

A Newly Discovered Inscription by Qin Gui: Its Implications for the History of Song *Daoxue*

國立清華大學的李卓穎 (Li Cho-ying) 與 The University at Albany 的 Charles Hartman (蔡涵墨) 在最新一期的《Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies》(70 卷 2 期, 頁 387-448; 2010 年 12 月) 上發表了一篇論文, 題名為 “A Newly Discovered Inscription by Qin Gui: Its Implications for the History of Song *Daoxue*” (新近面世之秦檜記文及其在宋代道學史中之意義), 探討新近面世的秦檜 (1090-1155) 〈宣聖七十二賢贊像記〉與宋代道學的關係。兩位作者願意在此介紹其中的要點, 以饗學界先進與同好。

現存於杭州孔廟的「宣聖七十二賢贊像」的系列石碑共有十五塊, 在最後一塊石碑上, 原本刻有秦檜所撰的〈宣聖七十二賢贊像記〉。我們非常幸運地在明初學者吳訥 (1372-1457) 的文集中發現了此一記文的文本。根據吳訥自己的說明, 他於 1427 年 (宣德二年) 下令鑿去秦檜的記文, 並代以自己所作之記, 但在採取這些行動之前, 他已將秦檜的記文錄下, 後來並收入其文集中。我們的論文提供了一份經過校勘的文本, 進行英譯, 同時, 也深入探討其內容、修辭, 以及背景。

其中, 最為重要的, 是秦檜的記文約莫寫成於其死前不到三個月, 並且他用「道統」一詞來指稱宋高宗與周文王及孔子的關係。此一文本也包含了許多道學的語彙及概念。目前學界一般認為「道統」一詞乃是朱熹在 1181 年 (淳熙八年) 創造的, 因此, 秦檜記文的面世, 對於我們了解宋代思想史將有幾個重大的意義。首先, 我們發現「道統」一詞有著豐富的「前史」, 且可追溯至北宋末期。其二, 在早期的用法之中, 就如在秦檜的記文中一樣, 「道統」是用來稱說從古代聖王傳承至徽宗及高宗的文化/政治權威, 是公的、著落於君王與體制的「道統」。其三, 朱熹所創造的私的「道統」, 卻將同一個權威歸諸個別的學者而非君主身上, 從而有二程之興起, 與他自己的繼起, 以傳承「道統」; 這對於當時既已建立的帝王權威修辭來說, 是個強硬而嚴厲的挑戰。其四, 這也就可以部分地解釋, 何以宋代君王以及其他較為保守的儒者, 對朱熹於 1189 年 (淳熙十六年) 在〈中庸章句序〉陳述的「道統」觀充滿敵意。第五, 在十三世紀初, 朱熹所創造的私的「道統」觀和較早出現的帝王「道統」觀並存著, 且處於相互競爭的張力中。儘管理宗在 1241 年 (淳祐元年) 認可道學為國家正典, 然而, 仔細分析此一認可過程所產生的文件, 我們發現君王仍然堅持他們才是道的合法傳承者。

我們的論文現在已由《Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies》出版, 並可透過網路自 Project Muse 的連結取得。Project Muse 的連結如下:

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倘若您無法自 Project Muse 取得而有意賜鑑我們的論文, 歡迎您與兩位作者之一聯繫, 我們將非常樂意為您提供一份電子版論文。我們的聯繫方式是:

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最後, 我們正在將這篇論文翻譯為中文, 希望不久的將來, 能以此與更多的先進與同好分享我們的研究成果, 以及得到更多的批評與指教。

Li Cho-ying 李卓穎 (National Tsing Hua University) and Charles Hartman (The University at Albany) announce the publication of their article, "A Newly Discovered Inscription by Qin Gui: Its Implications for the History of Song *Daoxue*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 70.2 (December 2010): 387-448.

The last in a series of fifteen Song dynasty stelae known as *Portraits and Eulogies of Confucius and his Seventy-Two Disciples* (Xuan sheng qishier xian zan xiang 宣聖七十二賢贊像), now in the Confucian Temple in Hangzhou, originally contained an inscription by the Song chief councilor Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090-1155). We have recovered Qin Gui's original text from the collected works of the Ming official Wu Ne 吳訥 (1372-1457) who transcribed the text before he ordered it ground off the stone and replaced with his own inscription in 1427. Our article presents a collated edition of the inscription together with a translation and study of its content, rhetoric, and historical background.

Most significantly, Qin Gui's inscription is dated less than three months before his death in 1155 and uses the expression *daotong* 道統 to describe the relationship between the reigning Emperor Gaozong 高宗 and Zhou dynasty paragons such as King Wen 文王 and Confucius. The text also contains other vocabulary and ideas present in *daoxue* 道學 writings. Since present scholarship considers that Zhu Xi coined the term *daotong* in 1181, the inscription carries major implications for Song intellectual history. Our research on Qin Gui's inscription has revealed: 1) The term *daotong* has a rich "pre-history" dating to the late Northern Song. 2) In this early usage, as in Qin Gui's inscription, *daotong* denotes a transmission of political and cultural legitimacy from ancient authority figures to the Song emperors Huizong 徽宗 and Gaozong in a "succession of the Way." 3) Zhu Xi's creation of a "private" *daotong*, in which the same authority passed not to the monarch but to private scholars, such as the Cheng brothers and ultimately to himself, thus presented a stark challenge to the established rhetoric of imperial authority. 4) This challenge partially explains the hostility of the Song monarchs and other more conservative Confucians toward Zhu Xi's developed concept of the *daotong*, as articulated in his 1189 "Preface to the *Doctrine of the Mean*" (*Zhongyong zhangju xu* 中庸章句序). 5) In the early thirteenth century, Zhu Xi's concept of the *daotong* as a "private" transmission co-existed and competed with the older, imperial conception. A close reading of formal documents surrounding Emperor Lizong's 理宗 recognition of *daoxue* as state orthodoxy in 1241 suggests that, despite this accommodation, the monarch continued to view himself as the legitimate "successor of the Way."

Our article is now available in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 70.2 (December 2010): 387-448 and may be obtained online through Project Muse via the following link:

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We are currently preparing a Chinese version of our article in order to make our research on the inscription more widely available to our colleagues in China.