## 宋季元初科舉存廢的文學史意義: 以詩歌為中心之考察\*

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肇端於隋代的科舉考試,在唐代的政治與社會生活中,已然具有舉足輕重的影響。中晚唐之後,進士資格更是出任朝廷清要官、升任宰執的一個重要條件,門閥士族也需角逐進士科第來提升仕宦的競爭力。¹即使在五代這樣的亂世,華北雖然歷經王朝更迭,但科舉考試卻能始終舉行不輟,成為王朝正統的一個象徵。²迄於宋代,隨著科舉取士規模擴大、錄取程序趨於規範,科舉考試已成為一般士人進入仕途的主要通道。雖然宋代存在蔭補制度,使得大批官宦子弟得以憑藉父祖餘蔭進入官僚隊伍,其數量或在科舉入仕人數之上,但就上升空間和社會地位而言,卻遠遜於有科舉出身者。因此,在整個宋代,科舉考試無疑具有支配性的影響,吸引了無數的士人投身其中,從而形成了所謂的「科舉社會」。³

<sup>\*</sup> 本文係教育部「留學回國人員科研啟動基金」項目「宋季元初之科舉存廢與詩壇變遷」(2014年)的研究成果。承蒙三位匿名審稿人惠賜修改意見,使本文增色不少,特此申謝。

<sup>1</sup> 相關研究可參看吳宗國:〈科舉制與唐代高級官吏的選拔〉,《北京大學學報》(哲學社會科學版) 1982 年第 1 期,頁 57-65、85;吳宗國:〈進士科與唐朝後期的官僚世襲〉,《中國史研究》1982 年第 1 期,頁 32-43;毛漢光:〈科舉前後(公元600〒300)清要官型態之比較研究》,載中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集編輯委員會(編):《中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集》(臺北:中央研究院,1981年),歷史考古組,上冊,頁 379-404;毛漢光:〈唐代大士族的進士第〉,載毛漢光:《中國中古社會史論》(上海:上海書店出版社,2002年),頁 334-64;小島浩之:〈唐代精英型官員晉升仕途的形成與展開〉,載《日本中國史研究年刊》刊行會(編):《日本中國史研究年刊(2008年度)》(上海:上海古籍出版社,2011年),頁 92-115。

<sup>2</sup> 金宗燮:〈五代政局變化與文人出仕觀〉,《唐研究》第9卷(2003年),頁491-507。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 宋代是「科舉社會」的觀點,參看近藤一成:〈宋代科舉社會的形成——以明州慶元府為例〉,《廈門大學學報》(哲學社會科學版) 2005 年第6期,頁15-24。

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然而,十三世紀初蒙元王朝崛起,迅速改變了整個東亞的政治格局,不僅先後滅亡西夏、金與南宋,更以征服王朝的姿態統治了全中國。元朝立國時,固然也採用了金與南宋的一些制度和政策,但是在科舉制度的取捨上,卻顯得舉棋不定。<sup>4</sup>結果導致在金、宋滅亡之後的很長一段時間裏,科舉考試一直廢而不行,成為元初政治的顯著特徵之一。毫無疑問,元初科舉中斷,導致原先金、宋統治下士人生活方式的巨大改變,產生諸多影響,文學即是其中一個顯著的方面,學界近來對此也開始關注。<sup>5</sup>

但就本文而言,試圖考察的卻是:在南宋科舉社會的氛圍中,詩歌創作受到何種影響,處於何種地位,形成何種風氣?在遭遇元初科舉中斷之後,這種文學風氣是否有所改變,原有的一些文學發展趨向是發生斷裂,還是得以延續,抑或重新轉向?換言之,本文以宋元之際的科舉存廢作為切入點,圍繞這一歷史巨變發生的前後,通過長時段的考察,試圖勾勒十三世紀中國文學的演進軌跡。為了集中討論,則以詩歌作為考察的中心。

## The Significance to Chinese Literary History of the Existence and Abolishment of the Civil Service Examination in the Late Song and Early Yuan: An Investigation Focusing on the Changes of Poetic Circles

(Abstract)

## Lin Yan

By the mid-Southern Song dynasty, exam training had developed into a special procedure that required the examinee to be fully preoccupied with exam studies in order to grasp the exam skills. By comparison, poetry and prose seemed to be of little importance. Thus, the position of poetry was marginalized. Under the circumstances, among the literati there developed an idea that only the examinees who failed to pass the civil service examination, and the hermits who stayed away from official circles, were interested in poetry. Meanwhile, the fashion of travelling to visit the celebrities with requests for favour appeared among the marginal poets. Their behaviours incurred contempt from the upper strata literati who had earned their official posts through success in exams. As a result, the identity of "poet" became a special mark attached to a specific group. Furthermore, the popular opinion which prevailed in the late Song, that composing poems could result in difficult circumstances, reflected the real situation of marginal poets. But the key reason lay in their failure in exams.

Unexpectedly, the interruption of the civil service examination for forty years, in the early Yuan dynasty freed the literati of south China from the bondage of exam learning. The erstwhile examinees turned their intelligence to poetry composition. Therefore, the position of poetry was elevated. However, the fashion of visiting celebrities was retained from the Song to the Yuan. On the other hand, the influence of exam training still existed. It appeared in the poem-composing, poetic criticism, and literary activities of literati groups. Consequently, the interruption of the civil service examination in the early Yuan did not bring about a rupture in Chinese literary history, which, on the contrary, maintained its continuity to a great extent. For the study of Chinese literary history, the fact cannot be ignored.

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Keywords: late Song early Yuan civil service examination existence and

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