

操控 媒體

明以降中國的新聞與「假新聞」
國際學術研討會

Manipulating the Media:
News and “Fake News”
in China since Early Modern Times



會議時間：2018年6月7日（四）至8日（五）

Conference date: 7-8 June, 2018

會議地點：國家圖書館國際會議廳（臺北市中山南路20號）

Conference venue: International Conference Hall, National
Central Library

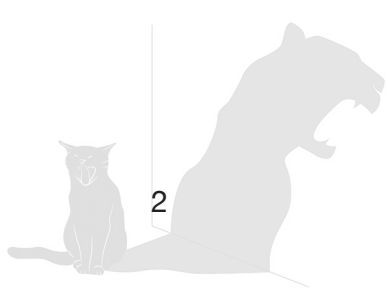
主辦單位 / Organizer:



國家圖書館漢學研究中心
Center for Chinese Studies, National Central Library



捷克科學院亞非研究所
Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences



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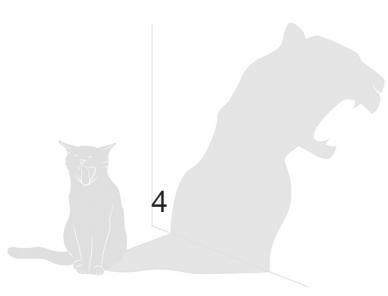
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會議簡介

近年來「假新聞」(Fake News) 開始出現在全球的媒體語彙中，並迅速成為影響世界各地社會及政治的中心議題。回顧人類近代歷史，社會上各類流通資訊即被操縱在各種不同的媒介或權威者管理者手中。然而，當大眾、讀者長期信任這些媒介及其所代表權威性之後，卻在某些特定時期出現戲劇性的變化，並且造成社會及政治秩序的不穩定。為探究此議題，兩天的研討會旨在探討中國歷史上社會及政治媒體出現相對劇烈變化的三個時期，分別為：

1. 出版業開始興起的 15 世紀末到 16 世紀初期的明朝
2. 新式的新聞業開始出現的清末民初時期（19 世紀末至 20 世紀初期）
3. 網際網路出現的 20 世紀末到 21 世紀初期

本研討會將審視這三個重大變化的影響層面及其歷史脈絡，一方面從一個歷史性的角度來分析不同時代的媒體情況；一方面尋找分析、解釋這些現象的範式 (Paradigm)，例如：新的媒體以何種方式對舊有的媒介權威及社會、政治體制形成挑戰？這些媒體的消費者如何改變既有的讀者群？

會議子題

1. 媒體、社會以及政治控制
2. 新聞文類
3. 謠言、故事與虛構
4. 宣傳與異議論述
5. 新媒體與社群媒體

About the Conference

“Fake News” has recently emerged in the global lexicon as a central issue affecting social and political systems around the world. Information has, of course, been manipulated by various agents since the dawn of time. But the large questions of trust and authority in the media have dramatically erupted at certain times in history, bringing instability and challenges to existing social and political orders.

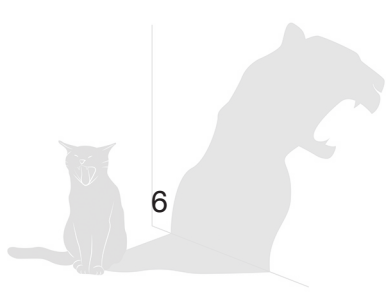
This 2-day conference explores crises of authority in the circulation of information during three periods in Chinese history that have seen dramatic shifts in forms of social and political media:

1. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century of the Ming period, with the rise of printing;
2. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century of the Qing and Republican periods, with the rise of new journalism;
3. The late twentieth and early twenty-first century, with the rise of the internet.

This conference examines the dimensions and contexts of these disruptions at these three historical periods in China to both historicize the current media climate, and to seek for paradigms for understanding and analyzing the issue of trust and authority in media in the context of deliberate manipulation by various actors for political purposes. Specifically, the conference asks questions such as in what ways new media challenge the authority of established media forms and social and political institutions, how do established social and political institutions react to emergence of new and/or contesting media forms, and/or how does the consumption of news and information shift among the broader reading public as a result of these processes?

Subtopics

1. Media and Social and Political Control
2. Genres of Journalism
3. Rumors, Stories and Fiction
4. Propaganda and the Discourse of Dissent
5. New Media and Social Media



議程

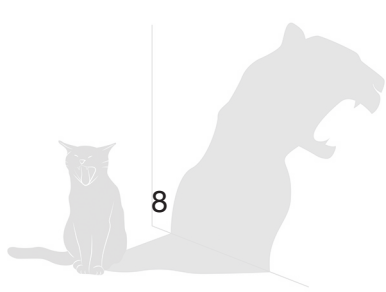
2018年6月7日（星期四）

09:00—09:30		報到
09:30—09:50	開幕式	主席致詞：國家圖書館曾淑賢館長 貴賓致詞
09:50—10:40	專題演講1	主持人：曾淑賢館長 王汎森 中央研究院院士 明清以來的輿論社會
10:40—11:00		茶敘
11:00—11:50	專題演講2	主持人：曾淑賢館長 Daniela Stockmann 德國赫爾蒂行政學院教授 數位時代的假新聞？
11:50—13:00		休息
13:00—15:00	第一場次 新聞文類	主持人：林麗月 國立臺灣師範大學歷史系名譽教授 1. 戴彼得（Peter B. Ditmanson）國家圖書館延攬研究學者 歷史、政治與明代中葉的出版業 2. 謝忠志 文藻外語大學通識教育中心助理教授 識讀《客座新聞》 3. 解揚 中國社會科學院歷史所副研究員 物怪人妖：明代中葉的一則黑胥謠言 4. 邱怡瑄 國立臺灣大學中國文學系博士候選人 偽裝的「詩史」與「假新聞」的真實效應：以九一八事變到抗戰期間的國難吟詠為核心的考察
15:00—15:20		茶敘
15:20—17:20	第二場次 隱喻、謠言、 故事與小說	主持人：胡曉真 中央研究院中國文哲研究所所長 1. 墨安劣（Emily Mokros）美國加州大學柏克萊分校博士後研究 街道上的政治：清代中國的文獻權威建設

2. 張繼瑩 國立清華大學通識教育中心助理教授
以鴉片之名：清末山西禁煙的地方宣傳與異議論述
3. 胡其瑞 國立臺灣大學數位人文中心博士後研究
天啓·謠言·苗皇帝：近代中國西南苗族起事裡的「假新聞」（1860-1960）
4. 孫旭亮 澳門大學歷史系博士候選人
謠言與想像移植：明末反教事件探析

2018年6月8日（星期五）

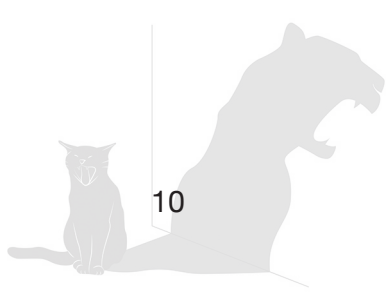
08:30—09:00	報到	
09:00—10:30	第三場次 媒體、社會以及政治控制	<p>主持人：余敏玲 中央研究院近代史研究所研究員</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 王鴻泰 中央研究院歷史語言研究所研究員 妖人妖言：明代中期的訊息傳播與政治操作 2. 莊勝全 東吳大學歷史系兼任助理教授 日治時期檢閱及取次制度下《臺灣民報》的發行與流通（1920-1932） 3. 王文隆 中國國民黨文化傳播委員會黨史館主任 國共兩黨黨營媒體所報徐蚌會戰之勝敗
10:30—10:50	茶敘	
10:50—12:20	第四場次 媒體、社會以及政治控制	<p>主持人：林照真 國立臺灣大學新聞研究所所長</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 路丹妮（Táňa Dluhošová）捷克科學院亞非研究所研究員 戰後初期臺灣審查制度：法規與實踐 2. 蘇蘅 國立政治大學傳播學院教授 假新聞：看不見的社會真實、偏見、與集體宣傳 3. 邱家宜 輔仁大學新聞傳播學系兼任助理教授 臺灣戒嚴時期的「假新聞」：「南海血書」案例
12:20—13:30	休息	



13:30—15:00	第五場次 新媒體與社群 媒體	主持人：林聖芬 清華大學副校長 1. 吳筱玫 國立政治大學傳播學院教授 論新媒體之液態解蔽：以1998印尼排華假照片事件為例 2. 韓莉 美國羅德學院歷史系副教授 從紅到「粉紅」：「嘻哈」宣傳，社交媒體和中國的「軟實力」追求 3. 林昂（Ondřej Klimeš）捷克科學院亞非研究所臺北中心主任 網路時代的政治抹黑行動
15:00—15:20		茶敘
15:20—17:00	圓桌論壇 歷史學與傳播 學的對話	主持人：周啟榮 美國伊利諾大學教授 與談人： 鍾蔚文 政治大學新聞系名譽教授 林昂 捷克科學院亞非研究所臺北中心主任 戴彼得 國家圖書館延攬研究學者
17:00—17:20	閉幕式	國家圖書館曾淑賢館長 捷克科學院亞非研究所林昂研究員

Conference Program

Thursday, June 7, 2018		
09:00—09:30	Registration	
09:30—09:50	Opening Ceremony	Opening Remarks Tseng Shu-hsien Director-General, National Central Library Special Guest
09:50—10:40	Keynote Speech I	Moderator: Tseng Shu-hsien Director-General NCL Speaker: Wang Fan-sen Academician of Academia Sinica Public Opinion in Chinese Society from the Ming and Qing Dynasties down to Modern Times
10:40—11:00	Tea Break	
11:00—11:50	Keynote Speech II	Moderator: Tseng Shu-hsien, Director-General NCL Speaker: Daniela Stockmann Professor, Hertie School of Governance, Germany What is Fake News in the Digital Age?
11:50—13:00	Break	
13:00—15:00	Session I Genres of Journalism	Chaired by Lin Li-yueh, Professor Emerita, Department of History, National Taiwan Normal University 1. Peter B. Ditmanson Associate Research Fellow, National Central Library History, Politics and Publishing: the Circulation of Notebooks (筆記) in Ming China in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries



2. Hsieh Chung-Chih Assistant Professor, General Education Center, Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages

To Comprehend and Read *Kezuo Xinwen*

3. Xie Yang Associate Researcher, Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

The Rumor of Ghost and Its Circulation in Late Imperial China

4. Chiu Yi-Hsuan Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Chinese Literature, National Taiwan University
Reality Effect of “Poetry-History” : Classical-style Poetry during the Anti-Japanese War

15:00—15:20

Tea Break

15:20—17:20

Session II

Rumors, Stories and Fiction

Chaired by Hu Siao-chen, Director, Institute of Chinese Literature, and Philosophy, Academia Sinica

1. Emily Mokros Post-doctoral Researcher, UC Berkeley

The State and the Street: Constructing Documentary Authority in Qing China

2. Chang Chi-ying Assistant Professor, Center for General Education, National Tsing Hua University
Policy Propaganda and the Discourse of Dissent: Opium Suppression in Shanxi Province, 1877-1911

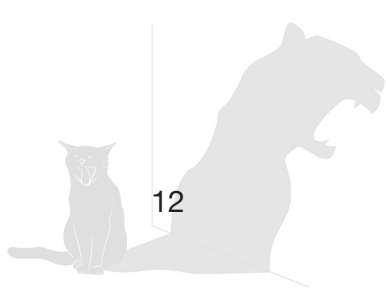
3. Hu Chi-Jui Post-doctoral Researcher, Research Center for Digital Humanities, National Taiwan University

Fake News in the “Miao Rebellion” in the Southwest China, 1860-1960

4. Sun Xuliang Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of Macau

Rumors and Imagination Transplant: A Study on Anti-Christian Incidents in the Late Ming Dynasty

Friday, June 8, 2018		
08:30—09:00		Report in
09:00—10:30	Session III Media and Social and Political Control	<p>Chaired by Yu Miin-ling, Research Fellow, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wang Hung-tai Research Fellow, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica Sorcerer's Heresy: Information Dissemination and Politics in the Mid-Ming 2. Chuang Sheng-chuan Adjunct Assistant Professor, History Department, Soochow University The Publishing and Circulation of the Taiwan Minpao under the System of Censorship and Agency in Japanese Colonial Taiwan(1920-1932) 3. Wang Wen-lung Director, KMT History Center The Reports Related to the Battle of Hsupeng by the KMT and CCP Newspapers
10:30—10:50		Tea Break
10:50—12:20	Session IV Media and Social and Political Control	<p>Chaired by Lin Chao-chen, Director, Graduate Institute of Journalism, National Taiwan University</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Táňa Dluhošová Research Fellow, Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic Censorship and Publication Control in Early Post-war Taiwan: Procedures and Practices 2. Su Heng Professor, Department of Journalism, National Chengchi University Fake News: Hidden Social Reality, Biased Message and Propaganda 3. Eve Chiu Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism & Communication Studies, FJU Fake News in Martial Law Era Taiwan: "A Blood Letter from Nanhai" as a Case Study
12:20—13:30		Break



13:30—15:00	Session V New Media and Social Media	Chaired by Lin Sheng-Fen, Senior Vice Chancellor, National Tsing Hua University 1. Wu Hsiao-mei Professor, Department of Journalism, National Chengchi University The Liquidity of Historical Writing of New Media: A Case Study on the Faked Photos of May 1998 Riots of Indonesia 2. Han Li Associate Professor, History Department, Rhodes College, USA From Red to “Pink”: Propaganda hip-hops, New Media and China’s Soft Power Pursuit 3. Ondřej Klimeš Director, Taipei Center, Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic Political Smear Campaigns in the Internet Era
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15:00—15:20

Tea Break

15:20—17:00	Round Table	Chaired by Chow Kai-wing, Professor, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures , University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, USA Discussant: Chung Wei-wen Honorary Professor, College of Communication, National Chengchi University Ondřej Klimeš Director, Taipei Center, Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic Peter B. Ditmanson Associate Research Fellow, National Central Library
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17:00—17:20	Closing Ceremony	Tseng Shu-hsien Director-General, National Central Library Ondřej Klimeš Director, Taipei Center, Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
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議事規則

1. 會議使用語言以中文為主，英文為輔。

2. 與會人員

- (1) 會議開始前 2 分鐘響鈴，請儘快入席，以利研討會之進行。
- (2) 會議期間，請務必關閉手機等各類會發出聲響之電子用品，以免干擾會場。
- (3) 與會人員發言時，應先經主持人許可，報明姓名、服務單位，然後發言，二人以上欲同時發言時，由主持人裁定優先順序。
- (4) 與會人員發表意見，除口頭外，本次會議提問亦可於線上提問請輸入網址 <http://www.sli.do> 於畫面中央 # Enter event code JOIN 空格輸入 fakenews 點選會議標題後即可提問。因場次時間有限，發言內容以 1 分鐘為限。活動主辦單位將保留宣讀提問內容之權利。

<http://www.sli.do> QR Code :



3. 議題討論

每一場次時間，除第一、二場 120 分鐘外，其餘皆為 90 分鐘，分配如下：

主持人引言 5 分鐘，結語 5 分鐘；發表人各 20 分鐘（報告或發言於時限結束前 3 分鐘，按鈴一聲提醒；已達時限，按鈴 2 聲提醒；超過時限，每 1 分鐘按鈴兩聲。）；其餘為開放討論時間。

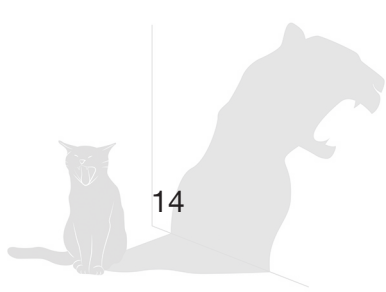
4. 專題演講

- (1) 引言 3 分鐘
- (2) 發表時間：50 分鐘（42 分鐘響鈴一聲，45 分鐘響鈴兩聲）

主題網頁：<http://media.ncl.edu.tw/>



本研討會論文為非正式出版品。未經同意，請勿引用。



Conference Guidelines

1. Mandarin will be the primary language of the conference; English may be used in moderation

2. Conference Participants

- (1) Two minutes before the conference begins, a bell will sound. Please take your seat as quickly as possible, so that the conference can begin on time.
- (2) To avoid disturbances during the conference, please ensure that all sound-emitting electronic devices such as cell phones are turned off.
- (3) Participants wishing to speak should first seek permission from the moderator, then clearly identify themselves by name and institution before making their comment. In the event that two or more people wish to speak at the same time, the moderator shall decide the order of speakers.
- (4) Participants wishing to ask questions may do so orally or online. Please visit <http://www.sli.do/>, enter the event code **fakenews** in the box indicated, and click “JOIN.” After selecting the conference title, then enter your question. Due to time limitations, questions or comments from the floor are limited to 1 minute. The hosting institution reserves the right to read out questions.

3. Discussions

The first and second sessions will be of 120 minutes duration, and any further sessions 90 minutes. Time limits are as follows:

Introduction and concluding remarks by the moderator: 5 minutes each; presentation of papers: 20 minutes for each participant (a bell will be rung once, 3 minutes before the end, and twice when time is up. At each minute interval past the time limit, the bell will be rung twice more); any remaining time may be used for open discussion.

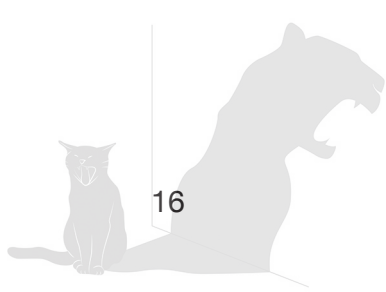
4. Keynote Speech

- (1) Introduction: 3 minutes.
- (2) Presentation: 50 minutes (a bell will be rung once after 42 minutes, and twice after 45 minutes).

Please note: Conference papers are not formal publications. Please do not cite them without permission.

第一場次

- 16 History, Politics and Publishing: the Circulation of Notebooks (筆記) in Ming China in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries / Peter B. Ditmanson
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History, Politics and Publishing in Mid-Ming China

歷史、政治與明代中葉的出版業

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Abstract / 摘要

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in China saw a growing circulation of informal notebooks (*biji* 筆記) that included comments and unsourced rumors and stories on various political figures and events from recent history. The authors of these works were officials from various levels of the bureaucracy, and their writings challenged the accounts found in the official records (*shilu* 實錄) of the dynasty. This growing diversity of political views and broadening political expression emerged against the backdrop of political tensions at the Ming court as the civil service contended with the growing power of eunuchs like Liu Jin (劉瑾, 1451-1510), as well as factional disputes involving imperial affairs, such as the Great Ritual Controversy (*Da liyi* 大禮議) of the 1520s. The comments, stories and rumors in these notebooks generally focused upon the moral strength of the civil officials of the dynasty, contrasted with the misdeeds of emperors and eunuchs.

The records in these notebooks were widely circulated and cited and strongly influenced perceptions of the dynasty and its history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The accounts were incorporated into the various private histories that were compiled in the second half of the dynasty, beginning with Chen Jian's (陳建, 1497-1557) *Comprehensive Record of the August Ming* (*Huang Ming tongji* 皇明通紀) of 1555, and thereby came to have a lasting impact upon the historical interpretation of the Ming

dynasty.

15 世紀後期至 16 世紀前期的中國，有許多筆記出現與流通，其中包含一些近期歷史人物與事變的評論，和沒有明顯的來源的故事與傳說。這些作者是不同層級的官員，而他們的作品形成一種對官方的《實錄》的挑戰。這種政治觀點的多樣化與政治意見的增加，是以朝廷上日益加劇的政治鬥爭為背景出現的，一方是政府的文官，另一方則是權力日益強大的宦官，例如劉瑾（1451-1510）等等。而黨派之間的爭論也出現了，例如 1520 年代的大禮議。這些評論、故事與傳說，大都強調與皇帝和宦官的不當行為相反的官僚的道德力量。

這些筆記的記載被廣泛傳播和引用，對於 16、17 世紀的歷史觀點有很大的影響。這些記載被納入明代中葉以後的私人歷史文獻，自陳建的 1555 年出版的《皇明通紀》開始，它們對明朝的歷史詮釋產生了持久的影響。

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century saw a dramatic shift in the nature and flow of information across the Ming empire (1368-1644). Shifts in the political winds, changes in the economic landscape and a growing publishing industry led to an increase in the traffic of information across the empire, as well as an emerging diversification of that information. This paper explores the emergence of “alternative” historical accounts of the dynasty in this period, records that challenged the narratives of the dynasty.

Central to the historiographic enterprise of the Ming court was the production of the *Veritable Records*, compiled for each reign. These records included a wide range of important information on the activities, events and debates at the court. Official historiography had been a major bureaucratic enterprise at least since Tang times, with ideals of proper historical accounting enshrined in the classics.¹ For this reason, the *Veritable Records* had a particular sacral quality to them. They were not merely history books. One copy was ceremoniously stored in metal boxes within the palace compound under strict regulations laid down by the founder.² The second copy was kept in the library of the Grand Secretariat (*Neige* 內閣), where they were stored not in the History section of the library, but in the first section, before the Classics, in an area devoted to the writings and compilations by and about the imperial family, the third, fourth and fifth shelves of the “Heaven” (天) section.³

Dynastic history and the *Veritable Records* were consistently presented as a kind of moral mirror or “reflective warning” (*jianjie* 鑒戒). In 1369, the second year of the Hongwu reign, the court at Nanjing received the *Veritable Records* of the Yuan court, which had been rescued by the scholar Wei Su (危素 1303-1372) and others shortly after the fall of Dadu (大都, modern Beijing) in September of 1368. The records from the reigns of the first thirteen Yuan emperors were included. The official record of the last Mongol emperor, Toghōn Temür (Shundi 順帝, r. 1333-1368), was not yet written, as he was still alive, having fled north before the invasion of the capital. That year, the Hongwu emperor ordered the compilation of the Yuan dynastic history from these records.⁴

The Hongwu emperor saw himself self-consciously within the context of the succession of emperors through Chinese history. He understood himself as making history, just as his predecessors did, and he clearly saw the composition of an official court history as part of the process of moral rulership itself. The founder had initiated the process of compiling the history of his own reign well before the dynasty itself was founded. In 1364, the year that he established his semi-independence from the Yuan dynasty as the Prince of Wu (*Wuwang* 吳王), he established the post of the court diarist (*qijuzhu* 起居注), to

1 See Denis Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). See also, Yang Lien-sheng, “The Organization of Chinese Official Historiography: Principles and Methods of the Standard Histories from the T'ang to the Ming,” in *Historians of China and Japan*, edited by W.G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 44-59.

2 Franke, “The *Veritable Records* of the Ming Dynasty,” pp. 72-3.

3 Yang Shiqi 楊士奇, *Wenyuange shumu* 文淵閣書目, *Sikuquanshu* digital edition, 1.11a-b. This library was organised on the basis of the traditional Chinese categories of Classics (*jing* 經), Histories (*shi* 史), Specialist Schools (*zi* 子), and Literary Collections (*ji* 集). The *Wenyuange* library preceded these categories with a special category called “Dynastic” (*Guochao* 國朝), and at the end included several miscellaneous categories.

4 *Da Ming Taizu Gaohuangdi shilu* 大明太祖高皇帝實錄, *juan* 39, entry for *the bingyin* 丙寅 day of the second month of the second year of the Hongwu reign, (9 March, 1369).

which important members of his retinue were assigned in the ensuing years.⁵ In these ways, the Hongwu acknowledged that the legitimacy of his reign depended on accurate historical records as a key element in the moral framework of his authority.

While the history of the realm lay within the Veritable Records, in the early years of the dynasty, court officials occasionally composed their own private historical accounts of the dynasty. One of the earliest of these was the Record of the Sagely Governance of the *Hongwu Emperor* (洪武聖政記), compiled in 1375 by the leading court scholar, Song Lian (宋濂, 1310-81). This short work was composed of Song's personal anecdotes of the emperor's words and deeds. As such, it was the first private reflection on events at the Ming court. We know little about the circulation of Song's work. It appears that it was initially not published, and by the late fifteenth century, there were those who believed that the work was lost.⁶

The preface extolled the Hongwu emperor for his achievements in establishing political order and the renewing the cultural and social order of the realm. Song declared

We officials have been placed in the Hanlin Academy responsibility over the written word. We have personally seen the abundant virtue of the great enterprise [of the emperor], daily renewed and shining like the moon. Hence, my assistants and I made a plan to gather together [records of] the essentials of his governance and compile them into a book. Arranged in two volumes and seven topics with a number of items, we have called it *The Record of the Sagely Governance of the Hongwu Reign*. And so, under Heaven's lofty brilliance, all things are covered. Upon Earth's broad heft, all things are supported. And when the Sage takes his role, all things are delighted together. Therefore, the golden commands that were promulgated, the jade regulations that were set forth are here recorded on paper, and carved in jade, and transmitted to the sagely sons and divine grandsons, so that they may prevail forever with Heaven and Earth.⁷

臣備位詞林以文字為職業。親見盛德大業，日新月著。於是與僚屬謀取其有關政要者，編集成書，列為上下卷。凡七類合若干條，名曰《洪武聖政記》。然而天之高明也，萬物莫不覆焉。地之博厚也，萬物無不載焉。聖人之作也，萬物咸興欣覩焉。故凡金科之頒，玉條之列，著之於簡書，刻之於琬琰，傳之於聖子神孫者，將與天地相為無窮。

First, Song Lian indicated that this was an initiative of his own, along with those who served under him. Second, however, Song made it clear that this compilation here was intended to remain as a court document, to be transmitted to Hongwu's progeny, the future emperors of the dynasty. In the catalog of the library of the Grand Secretariat, the *Wenyuange shumulu* (文淵閣書目錄), the work was listed among other court documents, including imperial pronouncements, biographies and other materials.⁸

5 *Da Ming Taizu Gaohuangdi shilu* 大明太祖高皇帝實錄, *juan* 14, entry for the *dingmao* 丁卯 day of the first month of the *jiazhēn* 甲辰 year, (5 February, 1364). On the history of the position of the court diarist, see Denis Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang*, 7-9. See also, Xie Gui'an, *Mingshilu yanjiu*, pp. 14-17.

6 Xu Zhenxing 许振兴, "Sikuquanshu zongmu Hongwu shengzheng ji tiaokaowu 《四库全书总目》 '《洪武圣政记》' 条考误," *Journal of Ancient Books Collation and Studies* 《古籍整理研究學刊》, 2006.3 no. 2, 38-9

7 Song Liang, *Hongwu shengzheng ji*, pref. *Guochao diangu* edition. Guoxue123.com (<http://www.guoxue123.com/other/gcdg/gcdg/013.htm>) accessed 4/27/2018

8 Yang Shiqi 楊士奇, *Wenyuange shumulu* 文淵閣書目錄, Sikuquanshu electronic edition. (Chinese University of Hong

There was very little private writing on the imperial court that circulated afterward. 68 years after Song Lian’s work, in 1443, the grand secretary Yang Shiqi compiled a similar record, the Record of Imperial Pronouncements of Three Reigns (*Sanchao shengyu lu* 三朝聖諭錄), with anecdotes of the three previous emperors under which he served: Yongle 永樂 (r.1402-24), Hongxi 洪熙 (r.1424-5), and Xuande 宣德 (r. 1425-1435).⁹ Yang was then a senior statesman advising the Zhengtong emperor 正統 (r. 1435-49), who, at sixteen, had only just begun to manage his court.¹⁰

The Record of Imperial Pronouncements of Three Reigns appeared at a crucial juncture in the politics of the court. The grand empress dowager, Lady Zhang (1379-1442), grandmother of the Zhengtong emperor, had died the previous year, after presiding over a regency of three civil officials—Yang Shiqi, Yang Rong 楊榮 (1371-1440), and Yang Pu 楊溥 (1372-1446)—along with three members of the eunuch staff. Among the latter group, Wang Zhen 王振 (d. 1449), the director of ceremonial (*silijian* 司禮監), was emerging as one of the most powerful figures at court.¹¹

At age 78 and with many of his older colleagues gone, Yang produced this work with a clear concern for the stability of the court, and the anecdotes he selected focused upon personal interactions, the kindnesses and warm bonds between the emperors and the civil officials around them. Yang’s message and goals were clear: to emphasize a legacy of predominance of civil officials at court and to stress the primacy of their relationship to the ruler.

Unlike Song Lian, Yang Shiqi did not intend his work solely for an imperial audience (although he certainly would have brought it to the attention of the Zhengtong emperor). Rather, it appears to have been aimed more broadly at the literati community. He compared the work to Song dynasty works like the Record of Memorials on Affairs (*Zoushi lu* 奏事錄) or the Debates on [*the Prince*] of Pu (*Pu yi* 濮議), by Ouyang Xiu (1007-72) or the *Records by Hand* (*Shoulu* 手錄) by Sima Guang (1019-86), works that, as Yang explained, “recorded the interactions between ruler and ministers at that time, comprehensively and in detail, such that they reflect an era of a brilliant and capable match between them.”¹² Yang included his record in his published works, *Dongliwenji*, which was first published in 1443.

While we know very little about the circulation of information in the early Ming, as the above discussion indicates, the spread of news and records of the dynasty was both limited and largely monolithic. Figures such as Song Lian, Yang Shiqi, Yang Rong and Jin Youzi served largely as the mouthpieces for an imperial viewpoint. And in their independent writings, they served largely the same function—promoting the sagely virtue of the ruler and his predecessors. By the mid-fifteenth century, however, a range of factors began to cause this.

Kong and Digital Heritage, Ltd., 2007).

9 Yang Shiqi, *Dongli wenji* 東里文集. Edited by Liu Bohan 劉伯涵 and Zhu Hai 朱海. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998, 387-415. The preface is on pp. 387-8.

10 On this work, see my “Fashioning the Imperial Legacy: Yang Shiqi and the Record of Imperial Pronouncements,” *Ming China: Courts and Contacts, 1400-1450*, edited by Craig Clunas, Jessica Harrison-Hall and Luk Yu-ping, London: The British Museum, 2016, 94-8.

11 On the court dynamics, see Denis Twitchett and Tilemann Grimm, “The Cheng-t’ung, Ching-t’ai and T’ien-shun Reigns, 1436-1464,” *Cambridge History of China*, edited by Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett, Vol. 7, “The Ming Dynasty,” (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 305-9.

12 Yang Shiqi, *Dongli wenji* 東里文集. Edited by Liu Bohan 劉伯涵 and Zhu Hai 朱海. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998, 387-8.

Political Turmoil

The Ming dynasty was a period of frequent political instability. The empire enjoyed a brief period of relative calm after the death of Yongle, mostly during the reign of his grandson, the Xuande Emperor (宣德, r. 1425-1435). Disruption returned when Xuande died, leaving the throne to his eight-year-old son, the Yingzong Emperor 英宗, in his Zhengtong reign (正統, r. 1436-49). Among the Ming founder's elaborate Ancestral Instructions (*Zuxunlu* 祖訓錄), there were no instructions for the succession of a minor. The uneasy coalition of civil officials, eunuchs and military men became unstable after the death of Empress Dowager Zhang in 1442. The young emperor vacillated in his attentions between the advice of his civil officials and that of his growing eunuch staff, most notably Wang Zhen.

Disaster struck in 1449, when the Zhengtong Emperor was captured by the Oirat Mongols at Tumu 土木, while personally leading an ill-advised military campaign against them. After the court hastily installed the emperor's younger half-brother as the Jingtai Emperor (景泰, r. 1450-7), a subsequent crisis emerged when the Mongols released their captive, and Zhengtong returned to find his brother unwilling to relinquish the throne. This crisis was only resolved when Jingtai fell ill and a minor coup restored Zhengtong to the throne under the new reign name of Tianshun.¹³

The court was subsequently wracked with further disruption when the eunuch Liu Jin 劉瑾 (d.1510) rose to a dominant position at court, from which he controlled court policies and violently forced civil officials into submission. And then in 1520, the erratic and impulsive Zhengde Emperor (正德, r. 1505-22) died suddenly without an heir, launching a renewed succession crisis. Zhengde's cousin was brought in and placed on the throne as the Jiajing Emperor (嘉靖, r. 1522-66). However, Jiajing very quickly sparked new controversy by defying his grand secretaries and refusing to accept the proposed adoption ritual by which he would be recognized as Zhengde's brother, acknowledging Zhengde's father, the former Hongzhi Emperor (弘治, r. 1488-1505), as his own father, which would legitimate his succession. Jiajing chose instead to elevate his own father posthumously as an emperor. For the first several years of the Jiajing reign, the "Great Ritual Controversy" (*Daliyi* 大禮議) drew a sharp divide between the emperor and the higher echelons of his civil bureaucracy, and caused severe rancor and divided opinion among officials and scholars across the realm.¹⁴

Notebooks *biji* of High Officials

As the political environment of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries became increasingly charged, notebooks by high officials and those with access to the inner workings of the court began to circulate. These informal writings included detailed anecdotes about events and personalities at court, with the authority of an "insider's view." As Philip de Heer pointed out in his study of the Zhengtong, Jingtai, and Tianshun courts, a wave of these writings were sparked by scholars who wanted to offer their

13 On the crisis of succession after the Tumu debacle, see Ph. de Heer, *The Care-Taker Emperor: Aspects of the Imperial Institution in Fifteenth-Century China as Reflected in the Political History of the Reign of Chu Ch'i-yü*. (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

14 On the Great Ritual Controversy, see Fisher, *The Chosen One: Succession and Adoption in the Court of Ming Shizong*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990).

own version of events about these tumultuous years, especially as the contentious Veritable Records of the Yingzong reign were compiled in 1467.¹⁵

One of the most striking elements of these notebook writings, however, was that they included several accounts critical of the Ming imperial line itself. Criticism of the Jingtai Emperor was widespread, conforming the official narrative that his reign had been largely illegitimate. Jingtai had been granted no Veritable Records himself, and the events of his reign had been inserted within the Veritable Records of Yingzong as an appendix under the title of “Appendix of the Deposed Emperor, the Criminal Prince Cheng” (*Feidi Chengliwang fulu* 廢帝邕戾王附錄) inserted in the middle.¹⁶ It is therefore not surprising that we find writings that offered direct criticism of Jingtai’s moral failings. What is surprising is the emergence, for the first time in the Ming, of writings that were directly critical of the two foundational imperial figures, the Hongwu and Yongle emperors.

One of the most significant of this new generation of writings was the *Daily Record of the Tianshun Reign*, attributed to the senior grand secretary Li Xian (李賢, 1408-66, js 1433). Entering the civil service in 1433, Li began his career two years before the tumultuous Yingzong reign began, and he outlived his emperor by two more years. A canny statesman, he emerged as the most prominent figure at court in the last several years of Yingzong’s reign. During these later years, Li had played a vital role in shaping the voice of the court, in his last years serving as one of the supervisors of the compilation of the Veritable Records of the Yingzong reign.

The *Daily Record of the Tianshun Reign* was not precisely a diary but rather a collection of anecdotes and observations. Like others in the notebook genre, this title suggested casual, unpolished and candid writing. Li Xian compiled the Daily Record during his lifetime, probably before 1464, and the work is mentioned in his funerary inscription.¹⁷ The *Daily Record* first appeared in the author’s collected works, *Gurang wenji* (古穰文集), published by his son-in-law, Cheng Minzheng 程敏政 (1445-99) shortly after Li’s death.

Much of the Daily Record is concerned with events from the Tianshun reign, and, not surprisingly, many of the entries present Li Xian in a favorable light. In these accounts, the emperor listens carefully as Li dispenses moral advice. In one entry, for example, Li talked the emperor out of forcing one of his half-brother’s consorts to follow him to the grave:

At the beginning of the Tianshun reign, as Prince Cheng was to be buried, His Highness wanted to command Consort Wang to accompany him to the grave. Xian accordingly memorialized, saying, “Although Consort Wang was established as an empress, she was then abandoned and isolated [when the Jingtai Emperor replaced her]. Fortunately, she has two daughters with whom to pass her days. If you order her to accompany [the dead emperor], then her feelings will be unendurable, not mention her two daughters, who will be even more pitiable.” His Highness said compassionately,

15 Ph. De Heer, 137-67.

16 *Da Ming Yingzong ruihuangdi shilu* 大明英宗睿皇帝實錄, *juan* 183-273. These chapters are titled as *Feidi Cheng liwang fulu*, *juan* 1 to 91. See also Xie Gui’an, *Mingshilu yanjiu*, 44-50.

17 Wu Zhenhan 吳振漢 points out that the work was probably completed during the Yingzong reign, as it refers to him as “his highness” (*shang* 上), rather than using his posthumous title. See 吳振漢, 〈明代中葉私修國史之風探析〉, 《史匯》2002年6期, 1-21. Li Xian’s funerary inscription, compiled by his son-in-law, Cheng Minzheng, is found in the latter’s collected works, *Huangdun wenji* 篁墩文集, *Sikuquanshu* digital edition, 40.23a.

“what my minister says is true. I had felt that my brother’s wife was too young and that it would therefore not be suitable to keep her in the palace. But I had not thought about her role as a mother.”

天順初，上以郕王薨，欲令汪妃殉葬。賢因奏曰：「汪妃雖立為后，即遭廢棄幽閉，幸與兩女度日。若令隨去，情所不堪。况幼女無依，尤可矜憫。」上惻然曰：「卿言是。朕以為弟婦且少，不宜存內。初不計其母子之命。」¹⁸

In entries like this one, we see a shift in the narrative style of palace reportage. Whereas earlier figures like Song Lian and Yang Shiqi had always written anecdotes focused upon imperial virtue and authority, Li now wrote court stories that highlighted his own important role as the moral compass of the court.

Not surprisingly, Li Xian reserved harsh criticism for the eunuch Wang Zhen, who had dominated the court for much of the Zhengtong reign years. While the official *Veritable Records* of the Yingzong reign were critical of Wang’s role, the *Daily Record* offered particularly vivid accounts of his misdeeds. In one particularly notable example, Li Xian recorded the execution of Liu Qiu 劉球 (1392-1443, *js* 1421), an official known for his outspoken criticism of Wang Zhen. The *Veritable Records* merely note that Wang Zhen died in prison.¹⁹ The *Daily Record* reported that Wang Zhen had ordered his grim execution:

[Wang] was enraged, and deployed his lackey, Commander Ma Xun of the Imperial Body Guard, ordering him to drag [Li Qiu] into the court. Qiu did not know what to think, but when his punishment became apparent, he merely said, “when I die, I will report to Taizu and Taizong.” His four limbs were severed from his body. From this point on, no one was able to speak up. Qiu’s spirit lingered on the roof, recounting [Ma] Xun’s crimes, making Xun rather uneasy. So he ordered monks to chant scriptures to send him on.²⁰

[王]怒，以錦衣衛指揮馬順為爪牙，令以他事牽之陛前猝去。球不知所謂，見刑但曰：「死訴太祖、太宗。」遂支解其體。自是人緘口不能言。球魂附頂子，數順之罪，順頗不安，命緇流誦經度之。

The official *Veritable Records* included no such description of Liu Qiu’s torture and execution, only a brief mention, followed by his last memorial to the emperor.

While most of the entries focused on the Tianshun reign, the account also interspersed stories from the earlier reigns. Here the *Daily Record* went beyond the experiences of Li Xian’s own time at court, though he did not indicate sources. Particularly noteworthy were a few anecdotes about the Hongwu and Yongle emperors. For example:

The August One also found it difficult to accept remonstrance. There was a Hanlin compiler named Zhang who could speak directly. When [the emperor] couldn’t tolerate it, he demoted him to a post as an instructor in Puzhou in Shanxi. When an array of congratulatory submission came in, the August One read them and recognized his name. He saw that he wrote, “The realm has the Way,”

18 Li Xian, *Tianshun rilu*. *Guochao diangu* edition. Guoxue123.com (<http://www.guoxue123.com/other/gcdg/gcdg/052.htm>) Accessed, 4/47/2018.

19 明英宗睿皇帝實錄, *juan* 105. Entry for the *dinghai* 丁亥 day of the 6th month of the 8th year of Zhengtong (6/30/1443) .

20 Li Xian, *Tianshun rilu*.

and also “Ten-thousand years unbounded.” He lost his temper, saying, “This old guy responds by slandering me with two words meaning “thief!” He was suspicious of [Zhang], and so he sent people to apprehend him and bring him in. When he was presented, [the Emperor] said, “I’m sending you to the court for questioning. What do you have to say?” Zhang said, “I only have one thing to say, and after I say it, I can die. Your Highness gave an order that when congratulations are given, invention is not permitted. It must come from the Classics. When I said, ‘The realm has the Way,’ I was citing a quote from the former sage, Confucius. When I said, ‘Ten-thousand years unbounded,’ that was from the *Book of Odes*, wherein an official blesses his lord with full emotion. The slander for which I have been accused, is no more than that.” Hearing his explanation, after a long time, [the Emperor] said, “This old guy still is good with words.” And then he released him without further questioning. Those around said, “after several years have passed, the only one to receive lenience has been this man!”²¹

高廟亦難受諫，翰林編修張姓者能直言，至不能容，黜為山西蒲州學正。例撰慶表，高廟閱之，識其名，見其表詞有曰：「天下有道。」又曰：「萬壽無疆。」發怒曰：「此老還謗我以『疆道』二字。」疑之，即差人逮來，引見，曰：「送法司問，汝更何說？」張曰：「臣有一言，說畢就死。陛下有旨，表文不許杜撰，務出經典。臣謂『天下有道』，乃先聖孔子之格言；臣謂『萬壽無疆』，乃詩經臣子祝君之至情。今謂臣誹謗，不過如此。」聞其說，良久曰：「此老還嘴強。」放去竟不問。左右相謂曰：「數年以來，纔見容此一人而已。」

The ostensible topic of the anecdote was Taizu’s reluctance to accept criticism, introduced in the first line. However, that was not the significant element of the story. The main point was that the Hongwu Emperor was dangerously suspicious and ignorant of the classical references presented to him. The emperor’s fury was contrasted with the bravery and calm of the official before him. And the final comment by those watching the exchange indicated that persecutions were the norm, and the mercy shown here was a one-time exception.

Although the criticism of Hongwu here was mild (compared to later stories), this appears to be one of the earliest widely-circulating accounts that put the emperor in a negative light. There had been critical memorials during his reign, but these had been largely omitted from the *Veritable Records*.²² More importantly, as we will see, this was the first of a series of anecdotes to emerge that described what would later be called a “literary inquisition” (*wenziyu* 文字獄), under the Hongwu Emperor.

The *Daily Record* included far more critical stories of the Yongle Emperor, particularly his treatment of the loyalists who served his nephew, the Jianwen Emperor, whom Yongle deposed. Here we have the earliest extant story of Fang Xiaoru’s famous stand-off against Yongle. According to the 1431 *Veritable Records* of the Yongle reign, a whimpering Fang was brought before the emperor, who berated him and blamed him and others in the Jianwen court for bringing about the young emperor’s death and the burning of the palace.²³ The *Daily Record*, however, told a far different story. Here, Yongle specifically summoned

21 Li Xian, *Tianshun rilu*.

22 On critical remonstrance during the Hongwu reign, see my “洪武年間的道德諫諍”(Moral remonstrance in the Hongwu reign),” in *明太祖的治國理念及其實踐* (Ming Taizu’s administrative ideas and practice). Edited by Chu Hung-lam, Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2010, 63-93.

23 大明太宗文皇帝實錄, *juan* 9b. Entry for the *yichou* 乙丑 day of the 6th month of the 4th year of the Jianwen reign (7/13/1402).

Fang from prison, demanding that he draft the edict announcing Yongle's ascent to the throne:

The Cultured One (Yongle) ordered him to draft the edict. [Fang] was mournful and cried loudly and said, "what could I write?" [Yongle] ordered those around to cease his crying and give him the brush. He threw it to the ground and said, "If I die, that's it. I won't draft the edict!" The Cultured One flew into a great rage and had him punished with slow-slicing, and then had his clan destroyed.²⁴

文廟即命草詔，乃舉哀大哭曰：「將何為辭？」敕左右禁其哭，授以筆，既投之地，曰：「有死而已，詔不可草。」文廟大怒，以凌遲之刑刑之，遂夷其族。

Here again, the steadfast position of the official is contrasted with the ineffective rage of the emperor. Unlike the *Veritable Records* version in which Yongle was presented as the ultimate authority, here the ruler sought out Fang, hoping that the scholar's integrity would lend legitimacy to his usurpation. The intensity of the punishment was also notable in Li's description. The *Veritable Record of the Yongle reign* had laconically recorded the execution of Fang and the others "in the market."²⁵ The punishment of slow-slicing was a punishment rarely mentioned in the *Veritable Records* and only as a prescription, not as an actual event. In the Hongwu reign, it was mentioned twice: once in Li Shanchang's descriptions of cruelty under the Yuan, and once in an order by the Hongwu emperor against those "whose minds harbor evil insubordination or speak words that are contrary to the Way." (有心懷惡逆，出不道之言者).²⁶ In the *Veritable Records* of the Yongle reign, it was only mentioned once, as a declaration of punishment for anyone who submits false accusations against ten or more people (論誣告十人以上者).²⁷ In short, the records tell us very little about the implementation of slow-slicing as a gruesome punishment. But one thing is clear: up until Li Xian's time, its occurrence had rarely been noted in the historical records.

Li Xian included one more stunning entry on the Yongle usurpation, describing the career and death of Tie Xuan 鐵鉉 (1366-1402), the vice-commissioner in the provincial administration commission (布政司參政) of Shandong who led the efforts to hold the provincial capital of Jinan 濟南 against the onslaught of the Prince of Yan's forces. Tie Xuan was from Dengzhou 鄧州 in Henan as was Li Xian. Li described Tie Xuan as a highly influential figure who was a favorite of the Hongwu Emperor. He did not, however, appear in the *Veritable Records* of the Hongwu reign, and was only mentioned once in passing in the *Veritable Records* of the Yongle reign.²⁸ The *Daily Record* then described Tie's skills in defending Jinan, delivering humiliations to the Prince of Yan. Once Yongle attained the throne, he took revenge:

After crossing the river [to enter Nanjing] and ascending the throne, [Yongle] captured him by a ruse and had him brought in. [Tie's] words were upright and he would not submit. He was commanded to reconsider, but in the end he would not. His ears and nose were cut off, but still he would not. As

24 Li Xian, *Tianshun rilu*.

25 大明太宗文皇帝實錄, *juan* 9b. Entry for the *dingchou* 丁丑 day of the 6th month of the 4th year of the Jianwen reign (7/25/1402).

26 大明太祖高皇帝實錄, *juan* 44. Entry for the *guiyou* 癸酉 day of the 8th month of the 2th year of the Hongwu reign (9/12/1369); *juan* 74. Entry for the *dingchou* 丁丑 day of the 6th month of the 5th year of the Hongwu reign (7/2/1372).

27 大明太宗文皇帝實錄, *juan* 17. Entry for the *renzi* 壬子 day of the 2th month of the 1st year of the Yongle reign (2/25/1403).

28 明太宗文皇帝實錄, *juan* 11. Entry for the *renzi* 壬子 day of the 8th month of the 35th year of Hongwu (4th year of Jianwen) (8/29/1402)

his body was destroyed and he was approaching death, he scolded [Yongle] till the end. People later held that, of those whose martyred loyalty was unshakeable, there was only Xuan.²⁹

及過江登位，用計擒至，正言不屈，令其一顧，終不可得。去其耳鼻亦不顧，碎分其體，至死詈聲方已。後思忠烈不可撓者，惟鉉一人而已。

Here again, we see graphic descriptions of violence rarely seen in Chinese historiography, and virtually never in reference to the ruling house.

How are we to interpret these entries in Li Xian's *Daily Records of the Tianshun Reign*? From the establishment of the Tianshun reign in 1457, until Li's death in 1467, he was one of the most powerful officials in the empire. His son-in-law, Cheng Minzheng, who oversaw the publication of Li's writings shortly after his death, also served prominently at court. Like Li, Cheng held a prestigious post as one of the compilers of the *Veritable Records* of Yingzong, and he claimed strong credentials as a historian, having edited and re-collated important historiographical works on the Song and Yuan dynasties.³⁰

One of the challenges of this work, and many others of its kind from this period, is that it included no preface, no explanation for the author's motives or for how it should be read. Should these entries be read literally? Li offered no sources or paper trail for his claims, making it difficult to assess their veracity. There are presented in an authoritative voice, without the eyewitness narrative details (I saw..., Someone told me..., etc.) While they cannot be pronounced as false, there is also no basis under which to affirm them as true either. For many readers, both in the Ming and now, reports of Liu Qiu's ghost lingering on the roof would be grounds for some skepticism. Historians of the caliber of Li Xian and Cheng Minzheng would not and did not insert such stories into official documents like the *Veritable Records*. Nor did they include salacious descriptions of violence.

It is clear that Li Xian and his compiler Cheng Minzheng regarded the notebook, *biji*, as a particularly suited venue for this kind of story. The casual, fragmentary nature of these entries were meant to be taken in by the reader on a casual, fragmentary basis. Unlike the *Veritable Records* or other formal historical work, the casual genre of the *biji* did not make a particular assertion of truth. And similarly, the fragmented entries did not coalesce to form an explicit argument or call to action.

These points notwithstanding, there was an underlying pattern to the entries in the *Daily Record of the Tianshun Reign*. These were all anecdotes that portrayed the moral authority of civil officials and affirmed the significance of remonstrance. While there were plenty of anecdotes that praised the rulers of the dynasty, those outlined above pointed to the limits of imperial judgment and imperial vision. The underlying claim was clear: Emperors needed to reign in their eunuchs and their body-guards and their own impetuous inclinations; instead they should listen to and value the advice of their civil officials. On the other hand, these stories did not valorize the civil service as a whole. In these anecdotes there were clear indications of factional strife, disingenuousness and cowardice among the bureaucracy. The stories, then, were about the heroes and paragons of officialdom whose moral authority was the basis upon which the legitimacy of the dynasty rested.

29 Li Xian, *Tianshun rilu*.

30 For Cheng Minzheng's biography, see Huizhou *fuzhi* 徽州府志, 1502 edition.

Spreading Stories

As indicated before, we know little about the circulation of the *Daily Record*, other than its original publication as part of Li Xian's collected works. At some later date, it seems that it circulated on its own. Over time, it came to be widely cited, and the items included were retold in with greater color and detail. It is difficult to measure or assess how wide this circulation was. It was certainly read by other officials within the central administration. And over time, it also circulated among those who travelled in the metropolitan areas—Beijing, Nanjing, Suzhou etc.

Even more significant than its circulation, however, was that the *Daily Record* seems to have opened the door for other writers to follow suit. Li Xian's high status had given some indication of the allowable range of narratives that could challenge the official historiography of the court. Like Li Xian, these writers made significant use of the ambiguities of the *biji* genre. And they also stuck closely to story-lines that resembled those of the *Daily Record*. In particular, the end of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century saw the profusion of stories about the "literary inquisition" of the Hongwu reign, the mistreatment of the Jianwen loyalists, and the excesses of court eunuchs and the imperial body-guard.

A good illustration of the proliferation of *biji* from this period can be found in the bibliography of the *Random Chats under a Solitary Tree*, *Gushu poutan* 孤樹裒談, a work from the mid-sixteenth century that drew upon a wide range of *biji*:

Sources listed in the *Gushou poutan* (in the order listed)³¹

聖政記（洪武聖政記）	宋濂 (1310-81)
野記	祝允明 (1461-1527)
鎖綴錄	尹直 (1431-1511, <i>js</i> 1454)
水東日記	葉盛 (1420-74, <i>js</i> 1445)
立齋錄（立齋閒錄）	宋端儀 (1447-1501, <i>js</i> 1481)
革除遺事	黃佐 (1490-1566, <i>js</i> 1521)
北征錄	金幼孜 1367-1431, <i>js</i> 1400)
餘冬稿（餘冬序錄）	何孟春 (1474-1536, <i>js</i> 1493)
雙溪雜記	王瓊 (1459-1532, <i>js</i> 1484)
草木子餘錄	葉子奇 (1327-90)
海涵萬象錄	黃潤玉 (1389-1477)
寓圃雜記	王錡 (1433-1499)
傳心錄（傳信錄）	梁億 (<i>js</i> 1511)
客座新聞	沈周 (1427-1509)
震澤長語	王鏊 (1450-1524, <i>js</i> 1475)
保齋錄（呆齋稿）	劉定之 (1409-69, <i>js</i> 1436)
天順日錄	李賢 (1408-67, <i>js</i> 1432)

31 *Gushu poutan*, Taiwan National Central Library undated Ming blockprint edition, Mulu, 1a-2b.

出使錄	李實 (js 1442)
否泰錄	劉定之 (1409-69, js 1436)
三朝聖諭錄	楊士奇 (1365-1444)
菽園雜記	陸容 (1436-97, js 1466)
郊外農談	Anonymous? ³²
懷麓堂稿	李東陽 (1447, 1516, js 1464)
西湖塵談錄 塵談二錄	沈儀 (n.d.)
蓉塘詩話	姜南 (n.d.)
篁墩文集	程敏政 (1446-99, js 1466)
龍飛集 (龍飛紀略)	吳樸 (n.d.)

This was only a partial list of the works in circulation during mid-Ming.

Hongwu's Literary Inquisition

In the decades that followed the publication of Li Xian's *Daily Record of the Tianshun Reign*, numerous *biji* accounts emerged that followed the same pattern: scholars, officials and others offering messages or congratulations that were misinterpreted by the Hongwu emperor, after which they suffered persecution. The famous Qing historian Zhao Yi (趙翼 1727-1814) recorded many of these anecdotes in his writings and condemned the emperor for his violent ignorance.³³ In the twentieth century, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (and translated by L. Carrington Goodrich) wrote a lengthy article on the subject.³⁴ And more recently, the late Hok-lam Chan challenged the veracity of most of these accounts.³⁵ These stories are too numerous to discuss comprehensively here. A few examples will suffice.

In his miscellany, *Jiansheng yewen* 翦勝野聞, the scholar Xu Zhenqing (徐禎卿 1479-1511), Hanlin academician and vice-minister in the Court of Judicial Review (大理寺), recorded an incident in which the Hongwu Emperor took offence at a school instructor:

Taizu was overly suspicious, worrying that people might insult hm. The instructor of Confucian Studies in Hangzhou, Xu Yikui, once submitted a congratulatory note to the emperor. In it he used the phrases, “Beneath the resplendent sky,” and also “A sage has been born to set a pattern for the country.” Upon seeing the memorial, Taizu was outraged. He growled: “How dare a pedantic scholar bully me thus! *Sheng* (giving birth) stands for *se*ng (monk); he inferred that I was a monk. *Guang* (resplendent) means bald, and *ze* (pattern) is close to *zei* (thief). [Xu was arrested] for being disrespectful and the emperor ordered to have him beheaded. The officials from the Ministry of Rites were terrified. They therefore begged the emperor: “we ignorant fools did not know the

32 The Kyoto National Library lists the author of this work as Zhang Fu 張鈇, from Cixi County 慈谿 in Zhejiang, with 1526 *jinshi* 進士 degree. See <http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/ShikoTeiyo/0267303.html>, accessed 11/7/17.

33 Zhao Yi, *Nianer shi zhaji* 廿二史劄記, (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2011), *juan* 32.

34 Ku Chieh-Kang and L. Carrington Goodrich, “A Study of Literary Persecution During the Ming,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 3:3-4 (Dec., 1938), pp. 254-311.

35 Hok-lam Chan, “Ming T'ai-tsu's Manipulation of Letters: Myth and Reality of Literary Persecution,” *Journal of Asian History*, 29:1 (1995), 1-60.

taboo; please bestow on us the form of a memorial so that we could forever follow it properly.” The emperor thus personally composed a [model] essay to be distributed to the realm.³⁶

太祖多疑，每慮人侮己，杭州儒學教授徐一夔曾作賀表上，其詞有云：「光天之下」，又雲「天生聖人，為世作則」。帝覽之，大怒曰：「腐儒乃如是侮我耶？光者僧也，以我嘗從釋也，光則摩發之謂矣。則字近賊，罪坐不敬。」命收斬之。禮臣大懼，因請曰：「愚蒙不知忌諱，乞降表式。」帝因自為文式布天下。

Thus, this anecdote followed a similar line to that presented in the *Daily Record*, wherein the Hongwu Emperor misunderstood the letter presented to him, and the well-intentioned official nearly lost his life.

Another such anecdote was recorded by the scholar Huang Pu 黃溥 (1411-?), who served as the surveillance commissioner (按察使) for Guangdong province. The abridged version of his *Jianzhong jingo lu* (聞中今古錄摘抄), includes a story that was to explain the basis for the Hongwu Emperor's suspicions regarding the writings of his officials.

Jiang Jinggao was from Xiangshan and he was a scholar from the Yuan period. After the dynastic transition, he took a position as an instructor in his own county. But because he made mistakes in his letters and forms [sent to the throne], he was taken to the capital and executed in the market. These disasters originated with the talk by those around [the emperor]. Previously, in the *jiazi* year (1384), the civil service examinations were opened up to recruit scholars, conveying the priority placed on civil governance. The meritorious officials [who had helped establish the dynasty] were unhappy with this. His Highness explained, saying, “In times of chaos, one employs military talent. To govern, it is best to use civil talent. There is no favoritism here.” The meritorious officials said, “That is certainly so, but these people are good at mockery.” At first, one is not aware of this. In the case of Zhang Jiushi, he paid respect to civil scholars, asking them to give him a name. They named him “Shicheng.” His Highness said, “that name is very good!” But they explained, “The *Mencius* has the line, ‘the man is truly petty,’ but how could he have known this.” Because of this, His Highness scrutinized the letters and forms submitted to him, and that is why these disasters arose.

蔣景高，象山人，元末遺儒也。內附後仕本縣教諭，權表箋禍赴京師斬於市。斯禍也，起於左右一言。初，洪武甲子開科取士，響意右文，諸勳臣不平。上語以故曰：「世亂則用武，世治宜用文，非偏也。」諸勳進曰：「是固然，但此輩善譏訕。」初不自覺。且如張九四厚禮文儒，及請其名則曰：「士誠。」上曰：「此名甚美。」答曰：「《孟子》有『士誠小人也』之句，彼安知之？」上由此覽天下所進表箋而禍起矣。

This legend of the Hongwu Emperor's early rival, Zhang Shicheng (張士誠 1321-67) circulated among these mid-Ming *biji* entries, but there was no earlier source for this story. The anecdote cast the emperor's prosecutions of such cases as such a wide-spread phenomenon that it required an explanation.

While a large number of these *biji* accounts came from the writings of high ranking officials like Li

36 Cited and translated by Hok-lam Chan, “Ming T'ai-tsu's Manipulation of Letters,” p. 14. My translation is slightly modified from Chan's.

Xian, Xu Zhenqing and Huang Pu, there were others that came from independent scholars who lived in urban areas and were well-versed with the writings of court officials. One of these was the Hangzhou scholar Lang Ying (郎瑛 1487-after 1566), whose miscellany *Qixiu leigao* 七修類稿 recorded numerous historical anecdotes. In one lengthy piece on a monk named Laifu 來復 who got in trouble for a poem he submitted to the emperor while being hosted at a feast at court. The poem included the line, “On the golden platter lay the *suhe* mallow that came from afar” 金盤蘇合來殊域. The emperor became enraged at the character *shu* 殊, claiming that it bore the meaning of “Evil Zhu” (the emperor’s surname), in the form of *dai Zhu* 歹朱. In fear of the emperor’s wrath, the monk put down his chopsticks, and immediately took his own life.

The Qing historian Zhao Yi included several items that he gleaned from Mid-Ming *biji*, some of which are no longer extant:

The Literary Inquisition at the Beginning of the Ming

Ming Taizu’s mastery of literary meanings came certainly from his Heaven-sent endowment, but in the beginning, his learning was not very deep. He often killed people because he misread texts, and there were many such cases. The *Chaoye yiwenlu* says that when the three provincial offices and the garrisons submitted congratulatory letters [to the court], they would have the education officials draft them. At that time, those who were punished included:

Liu Yuanliang, instructor in the Zhejiang prefectural school, who wrote a letter on behalf of the Haimen Garrison, giving thanks for a salary increase, saying, “You have established a pattern and transmitted a model.” Executed.

Zhao Boning, assistant instructor in the Beijing prefectural school, wrote a birthday greeting for the emperor, on behalf of the military commission, saying “Passing on your progeny, you have established a pattern.” Executed.

Lin Bojing, assistant instructor in the Fuzhou prefectural school, wrote a winter festival greeting on behalf of the surveillance commissioners, saying “Your decorum a model for the realm.” Executed.

Jiang Zhi, assistant instructor for the Guilin prefectural school, wrote a new year’s greeting on behalf of the surveillance commissioners, saying “You have set the mean and established a pattern.” Executed.

Jiang Zhen, assistant instructor in the Changzhou prefectural school, wrote a new year’s greeting on behalf of the prefecture, saying “Your brilliant nature has brought forth wisdom.” Executed.

Meng Qing, instructor in the Lizhou sub-prefectural school, wrote a winter festival greeting on behalf of the sub-prefecture, saying, “your sagely virtue establishes a pattern.” Executed.

Zhou Mian, assistant instructor at the Chenzhou sub-prefectural school, wrote a birthday greeting on behalf of the sub-prefecture, saying, “may you live for a thousand years. Executed.

Lü Jui, instructor in the Huaiqing prefectural school, wrote a letter of thanks for the gift of a horse on behalf of the prefecture, saying, “gazing up at the imperial gates.” Executed.

Jia Zhu, instructor in the Xiangfu county school, wrote a new year’s greeting on behalf of the county, saying, “you have modeled yourself upon the imperial palace.” Executed.

Lin Yun, assistant instructor in the Haozhou sub-prefectural school, wrote a letter thanking the heir-apparent for a feast on behalf of the sub-prefecture, saying, “you follow your father in granting

gifts.” Executed.

Xu Yuan, instructor in the Weishi county school, wrote a birthday greeting on behalf of the prefecture, saying, ”you embody Heaven and model yourself on the Earth; you adorn the realm with great peace.” Executed.

Wu Xian, assistant instructor in the De’an prefectural school, wrote a congratulatory letter for the establishment of the heir-apparent, on behalf of the prefecture, saying, “May you reign for myriad years; the realm has the Way; I gaze in reverence upon the heir-apparent’s palace.” Executed.

Apparently, the word for “pattern” (*ze*) sounded like the word for “thief” (*zei*). The word for “brought forth wisdom” (*shengzhi*) sounded like “monk” (*seng*). The word for “imperial gates” (*difei*) sounded like the word “non-imperial” (*difei*). “Modeled on the earth” (*fakun*) sounded like “shaved bald” (*fakun*). And “adorn the realm with great peace” (*zaoshi taiping*) sounded like “lost the great peace early on” (*zaoshi taiping*).³⁷

明初文字之禍

明祖通文義，固屬天縱，然其初學問未深，往往以文字疑誤殺人，亦已不少。

朝野異聞錄：三司衛所進表箋，皆令教官為之，當時以嫌疑見法者：

浙江府學教授林元亮為海門衛作謝增俸表，以表內「作則垂憲」誅；

北平府學訓導趙伯寧為都司作萬壽表，以「垂子孫而作則」誅；

福州府學訓導林伯環為按察使撰賀冬表，以「儀則天下」誅；

桂林府學訓導蔣質為布按作正旦賀表，以「建中作則」誅；

常州府學訓導蔣鎮為本府作正旦賀表，以「睿性生知」誅；

澧州學正孟清為本府作賀冬表，以「聖德作則」誅；

陳州學訓導周冕為本州作萬壽表，以「壽域千秋」誅；

懷慶府學訓導呂睿為本府作謝賜馬表，以「遙瞻帝扉」誅；

祥符縣學教諭賈翥為本縣作正旦賀表，以「取法象魏」誅；

亳州訓導林雲為本府作謝東宮賜宴箋，以「式君父以班爵祿」誅；

尉氏縣教諭許元為本府作萬壽賀表，以「體乾法坤，藻飾太平」誅；

德安府學訓導吳憲為本府作賀立太孫表，以「永紹億年，天下有道，望拜青門」誅。

蓋「則」音嫌於「賊」也，「生知」嫌於「僧」也，「帝扉」嫌於「帝非」也，「法坤」嫌於「髮髭」也，「有道」嫌於「有盜」也，「藻飾太平」嫌於「早失太平」也。

This list of Zhao’s was not obviously not exhaustive. The striking similarity of all these stories suggests a trope that had emerged. It is clear that whether these writers invented these stories or passed on what they had heard, they had clearly seen the other accounts in circulation. It is as though a challenge had emerged to come up with new possibilities for misunderstanding classical passages or poetry in a

37 Zhao Yi, *Nianershi zhaji*, Guoxue123.com edition, juan 32. (<http://www.guoxue123.com/biji/qing/ees/032.htm>) Accessed, 40/30/2018.

way that could have offended the founder. And from these stories, a consistent profile emerged of the Hongwu Emperor. He was not portrayed as evil or bad per se, but as painfully aware of his own naiveté, and ruthless in his efforts to rein in the officials around him. While this trope did not entirely undermine Hongwu’s elevated place in the history of the realm, it clearly diminished him.

The Jianwen Martyrs

Far more than the stories of Hongwu’s literary inquisition, stories of the persecution and deaths of the Jianwen loyalists circulated widely in the *biji* literature of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, challenging the official court positions and accounts of these events. And as with the Hongwu stories, Li Xian’s few *Daily Record* comments on the Jianwen loyalists seem to have opened the door to a topic that had been taboo for decades, with narratives that ran counter to the official historiography of the court. The accounts of Jianwen loyalists that appeared in the years that followed proliferated extensively and are too numerous to recount here. What is striking in the narratives that emerged in mid-Ming *biji* was the increasingly darkened vision of the Yongle emperor and the guards who served him. The torture described in Li Xian’s stories grew increasingly macabre.

Rather than a broad survey across the spectrum of *biji* entries on the Jianwen loyalists, I will focus on one in particular. The *Lizhai xianlu* 立齋閒錄 by the scholar and official Song Duanyi 宋端儀 (1447-1501, *js* 1481) is most indicative of the extent to which the stories of the events of 1402 had grown darker and more numerous over time. Song was one of the first to consolidate many of the stories in circulation in his day, compiling them into one section of his *biji* called *A Catalog of ‘Tracherous Officials’* (*Kaiji jianchen* 開計奸臣). This section was apparently circulated as a separate work under the title *Record of the Extirpation* (*Gechulu* 革除錄). In his biography in the official *Ming History* (*Mingshi* 明史), Song was credited with being the one who initiated the historiography of the usurpation: “The records of the Jianwen loyalists began with Duanyi.”³⁸ 建文忠臣之有錄，自端儀始也。 Song was from Putian in Xinghua prefecture in Fujian (莆田，興化府，福建) and had risen to the post of vice-director of the Bureau of Receptions, charged with meeting foreign dignitaries in the Ministry of Rites (*chuke qinglisi yuanwailang* 主客清吏寺員外郎) and later transferred to the post of assistant surveillance commissioner (*ancha qianshi* 按察僉事) of Guangdong.³⁹ Hence, he would have had access to most of the archival sources in the Forbidden City.

Song’s *Lizhai xianlu* included anecdotes from the beginning of the dynasty down to his own day. Like other *biji* of the era, some were critical of the emperors, while some were positive. In the case of Yongle, for example, he included anecdotes from taken from Yang Shiqi’s *Record of Imperial Pronouncements of Three Reigns*, discussed above, that focused upon the close relationship between the emperor and his ministers.⁴⁰ Just preceding the “Tracherous Officials” section, Song included a speech by the triumphal emperor on the 13th day of the 6th month of 1402 (July 13), the day he captured Nanjing.

38 *Mingshi*, 161:4394-5.

39 On Song, see Wu Chenhan 吳振漢, Song Duanyi “Lizhai xianlu” *yanxi* 宋端儀《立齋閒錄》研析, *Renwen xuebao*, 27 (June 2003):1-24.

40 Song Duanyi, *Lizhai xianlu*, *juan* 3.

Here he explained his views on the innocent and the guilty.

In the past, when I was stationed in my fief, in their service, these treacherous officials manipulated the rewards and punishments and my flesh and blood relations suffered disasters, and so I took up arms to punish them. To support the throne and protect the princely fiefs, on the 13th day of the 6th month, I have entered the capital city. Among the treacherous ministers, the guilty I dare not pardon. The innocent I dare not punish. I am merely obeying Heaven. There may be some ignorant small men who have taken advantage of the circumstances, using matters to plan vengeance against their personal enemies. There may have been those who take it upon themselves to seize people and pillage their property, bringing misfortune upon the innocent. This was not my original intention! From now on, ringleaders or famous persons (from the Jianwen court) should be arrested, but in the case of those who are neither, it is forbidden to take it upon oneself to seize them. I fear that this may harm the harmony of the Way, and so I command you to make this known to all commoners.⁴¹

予昔者守固藩國，以左班奸臣竊弄威福，骨肉被其殘害，起兵誅之，蓋以扶持宗社保安親藩也。於六月十三日撫定京城。奸臣之有罪者予不敢赦，無罪者予不敢殺，惟順乎天而已。或有無知小人，乘時有事，圖報私讎，擅自綁縛，劫掠財物，禍及無辜，非予本意。今後凡有首惡，有名，聽人擒拿；餘無者，不許擅自綁縛。惟恐有傷治道，諭爾眾庶，咸使聞知。

And thus, without comment, Song presented Yongle's defense of his actions. The emperor's goal was to restore order and repair injustices that had taken place at court. While these words are consistent with the various declarations of the Prince of Yan during his conquest, these particular words do not appear in the Veritable Records of his reign or in other sources. It is not clear where Song obtained these words. Did he fashion them on his own, in accordance with documents and declarations he did see?

The section on "Traacherous Officials" included summaries of the lives and deaths of fifty-three Jianwen loyalists. Song indicated his sources for some of the material, including Li Xian's *Daily Record of the Tianshun Reign*. He also included material derived from the writings of prominent officials like Yang Shiqi, as well as passages from the writings of Jianwen officials whose writings had been published.⁴² In some cases, he cited official court records, and in other cases, his entries were without sources.

For his entries for Fang Xiaoru and Tie Xuan, Song Duanyi quoted directly from Li Xian's *Daily Record*, adding some extra information about their families and careers. In the case of Fang, he drew upon prefaces and materials from Fang's works, which had recently been published. In other entries, Song added narratives that were much more gruesome than those described in Li's Xian's Daily Record. In his entry on Chen Di 陳迪 (d.1402), the minister of rites under Jianwen, Song cited an "old biography from Ningguo," (寧國舊傳) where Chen was from:

That day, father and his children, six people in all, were bound to a pillar, and when the punishment began, [his son] Fengshan called out, "Father, you have implicated all of us. Di replied, "My son,

41 Song Duanyi, *Lizhai xianlu*, juan 2.

42 On the publication of Fang's writings, see my "Death in Fidelity: Mid- and Late-Ming Reconstructions of Fang Xiaoru," *Ming Studies* *Ming Studies*, no. 45-46 (Fall & Spring, 2001).

don't speak this way.” Di then scolded [the emperor] without stopping. And so Fengshan's tongue, nose, and ears were cut off and were cooked and placed in Di's mouth, forcing him to eat them. They were then all killed by slow-slicing. Then an old servant gathered up their remains and took them back to Xuancheng, burying them by his affinal family's Ji Family Bridge.⁴³

是日，既縛父子六人於柱，將刑，鳳山等叫曰：「父親你累我們。」迪曰：「我兒，不要說這話。」迪罵不絕口。遂割鳳山等舌、鼻、耳，大小炒熟，納迪口中使食之，遂俱凌遲碎骨。有老奴拾遺骸，負歸宣城，葬外家計家橋。

Here the violence was far greater and more explicit than in the *Daily Record of the Tianshun Reign*. In entry after entry, Song presented considerable gore in his account of the fates of the Jianwen loyalists. In several cases, wives of Jianwen officials were turned over to low-caste figures like elephant herders, or soldiers to be married or merely raped. In one particularly gruesome account, the wife of the censor Mao Dafang 茅大芳 (d.1402) had been turned over to the Entertainment Office (*Jiaofangsi* 教坊司) to live out her life providing amusement in the palace. Song cited a 1406 official Entertainment Office document notifying the Yongle Emperor that she was ill.

In the 12th month of that year, she fell ill. The dance administrative officials of the Entertainment Office today presented a memorial at the Fengtian Gate, saying: Mao Dafang's wife, Ms. Zhang, is fifty-six and has fallen ill. They received an imperial edict: “Send the imperial guard of the Shangyuan county detachment to take her outside the gates to let the dogs eat her. It is so ordered.”⁴⁴

本年十二月病故。教坊司右韶舞安政等官，今於奉天門奏：「有茅大芳妻張氏，年五十六，病故。」奉聖旨「着錦衣衛分付上元縣，檀去門外着狗喫了。欽此。」

In his entry on Huang Zicheng 黃子澄 (d.1402), Song recounted similarly miserable fates for other female family members, once again in the Entertainment Office:

On the 11th day of the first month of the 11th year of Yongle (2/11/1413), the officials of the Entertainment Office memorialized at the Right Shunmen Gate: “We have the wife, niece and daughter-in-law of the evil Qi Tai (d. 1402), along with the sister of Huang Zicheng. These four women have been under guard day and night by twenty fellows. The younger ones are pregnant and will give birth to a little turtle. There is also a three-year old girl.” They received the imperial reply: “Give them away. Maybe they won't grow up into miserable sluts!” They also memorialized: “Some time ago, Huang Zicheng's daughter gave birth to little slave and now he's ten years old. And there are little girls from the Shi family and the Xie Xin family.” They received the imperial response: “Give them away. It is so ordered.”⁴⁵

永樂十一年正月十一日，教坊司等官於右順門口奏：「有奸惡齊泰的姐并兩箇外甥媳婦，又有黃子澄妹，四箇婦人每一日一夜二十條漢子看守着。年小的都懷身孕，除生子令做小龜子，

43 Song Duanyi, *Lizhai xianlu*, juan 2.

44 Song Duanyi, *Lizhai xianlu*, juan 2.

45 Song Duanyi, *Lizhai xianlu*, juan 2.

又有三歲小的女兒。」奉欽依：「由他，不的長到大便是箇淫賤材兒。」又奏：「當初黃子澄妻生一箇小廝，如今十歲也。又有史家，有鐵信家小妮子。」奉欽依：「都由他，欽此。」

One of the features of these entries is that the official exchanges between the Entertainment Officials and the emperor were stark and crude, certainly belying the sagely veneer that characterized traditional narratives of imperial exchanges. The emperor in these scenes is crass and cruel.

Though crude in nature, the Entertainment documents had just enough protocol and terminology to give them a sense of verisimilitude. Aside from the foul and vernacular language, they had the format of memorials and edicts. But would court officials record such crude exchanges? Song Duanyi was the only one in a century to cite these documents. No one else before him or after him in the Ming dynasty appears to have seen them, and all references to the Entertainment Office documents on the Jianwen loyalists seem to come through Song's text. Were they invented by Song? As with other material in this genre of *biji*, there is no way to determine the veracity of these documents.

The circulation of Song's work is not clear. It does not appear to have been published before Song's death in 1501. It was, however, cited by other scholars, and appears to have inspired more collections of biographies of Jianwen loyalists, including Zhang Qin's 張芹 (1466-1541, js 1502) Record of Restoring the Forgotten (*Beiyilu* 備遺錄), produced in 1516, and the Huang Zuo's 黃佐 (1490-1566, js 1521) Record of the Events of the Extirpation (*Gechu yishi* 革除遺事).

“Manipulated History, Publishing and Circulating Information

This study has explored two themes that emerged in *biji* and informal writings in the middle of the Ming dynasty: the Hongwu Emperor's persecution of scholars on the basis of their writings, and the Yongle Emperor's abuse of Jianwen loyalists. Obviously, a study of this size cannot inadequately offer a comprehensive view of either of these two topics in mid-Ming writings. And even more obviously, this study cannot adequately explore the topic of historical revisionism in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. For it is clear that this was a far-reaching phenomenon that reshaped Ming dynasty historiography and the dynamics between literati and the court.

One of the key elements in these two themes was the revised perception of Ming emperors, Hongwu and Yongle being the most important two in the dynasty. These critical portrayals of the emperors in mid-Ming *biji* created contradictions in the ways that readers perceived the imperium. Particularly given the political turmoil that engulfed later emperors, mid- and late-Ming scholars and statesmen looked back on these two emperors as paragons who shaped the very essence of the dynasty. Hongwu's persona took on a nearly constitutional role in defining Ming identity, a point that was elaborately explored in Sarah Schneewind's edited volume, *Long Live the Emperor! Uses of the Ming Founder Across Six Centuries of East Asian History*.⁴⁶ Likewise the Yongle Emperor made his mark moving the capital to Beijing, reshaping the dynasty in both its domestic and international profile, earning him the designation as a “second founder.”

46 Sarah Schneewind, *Long Live the Emperor! Uses of the Ming Founder Across Six Centuries of East Asian History*. Minneapolis: Society of Ming Studies, 2008.

The importance of these two figures can be seen Li Xian’s recounting of the torture and death of the scholar Liu Qiu, discussed above. In his attack upon Wang Zhen’s abuse of power, Liu shouts that after his execution, he will go to the underworld and report these matters to Hongwu and Yongle. The implication of the story is clear: it is *their* dynasty that has been abused by the likes of Wang Zhen. Much later, in 1524, the scholars outside the palace protesting Jiajing’s refusal of the adoption ritual chanted the name of the Hongzhi Emperor to whom Jiajing was supposed commit himself, but they also chanted the name of Hongwu as the father-figure and ultimate authority of the dynasty.⁴⁷

Thus, these historical claims of ignorance, cruelty and torture by these two figures created a severe conundrum for Ming writers. This is seen most clearly in Huang Zuo’s awkward preface to his *Record of the Events of the Extirpation*, in which he claims that Yongle’s wisdom and compassion was such that he would have wanted a record such as this one.⁴⁸ Thus the two historical narratives, Hongwu and Yongle as heroes and as villains, existed side by side in a delicate contradiction. As we have seen in both the writings of Li Xian and Song Duanyi, scholars were comfortable intermingling positive stories of these two emperors with negative ones.

And what was the response of the court to these challenges to the official dynastic narrative? Court historiography was, as we have seen, compiled for a closed audience. The Veritable Records were composed first for the descendants of the emperor, and second for the top officials in the realm. They did not circulate outside the Forbidden City and they were not intended to be ready by “the public.” Hence, the court was structurally unprepared for the onslaught against its historical narratives that began to grow in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Thus, in 1535, when a censor in the Ministry of Personnel, Yang Zhuan 楊僕 (*jinshi* 1526), submitted a lengthy memorial calling for the revision of the official records of the Jianwen reign, his proposal was summarily dismissed by the powerful Minister of Rites, Xia Yan 夏言 (1482-1548), dismissing Yang’s “careless transmission of falsehoods” 流傳之訛.⁴⁹

More importantly, however, the challenges to court historiography came not from “outsiders” but largely from high-level officials, such as Li Xian, Song Duanyi and Huang Zuo. In many cases, it was precisely the men who had access to the surviving official records and documents that composed “alternative” histories of dynastic events. Li Xian’s stories claimed no sources and offered no proof of their veracity. Song Duanyi’s cite or quoted sources where he could, but included many entries with no sources whatsoever. And, in the case of the Entertainment Office documents that were seen or cited by no one else, it is possible that he may have fabricated them.

As discussed earlier, one clear element to these stories was an impulse to write Ming historical narratives that emphasized the moral courage and virtue on scholars and officials. And given the turmoil in the court, and the fluctuating power of eunuchs and imperial guardsmen, it is not surprising that literati writers would stress the moral significance of the civil officials.

47 Fisher, *The Chosen One*, pp. 92–93.

48 Huang Zuo, *Gechu yishi, Jieyue shanfang huichao* edition, (Shanghai: Bogu zhai, 1920), preface.

49 The memorial is only summarized in the *Veritable Records* of the Jiajing reign (*Daming Shizongxiaohuangdi shilu* 大明世宗肅皇帝實錄, *juan* 177, entry for the *yiyou* 乙酉 day of the 7th month of Jiajing 14, (24 August, 1535). The memorial was recorded in full in the compendium *Wenzhang banti huixuan* 文章辨體彙選, edited by Jia Fuzheng 賀復徵, *Sikuquanshu* digital edition, 112.1a-3b.

It is also clear that we know little about the processes and mechanisms by which these works were circulated. The prominent *biji* notebooks of the late fifteenth century appear to have circulated among elite circles—scholars who worked in the central government, and their colleagues outside of government service in the metropolitan areas of Beijing, Nanjing and Suzhou.

This narrow audience for these materials began to change in the early sixteenth century, as the publishing industry began to expand. As David McDermott and others have argued, the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw a turning point as commercial publication began to grow. McDermott argues that this juncture was perhaps the major turning point in Chinese history where printed materials first began to outstrip the volume of manuscript volumes.⁵⁰

In the early sixteenth century, we begin to see the commercial publication of works that sought to collate, collect and arrange the proliferation of stories, historical records, anecdotes and legends of the preceding decades. An early example was Huo Tao's 霍韜 (1487-1540) 1534 collection of the *biji* of grand-secretaries into a collection called the *Mingliangji* 明良集, which assembled the writings of Song Lian, Yang Shiqi, Yang Rong, Jin Youzi, Li Xian and Li Dongyang.⁵¹ Another example was Lu Ji's 陸楫 (1515-52) 1544 compilation, *Gujin shuohai* 古今說海, that collected various popular accounts into a large work of 142 *juan*.⁵² One of the most comprehensive compendia was Yuan Jiong's 袁褰 (1495-1573) *Jinsheng yuzhen ji* 金聲玉振集, published in 1550-1, and including 53 different *biji* works.⁵³

And in a similar vein, the early sixteenth century saw efforts to compile new histories of the Ming, incorporating materials from the plethora of new historical materials. One of the earliest of these was the *Longfei jilue* 龍飛紀略, completed in 1542 by Wu Bu 吳樸, a local scholar from Zhao'an county 詔安 in Fujian. This work was published locally by Wu's friends in 1544, and again in Nanjing in 1553 and focused primarily upon the Hongwu reign.⁵⁴ And shortly afterwards, the *Random Chats under a Solitary Tree*, *Gushu poutan* 孤樹裒談, attributed to the high-ranking Fujianese official Li Mo 李默 (1497 - 1558).⁵⁵ This work was composed mostly of *biji* entries, pasted together into the first comprehensive "history" of the dynasty. And finally, the most well-known and influential history of the dynasty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was Chen Jian's 陳建 (1497-67), *Huang Ming tongji* 皇明通紀, that incorporated an even larger number of earlier sources from among the explosion of writings from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. With these works, the writings of scholars like Li Xian, Song Duanyi, Huang Zuo and others became incorporated into the mainstream of Ming historiography.

50 On the factors leading to the increase in printed material relative to manuscript material, see Joseph McDermott, "The Ascendance of the Imprint in China," in Cynthia Brokaw & Kai-wing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, 55-104. McDermott draws on the scholarship of Inoue Susumu, "Zosho to dokusho" *Tohogakuho* 62(1990), 409-45; "Shoshi, shoko, bunjin" in Araki Ken, ed., *Chuka bunjin no seikatsu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994), 304-38; "Shuppan bunka to gakujitsu" in Mori Masao et al, eds. *Min Shin jindai shi no kihon mondai* (Tokyo: Kyuko shoin, 1997), 531-5; Oki Yasushi, "Minmatsu Konan ni okeru shuppan bunka no kenkyu" *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 50 (1992) 1-176.

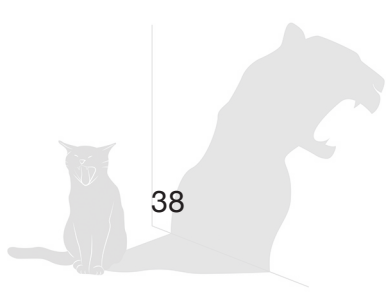
51 Hua Tao, *Mingliangji*, *Sikuchuan shu cunmucongshu* edition, History, vol. 47. Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua, 1996.

52 Lu Ji, *Gujin shuohai*, *Sikuchuan shu* digital edition.

53 Yuan Jiong, *Jinsheng yuzhen ji*. Taiwan National Central Library blockprint edition, 1550-1.

54 Wu Bu, *Longfei jilue*, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, History Collection, vol. 9, preface.

55 On the authorship of the *Gushu poutan*, see Guo Xiaoxia 郭小霞, "'Gushu poutan' xiaokao," 《孤樹裒談》小考, *Gujizhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊, Nov. 2004, no. 6, 21-4.



識讀《客座新聞》

To Comprehend and Read *Kezuo Xinwen*

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摘要 / Abstract

明代沈周（1427-1509）的《客座新聞》，書名新穎，頗具現代風格，實為古代中國罕見。就傳統定義，「新聞」為新異之聞見，這也是沈周撰寫的《客座新聞》的目的。沈周受盛名之累，門庭若市，筵宴四方人士，令其敘述見聞，並予以記錄，得名《客座新聞》。其搜羅、紀述的「新聞」事件，主要包含兩類，一是流傳街頭巷尾的奇聞軼事，二是轟動國家社稷的各類人物。換言之，《客座新聞》是報導當時口耳相傳受大眾矚目的重大人物、事件，加以集結成冊的書籍，也頗符合今日對「新聞」的定義。

本文先介紹沈周的家世背景，繼而蒐羅《客座新聞》的傳抄本、刻印本等各類版，並比較異同處；接著探究《客座新聞》搜羅新聞事件內容，並加以分類，同時以其他史籍考證「所見、所聞、所傳聞」是否符合史實，或與其他訛說之別；第三，分析書中蘊含沈周思想的旨趣；最後思索《客座新聞》對當代文士、南京地區以及明中葉後筆記小說發展等影響。藉由識讀《客座新聞》，或能得知明人獲取「新聞」來源、汲取新知之因、朝廷對於媒體的控制狀況，以及南京書籍刊刻事業發達的緣由。

Kezuo xinwen by Shen Zhou (1427-1509) of Ming Dynasty is a true rarity from the earlier China, what with its refreshing and modern book title. By traditional definition, “News” denotes anything heard or seen that is novel or bizarre, which is also the purpose of Shen Zhou writing the book, *Kezuo xinwen* (meaning news from guests). Driven by burden of fame during his old age, Shen Zhou constantly held banquets to host guests from far and wide and requested them to narrate stories they had seen or heard, and such stories were thus recorded and named as *Kezuo xinwen*. The “News” events collected and narrated primarily encompass two categories: anecdotes circulated all over the streets and alleyways; all

types of personalities that shocked the nation. In another word, *Kezuo xinwen* is a book compiled with reports on major characters or events that came to public attention by word of mouth, which incidentally also complies with the definition of “News” today.

The paper includes the following: first, to gather various hand-copied or printed editions of *Kezuo xinwen* and compare their likenesses and differences; second, to explore and categorize the content in *Kezuo xinwen* while cross-referencing “what was seen, heard or said” against historical documents to verify if it is in line with historical facts or in conflict with any other hearsays; third, to analyze Shen Zhou’s thoughts embedded as the motif in the book; last, to contemplate on the impact *Kezuo xinwen* has had on the contemporary scholars/intellectuals and the development of Literary Sketches in the Nanjing area after the mid-period of Ming Dynasty. With “To comprehend and read *Kezuo xinwen*”, such territories as the news sources in Ming Dynasty, the reasons behind acquiring the news, the state of control the imperial court had on the media, and the cause for the thriving book printing business in Nanjing may be fathomed out.

一、「石田三絕」詩書畫

沈周（1427-1509）字啟南，自號石田，晚年更號白石翁，¹蘇州府長洲縣人，世居長洲相城里。生於宣宗宣德二年（1427），卒於武宗正德四年（1509），享年八十有三。一生跨越明代宣德、正統、景泰、天順、成化、弘治與正德等六朝。終生未仕，為明代隱逸的代表；事母至孝，亦為明代孝行的楷模。

沈氏家族，遠祖可追溯至元朝時期的高祖沈懋卿。早先居住浙江吳興，因曾祖良琛入贅於相城徐氏，而遷居蘇州長洲，自此沈家世居於此。祖父為沈澄字孟淵，以儒起家，婚配朱氏，享年八十八。育有二子貞吉（1400-1483）、恒吉（1409-1477）能詩，有乃父之風，均以詩世其家。洪武時沈澄以人材應薦，但至南京後引疾歸鄉，²返回居處「西莊」。沈澄為人好客，一時宇內名流均前往造訪，常治具宴請賓客，筵宴間多以詩、酒為樂，吳人常以顧瑛（1301-1369）相比擬。³沈澄樂善好施，時任司經局正字的金問（1370-1448）因事繫獄十年，衣、食等生活起居均仰賴沈澄照應。⁴沈氏家族歷經元末兵亂而家道中落，自沈琛、沈澄二代克復基業，家族為之一振。沈家不以豐厚貲產聞名鄉里，更特重詩書禮義的培養教育，成為蘇州人士典範。⁵沈澄的次子恒吉，即為沈周父親。

沈恒字恒吉，以字行，別號同齋，生於成祖永樂七年（1409），卒於憲宗成化十三年（1477），享年六十九。⁶幼時與長兄貞吉同學於家塾，延請翰林檢討陳繼（1370-1434）為塾師。沈恒擅畫，亦善詩文，「平生好客，綽有父風，日必具酒餼，以須，客至則相與劇飲，雖甚醉不亂，特使諸子歌古詩章以為樂，其視市朝榮利事，真有漠然浮雲之意。」⁷恒吉迎娶唯亭張氏為妻，生男三人、女四人，沈周為嫡長子。沈周超群絕倫，除自身天賦異秉、聰朗絕人的因素外，書香世家的環境，也是重要的養成教育之一，自小隨側父執輩經常耳濡目染，而家庭裡「下及童僕，悉諳文墨」，⁸而收潛移默化之效。在蒙童時期，沈恒就汲汲為沈周延攬塾師，其師承有二：一是陳繼之子孟賢，但沈周才華在其之上，孟賢遂離去；二為陸潤玉，沈恒聽聞陸氏工詩，亦延攬為家塾。⁹沈周少年得志，表現出眾，十一歲時曾代父為賦長，聽宣南京。「時地官侍郎崔公雅尚文學，先生為百韻詩上之。崔得詩驚異，疑非已出，面試〈鳳凰臺歌〉。先生援筆立就，詞采爛發。崔乃大加激賞

1 明·王世貞，《弇州史料後集》（《四庫禁燬書叢刊》史部第49冊，北京：北京出版社，2000，據明萬曆四十二年刻本影印），卷24〈吳中往哲像贊二〉，頁496。

2 此處記載較為隱晦，實際狀況為：「官見其舉止迂緩，曰『腐儒』，罷之。」參見明·劉鳳，《續吳先賢贊》（《中國古代地方人物傳記匯編》第31冊，北京：北京燕山出版社，2008），卷12〈沈澄〉，頁356。

3 明·王鏊，《（正德）姑蘇志》（《北京圖書館古籍珍本叢書》第27冊，北京：書目文獻出版社，1988，據明正德刻本嘉靖續修本影印），卷55〈人物十七·薦舉〉，頁874。

4 明·張萱，《西園聞見錄》（台北：文海出版社，1985，據民國二十九年哈佛燕京學社排印本），卷18〈仗義〉，頁1828。

5 明·錢穀，《吳都文粹續集》（《景印文淵閣四庫全書》，第1386冊，臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1983，據國立故宮博物院藏本影印），卷40，陳頌〈同齋沈君墓志銘〉，頁293。

6 明·錢穀，《吳都文粹續集》，卷40，陳頌〈同齋沈君墓志銘〉，頁294：「卒於成化丁酉正月三十日，距生於永樂己丑九月一日，享年六十有九。」

7 明·吳寬，《家藏集》（《景印文淵閣四庫全書》第1255冊，臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1983），卷70，〈隆池阡表〉，頁686。

8 明·文震孟，《姑蘇名賢小紀》（《四庫全書存目叢書》史部第115冊，臺南：莊嚴文化，1997），卷上〈白石翁先生〉，頁751。

9 明·何良俊，《四友齋叢說》（北京：中華書局，1997），卷16〈史十二〉，頁138。

曰：『王子安才也。』即日檄下，有司蠲其役。」¹⁰ 儘管如此，沈周遵循族規，無意於仕途。景帝景泰年間，蘇州知府汪濬（1404-？）欲以賢良舉薦，沈周筮《易》得遯之九五，遂卒辭不應，決心隱遁。日後雖有王恕（1416-1508）、彭禮（1443-？）等人禮賢下士，亟欲招募帳下，但沈周事親至孝，均以奉養老母的理由回決，而不願入仕，成為明代山人郊居市隱的代表。

沈周雖淡泊名利，但仍十分關切國事，如王恕任南京左副都御史時，經常求教沈周，每聞時政得失，憂喜形於色，「人以是知先生非終於忘世者。」¹¹ 沈周成名既早，名聞南北二都，與吳寬（1435-1504）、王鏊（1450-1524）李應禎（1431-1493）等人交好。但早先蘇州知府並不識泰山，因新建官衙尚需畫工藻繪，有人蓄意陷害沈周，促成此軼聞傳誦一時：

郡守汪濬俗吏，也不識公。偶立儀門欲圖，有惡公者謂濬，曰：「畫師沈周，可令槃礴。」汪使吏召之，公挾一點染身為指示：「日衣緇布服冠耆老巾，坐土牛下。」守出，則跪於傍，畢事乃去。未幾，守以計入都謁，相國李南陽（李東陽，1447-1516）致饋，李卻之曰：「我不以阿堵自潤，所需沈啟南畫耳，因問啟南安否？」守茫然，不知所對。已謁，文定少宰（吳寬）復問如李，守復茫然不知所對，曰：「如沈君，門下不知耶，真一歉事。」¹²

此事引發朝臣李東陽、吳寬不悅，特別是吳寬。吳寬與沈周同為蘇州長洲人士，想一探同鄉近況，但知府卻茫然以對，不禁動怒：「太守一郡之主，郡中有賢者尚不能知，餘何足問？」¹³ 最後知府僅能厚顏前往沈家，「折節為禮，索田家餐，飯之而去」作為收場。¹⁴ 但沈周不願承情，至郡闕投謁致謝，奴僕亦膝行蒲伏表達感恩。實際上，沈周可用謁見權貴免服徭役，但他卻甘願繪壁供役以還。從此事件，可以窺見沈周的氣度非凡、不伎不求的個性。

沈周與其父沈恒十分相像，不單是書畫上的藝術天分，亦承襲其父好客的性格。其住所「有竹莊」經常掃榻以待，¹⁵ 致使賓朋成市，「設几乞言，有敬老之郡縣；款門求見，有好賢之士。」¹⁶ 這樣冠蓋雲集的景象，在其居所十分常見，且多來者不拒。沈周曾於城郭外置一行窩，每至此居，鄰里均廣為宣傳，形成乞求書畫者「舟闕河干，履滿戶限」的盛況，即使販夫、牧童，均能滿意而歸。¹⁷ 沈周有求必應，實為豪邁不羈的天性使然。

茅一相贊同蘇軾（1037-1101）所云：「凡物之可喜，足以悅人，而不足以移人者，莫如書與畫。」¹⁸ 書畫是江南士商孤芳自賞或誇耀身份的重要表徵，因而爭相探訪沈周，其主因為書畫馳名，「凡作畫必題一詩，尤善書，人稱三絕。」¹⁹ 沈周篤學好古，自小文學左丘明（前 502- 前

10 明·文徵明、周道振輯校，《文徵明集》（上海：上海古籍出版社，2014），卷 25〈沈先生行狀〉，頁 583。

11 明·文徵明，《文徵明集》，卷 25〈沈先生行狀〉，頁 583-584。

12 明·徐複祚，《花當閣叢談》（《續修四庫全書》，子部第 1175 冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，1997，據清借月山房彙鈔本影印），卷 3〈沈布衣〉，頁 50。本則史事有二商榷之處：一是李東陽，誤植為李南陽（李賢），其他史籍均載李東陽，今改之；另一為知府的身份，《花當閣叢談》確名「汪濬」，但《本朝分省人物考》卻記「曹太守」，無法考究孰對？僅能暫因徐本。

13 明·何良俊，《四友齋叢說》，卷 10〈史六〉，頁 86。

14 明·朱國禎、王根林校點，《湧幢小品》（《明代筆記小說大觀》第 4 冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，2007），卷 17〈往役〉，頁 3501-3502。

15 明·陳仁錫，《類編箋釋國朝詩餘》（《續修四庫全書》集部第 1728 冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，2002，據上海圖書館藏明萬曆四十二年刻本影印），卷 3〈自題畫〉。又作有竹莊、有竹居。

16 明·吳寬，《家藏集》，卷 47〈沈啓南象贊〉，頁 434。

17 明·何喬遠，《名山藏》（臺北：明文出版社，1991），卷 96〈高道記·沈周〉，頁 446。

18 明·茅一相，《繪妙》（據明天啓程好之校刊本影印），〈繪妙引〉，頁 1。

19 明·高儒，《百川書志》（臺北：成文出版社，1978，據清光緒至民國間觀古堂書目叢刊本影印），卷 20〈石田畫詩一卷〉，頁 302。

422)，詩學白居易（772-846）、蘇軾與陸游（1125-1210）等三人，書法黃庭堅（1045-1105）。而畫承襲沈氏血脈的天賦，獨樹一幟，「率多自運極其變化，或時草草點綴，而意態橫生。」²⁰因而其書畫被譽為「二絕」。沈周的畫作在明代就享譽盛名，如何良俊（1506-1573）為華亭人，十分推崇沈周畫作，認為其畫以「韻」勝宋人。²¹高濂（1573-1620）讚頌石田為「名家」，認為其繪畫其可元、可宋，與文徵明（1470-1559）、陳淳（1483-1544）、唐寅（1470-1524）等人畫作具稱「高品」。²²郎瑛（1487-1566）則推崇沈周的畫山石，已自成一派，「自坡腳直上，脈絡形勢，纍纍如疊成之狀，而無活潤之態。予謂之假山石。」²³但這類技法並不適宜初學者，最終只會落得畫虎刻鵠，遭眾人訕笑而已。或可舉一事為例：沈周於憲宗成化二十年（1484）前去杭州，途中某僧以一首七言絕句索畫：「寄將一幅剡溪藤，江面青山畫幾層。筆到斷崖泉落處，石邊添箇看雲僧。」²⁴沈周欣然接受，透過詩中意境完成畫作。僧人文學深有造詣，其詩詞躍然紙上，透過沈周詩畫二長，才能將其想像美感落實於畫軸中，沈周功力之高足見一斑。且史例繁多，難能勝數。王穉登（1535-1612）字伯谷，同為蘇州長洲人，善書法，曾於氏著《吳郡丹青志》質言，沈周為當代第一畫士：

先生繪事為當代第一，山水、人物、花竹、禽魚，悉入神品。其畫自唐、宋名流及勝國諸賢，上下千載，縱橫百輩，先生兼總條貫，莫不攬其精微。每營一障，則長林巨壑，小市寒墟，高明委曲，風趣冷然，使夫覽者若雲霧生于屋中，山川集于几上，下視衆作，真崕嶠耳。山輿入郭，多主慶雲菴及北寺水閣，掩扉掃榻，揮染不勑。公卿大夫，下逮緇徒，賤隸酬給無間。一時名士如唐寅、文壁之流，咸出龍門，往往致于風雲之表。信乎，國朝畫苑不知誰當並驅也。²⁵王穉登之言，雖可能為同鄉先進有溢美之嫌，但不啻為沈周畫作地位做一最佳註腳。

「書畫同體而未分」，²⁶意味書、畫本為同源，關係密不可分。沈周喜於畫作題詩，使詩、書、畫三者相互輝映，成就一時。沈周筆硯多因丹青盛名掩蓋，但時人亦有求其書法者，如蘇州古董商金克和嘗求春聯，沈周為其揮毫：「小門面正對三公之府，大斧頭專打萬石之家。」²⁷因店舖與俞士悅（1387-1468）對門。俞士悅字仕朝，為長洲同鄉，累官至刑部尚書。士悅功在朝廷，曾在英宗正統十四年（1499）京師保衛戰時，協助兵部尚書于謙（1398-1457）擊退瓦剌也先（？-1454）的蒙古大軍。尋常古董商賈的生意，當然無法與朝廷命官拼搏，為求得商機，僅能借用沈周名號廣為宣傳，博取較佳的能見度。再者，沈周有幅〈化鬚疏〉字帖傳世，肇因友人趙鳴玉無鬚，姚存道遂請沈周作疏，向美髯公周宗道勸說。²⁸沈周以行書字體書寫，文詞義正辭嚴，卻又不失

20 明·何喬遠，《名山藏》，卷 96〈高道記·沈周〉，頁 445。

21 明·何良俊，《四友齋叢說》，卷 29〈畫二〉，頁 263。

22 明·高濂，《雅尚齋叢生八牋》（《北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊》子部 61 冊，北京：書目文獻出版社，1988，據明萬曆十九年自刻版縮印），〈燕閑清賞牋中·論畫·畫家鑒賞真偽雜說〉，頁 428。

23 明·郎瑛，《七修類稿》（北京：中華書局，1959），卷 20〈沈王二畫〉，頁 296。

24 明·顧元慶，《夷白齋詩話》（《四庫全書存目叢書》集部 417 冊，臺南：莊嚴文化，1997，據北京大學圖書館藏明嘉靖十八年至二十年顧氏大石山房刻顧氏明朝四十家小說本影印），頁 1 上。

25 明·顧元慶，《夷白齋詩話》（《四庫全書存目叢書》集部 417 冊，臺南：莊嚴文化，1997，據北京大學圖書館藏明嘉靖十八年至二十年顧氏大石山房刻顧氏明朝四十家小說本影印），頁 1 上。

26 明·陶宗儀，《南村輟耕錄》，卷 18〈敘畫〉，頁 215。

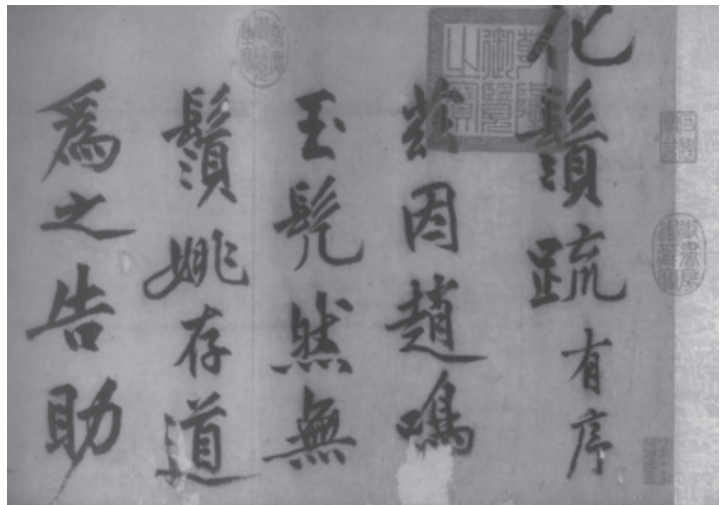
27 明·李詡，《戒庵老人漫筆》（北京：中華書局，1997），卷 1〈石田為賣骨董門對〉，頁 41。

28 明·李詡，《戒庵老人漫筆》，卷 5〈化鬚疏〉，頁 172：「茲因趙鳴玉髡然無鬚，姚存道為之告助於周宗道者，惟其于思之間，分取十鬚，補諸不足。請沈君啟南作疏以勸之。疏曰：『伏以天闈之有刺，地角之不毛，鬚需同音，今其可索，有無以義，古所相通。非妄意以干，迺因人而舉。康樂著舍施之迹，崔謔傳播種之方。惟小子十莖之敢分，

詼諧，令人忍俊不住。明人稱譽此帖：「用事妥切，鑄詞深古，且字字皆有來處，即古人集中亦不可多得。」²⁹ 成為沈周書法流芳後世的代表作，亦是沈周能書善文的重要事例。

詩以言志，自太祖以降，歷代帝王多熱衷詩文。如仁宗朱高熾（1378-1425）在東宮就勤於作詩，並求教於楊士奇（1364-1444）。士奇對曰：「儒者鮮不作詩，然儒之品有高下，高者道德之儒，若記誦詞章，前輩君子謂之俗儒。」³⁰ 楊士奇提點儲君，人君為國家所繫之重，不應沈溺於賦詩。楊士奇並不否定詩歌，他甚至是詩文大家，為「臺閣體」的領袖人物。³¹ 上行下效，文人莫不吟詩作對，詩文成為當時士人揚名立萬的憑藉，能展現自我才能、獲得同儕認可與社會階層尊崇，甚至因而取得一定的政經地位，³² 所以無不使出渾身解數。石田詩詞亦絕佳，但為畫所掩，世不稱其詩。³³ 據門人盛德霑輯錄，沈周詩歌僅七言絕句，就有二百七十餘首。³⁴ 文徵明為石田門徒，認為其師雖宗於白居易、蘇軾與陸游三人，「然其緣情隨事，因物賦形，開闔變化，縱橫百出。」³⁵ 給予師尊的評價甚高。文徵明指出，石田詩高明之處，往往隨興所致，非刻意營造，「意象俱新，可謂妙絕。一經改削，便不能佳。」³⁶ 特別是沈周的題畫詩，重視情景皆到，強調律調清新，目的在使人心曠神怡，眾人皆可傳詠。沈周作詩有一原則，遣詞用字必須合於情理。都穆（1459-1525）字玄敬，號南濠，為吳縣人，曾向石田學詩，有首〈節婦〉詩：「白髮真心在，青燈淚眼枯。」石田提點其詩雖佳，「燈」字卻宜改作「春」，因《禮經》有云：「寡婦不夜哭。」都穆不禁歎服。劉仕義亦贊同此說：「若詩有別趣，非關於理，豈不謬哉？」³⁷

李日華（1565-1635）字君實，號竹懶，浙江嘉興人，工於書畫，精於鑒賞。曾在《六研齋二筆》云：「沈石田天賦異稟，苞茹奇奧。不獨繪事超奇，書法雄麗，吟情灑落，稱三絕而已，即遊戲之文，



圖一《化鬚疏》（局部）

紙本，原長 28.4 公分，橫 463.5 公分。此作筆法蒼勁有力，字體清秀挺拔，頗得黃庭堅神韻，為沈周行書代表作。

圖片來源：明·沈周，《沈周化鬚疏》（台北：國立故宮博物院，2004）。

豈先生一毫之不拔，推有餘以補也。宗道廣及物之仁，乞諸鄰而與之，存道有成人之美，使離離緣坡而飾，我當楫楫擊地以拜。君對鏡生歡，頓覺風標之異，臨河照影，便看相貌之全。未容輕拂於染囊，豈敢易撚於覓句。盛矣荷矣，珍之重之。謹疏。』」

29 明·何良俊，《四友齋叢說》，卷 10〈史六〉，頁 211。

30 明·徐學聚，《國朝典彙》（北京：書目文獻出版社，1996），卷 20〈朝端大政·御製〉，頁 385。

31 可參閱連文萍，〈明代皇族的詩歌教習及其意義〉，《高雄師大國文學報》第 22 期，頁 123-168。

32 王鴻泰，〈迷路的詩—明代士人的習詩情緣與人生選擇〉，《近代史研究所集刊》，50 期，2005，頁 46。

33 明·何良俊，《四友齋叢說》，卷 26〈詩三〉，頁 236。

34 明·高儒，《百川書志》（臺北：成文出版社，1978，據民國四十六年排印本影印），卷 20〈別集〉，頁 302。

35 明·文徵明，《文徵明集》，卷 25〈沈先生行狀〉，頁 583。

36 明·何良俊，《四友齋叢說》，卷 26〈詩三〉，頁 236。

37 明·劉仕義，《新知錄摘抄》（《叢書集成初編》第 2928 冊，北京：中華書局，1985），〈詩有別趣〉，頁 6。

亦擅三昧。」³⁸顯然認為沈周文章亦在水準之上。沈周目前流傳於後世的文集中，仍以詩歌佔多數，如《石田先生詩鈔》、《石田詩選》、《石田先生集》等，而《客座新聞》、《石田雜記》等則為雜著，另有《杜東原先生年譜》一書，至於《石田詠史補忘錄》、《續千金方》與《沈氏交友錄》等書恐亡軼多時，無法詳知內文。無論今時或明代，對沈周的認知仍停留在書畫名家，對其思想仍無所知悉，透過《客座新聞》或可窺探究竟。

二、追本溯源論《客座新聞》

《客座新聞》，又稱《客坐新聞》、《石田翁客座新聞》，是沈周的代表著作，為筆記小說。流傳迄今，其冊數、卷數均有所差異，而導致標題、內文均有所變異。根據明、清兩代典籍記載，依照卷數多寡，約可分為下列幾種版本：

1. 三十二卷本：記錄在清代平步青（1832-1896）《霞外攬屑》。³⁹
2. 二十二卷本：是最廣為人知的版本，計有五書：包括明代著名藏書家朱睦㮮（1518-1587）的《萬卷堂書目》、⁴⁰焦竑（1540-1620）的《國史經籍志》⁴¹和張岱（1597-1689）《石匱書》；⁴²以及清代黃虞稷（1629-1691）、⁴³萬斯同（1638-1702）的《明史》均有此載。⁴⁴
3. 十四卷本：輯錄於明代祁承燾（1563-1628）的《澹生堂藏書目》，分二冊，為賢說海摘本。⁴⁵
4. 十一卷本：載記於清代丁輔之（1879-1949）編修《八千卷樓書目》，為南枚堂抄本。⁴⁶
5. 十卷本：收錄在清代馮桂芬（1809-1874）修纂《（同治）蘇州府志》。⁴⁷

傳抄至今，臺灣所藏的版本有限，以國家圖書館所藏最多，計有三善本書，均為一冊不分卷：一是「明刊名賢說海本」較為人熟知，輯錄於《筆記小說大觀》裡；⁴⁸二為《皇明百家小說》的明末刊本，三則清順治四年（1647）兩浙督學李際期（1607-1655）刊本，為《說郛續卷》本。其他流傳的版本中，《續修四庫全書》則為清初抄本，分十一卷，書名更為《石田翁客座新聞》，

38 明·李日華，《六研齋二筆》（《筆記小說大觀》39編2冊，臺北：新興書局，1978），卷4，頁309-310。

39 清·平步青，《霞外攬屑》（《續修四庫全書》子部第1163冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，2002，據民國六年刻香雪庵叢書本影印），卷6〈玉樹廬芮錄·明野史彙皇明名臣琬炎錄彙山堂識小錄〉，頁504：「《客座新聞》沈周作，三十二卷，焦氏入小說。」

40 明·朱睦㮮，《萬卷堂書目》（《中國著名藏書家書目匯刊》第七冊明清卷，北京：商務印書館，2005，據清光緒二十九年湘潭葉氏觀古堂刻本影印），卷3〈小說家〉，頁518。

41 明·焦竑，《國史經籍志》（《續修四庫全書》史部916冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，2002，據復旦大學圖書館藏明徐象標刻本影印），卷4〈子類·小說家〉，頁447。

42 明·張岱，《石匱書》（《續修四庫全書》史部318冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，2002），頁617。

43 清·黃虞稷，《千頃堂書目》（《景印文淵閣四庫全書》676冊，），卷12〈小說類〉，頁。

44 清·萬斯同，《明史》（《續修四庫全書》史部329冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，據北京圖書館藏清抄本影印），卷135〈藝文志三·子部小說家〉，頁402：「沈周，《客座新聞》二十二卷。」

45 明·祁承燾，《澹生堂藏書目》（《中國著名藏書家書目匯刊》第九冊明清卷，北京：商務印書館，2005，據清光緒十八年會蹟徐氏鑄齋刻本影印），卷7〈子部三·小說家〉，頁283：「《客座新聞》二冊十四卷，又名賢說海摘本」。

46 清·丁仁，《八千卷樓書目》（《續修四庫全書》史部921冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，據民國十二年鉛印本影印），卷14〈子部·小說家類〉，頁273：「《客座新聞》十一卷，沈周撰，南枚堂抄本。」

47 清·馮桂芬，《（同治）蘇州府志》（據清光緒九年刊本影印），卷137〈藝文志二·長洲縣〉，頁501：「沈周，《詠史補忘錄》、《杜東原先生年譜》一卷、《續千字文》、《石田雜記》一卷、《客座新聞》十卷（焦志二十二卷）、《石田集》十卷（《四庫總目詩選》十卷）、《石田文鈔》、《沈氏交游錄》、《江南春詞》一卷（周等追祀元倪瓚之作）。」

48 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（《筆記小說大觀》第40編第10冊，臺北：新興書局，1978，據國家圖書館藏明刊本影印）。

同為上海古籍出版社出版的《沈周集》（以下簡稱「上海版」）點校藍本。⁴⁹至於《中國野史集成》收錄的《客座新聞》，為清順治三年（1646）宛委山堂刻本，同為《說郛續卷》本，但內容、卷數均無法與前二者相較。⁵⁰至於浙江人民美術社出版《沈周集》（以下簡稱「杭州版」）有十二卷，則是參照《筆記小說大觀》、《續修四庫全書》二版本，構成現今最完整的一部《客座新聞》。⁵¹

《客座新聞》一書，題名新穎，頗具現代風格，但無序、跋，無從知悉沈周的撰述緣由，僅能試圖從明代史籍探蹟索隱。就書名推敲，可拆解為客座、新聞二部分：首先，客座亦作「客坐」，為賓客的坐處，可引伸為招待賓客的居室。顧起元（1565-1628）字太初，江寧人，晚沈周約一世紀，有部著名的筆記小說《客座贅語》，多記南京史事與逸聞。顧氏於序文中論及著書之因：

余頃年多愁多病，客之常在座者，熟余生平好訪求桑梓間故事，則爭語往蹟近聞以相娛，間出一二驚奇誕怪者以助驩笑，至可裨益地方與夫考訂載籍者，亦往往有之。余憇置於耳，不忍遽忘於心，時命侍者筆諸赫蹠，然什不能一二也。既成帙，因命之曰《客座贅語》。⁵²

顧起元自序裡，書寫年份為神宗萬曆四十五年（1617），顯見《客座贅語》為萬曆晚年作品。當時人在病榻，友人以舊事新聞相娛，遂成此書，「贅語」只是自謙詞。此書無論在名稱、內容，均與《客座新聞》相仿。沈周透過賓客「所見、所聞、所傳聞」的史事與傳說，遂成《客座新聞》。沈周可能為明代首位以此取材著書的人，而被歸類為小說家或雜家。

新聞，指新異的資訊和或消息。明代雕版印刷技術雖然發達，但傳播訊息仍多賴口耳相傳或手寫謄抄，且受限地域環境、教育水準等因素，無法有效傳播到各地，當時仍以兩京的傳播事業最為發達。新聞看似現代名詞，也絕非沈周獨創，早於唐代就有人開始使用這類名稱，當時多記一地瑣事，計有段成式（803-863）《錦里新聞》、⁵³尉遲樞《南楚新聞》等二書，其中《南楚新聞》記錄唐末敬宗寶曆至哀帝天祐年間（825-907）的荆南事，但兩書均以亡佚。⁵⁴宋朝有《道山新聞》一卷，作者、內容雖不詳，但在其他史書徵引下，僅留一條南唐時期李煜（937-978）的後宮韻事，卻成為瞭解女性纏足由來的最佳素材。⁵⁵元朝則出現專錄佛事的《釋氏新聞》，此書亦不存，但可從耶律楚材（1190-1244）為其師萬松老人（行秀禪師，1166-1246）序文中粗窺梗概：「師應物傳道之暇，手不釋卷，凡三閱藏教，無書不讀。每有多聞，能利害於佛乘，關涉於教化者，悉錄之，目之曰《釋氏新聞》。」⁵⁶萬松老人著書目的，在於指點佛門子弟迷津，內容雖與前述三書不盡相同，卻是當時佛教禪宗傳播思想理念的重要媒介。相較於前面所列，明代沈周的《客座新聞》成為歷朝各代以來，以「新聞」名中較為完整的冊書。

梁維樞（1587-1662）字慎可，號西韓生，直隸真定府人，曾在《玉劍尊聞》中論及《客座新聞》一書由來：「沈周晚歲名益盛，客益眾。造百客堂，每近暮，必張筵四方人，各令述所聞，書於簡，

49 明·沈周，《石田翁客座新聞》（《續修四庫全書》第1167冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，2002，據北京圖書館藏清抄本影印）。

50 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（《中國野史續編》第26冊，成都：巴蜀書社，2000，據清順治三年宛委山堂刻本《說郛續卷》卷13影印），頁312-316。

51 明·沈周、湯志波，《沈周集》（杭州：浙江人民美術出版社，2013）。

52 明·顧起元，《客座贅語》（北京：中華書局，1997），〈序〉，頁1。

53 元·脫脫，《宋史》（臺北：鼎文書局，1980），卷206〈藝文志五〉，頁5223。

54 宋·高似孫，《史略》（《四明叢書》第1集第1冊，臺北：新文豐出版，1988），卷5〈雜史〉，頁9下。

55 明·徐樹丕，《識小錄》（《筆記小說大觀》第40編第3冊，臺北：新興書局，1990），卷2〈纏足〉，頁219-220。

56 元·耶律楚材著、謝方點校，《湛然居士文集》（北京：中華書局，1986），卷13〈釋氏新聞序〉，頁277。

曰《客座新聞》。」⁵⁷推論此說，卻也似是而非。首先，沈氏為蘇州長洲望族，年少便飽受盛名之累，門庭若市的盛況，應已司空見慣，聲名、威望不因年紀而累加，而是始終維持於極盛狀態。且梁氏為明末人，《玉劍尊聞》之說，並未出現於友人王鏊、文徵明等論著中，因而此說有待驗證。儘管如此，但仍有一定史實依據。沈周博覽群書，好學深思，並不偏廢，「自羣經而下，若諸史子集，若釋老，若稗官小說，莫不貫總淹浹。」⁵⁸來自四方人士講述來自稗官野史各類新聞，可增添沈周對時事或怪譚的渴求，亦可達成「家事、國事、天下事，事事關心」的淑世精神。

就地方風俗來看，吳人喜歡打探消息，「坐定，輒問新聞」，此說頗貼近《客座新聞》取名由來。李樂（1532-1618）字彥和，號臨川，浙江歸安人，為穆宗隆慶二年（1568）進士，對吳中流風頗不以為然，認為「此游閒小人入門之漸，而是非媒孽交構之端也。」⁵⁹只有地方無新聞可說，才是真正的好風俗、好世界。儘管如此，透過《客座新聞》，可以瞭解明代江南人士所見時事、所聞訛言與所傳聞的異說，瞭解沈周的中心思想。

三、《客座新聞》內容介述

《客座新聞》該書最大特點，就是充滿文學之美。一如傳統的說部，以敘述明代正德前期的事例為主，內容談天說地，無所不包。雖說《客座新聞》著述的目的，本就不以記錄史事為取向，但從史學價值的角度，則關注於取材的史料是否得當、可信。沈周雖為隱逸，但仍掛懷當代政事，其造詣精深、涵養醇熟，無形中也促使他藉由聽聞客談，保存明代中、前期的新聞舊事。因而《客座新聞》的描述方式，不僅只來自賓客的道聽塗說，也加入沈周本身的見聞，內容十分廣泛，舉凡政治、經濟、制度、軍事、宗教、人物、鳥獸、草木與域外等均網羅無遺。

《客座新聞》現存十二卷，並無卷名，僅有條名，且並未分門別類，所涵蓋的事例眾多，無法一一列舉，僅能彙整數類，以概其餘。以李如一（1556-1630）對《戒庵老人漫筆》所言為例：「上搜國家之逸載，下收鄉邑之闕聞，參訂往籍，糾核時事，凡可裨於日用兼有資於解頤者，多彙萃焉。」⁶⁰綜觀《客座新聞》一書，其記載內容也不外乎如是，遂將內容粗分為國事、孝義、夢驗、奇譎與生活五類：

（一）國事類

《客座新聞》體例不純，並不分類，也未繫年，但仍可從內容得知，描述的時間斷代是從太祖洪武元年至武宗正德三年（1368-1508），約一百四十年的各類消息，並上溯元代至正末年與群雄爭霸的狀況，亦有數條宋代史事點綴。國事中，以記載太祖朱元璋（1328-1398）的事蹟最多，多與任用術士、儒生有關。如卷一〈術士濟遇〉、〈開平王知過〉、〈太祖高皇帝埋宋諸帝遺骨〉、〈徐富九知幾〉、卷五〈術士胡日星禍驗〉，卷六〈太祖賜周伯琦詩〉、〈盛景華厚德〉、卷七〈姜子奇妻詩〉、卷十〈衍聖公知禮嚴尚書〉以及卷十一〈楊廉夫〉等十數則，這些事蹟的發生時間，

57 清·梁維樞，《玉劍尊聞》（《四庫全書存目叢書》子部第244冊，臺南：莊嚴文化，1995，據中國人民大學圖書館藏清順治賜鱗堂刻本影印），卷3〈文學〉，頁12下。

58 明·文徵明，《文徵明集》，卷25〈沈先生行狀〉，頁583。

59 明·李樂，《見聞雜記》（臺北：偉文圖書出版社，1977），卷7〈四〉，頁580-581。此說與陳繼儒在《安得長者言》的記載相同。

60 明·李詡，《戒庵老人漫筆》，〈李如一序〉，頁1。

多在開國前後。大體而言，在術士方面，多瀟漫讖緯之說，如〈術士際遇〉此條，主要強調術士識人之能，即使干犯十惡，仍因太祖「紫微星臨中宮，諸煞不忌。」⁶¹爾後該術士因此代為欽天監臺官。另則〈術士胡日星禍驗〉與「藍玉案」有關：

國初，星士胡日星者，太祖命遊四方，數年回，與其妻曰：「我命回京復命後當刑，汝宜料理。」其妻慰之：「數或有可逭者。」既入見，太祖溫諭遣回。適藍都督玉克雲南回，就日星推命，日星云：「公此去當封梁國公。但七日內，某與公同被難。」玉至京，果封梁國公。遂驕同列，尋驕衆訐其不軌，事當刑。玉嘆曰：「早記胡日星之言，安受封拜耶！」上聞，遂召日星至，問：「曾與玉言此乎？」曰：「曾言禍在七日之內。」上曰：「汝自推何如？」曰：「臣命絕在今日酉時。」日星亦受戮。⁶²

胡日星不知生卒年，但確有其人，朱元璋有首〈題扇示胡日星〉足以佐證：「有一古老叟，胸中羅星斗。許朕作君王，果應仙人口。賜官官不願，予金金不受。持此一握扇，四海遂行走。」⁶³此條經王世貞（1526-1590）考證，與藍玉（？-1393）被誅的時間不符，⁶⁴但仍足以證明太祖重用術士。

儒士則選擇且言行多為後人稱頌的人物，如〈太祖賜周伯琦詩〉中，描述元朝饒州鄱陽的周伯琦（1298-1369），以善於書篆聞名，於張士誠（1321-1367）勢力滅後，累徵不就的事蹟；⁶⁵〈胡大川假偽〉則敘述松江胡大川精於吏筆，擅於興滅詞訟，在任三年即遁去，太祖不及終用的憾事。⁶⁶朱元璋在位十分重視儒生、術士，早於至正二十四年（1364）即要求州縣「歲舉賢才及武勇謀略、通曉天文之士，間及兼通書律者。」⁶⁷在建國之初，也不斷徵集各地賢才為朝廷所用。周、胡二人均為江南人士，沈周實有借用這類事例，表達其嚮往隱逸的生活態度。

（二）孝義類

章綸（1413-1483）認為，惇孝義一事最為剴切，古代帝王「所以德教加於百姓，刑於四海者，不過乎孝悌而已。」⁶⁸因而正史、方志多方蒐羅載記。而《客座新聞》記錄大量的孝行、義舉的事蹟，是本書的最大特色之一。孝行的條目，有卷二〈劉子賢孝行〉、〈王遊擊認父〉、卷四〈孫經兄弟孝感〉、卷八〈周孝婦〉、〈田氏三子孝行〉等多則，如〈劉子賢孝行〉是講述莆田劉瀾因家貧無法安葬父親，僅能以授徒籌措喪葬費用，遂於頸項鎖小鐵索，示「天地間一罪人」之意。⁶⁹另則〈孫經兄弟孝感〉頗類《二十四孝》故事：

海寧青墩孫經，農家子也，父早歿。（與）弟緯奉母，以孝聞于鄉里。其母忽嬰一疾，醫莫

61 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷1〈術士際遇〉，頁1132-1133。

62 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷1〈術士胡日星禍驗〉，頁1215。

63 明·朱元璋，《明太祖文集》（《景印文淵閣四庫全書》第1223冊，臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1983），卷20〈題扇示胡日星〉，頁1下。

64 明·王世貞、魏連科點校，《弇山堂別集》（北京：中華書局，2006），卷21〈史乘考誤二〉，頁383：「藍玉破元兵後，方擬封梁國公，而以私元主妃事發，改封梁國公，又三年而誅。不惟國封不同，與征雲南絕無關係。今言封七日而誅，尤誤。」

65 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷5〈太祖賜周伯琦詩〉，頁1228。

66 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷6〈胡大川假偽〉，頁1231。

67 清·張廷玉，《明史》（北京：中華書局，1997），卷71〈選舉志三·薦舉〉，頁1711-1712。

68 明·林堯俞等纂修、明·俞汝楫等編撰，《禮部志稿》（《景印文淵閣四庫全書》第597冊，臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1983），卷56〈列傳六·侍郎章綸〉，頁1005。

69 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷2〈劉子賢孝友〉，頁1156。

能療。嘗時忽思食一物，得則無恙，少緩則疾作矣。由是二子竭力營辦，諸品咸備，一俟其欲，而即奉焉。嘗欲大蝦為湯，二子正務農之日，即撤工，周行（河旁），不倦數里，并諸坊市，俱無所覓。二子憂之，驚惶無所措，遲疑于門。見水際忽動，兢脫衣入水撈摸，得數尾巨蝦且鮮，喜不自勝，將入治饌，以供其母。賴其孝養，存活數年。⁷⁰

沈周聽聞後，不禁驚呼孫氏兄弟的孝行，竟暗合西晉王祥（184-268）「冰鯉幕雀」的故事，因而感動鬼神。沈周躬行孝悌，鄉里亦稱「沈孝廉」，足見對孝道的重視。

記錄貞婦烈女的義行篇目極多，包括卷三〈郭女貞烈〉、〈趙婦貞節〉、〈樂戶鄧氏守節〉、卷四〈趙千戶妻忠烈〉、卷五〈雲間張氏婦貞烈〉、卷七〈新喻周氏女貞烈〉、卷十〈吳女貞烈〉、卷十一〈杭州烈女〉等。這些貞婦、烈女，有人是為保全清白自縊，有人為國家盡忠飲鴆自盡，有人不願改嫁而自刎。多數事蹟僅記地點、人物，而無確切時間，其中〈雲間張某婦趙氏貞烈〉一事，孝宗弘治十八年（1505）沈周得聞於松江知府劉琬所言，特別以三百六十餘字詳加載記：敘述華亭張榮之子放蕩形骸，後得心疾不起。原婚聘京衛指揮之女，張家僅能具書令其別議，但趙氏夫婦知女生性剛烈，雖有媒妁亦不敢許。後趙女決心前往侍拜公姑，善盡名分。當時趙女年僅十八，張氏夫婦嘗論改嫁，趙女以自縊表達決心，自後終不敢言。劉琬聽聞，不僅上奏旌表其門，亦作詩傳頌四方。同郡顧清（1460-1528）字士廉，弘治六年（1493）進士，也傳其貞烈。⁷¹ 沈周推崇綱常倫理，重視持節侍孝，而以詩詞歌頌，如〈石節婦〉：「君不見松枯尚有節，蘭槁還留香。節婦之名不可泯，當與萬世扶綱常。」強調「孝婦雖已矣，令名身後光。」⁷²

（三）夢驗類

夢驗類與孝義類的篇目，實為構成《客座新聞》一書的兩大主題。《客座新聞》中，出現與夢有關的篇名，多數與科舉、仕途有關。除表示對功名的重視之外，也期望透過命定、天數，為自身挫敗或他人成就尋找出路。⁷³ 這類主題較能迎合市井小民，成為他們茶餘飯後津津樂道的話題，包括卷一〈淮安學生夢驗〉、卷三〈朱希仁夢〉、卷四〈同年夢〉、卷六〈夢語得第〉、卷八〈朱狀元夢〉、〈都元敬夢〉以及卷九〈鄉闈夢驗〉等。這些事蹟因附有時間、人名，更貼近真實人生。如〈都元敬夢〉則是描寫沈周門生都穆為功名求神問卜的故事，都穆字玄敬，又作元敬，多稱南濠先生，與沈周同為相城里人，累舉不中，孝宗弘治八年（1495）鄉試，委托閩人代祈九仙，夢神仙云：「高莖莪，在何處。」都穆初不解，後得巡撫何鑑（1442-1521）推薦入試，經試者為高士達，一切才豁然開朗。⁷⁴ 值得一提的是，位於福建莆田仙遊縣的九仙祠，就是以祈夢靈驗著稱，除都穆外，文林（1445-1499）亦曾差人前往九仙祈夢，⁷⁵ 文林即為文徵明父。

另一類的夢驗，則是因果報應的應驗之說，如卷九〈負債償報〉、〈鬼報瘞德〉、卷十〈冤報〉、

70 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷4〈孫經兄弟孝感〉，頁1205。

71 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷5〈雲間張某婦趙氏貞烈〉，頁1216-1217。

72 明·沈周，《石田先生詩鈔》（《沈周集》上海版），卷1〈石節婦〉，頁43；以及《石田稿補編》（《沈周集》杭州版），〈崔孝婦〉，頁621。

73 可參見夏金曉，《沈周〈客座新聞〉研究》（武漢：華中師範大學碩士論文，2016），頁26-27。

74 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷8〈都元敬夢〉，頁1272。本則需勘誤，應為「閩」人而非門、問二字，因九仙祠在閩中，且徐禎卿《語林》中有相同記載，描述更為詳盡，亦對「莖莪」二字加以考究。可參閱明·徐禎卿，《語林》，〈九仙神〉，頁2。

75 明·陸粲、譚棣華、陳稼禾點校，《庚巳編》（北京：中華書局，1997），卷6〈九仙夢驗〉，頁71-72。

〈逆子果報〉、卷十一〈李牛郎發藏〉、〈色目人〉等。本來夢驗就強調命定，高中科考即是善報的象徵，而這一類的事例是以庶民為對象，「善惡有報」成為記述的主旨。如〈負債償報〉所記：

南陽鄧州張真一子庶，畢姻之夕卒。死後托清華北金林家為虎鬣狗，其防夜警次甚力。一夕，見夢於父真曰：「吾死後曾托林家為黑犬，因盜食豬肝被箠死。又踰年，復生金林家，緣欠其銀八錢，故償之。」明日其父會訪於金氏，其犬故猛惡，白日不通人來往，人有至者，家人必先繫縛之，然後接客。其日張至，犬繞其身，搖尾貼首，似故相識者。其家人以為異，張乃告犬托夢之故，欲贖回，金氏固不從。張去，狗趨送四五里，戀戀不忍舍。不踰月，犬亦死。⁷⁶

明人深信地獄輪迴之說，否則「變做畜生償他冤債，天道好還，鬼神報應不爽。」⁷⁷ 必須珍惜食材，不可鋪張浪費，否則將墮入畜生道，無法轉世為人。本事例中，張真因盜食豬肝與積欠銀兩，而轉世為犬。沈周深受佛道輪迴觀念影響，藉由這類故事，強調天理昭彰，報應不爽，就是期望勸善懲惡，以昭後世，是記錄事例的初衷。

(四) 軼事類

《客座新聞》蒐錄不少軼聞，多為朝廷官員，以江南人士為主要對象，其中有解縉、李賢等人反覆被提及，二人均為江西人。李賢（1409-1467）被記錄在〈王文端公知人〉、〈王公度薦韓永熙〉、〈李文達公遇異人〉、〈李翁義救三商〉等則，前三則為李賢官場軼聞，後則則敘述其祖種植棉花，樂於助人，「種善因，得善果」而福蔭李家的經過。這類軼聞雖有人名、時間，但難免參雜讖緯、命定之說。從〈李文達公遇異人〉可見一斑：

成化初，閣老南陽李公賢，以少保、尚書、大學士為首相。幼時家居自牧，因縱牛于水次，見舟中坐一人，冠裳楚處，目公久之，乃曰：「小郎識之，他日位至三公，壽幾六十。」又曰：「幾作平聲字。」如是者數四。後公居相位，與雪峯潭覺友善。會酒間，告潭以此語，曰：「我位已極，今年五十九矣。明年符其言，將不利耳。」至是果薨。⁷⁸

李賢字原德，河南鄧人，宣宗宣德八年（1433）進士。憲宗即位後，進少保、華蓋殿大學士，知經筵事。成化二年（1467）冬卒，享年五十九，應驗此說。

解縉（1369-1415）字大紳，號春雨，江西吉水人，「詩文字書，迥出一時，有李白風才。」⁷⁹ 因而搜羅的軼事多跟詩文有關，如〈徐信友誼〉講述解縉作〈結交行〉讚譽崑山徐、張二人行誼；〈解學士不私〉則是以詩詞表示解縉有識人之明：「寄語龍潭曾子啟，明年好豎壯元坊。」曾子啟即是曾棨（1372-1432），號西墅，江西永豐人，永樂二年（1404）狀元及第。⁸⁰ 〈解學士善應對〉則從介紹同為長洲人士的王汝玉（1349-1415），來凸顯解縉應對得宜。王汝玉本名璩，以字行，永樂年間名動一時，不幸於永樂十三年（1415）辭世，仁宗歎息：「王汝玉所作，我敬愛如神，

76 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷9〈負債償報〉，頁1307。

77 明·范景文《戰守全書》（《四庫禁燬書叢刊》子部第36冊，北京：北京出版社，2000，據明崇禎刻本影印），卷8〈戰部·戒妄殺〉，頁13下。

78 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷6〈李文達公遇異人〉，頁1250。

79 明·郎瑛，《七修類稿》，卷24〈表字不同〉，頁358。

80 曾棨雖才學出眾，另有一說為解縉洩題才榮膺狀元，洽為李賢所言。詳參明·鄧士龍輯，許大齡、王天有主點校，《國朝典故》（北京：北京大學出版社，1993），卷48〈天順日錄李賢〉，頁1156：「劉子欽，江西人，為舉子業最工。由省元至會元，將殿試，解縉在翰林會問稱之曰：『狀元屬子矣。』子欽自負，略不遜避。縉少之，密以題意示曾棨。明日廷對，棨策最詳，殆及萬言，遂為狀元。列十人之後，方及子欽，壓其負也。後子欽終於教職，名位淹不顯云。」

惜乎不得文皇之心，為何如也？」解縉回答：「自古君臣為難得，蓋汝玉為無福耳。」⁸¹ 解縉應對，沈周讚譽得體、有方。然而，沈周對江西人頗有微辭，舉夏時正（1412-1499）為例，時正字季爵，少隨父居杭州仁和縣，憲宗成化五年（1469）任南京大理寺卿，隔年巡視江西，當時典吏常平以峻刑挫治鄉邑，地方豪民趁時正不察，謊稱常弟要求致仕，時正見其誠懇而應允，爾後才知受騙，但已無法收回成命。沈周言：「世稱江右人險詐，信不誣哉。」⁸²

(五) 日用類

日用類主要記錄生活諸事，可概分為醫藥、理化二類。在醫藥類中，提及中藥藥材療效與解毒方法，如〈治鳥傷〉中，倘若禽鳥斷翅、折足，可將芝麻嚼爛敷於傷口，即能痊癒。⁸³ 〈戚宗陽治異疾〉則論及「石榴皮、棟樹東行根、檳榔三味等分煎服」，造成腹瀉，便將寄生蟲排出，而被新安醫家汪瓘（1503-1565）寫錄於著作《名醫類案》裡，成為著名病例。⁸⁴ 至於〈肉芝〉，則講述洪武二十八年（1395）有人掘地得肉芝，形狀「類嬰兒臂，紅潤如生」，卻因不識貨而丟棄的事例。肉芝最不易得，有詩云：「鳳凰玳瑁搗靈藥，二十四種黃金芝。就中肉芝最神異，仙人持作長生師。」⁸⁵ 肉芝食用後能據稱增陽壽，而珍貴異常。〈毒物相制〉提到，若與河豚與鴨卵相食，則不被河豚毒害。⁸⁶ 顧起元在《客座贅語》亦記載解河豚毒法，其中一法就為「生啗鴨卵」。⁸⁷ 顯見此為江南人士的常識。

在理化類的事例裡，以〈雞鳴枕〉最膾炙人口。雞鳴枕非以棉花填充、布帛縫紉，而是瓦製品，據傳為諸葛亮（181-234）發明。謝肇淛（1567-1624）於《滇略》考察典故，認為與諸葛亮征討孟獲入滇有關：「從征者冬暮思歸，各與一磚，曰：臥枕此，即抵家。從之果然，不用命者終莫能歸，因號雞鳴枕。」⁸⁸ 雞鳴枕特殊之處，在於內有機局以應夜氣，「枕之，聞其中鳴鼓起播。一更至五更，鼓聲次第，更傳不差，鷄鳴亦至三唱而曉，抵夜復然。」⁸⁹ 崑山偶武孟不識精妙，以為鬼怪作祟而搗碎。徐應秋為萬曆四十四年（1616）進士，看到此則記載，進一步提出西方自鳴鐘按十二時發聲，或與鷄鳴枕原理相同的質疑。⁹⁰ 是否真為諸葛武侯發明不得而知，但顯見相類此物者明代應有，而被沈周加以記錄。另一則〈爐火之偽〉，沈周以第一人稱記載，包括點銀化金術與長生聚寶盆二事，可舉長生聚寶盆為例：

長生聚寶盆者，以灰築鉛池一箇，用鉛三四斤于池內，續入銀半兩，火上夾鎔。候面上黑光消盡，即止火，待其凝成一餅，以物于面上撥為一小窩，取餅出，置灰缸。每以水銀一兩或五錢

81 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷6〈解學士善應對〉，頁1245-1246。

82 本則有兩處值得討論：一是此軼事分別記錄於卷六〈江右人多詐〉、卷十〈江西人險詐〉中，兩條記載內容雷同；二是名字錯置，《客座新聞》、《沈周集》記載為夏時圭，應為夏時正，今補正。詳見明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷6〈江右人多詐〉，頁1143；以及卷10〈江西人險詐〉，頁1329-1330。

83 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷6〈治鳥傷〉，頁1145。

84 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷2〈戚宗陽治異疾〉，頁1167；明·汪瓘，《名醫類案》（北京：人民衛生出版社，1957），卷7〈諸蟲〉，頁188。

85 清·屈大均，《廣東新語》（北京：中華書局，1997），卷27〈草語·芝〉，頁711。

86 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷12〈毒物相制〉，頁1376。

87 明·顧起元，《客座贅語》，卷1〈珍物〉，頁13。

88 明·謝肇淛，《滇略》（《景印文淵閣四庫全書》第494冊，臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1983），卷10〈雜略〉，頁4下。

89 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷1〈雞鳴枕〉，頁1136。

90 明·徐應秋，《玉芝堂談薈》（《景印文淵閣四庫全書》第883冊，臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1983），卷27〈雞鳴枕〉，頁4-6。

注于窩中，覆以磁盞，足中貯以水，四面溫火，養三四晝夜，火絕，水銀即死。再如之，成銀矣。取之鉛池中，所畜前銀皆耗散矣。此子母相盜，其氣自然而過，亦非真事也。又有水銀放綿紙上，就火炙之。水銀滋滋作聲，少頃，漸凝結，互傾地上，再取煎之，則是白銀矣，紙尚無恙。蓋丹客潛於銀箔，舖以銀一錢，其回殘末一錢，令搥入。水銀見火氣作聲，以為烟自走去也，止留回殘銀體，煎之豈非銀乎？⁹¹

沈周有感於貪婪之人常被這類把戲愚弄，迨老不悟，特以五百多字描述，破解其妙以警世人。相較於醫學類的平鋪直敘，沈周似乎對於物理、化學較有興趣，更以自己的角度加以描述，而從字裡行間中亦得知，曾深入瞭解金屬的化學現象。值得玩味的是，明初著名富人沈萬三（1330-1379）亦為長洲縣人士，民間傳說其貲產來自聚寶盆，沈周也有記錄其事蹟，但主要針對沈萬三窮奢極欲的生活，強調尤物害人，為後世警戒。⁹²

四、《客座新聞》的價值

《客座新聞》作為筆記小說是相當出色的，一方面蒐羅的資料豐富，無所不包；另一方面沈周的筆法引人入勝，雅俗共賞，成為明中後葉流行的文本且傳抄者眾。然而，此書並未分門別類，雜駁不純，使閱者難能聚焦。更重要的是，《客座新聞》的成書，不僅來自沈周的大量修改、多次排版，更在講述者加油添醋、傳抄者畫蛇添足之下，雖使新聞更顯聳動，能吸引目光，卻也使得故事內容真偽難辨，也成為此書最為人詬病之處。⁹³《客座新聞》刊刻傳抄後，即有明人察覺訛誤甚多，其中以王世貞抨擊最烈，考訂也最翔實。

王世貞字元美，號鳳洲，又號弇州山人，為蘇州太倉州人，為明代著名的文學、史學大家。弇州治史強調實證，史家必須澄清訛誤，還原歷史本貌，⁹⁴而對於野史內容失真頗不以為然：

明野史彙，何彙乎？野史，稗史也，史失求諸野，其非君子之得已哉！野史之弊三：一曰挾郅而多誣，其著人非能稱公平賢者，寄雌黃於睚眦，若《雙溪雜記》、《瑣綴錄》之類是也；二曰輕聽而多舛，其人生長閭閻間，不復知縣官事，謬聞而遂述之，若《枝山野記》、《剪勝野聞》之類是也；三曰好恠而多誕，或創為幽異可愕，以媚其人之好，不覈而遂書之，若《客座新聞》、《庚巳編》之類是也。⁹⁵

王世貞認為，國史、家史與野史三者能互補不足，能窺見較完整歷史全貌，不可偏廢。其中野史有挾郅、輕聽與好恠等三大弊端，意味著失去「求真」的精神。而《客座新聞》的闕漏，就是內容充滿鬼怪妖異之說，沈周末核實就加以記載。

王世貞甚至針對《客座新聞》內容進行考訂，計有十一條，可略舉二條為例：一是〈張布政一門死節〉，記錄張統曾於惠帝時任雲南布政使，後因靖難不願入仕投淵殉國。但王世貞考證此條有二誤：任官時間、自盡方式與史實不符。張統應於洪武末以雲南左布政召回拜吏部尚書，建

91 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷3〈爐火之偽〉，頁1191。

92 關於沈萬三的記載，可以參閱明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷4〈安亭富民知幾〉，頁1203；以及卷6〈尤物害人〉，頁1238-1239。

93 湯志波，〈《客座新聞》成書考論〉，《明清小說研究》2013年2期，頁116。

94 孫衛國，《王世貞史學研究》（北京：人民文學出版社，2006），頁151-152。

95 明·王世貞，《弇山堂別集》，卷20〈史乘考誤一〉，頁361。

文四年（1402）謁見成祖後自經於後堂。王世貞言：「啟南所紀無一實者。」⁹⁶查《太祖實錄》，洪武十五年（1382）二月，「以通政使司試左通政張統為雲南布政使司左參政」。⁹⁷鄧士龍，江西南昌人，萬曆二十三年（1595）進士，由翰林庶吉士授編修，其《國朝典故》內亦記張統事蹟：「（洪武）三十一年，召為吏部尚書，會修太祖皇帝實錄。……壬午（建文四年）六月，靖難之師入京城，討奸黨，統與焉。及上即位，召統與王鈍論……統遂自經于部之後室。」⁹⁸王世貞所言極是。

另一則為〈成國夫人料逆〉，未繫時間、不記名人。講述成國公戰死，其子隨征獨返，夫人要求其隨父殉國的經過。王世貞指出，此條謬誤更多：首先成國公為朱勇（1391-1449），其妻王氏，初封國夫人，後追封王夫人。次子信，授指揮使。弇州質疑：「其事無一合者，且不能舉其名，何稱野史？」⁹⁹朱勇嫡長為朱儀（1427-1496），並未如《客座新聞》所言立死。景泰元年（1450），朱儀以父歿奏請祭葬，景帝直言朱勇喪師辱國而不許，直至英宗復辟才追贈平陰王，諡武愍。¹⁰⁰這也是王世貞認為此條毫無根據，連「野史」都稱不上的主因。

最遭人非議的，莫過於〈蠶神報冤〉此條。則是發生弘治十三年（1500），太倉孫廷慎聽聞浙江大戶因蠶多桑少，以土埋蠶降低開銷，到最後演變為殺人抵罪的報應故事。王世貞質言，這事原型應來自南宋洪邁（1123-1202）《夷堅志》中〈江陰民〉。〈江陰民〉故事頗類〈蠶神報冤〉，文末卻又言：「此事與《三水小牘》載王公直事相類。」¹⁰¹續查《三水小牘》卻有其事，且發生時間為唐懿宗咸通十一年（870）。¹⁰²由於故事脈絡太過相近，王世貞高度懷疑，此故事可能經過歷代眾多好事者加工而成，而沈周卻未盡查證之責。此事在江南地區流布甚廣，陳洪謨（1474-1555）的《治世餘聞》專記弘治朝見聞，亦抄錄沈周〈蠶神報冤〉此事，並言「此事江南人盛傳其事到京」，¹⁰³顯見是江南人士無人不曉且喜見樂聞的傳言。日後，李詡以〈瘞蠶得禍相同〉為名，將兩條史料同載，請閱者自行評判。¹⁰⁴徐應秋為萬曆時期人士，可能看過弇州考訂，除將《客座新聞》、《夷堅志》與《三水小牘》三事同列外，亦搜羅萬曆十六年（1555）流傳的同型故事〈袖中得生人掌〉詳加比較，認為應是當時賓客投主所好，復訛以襲訛變造的結果。¹⁰⁵

平心而論，王世貞的評論對沈周並不公允，畢竟沈周末入仕，也不以著史為己任，只是基於求新奇、求怪異的心理，加以記錄賓客耳聞目睹之事，而以能闡述綱常倫理、因果循環等思想為揀選標準，考證確切人物或時間並非必要。王世貞考察《客座新聞》的訛誤處，確實讓明代中前

96 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷2〈張布政一門死節〉，頁1166-1167；以及明·王世貞，《弇山堂別集》，卷21〈史乘考誤二〉，頁390。

97 《明太祖實錄》卷142，洪武十五年二月己未條，頁3上。

98 明·鄧士龍，《國朝典故》，卷23〈革除遺事四·張統〉，頁389-390。

99 明·沈周，《客座新聞》（杭州版），卷11〈成國夫人料逆〉，頁1382；以及明·王世貞，《弇山堂別集》，卷23〈史乘考誤四〉，頁416。

100 明·沈德符，《萬曆野獲編》，補遺卷1〈勳戚·朱勇卹典〉，頁810。

101 宋·《夷堅志》（《叢書集成初編》第2707冊，北京：中華書局，1985，據十萬卷樓叢書本影印），《夷堅甲志》，卷5〈江陰民〉，頁38。

102 唐·皇甫枚，《三水小牘》（據清光緒十七年繆荃孫校補本影印），卷上，頁4-5。

103 明·陳洪謨，《治世餘聞》（北京：中華書局，1997），下篇卷4，頁63-64。

104 明·李詡，《戒庵老人漫筆》，卷3〈瘞蠶得禍相同〉，頁122-123。

105 「袖中得生人掌」一事，徐應秋轉引自錢希言《猗園》而來。詳見明·徐應秋，《玉芝堂談薈》，卷13〈袖中得生人掌〉，頁27-29：「萬曆十六年，吳江書生馮涵載米向蘇州山塘發糶。纔入城，忽覺袖中頗重于常，摸之，得生人掌，鮮白帶血，暖氣猶蒸，怖恐不知所出。倉忙解纜，見水面有大白魚躍入舟，掩取閉之，下艙啟視，乃一生人體也，鮮血淋漓而無手足，馮以此發悸病狂。」

期的史事更有依據，更重要的，弇州考訂必須四方搜羅資料，卻也保留不少未收錄於今日《客座新聞》的條目，其中有三條未見於《客座新聞》，有一條則收錄於《沈氏客譚》之中。弇州考史，實收考正、補闕之效。

世宗嘉靖以後，社會富足繁榮，生活安定舒適，使得士大夫熱衷於著書、刻書，尤鍾情於內容奇異的野史稗乘。使得傳統理學家的求學之道，不再只是重視經史的博雅，有人移情於科技、工藝等學說，有人開始記錄看似不經意的生活上枝微末節，他們均是博學多才的能士，不再被傳統文化所桎梏。¹⁰⁶ 總的來說，沈周開啟兩股風氣之先：一是帶動「新聞」名稱流行，包含書名與用語二者。從書名上來看，胡應麟（1551-1602）字元瑞，號少室山人，有《隆萬新聞》四卷；¹⁰⁷ 范守己字介儒，四川開封府洧川人，萬曆二年（1574）登進士，仿南宋朱弁（1085-1144）《曲洧舊聞》，撰有《曲洧新聞》一書，共四卷兩冊；¹⁰⁸ 至於魏裔介（1616-1686）的《資塵新聞》七卷，搜羅的故事類別雖似《客座新聞》，但來源截然不同，《客座新聞》的事件多抄錄於講者口述，《資塵新聞》則多鈔撮各類書冊、雜說而成。¹⁰⁹ 不僅如此，「新聞」之名，約於神宗萬曆年後成為普遍用語，特別在「三言二拍」廣泛使用，書中常見「江湖上的新聞」、「新聞傳說」和「記錄新聞」等詞語，¹¹⁰ 使新聞與消息、信息等詞，在當時成為士民的日常用語。

二則促進筆記小說盛行，自弘治、正德年間後，吳中湧現大量筆記小說，難以勝數，其中與沈周交好人士多有著述，如都印《三餘贅筆》、馬愈《馬氏日抄》、陸容《菽園雜記》、朱存理《野航漫錄》、文林《瑯琊漫抄》、陳頤《閑古今中》、王鏊《震澤紀聞》與《震澤長語》、祝允明《野記》與《祝子志怪錄》、都穆《都公談纂》以及徐禎卿《翦勝野聞》等均屬之，文人間收藏、傳抄稗官野史，一時蔚為風尚。¹¹¹ 正如陳繼儒所言：

余猶記吾鄉陸學士儼山、何待詔柘湖、徐明府長谷、張憲幕王屋，皆富於著述，而又好藏稗官小說，與吳門文、沈、都、祝數先生往來。每相見，首問近得何書，各出笥秘，互相傳寫，丹鉛塗乙，矻矻不去手。其架上芸裏繡囊，幾及萬籤，率類是，而經史子集不與焉。經史子集，譬諸梁肉，讀者習為故常，而天廚禁臠、異方雜俎，咀之使人有旁出之味，則說部是也。¹¹²

陳繼儒（1558-1639）字仲醇，號眉公，又號白石山樵，松江華亭人，回顧蘇、松等江南士人交往情形，眾人以抄書為樂，藏書為快，而且儘量搜羅各方異談之書，實為生活之趣。沈周《客座新聞》在武宗正德年間問世後，迅速成為明代中後期取得新聞的中心、傳抄事件的藍本，包括陸鈺（1439-1489）《賢識錄》、郎瑛《七修類稿》、胡侍（1492-1553）《真珠船》、李詡《戒庵

106 廖瑞銘，《明代野史的發展與特色》（新北：花木蘭出版社，2009），頁 104。

107 明·王世貞，《弇州史料後集》（《四庫禁燬書叢刊》史部第 49 冊，北京：北京出版社，2000，據明萬曆四十二年刻本影印），卷 8〈胡元瑞傳〉，頁 6。

108 《四庫全書總目提要》認為，范守己有挾怨報復之嫌，「而於張居正屢以謀篡書之，未免恩怨之詞，不足徵信。」參閱清·紀昀等，《四庫全書總目提要》（上海：商務印書館，1933），卷 179〈集部三十二·別集類存目六〉，頁 3339-3940。

109 清·紀昀等，《四庫全書總目提要》，卷 133〈子部四十三·雜家類存目十〉，頁 2755。

110 如明·凌濛初，劉本棟校訂、繆天華校閱，《初刻拍案驚奇》（臺北：三民書局，1990），卷 12〈陶家翁大雨留賓，蔣震卿片言得婦〉，頁 133：「阮太始道：『久疏貴地諸友，偶然得暇，特過江來拜望一番。』老者便教治酒相待。飲酒中間，大家說些江湖上的新聞。也有可信的，也有可疑的。阮太始道：『敝鄉一年之前，也有一件新聞，這事卻是實的。』」

111 湯志波，〈《客座新聞》成書考論〉，頁 119-120。

112 明·陳繼儒，《陳眉公集》（《續修四庫全書》集部第 1380 冊，上海：上海古籍出版社，2002，據上海圖書館藏明萬曆四十三年史兆斗刻本影印），卷 5〈藏說小萃序〉，頁 63。

老人漫筆》、焦竑（1540-1620）《玉堂叢語》、沈德符（1578-1642）《萬曆野獲編》、王士禛（1634-1711）《池北偶談》均有援引，甚至《本草方藥參要》、《名醫類案》、《醫部全錄》等醫藥專書與《御定佩文齋廣群芳譜》植物用書亦有收錄，顯見為各方人士所重視。其中，沈德符撰寫《萬曆野獲編》時，表明曾受到沈周《客座新聞》影響：

其事亦有不盡屬今上時者，然耳剽目睹，皆德符有生來所親得也。昔吾家存中，身處北扉，淹該絕世，故《筆談》一書傳誦至今。吾家石田，雖高逸出存中上，終以布衣老死吳下，故所著《客座新聞》，時有牴牾。德符少生京國，長遊辟雍，較存中甚賤。而所交士大夫及四方名流聚輦下者，或稍過石田，因妄為此筆。¹¹³

沈德符字景倩，原籍浙江嘉興人，神宗萬曆四十六年（1618）舉人。自幼隨祖、父生長於北京，直至祖、父去世才返回南方。沈德符自承得自兩位沈姓前輩沈括（1031-1095）、沈周感召，並與之相比擬。由於交往的人士均為京師名流，史料來源正確是稍勝《客座新聞》的原因，才敢妄加動筆。雖然《客座新聞》的缺點即是荒誕、訛誤過多，但並不影響它的評價，因而才有沈德符之輩，將其奉為圭臬，成為當時筆記小說的典範，形成一股流風。

五、結論

沈周以「詩書畫」三絕名聞天下，其撰述《客座新聞》新聞的目的，除好奇、求異的個性之外，也與賓客絡繹不絕有關，透過客談口說，沈周筆墨記載，同時加上沈周本身的見聞，遂成《客座新聞》一書。約可從三個方面加以歸納：

在名稱上，《客座新聞》即是表達來自眾人說法而成書。以新聞為名的書冊，雖前代已有，傳至明代多以亡佚，《客座新聞》殺青後，不僅帶動士人撰寫以新聞為名稱的書籍。更重要的是，在萬曆以後，新聞以成為士庶的尋常用語，與生活關係緊密。

在內容上，《客座新聞》兼容並蓄，雖未將所有內容將以歸類，但仍可大致分為國事、孝義、夢驗、軼事與日用五種，其中以孝義、夢驗兩類篇幅較多，也反映出沈周深受儒、道、佛三教思想浸染，期望藉由道聽塗說的生活瑣事，參雜綱常倫理、因果報應等說法，得到眾人共鳴，發揮濟世作用，振興善良風俗，強化社稷穩定。雖然飽受王世貞等人的批評，但石田著書目的，不在振衰起弊、經世致用或提供鑑戒等作為，只是單純記錄新聞事件，也讓當時士庶茶餘飯後的話題有所載記。

在影響上，明代中期以後，江南地區的蘇州、松江文人集團喜歡藏書、抄書，內容不拘一格，愈荒唐無稽愈能引發閱讀、傳抄與收貯的興趣。《客座新聞》一出，促成明代中後期筆記小說、野史蓬勃發展，也豐富明代史學發展的獨特性，成為映照當時生活的重要依據。

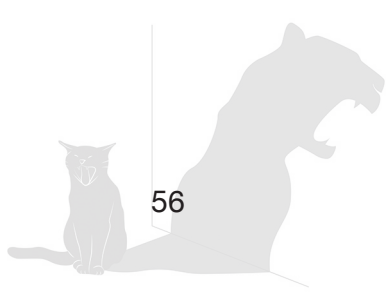
並沒有一個完整的《客座新聞》版本流傳迄今，從明代典籍所載的二十二卷，到今日所見的十一或十二卷版，已無法窺見其原書樣貌；也由於不詳加考證史實，有事直書，致使怪力亂神的篇幅過多，現今的影響力遠不如其他筆記小說。但沈周試圖保留這些街談巷語，實為今日研究明代中前期最佳素材。也讓世人見識，沈周身為書畫大家之外的不羈之才。

113 明·沈德符，《萬曆野獲編》，〈續編小引〉，頁4。



圖二 《客座新聞》書影

資料來源：明·沈周，《客座新聞》（《筆記小說大觀》第40編第10冊，臺北：新興書局，1978，據國家圖書館藏明刊本影印），卷1〈徐子虛為仙寄書〉，頁481。



Cultural Legitimacy: A Rumor of a Ghost and its Circulation in Late Imperial China

物怪人妖：明代中葉的一則黑眚謠言

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Abstract / 摘要

This paper exams a rumor about a ghost in 1476. By conducting a case study, it researches the reason why it was created, the way in which it was circulated and the reason why it gained notoriety. The ghost in question was called Heisheng 黑眚. Rumors about Heisheng were circulated not because of its appearance, figure, or smell, but for the fear it initiated among civilians, its distinctiveness for hindering a national project, the Great Canal, and the reaction of scholar-officials to its appearance in Late Imperial China.

本文以成化年間京師的一則黑眚謠言為例子，分析它波及的範圍、流傳的渠道和引起的君臣恐慌，通過確定謠言在傳播過程中的受害者與受益者，推斷其產生的因由和生成機制。筆者認為，製造這則謠言是為了爭奪大運河上的利益，選擇謠言為奪利方式，則是明代中葉南北黨爭雙方的對立態勢使然。

Impede the State

As officially recognized, it was in 1992 that the socialist market economy was formally established at the Fourteenth Congress of Chinese Communist Party. It marked the termination of an era in which the economy ran under the state's direction. In 1979 and 1984 policies of reform and opening up and the planned commodity economy were implemented and were considered to be the foundations for the establishment of a market economy. In traditional China, it was believed that the pursuit of profits from the market was an appendage to politics. Without a political identity or social status there should be no way to obtain economic benefits. Since the source of political identity was the emperor and the state, the distribution of economic interests was supposed to be subject to imperial authority and the state administration. From the perspective of the farmers and workers, the Chinese federal state was understood as a centralized autocracy with control over the macro-economy. In this framework, there have been debates over the functions of monarchs and their bureaucrats in the history of China. It has been acknowledged that rulers in Late imperial China were not totalitarians, but it has been widely agreed that the state exerted powerful control over society, including scholars who tried to assert the independence of society vis a vis the state in a "state- society" paradigm. There were some incidents in which the federal state's efforts to extract wealth from regions did not proceed smoothly, but the state's general control over economic behavior was undeniable in Late Imperial China.

However, on the state's ability to control the economy, some scholars have voiced dissenting opinions from the perspective of the actual functioning of the market economy. Some think that the market economy was first established in Ming Dynasty (*), while some date its origins to much earlier (Liu Guanglin 2015). Since the origins and development of the market economy is not the focus of this paper, I shall simply note in passing some contribution scholars who have tried to assess the extent of the autonomy and independence of Chinese markets in history. Albert Feuerwerker rightly argued that in studying the state we should distinguish between the changing courts and dynasties on the one hand and the highly continuous imperial bureaucracy on the other (Feuerwerker 1984: 298), though his research contributed few details on how to do that. Philip Kuhn contributed more to this perspective, distinguishing between the emperors and the bureaucrats, but this dichotomy was not a universal or representative of general Chinese political life in history. The collective crime of bureaucrats he explored in his study was important in Qing Dynasty because of its supposed illegitimacy. It was not the case so feasible in the Ming Dynasty, however, when officials had a narrower space for collective crimes under the pressure of the potent and highly legitimate Ming authority. It was not possible for the bureaucrats to ignore their extreme dependence on the imperial polity. The only legitimate way for them to express opposition to the state was to articulate their alienation and to refuse to cooperate with state initiatives (Wu Qi, Ma Jun 2012).

Were there any more active, direct, and legitimate ways for the bureaucrats to pursue their interests? In answering this question, this paper is not content simply to add a footnote to the debate over whether government in the Ming Dynasty was centralized or not. Instead, it aims at discussing the legitimate maneuvers available to bureaucrats to maximize their economic interests within the framework of policies

and laws in Late Imperial China, especially when this effort conflicted with the economic interests of the state or the court. These maneuvers were lead to the differentiation of the ruling class, and the dividing the state's authority without forcing the collapse of the regime, because it was cultural, not political or economic. Such maneuvers might nonetheless play a huge role in society and the political economy. Via this case study of a rumor of ghosts in Late Imperial China, I show how a project that was issued by the court and would have been beneficial to the state was terminated. This case indicates that the separation created from the competition of market interests outweighed the force wielded by the central authority with the cooperation of the state's ruling cliques I do not intend to deny the Ming Dynasty was a stable and powerful state even in the era when it was approaching its end. Rather, I am arguing that in such a centralized polity, conventional countermeasures, such as open economic conflict, public political antagonism, and violence by and against groups, will not be functioned in some battle among interests, because few members of the ruling class would like to resort to extreme means to launch rebellion or provoke war in peacetime. Only means that are concealed and imperceptible and nonetheless generate large-scale reactions can be adopted. The rumor of ghosts happens to have been the right instrument under these conditions. Though seemingly unpremeditated and arbitrary, such a rumor, intentionally created and spread to generate fear, might have huge social impacts.

Rumor and Collective Panic

Rumors in Chinese history have attracted academic attention from different perspectives. Existing in variety of official and private classical Chinese texts, rumors are not subordinate to a single genre. Since most of them are found discretely in short stories, they may be similar in narrative and have some relevance in plot composition. From a literary point of view, some study patterns in the narratives of the protagonists and in their spread (Zeitlin 1993, 2007). Since rumors were manipulated to serve as weapons for rebels, political historians have studied the use of rumors during changes in regimes (Lü 2011). The regional characteristics of rumors and their relationships to popular religions have also been the focus in research (ter Haar 2006). This research has generally been concerned with the typological analysis of the spreading of rumors spreading and not with the contextual factors encouraging the rise of rumors. Philip Kuhn did not make further contributions in this area, and ter Haar did not make much progress in explaining the formation of the same type of rumors either (ter Haar 2006: 13). This is due partially to the limitations of communication theory but even more to the paucity of historical sources necessary to construct the information chain and to uncover the real roots of rumors (Allport and Postamn 1965: 36-37, 47; Knopf 1975: 12; Lü 212).

In rumor, reality and fantasy intermix. The ingredients form the basis for its dissemination and acceptance. The content is the focus of my research and the point based at which a breakthrough can be made. In dealing with the sources of rumors of ghosts, I prefer to use the text study and refuse to appeals to modern or rational/ empirical thinking about whether the ghosts were exist in ancient Chinese world. (Erica Brindley 2009).

Hei sheng (Black ghost)

The events described in this paper occurred in 1476, the twelfth year of Cheng Hua 成化 reign (1465-87). According to historians of the Ming and Qing, it was in the middle of a relatively relaxed period in which people were living and working in peace. It was a time in which there was an effort to restore the supposed peace and stability of the early Ming after the shocking Mongol invasion and political turmoil of the Tumu Affair in 1449. (Cambridge History).

In July of 1476, there were reports in Beijing of the appearance of a strange creature (or creatures) people had never seen before. It (or they) was (were) said to appear at night. The creatures were said to be black with golden pupils in their eyes, to have slender tails, and to move rapidly from place to place. Some people said it was like a small dog or leopard, while others said it was like a large cloud. Everyone said it penetrated through windows when people were asleep and pounced on their backs or stomachs, inflicting wounds and causing the flow of yellow fluid. Attending its appearance, there was always a dark Miasma. Victims were always females and children. They were found to be hurt the next morning, after staying unconscious for the whole night, but they did not sicken or die despite the lurid injuries. Although the creature drifted hither and thither, it did not hurt males, who generally slept outside at night in summer, with their upper part of their bodies naked. In a short while, many families in the capital claimed they had suffered such attacks.

These were the core events that gave rise to social anxiety and eventually collective panic. I call them rumors because not all reporters had seen or experienced the creature's appearances, let alone they suffered their attacks, but they nonetheless devoted themselves into spreading the news. The injuries described in the narrative were understood to be the work of black ghosts known as Heisheng 黑眚, and the results have been described as the Dark Affliction (ter Haar 2006). Sheng 眚 had long been used in Chinese to refer to an eye disease, similar to cataracts. Over time its meaning had been enlarged to involve pain, illness, and even fault in action. It was also used to associate natural phenomena with various colors and human diseases.

The heisheng (or black ghosts as I shall call them) were fairly common in the history of China. They were usually associated with a small number of specific people, who suffered physical harm and mental panic. The color black indicated water, which provided a clue inspiring the analysis below. According to the circulated information, it was obvious that the appearance of black ghosts was not intended as a plea for peace, nor did it involve issues relative to religion or ancestors. This phenomenon was not the folly-and-consequences or moralizing fiction discussed in some in previous scholarship (Yennan Wu 1999). It entailed no solemn ritual aimed at purifying the soul but only the spread of information and the atmosphere of fear.

The Inclusion in circulation

Information of the appearance of black ghosts appeared in various sources that circulated and provided clues to its meaning. They included court records like *The Veritable Records of Emperor Xianzong* (明憲宗實錄), local records such as the *Chaoyang county gazetteer* (潮陽縣志) compiled by

Lin Dachun 林大春 ; private historical books, like *Diangu jiwén* (典故紀聞) by Yu Jideng 余繼登 ; and private note books (筆記), such as *Jianzhai suozhui lu* 謦齋鎖綴錄 compiled by Yin Zhi 尹直 , *Fanyan* 范衍 by Qian Yiben 錢一本 , and *Yuzhitang tanhui* 玉芝堂談薈 by Xu Yingqiu 徐應秋 , *Zhuzi zhiguai lu* 祝子志怪錄 by Zhu Yunming 祝允明 , *Shijian jigulue xuji* by Shi Dawen 釋大闡 , *Shuanghuai suichao* 双槐歲鈔 compiled by Huang Yu 黃瑜 , and *Siyoushai congshuo* 四友齋叢說 by He Liangjun 何良俊 .

Research in these sources shows that, in spreading the rumors of black ghosts, some points were added while others were dropped. Based on the core component of the rumor, the additional elements formed three levels of information which contained details that differed from each other. The first level came from Yin Zhi whose notes recorded eyewitness accounts of the ghost’s attack. Yin described incident in his *Jianzhai suozhui lu* as below: ¹

At first, I did not believe it. One night around the drums of the second watch a tenant named Wang Er, who rented a residence behind my household, cried out. Husband and wife alike shouted loudly for help. I woke up startled. On the other side of the wall the family scolded. I asked what was wrong and they answered that there was an intruder, and that they needed a light and knives. After a while, things settled down again. The next day I sent someone to investigate. They said that something had settled on the chest of his wife. It had been chillingly cold. Scared, his wife had got up. Then, [the creature] had tried to steal the child that she was holding. They had fought with each other using force. The husband had been very anxious. He had tried in vain to look for a knife. Hence, he had opened up the door, and obtained light from a neighbor. He had then allowed the weirdness to go and it had left.

Yin recorded an immediate response from the government:

At first, this weirdness arose in the northwest of the city. People did not dare to speak of it. Only after people had been wounded in each part of the city did they all complain to the Military Commanders (bingma si 兵馬司 , official in charge of police in the capital) and City Inspector Censors (xuncheng yushi 巡城御史) of the respective parts of the city. They made arrests and investigated, producing concrete evidence, which they reported to their superiors.

There are several editions of the *Jianzhai suozhui lu*. In some of them, this passage is incomplete. Only one edition in seven juan printed by Yin’s descendants provides a complete plot of the story, allowing the reader to grasp the information the author wanted to convey (Luo 2016). He added no comment from his viewpoint as a high ranked official much as his peers had done when reporting on extraordinary natural phenomena. Illogically, however, he highlighted in his account of the incident the protagonist, i.e. the victim, who had no formal name in the incident. Both the perspective and the content of Yin’s record indicated that his main purpose was to record the events and describe the situation of the affair for readers of his book, rather than simply recount his memories for his own later amusement.

¹ I use Barend ter Haar’s translation, with minor adjustment.

Omission in circulation

In addition to the core information provided by Yin Zhi, the roles of an emperor and a eunuch were described in Wang Ao's *Zhenze changyu* 震澤長語 at the second level. Rumors of the black ghosts spread widely and became much more serious when one or more of those mysterious creatures reportedly ran into the royal palace when Chenghua was meeting with his officials. The ruler was so frightened that he fell off his throne under the watchful eyes of his officials. Only with the assistance of a court eunuch, Huai En (懷恩), who was standing beside him, was Chenghua able to recover his throne and his dignity (Tanqian, 37:?).

Wang's record offers a reasonable time for the event, about 3:00 a.m. to early morning, when Ming rulers often held audiences with their officials. The authenticity of this record is enhanced by a supporting source. Considering that the appearance of this black ghost in court might indicate disorder in his reign, Chenghua promulgated a proclamation, admitting flaws in his rule and promised a quick modification of his policies. The emperor hoped the black ghost would not emerge again and the social order would return to its previous state of calm. The emperor's edict did not produce the expected results, but the inclusion of the event and his response in the Veritable Records of Emperor Xianzong increased the credibility of the events. Also, this high level official record of the spread of the rumors raised its visibility from Yin Zhi's private record to a public record even, though it happened and was recorded in the supposedly secret forbidden city.

Eunuchs and their notorious institution, the Western Depot, were another component in the second level of information in the rumor's proliferation. In Wang Ao's words: (Wang Ao, 卷下)

Since then [the attack in the palace], the eunuchs have been dispatched to conduct covert surveillance. At the time, the eunuch Wang Zhi (汪直) was close to Emperor Chenghua in the imperial court. Taking this opportunity, Wang gained [the ruler's] trust and established the Western Depot to monitor the activities of officials with the support of the emperor. Many bureaucrats became targets of investigation and were arrested and humiliated. Even ministers were not spared.

It was true that the Western Depot was established with the aim of helping the ruler in the inner court keep watch on officials and even ordinary people and to report any findings, regardless of whether the evidence was sufficient [to prosecute] or reliable [to convict]. It was directed by Wang Zhi and operated outside of the regular bureaucracy. The authority sent eunuchs out as spies to spread terror and make judgments. The suspected officials were routinely sentenced without following any formal judicial procedures. In this case, in a short while, more than ten officials were extra-legally arrested and sentenced by the Western Depot. Hence, as Wang Ao said, high ranked officials like the Grand Secretary Shang Lu 商輅 (1414-1486) and the Minister of Justice Xiang Zhong 項忠 (1421-1502) were dismissed under no reasonable excuses.

While acknowledging the negative impact of the eunuchs on the politics of the state, Wang described the positive effects of certain eunuchs, such as Huai En. In another source, the positive contributions of eunuchs were elided, leaving only the negative effects of eunuchs at the court. Qian Yiben's Fan Yan is a case in point, Qian quoted from Wang Ao's book with some adjustments, showing

the evolution of information in the course of the rumor's spreading. In Fan Yan, Qian specified the location of the events (in the capital), the figure of the ghost (like a dog), the amount of the ghosts (a dozen) and the locations of the wounds (face, hands, and feet). It also mentioned the imperial summoning in which the black ghosts alarmed Emperor Cheng Hua and the establishment of the Western Depot under the leadership of Wang Zhi. But Qian omitted Huai En's helpful assistance to Emperor Chenghua in preserving the honor of the throne. Only the negative descriptions of the eunuchs were retained and the most noticeable point is that Qian believes the establishment of the Western Depot was a retribution of the black ghosts to against the bureaucrats.

Retribution is a long-standing part of Chinese culture. It was widely believed that retribution is ubiquitous and inescapable. Similar to a kind of one-dimensional projection, retribution creates more strict, direct, and powerful results than morality and law in people's judgment of the results of an action. The great likelihood of retribution induces people to exercise prudential caution and gives them less room for action. The results of retribution can be good as well as bad. As for the latter, even if the evildoer has strong power, his bad actions will not have immediate consequences and retribution is ultimately inevitable (Marvin Henberg 1990).

With respect to retribution, the black ghosts may have risen to punish wayward eunuchs and their extra-judicial Western Depot. Eunuchs were physically incomplete, neither male nor female, and they were unable to produce offspring. They occupied space outside the formal bureaucratic system and their politically unjustified behavior was linked to the dark side of the state. Their ambiguous gender may have alienated them from ordinary people led them to be aggressive toward women and children to make up for their lack of masculinity. When they gained power, the eunuchs often attacked political opponents very cruelly. Their abuse of power was enabled by their close relationship with the emperor and the royal family. In several notorious cases during the Ming Dynasty, they had a greatly negative impact on the country (Shih-shan Henry Tsai 1996: 1-8).

Retribution, however, has only limited value in explaining the case of the black ghosts. The well-recognized late-Ming historian, Chen Jian 陳建 demonstrated ambiguity and inconsistency in projecting one-dimensional retribution onto two ghost incidents in his *Huangming tongji fazhuan quanlu* 皇明通紀法傳全錄 (Chen Jian 1636, juan 23), one was the appearance of a black ghost in 1476; the other was the execution of a magician, Li Zilong 李子龍, in 1477. We need to analyze both cases from the perspective of results.

Commentary

More than one hundred years later, in 1586, the fourteenth year of Wan Li (萬曆, 1573-1620) reign, there was another visitation of the black ghosts. This time they targeted the Grand Secretary, Shen Shixing 申時行 (1535-1614). In his memorial reporting the event, Shen explained that it had been because of the black ghosts' appearance in 1476 that a state project, the Tonghui Canal, had been postponed. It was a significant statement because it was recorded in the *Veritable Records of Ming Dynasty* and was mutually corroborated by other documentary sources, such as *Huangming congxinlu* 皇明從信錄 compiled by Shen Guoyuan 沈國元, an official geographical book *Qinding rixia jiuwenkao* 欽定日下舊聞考, as well as a private geographical book, *Xingshui jinjian* 行水金鑿, compiled by Fu Zehong 傅澤洪.

Shen had good reason to link the rumor of black ghosts in 1476 with work on the Grand Canal. In June 1476, just one month before the appearance of the black ghosts, a water conservancy project on the Grand Canal had ended. It had been the dredging of the Tonghui Canal 通惠河, the northern part of Grand Canal connecting Datong Bridge 大通橋 to the east of Beijing to the estuary of Hunhe 渾河 at Zhangjia Wan 張家灣. That was the waterway through which tribute rice from the south could be shipped directly from south China to the capital in Beijing without any interruption. The project had been initiated in August 1475 and had proceeded for sixty miles (里), but it was terminated after ten months because it failed to resolve the water supply issue (傅澤洪《行水金鑿》, vol. 110). In fact, only two years later in 1477, the entire Tonghui Canal was re-silted and ceased functioning. It was only in the Jia Jing era (1522-67) that work on Tonghui Canal resumed and finally completed in 1528. From then on, it benefited the state by providing for the transport of grain near the capital (*Shenzong shilu* 272: 3120).

The linking of the rumor of the black ghosts with the fortunes of the Tonghui Canal helps to clarify the use of some vocabulary such as the term tragedy (災異) which appeared without comment in Xia Xie's 夏燮 reliable history titled *Ming Tongjian* 明通鑒 (Xia Xie, vol. 33). This became supporting evidence for the history books that directly linked the rumors to the Tonghui Canal. For example, 吳仲 Wu Zhong, the leader of the Tonghui Canal project in Jia Jing era, accepted this link in his *Tonghui Canal Gazetteer* 通惠河志 (Wu Zhong, 卷上). These references suggest that someone used the rumors to stop a project that it was in the interest of the state to complete.

The Grand Canal and Conflicting Interests

Xiejia (The Agent Housing System 歇家)

The Tonghui Canal was a part of the Grand Canal in the Ming Dynasty. It had been excavated in the Yuan Dynasty and took the name Datong Canal (大通河), connecting the northern end of Grand Canal with the granaries in Beijing and Tongzhou 通州 (called the Jingtong Cang 京通倉 as a unit).

The canal enabled tribute grain to be shipped directly from granaries in south China to Beijing without any need to change the form of transportation. Prior to it, tribute grain had to be transported overland by servants from Zhangjia Wan 張家灣 to Jingtong Cang. On other parts of the Grand Canal grain was transported by troops according to the Long Haul Method (長運法), and this section was the last part remaining on land along the Canal. The Long Haul Method was the third stage of the transportation reform in the Grand Canal. It had been implemented in 1471, five years before the appearance of the black ghost, and this way of transport replaced the Tribute Shipment (兌運法) that had been instituted in 1431. According to the Long Haul Method, the transport troops were authorized to operate as far as south China where the tribute grain had previously been transported by civilian laborers. In 1471 the responsibility for tribute grain transportation had shifted from the civil servants to transport troops, leaving only a section from Zhangjia Bay to Beijing to be transported overland by civilian laborers. The use of military forces as a main force for Canal transportation was a trend since the early years of Ming Dynasty after the dredging of the Grand Canal (Wu Tao). If the Tonghui Canal functioned well the transport troops would take control

The Map of the Grand Canal in Ming China



of the whole route of tribute grain transportation on Grand the Canal.

That was probably not a situation the peoples who were in charge of the managing the Canal, especially the Tonghui section would welcome because of the huge profits this part of the Canal generated. The tribute grain that reached Jingtong cang was crucial not only because it provided salaries of officials in Beijing (Gao 2003), but also because it was the source of benefits for a group of profit-seekers that was responsible for the transportation on land between Zhangjia and Jingtong cang. The group that would benefit most from the Tonghui Canal included the agents who were playing the role of direct operators of the stores and inns along the Canal. These facilities were nominally intended to provide services to transport troops and boatman, including storing the goods, drying the grain, accommodating the troops, and completing the registration, after the transport boats reached Beijing. Such services were necessary and were demanded by the transport troops who were aliens in Beijing, unfamiliar with the roles of government agencies, and unable to complete the process of registration in good time. Under these conditions, the agents on land functioned well as an intermediate link in a mature system between the transport hands and the official department in Jingtong Cang. They had smoothed the way for the completion of the grain registration before the Toghui Canal was dredged in 1476.

The agents belonged to a housing system, called Xiejia 歇家, that represented the owners of the stores and inns, helped them complete the intermediate links in the market, and ensured the regents' interests much as its official predecessor, the Tafang system, had done in the Song Dynasty. As a semi-official system the Xiejia, replaced the Tafang in the Cheng Hua era (Hu 2015: 14). Xiejia and Tafang performed similar role in market. The only difference between them was the degree of belonging to the government (Hu Tieqiu).

When they worked for the Grand Canal in Beijing, the Xiejia received monetary compensation. It

was fair from the market point of view because the services provided by this system were based on the agents' familiarity with the government's process of registration, their provision of convenient housing, and their knowledge of how to store grain. All these factors originated from the regents in the housing system that had full administrative power and economic strength to complete the registration, although its political allegiance was to the government while its market interests belonged to individuals. (Hu Tieqiu). The amount of silver money paid by the transport troops for obtaining the services, called Fangshui yin (房水銀), was large. It differed in amount from one tael two cash for Jing Can in Beijing to one tael for Tong Cang in Tongzhou, 一兩二錢 and 一兩 respectively. Since each year there were about 12,000 transport boats that carried tribute grain and commercial goods from south to north, according to the ratio of 70% to Beijing and 30% to Tongzhou, the agent housing system in Beijing needed to provide accommodation for the army bringing 8,400 ships to Beijing and 3,600 ships to Tongzhou. As compensation they received Fangshui yin totally 1,680 兩, which was 10,080 兩 from Beijing and 3,600 兩 from Tongzhou. All these must be paid by the transport troops. Adding the fee from the troops who were on the boat to protect the transport, it would be 15,732 兩 of silver. Each Xiejia would receive 168.6 兩 of silver every year (Hu 510-1).

Since the compensation was in line with the official regulation, and it also met the principle of market interest, these expenses were not all illegitimate, although in the course of things there must have been some illegal extortion. If the Tonghui Canal were dredged completely and worked successfully, the tax grain and commodities could have been shipped directly to Jingtong cang by troops. The Xiejia land workers would have had little chance to benefit any more. The vast amount of profit that came from accommodations and related services as well as the state's funding would have disappeared. Thus the dredging of the Tonghui Canal was definitely opposed by the regents of the agent housing system, even if it would have saved the state the huge expenditure on canal's transportation. It was recorded that the capacity of one vessel was equivalent to ten vehicles (一舟之運約當十車) and Zhang Cong 張璠 (1475-1539) calculated that when the Tonghui Canal would become fully functional 113,300 兩 of silver money would be saved (于敏中 juan 89) in Chenghua era. In order to protect the benefits that had long been obtained but would be lost because of the Tonghui Canal, the Xiejia and the regents behind them were trying to prevent the completion of this state project. In this regard, the questions that arise include: who were the regents of the Xiejia that managed the housing system, did they have enough power to postpone such a state project; and why and how did they use the rumor of black ghosts to do so. To answer these questions we need to look for the hands that were really running the market in Beijing and controlling the benefits at the court.

The Conflicting Interests between Northern and Southern Bureaucrats

The Tonghui Canal project apparently reflected conflicts within the central government, over benefits. Yin Zhi, the early witness of the rumor, was from Jiangxi Province. Around him in the central government there was a group of officials who hailed roughly from the same region. They were coherent enough to be called the Southern Party and they were powerful enough to include most members of the Grand Academicians. In opposition to this faction, there was a Northern Party, which included some

ministers and some heads of bureaus. The identities of the two parties were not based on geographical differences alone, but the members of each party pursued their respective interests in making policies at court. In terms of real power and number of members, the Northern Party was inferior to the Southern Party (Cheng Guan 49). The Southern Party included Li Zisheng 李孜省 (? -1487), the Left Vice Minister of Rites, Peng Hua 彭華 (1432-1496), a Grand Academician, and the Grand Secretary Wan An 萬安 (1417-1488) who came from Sichuan Province (Ming Tongjian 1392, 1650). Relying on their close relationship with the ruler, the Southern Party dominated policy making during the Chenghua reign. One member of the Southern Party, Peng Hua, once instigated the Supervising Secretary Xiao Yanzhuang 蕭彥莊 (a native of Jiangxi) to attack Li Bing 李秉 (1408-1489, a native of Shandong), expel Yin Wen 尹旻 (1423-1505, another native of Shandong) and Luo Jing 羅璟 (1423-1503, another native of Jiangxi Province) (Li Zisheng's biography, *Ming History*).

In the Cheng Hua era, the Southern Party maintained good relations with some eunuchs like and the Distinguished Imperial Relatives in efforts to safeguard their interests. They were the concrete representatives of the Quanguo zhijia 權貴之家 that appeared in *The Gazetteer of Tonghui Canal* 通惠河志 and played the role of regents of Xiejia. There was no other group in Beijing that had equal power to distribute the benefits of the Grand Canal. It was in Cheng Hua reign that they formed, but their formation could not obstruct the trend that had emerged before, which was that the transportation troops would take over the shipments on the Grand Canal, to safeguard the state's benefits, reduce the expenses, and extend the troops' dominance. Therefore, when the project of dredging the Tonghui canal was proposed by Chen Rui 陳銳, the hereditary Earl of Pingjiang 平江伯, the Emperor Cheng Hua could not express opposition, but simply ordered Yang Ding 楊鼎, in the Ministry of Revenue, and Qiao Yi 喬毅, the Vice Minister of Works, to investigate. When the reply from the two departments supported the project, the emperor could only approve its initiation.

Since the emperor actually opposed the Tonghui Canal project but did not want to say so publicly, he secretly approved the spreading of the rumors that it was the cause of the appearance of the Black Ghosts. As ruler, he could easily encourage senior officials attached to him to become credible communicators of the rumors. Since the ruler was the real author of rumors behind the scenes, so there was no way to determine the real of situation. Meanwhile, the Xiejia who were responsible for the social security in Beijing were in the hands of the Southern Party who benefited from the continuance of land transport in Beijing. When they were tasked with locating the black ghosts and identifying the source of the panic, they of course did nothing.

Conclusion: the superiority of Cultural Legitimacy

In this case, I clarify the role of cultural legitimacy as a supplementary means when political legitimacy is ineffective, and the condition under which it works, as well as the forms of its performance.

偽裝的「詩史」與「假新聞」的真實效應：以九一八事變到抗戰期間的國難吟詠為核心的考察

Reality Effect of “Poetry-History” : Classical-style Poetry during the Anti-Japanese War

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摘要

二十世紀上半葉世局紛擾，志在傳寫、紀實當代重大歷史事件的國難舊體詩也大量湧現，這牽涉了中國文學詩學中淵遠流長的「詩史」書寫傳統。無論是以詩歌詠當時史事，或是以附注形式記錄軼聞瑣事，舊體詩背後牽涉了一個龐大的知識與文化交流體系，詩人們通過唱和、傳鈔，甚至隱微的用典，表露他們的詩心與史識。有意為「詩史」的作者們，以杜甫吟詠安史之亂時的精神自任，一方面承續中國歷史書寫傳統中紀實事、寓褒貶、含諷諭的職能，一方面也間亦混雜「史蘊詩心」的弄筆虛矯。以今日的眼光來看，這些當時傳誦的「詩史」，當中可能夾纏了一些近乎「假新聞」班的傳播效應。本文以九一八事變到七七事變間，描寫中、日雙方領土、軍事矛盾的舊體詩吟詠為考察對象，探討「詩」和「史」之間的理論張力。羅蘭巴特討論寫實主義時所提出的「真實效果」(Reality Effect)理論，將是本文解析國難舊詩吟詠中之所以存在類乎「假新聞」陳述的切入觀點。「詩史」不只是被動地描寫歷史，更是藉由「紀實」為名的書寫實踐，成為推進與影響歷史走向的詩學。

一、前言

在中國古典文學中，「詩史」是一股每每湧現於世變之際的創作傳統。當淪陷、亂離的情境逼臨，遭際重大歷史變局的詩人，以詩描述見聞與經歷，召喚記憶與抒情。或重述事件，整納為歷史殷鑑的分析，或寄寓褒貶，表達對時局政治的諷諭。¹ 以上的創作傳統，自中唐後，不僅是後人觀看世變詩歌的閱讀與箋釋傳統，也成為自覺性的創作意識。² 詩史使詩歌具備涉入公共脈絡的詩用向度與理論資源。追溯其源，「詩史」原係用以稱譽杜甫（712-770）於安史之亂時，自覺詳盡記載當時見聞經歷的詩風。³ 批評家表彰其「推見至隱，殆無遺事」的敘事細膩，感切他「善陳時事，律切情深」的文思煥發。⁴ 隨著杜詩的經典化，「詩史」也成為中國詩學重要的經典標準之一。

「詩」與「史」，抒情與敘述，微言婉諷與直陳褒貶，在「詩史」理論的涵括下，形成層次豐富的統合。中唐新樂府運動及元白長慶體的風行，亦使「詩史」書寫時事、表達政治關懷的傳統更形穩固。元稹和白居易常使用長篇敘事古風形式，這種稱為「長慶體」的詩歌形式，也拓展了「詩史」在敘事詩上的描寫技巧。但真正讓「詩史」理論達致高峰的契機，當推明清鼎革之際。在錢謙益（1582-1664）、黃宗羲（1610-1695）的理論推行下，「詩史」成為表述「遺民史識」的詩學。⁵ 吳偉業（1609-1671），錢澄之（1612-1693）的創作實踐，更使「詩史」不只是高懸理念的文學理論，而確實成為能夠記錄興亡、補史之闕的書寫型態，也世代傳頌的文學名篇。⁶ 在易代鼎革，淪陷亂離的特殊歷史情境裡，詩歌承擔表述興亡閱歷的功能。儘管在中國文學批評史中，也曾出現由詩、史之辨體意識衍生的質疑。⁷ 但迄今為止，「詩史」還是一股影響深遠，且創

- 1 在歷代詩文評的材料中，「詩史」的指涉定義各不一一，張暉在《中國「詩史」傳統》甚至由歷代載述中歸納出十七種定義，包括「記載流離蜀時所見聞的詩歌」、「善陳時事」、「史筆」、「敘事」等等。見張暉，《中國「詩史」傳統》（北京：生活·讀書·新知三聯書店，2016 修訂版），頁 276-277。但不論「詩史」意義如何滋繁，強調對「現實」的紀錄和描寫，貫通詩與史乃是其核心精神所繫。但中國的「史筆」傳統淵源自《春秋》，既有如言其據事直書而善惡自見者，亦有強調《春秋》中的義例與書法，乃是以微言含大義者，但其基本精神都和「褒貶」有關。關於中國史學「褒貶」的分析，可參汪榮祖，《史學九章》（臺北：麥田，2002）頁 140-143。
- 2 「詩史」既為批評論也為創作論的說法，可參看龔鵬程的分析：「詩而可以為史，基本上有兩個關鍵：一是作者創作時的認識（含有史的意識和自覺，並在作品中表現出來）、一是讀者視詩為史。」龔鵬程，〈論詩史〉，《詩史妙悟與本色》（臺北：臺灣學生書局，1986），頁 87。
- 3 宇文所安指出杜甫是少數在唐代就以詩歌自覺性紀錄時事的詩人，他認為盛唐其他詩人筆下的戰事，多是作為背景出現，事件本身的經歷與過程，往往不是詩歌刻畫、描寫的重點。但杜甫卻有意識地將「事件」本身作為重要的紀錄對象，這也是他後來被稱為「詩史」的重要原因。見（美）宇文所安著、賈晉華譯，《盛唐詩》（臺北：聯經出版社，2007），頁 292。
- 4 「推見至隱，殆無遺事」出自孟榮《本事詩》，「善陳時事，律切情深」則出自《新唐書·文藝傳》，前者是目前所見最早稱杜甫為「詩史」的文獻，後者則是整個宋代最具影響力的說法。「詩史」一說可以得到高度推崇，和杜甫詩歌經典化的歷程關係密切，但這些評價都和當時的《詩》學觀念、《春秋》觀念相關。相關分析可見陳文華，〈詩史〉，《杜甫唐宋傳記資料考辨》（臺北：文史哲，1987），頁 241-262。黃東陽，〈由宗經文論詮釋宋人尊杜甫為詩史之內涵〉，《東方人文學誌》2:3（2003.09），頁 280-334。
- 5 將「詩史」作為「遺民史學」的經典性表述，可見錢謙益的〈胡致果詩序〉和黃宗羲的〈萬履安先生詩序〉，錢氏有「詩之義，不能不本於史……古今之詩，莫變於此時，亦莫盛於此時。至今新史盛行，空坑、厓山之故事，與遺民舊老灰飛煙滅，考諸當日之詩，則其人猶存，其事猶在，殘篇斷翰與金匱石室之書，並懸日月，謂詩之不足以續史也，不亦誣乎」，黃氏有「天地之所以不毀，名教之所以僅存者，多在亡國之人物，血心流注，朝露同晞，史於是而亡矣。猶幸野制謠傳，苦語難銷，此耿耿者，明滅於爛紙昏墨之餘，九原可作，地起泥香，庸詎知史亡而後詩作乎！」之說，俱為「遺民詩學」的經典表述。而關於「遺民詩學」的討論，可參見 Lawrence C.H. Yim（嚴志雄），*The poet-historian Qian Qianyi*, (London ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2009), p48-55.
- 6 吳偉業和錢澄之如何表現「詩史」意識的書寫，可參陳岸峰，《甲申詩史：吳梅村書寫的一六四四》（香港：中華書局，2014）。張暉，〈詩與史的交涉——錢澄枝《所知錄》以詩為史的書寫樣態〉，《中國「詩史」傳統》，頁 205-240。
- 7 歷來對「詩史」之說表達反對的，可分別以楊慎、王夫之、錢鍾書為代表。楊慎從詩、史辨體的方式，主張「《詩》

造無數經典作品的詩學脈絡。質疑「詩史」之說者，除了錢鍾書（1910-1998）對當中「史筆詩心」的「虛實」問題有所意識外，多仍針對詩歌的美學特徵和表現形式而發。也即就「詩史」的關懷來說，主張「詩不可以史為」的文論家，關注的是詩歌表現的「妍媸」問題，在詩、史內容互補，表現型態卻各有偏重的書寫實踐中，如何清理出屬於詩的純淨形式，讓「比興」和「含蓄」成為詩歌之本質，而詩歌之「紀實」功能，反而是這一派文論家意欲摒除的元素。⁸但「詩史」具備現實關懷與現實訴求，又被期待其書寫當能有刺於時、有諷於今，此一延續自史傳傳統的褒貶敘事傳統又成為我們評價詩歌能否昭鑑予後世的準則，我們也必須承認，這一派講求社會關懷、現實參與的詩學，是中國詩學史中，和講究靈心妙悟的「神韻詩學」鼎足而立的兩大書寫體系。「文章合為時而著，詩歌合為事而作」的價值，藉著「詩史」的書寫傳統代代相傳，我們在討論這項「文學」傳統時，不可能忽視其中的政治參與和時事關懷。讀者從「詩史」中瞭解歷史，作者要求「詩」要能表現當代的歷史，這都是「詩史」詩學的核心關懷。但也因如此，當我們以「詩史」檢證回當時的「歷史事件」時，我們卻常常能發現一些真實與文本之間的罅隙，一些未必為真，但讀者卻根據詩作深信不疑的歷史記憶或觀念。這當中，就產生了如同「假新聞」般的閱讀效應。

「詩史」是中國文史傳統中很重要的書寫型態，它跨類在詩和史之間，當中也包含著「真」（虛實）、「善」（是非）、「美」（妍媸）等不同的理論向度和討論層次。戰亂世變中，被認為具有「詩史」價值的吟詠，無論是記述、諷喻或抒情，但凡能見「史識」，記錄興亡者，往往能取得極高評價。本文嘗試以一個新興傳媒的「假新聞」觀點，來打開這個龐大書寫傳統內部書寫機制的相關討論，試圖提出：「詩史」和「假新聞」間，可能有部分相涉的現況。問題意識的發端，正從以下這個近代著名的「詩史」案，也兼具有「假新聞」性質的作品而發。在此案例中，詩人表現了他的「史識」，但也凸顯出「詩史」在書寫實踐上確實存在弄筆狡獪的空間。在「詩史」的觀念框架下，這類詩歌被認為具有「紀實」精神，但「紀實」的描述往往包覆在一些不得不為，或有意為之的「虛懸弄筆」之中，而這份「紀實」又成為了諷諭和褒貶的根據。總之，虛實、褒貶與顯隱，都呈現出「詩史」的豐富張力與複雜向度，但「舊體詩」作為民國報刊上常見的文類，「詩史」正是我們觀察它的書寫機制、傳播效應與文類特色的切入點之一。

二、馬君武的〈哀瀋陽〉與「假新聞」的傳播效力

南社詩人，時任廣西大學校長的馬君武（1881-1940），在1931年九一八事變後不久，寫下

以道性情，《春秋》以道名分……至於直陳時事，類於訕訕，乃其下乘末腳，主張詩當「含蓄蘊藉」，不當直陳時事。王夫之和楊慎一樣有辨體思想，主張「詩不可以史為」，他一樣反對直陳時事的寫法，但他對「詩史」並非一味持否定看法，他主張在不破壞詩歌語言美感的前提下，達致「直而絞」的諷刺功能乃詩史追求的境界。錢鍾書在在《談藝錄》和《管錐編》中反對「詩史」之說，主張文學應當獨立，並提出「乃之詩具史筆，不知史蘊詩心」之說批判納些將詩等同於史料的閱讀手法，錢鍾書之論，後文另有分析。

8 王夫之批評杜甫〈石壕吏〉「每於刻畫處以逼寫見真，終覺於史有餘，於詩不足」，王夫之對詩史一詞的破棄，核心關注就是擔心明白的敘事語言（所謂的史筆）干犯了詩歌主「情」的境界。他批判「求其形似，辱吾神明」的詩歌表現，反對為了逼真紀實傷害了詩歌的純美。但也必須指出，王夫之的意見並非中國詩歌的唯一傳統，與他時代相近的錢謙益、黃宗羲就極為重視詩歌的「傳史」之能。王夫之堅持的「純詩」，是在詩歌內容理、事、情的三個描寫向度中，窄化壓制「事」的書寫，要求「取其神理，不傳形似」，是一種獨標「情」義的純粹本質詩論。質言之，王夫之反對敘事詩、反對用詩寫史，但他的詩學排擠了「詩史」以及代表詩史精神的杜甫、元白詩等一系列標榜社會寫實與敘事性的文學經典。相關分析可參見曾守仁，〈船山詩論顯影：以詩史為核心的考察〉，《王夫之詩學理論重構——思文／幽明／天人之際的儒門詩教觀》（臺北：臺大出版中心，2011），頁43-100。

傳頌甚廣，也引發無數風波的名詩〈哀瀋陽〉⁹，詩云：

趙四風流朱五狂，翩翩蝴蝶最當行。溫柔鄉是英雄塚，哪管東師入瀋陽。

告急軍書夜半來，開場弦管又相催。瀋陽已陷休回顧，更抱佳人舞幾回。

此詩於 1931 年 11 月 20 日以〈馬君武感時近作〉之名刊布於上海《時事新報》，隔天被影射與張學良共舞的女明星胡蝶（1908-1989），立刻和電影公司製片張石川（1890-1953）等人，在《申報》上登載了闢謠廣告。胡蝶自云當時正隨著工作電影團隊在北平拍戲，她「抵平之日，適逢國難……留平五十餘日，未嘗一涉舞場」。¹⁰ 明白表述了她對此詩所述內容的抗辯。這則啟事甚至出現如下的慷慨陳言，以說明自己絕非不知亡國恨的「商女」，更無所謂紅顏禍國之罪嫌：「蝶亦國民一分子也，雖亦未能以頸血濺仇人，豈敢於國難當前之時，與負守土之責者相與跳舞也」¹¹。這則聲明內文的後半，還立刻散步「假新聞」的元兇，找出了其「犯案動機」，胡蝶更力諫國人應當洞燭「敵人」之奸計，不要受此謠言蠱惑：¹²

忽聞有數報登載蝶與張副總司令相與跳舞而過從甚密，且獲巨值餽贈云云。蝶初以為此種捕風捉影之談，不久必然水落石出，無須亟亟分辨。乃曰昨有日本新聞將蝶之小影與張副司令之名字並列報端，更造作餽贈十萬元等等之蜚語。其用意無非欲借男女曖昧之事，不惜犧牲蝶之個人之名譽，以遂其誣讒陷害之毒計。查此次日人利用宣傳陰謀，凡有可以侮辱我中華官吏與國民者，無所不用其極，亦不僅只此一事……嗚呼！暴日欲遂其并吞中國之野心，造謠生事，設想之奇，造事之巧，目的蓋欲毀張副司令之名譽，冀阻止其回遼反攻。願我國人悉燭其奸，而毋遂其借刀殺人之計也。¹³

胡蝶這番愷切陳詞，似乎未能改變因馬君武詩而流播甚廣的「風流將軍跳舞忙」的形象。在馬君武更晚發表的版本中，這組詩還附上〈詩序〉，明白揭示此詩的創作發想係步擬自李商隱（813-約 858）詠史名篇〈北齊〉而來。但詩序繪聲繪影地描寫出張學良（1901-2001）當夜在舞場中，數次拒接電話的情節。後來的人當然考證出這是一段似真非真「假新聞」，但在「有史為鑑」的歷史典故聯類裡，北齊後主高護與張學良沉迷女色、荒淫誤國的形象可以相互連結，馮小憐就如

9 1931 年 11 月 20 日上海《時事新報》上的版本，其中「更抱佳人舞幾回」一句，作「更抱阿嬌舞幾回」，無詩序。《馬君武先生紀念冊》時，將其編入「補載今體詩二十三首」。馬君武治喪委員會編，《馬君武先生紀念冊·詩稿》（桂林，1941 年刊本），頁 24a-25b。

10 《申報》1931 年 11 月 20 日第 5 版。

11 同前註。

12 同前註。

13 這則聲明說的「日本新聞」不知確指。有云是事發月餘的天津《庸報》上，刊有〈張學良的「九一八之夜」〉一文，據傳內文直接說點明「民國二十年九月十八日夜，日本關東軍發動大規模進攻，一路燒殺搶掠，無惡不作，東北三省之同胞陷入水深火熱之中。而東北軍之最高統帥張學良將軍彼時卻正與紅粉佳人胡蝶共舞於北平六國飯店。」但當年的《庸報》，筆者未能寓目，而《庸報》淪為日本特務機關和政務委員會的機關報，事亦在 1935 年後。目前筆者找到關於張、胡之會最早的消息來源，是 1931 年燕京大學的學生抗日刊物《火把》有〈不愛江山愛美人〉一文，全文云：「確息：一月以前，日人攻瀋之夕。某青年長官尚在中和看梅蘭芳。至十時許，梅伶遲遲不出台，而瀋陽之急電無已，長官為之頓足再四，悻悻出院。次夕再往，觀眾大譁，於是逮捕十餘人（平津各報無敢登者，）近日上海明星公司明星胡蝶女士來平，長官好整以暇，頗與女士有所酬酢，故大受女士之垂青云。」佚名，〈不愛江山愛美人〉，收入燕大抗日會宣傳股、燕大學生會周刊部合編，《火把》，10（1931.10.19），第 3 面。此文全文被轉載於鄒韜奮主編的《生活》週刊「信箱」專欄上。由於當時《生活》週刊連續發表多篇力主積極抗日的文章，定非所謂「日新聞」。相關研究可參李勝佳，《〈生活〉週刊的抗日輿論研究》（天津：河北大學歷史系碩士論文，2014，彭小舟指導）。《生活》週刊除轉載〈不愛江山愛美人〉的全文外，還附上編者評論曰：「『觀眾』對此等事尚知道『大譁』，可見人心並未死盡。」但胡蝶與張學良晚年的口述歷史紀錄裡，都澄清過雙方一生未曾謀面，此篇報導雖然說對了張學良當夜在北京中和戲院看梅蘭芳的《宇宙鋒》，但全文仍誣指胡、張二人之過從甚密，仍不脫「假新聞」之嫌疑。上海生活週刊社，《生活》6:47（1931.11.14），頁 1055。3

同張少帥身邊的鶯鶯燕燕一般。沉湎女色者多誤大事，這個「有史為鑑」的歷史印象，似乎增添了批判的力道和可信度，〈詩序〉云：

周師取平陽，北齊後主方偕馮小憐獵於三堆。晉州告急，後主欲還，小憐請更殺一圍，北齊遂亡。九月十八夜，日本師入瀋陽，臧方毅電北平告急，適張自上海迎電影明星胡蝶（按：此處應為「胡」字）蝶至北平開舞會，興致正豪。第一次電話不暇接，又來第二次電話。張倉卒答以「日本要什麼他給什麼，一仍跳舞不輟，東三省遂於二十四小時內亡於日本矣。劬李義山作〈哀瀋陽〉二章。¹⁴此事自非「信史」，相關辨析已多，此不多贅前人已作過之考證。¹⁵但本文卻想從「文學的接受史」來論證馬君武這組詩作的傳播效力如何堪稱鋪天蓋地。二戰期間寓居滬上的名醫姚伯麟（1877-1953），在1948年時，將自己歷十餘年而寫就的國難吟詠以《抗戰詩史》為名出版，當中有〈九一八夜張將軍猶在故都跳舞場中〉詩，云：

北大營中砲火開，燕京擁抱尚徘徊。瀋陽已陷毋須問，更請將軍舞一回。

備考：有謂是夜十時，張與電影明星胡蝶，在天津跳舞。¹⁶

姚氏《抗戰詩史》最引以自豪的特色，就是能逐日將新聞報導為史料，完成千餘首詩歌共同連綴的「詩史」。¹⁷詩中往往附有「備考」，是作者自箋以補充相關資訊。姚伯麟幾乎是以詩史寫新聞，也以新聞寫詩史，但迄於終戰，姚都並未修改關於此事的記載，而姚詩「更請將軍舞一回」也頗類馬君武詩中的「更報佳人舞一回」。無獨有偶，和張學良並稱為「民國四公子」的北京名士張伯駒（1898-1982），也在〈故都竹枝詞〉¹⁸中諷刺此事，詩云：

白山黑水路淒迷，年少將軍醉似泥，為問翩翩蝴蝶舞，可曾有夢到遼西。

注：時東北已失，張學良在京方昵電影明星胡蝶，每跳舞至深夜。

這首詩的「寫實」比較有技巧，用一種象徵與時空跳接的方式，去把東北人目前已「歸夢無計」的處境和張學良「醉生夢死」的形象相互連結。但詩注中的內容，顯然又記載了當時人對於張、胡二人關係的見解。胡蝶的聲明顯然完全無法為自己洗刷冤屈。姚伯麟、張伯駒都屬當時之名流，即使事件當下無從辨明消息來源之真偽，但其後二人重刊詩稿時，都有機會修訂舊說。但直至終戰，二人都未曾改變張學良乃跳舞將軍、胡蝶是其懷中佳人的「本事」。1930年代更有諸多詩作，

14 此詩序據馬君武逝世時《馬君武先生紀念冊·詩稿》之文錄出。

15 詩中提到的張學良與朱五（朱啟鈴之女，張學良秘書朱光沐之妻子）都在晚年的訪談記錄中抱怨此詩虛構二人的風流關係，而胡蝶自己也澄清一生之中從未見過張學良。相關討論可參考米德，〈歷史舊案：馬君武〈哀瀋陽〉發表前後〉，《文史精華》1999年第9期（1999.09），頁12-17。

16 姚伯麟，《抗戰詩史》（上海：上海書店出版社，2015 據1948年上海改造與醫學社刊本原本影印），頁3。此書完整書名又作《九一八·一二八·七七·八一三·太平洋抗戰詩史》，其前四部分共用同一組頁碼，《太平洋抗戰詩史》則另用一組頁碼。

17 《抗戰詩史》一開始是姚伯麟詠中、日戰事之詩，從九一八事變前夕包括「萬寶山事件」、「中村事件」等，就開始以舊體詩記錄相關史事。1937年11月上海淪陷後，姚伯麟身處淪陷區內，開始按月編年的計劃性寫作。書稿原秘不示人，甚至「日易數處而藏匿之」，僅為記錄詩史用，戰後才單獨出版。關於《抗戰詩史》的介紹，可參閱邱怡瑄，〈舊格新詞寫詩史：以徐佛蘇《國難歌史及詩史》、姚伯麟《抗戰詩史》為討論範圍〉，《中國現代文學》31（2017.06），頁161-184。

18 〈故都竹枝詞〉一百七十首是1935年新春稊園詩社、青溪詩社的聯合詩課。參與聯吟的作者有郭則澐、張伯駒、關廣麟、靳志等。稊園詩社編，《故都竹枝詞》，收入《清末民國舊體詩詞結社文獻續編》（北京：國家圖書館出版社，2015年影印自民國鉛印本），37冊，頁49。張伯駒1960年代寫《春遊社瑣談》有〈故都竹枝詞〉一文憶及此事，云：「國民黨北伐後，政府南遷，北京更名北平，人以故都稱之。日軍侵佔東北，風鶴頻驚，竟成邊地。時稊園詩社以故都竹枝詞命題，旅京吟人多以時事為詠。余亦有作，尚記數首錄之於下：（略）此亦竹枝詞也。竹枝詞可補史乘之不足，昔曾有印本，惜遺失，誠憾事也。」則他顯然也將張學良昵胡蝶之野史，視為「補史之缺」的時事之吟了。張伯駒編，《春遊社瑣談·素月樓聯語》（北京：北京出版社，1998），頁134-135。

直接揭明係自「步馬君武原韻」而來。馬作影響之深遠，不言可喻。¹⁹ 雖然這批步韻之作有不是學生，所步「原韻」也另有版本。²⁰ 但連篇累牘的創作，無疑都更加深化了張學良「十萬熊羆關外侯，徵歌選舞未曾休」²¹、「微生盡戀人間樂，不慣沙場慣舞場」²²的荒唐形象，這個「假新聞」遂變成一種共享的歷史記憶，也許沒有人「親自目擊」跳舞的胡、張二人，但通過各式各樣的記載，這個「故事」藉此點點滴滴地深入人心。

在這個案例中，「詩史」呈現出複雜的內涵。張學良私生活放蕩惹議為真，指揮東北軍奉行不抵抗政策亦為真，用「詩史」的描寫表現對張學良行徑的反對並無疑義。但寫他當夜與胡蝶相擁跳舞，或是聽聞國土失陷後依然流連舞場等，卻分明有虛誣想像的成分，被包覆在逼真擬效的書寫機制裡。當時輿論對張學良身為「跳舞將軍」與「不抵抗將軍」的義憤，通過「詩史」的吟詠，被保存在文本之終，成為一種「文本真實」。人們所以深信不疑這些「詩史」，毋寧是因為當中包含部份的「歷史真實」使人更積相信。但「歷史真實」和「文本真實」之間的縫隙與落差，使我們發現這個問題詮釋上的難度。在這個案例裡，「詩史」突然變成了「假新聞」，但「詩史」都是「假新聞」嗎？這似乎又是過於誇大偏頗的判斷。〈哀瀋陽〉的個案中，至少為「詩史」反映出了三個可供繼續探討的面向：一是詩歌「紀實之筆」中的真假問題。當這些吟詠被設定為記載時事、反映現實時，敘事技巧中「寫實」與「懸想」之間的交互運用，要如何更切近「真實不誣」的境界，通過〈哀瀋陽〉一例，以及抗戰期間的其他「詩史」吟詠，文字傳述中的虛實之辨，亦往往涉及文、史之別，後文將對此有所討論。二是關於褒貶史筆的是非與顯隱問題。所有受〈哀瀋陽〉影響的詩作，都有核心的批判意識。對當時東北軍輕敵失土，不戰而敗的政策，這些詩作不僅宣洩了義憤，也旨在提供對當下事件的反省和批判。但這種「春秋書法」之中，有無書寫倫理的判準機制？對「詩史」而言，「據事直書」真能使善惡自見嗎，但如果為了使「善惡自見」，可不可允許曲筆的存在？但倘若為了表彰「褒貶」的道德原則，文學或歷史難道都可以成為其工具嗎，此係關於「詩史」的第二重討論。三是關乎「詩史」的文學傳統問題。〈哀瀋陽〉自稱「效義山北齊體」，正說明「詩史」的寫作傳統中，一個文本往往連結著另一個文本，眾多「詩史」作品間，彼此互文見義，形成了更龐大的表義體系。「詩史」常常出入在古典與今事之間，其書寫意識也往往是對過去既有歷史記憶與鑑戒的召喚。這套價值體系是文化的積澱，但當中也有歷史記憶的建構。若以為「詩史」只是單純以詩寫時事，而不去省察背後的文化心理，將無法深契晚清民國的世變時刻中，這眾多國難詩史吟詠背後的

19 其實也不乏未言步韻，但實際仍可看出詩作影響關係的案例。如大夏大學的詩社刊物《詩經》創刊號，除了有袁愈葵的步馬詩原韻作品外，也有李懲驕〈國難雜詠二十首〉，第一首詩云：「曼舞酣歌正擅場，鼓鞞驚破九秋霜。淒涼寒月胡塵起。痛哭倭師入瀋陽。」明顯就是轉化馬作詩意而來。又《詩經》一開始是大夏大學「大夏詩社」的學生社團刊物，但第一卷三四期合刊後，社團解散，刊物則繼續發行。雖然發行時間不長。但詩刊除學生作品外，亦不乏名家大手，陳衍、黃侃、柳亞子、王蘧常、夏敬觀、龍榆生等一時名家，亦曾列名此刊作者。見南江濤編：《民國舊體詩詞期刊三種》（北京：國家圖書館出版社，2013），第1冊，頁1-2。

20 在題為〈步馬君武先生原韻〉的詩作中，附上馬君武原作詩云：「貔貅徒擁說封侯，一夕倉皇遁不休。此日真成劉阿斗，萬民無計使回頭。」楊郭前塵事可傷，長城自壞哭遼陽。豚兒競自誤軍國，還認情場作戰場。」吳家楨，〈步馬君武先生原韻·附原作〉，《大夏週報》8:11（1931.11.30），頁126。

21 吳家楨和作云：「十萬熊羆關外侯，徵歌選舞未曾休！景升豚夫全無用，錦帳風流臥並頭。」「燕北偷安最可傷，絕無抵抗失遼陽。占山慟哭三軍淚，獨有雄心死戰場。」《大夏周刊》8:11，（1931.11.30），頁216。又《大夏周刊》乃上海大夏大學之校刊，馬君武為該校首任校長（任期1924-1925）。

22 詩云：「邊廷大帥爵通侯，棄責荒亡樂不休。一夕胡塵地起，河山忍誤說低頭。」「塞北胥淪事可傷，將無心計復遼陽。微生盡戀人間樂，不慣沙場冠舞場。」袁愈葵，〈書遼陽失後步馬君武先生原韻〉，《詩經》創刊號（1935.2.25），頁6。

書寫機制，以下將先由「紀實」問題談起。

三、詩史的「紀實」問題：詩具史筆到史蘊詩心

(一) 又一樁「假新聞」：一二八淞滬抗戰²³與王賡獻圖案的紅顏誤國論

馬君武〈哀瀋陽〉在近代史上掀起波瀾無數，可以說是重大的「假新聞」案例。但就「詩史」的書寫傳統來說，此案例未必是有意作偽，背後涉及詩歌紀實的「史筆」與「詩心」問題。無獨有偶，在一二八淞滬抗戰之際，也有一些自覺性地以「詩史」自命的作品，恰恰呈顯出「詩史」可能存在的「虛誣弄筆」問題。

1932年3月12日《北平晨報》刊有署名五石的長篇詩作〈後鴛湖曲〉。²⁴詩題〈後鴛湖曲〉，是取詩中所詠人物皆浙江嘉興人之意而來，但也暗示此詩追步了吳偉業的詩史名作〈鴛湖曲〉。但吳偉業的〈鴛湖曲〉主要在遙想復社成員吳昌時的私人園林勺園風光，借以懷人並懷念當時史事。〈後鴛湖曲〉的內容則是類似像白居易〈長恨歌〉或〈圓圓曲〉一樣，藉由淒美的愛情之鋪墊，帶出故事背後的興亡史事。關於〈後鴛湖曲〉作者的真實身分和內容，吳宓在《空軒詩話》中有詳細介紹，其說云：

三月十二日北平《新晨報》刊載五石君所作之〈後鴛湖曲〉，蓋詠陸小曼、徐志摩、王賡事也。²⁵吳梅村有〈鴛湖曲〉，故名〈後鴛湖曲〉。陸小曼與徐志摩皆浙江嘉興人，故以鴛湖名曲。若論其作詩之本意，則毋寧與梅村之〈圓圓曲〉為近。

按照吳宓的提示，〈後鴛湖曲〉詩的前半寫的是蕩氣迴腸的愛情故事。但如果沒有〈鴛湖曲〉與〈後鴛湖曲〉的遙相呼應，也許讀者無法意識到此中「詩史」書寫意識的傳承。而這種「詩史」後出之作與前行經典的仿擬對照，也是「詩史」書寫意識的重要特徵之一。如王闈運寫〈圓明園詞〉，王國維寫〈頤和園詞〉，其所祖述者，正是元稹〈連昌宮詞〉、吳偉業的〈永和宮詞〉，這種「借宮詞演興亡」的體裁。〈後鴛湖曲〉在題目已預示了此詩與〈鴛湖曲〉的關係，但從內容上去分析，全詩前半都是江南水畔的兒女綺懷。若無詩題與文末文風的轉變，則此詩僅是一首動人清新的愛情詩，和「詩史」的家國興亡主題或者毫無干涉。

但〈後鴛湖曲〉詩至中段，突然文風陡轉，從江南兒女的青春綺懷，一轉而入一個覆雨翻雲的大

23 「一二八」事變，指1932年1月28日深夜日本駐上海租界的軍隊突襲京滬鐵路天通菴車站為起點的軍事行動，雙方至5月5日經由談判達成停戰協定。研究指出此戰役的爆發，使得國府整體的作戰方針由九一八的「不抵抗」，轉變為一二八的「一面抵抗，一面交涉」。可參李君山，〈「一二八與國府政策之轉變」〉《全面抗戰前的中日關係（1931-1936）》（臺北：文津出版，2010），頁66-107。

24 五石，〈後鴛湖曲〉，《北平晨報》（1932.3.12）5版，〈文苑〉專欄。

25 《大公報》1932年5月9日8版，也即吳宓主編的「大公報文學副刊」中，吳宓在劉永濟〈續成滬戰雜感七首·其二〉的附註提到「三月十二日《北平晨報》刊載五石君所作之〈後鴛湖曲〉，蓋詠陸小曼、徐志摩、王賡事也。」但《空軒詩話》此處稱《北平晨報》為《新晨報》，且登載日期亦有誤。按《北平晨報》原名《晨鐘報》，是1916年梁啟超、湯化龍等人所創辦，1918年因報導段祺瑞向日本政府借款，一度遭關閉，後改名《晨報》，在五四運動期間，因李大釗的主持，發表過魯迅的〈阿Q正傳〉，被認為和《京報》、《學燈》、《覺悟》一樣，是推動新文學運動的重要副刊。吳宓稱其為《新晨報》，乃因閻錫山在1928年8月至9月間，將報紙改名為《新晨報》，但閻系勢力退出北京後，《新晨報》又改名《北平晨報》，發行的期間自1930年12月16日至1937年10月15日。吳宓，《空軒詩話·四十一》，收入張寅彭主編，《民國詩話叢編》（上海：上海書店出版社，2002）第6冊，頁77-78。《民國詩話叢編》版《空軒詩話》乃張寅彭根據中華書局1935年《吳宓詩集》校點。又《北平晨報》的變革，可參李雷波，〈抗戰前北京《晨報》編輯出版系統演變考實〉，收入張憲文主編，《民國研究》2014春季號（總25輯）（北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2014），頁213-228。

時代中。為使討論方便，下文將吳宓的評語與鄧之成的詩作一併引出。

世事輸他翻覆手，行雲行雨盡佳偶。今年歡笑異明年，汝自負人人汝負。蹀躞溝水復西東，卽是罡風妾斷紅。風便自登王屋頂，（宓按：王屋山，一名天壇山，濟水所出。此指山東濟南附近之開山，非山西南部之王屋山也。）花飛還墮綺懷中。一旦御風作游戲，風翻倏見人落地。拚生又往締新盟，垂死未聞揮別淚。舊人已是綰赤符，宓按：王賡君曾為清華同學，曾為京漢護路副司令。此時任旅長。嬌面輕啼淚模糊。欲慰柔情須醞借，忍將愁抱易歡娛。是時海上烽煙起，入寇倭奴比狼兇。壯士衛鋒不願生，男兒報國惟同死。縱橫決蕩聞殺聲，畏死倭奴心睛驚。一月拒戰此字原作奴，疑有誤，故代改。宓注。方雪恥，忽然退走東南傾。退兵只為輿圖失，虛實安能教敵悉。卻向香巢訪玉人，未防鷹隼攫來疾。宓按報載如是，未必可據。詩人非史家，事實真偽非關重要。才知女寵原禍水，破國亡家皆由此。痛哭連城人盡俘，心傷千里室如毀。

無論是「世事輸他翻覆手」到「花飛還墮綺懷中」，風、雲皆象喻無常之事情。而旖旎兒女的桃花戀曲，美好而青春的瞬間只留在北海公園「漪瀾堂畔又良辰，對對鴛鴦羨璧人」的昨日歷歷之中，愛情美麗但似乎難以長久。而今日湖光依舊，但「往事」倏忽成塵，無常方是日常，我們可以看出詩歌對愛情的描寫充滿了象徵筆法。甚至包括對徐志摩之死的記述，也是一種比喻性的描摹。詩中的「一旦御風作游戲，風翻倏見人落地。」暗示徐志摩因飛機失事突然死亡。

但到了上海戰雲風起後，敘事詩筆突然由象徵隱喻為主調的手法，一轉為直筆白描的敘事。且以王賡幽會佳人，導致痛失地圖的情節為主線。在此「詩史」書寫中，鄧之誠歸納淞滬抗戰突然敗退的原因在「退兵只為輿圖失，虛實安能教敵悉」。指實了軍事地圖落入日軍手中的這一「傳聞」，而關於王賡為何失圖，鄧亦究因於「卻向香巢訪玉人，未防鷹隼攫來疾」，玉人即指陸小曼，鷹隼象徵日軍。此詩詩末，為整段故事帶出深具道德規範的戒訓，對徐志摩與王賡來說，陸小曼這樣的佳人誠然風華絕代，卻帶給徐、王二人各自亡身毀家的無窮後患，因此鄧之誠用「才知女寵原禍水，破國亡家皆由此」為結語，作為此詩所欲昭炯之鑑戒。這正和〈圓圓曲〉裡著名的那句「衝冠一怒為紅顏」一樣，吳三桂（1612-1678）降清的理由，豈真為了陳圓圓一人？但詩家史筆，卻為紛然萬端的史事脈絡，給出了一個最具藝術張力，也幾乎最深入人心的解釋。鄧之誠所以深責「才知女寵原禍水」，和吳偉業的「衝冠一怒為紅顏」，正有相互呼應的意味。

關於〈後鴛湖曲〉乃詠陸小曼事的記載，亦見於1932年5月8日《大公報》的文學副刊的編者按語，其云：

本刊編者按本年三月十二日《北平晨報》第五版載有五石即鄧之誠君所為〈後鴛湖曲〉即詠陸小曼徐志摩王賡事也。吳梅村有〈鴛湖曲〉故題云〈後鴛湖曲〉。²⁶

這段按語是針對劉永濟（1887-1966）的〈續成滬戰雜感七首〉²⁷而發，劉永濟的吟詠中，所謂「莫罪軍中有婦人」之句，看似和鄧之誠的「才知女寵原禍水」針鋒相對，但回到其「語境」，二詩都還是立基於「王庚獻圖」案件為基礎上所發的吟詠。〈續成滬戰雜感七首〉七首之二云：

羽檄宵傳失左甄，前鋒萬甲尚乘陲。江南廟算無安石，莫罪軍中有婦人。²⁸

劉永濟自加的附註云：

26 《大公報》(1932.5.9)，8版〈大公報文學副刊〉。

27 詩題云「續成」，係因1932年5月2日已刊載劉永濟〈滬戰雜感九首〉，亦紀錄1932年間淞滬戰役事。當時以舊詩紀錄「詩史」之風氣在報刊的舊體詩上可蓋鑑於此。《大公報》(1932.5.2)，7版〈大公報文學副刊〉。

28 《大公報》(1932.5.9)，8版〈大公報文學副刊〉。

滬軍之退也，瀏河後防被襲，牽動左翼，全線有包圍之虞。正面之師，尚據壕抗戰，固未嘗敗也。或謂有旅長王賡者，當戰事吃緊時，潛入租界外人旅社，訪其棄妻陸小曼，為敵偵騎所獲。搜得我陣地防禦圖，知我軍虛實。故不得不退。然政府苟能早遣重兵，防守瀏河，則敵豈能一攻而下之哉。失機誤國之責，終不能為政府諸公諱也。²⁹

劉永濟此詩前兩句，是對滬戰情勢戰況的概括，三四句則以史典，表達他對當時情勢的評論。他不認為「婦人」當為此戰敗退負責，真正的問題是當時國軍「一邊抵抗一邊交涉」的政策，缺乏背水一戰的決心。³⁰倘若事先有完整布局的謀略，軍中就不致缺乏如謝安一樣，可以指揮若定、安定民心的將領。劉永濟的附註，重述了當時喧騰一時的「王賡獻圖」案，和鄧之誠雖然褒貶立場不同，但同樣都加廣了關於此說的傳播力。然而吳宓在對〈後鴛湖曲〉的評價中，卻拋出了如下判斷：宓按報載如是，未必可據。詩人非史家，事實真偽非關重要

吳宓相當敏感的察覺對「詩人非史家」。對文體意識的差距，以及報刊文本隱含的虛實問題，吳宓相當敏感。「王賡獻圖案」一說的來源，可能來自於1932年吳衛民在《決鬥》雜誌上發表〈蔣介石使王賡獻圖賣國！〉一文，該文對十九路軍戰敗事，有如下推測：

我們在報紙上看到王賡被日軍所捕以後，日軍便竭力攻擊八字橋，接著便從瀏河登岸，截斷十九路軍的後路，十九路軍不得已而總退卻，這種消息，便知道王賡之被捕，和日軍敢往暗襲瀏河這一件事情有十分密切的關係的。……王賡往日軍防衛區的時候，早已負有蔣介石的使命了，蔣之使命為何，即報告十九路軍之虛實於暴日是矣！³¹

當年2月27日，王賡確實因訪友而在上海租界遭日軍逮捕。十九路軍和蔣介石間，也確實因為國民黨內部派系的紛爭，以及對日之和戰政策的不同調，稱不上同心同德。這篇報導利用相關線索與事實，羅織出「王賡獻圖」的故事。但此文尚未提及陸小曼。但正因故事中的王賡是陸小曼前夫，當時人或者基於八卦心理，或者基於對「女色誤國」這個所謂「殷鑑」的慣性思維，附會出「王賡幽會佳人」的劇情，但這還能算是「詩史」嗎？「詩」最終極的寫作目的又是什麼？

（二）「事實真偽非關重要？」：詩筆紀實之難

吳宓在對〈後鴛湖曲〉的點評中指出，文末的道德教訓是全詩重點所繫。吳宓至少已經意識到「報載如是，未必可據」。但他卻稱「詩人非史家，事實真偽非關重要」。這句話帶出「詩史」在虛實問題上，可能存在的重大矛盾——「詩人旨在愛國教忠，借事與題以抒寫之」。但目的正確，是否就可以不追求手段的正確？對今天的讀者來說，這似乎是難以接受的說法，但我們也不當「以今律古」。只是在明知「瑣事無關大局，勝敗絕不繫此」的前提下，詩人能否為了傳達其「鑒戒」而矯飾弄筆，是否可以為了義憤而失察史實，為了教忠而厚誣今人（甚至古人）呢？在前述詩例中，胡蝶和陸小曼都是被標籤化、樣板化的所謂紅顏禍水，指控畢竟失實。但詩中另外批判的張學良與王賡等人，在具有史識的書寫意圖中，他們是否也應須被強調其輕率誤國的責任以昭炯戒。

29 同前註。

30 國民政府在此時關於對日戰爭的意見，存在「有限戰爭」（後撤持久）與「全面戰爭」兩條路線的爭鋒。蔣介石反對如義和團式孤注一擲作戰的做法，陳銘樞則意欲唯一時之拚，兩方交相馳電，這兩種作戰方針，也是後續「王賡獻圖」事件時，輿論指出蔣介石與十九路軍的矛盾所繫。以上關於此段歷史的理解，係根據李天石，《全面抗戰前的中日關係（1931-1936）》，頁89-93。但相關研究亦可參看蕭如平，《南京國民政府與「一·二八」淞滬抗戰研究》（杭州：浙江大學出版社，2016），頁143-181。qq

31 吳衛民，〈蔣介石使王賡獻圖賣國！〉，《決鬥》1.16：（1932.03.06），頁240。

但我們評判詩筆的佳或不佳，難道是依傍於詩中主人罪名的誣與不誣嗎？但反以論之，如果這誠然是一首鑑戒深切，敘事警醒的好詩，那麼用詩筆羅織罪狀的敘事手法，只要目的正確，就可以不論其真實與否嗎？

過「小憐玉體橫陳夜，已報周師入晉陽」無疑是嫁接時空，懸空設想之筆。「玉體橫陳」指馮淑妃進御承恩之時，「周師入晉陽」則是北齊覆滅之摹狀。箋注家云此處乃寫「淑妃進御之夕，齊之亡爭已定，不殆事至始也」。³² 以一種先知的技巧，似乎已將女色的誘惑視為亡國之肇端，此間帶出敘事的衝突性。但這種「有諷於時」的書寫意識，與近似「趙盾弑其君」的微言書法，「紀實」是反能對應及還原歷史的真實已非其核心關懷，褒貶才是整個「史識」之用心所在。³³

倘再仔細分析〈北齊〉詩作當中的情節橋段，便又可明白馬君武「借鑑」詩句的轉化何在：一笑相傾國便亡，何勞荊棘始堪傷。小憐玉體橫陳夜，已報周師入晉陽。巧笑知堪敵萬機，傾城最在著戎衣。晉陽已陷休迴顧，更請君王獵一圍。³⁴

「更請君王獵一圍」正乃「更抱佳人舞一回」得句之由，「已報東師入瀋陽」更基本可算是「已報周師入晉陽」的照樣造句。馬君武的「史筆」究竟是紀實還是懸想，是創作還是模仿，其史識詩心，已昭然紙上。但李商隱原詩，即以歷史的「紀實」功能論，也存在小小疑義。晉陽（今山西省太原市）乃北齊首都，但北齊後主外出打獵期間，遭北周攻陷的城市名喚平陽。這當然可能詩人失查史實。但第一首末句的「已報周師入晉陽」，和第二首的「晉陽已陷休迴顧」。除非將「晉陽」的遭攻打與失陷，解釋為國家多難與社稷即將覆滅的隱喻，否則絕不能將這裡的書寫理解為純粹的「紀實」。³⁵ 但沒有完整詳實的「報導」或再現所有的歷史面向，是否就是一種「紀載失實」？而某些情節可能來自於懸想與虛構，但某程度又顯示了「史家之筆」在時間之流中為歷史事件所截取到的重要關鍵，這難道就不是「紀實」。在「紀實」和「失實」之間，我們發現了現實與現實支再現之間的裂縫甚至傷疤。詩歌在這裡呈現的「寫實」就宛如人們對「記憶」的選擇一樣，多少帶有集體記憶的成分，它不是單一個體的經驗與見證，而是整個群體在相類似的情節中共同形構出的記憶。³⁶

(三)「史蘊詩心」與真實效應 (reality effect)

錢鍾書於《管錐編》和《談藝錄》中論「詩史」，雖被目為反對「詩史」的代表言論，但他對「詩史」問題實有相當深刻的思考，足以成為解決詩史「紀實」問題的指標性看法。錢鍾書首

32 此係《集解》引程夢星之評述。《李商隱詩集解》，頁 542。

33 「趙盾弑其君」事見《左傳》宣公二年。趙盾之族弟趙穿殺晉靈公，而《春秋》卻書「趙盾弑其君夷皋」，杜預注稱此乃「示良史之法，深責執政之臣」。這類例子在《春秋》中比比皆是，歷來並不認為有損《春秋》的實錄性質，但在這種善善惡惡的筆削之間，卻充分見出史官的話語權。關於「趙盾弑其君」與春秋其他「事義詩心」書法的分析，可看董乃斌，〈《春秋》筆法與歷史散文的事義詩心〉，《中國文學敘事傳統研究》（北京：中華書局，2012），頁 323-327。關於「趙盾弑其君」一段歷史故事的敘事學分析、情節本末，則可參閱李隆獻、蔡瑩瑩，〈《左傳》「弑君敘事」舉隅——以趙盾、崔杼為例〉，《國文學報》48（2010.12），頁 1-33。

34 （美）宇文所安著，賈晉華、錢彥譯，《晚唐詩：九世紀中葉的中國詩歌》（北京：生活·讀書·新知三聯書店，2011），頁 410-411。

35 （美）宇文所安著，賈晉華、錢彥譯，《晚唐詩：九世紀中葉的中國詩歌》（北京：生活·讀書·新知三聯書店，2011），頁 410-411。

36 這裡的「集體記憶」是相對於心理學處理記憶，過度強調用個體認知的觀點去理解記憶的生產機制提出的反省。參〔法〕莫里斯·哈布瓦赫（Maurice Halbwachs）著，丁佳寧譯：〈集體記憶與個體記憶〉、〈集體記憶與歷史記憶〉，收入〔德〕阿斯特利特·埃爾（Astrid Erll）、馮亞琳主編，余傳玲等譯：《文化記憶理論讀本》（北京：北京大學出版社，2012年），頁 47-66、67-93。

先指出，「謂史詩兼詩與史，融而未劃可也，謂詩即以史為本質，不可也」。³⁷ 詩、史各有本質，不可混為一談。他進一步提出，所謂「史必徵實，詩可鑿空」之說，也未必盡然。因為「古代史與詩混，良因先民史識猶淺，不知存疑傳信，顯真別幻。號曰《實錄》，事多虛構；想當然耳，莫須有也。」³⁸ 錢鍾書不只認為「詩」存在虛構，還進一步意識到，無論「詩」或「史」，都屬於「敘述」，也因此必然存在虛構和想當然耳的成分。在《管錐編》中，錢氏重提了「敘事」存在一種「虛而非偽，誠而不實」的現象。³⁹ 在《談藝錄》補訂裡，錢氏也坦言他的「詩史」說有特定的對話對象。他提及時人論「詩史」，往往「祇知詩具史筆，不解史蘊詩心」。⁴⁰ 此番見解或者是針對當時歷史學家將文學作品視為史料的風氣而發，卻也確實提供關於解決「詩史」紀實問題的一條明路。錢鍾書提醒我們「詩語紀實」作為敘事策略，不必盡信，也不能盡信。這牽涉文學「再現」如何達致的問題。但縱使知道詩筆、史筆中都有虛構，我們也無法忽略，「詩史」終究還是被視為一種能夠「紀實」的文學表現形式，敘事的目的也不僅有「紀錄」，更承載了「褒貶」的道德關懷。詩心史筆涉及虛構無法避免，但倘若虛誣之筆，卻被指實為詩中人物的行誼是非，且帶來道德指控及後續的影響。我們難道不須追問，「事實真偽」真的非關重要嗎？

其實關於「詩史」紀實，還有必須呈現的另一向度。「詩史」固不必盡為徵實，但「詩史」也不可為了作偽而作偽。關於前述談及的「假詩史」，可能在某些情境裡，這只是一種「史蘊詩心」的文學技巧與表述形式。但倘若「詩史」必須營造一條通往「史鑑」的道路，支撐「史鑑」存在的基礎，背後就是要有足以徵信的「紀實」證據，才能使詩史之「史」有所憑依。所謂「推見至隱，殆無遺事」，縱使不能理解為詩中所述件件指實，也應理解此間傳遞了希冀「詩史」具備徵實功能的訴求。羅蘭巴特（Roland Barthes）在討論寫實主義的敘事特性時，曾提出所謂「真實效應（reality effect）」的見解。⁴¹ 羅蘭巴特以福樓拜小說為分析案例，強調這些強調寫實主義的小說敘事文字裡，常常摻入一些瑣碎的「寫實」細節。羅蘭巴特指出，這其實是一種文化慣例，通過無用且堆砌生活細節的無效敘事元素，去試圖呈現、接近於「確切真實」的書寫表達。他指出，正因對「確切真實」的執著，作家們通過擬真的敘事細節營造「客觀性」，但這種為了「貼近真實」的目的，卻反而違背了「真實」本身。或者我們也能借鑒羅蘭巴特對「真實效應」的討論，思考「詩史紀實」的目的與手段問題。九一八事變後的「詩史」吟詠，為何總須通過詩注、箋解等眾多副文本，來交代其敘事細節。為什麼「詩史」吟詠需要在詩中強調年月、地點、時序、人物動作等，

37 錢鍾書，《談藝錄（上）》（北京：中華書局，2001），頁 121-122。

38 同前註，122。

39 錢鍾書，《管錐編》（北京：中華書局，1979），頁 96-98。關於錢鍾書史論的討論，汪榮祖分析錢鍾書史論，遍及史學之體用、史釋之循環、文史之分合、六經皆史論，以及本文最為關心的史蘊詩心說，可參汪榮祖，〈槐聚說史闡論五篇〉，收入汪榮祖，《史學九章》（臺北：麥田，2002），頁 244-343。

40 錢鍾書在這一段「補訂」中提及「此節當時有為而發，忽忽將四十年……沉埋文字，不復能憶所指誰作矣。」《談藝錄》，頁 123。但其實晚近學者都已建意識到，錢鍾書這段文字其實當氏針對陳寅恪的「詩史互證」而發，此間牽涉兩種不同的學術範式之爭。胡曉明指出陳氏展現矣史解詩、以詩證史的傳統主流說詩法，錢鍾書則開闢了另一以語言學、心理學、哲學和藝術學配合的說詩法，將近似評點、談藝的傳統與西方新學相互結合，但有意識地忽略詩歌本事、作者傳略、時地等歷史性元素。參胡曉明，〈陳寅恪與錢鍾書：一個隱含的詩學範式之爭〉，《華東師範大學學報》1998年第1期（1998.02），頁 67-73。左漢林則另外指出，陳寅恪可以說是對「詩史」說高度讚揚者，錢鍾書則是「詩史」說的忠實反對者。可參看左漢林，〈論陳寅恪與錢鍾書的詩史之爭〉，收入《杜甫與杜詩學研究》（北京：東方出版社，2015），頁 260-269。

41 Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1989), pp.141-148.

以達致看來彷彿寫實的效果。⁴²「詩史」的讀者，是否在基於對「詩史」徵實描述的預期心理中，相信「詩史」敘事細節的「紀實」作用。所以對於〈哀瀋陽〉的刻寫入神，乃至於後來增加的詩序，或者〈後鴛湖曲〉裡雖無確證，卻要寫成「卻向香巢訪玉人」，這些試圖表現「紀實」細節的書寫，未必如我們今天理解「假新聞」一樣，只是增添附的誤導性資訊，他可能是一種敘事文學技巧的考量，就如以「一旦御風作遊戲，風翻倏見人落地」的象徵筆法來寫飛機失事一樣，「象徵」是一種描寫技巧，那試圖接近「紀實」又何嘗不是一種書寫技巧。但此一「紀實」倘不涉及道德批判，其真偽虛實僅僅牽涉文學表現手法的問題。但因為「詩史」畢竟關涉了史識的殷鑑是非，當中的褒貶意識，必然具有善惡評斷寓乎其間，「詩史」的理論內涵，於此也更發人深省。

四、詩史的「褒貶」問題：褒貶的顯隱與判準

(一) 是誰使，金甌破缺？：隱微的褒貶史筆

此處的「褒貶」指的是為歷史事件下判斷，乃中國史學傳承久遠的書寫傳統。⁴³當「詩史」的「虛實」問題可用「史蘊詩心」的文學書寫技巧為其解釋，但「詩史」的褒貶問題卻涉及道德判斷，也涉及對同一事件的不同切入點衍生的不同立場。以東北軍的「不抵抗」政策為例，當時舉國民怨沸騰，似乎對「不戰失土」莫不感到憤怒與不解。這也幾乎是九一八事變相關的國難吟詠最主要的情感基調。如前已述及的劉永濟，九一八事變時正執教於東北大學。他曾以〈滿江紅〉詞牌寫下「東北學生軍軍歌」。⁴⁴詞中表現東北學生一夕之間眼見家園淪陷，於是展現出意欲投筆從戎，捍疆報國的志意：

〈滿江紅〉東北學生軍軍歌 遼吉淪陷，東北諸生痛心國難，自組成軍。來徵軍歌以作敵愾之氣，為譜此調與之。（國難第二周月紀念日）⁴⁵

禹域堯封，是誰使、金甌破缺。此言吾中國於斯土，遠自堯禹，金誰使其殘破邪。《南史》梁武帝曰：「我國家猶若金甌，無一傷缺。」君不見，銘孟書鼎，幾多豪傑。此言吾國史冊所載，多武功彪炳之豪傑。交趾銅標勳蹟壯，燕然勒石威名烈。此言攘外侮之豪傑，若馬援竇憲，皆曾建奇功堪追念。銅柱，後漢馬援征南蠻所立，以界安南者。燕然，匈奴中山名。後漢竇憲伐匈奴立石山上，班固為之銘，以紀戰功焉。忍都將，神宵化輿臺，肝腸裂。此言吾族乃神明之胄，豈容另其化為亡國奴，此諸生之所以肝腸痛裂也。

42 淺見洋二也提供了一個說法，他認為這是宋學的一種轉型，他分析「宋代詩人多在詩中寫明年月。有時也用自序和自注的形式，記下有關創作時期等內容資訊。而且，這種情況正如賀鑄《慶湖遺老詩集》自序（紹聖三年序）說的那樣，『隨篇敘其歲月與所賦之地者，異時開卷，回想陳跡，喟然而嘆，莞爾而笑，猶足以起予狂也。』是有意識地將「詩」作為保存、傳播紀錄的方法來使用的。」（日）淺見洋二著，金程宇、岡田千穗等翻譯，〈文學的歷史學——論宋代的詩人年譜、編年詩文集及「詩史」說〉，《距離與想像：中國詩學的唐宋轉型》（上海：上海古籍出版社，2005），頁 280-334。

43 關於歷史褒貶傳統的討論，也可參考黃兆強，〈返本開新——中國史學上的褒貶傳統〉，《新亞論叢》10（2009.06），頁 16-22。

44 或有疑，既言「詩史」，為何此處舉詞以言「詩史」。詩、詞雖屬不同文類，但以「詩史」作為一股創作意識，這裡的「詩」或「詞」可以用廣義的「詩學」涵括之。但就詞而言，亦有脫胎自「詩史」概念而來的「詞史」。如堪稱明清之際「詩史」重要代表作家的吳偉業，其詞集《梅村詞》附曹爾堪評論云：「隴水嗚咽，作淒風苦雨之聲。少陵稱詩史，如祭酒可謂詞史。」則「詞史」事實上是把「詩史」的寫作意識和精神，帶入詞的文類創作中，這股寫作意識在晚清的詞學、詞風發展上尤具有顯著影響。相關分析可參閱楊柏嶺，〈詞史觀念與晚清詞學思想的時代共感〉，《詞學範疇研究論集》（蕪湖：安徽師範大學出版社，2014），頁 141-157。

45 此詩刊於《大公報》（津）1931年12月3日，第8版「大公報文學副刊」。詩注及序為1931年在《大公報》初次發表時即已附上的作者自注。但「東北學生軍歌」七字僅見於《大公報》發表之版本，收入《劉永濟詞集》時未見此七字，但序文及詩注都有保留。劉永濟，《誦帚詞集；雲集詩存：附年譜、傳略》（北京：中華書局，2010），頁 35。

天柱倒，坤維折，填海志，終難滅。此言諸生救國捍疆之志，軀體如精衛之填海，而堅固不壞，雖至天崩地坼而終不絕也。挽黃河，淨洗神州腥血。此言諸生志在憤滿國恥，驅除暴日腥膻之種也。兩眼莫懸閭闔上，隻身直掃蛟龍穴。此言諸生不宜徒效伍子胥傷吳之將亡，欲抉眼置吳東門上，視越之入吳。當如荊次非身與彼蛟龍為敵，直掃其窟穴也。把乾坤，大事共擔承，今番決。此言天下興亡之大責，好男兒當共任之。此諸生今日所當毅然決定者也。

此詞先發表於1931年12月3日的《大公報·文藝副刊》上。隔週〈文藝副刊〉也刊登另一位東北大學教師劉異的同題共作。⁴⁶不過就藝術效果言，劉永濟詞以上片的交趾銅標、燕然勒石等「拒夷事業」的歷史豐碑，對比當時「不抵抗」所造成的天崩地坼與神州腥血，前後的衝突對比，具有高度藝術張力。他也以歷史上所有武功彪炳之豪傑作為「攘外侮」的精神象徵。此詞起筆先以「禹域堯封」帶出中國固有的疆土觀念，緊接著拋出「是誰使，金甌破缺」的質問。這是整闕詞中最具批判意識的地方，但並未明言誰為禍首，僅以下片「兩眼莫懸閭闔上，隻身直掃蛟龍穴」隱微透露其「史識」。他認為諸生不當師法伍子胥，一味死咬禍首。伍子胥死後把雙眼高懸城門上的舉動，縱能親見吳國覆滅，又有何益於天下？⁴⁷國難中，國家需要的是更多如同「次非斬蛟」⁴⁸故事中的次非般，願將群體利益置於個人生死榮辱之上的志士。換言之，劉永濟並非對讓金甌破缺的禍首沒有怨言，但他以次非之精神勉勵學生，企盼他們以身許國，以歷代抗外侮的豪傑為師，希望他們躬身自勉，直掃蛟龍窟穴，以救此國難，解此倒懸。

於前揭所舉的詩例、詞例中可發現，《大公報·文學副刊》在九一八事變後至整個抗戰期間，選載了大量具有「詩史」意識，表達抗日情懷的作品。這些詩作不僅記錄國難，也反映當時人的時代心曲。研究者指出，1931至1937年間的《大公報》，無論報導選材、社評視角，乃至文藝副刊的品味等，都圍繞「抗日」主題而發。但對抗戰，《大公報》不是一味激情呼號當拚死對日一戰，而是主張當有全面性的備戰措施，不當暴虎馮河。且國難當前，國共也應先放下內矛盾，一致對外。⁴⁹報刊的立場當然不等於文學作品的立場，但此時《大公報》的立場與國民黨較少矛盾也是事實。劉永濟縱使在詞作中拋出「是誰使，金甌破缺」的質問，但〈滿江紅·東北學生軍軍歌〉中的褒貶史意，還是隱藏在層層包覆的史典中，其諷諭並非正面直抒，自有一股隱微曲筆的含蓄蘊藉深蘊其中。⁵⁰通過堆疊諸多史典而成的表述形式，也是國難吟詠的一種表述形式。讀

46 全文：「舉目河山，向何處，草間偷活。休回首，高樓楊柳，絲絲愁絕。細雨難溫雞塞夢，怒濤新卷龍江血。聽吳鉤，夜夜作悲吟。添華髮，弦上箭誰能過。刀下肉，何消說，舍臥薪嘗膽，此仇寧雪。銜石欲填滄海日，揮戈直落扶桑月。問幾時，城郭鶴歸來，重收拾。」

47 此典出自《史記·伍子胥列傳》：「伍子胥仰天嘆曰：『嗟乎！讒臣諂為亂矣，王乃反誅我。……然今若聽諛臣言以殺長者。』乃告其舍人曰：『必樹吾墓上以梓，令可以為器；而抉吾眼懸吳東門之上，以觀越寇之入滅吳也。』乃自剄死。」

48 此典故出自於《呂氏春秋·知分》：「荊有次非者，得寶劍於干遂。還反涉江，至於中流，有兩蛟夾繞其船。次非謂舟人曰：『子嘗見兩蛟繞船能兩活者乎？』舟人曰：『未之見也。』次非攘臂祛衣，拔寶劍曰：『此江中之腐肉朽骨也！棄劍以全己，余奚愛焉！』於是赴江刺蛟，殺之而復上船。舟中之人皆得活。」

49 鄭大華指出當時《大公報》主要立場大致可概括為(1)不反對國民政府利用國聯和國際輿論與日本進行外交斡旋與(2)要求廢止一切內戰，特別是國共內戰(3)反對國民黨提出的「剿共抗日」說，鄭大華，〈理性民族主義之一例：九一八事變後的天津《大公報》〉，《浙江學刊》2009年4期(2009.07)，頁44-54。

50 含蓄蘊藉的史筆還可以舉另一例證。劉永濟因九一八事變而離開東北徙居北平。當時他和陳寅恪偕由北海天主堂。陳寅恪有〈辛未九一八事變後，劉宏度自瀋陽來北平，既相見後，即偕遊北平天主堂〉，詩云：「曼殊佛土已成塵，猶覓彌彌劫後春。遼海鶴歸渾似夢，玉瀾龍去總傷神。空文自古無長策，大患吾今有此身。欲著辨亡還閣筆，眾生顛倒向誰陳。」劉永濟對此詩和作則刊載在1932年2月22日的《大公報》上。胡文輝耗費極大筆墨箋釋陳寅恪作品，主張「空文自古無長策」或許指蔣介石當時九一八事變後發表的〈國存與存，國亡與亡〉演說，當中「先以公理對

者需從這些典故深藏的歷史意義裡敏學深思，呼應於當時的社會文化情境，交融出史識詩心共相為用的詮釋和理解。如前揭詞作中，所用的馬援、竇憲到伍子胥等各種典故，除了召喚歷史符碼之外，多半也潛藏隱微的史識寄託，但這種隱微的褒貶，需要細微深心的箋釋。「詩史」這個文類中，有不少作品的「深心」是有賴箋釋者的闡幽發微的。

(二) 不戰而退的八千壯士？：一個歷史場景的兩種表述

劉永濟或陳寅恪都選擇用隱微方式，表現他們詩中的褒貶史筆與時局關懷。但就九一八事變前後的國難吟詠言，直接揭明批判立場的詩作，才是更常見的主旋律。馬君武〈哀瀋陽〉用的是諷刺挖苦之筆，但他筆下的「翩翩蝴蝶」、「更舞一回」等，都已是直筆白描，無庸深解。展閱當時各大報刊的相關主題詩作，這一類將詩作與事件評述結合的表達形式甚為常見。在歸咎九一八禍源的各項「詩史」書寫中，張學良和「不戰而退」的東北軍，幾乎是千夫所指。九一八事變後不久，後來在上海創辦《國貨月報》的《中央日報》記者高伯時，即綜合《中央日報》、《申報》等當時報刊的新聞，撰成《日本侵略東三省之實況》一書，介紹前因後果，以及東北的各種設施、資源等，幾乎可謂深度分析報導之專著。⁵¹他本人也有不少以九一八事變為主題的詩作。如刊載於《殘日周刊》⁵²上的〈孫君如一歸自瀋陽談九一八事變有感〉⁵³一詩，此詩通過詩注並陳的方式，將他的「史識」與「詩心」一併明白呈現給讀者：

羈克瀋陽不勝愁，連天砲火破清秋。將軍半夜猶狐舞。(九月十八夜，變起時，王以哲旅長、猶在東北俱樂部)大吏平明作楚囚。(十九晨，日軍俘榮臻及臧式毅)二百胡兒何足懼，八千壯士自為謀。(攻北大營之日軍，不過二百名、駐軍王以哲旅，有八千餘人、竟不戰而退。)景升豚犬終誤國。失地仍封塞上侯。(張作霖雖軍閥，一生強硬對日，其子張學良，承父業而不承父志。既不能報殺父之仇，復不能盡守土之責，可謂不孝不忠。)

強權，以和平對野蠻，忍痛含憤，暫取逆來順受之姿態，以待國際公理之判決。」胡文輝認為此或即指毫無具體作為，徒有口號姿態的「空文」言。而「欲著辨亡還閣筆」句，胡文輝則指出「此處借用陸機作〈辯亡論〉指批評論清朝滅亡最為恰當；但由此詩整體看，又似針對民國政府失去東北而言」。胡文輝後又加按語，考證陳寅恪 1932 年 4 月發表〈高鴻中明清和議條陳本跋〉，指陳寅恪當時於跋文後附有評註云：「夫明之季年，外見迫於遼東，內受困於張李。養百萬之兵，糜億兆之費，財盡而兵轉增，兵多而民愈困。」胡文輝認為當時專攻中古史的陳寅恪，突然發表一篇關於明清史的小文，應是有「以明末之史喻當世之變」的用心。後文並以胡適當年對和戰之局的見解，來說明「戰前本當和而未和，然而既已開戰則不能不戰」的東北情勢，當政者「主戰是誤國，不肯負責主和是誤國」。見胡文輝，《陳寅恪詩箋釋》（廣州：廣東人民出版社，2013 增訂本），頁 126-130。當然這是胡文輝對陳寅恪詩的一家之箋釋，但此間反映的問題包括：詩歌中若無作者自注，詩中潛藏之各種古典、今典實有賴箋釋者發幽闡微；此種「詩史」隱微曲折，又不能不說是中國詩歌最精微典奧處。胡文輝自言是受到余英時《陳寅恪晚年詩文釋證》的方法啟發，「以義寧解錢柳之法還治陳寅恪詩」。此指陳寅恪在箋釋錢謙益、柳如是詩文時，也是用「深考史事以推求其用心」的箋釋法。「詩史」中蘊含的隱微史筆，以及挖掘出這種「隱微史筆」的方法，指向的是一種更龐大的中國詩學箋釋傳統，本文無法於正文中討論。不過前面談箋釋家所謂李商隱〈北齊〉乃刺唐武宗而作，亦是類同於這樣的箋釋思維，假設一切寫作都有其現世關懷。正因為「詩史」是中國詩學中影響深遠的批評論與創作論，若不能廓清「詩史」的理論內涵，幾乎不能一窺中國詩歌的堂奧。龔鵬程嘗言這種類型的詩歌，因為「作者運用史法（類似春秋褒貶美刺的手法）來創作，使得作品含蓄有言外隱曲；讀者則須博考史事，推求至隱，以得其用心，通其詩意，運用以史證詩的方法去讀詩」。上述引文見龔鵬程，《詩史本色與妙悟》，頁 64。

51 高伯時，《日本侵略東三省之實況》（上海：文藝書局，1932）。高伯時在上海刊行了不少著作，類別也相當雜出。有與周浴文合編，近乎旅遊手冊的《海寧觀潮》（上海經銷：海寧觀潮出版社，1933）、或《新課程商業課本》、《民眾商業叢書》等。其任職《中央日報》以創辦《國貨月報》事，見編者，〈本社創辦人高伯時先生〉，《國貨月報》2:2-3（1935.03），頁 2。

52 《殘日周刊》1931 年 11 月 14 日創辦於上海，共發行 8 期，據出版項，乃由經濟救國抗日團編輯委員會編輯，經濟救國抗日團發行。內容主要從礦產、交通等經濟層面分析日本人對當時東北的經濟與軍事侵略。

53 高伯時，〈孫君如一歸自瀋陽談九一八事變有感〉，《殘日週刊》1:4（1931.12.05），頁 11。

在此詩註解中，「將軍半夜猶狐舞」不再指張學良，但詩中仍批判張學良不能守土，不能抗日，承父業而不能承父志，乃「不孝不忠」之徒。詩注中「變起時，王以哲旅長猶在東北俱樂部」事，指的是九一八事發當夜，第七旅旅長王以哲（1896-1937）正在距離北大營不遠的同澤俱樂部，參與水災賑募晚會。根據他後來呈交的〈北大營被佔經過〉報告，這般描述是夜情境：

九一八夜十時許，日兵于營西北旺官屯附近降車後，車即北退，未久即聞營西南方轟然一聲，似地雷爆破之音，同時北大營西方圍牆附近，以及南方各村落，即有連續之槍聲，步兵七旅以數日來，日兵恒於夜中放槍擾亂，已非一次，故靜肅未動。未幾步兵六百二十一團之營院內，竟被多數日軍侵入，華軍因恐惹起國際交涉，故令兵士，不得擅動，士兵各持槍實彈，怒皆欲裂，狂呼若雷，群請一戰，甚有抱槍痛哭者，揮拳擊壁者，猶能服從長官命令，不還一彈……斯時七旅旅長王以哲，正出席距營五英里之同澤俱樂部水災救濟會中，當用電話請示方策，即指示不得抵抗，先退出兵舍，齊集某營前大操場待命。而日軍更用機槍射擊，此時電話不通，乃退避北大營東端二樓子附近集合，以觀究竟，旋見北山彈藥各庫，被彈轟炸，營內火光四起，時已至十九日上午六時，日軍更依東營垣，向我軍射擊，不得已，乃向山嘴子退去，而日軍，更節節進逼，遂向東陵方向前進。⁵⁴ 檔案材料中，王以哲交代了當夜致電給張學良的始末，以及東北軍貫徹不抵抗政策的緣由。不戰而退的「事實」在這份描述裡，是為了貫徹國府不欲擴大事端，企圖以國際交涉手段解決東北問題的既定方針。但東北軍忍辱執行「不抵抗」政策的結果，在高伯時詩中，卻成為「八千壯士自為謀」的怯戰與自私。高伯時詩注另有「張作霖一生強硬對日」的說法，也牽涉出另一段歷史公案。馬君武〈哀瀋陽〉的另一版本中，有「楊郭前塵事可傷」句。⁵⁵ 即指在九一八事件爆發前，郭松齡（1883-1925）發動「反奉戰爭」，起兵對抗張作霖。張作霖後來得到日本關東軍之助力，剿滅了郭松齡。⁵⁶ 但後來張作霖死於日本關東軍的暗殺，而楊宇霆（1886-1929）一直是張作霖身邊與日方斡旋的重要關係人，張作霖死後，被張學良以他有陰謀奪權之志的理由下令槍決。則所謂張作霖「一生強硬對日」的說法，是從結果論，或是從過程論？褒貶的史識是「詩史」不可或區的一部份，但這份「褒貶」的權衡，又是否有一放諸四海皆準，援古納今皆同的判準。正因東北問題牽涉的列強關係、軍閥派系、內部政爭等諸多問題複雜千端，褒貶亦各自有其偏重。同樣的，「詩人非史家」，我們又怎麼能預期詩人能給予每個事件公允的評斷，但常常在「詩史」的寫作傳統裡，詩人必須是史家，通過文學為歷史留下殷鑑。東北軍當時未採積極抵抗行為的結果，是使日軍如入無人之境，這也確實釀下往後中國十五年間兵燹遍地的禍端。王以哲的報告中，說東北軍當時有「怒皆欲裂，狂呼若雷，群請一戰」的反應，甚至有「抱槍痛哭者，揮拳擊壁者」的痛苦情緒。不戰非懼戰，不戰亦非為賣國，王以哲的報告似乎暗示東北軍亦有百般無奈在背後。既定政策如此，軍令仍舊如山，軍士是否可以無視軍令而「積極作戰」，積極作戰是否又是百姓社稷之福？⁵⁷

54 轉錄自李雲漢編，《九一八事變史料》（臺北：正中書局，1977），頁 245-249。

55 見註 20。

56 郭松齡、張作霖之矛盾，與日本、蘇俄在東北地方勢力之角力等，可參看鄭智文，〈郭松齡事件新探〉，《國史館館刊》31(2012.03)，頁 1-38。

57 其實九一八事變在日軍方面，亦有地方軍隊違抗日本政府，獨斷專行，違背不擴大事態的政策方針等問題，釀成的問題的激化。戶部良一在《日本陸軍史》中指出：「九一八事變具有政變的一面。他的主謀不僅僅假扮中國人炸毀了鐵路，以此為藉口挑起了事端，並違背政府的不擴大方針，策劃擴大事變。」戶部良一指出，日本陸軍文化中以下克上、獨斷專行，使他們將一切可以解決滿蒙問題的手段視為合理，而士官學校約四十人組成的「一夕會」組織和九一八事件更深具關連。日本軍隊的下克上文化與獨斷專行，也是往後他們不斷凌越政府職權，使日本推向窮兵黷武侵略政權的原因。這亦提供了當時為什麼國府力主「不抵抗」，而民心堅決不接受的歷史背景。中央政府和地

歷史的褒貶功過與是非，不是三言兩語能道盡，也並不只有一個視角和一個面向。詩人通過「詩史」掌握了史筆褒貶之權衡，然而我們對於這些「權衡」還是必須有所警策，善加針砭。

(三) 忍問顛倒向誰陳：褒貶的判準與歷史之秤

以歷史的後見之明觀之，東北軍當時不戰而退的舉動確實使人驚詫，當時民心也莫不期許能見到「八千壯士」奮勇抵抗。但當下的詩歌書寫，反應的是當時人的見解，以及詩歌作者對該事件的評斷。此中「史識」誠有堪稱卓識者，亦有未必允恰者。如前述不少詩作，每以戰爭之釁端歸咎於女禍，但馮小憐、陳圓圓、楊玉環等上述中國「詩史」吟詠裡的「禍國紅顏」，此中又是否盡為公允的論斷？又關於張學良的歷史評價問題，他輕敵誤國是事實。高伯時詩甚至以蜀後主劉禪表字「景升」刺之，直指張學良乃「扶不起的阿斗」，言其乃誤國之豚犬。這樣的「褒貶」固然是詩人的「史識」所繫，但身為讀者，我們如何弭合關於東北軍「不戰而退」與「猶能服從長官命令，不還一彈」兩種不同立場陳述間的罅隙與難題。「據事直陳，善惡自見」是中國史傳的理想，但描寫同一「事實」的不同角度，卻會讓「觀點」和「褒貶」之秤星，就此產生改變。朱維錚為饒宗頤《中國史學上之正統論》所寫之〈序言〉中，曾就饒宗頤所言「歷史之秤是謂之正」之說提出質疑，以為饒宗頤所謂的「秤星」仍在道德批評尚。但當「道德」遇上「政治」，往往有其兩難。朱維錚進一步質疑：

我不贊成道德相對主義，然而歷史上的正統論，涉及的主要是政治道德。而古往今來，人民常視作不道德的行為，在政治生活中卻常被視作是必要的，因而是道德的，例如神道設教，權術是尚，愚民為正等。這無疑都屬於饒先生所否定的「一時相對之是非」，但卻是長期困擾歷代史家的道德通則。⁵⁸

不論是「詩史」，或中國的史學傳統，追求「褒貶」都是重要的特色。關於九一八的國難吟詠，多數都主張國土應寸土不讓，將士當拚死一戰。但多數人的意見是否就是正確的意見？以報刊研究言，從社評標題進行統計分析，固可一窺當時民心之所向。但「詩史」作為另類的「新聞」文體，反映的可能是更深微的意識。關於戰爭策略的是非，除了像馬君武、高伯時明白表述其批判立場外，也有部分的「詩心史識」，是深隱在陳寅恪那種「欲著辨亡還閣筆，眾生顛倒向誰陳」的隱微寫作中。⁵⁹ 至少就二十世紀上半葉而言，「詩史」還是承載了許多知識人的興亡寄託。只是這些材料不易被納進現有的學科分類中。但這些嚴密縫入史典中的詩史吟詠，也許存在一些真正的心態史料，必須深研其中方能得之。九一八事變在大眾輿論的風向裡，舉國上下莫不對張學良、東北軍之失土進行嚴厲批判，但對東北軍或其家人而言，他們又是否能接受「不戰而退」的指控？

方軍事勢力的不同調，不只是中國軍隊的問題，也是日本軍隊的危機。參見（日）戶部良一著，韋平和、孫維珍譯，《日本陸軍史：近代化的異化》（北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2016），頁 279-290。

58 此文出自朱維錚為 1996 年版本之《中國史學上之正統論》序言，現收入饒宗頤，《中國史學上之正統論》（北京：中華書局，2015），頁 1-6。饒宗頤此書旨在討論中國史學上以「正統」為基點的論述。以中國史學言，治史之務，原本《春秋》，其以事繫年中，必須先確立何謂「正統」以立統緒。但「正統」其實也涉及了政治立場，如陳涉首事亡秦，故「書陳王國號，不以二事繫年，亦可窺見紀年存統之法，每本於書者之立場」。饒宗頤討論的雖是編年之「統紀之學」，但他直指「正統理論之精髓，在於闡釋如何可以承統，又如何方可謂之『正』之真理」、「歷史如僅為描述而缺乏道德批評，則不成為史學」。見《中國史學上之正統論》，頁 6、82、84。饒直指中國史學中「褒貶」精神的重要性，而朱所疑者，則是「褒貶」的權衡要如何不被政治權力影響。饒宗頤 1999 年嘗覆函朱維錚以答其問，云：「許多對歷史影響最大的人物，每每是悲劇式的，生前有種種限制與不同看法。無真正的是非，要到蓋棺而後論定……歷史之秤操在史家的手裡」。

59 見註 52

或者在這種充滿時事關懷的案例裡，侈言「褒貶」，不免還是僅能淪為一時之是非。但在「詩史」的書寫意識裡，是否存在一些可以超越時代限制而亙古不滅的質素呢？

五、「詩史」的文學性：遼變記憶的「親歷」與「摹擬」

(一) 九一八事變後的詩史情境

從記述事件的詩心史筆，到史評褒貶的判準是非，「詩史」都展現「詩」在中國詩學傳統裡的複雜向度。近代學術史中文、史學科的離立，使我們認定文學家與史學家的核心關懷各自不同。但九一八事變前後的「詩史」吟詠熱潮，卻正具現出「詩史」與其所連結的文化傳統中，文、史意識的交相為用。九一八事變後，全國報刊陸續刊載各種以國難為描寫主題的文學作品，吳宓嘗形容那時的文學風氣是：

九一八國難起後，一時名作極多，此誠不幸中之幸。以詩而論，吾中國之人心實未死，而文化尚未亡也。⁶⁰

吳宓番引文中對時代與文學風氣的陳述，似乎是錢謙益〈胡致果詩序〉中所稱「古今之詩，莫變於此時，亦莫盛於此時」的另一種說法。九一八事變的國難吟詠，固然不是傳統意味史的歷史書寫，但對懷抱「詩史」意識的寫作者而言，他們還是接受了明清遺民們曾有的文學傳統召喚，試圖在遭遇淪陷的危亡情境中，以歷史的見證者與傳述者自居。在書寫的過程中，他們將國難之中興亡閱歷的記憶，流離徬徨的心曲，投注在寫作的「血心流注」間，這是「天地所以不毀」的承擔與使命，也是「詩史」詩學歷久彌新的原因。

我們甚至會發現這種精神上的繼承譜系，內在的關聯是文學作品間的相互承祧。具有「詩史」地位的文學家與文學作品間，常常有互相融合、互文見義的情形，這也呈現出「詩史」體系的內在的系譜——「詩史」作品其實不單只意在書寫「當下」，也同時正召喚「過去」。在借鑑與模仿的過程之中，「詩史」詩學遂被一代代地被踵繼及閱讀，也更加深入人心。因此「九一八事變」之後的詩史吟詠熱潮，不只是一種文學史現象，也是一種亂世之中的一種創作理論。「詩史」是危機時刻的寫作，也是「史詩時代」必然出現的抒情聲音，而引導這種寫作意識的，不只有外鑠而來的政治力量，也有文學自身書寫機制的內在動力。因此我們再觀察「詩史」這種書寫機制時，也必須注意到古今詩人彼此作品的相互借鑑問題。所以馬君武的〈哀瀋陽〉借鑑的可能是李商隱的〈北齊〉，鄧之誠的〈後駕湖曲〉效仿的可能是吳偉業〈圓圓曲〉的寫作範式。他們的書寫之中，可能摻雜了「非事實」的部分，但這未必只能導向「有意造偽」的過程，我們或許也要從文學歷史的追摹中，反省這個書寫機制的定型化歷程。

(二) 國家不幸詩家幸：東北詩人王蔭南的發現與成名

吳宓《大公報》曾自1933年3月6日起，連續四期刊載東北詩人王蔭南（名汝棠，別署一葉，但《大公報》皆以其字稱之，1905-1944）的詩作，稱「瀋變紀事詩」。⁶¹ 吳宓之所以知道王蔭南

60 吳宓，《空軒詩話·四十》，《民國詩話叢編》，第6冊，頁74。

61 此四期分別見於1933年3月6日、13日、20日、27日的《大公報》11版文學副刊。〈瀋變紀事詩（一）〉又附上編者識語云：「本刊第二百六十六期潘式君（按：潘伯鷹）來函述及王君此作。今鈔得刊布，欣幸何如。」按這四期的詩作中，包括「紀變五律三十首」、「贈友七律十八首」、「贈友七絕十三首」、「赴平留別詩并序十首」和古風長詩〈鳳凰謠〉。

這位詩人，來自於其友潘伯鷹（1903-1966）的推薦。潘伯鷹主編《天津半月刊》時，每期都刊載這樣的〈本社徵詩啟事〉：

詩歌陶鑄國魂，涵詠情性，功至偉而樂亦至深。敝社對於詩體之態度，認為所謂新體尚未成立，而舊體未可拋荒。特宗旨所標乃在「宣洩民瘼，扇發靈思。」兩語耳。誠以邦國阽危，人民痛苦，其值此千秋變局之時，我民族中遂不復有少陵太白乎？竊持斯旨，求同調於海內。⁶²

這則啟事揭示了兩個重要的詩學觀點，一是關於「新體尚未成立，舊體未可拋荒」，二是關它所訴求的詩歌宗旨，這其中訴求復合這個時代需求，具有「宣洩民瘼」社會政教功能的詩作。而時值邦國阽危、人民痛苦的「千秋變局」之際，這正是孕育「詩史」之詩學思想的土壤，潘伯鷹也以這樣的文學觀念，試圖召喚堪稱「今之少陵」的新經典。

潘伯鷹和吳宓的交誼本就是因为潘伯鷹在《大公報》上連載的小說《人海微瀾》所產生。⁶³《大公報》當時的《文藝副刊》由吳宓長期操持選政，具有相當能見度。因此潘伯鷹將王蔭南的來詩悉數寄給吳宓，使他的作品能全文刊載到《大公報·文藝副刊》上。原名王汝棠的王蔭南，遂從原本藉藉無名的詩人，走入大眾的視野。吳宓稱王蔭南「籍隸遼寧，身歷慘燹，間關西來，故所作悲壯沈雄，直得少陵之髓」，直接將王蔭南之比於杜甫「詩史」的地位。事實上王蔭南自己在寄給《天津半月刊》⁶⁴的讀者投書中也嘗語及：

僕不幸生於亂世，又不幸為文人，然不敢自餒其所處。故兵戈奔走以來，益嗣力於以企古今之作者……僕不亦不敢妄希少陵，然如遺山之七律，梅村之樂府，則其粗末或足抗衡。⁶⁵

這段自述正是「詩史」書寫意識的朗現，也是他們在「詩史」的書寫意識中，希冀自己能夠深契「少陵之心」的展現。「詩史」不只是要求詩歌紀載時事的寫作體類，更是一種文學經典的傳承。在「詩史」的書寫體系裡，一個文本連接著另外一個文本，一切的書寫都在召喚著前代的經典。

王蔭南在書寫的過程裡，其實不斷地將自我的形象和杜甫的形象相互結合。如〈瀋變紀事詩〉中〈贈友七律〉的其七云：

轟轟兵烽照膽孤，空山葉落鳥相呼。明知乞食非長計，其奈還鄉是畏塗。白傅吟懷關社稷，杜陵身世慨妻孥。提携戈甲身猶健。永愧扁舟放五湖。⁶⁶

王蔭南的痛吟裡，我們看見了「其奈還鄉是畏途」的感受，但也有「明知乞食非長計」的表述，傳遞了當年他流寓他鄉、衣食無著的苦痛。但當王蔭南在遭遇這樣的流離情境時，他在詩中與心中，聯想及召喚的形象是杜甫和白居易當時的吟詠。這也使我們聯想起杜甫〈北征〉詩。杜甫〈北征〉是他自述自己在唐肅宗至德二年（757）由被任命為左拾遺的肅宗行在陝西鳳翔，北返到鄜州羌村家途中的見聞。⁶⁷此詩也被認為是安史之亂浩劫後，唐代社會寫實風貌的詩歌畫卷。無論是刻描戰亂之後「靡靡逾阡陌，人煙眇蕭瑟。所遇多被傷，呻吟更流血」的滿目瘡痍，或是狀寫家

62 《天津半月刊》創刊號（1933.09.01），封面次頁。

63 張元卿，〈吳宓與潘伯鷹交游考論——以《吳宓日記》為中心〉，《中國現代文學論叢》2014年第2期（2014.12），頁51-61。

64 《天津半月刊》是在天津發行，由潘伯鷹主編的文學性刊物，每期收錄詩、散文、小說等，雖然每期的「本社徵詩啟事」似乎顯現出偏好舊體詩之立場，但整體而言文學傾向還是新舊並陳的。王蔭南在此刊物上發布的詩作有七古長詩詩〈湯鍋謠〉，見，《天津半月刊》3（1933.10.01），頁29。

65 王汝棠（王蔭南），〈王蔭南先生致編者書〉，《天津半月刊》3（1933.10.01），頁1。

66 《大公報（天津版）》（1933.3.13）11版〈文學副刊〉。

67 根據詩序，詞題「北征」之由來是：「公遭祿山之亂，自行在往鄜州，鄜州在鳳翔東北，故以北征命篇。」（唐）杜甫注、（清）仇兆鰲注，《杜詩詳注》（臺北：里仁書局，1980），冊1，頁395。

中妻小「妻子衣百結」、「見耶背面啼，垢膩腳不襪」的可憐情狀，〈北征〉不僅道盡了自己個人家庭的苦難，也傳寫當時社會的民生凋敝。學者稱此為「新舊唐書的必要補充」。⁶⁸ 這也顯示了詩史在「紀實」和「褒貶」外的另一個價值功能——作為歷史浩劫之親歷者表達記憶、經驗的媒介。⁶⁹ 而在這樣的書寫機制之中，詩人關心的不只是自己如何呈現「當下」，也關注自己當下的處境，要如何返諸於文學傳統與詩史傳統的長河之中。我們或者也可以這麼思考，每一位被期許為「詩史」，或自己在書寫意識裡「有意為詩史」的作者，某一種程度都是在肯認「詩史」的經典機制下有意識地追附「詩史」的價值體系，更有意識地延續了「詩史」的精神系譜。「詩史」的深入人心，不只是依靠一二詩人的經典，而是一股龐大的經典體系。

(三)「是誰使，金甌破缺？」的另一個視角

本文探討了許多和「九一八事變」相關的文本，卻沒有像王蔭南這樣本身就是東北人的作者。當然，王蔭南的觀點也只能代表他個人的經歷，但個人的經驗、經歷與情感，也往往和他們選擇對事件的立場和觀點息息相關。

前文曾述及，被千夫所指為怯戰的東北軍，當初的情況可能是為了遵守軍令。但在王蔭南的筆下，「是誰使，金甌破缺」的禍首，從來不是跳舞將軍或無勇的將士，而是一個血淋淋的歷史教訓和紛雜的歷史情境。他的〈遼變紀事·五律三十首〉中，其第十六、廿六分別如下：⁷⁰

朝議方紛擾，胡兵已渡河。黨猶競洛蜀，將本少奢頗。嘆惜三章法，倉皇五子歌。故園歸去好。無地補烟蘿。

纔見張天討，交綏已退兵。宋襄傷義戰，秦穆毀堅盟。國盡淪墟莽，身猶及治平。殘年風雪夜。衰涕一縱橫。

這當然又是充分調動歷史典故之資源而寫就的詩歌範例。第十六首寫九一八事變中「朝議方紛擾，胡兵已渡河」的情境——這當然不是客觀的紀實之筆，朝議和胡兵渡河不是確切時間裡能同時發生的事件，但詩中反映的正是當時的政治「現實」情境。國家內部的紛紛擾擾，使得東北問題未能達成一致對外的立場，也釀下了九一八事變真正的禍源——這不是寫實主義式的寫實，卻是另一種意義的「寫實」之史筆，這看起來只是當詩人當下的一種情緒和判斷，但他的「史識」又何其精確地指出，真正使金甌破缺的，正是這種「黨猶競洛蜀」的紛擾。

以現代文學的分類而言，「詩」往往被視為抒情的體類，我們也往往認為文學價值的宏揚，要展現於它作為一種純粹的審美，他和個人的情感有涉，而不宜將視為具有實用政教功能的文學體類。但「詩史」的文學力道，卻顯然不僅僅展現在形式或修辭上的美感。這其中的政治鑑戒未

68 莫礪鋒，〈詩聖與詩史〉，《唐詩宋詞》（南京：南京大學出版社，2016），頁 88-90。

69 田曉菲在以太平天國的創難記憶為分析的論文中指出，其實詩和史都充滿建構性。特定文類的修辭格傳統和表現手法有時會限制對現實的再現，而就「詩」而言，田曉菲注意到姚燮在《復莊詩問》中，似乎就一再模擬度詩的口氣和語氣。但田曉菲也指出，詩「史」與一般史料最大的區別在於個人化——人與事的係不構成了它們的具體性和特殊性，把那些被宏大的歷史敘事剝奪走的個性和尊嚴還給個體生命。不過田曉菲限定的「詩史」範圍，顯然是指那些描寫第一手亂離經驗的著作，而如後代追摹前代，或是像馬君武那樣的「假新聞」式的「詩史」，顯然不在田曉菲的視域之內。筆者認為，田曉菲對於「詩史」作為親歷見聞的書寫模式的這部分提供了許多具啟發性的意見，但倘若完全把詩史寫作中帶有史家意識而寫作的那些事件敘事詩或褒貶史筆完全排出「詩史」的範疇外，還是稍微窄化了「詩史」在整個詩學傳統中的意義和詮釋範圍。田曉菲的論文可參田曉菲，〈有詩為證：十九世紀的詩與史〉，收入林宗正、張伯偉主編，《從傳統到現代的中國詩學》（上海：上海古籍出版社，2017），頁 104-131。

70 《大公報（天津版）》（1933.3.13）11版〈文學副刊〉

必盡為公允之論，卻也不宜一筆抹煞它們存在的價值。

在第二十六首詩作中，王蔭南則以「宋襄傷義戰，秦穆毀堅盟」的史典，形容九一八事變當時的情境，這依然是一種「以古典寓今事」技能的展演。「宋襄傷義戰」的史事背景，出於《左傳·僖公二十二年》：

冬十一月己巳朔，宋公及楚人戰於泓。宋人既成列，楚人未既濟。司馬曰：「彼衆我寡，及其未既濟也，請擊之。」公曰：「不可。」既濟而未成列，又以告。公曰：「未可。」既陳而後擊之，宋師敗績。公傷股，門官殲焉。

宋襄公與楚軍交戰，卻要等待對方排好陣式之後，才要開打。這一段史事在《左傳》的描寫裡，帶出了著名的「子魚論戰」，當時宋襄公嘗為自己的敗績辯護，以為自己是仁義之師。但子魚對此事卻有所評論說：

君未知戰。勍敵之人，隘而不列，天贊我也。阻而鼓之，不亦可乎？猶有懼焉。且今之勍者，皆吾敵也。雖及胡耆，獲則取之，何有於二毛？明恥教戰，求殺敵也。傷未及死，如何勿重？若愛重傷，則如勿傷；愛其二毛，則如服焉。三軍以利用也，金鼓以聲氣也。利而用之，阻隘可也；聲盛致志，鼓儻可也。

戰爭是為了求勝，這是《左傳》這段文字裡對宋襄公的諍言。但在王蔭南的運用之下裡，東北軍那時的「堅決不還一彈」的堅持，不啻是一種宋襄公式的庸迂之仁。他將《左傳》的歷史記憶與殷鑑，結合對當下時勢的評論，這是一種文學書寫的技巧，卻也是一種卓越的「史識」。詩人確實非史家，但在「詩史」的書寫典範裡，史家之心卻常躍動於詩家之筆中。我們未必認同所有「詩史」裡的褒貶立場，事實上那其中確實包含著一些「一時之是非」的成分。但「詩史」的書寫傳統裡，本就是要通過這種歷史與文學之間互相交涉的書寫張力，來使得一切的評論、褒貶乃至於鑑戒顯得「有史為鏡」。「詩史」是一種立足於綿長悠久歷史書寫經驗中的詩學，我們看待「詩史」，也不宜輕忽這樣的書寫機制背後蓄積的文化深度。

六、結語

「詩史」和傳統認定的正史書寫不同，他所扮演的傳播訊息的功能，也往往有來自於其文類本身特質所自帶的敘事特徵。在現今的學科分類裡，「詩史」因為其載體是古典詩，使得所有關於「詩史」的討論，往往限縮在古典文學批評術語的範疇中。研究者將它視為一種閱讀的傳統和文學創作的準則，卻忽略了「詩史」常也是構築我們對歷史記憶與文化經驗的一部分。本文從九一八事變期間，幾個關涉到「散播非事實」的「詩史」吟詠案例為切入點，以「反例」來省察突顯關於「詩史」書寫中的矛盾。但最後卻也要指出，即使在紀實之虛實、褒貶之是非，以及文學的古事今典之間，「詩史」常常呈現跨類與矛盾的現象，但「詩史」卻也在這樣的書寫機制裡，形成了一股影響深遠的閱讀與創作傳統。

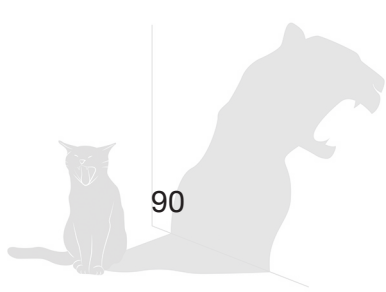
每一種具特定目的寫作形式，都有其寫作的核心理念、預設讀者，以及擴大其影響力的傳播途徑。當「詩史」從批評術語演變成一種創作理念，甚至衍生出一大系列的「詩史」文本時，其實也已形成了一套特定的文本的書寫機制。我們可以藉著「假新聞」對傳播形式的覺察，去思考「詩史」自晚唐迄今已來發展的千餘年間，一代代詩人如何運用這套詩學體系中，去創造詩歌的寫作題材，去追摹相類情境的經典文本，創作及書寫「詩史」的動機為何，價值何在？而「詩史」的稱號與推崇，是否引領著一代代詩人，在自己現世的關懷與時代處境裡，試著跟隨少陵詩史、

長慶體、梅村體等一代代詩史詩學的經典，鑄造大時代書寫興亡閱歷的詩篇，也以「詩史」的書寫形態，創造他們對自己詩歌「可傳之於後」的文學企圖。

正因為詩史這個書寫機制裡，核心關懷乃在於必須呈現出某種「紀實」的成分，但這又不免牽涉到寫作上「以虛鑿實」、「史蘊詩心」的問題；兼具「詩」和「史」跨類性質的「詩史」，因為當中對中國史傳傳統的繼承，也不免被訴求需要具有褒貶功效與諷諭意圖，但這當中也會遇上中國經史傳統裡別善惡、寓褒貶的問題，但目的和手段的衝突，也成為「詩史」書寫倫理上的挑戰；最後，「詩史」作為一種不斷祖述、追仿既有經典之書寫形態與書寫精神的文學傳統，也形成了特定的寫作格式、閱讀社群和文學傳統。本章並不是要論述所有的「詩史」都是「假新聞」，卻希望能指——「詩史」的寫作機制在實際的書寫案例裡，可能會衍生出近似於「假新聞」的效應與現象。這種試圖宣稱「紀實」但雜揉有虛構成分的書寫，具有積極的時事介入意圖，也有積澱深遠的寫作傳統。「詩史」的影響力和傳播效益在近代史中，可以通過包括九一八事變、一二八淞滬抗戰等史事的相關吟詠中，呈現出它對「事件」的表述形式、書寫意圖和傳播效應。通過「假新聞」的省察視野，我們也可以反省關於「詩史」書寫機制上的若干問題。「詩史」一直以來聚訟紛擾的「以虛鑿實」到「史蘊詩心」的寫作機制和訴求，以及「春秋褒貶」到「訕謗直訐」的寫作機倫理問題，通過「事件呈現」的向度，反而有一個更聚焦的呈現。

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The State and the Street: Constructing Documentary Authority in Qing China

街道上的政治：清代中國的文獻權威建設

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Abstract / 摘要

In the summer of 1718, Beijing residents heard and saw strange things. They witnessed a lunar eclipse. And they spoke of a devastating earthquake in northwest China. These conversations took place on the streets, within private homes, and in the antechambers of state offices. Some heard the news from sojourners and some from trusted colleagues, family members, and friends. The stories included varied details of a supernatural omen: a “three-armed ghost,” or perhaps a “headless monster” whose presence in the northwest had foreshadowed the seismic event. Seven days after the first telling of this strange story, a gazette publisher (baofang) in Beijing sold textual proof: a memorial, attributed to the governor-general for Shaanxi and Sichuan, which reported the monstrous apparition and its devastating consequences. But while the earthquake had indeed inflicted damage, the more tantalizing details of the story were fabricated, and the memorial itself false. This was fake news.

Starting from this “false memorial” case, this paper will investigate a series of information scandals in the first century of the Qing dynasty. When the Qing conquered China, they inherited a troubled information order. Within the bureaucracy, lengthy procedural correspondence buried urgent messages and covert networks troubled official hierarchies. Beyond the reach of the state, gossip and rumor endangered the stability of the new dynasty. In this study, I argue that their attempts to restore the information order, Qing political agents established new boundaries between influence and authority, clerks and officials, and conversations and texts. In particular, the court promoted gazettes as authoritative foils to the rumors, tabloids, and forgeries that made up the “fake news” of early modern China. In so doing, by the mid-eighteenth century the Qing state shifted the material basis of politics from talk to text, and from story to document.

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In the scholarly lens and in the classroom, secret memorials (*mizou* 密奏) are often taken as the defining institution of the Qing “information order”—the set of communications pathways by which social intelligence was gathered, organized, and disseminated by the Qing state (1644-1911).¹ In the twentieth century, the discovery of thousands of memorials held in the Qing palace archives revealed the eighteenth-century formation of an expansive system for the exchange of confidential correspondence between the throne and bureaucratic officials.² The “palace memorial” system initiated under the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722) involved direct and unmediated exchanges of documents between territorial officials and the throne, thus expanding the surveillance power of the throne and side-stepping the traditional advisory role of court institutions including the Censorate (*Duchayuan* 都察院) and Grand Secretariat (*Neige* 內閣). Thereafter, as memorials poured into the palace, this system began to prove unsustainable. The Yongzheng emperor (r. 1732-1735) turned to an informal council of advisors with whom to deliberate upon the secret communications; his successor Qianlong (r. 1735-1795) formalized this group as the Grand Council (*junjichu* 軍機處), which, as a “circuit board” for imperial communications, became the most important political institution at court for the remainder of the dynasty.³

Despite the significance of these institutional achievements, allowing a single documentary channel to characterize our view of Qing political communications makes a complex infrastructure seem relentlessly vertical, though it in fact involved multiple centers of power. Reading Qing politics through secret memorials reaffirms an outdated view of the Qing bureaucracy as dominated by an idiosyncratic and often hysterical monarch.⁴ In reality, the Qing state’s information order comprised a tripartite model of political communications in order to coordinate the activities and work of four levels (palace, central, provincial, local) of political actors. The most closely guarded communications, including military reports and palace memorials, passed exclusively between memorialists and the inner court. Next, administrative communications, inscribed in routine memorials (*tiben* 題本) and other highly standardized modes of correspondence, were circulated between the locale, province, and central bureaucracy. Finally, mediums of open communication, including gazettes (*dibao* 邸報) and proclamations (*gaoshi* 告示), were made available to the full bureaucracy and even the wider public. In drafting both confidential and administrative documents, officials recycled language from prior correspondence in quotations, both to substantiate claims and as a bureaucratic mechanism. Open communications meanwhile excerpted

1 For the concept of “information order” and its origins from twentieth-century communications theory, see C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For recent takes on this concept in the Chinese context, see Hilde de Weerd, *Information, Territory, and Networks: The Crisis and Maintenance of Empire in Song China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), Ch.3; Stephen R. Halsey, *Quest for Power: European Imperialism and the Making of Chinese Statecraft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), Ch.7.

2 In English, the most important studies are: Silas H. L. Wu, *Communication and Imperial Control in China: Evolution of the Palace Memorial System, 1693-1735* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts’ao Yin and the K’ang-Hsi Emperor: Bondservant and Master* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Mark C. Elliott, “The Manchu-Language Archives of the Qing Dynasty and the Origins of the Palace Memorial System,” *Late Imperial China* 22, no. 1 (2001): 1-70.

3 Beatrice S. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ching China, 1723-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

4 For this critique, see Pierre-Étienne Will’s review of Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54, no.1 (1994): 316-17.

from both confidential and routine genres, thus introducing correspondence on specific topics to general purview. Therefore, these three communications genres were not mutually exclusive: both routine and palace memorials could, by imperial sanction, pass into open circulation. Open communications therefore linked the confidential and administrative systems, supplying timely political information to both the bureaucracy and to the public.

The prominence of open communications within this revised portrait of the Qing information order thus illustrates the importance of what I deem curated transparency for the Qing state. Curated transparency involved the public release and targeted circulation of certain official texts for strategic and ideological goals.⁵ Far from guarding the evidence of its consultative and procedural activities, the Qing state freely released a wide range of information for public view, including personnel details, policy debates, civil examination records, criminal cases, rulings on disaster relief and tax remissions, and administrative investigations. These categories were not arbitrary: each supported political legitimacy and authority in a particular way. The release of documentary evidence of state activities to the public realm provided a safeguard against fraud and malfeasance, as well as a justification of political authority.

This paper explores the priorities and policies that guided information control and led to the policy of curated transparency in eighteenth-century China. Looking outward from a central case study—the story of the insertion of a faked memorial in a gazette—it takes a broader view of the social and political impact of the court’s tinkering with the state information order. In particular, the creation and idiosyncratic use of the secret memorial system by the Kangxi emperor both destabilized the integrity of the bureaucracy and expanded public interest in official documents. With the establishment and formalization of the Grand Council, the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors moved to create more predictable channels by which political information moved into public view. The public release of documents, which helped install safeguards against bureaucratic malfeasance and justifications of state policies, involved a continually negotiated compromise between confidentiality and transparency. By acknowledging the state’s role in disseminating information about itself, we better understand the imperial information order as defined not just by surveillance and control, but also by strategic publicity.

Tracing the Tremors of a False Report

In the summer of 1718, Beijing residents heard and saw strange things.⁶ They witnessed a lunar eclipse.⁷ And they spoke of a devastating earthquake on the windswept loess plateaus of northwest China. These conversations took place on the streets, within private homes, and in the antechambers of state offices. Some heard the news from unfamiliar sojourners, and some from trusted colleagues, family

5 The term “curated” implies strategic arrangement. By using the term “public,” I do not mean that all Qing subjects did or were able to access the state’s open communications. However, the political claims of the state rested on the hypothetical availability of such materials to all.

6 Dates in the text are given in modern format, but the notes include reign dates.

7 Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’an guan, ed., *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* [hereafter KMZZ] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996), 1318 (KX 57/08/19).

members, and friends. The stories included varied details of a supernatural omen: a “three-armed ghost,” or perhaps a “headless monster” whose presence in the northwest had foreshadowed the seismic event. Seven days after the first telling of this strange story, a gazette publisher (*baofang* 報房) in Beijing sold proof: a memorial, attributed to the Manchu governor-general for Shaanxi and Sichuan, Ohai (Ch. 鄂海, d.1725), which reported the monstrous apparition and its devastating consequences.⁸ But while a severe earthquake had indeed inflicted damage to areas within Ohai’s jurisdiction, the more tantalizing details of the story were fabricated, and the memorial itself false.⁹

The combination of subject and setting made these stories worthy of imperial attention. Seismic events were subjects of special importance for both logistical and ideological reasons. The state required field administrators to report disasters in their jurisdictions. Once received in Beijing, these reports set into effect a chain of bureaucratic responses to assess and address their effects and provide relief if warranted. Meanwhile, Confucian ideologies of rule ascribed both political and cosmological significance to natural disasters and therefore rulers saw talk of this nature as deeply portentous.¹⁰ In Beijing, the capital guards (*Bujun tongling yamen* 步軍統領衙門) had been charged since the Qing conquest with surveying and reporting local conditions. This mandate specifically included idle talk that might brew into dangerous rumors, and especially conversations about comets, floods, and earthquakes.¹¹ The Kangxi emperor even triangulated information sources to see how far stories from the capital reached into the hinterlands. More than once, Kangxi wrote to his governors, “Lately, do the people in the territories speak of the capital? Anything they say, submit to me.”¹²

The details of the investigation into the faked memorial reveal the common-place interactions between social and professional networks within and outside state institutions. Especially subordinates within the court bureaucracy commonly found opportunities to share the information they obtained on the job with their associates in Beijing society. Relationships defined by family, native-place, and workplace

8 “Memorial” is the customary and over-arching term used for reports submitted to the emperor. There were several and evolving genres of memorials used during the Qing dynasty, and this chapter will discuss some of them. See John King Fairbank and S.Y. Teng, “On the Types and Uses of Ch’ing Documents,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 5, no. 1 (1940): 40.

9 Various local gazetteers record that the earthquake struck on KX 57/05/21. The earthquake caused deaths to people and livestock and sustained damage to government buildings and local temples. Gazetteers do not mention omens similar to those mentioned in the capital. E.g., *Jingning zhou zhi* 靜寧州志 (QL); (GX) *Gansu xin tongzhi* 甘肅新通志, j.2, p.43a. A few bureaucratic responses are recorded in the *Qing shilu*, but no edicts. See *Qing shilu* (*Shengzu ren huangdi shilu*), j.280, p.738b (KX 57/07/07) and j.281, p.745a (KX 57/R8/07). The protracted investigation into the earthquake may be one reason for the eruption of rumors surrounding the event.

10 Natural disasters were thought to have cosmological significance in advertising the moral failings of the monarch and portending the loss of the Mandate of Heaven. A sample of the many works on weather and natural disasters in late imperial China includes Mark Elvin, “Who Was Responsible for the Weather? Moral Meteorology in Late Imperial China,” *Osiris* 13 (1998): 213-237, and Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron: Cultural Responses to Famine in Nineteenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

11 Kan Hongliu 闕紅柳, “Qingchu shehui chuanwen yu huangquan ganyu 清初社会传闻与皇权干预,” *Qingshi yanjiu*, no. 3 (2011): 150-2. This body, also commonly translated as the Gendarmerie, functioned like police in the late imperial era, but is distinct from the “police” bureau initiated in the late Qing. They are also distinct from the “imperial guards” who defended the imperial palace and clan. For the role of the capital guards in criminal investigation and adjudication see Na Silu, *Qingdai zhongyang sifa shenpan zhidu* (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1992). For background on the Qing capital guards, see Alison Dray-Novey, “Spatial Order and Police in Imperial Beijing,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 52, no. 04 (November 1993): 890-911. For examples of such capital surveillance, see *KMZZ*, 57 (capital gossip), 1596 (earthquake).

12 *KMZZ*, 22 (KX 30/09/24).

ties enabled the faked story to travel between palace offices and the city streets. In detailed reports to the emperor, the head of the capital guards, Longkodo (Ch. 隆科多, d.1728), described the interrogation of twenty-one men, including two gazette publishers, two gazette scribes, twelve clerks, one itinerant medical practitioner, and one Manchu scribe.¹³ Notably, eight of the men hailed from southern cities (six of these from the literary hub of Shaoxing), including both those in the gazette business and clerks.¹⁴ These common origins defined the social networks through which the text had passed.

The investigation proceeded quickly despite the fact that a number of suspects offered conflicting testimonies. Longkodo’s investigators wasted no time in locating the culpable gazette publisher.¹⁵ This publisher had at least four employees: managers Hu Mengzhao and Lu/Yin Dengjiu, scribe Jin Xiang, and assistant scribe Jin Picheng.¹⁶ Both scribes hailed from the south, and maintained relationships with other southerners in government offices. In this case, the relationship between Jin Xiang and a metropolitan document clerk named Gao facilitated the forged document’s insertion into the publishing process. Both the scribes and their employer mentioned scrutinizing the document for authenticity. Jin Picheng recounted that as he delivered the document in question, the document clerk had called it “fresh news” (*xinxian shi* 新鮮事). To interrogators, Jin claimed that he associated Gao’s clerical position with access to documents, and explained his decision to show the document to his supervisor on this basis. Therefore, Jin grouped Gao’s fraudulent memorial together with other court-sanctioned documents. Still, Jin likely included the document in full awareness that it was false, or at least improperly obtained. By regulation, memorials authored by provincial officials were only released for publication several days after the emperor had issued an opinion on them.¹⁷ This made it very unlikely that the earthquake report’s release had been authorized for public review.

Longkodo’s report reveals that metropolitan clerks often operated as news sources in local society. At the center of the case was Shen Mingshi, a document clerk working in the records of the Board of Appointments (*libu* 吏部). Shen eventually told interrogators that he had written down the story in the guise of a memorial after trading gossip with his cohort of Board clerks. Shen described himself as working in a vulnerable position: “...since I work in a yamen, my relatives and friends often ask me if I have any news. And they want me to write down anything I’ve heard and bring it home and give it to my family to read.” Shen’s coerced confession evinced that subordinate staff for court institutions

13 As in the wider empire, personal relationships proved consequential to the designation of responsibilities in the capital city. On Longkodo’s palace relationships, see Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 137. See also ECCP, 552-4.

14 Shaoxing men were prevalent among the clerical staff of the metropolitan bureaucracy. See James H. Cole, *Shaohsing: Competition and Cooperation in Nineteenth-Century China* (University of Arizona Press, 1986), 111-13.

15 Later in the dynasty, the court explicitly charged the capital guards and the censors of the five urban wards with supervision of gazette publishing.

16 The translator of the Manchu memorials rendered the names of the Chinese suspects into characters. However, because these names were originally recorded in Manchu without their original Chinese counterparts, they remain uncertain, and there are inconsistencies between the documents in this case. I have not been able to locate any relevant Chinese-language archival documents.

17 Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 50n93; Wu, *Communications and Control*, 28-9. Osan (Eshan 鄂山) referred to it as “long-established” precedent in 1736: “各部院衙門一應題奏事件，均關幾務，須於進呈五日之後奉有諭音，方可交發提塘通省。定例遵行已久。” First Historical Archives (FHA), Lufu zouzhe (LFZZ) 03-0329-005, QL 01/04/06.

routinely funneled information out of government offices. Besides Shen, the other clerks mentioned routinely asking or hearing the greeting of “What’s new?” Also commonplace was the action of copying a document to bring home or to show to others.¹⁸ Although Shen and the other clerks framed their news-mongering as social transactions among friends, their choice to copy the documents verbatim implies that gazette publishers were their most common contact. More likely than not, these clerks sold documents for side income to the gazette publishers. Such work was deprecated by officials, but not specifically illegal if the documents had been sanctioned for public release.¹⁹

The representation of this story as an official report made it both saleable to the public and more dangerous in the context of the state communications order. The association of natural disasters with supernatural factors was a common element of popular talk. The clerks had mobilized everyday relationships of kinship and native-place affinity in order to spread a story that they knew would sell. Although investigators were concerned that the story represented itself as a memorial from an important territorial official, the details of the case were so inane that it seemed unlikely that more powerful officials or subterfuge lay behind the circulation of this false document. The testimonies obtained in the earthquake case convinced capital investigators that the false earthquake report was nothing more than an ordinary case of opportunistic malfeasance by metropolitan clerks. Thus, just a few days after it had commenced, the case was closed.

Yet, the very circumstances that seemed ordinary to imperial investigators—clerks trading documents with publishers, their ad hoc review of official communiqués for authenticity, publishers identifying official documents as saleable in the capital market—reveal that imperial information policies not only shaped the pathways by which official documents passed into public view, but also defined the focus of popular interest in these media. Leaked documents were not the only state texts to appear in public view. Since early in the dynasty, the Qing court had created and finessed procedures for the release and circulation of documents, even allowing the participation of commercial publishers in this enterprise. The presence of official texts in everyday society invited locals to think of these materials not only as containing news of distant locales, but also as news in their own right. In other words, the “news” in this case was not simply the story of monstrous creatures foreshadowing a far-off earthquake, but rather the story, framed in authoritative material and rhetoric contexts, of a Manchu governor reporting in his official capacity that monstrous creatures had appeared in advance of a devastating earthquake. By defining official reports as the medium in which state-authorized news would appear, the state introduced the idea that “news,” in its guise as official document, could be faked.

Documentary Structures

Technically, any official communication that was not specifically designated as secret could be made available for consultation and copying in the Grand Secretariat, the chief institution of the outer court.

18 *KMZZ*, 1613 [ca. KX 57/08/10]; *KMZZ*, 1318-19 (KX 57/08/19).

19 See Yentai’s accusations in Xiaolian Guan et al., eds., *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1998), 494 (no. 886).

Routine communications were open to bureaucratic review during deliberation, and public review after a decision had been made. Each routine memorial submitted by a provincial office arrived together with file copies (*fuben* 副本) and abridged summaries (*jietie* 揭帖). The Memorials Office (*Tongzheng si* 通政司) retained these materials while the Grand Secretariat drafted a rescript and the emperor considered the memorial. After the approval of an imperial rescript, scribes in the Six Sections (*Liu ke* 六科) reviewed the documents and recopied the annotated memorial for circulation.²⁰ In principle, the documents that gazette publishers obtained from palace offices bore marks of authentication and could be traced to document registers and archives.

New practices and institutions implemented during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries made sure that not all documents were available for publication. Most prominently, when the Kangxi emperor expanded the use of “secret memorials,” these confidential communications were sent by personal couriers between palace and official, and were not reviewed by the Grand Secretariat prior to presentation to the emperor. Even after imperial review, secret communications could only be released for public review through a time-consuming process in which the memorialist resubmitted the secret communiqué as a routine memorial.²¹ This window to top-level communications would not be expanded until 1737, when it became possible to immediately release a memorial for public review.

In the post-conquest period, the Shunzhi court created a system of documentary registers for maintaining records of items sent between offices and released for public review. A 1658 (SZ 15) edict designated supervisors (*zhushi* 主事) to oversee the preparation of “registers of circulated documents” (*fachao ji ce* 發鈔記冊).²² Clerks matched lists of documents designated for release with corresponding document summaries, and made these available to gazette copyists.²³ Supervising secretaries (*jishizhong* 給事中) of the Six Sections occasionally reviewed outgoing materials in order to ensure felicity to authorized material.²⁴ The “register of circulated documents” held in the Six Sections corresponded to itemized registers of “documents for release” (*ling xia hao bu* 領下號簿) managed by the Chinese and Manchu Registry Offices (漢滿票簽) in the Grand Secretariat. The Registry Offices specialized in the redaction of court documents for filing and circulation purposes.²⁵ Finally, in the “register of silken words” *Silun bu* 絲論簿, clerks recorded in brief the imperial edicts and rescripts that had been assigned

20 This process, and the problem of unsealed file copies becoming the source of unsanctioned release, were the topic of several memorials in the Yongzheng reign. See National Palace Museum (NPM) Palace Archive (GZD) 0402020378, [YZ 5] Zhang Zhengyuan; *Yongzheng chao Manwen*, 494 (Yentai, YZ 01/11/10); Zhongguo di yi lishi dang'an guan, ed., *Yongzheng chao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1989), 31: 4 (Santai, [YZ 4?]).

21 For the Yongzheng emperor's anger at censors sharing and publicizing secret memorials, see Huizhong comp., *Qinding taigui: ba juan* (QL), j.2, p.7a-b.

22 *Qing shilu*, SZ 15/07/24, j.119, p.925b.

23 It is unclear where this distribution took place. We do have examples of clerks going to gazette offices located in the city in order to sell documents. Proclamations against leaking and fabrications refer consistently to the “gazette copyists for each province,” suggesting that capital liaisons (*zhujing titang* 駐京提塘) contracted on an individual basis with gazette publishers. Capital liaisons were responsible for the compilation and distribution of gazettes and other documents, but they did not participate in the copying process.

24 *Qing shilu*, SZ 17/03/15, j.133, p.1029b.

25 Contrary to their name, the two offices did not seem to divide documents according to language. For example, a Chinese gazette copyist in 1859 described that he copied documents from the registry book of the Manchu Registry on a daily basis. NPM, GZD, 406010511, XF 09/04/24, testimony of Zhang Tonghe.

to various memorials processed in the palace bureaucracy.²⁶

In both the broader bureaucratic communications order and in gazette publishing, state regulations anticipated and tried to prevent conflicts based on asymmetric information. Most importantly, regulations barred the publication of memorials that had not yet received imperial responses. While the palace bureaucracy released both edicts and rescripts immediately, variable delays were imposed for deliberation and administrative work before the circulation of memorials. Meanwhile, clerical institutions and publishers alike were required to process documents as they were received and not to hold back materials. Therefore, gazettes published edicts days in advance of the memorials that had prompted them. Such regulations responded to the tests on bureaucratic efficiency presented by a large empire and a growing population. As judicial caseloads and piles of unprocessed documents mounted, the state attempted to ensure that gazettes could not provide advance notice of pending decisions to readers.²⁷

Returning to the earthquake case for a moment, we can see that document clerks for the Six Sections were well placed to intercept and leak documents as they were processed, transferred between offices, copied, and archived. According to regulations derived from Ming precedents, the six secretarial offices mirrored the six administrative boards (*liu bu* 六部) of the central government. Clerks recopied imperial communications for inclusion in the records of central historiographical institutes as well as the board archives. In addition, the personnel of the Six Sections acted as documentary auditors by proofreading and inspecting communications for adherence to documentary conventions. In this process, clerks checked that each memorial included supplementary notes meant to facilitate the archival and deliberative process.²⁸ In essence, the clerks of the six offices had access to the full complement of documentary elements that accompanied any given communication. Adding to their intimacy with court-handled cases, employees of the Six Sections worked with live documents midway through the deliberative process, rather than compiling archives after an administrative matter had been finalized. These factors made section clerks ideal contacts for gazette publishers and others who pursued information on bureaucratic operations.

The Role of the Market

26 Examples of these, predominantly from the Shunzhi reign, can be found in the Grand Secretariat archive (*Neige daku* 內閣大庫).

27 See a case involving the suicide of a convict as the result of an information leak, described in Emily Mokros, "Communication, Empire, and Authority in the Qing Gazette," (PhD Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2016), 71-2. Cf. *Qinding Da Qing huidian* (1899), j.51.

28 The six offices also been called the "Six Sections," and the "supervising secretaries" (*jishizhong* 給事中) that manned them also called "supervising censors." Cf. Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 2:317. The functions of these offices followed directly from Ming precedent, although personal memorials, and subsequently palace memorials circumvented these units. See Silas H.L. Wu, "The Memorials System of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967): 12-25; and "Transmission of Ming Memorials," 278. On the surveillance activities of the six offices, see Xu Mingyi, *Qingdai liu ke xingzheng jiankong yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2012). Regulations for the six offices remained fairly consistent across editions of the Qing *Collected Statutes*. See *Da Qing huidian* (1899), j.20. Supplementary archival materials included oft-extensive reference summaries (*jietie*) and short digests (*tiehuang* 貼黃). Archival copies (*shishu* 史書) made by the office of the Board of Appointments for use in historiographical compilations are extant for the Yongzheng reign and provide a useful view of routine business handled by this Board. See Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan, comp., *Yongzheng chao neige liu ke shishu. li ke*, 83 vols (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2002).

Commercial gazette publishing emerged in the Ming dynasty as an outgrowth of informal relationships between capital communications liaisons (*zhujing titang* 駐京提塘) and local print and scribal publishers.²⁹ Whereas the Song state had apparently monopolized all stages of the reproduction of court gazettes, the Ming dynasty commercial publishing boom included scribal and print publishers who specialized in the production of official and examination-related materials.³⁰ During the late Ming dynasty, liaisons increasingly contracted with private publishers to make copies of court-authorized materials.³¹ Publishers took advantage of their connections and time in capital offices to make copies not just for official use, but also for sale in the city. Importantly, while these copies shared a common name (*dibao* or *dichao*), in reality the central bureaucracy did not provide a single standard daily gazette, but rather allowed liaisons and copyists to select from open materials. As a result, the specific items available for purview in different locations, and provided to different provincial officials, could vary. Such variations may have decreased when the liaisons relied on commercial publishers who served a number of clients concurrently. This decentralized system remained intact for approximately the first century of Qing rule from Beijing.³²

Each day, private copyists and printers composed gazettes from court-authorized document summaries, notes, and registries. Commercial publishers either contracted with government clerks to supply them with copy (as in the case of the earthquake story), or proceeded directly to the Grand Secretariat to transcribe the day’s material. Publishers using wooden movable type to produce gazettes were apparently in operation as early as the Chongzhen reign, according to Gu Yanwu, a consummate reader of the gazettes of his day.³³ Attesting to the commercial, rather than government, nature of gazette publishing, whereas document management was placed under the purview of palace clerical offices, gazette publishing fell under the mandate of capital police forces. As seen in the earthquake rumor case, the capital police began to oversee gazette publishing as a part of their mandate to keep tabs on social

29 I am preparing an article on the political role of communications liaisons. See Liu Wenpeng, “Titang kao,” *Qingshi yanjiu* no.4 (2007): 87-91. These officials have also been called “courier superintendents” and “postmasters.” However, these posts carried only loose associations to the courier (*yizhan* 驛站) post system, and the officials were only tasked with managing certain types of communications between offices. My use of the term “capital liaisons” for the Beijing-based post draws on the historical “capital liaison” offices of the late Tang dynasty, an institution with relevance to the history of the court gazette as well as these officials. See De Weerd, *Information, Territory, and Networks*, 79.

30 The most extended discussion of such publishing activities can be found in Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

31 My focus is not on the Ming case, although I substantiate more fully in my book manuscript in progress. See Lynn A. Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619–1683: A Historiography and Source Guide* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 1998), Ch.1.

32 My account here diverges from some standard accounts in the literature on the history of news in China, which, in their pursuit of an authentic indigenous Chinese newspaper, tend to overstate the standardization of gazettes and furthermore the role of commercial agents during the Ming. See, e.g., Ge Gongzhen 戈公振, *Zhongguo baoxue shi* 中國報學史料 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1927), 43-49; Fang Hanqi 方漢奇, “*Qing shi* ‘baokan biao’ zhong you guan gudai baozhi de jige wenti 清史《報刊表》中有關古代報紙的幾個問題,” *Lishi dang’an* 2 (2007): 12-13; Yin Yungong 尹韻公, *Zhongguo Mingdai xinwen chuanbo shi* 中國明代新聞傳播史 (Chongqing: Zhongqing chubanshe, 1990). Most scholars of late Ming politics and communications have skirted these thorny issues of production and regulation. See, e.g., Hung-tai Wang, “Information Media, Social Imagination, and Public Society during the Ming and Qing Dynasties,” *Frontiers of History in China* 5, no.2 (2010): 172; Ying Zhang, *Confucian Image Politics: Masculine Morality in Seventeenth-Century China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017).

33 Gu Tinglin, “Yu Gong Su sheng shu,” in *Tinglin shi wen ji*, j.8, p.15a-b.

order in the city. In the early Yongzheng era, new regulations would devolve routine responsibility for the gazette publishers to the supervising censors of the five wards (*wucheng xunshi yushi* 五城巡視御史). Stationed throughout the city, censorial offices maintained registries of the gazette publishers operating in their jurisdictions and their output.³⁴

Notably, commercial publishers assisted in the circulation of multiple genres of open communications, not just gazettes. In Beijing and in provincial seats, commercial publishers facilitated the massive output of texts related to the civil examinations, including examination handbooks, compilations of examination essays, and the yellow notices (often called 京報 or 捷報) that announced success.³⁵ These publishers had close ties with the staff of the communications liaisons in Beijing and in the provinces.³⁶ Moreover, in the decentralized model of open communications, field administrators recruited local publishers to print up a wide range of official materials, from proclamations to imperial compendia. All of these texts were available for a price; even European missionaries freely purchased gazettes to learn about capital news.³⁷ Therefore, commercial involvement was a key factor in circulating texts associated with the state throughout the empire.

The Logic of Open Communications

The problem of how to properly structure and manage state organizations, including primarily the civil bureaucracy but also their subordinates in the capital and in local offices (*lizheng* 吏政), lay at the heart of Qing political thought.³⁸ Communications, as observed by Thomas Metzger in his classic monograph on the Qing bureaucracy, were an important institutional component of this agenda.³⁹ Secret, administrative, and open communications can all be related to this nexus of political goals. Thus, when defining the purpose of secret communications, Qing officials and emperors focused on the way that confidentiality freed the memorialist, classically a “speaking official” (*yanguan* 言官) like an imperial censor, to address problems of corruption and malfeasance with candor. Secrecy thus enabled the censor to critique even crimes committed by the monarch himself. Administrative communications, meanwhile, documented the work of imperial institutions, providing data-heavy reports of criminal investigations, tax revenues, the workings of the courier system, the military, and other areas overseen by the bureaucracy. Like secret communications, open communications were seen as assisting in bureaucratic discipline. However, whereas confidentiality guaranteed the efficacy of secret memorials, publicity was the crucial

34 The routine interactions between section clerks, urban censors, and gazette publishers were put on display in 1853 when an unreleased memorial pertaining to the security of the beleaguered capital was published in the city’s gazettes. The mistake was later sourced to a censor, who tried to interfere with registries to cover up his error.

35 For examples, see Étienne Zi, *Pratique des examens littéraires en Chine* (Shanghai: impr. de la Mission catholique, 1894), 21.

36 On these ties, see *Yongzheng chao neige liu ke shishu—li ke*, 83:267-70.

37 I describe this in Chapter 6 of my book manuscript.

38 William T. Rowe, *China’s Last Empire: The Great Qing*, 60-62.

39 Thomas A. Metzger, *The Internal Organization of Ch’ing Bureaucracy: Legal, Normative, and Communication Aspects* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).

context that made open communications useful.

Other forms of public communication included the promulgation of imperial proclamations, which tended to be statements of court initiatives or policy, and, especially during and after the Yongzheng reign, the circulation of imperially sanctioned texts, including collections of edicts, laws, and campaign histories. These three genres differed in their intended audience and use. Proclamations (*zhao* 詔) were directed to the public, and were both read aloud and posted on yamen walls (*as tenghuang* 騰黃) for review. Initially, gazettes were a medium for relaying information from the capital to provincial officials; as a result of commercial involvement in this relationship, they became a publicly available news source. Finally, imperial publications were typically presented as gifts to serving officials, who were sometimes charged with reprinting the texts for public circulation. Each of the three could inform readers of imperial policy, but they fulfilled different purposes from the state’s perspective. Proclamations defined social order, imperial publications offered prescriptive or orthodox representations of past events, regulations, and texts, and gazettes informed the work of the territorial bureaucracy.

As a result of their intended purpose, the most important items released in gazettes related to complex matters fraught with possibilities for administrative malfeasance. These included the personnel management (appointments, promotions, transfers, and censure), civil examinations, and the distribution of tax remissions and disaster relief. In each of these cases, the bureaucracy was the real target audience, and the curated release of such information was meant to prevent occurrences of administrative crime. In theory, “a bit of knowledge” of the potential consequences dissuaded the official from malfeasance.⁴⁰

The public functioned as a hypothetical audience and further safeguard in the open communications system. In theory, any person could consult a gazette in order to verify the authenticity of a stated court initiative, or even a more routine matter like an official appointment. As recently pointed out by Mark McNicholas, the “fluid” nature of the Qing bureaucracy, which put officials into constant motion between posts, created administrative complexity for the state and introduced openings for crime, especially administrative fraud.⁴¹ Appointees carried seals of office and other credentials meant to authenticate their identities upon arrival at the local yamen. Still, such materials could be (and were) forged. The open circulation of personnel appointments, both in the reproduction of recommendation memorials, and in the monthly distribution of “appointment registers” (*fenfa dan* 分發單) provided a standard record against which a suspicious individual might be judged. The transparent description of administrative crimes offered the commoner population justification to lodge complaints against a problematic official.

Civil examinations likewise necessitated strategies of confidentiality and transparency. By nature, the examinations attracted a great deal of public attention, and supervising officials feared interference in the procedures of the exams.⁴² Most important was maintaining the confidentiality of the process, both in terms of the questions to be presented for examination candidates, and the identities of the candidates. Therefore, a rule was established that the Grand Secretariat would only prepare a printed copy of the

40 Yuan Shou ding (袁守定, 1705-1782), *Tumin lu*, in *Guanzhen shu jicheng* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1997), 5:230.

41 Mark McNicholas, *Forgery and Impersonation*, 170.

42 Cf. descriptions of public protest of examination fraud in John R. Williams, “Fraud and Inquest in Jiangnan: The Politics of Examinations in Early Qing China,” (PhD Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 2005), p.157-60, and p.223ff.

examination questions for the final palace examination at dawn the day prior to the exam.⁴³ Examination questions and lists also needed to be made public following the events. Lists were posted according to the size of the province, but no later than twenty-five days following the exam's completion.⁴⁴ Public announcement of the topics covered in the examinations came later—for example, the questions for the provincial “grace examinations” (*en ke* 恩科) of 1770 (QL 35) were announced in the court gazettes in the tenth month of 1771—more than a year after their occurrence.⁴⁵

Finally, the publication of notices of tax relief owing to gestures of imperial benevolence or disaster relief was both functionally and ideologically significant. Without the safeguard of the open distribution of such information, what would prevent the local magistrate from failing to inform the local population of such a policy, and continuing to collect (and pocket) taxes as usual? From time to time throughout the dynasty, officials reported the omission of tax-related information from gazettes as a sign of collusion between publishers and local officials. As noted by eighteenth-century missionary observers, the open release of such information also helped bolster the court's image, by assuring local populations that the court paid consummate attention to the needs of the people, and furthermore by defining the emperor's benevolent attitudes towards his subjects.⁴⁶

The Politics of Trust

The interaction of three main systems—secret, administrative, and open—thus defined the Qing communications order. Communications was not simply a logistical matter, but a subject of the utmost political importance. For this reason, when the Kangxi emperor began to articulate a distinctive ruling style through his use and modification of imperial communications networks, this system was thrown into disarray. Two chief aspects of the Kangxi emperor's behavior in his later years created problems for the balance between secrecy and publicity at court. First was the problem of orality. Kangxi habitually made policy and conducted advisory meetings in court-room conversations conducted in multiple languages. He often issued oral edicts which carried the force of law comparable to proclamations issued in writing.⁴⁷ This created confusion among scribes and secretaries about which orations held force and which did not. Kangxi himself remained cognizant of these problems, railing, “Only when I personally inscribe a document with my commands, responses, and annotations, and release this for review, do matters become fact.”⁴⁸

A case published in the court gazette in 1717 illustrates the common confusion between oral and

43 References to this edict's promulgation in QL 26 can be found in a number of procedural correspondence, for example NGDK 287691-001 [QL 26/04/15].

44 Zi, *Pratique des examens*, 156-8.

45 *Tizou shijian* (Princeton University collection), QL 35/10/17. On official and private print editions of essays, see Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 400-3.

46 Contancin to Souciet, Dec. 2, 1725, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 18:428-463.

47 See notes of conversations between Kangxi and his officials in the *Qijuzhu*. On the informality of court audiences in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Pierre-Étienne Will, “Views of the Realm in Crisis: Testimonies on Imperial Audiences in the Nineteenth Century,” *Late Imperial China* 29, no.1S (2008): 125-159.

48 惟朕硃書諭旨及批本，發科者始為的確。其起居注所記，難於憑信也。 *QSL-KX*, j.271, p.664a-b, KX 56/03/16.

written genres among bureaucratic officials and scribes, as well as the growing importance of documentary workers in the court hierarchy. In this case, a group of Hanlin officials relaxed outside the court diaries office (*Qijuzhu guan* 起居注館) one day, discussing imperial distributions of tax relief. One Chen Zhang (陳璋, dates unknown), asked his colleague Zhao Xiongzhaio (趙熊詔, 1663-1721) when an imperial edict had been proclaimed on a recent relief request. Zhao had personal connections to the matter because his father was the powerful head of the Board of Revenue, and although he felt unable to remember precisely, he claimed certainty that the matter had transpired.⁴⁹ The group summoned a translation clerk (*bitieshi* 筆帖式) to locate evidence in the archives of the court diaries office. The clerk promptly entered the archives and found “in the waste-paper” records, a note about Kangxi’s conversations on the matter. He wrote down the date in Manchu, and emerged from the archives to hand the item to his interlocutors. Satisfied, the Hanlin officials took the record as proof, and later tore it into pieces and threw it away. In fact, the emperor had issued no such ruling, and Kangxi was outraged to find out that the officials had sent a clerk to copy items out of the archives to satisfy their own personal curiosities. Although the emperor had considered such a request for tax relief, he had rejected it. Kangxi issued no edict, and the matter was not publicized. Capital officials’ willingness to misconstrue oral conversations as documentary facts challenged the sanctity of the administrative process. Meanwhile, scribal intermediaries deployed facility with documents as a powerful asset in exchanges of sociability and intrigue alike.

Second, outside of the confines of the palace itself, the emperor’s expanded use of secret memorials endangered the stability of the broader communications order. Simply put, secrecy attracted notice by creating insecurity between communications partners. The imperial hierarchy of communications, in which certain trusted officials participated in confidential exchanges with the emperor, mapped onto a concept of bureaucratic politics based in personal relationships and allegiances. The emperor awarded access to information as a prize for demonstrated service to the throne. Widespread awareness of the existence of secret correspondence urged others to seek their own sources of information. The open secret of confidential communications created a climate of distrust and placed strain on the personal relationships and enmities that defined the late Kangxi reign.⁵⁰

Kangxi’s communications with territorial officials reveal the ways the emperor used information networks to reward and police loyalty. For example, in the contexts of a renewed military campaign against the Zunghar Mongols in the summer of 1715, Kangxi had chosen two trusted Manchu officials, Hešeo (Ch. Heshou 赫壽, 16??-1719), and Mamboo (Ch. Manbao 滿保, 1673-1725), to receive curated reports of the imperial response.⁵¹ He reminded these officials that the inevitable rumors that swirled around war could not be trusted, especially in the south. To Hešeo, he wrote, “You are a Manchu, and

49 Zhao Xiongzhaio’s father, Zhao Shengqiao 趙申喬 (1644-1720), was a famous official of the Kangxi reign. He served as Board secretary for many years, and had previously served as financial administrator and governor in Jiangnan, so he bore a clear interest in the case.

50 See Nancy E. Park, “Corruption in Eighteenth-Century China,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 56, no.4 (1997): 998-9; R. Kent Guy, *Qing Governors and Their Provinces: The Evolution of Territorial Administration in China, 1644-1796* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010).

51 A member of the Plain Yellow Banner, and the Aisin Gioro imperial lineage, Mamboo had been sent to the southern coast after seventeen years in the metropolitan court, including a stint as editor of the court diaries. See Cai Xin’s funerary inscription in *Bei zhuan*, v.4, j.68, p.796-99.

I fear you might believe the heedless rumors that the Han disseminate, so I have copied out a summary of the real circumstances for your information.”⁵² To Mamboo, he wrote, “Fujian is far away, and fake reports (*jiabao* 假報) of the various provinces are extremely numerous....”⁵³ Kangxi’s messages to the two Manchu officials drew attention to the uncertainty of local rumor and oral conversations in the south even as he implied that written reports from the front were both trustworthy and freely available.

Although Mamboo and Hešeo received personal dispatches, other officials relied on official and unofficial gazettes and conversations with their own networks to learn about the campaign. The shocking news of a Mongol siege on the imperial garrison prompted Liu Yinshu (劉蔭樞, 1637-1723), governor of southwestern Guizhou, to send his own memorial to the court. He urged Kangxi to delay a rumored military expedition to the front. However, given the perceived risks of the Hami campaign, the Kangxi court initially excluded information about it from the court-authorized gazette.⁵⁴ Thus, Liu drew on other, riskier sources. Almost immediately, court advisors described Liu’s missive as uninformed and careless. Kangxi lambasted the governor:

Liu Yinshu believed rumors and [unauthorized] gazettes and heedlessly submitted a memorial on defining borders. He should really drop this business... Since Liu has not yet declined into old age, let him ride a military horse to the front, and observe matters to his heart’s content. Only then should he submit such advice.⁵⁵

The emperor’s response mocked Liu for his gullibility and inability to discern fact from fiction.⁵⁶

Despite his privileged relationship to the emperor Mamboo faced the same challenges as had Liu Yinshu when it came to analyzing and authenticating reports about the western frontier.⁵⁷ Nearly four years after Kangxi sent him exclusive dispatches from Hami, Mamboo revealed that for years, the Fujian capital communications liaison (*zhujing titang* 駐京提塘) had sent bad information from the capital. Mamboo argued that Kangxi’s gift of confidential dispatches had actually intimidated this underling and convinced him to send only materials authorized by the capital clerical offices (*keya* 科衙), rather than unverified reports like those Liu Yinshu had unfortunately trusted.⁵⁸ Mamboo’s references to “intimidation” implied uncertainty in his relationship with this capital representative, whom he had inherited as a subordinate when he assumed the position of governor-general.

As it later came to light, Mamboo scorned the illicit transmissions of his capital liaison not because of

52 *KMZZ*, p.1018, KX 54.06.06.

53 *KMZZ*, p.1010, KX 54.05.08.

54 Presumably, Kuixu’s recent condemnation of spying at court also took effect in protecting the secrecy of military discussions and documents.

55 *QSL-KX*, j.267, p.626a, (KX 55/03/27). Given that he lacked a privileged connection to the emperor, Liu Yinshu had most likely solicited information from his capital liaison. Liu Yinshu reportedly made it as far as Barkol (Balikun 巴里坤), then pleaded physical weakness and received some pardon from the emperor, who accepted his retirement. *Qing shi gao, lie zhuan*, j.276.

56 Kangxi also scolded Liu Yinshu on multiple occasions for impropriety and carelessness in his memorializing practices. McNicholas, *Forgery and Impersonation*, 24.

57 *KMZZ*, KX 58.03.06, 1374-5.

58 *KMZZ*, KX 58.03.06, p.1374-5.

his own moral principles, but because he had other sources in the capital.⁵⁹ Mamboo’s personal networks in the capital included family members and servants who intercepted imperial documents at various points in the deliberative process and revealed their contents to their patron. The Yongzheng emperor condemned these abuses as symptoms of the ill-advised qualities of the secret memorials system as conducted by his late father. In the second year of his reign, Yongzheng issued a scornful rebuke of the temptations and failings of the secret memorial system.⁶⁰ He used Mamboo’s crimes of employing relatives and friends to intercept and spy on palace memorials as a structuring example to illustrate the danger of over-reliance on personal trust in the secret communications system that his father had constructed.⁶¹ In principle, trust enabled participants in a confidential exchange to speak of each and every matter candidly, leaving nothing out. Yet, the use of secret communications in no way guaranteed mutual trust. The revelation that two Manchu governors had entreated underlings to spy on secret communications therefore proved their essential lack of mutual trust. Yongzheng condemned these actions: “These abuses originate in the officials’ inability to trust themselves, and their resultant inability to trust their emperor. If their intentions are thus, then what use are secret memorials?”⁶²

The legacy of personal relationships in mediating imperial communications took its toll in governance. Secret memorials, which had appeared to solve the problem of confidential communications across vast and uncertain territory, introduced unforeseen complications. Between emperor and official, as well as between provincial official and capital correspondent, the very secrecy of these communications made it difficult to assess their truth. Although the emperor could balance the suspicions of his territorial officials against each other, he could not account for their proclivity to use other networks, whether bureaucratic or personal, to protect their vulnerabilities and advance their own interests. Especially in times of war and political intrigue, the monarch could not rely on distant correspondents, but required intimate consultation with close advisors in secure settings in order to guide the imperial helm.

Into the Eighteenth Century

The resulting communications reforms of the Yongzheng era defined clearer boundaries between court offices and between the inner court and the outer bureaucracy. The emperor rejected large court audiences, and met with advisors behind closed doors. By consolidating the six clerical offices (*liu ke*) within the Censorate, he sought to reduce the power of the censors by loading them down with administrative work.⁶³ He convened successive informal councils to deal with pressing issues of the day, including ongoing frontier campaigns and financial overhauls of the imperial bureaucracy. In 1727, the fifth year of the Yongzheng reign, a Commission on Statutes (*lilǐ guān* 律例館) proposed a schedule of punishments for administrative crimes involving political information.⁶⁴ Drafted amid several frontier

59 *Qing shi lie zhuan*, j.12, p.36a-b.

60 The memorial foreshadowed Yongzheng’s famous 1725 publication “On Factions” (*Yu zhi Pengdang lun*).

61 Yongzheng also accused a second governor, the Shanxi governor Nuomin.

62 *Qing shi lie zhuan*, j.12, p.36a-b.

63 Huang, *Autocracy at Work*, 117-19.

64 *Da Qing huidian* (1725), j.166. This schedule does not appear in later editions of the *Huidian*.

campaigns, the laws proposed less severe punishment for crimes committed in pursuit of personal motives than those related to war and espionage. With regards to standards of confidentiality, the laws imposed harsher punishments for the fabrication and distortion of official documents than for the leaking of information from the palace, even materials drawn from secret correspondence or records of military councils. While palace leaks could be disruptive and dangerous, they left intact the authority of the documents themselves. Fraudulent memorials and edicts, on the other hand, undermined in the most serious way the authority of the state and the documents that represented it.

The councils convened by the Yongzheng emperor formed the predecessors to the permanent and powerful Grand Council, the members of which sat at the helm of court politics for the remainder of the dynasty.⁶⁵ The Grand Council and its antecedents enjoyed expansive access to the monarch and oversight over incoming and outgoing communications. Indeed, much of the power of the Council came from its mediating role in the communications hierarchy. Whereas the Kangxi emperor had promised complete secrecy to his palace memorialists, the Yongzheng emperor allowed key members of his councils to collaborate in deliberating over and drafting responses to secret memorials. Responses authored by these councils became known as “court letters” (*tingji* 廷寄).⁶⁶ Court letters were sent directly to memorialists like imperial responses to secret memorials, and were not ordinarily made available for public review. However, as provincial officials increasingly chose to enclose their most important messages in palace memorials, it became necessary to find a more direct route for addressing these subjects in public-facing texts.

Under the Qianlong emperor, the Grand Council’s operations quickly became more formally institutionalized, and the emperor allowed the Council to take over responsibilities that Yongzheng had guarded zealously. By 1737, the Grand Council implemented regulations that allowed palace memorials to be directly routed to the Grand Secretariat and relayed to the wider bureaucracy.⁶⁷ These regulations made it possible to directly publish excerpts from palace memorials in court gazettes, the purview of which had previously been limited to routine memorials. The importance of this transition can be seen in the pages of court gazettes and in transcribed records by readers.⁶⁸ From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the majority of communications presented in court gazettes were noted as memorials (*zou* 奏), rather than routine communications (*ti* 題). In this way, the formation of the Grand Council expanded readers’ access to substantive policy discussion in the pages of the court gazette. From the Qianlong era onward, a substantial portion of those communications processed by the Grand Council were eventually cleared for public review.

Successive administrations continued to grapple with the porous boundaries of secrecy within and beyond the government communications order. To a certain extent, the pursuit of political intelligence was a routine component of capital life, as liaisons dispatched by provincial officials, imperial princes,

65 As Beatrice Bartlett has demonstrated, these councils did not formalize into a permanent advisory board until the disbanding of the temporary group that steered the ship during the first year of the Qianlong reign. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 166-7.

66 Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 104-106.

67 Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 157-8. The Grand Council records of palace memorials sent to the outer court (*Wai yi dang* 外移檔) may thus represent palace memorials available for publishing in the court gazette. This information can also be adduced by combing the *Suishou dengji*.

68 One significant exception was communications from metropolitan boards, at least in the late Qianlong era. For *tiben* in memorials, see *Tizou shijian*, QL 38/07/09; QL 40/07/02; QL 40/10/16 (National Diet Library, Tokyo).

and other interested parties made inquiries, listened to conversations, and paid for documents. Into the nineteenth century, Manchu princes and capital officials paid subordinates to make notes at the palace gates in order to facilitate a speedy appearance at court when requested.⁶⁹ These intermediaries formed natural connections to the public by spreading juicy information. In other cases, however, leaks were exposed as a symptom of the state’s failure to provide information to subordinates and intermediaries on how to deal with the introduction or expansion of state institutions whose operations impinged on routines of old. Thus, when the Grand Council was inaugurated as a formal institution, capital liaisons for a number of provinces became ensnared in a scheme to obtain unauthorized drafts by making payments to clerks in exchange for leaked materials.⁷⁰ In each situation, the primacy of documentary communications within the Qing political system gave these leaked materials currency and value.

Conclusion

Publicity, just as well as secrecy, can be used to promote state power. In describing the necessity of open communications, Qing officials emphasized how these mediums improved the functionality, order, and coordination of the state. In 1748, Guangdong governor Yue Jun (岳濬, 1704-1753) neatly summarized that court gazettes were “created to illuminate for all the spectacular depth, breadth, and clarity of governance, and follows the mandate that all parts [of the empire] should adhere to the same directives.”⁷¹ In Yue Jun’s words, governance was taken up across the empire simultaneously. Distance formed no obstacle to the coordinated execution of law and administration. In this description, the curated release of state communications empowered the central state to confidently enact and disseminate a unified vision of imperial administration. The Qing information order was built on the combination of mechanisms for confidential communications, administrative reporting, and curated transparency.

Official texts and documents—whether held in classified archives, composed in routine and collaborative processes, or circulated in gazettes—were important components of the Qing state’s assertion of power. The open dissemination of state texts also provided the Qing court with a powerful strategy for invalidating disruptive rumors and adverse accusations. The widespread knowledge of the imperial communications system created by the direct reproduction of imperial texts in public forms like the court gazettes tempted people to frame rumors and apocryphal stories and political attacks in the form of official memorials. The state could then trace whether these memorials truly originated from the official communications order. If not, the state had no need to address the subject of the text or its accusations—it simply needed to cry “fake news.” The framing of “news” as something that could be defined as valid or invalid on the basis of its form and authenticity had a powerful impact on the state’s mandate over public information. Indeed, if making comparisons to the present era, we might reflect on modern media consumers’ willingness to accept information as truthful on the basis of its media packaging, rather than its contents.

69 Liu Wenhua, ed., “Jiaqing er shi si nian wanggong dachen tanting guanshi an dang’an,” *Lishi dang’an no.2* (2016): 40-54.

70 FHA, LFZZ 03-0329-005, QL 01/04/04; Lü Xiaoxian 呂小鮮, “You guan Qingdai dichao de sange wenti 有关清代邸抄的三个问题,” *Qingshi yanjiu no.1* (2000): 94.

71 FHA, Palace Memorials (ZPZZ), 04-01-01-0168-036, Yue Jun, QL 13/03/29.

以鴉片之名：清末山西禁煙的地方宣傳與異議論述

Policy Propaganda and the Discourse of Dissent: Opium Suppression in Shanxi Province, 1877-1911

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摘要 / Abstract

自鴉片戰爭以來，是否嚴禁鴉片一直是朝堂上重要的爭辯，並因此形成不同政治主張的團體。然清中央並未明確表達鴉片的政策，僅隨時事變化而在嚴禁與馳禁間搖擺，直至光緒三十二年（1906）方才正式以十年為期明令根絕。這使得以生產鴉片聞名的山西地方上，流竄各種嚴禁與馳禁的假消息。在這種訊息混亂的場域裡，曾經出現兩波操作訊息的禁煙行動。第一波是在光緒三年（1877）官方運用旱災的情境，操作鴉片與糧食的競爭關係，打壓地方支持開禁的聲音，並以此推動鴉片的替代作物。但隨旱情緩和即告失敗，並排斥官府。第二波是地方菁英透過省內報刊《晉陽公報》，配合十年禁絕的命令進行禁煙宣傳。然而，《晉陽公報》的投稿者相當複雜，有支持清廷的諮議局菁英，也有反清為尚的革命派，使禁煙的訊息充滿政治的角力。一則抹黑諮議局菁英偷種鴉片的消息出現後，引起滿城風雨，百姓誤判此資訊為政策搖擺的信號，因而再次投入種植鴉片。最後與查禁人員發生衝突，並且幾乎釀成民變。透過此二事例將說明，混亂訊息的交流條件下，即使宣傳本身帶有秩序的意圖，也可能在論述條件改變的過程中成為動亂的根源。

前言

自鴉片戰爭以來的中國歷史似乎都與「鴉片」有著密切的關係，無論什麼史事都無法迴避討論鴉片的問題。因此，由鴉片來理解 1840 年以後的中國史，甚至是亞洲史或全球史都是相當有效的途徑。¹ 然鴉片戰爭不僅開啟了中國近代政治外交史各種研究，伴隨而來的是禁毒歷史的開展。早期最豐碩的研究成果是關於禁毒法律的研究，透過法律變遷的過程解釋鴉片對中國社會的衝擊。² 往後多數的討論都在這樣的基礎中進行，形成以國家、政策觀點下的鴉片史。

近年來，鴉片問題所顯示的複雜層面為學者所重視，新的研究中不僅關注到貿易或國家政策的影響，更考慮了地方的觀點，重新塑造複雜脈絡下的鴉片史。³ Joyce Madancy 教授的研究可以說是此脈絡研究中最具代表性的討論，他考慮了地方不同身分的人投入禁煙事務時不同的考量，並且在人際網絡、權力結構以及外在時局變化的影響下，所呈現出來的地方禁毒史，它包含了政治意向、經濟企圖以及民族自信的成分。⁴ 由這些代表性著作可知無論以什麼樣的觀點來討論罌粟，都離不開政治相關的議題。

由於鴉片事務與政治緊密相連，因此關於禁煙的相關記載也就不免帶有相當濃厚的政治特色，Madancy 教授已經指出這類資料在使用時必須注意到資料表述的詞彙與歷史事實之間的鴻溝，因此必須以外部的資料進行互證，才能有效討論其意義。⁵ 確實，當我們在閱讀清朝留下大量的禁煙資料時，最強烈的感受大概有二：其一是多數的論述無法反映歷時性。意即從禁煙伊始，其言論的主軸與主要內容其實並沒有多大變化。至清政權崩潰之前，禁煙討論的基調並沒有特別的不同。其二是禁煙論述一直獨領風騷，以至於禁煙論述以外的言論少之又少，或者不受重視。這是因為光緒三十二年（1906）起，清廷推行十年禁除鴉片的政策，於此框架下收集、撰寫與再製作的文獻，自然偏向禁煙的論述。以至於歷史上禁煙與開禁是同時存在，但文獻卻獨見其一。

然而，史家也許必須警覺資料本身的傾向對史實的影響，但是這樣的資料本身皆包含辯證、宣傳與說服的辭令，其目的都是為了使人們放棄鴉片，這個過程與政治說服的理念都有相符之處。⁶ 本文即是由分析禁煙論述開始，探討其所形成的大眾資訊對於禁煙宣傳的作用，並且觀察開禁支持者的少數言語及實際行動如何回應政策框架，並形成相對禁煙的異議論述。

為了使討論更為集中，本文選擇山西禁種罌粟的議題。山西省在清末的壓片風潮中，產生幾

1 中西文著作相當多，西文代表作品如下：Joyce A. Madancy, *The Troublesome Legacy of Commissioner Lin: The Opium Trade and Opium Suppression in Fujian Province, 1820s to 1920s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2003); Edward R. Slack, *Opium, State, and Society: China's Narco-Economy and the Guomindang, 1924-1937* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.); Barbara Hodgson, *Opium: a Portrait of the Heavenly Demon* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999); Yongming Zhou, *Anti-drug Crusades in Twentieth-Century China: Nationalism, History, and State Building* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.); Martin Booth, *Opium: a history* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998). 中文著作有蔣秋明、朱慶葆，《中國禁毒歷程》（天津：經濟科學出版社，1997）；王金香，《中國禁毒史》（上海：上海人民出版社，2005）；胡金野，《中國禁煙禁毒史綱》（臺北：宋氏照遠，2006）。

2 于恩德，《中國禁煙法令變遷史》（台北：文海出版社，1973）。

3 Brook and Wakabayashi, "Introduction" in *Opium Regimes*.

4 Madancy, *The Troublesome Legacy*.

5 Madancy, *The Troublesome Legacy*. 17-22.

6 關於政治說服的相關討論見彭芸，《政治傳播：理論與實務》（臺北：巨流圖書公司，1986），頁 166-188。

個學術界共識的現象：一、山西省是鴉片相當氾濫的地區，不僅吸食鴉片，更是生產自重自產的重要區域。因此，整個山西的禁煙活動基本上就是禁種政策的推行。這也就與福建等沿海少量自種的省份想比，形成可供參照的案例。二、山西是自重自產的重要土鴉片基地，但山西又在禁煙的歷史上留下各種嚴禁的記載。這包括出現首次進種罌粟的禁令、新政前強力執行禁種以及新政後欲做禁煙表率的主張。這兩種既矛盾又共生的現象，幾乎盤據在晚清最後三十年的時光中，也成為所有以禁毒史為主旨的作品必定會談到的現象。⁷然而本文要強調的是這個既定印象並非如此固定，相反地本文將說明山西禁煙主流的宣傳以及異議論述的多次交鋒，雙方一直處於拉鋸的局面，甚至禁煙宣傳經常只是在一瞬之間掌握優勢，但隨之不久即失去宣傳的立基點。

學者之所以忽略未注意到山西禁煙過程中的拉鋸問題，最主要是受到資料缺乏歷時性以及禁煙主流論述的影響，而沒有注意到山西種植罌粟的發展過程。許多學者都會把光緒初年山西的大旱災當成山西禁種罌粟的重要時刻，並將此時期當作罌粟已經氾濫的時期。然而，從大英帝國的調查中發現，光緒初年被大英帝國注意的罌粟產區主要是四川、雲南、甘肅、貴州。⁸山西的重要性要到光緒十一年以後才出現在英國的文書當中。清末山西士紳劉大鵬（1857-1942）所觀察的時間更晚：「至戊子、己丑間，加徵厚稅，明張告示，謂以不禁為禁，民於是公行無忌，而遍地皆種鴉片煙。」⁹戊子、己丑已經到了光緒十三、十四年（1888-1889）。由此可知，罌粟種植的階段差異將影響評估宣傳與異議論述的實質結果。

除此之外，學者在研究山西禁煙時也注意到當地的抗官事件，發生於宣統二年（1910）交城、文水縣抗拒查禁的暴動。過去學者多數主軸放在官逼民反的角度來詮釋這個事件，¹⁰然而，本文將指出官逼民反只是該事件的一個面向，更應該關注的是在這個事件中宣傳的訊息以及異議論述發酵後的交互作用。之所以產生樣的問題與當時的傳播媒體有關，隨著清末新政開展，各地出現各種白話報紙，山西當時也興辦一份名為《晉陽公報》的民間白話刊物。¹¹這份刊物中固定刊出

〈禁煙彙誌〉的單元，宣揚中央與各省禁煙成效及問題。此外，省內的禁煙消息與評論，甚至是白話的故事、勸說以及小說創作，也都圍繞在禁煙的議題上。這份資料最少顯示兩個重要的訊息。其一、在此之前傳播資訊的方式主要依靠告示來流通，而《晉陽公報》出現後成為迅速流通的新媒體。也就是禁煙與開禁的消長過程中，媒體也漸次改變。其二、《晉陽公報》屬於民間刊物，其立場與寫作方式也異於官方的出版品，也就是說即使在禁煙的大方向下也可能出現異議論述的場域。

學者對於近代報刊的重要性以及傳播理論的方式，已經有相當豐碩的成果。¹²但是在這些研

7 王金香，〈近代山西煙禍〉，《山西師大學報（社會科學版）》1989:3(1989)，頁38-43、李三謀，〈晚清山西種植罌粟的嚴重後果〉，《古今農業》2000:3(2000)，頁23-26、吳朋飛、侯甬堅，〈鴉片在清代山西的種植、分佈及對農業環境的影響〉，《中國農史》2007:3(上海，2007)，頁37-46

8 “Summary of Informat in Respect to The Production of Chinee Opium”, in Revenue Despatch to Government of India, No.59. (16th June 1881). in *British parliamentary papers : China. Vol31*, p436-437.

9 劉大鵬著、喬志強標注，《退想齋日記》（太原：山西人民出版社，1990），頁22。光緒十七年五月二十五日條。

10 目黑克彥，〈山西省における禁煙抵抗事件について〉，《集刊東洋學》68号（東京，1992），頁94-111、郭夏雲、蘇澤龍，〈罌粟種植與清末山西農民生計問題--以「文交事件」為中心的區域經濟社會考察〉，《社會科學戰線》2011:12(2011)，頁114-120。

11 李仁淵曾指出山西在1902年已經有盛宣懷督辦的《晉報》，後又演變成《山西白話演說報》。但是他並沒有發現山西有《晉陽公報》。見李仁淵，《晚清的新式傳播媒體與知識份子》（臺北：稻香出版社，2005）。關於《晉報》等的討論見頁322-323。

12 戈公振，《中國報學史》（上海：商務印書館，1928）；方漢奇，《中國近代報刊史》（太原：山西教育出版社，

究中主要關注到的都是發行量大且知名的報業，涉及的傳播議題也與清朝的大事件相關。《晉陽公報》所展現屬於地方具有草根性的特質，使我們能夠更進一步探索地方禁種罌粟的議題中所存在的問題與影響。

在對禁煙問題有了基礎認識之後，本文將首先討論光緒初年旱災中禁煙論述的推廣，不過必須先強調的是，這場旱災在過去的研究中都著重於救災及其相關的事務。¹³ 但筆者過去的研究中曾指出，不能單純視光緒初年大旱災中的各種政策為簡單的救災活動，實際上是充滿政治算計以及同僚競爭的場域。¹⁴ 因此，在即接下來的內容中，筆者將以「旱災情境下的禁煙宣傳」為始展開討論。

一、旱災情境下的禁煙

無論是歷史文獻或者關於鴉片的現代研究，有很大的部分都關注禁抽鴉片的議論，這些議論描繪出鴉片的使用、銷售以及對社會的影響。自道光以來嚴禁鴉片之風潮漸起變化，咸豐八年（1858）中英通商章程訂立，准許鴉片納稅進口，並訂立經售的條例。至此，禁煙與開禁都有其闡述的根據。在這個背景之下，民間廣泛地種植罌粟以及嚴厲禁煙的行為彼此競爭，並且尋求決定性壓倒對方的方式。

同治四年（1865）山西巡撫沈桂芬奏稱「山西人民多以種植罌粟為業」，並且排擠糧食作物，造成「產米愈少糧價增昂」的價格波動，於是請禁種植。同治皇帝准許沈桂芬禁種的建議，並且以山西禁種法令為契機，向各省督撫發布禁種的命令。¹⁵ 這個法令也被學者認為是禁種罌粟的起始點。¹⁶

山西罌粟種植的擴張速度應該是相當迅速。道光十一年（1831）初見地方官員查禁山西種植罌粟的紀錄，雖然當時並未查出種植跡象，¹⁷ 但時間不過十多年後，山西已經出現許多零星的栽種者。從查無種植到吹起全國禁種罌粟的號角，這個過程說明罌粟已經逐漸成為百姓種植的選擇。同治禁種的過程中，並未留下可供統計的歷史文獻，多數都是概念式的敘述。因此，描述性的史料成為理解當時情況相當重要的依據。巡撫的禁令傳達到縣級政府後，知縣會以告示的形式廣布傳達。告示雖然有格式可循，且具有由上向下傳達的特色，但目前的研究已經指出告示的內容其實是社會訊息傳達與互動的綜合體。¹⁸

同治十一年（1872）河曲縣的一通告示即顯示，地方官在傳達禁令之時，也會依照社會的反應進行回覆與勸諭，因而使社會的面貌得以浮現，其文曰：¹⁹

1996）；曾虛白，《中國新聞學史》（臺北：國立政治大學新聞研究所，1966）；賴光臨，《中國新聞傳播史》（臺北：三民書局，1978）；賴光臨，《中國近代報人與報業》（臺北：商務印書館，1980）；陳玉申，《晚清報業史》（濟南：山東畫報社，2003）；王天根，《清末民初報刊與革命輿論的媒介建構》（合肥：合肥工業大學出版社，2010）。

13 何漢威，《光緒初年（1876-1879）華北的大旱災》（香港：中文大學出版社，1980）；郝平，《丁戌奇荒：光緒初年旱災與救濟研究》（北京：北京大學出版社，2012）；Kathryn Edgerton-Tarley, *Tears From Iron: Cultural Responses to Famine in Nineteenth-century China* (California: University of California, 2008)

14 張繼瑩，〈財政、鴉片與救災—以清末「丁戌奇荒」為中心〉，收錄於山西大學中國社會史研究中心主編，《社會史研究（第四輯）》（北京：商務印書館，2016），頁 55-77。

15 《清穆宗實錄》，卷 131，頁 107a-b。同治四年二月甲午。

16 于恩德，《中國禁煙法令變遷史》，頁 94。

17 吳朋飛、侯甬堅，〈鴉片在清代山西的種植、分佈及對農業環境的影響〉，《中國農史》2007:3(2007)，頁 38。

18 連啟元，《明代的告示榜文—訊息傳播與社會互動（上）》（台北：花木蘭出版社，2010），頁 1-11。

19 金福增，〈同治十一年三月勸民毋種罌粟諭〉，收於金福增修；張兆魁、金鍾彥纂，〔同治〕《河曲縣志》卷 8，〈藝文〉，頁 43a-43b。理論上這樣的告示應該數量甚廣，但現存史料中卻只能從方志中找到這則資料。

照得五穀為養民之源，罌粟實殺人之物。國家於西洋藥材抽收釐稅，按濟饑需，不准本地私栽，只許商賈外販。誠恐徧種罌粟，五穀不生，非僅風俗澆漓，而饑饉之由即在於此，所關非細故也。歷年以來，疊蒙本縣諄諄勸諭，業經三令五申，乃爾民忘返本圖，止貪戈利，種良田以烏堇，變嘉禾為白砒。僉謂罌粟未收，□苗已出，既無妨於稼穡，又可逐夫錐刀，獲利較多，奚啻倍蓰，殊不知財利之數宜以漸至，毋取逆來。

這篇告示中可以看到兩個部分，其一是知縣以官方的論點（或更廣泛地說是禁煙論者的論點），透過告示傳達到民間，並且成為最主流的敘述。妨礙民食成為種植罌粟最大的罪過，所以地方官不厭其煩地勸誡百姓，禁止「種良田以烏堇，變嘉禾為白砒」。其二是知縣為了加強論述，與百姓的觀點進行辯論。首先是解釋抽洋藥厘只是為了接濟餉需的權宜之計，並非政府主張開放種植。另一方面，他也要導正百姓的種植觀念。百姓對於罌粟的看法是，「罌粟未收，□苗已出，既無妨於稼穡，又可逐夫錐刀，獲利較多。」漏字之處所指的應該是「禾苗」。顯然，百姓的觀察中並不認為罌粟是不道德的作物，他們的理論來自於抽「洋藥」的事實，同時也根據農民的種植經驗，認為這是糧食生產之外甚好的副業。但這在知縣眼中，就像取得不義之財一樣，必須禁止。姑且不論知縣的論述是否具有說服力，但知民間對於禁菸的看法與官方有著全然不同的論點，雙方各自站在國家矛盾政策的兩端，禁種罌粟並沒有進展。

然而，禁種的法令卻是不斷加強。這裡所指的加強並不是由中央統一發布命令禁種罌粟，而是與沈桂芬的事例相同，由地方大員上奏，皇帝依據奏摺的內容要求各省通查此事。因此，即使此時山西並無查禁罌粟的上奏，也會因為行政系統的慣例而有推動禁種的壓力。同治末期，陝甘總督左宗棠上疏奏請嚴格禁止種植罌粟，訂立懲罰條款，並由上諭通令各省施行。這些都成為山西官員行動的依據與動力。

官方的主流宣傳與民間的異議論述，依照各種政治的現實、行政體系的運作以及社會的理解，呈現循環式的競爭：鴉片之害在官場中被提及時，地方官即勸諭百姓與清查；民間感到官府疏縱時，大面積罌粟又重新回到田地裡。²⁰ 這樣的循環在光緒初年的旱災中才被打破。

光緒三年（1877）山西省遭遇前所未有的大旱災，這場災害時間延續了三年之久，清廷為了處理山西旱災的問題，在這段期間更替了三位巡撫，並且派遣欽差大臣前往處理，嚴峻的災情造成山西人口大量死亡，饑饉的印象以及缺糧的成因相當多元，但災害的結果完全符合禁煙論述者的預測，²¹ 因此嚴峻的災情中反而讓禁煙、禁種罌粟的論調不停推陳出新。²²

光緒四年（1878）元月，曾國荃正式上奏申明禁種罌粟的舊規，該奏說明山西地方地利有限，不能為罌粟所侵蝕：「多種一畝罌粟，即少收一畝五穀。小民因獲利較重，往往以膏腴水田遍種罌粟，而五穀反置諸磽瘠之區，此地利之所以日窮也。」至於禁絕的辦法，奏疏上認為最好是靠著民間宗族、鄉約以及里社自行約束，一來免除胥吏的干擾，又可以清楚查訪土地種植的狀況，

20 這樣的循環最主要是因為官方人力不足所引起的。Madancy 研究福建省的禁菸活動中指出，官方人力的不足，一直是政策無法落實的主因。

21 官員間的禁種罌粟論述是罌粟妨礙民食，民間支持禁種的士人亦持此論。劉大鵬回憶光緒大災之前的知識界言論，他指出他的老師經常告誡種植罌粟會引來大災荒。劉大鵬著、喬志強標注，《退想齋日記》（太原：山西人民出版社，1990），頁 21。光緒十七年五月二十五日條。

22 當旱災發生後，即有御史向朝廷建議，必須嚴格禁止種植罌粟，制訂失察處分。朝廷也同意該御史的看法，要求曾國荃在旱災當下同時處理禁種罌粟的任務。《清德宗實錄》，卷 57，頁 786b。光緒三年九月上己未條。

從禁絕罌粟達到禁煙與充裕民食的目的。²³ 這份奏摺獲得朝廷的認同，並且一如以往要求全國各省依照山西的辦法進行禁絕。²⁴ 學者在討論山西的禁煙史時，都會提到這則資料，並且因此肯定當時巡撫曾國荃推動禁煙的正面意義。²⁵ 但是如果把視角關注於禁煙訊息的彙整以及最終禁煙命令形成的關係上，情況將大為改觀。

片面解讀史料的成因是來自過去學者忽視這通奏摺的性質所致。這通奏摺並非是曾國荃的個人意志，而是他與辦理旱災的欽差大臣閻敬銘共同聯名的奏摺。清代聯名奏摺的制度，主要是針對事涉廣泛且情節重大的事情，才會由地方最高長官進行聯名，以表示地方已經經過審慎考量與意見一致。然若分析閻敬銘與曾國荃對於禁種罌粟的立場可以發現，曾國荃與山西的官員都不被當時人認為是嚴禁罌粟的官員，即使他們多少都曾反對罌粟的言論。相反地，由皇帝欽點的欽差大臣閻敬銘以及他指定的辦事人員，都屬於清末政治中的「清流」，主張絕對禁絕鴉片，特別是李用清（1829-1898），他幾乎是辦賑過程中嚴禁罌粟的主要發聲者。²⁶ 制度的理想層面之外，聯名奏摺很可能是官階較高的一方壓過另一方的意見。

隨著旱災影響擴大，農業生產遲遲不能恢復。朝廷依循修省禳災的傳統，廣納大臣的建言。為了挽回天心，朝廷對於各種建言幾乎完全採納。這些採納的意見對於旱災可能是完全沒有幫助的，²⁷ 但是卻讓禁煙派找到推動政策更大的空間，準備以此解決近來的鴉片問題。光緒二年（1876）清廷簽訂的煙台條約。煙台條約中規定洋藥進入中國仍議定收取厘金。²⁸ 李用清認為這是民間不願意配合禁煙最主要的依據，若能由山西巡撫帶頭請費藥厘，那麼百姓也就不再有續種的藉口。²⁹ 這樣的看法並不限於李用清一人而已，曾國荃很快收到來自山西籍京官的說帖，希望他能夠在上奏山西禁煙後，進一步向朝廷建言廢除藥厘。然而，這一次曾國荃並沒有言聽計從。光緒四年三月，曾國荃即回函給在京各官表達無法同意廢除藥厘的建議。曾國荃的解釋是，前奏是因有益於農業才申明禁種罌粟，但是要上奏廢除藥厘，這是關係到制度與洋務，因此他無法同意。³⁰

曾國荃否決李用清等人的意見後，引起李用清極度不滿，認為他是阻礙禁煙絆腳石，李用清

23 曾國荃，〈申明裁種罌粟舊禁疏〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第1冊（長沙：嶽麓書社，2006），頁282-284。

24 《清德宗實錄》，卷67，頁7。光緒四年二月甲申條。

25 林滿紅，〈財經安穩與國民健康之間：晚清的土產鴉片論議（1833-1905）〉，中央研究院近代史研究所社會經濟史組編編，《財政與近代歷史論文集》（臺北：中央研究院近代史研究所，1996），頁501-551。Edgerton-Tarley, *Tears From Iron: Cultural Responses to Famine in Nineteenth-century China*. (California: University of California, 2008) pp.104-106.

26 閻敬銘總共提出四個人選，分別是李用清、王炳壇、張樹炎、羅嘉福四人。見閻敬銘，〈奏陳晉省辦理賑濟懇請調員襄助疏〉，楊虎城、邵力子修；宋伯魯、吳廷錫纂，〔民國〕《續陝西通志稿》（南京：鳳凰出版社，2011），卷202，頁12b；李用清，字澄齋，號菊圃。山西省樂平人。同治四年中舉，任翰林院編修，記名御史。光緒三年回鄉協助辦理賑務，其後人為他修編的年譜稱：「公騎一驢，一僕隨從，遍歷全省各府州縣，勘查災情而外，必考其利弊，及糧路原委，日必馳函當事者，備述其詳。凡災情輕重，食糧轉運要道，都有簿冊記載。」李玉璽編，《清李菊圃先生用清年譜》，收入《新編中國名人年譜集成》第19輯第3冊（台北：臺灣商務印書館，1980），頁11。光緒4年條。

27 巡撫曾國荃在這段期間裡就不只一次向欽差閻敬銘與李鴻章表達不滿，認為這些作為並不能真正解決災害所造成的影響。曾國荃，〈光緒四年三月覆閻丹初〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第3冊（長沙：嶽麓書社，2006），頁546；曾國荃，〈光緒四年三月覆李中堂〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第3冊，頁542。

28 〈煙台條約〉，收入海關總署《中外舊約章大全》編纂委員會編纂，《中外舊約章大全》下冊，頁。

29 李用清，〈上曾中丞書〉，《李菊圃先生遺文》（山西省圖書館藏本民國晉新書局社版本），頁35b-36a。

30 信件原文：「前因晉省裁種罌粟，有妨五穀，是以會同丹初先生聯銜具奏，奉旨允行，刊示頒發；又恐各州縣辦理不力，復經嚴札通行，以不止僅伸令甲矣。茲李菊圃太史創為裁藥釐之議，交來兩稿，囑即疏陳。……若照所議陳奏，恐有妨礙京城洋藥稅大局，且以後無以搪塞大部索餉之文，為患太切，不得不深思熟計也。」（清）曾國荃，〈光緒四年三月覆山西各京官公函〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第3冊，頁542。

很可能因此挑起巡撫與欽差大臣的矛盾。在有限的資料中，可以看到曾國荃拒絕上奏廢止藥厘後，花費相當多的筆墨向欽差大臣解釋自己的立場。³¹ 在此壓力之下，曾國荃選擇與閻敬銘再次聯名上奏，重申禁種罌粟的決心，改變寬鬆的禁止政策，增加罰則將種植罌粟的田地充公。³² 這份奏疏得到皇帝的批准，而且諭令曾國荃嚴飭當地官紳徹底執行。³³

兩次聯名上奏中，曾國荃對罌粟的態度趨向於從嚴與仇恨的論述。然而，這並不表示曾國荃已然向嚴禁派的論述投降。禁止罌粟的罰則中雖然強調沒收種植罌粟者的土地，但是曾國荃在奏摺中強調這並非首創的罰則，而是依循陝西的成例。³⁴ 曾國荃巧妙地運用行政訊的特性，隔絕李用清等人脅迫曾國荃創造先例的可能性。

曾國荃依照行政的慣例，防止旱災中的禁煙政策無止盡擴大，顯然引起李用清極大的不滿，不斷攻擊曾國荃就是縱容罌粟的罪人。³⁵ 時至光緒五年，其爭議已經擴大到京中要員李鴻章與翁同龢皆來信關心此事，在曾國荃的復信中可以看出李用清在無法介入主導禁煙訊息製作時，他轉以激烈的手段對待鴉片與罌粟的議題，甚至許多作為都已經相當極端。³⁶

雖然曾國荃指責李用清施政失當，但是觀察李用清的自述可以發現，他之所以採取激烈手段，並不是純粹表達不滿，而是有意創造宣傳的印象以利禁煙。禁煙論述中有一項極是指責罌粟侵入民田，他藉由調查行動強化民間遍種罌粟侵害民食的圖像。他在與曾國荃相互齟齬之時，即深入各地調查禁種的實情，並將所見寄給曾國荃。他的信上說：

茲由運赴聞喜、曲沃、翼城、浮山，由浮山赴嶽陽，即聞民間耽之焉，思欲下種。及由沁源赴屯留，則良馬河一帶已有種者，且親見之。比至長子，則西學教官言，近日數之有人來問已開禁否？至高平，民間紛索罌粟新種。至鳳台，與府學提及此事，默之不語者有所思，由鳳台赴陵川，由陵川赴壺關，數問有上憲禁種告示否，俱答言無之，時已近二月中旬矣。³⁷

李用清的敘述不免過分強調民間想種植罌粟的慾望以及曾國荃未發布禁止告示的過失。然而，從

31 信件原文：「李菊圃太史禁種罌粟之議，以詳前函，茲於接晤後復上「十不解」諸說。我輩辦事，但能於事有濟，無不可以和衷商榷，務使義氣胥平，而筆墨爭辯尤可不必。細思此事既經奏明在前，復經屢次通飭於後，而菊翁必欲以一手遮天，其意謂官不肯嚴禁，此又弟之所不可解也。原說抄呈，以備省覽。」見（清）曾國荃，〈光緒四年三月致閻丹初〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第3冊，頁552。

32 曾國荃，〈光緒四年八月致閻丹初〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第3冊，頁588。

33 曾國荃，〈請將種罌粟地充公片〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第1冊，頁343-344。

34 選擇陝西作為學習的標準，很可能是光緒四年與左宗棠在財政上的爭議，最終是曾國荃理虧受到懲罰。或許此促成往後曾國荃的罌粟政策，皆以陝西馬首是瞻。

35 李用清的原信並無留存，僅能從曾國荃的回信略知一二：「弟之待罪珂鄉也，豈樂於傾各省無量之費，以贍吸食鴉片之類哉？又豈嘗教民不種五穀哉？不過民之所得自為主張者，聽民自謀之；民之所不能遠致者，毋為之呼籲於朝、乞貸於鄰，多方以徠之。去歲出示二十餘條，養與教粗備梗概，而我公乃曰因循不為，是殆未即前後以合觀之耳。」曾國荃，光緒4年12月〈復李菊圃〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第3冊，頁632-633。

36 曾國荃回復李鴻章詢問：「李菊圃迭次來函，總以嚴禁罌粟為題，以為目下救荒之策，無出於此。其意誠善，而遍禁煙館必涉騷擾，其勢似不可行。蓋托諸空言則易，見諸實效則難也。」曾國荃，〈光緒五年元月復李中堂〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第4冊，頁2；回復翁同龢詢問的信件如下：「菊圃太史前年初來，欲弟出示：如有種煙、吃煙者，則以大兵臨壓其境。弟未敢從，良以疆吏只可守法，法所不得加諸民者，則不能以空相恫嚇。……夫地方庶政不僅種煙一端，州縣所司不獨種煙一事。既不能責其躬履畎畝，逐處挨查，又安保關徑深山根株悉絕？是亦既擾且累之明證矣。然果使其有益，施之於橫暴之民，縱或聞井騷然，著手亦無足措，惟此輩種煙者胥嗜利愚民耳。平日教化之不修，懲勸之弗及，一旦因種煙之事，令其搖手觸禁而無所休息。此施之年穀順成之際，且猶不可，況現值大侵之後，孑孓僅存之殘黎乎？譬諸父兄莫不惡子弟之吸食鴉片，而令其戒忌也。然適值沈痾未起、奄奄一息，其父兄雖以其吸煙之可惡，又不能不念其大病之可憐。」（清）曾國荃，〈光緒五年三月復翁叔平〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第4冊，頁28。

37 李用清，〈上曾中丞書〉，《李菊圃先生遺文》，頁37b-38a。

民間的反應來觀察，無論是「民間耽之」或者「來問已開禁否」的百姓，都顯示確實害怕禁令而不敢種植。但是，在當時的政治環境中有嚴禁與開禁的擺盪選擇時，李用清的嚴禁政策也就需要有更進一步的證據以及支持的圖像，才能讓曾國荃相信百姓已經在災害中喪心病狂地想種罌粟了。

嚴禁派官員向來主張百姓都將良田種滿罌粟，以至於造成民食缺乏的嚴重後果。旱災的情境中，更可以直接把飢荒的原因歸咎於罌粟的種植，故而李用清也不斷的描述與暗示百姓廢棄良田的行為。他在長治、潞安的觀察就代表這個觀點。他記載到：「方今春來未雨，長治、潞安難得雨數寸，究未沾足，可種之田本少，其傍河水田可下種者又種非五穀，吾為潞安懼者，尤為澤州懼也。」³⁸ 直觀上，缺水的山西最珍貴的土地就是近河的田地，百姓在乾旱時不在此地種植糧食是相當不智之舉，也成為李用清主張嚴禁的證據。

李用清的主張以及證據，絕對能夠得到其他嚴禁主張者的共鳴，但是對於受災的百姓卻不一定這麼認為。其一、李用清在這裡所說的河，應該是指流經長治的漳河，由於河流水量不穩，從乾隆以來的方志都記載該地難以開發水利，即使有可資灌溉的區域也相當狹小。³⁹ 所以李用清所說的傍河之地，在平常時期就經常被視為棄地，而不是真正的生產核心。其二、李用清所言遍地不思種植作物的敘述中，百姓並不是刻意撥出空地等待種植罌粟，而是光緒四年時旱災仍舊干擾農業時序，缺雨的狀況下百姓不敢貿然播種，以至於多數田地毫無作物。⁴⁰

旱災的情境讓許多不合理的禁煙手段與理論都可以獲得舒展的空間。飢荒的情境似乎能夠創造與加強人們對罌粟的印象與仇恨感，像是發生在同時期的愛爾蘭大饑荒（The Great Famine of Ireland），就曾促使愛爾蘭人重新論述英國的政策錯誤，才會造成愛爾蘭的飢荒，最終形成英帝國企圖消滅愛爾蘭人的詮釋。⁴¹ 災害缺糧的恐懼確實將平時隱含被壓迫與消滅的情緒，藉由特殊狀況發表出來，而這種表達讓英國當局難以反駁，甚至成為往後愛爾蘭革命與獨立的政治資源。李用清等人的作為確與愛爾蘭大饑荒中的政治操作略有雷同，但是差異之處在於愛爾蘭試圖用旱災情境將平日民間的不滿具體化，轉化成宣傳的內容。山西的旱災情境中，嚴禁派找到政策宣傳與論述的空間，並且獲得一定的回響。但是當放到百姓的農業生活當中，卻會發現這樣的敘述極似謊言，很難取信於百姓。因此，光緒大旱災並不是上天給嚴禁派千載難逢的機會，反而是讓人看出政策宣傳的漏洞，依循這樣的理念進行的嚴禁工作也就像是一場鬧劇。光緒五年初李用清轉調貴州布政使，⁴² 曾國荃禮貌性致信送別，其中就談到李用清等人觀察的盲點。曾國荃說：

天之生五穀、罌粟，一也。果其風雨和會，則大田多稼，罌粟未必即奪五穀之利。如其爍石

38 李用清，〈上曾中丞書〉，《李菊圃先生遺文》，頁 41a。澤州向來糧食不足，必須由潞安供應，故李用清有此邏輯。

39 吳九齡修；蔡履豫纂，（乾隆）《長治縣志》（南京：鳳凰出版社，2005），卷 5，〈山川〉，頁 9b-10a。詳見第二章關於長治縣環境的描述。

40 鹿學典修；武克明纂，（光緒）《浮山縣志》，卷 31，〈災祥〉，頁 16a-b；胡燕昌修；楊篤纂，（光緒）《壺關縣續志》，卷上，〈紀事〉，頁 4b-5a；陳學富修；李廷一纂，（光緒）《續高平縣志》，卷 12，〈祥異〉，頁 3b、（民國）余寶滋修；楊載田纂，《聞喜縣志》，卷 24，〈舊聞〉，頁 5a、（清）董餘三纂修，（光緒）《沁源縣續志》，卷 3，〈災異〉，頁 2a、4a、（清）劉鍾麟修；楊篤纂，（光緒）《屯留縣志》，卷 1，〈祥異〉，頁 5b、（清）張貽瑄修；郭維垣纂，（光緒）《鳳臺縣續志 4 卷》，卷 4，〈紀事〉，頁 7b。

41 Peter Gray, *Famine, Land, and Politics: British Government and Irish Society, 1843-1850*. (Dublin ; Portland, OR : Irish Academic Press, 1999), pp328-338; Ciarán Ó Murchadha, *The Great Famine: Ireland's Agony 1845-1852*. (London ; New York, NY : Continuum International Pub.2011)

42 李玉璽編，《清李菊圃先生用清年譜》，頁 3。光緒五年條。

流金，則五穀之苗亦既悉付枯槁，彼罌粟者又何獨能欣欣向榮耶？⁴³

旱災的情境不僅限制一般作物的生長，同時也限制罌粟的生長。藉由旱災情境而發展的禁煙宣傳，同時也滋養了異議的論述，使得災情的情境解除後，禁煙論述的力量也隨之消失。

二、從禁止到開放

同治十三年禁種罌粟告示中，民間種植罌粟的論述並不認為種植罌粟會妨礙糧食作物的生產，相反地罌粟與糧食作物有互補的作用。這樣的論述其實是將罌粟視為經濟作物的角色。民間的論點到底是事實，還是農人為了種植「違禁品」而創造的謊言呢？要回答這個問題是相當困難的，主要是因為罌粟已然成為毒品，其種植過程的細節內容一直都是種植者的秘密，很難理解其關鍵技術。所幸，從禁種者的紀錄中，還能分疏出罌粟與糧食作物之間的關係。

李用清熱衷於查禁煙苗，他曾在大旱災中訪問農民，以查探種植的實況。農民說：「大麥之收在五月初，豌豆、扁豆之收在五月中旬，花田之收在宿麥春麥之間。」農民的經驗裡，罌粟的收成時間大約是與小麥相同。因此李用清建議不如把這些土地拿來種植大麥，這樣就可以解決糧食的問題。⁴⁴

從禁種罌粟而改種大麥的討論可知，罌粟種植之區並不是最好的土地，更不是適合灌溉的沃壤。否則替代方案應該會是增加宿麥與春麥的種植，而不是選擇近於雜糧的大麥。由這個記載也可以推知，平時的種植情況可能是在秋收後，農人下種種植罌粟，在來年收漿。而罌粟也不是田裡全部的作物，而是分配在不同區塊種植的作物。

丁戊奇荒的賑濟工作大約在光緒六年（1880）告一段落，光緒七年（1881）朝廷調派張之洞為山西巡撫。他到任的時間是當年十二月底，⁴⁵到達太原之前張之洞已經發現許多田地上種植的罌粟已經發芽，但他並沒有採取禁絕之行動，反而在一年後才正式發布命令禁止。他的告示上說：

查晉省盛種罌粟，奪我稼穡，致有光緒三、四兩年之奇災。今災象猶在目前，而此風毫不倭改。比歲豐收，窮困如故，大率由此。地方官見解俗謬，不閔民瘼，甚或私享畝稅之利。……當本部院蒞任之初，本擬即行嚴禁，因其時種已出土，畝無栖糧，閔此嗤愚，略寬時日。現當罌粟將及布種之候，正是迎機杜絕之時。⁴⁶

張之洞的禁煙論述實際上並沒有跳出糧食問題的論點，也因此當他面臨災後的第一次豐收，還必須強調豐收中民貧的印象。然而，他沒有採取立即行動的原因是看見罌粟出土，但「畝無栖糧」，可見當時他看到的景象與災中李用清的訪問類似。農民主要運用種植的間期，將空閒的土地種上罌粟。

另一方面，罌粟在民間已然成為經濟作物，若要求禁種勢必要提出比李用清更有效的替代方案。張之洞在禁令之後附有「禁種罌粟章程十則」，他說：「改種有利可圖，熟再違禁？」但是他的利卻與禁煙的替代方案不同。禁煙論者主要是要讓糧食作物回到田地，但是張之洞更加重視依照

43 曾國荃，〈光緒五年春復李菊圃〉，收入《曾國荃全集》第4冊，頁42。

44 李用清，〈上曾中丞書〉，《李菊圃先生遺文》，頁40b-41a。

45 〈張之洞奏為到任謝恩由〉，軍機處檔摺件120617，光緒07年12月26日。

46 張之洞，〈光緒八年十月扎各屬禁種罌粟〉，收入《張之洞全集》（石家莊：河北人民出版社，1998），第4冊，卷86，頁2308-2309。

「土宜」來設計替代的作物，其中包括蠶桑、木棉、藍靛、菸草、或者種瓜、山藥、花生、番薯、油類作物。⁴⁷

值得注意的是，禁煙論者的表述並沒有錯，卻也不見得符合現實的狀況。因此，當災情緊張時，李用清可以提出大麥作為替代品，以保證糧食增產。但是當災後豐稔之時，人們對於糧食的看法完全改變，⁴⁸ 再用糧食作物替代恐怕很難得到百姓的支持。以土宜作物替代糧食作物雖然是符合現實的做法，然而當罌粟的種植是受市場因素所趨動時，替代政策勢必要對利的多寡進行考量。在山西的作物當中，最具有市場競爭力的作物是小麥，只是在當時小麥普遍的市價可能還不到罌粟的一半。⁴⁹ 是故，張之洞設想「改種有利可圖」的策略，所運用的土宜必須可以與罌粟的市場競爭力披敵。張之洞思考到的策略是發展蠶絲產業以替代罌粟，故而商請江蘇巡撫派人來山西教導地方百姓樹桑養蠶。⁵⁰

像李用清與張之洞這樣的政策推行者在明清的歷史裡並不是特例，早在晚明社會開始捲入市場因素之後，經濟作物的種植也同樣激起士大夫類似的議論，並尋求各種替代方案。⁵¹ 但實際上，這些努力基本上並沒有成功，百姓仍舊追尋市場的利益，種植罌粟亦是如此。

不過，除了市場的利益之外，禁罌粟的論述在地方上宣傳時可能面臨更多不利禁煙的地方認識。首先，就糧食作物的考量而論，到底有多少的土地是種植罌粟成為相當關鍵的問題。只要是研究中國史的學者都知道，這幾乎是無法統計出來的問題，尤其是一個省的範圍更難出現具有意義的統計數字。因此，藉助旁觀者的觀察以及大趨勢的統計將有助於理解這個問題。英國人於光緒七年（1881）考察中國的土鴉片生產時報導：「中國生產土鴉片尚未到達自然的限制」，⁵² 顯然仍有許多土地是可以種植罌粟。光緒八年（1882）的相關報導中更指出罌粟並未與糧食作物產生競爭的關係，反而因為種植罌粟增加原本土地的收益。⁵³ 這些觀察雖然不是來自山西，但是卻與山西百姓的異議表述及種植行為相符合：罌粟並非田地中的主要作物，而且經濟價值極高。這樣的說法很可能不只是山西的獨立現象，林滿紅教授曾就此時罌粟種植面積進行推估，他認為全中國約有1.5%的可耕地改種罌粟，⁵⁴ 也就是說罌粟在客觀的條件下並沒有像禁煙論中的指責一樣，大規模放棄土地種植罌粟。

再者，替代的首要要是能夠提供相應的利益，張之洞以推動蠶桑進行改革的策略即是這樣的思

47 張之洞，〈禁種罌粟章程十則〉，收入《張之洞全集》，第4冊，卷86，頁2311。

48 李提摩太在其回憶中指出光緒八年後因為豐收，因而出現糧食作物滯銷的情況。

49 Correspondence Respecting the Agreement Between the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Governments of Great Britain and China, signed at Chefoo, Sep 13th 1876, China No2(1880). In *Irish University Press area studies series, British parliamentary papers : China. Vol31*, Pp486-487. 這是從1872年Baron Richthofen以及1876年Mr. Baber以來，以不同方式評估罌粟與小麥的市場價值時得出的共同結論。

50 張之洞，〈光緒九年四月初三日咨江蘇撫院顧募織網機匠〉，收入《張之洞全集》，第4冊，卷87，頁2334。

51 林麗月教授指出煙草種植範圍在市場因素下快速擴大，引起本末的議論。林麗月，〈從煙草的傳播看明末清初農業思想中的本末論〉，收入中央研究院近代史研究所編，《近代中國農村經濟史論文集》（臺北：中央研究院近代史研究所，1989），頁1-20。

52 Revenue Despatch to Government of India, No.59.(16th June 1881), in *Irish University Press area studies series, British parliamentary papers : China. Vol31*(Shannon : Irish University Press, 1971), p415

53 Correspondence Respecting the Agreement Between the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Governments of Great Britain and China, signed at Chefoo, Sep 13th 1876, China No2(1880). In *Irish University Press area studies series, British parliamentary papers : China. Vol31*, Pp455-456

54 林滿紅，〈清末本國鴉片之替代進口鴉片，1858-1906——近代中國「進口替代」個案研究之一〉，《中央研究院近代史研究所集刊》，第9期（1980年7月），頁431。

考。確實，除了山西原有蠶桑傳統的區域外，許多區域蠶桑經驗的發生時間都推到光緒初年的大旱災時期。解州地方的歷史記憶說明百姓對於利益的看法：

當前清光緒五、六年間，閻文介公（閻敬銘）、馬玉山公（馬丕瑤）值吾解大祲之後，思有以振興地利，於是提倡蠶桑不遺餘力。種桑秧數十萬株，任人領取，不索分文。且分散各村眾花戶，令其栽植。乃無知愚民，嘵嘵眾口，反謂二公多事。不惟不自領桑秧，反將所散桑秧，聽其枯壞而委棄之。間有栽一二株於園中者，祇取其觀美，非為飼蠶。……意後閻公赴京，馬公去任，繼蒞斯土者，並不追問前事，偉大利源，可惜拋棄。……使當日栽種成株，至今必十畝桑田，到處皆是，稱絲分繭，婦女效功，以利民用，以厚民生，夫何貧窮之足患哉？……⁵⁵

顯然，歷史記憶中百姓對於桑蠶產業並不熱衷，甚至也不覺得桑蠶具有替代罌粟的利潤。北方本來就不易種植桑樹，著名的《爾雅廣義》雖然指導北方環境下種桑養蠶的秘訣，但是不論種植時節或投入的人力，遠遠超過百姓從其他作物獲利的可能。⁵⁶ 這種較高技術的副業所造成的門檻，讓一般百姓望之卻步，或者只是虛應一番。官府未必不知道在北方推動桑蠶的困難，但是在宣傳禁罌粟的政策下，這是必然的配套措施。也唯有如此，官府才能自圓其說。

最後是來自政策面的問題。大旱災中禁煙論者極力想去除的藥厘問題開始發酵。光緒十一年續約確定將鴉片關稅與厘金合併徵收，並且提高稅率，使洋商在鴉片的利潤降低，最終提高經營鴉片的成本，土鴉片也就因此有機會與進口鴉片競爭。⁵⁷ 中央雖然未明言弛禁，但是地方官府與百姓都將之理解為弛禁的信號。且為了徵收土鴉片厘金，最方便的方法是把罌粟的厘金攤入種植罌粟的田地之中，⁵⁸ 無形中促成百姓非種植不可趨勢。

透過這三個層次的分析可知，在光緒大災之時瞬間的禁煙成效至此大概已經瓦解，取而代之的是無可阻擋的罌粟田以及伴隨而來的生意。這時候的禁煙論者對於罌粟的論述，也就從單純侵害糧食作物空間的批評，轉向對整個社會風俗淪落的鞭撻。⁵⁹ 同樣的現象在明末面對商品化的社會變遷下亦發生過，士大夫一樣從特殊現象的批評轉向對風俗的失望。⁶⁰ 只是兩個時代所面對的市場與商品特性不同，因此即使有相似的脈絡與回應，清末山西仍展現出個別特殊性。

55 徐嘉清修；曲泗銳纂，（民國）《解縣志》（南京：鳳凰出版社，2005），卷2，〈物產略〉，頁25b-26a。

56 北方種桑之法的時節，最好是在芒種前後十天，到夏至以後就不太適合種植。種桑之前耕地、下肥以及灌水，播種後每二至三日必須澆水一次。並且要運用火燒的方式，催促其生長，過程相當繁複。楊岫，《爾雅廣義》，卷上，〈種桑法〉，頁39-40。

57 林滿紅，〈晚清的鴉片稅，1858-1906〉，《思與言》，16:5(1979年1月)，頁434。

58 實際上山西土藥厘金的徵收方式並沒有明確的記載，現在多根據厘金制度來理解。然而，在一些實際的例子當中卻可以發現厘金可能已經攤入地畝。劉大鵬日記中曾載：「邑侯承佑亭來里中查種罌粟地畝，里中父老請余支應，在公所坐談少頃而去，言每畝釐稅二兩三錢五分金，今歲又加者也。」英國人觀察也見到提升種植罌粟土地的賦稅，但是英國觀察家的解釋是這是為了禁止種植罌粟。必須提醒讀者的是，中英的描寫可能是同一件事情。英國由政策面理解，認為提高地畝稅是官員所說的禁止罌粟，但對中國官員來說這無疑是加稅的大好機會，因此是放任種植。劉大鵬的描寫是在此背景下產生。（清）劉大鵬著、喬志強標注，《退想齋日記》（太原：山西人民出版社，1990），頁。光緒三十三年（1907）五月十六日（6月26日）、Despatch from his majesty's minister in china forwarding a general report by Mr. leech respecting the opium question in china. The Opium Question in China. no.2(1908). p7.

59 劉大鵬著、喬志強標注，《退想齋日記》（太原：山西人民出版社，1990），頁。光緒十九年（1893）十月二十九日（12月6日）、光緒二十一年（1895）八月二十九日（10月17日）。

60 王鴻泰，〈明清感官世界的開發與欲望的商品化〉，《明代研究》，18（2012.6），頁105-143。

在此新的情境之下，支持禁煙論述者開始懷念推行禁煙最有利的情境，光緒三年的大旱災自然是回想時首選的情境。然而，大自然運行並不能受人力控制，這些身處地方、支持禁煙卻無力回天的基層知識分子，開始宣揚「天罰」的理念。劉大鵬的日記中多數批評罌粟時都以光緒三年的大旱災作為證據，證明種植鴉片引來上天的憤怒。更有甚者，民間也出現喚醒光緒三年大旱災的記憶。例如一首由解州劉全德整理編纂的〈山西荒年歌〉就相當具有代表意義。該歌謠雖然主題在講述光緒三年的旱災慘狀，但也可以發現全曲文說唱的對象預設是那些身處現代而奢侈非常的人們，用過去的事情來達到「警告」世人。同時期同類型的歌謠尚有〈梁培才山西米糧文〉、〈錢吉慶堂山西遭荒旱歌〉等，⁶¹顯然不是孤證。

懷念旱災的情境可以說是反對罌粟種植時的共同表現，這也說明旱災情境對於禁煙政策宣傳的重要性，同時也可以說明禁煙論者幾乎找不到宣傳的著力點。必須注意的是，即使禁煙論述已經找不到著力點，其仍是現存文獻中最為主流的部分。但這並不表示種植罌粟的百姓以及支持弛禁的官員與知識份子沒有聲音，他們也透過行動在對過去的禁煙宣傳進行回應，並試圖扭轉這種運用災害所宣傳的力量。

王金香教授依照鴉片膏的生產量推估此時約有 60 萬畝土地種植罌粟，約佔全省可耕地之 10% 以上。⁶² 雖然這種推估的方式可能誤把所有種植罌粟的土地都算做可耕地，但是與全國性比率 1.5% 的數字相比，都顯示山西種植罌粟面積急速擴大。此時種植罌粟的百姓一方面從中央的政策中汲取種植的正當性，但是在罌粟種植範圍迅速擴張下，實際上也開始印驗禁種論者的預言：罌粟已經蔓延到糧食作物的土地上了。在現存史料中並未見到種植者對於罌粟侵入糧食土地的辯解，但這個議題很可能是當時雙方交鋒的議題。比較清楚的證據出現在光緒三十年（1904）。此時清廷大力推展全國性的農業新政，山西在此背景下亦成立農林局，⁶³ 並對山西各地進行調查、農業培訓與農法實驗。正因為官府積極從事農業的調查與徵詢改良之法，因此有許多民間的聲音出現，並且被保存下來。

山西省在清朝結束之前的時間裡，罌粟最大的種植區位在交城與文水縣，據估計約有近八千畝的罌粟田，在當時山西各生產區域中占相當高的比率。⁶⁴ 在交城、文水的種植區域內又以文水縣的開柵鎮為中心，順著甘泉渠灌溉的範圍延伸到文水、交城的各個村莊。⁶⁵ 開柵是文水商業重鎮，而甘泉渠灌溉區又是農業發展的精華區，故此地是集合農業與商業的雙重價值，農民對於市場相當敏感，因此他們可能在各種行為上回應影響鴉片生意的言論，罌粟排擠糧食的禁煙主論述自然是重要的目標。

61 這些歌謠曾被學者拿來研究光緒三年災害本身，然而分析這些歌謠出現的時間與講述對象後可以發現，這些曲文的現實意義更為濃厚。運城市地方志編纂委員會編，《運城災異錄》（山西：運城市地方志編纂委員會，1986），頁 105-114；張貴喜、張偉，《山陝古逸民歌俗調錄》（太原：三晉出版社，2013），頁 5-44。

62 王金香，〈近代山西煙禍〉，《山西師大學報（社會科學版）》1989:3(1989)，頁 38、43。

63 苑朋欣，《清末農業新政研究》（濟南：山東人民出版社，2012），頁 28-56。

64 光緒二十四年（1898）的數據：太原種植畝數為 4535.7 畝、榆次是 3013.3 畝、交城是 3573.8 畝、文水是 4302.5 畝、代州是 5096.7 畝、歸化是 4885.1 畝。蘇澤龍、郭夏雲，〈鴉片與近代開柵 -- 兼論黑色經濟背後的鄉村社會〉，《山西高等學校社會科學學報》17:1(2005.1)，頁 18。李三謀，〈晚清山西種植罌粟的嚴重後果〉，《古今農業》2000:3(2000)，頁 23。上述諸文皆引用李文治的資料。李文治編，《中國近代農業資料》（北京：三聯書店，1957），頁 463。

65 有關甘泉渠的灌溉範圍與用水關係的研究，見張俊峰，〈水權與地方社會 -- 以明清以來文水縣甘泉渠水案為例〉，《山西大學學報》24:6（太原，2001.12），頁 5-6。

事實上，據英國人調查的紀錄來看，在這段罌粟擴張的時期，文水農民也已經找到兼顧罌粟與糧食的方法。他們把原先種小麥的灌溉地全數改種罌粟，但是他們並不是放棄小麥的種植，而是將小麥移往高地或較少灌溉的土地種植。⁶⁶ 故而，從民間的行為來看，他們似乎已經有一套杜絕悠悠之口的方式。這個行動畢竟是把最精華的土地讓給罌粟，有遭受批評的可能。因此，在清廷推動農業新政，要求各地上報農業建議時，文水知縣將農民所做的實驗當成農業建議上報。

當時，農民嘗試在罌粟花的間隙種植穀物，他們聲稱結果並不影響糧食收成，甚至與專種糧作的田地相比，也是不相上下。因此，知縣與百姓合作推廣抽籠種植，讓罌粟與穀物可以同時在灌溉區的土地上種植。消息傳到負責農業改革的農林局耳裡，其中的教習依據文水縣的種植經驗，重新設計農具。原來農民播種時慣用的三足耬改成二足耬，使穀物可以在罌粟的空隙中播種。農林局因而對此事大為讚賞，認為「不分奪煙利又可多備民食。」⁶⁷

但是這則看似傳奇的記載並不能理解為官府與百姓共同為罌粟與糧食作物尋找共生共存的技術。因為在光緒十一年以後，新條約下的情境，罌粟進入糧食作物的空間已經不是漸入或者盤佔一區的情況，而是全面進入精華的田地。⁶⁸ 這也就顯出文水的實驗不僅僅是農業的目的而已，而應該把當地人的行為視為運用農業新政的情境，透過農業試驗、官民合作，最後由農業新政的機構宣布，達成罌粟無害民食的論述。

民間雖然苦心製造出這樣的宣傳，但是光緒三十二年（1906）八月，中央正式下令禁止鴉片，並且歷數過去弛禁所造成弊病。⁶⁹ 所有的風向又導向禁種的方向，有利於種煙的情境完全消失，相關的政治宣傳與行動又出現一次轉變。

三、十年禁絕鴉片時期

時至二十世紀初，清廷正式禁煙。中央正式頒佈禁除鴉片的命令後，預計十年內根除中國境內罌粟種植。同時，清廷亦向英國交涉，希望在中國禁除罌粟的同時，也能每年減除一成進口量，以期十年內同時盡除自產與進口。⁷⁰ 在此新的情境下，各種反煙的宣傳捲土重來。與此同時，宣傳的媒體也發生改變。山西此時出現民間的白話報紙《晉陽公報》，成為清朝最後五年時光裡山西鴉片消息的集合場域。

白話報紙的功能，李孝悌教授已經指出無論官方或民間，開始以「粗俗文字」作為報紙內容向大眾傳播知識及最新消息，產生啟蒙的作用。⁷¹ 另一方面，李仁淵教授注意到官辦白話報雖然也是白話文，但因官方色彩濃厚，反而不受歡迎。⁷² 由此可知，白話報內容不但要具有啟發民智的

66 Despatches from his majesty's minister at Peking, Forwarding Reports Respecting The Opium Question in China. no.3(1909),pp25-26

67 山西農務局編，《農務公牘》，無出版項，卷4中，頁10a-11a。

68 當時的種植情況並沒有文獻直接指出其實況，但是從盡除罌粟後，改種小麥與糧食作物的相關記載可知，與光緒初年的狀況完全不同。Despatches from his majesty's minister at Peking, forwarding reports respecting the opium question in china. China no.3(1909),p8. 地方報紙的報導也說明官府的行動是拔除罌粟，改回原來的糧食作物。〈檄飭地方官親查種煙地段〉，《晉陽公報》，1908年8月5日第4頁

69 《光緒朝上諭檔》，光緒三十二年八月三日。

70 〈禁煙節錄及往來照會〉，王鐵崖編，《中外舊約彙編》（北京：三聯書店，1957-1962），第二冊，頁444-448。光緒三十三年十月二十七日。

71 李孝悌，《清末的下層社會啟蒙運動 1901-1911》（臺北：中央研究院近代史研究所，1992），頁15-41。

72 李仁淵，《晚清的新式傳播媒體與知識份子》頁321。

內容，同時也必須擺脫官方的氣息，以吸引讀者。《晉陽公報》在宣傳鴉片問題時，實際上也就考慮到此二面向的需求，故而它有延續過去議論鴉片的論調，同時也創造具有新聞價值及吸引人注目的言論。

十年禁絕鴉片的國策制定後，禁菸的勸文也就圍繞在這個大政策之下。只是許多勸文的形式，已經不再是告示或公牘上的說理，而是運用各種新的表達形式與議題來做論說。例如以寓言故事的方式就成為常見的手法，一則名為〈陰陽禁煙〉的寓言就說：甲乙兩人在討論推行十年禁煙是否能夠成功。於是兩人相約試驗成效。甲說只要在人群中大叫禁煙，抽鴉片的人就會逃跑，那麼表示還有很多人在抽鴉片。於是乙走到人群中大叫，沒想到全部的人都跑走了，甚至還有一個人因而斷氣。甲見狀解釋逃跑的人煙癮不深，仍能戒除，所以聽到禁煙就跑走。但死去這個人因為煙癮太重，只能逃到陰間，所以死去。但甲只到他耳邊說：「陰間也禁煙了。」那死去的人立刻活過來，並感嘆道：「陽間禁煙，陰間也禁煙，生死兩地無容身之地也。」⁷³ 寓言故事相當離奇，但是卻向百姓傳達禁煙勢在必行，只有戒煙一途的意象。

除了新奇，白話報所呈現的禁煙失敗原因，也與過去官府全然指責百姓貪利的說詞完全不同。很可能是白話寫作所設定的對象是民間，故而檢討問題時為了擺脫官方的氣息，因此論述出發的視角也就完全不同。光緒三十三年（1908）正式發布禁煙命令兩年後，山西禁絕種植罌粟的問題仍然相當嚴重，因此一篇名為〈禁煙淺說〉的社論，特別討論政策無法發揮效果的原因：

如去年初行了這法子，人民很有願意不種的，不料地方官也不著實辦理，不種的鬧的吃了許多的虧，偷種的反轉弄下大利。所以今年種煙的比往年間分外的多。⁷⁴

這種批評已經不再只是注意到百姓貪利的問題，反而是點出官府操作不當造成百姓對政策的模糊，因而使利益的選擇無止盡擴大。其最後的結論轉向十年逐漸禁絕的是這種現象的元凶，最好的方式是能夠立刻全面禁止，這樣才能有效遏止種植。

上述接露的官方態度實際上與光緒大災中眾官員欲廢除藥厘的本質相同。所不同的是，過去僅在官場間私人網絡中討論的事情，現在被放在公開的場域中說明此事。當時朝政中正在對該如何禁種罌粟的議題進行辯論，一方支持清廷十年漸進式禁種，另一方則是認為應該立刻全面禁止，才不會造成百姓無所適從的局面。而在爭論中，《晉陽公報》顯然有創造風向的意圖。確實，在十天後山西省諮議局的會議當中，針對禁種或者減種的投票，九成議員認為採取全面禁種的措施，並呈請巡撫施行。⁷⁵ 這裡看見報社與諮議局的意見相符，然而這不能說報社跟諮議局是站在同一陣線上。在新政的背景下，政治意見變得更為複雜，很多現象並不因為其一致就認為他們屬於相同陣營或者已經取得共識。故而，我們雖然能夠看到諮議局或官府利用報紙來宣傳，⁷⁶ 但這也僅能當作媒體的有效性，而無法將之單純視為不同群體的合作。

事實上，《晉陽公報》中出現相當多直指官方阻礙禁煙有效性的報導，甚至是對於禁煙消息的彙整，也有相當的比例是彙整禁煙官場弊端的内容。例如一篇〈吊大煙鬼文〉即是代表。其文

73 〈陰陽禁煙〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1908年8月25日第5頁。

74 〈禁煙淺說〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1908年9月4日第4頁。

75 〈諮議局呈藩憲禁煙議案〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1908年9月14日第3頁。

76 例如諮議局就曾在報上發表禁煙公啟。〈為禁煙事敬告全省父老書〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1908年10月7日第1頁。

中雖然標榜官方禁煙林則徐的功勞，但是話鋒一轉即批評官方查禁不時，接受賄絡，且為籌款而設立膏局，以至於禁煙難有成效，百姓也無所適從。⁷⁷ 另外一篇在諮議局決議全面禁種之後出現的社論，表面是向全省百姓宣告官府已經採取全面禁絕的政策，但是細觀內容時可以發現作者仍關注於鴉片與政府收入的關係，也因此認為官府對於禁絕罌粟採取姑息的態度，因此造成百姓游移於合法與非法之間。⁷⁸

在發表各種全面禁種議論的同時，時序已經進入播種冬季罌粟的時節，因此不僅是宣導，各種查禁與改良的措施也紛紛出爐。其中一則難得屬有真名的文章，顯示出當時的禁煙論述亦偏向新政的旗幟。高敘賓當時撰寫〈敬告山西父老，設立農會以便禁罌粟〉一文就強調「今朝廷注重實業，特頒農業章程，湘直兩省暢之於前，江浙豫諸省繼之於後，獨晉寂寂無聞。」因此，他認為只有設立農會才能真正達到禁種的目的，並且能改善交、文一帶習慣種植罌粟的情況。⁷⁹

這種論調或許不是山西的獨特現象，因為在該報各期「禁煙彙誌」的專欄上可以看到各省傳來，同樣偏向執行新政來達到禁煙目的的論述與真實實踐的新聞。然而，這些每期出現的訊息卻讓晉人感到緊張，所以高敘賓才會特別強調「晉省寂寂無聞」，而大力推動農會。這裡要強調的是，當時支持禁煙的有志之士，已經不再是關注於糧食的種植而已，更把禁煙與新政結合當作競賽一般執行。

交、文一帶的禁煙實際上是當時問題的核心。故而，只要到了種罌粟的時間點上就會受到關注。山西巡撫當時為了查禁之事，曾經委請諮議員前往調查與宣傳政令，當時首派前往文水與交城宣傳的是孟步雲及李友蓮，他們回省後將經歷撰寫成報告書交給諮議局以及巡撫。然而，這類原本屬於官府內的文書以及看法，在此時已經不再是少數人的資訊，而是登在《晉陽公報》上的內容。⁸⁰ 換句話說，罌粟種植問題已經變成即時的資訊，而且各種細節都可以成為關注的對象，其造成的影響不是過去信件與公牘所能比擬。更有甚者，公牘的內容也變成一般民眾閱讀的內容。例如宣統元年（1909）刊登的一則〈臨汾縣會稟禁煙情形之批示〉，該批示特別批評臨汾縣處理禁種罌粟問題，只注重事後拔除而沒有做到事前預防的工作，因此遭到巡撫指責查禁不夠認真。⁸¹

從這些例子當中可以發現，雖然主體的論述仍是禁煙，但是因為媒體的特性以及情境轉化下，各種複雜的因素促成訊息的多元化，而這些多元化的結果是閱讀者不但接收到禁煙的訊息，同時也接收到官府查禁充滿不確實以及各種可以逃離禁煙法令的縫隙。

刊載禁煙論述的雙面效果同樣發生在相關新聞的效應上。山西自從諮議局表決全面禁種後，確實甚有成效。宣統元年英人 Brenan 進入山西調查，他表示自己所過之處確實已經完全看不見種植罌粟的跡象。不過他一越過黃河，就發現陝西省仍舊處處種植罌粟。⁸² 這裡點出 Brenan 的調查並不是要強調山西禁種已經卓有成效，相反地是要將當時週邊省分的禁煙情況納入考量。陝西省在全國多數省份都決定禁煙的行動中，與山西形成強烈對比，種植相當多的罌粟。因此，消息傳

77 〈吊大煙鬼〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1908年9月1日第5頁。

78 〈敬告全省今已實行禁煙說〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1908年9月17日第1頁。

79 〈敬告山西父老，設立農會以便禁罌粟〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1908年9月14日第1頁。高敘賓後來成為文水縣農會的會長。

80 〈嚴查交文兩縣禁種鴉片情形〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1908年12月25日第3頁。

81 〈臨汾縣會稟禁煙情形之批示〉，《晉陽公報》（北京：北京國家圖書館藏微卷），1909年2月16日第6頁。

82 Despatches from his majesty's minister at Peking, Forwarding Reports Respecting The Opium Question in China. no.3(1909), p33

到山西，許多農民也決定效法，並且以陝西的情況要脅官府。這使得山西巡撫不得不電函陝西，希望陝西省能夠處理此事。然而，這則電函也被當作新聞，以〈山西電致陝西傳聞多私種晉民藉口要挾影響甚大已否禁絕祈電覆〉為名登載於報上。⁸³ 從電文的消息中可以看出山西積極想要結束影響山西禁煙決心的因素，但電文登上報以後，就不會只是單純的標題而已。它的內容都有可能被任何閱讀的人各取所需，進行屬於自己的解讀。因此，山西禁煙、陝西未禁以及山西農民以此要脅，都因為白話報紙的宣傳而成為大眾可以掌握的訊息。

在此，筆者並非暗示這樣一則新聞會對百姓產生多決定性的影響，而是要強調在民間不停尋找機會種植罌粟的情況下，這些能夠被多重理解的禁煙論述，很可能在民間產生意想不到的效果。民間努力偵查消息的能力，也在某些責罰種煙的案例中被保存下來。一則當時的報導指出某位文水縣貢生回鄉，鄉人都想知道官府這次禁種罌粟命令的認真程度，因此紛紛向這位從省城回來的優秀學子打聽。貢生的父親因為從事販賣榨油後芝麻渣（麻粍）的生意，這是種植罌粟最主要的肥料。貢生深怕宣揚禁令會影響家中收入，因此讓鄉人以為禁令不嚴。於是鄉人紛紛購買芝麻渣，並且種植罌粟。下種後被官府查緝，追查下原來是這位貢生惹得禍，因而將他重責。⁸⁴

從這條資料中可以發現鄉人大部分認為嚴禁的命令可能不會認真執行，因此才會不停打探消息。而貢生因為身處省城，所以在鄉人的邏輯中他所說的話一定具有某種權威。但當貢生說出模稜兩可的答案時，鄉人卻傾向往自己期待的方向解釋，因而決定種植罌粟。貢生代表省城的消息，其實與《晉陽公報》所代表的訊息地位是相同的，由他們透露出來的訊息被需求者自行解讀並成為行動的依據。

是故官府即使查禁甚嚴，民間仍會採取各種手段來實現種植罌粟的慾望。宣統元年河東道查禁晉南地區的罌粟，就發現百姓在查緝之時用鬆土覆蓋在煙苗之上，或者把罌粟和莞豆雜種一塊。也有百姓善用農作物的視覺效果，種植比一人要高的高粱，然後在高粱田的中央種植罌粟。⁸⁵ 這些案例絕對不會只是一兩件被發覺的個案，但必須深究的是百姓何以敢用這樣的方法來應對查緝，很可能就是有訊息從省城傳來，而且讓百姓相信查緝其實只是形式而已。

英國人的調查紀錄中也多次提到農人這種障眼法，英人以「詭計」名之，可見當時百姓正在想辦法對付禁煙政策。英國觀察者同時也發現，由於官府急於求成，故採取非常手段，只要對田地的狀況稍有懷疑，就會立刻加以犁毀的方式處理。英國觀察者評論道，這不免造成百姓沒有必要的損失。⁸⁶ 一般百姓或者《晉陽公報》的編纂者都知道官府其實是蠻橫而不可靠的，因此《晉陽公報》中不時看到相關的報導。然而，宣統二年查禁春煙之際，報章上已經不再是報導實情而已，更嘗試用短篇小說的形式撰寫一篇〈查煙委〉，把查煙委員的惡行惡狀表現出來，並且寄予作者的譴責。⁸⁷

與新聞報導不同之處在於：社會現象出現在新聞時，僅快速介紹人、事、時、地、物以及相關的結果，但小說故事卻必須鉅細靡遺地描寫每個邪惡的細節，以至於「查煙委」的形象具體而

83 〈山西電致陝西傳聞多私種晉民藉口要挾影響甚大已否禁絕祈電覆〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年3月23日第3頁。

84 〈種烟被責〉，《晉陽公報》，1909年3月7日第3頁。

85 〈河東道詳報禁種鴉片暨戒菸情形〉，《晉陽公報》，1909年4月16日第7頁；〈請看藉煙索詐之村董〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年10月8日第4頁。

86 Despatches from his majesty's minister at Peking, Forwarding Reports Respecting The Opium Question in China. no.3(1909), p32.

87 〈查煙委〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年3月13日第6頁。

鮮活。⁸⁸ 然而，今日有限的資料卻無法確知〈查煙委〉一文刊出後是否受到讀者回響。只是無獨有偶的是，在這篇小說出現後的幾天，文水交城發生禁煙以來最大規模的暴動，而這場暴動所揭露的過程，將更清晰看出宣傳與異議論述的力量。

四、資訊、報導與煙民暴動

宣統二年農曆二月份，《晉陽公報》登出一則〈安慰煙民〉的報導，該報導發生於文水與交城這兩個種植罌粟的核心區域。從報社登載的內容來看，報社雖然很快速地反映時事，但是對於當地發生的事情一點仍不清楚。該則報導云：

日昨由文水縣投來緊要公文一件。聞係該縣向來種煙佃戶，自禁種後不圖改良，仍欲種植煙苗，復畏懲罰，不敢出名稟請，遂約窮民中五、六十歲老婦開會議，卻向該縣令要求種煙。該縣令聞知，恐邀他事，稟請撫憲，設法撫慰。聞撫憲已於初四日早六鐘，已派孟紳步雲、左紳炳南速赴該縣勸導煙民，痛陳煙害，妥為安慰。並聞交城亦有此舉，故初五日復派常駐議員張君士秀、曾君紀綱前往文邑去。⁸⁹

這段事情的發生經過，日本學者日黑克彥教授已經根據當時官方發布的訊息復原大部分的過程，他指出文水與交城地方偷種煙苗，被甘泉渠渠長杜瑞凝發現，勸說無效後，百姓擔心杜瑞凝會告發此事，因此將杜瑞凝軟禁。杜瑞凝靠著偷送訊息向外求援，知縣與省城方知此事。但種罌粟的百姓也組成聯盟，準備與知縣交涉，要求延緩一至二年再全面禁種。但最後因為文水知縣劉彤光派軍隊鎮壓，造成嚴重的傷亡。⁹⁰

但是《晉陽公報》是在十天後才稍微知道事件的內容，報導了〈交文民抗種煙之下場〉。在這篇報導中當地竟然有無賴煙民生事，並且與官兵發生槍戰的事情，目前已經抓到首惡武樹福等六人。該文最後評論道：「脅從者漸次散解，不日可見無事。」⁹¹ 三天後，又刊出〈交城縣陳明地方情形並請將被誘愚民從寬免究稟並批〉，內稱交城縣民與武樹福聯手的煙民都表明自願犁毀煙田，故而免除追究他們的罪刑。⁹²

事件發生的前半個月內，報社的態度基本上都是站在官方的立場來報導此事，而且完全是指責煙民的角度。可是，隨著派往勸慰煙民的諮議局議員返回省城，消息得到更新，⁹³ 報導內容也開始出現轉變。事件經過近一個月後，開始揭露事情發生的真相。該報導稱清軍在十三日夜晚進入開柵，「妄拏百數十人」，簡單審問後留下六個首犯，但因官兵吃早飯的緣故，一直拖到中午還未離去。這時各村庄敲鐘警示，集合眾人到開柵，才發生槍戰。亂中打死四五十人，還有許多人重傷。闖禍的官員逃回省城，完全沒有善後的舉動。除此之外，報導中還說有一位負責收釐金的專員吳閩辰，很得民心，當他聽到煙民偷種煙的事情時，即動身前往準備勸說，但到時慘案已經發生。他不見官員善後，只好義捐金銀協助地方善後。⁹⁴

88 晚清譴責小說的討論可見林瑞明，《晚清譴責小說的歷史意義》（臺北：臺灣大學，1980）。

89 〈安慰煙民〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年3月16日第3頁。

90 日黑克彥，〈山西省における禁煙抵抗事件について〉，《集刊東洋學》68号（東京，1992），頁94-111。

91 〈交文民抗種煙之下場〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年3月26日第3頁。

92 〈交城縣陳明地方情形並請將被誘愚民從寬免究稟並批〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年3月29日第4頁。

93 〈勸慰煙民各員陸續回省〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年3月29日第4頁。

94 〈交民之福何淺〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年4月2日第3頁。

這則報導從禁煙的主論述中轉向批評官方的處理。官府處理不當的印象，原本都是論述當中潛在的議題，但是因為交文的衝突，使得報紙的內容已經不再關注於禁煙的問題，焦點全然變成斥責官府。此外，報導中提到收釐金的專員吳閏辰，他之所以得到當地人信賴，最主要就是他收藥厘必須與當地農民接觸。吳閏辰的介紹中雖然沒有說明他對罌粟的立場，然而從報導中卻可以讓人聯想到他的工作與罌粟有關，他的人際網絡與罌粟有關，而且他同情種植罌粟的農民。

事實上，多數知道消息真相的人似乎都站在農民這一邊。太原府農會的辦事人員向諮議局解釋，百姓要求種植罌粟是迫於生計，所以應該興農利解決此事。諮議局也接受了建議，呈請巡撫發放五千金到當地善後。⁹⁵ 農會與諮議局都認可百姓是迫於生計而種煙，很可能也是根據天候與收成來推論。根據郭夏雲、蘇澤龍兩位研究者的分析，宣統元年發生秋旱，等到下雨時時節已經過了播種小麥的季節，因此當地農民改種罌粟，才釀成此次事件。⁹⁶

這或許是一個合理的解釋，但如果只接受這個解釋，難免將當時因為訊息流通而造成複雜問題過於簡化。當《晉陽公報》近半個月的內容皆登出交文事件後，引起讀者許多反響，據報社自稱刊登以來「飛函責謗，日以百數」，有些責其不敢直書，有些罵報社亂登訊息；有人來信要求更改內容，有人順勢編造謠言；更有冒報社之名發言，甚至轉投其他報紙。因此，報刊不得不申明自己的立場是「倣煙民，存直道」。⁹⁷ 報社的聲明反而讓報刊宣傳的主軸以及讀者各取所需的意圖凸顯出來。《晉陽公報》雖然維持著禁煙的立場，但是報導的即時與細節，以及一定程度的傳播，不但為禁煙搖旗吶喊，同時也助長私種罌粟的火焰。

隨著事件的調查與善後，巡撫丁寶詮似乎已經察覺到問題的起源，迫於生計的農民膽敢行動可能有其他原因。他發現最能代表省城訊的《晉陽公報》竟然涉案其中。在他的調查中發現，報社中的王用賓、荊致中、蔣景汾、張樹幟等人有意破壞禁煙大局。丁寶詮陳報的供詞中說道：逮捕後，蔣景汾供稱「詆毀諮議局」言論是受王用賓指使；張樹幟供稱是王用賓要他前去開柵接洽「種煙公會」成員。有趣的是審問張樹幟時特別談到訊息的問題。雖然目前無法看到原供詞的內容，然而丁寶詮指控他們刻意讓百姓以為省城不可能派兵前往鎮壓，而後又刻意製造抹黑清軍的論述。⁹⁸

在逮捕過程中，王用賓早聽到風聲因而逃亡離開太原。但是王用賓是否會支持種植罌粟很讓人懷疑。王用賓在日本留學期間加入同盟會並且辦報闡述理念，⁹⁹ 歸國後積極參與救國與啟迪民智的工作，後任《晉陽公報》的主筆。辛亥革命後，他是山西革命陣營重要的領導人。這樣子背景的人物有可能做出「破壞禁煙大局」之事嗎？實在很讓人懷疑。但目前已無史料可以說明這個問題。

重要的是，過去《晉陽公報》中多數指陳清朝官員禁煙不力，破壞禁煙大局的罪名，有了新的去處。隨著調查越來越清楚，丁寶詮發現王用賓其實是革命黨人後，山西官府的宣傳中建立起來革命與破壞禁煙的關聯。此事件後，山西將報社與諮議局內可能的革命份子一併逮捕與驅除。然而，《晉陽公報》揭露官場黑暗面的力量，轉向流言的層次。這時候，社會中出現許多關於諮

95 〈交文善後〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年4月8日第4頁。

96 郭夏雲、蘇澤龍，〈罌粟種植與清末山西農民生計問題--以「交文事件」為中心的區域經濟社會考察〉，《社會科學戰線》2011:12(2011)，頁115。

97 〈怪象百出〉，《晉陽公報》，1910年4月8日第4頁。

98 撫憲丁奏查明晉省禁煙情形遵旨覆陳，《晉陽公報》，1910年8月10日第4頁。

99 李仁淵，《晚清的新式傳播媒體與知識份子》，頁205。

議局士紳的謠言，甚至指稱前往文水「安慰煙民」的孟步雲其實是自己也有土地私種罌粟。由於牽涉太廣，朝廷還降旨查明這些指控。巡撫丁寶誼更進一步重申這是王用賓等革命黨人的詭計，晉省士紳實際上是被誣陷的。¹⁰⁰ 換句話說，支持清廷的士紳也被指責為破壞禁煙大局之人。

不管其中情節是真是假，在禁煙主論述中隱含的反禁煙的議論，至此力量發揮到最大。反清的革命份子破壞禁煙，而支持清廷的士紳亦如此，那麼到底誰在禁煙呢？這個問題也讓支持中國禁煙的各國開始懷疑山西禁煙的真實性，開始關心此事。山西巡撫只能努力解釋這只是少數暴民的行為，並陽奉陰違，妨礙禁煙大局。¹⁰¹ 異議論述的力量已經遠超過想像。

結論

禁煙雖然是晚清政局中最主要的論述，但是清廷一直到光緒三十二年才正式宣布禁煙，並且約以十年為期漸進消滅。在此之前，禁煙的命令多是由地方督撫提出，經過皇帝批准後一體施行，因此禁煙的強度與懲罰的範圍，全視地方官個別的理解。故而，禁煙的宣傳也就因個人的理解而有所不同。這樣的狀況下，支持開禁者由於訊息多元而各有互異，因此在禁與不禁之間尋求可以發揮的空間。此外，隨著時局變動，通商口岸的消息、條約制定的最新狀況，也能提供支持開禁者的行動依據。

在山西的案例中，禁煙的論述經過三段主要的變化。起初，以大力宣揚罌粟佔據良田影響民食的論述，向農民勸說以及抵抗禁煙的議論。這一波的論述在光緒初年山西大旱災中發揮最大的效果。然而隨著旱災的消失，現實層面並不符合以糧食為主的論述，因此官員仍持此論時，官員的對應行動卻都與糧食作物無關。行動與宣傳之間的差異，似乎說明罌粟佔據良田的主張，實際上是預設未來的情況，並非實情。

待至光緒十一年後，煙台條約的續約無疑是鼓勵自產鴉片的訊息。開禁者獲得政策面上的支持，罌粟迅速擴散在山西的土地上。此時期禁煙論雖然仍持罌粟侵害良田的說法，但是想必很難獲得民間任何的回響，以至於評論的主軸都在責難社會風俗的墮落。雖然在形同開禁的時期裡，開禁者的聲音仍舊微弱，但是他們並不是沉默的一群，反而他們運用這個機會，創造澄清禁煙論述中罌粟影響民食的結論。

光緒三十二年伴隨新政，清廷正式下達禁煙的諭旨，世界各國亦同意中國的禁煙政策。開禁者發表異議論述的依據逐漸消失，他們不停用各種方式探詢各種可能的空間，以便維持種植罌粟的生活。隨著流動的人群以及新媒體的傳播，各種訊息滲入民間，引發各種猜測與聯想。最終種植罌粟者從訊息中誤判斷官府仍會彈性同意種煙，因而釀成抵抗的暴動。

官府也逐漸發現新媒體傳播的效果，許多名為禁煙的消息背後，實際透露更多可供開禁者論述的資源。因此，追查暴動的過程亦將新媒體的資訊網絡進行整肅，並以革命份子滲透其間為名，肅清訊息源。以革命份子為首的新聞發布者轉向地下，並且開始散播各種謠言，讓人們相信暴動的起因是官府人人懷私，暗地裡支持農民種植罌粟，卻為邀禁煙之功而犧牲農民。此舉讓禁煙論

100 撫憲丁奏查明晉省士紳被參各款遵旨覆陳摺》，《晉陽公報》，1910年9月5日第5頁。

101 Despatch from Sir A. Hosie, Forwarding Reports Respecting The Opium Question in China. no.1(1911), p5.

述與行動的可信度大打折扣。

過多的訊息以及各自解讀所衍生的各種想像，無論情境如何支持禁煙，宣傳也很難再順利的運作，尤其是交文事件中混亂的訊息，更證實民間時時刻刻有自己的解讀。因此，一本名為《山西文水縣聚眾滋事始末記》的宣傳手冊開始流傳於山西社會。其編者為山西督練公所，序言中即言：「故文交之事，實為禁煙消長之機，其關於一二人之毀譽，可以置之不辨；而關於全局之利害者，不可不深思而熟計之也。本公所職司軍事，推究始終，因集錄此案奏牘、函電及諮議局報告。」¹⁰² 很顯然這本書的目的是希望透過解釋，保住禁煙的宣傳力量，並且透過此書為某些人平反，其中也包括事件中被認為屠殺百姓的軍隊。

雖然，今日的觀察已經很難估量這一波澄清式的宣傳是否發生作用，因為緊接而來的辛亥革命讓輿論與議題完全忘記交城文水的暴動。但《晉陽公報》在宣統三年最後一次報導交城與文水時新聞卻耐人尋味。報導中說，由於去年取締種植罌粟，百姓都已經悔改改種五穀，結果今年不但冰雹時發，還豪雨成災，以至於六十多個村莊受到影響。報社評論道：「去歲人禍，今歲天災，兩縣百姓其何以堪？」¹⁰³ 這些百姓都是暴動發生後主動配合種植五穀的農民，他們是否會相信這是今歲的雹雨是天災，還是埋怨官府把他們推向災難？發佈宣傳與訊息後難以預測的不確定性，一直都是禁煙論者最無法掌握的部份。

102 山西督練公所編，《山西文水縣聚眾滋事始末記》（太原：山西省圖書館藏山西督練公所 1910 年刊本），頁 3a-3b。

103 〈交文雨雹之慘狀〉，《晉陽公報》，1911 年 7 月 9 日第 2 頁。

天啓·謠言·苗皇帝：近代中國西南苗族起事裡的 「假新聞」（1860-1960）

On the Liquid Revealing of New Media: A Case Study on the Fake Photos of the 1998 Indonesia Riots

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摘要 / Abstract

近代以來，中國西南地區的少數民族起事常成為帝國邊疆統治上的一大難題。由於國防的戰略考量，即使進入了共和國的年代，對於西南邊疆的統御仍是中央政府不可輕忽的一項重要政策。在本文中，我將以近代發生在中國西南地區，以苗族為主要領導者的數次群眾起事為中心，探討起事過程中為首者所散播的謠言與謠言產生的背景，以及傳播謠言的管道。雖然這些謠言的內容，間或有著不同的宗教元素，政治因素與族群利益的糾葛，但從這些謠言的內容以及起事的過程中，都可以找到許多相類似之處。因之，我將藉由歷次起事當中的「假新聞」，反思中國西南苗族在其族群歷史發展中所承受的外在壓力與內在恐懼，並分析這些壓力與恐懼如何反應在他們的歷史記憶之中，並且引爆出多次的群眾起事，以及所造成的影響。

From late imperial times, ethnic minority uprisings in the southwestern region of China often became a difficult problem in governing the Empire's frontier. Due to strategic considerations for national defense, control of the southwestern frontier was an important policy that central government could ill afford to overlook, even after China had entered the era of the People's Republic. In this paper, I focus on the many mass uprisings mainly led by the Miao ethnic group that occurred in southwestern China, exploring rumors spread by leaders in the course of uprisings, the background in which they emerged, and their channels of dissemination. Although there were occasionally disputes concerning different religious elements, political factors and ethnic interests, many similarities can be found in the content of these rumors and the course of events in an uprising. For this reason, by examining the "fake news" that



emerged out of the succession of Miao-led uprisings, I reflect on the external pressures and internal fears this southwestern Chinese ethnic group endured during its historical development. I also analyze how these pressures and fears are reflected in their historical memory, triggering the many mass uprisings by this ethnic group, and their impact.

前言

在偌大的中國西南地區分布著許多不同族稱以及自我認同相異的少數族群，他們在官方的識別工作中各自被劃分成不同的「民族」，由於相對漢族而言，他們是「少數」，所以在中共建政之後，他們便被稱為「少數民族」。

在這些為數眾多的少數民族中，苗族算是相當龐大的一個民族，其所屬的不同支系，若以居住地域來分，可分為湖南的湘苗、四川的川苗、貴州的黔苗與雲南的滇苗；若以服色來分，則又可以分為紅、白、黑、青與花苗等不同的支系。在今日苗族大部分的支系中，一直流傳著一個遷徙的故事，說明他們是跟隨著一個英雄祖先從中原一路南遷到現在居住的中國西南一帶；也因為他們不斷的遷徙，使得他們不但丟失了自己的文字，也失去了原本應該屬於他們的土地。由於這段歷史記憶，使得他們與周遭的強勢族群（特別是漢人）之間，存在著許多的緊張關係，而歷代以來，也常因為彼此之間的緊張關係而釀成大大小小的「苗亂」。雖然這些「亂」最後都被中央政府以強勢的軍事力量所弭平，但是彼此之間的緊張關係卻一直存在，直到中共建政之後這樣的衝突依舊不時發生。

在傳統的歷史書寫中，這些苗族的「叛亂」有其不同的定位。在 1949 年以前，這些事件被以「亂」來稱呼，認為這是對中央政府的一種反叛行為，故中央派兵爭討，是「師出有名」的。但是，這些歷來的苗亂，到了 1949 年之後的書寫，往往就成了「農民起義」最好的典範。所以，張兆和（Siu-woo Cheung）就認為，這些所謂的「苗族叛亂」（Miao rebellion）其實是建立在作者對叛亂者身份的理解上，而隨著作者立場的轉變，這些的「亂」也有其不同的詮釋與解讀¹。接續張兆和的概念，這類所謂的農民起義指的僅是苗民對「封建勢力」或是「國民黨政權」所發起的叛亂行動才被稱之為「起義」。在本文中，我們將看到不少最後被中共定調為「反革命暴動」的行為，成為了中共建政以來不再以「農民起義」美化的群眾事件。但無論是起義、叛亂、甚至是反革命，其實在這當中都有其相似的脈絡可循，而這個脈絡，就是建立在一段又一段的謠言裡。

值得注意的是，這些流言蜚語往往透過苗族內部社群的傳播管道，將這些謠言醞釀成為更大的「假新聞」，甚至造成武裝的群眾事件；更進一步來看，在這些假新聞裡似乎可以找到許多相似的語彙與符碼，而這些符碼，又與他們所流傳的遷徙故事有許多的相似之處。因此，本文擬就自清末以來的幾次西南苗族的群眾事件，特別是有明顯武裝衝突的事件，來分析這些假新聞中的共現語彙，並反思這些語彙所反映出來苗族所特有的歷史記憶與我族認同。

一、中國西南苗族的歷史記憶

苗族的族稱與分布 「苗族」是一個在歷史上被漢人所賦予的少數民族族稱，到了 1950 年代的中共的民族識別工作裡被定義為中國 56 個民族當中的一個。在民國初年，「五族共和」的口號使得漢、滿、蒙、回、藏五族被呈現在紅、黃、藍、白、黑的五色旗當中，成為中華民國的國旗。

1 Cheung Siu-woo, 〈Miao Rebellion and Discursive Construction of Ethnic Identity〉, 《國立臺灣大學考古人類學刊》53 期 (台北, 1998. 09): 13-56。

而位於中國南方與西南地區的少數民族（當時普遍的稱呼是「土著民族」），在歷來的漢人文獻中被視為「苗蠻」，也漸漸被正名為在五族之外的「苗」與「瑤」。

但「苗」這個名詞只是大部分南方少數民族的代稱，即使到了現代，苗族仍可以分為許多不同的支系。根據楊漢先的調查，光是貴州西部一帶，在 1940 年代就有 13 個不同的苗族支系²。除此之外，在湖南湘西、四川、雲南、廣西甚至是東南亞地區，至今仍遍佈著擁有自己族群認同，而被劃歸為苗族的族群。但無論是那個支系，他們幾乎都自認本族是個從他處遷徙而來的古老民族。按《馬關縣志》記載：「苗族，本三苗後裔，其先自湘竄黔，由黔入滇，其來久矣。」³大致可視為歷史上苗族遷徙的紀錄：即由湖南到貴州，再由貴州進入雲南。但是，究竟遷徙發生在何時、到湖南之前又是從何而來的記載就付之闕如了。

以黔西北的苗族為例，一支被稱為「水西苗」的苗族自認為他們來自江西；川南的鴉雀苗則自認來自湖北麻城孝感鄉。這是中國西南許多民族常有的歷史記憶模式，即都自認祖先來自於漢人居住的省分，或稱先祖隨漢軍駐守邊疆，才來到非漢民族為多數的中國西南地區⁴。另一支被稱為「大花苗」的苗族，他們則認為自己來到黔西北的時間更早。而這些遷徙的故事，都流傳在他們的傳統史詩歌謠或是喪葬儀式中所必須唸誦的指路儀式當中。

楊漢先從大花苗歌謠中考證，大花苗是從黔西沿河流西行，一路遷移到黔西北，而遷徙到此的時間甚至可以追溯到宋代以前，其時大花苗仍與水西苗屬同一支系⁵。宋代以後，大花苗的歷史沒有水西苗那麼複雜，也沒有再細分為別的支系。元、明以來就定居在囉囉（今之彝族）烏撒土司統轄境內的威寧、昭通和彝良⁶；而水西苗則分布於當代的黔西、大方、織金、安順、平坝以及普定、郎岱與水城，這裡原屬水西土司統治的區域，因此漢人便以水西苗稱之⁷。而後文將提到的一部分苗族起事，就是發生在以這個區域為中心的。

苗族的遷徙與祖源神話 根據楊漢先在 1940 年代的調查，水西苗族的人口約三萬人，分布縱橫約三百里⁸。水西苗的歷史記憶中，他們是從貴州西部的三岔河⁹一帶開始發展，在此之前的歷

2 楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告（手稿版）》，收入：王曉莉，賈仲益（編），《中國邊疆社會調查報告集成》1輯2冊（桂林：廣西師範大學出版社，2010），66-68。楊氏將黔西苗族分為：坝苗（或作壩苗）、水西苗、牛角苗、白苗、長角苗、箐苗、大花苗、平坝（或作平壩）青苗、安順青苗、補龍苗、盤頭青苗、郎岱青苗等十二個支系。

3 張自明（修），《馬關縣志（民國）》，卷2〈風俗志·苗人〉（台北：成文出版社據1932年石印本影印，1967），238。

4 例如：川南許多苗族的「家譜」記載祖上來自湖北麻城孝感鄉，應是附會清代「湖廣填四川」的移民潮，使漢人「苗化」（或其他民族化）為本地的土著民族。胡慶鈞認為這是邊疆土著民族「熱望漢化」的結果（見：胡慶鈞，〈川南苗鄉紀行（二）〉，《中央週刊》6卷37期（重慶，1944）：509；王明珂以為，這是少數民族逃避被歧視為落後「蠻子」的一種歷史記憶，見：王明珂，《英雄祖先與弟兄民族》（台北：允晨出版社，2006），43。

5 關於考證過程與原因不贅述，見：楊漢先，〈大花苗移入烏撒傳說攷〉，《金陵齊魯華西三大學中國文化研究彙刊》2（成都，1942）：421-460。

6 楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告（手稿版）》，169-170。

7 楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告（手稿版）》，128。另一個關於水西苗的定義來自於外籍傳教士的說法，水西苗（West of the water Miao / Shui Hsi Miao）中的「水」，指的是安順與大定之間的河流，而住在這一帶的苗族則為水西苗。見：Samuel R. Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-west China* (London, Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1911), 17.

8 楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告》，83-84。

9 三岔河是貴州主要水系烏江的南源支流，發源自威寧縣烏蒙山東麓夾馬石，東南流經水城（今六盤水），改名木底河。又東南流經納雍、朗岱交界處有路嵐河流入，改名囉瓦河。又東流經普定、平壩、織金，轉向東北，改名三岔河。見：楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告》，53。

史，僅知道他們是「由日出一方移來，抵三岔河時，仲家（按：今之布依族）先彼等而居矣」。根據威寧的仲家人說，當明洪武4年（1371）仲家到威寧的野馬川（今赫章縣野馬川）時，當地已經有苗人居住¹⁰。按此說來，水西苗族遷徙到水西一地應該要在明朝以前。不過，儘管水西苗族來到水西地區的時間早，甚至在一些苗民的記憶中他們比僮僮人還早在此地居住，但當僮僮掌握了水西一帶的統治權後，便役使苗民成為奴隸，徵收賦稅¹¹，以致於水西苗族有此一《酒歌》唱道：

難是難，
一年做來的工，
是人家的，
好肉好飯，
是人家吃，
剩下來三盤，
才給我們吃¹²。

由此可見因為身為奴隸與佃農，無法充分享受自己勞碌果實的悲嘆。然而，在這樣的劣勢下，水西苗族卻保留了一個關於英雄祖先「楊六」的故事。楊六故事不僅流傳在水西苗族，包括安順的青苗、箐苗、壩苗、大定的白苗、貴陽的青苗都有這個故事流傳，內容大同小異，甚至大花苗也有類似的故事。楊六的故事大抵是說苗族古代有一名首領叫楊六，曾與漢人楊芳相約出兵攻打敵人。後因遭楊芳所欺，憤而與其開戰。又因楊六賴以克敵致勝的法寶「龍心」被楊芳盜取，因而大敗，只好趁大霧遁逃，先至貴陽、又至平壩、再轉安順、普定，沿途不斷遭到漢人的攻擊，最後落腳三岔河靠捕魚為業。在一次打魚的過程中被大魚吞去，從此不見蹤影¹³。

楊芳這個角色，被指涉為客家（苗族人對漢人的稱呼）。在一些版本中，楊六被稱為楊六郎，有的人便假稱是楊家將當中，楊業的六子楊延昭，這很明顯是對漢族的「攀附」想像。在近人的研究中，又稱楊六為六郎、楊魯、或牙魯，包括近年來才陸續採集到的《亞魯王》史詩¹⁴，當中的亞魯，其故事發展都與楊六相似。在苗語當中，這些名字的發音都與「祖先」之音相近，而不是漢姓裡的楊。

《亞魯王》的故事，敘述著貴州西部苗族對於我族的歷史記憶，是一部包含了苗族創世神話、祖源神話與遷徙故事的史詩，由族群中被稱為「東郎」的歌師所傳唱。由於東郎歌師所憑藉的是代代相傳、拜師學藝的口頭文學記憶，並在喪葬儀式當中吟唱。故事講述亞魯在12歲時便與前往各地征戰的父親與兄長們分離，與母親相依為命。隨著年歲增長，漸漸擴張他的勢力範圍，在取

10 楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告》，86（註文）。

11 楊漢先認為，水西苗與大花苗遷入黔西北地區的時間甚至比僮僮還早。雖然「當初本無地主佃戶之別，指手為界，各自耕種，迨後僮族中之貴種（按：即水西安氏）移入，始役使苗民為其奴隸。」見：楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告》，86。

12 為綱，〈水西苗酒歌（漢譯）〉，《社會研究》38期（貴陽：大夏大學社會研究部，1941）：1。

13 這段故事詳見：楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告》，87-88。

14 亞魯王的故事流傳在貴州西部，2009年，由苗族學者在貴州西部的麻山地區，調查考證並記載的《亞魯王》史詩並正式出版，成為中國民間文化搶救工程中的重點項目之一，並由中國文化部列為「2009年中國文化的重大發現」之一，成了中國非物質文化遺產的一部份。見：馮驥才，〈發現《亞魯王》〉，收入：中國民間文藝家協會（編），《苗族英雄史詩—亞魯王》（北京：中華書局，2012），4-6。

得「龍心」之後，更是無往不利，連戰皆捷，成為獨當一面的亞魯王。但亞魯王擴張了境界卻也因此與兄長反目，亞魯王因自認為弟者應禮讓兄長，故持續退讓；但兄長們所要的，卻是亞魯王的寶貝龍心。最後，如楊六的故事一樣，龍心被兄長騙去，亞魯王的軍隊大敗，因而遁逃遷徙，過著刀耕火種的生活。然而，兄長們卻不放過亞魯王，他們持續追殺亞魯王與他的軍隊，直到把他們趕到麻山地區。

到了麻山以後，亞魯王重建他的王國，並由他的兒子們創造了 12 個太陽和 12 個月亮，然後又派兒子去把多餘的日月射殺，只留下 1 個太陽和 1 個月亮。學者認為，《亞魯王》史詩所反映出來的，是一個弱肉強食的殘酷世界，與貴州西部苗族所經歷的歷史相似，而且雖然亞魯王有其神性，但是在人世間卻是個羨慕外族人擁有美好生活的弱勢首領¹⁵。

另一個有著遷徙歷史記憶的苗族支系是大花苗族。大花苗民在 1940 年代約有 5 萬人，分佈的區域，西南不過雲南省的武定、羅次，東不過貴州安順、普定與織金，北達金沙江沿岸，以烏蒙山為中心，分佈在烏江北面地區¹⁶。與其他苗族支系相異的是，大花苗族沒有祖先來自何「省」的歷史記憶，也因此學者多認為大花苗族保留了更多古代中原文化的元素¹⁷。不過，儘管沒有來自於某省的記憶，但他們卻對自己的遷徙故事朗朗上口。

根據楊漢先 1938 年採集許多版本並加以比較的〈大花苗遷移史實〉故事歌謠，得出一個「主姑姑（ma chü）移入烏撒部」的傳說故事：相傳大花苗的祖先，因砍伐了 n'ò 人的樹而被迫為其服勞役。而勞役日增，甚至必須代 n'ò 人去給客（即漢人）服勞役，日子過得很辛苦。為了逃離 n'ò 的勞役，先祖趁 n'ò 嫁女兒 ma chü 的時候，隨 ma chü 一起逃走¹⁸。所謂 ma chü，指的是地主之女（ma 是大花苗男子對姊妹的總稱，未婚或已嫁未有生育者皆可；chü 則是主人，大花苗稱地主都用此字），楊漢先則把她翻譯成「主姑姑」。而在一些大花苗民對於 n'ò 的描述中，他們是一群高大、面黑、不與外人通婚，性情暴虐且以僕役對待大花苗民的異族人，而大花苗族必須對其獻以野羊，敬酒則必須行跪禮。這些描述，基本上都符合了僮僮土司、地主與大花苗民的互動情況。因此，楊漢先認為這個故事中的 n'ò 是烏蠻中的貴族，也就是當時的僮夷或僮僮、今日的黑彝族中的黑彝族上層階級¹⁹。

而這個故事有別於水西苗的英雄祖先故事，而是單純描述一個不知從何而起，確知以何為終的故事。根據楊漢先的調查，「主姑姑」最後嫁到 sao n'ò 之地，是今天雲南的宣威和貴州威寧一帶，也就是明清時期烏撒土司管轄所在²⁰。

15 余未人，〈追念苗族英雄亞魯王〉，收入：中國民間文藝家協會（編），《苗族英雄史詩—亞魯王》，7-9。

16 楊漢先，〈大花苗移入烏撒傳說攷〉，《金陵齊魯華西三大學中國文化研究彙刊》2：422。

17 黃宣衛，劉芳（編），《國家、族群與基督宗教：西部苗族調查報告西部苗族》（台北：唐山出版社，2016），3。

18 楊漢先考證的「與主姑姑移入烏撒部」故事版本有四種說法，其中第四種（威寧西北天生橋楊氏口述）最為完整，我以此故事當作故事主軸整理於此，其餘版本請見：楊漢先，〈大花苗移入烏撒傳說攷〉，《金陵齊魯華西三大學中國文化研究彙刊》2：422-445。

19 楊漢先，〈大花苗移入烏撒傳說攷〉，《金陵齊魯華西三大學中國文化研究彙刊》2：446。

20 楊漢先，〈大花苗移入烏撒傳說攷〉，《金陵齊魯華西三大學中國文化研究彙刊》2：446-447。值得注意的是，在故事的末了提到，當大花苗族浩浩蕩蕩地遷徙，來到半途，因為沒力氣走下去了，就往水城方向走，定居在那裡，另一說則為分道至四川與貴州接壤的鎮雄，往水城方向，即與上述水西苗所居住的三岔河相近，因此，楊漢先也不排除水西苗是大花苗在遷徙過程中走岔了的分支。見：楊漢先，《黔西苗族調查報告》，86。

綜上所述，水西苗有著典型的「英雄徙邊記」的歷史記憶；而大花苗則有著明顯的遷徙過程故事，其共同點都在於遷徙，而且對於故事的起首，都沒有一個明確的地點交代，只知道是從「某地」遷徙而來，然後又因為與外族的互動而又遷徙到今天居住的地方。這種遷徙的記憶，其實也反映在他們的宗教信仰當中，特別是喪葬儀式中的葬式與指路儀式，也就是上述由東郎所唱的《亞魯王》。

因此，無論楊六、亞魯王或是主姑姑，這些故事的主題都是一個「英雄徙邊記」的過程。王明珂在其著作中提到，許多中國的正史當中，都記載了英雄徙邊的事蹟，講述一些漢文化的人物以英雄的角色來到邊疆地區發展，成為邊疆民族的祖先（例如蜀漢之諸葛亮）。英雄徙邊記的主要情節，都是一位失敗或受挫的英雄，自華夏遠走邊緣蠻荒之地，在這裡成為一方之主。而創作英雄徙邊記的漢人，又以此去解釋邊疆民族的祖先血源，以及疆域取得的歷史²¹。

但是，楊六的故事又與英雄徙邊記的生成有些差異，因為楊六顯然不是一個往邊緣地區遷徙的漢人英雄，而是一個被漢人打敗而被迫遷徙到邊緣的苗人英雄。這與王明珂所提到的另一種「異類英雄祖先」：蚩尤——一個當代許多苗族宣稱的我族英雄祖先——是比較相近的。

蚩尤同樣也是戰敗於漢人之手，特別他的對手，是漢人所認為祖先的黃帝。依據一般流傳的故事版本，在關鍵性的涿鹿之戰中，蚩尤趁大霧來攻，幸而黃帝有良臣發明了指南車，使其可以辨認方向因而大敗蚩尤。而楊六遭遇到大霧，卻是讓他足以遁逃的關鍵因素。在苗族古歌中所記載的「格蚩尤老」被當代本地知識份子轉譯為中國古籍當中的蚩尤，因此將蚩尤戰敗的故事，當作是他們遷徙到西南地區的首部曲，也進而合理化苗族為何在中國西南處於弱勢的窘境。相較於上述以漢人為主角的英雄徙邊記，蚩尤所代表的，是「華夏歷史記憶中一個失敗的悲劇英雄」，「被本土知識份子選擇來作為苗族英雄祖先」。對自認為蚩尤後裔的苗族而言，此種記憶「一方面說明本族群相對於漢族的邊緣地位，另一方面，強調苗曾與漢對等相爭互競」²²。同樣，以作為水西苗與大部分貴州西部苗族共同祖源的楊六，雖然他不曾出現在華夏歷史記憶中，但卻也同樣被形塑成一個曾與漢族相爭的英雄祖先。因此，這樣的歷史記憶，一直深植於中國西南的苗族心中，在下文將提及許多以苗族為首，反抗統治者的事件中，都可以在上述的歷史記憶與史詩中找到一些類似的脈絡，甚至成為流傳謠言中的語彙。

二、近代苗族群眾事件與謠言²³

歷代以來，中國西南地區發生過多起以苗族為首反抗政府的軍事行動。而「苗王」常成為這些苗民口中的領袖人物。明太宗永樂年間，在篁子坪（今湖南吉首市一帶）有吳者泥自稱苗王反抗中央²⁴；清雍正12年（1734）7月，黔東黎平府的苗寨也有「自稱苗王，攜有白手巾荷包等物，

21 王明珂，《英雄祖先與弟兄民族》，112-113。

22 王明珂，《英雄祖先與弟兄民族》，230-231。

23 按照不同的史觀，對於苗民反政府事件也有不同的說法，例如：一般認知的「乾嘉苗民起義」，從另一個觀點來看就是「乾嘉苗亂」。本文以「事件」這個較為中性的語彙作為描述。

24 中央研究院歷史語言研究所（校勘），《明實錄》（台北：中央研究院歷史語言研究所，1966），卷155，「永樂十二年九月十六日」條：1789。

散給苗眾」，「發動起義」的事件²⁵。隔年2月，黎平府古州（今貴州省榕江縣）八妹寨又有苗民包利、紅銀等人自稱苗王，以「跳舞降神，編傳木刻」的方式，聲稱「只要送銀五分，不必種田，苗王出世，就可得銀子」。起事者亦稱具有「法水噴出，將會『高坡倒為平地，城牆化為爛泥，官兵槍砲俱不能施放』」的神奇法力，因此而相信聚眾者據稱有2萬餘人²⁶。

這些事件的背景，往往跟長期以來苗漢之間的衝突有關。在明以前，朝廷所採用的方式是對苗地的封鎖政策，靠著碉堡與所謂的苗疆長城²⁷將漢苗隔開，越界者予以重罰²⁸。清朝政權建立，派兵把守苗漢邊界，衝突也不多；但清政府打開了邊疆的封鎖，允許漢人進入苗區。儘管漢人確實促進了苗人的社會與經濟發展，但是卻有大量的漢人以不同的手段兼併了苗人的土地，並將苗人當作剝削的對象。這個苗漢之間的衝突，到了乾隆嘉慶年間就爆發了「乾嘉起義」。

「乾嘉起義」只是清代三百多年間發生的多次族群事件中較大規模的一次，在學界稱為「古苗疆走廊」的湘黔滇一帶少數民族地區，已有「三十年一小反，六十年一大反」的俗諺，包括「雍乾苗亂」、「乾嘉苗亂」、「咸同苗亂」、「黔東事變」，乃至於民國的「湘西革屯運動」、「跳仙會事件」與本文最後將提及的多次發生於中共建政之後的民族事件，都可以放在歷代中原王朝或中央政府與西南苗族互動關係的脈絡下探詢。限於篇幅，本文擬以清代「豬拱箐事件」（1860-1871）、民國湘西的「跳仙事件」，以及中共建政之後多次以謠言為事件起首的案例作為說明，以作為本文探討「假新聞」的主要觀察重點。

（一）豬拱箐事件²⁹

豬拱箐，位於今日貴州西北畢節市的西北方的青場一帶，是畢節通往威寧州城的要道。由於大山環繞，是「三省毗鄰，萬山叢雜，綿亙二十餘里，勢極險峻，四面絕壁，有鷹隼騰猿所不能上」的險要地方³⁰。豬拱箐事件由苗族陶新春（1825-1867）、陶三春（1827-1867）兄弟所發起，始於咸豐10年（1860），終於同治6年（1867），前後雖僅十年不到，但由於此時的清朝政府正處於內憂外患頻仍之際，外有國際列強的入侵，內有太平天國起事。更令清廷頭痛的是，太平軍最後竟與豬拱箐的軍隊合流，成為一股強大的反清勢力。

早在咸豐5年（1855），貴州一帶已有多處反政府的武裝起事。位於貴州東部鎮遠府的台拱廳地方苗族起事，官員已看出「苗匪滋事，不為及早搜捕，將來必致重煩兵力」，且「苗寨

25 楊德芳，〈從《南征日記》看雍乾之際「新疆六廳」的社會現狀〉，《貴州文史叢刊》1期（貴陽，2002）：96。

26 尹繼善，〈八妹等寨苗民滋事及辦理情形折〉，雍正13年4月16日，收入：中國第一歷史檔案館等（編），《清代前期苗民起義檔案史料匯編》（北京：光明日報出版社，1987），86-87。

27 苗疆長城主要位於今日鳳凰縣境內，全長190公里，北起湘西的古丈縣，南到貴州銅仁。《苗防備覽》一書提到，由於貴州、湘西一帶的苗亂，讓明朝廷很傷腦筋，於是在萬曆年間修築了一道土牆，從貴州銅仁一路延伸到湘西的保靖。明熹宗天啟年間又增築到古丈縣的喜鵲營。不過長城大多毀於明末，清代則改以重兵把守，並委以熟苗屯田。

28 凌純聲，芮逸夫，《湘西苗族調查報告》（台北：中央研究院歷史語言研究所，1993景印一版），113。

29 關於豬拱箐事件的經過與評論，可參考：賀國鑒，〈陶新春傳〉，《貴州文史叢刊》2期（貴陽，1983）：14-20；〈陶新春傳續編〉，《貴州文史叢刊》3期（貴陽，1987）：87-90，32；〈豬拱箐苗族起義綜述〉，《貴州民族研究》3期（總期35）（貴陽，1988）：109-118；〈豬拱箐苗族起義史料輯錄〉，《貴州文史叢刊》1期（貴陽，1991）：34-38等作品。

30 吳長生，〈豬拱箐苗民起義遺址考察記〉，《貴州文史叢刊》4期（貴陽，2006）：79。

遼闊，山徑分歧，此拏則彼竄，分剿則兵單」³¹，著實呈現了清軍在管理貴州上的困境。同年，漢人楊龍喜在貴州北部一帶起事，一路由遵義打到黔西北的畢節。「楊龍喜是白蓮教徒，他把清朝的官吏、土目、地主比做毒蛇猛獸，號召群眾起來反抗」³²，這些言論影響了在土目家做農奴的陶新春兄弟。於是，陶新春便假拖他的母親是「仙姑下凡」，來拯救大難臨頭的老百姓；陶聲稱其母有一把扇子，可以看清楚官軍的人數與此役的勝負，據說在之後的戰役中，每次都靈驗³³；她又有紅巾一條，可以抵擋官軍的槍砲，「只要大家一條心，打死那些毒蛇猛獸是很容易的」³⁴。

這番言論，在威寧、畢節與水城一帶傳播了大概兩三年的時間，很多人都相信了仙姑的說法，並接受了陶新春散發的「仙符」。咸豐 10 年（1860）3 月，陶新春號召群眾，在韭菜坪（今赫章縣城南方）舉行降仙大會。當時聚集的人數約有 14,000 人，其中主要是苗族，其次是白夷與仲家。陶新春利用這個機會，鼓動群眾，並進行了編隊分組。4 月，有人「自稱翼星轉世，謂有大耳神將助亂」，後來自稱翼星的人死了，但群眾聚於韭菜坪仍一度達於萬人；另外，又有苗婦「自號仙姑，謂能使神附人體，力強敢戰，習其術者往往作昏迷狀，競前逐人，曰牯牛陣」，並「以紅巾搖曳，曰：『打不著殺不著』」。8 月間，因為畢節西里的漢族地主因土地糾紛，利用苗族與漢族兩牧童鬥牛的事故，大肆渲染成民族之間的爭執，導致漢苗彼此殘殺，成為豬拱箐事件的引爆點³⁵。

苗軍³⁶在事件初期可說是節節勝利，後以畢節西北的豬拱箐為中心，修建房屋與營壘，開墾田地，成為之後的根據地，這也是豬拱箐事件得名的由來。此時攜家帶眷的苗軍，在豬拱箐約有 10 餘萬人，以民族分別來看「半山以上為內營，諸苗居之；山以下為大營，白夷、土僚、龍、仲、蔡各家混雜居之，中以大路為隔。苗為首，而白夷為之主計，惟無黑夷土目」³⁷。

咸豐 11 年（1861）春初，屬太平天國的一部由平遠（今織金縣）欲取大定，在畢節城與豬拱箐苗軍合流攻打清軍。直到翼王石達開大軍抵川東，苗軍因對黔北熟悉，陶新春遂派千餘人擔任先遣部隊，引導太平軍前往川南，並護送太平軍傷兵到豬拱箐療養。是年 10 月至次年 5 月，苗軍與太平軍相互支援整補，苗軍正式成為太平軍的一部份，舉太平天國旗幟，啟用「太平天國統兵元帥」的印信，採用太平軍的軍政組織形式。在豬拱箐，苗軍「縱橫一十八里，房屋大小三萬餘間」³⁸，活動於貴州大定、黔西、威寧、畢節與雲南鎮雄、彝良、大關、昭通和四川邊界地區，直到同治 6 年（1867）6 月才被清軍攻破。陶新春等人先後被押解至畢節縣城處死，結束了為期近 10 年的豬拱箐事件。

31 [清]劉長佑，岑毓英（纂），《平定貴州苗匪紀略》卷 1，收入：甘肅省古籍文獻整理編輯中心中國西南文獻叢書編輯委員會（編），《中國西南文獻叢書·二編》18 冊（北京：學苑出版社，2009），5-6。

32 賀國鑒，〈陶新春傳〉，《貴州文史叢刊》2 期：14。

33 劉顯世（修），楊恩元（纂），《貴州通志（民國）》（民國 37 年鉛印本）：4660。

34 賀國鑒，〈陶新春傳〉，《貴州文史叢刊》2 期：14。

35 劉顯世（修），楊恩元（纂），《貴州通志（民國）》：4025。

36 我在這裡使用「苗軍」是一個廣義的稱呼，因為當時參與起事的不只苗族，根據賀國鑒的研究，尚有仲家、白夷與漢族。有的研究當中以「起義軍」稱之，部分史料則以「苗逆」、「苗匪」、「箐賊」稱之，兩者都帶有強烈的價值判斷語意，故我傾向以較為中性的「苗軍」來稱呼。

37 余昭，〈平定豬拱箐苗匪始末〉，轉引自：賀國鑒，〈豬拱箐苗族起義綜述〉，《貴州民族研究》3 期（總期 35）：112。

38 劉顯世（修），楊恩元（纂），《貴州通志（民國）》，4654。

(二) 跳仙會事件

跳仙會事件又被稱為「神兵起義」、「木刀起義」或「麻王運動」。跳仙是苗族傳統的宗教活動，由苗族仙娘、仙師主持與來自天上和地下神靈進行溝通與交流的一種儀式³⁹。湘西的跳仙會事件發生在 1942 年，與 1936 至 37 年發生的「革屯運動」相隔的時間⁴⁰。革屯運動後雖然廢除了屯田制度，但是湖南省政府仍以不同的名目在湘西苗區派捐、拉丁，後來又在此實施食鹽專賣，導致了 1942 年的「跳仙會起事」。1941 年，永綏縣衛城鄉鹽井寨（今花垣縣兩河鄉鹽井村）苗民麻巴龍家生了男孩，因為嬰兒髮型與眾不同，於是傳出這是「仁宗皇帝轉世」，「將來一定成王登基南京，救我苗家」的謠言。寨子裡的苗民稱此嬰孩為「麻王」，只要「麻王坐殿」，「苗族人民就可不再受抓丁、派款、缺鹽的痛苦了」。除此之外，麻王還有「仙水」，喝了便可治病消災，甚至刀槍不入。不少民眾從永綏、鳳凰、乾城、保靖，甚至是相鄰的貴州松桃、銅仁一帶前來「朝王」。其後，該寨寨民麻老伴宣稱得到一本《無字天書》，說麻王封他為「掌簿先生」，負責調兵遣將並組織苗民跳仙練武。

永綏的跳仙事件，後來傳到了鳳凰，由米良鄉夯來村的苗族婦女吳春妹發起。吳自稱從麻王學得了仙法，並招收弟子組織跳仙會，進行傳法與發放仙水的活動。影響所及，遍佈臘爾山、麻沖、舊司坪（今三拱橋鄉）、竿子坪、白岩沖、牛岩、亥沖等地，都有跳仙會的蹤影。1942 年農曆 3 月，永綏與鳳凰的跳仙會不約而同地以武力攻打地方政府，以「麻王打江山，百姓喜連天，不要躲壯丁，煮菜有了鹽」等口號，一時之間風起雲湧。不過，跳仙會事件並未持續太長的時間，在事件發生不久之後，各地的跳仙會就被政府武裝鎮壓，結束了湘西的跳仙會事件⁴¹。

(三) 鬧皇帝事件

另外一類苗族武裝衝突事件發生於 1949 年中共建政之後，因為這幾次的背景相仿，地區相近，所以我將這些事件統稱為「鬧皇帝」事件。之所以使用「鬧」這個字，係引用自中共方面的調查報告，故名之曰「鬧皇帝」。

馬場事件 1956 年 3 月 4 日，在貴州省納雍縣西北部馬場鄉（今納雍縣鍋圈岩鄉）發生了以苗族為首的「馬場事件」，後來被中共當局定調為是一場「反革命暴亂」。從當年 2 月開始，在納雍縣傳出許多「求神藥、拜菩薩」的謠言，謠言所傳之處，常聚集數百位群眾在洞內或在樹下拜神求藥。由小花苗族的陳大木干開始散布「菩薩賜天書，陳大木干的兒子可以當皇帝」的謠言，並以「出皇帝，作（坐）江山，苗家天下到了」的言論吸引苗族群眾，加入其陣營者約有 300 餘人。

39 康詩瑀，〈湘西仙娘調查訪談錄〉，《民俗曲藝》189 期（台北，2015.9）：231。跳仙儀式一般民間又稱為「槓（杠）仙」、「降仙」、「跳神」或是「仙姑走陰」。

40 湘西革屯運動發生於 1937 年初，但引爆點是 1936 年底的屯租繳納衝突。清代開始在苗疆地區實行屯田，政府將所獲得的土地，發給較聽話的「良苗」耕種收租，並徵召他們為「苗兵」，稱之為「苗屯」制度。然而，屯租甚高，常使承租的苗民不堪負荷。革屯運動由鳳凰苗人龍雲飛領導，「登高一呼，無不風靡雲從」。事後檢討，「都是租稅壓迫太重的緣故」。然而，不數月對日抗戰開始，所謂的「革屯軍」與國民政府都陷入抗日與內戰的兩難之間。革屯軍甚至一度轉型為「抗日革屯義勇軍」。直到 1938 年 2 月，在省政府的決議中，才將屯租全面廢除，撤銷湘西屯務處與徵收局，革屯運動終獲政府正面的回應。關於民國以來數次革屯請願與武裝革屯運動過程，可見：石啟貴，《湘西苗族實地調查報告》（長沙：湖南人民出版社，2002），53-65。

41 石志兵，〈湘黔邊苗民的「跳仙會」起義〉，《中南民族學院學報（哲學社會科學版）》63 期（武漢，1993）：124-126。

起事者一開始先派人在納雍、水城與赫章三縣散播「求神水」、「討神藥」的謠言，然後漸次煽動「變天思想」，鼓動對於當時進行的「農業合作化運動」⁴²帶有不滿情緒的群眾，把社內的「豬、羊、雞等全部殺光吃完」。事件最後演變成發動群眾以武力攻打馬場鄉政府、搶劫合作社物資，並攻擊政府幹部，喊出「打倒合作社」、「消滅毛主席」、「人人得勝利」等口號，後來在政府軍隊的鎮壓下才使事件平息，造成許多糧食與金錢的損失⁴³。

除了馬場事件外，根據中共官方報告顯示，1956年春以來，貴州發生了多起的騷亂，2月以來連續發生多起「求神水、神藥、搬家以及武裝騷亂事件，涉及畢節、興義、安順3個地區所轄22個縣的124個鄉」。其中，畢節的納雍、威寧、水城、織金，興義的望謨、安順的紫雲等6個縣都發生了武裝騷亂⁴⁴。而這些相類似的事件，都共同喊出了苗族皇帝的口號。如下段提及的「麻山事件」。

麻山事件 幾乎與馬場事件同時，於貴州望謨與紫雲間的麻山地區，也在1956年爆發了一場歷時10個月的武裝反政府事件，稱為「麻山事件」。麻山事件遍及貴州望謨、紫雲、羅甸和廣西樂業、天峨等近50個鄉鎮，參加者仍然以苗族為主，加上部分布依與漢族，總計5,000多人，而望謨縣就有3,000多人（一說4,000餘人）參加⁴⁵。

1956年初，羅甸縣柑棚寨一位60多歲的婦人在「跳大神」（類似跳仙的宗教儀式）時傳言：「皇帝要登位了。皇帝就是我兒子，我就是皇母娘娘，毛主席、蔣介石都是我的兒子。你們大家要給我宣傳，如不宣傳，以後皇母娘娘要治你們的罪！」這段謠言被麻山鄉海孟寨的農民楊紹斌、張老毛等人聽聞，將此謠言帶回麻山擴大宣傳。楊紹斌親自披紅掛綠，假借神鬼附體「跳大神」向群眾宣布「王（皇）母娘娘下凡降旨了，現在中國已經出了皇帝，六月六日登位，命我為『大將』，老毛為『飛虎』」，而且「皇帝出世，農民不做活路有吃有穿，有萬年米，一粒米能吃一萬年，吃一次飽一輩子」，只要皇帝一登位，「吃不了、用不盡，住的大瓦房，穿的是綢緞，河裡的石頭會變成米，圈子裡面的菜會變成肉」。後來信的人越來越多，遍及麻山地區的6個鄉，近千人擁護。楊甚至還貼出《皇母娘娘告天下太平書》，要立國號為「農民共和國」，定都於海孟寨。雖然楊沒有多久就被政府逮捕，但旋即獲釋。楊在獲釋不久後又再度散播謠言：「六月六日皇帝

42 1949年中共建政後為了改變少數民族地區落後的經濟制度，故進行社會改革。社會改革政策可分為兩部分，一是民主改革，一是社會主義改造，後者係「以生產資料公有制代替生產資料私有制」，在政策的施行上包括「農業合作化」與「統購統銷」二大政策。1950年代大致完成土地重新分配之後，以土地私有為前提，進行大規模的農村合作化政策，以解決少數民族地區農業普遍存在土地分散、耕畜不足、農具缺乏，以及產量不高的問題。合作化使數戶農民的土地、耕畜、農機具合併成一個單位，在保持土地私有制度的概念下，按土地的大小與付出勞動的多寡分配收穫的糧食或製作相關副產品所換取的金錢，是一種具股份與分紅概念的集體組織。另一方面，隨著經濟建設與城市非農業人口的增加，糧食以商品形式銷售的需求量大增，然而卻因農民惜售餘糧的心態與私營糧商囤積居奇，造成全國性的糧食供應緊張。為了解決這個困境，政府於1954年採行由政府在农村進行統購、在城市進行統銷的統購統銷政策，希望藉此穩定物價，消除投機哄抬物價的行為。關於此兩項政策在少數民族地區造成的問題，可參見拙作，〈1950年代中國農村社會主義改造與苗族的「天啟末世」運動—以開升天、鬧搬家與鬧皇帝事件為例〉，《新史學》27:1（台北：2016）：128-131。

43 貴州少數民族社會歷史調查組苗族組，〈納雍縣馬場事件的調查〉，1956年：34-36。

44 王海光，〈農業集體化運動背景下的民族政策調整—以貴州省麻山地區「鬧皇帝」事件的和平解決為例〉，《中共黨史研究》2期（北京：2013）：43。

45 王海光，〈農業集體化運動背景下的民族政策調整—以貴州省麻山地區「鬧皇帝」事件的和平解決為例〉，《中共黨史研究》2期：46。另說望謨縣全縣5個區有4區的28鄉，4,000餘人介入騷亂。見李緒強，〈麻山事件的回顧〉，《紫雲文史資料選輯》1期（紫雲：1995）：64。

登位，布依族殺一半，漢族殺光，白苗和黑苗不殺。苗族不穿麻布了，要穿龍袍。」而且不但有「萬年米」，「一顆穀子吃一年」，「豬兒不殺」可以「變老虎」。除此之外，還編了歌謠說苗家受苦許多年，歷朝歷代都被漢族欺壓，因此「盼望來個皇帝解除苗家苦難」。有了皇帝之後，就可以「打到北京去」；北京「一棵穀子樹幾萬人都吃不完，到了北京有吃有穿有書讀，男人可以討八個老婆」等等。而且「皇帝坐位後，只留下組長以下的，其他的幹部殺光，聽幹部的話將來沒好處」，並勸說大家「現在種的莊稼將來收不到，皇帝登位後會天搖地動，現在種了白費」，還要求民眾宰殺牛、豬給楊所招聚的「皇帝兵」吃，造成嚴重浪費糧食⁴⁶。

武裝行動遍布麻山鄉多處，甚至還波及了鄰近地區，造成許多政府幹部傷亡。最後，在政府「剿撫並用」的鎮壓行動下，終於在 1957 年 1 月，結束了這場為期 10 個月之久的「麻山事件」。

塘壩事件 同樣也是 1956 年，在與貴州鄰近的雲南昭通，則發生了一起有著濃厚基督宗教特質的「塘壩事件」⁴⁷。1956 年初，苗族農民王富才（擔任過鄉文書）、張美玉藉由書信告訴自己的親人，說他們接獲天使傳言，「有天使要來救我們了」，被上帝所揀選的人，將由天使護送，帶領他們回到「老家」或「原始祖地」去，到了老家，吃的是白米，住的是樓房。主事者王富才自稱為皇帝，而張美玉則為女皇帝。在王富才的信中提到：「我現在寫幾句話告訴你們，我有一件事在正月廿八日，天兵來到我家，天兵告訴我說苗族有苗族皇帝了。現在要接我們弟兄們去老弟[地]方去了。」⁴⁸ 而且這個苗族皇帝「過去被漢族打死現在又復活了，要同共產黨清算（算）」。王富才等人更關押殺害政府幹部，並說「不怕山羊毛羊分家，哪有不打之理」，甚至說：「若有人來追根各自打、各自殺」，這是「天使決定的」⁴⁹。他們說：「樹子（寨樹神）⁵⁰ 會發藥，啥子病都吃得好，瞎子吃了眼睜開，啞吧吃了能說話，這是耶穌[穌]復活，天使下凡發的。」王、張兩人還要求他們的親人「遵守星期日」、「信福音的道」，讚美詩及《聖經》做禮拜時要用，不要丟了，「到我們去的一天都要帶去」。如果不跟著搬家的人，將「遭水淹天火燒」。聽信謠言的人紛紛宰殺牲畜、毀壞農具，不事生產，準備搬家。同年 2 月底，王富才利用撿到的氣象觀測氣球，說這是天使降下來的。王又把與氣球一起飄落的說明書說成是「天書」，蓄電池是「洋房」，這氣球在事件過後還被官方所剿獲。

謠言的影響力遍佈了包括昭通的永善、大關、鹽津等縣，使得人心惶惶，農民不事生產，鬧退合作社，大量宰殺牲畜、破壞農具與浪費糧食。不過，所謂塘壩事件僅維持了約 2、3 個月即被公安部門鎮壓，並逮捕為首的王、張 2 人。事件當中損失了許多牲口、破壞農具，也浪費了許多糧食⁵¹。

46 王海光，〈農業集體化運動背景下的民族政策調整—以貴州省麻山地區「鬧皇帝」事件的和平解決為例〉，《中共黨史研究》2 期：50。

47 先是，雲南昭通到貴州威寧一帶，是基督新教循道會（Methodist Missionary Society）傳教士柏格理（Samuel Pollard, 1864-1915）傳教的區域，而其傳教事業在清末民初獲得苗民相當大的迴響。即便是到了今日，基督新教在此間依然不曾中斷，故在中共建政初期，基督新教在此地的影響仍然是很明顯的，故而在謠言當中可以看到許多與基督新教相關的語彙。關於基督新教在貴州西北地區的傳教過程可參考拙作，〈基督新教循道會與中國內地會在黔西北苗族地區傳教工作之比較〉，《台灣宗教研究》12:1/2（台北，2013.12）：83-122。

48 貴州省少數民族社會歷史調查組，〈雲南昭通等區苗族鬧搬家—塘壩事件有關資料〉，1959 年：94。

49 貴州省少數民族社會歷史調查組，〈雲南昭通等區苗族鬧搬家—塘壩事件有關資料〉，1959 年：96-97。

50 寨神樹或稱為寨樹，對寨樹的崇拜在西南土著民族的村寨中是很普遍的一種宗教儀式。寨樹所在之處對於村寨居民而言是一個神聖的空間，每年都有一至多次的祭寨樹儀式。寨樹有其神聖性，不能砍伐。

51 貴州省少數民族社會歷史調查組，〈雲南昭通等區苗族鬧搬家〉，1959 年：97-99。

黑石頭鄉事件 另一個帶有鬧皇帝謠言元素，但最終沒有釀成武裝衝突的事件發生在威寧的黑石頭鄉，時間大約是在 1958 年。由於黑石頭鄉位於循道會傳教區域內（屬長海子聯區），故這次的事件的謠言也帶有基督新教的語彙。

事件發生的時候，大約有八個苗族為主的鄉都在謠傳，說今年農曆七月初四、五、十五、十六、廿五、廿六等日會有大災難，不是漲洪水來淹，就是由天上降下天火來燒。而唯有「信耶穌教」、「信上帝」、「懂苗族老古禮」、「會祀山」、「會念祖」、以及「從未當過政府各項工作中的積極分子的人」才會免於災難。要躲避這場災難，必須只講苗語，不講漢語；穿上苗族的麻衣服飾，男性要包白布帕子為記號，女性要將頭髮挽一個「尖糾糾」⁵²。傳謠言者說，這是為了要用尖角去砥漢人，如此才能被接上天去。凡是穿著棉質衣服，特別是穿著「幹部制服」的，一律會與漢族一同被洪水沖走，或是被天火降下燒盡。謠言同時禁止苗族上街買酒、買香菸或喝茶，因為「上帝要放藥在這些東西上」。家裡的牲畜要全部宰殺吃完，吃不完的就賣掉。相信的人同時被告知，屆時山羊（指漢族）將被分到一邊，毛羊（綿羊，指苗族）會被分到另一邊。而唯有分到毛羊這一邊的，才能夠獲得拯救⁵³。除此之外，謠言散佈者還說「黑蟲（漢族）蜈蚣（領袖）腳多政策多，現出來白公雞苗族皇帝，一樣吃掉一樣」⁵⁴。

黑石頭區事件經過調查⁵⁵，為首造謠的是張亞哈、龍正清和張興明等 3 人。張亞哈和龍正清是姻親關係⁵⁶，張興明和龍正清則是朋友，張常常會到龍及其親屬家中「串親」（苗族常有的親屬活動，又稱為走親戚，有點類似漢人所說的「串門子」）。這 3 個人的共通點都是對 1949 年中共建政以來的社會主義改造運動不滿，特別是農業合作化與統購統銷政策，3 人為散佈了不少的謠言。

張亞哈是苗族農民，文盲，曾加入地方土匪，在中共建政之後沒有正當的職業，對於政府所推廣的統購統銷與農村合作社政策有諸多不滿，也不願意將餘糧賣掉。張常常散播：「辦（合作社）要出人命」、「辦社就是捆起人，不自由」等謠言，在 1956 年還成功地遊說了一個合作社解散，讓社員都回復成單幹戶⁵⁷。

張興明曾經是不識字的端公（少數民族宗教儀式操作者），常常質疑合作社的糧食分配不均，或是煽動退社。張於 1958 年開始散佈謠言，告訴群眾毛澤東、朱煥章⁵⁸ 生在一個有四隻腳的箱子裡，降在中寨上空對他說話。

52 「尖糾糾」是大花苗族已為人母婦女的纏髮方式。傳統大花苗婦女有三種髮式，若是幼女則蓄長髮綁雙辮；若是少女（14、5 歲至出嫁後未懷孕前）則以青色羊毛線摻髮結長辮，然後盤於頭部，或綁兩髻在頭兩側如兩角；若為已懷孕的已婚婦女則以毛線摻髮結髮椎於頭頂，稱之為婦人髮式，即所謂「尖糾糾」。初改婦人髮式時，公婆必須請婦人舅母或姑母代為梳髻，且避人觀看，即使是丈夫亦不能看到。見：王建光，〈西南苗人之生活習俗〉，《中國邊疆》3 卷 1-2 期（重慶，1944）：19。我認為，尖糾糾的梳成有其特殊要求，是一種具有「生命禮儀」的通過儀式（rite of passage），故在此也被視為是區分群體的一種表徵。

53 張本仁等，〈威寧縣黑石頭區關於苗族今年鬧要上天的平息工作報告〉，1958 年 8 月：38。

54 張本仁等，〈威寧縣黑石頭區關於苗族今年鬧要上天的平息工作報告〉，1958 年 8 月：42-44。

55 以下關於黑石頭區鬧升天事件的調查，皆出自張本仁等，〈威寧縣黑石頭區關於苗族今年鬧要上天的平息工作報告〉，1958 年 8 月：37-56。

56 張亞哈是龍正清的小舅子。

57 從合作社退社的社員被稱為「單幹戶」，而單幹戶常被一些沒有法令依據的規定刁難，甚至被群體所排擠。

58 朱煥章（1903-1955）是大花苗族知識份子，畢業於華西大學教育系。終身致力於發展邊疆少數民族教育，曾任黔西北石門坎教會學校校長，並於 1943 年建立私立石門坎初級中學，成為西南邊疆地區重要的知識份子培育中心。

龍正清也是不識字的農民，曾說自己親眼見到天神。1957年2月和張興明父子到處散布謠言，要求家中有神像者把神像扯掉，理由是這些神像是「漢人的像」，並詛咒擔任政府幹部者將會絕後。從上述三人的謠言當中，大抵都有不支持辦合作社、不賣餘糧、不繳稅、不與漢族打交道，同時也反對共產黨、反對漢人等共通性。由於這次的謠言以「升天」為主要訴求，故當局以「鬧升天」名之。根據後來的調查統計，這次的事件約有200餘人相信並積極參與。糧食的損失與浪費極多，直到8月間當局派員前往調查，逮捕造謠者，才結束了這次的事件⁵⁹。

三、歷來苗族群眾事件中的假新聞分析

當我們審視上述幾次苗族為首的群眾事件，其實不難發現當中有不少的共通點，通常都是在與漢人或統治者之間發生齟齬之後，在壓力之下而爆發的群眾事件。而觸發這些事件的，往往都是一些流言緋語的假新聞。

我將上述事件中的謠言語彙表列如下：

表一 近代中國西南地區數起苗族為首群眾事件表

時間	發生地點	事件訴求	謠言語彙	造謠者身分	事由
1734	湘西吉首	反政府	苗王、白手巾	農民	不明
1735	貴州榕江縣	苗王出世	苗王、跳神、送銀五分不必種田、神水	不明	不明
1860	貴州省畢節地區	豬拱箐反政府事件	仙姑下凡、仙符仙水、扇紫、紅巾、大耳神、異星轉世	奴隸	苗漢衝突
1942	湘西花垣、吉首等地	跳仙會	麻王出世、皇帝登基、仙姑仙水、刀槍不入	農民（知青）	反對政府稅收、拉丁
1956	雲南省昭通市（塘壩）	鬧皇帝	天使傳言、天使接回老家吃白米住樓房、不加入合作社，不搞生產、大災難（洪水或天火）、耶穌復活、天使投仙藥，吃了瞎眼可看見，啞巴可說話、天使降下氣球與天書、立皇帝與女皇帝、苗皇帝被漢族打死又復活、宰殺牲畜、天使煽動暴亂	農民（鄉文書）、教師	反對社會主義改造政策
1956	貴州省納雍縣（馬場）	鬧皇帝	天書、苗皇帝、神水、神藥、打倒合作社、宰殺牲畜	農民	反對社會主義改造政策
1956	貴州省望謨縣（麻山）	鬧皇帝	立皇帝與皇母娘娘、殺漢人、萬年米、豬兒不殺變老虎、打合作社，打糧食統購統銷人員，打稅務幹部、皇帝登位大家有飯吃有衣穿、吃萬年米穿綾羅綢緞。	農民	反對社會主義改造政策
1958	貴州省威寧縣（黑石頭）	鬧升天、鬧皇帝	大災難（洪水或天火），信耶穌教、信上帝、懂苗族古禮，會祀山，會念祖，非參與政府積極分子才得救、只能苗語穿苗服飾、禁上街買酒、香菸或喝茶、牲畜宰殺吃完賣完、山羊毛羊分開、搬家到東北、苗人皇帝、反對合作社、反對統購統銷	文盲農民、端公	反對社會主義改造政策

59 關於上述黑石頭鄉鬧升天事件，詳見：張本仁等，〈威寧縣黑石頭區關於苗族今年鬧要上天的平息工作報告〉，1958年8月：45、47-48。

設想」⁶¹。跳仙會事件的成因，也是如此。

1949年中共建政，實行許多土地改革政策，讓大部分的貧下中農獲得了不少好處。但是，當社會主義改造政策開始，似乎在苗族地區反倒遇上了許多瓶頸。特別是合作化政策，在這些事件裡，苗民都在質疑這個政策到底是不是表面上看起來是幫助農家，但實際上反而剝削了他們。在麻山事件中則有謠言說：「合作化、合作化，雙季小麥雙季苞穀都是假。合作化、合作化，天要塌、地要垮。只有皇帝來，萬年米，大樓房，綾羅綢緞身上掛」⁶²。後續的事件調查報告則顯示出這類事件的發生，是因為官員急於在短期內完成建社，而「群眾對合作化的好處很少瞭解或根本不瞭解，加之當時因急於迅速建社，許以對耕牛、農具、自留地等具體問題的處理很簡單粗糙」，以致引起了「很大的抵觸情緒」⁶³。在官方的檢討報告中也意識到漢族幹部對少數民族事務的隔閡⁶⁴，這與謠言中許多「殺漢人」與「幹部不得救」的言詞不無關係，其反映出漢族幹部領導苗族群眾時，因文化隔閡而產生的矛盾。

在反政府的口號中，群眾喊：「第一槍打倒合作化，第二槍打倒公債，第三槍打倒統購統銷。」同時也宣傳：「不上公糧、不賣餘糧、不辦農業合作社、不納稅、不修公路」⁶⁵，明顯地反對合作社與統購統銷政策。

合作化是一種藉由集體資源共享的生產模式；統購統銷則是讓農村與城市之間達到相互合作生產的目的。但合作生產的想法可能適用於一般寬廣平地的農業社區，對於住在高寒山區的苗族而言，並無法兼顧他們分散居住的事實，甚至把相隔3、40里的散落村莊，硬合併成一個社。硬性規定自留地只能在5%以下，而且僅能種蔬菜，不能種糧食，不能符合少數民族特殊的耕種模式。一旦不入社，就被批判是「想走資本主義道路」⁶⁶。在不合理的供銷合作社交易裡，農產品價格低，工業品價格高，民眾譏為：「買東西貴如金，賣東西賤如土。」⁶⁷。

在統購統銷方面，苗民大多是貧農，中農甚少，農產品產量達到餘糧戶水準的也不多，應該大多屬於對政策「積極擁護，發言熱烈」的缺糧戶⁶⁸，何以會對政策反感呢？這牽涉到的就是政府官員在執行政策的時候造成的衝突。苗族農民受漢族幹部管轄，接受政府組織合作社的命令並進行統購統銷，但如前所述，由於政府幹部不瞭解西南邊疆農村村寨小、距離遠、人口稀少、土地分散的特殊性。幹部又將缺糧戶報為餘糧戶，限制進行農業副產品製作（如釀酒），無怪乎造成苗民的不滿。麻山事件中的歌謠就唱道：「我們種的糧食是共產黨壓迫我們種的，他們劃我們為地主、富農」⁶⁹，顯然和從缺糧戶劃為餘糧戶的情況相同。所以當時社會上就批評：「土改成績10分，統購統銷搞掉了5分，合作化化掉了5分，現在和國民黨一樣」⁷⁰。

61 赤峰，〈亟堪注意的苗民問題〉，《邊事研究》7卷3期（重慶，1938）：23。

62 王封常，《麻山雄鷹》（北京：人民日報出版社，2004），472-473。

63 貴州少數民族社會歷史調查組苗族組，〈納雍縣馬場事件的調查〉，1956年：33，35。

64 貴州省少數民族社會歷史調查組，〈雲南昭通等區苗族鬧搬家〉，1959年：94。

65 王海光，〈農業集體化運動背景下的民族政策調整〉：50。

66 王海光，〈農業集體化運動背景下的民族政策調整〉：47。

67 盧惠龍、陳德安，〈麻山事件前後〉，《黔西南州文史資料選輯》2輯（黔西南州，1983）：54。

68 羅平漢，〈1953年的農村糧食統購是如何開展的〉，《中共黨史研究》8期（北京，2012）：54。

69 王海光，〈農業集體化運動背景下的民族政策調整—以貴州省麻山地區「鬧皇帝」事件的和平解決為例〉，《中共黨史研究》2期：50。

70 羅平漢，〈簡論1957年農村兩條道路的大辯論〉，《史學月刊》11期（北京：2002）：45。

豬拱箐事件的背景導因於族群間的緊張關係；湘西跳仙會事件則是因為當時政府的過度壓迫使然；1950年代的社會主義改造政策，則是造成此時期鬧皇帝事件最大的因素。1955年是農業合作化與統購統銷政策發展得最炙熱時候，而其後遺症也一一浮現，這也是為何塘壩、馬場與麻山事件都發生在1956年的原因之一。從幾次鬧皇帝事件中不難看出，雖然首先出來散播謠言的，都是一些對政府政策有敵意的民眾；而鬧皇帝的背後，與統購統銷與合作化運動期間所累積的不滿情緒有很大的關係。而政策之所以會激起民怨，最主要的原因還是來自於政府官員的錯誤施政，而錯誤的施政又導因於漢族官員對少數民族文化的不瞭解與歧視。謠言在被激化的矛盾情緒下成為一種凝聚群體的催化劑，把對政策不滿的民眾結合在一起，到了一定規模的時候，就爆發了武裝行動的反政府事件。而在這些武裝行動中，起事者又假拖一個帶有神話性的人物：苗王 / 苗皇帝，這就與苗族的歷史記憶產生了連結。

（二）苗民歷史記憶的再現

這些謠言中，有許多部分都強調漢苗之間的不平等，特別是強調由苗族來當皇帝，這都反映出苗族人對「我族」自尊的一種想像。我在前面提過，遍佈中國西南的苗族幾乎都有一個英雄祖先被漢人打敗的歷史記憶，到了近代，這個英雄祖先遂被套用在蚩尤的身上。

大約從明代開始，有些學者把古代的「三苗」、「九黎」與後代的苗勾串在一起⁷¹，同時並將苗族連結到蚩尤身上。到了明末清初時，部分苗人開始宣稱苗民是蚩尤的後裔。在中國古籍的記載中蚩尤是一個敗於黃帝之手的古君長，是一位「失敗的英雄」。但是，在近代苗族的歷史建構中，蚩尤卻是一個充滿英雄性格的領導人物，而曾與黃帝對抗的蚩尤，正是這樣一位能代表苗民的英雄。儘管民國時期大部分的漢族民族學者視之為無稽⁷²，但身為苗族的湘西知識份子石啟貴，在其所著之《湘西苗族實地調查報告》中卻提出「蚩尤—三苗—苗」這個苗族祖源神話體系⁷³。而曾與黃帝對抗的蚩尤，即代表了一個能與漢族對等的敵手。在黑石頭鄉的鬧升天事件中，端公張興明說自己看到毛澤東跟朱煥章對自己說話，顯然是要訴諸身為漢人的毛澤東，與苗族的重要人物朱煥章的「權威」（authority），藉此增加謠言的可信度。如今毛與朱同在一處顯現，頗有漢苗平起平坐的意味，而當時朱才剛過世沒有多久（朱於1955年過世，死因眾說紛紜），在苗族裡的影響力仍然相當大。

在湘西苗民中則有一個「天王信仰」，天王的的故事雖與楊六或是亞魯王的傳說不盡相同，但是卻同樣是一個悲劇性的英雄。天王又稱白帝天王，經後人的考證認為他與湘苗傳說中的「竹王」

71 東漢的經學家鄭玄曾經提過類似的說法，他認為：「苗民謂九黎之君也。九黎之君於少昊氏衰而棄善道，上效蚩尤重刑，必變九黎。言苗民者有苗、九黎之後。顓頊代少昊，誅九黎，分流其子孫，為居於西裔者」。意思是說，苗民是少昊衰微之後，效法蚩尤的一群民族，與蚩尤有著密不可分的關係，但這樣的說法被孔穎達所否定。孔氏認為既然鄭玄以為苗民為九黎的後代，又學蚩尤之惡，就表示九黎與蚩尤應為互不隸屬的兩個群體。但孔安國在注《尚書》時，反而認為所謂的九黎，就是蚩尤。見：（唐）孔穎達（疏），《禮記注疏·緇衣》，收入：國立編譯館（編），《十三經注疏》12（台北：新文豐出版公司，2001年），2310-2311。

72 民族學者凌純聲、芮逸夫認為：「五溪蠻中之貓，即是苗族用以自稱之轉音，因此『明清以來，因多以古代之苗，附會為今之苗族，所以不復有用貓或貓字者，而苗的名稱，便固定了』」，而所謂「蚩尤 - 三苗 - 苗」的祖源關係，則被他們否定。見：凌純聲、芮逸夫，《湘西苗族調查報告》，11。同樣說法可見：胡慶鈞，〈川南苗鄉紀行（一）〉，《中央週刊》6：40（重慶，1943年）：14。

73 石啟貴，《湘西苗族實地調查報告（增訂本）》，29-30。

是同一個故事⁷⁴。天王一共有三位，出生於湘西的鴉溪一帶，故又稱「鴉溪三王」。他們的母親楊氏在溪邊洗衣服時遇到龍王而懷胎。三個孩子都從母姓，並天生神力，長大之後協助政府平定苗亂有功，受皇帝封賞，但卻因小人讒言，被暗地以毒酒害死，其母得知兒子們的死訊，亦吐血身亡。然而三人畢竟含冤而死，遂使皇帝心有不安，最後只好封兄第三人為侯，遂成為地方苗民心目中的悲劇神祇。乾隆年間平定苗亂時，各廳「均請三侯神靈鎮守」，亂平之後，三侯被地方鄉紳奏請有功，遂被封為「三王」⁷⁵。從上述的故事中，也同樣反映了苗漢之間的緊張關係，雖然靠著當權者的敕封，使得天王得以成為人民信仰的對象，但是，這背後的故事，仍舊是苗民對漢族統治者的不滿。

因此，無論是湘西的天王、或是跳仙會事件中的麻王，乃至於歷代以來層出不窮的苗王與苗皇帝，這些帶有神秘色彩的英雄祖先化身，在苗民遭遇到困境的時候，往往成為了他們尋求解決困境的方法。而那登高一呼的人，就成了斯科特（James Scott）口中的「復興先知」（prophets of renewal）。

斯科特認為在被壓迫的邊緣民族中，很容易產生出一種帶有群眾魅力的復興先知，他們往往成為百姓趨之若鶩的領袖，甚至將許多的神秘經驗以及許多與先知相關的謠言加諸於復興先知的身上⁷⁶。當代學者懷特（Luise White）認為，謠言的出現往往反映了社會群體間的緊張關係，同時也可視為是社會群體彼此衝突的產物⁷⁷。而利害關係相似的群體，則藉由在共同體社群中的謠言，來強化並鞏固他們內在的內聚力。懷特曾舉例，非洲在殖民時期曾發生被殖民者把殖民者「妖魔化」為吸血鬼，同時，這樣的共同體社群有時會呈現出消極退隱的出世行為，但也有可能凝聚成政治或軍事的彌賽亞主義（Messianism）行動，豬拱箐事件就是一例。陶氏在謠言中稱有「異星轉世」、「大耳神相助」等語，都是典型的彌賽亞主義式的武裝起事。豬拱箐事件的陶新春假託自己的母親是「仙姑下凡」，是要來拯救大難臨頭的百姓。仙姑的扇子、紅巾都具有神力，能夠幫助苗軍連戰皆捷。這樣具有特殊身份「下凡」的人，就很容易成為煽動百姓的復興先知。

此外，拉爾夫·林頓（Ralph Linton, 1893-1953）認為，當兩個力量不相等的文化相接觸時，將引起弱勢族群的「本土主義運動」（nativistic movements）。所謂本土主義，係指土著民族從殖民者手中奪回政權並復興土著文化的社會運動。雖然在本文中，苗民與國家之間並不能稱之為「殖民關係」，但是就如林頓所言，這是兩個文化與社會之間接觸下所產生的不平等關係。而林頓認為，在對於現況不滿的情形下，居於弱勢的文化試圖透過復興本族文化並與強勢文化對話或抗爭，將產生兩種截然不同的互動類型。其一是藉由學習對方優點，漸漸拉近彼此差距以期達於彼此完全平等的「理性本土主義運動」（rational nativism）；其二，則是出現先知性的領導人物，以千禧年運動（Millennialism）與彌賽亞主義為核心的「巫術本土主義」（magical nativism）⁷⁸。本文提到

74 凌純聲，芮逸夫，《湘西苗族調查報告》，163。

75 關於天王與湘西苗民之間的互動與信仰意涵，並在政治上的意義，可參考：謝曉輝，〈苗疆的開發與地方神祇的重塑—兼與蘇堂棟討論白帝天王傳說變遷的歷史情境〉，《歷史人類學學刊》6:1-2（香港，2008.10）：111-146。

76 James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

77 Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2000): 20.

78 Ralph Linton and A. Irving Hallowell, “Nativistic Movements”, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 45, No. 2, (1943): 230-240.

的出苗王或鬧皇帝事件，可以視為是後者的彌賽亞主義式武裝行動。

在這些事件中，可以看到有一個先知型的人出來號召群眾。先知往往散播的是一個神祇的降臨（例如麻王出世）或是再臨（例如苗王復活）的謠言，或是自稱是帶有神奇力量的領導者。在武裝起事中，為了吸納更多的信眾加入，先知會散播更多二元對立的謠言，藉此強化族群的對立，並從中獲取更多信眾的效忠。懷特認為，謠言除了劃分出群體間的界線外，那些傳播謠言者也藉由劃界線而增加彼此的親密感（intimacy），以致於那些被謠言所劃定的「局外人」無法進入群體之中。所以，謠言是建立邊界（boundary）以及群體內在聯繫（bond）的重要因素⁷⁹。由於苗族具有明顯的邊緣化弱勢族群特質，當群眾的不滿達於顛峰，便轉化為政治與軍事的彌賽亞主義式的抗爭，期盼可以早日脫離受壓迫的困境，得享新天新地。

然而，誰是彌賽亞？為什麼是苗王與苗皇帝？正如布迪厄（Pierre Bourdieu）的「習行理論」（Theory of practice）所認為的，人的內心有其固有價值判斷的習性（habitus）；反映在行為上便成為人們行事所依據的習行（practice）。在前述的討論中，我認為導致苗族群眾事件的成因都來自外在，包括族群間的壓力、漢苗之間的族群衝突、政府政策下的不公平對待等等。但同樣在上述的外在因素下，雖然我們也看到在西南苗族以外的農業合作社也發生大量浪費糧食的「吃光」事件⁸⁰，但是卻鮮少在這些地方看到鬧皇帝的謠言。若以布迪厄的習行理論觀之，即是苗族的習性所導致的習行。習性是一種「人們不需要經過思考即受其規範的法則」⁸¹。簡單地說，就是人們自然而然就這樣說，這樣想，這樣做，甚至慣於用某些想法、作法，去看待某些事件的發生。一個特定的社會也會因此產生一套習慣性的言行、癖好、品味，甚至是價值觀⁸²。我前面所說的，苗族從歷史記憶中造成他們對漢人的不信任，並反映在他們面對漢人時的恐懼與焦慮上。

這個習性的背景，我們可以從上述苗族與漢人交手的傳說故事中看出脈絡，包括《亞魯王》的故事。亞魯王的故事吟唱的場合都是在喪葬儀式，他們除了會在《指路經》中提到楊六 / 亞魯外，東郎歌師也告訴大家，人生最後的歸宿就是到達先祖亞魯生活之地與祖先團聚。所以，在亞魯王的故事裡，反應了「苗人的理想、夢想和希望」，也是苗人「由崇拜神靈」到「崇拜自身」的昇華⁸³。

亞魯王的故事，流傳在苗族西部方言區中，包括貴陽、清鎮、花溪、烏當、平壩、安順、鎮寧、關嶺、興仁、織金、息烽、赫章、威寧、四川的敘永等地⁸⁴，幾乎可以說，上述苗族群眾事件的地理位置，都流傳著亞魯王的故事。儘管，各地的亞魯王故事可能因為傳唱的緣故而略有差異，但其不變的，就是一個失敗英雄祖先遷徙到西南的母題，而這些故事的內容，就成為苗族的歷史記憶了。

79 Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*, 59-65.

80 羅平漢，〈1955年農業合作化運動中對「小腳女人」的批判〉，收入：羅平漢，《當代歷史問題札記二集》（桂林：廣西師範大學出版社，2006），73。

81 Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977): 78, 82-83.

82 王明珂，〈反思史學與史學反思—文本與表徵分析〉（台北：允晨文化實業股份有限公司，2015），97-99。

83 余未人，〈追念苗族英雄亞魯王〉，收入：中國民間文藝家協會（編），《苗族英雄史詩—亞魯王》，7-9。

84 余未人，〈《亞魯王》的民間信仰特色〉，《貴州大學學報（社會科學版）》32卷5期（貴陽，2014）：57。

失敗英雄祖先的歷史記憶，也反映出苗族恢復以往光榮的期盼；也正因为這個遷徙與戰敗的故事，讓苗族渴望讀書，渴望翻轉族群地位，也成為苗族如何看待我族與他族之間關係的常態反應。

亞魯王本身就是一個神人二性兼具的角色，他率領部眾，與敵人對抗，既是一個符合蚩尤、苗王的彌賽亞式領袖，也符合了復興先知的身份；龍心的神奇魔力，也與仙姑可以移山倒海的神器、天生神力的天王們有著異曲同工的意象⁸⁵。由上觀之，與亞魯王相類似的故事，以史詩的方式存於貴州西部苗民心中，成了苗民的歷史記憶，因此，在與外族接觸的過程中，他們很自然地會從歷史記憶裡去尋找相應的對策。同樣的情形，自然也發生在有長久天王信仰的湘西苗民之中。歷代以來，苗族與漢人交手的經驗使苗民得出了「石頭做不得枕頭，漢人作不得朋友」的刻板印象，讓他們很自然地將漢人與我族分開。這種帶有族群衝突的恐懼，也瀰漫在許多苗民心中。

進一步來看，這類群眾運動在發動的時候，所使用的謠言都是符合苗民習性的，所以，這些謠言變得很有渲染力，這類的謠言擴張得極為快速，讓原本只是少數人的不滿，變成了大多數人抗爭的群眾運動。在謠言當中的所使用的符碼，因為都是苗民熟悉的詞句，因此勾起了他們的歷史記憶，又反饋為社會的本相，讓他們相信謠言就是事實，遂掀起數次的群眾反政府事件。

結論

本文試圖從苗族的歷史記憶中著手，探討他們記載在史詩與傳說故事中的遷徙故事，是如何影響他們對於我族歷史建構的過程。而在清代以來的多次群眾事件中，這些歷史記憶又是怎麼樣被引用到他們煽動事件的謠言當中。

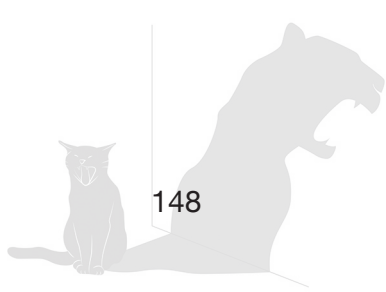
從苗族的遷徙故事裡我們不難發現，苗族自治本民族（或者本支系）是一個從中原地方遷徙而來的族群，而這段遷徙的過程其實並不容易，甚至是血淚斑斑的。透過這些故事的傳誦，讓他們相信那位曾經帶領他們來到中國西南的英雄祖先將會再臨，並且成為帶領他們脫離被壓迫局勢的彌賽亞型領袖。而這樣的人物，就一直出現在他們所發動的群眾事件的謠言裡，或為苗王、或為麻王，甚至是一個代漢族而起的苗族皇帝。

從他們以蚩尤做為先祖的歷史記憶中可以看出，他們將我族等同於一個歷史上曾經一度與漢族相抗衡的政治實體；而從苗王到苗皇帝，我們不難看出苗族不只希望與漢族平起平坐的想望，甚至是超越漢族，成為統治漢族的最高領導者。

從豬拱箐事件、湘西跳仙會事件，乃至於 1950 年代多次的鬧皇帝事件中可以看出，這些事件的背景往往都是苗民在統治者的壓迫之下，尋求解決的一種方法。而在這些事件當中，他們總是以謠言傳播一個彌賽亞式領袖的再臨，謠言的散播者以復興先知自居，傳播他們所接受到的「天啟」，並以許多急切的言語說服大眾，在很短的時間中就吸引了許多的苗民加入。

85 《亞魯王》史詩說，「亞魯王將龍心伸進水缸，驚雷三聲，地動山搖，瞬間下起瓢潑大雨，即刻刮下碎石冰雹。整整三天，風卷碎草漫天飛揚。碎石保住了亞魯王邊界，冰雹護住了亞魯王領地。」見：中國民間文藝家協會（編），《苗族英雄史詩—亞魯王》，113。

而之所以這些事件都發生在苗族為主的區域，甚至由苗族領導，參與者也多為苗族，我認為這與苗族歷史記憶有很大的關係。無論是亞魯王的史詩，或是天王的故事，這些帶有強化我族認同，與我族被壓迫歷史記憶的故事，在謠言的催化下成為強化內聚力的助力，將漢族與我族劃分為毒蛇猛獸與被揀選得救的兩個群體，這恰巧解釋了何以苗族成為這波群眾事件的領導者與主要的參與者，在中國西南地區掀起一次又一次的群眾事件。



Rumors and Imagination Transplant: A Study on Anti-Catholicism Incidents in the Late Ming Dynasty

謠言與想像移植：明末反教事件探析

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Abstract / 摘要

Ever since the first generation of Jesuit “Giants” represented by Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri were permitted to reside in China in 1583, the anti-Christian incidents had never been ceased in the Ming dynasty. Apart from the 1616 Nanjing incident, there were abundant other relatively small-scale anti-Christian incidents that occurred. As stated by Alvaro Semedo, there had already been 54 anti-Christian incidents before the occurrence of Nanjing incident. Interestingly, by taking close look at all these incidents, we can always see the emergence of various rumors and strange stories that were employed by the opponents to attack missionaries as well as Catholicism. The image of missionaries that was created by such rumors and strange stories altered in accordance with different requirements of opponents: trafficker, adulterer, alchemist, spy, sorcery-performer, and so forth. Based on their different contents, these rumors can be classified into 3 main categories with each focusing on different concerns: on counterespionage (accuse missionaries of working as spies for Folangji, stealing state secrets and fostering rebellious powers within China); on sexual misconducts (accuse missionaries of having sexual misconducts with local women); and on sorcery-performing (accuse missionaries performing evil sorceries like alchemy, consuming children, snatching organs, gathering people immediately without appointment and so on). In this essay, I will first be specific on the main manifestation of each type of such rumors. Then the questions like where did such rumors come from and why were they employed by opponents in their attacks against missionaries will be particularly studied and analyzed. The conclusion of my analysis on these rumors is that they were aroused by Chinese people’s imagination transplant decided by missionaries’ identities as outsiders (foreigners and religious staff, not necessarily Catholic priests). By

doing so, I am trying to challenge the traditional cliché in the analysis on the reasons of the initiation of anti-Christian incidents which stressed a lot on the theoretical incompatibility between Confucianism and Catholicism. Therefore, hope that I can offer different research perspectives on the study of Sino-Western communication and confrontation.

自以利瑪竇與羅明堅神父為代表的第一批耶穌會“巨人”于1583年入華以來，明末迫害天主教或傳教士的事件就從未停息過。據耶穌會士曾德昭統計，僅南京教案前對天主教的迫害就已達54次之多。在這些大大小小的反教事件中，謠言一直被用作攻擊天主教和傳教士的利器。而明末反教人士也在這些謠言和奇異故事的基礎上，通過想像移植，塑造出天主教傳教士不同的形象：人販子、通姦者、煉金術士、間諜、施巫術者等等。這種想像移植主要源自兩個方面：第一，中國古代謠言及各種奇怪故事的流傳導致對外人的不信任及排外情緒；第二，明末葡萄牙和西班牙人在東南亞及中國沿海地區的劣行所造成的各類負面形象導致明人對“佛郎機”的敵視情緒。

Chapter 1: Introduction

It is generally acknowledged that the event of Michelle Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci obtaining permission to live and build residence in Zhaoqing (肇慶) in 1583 representing the start of the third wave of the Catholic missionaries entering into China. Under the guideline of Visitor Alexandro Valignano as well as the unique creation of Ricci, Jesuits adopted a series of preaching strategies based on the principle of cultural accommodation. In other words, Jesuits committed themselves to accommodating to the social, cultural and intellectual tastes of the Chinese scholar-officials to arouse their curiosity, or to gain their admiration and respect.¹ For instance, they changed their clothing from Buddhist gown to Confucian clothing soon after they realized the fact that the social status of Buddhist monks was much lower than Confucian literati and also the incompatibility between Buddhism and Catholicism. Besides, they also devoted themselves to learning speaking Mandarin, and tried to tolerate the ritual practices of honoring family ancestors as well as Confucian sages by considering them as secular rites. This strategy, also called *Limadou guiju* (利瑪竇規矩) by Emperor Kangxi turned out to be a tremendous success as it not only allowed Catholicism to be introduced to Chinese people in a relatively smooth way without aroused great antipathy among Chinese scholars and officials, but also cultivated several Confucian Christians represented by the “three pillars of China Catholicism” Xu Guangqi (徐光啟), Yang Tingyun (楊廷筠) and Li Zhizao (李之藻) who in turn made great contributions to the survival and development of Catholicism in China.

Even though, countless persecutions against Catholic missionaries as well as Catholicism were launched. By saying “countless” I am not referring to the persecutions occurred in the middle Qing² or late Qing dynasty³, but those happened in the late Ming dynasty. Generally speaking, the 1616 Nanking incident is usually considered as the first large-scale anti-Catholicism incident that ever occurred in China which certainly becomes the research priority in this field. Moreover, some other anti-Catholicism incidents which caught the attention of local government like the Nanchang incident and Fu’an incident were also intensively studied by historians. However, as we know that right after Michelle Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci residing in Zhaoqing in 1583, they encountered massive opposite voices, harassments and even physical attacks from their opponents, and there were quite a few times that they were confronted

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- 1 Zhang Qiong, *Cultural Accommodation or Intellectual Colonization: A Reinterpretation of the Jesuit Approach to Confucianism during the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, Harvard University Ph.D. Dissertation, 1996, p.7.
 - 2 In the middle Qing dynasty, Emperor Yongzheng officially classified Catholicism into the category of xiejiao and thus Catholicism lost official protection. During the reign of Emperor Qianlong the first anti-Catholicism incident that resulted in the capital punishment of Catholic missionary occurred in Fu’an, Fujian province. Launching anti-Catholicism incidents has already become a politically correct behavior. As to the detailed information of the situation of Catholicism during the prohibition period, Please see Zhang Ze (張澤), *Qingdai jinjiaoqi de tianzhujiao 清代禁教期的天主教* [Catholicism during the Prohibition Period in the Qing Dynasty] (Taipei: Guangqi chubanshe, 1992).
 - 3 In the late Qing dynasty the term “anti-Christian” could actually be replaced by “anti-imperialism” or “anti-aggression” as Christian missionaries were seen as accomplice or even daring vanguard of the evil western imperialism. As to the quantitative analysis of the anti-Christian incidents in the late Qing dynasty, please see Chen Yinkun 陳銀昆, *Qingji minjiao chongtu de lianghua fenxi 1860-1899 清季民教衝突的量化分析 1860-1899* [Quantitative Analysis on the Conflicts between Commoners and Christianity in the Qing Dynasty 1860-1899] (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1991); Su Ping 蘇萍, *Yaoyan yu jindai jiaoran 謠言與近代教案* [Rumors and Anti-Christianity Cases in Modern Times] (Shanghai: Yuandong chubanshe, 2001).

with dangerous situation of being expelled and the mission being stifled. Alvaro Semedo stated that “counting those which are related in the book of Father Trigaultius, and others which are not set down there, till the persecution of Nankim, I found them in all to be fifty four, the greatest part were at the beginning, and in the Province of Canton, which as it is a passage to the rest, may be called the Promontory of Torments.”⁴ And only in *Della entrata* Ricci narrated more than 20 such incidents that had ever occurred to missionaries during his stay in China. Taking closer look at these persecutions, many of them were initiated or intensified by various kinds of rumors suspecting the identities of missionaries or accusing them of conducting evil behaviors. Usually one rumor was capable enough to arouse a persecution against missionaries.

Based on different manifestations of these rumors, 3 main categories can be delineated with each focusing on different concerns: rumors about espionage (accuse missionaries of working as spies for *Folangji* (a term addressing Portuguese and Spanish in the Ming dynasty 佛郎機), stealing state secrets and fostering rebellious powers within China); rumors about sexual misconduct (accuse missionaries of seducing or having sexual misconducts with local women); and rumors about sorcery-performing (accuse missionaries of performing sorceries like alchemy, consuming children and snatching organs, assembling people immediately without appointment). In these rumors, the images of missionaries altered in accordance with different requirements of opponents: spies, human traffickers, followers of rebellious *xiejiao* (heterodoxy teaching 邪教), adulterers, alchemists, evil sorcery-performers, and so forth. In this essay, I will first be specific on the main manifestation of each type of the rumors. Then questions like where did such rumors come from, why were they employed by opponents in their attacks against missionaries and how did the imagination transplant function during such process will be particularly studied and analyzed.

Chapter 2: Rumors about espionage

Rumors accusing missionaries of threatening stability and security of local area or even the entire society were the most frequently employed by opponents, especially in the very early stage of Catholic mission in China. For instance, as soon as Matteo Ricci and Michelle Ruggieri started to build residence and church on the piece of land that was granted by local officials in Zhaoqing and Shaozhou (韶州), rumors were circulated around. Some suspected that these foreign missionaries would base their newly built residence to accommodate more foreigners and made Zhaoqing the second Macau where the foreigners were too many to drive away.⁵ While some directly accused missionaries of constructing no residence but a blockhouse where an army of 40 foreigners were harbored there.⁶ Sometimes the rumors circulated so widely and affected so many people that even the officials (both protectors and opponents of Jesuits) had to deal with it seriously. For example, it is generally accepted that the reason why the

4 Alvaro Semedo, English translation version, *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China* (London: John Crook, 1655), 174.

5 Matteo Ricci, *Yesuhui yu tianzhujiao jinru zhongguo shi* 耶穌會與天主教進入中國史, trans. Wen Zheng 文錚 (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2017), 98.

6 Ibid., 180.

governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, Liu Jiwen (劉繼文) expelled Jesuits out of Zhaoqing was because that he sought to occupy their residence and build his own memorial temple.⁷ However, in the newly discovered biography of Matteo Ricci written by a local official, Liu Chengfan (劉承范), the actual reason was that Liu Jiwen planned to initiate a military operation against Macau and in case of divulging this military secret he had to dislodge missionaries out of Zhaoqing where the official residence of governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces was at back then.⁸

The most typical example of such rumors which ended up with a large-scale panic and scare should be the so-called “Incident of Lazarus Cattaneo”. During the preparation for defending Macau from Dutch invasion, the Portuguese strengthened their military defense and it aroused the suspicion of Chinese who regarded it as a signal of attacking China. At that point a rumor was circulated widely in Guangdong province, saying that because Lazzaro Cattaneo was familiar with social situation in China and also had been to the two capitals (Nanking and Peking), so he would be the leader of a Portuguese army whose aim was to overthrow Ming court and take over the entire China. Besides, it was also said that two assistive armies from India and Japan would help him to conquer China.⁹ Ridiculous as it may sound today, but it was seriously considered as truth and aroused a large-scale anti-Catholicism incidents chaos. The governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces even dispatched large amounts of armies to defend seacoast and emptied the houses outside of city wall. He also shut down all commercial connections with Macau. This incident quieted down only after quite a while. With the privileges granted by Padroado, all Jesuits who were dispatched to Far East pursuing world evangelization, had to sail to Macau by the ships belonging to Portuguese King. And Macau is the only officially allowed access to China. So when realized that the foreign missionaries came from Macau, Chinese people took them as *Folangji* as well. However, the image of *Folangji* was extremely notorious due to the military conflicts and misbehaviors in Chinese coastal areas. Therefore, in the early stage of Catholic mission, what really troubled Matteo Ricci and his colleagues was not their identity as Catholic missionaries, but as people of *Folangji*. Such situation was fully realized by Matteo Ricci who used to say that that he and other missionaries should reduce or at least seemingly cut off contacts with Macau so that it would not arouse suspicion of Chinese.¹⁰

Apart from collusion with outsiders to conquer China, there were also rumors claiming missionaries cultivating and supporting rebellious forces inside China.

In December 1607, after days of planning and preparing, Liu Tianxu (劉天緒) a vagrant who was born in Yongcheng county, Henan province, was ready to initiate an insurgency in Nanking while the officials were paying respect and reverence to the royal mausoleum. However, a domestic servant

7 Ibid., 139-145.

8 Tang Kaijian ed. 湯開建, *Limadou mingqing zhongwen wenxian ziliao huishi* 利瑪竇明清中文文獻資料匯釋 [Collection and Interpretation of Ming and Qing Chinese Documents about Matteo Ricci] (Macau SAR: Instituto Cultural; Shanghai: Chinese Classics Publishing House, 2017), 5.

9 Ricci, *Yesuhui yu tianzhujiao*, 399; Semedo also recorded the incident in his *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China*, 190.

10 Henri Bernard, *Tianzhujiao shiliu shiji zaihua chuanjiao zhi* 天主教十六世紀在華傳教志 [Catholic Mission in China in the 16th Century], trans. Xiao Ruihua 尚濬華 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), 234.

betrayed confidence to the officials, so Liu and his followers were caught before any actual behavior had ever been done.¹¹ Two officials, Ding Bin (丁賓) and Zhou Kongjiao (周孔教), who were involved in this incident had very detailed narration in their memorials to the central court.¹² Actually, this plotted insurgency *per se* had nothing special and did not differ much from other traditional peasant rebellions in Chinese history and was a typical peasant uprising initiated under the name of *xiejiao*. However, what made this one so special is that there were rumors saying that the missionaries and converts were also participators of this incident. It caused scares among converts and some even hid the holy icon (so that they would not be arrested by the officials).¹³ The place of this plotted insurgency was Nanking, the second capital of the Ming court and a place with very significant political status and symbolic meaning. According to the statistics of the situation of mission in Nanking, the numbers of converts doubled each year, resulting in a developing upsurge.¹⁴ Shen Defu (沈德符) stated that, “nowadays the followers of the reaching of Matteo Ricci can be seen everywhere in China, especially in Jinling (ancient name for Nanking).¹⁵ Moreover, in 1611, a very magnificent church was built in Nanking, which caused a sensation of the whole city.¹⁶ As a consequence of quick development of Catholicism in Nanking, the initiation, development and circulation of rumors were easier to arise. In collecting “evidences” of missionaries launching or participating rebellious activities in Nanking, Shen Que (沈澗), the main initiator of 1616 Nanking anti-Catholicism incident adopted the “testimony” offered by a neighbor of missionaries.

“In many evenings of that year (1616), in the name of sacrament the missionaries convened a gathering that was constituted of thousands of men and women and only dissolved and went back home at the break of dawn. Each new convert would be registered on a roster and were given 5 ducats that were made by alchemy. After being accepted they would be given strange foreign names and were taught to make the sign of cross for the sake of distinguishing themselves from others when revolt occur. Moreover, they were caught of hiding weapons in their houses...”¹⁷

As we know that many of the peasant rebellions in imperial China were held under the cloak of religions or popular beliefs since the *Wudoumi jiao* (Five-Dous of Rice Teaching 五斗米教,) in the late Eastern Han dynasty. Before the arrival of foreign missionaries, there had already been many insurrections that were initiated in the name of popular beliefs, including *Bailian jiao* (White Lotus Teaching 白蓮教), *Wuweijiao* (Non-Action Teaching 無為教), etc. in the Ming dynasty. The above-mentioned farce of Liu Tianxu rebellion is a typical example of such *xiejiao*-related peasant uprising as Liu proclaimed

11 Shen Defu 沈德符, *Wanli yehuo bian* 萬曆野獲編 [Private Historical Records of Wanli Period] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 755.

12 Ding Bin 丁賓, “Qinhuo yaofan qizheng dianxing shu” 擒獲妖犯乞正典刑疏 [Memorials of the Capture of Criminals and Appealing for Severe Punishment] in *Dingqinghuigong yiji* 丁清惠公遺集, vol. 1 Imperial Memorials, 9-15; Zhou Kongjiao 周孔教, “Niyao jiuqin shu” 逆妖就擒疏 [Memorials of the Capture of Rebellious Criminal] in *Zhouzhongcheng shugao* 周中丞疏稿, vol.6, 4a-12b.

13 Ricci, *Yesuhui yu tianzujiao*, 458.

14 *Ibid.*, 590.

15 Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 783.

16 Augustinus M. Colombel, *Jiangnan chuanjiao shi* 江南傳教史 [History of Catholic Mission in Jiangnan], trans. Zhou Shiliang 周世良 (Taipei: Fu Jen Catholic University Press, 2009), 150.

17 Alvaro Semedo, *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China*, 252.

himself as *Wuwei jiaozhu* (hierarchy of the Non-Action Teaching 無為教主) and *Longhua diwang* (emperor of Longhua 龍華帝王) and his mistress, a widow self-claimed as the Guanyin (Avalokitesvara 觀音).¹⁸ Associating such a *xiejiao* relevant peasant rebellion with Catholic missionaries demonstrated that the phenomenon of classifying Catholicism into the category of *xiejiao* was pretty common in the Ming dynasty. In *History of Ming*, the compiler quoted from an official of the Ming dynasty who actually participated the 1616 Nanking incident, “in Nanking, Alfonso Vagnoni and Emmanuel Diaz had perplexed more than 10,000 people and thousands of them participating in gathering... Nowadays they assembled at night and dispersed at dawn just like what the White Lotus Teaching and Non-Action Teaching did.”¹⁹ Some even commented that Catholicism was actually worse than those traditional *xiejiao*, “the White Lotus Teaching and Non-Action Teaching were only trifling problems that did not have to worry too much; the Catholicism in China was the real heterodoxy teaching. What made me sigh, wail and whine is that there was even no man denouncing it.”²⁰

In order to respond and contradict rumors of Catholicism being identical to Chinese *xiejiao*, Yang Tingyun particularly wrote an article to distinguish them. In *The Owl and the Phoenix Do Not Sing Together*, Yang listed 14 distinctions between Catholicism and *xiejiao* among which 6 of them were directly related to the issue of local stability and security.²¹ Moreover, due to the fact that Shen Que had already blocked the channels to submit memorials to the throne, the missionaries and their followers decided to write and send out “guardian leaflets” among commoners in Xi’an. In this articles, Diego de Pantoja and Sabatino de Ursis listed 24 types of rumors that missionaries suffered since their arrival in China and refuted each and every one of them in a detailed way. And some were directly linked to the accusation of missionaries doing the *xiejiao* deeds.²²

Maintaining local security and stability was always the primary task of each dynasty in imperial period, so rumors of missionaries spying Chinese military and geographical information, hiring more foreigners coming to China and cultivating and supporting rebellious activities always functioned effectively in arousing suspicion and hostility against missionaries. Just as demonstrated in three imperial

18 Zhou Kongjiao, *Zhongzhongcheng shugao*, 5a-6b.

19 Zhang Tingyu et al. ed., *Mingshi* 明史 [History of Ming] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), vol. 326, 8460.

20 Xia Guiqi 夏瑰琦 ed., *Shengchao poxieji* 聖朝破邪集 [Collection of Essays on Expelling Evilness in Current Dynasty] (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1996) 152.

21 They are: (members of) evil teachings gather together at night and disperse at dawn, and hide themselves extremely mysteriously “邪教夜聚曉散，藏匿甚秘”；all allured by evil teachings are rural silly commoners “邪教所誘，皆鄉愚之最下者”；evil teachings collect money to profit themselves or to conspire malicious deeds “邪教斂錢自潤，或用以圖謀惡事”；evil teachings stress the introduction of members and make them restrain each other “邪教重人引進，各相約束”；Being admitted by evil teachings requires serious vows and the secret languages that are taught by evil teachings. It shall never be revealed to people who do not belong to them “教入門必設立重誓，所傳秘密之語，寧死不泄與教外之人”；evil teachings start with instigating crowds and conspire rebellious acts against the state “邪教始於煽惑聚眾，究竟圖為不軌”。See Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠, “Xiaoluan bubingming shuo” 鴞鸞不並鳴說 [The Owl and Phoenix Do Not Sing Together] in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* 天主教東傳文獻續編 (Taipei: xuesheng shuju, 1966), 37-47.

22 Rumors of accusing Catholicism being identical to *xiejiao* includes “assembling large crowds with sorceries”, “men and women indiscriminately mingling together”, “heretical belief corrupting politics” “acting in the way of the White Lotus Teaching to deceive and mislead ignorant commoners”, etc. See Diego de Pantoja and Sabatino de Ursis “Jujie” 具揭 [Announcement] in Nicolas Standaert, Adrian Dudink and Zhu Pingyi 祝平一 et al ed., *Xujiahui cangshulou mingqing tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 (Taipei: Fangji chubanshe, 1996) 71-140.

memorials presented by Shen Que, when he did not receive any reply from the emperor after presenting the first memorial (usually the sign of rejecting the petition), Shen Que submitted two more memorials consecutively. Apparently, the emphasis in the last two memorials shifted a lot from stressing the defense of Confucian orthodoxy to emphasizing the potential dangers and threats that brought by missionaries.²³ Eventually he succeeded in drawing the attention of the central court and carrying out his persecution against missionaries.

Chapter 3: Rumors about Sexual Misconduct

Apart from the rumors concentrating the potential threats that might lead to security issues, the one accusing missionaries having improper relations with local women were also widely spread and accepted in the late Ming dynasty. Among D. E. Mungello's 8 basis of Chinese anti-Christian feeling, 2 of them (seducing women; insisting monogamy and attacking concubinage) are directly linked with the issue of women.²⁴

Even though scholars like Dorothy Ko devoted much to the study of women's history for the purpose of repudiating the image of victimized women in Chinese history and shaping a new view on China gender history by means of emphasizing the activity space and self-determination enjoyed by women within the norm of Confucian gender system,²⁵ it is still undeniable that women's social status in the Ming dynasty was very low, at least in the eyes of some Western authors who might or might not actually go to China. Their descriptions of Chinese women were quite alike. "Chinese women live their lives in isolation. No one actually saw them stood by the doors or windows. If their husbands invited people for dinner, they would never sit by the table unless the invitees were their parents or best friends. When they had to visit their parents or close relatives, they would sit in a sedan chair that was covered by curtains so that other people could not see them".²⁶ Similar description can also be found in *Tractado em que seccõtam muito por estẽso as cousas da China, and Relacion de las cosas de China que propriamente se llama Taybin*, the contents of which include the introduction to Chinese social customs and situations. The authors of them even commented that "... so that one could not see one single woman in the entire Guangzhou city except some frivolous households or hussies"²⁷ and "women were isolated from outside world and were chaste. We could barely see women in cities or big towns except for some aged ladies."²⁸ As to the reasons of isolating women from the outside, N. Spataru Milescu and João de Barros attributed

23 As to the detailed analysis on Shen's memorial, please see Adrian Dudink, "Nonggong Shudu (1620), Poxie Ji and Western Reports on the Nanjing Persecution (1616/1617)" in *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies* (Oxford: Rotledge, 2000), vol. 48, 133-265.

24 D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009) 58-59.

25 Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford University Press, 1994).

26 González de Mendoza, *Zhonghua dadiguo shi* 中華大帝國史 trans. He Gaoji 何高濟 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988) 17-18.

27 Juan Gaspar da Cruz, *Zhongguo zhi* 中國志 in Charles R. Boxer ed., *Shiliu shiji zhongguo nanbu xingji* 十六世紀中國南部行紀 trans. He Gaoji (Beijing: Zhongguo shuju, 1990), 13.

28 Mardin de Rada, Ji daming de zhongguo shiqing 記大明的中國事情 in Boxer, *Shiliu shiji zhongguo nanbuxingji*, 201.

it to the “jealousy” of Chinese males.²⁹ Obviously, it was not merely caused by Chinese men’s jealousy but it was the product of the entire gender system under the Confucian patriarchal social order. In this way, the adultery was considered felony which led to serious punishment or even capital punishment in imperial China. Therefore, under such situation the contact between missionaries and local women became extremely difficult and sensitive. For fear of causing any unnecessary problem, missionaries decided to simplify or alter some rituals. For instance, they set up separate halls particularly for women and preaching sermons to women with barriers separating them away. Besides, priests had to use tweezers rather than their thumbs to anoint women converts and when conducting unction, pelma and waist could be skipped over.³⁰ And also, they were told to perform confession only in special places where they could be easily monitored by males.³¹

Discreet and cautious as they were, even such infrequent contacts with women still aroused lots of rumors. The first one occurred soon after Michelle Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci residing in China. An impious converter made up a couple of lies for taking advantages of missionaries and when he was arrested, he spread rumors of Michelle Ruggieri fornicating with a local woman and her husband, one of the conspirator of this slander, brought lawsuit against him. Soon the incident quieted down and the slanders were punished severely because Ruggieri was out to Guangxi province when the “crime” occurred.³² The other incident happened to Nicholas Longobardi who was charged with committing adultery with a local woman in Shaozhou. It turned out to be a case of blackmailing missionaries.³³ Both of these two incidents were aroused by rumors of having improper sexual relations with local women and were proved to be initiated for blackmailing priests for some money.

With more women converted into Christian and started to become a significant part of China Catholic society, the increasing contacts between missionaries and local women supplied more space for the rumors. In one imperial memorial of Shen Que, he stated that “... To those deceived ones, it was not hard for them to offer their wives and children as tributes. As to anointing and sprinkling with holy water, all women accepted them easily”.³⁴ In another anti-Catholicism work called *Xiedu jishi* (《邪毒紀實》), the author recorded that “there were philters in their churches. They would distribute them to converted women whose breast and secret places shall first be touched. Then they would conduct sexual intercourse to show their evil powers to women so that they would follow them firmly”.³⁵ Similar narration can also be found in *Quyì zhiyan* (《驅夷直言》), “Whether married or not, the beautiful ones would be picked

29 N. Spataru Milescu, *Zhongguo manji* 中國漫記 trans. Jiang Benliang 蔣本良 and Liu Fengyun 柳鳳運 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 44; João de Barros et al., *Shiliu shiji putaoya wenxue zhongde zhongguo* 十六世紀葡萄牙文學中的中國 trans. He Gaoji, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 32.

30 Zhou pingping 周萍萍, “Mingmo qingchu chuanjiaoshi dui funv de xuanjiao” 明末清初傳教士對婦女的宣教 [Preaching among Chinese women by Missionaries of the Late Ming and Early Qing Periods] in *Funv yanjiu luncong* [Collection of Women Studies] 6 (2002), 30.

31 Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2009), 305.

32 Ricci, *Yesuhui yu tianzhujiao*, 125.

33 *Ibid.*, 406-407.

34 Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxieji*, 97.

35 *Ibid.*, 180.

up either to do households in the yard of the church or to serve *Liaoshi* (Jesus 寮氏) and were sexually infringed by the priests”.³⁶ The way they described it was as if they were the witnesses of such obscene scenarios.

If these rumors were products of personal behavior from those who held resentment against missionaries, then the incidents below are collective behaviors which revealed how rumors of improper sexual relations was able to arouse collective resentment and reaction.

Matteo Ricci recorded a parade in Shaozhou comprised of a bunch of actors coming from Macau. The theme of this parade was to mock Portuguese of doing something that they regarded as stupid and vulgar. Besides, Catholicism was also the target as the actors drew pictures of men and women indiscriminately mingling together which prompted derisive laughter among the audience.³⁷ In *Hechos de la Orden de Predicadores en el Imperio de la China*, the author recorded a similar masquerade in which “over 300 men dressed in Christian costumes, some posing as women”. The masquerade was full of insults against missionaries, converts and Christianity. The highlights came on stage when a character dressed as a women and knelt before the phony friars. She begged to be baptized and got undressed under the command of the friars. They acted the story of Virgin Mary and ridiculed pregnancy while remaining virginity. Then the friars told the woman that she has already been a beata so that he could “embraced her and engaged in other amorous and obscene actions”.³⁸

After arriving in China, Catholic missionaries claimed to remain unmarried for the purpose of devoting themselves to the work of evangelization. They fiercely attacked the phenomenon of concubinage in China and insisted the monogamy, which once became the biggest obstacle for those who intended to convert but did not want to abandon their concubines. Almost all the famous Confucian converters, like Xu Guangqi, Yang Tingyun, Li Zhizao, Wang Zheng (王徵) and so forth, considered it as the most difficult requirement of conversion. For instance, Xu Guangqi once said that, “there is no difficulty of following the Ten Commandments, but only remaining monogamy is the hardest.”³⁹ Yang Tingyun once complained that, “Catholicism is so heartless that it cannot even accept one concubine. Buddhism is nothing like that.”⁴⁰ By persisting monogamy, the missionaries created a lust-free image of themselves. Thus when missionaries were accused of committing adultery, their erotic image that was created by opponents made a sharp contrast with their self-claimed chaste and lust-free image. And such striking contrast functioned effectively in arousing detestation of Chinese people. As criticized by Zhong Shisheng (鐘始聲) that, “Those missionaries claimed themselves as people who would never have sexual behavior or get married, but they propagandize the saying of holy water and induced our silly men

36 Ibid., 176.

37 Ricci, *Yesuhui yu tianzhujiao*, 330.

38 Riccio, *Hechos de la Orden de Predicadores en el Imperio de la China*, quoted from Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars*, 59-60.

39 Huang Yinong 黃一農, *Liangtou she: Mingmo qingchu de diyidai tianzhujiaotu 兩頭蛇：明末清初的第一代天主教徒 [Two-headed Snakes: The First Generation of Catholics in the Late Ming and Early Qing Periods]* (Xinzhu: Guoli Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2005), 76.

40 Julius Aleni, “Yangqiyuan xiansheng shiji” 楊琪園先生超性事跡 [Biography of Yang Tingyun] in Nicolas Standaert et al. ed., *Xujiahui cangshulou*, 218-222.

and women to do obscene behaviors.”⁴¹

From the rumors about sexual misconducts, we can see the development process of anti-Catholicism incidents in the late Ming dynasty: In terms of content, from the simple accusation of adultery to the accusation of men and women indiscriminately mingling together; in terms of the form of persecution, from personal slander to collective smear, in terms of objective, from simply blackmailing missionaries to classifying Catholicism into the category of xiejiao and expelling them away from China.

Chapter 4: Rumors about Sorcery-Performing

China is a country taking ghost culture seriously. The spirits worship influenced by primitive animism pervades the entire civil society since ancient times. In the Ming dynasty, even though its first emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang, took Confucianism as the ruling ideology, but when coming to the issue of *guishen* (ghosts and gods 鬼神) he did not follow the standard of Confucianism but insisted the existence of all spirits though not encouraging to worship all of them.⁴² Under such atmosphere together with the ghost culture that came down all the way from ancient times, the existence of various spirits was widely accepted by commoners and even literati. Besides, due to the close connection between these spirits and human lives, evil spirits impairing people’s health and even lives was considered as conceivable and was very likely to happen. In *Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History*, Bernard J. ter Haar pointed out that the inherent collective fear of Chinese on various rumors and strange stories related to “demons” could easily arouse disorders and chaos among local society and sometimes collective response in the manner of violence. The “demon” here does not refer to the concept of devil in the discourse of Christianity but the one in the Chinese sense that mainly comprises of *rengui* (human ghost 人鬼) which refers to the ghosts transformed from human beings or ghosts with human nature or shape; *wuguai* (object monster 物怪) as a reflection of animism which propose the existence of spirits in each and every things, and such spirits can be sensed by humans and can even affect or hurt humans;⁴³ and one more that I prefer to call as *yaoren* (demon human 妖人) which refers to those who possess magical or supernatural powers and can perform sorceries onto normal people to achieve certain goals like *caisheng zhege* (dismembering living bodies and snatching out organs 采生折割). According to this book, during the 19th century Western missionaries, and their associates, came to be identified as the primary suspects in cases of strange stories and rumors, largely replacing earlier scapegoats, such as travelling beggars, monks and the other outsiders.⁴⁴ In other words, initiating and spreading rumors demonizing missionaries in the late Qing dynasty was a behavior projecting their inherent scares of *rengui*, *wuguai* and *yaoren* onto foreign missionaries whenever they saw conducts by missionaries that could not be well explained by their old knowledge framework. As a matter of fact, such scapegoating theory can also be well applied to

41 Zhong Shisheng 鐘始聲, “Tianxue zaizheng” 天學再徵 [Another Criticism on Catholicism] in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian*, 939-942.

42 Chen Baoliang 陳寶良, *Mingdai shehui shenghuo shi* 明代社會生活史 [History of Social Life in the Ming Dynasty] (Beijing: China Social Science Press, 2004), 489.

43 See Pu Muzhou 蒲慕州 ed., *Guimei shenmo: Zhongguo tongsu wenhua cexie* 鬼魅神魔：中國通俗文化側寫 [*Ghosts, Demons, Deities and Mara: A View of Chinese Common Culture*] (Taipei: Maitian, 2005), 8, 21.

44 Bernard J. ter Haar, *Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 154.

analysis of rumors in the anti-Catholicism incidents in the late Ming dynasty.

Alchemy is generally considered started during the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period⁴⁵ and was still very popular in the Ming dynasty, not only among commoners but was also favored by literati and even the emperor.⁴⁶ In China, alchemy is composed of *waidan* (external pill, 外丹) which proposes using natural mines as raw materials to extract medicine to prolong life-span or precious metal like gold and silver, and *neidan* (internal pill, 内丹) which emphasizes the power of willingness to form intangible spiritual *dan* within their bodies. The alchemy here mainly refers to *waidan*. Conducting alchemy was usually considered as exclusive task of religious staff, especially Taoists who were able to perform occult techniques that was too mysterious to be understood by commoners. Alchemy was considered as originated from witchcraft in the ancient times and it had close connection with supernatural elements. Moreover, it is generally considered that the ingredients and materials of performing alchemy included a wide range of objects among which human body was usually said to be a significant one. For instance, the *Old Book of Tang* recorded that in the 9th year of *Dahe* (835), there was a rumor circulating in capital city saying that Zhe Zhu (鄭注) dispatched forces to capture children and gouge out their hearts and livers for the sake of refining golden *dan* for the emperor.⁴⁷ Similar examples can also be found in novels of the Ming society. For instance in the *Journey to the West* (《西遊記》) a story of an evil Taoist persuading a King to use the hearts of 1111 children as ingredients of alchemy to enhance the effectiveness of medicine was told.⁴⁸ All these characters made alchemy a mysterious and sometimes evil art that could only be handled by people with magical power in the eyes of commoners.

When Michelle Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci lived in Zhaoqing, rumors of missionaries excelling in alchemy was already in wide circulation. Ricci recorded that, “We have mentioned it elsewhere that many Chinese people were enthusiastic about alchemy which almost drove them crazy. In their mind, employing a sort of herb that could only be found in foreign countries could turn mercury into silver. As we (the missionaries) were the only foreigners here, they initiated rumors saying that we had such herb and knew the secret of alchemy... They found that missionaries lived a simple life, neither begging for charity nor doing any serious business (yet still lived a relatively wealthy life), so they suspected us using the herb to make large amounts of silvers.”⁴⁹ Actually, many scholars and officials in the Ming dynasty including Xu Shijin (徐時進), Fang Hongjing (方弘靜), Shen Defu (沈德符), Yao Lv (姚旅), Yuan Zhongdao (袁中道), Fei Yuanlu (費元祿), Su Weilin (蘇惟霖) and so forth who had or had not ever met Matteo Ricci personally left records of Ricci and other missionaries being able to perform alchemy or what they called as *huangbai zhishu* (sorcery of gold and silver, 黃白之術).⁵⁰ Moreover, the first famous Chinese

45 See Chen Guofu 陳國符, *Daozang yanliu kao* 道藏源流考 [Studies on the origins and development of the Taoist Canon] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 371.

46 The best example is Emperor Jiajing (嘉靖皇帝) who had the earnest beliefs in techniques of immortality and energetically encouraged Taoism and alchemy. See Cheng Zhiqiang 程志強, “Mingshizong chongdao yanjiu” 明世宗崇道研究 [A Study of Shizong’s Worshipping Taoism in the Ming Dynasty] in *Journal of Nanjing Xiaozhuang College*, 1 (2001), 71-75.

47 Liu Xu 劉昫 et al. ed., *Jiutang shu* 舊唐書 [Old Book of Tang] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), vol. 37, 1375.

48 Wu Chengen 吳承恩, *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 [Journey to the West] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2005), 946.

49 Ricci, *Yesuhui yu tianzhujiao*, 124.

50 Their works are *Jiuzi ji* (《鳩茲集》), *Qianyi lu* (《千一錄》), *Wanli yehuo bian* (《萬曆野獲編》 27), *Lushu* (《露書》 453), *Kexuezhai ji* (《珂雪齋集》 459), *Jiaxyuyuan ji* (《甲秀園集》 460) and *Xiyou xugao, xiyou riji zhaichao* (《西游續

Catholic follower and converter, Qu Taisu (瞿太素) was influenced by such rumors and approached missionaries for the sake of learning the mysterious alchemy not Catholic doctrine.⁵¹

Since it had already been widely known that the missionaries were capable of performing alchemy, would it be so hard to suspect that they could also cast other sorceries? Yuan Zhongdao who used to meet Matteo Ricci in person commented in his book that “Matteo Ricci was adept at discussion and writing scholarly works. His income was poor but usually gave away gold to others. Besides, he also bought quite a few houses and servants, so people suspected that he had alchemy secrets. It was true that Matteo Ricci knew many occult arts but it was a pity that I did not delve into it.”⁵² Li Rihua (李日華) directly pointed out that “Matteo Ricci know occult technics so that nobody can do any harm to him. He also knows qi-absorption and Vipassana, so he is invulnerable to all kinds of sickness.”⁵³ Another scholar, Qian Xiyan (錢希言) even listed the biography of Matteo Ricci in the category of Xianhuan (immortal and illusion, 仙幻) together with Zhang Pique (張皮雀), Yan Pengtou (閻蓬頭), Yin Pengtou (尹蓬頭) who were regarded as Taoist immortals, implying that Ricci has already been regarded as the one with supernatural powers together with other legendary characters.⁵⁴

Apart from alchemy, miracles and exorcism are the two other factors that made great contributions to the creation of the image of missionaries being able to perform sorceries. Shen Que once remarked missionaries in his memorial that “when talking with literati, they (the missionaries) discuss *tianxing* (heaven nature, 天性); with the commoners, they stress *shenshu* (divine spell, 神術).”⁵⁵ Indeed, this is a very accurate observation. In the early stage of mission work, Jesuits adopted the “from top to bottom” preaching strategy which required missionaries to focus on the high level of the society, scholar-official and with the help of their impact among low-level society it would be much easier to convert commoners. Meanwhile, Jesuits like Julius Aleni, Alfonso Vagnoni and Nicolas Longobardo did not give up evangelizing commoners directly.⁵⁶ If we see the efforts to convert scholar-official is constituted by learning Confucian Classics, writing essays about humanistic ethics, following lifestyle of literati and combining Catholicism with Confucianism to “supplement Confucianism”, then the efforts to convert commoners were not so academic given the fact that the illiteracy rate was very high and their religious belief was strongly dominated by the practical rationalism. While preaching Catholicism to

稿·西遊日記摘抄》463) respectively, as to the summary of literati’s works on the alchemy of missionaries, please see Tang Kaijian, *Limadou*, 20.

51 Huang Yinong, *Liangtoushe*, 34.

52 Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道, *Youju feilu* 游居柿錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong chubanshe, 1996), vol. 4, 100.

53 Tang Kaijian, *Limadou*, 23.

54 *Ibid.*, 27.

55 Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxieji*, 78-79.

56 Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact : A Conflict of Cultures*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 42.

commoners, miracles⁵⁷ and exorcism⁵⁸ were widely employed by missionaries for they perfectly fitted the psychological needs of Chinese. Actually, advertising that miracles could occur to those who have faith in Jesus Christ and that missionaries could perform exorcism to expel the evil spirits demonstrated their ability of making contact with the other world in the eyes of Chinese. Previously, such rituals could only be performed by orthodoxy religious staff, like eminent Buddhists and Taoists, or by sorcerers who were considered as people with magical and sorcery-casting powers and were usually seen as dangerous persons. Without any official recognition or wide acceptance, Catholicism was generally considered as *xiejiao* for most of times. Therefore, rumors of foreign missionaries casting evil spells or sorceries were widely circulated in the Ming dynasty. And such rumors offered excuses for opponents in initiating anti-Catholicism incidents and spreading anti-Catholicism statements.

Quyì zhiyan is one of many anti-Catholicism articles of *Shengchao poxie ji*, a collection of anti-Catholicism articles that was edited in 1637. In this article the rumor of missionaries performing sorceries were well recorded, “its teaching (Catholicism) is not only erroneous, but also full of sorceries. They buried the corpses in the church and then dug out the remains after 50 years and cremated them into oil by virtue of sorceries. The oil was distributed into 5 churches and anyone who stepped into the church would be anointed his (her) forehead so that he (she) would become numb and follow their teachings.”⁵⁹

Similar narration can also be found in *Maiyouji xuji*,

“It was said that those who were willing to follow their teaching would be ordered to drink a bowl of water that could perplex their minds... if the followers were about to die, their masters would dispatch two people to chanting and use cloth to cover the corpse. Some believed that they gouged out the pupils of the deceased person...”, “there was a person whose family was poor. He knew that converting to Catholicism would be given 50 gold. He told his family to get ready for pouring in decoction when he came back from the church to vomit the water offered by the missionaries. When he came back he was already bewitched by Catholicism and was about to destroy shrines... after drinking the decoction he started to vomit pure water first and then spitting out blood and stored it in a basin. The blood was dispersed overnight but there was still one thing left which was in a shape of a human being. Taking closer look, it was in the shape of

57 There are many records narrating stories of how did an entire family converted into Christianity after miracles occurred. Such miracles includes giving births to babies usually male heirs, passing the imperial examinations, healing some incurable diseases, escaping a life-threatening situation like a dire disaster, and so forth. For instance, one of the “three pillars” of Catholic mission, Xu Guangqi was said to have a bizarre dream which eventually led him into the embrace of Christianity. During this process, passing the imperial examination that he had failed many times was also seen as a miracle to award his belief in Christianity.

58 The stories of Catholic exorcism always follow the same process: first the man or woman got haunted and his or her family sent for Buddhists, Taoists or sorcerers who would then definitely fail in casting out devils. Then Catholic priests, sometimes converts would come on stage and handle the evil spirits with no difficulty, and the entire family would convert into Christians as a gesture of gratefulness as well as admiration for the effectiveness of Christianity. The most represented Chinese work on Catholic exorcism is the second volume of Li Jiugong 李九功, “Lixiu yijian” 勵修一鑒 [A Image to Encourage Self-Improvement] in *Faguo guojia tushuguan mingqing tianzhujiao wenxian* 法國國家圖書館明清天主教文獻 [Chinese Christian Texts from the National Library of France] ((Taipei: Ricci Institute, 2009) 181-326.

59 Xia Guiqi, *Shengchao poxieji*, 176.

the masters (missionaries).”⁶⁰

Even some local gazetteers includes narrations of missionaries in the Ming dynasty doing *caisheng zhege*. In *Shanhua xianzhi* (善化縣志), it is recorded that “In the years of Emperor Tianqi, Diego de Pantoja was adept in occult arts. He can snatch out the kidney of men and womb of women as ingredients of medicine.”⁶¹

As we can see in these records that the missionaries were completely demonized into sort of *yaoren* who could perform evil sorceries. In these rumors, different types of sorceries were performed for achieving different purposes. For instance, when accused missionaries of inducing commoners to converted into Catholicism, rumors of missionaries doing alchemy so that they had large amounts of money to give to whoever converted into Catholicism or employing magical water to control their consciousness were circulated; when accused missionaries of initiating or supporting rebellions, rumors of missionaries casting spells of assembling people instantly without appointment were circulated; when accused missionaries of doing harm to human bodies, rumors of missionaries doing *caisheng zhege* to make medicine for themselves were circulated.

Chapter 5: Mechanism of Imagination Transplant in the Anti-Catholicism Persecutions

Just as stated in *An Analysis of Rumor* that, “A stranger whose business is unknown to the small town where he took up residence will breed many legends designed to explain to curious minds why he has come to town.”⁶² “A stranger” implies the identity of this person as an outsider who shares no connection or mutual interest with others within the local community. His (Her) “unknown business” indicates that the purpose of this stranger is unclear to local residents, which creates spaces for the imagination of presuming the stranger is likely to constitute potential threats to them and put them in dangerous situations. In this occasion, stories and rumors around this stranger will emerge, especially whenever any suspicious behavior is conducted by him (her). This is exactly the situation that the first generation of Jesuits giants in the Late Ming dynasty were in. As strangers who were completely alien to Chinese, whenever they do things that could not be well understood or explained within the knowledge framework of local people, relative rumors would always emerge and circulate among local society. Without doubt, such rumors did not come from nowhere. Actually, they came from previous existed imaginations targeting to other outsiders including *Folangji*, wandering Buddhist monks and *yaoren* and transplanted them onto Catholic missionaries, making them the scapegoats of such rumors. The three types of rumors that were employed by opponents in persecuting missionaries were the result of such imagination transplant.

60 Zhu Meishu 朱梅叔, *Maiyouji* 埋憂集 [Collection of Burying Sorrows] (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 1985), 244-145.

61 Wu Zhqoxi 吳兆熙 and Zhang Xianlun 張先掄, *Guangxu shanhua xianzhi* 善化縣志 [Local Gazetteers of Shanhua County Compiled in Guangxi period] (Nanjing: Jiangsu gujii chubanshe, 2002), vol. 34, 22a.

62 Gordon W. Allport and Leo Postman, “An Analysis of Rumor” in *The Public Opinion Quarterly* vol. 10, No. 4 (1946-1947), 503.

The image of *Folangji* is never positive in the Ming dynasty.⁶³ In the Chinese documents, *Folangji* was depicted as pirates, children eaters, human traffickers and kidnappers, and more importantly, barbarians who sought to attack and occupy China at any time. It is the result of a series behaviors of Portuguese and Spanish in the Southeast Asia and China seacoast including the provoking and reckless behaviors of Simão de Andrade in Tuen Mun, the attempts of Tomé Pires for obtaining trading rights in Beijing, the naval battle in Guangdong in 1522, the smuggling, plundering and colluding with Chinese and Japanese pirates around China southeastern coastal areas, the naval battle in *Shuangyu* Island (双屿岛) in 1548, let alone the massacre of oversea Chinese in Luzon by Spanish later in 1603. All these incident further worsened the negative images of *Folangji*. Therefore, rumors like *Folangji* launching military actions for the purpose of occupying China or *Folangji* living in Macau were assembling armed forces and building fortress in preparation for intruding Guangdong provinces were widely circulated particularly. Therefore, when local people saw missionaries, who in their eyes belong to the Macau barbarians, building churches and residences or simply buying houses, they naturally associated it to the saying of *Folangji* building fortress in Tuen Mun or in Macau and transplanted such imagination of *Folangji* intruding China onto foreign missionaries and spread rumors of missionaries planning to occupy China.

In the Ming dynasty, the image of Buddhist monks was not always so upright. In fact, many popular novels and poetic dramas had plentiful descriptions of filthy behaviors of monks. *Shuihu zhuan* (《水浒传》, Water Margin), *JinPingmei cihua* (《金瓶梅詞話》, *The Golden Lotus*) and *Sanyan erpai* (“三言二拍”, the collections of five volumes of short stories) are the typical examples in which large amounts of descriptions of Buddhist monks violating lust caution can be found everywhere. A doggerel teasing the image of nasty monks widely existed in these novels: One word is *seng* (僧, bonzes), two words are *he shang* (和尚, Buddhist monks), three words are *gui yue guan* (鬼樂官, musical officials for ghost), and four words are *se zhong e gui* (色中餓鬼, ghosts hungry for sex).⁶⁴ It resulted in the image of *yinseng* (lustful monks, 淫僧) being deeply rooted among commoners in the Ming dynasty. Unfortunately, when missionaries first arrived in China, they dressed like Buddhist monks and called themselves as *xiseng* (西僧, Buddhist monks from the West). Besides, some of the Catholic doctrines, like the saying of heaven and hill was also seen as plagiarized from Buddhism. Many Chinese saw them as monks from *tianzhu* (天竺, India) and did not distinguish them from Chinese Buddhist monks. In this way, it is not difficult to understand that the opponents transplanted the already deeply-rooted erotic imagination of Buddhist monks onto the Catholic missionaries and created the similar erotic image of Catholic missionaries when they witnessed or simply heard of the “intimate” contacts between missionaries and local women.

The kidnapping scares in which fetuses and children were stolen in order to prepare a medicine from fetuses and children’s organs were a regular phenomenon in traditional China.⁶⁵ Actually, beside children-

63 As to the early image of *Folangji* in China, please see Fok Kai Cheong, “Early Ming Images of the Portuguese”, in Anthony Disney ed., *Historiography of Europeans in Africa and Asia, 1450-1800* (Brookfield: Variorum, 1995), 113-126.

64 Shi Naian 施耐庵 and Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, *Shuihu zhuan* 水浒传 [The Water Margin] (Beijing: Renminwenxue chubanshe, 2005), 600; Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng 蘭陵笑笑生, *Jinpingmei cihua* 金瓶梅詞話 [The Golden Lotus] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1992) 65.

65 Bernard J. ter Haar, *Telling stories*, 191.



consuming rumor, other kinds of rumors that involve physical abuse by way of sorcery method or purpose were also widely existed and could arouse collective, usually violent, reactions. In recent studies of Song Liming (宋黎明), through careful examinations of records left by missionaries, he pointed out that there was a great possibility that the Jesuits intentionally acted mysteriously in the issue of alchemy so that they could trigger curiosity of Chinese people. Alchemy, combined with miracle and exorcism, constituted the preaching strategy of Jesuits among lower-level commoners, making themselves sort of *yaorenin* the eyes of Ming people. In this way, rumors of demonizing missionaries which focuses on their ability of performing sorceries are not so difficult to be accepted. For example, when local residents witnessed or simply heard of foreign missionaries setting up *Yuying tang* (foundling fostering Hall 育嬰堂), adopting abandoned babies and baptizing the dying ones, they would naturally project the traditional kidnapping scares and the imagination of *Folangji* eating children onto Catholic missionaries for they shared similarities in terms of religious identity or foreign identity. Therefore, rumors like missionaries hallucinating and manipulating children with drugs, snatching out their organs to make medicine, eating children, fetching gems within the corpse and so forth proliferated among Chinese local societies.

To sum up, rumor is one of the main and most effective approaches to initiate persecutions against Catholic missionaries in the late Ming dynasty and it usually functioned well in arousing collective fear as well as hatred of low-level gentries and commoners, and caution and worry of local officials. In these rumors, the transplantation of the twisty imagination of outsiders including *Folangji*, *yinseng*, *caisheng zhege-conductors* (beggars, wandering monks, Taoists, fortune-tellers, fatuous, tyrannic emperors, treacherous courtiers) and *xiejiao* followers onto Catholic missionaries has become big obstacles for their survival in the Ming China. Worse still, such imagination transplant also paved the way for the later various and numerous rumors demonizing Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the anti-Christian cases in the Late Qing dynasty and even further for the anti-Christian propaganda after the establishment of People's Republic of China. As a matter of fact, the phenomenon of imagination transplant does not limit itself within the field of China Catholic history, but in the entire history of Sino-foreign communication and confrontation. Conducting intensive studies on the mechanism of imagination transplant will definitely help us to have a better understanding of the problems that emerged during our contacts with the outside world.