氣之害也，而皆生於不中和。”³¹

Nourishing qi by Gongsun [Nizi 尼子?] says: “When the internal storehouses [i. e. organs] are too full, the *qi* does not circulate; when they are too empty, the *qi* is insufficient. When heat dominates, the *qi* [lacuna]; when cold dominates, the *qi* [lacuna]. When one is overworked, the *qi* does not enter; when one is too idle, the *qi* arrives, but circuitously. When one is enraged, the *qi* rises; when one is happy, the *qi* is dispersed; when one is worried, the *qi* is crazed; when one is afraid, the *qi* is terrified. These ten [disorders] are impairments of *qi*, and they all arise from not being centered and harmonious.”³²

這段引文之所以值得關注，有以下幾個原因。首先，這是我們嘗試在一個較大的範式中協調“氣”的多重意義以進行研究的第一個文本。講中文的人一定注意到，正如我們今天也很容易看出，“氣”具有多重意義，例如：呼吸(breath)、軀體(the substance of the body)、一個人的神態或性情等。這自然會激發我們去構

30 可比較 Burton Watson 的翻譯。Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty*, revised edition, *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies* 65 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), II, p. 342; and Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, *Records of the Historian* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1974), p. 330.

31 蘇輿撰，鍾哲點校：《春秋繁露義證》（北京：中華書局，1992年），卷16，《循天之道第七十七》，頁447及其後。

32 可比較 Sarah A. Queen 和 John S. Major 的翻譯。Sarah A. Queen and John S. Major, *Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn: Attributed to Dong Zhongshu*, *Translations from the Asian Classics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), p. 574.

建一個足以涵蓋“氣”的所有內涵意義的框架。事實上,理清人體“氣”的變異與性情之關係是醫學理論的主要策略之一。(這點下文將有更詳細的論述。)

其次,我們藉這段文字可窺見儒學思想史上的一些重要觀點及對於相關問題的回應。《春秋繁露》一般認為由漢代法理學家兼學者董仲舒(約前 198—約前 107)所著,³³但現代學術界曾對董仲舒的著作權提出質疑,認為當中並沒有多少文字出自董仲舒之手。³⁴因此,到目前為止,要確定《春秋繁露》的著作權誰屬幾乎是不可能的。³⁵再者,不管是誰把這段引文保存在《春秋繁露》中,一般都把著作權歸於“公孫之《養氣》”這個包含一個具有多種合理詮釋的詞語的提法。學者多以“養氣”為這段文字的標題,我認為這是極有可能的,因為接在“養氣”後面的是動詞“曰”字,而“曰”又通常出現於人名或文章名之後。以此觀之,“養氣”作為篇名是可以成立的。然而,“養氣”可以作一種練習或是一種培養元氣的傳統的指稱。

那麼這位“公孫”是誰呢?從字面上看,“公孫”即“公爵的孫子”(Ducal Grandson),是一個經常在《左傳》等文獻出現的稱謂,指的是現任或前任統治者的孫子。但是隨著時間的推移,“公孫”漸漸變成一個姓氏,而不再是一個稱謂。因此,“公孫”作為“養氣”的作者,雖然可能是某公爵的孫子,但在其身處的時代則不一定是某位在位公爵的後裔。有些注釋家認為“公孫”就是指一位在世時間不確定的哲學家公孫尼子,其著作《公孫尼子》二十八篇著錄於漢代

33 董仲舒及其相關問題可參考福井重雅:《漢代儒教の史的研究——儒教の官學化をめぐる定説の再検討》(東京:汲古書院,2005年),頁387—404。

34 在這個問題上,在任何語種的著作中著力最深的三種研究都不約而同地得出了相似的結論: Michael Loewe, *Dong Zhongshu, a “Confucian” Heritage and the Chunqiu fanlu*, *China Studies* 20 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 191—224; Sarah A. Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn, According to Tung Chung-shu*, *Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 39—112; and Gary Arbuckle, “Restoring Dong Zhongshu (BCE 195—115): An Experiment in Historical and Philosophical Reconstruction” (Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1991), pp. 315—542.

35 Queen and Major, p. 27f., 列出本章節後標明: “Works by Dong Zhongshu or members of his immediate circle, including first-generation disciples (ca. 130—100 B. C. E.),” 但筆者並沒有見到其論述的根據。

的官方書目《漢書·藝文志》。³⁶ 雖然《公孫尼子》一書已經不傳於世，³⁷ 但如果這是一個確實無誤的引文，那麼我們可以推斷：公孫尼子主張通過控制個人的氣以尋求內心的平靜。除此之外，公孫尼子把平靜的心理狀態稱之為“中和”，這又可能與《中庸》這部名著所見的傳統相關聯，因為書中也用了“中和”這個獨特的詞語。³⁸

不管公孫尼子的可信度如何，《養氣》主張氣作為存在於人體的一種材料或物質，其變化乃是人的性情變化的基本原因。由此推而廣之，氣可以說就是構成世界的一種物質。³⁹ 氣以同樣的方式在人體內循環，⁴⁰ 人們乃認為它同樣在宇宙進行週期運行：

精氣一上一下，圜周複雜，無所稽留，故曰天道圜。⁴¹

The essential *qi* rises and falls, cycling in convolutions, never halting.

Thus it is said that the Way of Heaven is cyclical. ⁴²

在關於身體和宇宙的討論中，氣常被分為相輔相成的方面，最常見的是

³⁶ 班固撰，顏師古注：《漢書》（北京：中華書局，1962年），卷30，《藝文志》，頁1725。

³⁷ 有關公孫尼子與最近出土的郭店楚簡之間存在的可能聯繫（關於公孫尼子的身份的進一步資料，不贅），參閱 Paul R. Goldin, *After Confucius: Studies in Early Chinese Philosophy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 56f.

³⁸ 《禮記正義》，卷52，頁1625b：“致中和，天地位焉，萬物育焉。”（If one brings about equilibrium and harmony, Heaven and Earth will attain their respective positions and the Myriad Creatures will be nourished thereby.）現存《樂記》有同樣的用語（《禮記正義》，卷39，頁1545a），也許具有重要意義，因為有些注家認為《禮記》中的《樂記》是公孫尼子所撰，例如張守節（fl. A. D. 737）：《史記正義》，卷24，頁1234n；Cf. Scott Cook, “Yue Ji 樂記—Record of Music: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary,” *Asian Music* 26.2 (1995), pp. 3—7.

³⁹ 如《鶡冠子》：“莫不發於氣。”（There is nothing that does not emerge from *qi*.）可參考黃懷信：《鶡冠子彙校集注》（北京：中華書局，2004年），卷5，《環流》，頁73。

⁴⁰ 例如：呂不韋著，陳奇猷校釋：《呂氏春秋新校釋》（上海：上海古籍出版社，2002年），卷20，《達鬱》，頁1382。其云：“精氣欲其行也。”（It is desirable that the refined *qi* circulate.）

⁴¹ 呂不韋著，陳奇猷校釋：《呂氏春秋新校釋》，卷3，《圜道》，頁174。

⁴² 可比較 John Knoblock 與 Jeffrey Riegel 的翻譯。John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 110.

陰、陽和五行(或五德),即金、木、水、火、土。而陰陽的指涉對象往往也是五行的指涉對象;近幾十年來已出現了不少具有說服力的相關研究,⁴³因此本文不在此贅言;但我要強調一個基礎理論作為以下論述的基準:理論家把氣的五個階段分成不同的序列。最常見的兩種序列便是相生和相剋,⁴⁴前者最終產生另一個元素,而後者則最終能壓倒另一個元素。重要的是,它們在過程之中始終遵循相同的序列。

相生: 土→金→水→木→火

相剋: 土←水←火←金←木

這些關係的基本原理常常不很明確(甚至存在爭議),但有的如水剋火的原理則是可直觀理解的。這類序列的意義在於把永恒循環概念化:事物快速通過五行的序列順次移動,並且在每一循環結束後重新開始順序移動。這樣的一個週期通常被認為是一年,而每個階段產生的氣則代表新的一季。然而,這種說法在實踐上有一定的困難,因為古時中國和我們現在一樣都是一年經過四季(春、夏、秋、冬)更替,而不是五季。於是有些文獻嘗試插入第五季以克服這個解釋上的困難,正是由於理論受限所致。⁴⁵其他週期如一個王朝的循環則被認為需要很多年,甚至幾百年來完成。因此,不同週期在同一時間以不同的節奏運行這個設想並非荒謬。然後,這些週期又常被用來解釋觀察到的現象,只

43 例如 Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China*, Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions (Cambridge, 2000); John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the Huainanzi*, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany, 1993); Nathan Sivin, *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*, Science, Medicine, and Technology in East Asia 2 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1987); and Manfred Porkert, *The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence*, MIT East Asian Science Series 3 (Cambridge, 1974)。

44 除此之外,還有其他例子,如四季的正常進展——木、火、金、水,土在中,並不符合相生或相剋的概念。更多有關各種已證實的排序,見 Wolfram Eberhard, “Beiträge zur kosmologischen Spekulation Chinas in der Han-Zeit,” *Baessler Archiv* 16.1 (1933), pp. 1—100.

45 參考 Rickett, I, pp. 151—166.

是成立的例子不多。⁴⁶

二、論氣的積極意義

氣被視為中國上古時期一個重要的概念，約有三大原因：

(1) 氣與中國古代知識分子的反抗活動具有一致性，這大概源於戰國時期知識分子欲反對青銅時代鬼神思想的霸權控制。⁴⁷ 氣這種新意義特別能體現在疾病的觀念中。從有書面記錄開始，中國人習慣將大部分的疾病歸諸鬼神的力量。⁴⁸ 以下的甲骨卜辭是較典型的例子：

貞：王疾身，維妣己害？⁴⁹

Divined: The King is sick to his body; is Ancestress Ji harming [him]?

壬寅卜，殼貞：王尤 [或疣?]，維父乙害？⁵⁰

Scapulimancy on *renyin* day. Ke divined: The King is unwell [or perhaps “has a wart”]; is Father Yi harming [him]?

疾病是在商代甲骨占卜文化中所見最受關注的話題之一，因為疾病被時人解

46 關於以氣說明經濟週期的例子，可以參考 Paul R. Goldin, “Economic Cycles and Price Theory in Early Chinese Texts,” in *Between Command and Market: Economic Thought and Practice in Early China*, ed. Elisa Sabattini and Christian Schwermann (forthcoming).

47 關於以鬼神的對等排斥作為道德規範的依據，可參考 Paul R. Goldin, *Confucianism, Ancient Philosophies 9* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), p. 13f. 《表記》紀錄了這個趨勢：“殷人尊神，率民以事神。”(The men of Yin [i. e., Shang] honored spirits and led its people to serve them.) “周人尊禮尚施”(The men of Zhou honor ritual and esteem philanthropy.)，見《禮記正義》，卷 44，頁 1642a。比較 Franklin Perkins, *Heaven and Earth Are Not Humane: The Problem of Evil in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, World Philosophies (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2014), p. 16。

48 李經緯、張志斌主編：《中醫學思想史》(長沙：湖南教育出版社，2003 年)，頁 12—14。

49 郭沫若主編：《甲骨文合集》(北京：中華書局，1979—1983 年)，頁 822a。

50 同上，頁 2235a1。

釋為神靈顯示不滿的一種形式。因此,每當國王病倒時必須馬上查明該神靈的身份。如果不能及時地平息神靈的不滿,神靈可能會繼續肆虐,為人世帶來更多的悲慘和不幸。⁵¹ 因為甲骨文內容的涵蓋範圍很窄,我們不能排除疾病概念在其他情況下的使用例子,存在未被紀錄下來的可能性。但是王族對於疾病來源的唯一解釋是:疾病源於神靈憤怒而降災於人。

疾病作為因惡神上身而起的觀念,在文獻材料中亦多有印證。⁵² 例如以下《左傳》中的一個故事,撰作年代至少在商代之後一千年:⁵³

公疾病,求醫于秦,秦伯使醫緩為之。未至,公夢疾為二豎子,曰:彼良醫也,懼傷我,焉逃之?

其一曰:居肓之上,膏之下,若我何?

醫至,曰:疾不可為也,在肓之上,膏之下。攻之不可,達之不及,藥不至焉,不可為也。

公曰:良醫也。厚為之禮而歸之。⁵⁴

51 參考劉源:《商周祭祖禮研究》(北京:商務印書館,2004年),頁237—265;Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 19ff.; David N. Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca. 1200—1045 B. C.)*, China Research Monograph 53 (Berkeley: Institute for East Asian Studies, University of California, 2000), pp. 102f.; Michiharu Itō, “Religion and Society,” in *Studies in Early Chinese Civilization: Religion, Society, Language, and Palaeography*, ed. Gary F. Arbuckle (Osaka: Kansai Gaidai University, 1996), I, pp. 38—49; and Tsung-tung Chang, *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelinschriften: Eine paläographische Studie zur Religion im archaischen China*, Veröffentlichungen des Ostasiatischen Seminars der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Universität, Frankfurt / Main B. 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 34—62.

52 另一個例子見《莊子》,參考 Alfred Leder, “Ein geistreicher Exorzismus im *Zhuangzi* 19, 6,” *Asiatische Studien* 67.1 (2013), pp. 75—85。

53 這個故事可追溯至公元前581年,但相關的文字紀錄可能來自4世紀。筆者曾經對《左傳》的創作年代進行研究,可參考“The Hermeneutics of Emmentaler,” *Warring States Papers* 1 (2010), pp. 75—78。但該資料不容易找到;也可參考 Wai-ye Li, *The Readability of the Past in Early Chinese Historiography*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 253 (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2007), pp. 33—59。

54 楊伯峻編撰:《春秋左傳注》(北京:中華書局,1990年),“成公十年”,頁849及其後。

Lord (Jing of Jin 晉景公, r. 599—581 B. C.) fell ill and requested a doctor from Qin. Lord [Huan 桓] of Qin (r. 603—577 B. C.) sent Doctor Huan to treat him. Before he arrived, the Lord [of Jin] had dreamt that his illness was two boys, [one of whom] said: “He is a good doctor; I fear that he will harm us. How shall we avoid him?”

The other said: “If we lodge above the diaphragm and beneath the fat below the heart; what can he do to us?”

When the doctor arrived, he said: “The illness cannot be treated; it is above the diaphragm and beneath the fat below the heart. It cannot be attacked; it cannot be reached [sc. by acupuncture]; and medicine will not arrive there. Thus [the disease] cannot be treated.”

The Lord [of Jin] said: “You are a good doctor.” He did generous ceremonies for him and sent him home.⁵⁵

注家常把故事中的兩個男孩理解為趙同和趙括的鬼魂，二人早於公元前583年被景公處死。這種解釋排除了景公得病的不明首尾，而把其死歸因於超自然力量即於鬼魂復仇，令人覺得景公是死有餘辜的。

在故事中，“氣”把疾病重新概念化，視為物質損耗或失調的症狀。⁵⁶《左傳》中另有一個非常不同的例子：

天有六氣。降生五味，發為五色，徵為五聲，淫生六疾。六氣曰：陰、陽、風、雨、晦、明也。分為四時，序為五節；過則為蓄，陰淫寒疾，陽淫熱疾，風淫末疾，雨淫腹疾，晦淫惑疾，明淫心疾。⁵⁷

55 可比較以下翻譯：Li, p. 281; and James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (N. d.; rpt., Taipei: SMC, 1991), V, p. 374.

56 比較朱建平：《中國醫學史研究》（北京：中華書局，2003年），頁70—72；李經緯、張志斌主編：《中醫學思想史》，頁62—83。

57 楊伯峻編撰：《春秋左傳注》，“昭公元年”，頁1222。

There are six kinds of *qi* under Heaven. When they are born [in plants and animals, they produce] the Five Flavors; they emerge as the Five Colors; they are discerned as the Five Tones; when they overflow, they produce the Six Ailments. The six kinds of *qi* are *yin*, *yang*, wind, rain, darkness, and light. Their division forms the Four Seasons, their order the Five Measures (i. e., either the five tones of the pentatonic scale or five fifths of the calendar year). But in excess they cause calamities. An overflow of *yin* causes cold ailments; an overflow of *yang* causes hot ailments; an overflow of wind causes ailments in the extremities; an overflow of rain causes ailments in the abdomen; an overflow of darkness causes ailments of delusion; an overflow of light causes ailments in the heart. ⁵⁸

引文所見的五行系統與上文提到的並不相同(它較諸一般認為漢代或以後發展成熟的五行思想為早),它把變化多端的氣分為六種不同的類型,而六者必須保持適當的平衡,但其排列方式是類似的。在這裏,可感知的身體疾病隨著某一種或另一種達到過度程度的氣而發生。

另一個以氣作為基礎的疾病理論,側重於總體的氣的存儲,而不是不同種類的氣之間的平衡。例如:根據《黃帝內經》的記載,人們無知地通過自虐的方式消耗自身的氣使生命早逝:

以酒為漿,以妄為常。醉以入房,以欲竭其精,以耗散其真。不知持滿,不時御神,務快其心,逆於生樂,起居無節,故半百而衰也。⁵⁹

[People of today] take liquor as their beverage, and debauchery is their

58 可比較 Sivin 的翻譯。Sivin, *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*, p. 55; and Legge, V, pp. 580f.

59 山田業廣(1808—1881)著,郭秀梅、岡田研吉、加藤久幸校點,崔仲平審訂:《素問次注集疏》(北京:學苑出版社,2004年),《上古天真論》,頁20—22。

norm. They enter the bedroom drunk; they expend their vital essence [i. e. their refined *qi*] in desire and wastefully disperse their original substance. They do not know how to maintain plenitude or how to control their spirit as befits the moment; they are devoted to quickening their hearts and are opposed to life-affirming pleasures. They are immoderate in their activity and repose, and thus decline at half a century. ⁶⁰

同一文本的不同部分解釋：這種耗盡氣的身體狀況稱為“虛”；當患者遇到“病氣”時，最終會導致死亡。

岐伯曰：“風雨寒熱不得虛，邪不能獨傷人。卒然逢疾風暴雨而不病者，蓋無虛，故邪不能獨傷人。此必因虛邪之風，與其身形，兩虛相得，乃容其形。”⁶¹
Qibo⁶² said: “If wind, rain, cold, or heat do not gain access to a depleted [body], such pathogens alone cannot harm a person. If one suddenly meets a serious wind or vicious rainstorm and does not become sick, it is because there was no depletion. Thus a pathogen alone cannot harm a person. It must be that when a depleting and pathogenic wind engages a [depleted] body, the two depletions potentiate each other and invade the body.”⁶³

引文中的“邪”，筆者意譯為“病原體”(pathogen)，字面義為“邪氣”，這是一種

60 可比較 Paul U. Unschuld 和 Hermann Tessenow 的翻譯。Paul U. Unschuld and Hermann Tessenow, trs., *Huang Di nei jing su wen: An Annotated Translation of Huang Di's Inner Classic — Basic Questions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), I, pp. 32f.; and Sivin, *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*, p. 98.

61 澀江抽齋(1805—1858)著，郭秀梅、崔為、王錦鴻點校，崔仲平、岡田研吉、加藤久幸審訂：《靈樞講義》(北京：學苑出版社，2003年)，《百病始生》，頁886。

62 可參考朱建平：《中國醫學史研究》，頁1—8。

63 可比較 Sivin 的翻譯。Sivin, *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*, p. 100; 本文的標點理據亦據此書 (p. 101.9)。

會引發疾病的氣。⁶⁴ 這種氣常以風、⁶⁵雨、冷和熱的形式在世界各地流通,但它並不會危害健康的人;而那些事先已耗盡“正氣”的人將無法阻止“病氣”入侵身體(引文中的“客”顯然是從軍事文學借用的術語。)⁶⁶ 司馬遷(前 145?—前 86?)《史記·淳于意傳》⁶⁷ (fl. 180—154 B. C.) 提出幾乎完全相同的觀點,他形容某一患者:“病得之數飲酒以見大風氣。”⁶⁸

通過氣的觀念造成的思想革命最終成爲了以唯物主義爲基礎的否定鬼神存在的理由。時人非但不接受鬼神帶來疾病之說,有些作者更公開質疑鬼神存在之可能。王充(27—約 100) 是當中的代表,他寫道:

人之所以生者,精氣也,死而精氣滅,能爲精氣者,血脈也,人死血脈竭,竭而精氣滅,滅而形體朽,朽而成灰土,何用爲鬼?⁶⁹

That by which people are alive is their vital *qi*. When they die, their vital *qi* is extinguished. That which can produce vital *qi* are the blood vessels. When people die, their blood vessels dry out; when [the blood vessels] are dried out, the vital *qi* is extinguished; when [the vital *qi*] is extinguished, the body decays; when [the body] decays, it becomes ash

64 例如: 呂不韋著,陳奇猷校釋:《呂氏春秋新校釋》,《先己》,頁 146。其云:“精氣日新,邪氣盡去,及其天年。”

65 Shigehisa Kuriyama, *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine* (New York: Zone, 1999), p. 236, 認爲風和氣是常常可以互換的概念;但這是一種誤導,更準確的說法應該是:風可以被理解爲一種類型的氣。這種簡化和不實的陳述削減了 Shigehisa Kuriyama 這書的價值。

66 “客”是侵略軍在軍事手冊中的標準術語;例如: 孫武撰,曹操等注,楊丙安校理:《十一家注孫子校理》(北京:中華書局,1999 年),《九地》,頁 246 及其後。

67 對於這個診斷之歸於淳于意之說,筆者持保留態度,因爲近年來的分析展示了該文本材料來源的複雜性。特別參考 Elisabeth Hsu, *Pulse Diagnosis in Early Chinese Medicine: The Telling Touch*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 68 (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 49—61; 也參考 Miranda Brown, *The Art of Medicine in Early China: The Ancient and Medieval Origins of a Modern Archive* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 70—83。對本文而言,引文中的思想比它作者的身份更爲重要。

68 《史記》,卷 105,《扁鵲倉公列傳》,頁 2812。

69 黃暉:《論衡校釋》(附劉盼遂集解),《論死》,頁 871。

and dust. By what means would it become a ghost?⁷⁰

如筆者之前所言，⁷¹這段文字之所以常被引用，是因為它充滿活力和意義明確。然而事實上很多中國人在王充以後至現在的世紀仍然相信鬼神之說。

因此，我們有必要在這裏作一個重要的歸結：“氣”的新世界觀，並沒有徹底和即時地取代了疾病的舊有解釋，疾病依然被視為鬼神附體的結果。⁷²從上引《左傳》的例子看來，這兩個概念共存了幾個世紀。另一個例子是“注”這個術語（在“鬼注”一詞中，其意謂“鬼上身”），中國的醫生致力於把氣的理論歸類為因為瘟疫的力量如病氣所導致，但隨即又以儀式作治療手段，這顯然是從驅魔中借來的。⁷³同樣地，道士聲稱驅逐魔鬼會帶來疾病；這種話語中帶恐嚇的力量，是他們從人群中得到崇敬的主要手段之一。⁷⁴他們毫不費力地接納了惡魔帶有氣這個的想法。⁷⁵

馬王堆出土的《五十二病方》是另一個具有啟發性的例子。它告訴我們，風氣可以把傷口惡化，並告知抵消的方法：

70 可比較 Alfred Forke 的翻譯。Alfred Forke (1867—1944), *Lun-hêng* (1907; rpt., New York: Paragon, 1962), I, p. 191.

71 “The Consciousness of the Dead as a Philosophical Problem in Ancient China,” in *The Good Life and Conceptions of Life in Early China and Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. R. A. H. King, Chinese-Western Discourse 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 81f.

72 可比較 Lisa Raphals, *Divination and Prediction in Early China and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 317—321.

73 見 Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, ed. Bernard Faure, Asian Religions & Cultures (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 23—39; Li Jianmin, “Contagion and Its Consequences: The Problem of Death Pollution in Ancient China,” in *Medicine and the History of the Body: Proceedings of the 20th, 21st and 22nd International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine — East and West*, ed. Yasuo Otsuko et al. (Tokyo: Ishiyaku EuroAmerica, 1999), pp. 201—222; and Sivin, *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*, pp. 102—106.

74 大淵忍爾：《初期の道教》（東京：創文社，1991年），頁87—98。

75 Cf. Strickmann, p. 72ff.; also Christine Mollier, “Visions of Evil: Demonology and Orthodoxy in Early Daoism,” in *Daoism in History: Essays in Honour of Liu Ts'un-yan*, ed. Benjamin Penny, Routledge Studies in Taoism (London and New York, 2006), p. 75. Yuri Pines 曾向我指出《春秋左傳注》的意義，頁196及其後（莊公十四年即前680年）；那裏的怪物——如大蛇——被解釋為人們的“畏懼之氣”所產生出來的。

諸傷,風入傷,傷癰痛……下膏勿絕,以驅寒氣。⁷⁶

Various wounds become abscessed and painful when wind enters them. . . . Continually push lard down [into the wound] so as to expel the cold *qi*.⁷⁷

但是,同樣的文本還包含了大量的驅魔詛咒,其使用目的乃用於對抗由疢之精魂造成的疾病,如下文:

湮汲一[杯]入奚蠡中,左承之,北嚮,嚮人禹步三,問其名,即曰:某某年□今□。飲半[杯],曰:病□□已,徐去徐已。即覆。⁷⁸

Draw one cup of stagnant water into a *xili* gourd. Hold it with the left hand and face north. Face [the afflicted] person and do the Pace of Yu three times. Ask his or her name, then say: “Such-and-such a year . . . now . . .” Drink half the glass, and say: “Illness . . . desist! Gently depart; gently desist.” Then turn [the cup] over.⁷⁹

(2) 我們把焦點從醫學轉向政治:有關“氣”的概念在應用上的第二個值得注意的地方,即涉及皇朝更替。從西周起,有關政治合法性的主要理論是天命。⁸⁰《尚書》中傳世的《多士》篇載有現存最佳的相關理論之一:

76 馬繼興:《馬王堆古醫書考釋》,頁361。

77 可比較 Harper 的翻譯。Harper, p. 230.

78 馬繼興:《馬王堆古醫書考釋》,頁414。

79 可比較 Harper 的翻譯。Harper, p. 243, 他把“年”(nian)解釋為奚蠡之名。

80 這個概念,可參考羅新慧:《周代天命觀念的發展與嬗變》,《歷史研究》,2012年第5期,頁4—18;鄧佩玲:《天命、鬼神與祝禱:東周金文嘏辭探論》(臺北:藝文印書館,2011年),頁30—48; Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B. C.*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 313—317; 小南一郎:《天命と徳》,《東方學報》,1992年第64期,頁1—59。Herrlee G. Creel 之論被他對政治體制的封建觀念所損壞,見 Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 93—100。

我有周佑命，將天明威，致王罰，敕殷命終于帝。肆爾多士！非我小國敢弋殷命。惟天不畀允罔固亂，弼我，我其敢求位？惟帝不畀，惟我下民秉爲，惟天明畏。⁸¹

We, possessors of Zhou, assisted in the mandate; led by Heaven's brilliant authority, we brought about the King [of Yin's] punishment, setting the mandate of Yin aright and [thereby] fulfilling [the will of] the Deity. Thus, you many officers, it was not that our small kingdom dared to take aim at the mandate of Yin; it was that Heaven, not cooperating with those who are deceitful, prevaricatory, ignorant, and disorderly, supported us. Would we dare seek this status [ourselves]? It was that the Deity would not cooperate [with you]. What our lowly people uphold and act upon is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven. ⁸²

這裏的大意是：天這個不可抗拒的道德力量，在人間選擇一位有德行的人作為其代理，並賦予他和他的子孫統治大地的權柄，是為“天子”。⁸³ 但是如果“天子”未能履行以德治國的義務，天將另擇新君去推翻他。周朝之主即以此解說他們把戰敗的商朝官員推翻並取而代之的原因：商朝的末代國王惡貫滿盈；他虐待臣民；所以天任命周人懲罰他，取代他的位置。周宣稱伐紂的意圖並非武力征服，而是順應天命而為。

幾百年後，當西面的強秦欲一統六國，建立新的政治秩序，卻很少以天命所歸作呼籲，⁸⁴ 這也許是由於天命不能切實表現出自己的美德和善行。於是氣再次派其用場。秦王朝提出的朝代更替思想基於五行理論中的“相剋”規則，從根本上否定了天命之說：

81 《尚書正義》，《十三經注疏》，卷16，頁219b。

82 可比較 Legge 的翻譯，Legge, III, pp. 454f.

83 關於這個術語，參考內竹康浩：《西周金文中的〈天子〉について》，《論集中國古代の文字と文化》（東京：汲古書院，1999年），頁105—130。

84 例如：安作璋、孟祥才討論秦始皇的宇宙觀，天命的概念似乎並沒有佔據重要地位。見安作璋、孟祥才：《秦始皇帝大傳》（北京：中華書局，2005年），頁432及其後。

凡帝王者之將興也,天必先見祥乎下民。

黃帝之時,天先見大螾大蜃,黃帝曰:土氣勝,土氣勝,故其色尚黃,其事則土。

及禹之時,天先見草木秋冬不殺,禹曰:木氣勝,木氣勝,故其色尚青,其事則木。

及湯之時,天先見金刃生於水,湯曰:金氣勝,金氣勝,故其色尚白,其事則金。

及文王之時,天先見火,赤烏銜丹書集於周社,文王曰:火氣勝,火氣勝,故其色尚赤,其事則火。

代火者必將水,天且先見水氣勝,水氣勝,故其色尚黑,其事則水。水氣至而不知,數備,將徙于土。⁸⁵

Whenever an emperor or king is about to flourish, Heaven must first cause an omen to appear to the people below.

At the time of the Yellow Thearch, Heaven first caused great earthworms and mole crickets to appear. The Yellow Thearch said: "Earth *qi* prevails." Since Earth *qi* prevailed, he exalted yellow as his color and modeled his activities after Earth.

When it came to the time of Yu, Heaven first caused grasses and trees to appear throughout autumn and winter without dying. Yu said: "Wood *qi* prevails." Since Wood *qi* prevailed, he exalted green as his color and modeled his activities after Wood.

When it came to the time of Tang, Heaven first caused metal blades to appear growing in the water. Tang said: "Metal *qi* prevails." Since Metal *qi* prevailed, he exalted white as his color and modeled his activities after Metal.

When it came to the time of King Wen, Heaven first caused fire to appear, and red rooks with cinnabar writings in their beaks to gather at the

85 吕不韋著,陳奇猷校釋:《吕氏春秋新校釋》,卷13,《應同》,頁682—683。

altars of Zhou. King Wen said: “Fire *qi* prevails.” Since Fire *qi* prevailed, he exalted red as his color and modeled his activities after Fire. What will replace Fire is surely Water. Heaven will first make it apparent that Water *qi* prevails; and since Water *qi* will prevail, [the new ruler] will exalt black as his color and model his activities after Water. Water *qi* will reach its limit, and then, without our knowing it, the sequence will come full circle and shift back to Earth.⁸⁶

從秦朝選擇以水德與己相配觀之，這五行系統的重要性便明晰起來（故電影中所見隨風飄揚的秦軍旗幟都是黑色的）⁸⁷。因此，秦國的崛起被描繪成既不好也不壞，這是物質屬性所決定的。可以肯定的是，以五行的強度預言秦的統治權之說，它最終必然被一個新力量——土——所更替。⁸⁸ 但天曉得這一天在未來的何時。

（3）氣的第三也是最後的發展情況：某些傳統認為只要學習如何控制氣——包括自己的和他人的，便可獲得非凡的力量。現存最古老的例子可能就是《管子》書中所收的《內業》一篇，其文曰：

凡物之精，此則為生，下生五穀，上為列星。流於天地之間，謂之鬼神，藏

86 可比較 Knoblock and Riegel 的翻譯。Knoblock and Riegel, p. 283.

87 《史記》，卷6，《秦始皇本紀》，頁237。

88 比較 John Louton, “Concepts of Comprehensiveness and Historical Change in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*,” in *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology: Papers Presented at the Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought Held at Harvard University, August 1976*, ed. Henry Rosemont, Jr., *Journal of the American Academy of Religion Thematic Studies* 50. 2 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984), pp. 106ff; 賀凌虛：《呂氏春秋的政治理論》（臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1970年），頁156—163。引文末句“數備，將徙于土”與 Michael J. Puett 所論相抵觸。見 Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 144: “It is possible that the first emperor believed that, having attained the fifth and final power, the Qin marked the end of the era begun by Huangdi [黃帝]. There would, then, never be a return to the power of earth.” 然而，Yuri Pines 同意 Puett 的看法，見 Pines, “The Messianic Emperor: A New Look at Qin’s Place in China’s History,” in *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited*, ed. Yuri Pines et al., Global, Area, and International Archive (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), p. 271.

於胸中,謂之聖人。⁸⁹

The vital essence of all creatures — it is this that endows them with life. Below, it gives birth to the five grains; above, it creates the arrayed stars. When it flows between Heaven and Earth, it is called “ghostly” and “spirit-like.” Those who store it within their breasts are called “sages.”⁹⁰

鬼和神在此被概念化爲“精”(在文中當“精氣”講),它在天地之間與聖人之間流動著。“聖人”是個具爭議性的哲學關鍵詞,在這裏應理解爲一位在胸中儲集氣的實踐者。《內業》又云:

能正能靜,然後能定。定心在中,耳目聰明,四枝堅固,可以爲精舍。精也者,氣之精者也。⁹¹

Only after one is able to be rectified and tranquil is one able to be settled. With a settled mind within, the ears and eyes will be keen of hearing and keen of sight; the four limbs will be firm and solid, and [one's body] can be a lodge for vital essence. Vital essence is the refined essence of *qi*.⁹²

若氣確實是身體的組成物質,按道理,修煉好氣便可強化身心和感知能力。⁹³

89 黎翔鳳撰,梁運華整理:《管子校注》,卷16,頁931。

90 可比較 Harold D. Roth 的翻譯。Harold D. Roth, *Original Tao: Inward Training (Nei-yeh) and the Foundations of Taoist Mysticism*, Translations from the Asian Classics (New York and Chichester, U. K. : Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 46; and Rickett, II, p. 39.

91 黎翔鳳撰,梁運華整理:《管子校注》,卷16,頁937。

92 可比較 Roth 的翻譯。Roth, p. 60; and Rickett, II, p. 43.

93 比較 Romain Graziani, “The Subject and the Sovereign: Exploring the Self in Early Chinese Self-Cultivation,” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC—220 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, *Handbuch der Orientalistik IV. 21 – 1* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), I, pp. 459—517; and Michael J. Puett, *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 57 (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2002)。最早而又最好的西文研究論著是 Henri Maspero (1883—1945), *Le Taoïsme et les religions chinoises*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), pp. 479—589。

雖然《內業》提供了幾個具體培育方案，但導師們可能在教授“內業”時會增加一些不成文的體育和冥想的練習，⁹⁴這點可以從後面的材料得知。⁹⁵

鄒衍(約前 305—約前 240)是這些最爲自命不凡的大師之一，他的作品並沒有流存下來，⁹⁶而只有司馬遷對其的精心描述：

乃深觀陰陽消息而作怪迂之變，《終始》、《大聖》之篇十餘萬言。其語闕大不經，必先驗小物，推而大之，至於無垠。先序今以上至黃帝，學者所共術，并世盛衰，因載其襍祥度制，推而遠之，至天地未生，窈冥不可考而原也。⁹⁷

Thus he carefully observed the growth and decay of *yin* and *yang* and wrote about freakish and enigmatic changes in essays such as *Ends and Beginnings* and *The Great Sage*, comprising more than 100,000 words. His statements were grandiose and extraordinary. He was sure to start by examining small things, then enlarge his [insight] by extending it until he reached infinity. He started by ordering contemporary affairs, reaching backwards [in time] to the Yellow Thearch, who furnished all scholars with their techniques. He [explained] the flourishing and decline of adjacent generations, and on this basis recorded a system of omens, which he extended far back to the time before Heaven and Earth had been born, to the abyssal darkness that cannot be studied or traced.⁹⁸

94 這是 Roth 的重要爭論, pp. 109—123。

95 關於這個巨大領域的介紹, 參看 Needham, V. 5, pp. 142—181; Livia Kohn, ed., *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 61 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1989)。

96 Nathan Sivin 對一些現存的殘章斷句做過分析, 見 Sivin, *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China: Researches and Reflections*, Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, U. K., and Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1995), Ch. IV (“The Myth of the Naturalists”)。他另有卓見認爲: 秦國作爲模範而以水氣必然取代周代的火氣(論見上文)是得自鄒衍的。

97 《史記》, 卷 74, 《孟子荀卿列傳》, 頁 2344。

98 可比較 William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994—), VII, p. 180; Yang and Yang, p. 71.

通過讓統治者認識不論大小(無垠)的歷史事件的意義,鄒衍成爲戰國時期各國爭相聘用的謀臣之一。然而,如下文所述,其學說唯一的難處是把其教義付諸實踐。

有些傳統說法竟然斷言:如果人能控制自己的氣將能控制其情緒。以下出自《淮南子》的一段關於氣的引文的基本理論,表現出引起共鳴的現象;而音調則也被理解爲氣,⁹⁹於是由音樂所帶動弦上的一種氣應能引起周遭相對應的氣中的交感神經反應。¹⁰⁰

夫榮啓期一彈,而孔子三日樂,感於和;鄒忌一徽,而威王終夕悲,感於憂。動諸琴瑟,形諸音聲,而能使人爲之哀樂。

When Rong Qiqi plucked [his instrument] once, Confucius was joyous for three days; he was stimulated by harmony. When Zou Ji (d. 319 B. C.) strummed once wildly, King Wei [of Qi] (r. 357—320 B. C.) was sorrowful all night; he was stimulated by melancholy.¹⁰¹ If one moves them with the *qin* and *se* zithers, and forms them with tones and sounds, one can make the people grieve or be joyous.

99 比較 Needham, IV. 1, pp. 134—141. 樂譜上的五音與五行有關之說,並不稀奇。見 Timoteus Pokora, *Hsin-lun (New Treatise) and Other Writings by Huan T'an (43 B. C. —28 A. D.)*, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 20 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1975), fragment 124. Cf. Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China*, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 42 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1982), pp. 67ff. 正因爲五行有不同的排列方式,故此五音的空間關聯至少有三個不同的系統;參考晏昌貴:《從出土文獻看先秦諸子的五音配置》,《中原文化研究》,2015年第3期,頁86—90。

100 比較 DeWoskin, pp. 72ff.; also John S. Major and Jenny F. So, “Music in Late Bronze Age China,” in *Music in the Age of Confucius*, ed. Jenny F. So (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian, 2000), pp. 29f.

101 有關這兩則逸聞的原典,見 Roger T. Ames, *The Art of Rulership: A Study of Ancient Chinese Political Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), p. 242nn40f. 也可比較 Yimin Jiang, “*Große Musik is tonlos*”: *Eine historische Darstellung der frühen philosophisch-daoistischen Musikästhetik*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 36. 135 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 45f.

正如筆者之前所論,¹⁰²這種世界觀的可怕後果是,假如統治者能掌握操縱其氣的技術,他可以迫使人民去感受他自己隨心而發的任何情緒。

三、限 制

若不論及氣的限制,本研究就不會完整。

好大喜功者往往醉心於憑藉氣而治國,但卻很難實踐。司馬遷記述人們起初對鄒衍趨之若鶩,但很快便變成了失望:

王公大人初見其術,懼然顧化,其後不能行之。¹⁰³

When kings and dukes and great men first beheld [Zou Yan's] technique, they were stunned and became devotees, but later they could not put it into practice.¹⁰⁴

大多數關於氣的浮誇理論的弱點,在於其經不起最基本的實證考驗。¹⁰⁵ 雖然部分原因是因為氣經常被分為相輔相成的方面,但它並沒有構成物質元素。在分子、離子等不佔席位的這樣一個框架中,氣的理論並不能解釋化學反應。這不是對中國本身的批評,因為西方的科學在拉瓦錫(Lavoisier)之前也好不了多少。¹⁰⁶ 但是,作為解釋事物特性的一種嘗試,這是一套過時的理論範式。

102 *After Confucius*, pp. 105f.

103 《史記》,卷74,頁2344。

104 可比較 William H. Nienhauser 的翻譯。Nienhauser, VII, p. 181; Yang and Yang, p. 72.

105 王充在此基礎上構建五行,那是最具破壞性的批評之一(儘管他是一個堅定的相信氣的人)。見黃暉:《論衡校釋》(附劉盼遂集解),《物勢》,頁146—152。比較 Nicolas Zufferey, *Wang Chong (27—97?): Connaissance, politique et vérité en Chine ancienne* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 280—285.

106 相關的文獻太多,不勝枚舉;給我尤其多啟發的是: Carleton E. Perrin, “The Chemical Revolution,” in *Companion to the History of Modern Science*, ed. R. C. Olby et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 264—277。

由於缺乏更有效的理論來解釋一些物理現象，衍生了許多假設氣具有等級的習慣說法。如不同程度的清和濁，就沒有解釋出現分歧的原因。王充曾試著就清和濁之間制訂區別，他認為災禍由病氣運行而起，而非由一般認為的上天譴告而生，¹⁰⁷但卻沒有設定災禍發生與不生的機制。

夫天無爲，故不言。災變時至，氣自爲之。夫天地不能爲，亦不能知也。腹中有寒，腹中疾痛，人不使也，氣自爲之。¹⁰⁸

Heaven does not act; thus it does not speak. Disasters and disturbances occur from time to time; *qi* spontaneously produces them. Heaven and earth cannot act, and moreover cannot be sentient. When there is cold in the belly, the belly will ache. People do not cause this; *qi* spontaneously produces it. ¹⁰⁹

針對這種上天降災禍以示訓誡或譴責的流行觀念，王充認為上天並無生命，故亦不能有所行動；而災難與腹痛這些物理現象必定由氣所致。¹¹⁰從表面上看，這種觀點似乎更現代，但沒有交代如何和爲何氣引致腹痛時而發生，因此其理論並無科學價值。¹¹¹在災難發生之後，人們往往可以說：“哦，那是濁氣。”而反之，當事情進展順利，則可以說：“今天是清氣！”¹¹²如此，人們並

107 王充與董仲舒沒有明確的關聯，但讀者可能會認為董仲舒是王充的批評對象，因為他使用這個詞是衆所周知的。參考《漢書》，卷 65，《董仲舒傳》，頁 2498。

108 黃暉：《論衡校釋》（附劉盼遂集解），《自然》，頁 785。

109 可比較 Forke 的翻譯。Forke, I, p. 101.

110 黃暉：《論衡校釋》（附劉盼遂集解），頁 634—648。

111 Needham, II, p. 386, 說：“If only he could have devised some hypotheses more fruitful for science and technology than the Yin and Yang dualism and the five elements, his services to Chinese thought would have been greater still.”

112 Leo Tolstoy (1828—1910), *War and Peace: The Maude Translation*, ed. George Gibian, 2nd edition (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1996), p. 1048: “Peasants having no clear idea of the cause of rain, say, according to whether they want rain or fine weather: ‘The wind has blown the clouds away,’ or, ‘The wind has brought up the clouds.’”

不是在發表理論。¹¹³ 這種詭辯的結果，就是把氣弄成非理論性的卻又是“顛撲不破”的東西。¹¹⁴ 這樣 Wolfgang Pauli 也許會說：“這並非謬誤。”¹¹⁵

畢竟，氣的概念在有用時則用之，沒用時則難免遭到被棄置的命運。氣在中醫、藝術、¹¹⁶風水¹¹⁷等方面至今仍然是一個多功用的概念。

(作者：美國賓夕法尼亞大學東亞語言與文化系教授)

113 同樣，我認為所謂的“新儒家解決惡的問題”是失敗的，因為它是基於假設氣可在不同等級的清或濁中出現；因此，它只是重申了邪氣低於正常的一個問題，沒有真正解釋其中任何一方的原因。對於新儒家的理論研究，參考 Paolo Santangelo, “Emotions and the Origin of Evil in Neo-Confucian Thought,” in *Minds and Mentalities in Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. Halvor Eifring, *Studies of Chinese Literature and Psychology* 1 (Beijing: Culture and Art Publishing House, 1999), esp., pp. 212—223; Ira E. Kasoff, *The Thought of Chang Tsai (1020—1077)*, *Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 72—76; and 陳榮捷 “The Neo-Confucian Solution of the Problem of Evil,” 載中研院歷史語言研究所集刊 1957 年第 28 期，《慶祝胡適先生六十五歲論文集》，頁 773—791。

114 對於這一概念，參考 Karl R. Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, 3rd edition (London: Hutchinson, 1968)。

115 R. E. Peierls, “Wolfgang Ernst Pauli, 1900—1958,” *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society* 5 (1960), p. 186。

116 參考彭吉象：《中國藝術學》（北京：高等教育出版社，1997 年），頁 424—457；及 Li Zehou, *The Chinese Aesthetic Tradition*, tr. Maija Bell Samei (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), p. 62f。

117 參考 Ole Bruun, *An Introduction to feng shui* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 106—110; and Needham, II, pp. 359—363。

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What Is *qi*, and Why Was It a Good Idea?

Paul R. Goldin

(Professor and Graduate Chair, Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania; Tong Tsz Ben Benson translated, Timothy Waikeung CHAN proof read)

Abstract:

The prolific Chinese word *qi* 氣 has so many interrelated but distinct senses that any student of Chinese philosophy will want to unravel them so as to understand the history of the concept. William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart reconstruct *qi* as *C. qhəp-s (where *C- represents an indeterminate consonant), which shows a manifest connection with *xi* 吸, *q^həp, “to breathe.” Little doubt can remain that the basic meaning of *qi* is “breath,” and all its other senses are derived from it. This paper goes on to survey associated concepts, such as *yinyang* 陰陽 and the Five Phases 五行, and discusses the three main reasons why *qi* was regarded as a useful idea in ancient China: (1) it helped replace the conceptualization of disease as possession by a ghost or spirit; (2) it permitted an alternative theory of dynastic succession to that of Heaven’s Mandate (tianming 天命); and (3) some traditions promised practitioners extraordinary power by learning how to control *qi*. The paper concludes with a discussion of the limitations.

Keywords: *qi*, Five Phases, *yinyang*, Chinese political theory, Chinese medical theory

