

晚周礼的文质论

梅珍生 著



湖北人民出版社

本选题颇具开创性，开拓了文化思想史研究的新课题，填补了文化思想史研究的空白，具有很高的学术水平。

——武汉大学哲学系教授 唐明邦

本选题具有前沿性，它突破了以往同类研究的局限，视角新颖、观点独特、论证严谨、文字简洁、行文流畅，是一篇高水平的博士论文。

——苏州大学哲学系教授、博导 蒋国保

这是一篇立足学术前沿，颇具创见的博士论文。作者运用人类学、考古学、文化学方法，博引古礼资料，以具体的感性材料印证抽象的哲理，丰富和深化了先秦哲学研究。

——南京大学中国思想家研究中心教授 许苏民

这篇论文以特定时期礼的文质问题为研究对象，选题具有前沿性，观点有创新，是一篇思路开阔、材料扎实、论证严密的好文章。

——中山大学哲学系教授、博导 李宗桂

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内 容 摘 要

礼是中国文化的核心观念。它脱胎于原始宗教禁忌，又是对宗教禁忌的包容性超越。它既包涵了“敬鬼神”的神灵崇拜内容，又有着规范人类群体、个体之间相互联系、相互交往的原则的人文内涵。春秋战国时期，既是礼崩乐坏的时代，也是礼乐文明的奥旨得以充分阐扬的时代。当时杰出的思想家们从理性原则出发，对礼作出了深刻的反思。

儒道两家对于礼的反思最具代表性，他们围绕礼的文质关系将论题集中在以下三个方面：一是礼乐制度有无存在的必要；二是礼的本质；三是礼作为人存在的一种式样，它所反映的人的本质。

礼的文质是一对极具涵盖性的范畴。从宏观上看，它们是对社会文明状态的总体概括，文质的不同，反映了一个时代的礼乐制度的发育、发展程度。在微观层面上，礼的文质关系反映的是礼的形式与内容、意蕴，或礼呈现的式样与其本质、精神、功能的关系。礼文既包括了国家的重大制度，也包括了人们社会交往、婚丧嫁娶和饮食起居等日常活动的礼节仪式。与对这种外规范的关注相比，思想家们对于礼的本质、礼的功能、礼的精神、礼的形上学及其所反映的人的本质等深层面知识的探寻，似乎有着更大的兴趣。

从礼文层面看，祭礼极为重要。它是我们认识礼中含蕴的非理性的信仰何以转化为社会理性的最佳路径。周人的郊天之祭、社稷之祭与宗庙之祭，集中地反映了那个时代人们的精神信仰。

祭天既反映了对上天的敬畏,又反映了人们对自己来自何处的根源性追溯,它具有祈福与报恩两个目的。周人的“天”与“天命”已有了“敬德”和“保民”等明确的道德内容,天的神性渐趋淡化,“人”与“民”在政治生活中的地位有明显的上升。社稷之祭包括对社神与稷神的祭祀。它混杂了人的多种感情,一是对土地的感激之情,二是对谷神灵魂的重视,三是对作为民族、国家的守护神的供奉。宗庙祭祀则是神权与统治权相结合的一种结果,是圣王对民众非理性心理的理性运用。当它作为宗法制度的组成部分时,它通过祭祖权的有无来达到甄别“亲疏远迩”的目的。这种以调适现实社会人事关系为目的的祭祀,已发生了与灵魂崇拜相异的转换,是人们施行道德教化的一种方式。

在具体的礼典仪式中,礼器是构成践礼活动必不可少的要素。它以实物的形式,既构造了礼仪活动中的神圣氛围,也呈现出了行礼主体的身份地位,以及他们与之交往的对象的具体感情。礼数作为一种制度规定,它到底是代表礼中的次要方面,还是关涉礼的本质,人们对此一直有两种意见。一种观点认为礼数是礼中的末节,而礼意才是重要的;另一种观点则认为礼数具有优先性,它要求将人的不同情感限制性地纳入礼的模式中来衡量、规约,无论是谁,也无论多么真挚的情感,都要经受礼数的检验。其实,践礼的主体作为礼仪规则的表现者,他与礼的数度之间是相辅相成的,礼数是否得当,直接关系到礼的完成。只有行礼者的礼数与其名位相符、与其表现的礼意相符,才能恰当地揭示礼的形式与礼的内容之间的关系。祭器与养器(或用器)的划分,是基于神圣与世俗两重世界的理论;将礼器分为祭器与明器两类,则是依照生人与鬼神的两重世界的理论。周人随葬兼用这两种器具,正是灵魂禁忌潜在地表现出理智与情感两种矛盾的反映,礼的器具下蕴含着深刻的礼意。

礼无论是作为一种外在于人身心的制度,还是人借助特定仪

式、器物所表达的感情、敬意,任何礼仪的完成总少不了行礼的主体这一要素,只有人的活动才使礼的制度设计得以实现。与那种将礼仪中主体人的活动看作是纯粹仪式表演的看法相反,礼仪中的周旋揖让,不仅是完成礼的必要形式,也是约束人性,使人的自然情感与社会性的礼相符的修德工具。个体的人只有努力磨练性情,自觉地将礼仪规范内化为个体的本质,才有可能使人的原始生命得以扬弃。在礼的践履中,始终存在“我”与“他人”的关系,在与他人交往过程中,心存肃敬是保证礼仪正确的前提条件。礼离不开敬,不带敬的感情的礼,是空洞的仪式;敬也离不开礼,没有为礼所规约的敬,就是径行直情的滥情主义。与恭敬紧密相联是谦让,它的表现形式是厚人自薄,卑己尊人,它们同样寓于人们日常生活的动作仪容中。

诸子在探寻人的本质以及礼的本质过程中,对礼的文质关系作了不同的阐发。在孔子思想中,仁与礼是统一的整体,它们共同地规定了人之为人的本质。仁既是人的本质又是礼的本质,作为人的本质,它有赖道德实践主体的人,在日常生活中将仁德彰显出来,它在动态意义上,揭示了人的德性与礼的规范之间的实践关系。仁作为礼的本质,则为礼的规定或节文所含蕴,它在静态意义上表现了礼的外在规范是否体现了“仁”的原则。当孔子将仁作为对礼乐精神的概括时,仁便获得了形而上的本体意义。在礼的文质关系中,仁是礼的创生原则,是其内在依据;礼文作为建构原则、外在规约,礼必须根据仁的原则,不断调整完善,以便人性依中道原则发展。

在老子、孟子、庄子那里,他们都表现出了重质轻文的倾向。人们通常因《老子》第三十八章的内容,将老子视作反礼的代表人物,这是不确切的。从《老子》文本看,老子所反对的是礼的形式,而不是礼的内容。他对于礼质的阐发,主要包括礼的本质、礼的精神、礼的功能等内容。老子称礼为忠信之薄而乱之首,恰恰表明老

子是以忠信为礼的本质的；在礼的精神方面，老子反对礼中过分的形式，要求除去礼中的甚、奢、泰，强调慈、俭、不为天下先；在礼的功能方面，他强调“因名而知止”的交往理性，他的知常、习常主张，正体现出了对既定价值的肯定。因而传统的礼，而不是老子时代当下的被糟蹋得不成样子的礼，正是圣人赖以“行不言之教”的制度基础。

孟子对礼之质与礼之文的探讨，偏重于强调礼之质。他对礼之质的阐发，包括了人的本质与礼的本质两个方面的内容。在人的本质方面，他认为礼乐制度所体现的仁义礼智，是一种先验的道德理性，是人之所以异于禽兽的本质规定；在礼的本质方面，他认为在礼所构建的交往关系中，交往主体之间应相互尊重，礼所规定的权利与义务具有对等性。同时，他还强调人的道德自觉意识，高扬人的生命价值，认为道德的绝对律令，优先于世俗的陈规。在对礼文的阐发中，他对“三年之丧”的讨论，对“仁政”制度的建构，同样体现出了重视以“仁义”为内核的道德理性原则。

庄子对礼的态度是矛盾的。在礼的本质层面上，庄子认为尊卑之序为大道之序，是天地间固有的规律。尊卑先后、尚亲、尚尊、尚齿、尚贤这些内容恰恰符合礼的本质规定，这为礼找到了形上学的根据。他认为真实的礼意，它蕴含在大道之中，阴阳之于人是一种构造性的关系。人的生死正是听命于自然气化的结果，死在道的层次上体现了礼意的顺从原则。庄子不注重礼的形式，礼的形式充其量只是古代治世的糟粕，对礼的形迹的追求，往往成为权势者实现自己的贪欲工具，会导致礼的形式与人的性情之间的背离。这种背离主要体现在世俗之礼对人的动物式的欲望的扩张与对人性的压抑两个方面。因而，庄子的观念中，礼文与礼质是相分离的，他轻视礼的形迹而重视真实的礼意。

荀子对礼所作的判断甚多，或从礼的功用，或从礼的意义，或从礼的目的等，但他主要把礼作为社会法度、规范、秩序，并对其源

起作了理性主义的理解。在礼的文质关系中,他消解了道家对礼文的非难,强调礼文对人的情感的规约作用,以及礼乐制度的度量分界作用;在礼之质方面,他汲取了孔子对仁的道德情感的重视,消化了庄子对礼的形上学的追问,并将孟子的先验道德理性改造为社会交往理性,礼的文质在荀子那里得到了新的统一。

思想家们对于礼的存废合理性的论证,对礼的文质关系的反思,深化了人对自身本质的认识。哲学史上人性论、天人关系,以及社会交往中人与人之间的关系、道器关系等一系列重大问题,都直接与礼的反思密切相联。

关键词:晚周;礼;儒家;道家;文质;礼的形式;礼的本质;人的本质

Abstract

The rite is the core idea of the Chinese culture, which emerges from the womb of the primitive religion taboo, and surmount comprehend of the religion taboo. It contains the content of ghosts and gods worship and humanity, which restrain human group and associate each other between the individual. From the Spring and Autumn Period to the Warring States Period, the system of Rite and Music break out in the era, meanwhile, people can fully understand the meaning of Rite and Music. The outstanding thinkers at that time had made deep introspection on the rite from rational principle.

The most representative introspection on the rite is made by Confucianism and Taoism. They concentrate the proposition of the relation of phenomena and essence of the rite from the following three respects: Firstly, if it is necessary that rite and music system existence; Secondly, the essence of the rite; Thirdly, as one style that people exist, rite reflected essence of human being.

The Wen(文) and Zhi(质) of the rite, i. e. phenomena and essence, is a couple of containing category. From macroscopical aspect, they are the whole epitome of the social civilization state.

The difference between Wen and Zhi of the rite reflected development level of the system of Rite and Music in an era. From the microcosmic aspect, the relation between Wen and Zhi reflected the relation between form and content, meaning, or relation between rite appearing style and essence, spirit, function. The rite included the great national system and daily courtesy ceremony activity, such as people social association, wedding, funeral, marriage and daily life, etc. Comparing with this kind outside concern, ancient thinkers paid more attention to the rite essence, rite function, rite spirit, rite metaphysics and the study of reflecting human essence, etc.

From the rite form aspect, the sacrificial rite is extremely important, which is the best route that we study how the irrational believing in the rite transform into social reason in Zhou—dynasty. A memorial ceremony in suburb, in ancestral temple of a ruling, and in Sheji(社稷), where offering the god of land and the god of grain, held by a given people, the center has reflected people's spiritual faith of that era. The ones that offered a sacrifice to Heaven and already reflected to Heaven were revered, it also reflected that people try to find where he come from. The sacrificial rite has pray for blessings and pays a debt of gratitude two purposes. The ideal of Heaven and "God's will" have the morals content of "respect virtue" and "protect the people" in Zhou—dynasty, the desalinizing gradually of spirit of it. "Human being" and "the people" status of the political life have obvious rising. To hold a memorial ceremony for Sheji include offering sacrifices to the land and to the god of state. It has mixed people's many kinds of emotions, First, the grateful feeling to the land,

Second, the attention to valley souls of gods, Third, enshrining and worship to patron saint as the nationality, country. Ancestral temple of a ruling it offers sacrifices to be one result that religious authority combines with sovereignty, it is the reason to people's irrational psychology of Saint king that is used. When as part of patriarchal system it, from the right of offering a sacrifice to an ancestor we can distinguish peoples of the same clan who is intimate and distantly. It is offered sacrifices to that this kind is taking adjusting the right reality social organizational affiliation as purpose, have already worshipped different conversion with soul. It is people that implement a way in which the morals enlighten by education.

In the specific rite ceremony, the sacrificial vessel is the essential key element in the rite activity. As the form of material object, it constructed the sacred atmosphere in the etiquette activity, also shown the identity status of the saluting subject, and the specific emotion of they and target of its contacts. As a kind of system regulation, if the courtesy representative secondary respect of ceremony finally, or it concern the essence of the rite, people have had two kinds of suggestions on this all the time. A kind of view thinks that the courtesy is the minor details in the rite, and ritual purpose is important; Another kind of view thinks that the courtesy has having priority. It require bring people's different emotion into mode of the gift fixing, stipulations of weighing apparatus restrictedly, who it is no matter, too, sincere emotion, stand the inspection of the courtesy. In fact, the subject of trampling rite as etiquette regular behavior person, Becoming each other several times of he and gift. Whether the

courtesy is apt, it concerns the completion of the rite directly. Courtesy of the persons who saluted must agree with their fame and position, and agree with the gift purpose that displays, could announce the relation of form and content of gift appropriately. Division the utensil with using household necessities and holding sacrificial rite, these based on a theory double worlds of sacredness and secular; Divide the sacrificial vessel into two kinds of holding sacrificial rite and burial article, it is according to the theory about the double world of human being and ghosts and gods. People bury using these two kinds of utensils concurrently in Zhou—dynasty; it is soul taboo that demonstrates reason and emotion two reflection of contradiction potential, contain deep gift purpose under the utensil of the gift.

Whether rite is an external system of body and mind, or an implement which people expressed their emotion by specific ceremony, it is the subject that is key element completing etiquette. Only people's activity did not make the system design of the rite be realized. On the contrary, subject activity of people regard as pure ceremony view of performance. Moving forward, or being towards the back, they are not only the form of completing rite, but also the tools of restraining human nature and cultivating the heart and nature culture. Everyone must restrain himself and keep the rule of rite to be inherent essence of human being, and then we can sublimate the raw life. There are the relations of I and other people in the activity of completing etiquette. To keep the courtesy is right, we must keep respect to other people. The rite is closed to the respect, no respect, no sincerely rite. Meanwhile, people should express the similar emotion of respect and

modest in the activity of daily life.

Seeking essence of the rite and human, ancient thinkers had done different elucidation on the relation between Wen (文) and Zhi (质). In Confucius' thought, Benevolence and rite are unified, which have stipulated people's essence. Benevolence is the essence of both human and the rite. As people's essence, it depends on the person who is subject of the morals practice to appear benevolent moral integrity in daily life. On the dynamic meaning, it announces practice relation between people moral and rite normal. As the essence of the rite, benevolence include and accumulate by regulation or festival document of the rite, it display external norm of rite reflect the principle of "benevolence" at static meaning. In Confucius's opinion, regarding benevolence as the spirit of the system of Rite and Music, it gains the metaphysical meaning of ontology. In the form and essence relation of the rite, benevolence is the creation principle of the rite and its inherent basis. The form of rite is the principle of constructing and external stipulations. Rite must change and develop constantly according to principle of benevolence. So that human nature can develop in accordant with Middle Tao principle.

In the thought of Laozi, Mencius, Zhuangzi, the rite essence is more important than rite form. It is inaccurate that Laozi was regarded as the anti-rite representative for the chapter 38 of his work Taodejing(道德经). In this book, What Laozi objected is the form of the rite, not the content of the rite. He elucidate to rite essence, mainly including the essence, content, spirit and function of the rite, etc. Laozi called rite the weakness of confidence and honesty and the root of confusion, which exactly

indicated Laozi regarded the honesty and the confidence as the essence of rite; In the aspect of the spirit of the rite, Laozi objected to the excessive form in the rite, and demanded to remove the excessive, luxurious, extreme, however, he emphasized kindness, prudence, no world first. His opinion of knowing and practicing the custom reflected his affirmation of the established value. In function of the rite, he emphasizes the rational intercourse of "knowing to stop because of name", therefore, the traditional rite, was not the rite of ravaging shapelessly instantly of the times, It was sage that depended on system foundation of "teaching beyond word".

Mencius prefers the rite content in the study of rite content and form. His elucidation of rite essence included human essence and rite essence two. In human essence, he thought the kindheartedness and righteousness of rite reflected a transcendent moral ration, which is the essential stipulation of human's different from animal. In essence of the rite, He thought in the contacts relation structured by the rite, associating should be respected each other between the subjects. All right stipulated by rite carried with them corresponding responsibilities. Meanwhile, he still emphasized people's morals conscientious consciousness and raised the person's life value. He thought that ethical absolute laws and decrees, take precedence over the outmoded practices of the common customs. In elucidating the one with rite form, his discussion about "the funerals of three years", and the constructing of "mercy" system, equally, embody and pay attention to the rational principle of morals taking "kindheartedness and righteousness" as kernel.

Zhuangzi's attitude toward rite is contradictory. On the essential aspect of the rite, Zhuangzi thought that the ceremonial rite and regulations was the order of Tao, such as order from nobleness to humbleness, from high rank to low rank, and it is the inherent law in the world, which is the Metaphysics basis of rite. He thought the true rite is contained in the Tao and life constructed by Yin—Yang. The death and live of human is accord with nature change. In the Tao aspect, death is yield to nature and reflected conform relation of rite. Zhuangzi didn't pay attention to the form of rite, which is only dross of the ancient administrative operation. Pursuit of rite form would be hierarchy's greed tool and cause the rite form deviating from people's disposition. This kind of deviation is reflected from two respects: common customs rite constrain to animal desire expansion and the oppression of the human nature. Therefore, in the Zhuangzi's idea, rite form is separated with the rite essence. He despised the style and expression of the ceremony and paid more attention to true rite meaning.

Xunzi made a lot of judgments about rite from its function, meaning and the purpose, etc. But he mainly regarded rite as social law, norm, order, and made rational understanding of doctrine to its source. In the relation of Wen (文) and Zhi (质), he cleared up the blame of Taoist school toward the form of the rite, and emphasized its stipulations function of emotion in people, and the boundary function of the system of Rite and Music. In the essence of the rite, he had drawn the attention of Confucius' morals emotion to benevolence, digested Zhuangzi metaphysical pursuit and altered Mencius's transcendent moral reason to

social intercourse reason. The form and essence of rite are perfectly unified in Xunzi's thought.

Human self—essential cognition had been deepened through ancient thinker's rational demonstration of rite keeping or abolishing and introspection of the relation of Wen (文) and Zhi (质) of the rite. In the philosophy history, a series of important issues, such as Humanism Theory, relation between human and Heaven, interpersonal relation in the society, relation between Tao (道) and Concrete Thing (器), etc, all are closely associative to the introspection of the rite.

Key Word: Late — Zhou Dynasty; Rite; Confucianism; Taoism; Form and Content; Essence of the rite; Essence of the human