

中國歷史研究院 Chinese Academy of History

国家社会科学基金资助期刊

# 歷史研究

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# 歷史研究

1954年2月创刊 双月刊 总第395期 2月25日出版

1/2022

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Forum

### Hundred Years of Chinese Archaeology: The Chinese Civilization and Its Contribution to the World (4)

Editor's Note: On October 17, 2021, General Secretary Xi Jinping sent a letter to congratulate the 100th anniversary of the discovery of Yangshao culture and the birth of modern Chinese archaeology. Over the past 100 years, Chinese archaeologists have braved hardships and made unremitting efforts to achieve major archaeological discoveries. The resulting discoveries not only showcase the origins, developments, and achievements of the Chinese civilization but also reveal its role as a great contributor to world civilization. The editorial department has arranged this discussion to learn and implement the spirit of General Secretary Xi Jinping's congratulatory letter. We hope that it will pool wisdom and strength to develop archaeology with Chinese characteristics, style and ethos, and help people better understand the long-standing and profound Chinese civilization.

Research Articles

#### On the "Hunting Grounds in Wangji Area" in the Late Shang Dynasty

Tang Yingjie and Zou Fudu (30)

"Method of associating oracle and place names"(卜辞地名系联法) and "method of comparing literature"(文献对照法) were two important methods used for studying hunting geography. It was such important for constructing the system of distribution of hunting areas that selecting the fixed sites. The flow path of the Yellow River was relatively stable in the pre-Qin period, and it could be used as a grid for studying place names of

Shang Dynasty. According to the internal evidences of oracle, You (柚), Hui (喜), Fun (粪), Li (黎), Gun (蘇), Xiang (襄), Xie (协), Jiu (就) and Xiang (向) were closed to the Yellow River. Taking them as fixed points, the places with high frequency in the oracle inscription, such as Dun (敦), Ti (疐), Yu (梌), Gong (宫), Yu (盂) and Sang (丧) could be linked to built a distribution network of hunting areas centered on the Yellow River. The network was basically located in Wangji (王畿) area of late Shang Dynasty, where were located in Anyang, Hebi, Puyang, and surrounding areas of Henan Province, which could be called "Hunting Grounds in Wangji Area".

#### Lili and Grassroots Governance in the Qin and Han Dynasties Chen Kanli (53)

The Qin and Han regimes set up administrative regions li (villages) on the basis of natural settlement. Lili (village heads), the executive officers of the li, were selected to assist the imperial court in grassroots governance. During the wars of unification, Qin changed the tradition of having autonomous leaders and stipulated that the posts of *lidian* (village leader) and *lilao* (village elder) would be held by elders without ranks in the twenty-rank hierarchy to keep the bureaucratic administration free from the influence of social leaders. This measure led to a fierce conflict between the external authority and selfgovernace and hastened the fall of the Qin Dynasty. At the beginning of its establishment, the Han regime adjusted these policies and introduced sanlao (commune elder), intentionally fostering and utilizing social leaders for grassroots governance. However, the post of *lilao* was abolished and the influence of *sanlao* could not reach into every *li* because of its limited number. Midway through the Western Han Dynasty, model official politics began to emerge, promoting the creation of the new post named fulao (elder) in the li. However, the fulao rapidly deviated from their original function of edification and instead started taking on daily chores, which tended to be errand-oriented and humble. Thereafter, the de facto separation between the officials and social leaders made it difficult for the government of the late Han and Wei dynasties to effectively control grassroots societies.

### Land Survey and Cadastre Compilation in the Middle and Late Southern Song Dynasty Dai Jianguo (77)

There were two large-scale land surveys in the middle and late Southern Song Dynasty, namely *jingjie* (cadastral surveying) starting in the 15th year of the Jiading reign and *jingjie tuipai* (inventory calculation) starting in the 5th year of the Jingding reign. The *jingjie* policy was mainly based on the measurement of land. While for the *tuipai* policy, due to the weakness of the state, the government adopted an alternative measure, allowing the households to report the actual occupation of the land. The *jingjie* policy implemented in the area represented by Changshu County is typical in that it constitutes a complete set of land surveying procedures through field-by-field measurement, registration of owner and tax information, mapping and numbering to make *yulintuce* and *wulibu*. Though effective, the *yulintuce* still had several limitations. The land surveying in the middle and late Southern Song Dynasty was a refinement of Shaoxing's *jingjie* policy, adopting a more mature land register system, which played an important role in the collection and transfer of taxes while relieving financial difficulties. It also had a profound impact on the land tax system of later generations.

## From Administrative Integration to Political Integration: The Recommendation System and Local Practices of the Ming Dynasty Xie Yang (100)

In the early Ming Dynasty, the recommendation system was so prevalent that it had become an ancestral system and was given legitimacy to be implemented throughout the Ming Dynasty. After its implementation, the shortcomings of the recommendation system gradually emerged, but as an expedient system for

selecting talent, it was still implemented in parallel with the official selection after the qualification evaluation by the Ministry of Personnel. In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the power of recommendation was gradually moved from the hands of the officials in the capital to the Ministry of Personnel. In the late Ming Dynasty, the number of officials recommended by local governments on their own initiative gradually increased, which was the result of the top-down integration of local political and cultural resources by the imperial court through administrative means. The shift of recommendation from court-led to local government initiative indicates that the central government integrated local resources and went through a process from administrative integration to political integration. During this period, the imperial power, as the fundamental driving force to maintain the existence and operation of the regime and the centripetal force of local governments, was always the main force working to achieve political integration.

## Diplomacy through the League of Nations after the September 18th Incident and the Nationalist Government's Policy toward Japan Hou Zhongjun (122)

After the September 18th Incident, the National Government of the Republic of China initially adopted a non-resistance policy in the hope that the League of Nations and other external forces would assist China in stopping the Japanese invasion. The League of Nations, then led by the United Kingdom and France, aimed to unite the United States to control the conflict between China and Japan and in case their respective interests would be affected. The negotiations between the parties on the withdrawal of Japanese troops and the three successive resolutions issued by the League of Nations did not stop Japan's invasion of China, and China gradually recognized the role and limitations of the League of Nations. In the face of Japan defying the League of Nations resolutions and continuing to expand its aggression, the Chinese people launched a massive movement against

Japanese aggression. The Nationalist Government realized that the Sino-Japanese problem could not be solved without military resistance and its policy against Japan began to shift toward "resisting while negotiating".

#### **Territory and Order of Ancient Greek Poleis**

Zhang Xingang (142)

Territory was the basic element of ancient Greek poleis. The Greek poleis usually consisted of urban and rural areas, and the composition and distribution of territory and inhabitants varied greatly from polis to polis. It is difficult to identify and delineate the boundaries of poleis, as they were often demarcated by mountains, rivers, buildings. There were also suspended border areas according to some judicial arbitration texts. The territory reflects not only the spatial organization but also the political order of the poleis. As citizenship was bound to the ownership of land, the territorial changes were closely related to the political order within the polis. The two major poleis of ancient Greece, Sparta and Athens, in addition to their fixed native territorial boundaries, both had extrastate or oversea territories subject to their respective powers, which were the important basis for their domination of the Greek world in the Archaic and Classical periods.

### Evolution of the Thought of the Emperor's Divine Power in Japan from the 17th to the 19th Century Xu Xiaoguang (163)

In modern Japan, based on relevant content from the ancient "Jiki Culture", the Syusigaku and Kokugakuin, further deified the imperial power. As the descendant of Amaterasu Ōmikami, the emperor, they argued, ought to have a status of supremacy and divine power. The banner of "the emperor's divine power" was held high by Japanese intellectuals at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate locked into complicated internal and external troubles. They demonstrated and carried forward the divine and supreme nature of the emperor and his power and thus turned the emperor into a spiritual leader

that could be used to unite the people and an icon that was used by the shoguns to attack political opponents. At the same time, intellectuals also put forward the idea of "expanding territory to show reverence for the Mikado". After the Meiji Restoration, the idea of the Mikado's divine power continued to develop and it was pushed to the extreme later. Although the idea removed the obstacles in the way to modernization, it also became a spiritual impetus for Japan to wage foreign invasions and expansions.

#### The Cold War Strategy of the Reagan Administration and Its Consequences

Xia Yafeng (185)

Ronald Reagan formulated and implemented a consistent Cold War strategy when he was American President. Reagan's strategy consists of two aspects: first, the so-called "peace through strength," reestablishing U.S. predominant power status vs the Soviet Union; second, the so-called "quiet diplomacy," resolving the two superpowers' issues via low-key negotiations. Under the guidance of the strategic thinking, the Reagan Administration worked along both lines, dragging the Soviet Union down through arms race and compelling the Soviets to surrender via diplomatic means. Reagan's grand strategy had glaring adverse effects as well. It created a severe financial burden on the United States and planted seeds for the turbulent post-Cold War world.

Historical Notes

Discussion on the Whereabouts of the Original Manuscript of Yongle Dadian

Gao Shuwei (206)

### 中国考古学与世界古代文明图景

中国历史研究院考古研究所研究员 施劲松

从 1921 年河南仰韶村遗址的发现开始,中国考古学走过了 100 年的历程。在仰韶文化发现和中国现代考古学诞生 100 周年之际,习近平总书记发来贺信指出: "100 年来,几代考古人筚路蓝缕、不懈努力,取得一系列重大考古发现,展现了中华文明起源、发展脉络、灿烂成就和对世界文明的重大贡献,为更好认识源远流长、博大精深的中华文明发挥了重要作用。"① 中国现代考古学的诞生对于世界文明具有深远意义,表现为中国考古学 100 年来揭示和阐释的中国古代文明成为世界文明的重要内容,中国古代文明的成就成为人类共同的文化遗产与思想资源,中国考古学与世界考古学共同重绘着世界古代文明的图景。

任何一种古代文明都是在特定的区域内产生和发展的,因而具有地域性,在这个方面,考古学最具说服力。所有的考古工作都是从一个具体区域开始的。从世界各地的考古材料来看,无论是物质形态还是文化内涵也都有地域特点。但是,考古学研究在揭示一个区域文明的同时自然会发现,任何一种古代文明都不可能孤立地产生和发展,它总会与其他区域的文明存在着程度和范围不一的联系与交流,这就使得考古学研究比其他学科更迫切地需要了解和认识相关的其他文明。即使对于在时空上缺乏直接联系的文明,也有必要通过深入的比较来认识各自的特点,在揭示各区域文明独特性的前提下,寻找人类文明的普遍性。再进一步看,在当今全球化的历史条件下,当我们的研究有能力超出一个区域、我们的研究意识和视野能够扩展到全世界的时候,不仅世界各地的考古发现都应被视为全人类共同的文化遗产,而且区域史也应成为人类共同历史的一部分,考古学家在不同区域所做的每一项具体工作,都是为了不断丰富人类历史的内容和价值,向探索人类整体历史的目标迈进。从这个意义上说,考古学这门科学可以并且需要突破地域性,最终指向全人类共同的历史和未来。

世界各区域的文明在世界文明的版图上都不可或缺,它们共同构成了整个人类的文明。那么,100年来中国考古学揭示的中国古代文明如何融入世界文明的图景?中国考古学如何参与世界历史的建构?对于这样的问题,我们可以尝试从两个维度来考察。

①《习近平致仰韶文化发现和中国现代考古学诞生100周年的贺信》,《人民日报》2021年10月18日,第1版。

### 一、世界考古学史中的中国考古学

第一个维度是世界考古学史。作为一门科学的考古学形成于19世纪。1950年, 剑桥大学的英国考古学家格林·丹尼尔出版了《考古学一百年》, 阐述了从 1840 年 到第二次世界大战这100年间考古学产生和发展的历史,以及百年间的重大考古发 现。①1975年,丹尼尔又在原书基础上增加了1940年以后考古学的重大发展,并 将 19 世纪 20 年代丹麦考古学家汤姆森按石器、青铜器、铁器三个相互衔接的时 代序列布置博物馆的藏品陈列作为考古学成为独立学科的开端, 出版了《考古学 一百五十年》。此后,该书被剑桥大学、哈佛大学等选用为考古学史教材,具有广 泛的影响力。丹尼尔在书中提出, 史前学在地理上有两个开端, 即欧洲和近东一爱 琴海地区: 但史前学最终形成世界史前学则是在两件大事之后, 一是印度、中国和 美洲史前文明的发现, 二是旧石器时代的研究扩展到整个欧亚非大陆。为此, 该书 专设"中国"一节讲述中国文明,内容即为瑞典学者安特生在仰韶遗址和中国西北 地区的考古工作,以及安特生和其他学者对这些考古发现的认识。此外,关于中国 的重要考古发现还提及山东城子崖、浙江钱山漾、安阳小屯与后岗。② 在新补充的 1945—1970年考古发现中,中国部分又据《新中国的出土文物》增加了陕西蓝田 人、北京人、满城汉墓等内容, ③ 同时介绍了郑德坤、张光直等学者研究中国考古 学的综合性论著,以及这些研究提供的对中国古代文明的简要认识。④ 由这部世界 考古学史的重要著作可以了解到,一方面,早在20世纪上半叶,西方考古学家在 衡量史前考古学如何成为一门世界性的学问时,已认识到中国古代文明的重要性; 另一方面, 西方学术界对中国古代文明的认识还较为有限。这部书对于中国的考古 发现和研究涉及并不多, 只简单提及考古发现的名称和引发的问题, 对考古发现的 内涵与意义缺乏深入认识,显然不足以展现中国古代文明的概貌。

可以和《考古学一百五十年》进行某种比较的著作是 2017 年出版的《考古通史》。⑤《考古通史》的编著者保罗·巴恩是世界著名考古学家,也是剑桥大学的博士。这部关于世界考古的综合性著作,记录了考古学在全球范围内的发展历程。在书中展现的世界古代文明图景中,中国的考古发现明显增多。比如,"遥远的史前时代"(400 万年前一前 1 万年)部分有周口店,"从猎人到耕者"(前 1 万一前

① 参见 Glyn E. Daniel, A Hundred Years of Archaeology, London: Duckworth, 1950.

② 格林·丹尼尔:《考古学一百五十年》, 黄其煦译, 北京: 文物出版社, 1987年, 第 255、262—267页。

③ 《新中国的出土文物》,北京:外文出版社,1972年。

④ 格林·丹尼尔:《考古学一百五十年》, 第 333 页。

<sup>(5)</sup> 保罗·巴恩编著:《考古通史》,杨佳慧译,天津:天津人民出版社,2021年。

3000年)部分有半坡遗址和河姆渡遗址,"文明的曙光"(前3000一前1000年)部 分有中国早期文明(包括二里头文化、商王朝、三星堆文化)、郑州商城和安阳, "铁器时代和远古世界"(前1000-500年)部分有丝绸之路、敦煌莫高窟、中国 古代王朝、兵马俑、长城,"中世纪世界"(500-1600年)有从唐朝到明朝的文化 与艺术成就、唐朝、唐皇陵。对于上述遗址的发现与发掘概况、内涵与价值、历史 背景与延伸意义等,也有更多的阐述。此外,书中还提及青海喇家遗址、商代青铜 器、海上丝绸之路等内容。人类史上的重要事件年表中也结合正文不时提及中国, 如旧石器时代的田园洞人,公元前7000一前5000年出现磁山和裴李岗这类小型聚 落,公元前五六千年开始种植粟、稻并饲养家猪,公元前5000年仰韶文化的发展, 公元前3000年良渚文化成为中国新石器时代末期文化的代表,公元前2100年夏王 朝开始, 商朝大量出现青铜器, 两周时期开始锻造生铁制品并使得战争冲突频繁, 汉代的炼铁炉开始使用水轮鼓风, 汉唐与朝鲜半岛的联系与交流、日本遣唐使等。 这里列举上述内容是为了说明,相较于前部书,《考古通史》对中国考古发现的介 绍更丰富、具体。但更重要的差异不是内容、篇幅的多少,而是中国考古成果在世 界古代文明版图上所占位置。在早期的考古学史或考古通史著作中、中国的古代文 明更多是作为远东文明,也就是一种区域文明被单独介绍;而在《考古通史》中, 中国的考古成果和古代文明已被纳入世界古代文明的进程中, 中国的一些历史事件 构成了世界历史发展脉络上的重要节点,由此呈现出来的世界历史更加完整,古代 文明更加丰富多彩。

比世界考古学史或考古通史的著作更能体现中国考古学成就的,是海外学术界对中国考古材料的深入研究。近 40 年来海外关于中国考古学的研究性论著大量增加,比如由西方著名考古学家撰写的《剑桥中国古代史》。① 海外学者研究中国古代历史和文明,正是基于中国丰富的考古资料,以及由考古材料显示的中国古代文明的重要性。中国的考古成果之所以在世界范围内产生更大的影响,自是因为1980 年以来中国考古学发生的深刻变化,即考古发现和研究成果大量涌现,以及国际学术交流不断扩大和深入,这两方面的原因推动中国考古学成为世界考古学的一部分,中国古代文明进一步融入人类文明的谱系。

### 二、中国考古学揭示的世界文化遗产

以上事例显然不足以说明中国考古学对于重绘世界文明图景的贡献,我们也不可能从世界范围内梳理与中国考古学和中国古代文明相关的论著并评估其影响。为此我

① Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B. C.*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

们再换一个维度,即从中国的世界文化遗产来认识中国考古学的意义。

世界文化遗产是由联合国教科文组织世界遗产委员会确认、具有突出的普遍价值的建筑群、人类工程和考古遗址等。世界文化遗产具有的历史、艺术、科学价值为全世界公认,在世界范围内有广泛的影响力,因此,由世界文化遗产可以衡量一个国家的古代文明成就在世界文明史上的地位。中国于1986年开始向联合国教科文组织申报世界遗产项目,从1987年至2021年共有56项世界遗产,①遗产数名列世界前茅。

中国的世界遗产中有38项为文化遗产,均具有突出的普遍价值,展现了人类共同的历史,丰富了人类文明的多样性。它们大致分为三类,即全部为考古发掘的遗存、部分为考古发掘的遗存、保留于地面上的遗存。

第一类古迹完全由考古工作揭示,包括周口店北京人遗址,良渚古城遗址,安阳殷墟,秦始皇陵及兵马俑坑,高句丽王城、王陵及贵族墓葬,元上都遗址,南方地区元明清时期的土司遗址,它们是中国考古学 100 年历史上的重大发现,带给人们关于中国历史和文明的全新认识。

北京周口店遗址于 1918 年由安特生发现并于 1921 年发掘,这也是中国考古学史上最早的考古活动,自此之后的发掘持续至今。周口店遗址的重要性在于出土了70万—20万年前北京人化石及人类活动的遗物、遗迹。人类起源是世界性课题,需要世界各地的考古材料和学界的共同研究。由周口店的考古发现,可认识更新世的人类在东亚地区的生存、发展、演化。

浙江余杭良渚遗址最早发掘于 1936 年,20 世纪 80 年代以来发现随葬大量精美玉器的高等级大墓,2007 年以来在遗址中心发现一座城址,2009 年以来在城外发现大型水利工程。这是中国最重要的考古发现之一,正是基于良渚遗址和黄河流域、长江流域、西辽河流域的同时代遗址所反映的文明成就、社会发展状况、区域间的文化互动,考古学家得以确定中华文明形成于 5000 多年前。中国考古学家根据各地出土的考古材料,不断深化对中国古代文明起源的认识,广泛、深入地考察新石器时代的聚落、城址、建筑、墓葬、刻符与原始文字,探讨农业与手工业、社会分工与社会分层、宗教与礼制、武力与战争等。②考古学发展至今,考古学家已普遍意识到世界各地的古代文明互不相同,也没有一个衡量文明的统一标准。对于文明起源研究,中国考古学作出了自己的贡献。

1928年河南安阳殷墟的发掘是中国考古学史上的里程碑。殷墟是最早闻名于世的中国古代遗址,作为商代晚期的都城,殷墟不仅发现了宫殿、陵墓、居址、道

① 参见世界遗产委员会官网名录, https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/cn, 访问时间: 2021年12月16日。

② 中国社会科学院考古研究所编著:《中国考古学·新石器时代卷》,北京:中国社会科学出版社,2010年,第780—801页。

路、手工业作坊,还出土了中国最早的确切文字和不计其数的精美铜器。即使在世界范围内,殷墟也足以成为青铜文明的代表,可与其他古代文明的中心或早期国家的都城相媲美。

西安秦始皇陵和兵马俑坑堪称世界上最伟大的考古发现之一。兵马俑坑的发掘始于 1974 年,目前发现有超过 8000 具形同真人的陶俑、100 多辆战车、数百匹马。兵马俑坑所属的秦始皇陵有规模巨大的带两重垣墙的陵园,陵园内外有诸多陪葬墓和陪葬坑。考古学家推断整个陵园有如一座地下宫殿。秦始皇陵呈现的不只是古代帝王陵墓的巨大规模、复杂结构、惊人的随葬品,还有东方的艺术成就。位于今内蒙古锡林郭勒盟的元上都,始建于 1256 年,废弃于 1430 年,20 世纪 30 年代以来经多次发掘。元代的上都城具有离宫性质,由宫城、内城、外城、"关厢"组成,内涵丰富。秦始皇陵和元上都这类从秦汉至明清时期的帝陵和都城,体现的是历朝的政治制度、社会结构,以及科学、文化和艺术的成就,集中反映了中国在这些时期的历史概貌。

边疆地区的文化遗产以高句丽王城、王陵和贵族墓葬为代表。这些遗址点中,辽宁桓仁县的五女山山城是高句丽的早期都城,建于公元前 34 年,20 世纪 90 年代进行过调查和发掘。吉林集安市的国内城是高句丽的中期都城(3—427),1975 年以来进行过调查和发掘。丸都山城是国内城的守备城,198 年后逐渐形成完备的防卫体系,该城 1962 年以来也经过调查和发掘。在集安一带还有分布密集的从公元前1世纪至公元 7 世纪的高句丽王陵和贵族墓,多为形制不一的积石墓和石室墓,有的墓内有壁画。这些城址与墓葬具有鲜明的区域特征,又反映出中原文化的影响。

另一类王朝中心区之外的特别文化遗产是土司遗存,包括湖南永顺老司城、贵州播州海龙屯、湖北唐崖土司城遗址。元明清时期,中央王朝在我国西南及邻近的鄂西南、湘西、桂西北等地的少数民族地区广泛推行土司制,任命少数民族首领为所辖领地的世袭统治者。这一统治体系保证了国家统一的集权管理,也保留了少数民族的生活和风俗习惯。土司制度最早可上溯到唐宋,地域上还涉及我国西北和东北。上述三处遗址是土司制度的产物,遗存有土司城、军屯城堡、官寨、衙署建筑、田庄和家族墓葬等。土司遗存在 20 世纪 50 年代即有发现,近年来因其独特性而受到愈来愈多的关注,在开展大量考古工作的同时,考古学界甚至提出了"土司考古"的课题。①土司遗存具有鲜明的特色,反映了多民族的风俗和文化传统,体现了文化的多样性传承、交流和国家认同。

100 年来,中国的考古学家发现、发掘的遗址数以万计,列入世界文化遗产名录的不过是如上几项,但它们涵盖了从旧石器时代到明清、从王朝的中心到边疆的广阔时空范围,勾勒出了中国历史的发展脉络和文明的概貌。

① 周必素、李飞:《贵州遵义播州杨氏土司遗存的发现与研究》,《考古》2015年第11期。

### 歷史研究

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2022年第1期 (双月刊) 总第395期

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主 办: 中国社会科学院

主 编: 李国强

编辑出版:中国历史研究院《历史研究》编辑部

地 址:北京市朝阳区国家体育场北路1号院执中楼

联系电话: 010-87421879

网上投稿: http://lsyj.ajcass.org/Admin

国内发行: 社会科学文献出版社 010-59366555

印 刷: 三河市龙林印务有限公司

订阅处:全国各地邮局

国内代号: 2-77

国外发行:中国国际图书贸易集团有限公司

(北京 399 信箱 邮编 100044)

国外代号: BM14



历史中国



社科期刊网

ISSN 0459 - 1909 CN 11 - 1213/K ISSN 0459-1909



定价: 100.00元

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