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马渭源 素 Ma Weiyuan

洪武帝卷



The Great Ming Empire III

系列3

人明帝





- 明初"爱护"领导干部、制定官员南北互调之法
- 朱元璋父子在南京创办世界上最大的大学和东亚留学中心
- 是是非非千秋过功 康熙评述朱元璋:"治隆唐宋"
- 与皇帝妹夫一起喝酒,大舅子郭德成喝出了"精神病"
- 洪武科举:公平化→标准化→成式化……
- •明初知识分子:都以为咸鱼翻身,结果把小命给弄丢了



东南大学出版社

大明帝国 系列③

The Great Ming Empire III

洪武帝卷①

Peculiar Founding Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang (Volume 3)

> 马渭源 **著** Ma Weiyuan



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第一章

洪武"四清" 八场风暴

"洪武"本是朱元璋在位时期的年号,按照字面的意思就是 "大武"、"尚武",换言之就是崇尚"铁血",就此而言明朝这位开 国皇帝要比他的"好儿子"永乐皇帝要诚实得多。朱棣的年号 为"永乐",意思是让天下人永远快乐。可在那个魔鬼施虐的22 年间,除了他以外,还有谁会快乐?明初"二祖"丑陋的人性实 乃一丘之貉,但相比假面"圣君"朱棣,老皇帝朱元璋似乎要坦 率、诚实得多,在他治理下的31年时间里,大明帝国实行了"四 清",相继爆发了八场全国性的大运动、大风暴。在那血雨腥风 的洪武年间,在那噤若寒蝉的岁月里,在人们不经意间,一代 "圣祖"朱元璋及其相关人士记下了部分内容,只是我们后人一 直没有充分意识到而已……

● 太学生上书"泄天机" 洪武默认系列"清洗"

洪武二十五年即公历 1392 年,这是个极为普通的年份,那年四月丙子日,洪武皇帝的接班人皇太子朱标薨世(《明史·太祖本纪 三》卷 3;《明太祖实录》卷 217)。4 个月后的洪武二十五年八月庚申日,朱元璋下令"祔葬皇太子于孝陵之东"(《明太祖实录》卷 220)。除了皇家个别野心家、阴谋家如燕王朱棣有所惊觉甚至是亢奋外,那时大明帝国上下似乎谁也没有注意到又一场围绕皇权政治的特大清洗"风暴"或言"运动"正在积聚和酝酿着。在昔日红巾军头领的血色高压下生活了 25 年的大明子民们早已习惯了"运动",也能大

致明白当今朝廷取用"洪武"年号到底有着怎样的一番含义。明哲保身可能是中国专制社会中尤其生活在那"运动"迭起、"风暴"不断岁月里的人们生存下去的最佳选择了,不过也有"愤青"例外。

那年"天牛圣人"高皇帝朱元璋下诏,征集天下知晓历数(即天 道国运)的高人。有个太学生叫周敬心的洋洋洒洒给洪武皇帝上 疏讲谏,指摘洪武二十五六年间的种种弊政和坏政:"臣闻国祚长 短,在德厚薄,不在历数。三代尚矣,三代而下,最久莫如汉、唐、 宋,最短莫如秦、隋、五代。其久也以有道,其短也以无道。陛下膺 天眷命,救乱诛暴。然神武威断则有余,宽大忠厚则不足。陛下若 效两汉之宽大,唐、宋之忠厚,讲三代所以有道之长,则帝王之祚可 传万世,何必问诸小道之人耶?"接着他又说:"方今力役过烦,赋敛 过厚。教化溥而民不悦;法度严而民不从。昔汲黯言于武帝曰: '陛下内多欲而外施仁义,奈何欲效唐、虞之治乎?'方今国则愿富, 兵则愿强,城池则愿高深,宫室则愿壮丽,土地则愿广,人民则愿 众。于是多取军卒,广籍资财,征伐不休,营造无极,如之何其可治 也? 臣又见洪武四年录天下官吏,十三年连坐胡党,十九年逮官吏 积年为民害者,二十三年罪妄言者。大戮官民,不分臧否。其中岂 无忠臣、烈士、善人、君子? 于兹见陛下之薄德而任刑矣。水旱连 年,夫岂无故哉!"(《明史·周敬心传》卷 139)

这哪像是上疏言事,简直是对洪武暴政的愤怒控诉。但不知为什么这份能够彰显一代"圣君"纳谏如流、"宽大胸怀"的上疏却在《明太祖实录》中没被收录?也不知道为什么周敬心连追查胡党这样敏感又危险的话题都敢说,却偏偏没提洪武中前期株连无辜甚广的空印案和郭桓案?也不知道为什么本来就心胸狭隘的朱元璋在接到这样言辞激烈的"控罪书"后却能平静地"报闻"(《明史·周敬心传》卷139),而没有暴跳如雷或严惩"妄言者"周敬心,所有这些说明了什么?

参照《明史》中解缙等人在洪武晚期的上书进言,我们可知周敬心上书中所说的都是洪武年间实实在在所发生的,而一向暴戾无常的朱元璋最后也默认了,或者说十分老到地对没"品位"的太学生周敬心不予理睬,再进一步说开来,他没做出什么过激的举措,所有这些能说明什么?就在周敬心上书后的一年不到的时间

里,大明帝国又兴起了一场极为惨烈的特大"风暴"——追查与清除蓝玉党案,几乎将洪武朝开国勋臣一网打尽。

至此,如果参考一下开国皇帝朱元璋亲自撰写的《大诰》系列, 再对周敬心上书提到或没提到的洪武年间的大风暴和随后发生的 清查蓝玉党案等一系列"运动"做个综合统计的话,我们就不难发 现:为了加强极权君主专制主义的统治,整个洪武 31 年间,除了北 伐、"清沙漠"和立纲陈纪或言立法定制、统一思想及使厚民生外, 朱元璋还至少发动了 8 场全国性的"大运动"或"大风暴",即洪武 四年录(甄别)天下官吏,洪武八年或九年清查空印案,洪武十三年 起深究"胡党",洪武十八年起追查郭桓案,洪武十九年尽逮官吏积 年为民害者,洪武十九年前后清除社会惰民逸夫,洪武二十三年罪 妄言者,洪武二十六年二月开始的追究"蓝党"……

一个皇帝在位 31 年,发动了不少于 8 次全国性的"大运动"或言"大风暴",平均 4 年不到就来一次,这是何等严峻的政治啊!对于这样一场又一场的大运动、大清洗,作为后代人,我们已经很难"复原"它们的原貌,但可以做些梳理。如果仔细比对和认真考量的话,就不难看出当年洪武皇帝主要搞了 4 类大清洗:即清洗政治危险分子、清洗经济腐败分子、清洗各级害民官员胥吏、清洗社会危险分子,我们不妨将其称为"四清"。(见下表)

洪武年间朱元璋发动的八场全国性"四清"大运动简表

运动发起或高潮时间		当年运动名称	运动类型	史料主要来源
洪武四年	1371	录(甄别)天 下官吏	清洗政治 危险分子	《明史・周敬心传》巻 139
洪武八年	1375	清查空印案	清洗经济 腐败分子	【明】谈迁:《国榷·太祖洪武九 年》卷6
洪武十三年	1380	连坐"胡党"	清洗政治 危险分子	《明太祖实录》卷 129~卷 202
洪武十八年	1385	追查郭桓案	清洗经济 腐败分子	【明】谈迁:《国榷》卷8
洪武十八年	1385	尽逮天下官 吏积年为民 害者	清洗各级 害民官吏	《明史·孝义一·朱煦传》卷 296; 卷 139;【明】朱元璋:《大诰续编》、 《大诰三编》

运动发起或高潮时间	当年运动名称	运动类型	史料主要来源
洪武十九年前后 1386	清除社会惰 民逸夫	清洗社会 危险分子	【明】朱元璋:《大诰续编》、《大诰 三编》
洪武二十三年 1390	罪妄言者	清洗社会 危险分子	《明史・周敬心传》巻 139
洪武二十六年 1393	追查"蓝党"	清洗政治 危险分子	《明太祖实录》卷 225~243

而在这一系列"四清"中最先发生和最为惊心动魄的就数清洗 各种敌对的和潜在的政治危险分子。

● 云谲波诡大明新立 雄主甄别天下官吏 洪武四年(1371)

洪武开国前后,大明帝国内外形势不容乐观。在草根皇帝朱 元璋看来至少得面对三大类政治危险势力或言危险分子:

● 昔日同为"天涯沦落人",今朝"相煎何太急"?

第一大类就是昔日与朱元璋"同为天涯沦落人"的贫苦兄弟和普通民众。按照朱元璋的想法与说辞:过去元朝政府腐败、残暴,我朱圣人率领将士们浴血奋战,"驱逐胡虏,恢复中华,立纲陈纪,救济斯民",让大家过上了太平日子,你们就应该做好你们的本分——贡赋服役,由此也就过上了"幸福"的生活。但"民有不知其报,而恬然享福,绝无感激之心"(【明】朱元璋:《大诰·民不知报》第31,P599);更有一些愚蠢的小民们不仅不领"大救星"朱皇帝的情,有着"好日子"不过,反而走上了对立、反抗的道路。洪武元年五月,"昌国州兰秀山盗入象山县作乱";七月,"南海贼冯简等作乱"(《明太祖实录》卷32);洪武元年八月,温州南溪人董孟怡等"聚众作乱"(《明太祖实录》卷32);洪武元年八月,温州南溪人董孟怡等"聚众作乱"(《明太祖实录》卷32);洪武三年正月,沂、邳二州山民"作乱"(《明太祖实录》卷48);最具有讽刺意味的是那年三月,在"红太阳"升起的地方(民间一说:凤阳之名有丹凤朝阳之义)边上六安州龙泉乡民胡