The Fountainhead of All Learned Tradition:
Liu Shipei's Treatise on the Official Scribe
and Its Significance for Chinese Culture

Jens Hürter (Marburg)

In my paper I should like to present and analyse an early article by Liu Shipei (1884–1919) published in the first issue of the Guocui xuebao (Journal of National Essence, 23.2.1905–1912) and with the title “Guxue chu yu shiguan lun” (All Learning in Antiquity Originated from the Official Scribe). I shall first provide some relevant data on the personal history of Liu Shipei as well as on the institutional history of the Guocui xuebao and then introduce Liu Shipei’s main theses in the article. By this means I hope to lay the foundations for an analysis of two central questions:

- First, does Liu Shipei see the shiguan, the official scribe, as having any symbolical connection to his own time?
- Second, what makes Liu’s description and criticism of the role of the official scribe in high antiquity so fitting for the modern discussion of the nationalisation of Chinese historiography that had been triggered off by Liang Qichao’s 1902 article “Xin Shi” (On the Renewal of Historiography) in Xinmin congbao (Newspaper of the People) and for the discussion of making traditional knowledge available to the people (kai minzhi) that had been demanded by many reformers since the end of the 19th century (Tang Caichang, Wang Kangnian, Yan Fu and others)?

The Background

Born in Yizheng in Yangzhou county, Jiangsu Province, in 1884, Liu Shipei had been acutely aware of the concerns of the Yangzhou school of thought from childhood, firstly with respect to combining evidential research, i.e. Han-learning, with the learning of the mind and heart or Song-Learning, and secondly with respect to trying to integrate pre-Qin philosophies into the Confucian worldview and history. Furthermore, at the request of Zeng Guofan, his grandfather Liu Yusong (1818–1867) had edited the complete works of Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692), the author of the...
Huangshu 黄书, a fervent attack on all so-called barbarian rule in Chinese history, and had thus instilled in his descendants an awareness of the shameful situation of their own people, the Hanzu 漢族. In the light of these facts, it doesn't seem at all strange that, after failing in the metropolitan examination in 1903 at the tender age of 19, one of Liu Shipei's first essays was an attack on barbarian rule under the title Huangshu 黄书, Book of Expulsion, that was equally as fervent as that of Wang Fuzhi. In this essay Liu describes the alleged superiority of the Hanzu over the Limin 黎民, the Blackhaired People (that later became the Southern Miao 彝), in Darwinian terms, combining the theses of Terrien de Lacouperie (1844-1894) on the western origin of the Chinese people with both traditional attitudes regarding the superiority of Chinese culture and the Darwinian concept of the survival of the fittest.

Besides this anti-barbarian strain, one can also detect an early interest in the roots of the people's rights in China. Thus, in his other outstanding essay of 1903, the Zhongguo minyue jingyi 中國民約精義 (The essential meaning of “Social Contract” in Chinese history), Liu's main objective was to show that the basic idea of a social contract between the ruler and the people had not simply come to China by way of the translation of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Contra! Social in 1900, but that it was an essential part of the rich tradition of Chinese philosophical thought since the times of the Yijing 易經, the text he took as his chronologically first source of argument.

His most severe criticism of the traditional way of ruling the Middle Kingdom was the tendency to see the junwei 君位, the position of the ruler, as tianwei 天位, the position of the ruler qua heaven, whereby the ruler came to occupy a position very distant from the shumin 庶民 or the common people. This may, he states, sometimes have been balanced by the doctrine of taking the people's will as the will of heaven, but such an idea was only to be found in some philosophers' theories, not in everyday politics. Thus in his commentary to the quotations from the Chunqiu Zuo shi zhuang 春秋左氏傳, Liu Shipei states: “After the Three Dynasties, the longer the system of taking all under heaven as the rulers hereditary possession (junzhu shixia zhi zhi 君主世襲天下之制) prevailed, the fiercer became the tyrannical strains [in Chinese politics].”

5 It is worthwhile noting that Liu Shipei only after failing in the metropolitan examinations started his revolutionary career. And even if one cannot know for sure, it is still easy to guess that his life would have taken a totally different turn if he had been successful.

6 See the chapter “Miaoli pian” 民約篇 (On the Miaoli people) of the Huangshu.

7 Already in spring 1808 the first heavily abridged translation into Chinese of the Contra! Social under the title Minyue jingyi 民約精義 had been published. It was based on the pre-Meiji Japanese translation under the title Minyaku yakuha 民約解義, written by Nakae Tokusuke 中江間介. However, in the year 1903 Liu Shipei was able to use Yang Tingdong's 楊廷棟 far more exact translation Minyue jingyi 民約精義 of 1900-1902, which was based on Harada Sen's 原田深 Japanese translation Minyaku min jukai 民約解義 of 1883. See Wang Xiaoling, „Liu Shipei et son concept de contrat social chinois,” in: Études chinoises, vol. XVII, no. 1-2, 1998.

8 See Liu Shipei's commentary on Gu Yanwu 郭天武 (1613-1682) in the Zhongguo minyue jingyi.

9 See Liu Shipei's commentary on the Chunqiu Zuo shi zhuang of the Zhongguo minyue jingyi.
Besides these two essays, in his first two years in Shanghai, 1903 to 1904, Liu Shipei also contributed articles to the *jingzhong ribao* 警鐘日報 (Alarming Bell Daily News, 26.2.1904–28.1.1905) and its predecessor, the *Eshi jingwen* 退事警聞 (Alarming News regarding the Russian Menace, 15.12.1903–25.2.1904). Protesting against foreign aggression (defining aggressors in terms of “foreign race,” thus also including the Manchu), the stated aim of the *jingzhong ribao* was to stand up for nationalism and for the preservation of the national essence (*jiu you baozun guowei zhi shixin* 具有保存國粹之實心). 10

As Martin Bernal has shown, the idea of *guoce* or National Essence originated in Japan, where it had entered into common use around 1887, as a reaction to the Meiji Government’s advocacy of the wearing of Western clothes and the adoption of foreign ways.11 The newspaper in which the theories of Japan’s National Essence were discussed most passionately was the *Nihonjin* 日本人 (The Japanese). Its founders, Miyake Setsurei 三宅重頼 and Shiga Shigetaka 志賀重高, propounded the theory that through tens of thousands of years the Yamato *minzoku* 民族 (chin.: minzu, race) developed its very own purified *kokusui* 國粹 (chin.: guoce, national essence) that suited the specific characteristics of Japan’s national territory perfectly. Therefore, no other people with different customs should have the right to intrude into this perfect unity of people and territory.12

In 1902 and in a letter to Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲, the foremost expert in and great admirer of Japanese reformist activities since the Meiji Restoration, Liang Qichao proposed the establishment of a journal with the name *National Studies* (Guoxue bao 國學報). Huang however rejected the idea and pointed to the great differences between progress in westernisation in Japan and in China.13 Nevertheless, the idea of preserving the national essence had a deep impact on scholars who were turning into revolutionaries, scholars like Zhang Binglin 張炳麟, whom Liu Shipei met in Shanghai, and Liu himself. It seemed to them the perfect way to combine their new traditionalism with their equally new fight for racial independence. Liu Shipei in particular was embarking upon three types of activity in connection with the preservation of national essence: first he published a collection of anti-

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12 Already in the 18th century Motōri Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801), besides others, suggested the possibility of a distinctively Japanese spirit that manifested itself through the language. For him, “National Studies” (kokusui 國粹) involved the revival of old philology and poetics as well as of the classics of Japanese literature and history, like the 8th century *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of ancient matters) and the 11th century *Genji monogatari* 平氏物語 (Tale of Genji). Under Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843), the ideas of Motōri developed into the ideological base for a popular intellectual movement with increasing political overtones. Instead of looking to the Tokugawa Shogunate 德川將軍 for their spiritual leadership, they were searching for political solutions for the Essence of Japaneseness, thus equating agricultural work to religious practice. These proto-nationalistic sentiments in favour of the restoration of the Emperor and the revival of Shintō 神道 as the state religion had been used until the end of the 1870s by the *shishi* 志士 ("men of high purpose") of the *Chōshū* 長州 and Satsuma han 鹿児島 to serve those needs, but was dismissed as acutely antimodernistic at the beginning of the 1880s. Especially the slogan *sonnō jieitai* 尊王攘夷, “reversing the Emperor and expelling the barbarians,” proved to be not very useful for the aim of changing Japan into an open and modern country. See David L. Howell, “Visions of the Future in Meiji Japan,” in: Merle Goldman, Andrew Gordon (ed.): *Historical Perspectives on Contemporary East Asia*, Cambridge, Mass., and London 2000, pp. 85-118, here pp. 87-89. The *Kokusui*-movement initiated by the *Nihonjin* group at the end of the 1880s must be seen as a reaction to this dismissal.


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Manchu treatises under the title Huangdi hun 黃帝魂 (The Spirit of Huangdi), referring to an alleged proto-national spirit, that had to be rekindled in order to expel intruders, whether Manchu or western, into Chinese territory; second he started to write articles on the early history of Chinese thought and institutions, generally publishing them in the Jingsheng ribao, at the same time also publishing emotional cries for assassinations and other radical political methods in the Zhongguo baihuabao 中國白話報 (The Chinese Vernacular News); and finally and together with Deng Shi 鄧實 (born 1877) and Huang Jie 黃翼 (1873–1935), he founded the Guoxue haoan hui 學會保全會 (Association for the Preservation of Chinese Scholarship) whose mouthpiece, from February 1905, was the Guoxue xuebao 國學學報 (Journal of National Essence, 1905–1912). To understand how the Guoxue-group saw its commitment to the preservation of national essence, we can refer to a statement by Huang Jie (1873–1935), one of the founders and an outstanding poet and later member of the Nantu 南社, the Southern Society. In an article announcing the planned, but not realised, founding of the Guoxue xueshe 國學學社, the Society for the Study of National Essence, at the beginning of 1904, Huang says: “National Essence is [nothing other] than Science (guoxue kecui 國學科舉). [The preservation of National Essence] was first practiced in Japan, but the Japanese didn’t know how to develop [guo 學] [this idea], so it is up to us to develop it in our country. [Therefore one has to recognize that] presuming the existence of an “essence” implies the existence of something that is not essential. [...] So whoever wants to make the ten thousand different teachings (wan hui xue 萬學) utilizable (yong 用) has to start by carrying out in-depth research into them so that he may separate [the wheat from the chaff]. When this has been done, he will be able to transform [the ten thousand teachings], and after transforming [them] he will be able to utilize and thus preserve them.”

There are two traits in this early statement to which Liu Shipei would have surely subscribed: first the definition of Guoxue as Science, second the causal chain of research (yanjiu 研究), separation (qufen 区分), transformation (bianhua 變化), utilization (zhijyong 始用) and preservation (baocun 保存). With regard to the idea of Guoxue as Science, one must remember that Liu Shipei, like the other founders of the Guoxue haoan hui, didn’t want to appear to be an enemy of (western) modernity. As we shall see, in his texts, Liu not only integrated new sociological ideas from Herbert Spencer to serve his arguments, but with his “Zhoumo xueshe shi xu 週末學術史序 (Introduction to the History of Scholarship at the End of the Zhou Dynasty) that was published in several instalments in issues one to five of the Guoxue xuebao, he revealed his knowledge of the various scientific disciplines developed

14 See, for example, the article “Lun jie de haochu 論激烈的胡處 (On the advantages of radicalism), Zhongguo baihuabao, no. 6, 13.1.1904, reprinted in Zhang Nan 張楠 and Wang Renzhi 王人之 (ed.), Xin hui yu qian xin hui jian zhuan zhuan 新會與前新會簡轉 (Selection of contemporary articles from the decade before the 1911 revolution; Beijing, 1962, 2 vols., two sections each), I, 1.888-889. Mentioned in Bemal, Liu Shih-p’ei, p. 373, fn 46, and Peter Zarrow, Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture, New York, 1990, p. 271, fn 20.


in the west. By trying to show that each of these disciplines had existed in China at least as long as in Europe, he implicitly explained to the reader, how he intended to invigorate the supposed tradition of Chinese scholarship: by collecting and analysing every bit of information out of the old-text and new-text classics, out of the Confucian tradition and Non-Confucian tradition, out of official and unofficial histories, out of old and new sources, out of the interpretive schools of Song- and Han-learning, or, in short, by using all facets of the Chinese intellectual tradition to support his argument.\textsuperscript{17}

With regard to the causal chain of research, separation, transformation, utilization and preservation we have to understand that Liu Shipei, while referring to every aspect of traditional Chinese scholarship, nevertheless saw his and his compatriots task as the same as that of the ideal traditional scholar: taking the whole of tradition and customs, analysing them critically, separating the wheat from the chaff, utilizing the thus extracted wisdom in order to reveal the defects of political and social practice, thereby preserving this very wisdom for later generations. Thus in the “Guocui xuebào fakānci” 国粹學報發刊辭 (Introductory remarks to the Guocui xuebao) which, in my opinion, was written by Liu Shipei,\textsuperscript{18} one finds the following definition of xuebào 學報 (scholarship): “[Real] scholarship means to exhibit thorough understanding (xuebào suǒ yào yuàn bié yì 學報所以觀 debería), [...] But ‘exhibiting thorough understanding’ doesn’t simply mean to practice the peripheral techniques (wéi 末) of evidential research (xùn gù 訓古) and to couch [one’s thoughts] in ornamental phrases (dìng zhāng 词章), or to merely follow one individual’s philosophy. [To really exhibit thorough understanding means nothing less than] having a complete hold of the [teachings] of the 100 philosophical schools (yōngguān haijiá 綜貫百家), penetrating deeply into present and past (bùtòng jīngyǔ 博通今古), understanding all the different currents [of traditional thought] and their sources (dòng liú suǒ yuàn 洞流索源), and [thereby] illuminating their substance and translating it into action (míng tì dà yòng 明體達用).”\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17} In my opinion it is not right to translate the article “Zhoumo xueshu shì xu” as “Introduction to the Schools of Thought at the End of the Chou Dynasty,” see Bernal, Liu Shipei p, p. 106. The article Zhoumo xueshu shì xu was no “Introduction to the Schools of Thought,” which would have amounted to a Xue'an 業案, but an Introduction to the different strains of thought in the whole of different schools, arranging them by disciplines, not by schools. It is also not right to say that for the Guocui-Group “Confucianism was an equivalent … to the stifling medieval church,” ibid., p. 106. They for sure didn’t see Confucius as a reformer, or, to speak in terms of National Essence, as the main source of spirit in Chinese tradition, but by placing his portrait, even in front of the one of Laozi and in contrast to the collection Huangdi hou, on the first page of the first issue of the Guocui xuebao, they revealed themselves as fervent admirers not only of the initial deeds performed at the beginning of time by Huangdi, but also of the sheer act of editing the classics and thereby transmitting the knowledge of old times performed by Confucius. Huang Jie wrote in his “Guocui xuebao xu” 國粹學報序 (Introduction to the Guocui xuebao): “I am marred by the thought, that my country is no country [any more], and that my teachings are no teachings [any more]. Whoever wants to bring up the teachings of the eastern and the western continents does it in trying to be objective [in his evaluation]. But I, by researching [into these variant teachings] want to be subjective, hoping to be able to revive the teachings of our Bakhsh race, the teaching of Huangdi, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Zhou Gong and Confucius.” See Guocui xuebao (reprint), I: 16 (reprinted in Taipei: Wenhai CBS, 1970).

\textsuperscript{18} Liu Shipei is the only co-founder, who didn’t write a xu (Introduction).

\textsuperscript{19} See Guocui xuebao (reprint), I:7.

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The Article “Guxue chu yu shiguan lun”

If we now look at the article “Guxue chu yu shiguan lun” - 古学出於史官論 (All Learning in Antiquity Originated from the Official Scribe), we will find that it fits exactly into this definitional scheme. First we have to recognize that this essay on the shiguan, the official scribe, is not included in the section Shipian 資鑑 (Essays on Historiography), but in the section Xuepian 學篇 (Essays on Scholarship). Why? There is a simple answer to the question: the article is not in the history section, because it wasn’t meant to be about historiography. This relatively short article was clearly meant to be an introduction to the series of five articles that followed it in consecutive issues and in the same section: the “Introduction into the History of Scholarship at the End of the Zhou Dynasty” (Zhounuo xuexu shi xu). Nevertheless the article “All Learning in Antiquity Originated from the Official Scribe” still had a strong historiographical tendency, not only, as I will show, by calling upon the modern shi to take on a bird’s-eye view of Chinese history rather than binding himself to the ideology of one philosophy or one dynasty, but also by pleading for all historical wisdom—the unified wisdom of the whole Chinese tradition—to be made accessible to the common people instead of its being hidden away like an esoteric treasure.

Liu Shipei’s hero here was Gong Zizhen 金自珍 (1792-1841). In the “Introductory remarks to the Guocui xuebao” Liu had already written about him and Zhang Xuecheng 張學曾 (1738-1801), who is also mentioned in the “Guxue chu yu shiguan lun,” but by far doesn’t occupy such a prominent place as Gong: “In the 2000 years since the beginning of the Han Dynasty the different schools of Confucian scholarship developed while scrutinizing each other. Though sometimes their influence waxed or waned, still each one of these different schools flourished at one time or another. But all the other traditional teachings were never heard of again. Only when Zhang Xuecheng and Gong Zizhen rose to prominence in western Zhejiang Province did they find out about the perfected doctrines of the guanshou 官守 and the shiru 師儒 (i.e. the scribes responsible for translating accumulated knowledge into practice, and the scribes responsible for the transmittance of the knowledge, respectively), by extracting the subtleties out of the Yiwenzhi 藝文志 of the Hanshu 漢書. [The erudition of Zhang Xuecheng and Gong Zizhen was] a big step forward, even compared to Zheng Qiao’s 统志.20 At the very end of his article “Guxue chu yu shiguan lun” Liu Shipei reveals the reason for writing it in the first place. He says: “[In his study Gushi gouchen 古史究論 (Deep Inquiry into the Nature of the Official Scribe of Antiquity)] Gong Zizhen holds that [the deeds] of the official scribe in the Zhou Dynasty were at one and the same time beneficial and disastrous (gong xiang si 金向是). If one wished to evaluate [the merits of the official scribe] from today’s perspective, who would deny the validity of [Gong Zizhen’s] judgement. That is the reason why I [i.e. Liu Shipei] still want to discuss the history of the Zhou Dynasty, even at the risk of invoking all the sad emotions stirred up through the remembrance of

These words are not only clear illustration of the fact that Liu Shipei really saw his article "Guxue chu yu shiguan lun" as an introduction to his series "Zhounuo xueshu shi xu," but, moreover, that the ambivalent position of the official scribe in antiquity should be seen even more critically at his, Liu Shipei's, time, than at Gong Zizhen's. To understand why Liu Shipei thought so, one must first consider what Liu Shipei, in following Gong Zizhen, meant by the ambivalence of the official scribe. Liu Shipei cites Gong Zizhen as follows: "Of the hereditary officials at the time of the Zhou Dynasty, the one holding the highest position was the Scribe. If not for the Scribe, there would not have been any language (yue 言言), if not for the Scribe, there would not have been any textual expression (wenzi 文字), and if not for the Scribe, there would not even have been any human relationships (renlu 人倫) or other ordinary matters of life (riyong 日用)."

It was exactly this thesis, formulated in Gong Zizhen's Gushi gouchen, that Liu Shipei tried to prove in his article. Taking Herbert Spencer's view of all cultures as having originated in archaic ancestor worship as his starting point, Liu delineates the official scribe's function as consisting originally, that is in very high antiquity, of the preservation and passing down of the deeds and words of revered ancestors form one dynasty to another. Liu Shipei holds that: "The high esteem for precedents results from the adoration of human ghosts [i.e. the ancestors]. The veneration of Laws and Decorum (fa yi 法儀) results from the high esteem for precedents. Written down, one calls it lawtexts (fa 法), official documents (shu 簿), and ritual books (li 敬), and the implementation of writing it down was the task of the shi (shizhi 史職)."

Variously citing Gong Zizhen, Liu Shipei then goes on to prove that the Six Classics (liu yi 六藝), the nine pre-Qin philosophical schools (jiu lin 九流), the schools of magical calculations (shushu 術數) and the traditions of occultism, divination and medical practice (fangji 方技) were all first developed by the official scribe, the shiguan. So on the one hand, it becomes perfectly clear that Liu Shipei recalls with great sorrow the times when all traditional wisdom was still united in one hand: in the hand of the official scribe. But on the other hand, Liu Shipei saw the defects of this institution of antiquity: by jealously guarding the knowledge of the early rulers' and cultural heroes' words and deeds against the ruler and the people of their own times, the official scribes, according to Liu, became the pretentious bearers of esoteric wisdom, comparable to the class of priests in the old Greek or Jewish tradition and to the Brahmans of India. For Liu Shipei there were two consequences of this exclusiveness: one was the dulling of the minds of the common people, the other was the total obstruction of private scholarship (sixue 私學).

So, coming back to the question why Liu Shipei thought that the ambivalent position of the official scribe in antiquity should now be seen even more critically than at Gong Zizhen's time, I would suggest the following answer: what Liu Shipei wanted to present was in fact a modern concept of the preservation of national essence: sensing the dangers inherent in a complete separation from reality and from the problems of every day life and

21 See Guoxueluo (reprint), I:68.
22 Ibid., I:68.
23 Ibid., I:61.
25 Ibid., I:67-68.
26 Ibid., I:68.
politics, Liu Shipei, with his critical position vis-à-vis the officials scribe’s exclusiveness (he calls it “the tyranny of scholarship [xueshu zhuanzhi 學術專制]) implicitly demands the opening up of traditional wisdom to all people. This idea had been vigorously formulated by Tang Caichang, Wang Kangnian and other reformers since the end of the 19th century under the formula of kai minzhi 開民智 (open up popular wisdom). But at the same time Liu Shipei was also pleading for politically independent scholarship and politically influential scholars who, like the shiguan in high antiquity, would see the whole of tradition as a unity with different facets. In my opinion, this was clearly an attempt to establish an ethical guide for the preservation of national essence, but was at the same time also arguing against Zhang Binglin’s ideal of puoxue 樸學 (pure scholarship) and against the traditional dynastic way of writing history. As early as 1904, in his article “Xin shi pian” (On the Renewal of Historiography), Liu Shipei had already reacted to Liang Qichao’s demand for the nationalization of historiography with the lament: “What in China has traditionally been called ‘historiography’ is merely the recording of the matters of one family and one name (ji yi jia yi xing zhi shi 记一家一姓之事).” Now, in 1905, with his praise for the complete scholarship of high antiquity and with the wish to see this applied to the whole of Chinese history, Liu Shipei, in his article on the official scribe, too, made a strong appeal to unify and thus nationalize Chinese historiography.

27 Ibid., 1:68.
28 See jingcheng ribao, 2.8.1904.