

# 北宋奉敕功臣碑誌的創作矛盾與張力 ——兼論蘇軾〈司馬溫公神道碑〉變體成因

(提要)

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北宋時期，與一般私請私作碑誌不同，少數宰執名將去世後，官方襲用前朝舊例，皇帝敕令翰林學士等人創作碑誌。奉敕作者敘述墓主仕履常會涉及複雜的人際關係與政治利益，作者會面臨喪家、帝王、墓主同僚、作者政敵等多方讀者，需要在揚勳、尊體、避禍之間求得最大平衡。這在創作時會受多組矛盾掣制，如實錄與諛墓的真假矛盾、官方與私家的立場矛盾、尊體與變體的守變矛盾。

基於上述綜論，本文以個案闡明政治鬥爭對奉敕碑誌的影響。通過抉隱蘇軾為司馬光撰寫的〈司馬溫公神道碑〉創作語境，認為蘇軾在創作此碑前後，遭臺諫官以「公然欺罔二聖」等罪名猛烈抨擊。此時創作〈溫公碑〉，評價司馬光在神宗、哲宗兩朝的際遇差異，面臨巨大的書寫難度與敘事張力。故蘇軾以論代敘，既頌美今上，又歸美先帝，認為前後君主皆「知公」，致使〈溫公碑〉成為一篇變體碑文。

**關鍵詞：** 北宋 奉敕功臣碑誌 蘇軾 司馬光 司馬溫公神道碑

# Contradiction and Tension in the Making of Imperially Commissioned Epitaphs of Outstanding Officials in the Northern Song Dynasty—with a Discussion of How Su Shi's Epitaph for Duke Sima Broke Existing Literary Norms

( Abstract )

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In the Northern Song Dynasty, when certain prime ministers and famous generals died, the reigning emperor would commission Hanlin Academicians, or men in similar offices, to write epitaphs for them that were markedly different from those of commoners, in accordance with the tradition of preceding dynasties. This was no easy task for the authors as, in their narrative of the career of the deceased, they could not avoid touching on complex interpersonal relationships and political interests. The authors had, moreover, to take into account multiple readers, including bereaved families, the emperor who had made the commission, the deceased's colleagues, the author's own political enemies and so forth. As a result, they needed to strike a balance, to the best of their ability, among honouring the deceased, following the norms and avoiding potential risks. In actual practice, however, the process of composition was influenced by various contradictory forces, such as whether to depict the life experiences of the deceased in a straightforward fashion or to mention only their successes and achievements, whether to make a record from an official perspective or from a private and subjective one, and whether to abide by the stylistic norms or to depart from them.

Based on a comprehensive overview of the above, this article seeks to illustrate the impact of political disputes on the making of imperially commissioned epitaphs, using the specific case of the epitaph for Sima Guang, posthumously titled Duke Wenzheng, which Su Shi was commissioned to write. Delving into the background of this piece, the author considers that Su Shi repeatedly underwent impeachment by members of the censorate, for his "openly calumniating Empress Dowager Gao and Emperor Zhezong," and other crimes in the process of writing the epitaph. Under these circumstances, the creative process became fraught with

great difficulty and tension as Su Shi attempted to evaluate Sima Guang's saliently different political encounters in the two reigns of Emperor Shenzong and Emperor Zhezong. For this reason, the author contends, Su Shi took the initiative to express his own ideas through argumentation, instead of using narration, and praised both the reigning Emperor Zhezong and his predecessor Emperor Shenzong, saying that both Emperors "understood Sima Guang." This made the epitaph stylistically different from other imperially commissioned epitaphs.

**Keywords:** Northern Song Dynasty  
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Su Shi Sima Guang Epitaph for Duke Sima