

Did Chu Shaosun Contribute to a Tradition of the Scribe?¹

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Introduction

There is no tradition without adherents – people who understand the message the originator or transmitter of an idea wanted to give and who hand this message down through history to later generations. This may be a commonplace statement, but it should be kept in mind also with regard to what will be called here a “tradition of the scribe.”

The central question to be raised in this paper is whether or not the text which later came to be called the *Shiji* (Grand Scribe’s Records) contains ideas or even a kind of doctrine which later was adopted by someone who added his own comments to the *Shiji* text by using the formula “Mister Chu said” (Chu *xiansheng yue*), a man who has early been identified with a certain Chu Shaosun.² The literal meaning of this name is “Little Grandson Chu,” and in fact, as we learn from a commentarial note, Chu was the grandson of a younger brother of the Confucian scholar Chu Da.³

As can be inferred already from the formula used by Chu Shaosun, this seems to have been intentionally modeled upon the formula by which the *Shiji* author⁴ introduces his personal judgements: the formula “The Lord the Grand Scribe said” (*taishigong yue*). The point of departure for this analysis is, however, not one of those commentarial notes introduced by “Mr. Chu said,”⁵ but it is the report of a conversation between this

1 This is a revised version of the paper I had presented at Moscow. I am particularly indebted to Prof. Dr. Steven H. Durrant for his helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

2 For an identification of “Mister Chu” with Chu Shaosun see the *Suoyin* commentary to the *Shiji* by Sima Zhen (ca. 679–732) in *Shiji* 13 (504:3). [Here and thereafter, references to chapters, page and line numbers, both for *Shiji* and *Hanshu*, are based on the Zhonghua shuju edition. References to lines within tables will be indicated by “T.”] It is also from there that we learn that he was active as a scholar with a doctoral degree in the time between the reigns of Emperor Yuan (r. 49–33) and Cheng (r. 33–7). The *Jijie* commentary quotes Zhang Yan (3rd century A.D.) with the information that Chu was a man from Yingchuan and that Chu received his doctoral degree during the reign of Emperor Xuan (r. 114–49). See *Shiji* 12 (451:7). Timoteus Pokora in an article on Chu Shaosun gives his life dates as (?105–?30 B.C.). See his “Shih chi 127, the Symbiosis of Two Historians,” in: Le Blanc, Charles, and Susan Blader (eds.): *Chinese Ideas about Nature and Society: Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde*. (Hongkong: Hongkong University, 1987), 215. In this article, Pokora also announces a forthcoming book by him on Chu Shaosun as “The third Author of the Shih chi” which, however, did not appear before his early death. As I was informed by Prof. Dr. Olga Lomova, Charles University of Prague, who was charged with the editing of still unpublished works left by Pokora, there is no draft related to Chu Shaosun in the writings he had left.

3 See the reference to a *Chu Yi jiaozhuan* as quoted from Wei Leng in *Shiji* 12 (451:7-8).

4 As for the identity of the authorial voice in the *Shiji*, it will be avoided in this paper to attribute it to either Sima Qian (?145 – ?86 B.C.) or his father Sima Tan (? – 110 B.C.). The latter, according to Qian’s own testimony, contributed at least some written parts to this work before his death. As the question of how to distinguish safely between possibly two voices in the *Shiji* text will require a separate study, I will confine myself to cautiously speaking of “the author” here, as the only thing we can know for quite certain is that there should always only one person be speaking at a time.

5 The following chapters of the *Shiji* contain additions or interpolations introduced by the formula “Mr. Chu said” (*Chu xiansheng yue*): 13, 20, 48, 49, 58, 60, 104, 126, 127 and 128.

“Mister Chu” and a certain “Master Zhang” (Zhang *fuzi* 张夫子),⁶ a man who can be identified as Zhang Chang’an 张敞. As we learn from the *Hanshu*, both he and Chu Shaosun were disciples of the “Great Confucian” Wang Shi 王式, a scholar trained in the Lu exegetical school of the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 诗经). Chu Shaosun is also known to have continued (续) the “Book of the Lord the Grand Scribe” (*Taishigong shu* 太史公书), as the *Shiji* was called earlier.⁷

The piece of conversation which will be at the very focus of our interest here was added – either by Chu himself or by someone who later got access to it – to the end of *Shiji* chapter 13, the chapter entitled “Table of Rulers’ Generations of the Three Ages” (*Sandai shibiao* 三代世表).⁸

Upon taking a closer look at this conversation, its content will be scrutinized within both the larger context of the whole chapter and in comparison with passages in other *Shiji* chapters of relevance here. In this context, three major questions will be pursued:

1. How did Chu Shaosun read the ideological message conveyed to him by the *Shiji* text and how did he apply it on the special case he focused on?
2. Should Chu Shaosun’s hermeneutical approach be regarded as a reliable key to what the *Shiji* author had in fact intended to say?
3. What did Chu Shaosun intend with his revelations as regards Huo Guang?

1 How did Chu Shaosun read the ideological message conveyed to him by the *Shiji* text and how did he apply it on the special case he focused on?

The content of the conversation between Chu Shaosun and Zhang Chang’an

For a closer understanding of the conversation whose content will be briefly summarized below, one should keep in mind that it is between two scholars who were both trained in the exegesis of the *Book of Songs* that this dialogue evolves.⁹ There are only two questions which

6 In his note added to *Shiji* 13 (504:3), Sima Zhen notes that the identity of this Mr. Zhang is unclear. Takigawa Kametarô 滝川景太郎, however, identifies him quite plausibly with Chu Shaosun’s colleague Zhang Chang’an. See his *Shiki kaichû kôshô* (preface dated 1932), repr. in: *Shiji hui-zhu kao-zheng xin jiaoben* 史记会注考证新校本 (Taipei: Tiangong, 1993), 232. For the *Hanshu* account, see Wang Shi’s biography in *Hanshu* 88 (3610:1-3611:2). For a chart in which not only Chu Shaosun and Zhang Chang’an but also Sima Qian, as a disciple of Kong Anguo, are shown to be all belonging to the Lu exegetical school of the *Shijing*, see Zuo Hongtao 左洪涛: “*Shijing zhi ‘Lushi’ chuan-shou kao*,” in: *Shandong shifan daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)*, 187 (2003), 95.

7 *Shiji* 12 (451:8).

8 For the text see *Shiji* 13 (504:1-507:3). This chapter is one of altogether ten *Shiji* chapters whose authenticity has much been doubted ever since Zhang Yan had listed the names of 10 chapters (contained in the received *Shiji* editions) which, in his view, were those missing chapters which the bibliographical chapter of the *Hanshu* attested. See *Hanshu* 30 (1714:9). With regard to *Shiji* 13 as well as to other chapters he stated that they were “held in a vulgar and mean language, they would not represent Qian’s original thinking” (). See *Hanshu* 62 (2724:17) and *Shiji* 130 (3321:13). At closer scrutiny one finds, however, that the only passage of this chapter which is clearly not part of the original main text of the *Shiji* is obviously the conversation between Chu and Zhang scrutinized here.

9 This conversation has been regarded as fictitious not only by Sima Zhen who explicitly calls this a “constructed (dialogue) between host and guest” (*she zhubo* 设坐), see *Shiji* 13 (507:16-17), but also by recent researchers, such as Zhang Dake 张澍, see his *Shiji xinzhu* 史记新注 (Beijing: Huawen, 2000), vol. 1, 291, n.11. Although the conversation in a way seems to have been modeled upon the conversation between Sima Qian and his friend Hu

Zhang Chang'an puts to Chu Shaosun. The first concerns the view of early history as it can be inferred from the "Songs," and the second concerns its application on a more recent case, namely that of Huo Guang (c. 68 B.C.). He was the man whom Liu Che, posthumously called Wudi (r. 141–87), had appointed on his death-bed to act as regent of the empire and who was thus entrusted to put the new emperor on the throne.

Zhang's first question already implies that in his view Chu Shaosun did not wholly stick to what one might expect him to do, namely to discuss historical exempla from the point of view of the Lu exegetical school of the "Songs." Instead, as Zhang reproaches him, Chu was also fond of "all the commentarial records" (*zhu zhuanyi*), in which not the supernatural birth of eminent rulers, i.e. a birth without the need of a father, but rather a descent from one common father, Huangdi (the Yellow Thearch), is propagated.¹⁰ The question Zhang thus raises toward Chu is whether or not by considering this doctrine in his teaching he might deviate from the orthodox line as an exegete of the *Book of Songs*, and he raises as an example the case of the ancestors of the Shang and Zhou dynasties, Xie and Houji.

In his response to this challenging question posed by Zhang, Chu Shaosun in a long speech – which in itself would be worthy to be called a masterpiece of Han scholastics – wholly denies that there would necessarily be a problem or even an inherent contradiction between the two views.

His first argument aims at the "naturalistic" explanation that every human being necessarily must have a father and that if tradition emphasizes the case of a supernatural birth, then this would merely be a symbol meaning that the ruler whose birth is thus mystified has received a mandate by Heaven to rule.

Then, Chu Shaosun formulates a maxim (the origin of which will have to be more closely scrutinized below), saying:

One (tradition) says (these rulers) had fathers, the other says they had no fathers. (According to the rules of propriety), (only) what is reliable should be transmitted as reliable, and what is doubtful should be transmitted as doubtful, thus one speaks of them both together.¹¹

Chu now arrives at the case example of the Shang ancestor Xie. First, he refers to the tradition according to which it was Yao who knew that Heaven had caused the birth of Xie and who thus enfeoffed Xie with land.¹² To this he adds a second version, one which he explicitly quotes as taking its origin from the "Tradition of the *Songs*" (*Shizhuan*):

Sui, see *Shiji* 130 (3297:7-3300:1), I would not exclude the possibility that a conversation, at least one very similar to the one recorded here, had in fact taken place.

10 For a distinction of two types of descent claims often made in early Chinese poetry, namely a "mythical type" on the one hand and a "heroic type" on the other hand, see the study by Michael Friedrich: "Die Ahnen und das Ich. Zu einem Archaismus in der Han-zeitlichen Dichtung und seiner Funktion," in: Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (ed.): *Das andere China: Festschrift für Wolfgang Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 407. For the present context I would, however, prefer to distinguish between a "maternal line" and a "paternal line" type of descent claims.

11 *Shiji* 13 (505:2-3). For a more detailed study on what he calls the „doctrine of two (simultaneously existing) versions" (*liangyan shuo*) of the Lu exegetical school of the *Shijing*, see Chen Tongsheng: *Shiji yu Shijing* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 2000), 176–179.

12 This tradition is found in *Da Dai Liji*, "Wudi de" (ICS = The ICS Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series, 7.1/41/21), and has obviously been adopted in the table of *Shiji* 13. Cf. the table in *Shiji yu* (488:T3-489:T9, in which the genealogical line starting out with Huangdi up to Xie via the paternal line is claimed.

The ancestor of Tang was Xie who was born without a father. Xie's mother took with her younger sisters a bath in the River of the Black Hills. Then a swallow came which held an egg in its beak and let it fall. Xie's mother took the egg in her mouth, happened to swallow it and then gave birth to Xie.¹³

As for the circumstances preceding the birth of Houji, the ancestor of Zhou, Chu first reports the mythical story of the supernatural birth, according to which the mother of Houji had stepped into a giant's footprint and from this became pregnant.¹⁴ Then, he quotes Confucius as the authority to confirm the transfer of Heaven's mandate from Yao to both Tang and Houji as the ancestors of Shang and Zhou.¹⁵

What he has thus done, seems to be a perfect blend between that strand of the tradition he himself and as his colleague Zhang Chang'an officially belonged to, namely the Lu tradition of the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing*), and a tradition which he obviously adopted from precisely that table to which the report of this conversation was attached, table 13 of the *Shiji*. It is a tradition which again seems to be based on the words laid into the mouth of Confucius in the conversation between the master and his disciple Zai Wo reported in the section on "The Virtues of the Five Thearchs" (*Wudi de* 五帝德), as it is contained in the received edition of the *Da Dai Liji*.

The second question Zhang raises is whether the descendants of the Yellow Thearch would, in his view, continue to become kings over the empire for a long time to come. As an answer to this, Chu Shaosun now proceeds to two more recent cases:

Firstly, he mentions the King of Shu 蜀 who, as Chu knows, was a descendant of the Yellow Thearch. He would nowadays live in the South-Western part of Han in a region comprising 5000 miles and frequently attend the imperial court. If not his ancestors had virtue, Chu continues, how could that much of it be accumulated in their later offspring.¹⁶

Secondly, he mentions Huo Guang whom he also depicts as one of the descendants of the Yellow Thearch. He first praises this man's broad educational horizon and then proceeds to claim for the state of Huo, where Huo Guang's family name derived from, a descent from

13 This account comes very close to the myth alluded to in the *Book of Songs*, M 303, "Xuan niao 玄鳥" (of which Chu Shaosun then quotes the first two lines). Cf. transl. James Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV: *The She King or The Book of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1898), 636; see also M 304, "Chang fa 常法", cf. Legge, 638. The account rendered by Chu Shaosun is also included in a collection of apocryphal texts of the *Shijing* and is identified there as a fragment of a text entitled *Shi banshen wu 詩班神巫*. See *Weishu jicheng 魏書集經* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin, 1994), vol. 1, 462.

14 This account is rendered in *Shijing*, M 245, "Sheng min 生民", cf. Legge, 465; as to the pure virtue of Jiang Yuan, see also M 300, "Bi gong 比公", cf. Legge, 620.

15 See *Shiji* 13 (505:12):

Cf. the table in *Shiji* 13 (488:T3-489:T9), in which Xie and Houji are tied back to Huangdi *via* the paternal line. Cf. also the account in *Da Dai Liji*, "Wudi de" (ICS: 7.1/41/21), which contains a conversation between Confucius and his disciple Zai Wo in which Confucius is quoted as referring to Huangdi as the ancestor both of Xie and Houji.

16 The view that for the state of Shu 蜀 existed no clan name, but that there was a tradition according to which it took its descent from the Yellow Thearch, and that Renhuang 任黃 who was first enfeoffed with Shu, is found in the *Shiben 世本*. See *Shiben sixheng 世本釋姓* (ICS: 4.2.33/109/5):

Shuchu 苻舒, the younger brother of King Wu of Zhou whom he had enfeoffed with Huo.¹⁷ But not enough with this legitimation *via* the paternal line, Chu Shaosun adds that Huo Guang precisely due to the fact that he was a descendant of the royal House of Zhou could at the same time claim legitimacy by referring back to the supernatural birth of the Zhou ancestor Houji, i.e. he could be tied back *via* the maternal line, too.

Thus, Chu Shaosun concludes, no matter whether one based the discussion on the “Songs” or whether on what he calls the “Tradition of Rulers’ Generations of the Three Ages” (*Sandai shizhuan* 三代世系),¹⁸ the genealogical legitimation of Huo Guang as a potential new ruler ordained by Heaven was beyond doubt.¹⁹ And finally, as if motivated by the wish to corroborate his argument by a further piece of evidence, Chu Shaosun proceeds to quote the words of a prophecy which also seems in his view to have given support to the idea of Huo Guang’s being elected by Heaven and which he quotes from a text he calls “Tradition of the Yellow Thearch’s Ends and Beginnings” (*Huangdi zhongshi zhuan* 黄帝中世系).²⁰ And last but not least, Chu does not abstain from disclosing to the reader which sources he had gathered these pieces of information from: magicians whom he had met on the market of Chang’an; and he finishes his speech by adding the remark: “Isn’t that great!” (*qi bu wei zui* 岂不伟哉).²¹

2 Should Chu Shaosun’s hermeneutical approach be regarded as a reliable key to what the *Shiji* author had in fact intended to say?

As for what Chu called “Tradition of Rulers’ Generations of the Three Ages,” the title in fact reminds one very much of the title of the *Shiji* chapter at the very end of which the conversation was inserted, namely chapter 13: “Table of Rulers’ Generations of the Three Ages.” Could it be that Chu here directly refers to the *Shiji* chapter? The answer to this question is crucial with regard to the central topic of this paper, namely, whether Chu Shaosun in his exegetical approach may justifiably be called to have adopted a tradition transmitted or even established by the Grand Scribe. We will now have to turn to the *Shiji* itself, in order to find out whether his hermeneutical approach to the *Shiji* will be corroborated by the *Shiji* account, and we will thus have to scrutinize more closely the content of the *Shiji* text itself.

17 *Shiji* 13 (506:12-13):

the *Shiben*. See *Shiben sizhong* (ICS 4.6/148/5):

The enfeoffment of Shuchu with Huo is also found in

18 This could refer to the „Wudi de“ section of the *Da Dai Liji* as well as to the title of *Shiji* chapter 13 itself, the latter being, I think, even more plausible.

19 *Shiji* 13 (506:14):

20 For a literal rendering of this prophecy in the context of the question whether Huo Guang might in fact have made a claim, at one time at least, for the imperial throne, see Gary Arbuckle: “Inevitable Treason: Dong Zhongshu’s Theory of Historical Cycles and Early Attempts to Invalidate the Han Mandate,” in: *JAOS* 115,4 (1995), 587.

21 *Shiji* 13 (507:2-3). The way in which Chu Shaosun discloses his informants to the reader very much reminds of how the *Shiji* author himself at various places in his final remarks explicitly states who his informants were. This method could thus be taken as a further hint at how much Chu Shaosun must have been intrigued by a historical method which has been applied, perhaps for the very first time in history, by the Grand Scribe.

The content of the “Lord the Grand Scribe’s introductory remarks” in chapter 13

As to the above quoted maxim on which Chu Shaosun seems to have based the legitimation for merging two traditions which from their very character are obviously at variance with each other, into one single tradition, we will have to examine now where Chu may have taken this maxim from. We needn’t even look much further than into the content of the statement of the “Lord The Grand Scribe” right at the beginning of chapter 13. There we find:

The records in the Five Thearchs and the Three Ages are of a remote age. As far as the time of the Yin (dynasty) itself and prior to it is concerned, we have no way to make a record of the (reign dates) of the feudal lords. As to the (age of the) Zhou and later we have quite much we can write about. Master Kong arranged, based on the scribal records, the *Spring and Autumn* (annals), recording the first reign year (of each of the dukes of Lu) and synchronizing correctly the (solar) seasons with the (lunar) days and months. This (attitude) was certainly his “preciseness.” As for the postfaces to the *Shangshu*, they are laconic, and there are no indications as to years and months. Even though there may be quite some (data available), but much (of this) has been left out (by the master) and should not be recorded. Thus: “If something is doubtful, then it should be transmitted as doubtful. This (attitude) was certainly his “caution.”²²

As to the person the *Shiji* author addresses by use of the possessive pronoun *qi* there, it is not difficult to guess who is meant, when looking at the *Lunyu* passage which the preceding words obviously allude to. In this passage, Confucius instructs his disciple Zi Zhang with the words:

Use your ears widely but leave out what is doubtful; repeat the rest with caution and you will make few mistakes. Use your eyes widely and leave out what is hazardous; put the rest into practice with caution and you will have few regrets.²³

The *Shiji* author thus refers here to Confucius as the authority who admonished his pupil to be very cautious with records which are not reliable, a statement which seems to be very much at odds with what Chu Shaosun says, who at the outset of his conversation with Zhang Chang’an obviously alludes precisely to this statement by the *Shiji* author, but interpreting these as the legitimatory basis for rendering both strands of the tradition, the paternal and the maternal line of the rulers’ genealogy, in his own exegetical approach.²⁴

22 *Shiji* 13 (487:9-11).

23 *Lunyu* (ICS: 2.18/4/3-4); for the translation cf. Lau, D.C.: *Confucius: The Analects* (Lun yü) (Hongkong: Chinese University, 1979, 21992), 15.

24 For Chu Shaosun’s interpretation see the *Guliang zhuan*, where the claim is made that what is doubtful should be transmitted as doubtful. There it is used in order to explain why the *Chunqiu* records two days for the death of one and the same person (the Duke of Chen). See *Guliang zhuan* (ICS: 25.1/11/10-12):

... There are other passages in the *Shiji*, however, in which the *Shiji* author is clearly more inclined to treat what is doubtful by leaving it out from the record. Cf. *Shiji* 18 (878:10); *Shiji* 67 (2226:10-11):

What comes next, seems to be a turning point in the Grand Scribe's comment, outwardly visible by the now explicitly introduced "I" denoting the author's personal voice. We read:

I have read the genealogical records: From the time of the Yellow Thearch onwards we have numbers for the years, and if one looks at the historical tables and at the "Tradition of the Ends and Beginnings of the Five Virtues;"²⁵ these old texts do not all tell us the same but rather are at variance with each other. That the Master (Confucius) did not discuss and arrange the years and months (as related to these remote times) was certainly not without reason. So I have, based upon both the genealogical records of the Five Thearchs and on the *Shangshu*, (merely) collected the rulers' generations, starting out with the Yellow Thearch down to Gong He, and assembled this in the table of (rulers') generations.²⁶

In the beginning of this passage, the *Shiji* author repeats and thus seems to confirm the cautious attitude taken by Confucius with regard to recording reign dates as something which would certainly not be without reason. Then, however, he turns to a rather different genre of sources: genealogical records (*dieji* 世系). From these, he must have taken the data as regards the rulers' generations, a detail which, as we may conclude from the above said, Confucius might not have estimated so much, it thus may not be too farfetched to sense a certain contrast or even contradiction when this part is compared with the first part of the Grand Scribe's statement. But let us take a closer look at the content of the table itself:

Content of the table contained in *Shiji* 13

The table in *Shiji* 13 consists, as a closer look reveals, actually of two separate tables. The grid of the first part is divided into eight columns: the five Thearchs and the dynasties Xia, Shang and Zhou.²⁷ The grid of the second part is divided into 12 columns containing the names of twelve of the "Generational Houses" (*shijia* 世家) whom Sima Qian also devoted separate accounts to.²⁸ According to the first part, the four Thearchs in the succession of Huangdi as well as the founders of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties are all Huangdi's descendants. The second part shows that the ancestors of the hereditary houses are also linked to Huangdi as their common remote ancestor, either due to the fact that the one who had been first enfeoffed with a state was a descendant of the royal House of Zhou himself or, as in two examples, the one who was first enfeoffed with a state was a loyal servant to one of the descendants of the House of Zhou.

To put it briefly, the table in ch. 13 which precedes the conversation between Chu Shaosun and Zhang Chang'an does not offer even a single hint at the idea of the

25 Cf. the text which Chu Shaosun alludes to, speaking of the „Tradition of the Yellow Thearch's Ends and Beginnings (*Huangdi zhuangshi zhuan* 皇極經世一書).“ See *Shiji* 13 (506:15).

26 *Shiji* 13 (488:1-3); cf. the translations by Édouard Chavannes: *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-Ma Ts'ien* (Paris: Angers + Adrien Maisonneuve, 1895–1905, 1969), vol. 3, 1-2, and Yang Yanqi 楊善群: *Shiji quanyi* 史記全譯 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin, 2001), vol. 2, 633-634.

27 *Shiji* 13/488-500.

28 *Shiji* 13/501-504. In *Shiji* chapters 31-60, the hereditary houses are separately treated.

supernatural birth of rulers. The whole table is devoted instead to what may be called the vision of a universal monarchy exerted over generations by Huangdi, his descendants and those among the feudal lords whom Huangdi himself or one of his descendants had enfeoffed with land.

As Zhang Dake has demonstrated by help of an impressive chart, the idea which the *Shiji* author conveys in this table is in fact an all-encompassing vision of rulership.²⁹ It is a most impressive example of what Mark Edward Lewis, though in a different context, has called the Grand Scribe's vision of a "universal monarchy."³⁰

To conclude from this, the table of *Shiji* 13 offers exactly the content announced by the second part of the personal remarks of the Grand Scribe, as it lists the rulers' generations starting out from Huangdi and ending with Gong He, and at the same time clearly demonstrating the descent of all the early rulers of China, including the four Thearchs, from Huangdi as their common ancestor.

Thus, although it is quite plausible that where Chu Shaosun points to the „Tradition of the Rulers' Generations of the Three Ages" he is referring to precisely this table, the question which arises from this is what may have caused him to base his arguments on two genealogical strands, the second of which, namely the supernatural birth of rulers, being not mentioned in the table at all? Is it likely that Chu Shaosun himself was the one to merge these two doctrines – the one of the divine origin on the one hand and of the Huangdi descent on the other – into one coherent system as a means to give a twofold "proof" of the legitimacy of the kings of Chu and Huo Guang?

As for the second strand of this ideology, the idea according to which all legitimate rulers of antiquity have been born without any active part of a terrestrial father, we will have to turn to other parts of the *Shiji* in order to see where Chu might have drawn support here from the *Shiji* as well. It is the annals part of the *Shiji* where evidence for this strand, too, can be found.

The *Shiji* account of the supernatural birth of the Shang and Zhou rulers (chapters 3 and 4)

Already a perfunctory look into the annals part of the *Shiji* suffices to give clear testimony of the fact that the *Shiji* author did not neglect the maternal link in his account of ancient history, either. Right at the beginning of chapter 3: "Annals of Yin" (*Yin benji* 殷本紀), the origins of the ancestor of Yin, Xie, are described very much in accordance with the myth, alluding to Jiandi, the mother of Xie. Interestingly enough, the *Shiji* author adds to this a further detail, namely that she was a secondary wife of the Thearch Ku.³¹

29 See Zhang Dake 張大 : "Lun Sima Qian de lishi guan" 論司馬遷之史官, in his *Shiji yanjiu* 史記研究. Lanzhou: Gansu renmin, 1985): 361-381 (table on pp. 364-65).

30 See Mark Edward Lewis: *Writing and Authority in Early China* (New York, State University of New York, 1999), 308–317.

31 *Shiji* 3 (91:5-8). For the mythical story of the supernatural birth of the Shang ancestor, according to which Heaven commissioned a swallow to descend, see M 303, "Xuan niao 玄鳥"; cf. Legge, 636; see also M 304, "Chang fa 常法", cf. Legge, 638. Strictly speaking, the *Shiji* author thus established, on the maternal side alike, a tie back to Huangdi, as the Thearch Ku is, as we learn from ch. 1 and 13, Huangdi's descendant.

Turning to chapter 4, “Annals of Zhou” (*Zhou benji* 周本紀), one finds again the mythical version at the beginning of the chapter: the account of the origin of the Zhou ancestor whose mother, Jianguyuan, had stepped into a giant’s footprint and became pregnant with Qi.³² Here again, the *Shiji* author adds a remarkable detail, namely, that Jianguyuan was the primary wife of Thearch Ku.³³

No doubt that for the conception of both annals, the *Book of Songs* must have served as the main source. Both accounts are very much in accordance with the mythical versions Chu was drawing upon in his version of a double genealogical bond. It will be interesting to see how the ancestors or founders of Qin and Han have been treated by the *Shiji* author.

The *Shiji* account of the supernatural birth of the ancestors of Qin and Han (chapters 5, 6 and 8)

Before closer examination of the situation of Qin, it should be emphasized that two *Shiji* chapters are in fact concerned with Qin: chapter 5 which treats the early history of the state of Qin until shortly before the unification of the empire of Qin and the founding of the dynasty, and chapter 6 which deals with the short-termed dynasty of Qin proper.

As to the early history of the state of Qin, which is described in the “Annals of Qin” (*Qin benji* 秦本紀), the genealogical bond which ties the ruling clan of Qin, Ying 嬴, back to Huangdi, is expressed in the very first sentence of the chapter.³⁴ There we read that the mother of the ancestor of Qin was a granddaughter of a remote descendent of Huangdi. She became pregnant with the ancestor of Qin by swallowing the egg of a bird, a legend conspicuously similar to the myth of the divine origin of the ancestor of Shang.

But if the ancestor of Qin is a descendant of Huangdi, should the reader not assume that the First Emperor of Qin, too, must be regarded as an offspring of the legitimate hereditary house? – Not necessarily. Chapter 6, the „Annals of the First Emperor” (*Qin Shi Huang benji* 秦始皇本紀), sets out with the statement that the First Emperor was the son of King Zhuangxiang 莊襄王 (r. 249–247) of Qin who, as a descendant of the House of Ying, was consequently reckoning among Huangdi’s descendents. In the second sentence, the *Shiji* author mentions that his “son” was merely an adopted one: the king had taken fancy to one of the concubines of a certain Lü Buwei and took her as his wife.³⁵ A hint at a different passage of the *Shiji* is given right here by the *Suoyin* commentary, namely at the very beginning of Lü Buwei’s biography, where the *Shiji* author records that Lü Buwei knew that this woman was pregnant by himself before he had introduced her to the king.

The combination of both accounts somehow reminds one of a “naturalized” version of the myths of divine origin, but in a rather perverted and cynical vein, and whatever reason Sima Zhen may have had to mention Lü Buwei’s biography in his commentary right here: to a

32 *Shiji* 4 (111:5-8). For the mythical story of the supernatural birth of the Zhou ancestor, according to which Jianguyuan had trod into a giant’s footprint and from this became pregnant, see M 245, „Sheng min 聖民,” cf. Legge, 465; as to the pure virtue of Jiang Yuan, see also M 300: „Bi gong 比公;” cf. Legge, 620.

33 Both the ancestors of the Yin (=Shang) and of the Zhou dynasties are thus indirectly claimed to be brothers-in-law, having the Thearch Ku as their legitimate father. In reality, however, we learn of the myth, the conception was achieved from intercourse with a ghost.

34 *Shiji* 5 (173:5).

35 *Shiji* 6 (223:5).

reader who keeps this detail in mind, the account at the beginning of chapter 6 quite clearly conveys the message that Qin Shi Huang was no legitimate offspring of the hereditary House of Qin, at least not in the eyes of the *Shiji* author.³⁶

As to the “Annals of Gaozu” (*Gaozu benji* 高祖本紀), the *Shiji* author again offers us an obviously myth-inspired account of the origin of founder of the Han dynasty, posthumously entitled Gaozu. According to the account, Gaozu’s mother met with a dragon while she was out in the swamps. When her husband went to look after her, he witnessed the dragon atop her – in due time she got pregnant and gave birth to Gaozu.³⁷ Though at first sight, this looks like a typical example of the divine birth type, something important is yet missing here: any hint that might tie either Gaozu himself or his mother genealogically to Huangdi. This would have been easy, had he only mentioned right here Liu Lei 劉隸, the dragon tamer in the days after the decline of the Thearch Yao. It is precisely this genealogical bond which Sima Zhen adds in his *Suoyin* commentary to the account of the origin of the Han founder, referring to *Zuoqihuan* as his source³⁸ – the *Shiji* author, however, for whatever reason, must have decided to omit this detail he would have easily been able to refer to, in his record.³⁹

Summing up the results of the examination of the annals of Shang and Zhou, the two annals related to Qin and the annals of Gaozu of Han, we may gather from the *Shiji* text that the accounts relating to the origin of the ancestors of Shang and Zhou and likewise that of the ancestor of the state of Qin have all been tied by the *Shiji* author by a double genealogical bond, namely *via* the maternal line to Heaven and *via* the paternal line to Huangdi as their common ancestor. In striking contrast, the First Emperor of Qin has neither a genealogical legitimation *via* the paternal nor *via* the maternal line, and the ancestor of Han, posthumously Han Gaozu, is merely given a legitimation *via* the maternal line, whereas no descent from Huangdi is recorded.

It thus seems that the explanations given by Chu Shaosun in the dialogue attached to *Shiji* 13 are correct insofar as they open the reader’s eyes toward a message which is contained in the *Shiji*, though scattered over different chapters and thus quite hidden to an unprepared reader. It is especially with regard to Han Gaozu as the founder of the Han dynasty, the dynasty under which the *Shiji* author himself was writing his historical account, that the method which Chu Shaosun infers from the text he takes as his model assumes the character of a test for the *Shiji* author’s loyalty or disloyalty towards the imperial throne.⁴⁰ As is well-

36 See Sima Zhen’s note in *Shiji* 6 (223:15):

37 *Shiji* 8 (341:5-7).

38 See Sima Zhen’s note in *Shiji* 8 (341:9-15); cf. *Zuoqihuan*, *Zhaogong* 29 (ICS: 29.4/400/11–12).

39 Remarkably enough, the *Shiji* author in fact mentions the account of Liu Lei as someone who arose after the decline of the Lord of Taotang 陶唐 (i.e. Yao) in the very first chapter of the *Shiji*, the “Annals of the Five Thearchs” *Wudi benji* (*Shiji* 1/86) and thus must have been familiar with this strand of tradition: cf. the parallel account in *Zuoqihuan*, Zhao 29.4 (ICS: 400/11). Very much in contrast to Ban Gu in his *Hanshu* who uses precisely this account in order to base Liu Bang’s mandate for rule upon it, cf. *Hanshu* 1B (81:9), the connection which could have been so easily made is omitted both in the annals of Gaozu in *Shiji* 8 and in the table in *Shiji* 13. For the assumption that the *Shiji* author intentionally suppressed the hint at Liu Lei see also Hans van Ess: „Implizite historische Urteile in den Opfertraktaten von Ssu-ma Ch’ien und Pan Ku,“ in: *Oriens Extremus* 43 (2002), 45.

40 For the impact of discussions related to the question of the birth of rulers with or without fathers between scholars of the so-called Old Text and New Text traditions on court politics in Later Han times, focusing on Xu Shen’s

known and has often been discussed in studies on the *Shiji*, Sima Qian at least, who had to suffer castration from the part of Emperor Wu, must have harboured a deep personal grudge against his own ruler, and the not very friendly manner in which he seems to have evaluated the emperor's proceeding to perform the solemn *Feng* and *Shan* sacrifices may be taken as an additional hint at personal animosities more or less hidden in the *Shiji* text.⁴¹

And there is an additional hint at a tradition which the *Shiji* author may in fact have shared with Chu Shaosun. The title of the text which Chu mentioned in connection with the prophecy propagating a new candidate for the imperial throne, "Tradition of the Yellow Thearch's Ends and Beginnings," does not only remind one strongly of the "Tradition of Ends and Beginnings of the Five Virtues," alluded to in the second part of the Grand Scribe's personal remarks at the beginning of chapter 13, but can also be found in several further chapters of the *Shiji* main text.⁴² No doubt, the view according to which history is regarded in terms of dynastic cycles should not be underestimated as a matter of relevance to the general conception of the *Shiji*. It thus seems that the work which in its very first chapter sets out with a description of Huangdi as the first monarch in Chinese history is imbued by a strong interest in a concept which Chu Shaosun was well familiar with and which he wanted to draw the reader's attention to.

3 What did Chu Shaosun intend with his revelations as regards Huo Guang?

By now, the important but difficult question should be raised what may have caused Chu Shaosun to preserve this dialogue with Zhang Chang'an and why it was inserted here, at the end of *Shiji* 13.

To be cautious, we do not know whether the person who recorded (or even invented) the dialogue is identical with the person who added the dialogue to the *Shiji* text. One might argue that if it had been Chu himself, he would have used the formula "Mister Chu said (*Chu xiansheng yue*)?," as he did elsewhere. One could well imagine that it was a later person who got access to this piece of conversation in the archives – Ban Gu (32–92), for example, would be an apt candidate to have done so when he made his preparation for the new history of the Han.⁴³ But apart from the question by whom and to which end the text

Wijing yiyi , see Hans van Ess: *Politik und Gelehrsamkeit in der Zeit der Han: Die Alltext/ Neutext-Kontroverse* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 223–225.

41 For a closer look at *Shiji* chapter 28 and the judging method applied here by the *Shiji* author, see my study „Der Herrscher und sein Richter: Zur Bedeutung von *biao* und *li* in Kap. 28 des *Shiji*," in: *Oriens Extremus* 43 (2002): 116–141.

42 See, e.g., *Shiji* 6 (237:16), reflecting on how Qin Shi Huang had drawn upon the "Tradition of Ends and Beginnings of the Five Virtues" (*zhongshi wude zhi zhuan*); 10 (429:12), or on Gongsun Chen of Lu's reporting to Emperor Wen about the "Tradition of Ends and Beginnings and the matter concerning the Five Virtues" (*zhongshi zhuan wude shi*). On the central role which a document based on the "Ends and Beginnings of the Five Virtues" had in the memorial submitted to Han Emperor Wen by Gongsun Chen and which was taken up by Gongsun Qing, somehow in collaboration with the *Shiji* author, under Emperor Wu, see my study "The power of an alleged tradition: a prophecy flattering Han Emperor Wu and its relation to the Sima clan," in: *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 74 (2002), 256.

43 Yi Ping in a recent study discussed differing opinions among scholars as to whether the conversation between Chu Shaosun and Zhang Chang'an was added to a later date or by Chu himself and raises doubts as to opinions that anyone else but Chu himself should have added this text. See his: "Chu Shaosun bu 'Shi' xinkao ," in: *Guoli Taiwan daxue lishi xuexi xuebao* 25 (2000): 151-180.

may have been added to chapter 13 of the *Shiji*, the primary and more important question to pursue here is what Chu Shaosun intended when he had decided to write this dialogue down – be it a fictitious one or one which had in fact taken place.

To Sima Zhen, the *Suoyin* commentator, there seems to have been no doubt that Chu Shaosun's intention was to damage the reputation of the *Shiji* author, by not only drawing upon the double bond ideology but bringing this even in connection with a prophecy propagating Huo Guang as a candidate for rule who would have all the necessary prerequisites for a rule ordained by Heaven. He writes:

Mister Chu is such a rotten Confucian! Constructing a dialogue between host and guest, he quotes the “Tradition of the *Songs*,” talks about Xie's and Qi's being (born) without fathers, and to this adds (the idea) that, according to the genealogy of the (mythical) Thearchs, they are both the sons of the Thearch Ku – which is correct. But that at the end he draws upon the King of Shu and Huo Guang, what does he want to demonstrate by that? And what is more, his language is not in accordance with the canon, he insults the correct history, and when he even remarks: “Isn't that great!”⁴⁴ – what a slander is that all!⁴⁵

Although Sima Zhen doesn't explicitly say what he himself thinks Chu Shaosun intended by preserving this dialogue, he clearly enough charges Chu with having “slandered” the *Shiji* author for something which might blacken him and his whole work. Whereas he doesn't deny that the *Shiji* author had in fact brought the idea of the double genealogical bond into his text before, what he attacks instead is the application of the method on the king of Shu and especially on Huo Guang. So we will have to come to our own conclusion as to what may have motivated Chu Shaosun's to do so.

From the very dates we have of Chu Shaosun it is clear that his reference to Huo Guang and the prophecy brought into connection with him must have been made by him retrospectively. Although we do not have exact life data at our disposal we know, as mentioned above, that he received his doctoral degree during the reign of Liu Bingyi

, posthumously called Xuandi, the man whom Huo Guang himself had promoted as the apt candidate for the imperial throne, supported by a certain Yang Chang who had then the position of state chancellor and was one member of the committee who had decided in favor of this candidate.⁴⁶

Perhaps the most remarkable detail to be mentioned in our context is the fact that Yang Chang's wife was, as we learn from the *Hanshu*, no one else but Sima Qian's daughter. We are even given the chance to take a glance into the private sphere of the couple, as the biography of Yang Chang in the *Hanshu* reports that she had played a decisive role in one

44 As for the passage in Chu's speech Sima Zhen is here referring to, cf. p. 12. There is another passage added to the main text of the *Shiji* introduced by the formula *Chu xiansheng yue*, “Mister Chu said,” in which the same exclamation – “Isn't that great!” – is made. See *Shiji* 128 (3228:2). The striking parallel between both exclamations may be taken as an indicator that in fact the same voice is speaking both in Chu's speech as part of the dialogue with Zhang and in the passages introduced by the formula “Mister Chu said.”

45 *Shiji* 13 (507:16-17).

46 For Yang Chang's biography, see *Hanshu* 66 (2888:11-2889:7).

moment when she encouraged her still hesitating husband to uncover a conspiracy directed against Huo Guang.⁴⁷

Yang Yun 楊雲, their son and thus Sima Qian's grandson *via* the maternal line, not only seems to have made the very first additions to the *Shiji*, but he also was the first to make the work of his grandfather famous during the reign of Xuandi.⁴⁸ In his home there was, we also learn, a copy of the *Taishigong ji* 太史公記, as the *Shiji* is called here, of his „external ancestor“ (waizu 外祖), i.e., the grandfather *via* the maternal line.⁴⁹ As Yang Yun died in 54 B.C., the life data of Yang Yun and Chu Shaosun must have overlapped to quite some degree. As can be quite safely inferred from the received *Shiji* text, it must have been Chu Shaosun who added the information on Yang Yun to the *Shiji* text.⁵⁰ It thus may not be too farfetched to assume that Chu Shaosun not only knew of the Yang family and of their close personal connections with Huo Guang, but that they even had personal contact with each other and that Chu Shaosun might even have got access to the *Shiji* text which the Yang family had kept in their home.

Daring to go one step further in these considerations, one could well imagine that Yang Chang himself had belonged to those intellectuals of his time who, in the turmoil after the death of Emperor Wu, had cherished the hope that Huo Guang might be the long-expected man who, as a Non-Liu, would ascend the throne of the empire.⁵¹ In case that this is what Chu Shaosun intended to record and thus to preserve for future readers, we should not too quickly accuse him – as Sima Zhen obviously does – to have had the intention to slander the *Shiji* and its author, but rather consider whether he perhaps, without even having the thought of making Sima Qian look badly in the eyes of scholars of later generations, simply wanted to commemorate the heroic and – admittedly – somewhat subversive trait in the character of this member of the Sima clan.

Concluding remarks

In case that Chu Shaosun was right in his hermeneutical approach to the *Shiji* text in that the *Shiji* author had intentionally included two by their very nature irreconcilable strands of traditions legitimizing rulership in his historical account and used them as a means of subtly suggesting that the Han dynasty might not have received Heaven's mandate, then we can

47 See *Hanshu* 66 (2889:4-5). Cf. also the remark by Michael Loewe: *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC – AD 24)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 632.

48 For the biographical account of Yang Yun which is added to his father's biography, see *Hanshu* 66 (2889:13-2898:4).

49 *Hanshu* 66 (2889:13-14).

50 According to the table entry in *Shiji* 20 (1066:15), Yang Yun was charged with high treason (*dani budao* 丹罪) and executed. As becomes evident from the fact that this entry is part of a continuation of the original entries of the table contained in ch. 20 which is introduced by the formula “(the later one who propagated the good matter, the Confucian scholar) Mr. Chu says” (*hou jin baoshi ruzhe* 後進博士如者也), these table entries must all have been added by Chu Shaosun himself. See *Shiji* 20 (1059:1-8). For the question which additions to the *Shiji* text should be attributed to Chu Shaosun and which to Yang Yun, see Yi Ping 伊平: “Yang Yun yu ‘Taishigong shu’ 楊雲與《太史公記》”, in: *Dalu zazhi* 93/1 (1996): 33-40.

51 For other attempts to bring about a dynastical change in favor of a candidate who is not an offspring of the Liu family see, e.g., the notes on the prophecy propagated by Sui Hong 隨宏, who was convinced of the impending termination of the Han mandate and claimed that Emperor Zhao (r. 87–74) should abdicate, see G. Arbuckle, 586.

justifiably say that Chu Shaosun both in the way he made this approach more easily discernible to the reader and by the way he applied this method on the case of the King of Shu and Huo Guang in fact adopted a tradition transmitted or even established by the Grand Scribe.

Several hints do indeed point, as we saw from the above analysis, at such an interpretation. And if this preliminary result were corroborated by further pieces of evidence, we might in fact be able to say that Chu Shaosun not only adopted and adapted a tradition of judgement and criticism, but we might perhaps even say that Chu transmitted a tradition of treason – not only to the reigning emperor but also to the ruling clan of the Han dynasty, the Liu family.

Appendix: Survey on legitimate rulership in history according to the *Shiji* and to the additional remarks by Chu Shaosun

1. According to the *Shiji*:

	genealogically tied to the Yellow Thearch (Huangdi) = legitimation <i>via</i> paternal line	genealogically tied to Heaven due to miraculous birth = legitimation <i>via</i> maternal line
The Five Thearchs (<i>wudi</i> 五帝)		
Chuanxu 顓孫	Huangdi's grandson and Changyi's son ⁵²	
Ku 嚳 [= Gaoxin 皋辛]	Huangdi's great-grandson ⁵³	
Yao 堯	Thearch Zhi's younger brother ⁵⁴	
Shun 舜	Changyi's offspring in the seventh generation ⁵⁵	
The Three Ages (<i>San Dai</i> 三代)		
Xia 夏	Yu 禹, the founder of the Xia dynasty, was Thearch Chuanxu's grandson and Huangdi's great-grandson. ⁵⁶	
Shang 商	Xie 契, the ancestor of the Shang dynasty, was a son of Gao Xing 高辛 who again descended from Huangdi. ⁵⁷	Xie 契, the Shang ancestor, was conceived when his mother Jiandi 简狄, daughter of the Yousong clan and secondary wife of Thearch Ku, swallowed the egg of a black bird. and thus became pregnant ⁵⁹

52 Changyi was Chuanxu's father. See *Shiji* 1 (11:15); cf. *Shiji* 13 (488:T3-489:T4):

53 Cf. *Shiji* 1 (13:7): 顓孫曰黃帝之孫也。 Cf. *Shiji* 13 (489:T8-12): 黃帝之孫也。 According to *Hanyu daqidian* 漢語大詞典 (Chengdu: Sichuan cishu, 1990), vol. 1, 162, Ku 嚳 is a variant form for 嚳.

54 Thearch Zhi 嚳 for his part was an offspring of a concubine of Thearch Ku's. Cf. *Shiji* 1 (14:11-12): 嚳, 嚳之孫也; for the genealogical line of Yao, see *Shiji* 13 (488–504).

55 For the genealogical line of Shun 舜, see *Shiji* 1 (31:10-13); cf. *Shiji* 13 (488–504).

56 See *Shiji* 13 (488–504); cf. *Shiji* 2 (49:5-7).

57 See *Shiji* 13 (488:T3-489:T13): 契, 黃帝之孫也。 Cf. the parallel account for the genealogical line from Huangdi down to Gaoxing, as put into the mouth of Confucius instructing Zai Wo, in *Da Dai Liji*. „Wudi de“ (ICS: 7.1/41/21).

	genealogically tied to the Yellow Thearch (Huangdi) = legitimation <i>via</i> paternal line	genealogically tied to Heaven due to miraculous birth = legitimation <i>via</i> maternal line
Zhou	Houji , the ancestor of Zhou, was also a son of Gao Xing (and thus Xie's younger brother) who again descended from Huangdi. ⁶⁰	Houji , with the cognomen Qi , was conceived by his mother Jiangyuan (whose mother was a member of the Youtai clan) and who was Thearch Ku's primary wife; she stepped into a giant's footprint and thus became pregnant. ⁶¹
Qin		
a) the feudal state Qin before the unification of the empire:	The family name Ying was conferred to Bo Yi , the ancestor of Qin, by Shun himself. ⁶² Wulai of Qin supported Zhou (Xin), the last Shang ruler; his father Feilian was strong. ⁶³	The ancestor of Qin was a remote offspring of Thearch Chuanxu Nüxiu, a great-granddaughter of Chuanxu, swallowed the egg of a dark bird and gave birth to Da Ye. ⁶⁴
b) the dynasty Qin after the unification of the empire:	No genealogical bond back to Huangdi given for the First Emperor <i>via</i> the paternal line. Instead we learn that the First Emperor was adopted by king Xiang of Qin and thus was given the cognomen Ying, but his mother was a concubine of Lü Buwei's, before she was taken by King Zhuangxiang as his wife. ⁶⁵ This woman was pregnant when Lü Buwei gave her as a present to the king. ⁶⁶	no genealogical bond back to Huangdi given for the First Emperor <i>via</i> the maternal line
Han	no genealogical bond tying the Han back to Huangdi given for the ancestor of the Han dynasty, Liu Bang, <i>via</i> the paternal line.	Liu Bang, the ancestor of Han, was conceived when his mother, Liu Wen, was out in the swamps and dreamt that she had an encounter with a spirit. At that time a there was a lightning, thunder and it grew dark. When her husband, Taigong, looked after her, he saw a dragon atop her. Not long afterward she was pregnant and gave birth to Gaozu. ⁶⁷

58 契 was, according to *Hanyu daqizidian* vol. 1, 95, used an alternate graph for 禹.

59 See *Shiji* 3 (91: 5-8):

Cf. M 303, M 304.

60 See *Shiji* 13 (488:T3-489:T9):

Liji. “Wudi de” (ICS: 7.1/41/21).

Cf. again *Da Dai*

61 See *Shiji* 4 (111:5-8):

Cf. M 245, M 300.

62 See *Shiji* 5 (173:8): , and *ibid.* (177:9):

(...)

63 See *Shiji* 13 (501:T1-3):

From him Feizi , who was first enfeoffed with Qin,

later descends. See *Shiji* 13 (502:T14).

64 *Shiji* 5 (173:5-6):

65 See *Shiji* 6 (223:5):

66 See *Shiji* 85 (2508:12); cf. Sima Zhen's hint at chapter 85 in *Shiji* 6 (223:15).

67 *Shiji* 8 (341:5-7):

2. According to Chu Shaosun's additional remarks:

	genealogically tied to the Yellow Thearch (Huangdi) = legitimation <i>via</i> paternal line	genealogically tied to Heaven due to miraculous birth = legitimation <i>via</i> maternal line
Shu	The kings of Shu, Chu Shaosun states, were also Huangdi's descendants. ⁶⁸	no mention of a legitimation <i>via</i> the maternal line made by Chu Shaosun
Huo	Uncle Chu , the younger brother of king Wu of Zhou , was first enfeoffed with Huo . Being an offspring of the House of Zhou, Chu concludes, he and thus Huo Guang as well reckoned among Huangdi's descendants. ⁶⁹	As a descendant of Houji, Chu Shaosun adds, Uncle Chu and thus Huo Guang as well reckoned among those who ancestors had a divine origin due to a miraculous birth. ⁷⁰

68 *Shiji* 13 (506:9); cf. *Shiben sizhong* (ICS: 4.2.33/109/5).

69 *Shiji* 13 (506:11); cf. *Shiben sizhong* (ICS 4.6/148/5).

70 See *Shiji* 13 (506:14).