

## 水利、水害、水性：論兩漢時期關於水利工程的三種觀點

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兩漢時期修建堤防、水壩、運河和灌溉系統的數量前所未有。雖然多數學者不認同魏復古 (Karl Wittfogel) 對於這類大規模水利工程強化了「專制」政體的論點。然而解釋兩漢政府為何更加重視水利問題的新陳述，還是極少。在兩漢的四百年中，不僅水利工程的規模和目的發生巨大變化，朝廷與官員對水資源的性質以及控制水資源的能力亦有大幅轉變。基於兩漢在地理和生態上的多樣性，無疑意味著本演講無法只講述單一故事以概括，將藉由探討史料和出土文獻中選擇的案例，來強調此事實。

儘管如此，從西漢末期朝廷面對一系列規模漸增的水患，依舊可以追索整體的加速轉變：從早期對水的「利」與「害」的關注，我們看到人們對於水本身的「性」提出更多問題，以及人們是否可能在操縱水的同時，避免潛在的長期性災難後果。本演講最後討論此一觀點是否能視為人類史上較早（甚至最早）的「水倫理」(water ethic)，此詞彙借用環境史學家唐納德·沃斯特 (Donald Worster) 的說法，即強調在進行任何操縱水的行為前，應先瞭解水在不同環境中的行為。

### **The Benefits, Harms, and Qualities of Water: Three Perspectives on Hydraulic Engineering During the Two Han Dynasties**

The early imperial period of Chinese history saw the construction of an unprecedented number of dikes, dams, canals, and irrigation systems throughout the empire. Students of early China long ago rejected Karl Wittfogel's thesis that these hydraulic engineering projects both required and strengthened a "despotic" form of government. They have offered, however, precious few alternative narratives to help us understand the explosion of interest in water control during the Western Han, Xin, and Eastern Han. The four centuries that comprise this period not only saw vast

changes in the scale and purpose of hydraulic engineering projects, but also a complete transformation in understandings of the very nature of water as a resource and the capacity of the imperial court to manage it. The sheer geographic and ecological diversity of the early empires, of course, mean that we can tell no single story of water and hydraulic engineering during the early empires, a fact that this talk underscores through an exploration of select cases from received and excavated texts alike.

Nonetheless, we can still trace an overall shift, one that accelerated in the late Western Han as the imperial court faced a series of escalating water disasters: from an earlier concern with the “benefits” (*li*) and “harms” (*hai*) of water, we begin to see more questions raised about the “nature” (*xing*) of water itself and whether or not humans can ever manipulate water without facing potentially disastrous long-term consequences. The paper closes with a discussion of whether or not this development can be understood as an early (the earliest?) emergence in human history of a “water ethic,” to borrow a term from the American environmental historian Donald Worster, one that stressed accounting for water’s real behavior in specific contexts over time before making any attempt to manipulate it.

### 主講人簡介：

何祿凱 (Luke Habberstad)，美國籍，加州大學柏克萊分校歷史博士，現為美國奧勒岡大學東亞語言文學系副教授。著有討論漢代政府、政治文化與官僚機構的作品《*Forming the Early Chinese Court: Rituals, Spaces, Roles*》(University of Washington Press, 2018)，本年獲得漢學研究中心獎助，研究主題為「先秦兩漢水利與政治文化」。