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. And increasingly, texts on divination have been unearthed from tomb excavations over the past several decades.

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

The author would like to thank Loy Hui Chieh for preparing the Chinese translation of the abstract.

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 tuishu 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 tuishu jicheng*, ed. Jiang Tingxi 蒋廷錫 (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* 探卜筮筮相學 (Shanghai: Wuchen, 1926), 4.3b–9a and 7.12b–17a.

Han shu. The "Yiwen zhi" 諭文志, 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). It created an influential paradigm by which subsequent compendia classified texts.

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. 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.

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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 lu 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 詩), 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.

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. It does presuppose a diviner and a topic of inquiry. It may, but need not, involve

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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.  

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 畫虎地 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. 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.


8. For the Shuihudi daybooks see Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian 畫虎地秦墓竹簡. ed. Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (Beijing: Wenwu, 1999). See also Liu Lexian 劉樂賢, Shuihudi Qin jin ri shu yinjiu 畫虎地秦簡日書研究 (Taipei: Wenjin, 1993).

9. Similarly, the Shi hui 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.  

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张家山 gives instructions for the training and appointment of shi. See Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujiian (ersiq hao mu) 張家山漢墓竹簡 (二十七號墓), ed. Zhangjiashan ersiq hao Han mu zhujiian 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” [zhuo 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.11 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 136.12 The Yi jing, Shu jing 書經 (or Shang shu 商書), Shi jing 詩經, the now lost Li jing 郭經 (later replaced by the Li ji 郭記, Zhou

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.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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 楚記 (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" 西次. The Zhou Yi consisted of the 64 hexagram pictures (gua 卦), names (guanming 卦名), statements (guaci 卦解), and the 384 line statements (guaci 受辭) for each of the six lines of every hexagram. For recent studies, see Gao Heng 高亨, Zhou Yi gujing juzhu 周易古經今注 (Shanghai: Kaiming, 1947, reprint Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984) and Zhou Yi zilu 周易雜論 (Jinan: Ji Li, 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 Yi jing (1-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.


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 variors, 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." 17

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" 繼辯 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. 18

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...


包山, Jiudian 九店, and Wangshan 望山, and daybooks excavated at Mawangdui, Shuhudi 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.19

Finally, versions of a Gui cang 归藏 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.20 There are over fifty hexagrams followed by the word yue 月, 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.21

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

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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》用商, 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 (Xin chu jianbo yanjiu 新出簡帛研究), ed. Sarh Allan and Xing Wen (Beijing: Wenwu, 2004); and Shaughnessy, “First Reading,” especially pp. 21–22 and note 33.
“Xi ci.” 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.

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. 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.

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;

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.
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.26

This passage also suggests that the combined use of turtle shell and 
yarrow was a method of managing risk. The optimal situation of com-
plete 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 atti-
tudes 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).27 
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.28 This late pas-
sage 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 divina-
tion, 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.29 In this

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 Crux: 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), 398–326, 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 “overrule” the wishes of consultors. 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 oneromancy (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,
乃安斯寝。  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?
維熊維熊、  Of black bears and brown bears,
維虺維蛇。  of cobras and serpents.

大人占之。  The head official will divine.
維熊維熊、  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. 30

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


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.

牧人乃夢、 The herdsmen will dream:
翠維魚矣、 crowds into fish,
旌維麟矣。 serpents into banners.
大人占之。 The head diviner will prognosticate.
翠維麟矣、 Crowds into fishes
寶維豐年。 bodes a plentiful harvest,
旌維麟矣、 Serpents into banners
室家溱溱。 bodes a surging population.32

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,
誰知鳥之雌雄。 but who can tell male from female crows?33

Whether we read the poem according to the Mao preface, as an admonition against King You of Zhou 稷幽王, 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。而詩載熊韋虺並翠魚旌旗之夢，著明大人之占，以考古測，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.34

32. Mao Shi, "Wu yang" 蘇羊, Mao 190.
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 ± rank, several of which involve divination. 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. 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 刘向 and Wang Mang 王莽 (4 B.C.–9 C.E.). The other takes it as a late Warring States text. In particular, Jin Chunfeng 金春峰 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 Li shi chunqiu 呂氏春秋) to argue that the Zhou li reflects Qin practices and beliefs in many areas. See Jin Chunfeng 金春峰, Zhou guan zhi chengshu ji qi fuqian de wenhua yu shidai xinxi 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. There is evidence that divinatory offices were hereditary.

The Taibu supervised specialists in prognostication by turtle shells (Guiren 龟人), yarrow stalks (Shiren 簿人) and dreams (Zhaumeng 占夢). There were additional artisans for both preparation of the shells and the process of burning. 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:


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 (Xiaozi 卜祝) 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 (shì 史), assistants (xu 館), and attendants (in 衆). 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 zhuang mentions a request for a divination by the official diviner’s father. See Chunqiu Zuo zhuang zhu 春秋左傳注, ed. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (Gaoxiong: Fuwen tushu, 1991), 265 (Mín 2.4). For a translation, see James Legge, The Ch’m Ts’ew with the Ts’o Ch’u’n, 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 diviners, see Zuo zhuang, 629 (Wen 18.1, Legge, Ch’u’t’ou, 281) and 1263 (Zhao 5.1, Legge, Ch’ü Tse, 603). Sima Qian 司馬遷 also provides a lineage of the office of astrologer-historian (shì 史) at Shi ji, 130.3285-95.

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

The Taizhū was in charge of several types of specialist incantators. The incantators also made use of wū 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 wū from non-official spirit mediums and other independent practitioners.  

In the earliest records, the oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, scribes (shì) 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. 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). At assemblies of state he 

42. See Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy*, 165–67. As Zeng Qianliang observes, if they could serve the gods by singing poems they became Musicians. If they could deliver invocations, they became Incantators. See Zeng Qianliang, *Zuo zhuan yinshi fushi zhi shijie yanjing* 左傳引詩賦詩之詩教研究 (*Taipei: Wenjin, 1993*, 4.
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 Taishì 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 divi-
nation. The Grand Musician (Taishì 太師), 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.45 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.46 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 rela-
tive 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 sug-
gests 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 Miscel-
naneous, 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 inter-
est 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. 太師執同律以聽軍聲，而詣吉凶. Zhou li, 23.10b (Biot, Le Tchou-li, 2.5116).
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. 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.

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. 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 慘記正義 (Shisan jing zhushu ed.), 1.21b. For a translation, see Sèraphin Courvreur, Li Ki or mémoires sur les bienséances (Ho Kien Fou: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1913), 1.225. See also Lii heng jiaoshi 警衡校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990) 24.999 (“Bu shi” 卜筮). For a translation, see Alfred F. Forke, Lii heng: Essays of Weng Chong (1911, rpt. New York: Paragon Books, 1962), 1.186. Choice of interim ruler: Li ji, 51.21a (Courvreur, Li Ki, 2.419). Choice of bearer and nurse of a ruler’s newborn son: Li ji, 28.12a (Courvreur, Li Ki, 1.663). Women to supervise sericulture: Li ji 48.2a (Courvreur, Li Ki, 2.294). Building a city: Li ji 54.28a (Courvreur, Li Ki, 2.512). See also Mao Shi, “Wen wang you sheng” 文王有聲, Mao 244 (Karlsgren, Book of Odes, 199). For these and other examples, see Loewe, Divination, Mythology and Monarchy, 163–89.

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

49. Marriage: Yi li zhengyi 惟禮正義 (Shisan jing zhushu ed.), 6.9ab. For a translation, see John Steele, The Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial (London: Probsthain and Co., 1917), 1.21. See also Li ji, 2.14a, and 51.25a (Courvreur, Li Ki, 1.31 and 2.423). Place of burial: Li ji, 3.14a (Courvreur, Li Ki, 1.60–61); Yi li, 47.3b (Steele, I li, 2.159); Li ji, 40.21a (Courvreur, 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, 44.28 (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 (Courvreur, 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].

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，先聰王之所以使民信時日，敬鬼神，畏法令也。所以使民決嫌疑，定猶疑也。故曰，疑而筮之，则弗非也。日而行事，則必舉之。

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.

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. 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.

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.

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50. Li ji, 3.14b–15a (Couveur, Li Ki, 62).
51. Li ji, 3.18b–19a (Couveur, Li Ki, 62).
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. (Hou Han shu zuozhu 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 顯帝 (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 zhuăn 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 zhuăn 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 zhuăn 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 zhuăn 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.\textsuperscript{54}

Descriptions of yarrow divination in the Zuo zhuăn 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.\textsuperscript{55}

Several Zuo zhuăn narratives indicate the combined use of turtle shell and yarrow divination, for both state and private matters. Although the Zuo zhuăn 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.\textsuperscript{56} Two concern the marriage or future

\textsuperscript{54} For example, the phrase Mingyi's Qian 明夷之謨 refers to the first (bottom) yin line of the hexagram Qian 貞 (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 zhuăn, 1263 (Zhao 5.1, Legge, Ch'ünn Tzew, 603). Kun's Bi: Zuo zhuăn, 1337 (Zhao 12.10, Legge, Ch'ünn Tzew, 640).

\textsuperscript{55} See Shaughnessy, J Ching, 7-13, for full discussion of this point. The Zuo zhuăn also provides a range of evidence for the combined use of turtle shell and yarrow from the early Eastern Zhou on.

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 彬仲 of Chen 陳.57 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.58

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.59 In another account dated to 487, the combination of shells and stalks dissuades Jin from attacking Song.60 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’u-n T’s’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.


60. Zuo zhuan, 1639 (Ai 9.6, Legge, Ch’u-n T’s’ew, 819).
prince Shen Sheng 申生 by Li Ji 鬆姬, the concubine-wife of his father, Duke Xian of Jin 晋獻公.\textsuperscript{61}

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.\textsuperscript{62} 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.\textsuperscript{63} 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.\textsuperscript{64}

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 史稱 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.\textsuperscript{65}

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 Chengpú 城濮. Duke Wen, the hero of

\textsuperscript{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’ien Ts’ew, 142).

\textsuperscript{62} Zuo zhuan, 849 (Cheng 10.4, cf. Legge, Ch’ien Ts’ew, 372–74).

\textsuperscript{63} Zuo zhuan, 699 (Cheng 17.8, Legge, Ch’ien Ts’ew, 404).

\textsuperscript{64} Zuo zhuan, 1467 (Zhao 25.8, Legge, Ch’ien Ts’ew, 711).

\textsuperscript{65} Zuo zhuan, 1286–87 and 1297–98 (Zhao 7.3 and 7.15, Legge, Ch’ien 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.66

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, yunrou 雲物) at regular intervals as a method of prediction.67

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，殺也食子，難也收子，殺也喜下，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.68

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).69 Wang Chong 元充 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.70

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”

67. Zuo zhuan 302–303 (Xi 5.1, Legge, Ch’iu T’sê, 144).
68. Zuo zhuan, 510 (Wen 1, trans. Legge, Ch’iu T’sê, 229).
69. Both concern the wife of the lord of Yangshe of Jin 燕耆胡. 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 Lieh hui zhuan 列女傳. See Lieh hui zhuan jiaoshi 列女傳校注 (Taipei: Zhonghua, 1983), 3.7a.
70. Lun heng jiaoshi, 132–35 (“Ben xing” 本性 3.13; Forke, Lun Heng, 1.385).
which begins with the Shi ji of Sima Qian. What may be most interesting here is what is absent: specifically Confucius's well-known dictum at Analects 6.22, recommending that one keep "respectful distance from gods and spirits," presumably including divination. Nonetheless, the Li shi chunqiu吕氏春秋 (Masters, Miscellaneous) describes Confucius performing divination and discussing it with his students:

孔子卜，得貞。孔子曰：『不吉。』子貢曰：『夫貞亦好矣，何謂不吉乎？』孔子曰：『夫白而白，黑而黑，夫貞又何好乎？』

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?

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 "Yin yang jia" 隱陽家, "Fajia" 法家, "Ming jia" 名家, "Mojia" 墨家, "Zongheng jia" 縱横家, 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. A partial exception

71. See n.4, above.
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 Liushi 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” techne such as the divinatory, medical and strategic arts.74

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?75

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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.
An almost identical version appears in the “Nei ye” 内業 (Inward Training) chapter of the Guanzi 管子, a title that appears in the “Dao jia” 道家 section of the Treatise:

摶氣如神，萬物備存。
能摶乎？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?76

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 Huizi 壽子 (Gourd Master) goes to a physiognomist, but bests and confounds him by repeatedly appearing to be different until the specialist finally flees in terror.77

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.78 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，則眸子瞭然；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 (Sibuxiayao 四部備要 ed.), 16.5a (“Nei ye” 内業 16.49, cf. Rickett 2.50–51) and 13.8a (“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, 7.397–306.

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?²⁹

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.³⁰ 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.³¹ Further evidence of this view comes from Wang Chong, who attacked Mencius as a physiognomist.³²

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.³³ 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.³⁴

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), 701.
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.
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.85

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 徐無鬼 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，若卿若失，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 . . .86

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


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. 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 YIN YANG 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. Several texts are attributed to known Han Wuxing theorists such as Zhang Cang 張蒼 (16 piáns), and Gongsun Hunye 公孫渾邪 (15 piáns). 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. What is striking

88. Han shu, 30.1733–1734. The first is a Master Zou (Zou zi 鄒子) in 49 piáns, which specifies that his name was Yan 阮 and that he was from Qi. There is also a Complete Master Zou 鄒子終始 in 56 piáns and a Master Zou Shi 鄒奭 in 12 piáns, 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 鎮煒 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. [Chui] Nan Gong, 31 piáns. See Han shu buzhu, 30.39a. Others include a Gongsun Fa 公孫發 in 22 piáns, attributed to a man of Lu from the time of Han Wendi; a Sang Qiuzi 桑丘子 in 5 piáns (reading Sang 桑 for Cheng 乘). Other texts are attributed to Du Wengong 杜文公 of Han 鄭 (5 piáns), Lu Qiuzi 魯丘子 (personal name Kuai 欽) of Wei 魏 (13 piáns), Feng Cu 馮曲 of Zheng 鄭 (13 piáns), and a Jiang Juzi 將鉄子 (5 piáns) and Zhou Bo 周伯 of Qi (11 piáns). 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.91

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.92 By contrast, Han Fei (“Fajia”) considered trust in divination and reliance on the choice of auspicious days one of the causes of the ruin of a state.93 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.94 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，黃所以為利也，黃白雜則堅且利，
良劍也。』難者曰：『白所以為不堅也，黃所以為不利也，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).
94. Huainanzi 淮南子 (Silu beiyao ed.), 8.1b and 6.9bff.
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?\(^{95}\)

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 *Liši 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.\(^{96}\)

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

伯樂學相馬，所見無非馬者，識乎馬也。

When Bo Le studied horse physiognomy he saw nothing except horses, and this was because he was concentrated on horses.\(^{97}\)

The comparison is to Cook Ding 康丁 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


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.98

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 Lüshi chunqiu passage elaborates on the actual methods of horse physiognomists:

古之善相馬者：或風是相口齒，或風相頰，子午相日，紇忽相鬚，許遼相尻，投伐相胸髯，管青相脢臆，陳術相股腳，秦牙相前，賈君相後。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.99

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.100 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.101

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 Liushi chunqiu makes an explicit analogy between the physiognomist Bo Le and the master butcher Pao Ding 庶丁 of Zhiangzi, 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. 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. “Summoning the Soul” (“Zhao hun” 招魂) portrays failed attempts at yarrow and dream divination on the narrator’s behalf. 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. 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


102. For discussion of fu omitted from the “Yiwen zhī,” 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 Cu 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 Xiaofong 楊孝峰 (53 B.C.E.–18 C.E.) onward.


104. Chu ci 9 (“Zhao hun”), 132–33 (Hawkes, Chu Tzu, 224, lines 7–9);

his questions. 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. 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，凶言其畜」。

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!"

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. 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. These critical accounts of failed divination resemble poems in the *Shi jing*, and reflect what clearly remained as a powerful mode of remonstration. 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?"
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). Of these the Yinyang section is most relevant to divination.

4.1 MILITARY POWER AND FORM

( THE SUNZI 孫子 AND WEI LIAOZI 尉紇子)

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. 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.

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


does a comet know? Those who rely on comets will be overthrown and conquered. 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.

4.2 MILITARY YINYANG

Among extant texts, the military Yinyang section is represented by the Liu tao 六銖 and the Xing de 形德 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” (xìng 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.

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. This view is in direct opposition to the opinions expressed in the Wei Liaozi against military uses of xìng de.

However, if we turn from extant texts to the titles listed in the Yinyang section, we find bìngfa 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 bìngfa 太壹兵法 in one pian and a Tian Yi bìngfa 天一兵法 in 35 pian. Two more texts are ascribed to figures associated with medicine and Huang-Lao: a Shen Nong bìngfa 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

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115. Wei Liaozi 1.1.
ascribed to a Mengzi 孟子 in one pian.\textsuperscript{119} 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.\textsuperscript{120}

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.\textsuperscript{121} 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.\textsuperscript{122} 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).\textsuperscript{123}

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.\textsuperscript{124} The topics of the first three sections—Celestial

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{121} See Yates, “Military Texts,” especially 214–15 and 231.


\textsuperscript{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" 历谱), 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" 著龜), 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 Tai shi 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，皆明堂義和史卜之職也。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，宋有子韋。六國時楚有甘公，魏有石申夫。漢有唐都，庶得巍梧。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.125

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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 (liu 論, tu 圖, yun 驗). See Jin shu 資書 (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 (xiu 宿). According to the Treatise:

天文者，序二十八宿，步五星日月，以纪吉凶之象，显王所以参政也。

*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.\(^{126}\)

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 五残.\(^{127}\) 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.\(^{128}\) A third group involves omens

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\(^{126}\) Han shu, 30.1769.

\(^{127}\) Han shu, 30.1763–1764. Tai Yi (equivalent to 太一) and Various Masters on Stars (Tai Yi zazi xing 函壹雜星), 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 黄帝雜氣), 33 juan; 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 函南雑星), 19 juan; and [The Star] Tai Yi and Various Masters on Clouds and Rain (Tai Yi zazi yuang 太壹雑雲雨), 34 juan. For Tai Yi and Chang Cong, an apocryphal teacher of Laozi, see Han shu bizhu, 30.65a. In this section we also find State Rules for Observing Rainbows Clouds and Rain (Guozhang guan ni, yun, yu 國章觀雲雨), 34 juan and the Six Tallies of Tai Jie (Tai Jie lu fu 泰階六符), 1 juan.

\(^{128}\) Han shu, 30.1764. Han Prognostication Verifications of the Behavior of the Five Planets and Comet Guesfs (Han wuxing huke xingshi zhanian 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 Its Surrounding Vapors* (Han ripang qi xingshi zhanian 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 zhanian 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.\textsuperscript{129}

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:

曆考者，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，又以推知五星日月之會。凶隂之恱，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，患出於小人而強欲知天道者，塟大以為小，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-

\textsuperscript{129} Han shu, 30.1764–1765. Prognostication Verifications of Stars at Sea (Haizhong xingzhan yan 海中星占), 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 shunyi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 haizhong zazhai 海中日月彗虹雜占), 18 juan.
sued men! 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. 130

The "Li pu" section consists of 18 titles in 660 juan. One group of texts is calendars ascribed to Huang Di, Zhan Xu 齊宣 and the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, and the state of Lu 鲁. 131 Another group is calendars based on cumulative astronomical observations and calendric methods. 132 Two are attributed to Geng Shouchang 晁壽昌, deputy of the Superintendent of Agriculture (Da Sinong zhongcheng 大司農中丞, c. 50) under Han Xuandi 漢玄帝 (r. 92–74). In addition to several important Han agricultural reforms, he is credited with using a "diagram instrument" (tuji 圖儀) to calculate the movements of the sun and moon. 133

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

130. Han shu, 30.1767.
131. Han shu, 30.1765–1766. Huang Di's Calendar of the Five Clans (Huang Di wuji li 黃帝五家曆), 33 juan; the Calendar of Zhan Xu (Zhan Xu li 齊宣曆), 21 juan; Zhan Xu's Calendar of the Five Planets (Zhan Xu wuxing li 齊宣五星曆), 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 漢元殷周譜曆), 17 juan; Transmission of the Measure of the Movements of the Five Planets of the Zhou (Zhou Zhou wuxing xingdu 周周五星行度), 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 bota 古更月行帛圖), 232 juan; Geng Chang's Measure of the Movements of the Moon (Geng Chang yuexing shu 古更月行數), 2 juan; The Number Method of Chronologies and Calendars (Lili shufu irectory法), 3 juan; Record of the Lodges of the Five Planets since Ancient Times (Congwu wuxing xiumu 自古五星宿紀), 30 juan.
134. Han shu, 30.1766. Sun Shadows on Strategic Days of the Great Year (Jupiter) (Tianshen moun rigui 太歲謽日運), 29 juan; and Sun Shadows, Three Texts in Fourteen juan (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 (Congwu shijie cong shu集成 ed., Shanghai: Shanghai, 1937), 18 and 20 (上之二) and 49 (上之三). For a translation, see Cullen, Zhou Bi, 173 (#D10–11) and 187 (#D18).
135. Han shu, 30.1766. Genealogies: Generational Table of Emperors, Kings, and Regional Lords (Diwang zhuhou shijian 帝王諸侯世家記), 20 juan; and Yearly Chronicle of Emperors and Kings since Ancient Times (Guli 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，次二曰羞用五事」，
言進用五事以順五行也。貌、言、視、聽、思心術，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, bruist it about in the world, and gradually introduce confusion.136

“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.137 Only three texts are specific to the

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136. Han shu, 30.1769.
137. Han shu, 30.1767. Tai Yi’s Yin and Yang (Tai Yi yinyang 太一陰陽), 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.¹³⁸ 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.¹³⁹

Several texts in this section reflect descriptions of arts associated with fangshi. The Hou Han shu includes among their arts “Cornners of the Wind” (fengjiao 風角) “Dunjia” 道家, “Orphans and Voids” (Guxu 孤虛), and observing clouds and vapors.¹⁴⁰ “Cornners 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.¹⁴¹ 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 濟門, a figure associated with the Yinyang school of Zou Yan.¹⁴² Two other titles refer to the Six Jia-days.

Discuss Yin and Yang (Huang Di zaiyi lun yinyang 黄帝諸子論陰陽). 25 jian; Various Kings and Masters Discuss Yin and Yang (Zhuangzi zaiyi yinyang 諸子論陰陽), 25 jian; The Yin and Yang of the Supreme Origin (Tai Yuan yinyang 太元陰陽), 26 jian; Discussion of the Three Systems of Yin and Yang (San dian yinyang taidian 三典陰陽談論), 27 jian.

¹³⁸ Han shu, 30.1767. The Subterranean Five Phases of Shen Nong (Shen Nong dayou wuxing 神農大幽五行), 27 jian; The Classic of the Four Seasons and Five Phases (Sishi wuxing jing 四時五行經), 26 jian; Seasonal Ordinances for Yin and Yang and the Five Phases (Yinyang wuxing shiling 隱陽五行時令), 26 jian. Another text is titled Mengzi and Lü Zhao (Mengzi Lü Zhao 梁子路昭), 25 jian. It refers to two individuals known as Meng Shi 棗氏 and Lü Shi 過氏, respectively, but is otherwise difficult to categorize. See Han Shu zizhuan, 30.370a. For dayou, see Hanyu da cidian 漢語大詞典 (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian, 1995), 2.1335b.

¹³⁹ Han shu, 30.1768. Baleful Omens: Wu Chengzi’s Responses to Baleful Omens (Wu Chengzi zaiyi ying 蹇成子災異應), 14 jian; and Twelve Systems of Response to Baleful Omens (Shier dian zaiyi ying 十二典災異應), 12 jian. Pitch-pipe divination: Baleful Omens of the Bell Pitches (Zhongli zaiyi 鍾律災異), 26 jian; Garden of Collected Chen-days of the Bell Pitches (Zhongli congchen ri yun 鍾律歲辰日元), 25 jian; Growth and Decay of the Bell Pitches (Zhongli xiaoxi 鍾律消息), 29 jian; and The Yellow Bell (Huang zhong 黃鐘), 7 jian; Tian Yi 天一, 6 jian; Tai Yi 泰一, 29 jian; Xing de 徐德, 7 jian.


¹⁴² Han shu, 30.1769, Han shu buzhu, 30.72a. The Dipper Astrolabe Method of Xianmen (Xianmen shifa 濟門式法), 20 jian; and the Dipper Astrolabe of Xianmen (Xianmen shi 濟門)
and one refers to Orphans and Voids.\textsuperscript{143} Finally, three texts concern the five tones.\textsuperscript{144}

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 \textit{Taishi}.\textsuperscript{145} Astrocalendric texts dominate; they take up the first three sections and comprise two thirds of the total material (919 out of 1638 \textit{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 \textit{juan}. According to the Treatise:

耆龜者，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，莫善於耆龜。’‘是故君子將有為也，將有行也，問焉而以言，其受命也如響，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 \textit{Documents} says: "When you are in doubt about an important matter, consult the turtle shell and yarrow stalks." The \textit{Yi} says: "For

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Han shu}, 30.1768–1769. They are: \textit{Wind Drums of the Six Jia-days} (Fenggu liujia 風鼓六甲), 24 \textit{juan}; \textit{The Patterns and Nodes of the Six Jia-days} (Wenjie liujia 文解六甲, 18 \textit{juan}. There is also a text titled \textit{Patterns and Nodes of the Twenty-eight Lodges} (Wenjie ershi ba xiu 文解二十八宿), 28 \textit{juan}; \textit{The Lord of the Wind and Orphans and Voids} (or, Orphans and Winds of the Lord of the Wing) (Fenghou guan 風後孤虛), 20 \textit{juan}. Two other texts should be mentioned here: the \textit{Six System of the Six Directions} (Liuhe sixian 六合隨篇), 25 \textit{juan}; and \textit{Transfer Positions of the Twelve Immortals} (Zhuoan weishi shen 轉位十二神), 25 \textit{juan}. One commentator in the \textit{Han shu buzhu} associated the \textit{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 \textit{Changing Positions of the Twelve Immortals} is described as a \textit{tianmen} text from Huainan. See \textit{Han shu buzhu}, 30.71b–72a.
\item \textit{Han shu}, 30.1769. \textit{Military Uses of the Five Tones and Extraordinary Turns} (Wuyin qihai yongbing 五音奇軒用兵), 23 \textit{juan}; \textit{Punishment and Virtue Cycle of the Five Tones and Extraordinary Turns} (Wuyin qihai xingde 五音奇軒刑德), 21 \textit{juan}; and \textit{Establishing the Names of the Five Tones} (Wuyin duming 五音定名), 15 \textit{juan}.
\end{itemize}
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?”

The first five titles are on turtle shell divination. 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. 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:

 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

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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 夏絃), 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 錐龜), 16 juan.
148. Han shu, 30.1770–1771. Examples include: The Book of Yarrow Stalks (Shi shu 塗書), 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 (Yijing baju 易卦八具). Shooting Riddles by the Sui System of the Zhou Changes (Zhou Yi Suidian she'ni 周易隨曲射覆), 53 juan referred to the game of shifu 射覆, a literary drinking game. The Sui shu 隋書 reports a text of two juan titled Shooting Riddles by the Yi (Yi shifu 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.\textsuperscript{149}

This section begins with two titles on dream divination, the only reference to it in the Treatise.\textsuperscript{150} There follows one text on physiognomy, one on bird cries, and three on anomalies (bianguai 变怪).\textsuperscript{151} 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.\textsuperscript{152} Two more texts on yearly observations (housui 候歲) look as if they might have been misplaced from the astrocalendrical sections.\textsuperscript{153} The last four titles are on agricultural applications of physiognomy. They are thus distinct in subject matter from the physiognomy text that appeared earlier in the section and from additional physiognomy titles that appear in the next section.\textsuperscript{154}

\textsuperscript{149} Han shu, 30.1773.

\textsuperscript{150} Han shu, 30.1772. Huang Di’s Old Willow Dream Divination (Huangdi changlu zhumeng 萃帝長柳占夢), 11 juan; and Gan De’s Old Willow Dream Divination (Gan De changlu zhumeng 甘德長柳占夢), 20 juan. The bibliographic chapter of the Shi 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 Yuefu Academy include fragments of a “dream book” (meing shu 夢書). See Chen Songchang 喜松長, “Yuefu shuyuan suocang Qin jian zongshu” 岳麓書院所藏秦簡綜述, Wenwu 2009.3, 75–88.

\textsuperscript{151} Han shu, 30.1772. Military Prohibitions and Physiognomy of Clothing and Equipment (Wuijun xiang yi 武禁相衣具), 14 juan; Miscellaneous Prognostications from Sneeze and Bird Cries (Tier ming zuzhuan 嗳耳鳴雞占), 16 juan; Auspicious Changes and Anomalies (Zhenxiang bianguai 真祥變怪), 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 in Imperial Mandates (Bianguai gaoju 變怪詔答), 13 juan.

\textsuperscript{152} Han shu, 30.1772. Capturing and Exposing Ominous Ghosts and Spirits (Zhi buxiang he guaiwu 執不祥鬼物), 8 juan; Inviting Officials and Dispelling Good and Bad Omens (Qingguan chu yaoxiang 請官詣祥), 19 juan; Celestial Patterns and Propitiatory Prayers (Rangsi tanwen 應祀天文), 16 juan; Prayers for Good Fortune (Qingdao zhuifa 請禱效福), 19 juan; and Invoking Rain and Stopping Rain (Qingyu zhiyu 請雨止雨), 26 juan.

\textsuperscript{153} Han shu, 30.1772. The two calendrical texts are Yearly Observations of Tai Yi and Various Masters (Tai Yi zai housui 泰壹歲子候歲), 22 juan; and Yearly Observations of Zi Can and Various Masters (Zi Can zai housui 子聲子假歲), 26 juan. See Shi ji, 27.1350.

\textsuperscript{154} Han shu, 30.1772–1773. Five Methods for Planting, Storing, Preserving, and Storing away (Wufa jizhu baozang 五法種貯貯藏), 23 juan; Teachings of Shen Nong on Fields, Physiognomizing the Earth, and Cultivation (Shen Nong jinian xianzhu 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 yuhe 昭明子釣種生魚鳖), 8 juan; and Planting Trees, Storing Fruit, and Physiognomizing Silkworms (Zhongshu zangguo xiangcan 柚樹果果相嘗), 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.155

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.156 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 jian dao 相寶劍刀),
and Physiognomizing the Six Domestic Animals (Xiang liuxu 相六畜) sug-
ggest state uses in assessing personnel and both military and agricultural
materiel.157 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 賢宅地形), 20 juan.
157. Han shu, 30.1774–75. Physiognomizing People (Xiang ren 相人), 24 juan; Physiog-
nomizing Precious Swords and Knives (Xiang bao jian dao 相寶劍刀), 20 juan; and Physiog-
nomizing 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. 158

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
material.

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)
referred 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 neiijing
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. 159

The "Fang ji" category also includes the titles of medical works con-
cerned 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 Xiangou 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 Hanji 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, 2370, 3788 and 4047. For transcription
of the Juyan slips, see Juyan xinjian shiwen 居延新簡釋文 (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" 馬王堆漢墓帛書馬經釋文,

159. Sources of the Huangdi neiijing: Yamada Keiji 山田慶次, "The Formation of the
Nai-ching": The Structure of the Compilation; The Significance of the Structure (Ph.D. Disserta-
tion, 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
Recipes of the Three Schools for Having Children (Sanxia neifang youzi fang 三家內房有子方). Others provide another perspective on yin-yang, for example, five texts titled The Yin Way (Yin dao 隱道) ascribed to Yao Yao 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 Sanwu yangyang fang 黃帝三王養陽方). 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.2 For example, Eliminating Grain and Eating Vapor (Qiegu shiqi 却穀食氣) concerns dietetics and breath cultivation.3 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 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.4 A similar text, the Pulling Book (Yin shu 引書) from Zhangjiashan, Jangling,

160. Other putative authors include Rong Cheng 穩成, Wu Chengzi 務成子, Tang Pangeng 潘庚 and Tian Lao and Other Masters 天老雍子.

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 yin-yang theory and acupoint.

162. Eliminating grain is accomplished with the aid of both breathing exercises performed at morning and evening, and by eating the herb shinwei 石苇. 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 fujin 蝉附), third is “measuring worm” (shi huo 尺蠖), fourth is “river deer butting” (jun jue 鯉鳴), fifth is “locust splayed” (huang zhe 鵝觴), sixth is “gibbon grabbing” (yanan ju 猴叢), seventh is “toad” (zhan zhu 蝌蜍), eighth is “rabbit bolting” (ti wu 兔駝), ninth is “dragonfly” (qing ling 青蛉), tenth is “fish gobbling” (yu zao 鱸嘨). See Harper, Early Chinese Medical Literature, 418.
DIVINATION IN THE HAN SHU BIBLIOGRAPHIC TREATISE

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.164

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.165 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).166 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).167

164. For the transcription of this text, see Zhangjiashan Han mu zhumian [Ershiqi hao mu] 張家山漢墓竹簡 [二十七號墓], ed. Zhangjiashan erqi hao Han mu zhumian zhengli xiaozu 張家山二七號漢墓竹簡整理小組 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2001), 285–99.


167. Although his text is lost, its preface is preserved in the Buddhist canon in the Guang hongning ji 廣弘明集, ed. Dao Xuan 道宣 (596–667 C.E.). Taishō Canon, vol. 52, no. 2103, 010022–111607. 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 Nmu 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 Shui shu, 33.903–9, especially 906. The Shui shu names four bibliographic treatises as especially important: Liu Xiang's Separate Listings (Bi lu), Liu Xin's Seven Epitomes (Qi lu), the Seven Reviews (Qi zhi 七志) of Wang Jian 正檢 (452–89 C.E.), the Vice-Director of the Palace Library of the Song dynasty (420–479 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" 緯傳); (3) "Calendric Calculations" ("Li suan" 历算); (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.\(^{168}\) 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.\(^ {169}\) This position is also consistent with its placement in Shi ji, chapter 130, and and Han Wudi’s appointment of chairs in the Five Classics in 136.\(^ {170}\) 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).

\(^{168}\) “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.

\(^{169}\) The Changes was conspicuously absent from Xunzi’s curriculum of the Odes, Documents, Ritual, Music, and Chunjing. See Xunzi, 8.129–34.

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.\textsuperscript{171} 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.\textsuperscript{172}

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.\textsuperscript{173} In this structure, divination is clearly relegated to the lower area of techne.

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

\textsuperscript{171} Lewis, Writing, chapter 7, especially 290–93, 308–17, 326–28 and 332–36.

\textsuperscript{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 gu"), 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 techne. See n.167, above.

\textsuperscript{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 wenzi 古五子*), the Five Masters wrote on yin and yang in the *Yijing* from the stem *Jiazi 甲子* to *Renzi 王子*. The *Yijing* section includes two titles on the Yin and Yang of the Bright Hall and one version of the *Sima fa 司馬法*. 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."

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. Poetry seems to be restricted to the generalist categories.

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

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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), 35 juan, Mingtang yinyang shuo (明堂陰陽說). 5 pian; Juntai 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 魯語 (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. 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” (Chun-guan), 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.

179. For example, for the Warring States, Tianxingguan 天星觀, Jiangling, Hubei, Yutai山, Jiangling, Hubei, Baoshan, Wangshan, and Jiudian; for the Qin, Fangmatan 放馬灘, Tianshui, Gansu, Shuhudi, Wangjiatai, and Zhoujiatai 周家台, Guanju, Hubei; for the Han, Fangmatan, Yinqueshan, Fenghuangshan 凤凰山, 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 dispenses 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. 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.

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.

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), 16–19, and 215–16.
to many non-ritual and day-to-day technical activities. 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. Of the qualitative sciences, Tianwen heads the “Shu shu” category and Medicine (Yi 藁) heads the “Fang ji” category. The three quantitative sciences fare considerably worse. Mathematical astronomy (Li 步) 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 (suanshu 算数) as a category in the Treatise, which includes two suanshu (“Mathematical art”) titles. In addition, two major early mathematical works are dateable to the Han dynasty or earlier: the Zhou bi 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.
184. It might be argued that the antecedents of alchemy (neidan 内丹 and weidan 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.\footnote{186} The early provenance of the latter is supported by the discovery of a second-century \textit{Suanshu shu} 算數書 or “Book of Reckoning” at Zhangjiashan.\footnote{187} The texts held by the Yuelu Academy also include a mathematical text.\footnote{188} 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 \textit{Han shu}, gave instruction on astronomy and mathematics at the Han court, including to Empress Deng 鄧太后 (181–121 C.E.).\footnote{189} 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.

186. For dating, see the articles by Christopher Cullen in \textit{Early Chinese Texts}, especially 37–19.
188. See Chen Songchang, “Yuelu,” in n.150, above.
189. \textit{Hou Han shu}, 84.2784–92.