

纪念中国书院改制 110 周年(专题讨论)

【编者按】为发展近代教育,培养实用人才,清政府于光绪二十七年八月初二日(1901年9月14日)下令改书院为学堂。这一改制,标志着制度层面的传统书院的消失,在千年发展过程中积累的优秀的书院传统也随之失去了其生存的土壤。今年是书院改制 110 周年,湖南大学岳麓书院于 11 月 4 日-6 日隆重举办了“书院文化的传承与开拓——纪念中国书院改制 110 周年”国际学术研讨会,本刊特辟栏目,选取部分代表性论文予以刊发,以飨读者。

【关键词】书院 学堂 科举 改制

【收稿日期】2011-09-25

【中图分类号】G40-09

【文献标识码】A

【文章编号】1000-5455(2011)06-0100-10

书院与科举是一对难兄难弟

刘海峰

110 年前,中国教育史上发生了一件大事,即清政府于光绪二十七年八月初二日(1901年9月14日)下令改书院为学堂。从此,在中国历史上存在上千年的书院,从制度上失去了继续存在的根基,很快退出了中国历史舞台。

书院已经成为一种离我们既远又近的文化遗存。作为制度形态的书院,已经随传统社会永远消逝,离我们越来越远;作为建筑形态的书院,则在东亚世界还有广泛的存在,不少地方都还能见到一些书院旧址,或修复了一些书院,甚至试图复办某些书院。

在中国古代文化史和教育史上,书院与科举是两个相当独特的方面。书院与科举互相联系又互有区别。书院是有形的,科举是无形的;书院给人的印象多是建筑,科举给人的印象多是制度。书院也有无形的制度,但不是最主要的特征;科举也有有形的考场,但至今多已灰飞烟灭。书院与科举在 20 世纪初都被看成落后守旧的东西而为人们所否定,但书院在当代的形象已趋正面,而科举在当代多数人的印象中还是负面。

一千多年间,书院与科举同甘共苦。书院研究大家李才栋先生曾将两者称之为“姐妹花”。笔者认为,到后来书院与科举实际上一对难兄难弟。书院虽在科举之后出现,但从宏观上看,两者都在隋唐时期诞生,经过长期的发展演变,一同在 20 世纪初被彻底废去。在它们共存的上千年时间内,两者具

有共同的文化基础,关系越到后来越密切。

书院之名,始于唐玄宗时的丽正修书院和集贤书院,当时的集贤书院已有教学活动。^①但真正作为后世书院起源的书院,则始于唐后期兴起的私人读书。中唐以后,有许多准备报考进士科的士子隐居山林,潜心读书,书院便由习进士业的士人读书山林之风尚演进而来。过去多数学者都认为书院与科举的关系是疏离的,或者说书院具有反科举的传统,但近年来越来越多的研究成果已逐渐改变了这一看法。作为儒家文明的产物,书院是宋明理学的策源地和大本营。理学作为宋以后儒家学说在新的历史条件下的发展,十分强调修身、齐家、治国、平天下。在书院生存的科举时代,士人反对科举只能居于修身齐家的层次,很难达致治国境界,更遑论实现平天下的理想。大多数书院教育家也是深明此理的,因此他们本人积极争取应举入仕,而且不反对书院学生应举入仕,主要是劝导学生要学问、举业并重。正如最著名的书院教育家朱熹所说的“居今之世,使孔子复生,亦不免应举。”^②反对科举在当时既不合时宜,也不现实。如果能够应举入仕,具有了更高的知名度和地位之后,往往反而可以获得更好的宣传自己学说的机会和条件。朱熹、陆九渊、湛若水、王

① 刘海峰《唐代集贤书院有教学活动》,载《上海高教研究》1991年第2期。

② 朱熹《朱子语类·力行》。

守仁等书院大师都是考上进士之后,才有较好的学术和政治资本建立或修复书院,进行讲学布道。因此,书院治学与应举入仕有对立的一面,也有统一的一面。

“惟书院所以育成材,义学乃以端蒙养也。”^①书院培养的是高于蒙学程度的经世致用人才,一般也就不会与科举对立。实际上,若我们看待科举也不再像从前对待书院那样一味地否定,则承认书院兼重科举,并不会影响我们称道书院文化。从现存各种书院志中,可以看出绝大多数书院都以培养出众多的举人进士为荣。越是著名的书院,其历代院长由科举出身的比例越高。清代一般大书院选聘山长时往往以科甲为首要条件,这就如现代大学师资要求有博士硕士学位一样,因为科名就是古代的东方型的学位,是学问的硬指标和表征,为人们所信服。

在一千多年历史上,书院大部分时间都是藏书出书、进行教育活动和发展文化的场所,虽然也有其局限,但总体而言,书院的积极意义还是主要的。书院原是中国的特产,自从唐代产生后,逐步发展,到清代已成为教育教学的主要场所。韩国、日本、越南等国历史上也曾受中国影响建立过众多的书院,因此书院是一种东方型的教育组织形式。宋代和明代的一些著名书院,在教育 and 教学方面形成了一些特点,如注重教学和研究相结合,注重自动自主学习,门户开放,采用“讲会”等形式进行学术交流,师生关系较为融洽等等。书院曾培养了大量的人才,并在推行德治、保存学术、普及教育等方面起过积极的作用,因此在中国文化史和教育史上占有重要的地位。

书院与科举可以说都是中华文明的产物,是在中国古代独特的文化土壤中生长出来的。但到了19世纪西学东渐以后,处在清末“数千年未有之大变局”的时代,中国许多传统的制度在欧风美雨的冲击之下都逃脱不了被彻底否定的命运,传统教育的许多方面都不得不进行脱胎换骨的转型。书院与科举的命运十分类似,两者是被“捆绑”在一起的。19世纪末,改革科举和书院的议论蜂起,当时许多有识之士也对书院的弊端大加抨击,到戊戌变法期间达到高潮。康有为不仅在1898年6月17日奏过《请废八股试帖楷法改试策论折》,而且在同年7月3日也上过《请飭各省改书院淫祠为学堂折》,指出我国各直省及府州县都有书院,多则十数所,少则一二所,可惜所课皆八股试帖之业等无用之学,请求将书院改制为新式学堂:省会大书院改为高等学堂,府州县书院改为中等学堂,义学、社学改为小学堂。光

绪皇帝很快采纳了康有为的建议。这是清廷在改革科举制、废止八股文的背景下所进行的书院改制尝试。

随着戊戌政变的发生,光绪帝和康有为君臣改革科举和书院的努力宣告失败。但经过庚子事变的深痛巨创,慈禧太后痛定思痛,到1901年实行新政,基本上将戊戌变法期间提出的各项改革都付诸实施。废止八股文、废武举,正式改书院为学堂,基本上是同步发生的历史事件。1901年将传统的中式书院改为西式学堂,成为1905年废科举兴学堂的前奏。1901年是张之洞带头上奏改书院,1905年也是张之洞带头上奏废科举。

清末多数书院都变成应举备考机构,教学内容以儒家经史辞章为主,相对不重视自然科学类知识,多以应科举考试为办学目的,被人们视为与学习西学为主的学堂相对立的旧学的堡垒,属于落后的机构和名称。而引入西学的近代学堂,则被看成是新学的象征。光绪二十七年(1901年)五六月间,湖广总督张之洞、两江总督刘坤一联名上奏《变通政治人才为先折》中说“成事必先正名,三代皆名学校,宋人始有书院之名。……今日书院积习过深,假借姓名以希图膏奖,不守规矩动滋事端,必须正其名曰学,乃可鼓舞人心,涤除习气。”^②清政府改书院的上谕就是采纳了张之洞的建议。在当时特定的时代背景中,尽管有的新式书院实际上是在教育新学,但似乎学堂就代表进步,书院就代表落后,因此才会将全国书院全数改掉,完全不留书院的名称。与1901年科举考试内容改为西学仍不能根本改变科举制的强大惯性类似,从学习内容上进行局部更新,也没能够彻底改变书院以传统学问为主的性质,结果无法逃避被革命的结局。

所谓书院改制,不仅是改掉书院之名,其实就是废止书院制度,教育的重心从中学转轨为西学。书院改制、科举停废,笔者认为都是东西方文明冲突的结果。书院与科举被废止的时代,是西方文明与中华文明发生剧烈冲突的时代,实际上也是传统的农业文明逐渐被现代工业文明所取代的时代。在社会进化的过程中,许多历史上曾经起过重要作用的传统事物都逃脱不了被淘汰的命运,例如,冷兵器被枪炮所取代,帆船被汽船所取代,国子监被大学堂所取代,等等。因为在时代飞速发展的情况下,传统社会

^① 李德林《定颖记事》卷一《立义学详文》第8页,道光六年(1826)刻本。

^② 张之洞《张文襄公全集》卷五二《奏议》。

原有的许多事物已变得落伍了,被淘汰是必然的结果。但是,今天我们在看待骑兵、刀箭、帆船、国子监、书院、科举等东西和事物的时候,应该历史地看其价值与作用。

在传统社会,教育和考试以古典人文知识为主要内容,西方的中世纪大学和东亚的书院、科举皆然。只有到文艺复兴,特别是工业革命之后,教育的内容才逐渐转移到自然科学方面来,注重科学技术的内容,即所谓的实科,是工业文明时代教育的重要特征。到19世纪末20世纪初,伴随着坚船利炮强劲东来的西学,代表的是先进的工业文明,已十分强调科技的重要性。而当时的中国还处于农业文明的时代,书院教育与科举考试的内容基本上还停留在古代的古典人文知识,自然逃脱不了被停废的命运。

科举与书院在中国被废之后的命运还有类似之处。20世纪三四十年代,一些学者重新创办书院,但在1949年以后都又被迫改为各级学校。这与二三十年代建立的民国文官考试制度在1949年后又被取消何其相似,显示出科举与书院实际上乃命运共同体。

书院被彻底否定之后相当一段时间,其在多数中国人的心目中也是一个负面的名词。1949年以后直到“文革”期间,书院在大陆基本上也是被否定的旧事物。直到20世纪80年代以后,人们才逐渐认识到书院其实是我们的国粹之一,它在清末被西式学校所取代,并不意味着总体上应该被否定。自

从书院改学堂110年来,中国的学校教育形式从东方型改采西方型,但书院在长期的历史中积累的一些有益的教育经验和教学方法,对今天的教育教学改革也不无借鉴作用。1923年,毛泽东在《湖南自修大学创立宣言》一文中认为,书院的优点,一是“师生的感情甚笃”,二是“没有教授的管理,但为精神往来,自由研究”,三是“课程简而研讨周,可以优游暇豫,玩索有得”。他兼采书院与学校之长,创立湖南自修大学,其教学和研究方法,对今天的教育改革仍有一定的示范意义。

鉴古可以知今。回顾一百多年前书院改制的历史,可以给我们有益的启示。“物盈则亏,法久终弊。”虽然书院制度适应中国古代社会,但时代变迁之后,书院这种教育形式总体上却没能与时俱进,未进行积极的改革,结果最终被学堂所取代。任何教育制度都应顺应时代发展的大趋势,否则终将被历史潮流所淘汰。书院改学堂不仅仅是教育机构名称的改换,更重要的还在于教学内容的更新。将旧式书院改为兼习中学和西学的新式学堂,从教育制度上为近代科学文化知识的大量引进开辟了道路,促进了中国教育的近代化,推动了教育和社会的发展,在当时有其历史必然性。

[刘海峰(1959—),男,福建泉州人,历史学博士,厦门大学高等教育发展研究中心教授、博士生导师。]

批评与借鉴:民国学者对书院改制的反思

李 兵

为发展近代教育,培养实用人才,清廷于光绪二十七年八月初二日(1901年9月14日)宣布书院改制为学堂,制度层面的传统书院至此消失,在千年发展过程中积累的优秀的书院传统亦随之失去了其生存的土壤。经过将近二十年的发展,民国学者发现在彻底打破传统教育的基础上,仿效西方建立起来的新式教育亦存在诸多不足。于是,他们开始反思书院改制的影响,试图为改革、发展新式教育提供借鉴。

一、对书院改制的批评

由于书院改制是由清廷主导的一次自上而下的全国性教育改革,措施出台之前并未经过酝酿与论证,书院改制的进程和新式学堂的办学质量因而大打折扣,远未达到预期的效果。

1921年,蒋百里(原名蒋方震)对书院改制由清廷主导的做法提出了严厉的批评:“凡所以除旧也,而旧之弊无一不承受,而良者悉去矣。凡所以布新

Correlation Analysis on Financing Structure and Firm Performance of Listed Companies –Based on 2003-2010 Panel Data of Guangdong Listed Companies by Industry

(by LING Jiang-huai , HU Qing-qing)

Abstract: This paper studies the correlation between the financing structure and firm performance using a sample of listed companies in Guangdong from 2003 to 2010. The empirical result shows: the inverse U-shaped relationship between debt levels and firm performance; the preference for equity financing and the negative effect on return. From the perspective of industry , internal financing and debt financing have significant differences between industries. Equity financing all has a negative effect. Therefore ,listed companies should focus on industry characteristics and diversify financing structure; and the government should create a survival of the fittest mechanism to enhance the competitiveness of the industry. This means that optimizing financing structure can improve the listed company's performance.

Key words: Listed companies; financing structure; firm performance; by industry

Information Quality and Investor Protection—Based on the Comparison between Irregular Disclosure Companies and Their Counterparts

(by ZHANG Cheng-rui ,LAN Jin-ying)

Abstract: Investor protection by effective information disclosure plays a vital role in improving information asymmetry and ensuring the continuous and healthy development of securities market. Based on the comparison analysis between irregular disclosure companies and their counterparts in A-share companies from 2007 to 2009 in China , an empirical study has been used to find the difference of investor protection effect resulted from different information disclosure quality. It shows that information disclosure quality has significant positive correlation with investor protection level measured by information leakage , and the later the disclosure , the stronger the correlated relationship. Therefore ,to improve investment environment and strengthen investor protection , better information disclosure quality of listed companies should be required ,especially for those delayed disclosure.

Key words: information quality; investor protection; irregular information disclosure

An Factor Analysis of the Investor Immigrants' Willingness to Reside ——Based on a Survey in Six Cities

(by WANG Xing-zhou)

Abstract: To attract investor immigrants and make them reside permanently is vital to an area's employment , investment growth and expansion of domestic demand. Based on the survey on new immigrants in six cities , Multiple Linear Regression showed that family , human capital and social network have greater influence on the willingness to reside permanently for the new comers , while investment environment has less influence. The variables which exert independent significant influence on the willingness to reside permanently for the new comers include education , familiarity to local dialect , willingness to make their children to live permanently in the area , human relationship , access to information , etc. . Our research results verified again that "New Classic Migration Theory" had its critical limitation in emphasizing sole economic factors , and the effect of various "non economic factors" cannot be overlooked. Not only should local government improve investment environment to help the investor immigrants to earn more money , but also they should create suitable living environment to make them stay permanently.

Key words: investor immigrant; willingness to reside permanently; influencing factor; non-economic factor.

A Study on China's Urbanization Route in the Period of Institutional Transformation from the View of Informal Institutional Change

(by WANG Li)

Abstract: The original model for China's institutional change is traditional agricultural society and its final model is modern industrial society. The realization of China's urbanization is also the process of China's institutional change. As for the long , moving and lasting economy development , the theory of institutional change can better explain the reason of the low quality of China's urbanization than the theory of new classical economics. However , taking the informal institutional change as the starting point during the process of China's urbanization , and thus leading all the social members' ideological change from the traditional agricultural culture to modern market culture in many agricultural areas in China , can construct its own urbanization route with the informal institutional change as a thrust and promote China's present process of urbanization.

Key words: informal institution; institutional change; urbanization route

The Institutional Change of the Academy in China

(by LIU Hai-feng ,etal)

Abstract: In order to develop modern education and cultivate talented people , Qing Government requested the change of academy of classical learning into schools of modern learning. With this change , the traditional academy in terms of the institutional organization disappears and the good academic tradition accumulated in the course of more than thousand years' development has lost its survival lands. This year is the 110th anniversary of the institutional change of the academy. The Yuelu Academy in Hunan University held from November 4 to 6 an international conference "The Impartment and Expansion of Academy Culture——Observation of the 110th anniversary of the institutional change of the academy in China". We set up a special column for publishing some representative papers from the conference for readers to enjoy.

Key words: Academy Culture; 110th anniversary

On Ultimate Duty and Its Social Psychological Mechanism

(by ZHANG Ji-jia , MA Li-jun)

Abstract: The ultimate duty is an ultimate obligation assumed by individual to people or things that relate to him , and it is an ultimate restriction to individual's behavior. The ultimate duty originates from people's capability stipulates , human nature stipulates , culture stipulates and ultimate philosophy stipulates. It encourages people as well as restrains people , and changes people's behavior through activating anxiety. In the process of socialization , ultimate duty plays a role in people's concept and behavior by the effect of social mechanism.

Key words: ultimate duty; origin; function; psychological mechanism

The Effects of Organizational Culture: the Mediating Role of Psychological Capital

(by LI Xia , ZHANG Ling , XIE Jin-yu)

Abstract: Although the value of organizational culture has been recognized over the years , there is a need for better understanding of its relationship with the employee outcomes. This study investigates the mediating role the psychological capital plays for the effects of organizational culture by a sample of 311 managers from 59 IT companies. The results show that psychological capital fully mediated the effects of organizational culture on employees' performance , and partly mediated the effects of organizational culture on employees' career satisfaction and turnover intention.

Key words: organizational culture; psychological capital; self-reported performance; career satisfaction; turnover intention

The Role of Perceptual Representation and Semantic Representation in Language Cognition

(by XIE Shu -shu , ZHANG Ji-jia)

Abstract: This paper investigates the function of perceptual representation and semantic representation in language cognition. The materials are "black characters" of Dongba manuscript. The results showed that in the course of language cognition , perceptual representation and semantic representation are both active , but do not share the same mechanism. The strength of perceptual representation activation depends on the nature of the materials and the requirements of experiment tasks.

Key words: Dongba manuscript; black character; perceptual representation; semantic representation.

Aphasic Discourse Cohesion

(by WU Ke-rong , LAI Peng)

Abstract: Cohesion and relevant key concepts are reviewed in light of Systemic Functional Grammar. Then specific problems that may occur to the aphasic discourse are discussed , and operable ways of addressing the problems are set out.

Key words: cohesion; aphasia; discourse