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Shih chi, *Han shu* and the Han Culture

Juri L. Kroll

Of all the peoples of the world, the Chinese are the most famous for their historical-mindedness. They owe this reputation primarily to their unique traditional historiography. Its main genre is that of Standard Histories (*cheng shih* 正史), which first emerged early in the first century B.C. and which were compiled for more than two millennia. The genre was first created and developed through the efforts of two Han historians. Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145? - 86? B.C.) initiated it by writing the *Shih chi* 史記 ("Records of the Historian" [or, to be more exact, "the Astrologer"]), the first general history of the Chinese œcumene; whereas Pan Ku 班固 (A.D. 32 - 92) modified the genre by writing his *Han shu* 漢書 ("Han History"), the first history of a single dynasty. All in all, twenty-five Standard Histories were compiled. For the most part they are histories of one dynasty, like *Han shu*, but some of them are histories of several dynasties. The *Shih chi* and *Han shu* became models for later generations and greatly influenced traditional historians of China as well as of other countries of the region affected by Chinese culture, such as Korea and Japan. The cultural significance of the *Shih chi* is especially great. Suffice it to say that within its framework, Ssu-ma Ch'ien created the earliest samples of Chinese biographies that have come down to us. The possibility they are the first biographies written in China cannot be ruled out.

Whatever changes took place in the development of the genre after *Han shu*, the genre was marked by a stability of form. A common structure of all Standard Histories consists of the combining of two divisions, those of Annals and those of Traditions appended to the Annals (depending on the context, the latter term means either biographies of individuals and their groups or accounts of foreign peoples). However some Standard Histories also include divisions of chronological Tables, Treatises, and Hereditary Houses (or Records [of Histories of Illegitimate Dynasties]).

Literary form can be regarded as an embodiment of a mode of thinking of a writer. In the case when a genre has sprung from a literary work, one is justified in looking for a mode of thinking corresponding to the genre form or, to put it differently, for a genre mode of thinking. Therefore it seems reasonable to compare the thinking embodied by different samples of the genre of Standard Histories in order to identify similarities. Hence this article attempts to reconstruct and compare the modes of thinking embodied in the two earliest known Standard Histories.

It seems reasonable to begin with the *Shih chi*, the first history representing the form and embodying the mode of thinking in question. Precautions should be taken in order to achieve a correct interpretation of the thinking it represents. To that end it has to be explored not only in itself, but also within the broader intellectual context of the period when it was composed and its genre came into being. In order to single out those results of the investigation that are valid not only for the *Shih chi* but at least for one more Standard History, *Han shu* was chosen for examination. By means of their comparison, I hope both to find a nucleus of common ideas linked to the mode of thinking I want to reconstruct and to discern individual differences between the two histories. It goes without saying that in this article I'll concentrate on similarities and not on differences.

The intellectual context mentioned above is that of correlative thinking, characteristic of many Early Han period philosophers, including Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Confucian master Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (179? - 104? B.C.) as well as the authors of the *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子 (ca. 139 B.C.),[1] and Ssu-ma Ch'ien's father, a Taoist eclectic, with whom Ssu-ma Ch'ien shared, at least to some extent, certain Taoist orientations.[2] Correlative thinking has been extensively discussed in last several decades by scholars writing in English such as J. B. Henderson, A. C. Graham, D. Bodde,[3] and others, and it is not necessary to treat it in detail here. It is sufficient to point out two of its components relevant to the present study. These are numerology and the concept of *lei* 類. As to numerology, J. Needham characterized it as "symbolic use of numbers," "number mysticism" unacceptable to science;[4] D.Bodde pointed out that "to classify the objects, phenomena and concepts of the natural and human world according to correlative thinking ... means grouping those items regarded as interrelated into sets of items that are the same in number and thus fall under the same numerical category."[5] The concept of *lei* however needs further comment.

The word *lei* means "kind," "sort," "to be similar to," "an analogy." Its uses are particularly important in the combinations *t'ung lei* 同類 and *pu lei* 不類. According to a definition given by ancient Chinese logicians, "the same in some respect is 'of a kind' [*lei t'ung* 類同] ... the same in no respect is 'not of a kind' [*pu lei*]." A. C. Graham has shown that the word *lei* points to the similarity between things and not the logical class they belong to: "objects are conceived not as members of a *lei* but as 'of the same kind' [*t'ung lei*] or 'not of a kind' [*pu lei*]."[6]

Ancient Chinese tended to locate similarities between things, qualities, and forces of the universe that, from our point of view, often appear very far removed from each other; they disregarded whether these things were concrete or abstract, pertained to human society or to the natural world, to celestial or terrestrial spheres, etc. E.g., sun, ruler, father, husband, and Central States (or Middle Kingdom 中國), were thought of as *yang* 陽 and as objects "of the same kind," whereas moon, subject, son, wife, and barbarians were regarded as *yin* 陰 and as objects "of the same kind." Hence the possibility to explain a solar eclipse (when the moon "encroaches upon" the sun) as either the result of political power being usurped by high dignitaries (=the subjects), as a consequence of misbehavior of a wife towards her husband or

of a son towards his father, or of a barbarian invasion of China. "Though [these] affairs are different, they are of one kind," a Han scholar remarked ca. 29 B.C.[7]

The word *lei* is used in formulations expressing the concept which substitutes for that of causality (including historical causality) in correlative thinking. As V. N. Toporov has pointed out, early historical descriptions of Polibius, Tacitus, and Herodotus in Greece were influenced by atomists who put forward the principle that "nothing arises from nothing," which led to postulating the law of causality; the application of the idea of causality to history and its combination with the idea of movement in time, more than anything else, contributed to turning history into a scientific discipline. But there was no atomism in China, which is by no means accidental. According to J. Needham, in traditional Chinese culture, the place of the concept of mechanical causation is occupied by a rather special concept of causality. M. Granet and W. Jabloński even argue that it should not be called "causality" but rather a correspondence of things, of their correlation or connection between them that is non causal. Its essential point is that objects "of the same kind" (i.e. mutually similar ones) are attracted to and respond to each other and also resonate with each other according to their natures; whereas objects "not of a kind" or "of a different kind" (*yi lei* 異類) repel one another also according to their natures. As Tung Chung-shu has it, "all things reject what is different [to themselves] and follow what is akin." The concept is different from that of mechanical causation, according to which "if a particle of matter occupied a particular point in space-time, it was because another particle has pushed it there;" ancient Greeks also had the idea that like attracts like, but while their "thought moved away from these ancient ideas toward concepts of mechanical causation ...Chinese thought developed their organic aspect, visualizing the universe as a hierarchy of parts and wholes suffused by a harmony of wills."[8] The concept of mutual attraction of the like accounts for the grouping of objects together, which helps explain why the notion of *lei* underlies numerous systems of classification in traditional China.

Etymologically, *lei* seems to have originated as a kinship term. According to M. V. Kryukov, there existed two important kinship groups during the *Ch'un ch'iu* 春秋 period: a "*patronimiya*" /=a clan/ (*chia* 家, *tsung* 宗, *tsu* 族, and *tsung-tsu* 宗族) and a patriarchal kin. At that time, the words *hsing* 姓 and *shih* 氏 (later synonyms designating a surname) still had different meanings. *Tsung-tsu* members bore a hereditary name *shih* of eponymic origin, which could be changed; whereas those of a patriarchal kin shared a common kin name *hsing*, originating from a totem that could not be changed. Those of the same *shih* but of different *hsing* could intermarry while those of the same *hsing* could not. Therefore a *tsung-tsu* consisted of relatives both by blood and by marriage and embraced related families that included wives of a different *hsing*; in contrast, a patriarchal kin consisted of relatives by blood alone and did not embrace families of any kind . As to similarities between a *tsung-tsu* and a patriarchal kin, both were comparatively large groups based on kinship relations, unilateral, exogamous, and patrilineal.[9]

M. V. Kryukov does not identify a Chinese term for patriarchal kin. According to my hypothesis, the term in question is *lei*. There are Chou 周 texts (the earliest known to me are those of the *Shih ching* 詩經 and the latest is that of the *Hsün-tzu* 荀子) in which *lei* is used as a designation of a kinship group.[10] In these Chou texts, the expression *t'ung lei* is used in two ways for two meanings: 1) those of the same kin name *hsing*, and 2) objects (and people) of the same kind.[11]

Exogamy of the *tsung-tsu*, as M. V. Kryukov describes it, has a certain peculiarity: the group seems to be exogamous not in itself but because it has borrowed the property from the patriarchal kin. According to an explanation of the rule of exogamy from the seventh century B.C. referred to in the *Kuo yü* 國語, it was connected with the kin name *hsing* and not with *shih*: "If they have different kin names (*hsing*), they have different spiritual powers (*te* 德); if they have different spiritual powers, they are of different *lei*; even if those of different *lei* are close [relatives], men and women intermarry and thus give birth to others. If they have the same kin name, they have the same spiritual power; if they have the same spiritual power, they have the same heart (*hsin* 心); if they have the same heart, they have the same will (*chih* 志); even if those of the same will are distant [relatives], men and women do not intermarry being afraid of defiling reverence [toward their kin]."[12]

This clearly states that not only those of the same *hsing* should not marry each other but also that those of different *hsing* possess different mentalities and thus "are of different *lei*." It is implied that those of the same *hsing* possess the same mentality and are of the same *lei*, i.e. that *lei* property (whatever it might be) was connected with a kin name *hsing* and thus with a patriarchal kin. If this is so, then M. V. Kryukov's list of similarities between a *tsung-tsu* and a patriarchal kin can be continued at the expense of the features he believed to be characteristic of *tsung-tsu* alone. Thus he emphasized that *tsung-tsu* members were conscious of their origin from a common ancestor, a historical personality whose spirit only they were entitled to sacrifice to, and that these members were united by common interests that took precedence over personal ones, were obliged to avenge an offence or a murder of their relative, and were responsible for a relative's crimes, and were in fact often exterminated for them.[13] But according to the ideas of the *Ch'un ch'iu* period, spirits (or deities in general) do not partake of sacrifices offered those not of their like, i.e. by those not of their "kind" (*lei*).[14] The importance of *lei* for offering and accepting sacrifices is corroborated by quotations from the *Tso chuan* 左傳, which M. V. Kryukov used as evidence for his assumptions concerning *tsung-tsu*: "...Spirits [of the dead] do not enjoy the sacrifices of those who are not of their kindred (*lei*); people do not sacrifice to those who are not of their clan (*tsu*);" "Spirits do not accept the sacrifices of those who are not of their clan and *lei* (*tsu lei* 族類)."[15] Common mentality believed by M. V. Kryukov to be characteristic of *tsung-tsu* was, according to the *Kuo yü* explanation, a property of those of the same *lei*, i.e. members of a patriarchal kin. The *Tso chuan* quotation adduced by the scholar runs, "If he be not of our clan and *lei*, he is sure to have a different mind (lit. heart – J. K.)."[16]

Thus according to the *Ch'un ch'iu* concept, the exclusive ability to sacrifice to the spirits of ancestors and possession of identical "hearts" were inherent to those "of the same *lei,*" bearers of a common kin name (*hsing*). If both characteristics were also shared by members of a clan, it can be explained by the fact that the majority of these members (with the exception of wives) had a common kin name; one is tempted to surmise that in the expression *tsu lei,* appearing in the texts quoted above, the word *tsu* ("clan") was complemented by the word *lei* to indicate that only part of the *tsu* was meant, consisting of those of the same *lei* (i.e. clansmen bound by ties of blood).[17]

According to the *Kuo yü* explanation, similar "spiritual power" (*te*) and "will" (*chih*) were also distinctive of members of a patriarchal kin. But spiritual power was considered, at least from the beginning of Chou,[18] to be a dynastic, i.e. royal clan property. This traditional concept was also shared by Ssu-ma Ch'ien.[19] It was believed under the Han that the supply of spiritual power created by a dynasty founder becomes a heritage transmitted to his successors, who also continue to fulfill his will – one of the reasons for them being called "Filial" (*hsiao* 孝).[20] Here again a transfer of notions originally connected to the concept of a patriarchal kin to that of a clan seems to have taken place, producing a combination of notions related to both kinship groups.

Therefore, M. V. Kryukov's list of similarities between a *tsung-tsu* and a patriarchal kin can be supplemented with one more item: the concept of spiritual unity common to both kinship groups that reveals itself both on the religious and magico-ethical levels, the notions of "spiritual power" and "will" being richly colored with magic.

Thus according to my hypothesis, the word *lei* originally denoted a patriarchal kin consisting of relatives by blood who were thought of as being both physically and psychologically similar for genetic reasons. They possessed a common kin name *hsing* (that was interpreted as a surname later, at least in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's day) and they were believed to possess a spiritual unity manifesting itself both in their cult of ancestors and in the identity of their "hearts," "spiritual powers," and "wills." These beliefs were integrated into clan concepts, since descendants of a common ancestor related by blood constituted the body of the clan. In the seventh through third centuries B.C the word *lei* was both used to denote "patriarchal kin" and "sort," the expression *t'ung lei* meaning "relatives by blood" as well as "people and objects of the same kind." I surmise that as the word *lei* gradually acquired the meaning of "a sort," the concept of similarity due to common descent or blood relations originally connected with it evolved into that of "similarity in general," while the concept of unity and solidarity of kinsmen was transformed into that of mutual attraction of objects, qualities, and forces of the same kind.[21] The *lei* notion seems to be so important for correlative thinking that I feel justified in calling it, in certain cases, *lei*-thinking, as was suggested to me by Professor Roland Felber years ago.

One may ask how numerology and the concept of *lei* combine. In Chinese numerology there are numerical categories, i.e. parallel sets (or sequences) with

the same number of items – those of two, three, four, and five items, and so on, for instance, there are "five elements," "five planets," "five directions," "five colors," "five emperors (or theocrats)," "five notes," "five tastes," etc. It was pointed out by Professor Bodde that among the items belonging to a common numerical category, a particular affinity exists between those having the same relative position within their respective sequences; e.g. fire, summer, south, bitter taste, burning smell, heat, the planet Mars, feathered creatures, beans, the hearth sacrifice, the lungs, the tongue, joy, and many more, have the common property that each of them is number two within its particular sequence of five. Prof. Bodde emphasized that such affinities were believed to function along the lines of spontaneous response or mutual attraction.[22] In other words, the items in question were thought of as objects "of the same kind."

II

Now let us turn to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, whose views on the universe and history seem to be permeated with numerical categories. Since it is hardly possible to deal with all of them in this study, I am going to dwell only on those that seem to be of special importance to the *Shih chi*. Sets of two are in the first place represented by *yin* and *yang*. It remains an issue whether one of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's concepts of the microcosm embodied the *yin-yang* opposition: his statements concerning human nature seem to be contradictory enough. According to one of them, a man embraces Five Constant [Virtues] (*wu ch'ang* 五常) and "likes and dislikes," while according to another he embraces "breaths (*ch'i* 氣) of likes and dislikes, joy and anger" that act in compliance with "the principle of emotions and ethical instincts (*ch'ing hsing* 情性)."[23] Tung Chung-shu linked the Five Constant [Virtues] (or "ethical instincts") and "emotions" to *yang* and *yin* respectively,[24] but Ssu-ma Ch'ien did not.

In contrast to that he plainly connected different regions of the macrocosm with *yin* and *yang*. According to him

> Since Ch'in 秦 annexed and absorbed the three [states that originated from] Chin 晉 and [those of] Yen 燕 and Tai 代, [the region] south of the Ho 河 [River] and [Hua 華] Mountain 山 is that of the Central States. The Central States occupy the east and the south of the [country] within the Four Seas and are *yang*. [Of heavenly bodies] sun, Jupiter (Sui-hsing 歲星), Mars (Ying-ho 熒惑), and Saturn (Chen-hsing 填星) [planets] are *yang*; [therefore one has] to tell fortunes [of the Central States by observing the stars] south of the [asterism called the Heavenly] Street ([*t'ien*] *chieh* [天] 街), [the mansion] Pi 畢 presiding over them (i.e. over the Central States – J. K.). [The region occupying] the west and the north of it (=the [country] within the Four Seas – J. K.) [is inhabited by] such [barbarian] peoples wearing felt robes and drawing their bows as Hu 胡, Mo 貉, and Yüeh-chih 月氏 that are *yin*. [Of heavenly bodies] moon, Venus (T'ai-po 太伯) and Mercury (Ch'en-hsing 辰星) [planets] are *yin*, [therefore one has] to tell fortunes [of barbarian states observing the stars] north of the [asterism called

> the Heavenly] Street, [the mansion] Mao 昴 presiding over them. Therefore the [chains of] mountains and the [courses of] rivers of the Central States follow the direction of the northeast, the beginning of their system is in [the mountain regions] of Lung 隴 and Shu 蜀, [while its] end submerges into [the sea of] Po[-hai 勃 (=渤) [海] in the region of mount] Chie[-shih] 碣 [石]. Therefore [the inhabitants of] Ch'in and Chin are fond of using weapons, and in addition tell fortunes by Venus, [the planet] Venus [also] presiding over the Central States; whereas the Hu and Mo barbarians repeatedly invade and rob [them], and tell fortunes by Mercury alone, [the planet] Mercury swiftly appearing and quickly disappearing, regularly presiding over barbarians from the [eastern] Yi 夷 to the [northern] Ti 狄. [It] is their general constant [principle, according to which] these [two planets] act as a guest and a host by turns.

Two early commentators of the second and third centuries A.D. explain that "[The inhabitants of] Ch'in and Chin [living] north of [the beginning of] the system [of mountains and rivers of the Central States in the] south-west are *yin*, and are similar to such peoples as Hu and Mo barbarians who draw their bows, therefore they are fond of using weapons."[25]

The underlying concept seems to be the one expressed earlier in the *Huai-nan-tzu;* according to it, local "breaths" or "ethers" (*ch'i* 氣) forming natural and climatic conditions affect physical, psychological, and moral characteristics, health, and the duration of life of inhabitants in a given locality; therefore Ssu-ma Ch'ien also seems to believe that each locality produces people according to its "kind,"[26] which results in both locality and natives being "of the same kind." According to him, local "breaths" emanate from the earth and rise above it forming clouds with outlines of living beings and other objects characteristic of each locality – herds of cattle and cabins made of withe and covered with felt in the case of northern barbarians, boats and sails(?) and/or flags in the case of southern ones. "Each cloud (lit. cloud and breaths [it consists of]) imitates [breaths and respective peculiarities] accumulated by local mountains and rivers [as well as] by the people."[27] Since in the *yin* region *yin* "breaths" prevail, they exercise decisive influence on the local population accounting for both the severe climate that makes barbarians wear felt robes and for barbarian psychology itself, particularly the spirit of hunters and warriors that makes them "draw their bows," and probably also accounting for their greediness. Chinese territories of Ch'in and Chin north and west of Huang-ho were also believed by Ssu-ma Ch'ien to pertain to the *yin* region, while their martial customs reminded him of their barbarian neighbors: people here are fond of using weapons, too.[28]

I presume that the importance of local "breaths" as a factor forming human character was one of the main reasons why Ssu-ma Ch'ien introduced into his biographies exact information on places of origin of portrayed persons as places were signs to readers indicating what kind of a person he or she was presented with.[29] Authors of later Chinese biographies also adopted this device.

For Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the greatest cosmic *yin-yang* pair was that of Heaven and Earth, the dual division of Earth having a close parallel on the celestial level. He

believed Heaven was also divided into two parts by the asterism the Heavenly Street formed via two stars in constellation Taurus. To the south of the Heavenly Street sat the heavenly mansion Pi, formed by the stars of the Pleiades of the constellation Taurus. Ssu-ma Ch'ien described the region as corresponding to that of *yang* on earth, i.e. the Central States; according to him "sun, and [the planets] Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn are *yang*." To the north of the Heavenly Street sat the heavenly mansion Mao, also formed by stars in Taurus. According to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, this region corresponds to that of *yin* on earth, i.e. the barbarian states, Ch'in, Chin, etc.; according to him, "the moon, and [the planets] Venus and Mercury are *yin*." He emphasized that the distinction between *yin* and *yang* states, heavenly bodies, and the parts of heaven should be strictly observed in divinations.

Ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife constitute three cases of the manifestation of *yin* and *yang* in society. These pairs were meaningful for Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who took the *Ch'un ch'iu* chronicle as a model for his work and believed this chronicle was indispensable for making a prince behave like a prince, a subject behave like a subject, a father behave like a father and a son behave like a son.[30] Of these three pairs, those of ruler and subject and husband and wife seem to be the most important for the *Shih chi*. The ruler and subject opposition underlies its division into two parts and three sections: that of the Basic Annals on the one hand and those of the Hereditary Houses and Arrayed Traditions (or Biographies) on the other; this modification of the *yin-yang* opposition (mostly appearing in the simplified form in the annals of rulers and biographies of subjects) is typical of Standard Histories.

As to the husband and wife opposition, Ssu-ma Ch'ien emphasized the important part played by royal consorts and their relatives in history, describing relations within royal families in terms of *yin* and *yang* and correlating to *yin* those politicians who owed their influence to women. According to him,

> From [the times of] antiquity emperors [or theocrats, to use a more exact translation introduced by Professor C. S. Goodrich – J. K.] and kings who had received the mandate [of Heaven] as well as sovereigns who prolonged the body [of the founder succeeding to his throne by birth] and conformed to [his] written [law were successful] not only because their inner spiritual power was abundant, but probably also because they had the aid of families related to them by marriage. Thus the Hsia 夏 dynasty arose from [Yü's marriage to] the T'u-shan [family] 塗山 while the banishment of [the last Hsia ruler] Chieh 桀 was brought about by [his consort], Mo-hsi 末喜 ... The bond between husband and wife is among the most solemn of human relationships. Of the prescriptions of ritual none demands more strict observance than marriage. As the harmony of music brings order to the four seasons, so the transformations of *yin* and *yang* are the origins of all creatures...[31]

The historian believed that the superabundance of *yin* in the palace would cause disturbances in the cosmos. He quoted a remark by empress Lü 呂后 (who used

supreme power to the benefit of her clan) occasioned by the sun eclipse of March 4, 181 B.C., "This happened because of me!"[32]

It is also in tems of the numerical category of twos that Ssu-ma Ch'ien described the important idea of constant change which permeates his worldview. Like other bearers of his culture, he conceived of change as an endless alternation of rise and decay; he wrote "When a thing has reached its height it must begin to decay, and when decay has gone to an extreme it must turn again in the opposite direction; one [period] of natural substance (*chih* 質), [another] one of refined form (*wen* 文), this is [cyclic] change, which, when it ends, [must] begin [over again]."[33]

Ssu-ma Ch'ien ascribed the idea to Confucius, who according to his Hereditary House noted that Hsia dynasty adhered to the principle of government of "natural substance," whereas *Yin* 殷 dynasty adhered to that of "refined form."[34] This is reminiscent of a theory by Tung Chung-shu that states that he who imitates the Shang 商 (i.e. the Yin) and esteems "natural substance" follows Heaven, whereas he who imitates the Hsia and esteems "refined form" follows Earth; and that the way of a king following Heaven and imitating the Shang makes *yang* prosper, while the way of a king following Earth and imitating the Hsia makes *yin* advance.[35]

The numerical category of threes also influenced Ssu-ma Ch'ien's concept of the cyclic nature of history. Parallel sets of items pertaining to the category are Three Powers (*san ts'ai* 三材): Heaven, Earth, and Man; Three Reigns (*san t'ung* 三統): Hsia, Yin, and Chou; Three Kings (*san wang* 三王), i.e. their founders; Three [Kinds of] Instructions (*san chiao* 三教), i.e. those given by the Three Dynasties to their subjects; Three Rectifications, or Three Beginnings (*san cheng* 三正), i.e. three official calendars with different first months introduced by Three Dynasties (*san tai* 三代), etc. Ssu-ma Ch'ien borrowed the theory of Three Reigns from Tung Chung-shu.[36] According to it, the Hsia instructed by "sincerity," which led to the "lack of civilization" in mean men; the Yin instructed by "reverence" in order to cope with it, which led to the "superstitious worship of spirits" by mean men; the Chou instructed by "refined form [or culture]" in order to overcome it, which led to the "insincerity" of mean men. "There is no better way to relieve of insincerity than by resorting to sincerity, [for] the way of the Three Kings is like a cycle which, when it ends, [must] begin [over] again," Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote. "In the period of Chou and Ch'in [instructions by] refined form had a defect, [but] the Ch'in government failed to reform it, making harsh the laws for mutilating punishments instead. Was it not an error?" Therefore the Han resorted to "sincerity" in imitation of the Hsia and thus "followed the sequence [ordained] by Heaven."[37] Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) was of the opinion that this theory did not consider Ch'in a dynasty at all, excluding it from the cycle of Three Reigns because it failed to realize one of them. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that according to the theory, Ch'in found itself without the Three Reigns cycle as a result of its erroneous policies and thus failed to conform to the order established by Heaven; and that in comparison with Hsia, Yin, and Chou, it was certainly regarded as a dynasty that was not of full

value. It should be added that in Han Confucianism, each of the Three Reigns was associated with a different color (black, white, or red) and connected with one of Three Powers as its model.[38]

Ssu-ma Ch'ien also adopted the concept of the Three Rectifications. He wrote, "The Hsia used the first month as the beginning of the year, the Yin used the twelfth month as the beginning of the year, and the Chou used the eleventh month as the beginning of the year; [the sequence of] the beginnings of the year [set up by] the Three Kings seems to be like a cycle that, when it ends, [must] return to the beginning."[39] His opinion that the Han should adopt the calendar of the Hsia and begin the year in the first month is corroborated by what is known of his participation as an astronomer in the reform of the calendar of 104 B.C., which led to the official adoption of the Hsia calendar.[40]

It is uncertain whether the numerological category of fours influenced Ssu-ma Ch'ien's historical views, though of course he shared such basic concepts of his civilization as the Four Seasons, Four Quarters, Four Seas, etc. The concept of Four Quarters seems to underlie one of his theories, but I cannot rule out the possibility that it is that of Five Quarters or even that of Eight Directions. Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote, "Someone said, 'Things begin life in the east and come to maturity in the west.' Now those who begin an undertaking certainly [start] in the southeast, whereas those who reap real success always start in the northwest. Therefore [Shun 舜 of] Yü 虞 arose among the Western Ch'iang 西羌 barbarians; T'ang 湯 arose in [the locality of] Po 亳; the Chou attained kingship by launching a punitive expedition against the Yin [ruler] from [the cities of] Feng 豐and Hao 鎬; [the king of] Ch'in became an emperor arising thanks to [a base in] Yung-chou 雍州; and the ascendancy of the Han 漢 was from [the lands of] Shu 蜀 and Han 漢.' "[41] He used the theory to account for the fact that many dynasty founders had a base in the west or northwest of All-under-Heaven.

The numerical category of fives also strongly influenced Ssu-ma Ch'ien's thinking. The first chapter of his work is named "Basic Annals of the Five Emperors (or Theocrats)" describing the reigns of the *Wu ti* 五帝, i.e. Huang-ti 黃帝, Chuan-hsü 顓頊, Ti K'u 帝嚳, Yao 堯, and Shun 舜. As was shown by Ku Chieh-kang, the Five Emperors appear in a series of pre-imperial and early imperial sources followed by Hsia, Shang, and Chou, and preceded by Shen-nung 神農 in particular.[42] Nevertheless it should be noted that the scheme of history adopted by Ssu-ma Ch'ien combines a period of Five Emperors in high antiquity with that of a recurring cycle of Three Reigns following immediately after it. It is strongly reminiscent of one of the theories by Tung Chung-shu describing history as though from the point of view of King Wen 文王 of Chou: according to this view, Chou, Yin, and Hsia make up the Three Reigns preceded by the Five Emperors beginning with Huang-ti and ending with Shun, in their turn preceded by Shen-nung as the Ninth August One (*chiu huang* 九皇).[43] It is true Ssu-ma Ch'ien created no annals for Shen-nung and mentioned him but a few times,[44] but in other respects, both historical schemes seem to coincide.

He also made use of Tsou Yen's 騶衍 (ca. 250 B.C.) theory of Five Powers (*wu te* 德五) conquering one another. Thus he wrote about Huang-ti, "There were auspicious portents of the power of earth, therefore he was called the Yellow Emperor."[45] Ku Chieh-kang was of the opinion that the historian believed both in the theory of Three Reigns and that of Five Powers, though they seem to contradict each other on certain points (for instance, according to the former, Han should hold in esteem the color black, while according to the latter, the esteemed color should be yellow).[46]

It should be added there are other facts testifying to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's belief in Tsou Yen's theory. According to the theory, the cycle began with Huang-ti, who relied on the power of earth and esteemed yellow; the next in the cycle was Yü 禹 of Hsia, who relied on the power of wood and esteemed green (blue); then came T'ang of Yin, who relied on the power of metal and esteemed white; then followed King Wen of Chou, who relied on the power of fire and esteemed red; it was apparent that the next king should rely on the power of water and esteem black; then the cycle would begin over again. It was the Ch'in who declared that dynasty rely on the power of water and esteem black.[47]

In his history, Ssu-ma Ch'ien mentioned most of these characteristics of color as well as some of their powers. According to him, the Yin dynasty founder "changed the first day of the first month [of the year in the calendar], altered the color of vestments [of the officials] esteeming the white one, held meetings at court in the daytime;" the historian also cited the words of Confucius that the Yin "of [all] colors esteemed the white one." Again, he quoted a story according to which a white fish (a hint at the Yin) sprang into the boat of King Wu of Chou as he was crossing the river Ho; when the king landed, a fire descended from above covering his house and turning him into a red raven. Ca. 221 B.C. a red raven was mentioned by an exponent of the theory of Five Powers as an auspicious omen for acquiring the power of fire by Chou.[48] The historian also pointed out that Ch'in Shih huang-ti 秦始皇帝 basing himself on the cyclic theory of the Five Powers "believed that Chou acquired the power of fire, Ch'in is replacing Chou and has to follow [a power] not conquered by it; just now is the beginning of the power of water...," with which esteem of the color black corresponds.[49] Pan Ku flatly stated, "When institutions were changed during the T'ai-ch'u 太初 [era], Ni K'uan 兒寬, Ssu-ma Ch'ien and others still followed what was said by [Kung-sun] Ch'en [公孫] 臣 and [Chia] Yi [賈], [maintaining that] the color of vestments, numbers, and norms should conform to the power of yellow. They believed that, according to the sequence of Five Powers, [a new dynasty] has to follow [the power] not conquered [by the preceding one]. The Ch'in depended on the power of water; therefore they said the Han conquering it had to base itself on [the power of] earth."[50]

If this is so, it follows that Ssu-ma Ch'ien's attitude towards Ch'in in the context of the theory of Five Powers differed from his attitude in the context of the theory of Three Reigns. According to the former theory, Ch'in was a dynasty of full value that was included into the cycle of the Five Powers, had a power of its own, and had

received the Mandate of Heaven. As Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote about Ch'in unification of China, "This was not necessarily because of the advantages of its steep and secure terrain and its [geographical] position. Rather it was as though Heaven has aided it;" "Heaven at this time had commanded Ch'in to pacify all within the seas."[51] This means Ssu-ma Ch'ien could not have regarded the Ch'in dynasty as one doomed by Heaven. Therefore he adopted the opinion of Chia Yi, who ascribed the power of water to the Ch'in, concerning the last Ch'in ruler: "After Tzu-ying 子嬰 ascended [to the throne] he [still] did not realize [the mistakes of the dynasty. Even] if Tzu-ying would have the talent of an ordinary ruler and secure but average aids, though there would be disorder in [the country] east of [Hua] Mountain, it would be possible [for him] to preserve in its entirety the Ch'in territory and possess it, and sacrifices in his ancestral temples had not to be interrupted."[52]

Other sets of five also appear in the *Shih chi*, especially in the treatise on astronomy and in the description of *Hung fan* 鴻範. As Ssu-ma Ch'ien says, "There are the Five Planets (*wu hsing* 五星) in Heaven; there are the Five Elements (or Phases) (*wu hsing* 五行) on Earth." He also enumerates Five Emperors of Heaven: the Blue one (Ts'ang- ti 蒼帝), the Red one (Ch'ih-ti 赤帝), the Yellow one (Huang-ti), the White one (Pai-ti 白帝), and the Black one (Hei-ti 黑帝); reproduces the description of the Five Zones (*wu fu* 五服) from *Yü kung* 禹貢, as well as those of the Five Elements, the Five Businesses (*wu shih* 五事), etc., from *Hung fan*; repeatedly mentions the Five Mutilating Punishments (*wu hsing* 五刑);[53] and so on.

Here and there the author mentions sets of items pertaining to the numerical category of eights. He quotes his father's words that Eight Trigrams (*pa kua* 八卦) are an invention of Fu-hsi 伏羲 and that the *yin-yang* school has special instructions and orders for Eight Positions (*pa wei* 八位) of the trigrams. He refers to harmonizing the Eight Kinds of Musical Sounds from the Eight Instruments (*pa yin* 八音) by K'ui 夔, cites the text describing the Eight [Concerns of] Government (*pa cheng* 八政) of the *Hung fan*, depicts the cult of Eight Gods (*pa shen* 八神), mentions Eight Winds (*pa feng* 八風) and Eight Gentle Breezes (*pa cheng* 八正), describing the former in detail.[54]

Among the sets of items pertaining to the numerical category of nines that appear in the *Shih chi*, one of the most important is that of the Nine Provinces (*chiu chou* 九州). It refers to the general object of Yü's world-ordering activities; sometimes Ssu-ma Ch'ien also uses its synonym, the Nine Shepherds (=Chiefs) or [Provinces Controlled by] Nine Shepherds (*chiu mu* 九牧), and the expression Nine Tripods (*chiu ting* 九鼎), pointing to precious vessels, allegedly cast by Yü of metal from the Nine Provinces (offered as tribute by Nine Shepherds) and bearing on their surfaces delineations of numerous objects of nature, thus making people know the spirits of these objects (rivers, mountains, valleys, etc) that cause harm. The Nine Tripods were regarded as a symbol of supreme power that was taken over by Shang from Hsia and later by Chou from Shang. Related to the concept of *chiu chou* are sets of nine items pointing to particular objects ordered by Yü within the Nine Provinces, such as the Roads of the Nine [Provinces] (*chiu tao* 九道), Rivers of

the Nine [Provinces](*chiu ch'uan* 九川), Lakes of the Nine [Provinces] (*chiu tse* 九澤), and Mountains of the Nine [Provinces] (*chiu shan* 九山) that appear in the *Shih chi*. Ssu-ma Ch'ien presents Yü's world-ordering activities by quoting *Yü kung* (ascribed to Yü) from the *Shu ching* 書經. It is said there that Yü classified as nine sorts both the fields cultivated by the population of each locality and the tribute they had to pay. As J. Legge puts it, "the value of the ground ranged from the 1st to the 9th degree; and the amount of revenue did the same." Another set of nine items in the *Shih chi* is that of the Nine Divisions (lit. Kinds or Sorts) (*chiu teng* 九等 = *chiu ch'ou* 九疇) of the "Great Model (or Plan)" (*Hung fan*), the text of which was allegedly bestowed upon Yü by Heaven and later presented by Chi-tzu 箕子 to King Wu 武王 of Chou.[55]

Twelve is also a symbolic number important to the *Shih chi*. For Ssu-ma Ch'ien, it was that of the provinces (*chou* 州) into which the Central State was divided before Yü set up the Nine Provinces and to which certain heavenly constellations corresponded; he mentions also the Twelve Sons (*shih-erh tzu* 十二子) combined with the Ten Mothers (*shih mu* 十母), i.e. cyclical signs also known as the Twelve Branches (*shih-erh chih* 十二支) and Ten Stems (*shih kan* 十干). The Twelve Musical Pitchpipes (*shih-erh lü* 十二律), six of which are *yang* and six of which are *yin,* also appear in the *Shih chi*.[56]

The numbers eight, ten, and twelve pertain not only to the contents but also to the form of the *Shih chi*, there being eight Treatises, ten Tables, and twelve Basic Annals in it. To my mind, interpretation of the numbers of chapters within these divisions should not be undertaken separately from that of numbers of chapters within other divisions of the *Shih chi*, because they constitute one problem to be solved as a whole. There are reasons to suppose that numerological categories have determined these numbers. Two eighth century commentators, Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 and Ssu-ma Cheng 司馬貞, maintained that twelve Basic Annals symbolize the number of months in a year or the number years for Sui-hsing (Jupiter or its invisible correlate?) to make an orbit; ten chronological Tables symbolize the ten odd and even days of Heaven; eight Treatises symbolize the so-called Eight Periods of the Year (days of vernal and autumn equinoxes, summer and winter solstices, and commencements of the four seasons); thirty Hereditary Houses symbolize thirty days of a month as well as thirty spokes of a wheel; seventy Biographies symbolize the 72 days corresponding to a period of domination of one of the Five Elements in the annual cycle or the age of seventy of a retired Grandee; and the 130 chapters of the *Shih chi* symbolize the number of months in a year plus an intercalary month.[57]

Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎 and Burton Watson disagree with this interpretation,[58] but I am inclined to adopt its main idea of the symbolic character of the numbers of the chapters within each division of the *Shih chi*, leaving the scrutiny of concrete explanations to the future. There are two reasons for this. First, Ssu-ma Ch'ien himself testified to the symbolic character of the number of Hereditary Houses writing, "Twenty eight constellations surround the Polar Star, 'thirty spokes

of a wheel come together at the hub' revolving endlessly. The ministers assisting [the monarch like his] arms and legs correspond to them: faithful and trustworthy they practice the [true] way and thus serve their lord and ruler. [For them] I made thirty Hereditary Houses."[59] It seems relevant to remember that the spokes coming together at a hub constitute an image of an assembly of ministers to be received in audience by the ruler.[60] The thirty chapters are said to correspond not only to thirty spokes but also to the twenty-eight constellations as well, since thirty is a rounded version of twenty-eight. Second, Pan Ku closely followed the numbers of chapters within four divisions of the *Shih chi*, as if that was meaningful and important (see below).[61] Therefore I strongly suspect that Ssu-ma Ch'ien intentionally arranged the material of each division of the *Shih chi* in such a way that the total number of chapters would coincide with a certain symbolic number known from the Chinese numerology.

Now let us turn to the concept of *lei*. There are explicit formulations of the idea of mutual attraction of the like found in the *Shih chi*. One of them is a rather inaccurate quotation from the *Yi ching* 易經, "[Things] of the same light illumine each other; [things] of the same kind seek each other. Clouds follow the dragon, wind follows the tiger. When the sage arises, all creatures can be [better] seen (or: follow him with their eyes)."[62] Another runs, "[Creatures with] the same voice follow each other; things behave like that of their own accord, is it worth wondering at?"[63]

At least two important theories of Ssu-ma Ch'ien are based on the idea of *lei*. The first one is the theory of portents. If good government and good omens as well as bad government and bad omens are conceived of as objects "of the same kind," respectively, then according to the principle of mutual attraction of the like, a good ruler will attract good omens whereas a bad ruler will attract bad ones. As Tung Chung-shu, famous for his theory of portents, puts it, "Now, good follows good and bad follows bad like a shadow follows [the outline of] a body and an echo responds to [the sound of] a voice. Therefore when [the tyrants] Chieh and Chou 紂 behaved violently and insolently, slanderers and injurers advanced simultaneously, whereas the worthy and the wise concealed themselves."[64] Ssu-ma Ch'ien remarked, "When a state is about to rise there are sure to be good and auspicious omens; gentlemen will be used in office and mean men will be dismissed from it. But when a state is about to perish, worthy men will conceal themselves and rebellious ministers command honour."[65] This statement sounds unequivocal in the light of correlative thinking: the good ruler of a prosperous state would attract those of his kind to serve under him and repel those of a different kind; the bad ruler of a perishing state would do the same; therefore, good or bad men in office can be regarded as good or bad omens for the future of the states in which they are employed.

To what extent Ssu-ma Ch'ien believed in portents is a point of debate.[66] I am sure he did, though of course he did not take seriously all the portents he found in his sources. Nevertheless he included many of them in his history, like those, for instance, connected to the theory of the Five Powers. He included in the treatise on astrology a list of important portents for the previous 140 years, approximately,

commenting, "From this one can see that it never happened otherwise: first [a portent] would appear and then a response would follow it." He also wrote, "Three luminaries (the sun, the moon, and the stars. –J. K.) are the essence of *yin* and *yang*, the source of [their] breaths is situated on [the surface of] the Earth, and a sage is in charge of ordering them."[67] It seems that on the basis of this short of statement, one can build a theory of portents as has been done by the author of *Han shu* ch. 26: "All these [heavenly phenomena] are the essence [of breaths] of *yin* and *yang*, their source is situated on [the surface of] the Earth but they manifest themselves in Heaven above. When there are mistakes in government here, unusual phenomena appear there like a shadow imitating [the form of] a body and an echo responding to [the sound of] a voice. Therefore, if a wise prince sees them and perceives [his mistakes], rectifies his person and orders [government] affairs, thinks about recognizing his guilt, then misfortune will be eliminated and good fortune will come; it would be an auspicious omen [appearing] like that of its own accord."[68] Ssu-ma Ch'ien's approach to portents resulted in his history being forbidden to be read by Han vassal kings because of its "calamities and strange [phenomena pertaining to the sphere of] Governors of Heaven" in particular.[69] There are also reasons to believe that, by means of a tendentious choice of portents, he criticized Ching-ti 景帝.[70]

Another theory by Ssu-ma Ch'ien based on the concept in question is that of Heavenly retribution. An ancient Chinese tradition regarded rewards and punishments as "responses" (or retributions) that "follow according to kind",[71] with a good deed and its reward and a bad deed and its punishment being thought of as objects "of the same kind," attracted by each other. The idea of retribution occupies a very important place in the *Shih chi*. In order to say that retribution was just, Ssu-ma Ch'ien often used the word *yi* 宜 ("fitting"), thus describing the correspondence between deed or deeds of a man and the fate that befell him and his clan. For instance, when the Ch'in general Meng T'ien 蒙恬, the builder of the Great Wall, was ordered to commit suicide by the Ch'in emperor Erh-shih 二世, he declared himself to be innocent before Heaven, his only crime consisting in "cutting through the veins of the Earth." Ssu-ma Ch'ien disagreed, believing him to be guilty of disregarding the duty of a loyal subject, ignoring the disastrous situation of the people and giving in to the imperial idea to build the Wall. He wrote, "Is it not fitting that he and his younger brother should meet with punishment for this? Why did he then declare himself guilty of [cutting through the] veins of the Earth?"[72]

The historian believed retribution for bad deeds sometimes affected more than one generation. To his mind, in a family of hereditary warriors, misfortune was sure to befall the general in the third generation. As he has it, "Wang Chien 王翦 as a Ch'in general conquered the [other] six kingdoms. Wang Chien was an old [experienced] general at the time, the First Emperor served him as his master, but he proved unable to help the Ch'in establish [a virtuous rule based on] spiritual power and to strengthen its roots; [on the contrary] he unscrupulously agreed [with the ideas of the emperor] in order to gain his indulgence, [behaving in this manner]

to the end of his life. His grandson Wang Li 王離 was captured by Hsiang Yü 項羽; is it not fitting?"[73]

In the eyes of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, recompense for good deeds extended to descendants. He praised Han Chüeh 韓厥, a Chin dignitary of the sixth century B.C., for "a secret good deed in All-under-Heaven" remarking on his descendants, "As to the Han 韓 clan's meritorious services to [the state of] Chin, I do not see that they are great. Nevertheless [the clan] together with [those of] Chao 趙 and Wei 魏 eventually turned into [a dynasty of] feudal lords for [a period of] more than ten generations; it is fitting [Han Chüeh's merit]!"[74]

Ssu-ma Ch'ien believed that recompense for the good deeds of an ancestor of a ruling house can outweigh a disadvantageous geographical position or a military weakness of a state. "The outer [part of] Yen was pressed by Man 蠻 and Mo tribes, [its] inner [part that was turned to the Chinese] was clutched between [the states of] Ch'i 齊 and Chin, it was in a difficult position between powerful states being the weakest and the smallest of all, several times it was almost wiped out. Nevertheless its Gods of the Earth and the Millet enjoyed bloody sacrifices for eight or nine hundreds of years; of the feudal lords bearing the surname Chi 姬, they were the last to perish. Was it not [thanks to] meritorious services of Duke Shao 召公?"[75]

The continuance of a dynasty on the throne or the swiftness of a yesterday commoner's ascension to power often suggested to Ssu-ma Ch'ien the idea that the dynasty or the man are descendants of great ancestors, successors to their "spiritual power" and "meritorious services." These powers and services were looked at as sources of blessings for the clan on the throne. The idea originated from ancient notions connected with the ancestor cult. The fact that people of the same surname ruled a state for a long time was regarded as recompense for a virtuous ancestor whose descendants continued to sacrifice to his spirit – and recall that it was believed that spirits did not accept sacrifices from those not of the same *lei*.[76] Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote, "The [line of] descendants of kings continued without interruption, Shun and Yü rejoicing it [in the other world]. Their spiritual power was excellent and clear, their descendants respectfully received their meritorious services [as a heritage, therefore their spirits] enjoyed sacrifices for a hundred generations... Oh, what a [great] man was Shun!"[77]

Sometimes Ssu-ma Ch'ien considered more complicated cases, describing the interaction of two different kinds of retribution, like one received for the achievements of one's great ancestor and another that came as a recompense for one's own conduct. This was the case of Hsiang Yü. Ssu-ma Ch'ien explained the man's rapid rise to power by his descent from Shun and his eventual ruin by his misbehavior and his failure to realize he was misbehaving. He wrote, "I have heard that Master Chou 周生 said, 'Shun seems to have had eyes with double pupils.' I have also heard that Hisang Yü, too, had eyes with double pupils. Could it be that Hsiang Yü was his descendant? How sudden was his rise [to power]... Five years [later] he eventually lost his state and met his death at Tung-ch'eng 東城. But even at that time he did not wake to or accuse himself of [his errors]. It was a mistake!

When in the end he pleaded [not to guilty by saying] 'It is Heaven which has destroyed me, and no fault of mine in the use of arms!' was he not wrong?"[78]

The idea of retribution allowed Ssu-ma Ch'ien to trace conformity to a certain principle in history. Nevertheless, he saw that many historical materials were left outside the scheme, that in innumerable cases the bad were carefree and happy, enjoyed longevity to the day of their natural death, with their descendants remaining wealthy for generations without end, while the good met with disasters and calamities, lived in want and met with premature deaths of starvation or undernourishment. Ssu-ma Ch'ien discussed the problem in the first of his Arrayed Traditions (or Biographies), asking rhetorical questions, "How then does Heaven provide retribution to good men?", "What virtue (or good deed) [of the bloodthirsty robber who lived to a great age] did this [longevity of his] accord with?", "I am deeply perplexed by all this. If this is the so-called 'Way of Heaven,' is it right or wrong?"[79] He also recognized the possibility for a kind of posthumous retribution in the form of a good or a bad reputation (according to the "kind" of person) and believed that restoring justice with regards to the past by glorifying the worthy to be one of his important tasks as an historian.[80] The concept of mutual attraction of the like seems to underlie this theory as well: the principle "[things] of the same light (or brightness) illumine each other" accounts for worthy men, such as the virtuous hermits Po Yi 伯夷 and Shu Ch'i 叔齊, and unemployed scholars, like Yen Yüan 顏淵, etc, becoming even more famous thanks to Confucius, who praised them since they were "of the same kind." Similarly, Ssu-ma Ch'ien believed that the name of Confucius himself became even more glorious thanks to a wealthy and influential disciple, i.e. a person "of the same kind."[81]

The historian's numerous references to the principle of Heavenly retribution contradict his doubts about its very existence. This was pointed out by Wang Ch'ung 王充 (A.D.27 - ca.100) who wrote, "To wonder [why] Yen Yüan [died prematurely though he] did not deserve to die prematurely, and to say only that it was fitting for Meng T'ien to die is a mistake."[82] Ssu-ma Ch'ien's doubt meant a step towards abandoning the belief in Heaven as a supreme power that rewards and punishes people according to the principle of retribution. He never took the next step, but Wang Ch'ung did, arriving at fatalism.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien's doubt in Heavenly retribution along with other reasons made him look for an alternative explanation of events in history. The idea of fate (*ming* 命) constituted a real alternative (or, to put it more cautiously, one of the alternatives) to that of the mutual attraction of the like present in ancient Chinese culture. Though Ssu-ma Ch'ien cannot be called a fatalist, the concept of fate plays an important part in his views on history.[83] It appears both as a natural span of years that an individual is allotted to live and as the "Mandate (or Command) of Heaven" (*t'ien ming* 天命) received by a dynasty. As was believed in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's day, the founder of a dynasty ascends the throne because he has received the Mandate to rule that is entrusted only to a Sage; and this mandate can be withdrawn from an unworthy ruler and his dynasty in favor of another person chosen by Heaven.

Thus the theory has two aims, that of explaining a dynastic change and that of legitimizing a new dynasty by means of maintaining there is Heavenly sanction to its claims to power. The acceptance of the theory by Ssu-ma Ch'ien was connected with his being a loyal subject of the Han. On the other hand, the idea of *t'ien ming* allowed him to interpret chances as Heaven's intervention in human affairs.

At least twice, he referred to *t'ien ming* while describing the history of the Han dynasty. The first time it was in order to explain how a petty official could manage to become its Eminent Founder (Kao-tsu 漢高祖). As Ssu-ma Ch'ien puts it,

> It was Ch'en She 陳涉 who first began the uprising, Mr. Hsiang 項氏 (=Hsiang Yü) who, resorting to cruelty, destroyed the Ch'in, and [the founder of] the House of Han who ... in the end ascended the imperial throne. Within the space of five (or eight? – J. K.) years, the command of [All-under-Heaven] changed hands three times. Since the birth of mankind there has never been such a rapid receiving of the Mandate of Heaven!... [The statement that one] cannot become a king unless he possesses land was refuted. Was this [man] not what the Commentary terms "the Great Sage"? Was this not Heaven? Was this not Heaven? Who but a Great Sage could receive the Mandate of Heaven and become an emperor under the circumstances?[84]

He also used the *t'ien ming* idea in order to explain why in 180 B.C. the relatives of the Empress Lü failed to seize power. According to him, "[Lü] Lu [呂] 祿, [Lü] Ch'an [呂] 產, and others [of the Lü], fearing execution, plotted a revolt, but the great ministers launched a punitive expedition against them. Thus did 'Heaven guide their hearts' and in the end they wiped out the Lü clan 呂氏...it was he, Wen the Filial, who with due reverence [carried out] services of the ancestral temples of the Han. Was this not Heaven? Without the Mandate of Heaven, who would be able to take upon himself such a charge?"[85]

As a courtier, Ssu-ma Ch'ien knew too well that there were situations and spheres of life where the fate of an individual was entirely dependent on chance, as his position was especially precarious. Those close to the emperor were dependent on his moods and whims, like his wife, hoping to provide for her own children's and her relatives' future, or his subject, trying to win the emperor's ear in order to give advice and receive a promotion. No better was the position of a professional warrior whose trade implied constant risk. Therefore Ssu-ma Ch'ien introduced the idea of fate into his explanation of relations between emperors and their wives that involved problems of succession to the throne:

> "Man may make great the Way" [,as Confucius says, but he] "can do nothing with destiny." As to love between husband and wife, no ruler can win it from his subject, no father enjoy from his son – how much truer it is of [men whose station is] lower [than those of ruler or father]! When [men and women] rejoice in [their] union, some [of the wives] are unable to have sons and grandsons, and if [they]

> are able to have sons and grandsons, some [of them] are unable to gain their end (or: to live out the[span of years allotted to them by Heaven]? – J. K.). Is this not destiny? But destiny even Confucius seldom spoke of, probably because [the subject] is so difficult to discuss. Unless one could penetrate transformations of light and darkness (i.e. *yin* and *yang*. – J. K.), how could he understand [relations] between human nature and destiny?[86]

The historian emphasized the importance of an unexpected opportunity, especially a chance meeting with one's superior, that could result in the unanimity and recognition of one's talents (*yü ho* 遇合)[87]. He quoted a proverb: "No amount of toiling in the fields can compare to a spell of good weather; no amount of faithful service can compare to a chance encounter with one's prince resulting in one's talents being recognized." He also wondered why two generals whose careers were marked by continuous military success "never encountered difficulty or disgrace;" according to him, "This was also bestowed [on them] by Heaven!"[88]

At least once, Ssu-ma Ch'ien used a synonym for the term *t'ien ming*, namely *t'ien yün* 天運, in order to express the idea of fate. He wrote, "Now, [according to] fate [ordained by] Heaven (*t'ien yün*) [in the course of] 30 years there is one small change, [in the course of] 100 years [there is] one medium change and [in the course of] 500 years [there is] one great change; [the period during which] three great changes [have occurred] is [that of] one *chi* 紀; when [a space of time equivalent to] three *chi* periods [of 1500 years each is over, the cycle of changes] is complete. These are its main numbers (?or: This is its fate?) /*ta shu* 大數/."[89] But to my mind it is expedient to analyze the concept in light of *Han shu* material (see below, pp. 26-28, 34, 36, 38, 41, n. 156).

Thus Heaven appears in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's history in two hypostases: as the Way of Heaven (*t'ien tao* 天道), which was thought of as acting in conformity to the principle of response (or retribution); and as the Command (or Mandate) of Heaven, which was thought of as acting of its own accord. The former concept is somewhat reminiscent of the Western concept of laws of nature; in this instance human efforts are believed to "attract" retribution of the same kind as the initial deed and therefore to be both expedient and fruitful. The latter concept, however, differs from it, with the actions of Heaven being both incomprehensible and arbitrary.; here human efforts are of no avail. The idea is illustrated by the history of Ch'in, whose unification of China seemed to Ssu-ma Ch'ien to be aided by Heaven (cf. above, p.14). He wrote,

> If one [tries] to appraise the spiritual *te* power and the righteousness of Ch'in, [they] will prove to be worse than the violence and cruelty of Lu 魯 or Wei 衛; if one [tries] to estimate the [battle-worthiness of] the troops of Ch'in, [it] will prove to be worse than the strength of [armies of] the three [states that originated from] Chin. And yet in the end [Ch'in] united All-under-Heaven!"; "Those who discuss [the matter] all say that it was because Wei 魏 did not make use of the Lord of Hsin-ling 信陵君 that the state became so feeble and was finally wiped out. But

I consider that this is not correct. Heaven at this time has commanded Ch'in to pacify all within the four seas, and its task was not yet completed. Although Wei might have had an aid like A-heng 阿衡, of what use would it have been?[90]

So much for Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

III

Now let us turn to Pan Ku. His views on the universe and history are permeated with numerical categories to no less a degree than those of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. That of twos manifests itself in his dualistic notions of the structure of the microcosm and macrocosm. He maintained that "man contains the breaths of Heaven and Earth, *yin* and *yang*, he has the emotions of happiness and anger, of sadness and joy, Heaven has bestowed [man's] nature on him but [man] is unable to moderate it. The sage is able to moderate it for him, but he... is unable to quench it. So the sages make the rules of ceremonious behaviour by imitating Heaven and Earth". He also pointed out that "Man resembles the form of Heaven and Earth, [his head being round like the former and his feet square like the latter], contains the ethical instincts of Five Constant [Virtues] ...."[91] It follows that he shared with the majority of Han Confucianists a dualistic concept of human nature consisting of the "ethical instincts" (*hsing*) of the Five Constant [Virtues] (*wu ch'ang*) and of "emotions" (*ch'ing*), and thus embracing both *yin* and *yang*. During the discussion of 79 A.D. in the White Tiger Hall, similar views were held by the Confucian participants, whose ideas are reflected in the treatise *Pai hu t'ung* 白虎通, probably compiled by Pan Ku.[92]

As to the dualism of the macrocosm, Han shu treatise on astronomy contains the same description of the parallel division of Heaven and Earth into *yin* and *yang* found in the *Shih chi* (cf. above, pp. 8-10); however the chapter may have been written not by Pan Ku, but by Ma Hsü 馬續 after his death.[93] It can be proven, however, that, at least as far as the space of the Earth was concerned, Pan Ku was of the same opinion as Ssu-ma Ch'ien. He had a theory that "from the times of Ch'in and Han [the region] east of [Hua] Mountain produced chancellors and [that] west of the [Hua] Mountain produced generals."[94] The underlying concept is that of the division of the empire into *yin* and *yang* regions, the former embracing "outer commanderies," including twenty-two along the northern border, and the latter one being identical with the "inner commanderies," i.e. the Central States; the influence of *yin* "breaths" on the inhabitants of the *yin* region was believed to develop in them abilities necessary for warriors, while that proceeding from the *yang* "breaths" was believed to develop in the dwellers of the *yang* region abilities necessary for civil administration. Each region was believed to produce people "according to its kind." These ideas are embodied in the imperial edicts cited in *Han shu*.[95]

Following in the steps of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and others, Pan Ku described the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 of the north as greedy and warlike,[96] i.e. as those in whose nature

emotions born by *yin* "breaths" prevail. By contrast with that, while describing proto-Koreans in whose parts "the *yang* is tender,"[97] he emphasized that "by nature [bestowed on them by] Heaven the Eastern Yi barbarians are soft and submissive, [in which respect] they differ from [those inhabiting the regions] beyond three [other] sides [of the square of the empire.]"[98] In *Pai hu t'ung*, the Confucian etymologies of the ethnic names of the Four Barbarian tribes are adduced; the name of the Ti associated there with meanness and stinginess (perhaps, a hint at greediness?) developed with the northern barbarians under the influence of "the elder *yin*."[99] Pan Ku probably shared this opinion.

Dualism manifests itself in Pan Ku's view, adopted from his Early Han predecessors, that Heaven and Earth, as two cosmic powers, have separated the "inner" territories from the "outer" territories and that this accounts for differences in characters, customs, ways of life, and languages of the Chinese and the barbarians who live in natural isolation from each other.[100] *Yin-yang* pairs of ruler and subject and husband and wife are as important in *Han shu* as they are in the *Shih chi*. The structure of *Han shu* lacks the division of Hereditary Houses,[101] therefore the *yin-yang* opposition can be discerned even more clearly in the (Imperial) Annals and Biographies than in the *Shih chi*. Pan Ku also borrowed from Ssu-ma Ch'ien the theory about the importance of the part played by royal consorts and their relatives in history, reproducing the relevant text from the *Shih chi* in *Han shu*.[102]

Pan Ku's dualistic notion of micro- and macrocosm has a close parallel in his concept of means, whereby a ruler affects the world. These are benevolent and punitive means termed "civilizing arts of peace and spiritual power" (*wen te* 文德) and "awesome majesty and arts of war" (*wei wu* 威武), respectively. The former was thought of as *yang* and the latter as *yin*. Pan Ku believed benevolent means played a primary role in ordering the world and that punitive means played an auxiliary but still indispensable role. Following in the steps of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, he maintained that the set of punitive means consists of a whip and stick in the house, mutilating and other punishments in the state, and punitive expeditions in All-under-Heaven. He shared the old Confucian ideal that punishments be established, but not used.[103]

The numerical category of threes is represented in Han shu by the concept of the Three Reigns, appearing in a text borrowed from Liu Hsin 劉歆 (d. A.D. 23); the concept is correlated with the triad of Heaven, Earth, and Man, but its aspect known as Three [Kinds of] Instructions seems to remain beyond the scope of *Han shu*. On the contrary, the Three Rectifications and Three [Kinds of] Heavenly Bodies (*san ch'en* 三辰) are here connected with the Three Reigns.[104] One more set of three items connected to the same triad can be found embodied in the structure of the division of *Han shu* Treatises. Three chapters of the division (26th, 28th, and 30th) – those dealing with astronomy, geography, and literature respectively – bear the titles: "Treatise on the Pattern of Heaven" (*T'ien wen chih* 天文志), "Treatise on the Pattern of Earth" (*Ti li chih* 地理志), and "Treatise on Classical and Literary Writings" (*Yi wen chih* 藝文志). It means they treat of three kinds of patterns: that of Heaven (*t'ien wen*), that of Earth (*ti li*), and that of Man, since there existed an

ancient tradition that regarded the sayings and writings of a person as its "pattern" (*jen wen* 人文).[105]

As to the numerical category of fives, *Han shu* has a "Treatise on the Five Elements (or Phases)" (*Wu hsing chih* 五行志). The Five Elements are repeatedly mentioned in other chapters as well as parallel sets of five items such as Five Planets, Five Notes (*wu sheng* 五聲), Five Constant [Virtues], Five Rites (*wu li* 五禮), Five Mutilating Punishments (*wu hsing*),[106] etc. In contrast to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's adoption of Tsou Yen's cyclic theory of Five Powers (or Five Elements) conquering one another, Pan Ku shared a later theory of Five Emperors corresponding to Five Elements (namely wood, fire, earth, metal, and water) producing each other. It was elaborated by Confucianists of the 1st century B.C., especially Liu Hsiang 劉向 (79-8 B.C.) and Liu Hsin, whose point of view Pan Ku set against that of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Pan Ku wrote,

> Liu Hsiang and his son maintained that "the emperor comes forth [in the east] in the sign of the Arousing (*chen* 震)," therefore in the beginning Pao-hsi-shih 包羲氏 received the power of wood [corresponding to east and the *chen* trigram] and after him [rulers relying on different powers followed each other] according to the [principle of] transmission from mother to son [born of her, their cycle] ending and beginning over again. From Shen-nung and Huang-ti [it went] down [the flow of time] passing through [periods of Yao of] T'ang, [Shun of] Yü, and the Three Dynasties, [till] Han received [the power of] fire from it. Therefore when Kao-tsu first arose, the mother of a divinity cried in the night, [he brought about] the manifestation of an auspicious omen of the Red Emperor and for that reason his banners and pennons were red; [it was a response that came] of its own accord [showing he] followed the sequence [ordained by] Heaven. Anciently Kung-kung-shih 共工氏 relying on the power of water got between [the powers of] wood and fire and had the same fate (*yün* 運) as the Ch'in [since they] did not [follow] the proper sequence [of Five Elements]; therefore both did not last long. Proceeding from the foregoing [account] one [can] say that the institutions for the Founder and the Exemplars [of the Han] seem to have had responses which came of their own accord, and conformed to what was fitting for the times.[107]

This version of the theory of the Five Elements influenced Pan Ku's views on history. First, according to him, history began with Pao-hsi (= Fu-hsi) 包(伏)羲 and not with Huang-ti as in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih chi*. It can be seen from the fact that in several *Han shu* chapters, Fu-hsi and other mythical rulers previous to Huang-ti are mentioned, especially in the materials borrowed from Liu Hsin.[108] Even more clearly it manifests itself in Pan Ku's theory, borrowed by Pan Piao from Liu Hsiang and others, that Han Kao-tsu was a descendant of Yao, a successor to his "fate" (*yün*, a word whose meaning was still closely related to that of "cycle" or "[place in] the cycle"), and that both relied on the element fire. Having included Kao-tsu's spurious genealogy in his history, Pan Ku commented, "How can these facts be untrustworthy? From the foregoing [accounts] we infer that the Han [Founder] succeeded to the fate

(*yün*) of Yao (or to his position within the cycle of Five Emperors corresponding to Five Elements – J. K.) and that his happiness was already great. The cutting in two of the snake [by him led to the] manifestation of an auspicious omen, [therefore he] honored red [as the color for] banners and pennons in harmony with the power of fire; [this was] a response that came of its own accord, [thereby showing that the Founder] followed the sequence [ordained by] Heaven."[109]

Pan Ku's views on the Ch'in dynasty were also influenced by Liu Hsiang's theory. In contrast to Chia Yi and Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Pan Ku believed that after the decline that accumulated under the two Ch'in emperors, All-under-Heaven subsequently fell apart and the ruin of the Ch'in became irretrievable; the last Ch'in's ruler, Tzu-ying, and his aids could do nothing about it, "even if [one of them] would possess talents of Tan, [Duke of] Chou 周[公]旦, it would be impossible [for him] to show his skill again." Pan Ku formulated his somewhat fatalistic conclusion in the context of the theory of the Five Elements producing (and not conquering) one another. According to him, the Han, because of its "humanity [could not immediately] replace [its] mother [Chou] and the Ch'in encountered [an opportunity to mount] its throne." Commenting on the last sentence, Ssu-ma Cheng remarked, "The Ch'in encountered [an opportunity to mount] its throne [of a dynasty] not in the direct line of succession (*jun wei* 閏位), and succeeded in finding itself between [the elements of] wood and fire."[110]

The term *jun wei* was also used by Pan Ku himself when he drew a parallel between the reigns of the Ch'in emperors (221-207 B.C.) and that of Wang Mang 王莽 (9-23 A.D.), who followed different paths but came to the same end and perished. The historian wrote, "They were both [haughty rulers lacking spiritual power who ended like] 'arrogant dragons' [that rose to a position] too high [for them and their] breath was cut off; it is the destiny (*yün*) of [those who] disobey the Mandate [of Heaven]. They were [like] a purple color, or a lewd music, or the left-over parts [of the months], or [those who occupy] the throne [of a dynasty] not in the direct line of succession (*jun wei*)."[111] All of the objects to which the Ch'in emperors and Wang Mang are compared share a common quality: they are imitations of standards from which they still differ. Thus "purple pretends to be red without being red," "lewd music" in spite of its being music does not pertain to "correct songs," the "left-over parts" of months in a year make an intercalation (and not a regular unit of time),[112] and rulers occupying thrones of dynasties not in the direct line of succession do not possess the Mandate of Heaven. Therefore the thrones of such rulers were called those of "intercalation" (*jun wei*), which metaphorically points to dynasties not in the direct line of succession. For that reason, Fu Ch'ien 服虔 (ca. 125-195) explained Pan Ku's words as follows, "It means that [Wang] Mang, who did not obtain the Mandate [of Heaven] of a king in the direct [line of succession, was] like the left-over parts of the month in a year that make an intercalation."[113]

Thus Pan Ku regarded the Former Han as flanked by two *jun wei* dynasties, that of Ch'in preceding it and that of Hsin 新 following it, neither of the two possessing

the Mandate nor enjoying the protection of a power in the five-partite cycle, and therefore doomed to ruin in a short time. This was the ideological context of his appraisal of Tzu-ying.

Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin combined the theory of Five Elements producing each other with that of the Eight Trigrams, as can be seen from their use of the *chen* trigram in their description of the course of history.[114] For that reason, Pan Ku paid somewhat more attention to the sets of eight items than Ssu-ma Ch'ien, quoting from material provided by Liu Hsin, "Man ... controls Eight Trigrams, regulates Eight Winds, orders Eight [Concerns of] Government, corrects Eight Periods of the Year (*pa chieh* 八節), harmonizes Eight Kinds of Musical Sounds Produced by Eight Instruments, makes dance Eight Rows of Dancers (*pa yi* 八佾), supervises Eight Directions (*pa fang* 八方), reaches to Eight Far-Distant Regions (*pa huang* 八荒) and thus brings to completion the work of Heaven and Earth. Therefore eight times eight is sixty four, its meaning is to develop to the utmost changes of Heaven and Earth...."[115] The numerical category of eights influenced two and perhaps even four of *Han shu* treatises, Pan Ku having expressly stated that the treatises on Food and Money (*shih huo* 食貨), ch. 24, and Sacrifices in the Suburbs (*chiao ssu* 郊祀), ch. 25, constitute the first three of the Eight [Concerns of] Government in *Hung fan*.[116]

Among the sets of items pertaining to the numerical category of nines in *Han shu* is that of the Nine Provinces, which draws one's attention as it does in the *Shih chi*. At least once, its synonym, the Nine Shepherds (=Chiefs), or [Provinces Controlled by] the Nine Shepherds, appears there; the Nine Tripods (on whose surfaces Nine Provinces were allegedly depicted) are also mentioned, as well as the Roads of the Nine [Provinces], the Rivers of the Nine [Provinces], the Lakes of the Nine [Provinces], and the Mountains of the Nine [Provinces]. Mostly they appear in the descriptions of Yü's world-ordering deeds, especially in the text of *Yü kung* (cf. p. 15) reproduced in *Han shu* treatise on geography, where Pan Ku designates its Nine Sorts [of the Soil and its Products] with the term *chiu tse* 九則. However, the Nine Tripods are mainly mentioned as a symbol of supreme power and its succession in connection with episodes of later Chinese history (as they are in the *Shih chi*). *Hung fan* with its Nine Divisions (*chiu ch'ou* or *chiu chang* 九章) is also important for *Han shu*. It is repeatedly cited in the Treatises, especially in the section on the Five Elements (or Phases), where its list of the Nine Divisions as well as its descriptions of the Five Elements and Five Businesses are adduced; it is also lcited elsewhere (cf. above and nn. 116, 117). In contrast to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who cited his father Ssu-ma T'an's classification of various trends of thought as "six schools (or lineages)" (*liu chia* 六家), Pan Ku, in his treatise on bibliography, adopted their classification by Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin as Nine Schools, or Lineages (*chiu chia* 九家) also designated by him as Nine Currents [of Thought] (*chiu liu* 九流). Following in the steps of Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, he too classified books that pertained to the Six Classic division as Nine Kinds (*chiu chung* 九種). To use the words of D. Bodde, in *Han shu* "Table of Ancient and Modern Men," compiled by Pan Ku, or by Pan Chao, or by Ma Hsü, or by joint efforts of two or three of them, "no less than

1,955 men" "have each been classified under nine different categories, according to the compiler's opinion of their moral and intellectual worth." In *Han shu* these categories are termed the Nine Kinds [of Persons] (*chiu p'in* 九品).[117] Thus some new sets of nine seem to have appeared in *Han shu* as against those of the *Shih chi*.

The numerical category of twelves is important for Pan Ku's geographical and astronomical concepts in particular. The division of All-under-Heaven into Twelve Provinces (*shih-erh chou* 十二州) at the times of Shun and Yü is mentioned and implied by a reference to their Twelve Shepherds or Chiefs (*shih yu erh mu* 十有二牧).[118] Pan Ku also describes thirteen zones of All-under-Heaven (those of Ch'in 秦, Wei 魏, Chou 周, Han 韓, Chao 趙, Yen 燕, Ch'i 齊, Lu 魯, Sung 宋, Wei 衛, Ch'u 楚, Wu 吳, and Yüeh 越) as *fen yeh* 分壄 ("field allocation"), i.e. regions on Earth corresponding to Twelve Jupiter Stations (*shih-er tz'u* 十二次); though he actually points out only four out of the twelve Jupiter Stations (those corresponding to Ch'in, Chou, Han, and Yen), it seems highly probable that to his mind the thirteen zones on Earth (easily reducible to twelve)[119] corresponded to the Twelve Jupiter Stations in Heaven. Twelve Branches appear in *Han shu* under the name of *shih-erh ch'en* 十二辰. In the materials borrowed from Liu Hsin, such terms as the Twelve Bamboo Tubes (*shih-erh t'ung* 十二筒) and especially the Twelve Semi-tones Produced by Twelve Musical Pitchpipes (*shih-erh lü*) are mentioned, whereas in a text originally presented to the throne by Yi Feng 翼奉 under Yüan-ti 元帝 (48-33 B.C.) and cited in *Han shu*, the Semi-tones of the Pitchpipes were correlated with Six Emotions (*liu ch'ing* 六情).[120] It goes without saying that twelve is the number of months in a year and the number of dukes of Lu in the *Ch'un ch'iu*.

Eight and twelve are also numbers of chronological Tables and Annals of *Han shu* respectively.

There are reasons to assume that numerical categories have determined the number of chapters within each division of *Han shu* in imitation of the *Shih chi*. There is a strong resemblance between both histories in this respect. Their main quantitative difference is that *Shih chi* has 130 chapters whereas *Han shu* has only a hundred, lacking thirty Hereditary Houses. But if one subtracts thirty from 130, exactly one hundred chapters will remain. *Han shu* has twelve Annals and seventy Biographies, i.e. the same number as the *Shih chi*. There are eight chronological Tables and ten Treatises in *Han shu* in contrast to ten chronological Tables and eight Treatises in the *Shih chi*. It cannot be a mere coincidence; it shows that the number of chapters within each division is significant. If my hypothesis is correct, it would mean that Pan Ku, following in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's steps, did his best to force his material into a given number of chapters within each division for numerological reasons.[121]

It follows that numerology was part and parcel of Pan Ku's worldview, of his philosophy of history in particular. The same is true of the concept of mutual attraction of the like. At least two important theories by Pan Ku are based on it. He believed in portents, perhaps to an even greater extent than did Ssu-ma Ch'ien. A lot of them are recorded in *Han shu*. As to a passage revealing Pan Ku's personal

attitude towards portents, I believe his summary of the contents of *Han shu*'s treatise on astronomy is eloquent enough and (maybe in contrast to the treatise) written by the historian himself. It runs, "In the Supreme Heaven shining bright there are 'suspended images that give the light.' Sun and moon shed their light everywhere, constellations send down their [luminous] essence. The hundred [heavenly] officials establish laws, [celestial] palace buildings constitute a complex; they send down responses to the rule of kings [like] a shadow imitating [the form of] a body."[122] This seems to be direct proof that Pan Ku regarded portents as heavenly responses to human (especially royal) actions. There is also no reason to suppose he did not believe in portents connected with the rise of the Han to power, as some scholars do.[123] On the contrary, his history includes Pan Piao's list of these portents and terms the cutting in two of a snake by the founder of the Han "an auspicious omen" (see pp. 27, 33).[124] Of course Pan Ku was far from believing in all the portents he found in his sources. He shared Liu Hsin's critical opinion that some dogmatic adherents of the *Yin-Yang* School "tied themselves to prohibitions and abstentions and became mired in petty methods [for finding out lucky times and days], discarding human efforts and relying on spirits and gods." His attitude towards the school is reminiscent of that of Ssu-ma T'an and Ssu-ma Ch'ien.[125] From Pan Ku's summary of his "Treatise on Five Elements," it is clear that he believed in portents beginning with River Chart (*Ho T'u* 河圖) and Lo Writing (*Lo Shu* 雒書), the original text of which he claims to have quoted.[126] He also held in rather high esteem the perspicacity of Han interpreters of calamities and strange happenings in terms of the *yin-yang* theory, remarking, "When one examines what they said, they seem to [share] one viewpoint; resorting to the classics, they formulated their judgments and relied on analogies. I dare say they could not escape [the lot of those whose] 'judgments were often correct'..."[127] This seems to corroborate the conclusion that his belief in portents was rather strong.

Pan Ku also shared with Ssu-ma Ch'ien the belief in the theory of retribution. Pan Ku quoted its formulation from a *Shih ching* ode: "Every good deed has its recompense (or response)."[128] Elsewhere he quoted from the same ode describing the reward received by Shih Tan 史丹, "'Every word has an answer'; [Shih Tan] eventually received 'the recompense' of a loyal and honest [subject]."[129] With Pan Ku, we also find that the belief includes the idea that recompense affects even remote descendants of a great man; hence his interest in genealogy.[130]

Pan Ku believed in retribution for bad deeds as well. Considering a relevant case, Pan Ku, though being a Confucian eclectic, did not hesitate to use Taoist ideas consonant with those of his own. He treated the family of hereditary generals Li (i.e. Li Kuang 李廣 and his grandson Li Ling 李陵) in the same way Ssu-ma Ch'ien treated that of generals Wang. He wrote, "To become a general in the third generation – this is something the Taoists have warned against. [There were three generations] from [Li] Kuang to [Li] Ling who eventually destroyed their clan, alas!"[131] Pan Ku paid special attention to retribution coming to generals. He divided them into two groups: that of virtuous fellow-champions of the founders of great

dynasties and that of cruel, greedy, and deceitful men of the Warring States and Ch'in times; to his mind, each kind received retribution according to its behavior. He wrote, "Therefore the sons and grandsons of [virtuous] generals like Yi 伊 [Yin 尹] and Lü 呂 [Shang 尙] possessed the states [these generals received for their services], ruling their fiefs simultaneously with the Shang and Chou [dynasties] ... [Cruel generals] like Sun 孫 [Wu 武 and Sun Pin 孫臏], Wu 吳 [Ch'i 起], Shang 商 [Yang 鞅] and Pai [Ch'i] were all personally executed as a punishment [for their deeds] first, their states being destroyed and annihilated afterwards. The tendency of retribution is such that in each [case] it comes according to the kind [of initial action]; such is its way."[132] Pan Ku also believed that retribution should come both to good and bad advisors. To his mind, the "words" of Lu Wen-shu 路溫舒, an advisor of the former type, were "in accordance with [the truth, his] intentions were firm and sincere, therefore [his] was a hereditary house [of important officials]; it was fitting!" On the contrary, plans Wu Pei 伍被, an advisor of the latter type, made for his king were false and disloyal to the Han, therefore, Pan Ku wrote, "Was it not fitting that he and his relatives were executed according to the principle of collective responsibility?"[133]

Like Ssu-ma Ch'ien, he also considered more complex cases of interactions of different types of retribution. He reproduced Ssu-ma Ch'ien's appraisal of Hsiang Yü in his history (see above, p. 20).[134] Passing a judgment on Chang T'ang 張湯, a "cruel official" who committed suicide in 116 B.C., Pan Ku pointed out, "Though T'ang was ruthless and personally suffered from a disaster [for that], he pushed forward the worthy and displayed what was good [in the ruler, therefore] it is certainly fitting that he had a successor."[135]

As with Ssu-ma Ch'ien, with Pan Ku an explanation of historical phenomena alternative to that of retribution is provided by the idea of fate. Once he compared the lives of two high officials, namely Han An-kuo 韓安國, an adherent of peace with the Hsiung-nu, and Wang Hui 王恢, the author of a plan to attack them. Wang Hui won in their discussion of 133 B.C., but eventually brought about his own ruin: his plan failed and he committed suicide. On the other hand, Han An-kuo fell from a chariot, hurt his foot, was dismissed for a while on account of limping, which prevented him from reaching the top of his career, and died. Pan Ku's verdict is as follows: "Han An-kuo was highly appreciated [by the emperor, but] just before he attained [the post of a chancellor] he fell; [this was followed by] gradual deterioration [of his position], and he died of grief. A chance encounter [with a superior resulting in] unanimity (*yü ho,* cf.p. 22) depends on fate, alas! But if Wang Hui, being a military leader, suffered from a disaster [on this account] – was it fate?"; "[Han] An-kuo 'hurt his foot,' Wang Hui was a military leader. Fate [ordained by] Heaven seems [to have befallen] that one; disaster [brought upon him by] the man [himself] seems [to have befallen] this one."[136]

When Pan Ku believed that retribution should have come but it did not, the situation suggested to him the idea of fate, the intervention of Heaven. According to him, T'ien Heng 田橫 of the third century B.C. was a descendant of the kings

of Ch'i and a worthy, who thus deserved retribution both for the achievements of his ancestors and for his personal qualities, but he proved unable to establish himself firmly as a king and committed suicide. Pan Ku commented, " '[T'ien] Heng's ambitions and integrity [were such that his] retainers, longing [to perform their] duty [of fealty', followed him in death, but] still [he] could not set himself up [as king]. Was this not Heaven?"[137] He shared with Ssu-ma Ch'ien the idea that relations of emperors with their wives involving problems of succession to the throne pertain to the sphere dominated by fate. In *Han shu* he reproduced Ssu-ma Ch'ien's discussion of the subject (see above, p. 22);[138] he also wrote, "Now, when favoritism towards women flourishes [at court, they and their relatives starting] from a most insignificant position acquire a most honored one, become extremely rich and prominent, but not in accordance with their achievements. This certainly is something Taoists are afraid of, the root of misfortune and good fortune."[139]

Pan Ku's general views on the dynastic Mandate of Heaven (except his idea that short-lived dynasties disobeying the Mandate sometimes appear in history, see pp. 26-28) seem not to differ essentially from those of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. He shared the theory of transferring the Mandate (*ke ming* 革命). According to him,

> August [indeed] was the Founder of the Han, he received Yao's heritage (*hsü* 緒); verily 'Heaven produced *te* spiritual power' [in him, he possessed] 'reason and clear-mindedness' and 'divine arts of war'...[He] cut in two the snake and raised [his] troops, the divine mother [of the white emperor] announced [the meaning of this] auspicious omen; the red banners and pennons were then raised (cf. p. 27); when he marched across the suburbs of the Ch'in capital, [king Tzu-]ying came and knocked his head [on the ground as his subject; according to] the Mandate transferred [to him], he created institutions; as to [laws in] three sections, [he] recorded them; [he] responded to Heaven, and conformed to people, and the orbits of Five Planets coincided [in the Tung-ching 東井 constellation].[140]

Like Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Pan Ku emphasized that the Han dynasty "received the Mandate;" that certain fellow-champions proved to be effective aids of Kao-tsu while he "respectfully performed the punishment of Heaven" upon Hsiang Yü; and that Heaven supported Kao-tsu and protected him with the help of some of them, especially Chang Liang 張良. According to Pan Ku, since Kao-tsu was a «sage,» he was able to predict the parts to be played in Han history by three future chancellors from this group.[141]

M. Loewe remarks that "the *Shiji*, but not the *Han shu* includes a reference to Heaven in connection with the accession of Wendi 文帝," though "a reference to Heaven, but not to the *Tian ming*, in a decree which is recorded for 178" appears in *Han shu*.[142] Did Pan Ku's views on the point differ from those of Ssu-ma Ch'ien? Pan Ku's did not state his view explicitly, but I doubt he could think otherwise. As he emphasized in his summary of the annals of empress Lü, she "'had no consideration for Heaven's manifestations,' therefore the Lü clan was destroyed."[143] This implies that to his mind Heaven sided with Liu and not with Lü, which was

revealed in warning portents (such as solar eclipses) and in the subsequent ruin of Lü . Three solar eclipses are recorded in empress Lü's annals, that of February 25, 186 B.C., and those of February 21 and March 4, 181 B.C.; the last one was total and followed by her self-accusation (cf. p.10); her death occurred the following year; it was termed a "response" (=verification) of this portent.[144] According to the principle of mutual attraction of the like (see pp. 3-4, 17), an exaggeration of the importance of *yin* (a female ruler and her kindred in particular) on earth would call forth a similar exaggeration of the importance of *yin* (moon) in heaven. Thus a solar eclipse could be interpreted as an omen brought about by an empress biased by the interests of her clan, which she protected to the detriment of the clan of her (late) husband (cf. p. 3). If Pan Ku believed Heaven sided with Liu, not with Lü, how could he think Wen-ti was not supported by Heaven and devoid of its Mandate?

To the mind of Pan Ku, Heaven intervened in the dynastic history in the reign of Wu-ti 武帝. He termed it *t'ien shih* 天時 (lit. "seasons of Heaven") and *yün=t'ien yün* (cf. p. 23), not *t'ien ming*, but one of the meanings of both *t'ien shih* (e.g. in cases when it is opposed to *jen li* 人力 = "human efforts", cf. p.40) and *t'ien yün* is *t'ien ming*.[145] In 91 B.C., the affair of witchcraft and black magic arose, and a lot of innocent people (Wu-ti's heir-apparent Li 戾太子, the empress, many senior officials, etc) met their deaths. Pan Ku wrote,

> Wasn't the calamity [called forth by the case of] witchcraft and black magic lamentable? [Yet] it was not the guilt of only one man, Chiang Ch'ung 江充, it was something also brought about by fate [ordained by] Heaven (*t'ien shih*) and not [simply] by human efforts at that. In the sixth year of the *chien-yüan* 建元 [era] (Sept. 135 B.C.), [the comet] Banner of Ch'ih Yu 蚩尤之旗 appeared, it was so long that it extended through the entire sky. Later on [the emperor] finally ordered [his] generals to set out on punitive expeditions, seized [the region] south of the Ho River and established Shuo-fang 朔方 [commandery]. In the spring of this [year] (128 B.C.), the heir-apparent Li was born. From this time on, in the course of thirty years, armies were dispatched; it is impossible to count the number of those who died, [so many] were massacred and wiped out by the troops. When the affair of witchcraft and black magic arose, bloodshed in the capital and several tens of thousands of fallen corpses [followed it], the sons of the heir-apparent and [their] father were all destroyed. Thus the heir-apparent was born and grew up at [a time of] war, [he] was connected with war from beginning to the end. Is it possible that [he was destroyed by] only one minister who enjoyed special favor [with the emperor]?
>
> While: "Ch'in Shih huang 秦始皇" occupied the throne for thirty-nine (the correct number is 37. – J. K.) years, [he] pacified the "six" states in the inner [region] and "drove back the barbarians of the Four Quarters in the outer [one]. The dead [lay] like tangled hemp," unburied bones [were scattered] at the foot of the Great Wall, the sculls [lay] side by side on the roads; not a day passed without fighting; as a consequence riots broke out in the country east of [Hua] Mountain, [people of] the Four Quarters fell away from the Ch'in and turned against it, Ch'in generals and officers rebelled without [the imperial residence], traitorous

ministers appeared within [it], disorder was fomented [even beyond] the screen [of the throne room]. The calamity was brought to pass under Erh-shih 二世.

Therefore it is said [in the *Tso chuan*], "War is like fire: if one does not stop it, he will certainly burn himself." This is true. For this reason when Ts'ang Chieh 倉頡 invented writing, he formed [the character] "war" by [combining two others meanings] "to stop" and "spears." Sages arrest violence and correct disorder, stop and suppress [the use of] shields and spears by means of war; not that being cruel (or: inflicting injury?) [they] enjoy giving rein to it (i.e. their cruel desires) thereby.

The *Yi* [*ching*] puts it, "He whom Heaven aids is obedient; he whom [other] men aid is trustworthy. The gentleman practices trustworthiness and thinks of obedience. He is blessed by Heaven, has good fortune, and nothing that is not profitable." Therefore Chü Ch'ien-ch'iu 車千秋 pointed out and clarified the real circumstances of the black magic [case], making the injustice of [accusations against] heir-apparent manifest. In talents and intelligence Ch'ien-ch'iu did not necessarily surpass [other] men. [But] for his putting an end to evil fate (*o yün* 惡運) and blocking the source of disorder, for profiting by [the increase of] decay that was rushing like a rapid flow [toward its] extreme point, and attracting good, [soothing] breaths (= ethers), he is called "one who received the blessing of Heaven and the aid of [other] men."[146]

In order to clarify the concept of *yün* both in the text quoted above and elsewhere in *Han shu*, it is expedient to turn to the passage Ssu-ma Ch'ien devoted to it (see p. 23), the more so as the author of *Han shu* ch. 26 (no matter whether it was Pan Ku or Ma Hsü) copied the passage exactly.[147] Ssu-ma Ch'ien mentions three kinds of changes that accord with fate, namely those occurring in the course of 30, 100, and 500 years. It is conspicuous that Pan Ku's text cited above discusses two periods of war, one under Han and the other under Ch'in, the former having lasted for thirty years. Pan Ku terms the ruin of the heir-apparent Li and others involved in the black magic affair as "evil fate (*yün*);" he connects it to Li's relation to the wars that were waged throughout his life. According to Pan Ku, they were portended by a specific omen, the comet Banner of Ch'ih Yu; to use the words of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, "when [it] appears, the king launches punitive expeditions against [the inhabitants of] the Four Quarters." In the text cited above, Pan Ku neither mentions any omen portending wars waged by Ch'in, nor says for how many years the wars lasted, but Ssu-ma Ch'en does: "At the time of *Ch'in Shih huang* in the course of [the first] fifteen years [of his reign], comets appeared four times, that of longest duration [was visible for] 80 days, some of great length extended through the entire sky (the last two portents are dated 238, the others are dated 240 and 234 B.C. – J. K.). Thereupon [the ruler of] Ch'in finally wiped out *six* kings by means of [his] troops, united the Central States, and in the outer [region] *drove back the barbarians of the Four [Quarters]. The dead [lay] like tangled hemp.* Therefore Extended Ch'u 張楚 [of Ch'en Sheng 陳勝 and other states] arose simultaneously. It is impossible to count [how many times] during the thirty-year period warriors trampled others

under [their] feet, [winning victory]. From the times of Ch'ih Yu [nothing] like that has ever happened." The author of *Han shu* ch. 26 copied this passage of the *Shih chi* with slight alterations up to the word "hemp." Ergo the Ch'in wars referred to above by Pan Ku lasted for about thirty years and were believed to be portended by comets, one of which looks very much like the Banner of Ch'ih Yu, as he described it. It is tempting to surmise that to the mind of Pan Ku and probably of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, wars waged for (approximately) thirty years by Ch'in Shih huang and Han Wu-ti respectively were "small changes" predestined to occur in the course of thirty years.[148]

About a century elapsed from the beginning of the thirty years of wars under Chi'n Shih huang to that of the wars under Wu-ti, which gives some ground for the assumption that both series of wars pertained to different, but parallel periods of hundred years each, one following the other. The idea that Pan Ku attached importance to periods of one hundred years is corroborated by his words, "When the age of Hsüan the Filial 孝宣 came, [he] inherited the awesome majesty of Emperor Wu who strenuously attacked [enemies; it] coincided with the fate of the Hsiung-nu for [a period of one] hundred years (*pai nien chih yün* 百年之運)."[149] The "medium change" that happened during these hundred years was the gradual weakening of the Hsiung-nu, beginning no later than the turn of the first century B.C. and ending after *shan-yü* Hu-han-yeh 呼韓邪單于 recognized himself a Han subject in 51 B.C.; about seven years earlier the decay manifested itself in "internal dissentions" among the Hsiung-nu, who "split into five groups, each following a *shan-yü*."[150] This meant disorder in the sphere of succession to the throne brought about by the rivalry of numerous pretenders to it, the rivals born by *shan-yü*'s wives of different clans, which was, to Pan Ku's mind, foreordained by the "fate"(*ming*) dominating the relations of royal husband and his wives (cf. pp .10, 25).

As to the "great change" that happens in the course 500 years, I suspect it is the dynastic one, the idea inherited from the times of remote antiquity and reflected in the Meng-tzu's 孟子 theory, according to which every 500 (or "slightly more than 500") years a sage (or a "true king") should arise, such as Yao and Shun, Yü of the Hsia, T'ang of the Shang, Wen of the Chou and K'ung-tsu 孔子; Ssu-ma T'an adapted "the theory ... to apply not to rulers but to writers ... from the duke of Chou ... to Confucius ..., to ... himself and his son."[151]

As can be seen from *Han shu*, Pan Ku discerned "fates"(*yün*) of different kinds in history, e.g. those of arrogant and bad rulers who disobeyed the Mandate of Heaven, violated the sequence of the Five Elements ordained by Heaven, and therefore did not last long (such as Kung-kung-shih, Ch'in emperors and Wang Mang) and those of good rulers who received the Mandate and followed the proper sequence of the Five Elements (such as Yao and Han Kao-tsu). Fates of both types seemed to him to be of a recurrent nature, repeating themselves at different times, but remaining the same in spite of that. Moreover, he considered at least the good fate of a ruler to be not only the same as that of a remote predecessor and ancestor,

but as something inherited from him as well, e.g. Yao's fate to have been succeeded to by his descendant Kao-tsu (see p. 27). Thirty years of wars under Wu-ti also look like a repetition of the thirty years of wars waged by Ch'in; besides in the *Shih chi* both are portended by the same omen. As can be inferred from it, the concept of "fate" (*yün*) is closely related to that of "cycle;" and it is not by chance that they are designated by the same word.

To Pan Ku's mind, however, the results of the thirty-year periods of wars under Ch'in and Han were different. He points out that while Ch'in was doomed by its fate to ruin, Han retained potency necessary for a survival. To my mind, this difference is to be accounted for by Pan Ku's belief that a dynasty (such as the Han), which has received the Mandate, remains to be protected by Heaven. It is evident even at a time when the after-effects of "evil fate" are still conspicuous. Heaven helps such a dynasty to preserve itself, while the human efforts of officials rendering the dynasty assistance appear to be blessed (=aided) or guided by Heaven. For instance, Chü Ch'ien-ch'iu, who remonstrated with Wu-ti and proved able of "putting an end to evil fate," is said to have "received the blessing of Heaven" (pp. 35-36).

To the mind of Pan Ku, the next intervention of the supreme power in dynastic history consisted in the wonderful saving of a child who later became the emperor Hsüan-ti 宣帝. The grandson of heir-apparent Li was imprisoned a few months after his birth in 91 B.C. in connection with the black magic affair and was to be executed at the age of five together with all other convicts in the capital. However Ping Chi 丙吉, Inspector of the Right of the Commandant of Justice, treated the child with kindness and saved him, refusing to admit the executor of the imperial order into the jail. Wu-ti is reported to have said, "Heaven has commanded it" and granted a general amnesty, thus giving his great-grandson a chance to survive. In 74 B.C., Ping Chi helped the youth to ascend the throne, a year later receiving the title of a Noble of the Interior for his assistance. Much later, his kindness to the royal child became known; in 63 B.C., he received the title of a Noble of the top rank therefore. In 59 B.C., he became a Chancellor.[152]

Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote about great ministers who helped Wen-ti to ascend to the throne, ",Heaven guided their hearts', and in the end they wiped out the Lü clan" (p. 22). Pan Ku used the same phrase from the *Tso chuan* in order to explain why Ping Chi protected the life of the future Hsüan-ti when the latter was a child, thus preserving him for the throne: " 'Heaven guided his heart,' [he was ennobled for his service], and blessings flowed to his descendants."[153] The figure of Ping Chi under Hsüan-ti seemed to Pan Ku comparable to those of two outstanding chancellors of the Han founder. He wrote, "When Kao-tsu laid the foundation [of the dynasty, chancellors] Hsiao 蕭 [Ho 何] and Ts'ao 曹 [Shen 參] proved to be the first [among the officials]; when Hsüan the Filial [brought about its] revival, [chancellors] Ping [Chi] and Wei 魏 [Hsiang 相] won fame."[154] The historian probably attached so much importance to Ping Chi and his saving of little Hsüan-ti because for Hsüan-ti nobody would have been able to bring about the "revival" (*chung hsing* 中興) of the Han. Dynastic "revivals" were of special importance in Pan Ku's eyes (though not

as important as a founding of a new dynasty). This attitude is quite understandable: Pan Ku was a loyal subject of the Han; to his mind, after its dethronement by Wang Mang, the Han dynasty regained power in the course of its second "revival," brought about by Kuang-wu-ti 光武帝 and accompanied by the conferring of the Mandate upon him.[155]

Pan Ku treated the period between two Han "revivals" as that of a gradual decline, reaching its lowest point during the first decade of the Common E. when Wang Mang first seized power, then became a regent, and finally usurped the throne and occupied it for almost fifteen years. According to Pan Ku, he was doomed to ruin (see pp. 27-28), but this idea combined in the historian's mind with another one, i.e. that the decline of the Han was also predestined. He wrote, "Descendants of Yüan the Filial 孝元 [being Sons of Heaven] possessed All-under-Heaven in its entirety, however [the line of succession of their] generations was broken [when it reached the generation of Yüan-ti's] grandsons; was this not Heaven?" The compiler of the third *Han shu* Table explains it by "fate"(*ming*), "[Among] descendants of Yüan the Filial there were no sons of [vassal] kings who were granted the rank of Nobles (or Marquises: *hou* 侯) (one of his sons became an emperor, i.e. Ch'eng-ti 成帝, the other two became vassal kings who gave birth to emperors, i.e. Ai-ti 哀帝 and P'ing-ti 平帝; these three emperors died prematurely without heirs. – J. K.). Aren't prosperity and decay, the beginning and end [of a dynasty ordained by] fate?" Pan Ku also sees in the fatal decline of the Former Han an important pre-condition of Wang Mang's usurpation. According to him, "...it happened that the Han [dynasty] decayed in the midst of the period (lit.: way) [allotted to it] and the line of dynastic succession [of its rulers who should have transmitted] the state [to their heirs] was thrice broken, so that in her old age the Empress Dowager [nee Wang 王] became the mistress of the [imperial] clan; hence [Wang Mang] was able to give free rein to his viciousness and thereby to bring to pass the calamity of his usurpation [of the imperial throne]. If we speak of [the situation] by investigating it from this [aspect], it was fate [ordained by] Heaven (*t'ien shih*) and not [something] brought about by human effort (*jen li*)."[156]

Thus there seems to be more fatalism in Pan Ku's views (especially the dynastic ones) than in those of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and less belief in the fruitfulness of human efforts.

* * *

Let us recapitulate. Both Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Pan Ku made ample use of numerology (though sometimes their interest in and interpretation of this or that set of items, such as the Five Elements, would differ) and of the notion of mutual attraction of the like. With both of them, the notion is embodied in at least two theories, that of portents and that of retribution complemented with the concept of fate. They also share a spatial notion, according to which each region produces natural resources and population according to its kind. Ideas connected with this complex constitute

the bulk of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's philosophy of history and have close parallels in *Han shu*. Since numerology and the notion of mutual attraction of the like are components of correlative thinking, it follows that this thinking dominates the philosophy of history of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Pan Ku.

IV

There is, though, one more sphere in the *Shih chi* and *Han shu* besides that of the philosophy of history where the influence of correlative thinking seems to be especially conspicuous. It is that of the way the two historians presented their materials connected with their way of perceiving reality. Discussing it, I'll begin with biographies, to be more exact, with the *Shih chi* biographies that are held to be one of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's main contributions to Chinese culture.

It seems proper to recall here that the expression *t'ung lei* had two meanings and that clansmen related by blood were believed to possess a similar mentality. Those with the same surname (originally kin name) and of the same blood were deemed to be "of the same kind" (see pp. 4-7). It follows that classification by clan was also part of classifying items according to "kind." On the other hand, in the first place due to scholarly efforts of Professor Bodde (see p. 29 and n. 117), we know that correlative thinking classified individuals, irrespective of their kinship, according to their mental and moral characteristics or by types of activities. The resulting groups were seen as formed by mutual attraction of those who had similar "wills" and "intentions," which accounted for the similarity of their occupations, social positions, etc. In contrast to groups of clansmen, these groups have no common surname and their members were not thought of as those who inherited similar mentality from a common ancestor. Nevertheless both types of groups are based on the concept of *lei* and consist of those "of the same kind," though their members were believed to possess psychic similarities for different reasons.

The chapters of the *Shih chi* representing groups of individuals (no matter whether they belong to Basic Annals, Hereditary Houses, or Arrayed Traditions=Biographies) can be reduced to two types. As pointed out by Professor Watson, either they deal with clan members (beginning with two of them and ending with the whole clan) or with individuals of the same "category," which are classified into groups "by the contour of their lives and the ambitions that motivated them," by common social functions and ethical attitude, or by "their similarity of interests."[157] But according to *lei*-thinking, both kinds of chapters deal with individuals "of the same kind," of similar "wills" and "intentions." Hence Ssu-ma Ch'ien's interest in the manifestation of a "will" embodied both in sayings (oral or written) and deeds. It shows his interest in personality, but a restricted one at that, for he never treats a person as really isolated from others. He contemplates it among those "of the same kind," not as a personality *per se*.[158] Therefore he is interested not in many-sided and unique characteristics, but first of all in that which men "of the same kind" have in common, then in what respect they differed. He approaches a personality

from the starting-point of a clan, a group of the like, creating one-sided "functional" biographies, to use a term introduced by Professor Twitchett.

Still, there are many chapters in the *Shih chi* relating the story of only one individual; here again the influence of *lei*-thinking is perceptible. Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote these biographies in the same way he composed his joint biographies, often discussing in his appraisal how the individual should be classified and what reasons he had for the classification he had chosen. Professor Watson accounted for Ssu-ma Ch'ien's tendency to describe individuals in accordance with stereotypes inherited from the past by the influence of rhetoric on historiography.[159] It is probably more exact to speak of this in terms of the influence of *lei*-thinking, which was exercised various ways, including through rhetoric.

The biography of an individual created by Ssu-ma Ch'ien originates from clan history and for the most part retains traces of its provenance, such as information about ancestors in the beginning and about descendants in the end.[160] It follows that it originates from the history of a group of individuals of "the same kind," which accounts for its many peculiarities.

Thus *lei*-thinking exercised a decisive influence on the classification of materials and upon the principles governing the description of an individual in the three divisions of the *Shih chi* that treat the subject of man. It also seems to have influenced the method of giving a historical account without resorting to a plot, which is characteristic of the *Shih chi*. Most likely a plot presupposes a view on history, as on a chain of causes and effects, the existence of some concept reminiscent of that of mechanical causality, whereas correlative thinking replaces this concept with that of mutual attraction of the like, which seems to be less favorable for the developing of plots than notions of causality in the West (plot fiction was a late development in China). But the notion of mutual attraction of the like seems to have been extremely favorable for classification.

The word "classification" describes exactly what Ssu-ma Ch'ien did with historical material in the chronological Tables and Treatises. Its presentation there can be depicted (with some reservations) by Pan Ku's words said about Liu Hsiang's treatise on portents: "[Things] of the same kind follow each other, there being a title for each section."[161] Concepts of five "kinds" that differ either thematically or hierarchically underlie the five divisions of the *Shih chi*. The sequence of chapters inside each section was influenced not only by considerations of chronology, but also by Ssu-ma Ch'ien's intention either to group chapters together thematically, i.e. grouping those treating objects of the same kind, or to contrast those treating objects of "different kinds." It follows that correlative thinking deeply influenced Ssu-ma Ch'ien's literary practice, including the principles he used for classification of his materials, his methods of portraying an individual, his choice of subjects for arranging material around them, and the structure he devised for the *Shih chi*. Academician J. Průšek pointed out that the "basic structural method" of Ssu-ma Ch'ien "is a loose linking of material with certain common features, a method which could be designated as categorization or systematization with no attempt at achieving

internal homogeneity by means of specific manner of presentation." He posed the question of how this method was determined by "the specific thought pattern, the specific perception of reality."[162] I believe the answer to this question is correlative thinking, with its concept of causality and tendency towards classification.[163]

To my mind, what is true of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's way of presenting his materials is also true of that of Pan Ku. Though Pan Ku has done without Hereditary Houses (cf. p. 30), he has presented his material, having borrowed the main structure of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's work, copying a series of its chapters in addition. *Han shu* has the same three types of chapters treating the subject of man as the *Shih chi*, i.e. those relating the story of one man, of a group of relatives, and of a group of non-relatives "of the same kind." The only difference I can see is that there are more chapters of the third type in *Han shu* at the expense of those of the first two types. Thus *Shih chi* has 112 chapters treating the subject of man, while *Han shu* has eighty-two chapters treating the subject. The *Shih chi* has thirty-three chapters relating the story of one man,[164] including four annals of Han emperors that describe reigns of members of the same clan and surname (*Shih chi*, ch. 8, 10-12),[165] whereas *Han shu* has nineteen chapters of the same type,[166] including twelve annals of Han emperors of the same clan, eleven of which also have the same surname (ch. 1-2, 4-12). It should be noted that both chs. 8-12 of the *Shih chi* and chs. 1-12 of *Han shu* could easily have been rearranged as one chapter that describes the history of the house of Han, i.e. the ruling clan. The *Shih chi* has thirty-three joint biographies of those related by blood, including seven Basic Annals,[167] twenty Hereditary Houses,[168] and six Biographies,[169] whereas *Han shu* has only sixteen chapters of the same category.[170] The *Shih chi* has forty chapters containing joint biographies of non-relatives "of the same kind,"[171] whereas *Han shu* has forty-four of these.[172] Forty chapters constitute 35.71% of those treating the subject of man in the *Shih chi*, while forty-four chapters constitute 53.66% of those treating the same subject in *Han shu*. These *Shih chi* chapters include biographies of relatives only occasionally,[173] whereas the comparable chapters of *Han shu* do it on a somewhat broader scale;[174] this can be accounted for by an increase in the tendency to group together biographies of non-relatives "of the same kind" in *Han shu*. The premise of the phenomenon has already been mentioned above: relatives by blood were also believed to be "of the same kind," otherwise inclusion of their biographies into joint biographies of non-relatives "of the same kind" would be impossible.

Pan Ku's increased tendency to group together biographies of non-relatives "of the same kind" also affected his chapters dealing with barbarians. Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote six chapters dealing with them (*Shih chi*, chs. 110, 113-116, 123), whereas Pan Ku wrote only three (*Han shu*, chs. 94-96), combining accounts of the Barbarians of the Southwest 西南夷, Southern Yüeh 南越, Min-Yüeh 閩越, and Ch'ao-hsien 朝鮮 into one chapter (*Han shu*, ch. 95). This tendency of Pan Ku can be (at least partly) explained by the necessity for him to force a large number of individual biographies into the set number of seventy chapters constituting the biographical division of *Han shu*.

Pan Ku is sometimes characterized as having been more systematic than Ssu-ma Ch'ien in basing the sequence of his biographies on the principle of chronology alone and in grouping together biographies of the same type: thus he placed first those dealing with just one man; he placed second those dealing with people of the same kind; he placed third those dealing with foreign peoples on the border; and he placed last that describing the life of the "traitorous minister" Wang Mang.[175] In the light of what has been written above, the characterization that Pan Ku allotted first place to biographies dealing with one man is to be rejected and the other ones reformulated. Rather it sems clear that Pan Ku brings together biographies of non-relatives "of the same kind" belonging to a social group and named explicitly, in the headings of corresponding chapters (i.e. "Confucian Scholars," "Reasonable Officials," "Harsh Officials," "Money Makers," Wandering Knights," and "Male Favorites"), close to the end of the last division of his history; they are followed by three chapters dealing with barbarians; these in their turn are followed by three chapters dealing with imperial relatives by marriage; the last of them is that of Wang Mang. According to Pan Ku, the *yin* principle is embodied in all subjects portrayed in the biographies, non-Chinese vassals of the empire, and imperial relatives by marriage in particular, but this principle exercised excessive influence while being embodied in the person of Wang Mang, which resulted in the usurpation of power. Pan Ku had to conclude his history with an account of Wang Mang, who overthrew the former Han, and he therefore put the three chapters about imperial relatives by marriage at the end of *Han shu*; Ssu-ma Ch'ien had no Wang Mang to think of, therefore the position of the chapter on imperial relatives by marriage in the *Shih chi* (ch. 49) is different.[176]

In contrast to Pan Ku, Ssu-ma Ch'ien only tended to bring together joint biographies of those belonging to social groups and named by him as such, but he did not do it consistently. The same is true of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's attempts to bring together accounts of the barbarians. Pan Ku's consistency in grouping chapters of a certain type is perhaps related to the increasing tendency he exhibited to bring together biographies of non-relatives "of the same kind" into one chapter. All this probably shows that Pan Ku, as the author of the biographies and the annals, was not less indebted to correlative thinking than Ssu-ma Ch'ien. In fact, he was also indebted to it, as the author of the treatises. This is especially conspicuous in several new treatises he created, those on Norms for Mutilating Punishments, Five Elements, Pattern of Earth, and Classical and Literary Writings (*Han shu*, chs. 23, 27, 28, 30), the material of which is obviously organized according to *lei*.

Thus the mode of thinking shared by both historians was correlative, with certain complements, such as the idea of fate. This seems to correspond to the genre form of Standard Histories. Or, to put it differently, the genre was produced in surroundings permeated with correlative thinking and practically grew out of it.

Notes

[1] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2, *History of Scientific Thought*, 279-291; Derk Bodde, "Sexual Sympathetic Magic in Han China," 292-299; Le Blanc, Charles Y. 1978. The idea of resonance (*kan-ying*) in the *Huai-nan Tzu*: with a translation and analysis of *Huai-nan Tzu* chapter six, ,13-15, 60-61,152, 154, 158 161-162, 176, 179, 193-234, 281-282, 285, 293,299, 307-311, 318-329; Charles Le Blanc, *Huai Nan Tzu. Philosophical Synthesis in Early Han Thought. The Idea of Resonance (Kan-Ying) With a Translation and Analysis of Chapter Six*, 116-119, 123-124.

[2] See Yu. L. Krol' [an English transcription of the author's name in his publications in Russian; J. L. Kroll is a variation of this transcription in the publications in other European languages], *Suima Tsyan'– istorik* [Ssu-ma Ch'ien as a historian], 7-13, 22-39, 84, 114, 126, 188; Yu. L. Krol', "Rassuzhdeniye Suima o 'shesti shkolakh' ", 131-157.

[3] See John B. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, 1-87, etc.; Angus C. Graham, *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking, passim*; A. C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*, 319-325; Derk Bodde, *Chinese Thought, Society, and Science: The Intellectual and Social Background in Pre-Modern China*, 45-46,74-88, 97-147.

[4] Needham, *Science and Civilization*, vol. 2, 287-288.

[5] Bodde, *Chinese Thought*, 97.

[6] See A. C. Graham, "The Logic of the Mohist Hsiao-ch'ü," 25; A. C. Graham, "Two Dialogues in the Kung-sun Lung Tzu: 'White Horse' and 'Left and Right', " 143.

[7] Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙, *Han shu pu chu* 漢書補注, 60.4198.

[8] See V. N. Toporov. "O kosmologicheskikh istokakh ranneistoricheskikh opisaniy [On Cosmological Sources of Early Historical Descriptions]" 141; Needham, *Science and Civilization*, vol. 2, 280-282, 288. Citation from Tung Chung-shu (cf. Lai Yen-yüan 賴炎元, *Ch'un ch'iu fan lu chin chu chin yi* 春秋繁露今註今譯 (Taipei: Taiwan Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1984), 57.330) is quoted from Needham in E. H. Hughes' translation.

[9] See M. V. Kryukov, *Formui sotsial'noy organizatsiyi drevnikh kitaytsev*, 106-154.

[10] James Legge, *The She King* or *Book of Poetry*, vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics*, 478 (III.II.III, 6); *Kuo yü* 國語 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed.), 3.40; Liang Ch'i-hsiung 梁啓雄, *Hsün-tzu chien shih* 荀子簡釋, 19.256; cf. *Han yü ta tz'u tien* 漢語大詞典, ed. Lo Chu-feng 羅竹風, 1987-1994), vol. 12, 353, *lei*, meaning two. The *Shih ching* line "Covetous men harm (or ruin) [their own] kin (*lei*)" (cf. Legge, *The She King,* vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics*, 526 (III.III.III, 13)) is quoted both in *Shih chi* (see Takigawa Kametarō, *Shih chi hui chu k'ao cheng* (Lo-t'ien jen-wen ts'ung-shu ed.), 23. 16) and *Han shu* (see *Han shu*, 80.4869).

[11] See *Kuo yü*, 5.66; *Han yü ta tz'u tien*, vol. 3, 126.

[12] *Kuo yü*, 10.127.

[13] See Kryukov, *Formui*, 85-96.

[14] See Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, vol. 1, 147 (n.1), 150-158, 382, n. 4.

[15] James Legge, *The Ch'un ch'iu with the Tso Chuen*, vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics*, 156, 157, 218, 219 (mod. translations).

[16] Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*, vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics,* 354, 355 (translation slightly mod.).

[17] *Tsu lei* has four meanings: 1) those of the same clan; 2) those of the same kind; 3) kind, sort; 4) race, people, nation (see *Han yü ta tz'u tien*, vol. 6, 1607).

[18] See K. V. Vasil'yev, "Religiozno-magicheskaya interpretatsiya vlasti vana v zapadnochzhouskikh epigraficheskikh tekstakh," 7-12.

[19] See Burton Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Grand Historian of China*, 6-7; Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 62, 101-111.

[20] See Yu. L. Krol', "Rodstvennuiye predstavleniya o 'dome' i 'shkole'(*tszya*) v drevnem Kitaye," 41-42, 46, 54, n. 4.

[21] See Yu. L. Krol', "O sootnoshenii drevnekitayskikh predstavleniy o 'rode' (ley) i 'klane, ili patronimiyi' (tszun tszu)," 123-127.

[22] See Derk Bodde, "The Chinese Cosmic Magic Known as Watching for the Ethers,", 14-15.

[23] See *Shih chi*, 24.4, 25.4.

[24] See *Ch'un ch'iu fan lu*, 35.266; Huang Hui 黃暉, *Lun heng chiao shih* 8,5, 13.132; cf. Krol', *Suima Tsyan'--istorik*, 96 and n. 39.

[25] See *Shih chi*, 27.88-89 and comm. by Wei Chao 韋昭 (204-273) and Meng K'ang 孟康 (ca.180-ca.260), cf. *Han shu*, 26.2216.

[26] See Yu. L. Krol', "O kontseptsii 'Kitay – varvarui'," 17-20; Yu. L. Krol', "Kitaytsui i 'varvarui' v sisteme konfutsianskikh predstavleniy o vselennoy (II v. do n. e.- II v. n. e.)," 46-47; Major, John S.1973. Topography and cosmology in early Han thought: chapter four of the *Huai-nan-tzu*. Ph.D. diss. , 55-57, 63-66,144-148 (nn. 190-219), 164, nn. 271-181; Mark E. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 216-217; John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought.* Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the *Huainanzi*, 167-171.

[27] See *Shih chi*, 27.75-76.

[28] Cf. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's appraisal of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 customs, see *Shih chi*, 110.3-4.

[29] Since Ssu-ma Ch'ien believed the influence exercised by local "breaths" on local customs to be a general factor forming the latter, he seems to use this to explain the customs of feudal states of Huainan 淮南 and Hengshan 衡山 of the South Ch'u 南楚 region whose kings plotted a rebellion against Wu-ti 武帝 ca. 122 B.C. According to him, "this was not the fault of the kings alone, but also [a consequence of] the customs of those [states] being corrupt: their subjects were permeated and affected (lit. polished. – J. K.) [with these customs and thus] caused to be like that. Now, men of Ch'u 楚 [also known as] Ching 荊, are rash and brave, prompt and audacious, fond of making riots, it was recorded from ancient times" (*Shih chi*, 118.46; cf. Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, vol. 2, 392). Ssu-ma Ch'ien emphasized that local customs were established from times of antiquity without ascribing it to any personal influence (cf. *Shih chi*, 129.23-25); what factor forming customs other than local *ch'i* could he have had in mind?

[30] See *Shih chi*, 130.24-25, 47.84.

[31] See *Shih chi*, 49.2-3; B. Watson's mod. translation cited, cf. Watson, *Records*, vol. 1, 379-380.

[32] See *Shih chi*, 9.18-19; B. Watson's translation used, cf. Watson, *Records*, 1, 330. The solar eclipse stands on the list of portents considered important by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, see *Shih chi*, 27.91.

[33] *Shih chi*, 30.45; B. Watson's mod. translation cited, cf. Watson, *Records*, vol. 2, 105.

[34] See *Shi chi*, 47.68-69; Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 141-142 and nn. 9-10.

[35] See *Ch'un ch'iu fan lu*, 23.178.

[36] See *Han shu*, 56.415-416; *Ch'un ch'iu fan lu*, 23.174-179; Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛, "Wu te chung-shih-shuo hsia te cheng-chih ho li-shih" 五德終始説下的政治和歷史, in *Ku-shih-pien* 古史辨, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, vol. 5, 441-446.

[37] See *Shih chi*, 8.88 (B. Watson's mod. translation cited, cf. Watson, *Records*, vol. 1, 118-119); Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 441 ff.

[38] See *Ch'un ch'iu fan lu*, 23.175-176; Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung, The Comprehensive Discussion in the White Tiger Hall*, vol. 1, 78-79; vol. 2 (1952), 515, 548-564; Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 443-445; Krol', *Suima Tsyan'-- istorik*, 99 and n. 50.

[39] *Shih chi*, 26.7.

[40] See *Han shu*, 21A.1664-1671; Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 447-451.

[41] *Shih chi*, 15.4-5; B. Watson's mod. translation cited, cf. Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 186; see also Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 114-115.
[42] See Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 455-464.
[43] See *Ch'un ch'iu fan lu*, 23.174-175, 177; Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 441, 484-485; cf. Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung*, vol. 1, 98-99.
[44] See *Shih chi*, 1.5, 9; 26.4; 129.3.
[45] See *Shih chi*, 1.13.
[46] See Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 448-449.
[47] See Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 417-430.
[48] See *Shih chi*, 3. 14, 3.35; 4.20; 28.19-20; cf. *Han shu*, 56.3996. Both theories – that of Five Powers and that of Three Reigns – ascribed white color to the *Yin* and red color to the Chou, see Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 443-444.
[49] See *Shih chi*, 6.23-25; cf. *Shih chi*, 28.19-20.
[50] *Han shu*, 25B.2168; cf. *Han shu*, 25A.2102; *Shih chi*, 84.21-22; 96.17; Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 430-435.
[51] *Shih chi*, 15.3; 44.50; a mod. translation by B.Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 185-187.
[52] *Shih chi*, 6.88; Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 183-191.
[53] See *Shih chi*, 27.83, 95-96; 38.10-11; 2. 31-32, 4. 45, 47; 1.38, 55, 4.48; 1.6, 36, 55, etc.
[54] See *Shih chi*, 130.26, 10; 1.57; 38.11-12; 28.21-23, 74, 87; 27.79; 25.9-17(cf. Major, Topography, 111).
[55] See *Shih chi*, 1.59, 2.6, 31, 29.2, 74. 7, etc.; 4. 32, 12. 22, 28. 62, 40.19-20; 4. 30, 74,79, 91, 95, 12. 22, 28. 62, 32.8, 40. 19-20, 41; 2. 6, 2 2; 2. 25, 31, 36, 29. 4; 1. 59, 2. 6, 31, 29. 2, 4; 1, 59, 2. 6, 22, 31, 29. 2; 2. 4-5, 6-33; James Legge, *The Shoo King, or the Book of Historical Documents*, vol. 3 of *The Chinese Classics*, 97. Once Ssu-ma Ch'ien also used the expression *chiu chou* to convey the notion of Nine Continents while describing Tsou Yen's cosmological ideas, see *Shih chi*, 74. 7. For the *Hung fan* text see *Shih chi,* 38.9-20. Among other sets of nine connected with legends about Yü are those of the Nine Qualities (or Virtues) (*chiu te* 九德) and Nine [Degrees of] Relationship (*chiu tsu* 九族) (see *Shih chi,* 2.35, 34), also borrowed by Ssu-ma Ch'ien from the *Shu ching*, see Legge, *The Shoo King*, vol. 3, 70-71, 69.
[56] See *Shih chi*, 27.83, 87, 62-63; 25.2-3, 12-18, 30. Note the use of the term "Twelve Signs of Zodiak," or "Twelve Divisions of the Ecliptic" (*shih-erh tu* 十二度) by Ssu-ma T'an 司馬談 (died 110 B.C.), see *Shih chi*, 130.10.
[57] See *Shih chi*, Shih chi cheng yi lun li 史記正義論例, 1-2; Shih chi tsung lun 史記總論, 75.
[58] See *Shih chi*, Shih chi tsung lun, 75; Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 103-104, 225, n.1.
[59] *Shih chi,* 130.61. A mod. translation by B. Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien,* 117. The phrase in internal quotes is a citation from *Lao-tzu* 老子, cf. *Lao-tzu tao te ching chu* 老子道德經注 (2nd ed. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1957), 1A.6 (§ 11).
[60] See Herrlee G. Creel, *Shen Pu-hai: A Chinese Political Philosopher of the Fourth Century B.C.*, 343-344; Ch'en Ch'i-yu 陳奇猷, *Han Fei-tzu chi shih* 韓非子集釋, 6.88, 104, n. 84; 8.122; 16.284, 286, n.7; *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子, 9.76; Krol', 'Rassuzhdeniye Suima o 'shesti shkolakh' " [Discussion of the "six schools of thought" by Ssu-ma], 147, 148, n.46.
[61] See Yu. L. Krol', "Nekotoruiye nablyudeniya nad numerologicheskim aspektom rannikh 'obraztsovuikh istoriy' (chzhen shi)" [Some observations on the numerological aspect of the early Standard Histories (*cheng shih*)], 104-109. It is true *Han shu* lacks the division of Hereditary Houses, but another Standard History, *Chin shu* 晉書 (ca. 644), has a division of Records [of Histories of Illegitimate Dynasties] (*tsai chi* 載記) rather similar to them. The form of *Chin shu* is reminiscent of that of *Shih chi*: there are all in all 130 chapters (*chüan* 卷), including ten Basic Annals, twenty Treatises (whose titles, however, reveal more similarity

to those of *Han shu*), seventy Arrayed Traditions (or Biographies) and thirty Records [of Histories of Illegitimate Dynasties], see [Fang Ch'iao 房喬 et al.], *Chin shu*,Po-na pen erh-shih-ssu shih ed., vol. 6.

[62] *Shih chi*, 61.16; a mod. translation by B. Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 189; another one in brackets is by Tsai-fa Cheng, Zongli Lu, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., and Robert Reynolds, *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume VII: The Memoirs of the Pre-Han China by Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr., 5 and n. 44; *Chou Yi chu shu* 周易注疏, 1.9a.

[63] *Shih chi*, 25.4. Cf. the use of the "stimulus and response" (*kan ying* 感應) concept by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who wrote, "When human emotions are stimulated [by music], those whose customs [are different and countries] remote [from ours] come [and join us]," *Shih chi*, 130.35; cf. references in n. 1 above.

[64] *Han shu*, 56. 4014.

[65] *Shih chi*, 50.7-8; B. Watson's mod. translation cited, cf. Watson, *Records*, vol. 1, 398.

[66] See Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 116-122, 230-236; Pai Shou-yi 白壽彝, *"Shih chi" hsin lun* "史記"新論 (Peking:Ch'iu-shih ch'u-pan-she, 1981), 20-22 ff.

[67] *Shih chi*, 27. 92-93, 83.

[68] *Han shu*, 26.2171.

[69] *Han shu*, 80.4865.

[70] See Wolfram Eberhard, "The Political Function of Astronomy and Astronomers in Ancient China," 58-59; Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 120-122.

[71] See *Hsün-tzu*,18.243; A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, vol. 1, 347,414; J. L. Kroll, "Notes on Ch'in and Han Law," 63-64.

[72] See *Shih chi*, 88.10-11; translation by D. Bodde cited, see Derk Bodde, *Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China*, 62; cf. *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume VII*, ed. Nienhauser, 366.

[73] *Shih chi*, 73.19; cf. *Shih chi*, 73.18; Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 108-109. Cf. general Pai Ch'i's 白起 self-accusation before committing suicide that he deserved death for having deceived and massacred masses of surrendered enemy soldiers, see *Shih chi*, 73.12, cf. *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume VII*, ed. Nienhauser, 176, 173.

[74] *Shih chi*, 45.23.

[75] *Shih chi*, 34.24-25.

[76] See *Shih chi*, 91.18; 130.30, 41.32; 114.11, etc.

[77] *Shih chi*, 130.39-40.

[78] *Shih chi*, 7.75-78; a mod. translation by B.Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Records*, vol. 1, 74.

[79] See *Shih chi*, 61.11-14; partially mod. translations from *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume VII*, ed. Nienhauser, 4 and n. 36, cited; cf. Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 188-189.

[80] See J. L. Kroll, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Literary Theory and Literary Practice," 313-325.

[81] See *Shih chi*, 61.17; 129.12; cf. *Shih chi*, 129.7. Hence the importance of the motive of "recognition" in the *Shih chi*, see Wai-yee Li, "The Idea of Authority in the *Shih chi (Records of the Historian)*," 373-375, 382, 386, etc.

[82] See *Lun heng chiao shih*, 21.270.

[83] See, for instance, Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik,* 111-134 ff. For the latest study of the problem see Michael Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China.Companion to A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods*, 432-437.

[84] *Shih chi*, 16.2-4; mod. translation by B. Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Records*, vol. 1,120-121.

[85] *Shih chi*, 49.6; mod. translation by B. Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Records*, vol. 1, 381. The phrase in inner quotes is cited from *Tso chuan*, cf. Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics* , 205, 211 (Hsi-kung 僖公, 28th year).

[86] *Shih chi*, 49.2-3; mod. translation by B. Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Records,* vol. 1, 379-380.

[87] See *Shih chi*, 79.50, 125.2.

[88] *Shih chi*, 125.2; 98.9; mod. translations by B. Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Records*, vol. 2, 462; vol.1, 284.

[89] *Shih chi*, 27.85.

[90] *Shih chi*, 15.4, 44.50; mod. translations by B. Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 185-186, 187.

[91] See *Han shu*, 22.1905; 23.1963; a slightly mod. translation by A. F. P. Hulsewé cited, cf. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, vol. 1, 430, 321, 351, n. 1.

[92] See *Pai hu t'ung* 白虎通 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien ed.), 3B.208-217; Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung*, vol. 1, 74; vol. 2, 565-571. Doubts as to the authenticity of the present text of the *Pai hu t'ung* and its having been compiled by Pan Ku were expressed by W. Hung, who suggested it is a compilation of the third century; see *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide,* ed. Michael Loewe. Early China Special Monograph Series No. 2, 347-350.

[93] See Fan Yeh 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, 84.2784-2785; 24.862; An Tso-chang 安作璋, *Pan Ku yü Han shu* 班固與漢書, 73; Otto B. van der Sprenkel, *Pan Piao, Pan Ku and the Han History*, 13. But Jan Chao-te doubts the author could be anybody but Pan Ku, see Jan Chao-te 冉昭德, "Pan Chao, Ma Hsü pu-tso 'Han shu • Pa Piao' chi 'T'ien wen chih' chih-yi" 班昭，馬續補作 "漢書 • 八表" 及 "天文志" 志疑, *Kuang-ming jih-pao* 光明日報 (April 24, 1963).

[94] See *Han shu*, 69.4532.

[95] See Krol', "O kontseptsiyi 'Kitay – varvarui'," 18-19; cf. Homer H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku*, vol. 2 (1944), 208 (and n. 4.4), 214, 220, 246, 322, 379, 411.

[96] See *Han shu*, 94A.5302; 94B.5393-5394; cf. *Shih chi*, 110.3-4.

[97] See *Pai hu t'ung*, 1B.57; cf. Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung*, vol. 2, 401.

[98] *Han shu*, 28B(ii). 3037.

[99] See references in n. 97 above.

[100] See *Han shu*, 94B.5394; cf. Ellis P. Tinios, "Sure Guidance for One's Own Time: Pan Ku and the Tsan to *Han Shu* 94," *Early China* 9-10 (1983-1985), 197. Pan Ku's predecessors (not mentioned by E. P. Tinios) were Liu An 劉安, King of Huai-nan (135 B.C.), Tu Ch'in 杜欽 (ca. 25 B.C.), and Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (ca. 3 B.C.?), see *Han shu*, 64A.4317, 96B. 5551; A. F. P. Hulsewé, Michael A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia. The Early Stage: 125 B.C.-A.D.23*, 202.

[101] For father and son, ruler and subject, and husband and wife oppositions see references in n. 102 below. In omitting the Hereditary Houses Pan Ku followed in the steps of his father Pan Piao 班彪 (3-54) in whose *Hou chuan* 後傳 there was no such division, see *Hou Han shu*, 40B.1327; Ch'en Chih 陳直, "Han Chin jen tui 'Shih chi' te ch'uan-po chi ch'i p'ing-chia" 漢晉人對 "史記" 的傳播及其評價, in *Ssu-ma Ch'ien yü "Shih chi" lun-chi* 司馬遷與 "史記" 論集, ed. Li-shih yen-chiu pien-chi-pu, 231.

[102] See *Han shu*, 97A.5553-5554; cf. *Shih chi*, 49.1-4.

[103] See *Han shu*, 23.1975-1976 (cf. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, vol. 1, 329); 22.1910; 56.3998; *Shih chi*, 25.6.

[104] See *Han shu*, 21A.1638-1640, 1683, 1689, 1693-1695; cf. *Han shu*, 30.3205.

[105] See Yu. L. Krol', "Drevnekitayskaya kontseptsiya 'uzora Zemli' " [The ancient Chinese concept of the "pattern of Earth"], *Nauchnaya konferentsiya "Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitaye." Tezisui dokladov.* 22, pt. 1, 36-40; Krol', "Kitaytsui i 'varvarui'," 49; Krol'. "Geograficheskiy traktat 'Istoriyi Han''. Issledovaniye " [The geographical treatise of the "Han History". A study], 21-23.

[106] See *Han shu*, 25A. 2272, 2274; 21A.1632-1633, 1693, 1695; 23.1975, 1976; 27Aa. 2272, etc. Like Ssu-ma Ch'ien before him, Pan Ku also reproduced the description of the Five

Zones (*wu fu*) from *Yü kung* (in his treatise on geography); using the concept of *wu fu* as a starting-point, he approved of Hsiao Wang-chih's 蕭望之 policy toward the Hsiung-nu based on the consideration that they live in the remote fifth zone and therefore are unable to come and pay tribute regularly; hence the idea common to both thinkers of leading the Hsiung-nu "like a horse or an ox is led by a halter" (*chi mi* 羈縻) and treating them as "guests," not as "subjects", see *Han shu*, 28A(i). 2486-2488; 94B.5393-5394; Jurij L. Kroll, "The Jimi Foreign Policy under the Han," 72-88; Yu. L. Krol'. "Otnosheniya imperiyi i syunnu glazami Ban' Gu" [Relations between the empire and the Hsiung-nu as Seen by Pan Ku], 206-249.

[107] *Han shu*, 25B.2168; cf. ibid.,21B.1769. In inner quotes: *Shuo Kua* 說卦 in a mod. translation by R. Wilhelm and C. Y. Baynes is cited, cf. Richard Wilhelm, Carry Y. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes*., 268; cf. Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 486-492,560-571, 576.

[108] See *Han shu*, 21A.1629; 24A.1999; 27Aa.2271-2273; cf. *Han shu*, 100B.5856, 5857; 33.3307. It should be added that those who completed *Han shu* felt it proper to begin the last two chronological Tables with the times of Fu-hsi, see *Han shu*, 19A.1098, 20A.1338. According to Ku Chieh-kang, Shao-hao 少皞 was introduced between Huang-ti and Chuang-hsü as one of the Five Emperors by Liu Hsin and others at the time of Wang Mang 王莽, see Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 571-580. Shao-hao is the first emperor mentioned by name in *Han shu* 25, see *Han shu*, 25A.2076.

[109] *Han shu*, 1B.99; a mod. translation by H. H. Dubs cited, cf. Dubs, *The History*, vol. 1 (1938), 150. *Han shu* mentions these ideas several times and testifies to the fact they were also shared by Pan Piao, see *Han shu*, 25A.2099; 100A.5822; 100B.5847, 5848, etc.

[110] See *Shih chi*, 6.111-115; cf. *Wen hsüan Li Shan chu* 文選李善注 (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.), 48.482-483; Ch'en Chih, "Han Chin jen," 235; Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 183-191; Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu te," 567-571.

[111] *Han shu*, 99C.5809; cf. Dubs, *The History*, vol. 3 (1955), 473-474.

[112] See Dubs, *The History*, vol. 3, 473-474, nn. 29.19-29.21.

[113] *Han shu*, 99C.5809; a mod. translation by H. H. Dubs cited, cf. Dubs, *The History*, vol. 3, 474, n. 29.21.

[114] See Ku Chieh-kang, „Wu te," 486-492.

[115] *Han shu*, 21A.1643; cf. *Han shu*, 21A.1639; 27Aa.2271; 30.3092; 100B.5856, 5857 (on Eight Trigrams); 21A.1632, 1659, 1660, etc. (on Eight Musical Sounds); 25A.2089-2091, 2099; 25B.2142, 2145,2154 (on Eight Gods); 23.1989-1990 (on Eight Deliberations ([*pa yi* 八議]); 26.2238 (on Eight Winds);30.3109 (on Eight Rows of Dancers).

[116] See *Han shu*, 24A.1999; 25A.2075. One cannot help surmising that the subjects of *Han shu* chapters 22 and 23 on Rites and Music (*li yüeh* 禮樂) and Norms for Mutilating Punishments (*hsing fa* 刑法) also originate from the two of Eight [Concerns of] Government, namely the fifth one, the Minister of Instruction (*ssu t'u* 司徒), and the sixth one, the Minister of Crime (*ssu k'ou* 司寇), cf. *Shih chi*, 38.11. The first citation in Liu Hsin's and Pan Ku's discussion of the *ping chia* 兵家 authors treating of arts of warfare and military problems originates from the same source: it points to the eighth Concern of Government, "the army" (*Han shu*, 30.3197; cf. Legge, *The Shoo King*, vol. 3 of *The Chinese Classics*, 327).

[117] *See Han shu*, 25A.2076, 2118, 28A(i). 2468, 2485, 2492, 29.3054; 25A. 2118; 25A.2087, 2118, 27Ba.2352, etc.; 29.2054;28A(i).2486,29. 3086;28A.2486, 29.3054, 3056;28A(i).2486, 29.3086; 28A(i).2485, 29.3054. For the text of *Yü kung* see *Han shu*, 28A(i).2468-2488; 100B.5856. For *Hung fan* and citations therefrom see *Han shu*, 100B.5856, 27A.2272, 2273; 21B.1781, 23.1964, 24A.1999, 25A.2075, 27A.2271-2272, 2272-2273, 2274, 27Ba.2307-2308,2308-2309, 30.3197; cf. Legge, *The Shoo King*, vol. 3 of *The Chinese Classics*, 322-326, 326-327, 340-341, 333; Wolfram Eberhard, *Beiträge zur kosmologischen Spekulation der Chinesen der Han-Zeit*, 8-9, 10-11,14-15, 20-21, 46, 81-83. For Nine Schools (or Currents [of

Thought]) see *Han shu*, 100B. 5857; 30. 3171-3172, 3129 (cf. ibid., 3130-3168, 3088-3129); cf. *Shih chi*, 130. 7-14. For the "Table of Ancient and Modern Men" see *Han shu*, 20.1335-1338 ff.;100B.5853; Derk Bodde, "Types of Chinese Categorical Thinking" in Derk Bodde, *Essays on Chinese Civilization*, 148-160 (p. 148 cited).

[118] See *Han shu*, 28A(i). 2468, 99A.5694-5695; 19A.1099.

[119] See *Han shu*, 28B(ii).2023, 2028, 3033, 3038; 21A.1693. In order to equalize the numbers of terrestrial zones and celestial Jupiter Stations ancient Chinese astrologers sometimes united Wu and Yüeh into one zone.

[120] See *Han shu*, 21A.1630, 1644; 21A.1635, 1634-1636, 1641; 75.4702-4704.

[121] See Krol', "Nekotoruiye nablyudeniya," 104-109. That the total number of *Han shu* chapters is meaningful is corroborated by the fact that it was imitated by some of the authors of early histories, which includes Standard Histories. For instance, in 488 Shen Yüeh 沈約 (441-513) completed *Sung shu* 宋書, which has ten Basic Annals (a term borrowed from Ssu-ma Ch'ien), thirty Treatises *chih* (a term borrowed from Pan Ku), and sixty Traditions (or Biographies) *chuan* (both latter terms borrowed from Pan Ku), all in all, one hundred *chüan*. No less than two Later Han histories written before Fan Yeh 范曄 (398-446), *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 by Hsüeh Ying 薛瑩 (d. 282) and that by Yüan Shan-sung 袁山松 of the Chin period, originally had one hundred *chüan* each, see *Sui shu* 隋書 (Peking: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1958; Po-na-pen erh-shih-ssu shih ed., vol. 9), 33. 1b. When Fan Yeh was compiling *Hou Han shu*, he, too, planned to write "all in all ten Annals, ten Treatises *chih* and eighty Arrayed Traditions (or Biographies) that together amounted to one hundred fascicles (*p'ien* 篇)," but the Treatises remained incomplete since the historian was executed, see P'u Ch'i-lung 浦起龍, *Shih t'ung t'ung shih* 史通通釋, 12.28. On the other hand, an attempt to compose *Hou Han shu* in 130 chapters (*chüan*), which is as many as contained in *Shih chi*, was made by Hsieh Ch'eng 謝承 ca. 220 (*Sui shu*, 33. 1b).

[122] *Han shu*, 100B.5856. In inner quotes a text from the *Hsi tz'u chuan* 繫辭傳 is cited, cf. Wilhelm, Baynes, *I Ching*, 319.

[123] Cf. Ye. P. Sinitsuin, *Ban Gu istorik drevnego Kitaya*, 74-75.

[124] See *Han shu*, 100A.5822-5827 (cf. Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 137-150); 100B.5849.

[125] *Han shu*, 30.3152; a mod. translation by H. H. Dubs cited, cf. Dubs, *The History*, vol.3, 454, n.24.4. Cf. *Shih chi*, 130.7; Krol', *Suima Tsyan' -- istorik*, 10.

[126] *Han shu*, 27A.2272-2273. He wrote, "The [Dragon] Chart [produced by River] Ho was bestowed on P'ao 庖 [-hsi 羲], the [Turtle] Book [produced by River] Lo was given to Yü, [this is how] Eight Trigrams [of the Dragon Chart] formed a series and 'Nine Divisions [of the Great Model] were brought forth in their order.' Three Dynasties treasured them, glorified the arts of peace and war. As to divinations of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, [in the case of] unfavorable verification (i.e. of retribution for one's guilt. – J. K.) [the Annals] refer to it, inform of the past [so that one can] know the future, and provide a model for the king's business" (*Han shu*, 100B.5856; cf. *Han shu*, 27A.2271-2273, 2287; 62.4248; in inner quotes a phrase from *Hung fan* is cited, cf. James Legge, *The Shoo King*, vol. 3 of *The Chinese Classics*, 323 (V.IV. 3)). Both concepts, that of referring to the past in order to clarify the future and that of a model, were connected with *lei* thinking, cf. J.L. Kroll, "The Term *Yi-piao* and 'Associative' Thinking," 356-359.

[127] *Han shu*, 75.4735; inner quotes mark a citation from the *Lun yü* 論語, cf. James Legge, *Confucian Analects*, vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics*, 243 (XI.XVIII, 2). Cf. *Han shu*, 27A.2273.

[128] *Han shu*, 100B.5853; cf. Legge, *The She King*, vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics,* 514 (III.III.II, 6); Dubs, *The History*, vol. 3, 177.

[129] *Han shu*, 82.4923.

[130] See *Han shu*, 31.3274-3275; 60.4209; cf. *Han shu*, 1B.97-99; 31.3274; 33.3308; 59.4183; 68.4501.

[131] *Han shu*, 54.5950; a mod. translation by B. Watson cited, cf. Burton Watson, *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han by Pan Ku*, 45.

[132] *Han shu*, 23.1974-1975; a mod. translation by A. F. P. Hulsewé cited, cf. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, vol. 1, 328.

[133] *Han shu*, 51.3855; 45.3652.

[134] See *Han shu*, 31.3274-3275.

[135] *Han shu*, 59.4183.

[136] *Han shu*, 52.3890; 100B.5865. Inner quotes mark a slightly inexact citation from *Yi ching*, see *Chou Yi*, 4.4a. Usually the text is translated "Power in the toes" (Wilhelm, Baynes, *The I Ching*, 134). I follow a gloss by Yen Shih-ku 顏師古.

[137] *Han shu*, 33.3308. Pan Ku's comment is partly based on that by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who wrote, "T'ien Heng's lofty integrity [was such that his] retainers, longing [to perform their] duty [of fealty], followed Heng in death; wasn't [he a person of] the highest worth?" (*Shih chi*, 94.12; cf. 94.8-11; Watson, *Records*, vol. 1, 249-251). Ssu-ma Ch'ien however never mentioned Heaven.

[138] See *Han shu*, 97A.5553-5554.

[139] See *Han shu*, 97B. 5630.

[140] *Han shu*, 100B.5848. The translation of the last phrase is based on a gloss by Wang Nien-sun 王念孫 (see ibid). The first phrase in inner quotes comes from *Lun yü*, cf. Legge, *Confucian Analects*, 202 (VII.XXII), the other two from *Hsi tz'u* A, cf. *Chou Yi*, 7.16b. The Conjunction of Five Planets in the Tung-ching constellation was regarded as an auspicious portent of receiving the Mandate of Heaven by the founder of the Han, see Homer H. Dubs, *The History*, vol. 1, 55-56, 151-153; Krol', *Suima Tsyan'- istorik*, 140, 182, 216, 218, 226-227, 235, 237; David W. Pankenier, "The Cosmo-Political Background of Heaven's Mandate," 121-176.

[141] See *Han shu*, 100B.5852, 5849, 40.3521-3522; cf. Wolfgang Bauer, "Der Fürst von Liu," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 106, Heft I, Neue Folge, - Bd. 31(1956), 166-205; Krol', *Suima Tsyan'- istorik*, 141-143, 151-156, 147-148, 250.

[142] See Loewe, *The Men*,434, 433 (n. 58), 152-153.

[143] *Han shu*, 100B. 5849. Inner quotes mark a slightly inexact citation from the *Shu ching*, cf. Legge, *The Shoo King*, vol. 3 of *The Chinese Classics*, 457 (Pt. V. Bk. XIV. P. 9); its translation by D. W. Pankenier is cited, see Pankenier, "The Cosmo-Political Background," 131, n. 12; cf. ibid., 147 (and n. 47), 157 and n. 65.

[144] See *Han shu*, 27Cb.2446, 3.114,116; Dubs, *The History*, vol. 1, 196,199, 211-213. The Lü clan is also blamed in *Han shu* by Liu Hsiang for the almost total solar eclipse of July 17, 188 B.C., see *Han shu*, 27Cb.2446; 2.108; Dubs, *The History*, vol. 1, 185,189.

[145] See *Han yü ta tz'u tien*, vol. 2, 1429 (*t'ien shih*, the 3rd meaning), 1439 (*t'ien yün*, the 1st meaning).

[146] *Han shu*, 63.4308-4310; considerably mod. translation by B. Watson cited, cf. Watson, *Courtier*, 76-78. Inner quotes mark successively three, borrowings from *Shih chi*, 27.90; a passage from *Tso chuan*, cf. Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics*, 15 (Yin-kung 隱公, the 4th year); and an inexact citation from *Hsi tz'u* A, cf. *Chou Yi*, 7.18a.

[147] See *Han shu*, 26.2239.

[148] See *Shih chi*, 27.72; 27.90; cf. ibid., 6.5- 6,8,11, 14-15 (the words cited by Pan Ku in the text adduced on p. 36 above, cf. n. 146, are printed in italics); *Han shu*, 26.2240. In contrast to *Han shu*, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's list of portents (pp. 17-18 above) registers two appearances of the Banner of Ch'ih Yu and not for 135 (for which see also Dubs, *The History*, vol. 1, 34 and n. 4.1), but for the eras of 134-129 and 123-117 B.C., when the comet "was long, extending through the half of the sky. Thereupon the armies from the capital set out in four [directions];

those who [had] to punish the barbarians from [eastern] Yi to [northern] Ti [waged wars] for several tens of years, but [their] punitive expeditions against the Hu 胡 were especially violent" (*Shih chi*, 27.91-92).

[149] *Han shu*, 94B.5392; cf. Ellis P. Tinios, "Sure Guidance for One's Own Time: Pan Ku and the Tsan to *Han Shu* 94," 195.

[150] See *Han shu*, 94A.5337-5353; 94B.5354-5359; Timoteus Pokora, An Annotated Translation by, *Hsin-lun (New Treatise) and Other Writings by Huan T'an(43 B.C.-28 A.D.)*, 48.

[151] See Pankenier, "The Cosmo-Political Background," 132-134; James Legge, *The Works of Mencius*, vol. 2 of *The Chinese Classics*, 232 (II.XIV), 501-502 (VII. XXXVIII); *Shih chi*, 130.19-20; Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 50, 87.

[152] See *Han shu*, 97A.5583, 5582; 8, 249-250, 253, 254 (Dubs, *The History*, vol. 2, 199-201, 205, 208, 235, 236); 74.4674-4678; Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, FormerHan &Xin Periods (221 B.C.- 24 A.D.)*, 12-13.

[153] *Han shu*, 100B.5872. For the citation in inner quotes see n. 85.

[154] *Han shu*, 74.4684.

[155] For the concept of "revival" see Yu. L. Krol', "Predstavleniye o vozrozhdeniyi dinastiyi v drevnen Kitaye" [The concept of revival of a dynasty in ancient China], 53-64

[156] *Han shu*, 80.4869; 15B.619; 99C.5808 (a mod. translation by H. H. Dubs cited, cf. Dubs, *The History*, vol. 3,471). In 5 B.C. Ai-ti accepted advice that included the idea that "The house of Han [according to its] fate (*yün*) has decayed in the midst [of the period allotted to it] and should again receive the Mandate (*ming*)" (see *Han shu*, 11.341-342, 75.4716,4732). Gradually it found its way into the official ideology of the Later Han, having been interpreted as a prophecy that Kuang-wu-ti will receive the Mandate of Heaven.

[157] See Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 129.

[158] See Kroll, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Literary Theory," 313-325.

[159] See Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 140.

[160] See Krol', *Suima Tsyan' – istorik*, 64-66.

[161] See *Han shu*, 36.3401.

[162] See Jaroslav Průšek, *Chinese History and Literature: Collection of Studies*, 19, 31, 2.

[163] See Krol', "O vliyaniyi 'assotsiativnogo muishleniya'," 376-380.

[164] See *Shih chi*, ch. 7, 8, 10-12, 41, 47, 48, 53-56, 58, 64, 66, 68-70, 72, 75, 77, 78, 82, 85, 87, 88, 91, 92, 96, 104, 106, 108, 117. Four of them have an "appendix" dealing with one (ch. 41, 66) or more (ch. 58, 96) other people.

[165] *Shih chi*, ch. 8-12 are annals of the first six emperors of the Han dynasty; empress Lü was a member of the Liu clan though of a different surname. Ch. 9 of the *Shih chi* combines the annals of Hui-ti 惠帝 (195-188 B.C.) with those of his mother empress Lü (188-180 B.C.) but is named only after her.

[166] See *Han shu*, ch. 1-12, 48, 56, 57, 65, 87, 98, 99.

[167] See *Shih chi*, ch. 1-6, 9. In his ch. 1 Ssu-ma Ch'ien emphasized that Five Emperors were relatives, descendants of Huang-ti, hence my classification of their annals.

[168] See *Shih chi*, ch. 31-35, 37-40, 42-46, 50-52, 57, 59, 60.

[169] See *Shih chi*, ch. 61, 80, 94, 109, 118, 130. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's autobiography includes information on his ancestors and especially on his father Ssu-ma T'an, hence my classification of the chapter.

[170] See *Han shu*, ch. 35, 36, 38, 44, 47, 53, 59, 60, 62, 63, 73, 78-80, 84, 100.

[171] See *Shih chi*, ch. 36, 49, 62, 63, 65, 67, 71, 73, 74, 76, 79, 81, 83, 84, 86, 89, 90, 93, 95, 97-103, 105, 107, 111, 112, 119-122, 124-129.

[172] See *Han shu*, ch. 31-34, 37, 39-43, 45, 46, 49-52, 54, 55, 58, 61, 64, 66-72, 74-77, 81-83, 85, 86, 88-93, 97.

[173] For instance, *Shih chi*, ch. 65 contains joint biographies of three theorists of the art of war, two of which are relatives with the same surname (Sun Wu and Sun Pin), but the third one (Wu Ch'i) is not related to them by blood.
[174] See *Han shu*, ch. 40, 51, 54, 66, 68, 71.
[175] See Jan Chao-te 冉昭德, "Pan Ku yü 'Han shu' " 班固與 «漢書» 35.
[176] See Chauncey S. Goodrich, "Letter to the Editor," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968), 210-211; but cf. Jan Chao-te, "Pan Ku," 35, n. 7.

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