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Liuchao  
Shifeng Yanjiu



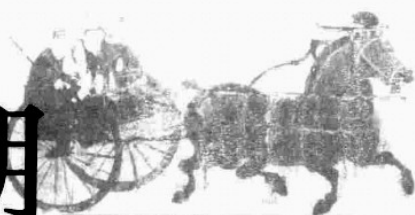
士风研究

六朝

● 李磊 / 著


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东汉名教之治从东汉后期开始面临着深刻的危机，危机来自两个方面：一方面是士大夫无法阻止皇权“非道”，另一方面是崇尚儒家名节的统治方式导致了世风之虚伪。面对皇权“非道”，东汉士人笃信道德的力量，发动清议运动，士风由“保身怀方”重“去就之节”转向“蹈义陵险”的“倬直之风”。党锢事变的结局动摇了士人的名教信念，使士人由“倬直”而“大直若屈”。汉末士人恢复汉朝统治的努力失败后，其名教理想几乎完全破灭，他们开始寻求新的社会政治理想。面对世风的虚伪与偏至，东汉士人曾有意识地加以矫正，在一部分人中出现了崇尚任率的生活态度。竹林名士继承这个传统，并援引《庄子》赋予其玄学意义，开创了魏晋“达”风，其外在表现形式是“不拘礼俗”。士大夫对社会政治理想的反思和践行，与对自身处世态度的反思和践行，二者交汇的结果是在魏晋之交出现了旨在思想革新、社会革新与政治革新的新士风——玄风。两晋玄风的表现是：思想上崇尚玄学，行为上崇尚放达，任官崇尚不尽职守。在朝、在野两种玄学指导着晋代的士风。在朝玄学是道家化的儒家，在野玄学持道家立场，二者都在反传统的方向上推进晋

代士风。

南朝士风大体上继承了魏晋的士风形态。但南朝士大夫对魏晋传统的坚守,旨在维护士大夫相对独立于皇权的社会地位,以及他们对社会意识的领导权,而非如魏晋士风旨在玄学理想的践行或曰“利便”。南朝士风始变于晋宋之际,清谈地位下降,对玄学义理的探讨淡化下来,“仕贵遗务”的精神内涵由实践玄学政治观转为表明士大夫“淡退”的政治姿态。刘宋后期朝廷试图树立在意识形态领域的绝对权威。尽管士大夫屈从于皇权,但他们对士风传统的维护,仍是对皇权扩张的柔性抵抗。南齐永明儒风的兴起,表明士大夫与皇权开始谋求在意识形态领域的融合,结束了二者的对抗。但这种融合是以士大夫回归儒家皇道意识为前提的。随着南朝中下层士人在文化、政治上的崛起,他们成为梁代士风的主体,其崇尚进取、实干与注重交游的阶层性格给士风增添了新的色彩。陈朝采取优待前朝士大夫的政策,使梁朝士风在陈朝继续存在下去。陈后主是陈朝后期士风的中心人物。随着陈朝的灭亡,南朝士大夫丧失了政治、社会地位,盛行一时的玄风便随之烟消云散。

与魏晋南朝士风相比,北朝士风的基本特征是学术上的习经并专经之风、言行上的儒者之风、政治上的当官任事之风,指导北朝士风的是传统的儒家思想。孝文帝改革以后,出现的“浮薄”的士林风气,它其实包括两类,一类是背离经学思想的腐化之风,另一类则是一种新的

文学趣尚和玄学风范。后者的出现表明北方在一百多年后,重新走上了东汉通往魏晋的旧路,在文化发展方向上与继承魏晋传统的南方趋同。东汉魏晋南北朝士风的发展可以从以下四条线索来把握:一是士大夫的社会政治理想与实践之间的矛盾及其解决;二是士大夫天下意识与自利意识的彼此消长,此二者均取决于士大夫与皇权关系的变动;三是士大夫对本阶层的反省与批判;四是社会政治环境的重大变动,如门阀制度的建立及演变,对士风发展的影响。前三条线索并非单独行进,而是相互牵扯,彼此缠绕,这三条线索都是从士大夫的角度来阐释士风的变化。第四条线索则是从外部(社会环境的变动)来说明士风的变化。虽然这四条线索贯穿于东汉魏晋南北朝的始终,但在不同时期,其轨迹之隐显,对士风影响之强弱,是不同的。在东汉至魏晋的士风演变中,这四条线索都很显著;在南朝士风的演变历程中,第一条、第二条和第四条(指梁武帝扩大门阀阶层的改革)线索最为明显,北朝士风的变化主要表现为第四条线索。

东汉魏晋南北朝士风的变化也不总是发生在同一层面、同一方面。东汉至魏晋的变化是士风形态的变化,变化是全层面、全方位的,即整体性的变化。南朝的士风形态是对魏晋的继承,变化主要是士人政治角色自我界定的变化,其间还有社会政治理想的修正(永明儒风的兴起),和行为层面的变化(中下层士人的崛起给士风增添了他们的行为风格)。北朝后期士风的变化则是思想与

行为层面的分离,和思想层面上对士人个体人格看法的改变。

通观东汉魏晋南北朝士风的历史走向,其发展理路是明晰的:从东汉到魏晋而大变,再从魏晋延续到南朝;北朝在停滞了百年后,又开始走上东汉通往魏晋的旧路。如果以玄风来标志这个时代的士风的话,东汉到魏晋是其形成与鼎盛期,南朝是其衰弱与消歇期,北朝后期不过稍习玄风末流,未尝展开也不可能展开,因为承托并鼓荡玄风的特定背景和内在动力已不复存在。

从玄风最后的走向来看,南朝的玄学政治观由实践领域退缩到意识形态领域,进而再在意识形态领域将主导权让给配合皇权政治的儒家思想,玄学的影响也逐步退缩到个体思想与生活领域。北朝后期虽然重新绍续魏晋以来的文化精神,开始尊重个体,但由于门阀势力的局限,玄学的政治主张并没有引起共鸣,其文化上的开创性也就仅限于在个人与社会的关系上突破经学思想。南北双方虽是一退一进,但最后的趋同点却是将魏晋士风传统的影响限定在个人思想和生活领域。

魏晋南朝玄风的兴起、鼎盛、衰弱、消歇与门阀士族的发展历程相一致,士风主体在精神领域、社会地位上的变化必然影响到士风的变化。门阀制度的建立和士族特权的取得,使士大夫人格的独立性、文化垄断及社会权威,都达到前所未有的高度,玄风近三百年的流行即基于此。尽管玄学在政治上的实践不太成功,西晋灭亡、梁朝

灭亡与它都有关系,至少儒学中人是这样看,其政治构想也在隋唐以后被排除出主流意识形态,但它在个人精神领域是成功的,尊重个体性情、开拓内在精神空间,挑战儒家的教化人生观,培养了独立人格。这便是那个时代留给后世最有价值的遗产。

关键词 士风 东汉 魏晋南北朝



## ABSTRACT

This paper's aim is to make clear the changes of literati's general mood in the period of the East Han, Wei, Jin, the Southern and Northern Dynasties. It is observed that the developing process of literati's general mood from the East Han to Wei, Jin and the Southern Dynasties embodied the general trend in that period. The developmental direction of literati's general mood in late Northern Dynasties also proved that point.

In term of the developing process from the East Han to Wei, Jin and the Southern Dynasties, it can be divided into two phases. The first phase was from the East Han to Wei and Jin. The second phase was the Southern Dynasties. In the first phase, what was changed is the form of literati's general mood, while the form in second phase was barely adjusted. It should be admitted that the first phase was much more important in the whole process. Properly speaking, the general mood of literati changed to advocating being broad-minded and indulgent from attaching importance to fame

and integrity. It is held that the change originated from the shaking of Confucianism. In late East Han Dynasty, the government's misdemeanour made Confucianism reach a crisis point. The Confucian became upright and outspoken for that they believed in that public opinion was the best sanction against the government's misdemeanour. To their surprise, the result is the suppression of the conspiratorial cliques. Henceforth, they changed their mind. They chose a tactful way to continue their struggle. When the center government disintegrated, some elite tried to make use of warlord to found Han Dynasty again. This effort was not crowned with success so that the literati gave up the ideal of Confucianism. From then on, the literati began to seek for a new ideal. Meanwhile, some scholar-officials, who was dissatisfied with the literati's common practice in late Han, searched for a new philosophic theory to interpret and guide their life. This trend of thought developed so rapidly in the later time of Wei Dynasty that it had a great impact on literati's general mood. At that time, a new ethos, which named "Da", appeared. Superficially, it means unconventional and unrestrained, and indulging in one's emotions. As the result of the seeking for new political ideal and living ideal, the form

of literati's general mood thoroughly changed. The new form's performances were advocating learning of Xuan, indulging in private life and doing nothing about their duty of administrative management. What guided the fasion were two kinds of Xuan theories; the theory of the group who held office at court and the theory of the group who were out of office, which was different from each other in a great deal respects but the same in the direction of turning the tradition over.

The form of literati's general mood in the Southern Dynasties was about equal to the form in Wei and Jin. What was different was literati's political attitude. they were not nosing into practicing political ideal but concerned their own interests. The reason was that literati lost their traditional political position from the beginning of Song, so that they could not practice their political ideal. In early Song, literati was still doing nothing about their duty of administrative management, but their aim had been changed to express that they had no wild political ambitions. They also did not indulge in Xuan learning anymore. While the emperors expanded their power in ideology field in late Song, literati resisted by maintaining their cultural traditon, although they surrendered in politic field. In Southern Qi, literati

changed their standpoint, they strived for compromising with emperor. As the result, Confucianism resurrected. Along with the growing up of lower social level scholar—officials, their nature effected literati's general mood. The mood emerged new characters: advocating forging ahead, seeing life and doing things about their duty of administrative management. Chen emperors gave special treatment to literati in order to obtain their help in ideology field, so the general mood lasted longer in Chen Dynasty, even the keyman of the general mood was Chenhouzhu (the last emperor in Chen Dynasty). The traditional general mood disappeared after the extinction of Chen.

Visavis the general mood in the Southern Dynasties, literati's general mood in the Northern Dynasties was quite different. Its characters were advocating learning of Confucianism, attaching importance to fame and integrity in private life and doing things about their duty of administrative management. After Xiaowen emperor's reform, literati's general mood emerged new characters: becoming corrupt, placing a premium on southern literature and Xuan style. The emerge of the latter indicated that the developmental direction of the northern literati's general mood became the same to that

in the East Han, Wei, Jin and the Southern Dynasties.

A review of the whole process is made to enable us to find out the logic of the changes in that period. The change of the relationship between literati and emperor always made literati change their political and living ideals so that a corresponding change of literati's general mood occurred. Moreover, the self-criticism of literati also caused the change of general mood. In addition, the changes sometimes were the results of social reform, like what happened in the Northern Dynasties.

One thing should be pointed out is that the changes did not always occur in the same way or respect. Sometimes it occurred in thought, sometimes in action. It was the change from the East Han to Wei and Jin that occurred in all of the ways and respects. The change occurred in the Southern Dynasties was mainly in thinking field while the change in the Northern Dynasties was the separation of thought and action beyond what had happened in thinking field.

The paper finishes with a review that the developmental directions both in the Southern and the Northern Dynasties became the same. Xuan learning's political impact in the Southern Dynasties gradually decreased while it never existed in the Northern Dynasties. Xuan learn-

ing's influence was limited in the individual's fields. Nevertheless, the changes of literati's general mood in the East Han, Wei, Jin, the Southern and Northern Dynasties remained history a huge national heritage that is the honor to individuality.

KEY WORD: literati's general mood, The East Han, Wei, Jin, The Southern and Northern Dynasties

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