	Source	Date	Fragments
(a)	Commentary to Lieh tzu	late 4th century	1
	Ching tien shih wen	c. 625	1
	Pei t'ang shu ch'ao	early 7th century	1
	I wen lei chü	early 7th century	13
	Ch'ün shu chih yao	631	63
	Shang shu cheng i	early 7th century	2
	Commentary to Hou Han sh	ulate 7th century	1
	Commentary to Wen hsüan	late 7th century	10
	Ch'u hsüeh chi	726	1
(b)	I lin	late 8th century	10
	Commentary to Hsün tzu	early 9th century	4
	Pai shih liu t'ieh	early 9th century	1
(c)	T'ai p'ing yü lan	983	12
	Yün chi ch'i ch'ien	mid 11th century	1

By virtue of his argument (*op. cit.*) that the case for the survival of the *Shen tzu* into the ninth century is not proved, T.H. Barrett would by implication combine the latter two groups as secondary sources. In the same article he has made the useful contribution of identifying to a high degree of probability the primary source to which the *Yün chi ch'ien* 雲笈七籤 is ultimately indebted, namely the *Yang sheng yao chi* 養生要集, a 4th century work attributed to Chang Chan 張湛; this was the author of the earliest mediaeval primary source, the commentary to the *Lieh tzu*.

#### 4. Index

A Concordance to the Shenzi, Shenzi and Shizi 慎子, 申子, 尸子逐字索引, ed. D.C. Lau and Chen Fong Ching; ICS series, Hong Kong: Commercial Press, forthcoming 1996.

- P.M. Thompson

## Shih chi 史記

#### 1. Contents

The Shih chi, known during the first centuries of its existence as T'ai shih kung shu 太史公書, is a history of China from the days of the mythical Yellow Emperor down to the author's own time, viz. the end of the second century B.C. It consists of 130 chüan. In contrast to the basically chronological arrangement of the early historical works like the Ch'un ch'iu and the Chu shu chi nien, the author of the Shih chi has divided his material into five groups: (a) 12 chüan of pen chi 本紀 or basic annals of the rulers of the successive dynasties; (b) 10 piao 表 or tables, mainly providing a chronological concordance of the rulers of the different preimperial states, as well as genealogies of the families that were ennobled during the first century of the Han period; (c) 8 shu 書, literally 'documents' but in fact treatises or historical surveys concerning subjects that were considered to be important for good government: e.g., ritual, music, the calendar and astronomy (or astrology), waterways, and agricultural economy (concentrating on taxation and coinage); (d) 30 chapters of shih chia 世家, hereditary families; in fact the histories of the major states of pre-Ch'in China, and the biographies of Confucius, as well as those of a few prominent figures in early Han; (e) 70 chuan 傳, literally 'traditions', but in fact biographies of prominent figures in all walks of life, including statesmen, military leaders, scholars and jesters. These chapters also include historical surveys of the foreign peoples with whom the Chinese had come into close contact during the early Han period; i.e., the Hsiung-nu, the peoples of the Western Regions, Korea, the South-East and the South-West. This division of historical materials has remained fundamentally normative for all succeeding dynastic histories.

## 2. Date of composition and authenticity

The *Shih chi* is traditionally accepted as having been initiated by the Grand Astrologer Ssu-ma T'an 司馬談 (died 110 B.C.) and continued and

completed by his son and successor in office, Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, tzu Tzu chang 子長 (?145-?86 B.C.). The latter is usually mentioned as the sole author. It is unknown when Ssu-ma Ch'ien completed his history, but it is known that during the century after his death (which date is likewise uncertain) several authors added to his work. Thus, passages in the present text that refer to events after c. 100 B.C. might be additions by later hands, and those that deal with the years after 90 B.C. certainly are. Only the passages added by Ch'u Shao-sun 褚少孫, who was active during the second half of the first century B.C. (?104-?30 B.C.), are clearly marked as such. Beyond this, already in the first century of our era it was noted that ten chapters were missing from the text. These gaps were filled later, see Yü Chia-hsi & 嘉錫 (1883-1955), T'ai shih kung shu wang p'ien k'ao 太史公書亡篇考 in Yü Chia-hsi lun hsüeh tsa chu, 余嘉錫 論學雜著 (Peking: Chung hua, 1963), pp. 1–108.

In modern times a further problem has arisen. This concerns the authenticity of the several dozen chapters of the Shih chi that deal with events and personalities of the first century of the Han dynasty, i.e. the 2nd century B.C. It has been suggested that, for unknown reasons, these chapters disappeared, to be reconstructed in the third or fourth century of our era from the related chapters in the Han shu with which they agree practically word for word; see Yves Hervouet, 'La valeur relative des textes du Che-ki et du Han-chou', in Mélanges de sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville, vol. 2 (Paris, 1974), pp. 55–76. So far, only a few chapters have been tested in this regard; see Hervouet, op. cit.; A.F.P. Hulsewé, 'The problem of the authenticity of Shih chi ch. 123, The Memoir on Ta Yüan', in TP 61 (1975), pp. 83-147; Ch'iu Ch'iung-sun 丘 瓊蓀, Li tai yüeh chih lü chih chiao shih, ti i fen ts'e 歷代樂志律志校釋, 第 一分册 (Peking: Chung hua, 1964). For the contrary view see E.G. Pulleyblank, 'Chinese and Indo-Europeans', JRAS 1966, 9-39, and 'The Wu-sun and Sakas and the Yüeh-chih migration', BSOAS 33 (1979), 154-70. There are some indications that other chapters might also be suspected of being late reconstructions.

#### 3. Sources

For the period preceding the Han, the *Shih chi* is based on works that the author considered to be of historical value, e.g. the *Shang shu*, the *Shih ching*, and, of course, the *Ch'un ch'iu*, with the *Tso (shih) chuan*, and texts resembling the present *Chan kuo ts'e*. It should be noted that this last-mentioned work was only compiled in its present form a century after the *Shih chi* had already been written. Of special importance is the

use that Ssu-ma Ch'ien made of a history of the Ch'in state, now lost, and of a work, likewise lost, which described the wars out of which the Han dynasty arose, the Ch'u Han ch'un ch'iu 楚漢春秋.

For the Han period Ssu-ma Ch'ien was able to use official documents, because, as Grand Astrologer, he had access to the government archives. Thus he was able to draw on and even to quote imperial edicts and memorials addressed to the throne, as well as genealogies of royal and noble families and service records. He also collected local oral traditions during his extensive travels.

A survey of the works presumably consulted by Ssu-ma Ch'ien was published by Chin Te-chien in 1963 as cited under (8) c (ii) below.

## 4. Text history and early editions

In his extremely valuable, detailed study of the extant versions of the Shih chi (dated 1958), Ho Tz'u-chün 賀次君 (see (8) a (iii) below) discussed two pre-T'ang and nine T'ang manuscripts of isolated chapters, and complete editions of Sung, Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing times, with references to modern reprints. It is to be noted that in the manuscripts and early prints the text of the Shih chi is accompanied either by the chi chieh 集解 of P'ei Yin 裴駰 (fifth century) alone, or by the chi chieh together with the so yin 索隱, by Ssu-ma Chen 司馬貞 (early eighth century). The earliest extant print to include the cheng i 正義 by Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 (preface dated 737) as well is that of 1196. P'ei Yin's chi chieh was also attached to a copy of the Shih chi in eighty chüan which is listed in Fujiwara Sukeyo's catalogue.

There do not seem to exist any clear-cut filiations that allow the division of the texts into distinct groups. The oldest nearly complete *Shih chi*, including the *chi chieh* commentary, is that of the Shao hsing period (1131–1162), which is a re-cut version of a Northern Sung edition. It was reproduced in Peking by the Wen hsüeh ku chi ch'u pan she in 1955 (see Ho Tz'u-chün, pp. 53–58, and P. van der Loon in *RBS* I (1955), p. 45, no. 73). Another, likewise incomplete, edition may be even older. It is included in the *Jen shou pen erh shih wu shih* 仁壽本二十五史 reproduced in Taipei in 1955–1956. This *Shih chi* with the *chi chieh* commentary may date essentially from the Ching yu period (1034–1038), but the printing blocks were repaired and partly replaced at the beginning of the Southern Sung (see the remarks by van der Loon in *RSB* III (1957), p. 37, no. 48). Ho Tz'u-chün mentions a Japanese *Jen shou* edition of the Twenty Five Histories, but only 41 *chüan* remain of the *Shih chi chi chieh* included there, although this is also attributed to the Ching yu period;

whereas the ancient part of the Taipei reprint consists of 115 *chüan* (see Ho Tzu-chün, 1958, pp. 29–32, and van der Loon, *op. cit.*).

The earliest edition that contains all three commentaries is that printed by Huang Shan-fu 黃善夫 (ming Tsung-jen, 宗仁) of Chien-an, during the Ch'ing yüan period (1195–1200), probably on the basis of a print made between 1111 and 1126, but otherwise unknown. This version is reproduced in the *Po na* edition of the Twenty Four Histories. An earlier re-edition of this version was made by Wang Yen-che 王延喆 in 1525. His text was cut anew in 1870 by the Ch'ung wen shu chü, and many mistakes in the 1525 edition were corrected (Ho Tz'u-chün, pp. 94 and 144).

In 1641 work was started on the *Shih chi* with the *chi chieh* commentary to be included in the Seventeen Histories of Mao Chin's 毛晉 (1599–1659) *Chi ku ko* 汲古閣. It was finished only in 1657. This edition is based on several Northern Sung prints (Ho, p. 191). Although not ideal, this version was one of the texts consulted by the editors of the Palace edition of 1739 (see below) and it formed the basis for the edition of the *Shih chi* and its three commentaries prepared by the Chin ling shu chü in 1870 (see below).

The Shih chi with its three commentaries in the so-called Palace edition, i.e. the Wu ying tien 武英殿 edition of 1739, is based on the Ming Kuo-tzu chien 國子監 edition of 1598, of Liu Ying-ch'iu 劉應秋 (cs 1538), a text with both mistakes and omissions (Ho, 1958, p. 173). This had been checked against three other editions: the Huang Shan-fu edition, the Wang Yen-che edition (for both see above), and the Shih chi p'ing lin 史記平林 by Ling Chih-lung 凌稚隆 of 1576. Ling Chih-lung had consulted Sung and Ming prints and presents a text which Ho Tz'u-chün considers to be rather good (p. 160 ff.) The editors of the Palace edition made many corrections, adding their text-critical remarks, k'ao cheng 考證, in an appendix to each chapter. According to Ho, the Palace edition is far better than the Ming prints, but it is still flawed (p. 207 ff.) It has been reprinted many times. During the Ch'ien lung period it was faithfully recut for the emperor's private collection, the Ku hsiang chai ts'ung shu 古香齋養書.

The Palace edition was reproduced by the T'ung wen shu chü in 1884, the Wu-chou t'ung wen shu chü and the Shanghai Commercial Press. It was likewise reproduced by the T'u shu chi ch'eng shu chü in Shanghai in 1888. This is the edition used by Édouard Chavannes for his *Mémoires historiques* (see below). It was reprinted in moveable type by the Chung hua shu chü in the *Ssu pu pei yao*, and by the Kai ming shu tien in Shanghai in 1936.

In the opinion of Ho Tz'u-chün, the best of all Ming and Ch'ing editions is that of 1870, published by the Chin ling shu chü in Nanking, under the editorship of Chang Wen-hu 張文虎 (1808–1885) and T'ang Jen-shou 唐仁壽 (19th century). The basic text is a corrected Chi ku ko edition.

In 1934 Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎 (b. 1865) published a punctuated edition of the *Shih chi* titled *Shiki kaichū kōshō* 史記會注考證 with his own commentary in Chinese. The text was initially based on Ling Chih-lung's *Shih chi p'ing lin* (see above), but later the Chin ling shu chü edition was adopted. Although extensive use was made of Chinese and Japanese scholarship, Ho Tz'u-chün reproaches the author for his failure to consult some of the best authorities. He also notes that Takigawa's text of both the *Shih chi* and its commentaries is not free from mistakes (pp. 223 ff.)

A punctuated edition of the *Shih chi* without commentaries was prepared by Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980) in collaboration with Hsü Chih-shan 徐之珊, and published as the *Shih chi, pai wen chih pu* 史記白文之部 in Peking in 1936 by the Kuo li Pei-p'ing yen chiu yüan, shih hsüeh yen chiu hui 國立北平研究院史學研究會. The text of this first edition was based on a new edition published in about 1870 by the Hupei shu chü of Wang Yen-che's recut print of the Huang Shan-fu version (see above). A revised version of Ku Chieh-kang's work, now based on the Chin ling shu chü edition was published in 1959 (Peking: Chung hua shu chü); further revised 1985.

#### 5. Recent editions

The Shih chi hsin chiao chu kao 史記新校注稿, by Chang Sen-k'ai 張森楷 (1858–1928), reproducing the author's manuscript notes, was published in 1967 in Taipei by the Chung kuo hsüeh shu shih yen chiu hui 中國學術史研究會.

Annotations printed without the text include:

- (a) Liang Yü-sheng 梁玉繩 (1745–1819), Shih chi chih i 史記志疑, chiefly a text-critical study, in 36 chüan; first published in 1787, and later reprinted in the Kuang ya ts'ung shu, and Peking: Chung hua, 1981 (cf. Ho Tz'u-chün), on the basis of the earliest, or one of the earliest editions.
- (b) Mizusawa Toshitada 水澤利忠, Shiki kaichū kōshō kōho 史記會注考證校補, 9 vols.; (Tokyo: Shiki kaichū kōshō kōho kankō kai, 1957–1970). This work provides variant readings for the whole of the Shih

Shih chi 史記

- *chi* and its three commentaries found in Chinese and Japanese manuscripts and printed editions.
- (c) Ch'en Chih 陳直, Shih chi hsin cheng 史記新證, Tientsin: T'ien-chin Jen min, 1979; preface dated 1958, with a brief author's postscript of 1963.
- (d) Wang Shu-min 王叔岷 (b. 1914), Shih chi chiao cheng 史記斠證, 10 vols. Taipei, Nankang: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology; special publication no. 78, 1983. This is a text-critical study of the whole work, and recapitulates and supersedes the individual chapter studies that the author published between 1965 and 1982, mostly in the Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology.

#### 6. Translations

With few exceptions, all the chapters of the *Shih chi* have been translated. The most complete lists of such translations were published by Timoteus Pokora in *Oriens Extremus* 8 (1962), 159–73, and in volume VI of item (a) below, pp. 113–46. The following list refers only to translations that have appeared in book form.

Edition	Chüan nos.
(a) Chavannes, Édouard, Les mémoires historiques de Sema Ts'ien, in five volumes (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895–1905); an annotated translation; photographically reprinted, Paris: by Adrien Maisonneuve, 1969; with a sixth volume containing annotated translations of Shih chi 48–52.	1-47
	48–52
(b) Watson, Burton, Records of the Grand Historian of China translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, 2 vols. (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961. This is a highly readable translation with but a few explanatory notes, and no scholarly apparatus.	7-12, 16-20, 28-30, 48-59, 84, 89-104, 106-125, 127, 129.
(c) Watson, Burton, Records of the Historian; the Shih Chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969).	7, 8, 16, 29, 53– 55, 61, 66, 82, 85, 86, 92, 97, 99, 107, 109, 122, 123, 129

6, 7, 41, 47, 48, 55, 56, 65, 66, 68, 74–77, 79, 81, 82, 85, 86, 92, 100, 102, 106, 107, 109, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 129	(d) Yang Hsien-i and Gladys Yang, Selections from Records of the Historian (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1979). This also appeared in 1974, published by the Commercial Press in Hong Kong. Both versions are called 'first edition', but they are in fact identical.	
1-	(e) Viatkin, R.V. and V.S. Taskin, <i>Syma Cian, Istoričeskie zapiski – Siczi</i> (Moscow: Nauka, 1972–), 6 vols.	
65, 75–78, 86, 126	(f) Dolby, William and John Scott, Sima Qian, Warlords; translated with twelve stories from his Historical Records (Edinburgh: Southside, 1974). Translations without annotation.	
75, 76, 77, 78	(g) Haenisch, Erich, Gestalten aus der Zeit der chinesischen Hegemoniekämpfe. Uebersetzungen aus Sze-ma Ts'ien's Historischen Denkwürdigkeiten. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXXIV, 2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1962).	
80, 81, 82, 83	(h) Kierman, Frank Algerton Jr., Ssu-ma Ch'ien's historiographical attitude as reflected in four late Warring States biographies (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962).	
110, parts of 81, 93, 99, 109, 112	(i) Taskin, V.S., Materialy po istorii Syunnu (po kitaiskim istočnikam) (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), vol. 1.	
117	(j) Hervouet, Yves, Le chapitre 117 du Che-ki; biographie de Sseu-ma Siang-jou (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1972); translation accompanied by full scholarly apparatus and the Chinese text, with commentaries, reproduced from the Takigawa edition.	
123	(k) de Groot, J.J.M., Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens, zweiter Teil, Die Westlande Chinas in der vor- christlichen Zeit (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1926), pp. 9–45.	
129	(I) Swann, Nancy Lee, Food and Money in Ancient China (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950),	

pp. 419-464.

## 7. Japanese editions

- A. *Kambun taikei*; nos. 6, 7, 1911, edited by Shigeno Yasutsugu (Chapters 61–130 only).
- B. Shiki kokujikai; vols. 1–8, 1919–20. This is a special series whose arrangement of text and treatment is identical with that of the Kanseki kokujikai series; edited by Katsura Isoo (Koson), Kikuchi Sankurō (Bankō), Matsudaira Yasukuni and Makino Kenjirō (Sōshu).
- C. *Kokuyaku kambun taisei*; nos. 13–16, 1922–23, edited by Kimida Rentarō and Yanai Watari.
- E. Kambun sōsho; 1927, 6 vols., edited by Kuwabara Jitsuzō.
- G. *Chūgoku koten bungaku zenshū*; nos. 4–5, 1858–59, edited by Noguchi Sadao.
- H. Shinshaku kambun taikei; nos. 38–41 and 85–87, 1973–82, edited by Yoshida Kenkō; and nos. 88–92, edited by Mizusawa Toshitada (no. 88, 1992; nos. 89–91, forthcoming).
- K. *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei*; nos. 10–12, 1968–71, edited by Noguchi Sadao, Kondō Mitsuo, Rai Tsutomu and Yoshida Mitsukuni.
- M. Shintei Chūgoku koten sen, nos, 10–12, 1966–67, edited by Tanaka Kenji and Ikkai Tomoyoshi (no. 10 includes text for Ch'un ch'iu, Chan kuo; no. 11 for Ch'u Han; no. 12 for Wu ti).

In addition to the volumes in the foregoing series, the *Shih chi* has been treated independently as follows:

- (a) Kotake Fumio 小竹文夫 and Kotake Takeo 小竹武夫 Gendaigo-yaku Shiki 現代語譯史記, Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1956–1958.
- (b) Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹 and Kawakatsu Yoshio 川勝義雄 Shiba Sen Shiki retsuden 司馬遷史記列傳 in the series Sekai no meicho 世界 の名著, Tokyo: Chūōkōron sha, 1968.
- (c) Katō Shigeru 加藤繁, Shiki Heijunsho, Kanjo Shokkashi yakuchū 史記平準書, 漢書食貨志譯注, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1942; nos. 3039-40 in the series Iwanami bunko.

### 8. Recent studies and research aids

The following items are selected from the large volume of material published on various aspects of *Shih chi* research.

- (a) History of editions:
  - (i) Wang Chung-min 王重民, Shih chi pan pen yü ts'an k'ao shu 史 記版本與參考書, in T'u shu kuan hsüeh chi k'an 1/4 (1926), pp. 555–577.

- (ii) Chao Cheng 趙證, Shih chi pan pen k'ao 史記版本考 in Shih hsüeh nien pao 1/3 (1931), pp. 107-146.
- (iii) Ho Tz'u-chün 賀次君. Shih chi shu lu 史記書錄 (Peking: Shang wu, 1958).

## (b) Indexes to Shih chi studies:

- (i) Shih chi yen chiu ti tzu liao ho lun wen so yin 史記研究的資料和論文索引 (Peking: K'o hsüeh, 1957). This index contains titles of articles published up to 1937.
- (ii) Sanae Yoshio 早苗良雄, Kandai kenkyū bunken mokuroku, hōbun hen 漢代研究文獻目錄,邦文篇 (Kyoto: Hōyu shoten, 1979).

## (c) Other studies:

- (i) Cheng Ho-sheng 鄭鶴聲, Shih Han yen chiu 史漢研究; Shanghai: Shang wu, 1930; discusses authorship and interpolations of the Shih chi, and compares the work with the Han shu.
- (ii) Chin Te-chien 金德建, Ssu-ma Ch'ien suo chien shu k'ao 馬司遷 所見書考 (Shanghai: Jen min ch'u pan she, 1963) discusses the ancient texts consulted by Ssu-ma Ch'ien.
- (iii) Ssu-ma Ch'ien yü Shih chi 司馬遷與史記, ed., Wen shih che tsa chih pien chi wei yüan hui 文史哲雜誌編輯委員會 (Peking: Chung hua, 1957), contains some valuable articles, both on the author and on his work.
- (iv) Watson, Burton, Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1957).
- (v) Kroll, Y.L., Syma Cyan istorik (Moscow: Nauka, 1970).
- (vi) Dzo Ching-chuan, Sseu-ma Ts'ien et l'historiographie chinoise (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1978).
- (vii) Studies on particular *Shih chi* chapters assembled in *Erh shih wu shih pu pien*, vol. 1, pp. 1–134.

#### 9. Indexes

- (a) Combined indices to Shih chi and the notes by P'ei Yin, Ssu-ma Cheng, Chang Shou-chieh and Takigawa Kametarō. Harvard-Yenching Index no. 40 (1st ed. Peiping 1947; 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1955). This index is based on the T'ung wen edition.
- (b) Wong Fook-luen 黃福鑾, Shih chi so yin 史記索引 (Hongkong: The Chinese University of Hongkong, 1963). This is an index to both the Ssu pu ts'ung k'an and the Ssu pu pei yao edition of the Shih chi. The indexed items are divided into twenty-four groups (personal names,

- geographical names, natural phenomena, wearing apparel, official titles etc.), the items being arranged according to the number of character strokes.
- (c) Chung Hua 鍾華, ed., Shih chi Jen ming so yin 史記人名索引 (Peking: Chung hua, 1977). Entries are arranged according to the four corner system, and references are to the punctuated edition of the Chung hua shu chü (Peking, 1959).
- (d) Shih chi so yin 史記索引, edited by Li Hsiao-kuang 李曉光 and Li Po李波; Peking, Chung hua kuang po tien shih, 1989. References in this massive volume, printed in small type, are to the 1985 revised print of the punctuated edition (Peking: Chung hua, 1959).
- (e) Ts'ang Hsiu-liang 倉修良, Shih chi tz'u tien 史記辭典 (Shantung Chiao-yü ch'u pan she, 1991). Set out in encyclopaedic form, this work includes entries for proper names of persons and places, and for technical terms that appear in the Shih chi, with short biographical, geographical or technical details, and dates for the individuals listed. The entries themselves are given in unabbreviated characters; references are to the pages of the Chung hua shu chü print.
- (f) Twenty-five Dynastic Histories Full Text Data Base 廿五史全文資料庫; Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, 1988.

– A.F.P. Hulsewé

# Shih ching 詩經

## 1. The collection of the poems and the four schools

The *Shih ching*, or *Book of Songs*, includes 305 poems, which may be dated between *c*. 1000 and *c*. 600 B.C. Traditionally, these were said to have been collected by Confucius from a total of some three thousand items, some of which had originated in remote antiquity; according to another version, they had been collected by officials, commissioned to do so in order to discover the extent and depth of popular feeling. Arthur Waley observes (see under 7 (d) below, p. 18) that 'there is no reason to suppose that Confucius had a hand in forming the collection'. However, the inclusion of the work in the classical canon and its exploitation in imperial times as a vehicle for conveying Confucian teachings may well have served to perpetuate the tradition.

By the start of the Former Han period, the collection was known in the three officially recognised versions of Lu 魯, Ch'i 齊 and Han 韓, and in the private version of Mao Kung 毛公. Of these, the first three, later categorised as *chin wen* 今文 versions, were supported by the established posts of academicians who were responsible for their interpretation; the Mao school, later categorised as *ku wen* 古文, did not enjoy such backing, until it had been promoted in the time of P'ing ti (reigned 1 B.C. to A.D. 6). In the meantime, the school of Ch'i had come to include three sections, including those sponsored by Hou Ts'ang 后蒼 (fl. 70 B.C.) and a Mr. Sun 孫 (given name unrecorded); for the Han school there was both an inner and an outer tradition.

The Han shu (30, pp. 1707f.) includes entries for the texts of the four versions; it notes that the total for the six schools (i.e., the main four and the extra sections of the school of Ch'i) amounted to 416 chüan. The Sui shu (32, pp. 915f.) carries two entries for the school of Han and 35 for that of Mao, in addition to the supplementary text of the Han shih wai chuan; Fujiwara Sukeyo's catalogue includes the Han shih wai chuan and 14 items belonging to the school of Mao. There would thus be general verification for the statement of Lu Te-ming 陸徳明 (556–627) that once the Mao version had been established and backed by Cheng Hsüan's 鄭