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生态史研究

第一辑

夏明方 侯深 主编



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目 录

编者絮语

专题研究

- 寻家之旅:人与自然的生态联姻 夏明方 (3)
- 什么是世界史?或者说,世界史应该是什么? 唐纳德·沃斯特 (17)
- 封建主义危机——环境史 杰森·W. 摩尔 (27)
- 何能“以自然为镜”?——环境史研究中某种历史评价倾向的合理性辨析 ... 梅雪芹 (47)
- 凤凰涅槃——美国历史和文化中的自然灾害 克里斯多弗·毛赫 (59)
- 环境胁迫与社会应对——论古代南方城市房屋建筑材料的变迁 王利华 (72)
- 明清以来中国沿海大黄鱼资源的分布、开发与变迁 李玉尚 (100)
- 杂糅的帝国流离典范:以 17 世纪荷兰据台时期自然资源之利用为例 曾华璧 (124)

圆桌讨论:环境史的功用

- 环境史的“政治性” 斯蒂凡尼亚·巴卡 (145)
- 历史的作用 苏珊·福莱德 (147)
- 历史学的用处 汤姆·格里菲斯 (149)
- 需要公共的环境史 保罗·约瑟夫森 (152)
- 颠覆性的历史 克里斯多夫·毛赫 (154)
- 有用与否,随心而动 约翰·麦克尼尔 (156)
- 与科学的对话 埃德蒙·罗素 (158)
- 环境史的批判性与重要性 拉维·拉詹 (160)
- 环境史中的水、叙述和功用 莉萨·赛德莱兹 (164)
- 历史的用处——我们应该增加评价优秀历史学家的标准 斯维克·索林 (166)
- 桀骜不逊的历史学家? 桑德拉·斯沃特 (169)
- 推崇复杂性的历史 唐纳德·沃斯特 (172)

书 评

- 《地球的转型——在现代世界形成和解体中自然的作用》之书评 赵秀荣 (177)
- 《农业进步的破碎之梦：一部环境史》之书评 柯安慈 (183)

研究动态：2010~2014年中国环境史研究目录索引

- 报刊论文 (189)
- 学位论文和博士后出站报告 (220)
- 著作 (233)
- Table of Contents (238)

圆桌讨论：环境史的功用^①

^① 本次圆桌讨论由中国人民大学生态史研究中心侯深主持。问题设计者与受邀名单为《生态史研究辑刊》编辑部共同拟定, Agnes Kneitz 为联络人, 侯钧翻译, 侯深校对、统稿。

编者语：环境史从其诞生之初，便在探讨其学科之用。自1970年代崭露头角到今日形成一门成熟练达、具有鲜明特色与规范的学科，环境史已经在世界历史学界产生了深刻影响。职业环境史家究竟应在何种程度上保持其研究者的独立性与客观性，又在何种程度上强调其学科的社会功用？这两种目标之间是否当真存在矛盾？因此，我们设计了这次圆桌讨论的问题：“在研究解决气候变化、集约式粮食生产和生物多样性丧失等全球性问题上，环境或生态历史学家要更实用或更实际吗？如果是，如何做到？我们对历史的研究能提供何种科学家、其他专家或普通大众无法提供的深刻见解？”。

此次圆桌讨论所邀请的学者来自世界各地，他们中间有环境史的拓荒者，也有中生代中的佼佼者，他们代表了不同地域、不同性别、不同时代、不同文化背景的各种观点。这些观点有协和之处，也不乏矛盾对立，但是他们奇异地构成了一个有效的整体，为环境史过去四十年的演化勾勒轮廓，也对其未来做出了更加宽广的展望。我们冀望能以这一形式鼓励中国环境史学人对这一问题进行更加多元、深入的思考。

环境史的“政治性”

斯蒂凡尼亚·巴卡^①

葡萄牙科英布拉大学历史系

首先,我认为有必要适当地介绍一下我自己。我是一个来自欧洲的环境史学者,在意大利和美国接受的教育,一直在进行有关欧洲、北美和巴西的跨国研究。我所表述的观点不可避免地要受到并提到这种背景的影响。

在《这改变了一切》中,内奥米·克莱因提出:“现在只有大规模的社会运动能拯救我们。”我认为这种说法基本上是正确的。在20世纪60年代和20世纪70年代的全球性政治决斗出现之后,在过去的30年中,主流的环境组织将更多的注意力放在政府政治、企业漂绿造假的行为及院外活动上,而很少关注来自下层的公众压力和建立联盟。但是现在应该意识到这种战略的失败,我们急需一个新的、更有力的、以坚定的环境和社会正义诉求相结合为基础的群众运动浪潮,以产生激进的生态政治。

环境史学者一直是这段历史的参与者。即便在他们带着政治上的超然态度,反对那种认为环境史是一种环境保护主义者的手段的观点的时候,他们实际上还是加入了1980年代和1990年代的广阔的反抗运动,并将学者们的注意力从“政治”转向了环境“政策”、“治理”和“管理”。换言之,对环境史学者来说,已经不可能独自留在其专业的象牙塔里(即便是他们所青睐的学科),他们不可避免地要和社会同步前进,与所有的历史以及许多科学一样,环境史自身也不可能不带有政治性。

当我开始写《将水围入坝中》(*Enclosing Water*)这本书时,我的科学兴趣是从作为工业革命的最初能源的水力开始的,而很快我就意识到这是“资本主义过渡阶段”社会和生态矛盾问题的一部分。我认为水向水力的演变是以真实暴力和符号暴力四个步骤为前提的:①战争/殖民统治(使自然和劳力从封建统治中“解放”出来);②劳动的商业化(人们被迫离家并在工厂的约束下工作,在这个过程中妇女的工作被贬低,权利被剥夺);③景观的变迁(通过围堵河流和洪水泛滥);④通过艺术和文学将这种新景观和新的社会秩序的出现描述

^① 斯蒂凡尼亚·巴尔(Stefania Barca)任教葡萄牙科英布拉大学,曾经担任欧洲环境史学会副主席,其著作*Enclosing Water*获欧洲环境史学会Turku图书奖(2011年)。

为自然化的过程。作为阶级斗争的结果,即新兴工业资产阶级反对贵族阶级对自然和劳工的控制,存在于水力演变历史中各个层面中的政治性也显现了出来。依照波兰尼的观点,重大变迁中的生态影响,必须被看作其社会代价的一部分。将水攫为己有,只是围水和共享这两种运动的一面。其没有全部显现的那一面,是创建和保卫公地社会斗争:坚实的历史证据表明,这是取代资本主义和中央计划经济两者的选择,也是今天我们从事激进的生态演说和社会实践的目的。这使我想到,我的著作是深深地扎根于“政治的”,也使我认识到反思环境史会产生什么政治影响的重要性。

我认为,环境史的政治性质要求我们唤起历史发展的原动力——工人阶级的兴趣,他们有领导生态革命的潜在能力,这绝对是我们今天需要的。这要求我们用一种非传统的方式来修正工人阶级的定义,这种方式应包括生态的互相依赖性、女权观点以及环境正义等因素。我坚信,无论是技术或技术官僚都拯救不了我们;我们需要的是一种深刻的新形式的人类使命感,彻底和最终清除占统治地位的西方中心论以及带有种族偏见的人类“进步”论,让位于新的、多元的和深刻的以及含有其应有之义的“工人阶级”的观点。我们需要的不仅是非殖民主义、反种族主义,以及关于人类与地球的关系上出了什么差错的、有阶级觉悟的历史,而且还有自由的故事:解放者的集体记忆,即那些普通人——工人阶级的女人和男人、土著民族、不同种族的群体,他们如何一直为建立与环境的非破坏性的和非掠夺式关系而沉思和战斗。我们需要抛弃那种认为城里和郊区的白人中产阶级是环境保护的时代英雄的观点,要看到无数的“其他人”为全球生态危机所付出的真正代价,并为生存而进行着斗争。为99%的人(而不是相反)建立全新的环境政治具有非常重要的意义。

这是环境史学家要接受的一个任务:不仅要与自然科学家们,而且特别重要的是,还要和人文(社会)学科的学者们——生态批评者、政治生态学者、环境社会学者、人类学者、哲学家们和生态经济学家们进行合作和跨学科的对话。我越来越认为,我们需要明白自己是这个称之为环境人文学的大家庭中的成员。总之,我们大概可以把我们的工作看作是环境保护主义学者的事业。

Table of Contents

Searching for a New Home: A History of an Ecological Marriage between Humans and Nature **Mingfang Xia (3)**

Abstract This article first traces the discussion of humans and nature in Chinese historical tradition and sketches the rise and development of ecological history, a new history studying the interaction between humans and nature. Then, it explores the connection and distinction between “environment” and “ecology” and between “environmental history” and “ecological history.” It compares “ecology” to “home,” using the relationship of a married couple or an ecological marriage to describe the elaborate, contradictory, and interdependent mechanism between humans and nature. Based on this metaphor, the article investigates the evolution of the ecological perception of “home” in the West and in China, analyzes the commonality, divergence, and later conflict between the two, studies the origin of the modern world ecological crisis from the perspective of a comparative history of concepts, and calls for the reconstruction of the human future based on the symbiotic ecological community of humans and nature.

Keywords environment; ecology; ecological marriage; ecological crisis; ecological community

What Is World History? or What Should It Be? **Donald Worster (17)**

Abstract The idea of history has long been limited to the history of our own civilization or nation-state, although we may acknowledge “world history” as some inferior study of other civilizations and nations. This provinciality is beginning to break down, and we are beginning to see all history as part of one common “world history.” This paper traces the development of that perspective among western thinkers, from Spengler and Toynbee to William and John McNeill. It proposes that world history must mean the history of nothing less than the “earth” as our common home, the history of humans as part of the great evolutionary history of the planet and the cosmos.

Keywords world history ; planetary history ; web of life ; ecology

The Crisis of Feudalism: An Environmental History **Jason Moore** (27)

Abstract Environmental history may help explain feudalism's demise and capitalism's ascent in the 16th century. Medieval Europe was riven by profound socio-ecological contradictions. Feudalism's environmental degradation pivoted on the lord-peasant relationship, which limited the possibilities for reinvestment in the land. Consequently, feudalism exhausted the soil and the labor power from which it derived revenues, rendering the population vulnerable to disease. The Black Death decisively altered labor-land ratios in favor of western Europe's peasantry. This new balance of class forces eliminated the possibility of feudal restoration and led the states, landlords, and merchants to favor geographical expansion—an external rather than internal spatial fix to feudal crisis. This external fix, beginning in the Atlantic world, had capitalist commodity production and exchange inscribed within it. Capitalism differed radically from feudalism in that where earlier ecological crises had been local, capitalism globalized them. From this standpoint, the origins of capitalism may shed light on today's ecological crises.

Keywords capitalism ; feudalism ; ecological crisis ; spatial fix

How Can We Use Nature as a Mirror? **Xueqin Mei** (47)

Abstract As the new history of the new century, environmental history has shown many new aspects, one of which is the inclination among researchers to change their vision in historical evaluation. I would like to summarize this approach as "taking nature as a mirror." It applies the transformations of nature to examine the gains and losses created by human culture, to evaluate the historical human production and living modes as well as the ideas implied in them, and also to assess the consequences and impacts of the actions of those historical figures. What is the rationale of this approach? After all, it is determined by the ecological crisis out of which environmental history emerged. The so called ecological crisis means that the human dwelling environment, the home of humans, is not fit for the survival of humans, and it also has endangered the organic and non-organic world which sustains the human survival. It is in this sense that environmental historians discuss and study the origin and history of ecological crises or environmental problems, in order to explore and understand the human dimension of natural transformations. Therefore, they take nature as a mirror to study and investigate specifically and deeply how human modes of production and living have influenced the natural environment and affected them-

selves. In a certain way, this work tries to retrospectively assess environmental impacts, and here, we find its rationale.

Keywords nature, environmental history, ecological crisis, Lynn White Jr., historical evaluation

The Phoenix Syndrome: Natural Catastrophes in American History and Culture **Christof Maush (59)**

Abstract The United States are haunted by many different types of natural catastrophes. In the west of the country, earthquakes hit, the south is afflicted by droughts, tornadoes hit the Midwest, hurricanes the southeast, and wildfires are sweeping through the arid areas of the North American continent. Interestingly a few (and not necessarily the most devastating) disasters are collectively remembered. Some catastrophes are engraved in memory, others have been forgotten or suppressed, and a third type has been praised for its positive effects as Rebecca Solnit explains in her book *A Paradise Built in Hell*. According to Solnit, tragedy can trigger positive emotions and optimism. Going back to early modern times and discussing a variety of catastrophes, such as the Johnstown Flood, the Chicago Fire, the San Francisco Earthquake and Hurricane Katrina, this paper will argue that Americans have developed what I call “disaster optimism”—a very specific mode of dealing with and remembering past catastrophes.

Keywords disaster optimism; American natural catastrophes; disaster memories

Environmental Compelling Forces and Social Responses: The Transformation of the Housing Construction Material in Ancient Chinese Southern Cities **Lihua Wang (72)**

Abstract Bamboo houses and towers that used bamboo as the major construction material were common in rural regions south of the line from the Qinling mountain range to the Huaihe River. They were also abundant in cities. Such buildings diminished over time from the north to the south and eventually were confined to a limited area of the southwest. A shift of bamboo construction southward was an important episode in Chinese history and the history between humans and nature in southern China, and illustrated a dynamic historical process of natural impacts and human responses in which many natural and social elements were entangled. The outstanding temporal and spatial features found in the historical records of fires, the widespread blame that ancient people put on bamboo buildings for their susceptibility to fire, and the urban house renovation promoted by many local officials to diminish the danger of fires, all demonstrated that fires were

an important force in this process. But more important for the decline in bamboo construction over much of the country might have been the degradation and decrease of bamboo forest resources and other economic factors.

Keywords bamboo buildings, urban fires, environmental impacts, social responses, human dwelling environmental history

The Distribution, Exploitation and Transformation of the Large Yellow Croakers along the Chinese Coast Since the Ming and Qing Dynasty Yushang Li (100)

Abstract Since the Ming Dynasty, the fishing grounds of large yellow croakers along the Chinese coast have changed frequently. Such changes were caused partly by the hydrological transformation of the sandbars which led to the rise and fall of some fishing grounds, and partly by the changing marine policies which brought about the shrinkages and extension of the fishing areas near ports and in the ocean. But the most important reason was the game played between strong market demand and governmental regulations.

Keywords Large Yellow Croaker; the transformation of fishing grounds; resource exploitation

A Hybrid Model of Imperial Diaspora: Analysis in the Light of Dutch's Utilization of Natural Resources in 17th Century Taiwan Hua-pi Tseng (124)

Abstract By examining two major archives, *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia* and *The Diaries of Batavia*, this paper explores the utilization of natural resources, including the hunting of deer and cultivation of sugar-cane, by the Dutch colonial authority in Formosa. Based on the study, it then defines the nature of Dutch's Imperial Diaspora in Taiwan.

During the ruling period, the Dutch increased the frequency and intensity of the utilization of natural resources and endemic species, and they in the same time developed a sugar enterprise in 17th century Taiwan. By such intensive exploitation of natural resources, they accelerated the extinction of the spotted deer and harmed the lives of indigenous peoples. Under the network of world trade, how did the Dutch authority achieve their goal for business in Eastern Asia?

Examining the Dutch's behavior during their occupation in Taiwan for about four decades, we find that to some extent, it coincided with the so-called "imperial diaspora" argued by Robert Cohen, in the sense that natural resources and the products of the colonies had to be sent to the colonizer's mother country. However, strictly speaking, the model of Dutch's "Imperial Diaspora"

in Taiwan wasn't a stereotype if we learn the contents of the model sketched by Cohen and the Dutch's colonial history in Taiwan. In the process, Chinese people, who were not Taiwan indigenous residents in that period, were crucial as an auxiliary force. It is clear that the mission of the Dutch in Taiwan couldn't be accomplished without the contribution and assistance of the forces of "trade/labor diasporas", in which mainly Chinese people. In the light of the study, my paper argues that the Dutch migration in Formosa showed a "hybrid" model of imperial diaspora with trade/labor diasporas.

Keywords diaspora; the Dutch; Formosa; environmental history; 17th century

Roundtable Forum: The Use of Environmental History

Editor: Since its birth, environmental history has been discussing the uses or social value of the field. From a fledgling field in the 1970s to a mature one with outstanding characteristics and principles, environmental history has already made deep impacts on the discipline of history all over the world. To what extent should professional historians maintain their independence and objectivity as researchers, and to what extent should they address the social use of the field? Are there any fundamental conflicts between the two? Based on these concerns, we assign this question for this roundtable's participants: "*Do environmental or ecological historians need to become more useful and practical in addressing such global problems as climate change, intensified food production, and biodiversity loss? If so, how should that happen? What can our study of the past offer in the way of important insights that scientists, other experts, and the public are not offering?*"

This roundtable forum includes scholars from all the continents, among whom some are the pioneers of the field, and some are leading figures in the later generations. They represent the views of various regions, genders, generations, and cultural backgrounds. In some way, those views are compatible, but one can also find contradictions and confrontations in them. Somehow, they constitute an effective whole, demarcating the evolution of environmental history in the last four decades and projecting a broader prospect for its future. We hope that through this forum, we will encourage Chinese environmental historians to investigate this theme in a more diverse and profound way.

Book Reviews:

Jason Moore *The Transformation of the Earth: How Nature Matters in the Making and Re-*

making of the Modern World reviewed by Xiurong Zhao.

Cameron Muir *Broken Promise of Agricultural Progress: An Environmental History* Reviewed
by Agnes Rneitz.

Recent Publications:

Index of Environmental History published. in China, 2010-2014 edited by Hongtao Liu, etc.