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文學院

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## 六書會意研究

江 舉 謙\*

### 提 要

人類文字起源於圖繪。由「實形」而「虛象」，演為後世「象形」與「指事」兩書。由單體而「複體」，則「會意」之所出也。

漢文字源遠流長，其構形內容為先人智慧之結晶。研究工作自來皆通過「六書」。然傳統「六書」理論，乃漢世學者歸納籀篆古文而立，深度與廣度，皆有未備。會意之研究，即欲彌補此缺漏。

本文內容除「引言」與「結語」外，共分三章。第一章為「會意理論溯源」。第二章為「會意字之演成」。此兩章內容重在歷史淵源的尋繹與歸納。第三章為「六書會意內容綜析」，重在實質之探討，亦為本文之主體，分三方面論述其構成：

第一為會形示意 析為「同形」與「異形」兩大類。前者又分為「實形」與「虛形」兩種。後者則分為「實形」、「虛形」、「虛實合形」三種。

第二為會義申意 亦析為「同義」與「異義」兩大類。前者就其義之層次又分為「申繁複」、「申推進」、「申化成」三種。後者就其義之生成又分為「順遞申意」、「並峙申意」、「定位申意」三種。

第三為錯綜會意 根據構體之特異。分為「省體會意」、「會意兼象形」、「會意兼指事」、「會意兼諧聲」四小類。

### 引 言

文字是表情達意的工具。它的構成包含形音義三項原素。一般文字這三項原素大都各自獨立。即使是拼音文字，「形」與「音」的關係隨着時間的發展，也逐漸脫節。只有漢文字這三項原素始終密切關聯。尤其「形」與「義」的關係，除了「象形」和「指事」，直接就「形」顯「義」外，傳統六書的「會意」，更是曲折深入，隨着人類生活的進步，民族智慧的成長，「形」「義」相生關係真是徑途萬千，深度和廣度極盡衍化之妙境。

文字的演成，隨着人類文明的進步，經歷過漫長的行程。原始只有「義」，這包括客觀事物和主觀理念。由於人類生活由原始而文明，由個體而群體，於是出現「音」。音節聯合便成為語言。初期的人類都是以語言表達意義。即使到了二十世紀，少數落後地區未開化的民族仍停留在這階段。

應用語言以表達意義，固然簡單便捷。但必然受時間和空間的限制。突破這種限制，便自然而然出現了「形」。而真正文字也就由此根立生命。今天楷書文字，實際上又是經歷數千百年衍化演進的成果。

原始的「形」，大都是客觀實物。「日」「月」「云」「雨」，「牛」「羊」「犬」「馬」，「山」「川」「水」「火」，「耳」「目」「口」「自」，都是據物圖象。有些圖象雖然增附

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他體，變化結構，或別加音讀，但基本內容仍是原始實物，例如「果」「石」、「鳥」「禾」「齒」「菊」等是也。

稍後的「形」則是主觀虛象。現實未必有此物，但必然有其理。或者實際有此物，而其形象不能直接圖顯。至於變化結構或別加音讀。總之基本內容皆為事理。例如「上」「下」、「寸」「亦」、「彳」「及」，「旁」「牽」等是也。

以上兩類「形」，不論是客觀實物或主觀虛象，都是出於一單純主體。換言之，它的涵「義」即由此主體的「形」表達。傳統六書，前者歸屬「象形」，後者列為「指事」。此兩類字為數無多，但却是漢文字的根基。後出萬千，實際皆由實虛兩形錯綜配合蕃衍。

這種配合蕃衍，初期以「義」為主。後世則以「聲」為多。傳統六書，前者稱為「會意」。後者名為「形聲」。漢文字的構成原理，至此大致已備。

「會意」既以「義」為主。原始實際乃複合圖形。傳統六書皆宗許慎說文解字。許君立說則本漢世學者據小篆構形之歸納，故「名稱」「界說」「例字」，皆非其朔。本文探源溯本，貫通其原理，綜析其內容。冀淵源與真相大明。廣度與深度俱備。而漢文字演進之迹得以尋繹也。

## 第一章 會意理論溯源

許慎說文解字敘：

「周禮：八歲入小學。保氏教國子先以六書。一曰指事。指事者，視而可識察而見意。上下是也。二曰象形，象形者，畫成其物隨體詰詘、日月是也。三曰形聲。形聲者，以事為名取譬相成。江河是也。四曰會意。會意者，比類合誼以見指搃，武信是也。……。」

王筠說文釋例云：

「按會者合也。合誼即會誼之正解。說文用誼，今人用義。會意者合二字三字之義以成一字之義，不作會悟解也」。

根據許敘王釋，傳統六書「會意」的基本內涵是：

1. 名稱 會意即合誼，亦即結合意義。
2. 內容 類列二字以上結合其義以顯示趨指。
3. 例字 「武」「信」皆為義之結合。从「止」从「戈」以為「武」。取義更輾轉間接。从「人」从「言」以為「信」，義更高遠。

許君六書內容係承班固漢書藝文志。其理論基礎則為「古」「籀」「篆」構形大類之歸納。按班志云：

「古者八歲入小學，故周官保氏掌養國子，教之六書。謂象形、象事、象意、象聲、轉注、假借。造字之本也。」

許君改「象意」為「會意」。正是囿於「古」、「籀」、「篆」文構形之事實。而「象」與「會」一字之不同。在文字淵源上則相差極遠。前者重在「形」的示意。後者主於「義」的結合。人類文字源於圖繪，則「象意」乃直接由圖繪演化。其淵源早於會意遠矣。

劉師培小學發微補云：

「說文之釋會意也，謂比類合誼以見指搃，武信是也。合誼者兩形並列之字也。吾謂兩形並列之字亦出於古代圖畫。例如武字从止从戈，在上古時，必畫一人作止戈之形。信字从人从言，在上古時，必畫一人作欲語之形。又如舞字从人从舞，即畫一人而加以舞蹈之形。位字

从人从立，即畫一人直立之形。伐字从人从戈，即畫一人荷戈之形。男字从力从田，即畫一人耕田之形。婦字从女从帚，即畫一女持帚之形。苗字从艸从田，即畫艸生於田之形。焚字从林从火，即畫以火燒林之形。鳴字从口从鳥，即畫羽族發聲之形。吠字从口从犬，即畫犬屬發聲之形。嵩字从山从高，即畫山峰最高之形。由是言之，則會意者，即兩形並列之謂也。亦即古代之圖畫也」。

劉氏以爲「合誼者兩形並列之字也」。「會意者即兩形並列之謂也」。論斷偏以概全。詮釋「武」「信」兩例字，乃據篆隸以下形義立言，更係想當然臆說，並不可信。然推闡「會意」，出於「古代之圖畫」，則極具卓見。

孫海波古文聲系自序亦云：

「二形並列之字雖曰會意，猶不外圖繪之法。如莫从艸从日，即繪日在艸中之形。伐从人从戈，即繪一人荷戈之形。男从力从田，即繪一人耕田之形。吠从犬从口，即繪犬發聲之形。集从鳥从木，即繪鳥集于木之形。祭从又从肉从示，即繪以手持肉祭神之形。祝主贊詞者，即繪一人跪而祝于前之形。休息止也，即繪一人依木之形。取取耳也，即繪以手持耳之形。突犬從穴暫出也，即繪犬在穴下之形。雖兩形並列，亦即古代之圖繪也。蓋會意雖以意爲主，其會合也，以形不以意。即許書所列會意之字，亦多以形體發明字義者。古文會意一體即象形中複雜之字。故象意出於象形。以象形較象事，象形實而象事虛。以象事較象意，象事實而象意又虛。窺其制作之意，斯二者皆圖繪之法也。苟去其所象之形，則事與意皆無附麗以存也」。

孫氏肆力於契金古文，其推論會意淵源，視劉氏更爲精詳。所舉例字除「伐」字誤失外，大致可信。尤其肯定「古文會意一體即象形中複雜之字。故象意出於象形」，進而辨析「以象形較象事，象形實而象事虛。以象事較象意，象事實而象意又虛。窺其制作之意，斯二者皆圖繪之法也」。於班志「象形」、「象事」、「象意」三書之關係，可謂言簡而意賅矣。而傳統六書中「會意」之淵源，更得以溯其遠古圖繪之跡象。

圖繪演爲文字之歷程，就其內容言，大致如此：

#### (甲)單體圖象

##### (A)象形

- (1)單純象形：日、月、山、水、艸、木等。
- (2)加體象形：省、果、束、黍、胃、石等。
- (3)省變象形：烏、不、子、去、交、尢等。

##### (B)象事

- (1)單純象事：上、下、一、二、入、回等。
- (2)加體象事：刃、本、末、立、尹、卒等。
- (3)省變象事：彳、丁、及、幻、巾、冂等。

#### (乙)複體圖意

- (A)同形象意：珏、林、从、夫夫、秝、焱等。
- (B)異形象意：初、休、相、采、祭、寧等。
- (C)雜形象意：鬻、糞、葬、眞、玦、攸等。

以上諸類文字，原始皆出於圖繪。其構成元素，主要是「形」。換言之，其「義」皆由「形

」出。單體象形之文蓋「即形即義」。單體象事之文亦「即形生義」。複體象意之字，則「就形見義」。班志稱之為「象意」，深合「造字之本」矣。許慎改為「會意」，以為係「比類合誼以見指搃」，至以「武」「信」為例，顯非其溯。故就文字演進程序言，可得結論：一一

象意→會意

其實，單體圖象之「象事」，與複體圖意之「象意」，就造字之內涵言，本係一貫。孫海波以為「象意」出於「象形」。而「象事」介乎其間，較之「象形」為虛，較之「象意」則為實。虛虛實實並非絕對。要皆託義於圖繪之「形」。孫氏未深入論述，然「象意」與「象事」之關係，又可得而推也。

唐蘭古文字學導論就上古文字的構成肯定：

「由原始文字演化成近代文字的過程裡，細密地分析起來有三個時期。由繪畫到象形文字的完成是原始期。由象意文字的興起到完成是上古期。由形聲文字的興起到完成是近古期」。

唐蘭未提及「象事」。則「象事」必歸之於「象意」中。嚴格言，「事」與「意」並無絕對區分標準。所以他進一步肯定：

「在上古文字裡，只有象形和象意」。

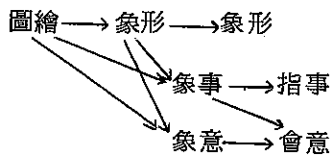
「象事」文字之構成，原始本出於單體圖象。與「象形」內容只有虛實之異。傳統六書則析為「指事」。唐蘭云：

「上古文字只是從形符發展成意符。所以指事這個名目只是前人因一部份文字無法解釋而立的。其實這種文字大都是象形或象意。在文字史上根本就沒有發生過指事文字」。

根據唐蘭理論，會意的淵源可以再推溯：

象事→象意→會意

而「象事」「象意」原始亦出古代圖繪，故會意淵源實際是遠紹圖繪，即：



明瞭「會意」淵源的悠遠，對傳統六書中「會意」的內容，才能在廣度與深度工作進一步掌握。

## 第二章 會意字之演成

文字是人類文明生活的產物。生活文明是逐漸演進，文字的內涵與構體也是由實而虛，由簡而繁衍化演成。理論上，「六書」淵源都是圖繪，單體實物的圖繪，直接演進為「象形」，其理至為明顯，例如：

「日」 實也。太陽之精不虧，象形。原始圖繪日象。

「月」 闕也。太陰之精象形。原始圖繪月象。

「山」 宣也。有石而高、象形。原始圖繪崗巒起伏之形。

「水」 準也。象眾水並流。原始圖繪波濤蜿蜒之形。

「人」 天地之性最貴者也。象臂脛之形。原始繪側立形。

「目」 人眼也。象形。原始即繪眼珠及瞳孔之形。

「口」 人所以言食也。象形。原始即繪人口上侈之形。

「川」 貫川通流水也。原始象高隄岸而水流其中。

「隹」 鳥之短尾總名也。象形。原始即繪側面飛禽形。

「木」 冒也。从艸，下象其根。原始即繪樹木根枝象。

「門」 闕也。象形。原始即繪雙扇之門形。

「大」 天大地大人亦大焉。象人形。原始繪正立之人形。

「玉」 石之美有五德者，象三玉之連，一其貫也。原始繪五玉之連。兩端露其繩繫。

隨着人類智慧與文明的發展，單體圖繪象形文字必然不能滿足實際需要。根據唐蘭古文字學導論，象意文字便由象形「分化」而生。可惜唐氏但創新見。內容未備。欲窺全面牽涉極廣，亦非本文所能詳述。茲就上舉字例，略論其「分化」途徑。

由「象形」分化為「象事」「象意」，徑途有三：一一

(1)本形予以人為省變。

(2)本形增附點畫符識。

(3)本形或他形相配合。

分化的第一階段，基本上仍是象形。例如：

「夕」 莫也，从月半見。按「月」本象其闕形。無可再闕，契金文「月」「夕」一字。所謂「从月半見」乃後人強為之形。取象光暗淡之意。小篆遞嬗為「指事」。

「不」 伐木餘也。从木無頭。按「木」上體象其榦，省去主榦。乃去榦之木。仍為形也。

「本」 木下也。从木，一在其下。

「末」 木上也。从木，一在其上。

按「本」「末」分別為樹之根柢與梢杪，乃是木之一特定部位，仍為形象。

「岷」 二山也。

「雝」 雙鳥也。

「巢」 群鳥在木上也。从木。

「圂」 豕廁也。从口，象豕在口中也。

以上諸字除「不」始終為「象形」外，「夕」「本」「末」遞變為「象事」，為「指事」，「岷」「雝」「巢」「圂」演化為「象意」，為「會意」。迹其本始為圖繪，至為顯然。唐蘭以為漢文字的上古期實際是象意的興起到完成，大致可以信從。

茲再就其不同「分化」徑途，舉例推闡。

第一 本形予以省變。

「水」 本形為蜿蜒下流之象。演為——

「𣶒」 象洪水滔滔橫流之形，為「水災」原始字。

「𣶒」(昔) 洪水橫流之日，事屬過去。往「昔」之意即由此出。許書說解未溯其源。

「益」 象水溢出容器之形。「饒也」之訓乃其引申義。皿上構體亦「水」之變。

就文字之演進言，「𣶒」、「𣶒」、「益」皆為「象意」(象事)。至「𣶒」、「尿」、「漏」、「汙」、「休」等，始入六書之「會意」。

「目」 本象眼珠瞳孔正視之形。演為：——



「臣」 設象俯首垂視之形。許書說形未遠。訓義則引申也。

「𠄎」 象人挺立於土上俯覽之形，後增月作「𠄎」，為瞭望。許訓形義皆非其溯。令通段「望」為之，「望」訓「出亡在外望其還也」，為希「望」之義。與此迥異。

「臥」 象人俯身垂目之形。許訓「伏也」，以為「从人臣，取其伏也」。並不明「臣」乃「目」之變。

按「臣」「𠄎」「臥」皆由目「分化」。並為「象意」。「見」「看」等亦然。至「𠄎」「𠄎」「相」「眇」等，始入六書之「會意」。

### 第二 本形增附點畫符識

「日」 本象太陽光明盛實之形。演為：——

「旦」 明也。从日見一上。一地也。古金文或象「日」浮出水氣之形。朝旦之意益精。

「杲」 明也。从日在木上。

「杳」 冥也。从日在木下。

「𠄎」 衆微妙也。从日中視絲。

按「旦」「杲」「杳」「𠄎」皆由日「分化」，並為「象意」。「早」「𠄎」之理亦然。至「昌」「昆」「睨」等出，始入六書「會意」。

「口」 本象人口上侈之形。演為：——

「甘」 美也。从口含一。一道也。

「曰」 詞也。从口凵。象口氣出也。

「只」 語已詞也。从口，象氣下引之形。

「鳴」 鳥聲也，从鳥口。

「吠」 犬鳴，从口犬。

「唬」 虎聲也，从口虎。

按「甘」「曰」「只」「鳴」「吠」「唬」等皆由口「分化」。並為「象意」。「名」「吹」之理略同。至「吉」「各」「肩」「右」等出，始進入六書之「會意」。

### 第三 本形或他形相配合

「八」 別也。象分別相背之形。

「分」 分也。从重八。

「夕」 莫也。从月半見。

「多」 緝也。从重夕。

「佳」——「雝」 雙鳥也。从二佳。

「𠄎」 群鳥也。从三佳。

「木」——「林」 平地有叢木曰林。从二木。

「森」 木多貌。

「犬」——「𠄎」 兩犬相齧也。从二犬。

「𠄎」 犬走貌，从三犬。

「耳」——「聑」 安也。从二耳。

「聾」 聾耳私小語也。从三耳。

「女」——「姪」 訟也。从二女。

「姪」 么也。从三女。

「口」——「吶」 驚呼也。从二口。

「品」 衆庶也。从三口。

「器」 衆口也。从四口。

「苗」 艸生於田者。从艸田。

「焚」 燒田也。从火林。

「光」 明也。从火在儿上。

「采」 擄取也。从木从爪。

「罨」 覆鳥令不得飛走也。从网佳。

「典」 五帝之書也。从册在兀上，尊閣之也。

「休」 息止也。从人依木。

「冫」 小阱也。从人在白上。

「閃」 闕頭門中也。从人在門中。

「闕」 馬出門貌。从馬在門中。

「突」 犬從穴中暫出也。从犬在穴中。

「竄」 匿也。从鼠在穴中。

「囧」 照也。从月囧。

「明」 古文从月日。

漢文字由圖繪發展為文字。單體實物直接演為「象形」，事實至為簡明外，「象事」「象意」的分化育成。極盡曲折與奧妙，徑途既多，創意更富。六書「會意」則集民族智慧之大成，反映文化思想文明生活之全面。茲更以「大」字之分化，綜觀事意之衍成。

按「大」之原始，本為人形正面之圖繪。由是而生：——

「天」 顛也。从一大。古金文特顯其首，非从一也。

「𠂆」 傾頭也。从大，象形。原始本即繪側頭之形。

「夭」 屈也。从大，象形。原始乃繪傾首擺手之形。

「交」 交脛也。从大，象交形。原始作交脛而立之形。

「尢」 越也。从大，象偏曲之形。按象人腿跛癘之形。

「亦」 人之臂亦也。从大，象兩亦之形。按點畫兩腋處。

「立」 復也。从大，在一之上。按象人端立於定位上。

「夫」 丈夫也。从大一。一以象簪。按象以笄簪首形。

「竝」 併也。从二立。按象二人比肩正立之形。

「𠂇」 並行也。从二夫。按象二壯男結伴形。

「走」 趨也。从天止。按象人傾首擺手特著其足。

「輦」 輓車也。从車夫。夫在車前引之也。按象二夫合力輓車形。

會意理論之溯源及會意字之演進略如前述，則六書會意之內容，可據以綜貫全面，條理其內容矣。

### 第三章 六書會意內容綜析

漢文字的歷史源遠流長。原始期是從圖繪到象形的完成。上古期大致以象意為主，而象事即包括在中。傳統六書的「會意」，即由象意衍成。其結構重心逐漸由「形」遞嬗為「義」，也就是說，由最初的「形」的組合，進而為「義」的融合。換言之，象意的「義」是直接由形顯示。會意的「義」乃間接由義推闡。許慎說文敘「比類合誼以見指撝」的定義，即是此制作內涵的肯定。「合誼」是制作原理。「指撝」是制作的落實。而「武信」是也兩例字，則是「會意」內涵的直接體現。

原始單體的象意字，班固漢書藝文志實際已別立「象事」以統之。傳統六書出於許慎。許氏說文解字更據籀篆構體，綜覈名實，易為「指事」。俾與「象」形及「會」意有別。雖其定義「視而可識，察而見意」，頗易與兩者混，然例字「上下是也」，則澈底廓清三者界域矣。

漢文字的演進徑途古今一貫。傳統六書會意出現於東漢。尋繹內容則需探源索本，綜析全面。條理如下。

#### 第一節 會形示意

文字源於圖繪，這是早期會意字，直接由圖繪演成。又分兩大類：一為同形會合示意；一為異形會合示意。

##### 第一類 同形會合示意

(甲)實形

(A)實形表實

珏 二玉相合為一珏。

徐鍇：「按爾雅雙玉曰珏」。

按「玉」之原始象以系串小玉五枚。珏則象玉二系之形。

雥 雙鳥也。从二隹。

按「隹」為飛禽側面圖繪，二隹為二鳥之形。原始亦為圖繪。

屾 二山也。

豨 二豕也。

𩺰 二魚也。

斤 二斤也。

灇 三泉也。

水水 二水也。

按此類字，其義即在形見。原始之為圖繪蓋極顯然。以下則稍推申。

林 平土有叢木曰林。从二木。

畱 比田也。从二田。

絲 蠶所吐也。从二系。

𩺰 群鳥也。从三隹。

𩺰 衆馬也。从三馬。

磊 衆石也。从三石。

毳 獸細毛也。从三毛。

聃 衆艸也。从四艸。

𠂔 衆口也。从四口。

按此類字，其義雖非卽形。然仍落實於物也。

#### (B)實形推虛

从 相聽也。从二人。

段玉裁：「聽者聆也。引申爲相許之稱」。

按契金文作二人同向一方之形。「聽从」、「順从」、「服从」之義由此而生。

炎 火光上也。从重火。

饒炯：「火光上者謂火飛揚之火上出。與焱同字。」

按字从重火，契文正如此作。王肅云火之性炎盛而升上。故原始繪重火形。許訓「火光上」卽由此推別。

戔 賊也。从二戈。

徐鍇云：「兵多則殘也。故从二戈」。

按契金文繪兩戈並舉。殘賊傷害之意可見。羅振玉以爲乃戰之初字。義亦由二戈推也。

友 同志爲友。从二又，相交友也。

徐灝云：「友以相助爲義，故从二又」。

按契金文多繪二又相並，與小篆略同。或加相聯記號，同志佑助之義益顯。

秝 稀疏適也。从二禾。

徐鍇云：「適者宜也。禾人手種之故，其稀疏等也」。

按玉篇秝稀疏秝然。卽禾之行隔均勻整齊之意。今則以歷爲之。

𤝵 犬走貌。从三犬。

徐灝云：「犬善走，故去疾義从三犬。」

𤝵 心疑也。从三心。

饒炯云：「案凡人之爲慮，疑決在心。決者用心周密，事有定向。共理相貫，雜而不越。而疑者用心繁亂，之此之彼，惘恍無憑。故𤝵从三心會意。而其義則訓疑也。」

按此類字，說文所收頗多。除上舉外，他如：——

𠂔 驚呼也。从二口。

𠂔 左右視也。从二目。

𠂔 微也。从二玄。

𠂔 本不勝末。微弱也。从二瓜。

𠂔 訟也。从二女。

𠂔 疆也。从二弓。

𠂔 虎怒也。从二虎。

𠂔 兩犬相齧也。从二犬。

𠂔 土高也。从三土。

𠂔 羊臭也。从三羊。

𨾏 行超遠也。从三鹿。

𨾏 疾也。从三兔。

轟 車聲也。从三車。

姦 私也。从三女。

聾 附耳私小語也。

𨾏 不滑也。从四止。

徐鍇云：「四皆止，故爲𨾏也」。

王筠云：「𨾏从二人足向相反對。與順行異。相悞不能舉步行，艱澀不滑也。」

按此類字訓義皆由實推虛，然其構體則本圖繪也。

### (乙)虛形

廿 二十并也。

卅 三十并也。

按「十」下云：「數之具也。一爲東西，丨爲南北。則四方中央備矣」。上古記數法多出於結繩。金文直畫中猶存結形遺意。後演化爲橫畫。卽「十」之所以衍成也。本爲象事虛形，重之爲「廿」，卽二十之意。三之爲「卅」，卽三十也。今俗又有作「卅」者，則爲四十矣。

𠂇 二入也。

按「入」下云：「內也。象從上俱下也」。「入」之原始實尖銳器物之虛象，尖銳器乃可入物，故訓「內也」。重之爲「𠂇」，訓「二入也」。

段玉裁云：「以形爲義」。

𠂇 同力也。从三力。

按「力」下云：「筋也。象人筋之形」。段玉裁云：「象其條理也。人之理曰力；故木之理曰枋；地之理曰防；水之理曰泐」。條理無實形，然一切事功皆由此出。三之爲「𠂇」，同力之訓亦以形爲義也。

𠂇 極巧視之也。从四工。

段玉裁云：「工爲巧，故四工爲極巧」。

按「工」下云：「巧飾也。象人有規槩。」規槩無實形，縱橫之制乃準繩之虛象。巧飾之訓正由此出。四之爲「𠂇」，極巧視之則又進一層之義也。

## 第二類 異形會合示意

### (甲)實形合象

#### (A)融合爲象

𠂇 小阱也。从人在白上。

段玉裁云：「阱者陷也。各謂阱之小者」。又云：「古者掘地爲白，故从人白會意。白猶坑也」。

按古者掘地爲坑，坑與白同。徐鍇云：「春地坎可名人」。契金文卽繪人落坎（坑）中形。今隸「人」譌混「刀」，形遂不顯矣。

𠂇 火所熏之色也。从炎上出𠂇。𠂇古𠂇字。

饒炯云：「火所熏者說其形。炎上出囧，囧爲煙突。炎上出囧其色變黑，物理如是」。按金文即繪火炎上騰煙窗之形，黑色之義之所由生也。

光明也。从火在人上，光明意也。

按契金文並从人頂戴火形。光照意也。穴居或坑中工作者多用之。即小篆之所由出也。

伐擊也。从人持戈。

按契金文並象以戈刀貫人頸。蓋即殺伐斬首之意。古亦祭祀之名。後世形變頗與戍混。郭某云：「伐象以戈伐人。戈必及人身。戍示人以戈守戍，人立在戈下，此其大較也」。

休息止也。从人依木。

桂馥云：「五經文字休象人息木陰」。

按契金文皆繪人依木形，即息止之意也。

益饒也。从水皿。水皿益之意也。

戴侗云：「疑益爲溢字。水在皿上溢之意也」。

按契文象水溢出於皿之形。即形以見其義也。饒也之訓乃後世引申。

看睇也。从手下目。

徐鍇云：「以手翳目而望也」。

桂馥云：「九經字樣凡物見不審，則手遮目看之，故看从手下目」。

按凡人觀遠或以手遮目上，俾光不翳物也。

春擣粟也。从𠄎持杵臨臼上。

按契金文並从𠄎舉杵臨臼上，擣粟之意可見，契文又有繪人兩手執杵臨臼，臼中粟彈出之形者。當爲春之初文。後乃省人从𠄎耳。然全形仍爲圖繪則顯然也。此類字皆直接自圖繪出。上舉八例依其一斑，唯小篆構體多有省變。此外如：——

步行也。从止少相背。

饒炯云：「案步者，接足以行也。當云象足相承之形」。

秉禾束也。从又持禾。

朱駿聲云：「从又持禾會意。手持一禾爲秉，手持兩禾爲兼」。按本義常爲握持禾，禾束之訓乃後出。

羣鳥在木上也。从𠩺从木。

徐灝云：「群鳥聚於木上曰集。引申爲凡聚之稱」。

按本形即群鳥棲上於木上之形。原始實爲圖繪。

彪犬之多毛者。从犬彡。

按契文本畫犬毛茸茸形。

見視也。从目儿。

按原始本畫人上張目之形。

水行也。从水从流。流，篆文从水。

徒行瀆水也。从水从步。篆文从水。

按原始繪流及步於水中之形。流即「去」乃倒子形，象其順也。「步」爲行，行在水中也。今隸皆从篆作，意稍晦矣。

## (B) 結合爲象

尻 處也。从尸得几而止。孝經曰仲尼尻。

段玉裁云：「凡尸得几謂之尻。尸卽人也。引申之爲凡尻處之字」。

按小篆象人凭几而坐，卽尻處之義也。金文象人立於广下，又或立宀下。广宀並象屋宇，亦卽尻處之意。今隸多段「居」爲之。罕有知其本者矣。

漏 屋穿水下也。从雨在尸下。尸者屋也。

按从雨在尸下，卽屋漏之意也。漏爲以銅受水刻節，與此義異。

閒 隙也。从門从月。

徐鍇云：「夫門夜閉。閉而見月光，是有閒隙也」。

按金文與小篆同。从門中見月。本義當爲門之縫隙。

彙 禾成秀也。人所以收。从爪禾。

徐鍇云：「爪禾爲彙，會意也」。

按契文象禾秀垂穗之形。小篆衍化爲从爪从禾，今則以「穗」行。

負 恃也。从人守貝。有所恃也。

按从人守貝，卽人擁財富之意。「負以藩身」，卽「恃也」之訓所出也。

典 五帝之書也。从册在兀上，尊閣之也。

徐鍇云：「典言常道也。言百世常行之道也」。

按契金文彩多作。或衆兩手捧册，或衆以物藉墊册之形，義應取珍貴圖藉。「五帝之書」則引申也。

戒 警也。从攴持戈以戒不虞。

徐灝云：「持戈以警備，引申爲凡戒慎之稱」。

按契金文與小篆同，「兵」下云：「械也，从攴持斤」，就構形言，與戒相當。古人製字取義初無定則也。

析 破木也。从木从斤。

段玉裁云：「以斤破木，以斤斷艸，其義一也。」

按契金文與小篆同。从木从斤象以斧向木形。破木折木皆其意也。

刪 剝也。从刀册。册，書也。

徐鍇云：「古以簡牘？故曰孔子刪詩書，言有取舍也」。

按古人書册以簡牘，艸創未定以刀削之卽爲刪。

扁 署也。从戶册，戶册者，署門戶之文也。

按戶乃署於門戶之册文，以旌表獨特。略如今之門牌匾額。故从戶册以見意。此外如：

名 自命也。从口从夕。夕者冥也，冥不相見，故以口自名。

察（審） 悉也。知察諦也。从宀从采。審篆文案从番。

及 逮也。从又从人。

取 捕取也。从又从耳。

聾 聾語也。从口从耳。

祭 祭祀也。从示，以手持肉。

解 判也。从刀判牛角。

寧 安也。从宀，心在皿上。皿人之飲食器所以安人。  
按以上諸字雖原始亦從圖繪出，然其義已稍引申矣。

## (C)關聯爲象。

右 助力。从口从又。

徐鍇云：「言不足以佐，又手助之」。

段玉裁云：「又者手也。手不足，以口助之」。

各 異辭也。从口夕。

羅振玉云：「案各从夕，象足形自外至。从口自名也。此爲來格之本字。」

初 始也。从刀从衣。

段玉裁云：「衣部曰裁製衣也。製衣以鍼，用刀則爲製衣之始。引申爲凡始之稱」。

買 市也。从网貝。

段玉裁云：「市者買物之所。因之買物亦言市」。

按「市」爲交易之場所。兼買賣而言。故字从网貝，即網取財利之意。後「買」專指買入，乃更作「賣」字。

安 靜也。从女在宀下。

按女主內，室家所以安也。故字从女在宀下會意。常人則在外有所事不可居家也。故「宀」下云：「散也，从宀，人在屋下無田事」，意即懶散也。

聃 軍法以矢貫耳也，从耳从矢。

桂馥云：「僖二十七年左傳子玉治兵爲蔦。鞭七人，貫三人耳。馥謂貫耳即聃也。」

扃 開也。从戶从口。

按从「戶」如同从門。从門从口爲「問」。从戶从口爲「扃」，義當爲告陳。契文又有「啟」，則結合又戶，當爲開門義。疑此「開」義乃「啟」之誤移。

屣 人小便也。从尾从水。

按契文象人側立小解尿水下流形。本融合爲象。小篆遞變爲从尾从水則關聯爲象矣。此外如：

漁 捕魚也。从魚，从水。

奴 奴婢皆古之罪人也。从女从又。

如 從隨也。从女从口。

𡗗 汝潁之間謂致力於地曰𡗗。从土从又。

里 居也。从田从土。

灰 死火餘燼也。从火从又。

按以上諸字構形之理原始亦多出圖繪，然至小篆已非其溯，義之所出取其關聯之象也。

## (D)虛形合象

公 平分也。从八厶。八猶背也。

按此字係據篆文爲說，「八」與「厶」皆虛形。「八」象分別相背之形。「厶」爲自營之象。背厶則爲公。許訓平分又引申之義也。

白 西方色也。陰用事物色白，从入合二。二陰數。

按此字可疑，契金文皆不作从入合二。篆文以此爲說，形義頗難圓融也。



士 事也。數始於一，終於十。从一从十。孔子曰推十合一爲士。  
按契金文並非从一从十。此係據篆爲說，不必溯其原始也。

入 逃也。从入从辵。

段玉裁云：「謂入於迂曲隱蔽之處也。」

按虛形多主觀意象。合之爲象，爲數無多。上舉四例係其一斑！

### (丙)虛實合象

囷 廩之圖者。从禾在囗中。圖謂之囷，方謂之京。

按廩下云：「穀所振入」。囷則爲廩之圖者。故字从禾在囗中以會意。囗乃範圍空間之虛象。

囚 繫也。从人在囗中。

風俗通禮罪人實諸園土。故囚字爲囗守人。

按契文象人拘入檻籠之形。小篆變爲人在囗中。囗乃檻柙之虛象也。

束 縛也。从囗禾。

饒炯云：「篆从口木，本象縛束。於位置中卽形見義」。

分 別也。从八从刀。刀所以分別物也。

按八下云別也。刀則爲分別物之工具，故从八从刀以見意。

畚 齋也。从囗畚。畚受也。

徐鍇云：「囗音章。周章周匝也。入皆受之同而復囗之爲齋。吝積而不散也」。

按「畚」爲穀倉，而又以囗包圍之，吝澇之意也。

邑 國也。从囗，先王之制尊卑有大小，从卩。

羅振玉云：「案凡許書所謂卩字，考之卜辭及古金文皆象人踞形。邑爲人所居，故从口从人」。

葉玉森亦謂邑从囗象疆域。卩乃人踞形。卽指有土有人斯成一邑之意。

按此類字構體中有實形，蓋亦多圖繪之迹，配以虛象其義遂廣。除上舉字例外，他如：

半 物中分也。从八牛。牛爲物大，可以分也。

古 故也。从十口。識前言者也。

雀 依人小鳥也。从小隹。

奮 鳥張毛羽自奮也。从大隹。

美 甘也，从羊大。羊在六畜主給膳也。

令 發另也。从人卩。

赤 南方色也。从大火。

困 故廬也。从木在囗中。

合 合口也。从人从口。

侖 思也，从人从册。

入 入山之深也。从山从入。

皆虛實合象之例也。

## 第二節 會義申意

文字發展後期，逐漸脫離圖繪方法。換言之，原始單體「象形」「象事」之圖象固已式微。即複體之「象意」合形方式，亦逐漸以合義內容代替。此所以班志稱為「象意」，許敘徑改為「會意」。一字之異，即反映演變過程的落實。而傳統六書「會意」內容，實際即以此為重心。所謂「比類合誼以見指撝」，就是會合字義，以申新意。而「武」之義非取人「足」與兵「戈」，「信」之義乃推人「性」與直「言」之理，則極顯然。此與原始圖繪造字之法實大異其趣。而人類智慧的成熟，中華文化思想的高遠，於焉以見。析其構成亦可分為兩大類，即：同義會合申意；異義結合申意。

## 第一類 同義會合申意

## (甲)申繁複

甝 衆生並立之貌。从二生。

徐鍇云：「並生而齊盛也」。

王筠云：「據字形為義也。二生故曰衆。分左右故曰並」。

按「生」下云：「進也。象艸木生出土上」。疑「甝」當訓「衆生並進之貌」。

余

余也。

按余為語之舒。从二余，蓋亦舒之意也。

𠔁

二百也。

按「百」下云「十也」。二百為𠔁，義與形一貫。

𠔁

二東。

按「東」下云：「動也。从日在木中」。二東為𠔁，義亦當為動之多。

至

到也。从二至。

按「至」下云：「鳥飛從高下至地也。从一，一猶地也，象形」。「到」亦訓「至」，則至之義當與至一貫。此與「入」、「廿」、「卅」等造作之理同也。

## (乙)申推進

誾 競言也。从二言。

饒炯云：「言之通義為直言。誾猶二人直持其說，各不相讓，蓋爭言也。」

按競言猶爭言。二人各持其說不相讓也。故字从二言以申推進之意。

赫

大赤貌。从二赤。

段玉裁云：「赤之盛，故从二赤」。

按赤从大火。訓南方色。二赤為「赫」，推進其義為大赤貌也。

嘉

知也，从三吉。

按吉下云：「善也，从土口」。土口所出為善言，推進其義當為智慧之言也。今隸从二吉作「喆」，亦從善言申其意也。

𠔁

進也，从二先。

按「先」下云：「前進也。从儿之」。段玉裁以為「𠔁」並先，乃衆進之意。如並立為「竝」，皆申進之義也。

## (丙)申化成

哥 聲也。从二可。古文以爲諱字。

王筠云：「ㄗ从反ㄎ氣已舒矣。可加口其舒可知。」

辨 罪人相與訟也。从二辛。

徐灝云：「訟必有兩造，从二辛猶二辛也。兩造必有一是非，因之爲辨論之義。別作辨。又爲辨別之義，別作辨。」

按「辛」與「辛」不別，「辛」訓罪卽犯法也。二辛並立，因以爲罪人相與訟之稱。

聶 疾言也。从三言。讀若沓。

段玉裁云：「文選琴賦紛經聶以流漫。注經聶聲多也。吳都賦注引倉頡篇聶言不止也。」

按二言爲「語」，推進其義爲競言。三言爲「聶」，衍化其義爲疾言爲多言。今則習用「沓」，出語如水流卽多言疾言之義也。

晶 顯也。从三白。讀若皎。

徐灝云：「晶與皎音義同。文選潘岳關中詩注引倉頡篇晶明也。陶潛赴假還江陵夜行塗口詩注引說文：通白曰晶。」

按「白」訓西方色，三白爲「晶」義當爲極白。「顯也」之義又衍化也。

禘 明視以筭之。从二示。

徐灝云：「禘疑卽古筭字。蓋象筭筭縱橫排列之形。」

按「示」訓「天垂象，見吉凶。所以示人也。从二，三垂日月星也。觀乎天文以察時變。示神事也。」契金文之「示」乃神主之象。疑篆文之「示」，淵源有二：一爲神主之形；一爲筭筭之形。許書訓義非其溯也。「示」部字多爲鬼神之事。而「禘」字則與鬼神無關。疑爲筭筭縱橫之複象。其義則化成也。

## 第二類 異義會合申意

### (甲)順遞申意

崇 神禍也。从示从出。

王筠云：「人神道殊，豈可出而與人接。示而出也，是爲崇矣。」

按神禍者神出而爲災禍也。故字从示出會意。

皿 仁也。从皿从食囚也。官溥說。

按此形義並據篆爲說，「从皿从食囚」乃施恩不望報之仁心，甚合儒家博愛思想。然古金文象皿中熱氣上騰，原始應爲溫食或溫食之器。小篆譌爲皿上囚，非其溯矣。「仁也」之訓又溫煖之引申。

社 地主也。从示土。周禮二十五家爲社，各樹其土所宜木。

段玉裁云：「地主爲社，故字从示土。」

按社爲土地之神主。故字从示土會意。許又據周禮謂各樹其土所宜木，似未確。論語宰我答哀公問：「夏后氏以松，殷人以柏，周人以栗」，則社所立木乃立國精神之表徵也。

君 尊也。从尹口。發號故从口。

朱駿聲云：「按君出令治民者也。故从尹从口會意。」

按「尹」訓治，象手握事權。口所以發施號令，故从尹口爲君也。

用 可施行也。从卜中，衛宏說。

段玉裁云：「卜中則可施行，故取以會意。」

按此字係據篆爲說。卜以決疑。卜而中則可施行，故从卜中會意。

周 密也。从用口。

段玉裁云：「按忠信爲周。謂忠信之人無不周密者」。又云：「善用其口則密。不密者皆由於口」。

按契金文與小篆異，本取器物密致之虛象。小篆譌爲用，从口之義則教化道德之立意矣。用口爲周密，卽孔子不道聽塗說也。

寇 暴也。从支完。

徐鍇云：「當其完聚而欲寇之也」。

林義光據金文爲說，云：「象人在竹下，或支擊之之形」。

按「寇」字原始構形頗多，皆象持兵器入室撲擊人形。小篆演化爲从支完爲「寇」，非其朔矣。「暴也」之訓則不違其誼也。

武 楚莊王曰夫武定功戢兵，故止戈爲武。

徐灝云：「人持戈而能止之，武之意也」。

按契金文武字多見，本義應爲執戈以舞，許君據小篆並引楚莊王語爲說，非其朔矣。然文字形義蛻變無窮，就小篆形義言，不必卽斥爲非。許書舉以爲會意之例，信必有其理也。

信 誠也。从人言。伊古文信省也。訖古文信。

徐鍇云：「君子先行其言而後從之。言而不信，非爲人也。故於文，人言爲信」。

按人言爲「信」。許君訓「誠也」，徐氏從而申之，深合中華人文思想。然原始未必有此深遠含意。「言」契金文象簫管形，或取「音生於心有節於外」之義。古文从「人口」或从「心言」，義皆一貫。

老 考也。七十曰老。从人毛匕，言須髮變白也。

按此字係據小篆形義爲說，人毛髮變化由黑而白，則老朽之誼可見。契金文多作並與之異。商承祚云：「象老者倚杖之形」。葉玉森云：「象一老人戴髮偃僂扶杖形。並可從，然不必卽斥篆書許說爲妄也。此外，如：——

吉 善也。从士口。

逸 失也。从辵兔。

奪 手持佳失之也。从寸奪。

受 不受也。从受辛。

衛 行且賣也。从行言。

直 正見也。从十目彡。

晞 晞也。从日出奴米。

慮 內得於己外得於人。从心直。

迹其「會意」之理，皆順遞以申其意。

(乙)並峙申意。

敖 出游也。从出从放。

- 段玉裁云：「擲風曰以教以游。敖游同義也。从放取放浪之意」。
- 沓 語多沓沓也。从水从曰。
- 徐鉉云：「語多沓沓若水之流。故从水會意」。
- 林義光云：「从曰猶从口，口上如流水，言多之象」。
- 按从曰指語，从水衆多。沓訓語多，故字从水从曰並峙會意。
- 罰 罪之小者。从刀从罍。未以刀有所賊，但持刀罵罍則應罰。
- 段玉裁云：「罪犯法也。罰爲犯法之小者。罰者但持刀而罍則法之。然則刑者謂持刀有賊則法之。別其犯法之輕重也」。
- 按此字係據小篆形義爲言。从刀从罍並峙申小罪之意。林義光據古金文以爲「从言剛」，卽出言斷事有力之意。存參。
- 辵 乍行乍止也。从彳从止。
- 徐鍇云：「辵，行也。故曰乍行乍止也。」
- 王筠云：「行从彳丁，步从止少。辵各分其半而從之。所以相避。廣雅辵奔也。玉篇辵走也，是也」。
- 按彳訓小步，止爲人足。彳止爲「辵」，並峙以申行意。
- 道 所行道也。从辵从首。一達謂之道。
- 按古金文从行从首。林義光云：「按首，所向也」。故从辵从首爲「道」，从行从首爲「循」，皆並峙以申其意。
- 馨（香） 芳也。从黍从甘。春秋傳曰黍稷馨香。
- 饒炯云：「案艸臭之美者曰芳。穀臭之美者曰香。然穀食之臭，黏者尤甚。故芳香之香从黍甘會意」。今隸徑从禾从甘作「香」，皆並峙以申其意。
- 計 會也。算也。从言从十。
- 徐鍇云：「十者總成數」。
- 按「計」者，謂會算合計之宣於口也。故字从言从十並峙會意。
- 昌 美言也。从日从曰。一曰日光也。詩曰東方昌矣。
- 徐灝云：「从日蓋取明義。故曰昌明。廣雅曰昌光也。光亦明也」。
- 按契文文昌从日从口，籀文同。曰與口義可通。當取日下光明之言意。或取日出而人聲作，故「昌盛」「倡始」之義出焉。許訓美言，義亦一貫。此外如：——
- 侃 剛直也。从亻，亻古文信也。从川取其不捨晝夜。
- 脈 血理分表行體中者。从底从血。脈，脈或从肉。
- 覘 表視也。从底从見。
- 冬 四時盡也。从凵从夕。夕古文終字。
- 井 罰罪也。从刀井。
- 按「井」爲法度條理。「刀」爲行法之具。故「刑」當爲从刀从井並峙以申其意。
- 衛 宿衛也。从韋、巾、从行。行列衛也。
- 興 起也。从昇从同。同力也。
- 役 戍邊也。从役从彳。
- 丙 定位申意

- 閏** 餘分之月，五歲再閏。告朔之禮天子居宗廟，閏月居門中。从王在門中。周禮曰閏月王居門中，終月也。  
徐鍇云：「周制明堂十有二室。天子每月聽政各居一室。至閏月則闔門之左扉止其中。終月不制室者，十二月之餘分耳。明非正月也。」  
按此字依周禮而制。必後出。王在門中，定位以申其意。
- 叟** 老也。从又从災。叟，叟或从人。  
朱駿聲云：「按卽搜之古文，从又持火炬下索物也，會意，爲長老之稱者，發聲之詞非本訓」。  
按契文正作从又持火炬在宀下。朱說可信。長老之訓乃假借，後乃加人作叟。後世習用叟字。乃加手作「搜」以復之。許君一時不察乃混「叟」「叟」爲一字矣。
- 窳** 窳也。从尪从収窳宀中。尪猶齊也。  
段玉裁云：「竦手舉物填屋中也。尪从四工同心同力之狀。窳不必極巧，故曰猶齊」。  
徐灝云：「窳者充滿之意，故从四工之尪。尪取用工之多，非取用功之巧」。  
按「窳」从尪从収窳宀中，定位以申其意。「塞」下云：「隔也。从土，夷聲」。兩字訓義迥別。今則「塞」行而「窳」廢矣。
- 辯** 治也。从言在辨之間。  
段玉裁云：「治者理也。謂治獄也」。  
按「辨」爲罪人相與訟。士師治獄定其曲直，以言判斷其間，故字从言在辨間，定位申意也。
- 班** 分瑞玉，从珏刀。  
徐鍇云：「刀以割制之也。尚書曰班瑞于群后」。  
按「珏」爲二玉相合。分之故从刀在其間，定位以申其意也。
- 璵** 車答閒皮篋。古者使奉玉以藏之。从車珏。  
段玉裁云：「古者人臣出使奉圭璧璋琮諸玉車答閒皮篋所用盛之。此其字之所由从車珏會意也」。  
按此字本訓卽車中藏玉之皮篋，故从車中珏定位申其意。此造字非圖繪也。
- 內** 入也。从冫自外而入也。  
按此篆从入甚明。从「冫」則多異說。徐鍇以爲遠界之「冫」；段玉裁以爲象覆蓋之「冫」；林義光據金文以爲象交覆深屋之「宀」。然从「入」於其中，定位可申其意也。
- 桀** 桀也。从舛在木上也。  
徐灝云：「桀作桀字之誤也。桀桀古今字。衛風伯兮篇邦之桀兮，毛傳桀特立也。」  
按舛象人張兩足。从舛在木上卽取特立之意，相承增人旁作「桀」。徐灝說是。字蓋定位以申其意也。
- 東** 分別簡之也。从束从八。八分別也。  
徐鍇云：「開其束而束之也」。  
王筠云：「東字从八，而八不在外者，於束中束之，不可於束外束之也」。  
按此篆从束中之八，卽束內揀擇之，定位申意也。

𦉳 際見之白也。从白上下小見。

徐灝云：「𦉳古今字。際見之白，孔隙漏光也」。

林義光云：「金文象日光自隙中射入形。即隙之古文」。則古金文乃象意。小篆譌變「从白上下小見」，則爲定位會意矣。

按定位申意之會意字除上舉十例外。如「𡵓」、「宰」、「宦」、「宗」、「班」、「𦉳」、「𦉳」、「𦉳」，皆其例也。

### 第三節 其他錯綜會意

漢文字不是一人一時一地的制作。由圖繪到篆隸，經歷悠長歲月。而製作內容亦作一徑一途或一型一式。六書會意本爲漢世尋繹籀篆構形原理之歸納。許紱界說與例字，僅爲內容之一斑。前述「會形示意」與「會義申意」係從縱的發展綜論其內容。茲更從橫的歧異補徵其構體。以見文字構成內容之複雜。任何研究只能在層次上漸進。兼容並苞巨細不遺，可以懸爲目標但不必其成果。

#### 第一類 省體會意

𦉳 糞也。从艸，胃省。

王筠云：「人不食艸，安得糞中有艸，此借艸以會意，特取其蕪雜意也」。

按「胃」下云：「穀府也。从肉，囙象形。則囙即穀府之本形。人所以消化食物者也。糞便實由此出。許君以爲从艸胃省者，乃因囙加肉始成字也。」

𦉳 犛牛尾也。从犛省，从毛。

按「犛」以牛言則爲犛。以尾言則屬毛。故字从犛省，从毛以會意。

勞 劇也。从力，熒省。熒火燒𠂇，用力者勞。

徐灝云：「从力，从熒省。蓋於屋下夜巾篝燈，力作勤勞之意也。」

按「熒」訓屋下燈燭之光。許君以爲熒火燒𠂇，用力者勞。迂曲難通，從徐說爲長。

攸 行水也。从支，从人，水省。

段玉裁云：「支取引導之意。人謂引導者」。

按戴侗六書故引唐本說文訓「水行攸攸」。此作「行水」，並緣水生義，故字从水省會意。

孝 善事父母者。从老省，从子。子承老也。

徐鍇云：「子承老爲孝。孝子能錫其類，故過槁木必遂之。見老者必敬承之也。省之者省老之七也」。

按此字係就小篆形構立言。原始「老」字或不必有「七」。說文老部字九。皆云「从老省」，似違常理也。此外，如：——

支 去竹之枝也。从又持半竹。

晝 日之出入與夜爲介。从晝省，从日。

𦉳 及也。从又，尾省。又持尾者，從後及之也。

罪 目相及也。从目，𦉳省。

俎 禮俎也。从半肉在且上。

- 鳥 不孝鳥也。故日至捕鳥磔之。从鳥頭在木上。  
 慶 行賀人也。从心夂，从鹿省。吉禮以鹿皮爲贄。故从鹿省。  
 凡此，皆省體會意之例也。

### 第二類 會意兼象形

- 爨 齊謂之炊爨，白象持甌。冫爲灶口。火推林內火。爨，籀文爨省。  
 徐鍇云：「取其進火謂之爨，取其氣上謂之炊」。  
 按籀文从林从火會意。冫象灶口形。小篆增从白，白象甌形。並會意兼象形也。  
 糞 棄除也。从火推華棄采也。官溥說似米而非米者矢字。  
 段玉裁云：「古謂除穢曰糞。今人直謂穢曰糞。此古義今義之別也」。  
 按契文多體，並復合圖繪以見棄除穢物之意。小篆从火推華示意。其上似米非米者乃穢物之泛象，不必鑿指爲矢也。  
 鬯 以秬釀艸，芬芳攸服以降神也。从凵，凵器也。中象米，七所以報之。  
 按契文金文形制極多，並象器中盛物形。小篆則从凵从七會意。凵器也。七所以報之。中象米者，米既釀爲酒，則爲糟而非米字矣。故爲會意兼象形。  
 侯 春饗所射侯也。从人，从侯象張布。矢在其下。  
 按「侯」之篆文爲从人从矢會意，侯象張布形，故爲會意兼象形。說文又出「侯，古文侯」。朱駿聲云：「按侯侯各字。侯射侯也。侯五等爵也。从人、侯聲。天子侯侯伯子男，皆于人取義。古書借侯爲侯，相承誤合爲一耳」。按朱說近是。

### 第三類 會意兼指事

- 葬 藏也。从死在冎中。一其中所以薦之。易曰古之葬者厚衣之以薪。  
 按小篆从死在冎中會意。一泛象所以薦之之物。故爲會意兼指事。今隸省去一，則爲定位申意矣。  
 眞 僊人變形而登天也。从七从目从匕。匕所乘載也。  
 段玉裁云：「變形故从七目，猶言目者，道書云養生之道耳目爲先。匕讀若隱。仙人能隱形也」。  
 按眞字从七目匕會意。匕指所以乘載者不成字。故爲會意兼指事。  
 或 邦也。从口从戈以守一。一地也。  
 孫海波云：「从口象城郭之形。戈以守之」。  
 按契文从口从戈會意。小篆加一象地形不成字。故爲會意兼指事。  
 胤 子孫相承續也。从肉，从八象其長也。从幺象重累也。  
 段玉裁云：「八分也，骨肉所傳，支分派別，傳之無窮。上非幺麼之幺。直象其重累之意」。  
 按此字从八从肉會意。从幺象重累之形非字，故爲會意兼指事。

### 第四類 會意兼諧聲

(甲)聲在意外



歸 女嫁也。从止从婦省，自聲，歸，籀文省。

徐鍇云：「婦人謂嫁曰歸，止者止於此也」。

按古「帚」即用爲婦字。非从婦省。小篆从止从帚會意。自聲。籀文則不兼諧聲，其初文也。

寶 珍也。从宀从玉从貝。缶聲。

段玉裁云：「玉與貝在屋下，會意」。

按契金文多作。一般皆从宀，而下則或从玉或从貝，或从玉貝，或从貝玉。珍藏之義可見，偶或加「缶」聲，即小篆之淵源也。

梁 水橋也。从木从水，刃聲。

段玉裁云：「梁之字用木跨水，即今之橋也」。故字从木从水會意，加「刃」諧聲。

嗣 諸侯嗣國也。从册从口，司聲。

徐鍇云：「按尚書祝册。謂册必於廟。史讀其册也，故从口。此會意」。

按古者侯嗣國必告於廟，由太史宣讀册命。故小篆从册从口會意。加「司」諧聲。

(乙)聲在意中

莽 南昌謂犬善逐兔艸中爲莽。从犬从𠄎，𠄎亦聲。

段玉裁云：「此字犬在𠄎中，故稱南昌方言說其會意之悒也，引申爲鹵莽」。

按此字犬在𠄎中，合形示意。而聲即由「𠄎」出。

晨 早味爽也。从日从辰，辰時也。辰亦聲。

段玉裁云：「日部曰早晨也。味爽且明也」。

按辰爲古耕田器，从日，所以持之，即起身耕作之意。古人日出而作，故訓早味爽。而聲即由「辰」出。今隸譌白爲日，遂與參晨之字混。

幽 隱也。从山中𠄎。𠄎亦聲。

段玉裁云：「幽从山，猶隱从阜。取遮蔽之意。从𠄎者，微則隱也」。

羅振玉云：「古金文幽字皆从火从𠄎，𠄎隱不可見，得火而顯」。

按契金文皆从𠄎从火會意。絲縷細微，得火而見。而聲即從𠄎出。篆譌火爲山，非其朔也。

字 乳也。从子在宀下。子亦聲。

徐鍇云：「易曰女子貞十年乃字。字，乳也。左傳曰大不字小。字，愛也。宀，覆之也」。

按字从子在宀下。即養育之意。乳也愛也並引申之義。而聲即从「子」出。

六書會意之淵源及其內容略如上述。然其制作係經歷漫長行程，跨越遼闊地區。構形之變化既繁且鉅。小篆則爲漢文字最早深入其理之統一構體，具有承先啓後之權威功能。據之以論述其淵源內容，其涵蓋範圍既廣，學術層次亦高。然天下之理無窮，仁智之見多有。補苴闕漏，來日方長。

## A study of the Huey-yi Characters of Liou-shu

Chu-chien Chiang\*

## Abstract

This article is written in an attempt to analyze Chinese hui-yi characters (compound hieroglyphics) more thoroughly. It is divided into five parts. The first part is intraduction. The second part deals with the emergence of the theory about hui-yi characters. The third part traces the evolution of this kind characters. The fourth part forms the major content of this paper, analyzing comprehensively the structure of hui-yi characters. There are three types of hui-yi characters:

1. characters which combine pictures to express meanings. There are also various subtypes in this category.
2. characters which combine meanings to imply new, extended meanings. There are also various subtypes in this category.
3. characters whose structure are irregular. There are also various subtypes in this category.

The last part is the conclusion. With this thorough research, I am sure that we can understand clearly and completely the structure of all hui-yi characters.

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## 論 韓 非 之 心 態

陳 拱\*

### 提 要

在韓非子一書中，有不少韓非對於古人行事的評論。本文即根據其中七項評論而加的再評論，以明其心態之所以局限化。

而其中最大的問題，莫過於韓非對數千年傳統之「為政在民」的「民本觀念」之否定。事實上，不拘孔子之「德化治道」，以至老子之「道化治道」，都是承繼此一民本觀念而建立的。唯在韓非却必極端地加以否定。這就其全部法治理論而言，倘若其中真有所謂「法治原則」，則其法治原則絕不可能以人民大眾為立場，而必只是以統治者——君主——為立場。如是，則其法治原則必與今日民主「法治」背道而馳者。此為本文之要。

韓非，他生於戰國之末，他是韓國的同姓貴族，乃是最後的法家之思想者。依近人的講法，有的以為他是法家思想的集大成者，也有以為他是法家思想的最後完成者。這些講法，雖然不必便是很正確的，但亦可見其在法家思想中之地位。

而就目前學術界的情形看，或即由於政治上要求民主、法治，所以大家似乎就想從法家傳統，特別是韓非思想中尋找某種法理或法治原則，因而都很重視對於韓非思想之研究。這種情形，當然是不錯的。但要研讀韓非之書而明其思想內容，我以為最好應該能先了解他的為人。孟子嘗說：「讀其書而不知其人，可乎？」事實上，若不能知其人，恐怕就不易讀其書，更難說能了解其思想內容。而欲了解其為人，我以為最重要者應該莫過於其精神狀態。

本文，論韓非之心態：內容係選錄韓非子中所列韓非對於其前之賢哲之所言、所行的評論，逐一加以分析、評定，藉以明其精神狀態之一般；目的則在為欲深入研究韓非法、術思想者，提供一種較為重要的參考。

史記老莊申韓列傳稱：「韓非與李斯俱事荀卿。」荀卿是儒家大思想家，他那個以「禮義為中心的系統」，對於韓非而言，大概不曾起過絲毫的作用。所以在韓非子書中：我們看不到任何荀學的影子，甚至一言、一語；他所浸淫、沾染的，全是法家的思想、觀念，尤其是商鞅及申不害法、術論的氣氛。

韓非，他所以如此，原因可能很多，其中最為重要的，我以為應該是：受傳統法家的影響太深、太大；另一方面則因其對人際世界——特別君臣關係，有其極端惡劣的感受（註一）使然。

就由於上述那些原因，使他原有的心靈即不免落到非常偏執、狹隘的境地。這種偏執、狹隘

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的心態，應該可以稱之為「局限化的心態」。

他這種局限化的心態，乃是很明顯地可以從下列各項加以釐定的。

一、管仲之論豎刁、易牙、開方。韓非子難一篇嘗載：

管仲有病。桓公往問之，曰：「仲父病，不幸卒於大命，將奚以告寡人？」

管仲曰：「微君言，臣故將諷之。願君去豎刁、除易牙、遠公子開方。易牙爲君主味，君於人肉未嘗，易牙蒸其子首（註二）而進之。夫人情莫不愛其子。今弗愛其子，安能愛君？君妬而好內，豎刁自宮以治內。人情莫不愛其身。身且不愛，安能愛君？開方事君十五年，齊、衛之間，不容數日行。棄其母，久宦不歸。其母不愛，安能愛君？臣聞：矜僞不長，蓋虛不久。願君去此三子者也！」

管仲卒，而桓公弗能行。及桓公死，蟲出戶，不葬。

或曰：「管仲所以見告桓公者，非有度者之言也。」

「所以去豎刁、（易牙）者，以其不愛其身，適君之欲也。曰：『不愛其身，安能愛君？』然則臣有盡死力爲其主者，管仲將弗用也。曰：『不愛其死力，安能愛君？』是欲去忠臣也。」

「且以不愛其身，度其不愛君：是將以管仲之不能死子糾，度其不死桓公也。是管仲亦在所去之城矣。」

「明主之道，不然：設民所欲以求其功，故爲爵祿以勸之；設民所惡以禁其姦，故爲刑罰以威之。慶賞信而刑罰必，故君舉功於臣，而姦不用於上。雖有十豎刁，其奈君何？」

「且臣盡死力以與君市、君垂爵祿以與臣市，君臣之際，非父子之親也，計數之所出也。君有道，則臣盡死力而姦不生；無道，則臣上塞主明而下成私。管仲非明度數於桓公也。使去豎刁，一豎刁又至，非絕姦之道也。」

「……………」。

按以上一節，管仲之論豎刁等三人，原是很確定而很有意義的，而韓非的看法却並不同。要在其不循管仲所言之要點而善會之，却只以自家之成見爲說。這真是無可奈何的事！

首先，即以豎刁而言，（實則易牙、開方亦然），豎刁自宮以適君欲，管仲之意，蓋以其表面上是愛桓公，實際上却不是真的，全是一種「虛僞」。所以下文接着就說：「矜僞不長，蓋虛不久」。這裏說的「虛僞」，乃是管仲的主要論據，必來自平日對他們的觀察所得以及深刻的了解。韓非，他並不認真從這「虛僞」上加以體會。（他對於人的虛僞似乎全不了解、全不注意，故其對於真誠、真實亦全不重視，全無體會，亦或可能以爲人是絕無真誠的）。

他好像一味只知往外推論：他從「不愛其身，安能愛君」，推論至「臣有盡死力以爲其主者」，「管仲將弗用也」，而以其「欲去忠臣也」；而再推論至「管仲之不死子糾」，以「度其不死桓公」，並以其本人「亦在所去之城」。這兩層推論，都是全無理致的。事實上，豎刁自宮、易牙蒸子，本只爲了富貴、恩寵。爲了富貴、恩寵，他們可以自宮、可以蒸子，但他們却絕不會真爲桓公捨生或殺身的。因爲就富貴而言，即使如墨子所謂「與子天下，而殺子之身」一樣，誰都不會幹的（註三）。豎刁他們爲了達成富貴、恩寵，不惜自宮、蒸子，都是十足的「逢君之惡」的小人（註四），又怎能與真「盡死力爲其主」者相提並論？管仲在世，這些小人不敢如何；死後，以桓公的性格與多欲，必會落到無法、無天地爲所欲爲的境地。管仲確有所見，故主張去之。這就足以表示管仲之精明。韓非不悉小人之「僞」與「居心」，而將其與真正「盡死力爲主」

之「忠臣」相比擬，將其與「一匡天下」的管仲相比擬。這是從其全不知分辨「君子」與「小人」而來的一大胡亂之說。真不知其如何思考問題的！

至於其後文所說，則是韓非正面的論點。其中所要特別注意的，約有三：其一是民之欲惡，其二是賞、罰，其三是君、臣以計合。這三者大抵都是韓非的法治理論中之重要觀念。所謂「明主設民所欲以求其功」、「設民所惡以禁其姦」，這裏的民之「欲」、「惡」，便是君主「賞」、「罰」的基礎。而君主之「賞」、「罰」却是整個法治理論的基本觀念。所謂「臣盡死力以與君市」、「君垂爵祿以與臣市」：市，即買、賣之意。此中前句等於說，臣為君賣命只是為了爵祿；後句亦等於說，君設爵祿亦只是為了買臣之死命。故君、臣所計之數，只是一個「利」。因此，明君只須緊握賞、罰之大柄，而且切實地做到「賞厚而信」、「罰重而必」：這就成為韓非所謂「有道之君」了。只要「君有道」，「則臣盡死力而姦不生」，何愁一豎刁、一易牙？而這才是「度數」。管仲不知以此種「度數」告桓公，而只主張去豎刁、易牙等。殊不知所有的人都是豎刁、易牙，去一個，必復來一個，當然不是「絕姦之道」了！

韓非這種論點大概是會隨時流露、隨處流露的。所以他心中所思、所想多是這種論點，其外的如君子、小人，是非、善惡……等道理和觀念，恐怕都難以進入他心中而對他有所影響了。這就可見其心態之所以局限化了。

二、子產聞婦人哭聲。韓非子難三篇載：

鄭子產晨出，過東匠之間，聞婦人之哭。撫其御而聽之。有間，遣吏執而問之，則手絞其夫者也。

異日，其御問曰：「夫子何以知之？」

子產曰：「其聲懼。凡人於其親愛也：始病而憂，臨死而懼，已死而哀。今哭已死，不哀而懼。是以知其姦也。」

或曰：「子產之治，不亦多事乎？知姦必待耳目所及而後知之，則鄭國之得姦者，寡矣！」

「不任典成之吏、不察參伍之政、不明度數，恃盡聰明、勞智慮而以知姦（註五）：不亦無術乎？」

「且夫物衆而智寡。寡不勝衆，故因物以治物。下衆而上寡。寡不勝衆，故因人以知人。是以形體不勞而事治，智慮不用而姦得。」

「故宋人語曰：『一雀過羿，羿必得之，則羿誣矣。以天下爲之羅，則羿不失矣。』夫知姦亦有大羅，不失其一而已矣。不修其羅，而以己之胸察之弓矢，則子產誣矣。老子曰：『以智治國，國之賊。』其子產之謂矣！」

按「子產聞婦人哭聲」，而「知其有姦」。這一個故事，原只從其聲之「不哀而懼」而知。他以為「親愛之情」之表現，由「始病而憂，臨死而懼，已死而哀」，乃是很有意義的，也表示他在「聽聲」這一方面有相當的修養與造詣。本來，在傳統上，中醫師診病，必經「望」、「聞」、「問」、「切」四項手續，然後才能診斷病情，對症下藥。而其中的聞，即是「聞聲」，蓋聞病者之聲以明其病之所在，有人以為這是具有藝術意味的。因而亦即有人以藝術來解釋中國醫術的。孔子居衛，擊磬。有荷蕢者過孔氏之門而聽之，而謂之為：「有心哉，擊磬乎！」（註六）。這是從孔子所演奏磬聲中體會出孔子的一片「救世之心」，故云：「有心哉！」由此而言，聞聲而知情，應該是一藝術性的欣趣。子產多才，亦有這種修養和欣趣，故

能聞婦人之哭聲而知其有異。

及至知其「手紮其夫」之姦，應該是其藝術性欣趣中的附帶的收穫，並不能說他為正卿、治理鄭國，就憑這種方法以知姦的。而韓非却以其「多事」，以其「必待耳目所及而後知之」，「則鄭國之得姦者寡矣」云云，以及其下文所謂「恃盡聰明、勞智慮而知姦」云云，都推想得太過份了，都是很不正確的。子產能以「聞聲以知情」之方式去知姦、去治理嗎？誰說以子產之才智而不明白這種道理？這只表示韓非心中所固結的、所想的只是如何「知姦」，故即不能對子產的藝術性欣趣有所了解，亦不能有相應的評定。

至於他所說的「典成之吏」、「參伍之政」及「度量」等三者，大抵都是他常用的語辭。除了其中「度量」一辭應該與前述的「度數」相同或類似外，另外三者也都有獨特的意義，都是教君主用來對付他所謂姦人的。

而知姦之法，在韓非，最重要者，實在莫過於「因人以知姦」。這是他的法治理論中所規定的方法。這裏的因字，是由的意思。而由人以知人（姦），可小、可大，說到極致，即是由「全天下人以知姦」之意。故韓非於此，即引宋人之說：「以天下為羅，則羿不失矣」，而言「知姦亦有大羅，而不失其一而已矣」。他這裏所謂「大羅」，應即是：明主所撒的「使天下不得不為己視、使天下不得不為己聽」的「里相坐」之法之「網」。這個知姦之大羅，遠則源自墨子，近則師法商君（註七），乃是韓非法治理論中的基本架構，其重要性自不待言。故在其評論子產之不行時，而必正面地表彰之。由此亦可見其原有的心靈中，如何地網結着這個最足以知姦的「大羅」，而為其所拘限而難以運轉自如了！

而子產治鄭雖然十分嚴格，但却絕不如韓非之論，必立「大羅」。所以子產究竟難說是法家人物。

三、管子「言室、滿室，言堂、滿堂」。原書難三篇載：

管子曰：「言於室，滿於室；言於堂，滿於堂——是謂天下王（註八）。」

或曰：「管仲之所謂言室、滿室，言堂、滿堂，非特謂遊戲、飲食之言也，必為大物也。人主之大物：非法，則術也。法者，編著之圖籍，設之於官府，而布之於百姓者也。術者，藏之於胸中，以偶衆端，而潛御群臣者也。故法莫如顯，而術不欲見。是以明主言法，則境內卑賤莫不聞知也，不獨滿於室；用術，則親愛、近習莫之得聞也，不得滿室。而管子猶曰：『言於室，滿室；言於堂，滿堂。』非法、術之言也。」

按此亦是批評管仲的。管仲之言，所謂「天下王」，原當作「聖王」。管子所言二句，其內容雖然並未明說為何，然在原則上，當然亦必可如韓非所謂「大物」者，却並不可能就是他心目中的法、術。因為管仲所說的那種「大物」，一定可以絕對公開的，而且必為天下所樂聞的。所以才能言於室而滿室、言於堂而滿堂。而同時，亦正由於滿室、滿堂，推之而言於天下，亦必可以滿天下。而這才是大物，才真是聖王之言！

而韓非的想法，却是很不正常的。當他一看到管子此種大意義之言，立刻即以法、術二者充之。但他所肯定的法、術：法是必須公開的，「海內卑賤莫不聞知」；而術則是絕對秘密的，「親愛、近習莫之得聞」。如是，則管子「言室、滿室，言堂、滿堂」之言，在他看，當然不是中肯之說。故必謂其「非法、術言也」，有何足取？如實地說，他有何理由說這種話？難說聖王之大物，就非法、術不可嗎？聖王所資以為政的，就別無大物而只有法、術嗎？

這實在只能表示韓非之心極端閉塞而已，除了法、術，天下任何偉大的事物都容納不下了。

莊子有云：「瞽者無以與乎文章之觀，聾者無以與乎鐘鼓之聲。豈謂形骸有聾、盲哉？夫知亦有之。」（註九）。他那形骸的耳、目並無問題。而且，不僅無問題，倘若法和術真能具形化、具聲化，那他滿眼所見的必只是法、充耳所聞的必只是術。只是他的心智却真的已被法、術那些大物堵塞得不能轉動了，而成爲聾、盲了，再也不能接觸另外的大物了。這實在是非常、非常可怕的！

四、師曠、晏子之答景公。原書外儲說右上載：

齊景公之晉，從平公飲，師曠侍坐。

始坐，景公問政於師曠曰：「太師將奚以教寡人？」

師曠曰：「君必惠民而已矣。」

景公出，之舍，師曠送之。又問政於師曠。師曠曰：「君必惠民而已矣。」

景公歸，思，未醒，而得師曠所謂：「公子尾、公子夏者，吾之二弟也，甚得齊民。家富貴，而民悅之，擬於公室。此危吾位者也。今謂我惠民者，使我與二弟爭民邪！」

於是，反國發廩粟以賦衆貧，散府財以施孤寡。倉無陳粟，府無餘財，宮婦不御者出嫁之，七十受祿米。饗德、施惠於民也。……。

居二年，二弟出走：公子夏逃楚，公子尾走晉。

其下，原文繼上列又載：

景公與晏子遊於少海，登柏寢之臺而還望其國，曰：「美哉，泱泱乎！堂堂乎！後世將孰有此？」

晏子對曰：「其田氏乎！」

景公曰：「寡人有此國也，而曰田氏有之。何也？」

晏子對曰：「田氏甚得齊民。其於民也：上之，請爵祿，行諸大臣；下之，私大斗、斛、區、釜以出貸，小斗、斛、區、釜以收之。殺一牛，取一豆肉；餘以食士。歲終，布帛取二制焉；餘以衣士。故市木之價不加貴於山，澤之魚、鹽、龜、鼈、蠃、蚌不加貴於海。

「君重斂而田氏厚施。齊嘗大飢，道旁餓死者不可勝數也。父子相牽而趨田成氏者，不聞不生。故周齊之民相與歌之曰：『謳乎，其已乎！苞乎，其往歸田成子乎！』詩曰：雖無德與女，式歌且舞。今田氏之德而民歌之，民往歸之矣。故曰：其田成氏乎！」

公泫然出涕，曰：「不亦悲乎？寡人有國而田氏有之！今爲之奈何？」

晏子對曰：「君何患焉？若欲奪之，則近賢而遠不肖，治其煩亂、緩其刑罰，振貧窮而恤孤寡，行恩惠而給不足，民將歸君。則雖有十田氏，其如君何？」

或曰：「景公不知用勢，而師曠、晏子不知除患也。」

「夫獵者託車輿之安，用六馬之足，使王良佐轡，則身不勞而易及輕獸矣。今釋車輿之利、捐六馬之足與王良之御，而下走逐獸，則雖樓季之足，無時及獸矣。託良馬、固車，則臧獲有餘。國者，君之車也；勢者，君之馬也。夫不處勢以禁誅擅愛之臣，而必德厚以與下齊行以爭民：是皆不乘君之車、不因馬之利，舍車而下走者也。故曰：景公不知用勢之主也，而師曠、晏子不知除患之臣也。」

按此處原文爲師曠答景公、晏子答景公，所言之大旨皆同，故韓非將其列在一起而評論之。他的正面意思很簡單，即在：景公不知用勢，師曠、晏子不知除患。所謂「用勢」、「除患」，別無他事，只須做到一點，那就是：「殺戮」。他以為：「國者，君之車也；勢者，君之馬也。」有國而無勢，正如有車而無馬。如何行走？如此，則國不成其國，君亦不成其君了。然而有車



必有馬，有國必有勢。勢是隨國而有，亦即隨君之有位而有。主要則在人君之善用。景公不知善用，亦即不知「處勢以禁誅擅愛之臣」。故云：「不知用勢之君也」。而師曠、晏子不知教景公用勢，而反教之以「惠民」，亦即教之以「德厚以與下齊行以爭民」。所以必說他們為「不知除患之臣」。因此，師曠、晏子以至景公，即成了：「是皆不乘君之車、不因馬之利」而「下走者也」。

的確，師曠、晏子教景公「惠民」，或即如韓非所謂以「德厚以與下齊行以爭民」，固然是困於二弟及田氏的情勢之下之不得已的作為，但就其根本而言，却實是在我國夏、商、周以來的治國或即治天下之大道。這種大道，若依現在的名言說，亦即所謂「民本觀念」或「民本主義」。「天聰明，自我民聰明；天明畏，自我民明威。」（註一〇）。「天視自我民視，天聽自我民聽。」（註一一）。這些大抵都是從原始宗教轉換過來的、政治上的民本觀念。及至儒家興起，則便有所謂：「天生民而立君，非為君而生民也。」有所謂：「人無於水監，當於民監。」有所謂：「水則載舟，水則覆舟。」（註一二）。這些都是儒家孟子、荀卿在政治上的自覺的民本主義。師曠、晏子生於春秋，孟子、荀卿雖然尚未興起，然依他們的文化教養看，對於傳統上的民本觀念必有深契。故必主張「為政須以民為本」。蓋無民則無國，亦無君，自亦無政可為了。這在他們原是非常清楚的，所以必教景公「惠民」。惠民，即在爭取民心，或即收回民心。倘若做得妥善，則必如晏子所說：「雖有十田氏，其如君何？」

可是，韓非，他是決不會了解，也是絕不會接受的。不僅不會接受，而且事實上必在反對之列。同時，他對於「惠民」這種觀念，應該即如下文所說，他是最會想到他的「無功受賞」上去，那是極不利於法治。而同時，惠民的結果，則在得「民心」。而得民心，在他，是毫無意義的。因為「民智是不足用」的。所以原書顯學篇說：

「今不知治者，必曰得民之心。得民之心而可以為治，則是伊尹、管仲無所用也，將聽民而已矣！」

「民智之不可用，猶嬰兒之心也。夫嬰兒不剔首則復痛、不副痠則寢益。剔首、副痠，必一人抱之、慈母治之，然猶啼呼不止。嬰兒不知犯其所小苦，致其所大利也。……夫求聖通之士者，為民知之不足師用。昔禹決江、濬河，而民聚瓦石；子產開畝、樹桑，而鄭人謗訾。禹利天下、子產存鄭，皆以受謗。夫民智之不足用，亦明矣！故舉士而求賢智、為政而求適民，皆亂之端，未可與為治也。」

由此可見，因為民智如嬰兒，故為政不須「得民心」。求得民心，而期「適民」，乃亂之端。因為民智幼稚、民心愚妄，決不能以適民、惠民而與擅愛之臣爭取民心，捨威勢而不用。故其心中實在只有君、國、威勢，而決不能進入其他更有意義的事物了。

五、仲尼答葉公問為政。原書難三篇載：

葉公子高問政於仲尼。

仲尼曰：「政在悅近而來遠。」

……………。

或曰：「仲尼之對，亡國之言也。葉民有倍（按讀如背）心，而說之『悅近而來遠』，則是教民懷惠。惠之為政，無功者受賞而有罪者免；此法之所以敗也。法敗而政亂，未見其可也。」

「且民有倍心，君上之明有所不及也。不詔（註一三）葉公之明，而使悅近而來遠：是

舍吾勢之所能禁，而使與下行惠以爭民，非能持勢者也。

「夫堯之賢，六王之冠也。舜一徙而成邑，而堯無天下矣。有人無術以禁下，恃爲舜而不失其民。不亦無術乎？」

「明君見小姦於微，故民無大謀；行小誅於細，故民無大亂。此謂『圖難者於其所易，爲大者於其所細』也。

「今有功者必賞，賞者不德君，力之所致也；有罪者必誅，誅者不怨上，罪之所生也。民知誅、賞起於身也，故疾功利於業，而不受賜於君。『太上，下知有之。』（註一四）此言太上之下，民無說也。安取懷惠之民？上君之民無利害，說以『悅近、來遠』，亦可舍已！」

按韓非此節所言，孔子答葉公問政之語，亦見於論語，只是詞句略有不同，意義則可說完全相同（註一五）。而孔子之意，表面上固然是消解葉民之背心，使近者能悅，並擴大而招徠遠者。故云：「悅近而徠遠」。但若從根本上說，這一「悅近而徠遠」，乃是孔子論爲政的一個原則，一個「德化治道」中的原則。孔子以此答葉公，其背後的根據，實在就是他所主張的「德化治道」。

德化治道，亦可稱爲德治主義，其後孟子所謂「王道」、「仁政」也是同樣的。德化治道，主要是在「以德化民」。而以德化民，首先必重視人民的物質生活，使人民安居樂業，仰事、俯蓄，養生、喪死無憾，換言之：亦即先設法讓人民富有。富有以後，則便可以進而講求教化。這便是孔子「先富而後教」之意（註一六）。孟子嘗說：「無恆產而有恒心者，惟士爲能；若民則無恆產，因無恒心。苟無恒心，放、辟、邪、侈，無所不爲已。」（註一七）。故使人民有恆產，必可容易使其保持「恒心」。但若只是使人民富有，而富有的結果，必至「飽食暖衣，易居而無教，則近於禽獸。」（註一八）。因而，這種治道：富民固然是必須的、極爲重要的；而教民應該尤其必須的、必然是更爲重要的。

教民的方式很多，惟順爲政立場而言，應該即如孔子所說的「道之以德，齊之以禮」。最爲妥善（註一九）。道，讀爲導。以此言教民，必須興禮樂、建立教化，用以覺醒民性，化民成俗。如此，則必可引發人民之自覺，而使其羞於爲非、作歹，亦即使其羞於自墮於罪惡之地，而歸於理性的存在。這才是德化治道之偉大成效。這種成效，也便是孔子所謂「有恥且格」。而在這德化廣被之下，若仍有不能化，或即不被化者，則亦無可如何，只能歸於「道之以政，齊之以刑」一途了。這裏的政、刑，大抵即可包括法家所肯定、所強調的一種「治道」在內了。但在孔子原意，這種以「政、刑」爲治，是不得已而用，以輔「德、禮」之不足，並非唯一的、甚至如法家人物所認定的「首出庶物」之資具。因爲僅依此種「政、刑」爲治，所能達成的只是強制，充其量亦只能使「民免而無恥」而已。免，只是「苟免於刑罰」，而其對於爲非、爲患依然「無所羞恥」。這種政治目標，趨其極，必使民畏罰而歸偷苟，自非孔子所能安者。由此而言，若說「政、刑」爲治才是政治，則「德、禮」爲治實在是超政治的。此種由政治而超政治的治道，其理想是極高的，最後期使人人歸於自覺，人人成爲理性的存在。

孔子答葉公，教其「悅近而徠遠」，確實是依其德化治道而說的。而韓非當然是不可能了解的。韓非，他所能了解的，只是一套「信賞、必罰」的觀念，只是一種「劫之以勢」的觀念。所以當他一看到「悅近、來遠」這類句子，他就會想到「惠民」、「教民懷惠」，而且立刻就會聯想到「無功受賞」、「有罪免罰」等觀念。其實，「悅近、來遠」何以必歸於使民「懷惠」？而

真能使民「懷惠」又有什麼不好？難道使民「懷惠」就一定是「無功受賞」嗎？試問：富民，「爲人民解決物質生活」是否就是「無功受賞」？而教民爲善，「使其成爲理性的存在」是否就是「惠民」？是否也是「無功受賞」？於此可見，他原有的心靈的確已被他那套賞罰、威勢等觀念所固結、所僵化而無法轉動了。

對於孔子的德化治道，他本來就不會了解的。因爲他反仁、義，反道德，無論你說得怎樣動聽、怎樣有意義，他是決不會聽得進去的。但是，對於老子的「道化治道」，他應該是聽得進去，而且應該是有所了解的。不過，事實上却並不如此，這也真是一無可奈何的事！

在上文，韓非，他駁斥「懷惠」時，曾引「太上，下知有之」爲說。這是老子的話，見老子十七章（王弼注本）。而其下文緊接着的，卽有：「其次親而譽之，其次畏之，其次侮之。」這一章原是代表老子「道化治道」最重要的意義的。其意是說：太上的，卽最高級的君主，他治下的百姓，只知有其人而已；其次一級的君主，則治下百姓親而譽之；……。總共四級，太上爲最高的一級。這一級的君主，應該亦是道家的最高的聖人始可。言道化治道，其君主必是最高的聖人。而這樣的聖人如何治天下呢？老子之意，一定會站在百姓的立場，決不自立主見，全是順應民心、民情以從事的。所以老子說：「聖人無常心，以百姓心爲心，善者吾善之，不善者吾亦善之，德善；信者吾信之，不信者吾亦信之，德信。聖人在天下，歛歛然爲天下渾其心。」這是全是站在民之立場，以道化民的治道。這種治道，說到極致，卽是：「我無爲，而民自化。」以無爲化民，亦猶道之生物、爲物：「生而不有，爲而不恃，長而不宰。是謂玄德。」（註二〇）。這就是道化治道對天下之不有、不恃、不宰，亦卽徹底的放開、讓開，故可使人民大衆都能「各適其性、各遂其生」。於是，使爲治者，太上之君主，有德而不見其德，有功而不見其功。而至「功成、事遂，百姓皆謂我自然。」（註二一）。於是，便成了：「太上，下之有之」的局面。這就是道化治道之完成。（西漢文帝、景帝之世，經秦大亂之後，以無爲爲治，與民休養、生息，確實有得於老子道化治道之成效。）

老子的道化治道，亦與孔子德化治道一樣，都是由政治而超政治的，都有極高的境界，但在本質上却並不同，而其爲治之方向與最後所欲達成的格局亦並不同（註二二）。

韓非對於老子學實在下過許多功夫的，而在某一方面的確也有相當的體會和了解（註二三），而其對於道化治道應該也不能說全無了解，但却好像了解得太壞了。因爲他對「太上，下知有之」不就其原意看，却將其直接拉到他的賞、罰觀點上，以爲：有功獲賞、有罪受罰，「都是人們自己的事而與君主無關」，這顯然是一「援道入法」的舉措。這就老子原意言，可說是一貶抑，不是了解得太壞了嗎？可是，即使他真能相應地了解老子之原意，對於這種「以百姓心爲心」的精義，恐怕仍會視而不見、聽而不聞的！因爲他那原有的心靈已被商鞅的「嚴刑、重罰」等觀念固結得難動彈了！

六、闕危（按卽則危）生子臬。原書外儲說左下：

孔子相衛，弟子子臬爲獄吏。別人足，所閉者守門。

人有惡孔子於衛君者，曰：「仲尼欲作亂。」

衛君欲執孔子。孔子走，弟子皆逃。子臬後，門。闕危引之，而逃之門下室中，吏迫不得。

夜半，子臬問闕危，曰：「吾不能虧主之法令，而親明子之足。是子報仇之時也，而子何故乃肯逃我？我何以得此於子？」

跖危曰：「吾斷足也，固吾罪當之。不可奈何！然，方公之治臣獄也，公傾側法令，先後臣以言，欲臣之免也，甚。而臣知之。及獄決、罪定，公蹴然不悅，形於顏色。臣又知之（註二四）。非私臣也，夫天性、人心固然也。此臣所以悅而德公也。」

孔子曰：「善爲吏者，樹德；不能爲吏者，樹怨。概者，平量者也；吏者，平法者也。治國者不可失平也。」

按此一故事，甚有意義。子臬決跖危之獄：事前則傾側於法令，先後跖危，而欲求有以減免其罪；事後，又蹴然悲傷，形於顏色。由此可見，子臬之所以謹慎斷獄，及其執法之所以公平、用心之所以厚道了。論語載，孟氏使楊膚爲士師，曾子戒之：「上失其道，民散久矣！苟得其情，則哀矜而勿喜。」（註二五）。曾子此語，以爲民之犯法，固然有時代因素，但其所謂「苟得其情，則哀矜而勿喜」，乃是儒家典型性的觀念。而子臬於此，除了執法公平外，確實更具體地表現了這一觀念。所以跖危雖然被斷足，究竟還是極度感激子臬的。因而，他不但「不怨」，反而「感德」不已；因而，他救了子臬。

而在這裏，孔子表示了兩點：善爲吏者，「樹德」；吏者，「平法」。樹德，故能令跖危「感德」。平法，故可用以「治國」，且不可失。

至於韓非，他敘述出這個故事，當然也有他的見解。他說：「以罪受誅，人不怨上。跖危生子臬。」（註二六）。這話說得也很好，乃是從跖危一方說的。其要點即在子臬之「執法公平」上。因爲跖危罪有應得，子臬執法公平，依法罰（誅）之，故跖危不特不怨，而且感德，救了子臬。但他所了解、所肯定的，大抵就止於此一執法公平。過此以往，他難得再去體會和了解了。

的確，子臬執法公平，是不錯的！執法公平，依法而賞、罰，受罰者不怨上，受賞者更能勸勉，極有利於法治之推行。所以執法公平，在推行法治上，當然是非常重要的。但是，如果我們問：人之執法爲什麼能公平？子臬執法能公平，其他的人何以不公平？又多數人何以不可能都公平？而這種使執法能公平的「心」，究竟是什麼心？不公平的心又究竟是什麼心？並且，跖危因子臬之公平而不怨、感德、生子臬，這種感德、報恩的「心」，究竟是什麼？如果他，韓非，能深入一層加以體會、探究，他應該可以了解：前者就仁，後者就是義。如此，他提倡法治不僅不能反仁、義，甚而必至肯定仁、義，服膺仁、義了。因爲仁、義才是真正推行法治的動力根源！可惜由於心靈之茅塞，所以他不能，也不會深入一層加以體會和探究。這亦是無可奈何的事！

再說，子臬在決獄之前，「傾側法令」這種工作，他也許會同意的；而事後那種「哀矜勿喜」之情，或即「蹴然不悅，形於顏色」的樣子，則必在否定之列（註二七）。

故由韓非對於此一故事之局限化的見解，即可見其心態之所以局限化了。

七、太公望之殺狂喬兄弟。原書外儲說右上載：

太公望東封於齊。

齊東海上有居士曰狂喬、華士昆弟二人者，立議曰：「吾不臣天子、不友諸侯，耕作而食之，掘井而飲之。吾無求於人也。無上之名，無君之祿，不事仕而事力。」

太公望至於瑩丘，使吏執而殺之。以爲首誅。

周公旦從魯聞之，發急傳而問之曰：「夫二子，賢者也。今日饗國而殺賢者，何也？」

太公望曰：「是昆弟二人立議曰：『……………。』」

「彼不臣天子者，是望不得而臣也；不友諸侯者，是望不得而使也；耕作而食之、掘井

而飲之，無求於人者，是望不得以賞罰勸禁也。且無上名，雖知不為望用；不仰君祿，雖賢不為望功。不仕則不治，不任則不忠。且先王之所以使臣、民者：非爵祿，則刑罰也。今四者不足使之，則望當誰為君乎？

「不服兵革而顯、不親耕耨而名，又非所以教於國也。

「今有馬於此，如驢狀者，天下至良者也。然而驅之不前、卻之不止、左之不左、右之不右；則臧獲雖賤，不託其足……。已自謂以為世之賢士，而不為主用，行極賢而不用於君；此非明主之所臣也，亦驢之不可左右矣！是以誅之。」

按此節之意，極為明顯。如果這個故事是真的，則太公望正可說是法家之典型的始祖。他的論點，完全站在君主的立場，而絕未顧到人或民的一方面而說的。這種論點，若就古代傳統而言，「為政必以民為本」，則是絕不相容的。倘若他能稍為顧到人或民這一方面，將人作為人看，而不作為牛等工具看，則狂齋兄弟雖不為君主用，但絕不會因此就無人為君主所用。這中間，他只須略一思維，何至如此殘忍，而竟不放過兩個自行其所願的人？真是不將人當作人看，全是當作君主的工具看！當然，太公望一定會振振有辭地說，如果放過了這兩個兄弟，必會形成一種很不利的風氣，必會有更多、更多不要富貴、不想做官的人出現。因此，就非宰了他們不可！

韓非在這個故事上雖然沒有說過什麼，但他却是極端同意的。故在該篇（外儲說右上）較前處，即有所謂：

「賞之、譽之，不勸；罰之、毀之，不畏——四者加焉不變，則除之。」

這與太公望所論如出一口。這才是中國的法家人物之所思、所行。由此可見其歸向，亦可見其偏執與局限化之心態了。

依以上七項所析，無論就那一項言，即可使我們明白其心態之所以局限化了。這種局限化的心態，實際上亦就一種僵化的心態。在這種心態之下，任何高級的真理、更有意義和價值的觀念，都無從進入其中而被肯定、被容納了。的確，作為一個思想者，應該放寬胸次，應該如孔子所說：「君子之於天下也，無適也、無莫也，義之與比！」（註二八）。韓非，他若能讀誦這一類語句，並能認真加以體會，則其精神世界就不至那樣偏狹了！易繫辭云：「易之為害也，不可遠；為道也，屢遷——變動不居，周流六虛，上下无常，剛柔相濟，不可為典要，唯變所適。」他若能讀誦這一類章節，而深入地加以體會，則固結在心中的商君、申不害那些法和術的觀念，也很可能不成為「典要」了。真的，典要是最害人、害事的！

註 一：按韓非子外儲說左上說父子、主庸等相處關係，「皆挾為心」者。其所謂「挾為心」，實即「以自私、自利為心」之意。因此，在韓非的觀點中，人際世界，即人與人的關係世界，不論父子、夫婦，以至主庸等各種關係中，唯一就只是一個「利」，絕無任何善意可言者，尤其是君臣一倫，其利害衝突最甚。原書八姦、備內等篇所論極多。故其對於整個人際世界當有極惡劣之感受，因為他在這個世界中看不出任何光明的事物。

註 二：按本句「子首」，有作「首子」者，（陳啓天韓非子校釋作「首子」，並云：「乾道本作子首。茲從迂評本、趙本、凌本。」）實則「首子」義不可通。應從王先慎韓非子集解校作「子首」為是。

註 三：墨子貴義篇記：「子墨子曰，萬事莫貴於義。今謂人曰：『子子冠履，而斷子手足，子為之乎？』必不為。何故？則冠履不若手足之貴也。又曰：『子子天下，而殺子之身，

子爲之乎？』必不爲。何故？則天下不若身之貴也。」按此係從利言。從利言，天下雖然有大利，但身既被殺，則天下之大利亦無從受用，故必不爲。易牙等亦同，皆爲利是圖，若身被殺，利亦空，決不肯爲者。

註四：孟子云：「長君之惡，其罪小；逢君之惡，其罪大。」（告子上）。朱熹集註：「君有過，不能諫，又順之者，長君之惡也；君之過未萌，而先意導之者，逢君之惡也。」易牙等三人平日皆想盡法子欲使桓公愉悅、舒適，盡情導引其放縱者。故必如孟子所謂「逢君之惡」者。

註五：按本句「勞智慮而以知姦」，似應衍「以」字。

註六：論語憲問篇：「子擊磬於衛，有荷蕢而過孔氏之門者，曰：『有心哉，擊磬乎！……』」

註七：按墨子在其「尚同」一觀念中，分天下爲國、鄉及里等級，國有國君，鄉有鄉長，里有里長。里長規定其里之百姓必須上同於鄉長；鄉長規定其鄉之百姓必須上同於國君；國君規定國之百姓必須上同於天子；天子又總天下上同於天。而其規定於百姓上同的內容，最重要的有二：一是「聞見善、不善必以告其上」；二是「必須是非上之是非」。此二者爲極權政的共同要求，尤其是前者，更是普遍之特務政策。（詳情請參閱拙作墨學研究第二章、第二節）。而此一普遍之特務政策即是控制天下百姓的「大羅」。

史記商君列傳：「以衛鞅爲左庶長，卒定變法之令。令民爲什伍，而相牧司、連坐。不告姦者，腰斬；告姦者，與斬敵首同賞。匿姦者，與降敵同罪。」索隱引劉氏云：「五家爲保，十保相連。」按此解「什伍」之意。又云：「牧司，謂相糾發也。一家有罪，九家連舉發。若不舉發，則十家連坐。」按此爲商鞅之「大羅」。

韓非承其前二者爲說，其言有云：「人主者，非目若離婁，乃爲明也；非耳若師曠，乃爲聰也。……明主者，使天下不得不爲己視、使天下不得不爲己聽。」（見姦劫弑臣篇）。而明主這個必爲己視、己聽的特殊機構，應該就是他的「里相坐」之法。原書制分篇云：「然則微（按微字應作微，形近而譌）姦之法奈何？其務令之相規（按應同關）其情者也。然則相關奈何？曰：蓋『里相坐』而已。禁尚有連於己者，里不得不相關，惟恐不得免。有姦心者，不令得志，關者多也。如此，則慎己而關彼，發姦之密。告過者免罪、受賞，失姦者必誅、連刑。如此，則姦類發矣。姦不容細，私告任坐使然也。」細讀此段，可知其「大羅」之密。

註八：此語見管子牧民篇，其「天下王」。原作「聖王」，義更妥善。故應依原書作「聖王」。

註九：語見莊子逍遙遊肩吾問於連叔一節。

註一〇：語見尚書虞書皋陶謨。

註一一：按此二句係周書泰誓中篇語。泰誓固然是僞古文書，據云爲王肅所造，但此二語却不僞，因其見於孟子萬章（上）引。故必係僞中之真。

註一二：荀子王制篇引傳曰：「君者，舟也；庶人者，水也。水則載舟，水則覆舟。」按此亦應傳統之語。

註一三：按此處原文作「不紹」，應誤。王先慎韓非子集解引孫詒讓云：「紹，當作詔，請告之以尚明之義。紹、詔，形、聲並相近。」

註一四：此處原文本作「太上，下智有之。」按此原係老子十七章文，（智本作知）。而陳啓天

韓非子校釋却將其改爲「太上，不知有之。」陳氏以爲：「老子原意，蓋謂君無爲，則民不知有君。此乃太上之君也。」按此極誤！彼實不知老氏「無爲」爲何事，大有以爲閉門大睡爲無爲之意。故有此言。此殊不入流！（唯此與韓非所論無關）。

註一五：論語子路篇載「葉公問政。子曰：近者說，遠者來。」

註一六：論語子路篇載「子適衛，冉有僕。子曰：庶矣哉！冉有曰：既庶矣，又何加焉？曰：富之！曰：既富矣，又何加焉？曰：教之！」庶，謂人口衆多。孔子此言富之、教之，即是從治衛國立場而言，亦即可視爲從爲政立場而言，表示其必主張「先富而後教」之意。

註一七：孟子此語見其書之滕文公（上）。此亦在爲政立場，言富民之重要。一般人民比不上士，士可以「無恒產而保持其恒心不墜」，一般人民則必難以如此。故必須有恒產然後可。

註一八：此亦孟子語，亦見滕文公（上）有爲神農者之言章。先富而後教，孟子言之尤殷。

註一九：論語爲政篇載「子曰：道之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無恥；道之以德，齊之以禮，有恥且格。」按此章以政刑與德禮並顯，其重點必在後者，前者蓋亦不能不用而已。

註二〇：以上各句，分見老子四十九章、五十七章及五十一章。

註二一：此二句亦見老子十七章。

註二二：關此，請參閱業師牟宗三先生政道與治道，第二章論中國的治道第二、三節。

註二三：按韓非對於老子之學應該費過相當多的時間與精力，除在原書各篇中引過老子的簡單詞句外，成篇的有解老、喻老兩篇，另如主道、揚權二篇論人君之用術者，其內容多攝取老子之道而言。故司馬遷史記將其與老、莊同傳，並謂其：「喜刑名、法術之學，而其歸本於黃、老。」而近代如熊十力先生亦必有謂其「援道入法」之說。（見韓非子評論）

註二四：此句原文作「臣見又知之」。據陳啓天韓非子校釋改正。

註二五：見論語子張篇。

註二六：按韓非子內外儲說共六篇，各篇均先列「經」若干條，然後再列「傳」分條敘述。而韓非本人之意見，除說於「經」者外，有於「傳」更詳說之，有則僅見於「經」而已。此處二句則係經文，說在該篇開始處。

註二七：原書五蠹篇有云：「今儒、墨皆稱先王兼愛天下，則視民如父母。何以明其然也？曰，司寇行刑，君爲之不舉樂；聞死刑報，君爲之流涕。……且夫以法行刑，而君爲之流涕。以此效仁，非以爲治也。夫垂泣不欲刑者，仁也；然而不可不刑者，法也。先王勝其法，不聽其泣：則仁不可以爲治，亦明矣。」此見其必否定仁，而「哀矜勿喜」在彼看，與爲治自不能兩存者。這種頭腦實在也太直接了。

註二八：語見論語里仁篇。

## On Han Fei's Attitude of Mind

Chen Kung \*

## Abstract

In the book of Han Fei Tzu, many comments about the things of the old ancient people were put down by Han Fei. This paper is going to revalue his seven comments as to better understand his intelligent limitatin in his viewpoint.

Among these, the greatest problem is that Han Fei does not share the attitude toward the traditional concept, "the sovereign should put people on the first", which was handed down for thousands of years. In fact, not only confucius but Lao Tzu claimed this was the best concept for the people. Only Han Fei was opposite to what Confucius and Lao Tzu had claimed. While discussing the whole theory of the rule of law, if there really is some regulation for the rule of law, the regulation is absolutely not run on the basis of the pulbic-at large, instead, it does work for the ruler. Therefore his regulation for the rule of law doesn't match with what we now are pursuing, namely; the ruler should put people on the first.

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## 趙甌北的史學成就(上)

王建生\*

### 摘要

本文為拙著「趙甌北研究」第八章全文。甌北在史學方面著作有：皇朝武功紀盛、二十二史劄記、陔餘叢考、簞曝雜記等書。最為人稱頌的是二十二史劄記，本文所論即以此書為主，陔餘叢考及其他著作為輔。

本文分五節。第一節言甌北通過科學方法，歸納出：政治、經濟、社會等典章制度通則，比較其得失，解釋其發展原理。且，擺脫從前正史以帝王為中心的觀念。第二節，甌北以春秋精神，「筆伐」「筆削」，評論帝王、后妃、文武大臣的言行。第三節，分析甌北對：財政、經濟、教育、及刑罰方面的研究，使後代學者，把注意力落實到社會的真正問題。第四節，就社會禮儀、風俗及建築等方面探究，甌北皆能考證歷歷、分析入微。第五節，分述甌北補正史書疏漏、端正史書錯誤，並稱揚史書優點等。

由於甌北具有淵博的歷史知識、和卓越的智慧，能洞穿事件真相、掌握時代問題、切入問題核心，而且有坦蕩胸襟，所以有持平的定見，造成他在史學上極高的評價。至於二十二史劄記的缺失，篇末亦略有論及。

甌北在史學方面著作有：皇朝武功紀盛、二十二史劄記、陔餘叢考、簞曝雜記。其中，皇朝武功紀盛，載乾嘉時清朝武功，前文已言之；簞曝雜記所載俄羅斯方面，何秋濤多辨其非（註一）；最為後人稱頌的是二十二史劄記，本章論列甌北史學成就，即以二十二史劄記為主，陔餘叢考及其他著作為輔，分幾節來說明。

### 第一節 甌北用比較歸納法來治史

還沒正式說到甌北著作在史學上的成就前，先探討他的治史方法。簡單的講，甌北治史學，是符合科學方法的。

那麼什麼是科學的方法？是不是如胡適所說的：「大膽的假設，小心的求證」（註二）而已？這恐怕有待商榷。我們知道研究自然科學有所謂：觀察法、實驗法、歸納法、比較法、分析法、綜合法等等，但歷史並非自然科學，無法完全比照自然科學的研究方法應用上去。那麼，史學方法是什麼？近人杜維運教授引用英國史學家司可題（Ernest Scott）的十項方法（註三），不過這十項方法，楊鴻烈先生認為太瑣碎了。楊先生提出：(1)搜集史料法，(2)審訂史料法，（像我國的校勘、訓詁、考據），(3)整理和批判史料法（即綜合作）（註四）。不管怎麼說，運用科學方法是可以帮助史學研究的。

甌北治史學，如二十二史劄記，卷三，「呂武不當並稱」，指出，武后改朔易朝，徧王諸武，殺唐子孫幾盡，甚至殺其子孫數人，以縱淫慾，其惡為古今未有。呂后則高帝臨危時，問蕭相

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孰可代者，以安國家爲急（註五）。分析呂后、武后實際之不同，破除一般以呂后、武后同握政權，往往相提並稱的錯誤。又如二十二史劄記卷五，「宦者亦有賢者」條，言後漢宦官貪惡肆橫，十之八九，然亦有清慎自守，不可一概抹殺，如鄭衆與和帝定策，誅竇憲兄弟；蔡倫以破布，魚網製紙；孫程與王康等十九人歃血盟，迎濟陰王即位，（是爲順帝），等等皆宦官中之賢者，不可以偏概全。又如二十二史劄記，卷二十六，頁六，「和議」條云：

宋之爲國，始終以和議而存，不和議而亡。蓋其兵力本弱，而所值遼、金、元三朝，皆當勃興之運，天之所興，固非人力可爭，以和保邦，猶不失爲圖全之善策。而耳食者徒以和議爲辱，妄肆詆譏，眞所謂知義理而不知時勢，聽其言則是，而究其實則不可行也。

甌北能審度客觀情勢，以當時兵力分析，是言「宋之爲國，始終以和議而存，不和議而亡」，持論公允，此即分析、綜合之科學方法，運用於治史。

當然，甌北的治史，跟整個時代學術環境有關，本書第二章第三節，甌北的史學環境，略有提及。今更進一步說明。梁啓超曾說：

乾嘉以還，考證學統一學界，其洪波自不得不及於史，則有趙翼之廿二史劄記，王鳴盛之十七史商榷，錢大昕之二十二史考異，洪頤煊之諸史考異，皆汲其流，四書體例略同，其職志皆在考證史蹟，訂譌正謬，惟趙書於每代之後，常有多條臚列史中故實，用歸納法比較研究，以觀盛衰治亂之原，此其特長也。（註六）

乾嘉以來，「考證學統一學界」，其職志在「考證史蹟，訂譌正謬」；趙翼更能「用歸納法比較研究，以觀盛衰治亂之原」。「歸納法比較研究」治史，是合乎「科學方法」的。只不過這種歸納比較所得的結論，並不能像自然科學定理、定律一般，「放之四海而皆準」，因爲每一歷史事件的人物，時間、空間等背景因素都無法一樣。不過，用這種歸納法比較研究，易於解釋事件發生的原因和結果。

甌北用歸納、比較來撰著的篇章，二十二史劄記中，觸目皆是。先舉用歸納法的，如卷二的「漢初布衣將相之局」條，言漢初將相出身低賤，像酈食其、夏侯嬰等爲白徒，樊噲爲屠狗者，周勃是織薄曲吹簫給喪事者，婁敬則輓車者，一時「人才輩出」。此就同時代的人物歸納。若不同時代者如卷五「累世經學」，言孔聖後，歷戰國、秦及兩漢，無不以經義爲業。伏勝以尙書教授，世傳經學，歷兩漢四百年。又如桓榮、以宿學授明帝經，一家三代以明經爲帝王師，且至於五帝，爲孔、伏二氏所不及。卷七「九錫文」條，由曹操始，至司馬昭、劉裕、蕭道成、蕭衍、陳霸先、高洋等等，並考歷朝撰寫九錫文之作者，元元本本。此外，如卷八「東晉多幼主」，卷十「南北史子孫附傳之例」、「宋子孫屠戮之慘」、卷十二「齊梁之君多才學」、卷十三「太上皇帝」、卷十四「皇太孫」、「皇太弟」、「後魏追諡之濫」、「後魏刑殺太過」、卷十五「後魏多家庭之變」、卷十九「唐追贈太子之濫」、卷二十「唐代宦官之禍」、「名父之子多敗德」、卷二十一「五代諸帝多由軍士擁立」、卷二十二「五代幕僚之禍」、「五代諸帝皆無後」、「五代人多以彥爲名」、卷二十六「繼世爲相」、「四次入相」、「兩次入相」，卷二十七「遼族多好文學」、卷二十八「金末賜姓之例」、卷三十「元初用兵多有天助」、「元諸帝多不習漢文」、「縱囚」、卷三十三「重懲貪吏」、「明大臣久任者」，卷三十五「明代宦官」（註七）等等，皆是。或舉一史中同類事件而歸併，或舉多種史書同類問題、人物而歸納；使人易於明白史實。幾乎篇篇精采，令人一新耳目。試舉卷三十五「明代宦官」云：

明代宦官擅權，其富亦駭人聽聞。今見於記載者，王振時，每朝覲官來見者，以百金爲率

，千金者始得醉飽而出（稗史類編）。是時賄賂初開，千金已爲厚禮。然振籍沒時，金銀六十餘庫，玉盤百、珊瑚高六七尺者二十餘株（明史振傳）。則其富已不訾矣。李廣歿後，孝宗得其賂籍，文武大臣餽黃、白米各千百石，帝曰：「廣食幾何，乃受米如許？」左右曰：「隱語耳，黃者金，白者銀也」（廣傳）。則視振已更甚。劉瑾時天下三司官入覲，例索千金，甚至有四五千金者（蔣欽傳）。科道出使歸，例有重賄。給事周鑰勸事歸，淮安知府趙俊許貸千金，既而不與，鑰計無所出，至桃源自刎死（許天錫傳）。偶一出使，即需重賂，其他可知也。稗史又記布政使須納二萬金，則更不止四五千金矣。瑾敗後籍沒之數，據王鏊筆記，大玉帶八十束，黃金二百五十萬兩，銀五千萬餘兩，他珍寶無算，計瑾竊國不過六七年，而所積已如此。其後錢寧籍歿時，黃金十餘萬，而白金三千箱，玉帶二千五百束（寧傳），亦幾及瑾之半。至魏忠賢竊柄，史雖不載其籍歿之數，然其權勢於瑾，則其富更勝於瑾可知也。（註八）

此歸納正史各傳、筆記稗史，得知宦官之貪饕、擅權、歎爲觀止。則明廷之腐敗、百姓之痛恨朝政，可想而知。是以流賊一起，所向披靡，以其內外無忠貞適職官吏故也。

除了歸納法，甌北又多用比較法，甌北稱之爲「比對」。如二十二史劄記卷一的「史記自相歧互處」，比較史記各傳得知其間「自相歧互處」。「史漢不同處」條，「史漢互有得失」條，皆比對史記、漢書，得知其紀年、紀事、紀人、官職、文字本身等等不同。此外，卷二的「漢書增傳」、卷七的「三國之主用人不同」、「魏晉紀傳互異處」、「北史與魏齊周隋書歧互處」、卷十八的「新書改舊書文義處」、「新舊書互異處」、「新舊書各有紀傳互異處」、「新舊書誤處」、卷二十的「黃巢、李自成」（皆流賊）、卷二十一的「歐史不專據薛史舊本」、「歐史書法謹嚴」、卷二十二「張全義、馮道」（皆無恥之徒）、卷二十六「秦檜、史彌遠之攬權」、卷二十七「宗弼渡江宋金二史互異」、「宋金二史傳聞之誤」、卷二十八的「金代文物遠勝遼元」、卷二十九「金元二史不符處」、「元史自相歧互處」、卷三十四「明中葉南北用兵強弱不同」等等。以上所舉，皆就其顯著者。在一史中，不同人物或事件的比較；或取二書、二史、二事之比對；甚或取二者以上同類事之比對（比較）。例如卷二十的「黃巢、李自成」條云：（頁三十三至三十四）。

流賊有適相肖者。黃巢初從王仙芝爲盜，仙芝被戮，巢始爲盜魁。李自成亦先從高迎祥爲盜，迎祥被擒，自成始爲盜魁，相似一也。巢以草賊起事，陷京師，據宮闕，僭號改元。自成亦以草賊起事，陷京師，據宮闕，僭號改元，相似二也。巢未入京以前，其鋒不可當，入京僭位後，逆運已滿，未幾遂一敗塗地。自成自襄、陝向京，凶威亦無敵，入京僭位後，逆運亦滿，未幾亦一敗塗地，相似三也。巢因民謠有「逢儒則肉師必覆」之語，遂戒軍中不得害儒者，所俘民稱儒者輒捨之。至福州，殺人如麻，過校書郎董樸家，令曰：「此儒者」。乃滅火弗焚。自成所用牛金星、乃舉人不第者，每肆毒於進士官，而戒軍中勿害舉人。至河南，賊將誤殺一縣令，或告曰：「此舉人也」，群駭而去，其相似四也。巢入長安，令唐官三品以上並停，四品以下俱復舊任。自成入京，亦令三品以上並停，四品以下仍舊，其相似五也。豈賊中有人知巢之故事而仿之耶？又巢敗奔狼虎谷，爲林言所斬，事見唐書及通鑑，而小說家謂巢實未死，後爲僧於嵩、洛間，自題其像，有「鐵衣著盡著僧衣」之句。自成竄九宮山，爲村民擊死，事見明史，而論者謂其部分尙有數十萬，何至斃于村民之手，遂亦有傳其爲僧於武當者。此二賊先後事迹，何適相肖也。

甌北比較黃巢、李自成二流賊相似處有六，(一)先從人爲盜，而得盜魁。(二)草賊起事、據宮、改元。(三)先盛頃衰。(四)不害儒生、舉人。(五)竊位後，令三品以上停職、四品以下仍舊。(六)爲平民斬死後，論者傳其爲僧。史實確然、條理清楚。黃巢、李自成諸多相似，是以甌北要懷疑李闖「賊中有人知巢之故事而仿之耶」？

甌北以比較歸納治史外，又富有春秋大義的精神，梁啓超又說：

趙翼之廿二史劄記，此書雖與錢大昕、王鳴盛之作齊名，然性質有絕異處。錢王皆爲狹義的考證，趙則教吾儕以蒐求抽象的史料之法，昔人言「屬辭比事、春秋之教」，趙書蓋善於比事也。(註九)

這話不錯。錢大昕廿二史考異，由史漢以訖金元，就史書內容「反覆校勘」(註十)；王鳴盛的十七史商榷，上起史記，下迄五代史書，「商榷而揚榷也」，且「猥以校訂之役，穿穴故紙堆中，實事求是，庶幾啓導後人」(註十一)，難怪梁啓超言錢、王二人皆爲「狹義的考證」。甌北則教導吾人「蒐求抽象的史料之法」，善於「屬辭比事」(連綴文辭，排比史事)；換言之，甌北善於比較歸納法的，不止於考證而已。梁啓超在論中國學術思想變遷之大勢又說：

趙甌北(翼)之廿二史劄記，其考據部分，與(王)西莊、(錢)辛楣相類，顧其採集論斷，屬辭比事，有足多者。(註十二)

錢大昕、王鳴盛只具備乾嘉的考據，卻缺乏甌北「屬辭比事」的比較歸納治史，所以成就不如甌北。

此外，甌北具有「春秋之教」的史學精神。孔子修訂春秋，「微言大義」、「寓褒貶」，所以「亂臣賊子懼」。史記，在精神上便繼承春秋的，司馬遷說：

先人有言，自「周公卒五百歲而有孔子，孔子卒後至今五百歲，有能紹明世、正易傳、繼春秋，本詩書禮樂之際」，意在此乎，意在此乎！小子何敢讓焉。(註十三)

孔子死於西元前四七九，至漢武帝太初元年西元前一〇四，應三百七十五歲，說五百歲是不正確的(錢大昕已有此說)。不管怎樣，司馬遷撰著史記，想繼承春秋的精神，相當明顯。(事實上，春秋較主觀、尊王攘夷、講微言大義；史記多實錄、容納異族、多直筆)。而甌北當然也希望繼承「春秋之教」，因爲這是自司馬遷之後，歷代寫史書的精神傳承。

不過個人認爲甌北史學較重大的貢獻，在於通過「科學方法」治史，歸納出：政治、經濟、社會等典章制度通則，比較其得失，解釋其發展原理(註十四)。且，擺脫從前正史以帝王爲中心、神聖不可侵犯的觀念。他注意整個時代的問題、社會文化的變遷，這是從前史家較少留意的。下面的幾節，討論甌北的史學成就，是從甌北著作(尤其二十二史劄記)歸納出來，茲分述之：

## 第二節 政治人物與政治手段的評析

### (1) 評論帝王、后妃

甌北富春秋精神，二十二史劄記中，「筆伐」「筆削」，不論帝王、后妃，言行不當，都加以無情的揭露。如劄記卷三頁七，「婚娶不論行輩」條，言漢惠帝后張氏、帝之甥而爲妻；哀帝后傅氏，以姪女爲妻。更壞的，如同卷「漢諸王荒亂」條云，燕王劉定(國)與父康王姬姦(註十五)；衡山王孝與父侍婢姦；趙太子丹與同產姊及王後宮亂；梁王立與姑園子姦等等皆是。再如，同卷「王莽自殺子孫」云：王莽妻生四子：宇、獲、安、臨。哀帝時，莽迫令獲自殺；平帝

立，莽執宇送獄，使飲藥死；僭位後，賜臨藥，臨不肯飲，自刺死；是月，安亦病死；害死親生子，真是殘酷無比。卷十一「宋齊多荒主」條云：宋少帝義符之乖戾，前廢帝子業納其姑新蔡公主，並裸湘東王或入地坑中，令左右淫建安王休仁生母楊太妃，毆捶山陽王休祐；而山陰公主，置面首（男妾、男寵）三十人；後廢帝昱，擊殺路上無辜；齊廢帝鬱林王與左右無賴二十餘人，共衣食臥起，妃何氏，擇其中美者，皆與交歡；齊廢帝東昏侯寶卷，委任群小，誅殺大臣；陳後主叔寶，婦人從者千餘人，與張貴妃、孔貴嬪酣飲作樂，從夕達旦，稅江稅市，征取百端！嗚呼！南朝如此荒淫無道之君，國家豈有不速亡者乎？又如卷十五「北齊宮闈之醜」，言北齊神武在時，鄭妃已通於文襄，及歿後，蠕蠕公主亦為文襄所蒸，文襄后又為文宣所污，文宣后又為武成所污，武成后胡氏，當武成時已與閹人褻狎，通和土開，入周後，恣行奸穢。揭發北齊宮闈淫穢、醜陋史，不遺餘力！

又如筭記，卷十九頁十八，「唐女禍」條云：

高祖之舉兵，實以女色起也。及太宗殺弟元吉，即以元吉妻為妃。盧江王瑗以反誅，而其姬又入侍左右，是兩代開創之君，皆以女色縱慾。孰知貞觀之末，武后已在宮中，其後稱制命，殺唐子孫幾盡，中壽之醜，千載指為笑端。韋后繼之，穢聲流聞，并為其所通之武三思，榜其醜行於天津橋，以傾陷張柬之等，尋又與安樂公主毒弒中宗。

唐高祖以女色起兵，太宗殺弟元吉，並以其妻為妃；爾後，武后、韋后，穢聲流聞，貽笑千載。又，卷二十八「海陵荒淫」條，言海陵專於宗族親戚中恣為姦亂，甚至殺其父殺其夫而納之，此真千古所未有！且「弑君弑母，殺伯叔兄弟及宗室數百人」（見「海陵兼齊文宣、隋煬帝之惡」）。由此看來，古代帝王、后妃之無品無德者、多矣！

筭記卷四「光武信讖書」，卷十五「齊文宣帝能預知」、卷十九「唐諸帝多餌丹藥」，言帝王之迷信，甚且喪生，不知省悟，殊為可笑可憐；卷三十「元諸帝多不習漢文」，則元帝之不學無術，而元代遂為文化沙漠。

從以上得知，所謂「禍國殃民」、「敗壞倫常」者，往往由帝王開始，「其身不正，雖令不從」（論語，子路篇），上行下效，蔚然成風，此國家所以傾頹、敗壞之理；非盡全為臣子、百姓之不忠不孝！

## (2) 評論人臣

甌北敢於評論帝王、后妃，對於文武大臣，亦秉春秋大義精神，以褒以貶。如筭記卷二，「武帝三大將皆由女寵」云，衛青以后（衛子夫）同母（衛媼，與衛青父鄭季通）弟，見用為大將軍。霍去病為皇后姊（衛子夫姊少兒，與霍去病父霍仲孺通）子，見用為驃騎將軍。李廣利以女弟（妹）為倡，幸於帝，帝用廣利為貳師將軍。甌北以為「三大將皆出自淫賤苟合，或為奴僕，或為倡優，徒以嬖寵進，後皆成大功為名將，此理之不可解者也」（頁二十五）。

又如卷三十四，「明鄉官虐民之害」，言楊士奇子稷居鄉，嘗侵暴殺人。梁儲子次據為錦衣百戶，居家時，與富人楊端爭民田，端殺田主，次據遂滅端家二百餘人。焦芳治第宏麗，數郡之民皆為所役。董國光子董二，居鄉橫暴，被虐者甘心從白蓮賊反（見姬文允傳）。松江錢尚書治第，亦多役鄉人。周延儒為相，陳于泰為翰林，二家子弟橫暴邑中。王應熊弟應熙橫於鄉。甌北從史傳中歸納明代縉紳居鄉，多倚勢恃強，視細民為弱肉，肆毒積怨於民，而民無所控訴，哀哉百姓。

又若卷三十六「明末督撫之多」，言明末時勢孔急，是以督撫如星羅碁布；甌北又有「明末

督撫誅戮之多」，在崇禎間誅總督七人，巡撫披戮者十一人；崇禎十七年，兵部尚書凡十四人，亦罕有善全者。可知明末用人浮濫、人材脆薄、刑章顛覆、任意生殺，此蓋亡國之先兆乎？

歷代爲人臣者，不論文武，能盡忠盡孝，成全大節，遺芳後代，歷歷可數。然仕非正路，行非正軌，或在朝仕宦、貪權害利、居鄉則肆毒鄉里，亦在在多有，甌北特就史書明載者以言，而史書未及記載者，更不知其數！而身爲人臣，居處刑章顛倒，是非不明時代，屢爲帝王隨意殺戮者，亦不止正史所記。

### (3)補正史人物之不足

甌北讀遍廿二史，知曉歷朝人物輕重，其功業顯赫，卻名不載史書中，甌北以爲當補之。如筭記卷二「與蘇武同出使者」，除蘇武人盡皆知外，其他守節絕域者，如任倣使匈奴、郭吉留於單于，路充國亦爲單于所留，此皆在蘇武之前。與蘇武同歸者，尚有馬弘。趙破奴與子定國，守節不屈，張騫亦留居匈奴十年，持漢節不失，崎嶇險阻，甚於蘇武。與蘇武同出使者，張勝爲匈奴所殺，常惠亦在匈奴十九年，而同時隨蘇武還者九人，如常惠，趙終根、徐聖，然至今但稱武而已！此幸與不幸。

又如卷九，「宋書南史俱無沈田子、沈林子傳」云，宋武開國，武將功臣以檀道濟、檀韶、檀祗、王鎮惡、朱超石、沈田子、沈林子爲最，而田子與孫季高、傾盧循巢穴；宋武帝北伐，田子大破姚泓，與咸陽之平，田子、林子屬首功。田子又與王鎮惡禦赫連勃勃，且武帝每征伐，林子皆居先鋒，殺董神虎、襲薛帛、潰姚紹、殺姚鸞、走姚瓚、破姚伯子，遂平長安、擒姚泓。而李延壽作南史，竟遺沈田子、沈林子，甌北爲不平之鳴。

又如卷九，「梁書有止足傳無方伎傳」云，梁書不必立知足傳（可入良吏傳），應立方伎傳，蓋累代不廢。如釋寶誌，精於佛學，能知未來，生平可述者多，無方伎一門，遂少此傳。此刊正史立傳之不當。

又如卷二十四，「宋史列傳又有遺漏者」，云宋史列傳中，有宜載而反漏者，如姜堯臣、王婉容、忠節而死；彭義斌忠義勳績；劉克莊、宋末一大家；皆未立專傳，此宋史之疎漏。又，卷二十六「宋史缺傳」條，言王堅之守合州，不減張巡之守睢陽；王佐守利州，父子皆死難；王虎臣、王大用力守孤城，抗節不屈；尹玉、麻士龍，皆文天祥所遣救常州者，尹玉戰死五牧，士龍戰死虞橋，宋史有玉傳，而士龍無傳。可知修宋史者草率疏忽，宜爲後世之戒！

### (4)政治手段

爲了達到統治的目的，統治者總要利用各種政治手段來消除異己；像文字獄，是用來統治思想最好的手段，其禍害之大，難以估計。二十二史劄記卷二十六，頁十五，「秦檜文字之禍」條云：

秦檜贊成和議，自以爲功，惟恐人議已，遂起文字之獄，以傾善類。……但有一言一字稍涉忌諱者，無不爭先告訐，於是流毒遍天下。

秦檜兩據相位，凡十九年（註十六），以文字獄來「傾陷善類」，只要語言文字稍涉忌諱，即橫遭誣害，所以善類漸空、忠良漸絕！後來明太祖繼之，廿二史劄記，卷三十二「明初文字之禍」條云，明太祖「往往以文字疑誤殺人」，讀書人動則被殺，此或即「明初文人多不仕」（亦卷三十二）的理由吧！至於有清一代，上承秦檜遺風、明祖遺法、變本加厲，大興文字之獄，「傾陷」漢人，推其原始，滿清不過藉漢人之法，以「漢」制「漢」而已！

### 第三節 重視財政、經濟、教育及刑罰等方面研究

甌北撰廿二史劄記，除了以客觀的立場評論帝王、公卿大夫，保有傳統史書以「政治權力為中心」的歷史傳承外，更注意到各時代的重大問題：財政、經濟、教育、及刑罰等方面的研究，使後代學者，除了研究正史人物，和紀事本末外，把注意力落實到社會上的真正問題，這可說是一項重大的突破。

如就財政、經濟方面說：

在劄記卷三，「漢多黃金」條云，漢高祖以四萬斤與陳平，使為楚反間；文帝即位，賜誅諸呂有功大臣，周勃五千斤，陳平、灌嬰各二千斤。梁孝王薨，有四十萬金。衛青擊匈奴，軍受賜二十餘萬斤，等等，由此歸納「漢多黃金」，且言「後世黃金日少」（頁九至頁十）。方法上，甌北用歸納法得「漢多黃金」是正確的；不過推論「後世黃金日少」有待商榷。據司馬遷史記平準書說：

漢興，……秦錢重、難用，更令民鑄錢，一黃金一斤，約法省禁。而不軌逐利之民，蓋積餘業以稽市物，物踴騰躍，米至石萬錢，馬至四百金。（註十七）

漢初鑄的是「莢錢」，又稱五分錢，形如榆莢，重三銖；比起秦錢重十二銖，輕多了。而且金子一斤（十兩）金，與秦代二十兩（或說二十四兩，一鎰）為一金，顯然，漢代的“一金”有“縮水”現象。因此「不軌逐利」的百姓，覺得漢代金子、錢幣都“縮水”了，於是“屯貨居奇”，（稽，貯滯也），物賤買進，物貴賣出，所以一石米須萬錢，一匹馬須百金，引起“物價波動”。由此看來，“漢多黃金”，很重要的因素，是計算單位的不同，加上物價波動，錢幣的因素，使人產生錯覺。否則，黃金愈開採愈多，怎麼可能「後世黃金日少」呢？不管如何，黃金是自古以來最受重視的“金錢”。

甌北另一篇「元代專用交鈔」（在卷三十頁十），對於紙幣（交鈔、紙幣、交易使用，故名）的流行，有很好的解說。他說：

交鈔之起，本南宋紹興之初，造此以招募商旅，為沿邊糴買之計，較銅錢易齎，民頗便之。……金章宗時，亦以交鈔與錢並行。……世祖中統元年，又造中統元寶交鈔。據食貨志，其法以絲為本，每銀五十兩易絲鈔一千兩，諸物之直並從絲例鈔之文。……至元二十四年，乃改造至元鈔，自二貫至五文，凡十一等，與中統鈔通行。……終元之世，常用中統、至元二鈔。每年印造之數，自數十萬至數百萬不等，亦見食貨志。鈔雖以錢為文，而元代實未嘗鑄錢也……故有元一代專用鈔。其所以能行用者，各路平準行用庫，貿易金銀，平準鈔法。每銀一兩入庫，其價至元鈔二貫，出庫二貫五分。金一兩入庫二十貫，出庫二十貫五百文。是民之有金銀者，可赴庫換鈔；有鈔者，亦可赴庫換金銀也。……案至元中，江淮頒行鈔法，廢宋銅錢，……（註十八）

講元代交鈔通行情況，解釋清楚。不過，對於交鈔（紙幣）起源，仍有待商榷。據宋史食貨志云：

交子之法，蓋有取於唐之飛錢。真宗時，張詠鎮蜀，患蜀人鐵錢重，不便貿易，設質劑之法，一交一緡，以三年為一界而換之，六十五年為二十二界，謂之交子。（註十九）

依此說，唐憲宗（八〇六～八二〇）時代，以合券兌錢（飛錢），已是鈔法的開始。至宋真宗（九九八～一〇二二），張詠鎮守四川，正式發行紙幣，則北宋已有交鈔之法。甌北言「交鈔之起，本南宋紹興之初」，恐非確論。此外要補充的，元代能通行紙幣，主要是累積中國許久以來發



行紙幣的經驗，另一方面，元朝政府規定用紙幣、廢除銅錢，以行政力量干預（註二十）；而且紙幣可隨時在平準行用庫換取「金銀」。全漢昇先生曾就元代每年印鈔數，作一統計，（註廿一），對於當時鈔幣數量、及流通情形，可作參考。

又如卷二十六「歲幣」條云：（頁一）

宋真宗與遼聖宗澶淵之盟，定歲幣之數，銀十萬兩，絹二十萬匹。仁宗時，遼興宗以求地爲兵端，再與定盟，加歲幣銀，絹各十萬兩、匹。夏主元昊既納款，賜歲幣銀、絹、茶、綵共二十五萬五千。南渡後，高宗與金熙宗和議成，歲幣銀、絹二十五萬兩、匹。孝宗再與金世宗議和，改爲銀、絹二十萬兩、匹。開禧用兵既敗，寧宗再與金章宗議和，增爲銀、絹三十萬兩、匹。至金哀宗時，宋停其歲幣，後數年金亡。

宋代自開國以來，由於「重文輕武」的政治，所以飽受外患；尤其南渡以後，爲「偏安」苟延殘局，向遼、向夏、向金納「歲幣」，是國家奇恥大辱。且「歲幣」由真宗時代銀十萬兩、絹二十萬匹，至南宋寧宗的銀、絹各三十萬兩、匹。從政治的角度來看，固然是政治、軍事的薄弱，如果從經濟的角度來看呢？全漢昇先生說：

提到宋代物價，到了北宋末葉，已經呈現上漲的趨勢，到了南宋，物價更是一天比一天向上飛漲，原因是：南宋初年物價所以發生劇烈的波動，宋、金戰爭是其中基本原因。由於金兵的騷擾，北方人口多避亂南渡，南方人口多了，物品的需要大增；而且戰爭本來又是對物質的大消耗，物質消耗多了，其需要自然更加增大。（註廿二）

全先生分析鞭辟近裏。進一步說，宋、金的征戰，金人也同樣消耗許多民力、財力，也可能導至物價波動，這些波動須由敗方（南宋）多繳「歲幣」來補償；敗方在戰爭中損失已經很大了，物價上漲了，加上「歲幣」的關係，使得南宋的物價不停地飛漲。

又以「官俸」言。甌北二十二史劄記、卷二十五有「宋制祿之厚」、「宋祠祿之制」、「宋恩蔭之濫」、「宋恩賞之厚」、「宋冗官冗費」等條；與卷三十二有「明宦俸最薄」條；相形比較，宋代當官的，是如此受到政府的「厚愛」，而明代當官是如此受「歧視」。試舉「宋制祿之厚」條云：（卷二十五，頁四）

宋史職官志載俸祿之制：京朝官宰相、樞密使、月三百千，春、冬服各綾二十匹，絹三十四匹，綿百兩。參知政事、樞密副使，月二百千，綾十四匹，絹三十四匹，綿五十兩。其下以是爲差。節度使月四百千，節度、觀察留後三百千，觀察二百千，綾絹隨品分給，其下亦以是爲差。凡俸錢並支一分見錢，二分折支，此正俸也。其祿粟則宰相、樞密使月一百石，三公、三少一百五十石，權三司使七十石，其下以是爲差。節度使一百五十石，觀察、防禦使一百石，其下以是爲差。凡一石給六斗，米麥各半。……（神宗）官制行，俸錢稍有增減。……至（徽宗）崇寧間，蔡京當國，復增供給食料等錢，……視元豐祿制，更倍增矣。

再拿「明官俸最薄」相比：（卷三十二，頁十四）

（明）洪武十三年，已定文武官祿米俸鈔之數。二十五年，更定官祿，正一品月俸米八十七石，從一品至正三品遞減十三石，從三品二十六石，正四品二十四石，從四品二十一石，正五品十六石，從五品十四石，正六品十石，從六品八石，正七品至從九遞減五斗，至五石而止，自後爲永制。洪武時，官全給米，間以錢鈔，……官高者支米十之四五，卑者支米十之七八，九品以下全支米。……（憲宗）成化七年，戶部鈔少，乃以布估，給布一

匹當鈔二百貫。是時鈔一貫僅值二三文，而米一石折鈔十貫，是一石米僅值二三十錢也。布一匹亦僅值二三百錢，而折米二十石，是一石米僅值十四五錢也。明史食貨志謂，自古官俸之薄未有若此者。

甌北又說，明代「百官俸米，領票後賣與商人赴領，每十石止值銀一二兩」，果如此，正一品月俸不足二十兩銀；其他百官之窮困可想而知。如此薄俸，當然不足以養廉。到了武宗時，劉瑾用事；世宗立，嚴嵩當權，屠殺忠良；崇禎時，又用魏忠賢等閹黨，則明廷忠貞之士幾絕！所以甲申國變，開門納賊的曹化淳，是皇帝的寵信！而「司禮視印太監王德化以內員三百人先迎德勝門」（註廿三）。閹黨的專擅、政府「歧視」百官，士大夫無有廉恥之心，大小官吏相繼背國納賊，使得明朝走上覆滅的命運！宋代呢？就不是這樣了，甌北說：（筭記，卷二十五，頁五）

惟其給賜優裕，故入仕者不復以身蒙為慮，各自勉其治行，觀於真、仁、英諸朝，名臣輩出，吏治循良，及有事之秋，猶多慷慨報國，紹興之支撐半壁，德祐之畢命疆場，歷代以來，捐軀殉國者，惟宋獨多，雖無救於敗亡，要不可謂非養士之報也。

管子所謂「衣食足則知榮辱」，由於宋代「給賜優裕，故入仕者不復以身家為慮」。平常「名臣輩出，吏治循良」；等到國家「有事之秋，猶多慷慨報國」。宋、明二朝百官，「養士」不同，臣子節操不同，史蹟斑斑，不可不作為借鑑。

再談到民食，「米價」的問題。前面說到明代「一石米僅值二三十錢」；在廿二史筭記卷二十，另有唐代「前後米價貴賤之數」云：（頁二十）

貞觀時，斗米三錢。（魏徵傳）。玄宗東封泰山之歲，東郡米斗十錢，青、齊米斗五錢。（本紀）。自安、史之亂，兵役不息，田土荒蕪，兼有攤戶之弊。……逃亡愈多，耕種愈少。代宗永泰元年，京師斗米一千四百，（本紀），畿甸援穗以供宮厨，（劉晏傳）。至麥熟後，市有醉人，已託為祥瑞。較貞觀、開元時，幾至數十百倍，讀史者於此可以觀世變也。至如攻戰之地，城圍絕糧，尤有不可以常理論者。魯吳守南陽，賊將武令珣、田承嗣等攻之累月，米斗至四五十千，有價無米。

中國自古以農立國，米價關係整個國家、社會。是以古來訂定「重農抑商」政策，扶持農業，保護農民。漢孝文本紀，詔曰：「農，天下之本，其開籍田，朕親率耕，以給宗廟粢盛」（註廿四）。由皇帝「親率耕」，表示對農業的重視，提高農民的地位。連帶的，「男耕女織」的觀念，深植在傳統的中國人心中。甌北提到唐朝太宗、玄宗、代宗等朝米價不同，主要在於「兵役不息，田土荒蕪」，承平時米價低賤、攻戰時，「有價無米」。其實米價和其他方面：土地政策、水利、災害、政府的糧食策略（或制度），都有關係。當然由「米價」、看戰爭、「觀世變」，是讀史的好方法。

又如教育方面：

甌北關心教育，（如學術、文學等），在二十二史筭記卷十五「北朝經學」云：（頁一）

大概元魏時經學以徐遵明為大宗，周、隋間以劉炫、劉焯為大宗。按北史儒林傳，遵明諱鄭康成所著易，以傳盧易裕、崔瑾，是遵明深於易也。尚書之業，遵明所通者鄭注之今文，後以授李周仁等，是遵明深於尚書也。三禮並出遵明之門，傳李鉉、祖雋、熊安生，是遵明深於禮也。館陶趙世家家有服氏春秋，乃晉永嘉舊本，遵明讀之，手撰春秋義章三十卷，河北諸儒能通服氏春秋者，並出徐生之門（遵明傳），是遵明又深於春秋也。至隋、劉焯於賈、王、馬、鄭章句，多所是非，著有五經述讖行世，與劉炫齊名，時稱二劉。……

……其時治經者，各有師承，……其業既成，則各有所著，以開後學。如劉芳撰鄭玄所註周官、儀禮音，干寶所註周官音，王肅所註尚書音，何休所註公羊音，范甯所註穀梁音，韋昭國語音，……可見當時治經者，各有心得，筆之於書，非如後世記問掇拾之學也。

北朝經學，元魏時以徐遵明為大宗，周、隋間則以劉炫、劉焯為大宗，其餘治經學者，亦皆能著書立說，以開後學。蓋北朝帝王極力提倡，命授諸皇子經、並徵通經學之人為諸王師，是以研究經書翕然成風。

而南朝經學又是如何呢？甌北云：（筭記，卷十五，頁三）

南朝經學本不如此，……齊書劉瓛傳謂，晉尚玄言，宋尚文章，故經學不純。齊高帝少為諸生，即位後，王儉為輔，又長於經禮，是以儒學大振。（南齊明帝）建武以後，則日漸衰廢。梁書姚察論曰，崔、伏、何、嚴等，遭梁之崇儒重道，皆至高官，稽古之力，諸儒親遇之。陳書儒林傳序亦謂，梁武開五館，建國學、置博士，以五經教授，帝每臨幸，親自試胄，故極盛一時。陳初未遑勸課，間有以經學名者，亦皆梁之遺儒云。

南朝帝王，除梁武帝開五館、置博士、以五經教授，經學極盛一時外，其餘諸帝，或尚玄談、或好詞章，儒家經學漸趨式微。考究經學元始，孔子以詩、書、禮、樂、易、春秋教育；莊子天運篇有六經之名（註廿五）。秦始皇帝焚書坑儒，六經付之一炬。兩漢以來，治經者遂有今、古文之分。今文經用隸書、古文經用籀書。今文經學家，易有四家：施雠、孟喜、梁丘賀、京房。書有三家：歐陽生、夏侯勝、夏侯建。禮有大戴（德）、小戴（聖）。春秋公羊有嚴彭祖、顏安樂二家（註廿六）。而古文家，易有費氏、書有孔氏、詩有毛氏、禮有桓公、春秋有左氏。甌北在筭記卷五「累世經學」條云，周秦至漢，累世以經學傳家者，孔聖之後為第一，孔安國是其後裔。其次伏氏，自伏生後，歷兩漢四百年。再次為桓氏（桓榮後），一家三代以明經為帝王師，此皆研究經學特為卓著者。漢末鄭康成治經，兼重古、今文；王肅則用古文，三國時，以古文家為主，詩用毛氏、春秋尚左氏、易崇鄭康成、王弼。南北朝之易經，北尊王弼，南尊鄭康成；毛詩，南北無異。左傳，北尊服虔，南主杜預；尚書此尊鄭康成、南主僞古文尚書。以上就古來經學流變作一補充，蓋甌北言南、北朝經學，但言其學者及著作之故。

南北一統，經學亦合於一（北學絕、歸南學）。隋之二劉（劉焯、劉炫），盛行當時，唐孔穎達作五經正義，亦本於二劉。此外，唐初重「三禮」、「漢書」、「文選」之學，甌北筭記卷二十有「唐初三禮，漢書、文選之學」云：（頁十八）

六朝人最重三禮之學，唐初猶然。張士衡從劉軌思受毛詩、周禮，又從熊安生、劉焯受禮記，皆精究大義。當時受業者推賈公彥，（士衡傳）。公彥撰周禮義疏五十卷，儀禮義疏四十卷。……唐人究心三禮，考古義以斷時政，務為有用之學，而非徒以炫博也。次則漢書之學，亦唐人所競尚，自隋時蕭該精漢書，嘗撰漢書音義，為當時所貴，（該傳）。包愷亦精漢書，世之為漢書學者，以蕭、包二家為宗。……唐人之究心漢書，各彙承舊說，不敢以意為穿鑿者也。至梁昭明太子文選之學，亦自蕭該撰音義始。……（李）善撰文選註解六十卷，表上之，賜絹一百二十四匹，至今言文選者，以善本為定。

六朝重「三禮」，精究其大義。唐初以來重「三禮」，以為經世致用；重「漢書」，尚文史；重「文選」、以崇詩賦；兼以佛老儒術。則唐之教育，經、史、子、集並重，是以唐之文化發展為世界性文化，外國學者，遠渡重洋留學中國，有其原因。

在文學教育方面，詩經、楚辭以降，漢代有「登高作賦可以為大夫」，而後建安七子、圍繞

曹氏兄弟。至於南朝，文風鼎盛，有四六駢體、山水詩、小品文、香艷之宮體詩，柔情蜜意之吳歌西曲、以及神怪小說、文學批評論著（劉勰著文心雕龍、鍾嶸著詩品）；推究文學發達的原因，是「齊梁之君多才學」。君既多才學，振之於上，下焉有不拔靡之理？此固君王喜好、何嘗不是「文學教育」的結果？甌北云：（筭記，卷十二，頁一）

創業之君，兼擅才學，曹魏父子，固已曠絕百代。其次則齊、梁二朝，亦不可及也。齊高帝雖不以才學名，然少爲諸生（劉瓛傳論）從雷次宗受業，……爲領軍時，與謝超宗共屬文，愛超宗才翰（超宗傳），……是帝之深於詩文也。……其子孫亦多以才著。……明帝輔政，翦除高、武子孫，鋒作修柏賦以寓意，（鋒傳），此其子之多才學也。……至蕭梁父子間，尤爲獨擅千古。武帝少而篤學，洞達儒玄，雖萬機多務，猶卷不輟手。……昭明太子三歲受孝經、論語，五歲遍讀五經。及長，讀書數行並下，過目皆憶。……簡文帝六歲便能屬文，既長，九流百氏，經目必記，篇章詞賦，操筆立成，博綜儒書，善言玄理。……元帝好學，博極群書，才辨敏速，冠絕一時。……南康王績，七歲有人洗改文書者，即能察出（本傳），……此梁武父子間學也。

蕭梁父子才學，「獨擅千古」，簡文帝「篇章詞賦，操筆立成」，帝王之文采風流，其他朝代難以比擬。由於南朝諸帝王本身多才學、喜好文學，則「上有所好，下必甚焉」，此所以南朝文學達到輝煌的成就。筭記卷十四「魏孝文帝文學」，卷十九「（唐）德宗好爲詩」、卷二十七「遼族多好文學」，並言諸帝王喜好，提倡文學、學術教育。甌北並主張「宰相須用讀書人」，並言「北宋文學之臣，稽典故、援經史、俱確有據依，豈後代所可及哉」（筭記，卷二十四，頁十五）。甌北把教育的目標用在「稽典故，援經史」，（典是「儀典」，故是「故事」，指朝廷中已往的事例，是一種學問）。所以「宰相須用讀書人」是對的，因爲只有讀書知古通今，懂得斟酌損益；澹泊寧靜，器量宏曠，能爲國家前途深謀遠慮。

至於刑罰方面：

甌北重視刑罰，在二十二史筭記中屢見。如卷二「災異策免三公」條，以爲漢時三公官，職在調和陰陽，偶有災異，遂有策免三公之制，如徐防、薛宣之被策免。甚有如淳，並令自殺，殊爲荒誕。迷信災異，隨意誅罰大臣，知漢末未有可恃之法典。漢武帝，爲中國歷史上之佼佼者，甌北筭記卷三「武帝時刑罰之濫」條云：（頁三）

杜周傳：「武帝時，詔獄益多，二千石繫廷尉者不下百餘人，其他讞案一歲至千餘章，大者連逮證案數百人，小者數十人，遠者數千里，近者數百里。既到，獄吏責如章告，不服，則答掠定之。於是皆亡匿。獄久者至更數赦，十餘歲猶相告言，大抵詆以不道以上。廷尉及中都詔獄，逮至六七萬人，吏所增加又有十餘萬」。是可見當日刑獄之濫也。（註廿七）

杜周是南陽杜衍人，原爲南陽守義縱爪牙，後事張湯至御史、廷尉，「專以人主意指爲獄」，不論官職高低、距離遠近，動輒得咎，只要一牽連，或數十、或數百，有時「奉令」收押牢獄（詔獄）人犯，增至「十有餘萬」（史記原文：十萬餘人），可見當時「刑獄之濫」！生活在這種世界，生命還有什麼保障？難怪要歎惜「民之生於是時，何不幸哉！」而司馬遷爲李陵降匈奴事主持正義，遊說漢武帝，最後落得下腐刑的命運！

甌北又提到「後魏刑殺太過」（卷十四），言後魏專以刑殺爲政令；「五代濫刑」（卷二十二），雖然五代的刑罰趕不上漢代的「濫」，畢竟還是「濫刑」，甌北云：（筭記，卷二十二，

頁八)。

梁祖以舊怨，使人族王師範於洛，師範設席與宗族飲，謂使者曰：「死者人所不免，然恐少長失序，下愧先人」。酒半，命以少長以次就戮。(師範傳)。唐莊宗既滅梁，詔梁臣趙巖等並族於市，除妻兒骨肉外，其疏屬僕隸並釋。(莊宗紀)。又命夏魯奇誅朱友謙於河中，友謙妻張氏率其家屬二百餘口，見魯奇曰：「請別骨肉，無致他人橫死」(友謙傳)。汴州控鶴指揮使張諫謀叛，既伏誅，又集其黨三千人並族之，并誅滑州長劔等軍士數百人，夷其族。(明宗紀)。……是族誅之法，凡罪人之父兄妻妾子孫并女之出嫁者，無一得免。非法之刑，於茲極矣，而尤莫如漢代之濫。史弘肇為將，麾下稍忤意，即過殺之。故漢祖起義之初，弘肇統兵先行，所過秋毫無犯，兩京帖然，未嘗非嚴刑之效。

生逢亂世，已夠悲哀，而在上者嚴刑至於隨「意」殺人，未免刑罰太濫！尤其動則「族誅」，視人命如草芥，凡「罪人之父兄妻妾子孫并女之出嫁者，無一得免」，殘酷到極點。至於族誅的源流，顧北附帶有考證：(筭記，卷十四，頁十六)

按族誅之法，本起於秦，漢高祖入關，所謂父老苦秦苛法，誹謗者族是也。後漢書楊終疏亦言，秦政酷烈，一人有罪，延及三族。(如淳曰：父族、母族、妻族也。張晏曰：父母、妻子、兄弟也)。是族誅本秦酷政，漢高約法三章則已除之。然韓、彭之誅，皆夷三族，購季布敢匿者罪三族，捕貫高等敢有隨意者罪三族，是仍未嘗除也。故崔寔政論謂高祖使蕭何定律，有夷三族之令，至文帝始除之。楊終疏所謂文帝至仁，除去收孥是也。然文帝雖除，而其後如李陵、王溫舒等，仍坐罪族誅，則此刑故在。至魏、晉之際，益慘酷無人理。司馬懿誅曹爽，支黨皆夷三族，男女無少長，姑姊妹父子之適人者，皆殺之。(爽傳)。

一人有罪，害及無辜，此濫刑、濫殺，秦漢以來未曾消滅，(除漢文帝外)，至後魏有夷五族者！可見古代專制之「族誅」慘無人道！一直到宋太祖，有見於五代諸侯枉殺人命，是以決定「定罪歸刑部」(筭記，卷二十五)，則天下重獄，須候部覆覈，不可任意擅殺，人命始稍獲保障。

此外，顧北二十二史筭記卷二十四「宋初嚴懲贓吏」，云宋太祖親見五代貪吏恣橫，民不聊生，是用重法治之，坐贓者或棄市、或杖殺之，或杖流海島，積玩風氣為之一變。明太祖亦「重懲貪吏」(筭記卷二十三)，凡贓至六十兩以上者，梟首示衆，剝皮實草，以革元代貪贓、姑息政風，然用刑太過、矯枉過正，亦非至善。

## 註 釋

註 一：何秋濤著朔方備乘，卷五十七，總頁一〇一八，民國五十五年文海出版社本，(收在沈雲龍主編中國邊疆叢書)。

註 二：胡適著胡適文存，第三集，卷二，治學的方法與材料，頁一一〇，民國四十二年遠東圖書公司本。

註 三：杜維運著史學方法論，第四章、史學方法科學方法與藝術方法，頁五四至五五，民國六十八年華世出版社。

註 四：楊鴻烈著歷史研究法，第一章歷史研究法的意義，頁六至七，民國六十四年華世出版社。

註 五：趙翼著二十二史筭記，卷三，頁四，藝文印書館影印廣雅書局本，下引二十二史筭記版(50)

本同此，不贅。

- 註六：梁啓超著清代學術概論，頁五十四，台灣商務人文庫本。
- 註七：以上皆引自趙翼著二十二史劄記，藝文印書館據廣雅書局本影印。
- 註八：趙翼著二十二史劄記，卷三十五，頁十五至十六，版本同註五，又「稗史類編」，仁愛書局（民國七十三年）「廿二史劄記校證」本云，「類編」應作「彙編」（見頁八一四）。
- 註九：梁啓超著中國歷史研究法，第二章過去之中國史學界，頁二十六，民國四十五年台灣中華書局本。
- 註十：錢大昕著廿二史考異，序，頁一，（收在錢大昕讀書筆記廿九種之一），民國六十八年鼎文書局本。
- 註十一：王鳴盛著十七史商榷，序，頁三，（收在王鳴盛讀書筆記十七種之一），民國六十八年鼎文書局本。
- 註十二：梁啓超著論中國學術思想變遷之大勢，收在飲冰室文集（第三冊）之七，民國四十九年台灣中華書局本。
- 註十三：司馬遷著史記，卷一百三十，太史公自序第七十，頁八至九，（總頁一三五一至一三五二），藝文印書館本。
- 註十四：杜維運先生曾引W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank, ed. *Historians of China and Japan*, P.7 說「趙翼能超越孤立之繁瑣事實之上以觀望，自其中歸納出社會史與制度史趨勢之通則，此類通則，則近代史家所試圖建立者也」。見杜維運著清代史學與史學家，趙翼之史學，頁三七八，民國七十三年東大圖書公司出版。又杜維運著趙翼傳，見於「附錄二十」，頁三七九至三九一，亦收此文。（民國七十二年時報文化出版事業出版）
- 註十五：「劉定」，據仁愛書局「廿二史劄記校證」本作「劉定紆」，考史記，卷五十一，荆燕世家第二十一，總頁七九五，「至孫定國，與父康王姬姦，生子男一人」（藝文印書館本），則甌北劄記確實漏記「國」字。
- 註十六：據脫脫等修宋史，卷四百七十三，列傳二百三十二，姦臣，秦檜本傳，總頁五六八八，藝文印書館本。
- 註十七：引自史記卷三十，平準書八，頁五六二，藝文印書館本。漢書補注卷二十四下，食貨志第四下，頁五二三，引作：「漢興，日爲秦錢重、難用，更令民鑄莢錢，黃金一斤，而不軌逐利之民，畜積餘贏呂稽市，物痛騰躍」（藝文印書館本）。此外，可參馬端臨著文獻通考，卷八，錢幣一，頁八四，（民國四十七年新興書局本）。
- 註十八：案，甌北所云交鈔分一百文、二百文、三百文、元史食貨志未見三者文而作五百文，杜維運著廿二史劄記考證釋例，頁四三（華世出版社本）已言之。
- 註十九：脫脫等修宋史，卷一百八十一，食貨志第一百二十四，食貨下三，總頁二一三六，藝文印書館本。
- 註二十：在元史，卷五，本紀第五，世祖二，載中統三年（一二六二）七月戊午，頁六十七，勅「私市金銀，應支錢物，止以鈔爲准」（藝文印書館本），比甌北所云至元（一二六一）爲早。

- 註廿一：全漢昇著元代的紙幣，頁三九五至三九八，原載中央研究院史語所集刊第十五本，民國三十七年上海商務印書館出版，今收在一九七二年香港中文大學新亞書院新亞研究所出版的中國經濟史論叢（合訂本）。
- 註廿二：全漢昇著，南宋初年物價的大變動，收在中國經濟史論叢（合訂本），頁二六一，版本同註廿一。
- 註廿三：清、谷應泰著明史紀事本末，卷七十九，甲申之變，頁九五六，民國六十五年華世出版社。
- 註廿四：司馬遷著史記，卷十，孝文本紀第十，頁一九五，藝文印書館本。
- 註廿五：郭慶藩輯莊子集釋，天運第十四，頁二三四，收在民國六十一年世界書局出版新編諸子集成（三）本，其文云：孔子謂老聃曰：兵治詩、書、禮、樂、易、春秋六經。
- 註廿六：詳見漢書補註二，卷八十八，儒林第五十八，總頁一五四三起，藝文印書館本，又皮錫瑞撰經學歷史三、經學昌明時代，頁五八，註二、註三、註五、解說詳細，民國五十五年藝文印書館本。
- 註廿七：案，甌北廿二史劄記所引，與史記、漢書（襲自史記）文字略有小異。史記見於卷一百二十二，酷吏列傳第六十二，頁一二八七，藝文印書館本，漢書見於王先謙漢書補注，卷六十，杜周傳第三十，總頁一二三九，藝文印書館本。

附記：本文略長，第四節，第五節下次刊出。

## Chao Ou-Pei's Achievement On History

Wang Chien-sheng \*

## Abstract

This paper is one chapter (chapter 8) of my writings - The Research of Chao Ou-pei. (Chao I, hauh Ou-pei, 1727-1814). Ou-pei wrote many writings on history, such as : Huang-Ch'ao Wu-kung Chi-sheng, Twenty-two Dynastic Histories cha-chi, Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao, and Yen-p'u tsa-chi, etc. It was well-known of Twenty-two Dynastic Histories cha-chi. The basis of this paper is discussing about it, and his other writings are the second.

This paper includes five parts. Section one, Ou-pei created the general rules on politics, economics, and social institutions by inductive or comparative method. He got away from centralism of emperor. Section two, Ou-pei inherited the spirit of "chunchiou" to "bi-fa", "bi-shou" (to correct the mistakes). He criticized the behaviors of the emperors, empress, imperial concubines, and both literary and military officials. Section three, we knew that Ou-pei paid much time on public finance, economics, education, and punishment from analysis. It caused the scholars of later generation, paid attention to the social problems. Section four, it discussed the social institutions, customs and builds. He examined such cultural problems carefully. Section five, Ou-pei supplemented or corrected the mistakes on Historic Books. As to the good historic works, he praised them.

Owing to his profound knowledge about history, and his eminent wisdom; he could pierce through the truth of the historic events. He also controlled the problems of that time, and hit the short comings closely. More important, he had calm and open mind. So, his viewpoints on history were fixed opinion. Not only Chinese but foreign scholars applauded his historic achievement. There were some shortcomings on his writing-Twenty-two Dynastic Histories cha-chi. I had discussed it on this paper, too.

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## 「養一齋詩話」及其詩論

魏仲佑\*

### 摘 要

清代嘉、道年間，中國的詩評界以翁方綱、袁枚爲大家，翁氏提倡「肌理說」，袁枚則主張詩的目的在表現「性靈」。由於二家的理論都偏重於詩的藝術表現；而忽視傳統詩論「載道」與「言志」的目的，在當時已引來一些保守論詩家的不滿，潘德輿即其中之一。

本文的目的是要把潘氏「養一齋詩話」十卷中許多零碎片斷的論點加以一番整理歸納，以尋出他詩學主張的脈絡，並看出他的主張在當時詩論界的地位。

### 緒 言

「詩話」在中國傳統文學批評上，無疑是一項極爲重要的文獻。然而，這項文獻由於撰著之初並非全然爲文學批評的目的。而這種文體一旦形成它特有的傳統，也無可避免的，在文學批評的利用上，存在了一些缺陷。

詩話，興起於宋代。這種體裁，在寫作上最大的特色就是論詩的筆記化，即：逐條記述，內容片斷而冗雜；論述不必有中心思想，也不必有系統，正如張學誠說的「以不能名家之學，入趨風好名之習，挾人盡可能之筆，著惟意所欲之言。」（註一）可知其撰著之宗旨並非嚴正，其中或雜舉雋語，或泛述見聞，於論詩方面也無多闡發，充其量不過文學之清淡而已。又由於詩話之撰著爲的是「趨風好名」，寫作的本事是「人盡可能」，就無怪乎作品產量之多。作品一多，品質自然不齊，再加上作者看問題各有不同的角度，批評用語也不盡一致，而造成無數意見的衝突。因此，今天我們要從無數的詩話中去整理出一套傳統詩論系統，實在不是一件容易的事。

沒有系統、內容龐雜、逐條陳述、意思不貫，可以說是「詩話」的傳統特性。然而，在此傳統之下，每家詩話仍有其特別之偏重：或者泛舉古今詩人，或者偏重大家；或者偏重特定時代之詩人，或者只記親友故舊，或者特重作品之討論，或者重在人物之活動，各隨所欲，不一而足。中國傳統詩到了清代，由於分門立派，各派有各自的詩學主張，各自重視的時期（或宗唐或宗宋）也有各自標榜的代表人物，因此，代表各派的詩話也就更顯出其意見上之特色。意見有其各自之特色，即表示派系間有看法之衝突。因此，清代的詩話中，多見反駁他派之詩論，或修正他派之主張，或發揚同派之意見。「養一齋詩話」出現於道光年間，自然不免於當時風氣之影響，又時代較晚因此這部詩話中有較多反省或檢討前代詩論的文字。不過，文藝之討論因論者個人之心理背景，難

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免各有倫執，即使對他人有所指正或反駁，亦難免個人一偏之見，到底文藝之討論無法以實證而得其確論。故本文主要目的是把「養一齋詩話」的寫作目的及主要的詩學觀念做一番分析與整理。

「養一齋詩話」分十卷、潘德輿著。潘氏字彥輔，號四農，江蘇山陽縣人，生於乾隆五十年。出生書香之家，自幼承襲家學，未弱冠即入邑庠，食饑。道光八年戊子中鄉試第一名，後數度應試禮部，皆不售。至道光十五年乙未，大挑始被選為一等，並分發安徽候補知縣，但未即任用即於道光十九年己亥病逝，享年五十五。潘氏自為諸生，其文章即為時人傳誦。後中學入京，與京城碩彥往來酬唱，更是風會一時。惟文章命憎，終不得高第，一生從事著述講學。著有「讀春秋綱領」一卷、「割記」九卷、「淮語」一卷、「九經人表」一卷、「家祭儀」二卷、「喪禮正俗」一卷、「示兒長語」一卷、「論語權疑」三卷。以上諸書均未行世，稿藏於家。除外，有「養一齋全集」二十五卷、「養一齋詩話」十卷、「李杜詩話」三卷、又詞三卷，以上均由門人編刻而行世。

潘氏為人孝順父母，親睦戚族鄰里、待人寬厚而能推讓，又能急人之急，而熱心於公益。故文章之外，其人品亦為鄉里所重，林則徐任江蘇巡撫時，即多次相召垂詢，而有「江南宿儒」之號（註二）。潘氏為人既如此重視道德，由其著作，又知其學問如此深入經學，則此人之思想形態應可知其大概。以如此之觀念形態，其於詩學的討論上如果具有於道德教化的彩色，應該是很自然的事。他在詩話卷十的最後一條云：

香山「談張藉古樂府」云：「為詩意如何、六義互鋪陳。風雅比興外，未嘗著空文。上可裨教化，舒之濟萬民，下可理情性，卷之善一身。言者志之苗，作者文之根，所以讀君書，亦知君為人。」數語可作詩學圭臬。予欲取之以為歷代詩人總序，合乎此則為詩；不合乎此，則雖致思精刻，詞語雋妙，采色陸離，聲調和美，均不足以為詩也。學者可以知所從是矣。

文中即云「欲取之以為歷代詩人總序，」則潘氏欲以此條隱括整部詩話之意已非常明顯。又就該文內容來看，文中借用白香山「談張藉古樂府」一詩，來表達他「裨教化，濟萬民」的詩學觀念，所以，一般而言，潘氏的詩學觀念是現實而功利的。至於這部詩話撰著之體例，與宋代以來大多數「以資閒談」（註三）的詩話也有很大的差異。這部詩話主要內容，在提出自己的主張；批評詩人及其作品；反駁、修正、補充他人的詩論；教人如何學詩等幾方面。而其特別之處，是書中絕無述見聞、舉雋語，或其他遺興清談的雜事。由此可見其寫作態度是如何的認真而嚴肅，由於他這種積極而認真的態度，也隱然可見他對當時詩壇走向的憂慮，從而有奮力挽救的意圖。然而僅憑其態度之積極認真並不足確保其詩論之為人接受，其更重要者，應在其理論之能否深中人心，才能影響當時詩壇的風氣。

其次，我們必須瞭解，比潘氏時間稍早的袁枚（康熙五十五年——嘉慶二年），這時已活躍於中國詩壇四、五十年之久，由於袁氏門生眾多，因此，他的「性靈說」已隨眾多的門生而普及於天下。一般說，「性靈」所重視的是詩人才情的發揮，但過分重視才情，便容易在學養上有所偏廢，其結果是作品傾向於表現趣味與韻致，而失去了漢儒所重視的「諷刺上」，「諷刺下」的作用。這便是性靈詩被批評為「綺靡輕佻」的原因，而潘氏於這時候提出「質實」與「詩教」的主張，顯然是有為而發的。近人郭紹虞以為潘氏的詩論乃性靈說之反動，（註四）應該是可以確定的。

郭紹虞是近代研究中國文學批評最有成績的一個人，他在清代林林總總的詩話中，相當肯定「養一齋詩話」的價值。他說：

他（潘德輿）輕視袁枚的「隨園詩話」，即是因為重視詩教之故，他駁斥翁方綱的「石洲詩話」，又因宗主唐晉之故，他真正是格調說的完成者，他於宋人詩話，自言「嚴羽之外、祇服張戒『歲寒堂詩話』為中的。」也即因嚴羽能破宋詩局面，而張戒重在言志的關係，一取其宗唐，一取其詩教，所以由二者之溝通言，清代格調說，不妨以潘德輿為中心。（註五）

由此可見郭氏推崇「養一齋」之一斑。然而，郭氏之推潘德輿為「格調說之完成者」或「格調說的中心」，則未免崇之太過。雖則在重要的觀念上，潘氏論詩明顯的傾向格調說。但若以其詩論與葉橫山與沈歸愚之格調說做一比較，仍可看出潘氏與葉、沈二人論詩之明顯差異，像葉氏「原詩」由詩之本質，以至於詩之外在表現都有全面的討論，可說是歷來詩論之著作中最有系統的著作，而潘氏除評論作品之外，既批評歷代詩論之是非對錯，以及教人如何學詩。；而沈氏，單其「說詩碎語」來看，其中頗有寫作技巧之討論；而潘氏則將一切寫作技巧斥為「小巧」、「魔障」。反過來說，潘氏把神韻派王世禎的「自抒己見」「純任天機」之類的用語也加以吸收（註六），甚至於他指責最深的「隨園詩話」中，極少部份的意見也被他接受。（註七）所以，潘氏於論詩之際，並未以派系中人自居，其實多數詩話撰者，也都是如此，他們心中或有一定的中心思想，但他們在評論一項作品，或討論他人的詩論時，並不一定與他們的中心思想構成一個完整的體系。

潘氏的中心思想是：追求三百篇之精神、「以學為詩，而不以詩為學」（註八）、重視唐詩。（註九）這三點，明顯與格調說的主張相近，但除外對其他問題的看法並不一致。所以，本文不擬先把它安在特定的位置或派系中去討論。以下把「養一齋詩話」的重要觀念分節加以討論。

## 第一、作者對詩的基本看法與有關的主張

凡一個人有關於詩學的一切主張，必由其對詩的基本看法衍生出來，潘德輿認為詩的本質在「言志」，而「志」又必需是純潔而善良的情感，即「思無邪」，因為只有「無邪」的情感始能感人心脾，而達到規惡勸善的目的，並達到人倫風化之功能。因此，基本上，潘氏在詩學的主張是功利而實用。下面分目將有關問題逐一加以探討。

### 一、詩的本質——「詩言志」，「思無邪」

潘氏在他的「養一齋詩話」（以下簡稱「詩話」）一開始便提出了「詩言志」、「思無邪」的基本觀念，這也是他常提的「三百篇之神理意境。」他說：

「詩言志」、「思無邪」詩之能事畢矣。人人知之而不肯述之者，懼人笑其迂而不便於己之私也。雖然，漢、魏、六朝、唐、宋、元、明之詩，物之不齊也。「言志」、「無邪」之旨，權度也。權度立，而物之輕重長短不得遁矣；「言志」、「無邪」之旨立，而詩之美惡不得遁矣。不肯述者私心，不得遁者定理，夫詩亦簡而明者矣。（卷一）

「言志」與「無邪」既為一切詩的本質，因此時代不管如何改變，詩的形式如何演變，詩的本質是永遠不變的，正因為如此，「言志」與「無邪」也成為衡量詩的美惡，永恆不變的尺度。潘氏此種以儒家倫風教為基礎的詩學觀念，是如此簡單化，並缺乏包容性，不過，他之所以提出這種觀念，是為針對當時的詩壇。所以他會說：「人人知之而不肯述之者，懼人笑其迂而不便於己之私也。」既然人人為一己之私而不肯述，他便加以闡述，而使這些人之私心無所遁形。關於針對當世的詩壇，緊接著，他提下面一段更具批判意味的話，他說：

言志者必自得，無邪者不為人。是故古人之詩，本之於性天，養之以經籍，內無怵迫苟且之心

，外無誇張淺露之狀；天地之間，風雲日月，人情物態，無往非吾之所自出，與之貫輸於無窮。此即深遠自得，居安資深，左右逢源之說也，不為人故也。後世之士，若不為人，則不復學詩；翊管之先，祇求勝人……分曹詠物之作，酬和疊韻之體，諛頌悅人之篇，餽餽考古之製，窮工極巧，瀟灑浩汗，何益於身心？何裨於政教？……。夫所謂雅者，非第詞之雅馴而已；其作此詩之由，必脫棄勢利，而後謂之雅也。今種種門靡聘妍之詩，皆趨勢利之心所流露也。……然則子欲畫雅俗之界，舍爲己自得之說，又何從辨之？

這段話把「言志」與「無邪」之旨，以及其所以能夠補救詩壇靡麗之風的道理，說得非常明白。而他之所以提出「言志」與「無邪」，其出發點，是他認爲凡詩都必須有其政治上、人倫教化上的功能，而當時詩壇充斥著詠物、應酬、諛頌、以至炫耀才學、或無病呻吟的詩篇，他以為這種作品不僅無補身心與政教，而且對世道人心是有害的，所以他在另一條也說：「阿諛諛諛、戲謔淫蕩、夸詐邪誕之詩作而詩教熄。」（卷一）。

另外，一個有趣的現象，他借用古代儒家針對三百篇的詩學觀念，來批評他時代的詩壇風氣。而這些詩學觀念的本意却不一定切合他的利用，於是他便另付予新的意思，像「無邪者不爲人」即是。「思無邪」本出於「論語」：「詩三百、一言以蔽之、思無邪。」其本意是說：詩必須表現純潔善良的情感，始能感人肺腑，進而達到規惡勸善之目的。（註十）完全未想到詩人作詩的動機。以實際言，當時三百篇的作者爲誰，全然不知，孔子又怎麼會去想到作詩者係「爲人」，抑是「不爲人」的問題。而潘氏提出「思無邪」則著眼於詩人寫作的動機之善與不善，若動機不善，必致「詞雖雅而心不雅」，所以他勸人作詩「必脫棄勢利」。

## 二、詩不可爲他人而作

前面引文所謂「無邪者不爲人」，亦即：詩不可爲他人而作，而當以抒自己心得或情感爲唯一目的。爲人而作詩，則以炫耀才份及博取他人之讚譽爲目的，即潘氏所謂的「趨時弋利」。「趨時弋利」的詩歌，其作品的特色是，投當時風氣之所好，就內容來看無真正情感的寄託，也就是他所說的「分曹詠物之作，酬和疊韻之體，諛頌悅人之篇」之類；就修飾技巧言，喜歡用一些巧語、巧詞來吸引人，即所謂的「窮工極巧、瀟灑浩汗、門靡聘妍」之類。更何況，他認爲過份的用技巧作詩，會害詩的內容，他稱之爲「文字魔障」，他說：

1. 近人專以鍊字爲詩，卽入小巧，必入魔障。（卷三）

2. ……，夫不問情理之正，徒恃翻字訣爲論文秘要，則文字之魔障已矣。（卷四）

其實他反對巧飾不僅在鍊字的方面，他也反對過份經營對偶句法（卷三）；反對詩句的顛倒布置（卷四）；反對聲病之說（卷十）；反對襲用前人之句及前人之意（卷六）。幾乎是一切語言的藝術都爲他所反對。

潘氏所以對語言藝術採取如此極端的反對態度，自然爲了矯正他時代的文學風氣。因爲當時作詩的人一昧在文字語言方面下工夫，爭勝負。但他要糾正此種風氣，也總要有一番道理去說服別人，他的道理是：

凡悅人者，未有不欺人者也。末世詩人，求悅人而不恥，每欺人而不顧。若事事以質實爲的，則人事治矣；若人人之詩以質實爲的，則人心治而人事亦漸可治矣。詩所以厚風俗者此也。隋李諤曰：「連篇累牘，不出月露之形；積案盈箱，唯是風雲之狀。文筆日煩，其政日亂。」此皆不質實之過。質則不悅人，實則不欺人，以此二字衡之，而天下詩集之可焚者衆矣。（卷三）文字的靡麗是爲了「悅人」，悅人之詩必皆欺人，故詩風之靡麗本身，必有害於社會風俗。這種

理論有多大說服力，且不去理會，但這種文學觀念是道學家的文學觀念，則非常清楚。

基於這種文學觀念，所以他不斷教人作詩不可巧飾，如：他借王若虛的話說：

王若虛云：「以巧爲巧，其巧不足，巧拙相濟，則使人不厭。惟甚巧者，乃能就拙爲巧。」真篤論。（卷二）

又他說：

昌黎贈東野云：「文字顛天巧」，此巧字講得最精，蓋作人之道，貴拙不貴巧，作文亦然。然至於「天巧」，則大巧若拙，非後世所謂巧也。……巧從心悟，非洞徹天機者不足語此。（卷九）

這類的話雖然說的很好，但究竟是高論有餘，而切實不足。他提出「就拙爲巧」與「大巧若拙」的口號，但如何去實踐，則未置一辭，況他自己也說：「巧從心悟，非洞徹天機者不足語此。」既然是這樣，那些「就拙爲巧」、「大巧若拙」的話，豈非等於白說。

另外，在詩的修辭上，他也提出「辭達而已」的主張，然而，他之所謂「辭達」與蘇東坡之「辭達」又顯然有所不同，他說：

「辭達而已矣」，千古文章大法，東坡拈此示人，然以東坡詩文觀之，其所謂達，第取氣之滔滔流行，能暢其意而已。……任舉一物一境，皆能曲肖神理，托出毫素，百世之下，如在目前，此達之妙也。（卷二）

既云「而已矣」却要苛求其「曲肖神理，托出毫素」，這是何等不易達到之境界。古人論詩文，常不免於唱高調，潘氏之論詩也無法免此陋習。

### 三、詩不苟作

他說：

詩第一法，不苟作而已。（卷二）

又：

詩不可強作，必勃勃不可已也，而後爲之……凡悅人而自足皆文章之大病也。（同前）

上二段話，是他在「詩話」中再三致意的觀念。前面引文中提到「分曹詠物之作，酬和疊韻之體，諛頌悅人之篇，餽餽考古之製，窮極工巧，瀾漫浩汗，何益身心？何裨於政教？」這類詩歌雖自唐代已出現，但明清時期却到了泛濫的地步，天下的詩歌十之八九是這種作品，沒有真實情感，爲作詩而作詩，或爲顯示才學而作詩，或爲阿諛而作詩，爲應酬而作詩，也無怪乎潘氏要強調「詩言志」之重要了。他認爲詩沒有真實的情感可寫，還勉強去寫的話，必致於以巧言巧語炫人耳目，掩飾情感的空虛，所以他說：「以此二字（質實）衡之，天下詩集可焚者衆矣。」總之，他勸人，這種迎合時尚的詩歌，還不如不去作；要作的話，必須心中「勃勃不可已」才作。這樣的作品才會有價值，他說：

……，三百篇、漢人之詩，委巷婦孺，亦廁其中，彼豈探討聖學者，特其詩不爲人而自得，故足傳耳。（卷一）

「不爲人而自得」前文已說過，是純粹爲發抒真實情感而作詩，由此看來，所謂「勃勃不可已」即指心中一股抑壓不住的真情感。

總之，他認爲待人必須憑著心中蓄積飽滿的真情感，去作詩，自能有佳作出現，否則一切文字上的經營，布局上的努力，皆屬徒勞無益。

### 四、小結

以上所論三點，均可明顯看出，潘德輿的目的在糾正當時的詩風，而當時的詩壇，一則衰敗

的勢力極大，袁氏獎拔公卿名媛，顯有浮濫之弊；而在詩論上，翁方綱倡肌理說，而翁氏論詩宗主江西詩派的宋詩，又此派詩家又特重鍊字、鍊句、布局、安排之功夫，相信這兩派應該是潘氏批評的主要目標。至於潘氏觀念之得失對錯，並非本文之目的，茲暫時不予評論。

又由上面之討論，可知潘氏撰此「詩話」，主要在指引學詩者一條最正確的途徑，以及最正確的詩學觀念，其用心之苦、態度之積極，歷來少見，只是任何論詩者，一旦發為言論，無不自認為最正確、最正統。則學詩者何從去取？

## 第二、詩的鑑賞

要瞭解一個詩的評論家，往往從他所推崇的作品或詩人去獲知他評論的態度；而要瞭解他這種評論的態度，又可從他的詩學觀去看出一些端倪。

潘氏因為重視詩的教化功能，因此，他看一首詩除了重視該詩是否有助於教化之外，也不經意的，要去注意該詩的作者的人品操守，這是他論詩的尺度之一。其次，由於他重視教化功能，使他對一切以華辭麗句或技巧取勝的作品都加以貶抑。這是他賞詩的兩個主要觀念，茲分別討論如下：

### (一) 以人品論詩

「養一齋」論詩的第一個重要尺度，可以說是詩人的操守，潘氏認為詩的意義，就在於他有助於人倫教化；換句話說，詩人必須有責任以他的作品來感化世人。準此而論，論詩的人也有責任指出作品的優劣、或詩人品德的好壞，以為讀詩者或學詩者之參考。也許有人要問，作品與人品有無必然關係？其實潘氏並不認為二者有必然的關係。然而，他仍然以為詩人的品德不可不重視，他說：

……故予欲世人選詩讀詩者，如曹操、阮藉、陸機、潘岳、謝靈運、沈約、范雲、陳子昂、宋之問、沈佺期諸亂臣逆黨之詩，一概不選不讀，以端初學者之趨向，而立詩教之綱維……（卷三）

又他論到人品與詩品說：

人與詩有宜分別觀者，人品小小謬戾，詩固不妨節取耳。若其人犯天下之大惡，則并其詩不得而恕之。（卷一）

潘氏感到惡人作好詩的無奈。（卷三）對這種詩，潘氏堅決主張不可選、不可讀、不可學。雖然作品是好的，值得去讀去學；但作者的人品是壞的，一旦去讀這類作品，容易使人忽視他的惡行，甚至於去同情他的惡行，而造成是非觀念的混淆。在潘氏看來，道德是最重要的，我們不可因為喜愛某些作品而造成道德觀念的損壞，所以說他「若愛其詞而學之，不惡不仁，人之顛也。」

潘德輿之論詩既如此重視詩人的品行與操守，因此他最推崇的作品，往往出於人格上有極高表現的人。且以陸游為例，陸游是一位一心想投身恢復河山的大業，但大志難伸，終於於鬱鬱而終的人。以人格情操而言，陸游無疑是很高尚的，因此他的作品在潘氏心目中也成為理想的作品，又他論及王安石詩云：

安石詩亦北宋名家也，然安石有六大罪，而崇信韓氏猶不與焉。……而宋人以之配享孔子，不獨欺當時，並能欺後世，信乎小人之魁傑、百代所罕見也。愛其文詞而學之，則不惡不仁者矣，亦人之顛也。（卷一）

由上引三則看來，潘氏論詩的態度已非常明顯。作品本身必須稟承三百篇的神理意境，以有助於

人倫教化，是非之褒貶。之外，詩人的操守也是重要，犯大罪的人其作品不可選讀，否則便有害於「詩教」。

另外，從以上諸引文的口氣，可以看出，潘氏並不以為人品與作品有絕對的關係，換言之，大奸大惡的人也可能有好的作品，像五代投靠異族的劉豫，有一首詩便讓讚嘆不置（卷三）。下面且舉數則潘氏對陸游詩的評價，如云：

1.……此十數章七律、著句即過，全體亦警拔相稱，蓋忠憤所結，志至氣從，非復尋常意興。（卷五）

2.放翁詩學所以絕勝者，固由忠義盤鬱於心，亦緣其文章高下之故，能有具限，非後軀才所能知也。（卷五）

3.放翁詩擇而玩之，能使人養氣骨，長識見。（卷五）

以上三條，潘氏所稱讚的，都是作品中所表現的忠憤之氣，對於作品的藝術成就，一概不談。事實上，詩話中凡論及陸游詩皆如此，不先分析作品，便直說作品中表現的忠憤，而力加推崇、讚美。這種論詩的態度，並非僅對陸游一人如此，凡潘氏心目中理想的詩人，無不如此。

由以上潘氏對作品的推崇與貶抑的態度，綜合來看，潘氏以道德論詩，以人品論詩的傾向，已非常之明顯了。

#### （二）詩的最高風格——質實

前節已談過，質實二字乃潘氏論詩的重要尺度之一，他之所以提倡作品質實的風格，目的在對抗當時以巧詞、巧句、巧於布局，以至於講求聲律的作詩風尚。因為他以為文字聲律的求巧，只能媚悅他人的耳目，這種作品，充其量不過文字的遊戲。又他以為詩的最高目的在發揚人倫，裨益政教，一旦作詩而淪於文字遊戲，便失去作詩的意義。所以他說：

隋李諤曰：「連篇累牘，不出月露之形；積案盈箱，唯是風雲之狀。文筆日煩，其政日亂。」

此皆不質實之過。質則不悅人，實則不欺人，以此二字衡之，而天下詩集之可焚者亦衆矣。（卷三）

李諤的話雖在批評六朝文壇講求靡麗的風尚，但潘氏之引用此言，無疑是指向歷代的詩壇，特別是對他的時代而發的。他以為此種敗壞的文風「皆不質實之過」。換言之，只有質實才能夠醫治詩壇靡麗的風尚。以他如此重視質實，而以之作爲品詩的重要標準，應是很自然的事。

潘氏論詩之中相當推崇的人物，像：虞道園、岑安卿、黃陶庵、顧亭林等人。這些人除了有高尚的人品，而爲潘氏重視之外，潘氏也重視諸人作品質實的風格。下面且舉虞道園爲例。道園名集，元代人，著有「道園學古錄」五十卷、遺稿六卷。官至奎章閣侍學士，每承召問必委曲盡言，隨事諷諫，世稱邵庵先生。（註十一）潘氏在詩話中再四的讚美，極盡推崇之能事，甚至說「人若常常摩『學古錄』，可以安步而入杜門矣。」（卷三）杜詩的意境，可以說是唐以後歷代詩家追求的最高境界。而潘氏此說，豈非在說明道園詩已得到杜甫的真傳。到底潘氏心目中道園詩有些什麼特色？且舉數條如下：

1.道園以質直之氣，行於爭尚綺靡之時，故能矯然獨出。（註三十六）

2.道園詩乍觀無可喜，細讀之，氣蒼格迥，真不可及。其妙總由一「質」字生出。「質」字之妙，胚胎於漢人，涵泳於老杜、師法最的。……（卷三）

3.……道園詩未嘗廢氣勢詞采，而了無致飾悅人之意，最爲上藥，惜肯學其詩者希耳。……而後人學遺山者多，學道園者少，豈其精神渾質，藏而不露故也？然用此知道園高於遺山矣。



## (卷三)

由上面引文可知，潘氏重視道園詩，乃由於道園詩質實之風格，也由於道園詩具有這種風格，因此潘氏把道園在中國文學史上的地位定得很高，甚至超越東坡、山谷之上。（註四十二）這一點怕是一般論詩家難以同意的。因為道園詩一般的看法，是一種道學詩，也就是比較多道德的內涵，但較少文學趣味的詩歌。這樣的作品，而受潘氏如此之推崇，則潘氏論詩之立場亦可想而知。

## 第三、學詩的問題

「養一齋詩話」中，一再教人學詩當如何。由此已說明潘德輿撰爲此一「詩話」之用心所在。潘氏之論學詩，端緒既多且雜，茲舉其要點略加說明

## (一) 學三百篇之神理意境

「詩話」云：

三百篇之體製音節，不必學；三百篇之神理意境，不可不學也。神理意境者何？有關係寄託，一也；直抒己見，二也；純任天機，三也；言有盡而意無窮，四也。不學三百篇，則雖赫然成家，要之纖瑣摩擬，鉅釘淺盡而已。漢、唐人不盡學三百篇，然其至高之作，必與三百篇之神理意境關合，而後可以感人而傳誦至今。（卷一）

詩的體製雖不斷的演化、改變，但詩的精神却是萬變不離其宗。他認爲此萬變不離其宗的精神，就是三百篇的神理意境，是不能不學的。於是他將此種神理意境分析出四個特性，也就是「關係寄託」、「直抒己見」、「純任天機」、「言有盡而意無窮」。學詩的人如不能把握這四個特性，不管如何巧飾、經營、布置，都不算是詩，充其量只是文字遊戲而已。總之，學詩必須把握大目標，也就是把握三百篇的神理意境，否則一切努力都是白費。

不過，潘氏又說「三百篇的體製音節，不必學，不能學」，既然是「不能學、不必學」，那末，我們應以什麼作品來做爲學習的取樣？當然，在體製音節上，應以唐、宋、元、明、清的作品爲學習的取樣。可是歷來作品那末多，優劣相雜，特別是宋、元以後浮花浪蕊之作如此之多，到底要學那些作品？何況潘氏也認爲時人作詩，格調愈來愈卑下，是由於找錯學習的對象。他說

……而士之學詩以爭名者，尤多取時世能乎之詩，勤勤觀法，故詩名愈速格愈卑。……（卷一）可見學詩必須先要有好的作品做爲學習的取樣。至於作品的優劣如何判定？這一點雖然潘氏在詩話中沒有明白說出，但總是要以三百篇的神理意境爲選取作品的尺度。

總之，不管學詩也好，選詩也好，都不能不把握三百篇的神理意境。

## (二) 學詩有十大原則

「養一齋詩話」卷二有一條潘氏給學生陸仲雪，關於學詩的十大原則。全文約一千五百字，文前並附帶談到學詩的步驟，還有時人學詩兩種互爲極端的弊病。此文論說極有系統，爲一般詩話少見文字。雖然，潘氏在詩話中屢次教人如何學詩，但是單以此文就可以包括其他，所以，看過此文，對潘氏關於學詩的觀念，就有了相當清楚而完整的輪廓。下面稍加分析，並摘其要點

1. 學詩的三個步驟：其中包括，所謂「詩有三境」、與「學詩有三境」。  
先取清通，次宜警鍊，終尚自然，詩之三境也。  
先愛敏捷，次必艱苦，終歸大適，學詩三境也。

## 2. 時人學詩之兩大弊病：

夫鍊意、鍊氣、鍊格、鍊詞、皆鍊也，近人專以鍊字爲詩，卽入小巧，必入魔障；而一味高言者，未講磨鍊，遽希自然，彼詭神來，吾嫌手滑。

按：潘氏以爲「一味求高」者，不肯下硬功夫，與一味在鍊字下功夫者，成爲兩個極端。學詩不可不下功夫；但一味在鍊字下功夫，而不知鍊意、氣、格、詞，則更不足爲訓。

## 3. 學詩的大原則十條摘要：

- (1) 詩第一法，不苟作而已。
- (2) 詩理，性情者也。理尚情真，詞尚本色。
- (3) 尚性情者無實腹，崇學問者乏靈心，論甘忌辛，詩教彌以不振；必當和爲一味，乃非離之兩傷。
- (4) 學詩宜先學七古，然後當繼以五律。
- (5) 七言絕句，易作難精，盛唐興衆，中唐之情致，晚唐之議論，途有遠近，均可循行。然必有弦外之音，乃得環中之妙。五言絕句，古雋尤難，擷管半生，望之生畏。
- (6) 長篇波瀾、貴層疊，尤貴陡變；貴陡變，尤貴自在。短篇却要有千岩萬壑之勢。
- (7) 樂府字面節拍全異古風，須俟諷誦既多，沛然心口，始可偶一爲之。
- (8) 壯年都宜刻鍊，老成乃得渾然。
- (9) 詩不可爲人強作，必勃勃不可已也而後爲之。
- (10) 初定意格，終研詞句，始良醫診脈，精神入微；如法使斷獄，反覆勘問。凡易悅而自足，皆文章之大病也。

以上潘氏所論，皆是屬於學詩的態度或必要認知上有關的問題。至於技巧性的問題則完全不談。這與他一向輕視技巧的心態應有關係。

## (三) 檢討古今詩論

「養一齋詩話」十卷中檢討古今詩論的文字特多，這一點並不需要數據的證明，只要翻閱該書，就很清楚了。這些文字之中，有反駁他人的意見，有修正他人的意見，有闡述他人的看法，有平議前人的爭論。他之所以在這方面下如此大的精神，目的在使正說與謬說不相混淆，而使學詩者有正確詩學觀念做爲依循，所以他每反駁他人，常常會說「以免滋惑後學」之類的話，像他說：

近人詩話之有名者，如愚山、漁洋、秋谷、竹宅、確士所著，不盡發明第一義，然尚不至滋惑後學，滋惑者，其隨園乎？（卷一）

反駁及修正他人之論說，是爲了避免該論說「滋後學之惑」，而發揚他人的正論，則爲提供後學正確的詩學觀念與寫作態度。

至於檢討古今詩論之得失，由於內容非常繁瑣，固無法一一指出。但大致來看，他推崇的主要有：南宋的嚴滄浪、張戒、姜白石、元代的王若虛。其前三者雖爲南宋時代的人，但他們不管創作上或詩論上，都是江西詩派的反動者，與潘氏的主張相同；而王若虛則傾向道學論詩，重視詩的教化功能，也正是潘氏的主張。而他所反對的，主要爲：宋代的魏泰、明代的李夢陽、清代的袁枚、翁方綱。對於魏泰，他一再指其人品的缺失，可見其於人品論詩之外，亦不免於人廢言。而李夢陽，雖也是主張追求唐詩風韻，但由於以擬古爲手段，過份在文字語言下功夫，是他所

不贊成的。而袁枚獎掖公卿名媛之詩，趨名弋利，有違名教，雖「詩話」十卷之中，未見任何辯正袁枚之詩論，然而，如前面之引「滋惑者，其唯隨園乎！」則潘氏對袁枚反感之深可見其一斑，更何況「詩話」中許多反對「小巧」之論，雖未指名，但均可知對袁枚而發。而至於翁方綱宗主江西詩派，倡為「肌理之說」，此派詩極講究鍊字鍊句之功夫，而潘氏之主「質實」應為其反動。

另外，必須說明的，潘氏在「詩話」中一再表示宋代亦有好詩，如他說：「宋唐不盡是，而宋人不盡非也。」（卷四）又如：「袁簡齋謂“唐、宋者，歷代之國號、與詩無與，詩者，人之情性，與唐、宋無與。”……此論不可廢。」（卷五）在當時詩論界，許多宗唐或宗宋的爭持中，他表示他的開明、沒有成見。但實際上，他是反對宋詩的。他反對的宋詩，是文學觀念的宋詩，而非朝代為分野的宋詩。文學上的宋詩，即「滄浪詩話」所說：

宋詩至東坡、山谷，始出己意為詩，唐人之風變矣。山谷用工尤為深刻，其後法席盛行，海內稱為江西詩派。（卷一）

此派講究脫胎換骨之法，用奇字、用硬字。（註十二）作詩的工夫全下在修辭上，這才是潘氏所反對的，而宋代的詩人，除「江西詩派」之外，固有其他詩人仍以唐代舊法為詩者。甚至有些詩論家對「江西詩派」採取對抗的態度，像嚴滄浪、張戒、姜白石皆是（註十三）。所以，不管「江西詩」在宋代的勢力有多強大，這一代的詩人或詩論家，自然還有許多潘氏的同道。

#### 第四、結 語

傳統中國詩歌，到了明、清時期已走入末流，此時，唐、宋時期詩歌活潑澎湃的生命力，已滅失殆盡。於是有心之士紛紛振起：他們一方努力於詩歌之創作，一方則想經由理論之建立，來挽回此一萎頓之情勢，此種風氣入清之後尤為昌盛，詩論之多如雨後春筍。隨即，因各家主張不同，信念有別，彼此爭持，互不相讓。作詩者亦由於師承關係，有各自信仰之理論，而形成不同之詩派。嘉、道間，詩壇以袁枚「性靈說」與翁方綱「肌理說」為兩大勢力。但當時對抗此二大勢力之主張仍多，潘德輿即其一，茲將潘氏論詩之特色總結如下：

1. 潘氏提出三百篇之神理意境，而主張詩歌必須有人倫教化之功能，始為好詩，故作詩唯一目的在「言志」，以詩中之「志」去感人，以達到規惡勸善之目的。作詩舍「言志」之外，不可別有目的，如誇耀才學，阿諛、應酬等，否則作詩不僅無益，反有害。此一論調分明釘對袁枚及其派中詩人而言。
2. 三百篇，自從經過先秦漢代儒者之詮釋，而付予政治、道德之意義。而潘氏論詩正以此為其基本立場，以致有「人品論詩」，並特別推重語言枯淡無味之道學詩。這一點，應是其主張無法為世人普遍接受之主因。
3. 潘氏撰為「養一齋詩話」，其主要目的在指引後學者正確之途徑，然其發論多流於空言高調，無法提供後學者具體可行之學習步驟，枉費其一片苦心。

總之，潘氏論詩，以儒家理念而言，自是正統之詩學主張。然詩歌為藝術之一，其本身自有價值，無待於詩中具有教化功能才有價值；其自身自有可愛之處，不必用詩中具有道德意識，始覺可愛。所以，潘氏論詩，無法在清代詩壇廣受重視，自非意外。

#### 附 註

- 一、「文史通義」，「詩話」
- 二、潘德輿先生行狀，見於「養一齋全集」，文海書局。
- 三、「六一詩話」第一條。
- 四、郭治虞「中國文學批評史」下，第五九一頁。
- 五、同註四
- 六、「養一齋詩話」卷一云：「神理意竟者何？有關係寄記，一也；直抒己見，二也；純任天機也……。」
- 七、「養一齋詩話」卷五
- 八、同前卷一
- 九、本文第三節有說明
- 十、據「論語」朱熹註。
- 十一、據「元史」卷一八一。
- 十二、「歲寒堂詩話」云：「魯直專以補綴奇字爲詩。」又「臨漢詩話」云：「黃氏專求古人一二未使之事而成詩。」又「圍爐詩話」云：「山谷專意此奇。」
- 十三、據劉大杰「文學發達史」第二十章、第五節「江西詩派之活動」。

### 參考書目

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3. 「中國文學批評史」 郭紹虞著
4. 「中國文學批評史綱」 朱東潤著
5. 「中國文學發達史」 劉大杰著
6. 「歷代詩話」 藝文
7. 「歷代詩話續編」 藝文
8. 「清詩話」 藝文
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10. 「清代詩學初探」 吳宏一著

**Commentaries from the Yang-i Studio and its theory on Poetry**

Wei Chung-yu\*

**Abstract**

The Ch'ing Dynasty witnessed a great diversity in the theories on Chinese poetry. The "Commentaries on Poetry from the Yang-i Studio", written by P'an Teh-yu (1787-1839), held a special place among the many theories in this period. This article attempts to systematize the core of P'ang's arguments and ideas so as to define the status which he enjoyed among his contemporaries.

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**THE ENDLESS DEBATE:  
Romanticism and Modernism**

Anjan K. Nath\*

**Abstract**

One of the most persistent questions of the twentieth century, in relationship to its literature, has been whether "modernism" was in fact a new movement or simply a continuation and development of an older tradition like romanticism. The commentaries continue to grow, but it appears that in order to resolve the tangled issue we have succeeded in raising more questions rather than answering some of the more basic ones. Thus, while these commentaries have contributed to our understanding of this knotty problem, the argument remains open and the debate on it far from exhausted. The purpose of this study is to take a look at some of the issues involved with special relevance to its literary and critical concerns in the writings of two of the most influential minds of our time - Northrop Frye and T.S. Eliot. The choice is obvious as Frye's tendencies are avowedly Romantic, revolutionary, and Protestant in direct opposition to the Classical, royalist, and Anglo-Catholic pronouncements of Eliot. Frye seems convinced that the prejudices of Modernism are still with us and sees the Catholic, Tory, and Classical emphases of modernism as a conscious intellectual reaction to the Romantic tradition.

More emphasis is placed on the works of Northrop Frye, as Frye represents one of the most impressive achievements in the recent history of critical thought, and outlines his romantic views, while at the same time suggesting that Eliot too owes much of his critical insights to the romantic tradition. The paper does not claim to enter into any polemics of its own and only offers a tentative conclusion, for, to have chosen a single topic in a vast area is to naturally provide only a partial view. It is, as it were, choosing one of the "critical paths" in traversing the "sacred wood."

Northrop Frye's emphasis on the "creative" aspect of his literary criticism expresses a tension already existing deep within Romanticism; and we note that he draws his inspiration from his study of Blake. We also observe how pairs of dialectically opposed categories are ultimately subsumed under the most expansive of his critical categories, the visionary imagination, where his doctrine of the imagination is rooted in his alliance with the Romantic tradition. This becomes apparent when we consider that Frye has devoted more attention to writers of this tradition than any other particular movement in literature. It, therefore, comes naturally to us to accept that Frye's commentaries on specific works and writers merge into his theory of

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criticism. As much as he would have liked to have had a book of "practical criticism a sort of morphology of symbolism" to act as an adjunct to the "pure critical theory" of the *Anatomy of Criticism* (*Anatomy* vii) we see that Frye cannot help but resort to making theoretical assumptions much the same as we find in *Fearful Symmetry*, which, though supposedly a work of practical criticism on Blake's prophecies, is weighted with theoretical speculation.

Blake is one of the poets who believe that, as Wallace Stevens says, the only subject of poetry is poetry itself and that the writing of a poem is itself a theory of poetry. He interests a critic because he removes the barriers between poetry and criticism . . . His language in his later prophecies is almost deliberately colloquial and "unpoetic" as though he intended his poetry to be also a work of criticism, just as he expected the critic's response to be also a creative one . . . For him, the artist demonstrates a certain way of life: his aim is not to be appreciated or admired, but to transfer to others the imaginative habit and energy of his mind. The main work of criticism is teaching, and teaching for Blake cannot be separated from creation. ("The Road of Excess" 232)

It would be difficult not to overstate the influence of Blake on Frye as nearly all of the theoretical and practical criticism that he has written since *Fearful Symmetry* has attempted to explain or apply principles he learned from Blake:

It seemed to me obvious that, after accepting the poetic form of a poem as its primary basis of meaning, the next step was to look for its context within literature itself. . . . Every poet has his own distinctive structure of imagery, which usually emerges even in his earliest work, and which does not and cannot essentially change. . . . I became aware of its importance myself when working on Blake, as soon as I realized that Blake's special symbolic names and the like did form a genuine structure of poetic imagery . . . Blake had always been regarded as a poet with a "private symbolism" locked up in his own mind, but this conception of him was so fantastically untrue that overcoming it carried me much further than merely correcting a mistaken notion of Blake. (*Critical Path* 21-22)

But by Frye's admission, "the great value of Blake is that he insists so urgently on this question of an imaginative iconography, and forces us to learn so much of its grammar in reading him" (*Fearful Symmetry* 421). This reliance on Blake is perhaps, the contributing factor towards Frye's romantic sensibilities. In *A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance* while referring to Coleridge's division of literary critics into either Iliad or Odyssey types Frye says that one's "interest in literature tends to center either in the area of tragedy, realism, and irony, or in the area of comedy and romance" (1) and refers to himself as being "temperamentally an Odyssean critic" (2). And in *The Secular Scripture* he is bold enough to assert that "Romance is the structural core of all fiction" (15). From the body of Frye's practical criticism and the examples he relies more on the Romantic

poets and writers, from among Blake, Spenser, Milton, Shakespeare, Shelly, Keats Wallace Stevens, and William Morris.

Most of the subjects of his criticism fall within the "central tradition of mythopoeic poetry" or his own, rather wry, version of "the Great Tradition," which he calls in deliberate parody of Eliot's Classical, royalist, and Anglo-Catholic pronouncements "Romantic, radical, and Protestant" (*Fables* 1). The definitions of these terms are enunciated in his essay on Blake in *Fables of Identity*. Frye defines "Romantic" as "the principle of creative autonomy" (147); by "radical" he means "a sense that the final cause of society is the free individual" (147); and by "Protestant" he means "the tendency to anchor the apocalyptic vision in a direct individual experience" (145). Though Frye reflects all selected traditions on grounds that they are built on non-literary value judgements, he advocates the cause of the tradition of Romantic liberalism. He says that "the idea of the free society implied in culture can never be formulated, much less established as a society;" and that "The goal of ethical criticism is transvaluation, the ability to look at contemporary social values with the detachment of one who is able to compare them in some degree with the infinite vision of possibilities presented by culture" (*Anatomy* 348) where "culture" is defined as "the total body of imaginative hypothesis in a society and its tradition" (127). We see that Frye's concept of culture differs from that of Arnold's in that Frye includes the twentieth century's insistence on autotelic art. "To defend the autonomy of culture," Frye says, "is the social task of the 'intellectual' in the modern world" (127).

The attack on Romanticism initiated early in the century by T.E. Hulme, Irving Babbitt, Paul Elmer More, and T.S. Eliot viewed the Romantic critic as the antagonist; Walter Pater, Sainte-Beuve, and Taine, for example whose method of appreciation and judgement of poetry is genetic. Frye sees the Classical, Tory, and Catholic emphases of modernism as a "consciously intellectual reaction" to the Romantic tradition (*Fables* 149). He says that the "most articulate supporters" of the reaction

were cultural evangelists who came from places like Missouri and Idaho, and who had a clear sense of the shape of the true English tradition from its beginnings in Provence and medieval Italy to its later developments in France. Mr. Eliot's version of this tradition was finally announced as Classical, royalist, and Anglo-catholic, implying that whatever was Protestant, radical, and Romantic would have to go into the intellectual doghouse. Many others who did not have the specific motivations of Mr. Eliot or of Mr. Pound joined in the chorus of denigration of Miltonic, Romantic, liberal, and allied values. . . . Although the fashion itself is on its way out, the prejudices set up by it still remain. (149)

Frye believes that the prejudices of modernism are still extant and he directs a major section of his practical criticism towards correcting the modernist tradition which he considers as having consisted mainly of "pseudo-critical hokum" (149). In Romanticism, Frye perceives "one of the most decisive changes in the history of culture, so decisive as to make everything written since post-Romantic, including, of course,



everything that is regarded by its producers as anti-Romantic" (3). And, says:

What I see first of all in Romanticism is the effect of a profound change, not primarily in belief but the spatial projection of reality. This in turn leads to a different localizing of the various levels of that reality. Such a change in the localizing of images is bound to be accompanied by, or even cause, changes in belief or attitude . . . . But the change itself is not in belief or attitude, and may be found in, or at least affecting, poets of a great variety of beliefs. (*Stubborn Structure* 203)

Romanticism, therefore, as a literary phenomenon, is representative of change, both, in poetic imagery and the traditional idea of the four levels of reality against which images are portrayed.

The Romantics reject the neoclassical concern with rules and recognize the importance of any diction or mode if it is organically suitable, for, the analogue of form and content is for them the essence. One does note here an emphasis on the individual nature of the works that an artist produces. As Frye would have us understand:

The Romantic tradition has one thing in it of great value: it encourages a poet to find his symbols in his own way, and does not impose *a priori* patterns on his imagination. Blake could have told Baudelaire that if he pursued his vision of evil far enough, it would eventually take the form of a gigantic, cruel, elusive and shadowy whore, drunk with the blood of poets and part of the indifference of the order of nature. . . . And it was perhaps an advantage to Baudelaire not to be told that. But the advantage of having a large public able instantly to recognise his giantress would far outweigh the very remote possibility that he would not have had sense enough to realize, as Blake did, that he should create his own symbolic system and not be enslaved by another man's. It is with criticism as with so many other aspects of contemporary life: for better or worse the reign of *laissez faire* is over, and the problem of achieving order without regimentation is before us. (*Fearful Symmetry* 423)

On this view artists no longer have a common set of criteria which critics can take stock of in their study of poetry against the backdrop of either the Aristotelian concepts of probability and necessity or the Augustan concepts of appreciation. Thus the Romantic emphasis on the peculiar qualities of the poet's vision give rise to sincerity, spontaneity, originality, and adequacy as the criteria for criticism.

## II

At one stage Frye remarks that "it is fortunate that art does not have to wait for critical theory to keep pace with it" (*Fearful Symmetry* 423), and at the same time also observes that "our art has passed beyond Romanticism, but our criticism is still

largely in it" (412). It would perhaps, be pertinent here to refer to Jose Ortega Y Gasset's *The Dehumanization of Art* as a typical example of a modernist view. Ortega's book marks a significant moment in the twentieth-century's preoccupation of assessing the importance of art to life. *The Dehumanization of Art* is basically concerned with seeing modern art as "a thing of no consequence" to modern life. Ortega is of the opinion that "all the peculiarities of modern art" could be explained by "this one feature of its renouncing its importance" -- a feature which showed art's ironic, self-deprecating acceptance of its devalued "position in the hierarchy of human activities and interests." In conclusion he observes, that art "has lost none of its attributes, but it has become a minor issue" (49-52).

This willing withdrawal to an inconsequential and insignificant place in human life, according to Ortega, radically reversed the expectations that the Romantics had previously brought to art. As Michael R. Fischer observes:

Far from simply contradicting these expectations, moreover, the self-denigration of art witnessed by Ortega was undermining the very foundations of the Romantic view. For the same aspects of art which for Ortega were minimizing its importance to life were for the Romantic writers the very source and safeguard of art's social value. From the sociological point of view for example, both Ortega and the Romantic writers saw artists as isolated, ignored figures gravitating toward the periphery of their indifferent society. But, for the Romantic writers these solitaries remained "unacknowledged legislators of the world" whose very isolation seemed to protect and permit their needed vision . . . both Ortega and the Romantic critics stressed art's discontinuity from the ordinary, familiar world. But for the Romantics art's ability to create anew the commonly viewed universe constituted genuine insight into the life of things rather than a self-deprecating, dehumanizing refusal to represent reality. Art's distance from everyday reality, in other words, signified not its withdrawal from life but its access to higher truths--truths which in daily life we tragically do not see, blinded as we are by "the lethargy of custom" and the "film of familiarity and selfish solicitude." ("The Imagination as a Sanction of Value" 105-17)

The concept that an object was "more than met the eye," a concept that was shared by many artists, was high-lighted by the Italian painter Giorgio de Chirico. "Every object," he wrote, "has two aspects: The common aspect which is the one we generally see and which is seen by everyone, and the ghostly and metaphysical aspect which only rare individuals see at moments of clairvovance and metaphysical meditation. A work of art must relate something that does not appear in its visible from."<sup>1</sup> Chirico's works reveal this "ghostly" aspect of things. They are dreamlike transpositions of reality, which arise as visions from the unconscious. His creations based on the "metaphysical" aspect is expressed in a panic-stricken rigidity signifying a senselessness of life, and where statues of gods are thrown into bold over-acute perspective to conjure up the classical past. Chiricio symbolizes the kind of creative mind whose basic tendencies were Romantic, but whose unconscious has been involved

in the fundamental dilemma of modern existence.

As a contrast to the dualistic approach of Chirico's, Ortega's position was that of interpreting the dual aspects of art as signs of diminished importance to life and as indications of art's "self-ridiculing refusal to fulfill the demands brought to it in the past" (Fischer 106). While Chirico, influenced by the philosophies of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, saw that in the senselessness of life transposed in art lay "untroubled beauty of matter," Ortega strove to prove the Romantic viewpoint to be contrary to experience; that art was to be kept separate from everyday realities; and that the artist had only a marginal social status. Ortega, thereby, challenged literary theorists and defenders of art who were inclined towards Romanticism and the Romantic tradition to show that their assertion that art's relation to reality and society does in fact confirm art's value rather than demonstrate and hence, endorse its uselessness.

Frye has been increasingly concerned with underlining the importance of the relation of literature to life. He can be seen as having implicitly taken up Ortega's challenge and he has chosen to do so from within rather than without the Romantic tradition. Frye's idea is to identify literature's significance to life with the very aspects of literature which appear to affirm its separation from familiar realities and society. He sets out to show that the apparently opposite function between literature and life are the faces of the same coin and constitutes rather than opposes the social and moral values derived from literature. This view of literature's relation to society, Frye admits, is an extension of the earlier Romantic and post-Romantic critics who believed that poets were "the unacknowledged legislators of the world." Frye too endorses the moral and social significance of literature for purely Romantic reasons. He is of the opinion that we create our real society through imaginative vision; and without imaginative vision people and societies cannot exist, for, the human situation is "both a social and cultural environment, and only the cultural environment, the world we study in the arts and sciences, can provide the kind of standards and values we need if we're to do anything better than adjust" (*Educated Imagination* 153). This effort to find a link between the discontinuity of literature from life and literature's value to life is in direct opposition to Ortega's assertion that art, on the same argument, endorses its uselessness. Thus, instead of ironically deprecating literature's importance to life, the imaginative vision is, for Frye, the essential construct of literature's social and moral uses. There, however, is a point of agreement between Frye and Ortega for Frye too admits that we must accept art's worthlessness as an objective determinant and truthful supporter of human values.

The Romantic writers, of course, tended to share Frye's inclination to deny moral authority and insight to reason and also demonstrated his related willingness to distinguish literature from extra-literary rational and detached accounts of reality. But they were not willing to surrender their desire for genuine knowledge from imaginative works. From them literature had to earn its esteemed position in the scale of human interests by offering true insight into

the life of things. The imagination's claims to disclose truth seemed inextricably bound up with its moral significance to man; the value of literature to life appeared necessarily to rest on the truthful relation of imaginative vision to what we regard as real. The poet, in Keats's phrase, could be termed a "friend to man" if and only if his insights could be respected as true. (Fischer 115-16)

This Romantic viewpoint is the central concern for Frye as well. Frye, however, while accepting that ethical values and imaginative vision lie beyond the scope of rational knowledge strikes a difference in that he suggests that the imagination only conceives possibilities but does not represent actual truths. "By trying to ground literature's moral and social importance on the cognitive basis of its truths, the Romantic writers sought to make literature a genuinely critical social force which was able to expose illegitimate values from a perspective that could be defended as true. Writers like Shelley and Wordsworth affirmed opposition to unjustifiable social practices or ethical premises not as a mere possibility but as an imperative based on fact" (16). This is a direct contrast to Ortega's view that art is now "a minor issue," and Frye here forces us to reinterpret the Romantic faith in literature's critical power. The Romantics can be seen as authorizing the Frye "who has man imagine the forms that shape his world in response to human desire, thus creating his culture that has its own authenticity, in distinction from that objectively authenticated world of nature, bound by its ineluctable processes. That culture is our dream. . . . it becomes our truth, the truth of our poetry. And all our ideas are in that sense poetic" (Krieger, "Critical Legacy" 472-73). Or as Frye says at the end of *Fearful Symmetry*: "Our art has passed beyond Romanticism, but our criticism is still largely in it" (421).

Eliot writing on "The Local Flavour" in 1919, a few years before Ortega's *The Dehumanization of Art*, says that "the important critic is the person who is absorbed in the present problems of art," but adds, "and who wishes to bring the forces of the past to bear upon the solution of these problems" (*Sacred Wood* 37-38). Eliot's criticism, it has been generally accepted, was, in part, written in defence of modernism, and it was perhaps inevitable that modernist criticism be as misunderstood as modernist poetry. While it is true that Eliot rarely discusses the background of ideas behind a work, and he has been credited for fathering the "new criticism," his critique of Romanticism and his observations on the various periods of literature give rise to speculation of a literary history whose focus is not so much on ideas as it is on the way in which those ideas are given literary form. To enquire into Eliot's ideas would only result in the first stage of our understanding of them, and his concept of literary history is basically Romantic in its reliance on the past—a kind of nostalgia for a lost golden age.

Even as he attacks Romantic solipsism . . . Eliot partakes . . . of another aspect of the Romantic sensibility—the tendency to look *back* to a source of value. Blake seeks a lost innocence of vision, Wordsworth a lost unity with the natural world; Coleridge seeks to

revive our sense of wonder. Yeats our reverence for "traditional sanctity and loveliness." The same looking-back is characteristic of Romantic criticism in its different phases; the golden age of art is always somewhere in the past, a perished Eden, like Eliot's age of unified sensibility, which the critic hopes to revive. This common thread of historical myth is at the centre of Eliot's relationship to Romantic criticism. (Lobb 162)

Eliot's version of literary history constitutes a kind of historical myth which centres on the idea of crisis in language— the dissociation of sensibility— and the diminished power of poetry in the ages following. As Frye would have us recount, it is the story of Eden adapted to the secular history of literature, a kind of secular scripture. This literary myth was the brain-child of the Romantics, and Eliot's adaptation of it speaks of a Romantic heritage that requires investigation.

Eliot found within the Romantic poets themselves most of the arguments which he used in his critique of Romanticism. This apparent paradox may be easily explained by noting Eliot's use of the word "Romantic" which was the greatest obstacle to distinguishing the good from the bad, and often paradoxical concepts that the present age is heir to. Eliot's definition of Romanticism laid stress on the confusion of the subject and object dichotomy which he saw as a growing tendency in English literature from the time of the Metaphysical poets, particularly from the time of Donne. Much as he would have liked to resolve this dichotomy within a philosophical mental construct, Eliot claimed to have no capacity for abstruse thought and there is much in his comments on his own work to support such contentions. He wrote to Paul Elmer More that he was not a systematic thinker and admitted to E.M. Forster that his essays' apparent logic was couched in an element of bluff. Although, "ontology" and other philosophical terms in Eliot's criticism have crept in, they were primarily metaphors for the general problem of subject and object in poetry. He could do nothing with prevailing, imprecise usage, except, perhaps share the frustration of his contemporaries:

I suggest that the difficulties which veil most Critics' theories of Romanticism (and I include such writers as Pierre Lasserre and Irving Babbitt) are largely due to two errors. One is that the critic applies the same term 'romantic' to epochs and to individual artists, not perceiving that it assumes a difference of meaning; and the other is that he assumes that the terms 'romantic' and 'classic' are mutually exclusive and even antithetical without actually enforcing this exclusiveness in the examination of particular works of art. ("A French Romantic" 703)

This mutual exclusiveness which Eliot talks of here is something he himself could not reconcile with. Eliot's own arguments in favour of Classicism in his essays of the 'nineteen-twenties, which find concentration in the "Preface" to *For Lancelot Andrews*, establish the fact that Eliot's sympathies were obviously with the classical, and since neo-classicism was in current favour at the time with the criticism of Babbitt

and More, Eliot, too came to be grouped along with the classicists, both, in sympathies as well as in practice. But Eliot's view that a poet in a romantic age cannot be a "classical" poet except in tendency ("Baudelaire," *Selected Essays* 424), need not preclude the fact that there is a Romantic tendency in his work which is as important as the Classical. In Eliot's sense of the term, Keats was as much a "Classical" in that he sought to transcend subjective, individual perception, as Eliot was "Romantic" in his concern with the non-discursive image.

Eliot's relation to the Romantic tradition offers, although only partially, an answer to one of the questions that have vexed critics of this century: whether modernism was in fact a new movement or largely a continuation and development of Romantic ideas. The extent to which modernism as a whole was a revision or extension of Romanticism is still a matter of debate, and Eliot's dislike of Romanticism, and his caustic remarks at the expense of Romantic poets are a matter of record. Recent scholarship, however, has tended to focus on Eliot's relation to the Romantic tradition.

Frank Kermode, in the *Romantic Image*, deals with the origins of the Symbolist concern with non-discursive images; C.K. Stead in *The New Poetic: Yeats to Eliot*, discusses the modern poets' desire to reunite the roles of seer and public spokesman; and George Bornstein, in *Transformations of Romanticism in Yeats, Eliot, and Stevens* makes pertinent references to Eliot's resistance to, and reconciliation with, Romanticism. The concern of all the three critics is with Eliot's divided loyalties and the dualism of his public Classicism and his covering cherub, Romanticism.

Kermode's intention in the *Romantic Image* is to revise the critical ideas of the English Romantics from contemporary symbolist (Mallarmean and Poe-esque) perspectives. He takes as his subjects Blake, Coleridge, Arnold, Pater, the French Symbolists, and the New Critics; and while he appears to be deliberately subordinating and sometimes ignoring basic philosophical differences in the critical differences he focuses upon, he nevertheless, is able to perceive important likenesses among the apparently dissimilar. Kermode is of the opinion that a gainful dialectical opposition in Romantic thought, between the poet as "representative man" of universal passions and the poet as different from others, gets absorbed in the obsession peculiar to the way in which poets are inclined to think about themselves. The benefit of such a system for the poet who is cut off from normal interactions with social reality, is that he is allowed to enjoy the visionary mode of contemplation which in turn leads him to create what Kermode calls the "Image" through the creative perception. "Poetry" Kermode writes, "by virtue of the image *is*; prose merely describes" (127-28). He also remarks that everywhere in Romantic thought there exists a distinction between symbol and allegory (112-13). The distinction here referred to is the ontological one ("the image *is*") similar to the Coleridgean line of argument that symbol "partakes of the reality which it renders intelligible," while allegory is "unsubstantial," a "translation of abstract notions into a picture language." Symbol permits a vision of ultimate being as it closes the distance between consciousness and the ultimate origin of things while

as an arbitrary and abstract discourse, allegory maintains ontological separation and the division of subject and object. This sort of distinction existing within Romanticism between symbol and allegory is similar to the dualisms found in contemporary criticism between the poetic and literary, or the scientific and ordinary kinds of discourses. As Frank Lentricchia observes: "within the perspective afforded by romantic tradition we may come to feel that the urgency in his [Kermode's] injunction is motivated by a long-standing romantic need to protect a quasi-religious, ontological sanctuary from all secularizing discourses that would situate literature in history" (*After the New Criticism* 6).

Eliot's view of literary history is basically Romantic in its nostalgia for a lost golden age. He betrays a debt to three Romantic poet-critics, Keats, Wordsworth, and Arnold. Moreover Eliot's use of the Middle Ages as an "image" bears a likeness to the Romantics and their Victorian successors. To point out these affinities is not to merely diagnose an anxiety of influence, but as the author of "Tradition and the Individual Talent" was well aware of, it is only in the acceptance and use of a living tradition that any real originality is possible.

C.K. Stead tries to establish the links of some of Eliot's ideas to the Romantic tradition. He shows, in *The New Poetic: Yeats to Eliot*, that Eliot's theory of poetics is basically Romantic. He observes:

These three essays ["Tradition and the Individual Talent," "Ben Jonson," and "Hamlet"] . . . show how obsessively concerned Eliot was at this time with a process of poetry in which the conscious will played only the minor role of sub-editor. His remarks imply a kind of poetic composition at least as dependent on spontaneous "imagination" and "inspiration" as that which any of the romantic poets might have affirmed. (131)

Stead is concerned with Eliot's treatment of "the problem of conscious direction and unconscious process in the writing of poetry," and by analysing the forms in which sections of "The Hollow Men" first appeared, he reaches the conclusion that "the structural unity of [Eliot's] early poetry is a unity of feeling" rather than of form (170). Stead's conclusion is based on the fact that the Georgians and Imagists Yeats, Pound, and Eliot are all part of a movement away from the shortcomings of discursive poetry. The common factor they share being that they concentrate on the clear presentation of an image or situation, and thereby express "a level of mind deeper and more obscure than that at which conscious thought and 'opinion' are supreme: where . . . the mind of the individual becomes the general mind of the race" (35). As a final solution, Stead offers to see Eliot's criticism, as apart from his poetry since one can avoid generalization in a poem but not in a prose argument where some conclusion is called for, as a combination of techniques:

A close scrutiny of Eliot's criticism will show I believe, . . . the gradual realization of a poetic technique . . . designed to bring into balance the two halves of the divided sensibility: a

technique which weighs, on the one hand, that part of the poet's mind which rationalizes, constructs, and, in the rhetorician, illegitimately persuades and pleases at the expense of complex truth; and, on the other hand, that passive part of the mind which negatively comprehends complexity, and provides images to embody it, but fails on its own to construct, assert, or even affirm. (126)

The argument which is based upon the assumption of these techniques depends finally upon image, and hence upon the reader's imagination.

The image may be a single picture of a period, or a quotation, or the whole corpus of a writer's work: in any case, it allows for a radical simplification of what the image represents. Like the  $x$  in an algebraic equation, it acquires a value from what is done with it. Donne and Cowley become emblems of the directions of poetry after them, Dante the exemplar of poetic perfection and clear sight. Eliot's argument is not spared the task of assertion, but the selection of images, and their arrangement make the point more eloquently--and less refutably--than mere argument could. (Lobb 91)

A characteristic feature of Eliot's prose style, which has been often commented upon, is the combination of assertion and reticence to a noticeable degree. This feature is particularly noticeable in his critical essays during the period from 1918 to 1936, which has led Bernard Bergonzi to comment that there is in the prose, "an effect of extreme evasiveness despite its polemical sharpness of tone" (*T.S. Eliot* 26). The attack is mainly directed against the apparent banality with which Eliot makes critical statements about literature and sensibility or passes final judgement on a poet or critic with a total disregard of reasoned logicity. While bearing in mind Eliot's admission to E.M. Forster that the essays' apparent logic concealed an element of bluff, the answer to the elusiveness may be sought in his attitude of argumentation itself. Although Eliot held certain strong ideas about the nature of the relationship between sensibility and language, he did not try to formulate a systematic theory of literature in the sense that Northrop Frye lays claims to. And as Edward Lobb comments:

Between the fundamental points of Eliot's 'classicism' there is much *feeling* about literature, relatively articulable but not susceptible of demonstration in reasoned argument; hence the use of symbolic images. . . . Criticism was, for Eliot, a branch of rhetoric rather than of philosophy; it was natural for him to treat it as an art of persuasion rather than a science of 'proof'. (94)

Eliot, it may be noted, also learned and adapted a fair amount about the technique and conduct of argument from the Romantics and their nineteenth-century successors. The use of historical myth which is in itself as much an argumentative technique as it is an idea, is a case in point. The ideas that Eliot found most relevant to his purpose and



that were central to his own modernist aesthetic has been summed up and summarized by Lobb as follows:

- 1 The value of historical myth as a way of embodying literary and aesthetic values (cf. Schiller, Keats, Arnold, Ruskin);
- 2 The importance of perception by the whole mind rather than an isolated intellectual faculty (cf. Schiller, Keats, Wordsworth);
- 3 The necessity of clear (objective) sight as a means of avoiding solipsism (cf. Keats, Arnold, Ruskin, Hulme, Pound);
- 4 The inadequacy of poetry which reflects primarily the intellect and which becomes, as a result, overtly philosophical or 'ruminative' (cf. Keats, Arnold). (136)

And Eliot's other borrowings from the Romantics is summed up under the following headings:

- 1 The use of medieval art and thought as a standard by which to judge the modern (cf. Ruskin, Hulme, Yeats, Pound);
- 2 The reifying of argument through the juxtaposition of symbolic images (cf. Ruskin's use of Gothic and Renaissance monuments to represent the ethos of each period with Eliot's use of Donne and Crashaw as types of images of promiscuous Thought and Feeling, his conscious simplifying of literary periods, his placement of writers in diagrammatic relationship to each other, etc.);
- 3 The sophisticated use of a variety of rhetorical strategies, developed most fully by the Victorians which depend less on sequential argument than acquainting the reader with the 'feel' of an idea through control of tone, implication, metaphor, etc. (136-37)

Once again we find ourselves confronted with Kermode's concept of the "image" as a unifying motif, that is, the Romantic concern with the ideas as an "ineffable or indemonstrable" construct that can be persuasively conveyed through the image. Just as in Eliot's poetry and theory of poetry, the idea can be seen to operate in his practice of criticism as well; "it works as much through embodied ideas as through 'legitimate' argument" (137).

To argue thus is to suggest that Eliot's use of Romantic criticism was deliberate. It remains a matter of record that Eliot was familiar with most of the Romantic critics, but the question of influence upon Eliot should be regarded as secondary as he was more inclined to use the earlier poet-critics in formulating his own ideas. Similarity with the Romantics,

is not in any supposed borrowings: it lies rather in the common perception of an issue or problem and the attempt to come to terms with it *imaginatively*. like Arnold, Eliot found himself, in a Romantic age, desiring a classic clarity of expression; he was eventually to conclude that 'a poet in a romantic age, cannot be a "classical" poet except in tendency'. The divided consciousness gave rise in each case to a rich body of criticism in which the age could see itself, and literature, anew. (81: underlining mine)

Finally, it is worth mentioning that F.H. Bradley is not the "onlie begetter" and fountain-head of Eliot's criticism. There is, however, a considerable body of work devoted to tracing Eliot's indebtedness to Bradley, and the subject is too important to ignore, but the definitive relation of Eliot's literary criticism to Bradley's philosophy remains open to debate. Richard Wollheim is inclined to believe that Eliot's theories of tradition and literary history are "only marginally grounded in philosophy" ("Eliot and F.H. Bradley: An Account" 189). To insist further would have the effect of making Eliot into a "derivative and eclectic philosopher—a second-hand Bradley—but he is a great and original critic within the tradition that he modifies and carries on. . . Eliot belongs. . . to a tradition of specifically literary thought which begins in England with Sidney (practically speaking) and which is the only thing necessary to render him comprehensible" (Lobb 160). And,

even if the concept of dissociation of sensibility were derived from Bradley and only from Bradley the myth of literary history in which it is embodied, and without which it would remain at a very high level of abstraction, could only have been derived from literary criticism—specifically . . . the historical mythography of the Romantic poets. It is general knowledge, if not quite a common place, that the Romantics were also interested in the relation of subject and object in poetry; it seems plausible to suppose, then, that Eliot's ideas about literature came primarily from literary sources while his vocabulary and analogies were influenced by his philosophical reading. His relation to Keats, Coleridge and Victorian historiography (as well as his use of Gourmont which has been noted by several commentators) is substantive. His relation to Bradley, though it may have been philosophically decisive, is, in terms of literary significance, slight. (160)

The matter of influence, however slight, cannot entirely be ignored. Especially so when the man who said "Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal" was willing to acknowledge his debts, and the role of tradition as is understood in "Tradition and the Individual Talent" is that of a helpful and liberating force. Any attempts to define the influence of the tradition would, in absence of definitive evidence, prove to be purely speculative irrespective of whether the tradition was consciously or unconsciously used, and one can look upon Eliot's critical achievement as original and thought provoking. Even if there were no evidence, "Eliot's place in the [Romantic] tradition would nevertheless be established, simply by the similarity of his ideas and methods to those of the Romantics. The probable mixture of tradition and innovation whatever the exact proportions may be, show Eliot as the ideal Janus of 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'" (137).

### III ROMANTICISM RECLASSIFIED

In the introduction to *Fables of identity* Frye pleads his case for a "Great Tradition" which he recognises from his long association of Blakean studies:

The hinge of the total argument, I suppose, is my conception of Romanticism. The Romantic movement in English literature seems to me now to be a small part of one of the most decisive as to make everything that has been written since post-Romantic including, of course, everything that is regarded by its producers as anti-Romantic. (3)

Frye claims that his criticism constitutes a Romantic poetics which may be looked upon as an attempt to provide for modern culture a framework of literary theory as useful as Aristotle's poetics were for traditional culture. Although Frye cannot lay claims, like Aristotle of summing-up the experience of his culture, Frye recognises the importance of a continuity between nineteenth and twentieth century literature, the vast shift in the history of ideas, and its significance for the literary critic. When he attempts to build an inductive poetics like Aristotle's, he is influenced by the effects of Romanticism on literary theory and practice. These "effects" might be explained in a general way by saying that Romanticism replaces the traditional didactic and mimetic theories of art with expressive and autotelic theories; the Romantic concentrates on his own psyche (expressive theory) or treats the work as an end in itself (autotelic). This claim forces upon us a distinction between "modern" and "traditional" literary experience where by "traditional" is meant the ideas associated with the notions of a Supreme Being and the creation of an ordered hierarchial universe built on immutable principles, where man's mind conforms in some objective way to the truth in things where man can therefore read the commonsense laws of nature which guide their conduct and where these principles have been largely formulated and preserved in the traditional wisdom of a conservative society. And in contrast the "modern" complex of ideas assume that man creates the values of his civilization including his ideas of God, that the universe is not a finished product but an evolving process, that the ambiguous interplay of subject and object makes epistemological certitude impossible, that man can be said to know the truth only in flashes of intuition, and that experience is not only the best teacher, but the only reliable one (Hendy 318-35).

Both, traditional and Romantic concepts of criticism are embedded in history and given the contingent nature of history these concepts are liable to be highly complex. Yet Romantic thought itself, however complex and ambiguous, was partly the result of a reaction to the traditional modes of poetry and criticism. For the traditionalist, both poet and critic had available to them objective criteria with respect to subject, character, and diction; and the emphasis was to be on typical experiences because individual experiences, not being typical enough, cannot have universal appeal. In a comment which looks, at the same time, back to the tradition summarized by Frank Kermode and forward to Harold Bloom's "anxiety of influence," Frye makes a pertinent point: "The underestimating of convention appears to be a result of and may even be a part of the tendency, marked from romantic times on, to think of the individual as ideally prior to his society" (*Anatomy* 96-97). And "it is not only the inexperienced reader who looks for a *residual* originality," but the experienced critic as well for "most of us tend to think of a poet's real achievement present in what

he stole, and we are thus apt to concentrate on peripheral rather than on central critical facts" (96). Frye does not speculate on the nature of the self but nevertheless uses a conception of it in his argument on romantic literary ideals of original genius. His contention is that the self is not ideally prior to its society, nor the individual poem isolated from literary tradition:

The view opposed to this, that the new baby is conditioned by a hereditary and environmental kinship to a society which already exists, has whatever doctrines may be inferred from it, the initial advantage of being closer to the facts it deals with. The literary consequence . . . is that the new poem, like the new baby, is born into an already existing order of words, and is typical of the structure of poetry to which it is attached. The new baby is his own society appearing once again as a unit of individuality, and the new poem has a similar relation to its poetic society. (97).

Frye does not wish to deny that at a certain level of existence there exists a self that may be distinctively differentiated from other selves but he believes that at the deepest and most authentic levels of existence, the self in is an all accommodating medium that is peculiarly suited for the transmitting of those ever expanding literary structures which are classified as archetypal mythoi and images.

In order to avoid the subjectivism and irresolvable disputes of taste and thereby achieve objectivity of description, Frye puts forward his key assumption that all literary expression is controlled by a select number of literary universals. These "four narrative pregeneric" categories, or pregeneric mythoi, are the deep structures and the inevitable constituents of a literary imagination. By insisting on such autonomy for the imagination, Romantic writing may be accused of devaluing the social function of literature, and the Romantics have had to argue in a new key in favour of this social function and its relevance to literature. Frye's theory of criticism brooks both these Romantic tendencies. On the one hand he develops a theory of meaning that ensures autonomy for the literary imagination, while, on the other hand, fosters a theory of value which focuses on the social importance of imagination. The two theories operate simultaneously in his "theory of symbols."

In the *Anatomy of Criticism* Frye outlines five different "phases" of symbol. The theory of symbols is directed toward an analysis of criticism where "phases" are contexts within which literature has been and can be interpreted. They are primarily meant to describe critical procedures rather than literary types which in its turn means that the phases represent methods of analysing symbolic meaning. Frye attempts to discover the various levels of symbolic meaning and to combine them into a comprehensive theory. Where "symbol" is used to mean "any unit of any literary structure that can be isolated for critical attention" (71). This includes everything from the letters a writer uses to spell his words to the poem itself as a symbol reflecting the entire poetic universe. This broad definition suits Frye's purpose of associating the right kind of symbolism with each phase and hence finds a placement for the phase at

the highest level of generality. Used as a sign, the symbol results in the descriptive phase; a motif, in the literal phase; as image, in the formal phase; as archetype, in the mythic phase; and as monad, in the anagogic phase.

The first two of Frye's contexts, the "literal" and "descriptive" phases are considered together in his discussion because

Whenever we read anything we find our attention moving in two directions at once. One direction is outward or centrifugal in which we keep going outside our reading from the individual words to the things they mean. . . . The other direction is inward or centripetal in which we try to develop from the words a sense of the larger verbal pattern they make . . . . Verbal structures may be classified according to whether the *final* direction of meaning is outward or inward. In descriptive or assertive writing the final direction is outward. Here the verbal structure is intended to represent things external to it and it is valued in terms of the accuracy with which it does represent them. . . .

In all literary verbal structures the final direction of meaning is inward. In literature the standards of outward meaning are secondary for literary works do not pretend to describe or assert, and hence are not true, not false and yet not tautological either . . . .

Literary meaning may best be described. . . . as hypothetical and a hypothetical or assumed relation to the external world is part of what is usually meant by the word "imaginative." (73-74)

The inward meaning is manifested as the "literal" symbol, the outward as the "descriptive." Again when the symbol is a sign, the movement of reference is centrifugal as in descriptive or assertive works; and when the symbol is a "motif" the movement is centripetal as in imaginative or to use Frye's term, "hypothetical" works. "Now as a poem is literally a poem" writes Frye "it belongs in its literal context, to the class of things called poems, which in their turn form part of the larger class known as works of art." He is thus led to reason that "a poem's meaning is literally its pattern or integrity as a verbal structure. Its words cannot be separated and attached to sign-values: all possible sign-values of a word are absorbed into a complexity of verbal relationships." Whereas in the descriptive phase "a poem is not primarily a work of art, but primarily a *verbal* structure or set of representative words" whose meaning is "the relation of its pattern to a body of assertive propositions and the conception of symbolism involved is the one which literature has in common, not with the arts but with other structures in words" (78).

Although every work of literature is characterized by both, the literal and descriptive phases of symbolism, there can be an infinite number of permutations along the descriptive-literal axis, since a given work tends to be influenced more by one phase than the other.

Thus when the descriptive phase predominates, the narrative of literature tends toward realism and its meaning toward the didactic or descriptive. The limits at this end of the

continuum would be represented by such writers as Zola and Dreiser whose work "goes about as far as a representation of life, to be judged by its integrity as a structure of words, as it could go and still remain literature." At the other end, as a complement to naturalism is the tradition of writers like Mallarme, Reimbaud, Rilke, Pound, and Eliot. Here the emphasis is on the literal phase of meaning: literature becomes a "centripetal verbal pattern, in which elements of direct or verifiable statement are subordinated to the integrity of that pattern." (Denham, *Critical Method* 34)

Frye is of the opinion that "the achieving of an acceptable theory of literal meaning in criticism rests on a relatively recent development in literature (*Anatomy* 80). This achievement, he points out, lies in the rhetorical analyses characteristic of the New Criticism:

The criticism as well as the creation of literature reflects the distinction between literal and descriptive aspects of symbolism. The type of criticism associated with research and learned journals treats the poem as a verbal document, to be related as fully as possible to the history and the ideas that it reflects. The poem is most valuable to this kind of criticism when it is most explicit and descriptive and when its core of imaginative hypothesis can be most easily separated . . . What is now called "new criticism" based on the conception of a poem as literally a poem. It studies the symbolism of a poem as an ambiguous structure of interlocking motifs; it sees the poetic pattern of meaning as a self-contained "texture," and it thinks of the external relations of a poem as being with the other arts . . . These two aspects of criticism are often thought of as antithetical . . . They are of course complementary not antithetical but still the difference between them is important. (81-82)

The principal assumption underlying Frye's analysis of the descriptive and literal phases is similar to the major proponents of the New Criticism chiefly those whose concern has been to locate the meaning of poetry in the nature of its symbolic language. The New Criticism which is at least as old as Coleridge, bases its tenets in the autotelic theories of the Romantics, that is, glorification of the poem as an end in itself. The characteristic method of inference in each of their procedures is based on a similar dialectic, and all including Frye, employ a process of reasoning to what the language and meaning of poetry are from what assertive discourse and rational meaning are not (Crane, *The Languages of Criticism and the Structure of Poetry* 100-102). Frye's clear enunciation of this "literal" meaning is fundamental to his theories of meaning and value in literature:

Frye's theory of symbols results in an expansion and rearrangement of the medieval scheme of four levels of interpretation according to which literal meaning is discursive or representational meaning. Its point of reference is centrifugal. When Dante interprets scripture literally, he points to the correspondence between an event in the Bible and a historical event or at least one he assumed to have occurred in the past. In this sense literature signifies real events. The first medieval level of symbolism thus becomes Frye's descriptive level.

His own literal phase, however, has no corresponding rung on the medieval ladder. The advantage of rearranging the categories Frye believes, is that he now has a framework to account for a poem literally as a poem—as a self-contained verbal structure whose meaning is not dependent upon any external reference. This redesignation is simply one more way that Frye can indicate the difference between a symbol as motif and sign. As a principle of Frye's system, it reveals the dialectical method he uses to define poetic meaning. (Denham 36-37)

This explanation of literary meaning may be seen as being analogous in post-Romantic criticism to the Copernican revolution in Kant's epistemology. The mind not only half-perceives, it also half-creates. That is to say, the imagination is autonomous.

In the third or "formal" phase of symbolism, Frye approaches directly the communication of discursive meaning from author to reader, and specifically relates it to the imagery of poetry, thereby attempting to move beyond the familiar distinctions of the New Criticism. Formal criticism is seen as studying literature from the point of view of either *mythos* or *dianoia*. The meaning of these two terms remain almost the same as they had in the first two phases with the difference that they function differently. In the literal and descriptive phases, narrative (*mythos*) and meaning (*dianoia*) resolved themselves into two opposite axes, but in the formal phase they are required to converge and eventually unify for, Frye argues, it is the essential unity of a work of art which the word "form" is usually meant to convey (37). He explains this by first adapting the concept of imitation to infract upon the form-content dichotomy.

A *mythos* is a secondary imitation of an action which means, not that it is two removes from reality but that it describes typical actions being more philosophical than history. Human thought (*theoria*) is primarily imitated by discursive writing which makes specific and particular predications. A *dianoia* is a secondary imitation of thought a *mimesis logou* concerned with typical thought, with the images, metaphors, diagrams, and verbal ambiguities out of which specific ideas develop. . . . it is clear that all verbal structures with meaning are verbal imitations of that elusive psychological and physiological process known as thought, a process stumbling through emotional entanglements, sudden irrational convictions involuntary gleams of insight, rationalized prejudices, and blocks of panic and inertia, finally to reach a completely incommunicable intuition. Anyone who imagines that philosophy is not a verbal imitation of this process, but the process itself has clearly not done much thinking. (*Anatomy* 83)

The assumption underlying the argument is that the concept of secondary imitation, by virtue of its being typical is a principle which unifies formal criticism. In formal imitation, "the work of art does not reflect external events and ideas but exists between the example and the precept" (84). And that, "The central principle of the formal phase, that a poem is an imitation of nature, is . . . a principle which isolates the individual poem" (95). Frye's technique of using the concept of typicality is to avoid the antithesis implicit in the literal and descriptive phases. His formal criticism

thus extends the post-Romantic assumptions implied in the first two phases. "Formal criticism. . . is commentary and commentary is the process of translation into explicit or discursive language what is implicit in the poem" (86). Yet Frye's use of the word "typical" is equivocal: more philosophical than philosophy. One can see the barely concealed Romantic assumption that one cannot quite trust any abstract analysis of a concrete experience. Frye, for instance, is critical of the "intentional fallacy":

The failure to make in practice, the most elementary of all distinctions in literature, the distinction between fiction and fact, hypothesis and assertion, imaginative and discursive writing produces what in criticism has been called the "intentional fallacy" the notion that the poet has a primary intention of conveying meaning to a reader and that the first duty of a critic is to recapture that intention. The word intention is analogical: it implies a relation between two things, usually a conception and an act. . . . But a poet's primary concern is to produce a work of art, and hence his intention can only be expressed by some kind of tautology.

In other words a poet's intention is centripetally directed. It is directed towards putting words together not towards aligning words with meanings. . . . One may pursue the centripetal intention as far as genre, as a poet intends to produce, not simply a poem but a certain kind of poem . . . . One has to assume, as an essential heuristic axiom, that the work as produced constitutes the definitive record of the writer's intention. (86-87)

Wimsatt and Beardsley however, do not simply deny that knowledge of a poet's intention is necessary to the proper critical appreciation and judgement of his poems. They extend their denial to the Romantic claim for the relationship of the poet's personality to his poems. They join the first issue with the second in order to provide a theoretical foundation of T.S. Eliot's attempt in "Tradition and the Individual Talent," to disconnect the link that the Romantics had claimed between the personality of the poet and his poems. They lend their position further theoretical support with the argument that poems are verbal structures made out of public language which is governed by the conventions of a language community ("The Intentional Fallacy" in *The Verbal Icon* 3-18).

Criticism in the formal phase tries to isolate the ideas embodied in the structure of poetic imagery. This produces allegorical interpretation: "All commentary is allegorical interpretation and attaching of ideas to the structure of poetic imagery" (*Anatomy* 89). Frye sees the distinction between two representational pieces of work (*The Faerie Queen* and *The Castle*) as depending on how explicitly the allegorist "indicates the relationship of his images to examples and precepts and so tries to indicate how a commentary on him should proceed" (90). All literature, therefore, can be organized along a continuum of formal meaning from the most to the least allegorical. What Frye does, in essence, is to redefine the word "allegory," and thereby expand its ordinary meaning. Frye uses the term to refer not only to a literary convention but also to indicate a universal structural principle of literature. It is considered to



be universal because all literature is seen in relation to *mythos* and *dianoia*: the relationship between *mythos* and *dianoia* is so explicit that it prescribes the direction which commentary must take.

Frye is conscious of the fact that the first three phases of symbol fail to establish the social value of art. The first two phases are concerned with the self-contained world of the autonomous imagination, and the third with the problematical judgments of the abstracting intellect. He further points out an analogous weakness in the two forms of criticism, historical and rhetorical, complementary to these phases. The New Criticism (rhetorical) sees the work of art as an end in itself and historical criticism is bound by an allegorizing commentary. At this point, the romanticist faces sanctions of value. The early Romantics have left behind a legacy in modern liberalism which is an echo of the special world of the artist and his work, and the Romantic transcendence from the self to society has been some corollary of Shelley's "the great instrument of moral good is the imagination." Frye's "educated imagination" is a twentieth century version of this heritage. Moreover, he is conscious of the Romanticist's hurdle:

Frye's . . . . contention that the self is not prior to its society is followed through, in his examinations of literary structure, only in that he places literature within a literary society, and the history of literary society, never within a broader social context; his contention has, apparently, no force whatsoever for the critical self. As he rises, unconstrained by cultural and historical determinates, carried on the wings of an unsituated critical discourse to a realm of transparent consciousness, our archetypal critic believes that he sees the text in its actual determinacy of form—that he can make letter-perfect mimetic reports on the structural foundations of literature. With his fear of indeterminacy, with his relegation of taste and subjectivity to the realm of irrelevance, and with his heavy reliance on a subject-object model drawn from nineteenth-century science and nineteenth-century theories of interpretation, Frye . . . . practices, or thinks he practices, a hermeneutics of the innocent eye.

While Frye's thought seems to put great distance between itself and a solipsist-courting poetics of isolation, another thrust in it appears to seek the very separations desired by Kermode's romantics. This isolationist tendency is somewhat obscured by that fact that it is not the individual poet who is given a privileged place by Frye but the society of all poets across history: "poets as a whole class," he tells us, "are entrusted" with a "total body of vision." (Lentricchia 9-10)

And in this context Frye urges us to believe that "The work of imagination presents us with a vision, not of the personal greatness of the poet, but of something impersonal and far greater: the vision of decisive act of spiritual freedom, the vision of the recreation of man" (*Anatomy* 94).

The artist communicates this vision, according to Frye, by virtue of the fourth, the "mythical," phase of symbol. The symbol which characterizes this phase Frye calls

the "archetype," which he defines to mean "a literary symbol or cluster of symbols which are used recurrently throughout literature, and thereby become conventional" (*Fables* 120). Frye's archetypes, in this way, make up practically the whole body of literary conventions, anything one author learns from another about how to communicate in a work of art. Further, the ultimate object of archetypal criticism "is to consider, not simply a poem as an imitation of nature, but the order of nature as a whole as imitated in a corresponding order of words" (*Anatomy* 96). Poetry, Frye says, is not simply

an aggregate of artifacts imitating nature, but one of the activities of human artifice taken as a whole. If we may use the word "civilization" for this, we may say that our fourth phase looks at poetry as one of the techniques of civilization. It is concerned, therefore, with the social aspect of poetry, with poetry as the focus of a community. The symbol in this phase is the communicable unit, to which I give the name archetype: that is, a typical or recurring image. I mean by an archetype a symbol which connects one poem with another and thereby helps to unify and integrate our literary experience. And as the archetype is the communicable symbol, archetypal criticism is primarily concerned with literature as a social fact and as a mode of communication. By the study of conventions and genres, it attempts to fit poems into the body of poetry as a whole. (99)

The order of words which imitate the order of nature is Frye's way of looking at the Romantic view that man creates, imposes on nature--forms which express his spiritual desires.

The symbol as archetype is the first principle underlying Frye's definition of the mythical phase. The pairs of opposites in his dialectic (*mythos* and *dianoia*) now take on the aspects *recurrence* and *desire*, and *ritual* and *myth*.

Every phase of symbolism has its particular approach to narrative and to meaning. In the literal phase, narrative is a flow of significant sounds, and meaning an ambiguous and complex verbal pattern. In the descriptive phase, narrative is an imitation of real events, and meaning an imitation of actual objects or propositions. In the formal phase, poetry exists between the example and the precept. In the exemplary event there is an element of *recurrence*; in the precept, or statement about what ought to be, there is a strong element of *desire*, or what is called "wish-thinking." These elements of recurrence and desire come into the foreground in archetypal criticism, which studies poems as units of poetry as a whole and symbols as units of communication.

From such a point of view, the narrative aspect of literature is a recurrent act of symbolic communication: in other words a ritual . . . [and] the significant content is the conflict of desire and reality which had for its basis the work of the dream. Ritual and dream, therefore, are the narrative [mythos] and significant content [dianoia] respectively of literature in its archetypal aspect. (104-105)

In order to explain the power of the archetype to communicate, Frye relies on two

fundamental concepts of recurrent human experience, borrowed from modern psychology and anthropology, "dream" and "ritual." Frye, however, is careful to emphasize the distinction between the aims of criticism and those of other disciplines. The critic, he points out, "is concerned only with ritual or dream patterns which are actually in what he is studying, however they got there" (109). And further explains, elsewhere, that "Wherever we have archetypal symbolism, we pass from the question What does this symbol, sea or tree or serpent or character, mean in this work or art? to the question 'What does it mean in my imaginative comprehension of such things as a whole?'" Thus the presence of archetypal symbolism makes the individual poem, not its own object, but a phase of imaginative experience" ("Three Meanings of Symbolism" 18). Thus, Frye is also able to see that

Cassirer, Spengler, Frazer, Jung, and Eliade are themselves students of symbolism whose works provide us with a grammar of the human imagination. Cassirer's symbolic forms, like those found in literature, take their structure from the mind and their content from the natural world. And Frazer's expansive collections of material, because they give us a grammar of unconscious symbolism on both its personal and its social sides, will be of greater benefit to the poet and literary critic than to the anthropologist. Thus *The Golden Bough*, like Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious*, becomes primarily a work of literary criticism. Similarly, Eliade's studies in *Religionsgeschichte* are especially important for the literary critic because they provide a grammar of initiatory and comparative symbolism. (Denham, *Critical Method* 45)

The two organizing rhythms, recurrence and desire, ritual and dream—the centrifugal and centripetal perspectives—do not finally move in opposite directions in Frye's scheme, they interpenetrate, to use his term for it. They appear archetypally in a given work depending on whether the attention is on narrative or significant meaning, which Frye also refers to as "imagery." Narrative at its most extreme would be an act of unconscious repetition in which any meaning would be only latent. Whereas, imagery is purely a state of intuitive perception, incommunicable without narrative. The two aspects of communication are therefore integrated, and this union or interpenetration Frye calls "myth." "Myth," he says, "gives meaning to ritual and narrative to dream; it is the identification of ritual and dream, in which the former is seen to be the latter in movement" (*Anatomy* 107). Myth, then, is the form in which men communicate civilization.

To see archetypal criticism as concerned with the social aspects of poetry is, as Frye says, to emphasize the relationship of the individual poem to other poems. But this is only one aspect of what should be stressed, for a poem is also a "part of the total human imitation of nature that we call civilization" (105).<sup>2</sup> Criticism, specifically archetypal criticism, therefore, is concerned not simply with convention and genre, but because it views the symbol as a natural object with a human meaning, its scope is expanded to include civilization. And from this perspective, poetry

becomes a product of a vision of the goals of human work.

The fourth phase of symbolism justifies literature, but Frye feels the need to move beyond the archetypal phase and the goals of civilization, where art is not an end in itself, "to culture, where it is disinterested and liberal, and stands on its own feet" (115). Such a statement reveals Frye's debt to the Romantic tradition of nineteenth century liberalism. By a skillful combination of this tradition with the autotelic theories, especially the New Criticism, of the twentieth century, Frye is able to propose a "unified field theory" which unites the high claim for the autonomy of the work of art with the equally high claim for its cultural value. Criticism, he feels,

seems to be badly in need of a coordinating principle, a central hypothesis which, like the theory of evolution in biology, will see the phenomena it deals with as parts of a whole.

The first postulate of this inductive leap is the same as that of any science: the assumption of a total coherence. (16)

This assumption, founded on the analogy of literature to a natural organism, postulates "a center of the order of words." It leads "to the conception of literature as existing in its own universe, no longer a commentary on life or reality, but containing life and reality in a system of verbal relationships" (122).

The fifth phase of symbolism, which Frye calls the "anagogic phase" is his ultimate critical vision. This phase grows naturally out of the fourth, for unless there is a "center of the order of words," the study of archetypes is simply "an endless series of free associations." For, "If there are such things as archetypes at all," Frye says, "then, we have to take yet another step and conceive the possibility of a self-contained literary universe" (118).

The foundation of such a universe lies in Frye's own literary experience, the feeling he has of being at the centre of activity when in the presence of the greatest works of literature. Robert Denham summarizes the essential features of such a universe; he sees

the idea of a center to the order of words is consistent with, even a logical consequence of, the imagery Frye has already used to describe the structure of literature. If the literary modes are cyclical and if the critical phases are parallel to the modes, then it stands to reason that the cycle must have a center. In short, the notion of "converging significance" does not fit well into a strictly linear paradigm. More important than this, however, is the idea of order itself. If literature does constitute a total order, then there must be some principle holding it together. We have already seen Frye assert that the function of the archetypal critic (in the fourth phase) is to search out those principles of structure which works of literature have in common. . . . [However], one can never arrive at the self-contained whole, which is literature itself, simply by studying archetypes, for as symbols they represent only parts of the whole. The existence of a total order among *all* literary works is the prior assumption, therefore, which makes it necessary for Frye to establish

a norm underlying the order. And this norm is the center, the "still point" around which his literary universe revolves. (*Critical Method* 49)

This Platonic realm of ideas would incorporate a pool of the central archetypes, the patterns of desire and recurrence, freed from all the restraints of the world of experience.

In the anagogic phase, literature imitates the total dream of man, and so imitates the thought of a human mind which is at the circumference and not at the center of its reality. We see here the completion of the imaginative revolution begun when we passed from the descriptive to the formal phase of symbolism. . . . When we pass into anagogy, nature becomes, not the container, but the thing contained, and the archetypal universal symbols, the city, the garden, the quest, the marriage, are no longer the desirable forms that man constructs inside nature, but are themselves the forms of nature. Nature is now inside the mind of an infinite man who builds his cities out of the Milky Way. This is not reality, but it is the conceivable or imaginative limit of desire, which is infinite, eternal, and hence apocalyptic. By an apocalypse I mean primarily the imaginative conception of the whole of nature as the content of an infinite and eternal living body which, if not human, is closer to being human than to being inanimate. (*Anatomy* 119)

Again,

Anagogically . . . poetry unites total ritual, or unlimited social action, with total dream, or unlimited individual thought. Its universe is infinite and boundless hypothesis: it cannot be contained within any actual civilization or set of moral values, for the same reason that no structure of imagery can be restricted to one allegorical interpretation. Here the *dianoia* of art is no longer a *mimesis logou*, but the logos, the shaping word which is both reason and . . . *praxis* or creative art. The *ethos* or art is no longer a group of characters within a natural setting, but a universal man who is also a divine being, or a divine being conceived in anthropomorphic terms. (120)

Frye says that in the fifth phase the symbol is a monad, "all symbols being united in a single infinite and eternal verbal symbol which is, as *dianoia*, the Logos, and, as *mythos*, total creative act" (121). That is, the "monad" refers to the individual poem which appears as a "microcosm" of all literature, an individual manifestation of the total order of words (121).

In one of his most influential essays, "New Directions from Old" (reprinted in *Fables of Identity*) Frye points out that even historians and philosophers who are supposedly confined in their enquiry to the facts about the past or to the abstractions that are discursively logical, produce "symmetrical cosmologies" when they begin to construct systems. In the *Anatomy* Frye says,

The link between rhetoric and logic is "doodle" or associative diagram, the expression of the

conceptual by the spatial. . . . Very often a "structure" or "system" of thought can be reduced to a diagrammatic pattern--in fact both words are to some extent synonyms of diagram. A Philosopher is of great assistance to his reader when he realizes the presence of a diagram and extracts it, as Plato does in his discussion of the divided line. We cannot go far in any argument without realizing that there is some kind of graphic formula involved. . . . the feeling that one point is "central" and another peripheral . . . some kind of geometrical basis. (335-36)

Frye, who is increasingly concerned with the systematic study of literature, is aware that his own systematic criticism is a set of conceptual myths--a kind of cosmological doodle.

The circle is Frye's favourite diagrammatic figure. The metaphor of the cycle (or circle) Frye adapts from Spengler, whose theory of the organic growth of cultures in *Decline of the West*, left a lasting impression on him. He acknowledges that Spengler "provided the basis for the conception of modes" outlined in the *Anatomy (Spiritus Mundi)* 113). It, therefore, should not upset a student of his criticism to encounter the circle often in Frye's schema. The circle is an emblem for two of Frye's most pervasive Romantic assumptions.<sup>3</sup>

The first of these is the concept that he considered essential to meaningful literary criticism, that there is a "a center of the order of words." If we assume that there is a centre, then it should automatically follow that there is a circumference. Man would reach that circumference if he had a perfect vision in the anagogic phase of symbolism of the total order of words. "He would then feel that he had moved from the center to the circumference of his verbal universe. He would feel himself to be the container, not the thing contained" (Hendy 328). A similar view-point is to be found in modern psychology where the circle (or sphere) is explained

as a symbol of the Self. It expresses the totality of the psyche in all its aspects, including the relationship between man and the whole of nature. Whether the "symbol of the circle appears in primitive sun worship or modern religion, in myths or dreams, in the mandalas drawn by Tibetan monks, in the ground plans of cities, or in the spherical concepts of early astronomers, it always points to the single most vital aspect of life--its ultimate wholeness.

An Indian creation myth relates that the god Brahma, standing on a huge, thousand-petaled lotus, turned his eyes to the four points of the compass. This fourfold survey from the circle of the lotus was a kind of preliminary orientation, an indispensable taking of bearings, before he began his work of creation.

A similar story is told of Buddha. At the moment of his birth, a lotus flower rose from the earth and he stepped into it to gaze into the ten directions of space . . . . This symbolic gesture of survey was the most concise method of showing that from the moment of his birth, the Buddha was a unique personality, predestined to receive illumination. His personality and his further existence were given the imprint of wholeness. (Jaffe, "Symbolism in the Visual Arts" 266-67)

In a sense, then, Frye's circles may be said to symbolize his aspirations. The examples cited above are not intended to suggest a premature deification (as Geoffrey Hartman corrects himself when he uses Copernicus's image of the "virile man standing in the sun . . . overlooking the planets"), but to describe a new vantage point with its promise of mastery and also its enormously expanded burden of sight (*Beyond Formalism* 24). Frye, no doubt, is confined by his personal limitations, but he has made the right gestures. If the spatial orientation performed by Prahma and Buddha can be regarded as symbolic of the human need for psychic orientation, and if Frye's critic could in fact summon from its abyss the deepest racial experience, then, he could display a total literature spread out in time and space from the still point of the central myth.

The second assumption which explains Frye's penchant for the paradigm of the circle is the rotary movement, cyclic and dialectic, within the central myth. Most of the grammar of archetypes that Frye has given attention to in the large body of his practical criticism is a movement of this rotary concept. And his interpretations are consciously literary constructions such that it may be a fair assumption to suppose that his practical criticism grows out of the Romantic theory. Frye summarizes the whole movement:

There are two fundamental movements of narrative: a cyclical movement within the order of nature, and a dialectical movement from that order into the apocalyptic world above . . .

The top half of the natural cycle is the world of romance and the analogy of innocence; the lower half is the world of "realism" and the analogy of experience. There are thus four main types of mythical movements: within romance, within experience, down, and up. The downward movement is the tragic movement . . . falling from innocence. . . to catastrophe. The upward movement is the comic movement, from threatening complications to a happy ending and general assumption of post-dated innocence in which everyone lives happily ever after . . .

We have thus answered the question: are there narrative categories of literature broader than, or logically prior to, the ordinary literary genres? There are four such categories: the romantic, the tragic, the comic and the ironic or satiric. (*Anatomy* 161-62)

Frye explains the dialectical part of his rotary movement first. The cyclical pattern reveals the structure of a particular work as a structure of imagery analogous to dream, showing the two opposite polarities of desire and repugnance. At the upper limit of fulfilled desire is the imagery appropriate to apocalypse. In the divine world man imagines a society of gods, in the human a society of men, in the animal world a sheepfold, in the vegetable a garden, in the mineral a city. Fire and water symbolize passage to the other world. At the other end of the dialectic pattern of myth is what Frye terms "demonic" imagery—the dream expression of human repulsion. In the divine world we imagine cruel gods, in the human scapegoats and cannibalism, in the animal monsters and beasts of prey, in the vegetable sinister forests and wastelands,

in the mineral ruins, labyrinths and engines of torture. Fire stands for hell and water for death.

Other than the two extremes, the greater part of dialectic imagery is concerned with

much less extreme worlds than the two which are usually projected as the eternal unchanging worlds of heaven and hell. Apocalyptic imagery is appropriate to the mythical mode, and demonic imagery to the ironic mode in the last phase in which it returns to myth. In the other three modes these two structures operate dialectically, pulling the reader toward the metaphorical and mythical undisplaced core of the work. (151)

The upward pull toward apocalypse called "the analogy of innocence" is the imagery appropriate to romance. It is the world of wise magicians, children and beautiful virgins, the helpful animals of fairy tale, paradisaal gardens, and the animistic world of nature spirits. Fire symbolizes purification and water innocent nature. The downward pull toward the demotic called "the analogy of experience" is characteristic of the low mimetic (modern "realism"). In this category the divine world is shunned or explained away, the human world portrays man's common lot often as a parody of the ideals of romance, the animal world is cruel, the vegetable world is typical of the man with the hoe, the mineral appears as a labyrinthine metropolis. Water and fire are both destructive elements, differing only in degree. By referring to these two categories as "innocence" and "experience," Frye once again emphasizes the Blakean influence and Romantic debt.

Frye's cyclic pattern finds its greatest expression in his reading of the cyclical modes of literature analogous to the cycle of the seasons. He is of the opinion that if the critic concentrates on the cyclic pattern, then, he will read the work as a type of narrative analogous to ritual, revealing the eternal recurrences of human experience in nature. The rhythm of nature begins with Spring, the season of dawn, birth, revival. The analogous narrative is comedy. Summer symbolizes romance, or the movement within innocence. It is the season of maturity and marriage. Autumn, the fall of the leaf, sunset and death, symbolizes tragedy. The human analogue is the fall of man. Irony of satire is the myth of Winter, the season of darkness, cold and dissolution. Frye urges us to see the cycle of the season turning ceaselessly when "The four *mythoi* that we are dealing with, comedy, romance, tragedy, and irony, may now be seen as four aspects of a central unifying myth" (192). The cycle starts with spring and returns to it: the hero of romance, analogous to the god of the vegetation myth, is always born again.

Frye's unique approach to the study of archetypes illustrates his speculation that "symmetrical cosmology may be a branch of myth" (161). And we have seen that his approach bears out the contention, since all of the matters considered are an integral part of Frye's critical theory and the understanding of which has been our main



concern up to this point. But since a critical theory, even one as complicated and artistically woven as Frye's, does not exist for its own sake, we must determine how the theory works practically. Frye realizes this situation fully and has made a special study of the appearance of symmetrical cosmology in other writers. Frye's authority in the field of English romanticism is fairly well established and a consideration of the principles outlined in his book on the subject would be worth the effort if only it were for the applications made in his practical criticism. They, however, are also important for they provide further insights into the Romantic sources of Frye's own cosmology besides striking a definitive chord to the endless dialectic: Is Modernism in fact a new movement or an imaginative extension of its precursor Romanticism.

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1. Chirico quoted by Aniela Jaffe "Symbolism in the Visual Arts," in *Man and His Symbols*, ed. C.G. Jung (London: Aldus Books, 1964): 293.
2. See also pages 99, and 112-13.
3. For Frye's interpretation of Spengler's theory of the growth of cultures, see his review of Toynbee's *A Study of History* in *The Canadian Forum* 27 (March 1947) reprinted in *Northrop Frye on Culture and Literature*, pp. 76-83.

## 無止境的辯論：現代主義或浪漫主義

那安杰\*

### 摘 要

就二十世紀與其文學作品的關係而言，最常出現的問題之一是：「現代主義」事實上是個新的運動，或只是個像浪漫主義一樣，比較古老的傳統的延續和發展。各種不同的評論相繼出現，但似乎爲了要解決這個糾纏不清的論題，我們所成就的只是引發了更多的問題、而非解決了某些較基本的問題。因此，儘管這些評論已有助於我們對這難題的理解，但這問題的本身仍有得解答，並且相關的辯論仍然十分不足。本研究的目的在檢視所牽涉到的一些論題，特別是檢視佛萊和艾明特—我們時代最具影響的心靈的兩位—作品中與本文所關切的文學與批評領域相關的論類。這樣的選擇的原因是很明白的，因爲佛萊的意向是公然地浪漫主義的、革命地，並且是新教徒的，與艾明特所宣揚的古典的、保皇的，以及英國天主教的聲明直接相對。佛萊似乎相信現代主義的偏見仍然存在我們之中，並且認爲天主教的、保守黨的、以及古典的對現代主義的強調，是有意識地針對浪漫主義的傳統而發出的知性上的反動。

本文比較注重佛萊的作品，因爲佛萊代表了最近批評思想歷史中最令人矚目的成就，並且更進而敘述了他浪漫主義的觀點，同時暗示艾明特的批評洞見也大部份源自浪漫主義的傳統。本文並非宣稱旨在從事一己議題之研究，並且只提供了一暫時性之結論，因爲在廣泛領域中選擇了一個單一的主題，我們提供的自然只是一不完整的看法。像以往一樣，本文當在跋涉“神聖深材”中選擇了“批判小徑”中的一條。

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## The Problems of Literary Translation – A Curious Example

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### Abstract

This essay is concerned with the problems of literary translation. It examines Richard Wilbur's translation of the play, *Tartuffe*, by the seventeenth century French dramatist, Molière. The central character, Tartuffe, is a hypocrite who poses as a saintly person in order to deceive other people. He is, however, all too human a person and Molière plays upon this aspect for comic as well as thematic reasons, using the words 'homme' (man) and 'humain (e)' (human) to create a network of references or echos. The contention of the essay is that any translation into English would inevitably fail to reproduce the full force of the original text, because the insistence on Tartuffe's human-ness cannot be reproduced in English, which lacks the force of the two cognate French words, 'homme' and 'humain (e)'. The translation is, however, weakened still further by a strange example of mistranslation by addition. This example is examined in some detail.

A further contention is that Wilbur could still have managed to retain some of the original impact if he had been consistent in his translation of these key words particularly where they occur in certain repeated phrases. Wilbur failed to do this, presumably because he had not realized the importance of the theme of Tartuffe's human-ness and the comic possibilities which it offered.

Broadly speaking the conclusions drawn from this exercise are:

- (a) There should be a greater recognition of the precedence and authority of the original writer.
- (b) Translators should try to gain deeper insight into the complexity of a literary work before they begin to translate it.

This essay is concerned with the problems of literary translation. More particularly it is concerned with the question of faithfulness in translation, and the losses which can be incurred through failure "to stay close to the original text." To illustrate these problems we will examine a particular aspect of the play, *Tartuffe*, by the seventeenth century French dramatist, Molière, and of Richard Wilbur's translation of that play. This study was provoked by a startling example of mistranslation in Wilbur's version.

Before turning to the actual text, however, it would be well to outline the general nature of the problems concerned. These fall into two categories—the crude and the subtle. One of these is easy to define and usually within the power of the translator to control. The second is less easy to define and often beyond the translator's control.

The first of these, referred to as "crude", is the gratuitous tampering with texts. This means the deliberate distortion of the original text either by changing the

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meaning or by omission or by addition. Of these three varieties of distortion the first two—changing the meaning and omission are not uncommon. The third type, distortion by addition, is, I suspect, rather rare, but it is a bizarre example of distortion by addition which provided the starting point for this essay.

The second category of problem is connected to a notorious difficulty of translation, which is not restricted to the field of literary translation alone. This is the problem of equivalents. A simple example of this kind of problem would be the use of the English word, "dumpling," to translate 水餃. Dumpling is only an approximate translation. Since there is nothing in western cookery exactly like 水餃, dumpling is pressed into service as the nearest equivalent. A similar problem arises with 古箏, which is translated by the word "zither". This is, at best, only an approximation.

Now, when we talk of equivalents we normally have in mind identity of meaning. This is the problem in the above examples. "Dumpling" and "zither" do not convey the reality of the Chinese objects, because these things do not exist in the western world. There cannot be identity of meaning. In the field of literary translation, however, further more subtle difficulties arise, one of which is the problem of cognate forms, where there is etymological and phonic identity in the original language, but not in the target language. It is just such an example which complicates the translation into English of Molière's play, *Tartuffe*. In this play, Molière, makes considerable use of the words 'homme' and 'humain(e)'. The English equivalents are, of course, 'man' and 'human'. Between the English and French words there is identity of meaning, but the French words are cognate whereas the English words are not. In most circumstances this would not matter, because identity of meaning is the important factor. But in literary texts this difference could be significant, and so it proves in the case of *Tartuffe*.

As noted above Molière makes frequent use of the words 'homme' and 'humain(e)', and does so in highly significant contexts. Most of these usages refer to the central character, Tartuffe. The result of this is to create a steady insistence on the idea of Tartuffe's human-ness (implying human frailty) which is thematically important, and which also creates a rich vein of ironic humour, when brought into juxtaposition with the image of saintly indigence, which Tartuffe wishes to project. In Wilbur's translation, however, the thematic aspect is almost completely lost and the comic effect is very much weakened. The rest of this essay falls into three parts:

- (i) an examination of the distortion by addition.
- (ii) an examination of Molière's use of the ideas of homme and humain(e) in the play as a whole, and the consequences of Wilbur's failure to recognize the significance of those ideas.
- (iii) the implications to be drawn from this exercise.

The distortion by addition occurs in Act 1 Scene V. In Orgon's second speech of that scene we find the line:

C'est un homme . . . qui . . . ha . . . un homme . . . un homme enfin.<sup>1</sup>

A literal translation of this line might be as follows:

He is a man . . . who . . . er . . . a man . . . well, anyway, a man.

But in his translation of the play first published in 1961 Wilbur chose to render this line as:

He is a man who . . . a man who . . . an *excellent* man.<sup>a</sup>

This ought, perhaps, to be termed a misapprehension rather than a mistranslation. There is, of course, no question of Wilbur having misunderstood the surface meaning of the line. It would be difficult to imagine a simpler, more harmless-looking sentence. In isolation it is almost meaningless. In context, however, it is highly significant, and the reverberations from it echo throughout the play.

The person to whom Orgon's words refer is Tartuffe. He is a hypocrite of the worst kind, a confidence trickster using religion in order to achieve his own selfish and vicious ends by posing as a devout and saintly person. Orgon is a rich and worthy bourgeois, who has been completely hoodwinked by Tartuffe's deception and so has taken him into his household as a kind of spiritual director to the horror of his younger second wife and two teenage children, who are not at all deceived by Tartuffe's imposture. Two other characters who see through Tartuffe are Dorine, the family's maid-servant, and Cléante, Orgon's brother-in-law (brother of Orgon's wife, Elmire).

In Act 1 Scene V Orgon is endeavouring to explain to Cléante how wonderfully pious and devout a person Tartuffe is, how worthy of respect and emulation. In the line under consideration Orgon is labouring to express all his heart-felt admiration for Tartuffe, but, precisely because his heart is so full, he finally says nothing except to affirm that Tartuffe is, after all, a man. The curious aspect of this is Wilbur's inclusion of the word 'excellent'. It seems as if he thought Molière had failed to include the adjective through some oversight or lapse of memory. But this was certainly not a failure on Molière's part. The fact is that Molière deliberately chose to make Orgon fail in his intention. Why?

The first and most important reason is that the result is profoundly comic as the juxtaposition of grandiose intention and abject failure always is. Orgon wanted to say so much, but he says so little. We laugh at his discomfiture. We laugh at the huge difference between intention and result, and perhaps we find it all the more amusing, because what Orgon wanted to say was, as the audience well knows, so obviously foolish. Orgon had wanted to say that Tartuffe is something close to being a saint, when we know that he is a thorough-going villain. This is rich stuff indeed in spite of the apparent simplicity of the words. But the significance of these simple words goes deeper still.

Orgon fails to say what he wants to say, but in doing so he actually comes closer to the truth. There is a splendid paradox here. From Orgon's point of view he has failed, and yet he has told us, albeit it unconsciously, more about Tartuffe than he realizes. Tartuffe is, after all, only a man with all the weaknesses of a man. (This point will become important when we look at the wider significance of these words).

Without knowing it, Orgon passes judgement on Tartuffe. From the audience's or reader's point of view he is successful in spite of his intention, reversing the paradox noted above. This is a further dimension or deeper level of the comic effect woven into this line.

This apparently innocent line is in fact highly significant and, at the same time, extremely comic. The effect of Wilbur's translation is to destroy it by the unwarranted addition of one superfluous word. By enabling Orgon to say what he wanted to say, he has wiped out the discrepancy between intention and result, wiped out the unconscious revelation of character and along with it all meaning and comedy. There is nothing left but a simple statement, which is indeed quite innocent.

At one level this failure is not very serious. One line in a play of some sixteen hundred lines does not greatly matter. At another level, however, it does have a considerable effect. This line, so striking in its awkward disjointedness and its apparent banality, seems to be a significant point of reference for the idea of Tartuffe as a man, and thereby draws attention to other similar references, which form a network of echoes or resonances on this theme. It is to this more subtle aspect of the play and of Wilbur's translation that we now turn.

Orgon's unconscious assertion of Tartuffe's human-ness finds an echo at many points throughout the play. There are a score of references to this aspect of Tartuffe using the words "homme" (man) and "humain(e)" (human). Several of these, notably those spoken by Tartuffe, are particularly significant and, amongst the rest, we can discern a deliberate intention on Molière's part to emphasize Tartuffe's human-ness and consequent human frailty by repetition of the same phrase, thus creating a series of echoes on this theme.

In the two series of repetitions, "le pauvre homme" (poor man) and "homme de bien" (worthy man), there is a certain ambiguity because of the biased viewpoint of the speakers and the manifest absurdity of what they are saying. (At least this is the case when Orgon and his mother, Madame Pernelle, are speaking). The emphasis is on the human aspect of Tartuffe. The qualifications tend towards irony and, in the later examples, become overtly ironic.

The phrase "le pauvre homme" (poor man), for example, occurs seven times. Orgon uses it six times and Dorine once. In Act 1 Scene IV Orgon uses it four times in rapid succession. In this famous scene the context of its use makes it immediately clear, that this repeated response of Orgon to what Dorine is telling him is completely inappropriate. Perhaps one example is enough to demonstrate this.

Dorine	Madame eut avant-hier la fièvre jusqu'au Soir Avec un mal de tête étrange à concevoir
Orgon	Et Tartuffe ?
Dorine	Tartuffe ? Il se porte à merveille
Orgon	Gros et gras, le teint frais, et la bouche vermeille Le pauvre homme ! <sup>2</sup>

Dorine            Your wife, two days ago, had a had fever  
                          And a fierce headache which refused to leave her  
 Orgon             Ah And Tartuffe ?  
 Dorine                            Tartuffe ? Why he's round and red  
                          Bursting with health and excellently fed.  
 Orgon             Poor fellow ! <sup>b</sup>

The "homme" (man/fellow) is accurate enough, but the "pauvre" (poor) is quite unwarranted. We may call this unconscious irony. Orgon uses the phrase on two further occasions, at the very end of Act III where he says:

Le pauvre homme ! allons vite en dresser un écrit,  
 Et que puisse l'envie en crever de dépit. <sup>3</sup>  
 Poor fellow ! Come, well go draw up the deed.  
 Then let them burst with disappointed greed. <sup>c</sup>

And again in Act IV Scene III where he says:

Pour mon fripon de fils je sais vos complaisances  
 Et vous avez eu peur de le désavouer  
 Du trait qu'à ce pauvre homme il a voulu jouer <sup>4</sup>  
 I know you're partial to my rascal son,  
 Hence when he sought to make Tartuffe the victim  
 Of a base lie you dared not contradict him. <sup>d</sup>

These two cases are equally inappropriate and again can be said to be unconsciously ironic. The really telling example, however, is in the final act, Act V Scene III. Orgon, now quite disabused, is telling his mother, Mme. Pernelle, what a despicable creature Tartuffe is. The sharp-tongued Dorine cannot resist the temptation to comment sarcastically "le pauvre homme".<sup>5</sup> This comment, if somewhat mischievous, is completely appropriate and deliberately ironic.

In Wilbur's translation there is an inevitable loss, because the possible equivalents of "homme" do not have the same force. Wilbur, in fact, chose to use "fellow" although "man" would have been slightly better. But neither word reproduces the same stress on human-ness with its implications of human frailty which is created by the regular repetition of the French cognate forms "homme" and "humain(e)."

Looking at the second series of repetitions we find a similar pattern. In the first scene of the play Mme. Pernelle twice uses the phrase "l'homme de bien" (worthy man) Again we have unconscious irony, and again in later uses of this phrase we find the irony becoming overt. In Act IV Scene III when Elmire is telling Orgon that she can show him how false Tartuffe is, she says:

Mais supposons ici que, d'un lieu qu'on peut prendre,  
 On vous fit clairement tout voir et tout entendre,



Que diriez-vous alors de votre homme de bien ? <sup>6</sup>  
 Suppose that from some hiding place in here  
 You learned the whole sad truth by eye and ear  
 What would you say of your good friend after that ? <sup>e</sup>

Here Elmire is being deliberately ironic, and in the final example of the use of this phrase in Act IV Scene VII Orgon, having heard and seen the worst, is even more heavily ironic, when he says to Tartuffe:

Tout doux ! vous suivez trop votre amoureuse envie  
 Et vous ne devez pas vous tant passioner  
 Ah ! Ah ! l' homme de bien, vous m'en voulez donner. <sup>7</sup>  
 Hold on my passionate fellow, not so fast  
 I should advise a little more restraint.  
 Well, so you thought you'd fool me, my dear saint ! <sup>f</sup>

Unfortunately in this second series of repetitions the inevitable loss already referred to is compounded in Wilbur's version by his lack of consistency. The phrase "homme de bien" is used five times, but Wilbur uses five different translations of this one phrase:

He's a *fine man*.  
 His own *great goodness* I can guarantee.  
 Though the world takes me for a *man of worth*  
 What would you say of your *good friend* after that  
 Well, so you thought you'd fool me my *dear saint*

To underline the foregoing evidence we may now turn to a further group of examples, in which the interplay between the two aspects of Tartuffe—saintliness and human weakness - reaches a peak. These examples, all spoken by Tartuffe himself, occur in Act III Scenes III and VI. In Act III Scene III Tartuffe is attempting to seduce Elmire, and is faced with the difficult problem of how to preserve his saintly image, whilst at the same time giving expression to his carnal desires. The following lines illustrate this difficulty and bring up once again the question of Tartuffe's human frailty. Tartuffe has just made his declaration using a travesty of a platonic argument. Elmire expresses surprise that she should hear such words from the mouth of so devout a person, and Tartuffe replies:

Ah ! pour être dévot, je n'en suis pas moins homme. <sup>8</sup>  
 I may be pious but I'm human too. <sup>g</sup>

This is the first line of a long speech in which Tartuffe pushes his declaration further.

Elmire replies rather coolly, threatening to tell her husband at which Tartuffe says:

Je sais que vous avez trop de benignté  
 Et que vous ferez grace a ma témérité  
 Que vous m'excuserez sur l'humaine faiblesse  
 Des violents transports d'un amour qui vous blesse  
 Et considererez, en regardant votre air  
 Que l'on n'est pas aveugle et qu'un homme est de chair. <sup>9</sup>  
 I know, dear lady, that your exceeding charity  
 Will lead your heart to pardon my temerity;  
 That you'll excuse my violent affection  
 As human weakness, human imperfection;  
 And that-O fairest - you will bear in mind  
 That I'm but flesh and blood, and am not blind. <sup>h</sup>

Here Tartuffe himself admits, albeit reluctantly, that he is only human, a man with all the weaknesses of the flesh.

At this point Damis, Orgon's son, who has been eavesdropping, bursts in and accuses Tartuffe of villainy. He tells his father, who enters a few moments later, and here Molière achieves a tremendous tour de force by making Tartuffe tell the truth in order to preserve his disguise:

Tout le monde me prend pour un homme de bien  
 Mais la vérité pure est que je ne vaud rien. <sup>10</sup>  
 Though the world takes me for a man of worth.  
 I'm truly the most worthless man on earth. <sup>i</sup>

Orgon takes this as a further expression of Tartuffe's saintly humility and cannot believe it. He turns on his son, drives him from the house and commiserates with Tartuffe for the further tribulations he has had to suffer at the hands of his ungrateful family. In this final example there is a logical hiatus between means and intention, which adds to the comedy surrounding the theme of Tartuffe's human-ness.

We have not exhausted all the examples, but we have covered most of the more significant ones, which should be enough to establish the importance of this theme of Tartuffe's human-ness, and the way in which Molière uses this in order to develop an ongoing vein of humour based upon the interplay between the two poles of Tartuffe as worthy man and Tartuffe as a villain heir to all the sins of the flesh. The cumulative effect of these repeated examples cannot be sufficiently stressed. In isolation most of the individual instances have little significance. It is the repetition and particularly the echoes of the same phrase, which form a network of meaning and effects greater than the sum of the parts. There is no doubt that Molière was consciously and deliberately using the words "homme" and "humain (e)" in an imaginative way in order to exploit

the thematic and comic possibilities. Wilbur's translation does not reproduce the richness of the original for a number of reasons:

1. The fact of the French words "homme" and "humain(e)" being cognate gives them a force which cannot be reproduced in English. This is an insoluble problem.
2. Wilbur had not realized the importance of this thematic aspect of the play. Had he done so he could have salvaged something by using "man" throughout. But in the first series of repetitions he uses "fellow", which is still more neutral.
3. This lack of awareness of the thematic aspect and of the inter-relatedness of the various instances resulted in gross inconsistency in the translation of the second series of repetitions, "homme de bien".
4. This inconsistency then nullified the ironic echoes in the later uses of that phrase.
5. The gratuitous distortion of one line destroyed a very significant focal point.

What conclusions can be drawn from all of this? Such as they are, they are relatively simple. In the perennial argument which goes on between the relative merits of free and literal translation these conclusions represent a plea, if not for literalness, at least for a degree of respect for the precedence and authority of the original author.

1. Translation is rarely, if ever, an easy task. The more literary the text, the more difficult it becomes. A translator cannot be expected to appreciate all the subtleties and resonances of a particular text. Even assuming that this were possible, the constraints of language would still prevent a perfect correspondence between the original and the translation.
2. The corollary of this is that the study of literature in translation is always problematic. The present writer is acutely aware of this, having been engaged for several years in teaching European literature in English translation to Chinese students. We are frequently at the mercy of the translator.
3. Translators, therefore, have a responsibility not to tamper gratuitously with a text. As a general groundrule translators should assume that writers meant what they wrote and wrote what they meant. Strict adherence to this rule might vary from writer to writer. There might well be a difference in application as between Balzac and Flaubert, for example, but in general the basic principle should hold.
4. Where alterations are made in a text they should be pointed out and explained. Very often this is done of course, particularly where major alteration or omissions are made. This practice ought to be extended to all alterations however trivial they might seem. I suspect that if translators felt it incumbent upon them to justify all alterations, this alone would reduce the number of unwarranted alterations considerably. In addition if alterations were made

it would at least give readers a clearer idea of the original text.

5. Translators should think twice before omitting anything and at least three times before adding anything.
6. This above all. It is not enough simply to take up a work and translate it. Where literary texts are concerned, it is essential "to live with" the work for a long time in order to develop some awareness of the subtleties and deeper meanings.

In short, if a work of literature is worth translating, it is also worthy of our respect.

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  2. *Ibid.*, p. 260-1, lines 231-235.
  3. *Ibid.*, p. 311, lines 1183-4.
  4. *Ibid.*, p. 316, lines 1317-20.
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- a. *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*, p. 1449, line 14.
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  - f. *Ibid.*, p. 1483, lines 4-6.
  - g. *Ibid.*, p. 1468, line 88.
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## 本文翻譯的難題——一個詳細的例子

何 鵬 龍\*

### Abstract

本文藉Richard Wilbur所翻譯十七世紀法國劇作家莫里哀 (Moliere) 的喜劇“偽善者”(Tartuffe) 一劇，來探討文學翻譯的問題。劇中主角 (Tartuffe) 是個裝聖人以欺騙他人的偽善者。然而他卻是個很具有人性的一般人，莫里哀利用這一點作為全劇主題，並創造喜劇效果，由他用 homme (男人) 及 humaine (人性) 二字穿插文中彼此呼應，可見一般。本文討論要點即在於，任何翻譯成英文之作品，都難免會失於重新再造原文的氣勢，例如本劇作者強調 Tartuffe 的人性這一點，就不出現在英文譯本中，因為英文中缺乏這兩個同源法文字 homme 和 humaine 所引起的效果。英文版中更因為一個奇怪的錯譯的例子，而減弱了原文的氣勢，這個例子，在本文中將再詳細討論。

本文另一個論點是，Wilbur 如果在他翻譯一些關鍵字，尤其一些一再重覆出現在某些句子中的字眼，能採用較一致的翻譯，則他還是有可能保留住原劇的振憾力的 Wilbur 沒有做到這一點，可能因為他並沒有了解到劇中主題 Tartuffe 的人性，與其可能引出的喜劇效果的重要性。

廣泛的說，本文所引出之結論為：

- (1) 原作者的權威及重要性應受到進一步的肯定。
- (2) 翻譯者在翻譯前，應試著對文學作品的複雜性取得深一層的認識。

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**TOM OUTLAND'S STORY IN WILLA CATHER'S  
THE PROFESSOR'S HOUSE**

**James E. Martin\***

**Abstract**

The second part of Willa Cather's *The Professor's House* seems to be somewhat incongruous with the rest of the novel in that the narrative technique employed by the author in parts one and three differ widely in both, form and manner as compared to the second part - Tom Outland's Story. Whereas parts one and three are narrated chronologically, by an omniscient narrator and are mimetic in tone, the second part is told in the first person, has a sense of timelessness, and appears to be more surreal than mimetic.

In order to resolve this apparent incongruity, the present paper postulates that Tom Outland's Story is fulfilling a symbolic and mythic function where the protagonist is seen as an idealized alter-ego of the Professor, and the Cliff City as a mythic imaginative world which the professor "creates" as an alternative to the real world. The argument is supported by re-defining the use of the term "myth" and thereby entering into an analysis of the semantic context of the plot. The myth here has been termed a meta-myth as it is not a historical or traditional myth, but rather a consciously created one which only serves in the narration of the story.

One of the most interesting and disturbing elements of Willa Cather's *The Professor's House* is the seeming incongruity of part two, Tom Outland's Story. It differs markedly from the other two parts of the novel, which tell of the increasing alienation of Godfrey St. Peter from his family, his society, his past, and himself. Parts one and three are narrated chronologically, by an omniscient narrator, and are mimetic in tone, whereas Tom Outland's Story is told in first person narration and has a landscape and a timeless quality that seem more surreal than mimetic. It is puzzling to find this vivid portrait of a mystical lost world sandwiched between the dismally work-a-day delineation of St. Peter's mid-life crisis.

Faced with such a confusing combination of structures and styles, we must consider how to proceed toward a resolution of our confusion. Our position is echoed by John J. White's (1980) explanation of how readers approach a text:

We read any story by engaging in what Poe called ratiocination. As we start to read, we build up expectations in the form of cloudy tentative structures into which we try to fit the details of character and event as they are presented to us. We modify these tentative structures as we are forced by elements that do not fit, and we seek to perfect them as we move towards the end of the story.

We must, therefore, postulate structures which explain seemingly incongruous elements; in this case, the inclusion of Tom Outland's Story in the middle of the

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Professor's midlife crisis plot. To this end, I postulate that Tom Outland's Story is fulfilling a symbolic or mythic function, assisting us to more fully understand St. Peter's psyche. In this reading of the text, Tom Outland becomes a kind of foil or idealized alter-ego of the Professor, and the Cliff City a mythic alternative world which the Professor "creates" as a sanctuary from his increasingly distasteful reality. Thus, I consider Tom Outland's Story a myth, or rather a meta-myth, with the function of providing us with a metaphorical model of how St. Peter is trying to make sense of his world.

Having said that the world of the Blue Mesa has a symbolic rather than mimetic function, it might be unclear why I am calling it mythic. I am obliged, therefore, to supply a working definition of myth as I will use it in this paper. Vickery (1980) uses a negative definition: "Myth may not be a philosophy, but it may be philosophical. It may not be a system of philosophy but it may be a symbolizing activity." But what makes myth different from any metaphor? Vickery also says that myth's role or function is "the purposive disarranging of semantic contexts in order to bring out features of their subjects that otherwise would be obscured." So we can see Tom Outland's Story as a purposive disarrangement of the semantic context of the main plot of *The Professor's House* with the function of telling us something that would otherwise remain obscure about St. Peter's psyche.

But what kind of thing, it would be relevant to ask, does the myth of Tom Outland's Story tell us? Myth can be thought of as an epistemic device. And, as John White (1980) points out, "Not only does myth represent a means of making sense of reality, it also represents a means of making sense of reality, it also points to the collective nature of the problems facing each of us as individuals." So Cather's invention of the Cliff City myth and the Tom Outland myth have wider significance than simply explaining St. Peter's state of mind. This relates to the final element of my working definition of myth:

Myths apparently derive their universal significance from the way in which they try to reconstitute an original event or explain some fact about human nature and its worldly or cosmic context. But in doing so, they necessarily refer to some essential meaning which is absent until it appears as a function of interpretation. (Gould, 1981)

In sum, I am calling Tom Outland's Story a myth because it functions as a purposive disarrangement of the semantic context of the plot of St. Peter's midlife crisis in order to metaphorically express some otherwise obscured information about the Professor's psyche and about human nature. I am calling it a meta-myth because it is not an historical or traditional myth, but rather has been consciously created to serve the above purpose. It is in its interpretation, rather than in its representation of some universal archetype, that we find meaning.

Having discussed my working definition of myth, I will now explore how the

mythic function of Tom Outland's Story is signalled in the text. This is achieved primarily by a shift in narration and the description of a landscape that contrasts sharply with that depicted in the other two parts of the novel. The shift in narration is clear enough - parts one and three of the novel are told by omniscient narration, whereas Tom Outland's Story is framed - it is presented as coming out of the Professor's recollection, as he is faced with the task of writing an introduction to Outland's diary, of Tom telling his own story. The origin of Tom Outland's Story in the mind of the Professor signals us that it contains information about his (St. Peter's) psyche rather than additional information about the plot of the novel. The shift in narration and the story frame help to set this section of the novel apart from the other sections.

Perhaps the most interesting contrast between Tom Outland's Story and the rest of the novel can be seen in the landscape depicted in each. The landscape of Hamilton is flat, dismally earth-toned, with a sodden atmosphere, as St. Peter feels it after his depressing interview with Crane:

The park was deserted. The arc-lights were turned off. The leafless trees stood quite motionless in the light of the clear stars. The world was sad to St. Peter as he looked about him: the lake-shore country flat and heavy, Hamilton small and tight and airless. (p.150)

The dominant feature of this landscape is the lake - broad, flat and omnipresent. It is the lake that he missed most when he moved away from Hamilton as a boy, and the same lake his beloved study overlooks. It functions as a kind of sanctuary for St. Peter, in which he can immerse himself to escape from the world around him.

Compare Hamilton's landscape with the magical landscape of the Blue Mesa. Its features are crystal-clear air and water, vividly bright colors like purple and red, and precipitous mountains and cliffs, dominated by the mysterious Blue Mesa.

The hill-side behind was sandy and covered with tall clumps of deer-horn cactus, but there was nothing but grass to the south, with streaks of bright yellow rabbit-brush. Along the river the cottonwoods and quaking aspens had already turned gold. Just across from us, overhanging us, indeed, stood the mesa, a pile of purple rock, all broken out with red sumach and yellow aspens up in the high crevices of the cliffs. From the cabin, night and day, you could hear the river, where it made a bend round the foot of the mesa and churned over the rocks. It was the sort of place a man would like to stay in forever. (p. 189)

We have examined several textual cues which indicate that Tom Outland's Story has been consciously set apart from the rest of the novel and should be read differently. In order to make sense of this difference between the parts of the novel, we may postulate that Tom Outland's Story consists of several myths with several functions. The first of these myths is the character of Tom Outland himself. He is not a



character of the novel in the same way that Lillian or Marcellus or the other characters in parts one and three are. We never see him directly, as he has been killed by the time the action of the novel begins. He exists in the mind of St. Peter, and it is St. Peter who "gives him life" in the story by remembering him. In part one of the novel, Outland has a kind of shadowy existence. He is reticent about his past, and this gives him a mysterious aura, one which causes Lillian to mistrust him. His personality as it is described near the end of part one is depicted in terms of chivalric myth:

As an investigator he was clear-sighted and hard-headed; but in personal relations he was apt to be exaggerated and quixotic. He idealized the people he loved and paid his devoir to the ideal rather than to the individual, so that his behaviour was sometimes a little too exalted for the circumstances—"chivalry of the cinema," Lillian used to say. One of his sentimental superstitions was that he must never on any account owe any material advantage to his friends, that he must keep affection and advancement far apart, as if they were chemicals that would disintegrate each other. (p.172)

Tom is remembered by various other members of St. Peter's family, usually fondly. They "create" a Tom Outland that fulfills their desire for an idealized world into which they can escape. This is evident when the Professor and his daughter Kathleen are reminiscing about Tom:

"Can't you stay awhile, Kitty? I almost never see anyone who remembers that side of Tom. It was nice, all those years when he was in and out of the house like an older brother. Always very different from the other college boys, wasn't he? Always had something in his voice, in his eyes...One seemed to catch glimpses of an unusual background behind his shoulders when he came into the room."

Kathleen smiled wanly. "Yes, and now he's all turned out chemicals and dollars and cents, hasn't he? But not for you and me! Our Tom is much nicer than theirs." (p.132)

This mythologizing is concretized in Rosamond and Louie's rationale for naming their home "Outland:"

"You see," Louie told him, "Outland got nothing out of it [inventing the Outland vacuum] but death and glory...Our house we want to have as a sort of memorial to him. We are going to transfer his laboratory there, if the university will permit,--all the apparatus he worked with. We have a room for his library and pictures. When his brother scientists come to Hamilton to look him up, to get information about him, as they are doing now already, at Outland they will find his books and instruments, all the sources of his inspiration." (p.41-2)

So Tom Outland's character takes on mythic qualities, but to what end? What is the function of this myth? I see Tom as a foil of the Professor - a kind of idealized

alterego, whose story parallels St. Peter's. Tom is the kind of man St. Peter would like to be. In fact, he does mirror several personality traits exhibited by Tom; he is uncompromising in his personal relations, is more interested in ideas than in personalities, and he stubbornly insists on the separation of relationship and material indebtedness. An example of this last trait shared by both characters can be seen when St. Peter refuses his daughter's offer of an income generated by Outland's royalties:

And there can be no question of money between me and Tom Outland. I can't explain just how I feel about it, but it would somehow damage my recollections of him, would make that episode in my life commonplace like everything else. And that would be a great loss to me. I'm purely selfish in refusing your offer; my friendship with Outland is the one thing I will not have translated into the vulgar tongue. (p.62)

The function then of part two, Tom Outland's Story, in this regard is to clearly represent Tom Outland's/St. Peter's ideals. The scattered images of Tom conjured out of the mind of the Professor in part one of the novel may give us the feeling that Tom has psychological importance in our understanding of St. Peter, but without the more detailed story told in part two, it isn't clear what this importance is. It is in fact a foil relationship. There are several examples of this parallel. Tom's idealism was betrayed by Roddy Blake when he sold the artifacts from the Cliff City, despite his good intentions. In a similar way, St. Peter's family betrays his ideals by exhibiting what John H. Randall III calls their "good natured materialism" (1960). In addition, Tom feels regret at breaking his friendship with Roddy but was powerless to do anything conciliatory. In the same way, St. Peter regrets his self-alienation from his family, but feels powerless to either explain or reverse it.

There are two alternative worlds presented in part two of the book; the masculine frontier-myth world of the wilderness society of Tom, Roddy and Henry Atkins, and the mystical lost civilization of the cliff dwellers dubbed "Cliff City" by Tom. The "easy living and fine weather" (p.191) enjoyed by Tom and Roddy after they take the job as cowpunchers in the shadow of the Blue Mesa becomes a kind of male domestic existence with the addition of Henry:

Life was a holiday for Blake and me after we got old Henry. He was a wonderful cook and a good housekeeper. He kept that cabin shining like a playhouse; used to dress it all out with pinon boughs, and trimmed the kitchen shelves with newspaper cut in fancy patterns. (p.197)

"We got to be downright fond of him," Tom relates about Henry, "and the three of us made a happy family" (p.198). The description of their life together on the range became the favorite fairy tale of St. Peter's daughters in Tom's early student days, and

had far-reaching influence on the lives of the girls and their father:

St. Peter smiled and patted her hand on the blanket. "Do you know, Kitty, I sometimes think I ought to go out and look for Blake myself. He's on my conscience. If that country down there weren't so everlastingly big --"

"Oh, Father! That was my romantic dream when I was little, finding Roddy! I used to think about it for hours when I was supposed to be taking my nap. I used to swim rivers and climb mountains and wander about the Navajos, and rescue Roddy at the most critical moments, when he was being stabbed in the back, or drugged in a gambling-house, and bring him back to Tom. You know Tom told us about him long before he ever told you."

"You children used to live his stories. You cared more about them than about all your adventure books."

"I still do," said Kathleen, rising. "Now that Rosamond has Outland, I consider Tom's mesa entirely my own." (p.131)

This idealized male family life, acted out in the pristine pasturelands at the base of the Blue Mesa, stands in contrast to St. Peter's oppressive, materialistic, female-dominated family life at Hamilton. That St. Peter felt the women in his family to be a force of oppression and materialism is clear from his increasing alienation from his wife and daughters, and from many statements throughout part one of the novel. An example of this attitude occurs when the Professor is reflecting on the pain his daughter had caused him during her buying spree in Chicago:

"I was thinking," he answered absently, "about Euripides; how, when he was an old man, he went and lived in a cave by the sea, and it was thought queer at the time. It seems that houses had become insupportable to him. I wonder whether it was because he had observed women so closely all his life. (p.156)

The male-family of the cowpunchers thus became an idealized alternative family for the Professor, one to which he could retreat when his own family relationships became too painful.

The lost world of Cliff City is the most moving metaphor in *Tom Outland's Story*. The orderly, peaceful world suspended in a sea of crystal-clear air is likened to a statue by Tom, symmetrical and powerful. "That village sat looking down into the canyon with the calmness of eternity," (p.212), which must have been "delightful" to live in. This idealized, peaceful world is another foil of the Professor's dreary, materialistic world of reality, another psychological sanctuary.

But the mythic function of Cliff City goes beyond just being a foil of St. Peter's real world. It makes a statement about the nobility of the human condition and its inevitable destruction at the hands of negative forces. Father Duchene's theory of the rise and fall of the Mesa civilization expresses this theme:

"...I am inclined to think that your tribe were a superior people. Perhaps they were not so when they first came upon this mesa, but in an orderly and secure life they developed considerably in the arts of peace. There is evidence on every hand that they lived for something more than food and shelter. They had an appreciation of comfort, and went even further than that..." At the same time, they possibly declined in the arts of war, in brute strength and ferocity.

"I see them here, isolated, cut off from other tribes, working out their destiny, making their mesa more and more worthy to be a home for man, purifying life by religious ceremonies and observances, caring respectfully for the dead, protecting the children, doubtless entertaining some feelings of affection and sentiment for this stronghold where they were at once so safe and so comfortable, where they had practically overcome the worst hardships that primitive man had to fear. They were, perhaps, too far advanced for their time and environment.

"They were probably wiped out, utterly exterminated, by some roving Indian tribe without culture or domestic virtues, some horde that fell upon them for their hides and clothing and weapons, or from mere love of slaughter..."

"Like you, I feel a reverence for this place. Wherever humanity has made that hardest of all starts and lifted itself out of mere brutality, is a sacred spot..." (p.220-1)

The tragic, needless destruction of the Cliff City civilization is a metaphor for the pessimistic view that life is meaningless and doomed to failure. The ultimate destruction is a metaphor for the pessimistic view that life is meaningless and doomed to failure. The ultimate destruction of Cliff City parallels the tragic end of the cow-punchers' male frontier society with the death of Henry and the dissolution of the friendship between Roddy and Tom, and the tragic, needless death of Tom Outland in the war. In short, each one of the myths related to the Tom Outland Story ends in failure.

St. Peter's response to the failure of his myths is an existentialistic realization that "all is vanity," that ultimately there is no myth to escape into. After he has a brush with death brought about by his losing the will to live, he is a changed person. He begins for the first time in his life to really face reality, personified by Augusta, and to resign himself to a life "without delight:"

Augusta was like the taste of bitter herbs; she was the bloomless side of life that he had always run away from, --yet when he had to face it, he found that it wasn't altogether repugnant. (p.280)

He slowly becomes conscious of the change in his character - brought about by his rejection of the failed myths he had been chasing for so long.

His temporary release from consciousness seemed to have been beneficial. He had let something go--and it was gone: something very precious, that he could not consciously have relinquished, probably. He doubted whether his family would ever realize that he was

not the same man they had said goodbye to: they would be too happily preoccupied with their own affairs. (p.280)

Armed with his new clarity of vision and the example of Augusta, St. Peter feels, at the end of the novel, that he will be able to face life in the real world, no matter how distasteful it may be; "At least, he knew where he was, and that he could face with fortitude the *Berengaria* and the future" (p.280). Perhaps Cather is implying that modern man in general could salvage a dignified life out of our chaotic world by following St. Peter's example.

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## 在加茲爾的教授的家一書中湯姆奧特蘭的故事

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### 摘 要

魏拉加茲爾 (Willia Cather) 的教授之家 (The Professor's House) 中第二部分似乎與小說中，其他部份不太協調。該書第一及第三部分所用的敘述技巧，在體裁及敘述方法上，非常不同於第二部分—湯姆奧特蘭的故事 (Tom Outland's Story)。第一及第三部分，全知的敘述者，用模擬的語調，以故事發生時間做為敘述順序；而第二部分，卻以第一人稱，超越時間限制的方法來敘述，使全文顯得超現實。

為了解釋這個明顯的不協調，本文假設湯姆奧特蘭的故事，是在造成一種象徵性的，神話似的作用。在此架構下，主人翁被視為是教授理想化的自我的化身，而 Ciff，則是個教授創造出來，取代真實世界的神話式的假想世界。這個論點可以藉著重新定義“myth”這個字而建立起來，這也同時引導出對全文語意的分析。在此myth被解釋為新“迷思”(meta-myth)，因為他不是歷史性的，或傳統性的“迷思”，而是一個刻意創造出來，以適合本故事敘述的迷思。

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### 摘 要

自漢代以來，華人來往於我國與印度之間者連綿不斷，但少人定居。十九世紀下半葉，由於歐洲列強為發展其東南亞之殖民地，積極招募華工助其開發，清廷亦於英法聯軍後，被迫放棄以往海禁政策，准許華工前往海外。而我國與東南亞各地間定期輪船航綫之建立，更促成華南地區往來南亞地區之大量移民。移民浪潮至一九三〇年代始因經濟、政治新情勢的改變而逐漸衰退。

第二次大戰後，東南亞各地紛紛獨立，土著之民族意識高漲，對華僑之移入諸多限制，因而東南亞華僑之繁衍，大致來自自然增殖。由於以往不少華僑於殖民地時期，在當地社會中扮演仲介商之角色。許多華商經數代之經營而成爲鉅富，因而引起新興國家之敵視。一些土著政客遂視華商爲經濟剝削者，阻礙當地經濟之發展。從而立法限制華僑之經濟權益。當地一些華族政客，亦以華僑社會之傳統組織與文化發展，足以助長華族對中國本土之效忠意識，窒息其認同於當地社會之思想，故提出徹底同化論調。

事實上，居住於東南亞之華族，在經濟上並非人人富裕，更非經濟上之剝削者，其在經濟上，適足以協助當地之工商發展，而其傳統之文化價值與社會組織，雖可促進其對中華文化之認同，但並不妨礙其對當地政府之效忠。誠然，土著對華族之懷疑態度其來有自，因而今日在東南亞之華僑亦須爲其本身及子孫之生存與發展，作出其大的調整，成爲所在國的好公民，以實際行動消除土著對華族之錯誤觀念。

### 一、前 言

最早前往東南亞之華人，爲官方使節與僧侶。自漢代以後，隨著中印關係之建立，官方使節乘帆船，從廣東沿岸商港啓程，沿海南下，經泰南與緬南，而轉往印度。以物物交換方式，將中國之「黃金雜繒」換成東南亞之「明珠、璧琉璃、奇石異物」。(註一)自此以後我國與東南亞各地之使節往還，斷斷續續，歷久不衰。至於往西天求法之僧侶，若從海路前往印度，東南亞亦爲必經之道。自東晉高僧法顯從印度渡海東歸以來，由海陸兩路往西天求法的中國高僧，絡繹不絕，連綿不絕。(註二)不過，早期覆足東南亞各地之使節與高僧，都僅路過此地而已，並未定居。自宋以來，中國與東南亞間之海上帆船貿易，逐漸擴展，(註三)直至十九世紀末葉，帆船貿易才漸趨式微。

一八七〇年後二、三十年間，西方列強擴大其於東南亞之侵略，而經近百年之發展，歐洲之資本主義已相當發達，爲掠奪原料及開拓市場，各國政府一面努力於殖民地之安定，以便提供經濟開發之有利條件，同時鼓勵剩餘資本，前往東南亞各地。由於資本與勞力，爲構成地方發展的兩大因素，因而殖民地政府積極招取外來移民，以提供廉價勞工。

清廷於中英北京和約中，揚棄以往之海禁政策，准許華工前往海外，從此東南亞各國政府對勞工需求之殷切，與我國移民政策之放鬆，以及我國南方港口與東南亞各地定期輪船之往還，促成華南地區往東南亞大量移民。

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廿世紀初期，東南亞之經濟成長迅速，華南移民浪潮也就到達巔峯狀態。東南亞華人人口激增，社區組織隨著龐雜，經濟活動呈現多樣化，政治意識漸趨濃郁，文化事業蓬勃發展。此種情形，直到本世紀三〇年代初期始再有所變化，三〇年代世界經濟恐慌之陰影，籠罩全球，影響所及，東南亞各地經濟衰退，百業凋疲，市況蕭條，各國政府遂實施移民限制條例，移民受到阻遏。第二次大戰後，東南亞各地紛紛擺脫殖民政府控制，宣告獨立自主，移民限制條例，更為雷厲風行，此後東南亞華僑人口之繁衍，多年來自自然增殖。

戰後以來，東南亞華僑的處境，邁進了一個充滿挑戰性的紀元。在這個階段裏，許多當地政客把華僑視為經濟剝削者，剝奪了當地土著的生計，阻礙了當地的經濟發展，從而立法掠奪華僑的經濟權益，動搖了華僑在當地長年來苦心建立的根基。在某些國度裏，排華運動此起彼伏，摧毀華僑之生命與財產。與此同時，當地一些華族政客，亦認為華僑之傳統社會組織與文化發展，助長華族對中國本土之效忠意識，窒息華族認同於當地社會之思想，於是提出同化論調，企圖徹底摧毀華族傳統意識與社會組織。為求對東南亞華僑有進一步瞭解，可從其經濟活動、社會組織，政治活動等方面作進一步之探討。

## 二、華人經濟活動

在十六世紀西方殖民勢力尚未進入東南亞之前，華僑於東南亞之經濟活動，集中於帆船貿易。利用季候風往還於中國與東南亞之間。以中國商品換取東南亞土產。數世紀以來，海上貿易使部分華僑積聚不少財富。由貿易之原始累積，逐漸轉化為商業、農業、礦業及工業資本。

華僑之經濟活動，雖滲透進各行業，但商業資本顯然占最大比重。現今雖無確切統計數字，但史家N.A. Simoniya 卻為此殘缺部分提供一些資料。（註四）商業資本之投資可分為兩方面，即對內貿易之批發商與零售商，及對外貿易之出入口商。就對內貿易而言，華僑扮演仲介商之角色。殖民地經濟結構，大致呈金字塔型，分為三層次。最低層為佔絕大多數之土著，殖民政府蓄意將其束縛於農村，從事農業生產。中層為華僑，居中間人地位，其任務一方面為搜集農村土產，轉運國外市場，另一方面將西方工業產品，分銷於土著。最上層為人數絕少之歐洲人，憑其財力及政府之庇護，壟斷龐大商業機構，如外洋航運與金融事業，控制殖民地之經濟活動。

就對外貿易而言，華僑之出入口商亦直接促進東南亞各國間之土產交流，同時亦將東南亞土產運往遠東市場。至於將土產直接輸往歐洲者，數量有限。

華僑之農業資本較小。在廿世紀以前，主要分佈於茶葉、咖啡、甘蔗與香料之栽植。自廿世紀起逐漸栽植經濟作物，如橡膠、椰子與油棕等，不過由於財力薄弱，其農園規模多半甚小。華僑工業資本則集中於農產品之加工。加工之主要成品為白米、木材、蔗糖、食油、橡膠及其製成品。華人礦業活動，則以開採錫礦為主，集中於馬來西亞、印尼與泰國。

十九世紀中葉以前，西方私人企業資本尚未湧入東南亞，華僑資本雖然薄弱，但卻能獨當一面。但自十九世紀下半葉之後，西方資本大量湧入東南亞各地，其活動面之廣，概括工農商業，金融業與運輸業，其雄厚之財力與科學管理技術，遠非華族所能比擬，華族資本遂成為西方資本主義之附庸，依賴西方資本而存在，此種主從關係一直延續至一九二九年之世界經濟大恐慌。在大恐慌沖擊下，華族企業紛紛倒塌。華族資本家因而領悟到完全依賴西方而生存之危險性，遂逐漸將資本轉移至消費品工業（如膠鞋、輪胎、膠管、椰油、罐頭食品、米軋業及棉織品等），由於此種製成品之主要市場為星馬本地，不甚受到世界物價波動之影響。

華僑之社會結構深深影響其經濟活動。華僑社會結構，主要建立於地緣與血緣的基礎，屬於同一宗教或區域的群體，相互提携與扶掖，因此在經濟結構上便出現了某一行業由同一群體壟斷的現象。這種情形阻遏了華族資本走向近代資本主義。（註五）華族之企業經營，重視宗族與同鄉關係。僱主極力聘用親朋戚友，這種忽視人才的作風，浪費許多無謂開銷，限制企業發展，因而無法與西方企業競爭。華族企業之忽視人才，也導致組織鬆弛，從而阻碍業務之躍進。

二次大戰之後，許多政客為達到政治目的，過份渲染華族在所在國之財富，誣譏華僑控制所在國的經濟，剝奪土著的經濟利益，此種指責是相當不符事實，據美國學者H.G.Callis之統計，在第二次大戰前幾年，除了暹羅以外，西方資本家在東南亞各國的投資額還比華僑的來得大，證實了華人的經濟剝奪論是不能成立的。

戰前華僑之經濟活動既為東南亞經濟網重要之一環，其經濟活動雖未受殖民政府之庇護，但大體上來說，也未受到抑制或摧殘。殖民政府亦聽任華僑傳統社會結構自然發展。至於中文教育，除星馬政府於二〇年代嚴加管制，泰國自三〇年代末期變披汶當政後對中文教育橫加摧殘外，中文教育之生機仍枝葉繁茂。然而戰後卅年來，隨著東南亞國家的獨立，這種情勢已大大改觀，中文教育面臨嚴重之挑戰。

戰後東南亞國家的一些政客，曾高唱「經濟愛國主義」（Economic Nationalism）的論調，其最終目標為擺脫外人對當地經濟之控制，謀求經濟獨立。在「經濟愛國主義」口號下，華族成為被攻擊之目標。華僑被視為壟斷當地經濟，侵犯土著權益之罪魁。政客以「經濟愛國主義」為工具，作為贏取群眾支持之政治資本，依仗政治力量優勢，立法限制華人之經濟活動。

在泰國，遠在一九三八年變披汶當政後，便頒布了一連串限制華人經濟活動之禁令。這些營業包括碾米業、鹽煙業、水陸交通業、捕魚業與燃油業。一九四二年，泰國政府又頒布「保留泰人職業法令」，一九五二年把限制外僑的職業範圍加大，一九五八年，乃沙立的軍人政府更變本加厲，擴大保留泰人職業的種類。迨至乃他農軍人政府倒台，臨時革命政府執政後，復於一九七二年頒布管制外僑行業法令，其範圍包括農工商業及服務業。在中南半島，法國殖民政府對華人並未限制，但戰後情勢改變，一九五六年，南越吳廷琰政府頒布了禁止外僑經營十一種商業之法令。同年，柬埔寨政府也頒布禁止外僑經營十八項行業。

華人在緬甸處境更為惡劣，在一九六二年尼溫軍人政權執政前，緬甸政府已將若干企業逐步國有化，但鑑於國內資本薄弱，土著欠缺工商業之經驗與技能，手段頗為和緩。但自尼溫執政，緬甸趨向社會主義，積極推行國有化政策并限制外僑經營，運輸業與娛樂事業，私營商店與金融業都遭解體。外僑中華僑首當其衝，生活頓失依靠。

在印尼，華人之經濟活動受嚴格限制。一九五九年印尼政府宣佈爪哇鄉村由外僑經營之零售業，必須於短期內結束營業，由印尼土著接收，但政府并未給外僑適當賠償。華人數世紀以來於鄉村建立起來之傳統基業，一夜之間，全部付諸東流。華人經營之運輸業與工業，亦因政府不再核發新執照，無從擴展。為使印尼土著有與外國投資者合作之更多機會，印尼政府禁止華人與外資聯合經營工商業。而已與外國投資廠商合作之華族商人，須將其五十巴仙股份售予印尼土著。

菲律賓政府之種種非化法令，亦將華人排出傳統經濟圈外。零售商非化法案，剝奪華人經營零售機會。米黍非化案，將華人過去建立米黍業根基，連根拔除。勞工非化案，使大批華籍勞工失去工作。此外，銀行非化，專門職業非化等等，更使華人處境惡劣。

### 三、華人政治活動

東南亞華人爲一複雜結合體。部分華人已定居東南亞達數世紀，且部份已與當地土著婦女通婚，產下混血兒。土生華人，於星馬稱爲 Babas 或 Strait-born Chinese，印尼爲 Peranakan Chinese，泰國爲 Lukjin，菲律賓爲 Mestizos，於越南則稱爲 Minh-haong（明鄉）。數世紀以來，於西方文化、土著文化與傳統中華文化交互沖擊下，成爲一各文化之結合體。於政治意識表現上，對中國國內政治較冷漠，對當地政治較熱衷。另一部分華人則爲近數十年自中國移殖來之新移民及其後裔，仍保有傳統之中華文化，並不認同於居留國之社會。於政治意識上，熱衷於我國之政治，對當地政治卻漠不關心。

華人社會中不同群體表現出不同之政治意識，王廣武教授企圖將不同政治意識之華人分爲三大群體。雖然東南亞各國華人之歷史發展，社會結構與政治意識並非完全一致，但以三群體去探討東南亞華人仍不失爲一良好指標。

第一個群體之華僑直接或間接與中國本土之政治發展相連繫，關懷祖國政治發展。第二個群體採取較現實之政治態度。第三個群體土生華人，並不關心中國之本土政治，卻參與殖民政府或當地之政治活動。（註八）

十九世紀之際，東南亞華人之社區大致並不龐雜，華僑多半文盲，爲謀求生存而克勤克儉，只具濃厚鄉土氣息與宗教觀念，缺少政治意識。然而，第一群體之華人，亦已表現其政治態度與活動，通過私會黨組織，隱約地表現反滿與反傳統之情緒，并以生爲中國人而自豪。至於第二群體之華人，孜孜追求名位，聚集不少財富，其中不少且向清廷購買官銜，用以提高其社會地位，實際上，卻缺乏明晰之政治效忠對象。然而，清楚劃分第一與第二群體相當困難，因第二群體中之部分領袖，同時表現多方面之政治態度與活動，一方面與土著統治者及殖民地政府掛鈎，另一方面又活躍於華人私會黨組織。第三群體則大多吸收西方與土著之文化，逐漸消失華人固有之傳統特質，投身於當地土著或殖民政府政治活動，協助統治者治理華人，此種情形，以泰國、星馬、與荷屬東印度群島最爲顯著。

十九世紀末與本世紀首四十年間，由於內外因素之刺激，東南亞華人之政治意識愈來愈濃郁與多樣化。所謂內在因素，即在西方殖民政府統治下，華人遭遇到虐待與歧視，苛捐雜稅，自由行動受限制，其中尤以荷屬東印度群島與西屬菲律賓群島之華人處境最爲惡劣。渴望強大祖國，在當地派駐領事，或通過外交途徑，保護僑民之經濟利益與人身安全等願望，刺激其對祖國政治興趣之產生。所謂外在因素，則包括清廷對海外華人政策之轉變，清末，清廷除竭力設置領事館外，更派遣文武官員撫慰海外僑胞，企圖爭取海外華人對其效忠。（註九）與此同時，以康有爲爲首之保皇黨與孫中山爲首之革命黨，在本世紀首十年，更在東南亞各地展開活動，爭取東南亞華人之支援。保皇革命兩黨積極創辦中文報章，並設書報社。由於兩黨政治思想迥異，導致激烈之文字爭論，因而對東南亞華僑政治思想之啓蒙，產生極大之衝擊。（註十）國民政府成立後，對東南亞華人之爭取更不遺餘力。除在東南亞各地駐派領事外，更經常派遣政府代表至東南亞撫慰與視察，協助當地華僑成立國民黨支部，指導發展中文教育。由於中國國籍法規定，凡具有中國血統之人，不論其出生地，都視爲中國國民。廿世紀三〇年代後期，許多政府代表前往東南亞，鼓動當地華人展開「抗日救亡」運動，無疑加強中國與東南亞華人之政治聯繫，激發當地華人對中國之效忠。（註十一）

隨著日本侵略行動之擴大，使第一群體華僑之政治意識，提升成強烈之政治行動。一九一九年之「五四運動」，一九二八年之「濟南慘案」，與一九三一年之「九、一八事變」，都導致東南亞華僑之反日運動。（註十二）一九三七年「七七蘆溝橋事變」，更激發了東南亞華僑之「抗日救亡」運動。抵制日貨，捐款賑濟，回國服務，組團慰勞，充分表現海外華人之愛國思想與行動。上自大資本家，下至販夫走卒，都參與這項運動。這次運動突破了華人傳統之幫派主義。一九三八年十月十日「南洋華僑籌賑祖國難民總會」之成立，可視為東南亞華僑團結之具體表現。（註十三）

第二群體之華僑佔最多數。表面看來，他們不公開從事本地或中國之政治活動。但其本身仍自發而有效地自我組織成一團體，以維護其利益，并在不損害其本身地位情況下，參與傾向中國之政治活動。

至於第三群體，人數較少。有的仍具傾向中國政治意識者，有迷戀於殖民政府之恩寵者，有同情當地土著反帝反殖民主義運動者。以印尼之 Peranakan Chinese（土生土長或混血之印尼華人）的政治意識而言，代表中國政治意識者為所謂「新報派」。其實，「新報派」並非一政治組織，僅為一群具中國政治意識之印尼華僑，利用其所創辦之「新報」，宣揚共同政治思想。其基本主張乃在提倡印尼華族社會之團結，鼓勵土生華人子弟接受中文教育及參與中國之政治活動。該派認為，華僑必須與祖國連繫，始能生存發展。主張與荷蘭殖民統治者合作者則為中華會（Chung Hwa Hui）。中華會親殖民政府態度，引起了不少華僑之非議。印尼中華黨則為同情當地土著民族主義運動者。其目標則在經濟、社會與政治上協助印尼步向獨立，主張與印尼政黨合作，展開政治鬥爭，以爭取印尼之獨立。此外，尚有少數印尼華僑，參加印尼共產黨。（註十四）

至於星馬海峽僑生（俗稱峇峇），一般而言，其政治意識與活動，大都傾向效忠大英帝國與海峽殖民政府，而以大英帝國子民自豪。但在十九與廿世紀交替間，清廷、保皇與革命三勢力在星馬之活動，曾導致不少海峽僑生領袖之思想激盪。當風聞百日維新運動失敗，不少人黯然垂淚。海峽僑生中之優秀領袖如林文慶、伍連德、曾錦文與阮添壽等都毅然返國服務。

二次大戰結束後，東南亞各地民族主義運動洶湧澎湃，殖民地紛紛獨立。同時，中共政權之建立以及亞洲政局之發展，東南亞華僑之政治意識亦起伏激盪。簡言之，戰後初期，第一群體之華僑中，部分已轉化為第二群體，而第三群體亦愈來愈認同於當地社會，投入當地政治活動，效忠當地政府。因而導致第一群體人數銳減，與第二、第三群體人數之激增，東南亞華僑已逐漸因政治效忠目標之轉移，及取得當地公民權而成為東南亞「華人」，而不再以中國之僑民自居。

戰後新獨立之東南亞政府與人民對華僑採取以下兩種看法：（一）華人為中共之第五縱隊，為一外在威脅；（二）倘若任由華僑經濟勢力發展，將構成內部隱憂。因此，戰後東南亞政府致力於當地華族政治效忠目標之轉移。

內戰期間，星馬兩地華僑因不同政治立場，導致華族社會之大分裂，雙方透過其各自主辦之報章，互相攻擊，甚至訴諸武力。隨著一九四九年十月一日中共之成立，第一群體華人中，除少部分與中共或馬共維持關係外，大部分華人已逐步轉移其注意力於本地之政治。此種轉移表現於各地中華總商會積極參與本地政治活動。（註十五）在泰國，左派與右派兩股勢力之明爭暗鬥，亦引起泰華社會之分裂。曼谷中華總商會成為兩股勢力爭奪之場所。左派勢力後因泰國政府之積極反共而消沈。（註十六）

第二群體之華人，隨著政局的激烈的變遷，於現實政治中產生矛盾心態。一方面期待中國擴大其在東南亞之影響力，但另一方面又期望東南亞新興國家取得真正之獨立，他們不願其後裔完全同化於當地社會，亦不願華人社會分裂。雖然樂意多少與中國本土之政治斷絕關係，但在文化與語文方面，卻願保留華人身份而自認為「馬華」、「泰華」與「印華」等等。（註十七）

在馬來西亞，第二群體之華人於一九四九年組織馬華公會。馬華公會為一種族性之政黨，標榜為華人爭取利益，并標榜反共主張，其成立之目的，即在表明馬華並不與馬共同流，而願效忠當地政府。雖然馬華並未獲得所有第二群體華人之支持，但馬華與巫統之政治結合，使其在戰後馬來西亞政壇上，居於重要地位。

關於第三群體的華人，長久以來即與中國本土擺脫關係。因其認為中國政府不足恃，而與當地殖民政府及土著政府合流，以謀自力更生。第二次大戰結束後，逐漸由親殖民政府轉移到同情當地之民族主義運動，並認定其命運與新興獨立國之政權息息相關，（註十八）從而局部或澈底地認同於當地社會，自認為「馬來西亞人」、「印尼人」或「泰人」，頂多掛上「華裔」的稱呼。為爭取其利益與地位他們以本地公民的身份，參與本地的政治活動。（註十九）

#### 四、華人社會組織

華人社會為一幫派色彩極濃的社團組織。華族的社團，大抵建基於地緣、血緣與業緣的關係。早期之華族移民，離鄉背井，人地生疏，極易使來自同一鄉、縣、府或口操同一種方言之移民聚集一起，為發揮互助互惠，同甘共苦功能，「同鄉會」及「會館」等名目之社團，隨著移民地域觀念之逐漸擴大，地緣性之社團遂從鄉、縣、府擴大到省，於是「福建會館」、「廣東會館」與「廣西會館」等社團相繼出現。

血緣性之社團，以共同姓氏或同一宗族為基礎。其主旨乃在「聯絡宗親的感情，解決宗人間紛爭，協助宗人解除貧窮、疾病及失業之難題以及祭祖等」。（註二十）血緣組織的稱呼有「公會」（如客屬林氏公會）、「總會」（如張氏總會）、「社」（如符氏社）及「宗祠」（如陳氏宗祠）等。

業緣性之組織亦稱為基爾特（Guild）。基爾特中，有以店舖為會員之商工基爾特；及以職員與工人組織職工基爾特或勞資均為會員之混合基爾特。（註二十一）前者主旨不外乎聯絡同業間之感情，協調同行間之爭執，以謀行業之發展，商貨品質之改善，售價之劃一以及杜絕同業間之相互削價競爭。而後者主旨則為聯絡勞資間之感情，在資方能力範圍之內，謀求職工之合理待遇及福利。

業緣組織雖有超越地緣關係趨勢，但鑑於華僑社會有某一方言群體壟斷某一行業之現象，故地方色彩顯而易見。因此，華族社團之地方性組織，充分表現華族之社會幫派色彩。故有學者認為「華僑為幫會之動物」，「幫會即華僑社會」。（註二十二）

華僑社團對華族社會發展之功能具有多元化之色彩。規模較大之同鄉會，都有共同墓地，用以安葬客死異地之同鄉，對貧困無主之鄉人，同鄉會更予以葬喪費用。華僑社團對早期中文教育之發展貢獻良多。自本世紀初以來，稍具規模之華僑社團都積極創辦學校，以收容華族子弟。早期之社團，除促進會員間之感情外，更為華商募集資金之媒介。會員間資本之借貸與籌措，常透過社團活動而展開。然而，華族社團深深地影響海外華人之經濟發展，它阻遏華族近代資本主義之形成。（註二十三）

## 五、討 論

華僑移入東南亞已達數世紀，不少華僑後裔已因種種因素而同化於當地社會，然而，東南亞各地之排華運動并未因土著獲得政權而停止，因而，在探討東南亞華人問題之時，各地排華之意識與行動，確實值得吾人作進一步之研究。

東南亞土著之排華行動，遠在戰前就一再發生。通常排華運動以兩種方式展開。一為當政者以立法通過種種法令，限制華人之經濟活動，剝奪華人就業機會。另一種則為群眾在政客或宗教領袖煽動下，以暴力摧毀華人之生命與財產。此種排華方式，在戰後之緬甸、柬埔寨、馬來西亞及印尼等地都曾發生，其中以印尼之情況最為嚴重。（註二十四）

許多學者努力探尋東南亞排華之根源，企圖解釋各地之排華運動。縱觀戰後各國之排華，因素頗多，華僑與土著間之經濟競爭似為一重要因素。數世紀以來，華僑之經濟活動滲透入各個行業，多年資本與經濟之累積，各地聯絡網之遍佈，以及殖民政府之安排與措施，使華人在東南亞各地奠定穩固之經濟基礎。自戰後各國獨立以來，華人之經濟活動與地位橫遭各地土著之猜忌。華族被認為是經濟剝削者，因此，要提高土著生活水準，製造國內就業機會，就必須犧牲華人經濟利益，各國政府紛紛立法維護土著權益。印尼政客 Assaat 強烈指責華僑之政經活動，認為華人不論在文化、社會，尤其經濟活動範疇內，不容許他人介入。華人壟斷印尼國內之經濟，華人批發商以不正當手段欺騙印尼零售商，而華人之政治立場卻又投機取巧，不忠於印尼。Assaat 進一步形容印尼土著為經濟上之弱者，而華人卻為經濟上之強者，因而印尼政府必須立法保護弱者。（註二十五）土著此種對華族之敵視為排華運動之主要動力。荷蘭學者 W.F. Wertheim 指出，種族間之緊張關係，其根源不在於文化分野；土著之基本目的，乃要將華人趕出經濟領域，取代華人經濟勢力。（註二十六）印尼中層土著商人在面臨華商強力競爭時，更易引發排華事件。（註二十七）

華族與土著在文化上之差異，亦為各地排華運動之另一助因，荷蘭政府對待殖民地人民，採取「分而治之」之政策。華僑被安置於城鎮，從事小型工商業之活動，而土著則散居鄉村，從事農耕及其他土產之種植。華僑於聚居地區，除非取得通行證，不能向外自由流動。政府有意將華僑視作外僑，其社會與經濟地位高於土著。而多數華僑又一向以優秀中華文化自豪，殖民政策之實施，加深華僑鄙視土著文化。廿世紀以來，華人民族主義運動將海外華僑捲進中國本土政治之活動，此固加強華僑對中國本土之政治意識，但卻加深華人與土著兩種族間之積怨。二次大戰前，菲律賓華僑鄙視島民，稱呼島民為「番狗」，此種鄙視土著之心理，在東南亞其他地方普遍存在。

在殖民政府統治下之東南亞，華人經濟境況多半較土著為好。雖然真正富裕之華人只占少數，但一般土著卻誤認華人皆為富有者，反觀土著，大多為貧寒人家，生活困苦。不少馬來知識份子，就因目睹非馬來人（主要為華人）之處境優越，而產生對非馬來人之恐懼，觸發排華運動。泰王拉瑪六世（Rama VI）更形容華人為「東方的猶太人」，指責華人為拜金主義者，追求財富時，不惜欺騙、偷竊、甚至殘殺，無所不用其極，毫無道德觀念，亦無憐憫與同情心。（註二十八）

瞻望未來，華人問題之解決，實有待當地政府及華人雙邊之積極努力，忠誠合作。由於華人与土著間之積怨與矛盾，乃長期以來所形成，因而必須假以時日，作長期之努力。在經濟方面，

當政者必須消除將華人視為土著經濟剝削者之錯誤觀念，而先肯定必須要犧牲華人既得之經濟利益，才能提高土著經濟水平。事實上，華人並非東南亞之經濟主宰，富有之華人只佔絕少數，絕大部分乃屬於中下階層。換言之，東南亞落後國家之貧困，不是種族問題，而是全民之貧窮問題。（註二十九）

東南亞各國立法打擊華人之經濟活動，企圖借此加強土著之工商業界活動，製造土著就業機會，然而所收效果極微，相反卻導致經濟體系之混亂，助長惡性通貨膨脹，影響到社會的治安。（註三十）

目前東南亞各國政府所推行之同化政策，其目標乃在徹底摧毀中華文化，企圖將華人完全變成本地人。（註三十一）如此之同化過程乃屬單行道式之同化，然而同化政策，不如融合政策。在一多元種族社會中，各種族都有其優良之傳統文化，如能彼此吸取對方精華，鑄造一嶄新之文化體系，包容各種族之文化優點。華人克勤克儉之傳統美德，與工商業經驗，對當地土著都有值得借鏡之處。華人熱愛中華文化，實屬自然，但於新環境，華人亦須放棄華族沙文主義思想，吸收土著之文化，學習當地語文。由於今日之東南亞華人，絕大部分已生根落戶，並已成爲所在國之公民，因此必須爲本身及其子孫之生存與發展而作相當大之調整，成爲所在國之良好公民，融化於所在國之社會，以實際行動消除土著對華人之錯誤觀念。

### 註 釋

註 一：見漢書卷二十八下地理志第八下，（上海：中華書局，1962）第四冊，P.1671。

註 二：馮承鈞，中國南洋交通史，（上海，商務印書館，民國二十六年），第三、四、七章。

註 三：關於五代以前中國與東南亞的海上貿易，可參閱 Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 31, Part 2, June, 1958.

註 四：從戰前及戰後東南亞若干國家的人口調查資料可證實這一點。例如，1930年爪哇及印尼外圍島嶼的從商華人人數，分別佔從業華人總數的57.6%與23.1%；1931年緬甸的華族商人佔從業華人總數41%；泰國的華族商人佔1937、1938與1939年華人從業總數的比例是87%、6.8%與49%。見 N. A. Simoniya, *Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia—A Russian Study*, (New York, Ithaca: Cornell University, Dec. 1961), p. 57.

註 五：Uchida N, *The Overseas Chinese: a Bibliographical Essay*, (Stanford University, 1959), p. 47.

註 六：唐蘇民，「黃仲涵」，刊於祝秀俠主編，華僑名人傳，（台北，民國四十四年），P.P. 87—92。

註 七：見楊進發，「民族資本家林秉祥與和豐公司」，南洋文摘，第11卷12期，1970，p.p. 826—830。

註 八：見 Wang Gung Wu, "Political Chinese: An Aspect of their Contribution to Modern Southeast Asian History", in Bernhard Grossmann ed, *Southeast Asia in the Modern World*, p. 117. 及 "Chinese politics in Malaya", *The China Quarterly*, No. 43, pp. 5-6.

註 九：見崔貴強，「晚清官吏訪問新加坡」，南洋學報，第29卷，1、2期，1974，P.P.

15 — 29。

註十：有關保皇革命兩黨在東南亞的政治鬥爭，可參閱：

(a) Yen Ching-Hwang, *The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution*, (Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1976).

(b) Wang Gungwu, "Sun Yat-Sen and Singapore" 南洋學報 Vol. xv, Part II, December, 1959, pp. 55-68.

(c) Antonro S. Tan, *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1898-1935: A Study of their National Awakening*, (Philippines: Quezon City: R. P. Garcia Publishing Co. 1972), pp. 90-133.

(d) Lea E. Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1960)

(e) G. W. Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand*, pp. 155-159.

(f) 陳儒性，「緬甸華僑史略」，南洋文摘，第5卷2期，1964，p.p.41—45。

註十一：可參閱：

Png Poh-Seng "The Kuomintang in Malaya", in *Papers on Malayan History*, ed. by K. G. Tregonning, pp. 214-225, 及 Antonio S. Tan, 同上書, pp. 214-291.

註十二：可參閱：崔貴強，「海峽殖民地華人對五四運動的反應」，南洋學報，第20卷，1、2輯，1965—1966，p.p.13—18。

王連三，「濟南慘案與星馬華人」，新加坡南洋大學歷史系榮譽班論文，1976—1977。

陳萬發，「星馬華族救國抗日運動（1931—32）」，新加坡南洋大學歷史系榮譽班論文，1971。

Yoji Akashi, "The Nanyang Chinese Anti-Japanese and Boycott Movement, 1908-1928: A Study of Nanyang Chinese Nationalism", 南洋學報第23卷，1、2期，1968，p.p.69—96。

Antonio S. Tan 同上書, pp. 214-291.

註十三：可參閱：Yoji Akashi, *The Nanyang Chinese National Salvation Movement, 1937-1941*, (University of Kansas, 1970).

許秀聰，「星馬華族對日本的經濟制裁（1937—42）」，新加坡南洋大學歷史系榮譽班論文，1972。

新加坡中華總商會已蒐集了豐富的「抗日救亡」運動的史料，不日將付梓問世。相信該卷帙浩繁鉅著的出版，必將惠及士林，為「抗日救亡」運動提供了許多有用的資料。

註十四：關於印尼土生華人政治意識的流派及其活動，可參閱 Leo Suryadinata, *Peranakan Chinese Politics in Java, 1917-1942*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1976).

註十五：關於國共戰爭期間星馬華人的政治鬥爭及其後政治意識的轉移。參閱 Chui Kwei-chiang, *The Response of the Malayan Chinese to Political and Military Developments in China*, (Singapore, Nanyang University Press, 1977).

註十六：G. W. Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand*, pp. 323-344.

註十七：Wang Gungwu, "Political Chinese: An Aspect of their contribution to Modern Southeast Asian History".



pp. 124-125.

- 註十八：關於 Baperki 的活動，可參閱 Mary F. Somers, *Peranakan Chinese Politics in Indonesia*, (New York: Ithaca, Cornell University, 1964) J.A.C. Mackic, ed. *The Chinese in Indonesia*, pp. 44-63.
- 註十九：星洲日報，1974年7月24日。
- 註二十：吳華，新加坡華族會館志，新加坡，南洋學會，1975，第一冊，p. 13。
- 註廿一：劉果因，馬來亞華人社會，檳城，嘉應會館，1974，p. 2。
- 註廿二：吳主惠，華僑本質之分析，p. 134。
- 註廿三：Uchida, N. *The Overseas Chinese: A Bibliographical Essay*, (Stanford University, 1959), p. 47.
- 註廿四：關於戰後印尼歷次排華的詳情，可參閱 J.A.C. Mackic, "Anti-Chinese Outbreak in Indonesia, 1959-68", in *The Chinese in Indonesia*, pp. 71-128.
- 註廿五：Assaat, "The Chinese Grip on Our Economy", in H. Feith, ed., *Indonesia Political Thinkling, 1945-1965*, (Ithaca: Cornell University press, 1970), pp. 343-46.
- 註廿六：W. F. Wertheim, "The Trading Minorities in Southeast Asia", in *Eastwest Parallels*, p. 79.
- 註廿七：The Siauw Giap, "Group Conflict in a Plural Society", *Revue du Sudest Asiatique*, Vol. 2, 1966, p. 19.
- 註廿八：H. J. Benda & J. A. Larkin, *The World of Southeast Asia*, (Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), pp. 204-211.
- 註廿九：例如一九七〇年時，共有 2,783,000 人工作，其中年收入超過 M\$ 2,500 元之人員只有 200,983 人，佔工作總人口的百分之七而已，參閱一九七〇年馬來西亞稅務局常年報告書。（吉隆坡：1974年出版）。
- 註三十：譬如一九五九年西爪哇禁止華人經營零售業，政府事前未作適當安排，政府接收華人零售店時呈現一片混亂。接收後，印尼土著無法發揮華人固有功能，致使農民深感生活用品奇缺，造成物價高漲。另一方面，以往由華人零售商至農村收購土產之活動，也因華人之離去而陷於停頓，土產無法輸往城市，任由腐爛。
- 註卅一：一九八七年十月，馬來西亞政府為消除華巫兩族間之衝突，大舉逮捕華族政治領袖，此次華巫間之衝突乃因馬華領袖反對馬來西亞政府指派不諳中文之馬來人擔任各級中文學校行政人員所引發。詳情參閱 *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, October 28, 29, 1987。

**The Chinese in Southeast Asia: Past and Present\*****Hung-ting Ku\*\* and Kwei-chiang Chui\*\*\*****Abstract**

Since Han Dynasty times, (202 B.C. -220A. D.), Chinese people have moved between China and various regions of Southeast Asia. But, few settled permanently there. After the Western powers colonialized the region, they encouraged Chinese to migrate there. The steamship lines connecting China and this area further facilitated migration from South China. The wave of immigrants gradually died out in the 1930's due to the changes of economic and political conditions in Southeast Asia.

After World War II, many former colonies become independent states. The native political leaders of the newly established nations adopted a hostile policy towards the Chinese people there. They passed many anti-Chinese regulations to limit the economic activities of these overseas Chinese. They regarded the Chinese as exploiters and blamed them for not being willing to assimilate totally into local society. It seems that they confused the cultural identity of the Chinese with political identity. Of course, the Chinese themselves should also have changed their attitude towards their adopted countries, and made greater efforts to win the trust of the local people.

This paper looks at various problems and issues related to the Chinese and their relationship to the indigenous populations and political systems of Southeast Asia.

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## 清康熙年間台灣長崎貿易與國內商品 流通關係

朱德蘭\*

### 摘要

清康熙年間 (1662 ~ 1722) 是中國由動盪不安走向統一的時代，從明清兩個對立政府到清朝征服台灣，先後因為政經情勢的轉變，影響到統治者對海外貿易採取了不同的政策。就當時中國人在東亞海域的活動，以對日貿易為中心來說，以往的研究多由日本的政治、社會、經濟、文化等視角，探討中日貿易問題。為具體瞭解這段時期台灣與長崎貿易的實況，本稿試圖以變局中的台灣為焦點，一面利用筆者近年來已發表過的數篇論文作基礎，一面另參考一些新史料、論著，擬就航日台灣船隻的船數、海商類型的變化、船載貿易品的內容；主要輸日商品台灣砂糖、江浙產區的生絲、絲織品，其形成商品化生產過程的背景，與在國內流通並擴及日本消費市場的情形，作一概要性的分析。

台灣長崎貿易首先就台灣船數來說，明鄭時期因藉海外貿易支持財政，故於航日中國船總數上，佔了相當大的比重；迄清收台後，由於開海政策，日本強化貿易保護法等內外諸因素的影響，台灣船比率遞減，最後被設限於年航長崎兩艘內。

其次，以台灣海商而言，明清對立時期，能偷越海峽兩岸，走私官方管制物品往來中日兩地者，多屬鄭氏方面的特權商人；於內爭結束，國家統一，因全國經濟尚未恢復景氣，故經營台日貿易者多為合夥小商；至康熙後期，商業日漸繁榮，能透過競爭獲得日本配額貿易者，則多約屬實力較強的海商。

復次，由主要輸出品的流通來論，台糖在荷據台時，因荷人利用本島為國際貿易轉口站，努力推動糖業，故台糖一開始即具商品性格的大規模生產；進入明鄭期間，鄭氏亦以砂糖貿易作為抗清武力的重要基礎；迨至清入台灣，由於撤除海禁，台灣移民增加，內需與外銷的擴大故，在若干程度上助長了台糖的生產、消費市場。

最後，再就絲貨的情形來說，江浙地方基於傳統歷史、地理、經濟等因素的影響，約於 16、7 世紀頃其產品生絲、絲織物即普遍的發展成商品化的生產，特別是由於中日兩國因為絲貨與貨幣的相互依存關係，很快的便藉民間貿易，將江浙名產絲貨的國內市場擴展至日本，乃至海外諸國。於明清交替期，台灣關係的海商主動的走私江浙絲貨，幾乎掌握了中日絲貨的貿易網；迄清定台灣後，一些台日貿易商除了仍以江浙絲貨作為主要輸出品外，江浙絲貨亦隨著渡台人口的急增，商業經濟的日趨興隆，而廣泛地流通於台灣市場間。

### 一、前言

清康熙年間 (1662 - 1722) 是中國由大動亂走向統一的時期，從明清兩個對峙政權到清朝征服台灣，先後因政經情勢的變化，影響到統治者對海外貿易採取了不同的政策。就當時中國人在東亞海域的活動，以對日貿易為中心來說，以往諸先學由日本的政治、社會、經濟、文化等視角，圍繞著中日貿易問題，曾作過許多探討，成果頗豐<sup>①</sup>，然而，針對變局中的台灣為焦點，進行中日關係研究者似甚稀少<sup>②</sup>。為具體瞭解這段時期台灣長崎貿易的實況，本文一面利用筆者

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近年來已發表過的數篇論文作基礎<sup>③</sup>，一面另參考一些新史料、論著，就航日台灣船的船數、海商類型的變化、船載貿易品的內容；主要輸日商品台灣砂糖、江浙產區的生絲、絲織品、其形成商品化生產過程的背景，與在國內流通並擴及日本消費市場的情形，作一概要性的分析。

## 二、清康熙年間航日台灣船船數·海商·貿易品

### 1. 船數

有關清初開往長崎貿易的台灣船數量多寡問題，雖然諸史料的統計略見出入或有缺載<sup>④</sup>，但仍可窺知其大概。底下為方便研討，先製作表(1)(2)、圖1與附錄史料於後。

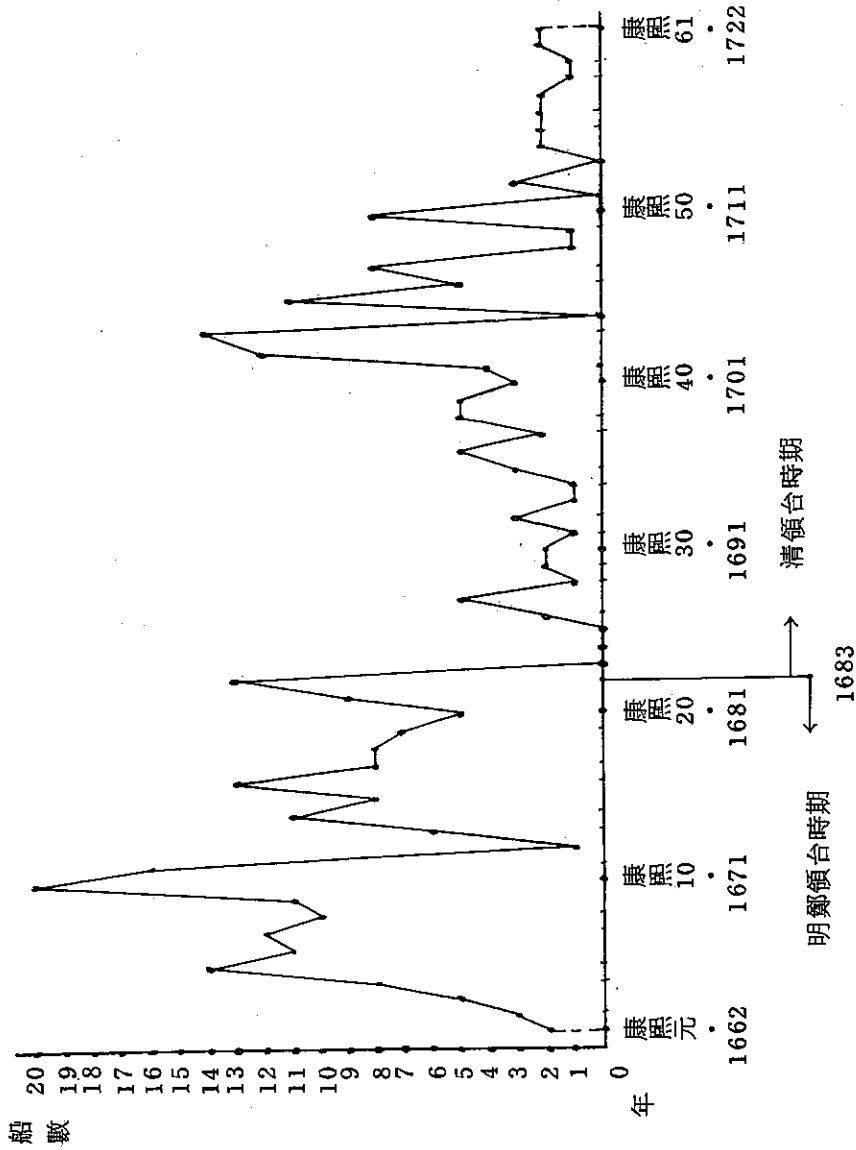
表(1) 清康熙年間(1662—1722)航日台灣船數量表

年 次	數 量	年 次	數 量	年 次	數 量
康熙元(1662)*	2	康熙 22(1683)	13	康熙 43(1704)	14
2(1663)	3	** 23(1684)	0	44(1705)	0
3(1664)	5	24(1685)	0	45(1706)	11
4(1665)	8	25(1686)	0	46(1707)	5
5(1666)	14	26(1687)	2	47(1708)	8
6(1667)	11	27(1688)	5	48(1709)	1
7(1668)	12	28(1689)	1	49(1710)	1
8(1669)	10	29(1690)	2	50(1711)	8
9(1670)	11	30(1691)	2	51(1712)	0
10(1671)	20	31(1692)	1	52(1713)	3
11(1672)	16	32(1693)	3	53(1714)	0
12(1673)	1	33(1694)	1	*** 54(1715)	2
13(1674)	6	34(1695)	1	55(1716)	2
14(1675)	11	35(1696)	3	56(1717)	2
15(1676)	8	36(1697)	5	57(1718)	2
16(1677)	13	37(1698)	2	58(1719)	1
17(1678)	8	38(1699)	5	59(1720)	1
18(1679)	8	39(1700)	5	60(1721)	2
19(1680)	7	40(1701)	3	61(1722)	2
20(1681)	5	41(1702)	4		
21(1682)	9	42(1703)	12		

資料來源：\* 1662—1683年，據岩生成一，近世日支貿易に關する數量の考察，史學雜誌62の11，1953，頁12、13。

\*\* 1684—1714年，據拙著，清康熙雍正年間台灣船航日貿易之研究，台灣史蹟研究中心編印，台灣史研究暨史料發掘研討會論文集，1986，頁423—433。

\*\*\* 1715—1722年，據大庭脩編著，唐船進港回棹錄，關西大學東西學術研究所資料集刊9，1974，頁67—77。



圖(1) 清康熙年間(1662—1722)航日台灣船數變動圖

資料來源：同表(1)。

表(2) 清康熙年間(1662—1722)航日中國船數比率表

年 次	台灣船總數	中國船總數	百 分 比
* 遷界令期間(1662—1683)	201	692	29.04
** 開海令期間(1684—1722)	127	2757	4.6
共 計	328	3449	9.5

資料來源：\*同表(1)\*。

\*\*同表(1)\*\*、\*\*\*；另，丹羽漢吉、森永種夫校訂，長崎實錄大成正編，長崎文獻叢書第1集第11卷，長崎文獻社，1973年。

康熙 54，正德 5 (1715) 年長崎信牌內容(附錄史料)

正德五年三月初五日

通事共より唐人へ可相渡割符之案

何年渡來るへき何所の船何艘の内、一船の荷物銀高何はと、誰にあたへ候所の割符、來る時に返すへき由を、いかやうにも唐人共心得候様に、よろしく書し、條約の大略をも書加可然事共候は、書加候とも、其式は通事とも會議の上にて議定せしめらるへし、年月日をしるし、朱印を用ゆへき事勿論に候、

右割符其文

長崎譯司 五五五 時奉鎮守意命、爲探商給牌 五五五 貿易諸清法紀事照得、爾等唐船通商本國者、歷有年所、緒釋不絕、但其來人混雜、元裕以致奸商、故違禁例、今特限定各港船額、本年來販船隻內該某港門幾艘、每船所帶貨物、限定估價約若干、爾以通生理、所

商 照 牌

驗明牌票、繳訖即收船隻、其無牌者、即刻遣回、爾等唐商務必愈加謹飾、倘有違犯條款者、再不給牌票、按例究治、決不輕貸、各宜慎之、須至牌者、

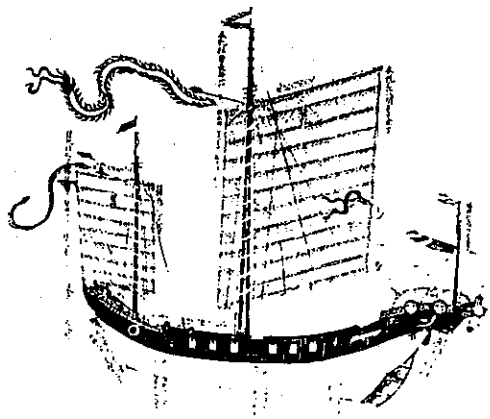
右票給港名船主某

正德五年三月日給

譯 司 限 到

但、臨時信牌之時は、來販船隻幾艘之外、始如一艘、如此認、又其年計之牌は、來販船內只販該、年々一次、後不爲例、某港門云云、如此認、又其身一生別に與る牌は、始加の字を另加と認なり、

以上新令條款、向井元成彭城素軒等翻譯、按するに、向井元成の譯は、江前に於て、彭城素軒は唐通事なり。



台灣船

資料來源：日本長崎縣立長崎圖書館藏

圖(2) 航日台灣船圖

根據前列表圖裏，可知1662—1683年明鄭在台時期，從台灣起帆航日的船隻約佔中國船總數的29%，為康熙年代最高的比率，如再加上其他鄭氏勢力圈出海駛日的船數，比率將更增大<sup>⑤</sup>。探究台灣船所以能活躍往來中日航線的原因，主要是清廷為壓迫反清鄭氏政權，實行遷界令，強逼沿海居民遷移內地，欲以經濟制裁的手段，阻止內地物資接濟明鄭。然而，由於三藩叛清，明鄭響應攻打大陸，若干交戰區因脫離清廷的支配，與海民基於謀生需要，地方官弁為增加財源收入等因素的影響，促使海峽兩岸的走私貿易活動頻繁，復加上鄭氏政府為補給軍需，積極的推進海上貿易事業，因此在這期間台灣關係的商船幾乎主宰了中日貿易市場<sup>⑥</sup>。

於1683年清軍平定台灣，實施開海政策後，各地航崎的中國船數急增，台灣方面反倒因全國統一，台民返鄉，商業經濟頓呈停滯發展故，渡日台灣船數銳減<sup>⑦</sup>。約於1692—1711年間，台灣政治社會漸趨平靖，在地廣人稀，盛產糧食與商品作物砂糖，頗易生活的有利環境吸引下，形成大陸人踴躍渡台風潮的新局面<sup>⑧</sup>。台灣地區、中國、長崎間的貿易關係遂因而愈益密切，駛日船數如圖(1)所示不斷地增加。迄至1712—1722年，日本為解決長久超額輸出貨幣材料對該國經濟不利，與猖獗的走私貿易諸問題，於1715年宣布實行以縮小貿易為目的的新貿易法（正德新令），其中規定航日中國船需憑日方發給的信牌貿易，台灣船則僅許年航兩艘，每艘貿易額銀13,000兩，此後台灣船數量便被設限於兩艘內<sup>⑨</sup>。

## 2. 海商

如衆所周知海商從事海上貿易，凡是預備造船或租船、海航器具、生活用物、購置商品、僱用員工等諸項經營資金十分鉅大，特別是在明清政權對立時期，雙方為保衛海防安全，船隻出入必需憑藉護照方許航行各自管轄的海域，因此當時的海商多為鄭氏、三藩關係的特權商人<sup>⑩</sup>。

迨至台灣降清的最初數年，全國經濟因受戰亂破壞，生產萎縮，交易不振<sup>⑪</sup>，於農工商業正待恢復與發展生產之際，鮮有能力累積或籌集龐大資金獨營海外貿易的富商，是故海商的成員組織多採：按投資額大小擔任某種頭銜職務、靠借貸辦貨出海、招搭客商、貨物抽成……等方式參與海外貿易，由此適以反映台灣歸清後的30餘年，經營台日貿易的海商多屬資金短缺的合夥小商人，俟1715年日本嚴格執行配額貿易制度起，能競爭信牌繼續從事長崎貿易的台灣海商，則約為資金較前豐富的商人<sup>⑫</sup>。

## 3. 貿易品

根據日本史料與最近出版的荷蘭商館檔案裏，從1681、1682、1711等3個稍微完整年度的記錄中，可獲知明清政府領台，台灣長崎輸出入貿易品的目錄<sup>⑬</sup>。如據這些明細整理成的表(3)(4)(5)(6)裏，可以明瞭鄭氏商船舶載銷日的商品，主要有台產砂糖與江浙出產的生絲、各種質地、尺寸、顏色的絲織物，及一部份的綿、麻織品、南洋產地的香料、藥品等等。於清收台後，台灣船的大宗輸出品仍以台糖、江浙絲貨為主，不過絲織品的內容更繁，另亦有各地出產的若干布類、皮貨、香料、藥材等等。在輸入品方面，明鄭時期因清廷施行遷界令，內地貨不易流入台灣，故台灣迫切需求諸多日常生活物資，因此除了進口許多製造武器或鑄幣用的原料銅、銀器外，尚有一些海產物、飲食品、藥物、香料、染料等等。迄清入台後，因大陸貨可暢通台灣，故主要輸入品有中國歷久缺乏的通貨銀、銅，另亦有若干的海產類、裝飾品等等。

由上列貿易品目裏，不難察知台灣砂糖、江浙生絲、絲織品在日本消費市場中位居重要地位。以下就此大宗輸出品成為商品化生產的過程，與其流通國內銷售日本的情形，作一探索。



表(3) 1682年度8艘台灣船輸日貿易品數量表

品 目	數 量	品 目	數 量	品 目	數 量
白 砂 糖	859,924 斤	木 棉	5 反	黑 ボ ッ ク	703 斤
冰 砂 糖	151,358 斤	生 木 棉	157 反	宿 砂	100 斤
蜂 蜜	2,286 斤	白 木 棉	8 反	礪 砂	45 斤
白 絲	1,385 斤	黑 木 棉	8 反	犀 角	2 斤
二倍巾白紋紗綾	2,015 反	茶 芋	102 反	籐	1,190 斤
並巾白紋紗綾	186 反	白 麻 布	88 反	山 馬 鹿 皮	8,009 張
並巾白縮緬	868 反	生 麻 布	231 反	鹿 皮 第 1 種	8,383 張
並巾赤縮緬	12 反	生 粗 布	5 反	鹿 皮 第 2 種	14,738 張
赤巾白縮緬	2 反	蘇 木	92,259 斤	鹿 皮 第 3 種	6,441 張
黑巾白縮緬	9 反	各 種 藥 類	5,056 斤	牛 皮	4,109 張
並巾粗綸子	36 反	大 黃	3,103 斤	羊 皮	15,593 張
中國大綸子	120 反	甘 草	2,292 斤	鮫 皮	166 張
絹アレギヤ縞	4 反	沈 香	201 斤	牛 角	4,560 枝
黑 縷 子	4 反	群 青	166 斤	黑 漆	3,045 斤
縷	300 反	肉 桂	150 斤	陶 器 用 繪 具	515 斤
縷	48 反	山 歸 來	141 斤	弓 弦	14 斤
白 綢	10 反	Artal	90 斤	鈞 絲	102 斤
赤 大 更 紗	64 反	阿 仙 藥	98 斤	鉛	83 斤
小 大 更 紗	338 反	鼈 甲	84 斤	中 國 白 紙	30 束
小 更 紗	10 反	白 檀	18 斤	中 國 歷 史 書	1 箱
各種天鵝絨	11 反	人 參	12.5 斤		
黑 天 鵝 絨	22 反	麝 香	1 斤		
眞 綿	11 斤	カ ボ ッ ク	819 斤		

資料來源：永積洋子編，唐船輸出入品數量一覽1637～1833年——復元唐船貨物改帳・歸帆荷物買渡帳——創文社，1987，頁98—100；表(3)一(6)有關貿易品目說明，請參閱山脇悌二郎，長崎の唐人貿易，吉川弘文館，1972，頁123—139。

表(4) 1711年度8艘台灣船輸日貿易品數量表

品目	數量	品目	數量	品目	數量
白砂糖	752,580斤	大白縮緬	90反	大撰鹿皮	538張
冰砂糖	17,900斤	中白縮緬	1,409反	中撰鹿皮	275張
黑砂糖	617,800斤	小白縮緬	290反	こびと鹿皮	10,395張
白絲	1,530斤	色縮緬	1反	赤熊	30斤
大飛紋紗綾	3,622反	色綢	19反	てぐす	110斤
續大飛紋紗綾	126反	金欄	15反	光明珠	90斤
中飛紋紗綾	2,772反	錦	3反	下珠數	120連
小飛紋紗綾	1反	*其他絲織品	12反	下絹地繪	1幅
大白紗綾	180反	永春布	307反	唐紙	770束
並紗綾	1,040反	白布	95反	* ?	293 ?
色紗綾	12反	畦布	70反		
色紋紗	13反	各種藥類	9,230斤		
紋紗	1反	人參	32斤		
續小卷綸子	58反	小人參	23斤		
中卷綸子	794反	五味子	180斤		
小卷綸子	659反	肉桂	5斤		
小幅大卷綸子	104反	木實蠟	130斤		
小幅綸子	23反	*其他藥類	660斤9合		
續尺長中白縮緬	5反	沈香	156斤		
尺長中白縮緬	1,139反	線香	160斤		
續緋縮緬	1反	山馬鹿皮	3,184張		

資料來源：內閣文庫編，唐蠻貨物帳，1970。

\*原書因蟲蛀或字跡不能辨明故。

表(5) 1681年度5艘台灣船輸入日本商品數量表

品 目	數 量	品 目	數 量	品 目	數 量
丁 銀	400,700 匁	醬 油	125 樽	刻 み 烟 草	500 斤
銀 製 品	11,860 匁	胡 麻 油	75 ガンタン	烟 草	150 斤
棹 銅	50,000 斤	香 の 物	143 樽	染料(白黄赤色)	260 斤
古 銅	925 斤	味 噌	37 樽	狐 皮	23 張
銅 藥 罐	2,950 個	酒	81 樽	漆 手 箱	78 個 6 組
銅 手 盆	2,690 個	茶	120 斤	木 手 箱	50 個
銅 線	55 斤	錫	2,100 斤	各 種 漆 器	2 箱
銅 鍋	45 個	煎海鼠(海參)	1,500 斤	各 種 陶 器	1,450 個
銅 ラ ン プ	18 個	鮑	870 斤	繪 入 上 筵	350 枚
銅 皿	15 個	鯉 節	150 斤	塗 漆 角 燈	15 個
鐵 鍋	585 個	鱧 鱻(魚翅)	150 斤	kiate 板	20 枚
古 鐵	1,200 斤	各 種 乾 魚	50 枚	墨	75 斤
釘	1,625 斤	昆 布(海帶)	1,370 斤	鯨 骨	300 斤
釣 絲	100 斤	Stnaatour	1,300 斤	紙 第 2、3 種	90 束
釣 針	200 斤	各 種 藥 類	2,450 斤		
米	174 俵	雞 冠 草	100 斤		
粟	53 俵	樟 腦	2,500 斤		
小 麥 粉	525 斤	龍 腦	200 斤		
裸 麥 粉	300 斤	檳 榔 子	350 斤		

資料來源：同表(3)，頁 254。

表(6) 1711年度5艘台灣船輸入日本商品數量表

品目	數量	品目	數量	品目	數量
銀	1000兩 3500目	赤銅かみさし		蒔繪しつほく	
銅	102,766斤 6合9勺6戈	赤銅帶留		塗重箱	
粗銅	6,000斤	赤銅根付		塗丸盆	
鯛	2,224斤	赤銅瓶		塗菓子盆	
煎海鼠(海參)	13,763.5斤	ふろ釜		塗碁筭	
干鮑	4,203斤	きせる		塗折敷	
鯉節	100斤	眞鍮香爐		朱塗?重箱	
ふかのれ(魚翅)	396斤	眞鍮髪さし		朱塗丸盆	
昆布(海帶)	50,999斤	眞鍮帶留		厨子入觀音	
ところてん草	1,205斤	蒔繪吸物椀		厨子入佛	
飯米	27俵	蒔繪硯箱		扇子(無武者繪)	
醬油	37樽	蒔繪小硯箱		吸物椀	
香の物	20樽	蒔繪重箱		弁當	
植物	79桶	蒔繪香箱		白粉	
狐皮	764張	蒔繪櫛箱		筆筒	
各種小雜貨	以下 共計118個	蒔繪針箱		刻香烟	
銅藥罐		蒔繪香棚		かもじ香烟	
銅たらい		蒔繪小香棚		針口	
銅入子なべ		蒔繪香台		針刺	
銅鍋		蒔繪鏡筭		うでかね	
銅湯せん		蒔繪掛鏡		いもおろし	
銅ふろ		蒔繪盆		引飯	
銅盆		蒔繪香爐盆		百田紙	
銅火鉢		蒔繪香烟盆		べに	
赤銅香爐		蒔繪香烟入		貝玉	
赤銅かヤの釣手		蒔繪碁筭		鏡	
赤銅うでかね		蒔繪卓		石火矢藥	
赤銅ゆびかね		蒔繪火鉢			

資料來源：同表(4)。

### 三、台灣砂糖的商品化生產與消費市場

#### 1. 商品化生產

根據戴國輝氏的研究，台灣糖業的正式發展約始於 1624 至 1662 年荷據台灣時期。當時的台灣因是一片新開拓的處女地，天然資源豐富，且荷蘭人將台灣作為轉口貿易地，力圖發展歐亞諸地間的貿易活動，積極獎勵中國移民渡台從事製糖業故，台糖便在純商品目的的生產下，產量由早期的 10 餘萬斤，急速的增加，到晚期甚至一度飛躍性的產達 200 萬斤<sup>⑭</sup>。

台糖的發展，迄明鄭寧台階段（1662—1683），鄭氏政權初因面臨大軍遷台糧食匱乏，與大陸實行禁海令島內物資欠缺的困境，不得不將許多蔗園轉作種稻或其他農產物，台糖深受影響一時間約減產至荷領時代的 60% 餘<sup>⑮</sup>，然而隨著台民的努力推進農務，與台糖在日本擁有廣大的銷路，明鄭為確保財源，並為交換其他物品以供內需，始終關注發展糖業，以保持出口相當數量的台糖<sup>⑯</sup>。

1683 年台灣歸順清朝，早期多數來台從事糖業的內地人，因紛紛渡海還籍，因此台糖產量頓減僅及往昔的 10%<sup>⑰</sup>，約自 1696 年起，方因入台移民續增，普遍的經營蔗糖業故，台糖始得重新發展生產<sup>⑱</sup>。

有關康熙年間台糖產量方面，根據僅有的零散資料，如表(7)所列，約可窺知明鄭時期台糖佔中國砂糖的總輸出額比率不小。1683 年國家統一後，台糖產量增加出口比率下降的原因，是因台糖內銷市場漸多，與部份海商由內地渡台採購大量台糖外銷日本故（後述）。又，曾有學者依據 1724 年成書『台海使槎錄』的記載，主張康熙年間台糖產量約達 102,000,000 斤<sup>⑲</sup>；按此數字若就商業資金——土地開墾、生產器具、產業設備、勞工工資……的投資、勞動人口量與其生活食用品的來源、生產技術；及消費網——(a)主要外銷市場日本，經中、荷商船輸入各地砂糖總數最多年度不超過 600 萬斤<sup>⑳</sup>；(b)內銷方面，康熙前期因施行海禁令，外國銀輸入減少，加上清廷的財政緊縮政策，貨幣銀流通民間的量甚缺<sup>㉑</sup>，迄入康熙後期，雖因開海令通貨供給漸豐，但是商業經濟是否十分景氣，消費者購買力已相當強盛？都需待進一步的探討；而由上列諸點考慮，筆者對 102,000,000 斤的產量頗表懷疑。

#### 2. 消費市場

##### I、國內方面——台灣地區與中國大陸

據渡台閩粵人的民俗，於結婚納采、慶祝年節時的祭神、拜賀親友活動上，糖品糕點都列入重要饋贈禮物之一<sup>㉒</sup>。由此推測在明鄭政府獨占砂糖貿易時期，因管制島內流通活動，民間消費頗受限制<sup>㉓</sup>，迄清開海禁令後，因移民人口增加，台糖的產銷情況較往昔活躍，如從康熙『諸羅縣志』記載，諸羅縣（今嘉義縣）的許多港口，時有小商船裝載糖貨運售台灣南北各地<sup>㉔</sup>，可知台糖在 1683 年後，逐漸地普及於本島民間消費市場中。

在輸出大陸方面，由於清領台後，內地人的陸續渡台，台地的開發比較落後，一般生活物資都需仰賴大陸供給，所以有的台灣海商便從事海峽兩岸的貿易，即船載以砂糖為主的台灣土產，過海進行沿岸交易，藉購銷各地區間不同的特產品輾轉貿易，於船隻回帆時再將大陸貨輸入台灣<sup>㉕</sup>。

除了台灣商人前往內地通商外，大陸海商亦不斷地來台批購砂糖，如據康熙 58（1719）年第 30 號航日南京船主的報告：「今年 7 月左右海上突起強風，由廈門駛抵台灣採購砂糖返

表(7) 清康熙年間(1662—1722)輸日砂糖品種數量比率表

船籍 年次 品目	台 灣	中國(含台灣船)	百 分 比
*康熙2(1663)			
白砂糖	500,800斤	1,291,960斤	38.76
黑砂糖	37,000斤	197,010斤	18.78
冰糖	170斤	42,240斤	0.40
共計	537,970斤	1,531,210斤	35.13
**康熙21(1682)			
白砂糖	859,924斤	1,246,381斤	68.99
黑砂糖	0斤	1,102,623斤	0
冰糖	151,358斤	251,161斤	60.26
共計	1,011,282斤	2,600,165斤	38.89
***康熙50(1711)			
白砂糖	752,580斤	1,727,280斤	43.57
黑砂糖	617,800斤	2,636,770斤	23.43
冰糖	17,900斤	111,300斤	16.08
共計	1,388,280斤	4,475,350斤	31.02

資料來源：\*岩生成一，江戸時代の砂糖貿易について，日本學士院紀要31—1，1973，頁5。

\*\*因資料不全，台灣船部份根據前引永積氏編著，同表(3)，中國船部份據岩生氏論文，同表(1)，頁31。

\*\*\*同表(4)。

航的船隻，約有百餘艘遭遇船難事故。」<sup>②6</sup>便可想像內地商人興盛的貿易台糖，台糖銷路漸廣的情形。

## II、國外方面——日本

甘蔗性喜高溫地帶，於農業技術落後復缺乏良好栽培甘蔗的環境裏，嗜好食用砂糖的日本人，自古以來就賴海外輸入砂糖<sup>②7</sup>。在諸進口砂糖的地區中，日本對其評價為：

「白砂糖者，凡二百五十萬斤。……自諸國來，潔白而不濕者佳。其中有大塊、如丹扁餅者呼為盞盆、碎之甚白。凡大宛(即台灣)為極上，交趾次之，南京、福建、寧波等又次

之。咬留吧阿蘭陀爲下。冰砂糖凡二十萬斤餘。玲瓏如琥珀者佳。是亦自處處來。大宛爲上。黑砂糖，凡七八十萬斤，……交趾爲上，大宛、福州、暹羅次之。東埔寨爲下。此外自琉球亦七八十萬斤來。最下。」<sup>⑳</sup>總的比較，台糖品質最佳，頗受日本消費者的喜愛。

關於康熙年間，直接或轉口輸日台灣砂糖的事例不勝枚舉，例如：康熙 22（1683）年兩艘明鄭官僚派往日本貿易的商船，即由台灣輸出白砂糖 205,000 斤、冰砂糖 15,000 斤、黑砂糖 22,285 斤，合計 242,285 斤<sup>㉑</sup>。又據康熙 31（1692）年第 27 號航日廈門船商云：「今年從廈門起程駛日的船隻減少，按此係因前年霜雪侵害蔗苗，去年復因福建沿海風烈，不能栽植甘蔗缺產砂糖故。本船以往均載泉州、漳州產地的砂糖，這次多裝運台灣砂糖，約共船載 15、6 萬餘斤。」<sup>㉒</sup>與同年第 51 號廈門船主的報告：「泉州、漳州一向生產大量的砂糖，近兩年來因爲天災，故本船裝載的全是台灣砂糖。」<sup>㉓</sup>及康熙 35（1696）年 33 號台灣船商言：「本船係由泉州出海航抵台灣，中國各地商人爲買砂糖皆雲集於此，本船因爲台糖價昂，且供不應求而未能購得。」<sup>㉔</sup>等敘述中，可知中日砂糖貿易對加速台灣蔗糖業的商品化生產歷程，與刺激中日消費市場方面，頗具推力。

#### 四、江浙生絲、絲織品的商品化生產與消費市場

中國向來是良絲名絹的產地，絲織品與原料生絲特別是以浙江省湖州府爲中心，在江浙一帶出產的「湖絲」（或稱「白絲」），發展成普遍性的商品化生產，擁有廣大的國內外市場，大約是 16、7 世紀以後始有的現象<sup>㉕</sup>。究其原因，可能是(a)自南宋（1130—1279）以來，此一地域生產力的增大；(b)此處氣候、土壤等自然地理條件適宜種桑、養蠶；(c)因是王朝的財源中心，農村受到重稅重役的壓迫，與隨著銀經濟的普及，統治階層對於銀欲求加強，在賦稅實行銀納後，促使農村捲入貨幣經濟體系中；(d)由於(c)，富商地主的榨取，高利貸資金的滲透農村，迫使農村階層分解，於是零細化、隸屬化的農家壓倒性的居多數，江浙貧農爲解決生活問題，爲了償債，便不得不積極地從事家庭副業等，因此養蠶、繅絲、絲織業就成爲此一地區農民彌補家計的重要事業<sup>㉖</sup>。

江浙一帶蠶絲業的商品化經營，就農村來說，由於一般農戶缺乏資金，故於養蠶之初，即多照預期收益的月利 20—30% 先行告貸，藉此資金買入養蠶器具、種紙、桑葉等等，待蠶成繭多數農家再自行繅絲，然後攜至附近的市鎮透過牙行（中間商）賣給來自各地的客商，客商再將生絲販至國內外市場。從事蠶絲業的農民資金因多零細且具輔助家計的性質，故每於製成絲後，拋進市場賺取現金，償還養蠶借款是頗爲急要的活動。因此非爲自給自足，或爲直接納稅目的的反覆生產→迅速交易的經營，使帶有濃厚的商品化生產性格<sup>㉗</sup>。

基於大部份農家養蠶資金的困難，很快的亦促成養蠶→繅絲→製造絲織品生產過程分工的契機。例如資本不足的農戶若欲利用農閒從事絲織業，便須轉向絲商購買原料生絲<sup>㉘</sup>。又，當時農家另亦受到廉價耐用綿布衣料的影響，與農村中貧農多富戶少，及農村絲織業低階段技術的限制，致使多少含有奢侈品格調的粗級絲織品市場，發展十分不易，因此農民衡量得失，高價出售生絲，低價購入原料棉花或綿絲，經營綿紡織業的便日益增多。雖然如此，江浙農村的蠶絲業仍步趨國內外商業經濟的漸次發達，民間消費能力的提升，而使江浙產地的良質生絲迅速的流通於海內外各地市場間<sup>㉙</sup>。

再就都市而言，歷代王朝是絲織品的最大消費者。明朝（1368—1644）除了兩京織造局

(官營工場)外,在全國所有傳統技術和絲織業發達的都市裏,共設置 24 所國營染織絲織物機構,其中多聚集在江南地區<sup>38</sup>。朝廷何以需要鉅量的絲織品?其主要用途是:(a)作為皇族、內臣、奴婢等公私場合禮儀方面的服飾,與制帛、詔勅、儀衛旗幟的裝飾;(b)製作官服;(c)當作外國使節進行朝貢貿易時的賞賜品;(d)用於恩賞功臣的厚禮;(e)俸祿的替代物等等<sup>39</sup>。政府為保障絲貨的供應來源,便向農民徵收原料,令有技術者登記為匠籍,採用徭役勞動體制,設立大規模的官營工場進行生產。但是,由於官僚強制勞役,中間剝削等劣行,逼迫匠戶逃逸、遷居躲避服役者漸多,這些匠戶即因得展開私人性的經營。在朝廷方面,則於面臨官營生產的敗壞,絲織品既不可缺,對通貨銀需求又增強下,終於 1465—1487 年間改行班匠銀制。從此匠戶納銀免役,可以獲得時間、空間的自由,成為獨立的手工業經營者,政府亦可用徵收銀向民間購買,於是一面活躍了絲織品的商品流通圈,他方面亦因匠戶高等技術的流入民間,而廣泛的加深農村、都市生絲、絲織品製造業商品化生產的程度<sup>40</sup>。

## 2. 消費市場

### I、國內方面——中國大陸與台灣地區

在前述江浙農村、都市蠶絲業商品性生產發展下,隨著國內經濟的繁榮,民間購買力上升<sup>41</sup>,與貨幣銀普及的影響,使得大多數資本零細的生產者,為了維持經營,利用有利的先天條件集中生產,及使用高級原料生絲,不斷地改進技術提增質量,藉此商品交換銀補充家用是極為必要的。然而中國銀產量缺乏,資金豐富的客商或依海謀生的海民亦為持續蓬勃的商業活動,一面擴展生絲、絲織物的國內消費網,一面亦為調劑銀市場的流通量,須努力尋求各種途徑,輸出海外諸國所珍重的江浙絲貨以交易外國銀<sup>42</sup>。江浙絲貨遂在產銷配合互起作用,發展成許多不同品質的專業特產區<sup>43</sup>。例如:蘇州的紵絲、輕綢、縐紗、羅、綾,杭州的生絲、縐紗,嘉興的綾,湖州的生絲、綾,紹興的綾,……等,均馳名海內外,成為商人前往產地採購,或輾轉購買外銷日本的大宗商品<sup>44</sup>。

江浙生絲、絲織品輸入台灣地區的時間,雖無史料可稽不明,然據岩生成一氏的研究,於 17 世紀初時福建海商李旦(Andrea Dittis)就曾以台灣為連絡市場,興旺的進行中國絲與日本銀的貿易活動<sup>45</sup>。荷、鄭在台時期,海商走私絲貨運抵台灣再轉販他國的情形更是興盛<sup>46</sup>。至清領台後,如據康熙『諸羅縣志』載:「凡綾羅、綢緞、紗絹、……皆至自內地。」又,「今則北通吳越,南浮交廣,有冰紈白縠縐絲之蒙於暑,有吳綾絲絮漢府氈裘之煥於寒,……」<sup>47</sup>便指出江浙絲貨暢流台灣,台地居民着用的實況。

### II、國外方面——日本

自 16、7 世紀以來中日兩國間的緊密貿易關係,主要是建立在雙方相互依存的商品基礎上。簡單的說,亦即是中國長時期的貨幣供需失調,需賴日本提供以補市場流通量的不足;日本方面則因經濟日漸發達,蠶絲業却在落後發展的階段,為了推進絲織業,對中國產的良質原料生絲、高級絲織品的需求甚大之故<sup>48</sup>。

中日貿易發展至康熙前期,清廷雖為消滅明鄭政權,嚴格封鎖一切物資流出域外,江浙生絲、絲織品受到戰爭影響產量亦減,然而鄭氏海商仍以走私方式將江浙絲貨作為主要船貨,竭力地運銷日本<sup>49</sup>。迄清平定台灣,實行開海令後,如前列表(4)所載航日台灣船出口白絲 1,530 斤,約佔同年度中國船輸出總額 43,280 斤的 3.5%,絲織品方面則為 12,389 端比 188,492 端,約佔 6.6% 左右<sup>50</sup>;比率雖較明鄭時期大減<sup>51</sup>,但是為有利的進行台灣長崎貿易,台灣海



商如表(8)顯示，或先於本島裝載砂糖，再航往江浙附近以低廉的產地價格，加購絲貨並招集客商赴日；或藉海峽兩岸間的貿易，在台等候大陸商船進口絲貨，然後再船載航日<sup>②</sup>，由此亦可察知江浙絲貨因台日貿易在大陸與台灣間的流通，幾乎維持了約一世紀之久的盛況。

表(8) 清領台後航日台灣船駛往江浙地方採購絲貨表

年 次	船 號	原出港地	加載絲貨地
康熙 38 ( 1699 )	31	台灣	普陀山
39 ( 1700 )	24	台灣	普陀山
42 ( 1703 )	64	台灣	普陀山
42 ( 1703 )	75	廈門	普陀山
43 ( 1704 )	39	台灣	舟 山
43 ( 1704 )	40	寧波	普陀山
43 ( 1704 )	45	上海	上 海
43 ( 1704 )	46	福州	寧 波
43 ( 1704 )	59	台灣	普陀山
45 ( 1706 )	39	台灣	上 海
45 ( 1706 )	44	台灣	上 海
45 ( 1706 )	47	台灣	普陀山
45 ( 1706 )	49	台灣	舟 山
46 ( 1707 )	70	台灣	上 海
49 ( 1710 )	38	福州	寧 波

資料來源：林春齋，林鳳岡編，華夷變態，東洋文庫，  
1959，卷 26—34。

## 五、結 語

根據上述，總錄內容要點於後：

1. 台灣長崎貿易就台灣船數來說，明鄭時期因藉海外貿易支持財政，故於航日中國船總數上，佔了相當大的比重，迄清收台後，由於開海政策，日本強化貿易保護法等內外諸因素的影響，台灣船比率遞減，最後被設限於年航長崎兩艘內。
2. 以台灣海商而言，明清對立時期，能航行海峽兩岸，走私官方管制物品往來中日兩地者，多屬鄭氏方面的特權商人；於內爭結束，國家統一，因全國經濟尚未恢復景氣，故經營台日貿易者多為合夥小商；至康熙後期，商業日漸繁榮，能透過競爭獲得日本配額貿易者，則多約屬實力較強的海商。
3. 從主要輸出品流通來論，台糖在荷據台時，因荷人利用本島為國際貿易轉口站，努力推動糖業

，故台糖一開始即具商品性格的大規模生產；進入明鄭期間，鄭氏亦以砂糖貿易作為抗清武力的重要基礎；迨至清入台灣，由於撤除海禁，台灣移民人口增加，內需與外銷的擴大，而在若干程度上促進了台糖的生產與消費市場。

4. 再就絲貨的情形來說，江浙地方基於傳統歷史、地理、經濟等因素的影響，約於 16、7 世紀頃其產品生絲、絲織物即普遍的發展成商品化的生產，特別是由於中日兩國因為絲貨與貨幣的相互供需關係，很快的便藉民間貿易，將江浙名產絲貨的國內市場擴展至日本，乃至海外諸國各地。於明清交替期，台灣關係的海商主動的走私江浙絲貨，幾乎掌握了中日絲貨的貿易網；迨清定台灣後，一些台日貿易商除了仍以江浙絲貨作為主要輸出品外，江浙絲貨亦隨著渡台人口的急增，商業經濟的日趨興隆，而廣泛地流通於台灣市場。

以上，本文以清初中國政權變動時期，台灣、長崎間的貿易為範圍，就其通商變化，國內主要輸出品生產、消費與長崎貿易的關連，作了一些粗略性的考察。由於受到史料的制約，不完備處仍多，例如與小稿相關的疑點：輸出品產銷數量、產地與內外銷價格、外貿利潤、商品運輸路線、水陸貨運營業情況、以及迄今猶未定論——台灣對大陸進出口貿易組織「郊」的成立年代<sup>⑤</sup>等課題，都擬待他日搜集更充分的史料後，再作專題研究。

## 註 釋

註一：較具代表性的論著有：(A)政治：箭內健次，沼田次郎編，海外交渉史の視點 2 近世（日本書籍株式會社，1976）；中田易直，近世對外關係史の研究（吉川弘文館，1984）；(B)社會：內田直作，日本華僑社會の研究（同文館，1949）；(C)經濟：岩生成一，近世日支貿易に關する數量的考察（史學雜誌第 62 編 11 號，1953）；山脇悌二郎，近世日中貿易史の研究（吉川弘文館，1960）；同氏著，長崎の唐人貿易（同上，1972 年版）；中村質，長崎貿易利銀配分體制の形成（九州史學第 29 號，1965）；(D)文化，大庭脩，江戸時代における中國文化受容の研究（同朋社，1984）等，其他相關資料參閱拙著（註③）。

註二：筆者管見所知道的論著有：浦廉一著，賴永祥譯，延平王戶官鄭泰長崎存銀之研究（台灣風物 11 卷 3 期，1961）；南棲，台灣鄭氏五商之研究（台灣銀行季刊 16 卷 2 期，1965）；林子侯，明鄭對日關係與存銀事件（台灣文獻 25 卷 4 期，1974）等。

註三：拙著 I，明嘉靖年間（1522—1566 年）中國沿海地方における略奪貿易の研究（日本國立御茶水女子大學碩士論文，1984）；II，清初遷界令時明鄭商船之研究（史聯雜誌第 7 期，台灣史蹟研究中心，1985）；III，清初遷界令時中國船海上貿易之研究（中國海洋發展史論文集 2，中央研究院三民主義研究所，1986）；IV，清康熙雍正年間台灣船航日貿易之研究（台灣史研究暨史料發掘研討會論文集，台灣史蹟研究中心，1986）；V，明鄭時期台灣海商經營日暹貿易之研究——以胡秋官·藍澤兩艘商船為例（東海學報第 28 卷，東海大學，1987）。

註四：例如岩生氏採用荷蘭方面的史料（註①(C)），與日本史料：長崎紀事（收錄於林焯編，通航一覽，國書刊行會，1913）卷 198，唐國總括部 1；林春齋、林鳳岡編，華夷變態（東洋文庫，1958、1959）；長崎實錄大成正編（長崎文獻叢書第 1 集，長崎文獻社，1973）第 11 卷等的記錄均略不同。

註五：前引岩生成一論文（同註①）頁12—16；拙著Ⅱ（同註③）。

註六：同註⑤。

註七：前引華夷變態卷15，1688年134號台灣船商報告（同註④）。

註八：同註⑦，卷19、20，1692年、1693年26號、32號台灣船商報告。

註九：有關正德新令內容，詳見大庭脩編著，享保時代の日中關係資料1——近世日中交渉史料集2——（關西大學東西學術研究所資料集刊9—2，1986）頁107—111。

註十：拙著Ⅱ、Ⅲ、Ⅳ、Ⅴ（同註③）。

註十一：岸本美緒，康熙年間の穀賤について——清初經濟思想の一側面——（東洋文化研究所紀要第89冊，1982）。

註十二：華夷變態（同註④）；拙著Ⅱ、Ⅲ、Ⅳ、Ⅴ（同註③）。

註十三：內閣文庫編，唐蠻貨物帳，1970；永積洋子編，唐船輸出入品數量一覽1637—1833年——復元貨物改帳・歸帆荷物買渡帳——（創文社，1987）第Ⅱ、Ⅲ部。

註十四：戴國輝，中國甘蔗糖業の展開（アジア經濟調查研究雙書第129集，アジア經濟研究所，1967）第4章，總結；有關荷領時代台糖的產量，茲錄同書頁150，表3如下：

年 度	產 量(斤)	年 度	產 量(斤)	年 度	產 量(斤)
1636	122,503	1644	301,400	1654	1,550,000
1637	或 300,000 400,000	1645	1,500,000	1658	1,730,000
1640	~ 400,000 500,000	1648	900,000	1660	2,000,000
1641	500,000以上	1650	1,200,000		
1642	~ 700,000 800,000	1653	900,000以上		

另，參閱岩生成一，三百年前に於ける台灣砂糖と茶の波斯進出（南方土俗第2卷2號，1933；北叟中譯，荷鄭時代台灣與波斯間之糖茶貿易，收入台灣經濟史2集，台灣研究叢刊第32種，台灣銀行，1955）。

註十五：岩生成一，江戸時代の砂糖貿易について（日本學士院紀要31—1，1973）頁3—7。

註十六：同註④。

註十七：同註⑦。

註十八：著者不詳，光緒刊印安平縣雜記（台灣文獻叢刊第52種，台灣銀行，1959）；高拱乾，康熙台灣府志（同上第65種，1960）卷10，藝文志，頁250—251。

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- 註五十一：明鄭時期多為鄭氏方面海商從事走私絲貨貿易，輸日數量參閱前引岩生氏論文（同註①）；又，參考拙著 II、III（同註③）。
- 註五十二：華夷變態卷 24，1697 年 38 號寧波船商報告；另，由內地渡台購糖的商船，亦有可能載運絲貨抵台交易砂糖，返航原起帆地。參閱同書卷 21，1694 年 31 號；卷 24，1697 年 60 號台灣船主報告。
- 註五十三：例如方豪教授認為台南 3 郊分別起於 1765、1772、1780 年，不贊成伊能嘉矩氏主張起於 1725 年之說；吳振強氏則由康雍期間閩南沿海貿易網發展的盛況，同意伊能氏引用蔡國琳言，3 郊成立於雍正初年。方豪，台南之郊（大陸雜誌第 44 卷 4 期，另刊於方豪 60 至 64 自選待定稿，1974）；關於郊的諸多研討，可參考同氏刊印著書中；伊能嘉矩，台灣文化志（同註⑩）下卷，第 12 篇第 1 章頁 4；吳振強，前引著書（同註⑩）頁 165—167。

（本文承蒙日本學者我部政男、宮城保、中村質、松浦章、劉序楓等諸位先生提供資料，日文史料方面大庭脩博士之賜教，得以順利撰成，謹此深表謝意。）

## A Study on Taiwan-Nagasaki Trade during Emperor K'ang Hsi's Reign

Teh-lan Chu\*

### Abstract

During the reign of Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), China underwent great changes from upheaval into prosperity. Over Taiwan, the Chinese governments in the Ming Dynasty (1386-1644) took different policies. In that times, Chinese people when studying East Asia trading affairs, chiefly focusing on Japan, mostly aimed at Japan and those area politically, socially, economically and culturally. For a substantial study on the Taiwan-Nagasaki trade, I, on this essay, try to focus on Taiwan, including the number of Taiwan ships bound for Japan, vicissitude of oceanic trade, contents of merchandise carried on the sea, the contents of merchandise, like sugar of Taiwan, raw silk produced in Chiang-su and Che-chiang, silk-wear and the like, the process and backgrounds of production of such products, as well as market flows of such products in China and in Japan. These studies will be conducted based upon a few essays I previously worked out, with reference to some historical data and dissertations.

In the Ming Dynasty under the policy of overseas trade development, the number of Taiwan's ships sailing destined for Japan accounted for quite a big ratio. After the Ch'ing rulers took over Taiwan, the number of Japan-bound ships sharply dropped due to the Ch'ing's own policy and Japan's mounting protectionism. Eventually, the number was cut to two ships sailing for Nagasaki alone.

Also in the Ming Dynasty, the ones who could shuttle on the seas between China and Japan for smuggling of the government prohibited merchandise were mostly the privileged merchants of Koxinga. As the internal riots came to an end and the whole Chian was reunified, the ones engaged in trade between Taiwan and Japan were mostly small scale merchants in partnership. In the reign of Emperor K'ang-hsi, as economy was increasingly prosperous, those who could acquire quota for trade with Japan were mostly more powerful ones.

When Taiwan was under Dutch rule, the Dutch people took Taiwan for its transit trade of sugar and vigorously promoted sugar industry in Taiwan. Taiwan sugar was put into mass production. During Cheng Ching's reign, he, as well, took sugar as the primary assets in dealing with the Ch'ing. As the Ch'ing ruler landed into Taiwan, a great number of Chinese immigrated into Taiwan and the Taiwan sugar greatly increased in both outputs and market consumption.

By the historical, geographical and economic factors, raw silk and silkwear rapidly

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were grown and produced in Chiang-su and Che-chiang Provinces. Through the rapid and intensive Sino-Japanese trade ties, the noted silk and silkwear of Chiang-su and Che-chiang promptly became popular in Japan, and further into the world.

At the turn from the Ming into the Ch'ing Dynasties, the Taiwan smugglers almost entirely dominated the Chiang-su and Che-chiang silk products between China and Japan. As the Ch'ing ruler took over Taiwan, some Taiwan and Japan's traders still took Chiang-su and Che-chiang silk as their chief exports. As more and more people relocated themselves into Taiwan and economy became increasingly prosperous, Chiang-su and Che-chiang silk and silkwear were highly popular in Taiwan market.

## Communal Organizations in Taiwan during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Wen-hsiung Hsu\*

### Abstract

Various voluntary associations were formed for mutual protection in Taiwan during the Ch'ing period (1683-1895). Some were organized specifically to guard against aborigines, bandits, and rebels, to engage in feuds, to maintain local order, or to promote public well-being. These associations could be either intra-or inter-communal. This paper focuses on the formation and development of inter-communal associations in Taiwan during the 18th and 19th centuries.

An inter-communal protection society was generally created by consolidating hamlets and villages or wards in the urban areas. When these communities were consolidated, the residents signed a pact which emphasized mutual assistance and communal harmony. Whoever infringed on either principle was subjected to public sanctions. The pact, in effect, became a communal code, in which the strong were enjoined from bullying the weak. The most prominent inter-communal association was that of "righteous volunteers" (*i-min*). These people were first organized to defend their communities in the Hsia-tan-shui valley during the Uprising of Chu I-kuei in 1721. Such regimented organization gradually became institutionalized through the consecration of martyrs, the building of shrines, and the formation of volunteers' clubs. The Hakka Six Detachments organization (*liu-tui*) in the P'ing-tung area serves as a good example of such inter-communal association. It was tightly structured and county officials could hardly intervene its handling of local affairs.

As inter-communal associations were relatively effective in maintaining local order, the Ch'ing government encouraged their formation and eventually made them into its mechanism of social and political control. The righteous volunteers' organization evolved into *t'uan-lien* militia and became a common mutual defense device on the island in the mid-19th century. During the Uprising of Tai Ch'ao-ch'un in 1862, Lin Chan-wei (1821-1868) used such militia in Hsin-chu to save that city from being ransacked. After the revolt, the Ch'ing government institutionalized *t'uan-lien* by establishing its headquarters at Tainan and appointing Lin commissioner. In 1895, Taiwanese organized themselves by means of *t'uan-lien* to resist the Japanese before their occupation of the island.

The inter-communal organization enabled the participating communities to enjoy a large degree of local autonomy, but it also produced counter effects. The righteous volunteers' association could aggravate social disturbances by intensifying communal strife while defending their communities against rebels' attack. Before the 1860's, if the people originally from Ch'uan-chou prefecture of Southern Fukien revolted, those from Chang-chou prefecture and the Hakkas would invariably become "righteous volunteers" fighting against rebels, and vice versa. As a result, the counter-revolt by the "righteous volunteers"

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could be more devastating than popular uprisings themselves.

Although inter-communal organizations such as righteous volunteers associations increased the incidence of communal strife, they by and large facilitated social control and to some extent promoted social mobility. The Hakka Six Detachments organization provided funds for promising boys to study and helped produce some 42 degree holders in the communities. The Ch'ing government also recruited volunteers into the regular army and rewarded their leaders with lower military positions. In Taiwan where political control was relatively weak during the Ch'ing period, communal organizations generally served to stabilize its society.

Taiwanese settlement during the Ch'ing period was a process of adjusting to a mixture of geographical and social inputs. Since lineage which often determined the formation of settlement in Southeast China was relatively weak in Taiwan, early immigrants normally relied upon identical surnames, dialects, and ancestral places for the formation of their settlements. They helped each other in land reclamation and defense against the aborigines while the frontier situation deepened their religious belief in supernatural support. Mutual assistance and religious belief offered the most common "culturally constituted behavioral environment" and prompted Taiwanese settlers to form various voluntary associations.<sup>1</sup> Some common voluntary associations, such as sworn brotherhoods, secret societies, religious societies, commercial guilds, *hui-kuan* (*Landsmannschaften*), financial assistance partnerships, and associations for bereavement benefits facilitated their members' personal interests and religious belief and served to "put together elements of action so as to get done something."<sup>2</sup> But these voluntary associations, with the exception of religious societies, normally did not involve the majority of the residents in the communities. For social order and regional security, the Taiwanese turned to communal organizations based on the geographical units of the village and the city ward.

Communal organizations were formed generally for the maintenance of communal harmony and social order. As gambling, vagrancy, banditry, revolt, and feuding were five common interrelated symptoms of social deviance and disorder in Taiwan during the Ch'ing period, these associations were organized to circumvent them. Such organizations could be either intra- or inter-communal. Inter-communal associations aimed to deter popular uprisings and feuds, while intra-communal associations were intended to settle vagrancy and prevent banditry and gambling.

Gambling began in Taiwan in the mid-17th century and became prevalent during the 18th century. It was said that the settlers would pawn their clothes to raise money to gamble, but even gambling masters lost so badly that they did not have trousers to wear.<sup>3</sup> Gamblers came from all walks of life. They could play in 115 different ways almost everywhere except in front of the stone tablets proscribing gambling.<sup>4</sup> The Ch'ing Penal Code stipulated that gamblers were to be subjected to the punishment of at least one hundred blows and made to wear the cangue for two months.<sup>5</sup> This ordinance, however, was rarely effective. Even soldiers played for money and operated

gambling dens in pawnshops.<sup>6</sup> Gambling not only ruined the lives of settlers but also engendered social disorder. A seventeen-year old boy, who could recite a couple of chapters from the *Great Learning*, became an inveterate gambler and degenerated into a begger in Tainan in the mid-19th century.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the gambling itself often resulted in verbal disputes and physical confrontations, which sometimes flared up into inter-group fighting.

Many gamblers were vagrants. Vagabondism became a serious social problem on the island in the mid-18th century. As the economy deteriorated, vagrants also increased, and inefficient administration allowed them to rove freely. A number of them died unnoticed. In 1747, after many vagrants were discovered to have died in ditches, a charitable house (*P'u-chi t'ang* [universal-aid hall]) was set up in Tainan.<sup>8</sup> Still, little institutionalized assistance was offered to the homeless men who struggled to live. The vagrants resorted to extortion and robbery, and they gradually became a kind of social force with which even soldiers avoided confrontations.<sup>9</sup> They joined secret societies and took part in both popular uprisings and feuds. During the Uprising of Ch'en Chou-ch'uan at Lu-kang in 1795, they threw many bricks and clay missiles at government troops and shouted loudly to mislead local officers that the rebels outnumbered the government soldiers.<sup>10</sup> They liked to see a community in turmoil so that they could muscle in and secure any possible gains; in feuds, they were readily hired as combatants.<sup>11</sup> Yet only few officials took conscientious efforts to deal with them. After the Uprising of Hsü Shang, officials in 1825 instructed village headmen to report all strangers loitering around temples.<sup>12</sup> Intendant Yao Ying recruited the vagrants as militiamen or assigned them to cultivate land on the coast and in the hills in 1838; from August to October more than 8,000 vagrants reportedly settled in the Chia-i and Chang-hua area, and the figure increased to 40,000 the following year.<sup>13</sup> In spite of these positive measures by the government, vagrants continued to exist and posed a threat to social order until the end of the 19th century.<sup>14</sup>

Interrelated to gambling and vagabondism was banditry. Beginning in the 18th century rural areas were infested with thieves and bandits. It was reported in the 1720's that cattle theft constituted 70 to 80 percent of larceny in the countryside.<sup>15</sup> Robbers disguised themselves as government runners and held up both residents and merchants.<sup>16</sup> Several hundred Hakkas went on a rampage in Tainan and looted part of the capital city in January, 1849.<sup>17</sup> Banditry became more violent and rampant with time; during the last quarter of the 19th century, a single brigand group could comprise as many as a hundred waylaying travelers and plundering villagers.<sup>18</sup> In 1894, a Japanese visitor, observing that three evils existed in Taiwan: malaria, uncivilized aborigines, and banditry, considered banditry to be the worst.<sup>19</sup> On paper, the punishment for banditry was harsh. For example, if three men committed armed robbery, they were banished to the frontier on the mainland for military servitude.<sup>20</sup> But stiff penalties never became a deterrent to criminal activities owing to the indolence of local officials. In order to protect themselves, wealthy people befriended bandits, feasted and paid them to teach their children to use fowling pieces.<sup>21</sup>

Common people organized village-based associations to ward off banditry.

The communal association was a common form of social organization in Taiwan during the 18th and 19th centuries. It was a village-wide organization designed to manage local affairs and resolve community problems. When such a village-based association was established, the participants signed a pact (*ho-yüeh* or *kung-yüeh*) to ensure its operation. The pact translated mutual assistance into collective responsibility and related communal harmony with public security. It included a set of injunctions against misconduct and in effect became a communal code for the residents to follow. Each member inculcated his children not to deviate from social norms. The association itself enforced social sanctions against any breach of the communal code, acted on all the problems confronting the community, and settled disputes among its members at its open meetings (*kung-i*). When an incident occurred, the members were notified by gong, drum, or bamboo conch, and upon hearing it, they would rush to hunt for perpetrators. The members provided all operating costs. Rewards or compensations were meted out to the members for their service and fines were imposed on those who shirked their responsibilities or defied the regulations set in the pact.

Some single-village communal associations were formed specifically to prevent gambling or guard against banditry, or both. In 1725, a village-based organization was set up in Hsia-wa-t'ung-kang (in P'eng-hu) to preclude stealing and gambling. It prohibited the theft of grains, vegetables, poultry, firewood and even cow dung. It also forbade anyone to operate gambling houses or gamble in or outside the community. Its injunctions were primarily designed to humiliate the offenders. The gambling house owner or gambler, if discovered, in addition to being fined and flogged, would carry a paper cangue to parade the village. All fines collected from these violations would be donated to the Temple of Kuan Yü.<sup>22</sup> In an association formed by the tenant peasants in Hai-feng (in present P'ing-tung) in 1852, the members agreed to patrol paddy fields at night during the seedling period. If they apprehended a thief, they would arraign him at the public meeting before handing him over to government officials. But the association was more than a vigilance organization; it was also concerned with its member's security. If a member suffered any farming related loss, other peasants would give money to help him out.<sup>23</sup>

Villagers also organized themselves to ward off extortion from vagrants and outsiders. In northern Taiwan, scoundrels disguised themselves as inspectors from the office of said revenues (*yen-kuan*) and blackmailed residents by setting traps to frame them for making or smuggling salt. The villagers in Ta-ch'i-ch'ien in Hsin-chu decided to counteract in 1883. They jointly confronted anyone who claimed to be a salt inspector and incriminated villagers. The organization also raised bonds to bail out the villager who was involved in a lawsuit after attempting to resist extortion.<sup>24</sup>

Besides its attempts to prevent banditry and gambling, the village-based association was also established for community development and environmental preservation. An organization in a Hakka village named Wu-hsi-pao (in Chang-hua county) was formed in

1813 for the fixed purpose of community development. The villagers entered into a bond to set aside some land to build a market place in front of the Temple of Kuan Yu so that they did not have to travel far to purchase goods.<sup>25</sup> In 1829, villagers in Hsin-p'i (in P'ing-tung county) organized a Shu-shan Association to protect a hill from being deforested.<sup>26</sup>

Intra-communal associations enabled the participants to collaborate their efforts to prevent stealing and reduce gambling, but because banditry and gambling sometimes involved more than one village, residents of adjacent areas also co-ordinated to avert social disorder. And to cope with more violent and devastating popular revolts and feuds, the Taiwanese formed inter-communal associations by consolidating hamlets and villages (*lien-chuang* or *lien-chia*) or wards in a city (*lien-ching*). This kind of consolidation of neighboring areas constituted what Karl Deutsch called a "security community." There, the residents not only shared a sense of community, but they also solved social problems, "normally by institutionalized procedures, without resort to large-scale physical force."<sup>27</sup> Such an inter-communal association became a common mutual defense device in the mid-19th century.<sup>28</sup>

The inter-communal association was more than the expansion of the single-village organization, it also had a relatively formal structure. Whereas the intra-communal organization had a pact to regulate a village or city ward, it did not necessarily appoint a specific person to execute it. The members of an inter-communal association not only signed a pact but also elected village managers, who further chose a general-manager (*tsung-li*, *yueh-shou*, or *chu-shou*) to head the organization. Normally it also reserved a public estate managed by a temple or a religious society.<sup>29</sup> Each village or street in the city provided volunteers or hired men to patrol the neighborhood, especially at night. The organization rewarded those who captured or killed transgressors and looked after those who were wounded or slain in the pursuit.

Inter-communal organizations were first established by people on their own initiative. In the prefectural city of Tainan, five of its 18 wards formed such a voluntary association for public safety. In the winter, for example, the organization would assign ten able-bodied men to patrol the area in the northern section of the city to watch for larceny and fire.<sup>30</sup> In 1870, the villagers in the T'ou-ch'ung-k'eng area in Hsin-chu consolidated their hamlets in order to deal with stealing more effectively. Watchtowers were set up at strategic points and men were assigned to stand sentry over strangers. And to ensure that members not commit any crimes, they were prohibited from cutting down trees and pilfering cattle, fish, and grains within the confines.<sup>31</sup>

The Ch'ing government recognized the relative effectiveness of the inter-communal association in maintaining law and order and encouraged its formation. After 1832 local authorities occasionally instructed villages to consolidate and stipulated regulations for their operation.<sup>32</sup> When British gunboats frequented the western coast of Taiwan between June and July, 1840, Intendant Yao Ying ordered that hamlets and villages be consolidated to strengthen the island's coastal defense.<sup>33</sup> After the mid-19th century, the Ch'ing government made the inter-communal association into

its mechanisms of social control. The county magistrate showed his approval of an inter-communal organization by giving its general-manager a wooden seal (*ch'uo-chi*). Since the general-manager served as an intermediary between the villages and the government administration, the local official screened the selection of such a person cautiously. In Miao-li, Tung-lo-wan and seven other villages were consolidated in 1871 to "handle all major and minor matters" involving the residents. The land leaseholders, tenant peasants, and shopkeepers all agreed to share operating costs and elected a military *sheng-yuan* named Li Feng-nien to head their organization. The county official, however, questioned Li's credentials and did not approve the arrangement.<sup>34</sup>

Once the county official approved the selection of the general-manager of the inter-communal association, he normally did not intervene operation. Although such an association continued to underscore communal harmony and local autonomy, its nature gradually changed under governmental supervision from mutual protection to mutual surveillance. Mutual surveillance was obviously more effective in detecting potential troublemakers who might stir up communities.

Some inter-communal associations were organized primarily to cope with feuds between the Southern Fukienese and the Hakkas. In fact, some pacts of such organizations unequivocally stated that they were formed to preclude feuds.<sup>35</sup> The three-village organization in the Shih-ting area in 1853 stressed that villagers should live in peace regardless of their geographical origins and that large hamlets defend the small ones and powerful families protect the weak ones. It enjoined the strong from bullying the weak and forbade residents to coerce others into lending grain and money. It also prohibited residents from threatening others with weapons, discouraged them from moving out, and warned them to expel anyone spreading rumors.<sup>36</sup> The four-village association formed in the Hsin-hua area near Tainan in 1884 forbade the villagers to loiter, gamble, whore, appropriate other people's personal effects, harbor criminals, bribe yamen clerks, smoke or sell opiums, spread rumors, instigate litigations, and lodge false accusations. Villagers were required to confine their cattle to proper places and pay for any damage incurred by their cattle's stampede. And to improve communications, residents jointly cleaned up and repaired the roads that linked their villages on certain days of the year.<sup>37</sup> All of these circumspect measures helped to diminish the potential of inter-personal conflict which could lead to inter-village fighting.

The inter-communal association served to reduce residents' relational distance, or the degree to which residents participated in one another's lives, and improve inter-personal and inter-village communication. In the resolution of conflict, five modes of settlement behavior can be identified: friendly pacification, mediation, arbitration, adjudication, and repressive pacification.<sup>38</sup> The inter-communal association not only enabled residents to make more contacts with residents from other villages but it also employed friendly persuasion, mediation, and arbitration to settle contentions between

residents and villages, thus bridging mutual exclusion and minimizing the potential of inter-group fighting. The inter-communal association apparently helped to avert social disturbances, for feuds which rent Taiwan society became less frequent after the mid-19th century.<sup>39</sup>

The inter-communal associations were also formed to cope with popular uprisings. The most prominent of such associations was that of "righteous volunteers" (*i-min*).<sup>40</sup> They were so named perhaps because they carried "flags of loyalty" (*i-ch'i*) while fighting against rebels during popular uprisings.<sup>41</sup> They were first organized during the Uprising of Chu I-kuei in 1721. On May 17 of that year, the Hakka people living in Kang-tung-li and Kang-hsi-li of the Hsia-tan-shui valley requested the local authorities to station soldiers there, but the government troops never arrived. On June 4, 12,000 Hakkas from 13 large hamlets and 64 smaller ones organized themselves into seven battalions for their own protection. They opened eight community granaries and distributed 160,000 *shih* of grain. On July 13, they won a decisive battle by defeating some 10,000 rebels. After the uprising, the government gave 174 meritorious righteous volunteers "stamped certificates" (*cha-fu*) and rewarded seven leaders with the rank of lieutenant.<sup>42</sup>

After 1721 the Taiwanese invariably organized themselves under the name of righteous volunteers to attack rebels. If the people originally from Ch'uan-chou prefecture revolted, those from Chang-chou and the Hakkas would become volunteers, and vice versa. These volunteers sometimes outnumbered rebels or government troops and were more effective in quashing the uprisings than were the government soldiers. Their counter-revolts, however, also aggravated feuds, which sometimes were more devastating than the popular uprisings. During the Rebellion of Lin Shuang-wen in 1787-1788, it was estimated that 47,903 Hakka and Ch'uan-chou volunteers fought against Lin Shuang-wen's Chang-chou rebels, thus prolonging the feud that precipitated the revolt.<sup>43</sup> As the organization of righteous volunteers became institutionalized, certain patterns began to emerge.

The Fukienese righteous volunteers were loosely organized, except those formed by the commercial guilds, and were dissolved after popular uprisings ended. In contrast, the Hakka righteous volunteers were well organized and lasted longer. This was not only because they were on the defensive as a minority group in Taiwan, but also because they generally did not join such secret societies as the Heaven and Earth Society. The association was usually formed, financed, and headed by degree holders, guild merchants, and "respectable" commoners, but it was occasionally subsidized by local officials, who issued a cloth certificate to its leaders.<sup>44</sup> Righteous volunteers came from all walks of life, including vagrants and members of the Heaven and Earth Society.<sup>45</sup> The association was generally organized according to geographical distribution of its participants, with each unit using a flag or other objects for identification. During the Rebellion of Lin Shuang-wen, about 10,000 Hakkas, Ch'uan-chou people, and sinicized aborigines in the Tainan area were organized into five units, each having

its own colored flag and vests.<sup>46</sup> In 1805-1806, when Ts'ai Ch'ien was encamped in the Lu-erh-men area with the apparent intention of attacking the capital, 250 local leaders mustered some 10,000 men and placed them under the flags named after the Three Guilds in Tainan and the streets on which they lived.<sup>47</sup>

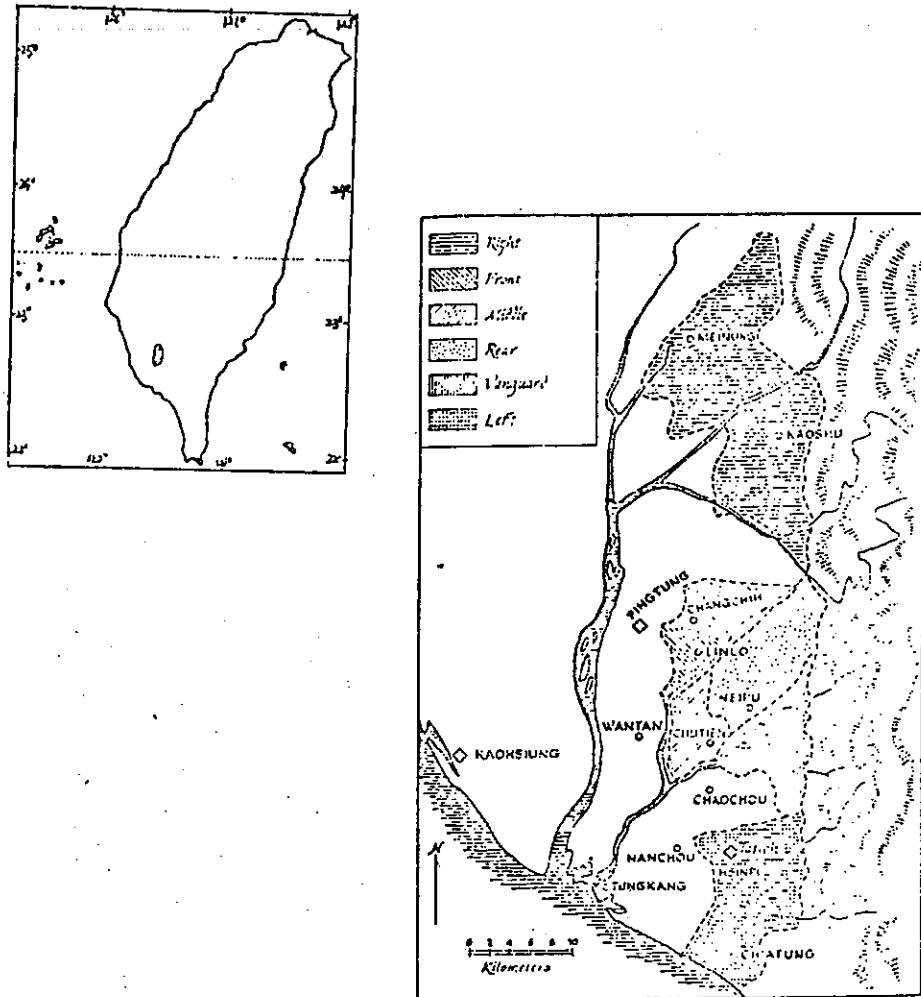
Such regimented organization gradually became institutionalized through the consecration of martyrs, the building of shrines, and the formation of volunteers clubs. In some localities, such as Chu-tung and Hsin-p'u (Hsin-chu county), these shrines to martyrs were the temples of greatest importance. The righteous volunteers association took charge of the shrines, convened its meetings, and held annual sacrificial ceremonies in honor of the martyrs there. The deification and worship of martyrs as local patron gods served to sanctify the organization and enhance its solidarity.

The Hakka Six Detachments (*liu-tui*) Association in the P'ing-tung area serves as a good example of the righteous volunteers association. It was established in 1721 and institutionalized during the Uprising of Wu Fu-sheng in 1732, when some 13,000 Hakkas organized themselves into six camps to hem in the rebels.<sup>48</sup> Its structure remained essentially unchanged for about a century and a half until 1895. The organization survived fifty years of Japanese colonial control; and today it still exists as an inter-communal organization without military functions.

The Six Detachments were arranged according to the geographical distribution of the participant communities as well as strategic needs (Table 1 and Figure 1). The components were selected from the Hakka hamlets and villages. About fifty men were organized under a flag, and several "flag units" (normally six) formed a detachment. A manager headed a detachment, and a general manager, who was usually a degree holder, supervised the entire organization. These leaders strictly enforced order, especially in combat. Lai Hsiung-fei, a military (*bü-jen*), who led the Hakkas in their

TABLE 1  
ARRANGEMENT OF THE SIX DETACHMENTS

Unit	Number of the Hamlets and Villages Consolidated	Approximated Area
Left	13	Chia-tung
Right	27	Mei-nung
Front	17	Chang-chih, Lin-lo
Rear	15	Nei-p'u
Middle	23	Chu-t'ien
Vanguard	12	Wan-luan
Total	107	



From Burton Pasternak, *Kinship & Community in Two Chinese Villages*, p. 143.

Fig. 1. --The distribution of the six detachments



fight against rebels in 1805, executed those who retreated when encountering the enemy. Each participant hamlet purveyed its own rations; normally big land leaseholders (absentee landowners) provided 20 percent, small land leaseholders (real landlords) 50 percent, and tenant peasants 30 percent.<sup>49</sup> The organization possessed cannons, four of which were seized from the rebels in 1721, while others were smuggled from the mainland.<sup>50</sup>

The Hakka Six Detachments Association achieved strong "mechanical solidarity" through the "consciousness of kind," which was furthered enhanced through the extension of affinal ties. It was so tightly organized that county officials could hardly intervene in its affairs. Its leaders resolved disputes among residents and punished the offending parties without notifying the local authorities.<sup>51</sup> When the residents in Hai-feng (in P'ing-tung) were vexed with the theft of cattle, plundering, and kidnaping, a deputy general-manager of the organization put up placards to warn people of the consequences of any wrongdoing. In his directives, he also vowed to dispatch a brigade to apprehend anyone who blackmailed or trespassed against a *kung-shen* degree holder.<sup>52</sup> The organization also promoted education. A Society for Civil Service Examination (*k'o-chü hui*) was established to provide funds for promising Hakka sons to study and travel to Foochow to take civil service examinations.<sup>53</sup> During the Ch'ing period, it assisted in producing 19 *kung-sheng*, 20 *chü-jen*, and 3 *chin-shih* degree holders.<sup>54</sup>

Indeed, the righteous volunteers association became a channel for social mobility (both horizontal and vertical) in Taiwan during the 18th and 19th centuries. The government recruited volunteers into the army and rewarded commoner-leaders with lower military positions. In 1740, for example, 142 volunteers were promoted to Ensigns (*wai-wei ch'ien-tsung*, 8a) from Sergeants (*wai-wei pa-tsung*, 9a) and 212 volunteers received same promotions the following year.<sup>55</sup> The rewards were given out generously, but not all leaders accepted the offers. For instance, Lin Lien-chao (1751-1816), a volunteer leader from a hamlet in the Chia-i county during the Rebellion of Lin Shuang-wen, declined the position of lieutenant recommended by General Fu-k'ang-an (d. 1796).<sup>56</sup> After 1804, only three lieutenants, five sub-lieutenants, and ten sergeants could be selected from volunteer leaders in any three-year period.<sup>57</sup> The government also offered civil positions to the volunteer leaders. After the Rebellion of Lin Shuang-wen in 1788, two leaders of the Six Detachments, Tseng Chung-li (civil *chü-jen* from Kwangsi) and Huang Tien-pang (military *chü-jen*) were appointed sub-prefects; and two other leaders in the Chang-hua as Jail Warden (*tien-shih*) of Chia-hsing in Chekiang and Chang Yüan-ku as Sub-district Magistrate (*hsün-chien*) of Kuei-yang in Kweichow.<sup>58</sup> After the Uprising of Ch'en Chou-ch'üan in 1795, a volunteer leader named Lin Kuo-t'ai in Chang hua was appointed Sub-prefect of Ch'u-chou in Chekiang and served in that capacity for ten years.<sup>59</sup>

The righteous volunteers association, though aiming to put down popular uprisings, might also aggravate social disturbances. Lin Kung, who led a revolt in 1853, and Tai

Ch'ao-ch'un, who led another revolt from 1862 to 1864, were themselves the leaders of righteous volunteers associations.<sup>60</sup> Some residents became volunteers for personal reasons—to attack their foes or to take vengeance. They refused to pay taxes under the pretext that they were providing rations.<sup>61</sup> They engaged in feuds and caused greater havoc than rebels and bandits.<sup>62</sup> During the uprisings led by Chang Ping and Hsu Ch'eng in 1832-1833, the Hakka volunteers indiscriminately assaulted the Fukienese in the P'ing-tung area. As a result, the government had to simultaneously cope with both the Fukienese uprisings and the Hakka counter-revolts.<sup>63</sup>

In spite of its shortcomings, the righteous volunteers organization evolved into *t'uan-lien* militia in the mid-19th century.<sup>64</sup> After the 1860's, *t'uan-lien* became a common defense device. It was usually formed according to communal needs and geographical boundaries, unlike that based on lineage on the mainland.<sup>65</sup> During the Uprising of Tai Ch'ao-ch'un in 1862, Lin Chan-mei (1821-1868) organized *t'uan-lien* in Hsin-chu to save that city from being ransacked. After the revolt, the Ch'ing government institutionalized *t'uan-lien* by establishing its headquarters at Tainan and appointing Lin commissioner. In 1884 Intendant Liu Ao drew up a master plan of *t'uan-lien* and implemented it.<sup>66</sup> The volunteers organization and *t'uan-lien* arrangement remained in effect until 1895 when the Japanese occupied the island.

Communal organizations in Taiwan were formed generally to maintain local order and specifically to guard against bandits and rebels, to discourage gambling, and to preclude feuds. They were characterized by some of what Clifford Geertz called "planes of social organizations" (or common organizational themes "based on a whole different principle of affiliation"): (1) sense of affinity not based on kinship; (2) same geographic origins of members; (3) overlapping memberships; (4) unwritten pledges or written contracts as organizational codes; and (5) counterweight to governmental institutions.<sup>67</sup> Their paramount concern was communal harmony and public security.

In Taiwan society where immigrants continuously came during the 18th and 19th centuries, the communal organizations based on villages helped stimulate structural assimilation among the segments of population.<sup>68</sup> They also facilitated the normative integration through their pacts, which stressed collective action to promote mutual interests and communal harmony.<sup>69</sup> The fabric of communal organizations in effect constituted a mechanism of social control. They served those functions that the government was unwilling or unable to perform. In a sense, they exerted more control over their members than did the state, thus enhancing the traditional autonomy of communities, both rural and urban. Although such self-regulating organizations posed a counterweight to the state, they helped the government put down popular uprisings instead of challenging it. As they were relatively effective in maintaining local order, the Ch'ing government encouraged their formation and eventually placed them into its apparatus of political control, changing their nature from voluntary mutual assistance to compulsory mutual surveillance.

Communal organizations enabled the participating communities to enjoy a large

degree of self-government, but they also produced counter effects. The righteous volunteers association could aggravate social disturbances by intensifying feuds while defending its own communities against rebels' attack. In general, however, in Taiwan where political control was relatively weak during the Ch'ing period, communal organizations served to stabilize its society.

## NOTE

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44. *Kung-chung tang* 宮中檔 (The archives of the Ch'ing imperial palace), no. 052767. Cf. Huang Tien-ch'uan, "Ch'ing Lin Shuang-wen shih-pein chung ti i-min-shou'i-

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45. *Chun-chi tang* 軍機檔 (The archives of the Ch'ing grand secretariat), nos. 038807, 038809. Also in *T'ien-ti hui* 天地會 (The Heaven and Earth Society), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Chung-kuo jen-min ta-hsueh ch'u-pan she, 1982), p. 4; Liu Ju-chung 劉如仲 and Miao Hsueh-meng 苗學孟 eds., *T'ai-wan Lin Shuang-wen ch'i-tzu-liao hsuan-pien* 台灣林爽文起義資料選編 (Selected materials concerning the rebellion of Lin Shuang-wen) (Fuzhou: Fu-Chien jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1984), pp. 219-220.
46. *Hsu-hsiu T'ai-wan hsien-chih*, p. 328; *T'ai-wan nan-pu pei-wen chi-ch'eng*, pp. 147-148.
47. *Hsu-hsiu T'ai-wan hsien-chih*, pp. 328-329; Liu Chia-mou, *Hai-yin shih*, 21a; Cheng Chien-ts'ai 鄭兼才, *Liu-t'ing wen-hsuan* 六亭文選 (Selections from the collected works of Cheng Chien-ts'ai), *TWWHTK*, No. 143 (1962), pp. 58-61.
48. *T'ai-an hui-lu*, Vol. VI, pp. 44-45, 47.
49. *Tainan ken shi* 台南縣志 (History of Tainan county) (Osaka, 1899), pp. 23-27; Ino, *Taiwan bunka shi*, Vol. 1, pp. 424-425; *Nambu Taiwan shi* 南部台灣志 (History of southern Taiwan), compiled by Murakami Tamakichi 村上玉吉 (Tainan: Tainanshu kyoeikai 台南州世榮會, 1934), pp. 23-24; Abe Akiyoshi 安倍明義, *Taiwan chimei kenkyu* 台灣地名研究 (Studies on Taiwan place names) (Taipei: Bango kenkyukai 蕃語研究會, 1948), pp. 264-265; Chang Ch'in-lung 張琴龍, "K'o-jen tsai nan-T'ai-wan, liu-tui shih-hua" 客人在南台灣, 六堆史話 (Hakkas in south Taiwan: a history of liu-tui), *Chung-yuan* 13 (Miao-li, 1955), 13; 14 (1955), 13; Chung Jen-shou 鍾壬壽 ed., *Liu-tui K'o-chia hsiang-t'u chih* 六堆客家鄉土志 (History of the Hakkas of the six detachments) (Nei-p'u, P'ing-tung: Ch'ang-ch'ing ch'u-pan she 常青出版社, 1973), *passim*.
50. *Ta Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu* 大清歷朝實錄 (Veritable records of successive dynasties of the great Ch'ing), *Kao-tsung shih-lu*, 1486. 2a-b; *Ch'ung-hsiu Feng-shan hsien-chih*, p. 256; *Feng-shan hsien ts'ai-fang-ts'e*, pp. 433-434.
51. Chai Hao 翟灝, *T'ai-yang pi-chi* 台陽筆記 (Notes on Taiwan), *TWWHTK*, No. 20 (1958), p. 3; *T'ai-wan nan-pu pei-wen chi-ch'eng*, p. 705.
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53. Taiwan tochi kanko ippan 台灣土地慣行一斑. (Customs concerning land in Taiwan) (Taipei, 1905), Vol. 3, p. 40; Hirayama Isao 平山勳 ed., *Taiwan shakai keizai-shi zenshu* 台灣社會經濟史全集 (Collected writings on Taiwan social and economic history) (Taipei: Taiwan keizai-shi gakkai 台灣經濟史學會, 1933), Vol. 3, p. 33.
54. Chang Ch'in-lung, "Liu-tui shih-hua," 14(1955), 13; Chung Jen-shou, ed., *Liu-tui K'o-chia hsiang-t'u chih*, pp. 191-192, 305-306.
55. *Ch'ung-hsiu Feng-shan hsien-chih*, pp. 256-260; *Feng-shan hsien ts'ai-fang ts'e*, pp. 270-273.
56. Huang Tien-ch'uan, "Lin Shuang-wen shih-pien chung ti i-min-shou-cheng." pp.

- 28-29.
57. *Jen-tsung shih-lu*, 126. 3b-4b.
58. *Kao-tsung shih lu*, 1321.11a-b; *Chang-hua hsien-chih*, p. 252.
59. *Chang-hua hsien-chih*, pp. 253, 259.
60. *Feng-shan hsien ts'ai-fang ts'e*, p. 413; Ts'ai Ch'ing-yun 蔡青筠, *Tai-an chi-lueh* 戴案紀略 (A brief account of the uprising of Tai Ch'ao-ch'un), *TWWHTK*, No. 206 (1964), p. 3.
61. *T'ai-wan ts'ai-fang ts'e*, pp. 34-35.
62. *Fu-chien t'ung-chih T'ai-wan fu*, p. 318.
63. Chou K'ai, *Nei-tzu-sung-chai wen-hsuan*, pp. 36-37, 41, 52; *Feng-shan hsien ts'ai-fang ts'e*, pp. 274-275.
64. *Shu-ch'i lin-chin* 樹杞林志 (Gazetteer of Shu-ch'i-lin), *TWWHTK*, No. 63 (1960), p. 89. For a comprehensive study of *t'uan-lien*, see Lin Sheng-fen 林聖芬, *Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan chih t'uan-lien chih-tu* (M.A. thesis, National Taiwan University, 1978).
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68. Structural assimilation refers to the entrance of the immigrants and their descendants into the social organizations, institutional activities, and general social life of the receiving society; see Milton M. Gordon, "Social Structure and Goals in Group Relations," in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, ed. by Morroe Berger, et al. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1954), pp. 151-152.
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## GLOSSARY

- cha-fu 筍付  
 Chang Chih-huai 張植槐  
 Chang Ping 張丙  
 Chang Yuan-ku 張源志  
 Ch'ang-chih 長治  
 Ch'en Chou-ch'uan 陳周全  
 Chu I-kuei 朱一貴  
 Chu-t'ien 竹田  
 Chu-tung 竹東  
 Ch'u-chou 處州  
 ch'uo-chi 戳記  
 chu-shou 局首  
 Fu-k'ang-an 福康安  
 Hai-feng 海豐  
 ho-yueh 合約  
 Hsia-tan-shui 下淡水  
 Hsia-wa-t'ung-kang 下瓦硿港  
 Hsin-hua 新化  
 Hsin-p'i 新埤  
 Hsin-p'u 新埔  
 Hsü Ch'eng 許成  
 Hsü Shang 許尙  
 Huang Tien-pang 黃燮邦  
 hui-kuan 會館  
 i-ch'i 義旗  
 i-min 義民  
 Kang-hsi-li 港西甲  
 Kang-tung-li 港東甲  
 k'o-chü hui 科舉會  
 kung-i 公議  
 kung-yüeh 公約  
 Lai Hsiung-fei 賴熊飛  
 Li Feng-nien 李逢年  
 lien-chia 聯甲  
 lien-ching 聯境  
 lien-chuang 聯庄  
 Lin Chan-mei 林占梅  
 Lin Kung 林恭  
 Lin Kuo-t'ai 林國泰  
 Lin Lien-chao 林連招  
 Lin-lo 麟洛  
 Lin Shuang-wen 林爽文  
 Liu Ao 劉璈  
 liu-tui 六堆  
 Lu-erh-men 鹿耳門  
 Lu-kang 鹿港  
 Mei-nung 美濃  
 Nei-p'u 內埔  
 p'u-chi t'ang 普濟堂  
 sheng-yüan 生員  
 Shih-ting 石碇  
 shu-shan hui 樹山會  
 Ta-ch'i-ch'ien 大溪墘  
 Tai Ch'ao-ch'un 戴潮春  
 tien-shih 典史  
 T'ou-ch'ung-k'eng 頭重坑  
 Ts'ai Ch'ien 蔡牽  
 Tseng Chung-li 曾中立  
 tsung-li 總理  
 t'uan-lien 團練  
 T'ung-lo-wan 銅鑼灣  
 Wan-luan 萬巒  
 wai-wei ch'ien-tsung 外委千總  
 wai-wei pa-tsung 外委把總  
 Wu Fu-sheng 吳福生  
 Wu-hsi pao 武西堡  
 Yao Ying 姚瑩  
 yen-kuan 塩館  
 yueh-shou 約首

## 清代台灣社群組織之探討

許文雄\*

### 摘 要

清代許多自發性的組織，乃為對抗土蕃、盜賊而成立，這些互助的組織，常存在於同一社群內，亦存在於社群之間，本文主旨乃在探討台灣地區在十八、九世紀時，各社群間之互助、互衛組織之形成與發展。

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**Academeocracy in Taiwan:  
A Historical-Eidetic Analysis of Education  
in Modern Cathay**

**Douglas C. Smith\***

**Abstract**

The theme of this study is an inquiry into those features that have melded to give Taiwan its unique educational system. The vehicle for this theme is a compendious essay on the current status of education Taiwan -- its goals, philosophical base, methodology and structure.

Education in modern Taiwan is the product of 3,000 years of continuous Chinese history. Various factors have come together to create this unique education paradigm, most of which are intrinsic to the Chinese culture milieu. It is the goal of Chinese education in Taiwan to afford all young men and women the opportunity to achieve success through the conduit of academic life. The poorest child, theoretically, can reach a position of distinction in Chinese society in Taiwan by way of the education model that is open to all persons. Success in scholastic life is Darwinian; it depends on high achievement and on fairly administered open examinations throughout the young person student years. Self-discipline, future-orientedness and hardwork characterize those boys and girls who will pass through the educational system and continue to become the leaders of society.

There are weakness in this modality as there are in all educational designs; however it is this writers humble view that education in Taiwan today is serving younger and older youth and other members of academe in a most successful way.



China has had the most splendid and protracted systems of education on earth. The Chinese take great pride in their equalitarian, competitive and excellent educational process, which finds its roots deep in dynastic history. Rebellion and revolutions have been rare in the five millenia of Chinese history. One major reason for this is that education has been a vehicle for upward social and economic mobility. Parents and children see the educational process as a means to a better life and, historically, this has reduced societal unrest. Children from even the poorest homes - rural or urban - can succeed in modern Taiwan by academic achievement. Academe is in China the avenue for social and economic success, and both young and old recognize and respect this most important facet of their society.

This article will address the subject of modern Taiwan and its public and higher educational system. While in Taiwan, I had the opportunity to meet with numerous

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scholars, administrators and students. This essay is a synthesis of my discussions, as well as readings, on the subject of education in Taiwan, 1945 - 1985.

The Japanese defeat in World War II led to the retrocession of Taiwan to the Chinese government and thus to the reorganization of the educational system and education policy on the island. With the fall of the Chinese mainland in 1949 the leaders of non-Communist China moved to Taiwan and there radically altered the course of Taiwan development. Virtually every phase of life in Taiwan was affected as new leadership set about revamping and modernizing the island.

Education in Taiwan in the post-1949 period has made substantial gains. The only Asian society that can compete with Taiwan in educational vividity is Japan; yet the Japanese system, with its "examination hell" and obsessive pressure on children to enter the right kindergarten and then the correct public school, has created numerous psychological and societal problems that are perhaps neutralizing the high quality of learning and teaching. An excellent discussion of this situation is found in William H. Forbis' book, *JAPAN TODAY* (1975).

Competition, examination, and conformity are also found in the educational system of Taiwan; they have, however, been minimized by two forces. The Chinese are more reflective and philosophical about success and failure than the Japanese, and education in Taiwan is a meld of the traditional draconian examination system and the more pragmatic, equalitarian and liberal progressive ideas of American pedagogical philosophy and psychology. This synthesis has created a system of which the people of Formosa are proud and supportive.

It has been suggested by David E. Apter in his important book, *THE POLITICS OF MODERNIZATION*, that in a developing society education plays a number of very important roles. It helps promote high literacy which in turn assists a society's technical and economic development, but perhaps more importantly it enhances the socialization and integration process by creating a common background and identity among the peoples and allowing them to join with the governing groups in a cooperative effort toward societal modernization. David Lerner in *THE PASSING OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY* suggests that as a society like Taiwan becomes industrialized a natural phenomenon of expanded educational opportunity occurs. "Increasing urbanization has tended to raise literacy; raising literacy has tended to increase media exposure; increasing media exposure has [enhanced] wider economic participation (per capita income) and political participation (voting)."

Education is of such importance to Chinese society and the political leadership of the ROC that, unlike the United States, the issue is addressed specifically in the Constitution. Expenditures, educational goals and specific comments on the fiscal base of operation for all aspects of Taiwan education are detailed in Chapter 13, Section 5 of the National Constitution (which became effective on Dec. 25, 1947). The provisions relevant to education state:

Article 158: The nation's educational and cultural services shall have as their aim the development among the citizens of national characteristics, democratic spirit, traditional morality, good physique, scientific knowledge, and the ability to earn a living.

Article 159: All citizens shall have an equal opportunity to receive education.

Article 160: All children of school age, to wit, those from six to twelve years, shall receive free primary education. Those from poor families shall be supplied with textbooks at the expense of the Government.

All citizens above school age who have not received primary education shall receive supplementary education free of charge and shall likewise be supplied with textbooks at the expense of the Government.

Article 161: The national, provincial, and local governments shall create scholarships to assist students of good scholastic standing and of exemplary conduct who lack the means to continue their school education.

Article 162: All public and private educational and cultural institutions throughout the country shall, in accordance with the law, be subjected to State supervision.

Article 163: The State shall pay due attention to the balanced development of education in different regions and shall promote social education in order to raise the cultural standard of the citizens in general. The National Treasury shall give cash grants to border regions and economically poor areas to help them meet their educational and cultural expenses. The Central Government may itself undertake the more important educational and cultural enterprises in such regions or give them financial assistance.

Article 164: Expenditures for educational programs, scientific studies, and cultural services shall be in respect of the Central Government, not less than 15 per cent of the total national budget; in respect of the provinces, not less than 25 per cent of the total provincial budget, and in respect of the municipalities or hsien, not less than 35 per cent of the total municipal or hsien budget. Educational and cultural foundations established in accordance with the law shall, together with their property, be protected.

Article 165: The State shall safeguard the livelihood of those who work in the field of education, sciences, and arts and shall, in accordance with the development of the national economy, increase their remuneration from time to time.

Article 166: The State shall encourage scientific discoveries and inventions and shall protect monuments and articles of historical, cultural or artistic value.

Article 167: The State shall give encouragement or subsidies to the following enterprises or individuals:

- (1) Private educational enterprises in the country which have a good record;
- (2) Chinese educational enterprises abroad which have a good record;
- (3) Persons who have made discoveries or inventions in the fields of learning and technology;
- (4) Persons who have rendered long and meritorious service to the cause of education.

The Constitution has worked as a guide for educational development; however, due to economic circumstances, the national government, which is called upon to give 15 percent of the national budget, has been unable to meet this provision.

There are many subjective methods of measuring the quality of educational experi-

ence. The schools in Taiwan are in excellent condition, discipline problems are virtually nonexistent, daily attendance is much higher than in the United States, and parents play a great part in the education of their children. While in Formosa we visited a number of urban and rural schools. The grounds were well kept and graffiti was nonexistent. Children study aloud and the respect afforded teachers is immediately evident. Parents are asked to review their children's completed homework assignment each night and then to sign a homework record sheet indicating that the work is done and is of an acceptable quality. Events at schools, such as music recitals, art shows, sports activities and science displays, are attended very well by parents and grandparents (many of the latter live with the family). Perhaps the best subjective factor is the way the children look and behave on the way to and from school. They are generally walking fast or hurrying to the public bus (a common and cheap means of travel) and they inevitably carry with them a satchel filled with books, papers and other materials. Some children are not much bigger than their homework satchels! Smiles are the most common expression seen on the faces of students. When one compares the attitude of most public school students in the United States with the feeling that pours out of the students in Taiwan, it is evident that most of these youngsters like school and are able to internalize the relationship between education, family pride and future social, academic, and employment success. One also notes in Taiwan that misbehavior, though present, is not dealt with as severely as in the U.S. schools. Parents are called upon to solve the problem. The school teachers and administrators do not see their role as one to enforce disciplining. The parents seem to handle these problems in a variety of ways; the end result is that the difficulties that plague U.S. schools do not exist in Taiwan. They are simply not part of the culture or social setting and discipline problems, disrespect and disruptive and uncontrolled behavior on the part of students is unacceptable. Incidentally, every school visited had a statue or large painting of Confucius at its entrance. The moral and ethical implications of this symbol represent well the general tone of the academic atmosphere that has developed. Respect, kindness, and cooperation are found in the public and private schools; discrimination, phasing, mainstreaming, truancy, poorly groomed teachers and administrative rancor are enigmas to Chinese education in Taiwan. When the issue of discipline is brought up, teachers and administrators indicate it is never a problem. In the U. S. this area - classroom management - rates highest on the list of ills (1975-1980) as perceived and articulated by American pedagogues.

Objective criteria when applied to education in the ROC also show the system to have been successful. One of the major determinants of educational vitality is enrollment trends. This next section will compare the year 1950 with 1986. Statistics are available for the year 1945 but due to the problems of dislocation brought on by the war and the provisions of the peace, 1950 appears to be a more meaningful time from which to measure quantitative change. It must be noted that to compare Taiwan with European or American education is quite impossible; to compare the Taiwan of 1950

with contemporary Taiwan is possible and plausible.

In 1950 there were 28 kindergarten centers with an enrollment of about 17,000 students. By 1985 the number of students had increased to 151,000 and there were almost 1,000 kindergarten settings. This reflects an increase in pupils of about 800 percent over a 30-year period. The reason for the success of the preschool program in Taiwan is the result of economic opportunities for married women and the general attitudinal change about women holding jobs outside of the home.

The Constitution clearly defines educational opportunity in grades 1-6, which are mandatory, and grades 7-9, which are free but not compulsory at this time. In 1950 there were 1,231 primary schools on the island with an enrollment of 906,950. In 1985 there were 2,412 primary schools and the enrollment had reached 2,278,000. A major change came to the structural designs of Taiwan education in 1968-69. At that time the public junior high school (also called at times the national high school) was established. This gave children the opportunity to continue their education sans an entrance examination through grade 9. Before this, admission to the junior high school was predicated on the score of a national exam given to sixth graders. The number of public junior high schools today is 632 while in 1969 it was 487. The enrollment increased in this same 10-year period from 617,225 to 1,082,074. It must be added that this extension was not without major economic and facility allocation difficulty.

When one talks of secondary schools in Formosa a unique frame of reference must be employed. There are three types of secondary institutions; the academic high school, the technical school, and the vocational high school. The traditional academic high school incorporates three years of intensive academic course work. Its intent is to prepare the able student for two objectives: (1) To pass the national joint entrance examination for college and university admission; and (2) to give the student an adequate academic base from which to build his college education or his career. In 1950 there were in Taiwan some 62 academic high schools and about 19,000 students. By 1984 the number had increased to 183 schools with an enrollment of 177,700. Vocational school educational opportunity has likewise increased. There are some 184 vocational schools today with an enrollment of over 312,000. This is an 800 percent increase in the 35-year period under study.

One of the unique facets of higher education in Taiwan is the teacher education institutions (called normal schools or normal universities).<sup>\*</sup> All of these schools were established by the government and offer free tuition. The period of study is five years; this includes a year of practice teaching. Upon graduating from a normal school/university the person must teach for a period of time; at a location, field and level determined by the government (which has covered tuition cost). Young people in the provincial public education system benefit greatly from this government-controlled policy in that rural areas as well as urban can expect to have highly qualified and nationally certified teachers. The discrepancy between rural and urban education

\* There are 16 normal institutions in Taiwan. 1988.



quality are hence, in theory, minimized by schools or areas are in need of more science, math, art, music, social studies or special education teachers.

In Taiwan there are three types of junior colleges. There is the five-year model (three years of high school followed immediately by two years of college), the three-year post-high-school junior college, the five-year normal school for the preparation of elementary teachers (which became regular colleges in 1987) and the two-year junior college. As the enrollment in the public school system has increased, so has the total enrollment figure for the various types of junior colleges.

At the peak of the educational system are the public and private colleges and universities. These are available only to students who have done exceptionally well on the National Joint Entrance Examination offered each summer. In 1950 there were only three colleges, one university and a few junior colleges and research centers. The total higher education student enrollment was about 6,600. The number of institutions of higher learning is now over 100. This represents an increase of 13.43 times in the 30-year period. An increase of 46.59 times the number of students was also registered. The students in these higher education institutions as of 1985 numbered approximately 320,000.

As has been stated, entrance to institutions of higher learning is based on successful completion of an academic high school and passing the Joint National Competitive Entrance Examination. Once a year, in midsummer, all institutions of higher learning hold joint entrance examinations to select freshmen. These examinations (even in the eyes of those individuals interviewed who were dissatisfied with higher education in Taiwan) are open to all, competitive and fairly graded. Utmost scrutiny is used in grading and there is no indication of favoritism or dishonesty in this process. When registering for the national exam (which is held at numerous sites and covers all academic topics), the applicant lists up to one hundred choices of subjects in which he wishes to major and numerous schools he would like to attend. He may like, for instance, Department A in School A, Department B in School C, and so forth. Only those with the highest scores (10 percent) gain admission to both the field of study and the university of their first choice. Minor modifications were made in this system in 1986.

One would wonder how students who did poorly on the exam would be motivated to study diligently in an area that was, for example, choice 50, school 10. The answer was given to me quite clearly by a sociology professor at Tunghai University: "Of the 100,000 who took the exam, only 30,000 passed and were admitted to college. Hence 70,000 students would gladly replace any one who was unmotivated." Further, as was explained to me by a dean at National Normal University in Taipei, "Few high school students really have any idea of what they wish to major in. Once they are in the department they normally become quite enthused with the challenge and subject matter." To support this thesis, one need only to look at the graduation rate of students. Approximately 93 percent of students who are admitted to one of the

universities in Taiwan graduate with the baccalaureate degree in four or five years. In America most high school graduates can get admitted to some college (about fifty percent elect to go). Yet only approximately 37 percent of these (1971-78) graduate in the four- or five-year period. One could say that because of the strict and competitive admission policy of the Ministry of Education the most talented students are accepted. These quite naturally should graduate and do. Transfer from one school to another is very rare; transfer from one department within a school to another is less rare but does necessitate approval by the Ministry of Education (which reevaluates the student's examination performance). The better private colleges and universities in the United States also practice highly selective admissions policies and also graduate a very high percentage of their freshman classes. Schools like Harvard have a retention rate of over 80 percent. The strict criteria for acceptance seems to translate into a more future-oriented studentry.

Most popular of the fields of study in Taiwan in recent years are medicine, the pure sciences, languages, information sciences, business and management, the pedagogical sciences and law. The curriculum of law school is 5 years in length, dentistry 6 to 7 years and medicine 7 to 9 years. A student who has graduated from an academic high school does not have to repeat in college the material that was supposedly covered in high school. The entrance exam assures the college that those students accepted have a mastery of their high school subject matter. This is a major difference between education in Taiwan and the United States; it is something that an educator in America can learn from.

The most prestigious degree that can be earned in Taiwan is the Ph.D. (the ED.D. is not available). Only a few of the better schools have been granted permission by the Ministry of Education to offer these programs. The doctorate, it might be noted, is not granted by a university. Rather it is awarded by the national government upon recommendation by a university. Evaluation of a student's educational standards is made by a committee from his school and other scholars selected by the Ministry of Education. The theory is that the doctorate transcends university limits and should be considered a national degree. This is in keeping with Chinese history. Historically the Emperor alone had the power to bestow the higher degrees on a successful candidate. Few candidates have been vetoed by the Ministry of Education when they sat for their doctoral exams; this possibility does, however, exist. The doctorate normally is earned after the master's and generally is a 3- to 5-year program in residency and is research-oriented, as are most ph. D. programs in the United States. The most prestigious school in Taiwan, National Taiwan University in Taipei, offers the doctorate in more than a dozen fields. This university, which began during the period of Japanese administration, can be ranked as one of the finest institutions in the world. Its medical college is internationally respected and physicians from many nations visit it for training and to teach.

The Ministry of Education assures that all graduate degree-granting programs

have strong faculties and available research material. Most of these schools have only one or two Ph. D. degree programs; many universities offer numerous master's degree programs. These also must have approval of the Ministry of Education, as must all new departments, new faculty, and curriculum revision. As a high official at the Ministry of Education stated, "We do not want to have a marketplace where highly educated men and women cannot find employment. Rather, we control the number of persons gaining degrees and consequently assure fuller employment at the level of a person's education."

Institutions of higher learning in Taiwan have had a continuing problem of attracting the best and brightest professors. Until the early 1970's a serious "brain-drain" affected higher education. Many young people who took the terminal degree or post-doctoral work in America remained on the faculty of U. S. colleges and universities. Though the Ministry of Education recognized this as a serious liability for its own system, no effort was made to limit the movement of people. China has a history of emigration. Interestingly, over 30 million Chinese live outside of China. The so-called brain-drain, which did in the statistical sense hurt the academic profile of teachers in Taiwan, ended in the early 1970's when nations like the U. S. and Japan found that the 1960's had produced an overabundance of Ph. D.'s to teach in their colleges and universities. Consequently, Taiwan today is not only attracting the best and the brightest of its own Ph. D.'s, but also has thousands of inquiries from foreign professors seeking teaching positions. Taiwan does have a basic rule: The college professor who hopes to become part of the regular (as contrasted to visiting) faculty must have fluency in Mandarin Chinese, the language that is used in all colleges and universities. However, visiting professors may be hired from other nations; all college students speak, read and write English, and most graduate students have proficiency in a third or fourth language (usually Japanese, German and/or French).

The main accomplishments in Education in Taiwan since World War II have been in professional training. Virtually all physician (the term "doctor" in China always denotes a Ph.D.), engineers, lawyers, teachers and most scientists have received their education in Taiwan. Scholars in the humanities and social sciences usually take their terminal degrees abroad in Japan, the U.S., France, Germany or England. Yet, with the significant improvements in the Taiwan faculty since 1970, more students are remaining in their homeland for their graduate liberal arts education.

The faculty of Taiwan's colleges and universities has four ranks: Full professor (10 years of experience, publications, service and the terminal degree or its equivalent); associate professor (3 to 7 years of experience, service, publications and usually the terminal degree or its equivalent); instructor (3 years of experience, a master's degree and successful experience in writing and teaching); and teaching assistant (this is normally a part-time position held by a doctoral candidate and may last from 1 to 7 years). The rank of assistant professor does not exist. The latest statistics indicate that only about 40 percent of persons holding professional rank have the earned

doctorate. The statistics do not show the large number who hold the "A.B.D." degree. Tenure, as we in America know it, is not part of the Chinese educational system nor seemingly a desired commodity. Reappointment comes automatically after the third year.

For many Chinese, especially those studying abroad, the dissertation written in their second or even a third language is simply beyond their resources. It would be encouraging if at some future date a dissertation could be written in the native language of the student and its quality judged by persons speaking that language. Those of us who have studied a second and third language realize the near impossibility of developing an advanced level of proficiency in that language while at the same time taking classes, teaching and doing the numerous mundane chores associated with doctoral candidacy.

If there is a characteristic that from this observer's view dominates higher education in China it is dedication. Presidents, deans, professors and students take pride in being part of the academic community. The reason for this deepseated feeling is partially historical.

Also, a basic law of economics has enhanced education in modern Taiwan: colleges admit only 25 to 30 percent of all applicants at the undergraduate level and less than 5 percent of those applying for graduate study. This competition (for admission) makes the product sought (education) a highly prized and in some ways idealized and romanticized commodity.

Teaching loads are prescribed by the Ministry of Education. Full professors teach an average of 9 credit hours per week; individuals with lower rank teach more. Moonlighting is not uncommon. An interesting factor in Chinese higher education is that professors usually have no posted office hours. Students may stop in at their leisure. Also -- and may American academics will find this fascinating -- students are encouraged to visit professors at their homes in the afternoons or evenings for tea. This is a common practice and has, on the whole, not been abused. Fortunately, genteel behavior and respect is seen in all student/professor-professor/student relationships. On the first day of class, students who have the honor of having a senior professor as their mentor will rise and often bow. The professor then thanks the students for their politeness and asks that this formality be discontinued. No sense of subservience is seen in this by either the students or the professor -- rather it seems to show respect for learning and age much as the handshake does in western society or the younger man standing when his senior enters a room. Incidentally, uniforms are abandoned after high school, as are short hair, beardlessness and other trappings of the pre-college phase of education.

All colleges and universities are under the control of the Ministry of Education. Public institutions depend on the Ministry of Education for financial support. Private schools -- religious and independent -- have little or no governmental bases of economic support. Four of the best private colleges in Taiwan are Fujen (Catholic), Tunghai

and Soochow (Pretestant), and Tamkang University (independent). Many private junior colleges, two-year business colleges and four-year schools exist. A total of over 60 private schools are located in Taiwan (1988).

If one attempted to rate the universities in Taiwan in terms of quality, three would head the list: National Taiwan University, founded by the Japanese in 1928 and today considered one of the finest institutions in the world, National Chengchi University and National Taiwan Normal University. The last school mentioned, a teachers' college, has numerous visiting scholars and has successfully synthesized modern methods of teaching with classical Chinese scholarship. Competition for admission is extremely hard at these schools.

Universities show neither sex nor ethnic discrimination in any program. In some areas women tend to outnumber men, particularly in education. In the sciences men tend to have a slight edge. In the medical sciences it is fairly equal, but in law and engineering men tend to dominate. Legally, sex, race, and origin discriminations are taboo, and one senses that status of all persons, be they "mainlanders," Taiwanese, Hong Kong residents, aborigines or foreign visitors (numerous Japanese come to China for their education), is on an equal basis. Such things as quotas do not exist: the national entrance examination does away with subjective admission practices.

Higher education administration in Taiwan differs significantly from the system of governance at the national level in the U.S., yet it does not significantly differ from the methods used by many state governments in America to administer public colleges and universities. Nor does it differ radically from the French, Swedish, German or British systems.

At the top of the pyramidal chart in Taiwan one finds the Executive Yuan (Cabinet) which as a group has the responsibility to administer the social, economic, military, judicial, educational and policy-planning needs of Formosa. The men and women who staff the Cabinet are the leaders of the various executive departments and also have advisement and staff responsibilities to the President and the Premier. They have line authority for their ministry. The executive department that deals directly with universities and colleges is the Ministry of Education. It would remind one of a U.S. state board of governors or regents, rather than the U.S. Department of Education, which has only peripheral influence on U.S. institutions of education.

The Ministry of Education does have a great deal of power and in reality sets the tone of higher education throughout Taiwan. The Minister, appointed by the nation's chief executive, takes overall charge of his department. He or she is often a former college president and is knowledgeable about academic life. Needless to say, his politics are attuned to those of the government. He is assisted by one general vice-president and two administrative vice-ministers. Housed in the Ministry are seven departments, five bureaus, three offices, and numerous committees. The Ministry has final say in numerous matters including hiring and dismissal of professors, promotion, retention, admission of students, administration of the national exam, textbook

ordering, publications, department size and degree offerings, teaching materials, cultural programs, building needs, scientific betterment and administrative appointments at all public colleges and universities. It also serves as the authority of final resort in all professional and student appeal cases. Occasionally students who are dissatisfied with some aspect of their education (eg, an incompetent or unethical professor) will petition the Minister of Education. According to both teachers and students, these appeals are usually investigated and, if the students have a legitimate complaint, corrective action is taken. Normally, however, the system of appeal is through the departments, deans and the school's presidential appeals committee (made up of professors, administrators and students) rather than to the Ministry of Education. The system, though highly structured, is flexible. Most of the people in the Ministry of Education have advanced degrees and come from academic life. They, therefore, have had practical experience in colleges and universities, have themselves been students and understand the problems of student-age men and women.

At the various colleges that this writer visited, one characteristic of inhouse administration and procedure was noted: no two schools are quite the same. National Taiwan University has a streamlined staff/line system with a structural approach to administration. The administrators at this school (I had the honor to meet the president and academic dean who are personally very liberal and democratic in their orientations.) They were gentlemen par excellence, and students agreed with this impression. On the other side, Fujen University (Catholic University) is far less centralized in its approach to administration, but has numerous deans who are given significant power. The president has historically been low profile. This school also has men and women in administration of the highest academic credentials; a student-centeredness also prevails here, as at all schools visited. The other universities fit between the centralized and the decentralized approaches.

At all colleges and universities, the committee system that prevails in U.S. schools (for better or worse) has caught on in Taiwan. Committees on all aspects of college life exist. Student representation is found on some of these, but most committees are made up of senior and junior faculty persons and administrators. Though there is a purely coincidental relationship between committees and democracy, the committee system of decision making always works as a buffer zone between authoritarian rule and those being governed. Seldom does a decision reach the faculty or students without having been altered by the numerous committees it must pass through.

Most professors and administrators saw the Ministry of Education as a necessary agency; some expressed concern that it was not devoting enough money or time to their particular departmental needs, especially if they chose to develop a new degree or a graduate institute. (All "departments" that offer the M.A. or Ph.D. are referred to as "institutes" and, unlike the undergraduate programs, must be economically solvent.) If any one complaint was heard on a somewhat regular basis, it was that the Ministry of Education was too involved with projected manpower needs of the society and

used its influence and the national entrance examination to channel students and professors into socially relevant careers, eg, social work, education and medicine as opposed to history and literature. When this point was brought up to a high level official in the Ministry Education his response was this: "In America you have too many well educated people to have them all find meaningful employment. We wish to avoid this hardship before it begins." Another major administrative drive is to move more students into vocational/technical colleges and out of traditional arts and sciences colleges.

The Ministry of Education has set as its goal that 40 percent of academic high school graduates should attend traditional academic colleges and 60 percent attend business/vocational/technical colleges. In 1985 the percentages were about 45-55. It is felt that this change will strengthen Taiwan's economy and allow for fuller employment of all graduates. It should also lessen the social schism that tends to exist between the vocationally oriented and the traditional academician.

In general, education administration in Taiwan's universities appears to be student oriented. One achieves the higher ranks in college administration by his or her academic talents first, and his managerial skills second. The scholar/administrator, a rare and endangered species in the U.S., is still alive and well in Taiwan.

Though the Ministry of Education does have significant influence, day-to-day matters of administration are managed at the various schools. Typically, a college or university has a president who, having led a successful academic life, is selected by a screening committee and then recommended, in public universities to the Ministry of Education, and in private schools to a board of trustees or founders. Beneath this office are the academic, financial, and managerial provosts and deans. The personality of the president and the history and traditions of the school determine the centralization/decentralization of the college administration and decision-making process.

The deans and directors tend to be called in on a weekly or biweekly basis to discuss the general concerns facing the university. This writer was not proxy to these meetings and cannot comment on their organization, nature and openness. Most higher level administrators stated that the presidents of their institutions did indeed listen and support the provost and deans, even if it meant disagreement with the Ministry of Education.

Hiring of a professor is done at the departmental level with the advice and consent of the dean, provost, college president and Ministry of Education. Very few nominees are vetoed after a department submits the name. If there is a challenge it normally comes because of budgetary problems or manpower changes. Salaries, though by our standards low, allow a professor to live the good life; academic moonlighting is quite common. Further, all professors are guaranteed university housing or very low interest payment loans to buy a home. (Condominiums are the normal housing units in Taipei, an obvious consequence of limited land and dense population.) The domiciles supplied

by the universities to their professors and administrators are delightful, generally near the campus and reflective of the high esteem historically given scholars in China.

Student admission at the graduate level is also a departmental administrative decision. It is based on undergraduate records, the graduate entrance exam and personal interviews. At the undergraduate level, departments (and for that matter, universities) have little to say about their freshman classes. The entrance exams and, to a degree, student preference determine where one attends school. This is reversed in graduate school.

All institutions have internal conflicts. This is a healthy indication that ideas and values exist on a broad range of topics. Conflict resolution is normally handled at the most local level. Committees of arbitration, made up of faculty persons and administrators, are available to resolve problems not easily resolved within the department. The Ministry of Education may be called on if the nature or intensity of the conflict requires this. Their decision is quite final.

Student needs are cared for by the department and the dean of students (depending on the situation). The department chairperson's influence in departmental matters depends on his or her personality and the traditions of the department. Perhaps the only quality that can be expressed about chairpersons is this: they work 8 to 10 hours per day and on Saturday mornings and they seem enthusiastic about their responsibilities and the honor of heading a division.

In summary, traditional education in Taiwan -- kindergarten through the post-doctoral study -- has expanded dramatically in the last 30 years. To evaluate quality in transsocietal studies is difficult and relies on subjective factors. To judge an institution from a quantitative vantage point is possible and feasible but does not always give an accurate appraisal. Together they paint a picture of an educational system fulfilling the aspirations and expectations of the people of Taiwan.

One of the major goals of any public educational system is to develop in the populace an acceptance of their society, its political institutions and the economic system. It is felt that through an understanding of these institutions that are the foundation of a harmonious community, members of the group will have a greater chance to live in comfort, economic and social security and future-orientedness.

Mandarin is the language of instruction in the school system of Taiwan: Taiwanese (and Hakkanese, to a much lesser degree) is the language also spoken in the playgrounds, streets and home of 90 percent of the population. Youngsters today are fluent in both Mandarin and Taiwanese and the post-1949 Chinese and the pre-1949 Chinese (commonly called Taiwanese) have, in all but the most isolated regions, and equal opportunity in the educational system of Taiwan. Each year the percentage of persons who were born on the mainland decreases and in the not-too-distant future the island will consist of virtually all native Taiwanese-born Chinese. Research conducted by Sheldon Appleton in 1970 ("Taiwanese and Mainlanders in Taiwan: A Survey of Student Attitudes," *China Quarterly*, Oct.-Dec. 1970, p. 56-57) strongly suggests that



students of both mainland and Taiwanese ancestry have similar attitudes toward government, family and other vital institutions in Taiwan society. Other researchers have come to basically the same conclusion. Interestingly, they have also found that in Taiwan a direct relationship exists between one's educational achievement and one's support for the institutions of the society. My impression is that generally the educated class has such a vital interest in the nation's success that they perceive rancor as disruptive to their personal good fortunes. Debate over policy issues is often heated, but the extension of this Socratic exercise seldom moves beyond the coffee circle of seminar rooms.

My impression and the impressions of others who have visited Taiwan would suggest that the traditional educational system is achieving its goals as pre stated in the ROC Constitution and anticipated by the population. Of all of the institutions in Taiwan, the people have the greatest faith in education as a vehicle for upward mobility and self-actualization. This feeling, complemented by China's long and unique history of educational excellence and the support of the populace at large for educational quality, has created an excellent environment for the teaching/learning process.

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## 台灣的學術至上——自現代台灣教育之歷史 多角度分析

Douglas C. Smith\*

### 摘 要

本文之主題在探討形成台灣獨特教育制度之特徵，從目前台灣教育情況——其目的、哲學基礎、方法論及結構等作簡單的分析。

現代台灣之教育，是中國三千年歷史之產物。多種因素創造這獨特的教育模式，其中大部分是中國文化環境的本質。在台灣，由於中國教育之目標，所有青年男女都有經由學術生活創造成功的機會。理論上，在中國社會裡，由於教育對所有人開放，貧窮的小孩也可能經由此途徑去達到一個顯著的地位。學術生活的成功，是達爾文式的，即靠高成就以及年輕學生時代的公平考試、自修、前途取向、和努力用功，是這些男女孩為通過這教育制度及繼續成為社會領導者的特徵。

像所有的教育形式，它亦有其弱點。然而本文作者之觀點，今日台灣的教育，給年輕人及青年和其它的人一個學術上大部分成功的道路。

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## Pity in Hobbes and Rousseau

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### Abstract

This paper first purports to deal with a difficult problem with which recent Hobbesian scholarship was faced—whether the later Hobbes insisted on his original egoist ethics? Did it undergo any change from his early to later years? As far as this problem is concerned, the controversy among Hobbesian scholars lies in his view of pity: some scholars think that Hobbes entertained a persistent view about this virtue, other scholars think that some important changes occurred to his view of this virtue. This paper is trying to defend the former position against the latter one.

This paper then continues to make a comparative study of different kinds of interpretations about human nature among political theories belonging to the tradition of contract theory, trying to come to the conclusion that their different opinions about pity follow from their different views of human nature rather than any methodological diversity.

There is an article, "Hobbes on Pity and Charity", written by John Kemp collected in *Thomas Hobbes: His View of Man* edited by J. G. van der Bend.<sup>1</sup> From this article, we are informed that recently two scholars, Bernard Gert and F. S. McNeilly, have expressed doubts about the validity of the assumption accepted by all commentators of Hobbes that Hobbes is some kind of psychological egoist. According to Kemp's comparison, Gert's position is stronger than McNeilly's. The former argues that, although Hobbes's earliest major work, the *Elements of Law*, does present an egoistic picture of human motivation, his later works, *De Cive*, *Leviathan*, and *De Homine*, show a steady development away from egoism.

Kemp's aim in the article is not to challenge the general positions of Gert or McNeilly as a whole, but to examine the accounts of two specific "passions", pity and charity, given in the *Elements of Law*, *Leviathan*, and *De Homine* respectively, in order to see whether they throw any light on the question of possible changes or development in Hobbes's view of human motives. For Kemp thinks:

It seems not unreasonable to assume that the accounts of pity and charity will be especially illuminating in this regard, since they are *prima facie* what may be called 'other-regarding' feelings or attitudes, which present a special challenge to anyone who wishes to present an egoistic treatment of human nature.<sup>2</sup>

Then Kemp checks all Hobbes's analyses of pity and charity in Hobbes's later works. As regards *Leviathan*, Kemp's conclusion is:

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So although the treatment of pity in *Leviathan* is not explicitly egoistic, it seems as open to an egoistic as to a non-egoistic interpretation.<sup>3</sup>

and

The account of charity (or benevolence) in *Leviathan* is entirely neutral . . . . The whole passage is thus non-evidential as far as its tendency towards or away from egoism is concerned.<sup>4</sup>

As regards *De Homine*, Kemp's conclusion is:

. . . the passage [dealing with benevolence] cannot be regarded as constituting by itself a conclusive proof that Hobbes's considered account of human motives in the *De Homine* is explicitly anti-egoistic. In the first place, even if we do find it necessary to give this particular passage an anti-egoistic interpretation, it can still be regarded as no more than an *obiter dictum* (as opposed to a deliberate contribution to a theory of motives), since nothing of importance in the context hangs on it. Alternatively, we could regard it as a piece of careless writing, consistent with a formal egoistic theory provided that we make the relevant distinction, not between self-regarding and other-regarding, but between directly self-regarding and indirectly self-regarding behaviour; . . .<sup>5</sup>

The foregoing done, Kemp, in the end of the article, makes the conclusion that although there are undoubted differences of emphasis in the accounts of pity and charity in the *Elements of Law*, *Leviathan*, and *De Homine*, these differences do not suffice to justify us in inferring that there is a systematic and deliberate move in Hobbes's mind away from an egoistic, and towards a non-egoistic or anti-egoistic, account of their origins and natures.

My aim here is to examine Kemp's argument. Through this examination, I hope to discover some significant ways to get an appropriate picture about Hobbes. My major point is that, first of all, Kemp's strategy in criticizing Gert and McNeilly is problematic. Secondly, Kemp's interpretation of Hobbes's pity is insufficient. But all of this does not mean that I am on the side of Gert and McNeilly. Actually I am trying to set up a new and stronger defense against Gert's and McNeilly's misinterpretations.

Kemp's error first lies in his assumption that the accounts of pity and charity would be especially illuminating in regard to this controversy, since they are other-regarding feelings or attitudes, which present a special challenge to anyone who wishes to present an egoistic treatment of human nature. Underlying this assumption, there is a deeper assumption made by Kemp that any non-egoistic theory necessarily imposes conceptual priority and weight on pity and charity rather than on other virtues. But an exception on hand to this alleged assumption is John Rawls's theory of justice.

Beyond dispute, no one will say that Rawls's theory is an egoistic theory. In other words, it is non-egoistic. But we cannot find any conceptual priority and weight

imposed on pity, charity or something like those. The most fundamental conception of Rawls's theory is the original position, from which just social structures are issued. But in the original position no sympathy-like virtues are conceptually emphasized. Those virtues actually suffer mitigation. (This is the reason why we cannot find pity and charity as technical terms even in the index of his *A Theory of Justice*.) Rawls says:

In the original position, by contrast, the parties are mutually disinterested rather than sympathetic; . . . <sup>6</sup>

and

It is impossible, then, to assume that the parties are simply perfect altruists. They must have some separate interests which may conflict. Justice as fairness makes this assumption, in the form of mutual disinterest, the main motivational condition of the original position. <sup>7</sup>

The preceding analysis of Rawls's theory leads us to realize that Kemp's assumption that the accounts of pity and charity will be especially illuminating in deciding the character of Hobbes's theory is vulnerable. In contrast to the fact that non-egoistic theory does not necessarily emphasize the conceptual priority of pity and charity, an egoistic theory could contain a normative interpretation about those virtues. I suspect that the latter is Hobbes's case. This case, if true, would enormously undermine the whole strategy of Kemp's argument. I will argue for this point in the following.

As regards *De Homine*, Kemp's explanation of benevolence or compassion occurring therein is also dissatisfying. From the longest quotation given earlier in this paper, we see that Kemp gives two explanations about the occurrence of that virtue in the work. The second explanation tries to establish the possibility of Hobbes's careless writing in taking that virtue into account when he is analyzing human motives. This is, I think, a silly guess. We need to bear in mind that the aim of the first part of the *Leviathan* is to anatomize all human motives instinctive or social as complete as possible. If so, then how can Hobbes neglect this obvious social motive? Hence Hobbes's taking this social motive into account during the course of the anatomy of man is not due to, as Kemp guesses, Hobbes's carelessness, but his carefulness. Here again we see that Kemp's silly guess is still under the shadow of his deeper assumption that since any non-egoistic theory necessarily imposes conceptual priority and weight on sympathy-like virtues, an egoistic theory cannot, in principle, contain any normative interpretation about those virtues.

Anyway, Kemp's first explanation of pity makes sense. To be sure, we are easily impressed that "nothing of importance in the context hangs on it." Thus, on this ground, Kemp can regard Hobbes as a persistent egoist with the notion of pity interpreted as an indirectly self-regarding behaviour. However our easy impression that nothing of importance in the context of *De Homine* hangs on pity is too weak to be evidence. We are in need of real contextual evidence to support this statement. This



is why I consider Kemp's argument to be insufficient.

I would like to make an assumption first during my offering the real contextual evidence, which is that the theme of *Leviathan* is quite the same as that of *De Homine* combined with *De Cive*.<sup>8</sup> This assumption made, I shall proceed to point out that both pity and charity, as they occur in *Leviathan*, have no conceptual importance, and that this is also the case in the combination of *De Homine* and *De Cive*.

The first noteworthy point is that, in the beginning of the second part of *Leviathan*, when Hobbes argues for men's need of an artificial covenant with coercive power, he puts down six crucial reasons. Among them, the first one is:

[M]en are continually in competition for honour and dignity, which these creatures [other animals] are not; and consequently amongst men there ariseth on the ground envy and hatred, and finally war, but among these creatures not so.<sup>9</sup>

Clearly the existential reason of the artificial covenant is grounded on attempting in advance to avoid the possible mutual struggle among men, which is the last consequence of men's natural inclination towards being in competition for honour and dignity.

Now it is striking to find that, in chapter ten of the first part of *Leviathan*, Hobbes analyzes power, worth, dignity, honour, and worthiness as intimately relevant human motives. Also in chapter eleven of the same part, we read Hobbes's analysis of the "restless desire of power in all men", and "civil obedience from love of ease, from fear of death, or wounds".

These discoveries convince us that, among all human motives analyzed in the first part, men's pursuit of power and honour alone possesses conceptual priority to others. With the instinctively restless desire of power and honour, men get themselves into the unavoidable fatal struggle. But because of fear of death and wounds, men are forced to set up a civil society to deal with all public affairs.

Only understanding the foregoing argument can we assert that nothing of importance in the context of Hobbes's work hangs on pity and charity. For manifestly the most important among all is the pursuit of power and honour. And since power and honour are so helpful to self-preservation, it is quite clear that the pursuit of power and honour is purely egoistic. By means of this explanation, we are in a position to maintain that Hobbes's picture of human motivation is egoistic. It is also based on this explanation that Kemp can safely interpret Hobbes's sympathy-like virtues as indirectly self-regarding behaviours.

The preceding explanation based on *Leviathan* can also be found in the combination of *De Homine* and *De Cive*. First, we find that in order to show why, in those creatures living only by sense and appetite, the consent of their minds is so durable, as there is no need of anything more to secure it, and in consequence to preserve peace among them, than barely their natural inclination, while among men the case is otherwise, Hobbes offers, the same as in *Leviathan*, six reasons. The first one of them

is:

For, first, among them there is a contestation of honour and preferment; among beasts there is none: whence hatred and envy, out of which arise sedition and war, is among men; among beasts no such matter.<sup>10</sup>

This passage reads like the quotation from *Leviathan*. In both of them, the pursuit of power and honour is the cause of struggle and war; the struggle and war are the cause of death and wounds; to avoid death and wounds is the cause of the pursuit of peace; the pursuit of peace is the cause of the establishment of the civil society. And the impetus behind the pursuit of power and honour is, according to *De Homine*, out of human instinctive love of external things to protect himself, since "the greatest of goods for each is his own preservation."<sup>11</sup> This indirectly proves that, in *De Homine*, it is also the pursuit of power and honour, not pity and charity, which possesses conceptual priority. Hobbes does not change his persistent egoism in both *De Homine* and *De Cive*.

The preceding analysis comes to our aid in understanding Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. Rousseau sets up in the work a hypothetical situation with some real anthropological and historical basis called the "state of nature". In this state, men in their savage condition live an independent life. There are not yet social institutions to bind those free people. They enjoy complete feeling of self-sufficiency and equality. In this perfect state, the motivation of human life is individualistic rather than egoistic. For any egoistic motivation towards self-love and suppressing other people would make this perfect state impossible.

It is due to this reason that Rousseau attacks Hobbes. First of all, Rousseau thinks that Hobbes's picture of the state of nature is wrong in ignoring the mutual independence among men. Secondly, according to Rousseau, the more basic factor leading Hobbes to commit the error of this ignorance is that Hobbes overemphasizes the ferocity of self-love, or the desire of self-preservation as human nature.<sup>12</sup>

Rousseau then takes pity to be the most natural and the commonest sentiment men have with a view to defending against Hobbes, because of its having the function to moderate in every man the activity of self-love, contributing to the mutual preservation of the whole species. Rousseau says again:

It is this duty which hurries us without reflection to the assistance of those we see in distress. It is this pity which, in a state of nature, takes the place of laws, manners, virtue, with this advantage, that no one is tempted to disobey her gentle voice.<sup>13</sup>

Rousseau continues to emphasize that pity is less *Do to others as you would have others do to you* than *Do good to yourself with as little prejudice as you can to others*. To be sure, Rousseau's pity is near to being an altruistic virtue. But for this altruistic

virtue, the Hobbesian egoism would break in and destroy the perfect state of nature.

The preceding analysis of Rousseau's pity throws a clear light upon the character of Hobbes's pity. Pity itself is always non-egoistic, no matter whose. But unlike Rousseau's, Hobbes's pity does not have enough conceptual weight to make human nature non-egoistic. This status contrast of pity in Hobbes and Rousseau serves well to support my and Kemp's assertion that nothing of importance hangs on pity in the context of Hobbes's works.

The last thing to deal with is to examine the function of Rousseau's pity in his philosophical system. Much earlier, we refer to Rawls's individualistic contract theory. As we have shown, Rousseau's philosophy is also an individualistic contract theory. However, through careful comparison, we discover that Rousseau's altruistic pity is not allowed to exist eminently in Rawls's original position, since the parties in the original position are mutually disinterested. This critical difference leads us to pose the question whose theory, between Rousseau and Rawls, is better formed, as far as methodology is concerned.

My initial response to this question is on Rawls's side. The reason is that the only usage of Rousseau's pity seems to be to defend against the Hobbesian egoism. Without this altruistic pity, the hypothetical state of nature would corrupt. After this usage, the altruistic pity seems left aside by Rousseau for good. Some interpreters might think that pity is the basic element in the formation of social institutions in Rousseau's philosophical world.<sup>14</sup> But this interpretation lacks any contextual evidence. Actually when Rousseau explains the formation of social institutions, he never refers to pity. We only hear Rousseau saying:

The first man, who after enclosing a piece of ground, took it into his head to say, *This is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society.<sup>15</sup>

From this passage, it seems that according to Rousseau, the foundation of civil society is the Hobbesian egoistic possession rather than altruistic pity. To be sure, Rousseau's world, the perfect state of nature aside, is filled with a variety of egoistic evils, which is the root of all moral and civil inequalities. Hence the function of altruistic pity in Rousseau's philosophy is very limited. It only safeguards the hypothetical perfect state of nature.

But I am also aware of the possible way for Rousseau to explain away this questioning. He could say that his using altruistic pity to defend his state of nature is not from the perspective of methodology, but from the perspective of the philosophy of history and culture. To be sure, the central idea of Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* is anti-intellectualism or anti-culturalism. He thinks that, in the more primitive state, men have purer affections to each other. After the arising of reason and the establishment of various social institutions, those pure affections get

contaminated. So Rousseau says:

[Pity is] a virtue so much the more universal, and withal useful to man, as it takes place in him before all manner of reflection; . . . It is reason that engenders self-love, and reflection that strengthens it; it is reason that makes man shrink into himself; it is reason that makes him keep aloof from everything that can trouble or afflict him; it is philosophy that destroys his connections with other men; it is in consequence of her dictates that he mutters to himself at the sight of another in distress, You may perish for aught I care, I am safe. <sup>16</sup>

This means that the deterioration of pity through the history of human cultural progress is a factual phenomenon having nothing to do with the methodology of contract theory. This explanation, if true, would imply a significant conclusion that the difference between Hobbes's and Rousseau's conceptions of the state of nature is not concerning methodology, but concerning their different pictures about the basic nature of human beings. Thus it seems that we cannot evaluate Rousseau's and Rawls's achievements purely from the perspective of methodology. The difference between all contract theorists is grounded on different pictures of human nature. Hobbes's egoistic man, Rousseau's independent but altruistic man, and Rawls's (also Locke's) rational individuals represent different pictures of the basic nature of human being in their hypothetical original states.

It is the theory of human nature which influences the method of proceeding with the whole system, not the other way around, as far as contract theory is regarded. Hence the different status of pity in Hobbes and Rousseau principally suggests their divergent pictures of human nature in the state of nature. And Rousseau's critique of Hobbes is primarily advanced in order to protect the consistency of his philosophy of culture. Showing that savage men have the natural virtue of pity and making this virtue altruistic are based on theoretical considerations, not on methodological considerations.

#### NOTES

1. That book is the proceedings of the Hobbes symposium at the International School of Philosophy in the Netherlands. And it is printed in Amsterdam 1982.
2. Page 57.
3. Page 59.
4. Page 60.
5. Page 61.
6. See his *A Theory of Justice*, (Harvard University Press, 1971) page 187.
7. *Ibid.*, page 189.
8. This point is uncontroversial among Gert, McNeilly and Kemp.
9. Michael Oakshott's edition, page 131.

10. See *Man and Citizen*, ed. Bernard Gert (Humanities Press, 1983), page 168.
11. *Ibid.*, page 48.
12. See *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: The Social Contract and Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, ed., Lester G. Crocker (Washington Square Press, 1967) pages 200-201.
13. *Ibid.*, page 204.
14. Roger D. Masters hints at this point in his *The Political Philosophy of Rousseau*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968) pp. 43-51.
15. See *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: The Social Contract and Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, page 211.
16. *Ibid.*, page 203.

## 霍布斯與盧梭的「憐憫」觀

蔣 年 豐\*

### 摘 要

這篇文章先處理近來霍布斯學者在研究他的學說上所面臨的一個難題：到底霍布斯的倫理學是否始終持自我主義的立場？從早年到晚年是否有所變動？學者爭辯的焦點在於如何解釋其「憐憫」觀。有人以為霍布斯對「憐憫」的看法始終一致，有人以為有所變動。本文的立場在擁護前者而批擊後者。

透過這個研究，本文接著對屬於契約論傳統的不同的政治理論（尤其是霍布斯與盧梭的）其中的人性論作一番分析與比較，而推論出他們對「憐憫」這觀念的看法南轅北轍乃是出自於他們不同的人性觀，而不是他們方法論上的不同。

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