试论南北天师道的契约观及 其在伦理上的影响

Covenantal Thinking, Daoist Reform and New Ethics: A Discussion on Heavenly Masters Daoism in the North and South Dynasties

> 朱东华 北京大学 Zhu Donghua Peking University

[英文提要]

During the North and South Dynasties (4th - 5th centuries), Daoism underwent a profound reformation. Kou Qianzhi founded the Neo-Heavenly Masters Sect in the North Dynasty, and Lu Xiujing developed a mature institutionalized form of Daoism in the South Dynasty. As Daoism became increasingly corrupted, the two reformers used the concept of covenant to restore healthy living.

The core of the reformation program was the covenant made by "the Venerable Lord Lao" (tai shang lao jun) with "the New Lord Lao" (xin chu lao jun). Covenant partners included "people of the flesh" – those yet unredeemed by Dao, and "people of the seed" – those who have received Dao. Under the criticism of the new and awe – inspiring "Oath," "people of the flesh" were encouraged to abide by the covenant and become "people of the seed" (the elect for salvation). In the process of covenant making, there is a "guarantor" – "the boy of the East Sea", and a mediator – the Celestial Master. The former only played the role of messenger, while the latter was the prophet who communicated with the di-

vine and supervised the carrying out of the covenant. This is quite different from the Christian idea of Christ, who by his divine sacrifice replaced all mediators.

The moral implications of this covenantal reform were twofold. First, in political ethics, the Celestial Masters' major concern turned out to be a demand for Confucian virtues, namely, that fathers should be compassionate, sons should be filial, and officials should be loyal to the king. Furthermore, the new covenant stressed the importance of serving as the "emperor's teacher" rather than the leader of protests or revolutions. Thus, "commoner" Daoism became "aristocratic" Daoism. Secondly, in economic ethics, with the establishment of Temple Daoism, the duties of the professional priesthood were focused exclusively on sacramental services and personal meditation.

在此约的含义是双重的。在政治伦理中,新天师道的政治伦理的基本要求是儒家的德性,"父慈、子孝、臣忠",新契约观看重化身帝师的意义,而看轻化身李弘之说法。政治伦理的基本立足点也相应地发生位移:从以平民价值为本位,转变为以士族贵族的价值为本位。在经济伦理取向上,随着宫观道教的建立,新道教独占性地法事与灵修。

南北朝之际,中国道教发生了深刻的变革。北朝寇谦之(365-448年)假托太上老君之命,开展"清整运动",建立起了新的天师道;南朝陆修静(406-477年)继承天师道的改革,并在吸收灵宝、上清两派思想的同时,发展出了成熟的教会式宫观道教。综合寇、陆两人的改革来看,他们都是从当时道教组织混乱、科律废弛的现状出发,利用既有的宗教资源,去重建神与人、人与人新的契约。下面我们首先考察一下他们的契约观,然后讨论这种契约观