The Changing Characteristics of the Shi in Ancient China and Their Significance

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ABSTRACT

In Chinese history the shi class has been conventionally understood as a cultured group who combined government service and intellectual pursuits. Yet, it should be noted that the shi class underwent a process of historical evolution before acquiring these characteristics. This study explores the changing nature of the shi class in ancient China, focusing on their characteristics during the Qin and early Han empires by using the Shuihudi Qinjian 睡虎地秦簡 (Qin bamboo slips of Shuihudi) and the Yuelu shuyuan cang Qinjian 嶽麓書院藏秦簡 (Qin strips stored at the Yuelu Academy), published in 1975 and 2011 respectively. Previous studies before the discovery of these excavated documents stressed the military and Legalist characteristics of the contemporary shi class. Yet the analysis of these new materials demonstrates that in addition to Legalist skills, members of the shi class were required to internalize Confucian and Taoist virtues. The new qualifications required of the officials under the Qin legalist government are well defined in the “Yushu” 語書 (Letter) of the Shuihudi Qinjian, which distinguished “good officials” (liangli 良吏) from “evil officials” (eli 惡吏) on the basis of their service to the centralized, unified state. Still, recently published documents such as the “Weilizhidao” 為吏之道 (The Way of the official) of the Shuihudi Qinjian, and the “Weilizhiguanjiqianshou” 為吏治官及黔首 (Official governing office and commoners) included in the Yuelu shuyuan zang Qinjian reveal more eclectic selection criteria for officials, who also had to be well versed in Confucian ideals of government.

Keywords: Shuihudi Qinjian 睡虎地秦簡 (Qin strips at Shuihudi), Yuelu shuyuan cang Qinjian 嶽麓書院藏秦簡 (Qin strips stored at the Yuelu Academy), Zhangjiashan Hanjian 張家山漢簡 (Han strips at Zhangjia Mountain), “Weilizhidao” 為吏之道 (The Way of the official), junli 軍吏 (Military official), xianli 賢吏 (Worthy official)

Introduction

Since the publication of the Shuihudi Qinjian 睡虎地秦簡 (Qin bamboo slips from Shuihudi) in 1975, the importance of excavated documents in the study of ancient China has been highly rated because they are able to supplement documents transmitted in other ways, or even show the need to revise prevailing understandings of Chinese history. Moreover, the 2011 publication of the Yuelu shuyuan cang Qinjian 嶽麓書院藏秦簡 stored in the Yuelu Academy in Hunan Province has brought new light to many aspects of ancient China. The present study explores the changing characteristics of the shi class during the period of the Qin and early Han as revealed in such excavated documents.
The role of the *shi* class varied as time passed, the oldest being service as officials in charge of punishments and jails. During the Spring and Autumn period, the *shi* class occupied the lower ranks of the aristocracy, mostly serving their superiors, such as *qing* (ministers) and *dafu* (high officials). During the Warring States period (403–221 BCE), *shi* was a generic term referring to the learned and trained class who served in varied roles like *xueshi* (scholars), *yongshi* (warriors), *fangshi* (practitioners of occult techniques), and *ceshi* (strategists). The *shi* class was referred to as *youshi* (wandering scholars/knights), until the Qin unification (221 BCE), and as *shidafu* (scholar officials) from the Qin and Han times. They were known to combine scholarly pursuits with government service. Yet, as the designation of the nature of the *shi* class has varied in different ages, it is not easy to pinpoint its historical identity. Nonetheless, as a cultured segment of society, the *shi* class continued in the role of custodians and creators of political and cultural traditions. By the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, the hereditary status of the *shi* class as the lowest order of aristocracy had been undermined, since increasing numbers of commoners had been promoted to the rank of the *shi* as a reward for their outstanding service to the feudal lords.

Under the unified empires of the Qin and Han, the vastly extended commandery-prefecture (*junxian*) system of rule required competent functionaries with administrative expertise. Consequently, the *shi* class came to assume the role of carrying out the commands of the ruler, marking the shift in their status from *youshi*, who were free, to *jiachen* (household members), who were subordinated to one sovereign, as reflected in the aforementioned Qin excavated documents.

The conventional theory about the characteristics of the *shi* class in the early Han, based on the documents then available, highlighted their anti-Legalist struggle, which paved the way for the rise of the *rushi* (Confucian scholars/
officials). But recently excavated documents such as the “Weilizhidao” 爲吏之道 (The Way of the official) of the Shuihudi Qinjian, and the “Weilizhiguan jiqianshou” 爲吏治官及黔首 (Official governing office and commoners) included in the Yuelu Qinjian make possible a new interpretation of the characteristics of the shi class in the Qin and early Han. The qualifications for selecting officials described in these Qin documents make it less convincing to present the rushi of the Han as starkly contrasting with the strict legalistic officials of the Qin. The present study aims to shed new light on the characteristics of the shi class during the Qin and earlier periods by examining the recently excavated Qin documents.

Traditional Concepts of the Shi and Their Significance

It has been generally accepted that the tradition of the shi class evolved from ancient China down to the 20th century in a close relationship with changes in politics, economy, society, culture, and thought (Yu Yingshi 1987; 1992). In ancient China, the shi class had transformed in accordance with the fundamental changes in the order of society as it shifted from the familial system based on kinship ties to the commandery-prefecture (junxian) system of centralized bureaucratic rule. As this paper points to the radically changed nature of shi with the institution of the commandery-prefecture (junxian) system, a brief survey of the changes in that terms meaning up to that time is needed. Corresponding to the original meaning of shi as an adult male, the Liji 禮記 (Records of Rituals) indicated that they were to conduct “farm work” (nenggeng 能耕) and the Yantielun 盐鐵論 (Discussions on Iron and Salt) that they were to engage in “warfare” (rongsshi 戎事). During the Shang-Zhou periods, the shi could “receive appointment” (shouming 受命) from the kings and princes, and therefore it served as a generic term to refer to the aristocratic officials who comprised the ruling warrior class. The shi, however, included not only the officials who received titles but also their descendants, implying a hereditary aristocratic status (Yan Buke 1996, 36-42). Given that the political hierarchy of the Western Zhou with the Son of Heaven or Zhou kings (tianzi 天子) at its apex delineated a descending scale of zhuhou 諸侯 (feudal lords), qing (ministers), dafu (high officials), and shi (officers) the shi referred to the lowest stratum of the ruling elite (Matsumaru 1970).

What was implied in the meaning of shi was the role assigned to it as a social class, as both the Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 (Explaining depictions of reality and analyzing graphs of words) and the Baihutongyi 白虎通義 (Comprehensive discussions in the White Tiger Hall) define its meaning in terms of the “duties” (shi 事) assigned to them. Thus it can be inferred that the tasks of the shi at the stage of

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8 Liji 禮記, “Biaojie” 表記 1492-1493; Guoyu 國語, “Qiyuer” 齊語二.
9 For shi as the lowest position in the aristocratic ruling group, see also Liji 禮記, “Wangzhi” 王制 and Mengzi 孟子, “Wanzhang xia” 萬章下.
10 Xu Xin 許慎, Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1963), 14.
clan society were fishing and hunting, and later farming. However, by the time of the Shang-Zhou the “business” of the shi changed to the conducting of public duties as hereditary officials in an aristocratic society. In short, the term shi eventually came to acquire its classical definition as referring to hereditary officials in charge of administration in the feudal states. Thus Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 described them as “men having [public] occupations” (youzhizhiren 有職之人).12

Until the Spring and Autumn period (771-446 BC) the shi were mentioned mainly in connection with their lowest position within the ruling stratum that had supported the Zhou kings (tianzi) or the feudal lords (zhuhou). In the Warring States period (475-221 BC), however, the shi were identified with their own merits and qualifications and therefore divorced from their standing in the feudal hierarchy. When the Gu Liangchuan 穀梁傳 (Gu Liang’s commentary on the Chunqiu) classifies the people (min 民) into the four categories of shimin 士民, shangmin 商民, nongmin 農民, and gongmin 工民, thus placing the shi as the highest ranked among “the people” rather than at the bottom of the aristocracy, it presents the transition of the shi as a result of social changes following the later Spring and Autumn era (Yu Yingshi 1980, 22). Moreover, the commentaries on this classification stress the shi’s qualifications as students and their aspirations to officialdom. Fan Ning 范寧 defines the shi as those who learn and practice the dao 道 (Way) and the arts, with the Baihu tongyi also describing the shi as conversant with precedent and therefore equipped with the ability to pass correct judgment on public issues.

By the late Warring States period the status of the shi was fundamentally defined by their employment by the ruler, although apart from looking for public advancement and receiving emoluments the shi also aspired to the perfection of their own dao. It became increasingly obvious that the ruler needed functionaries with skills to manage the ever complicated affairs of state, and therefore Mozi 墨子 (470-391 BC) argued that virtue and ability were necessary criteria for officials rather than heredity and familial ties with the ruler.13

During the Warring States period, each state reformed its political structure in line with centralization and preparations for war, which entailed the transformation of the shi class from theoreticians who were free in thought, status, and movement, to subordinates of provincial sovereigns. Thus the shi with administrative skills replaced the feudal aristocrats and their kinsmen who had held power until the Spring and Autumn era.14 As a bureaucratic role became central to the shi, they began to be referred to as shidafu in the Qin and early Han—the term combining their dual functions of scholarship and government service. In the age spanning the Warring States to the Qin and Han unifications—the age of the first unification wars of China—the principal role of the shi as shidafu was above all to provide the ideological doctrines and programs to unify China

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12 Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, Rizhilujishi 日知錄集釋, juan 卷 7, “Shiheshi” 士何事, 336.
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within an imperial system. Regarding the characteristics of the *shi* situated in this revolutionary transition, conventional views have stressed the ideological dichotomy within the *shi* class; the one faction supporting Legalist control of the empire in collaboration with imperial rulers, while the other faction predicated on Confucian tenets challenged the autocratic rule of the imperial rulers. For example, Liu Zehua finds the reason for such conflict in the contradiction engendered by the First Emperor’s totalitarian control and cruel suppression of the liberal tradition of the *shi* class as manifested in the infamous events of the “burning of books and execution of literati” (*fenshukengru* 焚書坑儒) (Liu Zehua 1992, 5-19). Yu Yingchun also contends that the Qin state’s control of movement and suppression of the *shi* drove them to join the anti-Qin camp consisting of the remaining aristocrats from the Six States and local strongmen (Yu Yingchun 2000, 33). Hence, in previous studies, the characteristics of the *shi* in the Qin and early Han was typically explained in terms of a conflict between totalitarian state power and a struggling *shi* class, who were identified as *rushi* (Confucian scholars).

However, this conventional view on the characteristics of the *shi* in the Qin and early Han needs some revision. Such a change is necessary because the excavated documents from the corresponding periods reveal that the characteristics of the Qin officials were much more eclectic than previous studies have acknowledged, even though they basically followed the Legalist approach in administration of the empire. Confucian virtues were also demanded of the Qin officials as an integral part of their qualifications.

**Characteristics of the *shi* / *li* 史 / 厲 Seen through the *Shuihudi Qinjian* and the *Yuelu Qinjian***

Following unification by the Qin, the *shi* employed by rulers determined to build a centralized power system were subject to state control that limited the freedom of movement and thought that had been enjoyed by their Warring States predecessors, the *youshi*. After the Qin’s unification, the *shi* were no longer allowed to move freely in search of office and to spread their ideas about government, as shown in the “*Youshilü*” 游士律 (Statutes for the *youshi*) in the *Shuihudi Qinjian*.

When the *youshi* reside in the prefecture (*xian* 縣) without credentials, they will be fined one suit of armor by the prefecture where they dwell, to be charged at the end of the year. If someone lets the old Qin residents leave [the country] or be expunged from the [population] register, he will be punished with *guixin* 鬼薪 [a form of hard labor] in case of them being *shangzao* 上造 rank and above, or be punished with infliction [of corporal punishment] and *chengdan* 城旦 [another form of hard labor] in case they are of *gongshi* 公士 rank and lower.\(^{15}\)

The aim of the punishment of *youshi* who had no credentials was strict control over their movements, especially across the country’s border (Song Chin 2012, 41-44),

\(^{15}\) In translating the passage, both Korean and English translations have been consulted. See Yun Chae-sŏk 尹在碩, trans. (2010) and A.F.P. Hulsewé (1985).
as evinced by the regulation concerned with reporting domestic defectors in the *Shuihudi Qinjian*, 16 and the Qin deportation of foreigners reported in the *Shiji* 史記. 17 These regulations restricting the movement of the population reflect a radically changed milieu from the Warring States period when enterprising figures like Lü Buwei呂不韋 freely crossed state borders (Yi Sŏng-gyu 1995, 68-69).

The prohibition against the free movement of the *youshi* was intended, above all, to exclude from the government those *youshi* whose theories ran counter to the ruler’s favored doctrine and instead to secure the service of those who would implement his will. The following episodes illustrate the misgivings and aversion the *shi* harbored toward the totalitarian and militaristic position of the Qin ruler.

Liao繚 of Daliang大梁 (later Commandant of Qin) perceptively anticipated that when King Zheng政 of Qin would “have his way in the world, the whole world would be held captive by him.” So Liao ran away, but was stopped by King Zheng, who adopted his plans. 18

Lu Zhonglian魯仲連 of Qi declared that “This Qin is a land that casts aside propriety and principle, and exalts merit that is measured in human heads. Its king handles his knights by trickery; he treats his commoners as slaves. If he wantonly assumes the title of emperor or even worse, assumes rule over the world, I have would have no choice left but to drown myself in the East Ocean; I could not bear to be his subject.” 19

It is evident that under the totalitarian political structure of the powerful Qin, the *shi*, when seeking official posts, suffered enormous pressure to conform to state policies, unlike their predecessors during the Warring States period. The pressure to be borne by the *rushi* 儒士 (Confucian scholars/officials) must have been particularly severe, because their tenets of government ran squarely counter to the Legalist principles adopted by the Qin (Yu Yingchun 2000, 13-32). In a banquet attended by seventy academicians to wish for the emperor’s long life at the Xianyang咸陽 Palace, the Confucian-inspired critique of Chunyu Yue淳于越 leveled against Zhou Qingchen’s 周靑臣 praise for the empire’s commandery-prefecture system may well have been the swan song of the last non-conformist *shi* in the face of the empire’s imperviousness. The identity demanded of the *shi* in the unified empire was more that of a legal teacher rather than that of a liberal scholar, as Li Si李斯 suggests. 20

In different [previous] times, the feudal lords struggled against each other, [and therefore]

16 “Falü wenda”法律問答 in *Shuihudi Qinjian*睡虎地秦簡, 104, 125.
17 *Shiji* 史記, juan卷 6, “Qin shihuang benji” 秦始皇本紀, 230.
18 *Shiji* 史記, juan卷 6, “Qin shihuang benji” 秦始皇本紀, 230. This translation is quoted from Tsai-fa Cheng, et al., 1994.
19 *Shiji* 史記, juan卷 83, “Lu Zhonglian Zou Yang liezhuan” 魯仲連邹陽列傳, 2461. Translation is quoted from Tsai-fa Cheng et al., vol. 7.
20 *Shiji* 史記, juan卷 6, “Qin shihuang benji” 秦始皇本紀, 254-55. The translation is quoted from Tsai-fa Cheng et al., 1994.
they attracted sojourning scholars with rich rewards. Now the world has been pacified and
laws and ordinances come from one source. ... and gentlemen learn the laws, ordinances,
and prohibitions. ... all songs, documents, and writings of the hundred schools, which
some people in the world have ventured to preserve, should be brought to the governors and
commandants to be thrown together and burned. Anyone who ventures to discuss songs
and documents will be executed in the marketplace. ... If one desires to learn laws and
ordinances, he should make the legal officials his teacher.

Li Si, though he himself had been a member of the shi class from the state of
Chu, was determined to put an end to the era of liberalism when the youshi could
freely express their political ideas before an audience of feudal lords. As indicated
in his proposal above, the role of the shi was definitely limited to learning certain
types of knowledge and the practice of the empire's universal "laws, ordinances,
and prohibitions." The shi were no longer allowed to remain aloof from the laws
and regulations of the government, but were called on to study them and put them
into practice in administration. Any criticism against the state laws and policies
was considered a challenge to the authority of the ruler of the empire, resulting in
the infamous incident known by the phrase, "burning of the books and execution
of scholars." Youshi other than legal experts had to remain outside the government,
and, being unable to find allies within the government, were left, along with the
remnants of local lords and magnates, to await the arrival of a new era.

Li Si's memorial calling for totalitarian control of thought and the uniform
application of laws and ordinances was immediately accepted by the First Emperor.
Li Si urged that the operation of the centralized ruling system based on such laws
and ordinances should be in the hands of those "officials who were made to act
like legal teachers" (yili weishi 以吏為師). The origin of such officials were the
shi followers of the Legalist school of the Warring States era, but now they were
subordinated directly to the ruler of the empire as functionaries, not as advisers
or guests. Until recent, little was known about the details of the careers of such
officials employed in the Qin Empire. However, the discovery of the Shuihudi
Qinjian, particularly the sections edited as the "Yushu" 語書 (Letter) and the
"Weilizhidao" (The Way of the official) have shed new light on them, affording a
better understanding of what they entailed.

The Shuihudi Qinjian comprizes two groups of writings, the administrative
and legal rules of the Qin, and essays about the behavior desired of officials.
Though dated to the time of the Qin unification, these texts exemplify a
longstanding tradition of legal administration developed in the state of Qin
following the Warring States era. The administrative and legal rules constitute the
largest part of the the Shuihudi Qinjian, detailing the duties and legal provisions
required of working-level officials in the administration. The "Yushu" and the
"Weilizhidao" belong to the group of essay writings. They are basically lists of
moral admonitions aimed to improve the quality and behavior of officials in charge
governing the people. The officials in the documents were ideally equivalents
of what Li Si referred to as "officials who were made to act like legal teachers."
As a matter of fact, the man known as Xi 喜, the occupant of the eleventh tomb,
which contained the *Shuihudi Qinjian*, occupied a succession of local administrative and penal posts in commanderies and prefectures, including Anlu xian 安陸縣, which suggests that the documents served like guiding principles in discharging his official duties. The “Yushu” was a circular letter dated to the 20th year of the king of Qin (227 BCE), sent by Governor Teng 腾 of Nan Commandery 南郡 to his subordinates in the administrative units of xian 縣 and dao 道, in the former territory of the state of Chu.

For the main points of the “Yushu,” Governor Teng clearly defined the ideal of local administration as transforming the people’s customs through consistent application of the laws and ordinances. To achieve this goal, he emphasized the crucial role of “prefects, sub-prefects, and lower officials” who should carefully guard against the transgression of laws and punish without fail those who violated them. “If they are ignorant, they are unfit for their task. If they know and do not dare to prosecute, they are dishonest.” All these failings of local officials amounted to disloyalty to the ruler, thus constituting serious crimes.22 A brief essay appended to Teng’s letter describes the characteristics of good officials (liangli 良吏) and evil officials (eli 惡吏).

During the Warring States period a distinction among individual youshi 可以 be made by their respective ideological orientations (for example, Confucian or Legalist), but the standards applied to distinguish good officials from evil officials were completely different. These standards tested the required qualifications of officials in fulfilling their duties under the rule of law, such as a good knowledge of the laws and ordinances, job expertise, and whether they showed a concerned and cooperative attitude in their work. Besides, good officials should possess such virtues as honesty, loyalty, sincerity, fair-mindedness, and self-reflection, which may well be viewed as personal moral qualities. However, it should be noted that these virtues are presented as ethics required for their work, rather than as the products of self-cultivation. Moreover, “clear knowledge of laws and ordinances” (mingfalüling 明法律令) was laid down as the first and foremost qualification for good officials, emphasizing that they were basically legal experts, as Li Si meant them to be.

There is no question that the unified Qin officials were viewed by the ruler as foot soldiers executing the laws and ordinances of the empire to the fullest, and that they were obliged to defer to the will of the ruler, in sharp contrast to the youshi of the Warring States period, whose relationship with the ruler had been much more flexible. Moreover, the officials themselves, just like the general population, were included in the state’s goal of total control, as they were condemned as “evil officials” (eli) when they erred in their application of the laws by following bad customs (Yuasa Kunihiro 1995). Thus, in the “Yushu,” Governor Teng set forth not only the qualities of good officials necessary to enable the rule of law to penetrate to the lowest local levels, but also the standards to rid the state of evil officials who

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21 *Shuihudi Qinjian* 睡虎地秦簡, “Biannianji” 編年記, 6.
22 *Shuihudi Qinjian* 睡虎地秦簡, “Yushu” 語書.
stood in the way of legal administration. Arguably, the distinction between good and evil officials represents the central government’s attempt to exert its rule over local society, yet ironically it also betrays the obstacles it faced when applying its laws to local administration in a consistent and uniform manner.

In contrast to the consistent emphasis of the “Yushu” on the Legalist ideal of legal functionaries who were well versed in the laws (fa), statutes (lü), and ordinances (ling), the image of officials depicted in the “Weilizhidao” is not that clear-cut, though the document also belongs to the same era as the Qin unification. At the time of its discovery, its Legalist characteristics were stressed (Xiaogan 1976; Tian Changwu 1976), but more recent studies show its Confucian and Taoist characteristics (Ouyang Zhengren 2002, 273-81; Wei Qipeng 2001, 163-79). Still others characterize it as a text for training officials (Wu Fuzhu 1994; Wang Decheng 2008). The mixed ideological characteristics of the “Weilizhidao” represent the complex realities of the Qin unification period, when more than a single political philosophy was needed to embrace them, even though the Legalist ideas were set forth as the central philosophy of the unified empire. The Confucian, Legalist, and Daoist ideas reflected in the “Weilizhidao” are as follows (the serial number of each strip is marked between parentheses; consecutive text is written on different strips, in horizontal rows):

(a) Confucian ideas: loyalty/ filial piety/ benevolence/ affection (second row 38-41)
(b) Legalist ideas: fair and strict enactment of laws and ordinances/ clear definition of responsibilities (first row 7; second row 7, 9, 17, 32; third row 1, 4, 7, 44, 46; fifth 13)
(c) Daoist ideas: flexible attitude (first row 6, 8-9, 29-37)/ congeniality to the people (second row 50-51, third row 37-40, third row 51-fourth row 4, fourth row 41-43

The fact that a mixture of Confucian and Daoist as well as Legalist ideas can be seen in the “Weilizhidao” can be attributed to the pragmatic approach of a government that allowed for the supplementary roles of Confucianism and Daoism in running a newly unified empire. Moreover, some virtues and values espoused can hardly be essentialized as either Confucian or Daoist, as shown in the terms “jingjie zhengzhi” 精潔正直 (pure and honest) in the “Weilizhidao” and “lianjie” 廉潔 (uncorrupted) in the “Yushu,” both of which proclaimed the virtue of incorruptibility as an essential quality of officials. Both documents are eclectic in the virtues and values of good officials they propagate. Similar to the dichotomy of the “Yushu” between good and evil officials, the “Weilizhidao” proffered “five virtues” (wushan 五善) and “five misdemeanors” (wushi 五失) in assessing the qualifications of officials.

The five virtues of loyalty, incorruptibility, earnestness, goodness, and reverence may well be taken as Confucian virtues. Still, it is noteworthy that it is added that “These five achieved, great reward is assured,” thus grafting the Legalist usage of reward and punishment to the Confucian-sponsored virtues. From the passage, we may infer circumstances of the government when officials trained

23 Shuhudi Qinjian 睡虎地秦簡, “Yushu” 語書.
in Confucian virtues were rewarded by the state in a Legalist way. Likewise, the
precepts written on the strips (second 46-49) are eclectic. While the precept that
“As a ruler he is to be benevolent, as a subject he is to be loyal, as a father he is to
be caring, and as a son he is to be filial; this is the foundation of government” is
no doubt Confucian, the next precept that “the will [of the ruler] is to be followed
and the office is to govern. This is the principle of government” is Legalist in
orientation. This juxtaposition of arguably two conflicting ideas within the same
passage points to the eclectic qualifications required of officials at the time of Qin
unification. In short, the required qualities demanded of the officials in the real
world were much less Legalist than Li Si intended them to be.

Remarkably, when the term shi 士 was used as a single word, it carried the
meaning of ‘people’ (min 民) devoid of any meaning of ‘official’ or ‘man of service’
(liqu) unlike the compound term, youshi in pre-Qin usage. This is shown in such
phrases as “to belittle shi 士 (i.e., people), yet to value [material] treasures” (賤士
而貴貨貝), or “if one is good in speaking yet lax in action, no shi 士 (people) will
be attracted” (善言隋(惰)行 則士毋所比). Moreover, a phrase identical to the latter
appears in the recently-discovered “Weilizhiguanjiqianshou” 爲吏治官及黔首 included in the
Yuelu shuyuan zang Qinjian, but puts in place of shi 士 (people), the
term qianshou 黥首, which had the meaning of ‘commoner’ at the time of the Qin
unification: “To be good in speaking yet to be lax in action, no qianshou will be
attracted” (善言隋(惰)行 則黔首毋所比). Thus it can be argued that by the time of the Qin
unification the concomitant socio-
political changes had engendered a shift in the social status of the
shi class from warrior or low-ranked aristocrat to no better than commoner or member of the
general populace. This shift in the status category of shi in the pre-Qin aristocratic
hierarchy to that of an occupational function in the state is further indicated by the
meaning of “shiwu 士伍 in the Shuihudi Qinjian as the shi who till fields in the
state of Qin (Yun Chae-sŏk 1987, 165-66; Im Chung-hyŏk 2008, 175). Therefore, by
the time of the Qin unification the shi class had lost its character of a free-floating
elite, like the youshi in the Warring States era, and fallen to become subjects of
monarchical rule, thus being incorporated into the commoner category.

During the time of the Qing unification, the officials (li 吏) were
predominantly military in nature and largely devoid of the characteristics
of the youshi of the Warring States period and can be also identified in the
“Heilizhiguanciqianshou” included in the Yuelu Qinjian (Chen Songzhang 2009b,
79-83; Xiao Yongming 2009). The document also contains the following illustrative
examples of the moral ideals expressed in the “Weilizhiguanjiqianshou” that were
characteristic of Confucian and Daoist schools but outside the boundaries of the
Legalist school:

24 The document is called Zhenyan (箴言 Adage) in Chen Songzhang 陳松長 (2009: 79). For general
information about this document, see Chen Songzhang 陳松長 (2010).

25 As seen in the “Yushu” 語書, the terms, limin 吏民, li 吏, and min 民 are used interchangeably,
indicating the changing roles of the shi class after the Qin unification.
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[Confucian]
(1) “As a ruler he is to be benevolent, as a subject he is to be loyal, as a father he is to be caring, and as a son he is to be filial; Being superior to others, he is to be bright, being inferior to others, he is to be obedient, and being a friend to others, he is not to be in discord; being able to achieve this is the ultimate end. (# 1587)
(2) “To maintain reverence, deference, and propriety” (# 1567)/ To maintain reverence, and deference (# 1575)
(3) In the face of property, though seeing profits, not to strive to acquire wealth (# 1501)/ In the face of danger, though seeing death, not to strive [to escape] (# 854)
(4) Misfortune and good fortune are neighbors. (# 1529)

[Daoist]
(1) To conquer others is power; To conquer oneself is strength. To know others is wisdom; To know oneself is acuity. (#1544-#1548)

As seen in the “Yushu” and the “Weili zhi dao,” this document also stresses an eclectic approach of Legalist officials, which embraced Confucian and Daoist ideals, in clear contrast to Li Si’s 李斯 purist model of Legalist officials—“the official as legal master” (yili weishi 以吏爲師)—as espoused by his 213 BCE proposal to the First Emperor. Moreover, the eclecticism manifest in the document (i. e., “Weilizhiguan” 為吏治官) can be also verified by its citation of not a few passages from pre-Qin non-Legalist works, as follows;

(1) Laozi 老子, ch. 33, quoted with the only change being in the order of phrases in the “Weilizhiguan” (為吏治官 (#1544-#1588); “To conquer others is power; To conquer oneself is strength. To know others is wisdom; to know oneself is acuity.”
(2) “Weilizhidao” (second 50-51) quoted almost verbatim in the “Weilizhiguan” (#1501 and #854); “In the face of property, though Seeing profit, not to strive to acquire wealth/ In the face of danger, though seeing death, not to strive to escape.”
(3) Liji 禮記, “Quli” 曲禮 quoted with different wording but the same meaning in the “Weilizhiguan” (#1567 and #1575); “To keep reverence, deference, and propriety.”

Moreover, in espousing the moral precepts an obvious textual connection can be found between the “Weilizhiguan” and the “Weilizhidao,” as shown in the identical passages #1501 and #854 and an almost identical passage (#1587). In particular, the latter passage bears a close similarity in wording and meaning to the corresponding passage in the Great Learning (Daxue 大學), which emphasizes the fulfillment of the respective roles of ruler, subject, father, and son as the surest path to bring order to the state and the world: “As a sovereign, he rested in benevolence. As a minister, he rested in reverence. As a son, he rested in filial piety. As a father, he rested in kindness. In communication with his subjects, he rested in good faith.”

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26 The translation is quoted from James Legge, trans., 1972: 362.
Characteristics of shi in the Early Han: junli 軍吏 (military officials) and xianli 儉吏 (worthy officials)

Junli in the Title-Granting System

It is well known that the system of granting titles (jue 爵) according to military merit instituted by the Qin gave it a competitive edge in the contest to build a strong state during the Warring States period and ultimately to unify China through military campaigns. Liu Shao commented on the Qin system of granting titles as follows:

Based on old the system, the Qin implemented a system of granting military titles that were divided into hierarchical ranks. Out of all ordinary conscripts (gengzu 更卒) who were subject to corvée or military service, those who earned military merit were granted military titles, thus forming [a broad category of] military officials (junli 軍吏). The four ranks starting from the lowest up to the rank of bugeng 不更 constituted sub-categories of shi 士, while the five ranks starting from the rank of dafu 大夫 up to the rank of wudafu 五大夫 constituted sub-categories of dafu 大夫...

Liu Shao 呂劭 included in the shi group the four hierarchical ranks of gongshi 公士, shangzao 上造, zanniao 南喬, and bugeng 不更, and included into the dafu group the five hierarchical ranks of dafu 大夫, guandafu 官大夫, gongdafu 公大夫, gongcheng 公乘, and wudafu 五大夫. This division of the shi group and the dafu group into these hierarchical ranks can be also found in the “Ernianlüling” 二年律令 (Laws of two years) from the Zhangjiashan Hanjian 張家山漢簡 (Zhangjiashan 2001) of the early Han; “wudafu 五大夫 is comparable to [the official endowed with] 800 shi 石, gongcheng 公乘 is comparable to [the official endowed with] 600 shi 石, gongdafu 公大夫 and guandafu 官大夫 are comparable to [the official endowed with] 500 shi 石, dafu 大夫 is comparable to [the official endowed with] 300 shi 石. And bugeng 不更 is comparable to [the post of] youzhi 有秩, zanniao 南喬 is comparable to [the post of] doushi 斗食, shangzao 上造 and gongshi 公士 are comparable to [the post of] zoushi 佐史. From this regulation we learn that the Qin system of granting military titles was also used by the early Han. Moreover, Liu Shao also stated that “the [highest] ninth title is wudafu 五大夫,” indicating that all titles in the shi and dafu groups collectively belonged to the single category of junli (military officials).

As noted previously, such military officials from the shi and dafu groups formed the core of the local military officers who supported the Qin in its effort to defeat the six rival states (liuguo 六國). Later, in the early Han when the central and local lords were still allowed some degree of independence, the military officials (junli) served them more or less as private forces. The fact that the shi and dafu groups in the Qin and early Han period served as a military force can also be inferred from the accounts of such records as the Shiji 史記: “Gaodi 高帝 (the first emperor of the Former Han Dynasty, 247-195 BCE) led the shi and dafu

28 Shi 石 is a volume measure (typically of grain) of approximately 105 liters, or one large bushel.
groups in person to pacify the world, appointed provincial lords, and established himself as the ancestor of succeeding emperors.”

Considering the fact that the soldiers led by Gaodi or Gaozu 高祖 were basically disaffected conscripts, the shi and dafu groups under his command must have been low ranking military officers. Moreover, another statement in the Shiji that for the first twenty years of the early Han up to the reign of Wendi 文帝, when the conditions of the empire began to be settled, generals and high ministers were all military officials (junli 將軍) supports the view that the government officials given the titles of shi and dafu were of a military background.

That the shi and dafu groups in the Qin and early Han period originated from the masses of military or labor conscripts can be further verified by such taxation documents as household registers (huji 戶籍) included in the recently published Liye Qinjian 里耶秦簡 (Qin strips from Liye; Hunansheng ed., 2012) and Juyan Hanjian 居延漢簡 (Han strips from Juyan; Xie Guihua et al. 1987). Such household registers include some household heads with the titles of shi or dafu, indicating that they were subject to military and labor recruitment by the state, while their superiors holding titles of qing 卿 and above do not appear in the household registers (Du Zhengsheng 1990).

As the Han empire brought increasing stability and peace to its jurisdiction by eliminating potential sources of rebellious and independence movements, the system of granting titles (juezhi 爵制) according to military merits (jungong 軍功) initiated by the Qin in its military competition with other warring states outlived its usefulness and came to be abused by the state. The system showed signs of corruption and laxity, as the Han state became increasingly indiscreet in granting titles, as Chao Cuo 晁錯, witnessing the state’s bestowment of titles in return for grain contributions, lamented that “titles are at the disposal of the emperor, hence they can be awarded endlessly as his mouth speaks.” Chao’s observation testified to the new trend that lower classes like the shi group elevated themselves to higher status through wealth. The Han state’s imprudent issuing of titles to the people meant that they granted little social respect, to the extent of eliciting one complaint that “the people do not know what the titles are for, hence they are not afraid when deprived of them or happy when granted them. The titles have turned into empty pieces of paper.”

As the military merits associated with the title of shi were progressively disregarded in its bestowal, especially after the Qin unification, the shi were increasingly associated with bureaucratic talents, which in fact had long been an integral part of the qualifications for the shi since the time of the Zhou (c. 1046 BCE-256 BCE). The military functions of the shi were lost following the unification

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29 Shiji 史記, juan 卷 10, “Wendi ji” 文帝紀, 419.
31 Hanshu 漢書, juan 卷 24, “Shihuo zhi” 食貨志, 1134.
32 Yiwenleiju 藝文類聚, juan 卷 51, “Fengjuehu” 封爵部, 916.
in a way that allowed them to be newly defined as “those occupying posts through learning,” thus heralding the rise of the rushi.

Emergence of the xianli 儒吏 in the Confucian Mold
So far we have seen Confucian and Daoist influences on the “Weilizhidao” and the “Weilizhiguan” in defining the qualifications desired of an official, not just the influence of Legalism. This eclectic tendency, however, was not representative of the whole Qin era, as totalitarian rule set in with the First Emperor’s acceptance of Li Si’s extreme proposal to suppress literature and the literati in the year 217 BCE, which roughly coincides with the latest date conventionally assigned to the “Weilizhiguan.” The infamous “burning of the books” (fenshu 焚書) targeted all copies of the Book of Songs, Book of Documents, and other works of the various philosophical schools. Since the “Weilizhidao” and the “Weilizhiguan” amply cited from Confucian and Daoist sources, they might well have been included among the victims of that destruction of literature. The “official as legal master” (yiliweishi 以吏爲師) espoused by Li Si in his proposal replaced the eclectic official we can find in these two documents. The relevant part of Li’s proposal reads:

Now the Emperor, having united and grasped the world, has distinguished between black and white and established a single authority. But they [Confucian masters] are partial to their own learning and join together to criticize the laws and teachings. Upon hearing that an ordinance has been issued, each debates it according to his learning. In the court, they criticize in their hearts; outside, they debate it on the streets. To discredit the ruler is a means to be famous, and to be inclined to opposition is a means of showing superiority. They lead their followers to fabricate slander. If things like this are not banned, then the ruler’s power will be diminished above, and factions will form below.34

What Li Si sought then was to elevate the Legalist ideas of government to the single orthodoxy of the intellectual world of the empire through ruthlessly proscribing all the other schools of thought. In this radically changed intellectual milieu of the government, those officials who were to internalize such humanitarian values as a sense of reverence, propriety, loyalty and trust—supported by the “Weilizhidao” and the “Weilizhiguan”—would give way to the imperial officials who would enforce state policies with harshness and severity.35 Consequently the annals of the period abound in accounts of oppression and cruelty of officials against the people,36 who in response joined the rebel forces, “in the county seats killing their magistrates and assistants, in the commandery capitals killing their governors and

34 *Shiji* 史記, *juan* 卷 6, “Qinshihuang benji” 秦始皇本紀, 255. This translation is quoted from Tsai-fa Cheng, et al., 1994, :147.
commandants.”

It is well known that the brutal rule and severe punishments of the Qin led to its demise. The remnants of the Six-States nobles and local warlords quickly joined the anti-Qin forces led by Chen Sheng 陳勝, and at the same time the shì class that had scattered throughout the empire sought to tie their fortunes with the emerging local strongmen, thus rebuilding the relationship once common between the feudal lords and the youshi. Hence Zhang Liang’s 張良 observation that many of the youshi tried to gain even small fiefs, and Zhu Fuyan’s 主父偃 personal experience seeking posts in the states of Qi, Yan, Zhao, and Zhongshan, bespeak the endeavor on the part of the youshi to return to their old relationship with the feudal lords. In contrast to the uniform control of provinces by the Qin, the early Han allowed some measure of autonomy to the feudal lords, who were eager to recruit talented men from beyond their own domain, as shown in the case of Liu Pi 刘濞, King of Wu, who recruited Zou Yang 鄒陽, Wu Yanji 吳嚴忌, and Mei Sheng 枚乘 from outside the country on account of their literary skills. This is reminiscent of the practice of inviting youshi to serve that was current among the feudal lords during the Warring States period.

Nevertheless, there existed an evident movement to reverse this centrifugal trend in favor of the centralization of the Han recruitment system. Zhang Liang took the lead in this in 204 BCE when he rejected the idea of enfeoffment wherein the youshi each sought to possess at least a small fief of their own, with little interest in promoting a single centralized political system—the highest political cause of the empire. Since the youshi had returned to their respective lords, he questioned the emperor, “With whom can you acquire the world?” Another prominent youshi, the above-mentioned Zhu Fuyan, after unsuccessful attempts to serve the feudal lords, ended up in the service of Emperor Wudi 武帝, who was impressed by his proposals for solving current issues in 134 BCE—a celebrated example of the cooptation of the youshi into the imperial system. As a matter of fact, the restriction of the youshi’s traveling as recorded in the “Youshihù 游士律 of the Shuihudi Qinjian, as well as the discouragement of the youshi’s service to the feudal lords as proposed by Jia Yi 賈誼 to emperor Wendi 文帝 point to new expectations with regard to the shì class in general. The new principles and procedures in the matter of official recruitment were promulgated in an imperial edict of Wendi in 165 BCE.

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38 Hanshu 漢書, juan 33, “Wei Bao zhu” 魏豹傳, 1845.

39 Shiji 史記, juan 92, “Huayin hou liezhuan” 淮陰侯列傳, 2623.


41 For the characteristics of the youshi in early Han, see Yu Yingchun (2000, 50-55).

42 Hanshu 漢書, juan 51, “Zou Yang zhu” 鄒陽傳, 2338.


44 Ibid., 2041.

45 Xianshu 新書, “Yitongpian” 壹通篇.
In the 9th month, an imperial edict [ordered] the vassal kings, the ministers, and the commandery administrators to present [to the Emperor] those who were capable and good (xian hang 賢良), and could speak frankly and admonish [their superiors] unflinchingly. The Emperor in person questioned them [by setting a literary exercise]. They set forth in [written] words their ideas for adoption. A discussion is in the “Memoir of Ch’ao T’s’o.”

For the recruitment of imperial officials, the edict dictates a two-tiered process: empire-wide recommendation by the emperor’s superior subjects, and a policy test conducted, in principle, by the emperor in person. The innovative measure of testing the candidate’s ability in drawing up state policy provided an all-important precedent informing the civil service examination system that survived almost to the end of the 19th century. The policy thesis (duiece 對策) was problem-solving in nature in that it addressed the important issues currently facing the government. For example, Chao Cuo 鼂錯, who received the highest grade for his policy thesis among one hundred candidates, recommended the emulation of the sage rule of the ancient Five Emperors (Wudi 五帝), Three Kings (Sanwang 三王), and Five Overlords (Wubo 五伯) in order to accomplish the moral elevation and happiness of the people. Imperial officials like Chao Cuo and Jia Yi selected through this process supported the cause of direct imperial rule by insisting on the abolition or reduction of feudal domains, thus setting the standard of behavior for aspirants to public service, namely, the shi class (Kim Han-gyu 1974).

The incorporation of the shi class into the centralized government system as imperial officials basically coincided with the consolidation of imperial rule at the expense of the feudal autonomy of kings and local strongmen in the early Han. Even though there had been severe competition to enlist help from competent shi even as late as the reign of Wudi, especially when the feudal kings challenged the imperial house, by the time of the accession of Wendi the Han court could claim in the words of Yuan Ang 袁盎 that by making “all the worthy scholars and great officers (xianshidafu 賢士大夫) of the world come [to his court],” the emperor “was becoming more sagacious and prudent,” thanks to their advice. It was made clear that “the worthy scholars and great officers” rather than royal kinsmen or consort relatives would be the source of enlightenment and aid for imperial rule.

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47 Hanshu 漢書, juan 卷 49, “Chao Cuo zhuan” 鼂錯傳, 2290.

48 Ibid., 2290-99.

49 Hanshu 漢書, juan 卷 48, “Jia Yi zhuan” 賈誼傳, 2237.

50 Kim Han-gyu (1974) regards Jia Yi 賈誼 as a forerunner of the literati class (wenxue zhi shi 文學之士) who advanced to construct the imperial order of early Han.

51 Shi ji 史記, juan 卷 111, “Wei ji jiangjun piaoqi liezhuan” 衛將軍驃騎列傳, 2946.

52 Shi ji 史記, juan 卷 101, “Yuan Ang Chao Cuo zhuan” 袁盎鼂錯傳, 2741-42.

53 The group termed “the worthy scholars and great officers” (xianshi dafu 賢士大夫) also appeared earlier than the reign of Wendi, when Gaozu 高祖 had expressed his will to exalt them because of their
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In order to know what type of person was meant by “those who were capable (or worthy) and good (xianliang 賢良)” in Wendi’s edict of 165 BCE, one should grasp the contemporary usage of the key word, xian 賢. Its meaning at the time is expounded in the Xinshu 新書 (New writings) as follows.

1. The xian (worthy or intelligent) monarch is not slack in learning, and being fond of the dao 道 does not become weary of it. Being alert, he pioneers in [comprehending] the principle of the dao (daoli 道理). (quoted from “Xianxing 先醒”)
2. When the monarch is sagacious, the official is xian (worthy or bright). When the official is xian (worthy or bright), the people are governed. (quoted from “Dazheng xia 大政 下”)
3. He who speaks it (the dao) is regarded as intelligent, he who learns it (the dao) is regarded as xian (worthy or knowledgeable). (quoted from “Xiuzhengyu shang 修政語 上”)

Xian 賢 in the above passages obviously denotes the qualification of a xianli (worthy official), which can be acquired through the pursuit of scholarship and the cultivation of the dao. For example, there existed the shi of Confucian training like Zhang Tang 張湯 and Gongsun Hong 公孫弘, the latter of whom, according to Sima Qian, greatly pleased Wudi 武帝 with his sophisticated Confucian learning. The xianli (worthy official) corresponds to the widely-accepted definition of the shi in the Han as “those in occupation of an [official] post thanks to their learning, and those making use of talent and knowledge.” The ascendency of the officials of scholarly and literary merit instead of military merit as in the early Han is highlighted in the Shiji 史記, “Rulin liezhuan 儒林列傳 (Biographies of Confucians) at some length:

… during the reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Lu there was still no leisure to attend to the matter of government schools. Moreover, the high officials at this time were all military men who had won their distinction in battle. With the accession of Emperor Wen, Confucian scholars began little by little to be summoned and employed in the government, although Emperor Wen himself rather favoured the Legalist teachings on personnel organization and control. Emperor Jing made no effort to employ Confucian scholars, and his mother, Empress Dowager Dou, was an advocate of the teachings of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi. Thus various scholars were appointed to fill the posts of court erudite and to answer questions, but they had no prospects of advancement. When the present emperor [Emperor Wu] came to the throne there were a number of enlightened Confucian scholars such as Zhao Wan and Wang Zang at court.

The emperor was much attracted by their ideas and accordingly sent out a summons for scholars of moral worth and literary ability to take service in the government … After Empress Dowager Dou passed away, the marquis of Wuan, Tian Fen, became chancellor.

military feats in pacifying the empire. See Hanshu 漢書 juan 卷 1, “Gaozu benji 高祖本紀 下, 71. However, given the fact of wartime conditions, the group most likely included chivalrous warriors rather than the more intellectual advisors mentioned by Yuan Ang 袁盎. For the characteristics of these followers of Gaozu, see Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生 (1983).

Shiji 史記, juan 卷 120, “Ji Zheng liezhuan 汲鄭列傳, 3110; Shiji 史記, juan 卷 112, “Pingjinhou Zhu Fu liezhuan 平津侯主父列傳, 2950.”
He rejected the doctrines of the Taoist, the Legalists, and the other philosophical schools, and invited several hundred Confucian scholars and literary men to take service in the government. Among them was Gongsun Hong who, because of his knowledge of the Spring and Autumn Annals, advanced from the rank of commoner to that of one of the three highest ministers in the government and was enfeoffed as marquis of Pingjin. Scholars throughout the empire saw which way the wind was blowing and did all they could to follow his example … from this time on the number of literary men who held positions as ministers and high officials in the government increased remarkably.55

According to the first paragraph, from the reign of Wendi, Confucian scholars began to make their appearance in the Han court, corresponding to Zhang Shoujie’s 張守節 note in the Zhengyi 正義 (Correct meaning) that Wendi gradually appointed “wenxue zhi shi” 文學之士 (shi of literature). Yet, because of Wendi’s preference for Legalist ideas and Empress Dowager Dou’s love of the techniques of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi” (huanglaoshu 黃老術) their appointment was limited.56 As stated in the second paragraph, however, it was upon the occasion of Wudi’s accession and the death of Empress Dowager Dou that the “scholars of moral worth and literary ability” (fangzheng xianliang wenxue zhi shi 方正賢良文學之士) were invited en masse from across the country.57 From that time onward, the third paragraph states, the government posts from the highest ministers to the lower levels were largely filled with men of Confucian training, like those who appear in the “Dongfang Shuo zhuan” 東方朔傳 (Biography of Dongfang Shuo) of the Hanshu 漢書.58 Therefore, the emergence of the rushi upon the decline of the youshi 游士 was reflected in Ban Gu’s 班固 observation that “With the accession of Wudi, all hundred schools of philosophy were disregarded in favor of illuminating the Six Classics of the Book of Changes, Book of Songs, Book of Documents, Spring and Autumn Annals, Record of Rites, and the Classic of Music.”59

Conclusion
The transformation of the shi from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods through the Qin and early Han times provides a key to understanding the characteristics of the ruling strata in ancient China. The shi in the Warring States period referred to as the Philosophers of the Hundred Schools 諸子百家 traveled around the feudal states to propagate their political ideas. With the arrival of a unified empire, however, the freedom enjoyed by them in thought and movement gave way to their subordination to a particular monarch. After the centrifugal

56 For the techniques of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi, see Chen Ligui 陳麗桂 (1991); Xiong Tieji 熊鐵基 (2001); and Asano Yuichi 淺野裕一 (1992).
57 See also Shiji 史記, juan 卷 23, “Lishu” 禮書, 1161.
58 Hanshu 漢書, juan 卷 65, “Donglang Shuo zhuan” 東方朔傳, 2863.
59 Hanshu 漢書, juan 卷 6, “Wudiji” 武帝紀, 212.
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Challenges by the feudal lords against the central government of early Han had been effectively suppressed by the time of Wudi, the shi class, hitherto consisting of military officials (junli), found themselves subject to the authority and control of the monarch as rushi (Confucian officials).

From the Han era onward, Confucian ideology served to consolidate the centralized autocratic political structure of the empire. With the loss of the liberal tradition of the shi, they found themselves fitted into the hierarchy of “heaven (tian)-monarch (jun)-men (ren)” as “Confucian officials (or functionaries)” subject to imperial authority and control.

The transformation of the youshi into rushi has so far been explained by two historical developments that occurred after the Qin unification. First, the suppression of the Philosophers of the Hundred Schools following Li Si’s notorious proposal of 217 BCE in favor of officials with legal expertise, and second, the emergence of imperial officials with Confucian moral values in reaction to the harsh and cruel rule of the Qin Dynasty. However, the transformation process was not that clear-cut, for the qualifications required of officials at the time of Qin unification were rather eclectic, mixing elements of Confucianism and Daoism, as seen in the “Weilizhidao” and the “Weilizhiguanqianshou” of the excavated Qin bamboo strips. Moreover, the early decades of Han until the time of Wudi saw the coexistence of two types of shi: the youshi of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods and the rushi of the Han era. The coexistence of the two types of the shi in the early Han makes it difficult to explain the emergence of the rushi only in terms of an anti-Qin reaction. The emergence of the rushi can be better explained by the long-term and complex changes occurring within the shi class that had begun at the end of the Warring States period, such as the loss of the tradition of freedom of thought and movement enjoyed by the youshi, the disappearance of their respected status as advisors or teachers to the feudal lords, being pressed into the role of military officials by the Qin and early Han rulers, and finally the subjection of their position to imperial authority and control.

GLOSSARY

| Baihutongyi 白虎通義    | duice 對策    |
| Ban Gu 班固    | eli 惡吏    |
| Chao Cuo 晁錯    | Ernian lüling 二年律令 |
| Chunyu Yue 淳于越    | fangzheng xianliang wenxue zhi shi 方正賢良文學之士 |
| daoli 道理    | fenshu kengru 樊書坑儒 |
| doushi 斗食    |                      |

60 Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒, Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露, “Yubei” 玉杯, 31-32.
| bugeng  | 不更  | shimin  | 土民  |
| gongcheng | 公乘  | shiwu  | 土伍  |
| gongdafu | 公大夫  | Shuihudi Qinjian | 睡虎地秦簡 |
| gongshi | 公士  | Shuowen jiezi | 說文解字 |
| Gongsun Hong | 公孫弘  | Weilizhidao | 爲吏之道 |
| guandafu | 官大夫  | Weilizhiguanqianshou |  |
| Gu Yanwu | 顧炎武  |  |  |
| huanglaoshu | 黃老術  | Wenxuezhi | 文學之士 |
| Jia yi | 賈誼  | Wudi  | 五帝 |
| Jingjiezhenzhengzhi | 精潔正直  | Wubu  | 五伯 |
| juezhi | 爵制  | wudafu  | 五大夫 |
| junli | 軍功  | wushan | 五善 |
| junxian | 軍吏  | wushi  | 五失 |
| juyanhanjian | 郡縣  | xianli  | 賢吏 |
| liangli | 良吏  | xianliang | 賢良 |
| lianjie | 廉潔  | Xinshu  | 新書 |
| li | 吏  | Yantielun | 鹽鐵論 |
| liji | 禮記  | yiliweishi | 以吏為師 |
| Li Si | 李斯  | Yiwenleiju | 藝文類聚 |
| liuguo | 六國  | youshi  | 游士 |
| Liye qinjian | 里耶秦簡  | youzhizhiren | 有職之人 |
| Lü Buwei | 呂不韋  | Yuan Ang | 袁盎 |
| mingfaluling | 明法律令  | Yuelu shuyuan can Qinjian | 嶽麓書院藏秦簡 |
| Rulinliezhuang | 儒林列傳  | Youshi | 游士律 |
| rushi | 儒士  | Yushu  | 語書 |
| Sanwang | 三王  | zanniao | 箴囊 |
| shangzao | 上造  | Zhang jiashan hanjian | 張家山漢簡 |
| shi | 土  | Zhang Tang | 張湯 |
| shidafu | 土大夫 | zhuzibaijia | 諸子百家 |
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