

The *t'u-ch'en* 圖讖 Prophetic Books and the Establishment of Confucianism

(I)

By Chōhachi ITANO

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Preface

What is here referred to as Confucianism is Confucius' doctrines considered as a national religion. It seems to have become the generally accepted view that Confucius' doctrines became a national religion, that is to say Confucianism, for civilising prince and people, when Wu-ti of the Han established the professorships of the Five Classics, having accepted the proposal of Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 that, in the classification of the Six Arts, anything which did not belong in Confucius' methods should be grouped together as being contrary to his principles. However, in my opinion, Confucius' doctrines became a national religion as a result of the actions of Kuang-wu-ti, of the Later Han. This emperor regarded the prophetic books as classics, and he raised his armies and gained control of the empire as a result of his confidence that the mandate was his, based on the prophetic books written by Confucius. He became emperor by depending on the prophetic books, he established a system for government and religious observance on the basis of them, he suppressed those who did not regard the prophetic books as classics, considering them to be wicked and lawless, and, finally, promulgated the prophetic books throughout the empire. It was thus that what is called Confucianism was established.

I therefore propose to examine the contents and the role of the prophetic books, and thereby throw light on the true aspect of the establishment of Confucianism.

1. The Twofold Nature of the Prophetic Books

Chang Heng, of the Later Han period, submitted a memorial to the effect that the prophetic books used by Kuang-wu-ti, Ming-ti and Chang-ti, and studied by many Later Han scholars, were false and did not conform to the ways of saintly men. His memorial began:

"It is your servant's understanding that saintly men closely examine the calendar in order to establish what is of good or evil omen. This they combine with divination by tortoise shell and yarrow stalks, and diversify it with the Nine Stars 九宮. These are all the means there are to survey Heaven and test the Way. Some observe the effects of the stars, adverse or favourable, painful or happy. Others examine the omens of tortoise shells or yarrow stalks, or the sayings of wizards. No single method is the basis. It is because the words precede and the signs follow that the wise are respectful of these methods. This is called prophetic writing." 臣聞聖人明審律歷以定吉凶，重之以卜筮，雜之以九宮，經天驗道，本盡於此，或觀星辰逆順寒燠所由，或察龜策之占，巫覡之言，其所因者非一術也，立言於前，有徵於後，故智者貴焉，謂之讖書。

Thus he defines the meaning of *ch'en* 讖, 'prophecy'. For him, 'prophecy' meant words first and signs second, that is to say, prophetic words which were to be proved subsequently. This was what wise men could achieve by scrutiny of their definite knowledge of the calendar and of their survey of Heaven and examination of the Way, based on tortoise shells, yarrow stalks and the Nine Stars, that is to say, by scrutiny of the Way of Heaven as the natural law. He admits the additional consultation of tortoise shells, yarrow stalks and the sayings of wizards; what he is concerned with is predictions, capable of effective proof, which were obtained by scrutiny of the Way of Heaven as the natural law, first through Heaven-given omens in the fields of astronomy and geophysics, based on knowledge of the calendar and the *I-ching* 易經, as well as omens obtained by means of tortoise shell and yarrow stalk divination. In short, 'prophecy' was predictions obtained through study of the calendar and the Changes, made by saintly men and others.

He went on to say that the followers of Hsia-hou Sheng 夏侯勝 and Swei Hung 眭弘, of the Han, were known for their magical arts but produced not a word of prophecy, and that Liu Hsiang 劉向, father and son, studied secret books but also left no record of prophecy, of which the first was heard after the time of Ch'eng-ti and Ai-ti. Further, there are discrepancies between the *Ch'un-ch'iu* prophecy on river control and that of the *Shang-shu*; there are

discrepancies between the prophecy about Ch'ih-yu 蚩尤 in the *Shih-ching* and elsewhere; in the *Yüan-ming-pao* 元命包 of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* there are names of people and provinces which did not exist in the Ch'un-ch'iu period. Further, Chia K'uei 賈逵 extracted more than thirty mutually contradictory prophecies but he could not explain what he meant by the term, nor was there any prophecy giving warning of Wang Mang's usurpation. In the light of such facts, it was clear that prophecies came into being in the time of Ai-ti and P'ing-ti. He further argued that, since the composition of the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing* 河圖洛書 and the *Six Arts* 六藝 was already established, there was no necessity for them to contain later irresponsible interpolations, and also that prophecies by later hands had no proof and so constituted a fraud on the public, and he concluded:

"Predictions by the use of the calendar, the hexagrams, the Nine Stars and the quarters of the wind are often effectively proved. But the world will not accept the lesson, and people vie with one another to praise works not intended for divination: as though a painter might dislike depicting dogs or horses and prefer to delineate phantoms. This is indeed to find it hard to give shape to true facts, while giving infinite value to empty deceit. The prophetic books should be called in and forbidden once and for all. In this way there would be no confusion between red and purple, no flaws in the canon of the classics". 且律歷卦候九宮風角數有徵效，世莫肯學，而競稱不占之書，譬猶畫工惡圖犬馬，而好作鬼魅，誠以實事難形，而虛僞不窮也，宜收藏圖讖，一禁絕之，則朱紫無所眩，典籍無瑕玷矣。

Chang Heng, then, considered that prophecies, which were effectively verifiable predictions, obtained by study of the calendar or the Changes, were legitimate, while holding that the prophecies and prophetic books used by Kuang-wu-ti and subsequent Later Han sovereigns or scholars were empty and false. He says that the latter came into being at the time of Ch'eng-ti and Ai-ti at the end of the Former Han. Although he first lists the calendar, tortoise shell and yarrow stalk divination, the Nine Stars and the sayings of wizards as the learning or methods required for prophecies, and subsequently lists the calendar, the hexagrams, the Nine Stars and the quarters of the wind, he would not seem to go outside the scope of the calendar and the Changes. It may be remarked that Chang Heng is famous for his invention of a 'wind observation and earth movement instrument' in A.D. 132. This was an apparatus for giving advance knowledge of earthquakes. However, it was not intended to predict earthquakes before they happened in time, but to determine the location of the earthquake when this was not known. It may therefore be said to have been an apparatus for making a prophecy of the kind he regarded as legitimate, that is to say for making predictions.

Chang Heng held to be legitimate prophecies those which were predic-

tions obtained from scrutiny of the Way of Heaven as the natural law by means of the calendar and the Changes, while he regarded as empty and false the prophecies and prophetic books used by Kuang-wu-ti and his successors. However, the latter were also in circulation, and were, moreover, accepted by many people as prophecies and prophetic books, and it must, therefore, probably be supposed that they were broadly divided into these two kinds. I propose, therefore, to make a survey of their respective characteristics.

First, on the prophecies and prophetic books used by Kuang-wu-ti and his successors. There is an entry in the Treatise on Religion in the *Hou Han-shu* concerning the religious ceremony carried out by Kuang-wu-ti in the 32nd year of Chien-wu (1st year of Chung-yüan, A.D. 56). It begins:

"32nd year, 1st month. The Emperor fasted. In the night he read the Hui-ch'ang 會昌 Oracle in the *Yellow River Chart*, which says: "The ninth of the *Ch'ih-Liu* 赤劉 (*Red Liu*) shall meet with the mandate on Mount Tai-tsung. If care be not taken in its proper use, how can successors benefit? Truly sound use shall ensure that no villainy shall sprout." He was moved by this passage, and ordered Liang Sung 梁松 and the others to make further search for prophetic passages in the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing* 河洛, which mentioned religious activities on the part of the ninth generation. Liang and his colleagues made submissions, which were accepted." 三十二年正月, 上齋, 夜讀河圖會昌符曰, 赤劉之九, 會命岱宗, 不慎克用, 何益於承, 誠善用之, 姦僞不萌, 感此文, 乃詔松(梁松)等, 復案索河雒讖文言九世封禪事者, 松等列奏, 乃許焉。

Moved by the Hui-ch'ang Oracle in the *Yellow River Chart*, the emperor ordered Liang Sung and others to investigate prophetic passage in the *Yellow River Chart* and *Lo River Writing* mentioning religious ceremonies to be carried out by the ninth generation, that is to say, Kuang-wu-ti, ninth generation of the Han. I take this one to be the first. Orders were next given for a discussion of the manner of carrying out the ceremony. On this occasion Liang Sung said:

"I should think that the ceremony of *feng-ch'an* means to let the Heaven know of the fulfilment of ceremony and to establish a standard for the later generation. This is in favour of all people. For this purpose, the esteemed favour of the Heaven should be accepted in the most distinguished manner and the good omen of prophetic books should be observed in the most distinct way. In the meantime, they are placing the sacred tablet under the used stone, utilizing once more the used mound. I am afraid if this is not the proper way to accept the Mandate. You have been given the order to restore the throne. So you should try to do your best to make clear the Heavenly Order. (bestowed upon you)"

以爲登封之禮，告功皇天，垂後無窮，以爲萬民也，承天之敬，尤宜章明，奉圖書之瑞，尤宜顯著，今因舊封，竄寄玉牒故石下，恐非重命之義，受命中興，宜當特異以明天意。

I take this to be the second. So a jade tablet was prepared, and then, before the ceremony, a stone was engraved, with the following passage in the text:

“The Red Scroll Oracle in the *Yellow River Chart* 河圖赤伏符 says: “Liu Hsiu 劉秀 (=Kuang-wu-ti) shall raise troops and shall take untold prisoners. The barbarians shall gather like clouds from the four quarters, and there shall be the dragons’ battle field. For 4, 7 periods, fire shall be the sovereign”. The Hui-ch’ang Oracle in the *Yellow River Chart* says: “The ninth descendant of the Red Emperor shall make a tour of inspection, gain the centre, pacify it and possess it. These shall indeed be a blending of the way of the sovereign and the rules of Confucius. Thus shall the divine spirit of the heavenly bodies come forth, and thus shall rise up the auspicious working of the earth. The ninth of the Liu sovereigns shall meet with the mandate on Mount Tai-tsung. Truly sound use of it shall ensure that no villainy shall sprout. The virtue of Fiery Han shall arise. The ninth generation shall meet with glory, shall make a progress to Mount Tai and all shall be right. Heaven and Earth shall protect nine. Constant reverence of the classics and the way of the great prosperity of Han shall reside with the sovereign of the ninth generation. He shall worship on Mount T’ai and shall engrave a stone with the record.” We examined the *Ancient Compilation Combining the Five Yellow River Charts* 五河圖合古篇, where it say: “the emperor Liu Hsiu, ninth of the name, shall rule with virtue and stop harsh government”. The *Yellow River Chart* cites the Liu-tzu 劉子, saying: “The emperor of the ninth generation will be truly saintly. He shall hold the balance and resist the Nine Provinces. He shall be one to pacify the empire.” The Chen-yao-to 甄曜度 of the *Lo River Writing* says: “Three virtues of the Red Glory make the ninth generation prosperous, let the people assemble to observe what the oracle says, arrange, things to be in accordance with behavior of the emperor and let the emperor try to hold ceremonies to pay respect to the Heaven and to record his achievements.” The *Kou-ming chüeh* 鉤命決 in the *Hsiao-ching* 孝經 says: “For whom I go? (I go for) the use of the Red Liu (family). The emperor is enthroned three times. The filial people are to meet (each other) nine times. When, in this way, all performances will be over then, go to Mt. Tai 岱 and Mt. Ch’ing 青”. 河圖赤伏符曰，劉秀發兵捕不道，四夷雲集，龍闕野，四七之際，火爲主，河圖會昌符曰，赤帝九世，巡省得中治平則封，誠合帝道孔矩，則天文靈出，地祇瑞興，帝劉之九，會命岱宗，誠善用之，姦僞不萌，赤漢德興，九世會昌，巡岱皆當，天地扶九，崇經之常，漢大興之道，在九世之王，封于泰山，刻石著紀，

禪于梁父，退省考五河圖合古籍，曰帝劉之秀，九名之世，帝行德封刻政，河圖提劉子曰，九世之帝方明聖，持衡，拒九州，平天下子，雒書甄曜度曰，赤三德，昌九世，會修符，合帝際，勉刻封，孝經鉤命決曰，予誰行，赤劉用，帝三建，孝九會，修專茲竭，行封岱青，云々。

This is the third.

In the foregoing passages, fire, red, red emperor, red Liu and red Han mean the Han. The 4, 7 periods mean the 228 years of the rule of the Former Han. Nine, ninth generation, etc., refer to Kuang-wu-ti. We learn, then, from the first passage, that Kuang-wu-ti's act of worship was carried out on the basis of prophetic passages of the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, that is to say, prophecies, which foretold Kuang-wu-ti's act of worship, as in the Hui-ch'ang Oracle in the *Yellow River Chart*. It would seem, moreover, that the various prophecies, which appear in the text of the third passage, were prophecies which Kuang-wu-ti ordered Liang Sung and others to search out, in the first passage. These prophecies, it is clear, were, according to the second passage, predictions of that Heaven which comprised the will of Heaven as to the mandate of Heaven, and the Heaven in the prophecies was, therefore, the Heaven which was the supreme divine power, which possessed knowledge, feeling and will.

We also learn from the second passage that these prophecies were books. This is confirmed by the reference in the first passage to prophetic passages in the *Yellow River Chart* and *Lo River Writing* and to the *Ho-lo-ming-hou* and classic prophecies in the third passage. That is to say, these prophecies in the third passage. That is to say, these prophecies were classed with the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*. It is probably for this reason, as suggested above, that these prophecies were given such titles as Hui-ch'ang Oracle in the *Yellow River Chart*, Red School Oracle in the *Yellow River Chart* or *Chen-yao-tu* in the *Lo River Writing*. It should be remarked that, as these cases show, prophecies were also known as prophetic books, and that the appellation, prophetic books, was much used in the period about the time of Kuang-wu-ti. Further, some of these prophecies are called 'oracles' (*fu* 符), as for instance the Hui-ch'ang Oracle of the *Yellow River Chart*, and these are of the kind of predictions of Heaven which necessarily have a proof; so that the word 'oracle' (*fu*) seems to bear the meaning that this word bears, in combination with another, to mean 'tally' (*fu-chieh* 符節). It may, then, perhaps be said that these prophecies were substantially the same as the talisman (*fu*) for the receipt of the mandate of Heaven, found by Wang Mang.

Further, it is clear from the references in the third passage to *Ho-lo-ming-hou* and classic prophecies that these prophecies were regarded as classics. This could also be presumed from their being classed with 'books' (*t'u-shu* 圖書), that is to say, the *Yellow River Chart* and *Lo River Writing*, but it is further confirmed by the quotations from the Hui-ch'ang Oracle of the *Yellow River Chart* concerning Kuang-wu-ti, "these shall indeed be a blending

of the way of the sovereign and the rules of Confucius", or "constant reverence of the classics". Moreover, there is a similarity between, on the one hand, the passage concerning Kuang-wu-ti, "there shall indeed be a blending of the way of the sovereign and the rules of Confucius", and, in the third passage, "the emperor Yao, who ruled in ancient times, was enlightened, and secretly yielded the throne to Shun to ensure that his descendants should wield the power ... etc."; and, on the other hand, the accounts in Pan Ku's *Tien-yin-pien* 典引篇 to the effect that Yao yielded the throne to Shun, from whom it passed to Yü, thence, from Yü's Hsia dynasty to the Yin, descendants of Hsieh, then from the Yin to the Chou, the posterity of Hou Chi; or to the effect that, after trial had been made of Yao's ministers, Heaven awarded the throne to Yao, and this was handed down to the Han, who, like Yao, had the virtue of fire; but that, because of the breakdown of the system of Rites and Music at the end of the three dynasties, Heaven made the Profoundly Holy Confucius put a system of learning together and help the Han, it is obvious that these prophecies were regarded as classics, and it also seems clear that they were held to be connected with Confucius. That is to say, they were Confucian.

The foregoing should have made reasonably clear the nature of the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and succeeding Later Han sovereigns, which Chang Heng held to be empty and false. It is, moreover, well known that there were people, even in Kuang-wu-ti's time, who held that the prophecies, in which he believed, were wrong. In particular, there was the case of Huan T'an 桓譚, who, it is related, when Kuang-wu-ti was proposing to locate the Spirit Tower by prophecy, said, 'Your servant does not read prophecies.' When asked his reason, he went so far as to declare that they were non-classical. Kuang-wu-ti said that Huan T'an was wicked and lawless, and proposed to execute him, so Huan T'an beat his head until the blood flowed, so that nothing happened to him for a long time. That is to say, Huan T'an, just like Chang Heng, regarded the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and the others as empty and false, and, further, non-classical. By contrast, we can tell from the fact that Kuang-wu-ti, who believed in these things, judged Huan T'an, on the contrary, to be wicked and lawless, that the people who believed in and used these prophecies held them to be classics, the law of Confucius.

I have already pointed out that the token of the receipt of the mandate of Heaven, used by Wang Mang, belongs to the same category as the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and the rest. There are further items in connection with Wang Mang, the *K'ung Ch'iu Pi-ching* 孔丘秘經 (the Secret Classic of Confucius) and the *T'ien kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing ching* 天官歷包元太平經. First the *K'ung Ch'iu Pi-ching*. Wang Mang came to his throne in A.D. 9. The following is the memorial addressed to him by Chih Yün (鄧暉) on the occasion:

"It is your servant's understanding that Heaven and Earth value men and are sparing of material things. So the polar constellation re-

volves, the days and months go by. Embracing one way, holding to one path, earthen utensils are moulded. The ages are clearly displayed, what is fore-ordained is recorded. The Han age is for ever. Confucius made the Red System, not to have foolish people lead the rest into a time of trouble. The wise follow and achieve virtue, the foolish rebel and receive harm. Divine objects have their destiny, and may not be acquired for nothing. High Heaven issues warnings, and I would wish to enlighten your majesty, and persuade you to take a subject's position, thereby turning disaster into happiness. The House of Liu enjoys Heaven's eternal mandate. Your majesty will rise and fall with the seasons. What has been taken from Heaven should be returned to Heaven; this may be said to be knowing destiny. Unless you take thought soon, you will really not be able to avoid being in the position of a usurper. *Etc.*" 臣聞天地重其人, 惜其物, 故運機衡, 垂日月, 含元包一, 甄陶品類, 顯表紀世, 圖錄豫設, 漢歷久長, 孔爲赤制, 不使愚惑殘人亂時, 智者順以成德, 愚者逆以取害, 神器有命, 不可虛獲, 上天垂戒, 欲悟陛下, 令就臣位, 轉禍爲福, 劉氏享天永命, 陛下順節盛衰, 取之以天, 還之以天, 可謂知命矣, 若不早圖, 是不免於竊位也, 云々.

Wang Mang was furious and considered this gross insubordination, but he found it hard to harm Chih Yün, since he had spoken in accordance with a classic prophecy. He tried to make him say that he had been in a state of mental illness and incapable of remembering, but Chih Yün insisted that what he had said was the holy intention of Heaven. (The above is from the Life of Chih Yün in the *Hou Han-shu*.) Chih Yün was telling Wang Mang that to return to Heaven a position taken from Heaven, to rise and fall with the seasons, was truly to know destiny, and was trying to secure Wang Mang's abdication, but he based this loyal address on Confucius' Red System, according to which the ages clearly displayed by Heaven were Heaven's foreordained record and the ages of the Han eternal. Moreover, Wang Mang himself also regarded this as a classic prophecy. That is to say the prophecy used by Chih Yün was also the *ching* 經 or what is to be looked upon as *ching* and was both a prediction of Heaven's plan and Confucius' Red System. These were intended to constitute a warning bestowed by Heaven and an awakening for Wang Mang, and, therefore, this Heaven was the Heaven which was the supreme divine authority, possessing knowledge, feeling and will. These points make it clear that the prophecy used by Chih Yün was in the same line as those used by Kuang-wu-ti.

Su Ching 蘇竟 became a doctor of letters in the time of P'ing-ti at the end of the Former Han, and, at the time of Wang Mang, was engaged with Liu Hsin 劉歆 in collating. When, at the beginning of the Chien-wu period (25-56), Liu Hsi 劉襲 of the same family as Liu Hsiang 劉向 and Liu Hsin, headed a conspiracy and raised troops at Nanyang, Su Ching wrote a letter to give warning, in the course of which, he said:

"If one spends a little time studying differences, estimating books, making conjectures on human affairs, it is possible to lay bare the advantages and disadvantages, the profit and loss. Why be responsible for the troubles of a rebellion and give oneself an unremovable reputation for wickedness? What reason can there be for quarrelling with the way of the Prince?" 若以須臾之間，研考異同，揆之圖書，測之人事，則得失利害，可陳於目，何自負畔亂之困，不移守惡之名乎，與君子之道，何其反也。

Again, he said:

"The *Secret Classic of Confucius* is the Red System of the Han. Stored deep in a dark chamber, the language is mysterious, the matter plain. The virtue of fire is inherited from Yao, and, though dimmed, it shall shine. The dignity is for generation upon generation, the power shall be wielded endlessly. Though the house of Wang take the opportunity to usurp, it will end in great slaughter. They will be torn limb from limb and their descendants exterminated. Is there not proof? The reason why High Heaven is careful and hesitant is that it grieves for the sons of Han. If one discusses the matter without basing oneself on Heaven, without consulting the holy..." 夫孔丘秘經爲漢赤制，玄包幽室，文隱事明，且火德承堯，雖昧必亮，永積世之祚，握無窮之符，王氏雖乘間偷篡，而終嬰大戮，支分體解，宗氏屠滅，非其效歟，皇天所以眷顧踟躕，憂漢子孫者也，論者若不本之於天，參之於聖，云々。

According to Su Ching, the *Secret Classic of Confucius* was the book, that is to say, the prophecy, on which he based these remarks. This means that it was simultaneously a classic connected with Confucius and a prophecy. The *Secret Classic* provided the Red System of the Han, and, according to this, the Han, who had virtue of fire, inherited from Yao, and would have the imperial dignity for generation upon generation, and power to be wielded endlessly. So, though Wang Mang might take an opportunity to usurp, he would end in great slaughter. This was to be regarded as no less than a proof of the *Secret Classic*, considered as a prophecy, and, while confirming the *Secret Classic*, it was to be regarded as a thing of Heaven, a holy thing. Moreover, the Red System made by Confucius and found in the *Secret Classic*, which was both a classic connected with Confucius and a prophecy, seems to be of the same kind as the Red System of Confucius, regarded as a classic prophecy, on which, as we have seen, Chih Yün relied. Further, the *Secret Classic* was a prophecy made by Confucius, a prediction; but, as is clear from the passage, "the reason why High Heaven is careful and hesitant is that it grieves for the sons of Han," it would seem to have been a prediction of the Heaven that has knowledge, feeling and will, for which Confucius acted as the agent. It is precisely for this reason that we find at the end of this letter by Su Ching the remark "if one discusses the matter without basing oneself on Heaven, without consulting the holy..." Con-

sideration of these points makes it clear that the *Secret Classic of Confucius* was of the same nature as the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and the rest, and that the Red System, regarded as a prophecy made by Confucius, was used in the Wang Mang—Kuang-wu-ti period as a prediction of eternal continuance of the Han. Further, is it not likely that the 'rules of Confucius', in the Hui-ch'ang Oracle of the *Yellow River Chart* used by Kuang-wu-ti, was similar to Confucius' Red System? On Confucius' Red System, the following passage from the Life of Kung-sun Shu 公孫述 in the *Hou Han-shu* is worth noting:

"Kung-sun Shu was interested in omens of sovereignty, divinities and auspicious auguries, and would recklessly adduce prophetic records. He held that Confucius composed the *Ch'un Ch'iu* and was responsible for the Red System, but he stopped at 12 sovereigns. He showed that with P'ing-ti, the 12th generation, the period for the Han ended, one family being unable to receive the mandate a second time." 述亦好爲符命鬼神瑞應之事，妄引讖記，以爲孔子作春秋，爲赤制，而斷十二公，明漢至平帝十二代，歷數盡也，一姓不得再受命。

Huan T'an submitted a memorial warning Kuang-wu-ti against his practice of resolving doubts by means of prophecies, in the course of which he said:

"At present, all sorts of ingenious but mediocre practitioners are producing more and more prophetic books and falsifying prophetic diagrams, deceiving our sovereign with deviousness and covetousness. Surely they should be kept at a distance?" (Life of Huan T'an, *Hou Han-shu*). 今諸巧慧小才伎數之人，增益圖書，矯稱讖記，以欺惑貪邪，誑誤人主焉，可不抑遠之哉。

In the *Tung-kuan-chi* 東觀記, cited as a commentary here, we read about Huan T'an's writing:

"They falsified Confucius to produce prophetic records, in order to deceive the sovereign." 矯稱孔丘爲讖記，以誤人主也。

Thus prophecies such as Confucius' Red System were used in the Wang Mang—Kuang-wu-ti period by all kinds of people in all kinds of ways.

Next, the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* 天官歷包元太平經. According to the Life of Li Hsün 李尋 in the *Han-shu*, Kan Chung-k'o 甘忠可, in the time of Ch'eng-ti, wrote the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* in 12 chapters. He said the God of Heaven had commanded an enlightened Taoist, Ch'ih Ching-tzu 赤精子, to teach him this Way, and he affirmed, on this basis, that, since the House of Han was coterminous with the great end of Heaven and Earth, it would receive the mandate from Heaven for the second time. Kan Chung-k'o taught this Way to Hsia Ho-liang 夏賀良 and others, but Liu Hsiang submitted that, since he had pretended to supernatural power to ensnare the sovereign and mislead the people, he should be thrown into prison. However, while the matter was still pending, Kan Chung-

k'o died, and Hsia Ho-liang and the others secretly passed on the doctrine. During the reign of Ai-ti, the next emperor, Liu Hsin held that this doctrine should not be applied, since it was not in accord with the Five Classics, but Li Hsün liked the doctrine and managed to make Hsia Ho-liang and the others attend an imperial summons at the palace gate. Hsia Ho-liang made the following exposé to Ai-ti.

"There is a decline in the fortunes of the Han and the mandate must be received for a second time. Ch'eng-ti did not comply with the mandate, and therefore his issue was cut off. Your majesty has now long been ill and there are frequent and numerous portents, whereby Heaven is warning mankind. It would be well immediately to change the era name, alter your title, and thus your majesty would obtain longer years and increased old age. With the birth of a prince, portents would cease. If you have the Way and cannot put it into practice, calamities will destroy you. If flood waters do not burst out, then fires will break forth, and the people will be cleansed." 漢歷中衰，當更受命，成帝不應天命，故絕嗣，今陛下久疾，變異屢數，天所以譴告人也，宜急改元易號，乃得延年益壽，皇子生，災異息矣，得道不得行，咎殃且亡，不有洪水將出，災火且起，滌盪民人。

Ai-ti followed the advice of Hsia Ho-wang. Swearing that, on receiving the mandate of Heaven, both the empire and himself would be reformed, he changed the era name of Chien-p'ing 2nd year to T'ai-ch'u 1st year, he entitled himself Ch'en-shen Liu T'ai-p'ing Huang-ti 陳聖劉太平皇帝 (Emperor of Universal Peace, Liu, Exponent of Holiness), had the clepsydra graduated in 120 degrees, and made an announcement to the empire. Thus Hsia Ho-liang and his colleagues reformed governmental and human affairs, and brought in Li Hsün and others to assist in the government. But as they proved ineffective, Ai-ti restored the past, and, maintaining that Hsia Ho-liang and his colleagues had ensnared their sovereign by holding to incorrect principles, he executed them and banished Li Hsün to Tun-huang, and there the affair ended. Moreover, this drama of the second receipt of the mandate is concisely related also in the Annals of Ai-ti in the *Han-shu*, but there the *T'ai-p'ing-ching* is called a prophecy of Ch'ih Ching-tzu.

The *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching*, which we see here, maintained that a revival of the House of Han was to be contrived by a second reception of the mandate, at a time when that House seemed about to lose the mandate. This principle or doctrine was a warning about the grant of the mandate of Heaven, preceding the destruction of the House of Han, and as such it was clearly a prophecy, since it was a verifiable prediction of Heaven. It is natural that this should have been regarded as a prophecy of Ch'ih Ching-tzu in the Annals of Ai-ti in the *Han-shu*. Further, in the 11th month of the 3rd year of his regency, Wang Mang made the following submission to the dowager empress:

"Then on the 1st day of the 6th month of the 2nd year of Chien-p'ing (5 B.C.) the late Ai-ti issued an edict, changing the year name to 1st year of T'ai-ch'u-yüan-hsiang. According to the prophetic book of Kan Chung-K'o and Hsia Ho-liang, Kept in the imperial library, 'your servant Mang's change to the 1st year of Yüan-hsiang is in accord with the statement that a great general would be regent and change the era name.'"

及前孝哀皇帝建平二年六月甲子詔書、更爲太初元將元年、案其本事、甘忠可、夏賀良讖書、臧蘭臺、臣莽以爲元將元年者、大將居攝改元之文也、於今信矣。

Then he called himself Provisional Emperor, seeking the precedent for the regent being entitled 'king' exemplified by the Duke of Chou and Confucius, found in the stories of the K'ang-kao (—the Announcement to K'ang) in the *Shang-shu* and the Duke of Yin in the *Ch'un-chiu*, and changed the 3rd year of regency to 1st year of Ch'u-shih. (Life of Wang Mang, *Han-shu*). It thus seems clear that Wang Mang's alteration of the era was because it was thought to have been predicted by the prophetic book of Kan Chung-k'o and Hsia Ho-liang, that is to say, the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching*; and it would follow that Wang Mang, too, held the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* to be a prophetic book, and that he used a part of it.

To sum up, the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* was written in the time of Ch'eng-ti, and was a prophecy responsible for making Ai-ti play out the drama of the second acceptance of the mandate of Heaven. It called itself a 'classic' and is probably the oldest prophecy to be regarded as a classic, to be regarded as something that was of a classic kind. It seems to have no direct connection with Confucius, but it was connected with the duration of the Han, and, further, seems to have had some relation with Confucius' Red System, in the *Secret Classic of Confucius*, in view of its having been handed down through the intermediary of the Enlightened Taoist, Ch'ih Ching-tzu, and the connection with Yao. It probably goes without saying that it belonged in the same category as the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and the rest.

If one looks further back for items in the category, the most obvious cases are probably constituted by the *Book of the Tripod* (*Ting-shu* 鼎書, or *Cha-shu* 札書) of the time of Wu-ti of the Han, and the *Lu-t'u-shu* 錄圖書 (a prophetic work), acquired by Ch'in Shih-huang-ti. First the *Book of the Tripod* of Wu-ti's time. Wu-ti acquired a precious tripod and engaged more than ever in preparations for religious observance, but, after the acquisition of the tripod, Kung-sun Ch'ing 公孫卿 made a submission on the subject of the *Cha-shu*, that is to say, the *Book of the Tripod*, which he had received from a certain Shen Kung 申公, in the course of which we read:

"The Han shall arise and the time of the Yellow Emperor shall return. It said: the saintly one of the Han shall be the grandson or great-grandson of Kao-tsu. The precious tripod shall be found and three shall be intercourse with the gods. Religious observances shall be carried out by 72 sovereigns. Only the Yellow Emperor shall be able to climb

T'ai to worship". (On Religious Observances, *Shih-chi*; Treatise on Worship, *Han-shu*.) 漢興，復當黃帝之時，曰，漢之聖者，在高祖之孫且曾孫也，寶鼎出而與神通，封禪七十二王，唯黃帝得上泰山封。

This *Book of the Tripod* is a prediction that the grandson or great-grandson of Kao-tsu, in fact Wu-ti, would acquire this auspicious object known as the precious tripod, and conduct religious observances in communication with the gods. This coincides completely with the prophecies, particularly the Hui-ch'ang Oracle of the *Yellow River Chart*, used by Kuang-wu-ti, when about to do worship, as already set out above. However, the earlier case is simple, concerning as it does a single prophecy, while the latter is complicated with all the different appellations for Kuang-wu-ti, Red Emperor Ninth Generation, Ninth of the Liu emperors, Ninth Generation, Sovereign of the Ninth Generation. And there are other differences. The former held that once Wu-ti acquired the precious tripod and communicated with the gods, his act of worship would be possible, whereas the act of worship in the latter case was held to be dependent on conformity with the way of the sovereign and the rules of Confucius, and with reverence for the eternity of the classics. The former, again, was connected with such a magician as Shen Kung, who had been in communication with the Yellow Emperor and An Ch'i-sheng 安期生, while the latter was connected with Yao, Confucius and the classics. These differences arise from the fact that, in Wu-ti's time the virtue of the Han was that of earth, or the yellow virtue, and Wu-ti, as will appear hereafter, was not bound by the constraints of Confucian doctrine or the classics, and he was, in this respect free; but in the time of Kuang-wu-ti, the virtue of the Han was that of fire, or the red virtue, and Kuang-wu-ti was, therefore, inevitably subject to the prescribed constraints of Confucius' doctrine and the classics. In short, there is agreement in the two cases in respect of the prophecy which was regarded as the will of Heaven predicting their acts of worship. On the other hand, we must be clear that the prophecy in the case of Kuang-wu-ti was regarded as being connected with the classics and with Confucius, whereas it was otherwise in the case of Wu-ti.

About the case of Shih-huang-ti, the Annals of Shih-huang-ti in the *Shih-chi* have the following passage under the 32nd year:

"Shih-huang went to Chieh-shih 碣石 and made Lu Sheng 盧生 of Yen look for Hsien-men 羨門 and Kao-shi 高誓 ... Shih-huang went on a tour of the northern frontier, entering the area from Shang-chün 上郡. Lu Sheng of Yen made him go into the sea, and, when he came out, dealt with spiritual matters and presented the *Lu-t'u-shu*, which says, "The destroyer of the Ch'in shall be a Hu 胡", Shih-huang then ordered General Meng T'ien 蒙恬 to take out 300,000 against the Hu to the north. He also occupied the territory of Honan." 始皇之碣石，使燕人盧

生，求羨門高誓始皇巡北邊，從上郡入，燕人盧生，使入海，還以鬼神事，因奏錄圖書曰，亡秦者胡也，始皇乃使將軍蒙恬發兵三十萬人，北擊胡，略取河南地。

Then in Chang Heng's *Ssu-hsüan fu* 思玄賦 we read:

"Ch'in took a prophecy and Hu was warned." 嬴摘讖，而戒胡兮，備諸外而發內。

Thus Chang Heng also regarded the *Lu-t'u-shu* as a prophecy. Lu Sheng, who had been searching for the immortals, Hsien-men and Kao-shih, was a wizard and deliberately introduced spiritual matters in reporting to the emperor. This was therefore an announcement of the spirits, that is, a prophetic prediction of Heaven as spirits, and it thus falls into the same category as the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and Wu-ti. It may be remarked that everyone, from Chang Heng and Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 on, has understood this Hu to be Hu-hai 胡亥, i.e. Erh-shih-huang-ti 二世皇帝, but, as Nakai Sekitoku 中井積徳 points out, it is likely that Shih-huang-ti was about to attack the Hu and sought the pretext in this prophecy.

It is clear from the foregoing that the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and regarded as empty and false by Chang Heng can be traced back by way of the *Secret Classic of Confucius* and the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* to the *Book of the Tripod* of Wu-ti and the *Lu-t'u-shu* of Shih-huang-ti. These were predictions of Heaven regarded as the supreme power of spirits possessing knowledge, feeling and will, and as such would be verifiable. However, many of these prophecies, those of the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching*, composed in Ch'eng-ti's time, and later, were held to be, or actually were, classics, and were connected with Confucius, whereas the earlier ones are different in this respect. How far back, then, can we trace these ones? These are the prophecies which Chang Heng held to be legitimate: these were the verifiable predictions obtainable by scrutiny of the Way of Heaven, regarded as the natural law, through Heaven-given omens based on knowledge of the calendar or the Changes, or omens obtained by divination and the like. I believe that the first to which attention should be drawn here is the prophecy called in question by Chia I, who was in the service of Wen-ti of the Former Han.

Under Wen-ti, Chia I brought about various reforms. One of these involved his attempt to have the feudal princes, who were then at the capital and turning into an aristocracy there, proceed to their territories, but he was opposed by them to the point of being degraded, and he became teacher to the king of Ch'ang-sha 長沙. Ch'ang-sha was a lowlying and damp territory, and Chia I became gloomy, and, although in good health, had no confidence in himself. At this time, an owl, bird of ill omen, came to his lodging, and Chia I composed his *fu*, the Owl, in which he makes the owl speak. One might say that he mixed together the *Ta-Tsung-shih* 大宗師 and *Ch'i-wu-lun* 齊物論 sections of the *Chuang-tzu* 莊子 and made a *fu* of them. Briefly, this work holds that, since 'sorrow and joy throng the gate, weal and woe in the same

land', all things are equal, one's own feelings, one's own knowledge being of no account; and so, gloomy about his exile to Ch'ang-sha, he does not bother with the omen and finding a prediction (prophecy), but rather frees himself, regarding himself as destined to attain the land of the sage, the true man who 'abandons things and joins himself to the Tao (Way) alone', and who 'limpid and still, the true man finds his peace in the Tao alone.' The prefatory portion is as follows:

"In the year *tan-o*, fourth month, first month of summer, the day *kuei-tzu*, when the sun was low in the west,

An owl came to my lodge
And perched on the corner of
my mat,
Phlegmatic and fearless.
Secretly wondering the reason
The strange thing had come to
roost,
I took out a book to divine it
And the oracle told me its
secret:

Wild bird enters the hall;
The master will soon depart.

I asked and importuned the owl,
Where is it I must go?
Do you bring good luck? Then
tell me!
Misfortune? Relate what disaster!
Must I depart so swiftly?
Then speak to me of the hour!"

(tr. Burton Watson: *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, Columbia University Press 1971, pp. 25-26)

單闕之歲四月孟夏庚子，日斜，服集余舍，止于坐隅，貌甚閒暇，異物來崑，私怪其故，發書占之，讖言其度，曰，野鳥入室，主人將去，問於子服，余去何之，吉序告我，凶言其災，淹速之度，語余其期。

This prophecy is to the effect that, if a wild bird enters a room, the master is likely soon to depart, but here the fact that the secret of the omen is stated, that is to say, the fact of the prophecy, also shows the rules of prophecy. One might, therefore, say that this prophecy is one of the formulae of prophecy. So when a wild bird like an owl entered a house, one could know in advance, in the light of this prophetic formula, that the master of the house would probably be leaving it. Moreover, this accounts for Chia I being in a position to get a book out to divine the matter. This reminds one that Chang Heng's prophecies could also be obtained by divination. Anyway, this prophecy may be considered to belong to the category regarded by Chang Heng as legitimate, that is to say, a prophecy obtainable by scrutiny of the Way of Heaven, regarded as the natural law, through Heaven-given omens, based on knowledge of the calendar or the Changes, or omens obtained by divination and the like. It was a prediction such as the saintly and other human beings were capable of making. This prophecy became a 'divination' (*ts'e* 策) in the Life of Chia I in the *Shih-chi*, but the two are essentially the same. In the section on the House of Chao 趙 in the *Shih-chi*, there is, with

reference to a prophecy concerning Pien-ch'üeh 扁鵲, Kung-sun Chih 公孫支 wrote and kept it. From this came the Ch'in prophecy; whereas in the Life of Pien-ch'üeh in the same work, we find, 'Kung-sun Chih wrote and kept it.' From this came the Ch'in "divination" (*ts'e*).

Let us further consider what Chang Heng called legitimate prophecies and the prophecies brought into the question by Chia I; in particular let us consider that Chang Heng said that, in order to obtain a prophecy, one must 'closely examine the calendar in order to establish what is of good or evil omen', and this is combined with divination by tortoise shell and yarrow stalks; and Chia I said, 'I took out a book to divine it and the oracle told me its secret'. We can then see that these were prophecies or formulae of prophecies in the same category as the judgements or line interpretations in the Changes.

I will now give a few examples at random:

The line interpretation of the nine in the third place of *ch'ien* (乾—the creative) is:

"All day long the superior man is creatively active. At nightfall his mind is beset with cares. No blame." 君子終日乾乾，夕惕若厲，无咎。

The judgement for *hsü* (需—waiting) is:

"If you are sincere, you have light and success. Perseverance brings good fortune. It furthers one to cross the great water." 有孚，光亨貞吉，利涉大川。

and the line interpretation for nine in the first place of *hsü* is:

"Waiting in the meadow. It furthers one to abide in what endures. No blame." 需于郊，利用恆，无咎。

The judgement for *hsien* 咸 (influence, wooing) is:

"Success. Perseverance furthers. To take a maiden wife brings good fortune." 亨利貞，取女吉。

In these cases, determination, principally, of good or bad luck and the presence or absence of blame, is reached through judgements or interpretations, that is to say, omens, obtained by divination; they thus become verifiable predictions. We can probably say the same, by inference, of the other judgements and line interpretations.

Next, the following material about the Five Elements is found in the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan* 洪範五行傳 (on the Five Elements in the Great Plan), which is quoted in the commentary on the Treatise on the Five Elements in the *Han-shu*:

"If the hunt is unsuccessful, if food and drink are not abundant, if comings and goings are untimely, if the people are taken away at the

farming season, and if treasonous plots are made, then Wood will not be regular.” 田獵不宿，飲食不享，出入不節，奪民農時，及有姦謀，則木不曲直。

“If the laws are abandoned, if worthy ministers are banished, if the heir apparent is assassinated, if concubines are made wives, then Fire will not flame up.” 棄法律，逐功臣，殺太子，以妾爲妻，則火不炎上。

“If the palace is adorned with pavilions and there is licentiousness within, if close relations are offended, if fathers and elder brothers are insulted, then the crops will not grow.” 治宮室，飾臺榭，內淫亂，犯親戚，侮父兄，則稼穡不成。

“If pleasure is taken in war, if the farmers are despised, if the capital is adorned, if neighbouring countries are invaded, then Metal will not take its form.” 好戰攻，輕百姓，飾城郭，侵邊境，則金不從革。

“If the ancestral shrine is neglected, if prayers are not offered, if sacrifices are abolished, if Heaven's seasons are opposed, then Water will not flow down.” 簡宗廟，不禱祠，廢祭祀，逆天時，則水不潤下。

There is also the following about the Five (important) Matters:

“When the demeanour is not respected, this is called not reverent. The fault is madness. The punishment is continuous rain. Its extreme is evil. So at times there are strange happenings with clothes. So at times there are plagues of tortoises. So at times there are calamities for fowls. So at times there is a disease of the lower part of the body. So at times there are blue crimes and blue omens. Metal is counteracting wood.” 貌之不恭，是謂不肅，厥咎狂，厥罰恒雨，厥極惡，時則有服妖，時則有龜孽，時則有雞禍，時則有下體生上之病，時則有青眚青祥，惟金沴木。

“When speech is not fluent, this is called stuttering. The fault is presumption. The punishment is continuous sunshine. Its extreme is sorrow. So at times there are strange happenings with poems. So at times there are plagues of shelled creatures. So at times there are calamities for dogs. So at times there are diseases of the mouth and tongue. So at times there are white crimes and white omens. Wood is counteracting Metal.” 言之不從，是謂不艾，厥咎僭，厥罰恒陽，厥極憂，時則有詩妖，時則有介蟲之孽，時則有犬禍，時則有口舌之病，時則有白眚白祥，惟木沴金。

“When vision is not clear, this is called unwise. The fault is sloth. The punishment is continuous darkness. Its extreme is illness. So at times there are strange happenings with vegetation. So at times there are plagues of wasps. So at times there are calamities for sheep. So at times there are diseases of the eyes. So at times there are red crimes and red omens. Water is counteracting Fire.” 視之不明，是謂不哲，厥咎舒，厥罰恒典，厥極疾，時則有草妖，時則有蠃蟲之孽，時則有羊禍，時則有目病，時則有赤眚赤祥，惟水沴火。

“When the hearing is not clear, this is called not cunning. The fault is haste. The punishment is continuous cold. The extreme is

poverty. So at times there are strange happenings with drums. So at times there are plagues of fish. So at times there are calamities for pigs. So at times there are diseases of the ears. So at times there are black crimes and black omens. Fire is counteracting Water.” 聽之不聰，是謂不謀，厥咎急，厥罰恒寒，厥極貧，時則有鼓妖，時則有魚孽，時則有豕禍，時則有耳癘，時則有黑眚，黑祥，惟火沴水。

“When thought is not intelligent, this is called not saintly. The fault is vagueness. The punishment is continuous wind. The extreme is the misfortune of early death. So at times there are strange happenings with fatty tissue. So at times there are plagues of flowers. So at times there are calamities for cattle. So at times there are diseases of the heart and intestines. So at times there are yellow crimes and yellow omens. So at times Metal, Wood, Water and Fire are counteracting Earth.” 思心之不睿，是謂不聖，厥咎霧，厥罰恒風，厥極凶短折，時則有脂夜之妖，時則有華孽，時則有牛禍，時則有心腹之癘，時則有黃眚黃祥，時則有金木水火沴土。

“When the sovereign is not doing his utmost, this is called not holding firm. The fault is dim-sightedness. The punishment is continuous shadow. The extreme is feebleness. So at times there are strange happenings with arrows. So at times there are plagues of dragons and snakes. So at times there are calamities for horses. So at times there is the disease of low people striking upwards. So at times the sun and moon are confused in their courses, and the constellations move backwards.” 皇之不極，是謂不建，厥咎眊，厥罰恒陰，厥極弱，時則有射妖，時則有龍蛇之孽，時則有馬禍，時則有下人伐上之癘，時則有日月亂行，星辰逆行。

In the foregoing, that which concerns the Five Elements shows the conditions in which each of the Five Elements may be irregular, that is to say, liable to bring on portents. That which concerns the Five Matters shows the faults, punishments, extremes and occasional portents liable to be brought about in a certain irregularity of each of the Five Matters. These are further regarded as being the result of disharmony between the Five Elements. That is to say, the former shows the various conditions which will bring about the respective portents, while the latter shows the portents which will be brought about by a certain condition. There is the same relationship here as there is between the certain conditions found in the judgements and line interpretations in the Changes and the good or bad fortune and presence or absence of fault. These may also be regarded as prophetic formulae of the same kind as the prophecy of which Chia I said that the oracle told him its secret, for instance, “Wild bird enters the hall; the master will soon depart.” It was therefore possible to divine and make predictions in the light of these. For example, Hsia-hou Sheng 夏侯勝 saw through and predicted the plot of Huo Kuang 霍光 and others to eliminate the king of Ch’ang-i 昌邑; the presumption, the verifiable prediction, the prophecy, concerned was based on the *Huang-chi-chuan* 皇極傳 in the above. And this is probably further proof

that the *Huang-chi-chuan* comprised formulae for prediction and prophecy.

The story of Hsia-hou Sheng is extremely famous, appearing in the Life of Hsia-hou Sheng in the *Han-shu* and in the Treatise on the Five Elements in that work. In the latter, it is as follows:

"In the 4th month of the 1st year of Yüan-p'ing, Chao-ti died. There was no issue. Ho 賀, king of Ch'ang-i, was appointed and succeeded to the throne. The sky was overcast, and the sun and moon were not seen by day or night. Ho wished to go out. Hsia-hou Sheng, Chief Secretary, approached the carriage, and remonstrated, saying, "The sky has long been overcast and no rain falls. There are people below plotting against those above. Where does your majesty wish to go?" Ho was angry and arrested Sheng, giving orders to his officers. The officers told General Huo Kuang. Kuang was plotting at the time with General of Cavalry Chang An-shih 張安世, with the intention of eliminating Ho. Kuang gave way to An-shih, and thought that he had divulged the matter. An-shih had not in fact done so. He summoned Sheng, who cited the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan*, and said, "When the sovereign is not doing his utmost, the punishment is continuous shade. So at times there are low people striking upwards. I did not dare to speak straight out, and so I said that there were people below plotting." An-shih looked into this and was much astonished, and set more value on interpreters of the classics. A few days later, they together eliminated Ho. Here is a clear instance of continuous shadow." 昭帝元平元年四月崩，亡嗣，立昌邑王賀，賀即位，天陰，晝夜不見日月，賀欲出，光祿大夫夏侯勝當車，諫曰，天久陰而不雨，臣下有謀上者，陛下欲何之，賀怒縛勝，以屬吏，吏白大將軍霍光，光時與車騎將軍張安世謀，欲廢賀，光讓安世，以為泄語，安世實不泄，召問勝，勝上洪範五行傳，曰，皇之不極，厥罰常陰，時則有下人伐上，不敢察察言，故云，臣下有謀，光安世讀之，大驚，以此益重經術士，後數日，卒共廢賀，此常陰之明效也。

Further, we find cited in the Treatise on the Five Elements in the *Han-shu* and classified with material on the Five Elements, Five Matters and Solar Eclipses in the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan*, interpretations of portents from the Ch'un-ch'iu period up to the end of the Former Han, made by Tung Chung-shu, Swei Hung 眭弘, Hsia-hou Sheng, Ching Fang 京房, Liu Hsiang, Ku Yung 谷永, Li Hsün 李尋 and Liu Hsin. The most numerous seem to be those of Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang or of Ching Fang and Liu Hsin. Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang revered Heaven as the supreme spiritual power having knowledge, feeling and will, and they read in portents the predictions of Heaven as the will of Heaven or the warning of Heaven, that is as prophecies encased in portents. There were, therefore, for Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, instances which belonged in the category of prophecies regarded as predictions of Heaven, which Chang Heng held to be empty and false. On the other hand, Ching Fang and Liu Hsin found many predictions by elucidat-

ing the natural law of Heaven. These belonged to the category of predictions obtainable for Chang Heng through knowledge of the Changes and the calendar, that is to say, prophecies which could be made by saints and other humans who had made clear the natural law of Heaven. The interpretations of portents by Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang clearly belong to the category of predictions of Heaven. These will be dealt with separately in due course. At this point I wish to look at those of Ching Fang and Liu Hsin.

First, Ching Fang.

"5th month, 2nd year of Ting-kung. The Pheasant gate and the Two Towers caught fire... Ching Fang's commentary on the Changes says, 'If the prince does not think about the Way, the consequent phenomenon is the burning of the palace.'" 定公二年五月，雉門及兩觀災（中略）京房易傳曰，君不思道，厥妖火燒宮。（五行志上）

"The commentary says: 'If the ancestral shrine is neglected, if prayers are not offered, if sacrifices are not offered, if sacrifices are abolished, if Heaven's seasons are opposed, then Water will not flow down....' Ching Fang's commentary on the Changes says: 'If arbitrary actions are taken knowingly, and punishments given beyond measure, there will be water disaster. Rain will kill people by a fall of frost....' 傳曰，簡宗廟，不禱祠，廢祭祀，逆天時，則水不潤下。（中略）京房易傳曰，顛事有知，誅罰絕理，厥災水，其水也，雨殺人，以隕霜，云々。（同上）

"In the time of Chao-ti, Ho, king of Ch'ang-i, sent the Grand Secretary of the Centre to Ch'ang-an with a lot of slanting caps to present to the principal ministers. He also capped slaves. Ching Fang's commentary on the Changes says: 'Conduct improper. The fault is capping slaves. The empire falls into disorder, the sovereign has no legitimate offspring, children of concubines are honoured.' He also says: 'If the prince is not correct, if a subject wishes to usurp, there are strange happenings in connection with improper caps. The court is left.'" 昭帝時，昌邑王賀，遣中大夫之長安，多治仄注冠，以賜大臣，又以冠奴（中略）京房易傳曰，行不順，厥咎人奴冠，天下亂，辟無適，妾子拜，又曰，君不正，臣欲篡，厥妖狗冠，出朝門。（同，中之上）

"12th month of the 33rd year of Hsi-kung: Fall of frost, which did not kill the vegetation... Ching Fang's commentary on the Changes says: 'When ministers are negligent, this is called improper. The result is an abnormal frost which does not kill.'" 僖公三十三年十二月，隕霜，不殺草。

（中略）京房易傳曰，臣有緩，茲謂不順，厥異霜不殺也。（同，中之下）

"5th year of Hsiao-wen-wang of the Ch'in: Yu Ch'ü-yen 游胸衍 presented an ox with five feet. Ching Fang's commentary on the Changes says: 'If a corvée service starts, and if people are exacted, there are strange happenings in connection with the emergence of an ox with five feet.'" 秦孝文王五年，游胸衍有獻五足牛者。（中略）京房易傳曰，興繇役，奪民時，厥妖牛生五足。（同，下之上）

These examples show the strange happenings, punishments, disasters and

abnormalities which accompany a given condition, according to Ching Fang's commentary on the Changes. Consequently, whenever a given strange phenomenon, punishment, disaster or abnormality occurred, one could trace it back to the condition which gave rise to it, by consulting this commentary on the Changes. Thus Ching Fang's commentary on the Changes was adduced as an explanation of the portents which necessarily happened. Also, in reverse, when a given condition presented itself, one could announce in advance, one could predict, in the light of Ching Fang's commentary, the phenomenon, punishment, disaster or abnormality to which this condition would give rise. In this respect, the cases of the judgements and linear interpretations of the Changes and of the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan* are much the same. In the case of Ching Fang, Pan Ku, the author of the Treatise on the Five Elements, adduced Ching's explanation of the various natural disasters from his commentary on the Changes. Thus, when viewed also as the commentary on the Changes that it was, the work was one of predictions, of prophecies, a formula for prophecy, in the same way as the judgements and linear interpretations of the Changes.

Further, in the Treatise on the Five Elements, part II, section 1, we read:

"In the 1st month of the 3rd year of Yüan-feng of Hsiao-chao, there was a loud noise of the voices of several thousand people to the south of Mount Lai-wu 萊蕪 in the Mount T'ai range. The people watched, and a great stone set itself up. It was 10 *chang*, 5 *ch'e* high, 148 in circumference, 8 *ch'e* deep in the ground.

Several thousand white crows settled beside the place where the stone stood. Swei Meng 眭孟 assigned this to the category of the negative principle of stones. He thought that it was sent as a sign to the people that the sovereign would change the surname and announce a new age on the peaks of Mount T'ai and Tai-tsung, and that a commoner would become the Son of Heaven. Meng was executed. Ching Fang's commentary on the Changes says: 'Return (*fu* 復). Death of the sovereign comes. No fault. The death comes from above and below. Therefore it is necessary that the stone of Mount T'ai be overturned and come down. A saintly man receives the mandate. The emperor is captured.' It also says: 'A stone stands like a man. All the common warriors of the empire are heroes. If it stands on a mountain, same surname. If it stands on the plain, different surname. If it stands in water, a saintly man. If it stands in marsh, a small man.'" 孝昭元鳳三年正月，泰山萊蕪山南，匈匈有數千人聲，民視之，有大石自立，高丈五尺，大四十八圍，入地深八尺，三石爲足，石立處，有白鳥數千，集其旁，眭孟以爲石陰類，下民象，泰山岱宗之嶽，王者易姓告代之處，當有庶人爲天子者，孟坐伏誅，京房易傳曰，復，崩來，無咎，自上下者爲崩，厥應泰山之石顛而下，聖人受命，人君虜，又曰，石立如人，庶士爲天下雄，立於山同姓，平地異姓，立於水聖人，於澤小人。

Here again, two items have been adduced from Ching Fang's commentary

on the Changes. Unlike the prediction made by Swei Meng (Suei Hung), judging this to be a portent or a sign contained in a portent, Ching Fang's commentary plays the role of a formula of prophecy, in the same way as the judgements and linear interpretations of the Changes, the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan* and what Chia I referred to as the oracle telling its secret. And this can be said in other cases. It may be mentioned, in connection with the above judgement and prediction of Swei Hung, that it is recounted in the Life of Swei Hung in the *Han-shu* together with the story of insects eating the leaves of a willow in the Shang-lin garden and the words, "Kung-sun Ping-chi 公孫病己 (=Hsüan-ti of the Han) shall arise."

Next, Liu Hsin.

"Day *jen-shen* of the 8th month of the 14th year of Huan-kung. The ducal granary caught fire. Liu Hsin considered that this was retribution for the disregard of law and the lack of propriety in the duke's personally working the land in order to accumulate millet." 春秋桓公十四年八月壬申，御廩災。（中略）劉歆以爲御廩公所親耕籍田，以奉粢盛者也，棄法度，亡禮之應也。（五行志上）

He found this condition as one to invite this portent, that is to say, the condition to which this portent would be the response, in accordance with the prophetic formulae in the commentary on Fire in the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan*.

"Day *kuei-yu* of the 3rd month of Yin-kung. Great rain, sound of thunder. Day *keng-ch'en*. Great rain and snow. Great rain, at the time of rain water. Sound of thunder. Liu Hsin considered that the day *kuei-yu* of the 3rd month, being one day after the vernal equinox on the calendar, was the time for the first sound of thunder. It should then rain but it should not be a great rain. Great rain is the punishment of continuous rain. The great rain and snow at an interval of seven days from this first thunder is the punishment of continuous cold." 隱公九年三月癸酉大雨震電，庚辰大雨雪，大雨，雨水也，震雷也，劉歆以爲三月癸酉，於歷數，春分後一日，始震電之時也，當雨而不當大雨，大雨常雨之罰也，於始震電八日之間，而大雨雪，常寒之罰也。（同，中之上）

Here we are shown to what punishments in the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan* these portents correspond; in the *Wu-hsing-chuan*, the conditions which bring on these punishments, continuous rain and continuous cold, are when the demeanour is not respectful, in the former case, and when the hearing is not clear, in the latter. Here too, therefore, the conditions which must bring on these portents were indicated. Moreover, in these cases Liu Hsin investigated these portents in the light of calendar calculations, and this was doubtless so in other cases.

"In the 29th year of Yen-kung, there were cockroaches. Liu Hsin took them to be a kind of headless locusts. It was their nature not to eat grain. The eating of grain is a calamity and there are plagues of shelled creatures." 嚴公二十九年有蜚，劉歆以爲負蟊也，性不食穀，食穀爲災，介蟲之孽。（同，中之下）

This too shows plagues of shelled creatures corresponding to this portent. But in Liu Hsin's commentary on hearing, plagues of shelled creatures correspond to hearing not being clear, so that this too appears as a condition bringing on this portent and the other.

In these cases Liu Hsin showed the origins of the various portents, and thus they are explanations of portents, and yet it would seem that one may say that they were not predictions. However, even if the portents belonged in the past, in so far as the condition inviting a portent was the question, and since he did point out a particular condition in each case, here, too we are in the presence of a kind of prediction. This point may become cleared with the next example.

"Ch'eng-kung 5th year, summer. Landslide on Mount Liang 梁. Liu Hsin considered that Mount Liang was for Chin's 晉 veneration. Collapse was death. In ancient times, three generations ordered the maintenance of the sacrifices, without the sacrifices going beyond the objects of the country's veneration. This is all that is needed for the balance of good and bad luck, calamity or good fortune. Mountains and rivers rule a country. When the mountains collapse, when the rivers cease, it is a sign of destruction. The cycle of good and evil must return. This year was under the constellation of *chung-huo* 鶉火. In the 17th year the constellation was again *chung-huo*, and Luan Shu 欒書 and Chung-hsing Yen 中行偃 assassinated Li-kung, and appointed Chuo-kung." 成公五年夏，梁山崩。（中略）劉歆以爲梁山晉望也，崩弛崩也，古者三代命祀，祭不越望，吉凶禍福，不是過也，國主山川，山崩川竭，亡之徵也，美惡周必復，是歲，歲在鶉火，至十七年復在鶉火，欒書中行偃殺厲公，而立悼公。（同，下之上）

The portent here was taken to be a sign of destruction. Not only one prediction was made from it. It was further predicted, on the basis of the calendar and astronomical calculations, that something similar would happen 12 years later, when the constellation was again *chung-huo*, and the nature of that event is indicated. This can again be said to be prediction, prophecy. But while Ching Fang largely relied on the Changes, Liu Hsin tended to use the calendar. But it has already been pointed out that what Chang Heng called legitimate 'prophecies' were possible through knowledge of the Changes and of the calendar.

In the preface of the *Han-shu*, section II, we also find:

"Warning signs are all cited in the divinations of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*.

The reports of the past and knowledge of the future, and the tables of the rulers and events, are all given in the Treatise on the Five Elements, no. 7." 春秋之占，咎徵是舉，告往知來，王事之表，述五行志第七。

Thus Pan Ku and his contemporaries, also, recognised the validity of divination by the portents and warning signs of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. Since divination was intended to give foreknowledge or prediction, the interpretation of portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* was one form of divinatory judgement or interpretation, and, as such, could be a prophecy in the same way as linear interpretations of judgements of the Changes. In this connection, Chang Heng said:

"Predictions by the use of the calendar, the hexagrams, the Nine Stars and the quarters of the wind are often effectively proved. But the world will not accept the lesson, and people vie with one another to praise works not intended for divination." 且律歷卦候九宮風角數有徵效，世莫肯學，而競稱不占之書。

While he accepted the possibility of legitimate prophecies, capable of verification, based on the calendar, the hexagrams, the Nine Stars and the quarters of the wind, the fact that he regarded as works not intended for divination those prophecies that he held to be false, further confirms the close relationship existing between prophecy and divination. Often, indeed, it was not unreasonable that prophecy and divination were mixed up. There is, therefore, nothing unwarrantable in my looking for predictions or prophecies in the interpretations of portents from the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, recorded in the Treatise on the Five Elements. As will be mentioned again below, Tung Chung-shu says:

"It is the way of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* to take notice of the past to illuminate the future." 春秋之道舉往以明來，云々。

He is thus looking to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* for the principles of foreknowledge and foresight, and so for the principles of divination or prophecy; this, too, is a viewpoint which coincides with that of Pan Ku and others. So in the same way one could have knowledge of future events by means of the records, that is to say, past events, of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*.

Further the Treatise on the Five Elements, part III, section 2, in the *Han-shu*, ... contains a number of Liu Hsin's interpretations of solar eclipses based on the calendar and astronomy. There are many cases where only the astronomy is mentioned. The first example is:

"Yin-kung, 3rd year, 2nd month, day *chi-ssu*. Eclipse of the sun." 隱公三年二月己巳，日有食之。

On this,

“Tso and Liu Hsin considered that on the second day of the first month, the sun was in the constellation covering Yen and Yüeh. Whenever there was anything unusual about the sun's orbit, those states under the constellation, whose government was awry, would feel the effects. Princes capable of sound government could always avert the punishment, so that calamity would not occur and good fortune would supervene. If they were incapable, then the calamity would increase and misfortune would be brought about. So the classics record portents but do not give their causes. For good and bad luck, destruction and permanence, follow on conduct, and good fortune or disaster are brought about.” 左氏，劉歆以爲正月二日燕越之分野也，凡日所躔而有變，則分野之國失政者受之，人君能修政，共御厥罰，則災消而福至，不能則災息而禍生，故經書災，而不記其故，蓋吉凶亡常，隨行而成禍福也。

Thus the explanation as to where and on whom the punishment would fall follows only on astronomical indications. This is because foresight and prediction were thence available. Here, too, he shows his view that men are the source of good and ill luck.

“Ai-kung, 12th year, 12th month. Locusts. At this time Ai used land-taxes. Liu Hsin thought that the 12th month of the Chou was the 10th month of the Hsia. Once Antares is gone from the sky, the hibernating insects cease their activity. Strange changes in the heavens are related to the exigencies of living creatures. Locusts should not appear. In this year there was again no intercalary month.” 哀公十二年十二月螽，是時哀用田賦。（中略）劉歆以爲周十二月，夏十月也，火星既伏，螽蟲皆畢，天之見變，因物類之宜，不得以螽，是歲再失閏矣。（同，中之下）

Thus Liu Hsin does not only interpret portents by placing them correctly in relation to the calendar. He says that the appearance of portents is related to the exigencies of living creatures; for him, portents were not, as they were for Tung Chung-shu or Liu Hsiang, sent down by a Heaven possessing knowledge, feeling and will, but were for the purpose of rectifying natural reason, natural law, from which point of view he even points out an error in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* records.

Again, Liu Hsin cooperated with Wang Mang, but eventually he accepted the views of Wang She 王涉 and Tung Chung 董忠, and turned against Wang Mang, and he said at the time:

“The laws of the heavens and the affairs of men must inevitably find their being in the east.” 天文人事，東方必成。（漢書，王莽傳）

Again, when he was addressing himself to the business of instituting the various departments of state, he said,

"One must await the appearance of the star T'ai-po 太白, then possible." 當待太白星出, 殛可. (漢書, 王莽傳)

Here, too, we can probably see foresight and prediction based on the calendar or astronomy. In this way Liu Hsin too, like Ching Fang, had predictions, prophecies of the kind considered legitimate by Chang Heng.

In the foregoing, I have been looking for the forerunners of two kinds of prophecy: on the one hand the kind used by Kuang-wu-ti and his contemporaries and successors, held by Chang Heng to be empty and false, prophecies which, being received from Heaven by magicians, were regarded as predictions of Heaven; on the other hand, prophecies considered as predictions of which human beings were capable, by making clear the Way of Heaven, regarded as the natural law, through knowledge of the Changes, the calendar and so on. In the case of the former, I was able to trace back by way of the *Secret Classic of Confucius*, the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* and the *Book of the Tripod* obtained by Wu-ti, to the *T'u-lu-shu* obtained by Shih-huang-ti. In the case of the latter, I was able to trace back by way of Liu Hsin's interpretations of portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and Ching Fang's comments on the Changes to the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan*, the prophecies used by Chia 1 and the Changes. It seems that one should be able to find forerunners of both kinds in an even more ancient period.

The Chinese believed, from ancient times, that the decrees of Heaven, that is to say, the will of Heaven or the natural law of Heaven, were revealed by omens, and accordingly that omens were what provided signs of the decrees of Heaven, the will of Heaven or the natural law. They thus believed that they could know the decrees of heaven, and, therefore, the will of Heaven or its natural law, by investigating these omens. But omens fall into two categories, those given by Heaven and those obtained by various kinds of divination. For the study of the former type of omen, there grew up such magic arts as astrology and foretelling the seasons by watching omens, and, for the study of the latter, the art of divining by the Changes and so on. Thus those who looked up to Heaven as the supreme spiritual power, possessing knowledge, feeling and will, were able to read the decrees of Heaven in these omens and also to see, in this will of Heaven, the predictions of Heaven as well. Moreover, the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing* displayed the will of Heaven in the form of diagrams (*t'u*) and writings (*shu*), and from quite an early date had been taken into account in the *Analects* and been subject to discussion in the Changes. However, they were probably not of concern to the original Confucianists, like Confucius, Mencius or Hsün-tzu. In fact, both diagrams and writings are a kind of omen, and, among those who read the will of Heaven in omens, there were probably some who believed that Heaven revealed its will through diagrams and writings. Such people probably thought that predictions of Heaven, as a part of its will, were revealed through draw-

ings and characters in the same way as in the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*. The prophecies in the *T'u-lu-shu*, obtained by Shih-huang-ti, and subsequent works belong in this category. So it is perhaps not surprising that the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti, and belonging in this category should have been regarded as being similar to the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing* and called 'drawings and writings' 圖書 or 'prophetic books' 圖識. By contrast, those who accepted the decrees of Heaven as the natural law would clarify the natural law by the art of divining by such works as the *Changes* or by knowledge of the calendar and so on, and they could ascertain the relationship between a given condition and a given omen, and so foresee and predict the one from the other. That is to say, they were able to make prophecies which consisted of verifiable predictions based on the natural law of Heaven.

Further, just as the latter category includes Ching Fang's comments on the *Changes* or Liu Hsin's interpretations of portents, recorded in the *Treatise on the Five Elements* in the *Han-shu*, so the former includes the interpretations of portents by Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, likewise recorded in that treatise. However, as has been said, there will be further question of the interpretations of Tung Shung-shu and Liu Hsiang later.

2. The Position occupied by the Prophetic Books (*t'u-ch'en*)

(i) The Prophetic Book and Their Forerunners.

What are here referred to as prophetic books are, first of all, the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and his successors, of which there was previously question; then there are the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* and the *Secret Classic of Confucius*, which may be regarded as similar in character to the first and which, further, appeared successively immediately before them, that is to say, about the time of Ch'eng-ti; and, finally, the similar prophecies used by Ming-ti and Chang-ti, who succeeded Kuang-wu-ti. As has been said, the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti and his successors were called classic prophecies, and, being regarded as being similar to the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, they were also known as Ho-lo-ch'en-wen 河洛讖文 (prophetic texts of the Ho and Lo) or *Yellow River Chart* 河圖 or books of diagrams 圖書; yet other similar works were also called prophetic books, and so this term is here used for them all.

For example:

"At the end of Wang Mang, Kuang-wu once went with his elder brother, Po-sheng 伯升, and Teng Ch'en 鄧晨 to Yüan 宛 and they had a feast at which they conversed with Ts'ai Shao-kung of Jang 穰 and others. Shao-kung was very learned in prophetic books, and said that Liu Hsiu would be emperor. Someone said, "Would that be the marshal

Liu Hsiu?" Kuang-wu said jokingly, "How do you know it's not me?" and everyone present laughed. Ch'en rejoiced in his heart alone." 王莽末，光武嘗與兄伯升及鄧晨，俱之宛，與穰人蔡少公等讌語，少公頗學圖讖，言劉秀當爲天子，或曰，是國師公劉秀乎，光武戲曰，何用知非僕邪，坐者皆大笑，晨心獨喜。（後漢書鄧晨傳）

"In the 3rd year of Ti-huang (A.D. 22) there was famine in Nan-yang. Many people who lived on influential families went in for petty theft. Kuang Wu avoided the officials in Hsin-yeh 新野 and sold grain in Yüan 宛. Li T'ung 李通 of Yüan and others explained to Kuang Wu with a prophetic book, and said, "The Liu family will rise again, and the Li family will assist them." At first Kuang-wu dared not confront the matter. But then he thought of his elder brother Po-sheng who, Having had intercourse with chivalrous fellows of the locality, was very likely to take action and that the defeat of Wang Mang was already augured and the empire would fall into confusion. So he made a plan together, bought weapons, and, in the 10th month, together with Li T'ung and his younger brother, I 軼 rose in Yüan." 地皇三年南陽荒饑，諸家賓客多爲小盜，光武避吏新野，因賣穀於宛，宛人李通等以圖讖說光武云，劉氏復起，李氏爲輔，光武初不敢當，然獨念兄伯升素結輕客，必舉大事，且王莽敗亡已兆，天下方亂，遂與定謀，於是乃市兵弩，十月與李通從弟軼等，起於宛。（後漢書光武帝紀上）

"18th year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 75), 12th month, day *kuei-ssu*: officials submitted that Ming-ti's saintly virtue would be pure and beautiful... that he would provide the teaching in the Three Halls, that he would personally preside over the rites for the care of the old, that he would compose songs and regulate refined music, that he would have wide knowledge of the Six Arts, never ceasing day or night, with profound understanding. This was written in a prophetic book."（永平十八年）十二月癸巳，有司奏言，孝明皇帝，聖德淳茂。（中略）備三雍之教，躬養老之禮，作登歌，正雅樂，博貫六藝，不舍晝夜，聽明淵塞，著在圖讖。（後漢書章帝紀）

These prophetic books might perhaps be broadly divided into two kinds: on the one hand, the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* and the prophetic books used by Kuang-wu-ti, all of which related to the mandate of Heaven and the emperor's religious duties; on the other hand, the *Secret Classic of Confucius* and the texts used by Ming-ti and Chang-ti, which related to the Red System and the regulation of the rites and the composition of music. As has already been said, it was a characteristic of these prophetic books that they were regarded as classics, or of the nature of classics, as having been made by Confucius, that is to say, as Confucian. Therefore, these prophetic books belong to the first of the two categories into which the prophecies fall, that is to say, the category of prophecies regarded as predictions of Heaven, and the category of prophecies of which people are capable through their knowledge of the Changes or the calendar and so on; moreover, in so far as they are con-

sidered as classics, as made by Confucius, in short, as Confucian, they have the characteristic of differing from the others, from, for example, those used by Shih-huang-ti of the Ch'in or Wu-ti of the Han which were handed down by wizards and those concerned with the immortals. Though, generally speaking, those who are interested in the prophecies do in practise take those which I call the prophetic books as central to the question, they do not seem to give very much attention to this characteristic. I, however, think it a point to which attention must be given. My reason is that, as Confucius here makes predictions according to the decrees of Heaven or on behalf of Heaven, he becomes precisely a magician; and, moreover, as a magician doing the same sort of work as Heaven, or, again, as a magician in a position to teach the emperor, who communicates with Heaven by sacrificing to it, and who possesses the supreme magical power of integration with Heaven, he possesses the highest authority of all. That is to say, the saint Confucius, who expounds the doctrine of humanity, becomes the supreme magical authority for expounding the Way of Heaven, regarded as the Way of the Gods, and the Confucian doctrine that he expounded changes into the doctrine of the Way of the Gods. We can, then, look for the forerunners of these prophetic books, in so far as they are predictions of Heaven, in the prophecies used by Shih-huang-ti of the Ch'in and Wu-ti of the Han, but we cannot look there for the forerunners, particularly the immediate forerunners, of the classic prophecies, of the prophecies made by Confucius. Where we can look for their immediate forerunners is in the interpretations of portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* by Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang. It has already been pointed out that these are recorded, alongside Ching Fang's comments on the Changes and Liu Hsin's interpretations of portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, in the Treatise on the Five Elements in the *Han-shu*.

Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang read many of the portents of the Ch'un-ch'iu period and later as the will of Heaven or warnings of Heaven. The following are a few examples, divided as to those in which their interpretations were identical and those where they were about the same. First, cases where the interpretations are identical:

"Ai-kung 4th year, 6th month, day *hsin-ch'ou*. The altar of Yin 殷 caught fire. Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang considered that, being the altar of a perished dynasty, it was used as a warning. It was as though Heaven said in warning, 'Your country is in danger of perishing.' The warning was not heeded. Fire disasters were frequent during the times of Ting and Ai. They did not employ good men but arbitrary and arrogant ministers, profoundly unaware of the imminent destruction of the country." 哀公四年六月辛丑，亳社災，董仲舒，劉向以爲亡國之社，所以爲戒也，天戒若曰，「國將危亡」，不用戒矣，春秋火災屢於定哀之間，不用聖人而縱驕臣，將以亡國，不明甚也。（五行志上）

"Wen-kung 9th year, 6th month, day *kuei-yu*. Earthquake. Liu Hsiang attributed this to the recent deaths, shortly before this time, of Huan 桓 of Ch'i, Wen 文 of Chin, and Li 釐 of Lu, the first two being wise princes. And king Hsiang 襄 of Chou had lost the Way; Mu 穆 of Ch'u had committed patricide; and all the feudal princes were degenerate. So the balance went down. It was as though Heaven said in warning, 'The subjects are strong and vigorous, and are about to act and harm you.' Subsequently, all the rulers in Sung, Lu, Chin, Chü 莒, Cheng, Ch'en and Ch'i were assassinated. In the matter of earthquakes, Lin Hsiang generally followed Tung Chung-shu." 文公九年九月癸酉,地震,劉向以爲先是時,齊桓,晉文,魯釐,二伯賢君新沒,周襄王失道,楚穆王殺父,諸侯皆不肖,權傾於下,天戒若曰,「臣下彊盛者,將動爲害」,後宋魯晉莒鄭陳齊皆殺君,諸震略皆從董仲舒說也。(同,下之上)

"Li-kung 16th year, 1st month, 1st day *wu-shen*. Meteorite at Sung-wu 宋五. In this month fishhawks flew backwards, and passed over the capital of Sung. Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang took this to be a sign that Duke Hsiang of Sung wished to act the way of the tyrant, and a warning that he would be defeated. . . . It was as though Heaven said in warning, "With virtue slight and country small, you should not scorch. If you try to be chief of the princes and fight with the powerful, you are bound to suffer for it." Duke Hsiang was not awakened. The following year Huan of Ch'i died. Duke Hsiang invaded Ch'i in its mourning, seized Teng-tzu 滕子, surrounded Ts'ao 曹, had the meeting at Yü 孟, contested the leadership of the alliance with Ch'u, and was ultimately captured. Later he was able to return to his country. He did not repent of the errors for which he was responsible. He again grouped the other feudal princes together, attacked Cheng, fought with Ch'u on the Hung 泓 river; his troops were defeated, himself wounded, and he was the laughing stock of the feudal princes." 釐公十六年正月戊申朔,隕石于宋五,是月六鵠退飛,過宋都,董仲舒,劉向以爲象宋襄公欲行伯道,將自敗之戒也。(中略)天戒若曰,「德薄國小,勿持亢陽,欲長諸侯,與彊大爭,必受其害」,襄公不寤,明年齊桓死,伐齊喪,執滕子,圍曹,爲孟之會,與楚爭盟,卒爲所執,後得反國,不悔過自責,復會諸侯,伐鄭,與楚戰于泓,軍敗身傷,爲諸侯笑。(同,下之下)

Next, cases where Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang shared much the same view:

"Chao-kung 25th year, summer. Mynahs came and nested. Liu Hsiang considered . . . when mynahs foretell what is to come, it is the life-force acting and is known as a good omen. . . . This was a sign that the house of Chi 季 was going to drive out Chao-kung, expel him from the palace and send him to live out in the wilds. . . . It was as though Heaven said in warning, 'Since you have lost popular support, you cannot be negligent. If you are negligent, the *yin* will be in arms and the *yang* will drive you out. You will leave your palace and live out in the wilds.'

Chao was not awakened, but raised troops and invested the house of Chi, by whom he was defeated. He fled away to Ch'i and finally died in the wilds. Tung Chung-shu's remarks were much the same." 昭公二十五年夏，有鸛鵒來巢，（中略）劉向以爲，（中略）鸛鵒言來者，氣所致，所謂祥也。（中略）象季氏將逐昭公，去宮室，而居外野也。（中略）天戒若曰，「既失衆，不可急暴，急暴陰將持節，陽以逐爾，去宮室而居外野矣，」昭不寤，而舉兵圍季氏，爲季氏所敗，出犇于齊遂死于外野，董仲舒指略同。（同，中之下）

"Yen-kung 29th year. There were cockroaches. . . . Liu Hsiang considered that cockroaches were of the blue colour and a blue crime was near at hand. It was not peculiar to the Middle Kingdom; it was brought about by lewd practices arising during the heat in the South, when men and women mingled in rivers and lakes, and caused an evil stench of insects. At this time, Yen-kung took a lewd woman of Ch'i to be his wife. Having entered his house, she had immoral relations with her two brothers-in-law. So the cockroaches came. It was as though Heaven said in warning, "Now you should execute her and put an end to it. If it goes on, there will be a stench of evil, which will be known about everywhere." Yen was not awakened. Later his wife and her two brothers-in-law rebelled, his two sons killed him, and they were all finally crucified. Tung Chung-shu's remarks were much the same." 嚴公二十九年有蜚，（中略）劉向以爲蜚色青，近青眚也，非中國所有，南越盛暑，男女同川澤，淫風所生，爲蟲臭惡，是時嚴公取齊淫女，爲夫人，既入，淫於兩叔，故蜚至，天戒若曰，「今誅絕之，尙及不，將生臭惡，聞於四方，」嚴不寤，其後夫人與兩叔作亂，二嗣以殺，卒皆被辜，董仲舒指略同。（同，中之上）

"Li-kung 14th year, autumn, 8th month, day *hsin-mao*. Sha-lu 沙麓 collapsed. . . . Liu Hsiang considered this a sign that the ministers would revolt and fall away and not serve their superior. Before this, duke Huan had been acting tyrannically, and grouped all the feudal princes in the service of Chou. Once Kuan Chung 管仲 had died, Huan's virtue daily declined. It was as though Heaven said in warning, 'The tyrant's way is going to fail. The princes will fall away. Government will be in the hands of officers of state. Subordinates will give orders. Ministers will not serve their superior.' Duke Huan was not awakened. The son of Heaven was dimmed, and, when Huan of Ch'i died, the states fell away and followed Ch'u. Wang Cha-tzu 王札子 killed two officers of state. Chin defeated the army of the son of Heaven, and it was impossible to subdue it. Decadence followed on. . . . Tung Chung-shu's explanation was much the same." 釐公十四年秋八月辛卯，沙麓崩，（中略）劉向以爲臣下背叛散落，不事上之象也，先是齊桓行伯道，會諸侯，事周室，管中既死，桓德日衰，天戒若曰，「伯道將廢，諸侯散落，政逮大夫，陪臣執命，臣下不事上矣，」桓公不寤，天子蔽晦，及齊桓公，天下散而從楚，王札子殺二大夫，晉敗天子之師，莫能征討，從是陵遲，（中略）董仲舒說略同。（同，下之上）

The foregoing are examples of Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang reading portents as warnings of Heaven, that is to say of the will of Heaven as warn-

ing. Moreover, their readings of the will of Heaven were either identical or much the same. However, there are rather more cases in which it is Liu Hsiang who reads the will of Heaven in portents, and spells this out as a warning in so many words. Anyway, for both Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, portents were revelations of Heaven, or warnings of Heaven. This will of Heaven, these warnings of Heaven, were adapted by them into human speech. It is also perfectly clear from the above examples that although Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang considered what each portent presaged, and, further, sought out the corresponding historical situation, event or action involved, and although, in addition, these portents were warnings, given by Heaven in advance, in respect of such and such a situation, event or action, they held that the results came about because the persons concerned were not awakened, and so they adapted these warnings given in advance by Heaven into human speech. That is to say, perhaps, that this amounts to the adaptations into human speech of warnings of Heaven, considered as predictions of Heaven. Thus many of Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang's readings of warnings of Heaven amounted to prophecies, in the sense of predictions of Heaven. One might say that they were prophecies encased in portents. Moreover, they were prophecies of classic kind, being derived from the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, a classic written by Confucius, they were prophecies connected with Confucius.

Nor do I think that Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang were alone in considering what each portent, or the sign within each portent, presaged, and then ascertaining what situation, event or action, corresponding to the portent, emerged, and, further, seizing on what the portent signified, that is to say, on the will of Heaven, the warning of Heaven, the prophecy, and expressing this clearly in human speech. For example, Tu Yeh 杜鄴 of the Former Han, says,

"The portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* are pointers and signs used as words. (Shih-ku comments, "He means that Heaven does not speak, but makes its meaning clear to mankind by means of natural signs")" 春秋災異, 以指象爲言語。(師古曰, 謂天不言, 但以景象指意告喻人。) (漢書杜鄴傳, 五行志)

Thus the procedure to which I have been alluding may be glimpsed here. I would like, therefore, just to clarify the meaning of these words by recourse to an actual example of Tu Yeh's interpretations of portents. But, in Tu Yeh's biography, the portents are solar eclipses, earthquakes and popular rumour-mongering, and the eclipses and earthquakes are those especially in question, while in the Treatise on the Five Elements it is the popular rumour-mongering to which attention is exclusively directed. Also, the conditions corresponding to the portents, that is to say, the situations, events or actions, are, in the biography, the tyrannous behaviour of the dowager empress Fu 傅 in the Ai-ti's time, and that of the Fu and Ting 丁 family under her, whereas, in the Treatise on the Five Elements, the theory is put forward that it was rather the schemes of the dowager empress Wang and Wang Mang than the tyrannous behaviour of the dowager empress Fu and the Ting and Fu families.

However, it does not matter which one follows in order to understand the remark in question, 'The portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* are pointers and signs used as words.' In the biography we find:

"I venture to observe that your majesty conducts his government without partiality. There is economy in all things, no action is taken contrary to the Rites. Your majesty is sincerely desirous of correcting himself and making a new beginning with his empire. Yet there is no answering good omen yet, while the sun is eclipsed, the earth quakes, and there are popular rumour-mongering and baseless conjectures, and angry warnings are exchanged. I note that the portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* are pointers and signs used as words. Therefore one can understand them by finding to what they correspond. In a solar eclipse the bright male principle is confronted by the female principle. When the trigram of the receptive or earth is above the trigram of the clinging or fire, this is the sign of Darkening of the Light. In being the rule for the earth, the Receptive is earth, is mother, peace is its virtue; earthquake is the indication of the absence of the female principle. The interpretation of these signs is perfectly clear. Would your servant dare not to speak of the matter straight out? . . . All of your relatives and your brothers are in your inner council, occupying important positions, no matter whether they lack wisdom and are degenerate.

Some are commanding bodyguards and others garrisons. Grace and favour is all for one family. Such an accumulation of influence is very rare to be seen and heard in this world. Among others, the occupation of the ranks of both Ta-ssu-ma 大司馬 (Supreme minister of Home affairs) and Chiang-chün 將軍 (Field marshall in Expedition) by members of your queen's family has no comparison in history.

The prosperity of the family Huang-pu 皇甫 and the three lines of descendants of Duke Huan 桓公, who commanded there armies of Lu 魯, can not surpass (the prosperity of her family). There was solar eclipse on the day of installment. The fact it took place neither before nor after but on the very day of installment shows clearly the modesty and non-arbitrariness of your majesty who, whenever he wants to issue an imperial order, listens for what the subject wants to say and executes what the subject wants to have done. However, if he does punish those who committed crimes and give offices and honorific titles to those who are of no merit and ability, things will become more and more loose. Such is actually what one should be blamed. It is expected to make everything orderly and clear so that one can realize the right and honourable dynasty. This is the point which ancient poets criticized and the *Book of Autumn and Spring* protested against. The solar eclipse can not be taken to be anything other than a warning (to the too much favour which Your Majesty is conveying to his queen's family.) 竊見陛下行不偏之政，每事約

俟，非禮不動，誠欲正身，與天下更始也，然嘉瑞未應，而日食，地震，民訛言行，傳相警怒，案春秋災異，以指象爲言語，故在於得一類而達之也，日食明陽爲陰所臨，坤卦乘離，明夷之象也，坤以法地，爲土爲母，以安靜爲德，震不陰之效也，占象甚明，臣敢不直言其事(中略)諸外家昆弟，無賢不肖，並侍帷幄，布在列位，或典兵衛，或將軍屯，寵意并於一家，積貴之執，世所希見，所希聞也，至乃並置大司馬將軍之官，皇甫雖盛，三桓雖隆，魯爲作三軍，無以甚此，當拜之日，晦然日食，不在前後，臨事而發者，明陛下謙遜無專，承指非一，所言輒聽，所欲輒隨，有罪惡者不坐辜罰，無功能者畢受官爵，流漸積猥，正尤在是，欲令昭昭，以覺聖朝，昔詩人所刺，春秋所譏，指象如此，殆不在它，云々。

The portents here are solar eclipse, earthquake and popular rumor-mongering. The solar eclipse is the sign of the hexagram of Darkening of the Light, in which the trigram of the receptive or earth is above the trigram of the clinging of fire. The earthquake is the indication of the absence of the female principle, in fact it is the sign of that absence. (In many cases the term 'indication' (*hsiao* 效) here in the interpretation of portents indicates the situation etc. brought about by the sovereign's failure to awaken, in spite of the warnings given by Heaven through portents vouchsafed; but it is also sometimes used to mean of what a portent is a sign, that is to say with the same meaning as 'sign' (*hsiang* 象). The latter is the case here.) What emerged in response to these portents, then, was the despotic behaviour of the emperor's mother's family. Moreover, the proof that this was definitely the relationship was given by the occurrence of an eclipse on the very day on which Fu Yen 傅晏 was appointed marshal commanding the heavy cavalry, and Ting Ming 丁明, marshal commanding the light cavalry. Heaven does not speak but one supposed that it expressed its will with such pointers and signs, that is to say, it used pointers and signs as words; this will could be conjectured and determined by means of the pointers and signs, and this one would adapt into human speech, and this will of Heaven was translated into the human language which reads "明陛下...欲齡昭昭，以覺聖。" Yen Shih-ku comments on the expression 'pointers and signs', and says, 'natural signs and pointers to will'; does he, perhaps, add 'will' to 'pointers' because he takes it that the will of Heaven, that is to say, the will of Heaven that is to be conjectured by means of portents and signs, is revealed by pointers and signs? Anyway, it may be supposed, when we consider this matter in this way, that there were a number of those who, like Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, read portents not only as the natural law of Heaven but as the will of Heaven. Thus, in this will of Heaven there was prediction by Heaven, that is to say, prophecy.

Since prophecies like the above were derived from the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, it was perhaps natural that they should be of classic kind, that they should be connected with Confucius. In this connection, Wu-ti, in the 6th year of Yüan-so (123 B.C.) ordered Lü Pu-shu 呂步舒 to deal with the trial of the king of Huai-nan according to a lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*; these lessons of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* will probably become much clearer, in fact, through the will of Heaven as read by Tung Chung-shu in the portents of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*,

that is to say, prophecies encased in portents. Let us then look at the situation at the time with the help of the Treatise on the Five Elements. There we find the following narrative. First:

"Wu-ti, 6th year of Chien-Yüan (135 B.C.), 6th month, day *ting-yu*: the ancestral shrine in Liao-tung burnt. 4th month, day *jen-tzu*: the Kao-yüan Palace burnt." 武帝建元六年六月丁酉，遼東高廟災，四月壬子，高園便殿火。

At this point, Tung Chung-shu shows these to be revelations of the will of Heaven, that is to say, portents to be read as lessons of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. Then we read:

"Tung Chung-shu said, 'It is the way of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* to cite the past in order to illuminate the future. For this reason, when something happens in the world, one scans the *Ch'un-ch'iu* for a passage concerning something comparable. One lays bare the minutiae to discover the intention, one penetrates the principles to know the law. Thus strange happenings in heaven and earth, incidents in affairs of state, all are clearly to be seen, and there is no room for doubt.' " 董仲舒對曰，春秋之道舉往以明來，是故天下有物，視春秋所舉與同比者，精微妙，以存其意，通倫類，以貫其理，天地之變，國家之事，粲然皆見，亡所疑矣。

This passage shows the basic principle of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, to cite the past in order to illuminate the future, and the manner of its application. It may be remarked that what is here called the way of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, to cite the past in order to illuminate the future, is a method of a kind of divination, it is a principle of prediction. That is to say, Tung Chung-shu seeks in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* a principle of divination, prediction, and so, of prophecy. Next:

"According to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the evil of the house of Chi 季 was already ripe in the time of Ting-kung and Ai-kung of Lu, but the saintliness of Confucius was just at its height. It was possible for consummate saintliness to alter ripe evil, in spite of the power of the Chi-sun 季孫 on the one hand and the feebleness of the rulers of Lu on the other." 按春秋魯定公哀公時，季氏之惡已孰，而孔子之聖方盛，夫以盛聖而易孰惡，季孫雖重魯君雖輕，其勢可成也。

Next:

"Ting-kung, 2nd year, 5th month: the Two Towers were burnt. The Two Towers being an offence against Propriety, Heaven burnt them, as if to say, "Ministers who offend against propriety should be dismissed." First we see the symbol of the offence, then the announcement of dismissal; this is the will of Heaven. Ting-kung did not know that he should reflect. Then in Ai-kung 3rd year, 5th month, the Huan 桓 Palace and the Li 釐 Palace were burnt, both in the same incident, making a single item. This was as if to say, "The lofty are burnt and the unrighteous dismissed." Ai-kung could not yet understand, so in his 4th year, 6th

month, the altar of the Yin was burnt. The Two Towers, the Huan and Li Palaces, and the altar of the Yin: none of these four should have stood. Heaven burnt what should not have stood in order to show Lu that it was to dismiss its corrupt minister and employ a saintly man.” 故定公二年五月兩觀災，兩觀僭禮之物，天災之者，若曰，「僭禮之臣可以去，」已見辜徵，而後告可去，此天意也，定公不知省，至哀公三年五月桓宮，釐宮災，二者同事，所爲一也，若曰，「燔貴而去不義，云爾，」哀公未能見，故四年六月，亳社災，兩觀，桓釐廟，亳社，四者皆不當立，天皆燔其不當立者，以示魯欲其去亂臣，而用聖人也。

In the last passage he takes the burning of the Two Palaces in Ting-kung 2nd year, 5th month, of the Huan Palace and the Li Palace in Ai-kung 3rd year, 5th month, and of the altar of the Yin in the 4th year, 6th month of the same ruler; he then 'lays bare the minutiae' to seize the meaning, and he 'penetrates the principles to know the law'; that is to say he reads the will of Heaven as revealed by these portents: in concrete terms the will of Heaven was to burn these four edifices because they should not have stood, and so cause Lu to dismiss its corrupt minister and employ Confucius, a saintly man. In the former case, even if the condition (situation, event, conduct) for a corresponding portent to appear existed, no portent would appear unless the time were appropriate. It is shown that this is the Way of Heaven. This is made clear by the passage that follows that last quoted:

“The road of the fall of the house of Chi was long. Heaven did not show portents before this because, although there was the desire to dismiss the Chi-sun, the power was inadequate. This was Chao-kung. Then came Ting and Ai, and portents were seen. The time was appropriate. If the time is not, they are not seen. This is the Way of Heaven.” 季氏亡道久矣，前是天下不見災者，魯未有賢聖臣，雖欲去季孫，其力不能，昭公是也，至定哀廼見之，其時可也，不時不見，天之道也。

We may understand from these passages that it is Heaven which surveys the vicissitudes of mankind, and delivers portents when the time is right for bringing about the reform of errors and reversion to goodness, so that Heaven is the supreme divine authority possessing knowledge, feeling and will. Next:

“Now the ancestral shrine should not have been in Liao-tung; the Kao-yüan Palace should not have been beside the imperial tomb; and, according to Propriety they should not have been built. They were the same as the fires of Mu, and it was a long time that they should not have stood. The fact that Heaven displayed portents in your majesty's time was probably because the time was appropriate. Formerly, the Ch'in took over the incapacity of the fallen Chou, and lacked what was needed to transform it. The Han took over the incapacity of the fallen Ch'in, and also lacked what was needed to transform it. If one inherits what flows

down from two successive incapacities, and so takes over the humiliations, the difficulty of governing is extreme. Moreover, when one is connected with many brothers and other blood-relations, when there is a multitude of proud, haughty and extravagant persons to be consulted, this is known as a time of multiple difficulty. Your majesty is to be pitied for having, after confronting the great incapacities, encountered a time of multiple difficulty. Therefore there are Heaven's portents, as if to tell your majesty that, in the face of the world at present, in spite of the incapacities and consequent multiple difficulty, government is impossible without peace and perfect uprightness." 今高廟不當居遼東，高園殿不當居陵旁，於禮亦不當立，與魯所災同，其不當立久矣，至於陛下時，天廼災之者，殆亦其時可也，昔秦受亡周之敝，而亡以化之，漢受亡秦之敝，又亡以化之，夫繼二敝之後，承其下流，兼受其狠，難治甚矣，又多兄弟親戚骨肉之連，驕揚奢侈咨睢者衆，所謂重難之時者也，陛下正當大敝之後，又遭重難之時，其可憂也，故天災，若語陛下當今之世，雖敝而重難，非以太平至公不能治也。

Here we have 'happenings' in the sense of 'when something happens in the world'; that is to say, the fires in question, the conflagration of the shrine of the ancestors in Liao-tung and of the Kao-yüan Palace, had the same significance as the four with which Lu was afflicted, the Two Towers, the Huan and Li Palaces and the altar of the Yin, insofar as the ancestral shrine ought not to have been built in Liao-tung, and the Kao-yüan Palace ought not to have been at beside the imperial tomb. However, both the ancestral shrine in Liao-tung and the Kao-yüan-pien Palace had been built in the past, whereas the occurrence of disasters at this time was due to the time being appropriate. That is to say, 'your majesty's' (Wu-ti's) time was one of humiliation and multiple difficulty, but if 'your majesty' (Wu-ti) were to act peacefully and with utter uprightness, it would not be impossible to govern—this is what can be said on reading the portents.

Next:

"We look at our relations, nobly connected among the princes, and we repress and execute those who are inordinately unrighteous. This is as if we set fire to the ancestral shrine in Liao-tung, and it should be done. We look at our subjects close at hand, in the kingdom, those who are not at the centre, and even those who are noble but unrighteous, we repress and punish. This is as if we set fire to the Kao-yüan Palace, and it should be done. Those who are outside but unrighteous may be as lofty as the ancestral shrine, yet are they subject to disaster. And how much the more if they are princes. Those who are within and unrighteous may be as lofty as the Kao-yüan Palace, yet are they subject to disaster. How much the more if they are great ministers! This is the will of Heaven. If there is sin among those outside, Heaven inflicts disaster outside. If there is sin among those inside, Heaven inflicts disaster inside. When the fire is

severe, the sin must be grave; when the fire is light, the sin is slighter. Thus is the will of Heaven passed on.” 視親戚貴屬在諸侯，遠正最甚者，忍而誅之，如吾燔遼東高廟，廼可，視近臣在國中，處旁仄，及貴而不正者，忍而誅之，如吾燔高園殿，廼可，云爾，在外而不正者，雖貴如高廟，猶災燔之，況諸侯乎，在內而不正者，雖貴如高園殿，猶災之，況大臣乎，此天意也，暈在外者，天災外，暈在內者，天災內，燔甚暈當重，燔簡暈當輕，承天意之道也。

Here he reads the will of Heaven in the following way: since, as we saw in the preceding passage, the burning of the ancestral shrine in Liao-tung and that of the Kao-yüan Palace were the same as the four conflagrations of Lu, he regarded the will of Heaven manifested on that occasion as being the same, the same, that is to say, as its will, as he saw it, that Lu should be made to dismiss its corrupt minister and employ Confucius, a saintly man; it was thus the will of Heaven that extremely unrighteous relations on the outside, connected with the nobility, be punished on the analogy of Heaven's burning the ancestral shrine in Liao-tung, and that unrighteous persons beside the sovereign, inside, noble ministers close to him, should be punished on the analogy of Heaven's burning the Kao-yüan Palace. Thus, when the sin was far off, Heaven struck far off, when the sin was close at hand, Heaven struck close at hand. One then, he maintained, accepted the will of Heaven correctly, if severe disaster accompanied grave sin, and lighter disaster, slighter sin. In the Treatise on the Five Elements, this continues,

“Before this An 安, king of Huai-nan had come to court. He started by having seditious conversation with T'ien Fen 田蚡, marquis of Wu-an 武安 the emperor's uncle. After this, king Yü 于 of Chiao-hsi 膠西, king Su 肅 of Chao-ching 趙敬 and king Hsien 憲 of Ch'ang shan 常山 committed many breaches of the law, even going so far as to murder families and poison the grade 2,000 official. And the kings of Huai-nan and Heng-shan finally conspired to rebel. The kings of Chiao-tung 膠東 and Chiang-tu 江都 both knew of the conspiracy, and secretly trained troops to join in with it. Then, in Yüan-so 6th year, all was discovered and they were arrested. By this time T'ien Fen was dead and was not brought to justice. The emperor thought of what Tung Chung-shu had previously said, and he appointed Tung Chung-shu's disciple, Lü Pu-shu, to take the executioner's axe and deal with the trial of the king of Huai-nan. In accordance with the lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, he acted on his own initiative away from the court, and made no requests. When he returned and reported, the emperor approved of everything.” 先是淮南王安入朝，始與帝舅太尉武安侯田蚡有逆言，其後膠西于王，趙敬肅王，常山憲王皆數犯法，或至夷滅人家，藥殺二千石，而淮南衡山王遂謀反，膠東江都王皆知其謀，陰治兵弩，欲以應之，至元朔六年，廼發覺而伏辜，時田蚡已死，不及誅，上思仲舒前言，使仲舒弟子呂步舒持斧鉞，治淮南獄，以春秋誼，斷於外，不請，既還奏事，上皆是之。

That is to say, Tung Chung-shu had read the burning of the ancestral shrine in Liao-tung and that of the Kao-yüan Palace, in the 6th year of Chien-yüan, in the light of portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, and Wu-ti accepted the will of Heaven, the warning of Heaven, the prophecy therein manifested, as a lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, and in conformity with this he dealt with the trial of the king of Huai-nan in Yüan-so 6th year. Wu-ti was not subject to the constraints of Propriety or the laws; he simply followed the will of Heaven and vicariously executed its judgement, so that the authority of Heaven came to be vested in him. Thus the lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, to which Wu-ti conformed on this occasion, was the will of Heaven read by Tung Chung-shu in portents previously sent by Heaven, and that was also a prophecy. In this way these prophecies were regarded as of a classic kind, a kind connected with Confucius. This also means, at the same time, that the thought of the Confucian Tung Chung-shu was indeed Confucian.

The following circumstances, moreover, preceded the execution of the foregoing judgement. We read in the Life of Tung Chung-shu in the *Han-shu*:

"Before this there had occurred the calamities of the ancestral shrine in Liao-tung and the Kao-Yüan Palace at the Chang 長 imperial tomb. Chung-shu was at home, speculating on their significance. Before he had submitted his draft, Chu-fu Yen 主父偃 secretly saw it and was jealous of it. He stole the copy and submitted it. The emperor summoned the scholars. Chung-shu's disciple, Lü Pu-shu, did not know that his master had written it, and considered it extremely stupid. Chung-shu was thereupon put under arrest and was about to die, but was pardoned by decree. Chung-shu never discussed portents any more." 先是遼東高廟，長陵高園殿災，仲舒居家，推說其意，史彙未上，主父偃候仲舒，私見嫉之，竊其書而奏焉，上召視諸儒，仲舒弟子呂步舒不知其師書，以爲大愚，於是下仲舒吏，當死，詔赦之，仲舒遂不敢復言災異。

Such then was the tale, as already mentioned, of Wu-ti remembering what Tung Chung-shu had previously said, and, accepting it as a lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, dealing with the case of Huai-nan in conformity with it.

In any case, Wu-ti vicariously executed the judgement of Heaven, having the authority of Heaven vested in him. There was nothing there of intelligent virtue prudently punishing, there was simply the arbitrary decision of Wu-ti wielding the same authority as Heaven. Moreover, it was Tung Chung-shu who wrote what led to this judgement, and, although it was dressed up as being in conformity with a lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, it was a total departure from the doctrine of Confucius. In this case Tung Chung-shu was wholly the magician. Further, not only in this lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* but among the manifestations of the will of Heaven, of warnings of Heaven, sought by Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and elsewhere, there were prophecies in the sense of predictions of Heaven. Of course, they did not call

them prophecies. But they were in effect prophecies, only encased in portents. Nor is this all: in these cases Heaven did not utter words; but it surveyed the vicissitudes of mankind and sent portents; in so doing it was the supreme spiritual authority, possessing knowledge, feeling and will, which, by means of what were called pointers and signs, gave warning in advance, such as would cause sovereigns to reform errors and revert to good; it was thus that Confucius understood such portents, sent by Heaven, considered as the supernatural, and so recorded them in the classic *Ch'un-ch'iu* at the appropriate points; and so it is also clear that these men, in disclosing Heaven's forewarnings to mankind, were sorcerers. It would thus seem that Confucius might be likened to a sorcerer who, by divining the will of the spirits/Heaven by tortoise shell and yarrow stalks, obtained signs like the lines and hexagrams, while Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang might be compared with sorcerers who, by passing judgements on the lines and hexagrams, composed the linear and hexagram interpretations.

Looking at the matter in this way, we can see that Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang had thrown off Confucian doctrine as a doctrine of the way of humanity and participated in a doctrine of the Way of Heaven, as a way of the gods, and that they were causing the Confucian doctrine, as a doctrine of the way of humanity to change into a doctrine of the way of the gods, the Way of Heaven. Thus the prophecies encased in portents that they obtained may be regarded as belonging to the same category as prophecies of the *Lu-t'u-shu* obtained by Shih-huang-ti, the *Book of the Tripod* which predicted Wu-ti's performance or worship, the oracle predicting that Wang Mang would receive the mandate, and the prophetic books which predicted the reception of the mandate and the performance of worship by Kuang-wu-ti. Thus, at least, the prophecies sought by such as Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang in the portents of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* included some which, because they were based on the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, were regarded as lessons of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*; and so, since they were of the classic kind, of a kind connected with Confucius, they can be said to have been essentially the same as the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching*, the *Secret Classic of Confucius* and the prophetic books used by Kuang-wu-ti. It would be perhaps understandable if anyone formerly looking for the immediate forerunners of the prophetic books had held that they should be looked for in the prophecies encased in portents, which Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang obtained through their interpretations of portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, without looking for them in the prophecies used by Shih-huang-ti and Kuang-wu-ti. It is perhaps particularly appropriate in point of time also, since, on the appearance of the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching*, which is considered to be the oldest of the prophetic books, Liu Hsiang was one of those who criticised it.

(ii) Evolution towards the Prophetic Books (1)

How, then, was it possible that there should have been an evolution from prophecies of the classic kind, of the kind connected with Confucius, encased in portents, to classic prophecies, to prophecies of the classic kind, to prophecies connected with Confucius, which were not encased in portents? To give an answer to this question amounts to elucidating the circumstances of the composition of the prophetic books, and for that purpose it is essential to elucidate (i) the reason for prophecies breaking the casing of portent, (ii) the reason for their necessarily being regarded as classic, of the classic kind and connected with Confucius, together with the possibility of such evolution.

We will consider (i) first.

Questions of good omens and inauspicious portents arise quite frequently in the period of the Former Han, the former being particularly frequent in the time of Hsüan-ti, the latter in the reign of Ch'eng-ti, and these latter being frequently accompanied by the submission of remonstrances to the throne. It goes without saying that the good omens were rewards sent by Heaven to the sovereign, and the inauspicious portents were punishments. Now these were considered to be sent because he was a sovereign; it was, moreover, not considered that good and ill fortune depended on man, and it was further considered that the inauspicious portent could be altered by the sovereign's reform of error and reversion to good. In view of these considerations, it was held that Heaven, being the supreme divinity possessing knowledge, feeling and will, bestowed these rewards and punishments, from the standpoint of support for the sovereign, and that the sovereign was possessed of at least enough magical power or authority to bring on these good omens or inauspicious portents or to cause alteration in them. In short, the magical authority of the sovereign was here recognised and upheld. For example, Tung Chung-shu begins his first answer as follows:

"I respectfully submit that it is most awesome to look in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* at what happened in the past and so observe the relationship between Heaven and Man. When a state is on the point of losing the Way and so being destroyed, Heaven first sends a calamity, in order to give warning. If the ruler is not wise enough to reflect, a further strange happening is sent to strike fear into him. If he still makes no alteration, then destruction comes. In this way can be seen how Heaven loves human princes, and wishes to stop them going wrong. Except when the Way has been utterly lost, Heaven always wishes to give support and security. It is all a matter of striving hard." 臣謹案春秋之中，視前世已行之事，以觀天人相與之際，甚可畏也，國家將有失道之敗，而天廼先出災害，以譴告之，不知自省，又出怪異以警懼之，尙不知變，而傷敗廼至，以此見天心之仁愛人君，而欲止其亂也，自非大亡道之世者，天盡欲扶持而全安之，事在彊勉而已矣。（漢書本傳）

Thus Heaven sends portents to support the sovereign and ensure his security, that is to say, this is because Heaven supports the sovereign, and, further, the sovereign can, by reform of error and reversion to good, cause alteration of the portent. Again, in this same counter-proposal, we read:

“Confucius said, “The phoenix does not come; the river gives forth no chart. It is all over with me.” He pities himself because these happenings could be brought about but he is too humble to be able to bring them about. Now Your Majesty is exalted, being the Son of Heaven. He has the riches of the four seas. He has the position whereby he could bring these happenings about. For power, he has the strength to bring them about. Further, for possessions, he has the resources to bring them about. His conduct is lofty and his benevolence generous. His knowledge is bright and his thoughts beautiful. He loves the common people and has affection for the gentry. He may be called a righteous sovereign. Why, then, is it that Heaven and Earth have not responded and these fair omens do not come? It is all because civilising teachings have not been established, and the people are not righteous.” 孔子曰，鳳鳥不至，河不出圖，吾已矣夫，自悲可致此物，而身卑賤不得致也，今陛下貴爲天子，富有四海，居得致之位，操可致之勢，又有能致之資，行高而恩厚，知明而意美，愛民而好士，可謂誼主矣，然而天地未應，而美祥莫至者，何也，凡以教化不立，而萬民不正也。

He is saying that such things as the phoenix and the River Chart are omens so auspicious that even the saintly Confucius was unable to bring them about, they are divine happenings, but Wu-ti possesses the position, strength and resources which could bring them about. That is to say, he recognises that Wu-ti, being a sovereign, possesses the power and authority, that is to say, the magical power and authority required to bring about divine happenings, to a greater extent than Confucius. Thus he recognises that the sovereign's magical authority is almost the same as the magical power of Heaven in that, by response to Heaven and integration with Heaven it can bring about the most auspicious omens, and, since it is, further, supported by Heaven, Confucian though he be, he is obliged to expound the Way by means of good omens and inauspicious portents. The reason is that, since even Confucius' authority did not attain that of a sovereign, even in expounding the Way of Confucius, the sovereign can only be coerced by means of the authority of Heaven, that is to say, the good omens and inauspicious portents which were Heaven's rewards and punishments. In short, the fact that a Confucian explained the way by means of portents means that he recognised the nearly supreme magical authority of the sovereign and supported it.

Wu-ti carried out the acts of worship of Heaven and Earth 封禪. This was a ceremony whereby he announced to Heaven that he had completed the accomplishment of the task of unifying the empire; this was carried out under the guidance of a kind of magician or sorcerer, and, in the course of

it, Wu-ti responded to Heaven and had intercourse with it, so becoming integrated with Heaven; as a result of this, he publicly demonstrated to the empire that he had in this way obtained magical authority similar to that of Heaven. At the same time, as related above, Wu-ti dealt with the case of Huai-nan in accordance with a lesson from the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, but, since the lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* was the will of Heaven manifested in portent in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, Wu-ti was therein executing the will of Heaven vicariously. That is to say, this means that Wu-ti worked the work of Heaven, but this lesson of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, being the will be Heaven manifested in portents, read by Tung Chung-shu in portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, was also a prophecy encased in portents. Therefore, the prophecy encased in portents read by Tung Chung-shu served, in the same way as the *Book of the Tripod*, which predicted these acts of worship by Wu-ti, that is to say, as a prophecy, to guarantee Wu-ti's supreme magical power.

In the time of Ch'eng-ti and Ai-ti, however, there was considerable expansion and strengthening of the whole ruling class, but there was a considerable increase in the Confucianistic officials who sought reforms in respect of influential ministers, the emperor's relations-in-law, the eunuchs and the officials directly subordinate to the House of the Han, and the system of the Rites. And so the sovereign, whose duty it was to lead these, was gradually withdrawn and isolated from them, nor was any favour shown even to his heirs. As a result, all the supporters of the House of the Han came to realise that that House was in the process of losing the mandate. Thus it was that, as well as the numerous portents sent in Ch'eng-ti's time, there were also submitted numerous remonstrances, based on the portents. The greater part of these, then, were intended rather to restore than to maintain and strengthen the political, moral and magical authority of the House of Han.

However, there was no uniformity in the actual methods, in the measures proposed to correspond to the situation. Ku Yung 谷永 produced the largest number of memorials and submissions concerning the portents of this period. The Annals of the *Han-shu* are full of such memorials and submissions, while there are others in the Life of Tu Yeh and in the Treatise on the Five Elements. There is a reply by Ku in the Annals, 1st year of Yüan-yen (12 B.C.):

"In addition, merit and virtue are alternately generous and mean; character has good points and shortcomings; the seasons have a middle and an end; the Way of Heaven is in the ascendant or fallen low. Your Majesty is the heir to eight generations of achievement, coinciding with the standard of the *yang* number; after the passage of 210 years; he has met with the fate of the hexagram of innocence (the unexpected) (*wu-wang* 无妄); he faces the calamity of the 106 [th. year]; three dangers of different kinds, united together."

加以功德有厚薄，期質有脩短，時世有中季，天道有盛衰，陛下承八世之功業，當陽數之標季，涉五七之節紀，遭无妄之卦運，直百六之災阨，三難異科，雜焉同會。

In thus speaking, he is accepting that, in the light of the calendar and the hexagrams, that is to say, in the light of the natural law of Heaven, the House of Han is in the presence of danger to its mandate. Immediately before this, he has argued that, if, in spite of their having been portents, the sovereign does not reform error and revert to good, if, that is to say, he is not awakened by the portents:

“Evil will penetrate and pervade. There will be no further warning. The mandate will change to one who has virtue. The *Book of Songs* says, . . . for evil is expelled, weakness extirpated. The mandate is transferred to a wise and saintly man. This is the eternal law of Heaven and Earth, and is the same for a hundred kings.” 惡洽變備，不復譴告，更命有德，詩云，（中略）夫去惡奪弱，遷命賢聖，天地之常經，百王之所同也。

Even while affirming that the House of Han is in the presence of danger to its mandate, he does further recognise that there is room for reform of error and reversion to good; and he further holds that unless there is reform of error and reversion to good, the mandate will be transferred to a man of virtue, changed to a wise and saintly man; and while he holds that what is called ‘revolution’ 革命, that is to say, change of dynasties, is also possible, he also holds that the situation can be met by reform of error and reversion to good, measures which belong to the Way of Man, as does change of dynasty. In short, there is here a margin of resource in the Way of Man, not directly bound up with the magical Way of Heaven or Way of the Gods.

The prophecy in question here is of the kind made by saintly men and others, the kind based on the natural law of the calendar and the Changes, the kind regarded as orthodox by Chang Heng, and there is no question of the kind of prophecy which is regarded as a prediction of Heaven. When, in the foregoing submission, Ku Yung predicts the results which will be brought about by Ch’eng-ti’s failure in government, he says:

“There will be armed risings throughout the realm. Famine will break out among the people, but the officials will have no pity. Great difficulties will arise for the farmers, but heavy taxes will be levied. Hatred and disaffection will burst forth below, but those above will not know.” 諸夏舉兵，萌在民飢饉而吏不卹，興於百姓困而賦斂重，發於下怨離而上不知。

To explain the reasoning behind this, he first quotes the interpretation of nine in the fifth line of the hexagram *chun* 屯 (‘difficulty at the beginning’):

“The Changes says, ‘*chun*. Difficulties in blessing. A little perseverance brings good fortune. Great perseverance brings misfortune.’” 易曰，屯，其膏，小貞吉，大貞凶。

Then he quotes the interpretation of the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan*:

"The commentary says, 'When there is famine but no economy, this is called extravagance. The disaster is water; the calamity is annihilation.'" 傳曰，飢而不損，茲謂泰，厥災水，厥咎亡。

Finally he quotes the popular saying:

"The popular saying is: 'The gates move, their bolts fly away. The ruler acts without the Way. The ministers act wrong. The calamity is the plotting of rebellious ministers.'" 詠辭曰，關動牡飛，辟爲無道，臣爲非，厥咎亂臣謀篡。

He adduces these quotations in order to justify his prediction that Ch'eng-ti's failure of government will bring on the vast disorder, which he calls armed risings throughout the realm. But these are not prophecies considered as predictions of Heaven; they are prophecies such as saints and others can obtain by scrutiny of the natural law of Heaven, they are prophetic formulae. They are of the same kind as those of the Changes and the Great Commentary on it and as those of Chia I, Ching Fang and Liu Hsin. That is to say, while he asserts the danger of the House of Han, he still believes that this can be dealt with by human measures, and accepts that even the mandate of Heaven is in accordance with the natural law of Heaven; he thus shares common ground with those who, like Liu Hsin, said that good and ill fortune depend on human beings. When one considers such a point as that he even upheld the actions of men like Wang Mang, affirming as he did that even a change of dynasty was to be regarded as a measure within the human sphere, there would seem to be a connection between Ku Yung's approach to the court nobles and Confucian officials like Liu Hsin, who were recommending reforms in the system of Rites in relations to sacrifices at the time, or the operation of the Rites of Chou, and his attachment to the Wang family through the intermediary of Wang Feng 王鳳, Wang T'an 王譚 and Wang Ken 王根.

Next, when Liu Hsiang addressed himself to the interpretation of portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, as already described, he would read the will of Heaven in even more portents than Tung Chung-shu, and extract prophecies encased in portents; at the same time he would submit remonstrances to Yüan-ti and Ch'eng-ti on the basis of these. He was the great Confucian of the time, who wrote the *Lives of Women* (*Lieh-nü-chuan* 列女傳) by way of guarding against the intrigues of the seraglio, and strove to regulate the behaviour of powerful ministers and the emperor's relations-in-law by the rules of Propriety, and he was, at the same time, the man of the most powerful intelligence at the end of the Liu clan. From the standpoint of one who upheld the magical, supernatural authority of the House of Han, he opposed even the movement on the part of the Confucian officials for the reform of the system of Rites in respect of sacrifices. In particular, when, in the course of the movement for the reform of sacrifices, the Kan-ch'üan 甘泉 altar was not

used for the sacrifice to the south of the walls and there was a portent on that day, the emperor asked for an explanation, and Liu Hsiang's premise was,

“Families never wish the ancestral worship to cease,” 家人尚不欲絕種祠。(漢書郊祀志下)

and he went on to explain that the change of the Kan-ch'üan altar, the sacrifice to the god of the Earth in Fen-yin 汾陰—for the sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, that is to say, the sacrifice outside the walls—was an insult to the god, and here was the punishment. Following on this, the dowager empress issued an edict concerning Ch'eng-ti's lack of heir:

“The present emperor is clement and filial, he accepts and follows the guidance of the saints, he has no great faults. Yet for a long time he has been without an heir. I think that the fault lies in the moving of the northern and southern altars, which is a violation of the system of former emperors. To alter the old site of a god's altar is to lose the heart of Heaven and Earth, so as to prevent the good fortune of having an heir.”

今皇帝寬仁孝順，奉循聖緒，靡有大愆，而久無繼嗣，思其咎職，殆在徙南北郊，違先帝之制，改神祇舊位，失天地之心，以妨繼嗣之福。(漢書郊祀志下)

In these passages there is the belief that a successor is ensured, in the same way as in the ancestral worship of the common people by means of the sacrifices outside the walls, that is, the emperor's sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and we can tell that Liu Hsiang believed this. That is to say Liu Hsiang expected direct benevolence on the part of the god of Heaven and the god of Earth towards the sovereign, while he also feared their direct punishment. Much in the same way that Tung Chung-shu believed that, so long as his rule was not utterly bad, Heaven would give support and security to the sovereign, Liu Hsiang's being a magical belief about Heaven, may be said to have been in the Way of Heaven regarded as magical. It was in taking his stand on such a belief that he opposed the movement for reform of the sacrifices, put forward by Wang Mang and Liu Hsin and others. Further, because, according to such a belief, the gods of Heaven and Earth and the sovereign were directly linked and able to consult together, he believed, in much the same way as Tung Chung-shu, that he could read the will of Heaven and warnings of Heaven, and so read prophecies, considered as predictions of Heaven. Thus, such men as Ku Yung or Liu Hsin, who recognised a margin of resource in the interconnection between Heaven and the sovereign, and considered that the sovereign should respond to Heaven with all possible human power, made human prophecies based on the natural law of Heaven even on the occasion of portents, and seem therefore to differ from those who saw the natural law of Heaven in the Way of Heaven. However, Liu Hsiang did not extract the will of Heaven, a warning of Heaven, directly from Heaven, even when the

House of Han was faced with danger, but only looked for the will of Heaven, a prophecy, encased in a portent.

In the same way as Tung Chung-shu, he read prophecies, which he regarded as the will of Heaven, warnings of Heaven towards the sovereign, in the portents of that time, too, as in the following examples:

"Yüan-ti, 3rd year of ch'u-yüan (46 B.C.), 4th month, day *i-wei*. Calamity at the Hall of the White Crane in the Wu-ti Garden. Liu Hsiang's opinion was this: before this, the former general Hsiao Wang-chih 蕭望之 and the *Kuang-lu-ta-fu* 光祿大夫 Chou Kan 周堪 were assisting in the government, and were slandered by two deceitful ministers, Shih Hsien 石顯 and Hsü Chang 許章. Wang-chih committed suicide, and Kan was dismissed. The following year there was the disaster at the Hall of the White Crane. The stable of the Five-Li-galloping horses in the garden ought not to have been in the place of the ancestral tablets north of the hill. It is as if Heaven said in warning, "If you dismiss those close to the throne into idleness, unrighteous ministers will damage the loyal and good." Chang was later accused of riding fast in the imperial park and burning fire there. He was dismissed from office."

元帝初元三年四月乙未，孝武園白鶴館災，劉向以爲，先是前將軍蕭望之，光祿大夫周堪輔政，爲佞臣石顯許章等所譖，望之自殺，堪廢黜，明年白鶴館災，園中五里馳逐走馬之館，不當在山陰昭穆之地，天戒若曰，「去貴近逸遊不正之臣，將害忠良，」後章坐走馬上林，下烽馳逐，免官。（漢書五行志上）

"4th year of Yung-kuang (40 B.C.), 6th month, day *chia-hsü*. Calamity on the south of the eastern gate tower of the Hsüan-ti-tu-ling Garden. Liu Hsiang's opinion was this: before this the emperor had recalled Chou Kan to the office of *kuang-lu-hsün* 光祿勳, and Kan's follower, Chang Meng 張猛, was *T'ai-chung-ta-fu* 太中大夫. Shih Hsien and others again slandered them, and they were both banished. This year the emperor recalled Kan as *shang-shu* 尚書 and Meng as *chi-shih-chung* 給事中. Hsien and the others wished to ruin them finally. The mausoleum is smaller than the palace, and the gate tower is in the middle of the outer palace gate, and is a symbol of the palace official, Hsien. Hsüan had personally made it high, and the gate tower is beyond the regulation height. It is as though Heaven said in warning, "If you discard regulations and personally make a palace official high, the realm is bound to suffer." When Kan later hoped to obtain an audience on account of what Hsien had said, the matter was decided on Hsien's word, and Kan was too ill to speak. Hsien made his false accusations, and Chang Meng committed suicide in an official carriage. Ch'eng-ti came to the throne, and Hsien was finally crucified." 永光四年六月甲戌，孝宣杜陵園東闕南方災，劉向以爲，先是上復徵用周堪爲光祿勳，及堪弟子張猛爲太中大夫，石顯等復譖毀之，皆出外

遷，是歲上復徵堪領尙書，猛給事中，石顯等終欲害之，園陵小於朝廷，闕在司馬門中，內臣顯之象也，孝宜親而貴，門闕法令所從出也，天戒若曰，「去法令，內臣親而貴者，必爲國害，」後堪希得進見，因顯言事，事決顯口，堪病不能言，顯誣告，張猛自殺於公車，成帝卽位，顯卒伏辜。（同上）

However, as has been said above, the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* appeared in the time of Ch'eng-ti, and this was both a classic and was prophecy not encased in portents. According to this, Ai-ti received the mandate for the second time, but he did not succeed in doing so. This prophecy was intended to cause a revival of the authority of the House of Han. In essence it was just the same as the prophecies extracted by Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, which were encased in portents, but it was also a classic, it was a complete prophecy not encased in a portent, it was a prophetic book. Not only this; it was the most ancient of the prophetic books, but it also came ultimately to receive the support of such a man as Li Hsün 李尋 whose attitudes in point of thought, beliefs and even political standpoint were much the same as those of Liu Hsiang. According to the Life of Li Hsün in the *Han-shu*, he put the *Shang-shu* in order, and was interested in the portents in the *Hung-fan* 洪範 section of it, he studied astronomy, the seasons and the *yin* and *yang*, he served Ti Fang-chin 翟方進, to whom he frequently gave advice, and was also on good terms with Wang Ken, but at this time, that is to say, the time of Ch'eng-ti, he saw signs of the imminent decline of the House of Han, foresaw that there would be a flood disaster, which he loyally reported. In the course of this he said:

“In this too there are movements up or down. If there is a sign of a flood, and there is no repentance and no reform, the flood will come and it will make a cleansing, the flowing broom will sweep clear. If there is reform, there will be a year without seasons. Therefore, if in the near future there is much reform of petty wickedness and depravity, the sun and moon will shine bright and clear, the rain will come auspiciously, and this will be High Heaven saving Han from ruin.” 此亦高下易居，洪水之徵也，不憂不改，洪水廼欲盪滌，流彗廼欲掃除，改之則有年亡期，故屬者，頗有變改，小貶邪猾，日月光精，時雨氣應，此皇天右漢亡已也。

He is saying that if there is reform of error and reversion to good in the face of strange celestial phenomena, that is to say, a portent or sign of a portent, then the celestial phenomena may also change and the portent not arrive, and in this way help will be given to the Han. That is to say, he held, in the same way as Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, that Heaven supports and gives security to the sovereign, and having a magical belief in Heaven, he recognised that the sovereign had a corresponding magical power and authority. Then, soon after Ai-ti's succession there were flood disasters, earthquakes and astronomical confusion, involving the sun and moon and the planet Mercury

[=the 'water star']; the emperor asked for interpretations of these portents, and Li Hsün said, in the course of his reply:

"The water star is in charge of the precision of the four seasons, is responsible for the middle month of each season, for the due order of the four seasons. So when it behaves strangely and emerges, as now, at the very beginning of the year, this is because it is warning Your Majesty. If government is hasty, it appears early; if government is slack, it appears late. If government ceases and is not carried out, it hides itself and is not seen, and acts as a broom. If it appears in the four first months of the seasons, it is to alter the sovereign's destiny; if it appears in the four last months of the seasons, the astronomers shun it. Now it is happily only appearing in the first month, for High Heaven is thus kindly helping Your Majesty. There should be deep self-reform and good governance of the country." 辰星主正四時，當效於四仲，四時失序，則辰星作異，今出於歲首之孟天，所以譴告陛下也，政急則出蚤，政緩則出晚，政絕不行，則伏不見而爲彗，四孟皆出，爲易王命，四季皆出，星家所譚，今幸獨出寅孟之月，蓋皇天所以篤右陛下也，宜深自改治國。

He speaks of Heaven's warning and kind help to the sovereign. He also said,

"Your servant understands that water is the principal one of the Five Elements. Its star is the *Wu-nü* 婺女 in the *Hsüan-wu* 玄武 constellations. Everything regulated by Heaven and Earth has its origin therein. Water makes equal and level. If the sovereign's way is just and righteous and his deeds intelligent, then the hundred rivers will be regulated, the veins and arteries in order. But if sound principles are lost, there will be excessive flow and resultant damage. The *Book of History* (*Shang-shu*) says, "Water is called, 'The Moistener'." Its movement is in accord with the female principle and downward. If it keeps to its way and if the way of the empire is right, then the Yellow River brings forth the Chart. Therefore the inundations of the Yellow River and the Lo are the greatest. Now in the region of the Ju 汝 and Ying 潁 the ditches are flowing like rivers and joining with the rain to damage the people. This is what the *Book of Songs* speaks of, "Crash, bang, thunder and lightening. No peace, no order. This is the hundred rivers overflowing." The fault lies with the adherents of the Huang-fu nobles. I think Your Majesty should attend to the poet's words and slightly restrain the great ministers among his relations-in-law." 臣聞五行以水爲本，其星玄武婺女，天地所紀，終始所生，水爲準平，王道公正脩明則百川理，落脉通，偏黨失綱則涌溢爲敗，書云水曰潤下，陰動而卑，不失其道，天下有道，則河出圖，洛出書，故河洛決溢所爲最大，今汝潁映滄，皆川水漂涌，與雨水並爲民害，此詩所謂輝輝震電，不寧不令，百川沸騰者也，其咎在於皇甫卿士之屬，唯陛下留意詩人之言，少抑外親大臣。

This is to say that, just as water, among the Five Elements, makes equal and level, so, if government is just and righteous, the rains and the rivers will be normal and correct; but, if by any chance the principles of sound government are abandoned, there will be disastrous floods. Therefore, if right principles prevail in the empire, the Yellow River brings forth the Chart and the Lo River the Writing, but, if the way of the ministers goes away, there will be floods such as the poet spoke of. Therefore, he remonstrated that the great ministers among the emperor's relations-in-law should be restrained. Here, in just the same way as Tung Chung-shu, he is maintaining that not only does Heaven support and ensure the security of the sovereign, but, if the government conforms to the Way, the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing* will be granted. That is to say, he makes a further advance from the stage, where Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang read the will of Heaven, warnings of Heaven, in portents, and arrives at a stage of believing, like Tung Chung-shu, that the will of Heaven will be made manifest in the form of the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, that is to say, directly and not encased in portents. In other words, Li Hsün, like Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, had penetrated deep into the world of the Way of Heaven, considered as the Way of the Gods, that is to say, the world of sorcery, and belonged in almost the same line of sorcerers and magicians who were directly bound up with the deities of Heaven and Earth. So, when he enjoined restraint of the great ministers among the emperor's relations-in-law in the light of the sign of a flood disaster, this was connected with the intrigues of the seraglio and the emperor's inability to produce an heir. He went on to say:

"Wickedness and deception are in the ascendant together. The relations-in-law usurp the mandate, and the sovereign and his ministers are cut off, to the point that there is no heir. The seraglio makes mischief. This means the collapse of administration, and it is indeed awesome and deplorable. The responsibility lies basically with the family of the empress. The point is not reached in a day. No one in the past reached so far. Someone to come may yet reach it." 邪僞並興，外戚顛命，君臣隔塞，至絕繼嗣，女宮作亂，此行事之敗，誠可畏而悲也，本在積任母后之家，非一日之漸，往者不可及，來者德可追也。

Here too, then, it seems that he is close to Liu Hsiang in point of political standpoint, also. Thus Li Hsün had much the same ideas and beliefs as Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, and he was also close to Liu Hsiang in point of political standpoint.

This Li Hsün finally upheld the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* and took part in the drama of the second reception of the mandate by Ai-ti. I have described above the character of this *T'ai-p'ing-ching* and its relationship with Li Hsün, according to the *Han-shu*. Li Hsün was definitely not the author of the *T'ai-p'ing-ching*. However, we have seen above the relationship

between Li Hsün and Liu Hsiang, as well as the development of Li Hsün's ideas and attitudes. When we consider these, we can perhaps understand how, among Confucianists in the line of Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, it was possible to be brought, by such a shock as the danger or, even, the end of the Han, to seek such prophecies as the *T'ai-p'ing-ching* which were directly related to the authority of the House of Han, and, moreover, guaranteed that authority, rather than prophecies encased in portents. It was probably extremely easy and natural for people who believed in the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, like Tung Chung-shu and Li Hsün.

I believe that these were the circumstances in the evolution from prophecies considered as classic contained in portents to prophecies considered as classic not contained in portents. However, Liu Hsin and Liu Hsiang were both opposed to the *T'ai-p'ing-ching*, the one regarding it as not classic, the other regarding it as falsely attributed to divine inspiration. Now, Liu Hsiang's prophecies, contained in portents based on the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, and the prophecies of the *T'ai-p'ing-ching*, not contained in portents, were, essentially, almost the same thing. Even so, there was the difference that, on the one hand, the former were based on a classic and so could be considered as not falsely attributed to divine inspiration, whereas, on the other hand, the latter could be said not to be based on a classic and so to have been falsely attributed to divine inspiration. And this difference would seem to have made a particular difference for such people as Liu Hsiang who wanted to regard everything as dependent on the classics. Hence, presumably, their opposition to the *T'ai-p'ing-ching*. Accordingly, this surely shows how, on the contrary, these two were close to one another, and how easy was the transition from the one position to the others.

This situation may also be divined from the following. According to a story in the *Life of Sui Hung* and the *Treatise on the Five Elements* in the *Han-shu*, in the time of Chao-ti, a great willow in the imperial park one day suddenly withered and recovered, and its leaves had been eaten by insects in such a way as to produce writing which said, "Kung-sum Ping-chi shall arise." This being a prediction that Hsüan-ti would arise from the people was clearly a prophecy. It was different from one contained in a phenomenon or portent, from one that Tung Chung-shu or Liu Hsiang would read in a portent, for within the portent there was human writing and language. It was perhaps intermediate between a prophecy contained in a portent and a prophecy not so contained. And this too perhaps tells us how easy was the transition from the one to the other. In fact, it was perhaps natural, too, if people who thought that the portents of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* were pointers and signs used as words, as well as people like Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, who read in portents the will of Heaven, warnings of Heaven and what amounted in practice to prophecies, should make no distinction between portents, words and writings.

Further, several items indicate that the belief in the revelation of the will of Heaven to the sovereign by writings already existed in Former Han times and was also held by Li Hsün with whom we are concerned. These items include: outside Confucianism, the *Lu-t'u-shu* 錄圖書 of Shih-huang-ti and the *Book of the Tripod* 鼎書 of Wu-ti; within Confucianism, quite apart from the case of the *Analects*, the mention of the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing* in the Hsi-tzu 繫辭 Commentary on the Changes also; then there are such cases as that of Chao Ts'o 晁錯, who held that Wen-ti of the Han was a sovereign like the Five Emperors who granted the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, or Tung Chung-shu who held that Wu-ti was a sovereign capable of causing the appearance of the *Yellow River Chart* and the phoenix. Therefore, when the men who strove for the perpetuity of the authority of the House of Han, especially for the maintenance and revival of its magical and spiritual authority, came really to feel the decline and total conclusion of its mandate, the will of Heaven or the prophecy, which should revive and guarantee the authority of Han, was doubtless bound to manifest itself, not by the intermediary of a portent, as it were, indirectly, but directly, having broken the container constituted by a portent. While I hold that a prophecy contained in a portent was its immediate forerunner, I think that the circumstances leading up to such uncontained prophecy, what I call the prophetic books, were as I have described.

It may be remarked that, just after the accession of Kuang-wu-ti, Tou Yung 竇融, who was west of the Yellow River and had not yet been able to communicate with Kuang-wu-ti, took part in the counsels of the local landlords and governors, and he said that at that time the assembled intelligentsia said:

"Han inherited the destiny of Yao, and it has endured a long time. The appellation of the present emperor appears in the prophetic book ([original commentary:] this means that the Red Scroll Oracle in the *Yellow River Chart* says, Liu Hsiu shall raise troops and take unnumbered prisoners.) For a long time, since the previous reign, Ku Tzu-yün 谷子雲 and Hsia Ho-liang, learned masters of Taoist arts, have been saying that there is an oracle predicting that Han would receive the mandate a second time. Therefore Liu Tzu-chün 劉子駿 changed his name in the hope of fitting in with the oracle. When Wang Mang came to an end, the Taoist Hsi-men Hui-chün 西門惠君 said that Liu Hsiu would be Son of Heaven, and he plotted to install Tzu-chün. The affair became known and he was to be put to death. He came out and said to all the people looking at him, "Liu is truly your master." All these are very well known events, which took place recently, and well appreciated by all the wise." 漢承堯運, 歷數延長, 今皇帝姓號見於圖書 (謂河圖赤伏符曰劉秀發兵捕不道) 自前世博物道術之士谷子雲, 夏賀良等, 建明漢有再受命之符, 言之久矣,

故劉子駿改易名字，冀應其占，及莽末，道士西門君惠言劉秀當爲天子，遂謀立子駿，事覺，被殺，出謂百姓觀者曰，劉秀眞汝主也，皆近事爆著，智者所共見也。
(漢書竇融傳)

According to this, Ku Tzu-yün, that is to say, Ku Yung, had said, as already related above,

“Your Majesty [Ch’eng-ti] is the heir to eight generations of achievement, coinciding with the standard of the *yang* number, after the passage of 210 years, he has met with the fate of the hexagram of innocence (the unexpected); he faces the calamity of the 106 [th. year]: three dangers of different kinds, united together.” 陛下成帝承八世之功業，當陽數之標季，涉三七之節紀，遭无妄之卦運，直百六之災阨，三難異科，雜焉同會。

Leaving aside the question whether or not it was the original invention of Ku Yung to point out that, in the light of the length of the Han reign and its fate in the hexagrams, with Ch’eng-ti, who was the heir to eight generations, a time of crisis had been reached, it is clear that this was used by Li Hsün, who saw the signs of the decline of the Han, and the *T’ai-p’ing-ching* which announced their final end, as well as by the prophetic books which predicted Kuang-wu-ti’s act of worship. This is because in these prophetic books Kuang-wu-ti is specially referred to as ‘nine’ and ‘ninth generation.’ It further seems clear, also, from what the foregoing wise people said, that the story of Liu Hsin changing his name from Tzu-chün to Hsiu was used in the prophetic books on Kuang-wu-ti’s accepting the mandate to enhance their credibility.

However, this kind of prophecy on the part of both Ku Yung and Liu Hsin did not either go to the making of prophetic books or make use of them. On the contrary, they depended on formulae of prophecy, prophecy of the kind considered legitimate by Chang Heng, that is to say, prophecy regarded as prediction made by saintly men and others on the basis of the theories of the calendar or the Changes. Thus were such prophecies made. Ku Yung refers with extraordinary frequency to ceremonies which partake of magic, in view of Ch’eng-ti’s lack of an heir, and, from the standpoint that the wise man does not discuss monsters and demons, he criticised these ceremonies and submitted to Ch’eng-ti that he must not be led astray by the supernatural and the monstrous. In this submission he argued from “There are many ceremonies to let the Heaven accept one’s respect, but, if (one’s sincerity) can not be well represented by the things offered, the Heaven would not accept (the respect, no matter how many things are offered)” in the Lo-kao 洛誥 section of the *Chou-shu* 周書, that the way of worship should be based uniquely on purity and truth. In this spirit and in this sense he was in accord with the movement for religious reform put forward by Tu Yeh and Liu Hsin with Wang Mang. (The foregoing is from the Treatise on Worship in the *Han-shu*). Thus Ku Yung and Liu Hsin shared common ground in the matter of worship and in that of prophecy, as well as having a common political viewpoint, and both contrasted with Liu Hsiang and his fellows.

(iii) Evolution towards the Prophetic Books (2)

Next, why was it that what I call the prophetic books, starting with the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'in-ching*, were regarded as classics, of the nature of classics, and, further, held to be connected with Confucius? One possibility is that they were considered to be of the same character as the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, while these latter were themselves introduced in commentaries on the Changes. But I think that a more important point is that, as I have already, indeed, stated, the immediate forerunners of these prophetic books were what I have called prophecies encased in portents, these having been derived from the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. Wherein, then, lay the necessity for this? There were prophecies considered as predictions of Heaven, such as those used by Shih-huang-ti or Wu-ti, before the prophetic books, and these were not considered as classics, of classic nature, connected with Confucius. This point, therefore, requires particularly close scrutiny.

The Ch'in and Han sovereigns, from Shih-huang-ti on, were likened to the Lord of Heaven 天帝 or Heaven itself, as we can tell from their being entitled Supreme Lord or Emperor 皇帝. The emperor worshipped Heaven, the Lord of Heaven, had intercourse with the deity, and was so integrated with the deity, that he was regarded as possessing, in the same way as Heaven or the Lord of Heaven, a superhuman, magical, mystical authority. For example, when Shih-huang-ti carried out his act of worship (Annals of Shih-huang-ti and Treatise on Imperial Worship, *Shih-chi*), this was a ceremony whereby he reported to Heaven his successful unification of the empire, but it was at the same time a public demonstration to the empire and to posterity that he had been in shamanistic intercourse with Heaven, had been integrated with Heaven and thus acquired the same power and authority as Heaven. Then Kao-tsu occupied the country in his second year, and added Hei-ti to the four imperial ancestors worshipped in Ch'in times, and established the cult of the five imperial ancestors; and he also appointed female shamans for ancestor worship in Ch'ang-an, laying down the respective deities to which each shaman should pray (Treatise on Imperial Worship, *Shih-chi*, Treatise on Religious Practices, *Han-shu*.) In this way Kao-tsu showed that, as the head of the realm's shamans, he possessed the supreme shamanistic power in relation to the Lord of Heaven and the lesser deities. Moreover, many officials at the beginning of the Han period became *lang-kuan* 郎官 and were transferred to various departments, but these *lang-kuan* belonged to the same line as that of the *chung-chüan* 中涓 and *she-jen* 舍人 of the Warring States period, serving at the sovereign's side and may be said to have had a status of exceptionally close subordination vis-à-vis the person of the sovereign. We can also see from the system of regional government at this time that, in spite of the feudal power of the fiefs, Kao-tsu, as founder of the dynasty was in no way trammelled by them.

However, Wen-ti's position in relation to the support he received from the feudal rulers through the civil and military officials, who had destroyed the Lü 呂 family, was different: he was of course under constraint from the previous feudal power, but was also unable to avoid that of the civil and military officials who had supported him, and, on becoming feudal lords, had turned into an aristocracy. He was accordingly obliged to strengthen his position by linking himself directly with the officials at the centre of the establishment. We can perhaps cite Chia I and Chao Ts'o as representative officials of this description. Chia I sought to elevate the position of the sovereign above by exalting that of officialdom. By exalting and strengthening the position of officialdom, he brought about mutual aid and support between sovereign and officialdom, but he realised that, at the same time, within this system, officialdom laid restraint on the sovereign. Chia I held that the common people were outside the scope of the rites, and that great officers of state were not touched by punishment; he likened the highest strata of officials to great officers of state under the feudal system, holding that even when guilty of crime, they should not be put in prison but made to commit suicide. He further held that the sovereign, while exercising control through laws and punishments, should carry on a benevolent government in conformity with the rites. Here too there was the security provided by officialdom through the rites and constraint on the sovereign through the rites. But Chia I's treatment of the highest officials as great officers of state was intended to strengthen their integrity, to make them forget self, family and private affairs and devote themselves entirely to sovereign, country and public affairs, to be unswayed by considerations of profit and loss and pursue duty alone, thus rendering the position of the saintly man (the sovereign) impregnable. Further, his plan for the distribution of provinces weakened the feudal power with the object of making it utterly loyal and true to the House of Han. And for Chia I, too, the emperor had intercourse with Heaven and the spirits, enabling him to be integrated with them. (Life of Chia I, *Han-shu*).

Chao Ts'o communicated Fu Sheng's 伏生 *Shang-shu* to Wen-ti and called it a model, and the fact that he is said to have expounded its meaning suggests that he had also obtained the greater part of Fu Sheng's Great Commentary on the *Shang-shu*. It goes without saying that in the Great Commentary on the *Shang-shu* there were explanations of the portents of the Han dynasty like the *Hung-fan-wu-hsing-chuan*, which provided the basis for the explanations of the portents in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* for such as Tung Chung-shu, Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, already mentioned. Chao Ts'o held that, in order for the sovereign to rule his realm and hand down his name to posterity, he must know the ways of it, he must know how to control his ministers, how to listen to advice and dispose of matters, how to give the people prosperity, and how to act loyally and filially. All this is the same as the relations between sovereign and minister as set out by Han Fei or in the section on Loyalty

and Filial Piety in the *Han-fei-tzu*. Furthermore, he advanced on Chia I's plan for the division into provinces, oppressed the feudal lords, and, in order to adopt a policy which should strengthen the sovereign's power, provoked a rebellion of seven provinces in Wu and Ch'u, for which he was executed. He indeed surpassed the minister required by Chia I, who should abandon his family, his father and himself, and devote himself utterly to his country, his sovereign and public affairs; he was in the line of the loyal minister in the section on Loyalty and Filial Piety in the *Han-fei-tzu*. Here there was not the least constraint of the sovereign on the part of ministers or officials. Among the five imperial ancestors, the three kings and the five elders, he regarded the five imperial ancestors as ideal sovereigns; since they were divine beings, unattainable in stature by their servants, they personally controlled everything, and matching with Heaven above, according with Earth below, and having mankind between, they ordered all things and all people. He held that when the Yellow River brought forth the Chart, and the Lo River the Writing, when the sacred dragon and the phoenix appeared, when virtue filled the realm and the divine light shone within the four seas, this would be the work of the emperor himself, doing exactly the same work as the Lord of Heaven. Though Wen-ti was in no way inferior to the five imperial ancestors, his failure to demonstrate his efficacy was due to his not acting personally but waiting for his ministers to do so. In arguing thus, Chao Ts'o was seeking absolute autocracy for Wen-ti. (Life of Chao Ts'o, *Han-shu*) Though Wen-ti was thus in a position to be constrained by the feudal power and officialdom, their power to constrain was weakened, and he was able to overrule them and become an absolute monarch. This was no doubt possible because of the confrontation of feudal power and officialdom.

In Wu-ti's time, too, the system of regional government continued, but after Chia I's plan for division into provinces, and Chao Ts'o policy of repressing the feudal lords, and after the pacification of the rebellion of the seven provinces of Wu and Ch'u, the conspiracy of the king of Huai-nan was put down, and Chu-fu Ying enforced the order for extending favours, so that the provinces were split into small parts and incorporated in the system of regional government, the control of the country through the actual operation of this latter system was strengthened, and feudal power sufficient to put constraint on the sovereign disappeared. Under the system of regional government, a multiplicity of types of official arose and the organisation, too, became huge and complex. But Wu-ti generally carried on his government by dealing with civil and military officials between whom, individually, and himself there was a relationship of trust. Most of the civil and military officials whom he valued and who exhibited their powers were selected by him personally, appointed *lang-kuan* and trained by him; moreover, the so-called rapacious officials, who oppressed the world of officialdom, powerful members of the general public and big merchants, indeed possessed some power but had no

backing apart from their dependence on the sovereign. That is to say, under Wu-ti there was no feudal power sufficient to exercise constraint on him, and, further, the officials at the centre of the organisation, that is to say, officials who, while supporting the sovereign, ought to have been in a position to exercise constraint on him through the organisation, had, in fact, almost no room for manoeuvre.

Thus Wu-ti, who was an absolute monarch, subject to no restraint whatever in the human sphere, also had intercourse with Heaven, was integrated with Heaven and possessed a superhuman and magical authority to carry out the work of Heaven on its behalf. The prophecy that this Wu-ti would carry out the act of worship which should integrate him with Heaven, that is to say the *Book of the Tripod*, was handed down through the intermediary of 'immortals' or wizards, like An Ch'i-sheng and Shen Kung; and the prophecy that it was the will of Heaven that Wu-ti should judge and punish on behalf of Heaven, took the form of one encased in a portent, extracted from the *Ch'un-ch'iu* through the intermediary of Tung Chung-shu; in both cases these may well be said to have been Heaven-given certificates of Wu-ti's possession of superhuman, magical power in the same way as Heaven.

The following is the conclusion of Tung Chung-shu's famous reply to a question of Wu-ti's:

"The great unity of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* is the eternal principle of Heaven and Earth, what is ever proper at all times. At present there are teachers of various ways, people have different arguments, the schools are multifarious, opinions are not the same. Thus at the head of things there is no way to preserve a unity. Changes take place in the laws, and those below do not know what to respect. It is my humble opinion that all principles which are not in the Six Arts and in accord with the methods of Confucius should be abolished and prevented from existing concurrently, and evil opinions should be destroyed. This done, unity will be possible, the legal system can be made clear, and the people will know what to follow." 春秋大一統者，天地之常經，古今之通誼也，今師異道，人異論，百家殊方，指意不同，是以上亡以持一統，法制數變，下不知所守，臣愚以為諸不在六藝之科，孔子之術者，皆絕其道，勿使並進，邪辟之說滅息，然後統紀可一，而法度可明，民知所從矣。（漢書，董仲舒傳）

It is generally held that Wu-ti accepted this reply and, by creating the post of professorship of the Five Classics, made the teachings of Confucius, that is to say, Confucianism, the national religion. However, even if it be held that Wu-ti appreciated this reply, we can find no fact which shows that a move was made to enforce the principle of it. Nor can it be thought that, even if he did institute the professorship of the Five Classics, there was necessarily a relationship between that act and this reply. Furthermore, the post of professor had existed in Ch'in times too, so we can probably not say that Con-

fucius' doctrines became the national religion by virtue of the creation of this post. Again, even if we allow that a move was made towards enforcing the main argument of this reply, and if we allow that the doctrine, whereby the sovereign should lead, civilize and control the officials and the people, was integrated with the Six Arts and the principles of Confucius, this does not seem to amount to a national religion in the sense that the Six Arts and the principles of Confucius would include the sovereign himself, and provide guidance and enlightenment for the entire body of mankind, from the sovereign down.

The reason is that, as I have already pointed out, Tung Chung-shu's reply contains nothing less than a clear statement to the effect that, while Wu-ti, being a sovereign, can attain to the supremely auspicious omens, that is to say, supremely divine things, like the River Chart and the phoenix. Confucius, though a saintly man, was of low estate, that is to say, he was not a sovereign, and so could not attain to such divine things. That is to say, since he held that the authority of the saintly Confucius was not as great as that of the sovereign Wu-ti, this Confucius, or the doctrines of this Confucius, could clearly not enlighten and guide Wu-ti. Thus there was no power in the human world at that time which, through the doctrines of Confucius, constrained or guided the sovereign Wu-ti. If it were held that there was, it would be either the feudal power or the officials at the centre of the establishment, but, as I have explained above, the feudal power had been almost wholly absorbed under the system of regional government, while the officials had almost no room for positive action. We must therefore probably recognise that, under Wu-ti, it was not possible to establish the doctrines of Confucius as a national religion which should guide and enlighten all mankind including the sovereign.

The Heir Apparent, that is to say, the later Yüan-ti, said to Hsüan-ti, who had set aside Chao-ti.

"Your Majesty is too severe in punishing. It would be well to follow the Confucians 儒生." 陛下持刑太深，宜用儒生。

Hsüan-ti replied,

"The House of Han has its own system, which basically involves absolutism. Why should one only tolerate virtuous principles? Are we to govern like the Chou?" 漢家自有制度，本以霸王道雜之，奈何純任德教，用周政乎。

And he also sighed,

"It is the Heir Apparent who is troubling our House." 亂我家者太子也。（漢書元帝本紀）

This too seems to prove that Confucianism had not become the single national

religion of the Han. For Confucius to arrive at holding an authority equal or superior to that of the sovereign, it was necessary for him to do so by acting as spokesman for the will of Heaven, and being regarded as a magician producing prophetic books, that is to say, carrying out Heaven's predictions.

However, as has been said above, in Wu-ti's time the system of regional government was set up, there was a huge proliferation of the types of officials, and the official organisation grew greatly. In this connection, as well as the central university, a school had been set up at Ch'eng-tu by Wen Weng 文翁, and to it the rich and powerful sent their children to receive the formation appropriate to officials, but Wu-ti had similar schools established in other regions. Thus came into being the official class as the parent body of the powerful families. Many of the powerful families behind them had long pedigrees. But they had become officials under the feudal power, so that those who had clans of long pedigree in their background, together with those who had arranged their pedigrees by becoming officials, received appointments like the gentry of ancient times. Thus Tung Chung-shu, in his reply, compared the officials to the gentry of ancient times, and compared the relationship between officials and the public to that between the gentry and commoners of antiquity, saying that the officials should not vie with the public for profit, and holding that in this way there would be accord with the natural law of Heaven. That is to say, he accorded to the officials at the centre of the organisation the status of the gentry of old. But with the officials at the same time intent on their self-importance, this may be thought to be much the same as Chia I's likening the highest strata of officialdom to the great officers of state. That is to say, while Wu-ti was absolute ruler in his time, and there was almost no one to criticise or restrain him, there was coming into being an officialdom, at the centre of the system, which might, even so, both support and restrain the sovereign, an officialdom that compared itself with the gentry of antiquity.

Chao-ti, of course, and Hsüan-ti, too, soon after his accession, were unable to avoid yielding the government to Huo Kuang 霍光 who had seized the real power after the death of Wu-ti. This Huo Kuang, too, had the intelligentsia and the educated offer criticism of the policy of the salt and iron monopoly, which had been in operation since Wu-ti; but this intelligentsia, these educated men, were on the fringe of the officials at the centre of the organisation, of which the powerful families constituted the parent body. This too shows us how the officials at the centre of the organisation held their heads high and were most active. Hsüan-ti governed personally after Huo Kuang's death, but he was obliged to link himself with the officials at the centre of the organisation, the powerful ministers, in order to control the power of the Huo family. Hsüan-ti's reign was rich in favourable omens, and this clearly showed that he too, in the same way as Wu-ti, possessed super-human, magical authority. Even so, in order to maintain his links with the officials at the centre of the organisation, he was unable to override the law

and vicariously enforce the will of Heaven, as Wu-ti had done. He was obliged to conform to the laws and submit to the constraint imposed by them. So, in conformity with the laws, he exercised a policy in which merit was rewarded and failure punished. As a result, government was enforced according to the legal code of the executive officials at the centre of the organisation, of which the powerful families constituted the parent body, and especially according to that of the principal regional officials; thus Hsüan-ti was a certain success in bureaucratic government and came to be known as the heroic sovereign of the Han revival. This perhaps emerges clearly from the following section of the preface to the *Lives of Upright Officials* in the *Han-shu*:

"With the coming of Hsüan-ti there was a rise from a state of humiliation to one of honour. There was prosperity in the villages. He knew about the hardships of the people's lives, and, after the death of Huo Kuang, began to take personal charge of everything. He used a policy of incentives. He would listen to a single case for five days. All who received appointments, from chancellor downwards, would appear before him, including governors and prefects. He would make sudden personal visits, and inspect a situation. He would withdraw in order to decide what was to be done. He would question what was said to him, and, if there were discrepancy between word and fact, he would be sure to find out how this arose. He would always say, "It is impartiality in government and justice before the law which make the people content with their land and without resentment and hatred. Are those who share these views with me only those of the 2,000 picul grade? I believe they are fundamental for prefect, minor official and ordinary people. Many changes make those below worried. If the people know that something is going to last and they cannot be deceived, they will submit to civilizing influence. Thus the 2,000 picul grade gives effective government." He would suddenly give encouragement with an imperial letter, give promotion or a grant of money, or send an honour to a feudal lord. In the case of vacancy among the senior ministers, he would choose from a list, giving employment in order. This is why there were upright officials in Han times, and this was the basis of prosperity. So it was called the Revival." 及至孝宣繇仄陋而登至尊，興于閭閻，知民事之艱難，自霍光薨後，始躬萬機，厲精爲治，五日一聽事，自丞相已下，各奉職而進，及拜刺史守相，輒親見問，觀其所繇，退而考察所行，以質其言，有名實不相應，必知其所以然，常稱曰，庶民所以安其田里而亡歎息愁恨之心者，政平訟理也，與我共此者，其唯良二千石乎，以爲太守吏民之本也，數變易則下不安，民知其將久，不可欺罔，廼服從其教化，故二千石有治理效，輒以璽書勉厲，增秩賜金，或爵至關內侯，公卿缺則選諸所表，以次用之，是故漢世良吏，於是爲盛，稱中興焉。

Again, Hsüan-ti was obliged to link himself with the ministers at the

centre who had had a Confucian education; and many of the regional officials not only regarded the powerful families, who dominated the people in the provinces, as their parent body, but some even carried on the business of government in close cooperation with such families. In the light of this situation, the sovereign introduced the way of filial piety, based on the *Analects* and the *Classic of Filial Piety*, into his civilizing activity; and in order to make the people do their utmost along the way of filial piety there was no remission of forced labour, but indulgence towards faults was recognized and the application of punishments tempered. Again, the senior regional officials followed the law, while the junior followed humanity. There emerged some too, who, within the system of government by officials in accordance with law and punishment, gave leadership intended to bring about the utmost devotion to the way of filial piety in cooperation with people still attached to the old cooperative bodies based on local ties or ties of blood. But, even in these circumstances, Hsüan-ti was the ruler, the arbiter, and, even if he be held to have been partially constrained by the classics and the rites, he had not lost the right to give leadership contrary to the classics and the rites. This is why he was able to say, as recounted above, to the Heir Apparent, Yüan-ti, "The House of Han has its own system, which basically involves absolutism. Why should one only tolerate virtuous principles? Are we to govern like the Chou?" And when he sighed to the Heir Apparent, Yüan-ti, who was a Confucian by persuasion, that "It is the Heir Apparent who is troubling our House." This was no baseless anxiety.

Yüan-ti was a cultured man, brought up in Confucianism. He was influenced by the meanings of texts and so was an indecisive sovereign. Under him the whole body of the upper strata of the ruling class was expanded and strengthened; extreme power passed into the hands of the Confucian officials and ministers, who supported the powerful ministers, the relations-in-law, the eunuchs and the House of Han, while the sovereign, who ought to have controlled them, was, on the contrary, under their restraint, and finally withdrew from the scene. In these circumstances, support was given by officials who regarded the powerful families as their parent body, while, at the same time, a body of some tens of Confucian ministers, including such officials, began to demand a reform of the rites governing worship. As a result, Yüan-ti abolished the ancestral shrines in the provinces (Life of Wei Hsüan-ch'eng 韋玄成, *Han-shu*), the debate on whether or not to reform the ceremonies at the capital was begun under Ch'eng-ti, and the reform was decided on by Wang Mang in the last year of P'ing-ti. (Treatise on Worship, *Han-shu*).

The provincial shrines were those of Kao-tsu, Wen-ti and Wu-ti, which had either been founded by them in their lifetime, or constructed in those provinces to which they had made progresses. They were intended to capture the popular favour under the House of Han by the additional divine protection of these imperial ancestors. However, worship there was not carried out

by the sovereign personally but by low and remote functionaries, which constituted an omission in regard to the classics and the rites, particularly the ancestral rites under the feudal system. It was thus natural that the Confucian ministers should demand their abolition, but the sovereign's acceptance of the demand and the abolition of the provincial shrines were based on the system of regional government and close to the system of patriarch, and this means, therefore, that the Han sovereign or emperor, who had been overriding the rites of the Confucians, was absorbed into the rites and fell under their constraint. That is to say, the essential quality of the Han sovereign was, to however small a degree, altered, and the advancement of Confucian ministers was thereby permitted. It is, perhaps, not absurd that Yüan-ti should have been repudiated by his ancestors for the abolition of the provincial shrines, and fallen ill. (Life of Wei Hsüan-ch'eng, *Han-shu*.) Further, Yüan-ti put an end to the transfer of population to the first tombs, which had been carried out by his ministers, and established no communities for their maintenance. This was because it is people's nature to live peaceably in one place and to be reluctant to move, and it is natural to people to be attached by ties of blood. (Annals of Yüan-ti, *Han-shu*.) Here appears a liberal Confucian policy, recognising the character of people who remained attached to the old system of cooperative bodies based on local ties or ties of blood. But in the light of the significance of the establishment of communities for the maintenance of the tombs by transfers of population, here too we may see an advance of classic or Confucian policies and withdrawal on the part of the Sovereign.

Since Wu-ti, the worship of Heaven had been carried out at the T'ai 泰 altar of Kan-chüan 甘泉, and that of Earth at the temple of the god of Earth in Ho-tung (Fen-yin 汾陰), while the ritual of the act of imperial worship had been dominated by wizards, and the altars at the capital had deep relations with the immortals and much meretricious ornament. The movement for religious reform, which began in the time of Ch'eng-ti, would change all this; there would be personal worship by the sovereign, and in order to carry out the so-called ancient worship, which revered the essence, the truth, it was proposed to move the locations to the north and south of the capital. This amounted to bringing into conformity with the classics and the rites both the sacrifices or altars to Heaven, which overrode the classics and the rites, and the sovereign, who, in conducting such sacrifices to Heaven, was also overriding the classics and the rites. As a result, there was repeated controversy among officials and Confucians, for example, Hsü Chia 許嘉 and Liu Hsiang, for and against reform, these people believing in the magical and mystical character of the sacrifices and other ceremonies hitherto conducted, and desiring to maintain thereby the magical and mystical power of the sovereign. Just before Wang Mang's regency, reform was decided on under him. This received the support of many ministers and Confucian officials like K'uang Heng 匡衡 and Liu Hsin. And, after the altars to Heaven and Earth just out-

side the capital, similar locations were given by Wang Mang for those of the Five Emperors and lesser deities.

We now come somewhat late to the question of the *Rites of Chou* 周禮, which in my view were all the sections of the *Book of Rites* 禮記, which provided the basis for the above religious reforms, and were produced somewhere between the time of Wu-ti and that of Hsüan-ti. The Rites of Chou were the rites that regulated the power structure. They gave support to the officials according to the status of the ministers of state under the feudal system, and, in recognising the territories and armies of the feudal lords, which were very closely connected with the territory directly under the sovereign, and his army, they were comparable to the fragmented power structure under Chou feudalism. Therefore, when it came to the application of the *Rites of Chou*, the emperor who overrode the official structure under the system of regional government was placed and supported in the supreme position of the fragmented power structure under the feudal system. At the same time it would seem that the emperor was under constraint from this structure, from the *Rites of Chou* and the feudal lords and lower officials. Liu Hsin and Wang Mang worked for the application of these Rites of Chou along with their movement for religious reform, and Wang Mang, while taking part in such a movement, farmed out power to the ministers who put the movement into operation, and finally acceded to the regency. The movement for reform of the system of rites governing religious practice was surrounded with controversy from start to finish, but the application of the *Rites of Chou* thus, in the nature of the case, was an accompaniment to the struggle for power.

However, there were limits to these movements, and it was not possible to put the sovereign on the beaten track of the rites and constrain him by means of the rites. The ancestral shrines in the provinces were offshoots among the ancestral shrines, and however much the change of location of the auspicious sites for worship at the capital was called reform, it was not such in essence. Up to this point, Wang Mang tried to model himself on the Duke of Chou, on the whole, subsequently basing himself on Shun, and, on the model of Shun, finally obtaining abdication in his favour; at the same time, in order to become a sovereign, and, further, to remain a sovereign, he adopted a policy consistent with unitary power even within the *Rites of Chou*, and he was obliged to avoid the system of fragmented authority in the *Rites of Chou* as well as the constraint which could be exercised by the ministers and Confucian officials, inherent in the background of that system. For example, in an instruction that he gave in the 4th year of Chien-shih-kuo (A.D. 12), there were to be five degrees of nobility, as under the Chou, but the allocation of territory to feudal lords was different and reduced; again, he often applied the law of common responsibility of groups of five households in cases of counterfeiting money, but this, the system of the responsibility of five households in the *Rites of Chou*, derived from the thought of Shang Yang

商鞅 and an Fei. (Life of Wang Mang. *Han-shu*.) Thus Wang Mang used a great variety of religious, oracular and prophetic means in order to demonstrate his superhuman and magical authority as sovereign or emperor, just as Wu-ti had done.

Thus from the time of Yüan-ti on, movements, led by Confucianist ministers, went ahead for the criticism and constraint of the sovereign by means of the classics, rites and Confucius' doctrines. This was also one aspect of the progressive loss by the sovereign of the power to control the ruling class, become progressively more extreme. When it came to the time of Ch'eng-ti, the emperor separated himself from such ruling classes and fell into the hands of a lawless prince, and was not, moreover, blessed with an heir. As a result, the men who supported the House of Han came to realise that the House of Han was about to come to the end of its mandate. It was, then, perhaps natural that the officials and scholars, who supported the House of Han in the face of such a situation, should have sought out and made use of religious practices, auspicious omens, portents, the will of Heaven, oracles and prophecies, which should support and restore the superhuman and magical authority, that had been handed down in the House of Han. But the circumstances were different from those of Wu-ti, in which a superhuman absolute monarch was subject to no criticism or constraint from anything whatever; the time had come when the sovereign was subject to criticisms and constraints exercised by the officials at the centre of the structure, and, moreover, by ministers and officials whose position was based on the classic rites and Confucius' doctrines; and the criticisms from these quarters had to be born. So it was that one such source of criticism or constraint, prophecy, was necessarily at the same time the will of Heaven and classic, of classic character, connected with Confucius. The *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching*, which appeared in Ch'eng-ti's time, and on the basis of which Ai-ti enacted the drama of the second receipt of the mandate, was simultaneously a prophecy and a classic, and this may be regarded as precisely responding to such a requirement. As was recounted above, Chih Yün held that a position taken from Heaven should be returned to Heaven and he demanded Wang Mang's abdication, but, though Wang Mang held him guilty of treason, he was loth to do him harm because his view was based on a classic prophecy. I went on to hold that the *Secret Classic of Confucius* and the prophecies used by Kuang-wu-ti, Ming-ti and Chang-ti were classics, of classic character, connected with Confucius, and that, further, being of the same category as the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, they were prophetic texts, prophetic books. What I call prophetic books may be regarded as having appeared in response to the necessity described above. That this was possible was held to be due to the Han sovereigns Wen-ti and Wu-ti being capable of receiving the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*; and it was further held that, while contained in portents, the prophecies, regarded as the will of Heaven, extracted by such re-

presentative Confucians of the Former Han as Tung Chung-shu or Liu Hsiang from the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, were of classic character, connected with Confucius, because they constituted the precursors. If this is true, then even if some of the prophetic books be held to be non-classic, they were probably welcomed and generally used. I have also described above that the fact that prophecies also came to shed their containing portents may have been due to the realisation that the House of Han was about to exhaust its mandate. (To be concluded)

