

The “Offerings” Chapter of the *Wen xuan* 《文選·祭文》

<u>Table of Contents:</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Introduction	1
II. Remarks on Threnodic Genres	4
III. Short Biographies of the Authors	11
IV. Remarks on Style and Phonology	15
V. Annotated Translation	22
VI. Selected Bibliography	32

## I. Introduction

The last four and one-half *juan* 卷 of the sixty-*juan* *Wen xuan* 《文選》, the most important anthology of classical Chinese literature, compiled by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), Crown Prince of the Liang 梁 dynasty, are comprised of seven different categories of threnody: the Dirge (*lei* 誄), Lament (*ai* 哀), Epitaph (*bei* 碑), Grave Memoir (*mu zhi* 墓誌), Conduct Description (*xing zhuang* 行狀), Condolence (*diao* 弔) and at the very end, the “Offering” or “Literary Composition for Sacrifices” (*ji wen* 祭文).<sup>1</sup> In this study,

---

<sup>1</sup> Two related genres, the Eulogy (*song* 頌) and the Encomium (*zan* 贊 or 讚) are included in earlier sections of the *Wen xuan*. Throughout this study, I use the translations of the types of genres as presented in David R. Knechtges’ translation, as his work consists of a thorough examination of each specific genre

I first examine the purpose of the genre of the Offering and its ancient roots; second, I discuss the various threnodic genres and the attributes of the Offering relative to the other genres; third, I provide short biographies of the authors of the three selections; fourth, I give a general analysis of the style and phonology of each of the texts; and finally, I provide an annotated translation of the three Offerings anthologized in the *Wen xuan*.

The early forms of the graph *ji* 祭, which first appears in Shang 商 dynasty (1556-1041 B.C.E.) oracle-bone inscriptions (*jiaguwen* 甲骨文), is traditionally interpreted as depicting a hand holding an offering of meat dripping with blood; thus, the literal meaning of *ji wen* 祭文 is a text for use at a sacrificial offering. In the bronze inscriptions (*jin wen* 金文) of the Western Zhou 西周 dynasty (1041-771 B.C.E.) through the Warring States (*zhan guo* 戰國) period (476-221 B.C.E.), the signific *shi* 示 is added to the lower section of the graph, perhaps as a visual representation of the altar upon which the offering would be placed.<sup>2</sup> In these inscriptions, the graph is often used as a modifier for “vessel” (*qi* 器), thus giving the meaning sacrificial vessel or vessel used for presenting offerings. The late Warring States period vessel *Zhong shan wang chui hu* 中山王響壺 contains the term “sacrificial rite” (*ji si* 祭祀),<sup>3</sup> which is also how *ji* 祭 is glossed in the earliest Chinese dictionary, the first-century C.E. *Shuo wen jie zi* 《說文解字》: “祭，祭祀也。”<sup>4</sup>

---

and presents one of the few comprehensive discussions of the threnodic genres from early Chinese literary history. See Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, p.21-22.

<sup>2</sup> See Edward L. Shaughnessy’s discussion of the graph *chui* 𩚑 in *Sources of Western Zhou History*, p.52.

<sup>3</sup> See Qiu Dexiu 丘德修, ed., *Shang Zhou jinwen jicheng* 《商周金文集成》, No. 9735.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Shuo wen jie zi* 《說文解字·祭》.

By the time of the *Wen xuan*, the Offering thus came to serve a dual purpose, intended to record the details of the sacrificial rite performed, and also to serve as an offering in its own right to venerate the entity toward whom the ceremony is directed. The form of the composition, being both functional and spiritual, is probably derivative of the recitations and incantations that accompanied sacrifices to spirits and ancestors. The mournful and at times personal tone of the Offering derives from the concept, as Confucius states in the *Analects* 《論語》, that the rites were to be performed as if the recipient of the sacrifice were present.<sup>5</sup> We can then speculate that the text of the Offering would have been read aloud during the sacrificial rites, ostensibly directed toward the intended recipient as an invitation to partake of the sacrificial offerings, and as a commemorative and reverent statement of veneration.

Therefore, the genre of the Offering has its roots in the Chinese funerary practices of high antiquity, and several literary aspects of these texts evoke the most ancient period of Chinese literary composition, the Western Zhou dynasty. The use of rhyming couplets of tetrasyllabic lines mirrors the style and form found throughout the most ancient and revered classic in the Chinese canon, the *Book of Odes* 詩經, many of the poems of which were likely composed during the Western Zhou.<sup>6</sup> Each Offering also contains a traditional chronological notation similar to that found in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, and the date is preceded by the standard introductory particle *wei* 惟 (維) in

---

<sup>5</sup> See the “Ba Yi” 〈八佾〉 chapter of the *Analects*: “One sacrifices as if (the deceased) were present, and one sacrifices to spirits as if they were present.” “祭如在，祭神如神在。” See *Analects* 《論語》 3.12.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the earliest strata of the *Book of Odes*, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “From Liturgy to Literature”, in *Before Confucius*, p.174-95. For a discussion of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions which rhyme in similar patterns to the poems of the *Book of Odes*, see Wolfgang Behr, Ph.D. dissertation, “Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung”, 1997.

two of the texts, a common feature of the bronze inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the interjection featured in two of the Offerings<sup>8</sup> “*Wu-hu ai zai!*” 嗚呼哀哉 can be traced back through Chinese textual history as far as the Yu ding 禹鼎 from the reign of King Li of Zhou 周厲王 (857/53-842/28 B.C.E.).<sup>9</sup>

## II. Remarks on Threnodic Genres

The Offering, along with its related genres the Laments<sup>10</sup> and the Condolences, while clearly a direct descendant of the grand funerary tradition of ancient China, should perhaps be best considered as having developed out of two ancient and more well-known genres: the Eulogies<sup>11</sup> and Dirges. The Eulogies of Zhou 周頌 comprise the oldest section of the *Book of Odes* and feature pieces extolling the virtues of heroic ancestors, particularly kings Wen 文 and Wu 武, and descriptions of temple rites (*li* 禮) and

---

<sup>7</sup> In the third text, even the full sexagenary (*gan zhi* 干支) notation for both the day and the beginning of the relative lunar period is given, as is often the case in the bronze inscriptions.

<sup>8</sup> The phrase “*Wu-hu ai zai!*” 嗚呼哀哉 is found in many other threnodic texts, most famously in the accounts of the lament by Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公 over the death of Confucius 孔丘. See the discussion of the Lament in section II for a translation of these passages from the *Zuo zhuan* and *Book of Rites*.

<sup>9</sup> See Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources*, p.10 and 80; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p.102-4. The Yu *ding* is famed for describing two parts of a military campaign; the phrase “*Wu-hu ai zai!*” 嗚呼哀哉 is used therein in reference to the soldiers who died in the disastrous opening campaign. There is a possible parallel between this inscription and the threnodic poems “Guo shang” 國殤 and “Li hun” 禮魂 from the “Nine Songs” section of the *Chu ci* 《楚辭·九歌》 which scholars have long referred to as having had a direct influence upon the literary developments within the threnodic genres.

<sup>10</sup> Predating the *Wen xuan* by about a century, the second “Rites and Etiquette” (*Li yi xia* 禮儀下) chapter of the mid-fifth-century C.E. *Book of the Later Han* (*Hou han shu* 後漢書) contains two descriptions of a type of text used in funerary rites called a “Record of Lamentation” (*Ai ce* 哀策, later also called *Ai ce* 哀冊 or *Ai ce wen* 哀冊文) similar to the Offering: “The Grand Historian commanded that the Record of Lamentation be presented and the heir be established.” “太史令奉哀策立後。” and “(He) faced north and read the Record of Lamentation; thereafter he presented anecdotes/stories (about the deceased); there was then/already wailing in grief.” “北面讀哀策，掌故在後，已哀哭。” (See *Hou han shu* 《後漢書·志·禮儀下》) It should be noted that although the Lament (*ai* 哀) is its own genre according to the *Wen xuan*, all the examples contained in that anthology were composed to lament the death of prominent women.

<sup>11</sup> The term *Song* 頌 is also commonly translated as “Hymns” (See Waley, 1937) or “Temple Songs”.

ceremonies (*xiang* 享) held to ensure receipt of Heaven's blessings (*fu* 福 / *hu* 祐), with strong emphasis on propriety, dignity and respectful behavior. The language of the Eulogies is formal and ritualistic, often repetitive in structure, generally featuring lines of varying lengths; seven of the thirty Eulogies of Zhou have no discernable rhyme scheme. The four Eulogies of Lu 魯 and the five Eulogies of Shang 商 date to a significantly later period. They are much more regular in structure, composed primarily of long series of tetrasyllabic rhyming couplets, and feature the exploits of glorious ancestors and great kings blessed by Heaven, including depictions of grandiose ceremonies with offerings of libations, meat and sacrifices (*xi* 犧). However, while related thematically, none of the Eulogies in the *Odes* specifically mention literary compositions accompanying the ceremonies.<sup>12</sup>

The genre of the Dirge in pre-imperial China is closely associated with formal expressions of grief and mourning, most famously in the description of the reaction by Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公 to the death of Confucius 孔丘. The passage in the *Zuo zhuan* 《左傳》 “Duke Ai 哀公 16th Year” (479 B.C.E.) reads: “In summer, in the fourth month, on day *jichou*, Kong Qiu died. The Duke recited a Dirge about it, saying, ‘Bright Heaven gives me no comfort, and has not left a single old man to support me, the One man, in my place. Dispirited I am, and in distress. *Wu-hu!* Great is my grief! *Ni-fu!* (Now) there is nothing for me to model myself upon!’” (“夏，四月，己丑，孔丘卒，公誄之曰：‘旻

---

<sup>12</sup> The lack of mention of literary compositions associated with sacrificial rites in the *Book of Odes* holds true as well of a poem from the “Greater Elegies” (*Da ya* 大雅), “Thick Star-Thistle” (*Chu ci* 楚茨, Mao 毛 #209) which gives a detailed description of the presentation of offerings (*si* 祀) of food and wine. The closest indication of a textual or recital component to the rites is the line, “Every smile, every word is in place” (*Xiao yu zu huo* “笑語卒獲”, as translated in Waley, 1937) but the text gives no indication of what the “words” would have been.

天不弔，不憇遺一老，俾屏余一人以在位，斃斃余在疚，嗚呼，哀哉，尼父，無自律。”<sup>13</sup> The “*Shu Er*” chapter of the *Analects* 《論語·述而》 also gives an indication that Dirges were commonly known to at least some: “The Master was very sick and Zi Lu asked leave to pray for him. The Master said, ‘May such a thing be done?’ Zi Lu replied, ‘It may. There is a Dirge which says, ‘Prayers have been made for thee to the spirits of the upper and lower worlds.’ The Master said, ‘I have (already) been praying for a long time.’” (“子疾病，子路請禱。子曰：‘有諸？’子路對曰：‘有之。誄曰：‘禱爾于上下神祇。’子曰：‘丘之禱久矣。’”) An important aspect of the Dirge is that it was used not only for lamentation, but also to convey respect and memorialize the dead, and at least by the Han dynasty, to confer a posthumous rank. In the “(The Lord of) Lu Asks” chapter of the *Mozi* 《墨子·魯問》，Mozi (ca.470-ca.391 B.C.E.) defines the Dirge as “speaking of the ambitions of the deceased person” (“子墨子聞之曰：‘誄者，道死人之志也。’”).<sup>14</sup> The *Book of Rites* 《禮記》 describes the Dirge more like a formal eulogy than a type of prayer. In the “Zengzi Asks” 〈曾子問〉 chapter, it mentions rules of propriety for the delivery of a Dirge: “The mean do not recite Dirges for the noble, the young do not recite Dirges for the aged; this is the proper ritual. Only the Son of Heaven names Heaven in order to provide his Dirge. For the various Mark-lords to recite Dirges for one another is not ritually proper.” (“賤不誄貴，幼不誄長，禮也。唯天子，稱天

---

<sup>13</sup> The first “Tan gong” chapter of the *Record of Ritual* 《禮記·檀弓上》 contains a shorter version of the same anecdote within a discussion of proper funerary rites: “Duke Ai of Lu lamented for Kong Qiu, saying, ‘Heaven has not left the old man, and there is no one to assist me in my place. *Wu-hu!* Great is my grief! *Ni-fu!*’” “魯哀公誄孔丘曰：‘天不遺耆老，莫相予位焉，嗚呼哀哉！尼父！’” See *Si ku quan shu* (hereafter *SKQS*) 《禮記注疏》卷 8 頁 34A.

<sup>14</sup> See *SKQS*, 《墨子》卷 13 頁 17B-18A.

以誄之。諸侯相誄，非禮也。”<sup>15</sup> The first “*Tan Gong*” 〈檀弓上〉 chapter also contains an anecdote that claims that the practice of reciting a Dirge for the dead was begun by Duke Zhuang of Lu 魯莊公 (693-662 B.C.E.).<sup>16</sup> Later commentators, such as Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), have understood the use of *lei* 誄 in this passage as incorporating the concept of *shi* 諡 (謚), that the Duke conferred upon the deceased driver a posthumous rank, and that that this was the practice he initiated.<sup>17</sup>

Contemporaneous with the *Wen xuan*, the first comprehensive work of literary theory and criticism in the Chinese tradition *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍) by Liu Xie 劉勰 (465-522 C.E.) gives an analysis of the literary qualities found in the Eulogies, Dirges, Laments, Condolences and a category which corresponds to the genre of the Offering: the Prayer (*zhu* 祝) or Offering Prayer (*ji zhu* 祭祝).<sup>18</sup> According to Liu, Eulogies are to be elegant yet clear, reverential

---

<sup>15</sup> Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 late Han 漢 commentary to this line gives further insight into the value and use of the Dirge, at least in his time: “To recite a dirge (*lei* 誄) is to pile up (*lei* 累). One piles up the layers of the traces from the times in the life (of the deceased), and reads them in order to make a posthumous title. The posthumous title must come from the one who venerates him and completes it.” 鄭玄注：“誄，累也。累列生時行跡，讀之以作謚，謚當由尊者成。” See *SKQS* 《先聖大訓》卷 2 頁 23B.

<sup>16</sup> The passage reads: “Duke Zhuang of Lu fought a battle with the men of Song at Shengqiu. Xian Benfu was driving, and Bu Guo was spearman on the right. The horses became frightened and disaster befell him; the duke fell. The driver of a relief chariot handed him a driving strap. The Duke said, ‘I did not divine about this.’ Xian Benfu said, ‘On no other occasion did such a disaster occur; that a disaster has occurred today is because of my want of courage.’ Subsequently, Xian died (in the battle). When the groom was bathing the horses, a stray arrow was found sticking in the flesh under the flank. The duke said, ‘It was not his fault.’ Subsequently he recited a Dirge for him. From this was the beginning (of the practice).” “魯莊公及宋人戰于乘丘。縣賁父御，卜國為右。馬驚，敗績，公隊。佐車授綬。公曰：‘末之卜也。’縣賁父曰：‘他日不敗績，而今敗績，是無勇也。’遂死之。圉人浴馬，有流矢在白肉。公曰：‘非其罪也。’遂誄之。士之有誄，自此始也。” See *SKQS* 《禮記通考》卷 65 頁 2B.

<sup>17</sup> Zheng Xuan’s commentary to this line reads, “In the Dirge, it was his merit from attacking the enemy that was used to make a posthumous rank (for him).” “誄其赴敵之功以為謚。” See *SKQS* 《禮記通考》卷 65 頁 2B. The *Shuo wen jie zi* states, “To recite a Dirge is to award a posthumous award of rank.” “誄，謚也。” (p.57 下)

<sup>18</sup> In the first volume of his translation of the *Wen xuan*, David R. Knechtges directly equates the genre of the Prayer (*zhu* 祝) in *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* with the genre of the Offering in the *Wen xuan*. (See Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1 p. 23.)

and prudent, broad in scope, and contain no admonition or warning;<sup>19</sup> Dirges are an account of the life of the deceased, similar in tone to the Eulogy, revealing and mournful.<sup>20</sup> Laments are for those who die an untimely death and are to be concise and biographical, full of regret and profoundly moving.<sup>21</sup> Condolences are used to give posthumous titles to those who die a normal death and are full of expressions of

---

<sup>19</sup> The full description from the “Eulogy and Encomium” (*song zan* 頌讚) Chapter of *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* reads: “Originally, the Eulogy (*song* 頌) had to possess the qualities of elegance and grace, and its language had to be clear and bright. In its narration it is similar to the *fu*, but it must not succumb to florid and excessive language. It has the spirit of reverence and prudence which characterizes the Inscription (*ming* 銘), but differs from it in not being admonition or warning. In its praise and honoring of its subject, it formulates beautiful expressions, but its content has the broadest scope. It has finesse and artifice adapted to the feelings aroused. This is the essence of the Eulogy.” “原夫頌惟典懿，辭必清鑠，敷寫似賦，而不入華侈之區；敬慎如銘，而異乎規戒之域；揄揚以發藻，汪洋以樹義，雖纖巧曲致，與情而變，其大體所底，如斯而已。” (Translation, and all subsequent translations from *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* adapted from Vincent Yu-chung Shih, 1970, p.71-2.)

<sup>20</sup> The full description from the “Dirge and Stone Inscription” (*lei bei* 誄碑) Chapter of *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* reads: “With respect to its organization, the Dirge consists of a selection of sayings and an account of the life of the deceased. It is biographical in form, and the language it adopts is that of the Eulogy, beginning in glory and ending in sorrow. In its portrayal of the deceased as a person, unclarities are brought out so they can be seen; and in expressing grief, its mournful tune suggests profound injury. This is its aim.” “詳夫誄之為制，蓋選言錄行，傳體而頌文，榮始而哀終。論其人也，暖乎若可觀，道其哀也，淒焉如可傷：此其旨也。” (See Shih, p.91)

<sup>21</sup> The full description from the “Lament and Condolence” (*ai diao* 哀弔) Chapter of *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* reads: “According to the rule of conferring posthumous titles, one who dies young is given the title of *ai* 哀, or lamented. *Ai*, or to lament, means *yi* 依, or to adhere; sorrows adhere to the heart; hence the term “to lament” or “grief”. One gives vent to one’s grief by means of writing, which is tearless lamentation. Therefore this form of writing does not apply to the death of older people, but always to those who meet an untimely death. . . . With such clear thought, flexible language, deep sentiments and profound sorrows; with the accounts of events reading like a biography, the composition in the spirit of the *Book of Odes*, and a four-word pattern, short and rhythmic, never a line loose or sluggish, one is able to state one’s ideas simply in words that are gentle, and to grace an old form with a fresh interest. . . . In general, the main things to consider in a lament are, on the one hand, sorrowful feelings and, on the other, a language capable of expressing love and regret. The dead was young and had not had a chance to establish his virtue; hence, in commending him, one does not go beyond speaking of him as intelligent and bright; since he was weak and unable to shoulder any responsibility, one mourns for the loss of his physical form. When the composition springs from a heart full of grief, it will be fine; but if one manipulates one’s heart to conform with literary expressions, the piece must be characterized by excess. An excessively ornate piece may contain beautiful expressions, but it is not the right vehicle for expressing sorrow. The important thing in writing a lament is that genuine feeling be the basis of one’s mournful tone and that the expression be moving enough to bring forth one’s tears.” “賦憲之謚，短折曰哀。哀者，依也。悲實依心，故曰哀也。以辭遣哀，蓋下流之悼，故不在黃發，必施夭昏。 . . . . 觀其慮瞻辭變，情洞悲苦，敘事如傳，結言摹《詩》促節四言，鮮有緩句；故能義直而文婉，體舊而趣新。 . . . . 原夫哀辭大體，情主于痛傷，而辭窮乎愛惜。幼未成德，故譽止于察惠；弱不勝務，故悼加乎膚色。隱心而結文則事慳，觀文而屬心則體奢。奢體為辭，則雖麗不哀；必使情往會悲，文來引泣，乃其貴耳。” (See Shih, p.96-8) See also footnote 10 above.

sympathy and praise for the virtues of the deceased, written with a melancholy tone and, in later eras, composed of ornate and beautiful language.<sup>22</sup> Liu gives an exceptionally clear overview of the history and Offering Prayer,<sup>23</sup> and contrasts it directly with the Lament, Dirge, Eulogy and Encomium (*zan* 讚):

According to the accepted rule, the ritual function of the Offering Prayer (*ji zhu* 祭祝) was limited to the reporting of events. However, the Offerings of the middle periods (the Han 漢 and Wei 魏 dynasties) contain phrases for good words and conduct. This inclusion of the act of praise in an Offering was an expansion of the function of the genre. Furthermore, during Han times there were Records of Lamentation (*ai ce* 哀策) on occasions of royal mourning; and when (King Mu of) Zhou lost (his concubine) Sheng Ji, the historian of the inner palace presented the record. This being the case, the record was originally a document to confer honor, but because of the grief involved, it was composed (using this type of) language. So this record has the same significance as the Dirge, except that its language is addressed to spirits. It begins like a Dirge and ends like a Lament; it

---

<sup>22</sup> The full description from the “Lament and Condolence” (*ai diao* 哀弔) Chapter of *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* reads: “The term *diao* 弔, or to condole, means *zhi* 至, or to arrive. The *Book of Odes* states, ‘The consolations of the spirits’, which means ‘The spirits have arrived.’ (This line comes from the poem “May Heaven Guard” from the Greater Elegies 《詩經·小雅·天保》(Mao #166). *Diao* 弔 in its alternate pronunciation \*ti and *zhi* 至 \*tjits are indeed quite similar in pronunciation (See William Baxter, *Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, 1992), and it seems reasonable that they could have functioned as loangraphs.) The occasion on which a posthumous title is being set for a man of virtue who has lived out his natural term is an occasion of great importance and grief, therefore the arrival of guests to condole with the bereaved is called “arriving” (*zhi dao* 至到). But when a death is caused by crushing or drowning, an event contrary to the normal course, no condolence is given....Some people lose their lives because, while occupying high positions, they are arrogant; some lead perverse lives because they are impatient and filled with resentment; some have great ambitions and yet are born out of their times; and some possess talents but find themselves burdened with too many distractions. All expressions imparting sympathy to the spirits of people like these are designated Condolences....Condolences, although in use in ancient times, was adorned with beautiful language only in later times; indeed, when ornamented unduly and slowed in tempo, it becomes Rhapsody (*fu* 賦). To write condolence properly, one should have correct ideas, in conformity with the nature of the case; one should bring to light the virtues of the deceased and block the tendency to indulge in what is perverse; one should carefully consider what to praise and what to censure; and one’s language should be sad and yet accurate. Then, no one can deny the ability to write in perfect form.” “弔者，至也。《詩》云“神之弔矣”，言神至也。君子令終定謚，事極理哀，故賓之慰主，以至到為言也。壓溺乖道，所以不弔矣。。。。。或驕貴以殞身，或獨忿以乖道，或有志而無時，或美才而兼累，迫而慰之，并名為弔。。。。。夫弔雖古義，而華辭未造；華過韻緩，則化而為賦。固宜正義以繩理，昭德而塞違，剖析褒貶，哀而有正，則無奪倫矣！” (See Shih, p.98-100)

<sup>23</sup> *Zhu* 祝, which was widely used to mean “prayers” or “to pray” since high antiquity (the term is found in the Shang 商 oracle bones), is also found in official titles (such as the Historian of Prayers, *zhu shi* “祝史” from the “Duke Huan 6<sup>th</sup> Year” chapter of the *Zuo zhuan* 《左傳·桓公六年》) but did not seem to exist as a type of genre (either by itself or as *zhu wen* 祝文) before its inclusion in *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*.

has the form of a Eulogy yet the style of a Prayer. The Encomium made by the grand historian is based upon the Prayer of Zhou times.

若乃禮之祭祝，事止告饗；而中代祭文，兼贊言行。祭而兼贊，蓋引伸而作也。又漢代山陵，哀策流文；周喪盛姬，內史執策。然則策本書贈，因哀而為文也。是以義同于誄，而文實告神，誄首而哀末，頌體而祝儀。太史所作之讚，因周之祝文也。<sup>24</sup>

Liu's explanation that originally the Offering Prayer was simply a report may help explain why the genres of the Offering and Offering Prayer are not mentioned in the "Three Ritual Classics", the *Book of Rites*, *Rites of Zhou* 《周禮》 and the *Etiquette and Rites* 《儀禮》. The earliest known work to bear the name Offering was composed midway through the Han by Du Du 杜篤 (d.78) and was entitled the "Offering for Yan Zhong" 〈祭延鍾文〉, but the text has been lost.<sup>25</sup> Some time thereafter, the poet Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427) wrote the "Offering for Myself" 〈自祭文〉,<sup>26</sup> and Wang Pou's 王裒 imperially-commissioned Offering for Grand Mistress Wei 夫人魏 was included in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century *Book of Liang* 《梁書》.<sup>27</sup> By the Sui 隋 dynasty, the genre of the Offering seems to have become more and more regularized; a text entitled

---

<sup>24</sup> The following paragraph from the "Prayer and Oath of Agreement" (*zhu meng* 祝盟) Chapter of *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* reads: "Whenever words are purposefully grouped together, flowery patterns are developed; but in the invocation of the spirits, real feeling must be stressed. Both for refining the language and for establishing one's sincerity, the necessary condition is to have a clear conscience. The spirit in which a prayer is said must be one of sincerity and reverence; and the form in which sacrifices are offered should be one of respect and contrition. These are the main ideas. The sacrificial piece offered to Mount Meng 涿山 by Ban Gu 班固 (partially preserved in the *Quan Hou Han wen* 《全後漢文》) is the very model of sincerity and reverence in a prayer; Pan Yue's 潘岳 offering for his wife Yu 庾 (partially preserved in the *Yi wen lei ju* 《藝文類聚》) expresses the essence of respect and grief in sacrifice. If these pieces are studied thoroughly, the secret of their success will be clearly seen." "凡群言發華，而降神務實，修辭立誠，在于無愧。祈禱之式，必誠以敬；祭奠之楷，宜恭且哀；此其大較也。班固之祀涿山，祈禱之誠敬也；潘岳之祭庾婦，祭奠之恭哀也；舉匪而求，昭然可鑒矣。" (See Shih, p.78-9)

<sup>25</sup> The "Offering for Yan Zhong" 〈祭延鍾文〉 is listed in the *Wenzhang yuanqi* 《文章緣起》 by Ren Fang 任昉 (460-508).

<sup>26</sup> See "Offering for Myself" 〈自祭文〉, *SKQS*, 《陶淵明集》卷 8 頁 3B.

<sup>27</sup> See the *Liang shu* 《梁書》, 45.631.

“Miscellaneous Offerings” 《雜祭文》 which seems to be a collection of models for composition was first listed in the *Book of Sui* 《隋書》.<sup>28</sup>

### III. Short Biographies of the Authors

#### III.a. Xie Huilian 謝惠連 (407-433 C.E.)<sup>29</sup>

By the time of his death at the young age of twenty-four, Xie Huilian was already an established poet and official under Liu Yikang 劉義康 (409-451), Imperial Chancellor and prince of Pengcheng 彭城. His father Xie Fangming 謝方明 (381-427) was a high official during the Eastern Jin 東晉 and Liu Song 劉宋 dynasties who served as governor of Kuaiji 會稽 from 423-427. Since childhood, Xie Huilian had been a close friend of his elder cousin, the famous landscape poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), and along with He Changyu 何長瑜, Xun Yong 荀雍 and Yang Xuanzhi 羊璿之, became known as one of the four companions of Xie Lingyun.

In 428, Xie Huilian was stripped of his rank and banned from holding further office when the authorities discovered that during the mourning period for his father he had composed poems, which became widely circulated, to his homosexual lover Du Deling 杜德靈. However, in 430 he received an imperial pardon and accepted a post as judicial aide under Liu Yikang in Pengcheng. On his journey, he stopped at Xiling 西陵

---

<sup>28</sup> See the *Sui shu* 《隋書》, 35.545. The extant version of the “Miscellaneous Offerings” 《雜祭文》 in the *SKQS* (See *Wen yuan ying hua* 《文苑英華》卷 994 頁 6B-12B ) contains nine compositions.

<sup>29</sup> Sources: *Song shu* 《宋書·列傳第二十七·謝靈運》; *History of the Southern Dynasties* 《南史·謝方明傳》; Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol.2, p. 392-3.

Lake, where he composed the five-part poem (*shi* 詩) “At Xiling, Encountering a Storm, Presented to Xie Lingyun” (*Xiling yu feng xian Kangle* 西陵遇風獻康樂) which was later included in the *Wen xuan*. His most famous composition, however, is the “Offering at an Ancient Burial Mound” (*Ji gu zhong wen* 祭古冢文) translated below. Although an anthology of his works entitled the “Collected Works of Xie Huilian” 《謝惠連集》 of five *juan* 卷 is listed in the *Book of Sui*, *New Book of Tang* 《新唐書》 and *History of Song* 《宋史》, Xie’s extant literary works comprise about thirty poems (*shi* 詩), most of which are in *yuefu* 樂府 style, and a few landscape poems. The *Wen xuan* contains seven of his works: the two mentioned above, the “Rhapsody on Snow” (*Xue fu* 雪賦), and four additional poems (*shi* 詩).

### III.b. Yan Yannian 顏延年 (384-456 C.E.)<sup>30</sup>

Yan Yanzhi 顏延之, courtesy name (*zi* 字) Yan Yannian 顏延年, was a renowned writer of both prose and poetry during the Liu Song dynasty. Though a descendant of nobility, Yan grew up in poverty, but at age 32 received an official position under Liu Liu 劉柳 and shortly thereafter, met the poet Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427), who would become his lifelong friend. The next year, in 416, Yan joined the staff of Liu Yifu 劉義符 (406-424), the eldest son of Liu Yu 劉裕 (363-422), who in 420 would become the founder and first emperor of the Liu Song dynasty. Yan also became closely associated with Liu Yu’s second son, Liu Yizhen 劉義真 (407-424). In 422, Liu Yifu succeeded his father

---

<sup>30</sup> Sources: *Song shu* 《宋書·列傳第三十三·顏延之》; *History of the South* 《南史·列傳第二十四·顏延之沈懷文周朗》; Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol.2, p. 395-7.

and dismissed all officials who had ties to his rival Liu Yizhen, and Yan was sent south to Shi'an 始安 (modern-day Guilin 桂林); on the way, Yan passed the confluence of the Mi 汨 and Luo 羅 Rivers where the celebrated poet Qu Yuan 屈原 committed suicide in 278 B.C.E. and composed the “Offering for Qu Yuan” translated below.

In 424, when Liu Yifu died, his youngest brother, Liu Yilong 劉義隆 (407-453) became emperor and recalled members of the Liu Yizhen faction to the capital, including Yan Yanzhi. Yan became increasingly reckless and began to drink heavily, and in 434 wrote the poem “Song of the Five Gentleman” (*Wu jun yong wu shou* 五君詠五首) which strongly criticized imperial officials and palace attendants. He was thereupon stripped of his rank and sent into exile, where he wrote *Instructions from the Courtyard* (*Ting gao* 《庭誥》). In 441, due to the emperor’s admiration of his “Rhapsody on the Russet and White Horse” (*Che bai ma fu bing xu* 〈赭白馬賦并序〉), Yan was invited to return to office and in 443 was promoted to palace assistant secretary, and again to libationer for the sons of state. In the late 440’s he was again dismissed from office (for refusing to pay for land he had bought) and again reinstated, finally retiring from public service in 453, at the age of seventy.

During his lifetime, Yan Yanzhi was regarded as a major writer of both prose and poetry. He and Xie Lingyun were regarded as the leading writers of the South during the period, though Yan excelled more at parallel-style prose than poetry. The “Collected Works of Yan Yannian” 《顏延年集》 listed in the *Book of Sui* records twenty-five *juan*, and the *Book of Tang* 《唐書》 thirty. The *Wen xuan* contains twenty-two of his works:

the above rhapsody, sixteen poems (*shi* 詩), a preface (*xu* 序), two dirges (*lei* 誄), a lament (*ai* 哀) and the offering translated below.

III.c. Wang Sengda 王僧達 (423-458 C.E.)<sup>31</sup>

Scion of a powerful lineage, Wang received his first official appointment at the age of eighteen, and married into the imperial family when the emperor gave him as wife the daughter of the king of Linchuan 臨川, Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444). His father, Wang Hong 王弘 (379-432) had been Grand Councilor under emperor Liu Yilong of the Liu Song dynasty. Early on, Wang showed prodigious talent at writing prose and poetry, and an insatiable drive for advancement. As an official, he changed positions regularly (at one point he held five different appointments in the space of a year), relentlessly seeking ever higher rank but was often resented by those he used in order to advance himself. Thanks to the support of emperor Liu Yilong, he became grand administrator of Xuancheng 宣城 in his mid-twenties, but shortly afterwards, refused an appointment as general because he had expected to receive the same rank as his father had held. He ran into further trouble after authorities discovered that he had tried to have a young male cousin with whom he had been having a sexual relationship murdered in order to prevent the young man from leaving town.

In his late twenties, Wang developed a close friendship with the poet Yan Yanzhi and Yan's powerful son Yan Jun 顏竣 (414-459); an exchange of poems (*shi* 詩) between Wang and Yan Yanzhi survives today in the *Wen xuan*.

---

<sup>31</sup> Sources: *Song shu* 《宋書·列傳第三十五·王僧達顏竣》; *History of the Southern Dynasties* 《南史·列傳第十一·王弘》; Alan J. Berkowitz, "The Last Piece in the Wen Xuan, Wang Sengda's 'Offering for Imperial Household Grandee Yan'", in *Early Medieval China*, vol.10-11, p.177-201.

In 453, Liu Shao assassinated his father and seized the throne; two months later, Liu Jun 劉駿 (430-464) gathered an army and defeated his brother, becoming emperor. Five years later, Wang was falsely implicated in a major plot led by Gao Du 高閹 to overthrow the emperor. Wang had despised the new empress and had publicly disrespected her nephew Lu Qiongzhi 路瓊之; at the urging of the empress, the emperor used the coup attempt as grounds to imprison him. While in prison, Wang was ordered to commit suicide, and so died at the age of thirty-five,

The *Collected Works of Wang Sengda* 《王僧達集》 in ten *juan* 卷 is listed in the *New Book of Tang* 《新唐書》 and *History of Song* 《宋史》, but only a dozen of his compositions survive today, three of them in the *Wen xuan*: two poems (*shi* 詩) and the offering translated in section V.c., the very last work in the anthology.

#### IV. Remarks on Style and Phonology

##### IV.a. “Offering at an Ancient Burial Mound”

The first of the three Offerings in the *Wen xuan* is a bit out of the ordinary; rather than being for a famous or respected individual, it recounts the events surrounding the discovery of an ancient burial mound during the construction of a moat around the Eastern Prefectural Capital. Two coffins were found, but the tomb contained no inscriptions or other indications of the identities of the individuals within. Since the plan for the moat could not be changed, the coffins had to be moved. In accordance with the rules of propriety, when they were reburied at the foot of the mountain to the east, they

were given generic posthumous titles, rites and sacrifices were performed, and an Offering was composed (and ostensibly recited at the interment ceremony) on his behalf. The very last line seems to suggest the approval of the tomb occupant with the reburial and accompanying rites, as it states “a dark spirit” (or “dark spirits”, *you ling* 幽靈) appeared and “enjoyed” (or “admired”, *xin* 歆) the sacrificial offerings.

The language of the text is melancholy yet terse and factual, without complex literary allusions or flowery rhetoric, seeming to corroborate Liu Xie’s description of the genre as originally being simply an official record of the proceedings (albeit in rhymed verse). The text begins with a lengthy prose introduction which reads like an archaeological report, detailing the materials used in the construction of the tomb and the funerary objects found within. The introduction ends with a segue to the Offering text giving the full date of the ceremony and its presiding officials. The section which ostensibly would have been read during the funerary rites and presentation of offerings is composed of tetrasyllabic couplets which rhyme in octosyllabic meter. The rhyme scheme and stanza breaks are detailed below in Chart IVa. The rhymed portion of the text can be first divided into three main sections based on content: the first two stanzas set the scene and describe the contents of the tomb; the second two stanzas are shorter (only three lines apiece) and comprise a series of rhetorical questions which take the place of the biographical section of the text (as there is virtually nothing known about the tomb occupant); and the third section details the decision to move the tomb and the rites performed during the interment of the coffins at the new site.

Chart IV.a. “Offering at an Ancient Burial Mound”: Rhyme Graphs

Graph 【*Guangyun* 《廣韻》 Rhyme Group】 Reconstructed Pronunciation<sup>32</sup>

之【之】 tʂə、基【之】 kiə、茲【之】 tʂiə、而【之】 ńə  
 摧【灰】 dzuəi、低【齊】 tei、醢【齊】、犀【齊】 sei<sup>33</sup>  
 代【代】 dəh、載【代】 tʂə、晦【隊】 hwə  
 傳【仙】 ɬuan、先【先】 sen、然【仙】 ńan  
 齊【齊】 dzei、迴【灰】 yuəi、頹【灰】、哀【哈】 ʔəi  
 渥【覺】 ʔək、曲【燭】 kʰiok、卜【屋】 pok、麓【屋】 lok、木【屋】 mok  
 存【魂】 dzən、魂【魂】 yuən、豚【魂】 duən、樽【魂】 tsuən

Following the rhyme groups as given in the 10<sup>th</sup>-century rhyme dictionary *Guangyun* 《廣韻》<sup>34</sup> and phonological data, the stanzas of the text can be divided as laid out in the above chart: four lines (of eight graphs), four lines, three lines, three lines, four lines, five lines and four lines. One idiosyncrasy in the rhyme scheme in the text is worth highlighting: the use of the particle *er* 而 to end the fourth line (and first stanza) is grammatically unorthodox; the author has reversed what would normally be written “tearfully (they) lay down their spades” (*lian er zong cha* 漣而縱鋪) with “(they) laid down their spades tearfully” (*zong cha lian er* 縱鋪漣而), which indicates that adherence to the rhyme scheme took precedence over standard grammatical structure.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> I have used the rhyme groups as given in the *Guangyun* 《廣韻》 because the *Qieyun* 《切韻》, which would have been closer chronologically, unfortunately contains only a few of the rhyming graphs in the text. The reconstructed pronunciations come from Axel Schuessler’s Late Han reconstructions as published in his *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, 2007. If no reconstruction is given in either Schuessler or Baxter (1992), then the data is left blank.

<sup>33</sup> Wang Li 王力 demonstrated that the *zhi* 脂 rhyme group (which incorporates the *qi* 齊 group from the *Guangyun*) and the *wei* 微 rhyme group (which incorporates the *hui* 灰 group from the *Guangyun*) rhyme consistently in the *Book of Odes*. See Wang Li, 〈上古韻母系統研究〉, 1937 (rpt.1980), p.141-48.

<sup>34</sup> The *Guangyun* was compiled by Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961-1017) and Qiu Yong 邱雍 from 1007 to 1011 by imperial edict of Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 of the Northern Song 北宋 dynasty.

<sup>35</sup> This concept is commonly found in classical Chinese poetry, but the use of *er* 而 in sentence final position is still extremely rare; the poem “The Gate-Screen” from the “Airs of the States” section of the *Book of Odes* 《詩經·國風·著》(Mao #98) ends every line with *hu er* 乎而, but this does not seem to correspond with the current example.

#### IV.b. “Offering for Qu Yuan”

The second Offering is also quite exceptional, as rather than being for an individual known to the author, it is dedicated to a famed poet and hero who died more than seven hundred years before its composition. While most known Offerings commemorated the life of a recently deceased prominent figure, the “Offering for Qu Yuan” is an example of use of the genre in sacrificial rites for spirits, high ancestors or heroes of the past. The short prose opening section is once again used to set the scene, giving the date, the name of the official who instigated the offering, the location of the offering and its intended recipient.

The language of the text is a bit more ornate than the previous example, as literary allusions taken from the poet’s works and other classical sources are occasionally woven into the tetrasyllabic lines. However, despite the ornate style made famous by the figure toward whom the ceremony was directed, the language of the Offering remains generally terse and biographical in nature, occasionally using parallel grammatical structure and only a few literary flourishes. The rhymed section of the text is once again composed of tetrasyllabic couplets which rhyme in octosyllabic meter. The rhyme scheme and stanza breaks are detailed below in Chart IV.b. There are again three sections to the Offering, divisible both by content and rhyme: a general introductory section featuring universal themes, a biographical section, and a final section praising Qu’s virtues, composed in slightly more eloquent and poetic language.

Chart IV.b. “Offering for Qu Yuan” : Rhyme Graphs

Graph 【*Guangyun* 《廣韻》 Rhyme Group】 Reconstructed Pronunciation

折【薛】 tsat、潔【屑】 ket、缺【屑】 k<sup>h</sup>uet、節【屑】 tset  
端【桓】 tuan、蘭【寒】 lan、干【寒】 kan、鸞【桓】 luan  
月【月】 nyat、發【月】 puat、越【月】 wat、闕【月】 gyat

The only phonological irregularity within the text is in the first line, where *zhe* 折 (in the *Guangyun xue* 薛 rhyme group) rhymes with words in the *Guangyun xie* 屑 rhyme group. However, in his *Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, William Baxter demonstrates how -at and -et rhymes can be conflated into the *yue* 月 rhyme group (he reconstructs Middle Chinese *xue* 薛 as sjet).<sup>36</sup> Thus, we are left with an interesting phonological structure, with an extremely similar tonal pattern in the rhymes of the first and last four-stanza sections (rhyming on -et or -at), and the tonal pattern of the middle four-stanza section rhyming significantly differently (on -an), setting the biographical section significantly apart phonetically as well as semantically.

IV.c. “Offering for (Grand Minister of) Shining Fortune Yan (Yannian)”

The final Offering is perhaps the most standard of the three as it was composed for a well-known and recently-deceased official and litteratus by a poet who knew him well. The short prose introduction is similar to that of the second piece, giving the date (in full sexagenary format), the composer, and the intended recipient of the offerings being presented.

<sup>36</sup> See Baxter, *Handbook*, p.389-413.

As one might expect, the language of this Offering is much more personal than the previous two; the author also inserts himself into the text several times, both as companion and mourner. The tone is also more mournful than in the other Offerings, with the expression *Wu-hu ai zai!* 嗚呼哀哉 both beginning and finishing the rhymed portion of the text, a technique that can be seen in many of the threnodic genres. The language in the rhymed sections of the text is also more grandiloquent than in the previous two examples, featuring the repeated use of metaphor and historical examples, and the occasional literary allusion. The semantic divisions in this portion of the text are much less apparent in this example; the opening section lauds the virtue of its intended recipient, the second section is generally more personal and melancholy, and the last section is a general statement on enduring the grief which inevitably comes with death.

The rhymed section of the text is once again composed of tetrasyllabic couplets with a rhyme-word every eighth graph and a larger structure of three long heterogeneously rhyming stanzas. The divisions following phonetic changes and rhyme scheme are detailed below in Chart IV.c.

Chart IV.c. “Offering for (Grand Minister of) Shining Fortune Yan (Yannian)” : Rhyme Graphs

Graph 【Guangyun 《廣韻》 Rhyme Group】 Reconstructed Pronunciation

清【清】 ts<sup>h</sup>ieŋ、聲【清】 séŋ、楊【陽】 jaŋ、英【庚】 ?iaŋ  
華【麻】 yua、沙【麻】 ʃai、阿【歌】 ai、波【戈】 pai

舉【語】 kia、侶【語】 lia、緒【語】 zia、處【語】 tʃ<sup>h</sup>a  
賦【遇】 pua、素【暮】 sa、路【暮】 la、互【暮】 ga

耀【笑】 jau、炤【笑】 tsau、調【蕭】、嶠【笑】 giau  
淚【至】 luis、懿【至】、饋【至】 guis、歛【微】

Following the phonology, despite the slight change in rhyme group in the first line of the first stanza, the chart indicates that the text can be broadly divided into three stanzas, with each stanza comprised of eight rhyming couplets. This structure also matches the three semantic divisions outlined above.

V. Annotated Translation of the Offerings Chapter of the *Wen xuan* 《文選·祭文》<sup>37</sup>

V.a. “Offering at an Ancient Burial Mound” 〈祭古冢文〉 by Xie Huilian 謝惠連

While digging a moat north of the city wall of the Eastern Prefectural Capital,<sup>38</sup> at a depth of more than one *zhang* (ten feet),<sup>39</sup> an ancient burial mound was discovered. Above, there was no border; neither bricks nor tiles had been used in the construction of the tomb. The outer coffin was made of wood; inside there were two inner coffins, straight and square; at both ends of the coffins there were no protrusions.<sup>40</sup> Within, there were several tens of funerary objects made of wood, bronze and lacquerware. The forms of these were quite odd and not completely recognizable. There were humanoid figurines made of carved wood, three *chi* (feet) in length, approximately twenty or more. Immediately upon opening the outer coffin and viewing the figurines, all were found to be in the forms of people. When the objects were moved, the figurines broke at first touch and crumbled into dust. Upon the lids of the inner coffins were more than one hundred five-*zhu*<sup>41</sup> coins. In the water were sections of sugarcane, plum pits and melon seeds; these were floating on the surface and had not decayed greatly. As no inscription had been preserved, it was impossible to know the period of the burial. The Chancellor<sup>42</sup> commanded the moat-builders to move the burial site to the Eastern ridge and perform offerings of young pigs and wine. Since the name and provenance of the tomb occupant was unknown, he was given the ersatz courtesy name “Lord of the Dark Emptiness”.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> The source text for this translation comes from the 2007 edition of the *Wen xuan* 《文選》 published by the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House (*Shanghai guji chubanshe* 上海古籍出版社). Variations found in other editions of the text are discussed in the footnotes.

<sup>38</sup> The Eastern Prefectural Capital (*dong fu* 東府) of the Liu Song dynasty was the seat of the Imperial Chancellor (*cheng xiang* 丞相), located in modern day Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang 浙江 province, the capital of the ancient state of Yue 越.

<sup>39</sup> One *zhang* 丈 is roughly equal to 3.3 meters, or 10 feet.

<sup>40</sup> A *he* 和 (also called a *guanti* 棺題) is a protrusion on a coffin.

<sup>41</sup> A *zhu* 銖 was originally a unit of weight used for grain, 1/24 of a tael (*liang* 兩), roughly equivalent to forty grams. (Silver was used to give the common standard for the weight of a tael at the time; in the modern era, the metric equivalent of a *zhu* is 50 grams). Beginning in the Han dynasty, *zhu* was also commonly used as an appellation for a unit of five *zhu*, described as a *wu zhu qian* 五銖錢 in the text.

<sup>42</sup> *Gong* 公, usually translated “Duke”, here refers to the person in charge of the city (and thus the building of the city wall and moat), the Imperial Chancellor.

<sup>43</sup> *Ming mo* 冥漠, which means “dark desert” or “desert of the netherworld”, is an appellation for the realm of complete emptiness. By the Tang 唐, this phrase was used to refer to death or the dead.

In the *yuanjia* period,<sup>44</sup> year seven (430 C.E.), ninth month, fourteenth day, the minister of civil affairs and prefectural vice-governor commanded the scribes and controllers, recordkeepers of city affairs, supervisor of the Zhang River and neighborhood marquis Zhu Lin to all prepare a sacrifice of a young pig and unstrained wine and fully offer respect to the spirit of the deceased Lord of the Dark Emptiness:<sup>45</sup>

東府掘城北塹，入丈餘，得古冢。上無封域，不用塼甃。以木為槨，中有二棺，正方，兩頭無和。明器之屬，材瓦銅漆，有數十種，多異形，不可盡識。刻木為人，長三尺，可有二十餘頭。初開見，悉是人形，以物根撥之，應手灰滅。棺上有五銖錢百餘枚，水中有甘蔗節及梅李核瓜瓣，皆浮出不甚爛壞。銘誌不存，世代不可得而知也。公命城者改埋於東岡，祭之以豚酒。既不知其名字遠近，故假為之號曰冥漠君云爾。

元嘉七年九月十四日，司徒御屬領直兵令史、統作城錄事、臨漳令亭侯朱林，具豚醪之祭，敬薦冥漠君之靈：

忝摠徒旅，板築是司。

“I commanded the groups of workers,  
To construct the walls and moat was the charge.

窮泉為塹，聚壤成基。

Reaching all the way to the springs<sup>46</sup> we constructed the city moat,  
We piled up the soil to construct the foundation.

一槨既啟，雙棺在茲。

A single outer coffin was opened,  
A pair of inner coffins lay within it.

捨畚悽愴，縱鍤漣而。

Abandoning their baskets in sorrow,  
The workers laid down their spades tearfully.

---

<sup>44</sup> The *yuanjia* 元嘉 period refers to the reign period from 424 to 453 C.E. within the reign of Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 424-453) of the Liu-Song 劉宋 dynasty.

<sup>45</sup> As discussed in detail above, the main section of each text is composed of terse tetrasyllabic phrases in predominantly octasyllabic rhyming patterns. I have not attempted to incorporate the rhyme scheme into the translation, as my current goal is to elucidate the meanings and eloquent language of the original rather than the cadence.

<sup>46</sup> *Qiongquan* 窮泉 here is an eloquent reference to the center of the tomb. See the *Wen xuan* poem “Pan Mountain” 〈潘岳〉, where Lü Yanji’s 呂延濟 commentary to the line “委蘭房兮繁華，襲窮泉兮朽壤” reads: “窮泉，墓中也。”

芻靈已毀，塗車既摧。	The straw figurines <sup>47</sup> were already ruined, The clay chariots <sup>48</sup> were also destroyed.
几筵糜腐，俎豆傾低。	The tables had rotted and decayed, The sacrificial vessels had been upended.
盤或梅李，盎或醢醢。	In <i>pan</i> -basins there were plums and pears, <sup>49</sup> In <i>ang</i> -vases there were meat-sauces and vinegars.
蔗傳餘節，瓜表遺犀。	Of the sugarcane, a few sections remained, Of the melons, the seeds were left.
追惟夫子，生自何代？	We think back upon this man; In what era did he live?
曜質幾年？潛靈幾載？	For how many years was he bright and substantial? <sup>50</sup> How long has his spirit been submerged? <sup>51</sup>
為壽為夭？寧顯寧晦？	Did he live long or die young? Did he lead a life of glory or of obscurity?
銘誌湮滅，姓字不傳。	The inscriptions were destroyed; No surname or given name was passed down (to us).
今誰子後？曩誰子先？	Today, who are his descendants? In ancient times, who were his ancestors?
功名美惡，如何蔑然？	Were his deeds and reputation good or evil? Why is there silence? <sup>52</sup>
百堵皆作，十仞斯齊。	One hundred sections of the wall have been erected, Each ten <i>ren</i> (eighty feet) <sup>53</sup> in equal length.

<sup>47</sup> *Chuling* 芻靈 are small straw figurines of people and horses, and *tuche* 塗車 are clay or mud models of chariots, both commonly found in ancient Chinese tombs. As the second “Tan gong” 檀弓下 chapter of the *Records of Rituals* 《禮記》 states: “Clay chariots and straw figurines have existed since ancient times; they are the bright vessels of the Way.” “塗車芻靈，自古有之，明器之道也。” Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 provides a bit more description in his commentary to the line: “Straw figurines are bundles of straw made into people and horses; we call them ‘numens’, they are a type of spirit.” “芻靈，束茅為人馬，謂之靈者，神之類。”

<sup>48</sup> See the previous footnote.

<sup>49</sup> *Mei* 梅 and *li* 李 are both commonly translated as “plum” (or “prune” when dried), though they technically refer to two separate species of plum, *prunus mume* and *prunus salicina*, respectively.

<sup>50</sup> This line is essentially asking, “How long was his life?”

<sup>51</sup> Similar to the preceding line, this is simply an eloquent way of saying, “How long has he been dead?”

<sup>52</sup> *Mie* (also pronounced *mo*) 蔑 here is a loan for *mo* 默, “silence”.

墉不可轉，塹不可迴。	The city wall cannot be turned, the moat cannot be rotated. <sup>54</sup>
黃腸既毀，便房已頹。	The yellow outer coffin <sup>55</sup> has been destroyed, the antechamber <sup>56</sup> is ruined.
循題興念，撫俑增哀。	Feeling the outer coffin lid aroused my thoughts, Stroking the effigies increased my sorrow.
射聲垂仁，廣漢流渥。	“The Shooter by Sound” showed compassion, The “Wide Han” sent down flowing and moistening kindness. <sup>57</sup>
祠骸府阿，掩骼城曲。	We prayed to the skeleton next to the government office, We covered the remains in the crook of the wall.
仰羨古風，為君改卜。	Looking up and admiring the ancient airs, We divined about the change on behalf of the lord.
輪移北隍，窆窆東麓。	We moved them to the northern rampart, And entombed them <sup>58</sup> at the eastern foot of the mountain.
壙即新營，棺仍舊木。	Though the grave-pit is newly erected, The coffins are still of old wood.

<sup>53</sup> A *ren* 仞 is an archaic Chinese unit of length used for walls, roughly equal to eight feet long.

<sup>54</sup> These lines are indicating that the placement of the wall and moat could not be changed to avoid moving the tomb. *Hui* 迴 literally means “to make a full circle”, so one might be tempted to translate these lines: “The wall cannot be turned, (or else) the moat could not make a full circle.” However, as *hui* here is functioning essentially as a synonym to *zhuan* 轉 “turned” in the above line, and to indicate the parallel grammatical structure, I have chosen to translate the term as “rotated”.

<sup>55</sup> *Huang chang* 黃腸 literally means “yellow intestine”. As the outer coffin was traditionally made of yellow pine; this is a standard appellation for the outer coffin.

<sup>56</sup> In tomb architecture, the *pianfang* 便房 is the “receiving room”, an antechamber where offerings for the tomb occupant would be placed.

<sup>57</sup> The “Shooter by Sound” (*she sheng* 射聲, short for “Shooter by Sound Field Officer” *she sheng xiao wei* 射聲校尉) and “Wide Han” (*guang han* 廣漢) both refer to official titles; according to Charles Hucker, the “Shooter by Sound” was a Han-period reference to “an archer so skilled he could stalk and shoot his prey in the dark of night, relying only on sounds to guide him.” In the Tang, this became the appellation for members of the Metropolitan Guards. The *Book of Han* gives the following description: “The ‘Shooter by Sound’ Field Officer is in charge of the ‘Shooter by Sound’ soldiers awaiting appointment.” “射聲校尉掌待詔射聲士。” See the *Book of Han*, 卷 19. The “Wide Han” refers to the *guang han tai shou* 廣漢太守, the Prefecture Chief for the Han River area. An anecdote from the *Book of Han* reads, “They assembled in Yizhou where the non-Han tribes had been violating the law and the areas of Ba and Shu were quite troubled. The superiors then acknowledged the East of the Yellow River commander Zhao Hu, Prefecture Chief for the Han River area, who punished them under military law.” “會益州蠻夷犯法，巴蜀頗不安，上乃拜河東都尉趙護為廣漢太守，以軍法從事。” See the *Book of Han*, 卷 77.

<sup>58</sup> Literally, *zhunxi* 窆窆 means the “buried for the long night”; Du Yu’s commentary to the “Duke Xiang 13<sup>th</sup> Year” chapter of the *Zuozhuan* 《左傳·襄公十三年》 explains the term: “‘To bury’ (*zhun* 窆) is ‘deep’ (*hou* 厚); ‘grave’ (*xi* 窆) is ‘night’ (*ye* 夜). ‘Deep night’ means ‘long night’. ‘Spring and Autumn’ means ‘sacrificial rites’; the ‘long night’ means ‘to bury’.” “窆，厚也；窆，夜也。厚夜猶長夜。春秋謂祭祀，長夜謂葬埋。” See SKQS 《春秋左傳注疏》卷 32 頁 6B.

合葬非古，周公所存。

Joint burials<sup>59</sup> are not of antiquity,  
The Duke of Zhou initiated the practice.

敬遵昔義，還祔雙魂。

We respect and venerate the rules of propriety of old,  
And so entombed the spirits as a pair.

酒以兩壺，牲以特豚。

For the wine, two pots were used,  
For the sacrifice, a specially-prepared young pig.

幽靈髣髴，歆我犧樽。

A dark spirit seemed to appear,  
And enjoy our sacrificial offerings.

嗚呼哀哉！

*Wu-hu*, great is our grief!”<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> A “joint burial” (*hezang* 合葬) was usually of husband and wife together.

<sup>60</sup> Commonly featured in Dirges and Offerings, the *locus classicus* for the expression “*wu-hu ai zai* 嗚呼哀哉” is in a eulogy for Kong Qiu 孔丘 from the “Duke Ai 16<sup>th</sup> Year” chapter of the *Zuo zhuan*; see section III above. James Legge translated this phrase “Woe is me! Alas!” Similarly, in *Mathews’ Chinese-English Dictionary*, “*wu-hu* 嗚呼” is defined as “Alas! Alack!” and “*ai zai* 哀哉” as “Alas!”, which would seem to correspond well with the English idiom “Alas and alack!”. However, since “*wu-hu*” is a primarily phonetic compound representing the sound of wailing (or grief), in order to keep a bit of the flavor of the original, in these passages I have chosen to keep it in phonetic transcription. See the discussion in the introduction and on the genre of the Lament in section II.

V.b. “Offering for Qu Yuan” 〈祭屈原文〉 by Yan Yannian 顏延年

It was on a certain day of a certain month in the fifth year of the Liu-Song dynasty (425 C.E.) that Zhang Shao, Prefectural Governor of Wu prefecture in Xiang province,<sup>61</sup> reverentially accepted the Emperor’s command to take up a position in the former state of Chu. He visited the abyss of the poem “Embracing the Sand”<sup>62</sup> and attained the water’s edge where Qu Yuan “discarded the jade girdle-pendant”.<sup>63</sup> He stopped at the depths of the Luo River,<sup>64</sup> and tethered his boat on the shore of the Mi River. He thereupon dispatched the Civil Affairs officials<sup>65</sup> and certain subofficials respectfully to make an offering to the spirit of Lord Qu, the former Grand Master of the Three Gates<sup>66</sup> of Chu:

惟有宋五年月日，湘州刺史吳郡張邵，恭承帝命，建旗舊楚。訪懷沙之淵，得捐珮之浦。弭節羅潭，艤舟汨渚。乃遣戶曹掾某，敬祭故楚三閭大夫屈君之靈：

蘭薰而摧，玉纁則折。	“Orchids are fragrant, yet easily destroyed; When jades are intricately crafted and delicate, then they break.
物忌堅芳，人諱明潔。	Things avoid the characteristics of hardness and fragrance, People elude brightness and purity.
曰若先生，逢辰之缺。	It is as if this elder Encountered a time of shortcomings.
溫風怠時，飛霜急節。	Warm breezes were late in coming, The flying frost came quickly.

<sup>61</sup> Xiang 湘 province is on the Xiang River 湘江 in modern-day Hunan 湖南.

<sup>62</sup> The abyss (or “deep pool”, *yuán* 淵) referred to here is the spot where Qu Yuan committed suicide by throwing himself into the river. The poem “Embracing the Sand” 〈懷沙〉 from the “Nine Declarations” 〈九章〉 section of the *Chu ci* 《楚辭》 describes the spot in great detail.

<sup>63</sup> The poem “Lord of the Xiang (River)” 〈湘君〉 from the “Nine Songs” 〈九歌〉 section of the *Chu ci* describes how the poet threw his jade ring (*jue* 玦) and girdle-pendant into the river and edge of the pool (*pu* 浦) respectively: “I throw my thumb-ring into the river, Leave my girdle-gem in the pool of the Li.” “捐余玦兮江中，遺余佩兮醴浦。”

<sup>64</sup> The term *mi jie* 弭節 is also a reference from the poem “Lord of the Xiang (River)”: “In the morning I gallop beside the river, And stop at dusk in the northern island.” “鼃騁驚兮江臯，夕弭節兮北渚。”

<sup>65</sup> One of the duties of the Civil Affairs Section (*hucao* 戶曹) was to be in charge of religious sacrifices and offerings.

<sup>66</sup> “Grand Master of the Three Gates” (*sanlü dafu* 三閭大夫) was Qu Yuan’s official position in the state of Chu 楚. The “three gates” refer to the three clans of Chu, the Zhao 昭, Qu 屈 and Jing 景.

羸半遘紛，昭懷不端；	Ying <sup>67</sup> and Mi <sup>68</sup> repeatedly confronted each other, Zhao <sup>69</sup> and Huai <sup>70</sup> were not upright.
謀折儀尚，貞蔑椒蘭。	Qu's plans were broken by Yi and Shang, <sup>71</sup> The loyal were slandered by Jiao and Lan. <sup>72</sup>
身絕郢闕，迹遍湘干。	After he himself was cut off from the royal palace, <sup>73</sup> His tracks covered the banks of the Xiang River.
比物荃蓀，連類龍鸞。	He compared things to fragrant herbs, <sup>74</sup> And joined dragons and wondrous birds.
聲溢金石，志華日月。	His reputation flowed out from metal and stone, <sup>75</sup> His ambition gave flower to the sun and moon.
如彼樹芳，實穎實發。	Like the perfume of that tree, Truly unique, truly it spread. <sup>76</sup>
望汨心歛，瞻羅思越。	Looking out upon the Mi River, his heart sighed, Viewing the Luo River, he wished to cross.
藉用可塵，昭忠難闕。	For his mat, to use the dust was acceptable, But radiant loyalty would be hard to lack. <sup>77</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Ying 羸 was the surname of the rulers of Qin 秦 and is thus a reference to the state of Qin.

<sup>68</sup> Mi 半 was the surname of the rulers of Chu and is, similarly to the above note, a reference to the state of Chu.

<sup>69</sup> Zhao 昭 refers to King Zhao of Qin 秦昭王, who reigned from 306-251 B.C.E.

<sup>70</sup> Huai 懷 refers to King Huai of Chu 楚懷王, who reigned from 328-299 B.C.E.

<sup>71</sup> “Yi and Shang” 儀尚 refers to Zhang Yi 張儀 and Jin Shang 靳尚. Both contemporaries of Qu Yuan, Zhang Yi was a high-ranking official who supported Qin, and Jin Shang was a Grand Master (*dafu* 大夫) of the state of Chu.

<sup>72</sup> Jiao 椒 refers to Zi Jiao 子椒 and Lan 蘭 refers to Zi Lan 子蘭, both of whom were officials under King Huai 懷王 of Chu.

<sup>73</sup> Ying 郢 was the capital city of the state of Chu. The “watchtowers of Ying” (*ying que* 郢闕) is thus a reference to the royal palace of the king of Chu.

<sup>74</sup> While “fragrant herbs” is the literally meaning of *quan sun* 荃蓀, the term is also a metaphor for “people of good character”.

<sup>75</sup> Literally, *jin shi* 金石 refers to “gold (or metal) and precious stones”, thus indicating the solidity of metal and the refinement and esteem of treasured precious stones.

<sup>76</sup> This line comes from the poem “Birth to the People” 〈生民〉 (Mao 毛 245) in the *Book of Odes* 《詩經》 which reads: “實方實苞、實種實稂、實發實秀、實堅實好、實穎實粟。” In his translation, Arthur Waley used “it sprouted” for “*shi fa* 實發” and “it nodded” for “*shi ying* 實穎”, but in this case I have chosen to use the apparent meaning of the terms in the current context.

<sup>77</sup> This line has two graphs which it must be noted could be read two ways: *zhao* 昭 could either be “clear” or the name of the King of Qin; *que* 闕 can mean “to lack” (as here when used with *nan* 難, “difficult” or “difficulties”), but also “faults” or “palace” (literally, the watchtowers thereof). I have chosen the broader translation, but these other connotations would perhaps have been understood by the audience at the time.

V.c. “Offering for (Grand Minister of) Shining Fortune Yan (Yannian)”<sup>78</sup> 〈祭顏光祿文〉  
by Wang Sengda 王僧達<sup>79</sup>

It was in the *xiaojian* period,<sup>80</sup> third year (456 C.E.), on the nineteenth day (calendrical day *xinwei*) of the ninth month, with the new moon on calendrical day *guichou*, Lord Wang, with mountain herbs and country wine, respectfully made an offering to the spirit of Lord Yan:

維宋孝建三年。九月癸丑朔十九日辛未，王君以山羞野酌，敬祭顏君之靈：

嗚呼哀哉！

“*Wu-hu*, great is our grief!

夫德以道樹，禮以仁清。

Virtue is planted by the Way,  
Ritual is clarified by humaneness.

惟君之懿，早歲飛聲。

I think upon the extraordinary beauty and virtue of this Lord,  
In his early years a flying reputation.

義窮機象，文蔽班楊。

His intellect exhausted the tenets of the *Book of Changes*,<sup>81</sup>  
His literary works overshadowed Ban and Yang.<sup>82</sup>

性倬剛潔，志度淵英。

His nature stood up firm and pure,  
His will plumbed the deep and outstanding.

登朝光國，實宋之華。

He ascended to the court to bring glory to the state,  
Truly, he was the flower of the Song.

才通漢魏，譽浹龜沙。

His talents penetrated Han and Wei,  
His fame traversed the sands of Kucha.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Charles Hucker gives the Han-period official position *guang lu da fu* 光祿大夫 as “Grand Master for Splendid Happiness”, but I prefer a slightly more literal rendering of the term.

<sup>79</sup> There are two prior translations of this text into western languages: Erwin von Zach, in *Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen Hsüan*, p.1042-43, and Alan J. Berkowitz, “The Last Piece in the Wen Xuan, Wang Sengda’s ‘Offering for Imperial Household Grandee Yan’”, in *Early Medieval China* 10-11, p.177-201.

<sup>80</sup> The *xiaojian* 孝建 period refers to the period from 453 to 456 C.E. during the reign of August Emperor Xiao Wu 孝武皇帝 (r. 453-464) of the Liu-Song dynasty.

<sup>81</sup> The term *tuan* 象 refers to the primary subcommentary to the *Book of Changes* 《易經》, here most likely referring to a thorough understanding of the entire work.

<sup>82</sup> Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 C.E.) and Yang Xiong 楊(揚)雄 (53 B.C.E.-18 C.E.) were perhaps the two most renowned writers of the Han dynasty.

服爵帝典，棲志雲阿。	He wore the rank in accord with the imperial regulations, But his ambitions roosted above the clouds.
清交素友，比景共波。	His purity in relationships and friendships, Can be compared to the sun shining on endless waves.
氣高叔夜，嚴方仲舉。	His aether rose higher than Shu Ye, <sup>84</sup> In strictness <sup>85</sup> he was more proper than Zhong Ju. <sup>86</sup>
逸翮獨翔，孤風絕侶。	Spreading his wings, alone he soared to such a great height in the air, <sup>87</sup> Solitary in his fame, cut off from all companions. <sup>88</sup>
流連酒德，嘯歌琴緒。	When he indulged in the virtues of wine, He would sing forth like a zither.
遊顧移年，契闊燕處。	We traveled and moved through the years, Long separated from our homes.
春風首時，爰談爰賦。	When Spring breezes had begun, We conversed, we composed poetry.
秋露未凝，歸神太素。	When Autumn dew had not yet formed, His spirit returned to its original form.
明發晨駕，瞻廬望路。	In the light of the early morning I drove out, I looked upon his hut, gazed upon his lane.
心悽目泫，情條雲互。	My heart sorrowing and eyes tearing up, My emotions like clouds passing over each other.
涼陰掩軒，娥月寢耀。	Cold fog shrouds his rooms, E's moon <sup>89</sup> hides her radiance.

<sup>83</sup> *Qiuci* 龜茲 (Kucha) was an important Tocharian town on the northern rim of the Taklamakan Desert in the Han-Tang periods.

<sup>84</sup> Shu Ye 叔夜 was the courtesy name (*zi* 字) of Ji Kang 嵇康 (223-263 C.E.), a famous scholar and composer of the Three Kingdoms period.

<sup>85</sup> Yan 嚴, usually meaning “strict” or “severe”, here refers to his strict adherence to the rules of propriety and correct behavior.

<sup>86</sup> Zhong Ju 仲舉 was the courtesy name (*zi* 字) of the Eastern Han official Chen Fan 陳蕃 (?-168 C.E.), renowned for his honesty and strict adherence to principle.

<sup>87</sup> This line directly echoes the line from Guo Pu's 郭璞 well-known “Poem of Roaming to Transcendence” *You xian shi* 〈遊仙詩〉 (as translated by Paul Kroll; J.D. Frodsham and Ch'eng Hsi translated the title “Poem of Wandering Immortals”): “I spread my wings, desiring to mount the clouds” “逸翮思拂霄”.

<sup>88</sup> In other words, his companions were unable to reach such a height.

<sup>89</sup> *E yue* 娥月, while a known appellation for moonlight, primarily evokes Chang E 嫦娥, the “princess in the moon” according to Chinese mythology, and her beauty and luminescence.

微燈動光，几牘誰炤？	Faintly, the lamplight flickered, Who was illuminating his desk and books?
衾衽長塵，絲竹罷調。	His quilt and sleeping mat lie covered with dust, His strings and bamboo instruments have ceased to sound their tones.
擘悲蘭宇，屑涕松嶠。	I was struck with sadness under his orchid eaves, My tears stream upon the grave mound.
古來共盡，牛山有淚。	Since ancient times, all people die, Thereby did Duke Jing shed tears on Ox Mountain. <sup>90</sup>
非獨昊天，殲我明懿。	It is not only august Heaven, Who annihilates our brilliant and virtuous men.
以此忍哀，敬陳奠饋。	Hence we endure our grief, Respectfully we present our offerings.
申酌長懷，顧望歔歔。	As I pour the wine, great is my longing, I look back and gaze into the distance as I weep and sigh:
嗚呼哀哉！	<i>Wu-hu</i> , great is our grief!"

---

<sup>90</sup> This is a reference to a famous anecdote wherein Duke Jing 景公 travels to Ox Mountain 牛山 with Yan Zi 晏子 and sheds tears on while reflecting upon death. See the *Yanzi Chunqiu* 《晏子春秋·內篇·諫篇》.

## VI. Selected Bibliography

- Baxter, William H., *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, New York : Mouton de Gruyter, 1992, 922 p.
- Berkowitz, Alan J., “The Last Piece in the Wen Xuan, Wang Sengda’s ‘Offering for Imperial Household Grandee Yan’”, in *Early Medieval China*, vol.10-11, p.177-201.
- Chen Pengnian 陳彭年, ed., *Xiao zheng Song ben Guangyun* 《校正宋本廣韻》, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan gufen youxian gongsi 藝文印書館股份有限公司, ©2004.
- Hucker, Charles, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, ©1985, 676 p.
- Knechtges, David R., *Wen xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, ©1982-1996, 3 vols.
- Liu Xie 劉勰, Shih, Vincent Yu-chung tr., *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* 《文心雕龍》, Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Co., ©1970, 409p.
- Qiu Dexiu 丘德修, ed., *Shang Zhou jinwen jicheng* 《商周金文集成》, digitized edition hosted by Academia Sinica 中央研究所: <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/>.
- Schuessler, Axel, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, Honolulu : University of Hawai'i Press, ©2007, 656 p.
- Shaughnessy, Edward L., *Sources of Western Zhou History*, Berkeley : University of California Press, ©1991, 333 p.
- Shih, Vincent Yu-chung, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, 1970
- Si ku quan shu* 《四庫全書》, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, ©1999.
- Waley, Arthur. *The Book of Songs*. New York: Grove Press, 1996.
- Wang Li 王力, “Gu hanyu tonglun” 〈古漢語通論〉 in *Gudai Hanyu* 《古代漢語》, Beijing:中華書局, p.1522-42.
- Xiao Tong 蕭統, ed., *Wen xuan* 《文選》, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban gufen youxian gongsi 上海古籍出版股份有限公司, ©2007, 6 vols.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Zhaoming wen xuan* 《昭明文選》, Beijing: Jing hua chu ban she 京華出版社, ©2000, 3 vols.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Zhao ming wen xuan yi zhu* 《昭明文选译注》, Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe 吉林文史出版社, ©1988-1994, 6 vols.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Wen xuan quan yi* 《文选全译》, Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe 贵州人民出版社, ©1994, 5 vols.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed., Obi Koichi and Hanabusa Hideki, tr., *Monzen* 《文选》, Tokyo: Shueisha, ©1974-76, 7 vols.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed., von Zach, Erwin trans., *Die chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen hsüan von Erwin von Zach*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, ©1958, 2 vols.

Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuo wen jie zi* 《說文解字》, 北京: 中華書局, ©1998, 390p.