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# 晚明江南诗学研究

The Research on the Poetics of Jiangnan in Late Ming Dynasty

张清河 著



WUHAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

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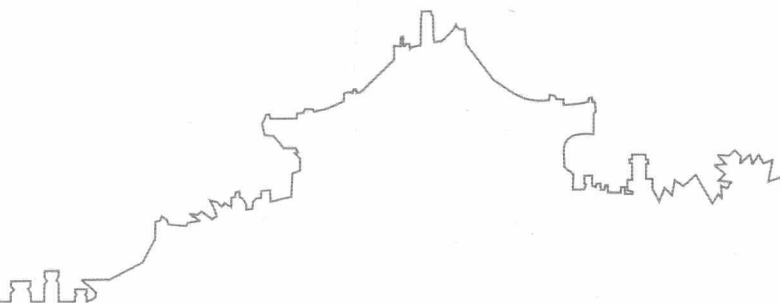


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# 总 序

创新是一个民族进步的灵魂，也是中国未来发展的核心驱动力。研究生教育作为教育的最高层次，在培养创新人才中具有决定性意义，是国家核心竞争力的重要支撑，是提升国家软实力的重要依托，也是国家综合国力和科学文化水平的重要标志。

武汉大学是一所崇尚学术、自由探索、追求卓越的大学。美丽的珞珈山水不仅可以诗意栖居，更可以陶冶性情、激发灵感。更为重要的是，这里名师荟萃、英才云集，一批又一批优秀学人在这里砥砺学术、传播真理、探索新知。一流的教育资源，先进的教育制度，为优秀博士学位论文的产生提供了肥沃的土壤和适宜的气候条件。

致力于建设高水平的研究型大学，武汉大学素来重视研究生培养，是我国首批成立有研究生院的大学之一，不仅为国家培育了一大批高层次拔尖创新人才，而且产出了一大批高水平科研成果。近年来，学校明确将“质量是生命线”和“创新是主旋律”作为指导研究生教育工作的基本方针，在稳定研究生教育规模的同时，不断推进和深化研究生教育教学改革，使学校的研究生教育质量和知名度不断提升。

博士研究生教育位于研究生教育的最顶端，博士研究生也是学校科学研究的重要力量。一大批优秀博士研究生，在他们学术创作最激情的时期，来到珞珈山下、东湖之滨。珞珈山的浑厚，奠定了他们学术研究的坚实基础；东湖水的灵动，激发了他们学术创新的无限灵感。在每一篇优秀博士学位论文的背后，都有博士研究生们刻苦钻研的身影，更有他们的导师的辛勤汗水。年轻的学者们，犹如在海边拾贝，面对知识与真理的浩瀚海洋，他们在导师的循循善



诱下，细心找寻着、收集着一片片靓丽的贝壳，最终把它们连成一串串闪闪夺目的项链。阳光下的汗水，是他们砥砺创新的注脚；面向太阳的远方，是他们奔跑的方向；导师们的悉心指点，则是他们最值得依赖的臂膀！

博士学位论文是博士生学习活动和研究工作的主要成果，也是学校研究生教育质量的凝结，具有很强的学术性、创造性、规范性和专业性。博士学位论文是一个学者特别是年轻学者踏进学术之门的标志，很多博士学位论文开辟了学术领域的新思想、新观念、新视阈和新境界。

据统计，近几年我校博士研究生所发表的高质量论文占全校高水平论文的一半以上。至今，武汉大学已经培育出 18 篇“全国百篇优秀博士学位论文”，还有数十篇论文获“全国百篇优秀博士学位论文提名奖”，数百篇论文被评为“湖北省优秀博士学位论文”。优秀博士结出的累累硕果，无疑应该为我们好好珍藏，装入思想的宝库，供后学者慢慢汲取其养分，吸收其精华。编辑出版优秀博士学位论文文库，即是这一工作的具体表现。这项工作既是一种文化积累，又能助推这批青年学者更快地成长，更可以为后来者提供一种可资借鉴的范式亦或努力的方向，以鼓励他们勤于学习，善于思考，勇于创新，争取产生数量更多、创新性更强的博士学位论文。

武汉大学即将迎来双甲华诞，学校编辑出版该文库，不仅仅是为百廿武大增光添彩，更重要的是，当岁月无声地滑过 120 个春秋，当我们正大踏步地迈向前方时，我们有必要回首来时的路，我们有必要清晰地审视我们走过的每一个脚印。因为，铭记过去，才能开拓未来。武汉大学深厚的历史底蕴，不仅在于珞珈山的一草一木，也不仅仅在于屋檐上那一片片琉璃瓦，更在于珞珈山下的每一位学者和学生。而本文库收录的每一篇优秀博士学位论文，无疑又给珞珈山注入了新鲜的活力。不知不觉地，你看那珞珈山上的树木，仿佛又茂盛了许多！

李晓红

2013 年 10 月于武昌珞珈山

## 摘 要

晚明清初是中国诗学鼎盛的时期。本文以江南诗学为研究对象,对晚明诗学现象、诗学进程作尽可能深入的解读和阐述,以期将明清诗学还原为一个生命整体。明代文学发展的重心由北向南转移,至晚明,江南文士完全成为文坛的主体。他们尽管不如王世贞才富学赡,不如袁宏道穷新极变,亦不如钟、谭矫异挾幽,但秉承世家“隐读”传统,以才艺相尚,客观上形成了金陵、杭嘉湖、苏松常三个较大的区域诗学群体,并在日常交往中,与“后七子派”、“公安派”、“竟陵派”相游处而不失主见,相讨论而不瘟不激,相砥砺而清雅自况,以其独立的诗学品格,铺垫了一条从摹古通向融今、从格调通向神韵、从全面宗唐通向合理溯宋的稳健途径,为清诗的全面发展及理论成熟作出了巨大贡献。

全文共分绪论、论文主体与结语三部分。导论介绍研究缘起、研究对象界定、研究现状及创新之处。主体部分内容如下:

第一章回顾“文学江南”与“江南文学”传统,通过回溯“江南”空间意象沿革的历史,说明晚明江南发展为以金陵、苏州、杭州为城市中心的三大区域具有必然性。通过梳理江南文学发展史,考察“江南文学”经过六朝、南唐、南宋、元末明初阶段持续沿“诗缘情”文学特征发展,最终才得以形成以“绮靡”为主流的诗学格局。第二章探讨晚明江南诗学背景。晚明政治、经济、科举、书籍行业以及家庭教育等都呈现出与明代前中期不同的面貌,构成了江南诗学的生成背景,促成了晚明诗学的高度繁荣。第三、四章,按照文学“四要素”的理论,概括介绍晚明江南诗学的世家主体论以及“尚博、崇艺、主情”的作品特征论;选择社会或文化“风气”作为考察视角,探讨晚明江南诗学的品评风气;这种热衷于品评的风气,也

是江南诗学容易结成群体的重要原因。

第五至七章是本文的重点，分别论证“金陵诗学群”、“杭嘉湖诗学群”、“苏松常诗学群”的群体诗学活动、诗学特征以及主要代表的诗学思想。第五章以《金陵雅游集》的作者、三位魁元诗人为代表，分别探讨焦竑、顾起元、朱之蕃的诗学活动和诗学思想。焦竑主张博雅，在晚明多元的诗学格局中自成一家；顾起元主张神理，将变雅变声导入中和雅正之途；朱之蕃通过其诗学编辑活动，初步改变了“诗以初盛唐为宗”的格局，将中晚唐诗人纳入理论畛域。第六章探讨浙西杭嘉湖诗学具有更典型的世家结社、鉴藏、参禅、著述等群聚特性，形成了“古雅”、“侧艳”的群体诗风。冯梦祯疏朗通脱的诗学观念、黄汝亨清妙醇雅的诗学理想、周履靖情景事意的诗学法则、李日华平淡恬雅的诗学风格、朱国祯清丽雍容的诗学品格以及董斯张绮丽自成的“吴下体”诗学实践，扩大了江南诗学的影响。第七章从两个传统解释苏松常诗学群体的整体面貌，一个是“吴派”浪漫主义艺术传统，一个是“东林复社”古典主义诗学传统，这两派成员其实同出一地，有交叉重叠处，但他们不同的生存形态决定了其诗学理论的整体性差异。“吴派”以王穉登、赵宦光、董其昌、冯时可、陈继儒为代表。游吟诗人王穉登，以“清嘉蕴藉”为宗尚；斋居诗人赵宦光，以“情性格调”为主张；董其昌追求真实平淡、“元神”丰融的艺术境界；冯时可重拾“后七子”风雅诗教学说；陈继儒反对后七子以“粗悍拗硬”之语压倒一世的作派，强调以真性情抒写“便娟轻俊”的“古今粹言”。“东林复社”以顾宪成、高攀龙、顾大章、魏大中、黄尊素、李应升、张溥、陈子龙等为代表。其中，顾宪成、高攀龙强调文以致用、学思结合；顾大章、魏大中强调自然化工、文道合一；黄尊素、李应升强调兴观以群、养气致静；张溥、陈子龙强调兴复古学、经世复雅。

第八章为结论，晚明江南文士在北方诗学（“齐风”）与公安竟陵派诗学（“楚风”）的“裹挟”下，形成了其独特的清丽婉雅的诗学（“吴歆”）。晚明多元化的诗歌风气，使吴中士子先后笼罩在“后七子”、“公安竟陵”以及“云间派”的氛围中，其诗学是保持现状，还是寻求突变，种种矛盾困扰着他们。立场上“复古与创新”的矛盾、



观念上“格调与神韵”的矛盾、对象上“宗唐与宗宋”的矛盾是三组主要矛盾。晚明江南文士主张各种“调和论”化解上述矛盾，他们以博学调和古今，以艺术调和韵调，以情致调和唐宋，在诗学承桃、人才储备、思想酝酿等各个方面，为清初诗学的殿堂搭建了高水准的平台。

**关键词：**晚明；江南；诗学；文学世家；诗学群体

## Abstract

The period from Late Ming to Early Qing was the heyday of Chinese Poetics. This dissertation focuses on Jiangnan poetics, the purpose is to interpret the phenomenon of the late Ming poetics and to elaborate the poetics process, to restore the Ming and Qing poetics to a whole life progress. From north to south, the center of gravity of the Ming dynasty literary has been transferred, the scribes of Jiangnan in late Ming became the main body of the literary world. Although they were not as good as Wang Shizhen with knowledge and talent, not good as Yuan Hongdao with deliberate novelty and constant change, not good as Zhongxing and Tan Yuanchun with a purpose to deliberately pursue a different and tap the quiet mind, they inherited the traditional of seclusion and reading among Jiangnan families, were proud of talent skill, became three regional poetics groups in Jinling, Hangzhou-Jiaxing-Huzhou, and Suzhou-Songjiang-Changzhou area in an objective way. They often had interactions with the "Seven Poets School", "Gong'an School", "Jingling School" in daily, to build friendships rather than attaching to them, to discuss rather than blast or shock each other, to Encourage and criticize each other, to be lofty elegant and Opinionated, eventually formed an independent poetic character, foreshadowing a road leading to Comprehensive ancient and modern views, leading to exchange the style to the charm, leading to respect Song poem from fully respect Tang poem reasonability, ultimately, made great contributions to the development in all aspects and the theory of maturity of the Qing poetry.

This dissertation begins with an introduction, followed by the main body comprising of seven chapters, and closes with a conclusion. The Introduction sketches the origin of this object, defines the research objects by introducing the traditional literature and the points of innovation. The main body reads as follows:

Chapter1 reviews the tradition of “literature Jiangnan” and “Jiangnan literature”. By backtracking “Jiangnan” space imagery history, it explains the inevitability of development that Nanking, Suzhou and Hangzhou became three Jiangnan city culture centers in late Ming. By combing the Jiangnan literary history of the development, it examines that “Jiangnan literature” has developed from the Six Dynasties, Southern Tang, Southern Song, Yuan and Ming, staged along the development of literary features of the “Lyric Poetry” and eventually formed the mainstream of “Emotion Profusion” Poetics of the pattern. Chapter 2 discusses Jiangnan poetic background in late Ming. The society showed its political, economic, civil service exams, books industry, as well as family education, which was the difference from Early and Middle period in Ming dynasty, constituted Jiangnan poetics generated background and contributed to the highly prosperity of the late Ming poetics. Chapter 3 and 4, in accordance with the theory of literature “four elements”, it overviews the Jiangnan family has become the body of the literary world in late Ming, and formed three main poetic character which were “pursuing a wide range of learning, Respecting artistic talent and advocating a wealth of feelings”, as works Features of the late Ming Jiangnan poetics; selected social or cultural “appreciation of the atmosphere” as investigated perspectives on the late Ming, This keen on appreciation of the atmosphere was also one of the important causes that Jiangnan poetic easily formed groups.

Chapter5 to 7 are the focus of this dissertation, respectively, demonstrates “the Jinling poetics group”, “the Hang-Jia-Hu Poetics group”, “the Su-Song-Chang poetic group” and their group poetic

activities, poetic features, and the main representative poetic thoughts . Chapter 5 studies 3 authors about “Jinling Ya You Ji” , they were both imperial examination champions and poets, respectively explores Jiao Hong, Gu Qiyuan and Zhu Zhifan ’ s poetics activities and poetic thoughts. Jiao Hong advocates liberal arts, became highly personal style in the late Ming diverse poetics pattern; Gu Qiyuan advocated God and Reason, reversed the change-levy poetic to elegant way; Zhu Zhifan engaged poetics editing activities, changed the poem regarding ChuTang and ShengTang as the poetics pattern, in the Late into the theoretical distinction of the whole Tang poetics. Chapter 6 discusses the western Zhejiang “ Hangzhou-Jiaxing-Huzhou ” poetics , which had a more typical family character, Composed of associators, Connoisseurs, Zen lovers, writings and other cluster properties, formed a “ quaint ” and “ embellishment ” group poetic style. “ lichtung free thoughts ” was regarded as Feng Mengzhen ’ s poetic concept , Huang Ruheng brought up “ Fresh, pure and elegant wonderful ” poetic ideal, Zhou Lvjing put forward “ emotion, scenery, event, state ” as poetic rule, Li Rihua looked on “ plain, calm, quiet and elegant ” as his poetic style; Zhu Guozhen looked upon “ elegant, grace ” as poetic character and Dong Sizhang appreciated “ fresh, beautiful ” style, which he named “ Wu Xia Ti ” as his poetic practice, to expand the affection of Jiangnan poetics. Chapter 7 introduces Su-Song-Chang poetry by interpreting two traditional groups, one is “ Wu School ” tradition with romantic art style, the other is “ Donglin ( East Forest ) Restoration Society ” tradition with neoclassical poetic style, the two factions members are in fact the same one place , overlapping at their different survival patterns determine the integrity of the differences of poetic theory. In “ Wu School ”, Wang Zhideng, Zhao Huanguang, Dong Qichang, Feng Shike, Chen Jiru were the representatives. “ Elegant and refined world ” was minstrel poet Wang Zhideng ’ s poetic idols; Lay poet Zhao Huanguang, pursued “ personality and tune ” for his poetic proposition; Dong Qichang pursued

the “real, fresh, and omnipotent God” poetic ideas, Feng Shike regained the “Later Seven Poets School” poetic ideas, pursued the elegance and *enlightenment function* of poetry; Chen Jiru opposed “Later Seven Poets School” who had defended the other poets with crude language, emphasizing “Graceful, light, Delicate and pretty” poetry, described it was “Ancient and Modern pure words”. In the Donglin and Fushe School, Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong, Gu Dazhong and Wei Dazhang, Huang Zunsu and Li Yingsheng, Zhang Pu and Cheng Zilong were the Advocates. Among them, Gu Xiancheng and Gao Panlong stressed that learning text combined with use and learning combined with thinking; Gu Dazhang and Wei Dazhong stressed the natural chemical, and writing was united with Tao; Huang Zunsu and Li Yingsheng stressed poem’s social function by raising magnanimous kindness; Zhang Pu and Cheng Zilong stressed a revival of ancient school by saving the world and the elegant road.

Chapter8 is the conclusion of Jiangnan poetry in late Ming that the scribes was “coerced” in the north poetics (“Qi Wind”), Dongting Lake Basin poetics (“Chu Wind”) to form its unique elegant and soft lyric (“Wu Yu”). The poetic atmosphere, diversified by the late Ming poets, the Wuzhong scribes had enveloped in the atmosphere of the “Later Seven Poets School”, “Gong’an and JingLing School” and “Yunjian School”. Was their poetics maintaining the status quo, or to seek mutations? All kinds of various contradictions haunted them. “retro or innovation” was the contradiction on their position, “style or charm” was the contradiction on their concept, “Study Tang or Song,” was the contradiction on their object. These contradictions were the three principal contradictions. The Jiangnan scribes in Late Ming advocated a variety of “syncretism” to resolve these contradictions, they pursued to reconcile the ancient and modern by wealthy in knowledge, pursued to reconcile the the format and tones by art, pursued to reconcile the Tang poetic style and Song style by fantastic feeling, In the field of interact

poetics , talent reserve and poetic thought, they were brewing for the early Qing the Poetics of the hall to build a platform of high standard.

**Keywords:** Late Ming Dynasty, Jiangnan, Poetics, Literary family, Poetics group



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