

# 中国教育哲学

## 史

第四卷

ZHONGGUO  
JIAOYU ZHEXUE  
SHI

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## 前 言

近十多年来，中国教育史学科无论在通史、断代史，还是在专题研究、人物评传方面，均取得了有目共睹的突破性进展。在此基础上，有的学者更进而尝试从哲学高度对中国教育思想的发展演变进行理论总结。<sup>①</sup>但是，迄今为止仍没有一部较为系统的《中国教育哲学史》著作。有感于此，华东师范大学中国教育史学科点部分成员会同兄弟院校的同行专家，决心对这一前沿课题进行开拓性探索研究，并经国家教委批准为文科博士点专项科研基金项目。

《中国教育哲学史》应该写成什么样式，随着研究的展开和认识的深入，一致认为：《中国教育哲学史》理应写出中国特色和中国气派，避免套用西方教育哲学的概念范畴。这是因为中国文化和教育发展有其自身的独特性。英国哲学家罗素说：“中国文明是世界上几大古国文明中唯一得以幸存和延续下来的文明。自从孔子时代以来，埃

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<sup>①</sup> 近年来，曾先后出版了黄济主编《中国传统教育哲学概论》（河南教育出版社 1994 年版）、崔宜明等著《中国传统哲学与教育》（上海教育出版社 1995 年版）、于述胜等著《中国传统教育哲学》（江苏教育出版社 1996 年版），取得了可喜成绩。

及、巴比伦、波斯、马其顿和罗马帝国的文明都相继消亡，但中国文明却通过持续不断的改良，得以维持了下来。中国文明也一直受到外来文化的影响，从早先的佛教影响，直到现代的西方科学的影响。但是，佛教并没有把中国人变成印度人，西方科学也没有把他们变成欧洲人。”<sup>①</sup>何以中国文明能够长期延续而生生不息？甚至在各种外来文化剧烈冲击下亦能沉着应变而不失其坚强的民族凝聚力？一个重要的原因，就是因为中国向来重视教育，几乎所有有建树的哲学家都是教育家，都热衷于各种形式的讲学和教育活动，都把目标指向理想人格的塑造和培养。其中，儒家学派尤为突出。正是在这个意义上，当代著名哲学家张岱年曾明确指出：“儒家哲学是教育家的哲学。”<sup>②</sup>范文澜则认为：儒家教育思想作为中国传统教育思想的核心内容，理应是“中国教育史的一条主线”<sup>③</sup>。儒家学派从其创建之日起，即把目光从玄远的“天道”转向世俗的“人事”，表现出人类理性精神的觉醒：人不再是天的附属品，而有其自身的存在价值和意义。因此，人的本质和本性也就成了儒家学派关注的焦点，他们在建构各自教育理论体系时都不能不予以周密的论证。而反对儒学的其他学派，为求在论战中取胜，也不能不有自己的人性论依据。可以这样说，人性论是中国教育思想的理论基础；

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① 《罗素文集》，改革出版社 1996 年版，第 46 页。

② 《儒家哲学是教育家的哲学》，载《华东师范大学学报》教科版，1989 年第 1 期。

③ 《关于中国教育史中一些问题的讨论》，载《文汇报》，1962 年 1 月 25 日。

离开教育家的人性论，不惟说不清其教育功能和作用，更谈不上窥测其思想大厦之奥秘。与人性论紧密相连的是义利观，它是中国教育思想的价值导向。因为人来到这个世界上，绝非孤零零的一个人，他必须与其他人、与社会及自然处好关系。从这个意义上说，人与人、人与社会、人与自然之间究竟应该遵循什么样的伦理准则，很自然就成为中国教育家反复争论的核心问题——“义利之辨”。这个问题不仅是一般的人生哲学问题，关系到人在社会乃至整个宇宙中的地位；而且更是重要的教育哲学问题，关系到人的价值取向、行为准则和信念追求。故宋代理学家张栻说：“学者潜心于孔孟，必得其门而入，愚以为莫先于义利之辨。”<sup>①</sup> 理想人格是中国教育思想的终极归宿，它规定了教育的目标和方向，它是以“天人合一”为终极境界，而其本身又与人性论、义利观有着密切联系。概言之，人性论、义利观和理想人格是中国教育特别是传统教育的思想内核，这一思想内核的背后固然潜藏着十分深刻的历史文化背景，但它们对教什么和怎么教确实起到了更为直接的作用。相对于古代教育，中国近代教育形态有了根本变化，但这一变化实际上即是传统意义上的人性论、义利观和理想人格受到西方文化强烈冲击而逐渐解构；与此同时，现代化教育则伴随着资本主义生产方式的产生而兴起，引发了中西古今之争，并衍化出一幅幅波澜壮阔的近代教育哲学的历史画卷，引人深思。

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<sup>①</sup> 张栻：《南轩集·孟子讲义序》。

纵观中国教育思想的历史发展和嬗变，我们认为其中经历了两个高峰和一次转折，“第一个高峰出现在春秋战国。其文化背景为诸子之学的形成与争鸣，其主体是以孔子及其继承者孟荀为代表的儒家学派。它的历史作用是为我国封建教育思想奠定了基础。第二个高峰即出现在宋明。其文化背景为儒释道由并行而趋向交融，其主体为以程朱陆王为代表的儒家新学派——理学。其历史作用是使教育哲学理论及其体系趋于深化和严密”<sup>①</sup>。如果说，先秦诸子之学是中国教育的原生态，代表了轴心时期人类文明的共同觉醒；那么，宋明理学则是儒释道长期交融的理论成果，它把传统儒学人伦上升到本体论高度，并进而打通本体论与心性教育论的内在关联，将中国传统教育哲学引向“邃密”和“深沉”，这种“邃密”和“深沉”即是融会释道精神旨趣之后的儒学再创新——新儒学。与这两个高峰不同，中国近代教育思想在西方文化的猛烈冲击下出现了一次根本方向的转折——即从传统教育向现代化教育的转折。这个转折当然不是对传统文化教育的简单否定，而是以“中西融通，古今汇合”为基本指向。虽然这个转折的整个过程是十分艰难而缓慢的，但它确实标志着中国教育的发展方向，旨在寻找传统与现代的最佳结合点。依据这一基本认识，我们要求在具体写作过程中必须做到详略适当，有所侧重。着眼于两个高峰和一次转折，高峰之前略述伏笔，转折之前不忘引桥。这样做的目的，是为了

<sup>①</sup> 张瑞璠：《理学教育思想与中国文化·序》，上海教育出版社1993年版。

还思想发展的本来面目，使之层层相扣，接续推演，迭宕起伏，自成逻辑。全书共四卷，由张瑞璠教授任主编，黄书光教授任副主编。第一卷，由春秋至东汉，陈超群博士执笔；第二卷，由魏晋至南宋，黄明喜副教授、于述胜教授执笔；第三卷，由元代至清初，于述胜教授、张良才副教授、施扣柱博士执笔；第四卷，近代（1840—1949），黄书光教授执笔。

事属草创，勉力为之；疏失之处，在所难免。恳请海内外读者方家不吝赐教！



## FOREWORD

In the past decade or more, developments of breakthrough have been witnessed within the discipline of the history of Chinese education, in all aspects of comprehensive history, history of individual dynasty, particular subject research and comments and biographies of famous historical figures. Some scholars are even attempting to summarize theoretically the course of changes of the Chinese educational thought from the level of philosophy. However, there has never been such a comprehensive work as "History of Chinese Philosophy of Education". Considering this, members of the program of History of Chinese Education at East China Normal University, together with colleagues from fraternal universities and colleges, have determined to conduct this pioneering research on the frontier subject, and this has been approved by the State Education Commission as one of the projects with the research foundation for doctorate programs of liberal arts.

In what form and style should the book "History of Chinese Philosophy of Education" be written? With the conduct-

ing of research and the deepening of knowledge, the contributors have reached unanimity in that, the book should be written with uniquely Chinese features and Chinese style, avoiding applying mechanically the categories of concepts in the western philosophy of education to specific Chinese conditions. The English philosopher Bertrand Russell once said, the Chinese civilization has been the only one that has survived and continued among the several major civilizations of ancient countries in the world. Since the time of Confucius, the civilizations of Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Macedonia and the Roman Empire have withered away one after another, but the Chinese civilization has, through continued reform, been well preserved till today. The Chinese civilization has been all the time influenced by foreign cultures, from the early Buddhism to the present-day western modern science. However, Buddhism has never turned Chinese into Indians, nor the western modern science turned Chinese into Europeans. How can the Chinese civilization survive through generation after generation? How can it maintain its strong national power in face of various clashes by foreign cultures? One of the most important reasons is that China has all along paid great attention to education, and almost all accomplished philosophers in the history have been educators, who have been very keen on lectures and educational activities, aiming at modeling and fostering ideal personalities. Among all these educators,

those of the Confucian school are the most outstanding. And just in this sense, well-known contemporary philosopher Zhang Dainian said, "The Confucian philosophy is the philosophy of educators." Mr. Fan Wenlan considered that the Confucian thinking of education, as the core of Chinese traditional thinking of education, should naturally be "the lifeline of the history of Chinese education". From the founding of the Confucian school, it turned its attention from the remote "heavenly way" to the worldly "human affairs", indicating the awakening of the rational spirit of human beings. Men are no longer affiliation to the heaven, but have their own value and meaning for existence. Therefore, the essence and nature of human beings have become the focus of concern of the Confucian school, and they can not build up their theoretical system of education without expounding them thoroughly. However, all those schools opposed to the Confucian school, in order to win the debate, have to have the theories of human nature as their basis. So, it may be said for certain that the theory of human nature is the theoretical basis of the Chinese educational thinking. Without the educators' theory of human nature, not only can the functions of education not be made clear, nor the real mystery of the Chinese education can be explored. Closely related to the theory of human nature is the concept of righteousness and benefits, which is the value guide of the Chinese educational thinking. Coming to this

world, man has never been single or isolated, but he has to keep on good terms with other men, the society and nature. What ethical principles should be observed in terms of relationship between man and man, between man and society, and between man and nature, would invariably become the central and repeated issue of argument for all the Chinese educators. This is whence the choice of righteousness and benefits. This issue is not a simple issue in the philosophy of life, but concerns the position of man in the society and even in the whole universe. What is more important, this issue is one of the philosophy of education, which concerns the value orientation, the code of conduct and the pursuit of beliefs. That is why Zhang Shi, idealistic philosopher of the Song Dynasty, said, "Scholars devoted to the research of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, must find the ABC to start with. It seems to me that the right ABC would be the choice of righteousness and benefits." The ideal personality is the ultimate end of the Chinese educational thinking, which sets the goals and objectives of education. It takes "heaven and man united in one" for its ultimate realm of thought, which again has much to do with the theory of human nature, and the concept of righteousness and benefit. To summarize, the theory of human nature, the concept of righteousness and benefits, and the ideal personality are the core of thought of the Chinese education. Of course, behind this is a very profound histori-

cal and cultural background, but this does function directly in terms of what to teach and how to teach. In contrast with the ancient education, the pattern of modern education of China has undergone basic changes, which are actually the deconstruction of the traditional theory of human nature, concept of righteousness and ideal personality as a result of the intense clashes with the western culture. Meanwhile, with the emergence of the capitalist mode of production, modernized education has come into being, which incurs the argument of Chinese and foreign, the ancient and the present. Out of this, magnificent historical picture scrolls have been unfolded, which set people thinking.

Viewing the historical development and evolution of the Chinese educational thinking, we think it has experienced two peaks and one turning. "The first peak appeared during the period of Spring and Autumn, and the Warring States. The cultural background was the forming of various scholastic schools and their contention, with the Confucian school represented by Confucius and later Mencius and Xunzi as the main body. The historical function of this period was to have laid the foundation of the educational thinking of feudal China. The second peak appeared during the Song and Ming Dynasties. The cultural background was the parallel and tending to merge of Confucianism with Buddhism and Taoism, with the idealistic school, a new branch of Confucian-

ism represented by Cheng, Zhu, Lu and Wang. The historical function of this period was to make the theory of philosophy of education and its system become deeper and better-organized." (Zhang Ruifan, 1993) If we can say that the doctrines of the various scholastic schools of the pre-Qin period were the primitive modes of Chinese education, representing the common awakening of the civilization of the human being of the Axis Age, then, we can say that the idealistic school of the Song and Ming Dynasties was the theoretical accomplishment as a result of the long-term merging of Confucianism with Buddhism and Taoism. It brought the traditional Confucian ethics to the height of ontology, and further linked up the coherent associations between ontology with the inner-nature of education. It led China's philosophy of education to "abstruseness" and "profoundness". This "abstruseness" or "profoundness" was the neo-Confucianism, which was the re-creation of Confucianism as a result of the merging with Buddhism and Taoism. Apart from the two peaks, strongly lashed by the western culture, modern Chinese educational thinking has undergone a fundamental turning in direction, i.e. the turning from the traditional education to modernized education. This turning is by no means a simple negation of the traditional culture and education, but with "the fusion of the Chinese and West, the merging of the ancient and present" as the guiding principle. Though the turning process

has been an arduous and slow one, it marks the orientation of development of the Chinese education, seeking the best merging point of the traditional with the modern. Based on this knowledge, it is required of the contributors that, in the process of writing, there should be appropriate details and briefs, with special emphasis on particular points. That is to say, emphasis should be laid on the two peaks and one turning, with foreshadowing before the peaks and transitions before the turning. By so doing, the truth of the development of thought would be revealed, layers linked one with another, while well – organized logically in itself with due ups and downs. The whole book consists of four volumes, with Professor Zhang Ruifan as the editor-in-chief, and Professor Huang Shuguang as the deputy editor-in-chief. The first volume, dealing with the period from the Spring and Autumn period to the East Han Dynasty, is contributed by Dr. Chen Chaoqun. The second volume, dealing with the period from Wei and Jin Dynasties to the Southern Song Dynasty, is contributed by Associate Professor Huang Mingxi and Professor Yu Shusheng. The third volume, dealing with the Yuan Dynasty to the early Qing Dynasty, is contributed by Professor Yu Shusheng, Associate Professor Zhang Liangcai and Dr. Shi Kouzhu. The fourth volume, dealing with the modern times (1840 – 1949), is contributed by Professor Huang Shuguang.

As it is a completely new project, negligence and errors are inevitable, though we have tried our best. Comments and suggestions are cordially welcome from readers both at home and abroad.



## 本卷引言

本卷系《中国教育哲学史》第四卷（近代卷），其基本时限为1840年至1949年。在这一百多年的历史中，经过无数教育家的共同努力，中国教育发生了翻天覆地的变化，逐步完成了由传统教育向现代化教育这一发展方向的艰难变革和根本转折。这种变革和转折并不是对传统文化教育的简单否定，而是以“中西融通，古今汇合”为基本旨趣，并最终选择了社会主义现代化道路。需要说明的是，笔者无意对所有近代教育家进行系统研究，而是有所侧重地选择人物与学派相结合的角度，力图对中国近代教育哲学的发展轨迹及其特点进行理论探索，以期把握其中的演变规律，为当代中国教育改革发展提供历史借鉴。

依据中国近代教育哲学的自身发展逻辑，笔者认为有必要从明清之际“西学东渐”及其对中国文化教育的影响叙起。虽然因种种原因，近代的“西学东渐”至清康熙末即被强行终止，但徐光启等人的中西会通说，毕竟为近代中西文化教育融通起了某种先导的作用。从这个意义上说，笔者不赞同照搬近代革命史的分期法，主张有一个适当的历史引桥，来说明传统教育板块的逐渐松动和瓦解，从而使近代教育哲学的产生得到更为合理的阐释。

与世界近代文明进程逆反，中国自康熙末年即奉行闭关锁国政策，其政治经济和文化教育制度在百余年昏睡中渐次腐朽，帝国大厦摇摇欲坠。至鸦片战争前后，龚自珍、魏源等一批先进中国人首