

常寧鄧嗣禹纂著

中國考試制度史

臺灣學生書局印行

常寧鄧嗣禹纂著

中國考試制度史

臺灣學書局印行

中國考試制度史（全一冊）

著者：鄧 嗣 禹

出版者：臺灣學生書局

本書局登記證字號：行政院新聞局版臺業字第一〇〇號

發行人：丁 文 治

發行所：臺灣學生書局

臺北市和平東路一段一九八號

郵政劃撥帳號二四六六號

電話：三三四五、三三四六、三三四七

精裝新臺
定價
平裝新臺

中華民國七十一年一月四日

中國考試制度史新序

中國考試制度史，一九三六年由國民政府考試院印行。出版不到一年，即值南京淪陷，文物散佚，外間流傳甚罕。號稱收藏豐富之哈佛燕京圖書館，尚無此書；其他學校，更少入藏。三十年來，中西學子，對中國考試制度感覺興趣者，頗不乏人。友朋借用，難計次數。因而拙作自西徂東，自南徂北，自美至歐，頗感郵寄之煩。

不料一九六二年末，忽接一素昧平生，主持英國康橋大學考選委員會考制專家 J. L. Breton 來函，欲將拙作主要部分、譯成英文。函云：

嗣為教授閣下：

去歲敝人辭卸康橋大學地方考試小組 (Local Examinations Syndicate) 秘書職務，今後數月暫居此間 (加拿大維多利亞城)。

本人刻從事於對各國學校畢業考試制度之比較研究，拙作中將包括考試制度之歷史。凡此類研究設不涉及中國文官考試制度，則其價值將大減。大作為現有之唯一可靠論述，是以本人特自東京方面獲得該書之縮影一部。大作係由約瑟菲·尼德漢 (Joseph Needham) 推介。

本人曾對克拉吉 (E. A. Kracke) 之著作頗加研讀，但認為大作將使本人對考試制度在歷代之

不同地位有正確之認識。若英國教育作家然，對此制度加以諷議，乃極輕易之事，但吾人顯不能僅以十六至十九世紀赴中國之歐人所發現者為論斷之據。

而且，敝人亦渴盼將耶穌會會士約於一千六百年之際為其修院所頒發之筆試規則，與約於同時自中國傳入之考試規則或資料加以比較研究。

神交已久，今同處新大陸，尤感興奮。

布瑞敦 (Brereton) 拜啓

Brereton 先生，曾出版一書：『The Case for Examinations, An Account of Their Place in Education. Cambridge, The University Press, 1944.』以後又發表有關考制之論文數篇，函中所計劃之書，是否告成，不得而知。第一次來函，在十二月三日，逾數月，函告夫人病重，改變計劃，不能來紐約面談。嗣禹亦因授課及其他工作忙碌，愛莫能助。然海角天涯，對此書有知音者，且欲利用其中材料，作比較研究者。美國名漢學家 Dirk Bodde 教授，多年來，每見面，輒懇憑將此書寫成英文發表。

原著為學士論文。現在終日無事忙，若修改重寫，定是「白首有期，殺青無日」。書中材料，搜羅頗廣，且曾經恩師鄧文如顧頡剛兩先生，指導評論，尚無大誤。今承吳相湘教授建議，乃將原書錯字改正，重印問世，聊供學林參考覆瓶之用而已。

又多年前，曾作一文，題爲 Chinese Influence on the Western Examination System 登在 *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 7, No. 4 (September, 1943)。後由張曉峯及崔書琴兩先生，委託王漢中君，將原文譯成漢文，引證及註釋仍舊。吳相湘教授提議，一併重印，欣然接受，以便展閱。

一九六六年五月二日 鄧 嗣禹書于美國印第安大學史學系工作室

S. Y. Teng

Department of History Indiana University

Bloomington, Indiana U. S. A.

陳序

三代至公之意，用人惟選賢能，此吾人所習知者；然自四岳阿緜，績用勿成，則自唐虞之世，薦選之法已有時而窮。考功黜陟，殆即所以補選之所不及，而其爲失，則在驗之於既用之後，無以知之於未用之先，王記之言曰；凡官民材必先論之，論辨然後使之，任事然後爵之，位定然後祿之。此所謂論，即考其行藝之詳，所謂論辨，則才之優劣審，是周之選士，已寓有試之之意。意者考試正所以補薦舉之窮，殆亦行乎其所不得行者歟。

惟是由周迄漢，選士之說，史實能詳，而試士之舉，載記極少。如漢制舉士策于天子曰賢良方正，察於州郡曰孝廉茂才，升於學校曰博士弟子，凡此皆可謂選而非試，而論者遂以爲漢未嘗試士。然吾人讀漢書藝文志，漢興蕭何草律，亦著其法曰，太史試學童，能諷書九千字以上者，乃得爲史，則知漢試學童已著爲法。漢安帝時尚書缺出，詔將諸大夫六百石以上試對政事天文學術，以高第者補之，則補缺考試，漢已行之。至若漢順帝時諸生試經學家法，而文吏則試章奏，是固本任事惟能之意，亦即考試用人之方，此爲選而有試者。其先以考績補救於既用之後，其次寓試於選。又其次乃以試爲選。隋之開科取士，特試之演進，而亦選之變更。蓋無試則選濫，選濫則無以循名責實，選有不得不變，即試有不得不行。

所惜自漢之興，好文爲最，洞簾之製，子虛之文，朝野相高，遂成風俗，自魏以降，益聘文華，江左齊梁，更宗奇巧。雖隋起振衰，積弊稍革。然歷唐迄宋，則又同祖文章，詩賦名臣，後先難數。流弊所及，以迄明清。遂令學術之頹波，影響求才之本意，雖其間不容無賢，要之考試教學之間，供求有未盡合，遂覺科法爲可議耳。胄籍既不足以資品彙，資格復不足以盡銓衡，臧否之辨，才不才之分，一繫於月旦之公；則以考試登進，其爲平衡審明，至公不私，殆無可疑。總理遺教於考試用人之旨，諄諄教誨，先知先覺之所訓示，良有以也。

方今新制推行，規模僅具，雖立法不必舊章，而輟軫宜知戒慎，是則讀史鏡古之作，亦不可緩也。鄧君嗣禹，治史學有年，近以研究所得，成中國考試制度史。予取而讀之，既喜其用力之勤，且喜其能述舊制之得失，以爲今後之借鏡，因爲之請於考選委員會，交編纂室爲之付印，並爲誌數語於卷首。

中華民國二十五年元旦 陳 大齊

鄧序

曩者予頗主張史通於政之說，以爲清代史學，考證異同，辨析秋毫，可謂精矣。獨於典章制度，未甚措意，不唯當代之事而已，前代掌故，究心者亦罕，斯亦治道昇降之所由繫也。鄧生嗣禹，相從讀史，頗肆予說，研習加勤，遂及累代官制。復以設官端在用人，用人多出於考試，乃先成一編，題曰中國考試制度史。國家方設考試院，期以此砥礪天下，見鄧生書而善之，將爲刊布。鄧生感激發憤，乃取所爲書，無關宏旨者，芟之，而增益其所不備。其猶有疑者，多設佐證，徧質通人，期無毫髮遺憾。窮日繼夜，紬繹書史，大抵自唐以來所著錄流傳者，採摭已略備矣。迹其所述，自漢迄清，制度之起原變遷，與夫盛衰得失，務推究本始，條目備舉，其間數事，考訂加密，皆從來未有定論者也。書成，請序於予。予維杜佑馬端臨之言選舉，通知今古，同條共貫，可謂詳賅。然其書徧舉家事，不能擷一體單行。正史會要典以及功令，或斷代爲書，或一時之制，其題名之碑，同年之錄，登科之記，貢舉之表，足資考訂，自爲專書。他若私家記載，多及恩榮盛事，否則自述其鬱伊不得志之詞，且散見旁出，驟難薈萃，以視鄧生所作，裒集衆長，本末粗備，誠爲便於省覽。雖間有未及詳者，則綜合爲書，自與考覈一事者異趣。至若考試之制，寬乎遠矣。三代取士之經，出於鄉舉里選。至漢三途而一變，至六朝九品而再變，至隋唐科舉而三變，皆承其敝而變者也。實則試言試行皆試也，特變其所試之法。世

安有不敝之法哉。科舉歷時獨久，弊亦最著。防弊之法，監守巡察糊名謄錄磨勘迴避，且嚴刑峻法以臨之，不可謂疏，而弊則益隨之滋長。詆科舉者，至目爲探籌，宜若可廢而不廢者，其法專壹，足以天下趨嚮，驟無以相易故也。故知其弊而欲救之者，朱熹有學校貢舉私議，分科分年之法。黃宗羲之言，謂去取不徒在經義，且要在寬取士之途，分之爲科舉，爲荐舉，爲辟召，爲太學，爲任子，爲郡縣佐，爲絕學，爲上書。顧炎武則言當更其法以難之。清末維新，始廢科舉，舉其出身，以畀學堂，微有類於學校貢舉私議。民國肇造，學校生徒，有文憑學位，而無出身，與衆流並進，又由黃宗羲寬其途之說而變者也。雖未嘗並廢考試，而視考試已輕。二十年來，進用者不必試，試者不必得，生徒學成而無所職者日多，於是一世又爭頌考試之利，且有以廣其科目爲說者，是則法亦何常之有。要令天下齊一，且期必行而已。唯振古及今，變通省益之際，消息至微，則不可不加察也。此鄧生之書，所以可貴歟。因感鄧生之意，聊舉所見，願與當世通知政意者一商榷之。

中華民國二十三年十二月六日 鄧 之誠

In the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912) they were reestablished in 1646 and were conducted without interruption until their abolition in 1905, being held one hundred and eleven times, including the special examinations.

One of the aims of the examination system was to set recognized standards for holders of government posts and thus limit the practice of personal recommendation. This aim it achieved. Since it systematically exalted the Confucian ideal of loyalty, it made for submissiveness and for political unity. By their acceptance of the system, alien peoples in China gradually came to accept also the Chinese outlook on life and to regard themselves as Chinese. The years of preparation required for the competitions induced the literary-minded in all walks of life and in every corner of the empire to pursue their studies from youth to old age; in this respect the system was a more effective incentive to study than compulsory education has been in modern times. Though the system had the merit of overturning early the power of the nobility and thereby democratized education, it nevertheless created a new class, the literati, who themselves became powerful and at times harmful to the common people. Perhaps its most detrimental feature—not peculiar, however, to China—was its unquestioned acceptance of established modes of thought and behavior, which hindered the student from becoming self-critical in the sense of making new comparisons not sanctioned by tradition. In no period of history has China lacked men of independent mentality, but it is not without significance that such men frequently failed in the examinations and too often were compelled to pursue their critical interests in poverty and obscurity. The recovery and reprinting of their neglected writings is one of the fruitful and exhilarating tasks of this generation.

Reproduced by permission from the Report of the Librarian, 1938; pp.221-224.

Alien rulers of the Liao, Chin, Yüan and Ch'ing dynasties at first affected to despise the examination system, but in every instance they later adopted it and, as in the case of the Chin (1115-1234), made important improvements in it. In the beginning they set the papers in their own tongue but, as their best scholars gained competence in the richer medium of the Chinese language, they determined to compete for the same honors as the native Chinese and thus demonstrate that they, too, were civilized and qualified to rule the country.

The two lower degrees, known as *hsiu-ts'ai* and *chü-jên*, evolved over several centuries marked by many vicissitudes, particularly in the T'ang and Sung periods. By the opening of the Ming period (1368-1644) the system was so adjusted that one who passed the examination in a district was known as *hsu-ts'ai*, one who passed at the provincial capital became a *chü-jên* and one who was successful at the national capital, a *chin-shih*, the three honors corresponding roughly to our B. A., M. A. and Ph. D. degrees. Beginning in 1066, the examinations in the national capital and the accompanying tests in the palace were held every three years; when the *hsiu-ts'ai* and *chü-jên* degrees were definitely established, the examination for the former was held annually, for the latter triennially. The so-called *pa-ku* essay, in which the theme was treated under eight heads, became a fixed form about the year 1487 and was not abandoned until 1901. At the beginning it was about 500 words in length but at times attained a length of 800 words. When this formalized essay was first instituted, it helped students to develop the theme in a systematic and logical way, but its rigidity soon became a hindrance to untrammelled thinking, particularly when later the views of Chu Hsi (1130-1200) became the accepted norm in classical interpretation.

Mr. Têng finds that in the T'ang period (618-907) the examinations for the *chin-shih* degree were held 262 times and were omitted twenty-two times. During the Five Dynasties (907-960) they were held forty-seven times but were omitted twice by two of the five states. In the Sung, Liao and Chin periods (960-1279) they were held 186 times (118 under the Sung, fifty under the Liao and eighteen under the Chin). Between the Sung and Yüan dynasties they were discontinued for more than seven decades (1237-1315), though several abortive attempts to revive them were made in the Yüan period (1279-1368). During the latter dynasty they were conducted seven times in the years 1315-1335 and nine times in the years 1340-1366. They were reinstated by the Mings in 1370 but were omitted from 1373 to 1384, being conducted eighty-eight times during the whole of the Ming period (1368-1644).

to the official of a larger political subdivision, who examined the aspirants anew. Those he selected were once more examined by a high official in the capital and then appointed to the service. In the Northern Ch'i period (550-577) the emperor himself presided over the examination hall and it is reported that candidates whose papers were written in slovenly fashion were forced to stand up in the hall and, on occasion, made to drink ink. For a time the nine-grade system worked satisfactorily, but by about 400 A. D. the selection had gotten so fully under the control of the nobility and the powerful families that the common people had little opportunity to rise to the more important posts.

The essentially open and competitive examination, therefore, had its beginnings during the Sui dynasty (581-618) and reached its fulfillment in the T'ang (618-907). The evolution of the system in these two dynasties is recounted by Mr. Têng in an article published by him in the *Shih-hsüeh nien-pao* ("Historical Annual"), v. 2, no. 1, 1934. The *chin-shih* degree was first conferred in the period 605-617 A. D., one source placing it definitely in 606 A. D. After 622 the examination for *chin-shih* took place annually or every third year; from the beginning sons of merchants, artisans, barbers, actors and prostitutes were ineligible. To compete in this final examination it was necessary to have been graduated from a government school or to have passed a district or prefectural examination.

In the T'ang period the requirements in the final examination were (a) five essays on current events, (b) essays on the Confucian classics and history and, after 681 A. D., (c) an original poem and a composition in rhythmic prose called *fu*. Special examinations were also held, covering a great variety of topics, including mathematics and law.

One of the abuses of this time was an examining technique known as *t'ieh-ching*, first employed in 680. The student had placed before him a page from the classics with all but one line or one phrase covered and then was expected to write or recite the entire context. This was merely a test of memory, with little or no relation to the meaning of the passage, and was finally abolished in 1072.

It was during this dynasty also that the examination for *chin-shih* became a national event. The successful candidates—normally one or two in a thousand—were hailed by multitudes in the capital; they were tendered a feast in the imperial garden and their names were carved on stone for the encouragement of future generations. From that time on, one could scarcely become a prime minister unless one had a *chin-shih* degree; it became the stepping-stone to official position, a badge of social distinction—in short, the highest honor in the empire.

An English Abstract
of
The Chinese Examination System
by
Dr. Arthur W. Hummel

Mr. Têng Ssü-yü, who has been assisting in the past year in our Biographical Project, is the author of a history of the Chinese civil-service examination system, entitled *Chung-kuo k'ao-shih chih-tu shih*. This work was published in 1936 by the Examination Yüan of the National Government at Nanking. We now have an adequately documented survey in Chinese of the development of this time-honored system. The work is provided with convenient chronological tables and with a bibliography of 243 works consulted.

The rudiments of a merit system for the selection of officials are reported some centuries before the Christian era, if references in the *Classic of History*, the *Institutes of Chou* and the *Record of Rites* can be credited. But in 165 B. C. a system of recommendation and examination, laying emphasis on moral excellence, was actually instituted. Successful candidates were classified into *hsien-liang*, the capable and the good, and *fang-chêng*, the foursquare and upright, who dared to speak frankly in admonishing the emperor. The emperor set for them oral and written examinations to ascertain their views on state affairs. In 134 B. C. each principality was ordered to select a *hsiao-lien*, or filially pious and incorrupt person, these persons being assigned without examination to some public service. But later, as candidates for *hsiao-lien* became numerous, the candidates were examined as to their ability to draft official dispatches and were restricted as to age and held down to a number in proportion to the general population. The classics were only occasionally used in the examinations for *hsien-liang* and *hsiao-lien*, which tests were both oral and written.

Toward the close of the Later Han period (25-220 A. D.) selection on the basis of virtue became so subject to hypocritical abuses that it was decided to examine candidates in accordance with a so-called nine-grade system (*chiu-p'in chung-chêng*), which was effective until about 600 A. D. A local official, by personal selection, divided the candidates of his district into nine grades and submitted his recommendation

A HISTORY OF CHINESE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

By

Teng Ssu-yü

Indiana University

Taipei

1966

中國考試制度史 目錄

新序	一
陳序	一
鄧序	一
第一篇 緒論	一
第一章 考試起源	二
甲、堯典周禮等書所載者	二
乙、貢舉辟召發自董仲舒說	六
丙、科舉肇基於隋確定於唐	八
第二章 考試動機之別面觀	一七
甲、爲防止功臣外戚之專橫	一七
乙、爲日食地震之警惕	一七

丙、爲九品中正之反應	一九
丁、爲牢籠人心	二〇
第三章 科舉以前之取士法	二五
甲、兩漢取士法	二五
一、沿革要略	二五
附兩漢舉士年表	二八
二、取士方法	三三
附兩漢方正賢良表	三五
附東漢孝廉表	三八
三、兩漢取士之得失異同	四六
乙、魏晉南北朝之取士法	五〇
一、歷朝取士概況	五〇
二、九品中正之沿革得失	六四
第一篇 本論	七一
歷代考試概述	七一