

中国教育哲学

史

第二卷

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SHI

主编 / 张瑞璠
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张瑞璠 主 编

黄书光 副主编

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黄明喜 于述胜 著

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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。^①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，华东师大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，切忌用西方教育哲学的概念范畴进行生搬硬套。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，埃及、巴比伦、波斯、马其顿和罗马帝国的文明

^① 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。

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，佛教并没有把他们变成印度人，西方科学也没有把中国人变成欧洲人。”^①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，都热中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。”^②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”^③。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；离开教育家的人性论，不惟说不清其教育功能和作

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。

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。”^① 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。

纵观中国教育思想的历史发展和嬗变，我们认为其中

^① 张栻：《南轩集·孟子讲义序》。

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”^①。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，是为了还思想发展的本来面目，使之层层相扣，接续推演，迭宕

① 张瑞璠：《理学教育思想与中国文化·序》，上海教育出版社1993年12月版。

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，从元代至清初，由于述胜教授、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。恳请海内外读者专家不吝赐教！

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 Shichang, 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 pro-

found historical 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 Confucianism represent-

ed 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 and last volume, dealing with the contemporary time, 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

本卷所述起自魏晋终于两宋，重在揭示中国古代教育哲学的第二个发展高峰——宋明理学，在其第一个发展高潮（以程朱理学为代表）的历史轨迹、思想逻辑和理论特色。

宋明理学是经过两汉经学、魏晋玄学和隋唐佛学的发展之后，通过回归原始儒学，再造内圣外王的儒学精神传统的。汉末以来，以董仲舒为代表的汉代经学思潮所支持着的封建等级名分制度面临着深刻的危机。从本质上讲，这一危机不是说封建等级名分制度不再适应中国封建社会的需要了，而是指作为其理论基础的经学思潮已失去了论证这一制度之合理性的能力。我们知道，以董仲舒为代表的汉代经学思潮，是为大一统的封建统治秩序及其运作方式进行论证的意识形态，其理论基础是“君权神授”的天人感应的神学目的论思想。作为意识形态，其命运是与大一统的封建帝国紧密相联的，它既为后者提供理论的论证和指导，又以后者为自己的根本社会支柱。因此，当汉王朝的权威发生动摇乃至其统治分崩离析之时，这一理论自身的存在也就成了问题。而汉末的农民大起义，不仅使汉王朝的政治经济体制走向解体和分裂，也把维护它的意识形态撕成了碎片。在三国鼎立而又趋向统一的情况之下，确实需要有一种总结历史经验、指导现实实践、面向未来社会的新的理论。产生于曹魏政权时期的魏晋玄学之以“名教”问题为讨论的中心，正是以此为背景的。