

TRANSLATION AND ANNOTATIONS of Han Shu: Chapter 30 “Yiwen zhi”: Treatise on Record Sources (漢書藝文志)^[1]

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Abstract: Chapter 30 of *Hanshu*, Treatise on record sources shows a diversity of intellectual ideas in early China. It gives for the reader of today and tomorrow the unique opportunity to understand early Chinese sources. It also stresses the interplay between argument and counter argument by referring to the various schools of thought. This way to sum up the contents of ten philosophical schools is done in classical style but remains open to a variety of means such as the compatibility of rational meaning and the Chinese tradition. There had already been an attempt of classification of philosophical schools in the chapter 33 of *Zhuangzi*, in the chapter 6 of *Xunzi* and in the chapter 130 of the *Shiji*. In the chapter 30 of *Hanshu*, these philosophical schools show the process of contradiction i. e., conflicts among assertions as well the process of invention that took place in Chinese thought. M. Puett (2001) has also underlined the opposite side of each point of view you refer from early Chinese texts by questioning the meaning of the claim: “what types of claim are made in each of these texts”.

This writing is also interesting to underline the idea of reference. By reference, I mean that the author of this chapter assumes from the reader the capacity to recognize the philosophers and schools to which it refers. The main subject of this text is about yin and yang, the five elements, divination, numbers, astronomy, medicine and popular religions. This chapter raises also the question of science (rationality versus irrationality) through its inquiries on heaven and natural phenomena. It reveals to us a thought on nature which changes the traditional picture we have regarding Chinese culture.

Key Words: multiple horizons, Argument and counter argument, reliable knowledge, freedom of thought

Author: BAN Gu (32—92), the Han dynasty. Translator: Agnes CHALIER, female, PH. D. : La notion de destin dans le Lunheng /Wang Chong et l'idée de critique en Chine ancienne. Paris /Sorbonne/EPHE. It was published in 2000. Editor Paris/L'Harmattan. Last book published: Variations scientifiques; recherches sur l'histoire et la philosophie des sciences en Europe et en Chine. Paris. Hermann 2015. Employing institution; Researcher affiliated to Cambridge University. England. Mail address: 60 hills Road Cambridge CB2 1LA. Email: akkacam@gmail.com

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“Actually the content of these books mattered little. What did matter was what they first felt when they went into the library, where they would see not the walls of black books but multiplying horizons and expanses that, as soon as they crossed the doorstep, would take them away from the cramped life of the neighbourhood. . .”

Albert CAMUS “The First Man (. Extract from the chapter entitled “Thursdays and Holidays”) translated from the French by David Hapgood. Hamish Hamilton. London. 1995. First published in France by Editions Gallimard 1994.)

INTRODUCTION

1) Structure of the Yiwenzhi

Jean-Pierre Drege pointed out the characteristics of chapter 30 of the Han shu 漢書 “Treatise on record sources” (1) in *Les bibliothèques en Chine au temps des manuscrits jusqu'au dixième siècle*. (2) where he has carefully listed the titles of this treatise. These are: 1. The six arts, *liu yi* 六藝 2. The philosophical works, *zhu zi* * -子 3. Poetry and rhapsodies, *shifu* 詩賦 4. Military tactics, *bingshu* 兵書 5. Astronomy, genealogy, divination and other pseudo-sciences, *shushu* 術數 and 6. Medicine and popular religions, *fangzhi* 方枝.

In *Hanshu*, chapter 30, it is possible to find the number of chapters under each title quoted and the author's name and period. Sometimes, also, very brief notes concerning the contents of the book indicating a relationship between the author and the other authors. The excellence of the classification of works under the different sections based strictly upon content. However, failures are on list of certain earlier works and occasional carelessness in the order of the works listed within a section.

We must remember that the earliest known Chinese bibliography was the *Bielu* 別錄 (separate lists compiled between 26 and 6 B. C. by Liu Xiang 劉向). It was an annotated catalogue of the works which were collected during the early Han period in the course of an imperial campaign to bring together surviving copies of the books which had been ordered destroyed by Qin Shi Huang Di 秦始皇帝. Liu Xiang's son Liu Xin 劉歆 compiled the *Qilue* 七略 (The seven summaries based upon his father's catalogue. He arranged the titles under seven divisions, but he included however no descriptive notes. When Ban Gu 班固 (A. D. 32-92) compiled the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* 漢書藝文志, he based it upon the *Qilue*, but instead of making a separate division of the introductions into sections as Liu Xin had done, he scattered them among the other six categories. He also added a few titles and probably changed the classification of some of the works. Altogether 677 works are listed in Ban Gu's catalogue, beginning with the very earliest books ever written in China, and including works written in the first century. (3)

An article written by P. Van der Loon reminds us of the historical context of the collection and the copying of books. This copying began under Emperor Wu around 124 B. C. (4). It is interesting to note that Liu Xin is the author of this chapter. Liu Xin (46 BC -AD 23) was the son of Liu Xiang (79-8 BC), a superintendent of the imperial household who played a significant part in literary history and who was a collator of texts. Liu Xin continued his father's work of collating the copies of books that had been assembled in the imperial library. Michael Loewe remarks: “compiling a catalogue of books, divided into six major classes of writings, Liu Xin laid the foundation for Chinese bibliography” (5)

2) The importance of this treatise

This text shows a diversity of intellectual ideas in early China. And then, it is possible to understand how the body of the knowledge was organized. This catalogue lists many different versions of one single Classic. It outlines also how complicated it was to discover their orthodox versions.

Before Qin Shi Huang Di's decision to burn books, Chinese tradition was alive with argument and counter argument as in every culture. This chapter 30 of *Hanshu*: Treatise on Record Sources gives to us, the unique opportunity to consider early data to understand the sources of Chinese culture for the reader of today and tomorrow.

At the beginning of this text, we are informed on Confucius' death and on its consequences for the transmission of his words. It is said “subtle words come to nothing”. And then, we have explanations about how several schools and different versions of texts come out. Similar approaches for each text quoted are given.

The other main point of this text is its permanent reference to the *Yijing*. This text survived the burning of the books of Qin by virtue of its function and nature as a manual of divination. It seems to be the key to understand the sources of any texts quoted in this chapter. For instance, on *Shangshu*, the *Yijing* said: “When the Qin burnt the books, Fu Sheng of Jinan was the only one who kept a copy hidden in the wall.” Another example about the Book of Music, the *Yijing* said: “The former kings create music, venerated virtue

and present then to the emperor for these ancestors and fathers to enjoy.”

Later through this text, it is interesting also, with reference to the *Yijing*, to discover how Chinese writing was imagined from ropes, lines on bamboos with 6 principles: pictograph, ideograph, phonetic compounds, character graphic, etymologically and loan words. And also to learn the request to know that - more than nine thousand characters - was compulsory, if you study with a preceptor.

Chapter 30 stresses the interplay between argument and counter-argument when it refers to the various schools of thought of the day. In what follows, I shall develop this point by asking the following question: why is the investigation into philosophical schools in early China important for a better understanding of the history of science during this time (6)

Jean-Pierre Drege has shown that an attempt at classification in examining philosophical schools before chapter 30 of the *Hanshu* was written (7) He cites, among other texts, chapter 33 of *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (8), chapter 6 of *Xunzi* 荀子 (9) and chapter 130 of *Shiji* 史記 (10).

This classification could give us an insight into what philosophy really was in early China. Surely it was not just political thought concerning sages, emperors and so on, but as everywhere else, a search for reliable knowledge, and for an understanding of the world. These philosophical schools show us the process of contradiction i. e. conflicts among assertions but also the process of invention that took place in Chinese thought.

It is easy to forget that although the word “philosophy” comes from the Greeks, it does not mean of course that such activity did not occur elsewhere. Another question must be explained: what do we mean by philosophical schools? Can we use a definition that originates in another culture such as that of early Greece to help us understand these schools? A. Long and D. Sedley have pointed out in their book, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, that schools are not “in general, a formally established institution, but groups of like-minded philosophers with an agreed leader and a regular meeting place, sometimes in private premises but normally in public. School loyalty means loyalty to the founder of the school. . . The virtually unquestioned authority of the founder within each of the schools gave its adherents an identity as members of a sect (haireisis) readily recognisable by their labels “Stoic”, “Epicurean” “Academic” or “Pyrrhonist” (11)

I think the different philosophical schools (discussions are still open on what could be the exact translation of *jia* 家 into English) in early China raised questions of judgement and of inquiry. These questions led to scientific ideas such as how to undertake the discovery of the unknown. (12) Scientific theories come essentially from problems and not from collections or observations. Such issues are essential in understanding the process of scientific thought in any culture. The method of questioning, that is to say, who the questioner is, how the question is put, what the answer is and how it is expressed, remains an open issue in the history of science.

Questions about natural phenomena were raised from early times in ancient China. At first they were linked to divination, *bu wen* 卜問, a process of inquiry in which judgments were made according to cracks in shells and ox bones. Other examples can be found in the book called “Songs of the South” *Chuci* 楚辭, especially in the section called *Tianwen* 天問 “Heavenly questions” (13).

Examples can also be found in the chapter entitled *wen wen* 問 “Queries” in the *Guanzi* 管子, (14) whose 60 questions have been examined by the Japanese scholar Kiyoyoshi Utsunomiya. (15) I would like to stress the crucial importance that the approaches taken in these works have for the understanding of the history of science. I shall do this below by quoting Isaac Newton’s “*Quaestiones Quaedam Philosophicae* (“Certain Philosophical Questions”) (16), written during 1664-65 after Newton had finished reading Descartes. In the series of questions, this scholar has examined whether a questioned assertion was true and paying special attention to the relationship of the perceiver to the perceived and exploring both sides of that relationship.

Chapter 30 of the *Hanshu* is also important on another level for what I would like to call “reference”. By reference, I mean that the author of the chapter assumes on the part of the reader the capacity to recognise the philosophers and schools to which he refers (17). Thus, for example, when the author of the chapter speaks about Kong Zi 孔子 or Mo Zi 墨子, it is assumed that the reader recognises the person to whom he is referring.

The main subject of this text is about yin and yang, the five elements, divination numbers, astronomy, medicine and popular religions. This chapter raises the question of science through its inquiries on divination, heaven and natural phenomena. It reveals to us a thought on nature which changes the traditional picture we have regarding Chinese culture.

However, it is well known that astronomy has always enjoyed a special status within Chinese culture. Sky observation, calendars and forecasting for instance, the imperial bureaus of which played an important role in almost every imperial house since the Han dynasty (206BC-220AD). These scholars have compared the results with the calculated movements of the sun, the moon and the planets in hope of gaining a better understanding of their function. The impact of astronomy on Chinese society in the days before the telescope (Yi Longhuai, 2011) has been analysed. Such an approach demonstrates a form of scientific knowledge which is understood considering the epistemology context of Early China. I refer here to the scientific writing of Chinese tradition. I mean by that mainly the *Zhoubi Suanjing*, Astronomy and Mathematics in ancient China (100BC) which deals with the calendrical astronomy, the *gaitian* 蓋天: umbrella like heaven, the length of the shadow and the use of gnomon. The *Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術, Nine Chapters with 246 problems such as square fields diminishing breadth, excess and deficiency, linear equations and the applications of Pythagoras' theorem and other more practical problems. Liu Hui's commentary on this called *Haidao Suanjing* 海島算經, The sea island computational canon where the reader can discover the idea of perspective especially in problems 1 and 2. And also Mo Zi's definitions on optic, mechanics and geometry. (500BC)

Chinese science is a form of the knowledge about nature and modes of representation of the cosmos. This tradition has been for too long considered as changeless. It is possible to read a rational thinking and struggle of freedom of thought, through controversies. It is obvious especially with the description of the ten philosophical schools within this text. Contradictions between these schools are expressed pointing out the crucial difference between text as credo where the meaning has never changed and an open text which are like scientific texts which have a capacity to change because of the discovery of new parameters. These ideas can be associated to the hundred schools of thought: *zhuzi bajia* 諸子百家 (770BC-221BC) that it is to say the very alive Chinese thought before Qing Shi Huang Di's destruction of texts. Such views open the way to modernity and subjectivity because they enable a degree of consciousness of investigation beyond the norms of thought and open the way to a broad range of thoughts and ideas. This analysis requires a quest of reliability and an independent world view which examines various possibilities. Rivalry among these competing traditions contributes to an active debate and illustrates the inadequacy of traditional knowledge.

Chapter 30 of the *Hanshu* is also important in that it refers to a large body of literature which is now lost. Because of these losses, our understanding of Chinese culture is fragmentary. Yet from the number of works that have survived, we can detect a rich discourse of argument and counter-argument revealing something about their understanding of the world. Indeed Chinese texts share similar disputative traditions to those of other cultures including Western culture.

1, *Hanshu*, 漢書, pp. 1701-1783, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju. This is the edition I have used for this work. For other editions see the entry for Hanshu in *Early Chinese Texts, a Bibliographical Guide* edited by Michael Loewe, (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 129-137.

2, J. P. Drege, *Les bibliothèques en Chine au temps des manuscrits jusqu'au dixième siècle* (Paris, E. F. E. O. 1991), pp. 97-98.

3, Su-yu Teng and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese References Works* (Harvard University Press, 1950, 1971), pp. 103-104.

4, P. Van der Loon, "On the Transmission of the Kuan-tzu", *T'oung-Pao*, number 41, 1952, pp. 359-393.

5, M. Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death in Early China: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period* (202 B. C. - A. D. 220) (CUP, 1982, p. 212).

6, I developed these points at the early China Colombia seminar at Columbia University, New York on April 23, 2011.

- 7, J. P. Drege, *op. cit.*, especially chapter 2.
- 8, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, HYISIS edition, ch. 33, pp. 90-4.
- 9, *Xunzi* 荀子, SBBY edition, ch. 6, pp. 7a-13b.
- 10, *Shiji* 史記, Zhonghua shuju edition, ch. 130, pp. 3288-92.
- 11, A. Long & D. Sedley *Hellenistic Philosophers* (CUP, 1987), volume I, chapter 1, pp. 5-6.
- 12, G. Lloyd, *Methods and Problems in Greek Science* (C. U. P. 1991), Chapter 5.
- 13, *Chuci* 楚辭, *Tianwen* 天問, David Hawkes trans., *The Songs of the South, Heavenly Questions*, (Oxford, 1959, Clarendon Press), pp. 45-59.
- 14, *Guanzi* 管子, SBBY edition, chapter 24, pp. 11-15.
- 15, Kiyoyoshi Utsunomiya, “A Preliminary Survey on the Wen-pien 問篇 of Kuan-tsu”, *The Toyoshi kenkyu*, March 1972, pp. 61-74. See also *Allyn Rickett Kuan-tzu: A Repository of Early Chinese Thought* (Hong Kong, 1965), chapter 24.
- 16, “Isaac Newton Questiones Quaedam Philosophicae, Certain Philosophical Questions”, *Newton's Trinity Notebook*, J. E. McGuire & Martin Tamney's trans., (CUP, 1983)
- 17, Saul Kripke, *Naming and Necessity* (Harvard University Press, 1972, 1980). See also Michael Dummett, *The Interpretation of Frege's Philosophy* (Duckworth, 1981), chapter 9: “Kripke on Proper Names as Rigid Designators”, pp. 182-6.

TRANSLATION OF THE TREATISE ON RECORD SOURCES

A long time ago when Zhongni (Confucius) 仲尼 died and his subtle words came to an end, when the seventy masters (1) died the great meaning was contradicted. This is why the *Chunqiu* 春秋 was divided into five traditions, the *Shijing* 詩經 was divided into four and the *Yijing* 易經 has several schools. During the Warring States, the school of vertical and horizon alliance diplomacy was formed, the true and the false split apart and competed against each other. The words of the philosophers were in confusion and disorder. The Qin 秦 detested it, consequently they burnt and destroyed texts in order to make the black headed people stupid. When the Han 漢 arose, they repaired what Qin had destroyed, thus then they collected tablets and volumes. And widely opened up the way of presenting books and texts. At the time of Xiao Wu 孝武, many books were incomplete, tablets were missing, ceremonies were destroyed, and the music was forgotten. The sovereign sighed and proclaimed: “I have suffered deeply”. Thereupon, he instituted a policy of storing books. He established an office for storing books and extended it to include writings in the philosopher tradition until the Imperial Library was full. By the time of emperor Cheng 成, because many books had been scattered and lost, the visitor Chen Nong 陳農 was called upon to search for neglected books throughout the Empire. The Imperial household's great master Liu Xiang 劉向 to collate the books on numerical methods, the attendant physician Li Zhuguo 李柱國 checked those on divination. Whenever a book was completed, then Xiang would each time make an entry for it, write a summary of its contents and send it to the throne. When Xiang died Aidi 哀帝 charged Xiang's son, Liu Xin 劉歆, palace attendant and Chief Commandant of the Imperial Equipage (2), to bring to completion the enterprise undertaken by his father. Xin grouped the books and presented them to the emperor in the form of seven summaries: an overall summary and summaries of the form of the six arts, of philosophers, of *shi* 詩 and *fu* 賦, of military books, of diviner's methods and of techniques and counting. I have edited here in essentials in order to make a complete list of all the books.

(In all, the *Yijing* has 13 schools and 249 chapters.)

The *Yijing* says that: Bi Xi 宓戲 looked up and observed the signs in the sky and looked down and observed the laws on earth. He examined the patterns of the birds and beasts and discovered what is appropriate in the earth, near to take from him, far to take all creation and them, he began to create the eight hexagrams, to correct the virtue, to link the spirit and to categorise the nature of ten thousand things. (3) At the time of the transition from Yin 殷 to Zhou 周, king Zhou 紂 was in the position of ruler. He

opposed heaven and used violence against all things. King Wen 文 by contrast carries on, and puts an end to his relations with feudal lords. He followed the mandate, the predictions of heaven and man examined the double six lines of the *Yijing* and made chapter one and two. Kong 孔 divided it according to the different sections, *Tuan* 彖, *Xiang* 象, *Xici* 繫辭, *Wenyan* 文言 and *Xu Gua* 序卦 and arranged them in ten chapters of the *Yijing*.

Therefore, it is said that the way of the *Yijing* is profound, man was passed through three stages. (4) The world passed through stages of antiquity. At the time of Qin because they burned the books, the *Yijing* was used only for divination. Yet the tradition was not cut off. When the Han arose, Tian He 田何 transmitted it. At that time of emperors Xuan 宣 and Yuan 元, Shi 施, Meng 孟, Liang Qiu 梁丘, Jing Shi 京氏 developed the Imperial Academy. Among the people, there were the sayings of the school of Bi 費 and Gao 高. Liu Xiang took the *guwen Yijing* 古文易經 and collected the Classics of Shi 施, Meng 孟 and Liang Qiu 梁丘. In some cases, some scholars have removed the sentences: “without error”, “regret”, “perishing”, (5) only the Bi 費’s Classic was the same as the old text.

(In all, the *Shangshu* has 9 schools and 412 chapters.)

The *Yijing* says: “The river has given the chart, the Luo 雒 has provided texts, the sage takes them as his principle.” (6) Therefore the place from which the *Shangshu* 尚書— derived, was far away. When it came to Confucius’ time, he edited it.

He cut off the beginning at Yao 堯 and continued it to Qin, in all there are one hundred sections and he wrote a preface to it, where he states his intention in writing it. When the Qin burnt the books and forbade study, Fu Sheng 伏生 of Jinan 濟南 was the only one who kept a copy hidden in the wall. When the Han arose, a search yielded twenty nine chapters used to instruct the districts Qi 齊 and Lu 魯. In the generation of Xiao Xuan 孝宣, Ouyang 鷗陽 and the great and lesser Xia Hou 夏侯 were established in the imperial Academy. The Ancient Text Version of the *Shangshu* emerged from the wall of Confucius’ house. (7) At the end of the reign of the emperor Wu 武, king Gong 共 of Lu 魯 destroyed the residence of Confucius wishing to extend his great palace and thereby found the Old Text Version of the *Shangshu* as well the *Liji* 禮記, the *Lunyu* 論語, and the *Xiaojing* 孝經, in the several tens of items all in the ancient script form. King Gong 共 went into this house, he heard drum, lute, zither, bell and percussion (sounds) and he was afraid. So he stopped and did not destroy the wall. Kong Anguo 孔安國 was a descendant of Confucius who obtained all of the texts in order to check the twenty nine chapters and found no more than sixteen. He presented them to the emperor. He encountered by chance an affair of *wu gu* 巫蠱 poisoning and as a result was not established in the imperial academy. (8) Liu Xiang took the ancient texts from the palace and edited the classical writings of the three writers: Ouyang, the greater and lesser Xia Hou. This text is missing in one chapter of *Jiugao* 酒誥 and two chapters of *Zhaogao* 召誥. In general, the chapters that had twenty five characters still have twenty-five characters, and those with twenty -two characters still have twenty-two characters. The text is different in more than seven hundred places and several tens of characters are missing. The Documents are the orders of ancient times, the orders given to the common people. If the words were not established and completely furnished to them those who listened to them received and followed, would not have understood. The readings of the ancient words echoed to the *Erya* 爾雅, therefore by understanding the old and new words and so they are able to know it.

(In all the *Shijing* has 6 schools and 416 scrolls.)

The *Shangshu* says: “Poetry puts one’s intention into words and songs voice words.” (9) Thus, when a mind which is happy or sad is moved by feelings, the sounds of singing and chanting, are expressed. Reciting words is called poetry, singing sounds are called songs. That is why, in ancient times, (10) there was an office for collecting poetry and the king by this means observed the customs and the habits of people and learned of their successes and failures. The ruler examined and corrected them. Confucius gathered all the songs of Zhou 周 together beginning with the Yin 殷, and extending through the state of Lu, in all three hundred and five poems. This corpus of poetry at the time of Qin remained intact because people recited and

sung. They were not kept exclusively on bamboo and silk. When the Han arose, duke Shen 申 of Lu 魯 used the poetry to expand on the ancients Yuan Gu 轅固 of Qi 齊 and Han Sheng 韓生 of Yan 燕 transmits his teachings about them, thus forming a tradition. Some took from the *Chunqiu* and collected eclectic discourses but none of these captured the original meaning. When all the others had failed Lu 魯 came closest to it. The three schools were appointed to the Imperial Academy. There is also the study done by Mao Gong 毛公 who claims to be transmitting the views of Zi Xia 子夏 king Xian 獻 of Hejian 和 間 liked it but has not been established yet.

(In all the *Liji* has 13 schools and 550 chapters.)

The *Yijing* says: “There are husband and wife, father and son, gentleman and minister, high and low, ceremonies and duties have that which they establish.” (11) Austerity and adornment of emperors, kings by generation decrease and increase. Then when it came to the Zhou era, for all they took precautions against all irregularities, for all affairs they instituted regulations. Therefore, I say, *the Ritual Classic of Li* 禮 consists of three hundred prestigious rituals. When the Zhou declined the feudal lords began to overstep the legal measures and not wishing to harm themselves, destroyed all their records. Thus from Confucius’ time they were not complete and in the time of Qin there was great destruction. When the Han arose, Gao Tangsheng 高堂生 of Lu transmitted the *Shili* 士禮 in seventeen sections. By the era of emperor Xuan, Hou Cang 后倉 was the most clear about them Dai De 戴德, Dai Sheng 戴聖 and Qing Pu 慶普 were all his disciples. These three schools were established in the Imperial Academy. The ancient text of the *Liji* comes from the village of Yanzhong 淹中 in the state of Lu and Confucius’ family. The text was similar but had an extra thirty nine sections. When *Mingtang yinyang* 明堂陰陽 and *Wangshi shiji* 王史氏記 appears there are more about the regulations of the emperor, the feudal lords and the ministers. Although they cannot be complete, they still surpass the sayings which Cang 倉 and others in promoting the way up to the son of heaven.

(In all, the *Yuejing* has 6 schools and 165 chapters.)

The *Yijing* says: “The former kings created music, venerated virtue and presented them to the emperor for his ancestors and fathers to enjoy.” (12) From Huang Di 黃帝 down to the three dynasties, the music of each age had a name. Confucius said: “To make peace for those who are above and to govern the people, there is nothing better than ritual, to bring about a change in customs, there is nothing better than music”. (13) These two things must be practised in accord with each other. When the Zhou declined all was destroyed and music especially became weak and insignificant having to rely on the sounds of the pitch-pipes to give its rhythm. Furthermore because of the disorder between Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛, the pattern was lost. When the Han arose, master Zhi 制, because of his distinguished knowledge of music and the pitch-pipes, those at that time held the office of music were able to record the sound of jade, drums and dances, though they could not explain their meaning. Among the rulers of six states, Wen Hou 文侯 of Wei 魏 was the one who liked ancient music the most. At the time of emperor Xiao Wen 文, there was the musician Dougong 竇公. He offered to the emperor one of his books which was none other than the text *Da si yue* 大司樂 (section of *Zhouli* 周禮). At the time of emperor Wu, king Xian of Hejian, liked classical learning and with master Mao Sheng 毛生 and others collected together all the instances where the Zhou guan 周官 and the schools of philosophy spoke of music in order to create the *Yueji* 樂記, offered up the dances of eight ranks and they were not far from Mr Zhi 制’s previous transmission. His assistant Wang Ding 王定 transmitted it and used it to instruct Wang Yu 王禹 of Changshan 常山. At the time of emperor Cheng 成, Yu 禹 was - internuncio herald. On several occasions, he spoke about the meaning and offered up twenty-four scrolls-records. Liu Xiang collated the documents resulting in a *Yuejing* twenty three chapters. It was different from Yu’s (version) and the presence of music weakened even further.

(In all, the *Chunqiu* has 23 schools and 948 chapters.)

As for the kings of antiquity, every generation had its official historiographers. The actions of ruler had

to be written down, this was the reason why they were careful with words and actions and observed laws and rules. The historiographer of the left recorded words and the historiographer of the right recorded events. The events became the *Chunqiu* 春秋 and the words became the *Shangshu* and emperors, kings, all agreed with them. After the house of Zhou declined, their records were deficient. Confucius wished to preserve the works of the early stages. So he said: “I am able to discourse on the rites of the Xia 夏 but there is not enough evidence about the state of Qi 杞. I am able to discourse on the rites of Yin 殷 but there is not enough evidence about the state of Song 宋. This is because there are not enough records and men of erudition. Otherwise, I would be able to support what I say with evidence.” (14) (D. C. Lau’s translation). Because Lu was the state of the duke of Zhou, its writings about the rites are complete. The official historiographers are models of it, and therefore allowed to study Zuo Qiuming 左丘明’s historical records to provide verification of events and preserve the way of men in order to establish merit and taking defeat in order to complete this punishment. They use sun and moon in order to fix the calendar calculations. They use the court visit in order to correct ritual music. Confucius criticism or denigration of these cannot appear in writing, if there is anything that is. It can only teach his disciples so that they will retire and speak about these things. Zuo Qiuming was afraid that the disciples would all go according to their own will and so lose the truth. Therefore he discussed the fundamental events in his commentaries and showed that the master was not using empty words to explain the Classics (15). The ministers of that era were denigrated by the *Chunqiu*. Some of them had tremendous power and influence. The events in reality were all good from the commentary and therefore hid this book and did not make them public. By this means, they avoided calamities. Later generations circulated them orally, therefore there were the *Gongyang* 公羊, *Guliang* 穀梁, Zou 鄒 and Xia commentaries. Among the four commentaries, the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* were established in the Imperial Academy. Mr. Zou was without a teacher and Mr. Xia has not yet written a book.

(In all, the *Lunyu* has 12 schools and 229 chapters.)

As for the *Lunyu* 論語, these are the sayings that record how Confucius responded to his disciples and the people of his time. And also how his disciples spoke to him. At this time, each disciple made his own notes. When the master died, his disciples edited and compiled them and thus they are called the *Lunyu*. When the Han arose, there were the Qi 齊 and Lu 魯 versions of the *Lunyu*. Among those who transmitted the Qi version of the *Analects*, there were Wang Ji 王吉, commandant of the capital; private treasurer Song Ji 宋畸; great secretary Gong Yu 貢禹; prefect of the masters of writing Wu Lu Chong Zong 五鹿充宗, and Yungsheng 庸生 from Liaodong 遼東. Only Wang Yang 王陽 became famous. As for those who transmitted the Lu version of the *Analects*, it is said that Gong Fen 龔奮, chief commandant at Changshan 常山; Xia Hou Sheng 夏侯勝, private treasurer at Changxin, chancellor Weixian 韋賢 at (Changxin 長信); the minister Lufu Qing 魯扶卿, former general Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 and Lili houzhangyu were all famous. Master Zhang was the last one to be alive.

(In total, the *Xiaojing* has 11 schools and 39 chapters.)

As for the *Xiaojing*, Confucius sets out the way of filial piety for Zeng Zi 曾子. Filial piety is the main principle of heaven, the justice of earth, the behaviour of the people. All the great men speak of it, therefore it is called Xiaoping. When the Han arose, Mr Changsun 長孫, doctor Jiang Weng 江翁, the private treasurer Hou Cang 后倉, the monitory official Yifeng 翼奉 and the marquis of An Chang 安昌, Zhang Yu 張禹, transmitted it. Each one was an expert in this text. All the texts are the same only the ancient Classics texts found in Confucius’ wall were different. “When parents give birth, there is no greater continuity than this therefore children kneel down before parents. Where the various schools are uneasy about the text’s meaning, the ancient characters are read in different ways.

(In total, the *Xiaoxue* has 10 schools and 45 chapters.)

The *Yijing* says: “In earliest antiquity, they tied ropes in order to govern. Sages of later generations

changed this custom and used lines or bamboos and the hundred officials used this method to govern. Ten thousand people examined what they wrote from “*guai* 夬 (resolution) (16). The hexagram *guai* means to raise up and make known to the court. This is its most useful function. In ancient times, one entered elementary school at the age of eight. This is why in the Zhou guan (section of the *Zhouli*), the Baoshi 鮑氏 or “Praeceptor” protects and nourishes the sons of the state and teaches them the six principles of writing called: pictographs, ideographs, phonetic-compounds, character graphics and etymology, as the basis for creating Chinese characters. When the Han arose, Xiao He 蕭何 draft laws also wrote about these rules saying: the great officer examines the school children and those who could recite more than nine thousand characters would be scribes. He also tested them in the six styles of writing, those who did best were taken to be imperial censor, secretary and foreman clerk. When local officials sent memorials to the Emperor if some of his characters were not correct, they would be impeached. As for the six styles of writing, there are: ancient characters, extraordinary characters, seal writing, clerical-writing, link seal and -insect- style-writing; these are all the means by which one understands ancient and modern writing and copies it to make official seals to write banners and letters. According to rules system documents must have the same writing. If they do not know, it should be omitted, leave it blank and ask the old people. When we came to the age of decline, there was no right and wrong, people followed their own style. That is why Confucius said: “I still encounter omissions in the texts of Annals, the writings are now lost.” 17) He was distressed because there was no standard by which to correct it. As for the chapter Shi zhou 史籀, at the time of Zhou, the historiographers taught the students to write it, but there was a different style from those found in Mr. Kong’s place. (18) As for the seven chapters of Cang Jie 蒼頡, they were written by chief minister Li Si 李斯 of Qin. And the six chapters in the Yuan li 爰歷 were written by Superintendent Zhao Gao 趙高. As for the seven chapters in the Bo xue 博學, they were written by the great astrologer Hu Mujing 胡毋敬. The writings are mostly from the Shi zhou pian but the style of the seal forms again are rather different and this is what is called the seal writing of Qin. At that time, the clerical script was first created because there were so many legal cases that there was an effort towards shortening and simplification. It was implemented by clerks. When the Han arose, village reading masters (school teachers) put together the three works Cang Jie, *Yuanli* and *Boxue* into one and marked it off into chapters after every sixty characters to total more than fifty five chapters and thus created the Cang Jie. At the time of emperor Wu, Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 wrote the *Fanjiangpian* 凡將篇 which did not contain a single repeated character. At the time of emperor Yuan, the prefect of the Yellow Gate Shi You 史游 composed the *Jijiupian* 急就篇. And during Emperor Cheng’s reign the court architect Li Chang 李長 wrote the *Yuanshangpian* 元尚篇, these three works in the orthodox character of Can Jie. The Fan Jiang stood out somewhat different from the rest. At the time of Yuan shi 元始, they summoned through the world, everyone in the Empire who understood *Xiaoxue* to use hundred numbers and each had to write the number down at the court. Yang Xiong 陽雄 selected the ones who could be used also in order to create the *Xuncuanpian* 訓纂篇 which was a continuation of Cang Jie while changing the repeated characters with this repeated characters amended, in all totalling eighty nine chapters. The officials then further continued Yang Xiong’s work adding another ten chapters. Altogether making 120 chapters without a single repeated character, the book dealing with the six arts was fully completed. The Cang Jie has many ancient characters of which ordinary teachers have lost their pronunciations. At the time of emperor Xuan, (they) summoned men from Qi who were able to read them correctly. Zhang Bi 張敞 accordingly collected and transmitted it to his grandson Dulin 杜林, the son of the daughter’s husband, Dulin, made glosses and listed them.

In all there were one hundred and three scholars and three thousand and one hundred fifty two chapters

(In total, concerning the six *artslu* yi 六藝 there are 103 schools and 3123 chapters.)

As regarding the written texts about the six arts, the *Yuejing* has as its purpose harmonising with the gods, it is the outward expression of benevolence. The purpose of the *Shijing* is to make words correct,

indeed in fulfilling one's duties. The *Liji* is used to manifest one's outward behaviour and appearances, so that what is enlightened is that which appears. The *Shangshu* presents the method of knowing. The purpose the *Chunqiu* is to make judgments about matters explained. These five are from the way of the principles of the five constants, each one is necessary to the other and they form a whole, the *Yijing* is their origin. Therefore it is said that although the *Yijing* cannot be seen the forces of yin and yang never stop operating. This means that they are the forces of beginning and end in heaven and earth. Concerning the five Classics, these change and reform with time. The five elements succeed one another. As for those studied in antiquity they ploughed and nourished, and in three years, they were able to master a single art. They preserved the form as a whole and they played with the texts of Classics and writing more for this reason. They used days and they stored up virtue. It was great after 30 years. The five Classics were established. Later generations, the Classical texts tradition already differed substantially from the originals and the learned men were not inclined to make many inquiries about the meaning behind the omissions of doubtful passages. And they fragmented the meaning by avoiding difficulties using by the most convenient words and by a skill for exposition. In this way they broke and destroyed the forms and to explain the meaning of five characters, they used twenty thousand words. (19) The later generation continued along this line at even greater speed thus the young could be into only one art and when they became old they could speak about it. They were content with that which was familiar to them and destroyed what they could not understand. In the end their knowledge became narrow. This was a great sadness for the scholars. I arrange the six arts into nine categories.

(In all, as for the *Rujia* 儒家, it had 53 schools and which wrote a total of 836 chapters.)

As to the Confucian school which probably began with the officials who governed the masses in ancient times and helped the ruler to follow the processes of yin and yang and to transform by enlightened teachings from the six Classics. Their minds dwelt goodness and justice. For their ancestry, they traced back to Yao 尧 and Shun 舜, for their texts and laws, they look at those of Wen 文 and Wu 武. They respected the master Zhongni as their teacher and greatly esteemed his word above all others. Confucius said: "Whom have I ever praised or condemned? If there is anyone I praised, you may be sure that he had been put the test" (D. C. Lau) (20) The greatness of Tang 唐 and of Yu 虞, the abundance of Yin and Zhou and Zhongni's accomplishments their efficacy had already been tested. But deluded people have lost its subtle essence and the ignorant follow the fashion of the time. They deviate from the basic foundation of the Dao even to the point of provoking the masses to seek a favour. The younger generations follow them and by this means they have destroyed and divided the five Classics. Thus the Confucian school has gradually declined. And this was caused by ignorant Confucianists.

(In all the *Daojia* 道家 has 37 schools and who have written 993 chapters.)

Concerning the Daoist schools, they derived from the office of historiographers who successively recorded the way of success and failure, life and death, misfortune and happiness of ancient and modern times. They know how to grasp the essential and to protect oneself by means of purity and emptiness to maintain oneself through loneliness and weakness. This is the method by which the ruler uses to face south and rule- well, make oneself in accord with Yao's modesty, it is found in the *Yijing* that a single act of respect will result in four benefits. This is where they excel. When those who take too much license practice this, they want to abolish the study of rites and discard benevolence goodness and righteousness. Then say that by relaying only on vacuity, one can bring about order.

(In all, as for *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, there are 21 schools and 369 chapters.)

As to the schools of *yin* and *yang*, they probably came from the office of the Charioteer who drives the Sun. They respectfully observe the movements of the great heaven and the various signs from the sun, the moon, stars and planets. And also observe the people about the agricultural seasons. This is where they excel. When those bound by it and practice it, they become the idea of interdiction, paralysed by the game

with the numbers, they give up human affairs and serve the spirits.

(In all, the *Fajia* 法家 has 10 schools and 217 chapters.)

As to the school of legalism, it probably comes from the legal officials who trust rewards and insisted on punishments, in order to support rule by ritual. The *Yijing* says: “The former kings thereby classified punishments and regulated laws.” (21) This is where the legalists excel. When it was practised by those who were strict, then there was no transformation by teaching goodness. Love was discarded, only punishment was employed. And they attempted to govern cruelly harmed those who the closest to them. And they harm the good and made what is generous unimportant.

(In all the *Mingjia* 名家 has 7 schools and 36 chapters)

As to the school of names, it probably comes from the office of rites. In ancient times the names and the ranks were not the same and the rites also had different numbers. Confucius said: “It is necessary indeed to correct names, when names are not correct, what is said, will not sound reasonable, when what is said does not sound reasonable, affairs will not culminate in success”. (22) (D. C. Lauth.) This is where the school of names excels. People who practice this merely wish to expose others. Then they carelessly construct arguments, create disorder and nothing more.

(In all the *Mojia* 墨家 has 6 schools and 86 chapters.)

As for the school of Mo Zi, it probably comes from the guardians of the pure temple, who thatched cottage by collecting straw by showing they esteem frugality. They nourish older people (23). And this way shows the universal love. They choose officers planning placing great emphasis on their archery ability. It is the way they promote the ability of the worthy, they worship their ancestors. It is through their belief in spirits they conform to four seasons and act. This is the way, they show their belief. They act in accordance with the four seasons and it is through this, that they rejected the idea of destiny. They look at the whole world in the spirit of filial piety and it is through this, that they promote universality. This is where they excel. But if ignorant, once practising it, they take advantage of the profits from their being frugal and use them to do away with the rites. They promote the idea of universal love but do not know how to distinguish between close and distant.

(In all the *Zonghengjia* 縱橫家 has 12 schools and 107 chapters.)

The schools of vertical and horizontal alliances, probably originated from the office of governing travellers. (24) Confucius said: “If a man who knows the three hundred Odes by heart, fails when given administrative responsibilities and proves incapable of exercising his own initiative when sent to foreign states, then what use are the Odes to him, however many he may have learned. Being emissary, being emissary!” (25) This means that when they take charge, and stipulate what is appropriate, receive their orders but are not told what to say. This is where they excel. When evil people practice it, they promote lies and abandon trust.

(In all, the *Zajia* 雜家 has 20 schools and 403 chapters.)

The school of eclectics probably comes from the office of debating. They bring together Confucianists and Mohists and unite the schools of names and laws. They know that the political body contains these skills and observe that the Kingly is relevant to government penetrate all of them. This is where they excel. When unstable people practise it, they got to excess and loss their form.

(In all the *Nongjia* 農家 agriculturalist school has 9 schools and 114 chapters.)

As for the agriculturalist school, it probably came from the office of agriculture and grain. They cast seeds of the hundred grains, spread hundred cereals, and encourage ploughing and mulberry cultivation in order to provide sufficient clothing and food. Therefore in the eight rules, the first is to produce food for

nourishment and the second is produce goods. Confucius said: “The most important thing is food for the people.” (26) This is where the agriculturalists excel. When vulgar people practise it, they have nothing with which to serve the sage king and if they wish to have a ruler and minister to plough side by side and they mix up the categories of high and low.

(In all, the *Xiaoshuojia* 小說家 has 15 schools and 1380 chapters.)

As to the school of novels, they probably come from the offices of the petty officials. Street gossip and talk of the alley, one written down by those who hear things on the road and make hard remarks. Confucius said: “Even minor arts are sure to have their worthwhile aspects, but the gentleman does not take them up because the fear of a man who would go a long way is that he should be bogged down” (D. C. Lau’ translation) . (27) However they should also not be destroyed, they represent what those of small knowledge in villages have experienced not to be forgotten. Therefore, they have been written down so as if summarised with one word, this is a discourse of Grass-cutters and madman. (28)

(In total, the - *Zhu*zi 諸子 - Philosophers had 89 schools and 4324 chapters.)

Of these ten philosophical schools, only nine of them may be observed. They all arose because the kingly way of the King had already followed, the feudal lords were ruling with force and the rulers of the time, the rulers of the age were a mixture of good and bad in the various places. And this is why the arts of the nine schools emerge together each taking up a single point. I have praised that good points in order to keep the discourse alive and to unite the feudal lords. Although their words were different, they may be compared to water and fire: they both destroy each other and produce in each other similar goodness in relation to rightness and respect in relation to harmony. They oppose each other and yet they complete each other. The *Yijing* says: “everything under heaven come to the same by different ways. There are maybe one hundred thoughts but then is out gone. (29) Now the different schools, each case promote their own speciality, the philosophers exhaust their knowledge and examine their thought in order to understand what they indicate although they each have obscurities and shortcomings. If you bring together their essential aspects, they are all branches from the six Classics. Supposing any of these persons from one of the schools by chance met an enlightened king, or a sage - ruler and make use of his special talent, they would all have the talent to serve him as an advisor. (30) Confucius said:” If the rites are lost, then you seek them in the wild.” (31) Nowadays, we are so far away from the sages and the art of -Dao- has been lost, no one even looks for it , any more aren’t those of the nine schools still at least better than looking for it in the wild? We can cultivate the method of the six arts and surveying the statement of these nine schools, discard these short comings and take their good points. Then we will be able to understand the strategies of the thousands directions.

(The above in all, the *fu* 賦 include 20 schools and 361 chapters.) (The above include 21 schools and 274 chapters, at the left all the *fu* has 20 schools and 136 chapters.)

(Above include - *fu* 賦 - has 25 schools and 136 chapters.)

(In all the-*zafu* 雜賦- above include 12 schools and 233 chapters.)

(In all the songs and poems include 28 schools and 314 chapters.)

In all, concerning the - *fu* 賦- there are 106 schools and 1318 chapters.

The tradition has said: “chanting without singing is called *fu* if you climb high and are able to compose *fu* you can become a great master. “(3 2) This means that if you are moved by things and able to create talents and knowledge, deep and beautiful, you can plan great matter. For this reason, you can be ranked among the masters. In antiquity, feudal lords, ministers, masters have contact with each other in diplomatic relations and move with the slightest twist in words. At the time of succession, they must recite poems from the *Shijing* in order to convey their purpose by metaphor. In this way, they can distinguish the good from the bad and survey prosperity and decline. Therefore Confucius said: ”If you have not studied the *Shijing*, you will have no means to speak” (33) After the *Chunqiu*, the way of Zhou gradually declined and the practice

of inviting an emissary to sing was no longer done in the various states. The scholars who had studied the *Shijing* retired and lived among the common people and worthy man lost the will to write *fu*. The great Confucianist Sun Qing 孫卿 and the minister Qu Yuan of Chu 楚 encountered denigration and lamented the fear of their country. And both of them wrote *fu* as a means of criticism as the meaning of their poetry. Later Song Yu 宋玉, and Tang Le 唐勒, and when the Han arose Mei Cheng 枚乘 and Sima Xiangru down to Yang Xiong, all competed to write lyrics that were extravagant and beautiful, vast and far-reaching and suppressed the role of *fu* as a means of criticism. For this reason Yang Xiong looked back regretfully and said the - *fu* - of the poet is beautiful and ordered the *fu* as lyricism. And the *fu* was restrained to it. If the disciples of master Kong 孔 who used the - *fu* 賦- Jia Yi 賈誼 ascended the hall and Xiangru entered the court (34) when they help using it? From the time when emperor Xiao Wu established the music bureau and collected the ballads of the Empire there were the songs of the state of Dai 代 and of Zhao 趙 the airs of the states of Qin and of Chu. And they all move to feel sorrow or joy. They arose because of specific events, could this also survey the custom and style so that we could know who was generous and who stingy? I have arranged the poems - *fu* 賦 into five categories.

(In all the *Bingjia* 兵家 military/power and strategy has 13 schools and 259 chapters.)

Those who have power and strategy use correctness to defend the country, use surprise events in their use of troops. First they calculate and then engage in battle they combined both topography and power, they know yin and yang and use skill and cunning.

(Above is the school of topography and power, there are 11 schools, 92 chapters and 18 maps.) (35)

As concerning topography and power, the thunder sounds and the wind arises, they burst forth and first arrive in separation put together villages and change, transform without regularity thereby they control their enemies with lightness and speed. (36)

(The above are 16 schools containing altogether 249 chapters and 10 charts/maps.)

The school of yin and yang according to the seasons, they push forward punishment and virtue and follow struggle and attack. They rely on the five victories and they borrow spirits to be their assistants.

(The above military skill and cleverness school has 13 schools and 199 chapters.)

Those who expense skill and cunning are accomplished in using their hands and feet and suitable weapons. Many techniques have been accumulated in order to stand firm and be victorious in offensive and defensive action. (In all, the military writing has 53 schools, 790 chapters and 43 maps) As concerning military school, it originally came from the ancient superintendent of cavalry. (37)

This was the official in charge of military and eight rules of them were for the army.

Confucius said: “Those who run at the country must provide enough food and enough military protection. And if you don’t teach people, it is equivalent to abandoning them. (38) This shows clearly the importance of the army. The *Yijing* says “In ancient times they shaped wood and they peeled wood to make arrows, the usefulness of bows and arrows who to extend overview the world “(39). This shows that their use was of the utmost importance. The new generation polishes metal to form blades, cuts leather to form armour and thus their weapons and equipment. Down to the time when Tang and Wu who received the mandate and used their armies to overcome disorder and to pacify the people. They moved them by means of goodness and rightness and stirred them into action by means of ritual and willingness to yield the - Sima fa 司馬法 with entitled contains the remnants of these views. From the Chunqiu period to the Zhanguo period, people devised and set up ambushes even based on treachery and lies. All of these devices have been used by all sides. (40) When the Han arose Zhang Liang 張良 and Han Xin 韓信 categorized and ranked the methods of military arts and of 182 schools, they selected the most essential deciding on approximating 35 traditions. (41) When the Lu 呂 clan was in power various robbers stole them. (42) At the time of the emperor Wu, the army administrator Yang Pu 楊僕 selected and put together the remaining records (of these schools), recorded them and presented the military records. But they were unable to make them complete. (43) When it come to the time of Xiao Cheng emperor, he ordered Reng Hong to discuss and classify the military books in four categories.

5. Numbers and Arts *Shushu* 數書

(In all -astronomy - has 21 schools and 445 chapters.)

As concerning astronomy, the experts divide into twenty eight constellations and space in the five planets, the sun and the moon in order to record auspicious and inauspicious signs. This was the means by which the sage king practices governance. The *Yijing* says: “One surveys the heavens to examine the alterations of time.” (44) However planets, events, bad luck and violence, are not studied deeply in detail. One cannot determine their cause. One examines the light in order to question the form, only an enlightened ruler can listen. If a minister who is unable to use astronomy to determine the season warns a king who is unable to listen, this will lead to calamities.

(In all - the schools of calendar and of calendrical- registers have 18 schools and 606 scrolls.)

As for the calendrical registers, they were ordered according the positions of the four seasons. They regulate the seasonal divisions. They arrange heavenly bodies of the sun of the moon and of the five planets in order to investigate the true condition of cold, of hot, of death and of birth. That is why the sage kings must correct the computation of calendar in order to fix the regulations about the three systems and the colours of dress in order to discover about the conjunctions of the five planets, the sun and the moon. The affliction of damage, the happiness of auspicious technique and the techniques of predicting them, all come from this. Those are the techniques by which the sages know the mandate; only those who have the highest talent under heaven can be compared with them. When the way falls into disorder the calamities derive from ordinary people who try to use force to know the way of heaven. They destroy the great matters of thinking, they are small and oppose the distant thinking to be near.

(Above, in all the -*Wu xing* 五行 - have 311 schools and 652 scrolls.)

The five phases are the formalqi 氣. The *Shujing* 書經 says: “Of those divisions, the first is called the five phases, the second, reverent attention to the fine personal matters, the third earns devotion to the right objects of government. This means to promote five matters in order to follow the five phases.” (45) If appearance, words, hearing sight and thought are neglected the order of the five phases will become disordered and the five stars will become irregular. All these come from of pitch pipes and calendar and being related as one. This method also arose from the five virtues, their beginning and end if you push them to the limit. None that does not reach the utmost. However the small numerology schools because this determine what is auspicious and inauspicious and circulate this knowledge in the world. They gradually throw them into disorder.

(The above in all -*Zhu gui* 著龜- divination by stalks and tortoises schools have 15 schools and 451 scrolls.)

As concerning the divination of milfoil and of tortoises, it is that which is used by the sage. The *Shujing* has said : “ When you have doubts about many great matter, consult the tortoise and shell and divining stalks “ (46) The *Yijing* has said : “ For deciding the auspicious or the inauspicious in the world for completing the activity in the world ,there is no more than excellent that stalks and shells.” (47) This is why the sage has activity and movement thereby he will ask the directions whether or not, it is near or it is far, dark or deep according that he knows the thing coming. If a person is not from the pure world, the most refined could take part of that. Therefore the superior man whoever he has to make or do something, consults the changes and he does so in words. He takes up his communications like an echo, neither for nor near, neither dark nor deep exist for it and this is learns of the things of the future. If this book was not the most spiritual thing in earth, how could it do this? (Wilhem Brynes’s translation). This is why the oracles do not report and the *Yijing* takes this as fear similarly stalks have nothing to report. And the *Shijing* takes this as criticism.

(In all, as for -the Predictions- have 18 schools and 113 chapters.)

As concerning various predictions they record signs of hundred events, they wait for the proof of good or bad. The *Yijing* has said: “you prognostic events, you will know what it will come” (48). Various prognostications are not one and dreams become the most important, that is why Zhou has his office. And the *Shijing* records the dream of the halberd, of a bear, of a kind of snake, of multitudes of fish, of flag to enlighten the prognostication of the great man in order to examine the auspicious and the inauspicious, it is taken a part of divination (49). It is said in the *Chunqiu* about inauspicious signs that “people fear, their -qi- become hot, bad omens arose through the man. If a man lose the constancy than inauspicious arise, if a person is without mistake, the inauspicious will not come by itself.”50) That is why, it is said: virtue wined what is not inauspicious, justice break what is not good. Mulberry and grain grow together, Dawu 大戊 in order to prospect pheasants ascend the tripod, Wu Ding 武丁 became the ancestor. But as concerning those are in confusion about it, examine and are afraid of the appearances of bad signs, that is why the *Shijing* has criticised it. They summon that old elders and instruct them to question divination, dream (51) they worried to abandon the root and the trouble about the tips of branches, and they cannot overcome the inauspicious and also they are not able to overcome the errors.

(At the left, in all - topography- has 6 schools and 122 chapters)

As concerning the topography, they arise the power of nine rivers through the establishment towards the suburbs, the houses in order to establish correct form, the measurement and the number of the bones and of the shapes of person and six domestic beasts, the shape of the capacity of utensils thereby to seek for voice, -qi-, nobility, lower classes, good auspicious and bad fortune. It is like the pitch pipes which are longer or short and each one check the sound, it is not from the spirits that numbers come naturally by themselves. Although form and qi reciprocally coextensive and as concern that there are cases of having forms and not -qi-, having-qi 氣- and not form, it is the unique difference of refined and small. (52)

(In all, as for the method of numerology, it has 190 schools and 2528 chapters.)

The numerologists include all those who study the *Mingtang* 明堂 the charioteer Xi and He who drive the sun, the historiographer and the diviner. The office of historiographer has long been discarded and books are no longer available. Even though, we have the books but we have no one to interpret them. The *Yijing* has said:” the way does not operate without people.” (53) At the time of the *Chunqiu*, there was a certain Zai Shen 慎 in the state of Zheng 鄭 in the state of Lu, a certain Bi Zao 裨鑿. In the state of Jin, there is Bu Yan 卜偃 and in the state of Song a certain Zi Wei 子韋. At the time of the six states, there was a certain Gangong 甘公 in Chu, and in the state of Wei, a certain Shi Shenfu 石申夫. At the time of Han, there was Tang Du 唐都 who can nearly manage getting meaning. When there are bases, it is easy to assess but when there is no base, it is difficult. This is why I follow the books and thereby divide numerologists into 6 categories.

6. Medical texts and prescriptions *Yi jing* 醫經

(Above at the left 7 schools and 216 chapters of medical texts.)

Concerning the texts relative to medicine, they put the origin of man in blood and vessels, bones, nerves and signs of *yin* and *yang*, both externally and internally that aims to find the root of all the various illness to determine the divisions between death and life, and which can be treated using needles, hot stones, fire and how to mix herbs together to form appropriate mixtures. When the prescriptions are obtained, it becomes a question of using stones to get rid of iron, using medicines to complement each other and they considered treatment lightly and this diagnosed fatal diseases and no fatal.

(Above, as for the prescription method, it has 11 schools and 274 chapters.)

Concerning the prescription method- it has a basis in the temperature of herbs and stone, the measure of

the seriousness of the illness and the use of the strength of the taste of the medicine. By following what is appropriate in -qi- and -resonance-, they differentiate the five bitterness and the six sharp tastes, they do their best to get the right mixture of water and fire in order to penetrate what is lacking and to release what is knotted and to return them to normality . When it comes to those who neglect what is appropriate those who use what is hot and increase heat, and use what is cold and increase cold , causing the refined -qi- to suffer internal distress. The result of these mistaken procedures is bad. When there is sickness that is not cured, you must always find the correct treatment. .”

(Above in all, as for *-The inner Chamber 房中-*, it has 8 schools and 186 chapters.)

Concerning - the school of inner chamber-, it is aims to maximize sexual feeling, it is the link of ultimate - Dao 道- and for this reason the sage king as regulated external forms of pleasure in order to prohibit inner feeling and has written this into a document about chastity. It is said that the former kings expressed joy, therefore they regulated the various matters. When joy is regulated, there will be peace and long life. As for those who become deluded, they don't care about these regulations and sickness arises and damages their lives.

(The above in all are for as -spirits and immortals -tradition- it has 10 schools and 205 chapters)

Concerning the school of ritual spirits and immortals, they wander for seeking the external means to preserve the essence of human life. Ministers through purification to calm their minds and treat death and life are equals and have no fear in their hearts. However some people take this solely as their task and multiply the writings with exaggeration and strangeness. And this is not the teaching of the sage kings. Confucius said: “Seeking reclusion and behaving strangely, this is something that the later generation have transmitted. I don't practice it.” (54)

(In all, as for magical techniques- there are 36 schools and 868 chapters.)

Concerning the school of magical techniques - there are tools for producing life. In distant antiquity, there were Qi Bo 岐伯, and Yu Fu 俞拊, in middle antiquity there were Bian Que 扁鹊, and Qin He, 秦和, they discussed sickness extending it to apply to the country, they traced origins and diagnoses in order to understand government. When the Han arose there was Cang Gong 倉公. Now - the techniques and skills - become obscure and this is why when we discuss their writings we classify the magical art into four categories.

These books in all are divided into 38 categories. There are in total of 596 titles and authors and 13269 chapters.

The author of the ten philosophical schools has concluded with these remarks: “Of these ten philosophical schools, only nine of them may be observed. Although their words were different, they may be compared to water and fire; both destroy each other and produce in each other similar goodness in relation to rightness and respect in relation to harmony. They oppose each other and yet, they complete each other.”

The *Yijing* says: “everything under heaven comes to the same different ways. There is, maybe, one hundred thoughts but then is out gone. ” Now, the different schools, each case promotes their own speciality, the philosophers exhaust their knowledge and examine their thought in order to understand what they indicate although they each have branches from the six Classics. Supposing any of these persons from one of the school by chance met an enlightened king, or a sage-ruler-and use of his special talent, they would have the talent to serve him as an advisor. Confucius said “If the rites are lost, then you seek them in the wild”. We can cultivate the method of six arts and surveying the statement of these nine schools, discard these shortcomings and take their good points. Then, we will be able to understand the strategies of thousand directions.

This way to sum up the contents of these schools is done in the classical style but remains open to a variety of meanings, such as the compatibility of rational thinking and Chinese tradition.

We can also question how this Chinese model can be faced in an aggressive encounter with another

culture. The recognition and examination of sources other than the Classics references lead to the consideration of many subjects and contrasting approaches to the history of China. In others words, this exercise refers to the question of how to use the critical sources of this tradition. This description catalogue of the Imperial Library enables us to reconsider those written sources. The great amount of different opinions creates a bridge between different cultures.

I would like to discuss, briefly now the school of *Mojia* with the following question: do early Chinese texts hold the same view of destiny and of free will? The difference between these two ways of understanding expose the alternative view of this topic: for the *Rujia*: a blind physical necessity and for *Mojia*: a mechanical interpretation of the physical world. The former idealized the fate as a religious power, a principle of retribution, a kind of cosmic sympathy implying that life is an agreement with nature. And the other offers an escape from commitment to necessary action with coherent and rational procedures. Mohism denies the existence of destiny on the grounds that the law of heaven is spontaneity and that heaven does nothing for the sake of man. This epistemic significance of disagreement between fate and free will can be related across an interdisciplinary such as an analysis of constative structure of many questions: i. e. , a freedom of inquiry. It is important because the intellectual history of China requests to be explored in order to put the connection with a process of rationality. That is to say, it is necessary to explore contradictory epistemic criteria within Chinese culture to be able to answer if scientific criteria change according to cultures.

These realities of ancient China invite the reader (*duzhe* 讀者) of today and tomorrow to revisit texts as a contemporary one, as we do with other works of literature. And to link ancient texts to the modern world, this will outline the distinction between rational and irrational representations of Historians of China have paid little attention to the fact that imperial realities mask many other aspects of Chinese thought by outlining only norms of behaviour and cultural uniformity. So, we have had for a long time a picture of Chinese culture which was only described from one point of view without any reference to the manner in which Chinese thinkers deal with their own culture. The constant appeal to tradition has too often meant that the use of ancient writings was to describe imperial court. This assumption describes Chinese tradition as a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by the reference to the past, only by imposing repetition without interpretation.

E. Hosbaum in his book entitled *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) explained that traditions invented largely fictitious norms with no distinct cultural contradictions in their construction. This model given to Chinese tradition by a number of scholars can be put in such framework. So, this is why, Chinese culture had been often difficult to understand. *Hanshu*, chapter 30, Treatise on Record Sources show other capacity such as the history and philosophy of science in China.

It is interesting to think about this subject especially with early Chinese texts, now edited, so readable to understand the openness and social dynamic of China.

It has been done by contemporary Western Philosophers (H. Arendt, J. P. Vernant, L. Strauss, A. Grafton) with early Greek and Latin sources (Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Diogene Laerce) and provides a way of understanding the modernity in common to both worlds.

This approach changes the view of Chinese culture as well as the meaning of modern China. Every day, life in China demonstrates a capacity to discuss, to agree or not agree to a number of subjects including web communication. The Treatise of Record Sources illustrated a similar expression of freedom and capacity to deliberate.

NOTES

1. For “Qishi zi” 七十子, see Mengzi, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series (hereafter HYISIS), 12/2A/3. Legge, p. 197. See also Wang Chong, *Lunheng* 28/393-94 (Huang Hui 1938 ed., repr. Shangwu, Taipei 1983, abbreviated below as LH)

2. H. Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press, 1980: p.

213, p. 221.

3. *Yijing* 易經, HYISIS pp. 44-45. Legge, p. 382-85.
4. ForFuxi 伏羲, Wen Wang 文王 and Confucius 孔子, see LH 41/1129-30 and 36/558.
5. *Yijing* HYISIS, p. 55, “Wu jiu 無咎”, “Hui wang 悔王”. Both sentences occur frequently in the *Yijing*.
6. Huan Tan 桓譚, *Xin lun 新論* (*Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 ed., hereafter SBBY), chapter 7, “Qi wu 起寤,” “Awakening Insight” p. 6b. T. Pokora, Hsin-lun, *New Treatise and Others* (43 BC- 28 AD). (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies. The University of Michigan, 1975), p. 65. LH 28/414
7. LH 81/ 1120-21. Anne Cheng, *Etude sur le Confucianisme des Han* (Paris: Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1985), pp. 72-78.
8. M. A. N. Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China, 104 BC to 9 AD*. (London: George Allen and Unwin. Ltd, 1974,) especially, chapter 2: “The Case of witchcraft in 91 BC.”
9. *Shangshu zhushu* 尚書注疏 (SBBY), 3/15b
10. Loewe, op. cit., chapter 6: “The Office of Music, 114BC-7BC.”
11. *Yijing*, HYISIS, p. 43 “Xu Gua” 序卦, paragraph 2.
12. *Yijing*, HYISIS, p. 12/16/ Xiang 象.
13. *Xiaojing*, 孝經, p. 4/12 line 1.
14. *Lunyu* 論語, HYISIS 4-3-9.
15. ForZuo Qiuming 左丘明, see *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 14/2a, 130/2a
16. *Yijing*, guai 夬 [, 1/58901, p. 31. Appendices II, p. 46
17. *Lunyu*, 32. 15-26
18. *Guanzi* 管子, (SBBY ed.) 13/4a-b.
19. LH 39/605-609.
20. *Lunyu*, HYISIS 32-15-25.
21. *Yijing*, HYISIS, p. 14/21/象
22. *Lunyu*, HYISIS, 25-13-3 .
23. *Liji* 禮記 (SBBY), 8/22a .
24. *Shangshu zhushu* (SBBY), 12/5b.
25. *Lunyu*, HYISIS, 25-13-5.
26. *Lunyu*, HYISIS, 41-20-1.
27. *Lunyu*, HYISIS, 39-19-4.
28. *Shijing* 詩經 (Mao 254), HYISIS, p. 66, line 5. See Legge, She King, p. 501.
29. *Yijing*, HYISIS, p. 46/繫下/3
30. This expression *Guhong* * - occurs frequently in the *Shangshu*.
31. *Shiji* 36/1971.
32. For the *fu* 賦 genre, see D. Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody, A study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung* (53 BC-AD 18). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
33. *Lunyu*, HYISIS 34-16-13.
34. H. Maspero, “Le Ming tang et la Crise Religieuse Chinoise avant les Han,” *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 9 (1948-51): 1-71.
35. *Guanzi* (SBBY .), ch. 27. See Rickett, vol. I, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965), pp 232-236.
36. M. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*. (New York: State University of New York, 1990), chapter 3: “The Art of Command.” See also R. Ames, *The Art of Rulership*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 168-209.
37. H. Bielenstein, op. cit., p. 222. See also R. De Crespigny, *Officials Titles of the Former Han Dynasty*. (Canberra: Australian National University, 1967.)
38. *Lunyu*, HYISIS, 23-12-7.

39. *Yijing*, HYISIS p. 46 Xi 繫下/2
40. M. Lewis, op. cit. p. 106
41. M. Lewis, op. cit. , chapter 2.
42. Lu 呂 (188-180 B. C.), *Cambridge History of China*. Cambridge University Press, hereafter CHC, vol. 1, pp. 107-108 et passim. .
43. For Yang Pu 楊僕. See CHC vol. 1, p. 452.
44. *Yijing*, HYISIS, p. 14/22
45. *Shangshu zhushu* (SBBY), 12 /2b.
46. *Shangshu zhushu*, (SBBY) 12/109.
47. M. Loewe, “Divination by shells, bones and stalks during the Han period”, *T'oung Pao* LXXIV. 1988, pp. 81-118.
48. *Yijing*, HYISIS, p. 49/繫下/9.
49. *Shijing* (Mao 189). HYISIS p. 42, line 9. Legge, p. 303
50. *Zuozhuan* 左傳, Duke Zhen, 14
51. *Shijing* (Mao 192). HYISIS , p. 43, line 19. Legge, p. 317.
52. Forjing wei 精微, “refined and subtle”, see *Huainanzi* (A Concordance to the *Huainanzi*. D. C. Lau, Chen Fong-ching eds. ICS Series, Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1992), ch. 21, p. 226 (line 25)
53. *Yijing*, p. 48, line 7 . Legge, *Yijing*, p. 399 (no. 56).
54. *Liji* 禮記, p. 31/7 .

中文题目：

《汉书》第 30 章《艺文志》

作者：

班固(32-92), 汉朝。译者: 安宁思 博士:《论衡中命运的概念, 王充和中国古代的批评思想》这篇博士论文出版于 2000 年 巴黎 Harmattan 出版社。最新出版著作是《科学理念的变化: 关于欧洲和中国科学史及科学哲学的研究》, 巴黎 Hermann 出版社 2015。目前担任 英国剑桥大学研究员, 通讯地址: Agnes Chalier, Researcher affiliated to Cambridge University. England. Mail address: 60 hills Road Cambridge CB2 1LA. 电子邮件: akkacam@gmail.com

提要:《汉书》第 30 章《艺文志》, 展示了中国早期知识分子思想的多样性。它给今天和明天的读者独特的机会去理解中国早期的思想来源。它同样通过提及不同学派的思想来强调各种思想间论争的相互作用。这种总结十个哲学流派的方式是用古典风格完成的, 但保留了对更多样方法的开放, 比如理性意义上的兼容。中国传统已经出现了对哲学流派进行分类的尝试, 比如在《庄子》第 33 章, 《荀子》第 6 章和《史记》第 130 章。在《汉书》第 30 章, 这些中国思想中的哲学流派都有表现。迈克尔·皮埃(哈佛大学, 2001)也已经通过提问肯定的意义, 回应读者从早期中国文本里指出的每一个观点的反对面: 每一个文本当中的肯定是什么类型的。

《汉书·艺文志》同样也对参考的思路感兴趣。通过参考, 我的意思是这章的作者从读者那里获得了认识这些哲学家及其流派的能力。这个文本的主要议题是关于阴阳, 五行, 占卜, 数字, 天文, 医学和民间宗教。本章也同样通过向天文和自然现象提问的方式提出了科学的问题(理性和非理性)。它向我们揭示一种对自然的思想, 它改变了我们看待中国文化的传统方式。

关键词: 多重视野、观点和反驳、可靠的知识、思想自由