Chinese empires were established by force of arms, but sustained by religious rites and intellectual theory. The four centuries from 206 BC to AD 220 witnessed major changes in the state cults and the concepts of monarchy, while various techniques of divination were used to forecast the future or to solve immediate problems. Michael Loewe examines these changes and the links between religion and statecraft. While both mythology and the tradition nurtured by the learned affected the concept and practice of monarchy throughout the period, the political and social weaknesses of the last century of Han rule bring into question the success that was achieved by the imperial ideal. Nevertheless that ideal and its institutions were of prime importance for the understanding of Han times and for the influence they exercised on China’s later dynasties.
A series list is shown at the back of the book
Divination, mythology and monarchy in Han China

MICHAEL LOEWE
Cambridge University
TO THE MEMORY OF TOON HULSEWE (1910-93)
AND TO EDWARD SHILS
TWO FRIENDS AND TEACHERS
IN DEEP GRATITUDE FOR THIRTY YEARS OF UNFAILING SUPPORT
AND ENCOURAGEMENT
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I am glad to express my thanks to the Publications' Committee of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge, for the opportunity to reprint these articles. They concern three themes that recur in most aspects of China's early imperial history, and which drew the attention of many of the leading men of the day, i.e., the ever present call of mythology, the prevalence of divination in public and private life and the development of concepts of imperial sovereignty. To these I have added an introductory chapter which seeks to show how the study of this period of history has developed in the last few decades, and in doing so to acknowledge my deep debt to those scholars from Asia, America, Australia or Europe who have made such developments possible. It is a matter of satisfaction that a number of the articles that are reproduced here owed their origin to invitations to contribute to volumes published in honour of some of those colleagues. Tributes to Werner Eichhorn, Karl Bünger, Derk Bodde, Anthony Hulsewé and TILEMANN Grimm are thus included here as chapters 2, 4, 7, 11 and 12.

As each of the following chapters was written for publication independently, there is necessarily some degree of duplication, which has not been removed in the process of editing for inclusion in this volume. The chapters thus remain as separate studies; and while the later ones build on themes set out at earlier stages, they are not dependent on one another and may be read as individual items. New information or references that have become available since the original publication have usually been added to the notes within square brackets; on a few occasions extra information has been placed separately in an addendum to a chapter. As different conventions and methods of reference had been required for different publishing houses, it has been necessary for the sake of consistency to redraft all the footnotes, and to provide a complete bibliography.

The following have kindly given permission to reprint from books or periodicals that they have published or edited:

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Attempo Verlag, Tübingen
E. J. Brill and the Editors of *T’oung Pao*, Leiden
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The School of Oriental and African Studies, London

Where it is necessary to distinguish between homophones, letter references are appended to proper names and terms, both in the text and the glossary. These are usually included at the first occurrence of a term in a chapter, but they are not necessarily repeated where ambiguity is unlikely; nor are they included for well-known expressions such as dynastic titles. The names and titles that are given in the bibliography are not repeated in the glossary.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author thanks the editors and publishers of the following books and journals in which the articles collected in this volume have previously appeared:

2. *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens/ Hamburg*, vol. 125 (1979), 63–8 (this article was dedicated to Werner Eichhorn on his eightieth birthday).
7. Charles le Blanc and Susan Blader (eds.), *Chinese ideas about nature and society: studies in honour of Derk Bodde* (Hong Kong, 1987), 195–213
11. W. L. Idema and E. Zürcher (eds.), *Thought and law in Qin and Han China: studies dedicated to Anthony Habeševé on the occasion of his eightieth birthday* (Leiden, 1990), 140–57.
ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the notes and bibliography

AM  Asia Major
BEFO  Bulletin de l’Ecole Française de l’Extrême Orient
BIHP  Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology
BMFEA  Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities
BSOAS  Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CC  Michael Loewe, Crisis and Conflict in Han China 104 BC to AD 9
CCFL  Ch’un-ch’iu fan-lu
CFL  Ch’ien-fu lun
CHOC  Cambridge History of China, vol. I
CPAM  Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments
CS  Chin shu
CYYY  See BIHP
EC  Early China
FSCS  Fan Sheng-chih shu
GSR  Bernhard Karlsgren, Grammata Serica Recens
HFHD  Homer H. Dubs, The History of the Former Han Dynasty
HHC  Hou Han chi
HHS  Hou Han shu
HHSCC  Hou Han shu chi-chieh
HJAS  Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
HNT  Huai-nan-tzu
HS  Han shu
HSPC  Han shu pu chu
JAOS  Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS  Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
KGYWW  Kaogu yu wenwu
KK  Kaogu
KKHP  K’ao ku hsüeh pao
LC  Li chi
LH  Lun heng

xvi
### List of abbreviations

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LSCC</td>
<td>Lü shih ch’un-ch’iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MH</td>
<td>Édouard Chavannes, Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts’ien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSOS</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHT</td>
<td>Po hu t’ung</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Shih-chi</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>Joseph Needham et al., Science and Civilisation in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHC</td>
<td>Shan-hai ching</td>
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<tr>
<td>SKC</td>
<td>San kuo chih</td>
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<td>SMYL</td>
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<td>YTL</td>
<td>Yen-t’ieh lun</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</td>
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Figure 1  Map of the Han empire 195 BC.
Figure 2 Map of the Han empire AD 140.