# 走向科学实践史

夏平科学编史学思想研究

刘海霞◎著

# ANG KEXUE SHIJIAN SHI

XIAPING KEXUE BIANSHI XUE SIXIANG YANJIU

中国社会外界出版社

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# 马来平

科学编史学对于科学史研究具有战略性的指导意义。然而,由于受实证主义思潮的影响,科学史界一些人似乎并不太重视科学编史学的研究,以至于长期以来该领域的研究冷冷清清。正因为此,刘海霞博士《走向科学实践史——夏平科学编史学思想研究》一书的出版,是一件令人十分欣喜的事情。

作为科学史领域的史学理论,科学编史学研究的永恒主题是如何撰写科学发展的"信史"。围绕这一主题,科学编史学走过了并正在走着一条不平坦的道路。

最初,在科学编史学领域里,"内史"编史路线长期占据主导地位。"内史"主要分为两大类别:一是编年史,亦称"综合史",即主要以年代为线索对各学科的科学发现、技术发明、科学方法和技术方法等给予考证、梳理和整合;二是科学思想史,即力图通过对科学原典和科学家个人的有关资料等方面的研究再现科学概念和科学理论从片面走向全面、从现象走向本质、从谬误走向真理的逻辑过程。"内史"编史路线的突出优点是在科学知识发展链条的某些环节较有利于对科学知识、科学方法做有机而深刻的理解,以及便于把握科学知识发展的脉络和模式等。然而由于科学发现过程的原始资料极度匮乏,加之"内史"编史路线对社会因素和非理性因素的排斥和疏远,致使它不仅无法解释科学知识发展的间断性和革命性,而且也无力解释科学发展方向、速度和规模等整体上的种种变化。因此,按照这种编史路线去写科学史,其结果要么虎头

蛇尾难以善始善终,要么死气沉沉、脱离实际,总之,难于实现"信史"的目标。

正是在这种情况下,"外史"编史路线异军突起。该路线视科学技术为一种社会体制或社会活动,认为只有把科学置于社会有机体之中全面考察科学技术与经济、政治和文化等社会因素的相互影响、相互作用,或者说,全面考察科技发展的社会根源和社会影响,才能勾勒出一幅真实的科学技术发展的历史图景。显然,"外史"编史路线较有利于全面把握科学精神、科学价值以及科学在社会中的运行机制,在描述科学发展的全貌上,较为接近实际。但由于它漠视乃至排斥科学知识的内在逻辑,而且难以在科学发展与众多的社会因素之间建立起可靠、清晰的因果关系,因而容易使遵循该路线写出来的科学史显得松散、空洞,充满随机性,同样难于实现"信史"的目标。

于是,"外史"编史路线在科学史家那里一度备受青睐之后,实现"内史"与"外史"的有机结合,逐渐成为当今科技史界的主导诉求。美国著名科学史学家、科学哲学家库恩尽管一向以"外史主义者"著称,但他实际上已高度关注"内史"与"外史"的有机结合,并成为勇敢探索二者有机结合的一位先行者了。他说:"虽然科学史的内部与外部方法有一些天然的自主性,但事实上,它们是相互补充的。直到它们的编史工作做到一个从另一个中引出,科学发展的重要方面才可得到理解。"①他甚至明确提出,怎样把"内史"与"外史"结合起来,当是科学史这个学科"而今所面临的最大挑战"。②就库恩关于"内史"与"外史"两种编史路线的有机结合的实践来说,也是取得了骄人成绩的:他把科学发展的状态分为常规科学和革命科学两个时期,在常规科学时期,科学发展的状态分为常规科学和革命科学两个时期,在常规科学时期,科学家的工作主要是在范式的指导下解难题,科学知识的内在逻辑得到了充分展现;在革命时期,科学知识的内在逻辑突然中断,社会因素和非理性因素的作用占据支配地位。显然,在库恩那里、内在因素和外在因素各得其所,在科学发展的不同阶段里发挥着各自的作用。库恩的编史学

① 库恩:《科学史》,载吴国盛编《科学思想史指南》,四川教育出版社 1994 年版,第 18页。

② 同上书,第8页。

思想受到了学界的广泛称赞。学界普遍认为,该编史学思想较适合于物理学和化学这样的发达学科。当然,库恩的编史学思想也存在严重的缺陷:在他那里,常规科学时期实际上是内在主义的,社会因素和非理性因素被悬置;革命科学时期,不见了科学知识的内在逻辑,因而实际上是外在主义的。对科学发展作用因素的这种人为剪裁和割裂,未免失之主观武断。更为严重的是,他的这种处理方案,是以消解真理概念和放弃追求真理的科学目标为代价的,以致在相对主义问题上最终使他陷于"实际上分明具有、口头上却矢口否认"的极度尴尬境地。

作为 SSK 代表人物的夏平,他的科学编史学思想正是对"内史"与"外史"有机结合的一种新的探索。他认为,内史路线重视对科学知识的考察是正确的,但它一味钟情于科学知识"内在理路"的做法则有失偏颇。在他看来,应当把科学视为一种社会实践活动,立足于科学知识的社会建构性,深入科学争论、实验室和技师等知识生产中的"小人物"的活动中,着重考察科学知识是怎样产生出来的,以及科学知识的生产被应用于何种社会目的等。若如此,方能更有利于书写科学发展的信史。

尽管夏平赋予社会因素以科学知识内在性的社会建构论的立场意味着对"内史"与"外史"区分的一种消解,而且他矢口否认科学知识客观性的观点令人难以接受,但从根本上说,夏平的科学编史学理论对于"内史"与"外史"的有机结合,进而对于编史学关于书写科学发展信史主题的深化是做出了杰出贡献的。该编史学理论基于 SSK 立场积极倡导对科学知识进行社会学的微观分析,既是对外史路线的一种深化和对内史路线的一种更高层次上的回归,也是对"内史"与"外史"有机结合的一种别开生面的大胆探索。

. 总之,夏平是科学编史学史上的一位重要人物,无论如何是绕不过去的。

刘海霞作为 2004 级博士生,选择夏平的科学编史学思想研究作为毕业论文题目,在当时的国内学界是颇具前沿意义的。该论文逐一论述了夏平科学编史学思想的理论来源、基本内容、主要特点、突出贡献、局限性和现实意义等,思路清晰,语言流畅、思考深入,不乏创见。所以毕业论文答辩时,受到了答辩委员会专家的一致好评,并获得了 2008 年山东省优秀博士学位论文奖。现在,经过数年的反复修改,论文的质量

又有了新的提高。

当然,读毕全书,感到仍有一系列的理论问题有待进一步思考。如,怎样看待夏平等人的实践观和马克思主义实践观的区别与联系;科学知识所具有的内在逻辑形式是否是纯粹演绎的,若不是,它究竟是怎样的;彻底地反辉格不可能,而反辉格又是必需的,那么究竟怎样坚持反辉格的立场;等等。这些问题的解答对于深化夏平科学编史学思想的研究,应是有一定意义的。

热切期待刘海霞博士在科学编史学领域有新的研究成果问世,也期待更多的有志青年积极投身该领域的研究。我坚信,要想有力推进我国科学技术史研究的整体水平,科学编史学这条腿无论如何是不能短的。

2013 年 12 月 24 日 于山东大学儒学高等研究院

# 中文摘要

史蒂文·夏平 (Steven Shapin) 是当今著名的科学知识社会学家和科学史学家,在国际科学史学界具有重要影响。本书拟对夏平的科学编史.学思想进行初步研究。

#### 一 研究目的

夏平的科学编史学思想,具有鲜明的实践指向,既代表了国际科学编史学思想的实践转向,也反映了马克思主义理论在科学史领域的深刻影响。系统研究夏平的科学编史学思想,既有助于我们把握国际科学编史学思想的发展现状,也有助于我们丰富和发展马克思主义科学编史学,不断推进我国当前的科学史研究工作。

夏平是社会建构论的领军人物,他的研究成果引发了国内外学者的 持久关注。从早期论文中所表述的反辉格科学编史学思想到后来日渐成 熟的建构主义编史学思想,都有学者从不同侧面给予研究或评价。但从 整体情况来看,当前国内外关于夏平科学编史学思想的研究还是较为零 散的,学者们多是从一个侧面进行研究,不利于从整体上把握夏平的科 学编史学思想。

本书旨在对夏平的科学编史学思想进行较为细致的研究,提供一幅关于夏平科学编史学思想的较为完整的画面,以期填补在这一研究领域的部分空白。本书试图重点回答以下几个问题:夏平科学编史学思想得以形成的直接理论来源有哪些;它的基本内容有哪些;夏平科学编史学思想的主要特征是什么;这一思想的理论贡献及局限性是什么;夏平科学编史学思想的启示意义有哪些;我们可以在何种程度上借鉴夏平的思

想,丰富和发展马克思主义科学编史学思想等。

#### 二 研究方法

在方法论层面,主要运用了马克思主义的实践观和唯物史观。本书的研究领域是科学编史学,既涉及科学又涉及历史,在研究过程中,始终坚持马克思主义的实践观点,从实践的角度看待科学,并运用历史唯物主义来思考科学编史学领域的问题。

在具体方法层面,主要运用了文献分析方法和比较研究方法。首先是尽力搜集国内外夏平的文献,一是利用国家图书馆等机构获得大量一手外文资料;二是运用高校图书馆的外文文献原文传递服务获取部分外文文献;三是亲赴美国哈佛大学等地收集夏平的最新文献;四是请夏平本人提供一些不易获得的文献。在此基础上,对夏平的作品进行整体分析,全面理解夏平从1972年到2004年各个时期的不同作品,总结概括夏平编史思想的基本内容和基本特点。其次是运用比较方法进行研究。一是纵向比较:夏平的科学史研究主要是针对历史上其他编史思想的研究局限而展开的,本书将其与萨顿、默顿、柯瓦雷等人的编史思想与研究方法进行比较。二是横向比较:将夏平编史思想与同时代的科学史学者的思想进行比较。

## 三 研究结论

本书在研究结果方面取得了一定的创新和突破,主要表现为以下几点:

#### (一) 梳理了夏平科学编史学思想的主要来源

通过对夏平著作的参考文献进行分析,本书梳理出夏平编史思想的 三个主要来源:维特根斯坦后期哲学、库恩的科学编史学思想以及科学 知识社会学理论。论述了维特根斯坦后期哲学中的"语言游戏"以及 "怀疑有限度"的思想对夏平产生的影响;分析了库恩科学编史学思想的 实践取向、反辉格立场以及"两种科学传统"的思想对夏平产生的影响; 阐述了科学知识社会学理论,尤其是布鲁尔的"强纲领"和柯林斯的"经验相对主义纲领"对夏平的编史学思想产生的基础性影响。

#### (二) 总结了夏平科学编史学思想的基本内容

本书通过梳理夏平科学编史学思想产生、发展和成熟的基本过程,对夏平科学编史学思想的基本内容给出一个较为完整系统的概括。首先,分析了夏平科学编史学思想的理论基础——富有 SSK 特点的科学史观。主要包括三个方面:坚持科学史学科的历史性质;认为科学史与政治史具有相同的研究范围;倡导一种科学史就是真理的社会史的观念。其次,阐述了夏平的科学编史内容。作为具有 SSK 背景的科学史学家,夏平关注的科学编史内容与以往传统的科学史学者有所区别。他主要关注科学史上的科学争论和在具体的科学知识制造实践中涉及的各种因素。再次,概括了夏平运用的主要编史方法,重点分析了他在科学史研究中出色运用的集体传记研究方法、历史主义方法、发生学方法、"陌生人"说明方法和常人方法论等。

#### (三) 概括了夏平科学编史学思想的主要特点

以往的学术研究往往将夏平的科学编史学思想定位为反辉格的批判编史学纲领或单纯的建构论编史学纲领,而通过对夏平主要作品的深入解读,笔者认为夏平的科学编史学思想既是反辉格的,又是建构论的,同时具有突出的实践指向。而且从其思想的发展脉络来看,其前期思想主要是借助于建构论来实现其反辉格意图,后期则试图借助反辉格来深化其建构论主张。夏平科学史作品的编史目的体现了较为浓厚的建构论旨趣;同时,他聚焦于科学实践,以社会学观察和常人方法论等方法进行研究,展现了实践科学观的编史学价值;其反辉格意蕴主要表现为在科学争论、科学家身份的形成和科学革命等问题上的反辉格解释。

### (四) 分析了夏平科学编史学思想的理论贡献与局限性

本书较为系统地梳理了夏平科学编史学思想对科学史、科学哲学、 科学知识社会学的理论贡献。本书认为,夏平科学编史学思想对科学史 的主要贡献是:对传统内史论与外史论的超越以及对科学史研究中的理

想主义色彩的破除;对科学哲学的主要贡献是:对实践科学观的形塑以及对一些重大理论问题的历史主义解答;对科学知识社会学的主要贡献是:率先提出利益分析模式,并解决了社会因素如何进入知识内部的问题;另外,本书还分析了夏平科学编史学思想的局限性,指出它的局限性主要表现为科学观和科学史观的片面性、SSK 编史目的的局限性等。

#### (五) 概括了夏平科学编史学思想的启示意义

在本书的余论部分,笔者借鉴夏平科学编史学思想中的合理成分,运用马克思主义的立场、观点和方法,对如何看待科学编史学的发展、如何促进科学编史学的发展和如何发挥科学史的人文教育功能等问题进行了探讨。

第一, 应以开放的视野来看待科学编史学思想的发展, 以弱的相对 主义立场包容不同编史主张的并存。第二,应该充分认识实践科学观的 积极意义,总结实践科学观在理解科学、提炼科学方法和促进科学编史 学发展方面的作用。第三, 当前我国的科学史研究可以以科学实践为基 点,从马克思主义的实践观点出发,推进科学内史和外史的综合,编写 出更具参考价值和启发意义的科学史作品。第四, 重申了追求真实的历 史这一学术理想的意义。虽然史学界几乎都在尽量回避历史的客观性问 题,认为"真实的历史"不过是一个"高贵的梦"而已,但本书没有刻 意回避这一问题,而是提出马克思主义科学编史学不应放弃对真实历史 的追求,应坚持反辉格立场以及审慎对待历史文本的态度。第五,在科 学编史思想中长期存在着重精英轻大众的研究传统,近期又出现了这两 种研究相分离的倾向。本书从马克思主义群众史观出发,结合夏平对科 学精英和大众互动关系的研究,提出了实现精英史和大众史统一的编史 理念。第六,当前我国在科学史教育方面尚存诸多不足,主要是受众范 围过于狭窄、缺乏合适的教材读本等问题。作者认为,科学史应该而且 可以发挥更大的人文教育功能,在塑造公民的科学观、提升公民的科学 素养、培养公民的科学精神等方面取得更大的突破。

#### 四 不足之处

首先,夏平的科学史作品数量众多,时间跨度大,有些是未经翻译的英文原版资料,要想跨越语言间的樊篱,准确解读其作品,全面把握其科学编史学思想绝非易事,因而在对夏平科学编史学思想的理解方面,本书恐怕还存在某些模糊之处。

其次,科学编史学涉及科学哲学、科学社会学、史学理论等众多学科,具有很强的复杂性和综合性。笔者对这一领域的思考还远未达到细致深入,书中提出的某些编史学思路还有待进一步完善。

再次,笔者从事科学史研究的时间还较为短暂,对科学史研究中的 某些问题缺乏切身体验,因此在论述中出现缺陷和疏漏也是不可避免的。

凡事总有个开端,学术研究亦是如此。本书虽然仍有若干缺憾,但 终归是在学术研究的道路上开始起步了。笔者愿以此书作为学术研究的 发轫点,坚持不懈,努力探索,不断提高自己的理论素养和研究能力。

关键词: 夏平: 科学编史学: 科学实践史: 社会建构论: 反辉格

## **ABSTRACT**

Steven Shapin is a very famous sociologist and historian of science, his ideas of the historiography of science is very important in today's international study of the history of science. I try to provide some primary studies of them in this book.

#### I. Purpose of study

Shapin's ideas of the historiography of science have a distinct practical point, they are both the symbol of the new stage and the embodiment of the influence of Marxism in the historiography of science. Making a study of Shapin's ideas of the historiography of science will help us to grasp the development of international study of the history of science, to enrich and develop Marxist historiography of science, and then to improve our study in the history of science.

As a leader of social constructivism, Shapin is always bringing theinternational attention to his idea. Many scholars have studied and commented his idea of the historiography of science, form the early opinion of anti—Whiggism to the later stage idea of constructivist historiography. But if we view the situation on the whole, we will find that the international study of Shapin's idea of the historiography of science is unsystematic, much of the scholars have studied Shapin's idea only in one aspect, and have not sketch the thread of his idea and can not grasp it as a whole.

I want to studyShapin's ideas carefully and deeply and try to provide a whole picture of his ideas. I hope that I could fill in this academic blank about Shapin's ideas of the historiography of science. In this book, I want to provide

my opinion of some major problem such as: the major sources of Shapin's ideas; the essential contents of Shapin's ideas; the main characteristic of Shapin's ideas; the theoretical contribution and the limitations of Shapin's ideas; how to apply Shapin's idea to enrich and develop Marxist historiography of science.

#### II. Methods of study

In the methodological level, I mainly used the Marxist view of practice and historical materialism. The subject of this book is the historiography of science, and its terrain relates to both science and history. I insist the Marxist view of practice, treat science as a particular practice. And I apply the Marxist materialist view of history to ponder the problem of the historiography of science.

In the level of specific method, I mainly use the documentary analytical method and comparison study method. In the first, I try my best to collect Shapin's documents from both domestic and international, and analyse the documents closely and deeply. I understand Shapin's writings from 1972 to 2004 on the whole so that to sum up the essential contents and the main characteristic of Shapin's ideas. Secondly, I compare Shapin's idea with the latter period philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein, Kuhn's historiography of science, the theory of SSK and the Marxism to seek for the different and same opinion between the different theories, to analyse the sources of Shapin's ideas and to develop the Marxist historiography of science.

#### III. Conclusions of study

The breakthroughs and innovations of this book are mainly as follows:

a. I comb the major sources of Shapin's idea of the historiography of science. In this book I sketched three sources of his ideas: the latter period philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein, Kuhn's ideas of the historiography of science and the theory of SSK. I discuss that Wittgenstein's notion of "language game" and the idea of "suspicion is limited" and Kuhn's practical turn, anti – Whiggist standpoint and the view of two scientific traditions and the theory of SSK, particularly Bloor's "strong programme" and Collins's "empirical programme of rel-

ativism " had influenced Shapin's idea deeply.

b. I sum up the essential contents of Shapin's ideas of the historiography of science. Firstly, I analyse Shapin's views of the history of science, which is the theoretical foundation of his ideas. The main contents of his views includes: the insistence of the historical quality of the history of science, the thought of that the history of science occupies the same terrain as the history of politics and the idea of that the history of science is a social history of truth. Secondly, I discuss Shapin's historiographic contents. As a historian of science who has the background of SSK, Shapin is mainly concerned with the scientific controversy in the history and various sorts of factors in the specific practice of making knowledge, and these contents are very different from the contents which the traditional historians of science has concerned. Thirdly, I summarize the historiographic methods which Shapin has used. I analyse the prosopography which he outstandingly used, a loose sense of historicism method and the effectual genetic method, stranger's accounts and ethnomethodology.

- c. I summarize the main characteristic of Shapin's ideas of the historiography of science. The past studies usually only took Shapin's ideas as an anti Whiggist critical historiography or a constructivist historiography, but through read down the major writings of Shapin, I think that the main characteristic of Shapin's ideas are both social constructivism and anti Whiggism, meanwhile his ideas have a distinct practical point. Moreover, if we think about the development track of his ideas, we will find that his earlier ideas is to realize his aim of anti Whiggism by constructivism and his later ideas is to deepen his constructivist insistence by anti Whiggism. The constructivist characteristic of Shapin's ideas are embodied by his historiographic project, meanwhile he used sociological observation and ethomethodology to study the scientific practice, and show the historiographic value of views of practical science, and the anti Whiggist characteristic of Shapin's ideas is embodied by his anti Whiggism on some problems such as scientific controversy, the creation of scientist's identity and the scientific revolution.
  - d. I discuss the theoretical contribute and the limitedness of Shapin's ideas

of the historiography of science. I comb the theoretical contribute of Shapin's ideas to the history of science, the philosophy of science and the sociology of scientific knowledge systematically. I discuss that its theoretical contribute to the history of science is major in the transcendence of the externalism – internalism debate and the breakdown of the idealism in the study of history of science, its theoretical contribute to the philosophy of science is that it contribute to form a new view of science and give answers to some important issues and its contribute to the sociology of scientific knowledge is that he is the first man put forward the interests model and to solve the problem of how the social factors get into scientific knowledge. Moreover, I analyse the limitedness of Shapin's ideas of the historiography of science deeply. I discuss that its limitedness includes the one – sidedness in the views of science and history of science and the limitedness of historiographic project of SSK.

e. I summarize the enlightenment meaning of Shapin's ideas of scientific historiography. In the conclusion of this book, I referencing the reasonable composition of Shapin's ideas of scientific historiography using the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method, discussing the questions such as how to look upon the development of the historiography of science, how to promote the development of the historiography of science, how to play the humanistic education function of the history of science, and so on.

Firstly, we should take an open field of vision to look at the thoughts' development of historiography of science and a weak relativism position to tolerance the co - existing of different historiography of science. Secondly, we should be fully aware of the positive significance of the view of practical science and summarizing the role of it in understanding science, refining scientific methods and promoting the historiography of science development. Thirdly, the research of history of science in our current country can be based on scientific practice and starting from the practice view of Marxism, striving to carry forward the synthesis of the externalism and internalism and writing out more reference value and enlightenment productions of the history of science. Fourthly, I reiterate the academic meanings of the pursuit of real history, although much of

the historians are get round the problem of the objectivity of history and regard the "true history" as a "noble dream" only, but I do not get round this problem and maintain that the Marxist historiography of science should not give up the pursuit of the "true history" and to insist the standpoint of anti - Whiggism and to deal with the history literatures cautiously. Fifthly, the study tradition of paying great attention to the elites and despising the masses has been existed in the historiography of science for a long time, and a tendency of separating these two academic traditions is emerged today. This book stands at the Marxist masses view of history, makes use of Shapin's study of the interrelation between the elites and the masses, and then maintains the historiographic idea of unifying the history of the elites and the masses. Lastly, in our country, there are many deficiencies exist in the education of history of science, the main problems are the too narrow audience scope and the lack of proper teaching material readings. I think that the history of science could play more humanistic education functions and make some greater breakthroughs in shaping the citizen's view of science, improving citizen's scientific literacy, cultivating citizen's scientific spirit, etc.

#### IV. The deficiency of this book

Firstly, Shapin's writings are very numerous and last a long time, many of them have not been translated into Chinese. It is very difficult to span the hedge between different languages, understand his writings exactly and sum up his idea of the historiography of science, so that There are some inexactnesses in my comprehension of Shapin's ideas.

Secondly, thehistoriography of science is related to many courses such as the philosophy of science, the sociology of science, the theory of history and so on, and I have not confronted a realm so complicated and comprehensive in the past. Because of my shallow thought on this realm, there is lots of work need to do at the historiographic ideas in this book.

Thirdly, I have not been engaged in the specific research of the history of science and lack of personal experience on some problems of it, so perhaps I