

## DIVINATION IN THE HAN SHU BIBLIOGRAPHIC TREATISE

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The *Yi jing* 易經 has received more attention than, perhaps any other book in the Chinese hermeneutic tradition, and in recent decades it has become a globalized, transnational and trans-cultural text. Yet with this major exception, we have neither formal canons nor commentaries for most of the early Chinese mantic traditions, since most mantic texts of the Warring States and Han periods are lost. They include the predecessors of the present *Yi jing* and astrocalendric texts and instruments of considerable scientific interest. Indirect reflection on these lost traditions appears in a variety of places, including commentaries to compendia on ritual and technical essays on other subjects. There are many passing references to divination in biographical narratives.<sup>1</sup> And increasingly, texts on divination have been unearthed from tomb excavations over the past several decades.<sup>2</sup>

The other major source for mantic materials from the received textual tradition was the lists of their titles in the bibliographic chapter of the

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1. The *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1994) devotes chapters 127 and 128 to biographies of diviners. Ming and Qing compendia provide additional sources. The *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 gives 348 biographical entries for diviners, which date from the Six Dynasties period, Tang, Song, and Ming, and does not include entries on diviners in dynastic histories. See *Gujin tushu jicheng*, ed. Jiang Tingxi 蔣廷錫 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985), 47.5681–7854. A second compendium by Yuan Shushan 袁樹珊 covering the same period identifies 778 diviners by province, name and specialization according to twenty techniques. See Yuan Shushan, *Shu bushi xingxiang xue* 述卜筮星相學 (Shanghai: Wuchen, 1926), 4.3b–9a and 7.12b–17a.

2. For summaries of this history see, among many others, *Shin hatsugen Chūgoku kagakushi shiryō no kenkyū* 新發現中國科學史資料の研究, ed. Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒 (Kyoto: Jinbun, 1985); Li Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考 (Beijing: Renmin, 1993); Michael A.N. Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Donald Harper, "Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, ed. Michael A.N. Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

*Han shu* 漢書. The “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志, or Bibliographic Treatise, lists the titles of texts in the Imperial library under six categories in an explicitly descending hierarchy: (1) Six Arts (“Liu yi” 六藝), which, in this case, refers to the Six Classics (*Liu jing* 六經); (2) Masters (“Zhu zi” 諸子), the texts equated with Warring States philosophy; (3) Poetry (“Shi fu” 詩賦); (4) Military Works (“Bing shu” 兵書), (5) Numbers and Techniques (“Shu shu” 數術), and (6) Recipes and Methods (“Fang ji” 方技).<sup>3</sup> It created an influential paradigm by which subsequent compendia classified texts.<sup>4</sup> Many titles listed in the Treatise are no longer extant, but the Treatise provides a guide to the categories of knowledge used by Han thinkers.

The treatment of divination in the *Han shu* “Yiwen zhi” is of interest for several reasons. On the one hand, a series of studies over the past two decades have focused on important sociological and epistemological dimensions of divination, both in antiquity and in the present. Of particular importance in that history is Jean-Pierre Vernant’s landmark 1974 volume, *Divination et rationalité* and an eponymous volume of the journal *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident: Divination et rationalité en Chine ancienne*, published some twenty years later.<sup>5</sup> Vernant approached divination in its dual role as both a set of mental attitudes and a set of social institutions. The project of *Divination et rationalité* was to show how the symbolic operations of diviners and the rational system behind them imposed their rationality and legitimacy on the intellectual and social fabric of those societies. *Divination et rationalité*, and its successors, focused on the rationality and coherence of divination and its significance in the formation of social institutions.

3. *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 30.1701–84. All dates are B.C.E. unless otherwise indicated. It was compiled in the first century C.E. by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), based on Liu Xin’s 劉歆 (46 to 23 C.E.) *Qi lue* 七略, or *Seven Epitomes*, an abridgment of his father Liu Xiang’s 劉向 (79–8) *Bie lu* 別錄, or *Separate Listings*, initiated by Han Chengdi 漢成帝 (r. 33–7) in 26.

4. This, despite important differences from later taxonomies. Later bibliographical rubrics use a simpler classification of Classics (*jing* 經), Histories (*shi* 史), Masters (*zi* 子) and Collections (*ji* 集). An example is the “four treasuries” (*siku* 四庫) of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書.

5. *Divination et rationalité*, ed. Jean-Pierre Vernant (Paris: Seuil, 1974); *Divination et rationalité en Chine ancienne*, ed. Karine Chemla, Donald Harper, and Marc Kalinowski, *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 21 (1999). Of particular interest for the study of early China are: *Oracles and Divination*, ed. Michael Loewe and Carmen Blacker (London and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1981); Léon Vandermeersch, “Les origines divinatoires de la tradition chinoise du parallélisme littéraire,” *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 11 (1992), 285–315 (cf. “Le rationalisme divinatoire,” in *Études Sinologiques* [Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1994], 159–99); and *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine* 24 (2005) and 25 (2006), a special issue in honor of Professor Ho Peng Yoke’s eightieth birthday.

Within the specific context of the *Han shu*, the treatment of texts and, in many cases, titles concerned with divination, reflects the process by which certain texts were promoted to the status of universal classics and others marginalized as limited, technical expertise. The processes of creating a recognized body of "classics" affected many domains of inquiry, including the classification and understanding of genres of literature, the relative status of philosophical and reflective texts, and in the understanding of modes of knowledge now considered scientific disciplines: for example, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. Other important aspects of canon creation include the development of scholarly apparatus for the creation of editions, commentaries, translations, and the like. Another is the question of which institutions and agents were able to promote some texts and downgrade others.

The hierarchy of the "Yiwen zhi" raises several questions. How did the classification and subcategories of this chapter underscore the prestige and authority of some techniques and marginalize others? How does the organization of the treatise square with what we know of actual divinatory practice? What does it reveal about the role of divination as a constituent of scientific observation and systematic inquiry in early China?

We might expect to find mantic texts categorized in the fifth category of "Shu shu," but the reality is more complex. Accounts and records concerning divination come from a wide range of the received textual tradition. Representative examples demonstrate that all six categories of the Treatise contain texts concerned with divination in different ways. Their placement had important implications.

### Types of Information on Divination in the Bibliographic Treatise

By "divination" I mean a deliberate search for understanding of the hidden significance of events in the future, present, or past. For this reason, I do not use the term "prognostication," which is concerned only with the future. Nor does it assume a divine entity directly addressed.<sup>6</sup> It does presuppose a diviner and a topic of inquiry. It may, but need not, involve

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6. For recent uses of the term divination that focus on its hermeneutic aspects, rather than explicit interactions with a "divinity," see Rowan Kimon Flad, "Divination and Power: A Multiregional View of the Development of Oracle Bone Divination in Early China," *Current Anthropology* 49.3 (2008): 403–37. For approaches to divination as a form of risk management, see Magnus Fiskesjö, "Rising from Blood-stained Fields: Royal Hunting and State Formation in Shang China," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 73 (2001), 154–57. For a salient treatment of Greek divination as a form of

interaction with a god or other extra-human contact. Divine contact may be indirect, mediated by a system of signs requiring interpretation, for example, when questions are put to signs present in nature, but perceptible only to those with appropriate gifts. Or divination may rely entirely on a hermeneutic system of signs, with no divine agency implied. It is also necessary to consider a range of textual genres that deal with divination in very different ways. For this reason it would be inappropriate to restrict ourselves to the “Shu shu” category of the “Yiwen zhi.” We need to examine mantic texts and other accounts. Divination thus may, but need not, involve prediction, and also may, but need not, involve magic. Depending on its predictive methods—its use of observation, search for regularity, etc.—it may or may not be science or proto-science.<sup>7</sup>

The categories and individual titles of the Treatise include texts that address divination in several different ways. Most important are mantic texts. Mantic texts allow a (usually) skilled interpreter to offer guidance to consultors. They occur both within the manuscript and textual traditions. Some mantic texts attempt to be comprehensive and systematic, some do not. For example, the *Yi jing* provides interpretive guidance on the sixty-four hexagrams of the text, in a systematic order. By contrast, daybooks such as those excavated from Shuihudi 睡虎地 provide auspicious days for some types of activities, linked to the calendar, but they do not provide systematic recommendations for all days or attempt to cover a full range of activities, whatever that might be.<sup>8</sup> Mantic texts also include technical treatises on particular and specialized aspects of divination, including astronomical, meteorological, and calendric texts and medical case histories.

Prescriptive procedural texts provide a different kind of guidance. The *Li ji* 禮記 and *Yi li* 儀禮 provide guidance on the correct performance of rituals that involve divination, some of which are described in passing in historical narratives. Administrative and legal texts offer a different kind of procedural guidance by describing the duties, aptitudes or selection and training of officials connected with divination. For example, the *Zhou li* 周禮 describes the titles and duties of several officials concerned with divination and the specialists they supervised.<sup>9</sup>

risk management, see Esther Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses, and Risk among the Ancient Greeks* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

7. Geoffrey E.R. Lloyd, *The Ambitions of Curiosity: Understanding the World in Ancient Greece and China* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), chapter 2.

8. For the Shuihudi daybooks see *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡, ed. Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (Beijing: Wenwu, 1990). See also Liu Lexian 劉樂賢, *Shuihudi Qin jian rishu yanjiu* 睡虎地秦簡日書研究 (Taipei: Wenjin, 1993).

9. Similarly, the *Shi li* 史律 section of the legal statutes excavated from Zhangjiashan

A third type of text provides, or claims to provide, historical accounts of incidents of prognostication and divination. Such accounts occur in several genres of text, including historical narratives, biographies, poems, philosophical works, and in legal and administrative records. They vary in length, detail and complexity from brief passages to systematic compendia. For example, the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 abounds with accounts of divinations of all kinds, including divinations about battle, marriage and progeny, dreams and portents. Briefer mention of the performance of divination also appears in a wide range of Masters texts, including the *Lun yu* 論語, *Mengzi* 孟子, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and *Lun heng* 論衡. Sometimes the reference occurs as part of a historical narrative in which so-and-so performed a divination. At other times the context is a broadly philosophical debate, often about the value of mantic knowledge, as compared to other modes of knowledge, or the nature of fate. Debates about divination in various aspects give important evidence of attitudes toward it. These are most prominent in Masters texts, and may consist of entire chapters such as the “Fei xiang” 非相 (Against Physiognomy) chapter of the *Xunzi* 荀子.

A fourth type of text is archival records of instances of divination and the interpretations of mantic signs made at that time. These occur in legal or administrative records, and in texts excavated from tombs. An interpretive issue here is the circumstances under which they were assembled. Even in cases where the selection was made at or near the time divinations were performed, the basis of selection is not always clear. In other cases, “archives” are a matter of what archaeologists have happened to find, and do not necessarily reflect the priorities of practitioners or consultants. The divination archive materials in excavated texts have no real counterparts in the received tradition. By contrast ostensive accounts of individuals performing divination abound throughout the received tradition, especially in the genres of History and Masters texts. Some provide evidence of divination as a factor in the growth of self-conscious critical thought, systematic inquiry, and the development of science and philosophy.

Historical accounts of divination cannot be taken at face value. It is important to distinguish factual accounts from rhetorical anecdotes. For example, it has been argued that divination is a structuring principle in the *Zuo zhuan* and, for that matter, in the *Histories* of Herodotus.<sup>10</sup>

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張家山 gives instructions for the training and appointment of *shi*. See *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian (ersiqi hao mu)* 張家山漢墓竹簡 (二十七號墓), ed. Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 張家山漢墓竹簡整理小組 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2001), 203-4.

10. For the *Zuo zhuan*, see Marc Kalinowski, “La Rhétorique oraculaire dans les chroniques anciennes de la Chine. Une Étude des discours prédictifs dans le *Zuo zhuan*,”

Accounts of divinations and methods whose historicity is problematic remain important evidence for attitudes towards divination and prediction, and for what methods were used under what circumstances. Indeed, passages that are widely believed to be interpolated, such as certain accounts of *Yi jing* divinations in the *Zuo zhuan*, would only be credible or rhetorically useful if they portrayed incidents there were believable to readers of those texts.

"Divination" [*zhan bu* 占卜] is not an explicit category in the taxonomy of the Bibliographic Treatise, although specific types of divination are subcategories in it. Nonetheless, the texts whose titles appear in the Treatise offer accounts of divination in the varied senses discussed above in a wide range of genres and texts. These include hermeneutic guides to the interpretation of mantic signs, mantic charts and diagrams, and guides to ritual, legal and administrative procedures associated with divination.<sup>11</sup> All six categories of the "Yiwen zhi" contain materials on divination, and their distribution has important implications for the relative prestige of diverse techniques. This point is worth emphasizing because discussion of divination materials tends to focus on the "Shu shu" category in the context of technical expertise and the *Liu jing* section in the context of Confucianism. However, the overall effect is either to marginalize it or to turn it into something else.

### 1. The Six Arts

The Six Arts category of the Treatise is not based on the Six Arts (*Liu yi*) of Ritual, Music, Archery, Charioteering, Calligraphy, and Mathematics. Instead, it is based on the Five Classics established by Han Wudi 漢武帝 (r. 141–87) in 136.<sup>12</sup> The *Yi jing*, *Shu jing* 書經 (or *Shang shu* 尚書), *Shi jing* 詩經, the now lost *Li jing* 禮經 (later replaced by the *Li ji* 禮記, *Zhou*

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in *Divination et rationalité en Chine ancienne*, 37–65. For Herodotus, see François Hartog, "The Invention of History: The Pre-History of a Concept from Homer to Herodotus," *History and Theory* 39.3 (2000), 384–95.

11. These diverse sources need to be viewed within the context of their respective genres. Insofar as texts within a given genre have common subject matters and sets of concerns, they tended to focus on similar areas of experience and belief, and to exclude others. As a result, different genres' treatment of divination may be profoundly different, or even contradictory, and any account of cultural change that draws on different genres and different historical periods must take this issue into account.

12. In 136, he restricted officially appointed academicians to chairs in the five classical traditions (*Changes*, *Songs*, *Documents*, *Ritual*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*). In 124, he founded the Taixue 太學 academy, an imperial academy with regular instruction in these works. See *The Cambridge History of China: volume I*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 756–58.

li 周禮, or *Zhou guan* 周官, and *Yi li* 儀禮) and *Chun qiu* 春秋, including the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, were all closely associated with Confucius.<sup>13</sup> All are significantly concerned with divination.

### 1.1 THE *YI JING*

The immense literature of the *Yi jing* and its recent archaeology is beyond exposition here. Its major component, the *Zhou Yi* 周易 probably dates to the ninth century.<sup>14</sup> Passages in the *Zuo zhuan* indicate that, as early as the fourth century, it had the status of a source of moral expertise, and was no longer primarily regarded as a mantic text.<sup>15</sup> Recent archaeology has added to our knowledge of its complex evolution. Received versions of the *Zhou Yi* are now supplemented by four versions excavated from tombs.

The oldest known fragments of the *Zhou Yi*, the so-called Shanghai Museum text, are published in the third volume of the Shanghai Museum collection.<sup>16</sup> It consists of bamboo slips or fragments of thirty-four

13. The *Yi*, *Shi*, and *Shu* date from the Western Zhou (1045–771). The *Yi* and *Shu* were subject to later interpolation, but scholars have attempted to identify the original layers of both texts. A sixth “classic,” the *Yue ji* 樂記 (*Record of Music*) is no longer extant, but may correspond to a chapter of the *Li ji* of the same title. For authorship, history, and dating of the *Yi jing* and other primary texts, see *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographic Guide*, ed. Michael A. N. Loewe (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, 1993). For the Five Classics, see also Michael Nylan, *The Five “Confucian” Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

14. The *Yi jing* consists of the *Zhou Yi* and seven commentaries, including the “Da zhuan” 大傳 or “Xi ci” 繫辭. The *Zhou Yi* consisted of the 64 hexagram pictures (*gua* 卦), names (*guaming* 卦名), statements (*guaci* 卦辭), and the 384 line statements (*yaoci* 爻辭) for each of the six lines of every hexagram. For recent studies, see Gao Heng 高亨, *Zhou Yi gujing jinzhu* 周易古經今注 (Shanghai: Kaiming, 1947, reprint Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984) and *Zhou Yi zilun* 周易雜論 (Jinan: Qi Lu, 1979); Li Jingchi 李鏡池, *Zhou Yi tanyuan* 周易探源 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1978); Li Xueqin 李學勤, *Zhou Yi jingzhuan suyuan* 周易經傳溯源 (Changchun: Changchun, 1992); and Richard J. Smith, *Fathoming the Cosmos and Ordering the World: The Yijing (I-Ching, or Classic of Changes) and Its Evolution in China* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008). For theories of the origin of yarrow divination, see Li Ling, *Zhongguo fangshu kao*, 64–68.

15. See Imai Usaburō 金井字三郎, “Saden, Kokugo zeisen kō” 左傳國語筮古考, *Kokubungaku Kanbungaku ronsō* 國文學漢文學論叢 14 (1969): 51–97; Toda Toyasaburō 戸田豊三郎, “Saden Koku-no Eki zeiji kanken” 左國の易筮記事管見, *Shiingaku kenkyū* 支那學研究 16 (1957), 1–11; Li Jingchi, “Zuo zhuan zhong Yi shi zhi yanjiu” 左傳中易筮之研究, in *Zhou yi tanyuan*, 407–21; Gao Heng, “Zuo zhuan Guo yu de Zhou Yi shuo tongjie” 左傳國語得周易說通解, in *Zhou yi zilun*, 70–110.

16. *Shanghai bowuguan zang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, vol. 3, ed. Ma Chengyuan 馬丞源 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2003), photographs 11–70, transcription 131–260. See Liao Mingchun 廖名春, “Shanghai bowuguan cang Chu jian Zhou Yi guankui” 上海博物館藏楚簡《周易》管窺, *Zhou Yi yanjiu* 周易研究 2000.3, 21–31; *Shang boguan cang Chu zhushu yanjiu* 上海博物館藏楚簡竹書研究, ed. Liao Mingchun and Zhu

hexagrams. It is unique in that each hexagram picture is divided into two trigrams, and square black or red symbols appear immediately after each hexagram name. There are many *variora*, including Chu 楚 characters, and other differences from the received text. Nonetheless, it corresponds to the received text in many ways, and indicates that something like the received version was in circulation by 300. As Edward Shaughnessy puts it in his recent reading in this journal: "While the manuscript shows that the writing of the *Zhou Yi* was more or less stable at the time of its copying, it might also suggest ways in which its reading was, if not unstable, at least flexible."<sup>17</sup>

The *Zhou Yi* text from Mawangdui 馬王堆 tomb 3 (Changsha, Hunan, dated no later than 168) discovered in 1973 is the most complete of the excavated text versions, including the "Xi ci" 繫辭 and other commentaries and texts. The Mawangdui *Zhou Yi* differs from the received version in the order of the hexagrams, which are organized by constituent trigrams, and the hexagram names.<sup>18</sup>

A third version was excavated from the tomb of the lord of Ruyin 汝陰, Xiahou Zao 夏侯灶 (d.165), at Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Fuyang, Anhui, tomb 1 in 1977. The so-called Fuyang *Zhou Yi* consists of fragmentary bamboo slips of some fifty-two *Zhou Yi* hexagrams and line statements. Most correspond to the received *Yi jing*, but the Fuyang text also includes brief mantic statements after each line statement, which indicate the importance of the line for particular topics, such as weather, punishment, warfare, illness, marriage, residence, pregnancy and birth, bureaucratic service, administration, travel, hunting, and fishing. These topics appear in the oracle bone inscriptions, divinatory texts excavated at Baoshan

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Yuanqing 朱淵清 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2002); Pu Maozuo 濮茅左, *Chu jian shu Zhou Yi yanjiu: jian shu Xian-Qin Liang Han chutu yu chuanshi Yi xue wenxian ziliao* 楚竹書《周易》研究 兼述先秦兩漢出土與傳世易學文獻資料 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2006), Edward L. Shaughnessy, "A First Reading of the Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of the *Zhou Yi*," *Early China* 30 (2005–2006), 1–24.

17. Shaughnessy, "A First Reading," 23–24.

18. "Mawangdui boshu 'Liushisi gua' shiwen" 馬王堆漢墓帛書《六十四卦》釋文, *Wenwu* 文物 1984.3, 1–8; Deng Qiubo 鄧球柏, *Boshu Zhou Yi jiaoshi* 帛書周易校釋 (Changsha: Hunan renmin, 1987); Zhang Liwen 張立文, *Zhou Yi boshu jinzhu jinyi* 周易帛書今注今譯 (Taipei: Xuesheng, 1991); and Edward Shaughnessy, *I Ching, The Classic of Changes. The First English Translation of the Newly Discovered Second-Century B.C. Mawangdui Texts* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996). See also Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, "Maōtai Kanbo hakusho Shūeki Yō hen no kenkyū" 馬王堆漢墓帛書周易要篇の研究, *Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 123 (1994), 111–207, and Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, "Maōtai Kanbo hakusho Shūeki Yō hen no shisō" 馬王堆漢墓帛書周易要篇の思想, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 126 (1995), 1–105. For variant Han readings prior to the Mawangdui version, see Xu Qinting 徐芹庭, *Zhou Yi yitwen kao* 周易異文考 (Taipei: Wuzhou, 1975).



包山, Jiudian 九店, and Wangshan 望山, and daybooks excavated at Mawangdui, Shuihudi and elsewhere. They suggest an earlier stage of the development of the *Yi*, in which collections of such statements were organized under the headings of what became the hexagrams.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, versions of a *Gui cang* 歸藏 *Yi* text have been excavated from Wangjiatai 王家台 tomb 15, along with other divination instruments that include daybooks (*rishu* 日書), a diviner's board, and dice. These divination records on bamboo slips closely resemble portions of the text of the *Gui cang* as preserved by Ma Guohan (1794–1857) and others.<sup>20</sup> There are over fifty hexagrams followed by the word *yue* 曰, each followed by an example of a divination from the distant past, ranging from the Yellow Emperor to King Mu of Zhou 周穆王 (r. 956–918). Most Wangjiatai hexagram names are identical to their equivalents in the received text of the *Yi jing*, and the exceptions resemble the hexagram names of the Mawangdui *Zhou Yi*.<sup>21</sup>

Despite their differences from the received version, the Shanghai Museum and Mawangdui versions of the *Yi* attest to the antiquity of the received version of the text. By contrast, the texts from Fuyang and Wangjiatai show evidence of the earlier evolution of the *Yi* or of alternative *Yi* traditions. Both the *Gui cang* fragments and the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* are clearly mantic texts in a very different sense than can be said of the Shanghai Museum or Mawangdui versions. By contrast, the Shanghai Museum and Mawangdui versions suggest the early existence of a Confucian *Yi* tradition, including a new mythology of the origins of the *Yi* in the

19. Han Ziqiang 韓自強, "Fuyang Han jian *Zhou Yi* shiwen" 阜陽漢簡周易釋文, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 18 (2000), 15–62 and "Fuyang Han jian *Zhou Yi* yanjiu" 阜陽漢簡周易研究, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 18 (2000), 63–132, especially pp. 127–32. For a summary, see Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, "Fuyang Han jian *Zhou Yi* gaishu" 阜陽漢簡周易簡概述, *Jianbo yanjiu* 簡帛研究 3 (1998), 255–66. See also Edward Shaughnessy, "The Fuyang *Zhou Yi* and the Making of a Divination Manual," *Asia Major* 3rd series, 14.1 (2001), 7–18. For the Warring States and Chu divinatory context, see Li Ling, *Fangshu kao*, 271–78, and Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy*, 160–90 and 214–35.

20. Ma Guohan 馬國翰, *Yuhanshanfang jiyi shu* 玉函山房輯佚書 (Changsha: Langyuan guan bukan, 1883), 1.1–23.

21. The *Gui cang* and *Zhou Yi* are the second and third of three legendary mantic *Yi* traditions. There is as yet no archaeological evidence for the first, the *Lian shan* 連山. For archaeological reports of the Guicang fragments see Wenwu 1995.1, 37–43. See also Xing Wen 邢文, "Qin jian *Gui cang* yu *Zhou Yi* yongshang" 秦簡《歸藏》與《周易》用簡, *Wenwu* 2002.2, 58–63; and Xing Wen, "Hexagram Pictures and Early *Yi* Schools: Reconsidering the Book of Changes in Light of Excavated *Yi* Texts," *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003), 571–604. For studies of the tomb and the Guicang *Yi* versions, see *Studies on Recently-Discovered Chinese Manuscripts (Xinchu jianbo yanjiu* 新出簡帛研究), ed. Sarah Allan and Xing Wen (Beijing: Wenwu, 2004); and Shaughnessy, "First Reading," especially pp. 21–22 and note 31.

"Xi ci."<sup>22</sup> As Mark Lewis has argued, these legends helped position the *Yi jing* as a comprehensive model of the universe and all change possible within it. The Treatise, by placing the *Yi jing* in the Classics category, positioned the *Yi* as the product of sages.<sup>23</sup>

## 1.2 THE SHU JING

The *Shu jing* includes many accounts of divination, both in passages considered to be genuinely pre-Han and in others considered to be later interpolations. Of particular interest is the "Hong fan" 洪範 chapter, attributed to the reign of King Wu 武王 (r. 1045–1043) but probably dating to the Warring States.<sup>24</sup> It describes the use of divination to resolve doubts as one of nine components of the "Great Plan" granted to Yu 禹 by heaven. It gives seven methods for doubt resolution: five from turtle shell, two from yarrow:

立時人作卜筮·三人占·則從二人之言·汝則有大疑·謀及乃心·謀及卿士·謀及庶人·謀及卜筮·

Set the time and have them perform turtle shell and yarrow divination. Let three people prognosticate; follow the words of two of them. If there is great divergence, take counsel with your own heart, with ministers and officers, with the people, and with turtle shell and yarrow.<sup>25</sup>

It describes the good or ill auspice of various kinds of consensus between ruler, turtle shell, yarrow, ministers and officials, and the people. Complete Consensus or Great Concord (*Datong* 大同) signals health for the ruler and good fortune for his descendants. Three kinds of disagreement are considered auspicious: when turtle shell and yarrow are in accord with each other and one human party, with opposition from the other two. All are auspicious, whether ruler, officials or people agree with turtle shell and yarrow. Two kinds of disagreement may be inauspicious. One is when divination results oppose human judgment;

22. *Zhou Yi zhengyi* 周易正義 (*Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 ed., 1815; rpt. Taipei: Yiwen, 1980), 7.26b and 28b–30a ("Xi ci shang" 繫辭上), and 8.5a–6a ("Xi ci xia" 繫辭下).

23. Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: New York State University Press, 1999), 179–201, 241–43, and 284–86.

24. Modern scholars group the text into four sections. The "Hong fan" 洪範 chapter belongs to a second group of eighteen chapters that purport to date from the late Shang or early Zhou, but probably date to the late Western or Eastern Zhou. They resemble the grammar and style of Warring States philosophical texts.

25. *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (*Shisan jing zhushu* ed.), 20.16b–17b ("Hong fan"). For another translation, see James Legge, *The Shoo King or The Book of Historical Documents* (1865, rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 334–35.

in this case stillness is considered auspicious and action unlucky. The other is when the two modes of divination disagree. Here, if ruler and turtle shell oppose yarrow, officials and the people, internal affairs are auspicious, but external undertakings unlucky.<sup>26</sup>

This passage also suggests that the combined use of turtle shell and yarrow was a method of managing risk. The optimal situation of complete consensus provides a kind of redundancy, in the positive sense, in decision-making. Auspicious combinations also emphasize redundancy in the need for agreement between shells, stalks and at least one human party. By contrast, situations where divination methods oppose each other, or oppose all human judgment, indicate a high degree of risk in the matter under question.

Even sections that date to later periods are valuable as guides to attitudes towards divination, even if they cannot be taken as historically transparent accounts. For example, we find another passage authorizing the combined use of turtle shell and yarrow divination in a probably late passage in the "Council of the Great Yu" ("Da Yu mou" 大禹謀).<sup>27</sup> When Yu remarks that ministers should be confirmed by (turtle shell) divination, Shun 舜 replies that one should first determine one's own intentions and only then refer the matter to the turtle shell. Agreement of turtle shell and yarrow signifies the assent of ghosts and spirits; an auspicious divination of this kind should not be repeated.<sup>28</sup> This late passage takes earlier recommendations for the use of combined methods in a new direction by emphasizing that divination should be used to justify one's own intentions, rather than to determine them.

The *Shang shu* as a whole is not primarily concerned with divination, but these two passages—one probably genuinely pre-Qin, the other clearly not—prescribe methods for using turtle shell and yarrow divination to achieve social consensus. Scholars of Greek divination have increasingly viewed the function of oracles, and especially the Panhellenic oracle of Apollo at Delphi, as resolving doubt, mediating disputes, establishing consensus, and legitimating decisions.<sup>29</sup> In this

26. *Shang shu*, 20.17a–b ("Hong fan"), trans. Legge, *Shoo King*, 337–38.

27. This chapter belongs of a fourth group of twenty-one chapters believed to be late compilations, dating as late as the early fourth century c.e. Their grammar and vocabulary is closer to current usage than any other parts of the *Documents*.

28. *Shang shu*, 4.21a–b ("Da Yu mou" 大禹謀), cf. Legge, *Shoo King*, 63.

29. Examples include H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1967); Robert Parker, "Greek States and Greek Oracles," in *Cruix: Essays in Greek History Presented to G. E. M. de Ste Croix on his 75th Birthday*, ed. P. A. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey (London: Imprint Academic, 1985), 298–326, rpt. in *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, ed. Robert Buxton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 76–108; and Catherine Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles: The*

view, their role was not primarily to make predictions or even to legitimate authority, but rather to promote consensus and sanction difficult group decisions. These *Shang shu* passages are consistent with that view. In particular, viewing outcomes as inauspicious when turtle and yarrow disagree prevents the kind of open-ended inquiry that *Yi* divination tends to promote. It is also considered inauspicious when divination results oppose human judgment. This view prevents outcomes in which divination results “override” the wishes of consultants. Again, in the “Hong fan” provisions, divination is not open-ended.

### 1.3 THE SHI JING

Like the *Shang shu*, the *Shi jing* is not primarily concerned with divination, but several poems refer to divination and to diviners. Two poems relate incidents of oneiromancy (dream divination). One poem describes a ruler at peace in his home. At night he dreams and requests a divination.

下莞上簟、	Below are rush mats, above bamboo,
乃安斯寢。	peacefully he sleeps there.
乃寢乃興、	He sleeps there and rises:
乃占我夢。	Divine my dreams.
吉夢維何、	Which dreams are auspicious?
維熊維羆、	Of black bears and brown bears,
維虺維蛇。	of cobras and serpents.
大人占之。	The head official will divine.
維熊維羆、	Black bears and brown
男子之祥。	bode well-born boys.
維虺維蛇、	Cobras and snakes
女子之祥。	bode well-born girls. <sup>30</sup>

Bernhard Karlgren translates *da ren* 大人 as head diviner, but this is not an official title connected with divination in the *Zhou li*.<sup>31</sup> Another poem describes commoners consulting dream diviners:

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*Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century bc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

30. *Mao Shi yinde* 毛詩引得, “Si gan” 斯干 (Harvard-Yenching Concordance Series [San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974]), Mao 189.8. See Lisa Raphals, *Sharing the Light: Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 199–200. The remainder of the poem is widely cited in a different and invidious context: to authorize the relegation of women to subordinate status. It describes the sons as princes who will sleep on couches, wear robes, play with scepters and cry loudly. The daughters will sleep on the ground, wear wrappers, play with tiles, and concern themselves only with the preparation of food and drink.

31. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), 131–32.

牧人乃夢、 The herdsmen will dream:  
 眾維魚矣、 crowds into fish,  
 旃維旗矣。 serpents into banners.  
 大人占之、 The head diviner will prognosticate.  
 眾維魚矣、 Crowds into fishes  
 實維豐年。 bodes a plentiful harvest,  
 旃維旗矣、 Serpents into banners  
 室家溱溱。 bodes a surging population.<sup>32</sup>

Here too it is a *da ren* who interprets the dreams. The implication here is that dream divination is not a form of expertise that is restricted to specialists or court officials, and that it was used by both elites and commoners.

Other poems mention divination with a strongly critical rhetorical focus: the failure of court diviners to predict and address problems that afflict the people, for example:

召彼故老、 You call upon the ancient heads,  
 訊之占夢。 and ask it of the dream diviners.  
 具曰予聖、 They all say: We are wise,  
 誰知烏之雌雄。 but who can tell male from female crows?<sup>33</sup>

Whether we read the poem according to the Mao preface, as an admonition against King You of Zhou 周幽王, or as a lament by beleaguered commoners, the complaint is the same. Official dream prognosticators lack the competence to penetrate beyond appearances: Unlike most other birds, male and female crows share the same coloring, and the dream interpreters cannot read beyond the surface of things.

The Treatise is explicit on the importance of dream divination, but gives little indication on how dreams were interpreted.

眾占非一，而夢為大，故周有其官。而詩載熊羆虺蛇眾魚旃旗之夢，著明大人之占，以考吉凶，蓋參卜筮。

Of the various prognostications there is no one [preeminent], but dreams are of great [importance]. Therefore the Zhou had an office for it. The *Shi jing* records dreams of black and brown bears, cobras, serpents, fish, flags and banners, illuminated by the chief of diviners to elucidate good and bad fortune. They surpass the consultation of turtle shell and yarrow.<sup>34</sup>

32. Mao Shi, "Wu yang" 無羊, Mao 190.

33. Mao Shi, "Zheng yue" 正月, Mao 192. For a different translation, see James Legge, *The She King, or The Book of Poetry. The Chinese Classics volume 4*, (n.p., 1872), 316-17. For the preface, see pp. 67-68.

34. *Han shu*, 30.1772-73.

This passage places dream divination ahead of turtle shell and yarrow, and there is no rhetorical reason to dispute their evidence that it was used by both officials and commoners. By contrast, "First Month" is strongly rhetorical in tone. All three poems attest to the social importance of divination. They suggest a high level of confidence in divination, even if there can be considerable distrust in the intentions or competence of individual practitioners, as in the case of "First Month."

In summary, *Shi jing* references to divination are brief but suggestive. They give passing indications of the use of divination by commoners far from court contexts. They also show the rhetorical power of accounts of failed divination as an indirect mode of admonition or political critique.

#### 1.4 THE LI JING

The three extant texts on ritual that are believed to correspond to the *Li jing* all contain prescriptive sections involving divination. The *Zhou li* describes a range of officials concerned with divination. The *Li ji* addresses the theory of ritual and many details of its practice. The *Yi li* gives an idealized descriptive account of eight major rituals performed by officials of the *shi* 士 rank, several of which involve divination.<sup>35</sup> Considerable controversy surrounds the dating of all three ritual classics. The Han commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 C.E.) ascribed them to the Duke of Zhou 周公 (eleventh century), arguing that, taken together, they described a complete ritual system, which addressed all aspects of life from daily courtesies to the highest rituals of state. These prominently included the correct use of divination. The *Zhou li* is probably a late third century text that describes the offices and officials of an idealized Zhou bureaucracy. It gives an extensive listing of the officials concerned with prognostication and ritual, including the departments, officials, and subofficials concerned with divination and related activities.<sup>36</sup> It provides the oldest known classification of these activities. There

35. They are: (1) the capping ceremony that initiates a young man into adulthood; (2) betrothal and marriage; (3) visits between ordinary officials; (4) district symposia and feasts held by the district officer; (5) district archery contests; (6) formal banquets held by a duke for his officers; (7) the Capital archery contest; and (8) the preparation and conduct of missions of state.

36. Contemporary scholarship is divided into two broad groups. One takes the *Zhou li* as the work of Liu Xin 劉歆 and Wang Mang 王莽 (r. 9–23 C.E.). The other takes it as a late Warring States text. In particular, Jin Chunfeng 金春峯 has attributed it to a specifically Qin interest in the reform of earlier government practices. He used systematic comparison of the *Zhou li* with Qin excavated texts (*Shuihudi*) and transmitted sources (the *Shangjun shu* 商君書 and *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋) to argue that the *Zhou li* reflects Qin practices and beliefs in many areas. See Jin Chunfeng 金春峯, *Zhou guan zhi chengshu ji qi fanying de wenhua yu shidai xinkao* 周官之成書及其反映的文化與時代新考 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1993). For the importance and epistemological

is considerable doubt about the existence of the offices described in the *Zhou li*. For purposes of the present discussion, its importance is that it describes a cosmologically-grounded state, and offers a view of the mental universe of the creators of the first Chinese state, based on distinct theories of cosmology, number and ritual.

The *Zhou li* describes three offices connected with prognostication, all located in the Offices of Spring ("Chun guan" 春官), the section of the *Zhou li* concerned with the sacrifices and rituals of ancestral affairs. The Director of Divination (*Taibu* 大卜), the Grand Incantator (*Taizhu* 大祝) and the Grand Scribe (*Taishi* 大史) worked in conjunction. Diviners (*bu* 卜) prognosticated, incantators (*zhu* 祝) invoked the spirits, and recording officials (*shi* 史) recorded and preserved the results. Each had a large and complex staff of junior officers, official, scribes, and assistants.<sup>37</sup> There is evidence that divinatory offices were hereditary.<sup>38</sup>

The *Taibu* supervised specialists in prognostication by turtle shells (*Guiren* 龜人), yarrow stalks (*Shiren* 筮人) and dreams (*Zhanmeng* 占夢). There were additional artisans for both preparation of the shells and the process of burning.<sup>39</sup> Dream diviners were responsible for questioning the ruler about his dreams at the end of the winter and for offering new grain to the four directions to the spirits who send evil dreams. We know little of their methods beyond the mention of six kinds of dream:

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uses of the *Zhou li*, see Léon Vandermeersch, *Wang dao ou la voie royale*, vol. 2 (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1980), ch. 24; Jean Levi, *Les fonctionnaires divins* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), 229-34, and Lewis, *Writing*, 41-43.

37. For each, this staff included two counselors (*Daifu* 大夫), a corresponding junior officer, and high, low, and middle rank officials, storekeepers, scribes, assistants, and attendants. The subordinate officials also had staffs of officials, scribes, assistants, and attendants. Of this group of thirty-two officials, eight were directors or "upper management," with their immediate staff. Their junior officers were the Divination Master (*Bushi* 卜師), Lesser Incantator (*Xiaozhu* 小祝) and Lesser Scribe (*Xiaoshi* 小史), respectively. Each also had a staff of officials (*shi* 士) of high, middle, and low rank, storekeepers (*fu* 府), scribes (*shi* 史), assistants (*xu* 胥), and attendants (*tu* 徒). See *Zhou li zhengyi* 周禮正義 (*Shisan jing zhushu* ed.), 17.12b-14b, trans. Édouard Biot, *Le Tcheou-li ou Rites des Tcheou* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1851, rpt. Taipei: Chengwen, 1975), 1.409-14.

38. The *Zuo zhuan* mentions a request for a divination by the official diviner's father. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, ed. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (Gaoxiong: Fuwen tushu, 1991), 263 (Min 2.4). For a translation, see James Legge, *The Ch'ün Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen, The Chinese Classics* volume 5 (1872, rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 128-29. For other passages suggesting the hereditary nature of the occupation of diviner, see *Zuo zhuan*, 629 (*Wen* 18.1, Legge, *Ch'ün Ts'ew*, 281) and 1263 (*Zhao* 5.1, Legge, *Ch'ün Ts'ew*, 603). Sima Qian 司馬遷 also provides a lineage of the office of astrologer-historian (*shi* 史) at *Shi ji*, 130.3285-95.

39. These included artisans (*gong* 工), officials in charge of gathering and preparing materials (*zhuishi* 董氏), and Prognosticators (*Zhanren* 占人). The inscription of the divination records on the shells is not specifically mentioned.

占夢掌其歲時·觀天地之會·辨陰陽之氣·以日月星辰占六夢之吉凶·一曰正夢·二曰噩夢·三曰思夢·四曰寤夢·五曰喜夢·六曰懼夢·

The dream interpreter is concerned with linking dreams to the seasons of the year. He observes the conjunctions of heaven and earth, distinguishes the qi of yin and yang and uses the sun, moon, stars and to interpret good and ill auspice from the six types of dreams: regular, terrible, longing, wakeful, happy and fearful.<sup>40</sup>

The *Taizhu* was in charge of several types of specialist incantators.<sup>41</sup> The incantators also made use of *wu* 巫 spirit mediums, subordinate officials who were not diviners but who worked with them. There seems to have been some initial redundancy between the two groups. The management of state ritual distinguished official *wu* from non-official spirit mediums and other independent practitioners.<sup>42</sup>

In the earliest records, the oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, scribes (*shi*) were officials charged with writing. They assisted the ruler by recording and preserving texts, prominently including divination records. During the Zhou dynasty their duties expanded to astronomical matters, including regulation of the calendar and the selection of auspicious days. The *Zhou li* describes the *Taishi* as responsible for the astrocalendric and textual management of ritual and the performance of divination to ensure auspicious days for it. He maintained archives of important documents, including ritual and calendric texts.<sup>43</sup> He regulated the calendar, announced the first day of the new moon, and advised the sovereign whenever an intercalary month was impending. Before grand sacrifice, he divined the cracks to determine an auspicious day. During the period of abstinence before sacrifice and on the day itself, he accompanied the officials in charge and regulated the proceedings by "reading ritual texts" (*du lishu* 讀禮書).<sup>44</sup> At assemblies of state he

40. *Zhou li*, 25.1a-2b, Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 1.82-83.

41. These included funerary incantators (*Sangzhu* 喪祝), Sub-urban incantators (*Dianzhu* 甸祝), and Oath incantators (*Zuzhu* 詛祝). *Wu* officials included the Manager of *wu* (*Siwu* 司巫) and his staff of male (*Nanwu* 男巫) and female (*Niüwu* 女巫) officials. See *Zhou li*, 17.13b-14b and 25.5b-19a (Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 1.409 and 2.69ff). For incantators, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Reflections on the Political Rôle of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The *wu* Officials in the *Zhou li*," *Early China* 20 (1995), 280-89.

42. See Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy*, 165-67. As Zeng Qinliang 曾勤良 observes, if they could serve the gods by singing poems they became Musicians. If they could deliver invocations, they became incantators. See Zeng Qinliang, *Zuo zhuan yinshi fushi zhi shijiao yanjiu* 左傳引詩賦詩之詩教研究 (Taipei: Wenjin, 1993), 4.

43. *Zhou li*, 17.14b and 26.11a-16b (Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 1.413 and 2.104-110).

44. *Zhou li*, 26.14b (Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 2.107-110).



advised the sovereign on accepting tribute. At conclaves of the army, he was responsible for bringing the calendar. He studied the designs for any change of the capital and inspected arrangements for state funerals. At the funeral of an emperor, he read the elegy. Although the *Zhou li* describes the *Taishi* as performing astronomical observations, they were not astrologers. The primary purpose of their astronomical observations was the regulation of the calendar.

The *Zhou li* also describes other officials whose duties involved divination. The Grand Musician (*Taishi* 大師), also in the Offices of Spring, was charged with using pitch pipes to listen to the sound of the army and proclaim good and ill auspice. According to the commentary, on the day the army set out, when the general drew his bow, the army shouted, and the Grand Musician used the pipes to divine the battle ahead.<sup>45</sup> The *fangxiangshi* 方相氏, possibly a spirit medium responsible for exorcisms, was located among the Offices of Summer (*Xiaguan* 夏官), which was concerned with military affairs. This official may have been a predecessor of the *fangshi* or "recipe masters" of the Han court.<sup>46</sup> It may have been understood as distinct from the ritual concerns of the divinatory officials of the Offices of Spring.

Differences between divination as represented in the *Han shu* "Yiwen zhi" texts with the classification of the *Zhou li* reflect changes in the relative status of different officials as the overlapping functions of diviner, incantator and spirit medium differentiated under the pressures of new bureaucratic forms of government in the Warring States and Han. The organization of shell, stalk and dream specialists under the *Taibu* suggests the early importance of these three specialties. It also may suggest an early perception of need for that office to be able to provide relative certainty by the (presumed) agreement of multiple divination methods. By contrast, the Treatise marginalizes dream divination under Miscellaneous, and lists only two texts.

In contrast with the *Zhou li*, which describes the responsibilities of officials, the *Li ji* and *Yi li* provide information about what procedures should be performed under particular circumstances. Of particular interest are discussions of the combined use of divination methods. Despite the importance attached to dream divination in the *Zhou li*, *Shi jing*, and *Zuo zhuan*, where divination by shells and stalks are used to clarify the meaning of a dream, discussed below, discussions of the combined use of divination methods in the *Li ji* and *Yi li* are restricted to shells and stalks. These texts prescribe combinations of these two methods for particular

45. 大師執同律以聽軍聲·而詔吉凶。 *Zhou li*, 23.10b (Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 2.51n6).

46. *Zhou li*, 31.12a-b (Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 2.150).

types of question and ritual purposes. For example, in matters of state, the *Li ji* prescribes the use of the shell to choose an heir or an interim ruler, to select the bearers and nurses of a king's newborn son, to select women to supervise sericulture, and for building a city.<sup>47</sup> According to the *Li ji*, state leaders were to use yarrow stalks only within the boundaries of their own states, and not by rulers. By contrast, the *Zhou li* reports that major decisions of state were divined first by yarrow and then by turtle shell.<sup>48</sup>

The *Li ji* also authorizes the use of turtle shell and yarrow divination for the conduct of family matters such as marriages and funerals. Permissible topics included the choice of a bride and fixing the details of marriages and funerals. When used together, the two techniques were complementary. For example, turtle shell was used to determine an auspicious time for burial rites, yarrow to determine the place and to choose the impersonator of the dead.<sup>49</sup>

The combined use of divination methods offers increased certainty, authority and the perceived mitigation of risk when they agree. However, disagreement between methods also admits possibilities for disagreement and uncertainty, an issue already addressed in the "Hong fan" chapter of the *Shang shu*. The approach of the "Hong fan" is to provide guidance for resolving conflicts between methods, or between methods and human judgment. The *Li ji* approaches the matter differently, by directions that would tend to prevent conflict. It specifies that

卜筮不過三 · 卜筮不相襲 ·

47. Use of turtle shell to choose an heir: *Li ji zhengyi* 禮記正義 (*Shisan jing zhushu* ed.), 10.1b. For a translation, see Séraphin Couvreur, *Li Ki: ou mémoires sur les bienséances* (Ho Kien Fou: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1913), 1.225. See also *Lun heng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990) 24.999 ("Bu shi" 卜筮). For a translation, see Alfred F. Forke, *Lun Heng: Essays of Wang Chong* (1911, rpt. New York: Paragon Books, 1962), 1.186. Choice of interim ruler: *Li ji*, 51.21a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 2.419). Choice of bearer and nurse of a ruler's newborn son: *Li ji*, 28.12a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 1.663). Women to supervise sericulture: *Li ji* 48.2a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 2.294). Building a city: *Li ji* 54.28a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 2.512). See also Mao Shi, "Wen wang you sheng" 文王有聲, Mao 244 (Karlgren, *Book of Odes*, 199). For these and other examples, see Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy*, 163-89.

48. *Li ji*, 54.27b (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 2.512); *Zhou li* 24.24a (Biot, *Le Tchou-li*, 2.81).

49. Marriage: *Yi li zhengyi* 儀禮正義 (*Shisan jing zhushu* ed.), 6.9ab. For a translation, see John Steele, *The I li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (London: Probsthain and Co., 1917), 1.21. See also *Li ji*, 2.14a, and 51.25a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 1.31 and 2.423). Place of burial: *Li ji*, 3.14a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 1.60-61); *Yi li*, 47.3b (Steele, *I li*, 2.159); *Li ji*, 40.11a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 2.122f); *Yi li*, 37.15b and 17a (Steele, *I li*, 2.73 and 75), *Yi li*, 41.8b (Steele, *I li*, 2.101); *Yi li*, 44.2a (Steele, *I li*, 2.127). Impersonator of the dead: *Yi li*, 47.5a and 24.14b (Steele, *I li*, 2.128 and 159); *Li ji*, 33.9b (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 1.764).

Shells and stalks should not be consulted more than three times [on the same question]. Shells and stalks should not ambush each other [be consulted together on the same question].<sup>50</sup>

The passage then makes explicit that the consultation of shells and stalks was the method used by the ancient sage kings to regulate their populations and to resolve disputes and doubts:

卜筮者·先聖王之所以使民信時日·敬鬼神·畏法令也·所以使民決嫌疑·定猶與也·故曰·疑而筮之·則弗非也·日而行事·則必踐之·

Shells and stalks used by the sage kings of antiquity were the means to cause their people to have confidence in the seasons and days, to respect the spirits and to observe their laws and ordinances. In this way they caused the people to resolve their doubts and perplexities and to settle their hesitations. Therefore it is said: if you are in doubt and consult the stalks, then there is no error. If the day for doing the matter [is clear], then you must act upon it.<sup>51</sup>

Later Han sources also repeatedly refer to the consultation of shells and stalks—presumably not together—on a variety of subjects. The *Bohu tong* 白虎通 describes a hierarchy of divination practitioners from the ruler down to officials of the *shi* rank, with different grades of materials reserved for each rank.<sup>52</sup> There are also additional descriptions of the use of turtle and yarrow to determine imperial succession and to interpret anomalies involving the royal house, including emperors' nightmares and witchcraft.<sup>53</sup>

The three ritual classics together underscore the prestige of divination and its use in creating consensus and establishing authority. However, they differ in interesting ways in the techniques they privilege, and in their attitude toward combined divination methods as a source of reassurance or potential conflict.

50. *Li ji*, 3.14b-15a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 62).

51. *Li ji*, 3.18b-19a (Couvreur, *Li Ki*, 62).

52. *Bohu tong* 白虎通 (*Xinbian Zhuzi jicheng* 新編諸子集成 ed., Beijing: Zhonghua, 1994), 7.327-28 ("Shi gui" 著龜).

53. Future of a child: *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 64.2114. Anomalies: see Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy*, 185-97. Examples include the apparition of the ghost of Liu Xin in 23 c.e. (*Han shu buzhu* 漢書補注 [Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983], 99C.23b), the birth of Han Liu Xiu 漢劉秀, the first emperor of the Later Han (Guangwudi 光武帝, r. 25-57 c.e., *Hou Han shu*, 10B.438-39), the accession of Shundi 順帝 (r. 125-144 c.e., *Hou Han shu*, 54.1767), and the witchcraft case of 130 (*Shi ji*, 128.3225).

## 1.5 THE CHUN QIU AND ZUO ZHUAN

The rich narratives of the *Zuo zhuan* give examples of many of the types of divination mentioned in "Shu shu" category of the Treatise, including weather divination, turtle shell and yarrow, dream divination, physiognomy, and omens. These narratives also suggest what topics were viewed as appropriate matters for consultation. Divination topics in the *Zuo zhuan* include battle, marriage and progeny, and dreams and portents. In some cases, especially *Yi* divination and dream divination, the accounts are quite suspect as historical descriptions, but, even read as rhetorical narratives, they give valuable information about attitudes and practices. They identify consultants and practitioners who must have been plausible for a rhetorical anecdote to have any purchase. A few representative examples illustrate this breadth.

The *Zuo zhuan* contains some two dozen probably semi-fictional accounts of *Yi* divination. While the entries themselves cannot be taken at face value, they show a shift of form that may reflect changes in the practice of *Yi* interpretation. They indicate the early provenance of the hexagram names and the moral status of the *Zhou Yi* at least by the fourth century. The *Zuo zhuan* refers to hexagrams in two ways: by their names and by the line most important to the divination. In the latter case, the line is identified by the name of the hexagram in which it is reversed.<sup>54</sup> Descriptions of yarrow divination in the *Zuo zhuan* suggest that, like oracle bone divination, it had two phases. The first (the "charge") generated a hexagram; the second generated a key line within the hexagram.<sup>55</sup>

Several *Zuo zhuan* narratives indicate the combined use of turtle shell and yarrow divination, for both state and private matters. Although the *Zuo zhuan* dating of these events begins in the seventh century, there is reason to consider them later Warring States interpolations. Even so, they remain useful accounts of Warring States views on the combined turtle shell and yarrow divination.<sup>56</sup> Two concern the marriage or future

54. For example, the phrase Mingyi's Qian 明夷之謙 refers to the first (bottom) yin line of the hexagram Qian 謙 (䷎, No. 15). Changing this line to yang generates the hexagram Mingyi 明夷 (䷣, No. 36). Similarly, Kun's Bi 坤之比 refers to the generation of the hexagram Kun 坤 (䷁, No. 2) when the fifth (from the bottom) yang line of the hexagram Bi 比 (䷇, No. 8) is reversed, to generate the yin fifth line of Kun. Mingyi's Qian: *Zuo zhuan*, 1263 (Zhao 5.1, Legge, *Ch'um Ts'ew*, 603). Kun's Bi: *Zuo zhuan*, 1337 (Zhao 12.10, Legge, *Ch'um Ts'ew*, 640).

55. See Shaughnessy, *I Ching*, 7-13, for full discussion of this point. The *Zuo zhuan* also provides a range of evidence for the combined use of turtle shell and yarrow from the early Eastern Zhou on.

56. For dating, see Yuri Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722-453 B.C.E.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 22-26.

of a son. For example, the earliest event for which a *Zhou Yi* reference was interpolated into the *Zuo zhuan* is a sequence of turtle and yarrow divinations about the family and future of Jing Zhong 敬仲 of Chen 陳.<sup>57</sup> His grandfather had consulted the turtle shell on the marriage of his daughter (Jing Zhong's mother) with highly auspicious results: in five generations his descendants would be great ministers, and in eight, none would compare with them. When Jing Zhong was born in 671, his father had a scribe from Zhou who had a copy of the *Zhou Yi* perform a yarrow divination about the boy. The result, Guan's Pi—Pi (Obstruction) generating Guan (Observation)—confirmed the earlier prediction. Jing Zhong would flourish as Chen's fortunes declined; his descendants would indeed be illustrious, but not in Chen.<sup>58</sup>

Other turtle shell-yarrow divinations are military, and concern prospective alliances. They encode the moral judgments of the *Zuo zhuan* authors. For example, in 635 the Marquis of Jin performs turtle shell divination to decide on a prospective alliance with Qin. There is disagreement over the meaning of the cracks, so he performs yarrow divination to resolve it.<sup>59</sup> In another account dated to 487, the combination of shells and stalks dissuades Jin from attacking Song.<sup>60</sup> These cases suggest that the methods were used together either in cases of uncertainty or where the beneficiary of the divination does not accept the results or interpretation.

The *Zuo zhuan* also describes some two dozen accounts of dream interpretation, in some cases supplemented by the consultation of *wu*, physicians, or by turtle shell and yarrow divination. Most of the dreams are by rulers of states or their sons or ministers. A few are by commoners but these too address state concerns. Several are by women. The main themes are succession, victory in battle, and premonitions of illness or death. A few contain embedded recommendations that the dreamer opts to follow, or not. Accounts of predictive dreams in the *Zuo zhuan* may well be interpolations for rhetorical purposes, but that possibility does not alter what little they tell us about method.

The oldest account of a dream interpretation in the *Zuo zhuan* dates from 656. It is a rhetorical element in the story of the betrayal of the filial

57. *Zuo zhuan*, 222 (Zhuang 22.1, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 102–3). For discussion, see Kalinowski, "Rhétorique oraculaire," 52.

58. Jing Zhong fled to the state of Qi 齊 and founded the Tian 田 lineage, which eventually became the principal lineage in Qi. A second account of Yi divination about a child is dated to 536. Zhuangshu 莊叔, the father of Muzi 穆子, "consults the *Zhou Yi* by means of yarrow stalks" (*yi Zhou Yi shi zhi* 以周易筮之) and obtains Mingyi's Qian. See *Zuo zhuan*, 1263 (Zhao 5.1), and n.54.

59. *Zuo zhuan*, 431–32 and 435 (Xi 25.4, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 195–96).

60. *Zuo zhuan*, 1653 (Ai 9.6, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 819).

prince Shen Sheng 申生 by Li Ji 驪姬, the concubine-wife of his father, Duke Xian of Jin 晉獻公.<sup>61</sup>

Another dream topic is the diagnosis of illness and prediction of impending death. The first dates from 581, when the Duke of Jin dreamed that a demon accused him of murdering its descendants, broke into the palace and pursued him from the chamber of state. The duke consulted a *wu* who recited the entire dream and predicted his death within the year. He became ill and brought in a physician from Qin. The duke then dreamed that the illness turned into two boys who debated how to evade the skilled physician.<sup>62</sup> The physician pronounced the disease incurable in the very terms of the dream, and both predictions came to pass. In another dream from 573 Shengbo 聲伯 (Gongsun Yingqi 公孫嬰齊 of Lu) dreamed that he was given a gem and a pearl to eat while crossing a river. He began to weep and his tears turned to gems and pearls. Fearing that the dream foretold his death, he was afraid to have it interpreted.<sup>63</sup> In 517 Duke Yuan of Song 宋元公 dreamed that both he and his father were attending his eldest son, who was succeeding the dukedom in the temple. He died shortly thereafter.<sup>64</sup>

Most dreams in the *Zuo zhuan* are highly rhetorical in tone, and involve the fortunes of states and their rulers, including dreams about progeny and the choice of succession by both men and women. For example, in 535 Kong Chengzi of Wei 衛孔成子 dreamed of the first marquis of Wei. Duke Xiang of Wei 衛襄公 had died; his wife was childless but his favorite concubine had a son. In Kong Chengzi's dream the first marquis of Wei ordered him to secure the succession for the concubine's yet unborn grandson. Shi Chao of Wei 史朝 had a similar dream, which even named the future ruler's ministers. When the concubine's grandson was born, Kong performed *Yi* divination which verified his suitability over a less meritorious prince.<sup>65</sup>

Many *Zuo zhuan* dreams precede battles. Some are premonitory and require, or allow, no particular action by the dreamer. The oldest dates from 632, and recounts dreams by Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 and Ziyu of Chu 楚子玉 before the Battle of Chengpu 城濮. Duke Wen, the hero of

61. She tells Shen Sheng that his father, the duke, had dreamed of Shen Sheng's mother, and that Shen Sheng should sacrifice to her. He does so and sends some of the sacrificial meat to the duke, which Li Ji poisons before it reaches him. The poisoned meat was discovered, and led to Shen Sheng's suicide. *Zuo zhuan*, 295-300 (Xi 4.6, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 142).

62. *Zuo zhuan*, 849 (Cheng 10.4, cf. Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 372-74).

63. *Zuo zhuan*, 899 (Cheng 17.8, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 404).

64. *Zuo zhuan*, 1467, (Zhao 25.8, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 711).

65. *Zuo zhuan*, 1286-87 and 1297-98 (Zhao 7.3 and 7.15, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 619-20).

the narrative, dreams that he is boxing with Ziyu, who kneels over him and sucks out his brains. This alarming dream is interpreted as auspicious, because the duke was facing heaven (lying on the ground), while his opponent was on his knees, facing earth. Ziyu, by contrast, dreams that the Yellow River offers him victory in exchange for his jewelled cap. He refuses, and loses.<sup>66</sup>

While the historicity of most of these events is questionable, they indicate early attitudes toward dream and dream interpretation: that dreams can forewarn of impending disease and death, and that they can show the course of future events, either the immediate fortunes of a battle or the more distant fortunes of families.

In addition to shell, stalk, and dream divination, the *Zuo zhuan* also records the first mention within the received tradition of several other techniques. One is the astronomical technique of divination by clouds and vapors (*yunqi* 雲氣). It first appears in a passage dated to 653 that calls for the recording of cloud shapes (literally the objects in the clouds, *yunwu* 雲物) at regular intervals as a method of prediction.<sup>67</sup>

The first known reference to physiognomy also occurs in the *Zuo zhuan*:

公孫敖聞其能相人也，見其二子焉。叔服曰，穀也食子，難也收子，穀也豐下，必有後於魯國。

Gongsun Ao had heard that [Shu Fu] was a master of physiognomy and introduced his two sons to him. Shu Fu said: Gu will feed you, Nuo will bury you. The lower part of Gu's face is large, he will have posterity in the state of Lu.<sup>68</sup>

The *Zuo zhuan* also mentions two incidents of a woman using physiognomy to predict the future of a new-born child (her son and grandson).<sup>69</sup> Wang Chong 王充 cites these incidents in the *Lun heng* as evidence against Mencius' claim that original nature is good. The *Lun heng* argues positively that fate can be read from the body and bones, and gives many examples of remarkable physiognomies and predictions of destiny.<sup>70</sup>

The remaining three sections of the Classics are the *Lun yu* 論語, the *Xiao jing* 孝經, and a final section on Elementary Learning ("Xiao xue"

66. *Zuo zhuan*, 467-68 (Xi 28.4, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 209-10).

67. *Zuo zhuan* 302-303 (Xi 5.1, Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 144).

68. *Zuo zhuan*, 510 (Wen 1, trans. Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 229).

69. Both concern the wife of the lord of Yangshe of Jin 晉羊舌. One is described in the *Zuo zhuan*, 1493 (Zhao 28.2) and the other in the *Guo yu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1988), 14.453 (Jin 8.3). Both appear in the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳. See *Lienü zhuan jiaozhu* 列女傳校注 (Taipei: Zhonghua, 1983), 3.7a.

70. *Lun heng jiaoshi*, 133-35 ("Ben xing" 本性 3.13; Forke, *Lun Heng*, 1.385).

小學), which begins with the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian.<sup>71</sup> What may be most interesting here is what is absent: specifically Confucius's well-known dictum at *Analecets* 6.22, recommending that one keep "respectful distance from gods and spirits," presumably including divination. Nonetheless, the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Masters, Miscellaneous) describes Confucius performing divination and discussing it with his students:

孔子卜，得賁。孔子曰：『不吉。』子貢曰：『夫賁亦好矣，何謂不吉乎？』孔子曰：『夫白而白，黑而黑，夫賁又何好乎？』

Kongzi divined and obtained [the hexagram] Variegated. Kongzi said: Inauspicious. Zigong said: But Variegated is also good; why do you consider it not auspicious? Kongzi replied: White should be white and black should be black; how can Variegated ever be good?<sup>72</sup>

In summary, the Six Arts category provides extensive evidence on all these types of divination text except for archives. In particular, the wide range of divination methods mentioned in the *Zuo zhuan* also attests to the early use of these methods both by elites and, in some cases, at the popular level. They make explicit the view that an important function of divination was to resolve doubts and create social stability. In this sense, they do not show much concern with divination as prediction, with the accuracy of divinatory results, or with systematic verification of divination judgments. They also vary in the techniques to which they assign priority and in the ways in which they address the potential for conflict between divination methods and between divination and other methods of decision.

## 2. Masters

The Masters category of the Bibliographic Treatise is divided into eight sections: "Ru jia" 儒家, "Dao jia" 道家 "Yinyang jia" 陰陽家, "Fa jia" 法家, "Ming jia" 名家, "Mo jia" 墨家, "Zongheng jia" 縱橫家, Miscellaneous ("Za jia" 雜家), "Shen Nong jia" 神農家, and "Xiao shuo" 小說. As has been widely remarked, much of our access to these texts comes through the eyes of Han anthologists and commentators.<sup>73</sup> A partial exception

71. See n.4, above.

72. Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋 (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984), 1505 ("Yi xing" 壹行, 22.4). For another translation, see John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 577.

73. Cf. *Shi ji*, 130.3288–92. For discussion, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, "Constructing Lineages and Inventing Traditions through Exemplary Figures in Early China," *T'oung Pao* 89.1–3 (2003), 59–99. Masters also became the third of the four headings of traditional Chinese bibliography (Classics, Histories, Masters and [Literary] Collections).



is the discovery of excerpts from Masters texts in several tombs, most important being Guodian 郭店, and the Shanghai Museum texts. Many passages in texts classed under "Ru jia" and "Dao jia" include debates about divination, with significant debates about, or using, physiognomy. Other references appear in technical texts classed in the Miscellaneous section, especially in the *Lishi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi* 淮南子.

## 2.1 DEBATES ON DIVINATION AND PHYSIOGNOMY

Masters texts include many divination narratives that suggest active competition between the textual specialists of the Masters schools and divination practitioners. Teaching for pay in a master-disciple relationship was only one livelihood made possible by literacy and specialist expertise. Divination was another: through official employment by a state, family or community, or through self-employment in the marketplace. Competition between Masters and diviners thus involved career choice, patronage, students and the status of genres and modes of knowledge. Discourse on divination was a part of this intellectual milieu. Even Confucius is said to have claimed a monopoly on the "universal Way" of the sage kings of antiquity, a comprehensive wisdom that encompassed all particular and technical arts. This claim of the whole being greater than the sum of its parts was used to assert superiority over more "limited" *techné* such as the divinatory, medical and strategic arts.<sup>74</sup>

The "default" Masters text position seems to have been approval and practice of divination. Yet critiques of divination in Masters texts are particularly interesting, both for their specific targets and as evidence of self-conscious reflection. Some are epistemological claims that divination is an inferior, inconsistent, or ineffective mode of knowledge. Most significant is the Daoist claim that only knowledge of *dao* provides understanding of the future; divination is an inferior practice and an inferior mode of knowledge. This claim appears in *Daode jing* 道德經 section 44 and *Zhuangzi*. The *Zhuangzi* contrasts the equanimity of the sage with the frenetic manipulations of the diviner, and recommends meditation and "inward training":

能抱一乎！能勿失乎！能無卜筮而知吉凶乎！能止乎！能已乎！

Can you embrace the One? Can you not lose it? Can you understand good and ill auspice without shell or stalk? Can you stop? Can you let it go?<sup>75</sup>

74. See *Zhuangzi*, chapter 33, *Shi ji*, chapter 130, *Xunzi*, chapter 6, *Han Feizi* 韓非子, chapters 49–50, and *Han shu*, chapter 30.

75. Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961), 23.785.

An almost identical version appears in the "Nei ye" 內業 (Inward Training) chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子, a title that appears in the "Dao jia" section of the Treatise:

搏氣如神，萬物備存。  
能搏乎？能一乎？

Concentrate your qi like a Spirit, and the myriad things will be inside your hand. Can you concentrate; can you make it one?<sup>76</sup>

Masters texts also contain Confucian ethical polemics on divination, especially on physiognomy.

Physiognomy appears in several Masters texts as an area of mantic practice and a topic of debate, both as a technique and as a metaphor for argumentation. References to physiognomy, the belief that physical characteristics could be used to foretell the fortune of an individual, first appear in the *Zuo zhuan*. The evidence of Masters texts indicates that it was already developed during the Warring States period. In a passage in the *Zhuangzi*, the master Huzi 壺子 (Gourd Master) goes to a physiognomist, but bests and confounds him by repeatedly appearing to be different until the specialist finally flees in terror.<sup>77</sup>

We find a different attitude toward physiognomy in the *Mengzi* 孟子 where, at 2A2, Mencius, famously describes qi as filling the body and moved by the will. He describes himself as good at nurturing his radiant or "flood-like" qi (*haoran zhi qi* 浩然之氣) and makes it clear that an element of self-cultivation is the physical self-cultivation of qi. But if this were so, we might expect the results to be visible in the body. Mencius suggests that self-cultivation transforms the body in visible ways, producing a glossy jade color in the face and limbs.<sup>78</sup> In addition to describing the virtues of a sage as visible in the body, he gives particular attention to eye physiognomy:

存乎人者，莫良於眸子。眸子不能掩其惡。胸中正，則眸子瞭焉；胸中不正，則眸子眊焉。聽其言也，觀其眸子，人焉廋哉？

In examining others, nothing is more effective than the pupils. The pupils cannot conceal evil. If that within the chest is upright, the

76. *Guanzi* 管子 (*Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 ed.), 16.5a ("Nei ye" 內業 16.49, cf. Rickett 2.50–51) and 13.6a ("Xinshu xia" 心術下 13.37, cf. Rickett 2.60). The *Guanzi* appears at the end of Military Works (*Han shu*, 30.1757), the "Nei ye" appears separately under "Dao jia" as *Nei ye* in 15 *pian*, of unknown authorship (*Han shu*, 30.1725).

77. *Zhuangzi*, 7.297–306.

78. *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), 6.194–99 and 26.906; 2A2 and 7A21 in D.C. Lau, trans. *Mencius* (New York: Penguin, 1970).

pupils are clear and bright; if it is not, they are clouded. If you listen to their words and examine their pupils, how can people hide anything?<sup>79</sup>

Xunzi, by contrast, rejects physiognomy on grounds that it is based on endowments received at birth, and thus not an indicator of self-cultivation. In "Against Physiognomy," Xunzi argues that physiognomizing people's forms is inferior to considering their heartminds.<sup>80</sup> Poor physiognomy does not deter someone with correct values, and good physiognomy cannot take the place of incorrect values. He attempts to ground this claim empirically with accounts of the poor physiognomy of a list of sages and rulers that even includes Confucius. What makes us human is the act of making distinctions; this does not depend on physiognomy, which is determined at birth.<sup>81</sup> Further evidence of this view comes from Wang Chong, who attacked Mencius as a physiognomist.<sup>82</sup>

For Mencius, this theory of qi linked together the development of virtue and the transformed appearance of a sage. Mark Csikszentmihalyi locates this difference in a "material virtue" tradition of embodied virtues, developed as a response to criticisms of Ruist ritual, initially in the *Mozi* 墨子 and *Zhuangzi*. At issue was whether these archaic and expensive practices were a genuine element in self-cultivation and the creation of social order. One Ru defense against this critique was a claim for an authentic practice.<sup>83</sup> Thus Mencius's views about qi and physiognomy would seem to conform to and probably draw on a culture of embodied (bodily based) self-cultivation practices. These traditions held that the body-mind was constructed of qi and that embodied self-cultivation practices could transform qi. Such views also informed Warring States accounts of dietary practices, exercise regimens, breath meditation, sexual cultivation techniques and other technical traditions associated with *fangshi*.<sup>84</sup>

79. *Mengzi zhengyi*, 15.518, Lau, *Mencius*, 4A15. For translation and further discussion, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 101.

80. *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解, ed. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Beijing, Zhonghua, 1988), 5.72.

81. *Xunzi jijie*, 5.86–88.

82. According to Wang Chong, Mencius "physiognomized people by their pupils," on the grounds that clarity or cloudiness of the eyes is determined at birth and does not depend on character. See *Lun heng jiaoshi*, 135 ("Ben xing" 本性, 3.13, Forke, *Lun heng*, 1.385). Wang Chong himself was a strong supporter of physiognomy, as argued in *Lun heng* 11 ("Gu xiang" 骨相).

83. Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue*, 59.

84. Vivienne Lo, "Self-cultivation and the Popular Medical Traditions," in *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts*, ed. Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 207–25.

However, accounts of physiognomy in Masters texts are not restricted to this difference between Mengzi and Xunzi. In the *Zuo zhuan* examples discussed above, as well as in later accounts, physiognomists assess several aspects of the body. Individual features are compared to the features of animals and their associated qualities: for example, features associated with the dragon and phoenix are best; by contrast, the features of a wolf or tiger are dangerous. There is also the question of one's general "air" (*feng* 風). Finally, people have an overall qi or color (*se* 色), as in the case of Mencius. Accounts of features and general air appear in one of the earliest systematic expositions of the principles of physiognomy, in *Xiang shu* 相書 (Physiognomy), a manuscript from Dunhuang ascribed to the second century Han figure Xu Fu 許負.<sup>85</sup>

It is not easy to reconstruct the methods used in physiognomy, because many of the passages that mention these arts do so for rhetorical purposes that have no interest in the techniques themselves. For example, in *Zhuangzi* chapter 24, the recluse Xu Wugui 徐无鬼 uses the example of dog and horse physiognomy to instruct the Marquis Wu of Wei 魏武侯. He explains the different behaviors of dogs and horses of low, middling, and high quality. A low-grade dog only thinks of catching prey; a middling dog always seems to be looking up at the sun; but a dog of the highest quality seems to have lost its own identity. Xu professes to be even better at judging horses.

吾相馬，直者中繩，曲者中鉤，方者中矩，圓者中規，是國馬也，而未若天下馬也。天下馬有成材，若卹若失，若喪其一……

When I judge a horse, if he can gallop as straight as a plumb line, arc as neat as a curve, turn as square as a T-square, and round as true as a compass, then I'd say he was a horse for the kingdom to boast of. But not a horse for the whole world to boast of. A horse the whole world can boast of—his talents are already complete. He seems dazed, he seems lost, he seems to have become unaware of his own identity . . .<sup>86</sup>

These passages tell us little about the details of animal physiognomy, but they do emphasize its practical nature. Additional information

85. For color, see Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue*, 135, 146, and 159. The *Xiang shu* survives in three manuscript versions (P. 2572, P. 2797, P. 3589). See Catherine Despeux, "Physiognomie," in *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale: étude des manuscrits de Dunhuang de la Bibliothèque nationale de France et de la British Library*, ed. Marc Kalinowski (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2003), 513–55.

86. *Zhuangzi*, 24.819. For very different translations of these passages, see Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 261–62.

comes from excavated texts from Mawangdui and elsewhere on horse physiognomy (discussed below). Later in the same chapter, Xu Wugui specifically says to Marquis Wu that he was born a poor man, and was unused to the meats and wines of the court.<sup>87</sup> For him physiognomy is of immediate practical and economic value.

These texts share the view that internal qi is reflected in appearance, with the result that an expert can use physiognomy to judge character or potential. In economic and military contexts this meant judging the "character" of an animal or weapon.

## 2.2 YINYANG MASTERS

A Yinyang section appears in both the Masters and Military Works categories of the Treatise, and Yinyang titles also appear in the "Shu shu" category under "Wu xing" 五行. However, the Military Works and "Shu shu" categories were originally compiled by technical specialists, while the Masters category was compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向. The Masters Yinyang section contains twenty-one titles, most attributed to Warring States and Han figures connected with the "Yinyang jia." Two are attributed to Zou Yan 鄒衍 and two more to Zou Shi 鄒奭, like Zou Yan, a native of Qi.<sup>88</sup> Several texts are attributed to known Han *Wuxing* theorists such as Zhang Cang 張蒼 (16 *pian*), and Gongsun Hunye 公孫渾邪 (15 *pian*).<sup>89</sup> The other titles are less easy to identify. One is attributed to a Chu Nangong 楚南公, an apocryphal expert on Yinyang and *Wuxing*, and other purported authors are still more obscure.<sup>90</sup> What is striking

87. Zhuangzi 24.825, cf. Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 263.

88. *Han shu*, 30.1733–1734. The first is a Master Zou (Zou zi 鄒子) in 49 *pian*, which specifies that his name was Yan 衍 and that he was from Qi. There is also a *Complete Master Zou* 鄒子終始 in 56 *pian* and a *Master Zou Shi* 鄒奭子 in 12 *pian*, which identifies Zou Shi as a native of Qi whose *hao* 號 was Diao Longshi 雕龍奭. Zou Shi 鄒奭 was also from the Zou family in Qi and was closely associated with Zou Yan. See *Shi ji*, 74.

89. Zhang Cang, a high official under Han Wendi 漢文帝 (r.180–157), established the Han imperial calendar based on the Qin Zhuan xu 顛頊 system and was partially responsible for establishing a *Wuxing*-based system of dynastic sequences. See *Shi ji*, 10.429 and 96.2675; *Han shu*, 42.2093 and 88.3620. Gongsun Hunye held several offices under Han Wendi and Han Jingdi 漢景帝 (governor of Longxi, general, Director of Dependent States), but his connection with yinyang theory is not clear. See *Shi ji*, 109.2868, *Han shu*, 17.637, 49.2292 and 54.2439, and Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods* (221 BC–AD 24) (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 675 and 128.

90. [Chu] Nan Gong, 31 *pian*. See *Han shu buzhu*, 30.39a. Others include a Gongsun Fa 公孫發 in 22 *pian*, attributed to a man of Lu from the time of Han Wendi; a Sang Qiuzi 桑丘子 in 5 *pian* (reading Sang 桑 for Cheng 乘). Other texts are attributed to Du Wengong 杜文公 of Han 韓 (5 *pian*), Lu Qiuzi 閻丘子 (personal name Kuai 快) of Wei 魏 (13 *pian*), Feng Cu 馮促 of Zheng 鄭 (13 *pian*), and a Jiang Juzi 將鉅子 (5 *pian*) and Zhou Bo 周伯 of Qi (11 *pian*). See *Han shu buzhu*, 30.38b–39b.

about these titles is that they seem to have little to do with divination. A major exception is the first title in the section: Star Director Zi Wei of Song (*Song Sixing Zi Wei* 宋司星子韋, 3 *pian*). One of the legendary astronomers of antiquity, Zi Wei was Grand Scribe to Jin Gong of Song 宋景公 (r. 516–477). Here is someone we might expect to find in the “Shu shu” category of the Treatise. Several other titles refer to medical and esoteric techniques that we might expect to find in the “Fang ji” 方技 category. There is a *Huang Di Taisu* 黃帝泰素 in 20 *pian* attributed to a Zhu Gongzi of Han 韓諸公子 and a text attributed to Rong Chengzi 容成子, the legendary teacher who instructed the Yellow Emperor in sexual techniques. Here it is also apt to mention a *Shen Nong* 神農 in 20 *pian*. This occurs in the Masters category under “Shen Nong jia,” along with eight other texts, all of obscure authorship.<sup>91</sup>

Other Masters texts also touch on divination. Military chapters of the *Mohist Canon* (“Mo jia” 墨家) also placed a high premium on divination, especially in the context of military affairs. Generals were advised to employ *wu* shamans and diviners, but keep their results and methods strictly secret from the army.<sup>92</sup> By contrast, Han Fei (“Fa jia”) considered trust in divination and reliance on the choice of auspicious days one of the causes of the ruin of a state.<sup>93</sup> Divination is not an issue in the “Ming jia” or “Zongheng” sections.

### 2.3 PHYSIOGNOMY AND ASTRONOMY IN MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

The next section of particular interest within the Masters category is Miscellaneous (“Za jia”), which includes both the *Huainanzi* and the *Lüshi chunqiu*. These two texts address divination in different ways. One rhetorical passage in the *Huainanzi* associates divination with deceit and deception.<sup>94</sup> The *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* also contain chapters on aspects of astronomy and astrocalendrics that mirror the subject matter of titles in the “Shu shu” category (discussed below). Other passages in the *Lüshi chunqiu* continue earlier treatments of physiognomy. One refers to a specialist in sword physiognomy.

相劍者曰：『白所以為堅也，黃所以為物也，黃白雜則堅且物，良劍也。』難者曰：『白所以為不物也，黃所以為不堅也，黃白

91. *Han shu*, 30.1742–1743.

92. Mozi 墨子 (*Mozi yinde* 墨子引得 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1982], 68.105/7–8).

93. *Han Feizi jishi* 韓非子集釋, ed. Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2000), 15.300 (“Wang zheng” 亡徵); cf. W. K. Liao, trans., *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939), 1.134.

94. *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (*Sibu beiyao* ed.), 8.1b and 6.9bff.

雜則不堅且不物也。又柔則鈍，堅則折。劍折且鈍，焉得為利劍？』劍之情未革，而或以為良，或以為惡，說使之也。故有以聰明聽說則妄說者止，無以聰明聽說則堯、桀無別矣。此忠臣之所患也，賢者之所以廢也。

A sword physiognomist said: White [metal] is what makes [a sword] hard; yellow is what makes it sharp. If yellow and white are mixed you will have a sword that is both hard and sharp, and it will be a superior sword. Someone said: White is what makes it not sharp and yellow is what makes it not hard. If yellow and white are mixed you will have a sword that is neither hard nor sharp. And further, if it is soft it will twist, and if it is hard it will snap. If a sword snaps and twists, how can it be considered a good sword?<sup>95</sup>

The point of this discussion of evaluating swords is an argument about perspective: The passage argues that the nature of the sword did not change, but the two observers made different judgments about it.

Another passage from the *Lüshi chunqiu* describes a man from Qi who was an expert in dog physiognomy. It took him a year to find “good dog” that would be able to catch rats for his neighbor. The neighbor reared the dog for several years, but it never caught rats, so he complained to the physiognomist. He replied that it *was* a good dog, but its intentions were set on bigger things—deer and pigs—not rats. To make the dog catch rats, it was necessary to tie up its legs. The neighbor did so and the dog caught rats, but we do not learn how the man from Qi judged dogs.<sup>96</sup>

A third *Lüshi chunqiu* passage mentions Bo Le 伯樂, a famous master of horse physiognomy:

伯樂學相馬，所見無非馬者，誠乎馬也。

When Bo Le studied horse physiognomy he saw nothing except horses, and this was because he was concentrated on horses.<sup>97</sup>

The comparison is to Cook Ding 庖丁 from Chapter 3 of the *Zhuangzi*. Ding was so intent on learning to butcher oxen that for three years he saw nothing but oxen. He used the same knife for nineteen years, and

95. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 1642–43 (“Bie lei” 別類 25.2). Cf. Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, 628.

96. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 1689–90 (“Shi rong” 士容 26.1). Cf. Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, 644–45.

97. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 507 (“Jing tong” 精通 9.5). Cf. Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, 220.

the blade was as if newly sharpened on the whetstone. This was due both to his conforming to the principles of things and to his powers of concentration.<sup>98</sup>

All these passages are concerned not with the actual practice of physiognomy, but in using physiognomy as a rhetorical example. When Zhuangzi's Xu Wugui describes his art, he describes the behavior of dogs and horses, not their structure. He seems to make a subtle shift in the meaning of physiognomy in order to further his own philosophical points. By contrast, another *Liushi chunqiu* passage elaborates on the actual methods of horse physiognomists:

古之善相馬者：寒風是相口齒，麻朝相頰，子女厲相目，紉忌相鬚，許鄙相尻，投伐褐相胸脅，管青相臍吻，陳悲相股腳，秦牙相前，贊君相後。凡此十人者，皆天下之良工也，其所以相者不同，見馬之一徵也，而知節之高卑，足之滑易，材之堅脆，能之長短。非獨相馬然也，人亦有徵，事與國皆有徵。

Of those in antiquity who were expert at horse physiognomy, Hanfeng Shi physiognomized by the mouth and teeth, Ma Chao the forehead, Zinü Li the eyes, Wei Ji the whiskers, Xu Bi the rump, Toufa He the chest and ribs, Guan Qing the lips and spittle; Chen Pei the legs and hooves, Qin Ya the front, and Zan Jun the rear. All ten were the most skilled in the empire. They differed in how they physiognomized horses but in observing one key point about a horse they all knew whether its joints were high or base, whether it could run or would stumble, whether it was strong or brittle, and whether it would last for a long or short time. It is not thus only for physiognomizing horses: people also have key points; situations and countries all have key points.<sup>99</sup>

Early accounts of horse physiognomy are not systematic and say little about method. A fragmentary text excavated from Mawangdui that scholars have titled *Xiangma jing* 相馬經 (Classic of Horse Physiognomy) gives some idea of its principles.<sup>100</sup> Many passages are illegible or obscure, but the first and third chapters concern techniques ascribed to Bo Le, and other passages resemble the horse physiognomy passages in the *Zhuangzi* and *Liezi* 列子.<sup>101</sup>

98. *Zhuangzi* 3.117-19.

99. *Liushi chunqiu*, 1414 ("Guan biao" 觀表 20.8). Cf. Knoblock and Riegel, 541-42.

100. Mawangdui Han mu boshu *Xiangma jing* shiwen 馬王堆漢墓帛書相馬經釋文, *Wenwu* 1977.8, 17-22.

101. Xie Chengxia 謝成俠, "Guanyu Changsha Mawangdui Han mu boshu *Xiangma jing* de tantao" 關於長沙馬王堆漢墓帛書相馬經的探討, *Wenwu* 1977. 8, 23. See also



The foregoing examples demonstrate the pervasiveness of divination as a practical and rhetorical concern in the Masters category of the Treatise. It also raises several questions. Why are the astronomical and medical references in the Miscellaneous section not in the "Shu shu" and "Fang ji" categories? A comparison of themes and titles in the Masters and "Shu shu" categories suggests the importance of divination beyond a limited technical sphere. In particular, diviners, and especially physiognomists, are frequent rhetorical figures. For example, the *Lüshi chunqiu* makes an explicit analogy between the physiognomist Bo Le and the master butcher Pao Ding 庖丁 of *Zhuangzi*, Chapter 3.

### 3. Shi 詩 and Fu 賦

The poetry category is divided into *shi* (songs, 314 pieces) and *fu* (rhymeprose, 1005 pieces). It is dominated by *fu*, and divination is a significant theme in what we know of the poems selected.<sup>102</sup> *Fu*, and the *sao* laments it resembled metrically, is full of narratives of failed divination. The *Chu ci* 楚辭 repeatedly laments the inadequacy of divination. The "Li sao" 離騷 is partially structured around failed divinations that send the narrator on failed quests.<sup>103</sup> "Summoning the Soul" ("Zhao hun" 招魂) portrays failed attempts at yarrow and dream divination on the narrator's behalf.<sup>104</sup> The "Nine Songs" ("Jiu ge" 九歌) depicts failed divination when spirit mediums fail to summon divinities, who in turn fail to attract worshippers. "Great Director of Destinies" ("Da Siming" 大司命) laments human failure to influence this god.<sup>105</sup> In the poem "Divination" ("Bu ju" 卜居), Qu Yuan 屈原 consults the head diviner of the state of Zheng 鄭, who admits the inadequacy of divination to answer

Zhao Kuifu 趙逵夫, "Mawangdui Han mu chutu 'Xiangma jing: daguang bozhang guxun zhuan' fawei" 馬王堆漢墓出土《相馬經·大光破章故訓傳》發微, *Jiang Han kaogu* 江漢考古 1989.3, 48-51, and Zhao Kuifu 趙逵夫, "Mawangdui Han mu boshu 'Xiangma jing: daguang bozhang guxun zhuan' fawei" 馬王堆漢墓帛書《相馬經·大光破章故訓傳》發微, *Wenxian* 文獻 1989.4, 262-68.

102. For discussion of *fu* omitted from the "Yiwen zhi," see Hellmut Wilhelm, "The Scholar's Frustration: Notes on a Type of *Fu*," in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957), 310-19 and 398-403; Martin Kern, "Western Han Aesthetics and the Genesis of the *Fu*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63.2 (2003), 383-437; and remarks by Ban Gu in *Han shu*, 51.2367 (cf. 30.1748). As Kern points out (pp. 396-97), most of these titles are no longer extant, and "frustration *fu*" have received particular attention from Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.E.-18 C.E.) onward.

103. *Chu ci* 楚辭 ("Li sao," *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注, ed. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖, in *Chuci suoyin* 楚辭索引 [Jingdu: Zhongwen, 1972]), 1.58, 60 and 69 (trans. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u: the Songs of the South, an Ancient Chinese Anthology* [London: Penguin, 1985], 75-77, lines 257-58, 279-80 and 333-34) and Lewis, *Writing*, 82-90.

104. *Chu ci* 9 ("Zhao hun"), 132-33 (Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, 224, lines 7-9);

105. *Chu ci* 2 ("Jiu ge," "Da Siming"), 117-18. Cf. Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, 110, lines 1-8.

his questions.<sup>106</sup> These poems describe breathtaking spirit journeys, but their account of the activities of *wu* shamans and diviners is a poor show. They are ineffectual and divination simply does not work.

The *fu* genre draws on the *Chu ci* tradition in both form and content.<sup>107</sup> The "Owl" *fu* of Jia Yi 賈誼 is also an account of a divination, which begins when an owl appears at the home of the narrator, who attempts to divine its appearance as a sign of good or ill auspice.

發書占之兮，筮言其度。曰「野鳥入處兮，主人將去」。請問于服兮：「予去何之？吉乎告我，凶言其蓄」。

I took out a book and divined it; the oracle gave the saying: "When a wild bird enters the hall its master is about to leave" I asked and beseeched it, "Where must I go? Auspicious? Tell me! Malefic? Say what disaster!"<sup>108</sup>

In the preface to his *Fu on the Two Capitals*, Ban Gu 班固 describes the revival of ancient practices during the reigns of the Han Wudi and Han Xuandi 漢宣帝 (r. 74-49), including collecting music and harmonizing pitch pipes, with the result that the people were content and auspicious omens (*fuying* 福應) were plentiful. "Officials in attendance for their skill with words" 言語侍從之臣 offered compositions, presumably by recording and presenting auspicious omens.<sup>109</sup> In this sense, the function of Han court *fu* poets may be seen as a descendant of two figures from the *Zhou li*: the Great Incantator, in charge of incantations in the service of gods, spirits and ancestors and the Grand Scribe, who recorded the results of divination.<sup>110</sup> These critical accounts of failed divination resemble poems in the *Shi jing*, and reflect what clearly remained as a powerful mode of remonstrance. The theme of failed divination remains a subject for *fu* poetry long after the Han, for example, the eighth-century Tang *fu* titled "Why Prognosticate?"<sup>111</sup>

106. *Chu ci* 6 ("Bu ju"), 294. Cf. Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, 204-5.

107. Ban Gu begins the preface to the *Fu on the Two Capitals* with the statement that the genre of the Old Poems is *fu* 賦者古詩之流也. Ban Gu, "Liangdu fu" 兩都賦, *Wen xuan* 文選 (Taipei: Wenjin, 1987), 1.1. Cf. David Knechtges, *Wen Hsüan, or, Selections of Refined Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) 1.93.

108. For this version, see *Shi ji*, 84.2497. The poem also appears in *Han shu* 48 and *Wen xuan* 文選 (Taipei: Wenjin, 1987) 13. For a different translation, see James Hightower, "Chia Yi's 'Owl Fu,'" *Asia Major*, n.s., 7.1-2 (1959), 125-30.

109. *Wen xuan*, 1.2. Cf. Knechtges, *Wen Hsüan*, 1.93-95.

110. 掌六視之辭以事鬼神宗. *Zhou li*, "Chun guan" 春官 25.5b, Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, 2.85.

111. Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842), *Hebu fu* 何卜賦.

#### 4. Military Works

The fourth category of the Bibliographic Treatise concerns military texts. It was compiled by Ren Hong 任宏, a Colonel of Foot Soldiers under Han Chengdi, and was divided into four sections: (1) Military Power and Strategy ("Bing mouquan" 兵謀權); (2) Military Form and Positional Advantage ("Bing xingshi" 兵形勢); (3) "Yinyang" 陰陽, and (4) Military Technology and Crafts ("Bing jiqiao" 兵技巧).<sup>112</sup> Of these the Yinyang section is most relevant to divination.

##### 4.1 MILITARY POWER AND FORM

(THE *SUNZI* 孫子 AND *WEI LIAOZI* 尉繚子)

The first two sections, represented by the *Sunzi* and *Wei Liaozi* respectively, are actively hostile to military divination and military diviners. The *Sunzi* ("Bing mouquan") is actively hostile to military divination and other cosmologically grounded prognostication methods, although Nine Types of Ground makes a few concessions toward divination as a way to eliminate inauspicious elements. The attitude is similar to Mohist recommendations on defensive strategy, in which generals are instructed to use diviners but to keep their results secret from the army and the people.<sup>113</sup> The *Wei Liaozi* ("Bing xingshi") also attacks military diviners, especially yinyang specialists. It argues that

天官時日，不如人事也。

The patterns of Heaven and [auspicious] seasons and days are less important than human effort.<sup>114</sup>

A city may be made impregnable by its walls and moats, weapons and instruments, and soldiers and strategists, not by stars, seasons or directions. He gives the example of the appearance of a comet before a battle between Chu and Qi with its tail pointed toward, and thus portending victory for, Qi. But the Chu general Gongzi Xin 公子心 said: What

112. See Robin D.S. Yates, "New Light on Ancient Chinese Military Texts: Notes on Their Nature and Evolution, and the Development of Military Specialization in Warring States China," *Young Pao* 74.4-5 (1988), 214-15.

113. Yates, "Military Texts," 223.

114. *Wei Liaozi jiaozhu* 尉繚子校注 (Henan: Zhongzhou, 1982) 1.1 ("Tian guan" 天官). Compare *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin mu* 雲夢睡虎地秦墓, ed. Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin mu bianxie zu 雲夢睡虎地秦墓編寫組 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1981), slips 776-87. See Marc Kalinowski, "Les Traités de Shuihudi et l'hémérologie chinoise à la fin des Royaumes-Combattants," *Young Pao* 72 (1986), 175-228; and Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 and Zeng Xiantong 曾憲通, *Yunmeng Qin jian rishu yanjiu* 雲夢秦簡日書研究 (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1982), 13-16.

does a comet know? Those who rely on comets will be overthrown and conquered.<sup>115</sup> Similarly:

舉賢任能，不時日而事利；明法審令，不卜筮而事吉。

If you promote the worthy and appoint the capable, even without the [auspicious] season and day your affairs will benefit. If you are clear with respect to laws and cautious with respect to orders, even without turtle and yarrow divination your affairs will be auspicious.<sup>116</sup>

#### 4.2 MILITARY YINYANG

Among extant texts, the military Yinyang section is represented by the *Liu tao* 六韜 and the *Xing de* 刑德 texts from Mawangdui. According to the Treatise:

陰陽者，順時而發，推刑德，隨斗擊，因五勝，假鬼神而為助者也。

The followers of Yinyang set out in conformity with the seasons, deduce "recession and accretion" (*xing de*), follow the striking of the Dipper, rely on the [theory of] Five Conquests, avail themselves of the ghosts and spirits, and make them come to their aid.<sup>117</sup>

For example, the *Liu tao* appears within the Yinyang section of Military Works. The "Military Omens" ("Bing zheng" 兵徵) section of the *Liu tao* associates the color or direction of movement of the qi of a besieged city with its prospects for capture.<sup>118</sup> This view is in direct opposition to the opinions expressed in the *Wei Liaozi* against military uses of *xing de*.

However, if we turn from extant texts to the titles listed in the Yinyang section, we find *bingfa* 兵法 texts (strategy manuals) ascribed to figures who have already appeared or who appear in the "Shu shu" category. Two texts are attributed to a star god: *Tai Yi bingfa* 太壹兵法 in one *pian* and a *Tian Yi bingfa* 天一兵法 in 35 *pian*. Two more texts are ascribed to figures associated with medicine and Huang-Lao: a *Shen Nong bingfa* 神農兵法 in one *pian* and a *Huang Di* 黃帝 in 16 *pian*. The authors of three more entries are identified as ministers of Huang Di. There is even a text

115. *Wei Liaozi* 1.1.

116. *Wei Liaozi* 4.18.

117. *Han shu*, 30.1760, cf. Yates, "Military Texts," 233–34. See also Robin D. S. Yates, "An Introduction to and a Partial Reconstruction of the Yin Yang Texts from Yinqueshan: Notes on Their Significance in Relation to Huang Lao Daoism," *Early China* 19 (1994), 75–144.

118. *Taigong Liu Tao jinzhu jinyi* 太公六韜今註今譯 (Taipei: Shangwu, 1976), 29.135–38 ("Bing zheng" 兵徵).

ascribed to a Mengzi 孟子 in one *pian*.<sup>119</sup> These titles seem to identify Yinyang military masters with figures associated with the “Yinyang jia” (Huang Di) and “Shen Nong jia” in the Masters category. In the “Shu shu” category (discussed below) they are identified with experts in astro-calendrics. They may be part of the group of military, political, medical and divinatory traditions that have been identified with Huang-Lao.<sup>120</sup>

#### 4.3 MILITARY TECHNOLOGY AND CRAFTS

The focus of the fourth section is primarily on weaponry and combat techniques, and is represented by sections of the *Mohist Canon* (“Mo jing” 墨經). Even here there is some suggestion of military divination in references to the military chapters of the Mohist canon, especially yinyang specialists.<sup>121</sup> The Mohist chapter on “Sacrifices on Welcoming an Enemy” (“Yingdi ci” 迎敵祠) correlates the direction of an enemy’s advance with the direction of the sacrificial altar and number symbolism: expressed in the height of the altar, the number of ritualists, the colors of ritual attire and flags, and the choice of sacrificial animal.<sup>122</sup> According to the military chapter of the *Huainanzi*, the general must have specialist knowledge of the Five Phases (*Wuxing* 五行) and must understand the dao of Heaven (*Tian dao* 天道) and the form of the earth (*Di xing* 地形), and must investigate human nature (*cha renqing* 察人情).<sup>123</sup>

### 5. Numbers and Techniques (“Shu shu”)

The listing of mantic texts in the Bibliographic Treatise is richest in the fifth category, Numbers and Techniques “Shu shu.” With one exception, the “Shu shu” titles are no longer extant, and mantic texts and other technical treatises concerned with divination are a significant lacuna in the transmitted textual record. However, several works in the six sections of this category have equivalents in the received textual tradition and excavated texts.<sup>124</sup> The topics of the first three sections—Celestial

119. *Han shu*, 30.1759–60. The three texts are: *Feng Hu* 封胡, 5 *pian*, *Feng Hou* 風后, 13 *pian*, *Li Mu* 力牧, 15 *pian*.

120. See Robin D.S. Yates, *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huang-Lao, and Yin-Yang in Han China* (New York: Ballantine, 1997), especially 10–16.

121. See Yates, “Military Texts,” especially 214–15 and 231.

122. *Mozi* 68.105–6, trans. Yates, “Military Texts,” 235–36.

123. *Huainanzi*, 15.14ab. For translation, see John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Seth Meyer and Harold D. Roth, *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 611. For discussion, see Yates, “Military Texts,” 237.

124. For discussion of this section, see Li Ling, *Fangshu kao*, 19–27; Marc Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and Shushu Culture in Chinese Religion,” in *Religion and Chinese Society. Volume 1: Ancient and Medieval*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong

Patterns ("Tian wen" 天文), Calendars and Chronologies ("Li pu" 歷譜), and "Wu xing" 五行—are also addressed in excavated texts and in the astronomical treatises of the *Han shu* and later dynastic histories. The fourth section, "Yarrow Stalks and Turtle Shells" ("Shi gui" 蓍龜), concerned yarrow and turtle shell divination. The last two sections, "Miscellaneous Divinations" ("Za zhan" 雜占) and "Morphoscopy" ("Xing fa" 刑法), included texts on dream divination, anomalies, ghosts, physiognomy, propitiation, exorcism and topomancy.

The "Shu shu" category was compiled by the *Taishi* 太史 Yin Xian 尹咸, and it is here that we find the greatest number of hermeneutic and archival divination texts. In all, this category consists of 190 titles and 2518 *juan*. According to its postface:

數術者，皆明堂羲和史卜之職也。史官之廢久矣，其書既不能具，雖有其書而無其人。易曰：「苟非其人，道不虛行。」春秋時魯有梓慎，鄭有裨灶，晉有卜偃，宋有子章。六國時楚有甘公，魏有石申夫。漢有唐都，庶得躡躄。蓋有因而成易，無因而成難，故因舊書以序數術為六種。

The practitioners of Numbers and Divination were all supervised by the [Grand] Scribe Xi and [Grand] Diviner He of the Ming Tang palace. The office of Grand Scribe has long fallen into disuse, and the texts about it cannot be complete. Even so, some of the books still exist even though the people do not. The *Yi* says: had there not been the [right] people, dao would not have been pursued in vain. In the Chunqiu period there were Zi Shen in Lu and Bei Zao in Zheng. In the state of Jin there was Bu Yan and in Song there was Zi Wei. In the Six Kingdoms [Warring States] in Chu there was Gan Gong [Gan De] and in Wei there was Shi Shen. During the Han there was Tang Du. They all had obtained a rough understanding [of these arts]. And so where there were [sources] it was easy to understand, but where there were none it was difficult. Therefore the prefaces of the ancient texts use six sections to divide the "Shu shu" category.<sup>125</sup>

Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004), 225–28; and Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Han Cosmology and Mantical Practices," in *Taoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 61–65. For partial translations of postfaces to the six sections, see Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy: Volume 1* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 26–28.

125. *Han shu*, 30.1775. The astronomical chapter of the *Jin shu* describes Zi Shen, Bu Yan, Bei Zao, Zi Wei, Gan De and Shi Shen as having deep knowledge of astronomy and having authored discussions, charts and verifications (*lun* 論, *tu* 圖, *yan* 驗). See *Jin shu* 晉書 (Taipei: Dingwen, 1990), 11.177–278 ("Tianwen zhi" 天文志). The memorial on calendric astronomy by Jia Kui 賈逵 in the *Hou Han shu* attributes a *Classic of*

## 5.1 CELESTIAL PATTERNS ("TIAN WEN")

The Celestial Patterns "Tian wen" section concerned divination by the stars and weather phenomena. It consists of 21 titles in 445 *juan*. They refer to stars, the qi of the sun, moon and stars, clouds, vapors and rain, various types of star divination, and the twenty-eight lunar lodges (*xin* 宿). According to the Treatise:

天文者，序二十八宿，步五星日月，以紀吉凶之象，聖王所以參政也。

*Tianwen* was concerned with the order of the twenty-eight lodges, the movements of the five stars and sun and moon, the manner of relegating images as auspicious or inauspicious. It was by this means that the sage kings governed.<sup>126</sup>

A group of titles are ascribed to Huang Di and various masters. Two specifically mention the star Tai Yi and one the star Wu Can 五殘.<sup>127</sup> They are suggestive in several ways. First, they indicate that celestial bodies—the sun, moon, stars—and sub-celestial phenomena—vapors, clouds and rain—were viewed as a continuum rather than as separate realms. They also associate Huang Di with astronomical knowledge; and, like the Guodian text *Tai Yi sheng shui* 太一生水, they attest to the importance of the star god Tai Yi.

Another group of titles are verifications of Han dynasty astronomical omens, including the behavior of the planets, sun and moon, vapors and haloes surrounding them, and comets.<sup>128</sup> A third group involves omens

the Stars (*Xing jing* 星經) to Shi Shen (*Hou Han shu*, 2.3027). For the Han *fangshi* Tang Du, see *Shi ji*, 26.1260.

126. *Han shu*, 30.1765.

127. *Han shu*, 30.1763–1764. *Tai Yi* (equivalent to 太一) and *Various Masters on Stars* (*Tai Yi zazi xing* 泰壹雜子星), 28 *juan*; [*The Star*] *Wu Can and Various Variable Stars* (*Wu Can za bianxing* 五殘雜變星), 21 *juan*; *Huang Di and Various Masters on Vapors* (*Huang Di zazi qi* 黃帝雜子氣), 33 *pian*; *Chang Cong on the Sun Moon Stars and Vapors* (*Chang Cong ri yue xing qi* 常從日月星氣), 21 *juan*; *Various Huainan Masters on Stars* (*Huainan zazi xing* 淮南雜子星), 19 *juan*; and [*The Star*] *Tai Yi and Various Masters on Clouds and Rain* (*Tai Yi zazi yunyu* 泰壹雜子雲雨), 34 *juan*. For *Tai Yi* and *Chang Cong*, an apocryphal teacher of Laozi, see *Han shu buzhu*, 30.65a. In this section we also find *State Rules for Observing Rainbows Clouds and Rain* (*Guozhang guan ni, yun, yu* 國章觀霓雲雨), 34 *juan* and the *Six Tallies of Tai Jie* (*Tai Jie liufu* 泰階六符), 1 *juan*.

128. *Han shu*, 30.1764. *Han Prognostication Verifications of the Behavior of the Five Planets and Comet Guests* (*Han wuxing huike xingshi zhanyan* 漢五星彗客行事占驗), 8 *juan*; two versions of a text titled *Han Prognostication Verifications of the Behavior of the Sun and [His] Surrounding Vapors* (*Han ripang qi xingshi zhanyan* 漢日旁氣行事占驗), one in 3 *juan* and one in 13; *Han Prognostication Verifications of the Behavior of Meteors* (*Han liuxing xingshi zhanyan* 漢流星行事占驗), 8 *juan*; and *Han Prognostication Verifications of the Behavior of*

observed at sea. These include prognostication verifications, maritime aspects of the Five Planets, the Twenty-eight Lodges, and other maritime prognostications.<sup>129</sup>

## 5.2 CALENDARS AND CHRONOLOGIES ("LI PU")

"Li pu" titles concerned calendric computations and the movements of the heavenly bodies, divinatory and otherwise. Its titles refer to calendars, the movements of the heavens, moon and stars, and methods of calculation. It also included astronomical calculations through gnomon shadow measurements, as well as genealogies and chronologies. According to the Treatise:

曆譜者，序四時之位，正分至之節，會日月五星之辰，以考寒暑殺生之實。故聖王必正曆數，以定三統服色之制，又以探知五星日月之會。凶阨之患，吉隆之喜，其術皆出焉。此聖人知命之術也，非天下之至材，其孰與焉！道之亂也，愚出於小人而強欲知天道者，壞大以為小，削遠以為近，是以道術破碎而難知也。

Calendars and chronologies fixed the order of the four seasons, rectified the periods of the equinoxes and solstices, noted the periods of concordance of the sun, moon and five planets [five stars], and in this way predicted cold and heat, death and birth with exactitude. Therefore the sage kings maintained the numbers of the calendar in good order, and in this way used the System of the Three Kings to regulate the colors of clothing; also in this way they knew the periods of conjunction of the five planets, sun and moon. By their arts they made manifest the misfortune of calamities and the good fortune of prosperity. This is the art by which the sage kings knew the commands of heaven. But men of small talent, how they pur-

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*Solar Eclipses, Lunar Haloes and Various Changes* (*Han rishi yueyun zaban xingshi zhanyan* 漢日食月暈雜變行事占驗), 13 juan. Another text here is the *Flow of Entrances and Exits of the Five Planets and Comet Guests in the Han according to the Gold Measure and Jade Sphere* (*Jindu yuhen wuxing keliu churu* 金度玉衡漢五星客流出入), 8 pian. The Jade Sphere was an astronomical instrument used by Shun 舜 for astronomical measurement (*Shang shu* 3.4b ("Shun dian" 舜典). I can find no specific reference to the Gold Measure.

129. *Han shu*, 30.1764–1765. *Prognostication Verifications of Stars at Sea* (*Haizhong xingzhan yan* 海中星占驗), 12 juan; *Various Maritime Matters of the Classic of the Five Planets* (*Haizhong wuxing jing zashi* 海中五星經雜事), 22 juan; *Maritime Conjunctions and Oppositions of the Five Planets* (*Haizhong wuxing shummi* 海中五星順逆), 28 juan; *Maritime State Divisions of the Twenty-eight Lodges* (*Haizhong ershiba xiu guofen* 海中二十八宿國分), 28 juan; *Maritime Ministers of the Twenty-eight Lodges* (*Haizhong ershiba xiu chenfen* 海中二十八宿臣分), 28 juan; and *Miscellaneous Maritime Prognostications of the Sun, Moon, Comets and Rainbows* (*Haizhong riyue huihong zazhan* 海中日月彗虹雜占), 18 juan.



sued it! The dao became disordered and disasters proceeded from small men who desired to know the dao of heaven. They harmed the great and made it small, and pared down the far in order to make it near, in this way the arts of dao were scattered and became difficult to understand.<sup>130</sup>

The “Li pu” section consists of 18 titles in 660 *juan*. One group of texts is calendars ascribed to Huang Di, Zhuan Xu 顓頊 and the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, and the state of Lu 魯.<sup>131</sup> Another group is calendars based on cumulative astronomical observations and calendric methods.<sup>132</sup> Two are attributed to Geng Shouchang 耿壽昌, deputy of the Superintendent of Agriculture (*Da Sinong zhongcheng* 大司農中丞, c. 50) under Han Xuandi 漢宣帝 (r. 92?–74). In addition to several important Han agricultural reforms, he is credited with using a “diagram instrument” (*tuyi* 圖儀) to calculate the movements of the sun and moon.<sup>133</sup>

Two are texts on “sun shadows”: the use of gnomon shadow measurements.<sup>134</sup> Two more titles are genealogies, and two other titles seem to be concerned with calculation or mathematics.<sup>135</sup>

130. *Han shu*, 30.1767.

131. *Han shu*, 30.1765–1766. *Huang Di's Calendar of the Five Clans* (*Huang Di wujia li* 黃帝五家曆), 33 *juan*; the *Calendar of Zhuan Xu* (*Zhuan Xu li* 顓頊曆), 21 *juan*; *Zhuan Xu's Calendar of the Five Planets* (*Zhuan Xu wuxing li* 顓頊五星曆), 14 *juan*; *Calendars of the Xia, Shang, Zhou and Lu* (*Xia, Yin, Zhou Lu li* 夏殷周魯曆), 14 *juan*; *Han and the Original Shang and Zhou Secret Calendars* (*Han Yuan Yin Zhou dieli* 漢元殷周諜曆), 17 *juan*; *Transmission of the Measure of the Movements of the Five Planets of the Zhou* (*Zhuan Zhou wuxing xingdu* 傳周五星行度), 39 *juan*.

132. *Han shu*, 30.1765–66. *Calendar of the Sun, Moon and Lunar Lodges* (*Ri yue xiu li* 日月宿曆), 13 *juan*; *The Calendar of Heaven and the Great Calendar* (*Tianli dali* 天曆大曆), 18 *juan*; *Geng Chang's Silk Diagram on the Movements of the Moon* (*Geng Chang yuexing botu* 耿昌月行帛圖), 232 *juan*; *Geng Chang's Measure of the Movements of the Moon* (*Geng Chang yuexing du* 耿昌月行度), 2 *juan*; *The Number Method of Chronologies and Calendars* (*Lili shufa* 律曆數法), 3 *juan*; *Record of the Lodges of the Five Planets since Ancient Times* (*Conggu wuxing xiu ji* 自古五星宿紀), 30 *juan*.

133. *Hou Han shu*, 2.3029. See Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary*, 117–18. For *tuyi* and Geng Shouchang's astronomical contributions, see Christopher Cullen, *Astronomy and Mathematics in Ancient China: The 'Zhou Bi Suan Jing'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 61–63.

134. *Han shu*, 30.1766. *Sun Shadows on Strategic Days of the Great Year [Jupiter]* (*Taisui mou rigui* 太歲謀日晷), 29 *juan*; and *Sun Shadows, Three Texts in Fourteen* (*Rigui, shu san*, 14 *juan* 日晷書三十四卷). For the use of sun shadows in gnomon calculations, see *Zhoubi suanjing* 周髀算經 (*Congshu jicheng* 叢書集成 ed., Shanghai: Shangwu, 1937), 18 and 20 (上之二) and 49 (上之三). For a translation, see Cullen, *Zhou Bi*, 178 (#B10–11) and 187 (#D18).

135. *Han shu*, 30.1766. *Genealogies: Generational Table of Emperors, Kings, and Regional Lords* (*Diwang zhuhou shipu* 帝王諸侯世譜), 20 *juan*; and *Yearly Chronicle of Emperors and Kings since Ancient Times* (*Gulai diwang nianpu* 古來帝王年譜), 5 *juan*. On mathematics:

This section is particularly striking because of the extent—judging by its titles—that it mixes material ascribed to legendary sages and empirical records attributed to experts in astronomical measurement and mathematics. Its titles clearly reflect both astronomical and astrological concerns, classed under the same rubric.

### 5.3 “WU XING”

The “Wu xing” section consists of 31 titles and 652 *juan*. According to the Treatise:

五行者，五常之形氣也。書云「初一曰五行，次二曰蓋用五事」，言進用五事以順五行也。貌、言、視、聽、思心失，而五行之序亂，五星之變作，皆出於律曆之數而分為一者也。其法亦起五德終始，推其極則無不至。而小數家因此以為吉凶，而行於世，浸以相亂。

The Five Phases are the corporal forms of qi of the five regularities. The [*Shang*] *Shu* says: The first section [of the “Hong fan”] speaks of the Five Phases, the next speaks of using them to accomplish the five kinds of action. This means that the five kinds of action must be in accord with the Five Phases. If one’s demeanor, words, expression, manner of listening and thought lose their quality, the Five Phases fall into confusion and there are perturbations among the five planets. It is because all these things have their origin in the numbers of the calendar and are parts of a whole. The true origin of their method is in the alternation of the Five Virtues, and if one takes them to their endpoint there is nothing that cannot be accomplished. But the petty practitioners of arts of number, who rely on this doctrine to predict auspicious and inauspicious times, bruit it about in the world, and gradually introduce confusion.<sup>136</sup>

“Wu xing” titles concerned *wuxing* and yinyang divination, including portents, hemerology and calendric astrology. Its topics included the winds and the five pitches and texts on yin and yang. The first group of titles is yinyang texts ascribed to masters such as Tai Yi, Huang Di, Tai Yuan 太元, and various masters and kings. There is also one title on the “Three Systems” of Yin and Yang.<sup>137</sup> Only three texts are specific to the

*The Mathematics of Xu Shang* (*Xu Shang suanshu* 許商算術), 26 *juan*; and *The Mathematics of Du Zhong* (*Du Zhong suanshu* 杜忠算術), 16 *juan*.

136. *Han shu*, 30.1769.

137. *Han shu*, 30.1767. *Tai Yi's Yin and Yang* (*Tai Yi yinyang* 泰一陰陽), 23 *juan*; *Huang Di's Yin and Yang* (*Huang Di yinyang* 黃帝陰陽), 25 *juan*; *Huang Di and Various Masters*

Five Phases: one ascribed to Shen Nong, a “Classic” of the Four Seasons and Five Phases, and a *Seasonal Ordinances for Yin and Yang and the Five Phases*.<sup>138</sup> Six texts in this section address baleful omens (*zaiyi* 災異) and divination by pitch pipes. Two more are titled *Tai Yi* (or *Tian Yi*), and one *Xing de*.<sup>139</sup>

Several texts in this section reflect descriptions of arts associated with *fangshi*. The *Hou Han shu* includes among their arts “Corners of the Wind” (*fengjiao* 風角) “Dunjia” 遁甲, “Orphans and Voids” (*Guxu* 孤虛), and observing clouds and vapors.<sup>140</sup> “Corners of the Wind” was a method for predicting military victory or political prosperity based on the direction and quality of the winds. “Dunjia” (Hidden Stems or Hidden Cycles) and “Orphans and Voids” (*Guxu*) were diviner’s board techniques for avoiding inauspicious days by linking the calendar to the sexagenary cycle.<sup>141</sup> Several titles in the “Wu xing” section clearly refer to these techniques. Two refer to methods for using diviner’s boards (*shi* 式) attributed to Xianmen 羨門, a figure associated with the Yinyang school of Zou Yan.<sup>142</sup> Two other titles refer to the Six *Jia*-days,

*Discuss Yin and Yang* (*Huang Di zazi lun yinyang* 黃帝諸子論陰陽), 25 juan; *Various Kings and Masters Discuss Yin and Yang* (*Zhu wangzi lun yinyang* 諸王子論陰陽), 25 juan; *The Yin and Yang of the Supreme Origin* (*Tai Yuan yinyang* 太元陰陽), 26 juan; *Discussion of the Three Systems of Yin and Yang* (*San dian yinyang tanlun* 三典陰陽談論), 27 juan.

138. *Han shu*, 30.1767. *The Subterranean Five Phases of Shen Nong* (*Shen Nong dayou wuxing* 神農大幽五行), 27 juan; *The Classic of the Four Seasons and Five Phases* (*Sishi wuxing jing* 四時五行經), 26 juan; *Seasonal Ordinances for Yin and Yang and the Five Phases* (*Yinyang wuxing shiling* 陰陽五行時令), 19 juan. Another text is titled *Mengzi and Lü Zhao* (*Meng zi Lü Zhao* 孟子闡昭), 25 juan. It refers to two individuals known as Meng Shi 猛氏 and Lü Shi 闡氏, respectively, but is otherwise difficult to categorize. See *Han shu buzhu*, 30.70a. For *dayou*, see *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian, 1995), 2.1355b.

139. *Han shu*, 30.1768. *Baleful Omens: Wu Chengzi’s Responses to Baleful Omens* (*Wu Chengzi zaiyi ying* 務成子災異應), 14 juan; and *Twelve Systems of Response to Baleful Omens* (*Shier dian zaiyi ying* 十二災異應), 12 juan. Pitch-pipe divination: *Baleful Omens of the Bell Pitches* (*Zhonglü zaiyi* 鍾律災異), 26 juan; *Garden of Collected Chen-days of the Bell Pitches* (*Zhonglü cong chenri yuan* 鍾律叢辰日苑), 23 juan; *Growth and Decay of the Bell Pitches* (*Zhonglü xiaoxi* 鍾律消息), 29 juan; and *The Yellow Bell* (*Huang zhong* 黃鍾), 7 juan; *Tian Yi* 天一, 6 juan; *Tai Yi* 泰一, 29 juan; *Xing de* 刑德, 7 juan.

140. *Hou Han shu*, 82A.2703. For discussion of these terms, see Van Xuyet Ngo, *Divination magie et politique dans la Chine ancienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976) and Kenneth DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners and Magicians of Ancient China: Biographies of the Fang-shih* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 22–29 and 43–45.

141. See Ngo, *Divination, magie et politique*, 192–193; Li Ling, *Fangshu kao*, 23–27; and Ho Peng-Yoke, *Chinese Mathematical Astronomy: Reaching out to the Stars* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 83–112.

142. *Han shu*, 30.1769, *Han shu buzhu*, 30.72a. *The Dipper Astrolabe Method of Xianmen* (*Xianmen shifa* 羨門式法), 20 juan; and the *Dipper Astrolabe of Xianmen* (*Xianmen shi* 羨門

and one refers to Orphans and Voids.<sup>143</sup> Finally, three texts concern the five tones.<sup>144</sup>

The first three categories of the Treatise significantly concern astronomy and astrocalendric prognostication methods, all—as Marc Kalinowski points out—aspects of the office of the *Taishi*.<sup>145</sup> Astrocalendric texts dominate; they take up the first three sections and comprise two thirds of the total material (919 out of 1638 *juan*). Yet there is noticeable overlap in titles and subject matter between the “Wu xing” section of the “Shu shu” category and the Yinyang sections of Masters and Military Works.

#### 5.4 YARROW STALKS AND TURTLE SHELLS

The Stalks and Shells (“Shi gui”) section consists of 15 titles and 401 *juan*. According to the Treatise:

蓍龜者，聖人之所用也。書曰：「女則有大疑，謀及卜筮。」易曰：「定天下之吉凶，成天下之亹亹者，莫善於蓍龜。」是故君子將有為也，將有行也，問焉而以言，其受命也如嚮，無有遠近幽深，遂知來物。非天下之至精，其孰能與於此！」

Yarrow stalks and turtle shells were what were used by the sages. The *Documents* says: “When you are in doubt about an important matter, consult the turtle shell and yarrow stalks.” The *Yi* says: “For

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式), 20 *juan*. Xianmen (personal name Zi Gao 子高, also known as Xianmen Gao 羨門高) is described in the *Han shu*, 25.1202, as a follower of the Yinyang school of Zou Yan. The *Shi ji*, 6.251 and 28.1367, describes him as an immortal whose companionship Qin Shi Huangdi seeks by offering sacrifices. See Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 2: History of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 133.

143. *Han shu*, 30.1768–1769. They are: *Wind Drums of the Six Jia-days* (*Fenggu liujia* 風鼓六甲), 24 *juan*; *The Patterns and Nodes of the Six Jia-days* (*Wenjie liujia* 文解六甲), 18 *juan*. There is also a text titled *Patterns and Nodes of the Twenty-eight Lodges* (*Wen jie ershiba xiu* 文解二十八宿), 28 *juan*; *The Lord of the Wind and Orphans and Voids* (or, *Orphans and Winds of the Lord of the Wind*) (*Fenghou guxu* 風后孤虛), 20 *juan*. Two other texts should be mentioned here: the *Sui System of the Six Directions* (*Liuhe suidian* 六合隨典), 25 *juan*; and *Transfer Positions of the Twelve Immortals* (*Zhuan wei shier shen* 轉位十二神), 25 *juan*. One commentator in the *Han shu buzhu* associated the *Liu he* with dream divination, but another describes it as concerned with the movements of the sun and moon. The latter interpretation would better account for its placement here. The *Changing Positions of the Twelve Immortals* is described as a *tianwen* text from Huainan. See *Han shu buzhu*, 30.71b–72a.

144. *Han shu*, 30.1769. *Military Uses of the Five Tones and Extraordinary Turns* (*Wuyin qihai yongbing* 五音奇賂用兵), 23 *juan*; *Punishment and Virtue Cycle of the Five Tones and Extraordinary Turns* (*Wuyin qihai xingde* 五音奇賂刑德), 21 *juan*; and *Establishing the Names of the Five Tones* (*Wuyin dingming* 五音定名), 15 *juan*.

145. Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions,” 225–26.

establishing good and ill auspice and for accomplishing matters of untiring effort, nothing else has the virtue of turtle shells and yarrow stalks." "Therefore when the *junzi* is about to do something or intends to take some action, he puts a question in words and addresses it to them, and their response to his mandate is like an echo. Whether it is far or near, remote or deep, he knows what will come to pass. If these [yarrow and turtle] were not the most perfect things in the world, how could they have a capacity such as this?"<sup>146</sup>

The first five titles are on turtle shell divination.<sup>147</sup> Of the nine yarrow divination texts, one is simply titled *Yarrow* and all the others clearly concern variations of *Yi* divination, including using it for guessing games.<sup>148</sup> This distinction suggests the existence of methods of yarrow divination that did not use the *Yi* as a hermeneutic text. It is also noteworthy that the eight titles on the *Yi* or *Zhou Yi* are distinguished from the *Yi jing* titles in the Classics category.

#### 5.5 MISCELLANEOUS DIVINATION

The Miscellaneous Divination ("Za zhan") section consists of 18 titles and 313 *juan*. According to the Treatise:

雜占者，紀百事之象，候善惡之徵。易曰：「占事知來。」眾占非一，而夢為大，故周有其官。而詩載熊羆虺蛇眾魚旃旗之夢，著明大人之占，以考吉凶，蓋參卜筮。

Miscellaneous divination records the phenomena of the hundred things and observes the manifestation of good and ill. The *Yi* says: "By prognosticating affairs you may know the future." These various prognostications are not of one kind, and dream prognostication is the most important. Therefore the Zhou had officials for it, and the *Shi jing* records dreams of bears, poisonous snakes, schools of fish

146. *Han shu*, 30.1771.

147. *Han shu*, 30.1769. *The Book of Turtle Shells* (*Gui shu* 龜書), 52 *juan*; *The Xia Turtle Shells* (*Xia gui* 夏龜), 26 *juan*; *The Book of Turtle Shells of the South* (*Nangui shu* 南龜書), 28 *juan*; *Huge Turtle Shells* (*Ju gui* 巨龜), 36 *juan*; and *Various Turtle Shells* (*Za gui* 雜龜), 16 *juan*.

148. *Han shu*, 30.1770–1771. Examples include: *The Book of Yarrow Stalks* (*Shi shu* 蓍書), 28 *juan*; *The Zhou Changes* (*Zhou Yi* 周易), 38 *juan*; *The Zhou Changes of the Bright Hall* (*Zhou Yi mingtang* 周易明堂), 26 *juan*; *Extended Changes of the Great Yarrow Stalks* (*Dashi yanyi* 大筮衍易), 28 *juan*; and *The Yi Trigrams in Eight Tables* (*Yigua bajiu* 易卦八具). *Shooting Riddles by the Sui System of the Zhou Changes* (*Zhou Yi Suidian she'ni* 周易隨曲射匿), 51 *juan* referred to the game of *shedu* 射覆, a literary drinking game. The *Sui shu* 隋書 reports a text of two *juan* titled *Shooting Riddles by the Yi* (*Yi shedu* 易射覆). See *Han shu buzhu*, 30.73b–74a.

and embroidered banners. These are prognostications of a great person to come, and by them one may investigate good and ill auspice, correlated with the turtle shell and yarrow stalks.<sup>149</sup>

This section begins with two titles on dream divination, the only reference to it in the Treatise.<sup>150</sup> There follows one text on physiognomy, one on bird cries, and three on anomalies (*bianguai* 變怪).<sup>151</sup> Five more texts deal with different aspects of prayers and exorcism, including ghosts and spirits, propitiations and prayers, and praying for rain or its absence.<sup>152</sup> Two more texts on yearly observations (*housui* 候歲) look as if they might have been misplaced from the astrocalendric sections.<sup>153</sup> The last four titles are on agricultural applications of physiognomy. They are thus distinct in subject matter from the military physiognomy text that appeared earlier in the section and from additional physiognomy titles that appear in the next section.<sup>154</sup>

149. *Han shu*, 30.1773.

150. *Han shu*, 30.1772. *Huang Di's Old Willow Dream Divination* (*Huangdi changliu zhanmeng* 黃帝長柳占夢), 11 *juan*; and *Gan De's Old Willow Dream Divination* (*Gan De changliu zhanmeng* 甘德長柳占夢), 20 *juan*. The bibliographic chapter of the *Sui shu* provides a much longer list of titles, which suggest a greater number of books on dream divination in antiquity. The Qin bamboo slips retrieved by the Yuelu Academy include fragments of a "dream book" (*meng shu* 夢書). See Chen Songchang 陳松長, "Yuelu shuyuan suocang Qin jian zongshu" 岳麓書院所藏秦簡綜述, *Wenwu* 2009.3, 75–88.

151. *Han shu*, 30.1772. *Military Prohibitions and Physiognomy of Clothing and Equipment* (*Wujin xiang yiqi* 武禁相衣器), 14 *juan*; *Miscellaneous Prognostications from Sneezing and Bird Cries* (*Tier ming zazhan* 聽耳鳴雜占), 16 *juan*; *Auspicious Changes and Anomalies* (*Zhenxiang bianguai* 禎祥變怪), 21 *juan*; *Changes and Anomalies in Humans, Ghosts, Monsters and the Six Domestic Animals* (*Ren gui jingwu liuchu bianguai* 人鬼精物六畜變怪), 21 *juan*; and *Changes and Anomalies and Faults in Imperial Mandates* (*Bianguai gaojiu* 變怪誥咎), 13 *juan*.

152. *Han shu*, 30.1772. *Capturing and Exposing Ominous Ghosts and Spirits* (*Zhi buxiang he guiwu* 執不祥劾鬼物), 8 *juan*; *Inviting Officials and Dispelling Good and Bad Omens* (*Qingguan chu yaoxiang* 請官除妖祥), 19 *juan*; *Celestial Patterns and Propitiatory Prayers* (*Rangsi tianwen* 禳祀天文), 18 *juan*; *Prayers for Good Fortune* (*Qingdao zhifu* 請禱致福), 19 *juan*; and *Invoking Rain and Stopping Rain* (*Qingyu zhiyu* 請雨止雨), 26 *juan*.

153. *Han shu*, 30.1772. The two calendric texts are *Yearly Observations of Tai Yi and Various Masters* (*Tai Yi zazi housui* 泰壹雜子候歲), 22 *juan*; and *Yearly Observations of Zi Gan and Various Masters* (*Zi Gan zazi housui* 子贛雜子候歲), 26 *juan*. See Shi ji, 27.1340.

154. *Han shu*, 30.1772–1773. *Five Methods for Planting, Storing, Preserving, and Storing away* (*Wufa jizhu baozang* 五法積貯寶藏), 23 *juan*; *Teachings of Shen Nong on Fields, Physiognomizing the Earth, and Cultivation* (*Shen Nong jiaotian xiangtu gengzhong* 神農教田相土耕種), 14 *juan*; *Zhao Mingzi on Fishing and Breeding Fish and Soft-shelled Turtles* (*Zhao Mingzi diao zhong sheng yubie* 昭明子釣種生魚鱉), 8 *juan*; and *Planting Trees, Storing Fruit, and Physiognomizing Silkworms* (*Zhongshu zangguo xiangcan* 種樹藏果相蠶), 13 *juan*.

## 5.6 MORPHOSCOPY

The Morphoscopy ("Xing fa") section consists of 6 titles and 122 *juan* on topomancy and state or military physiognomy. According to the Treatise:

形法者，大舉九州之勢以立城郭室舍形，人及六畜骨法之度數、器物之形容以求其聲氣貴賤吉凶。猶律有長短，而各徵其聲，非有鬼神，數自然也。然形與氣相首尾，亦有有其形而無其氣，有其氣而無其形，此精微之獨異也。

Morphoscopy deals with the large-scale configurations of the nine provinces in order to build a walled city, a house, or a cottage. The method uses the angles and numbers of bones of people and also of the six domestic animals, as well as the capacities of vessels in order to listen to their *qi* and determine if they are noble, base, or of good or ill auspice. It resembles the pitch pipes, each of which makes its own sound based on whether it is long or short. It is not because of ghosts or spirits, but is measured according to nature. Thus form and *qi* are like the head and tail; some things have form but no *qi*, others have *qi* but not form, these are fine and subtle differences.<sup>155</sup>

The three topomancy titles address three different topics: natural geography, the reigning dynasty, and habitations. The *Shanhai jing* 山海經 is the only title from the entire "Shu shu" category extant in the received tradition.<sup>156</sup> The final three titles again address physiognomy, here it would seem, from a state perspective that included both civil and military uses. The techniques of *Physiognomizing People* (*Xiang ren* 相人), *Physiognomizing Precious Swords and Knives* (*Xiang bao jiandao* 相寶劍刀), and *Physiognomizing the Six Domestic Animals* (*Xiang liuxu* 相六畜) suggest state uses in assessing personnel and both military and agricultural materiel.<sup>157</sup> These titles and the physiognomy titles in the previous section indicate the practical and technical uses of physiognomy, which could be used to assess the economic worth of objects (clothing, equipment, swords) animals (domestic animals, silkworms) and people. Excavated texts on physiognomy emphasize these practical contexts, for example, a text from Yinqueshan 銀雀山, Lin'yi, Shandong, on the physiognomizing

155. *Han shu*, 30.1775.

156. *Han shu*, 30.1774. *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing* 山海經), 13 *juan*; *The Reigning Dynasty* (*Guo chao* 國朝), 7 *juan*; and *Topography of Palaces and Residences* (*Gongzhai dixing* 宮宅地形), 20 *juan*.

157. *Han shu*, 30.1774-75. *Physiognomizing People* (*Xiang ren* 相人), 24 *juan*; *Physiognomizing Precious Swords and Knives* (*Xiang bao jiandao* 相寶劍刀), 20 *juan*; and *Physiognomizing the Six Domestic Animals* (*Xiang liuxu* 相六畜), 38 *juan*.

of dogs, a Han sword physiognomy text from Juyan 居延 and a text on the physiognomy of horses from Mawangdui.<sup>158</sup>

It may seem surprising to find more titles on physiognomy than on dream divination. But the ability to physiognomize persons and things allowed a skilled reader to assess the future or merit of individuals. It also allowed the "reading" of the qualities of living and inanimate objects. These included animals and plants used in agriculture and even military materiel.

#### 5.7 RECIPES AND METHODS

The Recipes and Methods ("Fang ji") category was compiled by the imperial physician Li Zhuguo 李柱國, and contained four sections: (1) Medical Classics ("Yi jing" 醫經); (2) Classical Recipes ("Jing fang" 經方) referring to *fangshi* texts; (3) Sexual Arts ("Fang zhong" 房中); and (4) Immortality Practices ("Shen xian" 神僊).

The Medical Classics section includes the still extant *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, which includes instructions for medical prognostication based on the directional winds (also preserved in the *Ling shu* 靈樞). These chapters link seasonal winds and the diseases they cause, to the transits of Tai Yi. These texts, compiled in their present form during the Han, are believed to date from the late Warring States.<sup>159</sup>

The "Fang ji" category also includes the titles of medical works concerned with physical cultivation, health and longevity. For example, the "Jing fang" section includes: *Recipes for Married Women and Infants* (*Furen yinger fang* 婦人嬰兒方), but also *Food Prohibitions of Shen Nong and Huang Di* (*Shen Nong Huangdi shijin* 神農黃帝食禁). Some Sexual Arts titles address methods for bearing children, such as *Inner Chamber*

158. See Li Ling, *Fangshu kao*, 84–87. The Yinqueshan slips contain fourteen slips of a *Xianggou fang* 相狗方 (Recipes for Physiognomizing Dogs). See *Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian* 銀雀山漢墓竹簡, ed. Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 銀雀山漢墓竹簡整理小組 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2010), 253–54, and *Yinqueshan Hanjian shiwen* 銀雀山漢簡釋文, ed. Wu Jiulong 吳九龍 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1985), 243 and slips 208, 213, 221, 242, 261, 271, 302, 315, 374, 889, 899, 1937, 2570, 3788 and 4047. For transcription of the Juyan slips, see *Juyan xinjian shicui* 居延新簡釋粹 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue 1988), 121–24, and *Juyan xinjian* 居延新簡 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1990), 98. For Mawangdui, see "Mawangdui Han mu boshu *Xiangma jing* shiwen" 馬王堆漢墓帛書相馬經釋文, *Wenwu* 1977.8, 17–22.

159. Sources of the *Huangdi neijing*: Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒, "The Formation of the *Huang-ti Nei-ching*," *Acta Asiatica* 36 (1979), 67–89; David Joseph Keegan, *The "Huang-ti Nei-ching": The Structure of the Compilation; the Significance of the Structure* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1988); Paul U. Unschuld, *Huang Di nei jing su wen: Nature, Knowledge, Imagery in an Ancient Chinese Medical Text* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).



*Recipes of the Three Schools for Having Children* (*Sanjia neifang youzi fang* 三家內房有子方). Others provide another perspective on yinyang, for example, five texts titled *The Yin Way* (*Yin dao* 陰道) ascribed to Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 and other putative masters, including a *Yin Way of Tian Yi* (*Tian Yi yindao* 天一陰道). There is also a *Recipes for Nurturing Yang* by Huang Di and the Three Sage-Kings (*Huangdi Sanwang yangyang fang* 黃帝三王養陽方).<sup>160</sup> These titles again appear to reflect a Huang-Lao tradition associated with Huang Di and star gods such as Tai Yi or Tian Yi.

The subject matter of these texts is borne out by medical and esoteric texts excavated from Mawangdui 馬王堆, Changsha, Hunan, dated to no later than 168 B.C.E.<sup>161</sup> For example, *Eliminating Grain and Eating Vapor* (*Quegu shiqi* 卻穀食氣) concerns dietetics and breath cultivation.<sup>162</sup> *Drawings of Guiding and Pulling* (*Daoyin tu* 導引圖) is a series of forty-four drawings of human figures performing exercises, some with captions. Both exemplify a tradition of exercise for both therapy and health known as *daoyin* 導引 (pulling and guiding). *Recipes for Nurturing Life* (*Yangsheng fang* 養生方) consists of eighty-seven recipes for food, drugs, beverages and the like, as well as several sexual cultivation exercises. *Various Restricted Recipes* (*Zajin fang* 雜禁方) are charms, including remedies for marital problems, crying babies and love charms. *Harmonizing Yin and Yang* (*He Yin Yang* 合陰陽) and *Discussion of the Realized Way of All under Heaven* (*Tianxia zhidao tan* 天下至道談) refer to the movements and postures of animals as whole-body metaphors for sexual techniques.<sup>163</sup> A similar text, the *Pulling Book* (*Yin shu* 引書) from Zhangjiashan, Jiangling,

160. Other putative authors include Rong Cheng 容成, Wu Chengzi 務成子, Tang Pangeng 湯盤庚 and Tian Lao and Other Masters 天老雜子.

161. The Mawangdui medical corpus consists of eleven medical manuscripts written on three sheets of silk. They reflect Warring States medical traditions of the third and second centuries B.C.E., before the cosmological correspondence theories of the *Huangdi neijing*. Several reflect embodied self-cultivation traditions. The importance of this site is well known for its two versions of the *Laozi* and its medical texts on yinyang theory and acumoxa.

162. Eliminating grain is accomplished with the aid of both breathing exercises performed at morning and evening, and by eating the herb *shitwei* 石韋. The text also contains a seasonal regimen of breath cultivation through consuming six *qi* and avoiding another five. For translation, see Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998), especially 25–30.

163. For example the description of the Ten Postures in *Harmonizing Yin and Yang*: First is “tiger roving” (*hu you* 虎游), second is “cicada clinging” (*chan fu* 蟬附), third is “measuring worm” (*shi huo* 尺蠖), fourth is “river deer butting” (*jun jue* 麋觸), fifth is “locust splayed” (*huang zhe* 蝗磔), sixth is “gibbon grabbing” (*yuán ju* 猿据), seventh is “toad” (*zhan zhu* 瞻諸), eighth is “rabbit bolting” (*tu wu* 兔鶩), ninth is “dragonfly” (*qing ling* 蜻蛉), tenth is “fish gobbling” (*yu zuo* 魚噉). See Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 418.

Hubei, dated no later than 186 B.C.E., also describes exercises that refer to animals, including inchworms, snakes, mantises, wild ducks, owls, tigers, chickens, bears, frogs, deer, and dragons.<sup>164</sup>

These texts do not concern divination directly, but they form an intellectual continuum with it. Many of the "Fang ji" titles can be described as part of a "Yangsheng 養生 culture" that emphasized control over physiological processes of the body and mind, understood as transformations of qi. These transformations were understood as self-cultivation in the coterminous senses of moral excellence, health and longevity (rather than medical pathology), and physiological transformation through the manipulation of qi.<sup>165</sup> This theme also appears prominently in several sections of the Masters category.

There is something to be said for taking the last two categories of the Treatise together as representing what Marc Kalinowski has aptly termed "Shu shu culture," a wide range of beliefs and practices with both scientific and mantic and magical connotations. These two categories are of particular interest for the history of science. In fact, "Yiwen zhi" treatises in later dynastic histories combined the "Shu shu" and "Fang ji" categories of the *Han shu* Treatise into a new category of Techniques and Arts ("Shu yi" 術藝).<sup>166</sup> In a similar vein, the *Seven Records* (*Qi lu* 七錄) of the Liang dynasty bibliographer Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–535 C.E.) combined the two sections into Techniques and Skills ("Shu ji" 術技).<sup>167</sup>

164. For the transcription of this text, see *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian* [Ershiqi hao mu] 張家山漢墓竹簡 [二十七號墓], ed. Zhangjiashan ershiqi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2001), 285–99.

165. For an excellent summary, see Vivienne Lo, "The Influence of Nurturing Life Culture," in *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu (Needham Research Institute Studies, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19–50.

166. *Sui shu* 隋書 (Taipei: Dingwen, 1987) 32.906–7.

167. Although his text is lost, its preface is preserved in the Buddhist canon in the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集, ed. Dao Xuan 道宣 (596–667 C.E.), *Taishō Canon*, vol. 52, no. 2103, 0109C22–111b07. Ruan divides the work into five "inner" or essential and two outer or extraneous sections, the latter comprising Buddhist and Daoist texts. Ruan's biography appears in *Nan shi* 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975), chapter 76 and *Liang shu* 梁書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973), chapter 51. The *Seven Records* are also discussed in *Sui shu*, 33.903–9, especially 906. The *Sui shu* names four bibliographic treatises as especially important: Liu Xiang's *Separate Listings* (*Bie lu*), Liu Xir's *Seven Epitomes* (*Qi lue*), the *Seven Reviews* (*Qi zhi* 七志) of Wang Jian 王儉 (452–89 C.E.), the Vice-Director of the Palace Library of the Song dynasty (420–470 C.E.), and Ruan Xiaoxu's own *Seven Records*. The amalgamation is even clearer in the arrangement of its ten subcategories: (1) "Celestial Patterns" ("Tian wen"); (2) the new subcategory "Omens and Prophecies" ("Wei chan" 緯讖); (3) "Calendric Calculations" ("Li suan" 曆算); (4) "Wu xing;" (5) "Shells and Stalks" ("Bu shi"); (6) "Miscellaneous Prognostications" ("Za zhan"); (7) "Morphoscopy" ("Xing fa"); (8) "Medical Classics" ("Yi jing"); (9) "Classical Recipes"

## Conclusions

A complete discussion of divination titles in the *Han shu* "Yiwen zhi" would require a review of mantic practices across the entire corpus of pre-Han and Han literature. That task is beyond the scope of the present discussion, which has confined itself to representative examples. Nonetheless, this brief survey establishes the prevalence of mantic texts throughout the Treatise. It also raises questions of the significance of their placement, and how the classifications of the Treatise affected the prestige and authority of particular texts and techniques. We can also ask how it squares with what we know of actual divinatory practice and what it has to tell us about the role of divination as an element in the growth of systematic inquiry in early China.

### Generalist and Specialist Knowledge

A first and obvious point is the promotion of the *Yi jing*, last of the Warring States Ru texts, to the head of the Classics category.<sup>168</sup> This new prominence also reflects a shift from earlier emphasis on the *Shi* and *Shu* in the *Lun yu*, *Mengzi*, and other Warring States texts.<sup>169</sup> This position is also consistent with its placement in *Shi ji*, chapter 130, and Han Wudi's appointment of chairs in the Five Classics in 136.<sup>170</sup> Similarly, *Zuo zhuan* historical (or pseudo-historical) narratives that support the new role of the *Yi* are also prominently placed in the Classics category, and other narratives about divination also appear in the Masters section. By contrast, the *Zhou Yi* and texts associated with it are relegated to the fourth section of the "Shu shu" category. The force of this categorization in the Treatise is to privilege the *Yi jing* in its transformed role as a wisdom text, rather than a divination manual. The distancing of the *Yi jing* from divination is also consistent with hostile accounts of amoral or failed divination in the Poetry category (the failed divinations by *wu* in the *Chu ci* and *fu*) and Military Works (the attacks on divination by militarists).

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("Jing fang"); and (10) "Miscellaneous Arts" ("Za yi" 雜藝). The sexual arts sections have been eliminated. By contrast, in the Jin "Yiwen zhi" of 473, Wang Jian's *Seven Reviews* (*Qi zhi* or *Jin shu qizhi* 晉書七志) took "Arts and Techniques" ("Shu yi" 書藝) as the sixth category and "Maps and Charts" ("Tu pu" 圖) as the seventh.

168. The *Changes* was conspicuously absent from Xunzi's curriculum of the *Odes*, *Documents*, *Ritual*, *Music*, and *Chunqiu*. See Xunzi, 8.129-34.

169. See Stephen W. Durrant, *The Cloudy Mirror: Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 47-70, and Lewis, *Writing*, 234-42.

170. *Shi ji*, 130.3297 and 3299, *Han shu*, 6.159 and 30.1703-4, *Han shu buzhu*, 6.3b. See Lewis, *Writing*, 241-43 and 455-56.

The distinction between the generalist and specialist categories of the Treatise can be seen as a continuation of what Mark Lewis has argued is a Warring States mode of argument: claims for the superiority of a flexible and general intellect over specific arts. In Warring States argumentation, claims for comprehensive wisdom and universality sought to establish sole possession of way of the sage kings of antiquity, of which competing traditions possessed only part. Such claims appear in the *Zhuangzi* and in attacks on competing schools by Xunzi and Han Fei.

Such claims also appear in the postface to the *Shi ji* and in other Han collectanea. Again following Mark Lewis, the authors of Han collectanea organized their schematic frameworks in ways that privileged the generalists in their comprehensive syntheses of competing traditions.<sup>171</sup> In this way, the organization of the Treatise asserted the superiority of the general and universal knowledge of the first three categories over military, mantic, and medical knowledge, which was deliberately framed as technical, rather than universal, in nature. It was further claimed that these arts had become irretrievably corrupt: astronomy, calendrics, and medicine had degenerated into tricks for predictions and longevity.<sup>172</sup>

The disparate placement of the *Yi jing* and *Zhou Yi* also reflects the division of the Treatise into generalist and technical knowledge. Ban Gu based the first three categories (Classics, Masters, Poetry) on compilations by Liu Xiang. He based the three technical categories on compilations by three technical specialists: the military official, Ren Hong, the *Taishi* Yin Xian and the imperial physician, Li Zhuguo.<sup>173</sup> In this structure, divination is clearly relegated to the lower area of *techné*.

### Permeability of the Categories

Yet this barrier between the two halves of the Treatise becomes more porous if we look at divination across the categories and sections of the Treatise. It has a significant if indirect presence in the generalist categories, which include titles concerned with divination or attributed to figures associated with it. For example, most of the texts listed in the *Yi*

171. Lewis, *Writing*, chapter 7, especially 290–93, 308–17, 326–28 and 332–36.

172. Accounts of this degeneration appear in the postfaces to the three categories, and some of their sections. See in particular *Han shu*, 130.1762–63 (Military Works), 1765 (“*Tian wen*”), 1767 (“*Li pu*”), 1967 (“*Wu xing*”), 1771 (“*Shi gui*”), 1773 (“*Za zhan*”), and 1775 (“*Xing fa*” and “*Shu shu*” as a whole), 1776 (“*Yi jing*”), 1778 (“*Jing fang*”), 1779 (“*Fang zhong*”) and 1780 (“*Shen xian*” and “*Fang ji*” as a whole). By contrast, the fifth and sixth categories present another picture that prioritized “*Shu shu*” culture, which was attacked in some parts of the fourth category. In later compendia, the two were sometimes joined into one section, and the Bibliographic Treatises of later dynastic histories return to the use of *yi* as art or *techné*. See n.167, above.

173. *Han shu*, 30.1701.

section of Classics are probably Ruist rather than mantic in nature. But according to the commentary to one text, the *Five Masters of Antiquity* (*Gu wuzi* 古五子), the Five Masters wrote on yin and yang in the *Yi jing* from the stem *Jiazi* 甲子 to *Renzi* 壬子.<sup>174</sup> The *Li jing* section includes two titles on the Yin and Yang of the Bright Hall and one version of the *Sima fa* 司馬法.<sup>175</sup> Similarly, the Masters category includes titles attributed to technical experts such as Star Director Zi Wei or to legendary figures closely associated with mantic activity and technical expertise, such as Shen Nong, Huang Di, and Rong Chengzi.

Just as we find vestiges of mantic texts in the generalist categories, we find vestiges of generalist texts in the technical categories. For example, prescriptive texts on mantic activities appear in the "Li jing" section of Classics, but also in several of the technical categories. The "Tian wen" section of "Shu shu" includes a *State Rules for Observing Rainbows, Clouds and Rain*. The "Wu xing" section includes a *Seasonal Ordinances for Yin and Yang and the Five Phases* under "Wu xing."<sup>176</sup>

Another particularly interesting area of "double classification" is physiognomy. For reasons that have already been discussed, physiognomy is a recurring theme in Masters texts. Physiognomy titles also appear in the last two sections of the "Shu shu," and thematically related texts on the cultivation of qi also appear in the "Fang ji" category.

One type of text that may be restricted to the technical sections of the Treatise is archives. It is difficult to judge from titles, but some "Shu shu" titles may refer to archival records, for example, several titles on Han prognostication verifications.<sup>177</sup> Poetry seems to be restricted to the generalist categories.<sup>178</sup>

To what extent does the Treatise's hierarchy of generalist and technical categories of knowledge reflect what we know of prevailing attitudes or mantic practice? The prevalence of texts concerned with divination throughout the Treatise suggests its importance across a range of social

174. *Han shu*, 30.1703-4. E.g., texts attributed to Master Yang 楊氏, Cai Gong 蔡公, and Han Ying 韓嬰 (of the *Han Shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳).

175. *Mingtang yinyang* (明堂陰陽), 33 juan, *Mingtang yinyang shuo* (明堂陰陽說), 5 pian; *Junli Sima fa* (軍禮司馬法), 155 juan. See *Han shu*, 130.1709.

176. See n.127 and 137, above.

177. See n.128 and 129, above.

178. By contrast, in later periods technical material was fair game for verse composition, for example Lu You's 陸游 (1125-1210) poems describing his alchemical experiments, and the rendering of pharmacological information into rhymed verse, for ease of reference by memory. On these subjects, see Ho Peng Yoke with Goh Thean Chye and Beda Lim, *Lu Yu, the Poet-Alchemist* (Canberra: Australian National University Asian Studies Occasional Paper No. 13, 1972), and Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceutics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 252-54.

and epistemological contexts. Further evidence of the social importance of divination practices comes from the tombs of rulers and high officials of the Warring States, Qin and Han. Some of these tombs contain Classics or Masters texts, as attested by the Shanghai Museum texts and texts excavated from Guodian, Wuwei 武威, Gansu, Mawangdui and Dingzhou 定州, Hebei. Yet Warring States and Han tombs present an equally impressive array of divination archives, mantic texts and instruments used for divination.<sup>179</sup> In some cases, both types of text are found in the same tomb (e.g., Mawangdui, Wuwei; in the case of the Shanghai Museum texts, we do not know their provenance, as the slips were looted.) The reasons for the burial of texts in tombs are far from clear, so it is dangerous to speculate, but tomb evidence suggests that texts concerned with divination may have been of significant interest to the elites who were potential readers of texts.

### The Treatise and Han Categories of Knowledge

Finally, the Treatise offers information on Han categories of knowledge and potentially on the role of systematic inquiry within those categories. An immediate point is the way that the Treatise validates some modes of knowledge and marginalizes others, not only by its hierarchy and the categories of knowledge it creates, but by the categories of knowledge it does not mention, or submerges within its own taxonomy.

Divination (*zhanbu*) is one example of this. For all its clear social importance, divination is not a category in the Treatise. By contrast, in the *Zhou li* the office of the *Taibu*, a major post in the "Offices of Spring" (*Chunguan*), supervised the three major categories of divination. Although mantic practices appear throughout the Treatise, their explicit place in its hierarchy is in the fifth of six categories.

The account of mantic practices also reflects the biases of the compilers of the technical sections. Because the entire "Shu shu" category was compiled by an astronomical official, it privileges astrocalendrics and officially sponsored mantic methods. Thus calendrics, which only partially deals with divination, is given priority over the historically important techniques of divination by bones and shells, dream divination and physiognomy. By contrast, these other techniques share prominence in excavated texts.

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179. For example, for the Warring States, Tianxingguan 天星觀, Jiangling, Hubei, Yutaishan 兩臺山, Jiangling, Hubei, Baoshan, Wangshan, and Jiudian; for the Qin, Fangmatan 放馬灘, Tianshui, Gansu, Shuihudi, Wangjiatai, and Zhoujiatai 周家台, Guanju, Hubei; for the Han, Fangmatan, Yinqueshan, Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山, Jiangling, Hubei, Mawangdui, Shuanggudui, Fuyang, Yinwan 尹灣, Donghai, Jiangsu; and Wuwei.

Other recognized methods of divination are eliminated as categories of knowledge, and become nameless. Dream divination has no identity as a category of knowledge in the "Shu shu," despite statements in the *Zhou li* and elsewhere that rank it with Shells and Stalks in importance.

Physiognomy is a second case of a mantic practice that has no identity in the "Shu shu." Physiognomy appears indirectly in Masters texts and is explicit in several titles in the last two sections of the "Shu shu," but it is not accorded an identity. Despite its importance for both officials and commoners, the "Shu shu" category gives it little attention, and disperses it across its last two sections. This cursory and haphazard treatment also belies its relative prominence as a rhetorical trope in Masters texts. Its attractiveness may have derived from its practicality and familiarity to a wide audience, ranging from military administrators procuring supplies, to farmers assessing their fields and stock, to mothers assessing their newborn children. However, this expertise would probably have been outside the purview of the *Taishi*.

A third nameless category of knowledge in the Treatise is what contemporary observers sometimes refer to as *Yangsheng* practices.<sup>180</sup> They appear as titles in the "Shu shu" and "Fang ji" categories of the Treatise, but have no identity as a category of knowledge or practice. Another absent category is Huang-Lao, or key figures associated with it, is also absent from the Treatise, although titles attributed to Huang Di appear across the Treatise.<sup>181</sup>

Finally, the Treatise offers room for speculation about the role of divination as an element in the growth of systematic inquiry in early China. The effect of assigning the "Shu shu" category to the *Taishi* conferred on it a degree of official status and an institutional context, which may have helped preserve texts that no longer fitted into the official Five Classics curriculum. The titles in the technical sections of the Treatise suggest a high level of accomplishment. For example, Warring States and Han astrocalendric experts introduced specialized skills: the use of charts, tables and instruments, and the interpretation of natural phenomena such as clouds or winds. These techniques also influenced the growth of other specialist endeavors such as law, medicine, or generalship and, as in later periods, the specialized skills of diviners were also applicable

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180. For an example of *yangsheng* as a philosophical category, see A.C. Graham, "The Background of the Mencian [Mengzian] Theory of Human Nature," *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 6.2 (December 1967), 215-74.

181. For several references to Huang-Lao as a late Warring States and Han category, see Robin D.S. Yates, *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huanglao, and Yin-yang in Han China* (New York: Ballantine, 1997), 10-19, and 215-16.

to many non-ritual and day-to-day technical activities.<sup>182</sup> These included weather and agricultural prediction, medicine and public health, civil and military engineering, and legal and business administration. Divination was integral to the conduct of medicine, military strategy, law, and administration. It also had significant effects on argumentation and textual exegesis, especially in the writings and memorials of officials who sought to influence, and curtail, imperial power.

Yet these important aspects of the function of divination in late Warring States and Han society are all but invisible in the piecemeal approach it receives in the Treatise. Given its preference for the generalist sections, this lack of systematic treatment is no surprise. By continuing to rely on material compiled by three technical officials, without any effort at systematization, the Treatise embeds intellectual competition both between generalist and technical knowledge and between the specialist authors of the last three categories. The Treatise thus embeds competition between Masters textual specialists and technical experts, among whom diviners were prominent.

The present paper is concerned with the treatment of divination as a category in the Treatise. But, in conclusion, it should be emphasized that all the indigenous Chinese sciences are marginalized by relegation to the last two categories, or non-existent in the Treatise. On this point it is instructive to turn to Nathan Sivin's listing of the indigenous Chinese sciences.<sup>183</sup> Of the qualitative sciences, *Tianwen* heads the "Shu shu" category and Medicine (Yi 醫) heads the "Fang ji" category.<sup>184</sup> The three quantitative sciences fare considerably worse. Mathematical astronomy (*Li* 歷) appears in the Treatise in the "Li pu" section of the "Shu shu." That section also includes titles on pitchpipes, the earliest theory of Mathematical harmonics (*Li* 律), but it is not a category of knowledge there. Perhaps most striking is the absence of Mathematics (*suan* 算) as a category in the Treatise, which includes two *suanshu* ("Mathematical art") titles.<sup>185</sup> In addition, two major early mathematical works are dateable to the Han dynasty or earlier: the *Zhoubi suanjing* 周髀算經 to the first century B.C.E. and the *Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術 to some time

182. For details, see *Divination et rationalité en Chine ancienne*.

183. Nathan Sivin, "Why the Scientific Revolution Did Not Take Place in China Or Didn't It?" *Chinese Science* 5 (1982), 45-66, and "Science and Medicine in Chinese History," in *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, ed. Paul S. Ropp (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 164-96.

184. It might be argued that the antecedents of alchemy (*neidan* 內丹 and *waidan* 外丹) appear in the "Jing fang" section and that the antecedents of *fengshui* 風水 appear in the Topomancy ("Xing fa") section of "Shu shu."

185. The two titles are the *Xu Shang suanshu* and *Du Zhong suanshu*. See n.134, above.



in the Han. Neither appears in the Treatise.<sup>186</sup> The early provenance of the latter is supported by the discovery of a second-century *Suanshu shu* 算數書 or “Book of Reckoning” at Zhangjiashan.<sup>187</sup> The texts held by the Yuelu Academy also include a mathematical text.<sup>188</sup> Thus both the received tradition and excavated texts give evidence of extant works on mathematics. This silence is all the more surprising since Ban Gu’s sister, Ban Zhao 班昭, who completed the *Han shu*, gave instruction on astronomy and mathematics at the Han court, including to Empress Deng 鄧太后 (r.81–121 C.E.).<sup>189</sup> Given what is known of the diverse and complex origins of science in China in the late Warring States and Han, the categories of the Treatise emerge less as a comprehensive map of knowledge at that time than as a map of the epistemological priorities of its compilers and their views on technical subjects, including divination.

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186. For dating, see the articles by Christopher Cullen in *Early Chinese Texts*, especially 17–19.

187. See “Jiangling Zhangjiashan Han jian *Suanshu shu* shiwen” 江陵張家山漢簡《算數書》釋文, *Wenwu* 2000.9, 78–84. For full transcription, see Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 張家山漢墓竹簡整理小組, 81–98 (photographs) and 247–72 (transcription). For a translation, see Christopher Cullen, *The Suàn shù shū 算數書 Writings on Reckoning: A Translation of a Chinese Mathematical Collection of the Second Century BC, with Explanatory Commentary* (Cambridge: Needham Research Institute Working Papers: 1, 2004).

188. See Chen Songchang, “Yuelu,” in n.150, above.

189. *Hou Han shu*, 84.2784–92.