

大中华文库

汉英对照

LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS

Chinese-English

文心雕龙

Dragon-Carving and the Literary Mind

I



(南朝)

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外语教学与研究出版社

Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press

ACK84/07



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总 序

杨牧之

《大中华文库》终于出版了。我们为之高兴，为之鼓舞，但也倍感压力。

当此之际，我们愿将郁积在我们心底的话，向读者倾诉。

—

中华民族有着悠久的历史 and 灿烂的文化，系统、准确地将中华民族的文化经典翻译成外文，编辑出版，介绍给全世界，是几代中国人的愿望。早在几十年前，西方一位学者翻译《红楼梦》，书名译成《一个红楼上的梦》，将林黛玉译为“黑色的玉”。我们一方面对国外学者将中国的名著介绍到世界上去表示由衷的感谢，一方面为祖国的名著还不被完全认识，甚而受到曲解，而感到深深的遗憾。还有西方学者翻译《金瓶梅》，专门摘选其中自然主义描述最为突出的篇章加以译介。一时间，西方学者好像发现了奇迹，掀起了《金瓶梅》热，说中国是“性开放的源头”，公开地在报刊上鼓吹中国要“发扬开放之传统”。还有许多资深、友善的汉学家译介中国古代的哲学著作，在把中华民族文化介绍给全世界的工作方面作出了重大贡献，但或囿于理解有误，或缘于对中国文字认识的局限，质量上乘的并不多，常常是隔靴搔痒，说不到点子上。大哲学家黑格尔曾经说过：中国有最完

备的国史。但他认为中国古代没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前状态。这么了不起的哲学家竟然作出这样大失水准的评论，何其不幸。正如任何哲学家都要受时间、地点、条件的制约一样，黑格尔也离不开这一规律。当时他也只能从上述水平的汉学家译过去的文字去分析、理解，所以，黑格尔先生对中国古代社会的认识水平是什么状态，也就不难想象了。

中国离不开世界，世界也缺少不了中国。中国文化摄取外域的新成分，丰富了自己，又以自己的新成就输送给别人，贡献于世界。从公元5世纪开始到公元15世纪，大约有一千年，中国走在世界的前列。在这一千多年的时间里，她的光辉照耀全世界。人类要前进，怎么能不全面认识中国，怎么能不认真研究中国的历史呢？

二

中华民族是伟大的，曾经辉煌过，蓝天、白云、阳光灿烂，和平而兴旺；也有过黑暗的、想起来就让人战栗的日子，但中华民族从来是充满理想，不断追求，不断学习，渴望和平与友谊的。

中国古代伟大的思想家孔子曾经说过：“三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之。”孔子的话就是要人们向别人学习。这段话正是概括了整个中华民族与人交往的原则。人与人之间交往如此，在与周边的国家交往中也是如此。

秦始皇第一个统一了中国，可惜在位只有十几年，来不及作更多的事情。汉朝继秦而继续强大，便开始走出去，了



解自己周边的世界。公元前 138 年，汉武帝派张骞出使西域。他带着一万头牛羊，总值一万万钱的金帛货物，作为礼物，开始西行，最远到过“安息”（即波斯）。公元前 36 年，班超又率 36 人出使西域。36 个人按今天的话说，也只有一个排，显然是为了拜访未曾见过面的邻居，是去交朋友。到了西域，班超派遣甘英作为使者继续西行，往更远处的大秦国（即罗马）去访问，“乃抵条支而历安息，临西海以望大秦”（《后汉书·西域传》）。“条支”在“安息”以西，即今天的伊拉克、叙利亚一带，“西海”应是今天的地中海。也就是说甘英已经到达地中海边上，与罗马帝国隔海相望，“临大海欲渡”，却被人劝阻而未成行，这在历史上留下了遗憾。可以想见班超、甘英沟通友谊的无比勇气和强烈愿望。接下来是唐代的玄奘，历经千难万险，到“西天”印度取经，带回了南亚国家的古老文化。归国后，他把带回的佛教经典组织人翻译，到后来很多经典印度失传了，但中国却保存完好，以至于今天，没有玄奘的《大唐西域记》，印度人很难编写印度古代史。明代郑和“七下西洋”，把中华文化传到东南亚一带。鸦片战争以后，一代又一代先进的中国人，为了振兴中华，又前赴后继，向西方国家学习先进的科学思想和文明成果。这中间有我们的领导人朱德、周恩来、邓小平；有许许多多大科学家、文学家、艺术家，如郭沫若、李四光、钱学森、冼星海、徐悲鸿等。他们的追求、奋斗，他们的博大胸怀，兼收并蓄的精神，为人类社会增添了光彩。

中国文化的形成和发展过程，就是一个以众为师，以各国人民为师，不断学习和创造的过程。中华民族曾经向周边国家和民族学习过许多东西，假如没有这些学习，中华民族决不可能创造出昔日的辉煌。回顾历史，我们怎么能够不对

伟大的古埃及文明、古希腊文明、古印度文明满怀深深的感激?怎么能够不对伟大的欧洲文明、非洲文明、美洲文明、澳洲文明,以及中国周围的亚洲文明充满温情与敬意?

中华民族为人类社会曾作出过独特的贡献。在15世纪以前,中国的科学技术一直处于世界遥遥领先的地位。英国科学家李约瑟说:“中国在公元3世纪到13世纪之间,保持着一个西方所望尘莫及的科学知识水平。”美国耶鲁大学教授、《大国的兴衰》的作者保罗·肯尼迪坦言:“在近代以前时期的所有文明中,没有一个国家的文明比中国更发达,更先进。”

世界各国的有识之士千里迢迢来中国观光、学习。在这个过程中,中国唐朝的长安城渐渐发展成为国际大都市。西方的波斯、东罗马,东亚的高丽、新罗、百济、南天竺、北天竺,频繁前来。外国的王侯、留学生,在长安供职的外国官员,商贾、乐工和舞士,总有几十个国家,几万人之多。日本派出“遣唐使”更是一批接一批。传为美谈的日本人阿部仲麻吕(晁衡)在长安留学的故事,很能说明外国人与中国的交往。晁衡学成仕于唐朝,前后历时五十余年。晁衡与中国的知识分子结下了深厚的友情。他归国时,传说在海中遇难身亡。大诗人李白作诗哭悼:“日本晁卿辞帝都,征帆一片远蓬壶。明月不归沉碧海,白云愁色满苍梧。”晁衡遇险是误传,但由此可见中外学者之间在中国长安交往的情谊。

后来,不断有外国人到中国来探寻秘密,所见所闻,常常让他们目瞪口呆。《希腊纪事》(希腊人波桑尼阿著)记载公元2世纪时,希腊人在中国的见闻。书中写道:“赛里斯人用小米和青芦喂一种类似蜘蛛的昆虫,喂到第五年,虫肚子胀裂开,便从里面取出丝来。”从这段对中国古代养蚕技术的

描述，可见当时欧洲人与中国人的差距。公元9世纪中叶，阿拉伯人来到中国。一位阿拉伯作家在他所著的《中国印度见闻录》中记载了曾旅居中国的阿拉伯商人的见闻：

——一天，一个外商去拜见驻守广州的中国官吏。会见时，外商总盯着官吏的胸部，官吏很奇怪，便问：“你好像总盯着我的胸，这是怎么回事？”那位外商回答说：“透过你穿的丝绸衣服，我隐约看到你胸口上长着一个黑痣，这是什么丝绸，我感到十分惊奇。”官吏听后，失声大笑，伸出胳膊，说：“请你数数吧，看我穿了几件衣服？”那商人数过，竟然穿了五件之多，黑痣正是透过这五层丝绸衣服显现出来的。外商惊得目瞪口呆，官吏说：“我穿的丝绸还不算是最好的，总督穿的要更精美。”

——书中关于茶(他们叫干草叶子)的记载，可见阿拉伯国家当时还没有喝茶的习惯。书中记述：“中国国王本人的收入主要靠盐税和泡开水喝的一种干草税。在各个城市里，这种干草叶售价都很高，中国人称这种草叶叫‘茶’，这种干草叶比苜蓿的叶子还多，也略比它香，稍有苦味，用开水冲喝，治百病。”

——他们对中国的医疗条件十分羡慕，书中记载道：“中国人医疗条件很好，穷人可以从国库中得到药费。”还说：“城市里，很多地方立一石碑，高10肘，上面刻有各种疾病和药物，写明某种病用某种药医治。”

——关于当时中国的京城，书中作了生动的描述：中国的京城很大，人口众多，一条宽阔的长街把全城分为两半，大街右边的东区，住着皇帝、宰相、禁军及皇家的总管、奴婢。在这个区域，沿街开凿了小河，流水潺潺；路旁，葱茏的树木整然有序，一幢幢宅邸鳞次栉比。大街左边的西区，

住着庶民和商人。这里有货栈和商店，每当清晨，人们可以看到，皇室的总管、宫廷的仆役，或骑马或步行，到这里来采购。

此后的史籍对西人来华的记载，渐渐多了起来。13世纪意大利旅行家马可·波罗，尽管有人对他是否真的到过中国持怀疑态度，但他留下一部记述元代事件的《马可·波罗游记》却是确凿无疑的。这部游记中的一些关于当时中国的描述使得西方人认为是“天方夜谭”。总之，从中西文化交流史来说，这以前的时期还是一个想象和臆测的时代，相互之间充满了好奇与幻想。

从16世纪末开始，由于航海技术的发展，东西方航路的开通，随着一批批传教士来华，中国与西方开始了直接的交流。沟通中西的使命在意大利传教士利玛窦那里有了充分的体现。利玛窦于1582年来华，1610年病逝于北京，在华20余年。除了传教以外，做了两件具有历史象征意义的事，一是1594年前后在韶州用拉丁文翻译《四书》，并作了注释；二是与明代学者徐光启合作，用中文翻译了《几何原本》。

西方传教士对《四书》等中国经典的粗略翻译，以及杜赫德的《中华帝国志》等书对中国的介绍，在西方读者的眼前展现了一个异域文明，在当时及稍后一段时期引起了一场“中国热”，许多西方大思想家的眼光都曾注目中国文化。有的推崇中华文明，如莱布尼兹、伏尔泰、魁奈等，有的对中华文明持批评态度，如孟德斯鸠、黑格尔等。莱布尼兹认识到中国文化的某些思想与他的观念相近，如周易的卦象与他发明的二进制相契合，对中国文化给予了热情的礼赞；黑格尔则从他整个哲学体系的推演出发，认为中国没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前的状态。但是，不论是推崇还



是批评，是吸纳还是排斥，中西文化的交流产生了巨大的影响。随着先进的中国科学技术的西传，特别是中国的造纸、火药、印刷术和指南针四大发明的问世，大大改变了世界的面貌。马克思说：“中国的火药把骑士阶层炸得粉碎，指南针打开了世界市场并建立了殖民地，而印刷术则变成了新教的工具，变成对精神发展创造必要前提的最强大的杠杆。”英国的哲学家培根说：中国的四大发明“改变了全世界的面貌和一切事物的状态”。

三

大千世界，潮起潮落。云散云聚，万象更新。中国古代产生了无数伟大科学家：祖冲之、李时珍、孙思邈、张衡、沈括、毕升……，产生了无数科技成果：《齐民要术》、《九章算术》、《伤寒杂病论》、《本草纲目》……，以及保存至今的世界奇迹：浑天仪、地动仪、都江堰、敦煌石窟、大运河、万里长城……。但从15世纪下半叶起，风水似乎从东方转到了西方，落后的欧洲只经过400年便成为世界瞩目的文明中心。英国的牛顿、波兰的哥白尼、德国的伦琴、法国的居里、德国的爱因斯坦、意大利的伽利略、俄国的门捷列夫、美国的费米和爱迪生……，光芒四射，令人敬仰。

中华民族开始思考了。潮起潮落究竟是什么原因？中国人发明的火药，传到欧洲，转眼之间反成为欧洲列强轰击中国大门的炮弹，又是因为什么？

鸦片战争终于催醒了中国人沉睡的迷梦，最先“睁眼看世界”的一代精英林则徐、魏源迈出了威武雄壮的一步。曾国藩、李鸿章搞起了洋务运动。中国的知识分子喊出“民主

与科学”的口号。中国是落后了，中国的志士仁人在苦苦探索。但落后中饱含着变革的动力，探索中孕育着崛起的希望。“向科学进军”，中华民族终于又迎来了科学的春天。

今天，世界毕竟来到了 21 世纪的门槛。分散隔绝的世界，逐渐变成联系为一体的世界。现在，全球一体化趋势日益明显，人类历史也就在愈来愈大的程度上成为全世界的历史。当今，任何一种文化的发展都离不开对其它优秀文化的汲取，都以其它优秀文化的发展为前提。在近现代，西方文化汲取中国文化，不仅是中国文化的传播，更是西方文化自身的创新和发展；正如中国文化对西方文化的汲取一样，既是西方文化在中国的传播，同时也是中国文化在近代的转型和发展。地球上所有的人类文化，都是我们共同的宝贵遗产。既然我们生活的各个大陆，在地球史上曾经是连成一气的“泛大陆”，或者说是一个完整的“地球村”，那么，我们同样可以在这个以知识和学习为特征的网络时代，走上相互学习、共同发展的大路，建设和开拓我们人类崭新的“地球村”。

西学仍在东渐，中学也将西传。各国人民的优秀文化正日益迅速地为中国文化所汲取，而无论西方和东方，也都需要从中国文化中汲取养分。正是基于这一认识，我们组织出版汉英对照版《大中华文库》，全面系统地翻译介绍中国传统文化典籍。我们试图通过《大中华文库》，向全世界展示，中华民族五千年的追求，五千年的梦想，正在新的历史时期重放光芒。中国人民就像火后的凤凰，万众一心，迎接新世纪文明的太阳。

1999 年 8 月



PREFACE TO THE *LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS*

Yang Muzhi

The publication of the *Library of Chinese Classics* is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us who have been involved in the production of this monumental work. At the same time, we feel a weighty sense of responsibility, and take this opportunity to explain to our readers the motivation for undertaking this cross-century task.

1

The Chinese nation has a long history and a glorious culture, and it has been the aspiration of several generations of Chinese scholars to translate, edit and publish the whole corpus of the Chinese literary classics so that the nation's greatest cultural achievements can be introduced to people all over the world. There have been many translations of the Chinese classics done by foreign scholars. A few dozen years ago, a Western scholar translated the title of *A Dream of Red Mansions* into "A Dream of Red Chambers" and Lin Daiyu, the heroine in the novel, into "Black Jade." But while their endeavours have been laudable, the results of their labours have been less than satisfactory. Lack of knowledge of Chinese culture and an inadequate grasp of the Chinese written language have led the translators into many errors. As a consequence, not only are Chinese classical writings widely misunderstood in the rest of the world, in some cases their content has actually been distorted. At one time, there was a "Jin Ping Mei craze" among Western scholars, who thought that they had uncovered a miraculous phenomenon, and published theories claiming that China was the "fountainhead of eroticism," and that a Chinese "tradition of permissiveness" was about to be laid bare. This distorted view came about due to the translators of the *Jin Ping Mei* (*Plum in the Golden Vase*) putting one-sided stress on the

raw elements in that novel, to the neglect of its overall literary value. Meanwhile, there have been many distinguished and well-intentioned Sinologists who have attempted to make the culture of the Chinese nation more widely known by translating works of ancient Chinese philosophy. However, the quality of such work, in many cases, is unsatisfactory, often missing the point entirely. The great philosopher Hegel considered that ancient China had no philosophy in the real sense of the word, being stuck in philosophical "prehistory." For such an eminent authority to make such a colossal error of judgment is truly regrettable. But, of course, Hegel was just as subject to the constraints of time, space and other objective conditions as anyone else, and since he had to rely for his knowledge of Chinese philosophy on inadequate translations it is not difficult to imagine why he went so far off the mark.

China cannot be separated from the rest of the world; and the rest of the world cannot ignore China. Throughout its history, Chinese civilization has enriched itself by absorbing new elements from the outside world, and in turn has contributed to the progress of world civilization as a whole by transmitting to other peoples its own cultural achievements. From the 5th to the 15th centuries, China marched in the front ranks of world civilization. If mankind wishes to advance, how can it afford to ignore China? How can it afford not to make a thoroughgoing study of its history?

2

Despite the ups and downs in their fortunes, the Chinese people have always been idealistic, and have never ceased to forge ahead and learn from others, eager to strengthen ties of peace and friendship.

The great ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius once said, "Wherever three persons come together, one of them will surely be able to teach me something. I will pick out his good points and emulate them; his bad points I will reform." Confucius meant by this that we should always be ready to learn from others. This maxim encapsulates the principle the Chinese people have always followed in their dealings with other peoples, not only on an individual basis but also at the level of state-to-state relations.

After generations of internecine strife, China was unified by Emperor



Qin Shi Huang (the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty) in 221 B.C. The Han Dynasty, which succeeded that of the short-lived Qin, waxed powerful, and for the first time brought China into contact with the outside world. In 138 B.C., Emperor Wu dispatched Zhang Qian to the western regions, i.e. Central Asia. Zhang, who traveled as far as what is now Iran, took with him as presents for the rulers he visited on the way 10,000 head of sheep and cattle, as well as gold and silks worth a fabulous amount. In 36 B.C., Ban Chao headed a 36-man legation to the western regions. These were missions of friendship to visit neighbours the Chinese people had never met before and to learn from them. Ban Chao sent Gan Ying to explore further toward the west. According to the "Western Regions Section" in the *Book of Later Han*, Gan Ying traveled across the territories of present-day Iraq and Syria, and reached the Mediterranean Sea, an expedition which brought him within the confines of the Roman Empire. Later, during the Tang Dynasty, the monk Xuan Zang made a journey fraught with danger to reach India and seek the knowledge of that land. Upon his return, he organized a team of scholars to translate the Buddhist scriptures, which he had brought back with him. As a result, many of these scriptural classics which were later lost in India have been preserved in China. In fact, it would have been difficult for the people of India to reconstruct their own ancient history if it had not been for Xuan Zang's *A Record of a Journey to the West in the Time of the Great Tang Dynasty*. In the Ming Dynasty, Zheng He transmitted Chinese culture to Southeast Asia during his seven voyages. Following the Opium Wars in the mid-19th century, progressive Chinese, generation after generation, went to study the advanced scientific thought and cultural achievements of the Western countries. Their aim was to revive the fortunes of their own country. Among them were people who were later to become leaders of China, including Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. In addition, there were people who were to become leading scientists, literary figures and artists, such as Guo Moruo, Li Siguang, Qian Xuesen, Xian Xinghai and Xu Beihong. Their spirit of ambition, their struggles and their breadth of vision were an inspiration not only to the Chinese people but to people all over the world.

Indeed, it is true that if the Chinese people had not learned many

things from the surrounding countries they would never have been able to produce the splendid achievements of former days. When we look back upon history, how can we not feel profoundly grateful for the legacies of the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Greece and India? How can we not feel fondness and respect for the cultures of Europe, Africa, America and Oceania?

The Chinese nation, in turn, has made unique contributions to the community of mankind. Prior to the 15th century, China led the world in science and technology. The British scientist Joseph Needham once said, "From the third century A.D. to the 13th century A.D. China was far ahead of the West in the level of its scientific knowledge." Paul Kennedy, of Yale University in the U.S., author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, said, "Of all the civilizations of the pre-modern period, none was as well-developed or as progressive as that of China."

Foreigners who came to China were often astonished at what they saw and heard. The Greek geographer Pausanias in the second century A.D. gave the first account in the West of the technique of silk production in China: "The Chinese feed a spider-like insect with millet and reeds. After five years the insect's stomach splits open, and silk is extracted therefrom." From this extract, we can see that the Europeans at that time did not know the art of silk manufacture. In the middle of the 9th century A.D., an Arabian writer includes the following anecdote in his *Account of China and India*:

"One day, an Arabian merchant called upon the military governor of Guangzhou. Throughout the meeting, the visitor could not keep his eyes off the governor's chest. Noticing this, the latter asked the Arab merchant what he was staring at. The merchant replied, 'Through the silk robe you are wearing, I can faintly see a black mole on your chest. Your robe must be made out of very fine silk indeed!' The governor burst out laughing, and holding out his sleeve invited the merchant to count how many garments he was wearing. The merchant did so, and discovered that the governor was actually wearing five silk robes, one on top of the other, and they were made of such fine material that a tiny mole could be seen through them all! Moreover, the governor explained that the robes he was wearing were not made of the finest silk at all; silk of the highest



grade was reserved for the garments worn by the provincial governor.”

The references to tea in this book (the author calls it “dried grass”) reveal that the custom of drinking tea was unknown in the Arab countries at that time: “The king of China’s revenue comes mainly from taxes on salt and the dry leaves of a kind of grass which is drunk after boiled water is poured on it. This dried grass is sold at a high price in every city in the country. The Chinese call it ‘cha.’ The bush is like alfalfa, except that it bears more leaves, which are also more fragrant than alfalfa. It has a slightly bitter taste, and when it is infused in boiling water it is said to have medicinal properties.”

Foreign visitors showed especial admiration for Chinese medicine. One wrote, “China has very good medical conditions. Poor people are given money to buy medicines by the government.”

In this period, when Chinese culture was in full bloom, scholars flocked from all over the world to China for sightseeing and for study. Chang’an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty was host to visitors from as far away as the Byzantine Empire, not to mention the neighboring countries of Asia. Chang’an, at that time the world’s greatest metropolis, was packed with thousands of foreign dignitaries, students, diplomats, merchants, artisans and entertainers. Japan especially sent contingent after contingent of envoys to the Tang court. Worthy of note are the accounts of life in Chang’an written by Abeno Nakamaro, a Japanese scholar who studied in China and had close friendships with ministers of the Tang court and many Chinese scholars in a period of over 50 years. The description throws light on the exchanges between Chinese and foreigners in this period. When Abeno was supposedly lost at sea on his way back home, the leading poet of the time, Li Bai, wrote a eulogy for him.

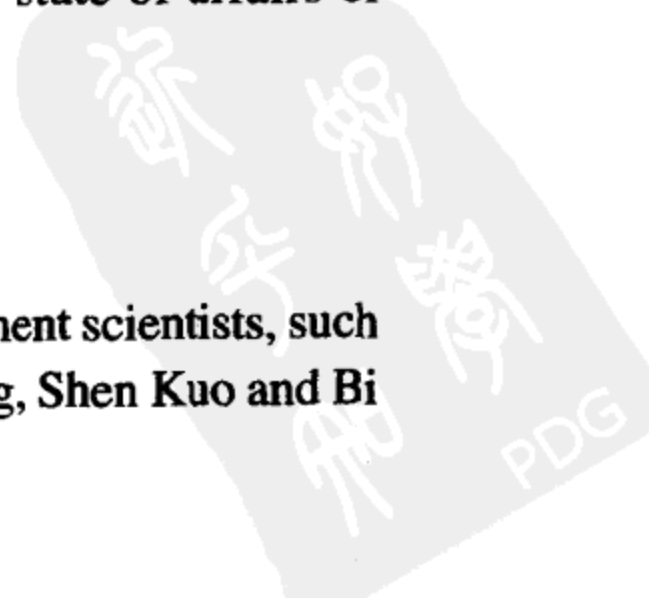
The following centuries saw a steady increase in the accounts of China written by Western visitors. The Italian Marco Polo described conditions in China during the Yuan Dynasty in his *Travels*. However, until advances in the science of navigation led to the opening of east-west shipping routes at the beginning of the 16th century Sino-Western cultural exchanges were coloured by fantasy and conjecture. Concrete progress was made when a contingent of religious missionaries, men well versed in Western science and technology, made their way to China, ushering in an era of

direct contacts between China and the West. The experience of this era was embodied in the career of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Arriving in China in 1582, Ricci died in Beijing in 1610. Apart from his missionary work, Ricci accomplished two historically symbolic tasks — one was the translation into Latin of the “Four Books,” together with annotations, in 1594; the other was the translation into Chinese of Euclid’s *Elements*.

The rough translations of the “Four Books” and other Chinese classical works by Western missionaries, and the publication of Père du Halde’s *Description Geographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l’Empire de la Chine* revealed an exotic culture to Western readers, and sparked a “China fever,” during which the eyes of many Western intellectuals were fixed on China. Some of these intellectuals, including Leibniz, held China in high esteem; others, such as Hegel, nursed a critical attitude toward Chinese culture. Leibniz considered that some aspects of Chinese thought were close to his own views, such as the philosophy of the *Book of Changes* and his own binary system. Hegel, on the other hand, as mentioned above, considered that China had developed no proper philosophy of its own. Nevertheless, no matter whether the reaction was one of admiration, criticism, acceptance or rejection, Sino-Western exchanges were of great significance. The transmission of advanced Chinese science and technology to the West, especially the Chinese inventions of paper-making, gunpowder, printing and the compass, greatly changed the face of the whole world. Karl Marx said, “Chinese gunpowder blew the feudal class of knights to smithereens; the compass opened up world markets and built colonies; and printing became an implement of Protestantism and the most powerful lever and necessary precondition for intellectual development and creation.” The English philosopher Roger Bacon said that China’s four great inventions had “changed the face of the whole world and the state of affairs of everything.”

3

Ancient China gave birth to a large number of eminent scientists, such as Zu Chongzhi, Li Shizhen, Sun Simiao, Zhang Heng, Shen Kuo and Bi





Sheng. They produced numerous treatises on scientific subjects, including *The Manual of Important Arts for the People's Welfare*, *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art*, *A Treatise on Febrile Diseases* and *Compendium of Materia Medica*. Their accomplishments included ones whose influence has been felt right down to modern times, such as the armillary sphere, seismograph, Dujiangyan water conservancy project, Dunhuang Grottoes, Grand Canal and Great Wall. But from the latter part of the 15th century, and for the next 400 years, Europe gradually became the cultural centre upon which the world's eyes were fixed. The world's most outstanding scientists then were England's Isaac Newton, Poland's Copernicus, France's Marie Curie, Germany's Rontgen and Einstein, Italy's Galileo, Russia's Mendeleev and America's Edison.

The Chinese people then began to think: What is the cause of the rise and fall of nations? Moreover, how did it happen that gunpowder, invented in China and transmitted to the West, in no time at all made Europe powerful enough to batter down the gates of China herself?

It took the Opium War to wake China from its reverie. The first generation to make the bold step of "turning our eyes once again to the rest of the world" was represented by Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang started the Westernization Movement, and later intellectuals raised the slogan of "Democracy and Science." Noble-minded patriots, realizing that China had fallen behind in the race for modernization, set out on a painful quest. But in backwardness lay the motivation for change, and the quest produced the embryo of a towering hope, and the Chinese people finally gathered under a banner proclaiming a "March Toward Science."

On the threshold of the 21st century, the world is moving in the direction of becoming an integrated entity. This trend is becoming clearer by the day. In fact, the history of the various peoples of the world is also becoming the history of mankind as a whole. Today, it is impossible for any nation's culture to develop without absorbing the excellent aspects of the cultures of other peoples. When Western culture absorbs aspects of Chinese culture, this is not just because it has come into contact with Chinese culture, but also because of the active creativity and development of Western culture itself; and vice versa. The various cultures of

the world's peoples are a precious heritage which we all share. Mankind no longer lives on different continents, but on one big continent, or in a "global village." And so, in this era characterized by an all-encompassing network of knowledge and information we should learn from each other and march in step along the highway of development to construct a brand-new "global village."

Western learning is still being transmitted to the East, and vice versa. China is accelerating its pace of absorption of the best parts of the cultures of other countries, and there is no doubt that both the West and the East need the nourishment of Chinese culture. Based on this recognition, we have edited and published the *Library of Chinese Classics* in a Chinese-English format as an introduction to the corpus of traditional Chinese culture in a comprehensive and systematic translation. Through this collection, our aim is to reveal to the world the aspirations and dreams of the Chinese people over the past 5,000 years and the splendour of the new historical era in China. Like a phoenix rising from the ashes, the Chinese people in unison are welcoming the cultural sunrise of the new century.

August 1999



前 言

刘勰所著《文心雕龙》，¹ 凡五十章，三万七千余字，是中国文学批评史上第一部鸿篇巨制。后世特别是清代以来，《文心雕龙》一直被奉为文学批评的经典之作。到今天，《文心雕龙》的研究著作已经十分繁多，现代汉语译本亦有多种，《文心雕龙》研究俨然成为“古典文学领域的显学”，² 甚至具备了一门相对独立的学科的地位，称“龙学”。

然而，《文心雕龙》并不是普通的文学批评之作，而是一部中国文化的典籍。刘勰在作品中阐述的文学观，蕴含着中国文化中的文学精神。对这一文学观的研究，在“龙学”中尚未受到足够重视。因此，本前言将用较大篇幅探讨刘勰的文学观及其所表达的中国文化精神。

刘勰的文学观，视文学为人生之根本，而人生又是宇宙法理之根本。这一观念，将文学的精神注入了中国文化。在当今世界，现代化进程中理性的陷阱已经昭然若揭。忧世的哲人，重新在文学与美学的人生态度中，寻找新的道德的人生境界。在这样的历史背景下，《文心雕龙》所阐述的文学精神，表现出深刻的现实意义，因为这种文学精神代表了一种生活方式。现代化的进程愈快，这种生活方式消失得也愈快，对这种文学精神的阐发也愈发迫切。这部《文心雕龙》译作，可以看作是对文学人生进行阐发的新尝试。

刘勰生平及作品

刘勰（约公元465-521）³，字彦和，祖籍东莞莒（今山东莒县），生

长于京口(今江苏镇江)⁴。刘勰是位卓有成就的儒学及佛学者,但在世时并没有什么显赫的社会地位或文学名声。据《梁书·刘勰传》记载,刘勰家境贫寒,年幼丧父,终生未娶。大约从二十三岁开始,刘勰随佛教高僧僧佑居于定林寺,由此熟谙佛教经典。大约就在这一时期,刘勰撰写了《文心雕龙》,耗时约五六年,书成于公元501年。

除《文心雕龙》以外,刘勰现存作品还有两篇。一篇是他的佛教文章“灭惑论”,另一篇名为“梁建安王造剡山石城寺石像碑”。第一篇格外引人注目,原因是它阐述了刘勰在佛教方面的基本思想。刘勰通佛学,有佛家经历,写过佛学文章,《文心雕龙》中也有一两处用到佛家语汇,所以后世研究者对于《文心雕龙》是否受到佛教影响,争执不休。⁵ 本文无意介入这一论争,但应该指出,《文心雕龙》的系统的结构,不太像典型的中国文论文章的结构,反而近乎佛典的结构。即使如此,刘勰仍然讳莫如深,因为他在最后一章中,称《文心》五十章的结构布局,效仿的是《易经》中所蕴含的宇宙体系。此外,他还明确把自己看作是孔子的弟子,在“序志”篇中写道:

予生七龄,乃梦彩云若锦,则攀而采之。齿在逾立,则尝夜梦执丹漆之礼器,随仲尼而南行。旦而寤,乃怡然而喜,大哉!(第五十章,“序志”)

《文心雕龙》并没有立即引起注意。刘勰想把它献给当时文学界的领袖人物沈约。据载,因为不容易见到沈约,刘勰便装作货郎,在沈家外面等候。当沈约出来时,刘勰跨到沈的马车前献书。史称沈约给此书以高度评价。

在定林寺寄居十年之后,刘勰于公元503年离开定林寺,开始做官,相继在朝廷里担任过几个次品官职。这期间,他曾在太子萧统(公元501-531)门下任职。萧统尚文,所编《文选》为中国历史上最有影响的文学选著之一。萧统撰写《文选》很可能受到刘勰的文学成就的启发。⁶ 公元520年,刘勰在定林寺削发为僧,一年后去世。

《文心雕龙》所表达的文学观

《文心雕龙》问世之前，关于文学艺术的评论，散见于儒道经典及哲学和历史著作中。第一篇文学评论是曹丕（公元187-226）的《典论·论文》，该文只有六百字左右。之后出现了两篇略长的文论作品，即陆机（公元261-303）的“文赋”和挚虞（公元？-311）的“文章流别论”。虽然三篇作品都涉及了一些重要的文学问题，⁷但其广度和深度均不及《文心雕龙》。

《文心雕龙》集早期文论之大成，并提出了许多其它重要的文学批评问题。其五十章分为两部分。第一部分包括前二十五章。在这一部分，刘勰先阐述了他的文学观和理论体系。然后从第六章到第二十五章，论述各种文学种类。第二部分为后二十五章，包括相当于后记的“序志”篇。这一部分涉及了广泛的文学批评问题，如文学想像、风格、修辞、文学史、文学鉴赏、以及作者人格等问题。

《文心雕龙》中的文学观，建立在三个核心概念之上，即道、圣、文。这一文学观的中心点，就是文是人之本，而人又是道之本，道代表宇宙法理。这一观点对于认识文学的性质和作用、文学批评的标准、及文学在中国文化与生活中的地位，有深刻的意义。

“道”是中国哲学中的关键词。老子曰，“道可道，非常道”⁸。庄子对道未下定义，而是讲了一个故事：

东郭子问于庄子曰：“所谓道，恶乎在？”庄子曰：“无所不在。”东郭子曰：“期而后可。”庄子曰：“在蝼蚁。”曰：“何其下邪？”曰：“在稊稗。”曰：“何其愈下邪？”曰：“在瓦甃。”曰：“何其愈甚邪？”曰：“在屎溺。”东郭子不应。庄子曰：“夫子之问也，固不及质。正，获之问于监市履？也，‘每下愈况’。汝唯莫壁，无乎逃物。至道若是，大言亦然。周遍咸三者，异名同实，其指一也。”（曹础基《庄子浅注》，第333页。）⁹

翻译该篇的中国现代著名哲学家冯友兰，把道描述为“万物自发或自然之总和”¹⁰。冯的解释与刘勰对道的描写较吻合。刘勰对道也只

是描述而已，并未定义。《文心雕龙》的第一章是这样开始的：

文之为德也大矣，与天地并生者何哉？夫玄黄色杂，方圆体分：日月叠璧，以垂丽天之象；山川焕绮，以铺理地之形：此盖道之文也。仰观吐曜，俯察含章，高卑定位，故两仪既生矣。惟人参之，性灵所钟，是谓三才，为五行之秀，实天地之心。心生而言立，言立而文明，自然之道也。（第一章，“原道”）

“道”字在这里出现两次。第一处是“此盖道之文也”，第二处为“自然之道也。”两句均未给“道”下定义，而是把道作为自然现象和文学现象的渊源。说天地、日月和山河是道之文就是说它们都源于道。同样，把文学创作追溯到人，并把人看作天地之心，就是将文学写作归源于道。这样，刘勰在道的概念里找到了文学的根源。他对另一概念“文”的讨论也贯穿了同样的思想。

“文”是多义词，在译文中根据不同语境分别译为“manifestations”，“patterns”，“writing”，“composition”，或者“art”。文的基本意思，是指万物的天然文采。鳞和羽是龙凤之文，斑点和颜色是虎豹之文，日月是天之文，山河是地之文。正如刘若愚所说，刘勰是利用“文”的多义性，将文学融入这一“文”的体系的¹¹。根据刘勰的理论，如果万物都有文，作为“有性灵”的人当然不可能没有。刘勰认为，文学就是人之文。他说当天地定位，“两仪既生”，“惟人参之，是谓三才”。（第一章，“原道”）人的参与之所以促成宇宙的三位一体，因为人是性灵所钟。人可以用其独特的头脑与心灵，赋予天地万物生命和能量。因为人是有思维和情感的，所以产生了表达思想和感情的语言和文字。这就意味着文学是人的自然部分，而人又是道的内在组成部分。可见，文学源于道。

现代学者针对刘勰的文学观，有过不少争论。有一种观点认为，“刘的主要理论倾向，与艾伯伦姆斯通过研究欧洲批评家而得出的表现理论的定义，在总体上有着十分精确的对应”¹²。刘若愚对这种观点做了反

驳。他认为刘勰的文学观，主要是形而上的，夹杂了实用的、表现的、审美的和技巧的等方面的次要因素。他写道：

至于表现这一概念，虽然在刘勰的著作中多处有所强调，但由于刘勰的“自然”观，表现的观念明显地不及形而上的观念重要。刘勰不止一次地称，人通过文学显示其本性是“自然”的，如同动植物透过外表的美（文），显示其本性一样“自然”。……刘勰认为文学是宇宙过程的一部分，它通过外在的文自然地显示内在的品质，而纯粹的表现论者则认为文学是作家有意识的自我表现¹³。

这种对文学的表现作用的关注，也见诸宇文所安的《中国传统诗歌与诗学：兆世之言》。宇文所安认为，刘勰的文学观既不是摹仿说，也不是表达说。他写道：

模仿、表现、甚至表达这类概念永远不会完全改变文学的从属地位，也就是说文学总是晚于又次于“原作”（就表达而言，“原作”即是思想状态）。西方文学理论都是柏拉图批评方法的产物。即使有些批评家试图叛逆，在他们的文学批评中注入一些新鲜的血液，仍然难以摆脱掉老祖宗的痕迹。如果“原作”属于感官的世界，那么文学模仿的缺陷和偏差则太显而易见了¹⁴。

宇文所安认为，刘勰的文学观摆脱了这样的缺陷，因为刘勰把文学看作是宇宙呈现过程的一个必然的阶段。宇文又道：

文是某种内在秩序的表现。从天地之文到动植物的文，每一类现象都有其相应的文。就人而言，其文不在人体，而在心，因为心是人的根本特征。内心活动的外在表现形式为“文”，其根本形式为“文学”。据此可以认为，文学并不真正是模仿的。相反，它是宇宙呈现过程的最终阶段。而作家也并不去表现外界，他只是世界构成过程中最终阶段的中介而已¹⁵。

宇文所安这一论述，避免了表现和表达这两个对立的观念，因此也就回避了文学创作中自然或思想至上的西方观念，揭示出文学在中国

之所以被看成具有宇宙意义的有机过程的奥秘¹⁶。

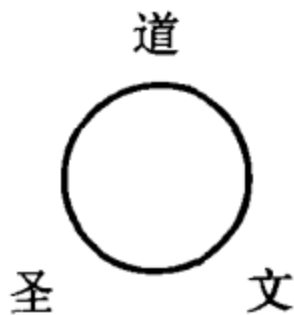
在确定道为文学的起源后，刘勰进而提出第三个问题：什么是理想而完美的作品？回答是圣人之作，因为圣人是道的最有智慧的阐释者：

爰自风姓，暨于孔氏，玄圣创典，秦王述训，莫不原道心以敷章，研神理而设教，取象乎《河》《洛》，问数乎蓍龟，观天文以极变，察人文以成化；然后能经纬区宇，弥纶彝宪，发挥事业，彪炳辞义。（第一章，“原道”）

在同一章，刘勰列举了孔子之前的圣贤帝王，继而感叹道：

至夫子继圣，独秀前哲，熔钧六经，必金声而玉振；雕琢情性，组织辞令，木铎起而千里应。席珍流而万世响，写天地之辉光，晓生民之耳目矣。（第一章，“原道”）

这样，刘勰在道和文这两个概念之外，又增加了第三个成分：圣。圣是人的完美形式。就象人同天地一样，圣同道和文形成三位一体。人的加入，完成了宇宙的三位一体，圣则成为文和道之间的关键媒介。人是天地的性灵，圣是文和道的表达。刘勰这样描写道、圣、文之间的关系：“道沿圣以垂文，圣因文而明道”。（第一章，“原道”）也就是说，宇宙的原理通过作家而传之于文学，而作家则通过文学来表达这一原理。在这一过程中，作者，即文学的创造者，起着关键的作用。这个关系可图示如下¹⁷：



这是个循环的关系。各个成分之间相互依赖和贯穿。这种关系是流动的、和谐的、动态的。



根据刘勰的文学观，文学是人的自然成分，而人又是道的自然成分，因此文学也是道的自然成分。这一文学观，贯穿于他对文体、想像、风格、修辞、鉴赏等文学批评问题的论述之中，详见下文。

文体论

刘勰的文体理论是其历史时期的集大成者。在他之前，曹丕、陆机、挚虞和萧统，都在各自的文学著述中谈到文体问题。曹丕在《典论·论文》中列举了八种文体，陆机又增加了两种。与陆机同时代的挚虞，撰“文章流别论”，不仅区分了更多的文体，而且对每种文体加以举例说明，概括其风格特点。萧统在编撰《文选》时，认真区分了文学和非文学作品，并将文学作品按文体加以归类。所以说，刘勰之前已经有了文体理论的基础，而刘勰正是在此基础上有所突破。

首先，刘勰在他的文体理论中区分了文（有韵文）与笔（无韵文）。在他之前，这种区别并不明确。有时文笔并用指美文。有时文指韵文，笔指无韵文或散文。刘勰始终以文指韵文，而以笔指无韵文¹⁸。所以，《文心雕龙》的第六章至第十五章讨论韵文，第十六到第二十五章侧重无韵的文体。

其次，刘勰在其文体理论中阐发了一种批评方法。他在“序志”中称这一方法是《文心雕龙》第一部分的指导思想：

若乃论文叙笔，则固别区分；原始以表末，释名以章义，选文以定篇，敷理以举统：上篇以上，纲领明矣。（第五十章，“序志”）

刘勰之前论者谈到过个别文体的风格含义，但不成系统。刘勰的论述则系统化了。

第三，刘勰的文体理论，是与其文学观相一致的。他在第一章里已经指出，圣是文和道的纽带。第三章“宗经”，称“经”为后世文体的渊源：

故论、说、辞、序，则《易》统其首；诏、策、章、奏，则《书》发其

源；赋、颂、歌、赞，则《诗》立其本；铭、诔、箴、祝，则《礼》总其端；纪、传、盟、檄，则《春秋》为根。（第三章，“宗经”）

刘勰论述的文体，至少有三十四种¹⁹，但第三章所列举的与五种儒经相关的五大类文体，却基本包含了他将讨论的所有文体。黄侃在《文心雕龙札记》中曾指出，《易经》中的范畴包含说明文，《诗经》中的范畴包含抒情散文，《礼记》中的范畴包含典礼仪式的散文，而《春秋》中的范畴则综合了历史和说明文²⁰。

刘勰根据五经将各种文体划分之后，对五经作了以下评论：

并穷高以树表，极远以启疆，所以百家腾跃，终入环内者也。（第三章，“宗经”）

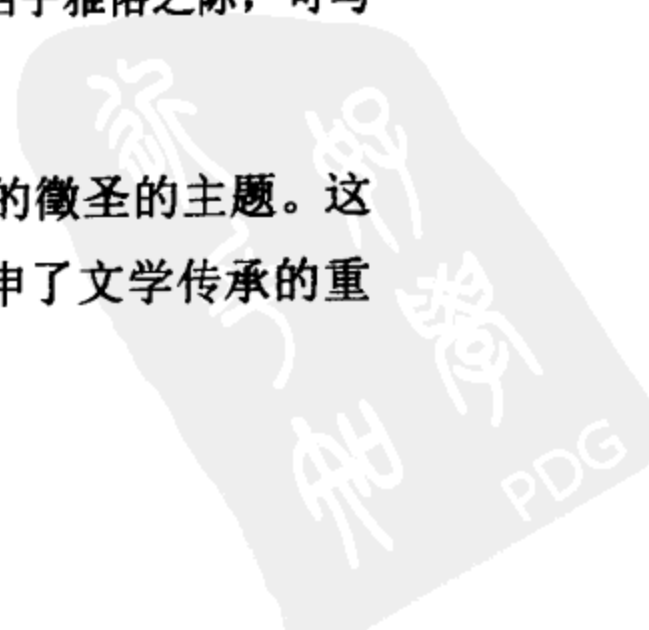
有论家认为这一观点过于狭隘，认为后来的文体与儒经的文体已经有所不同²¹。这种观点固然有其道理，但从刘勰的整体文学思想看，文体的延续性占有突出的地位。“通变”一章给文体延续性作了如下总结：

夫设文之体有常，变文之数无方，何以明其然耶？凡诗赋书记，名理相因，此有常之体也；文辞气力，通变则久，此无方之数也。名理有常，体必资于故实；通变无方，数必酌于新声。（第二十九章，“通变”）

这里刘勰揭示了文体的两面性：既有发展变化又有延续性²²。刘勰又道：

夫青生于蓝，绛生于蒨，虽踰本色，不能复化。……故练青濯绛，必归蓝蒨，矫讹翻浅，还宗经诰，斯斟酌乎质文之间，而櫜括乎雅俗之际，可与言通变矣。（第二十九章，“通变”）

这一段呼应了刘勰在《文心雕龙》开始时提出的徵圣的主题。这样，刘勰便将其文体论融入了他的理论体系，并重申了文学传承的重要性。



第五章“辨骚”具体阐述了刘勰关于文体延续性的理论。骚体是《诗经》之后出现的主要文体，因此刘勰在宗经之后，首先就要论骚体。如果象他所说的那样，后世文体都从经体发展而来，又如何看待屈原及其门生的《离骚》呢？这些作品雄伟有力，但在风格与内容上和《诗经》却有所不同。

刘勰用文体延续与变化来回答这个问题。“序志”曰：

盖《文心》之作也，本乎道，师乎圣，体乎经，酌乎纬，变乎骚：文之枢纽，亦云极矣。（第五十章，“序志”）

刘勰对这些变化规律的思考，很有见地。他批评了早期对《离骚》的偏见，然后归纳出屈原作品和儒经共同的优点，即“典诰之体”，“规讽之旨”，“比兴之义”，“忠怨之辞”。刘勰同时也对《离骚》有所批评，提出屈原在四个方面脱离了儒经的轨道，即“诡异之辞”、“譎怪之谈”、“狷狭之志”、“荒淫之意”。应当指出，刘勰否定的那些品质被后代文学，尤其是汉朝的赋体所继承，形成了追新逐异的风气。所以刘勰认为《离骚》不及《诗经》而胜于赋体。

论神思

“Imagination”是对刘勰“神思”一词的粗略翻译。“神思”本意是“精神上的思考”或者“神奇的思考”，而“imagination”（想像）在英文的文学评论中有特殊的历史含义。想像的概念通常与英国十九世纪浪漫派诗人，尤其是撒弥尔·泰勒·柯勒律治，联系在一起²³。不过，神思和想像确有若干相似之处。首先，神思和想像都指文学创作过程中那种自发的、富有创造性的力量。柯勒律治把想像的运作描写成“成长和创造的力量本身”²⁴。这种力量“从本质上是具有生命力的”²⁵。同样，刘勰的神思在一种自发、无羁的状态下进行：“是以秉心养术，无务苦虑；含章司契，不必劳情”。（第二十六章，“神思”）

其次，虽然神思和想像都代表着自发的创造力，但两者也都强调

经验和学习。刘勰这样写道：

机敏故造次而成功，虑疑故愈久而致绩。难易虽殊，并资博练。若学浅而空迟，才疏而徒速，以斯成器，未之前闻。（第二十六章，“神思”）

柯勒律治写道：

何以言之？就说莎士比亚吧。他不是自然的骄子，不是一部天才机器。他首先耐心地研究，深刻地思考，精心地领会，直到知识成为习惯和本能，最终喷发出巨大的创造力²⁶。

最后，刘勰强调要使神思萌动，就要保持心清气爽。柯勒律治也相信想像需要一定时间的心灵准备。“消沉颂”中有这样一段：

不去顾虑我需要什么样的感觉，
只要尽我所能，保持平静和耐心；
或许通过深奥的研究，
从我的个性中找到人的天然²⁷。

这首诗写于柯勒律治创作处于低谷的一个时期。它是对想像的召唤。作者强调内心的安宁，强调“冷静和耐心”的等待。这种冷静与刘勰所谓的虚静状态不无相似之处，尽管两个概念在哲学背景上迥然不同。正因为这些相似之处，神思才在这里翻译成“imagination”²⁸。

在中国文学批评史上，文学创作想像的问题最早出现在陆机的“文赋”里。“文赋”道：

若夫应感之会，通塞之纪，来不可遏，去不可止。藏若景灭，行犹响起。方天机²⁹之骏利，夫何纷而不理。思风发于胸臆，言泉流于唇齿³⁰。

同陆机一样，刘勰也认识到想像的稍纵即逝的性质。他描写了想像的风驰电掣的力量，同时又承认想像有时会变得迟缓：

文之思也，其神远矣。故寂然凝虑，思接千载；悄焉动容，视通万里；

吟咏之间，吐纳珠玉之声；眉睫之前，卷舒风云之色；其思理之致乎？故思理为妙，神与物游。神居胸臆，而志气统其关键；物沿耳目，而辞令管其枢机。枢机方通，则物无隐貌；关键将塞，则神有遁心。（第二十六章，“神思”）

但对于想像的来与去，陆机称“未识夫开塞之所由”，而刘勰则认为想像是可以陶冶的：

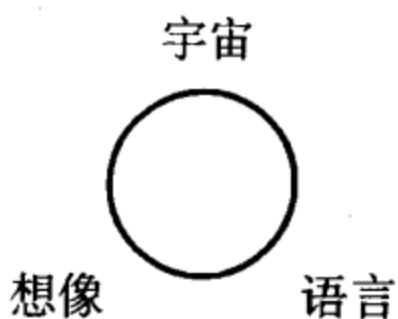
是以陶钧文思，贵在虚静，疏淪五藏，澡雪精神。积学以储宝，酌理以富才，研阅以穷照，驯致以绎辞。（第二十六章，“神思”）

这一段提出了两个重要的观点。一个是想像的运作，取决于作者所处的心理和生理状态。另外一点，就是想像也取决于经验和学习。刘勰提出经验和学习的作用，是针对当时肤浅的写作风尚。强调头脑冷静，有道教风味，对刘勰时代的作家来说并不新奇，但刘勰似乎最先洞察出这种道教观念和想像之间的联系³¹。通过揭示这一关系，刘勰把想像提高到神圣的地位，因为道家视空和静为神圣的境界。

在书的整体结构上，第二十六章“神思”与第一章相似。在第一章里，刘勰重点讨论文学起源和文学的外因。第二十六章转向了文学创作的运作过程，讨论的是内因。刘勰通过对文学外因的追溯，把文学的重要性提高到了宇宙法理的位置，再通过揭示文学的内因，把文学的创作提高到神圣的地位。

在第二十六章，刘勰又用了三位一体的概念，来与道、圣、文的三位一体相呼应。在第一章中，他用“文”的多义性来说明文是道的自然成分，而在这里，他侧重的是语言及其表达功能。同样，他在第一章详细解释了道作为宇宙原理的玄学特点，在这里却强调道的物质形式，即自然、万物、甚至简单的物体。他在第一章论述圣是道和文的媒介，而这里又提出精神世界是万物和语言之间的纽带。所以他说，想像的神秘就在于精神和物质世界的融合，而物质世界靠语言来描绘。刘勰

的宇宙、想像和语言三位一体的概念，图示如下：



可见，这三者的关系和道、圣、文的三位一体是相吻合的。从道、圣、文发展到宇宙、想像、语言的过程，标志着文学研究从外因向内因的发展。

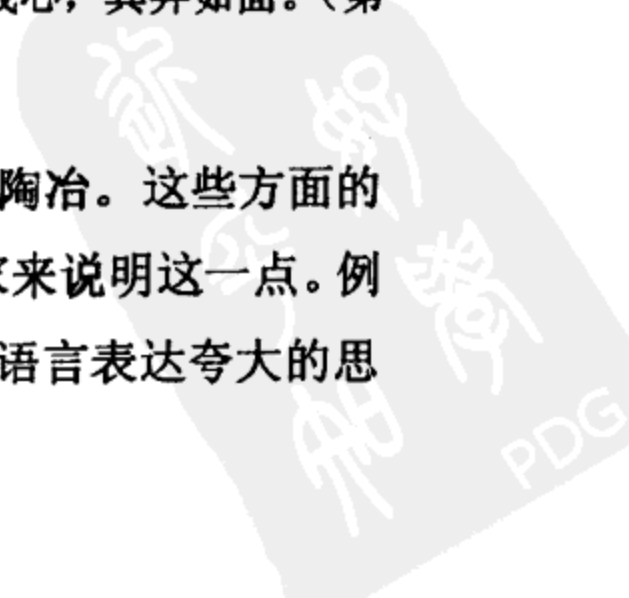
论风格

“风格即人。”远在布封（1707-1788）写下这一名言之前，刘勰就已经发展了具有类似思想的风格理论。这一思想蕴藏在《文心雕龙》的标题中。这一标题融合了写作的两个组成部分：语言和思想。“雕龙”指语言的使用和雕饰。“文心”指文学创作中所要表达的思想。“心”在这里翻译成“思想”，但实为多义词，既指思想又指心灵。因此，标题或可解释为“用雕饰的语言来表达人心与思想”。

刘勰风格理论的要素，在“神思”篇中已经有所阐发。刘勰在该篇中通过强调精神的净化和心灵的疏通，将文学创作和人的自我陶冶联系起来。这一思想进而在第二十七章得到详尽的论述：

夫情动而言形，理发而文见，盖沿隐以至显，因内而符外者也。然才有庸雋，气有刚柔，学有浅深，习有雅郑，并情性所铄，陶染所凝，是以笔区云譎，文苑波诡者矣。故辞理庸雋，莫能翻其才；风趣刚柔，宁或改其气；事义浅深，未闻乖其学；体式雅郑，鲜有反其习；各师成心，其异如面。（第二十七章，“体性”）

风格可以看作人的总和：天资，活力，知识和陶冶。这些方面的差异，造成了风格上的差异。刘勰列举了十二位作家来说明这一点。例如，司马相如善赋，其人品高傲不羁，多用夸张的语言表达夸大的思



想。扬雄静默寡言，故其作品富有深度。

在刘勰“风格即人”的观点背后，有一段漫长的文学传统。《书经》中的名言“诗言志”就概括了这一观点。“志”这里译成“sentiments”，指的是心的意图。心包含心灵与思想。同样，“志”既代表情感又代表思维。中国古典诗学把思想和心灵（而不是亚里士多得悲剧理论中的“行动”）看作诗歌的领域，从一开始就把文学看作人的表达方式。

刘勰的风格论，受到了“清谈”之风的影响。“清谈”始于汉末魏初的科举制度，但逐渐失去了它的政治意味，而成为士族阶层评论人品的方法。最有影响的清谈集，见于刘义庆（公元403-444）撰写的《世说新语》。此书中的对话，强调当时名人雅士如何注重行为、人品、举止和外表。书中有一章名为“容止”，其中讲诗人嵇康（公元223-262）的一段故事：

嵇康身長七尺八寸，風姿特秀。見者嘆曰：“蕭蕭肅肅，爽朗清舉。”或云：“肅肅如松下風，高而徐引”³²

刘勰评论嵇康曰：

唯嵇志清峻，阮旨遥深，故能标焉。（第六章，“明诗”）

叔夜俊侠，故兴高而采烈。（第二十七章，“体性”）

比较可见，刘勰和《世说新语》对嵇康的描绘颇为相似。《世说》称颂嵇康其人的俊伟，《文心》赞扬嵇康作为诗人所具有的纯洁和崇高的思想。正所谓诗如其人。

刘勰所用的词汇甚至都与《世说新语》相似。例如，刘勰风格理论中一个重要概念“风骨”，在刘义庆的书中屡次出现。在“容止”篇，刘义庆引《吴史》中来说明孙权的性格：“唯中弟孝廉，形貌魁伟，骨体不恒，有大贵之表。”³³

另外，“轻诋”篇曰：“旧目韩康伯‘将肘无风骨’。”³⁴这类议论使当代美学家李泽厚认为，《文心雕龙》中的“风骨”，来源于当时对中国

文学批评还未产生深远影响的清谈³⁵。

在揭示风格与人的密切关系之后，刘勰便划分了八大风格，即典雅、远奥、精约、显附、繁缛、壮丽、新奇和轻靡。刘勰不喜欢最后两种。但其它六种，哪一种最为理想？如果他的理想风格不在此列，那么在什么地方？

詹鍈在他的《文心雕龙中的风格学》中比较了“风骨”和朗杰纳斯的“崇高”，认为“风骨”是刘勰的理想风格³⁶。不过严格来说，“风骨”似乎并不指风格，而是一个比喻，用来表示某些无法明确定义的风格特点。也许可以说，“风骨”本身不是风格，而是好的风格应有的重要品质之一。这种品质就是“风”和“骨”所代表的力量和活力。

除了这一品质，刘勰在同一章还提到了另一个重要品质：

夫翠翟备色，而翮翥百步，肌丰而力沉也，鹰隼乏采，而翰飞戾天，骨劲而气猛也；文章才力，有似于此。若风骨乏采，则鸷集翰林，采乏风骨，则雉窜文囿，唯藻耀而高翔，固文笔之鸣凤也。（第二十八章，“风骨”）

具有“风”和“骨”的作品固然是好的作品，但对刘勰来说还不理想。理想的创作，应该既有力又优雅。凤凰便是这一理想的化身。现代评论家徐复观认为，这个理想风格可以说是“雅丽”，即典雅和美丽、或典雅之美。他认为刘勰谈到的八大风格的精髓是雅丽，而刘勰之所以推崇这一风格，是因为它源于儒经。³⁷

刘勰多处提到“典雅之美”是一种非常可取的风格。在第二十七章“体性”的结尾，刘勰写到：“雅丽黼黻，淫巧朱紫。”在第六章，刘勰认为“雅丽”很适合从《诗经》发展而来的四言诗，还指出“丽”的风格是从《诗经》和早期民谣发展来的五言诗的理想风格。第二章“徵圣”说：“然则圣文之雅丽，固衔华而佩实者也”。第八章“诠赋”又说：

情以物兴，故义必明雅；物以情观，故词必巧丽。丽词雅义，符采相胜，如组织之品朱紫，画绘之著玄黄。（第八章，“诠赋”）

文心雕龙 PDG

以上例子说明，“雅丽”是刘勰的理想风格，这种风格将文与质自然地统一起来，与刘勰的文学观相一致。

论修辞

《文心雕龙》以五分之一的篇幅论修辞。所讨论的修辞问题包括选词、句法和段落安排、文章总体结构、以及对偶、比兴、夸张和事类等修辞手法的使用。刘勰的修辞理论中贯穿了两个原则：一是和谐或统一，二是得体。得体是刘勰论修辞手法时强调的一个原则。论比兴，他讲：

故比类虽繁，以切至为贵，若刻鹄类鹜，则无所取焉。（第三十六章，“比兴”）

论夸张，他写道：

然饰穷其要，则心声锋起，夸过其理，则名实两乖。若能酌《诗》《书》之旷旨，翦扬马之甚泰，使夸而有节，饰而不诬，亦可谓之懿也。（第三十七章，“夸饰”）

刘勰的观点很明确。他反对过分使用修辞手段，而主张得体。在结构问题上，刘勰强调统一与协调的原则。第四十三章“附会”曰：

何谓“附会”？谓总文理，统首尾，定与夺，合涯际，弥纶一篇，使杂而不越者也。若筑室之须基构，裁衣之待缝缉矣。夫才童学文，宜正体制。（第四十三章，“附会”）

刘勰强调写作的有机整体性，如第三十四章“章句”：

夫人之立言，因字而生句，积句而生章，积章而成篇。篇之彪炳，章无疵也；章之名靡，句无玷也；句之清英，字不妄也；振本而末从，知一而万毕矣。（第三十四章，“章句”）

第三十二章“熔裁”表达了类似的观点：

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骈拇枝指，由侈于性，附赘悬疣，实侈于形。一意两出，义之骈枝也；同辞重句，文之疣赘也。（第三十二章，“熔裁”）

值得注意的是，刘勰这里使用的“生”，“骈拇”和“枝指”等词通常用来描写有生物。这恰好达到了刘勰强调写作的有机性的目的。

刘勰修辞理论中统一和得体的原则，与他的文是人之本的文学观相一致。不难理解，有机整体的概念符合他的文学观所包含的自然性，因为有机的事物是自然和自发的。但是得体与自然性有什么关系？第三十五章“丽辞”回答了这一问题：

造化赋形，支体必双，神理为用，事不孤立。夫心生文辞，运裁百虑，高下相须，自然成对。（第三十五章，“丽辞”）

在这里，刘勰将对偶和人体追溯到神理。《文心雕龙》第一章中，神理指的是道：

爰自风姓，暨于孔氏，玄圣创典，秦王述训，莫不原道心以敷章，研神理而设教。（第一章，“原道”）

刘勰将对偶追溯到神理，从而说明了为什么修辞手段的得体符合写作的自然性，而且重申了他的文学观，即文学就像山河一样是道的自然成分。

刘勰认为对偶是极为重要的修辞方法。他说神理不使任何事物单独存在，所以动物有四肢，词语也成双成对。很多当代学者都认识到对偶在汉语写作中的重要性。蒲安迪在比较中西方文学时指出，在希腊、罗马、希伯来和阿拉伯文献中，甚至在英国作家约翰·利力的作品《尤菲斯》中，对偶都“或多或少局限于修辞点缀的作用”，而在中国文学作品中，“这种手法与其说是诗歌修辞，不如说是一种自然的表达方式”³⁸。蒲安迪进一步指出，“散文和诗歌句子的双重句法结构与中国哲学中二元思维的主导地位相关联”³⁹。他说：“最早从《文心雕龙》开始，中国理论家们就认识到，文学现象中精致的对偶所效法的是宇宙万物的

自然配偶现象”⁴⁰。

说文学现象的配偶是模仿自然现象的配偶，是承认了艺术和宇宙的关系，又承认了文学在宇宙中的重要性。⁴¹

刘勰：人文主义的批评家

为什么今天还有人读《文心雕龙》？为什么在近几个世纪，《文心雕龙》引起了前所未有的注目？诚然，它的诗意的散文韵律可以赏心悦目，关于写作的具体建议仍然有实用价值。但这些都是次要的。甚至连刘勰有关文学批评的精辟见解，都不是最重要的，尽管许多见解对当今的文学理论仍有所启示。《文心雕龙》的真正魅力另有所在。我在开始时指出，《文心雕龙》表达了一种文学观，这一文学观在中国文化和生活中，注入了文学的精神。刘勰认为，文学和文学的活动，是人生不可缺少的组成部分。它们是人文的诉求。而且，由于人生和文学都顺应宇宙法理，因此文学的活动也是具有宇宙意义的活动。

然而，刘勰的文学观所蕴含的文化精神，由于渗透在《文心雕龙》全书之中，所以反而不那么一目了然。用今天的语言来形容，这种文化的精神应该说是人文的精神。正是这种人文精神，使《文心雕龙》魅力不衰。这种人文精神的表现形式，有以下几种。

第一，刘勰有深刻的谦卑意识及对人的弱点的认识，因此他也看到人的创造性的局限。上面刚刚论述过刘勰文学观所赋予文学的宇宙意义，接着又来讲他看到了人的创造性的局限，似乎有点耸人听闻。但实际上，对于人的弱点的认识与对人的创造性的认识，根源是同一个。文学所处的宇宙位置，既是文学创造力的来源，也是它的局限所在。虽然文学是人之自然，人亦是道之自然，但是道却无所依赖。这便是刘勰的谦卑意识的由来，这种意识在《文心雕龙》中有各种表达。他感叹人生的短促，表示立名的渴望，如第十七章：“金石靡矣，声其销乎！”在全书的结尾，他又表达了这样沉重的思绪：“生也有涯，而智无涯。”（第五十章，“序志”）

刘勰赞颂人的才智与想像及思想和语言的能力，但同时也意识到它们的局限。他常常是赞颂伊始，旋即转入沉思：

夫神思方运，万涂竞萌，规矩虚位，刻镂无形。登山则情满于山，观海则意溢于海，我才之多少，将与风云而并驱矣。方其搦翰，气倍辞前，暨乎篇成，半折心始。何则？意翻空而易奇，言徵实而难巧也。（第二十六章，“神思”）

他在同一章论及人的创造力时写道：

拙辞或孕于巧义，庸事或萌于新意，视布于麻，虽云未贵，杼轴献功，焕然乃珍。至于思表纤旨，文外曲致，言所不追，笔固知止。（第二十六章，“神思”）

对人的创造力的局限，刘勰所做的最有力的论述，见于书的结尾。他总结自己的成就，叹曰：

按辔文雅之场，环络藻绘之府，亦几乎备矣。但言不尽意，圣人所难；识在瓶管，何能矩矱。茫茫往代，既沉予闻，眇眇来世，倘尘彼观也。（第五十章，“序志”）

第二，刘勰的谦卑意识及对人的弱点的了悟，他的文评温和而富有同情心。这并没有影响他的见解的锐利和深刻性。他看问题敏感而富有人情。他这样表达了他的敏感的批评意识：

夫铨序一文为易，弥纶群言为难，虽复轻采毛发，深极骨髓；或有曲意密源，似近而远，辞所不载，亦不可胜数矣。及其品列成文，有同乎旧谈者，非雷同也，势自不可异也；有异乎前论者，非苟异也，理自不可同也。同之与异，不屑古今，擘肌分理，唯务折衷。（第五十章，“序志”）

第四十五章的一段话，表现了刘勰的批评敏感。他在这里论述了他极为推崇的建安文人，首先写道：“自献帝播迁，文学蓬转，建安之末，区宇方辑。”（第四十五章，“时序”）然后，他一口气提到十三名作

家，表现出在动荡时代，以三曹父子为中心的文人聚会的意气场面。刘勰说尽管三曹父子有“相王之尊，”但他们“体貌英逸，故俊才云蒸”：

仲宣委质于汉南，孔璋归命于河北，伟长从宦于青土，公幹徇质于海隅，德琏综其斐然之思，元瑜展其翩翩之乐。文蔚、休伯之俦，于叔、德祖之侶，傲雅觞豆之前，雍容衽席之上；洒笔以成酣歌，和墨以藉谈笑。（第四十五章，“时序”）

然而“谈笑”并不是他们的诗的主旨。本章接着论述了这些作品的深刻性：

观其时文，雅好慷慨，良由世积乱离，风衰俗怨，并志深而笔长，故梗概而多气也。（第四十五章，“时序”）

第十六章的一段话说明了他富有同情心的批评方法。他在这里论史传，说写史书困难，不仅因为需要古典学问及对时务的熟谙，还因为“追述远代，代远多伪”。而写当今之事，又难免受到事态性质的影响。他写道：

吹霜煦露，寒暑笔端，此又同时之枉，可为叹息者也。故述远则诬矫如彼，记近则回邪如此，析理居正，唯素心乎！（第十六章，“史传”）

第三，刘勰的人文精神，还表现在他重视文学鉴赏中的移情，坚持文学必须既言志，又关注人间事态。在文学阐释方面，刘勰讲到阐释的困难，认为读者的主观经验会影响对作品的阐释，其观点有现代意识：

夫篇章杂沓，质文交加，知多偏好，人莫圆该。慷慨者逆声而击节，酝藉者见密而高蹈；浮慧者观绮而跃心，爱奇者闻诡而惊听。会己则嗟讽，异我则沮弃，各执一隅之解，欲拟万端之变，所谓东向而望，不见西墙也。（第四十八章，“知音”）

他提出的阐释方法，强调移情，也是具有现代意识的观点：

夫缀文者情动而辞发，观文者披文以入情，沿波讨源，虽幽必显。世远莫见其面，覘文辄见其心。（第四十八章，“知音”）

此外，刘勰还认为作家应该关注而不应该脱离人事。有德之才，所谓君子，“固宜蓄素以弼中，散采以彪外。”刘勰接着写道：

榘栝其质，豫章其幹。搆文必在纬军国，负重必在任栋梁，穷则独善以垂文，达则奉时以骋绩。若此文人，应《梓材》之士矣。（第四十九章，“程器”）

作为人文批评家，刘勰还富有历史感。⁴²他对时序的韵律十分敏感，说：“春秋代序，阴阳惨舒，物色之动，心亦摇焉。”（第四十六章，“物色”）对王朝的兴废、战乱与和平、人事的盛衰坎坷，他同样关注。因为有这样的历史感，他能把握时代变迁对文学活动的影响。他写道：“铺观列代，而情变之数可监。”（第六章，“明诗”）他的文学史观的最著名的论述，见于第四十五章。该章开篇曰：“时运交移，质文代变。”接着他论述了诗歌的情调如何随朝代的更替而发生变化。比如论屈原与宋玉的作品，他说：“故知焯之奇意，出乎纵横之诡俗也。”论魏晋文学，他写道：

自中朝贵玄，江左称盛，因谈馀气，流成文体。是以世极迍邅，而辞意夷泰；诗必柱下之旨归，赋乃漆园之义疏。（第四十五章，“时序”）

最后，刘勰归纳出关于文学史观的总结性论点，“故知文变染乎世情，兴废系乎时序。”（第四十五章，“时序”）

刘勰的文学史观与他的人文精神是相一致的。具有历史敏感的批评家，可以同情并且关心纷繁的人事。他理解人的弱点，也了解人的创造性。这样，他的批评就温和、透彻、而富有人性。他常把作品和作家置于社会环境之中，来揭示他们与时代的关系。

在历史敏感的背后，蕴藏着对宇宙间人事的谦卑之感。因此，刘勰的历史观终归来源于他的文学观。他认为文学的活动，贯穿着宇宙的

要义，这一观点反而重新将文学置于宇宙法理之中。与人类的其它活动相比，文学具有同等的重要性。文学构成纷繁的人事的一个内在部分。因此，归根到底，刘勰的文学观乃是一种人生的哲学。正是这一人生的哲学，使《文心雕龙》的魅力历久不衰，在今天表现出尤其深刻的现实意义。

《文心雕龙》的现代版本

《文心雕龙》问世后，后人引用评论者甚多⁴³。然而，《文心雕龙》研究真正开始则是在清代。1741年，黄叔琳修订的《文心雕龙辑注》问世。黄注本收入了许多以前版本和校订的内容。1833年，黄注新版问世，纪昀（1724-1805）为其作了大量注释。这两部书成为现代“龙学”的重要基础。

现代《文心雕龙》研究始于黄侃（1886-1935）。黄于1914至1919年间在燕京大学讲授《文心雕龙》。这些讲稿分别在1927年和1936年整理成书出版⁴⁴，成为首批《文心雕龙》的专著。即便是黄侃的简单论述，都常常会引起后世学者激烈的争论。他对“风骨”的阐释就争执至今⁴⁵。

继黄侃以后，最重要的《文心雕龙》研究成果要数黄侃的学生范文澜所修订的新版本。范本《文心雕龙注》主要参考黄叔琳注本，并吸收了其他二十世纪学者所作的校证。范本采纳了赵万里和日本学者铃木虎雄对二十世纪初敦煌出土的残本《文心雕龙》的校订成果⁴⁶。这使他的版本成了新的权威定本。范本的另一特征，是对《文心雕龙》所提到的文献的长篇引用。其中有些文献现今很难找到。这为现代学者提供了方便，因为不了解刘勰谈到的作者和作品，就很难透彻理解刘勰的思想。范本中征引的大量文献，使它成为刘勰巨著的很好的参考书。

范文澜《文心雕龙注》一出版，就成为这一研究领域的标准注本。与此同时，其它一些版本也相继问世，从各方面对范本进行增补。其中最有影响是王利器、杨明照、周振甫、詹谟、以及李曰刚的注本。王利

器的《文心雕龙校证》，1951年第一次出版，书后附有索引。该书1967年在香港重印，但只包括正文。1968年在台北印刷的版本又加入了索引。1980年，该书的新修订本在上海出版，附索引。王本为集注本，对原文晦涩之处很少作注解。王使用的底本为黄叔琳注本。

杨明照的《文心雕龙校注》（1958），搜集了黄叔琳和李祥（1859-1913）的注释和校证，同时加入了相当一部分他自己的注释。1982年，作者对此书内容加以扩充，以《文心雕龙校注拾遗》为名再版。新版本只保留他自己的注释和校证，没有《文心雕龙》的原文。杨本长达八百五十五页，其中近半为丰富而透彻的注释，另包括二十页的引言，二十八页对《梁史》中“刘勰传”的评论，四十页的参考书目，和九个很有价值的附录。这些附录提供了较全面的《文心雕龙》研究历史。例如，附录二列举了研究《文心雕龙》的学者及其对《文心雕龙》的评论，从刘勰的第一个评论家沈约下至二十世纪的鲁迅，一一在选。这些评论有的只有简单的一句话，有的长达一两页，为《文心雕龙》的研究提供了宝贵材料。

周振甫著《文心雕龙注释》自1983年出版后也颇受欢迎。周本参考了黄叔琳、范文澜、杨明照和王利器的版本。作者大量引用了明代学者杨慎和曹学佺及清代学者黄叔琳和纪昀对《文心雕龙》的评论，为研究者提供了很大便利。周本的另一特点，是对《文心雕龙》各章主题和思想的论述。在注释方面，周本侧重于正文中疑难点，而范本主要阐释文字和历史典故。

詹锳的《文心雕龙义证》（1989），用王利器校注本作底本。詹力图对原文加以全面阐释，书中汇集了他本人及其他学者的注释，达三卷近两千页。李曰刚的《文心雕龙校注》（1982）出版于台北，本书中对《文心雕龙》后二十五章排列的次序与其它版本有所不同⁴⁷。每一章开头，先讨论中心思想，后面是正文。正文分成几个部分。每个部分有四项内容：正文、现代汉语意译、校订和原文注解。李的注释多为长篇大

论，有很多深刻见解。

另外，还有若干种《文心雕龙》的现代译本，如郭晋稀（1982），赵仲邑（1982），陆侃如、牟世金（1984），周振甫（1986）和孟谣（1988）等，也是《文心雕龙》现代学术研究中最重要的成果。在此不一一赘述。

关于本书翻译的几点说明

本书的翻译，耗时十余年。我于1988年动笔，1995年完成第一稿。第二稿于1999年完成。外语教学与研究出版社决定出版本书后，又将译文重新校读修改一遍。在本书翻译过程中，我研究比较了《文心雕龙》主要注本及现代汉语译本，详见书目。于现有的英译本，尤其是施友忠译本，也得益殊多。《文心雕龙》有多种集注本。本书主要采用周振甫的《文心雕龙注释》（1981）。周注以黄叔琳辑注本为底本，同时参考吸收了范文澜、杨明照和王利器的注本。

刘勰在《文心雕龙》中提到的历史和神话人物，达五百人之多。他有时用官衔，有时用姓，有时用名，有时用“字”。为统一起见，我在翻译中一般不用“字”，都用姓名全称，以免造成混乱。除个别情况外，注解中不注人名。

本书译文中少量注解，都是在不得已的情况下，对文中的历史和文献典故略作说明。《文心雕龙》不是普通的学术著作，本身有很高的文学价值。读者应该尽量抛开注解，去领略古代文化的意蕴。

杨国斌



注 释

¹ 《文心雕龙》的书名有多种英译，如 *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (施友忠, 1959), *The Book of Literary Design* (黄兆杰等, 1999), *Carving a Dragon at the Core of Literature* (杨宪益、戴乃迭, 1962), *The Literary Mind and Its Carving of Dragons* (休斯, 1951), 及 *The Literary Mind and Ornate Rhetoric* (梅维恒, 2001)。我对书名的翻译，听取了欧阳楨教授的意见，文责当然自负。

² 见蔡宗齐主编，《中国的文心：文心雕龙中的文化、创作与修辞》。斯坦福：斯坦福大学出版社，2001年版，“序言”，第2页。

³ 刘毓松（1818—1867）根据“时势”篇推定，《文心雕龙》成书于齐朝末年，约在公元498-502年间。见杨明照（1982：711-713）。范文澜根据刘毓松的推算，作了进一步的研究，断定刘勰生于公元465年，卒于公元520-521年间。见范文澜（1978：731）。近年，李庆甲研究了宋朝佛教文献中关于刘勰的记载，认为刘勰卒年为公元532年。见李庆甲（1978：51-63）。1988年版的《中国文学大百科全书》采用了杨明照的观点，杨认为刘勰卒于538-539年。本书采纳较通行的范说。

⁴ 见杨明照（1986：382）。

⁵ 有关《文心雕龙》中的佛学影响，参见马宏山（1982；1983）。英文论者，参见梅维恒（2001）。

⁶ 此说见杨明照（1982：402）。

⁷ 如曹丕论及气在文学创作中的作用，陆机提出了想像的问题，挚虞谈到文体理论。

⁸ 见陈鼓应（1984：53）。

⁹ 英译见冯友兰（1989：7）。

¹⁰ 同上。

¹¹ 刘若愚（1975：22）。



¹² 吉伯斯(1970: 65)。

¹³ 刘若愚(1975: 122-123)。

¹⁴ 见宇文所安(1985: 21)。

¹⁵ 同上, 页20。

¹⁶ 余宝琳与宇文所安的观点相近。她在《中国诗歌传统中的象征》一书中论及《文心雕龙》的“明诗”篇, 写道: “在这里, 诗不是模仿说所谓的诗是行动的模仿, 而是诗人对外界的直接的反映, 而诗人则是他周围世界的有机部分。”见余宝琳(1987: 35)。

¹⁷ 见刘若愚(1975), 第一章。

¹⁸ 刘师培在《中国中古文学史》中追溯了早期文学中关于文笔的论述, 认为刘勰的辨析最清楚。见刘师培(1959: 7-10; 98-104)。

¹⁹ 如果把“辨骚”算在内, 则《文心雕龙》50章的标题中共提到34种文体。不过, 有些章节谈到的若干次要文体, 却并未出现在标题里。如第十八章“论说”中提到“议”、“注”、“评”、“引”等。

²⁰ 转引自詹锜(1989: 79-81)。

²¹ 如周振甫在其《文心雕龙今译》(1986)中称刘勰此论不妥。周引班固, 认为汉赋虽由《诗经》发展而来, 但已经发展成独立的文体, 与诗体不能等同了。

²² 关于这一点, 杜克义(1971: 152)曾有精辟论述。他写道:

“通变”章是刘勰文体论的顶峰, 他以“通”论体, 以“变”论具体作品。体是抽象的, 它以独一无二的、根本的理与名, 表达实质。所以体是“通”的, 不变的。从哲学的观点看, 具体的作品总是理或体的变异。相对体而言, 具体作品是独特的、个别的; 相对体的抽象原则而言, 作品是具体的; 相对体的“通”而言, 作品是不断变化的。体具有普遍性, 作品是局部的、偶然的、多变的。

²³ 我曾对刘勰的神思与柯勒律治的想像论作过细致的比较研究, 详见杨国斌(1991)。我赞成艾朗诺(2001: 103)的观点, 他认为“常人对于‘想像’的认识……确与刘勰的论述有一定程度的对应。”

²⁴ 《文学传记》卷2, 页65。

²⁵ 同上, 页202。

²⁶ 同上, 页19-20。

²⁷ “消沉颂”全文, 见柯勒律治《萨缪尔·泰勒·柯勒律治诗集》(1912, 卷1, 362-368)。

²⁸ 刘若愚认为, 刘勰的“神思”处于动态的时候, 类似于想像。见刘若愚(1975: 125)。其实, 想像似乎也有静态的时候。见下文论述。

²⁹ “天机”指想像。见《魏晋南北朝文学史参考资料》, 卷1, 第273页。

³⁰ 英译见方志彤(1951), 载毕舍编(1965: 20-21)。

³¹ 王元化(1984)认为刘勰使用的“虚静”, 来源于荀子而不是庄子。敏泽在《中国美学思想史》中提出, “虚静”源出老庄。见敏泽(1989, 卷1, 第579页)。

³² 英译见马瑞志(1976: 309)。

³³ 同上, 315。

³⁴ 同上, 439。

³⁵ 见李泽厚、刘纲纪(1987, 卷2: 733)。

³⁶ 见詹镛(1982: 53-61)。

³⁷ 见徐复观(1966: 40-41)。

³⁸ 蒲安迪(1990: 525; 528)。

³⁹ 见上, 页529。

⁴⁰ 同上。

⁴¹ 最近, 蒲安迪对此问题有新的论述, 结论更为谨慎但大致相同。见蒲安迪(2001)。

⁴² 另见王佐良(1991: 38)。

⁴³ 如唐朝史家刘知几所著《史通》曾受到刘勰影响。他在《史通》序中称, 刘勰作《文心》, 是因为时人对文学作品的理解多有殊异。宋代诗人黄庭坚在致友人书中, 推荐朋友读《文心雕龙》。明朝胡应麟, 在其所著《诗薮》中, 对《文心雕龙》与钟嵘的《诗品》进行了比较, 认为后来的《诗品》不及《文心雕龙》。

⁴⁴黄侃的《文心雕龙札记》于1926年出版，收录了他对20个章节的评论。1937年，南京国立大学的《文学杂志》专辑发表了黄侃对另外11个章节的评论。1962年中华书局版《文心雕龙札记》将两部分评论收录在一起出版。

⁴⁵黄侃认为，风和骨都是比喻的说法。风指思想，骨指语言。见黄侃（1927: 29）。

⁴⁶敦煌唐写本《文心雕龙》为现存最早的版本，已残。该本从“原道”篇最后13个字开始，到第14章“杂文”的标题止。原本现藏英国大英博物馆。

⁴⁷李本对后25章的排列顺序如下：

26、神思，27、体性，28、风骨，29、养气，30、附会，31、通变，
32、定势，33、情采，34、熔裁，35、章句，36、声律，37、丽词，
38、比兴，39、夸饰，40、事类，41、练字，42、隐秀，43、物色，
44、指瑕，45、总术，46、时序，47、才略，48、知音，49、程器，
50、序志

INTRODUCTION

Running up to 37,000 characters in 50 chapters, Liu Xie's magnum corpus *Wenxin Diaolong*¹ was the single longest treatise in Chinese literary criticism up to its time. Over the centuries, but especially since the Qing Dynasty, *Wenxin Diaolong* has been regarded as a classic of literary criticism. Today, as the numerous studies and modern Chinese translations can attest, *Wenxin Diaolong* "reigns supreme in the field of traditional literary scholarship,"² so much so that studies of this literary text have achieved a quasi-disciplinary status with its own name: Dragonology.

Yet *Wenxin Diaolong* is more than a work of literary criticism. It is also a classic text of Chinese culture. In it Liu Xie develops a philosophy of literature that embodies the literary spirit of Chinese culture. This philosophy of literature is an understudied aspect of *Wenxin Diaolong*. Part of this introduction will therefore focus on Liu's philosophy of literature as an expression of the spirit of Chinese culture.

Liu Xie articulates a view of literature as an intrinsic part of humanity, which in itself is an intrinsic part of the cosmic order. Such a view of literature injects a literary spirit into Chinese culture. In today's world, the paradox of the rational-instrumental spirit of modernity has become evident. Leaden-hearted philosophers have discovered in literary and aesthetic orientations to life a new ethics of human existence. It is in this context that *Wenxin Diaolong* will reveal its contemporary relevance, for it articulates a view of literature that is also a way of life. The faster this way of life disappears along with the progressions of modernity, the more urgent it

becomes to re-articulate this literary spirit. This English rendition of *Wenxin Diaolong* can be viewed as an attempt at such a re-articulation.

Liu Xie: The Man and His Works

Liu Xie (c. 465-521³), alias Yanhe, was a native of Ju County, now in Shandong province. He was probably born and then grew up in Jingkou, the present Zhenjiang City in Jiangsu Province.⁴ An accomplished Confucian and Buddhist scholar, he did not enjoy any social or literary distinction in his lifetime. According to "The Life of Liu Xie" in *The History of the Liang Dynasty*, he came from a poor family, his father died when he was still young, and he never married. At the age of 23 or 24, he started living in the Dinglin Temple under the distinguished Buddhist monk Seng You. As a result, Liu became well versed in Buddhist sutras. Liu Xie probably wrote *Wenxin Diaolong* in the same period, spending a total of five to six years on the book and completing it in about A.D. 501.

Apart from *Wenxin Diaolong*, two pieces of writing by Liu Xie are extant today. One is his Buddhist treatise "On Extinguishing Doubts;" the other is called "Inscription Written on a Stone Statue in Shicheng Temple of Mount Yan Commissioned by Prince Jian'an of the Liang Dynasty." The first piece has attracted special attention, because it provides a basic statement of Liu Xie's Buddhist thoughts. Liu Xie's Buddhist learning, experience, and writings, as well as the use of a couple of Buddhist terminology in *Wenxin Diaolong*, have provided ammunition for debates about possible Buddhist influences on *Wenxin Diaolong*.⁵ While I cannot enter the debates here, for the purposes of this discussion, it is useful to note that the systematic structure of *Wenxin Diaolong* seems to resemble that of a Buddhist sutra more than a typical text of Chinese literary criticism. Here again, though, Liu Xie proves to be illusive, because he declares in the last chapter that the organization of the book into 50 chapters is modeled on the cosmological system embodied in the *Book of Changes*. Besides, he also explicitly

considers himself a Confucian disciple, as shown by his remarks in the postscript:

At the age of seven, I dreamed of colorful clouds like brocade, and I climbed up to pick them. After 30, I dreamed of following Confucius southward, holding red-lacquered vessels of rites in hand. I woke up in the morning in jubilation. Hard as it was to behold the Saint, he descended in the dream of an obscure fellow like me! (Chapter 50, "My Intentions, or Postscript")

Wenxin Diaolong did not gain immediate recognition. Liu Xie tried to bring it to the attention of Shen Yue, the literary doyen of his time. The story goes that because Shen was hard to approach, Liu Xie pretended to be a peddler and waited outside Shen's house. When Shen Yue appeared, Liu stepped in front of Shen's carriage and presented the book. Shen was said to judge it highly.

After staying for about ten years in Dinglin Temple, Liu Xie left for an official career in A.D. 503, consecutively taking up several minor positions in the court. For some time, he was attendant to Xiao Tong the Crown Prince (501-531), a patron of literature. This association could have given the Prince inspiration when he compiled the *Literary Anthology*,⁶ one of the most influential literary anthologies in Chinese history. In A.D. 520, Liu Xie took Buddhist vows in Dinglin Temple and died one year later.

The Philosophy of Literature in *Wenxin Diaolong*

Before the appearance of *Wenxin Diaolong*, critical remarks on art and literature could be found scattered in Confucian and Daoist classics, and in philosophies and histories. The first literary treatise was Cao Pi's (187-226) "Essay on Literature," of only about 600 words, preserved in his *Classic Treatise*. Then there appeared two slightly longer literary essays, the "Rhyme-prose on Literature" by Lu Ji (261-303) and the "Developments of Literary Writings" by Zhi Yu (?-311). Although all three essays deal with some

important issues of literature,⁷ in scope or depth, none can compare with *Wenxin Diaolong*.

While *Wenxin Diaolong* was a convergence and culmination of early statements on literature, it broached many other important issues of literature and literary criticism. Its 50 chapters fall neatly into two parts. The first part, consisting of the first 25 chapters, begins by providing a general statement of Liu Xie's philosophy of literature and critical framework. Then Chapters 6 through 25 cover studies of various literary genres. The second part consists of the remaining 25 chapters, including the postscript. It covers such critical issues as literary imagination, style, rhetoric, literary history, literary appreciation, and the integrity of the author's character.

Wenxin Diaolong outlines a philosophy of literature through three central concepts: *Dao*, *sheng*, and *wen*. The central point is that literature (*wen*) is intrinsic to humanity, which is an integral part of *Dao*, the cosmic process. This argument has profound ramifications for understanding the nature and functions of literature, the criteria of literary criticism, and the place of literature in Chinese culture and Chinese life.

Dao is a key term in Chinese philosophical discourse. Lao Zi deems it undefinable, saying, "The *Dao* that can be defined is not the constant *Dao*."⁸ Zhuang Zi does not define it either, but describes it with a story:

Tung Kuo Tzu asked Chuang Tzu: 'Where is the so-called *Tao*?' Chuang Tzu said: 'Everywhere.' The former said: 'Specify an instance of it.' 'It is in the ant.' 'How can *Tao* be anything so low?' 'It is in the panic grass.' 'How can it still be lower?' 'It is in the earthenware tile.' 'How can it still be lower?' 'It is in excrement.' To this Tung Kuo Tzu made no reply. Chuang Tzu said: 'Your question does not touch the fundamentals of *Tao*. You should not specify any particular thing. There is not a single thing without *Tao*. There are three terms: complete, all-embracing, and the whole.'

These three names are different, but denote the same reality; all refer to the one thing.⁹

The eminent modern Chinese philosopher and translator of this passage Feng Youlan describes this Dao as “the whole of the spontaneity or naturalness of the world.”¹⁰ Feng’s designation seems to go well with Liu Xie’s description, for Liu also attempts only to describe rather than define Dao. Chapter 1 of *Wenxin Diaolong* begins thus:

Great is the virtue of patterns! How are they coeval with heaven and earth? Now when the blue color parted from the yellow, and the round shape from the square, heaven and earth came into being. Like two interfolding jade mirrors, the sun and the moon reflect the images of heaven, while streams and mountains are interwoven into earthly patterns like gorgeous damask. They are manifestations of Dao. When earthly patterns and heavenly images take shape, inferior and superior places are established, and the two primal powers of heaven and earth are born. Yet only when humans join in does the Great Triad form. Endowed with the divine spark of consciousness, humans are the essence of the five elements, the mind of heaven and earth. When mind is born, speech appears. When speech appears, writing comes forth. This is the way of Dao. (Chapter 1, “Tracing the Origin to the Dao”)

The word “Dao” occurs at two points in this passage. One appears in the sentence “All are manifestations of Dao,” the other in the sentence “This is the way of Dao.” In neither case is a definition provided. Instead, Dao is taken as the primal source of existential and literary phenomena. To say that heaven and earth, the sun and moon, and mountains and rivers are the manifestations of Dao means that Dao dwells in them. Similarly, to trace writing to the mind of man and to regard man as the mind of heaven and earth is to trace the origin of writing to Dao. This conception of Dao as

the origin of literature emerges also in his discussion of the notion of *wen*.

A polysemant, *wen* is here translated variously as “manifestations,” “patterns,” “writing,” “composition” or “art,” depending on the context. The basic idea is that all forms of existence naturally possess *wen*, or manifestations and patterns. Scales and plumes are the manifestations of dragons and phoenixes, stripes and colors of tigers and leopards, the sun and moon of heaven, mountains and rivers of earth. Liu Xie brings literature into this system of manifestations through a skilful play “on the polysemy of *wen*,”¹¹ as James Liu notes. If all forms of existence have manifestations, Liu Xie reasons, how can a human being, “with a mind and a heart,” lack them? Liu Xie finds literature, more precisely writing, to be man’s “manifestations.” He says that when heaven and earth are properly established, the two primal powers come into being. “Yet only when humans join in does the Great Triad form.” (Chapter 1, “Tracing the Origin to the Dao”) Human participation forms the trinity of the universe, because with a mind and a heart a human being can breathe life and energy into the dormant forces of heaven and earth. He is a thinking and feeling being, and his thoughts and feelings are manifest through language and writing. Literature is thus intrinsic to humanity, which is intrinsic to Dao. In this way, literature is traced to Dao.

Modern scholars have debated heatedly about Liu Xie’s conception of literature. The debate was triggered by an argument that proposes that “Liu’s principal, theoretical orientation corresponds with remarkable fidelity to the definition of expressive theories generally which M. H. Abrams distilled from his researches in European critics.”¹² This argument gets a rebuttal from James Liu, who views Liu Xie’s conception of literature as primarily metaphysical, with strains of pragmatic, expressive, aesthetic, and technical concepts subordinating to it. James Liu argues:

As for the expressive concept, although this is emphasized in various places in Liu’s work, it is demonstrably subordinated to the

metaphysical through the concept of 'naturalness.' More than once Liu states that it is 'natural' for a man to reveal his nature in literary works (*wen*), just as it is natural for flora and fauna to manifest their natures through their outward beauty (*wen*). ... whereas Liu sees literature as part of the cosmic process of natural manifestation of inner qualities through outward patterns, purely expressive theorists see it as self-expression intended by the writer.¹³

This concern with the representational or expressive aspect of literature appears also in Stephen Owen's *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World*. Owen argues that Liu Xie's conception of literature is neither mimetic nor expressive, stating:

Concepts of imitation, representation, or even expression can never entirely free literature from its status as a secondary phenomenon, later and less than some 'original' (in the case of expression, the 'original' is a state of mind). Western theories of literature are the children of the Platonic critique, and though they rebel and marry into less tainted lines, they cannot escape their ancestry. If the 'originals' belong to this sensible world, the deficiencies and deviations of the imitation are all too apparent.¹⁴

Owen believes that Liu Xie's conception of literature is free of such deficiencies, because it views literature as a natural stage of a universal process of manifestation. Owen further states:

Wen, aesthetic pattern, is the outward manifestation of some latent order. From the primal configurations of Heaven and Earth down to the animals and plants, each class of phenomena manifests *wen* appropriate to its own kind. In the human, *wen*'s outwardness does not appear on the physical body; *wen* is here manifest through the essential human characteristic, 'mind.' The outward, manifest form

of the activities of 'mind' is 'writing,' *wen* —or its essential form, 'literature,' *wen*. ...in this formulation literature is not truly mimetic: rather it is the final stage in a process of manifestation; and the writer, instead of 're-presenting' the outer world, is in fact only the medium for this last phase of the world's coming-to-be.¹⁵

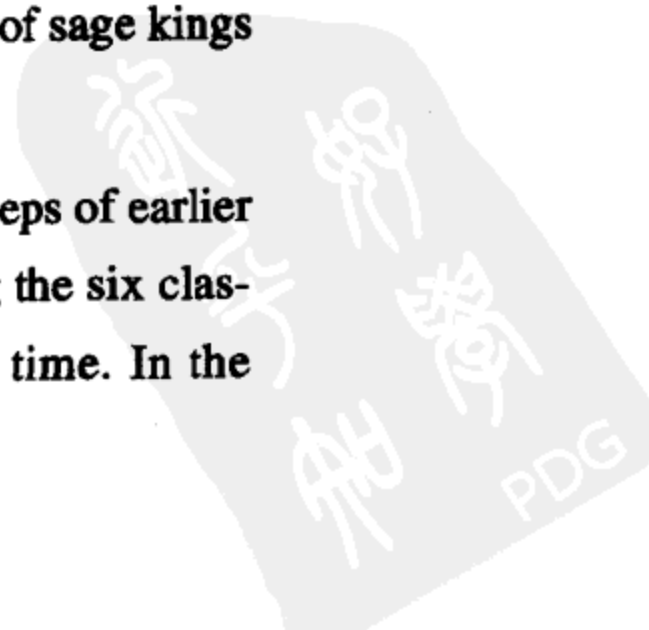
By avoiding the dichotomy of representation and expression, Owen thus rejects the Western concept of the primacy of nature or the mind in literary creation. In so doing, he reveals some of the mysteries of the Chinese conception of literature as an organic process of the cosmic order.¹⁶

Having established Dao as the origin of literature, Liu Xie raises a third point: What writings are the most desirable? His answer is the sages' writings, the sages being the wisest interpreters of Dao:

From the age of Fu Xi down to the time of Confucius, the early sages established codes and Confucius the Uncrowned King transmitted them. They followed Dao in their writings and established their teachings in accord with Divine Reason. They studied the images on the Yellow River Diagram and the Writing from River Luo and divined with yarrow stalks and tortoise shells; they observed heavenly patterns to probe into the rules of change and examined writings from mortal hands to accomplish transformation. In this way they governed the world, instituted eternal laws, achieved noble deeds, and made their writings shine forth. (Chapter 1, "Tracing the Origin to the Dao")

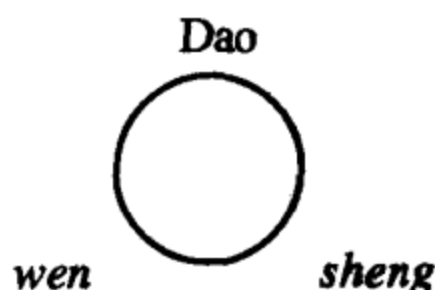
In the same chapter, Liu Xie enumerates the achievements of sage kings before Confucius, and then writes:

Then came Master Confucius, who followed in the steps of earlier sages but outshone them all. By revising and editing the six classics, he brought together the best works up to his time. In the



cultivation of human nature and the skilful use of language, his teachings reverberated a thousand *li* like the sound of the wooden bell-clapper. The virtue of his writings resounded for countless generations. By transmitting the glory of heaven and earth, they opened up the horizons of the people. (Chapter 1, "Tracing the Origin to the Dao")

To the two concepts of *Dao* and *wen* is thus added a third element, *sheng*, or the sage, as the perfection of humanity. The sage is as indispensable in this trinity as the human being is to heaven and earth. As the human joins in to constitute the trinity of the universe, so the sage is the vital agent between *wen* and *Dao*. The human being is the mind of heaven and earth, the sage embodies *wen* and *Dao*. Liu Xie describes the relationship among *Dao*, *sheng* and *wen* in the following terms: "Dao perpetuates writing (*wen*) through the sages (*sheng*) and the sages manifest *Dao* through writing." (Chapter 1, "Tracing the Origin to the Dao") In other words, the principle of the universe perpetuates literature through writers, who manifest that principle through literature. In both processes, it depends on the writer, the creator of literature. The following diagram illustrates this relationship:¹⁷



This is a circular relationship, where every component depends on and passes into every other. The relationship is fluid, harmonious, and dynamic.

As I will show below, Liu Xie's philosophy of literature as an intrinsic part of human existence, which is integral to the larger scheme of *Dao*, runs through his discussions of literary genres, imagination, style, rhetoric, and literary appreciation.

Genre Theory

Liu Xie's genre theory is the consummation of his time. Before him, Cao Pi, Lu Ji, Zhi Yu and Xiao Tong the Crown Prince had all touched on the question of genres in their literary discourse. In his "Essay on Literature," Cao Pi listed eight genres, to which Lu Ji added two more. Lu Ji's contemporary Zhi Yu, who compiled the *Developments of Literary Writings*, not only distinguished more genre categories, but also illustrated them with examples and summarized their stylistic features. Finally, in compiling the *Literary Anthology*, Xiao Tong made a serious attempt to distinguish between literary and non-literary writings and classify the literary writings by genre. In many ways, therefore, the way had been paved for Liu Xie, and yet he was able to break new ground.

First, Liu Xie made a clear distinction between *wen* (rhymed writing) and *bi* (unrhymed writing). Before him, the term *wen bi* was sometimes used together to refer to fine writing. Sometimes *wen* was used to refer to rhymed and embellished writing and *bi* to stand for unrhymed and plain writing. Liu Xie clarified the distinction by consistently using *wen* to refer to all rhymed writing and *bi*, all unrhymed writing.¹⁸ Thus chapters 6 through 15 in *Wenxin Diaolong* deal with genres of rhymed writing while chapters 16 through 25 focus on unrhymed genres.

Second, Liu Xie develops a critical method in his genre study. He describes this method in his postscript and considers it to be the guideline for the first part of his book:

When I discussed verse and prose writings, I distinguished various genres. I traced their origins to demonstrate their developments, defined terms to clarify their meanings, listed exemplary pieces to illustrate my points, and discussed the general characteristics of each genre. (Chapter 50, "My Intentions, or Postscript")

If Liu's predecessors had touched on the stylistic implications of

individual genres and treated generic development in a haphazard manner, Liu was more of a system builder.

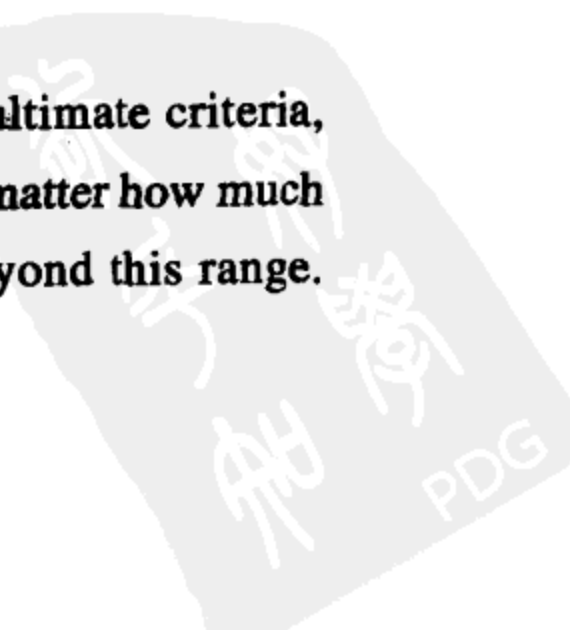
Third, Liu Xie's genre theory is integrated with his general philosophy of literature. In Chapter 1, he already shows that the sage is the vital agent between *wen* and Dao. In Chapter 3, entitled "Modeling on the Classics," he establishes the classics as the source of all later genres:

The *Book of Changes* is the fountainhead of treatise, discourse, preface and *ci*; the *Book of Documents* is the source of edict, decree, laudatory address and report to the throne; the *Book of Poetry* is the origin of rhyme-prose, hymn, song and eulogy; the *Book of Rites* is the beginning of inscription, mourning-song, admonition, and prayer; and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is the root of chronicle, biography, oath, and dispatch. (Chapter 3, "Modeling on the Classics")

Although Liu Xie is to discuss in detail at least 34 genres,¹⁹ the five categories herein listed under the five Confucian classics embrace all the individual genres that he will deal with. As Huang Kan points out in his *Wenxin Diaolong Zhaji*, the category under the *Book of Changes* embraces expository writing, that under the *Book of Poetry* embraces verse compositions that express feelings, that under the *Book of Rites* includes verse compositions used in rites and ceremonies, and that under the *Spring and Autumn Annals* combines historical records with expository writing.²⁰

Immediately after classifying the various genres under the classics, Liu Xie comments on the classics:

They all reach great heights and establish the ultimate criteria, opening up boundless territories of writing. No matter how much various writers aspire to, they cannot reach beyond this range. (Chapter 3, "Modeling on the Classics")



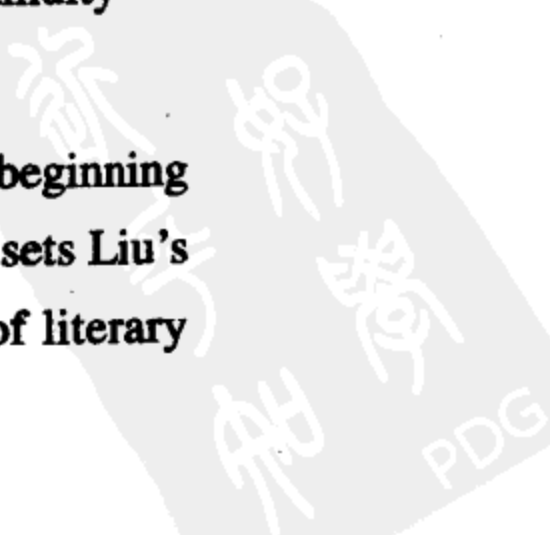
Emphasizing the differences between later genres and the classics, some critics regard this view as narrow-minded.²¹ Such criticism is not entirely unfounded. However, it is crucial to put Liu Xie's approach in his general framework, where generic continuity has an important position. Liu sums up his views on generic continuity in Chapter 29:

The genres of writing are constant; the art of writing is changeable. How do we know this? The names of genres such as poetry, rhyme-prose, letter and memorandum correspond to reality, so they are constant. Language and thought will retain lasting appeal only when they are constantly renewed: This is the art of change. Since the names of genres correspond to the reality, the forms of writing should be based on works of the past. Since the art of change is not fixed, new works should be studied. (Chapter 29, "Continuity and Change")

Here Liu Xie reveals the two-sided character of a genre — that it is both changing and unchanging.²² He elaborates:

Now the color blue is produced from the indigo, the color red from the madder. Although they are both superior to their primary colors, they cannot be transformed further.... Therefore, to refine the colors blue and red, one must return to indigo and madder; to rectify the erratic and superficial elements in writing, one must take the classics as models. If a writer can strike a balance between substance and form and between the classical and the popular, he can be consulted on the laws of continuity and change. (Chapter 29, "Continuity and Change")

This passage harks back to Liu Xie's thematic statement at the beginning of his treatise about the centrality of the sages' writings. It thus sets Liu's genre theory in his critical framework and reasserts the merit of literary



continuity.

Chapter 5 "Evaluating *Sao*, or the *Songs of the South*" illustrates Liu's theory of generic continuity. *Sao*, the major new genre to emerge after the *Book of Poetry*, is the first problem Liu Xie has to tackle after he has shown the significance of the sages' writings. If, as he says, no later writers could "go beyond the range of the classics," how is he to view the *Songs of the South* by Qu Yuan and his disciples? These are powerful works, yet they are different from the *Book of Poetry* in style and subject matter.

Liu Xie's solution is to incorporate it into his theory of generic continuity and change. He writes in the postscript:

...in writing *Manifesting the Literary Mind* I have started with the Dao, followed the sages, modeled on the classics, studied apocrypha, and pondered on the laws of change manifested in the *Songs of the South*. (Chapter 50, "My Intentions, or Postscript")

Liu's reflections on these laws of change are quite ingenious. After dismissing the biases in earlier criticisms of the *Songs of the South*, he sums up four positive qualities that Qu Yuan's works share with the classics: They "adopted the themes of the *Book of Documents*," "aimed at giving warnings and admonitions," "followed the classical model of comparison and metaphor," and "express the plaint of loyal ministers." Liu Xie also suggests that Qu Yuan deviated from the classics in four respects. These are the "absurd descriptions," "chimerical phantasies," "narrow-minded pride," and "licentiousness." The qualities that Liu Xie rejected are those that were to lead later literature, especially the Han works of rhyme-prose, into extravagance and shallow novelty. That is why Liu Xie puts the *Songs of the South* below the *Book of Poetry* but above rhyme-prose.

On Imagination

"Imagination" is at best a rough translation of Liu Xie's term *shensi*. *Shensi* literally means "spiritual thinking" or "miraculous thinking," while

“imagination” has historically specific meanings in English literary criticism. The concept of imagination is often associated with 19th-century English romantic poets, particularly Samuel Taylor Coleridge.²³ Yet *shensi* and “imagination” share some important similarities. First, both *shensi* and “imagination” refer to a kind of spontaneous and creative power in the process of literary creation. Coleridge describes the rules of imagination as “the very powers of growth and production,”²⁴ powers that are “essentially vital.”²⁵ Similarly, Liu Xie’s *shensi* works in a state of unobstructedness and naturalness: “Therefore instead of racking his brains, a writer should nourish his heart and cultivate his art. To master the rules of writing and produce fine works, there is no need to labor the mind.” (Chapter 26, “*Shensi*, or Imagination”)

Second, while both *shensi* and imagination are spontaneous creative powers, they presuppose experience and learning. Thus Li Xie writes:

The quick writer achieves instant success; the careful writer makes better accomplishments with longer delay. Quick or slow, they must rely on both learning and experience. I have never heard of anybody accomplishing anything who, lacking learning, works slowly, or having no talent, writes quickly. (Chapter 26, “*Shensi*, or Imagination”)

And Coleridge:

What then shall we say? even this: that Shakespeare, no mere child of nature; no automaton of genius.... first studied patiently, meditated deeply, understood minutely, till knowledge, became habitual and intuitive...at length gave birth to that stupendous power.²⁶

Finally, as Liu Xie emphasizes tranquility, the cleansing of the heart and the purification of the spirit as preparations for the workings of *shensi*, so Coleridge believes that imagination needs a time of patient preparation.

“Dejection: An Ode” contains the following lines:

For not to think of what needs I must feel,
But to be still and patient, all I can;
And haply by abstruse research to steal
From my own nature all the natural man....²⁷

Written when Coleridge was experiencing a period of creative lethargy, the poem was an invocation to imagination. It emphasizes mental tranquility and “still and patient” waiting. Despite their difference in philosophical background, this tranquility shares some similarities with Liu Xie’s state of mental void. It is because of these similarities that the term *shensi* is here rendered as “imagination.”²⁸

In the history of Chinese literary criticism, Lu Ji was the first to bring up the problem of imagination. In “Rhyme-prose on Literature,” he writes:

As for the interaction of stimulus and response, and the principle of the flowing and ebbing of inspiration, you cannot hinder its coming or stop its going. It vanishes like a shadow, and it comes like echoes. When the Heavenly Arrow²⁹ is at its fleetest and sharpest, what confusion is there that cannot be brought to order? The wind of thought bursts from the heart; the stream of words rushes through the lips and teeth.³⁰

Like Lu Ji, Liu Xie is aware of the transitory nature of imagination. He describes its sweeping power while acknowledging that imagination may become sluggish:

A writer’s imagination travels far. When he is absorbed in silent thought, his mind ranges across a thousand years; without opening his eyes, his vision penetrates a distance of ten thousand *li*. He produces pearl-like sounds in recitation and conjures up whirling winds and rolling clouds before his eyes. Is this not due to the

magical power of imagination! The mystery of imagination lies in the merging of the spirit with the physical world. Vital energy holds the key to the spirit, which resides in the heart. Words and speech control the hub of the physical world, which greets the ears and the eyes. When the hub works smoothly, no forms of the world can be hidden. When the key is clogged, the spirit wants to flee. (Chapter 26, “*Shensi*, or Imagination”)

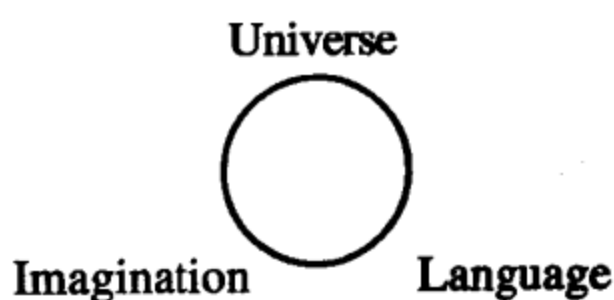
Lu Ji wondered at “the causes of the flowing and the not flowing” of imagination, but Liu Xie believes that imagination can be cultivated:

Therefore, mental void and emotional tranquility are essential for cultivating literary thought. Dredge the heart, purify the spirit. Use diligence to accumulate knowledge, judgment to enrich talent, experience to achieve thorough understanding, taste to select language. (Chapter 26, “*Shensi*, or Imagination”)

This passage raises two important points. One is that the workings of imagination depend on the writer’s mental and physical condition. The other is that they also rely on experience and learning. The point about learning and experience is brought up against Liu Xie’s contemporary trend of superficial writing. The emphasis on mental tranquility, Daoist in nature, was not new to writers of Liu’s time, but Liu Xie seems to be the first to perceive the connection between this Daoist concept and imagination.³¹ As the state of emptiness and tranquility was considered as divine by Daoists, this connection elevates imagination to divine status.

In the structure of the book, Chapter 26 parallels Chapter 1. In Chapter 1, “Tracing the Origin to the Dao,” Liu Xie is concerned with the pedigree of literature and the external causes of literature. Chapter 26 shifts to the working processes and internal causes of literary creation. Liu elevates literature to cosmic significance by tracing the external causes and exalts literary creation to divine status by revealing its internal causes.

In Chapter 26, Liu Xie uses another trinity to complement the trinity of Dao, *sheng*, and *wen*. Where earlier Liu plays on the multiple meanings of the word *wen* to develop his theory of *wen* as an inherent part of Dao, now he focuses on language and its expressive functions. Similarly, while in Chapter 1 he discusses the metaphysical aspect of Dao as the principle of the universe, here he turns to its physical forms as nature, the world, or simply *things*. He has developed the idea of the sage as the agent between *Dao* and *wen*, he now proposes the workings of the spirit as the vital vehicle between *things* and language. That is why he says that the mystery of imagination lies in the merging of the spirit with the physical world and the physical world depends on language for its delineation. The following diagram shows the relationship in Liu Xie's trinity of universe, imagination and language:



It is clear how this trinity matches the trinity of Dao, *sheng*, and *wen*. Each deals with one aspect of literature — its cosmic and internal sources.

On Style

“Le style c’est l’homme meme.” It seems that long before Comte de Buffon (1707-1788) made his famous statement, Liu Xie had developed a stylistic theory based on a similar idea. This idea is carried in the title of Liu Xie’s treatise. *Dragon-Carving and the Literary Mind* combines the bipartite constitution of writing — language and the mind. “Dragon carving” refers to the use of language and linguistic embellishments. “Literary mind” refers to what is manifest in literary composition. The character *xin*, here translated as mind, is a polysemant referring to both mind and heart. Therefore, the literary mind in Liu Xie’s title represents the feeling and thinking

person. A possible paraphrase of the title would be “the expression of feeling and thought in embellished language.”

The basic elements of Liu Xie’s stylistic theory are outlined in the chapter on imagination, where Liu’s emphasis on the purification of the mind and the dredging of the heart links literary creation to self-cultivation. Chapter 27 develops the idea most fully:

When emotion stirs, language takes form. When ideas come, writings appear. Thus the obscure becomes manifest and the internal is externalized. However, talent may be mediocre or outstanding, vitality masculine or feminine, learning deep or shallow, upbringing refined or vulgar. All this results from differences in nature and nurture. Hence the cloud-like variations in the realm of writing and the wave-like undulations in the garden of literature. Mediocrity or brilliance of language and thought depends on talent, masculinity or effeminacy of style is determined by personality, depth or shallowness of meaning is related to learning, elegance or baseness of style is contingent on cultivation. Each writer follows his own heart and the differences between one and another are as clear as two different faces. (Chapter 27, “Style and Natural Endowments”)

Style is seen here as the sum-total of an individual — his talent, vitality, learning, and cultivation. Differences in these respects yield different styles. Liu Xie illustrates these differences by discussing the styles of 12 authors. For example, about the well-known rhyme-prose writer Sima Xiangru, he writes that because Sima had a proud and unrestrained personality, his writings also used inflated language. About Yang Xiong, he says that because Yang was a quiet and pensive man, his writings were deep.

Behind Liu Xie’s view of style as the person lies a long literary tradition. It is summed up in the epigrammatic and influential saying “Poetry expresses sentiments” in the *Book of Documents*. The character *zhi*, here

translated as “sentiments,” refers to the intents of *xin*. As *xin* embodies both heart and mind, so *zhi* represents both feeling and thought. By registering the mind and heart (not “action,” as in Aristotle’s theory of tragedy) as the realm of poetry, ancient Chinese poetics from the very beginning regards literature as the expression of the human being.

Liu Xie’s stylistic theory was also influenced by the practice of *qing tan*, or “pure conversations”. Originating in a system of selecting officials effected at the end of the Han and the beginning of the Wei dynasties, the practice of “pure conversations” gradually shed its political import and became a means of oral character portraits among the gentry class. The most famous collection of such conversations was *A New Account of Tales of the World* compiled by Liu Yiqing (403-444). It records sundry comments on the behavior, personality, manners, and appearances of contemporary celebrities. One chapter in the collection, titled “Appearance and Behavior,” contains an episode about the poet Ji Kang (223-262):

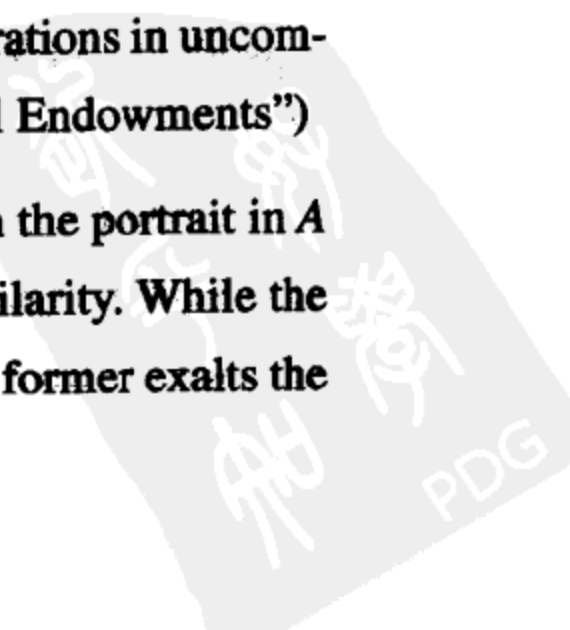
Hsi K’ang’s body was seven feet, eight inches tall, and his manner and appearance conspicuously outstanding. Some who saw him sighed, saying, ‘Serene and sedate, fresh and transparent, pure and exalted!’ Others would say, ‘Soughing like the wind beneath the pines, high and gently blowing.’³²

About the same poet Ji Kang, Liu Xie says,

...only Ji and Ruan stood out, Ji with his austere purity, Ruan with his depth. (Chapter 6, “Illuminating Poetry”)

Bold and chivalrous, Ji Kang expressed high aspirations in uncompromising terms. (Chapter 27, “Style and Natural Endowments”)

A comparison of Liu Xie’s description of Ji Kang with the portrait in *A New Account of Tales of the World* reveals one major similarity. While the latter praises the towering majesty of Ji Kang the man, the former exalts the



pure and lofty thoughts of Ji Kang the poet. The poet is at one with the man.

Even Liu Xie's terms share similarities with the descriptions in *A New Account of Tales of the World*. For example, *fenggu* (literally "wind and bone"), a key concept in Liu Xie's stylistic theory, occurs several times in Liu Yiqing's book. Look at the following passage from *The History of Wu*, which Liu Yiqing quotes to illustrate Sun Quan's character:

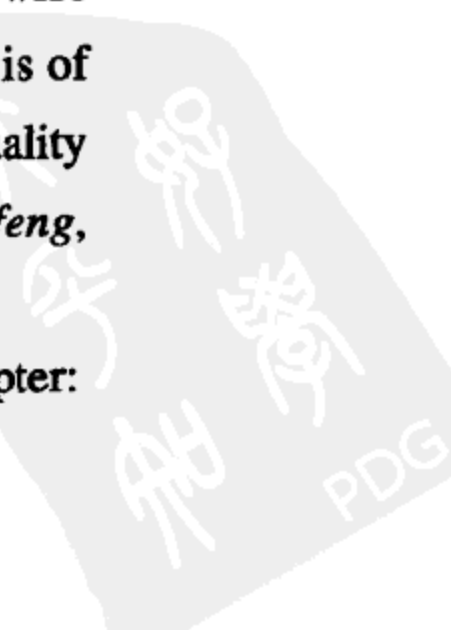
It's only the younger brother, Ch'uan, the Filial and Incorrupt, whose form and appearance are majestically imposing, and whose bones and frame are extraordinary, signifying greatness and nobility.³³

Also in "Contempt and Insults": "An old characterization of Han Po went, 'Seize his elbow, and there's no character or bone.'" ³⁴ Remarks like these lead our contemporary aesthetician Li Zehou to believe that the term *fenggu* in *Wenxin Diaolong* was borrowed from these conversations before they exerted far-reaching influence on Chinese literary criticism.³⁵

Having shown the close relationship between style and the person, Liu Xie goes on to distinguish eight styles, namely, the elegant, the recondite, the concise, the plain, the ornate, the sublime, the eccentric, and the frivolous. He does not like the last two, but of the other six, which is his ideal? Or is another ideal style to be located elsewhere in his treatise?

In his *The Theory of Style in Wenxin Diaolong*, Zhan Ying is inclined to recommend *fenggu* as Liu Xie's ideal style, comparing it to Longinus's idea of the sublime.³⁶ Yet *fenggu* is not exactly the designation of a style, but a metaphor used to hint at certain stylistic features that cannot be otherwise clearly delineated. It is perhaps more appropriate to say that *fenggu* is of itself not a style, but an important quality of a good style. This is the quality of strength and vigor as represented by the signification of the term *feng*, wind and *gu*, bone or structure.

Besides strength, Liu Xie mentions another quality in the same chapter:



A colorful golden pheasant cannot fly more than a hundred paces, because it has more flesh than sinew. A hawk or falcon, plain-looking as it is, can soar to the sky, because it has strong bones and vigor. The same principle applies to writing. Works possessing “wind” and “bone” without ornaments are like hawks and falcons in the forest of literature; ornamented works not sustained by “wind” and “bone” are like pheasants in the garden of writing. Only when a composition both shines with rhetorical brilliance and soars high does it resemble a phoenix. (Chapter 28, “‘Wind’ and ‘Bone’”)

Works with “wind” and “bone” are good, according to Liu Xie, but not good enough. The ideal composition should be both forceful and graceful. The phoenix is the symbol for such an ideal style. The modern commentator Xu Fuguan locates this ideal style in *yali*, the elegant and beautiful or elegantly beautiful. Xu suggests that the style ‘elegantly beautiful’ may be regarded as the essence extracted from the eight styles. He explains that Liu Xie favors this style because it is derived from the classics.³⁷

Liu Xie himself frequently mentions “elegantly beautiful” as a highly desirable style. At the end of Chapter 27, he writes, “The elegant and beautiful resemble perfect silk embroideries, / The excessive and frivolous are like the mixture of red and purple.” In Chapter 6, Liu regards elegance as the proper style of four-character verse, which had developed from the *Book of Poetry*. He considers “beauty” as the ideal style of five-character verse, which originated in the *Book of Poetry* and in early folk songs. Chapter 2 “Venerating the Sages” states, “The elegance and beauty of the sages’ writings show that they bear both flowers and fruits.” Then Chapter 8:

Feeling surges in response to objects, hence meaning must be clear and noble; objects when viewed are tinged with feeling, hence language must be vivid and beautiful. When beautiful language is combined with elegant meaning, substance and form are in harmony

like the arrangement of the red and purple in weaving or the blending of the black and yellow in painting. (Chapter 8, "Interpreting *Fu*, or Rhyme-prose")

These examples show that the "elegantly beautiful" is Liu Xie's ideal style. This style seems to befit Liu Xie's cosmic view of literature because of its harmonious and natural combination of substance and form.

On Rhetoric

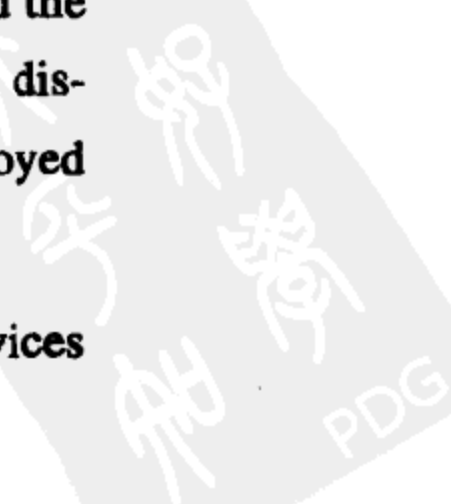
About one fifth of *Wenxin Diaolong* is concerned with rhetoric. Issues discussed include the choice of words, sentence and paragraph arrangement, overall organization of a composition, and rhetorical devices such as parallelism, comparison and metaphor, hyperbole and allusion. Two principles run consistently through Liu Xie's theory of rhetoric. One is harmony or unity. The other is propriety. Propriety is the principle underlying his discussions of rhetorical devices. Liu makes this point when he speaks of comparisons:

It is to be observed that although comparisons are numerous, in their applications, fitness is the top priority. If a swan is represented as a duck, the comparison loses its point. (Chapter 36, "Comparison and Metaphor")

In discussing hyperbole, he writes,

Used appropriately, hyperbole can help express feeling fully. If exaggeration oversteps reason, language and reality would clash. Real excellence yields when, the profound meanings of the *Book of Poetry* and *Book of Documents* having been considered and the excessiveness of Yang Xiong and Sima Xiangru having been discarded, hyperbole is used with restraint and ornament employed without falsity. (Chapter 37, "Hyperbole")

Liu Xie clearly opposes excessiveness in the use of rhetorical devices



and favors propriety. For him, unity and harmony are the defining principles of organization. Chapter 43 on "Organization" begins thus:

By organization I mean the unifying of themes, the cohering of beginning and end, the choice between what to keep and what to delete, and the bridging of gaps. It is that by which the miscellaneous elements of a composition are merged into an orderly whole. It is like the foundation of a house, or the sticking together of seams in sewing. When a child learns to write, he should first learn the correct way of organization.

Liu Xie stresses the organic unity of a composition:

In establishing themselves in writing, people follow the growth of words into sentences, the accumulation of sentences into paragraphs, and the combination of paragraphs into a complete composition. The brilliance of the whole depends on the perfection of paragraphs, a perfect paragraph on flawless sentences, a flawless sentence on the appropriate choice of words. Words to a composition are like roots to a tree: The excellence of the roots determines all. (Chapter 34, "Paragraph and Sentence")

Chapter 32, "Casting and Cutting," makes a similar point:

A double toe or finger is a natural superfluity; a tumor in the body is an extra growth. An idea when repeated is a double toe or finger; redundant words and sentences are tumors.

It is notable that Liu uses such words as "growth," "toe," and "finger," words normally applied to living things. They indicate Liu Xie's emphasis on the organic unity of a composition.

The principles of harmony and propriety in Liu Xie's theory of rhetoric are consistent with his philosophy of literature — the naturalness and spontaneity of writing as an intrinsic element of humanity. That the idea of

organic unity corresponds with the theme of naturalness is easy to understand, because things organic are considered as natural and spontaneous. How does propriety dovetail with the theme of naturalness? Chapter 35 explains:

Nature endows all living beings with paired limbs; Divine Reason lets nothing stand alone. Literary language is born of the heart, the vehicle of a hundred thoughts. In the proper arrangement of thoughts, it naturally falls into pairs. (Chapter 35, "Parallelism")

Here Liu Xie locates the origin of parallelism and the human body in Divine Reason. As Chapter 1 shows, Divine Reason refers to Dao: "From the age of Fu Xi down to the time of Confucius, the early sages established codes and Confucius the Uncrowned King transmitted them. They followed Dao in their writings and established their teachings in accord with Divine Reason." (Chapter 1, "Tracing the Origin to the Dao"). By tracing the origin of parallelism to Divine Reason, Liu Xie explains why the propriety of rhetorical devices is consistent with the general theme of naturalness in writing and reiterates his general philosophy that literature, like mountains and rivers, is a natural constituent of Dao.

Liu Xie considers parallelism as a rhetorical device of paramount importance. He writes that Divine Reason lets nothing stand alone, so that all creatures have paired limbs, and words also fall into pairs. Many contemporary scholars have recognized the significance of parallelism in Chinese writing. In his comparative study of parallelisms in Chinese and Western literatures, Andrew H. Plaks points out that the type of parallelism in the Greek and Latin classics, in Hebrew and Arabic texts, even in John Lyly's *Euphues*, "is more or less limited to the function of rhetorical ornamentation," while in Chinese writing "this is more of a natural mode of utterance than a poetic intensification."³⁸ Plaks calls attention to "the connection between dual constructions in lines of prose and poetry and the predominance

of dualistic thinking in Chinese philosophical discourse.”³⁹ He continues:

From as early as the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*, Chinese theorists recognized that the studied pairing of literary phenomena was modeled on what was perceived to be the essential pairing of existential phenomena in the given universe.⁴⁰

To say that the pairing of literary phenomena is modeled on the pairing of existential phenomena is to recognize the fundamental relationship between art and the universe. It affirms the cosmic significance of literature.⁴¹

Liu Xie as a Humanist Critic

Why is *Wenxin Diaolong* still read today? Indeed, why has it attracted such unprecedented interest in the recent decades? To be sure, the cadences of its poetic prose are enjoyable and the practical advice about composition may still be useful. Yet these are inconsequential. Nor are Liu Xie’s insights about literary criticism the most crucial thing here, although many of them speak directly to literary theories today. The real appeal of *Wenxin Diaolong* lies elsewhere. As I noted at the beginning, *Wenxin Diaolong* articulates a philosophy of literature that injects a literary spirit into Chinese culture and Chinese life. In Liu Xie’s view, literature and literary activities are integral to humanity. They are *humane* pursuits. Moreover, as humanity and literature are both of the cosmic order, literary activities are cosmic activities. I have shown above that Liu Xie’s literary theories emanate from this philosophy of literature.

The cultural spirit implicit in this philosophy of literature, however, is less transparent in *Wenxin Diaolong*, if only because it is more pervasive. This cultural spirit may best be described, in today’s language, as humanism. It is the spirit of humanism in *Wenxin Diaolong* that gives the work its lasting appeal. This spirit is most recognizable in the following forms.

First, Liu Xie has a profound sense of humility and a deep understanding of the frailties of humanity and hence of the limits of human creativity. This

seems surprising, given that much of my previous discussion has shown how Liu Xie attributes cosmic significance to literature. Paradoxically, the sense of human frailty has its origin in the same source. The cosmic location of literature, as of humanity, is both its source of power and the limits of that very power. While literature is intrinsic to humanity, which is intrinsic to the cosmic Dao, Dao is dependent on neither. This leaves Liu Xie with a sense of humility that surfaces in various forms in *Wenxin Diaolong*. Thus he laments the shortness of human life and expresses the yearning for a lasting name, as shown in the following lines from Chapter 17, "Gold and precious stones may be destroyed, but a great name lives forever." And in the somber final lines of the book, he philosophizes that "Life has an end, / Wisdom has no confine." (Chapter 50, "My Intentions, or Postscript")

Liu Xie's celebration of the power of the human intellect and imagination, and of thought and language, reveals a similar awareness of their limits. More than once, just as soon as he starts off in a celebratory mode, he pauses to ponder their limits:

When imagination is bestirred, ten thousand avenues compete to open up. The shapeless is given shape; the unformed begins to take form. If at this moment the writer ascends a mountain, his feeling will permeate the mountain. If he surveys the sea, his emotion will overflow the sea. Thus the capacity of his talent will sweep along with winds and clouds. Holding up his brush, he feels too overwhelmed by his vital energy to concentrate on the choice of words. When he finishes writing, he finds himself only half expressed. Why? Because ideas, being intangible, rush in like a miracle; words, being concrete, cannot be easily made ingenious. (Chapter 26, "*Shensi*, or Imagination")

In the same chapter, again speaking of the human creative power, he writes:

Ingenious meaning may be extracted from coarse words; fresh ideas may come out of commonplace discussions. It is like weaving hemp into cloth: Although the hemp is worthless in itself, the shuttle and the loom can turn it into valuable fabric. As for the subtleties of thought and intricacies of meaning between the lines, words cannot capture them fully and my brush knows when to halt. (Chapter 26, "*Shensi*, or Imagination")

The most powerful articulation of the limits of the human creative power comes at the very end of the book. Summing up his entire endeavor, he laments:

Thus galloping in the field of literature, I have almost covered the whole ground. Yet language cannot exhaust meaning: Even the Sage finds it hard to do so. My views are limited to a tube, how can I discuss fully the laws of writing? Gone are days of yore, uncertain the times to come. My meager knowledge will soon be buried. I only hope that it will not cloud the view of future generations. (Chapter 50, "My Intentions, or Postscript")

Second, Liu Xie's sense of humility and human frailty makes him a warm and sympathetic critic, no less sharp or insightful for that, yet utterly sensitive and humane. He expresses his critical sensibility in the following terms:

To evaluate one piece of work is easy; to give an overview of so many is hard. Although I have mentioned briefly some minor issues and treated in detail the essentials of writing, there must have been subtleties and nuances that have eluded my vision or gone beyond my power of language. If some of the ideas here coincide with past opinion, it does not mean that I have copied them but that they are irrefutable. If they differ, it does not mean that I deliberately set out to contradict past opinion but that I have no reason to

accept them as true. Whether my views differ or not from other people's has nothing to do with whether these people are ancients or moderns. My foremost concern is to combine close analysis with unbiased judgments. (Chapter 50, "My Intentions, or Postscript")

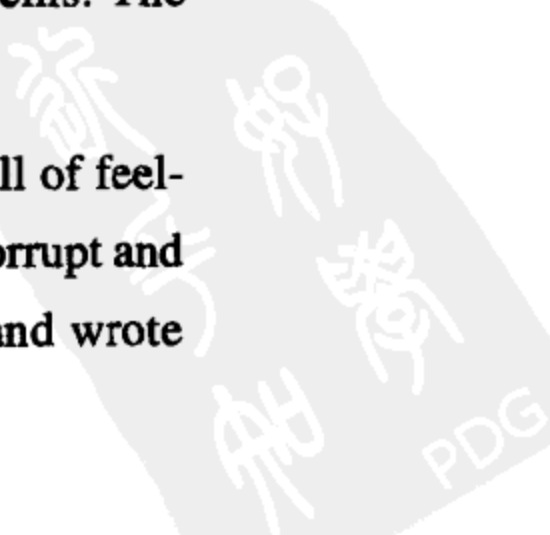
A passage from Chapter 45 illustrates this critical sensibility in action. Here he reviews the writers of the Jian'an period, whom he greatly admires. He begins this section thus: "After Emperor Xian of Han was forced to move his capital, men of letters fluttered around like tumbleweed. Peace was not restored until the end of the Jian'an period." (Chapter 45, "Literature and the Times")

Then he names 13 writers in one breath, conveying the excitement of literary gatherings around Cao Cao and his two sons in times of great social upheaval. "Despite their royal positions," Liu writes, the three Cao's "showed such respect to writers that men of talents gathered like clouds."

From Hannan came Wang Can, from Hebei came Chen Lin, from Qingzhou came Xu Gan, from the distant seaside came Liu Zhen. Ying Yang wrote down his splendid thoughts; Ruan Yu recorded his joy. Lu Cui and Fan Qin, Handan Chun and Yang Xiu, and all their group, displayed talents in wine and talked about poetry at the feast table. Holding up a writing brush, they produced merry songs, which led to more merry-making. (Chapter 45, "Literature and the Times")

And yet merry-making was not the main theme of their poems. The chapter continues to note the poignancy of these works:

A look at the works of the time shows that they were full of feeling. In an age of war and turmoil, when the world was corrupt and the people were discontented, poets pondered deeply and wrote



with a poignant pen. Their works were spirited and impassioned. (Chapter 45, "Literature and the Times")

A passage from Chapter 16 illustrates his sympathetic approach. He writes here of the challenges of historical writing, not only because it requires classical learning and familiarity with current affairs, but also because for those who write about events of the distant past, "many facts may prove of dubious authenticity," whereas the writing of contemporary histories is influenced by the nature of the contemporary events. He continues,

The same writing brush that blows frostbite also brings nourishing rain; that which freezes also melts. How regrettable it is to find such distortions in writings about contemporary events! It is now clear that writings about ancient history or contemporary events cannot be free of distortions. To be fair in judgment demands a divine heart. (Chapter 16, "Historical Writings")

Third, the humanist in Liu Xie is also evident in his emphasis on empathy in literary interpretation and his insistence that literature be concerned with human affairs as well as with the expression of personal feelings. On matters of interpretation, Liu Xie again points to the difficulties, expressing a surprisingly modern view on how readers bring their own subjective experience to the works:

Writing is a complicated thing, where substance and art are intermingled. Most critics are biased; few have a balanced view.... People applaud and read what is to their taste; they avoid and dismiss what is not to their taste. Each brings his own limited views to the judgment of writings, and yet writings are by nature diverse. If people look to the east, they will not see the western wall. (Chapter 48, "An Appreciative Critic")



He recommends an approach that stresses empathetic understanding, again a very modern concern:

An author writes when emotionally stirred. A critic enters into the author's feeling by reading the work. In the tracing of the fountainhead from the waters, the obscure is made manifest. Though authors who lived in the remote past can no longer be seen, their minds can be read through their writings. (Chapter 48, "An Appreciative Critic")

In addition, Liu Xie believes that writers should be engaged with human affairs, not detached from them. A writer of moral grandeur, or what he calls a man of virtue, "nourishes his nature to build up his moral integrity and displays achievements to make his name." He continues,

In substance he is solid as cedarwood, in appearance lofty as a camphor tree. Writing, he is an advisor on state affairs. Taking up heavy responsibilities, he is a pillar of the state. When frustrated, he cultivates his character and immortalizes himself through writing. When in office, he uses the opportunity to make political achievements. Men of letters such as these can be considered as accomplished as a good carpenter's work. (Chapter 49, "Moral Integrity")

A final characteristic of Liu Xie as a humanist critic is his historical sensibility.⁴² He was sensitive to the temporal rhythm of human life: "As spring and autumn alternate, people's moods change accordingly. When changes happen in the natural world, the heart stirs in response." (Chapter 46, "The Forms of the Natural World") He was equally alert to the rise and fall of dynasties, times of war and times of peace, and periods of human prosperity or adversity. His historical sensibility was attuned to the influences of these changing times on literary activities. As he says, "An

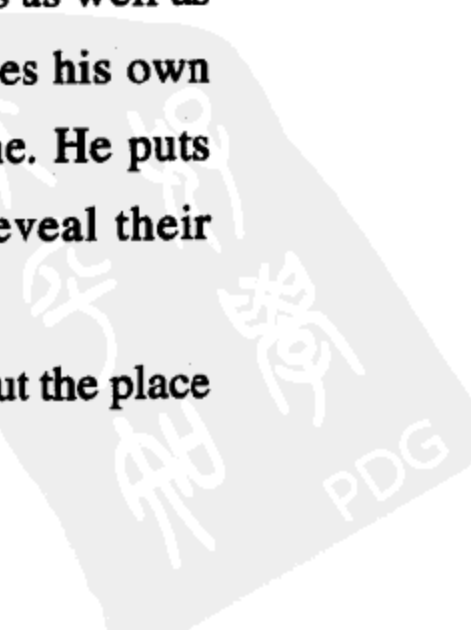
overview of the development of poetry across dynasties reveals the changes in literary fashions.” (Chapter 6, “Illuminating Poetry”) The most famous statement of his view of literary history occurs in Chapter 45, which begins with the remarks: “The times alternate and change, the simplicity or ornateness of literary forms changes accordingly.” Then he goes on to an elaborate enumeration of how songs and poetry changed in mood and tone with the passing of dynasties. For example, of the works by Qu Yuan and Song Yu, he writes that “the shocking effect of their brilliance and splendor resulted from the bizarre elements of the warring times.” (Chapter 45, “Literature and the Times”) Of the literature of the Wei and Jin dynasties, he remarks,

Daoism became popular in the Western Jin Dynasty and flourished in Eastern Jin. It left its marks on the literary styles. Therefore, although the times were turbulent, the writings were halcyon. The poems of the time were permeated with Lao Zi’s philosophy, the works of rhyme-prose were like commentaries on Zhuang Zi. (Chapter 45, “Literature and the Times”)

These discussions lead Liu Xie to his general statement on the historical dimension of literature: “Thus it is known that literary changes are colored by social conditions; artistic growth or decline depends on the times.” (Chapter 45, “Literature and the Times”)

The literary historian in Liu Xie is at one with the humanist. A literary theorist with a historical sensibility has a sympathetic appreciation of the human being’s various activities. He is aware of human frailties as well as of the achievements of human creativity. This awareness makes his own criticism and critical approach warm, penetrating, yet humane. He puts literary works and their authors in their social context to reveal their connections with their times.

Behind a historical sensitivity there is a sense of humility about the place



of human affairs in the cosmic order. Thus Liu Xie's historical sensibility ultimately issues from his philosophy of literature. By attaching cosmic significance to human beings' literary activities, this philosophy of literature paradoxically puts literature back in the cosmic order of things. Literature becomes neither more nor less important than other human activities. It constitutes another integral part and manifestation of humanity in all its diversity. In the final analysis, then, Liu Xie's philosophy of literature is a philosophy of humanity. It is because *Wenxin Diaolong* embodies such a humane philosophy that it has retained its appeal and contemporary relevance.

Annotated Editions of *Wenxin Diaolong*

Although *Wenxin Diaolong* was often quoted and commented on in the succeeding dynasties,⁴³ *Wenxin Diaolong* studies began in the Qing Dynasty. In 1741 appeared Huang Shulin's edition of *Wenxin Diaolong*, which incorporated much of the material of earlier editions and emendations. In 1833, a new edition of Huang's book was published with copious commentaries by Ji Yun (1724-1805). These two editions were to become an important cornerstone for modern *Wenxin Diaolong* scholarship.

Modern scholarship on *Wenxin Diaolong* started with Huang Kan (1886-1935). Huang lectured on *Wenxin Diaolong* at Peking University from 1914 to 1919. These lectures were published in book form in 1927 and 1936 respectively.⁴⁴ They were the first specialist studies of *Wenxin Diaolong*. Often, a few simple statements by Huang Kan would give rise to heated arguments among later-day scholars. His interpretation of the term *fenggu*, for example, has been under debate to the present day.⁴⁵

After Huang Kan, the most important work on *Wenxin Diaolong* was the annotated new edition by Huang's pupil Fan Wenlan. Primarily based on Huang Shulin's edition, Fan's edition, entitled *Wenxin Diaolong Zhu*, incorporated the collations by other 20th-century scholars. It makes use of

emendations by Zhao Wanli and the Japanese scholar Suzuki Torao of the seriously corrupted text of *Wenxin Diaolong* discovered around the turn of the century at Dunhuang.⁴⁶ This gives his edition new authority.

Another feature of Fan's edition is its lengthy quotations of the literary texts referred to in *Wenxin Diaolong*, some of which are not easily available nowadays. This facilitates modern scholarship, because without a knowledge of the writers and works that Liu Xie refers to, it is hard to achieve a deep understanding of his ideas. The textual quotations in Fan's edition make a nice companion to Liu's masterpiece.

Fan Wenlan's edition of *Wenxin Diaolong* quickly became a standard text in the field. Meanwhile, other editions have appeared that complement Fan's edition in various ways. Among the most important later editions are those by Wang Liqi, Yang Mingzhao, Zhou Zhenfu, Zhan Ying, and Li Yuegang. Wang Liqi's edition of *Wenxin Diaolong*, entitled *Wenxin Diaolong Yizheng*, was first published with a very useful concordance in 1951. It was reprinted in Hong Kong in 1967 with only the text and in Taipei in 1968 with the concordance. In 1980, a new edition was published in Shanghai, again without the concordance. Wang's is a variorum edition, with scanty notes on textual difficulties. The copy-text that Wang used was Huang Shulin's edition.

Yang Mingzhao's edition *Wenxin Diaolong Jiaozhu* (1958) collected the notes and emendations of Huang Shulin and Li Xiang (1859-1931) while adding a substantial portion of his own notes. It was enlarged and published in 1982 as *Wenxin Diaolong Jiaozhu Shiyi*, this time retaining only his own notes and emendations without the text of *Wenxin Diaolong*. Apart from rich and insightful notes, which take up about half of the 855-page book, Yang's edition contains a 20-page introduction, a 28-page commentary on "The Life of Liu Xie" in *The History of Liang*, a 40-page bibliography and nine valuable appendixes. These appendixes provide a comprehensive history of the scholarship on *Wenxin Diaolong*. Appendix Two, for

example, lists 97 writers and scholars, from perhaps Liu Xie's first critic Shen Yue down to the 20th-century Lu Xun, with their comments on *Wenxin Diaolong*. These comments are sometimes as short as a single sentence and sometimes as long as one or two pages. They are an invaluable resource for research.

Zhou Zhenfu's edition, *Wenxin Diaolong Zhushi* has also been popular since its publication in 1983. It was based on earlier editions by Huang Shulin, Fan Wenlan, Yang Mingzhao, and Wang Liqi. Zhou quotes extensively the comments on *Wenxin Diaolong* by the Ming scholars Yang Shen and Cao Xuequan, and the Qing scholars Huang Shulin and Jin Yun, greatly facilitating contemporary research. Another feature of Zhou's edition is that each chapter comes with a discussion of its themes and ideas. Zhou's notes focus on textual difficulties while Fan's primarily deal with textual and historical allusions.

Zhan Ying's edition (1989), entitled *Wenxin Diaolong Yizheng*, is based on Wang Liqi's edition. Zhan aims at a thorough interpretation of the original text, but the interpretation is not limited to his own. It is a collection of commentaries by different scholars, running to nearly 2,000 pages in three volumes. Li Yuegang's edition of *Wenxin Diaolong*, entitled *Wenxin Diaolong Jiaoquan*, was published in Taipei in 1982. His edition arranges the last 25 chapters of *Wenxin Diaolong* in an order different from other editions.⁴⁷ Each of the 50 chapters of *Wenxin Diaolong* begins with a detailed discussion of the ideas. Then comes the text, which is divided into sections. Each section contains four parts: the text, a modern Chinese free translation, emendations, and textual notes. Li's interpretations often run to essay-length and have many insights.

Besides, a number of modern Chinese translations are worth mentioning, though detailed discussions have to be omitted. They are done respectively by Guo Jinxu (1982), Zhao Zhongyi (1982), Lu Kanru and Mou Shijin (1984), Zhou Zhenfu (1986) and Meng Yao (1988).

A Note on Translation

The translation took more than ten years to finish. I started the work in 1988 and finished the first draft in 1995. A second draft was completed by early 1999. More revisions were made after the Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press decided to publish it. In rendering this translation, I studied and compared all the important annotated editions of *Wenxin Diaolong* and its modern Chinese-language translations. These are listed in the bibliography. I also benefited tremendously from existing English-language translations, notably the one produced by Vincent Yu-chung Shih. *Wenxin Diaolong* has textual variorums. My translation was based mainly on Zhou Zhenfu's *Wenxin Diaolong Zhushi* (1981). Zhou used Huang Shulin's edition and incorporated the annotated variorum editions by Fan Wenlan, Yang Mingzhao, and Wang Liqi.

Wenxin Diaolong mentions more than 500 personal names of historical or legendary figures. A person is sometimes mentioned by official title, sometimes by family name, sometimes by given name, and sometimes by *zi* (pen name). To avoid potential confusion in the translation, I consistently use family and given names even where Liu Xie uses pen names. With a few exceptions, the annotations do not cover personal names.

The translation is annotated, but only where I deem absolutely necessary. They are mostly restricted to historical and textual allusions. *Wenxin Diaolong* is not an ordinary scholarly work, but has superior literary value in its own right. Readers are encouraged to go without the annotations into the world of classical Chinese culture.

Yang Guobin



Notes

¹ The title *Wenxin Diaolong* has been translated variously as *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (Shih, 1959), *The Book of Literary Design* (Wong, Lo and Lam, 1999), *Carving a Dragon at the Core of Literature* (Yang and Yang, 1962), *The Literary Mind and Its Carving of Dragons* (Hughes, 1951), and *The Literary Mind and Ornate Rhetoric* (Mair, 2001). Eugene Eoyang helped me to formulate my translation of the title. Needless to say, I alone am responsible.

² Zong-Qi Cai, "Introduction," in Zong-Qi Cai (ed.), *A Chinese Literary Mind: Culture, Creativity, and Rhetoric in Wenxin Diaolong* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 2.

³ Liu Yusong (1818-1867) infers from a passage in the chapter "Literature and the Times" that *Wenxin Diaolong* was written in the last years of the Qi Dynasty, between 498 and 502. Liu Yusong, cited in Yang Mingzhao (1982), pp. 711-13. On this basis, Fan Wenlan made a further study and concluded that Lie Xie was born in 465 and died around 520-521. See Fan Wenlan (1978), p. 731. More recently, Li Qingjia dated 532 as the year of Liu Xie's death after examining the records about Liu Xie in the Buddhist documents written in the Song Dynasty. See Liqingjia (1978), in Fu Zhi and Tu Guangshi (1987), pp. 51-63. The second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Chinese Literature* (1988) adopts Yang Mingzhao's view, which dates Liu Xie's year of death at 538-539. I follow Fan Wenlan's conclusion.

⁴ Yang Mingzhao (1982), p. 386.

⁵ On the Buddhist influences in *Wenxin Diaolong*, see Ma Hongshan (1982; 1983). For an English-language discussion and review of the debates, see Mair (2001).

⁶ See Yang Mingzhao (1982), p. 402.

⁷ For instance, Cao Pi mentioned the significance of *qi*, or vital breath, in literary creation; Lu Ji introduced the problem of imagination; Zhi Yu devel-

oped a crude sort of genre theory.

⁸ Chen Guying (1984), p. 53.

⁹ Fung Yu-lan (1989), p. 7.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ James Liu (1975), p. 22.

¹² Donald A. Gibbs (1970), p. 65.

¹³ James Liu (1975), p. 122-23.

¹⁴ Stephen Owen (1985), p. 21.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁶ Pauline Yu seems to share Owen's view. She writes: "Instead of the mimetic view that poetry is the imitation of an action, then, it is seen here [in the chapter "Illuminating Poetry"] as a literal reaction of the poet to the world around him and of which he is an integral part." See Yu (1987), p. 35.

¹⁷ This diagram is based on James Liu's version. See Liu (1975), Chapter 1.

¹⁸ In his *History of Medieval Chinese Literature*, Liu Shipei traces the development of the concepts of *wen* and *bi* in early Chinese literature. He thinks that Liu Xie's distinction was the clearest. See Liu Shipei (1959), pp. 7-10; pp. 98-104.

¹⁹ If one counts in the chapter "Evaluating *Sao*, *The Songs of the South*," one gets altogether 34 genres in Liu's chapter titles. Some chapters, however, deal with several minor genres not listed in the chapter title. For instance, chapter 18 "Treatise and Discussion" also mentions such genres as commentary, note, critique, preface, etc.

²⁰ Huang Kan, cited in Zhan Ying (1989), pp. 79-81.

²¹ For instance, Zhou Zhenfu says in his modern Chinese translation of *Wenxin Diaolong* that this is an inappropriate statement. Quoting Ban Gu's remark that rhyme-prose developed from the *Book of Poetry*, he argues that since rhyme-prose has become an independent genre, it cannot be considered as identical with poetry.

²² On this, Ferenc Tokei (1971, p. 152) has the following penetrating remarks to make:

The treatise dealing with the principle of *t'ung-pien* crowns Liu Hsieh's genre theory first of all by applying to the category of the genre (*t'i*) the concept of *t'ung*, and to the individual work of art the concept of *pien*. Genre is abstraction, the expression of the substance (*t'i*) by a single fundamental principle (*li*) and its term (*ming*). That is why it is 'unchanging,' 'lasting' and 'universal'.

Philosophically, the individual work of art is always the 'variant' of the principle, the genre (*p'ien*); as compared to the genre as a general, it is peculiar-individual, as against the abstract character of the fundamental principle it is concrete, and in contrast to the unchanging nature of the former, it is constantly changing, unlike its universality only partial, occasional, ephemeral.

²³ I offer a detailed comparative analysis of Liu Xie's concep't of *shensi* and Coleridge's concept of imagination in Yang (1991). I agree with Egan (2001, p. 103) that "A layman's understanding of 'imagination' ... does have a degree of correspondence with Liu Xie's subject."

²⁴ *Biographia Literaria*, II, p. 65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

²⁶ *Biographia Literaria*, II, pp. 19-20.

²⁷ For the full text of "Dejection: An Ode," see S. T. Coleridge, *The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (1912), Vol. 1, pp. 362-68.

²⁸ James Liu (1975, p. 125) holds that "it is only the active mode of *shen-ssu* that corresponds to 'imagination.'" In fact, as I try to show below, imagination also has its passive and inactive mode.

²⁹ Referring to imagination. See *Wei Jin Nanbei Chao Wenxue Shi Cankao. Ziliao* (Reference Material for the Literary History of Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties), Vol. 1, p. 273.

³⁰ Achilles Fang, trans. (1951), in J. L. Bishop (1965), pp. 20-21.

³¹ Wang Yuanhua (1984) argues that the term *xujing* had come from Xun Zi

rather than Zhuang Zi. Min Ze (1989, Vol. 1, p. 579) in his *History of Chinese Aesthetic Thought* traces it to Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi.

³² Richard Mather, trans., (1976), p. 309.

³³ Ibid., p. 315.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 439.

³⁵ Li Zehou and Liu Gangji (1987: II), p. 733.

³⁶ Zhan Ying (1982), pp. 53-61.

³⁷ Xu Fuguan (1966), pp. 40-41.

³⁸ Andrew H. Plaks (1990), p. 525; p. 528.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 529.

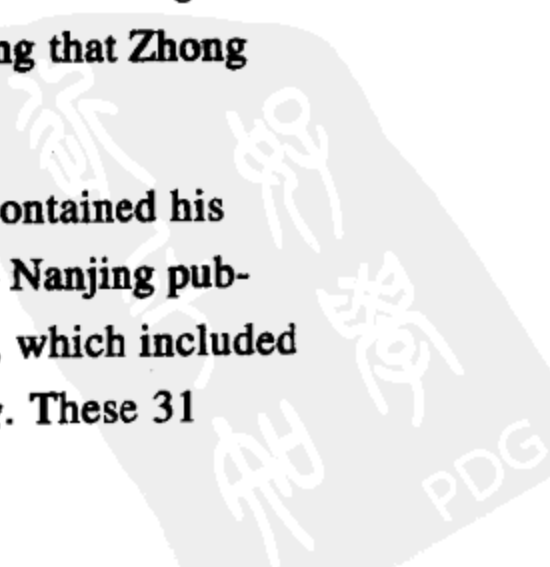
⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Plaks (2001) recently revisited this issue, with more cautious though similar conclusions.

⁴² On Liu Xie's historical sensibility, also see Wang Zuoliang, "Literary History: Chinese Beginnings," in Wang Zuoliang (ed.), *Wen Yuan: Studies in Language, Literature and Culture* (Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 1991), pp. 37-44.

⁴³ For instance, in the Tang Dynasty, the historian Liu Zhiji, who was much influenced by Liu Xie in the writing of his *Shi Tong*, wrote in the preface to his book that Liu Xie wrote the *Literary Mind* because of the differences and contradictions in people's understanding of literary works. The famous Song poet Huang Tingjian, in a letter to a friend, recommended *Wenxin Diaolong* as essential reading. In the Ming Dynasty, the celebrated scholar Hu Yinglin, in his important work *Shi Sou*, compared *Wenxin Diaolong* with Zhong Rong's *Ranks of Poetry*, a slightly later work, claiming that Zhong Rong was not comparable to Liu Xie.

⁴⁴ In 1926 appeared Huang's *Wenxin Diaolong Zhaji*, which contained his criticisms of 20 chapters. In 1937 the National University in Nanjing published a special issue of its *Literary Journal* on Huang Kan, which included Huang's studies of another 11 chapters of *Wenxin Diaolong*. These 31



chapters were to be published together in 1962 by Zhonghua Shuju.

- ⁴⁵ Huang Kan (1927, p. 29) suggests that 'wind' and 'bone' are both comparisons. 'Wind' refers to ideas while 'bone' refers to language.
- ⁴⁶ This is the oldest extant copy of *Wenxin Diaolong*. Seriously corrupted, this copy begins with the last 13 words of the first chapter and ends with the title of Chapter 14, "Miscellaneous Writing." The original copy is in the British Museum.
- ⁴⁷ The order is as follows:
26. *Shensi*, or Imagination; 27. Style and Natural Endowments; 28. "Wind" and "Bone"; 29. Nourishing the Vitality; 30. Organization; 31. Continuity and Change; 32. Choosing the Style, or Natural Tendency; 33. Feeling and Art; 34. Casting and Cutting; 35. Paragraph and Sentence; 36. Prosody; 37. Parallelism; 38. Comparison and Metaphor; 39. Hyperbole; 40. Allusions; 41. Choosing the Right Word; 42. Concealed and Evident Excellence; 43. The Forms of the Natural World; 44. Flaws in Writing; 45. Summarizing the Rules of Writing; 46. Literature and the Times; 47. Literary Talents; 48. An Appreciative Critic; 49. Moral Integrity; 50. My Intentions, or Postscript



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原道第一

【原文】

1.1 文之为德也大矣，与天地并生者何哉？夫玄黄色杂，方圆体分；日月叠璧，以垂丽天之象；山川焕绮，以铺理地之形：此盖道之文也。仰观吐曜，俯察含章，高卑定位，故两仪既生矣。惟人参之，性灵所钟，是谓三才。为五行之秀，实天地之心。心生而言立，言立而文明，自然之道也。

【今译】

文章的属性是极普遍的，它同天地一起产生；怎么说呢？有了天地就有蔚蓝色和黄色的不同，圆形和方形的分别；日月像重叠的璧玉，来显示附在天上的形象；山河像锦绣，来展示分布在地上的形象：这大概是大自然的文章。向上看到日星发光耀，向下看到山河有文采，上下的位置确定，天地便产生了。只有人和天地相配，孕育灵性，这叫做“三才”。人为万物之灵，实是天地的心。心灵产生了，语言跟着确立，语言确立了，文章跟着鲜明，这是自然的道理。



Chapter 1

Tracing the Origin to the Dao

1.1 Great is the virtue of patterns! How are they coeval with heaven and earth? Now when the blue color parted from the yellow, and the round shape from the square, heaven and earth came into being.¹ Like two interfolding jade mirrors, the sun and the moon reflect the images of heaven, while streams and mountains are interwoven into earthly patterns like gorgeous damask. They are manifestations of Dao. When earthly patterns and heavenly images take shape, inferior and superior places are established, and the two primal powers of heaven and earth are born. Yet, only when humans join in does the Great Triad form. Endowed with the divine spark of consciousness, humans are the essence of the five elements,² the mind of heaven and earth. When mind is born, speech appears. When speech appears, writing comes forth. This is the way of Dao.



【原文】

1.2 傍及万品，动植皆文：龙凤以藻绘呈瑞，虎豹以炳蔚凝姿；云霞雕色，有逾画工之妙；草木贲华，无待锦匠之奇。夫岂外饰，盖自然耳。至于林籁结响，调如竽瑟；泉石激韵，和若球铎：故形立则章成矣，声发则文生矣。夫以无识之物，郁然有彩，有心之器，其无文欤？

【今译】

推广到万物，动物植物都有文章：龙凤用纹理彩色来显示祥瑞，虎豹用花色来构成丰姿；云霞构成华彩，胜过画家设色的巧妙；草木开花，不需要织锦工人手艺的神奇。这一切难道是外加的装饰吗？是自然形成罢了。再像风吹林木发声，谐和得像吹竽弹瑟；泉水激石成韵，和谐得像击磬打钟：所以形体确立和声韵激发就有文章了。那些无知的东西还有丰富的文采，有心智的人，哪能没有文章呢？





1.2 It can be inferred that all forms of existence have patterns, animals and plants alike. Brilliant scales or plumes give splendor to a dragon or a phoenix; magnificent stripes and colors give grandeur to tigers and leopards. The colors of a rainbow surpass art; the blossoms of plants are beyond craftsmanship. Not extraneous embellishments, but Nature makes it so. Similarly, the sounds produced on the apertures in forest trees resemble music from pipes and lutes; spring water falling on rocks sounds like melodies from jade chimes and bronze bells. Thus with the making of forms, patterns appear; with the making of sounds, writings emerge. If insentient beings possess such brilliance, how can the feeling and thinking human being lack splendors of art?



【原文】

1.3 人文之元，肇自太极，幽赞神明，《易》象惟先。庖牺画其始，仲尼翼其终。而《乾》《坤》两位，独制《文言》。言之文也，天地之心哉！若迺《河图》孕乎八卦，《洛书》韞乎九畴，玉版金镂之实，丹文绿牒之华，谁其尸之，亦神理而已。

【今译】

人类文章的开端，起于天地未分以前的一团元气，深通这个神奇的道理，要算《易经》中的卦象最早。那是伏羲开头画的八卦，孔子最后加上辅助性的解释《十翼》。其中的《乾卦》《坤卦》，孔子特地用《文言》来解释。可见语言须要文采，才算是天地的心灵啊！至于说黄河里有龙献图，含有八卦，洛水里有龟献书，含有九类治国的大法，玉版上金字的内容，绿简上红字的文采，是谁造成的呢？是神秘的启示罢了。



1.3 Language originated in *taiji*, the Great Primal Beginning. In the beginning, divine order revealed the hexagrams of the *Book of Changes*. Pao Xi³ drew the eight trigrams of the *Book of Changes*, to which Confucius appended commentaries known as the “Ten Wings.” Further, to interpret the *qian* (heaven) and *kun* (earth) hexagrams,⁴ Confucius wrote the “Patterns of Words.” Are not word patterns the mind of heaven and earth! The Yellow River Diagram contains the eight trigrams, and the Writing from River Luo reveals the nine great principles of government.⁵ What could have authored the golden words on the jade plate and the red patterns on the green bamboo slips, if not Divine Reason?



【原文】

1.4 自鸟迹代绳，文字始炳。炎皞遗事，纪在《三坟》，而年世渺邈，声采靡追。唐虞文章，则焕乎始盛。元首载歌，既发吟咏之志；益稷陈谟，亦垂敷奏之风。夏后氏兴，业峻鸿绩，九序惟歌，勋德弥缙。逮及商周，文胜其质，《雅》《颂》所被，英华日新。文王患忧，繇辞炳曜，符采复隐，精义坚深。重以公旦多材，振其徽烈，制诗缉颂，斧藻群言。至夫子继圣，独秀前哲，熔钧六经，必金声而玉振；雕琢情性，组织辞令，木铎起而千里应，席珍流而万世响，写天地之辉光，晓生民之耳目矣。

【今译】

自从用文字来代替结绳，它的作用开始显著。炎帝神农氏、太皞伏羲氏传下来的事迹，记载在《三坟》里，可是年代太遥远，那些文章已无从追寻。唐虞时代的文章，那文采才开始丰富起来。天子大舜开头唱歌，已经发出唱叹的情志，臣子伯益和后稷贡献意见，也传下进言的风气。夏禹兴起来，事业崇高而巨大，各种工作都有秩序，得到歌颂，功德更加丰盛。到了商朝周朝，文采胜过前代的质朴，《雅》乐和《颂》歌，影响所及，英辞华彩越显得新颖。周文王在受难时，所作卦辞爻辞，光彩照耀，像宝玉的文采，内容丰富含蓄，意义精微，坚实而深刻。加上周公多才多艺，发扬文王的美好事业，制诗作颂，修饰各种文辞。到孔子继承以前的圣人，独自超过他们。他编订六经，一定要像奏乐般打钟开始击磬结束似地集大成；他陶冶性情，组织辞语；他的文教像铃声振动，千里响应，他的道德学问像席上的珍品流传下来，万代响应，发扬了天地的光辉，启发了人民的聪明才智。

1.4 After it replaced knotted cords, written language began to flourish.⁶ The *Book of the Three Legendary Kings* recorded the deeds of Fu Xi and the Divine Husbandman,⁷ but as the records were made in the distant past, they no longer exist. The times of Tang and Yu marked the real flourishing of writings. King Shun composed a song to express his heart-felt feeling.⁸ Bo Yi and Hou Ji, Shun's ministers, introduced court memorials. King Yu ruled in Xia.⁹ At that time, the state affairs were administered in good order and duly exalted, and the king's noble deeds and virtues multiplied. By the Shang and Zhou dynasties, literary grace surpassed simplicity. The influence and glory of *The Odes* and *The Hymns* increased daily.¹⁰ Furthermore, while in captivity, King Wen wrote interpretations of the lines and hexagrams in the *Book of Changes*.¹¹ His language was splendid, subtle in expression, and profound in meaning. After him, his talented son Zhou Gong Dan carried on his noble cause by writing his own poetry and compiling works from various hands. Then came Master Confucius, who followed in the steps of earlier sages but outshone them all. By revising and editing the six classics,¹² he brought together the best works up to his time. In the cultivation of human nature and the skilful use of language, his teachings reverberated a thousand *li* like the sound of the wooden bell-clapper.¹³ The virtue of his writings resounded for countless generations. By transmitting the glory of heaven and earth, they opened up the horizons of the people.



【原文】

1.5 爰自风姓，暨于孔氏，玄圣创典，素王述训，莫不原道心以敷章，研神理而设教，取象乎《河》《洛》，问数乎蓍龟，观天文以极变，察人文以成化；然后能经纬区宇，弥纶彝宪，发〔辉〕挥事业，彪炳辞义。故知道沿圣以垂文，圣因文而明道，旁通而无滞，日用而不匮。《易》曰：“鼓天下之动者存乎辞。”辞之所以能鼓天下者，乃道之文也。

【今译】

从姓风的伏羲到孔子，前圣创作典礼，孔子阐述义训，没有不是推求自然的道的精意来写文章，探索神秘的启示来建立教化，从《河图》《洛书》中取得启示的形象，用著草龟甲的占卜来探问未来的术数，观察天文来穷究变化，考察人事来完成教化；然后能够治理世界，制定包举一切的经典法制，使事业发扬光大，文辞意义鲜明。所以知道自然的道理靠圣人用文章显示出来，圣人用文章来说明自然的道理，这样贯彻到一切方面没有阻碍，人们每天在运用它而不会感到不够。《易经·系辞传上》说：“鼓动天下的在于文辞。”文辞所以能够鼓动天下，就因为它是说明自然的道理的文章。

1.5 From the age of Fu Xi down to the time of Confucius, the early sages established codes and Confucius the Uncrowned King transmitted them. They followed Dao in their writings and established their teachings in accord with the Divine Reason. They studied the images on the *Yellow River Diagram* and the *Pattern from River Luo* and divined with yarrow stalks and tortoise shells; they observed heavenly patterns to probe into the rules of change and examined writings from mortal hands to accomplish transformation. In this way they governed the world, instituted eternal laws, achieved noble deeds, and made their writings shine forth. Thus it is known that Dao perpetuates writing through the sages and the sages manifest Dao through writing. Thus the power of the Dao extends without bound: It can be used daily without being exhausted. In the *Book of Changes* it is written: "Words are the moving force of all things under Heaven." If words can move the world, it is because they are manifestations of the Dao.



【原文】

1.6 赞曰：道心惟微，神理设教。光彩元圣，炳耀仁孝。龙图献体，龟书呈貌；天文斯观，民胥以恂。

【今译】

总结说：自然的道的精意是微妙的，圣人依照神秘的启示来进行教化。光彩的大圣孔子，明显地宣扬仁孝的伦理道德。黄河里的龙体上呈献图文，洛水里的龟甲上呈献纹理，再观察了天文来制定文字，人民都依照它来行动。



1.6 Summary:

The Dao is subtle,
The Master taught by Divine Reason.
Glory goes to the supreme sage,
He who exalts piety and virtue.
The dragon brought the Yellow River Diagram,
The tortoise presented the Pattern from River Luo.
Divine patterns were thus revealed,
For people to follow and emulate.



徵圣第二

【原文】

2.1 夫作者曰“圣”，述者曰“明”。陶铸性情，功在上哲。夫子文章，可得而闻，则圣人之情，见乎文辞矣。先王圣化，布在方册，夫子风采，溢于格言；是以远称唐世，则焕乎为盛；近褒周代，则郁哉可从：此政化贵文之徵也。郑伯入陈，以文辞为功；宋置折俎，以多文举礼：此事迹贵文之徵也。褒美子产，则云“言以足志，文以足言”；泛论君子，则云“情欲信，辞欲巧”：此修身贵文之徵也。然则志足而言文，情信而辞巧，乃含章之玉牒，秉文之金科矣。

【今译】

创造的叫做“圣”，阐发的叫做“明”。通过教育来改造人们的性情，它的功劳归于圣人。像孔子实施教化的言论文章，是可以看到的，那么圣人的思想感情，在文辞中可以见到了。古代圣王的教化，载在书本上，孔子的风度文采，充满在他的格言里；因此他称赞遥远的唐尧时代，便说文化照耀已很丰富；他赞美较近的周文王武王的时代，便说文化灿烂可以遵从：这是政治教化看重文章的凭证。春秋时代，郑国国君打进陈国，靠文辞收到功效；宋国举行隆重的宴会，因发言富有文采，被记下这次礼节；这是事实著重文章的凭证。孔子赞美子产，便说“言语用来充分地表达心意，文采用来充分地修饰言语”；孔子一般地谈到君子，便说“感情要真实，文辞要美好”：这是个人的修养上著重文章的凭证。那么，意思充实，言语有文采，感情真实，文辞美好，便是讲究文章的根本规律了。

Chapter 2

Venerating the Sages

2.1 A creative person is called *sheng*, or sage; a transmitter enlightens. It is to the credit of the sage that he casts and molds the human character. Since the Master's works are available to us,¹ we know they express his thoughts and feelings. The divine teachings of the ancient kings were passed down; the Master's glory and grace shine through his words. In commending the distant time of Yao, the Master said that writings already flourished then. In lauding the more recent Zhou dynasty, he considered its culture brilliant enough to serve as a model. This shows the importance of language for government. When the state of Zheng invaded the state of Chen, Zheng's minister Zi Chan displayed eloquence in convincing Jin, the overlord state, of the justice of the invasion.² For its brilliance, Confucius' pupils recorded the diplomatic repartee at the feast the state of Song held for the guests of Jin.³ This shows the function of language on diplomatic occasions. In praise of Zi Chan, Confucius said, "Language is for expressing thoughts fully, linguistic ornament for reinforcing language." Commenting on men of virtue in general, he remarked, "Feelings should be genuine, words clever." This indicates the importance of language in self-cultivation. Therefore, to express thoughts in fine language and convey feelings in well-chosen words are the golden rule of writing.

【原文】

2.2 夫鉴周日月，妙极机神；文成规矩，思合符契。或简言以达旨，或博文以该情，或明理以立体，或隐义以藏用。故《春秋》一字以褒贬，丧服举轻以包重，此简言以达旨也。邠诗联章以积句，儒行纒说以繁辞，此博文以该情也。书契断决以象夬，文章昭晰以象离，此明理以立体也。四象精义以曲隐，五例微辞以婉晦，此隐义以藏用也。故知繁略殊形，隐显异术，抑引随时，变通〔会适〕适会，徵之周孔，则文有师矣。

【今译】

圣人的观察像日月遍照，好到极点能够看到事物的预兆；所以写成文章，成为模范，他的思想，能够跟客观事物相一致。有的用简练的语言来表达意旨，有的用丰富的文辞来概括感情，有的用明显的理论构成全篇的体式，有的用含蓄的意义来含孕深刻的作用。所以《春秋》用一个字来表示赞美或贬斥，《礼记》里用轻丧服概括了重丧服，这就是用简练的话来表达意旨。《诗经·邠风》里积句成章，联章成篇，《礼记·儒行》里反复申说，文辞繁富，这就是用详尽的文章来包括丰富的感情。文字写得决断，像《易经》用夬卦来表示决断，文章写得鲜明，像《易经》用离卦来表示洞若观火，这就是用明显的理论来构成文章的体式。《易经》里用卦来表示事物的四种现象，它的意义精微而曲折隐晦，《春秋》里记事有五个条例，它的文辞婉转而含蓄不露，这是用含蓄的意义来暗含文章的作用。因此知道繁和简有不同的面貌，隐和显有不同的表达法，加以压缩或引申要适应当时的需要，加以变通，要适应不同的情况，用周公孔子的文章来检验，那么在写作上就有所师法了。

2.2 Now the sage's vision encompasses the sun and moon and penetrates divine subtleties. His writings can serve as models; his thoughts agree with Divine Reason. He may express ideas succinctly or describe feelings elaborately; lucidity or depth characterizes his writing. With just one word, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* can make effective praise or censure. By mentioning the rituals pertaining to light mourning, the *Book of Rites* hints at the proper rituals pertaining to deep mourning.⁴ These are examples of succinct expression. "The Seventh Month" in the *Book of Poetry* contains some long stanzas. The chapter "Conduct of the Virtuous Men" in the *Book of Rites* enumerates many kinds of behavior. These are examples of elaborate composition. Writings of critical acumen can be likened to the hexagram "resoluteness" in the *Book of Changes*, those of lucidity, to the hexagram "fire." This is stylistic lucidity. The meaning of the "four images" in the *Book of Changes* is subtle and indirect.⁵ The five principles⁶ of recording historical events used in *Spring and Autumn Annals* are vague and oblique. They are examples of hidden meaning. Thus it is known that writing may be concise or elaborate, clear or suggestive. Whether to shorten or lengthen it depends on necessity; when to make adjustments depends on the occasion. Under all circumstances, people should refer to Duke Zhou⁷ and Confucius, the two great masters of writing.



【原文】

2.3 是以〔子政〕论文必徵于圣，〔稚圭劝学〕窥圣必宗于经。《易》称“辨物正言，断辞则备”；《书》云“辞尚体要，弗惟好异”。故知正言所以立辩，体要所以成辞；辞成无好异之尤，辩立有断辞之义。虽精义曲隐，无伤其正言；微辞婉晦，不害其体要。体要与微辞偕通，正言共精义并用；圣人之文章，亦可见也。颜阖以为：“仲尼饰羽而画，徒事华辞。”虽欲譬圣，弗可得已。然则圣文之雅丽，固衔华而佩实者也。天道难闻，犹或钻仰；文章可见，胡宁勿思？若徵圣立言，则文其庶矣。

【今译】

因此，论文章一定要用圣人的标准来检验，探索圣人的标准一定要以经书作根据。《易经·系辞下》里说：“辨明各种事物，给以正确说明，使语言有决断，而辞意完足。”《书经·毕命》里说：“文辞着重在体察要义，不只是爱好奇异。”因此知道使言辞正确所以用来建立论点，体察要义所以构成文辞。这样写成的文辞不会有猎奇的毛病，这样建立的论点有措辞明晰的好处。纵使精妙的意义写得曲折深隐，也并不会妨碍论述的正确；虽然文辞含蓄婉转，也并不会损害它的体察要义。体察要义和文辞含蓄是相通的，正确的论点和精妙的意义是并存的。这些在圣人的文章里都可以看到。颜阖认为：“孔子在有文采的鸟羽上画文采，徒然讲究华丽的辞藻。”他纵使要诋毁圣人，还是诋毁不了的。那么圣人的文章内容正确，文采华丽，原本是有文采有内容的。自然界的道理很难领悟，有的人还要钻研；文章可以看到，为什么不考究呢？倘使从圣人那里去找标准来立论，那样写成的文章也就可以了。

2.3 Therefore, discussions of literature should follow the examples of the sages. To understand the sages one should start with the classics. The *Book of Changes* asserts, "When things are distinguished and given proper names, judgments are complete." The *Book of Documents* states, "Language is for representing essentials, not for showing off." Hence it is known that proper names are used to distinguish things, the representation of essentials constitutes language, language thus constituted is not flawed by ostentation, and things thus distinguished take on the value of judgments. Deep insights may be enshrouded in esoteric terms, but will not impair the propriety of names; subtle language may be hazy and indirect, but will not affect the representation of essentials. Representing essentials and using subtle language do not conflict; proper names and divine insights go hand in hand. These merits are evident in the works of the sages. Yan He claims that Master Confucius goes after ornamental language, because he once decorated a colorful feather.⁸ This was a vain attempt to disparage the Master. The elegance and grace of the sage's writings show that they bear both flowers and fruits. The ways of heaven are hard to comprehend, yet still people aspire to them. Writings are within one's reach, so why not ponder them? To follow the examples of the sages will guarantee successful writing.



【原文】

2.4 赞曰：妙极生知，睿哲惟宰。精理为文，秀气成采。鉴悬日月，辞富山海。百龄影徂，千载心在。

【今译】

总结道：妙到极点的是生知的圣人，智慧的哲理只他掌握。用精微的道理作文章，卓越的才气构成辞采。观察明白得像高挂的日月，文辞繁富得像山和海。满百岁虽然身影消逝，可是经历千年思想精神还存在。



2.4 Summary:

The one who is born knowing has transcendent vision,
He alone knows the spirit of wisdom.
He turns his deep thoughts into words,
And taps his natural talents for artistic beauty.
His vision encompasses the sun and moon,
His linguistic resources fill mountains and overflow the sea.
His life may span no more than a hundred years,
His spirit lives forever.



宗经第三

【原文】

3.1 三极彝训，其书言“经”。“经”也者，恒久之至道，不刊之鸿教也。故象天地，效鬼神，参物序，制人纪；洞性灵之奥区，极文章之骨髓者也。皇世《三坟》，帝代《五典》，重以《八索》，申以《九丘》；岁历绵暖，条流纷糅。自夫子删述，而大宝咸耀。于是《易》张《十翼》，《书》标“七观”，《诗》列“四始”，《礼》正“五经”，《春秋》“五例”。义既〔极〕埏乎性情，辞亦匠于文理；故能开

【今译】

讲天地人的经久不变的道理的，这种书叫“经”。“经”是讲永久不变的根本道理，不可改动的大教训。所以经书效法天地，检验鬼神，深究事物的次序，制定人和人的各种伦常关系；深察性灵的秘密，彻底探索礼乐制度的精华。三皇时代的《三坟》书，五帝时代的《五典》书，加上《八索》书，再加《九丘》书；经历的年代过于久远，各种道理变得错综复杂。自从经过孔子的删定阐述，这种宝书都放耀光芒。从此《易经》的意义有《十翼》来发挥，《尚书》中举出了可以看到七种好处，《诗经》里列举四部分作品，《礼记》里规定了五种礼仪，《春秋》里定出五种记事条例。在义理上既经深入到改造人的性情，在文辞上也用心到文理的安排；所以能够启发学习，培养

Chapter 3

Modeling on the Classics

3.1 Books on the eternal laws of the Great Triad are called *jing*, or classic. A classic embodies the perpetual ways of the world, the unalterable teachings of great magnitude. It mirrors heaven and earth, consults spirits and deities, examines the order of things and establishes human ethics. It penetrates the depth of human nature and represents the essence of writing. Records such as the *Book of the Three Legendary Kings*, the *Book of the Five Emperors*, the *Eight Explorations* and the *Nine States* appeared in primeval ages. Their dates were uncertain, their contents in confusion. Revised and edited by Confucius, they shone out like gems. The *Book of Changes* is unraveled with the "Ten Wings,"¹ the *Book of Documents* highlights seven things to observe,² the *Book of Poetry* has four components,³ the *Book of Rites* expounds five rites,⁴ and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* establishes five principles for writing history.⁵ In thought these classics can cultivate human nature; in language they attain great excellence. Bright and luminous, they enlighten



【原文】

学养正，昭明有融。然而道心惟微，圣谟卓绝；墙宇重峻，而吐纳自深。譬万钧之洪钟，无铮铮之细响矣。

【今译】

正道，使这一切明白的道理更加显著鲜明。然而道的精意极为微妙，圣人的教训极为高深；正像高墙深宅，它所容纳的自然极为深广。好比千万斤重的大钟，不会发生铮琮的细小声音来。



the learner and foster virtue. Still, the mind of Dao is subtle, the sages' teachings transcendent. Like lofty walls they harbor depth; like mighty bells they issue no petty sound.



【原文】

3.2 夫《易》惟谈天，入神致用；故《系》称旨远辞文，言中事隐。韦编三绝，固哲人之骊渊也。《书》实记言，而训诂茫昧，通乎尔雅，则文意晓然。故子夏叹《书》，“昭昭若日月之明，离离如星辰之行”，言昭灼也。《诗》主言志，诂训同《书》，摛风裁兴，藻辞谲喻，温柔在诵，故最附深衷矣。《礼》以立体，据事制范，章条纤曲，执而后显。采掇〔生〕片言，莫非宝也。《春秋》辨理，一字见义，五石六鹤，以详〔略〕备成文，雉门两观，以先后显旨。其婉章志晦，谅以邃矣。《尚书》则览文如诡，而寻理即畅；《春秋》则观辞立晓，而访义方隐。此圣〔人〕文之殊致，表里之异体者也。

【今译】

《易经》只讲天道，极为神妙，可以实用；所以《系辞上》说它含义深远，文辞精美，话说的得当，只是事理难懂。孔子读《易经》，编竹简的皮带断了三次，它本是圣人探索学问的奥秘的宝库。

《尚书》确实是记录宣言文告的，它的语言古奥难懂。只要懂得了古代语言，它的文章便很清楚。所以子夏赞美《书经》，“像日月照耀那样明亮，像星宿排列那样分明”，是说记载得非常明白。《诗经》主要是用来表达情志的，它的古代语言跟《书经》一样需要解释，它发扬民歌特点，采用比兴手法，文辞美好，比喻婉曲，诵读时可以体会温柔的风格，所以最能切合深切的情怀。《礼经》用来建立体制，根据事实来制定规范，条例细密详尽，照着实行起来，功效显著。摘取其中的片言只语，没有不是宝贝。《春秋》分别是非，用一个字来显出褒贬，说陨石五块，六只水鸟倒飞，用详密的记载构成文辞，说宫门和门前的两观失火，用排列的先后来显示分别主次的用意。它的文笔婉曲，用意隐蔽，确实是很深刻了。《尚书》看文字好像古奥，探讨它的意义却很明白；《春秋》的文字一看就懂，探讨它的意义却很隐蔽。这是由于经书的文字各有特色，从表到里构成不同的体例所造成的。

3.2 The *Book of Changes* discourses on heaven; it enters into the spirit and can be put to use. That is why the “Great Appendix” claims that its meaning is deep, its language beautiful, its judgments appropriate, and its allusions hidden.⁶ When the Master was studying it, the leather thongs binding the bamboo slips wore out three times: It is truly a treasure house for wise men. The *Book of Documents* is a collection of ancient sayings and records. Although its language is old and incomprehensible, to one who knows the ancient language its meaning is clear. That is why Zi Xia, celebrating its lucidity, praised it as “bright and shining like the sun and moon, clear and orderly like the stars.” The *Book of Poetry*, which mainly expresses sentiments, is as old as the *Book of Documents* in language. It has folk songs and comparisons. Its language is ornamented, similes colorful, and its effect in recitation gentle. It is infinitely touching. The *Book of Rites* establishes institutions and codes of human affairs. Its rules are elaborate, detailed, and effective. Every phrase or sentence in it is valuable. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* can use one word to express an idea. Its descriptions of the five meteorites and the six egrets are brief, its account of the fire at the tower gates relies on the descriptive sequence to unfold meaning. Its language is indirect and meaning obscure. The language of the *Book of Documents* seems cryptic, but the meaning is clear. The language of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* seems clear at first sight, but the meaning is hidden. All this manifests the complexity of sentiments and the differences of forms in the works of the sages.



【原文】

3.3 至根柢槃深，枝叶峻茂，辞约而旨丰，事近而喻远。是以往者虽旧，馀味日新。后进追取而非晚，前修〔文〕久用而未先，可谓太山遍雨，河润千里者也。

【今译】

经书中的文章根柢盘结深固，枝高叶茂，语言简练而意义丰富，叙事浅近而喻意深远。因此这些以前的文章虽然是旧的，可是体会它的无穷意味一天天有新的启发。后辈从中探索并不嫌迟，前辈长久运用并不见得占先，它可以说像太山上的云气能够使遍天下都下雨，像黄河的水可以使几千里的原野都受到灌溉。



3.3 Classics are like trees, with deep roots, tall branches, and lush foliage. Their language is concise, meaning rich; their examples are common, implications far-reaching. That is why they offer fresh revelations with each passing day, albeit written in the remote past. Late-comers will study them without feeling too late, earlier generations would not have gained advantage if they had already used them. They resemble the clouds over Mount Tai that bring auspicious rain across the land; they are like the Yellow River, which waters land across several thousand *li*.



【原文】

3.4 故论、说、辞、序，则《易》统其首；诏、策、章、奏，则《书》发其源；赋、颂、歌、赞，则《诗》立其本；铭、诔、箴、祝，则《礼》总其端；纪、传、〔铭〕盟、檄，则《春秋》为根：并穷高以树表，极远以启疆，所以百家腾跃，终入环内者也。

【今译】

所以论、说、辞、序的体裁，是从《易经》开头的；诏、策、章、奏的体裁，是从《书经》发源的；赋、颂、歌、赞的体裁，是以《诗经》作根本的；铭、诔、箴、祝的体裁，是由《礼经》开端的；纪、传、盟、檄的体裁，都以《春秋》为根源：这些经书，都是建立起最高的标准，开拓出最广阔的领域，所以诸子百家飞腾活跃，到底不能跳出这个圈子。



3.4 The *Book of Changes* is the fountainhead of treatise, discourse, preface, and *ci*; the *Book of Documents* is the source of edict, decree, laudatory address, and report to the throne; the *Book of Poetry* is the origin of rhyme-prose, hymn, song, and eulogy; the *Book of Rites* is the beginning of inscription, mourning-song, admonition, and prayer; and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is the root of chronicle, biography, oath, and dispatch.⁷ They all reach great heights and establish the ultimate criteria, opening up boundless territories of writing. No matter how much various writers aspire to, they cannot reach beyond this range.



【原文】

3.5 若禀经以制式，酌雅以富言，是〔仰〕即山而铸铜，煮海而为盐也。故文能宗经，体有六义：一则情深而不诡，二则风清而不杂，三则事信而不诞，四则义〔直〕贞而不回，五则体约而不芜，六则文丽而不淫。扬子比雕玉以作器，谓“五经”之含文也。夫文以行立，行以文传，四教所先，符采相济。励德树声，莫不师圣，而建言修辞，鲜克宗经。是以楚艳汉侈，流弊不还，正末归本，不其懿欤？

【今译】

倘使根据经书来制定体式，参酌通行语来丰富语言，这是好比就矿山来炼铜，熬海水来制盐。所以文章能够效法经书，就各种文体说有六个优点：一是感情深厚而不偏邪，二是风格清新而不混杂，三是引事真实而不虚假，四是意义正确而不枉曲，五是体制精炼而不繁冗，六是文辞美丽而不浮靡。扬雄把用玉雕琢成器物作比方，认为“五经”的文章含有文采。文辞凭德行来建立，德行凭文辞来传播，孔子用文辞、德行、忠诚、信义来教育人，而以文辞为先，可见文采跟其他三者的互相配合。勉励德行，树立声誉，没有不效法圣人的；可是作文修辞，却很少能够效法经书。因此《楚辞》艳丽，汉赋浮夸，它们的流弊越来越发展，纠正末流，回到正路，不就好了吗？



3.5 If a piece of writing follows the classics in form and taps the ancient language in diction, writing would be as resourceful as extracting metal at the foot of a mine mountain or making salt by the sea. To take the classics as models of composition renders six services: The feeling will be deep, not affected; the style clear, not mixed; the facts truthful, not false; the meaning straight, not crooked; the form concise, not overgrown; the language beautiful, not profuse. When Master Yang Xiong compared writing to carving jade, he meant that the five classics must also possess artistic beauty. Writing is sustained by virtue; virtue is passed down in writing. Writing and virtue complement conscientiousness and truthfulness in the four Confucian teachings.⁸ To strive for virtue and establish a reputation, who will not look up to the sages? Yet in writing and rhetoric, they seldom emulate the classics. That explains the persistent floridity of the *Songs of the South* and the extravagance of the rhyme-prose in the Han Dynasty. Is it not good to direct this tendency back to the source?



【原文】

3.6 赞曰：三极彝〔道〕训，〔训〕道深稽古。致化〔归〕惟一，分教斯五。性灵熔匠，文章奥府。渊哉铄乎，群言之祖。

【今译】

结论说：天、地、人三者推究到极点的经久不变的教训，道理深奥可从古代的经书里去考求。收到教化的目的只有一个，在教育时却分成五经。它像工匠熔铸金属那样可以改造人的性情，它又是文章的深奥的宝库。多么深远美好啊！经书是各种言论、文章的始祖。



3.6 Summary:

The eternal laws of Heaven, Earth, and Man are deep,

They are hidden in ancient books.

Transformation is their common goal,

It is taught through the five classics.

They cultivate human nature and the soul,

And embody the secrets of composition.

Beautiful and profound,

They are the source of all writings.



正纬第四

【原文】

4.1 夫神道阐幽，天命微显，马龙出而大《易》兴，神龟见而《洪范》耀。故《系辞》称“河出图，洛出书，圣人则之”，斯之谓也。但世复文隐，好生矫诞，真虽存矣，伪亦凭焉。

【今译】

神理深奥要阐明，天意微妙要显露，龙马背着图出来，重大的《易》卦就兴起了，神龟背着书出现，《洪范》中的九畴就显耀了。所以《易·系辞》上说：“黄河里出现图，洛水里出现书，圣人仿效它。”就指这些说法。但是年代久远，记载不清楚，容易产生虚伪的假托，真的虽然保存了，假的也靠它出来了。

Chapter 4

A Proper Understanding of Apocrypha

4.1 Divine Reason gleams through darkness, the Mandate of Heaven emerges from obscurity. When the Dragon-Horse emerged with the "Diagram," the *Book of Changes* was begotten; when the Divine Tortoise surfaced with the "Pattern," the *Book of Documents* was written.¹ The "Great Appendix" to the *Book of Changes* refers to these events when it states, "The Yellow River brought forth the Diagram and the River Luo presented the Pattern."² The sages used them as models." However, because these texts appeared in the remote past and their language was obscure, absurd forgeries have come to be mixed with authentic texts.



【原文】

4.2 夫六经彪炳，而纬候稠叠；《孝》《论》昭晰，而钩讖葳蕤。按经验纬，其伪有四：盖纬之成经，其犹织综，丝麻不杂，布帛乃成；今经正纬奇，倍摘千里，其伪一矣。经显，圣训也；纬隐，神教也。圣训宜广，神教宜约，而今纬多于经，神理更繁，其伪二矣。有命自天，乃称符讖，而八十一篇皆托于孔子；则是尧造绿图，昌制丹书，其伪三矣。商周以前，图箒频见，春秋之末，群经方备；先纬后经，体乖织综，其伪四矣。伪既倍摘，则义异自明，经足训矣，纬何豫焉？

【今译】

六经光彩显耀，纬书繁杂重复；《孝经》《论语》讲得明白，配合它们的纬书却很杂乱。按照经书来检验纬书，它的伪造有四点：纬书的配合经书，好像经线和纬线织成布，用丝或用麻不夹杂，麻布或丝绸才织成；现在经书正确，纬书诡异，差异相去千里，这是它伪造的第一点。经书明显，是圣人的教训，纬书隐晦，是神的教导；圣人的教训应该多，神的教导应该少，现在纬书的文辞多过经书，神讲的道理更为繁多，这是它伪造的第二点。天命要从天降下来，才称做符命预言，可是纬书八十一篇，都假托是孔子作的；那便是唐尧造了绿图，周文王姬昌作了丹书，这是它伪造的第三点。在商朝周朝以前，符命预言多次出现，到春秋的末了，许多经书才完备；先有纬书，后有经书，违反了织布的先上经线后上纬线，这是它伪造的第四点。纬书既然跟经书相反，那它的意义跟经书歧异自然明白，经书足够成为训导，纬书又参与什么呢！

数字资源
PDG

4.2 The six classics³ are bright and lucid; apocrypha, or inauthentic texts, are disorderly and confusing. For example, the *Book of Filial Piety* and *The Analects* are crystalline and clear, while apocryphal versions of them are rank and thick like weeds. Judged against the classics, apocrypha are false in four respects. First, they are supposed to supplement the classics in the same way as the woof supplements the warp in weaving. Only when the silk and hemp are not mixed can cloth and silk be produced. The reality is that the classics are straightforward and the apocryphal texts crooked. They are apart by a thousand *li*. Second, the classics are transparent, because they represent the sages' teachings about worldly affairs, whereas apocryphal texts are obscure, being forgeries of divine revelations. Presumably, the sages' teachings are elaborate and divine revelations simple. The truth is that there are now more apocrypha than classics and more divine revelations than teachings of the sages. Third, auspicious symbols issue from heaven, yet the eighty-one apocryphal texts are sometimes attributed to Confucius, the River Diagram to King Yao, and the Luo Pattern to King Wen of Zhou. Finally, divinatory texts had already appeared before the Shang and Zhou dynasties, while the classics were compiled only towards the end of the Spring and Autumn period. How could texts that are supposed to supplement the classics have appeared first? If apocryphal books are at such variance with the classics, their ideas are clearly unreliable. Since the classics provide sufficient teachings, what is the use of the apocryphal texts?



【原文】

4.3 原夫图箴之见，乃昊天休命，事以瑞圣，义非配经。故河不出图，夫子有叹，如或可造，无劳喟然。昔康王河图，陈于东序；故知前世符命，历代宝传，仲尼所撰，序录而已。于是伎数之士，附以诡术，或说阴阳，或序灾异，若鸟鸣似语，虫叶成字，篇条滋蔓，必假孔氏；通儒讨核，谓起哀平，东序秘宝，朱紫乱矣。

【今译】

推究河图符箴的出现，是上天的美好命令，这事是用作圣人的祥瑞，它的意义不是配合经书的。所以黄河里不出现河图，孔子有感叹，如果可以编造，就不用叹气了。从前周康王时，把河图陈列在东厢房；所以知道上世的符命，历代作为珍宝传下来，孔子著述，只是把它记下罢了。因此玩弄术数的人，用诡诈的方法来附托，有的用来讲阴阳变化，有的用来讲灾祸变异，像鸟的叫声如同说话，虫蛀树叶成了字，篇章条文滋长蔓延，一定要假托孔子；博通的儒生经过探讨考核，说它是从汉哀帝平帝时起来的。它跟东厢房陈述的宝藏，真假混乱了。

4.3 Now the appearance of the River Diagram and the Luo Pattern manifests heaven's good will. They were meant to herald the birth of a sage, not to supplement the classics. Hence the Master's lament that auspicious signs no longer appeared from the Yellow River. If such signs could be fabricated, he would have had no cause for lamentations. In the past, King Kang of Zhou kept the River Diagram in his Eastern Chamber, so we know that early auspicious objects were treasured and handed down from one dynasty to another. Confucius merely compiled the early records of these auspicious events. Later mystics attached their own bizarre stories to his writings. Some discoursed on the *yin* and the *yang*, some foretold disasters or supernatural events. The chirping of a bird was construed as human speech; tree leaves with worm-eaten patterns were interpreted as written characters. Such writings are like rampant weeds, yet they are invariably attributed to Confucius. Upon scrutiny, erudite scholars found that they appeared during the reigns of Emperor Ai and Emperor Ping in the Han Dynasty. From then on, the treasured texts in the Eastern Chamber became mixed with forgeries.



【原文】

4.4 至于光武之世，笃信斯术。风化所靡，学者比肩。沛献集纬以通经，曹褒〔撰〕选讖以定礼，乖道谬典，亦已甚矣。是以桓谭疾其虚伪，尹敏戏其〔深瑕〕浮假，张衡发其僻谬，荀悦明其诡诞：四贤博练，论之精矣。

【今译】

到了东汉时代，光武帝深信这种术数。他的政治教化具有压倒的影响，学习术数的人多得肩挨着肩。沛献王刘辅收集纬书来解说经书，曹褒编选符讖来制定礼仪，违反正道，背离经典，也已经太过分了。因此桓谭痛恨它的虚伪，尹敏戏弄它的虚假，张衡揭发它的乖戾谬误，荀悦说明它的荒诞：这四位学者博学精通，评论得已经很精辟了。



4.4 During the reign of Emperor Guangwu of Han,⁴ apocryphal texts were so popular and influential that they attracted crowds of students. Prince Liu Fu interpreted the classics on the basis of apocrypha, Cao Bao⁵ drafted rites and rituals by referring to apocryphal texts. They seriously deviated from the right path and betrayed the classics. That is why Huan Tan abhorred the falsities of apocryphal writings, Yin Min mocked their frivolity, Zhang Heng exposed their errors, and Xun Yue showed them to be forgeries.⁶ These are sound judgments from four wise and learned men.



【原文】

4.5 若乃羲农轩皐之源，山渎钟律之要，白鱼赤乌之符，黄金紫玉之瑞，事丰奇伟，辞富膏腴，无益经典而有助文章。是以后来辞人，采摭英华。平子恐其迷学，奏令禁绝；仲豫惜其杂真，未许燬燔。前代配经，故详论焉。

【今译】

至于伏羲、神农、轩辕、少皞的最早传说，山岳、河流、音乐、乐律的重要，白鱼跳入船、火变为赤乌的应验，黄金紫玉的祥瑞，事件丰富奇特，文辞很有藻采，对经书没有好处但可以帮助写作。因此后来作家，采取辞藻。张衡怕它迷惑学者，奏请禁绝；荀悦可惜其中夹杂真实资料，不许把它烧掉。前代用它来配合经书，所以加以详细论述。

4.5 Some stories are bizarre but written in creative language. Examples include stories about Fu Xi the Divine Husbandman and the Yellow Emperor and his son Shao Hao, mysteries about the sounds from rivers and in mountains, and the auspicious omens of the white fish, scarlet crow, yellow silver and purple jade. Although they are of no service to the classics, they can benefit literary composition. That is why later writers of rhyme-prose picked flowers from them. Zhang Heng proposed to ban such works, fearing that they would mislead young learners, but Xun Yue disapproved of burning them, because he cherished the elements of truth in them. Since these writings were previously regarded as supplements to the classics, I have discussed them in detail.



【原文】

4.6 赞曰：荣河温洛，是孕图纬。神宝藏用，理隐文贵。世历二汉，朱紫腾沸。芟夷譎诡，〔糅〕采其雕蔚。

【今译】

总结说：黄河现出光彩，洛水变得温暖，这些孕育了河图洛书。这种神奇的珍宝里藏有大的作用，道理虽然隐蔽，文采很是可贵。时代到了两汉，真伪像朱色和紫色喧哗混杂。除去诈伪部分，采用其中的藻采。



4.6 Summary:

The glowing Yellow River and the nourishing River Luo
Brought forth the auspicious Diagram and the Pattern.

They are divine treasures concealing high purposes,
Their ideas are hidden, language beyond price.

After the Han Dynasty

Spurious elements mixed in.

The absurd elements in the apocrypha should be discarded,

Their colorful use of language could be preserved.



辨骚第五

【原文】

5.1 自风雅寝声，莫或抽绪，奇文郁起，其《离骚》哉！固已轩翥诗人之后，奋飞辞家之前，岂去圣之未远，而楚人之多才乎！昔汉武爱《骚》，而淮南作传，以为：“《国风》好色而不淫，《小雅》怨诽而不乱，若《离骚》者，可谓兼之。蝉蜕秽浊之中，浮游尘埃之外，皜然涅而不缁，虽与日月争光可也。”班固以为：露才扬己，忿怼沉江，羿浇二姚，与左氏不合，昆仑悬圃，非经义所载。然其文辞丽雅，为词赋之宗，虽非明哲，可谓妙才。王逸以为：诗人提耳，屈原

【今译】

自从《国风》和小大《雅》的歌声停止了，没有谁来继承下去，有奇文在深厚的积累中挺生出来，是《离骚》啊！它确已高飞在《诗经》的作者以后，奋起在辞赋家以前，大概是离开圣人不久，加上楚人的富有才华吧！从前汉武帝爱好《离骚》，使淮南王刘安作《离骚传》，认为“《国风》写恋情而不过分，《小雅》写怨愤而有节制，像《离骚》那样，可说兼有这两种好处。像蝉蛹从污泥中蜕变出来，在尘土外浮游，皎洁得连染也染不黑，即使跟日月比光明也是可以的。”班固认为：屈原显露才华，宣扬自己，怀着怨恨，投江自杀；《离骚》中讲到后羿、过浇和姚姓两女，跟《左传》中讲的不一致；讲到昆仑山上的悬圃，是经书中所没有记载的。然而它的文辞艳丽雅正，成为辞赋家效法的准则，虽然不能算贤明，可以认为妙才。王逸

Chapter 5

Evaluating *Sao*, or the *Songs of the South*

5.1 After the decline of the “Airs” and the “Odes”,¹ the tradition of the *Book of Poetry* was not carried on. Bursting forth thereafter in unprecedented splendor was the *Songs of the South*.² It spread its wings in the wake of the ancient poets and soared in the van of the writers of rhyme-prose. Was that perhaps because its time was not far gone from that of the sages, and the state of Chu was a land of many talents? Emperor Wu of Han, a lover of the *Songs of the South*, once asked Prince Liu An to write a commentary. The Prince wrote:

‘The Airs of the States’ are erotic without excess; ‘the Minor Odes’ convey grievances and satire with restraint. The *Songs of the South* combines both. The cicada exuviates from sludge and mire, yet it disdains to be begrimed, keeping clear of the dirty world. The *Songs of the South* is like this: It can rival the sun and moon in brilliance.

Ban Gu demurred, noting that Qu Yuan³ had drowned himself in resentment and anguish because he was too proud of his talent; that Qu’s version of Yi the Archer, Jiao the Sovereign, and the two daughters of Lord Yu contradicted the *Spring and Autumn Annals with Zuo’s Commentary*; and that the images of Mount Kunlun and the Heavenly Garden were never mentioned in the classics. Yet Ban also believed that Qu Yuan’s poetic language possessed beauty and elegance, a fit model for writers of rhyme-prose, and that not being a sage, Qu was nevertheless

【原文】

婉顺。《离骚》之文，依经立义：驷虬乘鹭，则时乘六龙；昆仑流沙，则《禹贡》敷土。名儒辞赋，莫不拟其仪表，所谓金相玉质，百世无匹者也。及汉宣嗟叹，以为皆合经术；扬雄讽味，亦言体同《诗·雅》。四家举以方经，而孟坚谓不合传，褒贬任声，抑扬过实，可谓鉴而弗精，玩而未核者也。

【今译】

认为：《诗经》里说要扯耳朵告诫，屈原比起这话来显得态度和顺。《离骚》的文辞，依照经书来立论：像说驾龙骑凤，那是《易经》中按时驾六龙的说法；说登昆仑经流沙，便是《禹贡》里到各地治理水土的说法。后代著名学者的辞赋，没有不拿他的作品作为榜样的，所谓有金玉的美质，百代无比的。到了汉宣帝赞美《离骚》，认为都合于经书；扬雄吟味，也说体制和《诗经》的小大《雅》相同。四家拿它来比经书，班固却说它不合《左传》，赞美或者指责都只看表面，贬低抬高都超过实际，可以说鉴别得不精当，品评得不核实。

an extraordinary genius. Wang Yi⁴ commented: The authors of the *Book of Poetry* exhorted by ear-pulling;⁵ Qu Yuan was more gentle and indirect. The ideas in “Encountering Sorrow” were based on the classics. For example, the jade dragons pulling a phoenix-figured carriage alluded to the six dragons in the *Book of Changes*, while Mount Kunlun and the Flowing Sands could be traced to the *Book of Documents*. That is why, according to Wang Yi, eminent writers of rhyme-prose followed his example. His poetry was indeed gold and jade in substance, peerless in a hundred generations. Later, Emperor Xuan of Han commended the *Songs of the South* as congenial to the classics and Yang Xiong,⁶ after a careful reading, said that it agreed with the *Book of Poetry* in spirit. Thus four commentators considered the *Songs of the South* as in line with the classics while Ban Gu believed otherwise. These commentators, however, failed to go beneath the surface in their praise or censure. They stretched the truths, their judgments were inaccurate, and their evaluation unconvincing.



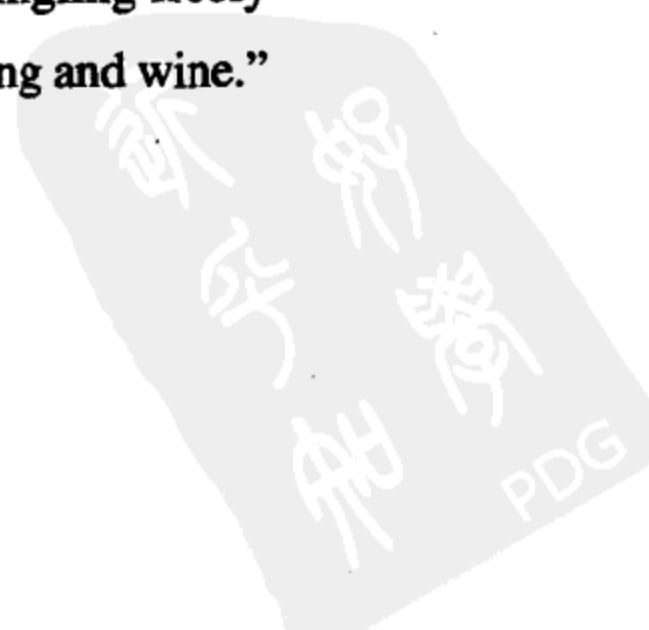
【原文】

5.2 将核其论，必徵言焉。故其陈尧舜之耿介，称〔汤武〕禹汤之祇敬，典诰之体也；讥桀纣之猖披，伤羿浇之颠陨，规讽之旨也；虬龙以喻君子，云霓以譬谗邪，比兴之义也；每一顾而掩涕，叹君门之九重，忠怨之辞也；观兹四事，同于《风》《雅》者也。至于托云龙，说迂怪，丰隆求宓妃，鸩鸟媒娥女，诡异之辞也；康回倾地，夷羿弹日，木夫九首，土伯三目，譎怪之谈也；依彭咸之遗则，从子胥以自适，狷狭之志也；士女杂坐，乱而不分，指以为乐，娱酒不废，沉湎日夜，举以为欢，荒淫之意也；摘此四事，异乎经典者也。

【今译】

要核实他们的评论，一定要考查原作中的话。《离骚》中讲尧舜的光明正大，说禹汤的恭敬戒慎，是《尚书》中《尧典》《汤诰》等篇中的含义；《离骚》里讥讽桀纣的狂妄偏邪，哀悼后羿过浇的覆亡，是《诗经》中劝诫讽刺的旨趣；《涉江》里用虬龙来比君子，《离骚》里用云和虹霓来比坏人，是《诗经》中比喻和托物起兴的手法；《哀郢》说每一次回头望都要抹泪，《九辩》里叹息君王的宫门有九重，是《诗经》中忠而怀怨的话：看了这四点，是跟《国风》和小大《雅》一致的。至于《离骚》假托龙和云旗，讲说怪诞的话，使云神丰隆访求宓妃，托鸩鸟去向娥女求婚，是怪异的话；《天问》说共工撞倒天柱使大地倒塌，后羿射下九个太阳，《招魂》说拔树的巨人有九个头，土地神有三只眼，是奇怪的话；《离骚》说依照殷代大夫彭咸投水的做法，《九章》说跟着伍子胥在江水里来求得快意，是褊狭的胸襟；《招魂》说，男女杂坐，混杂不分，认为快乐，不停地喝酒，日夜沉醉，以为欢娱，是荒淫的行为：摘出这四点，是和经书不同的。

5.2 To put their arguments to the test, let us seek textual evidence. In observing the glory and greatness of the sage kings Yao and Shun and lauding the reverence and respect of Yu and Tang, the *Songs of the South* adopted the themes of the *Book of Documents*. In satirizing the arrogance and folly of the tyrannical rulers Jie and Zhou and lamenting the beheading of Yi and Jiao, it aimed at giving warnings and admonitions. In using dragons to represent men of virtue and clouds and ominous rainbows to symbolize evil people, it followed the classical model of comparisons and metaphors. And the lines “With every backward glance, tears came down in torrents. The gates of my lord, alas, are nine-fold”⁷ clearly express the plaint of a loyal minister. These are four examples in the spirit of the *Book of Poetry*. I might also cite four examples to show the discrepancies between the *Songs of the South* and the classics. There are absurd descriptions, such as the dragon-steeds, the cloud-embroidered banners, bidding the God of Clouds to find the River Goddess’ abode, and commanding a poisonous bird to court Lord Song’s daughter. There are chimerical fantasies, such as the collapse of the earth when Kang Hui was enraged, the shooting of the suns by Yi the Archer, the nine-headed monster that pulled up nine thousand trees, and the three-eyed earth god.⁸ There is narrow-minded pride, as seen in the lines: “I will follow the example of the virtuous Peng Xian to drown myself” and “I will follow Wu Zixu to seek my own happy end.”⁹ Finally, there is licentiousness, as shown in the lines: “Men and women now sit together, mingling freely without distinction;/ Day and night are spent in merry-making and wine.”



【原文】

5.3 故论其典诰则如彼，语其夸诞则如此。固知《楚辞》者，体〔慢〕宪于三代，而风〔雅〕杂于战国，乃《雅》《颂》之博徒，而词赋之英杰也。观其骨梗所树，肌肤所附，虽取熔经意，亦自铸伟辞。故《骚经》《九章》，朗丽以哀志；《九歌》《九辩》，绮靡以伤情；《远游》《天问》，瑰诡而〔惠〕慧巧；《招魂》〔《招隐》〕《大招》，耀艳而深华；《卜居》标放言之致，《渔父》寄独往之才。故能气往轹古，辞来切今，惊采绝艳，难与并能矣。

【今译】

所以讲到它的合于经书的便像那样，说到它的浮夸荒诞的便像这样。这就确切地知道《楚辞》在内容上效法三代的《书》《诗》，但又夹杂着战国的风气，比起《雅》《颂》来显得低微，是辞赋的杰作。看它用来建立骨骼的主旨，作为附着骨骼的肌肤的文辞，虽然熔化经书的含意，也独自创制卓越的辞采。所以《离骚》《九章》，明朗艳丽来抒写悲哀的心意；《九歌》《九辩》，绮丽细致来抒写哀伤的感情；《远游》《天问》，瑰丽诡异而文思巧慧；《招魂》《大招》，光彩照耀而含蕴深沉；《卜居》显出不羁的意旨，《渔父》寄托特立独行的才干。所以能够才气压倒古人，文辞超越今人，文采惊人，美艳绝顶，难以和它比美了。

5.3 These elements are different from the classics. Therefore, the *Songs of the South* resembles the classics in those ways; it is bizarre and hyperbolic in these ways. Thus it is known that essentially modeled on the classics, it contains features of the Warring States period. It ranks below the *Book of Poetry*, but above rhyme-prose. The structures and linguistic textures show that although many themes are borrowed from the classics, these songs have their own lofty style. "Encountering Sorrow" and "Nine Declarations" are lucid, beautiful, and sorrowful. "Nine Songs" and "Nine Arguments" are elaborate and melancholy. "Journey Afar" and "Questioning Heaven" are gorgeous, exotic, and resourceful. "Summoning of the Soul" and "Great Summons" are dazzling and full of inner beauty. "Divination" expresses the ideal of unrestrained freedom and "The Fisherman" embodies the proud spirit of a self-exiled genius.¹⁰ That is why the *Songs of the South* surpasses past and contemporary works in spirit or excellence of language. Its brilliance and exquisite beauty are insurmountable.



【原文】

5.4 自《九怀》以下，遽躐其迹；而屈宋逸步，莫之能追。故其叙情怨，则郁伊而易感；述离居，则怆快而难怀；论山水，则循声而得貌；言节候，则披文而见时。是以枚贾追风以入丽，马扬沿波而得奇，其衣被词人，非一代也。故才高者苑其鸿裁，中巧者猎其艳辞，吟讽者衔其山川，童蒙者拾其香草。若能凭轼以倚《雅》《颂》，悬辔以馭楚篇，酌奇而不失其〔真〕贞，玩华而不坠其实，则顾盼可以驱辞力，欬唾可以穷文致，亦不复乞灵于长卿，假宠于子渊矣。

【今译】

从《楚辞》中王褒《九怀》以下各篇，匆忙地跟屈原的脚步前进；可是屈原、宋玉卓越的步调，没有谁能追得上。所以屈宋抒写怨恨的感情，便能使人郁抑而容易感动；叙述离别，便能使人悲哀而难以忍受；描绘山水，便能使人按照声情而得到它的形貌；叙述季节，便能使人披阅文辞而看到时令。因此枚乘、贾谊追随他们的文风取得文采，司马相如、扬雄沿着他们的趋向获得奇伟动人的成就，他们使辞赋家获得的好处，不仅限于一个朝代。所以文才高的从他们的创作中取得巨大的体制，心思巧妙的从中猎取它的文采，吟诵的记住它的描绘山水，学童识得其中写的香草。倘能严肃地遵照《雅》《颂》的准则，有控制地驾馭《楚辞》，采择奇伟的内容而不失去它的正确；鉴赏香花而不失掉它的果实；那么在一回顾间可以发挥文辞的作用，一开口间可以彻底探索文章的情致，不再向司马相如求助，向王褒去借光了。

5.4 The poems from the “Nine Regrets” downward are all earnest imitations of Qu Yuan and Song Yu,¹¹ who ride too far ahead to be caught up. The poems of Qu and Song about mournful feelings are grievous and moving; those about lives of exile are sad and heart-rending. Descriptions of mountains and rivers vividly reproduce their appearances; poems about the seasons make visible the passage of time. From Qu Yuan and Song Yu, Mei Cheng and Jia Yi inherited beauty of language, while Sima Xiangru and Yang Xiong borrowed brilliance.¹² Their influence on writers of rhyme-prose was not limited to one generation. Gifted writers absorb their noble forms; mediocre but clever ones look for pretty phrases; men given to recitation rejoice in the descriptions of mountains and rivers; novices memorize the names of fragrant flowers. If a person follows the *Book of Poetry* with reverence and uses the *Songs of the South* with restraint, if he ponders over the exotic without forgetting the truth and appreciates blossoms without abandoning fruits, he will quickly discover the secrets of language and literary creation. In that case, he no longer needs to seek Sima Xiangru’s help or Wang Bao’s favor.¹³



【原文】

5.5 赞曰：不有屈原，岂见《离骚》？惊才风逸，壮志烟高。山川无极，情理实劳。金相玉式，艳溢锱毫。

【今译】

总结说：要是没有屈原，哪儿会看到《离骚》？惊人的才华像风那样飘逸，豪壮的志趣像云烟那样高远。像山川那样没有边际，抒写情理确实劳瘁。构成金玉般美好质地，就是极细微处都充溢着艳丽。



5.5 Summary:

Without Qu Yuan,
How could there be the *Songs of the South*?
His startling genius sweeps like the wind,
His lofty aspirations soar like the clouds.
Mountains and rivers are endless,
Feeling and thought are infinite.
Gold in texture, pure in form,
His poems exude beauty in every part.



明诗第六

【原文】

6.1 大舜云：“诗言志，歌永言。”圣谟所析，义已明矣。是以“在心为志，发言为诗”，舒文载实，其在兹乎？诗者，持也，持人情性；三百之蔽，义归“无邪”，持之为训，有符焉尔。

【今译】

《尚书·舜典》里记大舜说：“诗是表达情志的，歌是延长它的音节的。”经过圣人的分析，意义已经很明白了。因此，“在心里的叫情志，用语言文字表达出来的叫诗”，运用文辞来表达情志，诗的意义就在这里吧？诗是扶持端正的意思，要端正人们的性情；《诗经》三百篇用一句话来概括，归结到“没有邪念”上，扶持端正的解释，是符合这个意义罢。



Chapter 6

Illuminating Poetry

6.1 King Shun said, "Poetry carries sentiments in words, singing prolongs poetry."¹ The sage-king's definition of poetry gave rise to the following exegesis: "Sentiments in the heart, poetry in words." Is this why poetry is considered the disciplining of language and the carrier of substance? The character for "poetry" means "to discipline": the disciplining of human nature. *The Three Hundred Poems*² is summed up in one phrase: no evil thoughts. The exegesis of poetry as "to discipline" thus fits.



【原文】

6.2 人禀七情，应物斯感，感物吟志，莫非自然。昔葛天〔氏〕乐辞〔云〕，《玄鸟》在曲；黄帝《云门》，理不空〔绮〕弦。至尧有《大唐》之歌，舜造《南风》之诗，观其二文，辞达而已。及大禹成功，九序惟歌；太康败德，五子咸怨：顺美匡恶，其来久矣。自商暨周，《雅》《颂》圆备，四始彪炳，六义环深。子夏监绚素之章，子贡悟琢磨之句，故商赐二子，可与言诗。自王泽殄竭，风人辍采；春秋观志，讽诵旧章，酬酢以为宾荣，吐纳而成身文。逮楚国讽怨，则《离骚》为刺。秦皇灭典，亦造仙诗。

【今译】

人具有喜、怒、哀、惧、爱、恶、欲七种感情，受到外物的刺激发生感应，有了感应唱出情志来，没有不是自然形成的。从前葛天氏的歌辞，有《玄鸟》歌配上乐曲；黄帝的《云门》曲，照理不会光有乐曲而无歌辞。到尧有《大唐》歌，舜造《南风》诗，看这两篇，只是能够达意罢了。到了大禹功德成就，九种工作都有秩序，加以歌颂；传到太康，道德败坏，他的兄弟五人都怨恨作歌：用诗来赞美好的，纠正坏的，它的来源是很久了。从商朝到周朝，《雅》《颂》的体制完全具备了。《诗经》里的《风》、小大《雅》和《颂》极为光辉，它的风、雅、颂三种体制和赋、比、兴三种表达法又周到又深刻。孔门的子夏看到用白粉给彩色勾勒的诗句有所启发，子贡想到切磋琢磨的诗句有所悟入，所以孔子赞美他们两人，说可以和他们谈诗。自从周王的教化衰亡，采诗官停止采集民歌；但春秋时外交上还通过念诗来观察各人的意志，念起旧诗来，以应对得体为宾客的光荣，以发言合宜显示本人的才华。到楚国人怀怨讽谏，那便用《离骚》来讽刺。到秦始皇烧书，那时的博士还作了《仙真人诗》。

6.2 Human beings are born with seven emotions.³ They stir in response to the environment. It is natural that people will express themselves when emotions stir. The sage-king Ge Tian composed a song called "The Swallow," which was set to music. The Yellow Emperor's dance tune "The Gates of the Clouds" must also have had words. Yao had a song entitled "Great Embellishments;" Shun composed a poem called "The Southerly Wind." The significance of these two pieces is that they got the meaning across, no more. With King Yu's accomplishments, the state affairs were administered in good order and exalted in songs. King Tai Kang was censured by his five brothers for his bad deeds. Poetry has long been used to commend the good and rectify wrongs. During the Shang and Zhou dynasties, the *Book of Poetry* became complete. Its four parts were bright and six elements⁴ thorough and profound. Zi Xia grasped the real meaning of the line "Clear ground whereupon hues lie." Zi Gong understood the meaning of "Something chiseled, something polished." That is why Confucius said he could discuss poetry with them. After the decline of the Zhou Dynasty, the court no longer appointed officials to collect folk songs. In the Spring and Autumn period, old poems were chanted to express thought, honor guests, or show talents. Among the poems of satire and grievance in the state of Chu, the most poignant was "Encountering Sorrow." The First Emperor of Qin, who destroyed all classics, sanctioned poems about immortals.



【原文】

6.3 汉初四言，韦孟首唱，匡谏之义，继轨周人。孝武爱文，柏梁列韵。严马之徒，属辞无方。至成帝品录，三百余篇，朝章国采，亦云周备；而辞人遗翰，莫见五言，所以李陵班婕妤好见疑于后代也。按《召南·行露》，始肇半章；孺子《沧浪》，亦有全曲；《暇豫》优歌，远见春秋；《邪径》童谣，近在成世：阅时取证，则五言久矣。又古诗佳丽，或称枚叔，其《孤竹》一篇，则傅毅之词。比采而推，两汉之作乎？观其结体散文，直而不野，婉转附物，怛怛切情，实五言之冠冕也。至于张衡《怨》篇，清典可味；《仙诗缓歌》，雅有新声。

【今译】

汉朝初年的四言诗，韦孟是最先创作，有救正谏诤的含意，继承周朝人的规范。到汉武帝爱好文学，在柏梁台上按韵联句。严忌司马相如这些人，作诗不拘定规。到汉成帝选录品评，共得三百多篇，朝廷的篇章，各地的民歌，也可说完备了；可是诗人留下来的篇章，没有看到五言诗，所以李陵班婕妤好的五言诗遭到后代人的怀疑。考《诗经》的《召南·行露》篇，开始有半章五言诗；孩子唱的《沧浪歌》，已是全篇五言诗；优施的《暇豫歌》，早见于春秋时代；童子的《邪径》谣，稍后见于汉成帝世：经历各时代取得证明，那么五言诗的产生已经很久远了。又五言古诗的佳作，有的说是枚乘作的，其中的《孤竹》篇，那是傅毅的诗。比照着文采来推求，是两汉的作品吧？看它们的风格和行文，质直而不朴野，婉转地贴切事物，哀感动人地表达深切感情，确实是五言诗中的第一流。至于张衡的《怨》诗，清丽典雅可以体味；《仙诗缓歌》，颇有新的声调。

6.3 Early in the Han Dynasty Wei Meng was the first to write four-character verse. His purpose in remonstrating was in the tradition of the Zhou poets. Emperor Wu of Han, himself a patron of literature, summoned his courtiers to improvise poetry on the Tower of Boliang. People like Yan Ji and Sima Xiangru wrote in defiance of fixed rules. During Emperor Cheng's reign, over 300 poems and folk songs, comprising almost the whole corpus of the day, were collected and edited. These did not contain five-character poems by known authors. For this reason the poems attributed to Li Ling and Ban Jieyu were of dubious authenticity. The first half of "The Path drenched with Dew" in the *Book of Poetry* consists of five-character lines; the children's ditty "Canglang River" is entirely in five-character lines. The jester's song "Happy and Leisurely" appeared as early as in the Spring and Autumn period, and the children's song "The Crooked Path" as recently as in Emperor Cheng's reign. Examples from different periods show that the five-character verse has long existed. "The Nineteen Ancient Poems" are beautiful but of uncertain authorship. Some are attributed to Mei Cheng; the one entitled "The Lone-growing Bamboo" is ascribed to Fu Yi. Judging from the language, these poems are probably of the Han period. In style they are straightforward but not crude; in description they are plaintive and moving: They represent the highest achievement of the five-character verse. The poems of laments by Zhang Heng are pure and graceful, worthy of perusal. Poems about immortals, of a slower tempo, showed signs of a new style.



【原文】

6.4 暨建安之初，五言腾踊，文帝陈思，纵辔以骋节，王徐应刘，望路而争驱；并怜风月，狎池苑，述恩荣，叙酣宴，慷慨以任气，磊落以使才；造怀指事，不求纤密之巧，驱辞逐貌，唯取昭晰之能：此其所同也。〔乃〕及正始明道，诗杂仙心；何晏之徒，率多浮浅。唯嵇志清峻，阮旨遥深，故能标焉。若乃应璩《百一》，独立不惧，辞譎义贞，亦魏之遗直也。

【今译】

到了建安初期，五言诗蓬勃涌现出来，魏文帝曹丕，陈思王曹植，在文学的道路上纵马奔驰而有节制，王粲、徐幹、应玚、刘楨，望着前路争先赶上去；都是爱赏风月，游玩池苑，叙述恩遇和荣宠，写出酣乐的宴会，慷慨地逞气势，激越地骋才力；抒写情怀，陈说事理，不求纤密细巧，运用文辞，描摹形貌，只求显著鲜明：这是一致的。到了正始时期讲究清谈，诗中混杂着道家思想；何晏这些人，大多浮泛浅薄。只有嵇康的志趣清高，阮籍的命意深远，所以可举出来。至于应璩的《百一》诗，独立直言，无所畏惧，措辞诡异，意义正直，也是魏代传下来的质直之作。

6.4 By the early years of the Jian'an period, five-character poems flourished. The Cao brothers, emperor and prince, galloped ahead. Wang, Xu, Ying, and Liu raced along in their wake. They all loved wind and the moon, frequented ponds and parks, gloried in honors and made merry at parties. Generous of spirit and open in displaying talent, they cared not for ingenious minuteness in description, striving only for clarity in expression. These are their common characteristics. Down to the Zhengshi period, Daoism flourished and poetry became tinged with spiritual yearnings. He Yan and his ilk were mostly shallow; only Ji and Ruan stood out, Ji with his austere purity, Ruan with his depth. Ying Qu's cautionary poems, too, showed an independent spirit, with their enigmatic language and upright thought, a legacy from the Wei era.



【原文】

6.5 晋世群才，稍入轻绮。张潘左陆，比肩诗衢，采缛于正始，力柔于建安；或析文以为妙，或流靡以自妍：此其大略也。江左篇制，溺乎玄风，嗤笑徇务之志，崇盛〔亡〕忘机之谈。袁孙已下，虽各有雕采，而辞趣一揆，莫与争雄；所以景纯仙篇，挺拔而为俊矣。宋初文咏，体有因革，庄老告退，而山水方滋；俪采百字之偶，争价一句之奇，情必极貌以写物，辞必穷力而追新，此近世之所竞也。

【今译】

晋代的许多作家，稍稍流于轻浮绮丽。张载、张协、张亢、潘岳、潘尼、左思、陆机、陆云，在诗坛上不相上下，文采比正始作品繁富，力量比建安作品柔弱；有的剖析辞藻以为精妙，有的追求音节以为流美：这是大概的情况。东晋的创作，陷在清谈风气里，讥笑致力政事的志趣，极力推崇忘却世情的空谈。袁宏、孙绰以下，虽然各人都有些雕饰文采，可是志趣一致，没有谁能够跟他们争为雄长；所以郭璞的《游仙》诗，辞义挺拔成为杰出之作了。刘宋初年的诗，在风格上有继承也有革新，宣扬老庄思想的退出文坛，描写山水的正多起来；讲究全篇的对偶藻采，争取一句的奇突警策，在情景上一定要尽力刻画形貌，在用辞上一定尽力要求新颖，这是近代所追求的。

6.5 Writers of the Jin Dynasty leaned towards the frivolous and the ornate. Zhang, Pan, Zuo, and Lu rode together on the avenue of poetry.⁵ Their works were more ornate than those of the Zhengshi period and not as forceful as those of the Jian'an period. Some sought ingenuity in embellishments; some indulged in smooth cadences. This is the general situation. The works of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, submerged in the Daoist atmosphere, ridiculed worldly ambitions and indulged in metaphysical conversations. Although writers from Yuan Hong and Sun Chuo downwards each achieved linguistic beauty, all followed the Daoist trend, with no rivals among their contemporaries. One of these writers was Guo Pu, whose poems about immortals stood out as the most remarkable. Poetic styles changed in the early years of the Song era. With Daoism receding into the background, nature poems came to the fore. Parallelisms were sustained as long as a hundred characters; great pains were taken to produce one striking line. Descriptions were meant to be exhaustive; language was for all purposes made to be new. This has been a recent trend.



【原文】

6.6 故铺观列代，而情变之数可监；撮举同异，而纲领之要可明矣。若夫四言正体，则雅润为本，五言流调，则清丽居宗；华实异用，唯才所安。故平子得其雅，叔夜含其润，茂先凝其清，景阳振其丽；兼善则子建仲宣，偏美则太冲公幹。然诗有恒裁，思无定位，随性适分，鲜能通圆。若妙识所难，其易也将至；忽之为易，其难也方来。至于三六杂言，则出自篇什；离合之发，则〔明〕萌于图讖；回文所兴，则道原为始；联句共韵，则柏梁馀制；巨细或殊，情理同致，总归诗圃，故不繁云。

【今译】

所以总观列代的诗，情志演变的趋势可以看到；总括它们的同异，主要的写作纲领可以明白了。至于四言诗的正宗体制，就以雅正滋润为本，五言诗的流行格调，就以清新艳丽为主；像花和果用处不同，只凭各人的才能来求适应。所以就四言诗说，张衡获得雅正，嵇康具有清润；就五言诗说，张华完成清新，张协发扬艳丽；兼有各种长处的那是曹植、王粲，只具一种长处的那是左思、刘楨。然而诗有一定体裁，情思却没有一定规矩，随着各人的性情来求适应，很少能够兼善各体的。要是巧妙地认识到它的困难，它的容易将要到来；加以忽视把它看成容易，它的困难将要到来。至于三言、六言、杂言诗，它的源头是从《诗经》中来的；拆字诗是从预言里来的；回文诗的兴起，开始于道原；用一个韵来联句，那是柏梁台诗传下来的体制；篇幅大小纵或不同，表达情理是一致的，这一切都属于诗的范围，所以不再啰嗦了。

6.6 An overview of the development of poetry across dynasties reveals the changes in literary fashions; a survey of the various features of poetry illuminates the pith of writing. The spirit of the four-character verse, the classic genre, is elegance and grace. The nature of the five-character verse, a later development, is purity and beauty. Talent alone determines to what degree a poet can achieve one or another of these qualities. Zhang Heng achieved elegance, Ji Kang grace, Zhang Hua purity, and Zhang Xie beauty. Cao Zhi and Wang Can combined all the qualities; Zuo Si and Liu Zhen excelled in one of them. Poetry has unchanging forms; thinking follows no fixed rule. Each writes according to his natural gift; few can be all-round masters. If the difficulties are understood, writing will be smooth going. If they are ignored, writing becomes hard. As for the miscellaneous forms such as the three- and six-character verses, they all originated from the *Book of Poetry*. The *li-he* poem⁶ developed from prognostication texts, the *hui-wen* poem⁷ was invented by Dao Yuan, and the *lian-ju* poem⁸ was passed down from the Tower of Boliang. These types are not all important, but because they all express feeling and thought, they belong to the general category of poetry. We will not discuss them in detail.



【原文】

6.7 赞曰：民生而志，咏歌所含。兴发皇世，风流《二南》。神理共契，政序相参。英华弥缙，万代永耽。

【今译】

总结说：人生下来都有情志，是成为歌咏所表达的内容。歌咏开始在三皇时代，它的风教流播在周南、召南地区。它和神理相契合，还和政教配合。它的文采丰富，为万世的人所永远爱好。

6.7 Summary:

People are born with sentiments,
Sentiments are conveyed in poetry.
Poetry appeared in the glorious antiquity,
And flourished with the *Book of Poetry*.
It agrees with Divine Reason,
And penetrates the political order.
It will become more and more elaborate,
And be loved for endless generations.



乐府第七

【原文】

7.1 乐府者，“声依永，律和声”也。钧天九奏，既其上帝；葛天八闋，爰〔乃〕及皇时。自咸英以降，亦无得而论矣。至于涂山歌于候人，始为南音；有娥谣乎飞燕，始为北声；夏甲叹于东阳，东音以发；殷整思于西河，西音以兴：音声推移，亦不一概矣。匹夫庶妇，讴吟土风，诗官采言，乐〔盲〕胥被律，志感丝篁，气变金石：是以师旷覘风于盛衰，季札鉴微于兴废，精之至也。

【今译】

乐府诗用五音来摇曳声调，用乐律来配合声音。相传天上的多种演奏，是上帝的音乐；葛天氏的八种歌曲，是在三皇时的乐歌。自从黄帝的《咸池》、帝喾的《五英》以来的乐曲，也已无从考查了。至于涂山氏唱的《候人歌》，是南方音乐的开端；有娥氏唱的《燕燕歌》，是北方音乐的开端；夏王孔甲在东阳感叹，作《破斧歌》，是东方音乐的发端；殷王整迁到西河，怀念旧居作歌，西方音乐因此兴起：各地音乐的兴起转变，也是不一致的。至于男的或女的，歌唱当地民歌，采诗官搜集这些民歌，音乐师给它配上音乐，它的情志影响了弦乐器和管乐器的乐调，它的辞气改变了钟和磬的声韵：因此师旷从在演奏南方民歌中感到北盛南衰，季札从乐歌中鉴别国家的兴亡，是精微到极点了。

Chapter 7

Yuefu, or Poems of the “Music Bureau”

7.1 *Yuefu*, or poems of the “Music Bureau,” refers to songs with music, and music that is harmonious. The nine songs of heaven were the music of gods;¹ the eight songs of Ge Tian appeared in the glorious antiquity. Then there were the *Xianchi* song of the Yellow Emperor and the *Wuying* song of King Ku. That is all that could be known. Southern music originated in a song about King Yu, sung by a woman from Tushan. Northern music originated in a song about flying swallows, sung by You Song’s two daughters. Eastern music came from a song chanted by King Kong Jia of the Xia Dynasty in Dongyang. Western music developed from a nostalgic song chanted by King Zheng Jia of the Yin Dynasty in Xihe.² The development of music was not all the same. Ordinary men and women sang folk songs. Official poetry collectors gathered the songs and musicians set them to music. Feelings and thoughts are conveyed through zithers and flutes, personality is revealed with bells and chimes. That is why the musician Shi Kuang could foretell military victory or defeat by testing the wind with a tune, and Ji Zha could tell the rise and fall of nations by listening to music. Their understanding of music was profound.



【原文】

7.2 夫乐本心术，故响浹肌髓，先王慎焉，务塞淫滥。敷训胄子，必歌九德；故能情感七始，化动八风。自雅声浸微，溺音腾沸。秦燔乐经，汉初绍复，制氏纪其铿锵，叔孙定其容〔与〕典；于是《武德》兴乎高祖，《四时》广于孝文，虽摹《韶》《夏》，而颇袭秦旧，中和之响，阒其不还。暨武帝崇礼，始立乐府，总赵代之音，撮齐楚之气，延年以曼声协律，朱马以骚体制歌。《桂华》杂曲，丽而不经，《赤雁》群篇，靡而非典，河间荐雅而罕御，故汲黯致讥于《天马》也。至宣帝雅颂，诗效《鹿鸣》；迨及元成，稍广淫乐，正音乖俗，其难也如此。暨后汉郊庙，惟杂雅章，辞虽典文，而律非夔旷。

【今译】

音乐根据性情制作，所以它的影响深入骨髓，古先圣王在制作音乐上是很谨慎的，务必要阻止淫荡浮靡的音乐。教育贵族子弟，一定要唱多种功德的歌；所以能够感动天地、四时和人心，影响四面八方的教化。自从雅正的音乐逐渐衰落，淫靡的音乐蓬勃兴起。秦朝把乐经烧掉了，汉朝初年加以继承恢复，音乐家制氏能够记下古乐的音响节奏，叔孙通规定歌舞的制度和仪式；于是《武德舞》在汉高祖时创作，《四时舞》在汉文帝时加以扩充，虽然模仿舜的《韶》乐，禹的《夏》乐，但多沿用秦代的音乐，中正和平的音调，寂寞而不再恢复。到了汉武帝尊重礼乐，开始创立乐府机关，汇总赵国、代国的音乐，搜集齐国、楚国的腔调，李延年因为善于摇曳声腔来给民歌配上音乐，朱买臣、司马相如用《离骚》体制作歌辞。《桂华》等曲歌辞华丽而不合雅乐，《赤雁》等歌音调浮靡而不合正音，河间献王献上古乐，但武帝很少采用，所以汲黯对新作的《天马歌》进行讥讽。到汉宣帝时歌颂功德，效法《小雅》中的《鹿鸣》诗；到了汉元帝、成帝，稍稍扩大浮靡的音乐，雅正的古乐不合世俗爱好，它的推行这样困难。到后汉祭天祭祖庙，夹杂着一些古乐，文辞虽然雅正，可是音律不再是夔和师旷的古调了。

7.2 Because music is originally the art of the heart, its sound can touch the soul. For this reason, early emperors cautiously prohibited excessive and immoral music. The education of noble sons included the chanting of the nine virtues.³ Through such chanting, they would learn to respond emotionally to the change of seasons and to spread their influence across the empire. With the decline of classical music, immoderate tunes appeared everywhere. After the *Book of Music* was burned in the Qin Dynasty, attempts were made to revive music early in the Han. Zhi Shi recorded the tunes in music score; Shusun Tong set down the rules and ritual. Thus the music “Martial Feats” appeared at the time of Emperor Gaozu; and “Four Seasons” became popular during Emperor Wen’s reign. Although both were modeled after the classical music of *Shao* and *Xia*, on the whole they inherited the tunes of the Qin Dynasty. The music of the golden mean harmony⁴ became silent forever. Emperor Wu of Han revered rituals and instituted the Music Bureau. The songs of the states of Zhao and Dai were collected; the airs of the states of Qi and Chu were gathered. Li Yannian composed melodies in enchanting tunes; Zhu Maichen and Sima Xiangru wrote poems in the style of Qu Yuan. Songs like “The Osmanthus Flowers” were ornamented but not elegant; songs like “The Red Goose” were alluring but not classical. Prince Liu De submitted classical-style poems to the Emperor, but they were seldom appreciated. That explains why even Ji An, an imperial attendant, would speak against the Emperor’s song “The Heavenly Steed.” During Emperor Xuan’s reign, poems were written in imitation of “The Bleating Deer.”⁵ By the times of Emperor Yuan and Emperor Cheng, immoral music spread. The classical music, alien to popular taste, suffered. The sacrificial music of the Later Han had some classical elements, but only the words, not the music, retained the classical elegance of Kui and Shi Kuang.

【原文】

7.3 至于魏之三祖，气爽才丽，宰割辞调，音靡节平。观其北上众引，秋风列篇，或述酣宴，或伤羁戍，志不出于〔淫〕滔荡，辞不离于哀思，虽三调之正声，实韶夏之郑曲也。逮于晋世，则傅玄晓音，创定雅歌，以咏祖宗；张华新篇，亦充庭万。然杜夔调律，音奏舒雅，荀勖改悬，声节哀急，故阮咸讥其离声，后人验其铜尺。和乐之精妙，固表里而相资矣。

【今译】

到了魏国的太祖曹操、高祖曹丕、烈祖曹叅，意气豪爽，才华富丽。他们改作的歌辞曲调，音调浮靡，节奏平庸。看到其中《苦寒行》众曲，《燕歌行》等篇，有的叙述宴会，有的感伤飘泊和远征，情志不免放荡，文辞离不开哀怨，它们的乐调虽是《平调》《清调》《瑟调》的雅乐，它们的文辞比起虞舜的《韶》乐和夏禹的《大夏》来，却成了浮靡的歌曲。到了晋代，傅玄通晓音乐，创作雅正的歌词来歌咏晋朝的祖宗；张华作的新歌，也用作宫廷舞曲。然而魏杜夔调整音律，音调舒缓而雅正，晋初荀勖改正悬挂钟磬的距离，声音节奏凄厉而急促，所以阮咸讥讽它离开正声，后人检验他制作的铜尺。可见调整乐律要达到精微处，本是形式和内容相配合的。

7.3 Cao Cao, Cao Pi, and Cao Rui, the first three emperors of Wei, were noble in spirit and bright in talent, but the poems they composed after old tunes were not so outstanding. Cao Cao's "Song of Misery and Cold" and Cao Pi's "Song of the Northern Frontier" either described carousal or grieved over military and frontier life. The feelings are unrestrained, the language is sorrowful. Although they used the three classical tunes of the Han Dynasty, these poems were inferior to the classical music of *Shao* and *Xia*. In the Jin Dynasty Fu Xuan, who knew music, composed elegant songs in praise of ancestors. Zhang Hua wrote new songs, which were used for court dance. The music instituted by Du Kui was smooth and graceful; after Xun Xu altered the measurement for tuning sound pitches, music became sad and impetuous. Ruan Xian blamed Xun for violating the classical norm; Ruan's view was later confirmed by the discovery of an ancient bronze ruler for tuning music instruments.⁶ The excellence of harmonious music means that the external and the inner worlds are in perfect accord.



【原文】

7.4 故知诗为乐心，声为乐体；乐体在声，瞽师务调其器；乐心在诗，君子宜正其文。“好乐无荒”，晋风所以称远；“伊其相谑”，郑国所以云亡。故知季札观〔辞〕乐，不直听声而已。

【今译】

所以知道诗歌是音乐的心灵，声调是音乐的形体；音乐的形体在于声调，音乐师一定要调整他的乐器；音乐的心灵在于诗歌，作者应该订正它的歌辞。“爱好音乐但不要荒废职务”，晋国的民歌所以称用心深远；“互相调笑”，郑国所以被说为要灭亡。因此知道吴公子季札观奏乐，不但听声调罢了。

7.4 Thus it is known that poetry is the heart of music and sound is its body. Because sound is the body of music, the musician must tune his instruments; because poetry is the heart of music, the poet should perfect his language. Hearing “Amuse yourselves, but no excess,” Ji Zha acclaimed the far-sightedness of the Tang people; hearing “Merrily they sport,” Ji Zha predicted the doom of the state of Zheng.⁷ So we know that when Ji Zha listened to music, he did not just listen to the sound!



【原文】

7.5 若夫艳歌婉变，怨志〔诎〕诀绝，淫辞在曲，正响焉生？然俗听飞驰，职竞新异；雅咏温恭，必欠伸鱼睨；奇辞切至，则拊髀雀跃。诗声俱郑，自此阶矣。凡乐辞曰诗，诗声曰歌，声来被辞，辞繁难节；故陈思称〔李〕左延年闲于增损古辞，多者则宜减之，明贵约也。观高祖之咏“大风”，孝武之叹“来迟”，歌童被声，莫敢不协。子建士衡，咸有佳篇，并无诏伶人，故事谢丝管，俗称乖调，盖未思也。

【今译】

至于艳歌婉转缠绵，怨诗措辞决裂，曲调里有不雅正的歌辞，怎么产生雅正的音调？然而世俗听乐曲，心情飞动，主要在争求新奇；古雅的乐曲温和庄重，听了一定打呵欠发愣；对新奇的歌辞感到切当，听了便喜欢得拍着大腿跳起来。歌辞和声调都浮靡，从此越来越厉害了。凡是配音乐的歌辞叫诗歌，诗歌的曲调叫歌曲，用曲调来配合歌辞，歌辞繁多了便难以节制；所以曹植称赞左延年擅长增减古代歌辞，歌辞多的应该删去些，说明歌辞重在简练。看到汉高祖的唱《大风歌》，汉武帝的唱《李夫人歌》，让歌童唱，都配上曲调，没有不合乐的。曹植、陆机都有好的乐府诗，都没有请音乐师配乐，所以不能用乐器伴奏，世俗称它们为不合曲调，大概是没有经过仔细考虑的话。

7.5 Love songs are gentle and alluring, rich in heart-rending lamentations. How can proper music come from these amorous words? Sadly, popular taste likes the new and the odd. The gentle and benevolent classical music induces yawning and gaping; the shocking words of love songs make people applaud and hop like sparrows. Thenceforth, songs and music deviated ever more from the norm. The words of music are called poetry; a poem that is chanted is called a song. In setting words to music, a difficulty lies in the excessive number of words. That is why Prince Cao Zhi commended Zuo Yannian's skill in revising ancient songs. By deleting the redundant words, Zuo stressed conciseness. Emperor Gaozu's "Song of the Big Wind" and Emperor Wu's "Song of Lady Li," however short, were perfectly melodious when set to music and sung by children. Cao Zhi and Lu Ji both wrote fine "Music Bureau" poems, but because they were not set to music, they could not be sung. The common opinion about the discord of their poems is ill founded.



【原文】

7.6 至于〔斩伎〕轩岐鼓吹，汉世饶挽；虽戎丧殊事，而并总入乐府，缪〔朱〕韦所〔致〕改，亦有可算焉。昔子政品文，诗与歌别，故略具乐篇，以标区界。

【今译】

至于轩辕岐伯的鼓吹乐，汉代的饶歌挽歌；虽然军乐和哀乐不同，都归入乐府诗，像缪袭和韦昭改编汉代乐曲，也有可以列入的。从前刘向分别文体，诗和歌分开，所以约略地作《乐府》篇，来揭举两者的分别。



7.6 Although the war songs of the Yellow Emperor and his Lord Qi differ from the funeral songs of the Han Dynasty, they all belong to the category of “Music Bureau” poems, as were some of the poems revised by Miu Xi and Wei Zhao. Liu Xiang used to differentiate between poetry and songs in his literary discussions. In the same spirit, I have written this chapter on the “Music Bureau” poems to draw a line of demarcation.



【原文】

7.7 赞曰：八音摛文，树辞为体，讴吟垆野，金石云陛。韶响难追，郑声易启。岂惟观乐？于焉识礼。

【今译】

总结说：用八种乐器来作曲，以创作歌辞为主体。有在民间歌唱的，有在朝廷演奏的。古雅的音乐难以继承，浮靡的音乐容易发展。哪里只是听乐呢？还要从中认识风俗礼制。





7.7 Summary:

Music is produced with eight instruments,

And sustained by words.

Some songs are sung in the wilderness,

Others are played in the court.

It is hard to revive the spirit of classical music,

Immoderate tunes spread easily.

Music not only pleases the ear,

It is a means of learning customs and rites.



诠赋第八

【原文】

8.1 《诗》有六义，其二曰“赋”。“赋”者，铺也；铺采摘文，体物写志也。昔邵公称：“公卿献诗，师箴瞽赋。”传云：“登高能赋，可为大夫。”诗序则同义，传说则异体。总其归塗，实相枝干。故刘向〔云〕明“不歌而颂”，班固称“古诗之流也”。

【今译】

《诗经》的体制和表现手法有六种，第二种叫“赋”。“赋”是铺叙；铺叙辞藻，创作文辞，体察物象，抒写情志。从前召公说：“公卿献诗，乐官献箴，盲人念诗。”毛诗的传里说：“登高能够作赋，可以做大夫。”《诗序》讲赋和铺叙说相同；《诗传》讲赋成为另一种体裁。总观赋的趋向，实在是由诗的一枝发展成木干的赋体。所以刘向说明“不唱而朗诵的是赋”，班固称为“赋是从《诗经》中发展出来的一个支派。”

Chapter 8

Interpreting *Fu*, or Rhyme-prose

8.1 The *Book of Poetry* has six elements,¹ the second being *fu* or rhyme-prose. The character for *fu* is related to “unfold”: It unfolds literary patterns and the art of language to describe scenery and human feeling. Lord Zhao once said, “Lords and ministers present poetry, musicians submit admonitions, and the blind give recitals.” *Mao’s Commentary on the Book of Poetry* states, “He who can write rhyme-prose on ascending to the height can be an official.”² *Mao’s Preface* designates *fu* as one of the six elements of the *Book of Poetry*, but *Mao’s Commentary* treats it as a different genre. In fact, these two senses are as closely related as the trunk and branches of a tree. That is why Liu Xiang considered *fu* as “that which can be recited but not sung” while Ban Gu claimed that it developed from the *Book of Poetry*.



【原文】

8.2 至如郑庄之赋“大隧”，士芳之赋“狐裘”，结言掎韵，词自己作，虽合赋体，明而未融。及灵均唱《骚》，始广声貌。然则赋也者，受命于诗人，而拓宇于《楚辞》也。于是荀况《礼》《智》，宋玉《风》《钓》，爰锡名号，与诗画境，六义附庸，蔚成大国。〔遂〕述客主以首引，极声貌以穷文，斯盖别诗之原始，命赋之厥初也。

【今译】

至于像郑庄公的诵“大隧”，士芳的诵“狐裘”，用少数韵语组成，文辞是自己作的，虽然合于不歌而诵的赋的体裁，只是还没有成熟。到屈原创作《离骚》，开始扩大对声音形貌的描绘。那么赋这种体裁，起源于《诗经》的作者，在《楚辞》里才扩大了疆界。因此荀况的《礼》《智》赋，宋玉的《风赋》《钓赋》，这才给与赋的称号，跟诗划清界限，从诗中“六义”之一的附庸，扩展成为大国。叙述客人主人的对话来开头，极力描写声音形貌来显示文采，这是跟诗分别的开始，称赋的起头。

8.2 Lord Zhuang of Zheng's two-line verse "The Big Tunnel" and Shi Wei's three-line poem "The Fox Fur" are short pieces written for self amusement.³ They are not rhyme-prose in its mature form, but are very close. Only when Qu Yuan wrote "Encountering Sorrow" did rhyme-prose become a full-fledged genre. The rhyme-prose received its mandate from the *Book of Poetry* and expanded its territory with the *Songs of the South*. Thus when Xun Kuang composed "Rites" and "Wisdom" and Song Yu wrote "The Wind" and "The Angler," both called their works rhyme-prose to distinguish them from the *Book of Poetry*. In this way, the rhyme-prose developed from an appendage of the *Book of Poetry* into an autonomous genre. A composition in the form of rhyme-prose usually opens with a dialogue between a host and a guest, followed by thorough descriptions of sounds and appearances in all possible rhetorical flourishes. This is how the rhyme-prose branched off from the *Book of Poetry* and attained its independent status.



【原文】

8.3 秦世不文，颇有杂赋。汉初词人，顺流而作，陆贾扣其端，贾谊振其绪，枚马〔同〕播其风，王扬骋其势，皋朔已下，品物毕图。繁积于宣时，校阅于成世，进御之赋，千有余首，讨其源流，信兴楚而盛汉矣。

【今译】

秦代不崇尚文辞，只有不多的杂赋。汉代初年的辞赋家，顺着这种发展来创作，陆贾开了头，贾谊加以展开，枚乘司马相如扩大他们的影响，王褒扬雄发展了这种趋势，枚皋东方朔以下，各种事物都用赋来描绘。在宣帝时大量的赋积累起来，到成帝时加以校订审阅，送请皇帝看的赋有一千多篇，研究它的源流，确实是在楚国兴起而到汉朝达到极盛了。

8.3 Although the Qin Dynasty was not noted for literary accomplishments, there still appeared some miscellaneous rhyme-prose. Writers of rhyme-prose early in the Han Dynasty joined the trend. Lu Jia was the trailblazer; Jia Yi pushed it forward. Mei Cheng and Sima Xiangru widened its influence; Wang Bao and Yang Xiong gave it new force. After Mei Gao and Dongfang Shuo, all subjects were brought in. Works of rhyme-prose abounded in Emperor Xuan's time. Over a thousand were edited and presented to the throne during Emperor Cheng's reign. An examination of the source reveals that the rhyme-prose emerged in the time of Chu and flourished in the Han Dynasty.



【原文】

8.4 夫京殿苑猎，述行序志，并体国经野，义尚光大。既履端于倡序，亦归馀于总乱。序以建言，首引情本；乱以理篇，〔迭致文契〕写送文势。按《那》之卒章，闵马称“乱”，故知殷人辑颂，楚人理赋，斯并鸿裁之寰域，雅文之枢辖也。至于草区禽〔族〕旅，庶品杂类，则触兴致情，因变取会，拟诸形容，则言务纤密；象其物宜，则理贵侧附；斯又小制之区畛，奇巧之机要也。

【今译】

汉赋写京都、宫殿、苑囿、打猎，叙述行旅，抒写情志，都要考察国都体制，观看田野规划，推重重大的意义。这些赋用序言开头，用总论结尾。序言作为发端，开始引出作赋的情事根由；结论用来总结全篇，加强文章的气势。按《商颂·那》篇的最后一章，闵马父称为结论，所以知道殷人编辑《商颂》，楚人作赋，都有结论。这都是属于鸿篇大文的范围，作为雅正文辞的关键。至于小赋，分别草木，描绘众多禽兽，刻画各类物品，那是接触景物，起兴抒情，注意情景变化，要求适合，所以比拟形容，语言务求细密；描状物象，道理重在从旁比附：这又是小赋的范围，争取奇巧的关键。

8.4 The contents of rhyme-prose range from expressions of feeling and thought to travel accounts and descriptions of capital cities, palaces, imperial hunting grounds, and hunting activities. Since all these are related to state affairs, they deserve exaltation. A piece of rhyme-prose begins with a preface and ends with a *luan*, or reprise. The preface outlines the conception of the work, the reprise makes a summary and brings the whole to a conclusion. Min Mafu calls the concluding lines of the poem “Beauteous Is the Sacrificial Music” in the *Book of Poetry* a reprise. Thus it is known that when the people of the Yin Dynasty collected the hymns and the writers of Chu wrote rhyme-prose, they all used reprises. A preface and a reprise are essential to grand compositions and the key to elegance. More modest pieces on the flora and fauna and other miscellaneous subjects are written on the spur of the moment and in accord with the circumstances. Their authors strive for linguistic subtlety in depicting forms and appearances and aim at propriety of meaning in representing things and phenomena. These qualities are characteristic of small rhyme-prose, the key to ingenuity.



【原文】

8.5 观夫荀结隐语，事数自环；宋发〔巧〕夸谈，实始淫丽；枚乘《菟园》，举要以会新；相如《上林》，繁类以成艳；贾谊《鹏鸟》，致辨于情理；子渊《洞箫》，穷变于声貌；孟坚《两都》，明绚以雅贍；张衡《二京》，迅发以宏富；子云《甘泉》，构深玮之风；延寿《灵光》，含飞动之势：凡此十家，并辞赋之英杰也。及仲宣靡密，发〔端〕篇必道；伟长博通，时逢壮采；太冲安仁，策勋于鸿规；士衡子安，底绩于流制；景纯绮巧，缚理有余；彦伯梗概，情韵不匮：亦魏晋之赋首也。

【今译】

观察荀子《赋篇》，用隐语构成，对事物作回环描绘；宋玉发出夸大的话，开始显得淫靡艳丽；枚乘《菟园赋》，写得核要而结合新意；司马相如《上林赋》，描写众多物类，构成艳丽；贾谊《鹏鸟赋》，辨别怎样以理遣情；王褒《洞箫赋》，在描绘声音形态上形容尽致；班固《两都赋》，文辞明显绚烂，内容典雅丰富；张衡《二京赋》议论快利，内容宏大丰富；扬雄《甘泉赋》，构成深沉瑰奇的风格；王延寿《鲁灵光殿赋》，写出飞动的形势：所有这十家，都是辞赋的杰出者。到了王粲文辞细密，篇章道劲；徐幹学识渊博通达，辞赋常常显得壮丽；左思潘安，在宏大规模上建立功绩；陆机成公绥，在讨论流品和体制上显示功效；郭璞文辞绮丽巧妙，富有文采和条理；袁宏概括地评论人物，情韵无穷：这些也是魏晋时第一流辞赋家。

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8.5 Xun Kuang's "Rhyme-Prose Chapter" is couched in riddles that are unraveled circuitously. Song Yu initiated the grandiose and sensuous style with his excessively ornamental prose. Mei Cheng's rhyme-prose on "The Hunting Ground of the Hare" is original and concise. Sima Xiangru's "The Hunting Ground of Shanglin" is rich and gorgeous. Jia Yi's "The Owl" is emotional and thoughtful. Wang Bao's "The Vertical Bamboo Flute" exhausts the subtleties of sounds and images. Ban Gu's works on the two capitals are colorful in language and elegant and substantial in content. Zhang Heng's prose about the two capitals is vigorous and magnanimous. Yang Xiong's "Sweet Spring" is profound and grand. Wang Yanshou's "The Palace of Divine Light" has a sweeping power. These are the ten best rhyme-prose writers. In addition, Wang Can, precise and careful, always wrote with vigor; Xu Gan, learned and versatile, frequently attained splendor. Zuo Si and Pan An won fame by writing compositions on a grand scale; Lu Ji and Chenggong Sui distinguished themselves with works on popular subjects. Guo Pu's works are ingenious and ornate but not superficial; Yuan Hong's prose expresses heroic spirit in subtle charm. They are the leading rhyme-prose writers in the Wei and Jin dynasties.



【原文】

8.6 原夫登高之旨，盖睹物兴情。情以物兴，故义必明雅；物以情观，故词必巧丽。丽词雅义，符采相胜，如组织之品朱紫，画绘之著玄黄，文虽新而有质，色虽糅而有本，此立赋之大体也。然逐末之俦，蔑弃其本，虽读千赋，愈惑体要；遂使繁华损枝，膏腴害骨，无贵风轨，莫益劝诫，此扬子所以追悔于雕虫，贻诮于雾縠者也。

【今译】

推求登高作赋的用意，是为了看到景物兴起情思。情思因外物兴起，所以含义一定要明显雅正；外物通过情思来观察，所以文辞一定要巧妙艳丽。巧丽的文辞，雅正的含义，如同玉的美质和文采互相争胜；含义分邪正，像丝织品的分正色间色，文辞求藻采，像绘画的显玄色黄色，文辞虽新而有内容，色彩虽繁复而有正色，这是作赋的大概要求。然而追求形式的人，抛弃它的根本，虽然读了千篇赋，对于体察赋的要义更加迷惑；便让繁多的花叶损害枝干，太多的脂肪损害骨力，对建立规范没有用处，对规讽劝诫没有帮助，这是扬雄所以要懊悔少时作赋不过是雕虫小技，并嘲笑作赋像织薄纱那样对女工是有害的。

8.6 The original reason for making “ascension to the height” the peculiar quality of rhyme-prose is that it is the sight of scenery that inspires the heart. Feeling surges in response to objects, hence meaning must be clear and noble; objects when viewed are tinged with feeling, hence language must be vivid and beautiful. When beautiful language is combined with elegant meaning, substance and form are in harmony like the arrangement of the red and purple in weaving or the blending of the black and yellow in painting. Innovative in language yet substantial in ideas, variegated in colorful descriptions yet clearly focused — these are the essentials of rhyme-prose. Those concerned only with trivialities neglect the essentials. Even if they read a thousand pieces of rhyme-prose, they could not grasp the essence of the genre. Consequently, their works will be marred by florid descriptions, like overgrowth in a plant or obesity in a man. They will not benefit moral education or assist warning and admonition. That is why Master Yang Xiong regretted his youthful indulgence in “worm-carving,”⁴ dismissing it as a petty trick much like women’s embroidery skills.



【原文】

8.7 赞曰：赋自《诗》出，分歧异派。写物图貌，蔚似雕画。

〔析〕抑滞必扬，言〔庸〕无隘。风归丽则，辞剪〔美〕黄稗。

【今译】

总结说：赋从《诗经》中分出来，成为分枝和别派。描写物象，绘画形貌，文采丰富像雕刻和绘画。对抑止停滞的一定要加以发扬流动，内容广阔而不窄隘。作风趋向艳丽正则，文辞需要剪裁浮华。

8.7 Summary:

The rhyme-prose had its roots in the *Book of Poetry*,
Then grew into different branches.
In describing scenery and physical forms,
It resembles carving and painting.
It vents feelings of distress
In language with uninhibited power.
In style its ultimate achievement is beauty without excess,
In diction redundant words are shorn like weeds.



颂赞第九

【原文】

9.1 四始之至，颂居其极。颂者，容也，所以美盛德而述形容也。昔帝啻之世，咸墨为颂，以歌九韶。自商以下，文理允备。夫化偃一国谓之风，风正四方谓之雅，容告神明谓之颂。风雅序人，事兼变正；颂主告神，义必纯美。鲁国以公旦次编，商人以前王追录，斯乃宗庙之正歌，非宴飨之常咏也。《时迈》一篇，周公所制，哲人之颂，规式存焉。夫民各有心，勿壅惟口。晋舆之称原田，鲁民之刺裘

【今译】

风、大小雅、颂是极好的，颂又是它最好的。颂是容貌，用来赞美大的德行，借舞蹈的容貌来表达。从前帝啻的时代，咸墨作颂来歌唱《九韶》。从《商颂》以来，颂的文辞和意思实是完备了。教化影响到一个诸侯国的诗叫做“风”，影响到端正天下风俗的诗叫做“雅”，用容貌舞蹈来禀告神道的诗叫做“颂”。“风”和“雅”叙述人事，人事兼有正确的和变乱的，故“风”“雅”有正和变。“颂”以禀告神道为主，含意一定要纯正美好。鲁国因周公旦的功勋按次序编成《鲁颂》，商朝人因追念先王记下《商颂》，这是用在宗庙里的雅正乐歌，不是宴会上经常唱的歌咏。《周颂》中的《时迈》这一篇，周公创作，圣人的颂，保存着作颂的规范。百姓各有各的想法，不要禁止他们说话。晋国众人的赞美田野，鲁国百姓的讽刺穿着鹿裘和祭服

Chapter 9

Hymn and Eulogy

9.1 The hymn is the ultimate achievement of the four components in the *Book of Poetry*. A hymn is a description: It describes outward appearances in order to glorify virtue. In the time of the ancient king Di Ku, Xian Mo wrote a hymn entitled "Nine Evocations." With the hymns of Shang in the *Book of Poetry*, hymn writing reached its final form. Poems that mould the behavior of a people are called *feng*, or airs. Poems that regulate the customs of the four quarters are called *ya*, or odes. Poems that commend human virtues to the deities are called *song*, or hymns.¹ The air and the ode concern human affairs; their forms are various. A hymn is addressed to the deities; its meaning must be pure and noble. The hymns of Lu were compiled to commend the virtues of Lord Zhou, the hymns of Shang to record the merits of earlier kings. Both were formal sacrificial songs, not songs for ordinary feasting parties. "Progress through the Kingdom"² was written by Duke Zhou. A wise man's work, it upheld the standard. All people have thoughts; none can silence them. In the Spring and Autumn period, the people of the Jin State praised their army with phrases like "luxuriant like grass upon the plain." The natives of Lu satirized Confucius with such comments as "He does not deserve his

【原文】

鞞，直言不咏，短辞以讽，丘明子〔高〕顺，并〔谍〕谓为诵，斯则野诵之变体，浸被乎人事矣。及三闾《橘颂》，情采芬芳，比类寓意，又覃及细物矣。

【今译】

的，直率地说出，不是歌咏，用简短的话来讽喻，左丘明和子顺，都称做诵，这是民间的诵，是颂的变体，渐渐影响到人事上去了。到了楚国三闾大夫屈原作《橘颂》，情感和文采都很美好，用类似的物作比，寄托自己的情意，颂又推广到细小的物品了。

official garment.” Both were plain, brief statements, although Zuo Qiuming and Kong Zishun called them hymns. They were varieties that deviated from the norm, for they dealt with human affairs. When Qu Yuan wrote “Hymn to the Orange Tree,” he imbued it with feeling and art and charged it with rich imagery, but at the same time he introduced petty subjects into the hymn.³

【原文】

9.2 至于秦政刻文，爰颂其德。汉之惠景，亦有述容，沿世并作，相继于时矣。若夫子云之表充国，孟坚之序戴侯，武仲之美显宗，史岑之述熹后，或拟《清庙》，或范《驹》《那》，虽浅深不同，详略各异，其褒德显容，典章一也。至于班固之《北征》《西〔巡〕征》，变为序引，岂不褒过而谬体哉！马融之《广成》《上林》，雅而似赋，何弄文而失质乎？又崔瑗《文学》，蔡邕《樊渠》，并致美于序，而简约乎篇。挚虞品藻，颇为精核；至云杂以风雅，而不变旨趣，徒张虚论，有似黄白之伪说矣。及魏晋〔辨〕杂颂，鲜有出辙，陈思所缀，以《皇子》为标；陆机积篇，惟《功臣》最显，其褒贬杂居，固末代之讹体也。

【今译】

至了秦始皇刻石，于是称颂他的功德。汉朝的惠帝景帝，也有描状容貌的歌舞，沿袭下来，都有创作，一代代继续不断了。像扬雄表扬赵充国的《赵充国颂》，班固称述窦融的《安丰戴侯颂》，傅毅赞美汉明帝的《显宗颂》，史岑称说邓后的《和熹邓后颂》，有的仿照《周颂·清庙》，有的效法《鲁颂·驹》和《商颂·那》，虽然或浅或深不相同，或详或略不一样，它的赞美功德，显示舞容，它的典雅的法则是—致的。到了班固的《北征颂》、傅毅的《西征颂》，变成铺叙，难道不是赞美过头变成破坏体制吗！马融的《广成颂》《上林颂》，要求典雅却写得像赋，为什么玩弄文采却失去它的本质呢？又崔瑗的《南阳文学颂》，蔡邕的《京兆樊惠渠颂》，都是把序文写得美好，却把颂写得简单。挚虞在《文章流别论》里对颂的评价，大都是精确的，至于说到其中夹杂着风雅，却不改变歌颂的旨趣，徒然发挥空论，好像黄铜白锡混杂着可以铸剑的胡说了。到了魏晋驳杂的颂，很少有离开写作规范的，曹植所作，以《皇太子生颂》做标志；陆机积起来的篇章，以《汉高祖功臣颂》最著名，其中赞美的和贬斥的混杂在一起，实是乱世的不正确的体制了。

9.2 The first Emperor of Qin had stone inscriptions made to exalt his virtues. Emperor Hui and Emperor Jing of Han used hymns to glorify their ancestors. Clearly, the writing of hymns never ceased. Yang Xiong composed a hymn to General Zhao. Ban Gu dedicated one to General Dou. Fu Yi wrote one in honor of Emperor Ming. Shi Cen wrote one in honor of Empress Deng. They are all modeled on the hymns of Zhou, Lu, or Shang. Although they differ in depth or detail, they follow the same principle of praising virtues through exposition. As for Ban Gu's "Hymn to General Dou Xian's Northern Campaign" and Fu Yi's "Hymn to General Dou Xian's Western Campaign," both contain long narrative prefaces with excessive praises. They mark a deviation from the norm. Ma Rong's hymns to Guang Cheng and Shanglin resemble rhyme-prose; they parade art at the expense of substance. Cui Yuan's "Hymn to the Literary Talents of Nanyang" and Cai Yong's "Hymn to Fan the Canal Benefactor" have wonderful narrative prefaces, but the main parts of the hymns are too brief. Zhi Yu's comments on the hymn are on the whole precise and to the point. Yet when he said that the hymn also contained elements of the air and the ode, he ignored its generic nature. His statements in this respect are imprecise and confused. The mixed varieties of hymns written in the Wei and Jin dynasties followed established rules. Cao Zhi's representative piece is his "Hymn to the Birth of the Prince." Lu Ji's best-known hymn is dedicated to the heroes of Emperor Gaozu of Han. These works mix praise with censure and represent the errant tendency of the genre.



【原文】

9.3 原夫颂惟典〔雅〕懿，辞必清铄，敷写似赋，而不入华侈之区；敬慎如铭，而异乎规戒之域。揄扬以发藻，汪洋以树义，〔唯〕虽纤〔曲〕巧曲致，与情而变，其大体所底，如斯而已。

【今译】

推求颂的写作，只求雅正美好，文辞清澄而有光彩，描写像赋，但不进入华艳浮夸的范围；庄重谨慎像铭文，但不同于规劝警诫的含意。用赞美来发挥词藻，用深广的内涵来确立含义，虽细巧曲达，跟着情意变化，它的大体要求，像这样罢了。



9.3 A hymn should be elegant and graceful, its language luminous and pure. It resembles the rhyme-prose in its descriptions, but does not indulge in rhapsodic exuberance. It resembles the inscription in earnestness and gravity, but does not give admonitions. In praising, it uses rhetorical flourishes and lays claim to oceans not waterdrops of meaning while allowing for small niceties and nuances. These are the essentials of hymn writing.



【原文】

9.4 赞者，明也，助也。昔虞舜之祀，乐正重赞，盖唱发之辞也。及益赞于禹，伊陟赞于巫咸，并扬言以明事，嗟叹以助辞也。故汉置鸿胪，以唱〔拜〕言为赞，即古之遗语也。至相如属笔，始赞荆轲。及迁史固书，托赞褒贬，约文以总录，颂体以论辞；又纪传后评，亦同其名；而仲〔洽〕治《流别》，谬称为述，失之远矣。及景纯注雅，动植必赞，义兼美恶，亦犹颂之变耳。

【今译】

赞是说明，是辅助。从前虞舜的祭祀，乐官看重赞辞，大概是歌唱前说明的话。到益帮助禹说的话，伊陟对巫咸作的赞辞，都是高声来说明事理，并以感叹来加重语气。所以汉朝设立鸿胪官，用大声传呼的话为赞，就是古代传下来的说法。到司马相如作文，开始赞美荆轲。到司马迁的《史记》，班固的《汉书》，借赞辞来赞美或贬斥，用简练的话来总结，用颂的体制来发议论；又在本纪列传后面加上评语，也同称为赞，可是挚虞的《文章流别论》，错误地称它为述，错得大了。到了郭璞注《尔雅》，对动物植物都写了赞，含意兼有赞美和贬抑，也像颂体的变化罢了。

9.4 A eulogy is meant to illuminate, to assist. In the time of King Shun, the music master sang a eulogy to inaugurate the ceremony.⁴ As for Lord Yi's words to King Yu⁵ and Lord Yi Zhi's words to Wu Xian,⁶ they were nobly and emphatically uttered to illuminate facts and assist in the power of language. For this reason, an official position called Honglu was created in the Han Dynasty for singing eulogies on official occasions. These are all eulogies passed down from ancient times. Sima Xiangru wrote the first of modern eulogies, which was dedicated to Jing Ke. Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* and Ban Gu's *Annals of the Han* used eulogies both to praise and to censure. The eulogies in these works serve as brief conclusions at the end of a chapter. They make critical comments in the form of a hymn. The postscripts at the end of both works serve the same function, although Zhi Yu mistakenly called them "narratives." When Guo Pu annotated the *Illustrated Er Ya*,⁷ he wrote eulogies to all the flora and fauna, which he both criticized and praised. His work represents a degraded form of eulogy similar to the degraded form of the hymn.



【原文】

9.5 然本其为义，事生奖叹，所以古来篇体，促而不广，必结言于四字之句，盘桓乎数韵之辞，约举以尽情，昭灼以送文，此其体也。发源虽远，而致用盖寡，大抵所归，其颂家之细条乎？

【今译】

可是根据赞的意义看，对事物产生赞美，因此从古以来的篇幅，都短而不长，一定用四字组成句子，回绕在几个韵脚里，简约地叙尽情事，明白显著地结束文辞，这是它的体制。它的产生虽早，但实用不多，就大致的趋向看，是颂的一个小支派吧？





9.5 A eulogy originated from the need to give praises. Brevity, not elaboration, is its main characteristic. It is mostly written in four-character verses within the scope of several rhymes. Within its limited scope, it says what it needs to say and then stops. These are the basics. In short, the eulogy appeared early, but was not often used. By and large, it can be regarded as a branch of the hymn.



【原文】

9.6 赞曰：容体〔底〕底颂，勋业垂赞。镂〔彩〕影摛〔文〕声，〔声〕文理有烂。年积愈远，音徽如旦。降及品物，炫辞作玩。

【今译】

总结说：舞歌的声容构成颂，对功业的称美传下来成为赞。绘影绘声，文理有光彩。年份积累得越久，美好的德音像初升的太阳。直到咏物的颂，炫耀辞藻来作游戏。



9.6 Summary:

A hymn praises virtue,
A eulogy glorifies noble deeds.
Both are excellent
In vivid figures and description.
Works written in the distant past,
Prove ever more fresh with each passing day.
Recent work on commonplace subjects
Degenerate into mere linguistic displays.



祝盟第十

【原文】

10.1 天地定位，祀遍群神。六宗既禋，三望咸秩，甘雨和风，是生黍稷，兆民所仰，美报兴焉。牲盛惟馨，本于明德，祝史陈信，资乎文辞。

【今译】

天上地下的位置确定，众多神灵普遍受到祭祀。六种尊神已经祭祀，山河海的神都按次序望祭，于是风调雨顺，生长谷物，是亿万民众所仰望，才兴起了美好的报答。祭祀的三牲和谷物是美好的，根本在于祭者的美德，祝史祷告是真诚的，那就依靠文辞。



Chapter 10

Prayer and Oath

10.1 When heaven and earth settled in their respective places, sacrifices were offered to the spirits and deities. After the heavenly deities had received homage, the mountain, river, and sea gods were worshipped. Balmy rains and gentle winds then came, bringing forth crops upon which men fed. Men offered spontaneous sacrifices, whose fragrance had its source in human virtue. The sacrificial officer expressed sincere homage, for which he relied on embellished language.



【原文】

10.2 昔伊耆始蜡，以祭八神。其辞云：“土返其宅，水归其壑，昆虫〔无〕毋作，草木归其泽。”则上皇祝文，爰在兹矣。舜之祠田云。

“荷此长耜，耕彼南亩，四海俱有。”利民之志，颇形于言矣。至于商履，圣敬日跻。玄牡告天，以万方罪己，即郊禋之词也；素车禡旱，以六事责躬，则雩祭之文也。及周之太祝，掌六祝之辞。是以“庶物咸生”，陈于天地之郊；“旁作穆穆”，唱于迎日之拜；“夙兴夜处”，言于祔庙之祝；“多福无疆”，布于少牢之馈；宜社类祊，莫不有文：所以寅虔于神祇，严恭于宗庙也。

【今译】

从前神农氏开始在十二月合祭，祭祀八位神灵。他的祝词说：“泥土留在田里，水回到山沟里，害虫不要起来，草树长到沼泽地里。”那么三皇的祝词，就在这里了。虞舜的祭田说：“扛着长的掘土器，在那南亩上耕地，天下人都丰收。”为民谋利的用心，很表现在说话里了。到了商汤，德行一天高过一天。用黑牛祭天，把各方面的罪过都归到自己身上，这就是他祭天的祝词；坐着质朴的车子去求雨，用六件事情来责备自己，那是求雨祭的祝词。到了周朝的太祝，主管六种祝告的话。因此用“众物都生长”，在祭天时祷告；“普遍地显得肃穆”，在迎接太阳时拜神的祝词；“早起晚睡”，是在祖庙里祔祭时的祝词；“多福无限”，是用羊豕到祖庙里祭祀时的祝词；出征时祭社神，祭上帝，祭出征地，没有不是有祝词的：因为要对神灵表示虔诚，对祖庙表示恭敬。

10.2 When Yi Qi made his first sacrifice to the eight deities, he said, "Let the soil stay in place. Let water flow in the channels. Let insects plague no more. Let no wild weeds grow in the fields".¹ These were his prayers. When King Shun made his spring sacrifices to the field, he said, "I carry this long plough to till the southern field. I want all people to share the fruits of my labor." His prayers expressed good wishes for the welfare of the people. The virtues of King Tang of Shang accumulated daily. Once when sacrificing a black bull to heaven, he blamed all the faults of the world on himself. That was how he prayed to heaven. He also rode on an unadorned, plain cart to pray for the end of a drought, censuring himself for six misdeeds. That was how he prayed for rain. In the Zhou Dynasty, the grand officer of sacrifice was in charge of conducting six prayers. Praying to heaven and earth, he would say, "All life thus comes into being." To greet the sunrise, he would say, "Brightness shines far and wide." In the ancestral temple, he would say, "We will rise early and sleep late." Making sacrifices to the ancestors, he would say, "You have given us joys bounteous and boundless." Prayers to heaven and earth were also said before a military campaign, to show reverence to the deities and piety to the ancestors.



【原文】

10.3 自春秋以下，黷祀谄祭，祝币史辞，靡神不至。至于张老成室，致〔善〕美于歌哭之祷；蒯聩临战，获祐于筋骨之请：虽造次颠沛，必于祝矣。若夫《楚辞·招魂》，可谓祝辞之组〔緌〕丽也。汉之群祀，肃其〔旨〕百礼，既总硕儒之〔仪〕义，亦参方士之术。所以秘祝移过，异于成汤之心；佞子驱疫，同乎越巫之祝：礼失之渐也。

【今译】

从春秋下来，有衰蹙讨好神灵的祭祀，祝史献神的币帛和祝词，没有一个神前不用到。像晋大夫张老祝贺赵武筑成新屋，表示新屋的美好，要歌唱、哭泣在这里，用以祝祷；卫公子蒯聩亲临战阵，作了请祖先保佑不伤筋骨的祷告：虽在匆忙和困难的时候，一定要祝告了。像《楚辞·招魂》，可以说是祝词中的有文采的。汉朝的多种祭祀，郑重地用了多种礼仪，既已总结了大儒的建议，也参用方士的法术，因此用秘密祝告把过失推到臣民身上，跟成汤把罪孽由自身承担的心不同；用善良童子赶疫鬼，跟越巫的祝告相同：祝祀的礼已经逐渐变质了。

10.3 After the Spring and Autumn period, sacrifices became excessive and flattering: Every deity was showered with oblations and prayers. When Zhao Wu built his residence, Zhang Lao praised it as an abode good for both joy and mourning.² Before Kuai Kui went into battle, he prayed that his sinews and bones would not be wounded.³ Even in moments of haste and danger, he did not forget to pray. Qu Yuan's "Summoning of the Soul" in the *Songs of the South* was probably the most beautiful of prayers. In the Han Dynasty, all kinds of sacrifices emphasized rites. Hence the opinions of great scholars were collected and some mystical practices were studied. Unlike the prayers of King Tang of Shang, the secret prayers in the Han court tried to blame faults on the emperor's subjects. On one occasion, children were made to beat drums to relieve a plague. It was as ridiculous as the prayers of the sorcerers of Yue.⁴ At that time, the writing of prayers began to degenerate.



【原文】

10.4 至如黄帝有祝邪之文，东方朔有骂鬼之书，于是后之谴咒，务于善骂。唯陈思《诰咎》，裁以正义矣。

【今译】

又像黄帝有咒邪文，东方朔有骂鬼书，因此后来的谴责咒文，致力于会骂。只有曹植的《诰咎文》，使它合于正道。



10.4 The Yellow Emperor said a prayer to a divine animal. Dongfang Shuo composed an incantation to curse the ghosts. Thereafter, all prayers written as incantations strove to create witty curses. Only Cao Zhi's "Denunciations" was properly written.



【原文】

10.5 若乃礼之祭〔祀〕祝，事止告飨；而中代祭文，兼赞言行，祭而兼赞，盖引〔神〕伸而作也。又汉代山陵，哀策流文。周丧盛姬，内史执策。然则策本书赠，因哀而为文也。是以义同于诔，而文实告神，诔首而哀末，颂体而祝仪，太〔史〕祝所〔作〕读〔之赞〕，〔因〕固〔周之〕祝之文者也。

【今译】

又像《仪礼》的祭祀祝词，事情只是请来享受祭品；可是汉朝的祭文，还要赞美死者生前的言行，祭又兼赞，是从祭祀引申出来的。又汉朝祭皇帝陵墓，用哀策文，成为流行的文体。周穆王盛姬死了，由内史用哀策文致祭。那么哀策本来是写赠谥的，因哀悼而成为哀策文的。因此它的用意跟诔文相同，可是哀策文实是报告神灵，用诔文来开头，用写哀来结尾，体裁像颂，仪式是祝告，太祝读的祝词，本是祝词中的有文采的。



10.5 As for the sacrificial prayers in the *Manual of Rites and Ceremonies*, they merely invited the spirits of the dead to enjoy the oblations. The sacrificial prayers in the Han and Wei dynasties praised the good deeds of the dead. When a sacrificial prayer is used to praise, it extends the uses of the genre. Furthermore, from the Han Dynasty has also been passed down a type of writing called the “mourning order,” which was used at sacrificial ceremonies held at imperial mausoleums. When King Mu of Zhou’s concubine Sheng Ji died, the officer of internal affairs was responsible for drafting the mourning order. What is now known as a mourning order was originally used for keeping account of the gifts received at mourning ceremonies, but as the occasion was a sad one, the order later came to express sorrow. While it resembles a mourning song in content, its declared intention is to address the deities. It begins like a mourning song but ends like a lament. It resembles the hymn in style, and the prayer in form. The mourning orders read by the grand priests of the Han were modeled on the prayers of the Zhou.



【原文】

10.6 凡群言发华，而降神务实，修辞立诚，在于无愧。祈祷之式，必诚以敬；祭奠之楷，宜恭且哀：此其大较也。班固之祀〔濊〕涿山，祈祷之诚敬也；潘岳之祭庾妇，奠祭之恭哀也：举汇而求，昭然可鉴矣。

【今译】

凡是众多言词都表现文采，可是请神的话力求朴实，修辞确立在真诚上，在于毫无惭愧。祈祷的仪式，一定要诚心恭敬；祭祀文的模范，应该恭敬而且悲哀：这是大概。班固的《涿邪山祝文》，是诚敬的祈祷文；潘岳的《为诸妇祭庾新妇文》，是恭哀的祭文。列举这些文章来研求，怎样借鉴可以明白了。



10.6 Literary writings excel in the creative use of language; the sacrificial prayer alone restricts itself to simple sense. The sincerity of the language lies in the honesty of the heart. Sacrificial prayers must be sincere and reverential, mourning prayers must be reverential and sorrowful. This is the essence of prayer writing. Ban Gu's sacrificial prayer to Mount Zhuo is a good example of the first. Pan Yue's mourning prayer for the wife of Yu Liang is a model of the second. These examples show the salient features of this genre.



【原文】

10.7 盟者，明也。骅毛白马，珠盘玉敦，陈辞乎方明之下，祝告于神明者也。在昔三王，诅盟不及，时有要誓，结言而退。周衰屡盟，以及要〔契〕劫，始之以曹沫，终之以毛遂。及秦昭盟夷，设黄龙之诅；汉祖建侯，定山河之誓。然义存则克终，道废则渝始，崇替在人，咒何预焉。若夫臧洪敌辞，气截云霓；刘琨铁誓，精贯霏霜；而无补于晋汉，反为仇讎。故知信不由衷，盟无益也。

【今译】

盟是报告神明。用赤牛白马祭神，在饰珠的盘里放牛耳，在饰玉的盘里盛血，在四方神明像下说明盟辞，用来向神明祷告。从前夏商周三王，没有盟誓，时常有约誓，约定后退去。周朝衰落，屡次结盟，还连到要挟胁迫，开始是鲁将曹沫胁迫齐桓公退还侵地，后来是赵客毛遂威胁楚王结盟。到秦昭公同夷人结盟，订立了用黄龙作罚；汉高祖封诸侯，定了山盟海誓。然而保存道义才能够贯彻到底，道义废了便改变原来的盟约。盟约的尊崇和废除在人，诅咒的话有什么相干。像汉末臧洪与诸侯敌血结盟，忠义的气焰可以截断云虹；晋代刘琨与段匹磾订立铁的盟誓，精诚感动得天为下霜；可是对汉和晋都没有补救，双方反而成为仇人。所以知道信约不从内心发出，结盟是没有用处的。

10.7 The character for “oath” is related to “clarify.” using a red bull, or white horse as sacrifices, and dishes and trays ornamented with pearls and jade, the oath is pledged in front of wooden tablets, symbols of deities and spirits. It did not exist in the earliest times of Xia, Shang, or Zhou. If pledges were on occasion needed, the two parties met to write down the words and then withdrew. With the decline of the Zhou Dynasty, oath taking became frequent. Things became so bad that coercion was sometimes used to exact an oath. An early example is Cao Mo, who resorted to coercion to secure an oath. A later example is Mao Sui. When King Zhaoxiang of Qin signed an oath of agreement with an alien tribe, he swore to give them a pair of golden dragons if he invaded them, but to demand only a cup of wine if they invaded him. When Emperor Gaozu of Han conferred titles, he promised that his words would be as lasting as mountains and rivers. However, an oath will last only as long as righteousness exists. If righteousness is abandoned, an oath can be easily broken. The reliability of an oath is determined not by words, but by people. Did not Zang Hong in the Han Dynasty make a noble pledge that resounded to the skies? Did not Liu Kun of the Jin swear an “iron” oath that reached heaven? Their oaths not only failed to forestall the fall of their respective dynasties, but they themselves died at the hands of those with whom they had pledged mutual support. Therefore, if an oath does not come from the heart, there is no point in making it.



【原文】

10.8 夫盟之大体，必序危机，奖忠孝，共存亡，戮心力，祈幽灵以取鉴，指九天以为正，感激以立诚，切至以敷辞，此其所同也。然非辞之难，处辞为难。后之君子，宜〔在〕存殷鉴，忠信可矣，无恃神焉。

【今译】

盟的主要体制，一定要叙述危机，奖励忠孝，共同存亡，齐心协力，求神灵鉴察，指上天作证，感激地确立诚意，恳切地写出文辞，这是一致的。但不是文辞难写，要照文辞写的做起来是难的。后来的订盟者，应该引以为鉴；保存忠信行了，不要依靠神灵。



10.8 The characteristics of the oath are as follows: always to note moments of great crisis, to glorify loyalty and piety, and to pledge mutual fidelity in matters of life or death. Spirits and deities are asked to be arbiters, heaven itself is called upon as a witness. Solemn earnestness is founded on noble emotions, the choice of words guided by deep seriousness. These are their common properties. However, the difficult part lies in acting out the words, not in writing them. This is the real lesson to be learned. Sincerity and faith suffice to make a good oath. There is no need to invoke the spirits.



【原文】

10.9 赞曰：愍祀钦明，祝史惟谈。立诚在肃，修辞必甘。季代弥饰，绚言朱蓝。神之来格，所贵无惭。

【今译】

总结说：谨慎恭敬和明智来祀神结盟，祝官只是说盟辞。确立真诚在于严敬，修饰辞语一定美好。末世更加修饰，话有文采又正直。请神灵的到来作证，可贵的在于真诚无愧。



10.9 Summary:

Solemn sacrifices are based on great virtues,
The sacrificial official writes down the words.
The sincerity of the words comes from heart-felt earnestness,
Only in this way does language achieve beauty.
With the increase of embellishments in recent times,
The prayer and the oath have become too ornamented.
The spirits and deities will arrive,
At the beckon of a clear conscience.



铭箴第十一

【原文】

11.1 昔帝轩刻舆几以弼违，大禹勒笋簏而招谏；成汤盘盂，著日新之规，武王户席，题必戒之训；周公慎言于金人，仲尼革容于欹器：则先对鉴戒，其来久矣。故铭者，名也，观器必也正名，审用贵乎盛德。盖臧武仲之论铭也，曰：“天子令德，诸侯计功，大夫称伐。”夏铸九牧之金鼎，周勒肃慎之楛矢，令德之事也；吕望铭功于昆吾，仲山裼绩于庸器，计功之义也；魏颗纪勋于景钟，孔悝表勤于

【今译】

从前黄帝在车子和矮桌上刻上文句，来帮助自己纠正过错；大禹在乐器架上刻上文句，请人提意见；商汤王的《盘铭》，写上天天新的规戒，周武王的《户铭》《席四端铭》，写上一定要警诫的教训；周公在《金人铭》里提出说话谨慎，孔子看到欹器脸色变了：那么从前圣人注重借鉴警诫，它的来源是很久了。所以铭就是名称，观察器物一定要端正它的名称，考察用途重在美好的德行。臧武仲议论铭文，说：“对天子赞扬他的美德，对诸侯计数他的功勳，对大夫称说他的劳迹。”夏朝把九州贡献的金属铸成金属鼎；周朝在肃慎氏进贡的楛木箭上刻字，这是颂扬美德的事；吕望把他的大功刻在冶工昆吾铸的金属版上，仲山甫把他的大功刻在记功的器物上，这是计算大功的事；魏颗把他的劳绩刻在景钟上，孔悝把他的勤劳刻在卫鼎上，这是称说

Chapter 11

Inscription and Admonition

11.1 In the past, the Yellow Emperor carved words of self-admonition on his desk and on the royal chariot. King Yu of Xia carved words on his bell frames to invite criticisms. King Tang of Shang inscribed a motto on his bathtub to remind himself to make daily progress. King Wu of Zhou wrote moral lessons on his door and his mat. Duke Zhou learned to speak cautiously from an inscription on a bronze figure. Confucius was awed on perceiving the moral message conveyed by a sacrificial vessel that was toppled when overfilled with water. Thus our ancient sages always cautioned themselves. The character for “inscription” is related to “name.” To study an object, one first establishes the meaning of its name before deciding how useful it is in promoting virtue. Zang Wuzhong said of the inscription: “It encourages the virtues in the Son of Heaven, merits in princes and dukes, and military feats in ministers.”¹ In the Xia Dynasty, a tripod was cast with the bronze contributed by the chieftains of the nine states. In the Zhou Dynasty, King Wu carved words on the arrows presented by the state of Sushen:² Both embody imperial virtues. Lü Wang’s deeds were inscribed on a bronze vessel by a man called Kun Wu; Zhongshan Fu’s achievements were carved on an honor vessel. These lauded princely accomplishments. Wei Ke’s military exploits were inscribed on the Bell of Jing and Kong Kui’s on a tripod. These praised

【原文】

卫鼎，称伐之类也。若乃飞廉有石椁之锡，灵公有〔蒿〕夺里之谥，铭发幽石，吁可怪矣。赵灵勒迹于番吾，秦昭刻博于华山，夸诞示众，吁可笑也。详观众例，铭义见矣。

【今译】

劳绩的事。至于飞廉得到天赐的石制外棺，卫灵公得到夺取圻穴里石椁上的谥号，铭文从地下石头上发现，唉，可怪了。赵武灵王在番吾山上刻上他的游踪，秦昭王在华山上刻上他的赌具，用虚夸的刻石来告诉众人，唉，可笑的。详尽地观察众多例子，铭文的意义可见了。



military feats. There are bizarre stories too. One relates that heaven bequeathed to Fei Lian a stone coffin with an inscription. Another claims that at Duke Ling's funeral ceremony a stone coffin was unearthed bearing his posthumous title.³ Yet another says that Prince Wuling had his name carved on Mount Fanwu.⁴ A final example asserts that Prince Zhao of Qin had a chess game carved on Mount Hua. How ridiculous they all are! A careful study of these instances should clarify the meaning of an inscription.



【原文】

11.2 至于始皇勒岳，政暴而文泽，亦有疏通之美焉。若班固燕然之勒，张昶华阴之碣，序亦盛矣。蔡邕铭思，独冠古今；桥公之钺，吐纳典谟；朱穆之鼎，全成碑文，溺所长也。至如敬通杂器，准燹〔戒〕武铭，而事非其物，繁略违中。崔駰品物，赞多戒少；李尤积篇，义俭辞碎，蓍龟神物，而居博弈之中，衡斛嘉量，而在白杵之末，曾名品之未暇，何事理之能闲哉！魏文九宝，器利辞钝。惟张载剑阁，其才清采，迅足骏骥，后发前至，勒铭岷汉，得其宜矣。

【今译】

到秦始皇在山上刻石，他的政治虽然暴虐，但刻石文却写得有光泽，也有通达事理的好处。像班固的《封燕然山铭》，张昶的《西岳华山堂阙碑铭》，序文内容也很丰富了。蔡邕的铭文，独自成为古今第一；像赞美桥玄的《黄钺铭》，吐辞采纳《尚书》；赞美朱穆的《鼎铭》，完全写成碑文，是他擅长写碑文而陷进去了。至于像冯衍写各种器物的铭文，模仿武王的铭文，可是讲的内容同各种器物不相应，详略不恰当。崔駰的铭评量各物，多赞美，少警诫；李尤的铭文积了不少，意义浅薄，文辞烦碎，像蓍草和龟甲是占卜吉凶的宝物，却列在赌具和围棋的中间，秤和斛是美好的衡量器，却放在杵臼的末了，对器物名称品第都没有考虑好，怎么能熟悉事物的道理呢？曹丕写了九种宝物的《剑铭》，剑是锋利的，文辞平钝。只有张载的《剑阁铭》，他的文才清丽，像快马奔腾，写作在后，超越前人，把他的铭名刻在蜀汉的岷山，是得当的。

11.2 The First Emperor of Qin had his virtues carved on Mount Tai. Although his reign was tyrannical, these inscriptions were beautifully written and exercised some good influence. Ban Gu's inscription on Mount Yanran and Zhang Chang's on Mount Hua have substantial prefaces. Cai Yong's inscriptions are unsurpassable: The one on General Qiao is a model of classical elegance; if the one on Zhu Mu too much resembles an epitaph, it is because epitaphs were Cai's forte. Feng Yan's inscriptions on miscellaneous objects, though modeled on those by King Wu of Zhou, did not match words with objects and were inappropriate in length. Cui Yin's inscriptions give more praises than exhortations. Li You's are rich in number but poor in both ideas and language. When he mixed divine objects like yarrow-stalks with chess games, and mentioned instruments of weight and measure together with the trivial mortar and pestle, it was a failure in judgement. Without distinguishing these, how could he really understand their meanings? Emperor Wen of Wei wrote inscriptions about nine precious swords. His language is blunt, however sharp the swords might be. Only Zhang Zai's inscription about Mount Jian'ge is pure and keen. A latecomer, he outstrips his predecessors. His inscription was carved by imperial decree on Mount Jian'ge, an appropriate site indeed.



【原文】

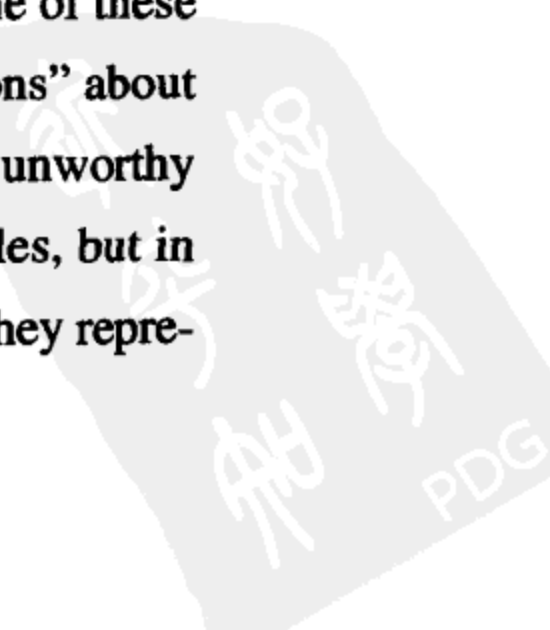
11.3 箴者，针也，所以攻疾防患，喻针石也。斯文之兴，盛于三代。夏商二箴，馀句颇存。〔及〕周之辛甲，百官箴阙，唯《虞箴》一篇，体义备焉。迄至春秋，微而未绝。故魏绛讽君于后羿，楚子训民于在勤。战代以来，弃德务功，铭辞代兴，箴文委绝。至扬雄稽古，始范《虞箴》，作卿尹州牧二十五篇。及崔胡补缀，总称《百官》。指事配位，鞞鉴可徵，信所谓追清风于前古，攀辛甲于后代者也。至于潘勖《符节》，要而失浅，温峤《〔傅〕侍臣》，博而患繁；王济《国子》，〔引广〕文多而事〔杂〕寡，潘尼《乘舆》，义正而体芜：凡斯继作，鲜有克衷。至于王朗《杂箴》，乃置巾履，得其戒慎，而失其所施；观其约文举要，宪章〔戒〕武铭，而水火井灶，繁辞不已，志有偏也。

【今译】

箴就是打针，用来治病防患，用针石来作比方。这种文体的兴起，在夏商周三代盛行。《夏箴》和《商箴》保存少数残余的句子。周朝的辛甲，他的百官箴散失了，只存《虞箴》一篇，体制和用意都完备。到了春秋，箴文衰落还没有断绝。所以魏绛用箴文中的后羿来讽谏晋君，楚庄王用箴文中的“民生在勤”来教训民众。战国以来，抛弃道德，力求有功；铭文代箴文兴起，箴文枯萎绝迹了。到扬雄考古，开始模仿《虞箴》，作卿尹州牧等箴二十五篇。到崔駰胡广又加补充，总称《百官箴》。配合各种官位，指出应该警诫的事项，像镜子那样可以借鉴，确实是上追前古的好风气，在后代仰慕辛甲的作法了。到汉末潘勖的《符节箴》，扼要而失于肤浅，东晋温峤的《侍臣箴》，广博而失于繁杂；西晋王济的《国子箴》，文多事少，潘尼的《乘舆箴》，意义正确，文辞芜杂：所有这些继续创作，很少有写得恰好的。到魏王朗的杂箴，却作《巾箴》《履箴》，文中要警诫谨慎是对的，但用在巾履上就不恰当；看他文辞简练，意义扼要，模仿周武王的铭文，内容谈到水火井灶，文辞繁多不止，是志趣有所偏了。



11.3 The character for “admonition” derives its meaning from the needle used to heal or prevent diseases. Admonitions flourished in the Three Dynasties. Quite a few fragments from the admonitions of Xia and Shang are extant. In the Zhou Dynasty, Xin Jia required all ranks of officials to admonish the throne. Of these admonitions, the one written by a gamekeeper marked the maturity of this genre. In the Spring and Autumn period, admonitory writings declined but did not perish. Wei Jiang of the Jin admonished his lord with a poem about Hou Yi the Archer. King Zhuang of Chu instructed his people with an admonition about diligence. In the Warring States, virtue was abandoned and military merits alone were sought. Inscriptions flourished while poems of admonition withered and disappeared. When Yang Xiong came to study the ancient admonitions, he followed the gamekeeper’s example and wrote 25 poems of admonition about the duties attached to various official positions. Cui Yin and Hu Guang wrote more works of this kind. Together with Yang’s works, they make up what have come to be known as “Admonitions on a Hundred Official Positions.” By matching appropriate lessons to positions, these admonitions give moral guidance to officials at various levels. They carried on the ancient tradition and followed the illustrious model of Xin Jia. Pan Xu’s “Admonition on Tallies” is short and shallow. Wen Qiao’s “Admonition to the Lords in Attendance” is elaborate but verbose. Wang Ji’s “Admonition to Scholars of the Royal Academy” is packed with quotations and lacks original ideas. Pan Ni’s “Admonition to the Imperial Chariot” is appropriate in meaning but disorderly in form. None of these is up to the standard. Wang Lang’s “Miscellaneous Admonitions” about such things as a head cover or a pair of shoes expend words on unworthy objects. In brevity and concision they follow classical examples, but in treating meticulously such trivial subjects as a stove or a well, they represent an aberrant approach to writing admonitions.



【原文】

11.4 夫箴诵于官，铭题于器，名目虽异，而警诫实同。箴全御过，故文资确切；铭兼褒赞，故体贵弘润；其取事也必核以辨，其摛文也必简而深，此其大要也。然矢言之道盖阙，庸器之制久沦，所以箴铭〔异〕寡用，罕施〔于〕后代。惟秉文君子，宜酌其远大焉。

【今译】

箴是官对君主朗诵的，铭是题在器物上的，名称虽然不同，但引起警诫实是一样的。箴完全是用来抵制过失的，故文词依靠准确切实；铭兼具褒奖赞美，所以体制重在弘大润泽；它的引用事例一定核实和辨明，它的作文一定要简练而深刻，这是大致这样。但是说直话的风气缺少，在器物上记功的制度久废，因此箴铭少用，在后代很少用它。只有掌握文辞的作者，应该酌量采取它们的远大作用。





11.4 An admonition is chanted by an official, an inscription is carved on an object. Though their names and functions differ, their purpose is to give warning. An admonition is used solely to warn against mistakes, so its language should be accurate and precise. An inscription gives praises in addition to warnings, so its style should be grand and gracious. Both should express exact, clear, concise, and profound ideas. These are the essentials. However, as the tradition of making honest admonitions lapsed and the practice of inscribing merits on vessels declined, these two types of writing have become more and more rare. Only men of letters need to know their far-reaching significance.



【原文】

11.5 赞曰：铭实〔表器〕器表，箴惟德轨。有佩于言，无鉴于水。秉兹贞厉，〔敬言〕警乎立履。义典则弘，文约为美。

【今译】

总结说：铭实在是器物的表记，箴只是道德的规范。对箴铭的话要牢记，不要在水里只照见自己。执持纯正勉励的话，警惕地用于行动。意义正确就能弘大，文辞简练是好的。



11.5 Summary:

An inscription is carved on an object,

An admonition instructs in virtue.

Remember the message of an admonition,

The form is less important.

Hold fast to righteousness,

Be ware of your words and action.

Grandeur comes from elegant meaning,

Beauty comes from brevity of diction.



诔碑第十二

【原文】

12.1 周世盛德，有铭诔之文。大夫之材，临丧能诔。诔者，累也；累其德行，旌之不朽也。夏商以前，其〔详〕词靡闻。周虽有诔，未被于士。又贱不诔贵，幼不诔长，其在万乘，则称天以诔之。读诔定谥，其节文大矣。自鲁庄战乘丘，始及于士。逮尼父之卒，哀公作诔，观其慙遗之〔切〕辞，呜呼之叹，虽非睿作，古式存焉。至柳妻之诔惠子，则辞哀而韵长矣。

【今译】

周朝的恩德广大，产生了诔文。大夫的才干，碰上丧事要能够写出诔文来。诔就是积累；累计死者的德行，加以表彰，使他不朽。夏朝商朝以前，诔文没有听说过。周朝虽然有诔文，还没有用到士人身上。又低贱的人不能替贵人作诔，小辈不能为长辈作诔，天子死了，只能称说上天来诔他。宣读诔文，确定谥号，在礼仪上是很重要的。自从鲁庄公在乘丘战败，开始对士人作诔。到孔子死了，鲁哀公给他作诔，看他说“上天不愿留下这一老”的话，“呜呼”的感叹，虽然不是高明的作品，古代诔文的格式保存着。到柳下惠妻子的诔柳下惠，那么文辞悲哀、韵语长了。

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Chapter 12

Mourning-Song and Epitaph

12.1 Inscriptions and mourning songs appeared in the virtuous Zhou Dynasty. A court official must be able to compose mourning-songs on funeral occasions. A mourning-song enumerates: It numbers the virtues of the dead to immortalize them. Little is known about this type of writing before the Xia and Shang dynasties. It existed in the Zhou Dynasty, but was not applied to ordinary officials then. Also, people of low birth were not supposed to write mourning-songs for their superiors, nor younger people for their seniors. Only heaven could be asked to write a sovereign's mourning-song. To chant a mourning-song before the dead and to confer upon him a posthumous title involve complicated rituals. After the battle with the state of Song in Shengqiu, Duke Zhuang of Lu wrote the first mourning-song for an official.¹ When Confucius died, Duke Ai of Lu composed a mourning-song for him; though not a masterpiece, it expressed deep sorrow and preserved the ancient form.² When Liu Xiahui died, his wife wrote a heart-rending mourning-song.³



【原文】

12.2 暨乎汉世，承流而作。扬雄之诔元后，文实烦秽，沙麓撮其要，而摯疑成篇，安有累德述尊，而阔略四句乎？杜笃之诔，有誉前代；吴诔虽工，而他篇颇疏，岂以见称光武，而改盼千金哉！傅毅所制，文体伦序；孝山崔瑗，辨絜相参：观其序事如传，辞靡律调，固诔之才也。潘岳构意，专师孝山，巧于序悲，易入新切，所以隔代相望，能〔徵〕徽厥声者也。至如崔駰诔赵，刘陶诔黄，并得宪章，工在简要。陈思叨名，而体实繁缓，文皇诔末，〔旨〕百言自陈，其乖甚矣。

【今译】

到了汉朝，继承以前的趋势来创作。扬雄的《元后诔》，文辞实在是繁多杂乱，“沙麓”四句只是摘要，可是摯虞疑心它是全篇，哪有累计德行叙述尊者，却简略得只有四句呢？杜笃的诔文，在以前的时代很有声誉；他的《吴汉诔》虽写得工巧，可是别的诔多粗疏，难道因为受到光武帝的称赞，就改变看法，都成了千金的贵重啊！傅毅所写的诔，是符合诔文体制和次序的；苏顺崔瑗所作，内容的辨白，文辞的简洁是结合的：看他们叙事像传记，文辞细密，音律协调，确实是写诔文的人才。潘岳在构思上专学苏顺，很会叙述悲情，容易达到新颖和贴切，所以和苏顺隔代并称，能够得到美好的声名。再像崔駰的诔赵，刘陶的诔黄，都是写诔的规范，好在简练扼要。曹植虚得名声，他的诔文实在辞繁而文气舒缓，在《文帝诔》的末了，用百余字来说自己，它太背离要求了。

12.2 In the Han Dynasty, mourning-songs continued to be written. Yang Xiong's mourning-song for Empress Yuan is lengthy and unkempt. From it the *Annals of Han* quoted four lines, which Zhi Yu took to be the complete work. How could a poem lauding the virtues of a noble personage have only four short lines? Du Du's mourning-songs were well known at his time. Yet, except for the one written for Wu Han, they are all rather commonplace. They were famous because Emperor Guangwu praised one of them. Fu Yi's works are well organized. The works of Su Shun and Cui Yuan are clear and concise. Their narratives resemble biographical writing, their language is carefully chosen, and their rhythms are harmonious. These three had a natural gift for writing mourning-songs. Pan Yue followed Su Shun's example in composition. He is particularly good at expressing sorrow and his language is fresh and touching. Thus although separated by dynasties, he enjoys the same reputation as Su Shun. Cui Yin's mourning-song for Zhao and Liu Tao's for Huang were both written according to the rules. Conciseness and cogency are their merits. Cao Zhi hardly deserves his reputation; his mourning-songs are verbose and forced. In the last part of the mourning-song written for his brother Emperor Wen, he lavished a hundred words on himself. How mistaken!



【原文】

12.3 若夫殷臣〔诔〕咏汤，追褒玄鸟之祚；周史歌文，上阐后稷之烈：诔述祖宗，盖诗人之则也。至于序述哀情，则触类而长。傅毅之诔北海，云“白日幽光，〔氛雾〕淫雨杳冥”；始序致感，遂为后式，景而效者，弥取于工矣。

【今译】

再像殷朝臣子歌咏汤王，在《玄鸟》诗中追美上天的降福；周朝史官歌颂文王，在《生民》诗中追叙后稷的功业。累积地叙述祖宗的功德，是诗人的写法。讲到表达哀情，就接触到相关的事物来发挥。傅毅的《北海王诔》，说到“太阳的光被遮住，大雨使得天地昏暗”；开始叙述就表达感情，便成为后来的样式，仰慕而效法的，更取得工巧了。



12.3 When the ministers of Yin mourned for King Tang, they used the poem “The Swallow” to commemorate the blessings showered on them by their ancestors.⁴ When the official historian of Zhou exalted King Wen’s virtues, he also celebrated the accomplishments of King Wen’s ancestor Hou Ji.⁵ The enumeration of ancestral virtues is an accepted convention in the *Book of Poetry*. Mourning-songs also use metaphors to describe sorrowful feelings. For example, Fu Yi’s mourning-song for Prince Jing of Beihai⁶ has the following lines, “The day was darkened, rainfall dimmed the sky.” His use of a preface to describe such feelings became a model for later generations. His imitators admired his skillfulness.



【原文】

12.4 详夫诔之为制，盖选言录行，传体而颂文，荣始而哀终。论其人也，暖乎若可覩；道其哀也，悽焉如可伤：此其旨也。

【今译】

详细考究诔文的体制，大概是选择死者的言论，记下死者的行事，体裁像传记，文辞像颂，开始写他的光荣，结尾表达悲哀。讲到他的为人，仿佛像可以看到；讲到对他的悲哀，凄怆地像可以伤痛：这是写诔文的要求。





12.4 How is a mourning-song laid out? It cites the sayings of the dead and records their deeds. It resembles a biography in form and a hymn in language. It begins by describing the glory of the dead and ends with lamentation. In describing the dead, it resurrects them. In expressing sorrow, it is heart-breaking.



【原文】

12.5 碑者，埤也；上古帝〔皇〕王，纪号封禅，树石埤岳，故曰碑也。周穆纪迹于弇山之石，亦古碑之意也。又宗庙有碑，树之两楹，事止丽牲，未勒勋绩。而庸器渐缺，故后代用碑，以石代金，同乎不朽，自庙徂坟，犹封墓也。

【今译】

碑是增加；上古帝王记下告天地的话，进行告天地的礼仪，竖立石碑来增加山岳，所以叫碑。周穆王题字在弇山石上，也是古代立碑的意思。又宗庙中庭里有碑，竖立在相当于东西两柱的中间，只是作为祭祀前系牲口用，不在上面刻功勋。可是纪功器渐缺，所以后代用碑来代替，用石来代铜，同样可以不朽，从宗庙转到坟地，好像堆土加高了墓地。



12.5 The character for “epitaph” has the connotation “add to.” In ancient times, emperors added to their reputation by erecting stone slabs on the top of great mountains, dedicating their merits to heaven and earth. These words on stone slabs were called epitaphs. King Mu of Zhou inscribed his glories on a piece of stone on Mount Yan, which was another example of epitaph. Stone slabs were also set up in front of ancestral temples, but they were originally used as hitching posts for animals for sacrifice, not as records of human deeds. Later on when bronze vessels used for this purpose became rare, stone slabs were substituted, and they too signified immortality. In this respect, the stone slabs in front of ancestral temples serve the same purpose as tombstones.



【原文】

12.6 自后汉以来，碑碣云起。才锋所断，莫高蔡邕：观杨赐之碑，骨鲠训典；陈郭二文，词无择言；周〔乎〕胡众碑，莫非清允。其叙事也该而要，其缀采也雅而泽；清词转而不穷，巧义出而卓立；察其为才，自然〔而〕至矣。孔融所创，有〔慕〕摹伯喈，张陈两文，辨给足采，亦其亚也。及孙绰为文，志在于碑〔诔〕，温王〔郤〕郗庾，辞多枝杂，桓彝一篇，最为辨裁矣。

【今译】

从后汉以来，头方或圆的石碑风起云涌。锋利的才华所达到的，没有高过蔡邕的：看他的《太尉杨赐碑》，骨力是从《尚书》的训典里来的；他的《陈寔碑》《郭泰碑》两篇，措辞没有失当的；他的《汝南周勰碑》《太傅胡广碑》等篇，没有不是写得清明恰当。他的叙事全面而扼要，他的文采雅正而润泽；清润的文词婉转而不尽，巧妙的用意层出而突立；考察他的文才，自然达到好处。孔融的创作，摹仿蔡邕，他的《卫尉张俭碑铭》和陈碑两篇，明辨巧捷，富有文采，也是仅次于蔡邕的作品。到孙绰作文，有志于写碑，他的《温峤碑》《丞相王导碑》《太宰郗鉴碑》《太尉庾亮碑》，文辞繁多，段落杂乱，只有《桓彝碑》一篇，最为明辨有裁剪了。

12.6 After the Later Han, stone epitaphs appeared in great numbers. The most talented epitaph writer was Cai Yong. His epitaph to General Yang Ci has classical beauty; those dedicated to Chen Shi and Guo Tai are flawless; and those dedicated to Zhou Xie and Hu Guang are fresh and appropriate. They are concise in stating facts, elegant and smooth in language, fresh and creative in vocabulary, and clever and original in meaning. He had a natural talent for epitaph. Later, Cai became a model for Kong Rong. Kong's epitaphs to Zhang and Chen are clearly and beautifully written,⁷ second only to Cai. Sun Chuo also devoted himself to writing epitaphs, but his epitaphs on Wen, Wang, Xi, and Yu are verbose in language and disorderly in organization. Only the one on Huan Yi is lucid and perspicuous.



【原文】

12.7 夫属碑之体，资乎史才，其序则传，其文则铭。标序盛德，必见清风之华；昭纪鸿懿，必见峻伟之烈：此碑之制也。夫碑实铭器，铭实碑文，因器立名，事〔光〕先于诔。是以勒石赞助者，入铭之域；树碑述〔已〕亡者，同诔之区焉。

【今译】

创作碑文的体裁，依靠史家的才能，它的叙事是传记，它的韵语是铭文。突出地叙述美好的德行，一定要显示风采清亮的光耀；明白地记载巨大的美行，一定要显示卓越宏伟的功绩：这是碑文的法式。碑实在是刻铭的器物，铭实在是碑的文辞，由于石碑的器物来确立碑文的名称，碑的产生先于诔。因此，刻石记功的归入铭文一类，立碑叙述死者的同于诔文的范围。



12.7 A writer of epitaphs should have a historian's talent, because an epitaph uses the narrative techniques of history and is written in the style of an inscription. In praising the virtues of the dead, it must convey the spirit of his personality. In exalting his greatness, it should describe his noble achievements. This is a basic convention. In fact, an epitaph is carved in stone, so it can also be called a lapidary inscription. An epitaph gets its name from the material; it precedes the mourning-song in its composition.⁸ Therefore, that which exalts noble deeds by carving them in stone is an inscription. That which gives an account of the life of the dead is a mourning-song.



【原文】

12.8 赞曰：写实追虚，碑诔以立。铭德〔慕〕纂行，文采允集。观风似面，听辞如泣。石墨镌华，颓影岂〔忒〕戢。

【今译】

总结说：叙述具体的行事，追写抽象的道德，碑文诔文因而确立。用韵文来叙功德，用散文来纪行事，文采用得恰当。观察他的风采像在当面，听他的话像在悲泣。墨拓石碑上刻的华辞，死者的影像难道能够消失。



12.8 Summary:

The mourning-song and the epitaph
Write about bygone days and lost lives.
They preserve in good words
Exceptional virtues and noble deeds.
They bring to life the appearance of the dead,
And move the reader to sad tears.
In glories carved in stone
The names of the dead are made immortal.



哀吊第十三

【原文】

13.1 赋宪之谥，短折曰哀。哀者，依也。悲实依心，故曰哀也。以辞遣哀，盖〔不泪〕下流之悼，故不在黄发，必施夭昏。昔三良殉秦，百夫莫赎，事均夭〔横〕枉，《黄鸟》赋哀，抑亦诗人之哀辞乎？

【今译】

公布法令中的谥法，称短命死的叫哀。哀是依恋。悲哀确实依恋在心里，所以说哀。用文辞来表达悲哀，大概在悼念幼辈，所以不用在老人，一定用在小孩。从前三个好人为秦穆公陪葬，用一百人换一人也换不回来，事情跟短命枉死相同，《黄鸟》诗里表达这种悲哀，也是诗人的哀辞吧？



Chapter 13

Lament and Condolence

13.1 In ancient funeral rites, a person who dies young is to be lamented. The word “lament” is related to “cling”: Grief “clings” to the heart, hence “lament.” A “lament” expresses sorrow for the early death of the young; it is not used for elderly gray-haired people. Once three worthy young men were buried alive in the tomb of Duke Mu of Qin. Although a hundred lives were offered as ransom for those three, they all died prematurely.¹ The poem “Yellow Birds” in the *Book of Poetry* mourns their death. This is a lament.

【原文】

13.2 暨汉武封禅，而霍〔子侯〕嬖暴亡，帝伤而作诗，亦哀辞之类矣。降及后汉，汝阳〔王〕主亡，崔瑗哀辞，始变前式。然履突鬼门，怪而不辞，驾龙乘云，仙而不哀；又卒章五言，颇似歌谣，亦彷彿乎汉武也。至于苏〔慎〕顺张升，并述哀文，虽发其情华，而未极其心实。建安哀辞，惟伟长差善，《行女》一篇，时有恻怛。及潘岳继作，实〔踵〕踵其美。观其虑〔善〕善辞变，情洞悲苦，叙事如传，结言摹诗，促节四言，鲜有缓句；故能义直而文婉，体旧而趣新，《金鹿》《泽兰》，莫之或继也。

【今译】

到汉武帝在泰山祭天地，跟去的霍嬖突然死去，武帝哀伤作诗，也是哀辞的一类了。下到后汉，汝阳公主死了，崔瑗作了哀辞，开始改变以前的样式。但说脚步突入鬼门，奇怪而不通，驾龙腾云，是仙家而没有悲哀；又最后一章是五字句，很像歌谣，也跟汉武帝的哀辞相似。到了苏顺张升，都作哀文，虽然表现出他们的情感和文采，却是没有反映出内心的真实感受。建安时的哀辞，只有徐幹写得较好，他的一篇《行女》，常有悲痛。到潘岳接下来创作，确实是聚集了他们的优点。看他的哀文考虑得周到，文辞变化，感情充满悲苦，叙事像传，组织语言摹仿《诗经》，四字句音节急促，少有和缓的句子；所以能够做到意义正直，文辞婉转，体裁是旧的，情趣是新的，他作的《金鹿哀辞》和《泽兰哀辞》，没有人能够继承下去的。

13.2 When Emperor Wu of Han made sacrifices to heaven and earth on Mount Tai, his young attendant Huo Shan died of a sudden illness. Deeply grieved, the emperor composed a poem in his memory. This is also a lament. A change in the form of the lament was initiated in the Later Han Dynasty, when Cui Yuan wrote a lament for the Prince of Ruyang, a grown-up. However, the phrase about the dead “entering the gate of the ghosts” is bizarre and senseless; the sentence about the dead “riding a dragon over clouds” is fanciful and not sorrowful. Its final verse, written in five-character lines in the style of a folk song, is modeled on Emperor Wu’s lament over Huo. Su Shun and Zhang Sheng both wrote laments. They used dazzling language that did not fully express the feelings of the heart. In the Jian’an period, only Xu Gan wrote good laments: His “Lamentation for a Daughter” expresses genuine sorrow. Modeling his writing on Xu Gan’s, Pan Yue brought this genre to perfection. His thoughts are fertile and language varied; his feelings are deep and his grief intense; his narrative resembles biographical writing and his style follows that of the *Book of Poetry*; his short four-character lines are untarnished by sluggishness. As a result, his works are elevated in thought and gracious in diction, ancient in form yet new in feeling. His laments on his daughter Jin Lu and on a friend’s daughter Ze Lan are unequalled.



【原文】

13.3 原夫哀辞大体，情主于痛伤，而辞穷乎爱惜。幼未成德，故誉止于察惠；弱不胜务，故悼加乎肤色。隐心而结文则事惬，观文而属心则体奢。奢体为辞，则虽丽不哀；必使情往会悲，文来引泣，乃其贵耳。

【今译】

推求哀辞的体制，抒情主要表达哀伤，措辞要尽量表达爱惜。死者幼小品德还没有养成，所以赞美只停在聪慧上；年幼不能担任工作，所以悼念只在他的容貌和皮肤上。痛心而作文便情辞切合；为了文辞而表示痛心，便文体浮夸。浮夸的文体写出来的文辞，尽管华丽却不悲哀；一定要使感情融合在悲痛里，文辞能够使人下泪，才是可贵了。

13.3 The characteristics of a lament are as follows. Its main purpose is to express sorrowful feelings; its language is redolent of regret and loss. Because the subject died young and was unable to fulfil his potential, it praises only the promise of his bright intelligence. As the dead was too young to assume a public role, the loss of his physical form is mourned, not his official presence. A lament written from sadness is sincere; a forced lament is ostentatious. The ostentatious style uses ornate language without creating a sorrowful effect. A worthy lament is one where the feeling goes out to embrace sorrow and the language induces the reader's tears.



【原文】

13.4 吊者，至也。诗云：“神之吊矣。”言神至也。君子令终定谥，事极理哀，故宾之慰主，以至到为言也。压溺乖道，所以不吊矣。又宋水郑火，行人奉辞，国灾民亡，故同吊也。及晋筑麇台，齐袭燕城，史赵苏秦，翻贺为吊，虐民搆敌，亦亡之道。凡斯之例，吊之所设也。或骄傲〔而〕以殒身，或猖忿以乖道，或有志而无时，或美才而兼累，追而慰之，并名为吊。

【今译】

吊就是到。《诗·小雅·天保》说：“神之吊矣。”说神灵到了。上等人寿终确定称号，事情重大，情理哀伤，所以宾客的安慰丧主，用来吊为说。压死、淹死不是正常死的，所以不去吊了。又宋国发生水灾，郑国发生火灾，各国使臣致辞慰问，因为国家受灾，人民死亡，所以同去吊。至晋国筑麇祈宫，齐国袭击燕国城邑，史赵和苏秦改变祝贺为哀吊，因为筑宫虐待人民，袭燕结下仇敌，也是走上亡国的路。凡是这些例子，哀吊的所以成立。有的因骄傲丧身，有的因褊急忿恨违背正路，有的有志向却没有时机，有的有美才却兼有各种缺点，追念这些加以慰问，都叫做吊。

13.4 The character for “condolence” is related to “arrive,” as a line goes in the *Book of Poetry*, “Spirits have arrived.”² The mourning ceremony for a virtuous man who has lived out his natural term is elaborate and solemn. When guests come to condole with the bereaved, they are said to have arrived. Condolences are inappropriate to deaths resulting from such invited risks as drowning, but may be given when lives are claimed by natural disasters. Thus when the state of Song was flooded and the state of Zheng hit by a fire, envoys arrived from other states to express sympathy and concern. A peculiar use of condolences occurred when, after congratulating the state of Jin on completing the Siqi Palace and the state of Qi on attacking Yan, the respective authors Shi Zhao and Su Qin immediately presented condolences.³ They did so because they considered that building a palace or invading another state at the expense of the people would only lead a country to its downfall. Condolences are also appropriate in the following situations: Death is the consequence of pride, of narrow-minded discontent, of unfulfilled ambitions, or of fine but flawed talents. Here they are used to commemorate the dead.



【原文】

13.5 自贾谊浮湘，发愤吊屈，体同而事核，辞清而理哀，盖首出之作也。及相如之吊二世，全为赋体，桓谭以为其言恻怆，读者叹息；及〔平〕卒章要切，断而能悲也。扬雄吊屈，思积功寡，意深〔文略〕反骚，故辞韵沉腿。班彪蔡邕，并敏于致〔语〕诘，然影附贾氏，难为并驱耳。胡阮之吊夷齐，褒而无〔闻〕间，仲宣所制，讥呵实工。然则胡阮嘉其清，王子伤其隘，各其志也。祢衡之吊平子，缛丽而轻清；陆机之吊魏武，序巧而文繁。降斯以下，未有可称者矣。

【今译】

自从贾谊渡过湘江，发出愤慨来作《吊屈原文》，体制同于哀吊，事情核实，文辞清润，含意悲哀，是最早创作的哀吊文。到司马相如的《哀秦二世赋》，完全是赋的体裁，桓谭认为他的话悲痛，读者为它叹气；篇末写得切要，作了结论能使人悲伤。扬雄吊屈原，想得很多，成就不大，用意深入到反对《离骚》，所以文辞滞重，不飞动。班彪的《悼离骚》，蔡邕的《吊屈原文》，都善于提出疑问，但他们依傍贾谊，就难以同他一起争先了。胡广的《吊夷齐文》，阮瑀的《吊伯夷文》，赞扬而没有不满；王粲的《吊夷齐文》，讥刺指斥得确实巧妙。那么胡广阮瑀赞美他们的清高，王粲不满他们的狭隘，各有各的用意。祢衡的《吊张衡文》，文采繁富而分量不够；陆机的《吊魏武帝文》，序写得工巧，吊词过多。从此以下，没有可以称道的了。

13.5 As a literary genre, the first condolence was written when Jia Yi, crossing the Xiang River in dejection, called to mind the suicide of Qu Yuan. Its form is perfect and its facts precise; its language is fresh and feeling sorrowful. When Sima Xiangru condoled with the Second Emperor of Qin, he composed in the style of rhyme-prose. Huan Tan commended Sima's work because grief was transmitted to the reader. Its brief clear ending leaves behind an acute sense of sorrow. Yang Xiong's condolence for Qu Yuan was a work of enormous labor but little merit. As he set his mind on contradicting Qu Yuan, his argument was rather strained. Ban Biao and Cai Yong were good at manipulating words, but worked in the shadow of Jia Yi, whom they could not rival. The condolences written by Hu Guang and Ruan Yu on the death of Bo Yi and Shu Qi give only praises while Wang Can's condolences on the same figures make skillful criticisms. Hu and Ruan praised the integrity of the dead while Wang lamented their narrow-mindedness. This is because they had different views. Mi Heng's condolence for Zhang Heng sacrificed clarity to elaboration and ornament. Lu Ji's condolence for Emperor Wu of Wei⁴ had an artful preface but a long-winded text. Thereafter, no other works are worth mentioning.



【原文】

13.6 夫吊虽古义，而华辞〔未〕未造；华过韵缓，则化而为赋。固宜正义以绳理，昭德而塞违，剖析褒贬，哀而有正，则无夺伦矣。

【今译】

吊的字义虽然很古，后代却注意辞采华丽；华丽过分，情韵滞缓，就变成赋了。确实应该端正意义，纠正违理，宣扬美德，防止错误，分析好坏来褒贬，使文辞悲哀而内容纯正，就不会失去哀文的义理了。



13.6 The condolence is an ancient genre, but ornamentation was a late development. When excessive ornaments are used and the numbers are slow, a condolence becomes a piece of rhyme-prose. Righteous thoughts are essential to a condolence. It reflects virtues, warns against errors, and gives praise or censure with caution. If it is sorrowful but not indulgent, it will not depart from the right path.



【原文】

13.7 赞曰：辞〔定〕之所〔表〕哀，在彼弱弄。苗而不秀，自古斯恻。虽有通才，迷方〔告〕失控。千载可伤，寓言以送。

【今译】

总结说：哀辞所伤痛的，在那些夭折的儿童。像幼苗不能扬花，从古以来为此悲痛。即使有全才，迷失方向，失去控制。这种千年可伤的事，借吊文来表达了。





13.7 Summary:

A lament is written
For those who die young.
Since ancient times people have lamented
The budding flower that is cut off.
On this theme even the best writers
May hesitate and get lost completely.
Sad feelings to move all future generations
Can only be conveyed in the form of a condolence.



杂文第十四

【原文】

14.1 智术之子，博雅之人，藻溢于辞，辞盈乎气。苑囿文情，故日新殊致。宋玉含才，颇亦负俗，始造对问，以申其志，放怀寥廓，气实使〔之〕文。及枚乘摛艳，首制《七发》，腴辞云构，夸丽风骇。盖七窍所发，发乎嗜欲，始邪末正，所以戒膏粱之子也。扬雄覃思文〔阁〕阁，业深综述，碎文琐语，肇为连珠，其辞虽小而明润矣。凡此三者，文章之枝派，暇豫之末造也。

【今译】

富有智慧学术的人，学问渊博识见正确的人，他们的华藻充满在文辞里，他们的文辞充满了气势。他们在培养文情，所以创作能经常呈现新的风貌和特殊的情趣。宋玉具有才华，也很受世俗讥议，开始创作对问体，用来申说他的意志，开展他的怀抱，创造开阔的境界，气势确实在驾驭文辞。到枚乘运用辞藻，首先创作《七发》，丰盛的辞藻像云那样结集，夸耀的丽辞像风那样飞腾。大概七窍中发出来的各种嗜好，开始是不正确的人欲，结束归于正道，是用来对富贵子弟的告诫。扬雄在天禄阁里深思，他的事业深于综述前人著作，把一些琐碎的文辞，结集起来首创连珠，它的文辞虽然短小却晶莹有光泽。总共这三种，是文章的支流，空暇时用来娱乐的后代作品。

Chapter 14

Miscellaneous Writings

14.1 People of wisdom, resources, learning, and taste write in language overflowing with vitality. Endowed with literary talents, they produce fresh works with each new day. The gifted Song Yu was envied by his contemporaries. To express his aspirations, he wrote an imaginative and vigorous poem, creating the genre "Reply to Questions." Mei Cheng wrote "Seven Elicitations," the first poem in the genre of "Seven" .¹ Rich and variegated as rolling clouds and forceful as gusty winds, it begins by discussing the illusory desires generated by men's seven sensual organs and ends with a warning on proper conduct to the sons of the wealthy. Yang Xiong, a prolific writer who often meditated in the Tianlu Pavilion, wrote the first "Strung Pearls." It is a short poem that ties together clever phrases like a string of pearls, a truly limpid little piece. These three genres are the minor tributaries of writing and diversions for leisure time.



【原文】

14.2 自对问以后，东方朔效而广之，名为《客难》，托古慰志，疏而有辨。扬雄《解嘲》，杂以谐谑，回环自释，颇亦为工。班固《宾戏》，含懿采之华；崔駰《达旨》，吐典言之裁；张衡《应间》，密而兼雅；崔〔实〕寔《〔客〕答讥》，整而微质；蔡邕《释海》，体奥而文炳；景纯《客傲》，情见而采蔚：虽迭相祖述，然属篇之高者也。至于陈思《客问》，辞高而理疏；庾敳《客咨》，意荣而文悴：斯类甚众，无所取〔裁〕才矣。原夫兹文之设，乃发愤以表志。身挫凭乎道胜，时屯寄于情泰，莫不渊岳其心，麟凤其采，此立〔本〕体之大要也。

【今译】

自从宋玉创作《对楚王问》以后，东方朔仿效它再加扩展，称做《答客难》，借用古事，来安慰自己，写得有条理而富辨才。扬雄作《解嘲》，夹杂着诙谐的戏谑，替自己循环解释，也很工巧。班固作《答宾戏》，含有美好的文采；崔駰作《达旨》，发出雅正的言论；张衡作《应间》，文辞绵密，议论雅正；崔寔作《答讥》，叙述整齐，语言稍带质朴；蔡邕作《释海》，用思深而文采照耀；郭璞作《客傲》，情思显露，富有文采：他们虽多次模仿，却成为创作中成就较高的作品。到曹植作《客问》，文辞高超，文理不严密；庾敳作《客咨》，内容丰富，文辞枯窘；这类作品很多，没什么可取了。推究这类文章的创作，是发愤来表达意志。自身遭到挫折，但依靠道德来战胜困苦，时世艰难，保持心情的舒泰，没有不像渊静山立，具有麟凤的文采，这是确立这类作品的大体情况。

数字资源
PDG

14.2 Following the example of Song Yu's original, Dongfang Shuo expanded the genre with his "Reply to Questions from a Guest." Written in a lucid and informal manner, it invokes the past to assuage his frustrations. In "Self Mockery," also a skillful piece, Yang Xiong argues for and against himself with humor and self-ridicule. The language flowers in Ban Gu's "Reply to a Guest, in Jest." Cui Yin's "Communicating the Intent" shows classical elegance. Zhang Heng's "Reply to a Critic" is tightly knit and graceful. Cui Shi's "Reply to Ridicule" is orderly and slightly plain. Cai Yong's "Dissolving Doubts" is deep in meaning and brilliant in language. Guo Pu's "Self Pride" conveys feeling with art. Although they are imitations, these poems represent the best of the genre "Reply to Questions." Cao Zhi's "Questions from a Guest" is superb in language but plebeian in ideas; Yu Ai's "Advice from a Guest" is luxuriant in ideas but impoverished in language : Works of this caliber abound and do not merit attention. The "Reply to Questions" is a genre intended for expressing aspirations and frustrations. The crucial point is that moral triumph in frustration and mental tranquility in trouble can only be expressed by a heart exalted as mountains and deep as oceans, in language rich and colorful as the feathers of phoenixes.²



【原文】

14.3 自《七发》以下，作者继踵。观枚氏首唱，信独拔而伟丽矣。及傅毅《七激》，会清要之工；崔駰《七依》，入博雅之巧；张衡《七辩》，结采绵靡；崔瑗《七厉》，植义纯正；陈思《七启》，取美于宏壮；仲宣《七释》，致辨于事理。自桓麟《七说》以下，左思《七讽》以上，枝附影从，十有馀家，或文丽而义睽，或理粹而辞驳。观其大抵所归，莫不高谈宫馆，壮语畋猎，穷瑰奇之服馔，极蛊媚之声色；甘意摇骨〔体〕髓，艳词〔动〕洞魂识，虽始之以淫侈，而终之以居正，然讽一劝百，势不自反。子云所谓“先骋郑卫之声，曲终而奏雅”者也。唯《七厉》叙贤，归以儒道，虽文非拔群，而意实卓尔矣。

【今译】

从枚乘《七发》以后，仿作的人前后相接。看枚乘首先创作，确实是杰出的宏篇丽藻了。到傅毅作《七激》，会集清新扼要的好处；崔駰作《七依》，达到博学正确的优点；张衡作《七辩》，组织辞采绵密细致；崔瑗作《七厉》，运思纯粹正确；曹植作《七启》，得到宏壮的美；王粲作《七释》，致力于辨别事理。自从桓麟作《七说》以后，左思作《七讽》以前，像枝条附在树干，影子跟着形体，有十多家，有的文词艳丽，意义违反正道，有的理论纯粹，文辞驳杂。看他们大致的趣向，没有不高谈宫室馆阁，豪迈地讲打猎，极尽奇丽的服装食品，极尽迷惑人的歌舞美女；美好的用意摇动人们的精神，艳丽的词藻深入人们的灵魂，虽然开始用浮夸的话，结尾还是回到正理，可是讽刺的只有一分，劝诱的却有百分，这样的趋势不能回到正路。扬雄说的“先发扬靡靡之音，到曲调终结时才奏雅乐”的。只有《七厉》叙述贤人，回到儒家的路上去，虽然文辞不算杰出，可是用意是非常卓越的。

14.3 After Mei Cheng wrote “Seven Elicitations,” others followed suit. Mei’s pioneering work is unique and brilliant. Fu Yi’s “Seven Arousal” combines clarity with conciseness. Cui Yin’s “Seven Compliances” shows learning and grace. Zhang Heng’s careful phrasing in “Seven Disputations” reaps tender fruits. Cui Yuan’s “Seven Solemnities” sows integrity of meaning. Cao Zhi’s “Seven Revelations” achieves sublime beauty. Wang Can’s “Seven Explanations” has rigor. Between the writing of Huan Lin’s “Seven Discourses” and Zuo Si’s “Seven Derisions, “more than ten other writers imitated the “Seven.” Some of their works are well worded but inconsistent in ideas; some contain astute ideas in jumbled language. In general, they parade dazzling descriptions of palaces and hunting grounds, celebrate fabulous dresses and food, and indulge in voluptuous and sensual descriptions. Their sweet words melt the reader to the marrow, their alluring language excites the mind and the soul. Although a moral message is attached to their extravagant and sensual descriptions, it is often overshadowed by the many temptations offered. Thus the reader is led astray onto a path from which there is no return. Yang Xiong captured this tendency well when he said, “A moral tune is played only after immoral music has been fully enjoyed.” Of all these works, only Cui Yuan’s “Seven Solemnities” describes virtuous conduct before arriving at a proper conclusion. Although its language is mediocre, it contains superior thoughts.



【原文】

14.4 自《连珠》以下，拟者间出。杜笃贾逵之曹，刘珍潘勖之辈，欲穿明珠，多贯鱼目，可谓寿陵匍匐，非复邯郸之步；里丑捧心，不关西施之颦矣。唯士衡运思，理新文敏，而裁章置句，广于旧篇，岂慕朱仲四寸之珣乎！夫文小易周，思闲可贍。足使义明而词净，事圆而音泽，磊磊自转，可称珠耳。

【今译】

从扬雄作《连珠》以后，摹仿的人交替造出。像杜笃贾逵一辈，刘珍潘勖一流，要把明珠穿起来，多数穿了鱼眼。可以说，寿陵地方的孩子，爬着回来，不再是邯郸地方的步法；同里的丑女捧着心口，不关西施因心痛皱眉头了。只有陆机的构思，用意新颖，文思敏捷，造句完篇，扩大了前人的篇幅，难道是羡慕朱仲的四寸珠子吗？《连珠》篇幅短小，容易周密，考虑成熟，可以自足。能够使意义明显，文辞洁净，引事圆满，音调和谐，圆转流动，可以称做连珠吧。

14.4 Yang Xiong's "Strung Pearls" also attracted many imitators. However, people like Du Du, Jia Kui, Liu Zhen, and Pan Xu, in their endeavor to produce works like shining pearls, only turned out fish eyes. This is reminiscent of the story of the young man from Shouling, who tried unsuccessfully to learn the gait of the natives of Handan only to crawl back home because he forgot how to walk.³ It is like the story of Xi Shi's ugly neighbor, who looked all the uglier the more she tried to imitate Xi Shi's gestures.⁴ Only Lu Ji's works, which expressed original ideas in resourceful language, can stand comparison with bright pearls! Perfection is more easily attainable in a small piece; relaxation encourages richer ideas. When ideas are clear and language concise, when thoughts are deep and numbers soft, a literary work will resemble a smooth and shining pearl—an example of perfection.



【原文】

14.5 详夫汉来杂文，名号多品，或典诰誓问，或览略篇章，或曲操弄引，或吟讽谣咏。总括其名，并归杂文之区；甄别其义，各人讨论之域。类聚有贯，故不曲述也。

【今译】

详细地考察汉以来的杂文，名称有好多种，有的叫典、诰、誓、问，有的叫览、略、篇、章，有的叫曲、操、弄、引，有的叫吟、讽、谣、咏。总括它们的名称，都归到杂文这一类；鉴别它们的意义，各自归入讨论的范围。分类聚集便有条理，所以不细讲了。



14.5 Since the Han Dynasty, all sorts of names have been given to miscellaneous writings. One group includes *dian* (code), *gao* (announcement), *shi* (oath), *wen* (question); another *lan* (synopsis), *lue* (summary), *pian* (discourse), *zhang* (chapter); a third *qu* (ditty), *cao* (strain), *nong* (lay), and *yin* (prelude); a fourth *yin* (chant), *feng* (satire), *yao* (ballad), and *yong* (song). Miscellaneous writings can be separately discussed by distinguishing them according to their respective genres. This will be done in separate chapters, so there is no need to dwell upon them here.



【原文】

14.6 赞曰：伟矣前修，学坚〔多〕才饱。负文余力，飞靡弄巧。枝辞攒映，嘈若参昴。慕颦之心，于焉只搅。

【今译】

总结说：前代大作家，学问坚实，富有才华。带着创作的余力，发挥靡丽的文辞，运用巧妙的手法。杂文像枝条的簇聚映照，像光芒微弱的参宿和昴宿。仿效的心意，在这里搅动。

14.6 Summary:

Great are the men of virtue in earlier times,
They have solid learning and many talents.
They devoted their spare energy
To miscellaneous verse forms in display of talents.
The small pieces they produced
Are bright and shining as scintillating stars.
Poor imitations that came after them
Are confusing and distasteful.



谐隐第十五

【原文】

15.1 芮良夫之诗云：“自有肺肠，俾民卒狂。”夫心险如山，口壅若川，怨怒之情不一，欢谑之言无方。昔华元弃甲，城者发睥目之讴；臧纆丧师，国人造侏儒之歌，并嗤戏形貌，内怨为俳也。又蚕蟹鄙谚，狸首淫哇，苟可箴戒，载于礼典。故知谐辞隐言，亦无弃矣。

【今译】

芮良夫的《桑柔》诗里说：“君王自己有坏心肠，使得百姓终于发狂。”君王的心险恶得像山谷，人们的嘴像江河那样难于堵塞，人们怨恨愤怒的感情不一样，嘲笑挖苦的话是没有一定的。从前华元战败抛弃盔甲逃回来，筑城的人就发出“突出他的大眼睛”的歌唱；臧纆战败丧失部队，国内的人就造出“矮子”的歌，都是嘲笑他的形貌，内心怨恨成为歌谣。又像用蚕和蟹作的浅俗谣谚，用野猫头花纹来唱的淫乱的歌，假使可以用来讥刺或引以为戒，都载在《礼记》里，所以知道戏谑和隐语也没有抛弃的了。



Chapter 15

Jesting Rhymes and Puzzles

15.1 A poem by Rui Liangfu has these lines: “When the king acts arbitrarily, the people are perplexed and enraged.”¹ If the king’s heart is as precipitous as mountains, the people’s mouths can be as dangerous as dammed-up rivers. Because their grievances and resentments vary, they resort to all kinds of jokes and quips to vent them. Hua Yuan was once taken prisoner after losing a battle; for this, the wall builders made a song to ridicule his fierce appearance. Zang He, a short man, once suffered defeat in a military campaign; his compatriots sang a song of the pygmy to laugh at him.² Both cases involved making fun of the victims’ outward appearances as a means of venting inner grievances. The folk story that used the figures of the silkworm and the crab was certainly vulgar,³ and the song about the colorful patterns on the head of the wildcat was improper in its context,⁴ but as they had some lessons to teach, they were recorded in the *Book of Rites*. Thus we know that jesting rhymes and puzzles have their uses.



【原文】

15.2 谐之言皆也，辞浅会俗，皆悦笑也。昔齐威酣乐，而淳于说甘酒；楚襄宴集，而宋玉赋好色：意在微讽，有足观者。及优旃之讽漆城，优孟之谏葬马，并譎辞饰说，抑止昏暴。是以子长编史，列传滑稽，以其辞虽倾回，意归义正也。但本体不雅，其流易弊。于是东方、枚皋，铺糟啜醢，无所匡正，而诋嫚嫖弄，故其自称为赋，乃亦俳也，见视如倡，亦有悔矣。至魏文因俳说以著笑书，薛综凭宴会而发嘲调，虽扑〔推〕笑在席，而无益时用矣。然而懿文之士，未免枉轡；潘岳丑妇之属，束晰卖饼之类，尤而效之，盖以百数。魏晋滑稽，盛相驱扇，遂乃应珣之鼻，方于盗削卵；张华之形，比乎握春杵。曾是莠言，有亏德音，岂非溺者之妄笑，胥靡之狂歌欤！

【今译】

谐的音近皆，语言浅近，适合世俗，听了都高兴发笑。从前齐威王酒喝得很高兴，淳于髡却讲好喝的不同酒量；楚襄王设宴集会，宋玉却写《登徒子好色赋》：用意在婉转地讽刺，是值得看的。到优旃的讥讽用漆来漆城墙，优孟的讽谏厚葬爱马：都是用诡诈的话，夸张的说法，阻止君主的昏庸暴虐。因此司马迁编写《史记》，编入《滑稽列传》，因为他们的话虽说得诡诈，用意还是归于正确。只是体制不雅正，它的末流容易出毛病。因此东方朔、枚皋，在朝廷里混饭吃，没有什么匡正，却是讥讽狎弄人，所以他们自称是作赋，也是游戏文，被看成供人取乐的乐人，也有悔心了。到魏文帝曹丕因嬉笑的话来编成笑书，薛综在宴会上说嘲笑的话，这些虽在坐席上使人拍手欢笑，却是对当时没有什么好处。可是会写文章的人，不免绕道走到这里来；潘岳写《丑妇》之类，束晰写《饼赋》，知道它不好还要仿效它，大概有百多人。魏晋时期讲滑稽话，互相推动，很是厉害；便使应珣的鼻子，被比做偷来的半个蛋；张华的头，好比握着捣白的棒槌。曾经是坏话，有损于美好的声音，这难道不是快淹死的人的苦笑，被绳子缚着的犯人的胡唱嘛！

15.2 The character for “jesting” is related to “all”: It uses plain language to meet popular taste and amuse all. King Wei of Qi used to indulge in wine, but gave it up when Chunyu Kun told him a story about the harms of sweet wine.⁵ King Xiang of Chu used to revel in feasting parties, so Song Yu wrote “Deng Tuzi’s Love of Sensual Pleasures.” Both are mild satires and well worth reading. When Jester Zhan satirized the Second Emperor of Qin’s decision to paint the city walls, and when Jester Meng mocked at King Zhuang of Chu’s plan to hold a solemn funeral for his horse, their intention was to prevent stupid actions with clever witticisms.⁶ For this reason, Sima Qian included biographies of jesters in his *Records of the Historian*. Although the jesters used oblique language, they conveyed upright meaning. As comic rhymes are originally uncouth, their derivatives invite that danger. Thus Dongfang Shuo and Mei Gao allowed themselves to drift with the world, indulging in raillery and jesting without trying to rectify wrong. They themselves regretted this, because they once described their rhyme-prose as merely comic rhymes, which made them look like jesters. Emperor Cao Pi wrote a book of jokes based on those used by jesters; Xue Zong told jokes at feasting parties. Such jesting was entertaining but served no practical purpose. Unfortunately, some talented writers wrote these things knowing that it was an erroneous practice. As a result, there are a hundred or so pieces like Pan Yue’s “Ugly Woman” or Shu Xi’s “Pastry Peddler.” In the Wei and Jin dynasties, joking and jesting became the fashion. Ying Chang’s nose was compared to an egg whose end had been cut off by a thief; Zhang Hua’s figure was likened to a pestle grasped by both hands.⁷ These jokes are offensive or inappropriate, like a drowning man’s helpless laughter or a convict’s riotous song.

【原文】

15.3 隐者，隐也；遁辞以隐意，谲譬以指事也。昔还社求拯于楚师，喻智井而称麦糶；叔仪乞粮于鲁人，歌佩玉而呼庚癸；伍举刺荆王以大鸟，齐客讥薛公以海鱼；庄姬托辞于龙尾，臧文谬书于羊裘。隐语之用，被于纪传。大者兴治济身，其次弼违晓惑。盖意生于权谲，而事出于机急，与夫谐辞，可相表里者也。汉世《隐书》，十有八篇；歆固编文，录之〔歌〕赋末。

【今译】

隐就是隐语；用躲闪话来隐藏含意，绕弯子打比方来暗指事情。从前萧国还无社向楚军中大夫求救，用枯井和麦糶作隐喻；吴国申叔仪向鲁军借粮，用佩玉作歌辞，喊庚癸；楚国伍举用大鸟作比来讽刺楚庄王，齐国客人用海和鱼作比来讽刺薛公；楚国庄姬用龙的无尾来启发楚襄王，鲁国臧文仲用错乱的信借羊裘来示意。隐语的作用，记在史书里。重要的可以振兴政治、发展自身，次一点的可以匡正错误、启发迷惑。大概用意在于适应权宜诡诈，事情由于机变紧急，跟游戏文词，可以互相配合的。汉朝的《隐书》有十八篇，刘歆和班固编书目，把它们附在赋的后面。

15.3 A puzzle conceals: It conceals meaning in obscure language and hints at the truth with bizarre figures of speech. When Xuan Wushe sought the help of a Chu general, the general mentioned distiller's grain to signal that Xuan should hide in muddy water.⁸ When Shen Shuyi wanted to borrow grain from the Lu army, he sang a song about his jade pendant where he used "west" and "north" to refer to food and water.⁹ Wu Ju used the figure of a big bird to remonstrate with King Zhuang of Chu.¹⁰ A native of Qi derided the Duke of Xue by mentioning a sea fish.¹¹ Zhuang Ji offered advice to King Xiang of Chu by alluding to a dragon without a tail.¹² Zang Wenzhong delivered military information in mysterious phrases such as "sewing the sheepskin coat."¹³ Thus, cryptic allusions are passed down in official histories. Some of these allusions contributed to the prosperity of a nation or the fulfillment of personal ambitions; others helped to correct errors and clarify confusions. Although devious, they are justified by the urgent need to communicate secret information. They resemble comic rhymes. The *Book of Puzzles* in the Han Dynasty contained eighteen chapters, listed by Liu Xin and Ban Gu after "Rhyme-prose" in their bibliography.



【原文】

15.4 昔楚庄齐威，性好隐语。至东方曼倩，尤巧辞述，但谬辞诋戏，无益规补。自魏代以来，颇非俳优，而君子嘲隐，化为谜语。谜也者，回互其辞，使昏迷也。或体目文字，或图象品物，纤巧以弄思，浅察以衒辞，义欲婉而正，辞欲隐而显。荀卿蚕赋，已兆其体；至魏文陈思，约而密之。高贵乡公，博举品物，虽有小巧，用乖远大。〔夫〕观夫古之为隐，理周要务，岂为童稚之戏谑，搏髀而怵笑哉！然文辞之有谐隐，譬九流之有小说，盖稗官所采，以广视听。若效而不已，则髡〔袒而〕朔之入室，旃孟之石交乎？

【今译】

从前楚庄王齐威王都喜欢隐语。到东方朔更是会讲，可是用不正常的话来戏笑，对于规劝补救毫无好处。自从三国魏代以来，很反对倡优，士大夫的嘲笑隐语，变成谜语。谜语是把话说得曲折交错，使人迷惑。有的打文字谜语，有的打事物谜语，从小巧处卖弄心思，在考察浅近处夸耀词语，意义要曲折而正确，文辞要隐蔽而浅露。从前荀卿的《蚕赋》，已开创这种体裁；到魏文帝曹丕、陈思王曹植，写得更精炼而周密。高贵乡公曹髦广博地列举各种事物，虽有小聪明，没有远大用处。观察古代的隐语，所含的道理遍及各种重要事务，难道是为幼儿的游戏，拍腿欢笑啊！可是文辞中的有谐辞隐语，好比九流中有小说一派。大概由小官采访来的，用来扩大视听。倘使不停地仿效它，那是淳于髡东方朔的高徒，优旃优孟的知交吧？

15.4 King Zhuang of Chu and King Wei of Qi liked puzzles. Dongfang Shuo, an adept writer of puzzles, merely invented absurd and playful pieces with no instructive purposes. After the Wei Dynasty, jesters came under attack. Accordingly, men of culture stopped writing puzzles and took up riddles instead. A riddle uses circuitous language to puzzle and confuse. Some play on words; others describe objects; all involve the manipulation of clever ideas in simple words. Their meanings are obscure yet pointed, their language oblique but suggestive. Xun Kuang's "Rhyme-prose on the Silkworm" is an early example. Later, Cao Pi and Cao Zhi made the genre more concise and condensed. Cao Mao brought all sorts of natural objects into his riddles; they are clever little pieces with no big use. In ancient times, puzzles were made in connection with important matters, not as childish burlesques or for mere merriment. Nevertheless, the place of comic rhymes and puzzles in literature is comparable to that of the "small talk" in the nine schools of learning.¹⁴ The petty officials collected these things to broaden people's understanding. Those who cannot stop imitating them become devoted disciples of Chunyu Kun and friends of Zhan and Meng the Jesters!



【原文】

15.5 赞曰：古之嘲隐，振危释惫。虽有丝麻，无弃菅蒯。会议适时，颇益讽诫。空戏滑稽，德音大坏。

【今译】

总结说：古代的嘲笑隐语，可以挽救危机，消除困乏。虽然有了丝麻，不要抛弃茅草。只要合乎正义，适应时机，嘲笑隐语很有益于讽刺劝诫。要是徒然游戏滑稽，会使美好的语言遭到大破坏。



15.5 Summary:

In the past, comic rhymes and puzzles
Helped to check crises and ease sufferings.
Although not as useful as silk and hemp,
They served their purposes like straw and rushes.
Used justly, on proper occasions,
They provide advice or reproof.
Mere jesting and meaningless farce
Are damaging to virtue and morality.



史传第十六

【原文】

16.1 开辟草昧，岁纪绵邈，居今识古，其载籍乎？轩辕之世，史有仓颉，主文之职，其来久矣。《曲礼》曰：“史载笔。”〔左右〕史者，使也；执笔左右，使之记也。古者左史记事者，右史记言者。言经则《尚书》，事经则《春秋》也。唐虞流于典谟，商夏被于诰誓。

〔自〕洎周命维新，姬公定法，绌三正以班历，贯四时以联事。诸侯建邦，各有国史，彰善瘴恶，树之风声。自平王微弱，政不及雅，宪章散紊，彝伦攸斁。

【今译】

从开天辟地到未开化时代，年代非常遥远，生在现在要知道古代的事，就靠史书吧？黄帝轩辕氏的时代，已经有史官仓颉，主管记载历史的职务，它的来源是很久远了。《礼记·曲礼》篇说：“史官带着笔来记事。”史就是使，拿着笔在国君的左右，国君使他记载。古代在国君左边的左史记下国君的行动，在国君右边的右史记载国君的话。记载说话的经书是《尚书》，记载事件的经书是《春秋》。唐虞的历史靠《尚书》的典谟传下来，商夏的历史，包括在《尚书》的诰誓里。到周朝新建，周公制定法典，推求夏商周三代的正月来颁布历法，又贯串春夏秋冬四季来记事，省称春秋。诸侯建国，各有国史，表彰好的，贬斥坏的，用来建立一种好风气。自从周平王势力微弱，政治不正，法制散乱，伦理败坏。

Chapter 16

Historical Writings

16.1 Many unenlightened ages have passed since the beginning of the world. Today, our knowledge of the past comes from books of history. The position of the historian is time-honored; at the time of the Yellow Emperor, there was already Cang Jie the official historian. A chapter in the *Book of Rites* states, "A historian carries a writing brush".¹ The character for "historian" is related to "employ": A historian is employed to attend on the left and right of the emperor to keep records. Anciently, the historian on the left recorded the emperor's deeds, and the one on the right recorded his words. The *Book of Documents* is a classic of words; the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is one of deeds. The history of Yao and Shun is passed down from the "Chapter of Yao" and the "Chapter of Gao Tao's Proposals" in the *Book of Documents*. Two other chapters, "The Pledges at Gan" and "King Tang's Mandate," recorded the history of the Shang and Xia dynasties. When the Zhou Dynasty newly received the mandate of heaven, Duke Zhou established the conventions of history writing. He promulgated the Zhou calendar after considering the three methods of determining the first month of the year and recorded contemporary events in the order of the four seasons.² When dukes and princes founded their states, they named their own historians to commend the good and censure the evil in order to set up good examples. When the Zhou Dynasty started to decline during the reign of King Ping, its government could not measure up to that lauded in the *Odes*, its laws were thrown into disorder, and morals became depraved.

【原文】

16.2 昔者夫子闵王道之缺，伤斯文之坠，静居以叹凤，临衢而泣麟；于是就太师以正《雅》《颂》，因鲁史以修《春秋》。举得失以表黜陟，徵存亡以标劝诫；褒见一字，贵逾轩冕；贬在片言，诛深斧钺。然睿旨〔存亡〕幽隐，经文婉约；丘明同时，实得微言，乃原始要终，创为传体。传者，转也，转受经旨，以授于后，实圣文之羽翮，记籍之冠冕也。

【今译】

从前孔子担心王道的残缺，悲伤文化的败坏，在平时想到凤凰不来而感叹，在路上看到麒麟出现而哭泣；因此跟乐官订正《雅》《颂》的乐曲，借用鲁国历史来修订《春秋》。在《春秋》里，举出事实的得失来加以指斥或赞美，引证国家的存亡作为取法或警戒；一个字的赞美，比做高官还荣耀；半句话的斥责，比受斩杀还耻辱。可是《春秋》的意义深沉，文字简练；左丘明和孔子同时，确实知道孔子的用意，于是推求事实的始末经过，创作《左传》。传是转的意思，从孔子那里接受作《春秋》的用意，转授给后人，实在是经书的辅助读物，记事书中的冠军。

16.2 The Master was concerned with the decay of the kingly way and the corruption of civilization. At home, he lamented over the phoenix; on the road, he shed tears for the kylin.³ Therefore he sought the help of the chief musician to put the *Odes* and the *Hymns* in order and revised the *Spring and Autumn Annals* by modeling on the history of the state of Lu. The *Annals* lists accomplishments and failures to commend or censure and cites examples of national prosperity or subjugation as admonition and warning. To earn one word of praise in the *Annals* was a greater honor than to win a high position; to receive a passing censure was a punishment worse than death. Nevertheless, the wisdom of the *Annals* is subtle and the language terse. Confucius's contemporary Zuo Qiuming, who grasped the essence of its meaning after a thorough study, wrote a commentary, thus creating the genre of *zhuan*. The character for *zhuan* or commentary is related to "transmit": In transmitting the wisdom of the classic to posterity, it complements the classic and crowns all written records.



【原文】

16.3 及至纵横之世，史职犹存。秦并七王，而战国有策。盖录而弗叙，故即简而为名也。汉灭嬴项，武功积年。陆贾稽古，作《楚汉春秋》。爰及太史谈，世惟执简；子长继志，甄序帝勳。比尧称典，则位杂中贤；法孔题经，则文非元圣；故取式《吕览》，通号曰纪，纪纲之号，亦宏称也。故本纪以述皇上，列传以总侯伯，八书以铺政体，十表以谱年爵，虽殊古式，而得事序焉。尔其实录无隐之旨，博雅宏辩之才，爰奇反经之尤，条例踳落之失，叔皮论之详矣。

【今译】

到了合纵连横的战国时代，史官的职位还保存着。秦灭了六国，战国的历史保存在简策里。只是把它记下来没有按年代编排，所以就它的简策称为《战国策》。汉朝灭掉秦国和项羽，积累了多年的武功。陆贾取法古代，著作《楚汉春秋》。到了汉朝的史官司马谈，世代拿着简策作史；司马迁继承父志，分别叙述帝王功臣的功绩。他叙述帝王，要是比照《尚书·尧典》称为典，那么这些帝王不都是圣人；要是效法孔子的《春秋》而称为经，那么他又不是大圣人；所以取法《吕氏春秋》的十二纪，通称为纪。纪是大纲，也是包举一切的大称呼。因此用本纪来叙述帝王，用世家列传来叙述诸侯和其他人物，用八书来铺叙政治制度，用十表来表明年代爵位，虽然和古史的体例不同，却能抓住记述各种历史事实的条例。至于他的照实记录不加隐讳的宗旨，学识博雅议论宏辩的才干，爱好奇异违反正道的过失，体例杂乱的缺点，班彪讲得很详细了。

16.3 The office of the historian was still preserved in the Warring States period. When the state of Qin annexed the other six states, it was found that each of the seven warring states had its own history written on bamboo-slips. Since these were simple records of facts with no running commentaries, they were given the title *Strategems of the Warring States*. After years of war, the Han Dynasty replaced the Qin and the Chu. Lu Jia studied the history of this period and wrote the *Spring and Autumn of Chu and Han*. Then there came the historian Sima Tan, a descendent of a family of great historians. His son Sima Qian inherited this noble vocation and wrote historical records of the deeds of emperors.⁴ Sima Qian would have liked to entitle his book a *dian*, after a chapter in the *Book of Documents*, but not all rulers under his pen were worthy of the title. Or he could have called it a classic after Confucius's *Spring and Autumn Annals*, only he would not presume to compare his work to the Master's. He settled on *ji*, or record, after the history by Lü Buwei. *Ji* also means a governing principle and can serve as a book title of some grandeur. In his history, Sima Qian used twelve basic annals to tell the stories of kings and emperors, thirty hereditary houses to cover the nobles and princes, eight treatises to outline the systems of the states, and ten tables to present the dynastic successions and the appointments of important officials. Though different from the ancient form, his history retains the proper order of things. Concerning his intention to record faithfully without concealment, or his broad learning and eloquence, or even such blemishes as his love of novelty at the expense of the classics and the inappropriateness in the arrangement of some parts, a detailed discussion may be found in Ban Biao's work.

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【原文】

16.4 及班固述汉，因循前业，观司马迁之辞，思实过半。其十志该富，赞序弘丽，儒雅彬彬，信有遗味。至于宗经矩圣之典，端绪丰赡之功，遗亲攘美之罪，徵贿鬻笔之愆，公理辨之究矣。观夫左氏缀事，附经间出，于文为约，而氏族难明。及史迁各传，人始区详而易览，述者宗焉。及孝惠委机，吕后摄政，班史立纪，违经失实。何则？庖牺以来，未闻女帝者也。汉运所值，难为后法。牝鸡无晨，武王首誓；妇无与国，齐桓著盟；宣后乱秦，吕氏危汉；岂唯政事难假，亦名号宜慎矣。张衡司史，而惑同迂固，元〔帝王〕平二后，欲

【今译】

到班固叙述前汉历史，继承前人事业，看了司马迁的《史记》，已经明白《汉书》的一半多了。他的《汉书》，十志详备丰富，赞和序宏大富丽，内容雅正，有文有质，确实富有余味。至于仿效经书、取法圣人的雅正，头绪清楚、内容丰富的优点，偷取父亲著作据为己有的罪过，求取贿赂出卖文笔的过失，仲长统讲得很彻底了。再看《左传》记事，附在《春秋》经后面，跟经文交错，文辞简约，可是人物的姓氏、宗族不清楚。到了司马迁各列传，人物开始分别叙述，容易阅读，继承的人效法它。不过到了记汉惠帝不管政务，吕后代他执政，班固《汉书》作《吕后本纪》，这既违反经书的教训，又不符合事实。为什么？从伏羲以来，没有听说女人称帝的。汉朝的国运不好，碰上女人执政，不好给后代做榜样。雌鸡没有在早上啼的，这是周武王首先在《牧誓》中提出的；妇人不得参与国政，这是齐桓公在盟约里著明的；宣太后扰乱秦国，吕后危害汉朝；岂只政权难于假借，就连名号也该谨慎。到张衡主管国史，跟司马迁班固同样迷惑，要给元帝王皇后、平帝王皇后立本纪，谬误也很厉害了。考刘弘虽然

16.4 When Ban Gu came to write his *Annals of the Han*, he had some models to follow and benefited especially from Sima Qian's example. The ten treatises in his history are rich and comprehensive, the prefaces and summaries broad and graceful. Indeed, the whole book combines elegance with substance and makes memorable reading. As for how Ban Gu modeled himself on the classics and learned from the sages to achieve clarity and thoroughness, or how he plagiarized his father's work and took up writing for the sake of money, Zhong Changtong made it all very clear. Although Zuo Qiuming's enumeration of historical facts is added to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in concise language, his biographical accounts are not clear. Sima Qian's biographies of the nobles are the first to give separate treatment to individuals, which gives his book the merit of comprehensiveness and readability. It became a model for later historians. Emperor Hui, ignored state affairs, so his mother the Empress Dowager Lü became the regent. Against the teaching of the classics and historical truth, Ban Gu and Sima Qian both devoted a *ji*, or an imperial biography, to her. Why do I say so? Because the world has never heard of a female emperor ever since the time of the first king! It was the misfortune of the Han Dynasty to have such a ruler, and it should not be allowed to happen again. "A hen does not herald the day," warned King Wu of Zhou long ago.⁵ Lord Huan also advised against letting women meddle with state affairs. Queen Xuan unsettled the state of Qin; Empress Lü endangered the Han. These events show that state affairs should not be entrusted to women, and imperial biographies should be devoted to them with discretion. When Zhang Heng was the historian, he was as confused as his two predecessors. How wrong he was to entertain the idea of devoting separate imperial biographies to Empress Yuan and Empress Ping! Although the empress did not beget Liu Hong, he was



【原文】

为立纪，谬亦甚矣。寻子弘虽伪，要当孝惠之嗣；孺子诚微，实继平帝之体；二子可纪，何有于二后哉？

【今译】

不是惠帝生的，总是惠帝的继承者；孺子婴确实是个孩子，实在是平帝的继承人；这两人可以立为本纪，要什么二后本纪呢？



Emperor Hui's genuine offspring. Although Liu Ying was only a baby, he was the legitimate successor to the throne. They, not the two empresses, deserve the biographies.



【原文】

16.5 至于后汉纪传，发源东观。袁张所制，偏驳不伦；薛谢之作，疏谬少信。若司马彪之详实，华峤之准当，则其冠也。及魏代三雄，记传互出，《阳秋》《魏略》之属，《江表》《吴录》之类，或激抗难徵，或疏阔寡要。唯陈寿三志，文质辨洽，荀张比之于迁固，非妄誉也。

【今译】

至于后汉的本纪和列传，最早是班固等人在东观编写的。晋代袁山松和张莹所著的，既片面又杂乱，不合史法。晋代薛莹谢沈的著作，疏漏错误，不够真实。像司马彪的著作详尽可靠，华峤的著作准确恰当，那是其中最好的。魏代三国的纪传先后撰述出来，像《魏氏阳秋》和《魏略》之类，《江表传》和《吴录》等书，有的夸张难信，有的疏略不得要领。只有陈寿的《三国志》，有文有质，明辨博通，荀勖张华把他比作司马迁班固，不是虚假的赞誉。



16.5 The annals and biographies of the Later Han were at first written at the royal library Dongguan. The works of Yuan Shansong and Zhang Ying are biased and disorderly, those of Xue Ying and Xie Shen, besides being untruthful, are full of loopholes and mistakes. Sima Biao and Hua Qiao wrote the two best histories of the Later Han, one noted for thoroughness and authenticity, the other for accuracy and propriety. During the Wei Dynasty, annals and biographies of the Three Kingdoms appeared one after another. But such books as the *Spring and Autumn of the Wei*, *An Outline History of the Wei*, the *Annals of the Yangtse Valleys*, and the *Records of Wu* are either too emotionally intense to be reliable or too abbreviated to have much substance. The only history that combines clarity with thoroughness, art with matter, is Chen Shou's *Annals of the Three Kingdoms*. Xun Xu and Zhang Hua placed it alongside the works of Sima Qian and Ban Gu with good reason.



【原文】

16.6 至于晋代之书，〔繁〕系乎著作。陆机肇始而未备，王韶续末而不终；干宝述纪，以审正得序；孙盛《阳秋》，以约举为能。按《春秋》经传，举例发凡；自《史》《汉》以下，莫有准的。至邓瓌《晋纪》，始立条例，又摆落汉魏，宪章殷周，虽湘川曲学，亦有心典谟。乃安国立例，乃邓氏之规焉。

【今译】

至于晋代的历史，由著作郎掌管。陆机开了头没有完卷，王韶之要结尾没有结成；干宝叙述《晋纪》，以精审正确得到称引；孙盛著《晋阳秋》，以扼要成为名著。按《春秋》的经传，都举出创作凡例来。自从《史记》《汉书》以下，没有可作标准的条例。到邓瓌作《晋纪》，开始建立条例，又摆脱汉魏史书的影响，取法殷周的《尚书》，虽然他生在长沙僻远地区，倒也有心学习经书。到了孙盛著《晋阳秋》，发凡起例，是邓瓌的规模。

16.6 Histories of the Jin are also numerous. Lu Ji wrote one, but it was not thorough enough. Wang Shao wrote another, but it did not cover the last years of the Jin period. Gan Bao's *Annals of the Jin* is carefully thought out and well planned. Sun Sheng's *History of Jin* is noted for its conciseness. Now the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and its commentary both stated principles of writing, but this practice died out with the *Records of the Historian* and the *Annals of the Han*. Deng Can revived it: In writing the *Annals of the Jin*, Deng shunned the influence of the histories of Han and Wei and turned to the *Book of Documents* for his model.⁶ Although he was a rustic scholar from Xiang,⁷ his heart went out for the classics. The principles he revived were later adopted by Sun Sheng.



【原文】

16.7 原夫载籍之作也，必贯乎百氏，被之千载，表徵盛衰，殷鉴兴废。使一代之制。共日月而长存，王霸之迹，并天地而久大。是以在汉之初，史职为盛。郡国文计，先集太史之府，欲其详悉于体国也。

〔必〕阅石室，启金匱，〔抽〕绌裂帛，检残竹，欲其博练于稽古也。是立义选言，宜依经以树则，劝诫与夺，必附圣以居宗；然后论评昭整，苛滥不作矣。

【今译】

推求历史书的著作，一定要融会贯通百家的著作，使它流传到千百年，要使得由兴盛到衰亡的史实得到明白的征验，可以作为后世的借鉴。要使一代的制度，跟日月般永远保存下去，王道霸道的事迹，和天地般永久流传。因此在汉朝的初年，史官的职务很重要。各地方的文书簿册，先汇集到史官的官府里，这是要史官详细地体察全国的政治。打开国家的历史文物宝库，阅读所有的资料，研究残破的书卷，这是要史官广博而熟练地掌握古代历史。因此在树立主旨选择文辞方面，应该依靠经书来做准则，在劝勉、惩戒、奖励、贬斥方面，一定要以圣人的理论为主；然后评价才明确完整，不会作出苛刻浮滥的评论了。



16.7 Books of history must absorb the learning of hundreds of authors, stand the test of thousands of years, show evidence of the rise and fall of dynasties, and serve as a mirror of prosperity or decline. They preserve the institutions of a dynasty as long as the sun and the moon, and render the glories of rulers and sovereigns as lasting as heaven and earth. For this reason, the office of the historian was much celebrated early in the Han Dynasty. At that time, the historian must first acquaint himself with the affairs of the state by reading the documents and records of the prefectures and subordinate states, which had been presented to him in advance. Then he was expected to be familiar in classical learning, able to consult the collections of the royal library, those rare books and manuscripts which had been passed down, often in corrupt conditions, from earlier times. That was to bring him abreast of ancient history. Then he could decide on his themes and style with reference to the classics. In remonstrations as in warnings, in commendations as in censure, he was always advised to follow the sages' example. Only then could his criticisms and evaluations be clear and well balanced. Only then could he avoid harsh and frivolous judgments.



【原文】

16.8 然纪传为式，编年缀事，文非泛论，按实而书。岁远则同异难密，事积则起讫易疏，斯固总会之为难也。或有同归一事，而数人分功，两记则失于复重，偏举则病于不周，此又铨配之未易也。故张衡摘史班之舛滥，傅玄讥后汉之尤烦，皆此类也。

【今译】

本纪和列传的格式，本纪照年代编排，列传依人物联缀，不是泛泛议论，是按照事实记录的。只是年代久远，事件的记载有同有异难以考究；事件积累得多，每件事的开头到终结不容易分清楚。这本是用纪传体来汇总历史的困难。有时同一件事是由几个人合力办成，要是在各人的传记里都记载就有重复的毛病，要是只在一个人的传记里记载又有不周到的缺点，这又是编排资料的不容易。所以张衡指摘《史记》《汉书》中的错乱浮滥，傅玄批评《后汉书》写得更其烦琐，都是属于这一类。

16.8 The forms of the annals and the biographies require that they follow the chronological order and connect the historical events. They do not admit sweeping surveys, but must adhere to the facts. Here also lies the difficulty. For what happened long ago might be hard to ascertain; and if there are too many things to deal with, omissions might easily occur. Moreover, when several historical figures are involved in one event, to write two accounts would be repetitious, yet to write one may not do justice to all the people. The errors that Zhang Heng found in Sima Qian and Ban Gu and the mistakes that Fu Xuan found in the *History of the Later Han* resulted from these difficulties.



【原文】

16.9 若夫追述远代，代远多伪。公羊高云，“传闻异辞”，荀况称录远〔略〕详近；盖文疑则阙，贵信史也。然俗皆爱奇，莫顾实理。传闻而欲伟其事，录远而欲详其迹。于是弃同即异，穿凿傍说，旧史所无，我书则传，此讹滥之本源，而述远之巨蠹也。至于记编同时，时同多诡，虽定哀微辞，而世情厉害。勋荣之家，虽庸夫而尽饰，连败之士，虽令德而〔常〕嗤埋，〔理欲〕吹霜煦露，寒暑笔端，此又同时之枉，可为叹息者也。故述远则诬矫如彼，记近则回邪如此，析理居正，唯素〔臣〕心乎！

【今译】

至于追记远代的事，年代久远事件往往失实。公羊高说，“传说各异”，荀况主张详近略远；大概资料有可疑的便从缺，这是要尊重真实的历史。然而世俗的人都好奇，不管是否切实合理。对听到的传说要夸大它的事迹，记载遥远的事也要猜测它的详情细迹。因此抛弃共同的说法，接近新奇，穿凿附会，东拉西扯，过去的历史上没有的，我的书上便记载上去，这都是发生错误浮滥的根源，是记述远古历史的大害。至于记录当代的事，时代相同也有很多虚假。虽然孔子记录和他同时的鲁定公、哀公时代的事迹，用隐讳的说法，是和当世的人情厉害有关系。因而贵族人家，即使是庸俗的人也要尽量加以夸奖，困苦失败的人士，即使有很好的德行也受到嘲笑埋没，有时吹霜风，有时洒雨露，有时寒冷，有时温暖，全凭一支笔，这又是对同时代事实的歪曲记载，是可叹息的。所以记远的便那样虚假，记近的又这样歪曲，分析事理能够正确不偏邪的，只有靠公心吧！

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16.9 When it comes to trace events of the distant past, many facts may prove of dubious authenticity. Gongyang Gao said that rumors are never the same. Xun Kuang suggested passing over the distant to focus on more recent history. The idea is to omit uncertain facts, not to distort history. But the vulgar lot all take to the extraordinary in disregard of truth. They exaggerate rumors and attempt to pinpoint every detail of happenings even in the remote past. They are inclined to ignore established facts, to draw far-fetched conclusions, and to bring in things unheard of in earlier histories. This is the root cause of historical errors, the archenemy of ancient history writing. The writing of contemporary histories cannot be free from falsities either, for the very reason that it deals with contemporary events. Confucius commented vaguely on the shortcomings of Duke Ding and Duke Ai,⁸ because he was well aware of the consequences of his writings. Thus if the subject of history comes from a noble family, he will be glorified however mediocre he may be. If he is a frustrated scholar, he will be put to ridicule however virtuous he may be. The same writing brush that blows frostbite also brings nourishing rain; that which freezes also melts. How regrettable it is to find such distortions in writings about contemporary events! It is now clear that writings about ancient history or contemporary events cannot be free of distortions. To be fair in judgment demands a divine heart.



【原文】

16.10 若乃尊贤隐讳，固尼父之圣旨，盖纤瑕不能玷瑾瑜也；奸慝惩戒，实良史之直笔，农夫见莠，其必锄也；若斯之科，亦万代一准焉。至于寻繁领杂之术，务信弃奇之要，明白头讫之序，品酌事例之条，晓其大纲，则众理可贯。然史之为任，乃弥纶一代，负海内之责，而〔羸〕羸是非之尤。秉笔荷担，莫此之劳。迂固通矣，而历诋后世。若任情失正，文其殆哉！

【今译】

至于对待尊者和贤人，替他隐讳，本是孔子的宗旨，因为小的斑点不能掩盖美玉的光彩；对奸邪要加以惩戒，实在是优秀的史家的直笔，好比农夫看到恶草，一定要锄掉：像这样的条例，也是万世的同一标准。至于从纷繁杂乱的事件中理出一个纲领的方法，力求可信、抛弃猎奇的要领，叙述明白、有头有尾的次序，品评事件得失的条例等等，只要明白了这些大纲，便可以贯串各种道理。然而著作历史的任务，是要包举一代，对全国负责，会受到各种是非的责难。担负著作历史的任务，在著作中没有比这更劳苦了。司马迁、班固是著作历史的通才了，可是还受到后代的种种攻击。要是凭任私情，失去公正，那样写出来的历史该是多么危险呀！

16.10 To gloss over the shortcomings of virtuous men is in conformity with the Master's teaching, for a tiny flaw does not stain the entire piece of jade. But with regard to iniquities and wickedness, a good historian does not withhold his censure, just as a farmer does not hesitate to hoe up the weeds in his field. This is a criterion for historians of all times. But there are also other essentials, concerning sorting out materials, abiding by facts rather than fancy, arranging the beginning and the end, and establishing the criteria of evaluation and criticism. Knowledge of these will guarantee the clarity and orderliness of a book. The responsibility of the historian makes him answerable to his time and his country and easily subjects him to criticisms. There is no other task more demanding than writing a history. If even such masterminds as Sima Qian and Ban Gu could not avoid the reproach of posterity, how dangerous it is for an ordinary historian to sacrifice truth to personal whims!



【原文】

16.11 赞曰：史肇轩黄，体备周孔。世历斯编，善恶偕总。腾褒裁贬，万古魂动。辞宗丘明，直归南董。

【今译】

总结说：史官开始设立于轩辕黄帝，史书的体制到周公孔子才完备。世代的经历记在历史书里，善的恶的都记载。宣扬应褒美的，裁抑该贬斥的，使万古的人都惊魂动魄。史的文辞应效法左丘明，史笔的正直不虚要推南史氏和董狐。



16.11 Summary:

The office of the historian appeared in the Yellow Emperor's
time,

Historical writings matured with Duke Zhou and Confucius.

Each age has a history,

To keep a record of the good and the bad.

In praising the good and condemning the bad,

History stirs the souls of people of all times.

Zuo Qiuming is known for his concise language,

Nan Shi and Dong Hu are direct and straightforward.



诸子第十七

【原文】

17.1 诸子者，人道见志之书。太上立德，其次立言。百姓之群居，苦纷杂而莫显；君子之处世，疾名德之不章。唯英才特达，则炳曜垂文，腾其姓氏，悬诸日月焉。昔风后、力牧、伊尹，咸其流也。篇述者，盖上古遗语，而战〔伐〕代所记者也。至鬻熊知道，而文王咨询，馀文遗事，录为《鬻子》。子〔自〕目肇始，莫先于兹。及伯阳识礼，而仲尼访问，爰序道德，以冠百氏。然则鬻惟文友，李实孔师，圣贤并世，而经子异流矣。

【今译】

诸子是对道有所认识，又表现自己志趣的书。最上一等的人在德行上有成就，次一等的人在著书立说上有成就。至于百姓成群地生活着，在纷杂的人群中难于出名；君子生活在世上，恨声名德行的不显著。只有英才杰出，便能才华照耀，文章传世，使他的姓名传播，像日月高悬。从前风后、力牧、伊尹，都是这一流人物。他们的篇章著作，大概是上古传下来的话，经战国时人记述的。到了鬻熊懂得道，周文王向他请教，传下来的文辞事迹，经人记录，成为《鬻子》。子的名称的开头，没有比这更早了。到了老子懂得礼，孔子去访问，于是他叙述道德，著作《老子》，成为百家中的开端。那么鬻熊是周文王的朋友，李耳是孔子的老师，圣人和贤人同时，他们的著作却分成经书和子书的不同流派了。

Chapter 17

Philosophical Writings

17.1 Philosophical writings transmit the Dao and human ideals. The best men accomplish virtue; the less distinguished cultivate words. Surrendering to a world of perplexities, commoners live a life of obscurity; in finding a place in the world, great men are anxious to spread name and virtue. Only those with talents far superior to the ordinary kind shine forth with works that make their names as eminent as the moon and the sun. To this category belong Feng Hou, Li Mu, and Yi Yin, although their works may represent no more than ancient wisdom transmitted orally and recorded in writing only in the Warring States. At a later period, when Yu Xiong, the ancestor of Chu, was enlightened with the Dao, King Wen of Zhou went to consult him. His words and deeds were collected in the *Book of Yu Zi*, the first collection of speculative prose.¹ Subsequently Confucius visited and consulted Lao Zi, the master of rites, whereupon Lao Zi wrote the *Book of Dao De*, the first work written by the philosopher himself. However, although Yu Xiong as King Wen's friend and Lao Zi as Confucius' teacher were wise men, their writings are regarded only as philosophical works while the writings of King Wen and Confucius are consecrated as the classics of the sages.



【原文】

17.2 逮及七国力政，俊乂蠡起。孟轲膺儒以磬折，庄周述道以翱翔，墨翟执俭确之教，尹文课名实之符，野老治国于地利，驺子养政于天文，申商刀锯以制理，鬼谷唇吻以策勋，尸佼兼总于杂术，青史曲缀以街谈。承流而枝附者，不可胜算，并飞辩以驰术，履禄而馀荣矣。

【今译】

到了战国，凭藉武力征伐，杰出的人才纷纷涌现。孟子信奉儒家学说，对它极为尊崇，庄子阐述道家学说，想象逍遥世外，墨子执行勤俭刻苦的教训，尹文考核名称和实际的是否符合，农家主张在耕种中治理国家，驺子结合自然界的变化来谈政治，申子商子主张用严刑峻法来办政治，鬼谷子主张用口舌辩论来建立功勋，尸子总括各家学说，青史子琐细地联缀街谈巷语。继承这些流派的，像分枝的依附树干，多得算不清，都是飞扬论辩、纵横驰骋地发挥各自的学术，满足于取得的高官厚禄和过多的荣宠了。

17.2 The Warring States saw the rapid emergence of a succession of able men: Mencius, an unwavering believer in Confucian teachings; Zhuang Zhou, an extraordinarily imaginative interpreter of the Dao; Mo Di, proponent of thrift and economy; Yi Wen, a scholar of the relation between names and actualities; Ye Lao, who supported agriculture as the basis of a country; Zuo Yan, who propounded a theory of the *yin* and *yang* as good for government; Sheng Buhai and Shang Yang, who intensified punishment to keep law and order; Gui Guzi, who distinguished himself in oratory; Shi Jiao, who assimilated miscellaneous learning; and Qing Shi, who recorded street talk and folk wisdom.² Their numerous followers propagated their mentors' ideas with eloquence and won untold wealth and honor.



【原文】

17.3 暨于暴秦烈火，势炎昆冈，而烟燎之毒，不及诸子。逮汉成留思，子政讎校，于是《七略》芬菲，九流鳞萃；杀青所编，百有八十馀家矣。迄至魏晋，作者间出，谰言兼存，瓌语必录，类聚而求，亦充箱照轸矣。

【今译】

到了暴虐的秦始皇烧书，火势像烧昆仑山那样玉石俱焚，可是这火没有烧到诸子。到了汉成帝留心，命令刘向整理校对，于是《七略》记录美好的著作，九种学派的书像鱼鳞般汇集；编定的书目，有一百八十多家了。到了魏晋，作者轮替出现，虚假的话也被保存，琐碎的话一定记录，分类聚集起来，也要装满和照耀车箱了。

17.3 The devastating fires of the tyrannical Qin swallowed almost all the Confucian classics, but spared the philosophical writings.³ The perilous state of the ancient books then came to the attention of Emperor Cheng of the Han; he appointed Liu Xiang to emend and collate them. Thus the Seven Compendia came into being, which describes the learning of the Nine Schools and lists the works of 180 philosophers. In the Wei and Jin dynasties, speculative writers continued to appear from time to time. As they also recorded anecdotes and miscellaneous sayings, these works, if all collected, would fill a succession of carriages piled with boxes.



【原文】

17.4 然繁辞虽积，而本体易总，述道言治，枝条五经。其纯粹者入矩，踳驳者出规。《礼记·月令》，取乎吕氏之纪；三年问丧，写乎《荀子》之书：此纯粹之类也。若乃汤之问棘，云蚊睫有雷霆之声；惠施对梁王，云蜗角有伏尸之战；《列子》有移山跨海之谈，《淮南》有倾天折地之说：此踳驳之类也。是以世疾诸子，混洞虚诞。按《归藏》之经，大明迂怪，乃称羿〔弊〕毙十日，嫦娥奔月。殷〔汤〕《易》如兹，况诸子乎？

【今译】

虽然著作积累得很多，可是它们的根本内容是容易掌握的；它们阐述道理，议论政治，都是五经的旁支。其中内容纯正的合乎经书的规矩，内容错乱的违反经书的法度。《礼记·月令》篇，是从《吕氏春秋·十二月纪》的首章里借来的；《礼记·三年问》篇，是从《荀子·礼论》篇的后半篇里采用来的：这些是属于内容纯正的一类。像《列子·汤问》里记商汤问夏革，夏革说蚊子的眼睫毛里有小虫在飞，黄帝和容成子听起来像发出雷霆的声音；《庄子·则阳》里讲惠施推荐戴晋人去对梁王说，蜗牛的两个触角上有两个国家发生战争，丢下数万尸首；《列子·汤问》里有愚公移山的故事，又有龙伯国里的大人一步跨过大海的说法；《淮南子·天文训》里讲到共工头触不周山，撑天的柱子断了天倒下一角，系地的绳子断了地陷下去了：这些说法属于事实错乱之类。因此世人批评诸子书，好坏混杂而多虚假。按《归藏经》里也大讲虚夸奇怪的事，说后羿射下十个太阳，嫦娥吞了不死之药奔入月宫。殷代的《易经》尚且这样，何况后来的诸子书呢？

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17.4 However, despite the overwhelming number of volumes, it is not hard to grasp their main ideas. In their discussions of moral issues or government, they follow the principles of the five Confucian classics. Those that express righteous thoughts conform to Confucian principles; those that contain jumbled ideas violate them. Two parts of the *Book of Rites* — the section “Monthly Commands” from the *Annals of Lü Buwei* and the section concerning three-year mourning from the *Book of Xun Zi* — conform to Confucian principles. The following are all illustrations of jumbled thoughts: When King Tang of Shang consulted Xia Ge on questions of philosophy, Xia Ge claimed that the Yellow Emperor heard as thunder the noise made by a tiny parasite on a mosquito’s eyebrow.⁴ When Hui Shi responded to the questions of King Liang, he described a bizarre battle fought on the two antennae of a snail.⁵ The *Book of Lie Zi* tells stories about removing mountains and stepping over oceans. The *Book of Huai Nan Zi* describes the collapse of the sky and the sinking of the earth. Therefore, philosophical writings are sometimes criticized for their exaggerated and bizarre stories. To do them justice, it is found that even the *Book of Gui Zang*, a classic of Shang, contains tall tales of the strange. It relates that Yi the Great Archer shot down ten suns and his wife stole the immortal elixir and ascended the moon. If a Shang classic could contain such absurd stories, one should not blame later philosophers!



【原文】

17.5 至如商韩，六虱五蠹，弃孝废仁，辘药之祸，非虚至也。公孙之白马孤犊，辞巧理拙，魏牟比之鸱鸟，非妄贬也。昔东平求诸子《史记》，而汉朝不与；盖以《史记》多兵谋，而诸子杂诡术也。然洽闻之士，宜撮纲要，览华而食实，弃邪而采正。极睇参差，亦学家之壮观也。

【今译】

至于像《商君书·新令》篇里讲到六种为害国家的虱子，《韩非子·五蠹》篇里讲到五种为害国家的蛀虫，把孝和仁看作虱子和蛀虫，主张废除它。可见，商君被秦国用车裂死，韩非被李斯毒死，并不是没有原因的。公孙龙说白马不是马，孤犊不曾有过母亲，话说得巧妙，可是在理论上说不通，魏牟把它比作猫头鹰的叫，并不是瞎批评。从前汉朝的东平王向朝廷求诸子和《史记》，汉朝不肯给。大概因为《史记》里多讲到用兵的策略，诸子书里则夹杂着讲到各种不正当的手段。然而知识丰富的人，应该抓住它的纲领，观赏它的花朵，咀嚼它的果实，抛弃其中的邪说，采取其中的正论。注意看到这种不一致的地方，那也是呈现在学者面前的一片壮阔景象。

17.5 However, by including such virtues as piety and honesty in the six lice and numbering Confucian scholars among the five vermin, Han Fei and Shang Yang rejected the principles of benevolence and filial piety. No wonder Shang Yang was torn to death by carts and Han Fei was made to swallow poison.⁶ Gongsun Long said a white horse was not a horse, an orphan colt was not a colt; his word play was clever but his argument was lame. It was not without reason that Wei Mou compared him to an owl. When Liu Yu, the Prince of Dongping, wanted to read philosophical works and the *Records of the Historian*, the emperor declined his request on account that sophistry and military strategies were not fit subjects for a gentleman. Nonetheless, men of learning will benefit if they know the main ideas in these writings: They should absorb the flowers and fruits and ignore the misleading falsities. A thorough study of these diverse works will show that herein also lie great vistas of learning.



【原文】

17.6 研夫孟荀所述，理懿而辞雅；管晏属篇，事核而言练；列御寇之书，气伟而采奇；邹子之说，心奢而辞壮；墨翟随巢，意显而语质；尸佼尉繚，术通而文钝；鹖冠绵绵，亟发深言；鬼谷眇眇，每环奥义；情辨以泽，文子擅其能；辞约而精，尹文得其要；慎到析密理之巧，韩非著博喻之富；吕氏鉴远而体周，淮南泛采而文丽：斯则得百氏之华采，而辞气〔文〕之大略也。

【今译】

研究《孟子》《荀子》的论述，理论精美，文辞雅正；《管子》《晏子》的文篇，事实可靠，语言简练；《列子》一书，气势壮盛而文采奇丽；《邹子》的说法，内容夸大而文辞有力；《墨子》《随巢子》，意思显豁，语言质朴；《尸子》《尉繚子》，道理讲得很通畅，文辞却比较钝拙；《鹖冠子》含意深远，常常发出深刻的话；《鬼谷子》意义玄妙，往往回绕着深奥的意义来阐述；感情明显而润泽，《文子》独具这种才能；语言简练而精当，《尹文子》获得这种本领；《慎子》巧于分析精密理论，《韩非子》以丰富的比喻著称；《吕氏春秋》识力深远而文体周备，《淮南子》广泛地采用各种事例而文辞华丽：这是概括了诸子百家的精华文采，以及语言风格的大概。

17.6 Thus the works of Mencius and Xun Zi expressed fine thoughts in elegant language; those of Guan Zhong and Yan Ying are accurate and concise. The *Book of Lie Zi* is colorful and rigorous, the *Book of Zou Zi* extravagant yet powerful. Mo Di and Sui Chao wrote plainly, using no ornament; Shi Jiao and Wei Liao propounded sound theories in crude language. He Guanzi overflowed with ideas, Gui Guzi was full of insights. Clarity and emotional depth characterize Wen Zi's writings; brevity and precision typify Yin Wen's. Shen Dao is known for meticulous analysis, Han Fei for his parables. The *Annals of Lü Buwei* combines broad visions with a careful style, *Huai Nan Zi* weaves rich material into splendid fabrics. These are the best philosophical works and exemplify a variety of styles.



【原文】

17.7 若夫陆贾《〔典〕新语》，贾谊《新书》，扬雄《法言》，刘向《说苑》，王符《潜夫》，崔实《政论》，仲长《昌言》，杜夷《幽求》，〔咸〕或叙经典，或明政术，虽标“论”名，归乎诸子。何者？博明万事为子，适辨一理为论，彼皆蔓延杂说，故人诸子之流。

【今译】

至于前汉的陆贾《新语》，贾谊《新书》，扬雄《法言》，刘向《说苑》，后汉的王符《潜夫论》，崔实《政论》，仲长统《昌言》，东晋的杜夷《幽求子》，它们有的阐述经典，有的讲明政治理论，虽然标出“论”字，也是属于诸子。为什么？广博地说明万事万物的道理的属于诸子，只辨明一种道理的是论，他们都牵涉到各种事物来说，所以归入诸子这类去。

17.7 Some works that explicate Confucian classics or discuss political issues are occasionally labeled as treatises, but are actually philosophical writings. Examples are Lu Jia's *New Sayings*, Jia Yi's *New Book*, Yang Xiong's *Model Sayings*, Liu Xiang's *Collected Sayings*, Wang Fu's *Essays by a Hermit*, Cui Shi's *Political Treatise*, Zhong Changtong's *Frank Sayings*, and Du Yi's *Book of You Qiu Zi*. Why regard these as philosophical works instead of treatises? Because a philosophical work deals extensively with universal subjects whereas a treatise is restricted to the explication of one subject. Since all these works ramble into the realms of miscellaneous subjects, we call them philosophical writings.



【原文】

17.8 夫自六国以前，去圣未远，故能越世高谈，自开户牖；两汉以后，体势〔漫〕浸弱，虽明乎坦途，而类多依采：此远近之渐变也。嗟夫！身与时舛，志共道申。标心于万古之上，而送怀于千载之下，金石靡矣，声其销乎！

【今译】

在战国和以前的时代，离开圣人不久，所以诸子眼光能够跳出当世，放言高论，各自开辟门户，自成一家；两汉和以后的，体势渐渐衰弱，虽然认识到儒家这条平坦的大路，但大都是依傍儒家学说而加以采择：这是由远到近的逐渐变化。唉！诸子百家自身虽则大都和当时不合，可是他们的志趣和理论却在著作中得到申说。他们的立论高出万年以上，他们的怀抱寄托在千年以后，即使金和石都消亡了，他们的声音难道会消亡吗！





17.8 Philosophers prior to and in the Warring States were not far removed in time from the ancient sages. They developed grand theories, which influenced subsequent ages and inaugurated various schools of learning. In and after the Han Dynasty, learning began to weaken and degenerate. Although scholars did not lose sight of the broad thoroughfare of the Confucian classics, they lacked originality and tended to follow in the track of others. This is the difference between ancient and modern philosophical writings. Pity those philosophers! Although they lived in adverse times, they were able to give expression to their ideals in their investigations of the Dao. Their minds reached back to the distant past, their aspirations have resounded throughout the ages. Gold and precious stones may be destroyed, but a great name lives forever.



【原文】

17.9 赞曰：〔大〕丈夫处世，怀宝挺秀；辨雕万物，智周宇宙。立德何隐？含道必授。条流殊述，若有区囿。

【今译】

总结说：男子汉生在上世，学问像怀着宝玉，才华挺然秀出；辨才可以刻画各种事物，智慧可以遍观古今。建立的品德并不炫耀，体会到的道一定传授。他们构成各种流派作出不同的论述，如同各有分明的界限。





17.9 Summary:

Aspiring men conduct themselves
With virtue and talents.
Their minds penetrate the world,
Their wisdom encompasses the universe.
Their virtue may be hidden,
Their vision of the Dao has been passed on.
They have different views,
Which find expression in different schools of learning.



论说第十八

【原文】

18.1 圣哲彝训曰经，述经叙理曰论。论者，伦也；伦理无爽，则圣意不坠。昔仲尼微言，门人追记，故〔仰〕抑其经目，称为《论语》；盖群论立名，始于兹矣。自《论语》以前，经无“论”字，《六韬》二论，后人追题乎！

【今译】

圣人讲的经久不变的教训叫做经书，阐发经书、说明道理的叫做论文。论是有条理的意思；道理讲得有条理而没差错，那么圣人的原意就不会丧失。从前孔子说的精妙的话，他的学生在事后追记下来，所以谦虚地不敢称为经，称为《论语》；各种论文的称为论，是从它开头的。在《论语》以前，经书里没有用“论”字作篇名的，相传姜太公的兵法书《六韬》里有《霸典文论》和《文师武论》，这两个论字可能是后来的人追题的吧？



Chapter 18

The Treatise and the Speech

18.1 The sages' immutable teachings are called "classics;" an elucidation of the ideas in the classics is called a treatise. The character for "treatise" is related to "orderliness": when disquisition on the classics is "orderly," the intentions of the sages will not be lost. Confucius's profound teachings were recorded by his disciples; too humble to call it a classic, they gave it a modest title, *Orderly Conversations*, or *The Analects*. It was the first book to be called a treatise. None of the titles of the early classics used the word "treatise," except for two chapters in the *Six Strategies*,¹ which must be late additions.



【原文】

18.2 详观论体，条流多品：陈政，则与议说合契；释经，则与传注参体；辨史，则与赞评齐行；〔铨〕论文，则与叙引共纪。故议者宜言，说者说语，传者转师，注者主解，赞者明意，评者平理，序者次事，引者胤辞：八名区分，一揆宗论。论也者，弥纶群言，而研精一理者也。

【今译】

详细地观察论文的体裁，支分派别还有各种门类：讲政治的，便同议和说一致；解经书的，便同传和注的体例相配合；辩论历史的，便同史赞史评一样；论述作品的，便同叙言或引言一贯。所以议是话说得适当，说是话说得动听，传是转述老师的话，注是着重解释，赞是说明作意，评是公正地评论道理，叙言是按次序申说内容，引言是引申的话：八种名称分成各类，一律以论为主。论文是概括各家的话来精密研究一个道理的。

18.2 The genre of “treatise” embraces many varieties: A treatise on government is known as a discussion or speech; an exegesis of a classic takes the form of commentary or annotation; a historical treatise resembles a eulogy or critique; a treatise on literature is like an introduction or a preface. A discussion is a consultation in appropriate language; a speech is a pleasing disquisition. A commentary transmits the teachings of the sages; an annotation interprets their meaning. A eulogy illuminates; a critique evaluates. An introduction outlines the main ideas in a work; a preface makes preliminary remarks. Although these eight types are different, they are all included in the general category of “treatise.” A treatise is a thorough study of one subject based on a comprehensive knowledge of diverse theories.



【原文】

18.3 是以庄周《齐物》，以论为名；不韦《春秋》，六论昭列；至石渠论艺，白虎通讲；〔聚〕述圣〔言〕通经，论家之正体也。及班彪《王命》，严尤《三将》，敷述昭情，善入史体。魏之初霸，术兼名法；傅嘏王粲，校练名理。迄至正始，务欲守文；何晏之徒，始盛玄论。于是聃周当路，与尼父争途矣。详观兰石之《才性》，仲宣之《去〔代〕伐》，叔夜之辨声，太初之《本〔玄〕无》，辅嗣之《两例》，平叔之二论：并师心独见，锋颖精密，盖〔人伦〕论之英也。至如李康《运命》，同《论衡》而过之；陆机《辨亡》，效《过秦》而不及，然亦其美矣。

【今译】

因此庄周的《齐物论》，用论字作篇名；吕不韦的《吕氏春秋》，有《开春论》《慎行论》《贵直论》《不苟论》《似顺论》《士容论》六篇论文明显地排列着；至于汉宣帝召集众儒生在皇宫内石渠阁里讨论五经，汉章帝召集博士和儒生等在白虎观里讲论五经，阐发圣人的话，贯通五经的道理，这是论文家的正体。到班彪作的《王命论》，严尤作三篇《将论》，展开论述表达明显的感情，善于运用历史例证。魏国的开始建立霸业，兼采名家法家的方术；当时的作家傅嘏、王粲，他们考核和熟习名家法家的理论。到了魏正始年代，要致力于遵守魏文帝明帝的注重文治；这时何晏这一班人，开始使玄学的理论兴盛起来。因此老子庄周的道家学派得势，同孔子的儒家学派争夺地位了。仔细观察傅嘏的《才性论》，王粲的《去伐论》，嵇康的《声无哀乐论》，夏侯玄的《本无论》，王弼的《易略例》，何晏的《道德论》：都是不因袭而有创见，笔力锋利，持论精密，是阐发理论的杰作。至于像李康的《运命论》，和王充《论衡》中谈运命的理论一致，可是文章胜过他；陆机的《辨亡论》，模仿贾谊的《过秦论》却比不上它，但也是优秀的了。

18.3 Thus, Zhuang Zhou used the character “treatise” in the title of his chapter on the equality of things² and Lü Buwei used the term six times in the titles of chapters in his *Annals*.³ In the Han Dynasty, special forums were held by imperial order in the Shiqu Pavilion and the White Tiger Hall to discuss the teachings of the sages and elaborate on the classics. These were genuine forms of the treatise. Ban Biao’s treatise on the mandate of heaven and Yan You’s on the three generals assimilated the strength of historical writings and were lucid and expressive. In the early years of the Wei Dynasty, nominalism and legalism were the prevalent leaning of the day. Fu Gu and Wang Can were experts in nominalism and reasoning. This trend gained strength in the Zhengshi period when He Yan and his followers introduced a fashion for metaphysical arguments. At this time, the works of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi came into prominence and began to compete for popularity with those of Confucius. The best writings in this category are original, incisive, and flawless. They include Fu Gu’s “On the Nature of Talent and Nature,” Wang Can’s “On Forsaking Pride,” Ji Kang’s “On Voice Having No Sadness or Joy,” Xiahou Xuan’s “On Nonbeing,” Wang Bi’s two treatises on the *Book of Changes*, and He Yan’s two pieces on the *Book of Dao De*. Li Kang’s “Treatise on Destiny and Fate” surpasses Wang Chong’s *Collected Treatises* on a similar subject; Lu Ji’s “On the Causes of Imperial Decline” is a good treatise, but cannot rival its model “Treatise on the Faults of Qin” by Jia Yi.



【原文】

18.4 次及宋岱郭象，锐思于幾神之区；夷甫裴颢，交辨于有无之域；并独步当时，流声后代。然滞有者，全系于形用；贵无者，专守于寂寥；徒锐偏解，莫诣正理；动极神源，其般若之绝境乎？逮江左群谈，惟玄是务；虽有日新，而多抽前绪矣。至如张衡《讥世》，〔韵〕颇似俳说；孔融《孝廉》，但谈嘲戏；曹植《辨道》，体同书抄；言不持正，论如其已。

【今译】

其次说到晋代的宋岱著有《周易论》，郭象著有《庄子注》，思想深入到预见和神奇的境界；晋代的王衍、裴颢，互相辩论关于“有”与“无”的问题；在当时都是独一无二的，声名流传到后代。然而执着于“有”的完全着眼在形象和有用方面，看重“无”的专门主张寂寞清虚的境地；徒然作精辟的片面解释，没有谁能够达到正确而全面的理论；探索到极深入的真理的究竟，只有佛法的最高境界吧？到了江东众人的谈论，只是致力于玄谈；虽然时常有新的解释，可是多数是引申前人说过的话头罢了。至于汉朝张衡写的《讥世》，很像文字游戏；三国时孔融写的《孝廉》，只是说些开玩笑的话；曹植的《辨道》，体例同抄书一般；议论不能够守住正道，还不如不议论。

18.4 Then there were Song Dai and Guo Xiang, who showed a deep understanding of the mysterious, and Wang Yan and Pei Wei, who argued eloquently about being and nonbeing. All were eminent scholars of their time. However, those preoccupied with the notion of being attended only to outward forms and usefulness; those interested in the idea of nonbeing clung only to the illusory and the intangible. Because both schools were blinkered, neither attained the whole truth. To reach the mysterious source of the divine, that is the ultimate state of prajna! Scholars in the Eastern Jin were all devoted to metaphysical studies, but although new arguments appeared frequently, most writers borrowed old ideas. Zhang Heng's "Mocking the World" is like comic verse; Kong Rong's "Of Piety and Honesty" is rather cynical; Cao Zhi's "Treatise on Dao" merely piles up examples like a dull copybook. These aberrant works should not have been written.



【原文】

18.5 原夫论之为体，所以辨正然否；穷于有数，〔追〕究于无形，〔迹〕钻坚求通，钩深取极；乃百虑之筌蹄，万事之权衡也。故其义贵圆通，辞忌枝碎，必使心与理合，弥缝莫见其隙；辞共心密，敌人不知所乘：斯其要也。是以论如析薪，贵能破理。斤利者，越理而横断；辞辨者，反义而取通；览文虽巧，而检迹知妄。唯君子能通天下之志，安可以曲论哉？

【今译】

考究论文这种体制，所以用来辨明是非；要对现象作彻底的探索，追究到超过形象的理论，要攻破困难求得贯通，要深入探索取得最后结论；它是求得各种理论的手段，评价各种事理的天平。所以它讲的道理要圆满而通达，话语忌烦碎，一定要使心里想的同事物的道理完全一致，这两者配合得没有一点裂缝；又要使文辞同思想完全一致，使论敌无隙可乘：这是最主要的。因此议论像劈柴，重要的是能够按照木柴的纹理把它劈开。可是斧头锋利的不顾纹理把它横里切断，口才好的强词夺理来自圆其说；看文字虽然讲得很巧妙，可是考求实际就知道那个道理是错的。只有有道德的人能懂得天下人的心意，怎么可以歪曲地立论啊？

18.5 A treatise is used to discriminate truth from falsehood, to investigate both the phenomenal and the metaphysical, and to tackle subtle problems and penetrate mysterious depths. It is the key to a hundred difficulties, the measure of ten thousand things. It must be sound in argument and concise in language. It should make feeling indivisible from reason; and express ideas perfectly so that opponents cannot attack them. These are the essentials of the genre. Writing a treatise is like splitting wood: The secret is to follow the grain. Of course, a sharp axe can cut across the grain, and a clever writer can manipulate language to cover up a distorted idea, but clever words cannot conceal the truth forever. A man of virtue can use persuasive arguments to convince people. Why resort to crooked arguments?



【原文】

18.6 若夫注释为词，解散论体，杂文虽异，总会是同。若秦延君之注《尧典》，十余万字；朱普之解《尚书》，三十万言；所以通人恶烦，羞学章句。若毛公之训《诗》，安国之传《书》，郑君之释《礼》，王弼之解《易》，要约明畅，可为式矣。

【今译】

至于经书里注释的话，是把论文分散在各个注里，注释的文字虽然繁杂而不一样，可是把它们归总起来看还是同于论文。像汉儒秦延君注《尧典》，用了十多万字；后汉朱普解《尚书》，用了三十万字；所以通人讨厌它太烦，以学习分章逐句的注释为可羞。像鲁人毛公解释《诗经》，汉儒孔安国解释《书经》，后汉末郑康成解释三《礼》，魏人王弼解释《易经》，文字简要，意义明显，可以作为注释的规范了。

18.6 As for commentaries and annotations, they are like a loose treatise with arguments scattered here and there. If all the loose threads of the argument are woven together, they constitute a treatise proper. Qin Yanjun used one hundred thousand words to explain the title of a chapter in the *Book of Documents*; Zhu Pu wrote three hundred thousand on the same book. Both are much too long. That is why great scholars find such commentaries repugnant and shy away from undertaking meticulous textual studies. The following, however, are exemplary commentaries on account of their clarity and conciseness: Master Mao's commentary on the *Book of Poetry*, Kong Anguo's on the *Book of Documents*, Zheng Xuan's on the *Book of Rites* and Wang Bi's on the *Book of Changes*.



【原文】

18.7 说者，悦也；兑为口舌，故言〔咨〕资悦恻；过悦必伪，故舜惊谗说。说之善者，伊尹以论味隆殷，太公以辨钓兴周，及烛武行而纾郑，端木出而存鲁：亦其美也。

【今译】

说是喜悦，说字的右边是兑字，兑在《易经·说卦》里作口舌解，所以说要使人喜悦；过于要讨好人一定会变为虚伪，所以《尚书·舜典》里说，舜对阿谀的话很感到吃惊。好的说辞，像伊尹讲调味取得汤的信任，从而使殷代兴盛起来，姜太公讲钓鱼取得文王的信任，从而使周代兴盛起来，到春秋时，烛之武去劝秦国退兵，解除了郑国的患难，子贡到齐国去劝齐释鲁攻吴，因而保全了鲁国：这也是好的说辞。

18.7 The character for “speech” is related to “tongue” and “tongue” to “please.” Thus a speech implies talking, and the purpose of talking is to please, although overpleasing talk is hypocritical, as King Shun’s distaste for flattery confirms. Through his talk about cooking flavors, Yi Yin made the Shang Dynasty prosper; through his discussion of fishing, Lü Wang assisted the rise of the Zhou Dynasty. Both are great speeches. Zhu Zhiwu and Duanmu respectively talked their enemies out of attacking their country with eloquent speeches.



【原文】

18.8 暨战国争雄，辩士云踊；从横参谋，长短角势；转丸骋其巧辞，飞钳伏其精术。一人之辩，重于九鼎之宝，三寸之舌，强于百万之师。六印磊落以佩，五都隐赈而封。至汉定秦楚，辩士弭节，酈君既毙于齐镬，蒯子几入乎汉鼎；虽复陆贾籍甚，张释傅会，杜钦文辩，楼护唇舌。颉颃万乘之阶，抵〔嘘〕戏公卿之席；并顺风以托势，莫能逆波而泝洄矣。

【今译】

到了战国时代，七国互争雄长，游说的辩士多得像云那样涌起；有的合纵，有的连横，参与各国谋议，较量势力强弱；像弹丸那样圆转地运用巧妙的辞令，像飞出去的钳子钳住目的物般使人佩服他的精巧技术。因此，一个辩士的话比九鼎宝器还要贵重，辩士的三寸舌，胜过百万雄兵。主张连横的苏秦，身挂着众多的六国相印，主张合纵的张仪，秦国封给他五个富裕的都城。到了汉代平定秦楚，辩士不再那样得势，像汉王的辩士酈食其已经被烧死在齐国的铁镬里；齐国的辩士蒯通几乎被投到汉朝的鼎里去烧死。虽然像陆贾在汉朝大臣中很有名声，张释之在文帝前能够依据时事立论，杜钦有文才，善辩论，楼护会说话。他们有的在皇帝殿前上下议论，有的在大臣座前辩说，但他们多半是看风向说话，没有谁能够逆流而上的了。



18.8 In the Warring States, sophists surged like clouds, using oratory to expound military strategies or to compete for power. "The Rolling Pellets" is a witty speech, "The Flying Pliers" demonstrates supreme art.⁴ At this time, the oratory eloquence of one person carried more weight than the precious nine tripods; a three-inch tongue was more powerful than a million troops.⁵ For this reason, Su Qin had the privilege to carry on him the seals of six states while Zhang Yi was awarded five prefectures. After the Han Dynasty defeated the states of Qin and Chu, the influence of sophists dwindled. The state of Qi boiled Li Yiji in a cauldron; Kuan Tong nearly met the same end at the hands of the Han. Although Lu Jia enjoyed a high reputation, Zhang Shizhi excelled in the discussion of current affairs, Du Qin was eloquent, and Lou Hu had a clever tongue, they merely made clever remarks before princes and emperors and told jokes among dukes and ministers. They said only pleasant things and avoided making offensive remarks.



【原文】

18.9 夫说贵抚会，弛张相随，不专缓颊，亦在刀笔。范雎之言事，李斯之止逐客，并〔烦〕顺情人机，动言中务，虽批逆鳞，而功成计合，此上书之善说也。至于邹阳之说吴梁，喻巧而理至，故虽危而无咎矣。敬通之说鲍邓，事缓而文繁，所以历聘而罕遇也。

【今译】

劝说重在配合形势，有时放松有时抓紧，跟着情况转变，劝说不是专靠口舌，也用笔墨。范雎写信给秦昭王要求昭王用他的话，李斯写信给秦王劝他不要赶走客卿，都说得合情投机，话极中肯，虽然触犯了君王，却获得成功而受到信用，这是写信中善于劝说的例子。至于邹阳的劝说吴王梁王，比喻巧妙而理由充足，所以处境虽然危险却没有受害。后汉冯衍的劝说鲍永邓禹，引证的事例显得迂阔，文辞又太繁多，所以几经游说却很少得志。

18.9 A good speech, whether written or oral, should be delivered at the appropriate time, in the appropriate situation, and at an appropriate tempo, sometimes leisured, sometimes rapid. When Fan Ju discussed government affairs and Li Si advised against banishing guest officials, both stated their ideas in a way acceptable to the audience. They chose words so precise that each found its target, so that although their ideas might displease the sovereign, they managed to put them across. These are good examples of persuasion. When Zou Yang delivered his advice to Prince Wu and Prince Liang, he used clever metaphors and sound reasoning and thus remained safe even when caught in dangerous situations. Conversely, when Feng Yan tried to gain the trust of Generals Bao and Deng, his ideas were loose and his language redundant so that his ability was not appreciated in spite of his repeated efforts.⁶



【原文】

18.10 凡说之枢要，必使时利而义贞；进有契于成务，退无阻于荣身。自非谲敌，则唯忠与信。披肝胆以献主，飞文敏以济辞；此说之本也。而陆氏直称“说炜晔以谲诳”，何哉？

【今译】

一切劝说的话最主要的，一定要使它对当时有利而意义正确；在大的方面有助于完成当前的工作，在小的方面不会妨碍自身的荣显。要不是欺骗敌人，那么只能讲究忠诚和信实。打开心里的话来献给主上，运用巧妙的文采来加强语言的说服力：这是劝说的根本。可是陆机竟说“说要有光彩而用权诈欺诳”，这是为什么呢？



18.10 The key to making a good speech is to speak the truth at the appropriate moment. Ideally it should have a practical effect; at least it should not damage one's honor. Unless a speech aims to mislead the enemy, it should be absolutely honest and truthful. One should lay his heart open to the sovereign and display a ready gift for language. Why did Lu Ji assert that a speech used clever language only to deceive?



【原文】

18.11 赞曰：理形于言，叙理成论。词深人天，致远方寸。阴阳莫〔贰〕忒，鬼神靡遁。说尔飞钳，呼吸沮劝。

【今译】

总结说：理论用言语来表达，叙述理论成为论文。论文深刻地探索到人世和自然的奥秘，心思运用到远处。论文像阴阳变化那样没有差误，它使得鬼神也无从遁逃。游说用飞钳的技术把你抓住，在呼吸之间或者阻止你，或者劝诱你，有这样魅力。





18.11 Summary:

Ideas are formulated in language
And organized into a treatise.
A treatise is a convincing explanation
Of nature and human affairs.
It brings to light abstract principles
And reveals hidden implications.
A speech uses the art of oratory
To persuade or dissuade instantly.



诏策第十九

【原文】

19.1 皇帝御宇，其言也神。渊嘿黼扆，而响盈四表，唯诏策乎？昔轩辕、唐、虞，同称为“命”。“命”之为义，制性之本也。其在三代，事兼诰誓。誓以训戎，诰以敷政。命喻自天，故授官锡胤。《易》之《姤》象，“后以施命诰四方”。诰命动民，若天下之有风矣。降及七国，并称曰〔令〕命，〔令〕命者，使也。秦并天下，改命曰制。汉初定仪则，则命有四品：一曰策书，二曰制书，三曰诏书，四曰戒敕。敕戒州部，诏诰百官，制施赦命，策封王侯。策者，简也。制者，裁也。诏者，告也。敕者，正也。

【今译】

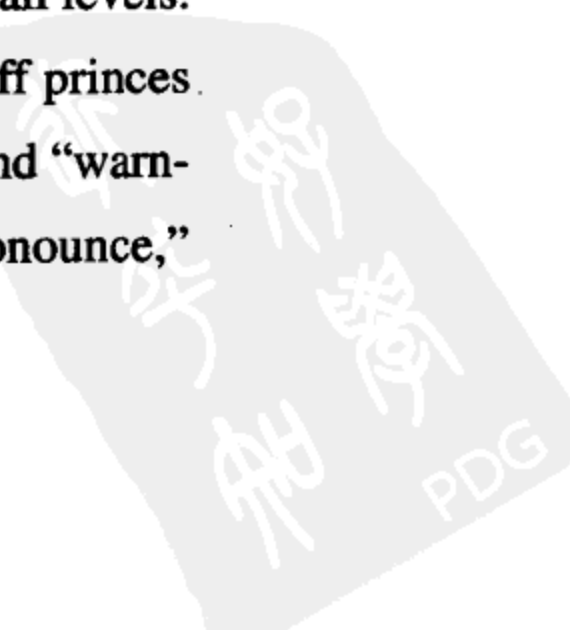
天子统治天下，他的话是神圣的。他静默地坐在御座上，可是他的声音充满四方之外，只是诏书吧。从前轩辕黄帝和唐尧虞舜，作为天子的话同称为“命”。“命”的意义，是确定人性的根本。它在三代时，还包括诰命和誓命。誓命是用来教训军队的，诰命是用来实施政治的。“命”是从天命借用来的，所以用它来给予官爵，赐福给后代。《易经》的《姤卦》象辞：“天子用颁布命令来告诫四方臣民。”用诰命来发动人民，像天下的有风了。下到战国时代，都称做命，命就是使。秦并天下，改命为制。汉朝初年制定法制，把命分成四种：一叫策书，二叫制书，三叫诏书，四叫戒敕或敕书。敕书用来告诫州部的长官，诏书用来告示百官，制书用来实行赦免，策书用来封王侯。策是竹简，制是决断，诏是告诉，敕是改正。



Chapter 19

The Edict and the Decree of Enfeoffment

19.1 The emperor rules the world; his words are divine. He sits quietly in his throne, but his voice is heard all over the land. Is this not due to edicts and decrees of enfeoffment? In the times of the Yellow Emperor, King Yao, and King Shun, these edicts were known as “mandates.” The mandate is the basis for forging human nature. In the Three Dynasties it also began to function as pronouncements or oaths. An oath is an instruction to the troops; a pronouncement states government affairs; a mandate comes from heaven and confers official titles and names. According to the *Book of Changes*, “The emperor uses mandates to pronounce his orders to the world.” A pronouncement sways people as the wind blows over grass. In the Warring States, these all came to be called “commands.” The character for “command” is related to “make.” When the Qin Dynasty unified the empire, “command” was changed to “ordinance.” When the Han Dynasty reestablished rites and institutions, the command was classified into four types: decree, ordinance, edict, and warning. A warning is issued to provincial officials, an edict to officials at all levels. An ordinance is used to declare an amnesty, a decree to enfeoff princes and dukes. The characters for “decree,” “ordinance,” “edict” and “warning” are related respectively to “bamboo slip,” “resolve,” “pronounce,” and “rectify.”



【原文】

19.2 《诗》云“畏此简书”，《易》称“君子以制〔度数〕数度”，《礼》称“明〔君〕神之诏”，《书》称“敕天之命”，并本经典以立名目。远诏近命，习秦制也。《记》称“丝纶”，所以应接群后。虞重纳言，周贵喉舌，故两汉诏诰，职在尚书。王言之大，动入史策，其出如綍，不反若汗。是以淮南有英才，武帝使相如视草；陇右多文士，光武加意于书辞：岂直取美当时，亦敬慎来叶矣。

【今译】

《诗经·小雅·出车》说“害怕这封简书”，《易经·节卦》象辞说“君子节制地来制定礼的等级法度”，《周礼·秋官·司盟》称“诏告明神”，《书·益稷》称“敕奉天的命令”，策、制、诏、敕，都是根据经典来确立的名称。在远处的用诏书，在近地的用命令，这是沿用秦朝的制度。《礼记·缙衣》里称：“王的话轻细像丝，它发出来像阔的带。”它是用来应对接待各国君主。虞舜看重发布帝命的纳言官，周朝看重发布王命的官比做喉舌，所以两汉的诏书文诰，由尚书省来掌管。天子的话重要，动不动写进史书里；它一出口就像大绳索，像汗水那样不能收回。因此，淮南王刘安有杰出的才华，汉武帝给他写信，要司马相如审定草稿；陇西隗嚣部下多文人，光武帝在写信时加倍注意：岂但在当时传为嘉话，也使后世敬慎了。

19.2 “For fear of this covenant on the bamboo slip” is mentioned in the *Book of Poetry*, “virtuous men instituting rites and regulations with restraint” in the *Book of Changes*, “an edict to the omniscient deities” in the *Book of Rites*, and “a mandate of heaven” in the *Book of Documents*. Thus it is known that these names all originated in the classics. According to the Qin convention, an edict was issued to distant places, a mandate given in person. The *Book of Rites* states that the king’s words are like threads of silk, but when given forth, they are like cords.¹ This is how he governs the chieftains of the states. King Shun of Yu regarded as highly important the office responsible for delivering his orders and forwarding to him the opinions of his subordinates. The Zhou Dynasty considered this office as the emperor’s tongue and throat. That is why in the two Han dynasties drafting edicts and pronouncements was the responsibility of the Master of Documents. The emperor’s words are weighty and duly recorded in histories. Once spoken, they exert an enormous influence and cannot be retracted. For this reason, before sending out his letters to Prince Liu An, a man of outstanding literary talent, Emperor Wu of Han showed them to Sima Xiangru. Because General Wei Ao gathered around him many men of letters, Emperor Guangwu composed his letters to Wei with special care. In so doing, these emperors were as much concerned with future influence as with their current reputation.



【原文】

19.3 观文景以前，诏体浮〔新〕杂；武帝崇儒，选言弘奥。策封三王，文同训典；劝诫渊雅，垂范后代；及制〔诰〕诏严助，即云厌承明庐，盖宠才之恩也。孝宣玺书，责博〔士〕于陈遂，亦故旧之厚也。逮光武拨乱，留意斯文，而造次喜怒，时或偏滥。诏赐邓禹，称司徒为尧；敕责侯霸，称黄钺一下。若斯之类，实乖宪章。暨明〔帝〕章崇学，雅诏间出。〔安〕和安政弛，礼阁鲜才，每为诏敕，假手外请。建安之末，文理代兴，潘勖九锡，典雅逸群；卫觊禅诰，符命炳耀，弗可加已。自魏晋诰策，职在中书，刘放张华，〔互〕并管斯任，施〔命〕令发号，洋洋盈耳。魏文帝下诏，辞义多伟，至于作威

【今译】

看到汉文帝、景帝以前，诏书内容浮泛杂乱；汉武帝尊崇儒家，诏书选用的语言广博深奥。用策书来封齐王、燕王、广陵王，文辞跟《尚书》中的训典相同；它的劝诫意义深刻正确，为后世留下典范；到作诏书给严助，就说他厌倦在朝值班，让他出外做会稽太守，是爱才的恩典。汉宣帝盖印的信，向陈遂问起欠他赌债的事，也是老朋友的深厚情意。到东汉光武帝平定世乱，注意文化，但在匆忙中喜怒无常，有时不免失当。他给邓禹的诏书，竟称司徒邓禹为尧；用敕书来责备侯霸，说黄色的大斧一下来就完了。像这样之类，实在违反法制。到明帝章帝尊崇学术，文辞雅正的诏书轮替发出。到和帝安帝政治宽纵，草拟诏书的尚书省缺乏人才，每次写诏书敕书，请外人代笔。到建安末年，有文采和理致的诏书代替兴起，如潘勖的《册魏公九锡文》，措辞雅正超出群辈；卫觊的《为汉帝禅位魏王诏》，称述天命的征验极为显著，不能够再增加了。自从魏晋时的诏书策书，归中书省掌管，魏的刘放，晋的张华，都主管这个任务，发布号令的诏书策书，充满在人耳目。魏文帝曹丕发下的诏书，文辞意义多数是宏大

19.3 Before the reigns of Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing, edicts were superficial and impure. Emperor Wu was a patron of Confucianism, so his writings were noble and profound. His decrees of enfeoffment to the three princes were graceful in language, profound and classical in moral teaching, and worthy to serve as models for posterity. In an edict to Yan Zhu, he showed his appreciation of Yan's talent as well as his understanding of Yan's wish to retire. Emperor Xuan's sealed letter to Chen Sui on gamble debts indicated the constancy of their former friendship. After Emperor Guangwu restored order to the world, he turned his attention to literary achievements. It was only in the middle of haste, anger, or joy, that he occasionally made mistakes. In an edict to the head administrator Deng Yu, he compared Deng to King Yao; in an ordinance censuring Hou Ba, he mentioned the execution axe: These are examples of edicts that contravene classical principles. Emperor Ming and Emperor Zhang both patronized learning, so fine edicts kept appearing. Emperor He and Emperor An relaxed the reins of government, so their courts were short of talented officials and scholars had to be summoned from elsewhere to draft an edict. At the end of the Jian'an period, literary learning flourished again. The edict written by Pan Xu honoring Cao Cao is elegant and graceful; the edict of abdication written by Wei Ji is colorful and brilliant. No one could write better than these two. In the Wei and Jin dynasties, it became the responsibility of the imperial secretariat to draft edicts and scripts. Liu Fang and then Zhang Hua were appointed to this position; the power of the edicts and commands that flowed from their brushes can still be felt. The edicts issued by Emperor Wen of Wei are

【原文】

作福，其万虑之一〔弊〕蔽乎？晋氏中兴，唯明帝崇才，以温峤文清，故引入中书；自斯以后，体宪风流矣。

【今译】

的，至于要将军“作威作福”，这是智者千虑中的一失吧？东晋中兴，只有晋明帝看重文才，因为温峤的文辞清新，所以引进到中书省；从此以后，中书省的体制有了法度，成为风气流传下去了。



mostly noble and majestic: His use of the phrase “use punishment and confer favors” is merely one error in ten thousand thoughts.² Down to the Jin Dynasty, only Emperor Ming patronized writers. Wen Qiao was appointed imperial secretary, because of the brilliance of his writing. From then on, the classical rules of edict writing were passed down.



【原文】

19.4 夫王言崇秘，大观在上，所以百辟其刑，万邦作孚。故授官选贤，则义炳重离之辉；优文封策，则气含风雨之润；敕戒恒诰，则笔吐星汉之华；治戎燮伐，则声有洊雷之威；眚灾肆赦，则文有春露之滋；明罚敕法，则辞有秋霜之烈：此诏策之大略也。

【今译】

天子的话崇高神秘，处在上位，大为在下所观望，所以诸侯都来效法，万国都加信顺。因此选用贤才来给予官位，那诏书的含义像日月双重照耀的光辉；褒奖的文告，封官的策书，那恩惠像含有和风细雨的滋润；教戒的文告，那笔里吐出银河的光彩；誓师伐敌，那声势有重叠霹雳的声威；因灾害加以宽赦，那文辞有春天露水的滋润；明白惩罚，整饬法纪，那文辞像秋天霜冻那样严酷：这就是诏书敕书的大概要求。

19.4 An emperor's words are noble and sacred; the people look up to them. Laws to princes and chieftains, they command obedience across the land. Therefore, in conferring official titles and honoring men of virtue, an edict should be as shiny as the sun and the moon. In conferring generous enfeoffment, it should soothe like a gentle breeze and nourish like rain. In issuing a warning or a decree, it should be as radiant as the stars. In rallying an army for a military campaign, it should be thunderously powerful. In giving pardon, it should nourish like spring dew. When punishing in accordance with the law, it must be as relentless as autumn frost. These are the characteristics of the edict and the script of enfeoffment.



【原文】

19.5 戒敕为文，实诏之切者，周穆命郊父受敕宪，此其事也。魏武称作敕戒，当指事而语，勿得依违，晓治要矣。及晋武敕戒，备告百官：敕都督以兵要，戒州牧以董司，警郡守以恤隐，勒牙门以御卫，有训典焉。

【今译】

告诫的文辞，实在是诏书中的切实的，像周穆王命令郊父接受告诫的命令，这就是告诫文。魏武帝曹操称作告诫文，应当根据事实讲，不要犹豫不决，是懂得政治的。到晋武帝作告诫，遍告百官：告诫都督通晓军事要领，告诫地方长官督察下属，告诫一郡长官体恤人民苦难，告诫部队将领来抵敌卫国，都有《尚书》训典中的含义。

19.5 A warning is a particular type of edict. One example is the edict of warning that King Mu of Zhou ordered his minister Jiao Fu to receive. Emperor Wu of Wei said that a warning should be factual, clear, and unambiguous: He knew the art of ruling well. Emperor Wu of Jin issued warnings to officials at all levels. He made army generals aware of military strategies, warned provincial governors to supervise their subordinates, taught prefects to pity the sufferings of the common people, and alerted military guards to the importance of defense duties. These warnings are all written in the spirit of the classics.



【原文】

19.6 戒者，慎也，禹称“戒之用休”。君父至尊，在三罔极，汉高祖之敕太子，东方朔之戒子，亦顾命之作也。及马援以下，各贻家戒。班姬女戒，足称母师也。

【今译】

戒就是谨戒，禹称“用美好的话谨戒他”。君父是顶尊贵的，君、父、师三者给人的恩德是无穷的。汉高祖的《手敕太子》，东方朔的《戒子》，也是临终遗嘱之作。到马援以下，各留下家戒。班昭的《女戒》，够得上称为傅母和女师了。

19.6 The character for “warning” is related to “caution.” King Yu said, “Caution the people with gentle words”.³ Lord, father, teacher — these are the three most reverential titles on earth; the grace and favor they confer can never be repaid. Emperor Gaozu of Han left a warning to the crown prince; Dongfang Shuo wrote one to his son. In both cases they were their last words. From Ma Yuan downward, writers all left final words of warning to their families. Ban Zhao wrote a warning to women, for which she deserved to be called “mother-teacher.”



【原文】

19.7 教者，效也，出言而民效也。契敷五教，故王侯称教。昔郑弘之守南阳，条教为后所述，乃事绪明也；孔融之守北海，文教丽而罕〔于理〕施，乃治体乖也。若诸葛孔明之详约，庾稚恭之明断，并理得而辞中，教之善也。

【今译】

教就是仿效，说出话来人民照着做。契发布五种教诲，所以后来王侯教诲百姓称教。从前郑弘做南阳太守，他发布一条条教令为后世称道，是讲得头绪明白；孔融做北海相，他的教令写得有文采却难于实行，是不合政治体制。像诸葛亮的教令考虑周到，文辞简明，庾翼的教令明白而决断，都是道理得当文辞切合，是好的教令。



19.7 The character for “instruction” is related to “imitate”: Instructions are given for people to follow. Since Xie disseminated the five teachings, the words of princes and lords to their people have been called instructions.⁴ Zheng Hong served as the prefect of Nanyang; his instructions are still admired because they were clearly stated. Kong Rong was the prefect of Beihai; his instructions though ornately phrased were poorly implemented, because they did not accord with the practice of his government. Zhuge Liang’s instructions are concise yet thorough; Yu Yi’s are clear and forceful. They are fine instructions sound in arguments and appropriate in language.



【原文】

19.8 自教以下，则又有命。《诗》云“有命〔在〕自天”。明命为重也；《周礼》曰“师氏诏王”，明诏为轻〔命〕也。今诏重而命轻者，古今之变也。

【今译】

从教令以下又有命。《诗·大雅·大明》说：“有命从天来”，表明命是上对下，是重要的；《周礼·地官·师氏》说：“管教育的官诏告王”，说明诏是下告上，是轻的。现在诏比命重要，是古今的变化。



19.8 After “instruction” comes “mandate.” The line in the *Book of Poetry* “A mandate comes from heaven” indicates the importance of a mandate.⁵ The line in the *Rites of Zhou* “Shi, the officer of instruction, presented an edict to the Emperor” shows that an edict was then relatively unimportant. Today the situation is the reverse: An edict is now more important than a mandate.



【原文】

19.9 赞曰：皇王施令，寅严宗诰。我有丝言，兆民〔尹〕伊好。辉音峻举，鸿风远蹈。腾义飞辞，涣其大号。

【今译】

总结说：天子发布命令，臣民尊敬地接受命令。天子认为我有轻的话，万民是喜欢的。光辉的声音高高扬起，宏大的风声向远处传播。命令的意义和文辞到处飞扬，散播为大的号令。



19.9 Summary:

Edicts issued by the emperor
Inspire reverence and awe.
“I am the king,
My people welcome what I say.”
A voice majestic and noble
Thus exercises power far and wide.
With his words and thoughts
He gives his orders mighty force.



檄移第二十

【原文】

20.1 震雷始于曜电，出师先乎威声。故观电而惧雷壮，听声而惧兵威。兵先乎声，其来已久。昔有虞始戒于国，夏后初誓于军，殷誓军门之外，周将交刃而誓之。故知帝世戒兵，三王誓师，宣训我众，未及敌人也。至周穆西征，祭公谋父称“古有威让之令，〔令〕有文告之辞”，即檄之本源也。及春秋征伐，自诸侯出，惧敌弗服，故兵出须名，振此威风，暴彼昏乱，刘献公之所谓“告之以文辞，董之以

【今译】

打雷从闪电开始，出兵先要传播声威。所以看到闪电害怕雷声的强烈，听到声威害怕军队的威力。出兵先要声威，它的来源已经很久。从前有虞氏开始警诫国内战士，夏后氏开始在军队内宣誓，殷代在军营外与百姓宣誓，周代在军队将要交锋时宣誓。所以知道在五帝时代警诫战士，夏商周三王时代在军队内宣誓，宣言教训自己的部队，没有发到敌人方面。到周穆王向西去攻打犬戎，祭公谋父称，“古代有威力地斥责敌人的命令，有告诫对方的文辞”，就是檄文的源头。到春秋时代的征讨，从诸侯国发出，怕敌人不服，所以出兵须要有名义，振奋这里的威风，暴露对方的昏乱，刘献公说的“用文辞来告诫他，用军队来督责他”的说法。齐桓公讨伐楚国，责问缺乏向

Chapter 20

The War Proclamation and the Dispatch

20.1 As lightening precedes thunder, so awe-inspiring proclamations precede a military campaign. As the sight of lightening arouses fear of the thunder, so the cries proclaiming war conjure up intimations of an invincible army. Military action has long been declared by a proclamation of war. King Shun warned his troops in advance; King Yu of Xia made solemn pledges in front of his army; King Tang of Shang made his pledge outside the gate of the army camp; King Wu of Zhou took his oath at the moment of action. Thus it is known that when King Shun warned his army and the other three kings made pledges, they addressed their own troops, not the enemy. At the time of King Mu of Zhou's western expedition, Lord Zhai Moufu distinguished between proclamations that enumerated enemy crimes and those that stated the reasons for a military action. That was the origin of the war proclamation. In the Spring and Autumn period, vassal lords launched military expeditions. To convince the enemy of the justice of their expedition, they proclaimed their purposes, displayed military strength, and exposed the enemy's crimes. This is what Liu Xiangong meant when he said, "Warn the enemy with words, coerce them with force".¹ When Duke Huan of Qi attacked the state of

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【原文】

武师”者也。齐桓征楚，诘苞茅之缺；晋厉伐秦，责箕郃之焚：管仲吕相，奉辞先路，详其意义，即今之檄文。暨乎战国，始称为檄。檄者，皦也。宣露于外，皦然明白也。张仪《檄楚》，书以尺二，明白之文，或称露布。露布者，盖露板不封，播诸视听也。

【今译】

周天子进贡苞茅；晋厉公讨伐秦国，斥责秦军焚烧箕郃两地：齐国的管仲，晋国的吕相，先举出斥敌的话再进军，考察它的意义，就是后来的檄文。到了战国时代，开始称做檄文。檄就是明白，揭露在外，非常明白。张仪《檄告楚相》，写在一尺二寸长的木板上，文辞明白，有的称做露布。露布是把写文辞的木板露出来，不加封套，把它散播，让人看到听到。

Chu, he accused the enemy of failing to pay tribute. When Duke Li of Jin attacked the state of Qin, he accused the enemy of setting fire to two of his counties. In these two cases Guan Zhong and Lü Xiang respectively were sent to make proclamations in advance. All these are now called war proclamations. The term "war proclamation" began to be used in the Warring States period. The character for "proclamation" is related to "clear": A proclamation is meant to clarify matters. Zhang Yi once dispatched a proclamation written on a wooden slip of one foot two inches long to the state of Chu. A proclamation so clearly stated was sometimes called a public announcement: It was meant to be seen and heard by the public.



【原文】

20.2 夫兵以定乱，莫敢自专，天子亲戎，则称“恭行天罚”；诸侯御师，则云肃将王诛。故分阃推毂，奉辞伐罪，非唯致果为毅，亦且厉辞为武。使声如冲风所击，气似椽枪所扫，奋其武怒，总其罪人，〔惩〕徽其恶稔之时，显其贯盈之数，摇奸宄之胆，订信慎之心；使百尺之冲，摧折于咫书，万雉之城，颠坠于一檄者也。观隗嚣之檄亡新，布其三逆，文不雕饰，而辞切事明，陇右文士，得檄之体矣。陈琳之檄豫州，壮有骨鲠，虽奸阉携养，章〔密〕实太甚，发丘摸金，诬过其虐；然抗辞书衅，皦然露骨；〔矣〕敢矣〔指〕掇曹公之锋，幸哉免袁党之戮也。锺会檄蜀，徵验甚明，桓〔公〕温檄胡，观衅尤切，并壮笔也。

【今译】

出兵用来平定祸乱，没有人敢于独自专断，天子亲自出兵，便说“恭敬地执行天的惩罚”；诸侯出兵，便说严肃地执行天子的讨伐。所以派遣大将出兵，天子把处理都城外的大权分给他，还亲自给他推车送行；大将奉行天子的命令去讨伐罪人，不仅要达到果敢坚毅，也要用严厉的誓言构成威力。使声势像暴风袭击，气势像彗星扫荡，振奋军队的威武愤怒，集中在罪人身上，证明敌人罪恶到头的时候，显示敌人恶贯满盈的气数，动摇奸人的胆量，确立信服者的信心；使敌人百尺高的战车，被尺把长的宣言所摧毁，万丈长的城墙，被一纸檄文所推倒。观察隗嚣用檄文讨伐王莽新朝，宣布他逆天、逆地、逆人三种逆行，文辞不用雕饰，话极确切，事理明白，说明陇西地方的文人，掌握了檄文的体制了。陈琳的《为袁绍檄豫州》，气势旺盛，有骨力，虽然骂曹嵩是奸恶太监的养子，文章实在写得太过分，又说曹操挖坟摸金，诬蔑的话超过他的暴虐；然而用直率的话记下曹操的罪状，写得明白露骨；敢于触犯曹操的锋芒，幸而免于作为袁绍党羽而被杀。钟会《移蜀将吏士民檄》，举出有凭证可考验的事理很明白，桓温《檄胡文》，看到胡人内部的危机尤为切合，都是有力的檄文。

20.2 A military campaign is launched to restore order; no one would dare to take arbitrary action. If the Son of Heaven went on an expedition in person, he would say, "I reverently execute the punitive orders of heaven." If a vassal lord was commander of the expedition, he would say, "I reverently execute the punitive orders of the Son of Heaven." Thus the Son of Heaven shared his power with executive generals, giving them full authority in their military operations while the generals went on punitive expeditions by order of the Son of Heaven. War proclamations not only inspire military prowess in the ranks, but also daunt the enemy. With the deafening blast of a roaring storm and the sweeping power of a shooting star, they arouse the heroic wrath of the soldiers by naming the evil acts of the enemy. They declare the necessity of immediate punishment and announce that the days of the villains are numbered; they shatter the nerves of the evildoers and dispel the doubts of the faithful and obedient. Battle chariots a hundred-foot tall are shattered to pieces by a one-foot script; bulwarks ten thousand feet long collapse before a war proclamation. Wei Ao's proclamation of the fall of the Xin Dynasty, enumerating Wang Mang's three crimes, was precise and clear without any adornment: He had grasped the rules of writing a proclamation. Chen Lin's proclamation to Liu Bei had the strength of the bone.² It made a personal remark that Cao Cao's father was adopted by a eunuch and an exaggerated accusation that Cao appointed officers to raid tombs for treasures. Yet in using unvarnished language to expose Cao's crimes, it was straightforward and trenchant, showing bony strength. How courageous was Chen Lin to brave Cao Cao's anger and yet how fortunate it was that Cao pardoned him after defeating Yuan Shao!³ Zhong Hui's proclamation to the state of Shu cites clear historical examples. Huan Wen's proclamation to the natives of Hu lists their crises appropriately. Both are vigorous specimens of the genre.

【原文】

20.3 凡檄之大体，或述此休明，或叙彼苛虐，指天时，审人事，算强弱，角权势，标蓍龟于前验，悬鞶鉴于已然，虽本国信，实参兵诈。谲诡以驰旨，炜晔以腾说，凡此众条，莫之或违〔之〕者也。故其植义扬辞，务在刚健。插羽以示迅，不可使辞缓，露板以宣众，不可使义隐；必事昭而理辨，气盛而辞断，此其要也。若曲趣密巧，无所取才矣。又州郡徵吏，亦称为檄，固明举之义也。

【今译】

檄文的主要特点，有的讲我方的美好昌明，有的讲敌方的苛刻暴虐，指出天意，审察人事，比较强弱，衡量权势，用以前的凭证来预卜吉凶，用过去的事例来作为借鉴，虽说根据国家的威信，实际是加上用兵的诡诈。用诡诈的话来宣传自己的意旨，用光彩的话来宣扬自己的说法：概括这几条，没有违反它的。所以它的确立意义，发扬文辞，务必在于刚强有力。檄文插上羽毛表示紧急，不可以使文辞写得迂缓；木板显露向大众宣传，不可使意义隐晦，一定要使事情明白道理确切，气势旺盛话很决断，这是檄文主要点。倘是旨趣曲折，文辞细致含蓄巧妙，这种文才没什么可取了。又州郡招聘官吏文书，也称做檄，实是明白推举的意思。

20.3 A proclamation has the following characteristics: It describes one's own virtues and denounces the atrocities of the enemy; it proclaims the will of heaven and analyzes the current situation; it estimates strengths and weaknesses and ponders the implications of power relations; it uses divination to reveal the future and past examples to predict inevitable outcomes. It is based on the country's honor, but can advocate military deception; it combines deceit with candor to achieve its end. These rules should not be violated. Therefore, both in meaning and diction, a proclamation should be firm and vigorous. One sealed with a feather to indicate urgency should not be written in slow-paced rhythms; one written on an open board for public attention should not be vague. State facts precisely, express ideas clearly, display a vigorous spirit, and use unambiguous language. These are the essentials. A proclamation that contains vague ideas or parades skills is worthless. Incidentally, a recruitment notice posted by a prefecture is also called a proclamation because it proclaims that officials will be openly selected.



【原文】

20.4 移者，易也；移风易俗，令往而民随者也。相如之《难蜀老》，文晓而喻博，有移檄之骨焉。及刘歆之《移太常》，辞刚而义辨，文移之首也；陆机之《移百官》，言约而事显，武移之要者也。故檄移为用，事兼文武。其在金革，则逆党用檄，顺命资移；所以洗濯民心，坚同符契，意用小异，而体义大同，与檄参伍，故不重论也。

【今译】

移就是改变，像移风易俗，命令发出去人民就跟着执行的。司马相如的《难蜀父老》，文辞明白，用了很多事例作比，具有移文和檄文的骨力。到刘歆的《移太常博士书》，文辞刚健，意义明辨，是文教方面的第一篇移文；陆机的《移百官》，语言简练，叙事明显，是军事方面重要的移文。所以檄文和移文的运用，可以兼用于文教和军事。它用在战事上，那么对叛逆的用檄文，对归顺的用移文，因为要清洗人民的思想，使它同上面牢固结合，像契约那样一致，移文和檄文的用意和作用稍有差别，但体制和要求大致相同，移文同檄文互相交错，所以不再重复论述了。



20.4 The character for “dispatch” comes from “transform”: transform habits and alter customs, issue orders and people follow. The lucidity and learning of Sima Xiangru’s “Repudiating the Seniors of Shu” are typical of a dispatch or a proclamation. Liu Xin’s “Rebutting the Royal Scholars” is the best civil dispatch on account of its vigor and clarity. Lu Ji’s “Dispatch to the Hundred Officers” is the best military dispatch, because it is concise in language and explicit in factual statements. Thus it is known that dispatches and proclamations are used for both civil and military purposes. When used for military purposes, a proclamation is addressed to intransigent enemies while a dispatch is directed to those who will surrender. A dispatch is thus used to cleanse people’s minds so that they will become steadfast followers of the ruler. Although it differs slightly from a proclamation in purpose, they are similar in form and content. As a dispatch overlaps with a proclamation, there is no need to discuss it further.



【原文】

20.5 赞曰：三驱弛〔刚〕网，九伐先话。攀鉴吉凶，著龟成败。
〔惟〕摧压鲸鲵，抵落蜂蚕。移〔宝〕实易俗，草偃风迈。

【今译】

总结说：在三面赶禽兽的，把捕网放开一面；对各种罪行的讨伐，先要加以说明。檄文像镜子可以照见吉凶，像占卜可以预见成败。檄文要打击大敌，消灭毒虫。移文确实移风易俗，像风吹草倒。



20.5 Summary:

As animals are given a chance of life by hunters,
So a proclamation is delivered before a punitive expedition.
Past examples predict success or failure,
Yarrow stalks and tortoise shells foretell a victory or defeat.
Slaughter the shark,
Crush the wasp.
A dispatch alters behavior,
As the wind bends the grass.



封禅第二十一

【原文】

21.1 夫正位北辰，向明南面，所以运天枢，毓黎献者，何尝不经道纬德，以勒皇迹者哉！〔录〕《绿图》曰：“泮泮叻叻，芬芬雉雉，万物尽化。”言至德所被也。《丹书》曰：“义胜欲则从，欲胜义则凶。”戒慎之至也。则戒慎以崇其德，至德以凝其化，七十有二君，所以封禅矣。

【今译】

天帝正坐的位子是北极星，像帝王在天将明时朝南坐，天帝所以运转天枢星，就像帝王的运用政权，养育百姓和贤人，又何尝不是按照道德办事，用刻石来记帝王的功德啊！《绿图》说：“婉转杂糅，纷纷扰扰，万物尽化。”讲的就是最高的道德所造成的。《丹书》说：“道义胜过私欲就吉利，私欲胜过道义就凶险。”是戒惧谨慎到极点。那么戒惧谨慎来提高他的德行，用极高的德行来造成自然的变化，古代七十二位君主，因此到泰山上举行封禅大典礼了。



Chapter 21

The Sacrificial Address to Heaven and Earth

21.1 As the Northern Star is seated in the middle of the sky, so the emperor's throne is at the center of the world facing the bright south. As the sky revolves around the Northern Star, so imperial rule nourishes the humble and the great alike. Is it not honorable to inscribe imperial virtues and glories? The *Green Diagram*¹ states, "The world's chaos, whirling and swirling, constantly changing, is transformed." This describes the power of supreme virtue. The *Red Book* says, "When righteousness overcomes selfish desires, good fortune follows; when selfish desires overcome righteousness, bad fortune ensues."² This emphasizes the importance of caution. Supreme caution augments virtue; supreme virtue effects transformation. For this reason, the rulers of seventy-two houses performed the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, namely, sacrifices to heaven and earth.



【原文】

21.2 昔黄帝神灵，克膺鸿瑞，勒功乔岳，铸鼎荆山。大舜巡岳，显乎虞典。成康封禅，闻之乐纬。及齐桓之霸，爰窥王迹，夷吾譎陈，〔距〕拒以怪物。固知玉牒金缕，专在帝皇也。然则西鹑东鳧，南茅北黍，空谈非徵，勋德而已。是以史迁八书，明述封禅者，固禋祀之殊礼，铭号之秘祝，祀天之壮观矣。

【今译】

从前黄帝神奇灵异，能够承受大的祥瑞，在泰山上刻石记功，在荆山下冶铸铜鼎。大舜巡视泰山，明显地写在《尚书·舜典》上。周成王、康王在泰山封禅，是从《乐纬动声仪》里听来的。到齐桓公称霸，于是窥伺王者封禅的事，管仲谎言劝阻，用没有神奇的物出现不好封禅来拒绝。确知用玉版金线来封禅，只有帝王才可以。那么管仲说的要出现西方的比翼鸟，东方的比目鱼，南方的茅草叶上有三条高起的筋，北方特异的黄米，是空话不可考验，封禅只要帝王的功德罢了。因此，司马迁《史记》八书中的《封禅书》，明白地讲封禅的，确是祭祀的大典礼，在玉版上刻字的秘密祷告，祭告天地的大观了。



21.2 Divine, omniscient, and blessed with favorable auspices, the Yellow Emperor carved his merits on the sacred Mount Tai and molded a bronze tripod on Mount Jing.³ King Shun's sacrifice to Mount Tai was recorded in the *Book of Documents*. The sacrifices held by King Cheng and King Kang of Zhou were recorded in the apocryphal text of the *Book of Music*. When Duke Huan of Qi lorded over the world, he wanted to copy the early rulers by holding a similar ceremony, but Guan Zhong tactfully advised against it, citing the lack of auspicious omens. Thus it is known that only kings and emperors may hold sacrifices to earth and heaven. Guan Zhong alludes to the auspicious symbols of paired birds (each with one wing) over the western sea, paired fish (each with one eye) in the eastern ocean, divine reeds in the south, and propitious millet in the north. They are imaginary creations of the mind that symbolize the noble virtues of the ruler.⁴ Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* contains a chapter on the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices. This is because imperial sacrifices to heaven and earth are the most solemn of all ceremonies, at which imperial glories are carved down in the form of secret prayers — a truly magnificent form of heavenly worship.



【原文】

21.3 秦皇铭岱，文自李斯，法家辞气，体乏弘润；然疏而能壮，亦彼时之绝采也。铺观两汉隆盛，孝武禅号于肃然；光武巡封于梁父，诵德铭勋，乃鸿笔耳。观相如《封禅》，蔚为唱首。尔其表权舆，序皇王，炳〔元〕玄符，镜鸿业，驱前古于当今之下，腾休明于列圣之上，歌之以禎瑞，赞之以介丘，绝笔兹文，固维新之作也。及光武勒碑，则文自张纯。首胤典谟，末同祝辞，引钩讖，叙离乱，计武功，述文德，事核理举，华不足而实有馀矣。凡此二家，并岱宗实迹也。

【今译】

秦始皇在泰山刻石记功，文章出于李斯手笔，法家的语气，风格上缺少阔大润饰；可是叙述清朗有力，也是那时的最好作品了。展望两汉兴盛时，汉武帝登封泰山，在肃然山祭地；汉光武帝巡视登封泰山，在梁父山祭地，歌颂德行，刻石记功，是封禅的大手笔。看司马相如《封禅文》，富有文采，成为首创。它表明开始情况，叙述帝王，再讲汉朝的符瑞照耀，大业可鉴，把前代的功业压在当今下面，宣扬汉朝盛明在列朝圣君之上，作歌来赞美祥瑞，用泰山盼望封禅来作赞美，这篇作品是他的绝笔，确实是创新的作品。到汉光武帝在泰山刻碑，那篇文章出自张纯。开头仿照《舜典》的写法，结尾跟祝告的话相同，中间引用讖纬的话，叙述当时的战乱，计算光武帝的武功，叙述光武帝的文治德教，事实确实，道理标明，文采不够，事实是有得多余了。所有这两家文，都是泰山封禅的确实记录。

21.3 When the First Emperor of Qin had his merits inscribed on Mount Tai, the text came from the hand of Li Si. Although Li's legalist tone lacked nobility and grace, his writing was powerful and vigorous, unrivalled in its time. In the two prosperous Han dynasties, Emperor Wu made sacrifices to heaven and earth on Mount Tai and Mount Suran and Emperor Guangwu on Mount Tai and Mount Liangfu.⁵ The prayers glorifying their virtues and noble deeds were masterpieces of the time. Sima Xiangru's sacrificial address is a specimen of excellence. It traces the origin of this type of writing, celebrates imperial virtues, extols the mandate of heaven, and commends great deeds. It uses the past to illuminate the present, elevates the virtues of the present ruler above those of the ancient sages, hails auspicious omens, and commends imperial sacrifices on the sacred mountains. Although it was the last piece written by Sima Xiangru, it marked a new achievement. When Emperor Guangwu had his merits inscribed, Zhang Chun was commissioned to write the text. It begins with classical elegance and ends in the style of a sacred prayer. Its citations of apocrypha describing troubled times and enumeration of the emperor's military feats and civil virtues are precise and accurate. It lacks linguistic beauty, but has ample substance. These two pieces by Zhang Chun and Sima were actually inscribed on Mount Tai.



【原文】

21.4 及扬雄《剧秦》，班固《典引》，事非镌石，而体因纪禅。观剧秦为文，影写长卿，诡言遁辞，故兼包神怪；然骨〔掣〕制靡密，辞贯圆通，自称极思，无遗力矣。《典引》所叙，雅有懿〔乎〕采，历鉴前作，能执厥中，其致义会文，斐然馀巧；故称“封禅〔丽〕靡而不典，《剧秦》典而不实”。岂非追观易为明，循势易为力软！至于邯郸《受命》，攀响前声，风末力寡，辑韵成颂，虽文理顺序，而不能奋飞。陈思《魏德》，假论客主，问答迂缓，且已千言，劳深绩寡，飙焰缺焉。

【今译】

到扬雄作《剧秦美新》，班固作《典引》，并不用来刻石，可是文体模仿封禅文。看《剧秦美新》的写作，模仿司马相如，用怪异躲闪的话，所以兼写神怪的事；可是它的结构细密，文辞圆转，脉络贯通，自称用尽思虑，没有一点剩余力量了。《典引》的叙述，正有美好文采，分别观察以前各家作品，能掌握得恰到好处，它的确立命意，组织文辞，文采技巧有余，所以说：“《封禅文》细致而不够典雅，《剧秦美新》典雅而不确实。”难道不是看前人作品容易看清楚，照着趋势去写容易用力呢！到了邯郸淳作《受命述》，仿照以前的作品，风力衰弱，编辑韵语构成歌颂，虽然文理有条理，却是平庸，不能飞腾。陈思王曹植的《魏德论》，借用主客对话来发议论，问答迂缓不紧凑，并且已有千字，用力多而收效少，风力和光彩都没有。

21.4 Yang Xiong's "Censuring the Qin Dynasty and Praising the Xin" and Ban Gu's "Extolling the Virtues of Han," though not actually carved in stone, adopted the form of the sacrificial address. Yang's work, an imitation of Sima Xiangru, is bizarre and circuitous when it touches on the supernatural, but its close-knit structure and fluent language justify Yang's claim that he had given his mind wholly to it. Ban's piece is elegant and graceful. From a careful study of previous works, Ban grasped the central principles; hence his work is brilliant and skillful. He regarded Sima Xiangru's composition as beautiful but not graceful, and Yang Xiong's as graceful but not accurate. Does this not show that a study of previous works enhances understanding and adherence to existing forms facilitates writing? Handan Chun's "Receiving the Mandate of Heaven" is a mere echo of earlier examples. Feeble as spent wind, with no soaring vitality, it consists merely in the aggregation of some purposeless lines. Cao Zhi's "Virtues of the Wei," an imaginary dialogue between a host and a guest, is so rambling and slow-paced in its exchanges that it runs to a thousand characters. It is a laborious effort of little merit, lacking vigor and insight.



【原文】

21.5 兹文为用，盖一代之典章也。构位之始，宜明大体，树骨于训典之区，选言于宏富之路，使意古而不晦于深，文今而不坠于浅，义吐光芒，辞成廉锷，则为伟矣。虽复道极数殫，终然相袭，而日新其采者，必超前轍焉。

【今译】

这种文体的作用，是一代的大典礼。布局的开始，应该懂得总的体制，从《尚书》的训典里建立骨干，从宏大富丽的作品中选择语言，使得用意古雅并不因辞深而隐晦，文辞通用不落入浅薄，意义发生光辉，文辞具有棱角，便是大作品了。虽然又是道理说尽方法用尽，终究是抄袭古人，可是能够使文采创新，一定能够超越前人之作的。

21.5 The purpose of the sacrificial address to heaven and earth is to reflect the institutions and customs of an age. Before writing, one should master the main characteristics of this genre: It should be elegant and graceful in style, noble and creative in language, classical but not abstruse in meaning, modern but not shallow in diction. The touchstone of greatness is bright and brilliant meaning and clear and crisp language. Although the art of writing may degenerate to the degree that imitation becomes the order of the day, those who can reinvent their language will surpass their predecessors.



【原文】

21.6 赞曰：封勒帝绩，对越天休。逖听高岳，声英克彪。树石九旻，泥金八幽，鸿〔律〕笔蟠采，如龙如虬。

【今译】

总结说：封禅要在泰山石上刻上帝王功绩，报答并宣扬上天美好的命令。在泰山上遥远地听着天命，声音美好，光彩辉耀。立石在九天高处，用金泥来封的玉牒埋在地里。大手笔结成文采，像龙像虬的飞腾光耀。





21.6 Summary:

The sacrificial address to heaven and earth
Give benedictions for auspicious blessings.
Chanted on lofty mountains,
They spread the names of their originators afar.
Emblazoned stones are built high in praise of heaven,
Those in praise of earth are stored deep within it.
Majestic and magnificent in tone and color,
They resemble a divine dragon.



章表第二十二

【原文】

22.1 夫设官分职，高卑联事。天子垂珠以听，诸侯鸣玉以朝。敷奏以言，明试以功。故尧咨四岳，舜命八元，固辞再让之请，“俞往钦哉”之授，并陈辞帝庭，匪假书翰。然则敷奏以言，则章表之义也；明试以功，即授爵之典也。至太甲既立，伊尹书诫；思庸归亳，又作书以赞。文翰献替，事斯见矣。周监二代，文理弥盛。再拜稽

【今译】

设置官员，分管职务，位子有高低，事务互相关联。天子戴皇冠听理政务，皇冠两头悬挂珠子，诸侯身上挂着玉来上朝，走时挂的玉相撞发声。朝臣口头进陈各种意见，君主明白考验它的功效。所以唐尧访问四方诸侯的头头，虞舜任命八位贤人，臣子有坚辞和再辞的请求，君主有去罢敬慎从事的委任，都是在朝廷上口头的，不用书面陈述。那么口头进陈各种意见，就是章表的意义；明白考验他的功效，就是授予爵位的仪式了。到商朝太甲已经立为君主，大臣伊尹作《伊训》来告诫太甲；后来太甲在流放中想到道义，伊尹请他回到亳京复位，伊尹又作《太甲》三篇来赞美他。用文书来贡献好的意见，去掉坏的缺点，从这里可以看到了。周朝用夏商两代做借鉴，礼仪更丰富了。臣子有再拜叩头，对答宣扬天子的美好命令，接受天子的册

Chapter 22

Laudatory Address and Statement on Government Affairs

22.1 Offices are created for various government functions; occupants of high and low positions perform them. When the Son of Heaven holds court with fringes of pearls on his crown, vassal lords seek audience tinkling with jade pendants. The lords report to the sovereign, the sovereign evaluates their achievements. Thus King Yao consulted four noble lords¹ and King Shun appointed eight wise men.² The officials courteously declined imperial appointments while the kings showed their confidence and trust by insisting on awarding them. All this was conducted in speech, not writing. However, oral reports to the throne already served the purposes of a *zhang* (laudatory address) and a *biao* (statement on government affairs) while the ceremony of bestowing official titles involved an evaluation of achievements. When Tai Jia ascended the throne, Yi Yin offered admonitions in writing; when Tai Jia regretted his faults, Yi commended him in writing. This initiated the use of written statements to praise the good and censure the wrong. By following the examples of Xia and Shang dynasties, the Zhou achieved advances in civil government. Officials prostrated themselves three times before the throne when glorifying the virtuous mandate, receiving honors, or accepting important

【原文】

首，对扬休命，承文受册，敢当丕显。虽言笔未分，而陈谢可见。降及七国，未变古式，言事于〔主〕王，皆称上书。

【今译】

命，敢于承当重大显耀的委任。虽然是口头讲或书面答没有分清，但经过陈述答谢可以看到。下到战国时代，没有改变古代的仪式，对国王陈报事情，都称做上书。





responsibilities. Although oral and written statements were not distinguished, both were used to state views on government or express gratitude for royal favors. This form of reporting to the throne was preserved in the Warring States period, but was then called *shang shu*, or submitting a report.



【原文】

22.2 秦初定制，改书曰奏。汉定礼仪，则有四品：一曰章，二曰奏，三曰表，四曰仪。章以谢恩，奏以按劾，表以陈请，议以执异。章者，明也。《诗》云“为章于天”，谓文明也；其在文物，赤白曰章。表者，标也。《礼》有《表记》，谓德见于仪；其在器式，揆景曰表。章表之目，盖取诸此也。按《七略》《艺文》，谣咏必录；章表奏议，经国之枢机，然阙而不纂者，乃各有故事，〔而〕布在职司也。

【今译】

秦朝初年规定制度，改上书称奏。汉朝规定礼制，就有四种：一叫章，二叫奏，三叫表，四叫仪。章用来谢恩，奏用来检举弹劾，表用来陈述请求，议用来提出不同意见。章是明白，《诗经》里说，“银河章明在天上”，说的是光彩明亮；它在有文采的物上，赤和白交错叫章。表是标明。《礼记》中有《表记》，说品德从仪表里可以看出来；它在器物上，测量日影的叫表。章表的称呼，大概从这里来的。按照刘歆《七略》和班固《艺文志》，民间歌谣一定记载；章、表、奏、议，属于治理国家的关键文书，却缺漏不加记载，这是按照旧章程，把它们分散在各个主管部门的缘故。



22.2 *Shu* was officially changed to *zou* in the Qin Dynasty. When the Han Dynasty instituted its rituals, four types of report distinguished, namely, *zhang* (laudatory address), *zou* (letter of impeachment), *biao* (statement on government affairs), and *yi* (discussion). A laudatory address expresses gratitude, a letter of impeachment makes accusations, a statement on government affairs presents opinions, and a discussion expresses doubts. The character for *zhang*, or laudatory address, is related to “bright.” The line in the *Book of Poetry* “Stars illuminate the sky” describes the brightness of the Milky Way.³ Those patterned objects checkered with red and white are described as *zhang*. The character for *biao*, or statement on government affairs, is related to “manifest.” The *Book of Rites* has a chapter entitled “Manifestations,” which shows how virtue is manifested through manners and appearances. A sundial is an example of an object that manifests. This is how the terms *zhang* and *biao* came about. The *Seven Compendia* and the section on literature in *Annals of the Han* recorded both ballads and folklore, but included no state papers, despite their crucial role in government. This is because such documents had their special functions and were filed by the respective offices in charge.



【原文】

22.3 前汉表谢，遗篇寡存。及后汉察举，必试章奏。左雄〔奏〕表议，台阁为式；胡广章奏，“天下第一”：并当时之杰笔也。观伯始谒陵之章，足见其典文之美焉。昔晋文受册，三辞从命，是以汉末让表，以三为断。曹公称为表不必三让，又勿得浮华。所以魏初表章，指事造实，求其靡丽，则未足美矣。至于文举之《荐祢衡》，气扬采飞；孔明之辞后主，志尽文畅；虽华实异旨，并表之英也。琳瑯章表，有誉当时；孔璋称健，则其标也。陈思之表，独冠群才；观其体赡而律调，辞清而志显，应物〔掣〕制巧，随变生趣，执辔有馀，故能缓急应节矣。逮晋初笔札，则张华为俊。其三让公封，理周辞要，

【今译】

前汉的章表，传下来的很少。到后汉，由地方推举人才，一定要考试写章奏。左雄写的章表奏议，尚书台用作标准；胡广的章奏，被称为“天下第一”：都是当时杰出的作品。看到胡广进谒陵墓的章奏，足够看到他的典雅之作的美好。从前晋文公接受封策，推让三次才接受策封，因此后汉末年推让的表文，以三次为限。曹操说写表文不一定要推让三次，又文辞不应浮华。因此魏国初年的章表，讲的事件要求实在，求它的文采细密华丽，那就不够美好了。到孔融的《荐祢衡表》，气势昂扬，文采飞腾；诸葛亮辞别后主的《出师表》，意志尽量表达，文辞通畅；它们在华采和质朴上用意不同，都是杰出的表文。陈琳阮瑀的章表，当时很有名；陈琳的作品，被称为壮健，那是其中的突出的。陈思王曹植的章表，独自成为许多才人之首；看他的内容丰富，声律协调，文辞清新，情志显露，适应事物，构成巧妙，跟着变化，产生趣味，像驾驭名马，才力有得多余，所以能够轻重缓急适应节奏了。到了晋代初年的章表，那么张华是突出的。他的三次推让封公的表文，道理说得充分，文辞扼要，引用事义作比，一定用

22.3 Few state papers written in the Former Han are extant. In the Later Han, the writing of a state paper was a required test in the selection and promotion of officials. Zuo Xiong's state papers were models for the Department of State Affairs; those by Hu Guang were the best of his time. Both were outstanding writers: Hu's composition "Visiting the Mausoleum" shows fully its classical elegance. In the Warring States, Duke Wen of Jin accepted his enfeoffment only after he had courteously declined it on three occasions. That is why since the end of the Han Dynasty courteous statements declining honors or official appointments have been limited to three. Lord Cao Cao said, "There is no need to decline three times, no need to use pompous language." For this reason state papers in the early Wei Dynasty have a matter-of-fact style and are inadequate in linguistic beauty. Kong Rong's recommendation of Mi Heng is vigorous and brilliant; Zhuge Liang's farewell report to the young sovereign is thorough and fluent. Although the two differ in substance and style, both are superb. The state papers written by Chen Lin and Ruan Yu were well known in their time. Those by Chen Lin, characterized by vigor and strength, are particularly outstanding. Statements on government affairs written by Cao Zhi are unrivalled. Rich in form, harmonious in prosody, fresh in diction, and clear in thought, they adapt technique to content and respond stylistically to changes in feeling. As a writer in perfect control of his art, he could maneuver at will like an accomplished rider. In the early Jin Dynasty, Zhang Hua's state papers excelled. The three pieces he wrote to decline a lordship are well thought-out and succinct in language; its comparisons and analogies are all appropriate. It is a pity that while his

【原文】

引义比事，必得其偶，世珍鹖鹯，莫顾章表。及羊公之辞开府，有誉于前谈；庾公之让中书，信美于往载：序志〔显〕联类，有文雅焉。刘琨劝进，张骏自序，文致耿介，并陈事之美表也。

【今译】

对偶，世俗看重他的《鹖鹯赋》，没有谁看重他的章表。到羊祜的《让开府表》，从前谈论的都有赞美；庾亮的《让中书监表》，确实比以前的章表美好：他们叙述情志，联系事类，有文雅的。刘琨的《劝进表》，张骏的自序，文辞光明正大，都是陈述事件的美好表文。



“Rhyme-prose on the Wren” is universally admired, his laudatory addresses and statements on government are neglected. Yang Hu’s address declining a generalship and Yu Liang’s refusing the position of Grand Imperial Secretary were well known in their time: Both are graceful in expressing ideas or using allusions. Liu Kun’s statement urging the claimant to take the throne and Zhang Jun’s about his personal resolution are fine specimens characterized by sincerity and straightforwardness.



【原文】

22.4 原夫章表之为用也，所以对扬王庭，昭明心曲。既其身文，且亦国华。章以选阙，风矩应明；表以致〔禁〕策，骨采宜耀：循名课实，以〔章〕文为本者也。是以章式炳贲，志在典谟，使要而非略，明而不浅；表体多包，情伪屡迁，必雅义以扇其风，清文以驰其丽。然恳恻者辞为心使，浮侈者情为文〔使〕屈。必使繁约得正，华实相胜，唇吻不滞，则中律矣。子贡云“心以制之，言以结之”，盖一辞意也。荀卿以为“观人美辞，丽于黼黻文章”，亦可以喻于斯乎。

【今译】

推究章表的作用，用来对答和宣扬朝廷的恩德，表明内心的情意。既是显示自身的文采，并且也是显示国家的荣耀。章用来送到宫门谢恩，风格规范应该明确；表用来陈述策略，骨力应该显示：按照章表的名称要求它的实质，是以文采做根本的。因此章的体制明显光耀，意在仿效《尚书》中的典谟，使它扼要而不简略，明显而不浅露；表的体制包括多方面，内容的真情或假意多次变化，一定要用正确的意义来宣扬它的风力，用清新的文辞来显示它的色采。可是恳挚的作者他的文辞受到真情实意的驱使，浮夸的作者他的情意被靡丽的文辞所掩盖。一定要使文辞的繁简得当，华实都好，音调流美，那才合乎法则了。子贡说“用心意来制定言辞，用言辞来结合心意”，是要把言辞和心意统一的。荀卿认为“看人家美好的言辞，比礼服上绣的文采更美”，也可以用来比辞意一致吧。



22.4 The laudatory address and the statement on government affairs are used to praise the sovereign and express personal thoughts. They bring honor to their authors but also add luster to the country. A laudatory address as an acknowledgement of gratitude should have a lucid style; a statement on government affairs presented to the throne should manifest vigor and art. As their names indicate, both depend on literary skill. Through brilliance and articulacy, a laudatory address aims at classical elegance. It should be concise but not sketchy, clear but not shallow. A statement on government affairs, because it covers a wide range of topics, may be influenced both by honest and dishonest feelings. Only integrity of meaning can fan its fire and only a fresh style can fulfill its literary potential. Nevertheless, the words of a sincere writer issue from the heart; the feeling of an affected writer is subservient to language. One must strike a balance between superfluity and brevity, complement ornament with substance, and make the language smooth and fluent. When Zi Gong said, "Let the heart guide the words, let words express the heart",⁴ he meant that language and thought should be unified. When Xun Zi said, "Fine words surpass the colorful patterns of silk in beauty",⁵ he made a similar point.



【原文】

22.5 赞曰：敷表绛阙，献替黼宸。言必贞明，义则弘伟。肃恭节文，条理首尾。君子秉文，辞令有斐。

【今译】

总结说：陈请的章表送上朝廷，向帝王贡献善意，规谏过错。话一定说得正确明白，意义要求重大。态度严肃恭敬，文辞合乎礼节，从头到尾都有条理。君子掌握文辞，使辞令富有文采。



22.5 Summary:

The laudatory address and the statement on government affairs
Offer praises or admonitions to the throne.
The language should be honest and clear,
The meaning noble and righteous.
The tone should be respectful and deferential,
The ideas consistent and complete.
They are written by men of virtue
In brilliant and colorful language.



奏启第二十三

【原文】

23.1 昔唐虞之臣，敷奏以言；秦汉之辅，上书称奏。陈政事，献典仪，上急变，劾愆谬，总谓之奏。奏者，进也。言敷于下，情进于上也。

【今译】

从前唐尧虞舜的大臣，进去口头陈述意见；秦汉两朝的辅佐大臣，给天子上书称奏。讲政事，献上礼仪，报告紧急事变，弹劾罪恶和错误，都叫做奏。奏就是进。话在下面讲，情意要进献到上面去。



Chapter 23

Report and Memorandum

23.1 The courtiers of King Yao and King Shun orally reported to the throne. The officials in the Qin and Han submitted written reports. Statements about government affairs, rites and ceremonies, emergency situations, and accusations and impeachments fall into the category of *zou*, or report to the throne. The character for *zou* is related to *jin*, or “submit”: People’s sentiments and opinions are thereby submitted to the throne.



【原文】

23.2 秦始立奏，而法家少文。观王绾之奏勋德，辞质而义近；李斯之奏骊山，事略而意〔径〕诬；政无膏润，形于篇章矣。自汉以来，奏事或称上疏，儒雅继踵，殊采可观。若夫贾谊之务农，晁错之兵事，匡衡之定郊，王吉之〔观〕劝礼，温舒之缓狱，谷永之谏仙，理既切至，辞亦通畅，可谓识大体矣。后汉群贤，嘉言罔伏，杨秉耿介于灾异，陈蕃愤懑于尺一，骨鲠得焉。张衡指摘于史职，蔡邕铨列于朝仪，博雅明焉。魏代名臣，文理迭兴，若高堂天文，黄观教学，王朗节省，甄毅考课，亦尽节而知治矣。晋氏多难，灾屯流移，刘颂殷勤于时务，温峤恳惻于费役，并体国之忠规矣。

【今译】

秦朝开始确定称奏，可是法家缺少文采。看王绾等人的上书称秦始皇功德，语言质朴，意义浅近；李斯的《治骊山陵上书》，事情说得简单，内容是虚假的；政治刻薄寡恩，从文章里表现出来了。从汉朝以来，奏事或称上疏，文辞典雅，前后相接，文采突出，可以观览。像贾谊的论积贮，晁错的言兵事，匡衡的定南北郊礼，王吉的述礼制，路温舒的讲尚德缓刑，谷永的劝阻迷信仙人，道理既讲得深切，文辞也很通畅，可以说懂得奏章的体制了。后汉的许多贤才，好的议论没有隐藏起来，杨秉正直地指出造成灾异的原因，陈蕃对诏书选举不公很愤慨，是有骨气的。张衡指出史官职责的缺失，蔡邕论列朝廷典礼的不当，说明学识渊博，见识正确。魏朝的名臣，有文采和理论的，轮替兴起，像高堂隆借天象变异来提警告，黄观的讲教学，王朗的主张节省，甄毅讲考试，也是完成了应尽的操守，懂得政治的体制了。晋代多患难，灾祸流转，刘颂关切时务，温峤对劳费民力深表不安，都是体察国事的忠心规劝。

23.2 The term was first used in the Qin Dynasty, but the works then written by legalists lacked literary value. Wang Wan's report lauding the virtues of the first emperor is coarse and shallow; Li Si's report about the construction of the imperial tomb at Mount Li¹ is sketchy and bare. The lack of grace in government was thus reflected in writing. In the Han Dynasty a report was sometimes called *shang shu*, the presentation of an itemized list of issues. A succession of scholars then produced works of superb quality. The following reports, well-reasoned and clearly expressed, exemplify the genre: Jia Yi on the importance of agriculture, Chao Cuo on military strategies, Kuang Heng on sacrifices to heaven, Wang Ji on rites in government, Lu Wenshu on mitigating the punishment of criminals, and Gu Yong on the absurdity of the belief in immortals. In the Later Han, writers also expressed themselves forthrightly. Yang Bing frankly pointed out the cause of a natural calamity; Chen Fan openly disapproved of the indiscriminate granting of royal favors. Both manifest great strength of character. Zhang Heng's criticism of historical writings and Cai Yong's appraisal of court rituals and formalities displayed erudition and stylistic elegance. Eminent courtiers in the Wei Dynasty continued to produce fine reports. Gaotang Long's comments on astrological portents, Huang Guan's on education, Wang Lang's on economy, and Zhen Yi's on court examinations displayed a sound knowledge of government and showed that they had performed their duties faithfully. The Jin Dynasty was a period of trouble and adversity. Liu Song loyally stated his opinions about current situations and Wen Qiao advised against taxing the common people to finance construction. Both gave honest warnings prompted by their concern for the welfare of the country.

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【原文】

23.3 夫奏之为笔，固以明允笃诚为本，辨析疏通为首。强志足以成务，博见足以穷理，酌古御今，治繁总要，此其体也。若乃按劾之奏，所以明宪清国。昔周之太仆，绳愆纠谬；秦之御史，职主文法；汉置中丞，总司按劾；故位在鸷击，砥砺其气，必使笔端振风，简上凝霜者也。观孔光之奏董贤，则实其奸回；路粹之奏孔融，则诬其衅恶；名儒之与险士，固殊心焉。若夫傅咸劲直，而按辞坚深；刘隗切正，而劾文阔略；各其志也。后之弹事，迭相斟酌，惟新日用，而旧准弗差。然函人欲全，矢人欲伤，术在纠恶，势必深峭。诗刺谗人，投畀豺虎；礼疾无礼，方之鸚猩；墨翟非儒，目以〔豕〕羊彘；孟轲

【今译】

奏这种体裁，确实以明白信实忠诚为根本，辨别分析通畅为首要。有坚强的意志能够完成任务，有渊博的见识能够参透道理，斟酌古代经验来处理当今的事务，处理繁多的头绪能抓住要害，这是总的要求。至于检察弹劾的奏文，是用来严明法纪、清除弊政的。从前周朝的太仆，纠正过失和谬误；秦朝的御史大夫，职掌法令条文；汉朝设立御史中丞，总管检察弹劾；所以职位在于像猛禽的搏击，磨炼它的气势，一定要使笔下生风、纸上结霜那样的肃杀。看孔光的检察董贤，证实他的奸邪；路粹的弹劾孔融，诬陷他的罪恶；有名的儒者同阴险的人本来用心不同的。至于傅咸刚劲正直，检察的文辞坚实深刻；刘隗切实正确，但弹劾文却粗疏简略；各有他们的用意。后来的弹劾，轮替地互相斟酌，只在日用中有新的表现，对旧的准则没有差别。但是，造盔甲的人要保护人，造弓箭的人要射伤人。检察的手段在于纠正罪恶，趋势一定要深入深刻。《诗经》里攻击进谗言的人，说要把他投给豺狼虎豹；《礼记》里憎恨无礼的人，把他们比作鸚鸚猩猩；墨翟反对儒家，把他们看作羊和猪；孟轲讥讽墨家，把他们比

23.3 The essential qualities of a report are impartiality, probity, lucidity, and fluency. To write a practical and convincing report, one should have a strong will and broad learning, a good knowledge of history and current affairs, and an ability to derive generalizations and conclusions from specific examples. These qualities are fundamental. Reports that make accusations and impeachments are used to reinstate the law and reform the government. The office of Taipu in the Zhou Dynasty was responsible for correcting wrongs, the office of Yushi in the Qin enforced laws and regulations, and the office of Zhongcheng in the Han was in charge of making impeachments. When these offices drafted a report, it was like the swoop of a hawk. The tip of the writing brush must be so powerful as to blow gusts of wind; what is written down on paper feels like biting frost. In his accusations of Dong Xian, Kong Guang enumerated Dong's crimes truthfully; in his impeachment of Kong Rong, Lu Cui merely made slanderous remarks. What a gulf separates an honorable scholar from a malevolent man! Fu Xian was a man of resolution and candor, so his reports were forceful and profound. Liu Wei was a man of stern integrity, and his impeachments were general and brief. The difference results from personality. Later writers of impeachments learned from each other in order to accomplish new achievements, but the established standards did not change. Nevertheless, as the armor-maker wishes to protect life and the arrow-maker to injure or kill, so an impeachment in order to redress wrong must be severe and harsh. The *Book of Poetry* censures a libeler with the injunction "Throw him to a wolf or a tiger."² The *Book of Rites* compares ill-mannered men to parrots and gorillas. Mo Di denigrates Confucians as sheep and pigs. Mencius derides the

【原文】

讥墨，比诸禽兽：诗礼儒墨，既其如兹，奏劾严文，孰云能免。是以世人为文，竞于诋诃，吹毛取瑕，次骨为戾，复似善骂，多失折衷。若能辟礼门以悬规，标义路以植矩，然后逾垣者折肱，捷径者灭趾，何必躁言丑句，诟病为切哉！是以立范运衡，宜明体要；必使理有典刑，辞有风轨，总法家之〔式〕裁，秉儒家之文，不畏强御，气流墨中，无纵诡随，声动简外，乃称绝席之雄，直方之举耳。

【今译】

作禽兽。《诗经》《礼记》儒家墨家，既然像这样，弹劾严厉的文辞，谁说能够避免这种攻击。因此世人作弹劾文，争相斥责，吹毛求疵，恨入切骨来作虐，又像会骂，多数不当。倘能按礼法为门作为标准，举正义为路来确立规范，然后把不走正门而跳墙的斩断他的臂膀，不走大路而抄小路的斩断他的脚趾，何必用污秽的话、丑恶的辞，靠辱骂算切合呢！因此，树立规范，运用标准，应该明确体制；一定要使理论有规范，文辞有法度，掌握法家的评量，运用儒家的文辞，不怕强暴，气势贯注在文辞中，不要放纵伪善从恶的人，声威震动弹劾文以外，才可称作御史大夫专席的雄文，正义的壮举哩。



Moists as beasts. If the *Book of Poetry*, *Book of Rites*, the Confucians, and the Moists could be as harsh as this, how could impeachment reports, whose essence is severity, be otherwise? Writers generally vie with one another in making personal attacks. They are so ruthless in faultfinding that their products, divorced from the principle of moderation, verge on bickering and brawling. If they write according to the principles of righteousness and propriety, their works will establish proper criteria and those who take short cuts will be severely punished. Why revile people with rude and scandalous remarks? To establish criteria and apply them, one must understand the essential features of a report. Its ideas and language should follow classical models. It should exhibit the spirit of the Legalists and the propriety of the Confucians. Bold and fearless in the face of insolent power, its writer should inject vigor into the ink. Uncompromising to wicked forces, he should thrust the force of his report beyond the words. In this way, he will produce works of unswerving integrity and commanding force.



【原文】

23.4 启者开也。高宗云，“启乃心，沃朕心”，取其义也。孝景讳启，故两汉无称。至魏国笺记，始云“启闻”。奏事之末，或云“谨启”。自晋来盛“启”，用兼表奏。陈政言事，既奏之异条；让爵谢恩，亦表之别干。必敛饬入规，促其音节，辨要轻清，文而不侈，亦启之大略也。

【今译】

启就是开。殷高宗武丁说，“打开你的心，灌溉我的心”，采取这个意义。汉景帝名启，为了避讳，所以两汉没有称启的。到魏国的书信，开始称“启闻”。进陈事实的末了，有的称“谨启”。自从晋代以来称“启”的盛行，作用兼有表和奏。陈述政见，讲明事实，既是奏的分条；让爵位，谢恩德，也是表的别支。一定要收敛谨饬得合乎规矩，使音节短促，辩论扼要，文辞轻快，有文采而不浮夸，也是启的大概要求。



23.4 *Qi*, or memorandum, literally means “open.” This is what King Gaozong of Shang meant when he said, “Open your heart, nourish my mind.”³ Because it appeared in Emperor Jing’s name, the character *qi* was not used in the Han Dynasty.⁴ In the Wei Dynasty, a memorandum came to be known as *qi*. A report to the throne often uses the closing remark *jin qi*, or “respectfully submitted.” The genre *qi* became popular in the Jin Dynasty and its function overlapped with the laudatory address and the government report. In stating government affairs, it resembles the report; in expressing gratitude, it resembles the laudatory address. Its language must be restrained and appropriate, tempo light and swift, meaning clear and just, style ornamental but not excessively so. These are the essentials.



【原文】

23.5 又表奏确切，号为“说言”。说者，正偏也。王道有偏，乖乎荡荡，矫正其偏，故曰说言也。孝成称班伯之说言，言贵直也。自汉置八〔仪〕能，密奏阴阳，皂囊封板，故曰“封事”。晁错受《书》，还上“便宜”。后代“便宜”，多附封事，慎机密也。夫王臣匪躬，必吐谏谏，事举人存，故无待泛说也。

【今译】

又表奏要求确实切合，称做“说言”。说就是纠正偏差。王道有了偏差，违反正大的要求，纠正它的偏差，所以称做说言。汉成帝称赞班伯的说言，说的是看重他的正直。自从汉朝设立会奏音乐的八能，把一年中的阴阳节气变化秘密上奏，写在木板上用黑袋封好，所以叫作“封事”。晁错学习《尚书》后，回来上奏便利宜办的事称“便宜”。后代的“便宜”，都加上密封，是谨慎地保守机密。王臣不是考虑自身安全，一定要说正直的话，要人活着政事就办好，所以不用说空话。

23.5 Since the laudatory address and the government report are precise and to the point, they are also called *dang yan* or “candid speech.” *Dang* means “unbiased.” If the emperor is misled, he will depart from the true way. A candid speech may serve to redress him. Emperor Cheng of Han commended Ban Bo’s candid speech for its unreserved sincerity. In the Han Dynasty the office of the Eight Specialists was set up to make confidential prognostications to the emperor. As these reports were submitted in sealed black pouches they came to be called *feng shi*, or “sealed reports.” After Chao Cuo had been privately tutored in the *Book of Documents*, he submitted a memorandum indicating matters that needed urgent attention, thus initiating a sub-genre known as *bian yi*. Later, such memoranda were usually submitted as sealed reports to guarantee secrecy. Officials do not serve the emperor for selfish purposes; they must speak frankly. Since many examples have already been cited, I will not go into further detail.⁵



【原文】

23.6 赞曰：皂〔饬〕饰司直，肃清风禁。笔锐干将，墨含淳醜。虽有次骨，无或肤浸。献政陈宜，事必胜任。

【今译】

总结说：穿着黑色服饰的检察官司直，来肃清风化政教。笔比干将宝剑还要锋利，墨含有浓厚的毒酒那样猛烈。虽有切骨的深刻，但不用谗言伤人。贡献政见，陈述合宜的意见，在办事上一定能够胜任。



23.6 Summary:

The supervisory officer in black garb
Purges government of wicked influences.
With a writing brush sharp as a sword
Soaked in ink deadly as poisonous wine,
He cuts deep into the bone of evil,
Where slanderous remarks merely stain the skin.
In presenting views on government,
He is the man to trust.

议对第二十四

【原文】

24.1 “周爰谘谋”，是谓为议。议之言宜，审事宜也。《易》之《节卦》：“君子以制度数，议德行。”《周书》曰：“议事以制，政乃弗迷。”议贵节制，经典之体也。

【今译】

普遍地访问谋划，这叫做议。议是说得合宜，考察事情合宜。《易经》的《节卦》说：“君子用节制来制定法度，议论德行。”《尚书·周官》说：“按照制度来议事，政事才不会迷误。”议重在节制，这是经典的要求。



Chapter 24

The Discussion and the Examination Essay

24.1 The “discussion” derives from the practice of consultation. A discussion investigates issues in suitable language. The commentary on the hexagram “Restraint” in the *Book of Changes* declares that “A gentleman discusses virtue and conduct with respect to the proper rules of rites and rituals.” The “Book of Zhou”¹ states, “Discuss matters with reference to ancient rules, and government will not be misled.” Thus the exercise of control and restraint in discussion has a classical tradition.



【原文】

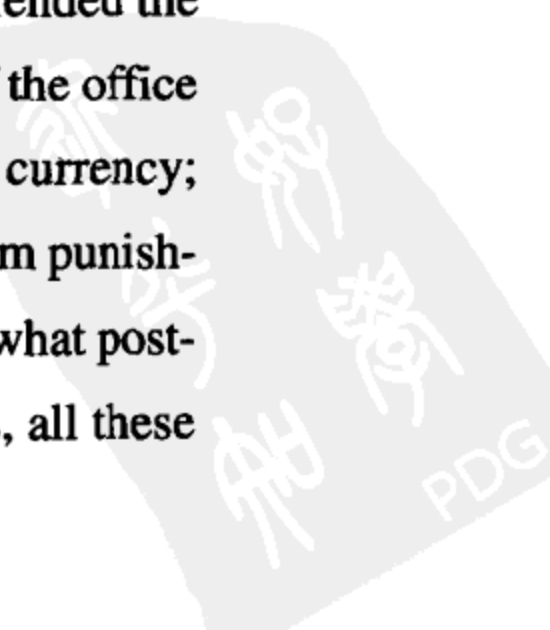
24.2 昔管仲称轩辕有明台之议，则其来远矣。洪水之难，尧咨四岳；宅揆之举，舜畴五人；三代所兴，询及刍蕘；春秋释宋，鲁〔桓务〕僖预议。及赵灵胡服，而季父争论；商鞅变法，而甘龙交辨：虽宪章无算，而同异足观。迄至有汉，始立驳议。驳者，杂也；杂议不纯，故曰驳也。自两汉文明，楷式昭备，藹藹多士，发言盈庭；若贾谊之遍代诸生，可谓捷于议也。至如〔主父〕吾丘之驳挟弓，安国之辨匈奴；贾捐之之陈于珠崖，刘歆之辨于祖宗：虽质文不同，得事要矣。若乃张敏之断轻侮，郭躬之议擅诛；程晓之驳校事，司马芝之议货钱；何曾蠲出女之科，秦秀定贾充之谥：事实允当，可谓达议体

【今译】

从前管仲说黄帝轩辕氏在明台议论政事，那么议的来源已经很早了。在洪水的患难里，唐尧询问四方诸侯之长；推举处理政务的人选，舜咨询后用了五个人；夏商周三代办事，问到打柴草的人；春秋时代楚国释放宋襄公，鲁僖公参与商议。到了战国时代赵武灵王改穿胡人的服装，跟他的叔父争辨；秦国商鞅要变法，同甘龙互相辩论：虽然争论根据的法制很多，其中同异的观点是很可观的。到了汉朝，开始确定了驳议制度。驳就是杂，议论的意见纷杂不单纯，所以称做驳。自从两汉礼制昌明，作为模范的仪式明白具备，美好的士子多了，他们的议论充满朝廷；像贾谊替所有的朝臣发言，可以说最敏捷地提出建议了。再像吾丘寿王的驳斥禁止百姓挟带弓箭，韩安国辩论不宜进攻匈奴；贾捐之建议放弃珠崖，刘歆辨别太祖太宗的称号：虽然质朴和文华不同，得到叙事的要领了。至于后汉张敏的取消“轻侮法”，郭躬的议论专军别将可以擅自诛杀；魏国程晓的指斥校事官的罪恶，司马芝建议恢复铸钱币，晋朝何曾建议免除出嫁女受母家牵连办罪，秦秀因贾充以外孙继承的违背礼制确定他的荒乱谥号：讲的事



24.2 According to Guan Zhong, “discussions” originated in the distant age of the Yellow Emperor, who conducted them in his Tower of Enlightenment. When faced with the disastrous floods, King Yao sought advice from four vassal chiefs. King Shun consulted his ministers before appointing five important officials. In the three dynasties of Xia, Shang, and Zhou, even the opinions of the common people were sought. In the Spring and Autumn period, the Chu state decided to release Duke Xiang of Song after consulting Duke Xi of Lu.² In the Warring States, the uncle of Emperor Wuling of Zhao disputed the emperor’s proposal to introduce a tribal style of dress. In the Qin Dynasty, Gan Long contested Shang Yang’s legalist reform. Although in those periods the rules of discussion were not yet fixed, the spirit of debate was evident. A mixed form of discussion named *bo yi* appeared in the Han Dynasty. *Bo* means “mixed,” “mixed” implying “complicated” and “impure.” The forms of discussion were established in the course of the Former and Later Han dynasties by a succession of men of letters who filled the court with talk. The young scholar Jia Yi was so quick-minded in discussions that he often spoke on behalf of senior officials. Wuqiu Shouwang disputed the ban on bearing arrows, Han Anguo argued against the idea of invading the Hun, Jia Juanzhi refuted the plan to attack Zhuya, and Liu Xin opposed the dismantling of ancestral temples. Although their arguments differ in content and language, they all have the essential features of a discussion. In addition, Zhang Min disputed the law of insult³ and Guo Gong defended the autonomy of Qin Peng; Cheng Xiao argued for the abolition of the office of Jiaoshi⁴, Sima Zhi for the restoration of the coin as official currency; He Zeng proposed that married daughters should be exempt from punishment inflicted on their parents’ family; Qin Xiu debated about what posthumous title should be given to Jia Chong. In stating the facts, all these



【原文】

矣。汉世善驳，则应劭为首；晋代能议，则傅咸为宗。然仲瑗博古，而铨贯有叙；长虞识治，而属辞枝繁；及陆机断议，亦有锋颖，而〔谏〕腴辞弗剪，颇累文骨：亦各有美，风格存焉。

【今译】

实确当，可以说通达议的体例了。汉朝善于写驳议的，应劭为第一；晋朝能够写驳议的，傅咸被人所推重。应劭熟悉古事，议论通贯有条理；傅咸懂得政治，但写的文辞重复繁碎；到陆机议论编写《晋书》的断限，也有锋芒，可是辞采过多，没有删削，很损害骨力：但也各有优点，保持了各自的风格。

arguments meet the requirements of a discussion. The best writer of discussions in the Han was Ying Shao. He was well versed in classical learning and his works are consistent and orderly. The best in the Jin Dynasty was Fu Xian. He knew how to govern, but his writings are rather slovenly and redundant. Lu Ji's discussion of the history of Jin, despite its verbosity and lack of force, contains some insights. These works all have their respective merits and worthy styles.



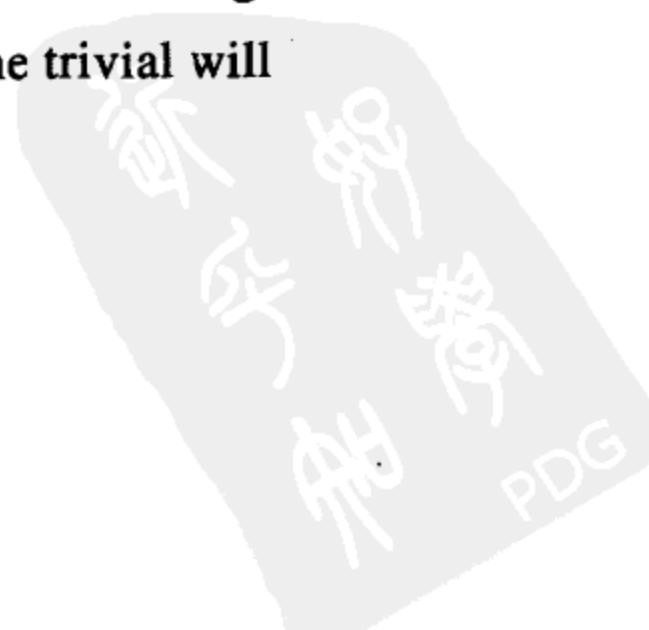
【原文】

24.3 夫动先拟议，明用稽疑，所以敬慎群务，弛张治术。故其大体所资，必枢纽经典，采故实于前代，观通变于当今；理不谬摇其枝，字不妄舒其藻。又郊祀必洞于礼，戎事必练于兵，〔田〕佃谷先晓于农，断讼务精于律；然后标以显义，约以正辞，文以辨洁为能，不以繁缛为巧；事以明核为美，不以〔深〕环隐为奇：此纲领之大要也。若不达政体，而舞笔弄文，支离构辞，穿凿会巧，空骋其华，固为事实所摈；设得其理，亦为游辞所埋矣。昔秦女嫁晋，从文衣之媵，晋人贵媵而贱女；楚珠鬻郑，为薰桂之椟，郑人买椟而还珠。若文浮于理，末胜其本，则秦女楚珠，复在于兹矣。

【今译】

有行动先要比较议论，明察可疑的事，为了恭敬谨慎地处理各种事务，使得统治的方法紧张和放松合适。所以它的主要依据，一定以学习经典做关键，采用以前各代的故事，观察当今的各种继承变化；在理论上不错误地摇动它的分支，在文辞上不谬妄地发展它的辞藻。又祭天祭神一定要熟悉礼仪，论军事一定要熟悉兵法，种庄稼先要懂得农业，判断案件务必精通法律；然后突出论点来显示它的意义，用正确的话来加以概括，文辞以明辨简洁为确当，不以繁多藻丽为巧妙；叙事以明白核实为美好，不以曲折隐晦为奇特：这是大概的纲要。要是不懂得政治体制，却玩弄笔墨，文辞支离破碎，内容穿凿附会，徒然运用辞藻，实为事实所抛弃；假使讲得有道理，也被不切合的浮辞所埋没了。从前秦国的姑娘嫁到晋国，跟从的有穿着文绣衣裳的陪嫁女子，晋国人看重陪嫁女子而看轻秦国姑娘；楚国人把宝珠卖给郑国，做了只用桂椒来薰的宝匣，郑国人买了宝匣把宝珠还给楚国人。倘使文辞埋没了所讲的道理，枝叶超过它的根本，那么秦国嫁姑娘、楚国卖宝珠，又在这里了。

24.3 Action should be preceded by discussion, for the clarification of doubts is necessary to understanding. These principles are essential to the cultivation of a serious and reverent attitude to state affairs and to the art of flexible government. Basically, a discussion should take the classics as its model, draw on historical lessons, and refer to contemporary situations. It should not expend arguments on trivial details or use unnecessarily ornate language. The writer who discusses sacrificial ceremonies should know the proper rites. He who deals with military affairs should understand the art of war. A discourse on crops and grains presupposes expertise in agriculture; a legal judgment must be based on a thorough knowledge of the law. If the writer is fully informed, he can state his ideas clearly and concisely. Brevity and perspicuity, not extravagant ornamentation, characterize a good style; the marks of a good argument are lucidity and accuracy, not ambiguity and obscurity. However, if a person ignorant of government affairs brandishes the writing brush, here piecing together some fine phrases, there fabricating a clever idea, not only will his empty talk dissolve in the face of facts, but the few ideas he has to offer will be glossed over by his meaningless rhetoric. In the past, when Duke Mu of Qin married his daughter to the Prince of Jin, he sent along beautifully dressed maids-in-waiting, whom the Prince preferred to the bride herself. When a man of Chu was selling pearls, he put them in an expensively-scented case made of magnolia. A man of Zheng bought the case but returned the pearls. These stories illustrate the art of writing: When stylistic embellishments overwhelm the ideas, the trivial will triumph over the fundamental.



【原文】

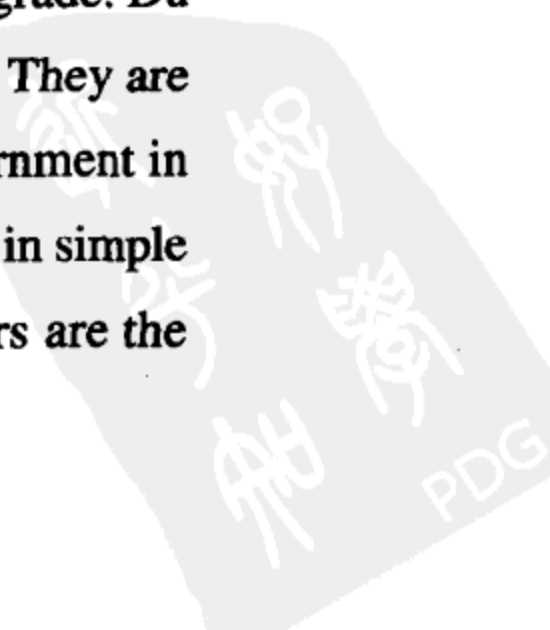
24.4 又对策者，应诏而陈政也；射策者，探事而献说也，言中理准，譬射侯中的；二名虽殊，即议之别体也。古之造士，选事考言。汉文中年，始举贤良，晁错对策，蔚为举首；及孝武益明，旁求俊乂，对策者以第一登庸，射策者以甲科入仕；斯固选贤要术也。观晁氏之对，〔证〕验古明今，辞裁以辨，事通而贍，超升高第，信有徵矣。仲舒之对，祖述《春秋》，本阴阳之化，究列代之变，烦而不愚者，事理明也。公孙之对，简而未博，然总要以约文，事切而情举，所以太常居下，而天子擢上也。杜钦之对，略而指事，辞以治宣，不为文作。及后汉鲁丕，辞气质素，以儒雅中策，独入高第。凡此五

【今译】

又对策，是对答诏书所提问题陈述政见；射策，是检取一个简策看它所提问题，献上自己的意见，话说得中的，道理准确，好比打靶打中鹄的；两个名称虽说不同，就是议的别种体裁。古代造就人才，选拔能办事的，考试善辞令的。汉文帝中期，开始选举贤良，晁错对答策问，优秀地考中第一；到汉武帝对策更加显著，广泛地访求才俊，对策的因第一提拔任用，射策的因考上甲等做官；这确是选拔贤才的重要方法。看晁错的对策，检验古代来说明当今，文辞有裁断而辨明事理，论事通达而丰富，考入高等，确实是有凭证的。董仲舒的对策，根据《春秋》来说，按照阴阳两气的变化，研究列代政治的演变，文辞多而不乱，是由于明白事理。公孙弘的对策，说理简单未见博学，然而能够总结要点，使文辞简省，事情切合，情理突出，所以太常定为下等，武帝拔置上等。杜钦的对策，对答简略，指出重要事实，文辞因治事而作，不为辞藻而作。到后汉鲁丕的对策，语气质朴，以儒家的正论合于策问，独自考入高等。概括这五家，都是以前



24.4 A *dui ce* is a discourse on government in response to an assigned question; a *she ce* is an answer to a question drawn by the examinee at random. A candidate who gives the correct answer is like an archer who hits the target. Although *dui ce* and *she ce* are two different names, they are both branches of the genre of "discussion." In ancient times, officials were selected on the basis of their deeds and words. In the middle years of the reign of Emperor Wen of Han, examinations were introduced as a means of selecting officials. Chao Cuo's examination essay topped the list. In the reign of Emperor Wu, when government was even more enlightened, extensive efforts were made to elicit the service of able men. At that time, officials were selected chiefly in the *dui ce* and *she ce* examinations: Those gaining the highest marks qualified as officials. The examination essay that Chao Cuo wrote testifies to his knowledge of history and current affairs, his skill in writing clearly and perceptively, and his ability to handle complex facts and ideas. He truly deserved his title. The examination essays written by Dong Zhongshu, modeled on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, evince his deep understanding of the nature of worldly affairs. On the basis of the transforming principles of *yin* and *yang*, he investigated the rise and fall of successive dynasties in meticulous detail, without the least confusion. The examination essays written by Gongsun Hong, though short and lacking in erudition, are to the point and expressive of the essentials. This is why the Son of Heaven placed him first, although the examiner had given him a low grade. Du Qin's examination essays are not meant as literary exercises. They are brief, to the point, and written with the improvement of government in view. The scholarship of Lu Pi's examination essays, expressed in simple and plain language, won him the first title. These five writers are the



【原文】

家，并前代之明范也。魏晋以来，稍务文丽，以文纪实，所失已多。及其来选，又称疾不会，虽欲求文，弗可得也。是以汉饮博士，而雉集乎堂；晋策秀才，而麀兴于前：无他怪也，选失之异耳。

【今译】

各朝的明确典范。从魏晋以来，稍稍注意文采，用文采来记载事实，失去的已经不少。到他们被推举来应选，又推说有病不参加考试，虽要求取文才，不能得到。因此汉朝请博士饮酒，野鸡飞来停在厅堂上；晋朝策试秀才，有麀出现在前面：没有什么怪异，只是选举失当的怪异罢了。



celebrated models of the past. Since the Wei and Jin dynasties, literary embellishments have become more or less a fashion. The use of embellishments in an essay on practical affairs is bad enough. Worse still, some candidates simply plead illness and beat a retreat from the examination hall. For these reasons, good examination essays are rare. It is said that pheasants once gathered in the Han court during a feast held in honor of learned Confucian scholars and river deer appeared during an examination in the Jin Dynasty. These are not bizarre tales: They simply reflect the failure of the candidate selection process.



【原文】

24.5 夫驳议偏辨，各执异见；对策揄扬，大明治道。使事深于政术，理密于时务，酌三五以熔世，而非迂缓之高谈；馭权变以拯俗，而非刻薄之伪论；风恢恢而能远，流洋洋而不溢，王庭之美对也。难矣哉，士之为才也！或练治而寡文，或工文而疏治。对策所选，实属通才，志足文远，不其鲜欤！

【今译】

驳议偏向辩论，各自执着不同的见解；对策宣扬理论，大力显示治国的道理。使得论事深通办理政事的方法，论理密切结合着时务，酌量采取三皇五帝的质朴来陶冶世俗，不是迂阔疏远的高调；运用通权达变来挽救世俗，不是刻薄的谬论；像风的广大而能吹到远方，像流水的盛大而能不泛滥，是朝廷上的优秀的议对。难得啊，有才的士人！有的熟悉治道而缺少文采，有的工于文辞而疏远治道。这里所选的对策，确实属于通达的人才，意志足够，文辞能传远，不是很少吗！



24.5 The mixed discussion is contentious and characterized by a clash of opinions; an examination essay is an exposition on the art of government. Sophistication in administration, a deep concern with current affairs, a practical knowledge of government in the golden ages (free from pedantry or empty talk), skill in manipulating different interests for the common good (without indulging in carping comments) — with these characteristics, a good examination essay produces the far-reaching influence of the soothing wind and the nourishing effect of a gushing river. Yet how hard it is to find a talented official! Some know the art of government but not of writing; some are versed in writing but inexperienced in government. Only men with all-round abilities are selected through court examinations. But those who can combine government skills with literary art are rare indeed.



【原文】

24.6 赞曰：议惟畴政，名实相课。断理必〔纲〕刚，摛辞无懦。对策王庭，同时酌和。治体高秉，雅谟远播。

【今译】

总结说：议只是筹划政治，考核名称和实际。在推断理论上一定要刚健，运用文辞不要软弱。在朝廷上对策，多人同时酌量应和。突出地掌握论治的体裁，正确的谋议会向远处传播。



24.6 Summary:

A discussion is an essay on government.

Its name should reflect actuality.

In arguments it should be forceful,

Its language must not be weak.

The imperial examination essay

Is written on current affairs.

In upholding the art of government

It spreads its influence far and wide.



书记第二十五

【原文】

25.1 大舜云：“书用识哉！”所以记时事也。盖圣贤言辞，总为之书，书之为体，主言者也。扬雄曰：“言，心声也；书，心画也。声画形，君子小人见矣。”故书者，舒也。舒布其言，陈之简牒，取象于夬，贵在明决而已。

【今译】

大舜说：“书写是用来记录的啊！”所以用来记录时事的。大概圣贤的语言文辞，都要替它记录的，记录的体裁，主要是记录言辞的。扬雄说：“语言是从心里发出来的声音；书写是从心里发出来的文字。声音文字表现出来，君子和小人就看出来来了。”所以书写是发布，把他的话说出来，记录在竹简木板上，在《易经》里取“夬”的象，重在明白决断罢了。



Chapter 25

Epistolary Writing and Miscellaneous Records

25.1 The august Shun said, "Writing is used for keeping records,"¹ records of contemporary events. Thus the sayings of the sages were collected in the *Book of Documents*, in which the written word preserves the spoken. Yang Xiong said, "Language is the sound of the heart, writing its picture. When the sound and the picture take form, they reveal whether the writer is noble or ignoble."² Therefore, the character for "writing" is related to "unfold," the "unfolding" of words on a bamboo or wood slip. The root radical of the character for "writing" is taken from the hexagram "kuai," meaning "clear and resolute."



【原文】

25.2 三代政暇，文翰颇疏。春秋聘繁，书介弥盛。绕朝赠士会以策，子家与赵宣以书，巫臣之遗子反，子产之谏范宣，详观四书，辞若对面。又子〔服〕叔敬叔进吊书于滕君，固知行人挈辞，多被翰墨矣。及七国献书，诡丽辐辏；汉来笔札，辞气纷纭。观史迁之报任安，东方〔朔〕之〔难〕谒公孙，杨惲之酬会宗，子云之答刘歆，志气槃桓，各含殊采；并杼轴乎尺素，抑扬乎寸心。逮后汉书记，则崔瑗尤善。魏之元瑜，号称翩翩；文举属章，半简必录；休璉好事，留意词翰，抑其次也。嵇康绝交，实志高而文伟矣；赵至叙离，乃少年之激切也。至如陈遵古辞，百封各意；祢衡代书，亲疏得宜；斯又尺牍之偏才也。

【今译】

夏商周政治不繁忙，书记很少。春秋时代各国访问繁多，传达书信的使人很多。秦国绕朝把策书送给晋国士会，郑国子家把书信送给晋国赵宣子，逃到晋国的巫臣把书信送给楚国子反，郑国子产用书信谏劝晋国的范宣子，详细看这四封书信，文辞像对面讲话。又鲁国子叔敬叔把吊丧的书信送给滕国君，确实知道外交官所带去的辞令，多数被记录了。到战国时代递呈的书信，诡奇绮丽的文辞汇集在一起；汉朝书信，语气复杂。看司马迁的答任安信，东方朔进见公孙弘送上的书信，杨惲给孙会宗的答书，扬雄给刘歆的答书，心志和意气郁结，各自俱有独特的文采；并且组织成书信，把内心的情感或抑或扬表达出来。到后汉书信，那么崔瑗的更好。魏国的阮瑀，他的信称为风度美好；孔融的书信，半封信也要抄下来；应璩好事，留心书信，还是次一点的。嵇康的《与山巨源绝交书》，确实是志向高超文辞宏伟了；赵至叙述离别，是年轻人抒发的激迫感情。再像陈遵口授文辞，百封信各有各的用意；祢衡代黄祖写信，对于亲近疏远的人都写得得当：这又是写书信的一技之长。

25.2 In the Three Dynasties, government was simple and writing was scarcely used. In the Spring and Autumn period, diplomatic exchanges became frequent and the number of messengers delivering correspondence rapidly increased. Rao Chao's letter to Shi Hui, Zi Jia's (of Zheng) to Zhao Xuanzi, Wu Chen's to Zi Fan, and Zi Chan's to Fan Xuanzi are like conversations. Moreover, from the fact that Zishu Jingshu presented a letter of condolence to Duke Teng it is known that the words entrusted to diplomatic envoys were often written in the form of epistles. Diplomatic epistles exchanged among the seven warring states are splendidly unified like the spokes of a cart wheel. Epistolary writings in the Han Dynasty are diverse in ideas and colorful in language. Sima Qian's letter to Ren An, Dongfang Shuo's retort to Gongsun Hong, Yang Yun's reply to Sun Huizong, and Yang Xiong's response to Liu Xin have great personal pathos, each imbued with individual linguistic brilliance. They express the intricacies of thought and feeling on a small piece of silk. In the Later Han, Cui Yuan more than anyone else excelled in epistolary writing. In the Wei Dynasty, Ruan Yu's letters reflected his gracefulness and ready wit; Kong Rong's works, even his fragmentary pieces, were widely sought; Ying Qu was a keen letter-writer concerned with the quality of language. These three rank next in order of excellence. Ji Kang's letter "Breaking off a Friendship" is lofty in thought and dignified in language; Zhao Zhi's letter of farewell expressed the intense and fervent feelings of a young man. Chen Zun dictated more than one hundred letters at a stretch without repeating himself; the letters Mi Heng wrote for Huang Zu were tuned to the appropriate degree of intimacy. These four were especially talented in letter writing.



【原文】

25.3 详总书体，本在尽言，言以散郁陶，托风采，故宜条畅以任气，优柔以恻怀；文明从容，亦心声之献酬也。若夫尊贵差序，则肃以节文。战国以前，君臣同书，秦汉立仪，始有表奏；王公国内，亦称奏书，张敞奏书于胶后，其义美矣。迄至后汉，稍有名品，公府奏记，而郡将〔奏〕奉笺。记之言志，进己志也。笺者，表也，表识其情也。崔寔奏记于公府，则崇让之德音矣；黄香奏笺于江夏，亦肃恭之遗式矣。公幹笺记，丽而规益，子桓弗论，故世所共遗；若略名取实，则有美于为诗矣。刘廙谢恩，喻切以至；陆机自理，情周而巧，笺之为美者也。原笺记之为式，既上窥乎表，亦下睨乎书，使敬而不慑，简而无傲，清美以惠其才，彪蔚以文其响，盖笺记之分也。

【今译】

详细地总结书信的体制，根本在于把话说完，话用来舒散心头的郁结，寄托风度，所以应条达舒畅来显示气势，优裕柔和来表达喜悦的胸怀：文辞明显，从容不迫，也是心情的交流。至于地位不同，分别等级，用礼节来表示尊敬。战国以前，君和臣的信件都称做书，秦汉确立各种体制，臣子对君主开始称表奏；在诸王国内也称奏书，汉朝张敞向胶东王国太后奏书，他的意义美好。到了后汉，稍稍分为各种名目，上书三公府称奏记，上书郡将称奉笺。记是记录，是进献自己的意志。笺是表明，表明自己的情意。后汉崔寔向三公府上奏记，那是表达谦让的美好声音；黄香向江夏太守上奏笺，也是留下来的恭敬的模范。刘楨的笺记，有文采，作了有益的规劝，曹丕在《典论·论文》里没有谈到，所以世人都不注意；倘使抛开有没有称誉，只看实质，那他的笺记比诗更美了。刘廙向曹操谢恩的奏记，比喻极为确切；陆机向吴王晏为自己辩白的奏记情事周到，文辞工巧，是好的笺记。考究笺记的体裁，既是向上观察表奏，也是向下看到书信，使它恭敬而不害怕，核要而不傲慢，用清丽的风格来显示他的才华，用华藻的文辞来扩大他的影响，大概是笺记的本分。

25.3 Epistolary writing as a genre is based on the unreserved expression of personal thoughts and feelings. Language serves to dispel a writer's depression and reflects his personal style and temperament. A natural flow of language allows one to give full rein to the feelings; a mood of ease and repose gives delight to one's heart. Naturalness and an easy mood express the music of the heart. Because men of honor and nobility are distinguished by their positions, protocols are used to render them due respect. Before the Warring States, all correspondence between the sovereign and his ministers was indiscriminately referred to as letters. When the Qin and Han instituted rites, the categories "statement on government affairs" and "report to the throne" were introduced and correspondence from subordinates to dukes and princes was called "address" or "letter." Zhang Chang's well-phrased address to Prince Liu Ji's mother is one example. In the Later Han, these terms were further distinguished. Letters to the three top ministers were called *zou ji* or "address to the minister;" a letter to a local governor was called *zou jian* or "note to the governor." The character for "address" is related to thought or feeling: It presents one's thoughts and feelings. The character for "note" is related to "express": It expresses one's sentiments and opinions. Cui Shi's address to Minister Liang strikes a befitting note of modesty and humility. Huang Xiang's letter to the Governor of Jiangxia is a model of respect. Liu Zhen's addresses and notes are graceful and conducive to moral conduct, but because they were not mentioned in Cao Pi's "Essay on Literature," they have almost been forgotten. Despite his reputation as a poet, his letters are better than his poems. Liu Yi's letter acknowledging gratitude is appropriate in its use of metaphors; Lu Ji's letters of self-vindication are sound in argument and ingenious in expression: Both are fine examples of this genre. In their nature, "addresses to ministers" and "notes to governors" are related both to the "report to the throne" and to the ordinary private letter. They should be respectful but not timid, short and brief but not arrogant or proud, pure and elegant in expressing talents, brilliant and rich in the use of language. These are the characteristics of epistolary writing.

【原文】

25.4 夫书记广大，衣被事体，笔札杂名，古今多品。是以总领黎庶，则有谱籍簿录；医历星筮，则有方术占〔试〕式；申宪述兵，则有律令法制；朝市徵信，则有符契券疏；百官询事，则有关刺解牒；万民达志，则有状列辞谚：并述理于心，著言于翰，虽艺文之末品，而政事之先务也。

【今译】

书记的范围很广，包括各种记事的体裁，笔记的名称很杂，从古到今有各种名目。因此总管百姓事务的，有谱籍簿录；有关医药历法星象占卜的，有方术占式；申明法令和讲兵法的，有律令法制；在朝廷和市集上各种凭证，有符契券疏；百官询问事情，有关刺解牒；万民表达意志，有状列辞谚：都是讲从心内发出来的意思，用笔记下来，虽然是文辞中的下品，却是办理政事所先要处理的事务。

25.4 The scope of epistolary writings and miscellaneous records is vast, covering a variety of subjects. In the course of time, they have been given various names. *Pu* (genealogy), *ji* (register), *bu* (account book), and *lu* (chronicle) are used for the general administration of the population. *Fang* (formula), *shu* (arithmetic), *zhan* (divination), and *shi* (pattern) are used in medicine, establishing the calendar, astrology, and prophecy. *Lü* (regulation), *ling* (decree), *fa* (stratagem), and *zhi* (military command) are used in proclaiming laws and military orders. *Fu* (tally), *qi* (contract), *quan* (bond), and *shu* (sales slip) are used as market credentials. Government officials use *guan* (pass), *ci* (inquiry), *jie* (solution), and *die* (memorandum) to obtain information. The common people use *zhuang* (account), *lie* (list), *ci* (speech), and *yan* (proverb) to express their sentiments. They are all honest expressions. Insignificant as literary forms, they are essential for handling government affairs.



【原文】

25.5 故谓谱者，普也。注序世统，事资周普；郑氏谱《诗》，盖取乎此。

籍者，借也。岁借民力，条之于版；春秋司籍，即其事也。

簿者，圃也。草木区别，文书类聚；张汤李广，为吏所簿，别情伪也。

录者，领也。古史《世本》，编以简策，领其名数，故曰录也。

【今译】

谱就是普遍。排列世代相承的系统，事情依靠周全普遍；郑玄按照《诗》的次序和诸侯的世系编成《诗谱》，是从这里来的。

籍就是借。一年借用多少人民的劳力，分别记在板上；《左传》里记的主管户籍，就是这件事。

簿是果园或菜园。蔬菜花木分区种植，像文书的分类編集；张汤李广，被官吏用文书来传问，是分别真假。

录是总括。古代史《世本》，用竹策编起来，总括帝王的世系名次，所以称录。



25.5 The character for “genealogy” is related to “comprehensive-ness.” A family genealogy is a comprehensive record of successive generations. The genealogy Zheng Xuan wrote for the *Book of Poetry* is a comprehensive record of this kind. The character for “register” is related to “borrow.” Every year the government borrows a labor force from the people and keeps a record, hence the registry office mentioned in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The character for “account book” is related to “garden.” As different kinds of grass and trees are distinguished, so different papers and documents are classified and filed. Zhang Tang and Li Guang were interrogated on the evidence of an account book; thus falsehood and truth were distinguished. The character for “chronicle” is related to “summary.” An example of a chronicle is the ancient history book *Origin of the World* where summaries of family histories were written on bamboo slips.



【原文】

25.6 方者，隅也。医药攻病，各有所主，专精一隅，故药术称方。

术者，路也。算历极数，见路乃明。九章积微，故以为术：淮南万毕，皆其类也。

占者，覘也。星辰飞伏，伺候乃见，〔精〕登观书云，故曰占也。式者，则也。阴阳盈虚，五行消息，变虽不常，而稽之有则也。

【今译】

方是一角。医药治病，各个药方各有主治的病，专精一个方面，所以药方称方。

术就是路。算术、历法都要尽量运算，看到运算的方法才明白。九章算术积累了细微处，所以称做术；《淮南万毕术》，都是它这一类。

占就是观察。星的流动和隐伏，要等候观察才看到，登上观台把云物等天象变化记下，所以叫占。

式就是法则。阴阳五行的盛衰消长，它的变化虽然不一定，考求起来还是有法则的。

25.6 The character for “formula” is related to “corner.” Medicinal herbs used for curing diseases have different virtues, each being especially effective in treating a particular disease. Thus the art of prescribing medicine is called “formula.” The character for “arithmetic” is related to “road” or “method.” Arithmetic and the calendar involve the subtlest art of computation, where enlightenment comes with an understanding of the method. The *Nine Chapters on the Art of Computation* contains complex calculations, hence the use of the word “art” in its title. Liu An’s *Art of Wan Bi* is another example. The character for divination is related to “scan.” Because stars rise and set, one must wait for the proper time to observe them. To ascend a terrace and observe the stars in order to record their changes is known as divination. The character for “pattern” is related to “regularity.” Although the waxing and waning of *yin* and *yang* and the transformation of the five elements³ do not appear to follow regular rules, they reveal a pattern if studied carefully.



【原文】

25.7 律者，中也。黄钟调起，五音以正。法律馭民，八刑克平。以律为名，取中正也。

令者，命也。出命申禁，有若自天。管仲下〔命〕令如流水，使民从也。

法者，象也。兵谋无方，而奇正有象，故曰法也。

制者，裁也。上行于下，如匠之制器也。

【今译】

律是中正。乐律从黄钟的声调开始，宫商角征羽的五音得到调正。法律控制百姓，八种刑罚能够平正。用律做名称，取它得到中正。

令是命令，发出命令，申明禁止，好像天命。管仲说下令像流水，使人民服从。

法是效法。兵法没有一定，或奇或正有各种物象可以效法，所以称做法。

制就是制造。上面的制作推行到下面去，像木匠的制器。



25.7 The character for “regulation” is related to “mid-point,” or “accord.” As the five musical tones are adjusted in accordance with the primary note *huang zhong*, so government by law metes out punishments that accord with justice. The word “regulation” is used because it implies the idea of justice or norm. The character for “decree” is related to “mandate.” A mandate proclaims prohibitions, as if they came from heaven. According to Guan Zhong, the issuing of a decree is like the flowing water of a river: It cannot be stopped but must be followed. The character for “stratagem” is related to “image.” Military maneuvers have no fixed rules but all — whether a surprise attack or a direct confrontation — can be translated into images of nature. Hence the name “stratagem”. The character for “military command” is related to “shape.” When a superior officer issues a military command to his subordinates, he resembles a craftsman shaping an artifact.



【原文】

25.8 符者，孚也。征召防伪，事资中孚；三代玉瑞，汉世金竹，末代从省，易以书翰矣。

契者，结也。上古纯质，结绳执契；今羌胡徵数，负贩记缙，其遗风欤？

券者，束也。明白约束，以备情伪，字形半分，故周称“判书”。古有铁券，以坚信誓；王褒髡奴，则券之〔楷〕谐也。

疏者，布也。布置物类，撮题近意，故小券短书，号为疏也。

【今译】

符就是诚信。召集聘请防止作伪，事情依靠内心的诚信；夏商周三代用玉器作信物，汉朝用铜虎符、竹使符，后代从简，改用书信了。

契就是结约。上古质朴，结绳作契约；现在羌人胡人检验数目，商贩记钱，是它的遗传下来的风俗吧。

券是约束。明白作出约束，用来防备作伪，券上的字各执一半，所以周朝称做“判书”。古代有铁券，用来坚守誓言；王褒对髡奴的《僮约》，那是诙谐的约券。

疏是分布。分类布置事物，摘出题目，写切近的意思，所以短小的字据称做疏。



25.8 The character for “tally” is related to “confidence.” Inner confidence is essential to preventing cheating in the recruitment and appointment of officials. Jade articles were used as tallies in the Three Dynasties, and metal and bamboo in the Han. Later on, written documents replaced them. The character for “contract” is related to “knot.” Life was simple in remote antiquity, and people kept knotted cords as binding contracts. The way the present natives of Qiang and Hu count their numbers and peddlers keep account of their money are reminiscent of the knotted cords. The character for “bond” is related to “bind.” It states the binding terms in order to prevent fraud. The character for “bond” has two radicals, one meaning “half,” the other “cut,” hence in the Zhou Dynasty a bond was called “halved writing.” In the past there also existed an “iron bond”, used to secure an unbreakable covenant. Wang Bao’s “The Bearded Servant” is a model of the iron bond. The character for “sales slip” is related to “lay out.” It lays out a brief description of an article. Hence a short bond containing only a few words is called a sales slip.



【原文】

25.9 关者，闭也。出入由门，关闭当审；庶务在政，通塞应详。韩非云：“孙亶回，圣相也，而关于州部。”盖谓此也。

刺者，达也。诗人讽刺，周礼三刺，事叙相达，若针之通结矣。

解者，释也。解释结滞，徵事以对也。

牒者，叶也。短简编牒，如叶在枝；温舒截蒲，即其事也。议政未定，故短牒咨谋。牒之尤密，谓之签；签者，纤密者也。

【今译】

关是关闭。从门口进出，关闭应当审慎；在政事上的众多事务，顺利和阻塞应该详细了解。韩非说：“公孙亶回，是圣明的国相，是由地方官出身。”大概就是说这些。

刺是通达。诗人的讽刺，《周礼》里讲的三次刺探，事情按照次序刺探到，像针的解开线疙瘩。

解是解释。解释积滞，用核对来考验事实。

牒是叶。用短的竹简编成牒，像叶子在枝条上；汉朝路温舒把蒲叶剪下来编成牒，就是这种事。议论政事没有作出决定，所以用短牒来商量。牒文中更小的一种，叫做签；签就是细密的意思。



25.9 The character for “pass” is related to “close.” Since people enter or leave through a gate, it is important to decide whether to keep it closed or open. Because all administrative affairs are conducted according to government instructions, the instructions authorizing or forbidding passage should be clearly stated. A reference to the “pass” is found in the *Book of Han Fei Zi*: “Gongsun Danhui, though a virtuous prime minister, is denied passage by local officials.” The character for “inquiry” (literally “piercing”) is related to “reach” or “convey.” The authors of the *Book of Poetry* used folk songs to convey their sentiments. The *Rites of Zhou*⁴ discussed three situations in which the “inquiry” was used. To describe an issue in an orderly fashion is like using a needle to undo a knot. The character for “solution” is related to “resolve.” A solution resolves a knotty problem by citing facts as evidence. The character for “memorandum” is related to “leaf.” The short bamboo slips for keeping memoranda resemble the leaves on a branch. Lu Wenshu used blades of grass on which to write his records. Open-ended discussions of government affairs are recorded in memoranda for further consultation. A more specific form of memorandum is called *qian*, meaning “detailed.”



【原文】

25.10 状者，貌也。体貌本原，取其事实，先贤表谥，并有行状，状之大者也。

列者，陈也。陈列事情，昭然可见也。

辞者，舌端之文，通己于人；子产有辞，诸侯所赖，不可已也。

谚者，直语也。丧言亦不及文，故吊亦称谚。廛路浅言，有实无华。邹穆公云：“囊〔满〕漏储中。”皆其类也。《〔太〕牧誓》曰：“古人有言，牝鸡无晨。”《大雅》云“人亦有言”，“惟忧用老”。并上古遗谚，《诗》《书》〔可〕所引者也。至于陈琳谏辞，称“掩目捕雀”，潘岳哀辞，称“掌珠”“伉俪”，并引俗说而为文辞者也。夫文辞鄙俚，莫过于谚，而圣贤《诗》《书》，采以为谈，况逾于此，岂可忽哉！

【今译】

状是状貌。原来是描写形貌，转为采取事实，死去的贤人要定他的谥号，并且还有讲他一生事迹的行状，是重大的状文。

列就是陈设。把事情陈述出来，明白地可以看到。

辞是口头语，把自己的意思告诉别人；郑国子产善于说话，诸侯都依靠他，不可以没有的。

谚是质直的话。在丧事人家说话也顾不上文采，所以吊丧也称做谚。市集的路上浅近的话，朴实无华。邹穆公说：“粮袋漏在储粮器里。”都是这类。《牧誓》说：“古人说，雌鸡不管在早晨啼叫。”《大雅》说“人也有话”，“只有忧使人老。”都是上古传下来的谚语，《诗经》《书经》所引用的。至于陈琳劝阻何进的话，称“遮住眼睛去捉麻雀”，潘岳哀辞，说“掌上明珠”和“伉俪”，都引俗语来作文。文辞鄙陋浅俗，没有超过谚语，可是圣人贤人作的《诗经》和《书经》里，采来作为谈话，何况胜过这些，怎么可以忽略啊！

25.10 The character for “account” is related to “appearance.” A description of appearance is based on the actuality. In earlier times, bestowing a posthumous title on a virtuous man was accompanied by an account of his life. This is one of the more important kinds of accounts. The character for “list” is related to “state.” It lists and states matters in order to make them clear. A speech is an oral statement delivered to an audience. Zi Chan was good at making diplomatic speeches, so the vassal lords depended on him. This shows that speeches cannot be dispensed with. *Yan*, or “proverb,” means “a straightforward statement.” As the words spoken at a funeral are unadorned, a condolence is also known as *yan*. A plain folk saying contains substance but no ornament. Duke Mu of Zou once cited the proverb “A leaking bag of grain is nevertheless in the barn.” The *Book of Documents* states: “As an old adage goes, ‘A hen does not herald the dawn’.” The *Book of Poetry* observes: “It is said that grief makes people turn old.”⁵ These are all ancient proverbs, yet worthy enough to be quoted in the classics. The saying “to catch sparrows blind-folded” used by Chen Lin in a letter of remonstrance and the phrases “precious as a pearl on the palm, intimate as husband and wife” quoted by Pan Yue in a letter of condolence show the introduction of folk sayings into literary writing. No literary expression is more plebian than proverbs, yet they are in works of the sages such as the *Book of Poetry* and the *Book of Documents*. How can we overlook writing far superior to proverbs?



【原文】

25.11 观比〔四〕众条，并书记所总：或事本相通，而文意各异，或全任质素，或杂用文绮，随事立体，贵乎精要；意少一字则义阙，句长一言则辞妨，并有司之实务，而浮藻之所忽也。然才冠鸿笔，多疏尺牍，譬九方堙之识骏足，而不知毛色牝牡也。言既身文，信亦邦瑞，翰林之士，思理实焉。

【今译】

观这众条，都是书记所包括的：有的内容是相通的，可是用意各异；有的完全是质朴的，有的夹杂着文藻，随着内容确立体制，重在精炼扼要；达意时少一个字意义就缺漏了，句子里多余一个字在文辞里就有妨碍，都是主管官员的实际事务，是浮华辞藻所忽略的。可是才华成为大手笔之首，却多数疏于书信，好比九方堙的识别千里马，却忽视马的毛色雌雄。语言既是自身的文采，诚信也是国家的祥瑞，文坛的作者应该想到记录实事。



25.11 The above is a survey of the various forms of epistolary writings and miscellaneous records. Some are similar in subject matter but different in style. Some depend wholly on plain sense, some on occasional linguistic ornament, but all are appropriate to the subject matter and set store by precision and conciseness. An idea may be incomplete for the lack of one word; a sentence may be flawed because of one redundant character. These miscellaneous writings were the responsibility of officers in charge, but those who went after useless ornaments often neglected their practical nature. When as often happens great writers with exceptional talents neglect these minor genres, they are like the connoisseur of horses Jiufang Yin, who once identified a fine steed but did not notice its color or sex. Since language is tied to the reputation of the writer and the glory of his country, a literary scholar should be concerned with the truth of his ideas and thoughts.



【原文】

25.12 赞曰：文藻条流，托在笔札。既驰金相，亦运木讷。万古声荐，千里应拔。庶务纷纶，因书乃察。

【今译】

总结说：文章的各种枝条流派，都托笔记写下。既是驰骋金玉的华藻，也可以运用质朴。万古以来的声名得到它的宣扬，千里外的影响得到它的推动。各种事务纷杂，靠书记才明察。





25.12 Summary:

Epistolary writing and miscellaneous records

Bring together minor branches of literature.

Some exhibit felicity of language,

Some contain plain sense.

After an immortal fame is established

It spreads across the land.

The multitude of worldly affairs

Is made manifest through written records.

