

中西古典文明 千年史

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（841B. C. —B. C. 476）

（古代中国民主政治全盛时代）

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B. 西周初年的大殖民（封建）

传世的《周书》十一篇，《多士》和《多方》已见于上文章X，“《书·多士》中的革命和《书·多方》中的民主”；其他七篇亦已在本章上文。“周之经营东方”部分，分为三组：1.《大诰》，2.《康诰》、《酒诰》、《梓材》，3.《召诰》、《洛诰》、《无逸》作了介绍，余二篇（《君奭》、《立政》）另见后文。

现在可以转入周初的大殖民，即通常所说的西周〔古代〕的“封建”。经营东方和殖民建邦是同时一道进行的，规模是很大的。

《吕氏春秋·观世》：“周之所封四百余，服国八百余，今无存者矣。”

《荀子·儒效》：〔周公〕“兼制天下，立七十一国，姬姓独居五十三人。”

《左传》昭公二十八年：“昔武王克商，光有天下，其兄弟之国者十有五人，姬姓之国者四十人。”

《左传》僖公二十四年：“昔周公吊二叔之不咸，故封建亲戚，以蕃屏周，管、蔡、郕、霍、鲁、卫、毛、聃、郟、雍、曹、滕、毕、原、邾、郟、文之昭也。邶、晋、应、韩、武之穆也。凡、蒋、邢、茅、胙、祭、周公之胤也”。

Thus the duke of Zhou, grieved by the want of harmony

in the concluding times [of the two previous dynasties], raised the relatives of the royal House to the rule of States, that they might act as fences and screens to Zhou. The princes of Guan, Cai, Cheng, Huo, Lu, Wei, Mao, Dan, Gao, Yong, Cao, Teng, Bi, Yuan, Feng, and Xun were all sons of king Wen. Those of Yu, Jin, Ying, and Han were sons of king Wu. Those of Fan, Jiang, Xing, Mao, Zuo, and Cai were descendants of the duke of Zhou.

《左传》昭公九年：“我自夏以后稷，魏、骀、芮、岐、毕、吾西土也。及武王克商，蒲姑、商奄，吾东土也。巴、濮、楚、邓、吾南土也。肃慎、燕毫、吾北土也。”

“We [of Zhou], from the time of the Xia dynasty, in consequence of [the services of] Hou-ji, had Wei, Tai, Rui, Qi, and Bi as our territories on the west. When king Wu subdued Shang, Pu-gu and Shang-yan were our territories on the east; Ba, Pu, Chu, and Deng, our territories on the south; Su-shen, Yan, and Bo, our territories on the north.

《左传》昭公二十六年：“王子朝使告于诸侯曰，昔成王克殷，成王靖四方，康王息民，并建母弟，以藩屏周。亦曰，吾无专享文武之功，且为后人之迷败倾复，而溺人于难，则振救之。至于夷王，王愆于厥身，诸侯莫不并走其望，以祈王身。至于厉王，王心戾虐，万民弗忍，居王于彘。诸侯释位，以间王政，宣王有志，而后效官。至于幽

王，天不吊周，王昏不若，用愆厥位，携王奸命，诸侯替之，而建王嗣，用迁郑廓。”

“The [late] king's son Chao sent an announcement to the various States, saying, ” King Wu subdued Yin; king Cheng secured tranquillity throughout the kingdom, and king Kang gave the people rest. They all invested their full brothers with the rule of States, which might serve as defences and screens for Zhou. They also felt that they would not enjoy themselves alone the result of the achievements of Wen and Wu, and [reasoned] that if any of their descendants went astray or were overthrown, getting plunged into calamity, [the princes, their relatives] would succour and save them. By-and-by, king Yi suffered from an evil disease, and the princes all hurried to sacrifice to their hills and rivers, praying for the king's person. The mind of king Li proved stubborn and tyrannical, but the myriads of the people could not bear [to hurt him], and made him take up his residence in Chi. [Two of the] princes gave up their own places, that they might attend to the king's government, and when king Xuan showed that he had [firm and wise] purpose, they surrendered all their offices to him. After him, in the days of king You, Heaven had not pity upon Zhou. The king blindly pursued an improper course, and lost his throne. Then came king Xi in violation of the statutes, so that the princes set him aside, and raised king

[You's] proper heir to the throne, who removed [the capital] to Jia-ru; — thus were the brothers [of the king] able to employ their strength in support of the royal House.”

《左传》定公四年：“昔武王克商，成王定之，选建民德，以藩屏周，故周公相王室以尹天下，于周为睦，分鲁公以大路大旂，夏后氏之璜，封父之繁弱，殷民六族，条氏、徐氏、萧氏、索氏、长勺氏、尾勺氏使帅其宗氏，辑其分族，将其类丑，以法则周公，用即命于周，是使之职事于鲁，以昭周公之明德，分之土田倍敦，祝宗卜史，备物典策，官司彝器，因商奄之民，命以伯禽，而封于少皞之虚。分康叔以大路，少帛、绪筏，旃旌，大吕。殷民七族，陶氏、施氏，繁氏、锺氏、樊氏、饥氏、终葵氏、封畛土，略自武父以南，及圃田之北竟。取于有阎之土，以共王职，取于相土之东都，以会王之东搜。聘季授土，陶叔授民，命以康诰，而封于殷虚，皆启以商政，疆以周索。分唐叔以大路密须之鼓，阙鞶诒洗，怀姓九宗，职官五正。命以唐诰，而封于夏虚，启以夏政，疆以戎索。

“When king Wu had subdued Shang, king Cheng completed the establishment of the new dynasty, and chose and appointed [the princes of] intelligent virtue, to act as bulwarks and screens to Zhou. Hence it was that the duke of Zhou gave his aid to the royal House for the adjustment of all the kingdom, he being most dear and closely related to

Zhou. To the duke of Lu (Bo-qin, the duke of Zhou's son) there were given a grand chariot, a grand flag with dragons on it, the huang-stone of the sovereigns of Xia, and the [great bow], Fan-ruo of Feng-fu. [The Heads of] six clans of the people of Yin,— the Tiao, the Xu, the Xiao, the Suo, the Chang-shao, and the Wei-shao, were ordered to lead the chiefs of their kindred, to collect their branches, the remoter as well as the near, to conduct the multitude of their connexions, and to repair with them to Zhou, to receive the instructions and laws of the duke of Zhou. They were then charged to perform duty in Lu, that thus the brilliant virtue of the duke of Zhou might be made illustrious. Lands [also] were apportioned [to the duke of Lu] on an enlarged scale, with priests superintendents of the ancestral temple, diviners, historiographers, all the appendages of State, the tablets of historical records, the various officers and the ordinary instruments of their offices. The people of Shang-yan were also attached; and a charge was given to Bo-qin, and the old capital of Shao-hao was assigned as the centre of his State. ”

“To Kang Shu (The first magus of Wei) there were given a grand carriage, four flags,—of various coloured silks, of red, of plain silk, and ornamented with feathers,— and [the bell], Da—lu, with seven clans of the people of

Yin,—the Tao, the Shi, the Po, the Qi, the Fan, the Ji, and the Zhong-kui. The boundaries of his territory extended from Wu-fu southwards to the north of Pu-tian. He received a portion of the territory of You-yan, that he might discharge his duty to the king, and a portion of the lands belonging the eastern capital of Xiang-tu, that he might be able the better to attend at the king's journeys to the east. Ran Ji delivered to him the land, and Tao Shu the people. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement to Kang (Shu. V. ix.)', and the old capital of Yin was assigned as the centre of his State. Both in Wei and Lu they were to commence their govt. according to the principles of Shang, but their boundaries were defined according to the rules of Zhou.

"To Tang Shu (The first lord of Jin) there were given a grand carriage, the drum of Mi-Xu, the Que-gong mail, the bell Guxian, 9 clans of the surname Huai, and five presidents over the different departments of office. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement of Tang (Now lost)', and the old capital of Xia was assigned as the centre of his State. He was to commence his govt. according to the principles of Xia, but his boundaries were defined by the rules of the Rong. . ."

XII. 汤武革命的历史任务

A. “临君周邦”，“变和天下”——《顾命》对周邦与周天下各邦关系的制定

汤放桀在公元前 1656 年（依《汉书·律历志》计）或前 1523 年（依古本《竹书纪年》计），武王伐纣在前 1027 年，合称汤武革命，绝对年数当然都只是近似的。汤、武、周公、成王都是上前线指挥作战的人物，康王继之，成康之治，收了历史上第一度全国性的太平成果，史载“成康之际，天下安宁，刑错四十余年不用”（《周本纪》）。

《汉书·律历志》：“成王元年正月己巳朔，此命伯禽俾侯于鲁之岁也。后三十年四月庚戌朔，十五日甲子哉生霸，故《顾命》曰：惟四月哉生霸，王有疾不豫。甲子，王乃洮沫水（洗面），作《顾命》，翌日乙丑，成王崩”。成王在位三十年。《顾命》郑康成注云，“此成王二十八年”，孙星衍疏以周公居摄七年、居东二年加进去，为三十七年，认为若除去九年或七年，则二十八年、三十年之数字均合也。疑

《顾命》之年在公元前 995 年，即武王去世（公元前 1025 年）之前三十年也。

顾炎武《日知录》卷二“顾命”条，认为此篇“中有脱简”，认为自“狄设黼宸缀衣”以下就应当属于《康王之诰》，以上记成王顾命登遐之事，以下记明年正月上日康王即位朝诸侯之事。自“王出在应门之内”以下是康王临朝，与前此庙中事无关了。

《顾命》和《康王之诰》之分合，各有各说。合为一篇最好，因为此篇在现存《尚书》中的重大意义，不在于旧王临终与新王上任之交代接班，而在于成康之际邦国天下制度的历史总结。

.....

王麻冕黼裳；卿士、邦君麻冕蚁裳，入即位；太保、太史、太宗皆麻冕彤裳，太保承介圭，上宗奉同瑁，由阼阶陟，太史秉书，由宾阶陟，御王册命，曰：

皇后冯玉几，道扬末命：

命汝嗣训，临君周邦，

率循大卞，夔和天下，

用答扬文武之光训。

王再拜兴答曰：“眇眇予末小子其能而乱四方，以敬忌天威！”

.....

这里“皇后冯玉几”，皇后 [大君] 是成王，还是康王，

还有争论。屈万里还认为是指成王，但孙星衍疏云：“皇者，《释诂》云，君也；后者，《说文》云，继体君也，谓康王也”。“此太史传述成王之命令，命康王冯玉几，以听道扬绪余之命，即《白虎通》爵篇云即继体之谓也，言命汝嗣守此训，以临君周国，率循大任，以和天下，以对扬文武光显之训”。孙疏末云，“伪传以王后为大君成王，误矣”。

《顾命》是成康之际政治制度的结语。“临君周邦”，“燮和天下”，成王遗命，命康王好好地作周邦的邦君，同时，作为邦国联盟的盟主，要协和天下诸邦，使之和好相处。屈万里把“燮和天下”译为“使天下的民众都与政府和洽”，这也不现实。在当时的政治制度下，周天子管不到各邦邦人与邦君的关系，各邦的邦人或国人，属于本邦，由本邦邦君管辖指挥，邦之联盟的首领〔天子〕管不到他们。

汤武革命是邦或城邦阶段的政治革命。殷商是一个邦，是以后来邶鄘卫一带为中心的邦，一个殷商天下城邦联盟的盟主的邦；周也是一个邦，先在西土，继于征商经营东方，形成很大规模的周天下的盟主的邦。殷邦不过“邦畿千里”（《商颂·玄鸟》），不过是多邦之一；至于“肇域彼四海”，“则是邦之联盟的全部经界（天下）”；周邦由宗周到成周，也不过是“邦畿千里”（《礼·大学》）。但周之天下比之殷之天下要大得多，特别是在经营东方之后，西土东土之外，还有巴、濮、楚、邓的南土，肃慎、燕、亳的北土（《左传》昭公九年）。周天下的大，是由于这个天下的邦加多了，上文提及的周初大殖民，殖民便是建邦。

“邦畿千里，维民所止”，邦的组成内容是邦人国人，是民，众，庶。不同的邦有不同的邦民，殷人属于殷邦，周人属于周邦。天子是天下的天子，他作为邦君，只能管本邦的邦人国人。只有当战争的时候，各邦的邦人组成一致的阵线，在当了天子的王统辖之下作战，这时候，多方（多邦）一起听王一人指挥。汤是武王，是在作《汤誓》的时刻显示出来（《殷本纪》：……作《汤誓》，于是汤曰：“吾甚武，号曰武王”）。周武王也是武王，他一直在观兵，作战。

当天子要有天命，邦君未必都有天命，也不都是天子。有时有了天下，未必就当天子。“禹稷躬稼而有天下”（《论语·宪问》）。周人自己说，“我自夏以后稷，魏骀芮歧毕，吾西土也”。（《左传》昭公九年）他们在西方也是各邦的盟主，但当初邦君不是天子：直到“三分天下有其二”（《论语·泰伯》）的时候，周文王才开始提到有天命的问题（《诗·大雅·文王》），还不是天子。但这些历史人物就邦君地位的形势看来，都是强有力的。他们这样的邦君。有了邦人、国人，在古代是真正的“民之主”，“民主”，即人民领袖。当了人民首领，“天命”也就来了。

《礼·大学》云：“尧舜率天下以仁，而民从之；桀纣率天下以暴，而民从之。其所令反其所好，而民不从”。这里的“民”，主要是邦君治下的邦人，而不是他不能直接管理的异邦之邦人。这段成语英译要加说明，成为 Yao and Shun led the land under Heaven with benevolence, and the people [of his own state] followed them. Jie and Zhou led on the

land under Heaven with violence, and the people [of his own state] followed them. The orders which these issued were contrary to the practices which they loved, and so the people did not follow them.

有这样一个故事：周宣王时，“鲁武公以 [其两子] 括与戏见王”，“宣王爱戏，欲立之为鲁太子”，周之乡士樊仲山父谏，不听，卒立之。鲁公归而卒（前 812），戏立，是为懿公。“懿公兄括之子伯御，与鲁人攻杀懿公，而立为君”（前 806）。鲁人即鲁之国人。宣王三十二年（前 796），周伐鲁，杀伯御而立孝公。《国语·周语》云，“诸侯从是而不睦”，《史记·鲁世家》云，“自是后，诸侯多畔王命”。

诸侯立君是各邦自己的事，是各邦邦人国人的事。这次宣王废长立少，虽天子立诸侯之君，鲁之国人不从，亦不可。

后来鲁之立君问题，据三传所记，还能反映出国人的作用。

鲁孝公（前 796—前 769 年）的儿子是鲁惠公（前 768—前 723 年），惠公的长庶子继立为隐公（前 722—前 712 年），《春秋》始于隐公元年。惠公死，当立的儿子是后来的桓公，年尚少，隐公以庶子摄位，《左传》说，“隐公立而奉之”；《公羊传》说明隐公为什么不辞立，而摄位，因为“桓幼而贵，隐长而卑，其为尊卑也微，国人莫知，隐长又贤，诸大夫扳隐而立之，隐于是焉而辞立，则未知桓之将必

得立也，且如桓立，则恐诸大夫之不能相幼君也，故凡隐之立，为桓立也”。这里说出鲁国又遇到君位的复杂问题，谁要管这种复杂问题呢？一是国人（民众会成员），一是诸大夫（长老会议成员）。《史记·鲁周公世家》也说，“及惠公卒”，“鲁人共令息〔隐公名〕摄政”。鲁人者，鲁之国人也。古代史上，立君是第一等大事之一，国人要管这个问题，可见国人在政治上的地位。^①

国人在政治上的地位从什么时候重要起来的？从汤武革命开始。在《汤誓》中的“众庶”，在《泰誓》中的“众庶”，是军队中作战的主力，国人是战士；在《泰誓》中还提及“诸大夫”也在前方战场起作用（均见上文所引）。战士是“士”的一级，诸大夫则是“大夫”的一级，都是邦的基础。

汤武革命的历史意义首先是国人阶段的政治地位提高了，这结合着公元前二千年末至一千年年代初古代世界铁器时代的到来和扩展，即生产力的发展，其结果是像《周本纪》中太史公所总结的，“成康之际，天下安宁，刑错四十余年不用”。在这基础上，出现了西周几个历史大事：昭王的南征，穆王的西征，以及鲁人的“东伐”（淮夷、徐戎）。

这一切都同国人阶级政治地位的扩展相互矛盾而又相互促进，结局是政治史上公卿执政制之出现和古典民主政治的确立——春秋时代的到来。

^① 参阅《古代城邦史研究》，人民出版社，1989，页25—42。

顾命

THE TESTAMENTARY CHARGE

1. 惟四月哉生魄王不怿

1. I . In the fourth month, when the moon began to wane, the king was indisposed.

2. 甲子王乃洮颍水相被冕服凭玉几

2. On the day Jia-zi, he washed his hands and face, his attendants put on him his cap and robes, and *he sat up*, leaning on the gem-adorned bench.

3. 乃同太保奭芮伯彤伯毕公卫侯毛公师氏虎臣百尹御事

3. He then called for the Grandprotector Shi, the baron of Rui, the baron of Tong, the duke of Bi, the prince of Wei, the duke of Mao, Shi, the master of the warders, the master of the guards, the Heads of the officers, --all the superintendents of affairs.

4. 王曰呜呼疾大渐惟几病日臻既弥留恐不获誓言嗣兹予审训命汝

4. The king said, "Oh! my illness has greatly increased, and it will soon be over with me. The malady comes on daily with more violence and without interruption. I am afraid I may not find another opportunity to declare my wishes about my successor, and therefore I now lay my charge on you with special instructions.

5. 昔君文王武王宣重光莫丽陈教则肆肆不违用克达殷集大命

5. The former sovereigns, king Wen and king Wu, displayed in succession their equal glory, making sure provision for the support of the people, and setting forth their instructions. *The people* accorded a practical submission; they did so without any opposition, so that their influence extended to Yin, and the great appointment of *Heaven* was secured.

6. 在后之侗敬迓天威嗣守文武大训无敢昏逾

6. After them, I, the stupid one, received with reverence the dread *decree* of Heaven, and continued to keep the great instructions of Wen and Wu, not daring blindly to transgress them.

7. 今天降疾殆弗兴弗悟尔尚明时朕言用敬保元子钊弘济于艰难

7. Now Heaven has laid affliction on me, and it seems as if I should not again rise or be myself. Do you take clear note of my words, and in accordance with them watch reverently over my eldest son, Zhao, and greatly assist him in the difficulties of his position. "

8. 柔远能迓安劝小大庶邦

8. Be kind to those who are far off, and help those who are near. Promote the tranquillity of the States, small and great, and encourage them *to well-doing*.