



# 儒學經典譯叢

Translations of Confucian Classics

(漢英對照本)

*A Chinese-English Bilingual Edition*

## THE BOOK OF HISTORY

# 尚書



山東友誼出版社

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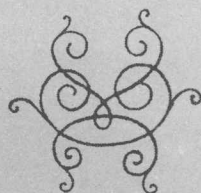
## THE BOOK OF HISTORY

Translated into Modern Chinese

by Wang Shichun

Translated into English

by Du Ruiqing



# 尚書

樣本書

今譯者 王世舜

英譯者 杜瑞清

《孔子文化大全》編輯部編



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# 前言

## (一)

《尚書》是我國最古老的一部歷史文獻，原稱《書》，後來成為儒家的五部經典之一，稱作《書經》。

《尚書》在先秦時代，已是儒家學派教授門徒的主要課本。儒家學派的創始人孔子很可能對這部書作過一番“刪定”工作，然後經過儒家學派的門徒代代相傳而流傳下來。秦始皇統一中國後，為了加強思想控制，發動了一次歷史上著名的“焚書坑儒”事件。這次事件，使古代流傳下來的典籍遭到嚴重破壞。漢初的統治者比較開明，對復興文化事業十分重視，文帝、景帝、武帝都曾化費很大力量，去搜集因“焚書”而散失的古代典籍。搜集來的典籍，有的是先秦原本，其文字是先秦的古文，被稱作古文本；有的典籍已轉寫成漢代通行文字，被稱作今文本。今古文之分，在開始的時候只是文字的不同。後來，因為版本不同，解說各異，便逐漸形成了學派之分。《尚書》是秦始皇焚書的重點，所遭受的破壞程度可想而知。《尚書》雖然遭到嚴重破壞，但它的殘本還是流傳了下來，它之所以能夠流傳下來，恐怕要歸功於漢初的經學大師伏勝了。

伏勝又稱伏生。據《史記·儒林傳》記載，伏生是濟南人，曾在秦始皇時擔任過博士。秦始皇焚

書的時候，伏生曾經把《尚書》暗中保存在牆壁內。戰亂中，伏生一度流亡。漢朝建立之後，伏生回來搜求原來暗藏在壁中的《尚書》，失掉了數十篇，只剩下二十九篇（實際上是二十八篇），伏生便以此爲《尚書》教本，在齊魯間教授門徒。由於這部《尚書》是用漢代通行文字寫成，因而被稱作今文《尚書》。

在漢代，《尚書》的版本，除伏生的今文本外，還有下述古文本：河間獻王本、孔安國古文本、東萊張霸百兩本、杜林漆書古文本、劉陶中文《尚書》本等。在這些古文本中，東萊張霸的百兩本，當時已發現其爲僞書。漢代以後，所有的古文本，包括張霸的百兩本在內一併失傳了。東晉時，豫章內史梅賾獻出了一部《尚書》，並有序和注。序和注假托爲孔安國所作。唐代初年，孔穎達奉唐太宗之命編纂五經正義，對於《尚書》所採用的本子，便是梅賾所獻的《尚書》（以下簡稱梅本）。因此，梅本便成爲隋唐以後廣泛流行的官本。這個本子也就成了唯一流傳到今天的《尚書》版本。

對於梅本《尚書》，唐宋時代的學者已提出過懷疑。明代學者梅鷟撰《尚書考異》一書，從各方面加以考辨，指出了梅本《尚書》的作僞痕迹。清代學者閻若璩在這個基礎上又進一步詳加考證，寫出了《古文尚書疏證》一書，徹底地，無可置辯地論證了古文《尚書》是一部僞書。這是《尚書》學史上的一件大事，也是辨僞學史上的一件大事。

既然古文是偽作，那麼，唯一流傳至今的《尚書》，便是伏生所傳的《尚書》殘本二十八篇了。

古文《尚書》雖是偽作，但從唐代初年以來便被奉爲經典，在政治領域和思想領域中都曾產生過重大影響，因而仍有必要對它加以研究。

從辨僞角度考慮，本書所譯僅限於今文二十八篇。依據的版本爲清代阮元所刻《十三經注疏》本，並酌取古今學者校勘成果。

## (二)

今文《尚書》雖然只有二十八篇，但它所涉及的歷史却很長——上起堯舜下至春秋時代的秦穆公。

虞書兩篇——《堯典》、《皋陶謨》，反映的是堯舜時代的歷史。這兩篇在內容上有較爲密切的聯系，可以看作是姊妹篇。《堯典》着重記載堯和舜的事迹，反映原始社會末期氏族制度解體的歷史。從《堯典》的記載來看，堯和舜活動的中心地區當在現在的山西西南一帶。山西南部龍山文化遺址的出土，證明其年代與堯舜時期的活動年代基本相符。可見《堯典》中關於堯舜事迹的記載，有相當部份是可以相信的。

《皋陶謨》的中心問題是討論治國的方略，提出“知人”與“安民”，同時還提出了“五禮”與“五刑”。這說明在當時等級制度與國家機器正在醞釀產生中。因此，篇中雖然帶有濃厚的儒家思想色彩，但對於研究當時社會歷史，還是有很大的參考價值的。

夏書也是兩篇——《禹貢》、《甘誓》。這兩篇反映夏代兩件大事：禹治洪水和夏王伐有扈。禹治洪水是我國古代的一個重要的歷史傳說，先秦古籍中多有記載。《禹貢》的重要性，不單在於記載了這一重要的歷史傳說，同時還是一篇不可多得的古代地理名著，文中詳細地記載了山川的方位與脈絡，物產的分佈及土壤的性質等等。對於研究遠古時代農業生產具有重要意義。從行政區劃方面看，禹治洪水後，將全國區分爲九州，以冀州爲中心，依次爲兗州、青州、徐州、揚州、荊州、梁州、雍州。東至沿海，西至甘、陝，南至湘、鄂，北至遼東半島，與目前已發現的龍山文化遺址大體相當。這些記載對於研究中華民族形成的歷史具有特殊重要意義。

《甘誓》一篇，雖然文字極爲簡短，但它所寫的戰爭事件，意義却非常重大。這次戰爭發生在由原始社會進入奴隸社會的轉變時刻，堯、舜時代的禪讓制已被廢棄，權力的更替不由部落聯盟的會議決定，而決定於戰爭。本篇對研究我國奴隸社會的建立，提供了文獻依據。

記載殷商時代歷史的，共有五篇。《湯誓》記載了商王朝的建立；《盤庚》、《高宗彤日》兩篇記載了商王朝的中興；《西伯戡黎》、《微子》記載了商王朝的衰亡。可見，這五篇基本上反映了商王朝的發展過程。其中最受史學界重視的則是《盤庚》篇。這一篇所記載的是商王盤庚關於遷殷問題的三次談話，完整地記敘了遷殷的經過，以及圍繞遷殷問題

在統治階級內部所產生的矛盾和衝突。同時也反映了統治者和人民羣衆之間的矛盾，保存了殷商時代的原始資料，是研究殷商時期政治、經濟、文化的不可多得的珍貴文獻。

記載周代歷史的共有十九篇，在今文《尚書》中所佔篇幅最多。由《牧誓》至《顧命》這十五篇，所記載的是西周初期的歷史，亦即文王、武王、成王、康王時期的歷史。《呂刑》、《文侯之命》、《費誓》所寫的究竟是什麼時期的歷史，尚有爭議，需要作進一步研究。《秦誓》一篇，時代性非常明確，因為這篇誓詞是秦穆公所作，是秦晉殽之戰結束後，穆公感於不聽勸阻，遭到慘敗，總結經驗教訓，痛自責悔之作。可見周書十九篇大部份是西周初期歷史記錄。

周書的主要內容是寫周王朝的建立過程中的重大歷史事件以及周王朝建立後所採取的鞏固政權的措施。

殷代和周代雖然同樣都是奴隸社會，但周代對於殷代則是有因有革的。當康叔受封前往殷地統治殷商的餘民時，周公一再告誡他既要遵循文王傳統“祇適乃文考”。（《康誥》）又要“敷求于殷先哲王”（同上）廣泛地尋求殷商過去聖明國王的治國之道，用以治理臣民。周公在總結早周和殷代經驗的基礎上，提出了一條明確的思想路線——“敬天保民”。這條思想路線對於鞏固西周政權起到重要作用。

“天命觀”是殷代統治階級的重要思想，商湯討

伐夏桀便以“天命”作為重要武器，“有夏多罪，天命殛之”（《湯誓》）。“先王有服，恪謹天命”（《盤庚》上）。殷代統治者為了加強自己的統治，便將這種統治加以神化，把自己的意志解釋成上帝的命令，以隨心所欲地統治奴隸，而奴隸們則應毫無條件地服從天命，也就是服從奴隸主的統治。這種思想無疑是為統治者服務的。但統治者如果一味迷信天命，以天命為可恃，從而肆無忌憚地壓迫剝削人民，恣行暴虐，那就會促使統治集團的腐化墮落并導致滅亡。《西伯戡黎》、《微子》兩篇所記載的史實便證明了這一點。殷商王朝的覆滅給周王朝留下了極為深刻的教訓。周公總結了這一教訓，清醒地提出“天難諶”“天不可信”。（《君奭》）如果說殷、周政權的更替，存在着劇烈的變革的話，那麼，天命觀的動搖應是非常重要的變革。因為這種變革是所有變革的思想基礎。

在“天不可信”的思想指引下，周代的統治者由殷商的重視“天命”改變為重視“人事”。於是提出了“敬德保民”的思想。

“敬德”和“保民”是聯系在一起的。周公深切地認識到“小人難保”（《康誥》）而“顧畏于民鼎”（《召誥》）。因此，把“天命”與“民情”結合在一起，認為上帝的意旨是通過“民情”表現出來的。“天畏棗忱，民情大可見。”（《康誥》）而“天命”又是很難保持的，“惟命不于常”。（同上）要保持住“天命”就必須要愛護“民”，這樣才能得到

“民”的擁護。“若保赤子，惟民其康。”（同上）“遠乃猷裕，乃以民寧，不汝瑕殄。”（同上）“民寧”，政權才能穩固。周公的“敬德保民”的思想，是在深刻地總結歷史經驗的基礎上提出來的。它是周初統治者制定政策的基點，殷、周制度的不同也應當從這裏進行考察。西周政權的鞏固和發展，成康盛世的出現，均與此關係極大。

“敬德保民”也就是“敬天保民”，這種思想對後代影響很大。《左傳》的“民本”思想，就是在《尚書》的基礎上發展起來的。《尚書》中，“明德慎罰”（《康誥》）的思想對後代影響也很大。後代統治者的“德威兼施”、“寬猛相濟”的思想也是在《尚書》的基礎上發展起來的。可以毫不誇張地說，《尚書》的政治思想，是後代統治階級政治思想的藍本。因此，深入地研究《尚書》對於研究我國封建社會的上層建築具有重要意義。

### （三）

從文章的體裁來講，《尚書》屬於散文。這些散文最為古老，研究這些古老散文的寫作特點，對於探討我國古代散文的發展，也是很有意義的。

作為散文，《尚書》的風格不但和秦漢以後的散文有很大差別，就是和秦漢以前的散文，如《左傳》和《國語》等書也有很大差別。

韓愈在《進學解》中說：“周誥殷盤，佶屈聱牙。”周誥就是指《大誥》、《康誥》一類篇章；殷盤指的則是《盤庚》。“佶屈聱牙”準確地概括了《尚書》在

語言上的特點。

《尚書》的這一特點，大約是由以下原因形成的。

和《左傳》、《國語》不同，《尚書》不用或很少用“也”、“哉”、“乎”一類文言虛詞，而這些文言虛詞則是用來表示語法關係和語氣的。運用這些虛詞不僅可使語義明確，而且也可使句子琅琅上口，顯得通順流暢。《尚書》中，不用或很少運用這些文言虛詞，所以顯得非常拗口。

其次，《尚書》所使用的詞滙，大都比較古老。大家知道，詞義並不是一成不變的，不少詞滙，後世雖然仍在運用，但詞義已經有了變遷。《尚書》所使用的詞滙，不少都是用它的古義。這些古義，不但在秦漢以後不再應用，就在《國語》、《左傳》中，也不習見。

再次，從語法上看，《尚書》的詞序安排和後代很不相同，所以讀起來格外别扭。

《尚書》是我國最早的文獻，從書面語言的發展歷史來看，它當然不如《國語》、《左傳》成熟，但它畢竟標誌着書面語言發展的重要階段，應當加以研究。

總之，《尚書》在散文發展上，是佔有一定地位的。它為春秋以後散文的發展奠定了基礎。

## Preface

*The Book of History*, China's oldest historical record, was used as a major textbook by Confucian scholars as early as during the pre-Qin time. Having been allegedly abridged and edited by Confucius, founder of the Confucian school, it then came to be one of the five classics, and was handed down by generations of the disciples of Confucius. To heighten his control of men's minds, the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty ordered books to be burnt and scholars buried after he unified China. This incident, which is well known in history, destroyed many of the classical writings which had survived to that time. Comparatively liberal in thought, the emperors of the early Han Dynasty committed themselves to revitalizing the ancient culture. Emperors Wen, Jing and Wu ordered an extensive search for books and records that had become lost as a result of the burning during the Qin Dynasty. The books and records collected fell into two categories according to the language used. The original texts of the Warring States period written in the classical language came to be classified as ancient texts, while those rewritten in the Han Dynasty vernacular came to be classified as modern texts. The difference between the two texts lay at first in the use of language.

But due to divergent interpretations of the different texts in later ages, two schools of thought emerged. Because it was on the priority list for elimination, *The Book of History* understandably suffered the most extensive damage. However, a mutilated copy of the book survived the burning campaign. And it was thanks to Fu Sheng, the great master in the study of Confucian classics of the early Han Dynasty, that *The Book of History* escaped total destruction.

According to "Biographies of Scholars" in *The Records of the Historian*, Fu Sheng was a native of Jinan and served as Imperial Historian during the reign of the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty. When the First Emperor ordered the burning of books, Fu Sheng hid *The Book of History* in a wall and then went into exile for a time during the wars that brought about the Qin Empire's downfall. He returned in search of the hidden book when the Han Dynasty was established, only to find that twenty-nine books (twenty-eight according to exact count) remained intact. Dozens of books of the work were missing. Thereupon, Fu Sheng began to use the remain as the textbook to teach his disciples in Qi and Lu. Written in the vernacular of the Han Dynasty, this edition of *The Book of History* came to be called the modern text.

In addition to Fu Sheng's modern text, *The Book*

of *History* appeared in the form of several ancient texts during the Han Dynasty. These include the texts of Prince Xian of Hejian, Kong Anguo, Zhang Ba of Dong Lai, Du Lin and Liu Tao. Of these, Zhang Ba's text was immediately determined to be a forgery. All the ancient texts, including Zhang Ba's fake copy, became lost after the Han Dynasty. Later, during the Eastern Jin times, an administrative official in Yuzhang by the name of Mei Ze presented a copy of *The Book of History* with preface and notes allegedly written by Kong Anguo. This copy was used as the prototype by Kong Yingda in compiling *The Book of History* when he edited the classics under orders of the second emperor of the Tang Dynasty. Consequently, Mei's text became official and widely circulated after the Sui and Tang Dynasties. And it is the only text of *The Book of History* surviving today.

However, as early as during the Tang and Song Dynasties, scholars began to challenge the authenticity of Mei Ze's text of *The Book of History*. After extensive research and verification, the Ming Dynasty scholar Mei Wu, in his book *Textual Research of "The Book of History"*, identified traces of forgery in Mei Ze's text. The Qing Dynasty scholar Yan Ruoqu carried on the work of verification and wrote *A Commentary on "The Book of History in the Ancient Text"*, which provides complete indisputable evidence of the forgery of the ancient text

of *The Book of History*. The validation is significant not only in the study of *The Book of History* but also an example of textual verification of classical writings.

With the ancient text identified as a forgery, it became evident that the only authentic text of *The Book of History* was the mutilated copy in twenty-eight books that had been handed down by Fu Sheng.

Though it was proved to be fake, the ancient text of *The Book of History* had been regarded as a classic since the early years of the Tang Dynasty and had much impact on Chinese politics and ideology. It is, therefore, worthy of a close study.

This book contains and translates the twenty-eight original books of the modern text from the version of in *The Thirteen Classics, with Commentary and Explanations* of the Qing Dynasty and with reference to the collation by ancient and modern scholars.

Though in only twenty-eight books, the modern text of *The Book of History* covers a long span of history from Yao and Shun, legendary monarchs of early ancient China, to the duke of Mu of the State of Qin during the Warring States Period.

"The Canon of Yao" and "The Counsels of Gaoyao," which are included in the history of Yu, tell about the history of Emperors Yao and Shun. Very similar in content, "The Counsels of Gaoyao" can be taken

as a sequel to "The Canon of Emperor Yao." Focusing on the deeds of Yao and Shun, "The Canon of Emperor Yao" recounts the disintegration of the clan system towards the end of the primitive society. Judging from the accounts, we conclude that Yao and Shun lived and worked in the southwestern part of present-day Shanxi Province. The Longshan culture remains unearthed in the southern part of Shanxi testifies to this conclusion. This tends to authenticate many of the deeds of Yao and Shun as recorded in "The Canon of Emperor Yao."

"The Counsels of Gaoyao" mainly discusses the strategy for the administration of the state, advancing the principles of "knowing the people" and "pacifying the people" as well as formulating "the five rites" and "the five punishments." This demonstrates that the hierarchical system and the state machine began to be established at the time. Though full of Confucian thinking, "the Counsels of Gaoyao" has much to offer for the study of the social history at the time.

The history of Xia also contains two books—"The Contributions of Yu" and "The Speech at Gan", which tell about two major events in the Xia times, namely, Yu's fight of floods and the king of Xia's war against Youhu. As a well-known legend of ancient China, Yu's efforts in battling against floods can be found in many annals of the Warring States Period. "The Con-

tributions of Yu" is important not only because it recorded the famous historical story but also because it was a highly valuable classic of ancient Chinese history. In the narration, one finds detailed descriptions of the location and extension of the mountains and rivers, the distribution of natural resources and local produce, and the composition of the soil. These data contribute significantly to the study of farming in ancient China.

After regulating the flood waters, Yu surveyed and divided China into nine states with the State of Ji at the centre and Yan, Qing, Xu, Yang, Jing, Liang, and Yong radiating in all directions. The whole area surveyed and mapped out covered a vast expanse of land stretching eastward to the east coast, westward to Gansu and Shaanxi, southward to Hubei and Hunan, and northward to the Liaodong Peninsula. The large tract of land roughly corresponds to the data provided by the study of the Longshan culture from the remains unearthed so far. The account of Yu's contributions provides particularly valuable information for studying the formation of the Chinese nation.

Though extremely short, "the Speech at Gan" has much significance because of the war it recounts. The war took place when the slave society began to replace the primitive society. In this transitional period, emperors would no longer abdicate their throne and hand over the