

一代文宗

姬沈育◆著

虞集

元文之有虞集，陶铸群材，主持风气，如金之有元好问。

——《中国文学史》


元之诗文，虞集最为大家。……元兴，作者蔚起。

大德、延祐以还，尤为极盛，要以集为大宗。

——《中国大文学史》

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提 要

《一代文宗虞集》共分七章^①。

第一章论述虞集生活时代的历史文化背景。延祐、天历年间，一方面，仁宗、文宗等继世祖之后再行“汉法”，重振儒学，恢复了中断近八十年的科举取士制度，使社会上出现了前所未有的文治大兴的局面；另一方面，元廷又始终不愿放弃种族特权政策。元廷这种双重政策并行的结果，导致了这一时期汉族士人的二重性心态：他们既赞扬“盛世”并自觉产生归属感，又难免失望乃至幻灭的悲哀。这种心态的影响及于文学创作，则主要表现为杂剧的衰微和传统诗文的“繁荣”和振兴。程朱理学在元代被列为科场程式，正式成为官方哲学；同时，元代理学内部出现了“朱陆合流”的趋势，而这一趋势正是明代王学的肇端。元代理学与元代诗文关系密切。理学背景下的元代散文讲究经世致用，强调文道合一，风格趋于平易；而理学观念对元诗的渗透则突出表现在主导元中期诗坛的“雅正”之风上。元代中后期，以正一道为代表的南方道教与文人关系密切，这突出表现在南方道教的人文化、儒学化和文人儒士对道教思想、人物的普遍接受和认同两个方面。这一时期，文儒与道流结纳成为时代风尚，文人创作中直接、间接涉及道教的作品大量涌现，从而构成了文学史上一道独具特色的“文化景观”。

第二章论述虞集的思想、心态。在元廷“汉法”与种族特权政策并行的双重意志制约下，虞集表现出典型的二重性心态：一方面，他积极回应朝廷

^① 以下是对各章内容的概述。一些观点、材料的出处，将在下文各章具体论述中注明，此处不再标注。需要特别说明的是，对于本文参考、引用的材料、观点等，作者将尽量以脚注的形式标注清楚，但由于种种原因，错误、疏漏之处定有不少，敬请有关文献作者及广大读者谅解！文章最后的“参考文献”则较为全面地分类列出了对本文有直接、间接启发的各种文献资料。在此，笔者对这些文献的作者表示真挚的感谢！

的文治政策，颂扬“盛世”，尽心输诚；另一方面，由于在官场中屡遭蒙古、色目权贵的排挤和打击，他最终又不得不以退隐逃避现实。由于受到家学、师承及故乡地方学术等多方面的影响，虞集的学术思想表现出“宗朱融陆”、兼容众家和重经世致用的特点。这些特点体现并顺应了元代学术思潮的发展趋势。虞集文学思想的主要内容为：倡导“宗唐得古”；追求“舒迟而澹泊”的诗风；主张“性情之正”；提倡平淡悠远的文章风格；重视诗文“垂世立教”的社会功用；“一代之兴，必有一代之绝艺”的进步文学史观等。

第三章论述虞集与元代南方道教的关系。由于生活环境的熏陶、师友的影响、保护汉民族传统文化的需要、政治上互相援引的需要以及元代南方道教的文化人化、儒学化等原因，虞集与南方道教关系密切。二者之间是一种双向互动的关系：虞集以其大量的作品，宣传、弘扬了道教文化，保存了许多有关南方道教的珍贵史料，并在元代南方道教的文化人化、儒学化过程中发挥了重要作用；而与道教的密切关系，也丰富了虞集的写作题材，使其文集中保存了大量有关道教的作品。这些作品或以艺术技巧见长，或以史料详实著称，颇具研究价值。

第四章着重研究虞集作品的若干版本及重要文献。通过对虞集两部最重要的诗文集《道园学古录》和《道园类稿》的比较分析，我们发现，两书的编次各有佳处；所收作品既有相同部分，也有较大差异。通过抽重统计，两书共收各体虞诗 1026 首、各体虞文 844 篇。《道园遗稿》、《翰林珠玉》、《伯生诗续编》是除《学古录》和《类稿》以外虞集作品的另外三个元代刊本。它们相互之间以及各自与《学古录》、《类稿》之间，都有一定的关联。通过对元、明、清及近代一些重要元诗文献中所收虞集作品的清点、梳理，我们发现，历代诗选家选录虞诗，多利用《道园学古录》、《道园遗稿》；七言律诗、七言绝句为虞集较为擅长之诗体，不仅存诗数量多，而且质量高。我们又以入选上述元诗文献的频率为指标，遴选出代表虞诗风格与成就的各体佳作名单，为虞诗研究提供一定的参考和依据。

第五章论述虞集的诗歌成就。虞集诗歌内容广泛，题咏绘画、言志抒情、写景状物和酬唱赠答等，种种俱有。虞集诗歌的艺术特色主要表现在以下几个方面：众体皆备，而尤长于七言律、绝；风格多样，而以典重浑厚为主；格律精深，法度谨严；隶事恰切而深微；善于点化前人语句或意境入诗；学唐与“由江西而上追杜甫”等。从总体上讲，虞诗艺术性较强而思想性相对较弱，反映现实的深度和广度及艺术独创性有所欠缺。这种情况是由社会背景、虞集本人的心态特征及其文学主张等多种因素共同促成的。

第六章论述虞集的散文成就。虞集散文体裁广泛，但多数为朝廷官场应

用文字和应酬文字，内容芜杂，良莠不齐。其中碑铭传状、序、记、题跋等几类文体中佳作较多。在艺术方面，虞集散文具有平易澹泊、长于说理、“不拘于法度而机用自熟”等特色。与虞诗相似，虞文也存在着艺术技巧娴熟而思想性较弱的倾向，其创作整体上缺乏激情、个性和独特的生活感受，但是写得比较圆熟。

第七章论述虞集与元中期文坛的关系。元代中期，“雅正”思潮主导文坛。“雅正”的内涵包括温柔敦厚、典丽正则的诗歌风貌和创作主体“性情之正”的内在规定性两个层面。而这两个方面也正是虞集诗歌理论的重要组成部分。在理论上倡导的同时，虞集还以自己的创作积极实践其诗学主张，并对当时诗坛产生重要的示范效应。因此可以说，虞集是元中期“雅正”诗风的集中体现者。虞、杨（载）、范（梈）、揭（傒斯）“四大家”，其诗歌创作虽然风格各异，但从整体上说则表现出一种较为明显的合乎正统美学趣味的统一性：讲求法度，文辞典丽平和，反对任情而发。他们是元代中期“雅正”诗风的主要体现者。号称“儒林四杰”的虞、揭、黄（潛）、柳（贯），是元中期“盛世之文”的代表作家。由于理学的渗透影响，“四杰”多论说儒家义理的台阁之文，而较少抒情写景的文艺散文。其创作中正和平、雍容典雅，但却普遍缺乏动人心魄的艺术魅力。

Abstract

This dissertation, *Study on Yu Ji*, consists of seven chapters. The first chapter discusses the historical and cultural background of Yu Ji's times. During the period from the Yanyou Times (1314 - 1320) to the Tianli Times (1328 - 1330), on the one hand, following the Emperor Shizu, the Emperor Renzong and Wenzong implemented "Hanfa" once again. They tried to vitalize Confucianism and resumed imperial examination system that had discontinued for nearly 80 years. These measures led to the prosperity of cultural achievements. On the other hand, the rulers of the Yuan Dynasty were not willing to forsake their racial - privileged policy from beginning to end. This situation led to the twofold mentality of the Han scholars. They warmly commended the "flourishing age", but they inevitably felt disappointed when they faced the facts. The influence of this kind of mentality on literary creation was the declination of Zaju and the promotion and vitalization of traditional poetry and prose. Neo - Confucianism became government philosophy in the Yuan Dynasty. Meanwhile, the trend that "jointing Zhu Xi's and Lu Jiuyuan's doctrine" arose within Neo - Confucianism of the Yuan Dynasty. The relations between Neo - Confucianism and Yuan poetry and prose were intimate. Under the Neo - Confucianism background, Yuan prose laid stress on pragmatism, emphasized the fusion of literature and Tao, and its style tended towards plain. The infiltration of Neo - Confucianism to Yuan poetry was mainly reflected by the "righteous" style that dominated the circle of poets of the Mid - Yuan. During the Mid and Late period of the Yuan Dynasty, the southern Taoist religion, which was represented by the Zhengyi Taoism, had been kept close relations with scholars. The "scholarization" and "Confucianismization" of southern Taoism and the scholars' receptivity to Taoist thought and figures were the concentrated expression of it. During this period, scholars' associating with Taoist priests became the vogue of the day, and the woks

directly and indirectly concerning Taoism emerged in large numbers, thereby, forming a distinctive "cultural landscape" in the history of literature. The second chapter talks about Yu Ji's thought and mentality. Restricted by the double determination of the imperial government, Yu Ji showed typical twofold mentality: for one thing, he actively responded the cultural policy of the imperial government, warmly extolled the "flourishing age", and worked with all his heart and all his might, for another, because of repeatedly being pushed aside and attacked by the bigwigs in official circles, lastly, Yu Ji had no alternative but to go into retirement to escape reality. Owing to the influence of his family, tutor, and the systematic learning of his native place, Yu Ji's showed characteristics such as "jointing Zhu Xi's and Lu Jiuyuan's doctrine", tolerating numerous opinions simultaneously, and attaching importance to pragmatism. These characteristics embodied and conformed to the development tendency of the academic ideological trend of the Yuan Dynasty. The main content of Yu Ji's literary thought are as follows: advocating "learning from the poetry of the Han, Wei, Jin and Tang Dynasties"; seeking "mild and peaceful" poetic style; favoring "disposition that according with the standard of feudal ethics"; advocating plain and leisurely prose style, etc. The third chapter mainly discusses the relations between Yu Ji and southern Taoism of the Yuan Dynasty. Owing to the influence of Yu Ji's surroundings, teachers and friends, the needs of safeguarding the traditional culture of the Han nationality and supporting each other in political activities, and the "scholarization" and "Confucianismization" of southern Taoism, the relations between Yu Ji and southern Taoism of the Yuan Dynasty were intimate. They affected each other. Yu Ji disseminated and enhanced Taoist thought with his works, preserved a lot of historical data about southern Taoism, and played an important role in the course of the "scholarization" and "Confucianismization" of southern Taoism. Meanwhile, keeping close to southern Taoism enriched Yu Ji's creative subjects as well. There were a lot of works concerning Taoism in Yu Ji's anthology. These works were famous of their artistic technique or full and accurate historical data, therefore, were worthy of study. The fourth chapter emphatically analyses some important documents that relate to Yu Ji's creation. By comparing and analyzing the two most important anthologies of Yu Ji, *The Collection of Daoyuan's Works Emulating the Ancients* and *Daoyuan's Manuscript Belonging to Different Categories*, we can discover that the order of arrangement of each book had its strong points, and some of the works

they included were identical, some were quite different. The two anthologies included 1026 poems and 844 articles in all. Besides The Collection of Daoyuan' s Works Emulating the Ancients and Daoyuan' s Manuscript Belonging to Different Categories, Daoyuan' s Posthumous Manuscript, Quintessence of Yu Ji' s Poetic Creation, and Continuation of Bosheng' s Poetry were another three versions of Yu Ji' s works that printed and published in the Yuan Dynasty. Each of them was related with The Collection of Daoyuan' s Works Emulating the Ancients or Daoyuan' s Manuscript Belonging to Different Categories, and they were interrelated as well. Through checking and carding Yu Ji' s works in some important documents of Yuan poetry in the Yuan, Ming, Qing Dynasties and Modern times, we can draw conclusions as follows: the selectors in past ages often used The Collection of Daoyuan' s Works Emulating the Ancients and Daoyuan' s Posthumous Manuscript to select Yu Ji' s poetry; Yu Ji was good at seven - word regulated verse and quatrain. We also select the excellent works of each poetic form that represented the style and achievements of Yu Ji' s poetry, and expect to provide proper reference and basis for the study on Yu Ji' s poetry. The fifth chapter expounds Yu Ji' s poetic achievements. Yu Ji' s poetical works had a wide range of subjects. The artistic characteristics of Yu Ji' s poetry are as follows: every poetic form was available in Yu Ji' s creation, and he was especially good at seven - word regulated verse and quatrain; he possessed a variety of artistic styles, but the main style was elegant, simple and vigorous; he strictly observed the artistic rules; the allusions he used were appropriate and faint, etc. Totally, the artistic quality of Yu Ji' s poetry was fairly well, but the ideological level was relatively weaker. At a certain distant, his poetical works were short of artistic originality and the depth and scope of reflecting reality. This situation was facilitated by many factors such as social circumstances, personal identity and mentality, and it was also connected with Yu Ji' s literary propositions. The sixth chapter discusses Yu Ji' s achievements of prose. The type of Yu Ji' s prose was considerably extensive, but the majority was officialese and courtesy writing. Today, we hold that the excellent works mainly lie in inscriptions on tablets, biographies, jottings, prefaces and postscripts. Yu Ji possessed plain and leisurely style of writing, was adept in reasoning things out, and he didn' t rigidly adhere to the fixed patterns. The tendency that artistry was consummate and ideological level was relatively weak was also present in Yu Ji' s prose creation. This point was similar to his poetry. Viewed as a whole, Yu Ji' s

prose creation was deficient in ingenious imaginative power and unique experience of life, and it was merely skilled written. The seventh chapter talks about the relations between Yu Ji and the literary world of the Mid - Yuan. During the Mid - Yuan, the "righteous" ideological trend dominated the literary world. The intension of "righteous" included two levels of discourse: one, gentle and kind style and features; two, the requirements possessing "disposition that according with the standard of feudal ethics" to the creative subjects. These two aspects were just the most important component of Yu Ji's poetic theory. While advocating in theory, Yu Ji vigorously put his ideas into practice, and his creation set a good example to the circle of poets at that time as well. So, we can say that Yu Ji concentrated embodied the "righteous" trend of thought of the Mid - Yuan. Yu Ji, Yang Zai, Fan Peng and Jie Xisi were known as "the four great masters of Yuan poetry". Although their styles were different, generally speaking, their poetic creation showed evident generality. They all strove for artistic rules and regulations, careful and neat forms and elegant languages, and they didn't lay stress on fierce or undisciplined expression of emotions and personalities. They advocated a kind of style conforming to orthodox aesthetical taste. They were chief reflectors of the "righteous" poetic style. Yu Ji, Jie Xisi, Huang Jin and Liu Guan were known as "the four outstanding figures in academic circles". They were the representative authors of "writings of flourishing age" in the Mid - Yuan. On account of the infiltration and influence of Neo - Confucianism, they had many official - style writings expounding Confucian doctrine and only a few literary and artistic articles. Their works didn't possess the soul - stirring artistic charm.

序

按照我国古老民俗，农历正月十五望日是为上元节，新年氛围尚未消散，上承正月初七日剪彩缕金以作人形，或贴屏风，或戴头鬓之习，上元之夜（称作元夜，又称元宵）有燃灯望月之风，所谓“谁家见月能闲坐，何处闻灯不看来。”随着历史的变迁，人日习俗已不见流传，元夜观灯却依旧盛行。今年此日，上午我出席中国社会科学院文史哲学部举办的学术动态报告会，得见诸多老友，互拜晚年；下午在家休息，姬沈育学棣从郑州来电祝贺灯节，并告我佳音，她的《一代文宗虞集》专著即将出版，嘱我作序，我很感欣慰。搁下电话听筒之际，窗外传来爆竹声，更助高兴之情。

姬沈育学棣于2001年考入中国社会科学院研究生院文学系，攻读博士学位。她原先的专业方向是唐宋诗文，入学之际，我也曾想安排她继续研读唐诗，以杜甫研究为主要方向，但鉴于我那时主要还是在做一点元代文学的研究工作，又鉴于我指导过的几位研究生都研治戏曲史，于是我建议她攻读元代诗文，她欣然接受。当时培养小组由四人组成，除了我以外，还有么书仪、杨镰和李玫三位同人。培养小组为她开设的专业课有“元代诗歌研究”，包括元代诗歌的基本面貌、发展过程、代表性作家以及有关文献研究等内容；为她开设的专业基础课则有“元代文学与元代社会”，主要讲述元代文学的社会文化背景。沈育学棣在三年学习期间，十分努力，成绩优等。在这基础上，经我提议，她决定撰写研究虞集的毕业论文——《一代文宗虞集》。

我为什么建议她研究虞集呢？因为我有感于在薄弱的元诗研究领域内，很少有人去对虞集这样的比较“正统”的大家作出系统的研究。较之铁崖派和玉山草堂集团，虞集无疑是一位“正统派”人物。他首先是一位理学家，他曾为经学的纯正实际是专尊宋代理学而作过努力。他向仁宗皇帝建议，要由“经明行修成德”的人或者是操履近正，确守经义师说，而不敢妄为奇论的人担任学官。他尊朱熹“继先圣之绝学，成诸儒之遗言”，当然更拥护程、

朱之学在元代“定为国是”，也即成为官学。但我更欣赏他并不完全拘守程朱门户的通达态度。他曾追随他的老师吴澄在朱学中吸收陆学的若干成分的主张和实践。吴澄是朱熹的三传嫡系弟子，他对陆九渊心学采取吸收纳取的主张虽然遭到北方理学派别的打击，却有深远意义，影响到明代的心学派别。虞集也是直承朱门的人物，但他对主“功利之说”的薛季宣（字士龙）和叶适（字正则）也有所肯定，所谓“永嘉诸贤，若季宣之奇博而有得于经，正则之明丽而不失其正”。与朱熹反对事功即功利之学的言论大异其趣。元代科举考试中的“明经”、“经疑”科目都从《大学》、《论语》、《孟子》和《中庸》中出题，采用朱熹《四书章句集注》；如果加试“经义”，则各选一经，如选《诗经》，即以朱熹所注《诗集传》为准绳。某次科考，一位考生考《诗经》，竟然据《毛诗》作答，按例不取。作为试官之一的虞集发现该生考卷文义甚佳，冒着风险，力主录取，充任儒官。我国古时的经学传承中有一个不好的传统，即所谓师承家法，不能越雷池一步。即以《诗经》研究来说，汉人的《毛传》长期流传，至唐代有《毛诗正义》，唐、宋时期明经取士，必须以此为准，到了元代，理学成为官学后，科举考试时就要以朱熹《诗集传》为准。虞集能不惧风险，冲破官定的考试程式，这种开明、通达的学者风度是非常可贵的。

虞集作为一位文学家，他批评宋末“说理者鄙薄文辞之丧志”，他既重明经，也重为文。元初北方理学会的代表人物许衡任国子祭酒时，提出学校科举之法应重经学、罢诗赋。至元、大德年间，耶律有尚主持国子监时，遵照许衡规定的旧例。到了仁宗皇庆、延祐年间，程钜夫起草的公告实行科举的诏书中说：“试艺则以经术为先，词章次之。浮华过实，朕所不取。”与北方理学家对“文词小技”“皆屏黜之”的主张已有不同。而虞集此时就挑选学官问题向仁宗皇帝上言时却说，落第的人中，“其议论文艺犹足以耸动其人，非若泛泛莫知根柢者”，也可充任学官。所说“根柢”当是经明之义。也就是说，只要有明经的前提，即使偏于“文艺”也是可取的人才。他自己诗文创作俱佳，被尊为“元诗四家”之首，明清之际的黄宗羲还尊虞集和姚燧是元文两大家。我并不认同“元诗四家”之说。我认为，从元诗的创作实际出发，刘因、赵孟頫、虞集、萨都刺、张翥和杨维禛，不妨称之为“元诗六家”。我也不认同黄宗羲元文两家之说。我认为，元末明初王祜推崇的姚燧、元明善、虞集、欧阳玄、黄溍和苏天爵这六家足堪并列。只是时至今日，元明善之文大量佚失，使我们难以抉择，那么，其余五人不妨并称为“元文五家”。我所说的“元诗六家”和“元文五家”中只有一人相交复，那就是虞集。我不敢说私见就完全符合实际，但虞集在元代文坛无疑是一位

诗文并佳的大家。

我在《元代文学史》中说到：虞集的文集中，固然有家法俨然的古文家文章，却也有禅学味颇浓的碑版传记，后者最有代表性的是《铁牛禅师塔铭》。在这篇文章中，作者大讲“禅学”，这是正统古文家所不屑为的。但虞集对写这样的文字是认真的，他说：“集于湖海间方外之士其学有所不能尽知，而来求者，随分赞叹，使天下后世有以观夫一时人材品节之盛也。”他赞叹铁牛禅师“用工之实勤，见地之实到”和“践履经行之真实”。虞集能写此类文章，这也同他在思想、学术上所持有的比较通达的态度有关。论者认为，北宋后期开始出现比较明显的“文人禅学化”和“释道文人化”现象。从虞集的实际来看，他崇拜前代古文大家韩愈和欧阳修，却又扬弃这两位“宗主”式人物共有的排斥抨击佛老的传统，他与很多佛、道界的朋友论文谈艺，他赞誉铁牛禅师，并大讲禅学，也就并不偶然，他原是一位通达的理学家和文章家。

以上云云，也是我同沈育学棣不时谈起的话题，这或许也是促成她选择虞集作为她毕业论文的论述对象的原因之一。

沈育学棣在撰写论文的过程中，除阅读、钻研了虞集原著外，还收集了关于虞集的大量研究资料，汇成长编，计有四万字左右。正是在刻苦阅读和认真钻研的基础上，她制定出论文的章节目录，譬如第一章“虞集生活时代的若干历史文化背景”，就是结合着虞集的生活道路和创作实际设计的，而不是一般化的历史背景复述。再以第一章第三节“南方道教显盛及其与文人的密切关系”而言，她之所以设计此节，是因为她在钻研过程中发现了虞集与南方道教关系密切，她决定设专章论述（即第三章“虞集与南方道教”），为此，在历史文化背景中也就必须作出应有的观照和呼应。论述虞集与南方道教的关系，实际上也就涉及“释道文人化”命题，因此这也是沈育学棣这篇论文的创获之一。

虞集的诗文别集在版本异同上虽然并不十分复杂，但长期以来始终未见厘析，所以沈育学棣在这方面也下了很大功夫，就《道园学古录》与《道园类稿》的异同，作了明析的比较和鉴别，填补了研究的空白。她又另辟蹊径，从重要和比较重要的元诗文献中调查统计虞集作品的出现频率，实际上是从接受学的角度所作的文献统计，也就显出新意，并有创获。由于这篇论文在不同的方面和不同的程度上都有新意和创获，在答辩会上获得专家们的称赞，并许为优秀之作。现在经过修订，公开出版，它的扎实内容当会受到行家的注意并重视。

我经常为百年以来元代诗文研究的冷寂状态而生感慨，前人的研究积累

既少，文学史著作也大抵忽略，造成的后果十分明显，即以诗歌来说，中文系大学生可以对唐宋诗歌及其特点、流派等等，背得滚瓜烂熟，即便明诗和清诗，大学生们也能对前后七子、公安竟陵、渔洋神韵、袁枚性灵等等，数说一番，乃至如数家珍，唯独对元诗说不出个甲乙丙丁来。我在主编《元代文学史》时，企图从材料入手，有所勾勒和描绘，但也困难重重，论说粗疏，很不理想。近十年来，有一些中青年学人在元代诗文研究上取得不少成绩，我常感欣喜。但元代诗文研究还需作更深入的发掘，我这里所说的发掘主要指系统论说，不是指材料实证，更不是感想式的评点。我期待着出现一个百年以来从未有过的元代诗文研究的繁荣局面。我也希望沈育学棣再接再厉，在研究元代诗文这一命题上取得更多更好的成绩。

邓绍基

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