

隐藏的大家

雷海宗世界史文集

雷海宗◎著 王敦书◎编

天津出版传媒集团
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前 言

王敦书

雷海宗(1902—1962),字伯伦,河北省永清县人,是20世纪中叶中外著名的史学大家,以博闻强记、自成体系、贯通古今中外著称,名列《中国大百科全书》之《外国历史》卷专设条目。他1922年清华学校毕业,公费赴美留学,在芝加哥大学历史学系主科学习历史,副科学习哲学,1927年荣获哲学博士学位,时年25岁。他回国后一直从事历史学教学研究工作,先后在南京中央大学、金陵女子大学、武汉大学、清华大学、西南联合大学、南开大学任教,1935—1949年为清华大学及西南联合大学历史学系主任。

雷海宗的学术思想与学术成就主要有以下四个特点:

第一,博古通今、学贯中西,擅长人文社会科学的整体把握和跨学科研究方法的交叉运用。

第二,以一定的哲学观点来消化史料,解释历史,努力打破西方的欧洲中心论和传统的王朝体系,建立起独树一帜的囊括世界、光耀中华的历史体系。

第三,热爱祖国,坚决抗日,热情歌颂中国的历史,积极弘扬中华文化。

第四,学习西方的科学与文化,追求真理,锐意创新,不断前进,勇于提出自己的独立见解。

雷海宗学问渊博,著述甚丰,多以文章的形式问世,涉及面极广,既有中国史方面的论文,也有世界史领域的文章,更有数以百计的时事评论性的文章。其成名作与代表作是《中国文化与中国的兵》一书,篇幅不大,实际由8篇文章合成。进入21世纪,不仅《中国文化与中国的兵》再版,而且新出版了雷海宗的5部著作:《西洋文化史纲要》、《伯伦史学集》、《中国通史选读》、《世界上古史讲义》和《历史·时势·人心》。其中,《西洋文化史纲要》、《中国通史选读》与《世界上古史讲义》分别是雷海宗在武汉大学、清华大学与南开大学讲授欧洲通史(二)、中国通史及世界上古史课程时的铅印详细纲要、史料选读与油印讲义;《伯伦史学集》主要是雷海宗发表的中国史方面的作品合集;《历史·时势·人



心》则是雷海宗写作的与政治联系比较密切的历史论文及政论性文章的选编。现在，再将雷海宗发表的世界史领域的文章集成集出版，取名《雷海宗世界史文集》。这样，雷海宗在各方面的著述基本上都可以包括进去了。

本文集共分四编。第一编是雷海宗于1927年在美国芝加哥大学获博士学位的学位论文《杜尔阁的政治思想》。此论文从未发表过，存芝加哥大学档案馆，雷海宗家里也无此文稿。20世纪80年代后期，雷海宗以前的弟子、已故著名美国中国史学者何炳棣先生，从芝加哥大学档案馆找到本论文，复印装订成册，寄给雷师母张景蕻女士三本。雷师母自己保存一本，另两本分赠给我和清华大学图书馆。本文集的此文即是按我手头保存的复印文稿排印的。杜尔阁是18世纪中期法国大革命前的法国政治家与思想家。我对于杜尔阁没有研究，对于1927年时国际学术界研究杜尔阁的状况更不了解，无法对此文作出有分量的评价。从自己粗浅的认识看来，我觉得此学位论文虽篇幅不算大，却是根据翔实的史料，特别是杜尔阁的原著，参阅了大量的国际学者的专著，对杜尔阁的政治思想作了相当系统、全面、深刻的分析与论述，独立提出了雷海宗自己的见解，是有相当高的学术价值的。由于此文从未公开过，所以本文稿对于研究杜尔阁与了解雷海宗的学术思想来说，是颇为珍贵的。全文用英文写成，似乎应译成中文。但文中有不少杜尔阁法文原著的引文，我不会法语，无法翻译。而且，雷海宗的英文极佳，本英文论文的遣词造句，典雅多姿，既有他所推崇的18世纪英国文史大家爱德华·吉本的风格，又能传中国古文简洁凝练之神。现在，绝大多数有兴趣读学术著作的读者英文都很好，读此英文论文应没有多大问题。所以，这里就原汁原味地按英文原稿发表，请大家品尝。

第二编是基督教史研究。雷海宗对基督教史有精深的研究。何兆武先生在《缅怀雷先生》一文中说：“最后，想提到另一件令人遗憾不已的事：以雷先生这样一位如此之精娴于基督教史实的学者，竟然不曾为我们留下一部中国学者所写的基督教史，这应该说是我国史坛上一项无可弥补的损失。”（南开大学历史学院编：《雷海宗与20世纪中国史学》，中华书局2005年出版，第62页）受何先生的启发，这里把雷海宗在基督教史领域所发表的文章与论述集合在一起作为第二编。从《近代史上的梵蒂冈与世界罗马教（一）》到《二十世纪的罗马教廷与帝国主义》诸篇是雷海宗配合镇压反革命与抗美援朝运动，1951年8月至12月在《历史教学》杂志、《大公报》与《进步日报》的《史学周刊》上接连刊登的揭露批判梵蒂冈教廷和耶稣会的实质与活动的系列文章，其稿费皆捐献。《基督教的宗派及其性质》是雷海宗1957年1月在《历史教学》单独发表的阐述基督教

各主要流派在历史上演变发展的文章。《犹太国与犹太教》、《东方宗教与基督教的兴起》、《罗马帝国与教会之争及基督教之胜利》与《罗马帝国倾覆中之基督教会》诸篇皆摘自中华书局 2012 年出版的雷海宗著《世界上古史讲义》一书中有关早期基督教史的各章节。《五至二十世纪基督教史纲要》则摘自上海古籍出版社 2001 年出版的雷海宗撰《西洋文化史纲要》一书中有关基督教史的各章节。

第三编是世界史研究,其中包括雷海宗撰写的基督教史以外的世界史方面的文章,按发表时间先后的顺序排列。《世袭以外的大位继承法》、《历史的形态与例证》与《全体主义与个体主义》三篇发表于 1949 年中华人民共和国成立之前。第一篇讲的是罗马帝国皇帝与回教兴起时早期教主的继承方法,意在供当代中国政治元首之更替继承参考。第二篇集中阐述了雷海宗的文化形态史观的观点及其对中外历史的运用。第三篇通过分析西方中古哲学中的唯实论与唯名论之争来探讨近现代政治中的全体主义与个体主义,表明雷海宗似乎倾向于折中,赞成温和的全体主义或温和的个体主义。此后诸篇都写于中华人民共和国诞生之后。其中,有关世界上古史的文章占相当大的比重,这是因为 1952 年雷海宗到南开大学后主要讲述世界上古史。《上古中晚期亚欧大草原的游牧世界与土著世界(公元前 1000—公元 570)》一文发表于 1956 年《南开大学学报》,具有很高的学术价值与开拓创新的意义。《美帝“中国门户开放政策”的背景》一文连载于 1951 年 3 月 2 日、9 日《进步日报》的《史学周刊》,是雷海宗配合抗美援朝运动与批判亲美、崇美、恐美思想而写的批判美帝国主义的文章。《世界史上一些论断和概念的商榷》一文颇有新意与创见,批判西方的“欧洲中心论”,有益于纠正世界史上流行的一些不恰当的论断与概念。从雷海宗 1949 年后发表的以上各篇文章的内容与观点看来,我觉得在中华人民共和国成立后,他与中国大多数高级知识分子一样,经历了土地改革、镇压反革命、抗美援朝、“三反五反”和思想改造等运动,是愿意接受中国共产党的领导与马克思主义的理论的,并试图用唯物史观的观点来批判美帝国主义、欧洲中心论和梵蒂冈教廷与耶稣会的反动活动。但是,他主张独立思考,反对教条主义,所以,根据“百花齐放、百家争鸣”的方针在 1957 年《历史教学》第 7 期发表了《世界史分期与上古中古史中的一些问题》一文,强调生产力特别是生产工具的作用,提出部民社会的概念,认为奴隶制社会是在特定的条件下存在于某些特定的地区与时代,并不是世界上古史上人类普遍必经的一个社会发展阶段。

第四编是书评、论翻译和译文。雷海宗强调要读书尤其是读好书,因而重

视写书评。他1927年回国后,在中央大学与清华大学写过多篇书评,主要发表于《清华学报》与《社会科学》,这里编入的是世界史方面的书评。中国史方面的书评见《伯伦史学集》。雷海宗也注意翻译工作,在新中国成立初期,写了一系列关于翻译的文章,刊载于《翻译通报》,皆与世界史有关,故收入。这里还包括了雷海宗亲笔翻译的两篇关于史学理论的译作。第一篇是《克罗奇的史学论——历史与记事》,这是意大利历史哲学家克罗奇的名著《历史学的理论与实践》第一章《历史与记事》的翻译,刊载于南京中央大学历史学系主编的《史学》1930年第1期。第二篇是德国历史哲学家斯宾格勒的名著《西方的没落》(第二卷部分章节)的译文,原是1960年前后雷海宗为批判斯宾格勒与进行自我批判而翻译的。西方现代的历史哲学可分为思辨的历史哲学与分析的(或曰批判的)历史哲学两派,斯宾格勒与克罗奇分别是这两派的代表人物,对雷海宗的史学思想与理论有重大的影响。雷海宗将他们的代表作译成中文,可见对他们的重视,其译笔与注释亦有独到之处。我国学术界都知道雷海宗对斯宾格勒的推崇,但对他与克罗奇的渊源较少注意。

本文集出版后,我对雷海宗著作的编选工作大体完成,敬请方家与广大读者指正。若有条件,当争取编辑出版一套较完整的《雷海宗文集》或甚至《雷海宗全集》。

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

BARNABAS HAI-TSUNG LEI

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE, 1927

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① 本文为雷海宗先生于1927年获得芝加哥大学博士学位时的毕业论文,原文为英文,本书保持了其论文的原貌。

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

(I)

A PERSONAL SKETCH OF TURGOT

Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Baron de l'Aule, was born in 1727 of an ancient and noble house. From his boyhood he was thoughtful, modest, and serious-minded and, when a student, saved his pocket-money for his needy friends. Though noble by lineage and brilliant in intellectual endowments, he lacked self-confidence, was shy and confused when in the company of strangers. His parents thought it best for him to prepare for the priesthood and, after having gone through the lyceum, he was sent to the seminary of Saint-Sulpice. Turgot fulfilled all the requirements of the seminary and studied his lessons in theology and apologetics conscientiously; but, contrary to the usual practice, he voluntarily devoted his spare time to a wider field of study. Besides religion in general, he was interested in all the current problems of politics and economics.

He could not but feel the anti-clerical and secular current of his age. He was daily further and further away from the orthodoxy of the Catholic Church. But he was considerate and moderate even in his rebellion; he remained reverential throughout his life and never hurt or angered his friends or relatives by blatant blasphemy or fruitless disputes. He never lost his faith in God, but to the end of his days held to the belief of an Almighty Creator and Upholder of the Universe.

Turgot continued his studies at the Sorbonne after he had taken his bachelor's degree in theology at Saint-Sulpice. Here he won immediate recognition from professors and students alike and, within six months, was elected by his associates to be their Prior, 1750. On taking office it was customary for the Prior to deliver a discourse, and Turgot chose as his subject *Les Avantages que l'Etablissement du Christianisme a procurees au Oeure*

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Humain.^① The discourse showed clearly that Turgot had abandoned official Christianity. For he hardly made any reference to dogmas, forms, observances, and miracles, but, instead, he laid great stress upon Christian morality, upon the pagan world and the superiority of the new religion. He made it clear that he was opposed to religious intolerance and disliked proselytism. He ignored Churchmanship, but paid his tributes to Christianity.

This discourse served to increase his popularity among his younger associates and even a few bishops, though wise old theologians shook their heads in disapproval. But he neither daunted by criticism nor spoiled by admiration. A few months later he gave his second and far more important discourse, which was a concise presentation of his philosophy of history.^②

These two discourses as well as Turgot's later writings showed that he was well read. He made all knowledge his province; though mainly interested in politics and economics, he did not neglect mathematics, natural history, philosophy, and the classics.

He was a copious correspondent and was on intimate epistolary terms with most of the leading thinkers and writers of his time. The reform of France was constantly in his mind and he was busily engaged in public business throughout his adult life till his retirement from the Controller-Generalship in 1776. But to the end of his life he was every now and then studying mathematics and astronomy under the guidance of the writings of Newton, Euler, and other competent authorities. In the realm of natural science he was particularly interested in geology and corresponded and discussed its various problems with Buffon. He was a master in classical knowledge and his facility in Latin made it possible for him to write and deliver his two discourses in the Sorbonne in that language.

Among the modern languages besides French, he at least knew English and German very well, as can be seen from the fact that he made translations of leading English and German writers, not only economists and political theorists, but also literary men and poets. He made a translation, for

① *Oeuvres de Turgot* (ed. Schelle), t. I, pp. 194—214.

② See below, Chap. III, Section I.

example, of Pope's *Universal Prayer*^①—a fact which incidentally serves as an indication of the Stoical character of Turgot's personal religion.

In 1751, when only twenty-three years old, Turgot left the Sorbonne and had to meet the question of his future profession. He decided to abandon the idea of entering the priesthood, but resolved to enter into public service. His friends and associates pointed out to him that he would achieve success and honor to his family in the Church. But Turgot gave a very apt reply to all these friendly advices: "Je ne veux pas porter toute ma vie un masque sur le visage."^②

On abandoning the ecclesiastical state, he became an *Avocat du Roi* au Chatelet, with the idea of overcoming his natural timidity by forcing himself to speak in public. In 1753 he became a Master of Requests in one of the newly instituted Chambers of Requests, thus arousing the bitter hatred of the old members of the Parlement, which had just been abolished and replaced by a new system of courts known as the Chambers of Requests. He fulfilled his duties conscientiously and his devotion to the public good as long as he held office was "not merely a passion", according to Malesherbes, "but a rage".^③

His public duties, however, did not deter him from his studies. It was at this period of his life that he made his contributions to the *Encyclopedie—Etymologie, Existence, and Expausibilite*.^④ Each of these articles, so different in subject-matter from one another, was recognized as authoritative. In the same period of his life (1753—1754), Turgot made his admirable defence of religious toleration.^⑤

During this period Turgot was also studying political economy, which had not yet been formulated into a science. But economic and financial problems were daily becoming more and more important; the fate of the monarchy depended on their satisfactory solution. The Physiocrats were starting

① *Oeuvres de Turgot*, t. 2, pp. 701—703.

② *Ibid.*, t. 1, p. 34.

③ White: *Seven Great Statesmen*, p. 178.

④ *Oeuvres de Turgot*, t. 1, p. 55.

⑤ See below, Chapter III, Section IV.