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# 中国艺术的

The Expressive Act in Chinese Art — From Calligraphy to Painting

# 表现性动作

——从书法到绘画（英汉对照）

时代出版传媒股份有限公司  
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## INTRODUCTION

Chinese Society, Mind and Literati Painting

## 引论

中国社会、精神和文人画



What is art and what is non-art? This is one of the key questions for any theory of art, one which has preoccupied aestheticians in the tradition of analytic philosophy for the last thirty years. However, they by no means were the first to discover this question, which has in fact existed in different forms in different parts of the world for many centuries. In China, much has been written which can be interpreted as investigating the concept of art. The compound *yishu*, the modern Chinese translation of the word “art”, appeared in ancient Chinese texts as early as two thousand years ago,<sup>①</sup> but there it has a quite different meaning which has little to do with the concept of art in its modern sense. In spite of this, the ancient Chinese wrote a great deal on so-called true music and true painting, which reveals that they tried to distinguish between the “true” and the “false” in these art forms. The issue of music must be addressed elsewhere,<sup>②</sup> but I would now like to provide a brief introduction to the concept of painting typical for the ancient Chinese.

Zhang Yanyuan, a famous art historian in the Tang Dynasty, proclaimed that the kind of painting of a cloud which is made by blowing powder onto the silk, even though it is ingeniously explained as imitating the natural process of a cloud being blown by the wind, “it is not called painting because no traces of brushwork are seen.”<sup>③</sup> For exactly the same reason, neither was the splash-ink landscape considered to be painting, even though it was very popular in later generations.<sup>④</sup> Zhang thought that Wu Daozi’s work was “real painting” rather than “dead painting” because he did not use graphic instruments such as rulers or compasses, but drew straight lines and circles freehand.<sup>⑤</sup> From such observations, one element of Zhang’s concept of art can be clearly seen, that is, painting does not include all man-made pictures, but only those which

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① In “Who are True Artists? An Art Élitism in Ancient China,” I have discussed the concept of art in China at greater length. This has been published in Chinese in *The Chinese Intellectual* (Autumn, 1993), pp. 65~74, and in *Secrets in Painting—A Study of the Aesthetics of Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 1995), pp. 9~38.

② Although there are many papers and books which discuss the ancient Chinese ideas on music, few of them investigate these ideas from this point of view. I try to do so in “Man, Society and Art: An Analysis of On Music,” *The Stockholm Journal of East Asian Studies*, Volume 4 (1993), pp. 73~84, but this task cannot be completed in a single paper and much more work has yet to be done.

③ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai Minghuaji*, Book 2, eds. Qin Zhongwen and Huang Miaozi (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1963), p. 27.

④ Ibid.

⑤ Ibid., p. 25. This will be further examined in the following chapters because this simple fact demonstrates an aesthetic tendency which is of fundamental importance to our discussion.

什么是艺术？什么是非艺术？这对于所有的艺术理论来说，都是一个关键问题，最近 30 年一直受到分析传统的美学家们的关注。然而，这个问题并不是由分析美学家们最早发现的。实际上，千百年来，它在世界各地以不同的形式存在着。古代中国人留下了很多我们今天可将之理解为是在对艺术概念进行讨论的文章。与英文单词“Art”相对应的现代汉语合成词“艺术”早在两千多年前的中国文献里就出现了，它当时的内涵几乎与现代意义上的艺术观念没有任何关联。<sup>①</sup>尽管如此，古代中国人还是写下了大量的有关真正意义上的音乐和绘画的文字，这表明他们试图在这些艺术中区分“真”与“伪”。我将在别处再讨论音乐问题<sup>②</sup>，这里，我将对典型的关于中国古代绘画的观念做一简单介绍。

唐代著名的艺术史家张彦远认为，在画帛上用口吹墨的方法画云，尽管可以解释成是对风吹云的自然过程的模仿，但“不见笔踪，故不谓之画”。<sup>③</sup> 基于同样的原因，泼墨山水也不被看做是绘画，尽管这种作画法在后世相当盛行<sup>④</sup>。张彦远认为吴道子的作品是“真画”而不是“死画”，因为他没有借用尺子和圆规之类的绘画工具，而是徒手画直线和圆<sup>⑤</sup>。由此可知，张彦远艺术观的一个基本点清晰可见，并非所有的图画都是“画”，一幅画要成为“画”，需要达到一定标准。从他举的例子中可以看出，绘画的标准就是“笔踪”。

① 在《中国传统绘画中的精英主义倾向》一文中，我详尽地讨论了中国的艺术观念。它发表于《知识分子》1993 年秋季卷，第 65～74 页，亦见《画境探幽——中国绘画的精神结构》，香港：天地图书公司，1995 年，第 9～38 页。

② 尽管有许多论文和著作讨论中国古代的音乐思想，但几乎没有人从这个角度来研究它们。我在《人、社会和艺术：〈乐记〉分析》（发表于《斯德哥尔摩东亚研究杂志》，1993 年第 4 卷，第 73～84 页）一文中尝试做了一些，但这个任务不可能在单篇论文中完成，还有很多的工作没有做。

③ 张彦远：《历代名画记》，卷二，秦仲文、黄苗子编，北京：人民美术出版社，1963 年，第 27 页。

④ 张彦远：《历代名画记》，卷一，第 27 页。

⑤ 张彦远：《历代名画记》，卷二，第 25 页。这一点将在后面的章节中进一步考察，因为这个简单的事实显示了对我们的讨论非常重要的美学倾向。



meet certain standards. In these examples, the standard of painting is “traces of brushwork.”

Elsewhere in the same text, Zhang Yanyuan states that only two kinds of people were good painters, namely, *yiguan-guizhou* (which literally means “scholars in official clothes and hats and descendants of aristocrats”), and *yishi-gaoren* (“hermits or eminent men”).<sup>①</sup> Guo Ruoxu, an art historian in the Song Dynasty, points out that:

By looking at the wonderful works of the ancients, I find that most of them were made by talented scholar-officials (*xuanmian-caixian*) or eminent recluses (*yanxue-shangshi*). These persons conducted themselves according to *ren* (a universal love for mankind) and strolled in the field of art. They tried to probe into the secrets of the world and place graceful temperaments in paintings. Since their human qualities are high, their vital force and rhythm have to be high. Since their vital force and rhythm are high, their paintings have to be animated. ... Otherwise, even if a painter exhaust all his energies in painting skillfully, his works can only be as good as those of a craftsman, *which are not paintings even though they are called paintings*.<sup>②</sup>

These concepts of painting are defined from two points of view, which are actually the two most important aspects of Chinese painting. The former, traces of brushwork, will become the central theme of the present study. Now, however, in a chapter intended to provide a background introduction, I prefer to start with the second.

## 1. Traditional Chinese Society and the Position of Intellectuals

According to Zhang and Guo, a true painter must be cultivated with a humanistic orientation and either holds an official position, or lives in seclusion. Both of these attitudes about the painter's way of life can be traced to pre-Qin philosophy and are rooted in the social circumstances of China.

In modern society, a “learned person” usually means one who has acquired knowledge in a particular subject, but such was not the case in ancient times. A “learned person” or a “scholar” used to mean one who had acquired the most “important” knowledge and thus was eligible to join the circle of the literati. The so-called “important” knowledge concerned politics and administration, as well as history and philosophy.

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① Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai Minghua*, Book 1, p. 15.

② Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua Jiantu*, ed. Deng Bai (Chengdu: Sichuan Meishu Chubanshe, 1986), p. 49. Author's italics.

在该书的其他地方,张彦远指出只有两种人才能成为优秀的画家,即“衣冠贵胄”(从字面的意义来解,即身着官服、头戴官帽的学者以及贵族的后代)和“逸士高人”(隐居而有特别才能的人)<sup>①</sup>。宋代艺术史家郭若虚指出:

窃观自古奇迹,多是轩冕才贤,岩穴上士,依仁游艺,探迹钩深,高雅之情,一寄于画。人品既已高矣,气韵不得不高。气韵既已高矣,生动不得不至。所谓神之又神,而能精焉。凡画必周气韵,方号世珍。不尔,虽竭巧思,止同众工之事,虽曰画而非画。<sup>②</sup>

这些绘画观念是从两个角度来限定的,它们也确实是中国画的两个最重要的方面。第一个角度,即笔踪,它将成为本书讨论的核心问题。然而在这篇只是提供背景介绍的引论中,我更愿意从第二个角度开始。

## 一、古代中国社会的知识分子的地位

根据张彦远和郭若虚的说法,一位真正的画家一定要受到人文教育,或仕或隐。画家生活方式的这两种态度可以追溯到先秦哲学,并植根于中国的社会环境之中。

在现代社会,一位“有知识的人”通常意味着擅长某一学科领域知识的人,但在中国古代不是这回事。一位“有知识的人”或者说“学者”在那时常常是指获得最“重要的”知识的人,只有这样的人才有资格进入文人的圈子。那些所谓的“重要的”知识不仅指历史和哲学,也包括政治学和行政管理。

① 张彦远:《历代名画记》,卷一,第15页:自古善画者,莫非衣冠贵胄,逸士高人。振妙一时,传芳千祀,非闾阎鄙贱之所能为也。

② 郭若虚:《图画见闻志》,邓白注,成都:四川美术出版社,1986年,第49页。

China has a tradition of recruiting intellectuals into politics. This tradition was perhaps founded by Confucius, though for him it was only an ideal rather than a reality. Confucius traveled to many states in order to persuade princes and vassals to practise this, but he tragically failed. Nor did any of his disciples become prominent statesmen. Nevertheless, the ideas he proposed were seen by later generations as being necessary and, as an educator, he broke down the monopoly of the state on education and initiated the process of educational privatization, which enabled commoners to be educated and thus become politically competent. Confucius was rather conservative in social and political affairs. For example, he tried to restore the Western Zhou System and constantly dreamt of Duke Zhou (Zhou Gong, who served as regent after the death of King Wu and was the actual founder of Zhou feudalism). He took *fuli* as his political program, which can be literally translated as “resumption of the ritual system”, but can also be translated as “return to propriety”. However, paradoxically, this conservative in politic affairs frequently was a revolutionary in the field of education.

The Western Zhou system granted powers only to the nobility and, consequently, education was exclusively the privilege of this class. Confucius ignored class distinctions in this regard and began to receive students of common origin. This was a significant advance in historical development, even though it was not politically radical. It not only meant that a number of pupils from the lower classes were able to join the ruling classes, but, more importantly, it signified the beginning of the separation between blood and cultivation, which ultimately led to the division between the nobility and learned men. In the early Zhou period, the main contradiction within society was between civilized people and barbarians. The former consisted of the Zhou clan and their allies, who took as their mandate to “civilize” the latter. In this situation it would seem unnecessary to question whether the prestige of the nobility came from blood or cultivation. Only the noblemen could be educated and it was education which confirmed their superiority in blood. “Barbarians,” on the contrary, lacked both blood and cultivation. However, since the Zhou House intended to civilize the barbarians, the stress seems more to have been laid on the latter, that is, barbarians could become Chinese if given the proper cultivation. Certain modern scholars have concluded following this line of thought that the Chinese nation is defined by culture and not by race. This may be correct to some extent, but, at least in early Zhou period, race was of crucial importance, as were family ties. The Zhou House tried to civilize the barbarians mainly in one particular respect, that is, to make them conform to the ruling order. When Confucius tried to implement *fuli*, or a return to propriety, he criticized the activity of *jianyue* (overstepping one’s

中国有着选拔士人进入政坛的传统。这个传统也许是孔子建立的,尽管对于他来说,这仅仅是一种理想而不是现实。为了说服诸侯王实施这一政策,孔子周游列国,却以悲剧性的失败而告终。他的弟子中也没有人成为杰出的政治家。然而他所提出的思想后世非常重视,作为一位教育家,他打破了国家对教育的垄断,兴办私学,使普通人受到教育,能胜任政务工作。孔子在社会和政治事务中是非常保守的。例如他试图恢复西周制度,总是梦见周公(周公是武王死后的摄政,也是周代封建制的实际创立者)。他把“复礼”视为自己的政治纲领,按字面义,“复礼”可以理解为恢复礼仪制度,也可以理解为回到合乎礼仪的状态。然而,矛盾的是,这种政治上的保守在教育领域却是革命性的。

西周制度赋予贵族以接受教育的特权。孔子忽略了阶级差异,开始接收平民出身的学生。这即使在政治上不具激进性,在历史发展中却是重要的进步。它不仅意味着有些来自下层的学生能够跻身统治阶级,更重要的是,它标示了血统与教养区别的开端,并最终导致贵族和有知识者之间的分野。在周代早期,社会的主要矛盾发生于开化的人和蛮夷之间。前者由周王室和他们的同盟者构成,他们将“化”后者看成是他们的使命。在这种情形下,没有必要提出贵族的特权是来自血统还是受教育的问题。只有贵族子弟才能受教育,教育又巩固了他们依据血统所占有的优势地位。相反,“蛮夷”缺少血统的高贵,也缺少教育所形成的素养。然而,由于周王室试图教化蛮夷,因此重点更多地放在了后者,即,如果获得适当的教化,“夷”也可以化为“夏”。据此,一些现代学者认为,中华民族是由文化而不是种族来界定的。也许这种观点有一定的合理性,但至少在周代早期,就像家族纽带一样,种族非常重要。周王室主要在一个方面教化蛮夷,即教育他们服从统治秩序。孔子竭力推行“复礼”,他批评统治阶级内部的僭越行为,力图以读书人为骨干重组社会。因此在“礼”的旗帜下,他试图发展出与不同于周制的秩序。但这一计划在那个时代尚未成熟,因而注定会失败。

authority) among noblemen and intended to re-organize society with intellectuals as its backbone. Thus, under the banner of *li*, or ritual, he attempted to bring about a quite different order from that of Duke Zhou. However, this plan was premature for his time and doomed to failure.

During the pre-Qin period, there were two terms that referred to intellectuals and cultured gentlemen, *junzi* and *shi*. *Junzi* tended to mean a combination of morality and ability. People could be praised as *junzi* and it could also be said that they tried to be *junzi*, but directly claiming this for oneself sounded arrogant.<sup>①</sup> *Shi* has a more neutral meaning, referring to a particular social class that existed during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods. This class consisted of those sons of the nobility who were unable to inherit titles because they were not the eldest, those people of common origin who were educated to some extent, and those of certain special abilities. *Shi* served in the households of the feudal lords as private advisors, stewards, or warriors. It would be naive to think that *shi* had certain actual powers; power was almost exclusively in the hands of the monarchies and nobility, who used *shi* only to strengthen their own positions. For example, the so-called four famous princes kept thousands of *shi* in order both to display their strength to their lords, and to have ready suitable persons to be dispatched on missions.<sup>②</sup> It was at first in the Qin state, and later in the unified Qin Dynasty, that a new system began to be established in which the privileges of the nobility were reduced and the equivalent of a modern bureaucratic system of administration was set up. This system provided *shi* with more opportunities to work in public service rather than as the private servants of noblemen. There are two paradoxes in this case. Confucius travelled to almost all the important states of his time, the Qin being the only exception. This fact has frequently been mentioned by historians with regret. Perhaps in the mind of Confucius the Qin was a backward state that did not deserve his efforts. However, the system which the First Emperor of the Qin developed in fact made it possible for those who were learned but without the proper family background to more easily enter civil service, although the Emperor himself was notorious for persecuting intellectuals. This system was continued in the Han Dynasty, when the convergence of the bureaucratic system with Confucianism emerged. In the Han period, several dominant forces were in competition with each other,

① Although *junzi* literally means “son of a lord”, which is probably the original meaning, it was apparently no longer used in this way in Confucius’ time.

② According to Jia Yi’s *Guo Qin Lun*, the four princes were Prince Mengchang of the Qi state, Prince Pingyuan of the Zhao state, Prince Chunshen of the Chu state, and Prince Xinling of the Wei state.

先秦时期，有两个术语指称读书人和有教养的绅士，“君子”和“士”。君子是指德才兼备的人。人们可以称赞某人为“君子”，也可以说自己想努力成为“君子”，但直接自称自己是“君子”则显得这个人有些妄自尊大。<sup>①</sup>“士”是一个比较中性的词，指的是春秋战国时代的一个特殊社会阶层。这个阶层的构成成分包括非嫡长子没有财产继承权的贵族子弟，包括出身平民但受到一定教育的人，还包括具有某种专长的人。“士”在封建主的家里充当谋士、管家或卫士。认为“士”有某些实际权力的想法是天真的，权力几乎被诸侯和贵族所垄断，他们起用“士”仅仅是为了巩固自己的地位。例如，为了向国君展示自己的实力以及为了储备适合于完成使命的人才，著名的战国四公子<sup>②</sup>招纳了成百上千的“士”。最初是在秦国，后来是在统一的秦帝国，一种新的体制开始逐渐确立，贵族的特权遭到削弱，而近似于现代意义上的行政管理官僚体制建立起来。这种体制为“士”在公共服务领域提供了更多的工作机会，而不是只作贵族的私人仆从。此处出现了两个悖论。孔子几乎游历了当时所有重要的诸侯国，秦国却是唯一的例外。历史学家们经常遗憾地提到这一事件。也许在孔子看来，秦是一个蛮荒之国，不值得他去努力。尽管秦始皇本人因焚书坑儒而声名狼藉，但他发展的那个体制使那些受到教育但没有家族背景的人更容易进入行政机构。在汉代，当官僚体制与儒家思想交汇时，这种体制得到了延续。汉代时，几股政治势力互相角斗：这包括汉宗室，他们或在朝廷里很有影响，或在封地非常有势力；世袭贵族，他们的先祖往往在军中或政府机关里担任高官；还有外戚家族成员，以及宦官。相对来说，前三类人所受到的教育好一点，而宦官来自下层，差不多是文盲或者半文盲。为了充实庞大帝国的底层行政管理机构，许多出身低微而有能力的人被吸纳了

① 尽管“君子”从字面上意味着“国君之子”，这可能是它的本义，但很明显，在孔子的时代，已不再这样使用。

② 根据贾谊的《过秦论》，战国四公子为：齐之孟尝、赵之平原、楚之春申、魏之信陵。

including members of the royal clan who were either influential in the court or became powerful vassals in the remote areas of the kingdom, aristocratic families whose founders had performed well in the military or in the civil service, members of the imperial consorts' families, and the eunuchs. The first three were relatively better educated while eunuchs came from lower families and were mostly illiterate or semi-illiterate. In order to staff the lower ranks of the civil service in such a great empire, many able men of low origin were recruited. Some of them were eventually promoted to higher ranks on merit, or by considerations of balancing the power of more powerful groups, though the number of such cases was very limited.

A Chinese emperor had to select those upon whom he would rely from the more powerful groups, but each such choice had its potential dangers. Members of the imperial clan could take advantage of family ties to interfere with imperial decision-making, and they might possibly threaten the emperor's throne or, as vassals, develop independent power in their fiefs. Members of the imperial consorts' families could be arrogant in the court and even manipulate the succession to the throne. Aristocrats tended to retain and develop their local strength, which could eventually split the realm. For these reasons, certain emperors tended to place their trust in eunuchs, their personal servants, and eunuchs thus occasionally became powerful. They might advise the emperor and even inspect the localities and supervise armies as the emperor's personal representatives. Nevertheless, the double physical and educational deficiencies of these people frequently made their presence in politics an ill omen for the country, as most historians have maintained. Indeed, eunuchs, because of their lack of knowledge and their experience of serving the emperor in daily life, tended to follow the emperor's personal whims without any sense of principle. In addition, they formed a group surrounding the emperor who often spread rumors and manipulated significant decision-making. They were what Confucius had called "small men." If power was in the hands of these people, it was indeed a bad sign for politics.

The best way to solve the problem of administrating such a large empire was to bring in new blood by choosing educated men from the lower classes. Confucianism provided the theoretical basis for this, but it took a very long time to break down the monopoly of the upper classes and provide this policy with an effective system. Although the conception of raising able men was established in the late Han Dynasty, a system that operated by means of personal recommendation still enabled the aristocracy to keep its influence.

After the collapse of the Han Kingdom, aristocratic families became more powerful, particularly in the series of Southern Dynasties, but these were aristocrats

进来,其中的一些人由于工作实绩或出于平衡权势集团的政治的考虑,最终被提升到高位,然而这一数量极为有限。

当时的中国君主不得不从他们所依靠的那些权势集团中挑选官员,但每种选择都有潜在的危险。宗室可以利用家族纽带干预帝国决策,他们可能威胁到皇帝的宝座,或者作为诸侯王,在自己的封地发展独立的力量。外戚成员在朝廷妄自尊大,甚至操纵皇帝的废立。贵族可能会保持和发展自己的地方势力,从而最终导致国家的分裂。由于这些原因,一些皇帝倾向于信任作为他们的家奴的宦官,因此,有时候宦官的权力很大。他们可以向皇帝提建议,甚至作为皇帝的私人代表监管地方和军队。然而,正如许多历史学家所指出的,由于生理和教育上的双重缺陷,宦官执政现象的出现经常是国家病态政治的一种征兆。实际上,由于宦官教育水平低下,以及他们照顾帝王的日常起居的经历,使他们会无原则地逢迎皇帝个人的一时兴致。此外,他们形成了围绕在皇帝周围,散布流言、操纵决策的一个集团。这些人是典型的孔子所谓的“小人”。如果权力掌握在这些人手里,实在是政治糟糕的信号。

解决管理庞大帝国问题的最佳途径是从下层选拔受教育的人,给帝国注入新的血液。儒家思想为这种途径提供了理论基础,但还是要等很长时间以后,才能打破上层阶级的垄断并为这种政策提供有效的制度。尽管提拔有识之士的观念在汉末就已经确立下来,但“察举”的推荐制度仍使贵族保持着影响。

东汉灭亡以后,尤其是到了南朝,贵族家族变得越来越有权力,这些家族既由于家庭联系,也由于知识和教养而具有巨大的政治影响力。由于天赋和才能的重要性在政治实践中越来越明显,所以有教养的贵族才能统治国家的理念预先设定了受过教育的人会在政治上起到更大



who were characterized by their knowledge and talent. The idea that a cultured aristocracy would rule the country presupposed that learned men would play a more considerable role in politics since the importance of talent and ability in political practice became more and more obvious.<sup>①</sup>

As soon as China was once again united in the Sui Dynasty, a civil service examination system (*keju*) was established. Both in the Sui and the Tang dynasties, the *keju* system was used as an important means to recruit learned and able men from the lower classes and to balance the power of the other above-mentioned groups, particularly that of the civil and military aristocracy, who were potentially inclined towards local autonomy and disruption. Men of *keju* origin probably had a more symbolic than substantial significance in politics, particularly at the level of the central government, during the Sui and Tang periods. The dominant forces in the court were still the aristocracy or members of the imperial consorts' families and the number of men recruited in this way was still very limited. Nevertheless, *keju* represented a new principle, which was recognized to be both in accord with Confucius' ideal and capable of curbing the privileges of the aristocracy. Consequently, although many practical difficulties prevented this principle from being fully implemented in the Tang Dynasty, it was developed on a large scale by the Song rulers, who had learned from the disruptions of the late Tang period. From the time of the Song Dynasty, the men of *keju* origin became powerful and dominant at the court. This system was retained in subsequent dynasties, though some detailed changes were introduced.

In the minds of many Europeans, China used to be an ideal kingdom in which the age-old dream of the philosopher-king seemed to have become reality. This, of course, was not true. Traditional Chinese society should never be described as a paradise; the court was rife with conspiracies and the lower classes suffered greatly. In fact, it was the Europeans who had projected their own notions of an ideal society onto China, and China was geographically distant enough from Europe to make such an illusion possible. However, Chinese society indeed possessed certain elements which provided the basis for this illusion.

The ideal of the philosopher-king ultimately stemmed from Plato, whose utopia in the Republic haunted the minds of countless thinkers in countless generations after him. Nevertheless, it was not Plato's personal fancy that attracted the interest

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① There was a system called *jiupin-zhongzheng* at that time, which was intended to recruit people of knowledge, ability, and morality into public service. However, this system tended to be monopolized by the aristocrats because it was based on the recommendations of local officials. This system also exerted a strong influence on the evaluations of painters and many books were produced in the name of *huapin*. Among them the most famous are Xie He's *Gu Huapin Lu* and Yao Zui's *Xu Huapin*.