我心目中的赵俪生先生

——写在赵俪生先生一百周年冥诞之际

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摘 要:赵俪生先生是一位卓有成就的马克思主义历史学家。赵俪生先生虽然对马克思主义自始至终都怀有执著的信仰,但又不是那种抱残守缺、墨守成规式的教条主义信仰,而是在提高自身对马克思主义理论认识的基础上,加深对于马克思主义理论的理解,还原马克思主义理论知识结构,从而使自己的信仰从盲从中解脱出来,这是一位真正的马克思主义者所具有的立场和胸怀。赵先生先生运用阶级分析方法研究历史,在很大程度上与他对社会底层人民的人文关怀和对家国情仇的巨大情感联系在一起。这也应是赵先生信仰马克思主义的心理和情感基础。赵俪生先生虽然不专攻宋史,但他对宋代地方武力的研究、对宋代社会发展的总体把握及其主流现象的认识,颇有独到而深刻的见解。

关键词:赵俪生;马克思主义史学;宋史

DOI: 10, 16346/j, cnki, 37-1101/c, 2019, 01, 12

一、记忆中的赵俪生先生

20 世纪 80 年代从兰州各高校历史专业毕业的学生,大概无人不晓赵俪生先生。赵先生的道德文章和传奇人生,总是成为历史系学生们重要的谈论议题。我知道赵先生是在 1979 年的春季,那是赵先生在甘肃省博物馆学术报告厅给兰州高校和科研单位史学界的师生作报告,报告的题目是"农民起义与古史分期"。1978 年冬季,赵先生分别出席了在长春召开的中国古代史分期讨论会和在上海召开的农民战争史讨论会。赵先生的报告就是围绕这两个会议的议题而展开,有关会议主题讨论,赵先生专门撰文发表在省内杂志上^①。而在报告会上所讲要比论文内容宽泛许多,特别是讲了会议上的争论以及许多趣闻。

当时,我刚考进甘肃师大历史系不久,因为以前从未学习过历史,对于赵先生讲授的内容并不是很能听得懂,但是当时我所在甘肃师大历史系中国古代史课正好讲到秦末农民大起义,讲课的老师潘策先生主张农民大起义后地主阶级实行反攻倒算政策的观点,由此知道在 20 世纪 50 年代以后的农民战争史研究中,形成了学术观点十分对立的两派:一派以孙达人先生为代表,讲"反攻倒算",受到毛泽东的赞赏;一派以孙祚民先生为代表,讲"皇权主义"和"让步政策",遭到批判。尽管他们二人观点对立、遭遇迥别,却都是赵先生在山东大学任教时的学生。故而我对于赵俪生先生讲他的这两位学生都在会下积极联络他,希望自己能支持他们各自的观点印象深刻。赵先生说,都是学生,手心手背都是肉,支持一方,另一方肯定受伤害,因而每次面对学生都是笑而不语,任他们尽情发挥自己的观点。

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① 赵俪生:《关于古史分期问题和农民战争问题》,《甘肃社会科学》1979年第1期。

这次报告会后,有许多人谈及赵俪生先生的传奇人生。赵先生 1957 年从山东大学历史系调至 兰州大学历史系,并被补划为右派,剥夺了讲课和发表作品的权力。不久,兰州大学文科下马,赵先生被并入甘肃师大历史系,随后被遣往甘肃师大设在河西走廊山丹县的农场接受"改造"。1960 年,饥饿降临到每个人的头上。农场里人人饥肠辘辘,还得从事繁重的劳作。赵先生已极度虚弱,仍遭受非人的虐待,九死一生。

得悉赵俪生先生的这段经历,一下子拉近了我与赵先生的情感距离。因为赵先生在山丹遭受饥饿之时,只有两岁多的我也在山丹遭受同样的饥饿。我的父亲在 50 年代中期从北京支援大西北来到新组建的山丹矿务局(后改为山丹煤矿),而我就出生在山丹县平坡。1960 年我家从平坡搬到山丹煤矿留守处所在地前窑。前窑离县城约 4 公里,而山丹四坝农场在县城南面 9 公里,少年时的我在每年七八月间都要到四坝农场捡拾麦穗和掘挖黄鼠储存粮的洞穴,也常到邻近的三十里铺滩上吃西瓜,一角钱管吃足^①。

据父辈讲述,1958年以后山丹县连年遭受自然灾害的侵袭,1959年年底发生了严重的疫情,甚至出现了人吃人的悲惨景象。从有关记载也可以印证当时山丹的灾疫很严重:1960年4月"全县不断出现食物中毒和浮肿病人","1960年12月17日,县委向张掖地委上报灾情,初步统计全县共有各种病人五千多人,最近两个月死亡246人。群众口粮每人每天只有6两,体质日益瘦弱"。"1961年1月7日,县委作出《关于进一步深入开展大规模采集和制造代食品(包菜根、糜谷根、大豆叶、麦衣、山药秧、葫芦秧、瓜秧、蓬科、碱柴子等)运动的几点意见》"。由此可知,当时正常人的生命尚难以得到保障,对于遭受政治"迫害"的赵先生九死一生的经历,就有了切肤的理解。

自 1979 年春季听过赵先生的讲座后,我自然开始关注赵先生的学术动向。赵先生自己曾说过,有些名家告诉他在看期刊杂志时,只要有赵先生的大名总会留意翻看他的文章。名家如此,作为学生的我喜欢读赵先生的文字那更是理所当然。其后多次听赵先生的学术讲座。赵先生口才极好,讲座大气磅礴,据听过赵先生的学生回忆,赵先生讲课,条理清晰、剖析透彻、抑扬顿挫、妙语连珠,学生皆大欢喜。著名历史学家王家范先生称:"解放前,中国高等学府历史课讲得最好的是钱穆,解放后,则首推赵俪生。"我没有机缘听钱穆先生讲课,无从比较,但是自读大学以来,听过无数名家巨擘的学术讲座和报告,就讲座氛围而言,赵先生的讲座和报告最富感染力则是名副其实的。

虽然多次听赵先生讲座,也多次在答辩会、讨论会上见过赵先生,但是近距离接触赵先生只有一次。1988年10月,内子水潞的大伯父水天同先生去世,当时我正好在兰州省亲,也参加了追悼会。赵先生与水天同先生是好友,在追悼会上我向赵先生自我介绍说我是漆侠先生的博士生,赵先生诙谐地说:"你的老师和你老师的老师邓广铭都是史学的正宗,我是野狐禅,旁门左道。"然后说到宋代土地制度若干问题,说他很喜欢宋瓷,并对我说你的老师在宋瓷的研究上确实下了很大功夫,最后嘱我代向漆侠师问好。后来我回到保定后向漆侠师提及见到赵俪生先生。漆侠师因此讲了一段往事,20世纪80年代初期有一家出版社编纂《中国社会科学家辞典》,有人反对收入赵俪生先生,由于赵先生在农战史研究上影响大,故出版社向时任中国农民战争史学会理事长漆侠师征询意见,漆侠师回复说,赵先生的观点可以争议或不同意,但是赵先生是一位有很大贡献的历史学家,则不能否认。

① 按,山丹县农场,现今名称是甘肃省国营山丹农场。1947年国际友人路易·艾黎在山丹周围建了三个农场,其中之一建在县城南面的四坝滩上。翌年,艾黎在四坝滩发现新石器遗址,后被考古界定为"四坝文化"。四坝农场于1958年收归国有,成立山丹四坝农场,1967年以前归兰州军区生产建设兵团二师十二团(兰字922部队)。甘肃师范大学于1958年在山丹、甘南建有两座农场,但"校史"讲述得太简略,语焉不详。从艾黎所建培黎学校与甘肃师范大学的交往历史而言,甘肃师范大学所建农场应是在已收归甘肃省农业厅而隶属山丹县农业局管辖的山丹四坝农场内。赵先生被发配的山丹县农场当是山丹四坝农场。赵先生回忆山丹农场时说设在山丹三十里铺,三十里铺现属陈户乡,距县城约十五公里,与位奇镇交接。四坝现属位奇镇,两地相距七八公里,赵先生在《山丹医院杂咏六首之六》有"伶仃疲体觉丰满,抖擞归来垦滩田",三十里铺大致也在四坝滩地上。

② 甘肃省地方史志编纂委员会、甘肃省煤炭工业志编纂委员会编纂:《甘肃省志》第三十一卷《煤炭工业志》,兰州:甘肃文化出版社,1995年。

这次见面后,还曾有一次机会。2002年9月,我回母校西北师大参加校庆一百周年活动,当时想借机拜见赵先生。我知道业师陈守忠先生与赵先生交谊甚厚^①,故请陈守忠先生引荐。但是我很惭愧没有跟陈先生说清楚拜见时间,当天陈先生就给赵先生打了电话,据说那天赵先生曾在家里等了一下午,可是我并没有去,而是第二天早上向陈先生询问是否已推荐过,陈先生说昨天就说过了,而且赵先生也答应了,你怎么没去?我说我是想今天早上去。陈先生说赵先生早上一般不见客。我听了陈先生的话,对失去一次拜见赵先生的机会,感到很后悔也很自责。

2007 年赵先生逝世,后来读到葛金芳学长的纪念文章,当读到"1941 年,先生的清华同学王瑶从西安来乾州相访,当时先生因病从山西抗日前线回陕西养病,正在乾州中学教书。经过几昼夜的畅谈,先生和王瑶一致认为,二人将来'进《宰辅传》压根没有门,进《忠烈传》也未必有资格,进《货殖传》根本没有那本领;到头来还是进《儒林传》吧'。所谓'进儒林传'在其现代意义上,无非是'踏进学术圈子,成为学林中人'的一种戏语"^②,颇感震撼。金芳学长解释,进《儒林传》是为踏进学术圈,而我则认为这个"戏语"很有深意。1941 年赵先生年方 24 岁就把未来的志向定在"立言"上,且以进入《儒林传》为目标,这不能不说志存高远,要知道一部正史有几人能进入《儒林传》? 宋代是中国历史上最重视士人的时期,而 320 年合《道学》、《儒林》、《文苑》三传,进入《宋史》的也只有 220 余人。实际上古往今来,有大成就的人往往立志高远,读赵先生的道德文章,总感到有一种使命感跃然纸上。由此来看赵先生的传奇人生,怎能不结出丰硕的成果呢?

二、有关赵先生史学理论的几点认识

1. 研究历史要有大视野

我在兰州读书工作时,有关"以论带史"还是"论从史出",或是"史论结合",是史学界讨论的重要 议题。因而兰州大学赵俪生先生和某位先生关于理论和考据孰先孰后、孰主孰次的争论乃至相互调 侃是当时传播甚广的趣闻轶事,我是倾向于赵先生主张的。

由于我从读大学到读博士再到工作,我的老师金宝祥、漆侠、宁可诸位先生都是颇重历史理论的名家,陈守忠先生虽然不以理论见长,却很敬佩赵俪生先生。但是他们绝不是被有些人片面理解为只重理论的"理论派",而是在十分了解史料在历史研究中无可替代的重要性的基础上,强调理论在治史过程中始终具有的高屋建瓴的驾驭作用。所以我十分赞赏赵俪生先生的认知:

史料,我不承认我不重视,考据我也不是不会做。不重视史料,我花了几十年精力去"追补"二十四史、十三经干嘛?但我一辈子不抠擞史料,不处理像某人之卒年究在本年之十二月抑在次年之正月那样的问题。琐节问题,只有当它紧密地联系着大关节目问题时,不处理好它,大关节目问题就解决不好时,那么,琐节问题就躲闪不开地需要处理一下。但乾嘉学派教给人的是,

把大关节目先撇在一边不管,从琐节开始到琐节收尾,这样的路子怎么能叫后人服膺呢?^③ 高昭一先生说:"历史资料是死的,方法是多种多样的,它们又都属于公众,不是某人某家所能专搜独揽的,只有思维灵感那才是个人的专利,也是任何人或势力所不能代替或抹煞得了的。"^④我想这是对赵俪生先生注重历史大关节论断最好的诠释。

其实,我的老师漆侠先生亦有相类似的看法。我在《跟随漆侠师学宋史》中曾有过这样的表述: 漆侠师很尊重实证史学,也从不轻视材料。对那些只尚空谈而缺乏应有的实证研究的所谓理论家, 从来是轻蔑的。漆侠师博闻强记,对史料极下功夫,长期抄录卡片以致在右手中指上磨出两个厚厚

① 参见赵俪生:《〈河陇史地考述〉序》,《赵俪生文集》第5卷,兰州:兰州大学出版社,2002年,第383-384页。

② 葛金芳:《先师赵俪生教授的思想风范与人格魅力》,《兰州大学学报》2008年第6期。

③ 赵俪生:《赵俪生史学论著自选集》,济南:山东大学出版社,2009年,"后记"第424页。

④ 高昭一:《我对赵俪生的认识》,《博览群书》2002年第10期。

的茧子。漆侠师记卡片,多用活页笔记本纸记录一个奏章和一段史料,不只是选取自己需要的那句话和段落,而是最大限度地把材料的整体所要表达的思想和内容尽力抄录下来,特别是典型材料更是如此。所以,只要是漆侠师自己使用过的材料都非常的稔熟,如数家珍。漆侠师不仅熟读宋代文献,而且对先秦诸子之书和前四史也是如数家珍,尤喜读《史记》和《三国志》,很多大段经典记事原文,都背诵如流。但是漆侠师并不以熟读文献、考证史料为满足,漆侠师以为考证史料只要具有中资天赋加上勤奋就可取得相当成绩,但是在错综复杂的材料中寻找出历史的规律或历史发展趋势,那才是真正高水平的史家,但不是人人能够做到的。

我想对于材料与理论的关系,大关节与琐节的关系,赵俪生先生和漆侠师所见略同的英雄之见, 值得现今热衷细碎化研究者的重视。

2. 对于阶级分析方法的人文理解

阶级分析是马克思主义历史理论的核心方法。赵先生在改革开放之初谈及史学研究方法,特别强调了对于马克思主义阶级分析方法的学习,其中提到了马克思的《路易·波拿巴的雾月十八日》:

这是我个人平生受益最深的一本书,在这本里,马克思不仅获致了砸烂资产阶级国家机器和工农联盟这两个辉煌的无产阶级理论,并且把从老拿破仑到小拿破仑之间法国各阶级、各阶层及其党派代表的物质利益、政治口号、以至思想感情,都做了极为精辟的分析。我们学历史的,从方法论讲,最重要的是学习阶级分析法,而学习阶级分析法最好典范又是什么呢?那就应该推这本书了。①

我在这里引述赵俪生先生这段话,不在于刻意强调赵俪生先生学习阶级分析方法,而是要特别指出赵先生对于阶级分析方法的理解既有其接受马克思主义理论的一面,更有自身对社会不平等现实的巨大人文关切与之共鸣。古代中国不缺乏有良知的士人,在很多文史作品中鞭笞现实社会中不平等的现象,对下层人民抱有极大同情,诸如"朱门酒肉臭,路有冻死骨"一类的名句。我以为赵俪生先生就是抱有社会良知的现代士人,譬如赵先生研究了顾炎武一辈子,但最后放弃了撰写《顾炎武评传》的原因,即是不同的社会立场所致。他说:顾炎武"主张削弱中央集权,这是对的,明朝末年的中央集权实在糟糕得很,应当削弱。但是,这个权力要归到地方上去,具体归谁呢?他主张给缙绅。缙绅就是地方官僚地主。蒲松龄在《聊斋志异》里头就写了许多这种乡绅霸占妇女、抢占土地、杀人灭口的事情。蒲松龄对这个问题脑子里是很清楚的,然而我们的顾炎武先生却要把政权交给他们,还让他们培养接班人,搞世袭。这一点我思想上想不通。我认为这种思想是很反动的。可是我又不能在书里把顾炎武说成是反动的,这两个字我不能用。怎么办呢?只好不写了"②。

又譬如,赵先生热爱故土热爱家乡,但不是无缘无故无原则的爱,故乡也不是处处可爱,也会有令人讨厌的地方。赵先生的"第二故乡在青岛,他的六年中学时代就是在青岛度过的。青岛是德国和日本的殖民地。有些街道,如广西路,就纯是德国味的;有些街道,如市场三路,就纯是日本味的。赵老对资本主义的'声光电化'的科技进步并不感兴趣,而对它的贫富悬殊十分厌恶。他说:'我每走在山本路(后来叫中山路)就总是不愉快,这跟十余年后我每走在上海南京路就总是不愉快是同一种感情,同一种心理。'"^③

读到这里,我们就可以知道:赵先生运用阶级分析方法研究历史,很大程度上是与他对社会底层 人民的人文关怀和对家国情仇的巨大情感联系在一起的。这也应是赵先生信仰马克思主义的心理 和情感基础。毋庸讳言,研究历史需要批判精神,阶级分析方法是最好的批判理论。我们的确要摒 弃以阶级斗争为纲的理论,但是绝不能因噎废食,更不能把孩子连同洗澡水一起泼掉。批判历史上

① 赵俪生:《谈史学研究的工作方法》,《郑州大学学报》1979年第2期。

② 汪受宽、邱锋:《赵俪生教授访谈录》,《史学史研究》2002年第2期。

③ 吕绍刚:《我读〈篱槿堂自叙〉——从赵老的一封信说起》,《兰州大学学报》2009年第1期。

的专制,批判不平等社会造成的诸多不合理现象,迄今仍有史鉴的作用。

3. 对马克思主义理论从崇拜到客观理解

对于"自由主义者"概念有不同的理解,笔者赞同秦晖先生的解释。具有"独立之精神,自由之思想"是对赵俪生先生最恰切的概括:"我愿意做一个全心全意的马克思主义的信仰者,同时是一个自由主义者"^①,实际上这也表现在他对马克思主义历史理论的独立而自由的反思上。

过去我们跟着苏联老大哥走,任何事情都从阶级分析的认识出发。当然阶级是客观存在,虽孝子慈孙不能泯没,阶级分析法也是非常好的。在《拿破仑第三政变记》(也叫《路易·波拿巴的雾月十八日》)这本书中,马克思为阶级分析法做了辉煌的范例。记得我在二十五六岁读到这本书的英文版时,简直是佩服得五体投地,以后在研究中也一直都使用这种阶级分析的方法。直到"四人帮""史学"泛滥时,我发现出了毛病,就是这个阶级分析法被"四人帮"领到了一条错误的路上,所以以后我们在使用阶级分析法时就谨慎了。我是说,阶级分析法是一个宝贝,一个法宝,一支利剑,但是在用它的时候可要小心,用不好就会成为一支魔剑。后来我又买到了何兆武先生的一本书叫《苇草集》,我把这部书全都读完了。我很喜欢他的文章,特别是读到他谈罗素的那篇,感觉收获很大,引起了我的许多反思来。比如我在解放以后写的许多文章里头都有这么一句话:"自从有了马克思主义,历史才真正成为科学。"这个话到今天我还认为不错,但是也不一定多么确凿。因为马克思主义只把人的经济属性这一方面记得很好,从这点看它是科学。但是关于人文这一方面他却说得较少,把人的能动性这一方面启发得不大,所以这不能不说是马克思主义的一些局限性吧。②

但还有另一种。一些做学问的人,在时代和地城的局限下,要总括人类的发展史,眼前现成的资料就只能看到希腊、罗马的奴隶制,日尔曼人的封建制,文艺复兴时期的新兴布尔乔亚的资本主义。顶多,再从英国在印度的杀人放火者的记录的夹缝中得知一点水利灌溉和专制主义。中国有句老话,叫"就钱吃面"。我常常幻想,假如19世纪初就有《史记》《汉书》《左传》等德文译本或英文译本摆在马克思老人家面前的话,他会写出另外多么辉煌的大著来。他会写出多么更全面的东方特征。③

我读了这两段自述,感触颇深,一是赵俪生先生虽然对马克思主义自始至终都怀有执着的信仰,但又不是那种抱残守缺、墨守成规式的教条主义信仰,而是在提高自身对马克思主义理论认识的基础上,加深对于马克思主义理论的理解,还原马克思主义理论知识结构,从而使自己的信仰从盲从中解脱出来,这是一位真正的马克思主义者所具有的立场和胸怀。而与之相较,赵俪生先生比那些不读马克思主义敢于批判马克思主义,那些不懂马克思主义敢于"超越"马克思主义的所谓新派理论家要高明不知多少倍。二是赵先生的表白道出了我久欲说的心声,尤其是对赵先生的第二段叙述的感悟尤为一致。赵俪生先生对马克思主义理论知识结构的解析,对于今天不问青红皂白崇尚用西方社会发展轨迹诠释中国历史文化的西方汉学和西方社科理论,无疑具有警示作用。

三、略谈赵俪生先生对宋史研究的三点认识

赵俪生先生在明清之际的思想家、北朝历史、农民战争史、土地制度史、思想文化史、西北地方史以及历史人物等诸多研究领域,都取得了世人瞩目的成就。学界和赵俪生先生的高足都有很多定评,笔者只是结合自己的专业,就赵先生在宋史研究方面的几个亮点谈谈自己的感受。赵先生在宋史研究中着墨最多的,应是两宋土地问题。因在改革开放前后,土地问题一直是史学界关注的"五朵

① 赵俪生:《篱槿堂自叙》,上海:上海古籍出版社,1999年,第46页。

② 汪受宽、邱锋:《赵俪生教授访谈录》,《史学史研究》2002年第2期。

③ 赵俪生:《赵俪生文集》第1卷,"自序"第4页。

金花"之一,赵先生的研究自然受到宋史学界的关注,譬如赵先生提出的"官田的私田化和官租的私租化"、宋代产生资本主义萌芽的可能性等,就是宋史学界讨论的热点。鉴于此,这里就不再赘言。下面谈三个问题。

1. 宋代地方武力研究

20 世纪 20 年代以来的宋代军政研究,多认为宋廷通过削夺其权、制其钱谷、收其精兵三大措施,加强中央集权,消除藩镇尾大不掉之弊,因而在"强干弱枝"体制下,地方武装力量不存。虽然自 20 世纪 90 年代以来宋史学界对此有了新的认识,并出版了如中国台湾学者黄宽重先生的力作《南宋地方武力——地方军与民间自卫武力的探讨》(东大图书公司 2002 年版),但是对这一问题最先着鞭的学者是赵俪生先生。赵先生在 20 世纪 50 年代中期发表的《靖康、建炎间各种民间武装势力性质的分析》^①,就对北宋末期至南宋初期与金交战的 5-10 年间,两河民兵、山东"群盗"、所谓"军贼"、农民起义军和地主武装等宋朝民间武力的发展、性质和影响,从当时的土地制度、农业生产组织入手作了较为全面的剖析,引起学界的关注。日本广岛大学寺地遵先生在该校学报刊文,称誉赵先生《靖康、建炎间各种民间武装势力性质的分析》一文,为同时日、美、澳探讨同一题目诸文章所不及^②。近期我见到黄宽重先生,提及赵先生这篇文章,黄先生依然认为:这是学界最早涉猎宋代民间武力的论文,对他的研究也有影响。值得注意的是,赵先生自己也把这篇文章作为代表作,《自选集》曾将其列为首篇。

除了开启宋代地方武力研究之外,赵先生的许多论断对于今天的宋史研究也还有一定的意义,譬如"宋兵之多,是由于有广大北兵民力的来源;宋兵之弱,是由于政策上始终带有惧兵防变的原则,并且兵的成份中流民因素太重的缘故"。又如赵先生由文章主题论及对《水浒传》一书的研究,也表现出赵先生的远见卓识:

我认为,单纯以"宋江三十六人横行齐、魏"的简单史料条文拿来与全部《水浒》文学遗产的丰富内容相牵附,以求考证某事某人之有无,是不对头的;单纯以"建炎群盗"中某名某姓强与《水浒传》中某名某姓相牵附,以考证其人其事之有无,也是不必要的。我们应该以自宣和间宋江、方腊以来,经建炎诸"群盗","军贼",这整个社会动乱的大场景作为伟大文学遗产《水浒传》的最原始的摹特儿。其中只是邵青、张荣、李逵、史斌诸事,其作为摹特儿的可能,较其他更为明显而已。只有把《水浒》的原始场景摆到这样更广阔的基地上去考察、去进行科学研究,才不至低估或歪曲了《水浒传》伟大的历史价值。③

不幸的是,"文革"至改革开放前,对于宋江、《水浒传》的研究,即如 50 年代中期赵俪生先生所言,是 "不对头的""也是不必要的",然而万马齐喑,其不对头、不必要的研究甚嚣尘上。今天由此读来,不 免让人黯然伤神,也不能不钦佩赵先生的远见卓识。

2. 对宋代社会发展的总体把握

对于宋代社会,特别是经济发展,在 20 世纪国内外有很不相同的评价,在国外因世纪初日本学者内藤湖南提出"宋代是中国历史近世的开端"(后来被概括为"唐宋变革论"),在国际宋史学界产生很大影响,日本和美欧学界对宋代历史有很高的评价和赞誉。日本学者宫崎市定在《宋代的煤和铁》一文中指出:"中国文化,在其早期要比西亚落后得多,但是以后逐渐扭转了这种落后局面,赶上了西亚,到了宋代,便超过了西亚而居于世界的最前列。"^①美国的历史学家在日本汉学家的激发之下,开始把宋代看做中国史上的真正具有型塑作用的时期之一,是社会、经济、政治、思维各个方面都有广

① 赵俪生:《靖康、建炎间各种民间武装势力性质的分析》,《文史哲》1956年第11期。

② 汪受宽:《思晰渊微,门墙多杰——谨述赵俪生教授史学与教育成就》,《兰州大学学报》1992年第3期。

③ 赵俪生:《靖康、建炎间各种民间武装势力性质的分析》,《文史哲》1956年第11期。

④ [日]宫崎市定:《宋代的煤和铁》,《宫崎市定亚洲史论考》,张学锋等译,上海:上海古籍出版社,2017年,第983页。

泛发展的时期,这些发展大大有助于形成直到20世纪的中国的面貌。

但是在国内,改革开放前相当长时间内,"积贫积弱"几乎成为论述宋朝历史特点的代名词。我曾将当时的评价总结为四句话,宋朝是"政治上腐朽,经济上积贫,军事上积弱,学术上反动"。可是,还是在50年代中期,赵俪生先生对宋朝的历史特点和地位即有不同的看法:

汉、唐、明的确是我国封建历史上极辉煌的朝代,但这一点也只能在一种寻常的、而不是特殊的对照意义之下,才是适当的。譬如说,我们实在看不出来,宋朝这个朝代在跟汉、唐、明对照之下,其辉煌的程度有什么逊色。相反,从宋朝开始,手工业生产的整个水平和技术水平,显然都提高了;商业的联络网,较前显著地普遍了;文化产品中的科学因素以及人性的初步觉醒程度,也显明地区别于它以前的时代。^①

虽然 20 世纪前半期严复、王国维、陈寅恪、金毓黼等名家对于宋学乃至宋代文化有高度的赞誉,但如前揭对宋代政治经济军事的评价很低,钱穆先生甚至认为宋朝与汉唐明清相比在政治上是一个最没有建树的朝代。由此来看赵先生却将宋朝比肩汉唐明,甚至有过之而无不及,显然与当时的主流意见大不相同。而这种不同在 20 世纪 80 年代以后的最新宋史研究成果中得到验证。特别是赵先生说宋代"文化产品中的科学因素以及人性的初步觉醒程度,也显明地区别于它以前的时代",与日美欧"唐宋变革论"的观点具有异曲同工之妙,而在国内普遍接受这种看法要到 20 世纪 90 年代以后,赵先生的观点先行了近半个世纪。

3. 宋代社会经济发展的主流现象

改革开放以来,国内对于宋代社会经济发展水平的研究,开始与国际上日美欧的研究同步。美国学者在日本唐宋变革论的影响下提出"经济革命说",即在农业、水运、货币与信贷、交通、商业、科学技术、市场结构及都市化等领域都发生了革命。而国内漆侠师提出宋代经济在中国古代经济发展的两个马鞍形中居于最高峰。但是对于社会经济进步繁荣的主导力量的认识却存在分歧,大致以21世纪之交为分水岭,之前一般认为是国家和政府主导,而之后越来越多的中青年学者倾向于市场经济发展之使然。但毋庸置疑,后一种看法是被宋代商业市场繁荣的现象所遮蔽,没有透过现象看到本质。在此重温一下赵俪生先生在20世纪80年代的论述:

以两宋为例,专制主义不可谓不强化,军权和财权向中央集中的很厉害;但他们对土地私有权凌驾、干预的劲头,却明显地减弱了。这恐怕是人们财产私有制进一步深化的反映。试看元人所修《宋史》,在《食货志》中就直言无隐地写道,"大国之制用,如巨商之理财"。这种话头,在中古专制主义者们,岂肯说出口来?!但在宋元,就直接了当说出来了。南宋高宗赵构对大臣们说,"朝廷拓地,譬如私家买田;倘无所获,徒费钱本,得之何益?!"这种用商人的口吻,从经营、核算的角度去谈论土地经济,宋以前很少见。元以后,譬如说,明初的洪武、永乐,专制主义又一度高度强化以后,又绝不会这么地谈论了。可是,宋朝单单如此。北宋仁宗时,君臣们谈论出卖公田的方式时,有大臣说,"鬻卖绝户田宅,乞如买扑坊场,罢实封投状。"这是说国家出卖公田,不要用秘密投标形式,因为那种形式容易被权势之家钻空子,不如干脆学习自由市场上"叫桩"的办法,当众拍板成交,更干净利落,且无流弊。试看封建国家出卖国有土地,竟尔采用拍卖行、交易所的惯用形式,经济利益之赤裸裸地表现出来,在两宋已经表现的很充分了。他们已经懂得,把政治利益绝对化是会损害经济利益的,所以他们转而从经营、核算、成本、利润等方面来抓具体的经济利益,从经济利益中去体现"最大的政治"。②

赵俪生先生的这段精彩议论抓住了宋代经济发展的主要特点。中唐以后,随着均田制和府兵制的相继瓦解,募兵制日渐代替征兵制,养活一支以流民为主的军队,使得养兵费用在国家财税收支上

① 赵俪生:《通过五代十国到宋初的历史过程认识唐末农民大起义之更深远的社会意义》,《文史哲》1956年第5期。

② 赵俪生:《试论两宋土地经济中的几个主流现象》,《文史哲》1983年第4期。

占据越来越大的份额,到北宋中期养兵费用已达五千万贯之巨,占国家财税收入的 70%-80%,帝制国家为了满足这笔巨大的军费开支,广开财路,将人民生活的主要商品如盐、茶、酒、矾、醋、矿冶、香料等统统专卖经营。五代至宋初,政府主要靠严酷的法律禁榷,由各级官府直接经营,即最大限度地控制生产、销售环节,但是官营成本高,效率低,国家只得向民众主要是商人开放销售(流通)领域,诸如在经济领域广泛实行买扑招标制,并逐渐开放部分生产领域,这就使得宋代的商业市场、城市城镇发展,呈现出与前代甚至与后代不同的面貌,从而造成空前的繁荣,但是政府始终牢牢把握着财政分配的权力,因而国家是财利的最大攫取者。

虽然在开封、洛阳、杭州这样的大都市聚集了一批握有数万乃至数十万贯财富的富豪,但相对于国家和皇室,也只不过是小巫见大巫。宋朝没有出现明清时期十大商帮那样的富甲一方的群体,就在于国家始终掌控着财利的分配权和调控权,这就是赵俪生先生所言:"他们已经懂得,把政治利益绝对化是会损害经济利益的,所以他们转而从经营、核算、成本、利润等方面来抓具体的经济利益,从经济利益中去体现'最大的政治'。"而这种状况亦如赵先生所言"中古专制主义者们"不能为,"明初的洪武、永乐,专制主义又一度高度强化以后"也不可能为。赵先生虽然不以宋代历史为主攻方向,但此段议论言简意赅地抓住了宋代社会经济发展的主要特征,再一次表明了赵先生的远见卓识。

赵先生有关宋代社会经济主流现象议论的意义还在于,以往研究宋代国家经营经济主要是从抑商的角度论证,商业市场的繁荣是客观造成的,而赵先生则从国家官府主动利用市场经营经济,从而造成商业市场繁荣,这在方法论上是很有意义的,它打破了此前总把国家经营经济与商品经济对立起来的传统模式,亦即中国古代的国家并不完全排斥商品经济,而是能够"从经营、核算、成本、利润等方面来抓具体的经济利益"。赵先生三十多年前提出的议题,仍然是今天应当努力拓展的课题。

【附记】2017年9月9-10日,兰州大学举办"纪念赵俪生诞辰一百周年暨逝世十周年学术研讨会"。本文即为此次会议所作。

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"How to Construct Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Characteristics" (Conversations by Writing I)

Zheng Yongnian, Yang Lijun, Xu Yong, Yao Yang, and Ma Guoqing

Editor's Note: In the past forty years, the distinctive path China has followed allowed it to rise to the status of a world power. Chinese characteristics, such as the state's institutional planning and social structure, had a spillover effect, invalidating many conclusions in social sciences that had previously been assumed "universal," even though they were based on the West's historical experience. Following this historical shift, the paradigms and frameworks offered by Western science gradually came to be considered less effective when it came to interpreting the Chinese experience. Chinese humanities and social sciences slowly turned toward valuing China's realities and idiosyncrasies. Since then, the "real China" has been rediscovered, and new theoretical models based on scientific principles have been elaborated to better reflect Chinese realities. Furthermore, scholars have also recognized China's urgent need for an ideological, scientific, and cultural discursive power and soft power that would match, on a global scale, its economic status. On that account, *Journal of Literature*, *History*, and Philosophy hosted a conference with the theme of "How to Construct Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Characteristics" in June 2018, and the group of conversations by writing launched in the current issue are part of the achievements of the conference.

A Discussion of the Weak Free Development Model of Scholar, Farmer, Artisan, and Merchant in the Middle and Late Imperial Times

Li Zhi'an

As one of the policy models of imperial China governing people and administering landlord economy, the weak free development of scholar, farmer, artisan and merchant started with "exchanging goods and accumulating wealth" in the State of Qi in the Warring States period, and finally formed in the period from late Tang to the Northern and Southern Song dynasties. This policy was mainly implemented in most times from late Tang to the Qing dynasty, and late Tang to the Northern and Southern Song dynasties is the most typical period: the "Two-tax law" made the way, and not restraining merge acted as the basic guide, which is actually the achievements and final victory of the "Tang-Song Transition" on governing people and social structure. The essence of the model lies in that incorporating both administrative means and economic means, changing identity control to regulation mainly on finance, no granting land, no restraint of merge, corvee and conscription disappeared basically, and encouraging to lay equal stress on agriculture and commerce as well as people acquiring wealth. The four people gained more freedom, and identity distinctions as well as corresponding controls no more existed, so scholars and rich people constructed two dominate forces on politics and economy. This model largely eliminated the disadvantages of changing able-bodied men into "national serfs" by heavy taxes and corvees, and of excessive control of economy and jeopardizing the motive power of private economy. It searched out a more rational way for the model of registering people for farming and warfare, improved people's relationships of dependence, and suited the development tendency of landlord economy, handicraft industry, and commerce, which was beneficial to productivity growth and burgeon of new economic factors. Meanwhile, the four aspects (paramont ownership of imperial power, periodic crisis of land merge, "commercialization of power," and collusion between government officials and businessmen) still followed the old system of registering people for farming and warfare. So it is more than certain adaptation under new historical conditions.

"Politics of the Dead", or "Politics of the Living":

The Political Significance of Posthumous Titles in Traditional China

Yu Keping

Shifa (principles of conferring posthumous titles) is one of the longest-running institutions in Chinese history, and one of the basic institutional designs of traditional Chinese officialism. The direct purpose of developing the shifa system was to "exhort good and punish wrongdoing," incentivizing people to be loyal to their lord and love their country to earn their place in history. But from the perspective of political science, the main function of the shifa system was to strengthen hierarchy and privilege, to manufacture political legitimacy and to steer political appraisals. Fundamentally, it worked to serve the despotic rule of the privileged class, of which the emperor was most representative. Shifa meant calling judgment only after death, but there is not a single element of this "politics of the dead" that did not reflect a real-life political need or the power struggles of the living. In reality, it was a "politics of the living." As an important and long-prevailing part of Chinese traditional culture, today shifa continues to have a certain kind of latent influence on society. At a new moment in history, rooting out the negative effect of the shifa system in strengthening hierarchical privilege, and giving genuine play to its positive role in promoting virtue and punishing vice, remains an important task for us today.

Between Monarchical Power and Ecclesiastical Power:

A Study of the Political Theories and System of European Ecclesiastical Scholars

in Late Medieval Period Gu Luanzhai

In late medieval period, ecclesiastical scholars accepted the thought legacy of the classical and early medieval period. Based on the interpretation and innovation of the legacy, they put forward a series of political theories. These theories began with treasuring life, took natural law and natural rights as the starting point, grounded arguments on the basic rights of human being as individuals, deduced two co-existing tops of power through the track of "consent" or "common consent" and formed a complete logical system. They exerted restrictions and constraints on monarchical power and ecclesiastical power in practice. Conciliarism, which was the product of these political theories, restricted the concentration of ecclesiastical power and prevented the formation of pope autocracy. However, the traditional academic research about the nature of conciliarism and pope autocracy lacks objective basis and is not fair enough. The political theories of ecclesiastical scholars not only had a direct impact on political practice then and there, but also had an important influence on later great historical events, for instance, English Revolution, the Enlightenment in Europe and America, French Revolution, American War of Independence etc., especially on early modern and modern political systems in Europe and America.

The Theory of Levels in Literature System:

With a Discussion of the Establishment and Defect of the Proposition "System and Literature" Rao Longsun

After the academic accumulation in over three decades, the studies of literature system has reached considerable scope and depth, and gained remarkable achievements. Yet there still exist problems, mainly show as: the academic orientation is not clear enough; the theory of levels in literature system has not been established, and different levels have not been connected as an organic whole; relevant studies are largely comprised of case and sectionalized study, while overall or comprehensive research is insufficient. Rational studies of literature system must first respect the prescription of literature, and then establish the theory of levels in literature system containing the outer, middle, and inner levels, which finally aims at holistic research of literature system. To be specific, future studies of Chinese literature system should handle the following five couples of relation: passivity and self-generation, boundary and self-sufficiency, founction and self-nature, response and self-adaptation, as well as variation and self-actualization.

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The Tradition of "Poetic History" and the "Variety of Music Bureau" Movement

in the Late Ming and Early Qing Period

Ye Ye

Starting with Wang Shizhen's suite poems of "Variety of Yuefu," there once rose a creation trend in poetic circle characterized by the style of new yuefu, the purpose of satirizing current matters, and theoretical guideline of "poetic history" from the later Jiajing reign to the early Kangxi reign. This movement advocated the new yuefu creations wrote by Du Fu and other Tang poets, yet differed from the Tang yuefu for the poets' independent and targeted consciousness of "poetic history," which formed a realistic reflection of the great changes in late Ming and the change of regime between the Ming and Qing dynasties. Meanwhile, this significant literary pheonomenon provides a new approach for understanding the poetic origin and modern tradition of the Meicun style.

From a Job Title to an Official Post (Part One):

A Case Study of the Editor from Han to the Southern and Northern Dynasties

Liu Xiao

In the Western Han dynasty, "Editing Clerk" was only a job title whose duty was held by other officials concurrently. The "Editor" in the Eastern Han was an idiom combined by "Editing Clerk" and "Court Gentlemen", with the latter as its essence, which means accept the duty of collating books with status as Court Gentlemen. The Assistant in the Palace Library set in the Wei-Jin period was originally the official collating books replacing the Editor, yet dissimilated to a initating post of powerful families due to the system of hereditary aristocracy who did not do any job. In such cases, the Southern dynasty continued to follow the way of other officials holding the duty, while the Northern dynasty increased "Editor" under the Assistant in the Palace Library. The Editing Clerk and Editor in the Western and Eastern Han differ from the latter "Assistant in the Palace Library". The former are expert dealing with specialized work, and the latter might only work on simple text-proofing. The case study of the Editing Clerk evolving into an official post from a job title might benefit for understanding some problems in the formation of bureaucracy better.

The Categories of "Fire and Water" and Chinese Civilization

Gao Chengyuan

The pair of categories "fire and water" is the axis of Chinese civilization. In the chapter "Commentary on the Relationship of the Hexagrams" of *The Book of Changes*, what is called "people using everyday without knowing the Tao within" can be demonstrated as "fire and water." One philosopher of the Ming dynasty once said that "the secret of nature just lies in fire and water." Because of frequent floods and droughts on the Yellow Land, as well as the practice for cooking millet food, the Huaxia ancestors held an unique understanding of the interaction between fire and water, and then formed the idea of "harmony," which also formed the origin of the "unification between Heaven and Man." The idea of "interdependence between fire and water" can be regarded as China's scientific theory, and the West has not reached the cognition on the ice-coal correspondence. The speicfic two-level structure of *yin-yang* and fire-water in Chinese culture lies in generalized philosophy and science, which can just act as complementation to the Western idea.

Zhuangzi and the Artistic Truth

Zheng Kai

As a philosopher, Zhuangzi has a typical character of poet and artist and has a thorough understanding of the taste of the esthetic, the artistic truth, and the free creation. Through meditating the non-being, the unpredictable activity of artistic creating, and the spiritual status of passing away with the objects (wuhua).

Zhuangzi comes into contact of the essential relationship between the philosophical thinking and the artistic truth, which coincides with the law of esthetic experience and artistic creating both ancient and modern. The artistic truth revealed in *Zhuangzi* really constitutes the living source of the artistic spirit of China.

Disposition Theory by the Confucianist Zisi School and Legal Thoughts

Ma Teng

Known as one of the holy men in Confucianism, Zisi inherited Confucius' thinking and inspired Mencius, and played an important role in the development of Confucianism in the pre-Qin period. With existing documents and Confucian bamboo scriptures excavated in Guodian, we can see Zisi not only carried forward Confucian moral teaching, but also was an inspiration source for the Legal School in the Warring States Period. According to the Zisi School, favoring interest and avoiding harm is a human nature upon which social disciplines and even ruling system are based, and that provides a clue for the political and legal discourse paradigm during the Warring States Period. Centered on disposition theory, the Zisi School placed their political ideal between traditional idea of ruling and realistic utilitarianism, hence its inclusiveness of different social disciplines. It upholds the fundamental significance of morality while advocating ruling by laws and that rewarding, punishing, post and wage promotion shall be exercised. As a transitional Confucian school between Confucius and Mencius, the Zisi School shed new light on the thinking of disposition, discrimination between ren (benevolence) and li (interest), choice between li (rites) and fa (laws), and coordination between punishment and reward. It may also inspire and actually echoes later Fa School, thus it suggests the possibility of fusion between Confucianism and the Legal School in the pre-Qin period and a later thinking featuring incorporation of the two thoughts.

The Phenomenological Premises of the "Responsibility of One's Own Affectivity"

Xu Fachao

Dualism of human existence profoundly affects the understanding of our emotional life, so much that its characteristics of passivity are emphasized by most theories of emotion, promising us giving up (at least in part) the responsibility of one's own affectivity. Instead, depending on the phenomenological tradition, Sartre made clear the inherent contradictions and foundation of this tendency, advocating the freedom and responsibility in one's own affectivity, which corresponds to his consistent theme of demonstrating the absolute freedom of human being and his core commitment of his theory of affectivity. Under such commitment, Sartre's theory of affectivity, not only contributes to the solution of free will-determinism debate, but also provides opportunities for the conversation with the affective science in-depth.

Mr. Zhao Lisheng in My Mind: Writing for the 100th Anniversary of His Birthday

Li Huarui

As an outstanding Marxist historian, Mr. Zhao Lisheng holds persistent but not doctrinaire belief in Marxism throughout his life. On the basis of improving awareness of Marxist theories, he deepens his understanding of Marxist theories and restoring the knowledge structure of Marxist theories to free himself of bigotry, which reflects the stand and mind of a real Marxist. Zhao applies the methodology of class analysis in historical studies, which is largely related to his humanistic care of the suffering people as well as great emotion for his home country. That should be the psychological and emotional foundation of his belief in Marxism. Although he does not specialize in the studies of the Song dynasty, Mr. Zhao owns insightful and profound understanding of the local force in this period, and even the overall condition and mainstream phenomenon in the social development in the Song dynasty.