

小文臣與大宦官： 范仲淹與仁宗朝權閹閻文應之交鋒*

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導言

北宋名臣范仲淹(989–1052)一生正色立朝，不像一些文武臣僚，為了固權邀寵而交結內臣。他對那些得帝后寵信而權勢逼人的內臣毫不畏懼，屢與交鋒。正因如此，他在慶曆年間回朝主持改革時，憎厭他的權閹，就挾舊怨而跟與他有嫌隙的朝臣合謀，由仁宗(1022–1063在位)寵信的內臣藍元震(?–1077)出手，攻擊范仲淹等私結朋黨。范仲淹見仁宗半信半疑，事無可為，決定自請出守河東。¹

范仲淹早在仁宗親政初期任言官之時即與權閹交鋒，當時他官職低微，職不過是天章閣待制，官只是禮部員外郎，勉強入於侍從之列，卻敢於挑戰與宰相呂夷簡(979–1044)朋比、內臣地位最高的入內侍省都都知閻文應(?–1039)。閻文應不只在郭皇后(1012–1035)於明道二年(1033)十二月被廢事上推波助瀾，後來更在景祐二年(1035)十一月嫌疑謀害郭皇后。范仲淹首先聯同台諫言官，反對仁宗廢后，後來更不惜冒死為郭后雪冤，對閻文應窮追猛打，結果雖然不能將他繩之於法，但仍迫使仁宗將閻逐出朝廷，貶死於外。

范仲淹與閻文應之交鋒，可以說是北宋中前期一場甚具意義的小文臣對大宦官之爭。仁宗偏袒閻文應，首相呂夷簡又予以包庇，范仲淹本來勝算不高。然而他憑著一股正氣，拚了性命不顧，鏗而不捨進行抗爭，在眾多言官的支持下，也相信得

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¹ 筆者數年前曾撰文考論藍元震的家世事蹟，以及他攻擊范仲淹的動機與背景。見何冠環：〈北宋內臣藍元震事蹟考〉，載張希清(主編)：《鄧廣銘教授百年誕辰紀念論文集》(北京：中華書局，2008年)，頁502–12。

到元老宰相王曾(978–1038)的暗中支持，結果將這個權勢薰天的權閹及其養子御藥閻士良逐出朝廷。這是范仲淹政海生涯中打的一場大惡仗，為朝臣重挫內臣的氣焰，值得大書特書。²

關於范仲淹與呂夷簡的生平事蹟、功業與從政操守，以及二人在仁宗廢后事上的交鋒和積怨，王德毅四十年前的專論已詳細論述。王文也指出呂夷簡一方面對仁宗聲稱不交結內臣，實際上卻與閻文應朋比，打擊異己，間接助長閻文應幹出傷天害理的事。³

本文除了考述范仲淹在景祐年間痛擊閻文應事件的始末外，另一重點為考論閻文應這個較不為人留意的權閹的家世背景與生平事蹟，從而探討內臣在仁宗朝敢於作惡弄權的原委和環境，特別是閻文應的內臣「貴二代」或「閹二代」背景。另外，郭皇后被廢及後來含冤而死的個中曲折，筆者亦稍抒己見，猜測背後的隱衷。筆者近年從事宋代內臣個案研究，不過以前所寫的多是較正面、有事功而人品端正的內臣，⁴本文所論的卻是負面、為宋廷文臣所不齒的權閹閻文應，正好與前篇比較。篇幅所限，閻文應養父閻承翰(947–1014)及養子閻士良的事蹟從略。

A Power Struggle between Fan Zhongyan and Yan Wenying during the Reign of Emperor Song Renzong

(Abstract)

Ho Koon Wan

This article examines the relationship between civilian officials and eunuchs in the Northern Song dynasty with a special case study of the power struggle between Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052), a political reformer, and 閻文應 (?–1039), a senior eunuch. According to contemporary accounts, Empress Guo 郭皇后 (1012–1035) was deposed in 1033 after a dramatic confrontation with Emperor Song Renzong 宋仁宗 (r. 1022–1033). It was said that Yan had convinced the Emperor to depose the Empress. Upon learning about the news, Fan went to the palace with ten other officials in protest, but failed to get the Emperor's consent to reverse the decision. In 1035, the deposed Empress died of an unnatural cause. It was rumoured that Yan had in fact murdered the Empress. For unknown reasons, the Emperor refused to investigate the case even at the request of the officials. Fan again sought audience with the Emperor, demanding that Yan be punished. Under pressure, the Emperor finally gave in to the consensus opinion. Yan was dismissed from his post as Chief Eunuch, banished from the capital and was dead a few years later. Yan's downfall was indeed an uneasy victory for the civilian officials who fought against the eunuchs.

This article also looks at Yan's rise to power. Yan was the adopted son of Yan Chenghan 閻承翰 (947–1014), the Chief Eunuch during the reign of Emperor Song Zhenzong 宋真宗 (r. 997–1022). With blessings from his adopted father, Yan eventually won the trust of both the Regent Empress Dowager Liu 章獻劉太后 (r. 1022–1033) and Emperor Renzong. As a result, many senior civilian officials, including the prime minister, Lü Yijian 呂夷簡 (979–1044), had to bribe him for support. Together with his cohorts, Fan launched a severe campaign against Yan, calling him a petty man. The challenge eventually led to another continuing power struggle, this time between the prime minister and the officials, during the reign of Renzong.

關鍵詞： 范仲淹 閻文應 章獻劉太后 宋仁宗 郭皇后 呂夷簡 閻承翰

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