

劝化金箴

清代善书研究

序言中译*

中国拥有悠久及可敬的道德教化传统，用以维系社会的和平与秩序，这种传统最早可追溯至周初（约公元前 1050 年）“天命”观念的出现。“天命”观念中的“天”乃是至高无上的神，它授权予爱护百姓的能者为王。王若推行德政，其位可保；若其政腐败不仁，“天命”则转移而另立新君。这正意味着以“天”的意志为基础的道德准则比人君有更高的权威，可凌驾于君主的权力及意志之上。“天”对于道德的要求与君主行为之间往往出现差距，孔子就此发展出他的道德学说。然而，孔子指出“天命”不单约束君主，也约束他、他的学生以及他的后继者。正如君主应成为真正的“王”而非“霸”一样，学人及官员也应成为“君子”，“君子”即是谨循孔子之教的理想人格。数十年后，墨子主张德性原则应为每人所信守，提出兼爱的精神，“天”的意志乃人要互爱、互助、互利。战国至秦汉之际，《老子》一书及黄老学派主张无为，并与自然秩序和谐共存。成书于汉代的《太平经》，承继着墨子教诲民众的道德关怀，也托之于神祇的意志，而《太平经》也成为后汉道教的理论基础。与此同时，佛教从印度传入中国，带来一种十分成熟、以“业”为核心的道德体系，即万事万物的结果随

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其因缘而出现。六朝期间，佛道两教的道德学说开始对民众信仰及仪式产生了影响力；而以往的民间信仰基本上是自然崇拜，较少道德上的关怀。隋唐间出现了更多佛道经典，但儒学的影响力仍停留于富贵及官方既有的传统。然而，到了宋代，部分是因为佛教的影响，儒者开办书院传道授业，著书释经，将儒家的理念清晰地予以阐述；又为百姓撰写“家礼”等日用类书，并在本地讲学教化乡民。以上种种，皆是为了“化民成俗”。及后几个世纪，中国社会的儒学化进行得十分成功。所有这一切可以理解为古老的“天命”观念在后世的发展与通俗化。引申来说，人类行为应符合崇高的道德水平，而评价一个人往往要视其德行如何。

第一批善书在宋代出现，这是中国悠久的道德传统应用于民众日常生活的最具体显示。这些书是劝人向善的，故称做“善书”。游子安博士的著作是研究清朝善书中最全面、详尽的一部。此书在前人研究成果（酒井忠夫的《中国善书の研究》，1960及 Cynthia Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*, 1991）的基础上，就清朝善书正好进行了补足的工作，并提供更多有关清朝善书的资料。游子安用了八年的时间，从香港、北京、天津、西安、上海、广州及台湾的图书馆、寺观及私人收藏中搜集大量的资料。最后，他收到百多种由17世纪至20世纪30年代的善书（详见本书附录参考文献的善书部分），这些材料成为本书写作的基础。他这项研究成果最初见于其香港中文大学的博士论文，而此书乃是在博士论文基础上进一步修订及扩充完成的。

本书的内容包括主题的界定、前人研究成果的评述及清朝以前善书的历史。作者进而说明清朝至民初善书的发展与流行，注意到地方官员在本乡宣讲的功能及宗教结社透过扶乩取得神灵指引，以进行劝化。他述及善书的内容及教化，又探讨善书的印刷与流通。透过详细的个案，游博士分析善书作者的社会、思想及

宗教背景，注意到善书教化和流通的与时变化。他还从善书中找出论据，批评基督教作为外来宗教对中国习俗及信仰的破坏。

劝善书是由乡绅士人撰写的，用以透过通俗化的儒家观念来完善民众的道德意识及行为。这些教化可以从佛教“业”的观念，以及道教神祇赏善罚恶的信念中得到支持。这些信仰为中国人的道德体系提供宗教义理上的基础，并使儒学式的教诲更为深入人心。与戏曲、箴言及家礼相同，善书作为一种重要的方式维系着中国社会结构及道德秩序，而这样的秩序亦由祖先祭祀及神祇崇拜共同支撑。宝卷是民间宗教信奉者的宗教经籍，其对于信奉者亦有相似的功能。社会上不同阶层的人都相信他们可以经由扶乩得到神祇以及文武先圣的指引，这些指引皆与劝善积德有关。进入 20 世纪的中国纵然是饱历风霜，但是维系社会道德的支撑系统仍然存在，也依然受广泛采用。20 世纪的中国知识分子及政治人物在所信奉的外来意识形态名义下，系统地破坏了中国社会传统道德的基础，在大城市尤甚。然而，这些知识分子欲以取代传统道德所提倡的观念最终不能赢得百姓的支持。因此，很多中国人失去了道德的传统(或转而信奉基督教)。这种情况足以令人悲哀。游子安的研究提醒我们失去了什么东西，但同时为重建真正属于中国的道德传统提供了文献资料。这部著作与这些资料恰好成为人们在日常生活中追寻道德自省的起点。

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Preface

China has an ancient and honorable tradition of ethical teachings intended to support the peace and order of society, beginning with the idea of the "Mandate of Heaven" (*Tian-ming*) in the early Zhou period (about 1050 B.C.). This idea was that Heaven, a high god, gave the king the right to rule, but only so long as he ruled well and took good care of Heaven's people. If his policies were just, his rule could continue, but if he became corrupt and cruel, Heaven could reject him and transfer its mandate to someone else, to be a new king. This meant that moral principles based on the will of Heaven had authority over the king, beyond all his power and desires. There was always a gap, a space between these ideals and the behavior of any king; later, Confucius built his moral teachings in this space. For Confucius, however, the *Tian-ming* did not apply only to the king but also to himself and his disciples and followers. Just as the king was to be a "true king" (*wang*), not a dictator (*ba*), so a scholar/official was to be a *junzi*, an ideal person who was defined by his moral behavior, following all the teachings of Confucius. A few decades later Mozi taught that these ideals should be followed by everyone: it was Heaven's will that all should act in love for one

another, and seek to benefit each other. In the Warring States and Han periods the *Laozi* book and the Huang-Lao school taught the virtues of non-interference (*wu-wei*) and living in harmony with the natural order of things. However, it was the *Taiping jing* in the Han that most directly continued Mozi's concern to teach moral principles to ordinary people, supported by the will of the gods. This became the foundation of the new Daoist religion. Buddhism entered China from India at about the same time, bringing with it a completely developed ethical system based on the idea of karma, that all actions have inevitable results or retribution, depending on their intentions. During the Six Dynasties period these new Daoist and Buddhist moral teachings began to influence the beliefs and rituals of ordinary people, which before that had been basically practical in nature, with little ethical concern. During the Sui and Tang periods more and more Daoist and Buddhist scriptures were produced, but Confucianism remained mostly a tradition of the aristocracy and government. However, in the Song period, due in part to Buddhist influence, Confucian scholars began to set up academies to teach more students, to write books and commentaries to explain their ideas clearly, prepare books of "household rituals" (*jia-li*) for people to use, and to lecture to local people in the towns where the Confucians held office. All of this was "to transform the people and perfect their customs" (*hua-min cheng-su*). In the following centuries this work of Confucianizing Chinese society was very successful. All of this can be understood as the development and popularization of the old *Tian-ming* idea, that all human behavior should try to reach a high ethical standard, and that peo-

ple were to be judged by how well they did this.

Now, it was just in this Song period that the first morality books or *shan-shu* appeared, as the last and most detailed manifestation of China's ancient moral tradition, applied to the everyday life of ordinary people. They are books that urge people to do good deeds, *quan shan*. Dr. You Zian's book is the most comprehensive and detailed study yet of *shan-shu* in the Qing dynasty. His book is a fine complement to earlier studies by Sakai Tadao, in his *Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū* (1960), and Cynthia Brokaw's *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*. (1991), and provides more information about the Qing period. You Zian spent eight years collecting materials for this study from libraries, temples and private collections in Hong Kong, Beijing, Tianjin, Xian, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Taiwan. Eventually he found over 100 *shan-shu* dating from the 17th century to the 1930's; (see the list of titles at the back of this book). These materials are the foundation of his book. The results of this research first appeared in Dr. You's 1994 Ph.D dissertation at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, which in this book is much revised and expanded.

The contents of this study include a definition of its topic, a survey of earlier studies, and a look at the history of *shan-shu* before the Qing. The author then turns to their development and expansion during the Qing (1644-1911) and early Republican periods, noting the role of village lectures by local officials and groups employing spirit-writing in the hope of receiving instructions from the gods. He also discusses the printing and distribution of these books, as well as their contents and teachings. Dr.

You then turns to detailed case studies of *shan-shu* authors and books in their social, intellectual and religious contexts, noting changes over time in their teachings and distribution. He also discusses evidence in some of these books for criticisms of Christianity as a foreign religion that damaged traditional Chinese customs and beliefs.

Books "exhorting goodness" were written by local scholars to improve the moral awareness and behaviour of the people by popularizing Confucian teachings. These teachings they sought to support with Buddhist beliefs in karma and Daoist faith in gods who enforce morality by rewarding the good and punishing the bad. Both of these belief systems gave Chinese forms of theological support for ethics, and made Confucian-style teachings more acceptable to ordinary people. Along with operas, proverbs and books of instruction for household rituals (*jia-li*), morality books were an important means of providing moral order and structure for Chinese society, an order that was also supported by ancestor worship and the veneration of gods. The scriptures of popular religious sects, called *bao-juan*, had a similar function for sect members. Through spirit-writing people from every level of society believed they could receive direct instructions from gods and culture heroes; such instructions were entirely concerned with exhortations to goodness and piety. As China entered the 20th century all of these means of moral support were still alive, still actively being practiced, in spite of the turmoil of Chinese society all around them. Yet, in the name of foreign ideologies Chinese intellectuals and politicians in the 20th century have tried to systematically destroy this traditional moral founda-

tion of their own society, and to a large extent they have succeeded, particularly in the larger cities. However, the ideas advocated by these intellectuals to replace these indigenous moral teachings have failed to win the people's support, so now many people have no moral tradition at all, or turn to Christianity. This is truly a sad situation. The work of You Zian reminds us of part of what has been lost, but also can help provide material for the reconstruction of an authentically Chinese moral tradition. It is with material such as this that a quest for an ethics of everyday life can begin.

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第一章 导 言

第一节 善 书 概 说

善书是劝善书的略称，是规劝人们“诸恶莫作，众善奉行”的通俗读物。自来以来善书在民间广为流传，明清时代是善书的鼎盛时代。善书兼融三教思想与民间信仰，包括儒家忠孝节义、道德内省和阴鹭观念，佛家的因果报应及道教的积善销恶之说。大多善书的作者是乡绅和士人，有署名著述，也有托名神仙降乩写成。因为善书主要是为劝戒民众行善止恶，所以文字通俗易懂，阐述的内容也力求深入浅出：或用因果事例，或配以插图，或用白话。写成后由善信捐助，多以小册子的簿本形式在社会流通。本部分首先从《感应篇》与《阴鹭文》两部家喻户晓的善书入手，简述善书的中心观念，然后说明善书内容的“庶民性”，最后从几部善书丛书辑录的篇目，来帮助我们了解善书的指涉范围。

一、善书的中心观念

劝善与行善，是中国社会最基本的道德律，福善祸淫之说见于先秦儒家思想之中，后世善书则被视为发挥积善余庆及作善降祥的道理。1934年首位为善书编撰辞典的贺箭村，在《古今善书

大辞典》《自叙》中解释善书名称的由来：“易云：‘积善之家，必有余庆；积不善之家，必有余殃’。书云：‘作善降之百祥，作不善降之百殃’。后贤从而专究之，阐明之，著录之，且特名之为善书而牖夫世。”^{〔1〕}现存最早的善书《感应篇》约出于北宋末南宋初，作者不详。南宋大儒真德秀为之写序：

“《感应篇》者，道家傲世书也，蜀士李昌龄注释，其义出、三教……（余）常喜刊善书以施人……顾此篇，指陈善恶之报，明白痛切，可以扶助正道，启发良心。”^{〔2〕}善书之名，沿用至今。

《感应篇》内容分总论、善行、恶行和结语四部分。总论中说：“祸福无门，惟人自召；善恶之报，如影随形。”此为全篇总纲，提出人们如想长生多福，必须行善积德。第二、三部分列出 26 条善行、170 多条恶行作为标准，包括坐卧起居日常生活各个方面。最后以“诸恶莫作，众善奉行，积善天必降福，行恶天必降祸”作结。《感应篇》善恶并陈，从条目上来说，恶行多于善行，予人感觉“惩恶”多于“劝善”：“《感应篇》于善恶事关，该括靡遗，其叙述恶事，较多于善，防恶甚密，辞严理正，昔人谓天下通行必读书。”相对来说，《阴鹭文》偏重劝善一边：“《阴鹭文》劝人广行阴鹭，重作善一边，辞气吉祥和蔼，恳恻动人。”^{〔3〕}总之，善书的中心观念，旨在劝人“诸恶莫作，众善奉行”。而善恶的因果报应，是三教共同的宗教思想。

《感应篇》全文一千二百余字，主要宣扬天人感应和因果报应思想。诚如杨联陞探讨报应观念所论：相信自然或神的报应是中国宗教中一个深植的传统，《书经》早已提到“天道福善祸淫”，佛教的业报及轮回观念更丰富了中国原有报应观念的内容。杨氏指出 4 世纪时的道教著作《抱朴子》强调报应的机械化与量化方面，《感应篇》则继承了这种思想，认为为恶者天必降祸，不仅祸及自身，而且殃及子孙。从宋代以降，民间普遍接受神明报应是降在

家族身上^[4]。而儒释道三教在“感应”与“报应”的观念上有其相通之处，佛氏因果之说与儒道感应之理可并行不悖。光绪年间张丙炎在《重刊〈感应汇编〉叙》中说道：“儒道之言感应，犹释之言因果也，感即因，应即果。故以善感者得福果，以不善感者得苦果。”^[5]朱彝尊也明白指出：“释氏有因果之说，道家亦有感应之篇。然福善祸淫之原，《易》、《书》、《诗》著之详矣。”^[6]清人更有将善书，直称为“感应善书”^[7]的。

阴鹭观念是善书另一个中心观念。阴鹭一词出于《尚书·洪范》：“惟天阴鹭下民”，阴鹭也具有天人感应的涵义，要求人们多积阴德阴功，冥冥之天暗中监察人之善恶而降赏罚。阴鹭观念得以深入人心，《阴鹭文》这类善书起了重要的作用。《阴鹭文》是以文昌帝君名义降鸾的劝善文，成书年代难下定论，有说成书于宋代，有说成书于明代。《阴鹭文》劝人修善修福，“广行阴鹭”，“行时时之方便，作种种之阴功”；认为“百福骈臻、千祥云集”皆是从“阴鹭”中来。阴鹭观念虽然由来已久，到了明代，阴鹭思想传播更广。明成祖命近臣辑录为善获报事，写成《为善阴鹭》，并亲制序文，勉人修德行善；晚明袁黄著《阴鹭录》，宣扬立命之学，通过修善可改变自己的命运，转祸为福。可见《阴鹭文》与《阴鹭录》一类善书，主要是为勉人修善而作。总之，善书的基本思想，是以劝善戒恶、因果报应与阴鹭观念为中心。

二、善书的内容

众所周知，《感应篇》的文字与内容主要出自《抱朴子》的《对俗》与《微旨》两篇，但《感应篇》推陈出新，内容全是规善惩恶及阐述社会道德。酒井忠夫指出：《抱朴子》跟晋朝“贵族社会”有较强的关连，《感应篇》在宋代问世，增加了家族道德及构成宋代社会基础的道德观念^[8]。《感应篇》为何自南宋以来在社会

上广为流传？除了统治者推动提倡及士大夫为之作注刊印外，也因为《感应篇》是面向社会的善书，其内容与庶民生活和社会伦理密切相关。葛兆光将《感应篇》与《抱朴子》加以比较，指出《感应篇》除所列应行善事与应戒恶行外，主要是讲社会、家庭的人际关系的内容。如诸善中的“忠孝友悌，正己化人，矜孤恤寡，敬老怀幼”，诸恶中的“攻讦宗亲”、“不和其室，不敬其夫”等等；而《阴鹭文》列举善行首先排列是“正直代天行化，慈祥为国教民，忠主孝亲，敬兄信友”，都充满儒家伦理道德意味。因此，葛兆光认为跟过去的道教戒律相比：“《太上感应篇》和《阴鹭文》减少了过去禁欲原则的比重，大大加重了社会伦理方面的分量。”^[9]作为善书的范型，《感应篇》和《阴鹭文》对旧道经加以改造编制，从形式到内容都有了很大的变化。朱越利认为《感应篇》关于诸恶众善的训诫，其内容都是关于世俗生活的，可说是把宗教活动化为世俗生活^[10]。再以《阴鹭文》为例，篇中道德格言内容广泛，既有提倡社会救济，也有涉及职业伦理的；而不烧山林、禁毒鱼虾、反对张网捕鸟等项是为保护自然环境而设^[11]。

从善书的内容来看，所列善行和恶行，与庶民生活有密切关系，包括官吏应遵守的戒规，也有农工商应遵行的规范。李丰楙认为善书详细列举道德条目，几乎遍及生活细节，是一张详尽的“生活公约”^[12]。Richard Shek 也指出一些较“开明的”乡绅地主，通过善书的编著与流通，以协调者自居去化解地主与农民的矛盾。善书就像契约（Social Contract）般^[13]，使主佃双方可以和谐地相处，以达到社会结构的稳定。如清初石成金《传家宝》收录《官长》、《乡绅》二约（合称《官绅约》），提出他们所应扮演的角色，二文即以“约”名^[14]。清代乡绅士人编撰不少俗约，与善书皆旨在劝善惩恶，既用来自警，也用作教化。