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# 中国古代 社会保障研究

THE SOCIAL SECURITY IN CHINA  
— BEFORE 1840

王文素 著



中国财政经济出版社

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# 本书摘要

中国是人类文明的主要发祥地之一，它有长达五千年的文明史。我们的祖先创造和积累了丰富、辉煌的文化遗产。中国古代社会保障思想和社会保障政策、制度的实践，就是在其中居于重要地位的宝贵的历史遗产。

学者们对这份宝贵的历史遗产，迄今未能予以足够的重视；至少在国内学术界，虽然近年来也出版了若干种相关的著述，取得了一定的成就，但还没有人写出过一部系统、全面地研究中国古代社会保障思想和实践的著作。这与中国古代哲学、历史、文学、艺术、科技、医药等领域的研究成果相比，不能不说是存在着较大缺憾。

诚然，近、现代社会保障思想和政策、制度的研究，对当代实践的意义或许更为重大，因而也就更值

得重视，但是，古代社会保障思想和政策、制度的价值同样是毋须为之“辩护”的，它的存在本身就已说明了它的意义。不能割断历史——这一历史常识——在今天应该实实在在地成为学术界的共识。我们大家应该共同努力的是：“让干涸的泉源恢复喷涌，让被人忘却的东西为人理解，让死去的转世还魂，让历史的长河重新流淌。”

本书当然无力承担这样的重任。但是，对中国古代思想史、制度史中社会保障的相关内容做一点探寻和整理的基础性工作，应是本书的目的。本书研究及论述的时间范围，是从中国进入文明时代开始直至1840年鸦片战争前的漫长历史时期。

中国古代社会保障思想、政策和制度既然形成于以自然经济为基础的古代社会，其中的许多内容必然适应于自然经济，也就必然要与现代社会经济生活发生矛盾，对此无须避而不谈。但是，历史是各个世代的依次交替。每一代都利用以前各代遗留下来的材料、资金和生产力；由于这个缘故，每一代一方面在完全改变了的条件下继续从事先辈的活动，另一方面又通过完全改变了的活动来改变旧的条件。祖先留下的宝贵遗产，我们要借鉴，也要改造。这才是面对历史应有的胆识和胸襟。我们有理由相信：传统文化与现代文化之间，必有相互沟通的津梁；而深入研究和理解作为传统文化重要组成部分的中国古代社会保障思想、政策和制度，对于当代中国的社会 and 经济发展，也必然会具有积极的意义。

在中国古代，最高统治者（管理者）——以天子、皇帝为代表的统治集团曾经向广大的黎民百姓（被统治者或者被管理者）提供一定的社会保障待遇。翻开中国历史，我们可以看到从有文字记载以来，社会保障的政策和措施是史籍中的重要内容之一；为黎民百姓提供社会保障待遇也是上至最高统治者（管理者），下到各

级官府的重要职责。换句话说，为百姓提供社会保障也是古代政府的重要职能。古代统治者对百姓提供社会保障待遇基于两种思想基础：其一，天授王权，人承天意。无论是通过禅让得到政权，通过继承得到政权，还是通过战争、甚至阴谋夺得政权，成为统治者（管理者）的君主无一例外的都会向神祈求庇护——保佑他的统治可以稳若磐石，世代相传。他坚信是神在万众中选他为人君，他所拥有的权是上天赐予的——天授王权；他只要按照天的旨意行事——人承天意——才能够保住自己的政权。一个君主得到了天神给予的统治万民的权利，就应该使人们生活有基本保障；如果人们吃不饱、穿不暖，不遂民欲，就是违背天意；违背天意，则天必谴之！其二，君主和百姓的关系既对立又统一。从政治的角度考察，他们是统治者（管理者）和被统治者（被管理者）；从经济的角度考察，他们是公共部门（赋税征收者及公共资源支配者）和私人部门（赋税缴纳者及私有资源支配者）。他们之间必然存在政治利益和经济利益的博弈。社会保障政策和措施的实施是君主与百姓博弈的结果。达到社会和谐发展——“国安”是君主与百姓博弈的平衡点。只要“国安”，君和民将有相同的感受——无忧。“国安”也就成为君和民“统一”起来的平衡点。无论是君主出于畏惧天神的动机而“保民”，还是畏惧民反失位的动机而“惠民”，君主都必须主动促使社会达到安定的局面。这也正是现代社会学中所谓国家必须进行“社会安全运行控制”的原理，是统治者（管理者）主动为民众提供社会保障待遇的思想理论基础。尤其是我国从南北朝末期开始实施的九品中正制度及隋唐开始实施的科举制度都保证入选的文官，无论士庶，要以熟读古代经典著作作为基本条件。使得“惠民”的思想不仅植根于国家政策制度的制定者心中，也植根于政策制度的执行者心中，这就保证了最高统治者（管理者）的社

会保障思想可以得到贯彻执行。

社会保障是近代才出现的词汇。如何确定论文研究的范围，本身就是应该研究的问题。如果按照今天的社会保障体系求证古代的历史，至少应该包括古代的社会救济；社会的养老保障、医疗保障、妇幼保健、失业保障、军人优抚保障等。

其一，灾害性救济。灾害性社会救济是指社会对因遭受自然灾害而陷入暂时困境的部分社会成员给予的救助。在古代社会，自然灾害对以农业为主要生产部门、以家庭为主要生产单位的社会成员来说，是难以完全依靠个人力量抵御的巨大风险。政府对百姓提供的保障措施包括：为迁徙到其他地方避灾的百姓提供方便或者组织百姓迁徙到其他地区避灾；免除受灾百姓的税收和徭役负担；向最贫穷的受灾百姓无偿提供食物、衣服和货币；向家境比较贫穷的受灾百姓低价提供食物；向灾后恢复生产需要资金的百姓低息或者无息提供贷款。

其二，日常贫困救济。日常贫困社会救济是指对由于各种原因而导致生活陷于困境的社会成员提供经济帮助。无论在任何时代，社会中总有一些社会成员由于多种原因暂时或者长期处于贫困状态，他们是社会中的弱势群体。虽然这些人的存在对社会安全构成的威胁程度远远低于自然灾害引发的社会动荡，但社会对弱势群体的关注度反映该时期人类的进步和文明程度；反映人类对自身所处社会事务管理的有效程度；反映社会管理机构对调整社会成员之间政治和经济关系的自觉程度。古代政府把社会成员中的鳏、寡、孤、独、老、穷、乏、疾、病、死（无钱葬尸）者作为国家进行救济的主要对象。一般采取一次性和设立日常机构两种方式向贫困者进行救济。提供的待遇包括：为他们提供维持生存的食物、衣服、住所和医疗。

其三，养老保障。养老保障是指社会为老年人提供的物质待遇。尊老、养老是人类文明、进步的重要标志，也是中华民族保持的优良传统。虽然古代先贤有丰富的社会养老思想和制度设计，但在我国历史上养老的制度长期存在官吏与平民的差别。古代政府向官吏提供水平较高的养老待遇：一般官吏退休后，养老金可达原有工资的30%~50%，最高可达100%；得到最高统治者赐与的大量钱物；可以使子孙继承自己的官职或者低级别官职。而对一般平民的养老保障，除对高龄者给予一次性的钱物优待或者以免除家庭成员的税收和徭役负担作为养老的优惠外，则主要采取立法和道德约束的方式，推行家庭养老。

其四，医疗保障。医疗保障是指社会为疾病患者提供的物质待遇。在我国古代社会，大多数社会成员依靠个人力量抵御患病的风险。行医者虽然也以悬壶济世自居，但真正的免费医治病患，只能偶尔为之；依靠行医治病为生者，不可能完全免费提供服务。能够为大多数社会成员提供一定的医疗保障的机构只能是国家建立的医疗救助机构。古代政府已经建立了对百姓提供医疗保障的机构。提供的保障内容包括：日常对贫困者提供治疗和给予医药；对疫病病人实施隔离、提供医药；也在情况允许的情况下提供住院治疗（有常设医院）；对死者及时安葬。

其五，妇幼保障。妇幼保障是指社会对妇女（特别是孕产妇）和儿童（特别是孤儿）提供的保障。保障妇女、儿童身体健康和生活稳定，不仅关系到每个家庭的幸福，也关系到人类的繁衍和社会的进步与发展。而且妇女和儿童都是社会中的弱势群体，更需要社会为其提供相应的保障措施。古代政府为产妇提供一定的助产钱物待遇；减免妇女的税收和徭役负担；帮助贫困家庭赎回因贫困而卖出的子女；直接和帮助孤儿得到收养；为孤儿提供食物、衣



服、住所，甚至入学的待遇。

其六，失业保障。失业保障是指社会为失业者提供就业机会和物质待遇。按照人们的一般常识，失业应该是近代社会才出现的现象。古代地旷人稀，资源尚未被人类充分开发，至少人们可以开垦荒地、打鱼、捕猎、畜牧、开采矿物质为生，不可能出现失业现象。但实际上，我国的先贤们从春秋战国时期就开始讨论失业问题了。他们提出增加生产行业、扩大生产规模和消费规模的方式为失业者提供就业机会；采用为失业者提供土地、工作和转变他们的职业（使失业者成为军人）的办法减少失业现象，以保障百姓的基本生活水平。

其七，军人优抚保障。军人优抚保障是指社会为军人这一特殊群体提供的一系列优待和物质待遇。军人是开疆拓土、用生命和鲜血保卫国家的斗士，是唯一由国家全面供养的社会成员。国家除应为军人提供各种战备保障待遇外，还应为他们提供高水平的优待和抚恤待遇。古代军人不仅本人可以享受衣食供养、养老、医疗、休假、丧葬等待遇，其家庭还可享受税收和徭役减免、子女继承前辈官爵、一定的食物供给、工伤亡抚恤待遇等。

本书通过对史料的研究，回答了社会保障的基本问题。如：社会保障的主体、客体；基金（财物）的筹集；基本制度：保障对象的确定（资格认定）、待遇的标准、待遇的发放（给付时间、地点、期限）、具体措施实施的效果、管理机构等。

对社会保障历史的研究，以现有社会保障理论作研究的理论体系，以社会学作理论指导，以经济学、心理学、生理学作分析方法和工具，以历史学作研究基础。在对古代的社会保障体系和制度进行深入、全面、详细研究的基础上，得出以下结论：

首先，相对于以血缘关系为纽带、以家庭（或者家族）财力

作后盾、对家庭（或者家族）成员提供的保障，以地缘为纽带、以社会共同财富为后盾、对社会成员提供的保障产生的时间要晚得多。而从国家产生之后，社会保障就成为国家的重要职能，成为财政的一项重要支出。在一定时期，社会资源（或称财富）的稀缺性，决定了社会资源（或称财富）在社会成员之间的分配必然是相对的：此消彼涨。但掌握分配权的人如何分配社会资源（或称财富），关系到社会成员之间彼此的相互关系。从对大多数统治者（或者说管理者）和被统治者（或者说被管理者）的关系考察，统治者（或者说管理者）很难自愿为被统治者（或者说被管理者）提供持久的、能够维持基本生活或者生存的保障。在中国历史上虽然也不乏个别统治者具有仁爱之心（传统教育所致），但更多的统治者是在吸取被推翻者的教训中，越来越认识到救济百姓的行为，也是在维护自己的统治利益：民安是国安的必要条件。因此，无论在何时，何地，社会保障制度都是逐渐建立和完善的，这是被统治者（或者说被管理者）与统治者（或者说管理者）斗争的结果，也是统治者（或者说管理者）不断学习，逐渐积累统治（管理）经验、教训的结果。社会成员们也在这种斗争中，逐渐争取到些许自己应该拥有的权利——在遇到个人难以抵御的风险时，得到国家的救助。在古代的一定时期，无论统治者自愿或者不自愿地实施社会保障制度，都在一定程度上起到了促进“国家安定、百姓乐业”的作用。

其次，在我国史籍中，最早的有关社会保障的记载是对夏朝救济灾民的追述，到奴隶社会的中晚期更有详细、丰富的社会保障思想、制度、措施的记载。因此，从理论上推论，经过我国2000多年封建社会的不断演进，社会保障制度应该日臻完善，使更多的被保障者受益。而事实上，虽然历代统治者在统治实践中，对社会保

障制度也进行了逐步完善，实施的社会保障措施也不断丰富，然而，受到许多历史客观因素的制约，我国的社会保障制度一直受到社会的政治和经济制度的制约，受到封建君主个人意志的左右（暴君、昏君、明君），受到社会环境因素（如战争）的影响，没有形成独立的、受到国家法律保护并严格执行的制度。而且越到封建社会的中后期，甚至没有能够延续实施春秋时期齐国的九项社会保障措施。我认为：在奴隶制和封建制社会中，实施哪些社会保障政策和措施，为百姓提供何种水平的保障待遇？起决定因素的不完全是经济发展水平，而是统治者的意志。

再次，我国的官吏和平民养老的思想和制度，在历史上经历了从“合”到“分”的过程，原因是古代人口的增加使政府很难承担起为所有老年人提供养老保障的责任。因此，国家提供减免税收和徭役负担的办法帮助百姓实现家庭养老是现实的选择。

最后，古代政府为百姓提供的社会保障待遇水平，一方面以当时经济发展水平和满足人的生理需要为基础；另一方面也受到国家财政状况的制约。当财政状况较好的情况下，提供的待遇水平高，覆盖范围广；反之，则降低待遇水平，缩小覆盖范围。

总之，在漫长的奴隶制和封建制社会，政府为社会成员提供了一定水平的保障待遇。随着社会的不断发展，政府对社会保障政策的制定和制度的设计，也逐步程序化、规范化；覆盖的范围逐步扩大。

# Abstract

During past 5000 years history of civilization, our Chinese ancestor created and accumulated a refulgent cultural heritage. In this historical cultural heritage, it was valuable and occupied an important status that Chinese ancient social security thought and the practicing of social security policy and system.

Up to now, lots of academicians have not been able to give the enough attention to Chinese ancient social security thought and the practicing of social security policy and system. At least in domestic academic circles, although there has already published several kinds of related writings in recent years and has obtained the certain achievement, but nobody wrote a systemic, comprehensive literature that research the Chinese ancient

social security thought and the practicing of social security policy and system. It, have to say, is a big regret, compare with the research results of Chinese ancient philosophy, history, literature, art, science and technology, medicine and so on.

Indeed, research modern social security thought, policy and system is, perhaps, more significant to the contemporary practice significance and is more worth regarding. But, the value of ancient social security thought, policy and system is also need not “vindication”, existence in possible. Cannot cut off the history, it’s a historical general knowledge, should be really supposed to become the recognition in today’s academic circles. Our everybody should joint effort: “Lets the dry springhead restore spurts wells up, lets the thing manner which was put behind by the person understand that, lets the reincarnation which died come back to life, lets historical the perpetual flow again flow.”

This article certainly incapably undertakes such heavy responsibility that mentioned above. But, related Chinese ancient social security thought and the practicing of social security policy and system, do some foundational work, such as deskwork, should be the article goal. The time scope that this article studies, is a long historical period that starting from the beginning of civilization age to 1840.

Chinese ancient social security thought, policy and system were taken the natural economy (or agricultural economy) as the foundation and formed at ancient society, so, some contents inevitably adapted to the natural economy. Obviously, there must have the contradiction with the modern social economy life, it needn’t to evade the subject. But, the history is each generation takes turn in turn, each generation using

all the material, the fund and the productive forces which leaves behind from the generation before; As a result of this reason, on the one hand, each generation is continuing to be engaged in older generation's activity under the conditions that completely changed; on the other hand, changes the old conditions through the activity that totally changed. The precious inheritance that ancestor stays behind, we must profit from, also must transform. That's the courage, wisdom and spirit which facing the history should have. We believe, between the traditional culture and the modern culture, there must have the communication way. So, lucubrating and understanding the Chinese ancient social security thought, policy and system could also have the positive significance for contemporary China's society and economical development.

In ancient age, the highest ruler (emperor), take the emperor as representative, provided to the subjects some certain social security treatments. Carrying up the Chinese history, we may see, since recordation by word, the social security policies and measures are one of the most important contents in historical records; providing the social security treatment for the subjects is also one important responsibility for the highest ruler and also all levels of government authorities. In other words, providing for the subjects the social security is an important function of the ancient government. The ancient ruler provided the social security treatment for the subjects based on two thoughts:

First, Heaven awards the emperor rights; the emperor undertakes providence. Whatever through demise the throne to obtain the political power, through inherits or through the war, even the plot, the emperor, no one except, impetrates the heaven blessing and asylum to ensure his

dominion run in the family. He believes the heaven chooses him be emperor in millions of people, the power is granted by heaven – heaven award the emperor rights; He must act according to heaven’s decree to be able to preserve owned political power – the emperor undertakes Providence. Once an emperor obtained the dominant which the heaven gives, should create the basic environment for people living, otherwise he violates heaven decree, must be punished!

Second, the relation between emperor and the subjects is both opposite and unitive. By political view, they are the ruler and the ruled; by economical view, they are the public sector (payment of taxes levying and public resource controller) and the private sector (payment of taxes paying and private resources controller). Between them, there inevitably has competition both the political and economical. The implementation of social security policies and measures is a result which emperor and subjects compete. Harmonious development, peace, is a balance point which emperor and subjects compete. As long as peaceful, emperor and subjects will have the same feeling – nothing worried. So, peace becomes the balance point that unifies emperor and subjects. Whatever the motivations of emperor protect subjects are in dread of heaven, or revolution, emperor must push the society to more peaceful on his own initiative. This is also a theory in the modern sociology, so – called “the society safe operation control”. It is the rationale that ruler provides the social security treatment for the subjects. As a mandatory provision, the government officials had to, especially since the Northern and Southern Dynasties which performed the nine grades of rank in the feudal regimes and Sui and Tang Dynasties with imperial civil – service examination

system, be familiar with classical works (such as The Four Books and The Five Classics<sup>①</sup>) and that made the “benefit populace” thought not only being taken root into the constitutor of national policy system, but also taken root into the performer of national policy system, this is guaranteed the highest ruler may carry out the social security thought.

The social security is a definition which appears in modern world. How to define the research scope, itself is a question which should study. If according today's social security system to proof ancient history, at least it should include the ancient social relief, the social cares for the aged population, the medical care, the women and children cares, the unemployment benefits, the special pension plan for serviceman and so on.

First, disaster relief. The disaster social relief refers to the social help to members who falls into the temporary difficult position because of the natural disaster. In ancient times, the natural disaster was completely huge risk that cannot resist depends upon individual strength, especially for the people who take the agriculture as the main production or take the homemade unit as the main production. What the government provided to the recipients include: financial support for the people who evades the disaster or organizing the people moving to other areas to evade the disaster; exemption from duty for the people who suffered by disaster; providing food, clothes and money to the poorest people;

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① The Four Books are: The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean, Confucian Analects and The Works of Mencius. The Five Classics are: The Book of Songs, The Book of History, The Book of Rites and The Spring and Autumn Annals.



providing low interest or interest-free loan to people who restores the production after the disaster.

Second, poverty relief. The poverty relief refers to the social economical help to members who sinks into the difficult position because of various reasons. In any time, in any society, there are always some members who are at the poor condition temporarily or for a long time because of various reasons; they are weak community in society. Although existences of these people is more safe to the society compare with the community turbulence because of natural disaster, but how much attention society pay to weak community is reflected the humanity is progressive or negative, and the civilized degree, it's also reflected the effective degree that the social affair manages, and reflected consciousness degree that the social management organization adjusts political and economical relations between the different social classes member. The government relief in ancient times focused on the social members in widow, widowed, orphaned, alone, old, poor, illness, sickness and dies. Generally, government established an agency carries on the poverty relief, the treatments such as maintenances for food, clothes, residence and medical service.

Third, the aged population cares. The aged population cares refers to the elders living treatment. The respect and cares for elders is important symbol of human civilization, also is the most important tradition which China maintains. Although ancient persons had the design for thought and system of elders social care, but there was a huge and long-standing difference between governor and subjects in history. Ancient government provided the higher level old-age pension to the