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Weeping and Wailing

in
Ancient China

Christoph Harbsmeier

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1. *kū* 哭 is primarily a public action, while *qì* 泣 is primarily a private reaction.
2. *kū* 哭 focusses on sound, while *qì* 泣 focusses on tears.
3. *kū* 哭 focusses primarily on death and by extension on misfortune, while *qì* 泣 can express a wide range of heightened emotions directly or indirectly linked to pain.
4. *kū* 哭 is basically linked to adult ritual and limited to persons capable of ritual behaviour, while *qì* 泣 is common among children.
5. *kū* 哭 is designed to publicly express lasting *āi* 哀 and is sometimes associated with *bēi* 悲, while *qì* 泣 is a symptom of more short-term and essentially private *tòng* 痛 "current physical pain" and *shāng* 傷 "current psychological pain".
6. *kū* 哭 is limited to psychological distress while *qì* 泣 may be caused by physical pain.
7. *kū* 哭 is not especially associated with men or women while *qì* 泣 is regarded as especially typical of women.
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9. *qì* 泣 is current as a noun meaning "tears" while *kū* 哭 is very rarely topicalised and only occasionally nominalised to mean "wailing, lamentation".
10. *kū* 哭 is frequently associated with *gē* 歌, while *qì* 泣 is naturally associated with *tì* 涕 "tears"
11. *kū* 哭 was cultivated as a ritual art for which one could become famous, while *qì* 泣 was regarded as basically non-deliberate (although there are a number of examples with false tears, and even one case

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where a lady is ordered to make a request while shedding false tears). One will normally *qi* 泣 "weep" in spite of oneself, but one will only *kū* 哭 "lament" in spite of oneself when one feels a powerful urge for a public demonstration of grief.

12. the ability to appreciate the expressiveness of *kū* 哭 was cultivated as a proper subject for higher ritual spirituality, while *qi* 泣 was never so cultivated.

13. *kū* 哭 expresses a public sentiment for a feeling which is presupposed shared by the general public. *Qi* 泣 may express a private personal sentiment. One may *qi* 泣 in spite of oneself.

14. *kū* 哭 may directly involve the use of language, while *qi* 泣 may only accompany speech.

Not all these points can be conveniently or definitively demonstrated by a coherent set of examples. But all of them grow upon one as one goes through the hundreds and hundreds of episodes of weeping and wailing reported in pre-Buddhist Chinese literature. In what follows there is of course space for only a fraction of the evidence that I have considered in detail in preparing this paper. Even so, I am afraid the paper is too long. My excuse is this: the more evidence I lay out conveniently for the reader, the better the patient reader will be in a position to make up his own mind on the exact nature of the distinction I am concerned with. For that there is such a distinction, and that it has been misunderstood by the tradition, that much seems to me to be clear beyond a shadow of doubt. It is the precise psychological nature of the distinction that is the problem.

Laughing and weeping belong together as central topics in the history of emotional concepts and of emotional responses to the world. Careful students of Xū Shèn 許慎 (died 149 A.D.) may have noticed that there is no character *xiào* 笑 "to laugh" in *Shuōwényǐjǐzì* 說文解字. In my view, this was a very serious omission. The *Gǔ Hànyǔ chángyòngzì zidǎn* 古漢語常用字字典 on the other hand (Peking: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979, newest revised edition 1996), compiled by a high-powered group of scholars at Peking University, does not list the word *kū* 哭, presumably because students who understand modern Chinese will be in no danger of misunderstanding this ancient word. I find this a rather amusing omission. The notion of *kū* 哭 has not been felt to be problematic at all. That exactly is the problem.

The distribution of *kū* 哭 in our ancient texts turns out to be rather special. So I shall start off with some little statistical snippets. I have found no plausible precedents for the character *kū* 哭 in the oracle bones or in the bronze inscriptions, and it is absent in *Shī* 詩 as well as in the recognised *gǔwén* 古文 parts of the *Shàngshū* 尚書. Moreover, in the *Chūcí* 楚辭 which is full of tears, there is only one single occurrence of the character.

In *Liji* 禮記 there are 14 examples of *qi* 泣, of which 10 cases of 哭 泣: the notion was ritually unimportant. *Qi* 泣 does not occur in *Yili* 儀禮 at all. By comparison, my computer counts 257 cases of *kū* 哭 in the *Liji* 禮記, 187 in the *Yili* 儀禮. By contrast, I count 13 cases of 泣 in *Lǚshìhūnqiū* 呂氏春秋 versus 14 cases of 哭. The distribution of occurrences of *kū* 哭 (ca. 117) versus *qi* 泣 (ca 98) is relatively even. These facts demand an explanation.

I have checked four modern dictionaries¹ contrasting ancient and modern meanings of words: they all fail to discuss the character *kū* 哭, again, presumably, because the editors could not think of any significant change in meaning for this simple word. There appears to be a broad consensus that classical *kū* 哭 is semantically roughly the same as modern *kū* 哭.

Yuán Hui 袁暉 1985² is a recent commendable exception and marks a significant advance over the others. This work does single out *kū* 哭 for special attention and defines very precisely the endemic misapprehension which I propose to rectify in the present paper: *gùjīn tóngyì* 古今同義: 因悲傷痛苦或情緒激動而流淚。"common meaning in ancient and modern Chinese: shed tears because of grief, pain or emotional agitation". It is my claim in this paper that the meaning of *kū* 哭 changes completely from pre-Buddhist usage to the language of the Buddhist *biànwén* 變文 literature.

Shuōwén xīzhuàn 說文繫傳 *ad verbum kū* 哭 follows Xū Shèn 許慎 (died ca. A.D. 149) in not including tears in the semantics of *kū* 哭:

¹Wáng Kèzhòng 王克仲 et al., *Gùjīn cǐyì biànxī cǐdián* 古今詞義辨析詞典 Harbin: Heilongjiangrenmin, 1993; Liú Qīngè 劉慶俄 et al., *Hànyǔ chángyòngzì gùjīnyì duìbǐ cǐdián* 漢語常用字古今義對比字典, Shandong: Nánhaichubangongsi, 1992; Sūn Shùosòng 孫樹松, *Gùjīn yǐyì cǐdián* 古今異義詞典 Peking: Duiwaimonyujiaoyu, 1989; Wáng Déhuì 王德惠 et al., *Gùjīn cǐyì duìbǐ cǐdián* 古今詞義對比詞典 Changchun: Jilinwenshizhe, 1989

²*Xīnbǎn gùjīn Hànyǔ cǐdián* 新編古今漢語詞典, Tàiyuán: Shānxī-rénmínchūbǎnshè, 1995

大聲曰哭，

Making a loud noise (in connection with *āi* 哀) is called *kū*.
細聲出涕曰泣。

Making a slight noise and shedding tears is called *qī*.

Under the heading *qī* 泣 Duàn Yùcái p. 563 notes:

哭下曰哀聲也。

Under *kū* 哭 Xǔ Shèn says: "the sound of grief"
其出涕不待言。

The shedding of tears goes without saying.

其無聲出涕者為泣。

When there is no sound but there are tears, that counts as *weeping*.
此哭泣之別也。

This is the difference between *wailing* and *weeping*.

I shall argue that Xǔ Shèn was right and that Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 failed to grasp the elegant concise point in Xǔ Shèn's gloss. *Kū* 哭 primarily refers to demonstrative audible and audience-directed wailing and lamentation: its basic core is acoustic, it not essentially linked to the water-radical. As I hope to show, there is no essential link to tears. Indeed, there are cases of *kū* 哭 explicitly without tears. The tears do **not necessarily** "go without saying" even when their absence is not mentioned. The point would need to be argued.

Undoubtedly, tears are a natural accompaniment to wailing lamentation. Séraphim Couvreur's standard French gloss for *kū* 哭 "*pousser des lamentations*" may or may not invite the same expectations among speakers of French: there may be likely to be tears in wailing, but *pousser des lamentations* itself is not for that reason a quintessentially tearful affair. We shall hear that one might *kū ér wú qī* 哭而無泣 "wail without tears", but there is **never** any talk of someone failing to *kū* 哭 since no tears were produced. The ancient Chinese perception was that in such cases the *kū* 哭 "wailing, lamentation" itself was performed, but the accompanying tears which are seen as a guarantee of honesty of such a display of intense feelings of grief and and emotional distress are missing. This, at least, we must conclude, until we find a case where

someone is denied to have performed *kū* 哭 on the grounds that s/he has failed to produce tears.

Wailing and lamentation tend to be connected with death. Indeed, in the vast majority of cases of *kū* 哭 in our standard pre-Han texts the context is one of death: there tends to be a dead (mostly unburied) body. Under these circumstances, the cases where there is no dead body to lament are of very special interest to us. In fact, I shall list up each and every one of these cases I have been able to discover in the primary sources I list in the bibliography.

The effect of *kū* 哭 is primarily acoustic, as Xǔ Shèn saw so clearly, and the cause of it tends to be quite different from that of weeping and crying.

The primarily acoustic feature of *kū* 哭 comes out very nicely in the following subtle and conspiratory dialogue. A certain Wúshè wants to hide in a well, and wants to be saved from that well by Shēnshū.

Zuo Xuan 12.06; Yang 748
哭井則已。

"If someone wails in the well it's me."

[Here *kū* 哭 must be taken to be a purely acoustic signal since the speaker imagines himself to be invisible in the well. There is no point shedding tears in the direction of or near the well. That is not the point. *Háo* 號 in this story would signify a louder version of *kū* 哭, also without any tears.]

In a more theoretical vein we have the following passage:

Huainan 11, Chen Zhong 500, Chen Yiping 502, Wallacker 34
且喜怒哀樂有感而自然者也。

Now joy, anger, grief and pleasure are natural responses to stimuli.
故哭之發於口，

Thus when lamentations come out from the mouth,
涕之發於目，

and when tears come out from the eyes,
此皆憤於中而形於外者也。

these are all things that are pent up inside and take shape outside.
譬若水之下流，

It is like water flowing downwards

煙之上尋也。

and like smoke seeking to go upwards.

[Wallacker translates, disarmingly: "Indeed, **weeping bursting from the mouth** and tears emerging from the eyes are both stirred from within and given form without...." The *Huáinánzǐ* maintains that *kū* 哭 is a natural vocal manifestation of an inner energy.]

By contrast, the association of *qì* 泣 with water comes out nicely in the following:

Huainan 14 end,

憂天下之亂

Being worried about the chaos in the world

猶憂河水之少，

is like being worried about there being too little water in the Yellow River

泣而益之也。

and weeping in order to increase the water level.

[I claim that it is not a coincidence that the word used here is *qì* 泣 and not the more common *kū* 哭: this is because *qì* 泣 is associated with tears and *kū* 哭 with the sound of lamentation. In the case of *kū* 哭 there may be or there may not be real tears, and even if there are tears these are not the main thing.]

When we have the common phenomenon of *guī yè kū* 鬼夜哭 "the ghosts wailing at night" (*Huainan* 8, Lau p. 62.27 etc.) it is the sound of the ghosts that count, not their tears.

However, when babies cry, they tend to *ń* 啼 and they may occasionally *qì* 泣, but they never *kū* 哭 in ancient literature. The reason is that *kū* 哭 is not related to pain or discomfort but as Xū Shèn expressed concisely, it is essentially linked to *ái* 哀 "mourning, grief". And babies neither grieve nor do they mourn. Compare the *fūrén* 婦人 "woman" and the *rúzi* 孺子 "small child" in the following passages:

Liji 4 檀弓下; Couvreur 1.243; Sūn Xidàn 3.46

孔子過泰山側，

Confucius was passing by the side of Tàishān,

有婦人哭於墓者而哀，

and there was a woman who was wailing mournfully at a tomb.

夫子式而聽之。

Confucius leant over the crossbar of his carriage and listened to her. [This *kū* 哭 is a ritual act which is appreciated by the ear. We would not expect *qì* 泣 and if we found that word in this connection we would expect that she was not engaged in a formal ritual act.]

Liji 3 檀弓上, Couvreur 1.159f; Sūn Xidàn 2.98

弁人有其母死而孺子泣者。

The son of a man from Biān cried when his mother had died.

[The *Liji* is obsessed with *kū* 哭, but on this occasion the verb used is *qì* 泣. The child is crying in a non-ritual way. We would not expect *kū* 哭 because the use of the word would be misleading when applied to the involuntary crying or weeping of a child.]

There is a late example of a (precocious?) child lamenting:

Sōushénji 搜神記 no. 266 (The parallel passage in *Wú Yuè chūnqiū*

4.77-78 does not have this passage).

兒聞之，亡去。

When the boy heard this he went away.

入山行歌。

He entered the mountains singing as he went.

客有逢者，謂：

A stranger ran into him and said to him:

子年少，

"You are so young,

何哭之甚悲耶

why are you wailing with such great sadness?"

[This passage illustrates the connection between *kū* 哭 and other vocal performance verbs like *gē* 歌. Compare also *Huainan* 10, Lau 91.9

歌哭眾人之所能為也。

All men can sing and wail,

一發聲入人耳，

and once the sound is produced it enters into man's ear,

感人心。
and it moves man's heart.]

Wailing, I argue, is a semantic act of cultural communication, not primarily a spontaneous emotional reaction. It would appear that Yán Shīgǔ 顏師古 (A.D. 581 - 645) supports this point of view.

Hanshu 99C, ed. Zhōnghuáshūjǔ p. 4187-4188
周禮春官之屬

In the *Zhōulǐ*, under the spring offices,

女巫氏之職曰：

the official obligations of the female shamans are specified thus:

「凡邦之大災，

"Whenever there is a great disaster in the land

歌哭而請。」

they sing and wail to beg (for mercy from the gods and spirits)."

哭者所以告哀也。

Wailing is a way of making known grief/distress.

The association of singing and wailing recurs in our early materials.
Compare incidentally:

Shi 204

君子作歌，

A nobleman has made the song,

維以告哀！

in order to make known his woe.

Wailing properly is also an art.

Huainan, 6 覽冥訓, Liu Wendian 6.3, Chen Zhong 274, Le Blanc 107

昔雍門子

"Formerly Yōngménzǐ

以哭見於孟嘗君。

gained audiences with the Lord of Měngcháng with his wailing.

已而陳辭通意，

In the end he put forward his speech and communicated his thoughts,

拊心發聲。
he pounded his chest and made much noise.

The old commentary explains:

雍門子名周。

Yōngménzǐ was called Zhōu.

善彈琴，

He was good at plucking the lute,

又善哭。...

and he was also good at wailing. ...

哭猶歌也。

"Wailing" is like singing.

In mourning and grief there normally is a dead body to grieve about.
The primary link of *kū* 哭 with death comes out in a historical commentary:

隋書，五行書 3 commentary quotes 洪範，五行傳：
哭者死之表也。

Lamentation is an external manifestation in response to death.

Kū 哭 is a public demonstration of *āi* 哀 "grief, mourning; distress".
There are extended uses of the classical Chinese *āi* 哀 where the word is not connected with mourning. One may *āi* 哀 "grieve" about the sorry state of one's country, though not normally about a physical injury.

One would say, I think, that *āi* 哀 is an emotion. But it is an emotion or a mental state of a special kind. It is, as it were, a **public** emotion, at least an emotion designed for "publication", for making public through certain public acts, often but not necessarily ritual acts. It is naturally linked to manifestation in more or less public and more or less ritual acts. Unlike *yōu* 憂 "worry" which is primarily personal or *yù* 鬱 "depression" which is a private state of mind, *āi* 哀 "mourning, grief" is primarily a prescribed, a ritually obligatory mental state: the state of sadness at the death of a person with whom one has been linked in certain ways. Derived from this basic meaning of *āi* 哀 are such meanings as "deep and intense sympathy (for living persons)", "deep and profound emotional concern (for a state of affairs)". As we shall see, these secondary meanings of *āi* 哀 also give rise to derived forms of *kū* 哭 "wailing,

lamentation". One may *kū* 哭 for a son who is leaving home as part of a hopeless military campaign, or out of deep and intense sympathy for the plight of people in general. In all these cases, *kū* 哭 tends to be directed at an audience and it retains

1. its primarily acoustic feature linking it to lamentation;
2. its primarily extroverted aspect linking it to the public sphere;
3. the primary link to a socio-culturally sanctioned emotion linking it to public morality;
4. the non-ephemeral non-momentary emotion expressed by the public act;

5. however, its primary link to mourning the death of a person is expanded to include more general grief.

What our ancient sources describe as occasions of *kū* 哭 are very predominantly, indeed almost invariably, public sphere occasions. There may be two reasons for this. One is that private lamentation and wailing went on, but unrecorded in the kind of literature we have from ancient China. The other is that *kū* 哭 is indeed the kind of wailing that is directly or indirectly designed for some kind of public sphere.

I shall claim that *kū* 哭 is an expression of what purports to be a lasting stable and non-momentary emotion whereas *qī* 泣 may express a current, possibly ephemeral or temporary feeling. The claim is that while *kū* 哭 is linked to the non-ephemeral *āi* 哀, *qī* 泣 is linked to more ephemeral verbs like *shāng* 傷 "feel currently hurt" and to *tòng* 痛 "currently feel pain". Here is just one of the examples that drew my attention to this point although in fact it involves the compound *qītī* 泣涕 rather than the plain *qī* 泣 with which I am primarily concerned:

Xun 27.106, Knoblock vol. 3.234, Beida 471, Liu 801

曾子食魚。

Zēngzǐ was eating a fish.

有餘。

Some of it was left over.

曰：泔之。

He said: "Pour water from rice-cooking over it."

門人曰：

A servant said:

泔之傷人。

"If you pour water from rice-cooking over it it will harm people.

不如與之。

It is better to salt it down."

曾子泣涕曰：

Zēngzǐ was moved to tears and said:

有異心乎哉？

"(Right you are!) How can one think differently?!"

傷其聞之晚也。

He felt hurt because he had heard this so late.

[The use of the word *shāng* 傷 "feel hurt by" is significant in the last sentence. The core of *qī* 泣 is indeed related to this *shāng* 傷 and to *tòng* 痛 "pain". These describe a more momentary or temporary emotion than the *āi* 哀 which naturally finds expression in *kū* 哭.]

Lunheng 1.9.1, Liu Pansui 8

昔周人有仕

In ancient times there was a prospective official from Zhōu

數不遇，

who had missed several opportunities.

年老白首，

He had grown old and his hair was white,

泣涕於塗者。

he was weeping on the road.

人或問之：

Someone asked him:

何為泣之？

"Why are you weeping for this?"

對曰：

He replied:

吾仕數不遇，

"In seeking an official career, I have missed several opportunities.

自傷年老失時，

I am painfully aware that I am old and past my time.

是以泣也。

Therefore I am weeping."

[The old man feels acute personal psychological pain. His *qī* 泣 is a direct expression of this feeling of pain, as he explains.]

Lunheng 22.7.1; Yuan Huazhong 385

傳曰：

It is reported: (in *Hanfeizi*)

紉作象箸而箕子泣。

When Zhòu made ivory chopsticks Jǐzǐ wept.

泣之者痛其極也。

The reason why he was weeping at this was that he **felt pain** at the extremeness of this.

[The weeping is motivated by an feeling of *tòng* 痛 "acute mental pain".]

A focal point in the semantics of *qì* 泣 is the sincerity of the emotion which is supposed to be guaranteed by the basic assumption that weeping comes directly from the heart. Wáng Chōng discusses this aspect explicitly:

Lunheng 45, Liu Pansui 669; Beida p. 877

夫雨水在天地之間也，

Rainwater between Heaven and Earth

猶夫涕泣在人形中也。

is like tears in the human body.

或鬻酒食

If you give someone wine and food

請於惠人之前

and make a request in front of a kind man

未（一求）出其泣，

asking him to shed tears,

惠人終不為之隕涕。

then that kind man will never shed those tears.

夫泣不能請而出

Now tears will not come out by request,

雨安可求而得。

and how can rain be obtained by asking for it?

One can even send someone to *kū* 哭 on one's behalf:

Huainan, 說林訓：

湯使人哭之。

Tang ordered someone to wail (on his behalf).

[The old commentary justly remarks: 哭猶弔也。In such iussive contexts it would seem that verbs like *qì* 泣 are excluded, but words like *tí* 啼 "cry with long drawn-out sound" are not. In the same spirit, in later times, one could send someone out to *chánhuī* 懺悔 "show one's repentance".]

There is only one case of *kū* 哭 in all of *Chuci*:

Chuci, *Xīwǎngri* 惜往日, *SBBY* 248

思久故之親身兮，

45 When he thought of their former close companionship,

因縞素而哭之。

He put on white weeds and wept for him.

[The demonstrative aspect of the act of *kū* 哭 comes out in the putting on of white mourning clothes.]

In *Chuci* I count 32 cases of *tí* 涕 "tears" and ten cases of *qì* 泣. In *Shi* there is no *kū* 哭 at all. But seven cases of *qì* 泣 and six occurrences of *tí* 涕 "tears". *Kū* 哭 is ubiquitous in all ritual texts, whereas *qì* 泣 is completely absent in some of them, notably *Yili*.

I must end this introduction with a warning. Not *all* examples in the literature can be explained convincingly by appeal to semantic differences between *kū* 哭 and *qì* 泣. There *are* overlaps in usage, especially as a result of variation within a context of parallelism. There are cases of rhetorical *variatio* where within parallel constructions a writer may move from one word to another mainly in order to avoid repetition and not at all for semantic reasons, as far as one can tell. Effects of this sort are common in poetry all over the world, and China is no exception. Surprisingly, there are few instances of this in connection with *kū* 哭 versus *qì* 泣, perhaps because the semantic distance was, in the end, felt to be too great to be overlooked for rhetorical effect.

Huainan 說林訓

楊子見達路而哭之，

"When Yángzǐ saw crossing roads he wailed at the sight,

為其可以南可以北。

and that was because one could go south and north;

墨子見練絲而泣之，

when Mòzǐ saw silk-dyeing he wept at the sight,
以其可以賣可以黑。

because it could turn both yellow and dark."

[In this context *kū* 哭 and *qī* 泣 are used interchangeably. We have a clear case of the rhetorical figure of *variatio*.]

Lunheng 43.11, Yuan Huazhong 921

秦之將滅，

When Qín was about to be destroyed

都門內崩。

the city gates collapsed inside.

霍光家且敗，

When the family of Huòguāng was about to be ruined

第牆自壞。

the walls of the guest house collapsed by themselves.

誰哭於秦宮，

Who cried at the Qín palace

泣於霍光家者？

or wept in the home of Huòguāng?

[Wáng Chōng denies that wailing or weeping had anything to do with the collapse of these walls. In this connection he is uninterested in the contrast between *kū* 哭 "wailing/lamenting" on the one hand and *qī* 泣 "weeping" on the other. We note that *bēng* 崩 corresponds to *bài* 敗, *miè* 滅 and *huài* 壞, and the semantic nuances between these words are disregarded in this context. So is the semantic difference between *qiě* 且 "be just about to" and *jiāng* 將 "will in the future".

As one turns to early Buddhist colloquial Chinese literature the picture changes gradually but profoundly. From that period onwards *kū* 哭 gradually moves in the direction of its modern meaning "weep". A preliminary survey of early and later colloquial Chinese usage, particularly of the *biānwén* 變文 literature and of colloquial material from Dūnhuáng brings out plenty of examples that demonstrate this point, and this development deserves a detailed critical study in its own right. However, throughout the history of the Chinese language the words *kū* 哭 and *qī*

泣 preserve a rich variety of features linked to the semantic contrasts illustrated in this paper.

At this stage, however, I wish to describe and illustrate in detail the meanings of these words in pre-Buddhist Chinese. The reader must decide for himself to what extent my interpretations are convincing.

THE MEANINGS OF WEEPING AND WAILING

KŪ 哭

• vi: (of animals like dogs) howl

I start out with this meaning because on the one hand it nicely links up the presence of the dog-radical in the character, and because since dogs cannot weep, it indirectly illustrates our claim on the specific meaning of the word.

Mo 19.34, Wu 194, tr. Mei p. 111

昔者有三苗大亂，

In ancient times the Three Miao tribes were in great confusion,
天命殛之。

and Heaven ordered their destruction.

日妖宵出，

The sun shone irregularly during the night,

雨血三朝。

and three mornings in a row it was raining blood.

龍生於廟，

Dragons showed themselves in temples,

犬哭乎市。

dogs howled in the markets.

[Note that the dogs were howling in a public place, and that they were not weeping. Indeed, the howling of dogs, like that of wolves, can perhaps give us an indication of how the ancient Chinese acoustically "visualised" lamentation. The presence of the dog radical in the character remains otherwise unexplained.]

• vi: wail, make a public or ritual show of grief and distress on the occasion of bereavement 表示悼念而發出悲聲
This is the standard usage of the word.

Lunyu 11.10, Cheng Shude 759

顏淵死

When Yán Huí died

子哭之慟

the Master lamented him and showed excessive grief.

從者曰

His followers said:

子慟矣

"You have shown excessive grief."

曰

The Master said:

有慟乎

"Have I shown excessive grief?"

非夫人之為慟而誰為

If I should not show it for him, whom should I show it for?"

[When his favourite disciple died the Master wailed in public, lamenting his death as prescribed. Huáng Kǎn 皇侃 (A.D. 488 - 545) explains: 謂顏淵死，子往顏家哭之也。"This means that when Yán Yuān died the Master went to the home of Yán to lament/wail for him." D.C. Lau translates: "'in weeping for him the Master showed undue sorrow" and misreads the public lamentation as possibly private weeping. But Confucius went further: he showed extreme grief *tòng* 慟. If he had *qì zhī ér tòng* 泣之而慟 he would have broken down into uncontrollable weeping. Confucius wails, as ritual desires, but he goes further than is generally acceptable in showing his grief. (Note incidentally the almost light-hearted humorous note in Confucius' response. When he is faced with this kind of extreme grief he is not willing to talk of petty rules of ritual.)]

Lunyu 7.10, Cheng Shude 449

子於是日哭

On the day the Master engaged in wailing/lamentation

則不歌

he would not engage in singing.

[If our interpretation is correct then this is about Confucius not singing on a day on which he has performed a ritual of wailing. The text is concerned with an observance of ritual: public wailing and the kind of joyful singing intended here are ritually incompatible. D.C. Lau misreads this "On a day he had wept, the master did not sing." But the point is not that the Master's emotions did not vary in the course of a day, that he could not be moved to tears by something and then be moved to a joyful song on the same day: D.C. Lau misses the point that this passage is not at all about weeping in general, it is about lamentation in connection with death. Compare *Liji* 4 檀弓下; *Couvreur* 1.191f; *Sūn Xidān* 3.4 弔於人，

When one offers condolences

是日不樂。

one does not show joy on that same day.]

Zuo Xiang 23.5; *Couvreur* 2.399

孟孫卒 ...

Mèngsūn died...

季孫至，入，哭，而出...

Jīsūn got there, went in, wailed, and went out. ...

臧孫入，哭甚哀，多涕。

Zāngsūn went in, wailed with much grief and many tears.

[There were clearly different degrees of ritual lamentation. The point is that no matter how abrupt, brief, or cursory, *kū* 哭 was basically a public and often ritually codified display of grief or distress, primarily on the occasion of the death of a person.]

Zuo Xuan 18, Yang 2.778; Wang 582f

子家還，

Zǐjiā returned,

及筮，

went to Shēng,

壇帷，

built an altar and a tent,

復命於介。

and announced to Jiè that he was acting on his orders.

既復命，

When he had announced this

袒、括髮，

he bared one arm, let down his hair,

即位哭，

ascended the throne and wailed.

三踊而出。

He performed three ritual jumps and left.

遂奔齊。

Then he led to Qi.

[The elaborate ritualisation of the lamentation speaks for itself.]

Zuo Cheng 14.05; Yang 870, Couvreur 2.113f

冬十月，

In winter, the tenth month.

衛定公卒。

Duke Ding of Wèi died.

夫人姜氏既哭而息，

His wife Jiāng, when she had stopped wailing,

見大子之不哀也，

saw that the heir was not grieving.

不內酌飲，

Before she retired for drinks

歎曰：

she sighed and said:

「是夫也，

"This fellow,

將不唯衛國之敗，

he will not only ruin the state of Wèi...

[The wailing here is purely ritual. Madam Jiāng had been set aside by the Duke of Wèi in favour of a secondary wife.]

Zuo Ai 10.03

齊人弑悼公，

The people of Qí assassinated Duke Dào

赴于師。

and they announced the death to the army.

吳子三日哭于軍門之外。

Wúzi wailed for three days outside the Military Gate.

[Wúzi decided on a three-day stint of wailing.]

Zuo Ai 14end, Guji 1807

成人奔喪，

The people of Chéng rushed to the funeral,

弗內；

but they were not admitted.

袒、免，

They bared their arms, took off their helmets

哭于衢，

and lamented on the road.

[This is clearly a demonstrative act by the desperate people of Chéng. Compare also *Zuo* Ai 12.2 for another clear early case of public lamentation with *kū* 哭.]

Yiti 11

朝一哭夕一哭而已

One wails once in the morning and once in the evening, that is all.

[One could not hope for a clearer demonstration of the ritualised use of *kū* 哭 than this example. On the other hand one must be aware that this ritual use is only one extreme of the uses of *kū* 哭. Even the wailing of sympathy when faced with a person in a sorry state is often carefully counted, as in the case of Guānzhōng 官仲 being mourned three times 哭之三舉 (*Guanzi* 20) quoted below.]

Guoyu Jin 5, 11.13, ed. Shànghǎigūjī 2.405

國三日哭，

The state conducted three days of public lamentation
以禮焉。

in order to show respect for the man.

[This example brings out the public character of *kū* 哭. Not only did the state not weep, neither did its inhabitants. There were three days of public lamenting in which only the most eager would shed honest tears.]

Mo 70, ed. Zhonghua 924, tr. Forke 626

飲食不時，
He who drinks or eats at other than the proper time
其罪射；

shall be punished by the piercing of the ears with an arrow.
無敢歌哭於軍中，

One should not presume to sing or wail in the army,
有則罪射。

if one does the punishment is the piercing of the ears with an arrow.
[Gē 歌 "singing" goes naturally with kū 哭 "wailing because both are primarily public displays. One may indeed sing in private, but ordinarily one sings to be heard. One may also wail or lament in private, but ordinarily one wails or laments in order to be heard wailing and lamenting. There is no such thing as a quiet mode of kū 哭 "wailing". That would be qī 泣.]

Meng 3A10, Yang Bojun tr. p. 129, DC Lau 109, Couvreur 427, Jiao Xun 394

昔者孔子沒，

When Confucius had died

三年之外，

and the three-year period (of obligatory mourning) had passed,

門人治任將歸，

his adherents were packing their backs and were about to return home.

入揖於子貢，

They went in and bowed to Zìgòng

相嚮而哭，

facing each other they wailed.

皆失聲，

Only after they had all lost their voices
然後歸。

did they return home.

[D.C. Lau mistranslates "they wept until they lost their voices before setting out for home." It is not the weeping but the loud and demonstrative wailing that causes all the adherents to lose their voices. Couvreur has it right: *invicem obversi et plorantes, omnes amiserunt vocem* lamentando. Implausibly, Jiāo Xún 焦循 (1763 - 1820) takes

shī shēng 失聲 to mean *fāngshēng* 放聲 "at a high pitch". Yáng Bójūn 楊伯峻 mistranslates by simply confusing or conflating the meanings of the words kū 哭 and qī 泣 with each other: 相對而哭，都泣不成聲。We must translate with Guō Xīliáng 郭錫良 (personal communication): 哭啞了才走。The confusion among interpreters of this passage seems worth dwelling on because it illustrates the acuteness of the philological problem the present semantic investigation sets out to solve.]

Meng 6B6, Jiao Xun p. 831, D.C. Lau 251, compare SY 17.8,

昔者王豹處於淇，

Formerly, when Wáng Bào lived on the Qi river

而河西善謳；

the region west of the River was famous for its ditties.

綿駒處於高唐，

When Miánjū lived in Gāotáng

而齊右善歌，

the right-hand part of Qí was famous for its songs.

華杞梁之妻，

The wives of Huázhōu and Qiliáng

善哭其夫而變國俗。

were good at lamenting their husbands and they changed the customs in their states.

[Wailing is something of a public display, often artful, something one can be good at, a specialist in, as professional mourners would be expected to be. Note the association of kū 哭 and gē 歌.]

Zhuang 6, Wang Shumin 271f

至子桑之門，

When he reached Zǐ Sāng's gate,

則若歌若哭，

It was as if they were singing and as if they were wailing,
鼓琴曰：

Strumming a qín-lute they sang:

[This passage almost suggests that kū 哭 may involve the use of words. The pair kū 哭 versus gē 歌 is significant in several ways: both are primarily public acts (although - as we shall see - there is nothing, in ancient China, to prevent one in principle from occasionally

singing or even wailing entirely in private). One can be *shàn gē* 善歌 "good at singing" just as one can be *shàn kū* 善哭 "good at wailing". Indeed some people are professional wailers employed at funeral services. Remember the modern *kūfū* 哭婦 "wailing women" in various parts of China. They continue an important aspect the ancient tradition of *kū* 哭 although they do not represent the essential condition of *kū* 哭 in ancient China which is the presumption that *kū* 哭 is a public display of genuinely felt personal grief. The strumming of the lute fits naturally into the context.]

Zhuang 33, Wang Shumin 1304f

雖然，

Nevertheless,

歌而非歌，

people will sing, yet he rejected singing;

哭而非哭，

people will wail, yet he rejected wailing;

樂而非樂，

people will make music, yet he rejected music.

是果類乎？

Does this really seem human?

[Again we have the natural juxtaposition of *kū* 哭 "wail (for others to hear)" with *gē* 歌 "sing (for others to hear)".]

Zhuang 18, Wang Shumin 645, see tr. Mair

莊子妻死，

Zhuāngzǐ's wife died.

惠子弔之，

Huizǐ went to offer his condolences,

莊子則方箕踞鼓盆

Zhuāngzǐ was lolloping on the floor with his legs sprawled out, beating a basin

而歌。

and singing.

惠子曰：

"She lived together with you,"

與人居，

said Master Hui,

長子老身，

"raised your children, grew old, and died.

死不哭亦足矣，

It's enough that you do not wail for her,

又鼓盆而歌，

but isn't it a bit much for you

不亦甚乎！

to be beating on a basin and singing?"

[The complaint is about a dereliction of a well-defined ritual duty. Instead of performing public *kū* 哭 Zhuāngzǐ is performing equally public and more specifically **demonstrative** *gē* 歌 accompanied by drumming. This is not a wailing song, as in the earlier examples.]

ZGC Lau no. 212; Zhu Zugeng 924; He Jianzhang 643; I quote

Crump's translation Crump rev. ed. 235

秦乃者過柱山。

Once upon a time I crossed Chu-shan

有兩樹焉，

and there were two trees on it.

一蓋呼侶，

From the great canopy of the first I heard sobbing

一蓋哭。

and from the second weeping.

[A more correct translation is as follows: "Not long ago I passed by Mount Zhù. There were two trees in the place. One seemed to call for a mate. The other seemed to be wailing." *Kū* 哭 is not just a quiet personal psychological reaction, it is the giving of a signal, like the calling for a friend.]

Huainan 10, Chen Zhong 463, Chen Yiping 467

故心哀而歌不樂，

Thus when the heart: mind is mournful one's songs will not be joyful; 心樂而哭不哀。

when the heart: mind is joyful one's lamentations will not be mournful. [This brings out the natural pairing of (public) singing *gē* 歌 (for an audience) and (public) wailing *kū* 哭 (for an audience).]

Huainan 11, Chen Zhong 487, Wallacker 29

古者民童蒙而不知東西...

In ancient times, the people were stupid and could not tell east from west...

其哭哀而無聲，

Their wailing was mournful but lacked voice (was inarticulate).

其歌樂而無轉。

their singing was joyful but lacked (sophisticated) modulation.

HSWZ 1.19, I quote the translation by James R. Hightower

魯公甫文伯死，

When Kung-fu Wenppo of Lu died,

其母不哭也。

his mother did not weep.

季孫聞之曰：

Chi-sun, hearing of this said,

公甫文伯之母，貞女也，

"Kung-fu Wen-po's mother is a virtuous woman.

子死不哭，

If she does not weep at her son's death,

必有方矣。

there must be a reason."

使人問焉。

He sent a man to make inquiries.

對曰：

[The mother] replied,

昔是子也，

"Formerly

吾使之事仲尼。

I had this son of mine serve Chung-ni.

仲尼去魯，

When Chung-ni left Lu

送之不出魯郊，

in sending him off [my son] did not go beyond the suburbs of the

capital of Lu;

贈之不與家珍。

in making him presents, he did not give him the family's precious objects.

病不聞士之來視者，

When [my son] was sick I did not see any gentleman come to visit him,

死不見士之流淚者，

and when he died I did not see any shed tears for him.

死之日，

But on the day of his death there were ten of his female attendants

宮女纒經而從者十人。

who, putting on sackcloth and white mourning clothes followed him to the grave.

此不足於士

This shows that towards gentlemen he was lacking

而有餘於婦人也。

and toward women too generous.

吾是以不哭也。

This is why I did not weep."

[In this story an inexperienced reader might still feel that the mother in this story was not moved to tears by the death of her profligate son, and that the reasons she gives when asked are reasons why she was not moved to tears by her son's death. But the ZGC 233 version of this same story might seem to suggest that this is a serious misunderstanding.

ZGC DC Lau no. 233, translation quoted from Crump 1979, no. 265.

公甫文伯官於魯。病死。

Kung-fu Wen-po died of a distemper while holding a post in Lu.

婦人為之自殺於房中者二八。

Twice eight women in his household killed themselves.

其母聞之，

but his mother, when she heard of his death,

不肯哭也。

did not even weep.

相室曰：

"How can one who has borne a son not weep at his death?"

焉有子死而不哭者乎？

asked Wen-po's nurse.

By insisting on mistranslating *kū* 哭 as "to weep" both these eminent scholars seriously distort the passages in question. Note that Crump even has to omit the overt *kěn* 肯 "we willing to, be prepared to" in order to maintain his misinterpretation. It seems clear that both Hightower and Crump have misunderstood the force of *kū* 哭.

Compare:

Hanshu 063/2751-2752

太子立，

The heir apparent was established as ruler,
是為孝昭帝，

and this was Emperor Zhāo the Filial.

賜諸侯王璽書。

He presented the feudal lords with seals and writings.

旦得書，

When Dàn got his writing

不肯哭...

he refused to engage in (the ritually required) lamentations.]

HSWZ 9.3, Xu Weiyou p. 307

孔子出行，

Confucius went out for a walk

聞哭聲甚悲，

and he heard the sound of very sad wailing.

孔子曰：

Confucius said:

「驅之！驅之！」

"Hurry up! Hurry up!

前有賢者。」

There is a person of talent ahead of us."

至則皋魚也，

When they got there it was Gāoyú.

被褐擁鎌，

Wearing coarse clothes and carrying a sickle

哭於道傍。

he was wailing by the road-side.

孔子辟車與之言，

Confucius got off his carriage to talk to him

曰：

and he said:

「子非有喪，

"You are not in mourning,

何哭之悲也？」

why are you wailing so sadly?"

皋魚曰：

Gāoyú said:

「吾失之三矣：

"I have lost out on three things:

少而好學，

When I was small I was fond of learning

周游諸侯，

and I travelled to all the feudal lords,

以歿吾親，

thereby endangering my parents.

失之一也；

This was the first thing I missed out on.

高尚吾志，

I held my own ambitions in high esteem

簡吾事，

and I was shoddy in the performance of my duties,

不事庸君，

I did not serve my prince properly,

而晚事無成，

delayed tasks never get done.

失之二也；

This was the second thing I missed out on.

與友厚而中絕之，

I had solid relations with my friends, but I broke them off,

失之三矣。

That was the third thing I missed out on.

夫樹欲靜而風不止，

"The tree wants peace but the wind will not stop,

子欲養而親不待。

the son wants to take care of them, but the parents do not linger on.

往而不可追者，

What passes and cannot be caught up with again,

年也；

that is the years (of one's life);

去而不可得見者，

what leaves and what one cannot get to see again,

親也。

that is one's parents.

吾請從此辭矣。」

From this time onwards, I am taking my leave."

立槁而死。

As he stood he dried up and died.

孔子曰：

Confucius said:

「弟子識之，

"You note this my disciples:

足以誠矣。」

it can serve as a warning."

於是門人辭歸而養親者

Among the disciples those who left to look after their parents
十有三人。

were three out of ten.

[*Jiayu*, 致思 and SY 10.27 have interesting versions of the same story which illustrates Confucian preoccupations with the performance of *kū* 哭, especially in the context of bereavement. The Master heard the sound of wailing. The real psychological sadness of this sound was not a foregone conclusion. Real sadness is commonly documented through *qi* 泣 "sobbing, weeping", but it may be shown in other ways. The *kū* 哭 "wailing" makes the Master think of a case of mourning for a person who has died recently. But it turns out that the problem is of a more philosophical nature, a more generalised nature than that. The story illustrates well an inner dynamic of Confucian thought.]

SY 18.29

孔子晨立堂上，

Confucius was in the hall one morning

聞哭者

and he heard someone wailing.

聲音甚悲。

The sound was very sad.

孔子援琴而鼓之，

Confucius took up his lute and strummed it.

其音同也。

The sound he produced was the same.

… 曰：

Yán Huí said:

「今者有哭者，

"The person who was wailing just now,

其音甚悲，

her voice was very sad.

非獨哭死，

She was not just wailing for a deceased person,

又哭生離者。」

she was also wailing for separation in life."

[In this story, Confucius associates *kū* 哭 with music, just as elsewhere

kū 哭 is associated with *gē* 歌 "singing".]

Shiji 9.399

發喪，太后哭，泣不下。

the empress cried but the tears would not fall;

[Perhaps she was desperately trying to produce genuine tears, but in vain. Wailing is an act in which one will usually succeed. Weeping or crying is not: the obligatory tears may fail to come.]

Shiji 8.370

漢王聞之，

The the King of Hàn heard about this

袒而大哭。

he stripped to the waist and broke into loud wailing.

[Liú Bāng was not reduced to hulking, sobbing, weeping, or crying: he demonstratively bared his chest and made a loud display of extreme grief. The difference is important.]

• vi: wail (out of profound worry and sympathy for someone's plight)

Even when the wailing is out of sympathy it is not a spontaneous reaction so much as a demonstration of sympathy.

Zuo Xi 15.3, Yang 359f, Wang 256

且告之曰：

He also advised the Duke to say:

「孤雖歸，

'Even if I return home

辱社稷矣，

I have disgraced the altars of the land and grain.

其卜貳圉也。」

Let divination be made to see whether (my son) Yú should replace me.

眾皆哭 ...

The crowd all started lamenting (when they heard this latter announcement).

[Another speech points out the possibility of showing support for the ruler by supporting the son, and then the reaction is similar:

眾皆悅

The crowd all started showing signs of approval.

There is no dead body to lament in this context. What induces the wailing is the prospect of a ruler abdicating. The people did not weep quietly or privately: they made a show of their distress and their sympathy with their beloved leader. Their *kū* 哭 is a demonstrative and public display of *āi* 哀 "profound sympathy", not a private psychological reaction to any bereavement.

Watson p. 34/5 translates: "When the people of Chin heard this last announcement, they all wept. ... "The people were pleased."

The speech has not necessarily reduced the listeners to tears: for all we know there may have been only the sound of lamentation, no tears. The listeners did not react by weeping, they responded by demonstrative wailing, if my present understanding of the word *kū* 哭 is correct. This example is not evidence in favour of this interpretation, but neither is it evidence against such an interpretation. (I have discussed the specific force of *yuè* 悅 in a separate paper on classical notions of pleasure.)

Zuo Zhao 4.8, Yang 1256, Wang 1144

遇婦人，

(Mùzǐ) met a married woman

使私為食而宿焉。

He told her to make him a private meal and spent the night with her.

問其行，

She asked what had happened.

告之故，

He told her the background (to his flight from home).

哭而送之。

Wailing (in sympathy for his plight, and love) she sent him on his way.

杜注：

The Dù commentary says:

婦人聞之而哭。

When the woman heard about it she wailed.

[Here the woman with whom Mùzǐ has had illicit sexual intercourse is moved by his story about the sad state of affairs in his family which has caused him to leave his family; wailing she sends him on his way. Her distress is not about any death: there is no dead body.

Her distress is not primarily about the politics in Mùzǐ's family: she is not a politician, and she has no business complaining about whatever the state of affairs in that clan may be. Her display of distress has strong elements of deep sympathy for the suffering of a person to whom she has just made love. In this instance one might even doubt that her display was more than personal and under four eyes, considering public values at the time. But when the text says that she *kū ér sòng zhī* 哭而送之 "sent him on his way, wailing" this is a standard description. A departure for a hazardous journey could become an occasion for public wailing or lamentation in ancient China. Such lamentation is neither ritualised nor obligatory, but it remains firmly in the public sphere.

In sending her lover off, the profligate woman in this story would appear to have boldly entered this public sphere. Perhaps she lost emotional control and did such a most improper thing. Or should we rather think of an atypical private farewell inside the house? But that does not go well with the word *sòng* 送 which essentially involves following a person who is leaving some of the way. One remains doubtful.

In any case, the connection of the larmoyant wailing farewell with the notion of *āi* 哀 "feeling of distress, deep sympathy, commiseration"

is very much maintained. The lady in our story appears to be making a display of her deep sympathy for the plight of her lover.

Everything considered, this episode is furthest removed of all the evidence I have found from the world of mourning rituals where *kū* 哭 has its core applications, which is why I have wanted to comment on it in such detail. The episode is atypical. None the less, the classical definition *āi shēng yě āi shēng yě* 哀聲也 still holds.]

- vi: wail (not for the death of a person but because of some calamitous situation)

When the occasion for lamentation is some unfortunate physical event, the act of lamentation remains demonstrative:

LSCQ, Cheng 3.04; Yang 811

甲子，

On the day *jiāzǐ*

新官災。

the New Palace met disaster.

三日哭。

There were three days of ritual wailing.

[Note that the Spring and Autumn Annals does not mention spontaneous reactions, it mentions a state measure rather like modern official mourning. It is a ritual public expression of *āi* 哀 on the occasion of the disaster at the New Palace.]

Zuo Xuan 12.01/0718, Wang 521, Guji 582

十二年春，

In the twelfth year, in spring

楚子圍鄭，

the ruler of Chǔ surrounded Zhèng

旬有七日。

for a period of seventeen days.

鄭人卜行成，

The people of divined on whether to sue for peace,

不吉；

but the reply was negative.

卜臨于大宮，

They divined on whether to arrange public lamentation *lín* at the Great Palace,

且巷出車，

and to arrange the carts in the streets,

吉。

and the reply was positive.

國人大臨，

The people of the state accordingly conducted a great public lamentation

守陴者皆哭。

and the guards manning the ramparts were all wailing.

楚子退師。

The ruler of Chu withdrew his army.

杜注：

Dù commentary:

皆哭：所以告楚窮也。

"They all wept": this was a way of showing that Chǔ was finished.

[The defenders know that they have no hope. They have been encircled for seven days, and divination indicates that public lamentation is in place. Their wailing is in anticipation of their certain death. Their *kū* 哭 is part of the ritual of *lín* 臨 "communal wailing". At the same time it is perhaps also intended as a sign of desperate ultimate determination to die for their just cause. The connection with *āi* 哀 is still clear enough, the public display of distress is there, but there is no dead body, no ritual mourning of any sort. And the commentary by Dù Yù 杜預 (A.D. 222 - 284 A.D.) shows clearly that he took the action of *kū* 哭 as a demonstrative act.]

Zuo Zhao 21.6end, Yang 1440, Wang 1313; Guji 1476; Couvreur 3.342;

食於睢上，

He had a meal with him on the river Suī,

哭而送之

and wailing he sent him off.

[The wailing, in this instance, is no part of any mourning ritual. There is no dead body. The *āi* 哀 "deep sympathetic concern" expressed through *kū* 哭 is connected with the anticipation of mortal danger.]

Hanfei 32.29.6, Zhang Jue 617; Chen Qitian 500; Zhu Shouliang 1120; Chen Qiyou 500; tr. Liao 2.47

文公反國，至河，

Duke Wén reached the Yellow river on his way home to his state.
令蠶豆捐之。

He gave orders for bamboo and earthenware vessels to be discarded.
手足胼胝，

Those who had chapped hands and feet,

面目黧黑者後之。

and those who had dark faces he ordered to the back.

咎犯聞之而夜哭

When Jiù Fàn heard about this he started wailing at night.

公曰：

The Duke said:

寡人出亡二十年，

"I have been abroad for twenty years,

乃今反國。

and first now I return to my state.

咎犯聞之不喜而哭，

When Jiù Fàn heard about this he was not pleased, and he (even) wailed:

意不欲寡人反國耶？

Could it be that he is not hoping for me to return to my state?...

...

今臣有與在後，

"... Now I am (or: have associates) among those who follow behind,
中不勝其哀，

and inside me I cannot overcome my feelings of distress.
故哭。

That is why I was wailing. ..."

[There is no dead body in this context. The occasion of this wailing was the injustice of Duke Wén's decision to command those who had worked hardest to the back.

Surely it was not by chance that the Duke heard the wailing or heard about the wailing at night. It was surely performed as a political signal for the Duke. This demonstrative character of the wailing does not preclude that it was, at the same time an honest expression for

strongly felt emotions concerning the injustice of the Duke. Not all emotion that is publicly displayed for a political or ritual purpose is false: on the contrary, it may be genuine most of the time.

If Jiù Fàn had been weeping with a fairly low noise level in his bedroom, it is very unlikely that the Duke would have heard about this, even if Jiù Fàn had hoped that the news about the weeping got out.

The link between *kū* 哭 and *āi* 哀 is made explicitly at the end of this text.]

Hanfei 13.1 and *Xinxu* 5.30

武王薨，共王即位，

When King Wǔ died and King Gòng ascended the throne

和乃奉玉璣

Hé offered up his piece of jade

而哭於荆山中，

and wailed in the Jing mountains.

三日三夜，

He did this for three days and three nights.

泣盡而繼之以血。

When his tears were used up he continued to weep blood.

共王聞之，

King Gòng heard about this

使人問之曰：

and he asked someone to question Hé:

天下刑之者眾矣。

"There are plenty of people in the world who have been mutilated.
子獨何哭之悲也。

Why do you wail with so much sadness?"

和曰：

He said:

“吾非悲別也，

"I am not sad about mutilation,

悲夫寶玉而題之以石，

I am sad because the precious jade was called a (vulgar) stone,

貞士而名之以誑，

and that an honest man was called a madman.

此吾所以悲也。”
That is why I was sad."

[In this very complex case the lamentations were clearly accompanied by the shedding of tears. These tears are exactly a demonstration of the earnestness and genuineness of the wailing. There is no suggestion whatsoever that these are in any way artificial tears, but it is striking that it is on the occasion of the accession of the new Duke that Mr Hé suddenly feels impelled to this public display of emotional distress. He was not impelled to this kind of exacting *kū* 哭 by the injustice suffered as such. It was the change in the political situation that brought about his public act.

Hiding in the mountains of Chǔ only increases the effectiveness of the demonstration. Hé clearly wanted it to be known by the new ruler that he was wailing away in the mountains.

The unfortunate Mr Hé engages in a demonstrative public act of lamentation which expresses the *āi* 哀 "distress" which he feels so about the injustices he has suffered. But this *āi* 哀 is not the subject of his explanations. Indeed, his *kū* 哭 is expressive not of *āi* 哀 "grief, distress" but an inner sadness. Hé stages his demonstration after the death of King Wǔ. By his demonstration Mr Hé is determined to draw government attention to the treasure he has handed up.

Mr Hé is certainly not said to have *kū* 哭 "lamented" as he is having his left and his right legs amputated. He laments when he wants to draw attention to his treasure, and to his deep inner sense of injustice.

Note that in *Lunheng* 43.8.20, Yuan Huazhong 917, Forke 1.113 we have *qī* 泣 "tears" rather than lamentations, as we should expect, given our interpretation of these terms:

卞和獻玉，
Biàn Hé offerend up his precious jade
別其兩足，
and they cut off his two feet.
奉玉泣出，
Holding the precious jade in his hands tears came to his eyes,
涕盡繼之以血。

and when the tears went dry he went on weeping blood.
Biàn Hé makes a show of his wailing.]

HSWZ 9.13, Xu Weiyu p. 317

孔子出遊少源之野，
Confucius went out for a walk in the Shàoyuán meadows.
有婦人中澤而哭，
There was a woman wailing in the middle of the marsh,
其音甚哀。

and her sound was very full of grief.

孔子怪之
Confucius found this strange
使弟子問焉。

and sent a disciple to ask her about this.

曰：夫人何哭之哀？

He said: "Madam why is your wailing so full of grief?"

婦人曰：

The woman said:

鄉者刈耨薪，

"Just now I was cutting milfoil for firewood

而亡吾耨簪。

and I lost my milfoil hairpin.

吾是以哀也。

That is why I was full of grief."

弟子曰：

The disciple said:

刈耨薪而亡耨簪

In cutting milfoil for firewood and losing a milfoil hairpin,
有何悲焉。

what is there so sad about that?"

婦人曰：

The woman said:

非傷亡簪也。

"It isn't that I am upset about losing the hairpin.

蓋不忘故也。

It must be that I will not forget the story behind it."

[Note that the wailing is appraised in terms of its *yīn* 音 "sound".
The sudden intense mourning, presumably, is because the hairpin
was the gift of the deceased husband of this woman.]

• vt: bewail (a deceased person)

Zuo Ding 9end, Yang 1575; Couvreur 3.557

坐引者，

He made those who pulled the carriage with the coffin kneel down (sic!)

以師哭之，

and using his army he conducted lamentations for the deceased.

親推之三。

Personally he pushed the funeral carriage so the wheels turned thrice. [The fascinating phrase is *yī shī* 以師 "with the help of the army": how can the army assist in weeping? The solution of this problem is again that the army assisted in the ritual lamentations for the deceased. One is reminded of other passages in which the ruler leads his ministers in lamentations.]

Zuo Zhao 21.5, Yang 1427, Wang 1311

於是叔輒哭日食。

Then Shūzhé waited at the eclipse of the sun.

昭子曰：

Zhāozǐ said:
「子叔將死，

"The fact that Zīshū is about to die
非所哭也。」

is not something to lament about/wail at."

Zuo Xi 15.4, Yang 608

聲已不視，

(Madam) Shēngjǐ did not look at the coffin (of her estranged husband),
帷堂而哭。

behind a screen in the hall she made her formal lamentations.

襄仲欲勿哭。

Xiāngzhòng (who had lost his wife to the deceased) wanted to refuse
to offer lamentations.

惠伯曰：...

The Earl of Huì said:....

子無失道，

Do not go against the proper Way.

何怨於人？」

What grievance do you have against this man."

襄仲說。

Xiāngzhòng was satisfied (with this argument).

帥兄弟以哭之。

He led his brothers in a display of lamentations.

Compare HSWZ 8.18, the translation of which is taken from Hightower 272:

梁山崩，

There was a landslide on Mt. Liang.

晉君召大夫伯宗。

The Prince of Chin summoned the Great Officer Po-tsung,
道逢輦者...

who on the way [to court] ran into a man pulling a cart. ...
伯宗私問之。

Po-tsung took him aside and interrogated him.

曰：

He said:

君其率群臣

"Let the prince lead his assembled ministers

素服而哭之，

in donning plain mourning clothes and weeping.

既而祠焉，

After that, perform sacrifices [to the spirits of the River and the
mountain]

河斯流矣。

Then the River will flow.

伯宗問其姓名，

Po-tsung asked his family and name,
弗告。

but he would not tell.

伯宗到，

When Po-tsung arrived,

君問伯宗。

the prince asked him [for advice],

以其言對。
and he replied in the man's words.
於是君素服

Whereupon the prince put on plain mourning
and led the assembled ministers in weeping.
既而祠焉，

After that he performed the sacrifices,
河斯流矣。
and the River flowed.

[The ruler of Jin is dressing up and leading his ministers not in private and personal weeping but in a ritual show of loud lamentation. Indeed, one could not lead ministers in an involuntary reaction like "weeping". The fact that one can learn to weep artificially is not relevant to this point. The ruler is leading a loud public display of sorrow. For ritual lamentation directed at inanimate objects see.]

Hanshu 27.1456

雁河三日不流，

The river Yong did not flow for three days.

晉君帥群臣而哭之，

The Duke of Jin lead his ministers in a public display of wailing
乃流。

and as a result the Yellow River started to flow (again).]

Guoyu Lü 2, 5.17, ed. Shànghǎigǔjí 1.212

公父文伯之母朝哭穆伯，

The mother of Gōngfūwénbó wailed for Lord Mù in the morning
而暮哭文伯。

and in the evening for Wénbó.

仲尼聞之曰：

When Confucius heard about this he said:

「季氏之婦可謂知禮矣...」

"Madam Ji may be said to understand ritual. ..."

[Confucius is judging public acts. The mother goes to court to perform her public act of lamenting a death, wailing for the deceased at court.]

Meng 7B33, Jiao Xun

哭死而哀，

Wailing for the dead and showing grief
非為生者也。

is not for the sake of the living.

經德不回，

Taking virtue as one's guideline and not swerving from it
非以干祿也。

that is not in order to go after emoluments.

言語必信，

When one's words are invariably in good faith
非以正行也。

this is not in order to show one's actions to be correct.

君子行法，

When the gentleman acts according to the model
以俟命而已矣。

it is simply in expectation of his fate (without ulterior motives).

[D.C. Lau 2.301 translates: "When one mourns sorrowfully over the dead it is not to impress the living."]

Zhuang 3, Wang Shumin 111

老聃死秦失弔之

When Lǎodān died, Qín Yì went to offer his condolences.

三號而出

He wailed loud thrice and left.

弟子曰

"Weren't you a friend of the master?"

非夫子之友邪

a disciple asked him.

曰然

"Yes."

然則弔焉若此可乎

"Well, is it proper to offer your condolences to him like this?"

曰然

"Yes.

始也吾以為至人也

At first, I used to think of him as a man,

而今非也
 but now I no longer do.
 向吾入而弔焉
 Just now when I went in to offer my condolences,
 有老者哭之
 there were old people wailing over him
 如哭其子
 as though they were wailing for one of their own sons.
 少者哭之
 There were youngsters wailing over him
 如哭其母
 as though they were wailing for their own mother.
 彼其所以會之
 Among those whom he had brought together,
 必有不斨言而言
 surely there were some who wished not to speak but spoke anyway,
 不斨哭而哭者
 who wished not to wail but wailed anyway.
 是適天倍情
 This is to flee from nature while redoubling human emotion,
 忘其所受
 thus forgetting what we have received from nature.
 古者謂之適天之刑
 This was what the ancients called 'the punishment of fleeing from nature.'
 適來夫子時也
 By chance the master's coming was timely,
 適去夫子順也
 and by chance his going was favorable.
 安時而處順
 One who is situated in timeliness and who dwells in favorableness
 哀樂不能入也
 cannot be affected by joy or sorrow.
 古者謂是帝之縣解
 This is what the ancients called 'the emancipation of the gods.'
 指窮於為薪
 Resins may be consumed when they are used for fuel,

火傳也不知其盡也
 but fire continues forever.
 [Háo 嘯 / 號 is clearly not the same as kū 哭: the precise contrast being, that kū 哭 is more ritualised and háo 號 is louder and often tends to express anguish and perhaps even anger in addition to grief.]

Chuci, Xiwǎngri 惜往日
 思久故之親身兮，
 45 When he thought of their former close companionship,
 因綺素而哭之。
 He put on white weeds and wept for him.
 [We have a ritual act marked by the wearing of white clothes. This is the only example of kū 哭 in Chuci.]

Liji 3 檀弓上, Couvreur 1.167f; Sūn Xidàn 2.105
 且臣聞之，
 Moreover, I have heard it said
 哭有二道：
 that there are two modes of lamenting:
 有愛而哭之，
 there are those who lament because they feel love,
 有畏而哭之。
 and there are those who lament because they feel awe/fear.

Liji 3 檀弓上, Couvreur 1.187; Sūn Xidàn 2.124
 孔子惡野哭者。
 Confucius disliked those who lamented in the open air.
 [Acquaintances were supposed to be wailed for in the open countryside, as the next passage explains.]

Liji 3 檀弓上, Couvreur 1.136f; Sūn Xidàn 2.79f
 伯高死於衛，
 Bó Gāo had died in Wèi,
 赴於孔子，
 and someone reported this to Confucius.
 孔子曰：
 Confucius said;

- 「吾惡乎哭諸？
Where shall I wail for him?
兄弟，
For brothers
吾哭諸廟；
I wail for them in the ancestral temple;
父之友，
for my father's friends
吾哭諸廟門之外；
I wail for them outside the gate to the ancestral temple;
師，
For a teacher
吾哭諸寢；
I wail for them in the bedchamber;
朋友，
For friends
吾哭諸寢門之外；
I wail for them outside the door to the bedchamber;
所知，
For acquaintances，
吾哭諸野。
I wail for them in the open countryside.
於野，
Now wailing for Bó Gāo in the countryside，
則已疏；
that would be treating him as too distant.
於寢，
Wailing for him in the bedchamber，
則已重。
that would be treating him as too important.
夫由賜也見我，
Since Zīgōng has come to see me on this matter
吾哭諸陽氏。」
I shall wail for him at Zīgōng's place."
遂命子賈為之主，
And he ordered Ziōgōng to take charge of the proceedings，
曰：
saying:

- 「為爾哭也來者，
"If someone comes to wail on your behalf，
拜之；
then bow to him as a sign of gratitude；
知伯高而來者。
if someone comes because he is acquainted with Bó Gāo，
勿拜也。」
then do not bow to him as a sign of gratitude.
Liji 4; 檀弓下 Couvreur 1.193f; Sūn Xīdàn 3.5
妻之昆弟為父後者死，
When the wife's brother, who succeeded his father, dies，
哭之適室，
one should bewail him in front of the the main buildings.
[Yōng 踴 "jumping up and down" naturally belonged together with
kū 哭 "wailing". The rules where and when to kū 哭 were evidently
elaborate.]
Liji 4 檀弓下; Couvreur 1.243; Sūn Xīdàn 3.46
孔子過泰山側，
Confucius was passing by the side of Tàishān，
有婦人哭於墓者而哀，
and there was a woman who was crying by a grave, with proper
grief.
夫子式而聽之。
Confucius leant over the cross-bar on his chariot and listened to her.
使子路問之曰：
He sent Zhū out to ask her:
「子之哭也，
"As for your wailing，
豈似重有憂者。」
it is as if your troubles weigh heavily."
而曰：
And she said:
「然，
"Yes，
昔者吾舅死於虎，
Some time ago my father-in-law was killed by a tiger;

吾夫又死焉，
my husband was also killed by him;
今吾子又死焉。」
and now my son again was killed by him.”
夫子曰：

The Master said:

「何為不去也？」

“Why don't you leave the place?”

曰：

She said:

「無苛政。」

“Ah, but there is no cruel government (in this place)!”

夫子曰：

The Master said:

「小子識之，

“My little ones, take note:

苛政猛於虎。」

cruel government is more ferocious than a tiger.”

[Wailing was, of course, music in Confucius' ears. The lady was paying her respect to her beloved ones through wailing. In this instance there is no element of demonstrativeness.]

SY 18.29, Zhao Shanyi 556, 473

孔子晨立堂上，

Confucius was standing up in the hall one morning,

聞哭者聲音甚悲。

and he heard wailing, the sound of which was full of inner sadness.

孔子援琴而鼓之，

Confucius picked up his lute and strummed on it,

其音同也。

his sound chimed in well.

孔子出，

Confucius left,

而弟子有叱（吒）者。

and there was a student who expressed sympathy (*zhà*) (at the lamentation).

問：

Confucius asked:

「誰也？」

Who was that?

曰：

They said:

「回也。」

Yán Huí.

孔子曰：

Confucius said:

「回何為而叱（吒）？」

“Why did Huí express sympathy?”

回曰：

Yán Huí replied:

「今者有哭者，

Just now there was someone who was wailing,

其音甚悲，

and the sound was very sad.

非獨哭死，

That person was not only wailing for a dead person,

又哭生離者。」

s/he was also bewailing separation during one's lifetime.”

孔子曰：

Confucius said:

「何以知之？」

“How did you know that?”

回曰：

Yán Huí said:

「似亮山之鳥。」

“It reminds one of the birds of Mount Wán.

孔子曰：

Confucius said:

「何如？」

“How's that?”

回曰：

Huí replied:

「亮山之鳥，

“The birds of Mount Wán

生四子，

they get five fledgelings,

羽翼已成，
and after their plumage has been formed
乃離四海，
when they leave for the four seas,
哀鳴送之，
then the parents send them off with grieving songs:
為是往而不復返也。」
this is because they go off never to return.
孔子使人問哭者，
Confucius sent someone to ask about the person who was wailing,
哭者曰：
and the wailing person replied:
「父死家貧，
When my father died my family was poor,
賣子以葬之，
I sold my children to get him buried,
將與其別也。」
and am about to part with them."
孔子曰：
Confucius said:
「善哉，
"Very good,
聖人也！」
聖人也！」
Yán Huí is a sage."
[It is clear from this kind of example that *kū* 哭 does not always
involve the use of explicit words - if indeed it ever does.

Jiqiyu 18, Xue Anqin 126, Wanyouwenku 125
孔子在衛，
Confucius was in Wèi.
昧旦晨興，
At dawn, in the morning, he had risen,
顏回侍側，
and Yán Huí was in attendance by his side.
聞哭者之聲甚哀。
He heard the sound of wailing which was very much full of proper
grief.

子曰：
The Master said:
「回，
"Huí,
汝知此何所哭乎？」
do you know who this person is wailing for?
對曰：
Yán Huí replied:
「回以此哭聲，
I hold the opinion regarding this sound of wailing
非但為死者而已，
that it is not only a matter of just death,
又將有生離別者也。」
it is likely to be a matter of being separated during one's lifetime.
子曰：
The Master said:
「何以知之？」
"How do you know this?
對曰：
Huí replied:
「回聞桓山之鳥，
"I have heard it said that on Mount Huán the birds
生四子焉，
give birth to four fledgelings.
羽翼既成，
When the wings have been formed
將分於四海，
they desire to spread out over the four seas,
其母悲鳴而送之。
and the mother sends them off with a sad song.
哀聲有似於此，
The sound of mourning has similarity with this,
謂其往而不返也，
謂其往而不返也，
for it refers to the leaving never to come back.
回竊以音類知之。」
回竊以音類知之。」
I humbly understood this because of the kind of sound that was
made."

孔子使人問哭者，
Confucius send someone to ask the person who was wailing,
果曰：
and indeed that person said:
「父死家貧，
"My father has died and my family are poor.
賣子以葬。
賣子以葬。
I sold my son to pay for the funeral.
與之長決。」
與之長決。
I am taking my leave from him forever."
子曰：
子曰：
The Master said:
「回也，
「回也，
"As for Huí,
善於識音矣。」
善於識音矣。
he is good at recognising sounds."

Finally, for comparison, a passage in *Liji* where we do have weeping:

Liji 3 檀弓上, Couvreur 1.113f; Sün Xidàn 2.59f
孔子既得合葬於防，
孔子既得合葬於防，
When Confucius managed to bury his father and mother together at
Mount Fáng
曰：
曰：
he said:
「吾聞之，
「吾聞之，
"I have heard it said
古也墓而不墳；
古也墓而不墳；
that in ancient times one made flat tombs and not funeral mounds;
今丘也，
今丘也，
Now as for me
東西南北人也，
東西南北人也，
I am at home everywhere,
不可以弗識也。」
不可以弗識也。
and I cannot fail to be aware of this."
於是封之，
於是封之，
So he made a funeral mound for them,

崇四尺。
and this was four *chǐ* high.
孔子先反，
孔子先反，
Confucius returned home first,
門人後，
門人後，
his followers came afterwards,
雨甚，
雨甚，
and there was heavy rain.
至，
至，
When they arrived
孔子問焉曰：
孔子問焉曰：
Confucius asked them:
「爾來何遲也？」
「爾來何遲也？」
曰：
曰：
They said:
「防墓崩。」
「防墓崩。」
"The area of the tomb has collapsed."
孔子不應三。
孔子不應三。
Confucius said nothing after having the reply repeated three times.
孔子泫然流涕曰：
孔子泫然流涕曰：
Confucius broke into bitter tears and said:
「吾聞之：
「吾聞之：
"I have heard it said:
古不修墓。」
古不修墓。
in ancient times they did not make elaborate tomb areas."

• vt: wail or cry out in profound distress over and/or sympathy for (a living person), or for the plight or the impending death of (a living person)

Guoyu Jìn 2, 8.1, ed. Shànghǎigǔjī 1.292

驪姬見申生而哭之曰：

When Lí Jī saw Shēnshēng she lamented in front of him and said: ...
[The mother is furious with Shēn Shēng. She makes a very long speech attacking his behaviour towards his father. Her reproach is strengthened by demonstrative lamentation which is a public expression of her deep grief and distress *āi* 哀 in view of Shēn Shēng's behaviour. There is no element of mourning or of sympathy

in this instance. The dominant feature is public demonstration of sheer distress. This example is very special.]

Guanzi 29, 1.98.12

於是魯君乃不殺。

Then the ruler of Lǔ did not kill (Guānzhōng).

遂生束縛而桎

Subsequently he tied him up alive, put him in a cage

以與齊。

and handed him over to Qí.

鮑叔受而哭之，

Bāoshū received (Guānzhōng) and wailed in front of him,

三舉。

and he did this three times.

施伯從而笑之。

Shībó then laughed at this.

注：笑其僞也。

Commentary: Laughed at the pretence.

[Rickett 321 translates: "Bao Shu, receiving him, cried out three times." Guānzhōng had fought against Duke Huán of Qí and was handed over, as we are told in this passage, by the state of Lǔ. Seeing Guānzhōng in this sorry state Bāoshū offers three bursts of ritual public lamentations. The number is also the number of usual state mourning. If Bāoshū had broken into spontaneous tears on this occasion, he would not have been so careful to stage-manage three bursts of wailing. His lamentation is in sympathy with the plight of the future great advisor of Duke Huán of Qí. Courveur might have translated convincingly *poussait trois lamentations*.]

LSCQ 16.4

臣不知其可也

"...I am not sure that this is right.

君其重圖之

You, my ruler, should think about this again."

繆公不聽也

Duke Mù did not listen to this advice.

蹇叔送師於門外

Jiǎnshū sent off the army beyond the city gate

而哭曰

and wailing he said:

師乎

"Oh this army!

見其出

We see it going out,

而不見其入也

but we won't see it coming back!"

蹇叔有子

Jiǎnshū had two sons,

曰申與視

called Shēn and Shì.

與師偕行

These went along with the army.

蹇叔謂其子曰

Jiǎnshū said to his sons:

晉若過師

"If Jin opposes our army,

必於殺

this is bound to be at Xiáo.

女死不於南方之岸

If you die, make sure it is not on the southern shore

必於北方之岸

be sure to die on the northern shore.

為吾尸女之易

In that way I can dispose of your bodies more conveniently."

繆公聞之

When Duke Mù heard about his

使人謾蹇叔曰

he sent someone to criticise Jiǎnshū:

寡人興師

"I have raised this army,

未知何如

and I still do not know how it will go.

今哭而送之

If you now send off the army, wailing,

是哭吾師也

this is to bewail my army."

蹇叔對曰

Jiǎnshū replied:

臣不敢哭師也

"I would not presume to bewail the army.

臣老矣

I am old.

有子二人

I have two sons,

皆與師行

and they go off with the army.

比其反也

By the time it returns,

非彼死則臣必死矣

if they have not died then I am sure to be dead.

是故哭

That is why I was weeping."

[Jiǎnshū is not lamenting any dead body: he is lamenting the prospects of his sons. When challenged he makes up a story that he is lamenting the fact that he will never see his children again either before he dies before the end of the campaign or because they die in the campaign. In both interpretations *kū* 哭 is a public expression of *āi* 哀 in the sense of deep sympathy and distress, or deep distress about leaving his sons forever. Compare also:

Hanshu 099C/4175

「是為泣軍！」

"This is shedding tears over the army.

[Personification of Heaven whose rain is interpreted as tears.]

ZGC, ed. *Shànghǎigǔjī* p. 573, Lau no. 199 (卷十七·楚四)

伯樂遭之，

When Bólè ran into the horse

下車攀而哭之。

he got down from his carriage, patted it and bewailed it.

[I take it that either white still up on his carriage or after having looked more closely at the run-down horse with such a distinguished history Bólè decided to bewail the horse.]

• vt: give oneself over to lamentation when faced with

LSCQ 22.3, 289.05

故墨子見歧道而哭之

Thus Mòzǐ, when he saw a crossroads, broke into lamentations at the sight.

[It wasn't that Mòzǐ burst into uncontrollable tears at the crossroads. He was staging a little philosophical happening, a little public philosophical demonstration. The act of crying is a deliberate act based on reflection. Cf. *Xinshu*, shenwei
故墨子見衢路而哭之悲

Thus when Mòzǐ saw the crossroads he weiled, full of sadness.]

Xun 11, Liang 152

楊朱哭衢塗，

Yáng Zhū was lamenting: weiling at a (Y-shaped?) crossroads,
曰：

and he said:

「此夫過舉頭步，

"At this point if one takes half a step in the wrong direction,
而覺跌千里者夫！」

then one (already) is aware of 1000 *lǐ*'s consequences, isn't one?"
哀哭之。

With proper grief he weiled: lamented at this.

[Yáng Zhū is bewailing what he sees as a tragic situation. His is a demonstrative act. It would be very different if he had been standing there *liú tì* 流涕 "shedding tears": then he would have been struck passively. Indeed, it is in this psychologising mood that Ruǎn Jí interprets the episode:

Ruǎn Jí 阮籍 (A.D. 210 - 263), 詠懷詩 no. 22

楊朱泣歧路，

Yángzhū wept at the crossroads,

墨子悲染絲。

Mòzǐ was saddened by the dyeing of silk.]

- n: wailing, lamentation 表示悲痛哀號的過程
Zuo Xi 13.11, Yang 504; Wang 376, Couvreur 1.440
凡君薨，
Whenever a ruler dies
卒哭而祔。
one puts an end to lamentations to make sacrifices.
[There is no question of *kū* 哭 meaning "tears" here or anywhere else. But one could translate "the sound of lamentation" without misrepresenting the text.]

Zhuang 33, Wang Shumin 1304f

雖然，
Nevertheless,
歌而非歌，
people will sing, yet he (Mòzǐ) rejected singing;
哭而非哭，
people will wail, yet he rejected wailing;
樂而非樂，
people will make music, yet he rejected music.
是果類乎？
Does this really seem human?

[Again we have the natural juxtaposition of *kū* 哭 "wail (for others to hear)" with *gē* 歌 "sing (for others to hear)"]

Hanfei 38.12, Zhang Jue 856; Zhu Shouliang 1436;

鄭子產晨出，
Zichān of Zhèng went out in the morning,
過東匠之閭，
and as he passed through the Eastern Craftsmen's settlement
聞婦人之哭，
he heard the wailing of a woman.
撫其禦之手而聽之。
He touched the driver's hand (to stop him) and listened to her.
有聞，
After a while
遭吏執而問之，
he sent an official to arrest and interrogate her,

則手絞其夫者也。

and it turned out she had personally strangled the husband (she was wailing over).

異日，

On another day

其禦問曰：

the driver asked:

夫子何以知之？

"Master, how did you know this?"

子產曰：

Zichān said:

其聲懼。

"The sound she was making was fearful.

凡人於其親愛也，

Generally, as for men's reactions concerning those whom they love dearly

始病而憂，

when these begin to get ill they are worried (about the distant future);

臨死而懼，

when these get close to death, they are afraid.

已死而哀。

when they have died they feel mournful.

今哭已死，

Now she was wailing for a person who was already dead,

不哀而懼，

she was not mournful, but fearful.

是以知其有姦也。

That is how I knew that she had done something wrong.

[This is one of a set of stories concerning the fine nuances and the aesthetics of moaning in classical China. Confucius was another person who had an almost supernatural sensitivity to the subtle messages in wailing.]

Huainan 19, Chen Zhong 918

故秦楚燕魏之歌也，

Now the songs of Qín, Chǔ, Yān and Wèi,

異轉而皆樂。

they have different modulations, but they are all joyful.

九夷八狄之哭也，
The lamentations of the Nine Yi Barbarians and the Eight Di barbarians,
殊聲而皆悲。
they have different sounds but they are all sad.
一也。

In this they are all the same.
夫歌者樂之徵也。
Now song is a demonstration of joyfulness;
哭者悲之效也。
wailing is a manifestation of sadness.
[The opposition between *gē* 歌 and the equally public *kū* 哭 comes
out beautifully in this thoughtful passage.]

Huainan 8, Lau p. 66.3
哭踊有節。
For wailing and for jumping up and down (in mourning) there are
fixed rules.

Xinyu, 11, Wang Liqi 157, tr. Ku Mei-kao 127
樂則歌，
When they feel joy they sing,
哀則哭，
when they feel grief they wail.
蓋聖人之所齊一也。
This probably is what the sages have in common.

QI 泣

• vi: (as of small children) cry, howl

Shi 189 Ruan 437, tr. Karlgren
乃生男子，
8. And so he bears sons;
載寢之床，
they lay them on a bed,
載衣之裳，
they dress them in skirts,
載弄之璋。
they give them as toys (chang-jades:) jade insignia;

其泣嗶嗶，
they cry shrilly;
朱芾斯皇，
their red knee-covers will be brilliant,
室家君王。
(they will be) rulers of hereditary houses.
[The sons cry properly which proves that they are healthy. The *qi* 泣
here involves the making of properly audible healthy sounds.
One may wish to argue about the nominality or verbality of this case
of *qi* 泣. Perhaps one can say that the verb is here temporarily
nominalised. In any case the issue is not semantically important.]

Shu, Gaoyaomo 17, tr. Karlgren cf. also *Lienü* 1.4
敢呱呱而泣
when (my son) Qǐ wailed and wept,
予弗子
I did not treat him as a son (sc. I had no leisure to attend to him)
惟荒度土功
I planned the extensive landworks.
彌成五服
I assisted in establishing the five dependencies,
至于五千
as far as 5000 (li);
[The child did not *kū* 哭 "lament": his was a spontaneous (and
probably quite noisy) reaction, he cried. Compare

Lunheng 28.13.34, Forke 1.404f
禹曰：
Yǔ said:
予娶若時，
"I conducted my marriage
辛、壬、癸、甲，
on the *xīn*, *rén*, *guǐ* and *jiǎ* days,
開呱呱而泣，
and when my children cried noisily
予弗子。]
I did not treat them as my children."

[We conclude that when used of children, *qì* 泣 can involve the use of a fair amount of noise. In any case it is compatible with a fair amount of noise.]

Liji 3 檀弓上, Couvreur 1.159f; *Sūn Xidàn* 2.98

弃人有其母死而孺子泣者，

A man in *Bian* whose mother had died **cried** like a child.

孔子曰：

Confucius said:

「哀則哀矣，

"His show of grief is perfectly acceptable.

而難為繼也。

But it is difficult to follow his tradition.

夫禮，

As for ritual,

為可傳也，

the point is that it can be transmitted,

為可繼也。

that it can be followed as a tradition.

故哭踊有節。」

That is why there are prescribed rules for wailing and jumping up and down.

[Confucius essentially complains that *qì* 泣, though a good enough expression for *āi* 哀, is not in accordance with the *jié* 節 "prescribed forms" of mourning behaviour including the jumping up and down as a demonstration of one's unbearable grief. This is a very important passage for the understanding of the contrast between *kū* 哭 and *qì* 泣.]

Hanfei 32.56, *Chén Qiyóu* 陳奇猷 (1963) p. 665:

曾子之妻之市

Zengzi's wife was going to the market.

其子隨之而泣。

Her son who was going along with her, was **crying**.

其母曰:女(一汝)還。

The mother said: You turn back.

顧反為女殺處。

When you get back we shall kill a pig for you.

妻適市來

When the wife had got to the market and came [home],
曾子欲捕斃殺之。

Zēngzǐ wanted to catch the pig and kill it.

妻止之曰：特與嬰兒戲耳。The wife stopped him and said: "I was only joking with the child."

曾子曰：嬰兒非可與戲也。Zēngzǐ said: "But a child can by no means be joked with.

嬰兒非有知也。

It isn't as if a child had proper knowledge.

待父母兒學者也。

It is the sort of creature that relies on its parents to learn this.
聽父母之教。

It listens to the parent's instruction.

今子欺之。

Now you are cheating him,

是教子欺也。

and such behaviour constitutes teaching a son to cheat.
母欺子，

For the mother to cheat the son,

子而不信其母

and then for a son not to trust his mother,

非所以成教也。

this is not a way to bring about [proper] education."
遂烹屍。

Then he boiled the pig.

[There is no question of the child performing *kū* 哭 in any of the established senses of that word.]

SY 3.8

伯俞有過，

Bóyú had done something wrong.

其母笞之，

His mo" caned him.

泣，

cried.

其母曰：

His mother said:

「他日管子，

"When I beat you on other days
未嘗見泣，

I never saw you cry.

今泣何也？」

Why do you cry now?"

對曰：

He replied:

「他日俞得罪，

"The other days, when I had done something wrong,
笞嘗痛。

I was beaten hard.

今母之力衰，

But now your strength, mother, has declined,
不能使痛，

and you are unable to inflict pain.
是以泣也。」

That is why I am crying."

[The morally precocious boy is moved to tears by feelings of filial piety. His weeping could be a little family-internal demonstration. We do not know.]

Xinshu 8, 春秋 end
孫叔敖之為嬰兒也

When [Sūn Shūáo was a small child
出遊而還

he went out and came back home.
憂而不食

He was worried and did not eat.
其母問其故

His mother asked why.
泣而對曰

He cried and said:
今日吾見兩頭蛇

"Today I saw a snake with two heads.
恐去死無日矣

I am afraid the day of my death is not far off."

[Why did the little Sūnshū Áo not kū 哭 "wail"? Because he was moved to tears, not displaying mourning or grief. The dominant emotion is fear.]

Xinxu 1.2, *Lienii* 3.5,
叔敖為嬰兒之時，

When Shūáo was a little boy
出遊見兩蛇，

he went out and saw two snakes.
殺而埋之。

He killed them and buried them.
歸見其母而泣焉

Upon his return, when he saw his mother, he cried in front of her.
其母問其故。

His mother asked why he was weeping/crying...

[The little boy has heard that he who has seen a snake will die. The boy is well beyond the baby stage. Conceivably he might join a ritual of kū 哭 "lamentation". But this is not a ritual occasion of that sort. He is crying out of fear. He cannot help crying. There is no way of telling how much noise the little boy was making.]

Wenxuan 23.15B, Wáng Càn 王粲, *Yǒngshìshī* 詠史詩
路有饑婦人，

On the road there are famished women,
抱子棄草間。

taking their children they throw them away in the undergrowth.
顧聞號泣聲，

Turning round they hear the sound of crying,
揮涕獨不還。

Shedding tears they do not go back (to their little ones).

[The desperate mother, turning her head, listens to the loud crying of the child she has discarded. The crying is not the otherwise quite current *háokū* 號哭 but the less common *háoqì* 號泣 as our account predicts.]

Hanshu 097A/3954-3955-(6)
師古曰：

Shǐgū says:

「朝鮮之間

In the Korean region,

謂小兒泣不止

when a child will not stop crying

名為噎

that is called *xuān*.

• vi: start crying because of physical pain

Zhuang 8, Wang Shumin 313

且夫駢於拇者，

Moreover, as for someone with webbed toes,

決之則泣；

if you were to try to separate them he would (naturally come to) cry;

枝於手者，

he who has a sixth finger,

齧之則啼。

if you were to try to bite it off he would cry.

[Needless to say, *kū* 哭 is impossible in this connection. *Tī* 啼 "cry miserably" is primarily acoustic and very often designed to elicit sympathy with the agent's suffering. One strongly suspects that in this instance the *qì* 泣 is not of the quiet type, but rather like the crying of children.]

• vi: weep, be moved to tears, as a direct expression of strong emotion

Shu, Jinteng 18, Ruan 197, Yang Renzhi 201

王執事以泣曰

The king held the document and wept, he said:

其勿穆卜

Let us not solemnly take the tortoise oracle (sc. it is not needed).

[The point is that the king was moved to tears by the contents of the letter and by the virtue of the Duke of Zhōu.]

In *Shijing* the weeping is on the occasion of the separation between men and women or between rulers and ministers.

Shi: 28

燕燕子飛，

1. The swallows go flying,

差池其羽。

uneven-looking are their wings;

之子于歸，

this young lady goes to her new home,

遠送于野。

I accompany her far out in the open country;

瞻望弗及，

I gaze after (her), (do not reach her=) can no longer see her,

泣涕如雨。

the tears are like rain.

燕燕子飛，

2. The swallows go flying,

頡之頡之。

they straighten their necks, they stretch their necks;

之子于歸，

this young lady goes to her new home,

遠于將之，

far I go to escort her;

瞻望弗及，

I gaze after her, can no longer see her,

佇立以泣。

I stand still and weep.

[These are tears of joy on behalf of the girl who is married off, and at the same time tears of sorrow that the time of togetherness is past. The word *kū* 哭 would be completely out of the question.]

Zuo Ai 6.6, Yang 1638, Wang 1512; Couvreur 3.636; Xia 1501

僖子不對而泣曰：

Xīzǐ looked away (from the ruler) and said with tears in his eyes:

「君舉不信群臣乎？ ...

"Do you, my ruler, have no faith in any of your ministers... ..

... 夫孺子何罪？

What crime would the young man have committed?"

[It is customary to take *dùi* 對 to mean "reply" here, but the meaning one would need is more specifically "give a straightforward reply to the question asked". (Does *bù dùi* 不對 regularly mean "did not answer"? I have to check this out!) But we have plenty of cases

where *dui yuē* 對曰 is followed by a reply that does not directly and openly address the issues raised. I therefore submit my unconventional reading as a possible alternative.

The ruler had just proposed the murder of another contender for his position as a ruler to Xīzǐ, very subtly but unmistakably. Xīzǐ turns away and does not want the ruler to see the tears in his eyes. He is not wailing demonstratively. He cannot stop tears coming to his eyes at the immorality of the project. Indeed, when the ruler is told of this reaction he is said to have regretted his proposal: *huǐ zhī* 悔之. Demonstrative wailing or lamentation *kū* 哭 at this point would have been nothing less than scandalous behaviour by Xīzǐ (also known as Chén Qǐ 陳乞.)

Mo 70.29, Wu p. 752

敵人卒而至，...

When the enemy suddenly arrives, ...

相視坐泣，...

Those who (during an enemy attack) look at each other and sit and weep

斬。

...are to be executed.

[During an enemy attack one would not dare to *kū* 哭 "openly lament": presumably one would risk being summarily executed for such overt opposition.]

Zhuang 24, Wang Shumin 968

樞也將與國君同食

"Kǎn will eat together with the ruler of a state

以終其身。

his whole life."

子綦索然出涕曰：

Zīqí said, despondently, with tears (of commiseration?) in his eyes:

吾子何為以至於是極也！

"Why should my son arrive at such an extremity?"

九方歎曰：

Jiūfāngyīn said:

夫（原誤大）與國君同食，

"The benefits of one who eats together with the ruler of a state

澤及三族，

will reach to the three clans of his relatives,

而況父母乎！

how much more to his father and mother!

今夫子聞之而泣，

Now, Master, for you to **weep** upon hearing this

是樂福也。...

that is to stand in the way of good fortune. ...

殆乎，

"Perilous!--

非我與吾子之罪，

but it's not through any fault of my son and me.

幾天與之也！

Heaven must be visiting this upon us.

吾是以泣也。

That is why I **was moved to tears**."

[Note first that, quite properly, *qì* 泣 is the resumptive word used to refer to what was described above as *chū ti* 出涕. Zīqí is moved to tears when he thinks of his son reduced to a courtier's life. On this occasion loud wailing or lamentation of the *kū* 哭 sort would have been entirely out of place. The mood of this dialogue is personal and intimate, not public and ritual.]

Hanfei 35.5.11, Chen Qiyou 761

造父過之為之泣也。

When Zào fǔ passed by he **was moved to tears** by this.

[The famous charioteer Zào fǔ was moved to tears in sympathy with the inept handling of the horses, but also because the handling of the horses reminded him of a very grave general political problem. There is another expanded version of this with *qiti* 泣涕:

Hanfei 35.26.13

造父過而為之泣涕曰：

Zào fǔ passed by and wept and wailed on account of this, saying:

古之治人亦然矣。

"When people in ancient times ruled others it was also like this."

Qiti 泣涕 became an extremely common general combination for "to cry" in Han times.]

HSWZ 2.2

魯監門之女嬰

Yīng, the daughter of a gatekeeper at Lǔ
相從續。

was weaving with someone.

中夜而泣涕。

In the middle of the night she was sobbing and weeping.

其偶曰：

Her (girl)friend said:

何謂而泣也？

"What are you weeping for?"

嬰曰：

Yīng replied:

吾聞衛世子不肖。

"I have heard that the Heir Apparent of Wèi is unworthy.

所以泣也。

That is why I weep."

其偶曰：

Her friend said:

衛世子不肖

"The unworthiness of the Heir Apparent of Wèi

諸侯之憂也。

is the worry of the feudal lords.

子曷為泣也？...

Why are you weeping for this?" ...

今衛世子甚不肖

"... ... Now the Heir Apparent of Wèi is highly unworthy,

好兵。

he is fond of warfare.

吾男第三人。

I have three brothers (of relevant age for the military).

能無憂乎？

Can I fail to be worried?"

[We do not know how young Yīng is, and since she has younger brothers of military age she cannot be very young. There is nothing demonstrative about her sobbing and weeping. This is an intimate personal episode, although it includes some rather surprising grand rhetoric.]

HSWZ 7.8, Xu Weiyu 248; see also *Xinxu* 1.10

居無幾何，

After a short while

而周舍死。

Zhōu Shè died.

簡子如喪子。

Jiǎnzǐ behaved as if he had lost a son.

後禹諸大夫歛

Afterwards he arranged a drinking party with his grandees
於洪波之臺。

at the Broad Wave Terrace.

酒酣，

When he had drunk a fair amount

簡子涕泣。

Jiǎnzǐ started to weep.

諸大夫皆出走，曰：

All the grandees ran out and said:

臣有罪而不自知也。

"I must be guilty of something that I am not aware of."

簡子曰：...

Jiǎnzǐ said:

今自周舍之死，

"...Now since the death of Zhōu Shè onwards

吾未嘗聞吾過也。

I have heard nothing about my own faults/mistakes.

吾亡無日矣。

I am bound to be ruined within a short time.

是以寡人泣也。

That is why I was weeping."

[If he had been in formal mourning, Jiǎnzǐ should never have arranged a feast, and he should even less have got drunk. His weeping is not part of any formal mourning. The thought of his friend moves him to tears, especially the thought that since his death he has no one to draw his attention to his own faults. The grandees in attendance realise that Jiǎnzǐ is upset but do not know why. They do not misunderstand this *qī* 泣 as if it were formal *kū* 哭 "lamentation" for

his dead friend, which would not have caused them to worry about having committed some faux pas.

The word *kū* 哭 would have been acceptable here, but then Jiǎnzǐ 諫 would have been wailing aloud in some kind of demonstration. His weeping may also be a demonstration, but if so, of a more subtle kind. Alcohol has simply made him prone to tears. Part of the reason why he is so upset is not mourning for his friend but fear for his own future.]

• vi: weep in deep personal outrage and/or as a sign of determination

Zuo Ai 11.1, Yang 1659, Couvreur 3.664f; Watson 193

公叔務人見保者而泣曰：

When Gōngsūn Wùrén saw the defenders of the city he **wept** and said:

「事充，政重，

"Military assignments are irksome, taxes are heavy,

上不能謀，

our superiors do not know how to plan,

士不能死，

our officers do not know how to die for a cause.

何以治民？

How can we give the people good order?

吾既言之矣，

Since I have (now publicly) spoken like this,

能不勉乎？

how can I fail to make a proper effort?"

[Gōngsūn Wùrén cannot hold back his tears when he sees the band of fellow defenders. His tears are an expression of his desperate determination to do his loyal best in a pretty hopeless situation. At the same time he is moved by the loyalty of those defenders.]

Zuo Xiang 23.3, Yang 1074; Wang 920;

對曰：

(The people of Qǔwò) replied:

「得主而為之死，

"To get this ruler and die for him,

猶不死也。」

that is like not dying."

皆歎，

Everyone heaved sighs (of heightened emotion),
有泣者。...

and there were those who **were moved to tears**.

皆曰：

They all said:

「得主何貳之有。」

"If we get this ruler, what disloyalty will there be?!"

[This example is important because it shows how *qi* 泣 is a heightened form of *tan* 歎. But the decisive point is that the tears and the sighs are demonstrations not at all of *āi* 哀 "mourning, grief, distress", but of desperate political determination to fight with their leader, of genuine and sincere emotional loyalty. Instances of this kind, where weeping is a sign of sincere loyalty are many in our sources. I have not yet found *kū* 哭 in such contexts.]

Hanfei 34.25.11

太子怒，

The heir apparent got angry.

入為王泣曰：

He went and **weeping in front of** the king he said...

[These are tears of anger.]

Hanfei 34.25.49

太子入為王泣曰

The heir apparent went in and **weeping in front of** the king he said...

Note again the current form 為 x (而) 泣 "weep in front of" which remains frequent in Han literature:

Hanshu 93, ed. Zhonghua 3724-3725

為皇太后泣，

...he **wept in front of** the Empress Dowager

請得歸國

and asked to be allowed to return to his state.

[Note the explicit link between *qi* 泣 and *nù* 怒, but the anger is because of an injustice 委屈. There is a temptation, however, to take

the *wèi* 為 in these constructions as an indication that *qī* 泣 is in this syntactic context transformed into a deliberate gesture.]

• vi: weep in false pretence of intense emotions

Such pretence is perfectly possible with *kū* 哭, but the emotions at which pretence is made are different in this case. With *kū* 哭 the emotion is lasting grief and deep indignation. With *qī* 泣 it is current mental pain.

Zuo Xi 4.6, Yang 297

姬泣曰：

Jī said, with (false) tears in her eyes:

「賊由大子。」

"The mischief comes from the heir apparent."

[The famous beauty, here as so often, is using her tears to strengthen the emotional effect of what she is saying.]

Zuo Xiang 28.9, Yang 1147, Wang 1015; Couvreur 2.510

慶季卜之，

Qìngjì made a prognostication.

示之兆，

He showed the resulting sign

曰：

and (Chén Wúyù) said:

「死。」

"(It indicates) death."

奉龜而泣

As he picked up the tortoise (shell) he was in tears.

[Qìngjì pretended to be genuinely moved to tears by the apparent prediction of the death of his mother, but he did not there and then engage in any ritual lamentation. This was not an occasion for demonstrative mourning *kū* 哭 but it was an occasion for a show of genuine inner emotion. He was hoping that as a result of this pretense he would be allowed to return home to look after the affairs of his mother.]

Hanfei 14.6.10/30, Zhu Shouliang 487

余欲君之棄其妻也。

Yú wanted the ruler to discard his wife.

因自傷其身，

So she injured her own body,

以示君而泣曰：...

showed the ruler (the wounds) and said, tearfully:...

余又欲殺甲，

Yú also wanted to kill (the regular wife) Jiǎ,

而以其子為後，

and to make her own son successor.

因自裂其親身衣之裡，

So she tore up her inner underwear

以示君而泣曰：...

showed it to the ruler and said, tearfully: ...

[The scheming concubine could have wailed *kū* 哭, but her appeal is characteristically private, intimate, and emotional. She is claiming extremely unjust maltreatment.]

• vi: (come to) weep in emotional protest against perceived grave and insufferable injustice

LSCQ 22.3, Zhang 799

丈人歸

When the man returned

酒醒

and he had recovered from the wine

而謂其子曰

he criticised his son and said:

吾為汝父也

"I am your father.

豈謂不慈哉

How could you say that I am not loving?

我醉

I was drunk

汝道苦我

and on the way you were rude to me.

何故

Why did you do that?"

其子泣而觸地曰

His son **broke into tears**, hit the ground (with his head) and said:

孽矣

"That was a wicked ghost!

無此事也

No such thing happened!"

[The father has seen a ghost while was hopelessly drunk. His son breaks into tears in powerless rage at the injustice of the charge of impoliteness from the part of his alcoholic father. His are no dignified socially acceptable tears.]

- vi: weep deliberately as part of a highly emotional entreaty

Many of the faked instances of weeping might have to be sorted into this category.

Zuo Zhao 3.10, Yang 1242, *Couvreur* 3.68

泣，且請曰：

He wept and asked for mercy:

「余髮如此種種，

"My hair is already this short,

余奚能為？」

what can I (still) do (at this stage of my life)?"

Lienü 7.7

驪姬遠太子，

Lí Jī kept at a distance from the heir apparent

乃夜泣。

and at night she would weep.

公問其故。

[She was hulking, perhaps even under the blanket, not necessarily as a demonstrative act for everyone to witness. If her gesture had been *kū* 哭 she would have drawn wider attention to her unhappiness and she would have staged something a little more like a semi-public demonstration.]

- vi: come to weep because of deep sympathy, pity

Zuo Zhao 25.6, *Couvreur* 3.386

公若泣而哀之，

Gōngruò was moved to tears and took pity on him,

曰：

and he said:

「殺是，

Killing such a person,

是殺余也。」

such an action is killing myself.

[Again we have the show of affection accompanied with *qi* 泣.]

- vi: weep as sign of a state of heightened emotional excitement

Meng 4B33

與其妾訓其良人

Together with the concubine she made fun of her husband,

而相泣於中庭，

and they wept on each other's shoulders within the courtyard;

而良人未之知也...

the husband never knew about this.

其妻妾不羞也

The cases where wives and concubines are not ashamed

而不相泣者，

and do not weep on each other's shoulders

幾希矣。

are very few.

[The ladies are not wailing or demonstratively crying. They are overcome with a common emotion relating to the depressing behaviour of their husband and master. Their weeping is not for effect, and it is not encouraged by any rule of etiquette. Characteristically, there is sympathy between the two weeping ladies. Indeed, the form *xiāng qi* 相泣 "weep on each other's shoulders" became standard in pre-Buddhist classical Chinese. Moreover, the motive, *xiū* 羞 "shame" is made explicit in the context. The motive of this kind of sympathetic common weeping may vary. Examples are many. There are no cases of *xiāng kū* 相哭 in the literature I have surveyed.]

Zuo Xuan zhuan 4.03, Yang 679, Couvreur 1.584f

子文大慙

Ziwen was greatly distressed.

及將死，

When he was about to die,

聚其族，

he collected his extended clan around him

曰：

and said:

「椒也知政，

"If Yuejiao runs the government,

乃速行矣，

you should be quick to run away,

無及於難。」

and you will avoid disaster."

且泣曰：

And, **breaking into tears**, he went on:

「鬼猶求食，

"Even ghosts need food.

若敖氏之鬼不其餒而！」

I hope that the ghosts in your clan will not go hungry."

[Thinking about his own death the speaker breaks into tears in mid-

speech. This has nothing to do with *kū* 哭 "lamentation".]

Hanshu 097A/3957

言未卒，

Before Jiè had finished speaking

泣數行下。

tears were flowing in several streams.

上以為忠，

The Emperor considered him loyal

由是親近。

and from this point on kept him close to himself.

[Breaking into tears within a sentence is always described in terms

of *qi* 泣 in the texts I have seen. Given the nominal meaning of *qi* 泣

one might be tempted to translate "shed tears".]

LSCQ 9.3, Chen Qiyou 791, Zhang 309

宣王自迎靜郭君於郊

King Xuán personally went out to meet the ruler of Jingguō in the suburbs,

望之而泣

and as he saw him in the distance **he broke into tears**.

[Note that there is no element of grief, or of longing for someone. It is as if *qi* 泣 expresses some kind of general emotional excitement in this instance. There is no doubt that *kū* 哭 would have been entirely out of place in this context. The *qi* 泣 expresses a heightened state of emotional excitement and attachment, although it is not clear that there is personal friendship involved.]

Chuci, Zibēi 自悲, Huang 218, tr. Hawkes

過故鄉而一顧兮，

As I passed by my old home, I took one look back at it,

泣歔歔而霑衿。

And I **sobbed** until my coat-front was all wet with my tears.

厭白玉以為面兮，

35 But I must become as one made of hard white jade on the outside,

懷琬琰以為心。

Having a *wányǎn* jewel inside him for a heart.

[Longing for home induces no *kū* 哭 "lamentation". It reduces a man to tears. As we have mentioned before, there is only one case of *kū* 哭 in *Chuci*, and that involves ritual white clothes and formal lamentation.]

LSCQ 25.1

以臣觀之，

"...From my point of view

國必安矣。

the state will be safe."

完子行。

And Wǎnzǐ went off to battle.

田成子泣而遣之。

Tián Chéngzǐ sent him off in tears.

[Tián Chéngzǐ has just been mortally offended by Wǎnzǐ, who is determined to die in the battle against the army of Yuè rather than be

associated with the wicked government of Tián. Tián's emotions are extremely complex and quite unresolved. He is literally moved to tears and does not know what to do or say. There is no sense of demonstration in his weeping. There is a strong sense of 不由自主. It seems that any use of *kū* 哭 would have been out of place.]

Yan 1.17, Wu Zeyu 63; Li Wanshou 43; Wang Liansheng 40; Lan

Xilin 27;

景公游于牛山。

Duke Jīng of Qí was wandering about on Ox Mountain

北臨其國城而流涕曰：

In the north he went to the ramparts of the capital, shed tears and said:

若何滂滂，

"Such a luxurious place!

去此而死乎。

To leave this and die!"

艾孔、梁丘據皆從而泣。

Ai Kǒng and Liáng Qiūjù all came to weep with him.

[The Duke is moved to tears by the scenery and the associations this evokes: who would be so mad as to leave such a place to face death abroad? The scenery evokes sentimentality and tears for which, of course, Yànzǐ immediately takes the Duke to task. Again, the *liú tì* 流涕 is resumed by *qì* 泣. Is it ever resumed by *kū* 哭?]

HSWZ 10.11, I follow Lai Yanyuan 419; Xu Weiyu 350; Hightower 333 is no help; cf. *Lie* 6, Xiao Dengfu 592 which does not have our important bowing of the head;

齊景公游於牛山之上

Duke Jīng of Qí wandering about on Ox Mountain

而北望齊曰：

and looking north towards Qí he said:

美哉國乎。

"What a beautiful country!

鬱鬱泰山。

Luxurious is Mount Tàishān.

使古無死者，

If from ancient times there was no death (i.e. I was immortal)

則寡人將去此而何之？

then where would I go to, leaving this place (i.e. I would stay forever)."

俯而泣沾襟。...

He bowed his head and tears wetted his lapel.

國子、高子曰：...

Guózi and Gāozǐ said: "..."

俯泣。

They (also) bowed their heads and wept.

[As we have seen before the gesture of bowing the head in connection with *qì* 泣 (as opposed to *kū* 哭) is regular. The Duke is simply moved to tears by the scene. He is not excessively sad about anything. Just moved to tears which he tries to hide by bowing his head. There is no doubt that *kū* 哭 would have been out of place in this context.]

Hanshu 027C1/1449

魯叔孫昭子聘于宋，

Shūsūn Zhāozǐ of Lǔ was an official guest in Sòng.

元公與燕，

Yuāngōng (of Sòng) was at an official feast together with him.

飲酒樂。

When they had drunk wine and were feeling happy,

語相泣也。

they started talking (informally) and weeping on each other's shoulders.

樂祈佐，

Lèqǐ was the toastmaster

告人曰：

and he told people:

「今茲君與叔孫其皆死乎！」

"Now our ruler and Shūsūn will probably die (soon).

吾聞之，

I have heard it said,

哀樂而樂哀，

to grieve about joys and to enjoy grief,

皆喪心也。

this is all to lose one's heart.

心之精爽，

The subtle and bright elements of the heart,

是謂魂魄；
these are called the male and female souls.

魂魄去之，
When the male and female souls have left men,

何以能久？]
how can they last?"

[Crying on each other's shoulders could never be *kū* 哭 "lament".]

• vi: weep to show sincere desperation

It is hard to be sure of when weeping is deliberate and how deliberate any instance of weeping is. I just present one case for consideration.

Shiji 041/1745-1746

吳使者泣而去。

The envoy from Wú left in tears,
句鬪憐之。

and Gōujiàn felt pity for him.

[The diction here reminds us that *qì* 泣 is very often asking for *lián* 憐 "taking pity on". And yet, there is a deep contrast between this case and the other cases where *qì* 泣 is a deliberate, often female, ploy.]

• vt: break into tears at the sight of, break into tears when confronted with, by moved to tears by

Lunheng 55.4.10, Liu Pansui 789; Beida 3.1052

當雷雨時

When there was a thunderstorm

成王感懼，

King Chéng was moved to fear.

開金滕之書，

He opened the book in the golden casket (handed down from the

Duke of Zhōu)

見周公之功，

and saw the achievements of the Duke of Zhōu.

執書泣過。

Holding the book in his hands he wept over his mistakes.

自責之深。

He made profound accusations against himself.

[He is not staging a demonstration against his own faults: he is weeping as a spontaneous reaction to reading the book in the golden casket.]

• vt: be moved to tears (of sympathy) by someone

Zuo Ding 10.6, Yang 1582, Couvreur 3.567
公閉門而泣之，

The Duke closed the gates (of his home) and wept for him
目盡腫。

so that his eyes became swollen.

Guoyu Jin 8, 14.9, ed. Shànghǎigūjī 2.462, Dong Lizhang 546

叔向見司馬侯之子，

Shūxiàng visited the son of Simǎ Hóu (who had died),

撫而泣之，曰：

He stroked him kindly and weeping in front of him he said:
「自此其父之死：

"Since your father has died

吾蔑與比而事君矣！

I have no one with whom to serve the ruler..."

[This is not an occasion for loud and public lamentation. What follows is a rather private and general discussion.]

Lao 31

殺人之眾，

When one has taken many lives,

以悲哀泣之，

one weeps over these in sadness and grief;

戰勝

when one has won a battle,

以喪禮處之。

one treats this according to the ritual of mourning.

[The text is problematic. Mawangdui reads 立立. Emendation to 泣 has been commonly proposed. However, as our examples for transitive *qì* 泣 show, there is no need to change the *textus receptus*. In fact, that text makes natural sense with its parallelism between *qì* 泣 and the funeral rituals. With *kū* 哭 the text would become repetitive.]

Zhuang Wang Shumin 246

俄而子來有病，
Before long, Zhīlái fell ill.
喘喘然將死，
Gasping and on the verge of death,
其妻子環而泣之。
he was surrounded by his wife and children who were weeping over him.

[The occasion is one of intimate and intense weeping which *chū zi nèi xīn* 出自內心 "comes from the heart", not ritual lamentation.]

LSCQ 16.1, Chen Qiyou 945.

夏太史令終古出其圖法
Zhōnggǔ, the archivist of the Xià, took out the maps and laws of the land
執而泣之
holding them in his hands he **broke into tears** over them.

夏桀迷惑
But Jiè of Xià was deluded and confused,
暴亂愈甚
and his violent irregularity became worse and worse.

[The transitive word *qì* 泣 can be used, occasionally, to describe deliberate actions. Here the archivist is dropping a silent but clear hint for the benefit of his ruler, but it is a hint rather than a blatant open demonstration., which would have been the case if the word had been *kū* 哭 and not *qì* 泣.]

Huainan 18, Chen Zhong 845

中山因烹其子
Then the Zhōngshān boiled Yuèyáng's son
而遺之鼎羹與其首。
and they sent Yuèyáng a tripod with soup, and the son's head.
樂羊拊而泣之曰：
Yuèyáng touched (the head), **broke into tears** over it and said:
是吾子。
"This is my son."
已為使者跪而啜三杯。
Thereupon he knelt down for the messengers and drank three cups.

[This is not ordinary grief for a dead person. Yuèyáng is moved to unspeakable grief beyond ritual expression. He expresses his grief through *qì* 泣. No loud lamentation, but quiet weeping.]

Shiji 7, Zhonghua 337ff

項王已死。...
When Xiàngyǔ was dead...
漢王為發哀，
the king of Hàn broke into public grief for him,
泣之而去。
he **wept over** him and left.

[Before leaving, Liú Bāng shows genuine personal grief. He weeps for his formidable opponent, but he does not *kū* 哭 "formally lament" his death. It is true that *kū* 哭 is not always formal and ritual in meaning, but it would certainly be taken formally in this context. That is perhaps why the word is avoided.]

SY 1.9

禹出見罪人，
Yǔ went out to see a criminal.
下車問而泣之。
As he got down from his carriage he was **moved to tears** by the man.

左右曰：
His entourage said:
「夫罪人不順道，
"The criminal is not following the proper standards,
故使然焉，
that is how he got to this point.
君王何為痛之至於此也？」
Why do you get moved to this extent?
禹曰：
Yǔ answered:
「堯、舜之民，
"The people of Yáo and Shùn
皆以堯、舜之心為心。
all took the attitudes of Yáo and Shùn as their own.

今寡人為君也，
Now in my way of government
百姓各自以其心為心，
the people each take their own attitudes as their attitudes.
是以痛之也。』
That is why **I feel acute pain** at this."
[Yü is moved to tears by these criminals, in spite of himself. *Kü* 哭
is not used for situations like this. There are a fair number of cases of
kü 哭 in *SY* which should be checked for this. The relevant occasion
for *qi* 泣 is momentary *tòng* 痛 "acute pain".]

Hanshu 027C1, *Zhonghua* 1468-1469

慙懼將走，
Tuí got frightened and was about to leave.
公閉門而泣之，
Behind closed doors the Duke gave himself over to tears.
目盡腫。
his eyes got all swollen.
[This illustrates nicely the "private" character of *qi* 泣 "weeping".
On the other hand, *qi* 泣 in this case seems quite deliberate.]

• vt: weep (e.g. blood)

Shi 194, *Ruan* 448

謂爾遷于王都，
7. When I tell you to remove to the king's capital,
曰：予未有室家。
you say: "we still have no chamber and house";
鼠（一羶）思泣血，
grieved I brood over it and **weep blood**;
無言不疾。

there is no word (of mine) which is not urgent;
[It seems that even weeping blood expresses a private grief, is a
private act involving deep sadness caused by separation. 君臣思念
之情]

Chuci, *Miujian* 謬諫, *SBBY* 432

伯牙之絕弦兮，
Bó Yá broke the strings of his zither

無鍾子期而聽之。
50 Because there was no Zhōng Zī-qī to hear him play.
和抱璞而泣血兮，
Bian(?) Hé clasps his block of jade and **weeps tears of blood**:
安得良工而剖之？
Where can he find a craftsman good enough to shape it?
同音者相和兮，
Like sounds harmonize together;
同類者相似。⁴
Creatures mate with their own kind.

Chuci, *Xixian* 惜賢, *SBBY* 511

若由夷之純美兮，
25 He was like Xu(?) Yóu and Bo(?) Yí in unspotted goodness,
介子推之隱山。
Or Jiè Zī-tuī who hid himself in the mountain,
晉申生之離殃兮，
Or Shēn Shēng of Jin who met a hapless end,
荊和氏之泣血。
Or Jīng Hé who **wept tears of blood**,
吳申胥之抉眼兮，
Or Shēn Xū of Wú who had his eyes gouged out,
王子比干之橫廢。
30 Or Prince Bǐ Gān who was wrongfully rejected.

Liji 3 檀弓上, *Couvreur* 1.140; *Sūn Xidān* 2.82

高子皋之執親之喪也，
When Gāo Zīgāo conducted the funeral for his parents,
泣血三年，
he **wept tears of blood** for three years
未嘗見齒。
and never (smiled so as to) show his teeth.

³ The variant 刑 is the correct reading, rhyming with 聽 in l. 25.

⁴ The variant 仇 'match', 'pair with' is the correct reading.

• n: tears

Shi 189, Ruan 437

中谷有蕓，

3. In the midst of the valley there are motherworts,
 嘆其濕矣。

scorched are the dry ones;

有女叱離，

there is a girl who has been rejected,
 嗷其泣矣。

(gulping is her weeping =)

嗷其泣矣，

she sobs and weeps,

何嗟及矣！

but what does lament avail?

[We prefer to translate: "She swallows her tears".]

Shi 69

有女叱離，

there is a girl who has been rejected,
 嗷其泣矣。

(gulping is her weeping =)

嗷其泣矣，

she sobs and weeps,

何嗟及矣！

but what does lament avail?

[思念之情 "she swallows her tears". The point is that she is moved
 to tears by her situation.]

Chuci, Yōukū 思古

曾哀悽歎心離離兮，

Sadly I sigh, with mounting grief; my heart is reft and torn.
 還顧高丘泣如灑兮。

I look back at Gao-qiu and my tears fall in a shower.

Chuci, Yōukū 憂苦 Huang 275

思念鄣路兮，

53 Homesick, he thinks of the road to Ying,

還顧睇睇。

And turns his head back with longing glances.

涕流交集兮，

The streams of snivel join in one channel,
 泣下漣漣。

And the tears run down his face like rain.

Chuci, Yōukū 憂苦, Huang 275, *SBBY* 520

歎曰：

Lament

登山長望中心悲兮，

57 I climbed a mountain and long stood gazing, grieving in my
 inmost heart.

苑彼青青泣如頽兮，

Verdant were the greens of the landscape, but I wept as though my
 heart would break.

Chuci, Sigū 思古, Huang 280, *SBBY* 528

悲余心之惻惻兮，

5 Alas! my heart is in despair,

目眇眇而遺泣。

And my eyes are blinded with brimming tears.

Chuci, Sigū 思古, Huang 280, *SBBY* 530

髮披披以鬢鬢兮，

13 My hair hangs dishevelled and tangled on my shoulders,
 躬劬勞而瘡悴。

My body is sick and spent with toil;

魂徃徃而南行兮，

My soul in wild haste goes fleeting southwards;
 泣霑襟而濡袂。

Tears soak my bosom and wet my sleeves.

Chuci, Sigū 思古 end

曾哀悽歎心離離兮，

Sadly I sigh, with mounting grief; my heart is reft and torn.
 還顧高丘泣如灑兮。

I look back at Gāo-qū and my tears fall in a shower.

• n: weeping

Zhuang 2, Wang Shumin 87

麗之姬，艾封人之子也，

When the state of Chin first got Pretty Li,

晉國之始得之也，

the daughter of the border warden of Ai,

涕泣沾襟；

she wept till her robe was soaked with tears.

及其至於王所，

But after she arrived at the king's residence,

與王同筐床，

shared his fine bed,

食芻豢，

and could eat the tender meats of his table,

而後悔其泣也。

she regretted **that she had ever wept.**

[Perhaps what she regrets are not her tears but her weeping. There is no way of knowing whether this particular distinction was of any interest to the writers of classical Chinese. The lady's tears are tears connected with her intimate erotic emotions.]

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ABBREVIATIONS

Chuci: *Chǔcí*.

Guanzi: *Guānzǐ*

Guoyu: *Guóyǔ*

Hanfeizi: *Hánfēizǐ*

Hanshu: *Hànshū*

HSWZ: *Hànshǐwàizhuàn*

Huainan: *Huáinánzǐ*

Jiayu: *Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ*

Lao: *Lǎozǐ*

Lie: *Lièzǐ*

Lienü: *Lièniǚzhuàn*

Liji: *Lǐjǐ*

LSCQ: *Lǎoshíchūnqiū*

Lunheng: *Lùnhéng*

Lunyu: *Lúnyǔ*

Meng: *Mèngzǐ*

Mo: *Mòzǐ*

SBBY: *Sībùbèiyào* 四部備要, Shanghai: Zhōnghuáshūjǔ 1936

Shi: *Shījīng*

Shiji: *Shǐjǐ*

Shu: *Shàngshū*

SY: *Shuōyuàn*

Wenxuan: *Wénxuān*

Xinshu: *Xīnshū*

Xinxu: *Xīnxù*

Xinyu: *Xīnyǔ*

Xun: *Xúnzǐ*

Yan: *Yànzhichūnqiū*

Yili: *Yìlǐ*

ZGC: *Zhànguócé*

Zhuang: *Zhuāngzǐ*

Zuo: *Zuózhuàn*

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