

Divination and Prediction in Early China and Ancient Greece

Divination was an important and distinctive aspect of religion in both early China and ancient Greece, and this book will provide the first systematic account and analysis of the two side by side. Who practiced divination in these cultures and who consulted it? What kind of questions did they ask, and what methods were used to answer those questions? As well as these practical aspects, Lisa Raphals also examines divination as a subject of rhetorical and political narratives, and its role in the development of systematic philosophical and scientific inquiry. She explores too the important similarities, differences, and synergies between Greek and Chinese divinatory systems, providing important comparative evidence to reassess Greek oracular divination.

LISA RAPHALS is Professor of Chinese and Comparative Literature at the University of California, Riverside, and Visiting Professor in the Department of Philosophy, National University of Singapore. She is the author of *Knowing Words: Wisdom and Cunning in the Classical Traditions of China and Greece* (1992), *Sharing the Light: Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China* (1998), and many scholarly articles. Her research interests include comparative philosophy (China and Greece), the history of science, religion, gender, and science fiction studies.

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Lisa Raphals

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*To Michael Loewe
whose knowledge of this field is unique and whose
contributions deserve far more recognition than can be given
here in gratitude for years of rigor, generosity, kindness*

and to Sara Susan Raphals (1920–2013)

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[More information](#)

Contents

| | | |
|---|--|----------|
| | <i>List of figures</i> | [page x] |
| | <i>List of maps</i> | [xii] |
| | <i>Acknowledgments</i> | [xiii] |
| | <i>Notes on conventions, editions, and transcriptions</i> | [xvi] |
| | <i>Reference tables</i> | [xxvi] |
| 1 | Introduction | [1] |
| | Divination, rationality, and modernity | [3] |
| | Intellectual contexts | [9] |
| | Form of the inquiry | [13] |
| | Plan of the book | [16] |
| 2 | Sources | [19] |
| | Greek sources | [19] |
| | Chinese sources | [30] |
| | Sources compared | [47] |
| | Conclusion | [55] |
| | Appendix 2.1: Greek sources for divination | [56] |
| | Appendix 2.2: Chinese excavated texts | [58] |
| | Appendix 2.3: Chinese transmitted texts | [59] |
| 3 | Theorizing divination | [61] |
| | Divination, Classics, and the social sciences | [62] |
| | Theories of divination in China | [74] |
| | Comparing comparables | [80] |
| 4 | Practitioners | [84] |
| | Chinese mantic experts | [86] |
| | Greek mantic experts | [101] |
| | Comparative perspectives | [118] |
| | Appendix 4.1: Chinese mantic officials: the <i>Zhou li</i> | [125] |
| | Appendix 4.2: Chinese mantic officials: Western Han | [127] |
| 5 | Methods | [128] |
| | Chinese methods | [128] |
| | Greek methods | [147] |

| | | |
|----|---|-------|
| | Comparisons | [161] |
| | Conclusions | [164] |
| | Appendix 5.1: On oracle bone preparation | [165] |
| | Appendix 5.2: How to generate a hexagram | [166] |
| | Appendix 5.3: <i>Liuren</i> divination | [167] |
| | Appendix 5.4: Pitch pipe divination | [170] |
| | Appendix 5.5: <i>Fang</i> methods | [172] |
| | Appendix 5.6: Homeric examples of mantic methods | [173] |
| | Appendix 5.7: Greek and Chinese divination methods | [176] |
| 6 | The questions | [177] |
| | State and official questions | [181] |
| | Private queries | [194] |
| | Questions and risks compared | [212] |
| | Appendix 6.1: State questions from Delphi: narrow sample | [221] |
| | Appendix 6.2: State questions from Delphi: broad sample | [226] |
| | Appendix 6.3: Private queries from the broad sample | [231] |
| | Appendix 6.4: Selected queries from Dodona | [233] |
| 7 | Consultors | [240] |
| | Official consultors | [241] |
| | Private consultors | [251] |
| | Gender and mantic access | [262] |
| | Comparisons and conclusions | [272] |
| | Appendix 7.1: Women consultors to Epidaurus | [277] |
| 8 | Mantic narratives | [279] |
| | A unified genre of mantic narrative? | [280] |
| | Chinese and Greek mantic narratives | [284] |
| | Humans, gods, and mantic hermeneutics | [302] |
| | Mantic narratives compared | [313] |
| 9 | Divination and systematic inquiry | [316] |
| | Medicine | [317] |
| | The Chinese mantic arts and systematic cosmology | [327] |
| | Divination and Greek systematic inquiry | [353] |
| | What is comparable? | [368] |
| 10 | Conclusions | [372] |
| | Social and institutional comparables | [374] |
| | The intellectual operations | [381] |
| | Future directions | [386] |
| | <i>Glossary</i> | [388] |
| | <i>Appendix A Inscriptural evidence for Delphic oracles</i> | [393] |
| | <i>Appendix B The sexagenary cycle</i> | [396] |

| | |
|---|-------|
| <i>Appendix C Narrow Sample of Delphic responses</i> | [399] |
| <i>Appendix D Selected Zuo zhuan prognostications</i> | [404] |
| <i>Appendix E The Baoshan divinations</i> | [409] |
| <i>Appendix F Selections from the Shuihudi daybooks</i> | [412] |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | [422] |
| <i>Index</i> | [461] |

Figures

- 1.1 Mantic practitioners: Mount Song (Henan). Photo: L. Raphals [page 8]
- 1.2 Mantic practitioners: Shanghai. Photo: L. Raphals [8]
- 1.3 Mantic practitioners: Paris. Photo: L. Raphals [9]
- 2.1 Themis as Pythia, by the Codrus painter (c. 440) (Vulci cup, Berlin Mus. 2538, cf. Eduard Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechischen Vasenbilder*, vol. 4, no. 328, Berlin, 1858) © bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY [28]
- 4.1 Turtle plastron, c. 1300–1046; no. H3: 9, Henan Provincial Museum, Zhengzhou (excavated from Anyang, 1991). Photo: L. Raphals [87]
- 4.2 The temple of Apollo at Delphi. Photo: L. Raphals [114]
- 5.1 Divining blocks and *qian* rods Tian Ho Temple, Lamma Island, Hong Kong 2003. Photo: L. Raphals [131]
- 5.2 The Twenty-eight Lunar Lodges (diagram modified from Zhou Shizhang's (1673) *Wujing leipian*, cf. Needham 1959: 243) [133]
- 5.3 Lunar Lodges decoration from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (after Wang Jianmin et al. in *Wenwu* 1979.7: 41) [133]
- 5.4 Cloud diagram from Mawangdui (after *Mawangdui Han mu wenwu* 1992: 154–55) [135]
- 5.5 The twelve pitch pipes [171]
- 6.1 Inscription from Dodona (after Carapanos (1878), pl. 40.1) [197]
- 6.2 The birth prognostication diagram from Shuihudi (after *SHD*, 206) [207]
- 7.1 Diviners' stalls, Longshan Temple, Taipei (May 2008, photo: L. Raphals) [260]
- 7.2 Diviners' stalls, Longshan Temple, Taipei (May 2008, photo: L. Raphals) [261]
- 7.3 Wong Tai Sin Temple, Hong Kong (February 2003, photo: L. Raphals) [262]
- 9.1 Symmetrical layout of a turtle shell divination (*Heji* 4264) [330]
- 9.2 Inscribed bones from Sipanmo and Qishan (after Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu 1981: 156) [331]

- 9.3 Hexagram number graphs from Baoshan (after *Baoshan Chu mu* 1991: 68) [334]
- 9.4 The Zhoujiatai diagram (after *Guanju Qin Han mu jian du* 2001: 107) [340]
- 9.5 The Fuyang Nine Palaces (*Jiugong*) mantic astrolabe (after Wang Xiangtian and Han Ziqiang 1978: 25, top row) [341]
- 9.6 The Fuyang *Liuren* mantic astrolabe and schematic diagram (after Wang Xiangtian and Han Ziqiang 1978: 25, middle row) [342]
- 9.7 *Liubo* text from Yinwan (after Yinwan, 21) [344]
- 9.8 The upper register of the Yinwan diagram (after Li Jiemin 2000: 74) [345]

Maps

- 2.1 Major Greek oracular sites [*page 24*]
- 2.2 Chinese archaeological sites for mantic materials [41]
- 2.3 Detail of Chu sites [42]

Reference tables

- 1 Comparative time line [xxvi]
- 2 Chinese dynasties [xxvii]
- 3 Dukes of Lu in the *Zuo zhuan* [xxviii]

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Notes on conventions, editions, and transcriptions

With the exception of a handful of people, at least half this book will be unfamiliar to at least half its readership, including orthography and standard reference conventions.

All dates are given using the Western calendar. They correspond approximately to the luni-solar calendars used in early China.

Detailed material is reserved for appendices, at both the ends of chapters and the end of the volume. Material pertinent to a single chapter is included in an appendix immediately following it. These appendices are numbered 2.1, 6.2, etc. Material of recurring interest appears in six appendices at the end of the volume, lettered A through F.

Chinese

The Pinyin transliteration system is used throughout, including in quoted text, except for the names of authors who use non-Pinyin spellings for their own names and for terms that are well known in a Latinate version (e.g. Confucius).

Chinese characters are included in the text for translated passages and where immediate reference is especially convenient. All Chinese characters are given in traditional form.

Chinese translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Existing translations of Chinese texts are included for reference and referred to by name (e.g. Biot 1.409), rather than by name and date.

Greek and Latin

In most cases, Latin transliteration is used for Greek names and places mentioned in the text (e.g. Calchas, Chaerophon) because it is more likely to be familiar to the non-specialist. I follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (e.g. Claros, rather than Clarus). Greek transliteration is used for Greek

words quoted in Greek and for names that are particularly obscure. A few inscriptions are given in Greek in the footnotes.

Unless otherwise indicated, Greek and Latin texts and translations are from the Loeb Classical Library, sometimes with slight modifications, with the translator indicated by name (e.g. Perrin). Translations from the Homeric poems are modified from Richmond Lattimore's translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Other translations are my own.

Abbreviations for Greek and Latin texts follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. References to Greek translations are provided for texts unavailable through the Loeb Classical Library editions. Most abbreviations used are listed below, for the convenience of the non-specialist reader.

Certain key terms only lose by translation, or worse, the short-cut of translation introduces confusion by force of habit. Therefore, I have chosen to leave certain key words as they are. These include the Chinese terms *dao* (familiar to some as *tao*), *qi*, and *yin* and *yang*. Greek examples include *mantis* (plural *manteis*) rather than seer, polis (plural *poleis*) rather than state, and *tekhnē* (art or science). In translating certain Chinese terms I have aimed for renderings that are more clear, if sometimes less familiar, for example mantic astrolabe (rather than diviner's board). In other cases, I have retained Chinese titles, for example for the *Zuo zhuan* (Zuo Transmissions).

I use the term "state" as a term of convenience to comprehend what are in actuality a wide range of communities and authorities. In a Chinese context it includes the domains of the Shang kings (*wang* 王), the dukes in charge of the states (*guo* 國) of the Warring States period, and in the Qin and Han periods the rulers (*di* 帝) of those empires. In a Greek context it includes *poleis*, but also communities such as colonies and other groups, such as the many smaller groups that questioned Delphi. In Macedonian and Roman contexts it refers to those respective empires.

Chinese texts and journals

Unless otherwise indicated, references to the Chinese Thirteen Classics are to the *Shisan jing zhushu* edition of Ruan Yuan (1815, facsimile edition, Taipei: Yiwen jushu, 1980). They and other texts using premodern pagination are cited with colons separating *juan* or *pian* and page number (e.g. *LJ* 13.7b). For the *Zuo zhuan* the modern edition of Yang Bojun (1991) is used because of its availability, convenience, and widespread use by other scholars. In this and other editions that use modern pagination,

references give page number, followed by section or subsection (e.g. Zuo, 849 (Cheng 10.4)).

Chinese Standard Histories are from the Zhonghua shuju series (Beijing, 1959–), and are cited by chapter and page number (e.g. *Han shu* 30.1772). Other early Chinese primary texts are cited from the *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* or *Sibu beiyao* editions. Periods are used to separate chapter and section in texts where a chapter-and-verse or section reference style is conventional (e.g. the *Shi jing*, *Analects*, and *Mencius*).

Premodern texts, excavated texts, and archaeological monographs without individual authors are cited by title. Short archaeological reports without individual authors are cited by journal (e.g. from *Wen wu*: e.g. WW 1995: 1: 37–43).

The following abbreviations are used for major Chinese primary and secondary texts and journals. Full entries are found in the bibliography.

| | |
|---------|---|
| AM | <i>Asia Major</i> |
| Baoshan | <i>Baoshan Chu jian</i> |
| BEFEO | <i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i> (Paris) |
| BHT | <i>Baihu tong</i> |
| BIHP | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology</i> (Taiwan) |
| BMFEA | <i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i> (Stockholm) |
| BSOAS | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London) |
| CS | <i>Chinese Science</i> |
| DJ | <i>Daojia wenhua yanjiu</i> (Shanghai) |
| EASTM | <i>East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine</i> |
| EC | <i>Early China</i> |
| ECTBG | Loewe (1993) |
| EO | <i>Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident: Cahiers de recherches comparatives</i> (Paris) |
| Guodian | <i>Guodian Chu mu zhujian</i> |
| GY | <i>Guo yu</i> |
| Heji | <i>Jiaguwen heji</i> |
| HHS | <i>Hou Han shu</i> |
| HJAS | <i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i> |
| HNZ | <i>Huainanzi</i> |
| HS | <i>Han shu</i> |
| HSBZ | <i>Han shu bu zhu</i> |
| JA | <i>Journale Asiatique</i> |
| JAS | <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i> |
| JAOS | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> |

| | |
|----------|---|
| JCR | <i>Journal of Chinese Religions</i> |
| JHKG | <i>Jianghan Kaogu</i> |
| Jiudian | <i>Jiudian Chu mu</i> |
| KGXB | <i>Kaogu xuebao</i> |
| LH | <i>Lun heng</i> |
| LJ | <i>Li ji</i> |
| LNZ | <i>Lienü zhuan jiao zhu</i> |
| LS | <i>Huangdi neijing lingshu</i> |
| LSCQ | <i>Lü shi chunqiu</i> |
| MS | <i>Monumenta Serica</i> |
| MWD | <i>Mawangdui Han mu boshu</i> |
| NN | <i>Nan Nü (Leiden)</i> |
| PEW | <i>Philosophy East & West</i> |
| SBBY | <i>Sibu beiyao</i> |
| SBCK | <i>Sibu congkan [Collected Publications from the Four Categories]</i> |
| SHD | <i>Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian</i> |
| SJ | <i>Shi ji</i> |
| SKQS | <i>Siku quanshu</i> |
| SSJZS | <i>Shisan jing zhushu</i> |
| SW | <i>Huangdi neijing suwen</i> |
| TP | <i>T'oung-pao</i> |
| Wangshan | <i>Jiangling Wangshan Shazhong Chu mu</i> |
| WW | <i>Wen wu</i> |
| XBZZJC | <i>Xinbian Zhuzi jicheng</i> |
| Yinwan | <i>Yinwan Han mu jian du</i> |
| YL | <i>Yi li</i> |
| ZJS | <i>Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian</i> |
| ZJT | <i>Guanju Qin Han mu jian du</i> |
| ZL | <i>Zhou li</i> |
| Zuo | <i>Zuo zhuan</i> |
| ZY | <i>Zhou yi zhengyi</i> |
| ZZJC | <i>Zhuzi jicheng</i> |

Greek texts, inscriptions, and journals

The following abbreviations are used for Greek inscriptions, journals, and major reference works. Full references are given in the bibliography.

| | |
|-------|---|
| AGIBM | <i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> |
|-------|---|

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>AJPh</i> | <i>American Journal of Philology</i> |
| <i>BCH</i> | <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> |
| <i>BE</i> | <i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (1852–84) |
| <i>BICS</i> | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i> (London) |
| <i>C</i> | Carapanos (1878) |
| <i>CA</i> | <i>Classical Antiquity</i> |
| <i>CDV</i> | Christidis, Dakaris, and Vokotopoulou (1999) |
| <i>CPh</i> | <i>Classical Philology</i> |
| <i>CQ</i> | <i>Classical Quarterly</i> |
| <i>CR</i> | <i>Classical Review</i> |
| <i>DCV</i> | Dakaris, Christidis, and Vokotopoulou (1993) |
| <i>DI</i> | <i>Didyma: Die Inschriften</i> |
| <i>Dind.</i> | Dindorff |
| <i>EE</i> | Edelstein and Edelstein, <i>Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies</i> |
| <i>Ep. Chron.</i> | <i>Ἠπειρωτικά Χρονικά</i> (Epeirotika Chronika, Ioannina) |
| <i>FD</i> | <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> |
| <i>Font.</i> | Fontenrose (1978) |
| <i>G&R</i> | <i>Greece & Rome</i> |
| <i>GRBS</i> | <i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> |
| <i>HPhQ</i> | <i>History of Philosophy Quarterly</i> |
| <i>HR</i> | <i>History of Religions</i> |
| <i>HSPH</i> | <i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i> |
| <i>IC</i> | <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> |
| <i>IG</i> | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . <i>Academicia Litterarum Borussica</i> , 1873– |
| <i>IGUR</i> | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> |
| <i>IM</i> | <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> |
| <i>JHS</i> | <i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> |
| <i>KW</i> | Kekule von Stradonitz and Winnefeld (1909) |
| <i>OCD</i> ³ | S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (3rd edn., rev. 2003) |
| <i>PAAH</i> | <i>Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Hetaireias</i> |
| <i>Parke</i> | Parke (1957) |
| <i>PCPhS</i> | <i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i> |
| <i>PW</i> | Parke and Wormell, <i>The Delphic Oracle</i> |
| <i>REG</i> | <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> |
| <i>RO</i> | Rhodes and Osborne, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC</i> |
| <i>SEG</i> | <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (1923–) |

| | |
|------------------|---|
| SGDI | Hoffman (1899) |
| SIG ³ | <i>Supplementum Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> |
| SVF | <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> . Ed. von Arnim, H. 1903–24. Leipzig. |
| TAPhA | <i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> |
| Tod | Tod, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> |
| V | Vokotopoulou (1992) |

Quotations from major Greek and Latin authors are from standard editions and line numbers are given whenever possible. Editions and translations available through the Loeb Classical Library are not referenced individually. A few less familiar texts and translations are listed in the bibliography.

Abbreviations for Greek and Latin texts follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* and the Liddell and Scott *Greek–English Lexicon*.

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|--------------------|---|
| Ael. | Aelian |
| VH | <i>Varia Historia</i> |
| Aesch. | Aeschylus |
| Ag. | <i>Agamemnon</i> |
| Cho. | <i>Choephoroe</i> (Libation Bearers) |
| Eum. | <i>Eumenides</i> (Kindly Ones) |
| PV | <i>Prometheus Vincitus</i> (Prometheus Bound) |
| Sept. | <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> (Seven against Thebes) |
| Apol. Rhod. Argon. | Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i> |
| Apollod. | Apollodorus |
| Bibl. | <i>Bibliotheca</i> (Library) |
| Epit. | <i>Epitome</i> |
| Apul. | Apuleius |
| De Dog. Plat. | <i>De dogmate Platonis</i> |
| Arist. | Aristotle |
| An. Pr. | <i>Analytica Priora</i> |
| Ath. Pol. | <i>Athēnaiōn Politeia</i> (Constitution of the Athenians) |
| Div. somn. | <i>De divinatione per somnia</i> (On Divination through Dreams) |
| HA | <i>Historia animalium</i> (History of Animals) |
| Insom. | <i>De insomniis</i> (On Dreams) |
| Metaph. | <i>Metaphysica</i> |
| PA | <i>De partibus animalium</i> (Parts of Animals) |
| Physiogn. | <i>Physiognomonica</i> |
| Rh. | <i>Rhetorica</i> (Rhetoric) |

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|---------------------------|--|
| Aristid. <i>Panath.</i> | Aristides, <i>Panathenaica</i> |
| Aristoph. <i>Nub.</i> | Aristophanes, <i>Nubes</i> (Clouds) |
| Arr. | Arrian |
| Artem. | Artemidorus Daldianus |
| Ath. | Athenaeus |
| Cic. | Cicero |
| <i>Div.</i> | <i>De divinatione</i> |
| <i>Fat.</i> | <i>De fato</i> |
| <i>Leg.</i> | <i>Laws</i> |
| <i>Nat. Deor.</i> | <i>De natura deorum</i> |
| Clem. Al. | Clemens Alexandrinus |
| <i>Strom.</i> | <i>Strōmateis</i> |
| Curt. | Curtius Rufus |
| Dem. | Demosthenes |
| Dio Chrys. | Dio Chrysostom |
| Diod. | Diodorus Siculus |
| Diog. Laert. | Diogenes Laertius |
| DK | Hermann Diels and Walter Kranz, eds. <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> (6th edn., 1966) |
| <i>Ep.</i> | <i>Epitome</i> (Extracts) |
| Eur. | Euripides |
| <i>Bacch.</i> | <i>Bacchae</i> |
| <i>Hel.</i> | <i>Helena</i> |
| <i>IT</i> | <i>Iphigenia Taurica</i> (Iphigenia in Tauris) |
| <i>Med.</i> | <i>Medea</i> |
| <i>Or.</i> | <i>Orestes</i> |
| <i>Phoen.</i> | <i>Phoenissae</i> (The Phoenician Women) |
| Eus. <i>Praep. Evang.</i> | Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> |
| Fr. | Fragment |
| Hdt. | Herodotus |
| Hes. | Hesiod |
| <i>Dies</i> | <i>Opera et Dies</i> (Works and Days) |
| <i>Theog.</i> | <i>Theogony</i> (Birth of the Gods) |
| Hippoc. | Hippocrates (all texts from Littré edn.) |
| <i>Acut.</i> | <i>De Victur Ratione in morbis acutis</i> (On Regimen in Acute Diseases) |
| <i>Aer.</i> | <i>De aera, aquis, locis</i> (Airs, Waters, and Places) |

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|------------------------|--|
| <i>Art.</i> | <i>De articulis</i> (On the Articulations) |
| <i>De arte</i> | <i>On the Art</i> (<i>Peñ Tekhnēs</i>) |
| <i>Ep.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> (Letters) |
| <i>Morb. sacr.</i> | <i>De morbo sacro</i> (On the Sacred Disease) |
| <i>Prorrh.</i> | <i>Prorrheticum</i> (Prorrhetic) |
| <i>Vict.</i> | <i>De Victus Ratione</i> (On Regimen) |
| Hom. | Homer |
| <i>Il.</i> | <i>Iliad</i> |
| <i>Od.</i> | <i>Odyssey</i> |
| Hygin. <i>Fab.</i> | Hyginus, <i>Fabulae</i> |
| Iambl. | Iamblichus |
| <i>Eur.</i> | <i>Vita Euripidis</i> |
| <i>Myst.</i> | <i>De mysteriis</i> |
| <i>Pyth.</i> | <i>Vita Pythagorae</i> |
| Joseph. <i>Hypomn.</i> | Josephus, <i>Hypomnemata</i> |
| Jul. <i>Or.</i> | Julian, <i>Orationes</i> |
| Just. | Justinus |
| <i>Epit.</i> | <i>Epitome</i> (of Pompeius Trogus) |
| L | E. Littré, <i>Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate</i> . 10 vols. Paris, 1844, rpt. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1962 |
| LS | H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> (7th edn., 1883) |
| Lycurg. <i>Leoc.</i> | Lycurgus, <i>Against Leocrates</i> |
| Paus. | Pausanias |
| Philostr. | Philostratus |
| Phld. | Philodemus |
| <i>Mus.</i> | <i>De Musica</i> (On Music) |
| Phlegon | |
| <i>Ol.</i> | <i>Olympiads</i> |
| Phot. | Photius |
| <i>Lex.</i> | <i>Lexicon</i> |
| Pind. | Pindar |
| <i>Ol.</i> | <i>Olympians</i> |
| <i>Pyth.</i> | <i>Pythians</i> |
| Pl. | Plato |
| <i>Ap.</i> | <i>Apologia</i> |
| <i>Euth.</i> | <i>Euthydemus</i> |

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|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Grg.</i> | <i>Gorgias</i> |
| <i>Leg.</i> | <i>Laws</i> |
| <i>Phdr.</i> | <i>Phaedrus</i> |
| <i>Rep.</i> | <i>Republic</i> |
| <i>Symp.</i> | <i>Symposium</i> |
| <i>Theag.</i> | <i>Theages</i> |
| Pliny, NH | Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> |
| Plut. | Plutarch |
| <i>Alex.</i> | <i>Alexander</i> |
| <i>Arist.</i> | <i>Aristides</i> |
| <i>Cic.</i> | <i>Cicero</i> |
| <i>Cim.</i> | <i>Cimon</i> |
| <i>Comm. not.</i> | <i>De communibus notitiis adversos Stoicos</i> (Common Conceptions against the Skeptics) |
| <i>Def. or.</i> | <i>De Defectu oraculorum</i> (On the Obsolescence of Oracles) |
| <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Demosthenes</i> |
| <i>E apud Delph.</i> | <i>De E apud Delphos</i> (On the E at Delphi) |
| <i>Mor.</i> | <i>Moralia</i> (Philosophical Essays) |
| <i>Nic.</i> | <i>Nicias</i> |
| <i>Per.</i> | <i>Pericles</i> |
| <i>Pyth. Orac.</i> | <i>De Pythiae oraculis</i> (On the Pythian Oracle) |
| <i>Quaest. conv.</i> | <i>Quaestiones convivales</i> |
| <i>Thes.</i> | <i>Theseus</i> |
| Porph. <i>Plot.</i> | Porphyry, <i>Vita Plotini</i> |
| PW | H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, <i>The Delphic Oracle II: The Oracular Responses</i> (Blackwell, 1956) |
| Schol. | scholiast or scholia |
| Serv. <i>Aen.</i> | Servius, <i>Ad Aeneidem</i> |
| Socr. <i>Hist eccl.</i> | Socrates, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> |
| Soph. | Sophocles |
| <i>Ant.</i> | <i>Antigone</i> |
| OC | <i>Oedipus Colonus</i> (Oedipus at Colonus) |
| OT | <i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i> (Oedipus the King) |
| Stob. | Stobaeus |
| <i>Ecl.</i> | <i>Eklogoi</i> (Selections) |
| Strab. <i>Geog</i> | Strabo, <i>Geographica</i> |
| Suda | Greek Lexicon formerly known as <i>Suidas</i> |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Suet. | Suetonius |
| <i>Nero</i> | <i>Nero</i> |
| Tzetzes | |
| <i>Chil.</i> | <i>Chiliades</i> |
| Thuc. | Thucydides |
| Xen. | Xenophon |
| <i>An.</i> | <i>Anabasis</i> (Persian Expedition) |
| <i>Ap.</i> | <i>Apologia Socratis</i> |
| <i>Cyr.</i> | <i>Cyropaedia</i> |
| <i>Hell.</i> | <i>Hellenica</i> (History of Greece) |
| <i>Hipparch.</i> | <i>Hipparchus</i> (On the Cavalry General) |
| <i>Lac.</i> | <i>Respublica Lacedaemoniorum</i> (On the Constitution of the Lacedaimonians) |
| <i>Mem.</i> | <i>Memorabilia Socratis</i> |
| <i>Oec.</i> | <i>Oeconomicus</i> (Economics) |
| Zen. | Zenobius |
| Zon. <i>Hist.</i> | Zonaras (twelfth century CE) <i>Epitome Historiarum</i> (Extracts) |

Reference tables

Comparative time line (dates BCE unless otherwise indicated)

| China | Greece |
|--|--|
| 10,000–c. 2100 Neolithic Period | |
| 1700–c. 1100 Shang 商 Dynasty | 1700–1100 late Bronze Age ; Mycenaean culture |
| c. 1500–1300 bronze casting | |
| c. 1400–1200 Chinese script | |
| c. 1100–256 Zhou 周 Dynasty | 1200–800 Dark Age |
| c. 1100–771 Western Zhou 西周 | settlement of Aegean Islands and coast of Asia |
| King Wu 武王 r. 1045–1043 | Minor |
| 770–256 Eastern Zhou 東周 | 750–594 Aristocratic Age |
| 770–475 Spring and Autumn 春秋 | composition of Homeric poems (750–700?) |
| | Hesiod eighth–seventh century |
| | seventh–sixth-century emergence of polis |
| Zhou power eclipsed by Warring States | 561–507 Age of Athenian tyrants |
| | 561 Peisistratus seizes power |
| | 507 Athenian democracy restored |
| | fifth-century emergence of democracies |
| 475–222 Warring States 戰國 | 490–479 Persian Wars |
| | 478–445 Rise of Athenian Empire |
| | 431–404 Peloponnesian War |
| Confucius c. 500 | Aeschylus 525–456, Sophocles 495–405 |
| Mozi c. 470–390 | Euripides 480–406, Herodotus c. 484–425 |
| | 404–371 supremacy of Sparta |
| | Socrates 469?–399, Aristophanes c. 450–c. 385 |
| Mencius 372–328 | Xenophon 430–354 |
| Xunzi c. 310–237 | Plato 428–347 |
| Lü Buwei c. 239 | Aristotle 384–322 |
| Han Fei d. 233 | |

| China | Greece |
|---|---|
| 221–209 Qin 秦 Dynasty | 359–323 Rise of Macedon 323–146 Hellenistic Period |
| 206 BCE–220 CE Han 漢 Dynasty 206 BCE–9 CE Western (Former) Han 漢 | 323 death of Alexander |
| Liu Xin 劉歆 46 BCE–23 CE | 146–44 Greece a province of Roman Republic Apollodorus c. 180, Cicero 106–43, Lucretius (99–c. 55), Diodorus Siculus (c. 80–20) Roman Republic to 44 |
| 9–23 CE Xin 新 Dynasty Wang Mang 王莽 | Roman Empire 31 on Strabo (64 BCE–c. 25 CE), Pliny (23–79 CE) |
| 25–220 CE Eastern (Later) Han 後漢 | Plutarch c. 45–c. 125 CE, Arrian c. 87–145 CE Pausanias 115–18 CE |

Chinese dynasties (all dates BCE unless indicated)

Shang 1700–c. 1100 BCE
 Zhou c. 1100–256 BCE
 c. 1100–771 Western Zhou BCE
 770–256 Eastern Zhou BCE
 770–475 Spring and Autumn BCE
 475–222 Warring States BCE
 Qin 221–209 BCE
 Western (Former) Han 206 BCE–9 CE
 Xin Wang Mang 9–23
 Eastern (Later) Han 25–220
 Three Kingdoms 220–65
 Six Dynasties 220–589
 Jin 265–420
 Northern Dynasties 386–581
 Sui 581–618
 Tang 618–907
 Five Dynasties (north) 907–60
 Ten Kingdoms (south) 907–79
 Liao 907–1279
 Song 960–1279
 Northern Song 960–1127

Southern Song 1127–1279
 Jin 1115–1234
 Yuan 1271–1368
 Ming 1368–1644
 Qing 1644–1911
 Republic of China 1912–49
 People’s Republic of China 1949–

Dukes of Lu in the *Zuo zhuan*

| Duke | Reign |
|----------|----------|
| Yin 隱 | 722–712 |
| Huan 桓 | 711–694 |
| Zhuang 莊 | 693–662 |
| Min 閔 | 661–660 |
| Xi 僖 | 659–627 |
| Wen 文 | 626–609 |
| Xuan 宣 | 608–591 |
| Cheng 成 | 590–573 |
| Xiang 襄 | 572–542 |
| Zhao 昭 | 541–510 |
| Ding 定 | 509–495 |
| Ai 哀 | 494–467 |
| [Dao 悼 | 466–429] |