

DOCTORAL THESIS

章太炎、劉師培《春秋左傳》學研究: 清末民初經學轉型抉微 黃梓勇

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章太炎、劉師培《春秋左傳》學研究：

清末民初經學轉型抉微

**A New Discussion on the Transition of Classical Studies
in Late Qing and Early Republic China: The Case of
Zhang Taiyan's and Liu Shiwei's Scholarship on the *Zuo*
*Commentary***

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提 要

中國經學發展到清末已經難以維持其內在價值，尤其當時學人面對西方知識的衝擊，過去經以載道、因經求道的古老信仰，已然動搖。本文旨在研究清末民初章太炎和劉師培的《左傳》學，通過分析二者治《左傳》學之演變過程，一方面希望釐清過往模糊不清的古文經學概念；另一方面則希望此過程能展示在清末民初經學沒落的大背景之下，除了廖平、康有為等人嘗試將經學神聖化，力圖為經學注入新活力外，章太炎、劉師培亦各自提出兩條截然不同的經學進路，嘗試在新時代下為經學轉型努力。

學界長久以來偏重研究清代以《公羊》學為中心的今文經學，往往簡單將研究《左傳》的學者歸入古文經學一類，而忽略了所謂古文經學並不能充分說明當時經學思想的狀況。本文即以重新審視向被標籤為古文經學家的章太炎和劉師培切入點，發現章太炎由治《左傳》而發展出一套經學史學化觀念，而劉師培雖亦專治《左傳》，唯發展則為經學「守舊」觀念，此發現是以往將二氏的經學簡單歸納為古文經學所未能描述的。

本文共分七章除第一章緒論及第七章結論外，正文部分共五章：第二章分析章太炎早年的《左傳》學及清代《公羊》學之間的關係，從中看到章氏早年經學思想一方面受清代漢學求是理想所牽，另一方面則受清末政治環境所制。第三章以重新審視古文經學觀念為中心，分析章太炎「古文經學」的建立過程及此概念與學界沿用的古文經學之間的分別。第四章討論章太炎晚年實踐「古文經學」出現落差的情況及原因。第五章主要探討劉師培前期經學思想的模糊及矛盾情況，以修正過去學界敘述下劉師培學術史思想的一貫性。第六章探討劉師培後期經學所出現的經學「守舊」觀念。

Abstract

Canonical studies have been central to Chinese academic learning in traditional China. From the Han through the Qing dynasties, Chinese intellectuals generally believed that the ultimate Way (Tao 道) can be realized through comprehension of the textual meaning of the Confucian canons (Jing 經). When it comes to late Qing, the conventional learning of classics confronted the greatest challenges primarily from its exposure to the dissemination of Western culture. The late Qing intellectuals began to suspect that the studies of Chinese Classics, especially via textual and evidential research, could help attain the ultimate Way, and contemplated on reforming Chinese learning so as to protect its integrity. Among these scholars, Liao Ping (廖平) and Kang Youwei (康有為) laid emphasis on studying *Gongyang Commentary* (《公羊傳》) to protect Confucian values and to safeguard the studies of Chinese Classics, whereas, Zhang Taiyan and Liu Shipei, standing against Liao and Kang, advocated studying the *Zuo commentary*

This thesis examines Zhang Taiyan's and Liu Shipei's scholarship of the *Zuo Commentary* (《左傳》), and purports to reveal some hidden aspects of their scholarship which have gone relatively unnoticed for past decades. Scholars often regard Zhang and Liu as the advocates of the so-called “School of the Old-text Learning,” without giving concrete analysis to the concept of “Old-text learning” in the context of late Qing and early Republican period. An in-depth study of Zhang's and Liu 's scholarship of the *Zuo Commentary* will enable us to understand clearly what "Old-text learning" refers to in the discourses of Zhang and Liu, and in their dialogues with their contemporaries. Zhang Taiyan introduced the idea of historicizing the studies of the Chinese Classics, and Liu

Shipei, on the other hand, altered his stance from a Chinese classicist to that of a political conservative. These ideas and changes of Zhang and Liu are all related to their scholarship of the *Zuo Commentary*. In other words, a meticulous investigation of Zhang's and Liu's studies of the *Zuo Commentary* will enable us to comprehend the theoretical base of the school of "Old-text learning", which was formed among some late Qing reformers of school other than the ones represented by Liao Ping and Kang Youwei.

The present thesis contains seven chapters. Apart from Chapter 1, "Introduction," and Chapter 7, "Conclusion," Chapter 2 discusses the relationship between Zhang's scholarship of the *Zuo Commentary* in his early period and that of school of "Modern-text Learning" in the Qing dynasty. It reveals the hesitation and tension between pursuing truth (Qishi 求是) and pursuing practical applicability (Zhiyou 致用) in Zhang Taiyan's mind when he was young. Chapter 3 discusses how Zhang defines the concept of "Old-text Learning," and points out the difference between Zhang's definition of "Old-text Learning" and that which was frequently employed by his contemporaries. Chapter 4 deals with the contradiction between Zhang's idea of "Old-text Learning" and his practice of this idea in his own old age. Chapter 5 focuses on the ambivalence of Liu's attitude and opinion toward studies of the Chinese Classics in his early years. This chapter suggests that Liu Shipei was inconsistent in different works while presenting in his opinions about the studies of the Chinese Classics. Chapter 6 is about how and why Liu became more and more conservative in his attitude toward the studies of the Chinese Classics.

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