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图书在版编目(CIP)数据

明代福建进士研究/多洛肯著. 一上海:上海辞书出版社,2004. 5 ISBN 7-5326-1574-X

I. 明... II. 多... III. 进士—科举制度—研究—福建省—明代 IV. D691.3

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2004)第 032294 号

责任编辑 解永健 装帧设计 江小铎

明代福建进士研究

世纪出版集团 上海辞书出版社 (上海陕西北路 457 号 邮政编码 200040) 同济大学印刷厂印刷

开本890×1240 1/32 印张8.75 插页1 字数250000 2004年7月第1版 2004年7月第1次印刷 印数1—1100 ISBN 7-5326-1574-X/K·258

定价: 25.00元



在传统中国,尤其是在近千年的中国,与中国无数知识分子的命运 息息相关的制度就是科举制度,即从一千三百年前隋代设立进士科之 后,以考试来选拔人才授予官职的制度。这是平民入仕的主要途径,是 中国历史上各种制度中历时最久、变化最小而影响最大的一种制度。 在隋唐以后几乎所有士子都与科举考试发生过关系,从未参加过科举 的是少数人。科举出身成为首要的入仕途径,尤其是中高级文官多由 科举登进。明代就规定"中外文臣皆由科举而进,非科举者毋得与 官"①。在1300年间,进士出身者构成了官员队伍中的基干和主体,是 士阶层中文化素养最高的部分,政治的演进、朝代之嬗变皆与之密切相 关。这一制度对传统社会的价值观念系统有着深远的影响力,人们说 "万般皆下品,唯有读书高"便是明证。这种价值观念既弥漫于整个社 会,又深入社会的每个阶层。科举造就了一大批具有科名的士绅阶层, 而相当多的中举者是来自社会的中下层,正所谓"朝为田舍郎,暮登天 子堂",据何炳棣研究成果表明,在明代则有46.7%的进士出身于寒微 人家。因此可以证明科举制度为社会的下层分子提供了一条升进之 路,促进了阶级的流动,是一种比较平等的制度②。

我选定博士论文题目前,曾应福建籍同学的邀请赴福建游览。当我乘车从福州到厦门的路途中,处处可见在宽敞的公路两旁的一幢幢

① 《明史》卷七〇《选举志・二》。

② Ping—li Ho: Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility (1368—1911).
New York, Columbia University Press, 1962.

自科举制度产生以来,就有人开始进行研究,其研究历史长达千余年,研究者代不乏人,但真正用科学的眼光对其进行研究的,还是20世纪科举制废除之后的事。古今中外研究科举的论著可谓汗牛充栋,早在三四十年代,就有学者对科举制度进行了开创性的研究,其中较为重要的研究成果有邓嗣禹的《中国考试制度史》(国民政府考试院1936年印行)、陈东原《中国科举时代之教育》(商务印书馆1934年出版)。近年来,出版了张希清的《中国科举考试制度》(新华出版社1993年版)、陈茂同的《中国历代选官制度》(华东师范大学出版社1994年版),这些论者对科举制度作了通论性质的论述。而在科举制的断代研究方面,

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① 清《周礼注疏》卷三三引贾公彦疏。《周礼·夏官·职方氏》有"四夷、八蛮、七闽"之载。 郑玄注:"闽,蛮之别种也。"说明福建古代少数民族文化分布的族属。



成果斐然,有吴宗国《唐代科举制度研究》(辽宁大学出版社1992年 版)、刘海峰《唐代教育与选举制度综论》(台湾文津出版社,1991年 版)、李弘祺《宋代官学教育与科举》(台北联经出版公司1994年中文 版)、贾志扬(John Chaffee)《宋代学子的艰难门槛:科举的社会历史》 (剑桥大学出版社1985年英文版)等等。有关明清科举制度的研究成 果,首推商衍鎏《清代科举考试述录》(三联书店1958年版),迄今仍为 研究明清科举制度的必读书,其次是王德昭的《清代科举制度研究》(中 华书局 1984 年版)。去年又出版了黄明光的《明代科举制度研究》(广 西师范大学出版社 2000 年版) 一书, 是书所设立的明代社会的科举观、 明代乡试研究、明代会试研究、明代殿试研究、明代进士鼎甲研究、科举 考试官研究、科举考试试卷研究、南方少数民族地区科举制度状况研 究、明代科举制度在国际上的影响等章目,对明代科举制度作了较为系 统的研究,给了我很多启发和帮助。诚然,是书也有不少疏漏与错误, 如将会试名额与乡试名额混为一谈,众所周知,会试的录取则是从宣宗 后南、北、中按一定的比例录取的(除去景泰二年);另对乡试主考官的 阐述存在着以偏概全的问题:又如黄氏对明代鼎甲的籍贯分布的研究, 明显的是某些统计数据缺乏应有的考订,颇有值得商榷之处。如对状 元的籍贯简况的叙述中,没有对基本史料进行考订,各直省的分布统计 明显是错误的,并对浙江、江西、福建三省多出状元进行了分析说明,是 书所引史料并不能与历史事实相符合。就拿福建而言,有明一代,延平 府、建宁府并没有士子高中状元,而撰者却引用延平府、建宁府两府的 社会风气是如何如何向学的材料来说明问题。这是黄氏的不考之论。 或许黄氏将洪武乙丑科状元建宁县人丁显误作建宁府人,此建宁县属 邵武府。黄氏对明代榜眼、探花籍贯构成的阐述中连江西这样的科举 大省都没有统计进去, 遑论其数据的科学性, 很明显此为不实之论。因 而笔者在撰写《鼎盛期的明代科举制度述略》与《明代福建进士特色论》 诸章中依据基本史乘,严肃认真地统计出有关科举制度的数据,俾便学 人利用。

本论文所论述的只能是福建明代科举的大概,以全掩偏和以偏概 全的情况在所难免。再加之本人理论素养不高,搜集材料不全,研究不 深,疏漏和错误之处定当不少,我诚挚地期待着师友批评指正。



自隋代设立进士科之后的近千年中,科举制度是中国历史上各种制度中历时最久、变化最小而影响最大的一种制度,是与中国无数知识分子的命运息息相关的制度。科举出身成为主要的入仕途径,明代明文规定"中外文臣皆由科举而进,非科举者毋得与官"。明代三年一度中式的进士,构成明代人才的主要部分。一个地区中进士人数的多少成为评价地方长官政绩好坏的一个标准,因而科名不仅成为个人和家族奋斗的目标,也是地方团体追求的对象。由于明代考取进士的士子的名录历来就有记载,可供量化分析,而全国各地考生通过统一的考试进行可资比较的考试竞争,因而科举及第的进士的多寡便成为衡量一个地区教育发达与否的最重要、最客观的评价标准。

福建地处东南僻隅,素有"海澨东南隅,天高雁不来"的说法,这种独特的地理环境在很大程度上制约了福建的开发。当中原已进入夏商周三朝鼎盛的时期,而福建在古文献中被视作未蒙汉化的蛮荒之地,乏善可称,仅留下了"七闽"的称呼。永嘉丧乱之后,八闽汉文化萌芽于晋,发达于唐,大盛于宋。明代福建科举也甚为成功,由科举脱颖而出者,位居全国前列,人均第一。明代福建进士以其人数较多,跻身前列形成了明代较为著名的区域人文集团。这一历史现象很值得深入分析。迄今为止还没有人作出专门的、直接的、对应的研究。本文试从福建人文发展史、教育史的视角对这一特殊地域的明代进士这一人物集团所取得的科举成就进行考察,我认为对这样一个鲜有人问津的重要的具有规律性的历史现象展开讨论,其学术意

义和借鉴作用是显而易见的。

全文分七章,另附学术资料性的附录二篇。

第一章《历史传统的深刻影响》:从福建良好的文化历史传统以及著名历史文人的传习的角度考察福建明代科举甚为成功的原因。全章分为两大节,在第一节中笔者叙述了先秦时期古闽越文化的遗存,以及魏晋南北朝时期汉越文化的交融为儒学入闽的开端。在第二节中指出安史之乱是福建文化勃兴的一个转折点,闽人开始在科举、文学诸领域一显身手,依据有关学者的研究成果考出唐、五代福建进士的人数等问题;宋元时期是福建文化的全面繁荣阶段,尤其是宋代福建科举盛况空前,元代福建科举事业虽属于相对低潮时期,但在历史传统强大惯性的作用下起着承上启下的延续作用,为明代福建文教事业再创辉煌和科举盛况的重现作好准备。

第二章《鼎盛期的明代科举制度述略》:阐述明代科举制度的论著及论文可谓多矣。笔者在此章中,首先将重点放在对一些流行于某些论著中的误说加以考辨的工作上,即科举考试的内容也就是一、二、三场的考试内容的不同,八股文形成时间等诸问题上。其次,探讨了与福建相关的科举制度的内容,从乡试的录取名额、乡试的主考官到明代南北榜制——会试的录取名额的分配制度,进行了详细的说明。

第三章《明代福建进士史料述概》:笔者将自己所见有关福建进士的史乘予以详细的介绍,恰当的评价,并指出那种文献孰优孰劣尚难确定时,需要进一步的文献佐证来拾遗补阙,尤其是让地方志中的选举志发挥鉴别、澄清的作用。

第四章《明代福建进士特色论》:首先,笔者依据诸多进士史料 统计出全国进士总数 24876 人,福建为 2417 人,以及其他直省的进 士人数,并依此作出明代各直省进士统计表;为清晰起见,笔者绘制 成明代福建进士在全国的比例图,并予以补充说明;笔者对有关史料



进行细心的考订,作出明代巍科人物的各直省分布统计表,并对福建在全国的科试名次的突出现象加以说明。其次,针对福建各府、州、县进士的地域分布作出统计表,并对其分布规律与特色进行简要的科学分析。再次,归纳总结了明代福建进士这一著名的区域人文集团所具有的四点特色。

第五章《明代福建科举教育的昌盛》:笔者试从发达的官学、功利化的书院、培养科举人才的社学、族学的兴盛及科举会馆的出现诸方面详细论述明代福建教育事业是完全以适应科举考试为目的的,务求简省,急于功利的科举教育。

第六章《明代福建社会经济的长足发展》:经济环境与人才的多寡密切相关。物质文化发达,往往伴随着非物质文化水平的提高,因而经济发达地区总是涌现出大量的人才。这一点尤其在明代中后期漳州府中式人数的飞跃上得到证明。故而笔者在本章中详细阐述了福建明代社会经济所取得的成就,具体地说是农林业的商品化趋势,发达的手工业经济以及活跃的城乡商贸活动。

第七章《明代福建刻书事业的繁荣昌盛》:福建自宋代以来,一直就是我国重要的刻书中心之一。人明福建的刻书业得到了进一步的发展。建阳书坊刻书有以下几个特点:一是八股文集等科举应试之类。在福建坊刻本中有许多专为科考而编纂的书籍除去汇集时文范本的程墨、房稿、行卷等外,还有一种综合性的为举业考试所备的书籍。另外建阳坊刻本还有不少通俗读物、民间日常实用之书以及中医学书籍。福建刻书业的快速发展,也提高了福建士子的整体文化素养,大大增强了在全国考试中的竞争能力。

正文后附有极富学术资料价值的附录二篇:《明代福建进士名录及校注》、《明代福建各府、州、县各科进士统计表》。

关键词:福建 进士 科举 明代





During the thousand years after Jinshi was established in Sui dynasty, the imperial examination system is one of the oldest systems that changed the least but exerted the most importance, and one system that was related to the fates of numerous intellectuals. The success of the imperial examination was the main way to become the court attendant. It was stipulated in Ming dynasty that all the court attendants should be selected through the imperial examination, otherwise they were not allowed to become court attendants. In Ming dynasty, Jinshi that were selected once every three years constituted the most important source of talents. The number of Jinshi in one region was one of the criteria to judge the achievement of the regional magistrates, so the fame not only became the aim of many households, but also the goal of regional organizations that were seeking. For there was the record of the name list of Jinshi in Ming dynasty, which can be analyzed metrically and the number of participants all over the country can be compared, the number of Jinshi became the most important and the most objective criteria to measure the educational level of one region.

There is one saying about Fujian, situated in southeast China, 'The Sea embraces southeast corner, the wild goose would not come even if there is high sky'. The geographical condition restricted the development to a great extent. When the central China entered its peak in three dy-

nasties including Xia, Shang, and Zhou, Fujian was still regared as the remote region. There left the only name 'Qimin'. After Yongjia warring period, the Han cuture of Bamin started in Jin, developed in Tang and thrived in song. The imperial examination of Fujian province in Ming dynasty was also very successful and ranked No. 4 throughout China, No. 1 in terms of its population. The number of Jinshi in Ming dynasty was big, forming the famous regional group. It is worthwhile studying the phenomenon. Up to now, there has not been the direct, corresponding research on it. The thesis tries to investigate the achievement of the the imperial examination of Jinshi in the special region from the perspectives of the history of development and education. The writer thinks that the discussion of important and regular phenomenon that was rarely touched has its obvious significance in the academic circle.

The thesis consists of 7 chapters and 2 appendixes of academic data.

Chapter 1 'The Profound Influence of Historic Traditions'. The reasons why the imperial examination was successful in Fujian in Ming dynasty was elaborated in terms of the good cultural and historic tradition and instrutions of the famous scholars. It consists of two sections. In section 1, the writer describes the historic relics of old Mingyue culture in pre-Qin period and the conbination of Han and Yue cultures in Liang-Han, Wei, Jin, South and North dynasties, which was the beginning when confucius entered Min. Section 2 indicates that Anshi warring period was the turing point of the flourishing cuture in Fujian. The people in Fujian started to perform outstandingly in the fields such as the imperial examination and literature, according to the research of relevant scholars, the number of Jinshi in Fujian in Tang and Five dynasties was calculated; Song and Yuan dynasty is the resuscitating period. Especially in

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Song dynasty, the imperial examination was an exceptionally grand occasion. The imperial examination system was at a low ebb and played the commection role and made contributions to the flourishing cultural and educational cause in Ming dynasty and made preparations for the resurging imperial examinations.

Chapter 2 'A Brief Summary on the Imperial Examination System in the Peak Time of Ming Dynasty'. There are numerous academic books and dissertations on the imperial examination system on the correction of some popular errors. The relevant content of imperial examination system in Fujian was discussed, ranging from the number of winners, the main examiners to the number of winners.

Chapter3 'A Summary on the Historic Data of Jinshi of Fujian in Ming Dynasty'. The writer has given a detailed introduction on the history of Jinshi in Fujian with the appropriate comment. Meanwhile, the regional historic record was added to clarify.

Chapter 4 'On the Characteristics of Jinshi in Fujian in Ming Dynasty'. At first, according to the various historic data, the total number of Jinshi was 24,876 and there were 2,417 in Fujian. The writer draws one proportion chart of Jinshi in Fujian province compared with that of the whole China, examines carefully on the relevant historic data. Then, the allocating regularity and features are analyzed scientifically with reference to the charts on the regional allocation of various courts and states. Moreover, four features about talents of Fujian in Ming dynasty was summarized.

Chapter 5 'The Prosperity of the Imperial Examination Education of Fujian in Ming Dynasty'. The writer concludes that the educational cause of Fujian in Ming dynasty mainly aimed at the imperial examination system, seeking simplicity and fame in terms of the developed court study, fame-seeking Shuyuan, the prosperity of Shexue and Zuxue that serve to cultivate talents and the appearance of society for imperial examination etc.

Chapter 6 'The Fast Development of Social Economic Development of Fujian in Ming Dynasty'. The economic development is closely related to the number of talents and there are always numerous talents in the region that has witnessed great economic progress. The conclusion can be testified in the sharp rise of figures in Zhangzhou court of mid and late Ming dynasty. Thus, the writer presents a detailed description of the great achievements of social economy of Fujian in Ming dynasty such as the commercial trend of agriculture and forestry, the developed handicraft industry and township commercial activities.

Chapter 7 'The Prosperity of the Block Printed Edition Trade of Fujian in Ming Dynasty'. Since Song dynasty, Fujian had always been one of important block printed edition's centers in our country. During Ming dynasty the block printed edition tade of Fujian made further strides. There were several characteristics on block printed edition of Fujian, collections of Baguwen on the imperial examination. Besides the collectins of model essays on Shiwen, such as Chengmo, Fanggao, Xingjuan etc, there was a type of comprehensive books for the exam, and a lot of popular books, folk daily practical books, Chinese medicine books as well. The rapid development of the block printed trade of Fujian not only enhanced the whole literary attainment of scholars in Fujian, but also strengthened their competitive ability in nationwide exam.

There are 2 appendixes with preciousd academic value after the body of dissertation: 'The Name List and Reference Jinshi in various courts,

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states, counties of Fujian in Ming dynasty'.

Key words: imperial examnation; Fujian province; Jin-shi; Ming dynasty.



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历史传统的深刻影响

