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## The *Wen xuan* Tradition in China and Abroad\*

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The *Wen xuan* 文選 is the earliest extant Chinese anthology arranged by genre. This article first discusses the history of the transmission and reception of the *Wen xuan* mainly in the Tang and Song, focusing on the emergence of *Wen xuan xue* 文選學 (*Wen xuan* scholarship) in the early Tang, the interest some Tang poets took in the *Wen xuan*, the early printing history of the *Wen xuan*, the origin of the phrase *Wen xuan lan, xiucai ban* 文選爛, 秀才半 (The *Wen xuan* thoroughly done, half a licentiate won), and the severe criticism made by Su Shi 蘇軾 of Xiao Tong. The second part of the article concerns the history of the reception of the *Wen xuan* outside of China. The *Wen xuan* became a widely read work in other East Asian countries, especially in Japan and Korea. The *Wen xuan* was transmitted to Japan as early as the eighth century. Many important manuscripts of the *Wen xuan* have been preserved in Japan, the most important of which is the *Monzen shūchū* 文選集注, which contains Tang period commentaries most of which were lost in China. The *Wen xuan* was also important in Korea. In the Choson dynasty (1392–1910) a Korean version of the *Wen xuan* was compiled, the *Tongmunsŏn* 東文選 compiled under royal command in 1478 by Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正 (1420–1488). The final part of articles deals with *Wen xuan* studies in Europe and the United States with special mention of Arthur Waley 韋利 (1889–1966), Erwin von Zach 贊克 (1872–1942), and James Robert Hightower 海陶璋 (1915–2006).

**Keywords:** *Wen xuan*, *Wen xuan xue*, *Wen xuan lan*, *xiucai ban*, *Wen xuan jizhu*, *Tongmunsŏn*, Arthur Waley, Erwin von Zach, James Robert Hightower.

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The *Wen xuan* is the earliest extant Chinese anthology arranged by genre. It was compiled at the court of of Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), Crown Prince Zhaoming 昭明 of the Liang 梁. It is one of the most important sources for the study of Chinese literature from the Warring States period to the Qi and Liang. Although there is no information about the transmission history of the *Wen xuan* after its compilation at the court of Xiao Tong in the 520s to the end of the Southern Dynasties, we do know that the *Wen xuan* survived the destruction of the imperial library that occurred during the fall of the Liang. Thus, it is listed in the “Jingji zhi” 經籍志 (Monograph on bibliography) of the *Sui shu* 隋書.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest known commentary to the *Wen xuan* was actually done by a member of the Xiao family, Xiao Gai 蕭該 (2<sup>nd</sup> half, 6<sup>th</sup> century). Xiao Gai was the grandson of Xiao Hui 蕭恢 (476–526), who was a younger brother of Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549), Xiao Tong’s father.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Xiao Gai would have been a nephew or cousin of Xiao Tong. Qu Shouyuan 屈守元 suggests that Xiao Gai began studying the *Wen xuan* during his youth when he was living in Jiangling at the end of the Liang period.<sup>3</sup> Qu notes that Jiangling 江陵, which was in Jingzhou 荊州, was an area of literary culture. It is possible that after the *Wen xuan* was compiled, a copy of it was transmitted to the Jingzhou court.

Xiao Gai participated in the compilation of the famous dictionary *Qie yun* 切韻, and also wrote a commentary to the *Han shu* 漢書.<sup>4</sup> Xiao Gai wrote a commentary to the *Wen xuan* titled *Wen xuan yin yi* 文選音義 (Pronunciation and meaning of the *Wen xuan*). Although it is no longer extant, based on the title it must have been a philological commentary that explained the meaning and pronunciation of words in the text. Wang Zhongmin 王重民

1 *Sui shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 41.1082.

2 See *Sui shu*, 75.1715–16. On Xiao Gai see Wang Xibo 汪習波, *Sui Tang Wen xuan xue yanjiu* 隋唐文選學研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), 43–50; Wang Shucai 王書才, “Xiao Gai shengping ji qi *Wen xuan* yanjiu kaoshu” 蕭該生平及其《文選》研究考述, *Ankang shizhuan xuebao* 2005.2: 66–68, 84.

3 See Qu Shouyuan, *Wen xuan daodu* 文選導讀 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1993), 46.

4 See *Sui shu*, 33.953. On Xiao Gai’s participation in compiling the *Qie yun* see Göran Malmqvist, “Chou Tsu-mo on the *Ch’ieh-yün*,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 40 (1968): 33–78.

(1903–1975) claimed to have discovered a fragment of this work among the Dunhuang manuscripts,<sup>5</sup> but Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 (1914–1995) has disputed Wang’s conclusion.<sup>6</sup> However, a few fragments of what are clearly Xiao Gai’s commentary are cited in Li Shan’s *Wen xuan* commentary.<sup>7</sup>

The major impetus for what came to be called *Wen xuan xue* 文選學 (Studies of the *Wen xuan*) started in the Sui and Tang period with a scholar named Cao Xian 曹憲 (fl. 605–649) who taught the *Wen xuan* in Yangzhou.<sup>8</sup> Like Xiao Gai, Cao Xian specialized in the type of commentary known as *yin yi* 音義, which involved explaining the meaning and pronunciation of single characters in a text. Cao Xian wrote a *yin yi* for the *Erya* and *Wen xuan*, neither of which has survived.<sup>9</sup>

Although Cao Xian’s commentary to the *Wen xuan* has not survived, he had a number of students who studied the *Wen xuan* under him whose work is known. According to the *Jiu Tang shu* they included Xu Yan 許淹, Li Shan 李

5 See Wang Zhongmin, *Dunhuang guji xulu* 敦煌古籍敘錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 322–23.

6 Zhou Zumo, “Lun *Wen xuan yin* canjuan zhi zuozhe ji qi yin fan” 論文選音殘卷之作者及其音反, *Furen xuezh* 8.1 (1939): 113–25; rpt. as “Lun *Wen xuan yin* canjuan zhi zuozhe ji qi fangyin” 論文選音殘卷之作者及其方音, in *Wenxue ji* 問學集, 2 vols., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966), 1: 177–91; rpt. in *Zhongwai xuezh* *Wen xuan xue lunji* 中外學者文選學論集, ed. Yu Shaochu 俞紹初 and Xu Yimin 許逸民 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 45–58. For a reproduction of the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Wen xuan yin*, see Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Dunhuang Tulufan ben Wen xuan* 敦煌吐魯番本文選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 101–11.

7 *Wen xuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 15.654: 張衡《思玄賦》：行頗僻而獲志兮，循法度而離殃。頗，傾也。離，遭也。殃，咎也。蕭該音本作陂，布義切。

8 According to Liu Su 劉肅 (fl. 806–820), Cao Xian initiated the study of the *Wen xuan* in the Jiang-Huai 江淮 area (the lower reaches of Yangzi and Huai rivers). See Xu Denan 許德楠 and Li Dingxia 李鼎霞, punc. and coll., *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 9.133. See also *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 189A.4945–46; *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 198.5640. For a brief study of Cao Xian see Wang Shucai, “Cao Xian shengping ji qi *Wen xuan xue* kaoshu” 曹憲生平及其《文選》學考述, *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao* (*Zhexue shehui kexue ban*) 37.4 (2007): 124–26. On *Wen xuan* scholarship in Yangzhou during the Tang see Zhu Zuyu 諸祖煜, “Tangdai Yangzhou de *Wen xuan xue*” 唐代揚州的《文選》學, *Yangzhou shiyuan xuebao* (*Shehui kexue ban*) 1996.1: 131–34.

9 The *Jiu Tang shu* does not list the *Wen xuan yinyi*. The *Xin Tang shu* records it as lost. See *Xin Tang shu*, 57.1622.

善 (627–690), and Gongsun Luo 公孫羅 (fl. 661).<sup>10</sup> The *Xin Tang shu* adds to the list the name of Wei Mo 魏模.<sup>11</sup> We know very little about Wei Mo's work on the *Wen xuan*. However, much more is known about the work of the other three.

Xu Yan was from Jurong 句容 in Runzhou 潤州, which is modern Jurong, Jiangsu. During his youth he became a Buddhist monk, but later returned to secular life and took up scholarly studies. He also specialized in the explanation of the meaning and pronunciation of words.<sup>12</sup> He is the author of a commentary in ten *juan* called *Wen xuan yin* 文選音.<sup>13</sup> There is a Dunhuang manuscript titled *Wen xuan yin* which Zhou Zumo has argued is the work by Xu Yan.<sup>14</sup> However, not all scholars accept his conclusion.<sup>15</sup>

According to the “Ruxue zhuan” 儒學傳 of *Jiu Tang shu* Gongsun Luo's home was Jiangdu 江都 (modern Yangzhou).<sup>16</sup> However, the *Da Tang xinyu* identifies his natal home as Jiangxia 江夏 (modern Wuchang, Hubei).<sup>17</sup> The monographs on bibliography in the two Tang histories list a work titled *Wen xuan yin* in ten *juan* as well as a commentary to the *Wen xuan* in sixty *juan*.<sup>18</sup> Gongsun Luo's work survived in Japan. The *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 by Fujiwara Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (d. 898) cites two works under his name: *Wen xuan yinjue* 文選音訣 in 10 *juan*, and *Wen xuan chao* 文選抄 in 69 *juan*.<sup>19</sup> A work called *Wen xuan chao* is frequently cited in the

10 See *Jiu Tang shu*, 189A.4946.

11 See *Xin Tang shu*, 198.5640.

12 See *Jiu Tang shu*, 189A.4946; *Xin Tang shu*, 198.5640. See also Qu Shouyuan, *Wen xuan daodu*, 62–63.

13 See *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2077; *Xin Tang shu*, 60.1619, 1622.

14 See note 6 above.

15 See i.a. Fan Zhixin 范志新, “Tang xieben *Wen xuan yin* zuozhe wenti zhi wojian—*Wen xuan xue zhuzuo kao* (1)” 唐寫本《文選音》作者問題之我見——文選學著作考 (一), *Jinyang xuekan* 2005.5: 125–26.

16 *Jiu Tang shu*, 189A.4946.

17 See *Da Tang xinyu*, 9.134.

18 See *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2077; *Xin Tang shu*, 60.1621. For other accounts of Gongsun Luo see Qu Shouyuan, *Wen xuan daodu*, 63–66; Wang Shucai, “Lun Gongsun Luo *Wen xuan chao* de jiazhi yu queshi” 論公孫羅《文選鈔》的價值與闕失, *Zhongzhou xuekan* 147.3 (2005): 220–22.

19 See *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku*, *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書, Guangxu 10 (1884), 45.

manuscript of the *Wen xuan* that survives in Japan called the *Wen xuan jizhu* 文選集注. This very likely is Gongsun Luo's work.<sup>20</sup>

The most distinguished of Cao Xian's students was Li Shan.<sup>21</sup> He was born in Jiangdu (modern Yangzhou), where Cao Xian had taught the *Wen xuan*. Li was a member of the staff of two early Tang princes, Li Hong 李弘 (651–675), the sixth son of Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–683), who was named heir in 656 (Xianqing 1), and Li Xian 李賢 (653?–684), who was enfeoffed as Prince of Lu 潞 in 655, and Prince of Pei 沛 in 661. He also was a member of the Chongxian guan 崇賢館. Ca. 671 Li Shan was exiled to Yaozhou 姚州 (administrative seat Yaocheng 姚城, north of modern Yao'an 姚安, Yunnan). Li Shan was pardoned in the general amnesty of 674, and he was able to return to the north. When he returned from the south, Li Shan taught the *Wen xuan* in the Bian 汴 (Kaifeng) and Zheng 鄭 (modern Xingyang, Henan) area until his death in 689/690.<sup>22</sup>

Li Shan wrote a commentary to the *Wen xuan* that has become the standard commentary to this text. The study of his commentary has become a major subject of *Wen xuan xue*. When Li Shan wrote his commentary to the *Wen xuan*, he also rearranged the original text. The original *Wen xuan* was in thirty *juan*, and Li Shan's version is in sixty *juan*. Li Shan presented his commentary to Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683) in 658.

Li Shan's commentary is by far the most important and useful tool for understanding the language of the *Wen xuan* text. Li Shan explains the meaning and pronunciation of words, cites examples of usage, identifies allusions, and gives in many case background information about pieces from sources that are no longer extant.

20 For detailed discussion see Morino Shigeo 森野繁夫, "Monzen shūchū shoin *Shō* ni tsuite" 文選集注所引「鈔」について, *Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō* 29 (1977): 91–105; Hasegawa Shigenari 長谷川滋成, "Monzen shō no insho" 文選鈔の引書, *Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō* 32 (1980): 155–67; Tominaga Kazutaka 富永一登, "Monzen shūchū shoin *Shō* no senja ni tsuite—Tōno Haruyuki shi ni kotau" 「文選集注」所引「鈔」の撰者について—東野治之氏に答う, *Chūgoku kenkyū shūkan* 7 (1989): 15–20.

21 On Li Shan's life see Qu Shouyuan, *Wen xuan daodu*, 52–61; Jao Tsung-i, "Tangdai *Wen xuan* xue lüeshu" 唐代文選學略述, in *Dunhuang Tulufan ben Wen xuan*, 9–12; Wang Xibo, *Sui Tang Wen xuan xue yanjiu*, 59–69.

22 See *Jiu Tang shu*, 189A.4946; *Xin Tang shu*, 127.5754.

Although Li Shan presented his commentary to Emperor Gaozong in 658, he apparently continued to revise it. There is evidence that he revised it at least five times.<sup>23</sup> We have a manuscript of Li Shan's commentary that dates to the time when he was alive. This is a hand-written copy of the "Xijing fu" 西京賦 (*Fu* on the Western Capital) by Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139) written at the Hongji 弘濟 monastery in Chang'an in the second month of Yonglong 永隆 (681).<sup>24</sup> Someone must have taken it from Chang'an to Dunhuang. It is now held at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. This is known as Pelliot # 2528. See the photo on the next page.<sup>25</sup>

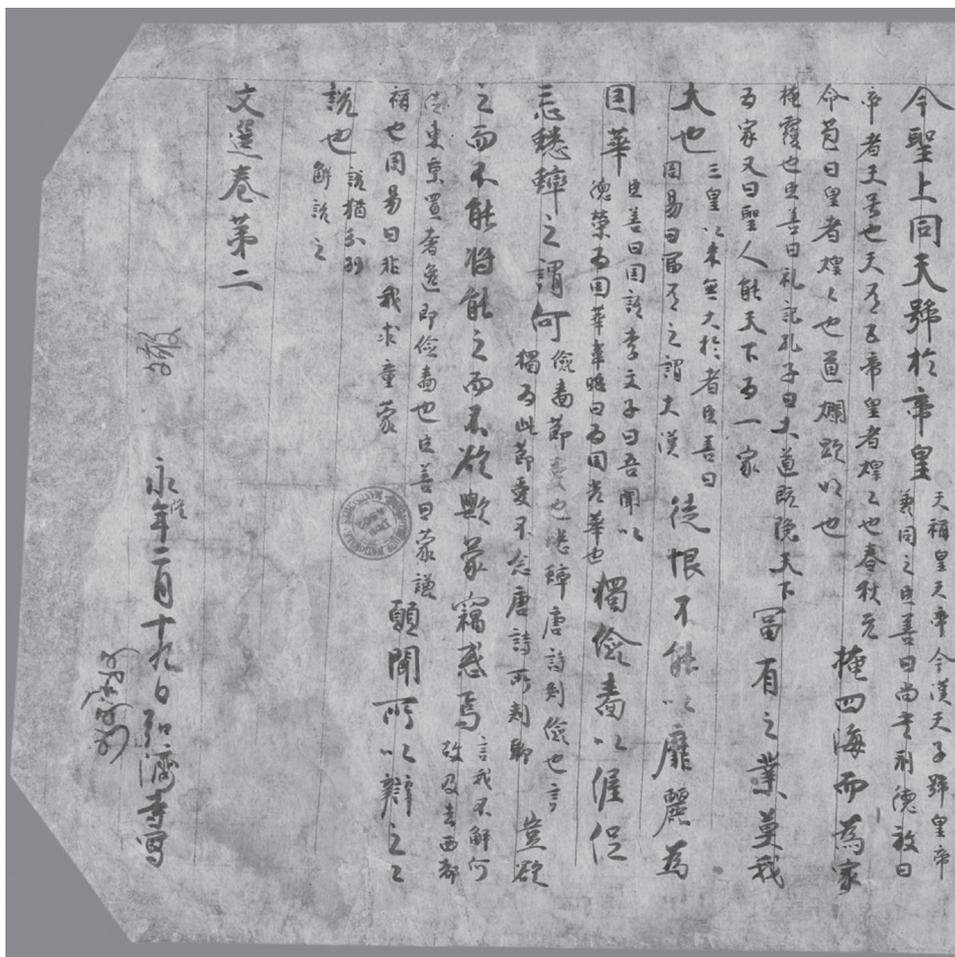
As excellent as Li Shan's commentary is, some scholars in the Tang were highly critical of it, especially because they did not think he provided enough paraphrasing of the general meaning of the text. In 718, Lü Yanzuo 呂延祚, vice director of the board of works, presented to Emperor Xuanzong a new commentary to the *Wen xuan*, sixty years after Li Shan presented his commentary to Emperor Gaozong. This consisted of commentaries done by five persons:

1. Lü Yanji 呂延濟, Changshan xian wei 常山縣尉 (district defender of Changshan county).
2. Liu Liang 劉良, Dushi shizhe 都水使者 (commissioner of waterways).
3. Zhang Xian 張銑, Chushi chen 處士臣 (retired scholar).
4. Lü Xiang 呂向, called 臣 which may mean here "private scholar."
5. Li Zhouhan 李周翰, also called 臣.

23 See Li Kuangwen 李匡文 (fl. late 9<sup>th</sup> century), *Zixia ji* 資霞集, *Siku quanshu*, A7b. See also Wang Dang 王讜 (fl. 1101–1110), Zhou Xunchu 周勳初, ed. and comm., *Tang yulin jiaozheng* 唐語林校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 2.168.

24 See Ji Aimin 季愛民, "Sui Tang liangjing siguan congkao" 隋唐兩京寺觀叢考, *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 26.2 (2011): 100–1. For studies of the manuscript see Liu Shipai 劉師培, "Dunhuang xin chu Tang xie ben tiyao" 敦煌新出唐寫本提要, *Guocui xuebao* 77 (1911), "Tong lun" 通論, 6a–11b; Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang ben *Wen xuan* jiaozheng, pt. 1" 敦煌本文選辭證, *Xinya xuebao* 3 (1958): 333–403; Fu Junlian 伏俊連, *Dunhuang fu jiaozhu* 敦煌賦校注 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1994), 1–97; Luo Guowei 羅國威, *Dunhuang ben Zhaoming wenxuan yanjiu* 敦煌本《昭明文選》研究 (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 1–117; Fu Gang 傅剛, *Wen xuan banben yanjiu* 文選版本研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 240–49.

25 Photo courtesy of the International Dunhuang Project website ([http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\\_scroll\\_h.a4d?uid=29599652014;recnum=59634;index=5](http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=29599652014;recnum=59634;index=5)), accessed Dec. 29, 2014.



The date is at the far left: it says 永隆年二月九日弘濟寺寫. Yonglong was a short reign period, from 680 to 681. This would be 17 March 681.

This commentary is known as the Wuchen 五臣 commentary.

Lü Xiang is the only one who is well known. He and Fang Guan 房琯 (697–763) took up reclusion in the Luhun 陸渾 Mountains located near Luoyang. After the *Wen xuan* was presented to the court, he became quite prominent. In 722, he joined the Hanlin Academy and also served as collator in the Jixian Academy.<sup>26</sup> Lü Yanzuo was an influential figure in the early Kaiyuan period. In 715 he helped draft the *Kaiyuan ge* 開元格 (Kaiyuan regulations).<sup>27</sup>

When Lü Yanzuo presented the *Wen xuan* text to Emperor Xuanzong, he

26 See *Xin Tang shu*, 202.5758.

27 See *Jiu Tang shu*, 50.2150.

also submitted a petition, which actually may have been written by Lü Xiang. The petition contains a strong criticism of Li Shan:

往有李善，時謂宿儒，推而傳之，成六十卷。忽發章句，是徵載籍，述作之由，何嘗措翰。使復精覈注引，則陷於末學，質訪指趣，則巋然舊文。祇謂攬心，胡為析理。

Formerly, there was Li Shan, who at that time was called a cultivated scholar. He expanded and transmitted the *Wen xuan*, making it into sixty *juan*. He suddenly (or out of the blue) produced a chapter-and-verse commentary, which searched into sources and documents, but with respect to the motif and background of the composition, he never applies his brush. Suppose one now thoroughly investigates his notes and citations, he would fall into the pit of superficial scholarship, and if one were to inquire of the basic meaning, he would be left alone with the original text. This can only be called something that disturbs/perplexes the heart. How can it analyze principles?<sup>28</sup>

Xuanzong then issued an oral edict that reads:

比見注本，唯只引事，不說意義。

Recently I have seen editions of the *Wen xuan* with commentary, but they only cite things, and do not explain the meaning.

This clearly refers to Li Shan's commentary. He then ordered it to be "accepted," which presumably means that it was put into the imperial library.

There were some strong criticisms of the *Wuchen* commentary in the late Tang. The most notable of these is a work called "Fei *Wuchen*" 非五臣 (Finding fault with the *Wuchen*) by Li Kuangwen. His name is also written Li Kuangyi 李匡义, but Li Kuangwen is usually accepted as the correct version of the name. Li Kuangwen was a member of the Tang imperial family and was the

28 See *Liuchen zhu Wen xuan* 六臣注文選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 1.

author of a collection of notes titled *Zixia ji* 資暇集.<sup>29</sup> The “Fei Wuchen” is a most interesting piece that deserves thorough study. In addition to criticizing the Wuchen commentary, Li Kuangwen provides the important information that Li Shan revised his commentary four more times after he had presented it to the court.

The best study of *Wen xuan* scholarship is a recent book written by Professor Wang Xibo of Fudan University.<sup>30</sup> Professor Wang is a relatively young scholar, but he has many original ideas.

Despite Li Kuangwen’s criticisms, the Wuchen version was more widely used and circulated than the Li Shan *Wen xuan* until the eleventh or twelfth centuries. The *Wuchen* version of the *Wen xuan* was printed quite early. The earliest known printing was done in Sichuan during the Wudai period.<sup>31</sup> Printings of the *Wuchen* commentary are now quite rare. The National Central Library in Taiwan has a Southern Song woodblock of the *Wuchen Wen xuan* prepared by Chen Balang 陳八郎 in Shaoxing 31 (1161). This was printed by the Chonghua shufang 崇化書坊 in Jianyang 建陽 (Fujian). This edition is commonly referred to as the Chen Balang edition. The National Central Library published a facsimile version of this.

In the Tang, the *Wen xuan* became an important text that was studied by candidates for the *jinshi* examination. Young boys were expected to master its contents and imitate its style in order to perform well in the literary examination. Du Fu advised his son Zongwu 宗武 “to become thoroughly versed in the *li* of the *Wen xuan* 熟精文選理.”<sup>32</sup> Although candidates were not examined on the *Wen xuan*, there is evidence that it was one of the main texts that people studied to prepare for the examination. Li Deyu 李德裕 (787–849), who had a strong dislike for the literary examination, reputedly told Emperor

29 On Li Kuangwen’s career see Zhang Guye 張固也, “*Zi xia ji* zuozhe Li Kuangwen de shilü yu zhushu 《資暇集》作者李匡文的仕履與著述, *Wenxian* 2000.4: 101–5.

30 See Wang Xibo, *Sui Tang Wen xuan xue yanjiu*.

31 See Wang Mingqing 王明清 (1127–ca. 1215), *Huizhu lu yuhua* 揮麈錄餘話, *Siku quanshu*, 2.21a–b, citing Tao Yue 陶岳, *Wudai shi bu* 五代史補.

32 Qiu Zhaoao 仇兆鰲, ed. and comm., *Du shi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 17.1478.

Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–846) that his grandfather Li Qiyun 李栖筠 (719–776) at the end of the Tianbao period (742–755) attempted the examinations “because there was no other route to enter official service.” However, Li Qiyun found this method of official recruitment so distasteful that he encouraged his descendants not to sit for the examinations. From this time on Li’s family no longer “placed a *Wen xuan* in their house” 自後家不置文選.<sup>33</sup>

During the Tang period, there is other evidence of how widely the *Wen xuan* circulated. The Tang Princess Jincheng 金城公主 (d. 741), who was married to the King of Tibet Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan 赤德祖贊 (Mes Agtshoms, r. 712–755), in 730 requested the Tibetan envoy to the Tang court bring her copies of *Mao shi*, *Li ji*, *Zuo zhuan*, and *Wen xuan*.<sup>34</sup>

The *Wen xuan* is even referred to in popular literature. In the *Qiu Hu bianwen* 秋胡變文, which is preserved in the Dunhuang manuscripts, tells of the story of Qiu Hu leaving home. When Qiu Hu bid farewell to his wife, he took with him ten books: *Xiao jing*, *Lun yu*, *Shang shu*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Gongyang*, *Guliang*, *Mao shi*, *Li ji*, *Zhuangzi*, and *Wen xuan*, which he planned to study during his travels in pursuit of an official career.<sup>35</sup> *Zhuangzi* and *Wen xuan* are the only two texts that are not part of the Confucian classics. The fact that he take the *Wen xuan* suggests that this was a text that candidates for the examinations studied along with the classics.

At the beginning of the Song dynasty, the *Wen xuan* continued to be a much studied book. However, by the Xining 熙寧 (1068–1077) and Yuanfeng 元豐 (1078–1085) periods it lost its former prestige among the literati. This so-called “decline of the *Wen xuan*” 文選之衰落 had much to do with the change in the examination system led by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), who in 1057, required examination candidates to write in *guwen* instead of parallel prose, and the reform movement led by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–

33 See *Xin Tang shu*, 44.1169.

34 *Jiu Tang shu*, 196.5232.

35 See Xiang Chu 項楚, ed. and comm., *Dunhuang bianwen xuanzhu* 敦煌變文選注 (Zengding ben 增訂本) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 1: 369. 辭妻了道，服得十袂文書，並是孝經、論語、尚書、左傳、公羊、穀梁、毛詩、禮記、莊子、文選，便即登程（程）。

1086).<sup>36</sup> The usual source for documenting the decline of the *Wen xuan* in the Song is the following passage in Lu You 陸游 (1122–1210), *Laoxue an biji* 老學庵筆記:

國初尚《文選》，當時文人專意此書。故草必稱「王孫」，梅必稱「驛使」，月必稱「望舒」，山水必稱「清暉」。至慶曆後，惡其陳腐，諸作者始一洗之。方其盛時，士子至為之語曰：《文選》爛，秀才半。

At the beginning of our Song dynasty, the *Wen xuan* was held in high esteem, and men of letters concentrated their attention on this book. Thus, plants had to be called “king’s scion,” the plum had to be called “post station emissary,” the moon had to be called Wangshu, and mountains and streams had to be called “pure and bright.” After the Qingli period (1041–1048) [when Ouyang Xiu succeeded in requiring *guwen* prose on the examinations], people detested the triteness of such expressions, and all writers began completely to purge them from their compositions. During the peak of the *Wen xuan*’s popularity, students spoke about it in superlative terms, saying “The *Wen xuan* thoroughly done, /Half a licentiate won.”<sup>37</sup>

One should note that even Lu You shows that he has an imperfect knowledge of the *Wen xuan*. The only phrases that occur in the *Wen xuan* are “king’s scion,” Wangshu and “pure and bright.” However, “king’s scion” is not used for plants. In the “Zhaoyin shi” it means *yinshi* 隱士 or “recluse.” The phrase *yishi* 驛使 as metonymy for “plum” does not occur at all. The earliest usage for this I can find is in a poem by Lu Kai 陸凱 (5<sup>th</sup> century) addressed to Fan Ye 范曄 (398–466) cited in the the *Jingzhou ji* 荊州記 of Sheng Hongzhi

36 See Guo Baojun 郭寶軍, *Songdai Wen xuan xue yanjiu* 宋代文選學研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), 271–82.

37 *Laoxue an biji* Li Jianxiong 李劍雄 and Liu Dequan 劉德權, ed. and comm. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 10.100. A similar account can also be found in Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296), *Kunxue jiwén* 困學紀聞, Weng Yuanqi 翁元祈, comm., Luan Baoqun 樂寶, Tian Songqing 田松青 and Lü Zongli 呂宗力, punc. and coll. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 17.1860–61.

盛弘之 (fl. 437).<sup>38</sup>

The phrase *Wen xuan lan xiucai ban* 文選爛，秀才半 was actually used much earlier, and may even originally have been used to indicate the prestige of the *Wen xuan* in the Tang. For example, the *Xuelang zhai riji* 雪浪齋日記, a work of unknown authorship, but clearly a Song work earlier than Lu You's *Laoxue an biji*,<sup>39</sup> says the following:

昔人有言：《文選》爛，秀才半。正為《文選》中事多可作本領爾。余謂欲知文章之要，當熟看《文選》，蓋《選》中自三代涉戰國、秦、漢、晉、魏、六朝以來文字皆有。

Someone in the past has said, “The *Wen xuan* thoroughly done, / half a licentiate won.” This is simply because the *Wen xuan* has much material that can be used as a source [for learning]. I maintain that if one wishes to know the essentials of writing, he must thoroughly read the *Wen xuan*. The *Wen xuan* contains all of the writings from the Three Dynasties through the Warring States, Qin, Han, Jin, Wei, and Six Dynasties.<sup>40</sup>

The fact that the author of this passage says that this phrase was said by “someone in the past” suggests that the phrase had been used for quite some time, perhaps as early as the Tang.

One of the leading critics of the *Wen xuan* in the Song was Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101). He criticizes the *Wen xuan* on a number of grounds. I do not have time to go into all of the details here. I would suggest that someone should do a thorough study of Su Shi's comments on the *Wen xuan*. If done thoroughly, this could be a very long article. I will here cite only one of Su Shi's more famous comments about the *Wen xuan*. This is from one of his *tiba* 題跋 (colophons):

舟中讀《文選》，恨其編次無法，去取失當。齊梁文章衰陋，而蕭統尤為卑弱。文選序 斯可見矣。如李陵書、蘇武五言皆偽，而不能辨。今觀《淵明集》可喜者甚多，而獨取數首，以知其餘人，忽遺者

38 See *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 19.5a (95) and 409.4a (1888).

39 See Qu Shouyuan, *Wen xuan daodu*, 90–91.

40 Cited in He Wen 何文, *Zhuzhuang shihua* 竹莊詩話, *Siku quanshu*, 1.9b–10a.

多矣。淵明作 閒情賦 ，所謂國風好色而不淫，正使不及 周南與屈、宋所陳何異？而統大譏之，此乃小兒強作解事者。

When I was reading the *Wen xuan* in a boat, I regretted that there was no method in the way it was put together, and it selected pieces that are not appropriate. The writing of the Qi-Liang period is decadent and vulgar, and Xiao Tong's work is especially low and feeble. This can be seen from the preface to the *Wen xuan*. For example, the Li Ling letters and the pentasyllabic poems of Su Wu are all forgeries, and he was unable to discern this. Now upon reading the Collected Works of Tao Yuanming I find many delightful pieces, but Xiao Tong only selected several pieces, and thus we know that for other writers, many pieces have been ignored and left out. Tao Yuanming wrote the "Xian qing fu," about which one can say that like the "Airs of the States" in the *Shi jing* it is sensual without being licentious. What is the difference between what one finds in the "Zhou nan" of the *Shi jing* and Qu Yuan or Song Yu? Yet Xiao Tong strongly criticizes it. This is nothing other than a forced explanation by a small child.<sup>41</sup>

Su Shi wrote this comment in 1084 when he was in Jiangxi. He first faults Xiao Tong for including the letters and poems attributed to Li Ling 李陵 and Su Wu 蘇武, which he considered to be forgeries. Second, he criticizes Xiao Tong for not including more poems by Tao Yuanming. Finally, he objects to Xiao Tong's failure to include Tao Yuanming's "Xian qing fu" 閒情賦 (*Fu* on stilling the passions).

Concerning the Li Ling and Su Wu poems, although most modern scholars do not think they are authentic, the prevailing view in Xiao Tong's time was that they were genuine pieces by Li Ling and Su Wu. It would have been quite surprising if these pieces were left out of the anthology.

Su Shi's criticism of Xiao Tong for his treatment of Tao Yuanming is somewhat curious, for Xiao Tong actually was one of the few strong admirers

41 See Fu Gang, *Wen xuan banben yanjiu*, 151–52.

of Tao Yuanming's writings in the Qi-Liang period.<sup>42</sup> He even compiled a collection of Tao's writings. It is quite possible in fact without Xiao Tong's collection, Tao Yuanming's writings may not have survived into the Song, so that Su Shi could read them. The only piece by Tao Yuanming that Xiao Tong did not approve of is the "Xian qing fu," which he called "a slight flaw in a white jade disc" 白璧微瑕. Su Shi argues that the "Xian qing fu" is no more licentious than the writings of Qu Yuan and especially Song Yu that he did include in the *Wen xuan*.

What I have always found amusing about this note by Su Shi is his opening remark that he was reading the *Wen xuan* in a boat while traveling. This seems to indicate that he carried a copy of the *Wen xuan*. I have always wondered why if the *Wen xuan* is such a bad book, Su Shi carried it with him in his travels.

Although scholars such as Su Shi claimed not to hold the *Wen xuan* in high regard, there is evidence that the anthology was still high in demand. This can be seen in the printing history of the *Wen xuan* in the Song.

The earliest known printing of the Li Shan version of the *Wen xuan* was done by the Sanguan mige 三館秘閣 (Imperial archives of the Three Institutes) in the early Northern Song between Jingde 景德 4 (1008) and in Dazhong xiangfu 大中祥符 4 (1001).<sup>43</sup> This printing was undertaken at the same time as the printing of the *Wen yuan yinghua* 文苑英華. However, both of these works were destroyed in a fire in 1015. About ten years later, at the beginning of the Tiansheng 天聖 period (1023–1032), a new printing of the *Wen xuan* was prepared. The collation was completed in 1025, the cutting of the blocks was finished in 1029, and the printed text was presented to the emperor in 1031. This edition of the *Wen xuan* is known as the Guozi jian 國子監 edition.<sup>44</sup> It is also called the Tiansheng—Mingdao 天聖明道 edition. Mingdao (1032–1034)

42 On Xiao Tong's views on Tao Yuanming see i.a. Wendy Swartz, *Reading Tao Yuanming: Shifting Paradigms of Historical Reception (427–1900)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 111–15; Wang Ping, *The Age of Courtly Writing: Wen xuan Compiler Xiao Tong (501–531) and His Circle* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 261–77.

43 See Fu Gang, *Wen xuan banben yanjiu*, 151–52.

44 On this edition see Fu Gang, *Wen xuan banben yanjiu*, 157–59.

is the two-year reign period that immediately follows the Tiansheng period. There is evidence that some of the text was reprinted during this period.

A complete version of the Guozhi jian edition does not survive. The Zhongguo guojia tushuguan has twenty-one *juan*, and the Palace Museum in Taipei has eleven *juan*. These appear to be parts of the same work. The Beijing tushuguan version has *juan* 17–19, 30–31, 36–38, 46–47, 49–58, and 60 in fourteen *ce*. The Palace Museum version has *juan* 1–6, 8–11, and 16 in four *ce*.

The most famous Song printing of the Li Shan edition is the version prepared by You Mao 尤袤 (1127–1194) in Chunxi 淳熙 8 (1181). The printing was done by the Chiyang jun zhai 池陽郡齋. Chiyang is the ancient name for Guichi 貴池 in Anhui. The You Mao edition has long been hailed as the earliest version of the Li Shan text that was not contaminated by the *Wuchen* readings. However, based on recent studies, we now know that the You Mao version does not represent a “pure” Li Shan text, but actually shows signs of interpolations from the *Wuchen* version.<sup>45</sup> A beautiful photo-reproduction of the You Mao Chunxi edition was issued by the Zhongguo guojia tushuguan in its Zhonghua zaizao shanben 中華再造善本 series.

Another important Song printing of the *Wen xuan* is the Chen Balang edition mentioned previously in this article.

The *Wen xuan* continued to be printed and studied during the Yuan and Ming periods. This is a subject also worthy of serious study, as well as Qing dynasty scholarship on the *Wen xuan*, which is quite important. I can only say from my own experience that anyone who wishes to do serious research on the *Wen xuan* must consult the studies of Qing dynasty scholars. Recently, Wang Shucai 王書才 has published a thorough study of Ming and Qing *Wen*

45 For studies see Zhang Yueyun 張月雲, “Song kan *Wen xuan* Li Shan danzhu ben kao” 宋刊《文選》李善單注本考, *Zhongwai xuezheng Wen xuan xue lunji*, 793–808; Fu Gang, *Wen xuan banben yanjiu*, 160–67; Chang Sichun 常思春, “You ke ben Li Shan zhu *Wen xuan* lanru *Wuchen* zhu de yuanyou ji You ke ben de laili tansuo” 尤刻本李善注《文選》闖入五臣注的緣由及尤刻本的來歷探索, *Wen xuan yu Wen xuan xue* 文選與文選學 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2003), 640–60; Fan Zhixin, “Li Shan Zhu *Wen xuan* You ke ben chuancheng kaobian” 李善注《文選》尤刻本傳承考辨, *Wen xuan banben lungao* 文選版本論稿 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2003), 35–66.

*xuan* scholarship.<sup>46</sup> A Ph.D. student at Beijing daxue, Hao Xingzi 郝倅仔, just finished writing her dissertation on Ming dynasty *Wen xuan xue*.<sup>47</sup> This is a subject that is much too large for me even to give a superficial discussion here. I will simply refer you to Wang Shucui's work for more information.

The *Wen xuan* was not only important in China from an early period, but became a widely read work in other East Asian countries, especially in Japan and Korea. The *Wen xuan* was transmitted to Japan very early. According to the *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀, which is an imperially sponsored history completed in 797 written in *Kanbun*, a man from the Tang named Yuan Jinqing 袁晉卿 went to Japan in the seventh year of Tempyō (735). Based on his knowledge of the pronunciation of the *Erya* and *Wen xuan*, in 778 he was appointed a professor at the Japanese court.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the *Wen xuan* was already known in Japan at this time.

The *Wen xuan* was a well-known text in the Japanese literary tradition, referred to in two famous works, the *Makura no Sōshi* 枕草子, known in English as *The Pillow Book*, by Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (ca. 966–1017), and *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, *Essays in Idleness*, a collection of Japanese essays written by the monk Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好 (1283?–1350?).<sup>49</sup> First is *Makura no sōshi* in the Sankonbon 三卷本 version:

文は文集。文選。新賦。史記五帝本紀。願文。表。博士の申文。  
As for [Chinese] writings, there are the *Collected Works* [of Bo Juyi],

46 See Wang Shucui, *Ming Qing Wen xuan xue shuping* 明清文選學述評 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008).

47 See Hao Xingzi, “Mingdai *Wenxuan* xue yanjiu” 明代《文選》學研究 (Ph.D. diss., Beijing daxue, 2012.)

48 Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美 (1874–1946) and Kokushi taikai henshūkai 國史大系編修會, ed., *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀 (Tokyo: Kōbunkan, 1935; rpt. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1979), 35.446.

49 Tanaka Jūtarō 田中重太郎, ed., *Makura no sōshi zenchūshaku* 枕冊子全注釋 (Tokyo: Kadakawa shoten, 1972–1973), 193.

the *Wen xuan*, the *Xin fu*,<sup>50</sup> “Annals of the Five Emperors” in the *Shi ji*, religious prayers, petitions, promotion requests of academicians.

Next is *Tsurezuregusa*:

一人、燈のものに文ひろげて、見ぬ世の人をとするぞ。こよなう慰

50 The meaning of the phrase *shinpu* (Chinese *xin fu*) has long eluded most commentators and translators of this passage. One commonly offered explanation is that it designates the Six Dynasties *fu* included in the *Wen xuan*, and thus 新賦 should be construed as connected to the preceding phrase *Wen xuan*. Thus, the line could be construed as “New style *fu* of the *Wen xuan*.” See Matsuo Satoshi 松尾聰 and Nagai Kazuko 永井和子, ed. and comm., *Makura no sōshi*, in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文學全集 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997), 336. Indeed, in the late Six Dynasties period, a new type of *fu* composition emerged, which is normally called *pian fu* 駢賦 (parallel-style *fu*). However, the *Wen xuan* does not contain many of the most famous examples of this form by such writers as Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581). Thus, I do not consider this hypothesis convincing. Recently Zhang Peihua 張培華 has proposed that *shinpu/xinpu*, meaning “new style *fu*,” refers to the *lü fu* 律賦 which was the new form of regulated *fu* introduced during the Tang dynasty. See Zhang Peihua, “*Makura no sōshi ni okeru Kanbungaku juyō no kankōsei*” 枕草子における漢文 受容の可能性 (Ph.D. diss., Sōgō kenkyū daigakuin daigaku 合研究大院大, 2012), 236–60. One important piece of evidence Dr. Zhang uses to support this hypothesis is the occurrence of the phrase in the *Fu pu* 賦譜, a manual on *lü fu* composition which survives only as a manuscript held by the Gotō bijutsukan 五島美術館 in Japan. This work has been dated to the Mid-Tang or even Late Tang period. In one section of the *Fu pu* there is a discussion of the difference between *gu fu* 古賦 (ancient style *fu*) and *xinti fu* 新體賦 (new style *fu*). The latter term clearly designates the *lü fu* or regulated *fu*. See Zhan Hanglun 詹杭倫, “*Fu pu* jiaozhu” 《賦譜》校注, in Zhan Hanglun, Li Li-hsin 李立信, and Liao Kuo-tung 廖國棟, *Tang Song fuxue xintan* 唐宋賦學新探 (Taipei: Wanjuan lou tushu youxian gongsi, 2005), 78, n. 3. Professor Zhan mentions that in Tang times, what eventually became known as *lü fu* was commonly called *xin ti fu* 新體賦 or *xin fu* 新賦. *Lü fu* was first used in the Five Dynasties period. Although the meaning of *shinpu* is now clear, there remains the question of whether we should construe it as the name of an anthology or simply a designation of a type of *fu* that Sei Shōnagon enjoyed reading. An answer to this question is supplied by a catalogue compiled by Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 (1106–1159), which lists a work titled *Shinpu ryakushō* 新賦抄 (Brief extracts of new style *fu* compositions in one *kan* (= 卷). See *Tsūken nyūdō zōsho mokuroku* 通憲入道藏書目錄, in Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, ed. *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類從, zatsu-bu 雜部, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1991), 18: 198. In China, a *chao* 抄 (Japanese *shō*) was an epitome or digest of a larger anthology of writings. Thus, the *Shinpu ryakushō* is very likely a digest of an anthology titled *Shinpu*. It is parallel to *Monzen/Wen xuan*. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Paul Atkins, Ted Mack, and Nicholas Williams in helping me to solve the riddle of the meaning of *Shinpu*.

むぎなる。文は文選のあれなる巻々、白氏文集、老子のことば。南華の篇。この博士ともの書ける物も、ひにしへのは、あはれなることかり。

The pleasantest of all diversions is to sit alone under the lamp, a book spread out before you, and to make friends with people of a distant past you have never known. The books I would choose are the moving volumes of *Wen xuan*, the collected works of Bo Juyi, the sayings of Laozi, and the chapters of *Zhuangzi*. Among the works by scholars of this country, those written long ago are often quite interesting.<sup>51</sup>

Many manuscripts of the *Wen xuan* have been preserved in Japan. The most important of these is the *Wen xuan jizhu* (Japanese: *Monzen shūchū*). This work originally was in 120-juan. Only some twenty-plus juan survive. Portions of the manuscript have been preserved in various places in Japan.<sup>52</sup> Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940) made a facsimile reproduction of sixteen juan.<sup>53</sup> There was a printing in Japan of twenty-three juan between 1934 and 1941 under the title *Kyūshōbon Monzen shūchū zankan* 舊鈔本文選集注殘卷.<sup>54</sup> In 2000, the Shanghai guji chubanshe published the extant fragments. This was edited by Professor Zhou Xunchu of Nanjing University.<sup>55</sup>

Scholars do not agree on the date and provenance of this edition of the *Wen xuan*. At one time it looked as if there was a definite early Chinese provenance for the text when the Taiwan scholar Ch'iu Ch'i-yang 邱榮陽 in

51 Yasuraoka Kōsaku 安良岡康作, ed., *Tsurezuregusa zenchūshaku* 徒然草全注釋 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1967–1968), 69; translation by Donald Keene, *Essays in Idleness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 12, Wade-Giles Romanization changed to *pinyin*.

52 For a listing of the extant portions and their history of transmission see Yokoyama Hiroshi 横山弘, “Jiu chaoben *Wen xuan jizhu* chuancun (liuchuan) gai lue” 舊鈔本《文選及注》傳存(流傳)概略 *Zhaoming Wen xuan yu Zhongguo chuantong wenhua* 昭明文選與中國傳統文化 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2001), 123–25.

53 See Luo Zhenyu, *Tang xie Wen xuan jizhu canjuan* 唐寫文選集注殘卷, in *Jiacao xuan congshu* 嘉草軒叢書, 1918.

54 This was published as volumes 3–9 of *Kyōto teikoku daigaku bungakubu keiin kyūshōbon* 京都帝國大學文學部景印舊鈔本 (Kyoto: Kyōto teikoku daigaku bungakubu, 1934–41).

55 See Zhou Xunchu, ed., *Tang chao Wen xuan jizhu hui cun* 唐鈔文選集注彙存, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000).

1971 discovered in *juan* 68 what he thought were the seals of the famous Song dynasty book collector Tian Wei 田偉 (11<sup>th</sup> cent.).<sup>56</sup> However, it turns out that the person named Tian whose seals were affixed to the first two pages of this *juan* was not Tian Wei, but a man named Tian Qian 田潛 (1870–1926) who studied in Japan between 1902 and 1905. At that time he purchased several *juan* of the *Wen xuan jizhu*. Thus, we cannot be certain whether the received version of the *Wen xuan jizhu* was copied in China or Japan. Professor Zhou Xunchu has made a detailed study of the seals of the manuscript.<sup>57</sup>

Zhou Xunchu has argued that *Wen xuan jizhu* is a Tang dynasty work. He notes, for example, that it only avoids taboos on the names of the first two Tang emperors Li Yuan 李淵 (Gaozu) and Li Shimin 李世民 (Taizong), but not Li Xian 李顯 (Zhongzong) or Li Longji 李隆基 (Xuanzong), and it does not avoid taboos on the names of any Song emperors. In addition, the writing of certain characters such as *bi* 閉 “close” (written 閉) and *e* 惡 “odious” (written 惡) is consistent with Tang scribal practice. Thus, Professor Zhou concludes that the *Wen xuan jizhu* is a product of the Middle Tang. His essay on this subject serves as an introduction to the reproduction of the remaining portions of the work (twenty-four *juan*) that was published by the Shanghai guji chubanshe in 2000.

However, Professor Fan Zhixin has disputed Zhou Xunchu’s evidence on taboo characters and Tang scribal practice. He concludes that the received version of the *Wen xuan jizhu* is a transcription done in Japan during the Heian 平安 period (794–1185).<sup>58</sup> Recently, Professor Chen Chong of Kyushu University has proposed that the compiler was the Heian period poet-scholar

56 See “Jin cun Riben zhi *Wen xuan jizhu* canjuan wei Zhongtu Tang xiejuan jiu cangben” 今存日本之《文選集注》殘卷為中土唐寫卷舊藏本, *Zhongyang ribao* (October 30, 1974).

57 Zhou Xunchu, “*Wen xuan jizhu* shang de yinzhang kao” 《文選集注》上的印章考, *Zhaoming Wen xuan yu chuantong wenhua* 昭明文選與傳統文化 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2001), 126–30.

58 See Fan Zhixin, “Guanyu *Wen xuan jizhu* bianzuan liuchuan ruogan wenti de sikao” 關於《文選集注》編纂流傳若干問題的思考, *Wen xuan banben lungao*, 245–56.

Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡 (952–1012).<sup>59</sup>

The *Wen xuan jizhu* is valuable for preserving other Tang commentaries besides Li Shan and *Wuchen*. These include commentaries called *Chao* 鈔 and *Yin jue* 音決, which may have written by Gongsun Luo. Another important commentary is by Lu Shanjing 陸善經.

Lu Shanjing was from the old distinguished Lu family of Wu 吳郡 commandery (modern Suzhou). He was a learned scholar. During the Kaiyuan period Xiao Song 蕭嵩 (d. 749) recommended him for appointment to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies where he participated in the compilation of the *Kaiyuan xin li* 開元新禮. Beginning in 734, he worked on an annotation to the *Yue ling* 月令. Later, he was a member of the group of scholars who compiled the *Tang liu dian* 唐六典. He also wrote a commentary to the *Mengzi*.<sup>60</sup>

Xiao Song was the seventh generation descendant of Xiao Tong. In 729, while he was serving as secretariat director, he was also in charge of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. During this period he proposed that because the *Wen xuan* “was a old legacy of former ages” (先代舊業), it should be annotated. He presented a petition to the court recommending that Wang Zhiming 王智明, Li Xuancheng 李玄成, Chen Ju 陳居 and others write a commentary to the anthology. However, this project was never completed.<sup>61</sup> According to the *Jixian zhuji* 集賢注記 by Wei Shu 韋述, which was completed in 765, the annotation of the *Wen xuan* began in 729. Prior to this

59 Chen Chong 陳翀, “*Shūchū Monzen no seiritsu katei ni tsuite: Heian no shiryō o tegakari toshite*” 『集注文選』の成立過成について：平安の史料を手掛かりとして, *Chūgoku bungaku ronshū* 38 (2009): 49–61; Chen Chong, “*Wen xuan jizhu zhi bianzhe ji qi chengshu niandai kao*” 《文選集注》之編者及其成書年代, *Dibajie Wen xuan xue guoji yantaohui lunwenji* 第八屆文選學國際研討會論文集, ed. Zhao Changzhi 趙昌智 and Gu Nong 顧農 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2010), 121–26.

60 On Lu Shanjing see Niimi Hiroshi 新美寛, “Riku Zankei no jiseki ni tsukite” 陸善經の事に就いて, *Shinagaku* 9.1 (1937): 131–48; Xiang Zonglu 向宗魯, “Shu Lu Shanjing shi—ti Wen xuan jizhu hou” 書陸善經事——題文選集注後, *Siwen banyuekan* 3.2 (1943): 14; rpt. in Qu Shouyuan, *Zhaoming Wen xuan zashu ji xuanjiang* 昭明文選雜述及選講 (Taipei: Guanya wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1990), 21–23; Fujii Mamoru 藤井守, “Monzen shūchū ni mieru Riku Zankei chū ni tsuite” 文選集注に見える陸善經注について, *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 37 (1977): 287–301.

61 See Liu Su, *Dan Tang xinyu*, 134.

time Feng Guangzhen 馮光震 had petitioned the court to request that a new commentary be written to the *Wen xuan* on the grounds that the commentary of Li Shan was “not refined”. Feng Guangzhen himself annotated several *juan*. Xiao Song in 729 requested to continue the annotation. One of the scholars he appointed to work on the project was Lu Shanjing.<sup>62</sup> Although the project was never finished, it is possible that Lu Shanjing continued to work on it on his own.

Lu Shanjing’s commentary survives only in the Japanese manuscript of the *Wen xuan jizhu*. I have found that it often provides useful information and insightful readings that are different from Li Shan and Wuchen. Although there are brief remarks on it by various Chinese and Japanese scholars no one has done a systematic study of it. This would also be a worthwhile project for some enterprising scholar to undertake.<sup>63</sup>

The *Wen xuan* was also important in Korea. I do not know Korean, so I am reluctant to say much about the reception history of the *Wen xuan* in Korea. Most of what I know about this subject comes from one of my students, Jeong Wook-jin, who is writing a Ph.D. dissertation on the reception history of the *Wen xuan* in Korea. We know that the *Wen xuan* was transmitted to Korea at least by Tang times. For example, the chapter of the *Jiu Tang shu* on Korea mentions that the *Wen xuan* was one of the texts that was kept in nearly every Korean scholar’s household.<sup>64</sup> In 788, the Shilla court introduced an examination system that consisted of three grades. In the first grade, candidates were tested on the *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan*, *Li ji*, *Lun yu*, *Xiao jing*, and *Wen xuan*.<sup>65</sup> The *Wen xuan* continued to be highly prestigious text in Korea until the Choson dynasty (1392–1910) when Korean scholars began to take a strong interest in *guwen* prose. However, during this period a Korean version of the *Wen xuan* was compiled. This is the *Tongmunsŏn* 東文選 or *Eastern Wen xuan*.

62 Cited in *Yu hai* 玉海, *Siku quanshu*, 54.9b–10a.

63 The most detailed study to date is Satō Toshiyuki 佐藤利行, “*Monzen shuchū bon* Risō kyō isshu shoin Riku Zankei chū ni tsuite” 『文選集注本』離騷經一首所引陸善經注について, *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 58 (1998): 102–21; 59 (1999): 62–76; 60 (2000): 133–52.

64 See *Jiu Tang shu*, 199A.5320.

65 See Kim Pusik 金富軾, *Yōkchu Samguk sagi* 譯注三國史記, Chōng Kubok 鄭求福 et al. comm., (Kyōnggi-do Sōngnam: Han’guk chōngsin munhwa yŏn’guwŏn, 1988), 2.209.

It was compiled under royal command in 1478 by Sō Kōjōng 徐居正 (1420–1488). It is an historical anthology of Korean writings in classical Chinese. Like the *Wen xuan* it is arranged by genre.<sup>66</sup>

The *Wen xuan* was also printed in Korea, and several important editions are preserved there.<sup>67</sup> I will only mention one here. This is a recently discovered Korean printing of the *Liujia Wen xuan* dated 1428 that is held in the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 Library of Seoul National University. However, it is based on a printing done in Xiuzhou 秀州 (modern Jiaxing 嘉興, Zhejiang) in 1094. The Xiuzhou edition is the earliest known printing to combine the *Wuchen* and Li Shan commentaries. The *Wuchen* portion of the text is actually based on a printing done in Pingchang 平昌 (modern Anqiu 安丘, Shandong) before 1026. This makes it earlier by more than a hundred years than the Chen Balang edition. The Li Shan commentary is based on the edition prepared by the Song Guozijian 國子監 in 1029.

In the twentieth century, Japanese scholars did important scholarly work on the *Wen xuan*, especially on the study of editions and manuscripts. The most notable work of this period was done by Professor Shiba Rokurō 斯波六郎 (1894–1959). Professor Shiba received his Ph.D. at Kyoto University in 1942 where he studied with the renowned Sinologists Kanō Naoki 狩野直喜 (1868–1947). Already in 1929 Professor Kanō published an article about a Tang

66 For useful discussions of this work in Chinese see Chen Yiqiu 陳彝秋, “Xu Juzheng yu *Dong Wen xuan*” 徐居正與《東文選》, *Gudian wenxue zhishi* 2008.6: 78–87; Chen Yiqiu, “Chaoxian *Dong Wen xuan* shiti fenlei yu bianpai suyuan” 朝鮮《東文選》詩體分類與編排溯源, *Nanjing shifan daxue wenxueyuan xuebao* 2008.4: 133–38; Chen Yiqiu, “Lun Zhongguo fuxue de dongchuan—yi *Dong Wen xuan* cifu de fenlei yu bianpai wei zhongxin” 論中國賦學的東傳——以《東文選》辭賦的分類與編排為中心, *Nanjing shehui kexue* 2010.3: 144–50; Chen Qiuyi, “Lun Zhongguo xuanben dui Chaoxian *Dong Wen xuan* wenti fenlei yu bianpai de yingxiang” 論中國選本對朝鮮《東文選》文體分類與編排的影響, *Nanjing shida xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 2010.3: 133–37.

67 See i.a. Kim Hak-chu 金學主, Toyofuku Kenji 豐福健二, trans. “Richō-kan *Goshi chū Monzen ni tsuite*” 李朝刊『五臣注文選』について, *Chūgoku chūsei bungaku kenkyū* 24 (1993): 45–63; Chōng Ok-sun 鄭玉順, “Xiancun Hanguo kanxing *Wen xuan* banben kao” 現存韓國刊行《文選》版本考, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 1998.4–5: 86–93; Isobe Akira 磯部彰, “Chōsen-ban *Goshin chū Monzen no kenkyū*” 朝鮮版五臣注『文選』の研究, *Tōhoku Ajia arakaruto* (2006): 1–50.

manuscript of the *Wen xuan*.<sup>68</sup> However, before this time Professor Shiba had already been teaching at various colleges in Hiroshima. Most of his teaching career was at Hiroshima University 廣島大學. As early as the 1930s, Shiba Rokurō began publishing articles on the *Wen xuan jizhu*. Many of his students also did important work on this text. Their studies of the commentaries contained in the *Wen xuan jizhu* are quite important. However, Professor Shiba's most notable contribution was a long study of the textual history of the *Wen xuan*. In 1959, he published a 100-plus page “*Monzen shohon no kenkyū*” 文選諸本の研究 as an introduction to his concordance to the *Wen xuan*.<sup>69</sup> This was the standard work on *Wen xuan* editions and textual history until Fu Gang published his book-length work in the year 2000.

Hiroshima University was long a center for the study of the *Wen xuan*. One of Professor Shiba's most famous students was Obi Kōichi 小尾郊一 (1913–2010). Professor Obi probably is best known for his book on Chinese views of nature in the Six Dynasties period.<sup>70</sup> He also has done important work on the *Wen xuan*. Beginning in 1966, he and his students and colleagues at Hiroshima University began a thorough study of the works that were cited in Li Shan's *Wen xuan* commentary. This culminated in the publication in 1990 and 1992 of a huge two-volume work.<sup>71</sup> This is to date the most thorough study of the works cited in Li Shan's commentary.

68 See Kanō Naoki, “Tō shōhon Monzen zanpen hatsu” 唐鈔本文選殘篇跋, *Shinagaku* 5.1 (1929).

69 Shiba Rokurō, *Monzen sakuin* 文選索引, 4 vols., 1: 3–105. Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1959. There are two Chinese translations of this: Dai Yan 戴燕, “Dui *Wen xuan* gezhong banben de yanjiu” 對《文選》各種版本的研究, *Zhongwai xuezhe Wen xuan xue lunji* 中外學者文選學論集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 849–961; Huang Chin-hung 黃錦鏞 and Ch'en Shu-nü 陳淑女, trans., *Wen xuan zhuben zhi yanjiu* 文選諸本之研究 (Taipei: Fayans chubanshe, 2003).

70 Obi Kōichi, 小尾郊一, *Chūgoku bungaku ni arawareta shizen to shizenkan: cūsei bungaku o chūshin to shite* 中國文學に現れわれた自然と自然觀: 中世文學を中心として (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1962); Chinese translation: Shao Yiping 邵毅平, *Zhongguo wenxue zhong suo biao xian de ziran yu ziran guan* 中國文學中表現的自然與自然觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).

71 Obi Kōichi Tominaga Kazutaka and Kinugawa Kenji 衣川賢次, *Monzen Ri Zen chū insho kōshō* 文選李善注引書考證 (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1990–1992).

Professor Obi also wrote a series of articles about various aspects of the *Wen xuan* including Xiao Tong's preface, Li Shan's commentary, the transmission of the *Wen xuan* in both China and Japan, and studies of individual pieces including Ji Kang's "Yang sheng lun" 養生論, Li Kang's "Yun ming lun" 運命論, and Liu Jun's 劉峻 (462–521) "Bian ming lun" 辨命論. These articles were collected in a book published in 2001: *Chinshi to kansō: Monzen no kenkyū* 沈思と翰藻：文選の研究.<sup>72</sup> Professor Obi also was the co-translator of the entire *Wen xuan* into modern Japanese.<sup>73</sup>

One of the most prolific Japanese scholars who has worked on the *Wen xuan* is Okamura Shigeru 岡村繁. He was born in 1922. Professor Okamura is well known to Chinese readers because most of his publication have been translated into Chinese. Professor Okamura was a student of Shiba Rokurō. He was professor at Kyushu University in Fukuoka. Beginning in the 1960s, Professor Okamura began to publish a series of studies of the *Wen xuan*. Most of these have been collected in a book published in 1999.<sup>74</sup> The Chinese translation was published in 2002.<sup>75</sup>

One of Professor Okamura's important studies is of the Eisei bunko 永青文庫 Dunhuang manuscript. This manuscript had long been forgotten. In 1965, a photoreproduction of it was issued in 1965 by the Eisei bunko in Tokyo.<sup>76</sup>

The manuscript contains five pieces from *juan* 40 of the *Wen xuan*. The commentary, which seems to be written at the level of beginning students, may be earlier than the Li Shan commentary. Professor Okamura has done a complete reconstruction of the commentary. This is a brilliant piece of textual

72 Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 2001.

73 Obi Kōichi and Hanabusa Hideki 花房英樹, trans. *Monzen*, 7 vols., *Zenshaku Kambun taikei* 26–32 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1974–76).

74 Okamura Shigeru, *Monzen no kenkyū* 文選の研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999).

75 Okamura Shigeru, *Wen xuan zhi yanjiu* 文選之研究, Vol. 2 of *Gangcun Fan quanji* 岡村繁全集, 10 vols (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002).

76 Okamura Shigeru, *Tonkō-bon Monzen chū* 敦煌本文選注 (Tokyo: Eisei bunko, 1965).

analysis.<sup>77</sup>

In 1987, Professor Okamura published an article in which he examined the differences between the citations of *wei shu* 緯書 (weft texts) in Dunhuang manuscripts and later printed versions of the *Wen xuan*. What he discovered is that the Dunhuang manuscripts must have represented an earlier version of Li Shan's commentary. In these versions Li Shan does not show much knowledge of the *wei shu*, but in the printed versions, which presumably represent a later version of his commentary, his command of this material is much greater.<sup>78</sup>

The most controversial Japanese *Wen xuan* specialist is Shimizu Yoshio 清水凱夫. Born in 1941, Professor Shimizu is professor at Ritsumeikan University 立命館大學. He is well known to Chinese scholars as well because most of his writings have been translated into Chinese.<sup>79</sup> Professor Shimizu's Japanese studies of the *Wen xuan* were published in a collection issued in

77 See Okamura Shigeru, "Hosogawa-ke Eisei bunko zō Donkoban *Monzen chū* ni tsuite—Tōdai shoki *Monzen chūkai hen-ei*" 細川家永青文庫藏『敦煌本文選注』について—唐代初期『文選』注解片影, *Shūkan Tōyōgaku* 14 (1965): 1–26; rpt. in Okamura Shigeru, *Monzen no kenkyū* 文選研究, 129–59; Chinese trans. by Lu Xiaoguang 陸曉光, "Ribben Hosogawa-ke Eisei bunko cang Dunhuang *Wen xuan zhu*—Tangdai chuqi *Wen xuan* zhujie de ceying" 日本細川家永青文庫藏《敦煌本文選注》唐代初期《文選》注解的側影, *Gangcun Fan quanji*, 2: 144–81; Okamura Shigeru, "Tonkō-bon *Monzen chū* kōshaku" 《敦煌本文選注》校釋, *Tōhoku daigaku kyōiku gakubu* (Jinbun kagaku hen) 4 (1966): 194–249; Okamura Shigeru, "Eisei bunko zō Tonkō-bon *Monzen chū* sentei" 永青文庫藏敦煌本《文選注》箋訂, *Kurume daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 3 (1993): 53–86; 11 (1997): 15–64. These two were reprinted in Okamura Shigeru, *Monzen no kenkyū* under the title "Eisei bunko zō Tonkō-bon *Monzen chū* sentei" 永青文庫藏敦煌本《文選注》箋訂, 161–289; Chinese trans. by Lu Xiaoguang 陸曉光, "Eisei bunko cang Dunhuang ben *Wen xuan zhu* jiangding," *Gangcun Fan quanji*, 2: 182–316; see also trans. by Luo Guowei 羅國威, "Yongqing wenku cang Dunhuang ben *Wen xuan zhu* jiangding," *Xueshu jilin* 14 (1998): 133–73 and *Xueshu jilin* 15 (1999): 170–233; rpt. Luo Guowei, *Dunhuang ben Wen xuan zhu jianzheng* 敦煌本《文選注》箋證, 75–211.

78 Okamura Shigeru, "Monzen Ri Zen chū no henshū katei" 『文選』李善注の編修過程, *Tōhōgakkai sōritsu yonjishūnen kinen* 東方學會創立四十周年紀念 (Tokyo: Tōhō gakkai, 1987), 225–43; rpt. in Okamura Shigeru, *Monzen no kenkyū*, 291–310; Chinese version: "Wen xuan Li Shan zhu de bianxiu guocheng" 《文選》李善注的編修過程, *Zhaoming Wen xuan yanjiu lunwen ji*, 165–75; *Gangcun Fan quanji* 2: 317–38.

79 See Han Jiguo 韓基國, trans., *Liuchao wenzue lunwen ji* 六朝文學論文集 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1989).

1999.<sup>80</sup>

Professor Shimizu's most controversial hypothesis is that Xiao Tong had very little to do with compiling the *Wen xuan*. He argues that the principal compiler was Liu Xiaochuo 劉孝綽 (481–539). Professor Shimizu wrote many articles on this subject. His presentation is complex and convoluted, but he bases his conclusion primarily on two arguments. The first is that the common practice in the Six Dynasties period for members of the staff of princes like Xiao Tong to do the working of compiling works, and the prince would then get his name assigned as the main compiler. Shimizu thinks this is the case with the *Wen xuan*. Second, Shimizu claims to have found in the *Wen xuan* examples of pieces that Liu Xiaochuo must have chosen for personal reasons. One example that he makes much of is the “Guang jue jiao lun” 廣絕交論 (Expanding on the “Disquisition on Severing Relations”) by Liu Jun. Ca. 509, Liu Jun left Jiankang to take up residence in southern Dongyang 東陽 (modern Jinhua 金華). In 508, the famous scholar Ren Fang 任昉 (460–508) had died in Xin'an 新安 (administrative seat at Shixin 始新, located northwest of modern Chun'an 淳安, Zhejiang). On his way to Dongyang, Liu Jun passed through Xin'an and discovered that Ren Fang's sons were destitute. He composed “Guang jue jiao lun” to express his outrage that none of Ren Fang's friends had come to the aid of his children. One of Ren Fang's friends was a man named Dao Qia 到洽 (477–527). He and Liu Xiaochuo were colleagues at the Liang court. Both men were distinguished scholars and poets. However, Liu Xiaochuo often insulted Dao Qia in public and private settings. When Dao Qia was made censor-in-chief in 526, he brought to the emperor's attention a damning case against Liu Xiaochuo who had allegedly, when moving into his new official residence, chose the companionship of a concubine over his mother. There are speculations about who his concubine was and, as a matter of fact, whether it was Liu Xiaochuo's concubine or a sister. According to Professor Shimizu, Liu Xiaochuo harbored a grudge against Dao Qia. And thus he included the “Guang jue jiao lun” as way of getting revenge against him.

80 See Shimizu Yoshio, *Shin Monzengaku: Monzen no xinkenkyū* 新文選學:《文選》新研究 (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1999).

Professor Shimizu's arguments have been met with strong criticism from several Chinese scholars, notably Gu Nong 顧農 and Qu Shouyuan (1913–2001). Gu Nong argues that the “Guang juejiao lun” was not directed only at the Dao Qia, but all of Ren Fang's friends who failed to come to the aid of his destitute sons. He also notes that Liu Xiaochuo was one of Ren Fang's close friends. If he chose this piece to expose the insensitivity and ingratitude of Dao Qia, he is also implicating himself in this same kind of behavior, for Liu Xiaochuo was also a close friend of Ren Fang's.<sup>81</sup> Qu Shouyuan argues that the main point of the “Guang jue jiao lun” is not to attack Dao Qia, for the piece is rather a complaint about the difficult conditions of the times that resulted in children of someone like Ren Fang encountering such hardship. Indeed, a close reading of Liu Jun's piece confirms this interpretation. At the Third International *Wen xuan* conference held in Zhengzhou in 1995, Shimizu presented a long paper attempting to refute Gu's criticisms. This was published in the conference proceedings in 1997.<sup>82</sup>

Professor Qu issued a point-by-point critique of Shimizu's arguments in the conference proceedings of the Third International *Wen xuan* Conference held in Zhengzhou in 1995.<sup>83</sup>

I will conclude my talk with a brief discussion of *Wen xuan* studies in Europe and the United States. The *Wen xuan* was not much studied in Western Sinology until the twentieth century. The earliest Western scholar to call attention to the *Wen xuan* was Arthur Waley (1889–1966).

Arthur Waley was born in Tunbridge Wells in 1889. His father, whose last name was Schloss, was a wealthy civil-servant in the Board of Trade. In the anti-German sentiment of 1914, the family adopted the maiden name of his mother, Waley. He received his university education in classics at King's College, Cambridge. His family wanted him to take up a business career in the

81 Gu Nong, “Yu Qingshui Kaifu xiansheng lun Wen xuan bianzhe wenti” 與清水凱夫先生論文選編者問題, *Qi Lu xuekan* 1993.1; rpt in *Zhongwai xuezheng Wen xuan xue lunji*, 492–504.

82 Shimizu Yoshio, “Jiu Wen xuan bianzhe wenti da Gu Nong xiansheng” 就《文選》編者問題答顧農先生, in *Wen xuan xue xin lun* 文選學新論, ed. Zhongguo xuanxue yanjiu hui 中國選學研究會 and Zhengzhou daxue guji zhengli yanjiusuo 鄭州大學古籍整理研究所 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997), 34–50.

83 Qu Shouyuan, “‘Xin Wen xuan xue’ chu yi” 新文選學芻議, *Wen xuan xue xin lun*, 51–60.

export business. However, in 1913, he accepted a position in the Print Room of the British Museum instead. It was at the British Museum that Waley acquired his interest in Chinese and Japanese. He worked for the British Museum for eighteen years (1913–1930), during which time he prepared a catalogue of Chinese paintings. He soon learned enough Chinese to begin translating Chinese poetry. In 1918 he published *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, followed by *More Translations* in 1919, and *The Temple* in 1923 which was the first Western language work to present translations of the *fu*. Waley quit his position at the British Museum in 1930, and from that time on never held another official position. He devoted the rest of his life to writing a prodigious number of books on Chinese and Japanese literature. In his *Temple* published in 1923 Waley published translations, or most partial translations of pre-Qin, Han, and Wei-Jin period *fu*. Only two were from the *Wen xuan*. The reason for this is that Waley had a low opinion of the *Wen xuan*. His remarks are worthy quoting in full:

The *Wen Hsüan*, an anthology of literature made by Prince Chao-ming circa A.D. 520. Far too much space is given to mediocre writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. As long ago as the eleventh century Su Tung-p'o complained of the wretchedly low standard of literary taste exhibited by the *Wen Hsüan*. It is a disaster that the compilation of the sole surviving anthology should have fallen into the lot of this amiable, but incompetent aristocrat.<sup>84</sup>

It is amusing to see that Su Shi's criticism of the *Wen xuan* are repeated by the first Western scholar to do serious study of the works contained in the *Wen xuan*.

About the same that Waley delivered his severe condemnation of the *Wen xuan* Georges Margouliès (1902–1972), published a book of selected translation of what he called “*fu* in the *Wen xuan*.” Margouliès (1902–1972) was a Russian-born author and translator. He lived primarily in France from

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<sup>84</sup> Arthur Waley, *The Temple and Other Poems* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1923), 147.

1919 until his death in 1972. Margouliès received his Docteur Ês-Lettres from the École des Langues Orientales, in Paris, where he taught as a lecturer from 1926 until 1939. Margouliès only translated Xiao Tong's preface, Ban Gu's 班固 "Xi du fu" 西都賦, and Jiang Yan's 江淹 "Bie fu" 別賦.<sup>85</sup> However, his translations have many errors. These were pointed out by an Austrian Sinologist named Erwin von Zach (1872–1942) in several reviews von Zach published in the journal *T'oung Pao* in 1928.<sup>86</sup>

Erwin von Zach was born in Austria. He was a member of the Austro-Hungarian consular service from 1901 to 1919, and during most of this period he served in China. He had a profound knowledge of Chinese as well as Manchu and Tibetan. Although he studied briefly at Leiden under Gustav Schlegel, he seems to have been self-trained. His first major publications, which were corrections to Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, were first published in China. In 1909 he presented a portion of this work as a dissertation at Vienna University.

After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1919, von Zach moved to Batavia (modern Jakarta, Indonesia), where he worked for the Dutch consular service in the Netherlands East Indies until 1924, when he resigned his position to pursue his scholarly studies full time. Until his death in 1942 aboard a ship that was sunk by the Japanese, von Zach devoted himself to the translation of Chinese literature. He translated nearly all of the poetry of Du Fu, Han Yu, and Li Bo, and about 90% of the *Wen xuan*. Von Zach's irascible personality and penchant for acerbic criticism of other scholar's work eventually made it difficult for him to publish in established Sinological journals. Von Zach and Pelliot had a particularly bitter exchange in the late 1920s. Pelliot eventually became so angered, he banished von Zach from the *T'oung Pao* with the words, "Il ne sera plus question de M. E. von Zach dans le *T'oung Pao*."<sup>87</sup> Nearly all of his publications appeared in obscure journals that

85 See Georges Margouliès, *Le "Fou" dans le Wen siuan: Etude et textes* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926).

86 Erwin von Zach, "Zu G. Margouliès Übersetzung des Pieh-fu," *T'oung Pao* 25 (1928): 359–60; "Zu G. Margouliès Übersetzung des Wen-fu," *T'oung Pao* 25 (1928): 360–64.

87 See Erwin von Zach, "Monsieur E. von Zach," *T'oung Pao* 26 (1929): 378.

were issued in Batavia. He also issued some publications at his own expense. Fortunately, most of his translations have been collected and published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute.<sup>88</sup> Von Zach translated 90% of the *Wen xuan* into German. His translations are quite literal and have no annotations. Nevertheless, there are remarkably accurate.

I will mention only one other Western scholar before I conclude my discussion of *Wen xuan* studies in the West. This is my teacher James Robert Hightower (1915–2006). Professor Hightower was born in 1915. He received his B.A. degree in chemistry from the University of Colorado. After spending a brief period in Europe where he explored the possibility of becoming a creative writer, he went to Harvard University to pursue graduate work in Chinese. He studied in Beijing from 1940 to 1943 and 1946 to 1948. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1946. Hightower was appointed to the faculty of Harvard in 1948, where he taught Chinese literature until his retirement in 1981. Professor Hightower generally is regarded as the foremost American specialist on Chinese literature of his generation. His dissertation on the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 is one of the best studies of this text in any language.<sup>89</sup> In 1970, he published his masterful annotated translation of the complete poems of Tao Qian 陶潛.<sup>90</sup> Professor Hightower had a strong interest in the *Wen xuan*. One of his first published articles was a masterful translation and analysis of Xiao Tong's preface to the *Wen xuan*.<sup>91</sup> He also was one of the first Western scholars to do annotated translations of works in the *Wen xuan*. His elegant renderings, combined with a rigorous philological approach, are models of literary

88 Erwin von Zach, *Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen Hsüan*, ed. Ilse Martin Fang Harvard-Yenching Studies 18, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

89 See the book based on the dissertation: James Robert Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan. Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952).

90 Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

91 Hightower, "The *Wen Hsüan* and Genre Theory", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1957): 512–33; rpt. in *Studies in Chinese Literature*, ed. John L. Bishop (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 142–63; Chinese trans. by Shi Muhong 史慕鴻, *Zhongwai xuezheng Wen xuan xue lunji*, 1118–30.

scholarship.<sup>92</sup>

There are other Western scholars who had done good translations of pieces in the *Wen xuan*. David Hawkes 霍克思 (1923–2009) translated all of the *Sao* poems into English. Other scholars who have translated important selections from the *Wen xuan* include Richard Mather 馬瑞志 (1913–2014), Donald Holzman 侯思孟 (1926–), Yves Hervouet 吳德明 (1921–1999), J. D. Frodsham 傅德山, Burton Watson 華滋生, and Paul Kroll 柯睿.<sup>93</sup> Paul Kroll's translations are models of good scholarship and highly readable English. I have been working on a translation of the *Wen xuan*. I finished the *fu* section many years ago. The annotated translation of the *fu* section in three volumes have been published by Princeton University Press. I am still working on the *shi* section. However, many other projects have prevented me from working on the *Wen xuan* full time. I hope to return to this project when I retire in June of this year.

92 Hightower, "The *Fu* of T'ao Ch'ien," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954): 220–25 (Tao Qian, "Guiqulai ci" 歸去來辭); rpt. in *Studies in Chinese Literature*, ed. John L. Bishop (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 89–106; "Chia Yi's 'Owl Fu,'" *Asia Major*, N.S. 7.1–2 (1959): 125–30 (Jia Yi 賈誼, "Funiao fu" 鵬鳥賦); "Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose," *Studia Serica Dedicata* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959), 70–76 (translation of Kong Zhigui 孔稚珪, "Beishan yiwén" 北山移文); rpt. in *Studies in Chinese Literature*, 118–22. See also Hightower's *Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* cited above for his translations of Tao Qian's *shi* poems in the *Wen xuan*.

93 For a listing of other Western language translations of selected pieces in the *Wen xuan* see Kang Dawei 康達維 (David R. Knechtges), "Ou Mei 'Wen xuan xue' yanjiu" 歐美「文選學」研究, in *Zhongwai xue zhe Wen xuan xue lunzhu suoyin*, ed. Yu Shaochu and Xu Yimin, 285–304.

# 《文選》在中國與海外的流傳

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《文選》是中國現存最早的按文章體裁編輯的文章選集。本文首先探討《文選》在唐宋時期的傳播與接受史，關注初唐出現的文選學、唐代詩人對《文選》的興趣、《文選》早期的印刷史、「文選爛，秀才半」這一說法的起源以及蘇軾對《文選》的嚴厲批評。本文第二部分關注《文選》在海外的接受史。在東亞其他國家，尤其是日本和韓國，《文選》是受到廣泛閱讀的作品。早在八世紀，《文選》便傳到日本。日本保存了許多重要的《文選》底本，其中最重要的底本就是《文選集注》，包含在中國本土已經散佚的唐人評注。在韓國，《文選》也很重要。在高麗王朝時期（1392–1910），《文選》的朝鮮文版編輯出版：1478年，朝鮮皇室命徐居正（Sō Kōjōng, 1420–1488）編輯《東文選》（*Tongmunson*）。本文最後部分探討歐美《文選》研究，專涉韋利（Arthur Waley, 1889–1966），贊克（Erwin von Zach, 1872–1942）以及海陶璋（James Robert Hightower, 1915–2006）三人。

關鍵詞：文選 文選學 文選爛，秀才半 《文選集注》 《東文選》  
韋利 贊克 海陶璋