

史 數

isotopia



香港中文大學歷史系主編
Edited by The Department of History CUHK



表在勞西，中文大學慶祝建校三十載，當更泰國有朋遠近嘉會，倡議刊印學術紀念論文集，因在學座學友教授、張學明博士、劉健明博士、羅健雄先生、張基朗博士，及 Leung, Alex & Victor，以姓氏筆劃為次序，組織編輯委員會，各同仁惠予函文，中西論著共計五篇，林外總總，彙集成冊，題名曰「史載」及「Good」，所以稱「史載」者，取其史論並歸之意，而「Good」乃古希臘語，意為探索往昔之事。荷蒙大學副校長韋耀基教授雅意，為書名題簽，楷添光采。又中文學院院長何秀堃教授慷慨資助出版，華港學峰書室主人李永康及鄧紹光先生，慨出余1980年畢業生一銀圓支持，並負責製作、印刷及發行，深為銘感。梓行之日，謹綴數言，以申謝忱。並為持重慎和如上。

編輯委員會謹識

1993年12月

目錄

Contents

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 弁言 | i |
| Preface | ii |
| 1. Diversification of Roles of Intellectuals in Early and Medieval China | Cho-yun Hsu 1 |
| 2. 從「君子儒」到「臭老九」—— 古代社會階級與文化演變泛論 | 羅炳綿 35 |
| 3. 韓愈的治道思想 | 劉健明 51 |
| 4. The <i>Entourage</i> of William I, William II, and Henry I | Frederick Hok-ming Cheung 85 |
| 5. 宋代一戶兩口之謎—— 十年來有關研究的回顧 | 蘇基朗 103 |
| 6. Speaking to the People: Patriarch Ioakim and the Propagation of the Faith in Russia | Cathy J. Potter 125 |
| 7. Chinese Political Reformism Revisited, 1859—1911 | Lau Yee-cheung 155 |
| 8. 東瀛刊行的中國預言書述評—— 劉伯溫〈燒餅歌〉、張中〈蒸餅歌〉、 〈鐵冠圖歌〉、〈透天玄機〉 | 陳學霖 169 |
| 9. 香港對武昌革命的反應及與粵軍政府 的關係 | 吳倫霓霞 203 |
| 10. 清末民初廣東商人群體生平學研究 | 何佩然 221 |
| 11. 詩聲吟唱動獅城—— 百年前的新加坡的詩人雅集 | 梁元生 245 |
| 12. 「發展」觀念的分析與觀念史 | 郭少棠 267 |

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----|
| 13. The Unresolved Partnership of Liberalism and Democracy in the American Political Tradition | Stanley Vittoz | 277 |
| 14. The Hou-wang Cult and Tung Chung's Communal Culture | Hon-ming Yip and Wai-yee Ho | 301 |
| 15. 日本篡改歷史教科書問題探索 | 譚汝謙 | 339 |
| 附錄 1993—94年度歷史系教員名錄 Teaching Staff of the History Department 1993—94 | | 369 |
| 編輯委員會 Editorial Board | | 373 |

Diversification of roles of Intellectuals in Early and Medieval China

Cho-yun Hsu

This paper is written to trace the process of the dovetailing roles the Chinese intellectuals played in the early imperial dynasties, from the Ch'in (221-206 B.C.) to the end of the period of the south and north division (AD 420-589). Circumstances during the early part of Medieval China, i.e., the period from the third century to the sixth century, are addressed in details.

I. Literati during the Ch'in period

When China was for the first time unified into a single state under the Ch'in, education was monopolized by the government. It was decreed in 213 B.C. that anyone who aspired to gain some literacy must learn as an apprentice from members of the government staff. Anything other than pragmatic knowledge was prohibited to be taught. Especially forbidden was philosophy and the rhetoric of persuasion and discussions because intellectuals of numerous schools in the previous Warring States period, as was stated in the decree, had confused the mind of the people by criticizing the state's policies and politics.¹

A group of wooden tablets were excavated recently from the

¹ Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, *Shih-chi* 史記 (*Shih-chi hui-chu kao-cheng* 史記會注考證 edition), 6.52-53.

tomb of a Ch'in official. The texts written on these tablets included textbooks for reading and writing scripts, documents of coded law and regulations, and instructions for the proper behavior of the government staff.² The contents of such an assembly of materials indeed testifies that the said decree probably was enforced. The Ch'in condition seemed to have denied intellectuals to play a role other than serving the state.

II. Advisors and bureaucrats during the early reigns of the Western Han period (206 B.C. - A.D. 8)

The Ch'in dynasty did not last long. It was overthrown by joint forces of peasants and the elite of the former six states among whom some literati survived from the Warring States period and took significant parts as strategists (such as, Chang Liang 張良), diplomats (Li I-chi 酈食其), and organizers (Sung Yih 宋義). The new Han dynasty, in its early stage, still did not provide the educated people with much space to develop into a socially influential group. Individual scholars were employed to serve in the government in various capacities, ranging from ritual experts and archivists to councilors and advisors. The entire government, however, was dominated by the meritorious generals who participated in founding the dynasty and their descendants. Although private education was allowed by recovering the texts of ancient classics through the memories of aged, surviving scholars, there was no systematic effort of recruitment to bring the educated into participation in the government.³ Scholars of various intellectual traditions only managed to find

² Sui-hu-ti Ch'in-mu chu-chien cheng-li hsiao-chu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組, *Sui-hu-ti Ch'in-mu chu-chien cheng-li* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理 (Peking Wen-wu Publisher, 1978). For English translation, see A.F.P. Hulswé, *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the Third Century B.C. Discovered in Yun-meng Prefecture, Hupei Province in 1975* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985). Cf. Hsing I-t'ien 邢義田, *Ch'in Han shih lun-t'ung* 秦漢史論叢 (Taipei: Tung-ta Publishing Co., 1987), 495-503.

³ Cho-yun Hsu, "Changing Relationship between Local Society and the Central

employment by using their knowledge of history and politics to establish themselves in the government. The most prominent scholars gained high position by their intellectual wits and erudition. In general, the literati of the early Han time had not yet acquired social influence.

It was during the reigns of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141-87 B.C.) and his ancestor Emperor Chao 昭帝 (r. 86-74 B.C.) that the Han government broadened its base of power by setting up a recommendation system to recruit capable persons from the provinces who excelled in learning and had gained local respect to then serve in middle-level government positions.⁴ Meanwhile, in 124-118 B.C., a Confucian scholar, Kung-sun Hung 公孫弘 (200-121 B.C.), was appointed to the position of Chancellor. This was the first Chancellor who was not a member of the exclusive group of dynasty founders or their descendants. Confucian classics were established at the Imperial Academy as its sole curriculum to which students were assigned to study under the guidance of Confucian scholars.⁵ All these measures were responses to suggestions initiated by Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (197-104 B.C.) in 140 B.C.⁶ The number of students enrolled in the Academy steadily increased from fifty in the reign of Emperor Wu to one hundred under Emperor Chao, to two hundred under Emperor Hsuan 宣帝 (r. 74-33 B.C.), and to three thousand under Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 33-7 B.C.).⁷

These students then formed a reservoir of candidates for the civil service. Indeed, from the reign of Emperor Wu on, the Han court was mainly staffed by graduates from the Academy via a

Power in the Former Han," *Comparative Studies on Society and History*, 7.4 (1965).

⁴ Pan Ku 班固, *Han-shu* 漢書 (*Han-shu pu-chu* 漢書補注 edition), 6.7-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.5.

⁷ Chi-yun Chen, "Confucian, Legalist and Taoist Thought in Later Han," in *The Cambridge History of China*, eds. Michael Loewe and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1:769.

civil examination. The composition of the Han government therefore was completely transformed to a bureaucracy of Confucian ideology.⁸

Having an academy as a base of activities and form of interaction, Confucian scholars became a dominant group in the Han intellectual circle. The close association between scholarly pursuits and a career of government service, on the one hand, steered the direction of education toward application, and, on the other hand, created a Confucian orthodoxy patronized by the authority of the state. This tradition of scholar/official combination henceforth has been a mainstay of Chinese intellectuals for two millennia until modern times.

III. Interpreters of the cosmic order: scholars of the New Texts

It ought to be noticed, however, for at least the period after the reigns of Emperors Wu and Chao until the early part of the Eastern Han, Confucianism was dominated by the School of the New Texts. The so-named New Texts of the classics as well as their interpretations were taught by aged scholars who survived the Ch'in suppression and through generations of transmissions from mentors to disciples. Among the new-text scholars, the most important spokesman of early Han Confucianism was Tung Chung-shu. However, Tung Chung-shu was a synthesizer instead of an innovator. In Tung Chung-shu's works there is a syncretism of several schools of thought developed in the pre-Ch'in days. His thesis of cosmic correspondence asserted mutual influences among various levels of systems, be it a celestial order, a state organization, or the body of an individual. His approaches represented an effort to form a universal theory

⁸ Benjamine Wallacker, "Han Confucianism and Confucius in Han," in *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*, eds. David Roy and Tsuen-hsuei Tsien (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), 215-228.

which probably reflected the mood of the time that coincided with the rise of a universal empire. In Tung's orderly universe, human behavior should correspond to the functions of the cycles of cosmic forces. It seems to imply the prevalence of a law that had governed both the physical world and the human world. Tung Chung-shu was often consulted from time to time by the court on occurrences of natural calamities which were interpreted as the upset of normalcy of the cosmic order caused by improper human conduct, including inadequate government policies and administration.⁹

Tung Chung-shu and his disciples also advised the court on judicial matters. He often quoted Confucian classics, especially the commentaries on the chronicles of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, to establish judgments and verdicts on ambiguous cases which might fall within the loopholes of the codified law. For illustration, he argued by citing a line in the *Book of Odes* and a line in the *Confucian Analects* that the father-son relationship by adoption ought to be the same as that of a biological relationship. By doing so, the Han Confucian scholars actually had regarded Confucian classics as a source of law similar to a constitution of our present days. The Han judicial scholars, therefore, needed to combine studies of the classics with learning the laws. The most commonly studied classics were the *Ch'un-ch'iu chronicles* and the *Book of Documents* (*Shu-Ching*). Confucianism, in fact, had become the foundation of Han jurisprudence.¹⁰

Tung Chung-shu's followers scrutinized, criticized, and even impeached the conduct of the throne by judging it on ideologized Confucian standards of a ruler. Some of the most ardent advocates of the Tung thesis of cosmic order, his disciple Ching Fang 京房 for instance, on several occasions courageously told the throne that the Han dynasty had exhausted its mandated course, and that the throne should yield the Mandate of Heaven

⁹ See his biography in *Han-shu*, chapter 56.

¹⁰ Hsing I-t'ien, *Ch'in Han shih lun-ts'ung*, 296-300.

to a new ruler who represented another phase of cosmic ordinances.¹¹

In Ching Fang's case, the Confucian scholars seemingly attempted to hold the ruler accountable for their conduct by applying the Confucian ideal state and society as a yardstick to measure the performance of the Son of Heaven.¹²

In further establishing Confucianism as an orthodoxy, the Han Confucian scholars made efforts to create a sacred tradition to the extent that Confucianism was led toward the development of a religious faith. Before Buddhism was introduced into China and Taoism was organized into a structured religion, there was indeed plenty of intellectual space for Confucianism to become a religion. Confucians already built around the personality of Confucius quite a circle of myth about his birth, his wisdom, and his mission. All these are included in his biography in the *Shih-chi* and in various places in the *Book of Rites*.¹³ More interesting than the cult of Confucius is the emergence of a large body of the *Chan-Wei* 讖緯 literature in the Han period. These apocryphal materials which, generally speaking, are oracles and predictions, often allegedly related to some Confucian classics as revelations of some hidden messages therein. There was an assumption that the ancient sages, especially Confucius himself, possessed prophetic ability to see through the predestined development of history. The true origin of such materials so far remains unclear. However, the most noticeable proliferation of such "prophecies" took place in the first century B.C., a period that coincided with the flourishing of the Confucianism of the School of New Texts.¹⁴

¹¹ Michael Loewe, "Religious and Intellectual Background," in *The Cambridge History of China*, 1:710-713. Cf. biographies of Hsi Meng 眭孟 and others in *Han-shu*, 75.1-33.

¹² For the Han theories of the cosmic order of the School of New Texts, the discussion is summarized by Chou Yu-t'ung 周予同 in *Ching Chin ku-wen-hsueh* 經今古文學 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935); also, see *Ku-shih-pien* 古史辨, Vol. 5A, (Shanghai: Ya-tang, 1935), which includes the early debates.

¹³ *Shih-chi*, chapter 47; *Li Chi* 禮記, *passim*.

¹⁴ Robert Kramer, "The Development of Confucian Schools," in *The Cambridge History of China*, 1:759 ff. The most thorough studies on the *Chan-Wei* materials is Ch'en Pan 陳槃, *Ku chan-wei shu-mu chieh-t'i* 古讖緯書目解題

Since the "prophecies" usually related closely to the power struggles in Han politics, the appearance of such materials probably served as propaganda. However, such a phenomenon also could be envisioned as an implication that the Confucian scholars who "deciphered" the hidden meanings of the prophecies claimed to possess sacred authority above and beyond secular politics. The Confucian scholars, therefore, took the role rather resembling that of the prophets of ancient Judaism who could determine the legitimacy of the secular authorities.

In summary, the Han Confucian administrator in the second and first centuries B.C. had developed an orthodoxy of canonized classics, a school to reproduce their own kind of intellectuals, and a regular channel to perpetuate their domination of the bureaucracy. With the combination of these advantages, Confucian bureaucrats actually monopolized both the government and the intellectual life of early Han China. Meanwhile, there was another category of Confucians, these were the Confucian scholars who still held a belief in a utopia which was the culmination of the Confucian idealized, universal order for them to judge the real world, a cult that deified the personality of Confucius, Tung Chung-shu's cosmology that related the sacred and the secular, and a set of prophetic materials to express their approval and disapproval thereof. By the means of all these assumptions, Confucian scholars assigned to themselves the role similar to, and even more than, a priesthood that was the guardian of the sacred cosmic order.

Confucian administrators, perhaps, made up the entire Han officialdom, except for members who received appointment due to personal favors of the emperors. The Confucian scholars included those who sincerely believed in the apocryphal materials and a few who risked their own lives to impeach the emperors and ministers. In some drastic situations, the scholars would insist that the Mandate of Heaven had to be changed and that the

emperor should give away the throne. For instance, Emperor Ai 哀帝 (reign 6-1 B.C.) was persuaded to change both the imperial title and the name of his reign in 5 B.C. to symbolize the termination of the old dynasty and the beginning of a new one.¹⁵ The dynasty established by the usurper Wang Mang 王莽 was called Hsin 新 (A.D. 9-24), literally, the "new" dynasty. It revealed the same faith that the history needed to enter a new epoch. It seems that faith made the prophecies a self-fulfilled event.

Among the Confucian theoreticians there were some protesters who did not approve of the conditions of their time. They therefore preferred to stay out of the common path of participating in government service. The protestants chose to live in retirement to the extent of staging "silent" protests. They, by definition of their opted behavior of withdrawing, had not been noticed by the historians. Therefore, both the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu* did not dedicate special chapters to keep a record of the lives of the most renown recluses, as in later official histories.

In conclusion, the Han Confucians, as cultural carriers, played several intellectual roles, such as, officials, scholars, prophets, and protesters. None of which needed to be exclusive of the others. They shared one characteristic, however. These intellectuals tended to take part directly in regulating the society and they usually believed in the power of knowledge with which they were prepared to use to hold people accountable for their conduct, a principle from which no one, even the emperor, could claim exemption. Most of the Han intellectuals of the New Texts School in the second and first centuries B.C., therefore, were very much involved in society; they were not detached scholars in ivory towers.

IV. Scholars of the Ancient Texts

The rise of the Ancient Texts School in the first century B.C. changed the role of the Han intellectuals profoundly. In contrast to the New Texts, which was retrieved from the memory of Confucian scholars who survived the Ch'in suppression of learning, the Ancient Texts were scripts written on tablets rediscovered in various ways, some from hidden storages and some from collections of the imperial library, which was not accessible to the general public. Scholars who studied ancient scripts in their original forms noticed that the assumptions and interpretations based upon the New Texts were often loaded and even distorted. Debates between scholars of these two schools were heated, not just because of intellectual reasons, but also due to struggles over turfs of academic leadership. During the early reigns of the Eastern Han, there repeatedly were direct imperial interventions in order to arbitrate scholarly debates. The School of New Texts seemingly managed to receive imperial support. However, a crucial consequence was that Confucianism ceased to develop further toward a quasi-religion because the original scripts of Confucian classics granted very little verification for sustaining the mythical claim of the Chan-Wei prophecies.

Subsequently, the Han Confucians developed a new scholarly tradition to provide thorough re-examination of the classics. On the one hand, there was serious scholarship of textual criticism in order to restore the original text, as both the Ancient and the New Texts were brought into some coherence. The extremity of such practice was the appearance of a scholasticism to such an extent as to create wordy yet trivial exegetical discussions. It is said that some scholars wrote several thousands of words to explain six words of the beginning sentence of a chapter of the *Book of Documents (Shang-shu)*. Such scholasticism, in addition to the inertia of a state sponsored orthodoxy, brought forth a suffocating effect to further development of Confucianism. Thus, it

appears rather natural that in the second century Confucianism had to face challenges from all sides, especially the Taoist inspired new interpretation of the classics.¹⁶

V. Advocators of Confucian ethics

Parallel to the appearance of scholasticism, in another direction, was a stress upon Confucian ethical values. Confucianism is basically built on premises of social relations to determine what would be appropriate and distinctive relationships between individuals in various capacities, i.e., compassion of parents versus filial piety of children, trust of the ruler versus loyalty of the subject, love between spouses, mutual concern and respect among friends, and so on. The criteria of selecting candidates through the Han recruitment system always included not only excellence of learning but also worthiness as displayed in such titles as "man of filial piety," "diligent farmer," "man of fraternal love," or "uncorrupted personality." Nevertheless, there seemed to be a sudden upsurge of such emphases on personal character in the Eastern Han. In the Han mortuary paintings and picture reliefs on bricks and stone plates the families of intellectuals preferred to include simple reproductions of models of ancient moral characters rather than ornamental designs and figures in fairy tales which were preferred by the rich and the powerful.¹⁷

¹⁶ Cf. Yun Hsu, "Historical Conditions of the Emergence and Crystalization of the Confucian System," in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, ed. S.N. Eisenstadt (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 306-324. Kramer, "The Development of Confucian Schools," 762-765. The last imperial-sponsored conference on Confucianism was held in A.D. 79 at the Hall of the White Tiger. The debates were recorded in *Pai-hu-tung-i* 白虎通義. See Tjan Tjoe som (tr.), *Pai-Hu-Tung*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949 and 1952).

¹⁷ Martin J. Power, *Art and Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 371-377.

This particular preference perhaps testifies to several associated phenomena. First, the Han recruitment system had been routinized to such an extent that the criteria were reduced to sheer formalities. Original moral concern needed to be reassumed by confirmation of such values rather than merits of learning. Public opinions, therefore, carried more weight than true scholarship and characters. Secondly, the re-appearance of the Ancient Texts triggered a movement of returning to the Confucian basic teachings which, as already argued in preceding paragraphs, were principally concerned with ethical norms. The Han Confucian scholars, by re-confirmation of the premises, must have demonstrated their basic concerns and thus probably aroused a new conscience that could bring a consensus for the Confucian cultural values.

The emergence of a new conscience is associated with the changes of the social roles of the intellectuals who therefore developed some sense of a mission. The Han intellectuals in the Western Han period had established themselves as leaders at provincial and local levels. During the chaotic decades at the end of the Western Han and Wang Mang's reign, these community leaders took upon themselves the functions of education and self-defense. Some of them joined with starving peasants to organize uprisings that eventually managed to overthrow Wang Mang's regime.¹⁸

Throughout the entire Eastern Han period (A.D. 25-220), leadership exercised by intellectuals collectively formed a social force that was related to the state authority because of their monopoly of the bureaucracy; yet such social powers were augmented by the personal relations of intellectuals spreading

¹⁸ For illustrations, see Teng Yu 鄧禹, Keng Hsieh 耿弇, Ti-wu Lun 第五倫; cf. Fan Yeh 范曄, *Hou Han-shu* 後漢書 (*Hou Han-shu chi-chieh* 後漢書集解 edition), 16.1-3, 19.1-2, 41.1-2.

over the Han China as a gigantic social network that was so powerful that imperial authority felt seriously threatened. Since Confucian ethics emphasized strong solidarity within kinship groups and communities, the Han intellectual leaders gradually formed sizable extended families with large estates as well as some retainers.

These prominent families, as power centers in their native places, often produced generation after generation of scholars and bureaucrats who served at the local level as well as the national level. The phenomenon of the appearance of moral models in the Han mortuary art, as mentioned above, probably demonstrated both that these prominent Confucian families in provinces had to display their emphasis of Confucian ethics and that they financially could afford to sponsor such art activities. These families, with their almost autonomous power based upon their local influences, constituted a threat to the imperial authority, which theoretically was not to be challenged.¹⁹

In summary, the Eastern Han intellectuals gave up the quasi-religious roles of prophets and only remained as scholar/officials who dominated the academic circles as well as the bureaucracy. Furthermore, Confucianism, crystallized as orthodoxy accompanied by scholasticism, lost the momentum of a viable tradition of learning. On the other hand, as the School of Ancient Texts gained influence, re-emphasis of the practice of Confucian ethics gave intellectuals a renewed self-conscience to regard themselves as role models of society. In a rather mundane aspect, prominent members of the Confucian intellectuals

¹⁹ Since our concern here is mainly the intellectual's role, it is not urgent for us to give a detailed account of the power struggle and its related events. This subject was first raised by Yang Lien-sheng in his article on the *hao-tsu* of the Eastern Han period. Subsequently, Ying-shih Yü, Wolfram Eberhard, Han-Kuang Mao, Patricia Ebrey, David Johnson and others, each has contributed to make some new definitions. A comprehensive summary is made by Albert Dien in his "Introduction," in *State and Society in Early Medieval China*, ed. Albert Dien (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 7-14.