

Divining Bureaucracy:
Divination Manuals as Technology and the Standardization of Efficacy in
Early China

by

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DEDICATION

For Jayme
For Elizabeth
For Ima and Abba

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Chapter I: Introduction

Introduction:

For upper and lower echelons of society in early China, divination held an important place as a means for advising one's present and future. Divination manuals discovered in archaeological digs of the 20th century and in recent years provide us with a glimpse into the ways in which early Chinese thinkers divined and viewed the divination process. The authors of divination manuals dating to early China (c. 220 B.C.E.-c. 400 C.E.) treated divination as a technology to gain access to hidden empirical knowledge. By transcribing this knowledge in cosmological language and through the use of diagrams, the authors of these manuals attempted to standardize knowledge for capable readers. The manuals thereby mark a crucial departure from ancient China (c. 1600-c. 300 B.C.E.), when divination authority was invested in privileged individuals, whose skills were monopolized by the wealthy and powerful. The standardization of divinatory techniques and hidden knowledge in these manuals fits the context of bureaucratic expertise and the expanding scope of influence of written culture in the early imperial period. Using an historical approach, I argue that the knowledge recorded in divination manuals points to a view of divination as a perfectible technique for the discovery of practical knowledge. I carefully differentiate such information from the imagined perspective of the manual authors and the manual users.

When considering the historical and cultural specifics of the Chinese context, the term "divination" has a number of definitions, typically either involving deities

and other-worldly powers, or excluding such powers and focusing instead on humanity's relationship with the cosmos. Divination was used throughout the ancient world as a means for understanding one's place in the cosmos and attempting to change one's future. According to the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, divination is the practice of obtaining information about things in the future ordinarily removed from regular perception by consulting informants other than humans.¹ Scholars of divination in China amend this definition by differentiating between "prognostication" and "divination" as the former is concerned only with the future, while "divination" is also concerned with the past and present.² Lisa Raphals' definition of divination as gleaned from material in the *History of the Han (Hanshu 漢書)*, dating to the first century C.E.) is very explicit:

[Divination] may, but need not, involve interaction with a god or other extra-human contact. Divine contact may be indirect, mediated by a system of signs requiring interpretation, for example, when questions are put to signs present in nature, but perceptible only to those with appropriate gifts. Or divination may rely entirely on a hermeneutic system of signs with no divine agent implied.³

Raphals recognizes that what is termed "divination" may or may not include contact with deities and also comprises of multiple methods and practices.

In discussing divination as a perfectible technique, I refer to "the practical abilities that allow a person to effectively perform easily and efficiently a given

¹ James Hastings ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Volume IV: Confirmation—Drama* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), 775.

² See Lisa Raphals, "Divination in the *Han Shu* Bibliographic Treatise," *Early China* 32 (2008-2009): 47-48. The Chinese terms for "divination" also vary, sometimes based on the method used (such as 龜卜 *guibu* or 龜筮 *guishi* for divination by means of a tortoise). The Chinese term *zhan* 占 means "to practice divination" and is usually paired with *bu* 卜 ("to foretell," "to predict"), creating a verb-object.

³ *Ibid.*

activity,”⁴ in this case divination. A “technique” is the application of a certain form of knowledge that is established through the transmission of concrete experiences without necessarily knowing why or how such actions are efficacious. In this respect, the reader or user of the manual and ostensibly anyone who was literate could perfect the techniques delineated in the manuals.

Divination manuals from this period may be considered a form of technology because they reveal empirical information to their readers. By “technology” I refer to a method of revealing information or truth.⁵ The word comes from the Greek *technē*, or “craft.” There is an element to the word “technology” that refers to an understanding or expertise in something, “knowing in the widest sense,” or “knowing why.” The characteristics of the Greek *technē* parallels the word *epistēmē* (science) or types of knowledge that demonstrate the reasons for what is observed empirically.⁶ “*Epistēmē* focuses attention on the *truth* of what is known” or pure knowledge; but “with *technē*, the focus is on efficiency” or the knowledge of doing or making.⁷ It is technique, but with the additional element of the “how” or “why,” or a grounding of theoretical knowledge. Another contemporary definition of technology is that it is an “extension of the human body, allowing us to overcome the physical limitations with

⁴ Evandro Agazzi, “From Technique to Technology: The Role of Modern Science,” *Philosophy & Technology* 4:2 (Winter 1998): 2.

⁵ David M. Kaplan, ed., *Readings in the Philosophy of Technology* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 39.

⁶ While the term *technē* is often translated as “art,” its meaning is more complicated than aesthetic expression or beauty in form. Plato, Aristotle, and Hippocrates all discussed the parallels between *technē* and *epistēmē*, as did Martin Heidegger. See Martin Heidegger, “The Question Concerning Technology,” in *Basic Writings*, ed. David Farrell Krell (New York: Harper Collins, 1993).

⁷ Evandro Agazzi, “From Technique to Technology,” 3.

which we are born, and to adapt the natural environment to our own needs....”⁸ This definition includes physical tools and also concepts such as writing or the alphabet.

With these definitions in mind, the early Chinese manuals at the core of this study may be considered both divination technique and technology because they reveal information about the world that would otherwise be unknown. Moreover, we can divide these definitions between the authors of the manuals and the users, insofar as we can come to conclusions about ancient materials. In the examples I analyze below, divination is a form of empirical knowledge and not speculative knowledge, as it is based on cosmic rules and not through a connection with spirits or deities. The authors of these manuals are experts in the sense that they have tools that reveal knowledge and offer these tools to their readers. Of course, the term “technology” is typically used in a modern context as a consequence of modern science. In this way, the reader connects to technology than the authors of the manuals. The reader may use the divination manual in the same way we use technology today when we use it without fully understanding how it operates. The knowledge of its efficacy has been transmitted to us culturally, and not necessarily through experience.

Each chapter focuses on selections from texts containing divination manuals. The texts I will draw on originate from three caches: the *Dream Divination Book* from the Yuelu cache of bamboo slips dating to the Qin 秦 dynasty (221 B.C.E.-206 B.C.E.); five divination sections from tomb 6 at Yinwan, Jiangsu Province and dating to 11 B.C.E. (the Han 漢 Dynasty 206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.); and a section from the manuscript Pélliot-Chinoise 2856 (Recto) discovered in the Mogao caves at Dunhuang, Gansu Province, dating to c. 400 C.E. Using specific examples from each cache, I will discuss how the texts disclose specific methods for using divination as a

⁸ John W. Humphrey, *Ancient Technology*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), xiv.

technique for readers to interpret their dreams, choose auspicious dates for various activities, and heal their bodies from illness.

The bureaucracy in China rapidly developed during the Qin dynasty, when efforts were made to standardize weights, measures, the written language, and other instruments of government and trade. This process continued during the Han, where many of these projects of standardization achieved widespread success, and served as a model for dynasties to come. The manuals that are at the focus of this study correspond to the larger project of the state's establishment of a codified bureaucracy during this period. Legal, medical, and technical manuals shared theoretical assumptions about the role of the "non-exceptional agent" (a person who did not necessarily have the training for various skills, nor special characteristics for the proper exercise of those skills) to whom the manuals taught techniques necessary to complete specific tasks. Divination manuals are no exception. The technology explicated in these texts makes efforts to *reveal* information to the reader as opposed to keeping it secret.

Employing the lens of technology, I will ask open-ended questions about how these texts actually functioned in their original contexts. But there is still a great deal we simply do not know. Who were the authors of these manuals? Were they religious experts? What were the economics of this form of knowledge? Why were they placed in the tombs of various officials? Texts such as the ones at the core of this study most likely had one or more authors and may have been copied by the users (possibly the tomb occupant or a copyist) from a master copy.⁹ Every year, new tombs are

⁹ Guolong Lai 來國龍, "Textual Fluidity and Fixity in the Manuscript Culture of Early China 論戰國秦漢寫本文化中文本的流動與固定," *Jianbo* 簡帛 (Journal for the study of bamboo and silk manuscripts), vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji

discovered and more texts are added to our growing list of early Chinese excavated materials. Perhaps in the near future we may have a better understanding of the material at hand.

Definitions and Further Discussion:

At this point in our discussion, it will be useful to analyze interpretations of divination by the authors and compilers of transmitted texts and modern scholars' analysis of those texts. Transmitted sources are ancient texts that were repeatedly copied and changed throughout history. The authors of the *Commentary of Zuo* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳, compiled c. 389 B.C.E.), divided the “mantic arts” into three categories: 1) “techniques of turtle and yarrow in which the augural signs (cracks and hexagrams) are produced by voluntary action,” 2) “techniques for interpreting signs which manifest themselves spontaneously in the physical or heavenly world,” and 3) “dreams, whose interpretation also concerns signs which appear spontaneously.”¹⁰ Recent archaeological finds, however, have proven that the reality of divination was much more complicated than the authors of transmitted texts would have their readers believe, and points to the fluidity of such rigid categorizations.

In another transmitted text, the bibliographical catalog entitled “Yiwen zhi” (藝文志 “bibliographic treatise”) of the *History of the Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書, compiled by Ban Gu 32-92 C.E.), literature found in the Imperial library was divided into six

chubanshe, 2007): 515-527. His discussion is about the Shuihudi Qin tomb, but it may relate to other texts in this study.

¹⁰ Marc Kalinowski, “Diviners and Astrologers under the Eastern Zhou: Transmitted Texts and Recent Archaeological Discoveries,” *Early Chinese Religion: Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC-220 AD) Vol. 1* eds. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 368. See chapter 2 for more information.

categories.¹¹ One of these divisions, “*shushu*” (數術) or “numbers and techniques” was under the auspices of the head of the Office of the Grand Astrologer (*Taishi ling* 太史令). Kalinowski explains that “[b]y allocating this task to the institution controlling the activities of astrologers and calendar officials, the edict conferred an official status on such activities and institutionalized their transmission.”¹² The category of *shushu* was also divided into six groups: “Celestial Patterns” (for mapping constellations, astromancy, and meteoromancy), “Calendars and Chronologies” (for calendar computations, movements of the planets, the art of constructing sundials), “Five Agents” (for divination by means of *yin-yang* and the *wuxing*, hemerology, and calendrical astrology), “Turtle and Milfoil divination,” “Diverse Prognostications” (oneiromancy, omenology, exorcisms, and signs), and “Morphomancy” (topomancy, physiognomy, and zooscopy).¹³ Kalinowski explains the significance of these divisions:

On the one hand, they confirm the predominance of astro-calendrical traditions in the transmission of *shushu* texts. On the other hand, each group is divided into two types, one positive, the other negative: those procedures deemed useful to governance and the public welfare met with approval, while

¹¹ The six divisions are: Classics (*liuyi* 六藝), Masters (*zhuzi* 諸子), Belles Lettres (*shifu* 詩賦), Military Writings (*bingshu* 兵書), Numbers-Techniques (*shushu* 數術), and medicine (*fangji* 方技). See Marc Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion.” In *Religion and Chinese Society Vol I: Ancient and Medieval China*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004), 223-248.

¹² Marc Kalinowski, “The Interaction between Popular Religion and *Shushu* Culture in the Dunhuang Manuscripts,” *Law and Custom: Papers from the Third International Conference on Sinology, History Section*. (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 2002), 245.

¹³ These translations are based on Kalinowski, nt. 16. The Chinese terms are as follows: *tianwen* 天文, *lipu* 曆譜, *wuxing* 五行, *shigui* 著龜, *zazhan* 雜占, *xingfa* 刑法.

those thought to serve personal interests, spread confusion, encourage commerce with deities, and lead to disorder were condemned.¹⁴

This attitude, or “rhetoric of differentiation” between what is considered “orthodox” and “heterodox” is seen continuously throughout the Han and later.

Kalinowski explains that “the compilers of [the *History of the Han*] catalog made a classification of knowledge that depended functionally on the social and intellectual conditions of their time.”¹⁵ Categories such as *shushu* were constructions determined by the authors and compilers of the *History of the Han* for politically motivated reasons. These divisions were written by elite hands for elite eyes, but they were *not* universal categories in early China. The *History of the Han*, for example, was compiled by Ban Gu (32-92 C.E.), who was part of a distinguished Eastern Han family. The literati had a dual perspective about the *shushu* techniques as both beneficial to the government and state but without strict control over such techniques, they could also be detrimental to the state.¹⁶ Thus, standardizing the *shushu* techniques in the *History of the Han* was how the elites saw fit “to orient them [techniques] toward applications considered more suitable for [elite] cosmological beliefs and standards of rationality.”¹⁷ Scholars of the first century B.C.E. defined what was valuable to the “religious and ideological foundations of the newly established empire”¹⁸ and used such information to their benefit.

¹⁴ Marc Kalinowski, “The Interaction between Popular Culture and *Shushu* Culture in the Dunhuang Manuscripts,” 246-247.

¹⁵ Marc Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion,” 224.

¹⁶ Ban Gu’s catalogue was based on the *Seven Essentials of Liu Xiang* (*Qilüe* 七略), who in turn based his catalogue on his father’s subject catalogue, ca. 26 B.C.E. Liu Xiang also categorized the information in his catalogue.

¹⁷ Marc Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion,” 224.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 227.

The successful transmission of texts such as the *History of the Han* exemplifies the process by which certain texts and the divination technologies found within those texts were promoted, relegating others to the margins. Lisa Raphals points out in her article “Divination in the *Han Shu* Bibliographic Treatise,” that if we examine the treatment of divinatory texts in the *History of the Han*, we can learn about the “process by which certain texts were promoted to the status of universal classics and others marginalized as limited, technical expertise.”¹⁹ Regarding the constructed divisions within the *History of the Han*, she asks, “[w]hat does it reveal about the role of divination as a constituent of scientific observation and systematic inquiry in early China?”²⁰ She agrees with Kalinowski that the compilers of the *History of the Han* had very distinct goals about what kind of information should be recorded and wanted to privilege texts such as the *Book of Changes* as a philosophical text and not a divination manual.²¹ Divination was thus relegated to a lower level from an early period. She concludes that “the Treatise [in the *History of the Han*] offers room for speculation about the role of divination as an element in the growth of systematic inquiry in early China.”²² Such systematic inquiry may be seen in textual evidence from this period about other forms “specialist” knowledge. Groups of literate men circulated texts and knowledge, influencing each other’s written works whether they were involved in medicine, the military, law or administration.²³

¹⁹ Lisa Raphals, “Divination in the Han Shu Bibliographic Treatise,” *Early China* 32 (2008-2009): 47.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 95.

²² Raphals, 99.

²³ Ibid., 100.

Information moved between these groups, even between the ones competing for power.²⁴

As in the Han, during the Tang 唐 dynasty (618-907 C.E.) “the compilation and ordering of *shushu* texts remained closely connected with the official bodies that were in charge of astro-calendrical practices and the mantic arts.”²⁵ The Bureau of the Grand Astrologer (*Taishi ju* 太史局) was required to write reports of prognostication which were eventually archived. The Bureau was also responsible for producing the official calendar used by all members of the bureaucracy. The Office of the Grand Diviner (*Taibu shu* 太卜署) was comprised of close to a hundred members including diviners and exorcists.²⁶ Kalinowski explains that there was “homogeneity and relative stability of the *shushu* traditions throughout the entire period from the Tang to the beginning of the Song.”²⁷ The six categories found in the *History of the Han* were reduced to three categories by the Tang, in a system clearly demarcating differences between astro-calendrical sciences and the “mantic arts.” But while this is the perspective presented by the authors of authoritative state-sponsored texts, the reality of unofficial texts as found in the excavated archaeological materials presents a slightly different picture, emphasizing the fluidity between such categories. Kalinowski points out that in some of the excavated materials, particularly in

²⁴ Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), 335.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 255.

²⁶ See the *Tang liudian* (唐六典 Compendium of administrative law of the six divisions of the Tang bureaucracy) chapters 10 and 14 for more information. See also Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the Tang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

²⁷ Marc Kalinowski, “The Interaction between Popular Culture and *Shushu* Culture in the Dunhuang Manuscripts,” 256.

Dunhuang, there is evidence that *shushu* culture and interest in the mantic arts was widely shared “among people of different intellectual and social backgrounds.”²⁸

In the material that follows, it will become apparent that the authors of divination manuals are not asking for aid from informants other than humans (as in the definition given by the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*), but are using a systematic method for divination based upon a cyclical calendar system (hemerology) known as the sexagenary cycle (*gan zhi* 干支). A combination of the Ten Heavenly Stems (*tiangan* 天干) and the Twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支), make a cyclical system of sixty days and are used for years, months, days, and times of day. Evidence of this system can be found on the oracle bones dating to the Shang dynasty (c. 1600- c. 1046 B.C.E.). The first term, *jiazi* (甲子) combines the first of the Heavenly Stems (*jia*) with the first of the Earthly Branches (*zi*); the second term (*yichou* 乙丑) combines the second of the Heavenly Stems (*yi*) with the second of the Earthly Branches (*chou*), and so on. Since there are more Earthly Branches, the total number of combinations of branch and stem add up to sixty.²⁹ In many cases, authors of divination texts do ask for aid from ancestors or deities when divining, but in the divination manuals at the focus of this study, there is no evidence of that. For this reason, and the systematic manner in which the authors reveal empirical knowledge, I consider this type of divination a technology.

A large portion of the vocabulary used by the authors of the manuals therefore involves the sexagenary cycle, but other terms are equally important, including *qi* (氣),

²⁸ Ibid., 279.

²⁹ Consider the following: the 12 letters A through L and the numbers 1 through 10. The first combination is A1, B2, C3, etc. Because there are fewer numbers than letters, the combinations add up to sixty. A2, B3, C4 and so on are the next batch, then A3, B4, C5, etc.

yin-yang (陰陽), and *wuxing* (五行); these are terms that are repeatedly used in early Chinese texts but were historically “separate concepts that eventually fused together.”³⁰ The first term, *qi*, is often translated as “vapor,” “energy,” or “breath,” and forms everything in the cosmos, flowing all around us, throughout the cosmic realm, and also through our bodies. The concept of *yin-yang* is used to describe opposing but necessary forces in the cosmos. *Wuxing* is translated as “five phases,” “five elements,” and “five agents” and is a conceptual cyclical system in the cosmos and human bodies that includes wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. The terms “five phases” is preferred because it suggests a certain dynamism and constant shifting cycle. These three terms—*qi*, *yin-yang*, and *wuxing*—were fused together some time between 300 and 100 B.C.E. As Michael Nylan explains,

After unification [221 B.C.E.], prominent Qin and Han thinkers—emboldened, perhaps, by the need to justify a radically new political system—thought to trace the patterns linking human society to phenomenal existence.... Impulses to elaborate and systematize *yin-yang* Five Phases *qi* theory may have evolved in the circle of court classicists determined to assert their superiority over diviners and magicians in key deliberations...³¹

The unification of the empire changed the manner in which Qin and Han thinkers understood these terms, perhaps for political purposes, perhaps for intellectual purposes. Understanding these forces in the cosmos and our bodies became vital information for philosophers, political leaders, and persons involved in the technical arts.

Not only was understanding the forces in the cosmos and body an important focus for intellectuals in early China, but so too was transcribing such knowledge.

According to divination manuals from the Qin and Han dynasties, hidden knowledge

³⁰ Michael Nylan, “*Yin-yang*, Five Phases, and *qi*,” *China’s Early Empires: A Re-appraisal* Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 398.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 409.

about the present and future could be accessed and codified by non-exceptional agents. In the next few chapters, I discuss *possible* uses for these texts. Since we have no way of knowing who the authors of the texts were, and only some evidence of their readers, much of this is speculative. That said, a great deal of information may be gleaned from the texts themselves. Other forms of manuals written at this time, medical manuals for instance, would likewise have contained medical information for the non-exceptional agent.³² This concept of expert versus non-expert, or of specialist versus non-specialist is complicated by the fact that these were not terms used by early Chinese intellectuals. Both divining and healing were performed by individuals who did not necessarily see themselves as working under a “profession” by any means. Scholars such as Nathan Sivin (quoting Eliot Friedson’s definition of a profession) stress that medicine was not a profession during this period of Chinese history and therefore we may say the same for divination. Some healers and diviners had teachers, others did not. Some were government officials who were healers or diviners on the side.

I use the term “non-exceptional agent” to express that the readers of these manuals did not *need* divination training (though it is entirely possible that they did have some training), nor were they expected to have exceptional links to the spirit world.³³ Donald Harper discusses this situation during the Warring States period when “an increasing number of experts presented themselves in company with the masters of philosophy seeking patronage in return for their ideas and advice, and the availability of their writings ensured its increased dissemination among the elite at

³² See Nathan Sivin, “Therapy and Antiquity in late Imperial China,” *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500-1800*, Peter N. Miller and François Lous, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 224.

³³ See also Donald Harper’s discussion in the *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 817-18.

large.”³⁴ Eventually, “the practitioners of various specialties (astrology, music, medicine, etc.) worked mainly within their specialties, aware of one another’s ideas and subject to mutual influence, but not pursuing a common intellectual purpose.”³⁵

While the manual-users did not necessarily need specialized training, the authors of the manuals were experts who relayed their expertise in written form. I can not argue that any literate person could *write* these texts. The expertise of the authors lies in the authority of the written word. While an oral component may have existed in relationship to the text, we do not have evidence of it. It is possible that the author and the reader of the manuals were one and the same, but due to varying lexical and linguistic differences in the body of the text, it is more likely that there were multiple authors responsible for the manuals examined below, particularly the Yinwan manuals. The shift from an oral culture into a written one is significant during this period of time because of the growing power of the bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy and the State in early China:

A brief discussion of the historical backdrop to our tomb materials will be beneficial for understanding the importance of bureaucracy during this period and the ways in which a strong bureaucracy may have influenced the authors of divination manuals. While the Spring and Autumn Period (春秋時代 c. 770-482 B.C.E.) was best known for a flourishing of philosophical ideas and rituals, the Warring States Period (戰國時代 c. 481-221 B.C.E.) is characterized by the violence and battle that took place between various states, all vying for control of central China. The state farthest to the West was the Qin state, and in 221 B.C.E. the leader of that state

³⁴ Ibid., 814.

³⁵ Ibid., 818.

enforced the unification of the states, becoming the first Emperor of China (as opposed to previous ruler “kings”). Arguably his commitment to building a far-reaching bureaucratic system was the most important element to his legacy. Weights, measures, currency, axles of carts, language, law, and many other areas of society were standardized as a method for control. As Yuri Pines explains, one of the reasons the imperial lasted for so long was because of the system set in motion by the first emperor whereby executive powers were delegated to ministers, while the omnipotence and ritual necessity of the monarch remained authoritative.³⁶ Such ministers and bureaucrats, who could be chosen for moral and intellectual superiority, held enough power to run the governmental system without challenging the ruler.

The bureaucratic system of imperial China has been the focus of much scholarship over the course of the twentieth century, most notably Max Weber, whose theory of bureaucracy has influenced scholarship on imperial China because of the argument that bureaucracy is indispensable to the modern world as it is both efficient and rational in its methods for the organization of human activity. Even in the ancient period, educating and training bureaucrats was necessary, and manuals were possibly written in an effort to streamline this process. It is within this bureaucratic model that divination manuals may be viewed since bureaucrats were trained to think and act a certain way, to clearly explain methods and processes, and to demarcate control and power.

Recently uncovered archaeological materials reveal how the Qin government controlled the state through bureaucracy. For instance, the tomb at Shuihudi (睡虎地 see chapters 2 and 4 for more details) contained Qin legal documents and records of

³⁶ Yuri Pines, *The Everlasting Empire: The Political Culture of Ancient China*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2012), 45.

administrative procedures. Prior to unification, the Qin state needed a great deal of money and organization in order to destroy its rivals. Robin Yates points out that “they enabled the state administration of Qin to control the personnel in its bureaucracy and to dominate its population and to extract from both greater resources to the benefit of the central authorities.”³⁷ Many of the techniques perfected in the Qin were adopted and adapted by later dynasties.

One of the texts included in the Shuihudi tomb is called “How to be an Official” (*Weili zhi dao* 為吏之道) and describes “modes of practice and behavior for these dignitaries.”³⁸ For instance, “officials should avoid giving way to emotion or passion,” and “they should avoid practicing oppression and shun an exclusive pursuit of wealth.” There were five aspirational qualities including loyalty and integrity, and five failings “such as excessive arrogance and unauthorized action.” These bureaucrats “should be ready to take advice and try to estimate other persons’ potentialities; they should be careful and responsible administrators; they should issue clear orders and avoid the danger of arousing disaffection.” Michael Loewe describes the far reach of the bureaucracy:

Statutory provision, recommendation, and testing of ability lay behind the recruitment of the 130,000 officials required to govern the empire. In 5 BCE, when the registered population was of the order of 57.7 million individuals, there were probably thirty thousand officials in the central administration and a hundred thousand in the provinces. From 186 BCE, youths of seventeen or eighteen years were being trained for the work of low-grade clerks, and in particular cases for that of diviners or prayer reciters. After three years they were tested in their knowledge of texts, ability to write, and familiarity with different styles of script, and posted as junior clerks according to their abilities,

³⁷ Robin D.S. Yates, “State Control of Bureaucrats Under the Qin: Techniques and Procedures” *Early China* 20 (1995): 322-323.

³⁸ Michael Loewe, “The Operation of the Government,” *China’s Early Empires: A Reappraisal*, 308-309.

and they might advance to senior official positions. How far this procedure was put into practice cannot be estimated.³⁹

This early incarnation of the bureaucratic system points to a training system put in place. Already from a young age, bureaucrats were trained in a manner where they were subsumed into the mechanism that would control a huge swath of territory for thousands of years.

The Shuihudi tomb is extremely valuable for our understanding of the Qin bureaucracy as many examples of legal documents were discovered within. Some of these legal documents may be considered legal manuals for use in the bureaucracy.⁴⁰ In another tomb, in Zhangjiashan (張家山, dating to 186 B.C.E.), scholars contend that the two legal texts found⁴¹ within were distributed for educational or training purposes.⁴² Scholars have yet to compare legal manuals to divination manuals, but it shall be most interesting to see the results of such data collation, particularly with regard to linguistic and conceptual similarities.

One argument for the necessity of manuals for bureaucrats is that an official would need to decide which posts to take and which to refuse,⁴³ and as such, hemerological prescriptions (“daybooks”) would have been very useful for a conflicted bureaucrat. Daybooks (*rishu* 日書 see Chapter 3 for more details) were first discovered in the Shuihudi tomb, where the characters for “daybook” were

³⁹ Ibid., 309.

⁴⁰ They include “Qin lü shiba zhong” 秦律十八種, “Xiaolü” 效律, “Qin lü zachao” 秦律雜抄, “Falü dawen” 法律答問, and “Fengzhen shi” 封診式. See *Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1978 and 2001).

⁴¹ “Ernian lüling” 二年律令 and “Zouyanshu” 奏讞書

⁴² Miranda Brown and Charles Sanft, “Categories and Legal Reasoning in Early Imperial China: The Meaning of *Fa* in Recovered Texts,” *Oriens Extremus* 29 (2010): 285.

⁴³ Ibid., 340; 349.

written as a heading for two similar texts (now called “daybook A” and “daybook B”). The daybooks allow readers to choose (divine) auspicious or inauspicious days in the sexagenary calendar. The tomb occupant in Shuihudi included daybooks with the materials on the Qin bureaucracy in his burial. Chapter 2 details these debates and their connections to the *Yuelu Dream Divination Book*.

Much of the latest information we have about the Qin dynasty comes from excavated materials and similarly, the Han dynasty and its intricacies are revealed to us as more excavated evidence are discovered. Some background on this period will be useful for our discussion of the Yinwan tomb and changes in the bureaucracy during this period. The Han dynasty is typically divided into the Western Han (206 B.C.E.-9 C.E.) whose capital was located in Xi’an (Chang’an), and the Eastern Han (25-220 C.E.) whose capital was first in Luoyang and then Xuchang. Briefly, the Xin dynasty (9-23 C.E.) led by Wang Mang reigned in between the two Han periods. Michael Nylan was the first to divide the Han dynasty into four periods. Period I lasted for the first fifty years (206-154 B.C.E.) and was an extension of the Warring States period in the sense that wars for the unification of large swathes of geography continued, no single ideology reigned politically, and “a mixed economy existed in which feudal kingdoms were interspersed with areas of alienable land under direct state control.”⁴⁴

Period II lasted about a hundred years (156-49 B.C.E.) and “witnessed certain dramatic changes.” Three emperors⁴⁵ reigned during this period, each with different policies. Wars of unification finally ended but wars of expansion continued. “The

⁴⁴ Michael Nylan, “Style, Patronage, and Confucian Ideals in Han Dynasty Art: Problems of Interpretation,” *Archives of Asian Art* 46 (1993): 95.

⁴⁵ Emperor Qing (r. 156-141 B.C.E.), Emperor Wu (r. 140-87 B.C.E.), and Emperor Xuan (r. 73-49 B.C.E.)

throne's chief domestic policy was to limit the size of local landholdings; this would maximize central government control by enlarging the tax rolls and minimizing tax evasion." Large manors were confiscated, local elites were transferred far from home to ensure that there were no local rebellions. Period III (48 B.C.E.-24 C.E.) is characterized by the gradual weakening of the government to the point where control over resources was lost. The Western Han fell as a result, and the Xin dynasty rose and fell.⁴⁶ Landed estates grew larger, gained more power, and local rule largely replaced the central government. In period IV the Eastern Han began, lasted the longest (25-220 C.E.), and "witnessed the acceleration of all these trends." Local power increased to the point where local gentry were allowed to compete in production with farmers and peasants, obtaining vast wealth and status. Nylan explains that "gradual reinfeudation" (the action of putting someone in possession of a fee or fief) is the marker of this period. The tomb occupant from Yinwan covered in Chapter 3 was alive during the third period.

The sources at the core of this dissertation cover a long period of time (dating from the Qin through the medieval period) and cover an extensive territory (Hubei Province, Jiangsu Province, and Gansu Province). Although we do not know exactly when the medical manual (P.2856 R^o) found in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang was actually written, scholars believe that the text dates to the medieval period, possibly around the year 400 C.E., but perhaps as late as the Tang dynasty. Although Chapter 4 focuses on a text from around the Tang period, comparisons between the Dunhuang medical manual and the aforementioned Shuihudi Qin dynasty slips reveals a shared perspective that demons and illness were closely linked and knowledge of such

⁴⁶ See Hsiao Kung-chuan, *A History of Chinese Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 631-632 for more information about the political and intellectual situation during this period.

intricacies could aid in the healing process. Each of the following chapters utilizes textual evidence from the Qin and Han dynasties, and those are the periods I focus on in terms of context and secondary scholarship.

Divination: historical roots in ancient China:

Textual and material evidence shows that the ancient Chinese royalty and elite used multiple methods of divination during the Warring States period. During the Shang dynastic period, turtle shells and cattle plastrons were used for “pyromancy.” Small holes were bored into the shell, a hot poker was pressed against those holes until cracks appeared. These cracks were read by diviners and kings (who were sometimes the same person). The resulting artifacts are now called “oracle bones.”⁴⁷ Milfoil divination was in use during the Zhou dynasty (c. 1046-256 B.C.E.), but tortoise divination did not fall by the wayside. Most famously connected to the *Book of Changes*, milfoil divination involved counting the stalks of milfoil (yarrow; *Achillea millefolium*) and creating a hexagram from that number. Each hexagram had specific meanings associated with it which were passed down orally among specialists who would “read” the hexagrams and provide the prognostication (and thus, guidance) for the question at hand.⁴⁸

These forms of divination continued through the Warring States period and the best extant example of this comes from a tomb from one of the Warring States of Chu, Baoshan tomb number 2 (包山, Hubei Province, dating from 318 to 316 B.C.E). The tomb occupant, Shao Tuo, died in 316 B.C.E. but was afflicted with illness in the

⁴⁷ David Keightley, “The Shang: China’s First Historical Dynasty,” *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, eds., Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 236-247.

⁴⁸ For a description of this process, see Richard Wilhem and Cary F. Baynes, trans., *The I Ching, or, Book of Changes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), xlvii-lxi.

years leading up to his death. He spent a great deal of time and money divining about the future of his illness and asking ancestors and deities for aid. Guolong Lai's forthcoming book on the subject examines the type of communication that existed between the living and the other-worldly:

The divination records, which indicate that he died of a heart-related illness, contain a total of twenty-six reports... Each report opens with a date, the diviner's name, the method of divination (by turtle or yarrow-stalk), the concern ("the charge"), the prognostication, and the ritual proposals (sacrifice or exorcism) directed to specific superhuman powers. Often multiple diviners were called upon to divine for the same concerns. One stock phrase always concludes this sequence: "For this reason a prayer is directed to the spirit [who is the cause of the calamity]" (*yi qi gu shui zhi* 以其故說之). This declaration is followed by prescribed ritual actions, including exorcism (*gongjie* 攻解, *gongchu* 攻除), sacrifices, and the promise of sacrificial offerings.⁴⁹

In other words, the divination process was complex and multi-tiered. Lai continues to detail the different types of sacrifices employed by the diviners working for Shao Tuo. Both the turtle and milfoil divination were used, and if a divination was not to Shao Tuo's liking, he could ask another diviner to conduct their own reading and make another set of sacrifices to the appropriate other-worldly parties. Divination experts were still necessary to perform the appropriate sacrifices and methods for communication with the ancestors.

Contemporary scholars usually present the ancient tradition of divination as a static method for communication, but there is evidence to suggest that a certain amount of flexibility existed. Aside from the material on the *Baoshan* tomb, there is also evidence from Qinghua University's 2008 bamboo slips, the *Qinghua jian* 清华简 (dating to the Warring States and illegally excavated), which include a passage in the section entitled "*chengwu* 程寤" about an ominous dream and the resulting

⁴⁹ Guolong Lai, forthcoming book manuscript, Chapter 1, "The Dead Who Would Not Become Ancestors," *Excavating the Afterlife: The Archaeology of Early Chinese Religion* (Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 2014), 5.

divination. The Zhou King Wen divined because his wife Taiyi had a dream “that the Shang palace became overgrown with weeds and thistles.” In the dream, the King’s son planted a tree in the Shang palace. When Taiyi awoke, she told her husband the King, and at first, “the king did not dare to divine.”⁵⁰ The king decided not to divine immediately upon hearing the ominous dream, as he first wished to present various sacrifices to the deities and ancestors, and *then* divine the results. Eventually the King’s son became the Shang ruler. There was a certain amount of flexibility that existed not only in the process, but also in the underlying cosmological theory behind it since one could change the prognostication if one’s sacrifices were sufficient and a feared disaster could be avoided.

The most important point I wish to make is that divination texts must be viewed as a tool on how to proceed with one’s life, and not necessarily a text that one must follow without question. Evidence shows that one could, in fact, question the prognostication, and disagree with it, and this is significant because flexibility remains in the divination manuals. For royalty, the elite, and high-level bureaucrats, divination was an expensive enterprise that involved multiple types of divination (milfoil, tortoise), and also sacrificial animals. Whether one used methods of divination to determine when to go to war, or how to heal oneself from an illness, the prognostication was fluid where a person could choose one prognosis over another, and follow which ever they desired. The texts found in lower-level official tombs also

⁵⁰ 佳王元祀正月既生魄，太姒梦见商廷惟棘，乃小子发取周廷梓树于厥间，化为松柏棫柞。寤惊，告王。王弗敢占，诏太子发，俾灵名凶，祓。祝忻祓王，巫率祓太姒，宗丁祓太子发。幣告宗祊社稷，祈于六末山川，攻于商神，望，烝，占于明堂。王及太子发并拜吉梦，受商命于皇上帝。 This translation is partially based on a talk given by Luo Xinhui entitled 清华简《程寤》篇与文王受命再探 which she was kind enough to show me.

maintain this kind of flexibility, and the decisions these men made in their daily lives become more coherent.

Excavated Materials: A Brief Overview:

Documents written on slips of bamboo and wooden tablets are called *jiandu* (簡牘) in Chinese and were mostly used during the Qin and Han dynasties.⁵¹ *Jiandu* were also used prior to the Qin, and the ones discovered in recent years mostly originated from the state of Chu, located in present-day southern China where the climate allowed for the preservation of such materials.⁵² The majority of the slips in existence thus are from the south. The total number of Qin *jiandu* are 40,000 slips and the total number from the Han are 90,000 slips.⁵³ Slips were found in a number of locations including tombs, wells, and caves. The arid climate in the northwestern border of Han control is where many of the *jiandu* wood slips have been discovered, though most were found in the humid climate of the South. The slips are written in clerical script (some of the Qin *jiandu* are written in small seal).

The following are some of the most important archaeological finds where materials related to divination, daybooks, medicine and other “mantic arts” were found. They number in the dozens, which does not provide us with a great deal of data, but does give scholars a good sense of the kinds of texts that were disseminated

⁵¹ There are examples of texts written on silk manuscripts from that period as well, but these are called *bo* 帛.

⁵² See Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 693-695. See also discussion above on the Baoshan tomb materials, and Lai Guolong, *Excavating the Afterlife: The Archaeology of Early Chinese Religion* (Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 2014).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 717.

in early China.⁵⁴ Fangmatan (放馬灘, Tianshuishi 天水市, Gansu province) included 460 slips (two daybooks) and dates to the end of the Warring States.⁵⁵ Tomb 11 at Shuihudi (睡虎地, Yunmeng 雲夢, Hubei province), another important find, will be discussed in this dissertation, and dates to 217 B.C.E. The tomb occupant was a scribe (史). Two almanacs, divination texts, Qin laws and regulations, and private letters were found in this tomb.⁵⁶ The Beida Qinjian (北大秦簡) date to the later Qin and were donated to Peking University in 2010 and include medical recipes and daybooks.⁵⁷ One of the biggest Han finds is in Mawangdui (馬王堆 Hunan Province) where materials were found in three tombs of related persons: the marquis of Dai who was the chief counselor of the area (a very high level official), his wife, and their eldest son. Tomb 1 was discovered in 1972 and dates to 186 B.C.E. This tomb contained 361 *jiandu* and tomb 3 contained 617 slips. One of the earliest datable daybook or almanac was discovered there, dating to 129 B.C.E.⁵⁸ (though the oldest known daybook is from the Jiudian tomb). The body of Lady Dai was very well preserved and taught us a great deal about how the early Chinese prepared their dead.⁵⁹ Tomb 8 at Kongjiapo (孔家坡 Hubei province) dates to the early Han and also

⁵⁴ See Liu Lexian 刘乐贤. *Jianbo shushu wenxian tanlun* 簡帛數術文獻談論, (Wuhan: Hubei Jiaoyu, 2002) for a good introduction and discussion of the excavated sources.

⁵⁵ *Tianshui Fangmatan Qinjian* 天水放馬灘秦簡 (Zhonghua, 2009).

⁵⁶ *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu* 云夢睡虎地秦墓 (Wenwu, 1981); *Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Wenwu, 2001).

⁵⁷ Wenwu, 2011.6.

⁵⁸ See *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Hanmu* 长沙马王堆一号汉墓 (Hunansheng bowuguan, Wenwu, 1973), *Changsha Mawangdui er, sanhao Hanmu* 长沙马王堆二三号汉墓 (Wenwu, 2004), *Mawangdui Hanmu wenwu* 马王堆汉墓文物 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2011).

⁵⁹ See Miranda Brown, “Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses? A Reconsideration of Elite Conceptions of Death,” *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4.1 (2002): 201-223.

includes daybooks.⁶⁰ The Former Han tomb at Shuanggudui (雙古堆, Fuyang, Anhui Province), dating to 165 B.C.E., includes an almanac, medical recipes and several intact divining boards.⁶¹ Zhangjiashan (張家山, Jiangling 江陵, Hubei province) dates to the early Han and legal texts, daybooks, and medical texts were discovered inside.⁶² Yinwan village (尹灣, Lianyungang city 連雲港, Jiangsu Province) another valuable resource, contained a few Han tombs, but only two (tombs 2 and 6) have been fully excavated. Tomb 6 from this site is the focus of Chapter 3.

The widespread use of paper by the Tang Dynasty increased the number of texts as more copies could be made. Whereas during the Han period, texts were composed of slips of wood and bamboo, by the Tang, they were manuscript forms that were easily reproduced. Other important changes during this period include the spread of Buddhism throughout China, which transformed the indigenous religion irrevocably. Much of the materials discovered in the arid northeastern area of Dunhuang preserved the devotional literature on paper from the Tang period. The Dunhuang manuscripts are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

Previous Interpretations of Divination:

Secondary scholarship on early Chinese divination tends to focus on the religious or magical elements of divination; some scholars combine the terms “religion” and “magic” into “magico-religious” when analyzing divination in China. In the introduction to Cambridge University Press’ *Early Chinese Religion* edited by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, they provide a definition for religion whereby

⁶⁰ See *Suizhou Kongjiapo Hanmu jiandu* 隨州孔家坡漢墓簡牘 (Wenwu, 2006).

⁶¹ Wenwu, 1978.8, 1983.1, 1984.8, 1988.4, 1989.1.

⁶² *Zhangjiashan Hanmu zhujian* 張家山漢墓竹簡(27號墓) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001).

it “is more about the structuring [of] values and practices of a given society than about the beliefs of individuals.” The definition continues: religion as a social and political force “organiz[ed] the state and social memory by means of ritual practices and in accord with changing values.”⁶³ Viewing religion as an organizational institution conforms to early twentieth century anthropological notions of religion. One of the earliest usage of the term “magico-religious” is in David Keightley’s 1976 article, “Late Shang Divination: the Magico-Religious Legacy,” where he quotes Clifford Geertz extensively:

It is not easy to make a distinction between the methods and goals of magic and religion, and there is no reason to think the Shang did so. For analytical purposes, however, I will assume that religion involves constraint, manipulation, and control of supernatural forces. Religious practices are far more expressive, making explanatory statements about the true nature of the world; magical practices are more instrumental.⁶⁴

Keightley’s usage of the term “magico-religious” stems from a desire to combine the explanatory nature of “religion” and the instrumental nature of “magic.”⁶⁵ Keightley continues to explain that both religion and magic are “symbolic” (a term often used by Geertz) and “nonrational” as related to the supernatural qualities they both contain. While I do not contend that scholars using this term “magico-religious” argue that these types of activities in China were purely social or cultural, I do contend that there may be a better solution than this hyphenated term.

Medicine, Illness, and Healing in early China:

⁶³ John Lagerway and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion: Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC-220 AD) Vol. 1* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 35.

⁶⁴ David N. Keightley, “Late Shang Divination: The Magico-Religious Legacy,” *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology*. Henry Rosemont, Jr. ed. (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1984): 11-12.

⁶⁵ See Henri Maspero, *China in Antiquity*. Frank A. Kierman Jr. trans. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1981).

Another way to examine the divination manuals in this dissertation is to consider them under the category of early “medicine” or methods for healing illness, and indeed, the *Dream Divination Book* provides instructions on how to heal oneself from various irregularities in levels of *qi* which effect a person’s dreams; the Yuelu divination manuals also mention illness and auspicious times for healing; the Dunhuang text *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* reveals to the reader a variety of demonic illness and methods for healing. Understanding healing in early China in the terms used during that historical period, and with the concerns and fears of the manual-users will allow us to comprehend the material on a deeper level. As G.E.R. Lloyd asks, “How can we hope to understand societies that existed long ago? Is what we think we understand about them merely the reflection of our own ideas and preoccupations?”⁶⁶ He continues to explain, “[w]e cannot, on pain of distortion (and teleology), impose our own conceptual framework. Yet we have to.”⁶⁷ As historians we have the responsibility to “make sense of our subject on *their* terms, to allow them their voice, their differing viewpoints on fundamental issues.”⁶⁸ This dissertation attempts to view the information from the perspective of the authors and readers of the manuals.

In her forthcoming book on early Chinese medicine and methods for healing, Miranda Brown points out that the application of the notion of “medical history” to the Chinese past is complicated by the fact that most of the practices utilized for healing would not be considered “medical” by our modern perspectives. The historiography and discourse surrounding modern conceptions of early Chinese

⁶⁶ G.E.R. Lloyd, *Ancient Worlds, Modern Reflections: Philosophical Perspectives on Greek and Chinese Science and Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 1.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

medicine was initiated “not by Western or Western-educated scholars but rather by an ancient philologist, the imperial bibliographer of the Han dynasty.”⁶⁹ Prior to the first written medical history in the first century B.C.E., stories about healers from different periods and with different aims existed outside of categories such as “medicine,” but were the focus of early written knowledge.

Physicians in early China were viewed as practitioners, with a variety of methods at their fingertips. Nathan Sivin describes that “[t]he criterion of the true practitioner [of medicine] is thus inseparable from that of true knowledge...both are settled by membership in a lineage of properly initiated masters who transmit authentic, written medical revelations.”⁷⁰ True knowledge of medicine came from a combination of the information one studied (usually from a teacher) and initiation, which settled one’s place in the medical tradition of the elite. However, “true knowledge” of medicine is difficult to analyze, for every text discovered in recent archaeological finds claims its own distinct “truth.”

Within the medical and philosophical traditions, the same language was used by elite intellectuals for different purposes, for example, *yin* and *yang* and the five phases. Nathan Sivin contends that *yin-yang* and *wuxing* “were not primarily technical concepts,”⁷¹ rather they were a part of everyday language used in a variety of contexts. Simultaneously, the terms “had more specialized meanings in learned discourse,” and as each of the “qualitative sciences” began to take shape in the literature of the period, *yin-yang* and *wuxing* “were given special definitions related to

⁶⁹ Miranda D. Brown, *Medical History in China: The Ancient and Modern Roots of a Modern Archive*, Forthcoming.

⁷⁰ Nathan Sivin, “Text and Experience in Classical Chinese Medicine,” *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, Don Bates, ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 199-200.

⁷¹ Nathan Sivin, “Science and Medicine in Chinese History,” *Science in Ancient China: Researches and Reflections* (Vermont: Variorum, 1995), 179.

the subject matter of that field and were supplemented with other technical conceptions to provide a language adequate for theory.” The exact meanings of these *yin-yang* and *wuxing* “tended to differ considerably from one discipline to another.”⁷² Thus, the terms *yin-yang* and *wuxing* were used throughout the literary environment in early China, belonging both to “everyday language” to specialized fields.

Chapter Plan and Organization:

The following three chapters argue that the authors of divination manuals treated divination as a technology to gain access to hidden empirical knowledge and ultimately standardized that knowledge, making it accessible to literate readers. By “standardization” I refer to the process of developing and implementing technical standards, and determining the properties of something, in this case divination. The systems recorded are stabilized once written down. I do not refer to the complete systematization of knowledge. The authors of the divination manuals utilized the sexagenary cycle as the key to the standardization process, or as the focal point for understanding the systematic balances in the cosmos. The manuals in each chapter utilize the sexagenary cycle as a method for categorizing time and space. Used like a calendar, the sexagenary cycle effectively grounds the reader by making the manual simple to use. If one knows the date, one can look up the information related to that date fairly easily. Comprehension of cosmic movements and imbalances allows a person to understand imbalances inside their body. Those cosmic movements and imbalances are transcribed by the authors of the manuals in accordance with dates in the sexagenary cycle. While authors might not agree about the uniformity of illness or demonic affliction, they would agree on the uniformity of the sexagenary cycle. For every day of the calendar, certain situations are considered auspicious or

⁷² Ibid.

inauspicious—for instance, getting married on a certain day in the sexagenary cycle is more auspicious than another day. Thus, the manuals were most likely meant to provide tools for making decisions about one’s daily life (marriage, health, travel). Analyzing the material at hand from a technological perspective allows us to focus on the rhetoric of the text. The authors of manuals, daybooks, and philosophical texts from this period were interested in decoding the intricacies of the cosmos.

Focusing on the Yuelu Academy *Dream Divination Book*, I argue in Chapter 2 that codified dream interpretations techniques are a form of technology. By comparing the *Dream Divination Book* with the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor*, the chapter exposes relationships between Chinese medicine and divination in early China. Much like healing, divining by means of one’s dreams was a perfectible technique. Both texts share a common understanding of the physical body and the influence of dreams. I argue in the chapter that the authors’ use of the sexagenary cycle and revealing patterns in the cosmos such as *qi* and the five phases falls into the realm of the empirical. Understanding imbalances that exist externally in the cosmos allow the readers of the manuals to understand imbalances inside the body. This knowledge is thus vital for both healing and divining.

The central argument of Chapter 3 is that the Yinwan divination manuals provide techniques for divining about the general interests of an official (such as when to travel), in this case, a low-level official. The authors make use of sophisticated diagrams for communicating techniques, therefore, the Yinwan texts are a carefully crafted technological manual. Multiple methods for divination were found in the same cache of wood slips, providing us with evidence supporting the theory that even low-level officials could use these various techniques in their daily lives. Finally, the evidence in the Yinwan tomb suggests that the tomb occupant, Shi Rao,

did not necessarily adhere to the prognostications provided by divination manuals, but chose when and what to follow. I argue that choices were available to those who wanted knowledge about their lives and that divination choices (medium, prognostication, or otherwise) may be traced historically to transmitted and excavated texts from the ancient period.

Chapter 4 compares and contrasts the demonology aspects of the Qin-dynasty “Demonic Accusations” excavated at Shuihudi and a section of the *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* as found on Pélilot-Chinoise 2856 Recto in the Dunhuang cache of medical manuscripts dating to c. 400 C.E. I argue that medical manuals such as the *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* standardized ideas of efficacy, illness, and divination. These standardizations are based on the sexagenary cycle, the symptoms of an illness, and the specific demon afflicting the patient. Descriptions of the demons as the cause of an illness are another form of standardization. Examining medical talismans and other protective healing measures from a technical perspective, I show that sophisticated (yet not specialized) language was used to identify illnesses and methods for healing. While *Demonic Accusations* visualizes demons and their effects in general terms, the demonology section in the Dunhuang manuscript utilizes sophisticated descriptions of illness, demons, and talismans as tools for healing.

Focusing on smaller portions of a greater cache of texts allows me to spend more time on a detailed selection of material. Chapter 2 emphasizes one section of the Yuelu Academy Qin slips; Chapter 3 focuses on selections from Yinwan tomb 6; Chapter 4 concentrates on a portion of the Shuihudi daybook and a section of P. 2856 R°. The analysis is in-depth, focused, and detailed with close readings of the materials at hand. In these cases, the selection I discuss is not my sole piece of evidence, but a representative example of these types of texts.

Finally, my argument in this dissertation is *not* that history is developmental, rather, I will be examining texts from a diverse body of sites, written across several centuries, that attest to similar or related phenomena occurring in the textual realm. While we may not be able to link these pieces of evidence together to form a linear “narrative,” that is not a reason to disregard the invaluable information they can offer us about the existence of divination manuals. As Daryn Lehoux writes in his book on Roman science and nature, “I think of the argument of this book not as a linear trajectory, but as an interconnected set of concerns that map out a territory of exploration,”⁷³ a statement that also applies to this dissertation.

Broadly speaking, the fact that divination manuals existed in similar forms, though in different areas and at different times, speaks to a phenomenon of textual “standardization.” While we do not have enough information to characterize this “standardization” in great detail, this phenomena is one that I link to the widespread and unprecedented process of bureaucratization that took place in the Qin and the early Han. I do not mean to imply that divination texts, or other texts, became completely “standardized” during this period. However, through comparison of these texts, we see similar features (such as close connections between cosmic and bodily cycles) arise that were not present before the Qin unification of China, and which speak to momentous cultural and intellectual changes that took place from that time on.

If the extant body of textual evidence from this period were much more detailed, we might be able to make more precise comparative arguments about regional textual traditions, or about the development of these traditions over time.

⁷³ Daryn Lehoux, *What Did the Romans Know? An Inquiry into Science and Worldmaking* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 17.

Given the scarcity of evidence from early China, I wish to explore the evidence provided by particular texts – and to suggest that features shared by these texts may indicate meaningful commonalities or trends towards standardization. The evidence for this hypothesis comes from the fact that certain features are found in the examples I will discuss, despite their geographical and historical separation from one another. Though the conclusions we draw from these comparisons must be tentative and careful, they may be the only conclusions we are able to make until more evidence is uncovered.

By focusing on segments of texts that date to the Qin, Han, and medieval period, respectively, I hope to illuminate information about the possible authors and readers of the manuals, namely, bureaucrats. The chapters are focused on divination manuals at various points in time to express the kinds of changes that were well under way and that impact society in late imperial China. The ways in which bureaucrat-authors saw the world around them, organized their thoughts and expressed themselves are reflected in these divination manuals. This then, is a micro-study over an extended period of time, emphasizing that exploring divination as a technology passed down through manuals is useful for our comprehension of the history behind divination and bureaucracy.

This dissertation is not so much about what people believed as it is about what literate people wrote and left behind. While we may not be able to know why a bureaucrat would want to be buried with divination texts, the fact that they were opens up the possibility that these objects were intimately related to the careers and the lives of these officials. These texts allude to the ways in which people rendered the world intelligible. Indeed, even in the twenty-first century, divination is still very

much a part of peoples' lives in China, Taiwan and elsewhere in East and Southeast Asia. While one may go to a temple and ask a specialist to divine on one's behalf, one may also go to a bookstore and purchase a manual describing how to divine, explaining the prognostication, or even providing a chart for the most auspicious days to get married.

Chapter II: Dream Divination as Technique in Early China and Connections to Medicine: the Yuelu Academy *Dream Divination Book*

Introduction:

This chapter will examine dream interpretation techniques codified in early Chinese texts as a form of a technology. Dream divination manuals such as the Yuelu 岳麓 Academy *Dream Divination Book* (*zhan meng shu* 占夢書, dating to the Qin dynasty 221-206 B.C.E.) suggest that many early Chinese thinkers saw the practice of deciphering the meaning of dreams as akin to the diagnosis of the vessels found in early Chinese healing techniques. Through a close analysis of the *Dream Divination Book* as compared with the medical text the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi Neijing* 黃帝內經, dating to the Han dynasty 206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), I argue that relationships exist between what is deemed divination and Chinese medicine, particularly with regard to external and internal influences on the body. Moreover, it will become evident that dream divination, much like healing, was a perfectible technique, by which I mean a skill that one could develop through the use of manuals. The *Dream Divination Book* provides an excellent case study because it provides explicit instructions to its reader on how to divine using dreams.

In ancient China, specialists or diviners were necessary to decipher the signs of the universe and properly divine. But by the Qin dynasty a specialist was no longer necessary to interpret signs and make educated decisions about one's present and future. According to dream divination manuals, empirical knowledge about the present and future could be obtained, codified, and implemented by non-exceptional agents. Similar manuals existed for the technique of diagnosis of the vessels, such as

the *Model of the Pulse*,⁷⁴ a text filled with medical information for the non-exceptional agent.⁷⁵

While these two fields are often separated by modern scholarship, they are intimately related in the view of the universe shared by early Chinese authors. The language of medical texts, what scholars term “daybooks,”⁷⁶ and the *Dream Divination Book* share specific language which may be described as “cosmological.” As Nathan Sivin expressed, “ideas of Nature, state, and the body were so interdependent that they are best considered a single complex.”⁷⁷ This shared language concerns the cosmos, specifically its composition, rules, nature, reality, relationships, etc. I argue in this chapter that internal and external forces such as *qi*,

⁷⁴ Portions of the *Maifa* 脈法 were found in Mawangdui tomb 3 and Zhangjiashan tomb 247. See also chapter 105 of the *Shiji* for references to the text; Miranda Brown’s forthcoming book on Chinese medicine; Elizabeth Hsu “Tactility and the Body in Early Chinese Medicine,” *Science in Context* 18.1 (2005): 7-34; Nathan Sivin, “Text and Experience in classical Chinese medicine,” *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, ed., Don Bates (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 177-204.

⁷⁵ See introduction to the dissertation: this concept of expert versus non-expert, or of specialist versus non-specialist is one that up for discussion among scholars. Both divining and healing were performed by individuals who did not necessarily see themselves as working under a “profession” by any means. Scholars such as Nathan Sivin stress that medicine was not a profession in Chinese history and we may say the same for divination. See Nathan Sivin, “Therapy and Antiquity in late Imperial China” *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500-1800*, eds., Peter N. Miller and François Lous (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 224. See also Donald Harper’s discussion in the *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 817-18. Some healers and diviners had teachers, others did not. Some were government officials who were healers or diviners on the side. I use the term “non-exceptional agent” in an effort to encompass different categories of diviners.

⁷⁶ A day-book or 日書 is defined as an almanac-type of text with a variety of systems for dividing days (some in chart form, some in textual form, others in the form of images). Cosmological undertones are apparent. See Chapter 3 on the Yinwan divination manuals for more information.

⁷⁷ Nathan Sivin, “State, Cosmos, and Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C.,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55:1 (1995): 5.

yin-yang and the five phases impact a person's dreams in a variety of ways⁷⁸ and also influence one's prognosis via divination.

First, I shall introduce the sources used throughout this study—transmitted and excavated materials—and problematize both types of sources. Dreams reappear as a topic throughout these texts, and much of our understanding of early Chinese divination stems from these sources. A discussion about the categorization of divination launches from this, as secondary scholarship often designates Chinese divination as “religious” or “occult” practice. While I do not deny the existence of religious forms of ritualized action and text, I believe that the perspective of technical knowledge has been either ignored or made secondary by scholars. The argument of the chapter is that knowledge about dream divination found in the *Dream Divination Book* is a technological manual, and that for the authors of the text, divination is empirical information that can be carefully organized using the sexagenary cycle. Moreover, through a comparison to the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor*, I argue that the authors of both texts viewed *qi*, *yin* and *yang*, and the five phases as influential on both bodies and dreams. Knowledge of the body's position in time and space allowed manual users to understand various imbalances that lead to illnesses, and treat those illnesses accordingly.

Sources: Transmitted and Excavated:

The first category of data discussed in this chapter is that of transmitted texts, or ancient texts that were repeatedly copied and changed throughout history. The exact date of authorship and often the authors themselves are unknown. These texts

⁷⁸ According to Michael Nylan and others, *yin-yang*, *wuxing*, and *qi* were separate concepts that were eventually fused together with the *Taixuan jing* (太玄經) which was compiled ca. 2 B.C.E. See Michael Nylan, “*Yin-yang*, Five Phases and *qi*,” *China's Early Empires: A Re-appraisal*, 398-414.

represent elites and elite culture in early history and support the notion commonly encountered in early Chinese thought of the body as a microcosm influenced by both external and internal forces. The body as microcosm is often viewed as adhering to the notion of “correlative cosmology,” or a view of the universe where large-scale natural phenomena and micro-scale phenomena are intertwined.

Two examples of transmitted texts that will be analyzed here because of their discussion of dream divination are the *Commentary of Zuo* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳) and the *History of the Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書). The *Commentary* covers the historical period of the Spring and Autumn period but as David Schaberg points out, “there are good reasons to believe that the anecdotes were composed, recomposed, and refined over a period of decades and even centuries, through a process of both literate transmission and unwritten teaching and discussion.”⁷⁹ The same could be said of the *History of the Han*, which was completed in 111 C.E. but covers the period of time of the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.-25 C.E.).⁸⁰ We should keep in mind that the composite nature of early Chinese transmitted texts problematizes interpretation of these texts.⁸¹

Issues surrounding transmitted texts include their questionable authorship and their agenda-driven rhetorical tone. In fact, during the mid-fourth century B.C.E., “compilers reworked earlier materials and pieces of legend to express their

⁷⁹ David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 8. See also Miranda Brown, “Who was He? Reflections on China’s First Medical ‘Naturalist,’” *Medical History* 56:3 (2012): 369.

⁸⁰ The text was begun by Ban Biao 班彪 (3-54 C.E.) and completed by his son Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 C.E.) and daughter Ban Zhao 班昭 (45-116 C.E.).

⁸¹ See William G. Boltz “The Composite Nature of Early China Texts,” *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed., Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 50-78. See also Yuri Pines, “Intellectual Change in the Chunqiu Period: The Reliability of the Speeches in the *Zuo zhuan* as Sources of Chunqiu Intellectual History,” *Early China* 22 (1997): 77-132.

understanding of the moral patterns of the past. In the process, they adapted and added fictionalised speeches, episodes, and entire personalities.”⁸² Thus, for example, the *Commentary of Zuo* “tells us more about the beliefs of the fourth-century compilers than their sixth-century subjects.”⁸³ Indeed, texts such as the *Commentary* closely resemble fiction:

Habits of representation and plot construction are highly durable, both because they belong to lasting communities that have a stake in them and because, as a mainstay of culture...they tend to create invisible, self-evident standards of interpretation and judgment....The *Zuozhuan*...cannot truly serve as sources for the history of the Spring and Autumn period until they are understood as intellectual and literary productions of the Warring States period.⁸⁴

If the *Commentary of Zuo* may be viewed as akin to fiction, then we must be careful about conclusions or assumptions made based on such information.

Despite these issues, transmitted texts provide us with valuable information about early China. Marc Kalinowski’s article “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion,” describes what he terms “*shushu* culture,”⁸⁵ or a culture of court-diviners. *Shushu*, a term found in the *History of the Han*, refers to “numbers and techniques.” This term was used by the elite compilers of the text as a contrast to *fangji* or “formulas for *fang*.” While *shushu* culture was related to the study of heavens, calendar, and divination, the *fangji* subject matter was dedicated to the study of medicine and arts of longevity. Kalinowski admits that “little place was given to the *shushu* traditions as techniques.”⁸⁶ Nevertheless, manuals such as the *Dream Divination Manual* “provide evidence of the use of correlative schemas proper

⁸² Brown, “Who was He?,” 369. See also Nylan, “Administration of the Family,” *China’s Early Empires: A Re-appraisal*, 294.

⁸³ Brown, “Who was He?,” 369.

⁸⁴ Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 10-11.

⁸⁵ Marc Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion.”

⁸⁶ Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion,” 234.

to the doctrine of the Five Agents in a *shushu* context in the middle of the third century” confirming that “diviners, astrologers, and physicians [were] grappling with these notions in their prognostications.” Moreover, “[t]hey show in particular that by the third century B.C. technicians actively participated in the transmission of the cosmological patterns and evolutive cycles of the Yin-Yang and Five Agents.”⁸⁷ This was a time of flux for the intellectuals and their philosophies, especially regarding perceived underlying cosmological patterns.

The *Commentary of Zuo* includes a famous dream illustrating the connection between dream interpretation and medicine in early China. The prince of Jin (r. 599-581 B.C.E.) had a dream about a ghost who blamed the prince for murdering his descendants and thus planned on exacting revenge. Upon waking, the prince asked for advice from two seemingly opposing experts: a shaman and a physician. The shaman’s interpretation was that the prince would die (“you will not taste the new wheat”⁸⁸). The prince fell ill and had another dream about the two spirits causing his illness. The spirits converse and decide to lodge under the prince’s heart to avoid detection. When Physician Huan arrived, he admitted that due to the location of the illness (between the heart and diaphragm), the illness was incurable. The prince was purportedly impressed with the doctor’s diagnosis. Many months later, the prince had the shaman put to death as it was he who predicted that the prince would die. Just before he was about to eat new cereals, the prince’s stomach painfully expanded, he rushed to the bathroom and died in the latrine pit. In this scenario, dreams are not only warnings to the dreamer from beyond the grave, but they are also predictive of a violent end. It is unclear if the prince could have prevented his death, but it is certain

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 361.

that the dreams and his illness were closely linked. Both physician and shaman make use of a diagnosis for the dreams and both see the dream as an indicator of illness.

The dream of prince Jin in the *Commentary* illustrates the frictions that probably existed in early China between physicians and shamans or diviners. During the Warring States period there was a social difference between the court diviners who were available for hire by the wealthy elites, and the elites themselves had some expertise in such specialized knowledge. The two types—physicians and court diviners—were in contestation with each other for elite attention.⁸⁹ Both physicians and diviners were deeply knowledgeable about the spiritual realm (indeed, this may be seen in the example of the prince of Jin). Elites who contest the message of an diviner or argue against the necessity of sacrifices is a fairly common phenomenon in early texts.⁹⁰

As more archaeological evidence is uncovered, the fluidity of divination categories is increasingly apparent. The existence of manuals such as the *Dream Divination Book* indicate that these techniques were not solely in the hands of exceptional agents, but also in the hands of lower-level officials, some of whom were responsible for the proliferation of these texts into the realm of the non-exceptional agent.⁹¹ The difference between what we see in transmitted texts of ritual divination (such as turtle and milfoil) and excavated texts upholding the so-called “*shushu* culture” may be “attributed to internal transformations within the *shushu* culture, with

⁸⁹ Kalinowski, “Diviners and Astrologers Under the Eastern Zhou,” 384-5; 390-1. See the case of Shao Tuo’s sacrifices.

⁹⁰ Brown, 383.

⁹¹ As explained in the Introduction, I choose to use this term “non-exception agent” because it is unclear if the local officials may be deemed “non-experts.” There is evidence that local officials were officials in a formal capacity and diviners at the same time.

techniques of prediction based on astrology and the calendar progressively taking the place of ritual divination by turtle and milfoil.”⁹² Indeed, if we accept what was written in the *History of the Han* as accurate by some measure, the predominance of these *shushu* techniques as found in tomb evidence supports this theory.

The second category of data discussed in this chapter is excavated texts from recent tomb discoveries throughout present-day China. The *Dream Divination Book* falls into this category of text. As more tombs are uncovered every year, our understanding of dreams in early China may take a very different shape in the future. One of the benefits of studying excavated texts is that they have not yet become corrupted through copying and editing over hundreds of years. Some of the excavated texts, such as the Yinwan (尹灣) material analyzed in the next chapter, were discovered in low-level official tombs, thereby providing us with unique insight into the lives of the non-elite. The provenance of the *Dream Divination Book* is unknown, but there is evidence that the cache of texts came from one of these lower-level official tombs.

Hunan University’s Yuelu Academy purchased a cache of Qin dynasty slips in December 2007 at an antiques market in Hong Kong, clearly stolen from a tomb at an undetermined time in the past. There were 2,098 slips in total. In August 2008, an antiques collector in Hong Kong donated another 76 slips which appeared to come from the same cache, bringing the total to 2,174 slips.⁹³ The provenance of the slips

⁹² Marc Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion,” 232.

⁹³ Of the first batch purchased only approximately 1,300 of the slips are complete. Of the second batch, approximately 30 slips are complete. The former were numbered with the serial number beginning with 2098, and the latter with the serial number beginning with 76. The majority of the slips are made of bamboo, while approximately 30 of the slips are made of wood. Of the complete slips there are three

is therefore unknown, and many of the slips are quite damaged, making any study of the slips as a whole very difficult.⁹⁴ The content of the cache itself has a number of sections, including a text on local administration of the Qin, a text on mathematics, one on music, another on law, and the *Dream Divination Book*. Because the proper order of the slips in entirety is unknown, scholars have used clues based on content, handwriting, and size to arrange the Yuelu Academy Qin slips in some semblance of organization. The title of the *Dream Divination Book* was provided by scholars based upon the content of the slips (*zhan meng shu* 占夢書).⁹⁵

From the physical slips and the information they provide, we know that the occupant of the tomb from which the cache was stolen was an official who was sent on various diplomatic missions. Based upon the travels and duties detailed by the slips themselves, scholars believe that the tomb was likely in Hubei province.

Scholars also confirm that the calligraphy of the slips dates to the Qin dynasty.⁹⁶

There are a number of places where the slips are illegible or too damaged to read, and in some instances, the meaning of the slips can be determined based on context, but for others, the meaning is lost.⁹⁷

lengths: 30, 27 and 25 centimeters with a width ranging from 0.5 to 0.8 centimeters. One type of slip has two sections—a top portion and a bottom portion, and the other type of slip has three sections—top, middle, and bottom. There are 8 distinct styles of writing on the slips leading scholars to believe that there were multiple copyists.

⁹⁴ Zhu Hanmin and Chen Songchang's 2010 publication of the slips provides the most complete rendering of the slips' order and transcription, but not everyone agrees that this is accurate. In fact, there are some characters that have been incorrectly transcribed.

⁹⁵ Zhu and Chen provide this title, but there is some debate about whether this should be used since it is not technically the title provided by the author. Nevertheless, I follow the title provided in their publication.

⁹⁶ Zhu Hanmin and Chen Songchang, *Yuelu Shuyuan Cang Qin Jian* (Shanghai: Shanghai ci shu chuban she, 2010), 1-2.

⁹⁷ While attempts at reconstruction were mostly successful, there are a number of places where reconstruction was impossible either due to the amount of rot on the

When read in isolation, the *Dream Divination Book* seems narrowly concerned with dreams, providing rules for divining by means of the visions granted in dreams. Juxtaposition of the *Yuelu Dream Divination Book* to medical texts however, reveals important similarities between dream divination and medical discourse. The efficacy of both technologies depends on the correct placement of the body in a resonant cosmos where cosmic forces such as *qi*, *yin-yang* and the five phases impact one's health.

Dreams in a "Religious" or "Occult" Framework:

Most twentieth century secondary scholarship focuses on dream divination as a form of "religion" or "the occult" in early China. I emphasize technology as a method for analysis because it reveals new facets to the complicated perspective that divination manuals provided to their readers. While the term "religion" may encompass various forms of technology, much secondary scholarship chooses to focus on divination as connected to deities or ancestors and not as a systematic representation of empirical knowledge. In this way, the authors of divination manuals codified techniques for obtaining knowledge about the present and future and were intended for use by non-exceptional agents.

While "religion" indicates the realm of the metaphysical, dream divination may be most immediately understood as a technique practiced in the physical, objective world. Gods or deities were not called upon to aid in such divination methods. While the "occult" is defined as "knowledge or use of agencies of a secret and mysterious nature,"⁹⁸ the texts discussed below do not claim to discuss secrets, nor do they engage with mystery. Their purpose is to clarify, teach, and act as a

slips, difficulty in reading the calligraphy, or portions of the bamboo/wood had already broken off.

⁹⁸ *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 2008, s.v. "Occult."

manual for users. Even the terms used in the *History of the Han* such as “*shushu*” (“calculations and arts”) allude to clarification and calculation. Thus, categorizing such texts as “occult” provides them with an obscuring patina of exoticism. Such exoticism connotes specialists, when the purpose of such texts was in fact to remove the exceptional agent.

Academic discussion of the archaeological material from the *Shuihudi* 睡虎地 daybook provides a good example of the tendency to declare magic or occult knowledge with regard to dreams. The daybook was unearthed in tomb 11 at Shuihudi in Yunmeng 云梦 county (located in present-day Hubei Province) and dates to 217 B.C.E. (the Qin dynasty). The daybook is made up of short texts, intended to guide its reader for everyday action. It is divided into numerous sections, some of which discuss demons, dreams, and divination. One example about dreaming reads:

When a ghost continually causes a person to have foul dreams, and after waking they cannot be divined—this is the Master of Diagrams. Make a mulberry-wood staff and prop it inside the doorway, and turn a cookpot upside down outside the doorway. Then it will not come.⁹⁹

In this case dreaming is a sign of haunting, or possession of a ghost or demon, and the authors of the text provide the reader with talismans and protective measures against such undesirables. Most scholars tend to focus on this section of the *Shuihudi* daybook as an example of early Chinese religion. What is ignored is the systematic form of the text itself. In this case, the text is providing the reader with a detailed cure for the foul dreams, which may be interpreted as an illness. As it states, these problematic ghosts “cannot be divined,” thus they are almost beside the point. The real issue at hand is providing the reader with a cure for these foul dreams, and this is

⁹⁹ John Lagerway and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion*, 306.

provided to the last detail. A mulberry staff and an overturned pot are both items anyone could have, and using them for protection is simple.¹⁰⁰

Dream Divination as Technology and a Comparative Analysis with the *Canon of the Yellow Emperor*:

The *Dream Divination Book* provides instructions on dream divination to a non-exceptional agent beginning with a list of rules for dreamers based on cosmological patterns, and emphasizing that the body and mind are microcosms of these patterns. The authors of the text employ a language and vocabulary that would have been familiar to a Qin dynasty reader, as such language was a part of the shared culture of the time. Rules for divination are clearly mapped out for the reader and no experts are necessary to divine. Moreover, these rules for divination align with early medical texts from this period, asking similar questions about illness and abnormalities, and finding similar connections between the human body and the cosmos.

Our first glimpse at the parallels between divination and medical prognosis is in the first section¹⁰¹ of the *Dream Divination Book*, which explains to the reader that in order to accurately divine one must know the day, time, and physical condition of one's body at the time of the dream. It reads as follows: "If a daydream¹⁰² repeatedly appears, but one does not know the specific day, nor since what day, does not know the time, nor since what time, when drunk or full, dreaming of rain or a change in weather, do not divine." If a person repeatedly has the same dream, the initial inclination is to divine. However, the text warns that if the person does not know the

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 4 for more information about this text and demons.

¹⁰¹ The first section of the *Dream Divination Book* is agreed upon by scholars to consist of slips 1523, 1522, 1525, 0102, 1514, and 1526, in that order.

¹⁰² The term is "晝夢" (*zhoumeng*) which means "daydream." This could refer to dreams one has during the day, or it could refer to a dream one recalls during the day ("does not know what time, nor since what time").

specific day, nor for how many days the dream recurred, one should refrain from divining. The same holds true for what time of day or night one dreams. An accurate prognosis is thus dependent upon knowledge of the day and time of one's dreams. Other aspects of the human condition that may affect prognosis is whether one is drunk or well-fed, or if one has a dream about a change in weather (such as rain-fall). The character for weather is the same as the character for *qi*, sometimes translated as life-force, vapor, energy, or breath, so another meaning to this section alludes to changes within one's body. With the body as a microcosm of the cosmos, even if the text is referring to changes in weather, those external changes could affect the internal balance within one's body. Internal changes, external changes, or a combination of the two are seen by the authors of this text as indeterminate, and thus such influences on dream prognosis are undesirable.

In addition to the day, time, and one's physical condition, the next section discusses seasonal dreams and their connections to *yin* and *yang*.

It is common to have seasonal dreams: on spring days [dreams] appear [about] time, summer days [are about] *yang*, autumn days [are about] obstruction, winter days [are about] concealing or storing. On the path to interpreting dreams one must obey the four seasons and the *yang* category, do not neglect or violate within the four seasons that which is suitable; the day is divided into five sections, day and night divided into three sections, auspicious and inauspicious have segments, good and evil have origins.¹⁰³

According to the text, in the spring it is common to have dreams about time,¹⁰⁴ in the summer it is common to have dreams about *yang*-things or situations (traditionally *yang* is connected to heat, fire, heights, bright, masculinity, etc.), in the autumn dreams about obstructions are common, and in the winter dreams about concealing or storing are common. When interpreting dreams, it is apparently very important to

¹⁰³ See Appendix 1 for the original Chinese.

¹⁰⁴ The character 時 may refer to an opportunity or chance.

“obey” the four seasons and the *yang* category of factors. The meaning of this is once again related to the relationship between the body as a microcosm and the macrocosm of the universe. Forces in the universe affect our bodies and our health, thus, if a person is careful to recognize what season, what day and what time a dream repeats, and moreover recognizes the connections to (*yin-*) *yang*, then dream interpretation and prognosis will be readily determined. Obeying the seasons and *yin-yang* categories will create desirable harmony in both the body and the cosmos.

Any deviation from these specific rules about divination will make a prognosis inconclusive. “Day and night divided into three sections” refers to knowing as much information about the time of the dream as possible. “Auspicious and inauspicious have segments, good and evil have origins” refers to the concept that much like an illness, humans can know the origins and the cure for inauspicious dreams or occurrences. If one can keep track of various elements related to one’s dreams, and the more information one has about one’s body during the time one dreamed, then one may successfully divine.

This introductory section of the *Dream Divination Book* divides days into the Ten Heavenly Stems (*tiangan* 天干), or the system for ordinals, and their connection to the five phases (*wuxing*) concerning one’s dreams. The Ten Heavenly Stems, when combined with the Twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支), make a cyclical system of sixty days. These are used for the calendrical system of years, months, days, and times of day. The Ten Heavenly stems are also traditionally divided into the five phases (*wuxing*), also known as the five agents (wood, earth, water, fire, and metal). Below is a chart specifying the connections between the Heavenly Stems and the five phases.

	Heavenly Stem (Chinese)	Heavenly Stem (pinyin)	Five Phases
1.	甲	jiǎ	wood
2.	乙	yǐ	
3.	丙	bǐng	fire
4.	丁	dīng	
5.	戊	wù	earth
6.	己	jǐ	
7.	庚	gēng	metal
8.	辛	xīn	
9.	壬	rén	water
10.	癸	guǐ	

In this section of the *Dream Divination Book*, the Heavenly Stems are related to a specific type of auspicious dream: one associated with a one of the five phases. Early China scholars often point out the five phases in relation to correlative cosmology, which is related to the concept of the body as a microcosm. The text states:

Jia or *yi* dreams [foretell] the beginnings of a happy situation, *bing* or *ding* dreams are cause for worry, *wu* or *ji* dreams [foretell] conversations, *geng* or *xin* dreams [foretell] happiness, *ren* or *gui* dreams [foretell] disturbances. If on a *jia* or *yi* day, [one] dreams of felling trees, this is auspicious. If on a *bing* or *ding* day, [one] dreams of fire in a high and bright place, this is auspicious. If on a *wu* or *ji* day, [one] dreams of official business, this is auspicious. If on a *geng* or *xin* day, [one] dreams of mining a mountain [for casting] bells, this is

auspicious. If on a *ren* or *gui* day, [one] dreams of a flowing river [by] a bridge, this is auspicious.¹⁰⁵

Jia or *yi* (甲乙) days in the sexagenary cycle are considered wood days via the five phases, thus if one has dreams of felling trees, it is both happy and auspicious.

Although dreams on a *bing* or *ding* day are cause for worry, dreaming of a fire in a high and bright place is auspicious on those days because *bing* and *ding* days are associated with fire. Dreaming on a *wu* or *ji* day foretells “conversations,” and thus dreaming of official business is auspicious.¹⁰⁶ Dreaming on a *geng* or *xin* day is auspicious, especially if one dreams about mining a mountain for bell-casting. This is because *geng* or *xin* days are associated with the metal phase. Finally, a *ren* or *gui* day dream alludes to disturbances, but dreaming of rivers and bridges is auspicious as the *ren* or *gui* days are associated with the water phase.

The internal textual logic found in the *Dream Divination Book* connects the five phases, *yin* and *yang*, and the cosmos itself to our bodies and sets the tone for the rest of the text. The five phases are related to the type of dream one might have on a particular day. A dream about one of the phases on a day that is associated with that phase is auspicious. The one exception to this rule seems to be the *wu* or *ji* day when a dream about a conversation or official business is auspicious. The two aspects of a *wu* or *ji* day do seem related as conversations and official business overlaps, however, the connection to the earth phase is missing. *Jia*, *yi*, *geng*, or *xin* days are good days for dreaming because they foretell happy situations, while there is great anxiety associated with dreaming on *bing*, *ding*, *ren*, or *gui* days because they foretell disturbances. Dreaming of trees on a *jia* or *yi* (wood) day is auspicious; dreaming of

¹⁰⁵ Slips 0102, 1514, and 1526.

¹⁰⁶ The description for a *wu* or *ji* day is one of the only that does not seem to directly relate back to one of the five phases—in this case, earth.

fire and bright places on a *bing* or *ding* (fire) day is auspicious; dreaming of mining for casting bells on a *geng* or *xin* (metal) day is auspicious; dreaming of rivers and bridges on a *ren* or *gui* (water) day is auspicious. What is implied is that there is anxiety related to dreaming about the “wrong” phase on the “wrong” day—for instance, dreaming about fire on a water day. But the possible combinations for an undesirable dream is not necessarily high. It could be that only those dreams mentioned in the text are the ones to be wary of, and not all dreams that do not fit the beneficial criteria.

A close examination of the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* with relation to the *Dream Divination Book* provides textual evidence linking vessel diagnosis and the realm of physiology to the world of dreams. *The Inner Canon* is a Han dynasty text traditionally divided into the Basic Questions (素問 *Suwen*) and Spiritual Pivot (靈樞 *Lingshu*). Vivienne Lo explains that the text itself is a compilation of similar material from different sources and that “there was a pool of these texts circulating amongst physicians and literati.”¹⁰⁷ Scholars date the *Inner Canon* to the first century B.C.E. or the late first century C.E., thus the Qin dynasty *Dream Divination Book* predates the *Inner Canon* by a significant amount.

Just as the *Dream Divination Book* stresses that dreams may be signs of illness or imbalances in the body stemming from internal or external influences and linked to the five phases and four seasons, so too does the *Inner Canon*. There are a number of passages in the *Inner Canon* that discuss dreams (both positive and negative) and their possible medical causes: an overabundance of *qi* is a primary cause for dreams. For

¹⁰⁷ Vivienne Lo, “Introduction: Survey of Research into the History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa since 1980,” *Celestial Lancets: A History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa* Lu Gwei-djen and Joseph Needham (Cambridge University Press, 1980), xxix.

instance, the following passage from the *Inner Canon* relates dreams to *yin* and *yang* and the combinations that may cause dreaming.

When there is an overabundance of *yin qi* then dreams are of passing through floods in fear; when there is an overabundance of *yang qi* then dreams are of great fires burning; when *yin-yang* is contained then dreaming mutually detoxifies injuries; when the upper section (of body *qi*) flourishes then dreams soar; when the lower section (of body *qi*) flourishes then dreams sink. (The) times when you eat and are overly full, then dreaming will be of giving food to supply people; when you are hungry then dreaming will be of accepting or rejecting food; when liver *qi* is abundant, then dreams are angry; when lung *qi* is abundant then dreams are of crying; when the inside of the belly is full of pinworms, then dream of (assembled) multitudes and crowds; when the inside of the belly is full of roundworms, then dream of fights and damage.¹⁰⁸

In this selection of the *Inner Canon* various types of *qi* cause specific dreams. *Yin qi* is traditionally associated with water, while *yang qi* is associated with fire, thus an overabundance of either form leads to the production of dreams associated with those phases. *Yin* and *yang* need to be contained as this creates an internal harmony that is capable of detoxifying the body. If there is an imbalance in *qi*, then dreams are specific to the area of overabundance. If the upper section of the body has an overabundance of *qi*, then one's dreams are of flying, while the lower section of the body causes dreams of sinking. The internal balance of the body relates to hunger or starvation as well: if you are full when you sleep, then dreams reflect that status and dreams are of giving away food. Similarly, if you are hungry when you sleep, then dreams are of accepting or rejecting food. If there is an abundance of liver *qi*, then one's dreams reflect the stagnation of liver *qi*. Similarly, if there is stagnant lung *qi*, then sadness is reflected in one's dreams. Pinworms and roundworms have an affect on the body as well, and in turn are reflected in one's dreams.

¹⁰⁸ *Huangdi Neijing Suwen Jiaoshi*, (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1982), 228.

As we have already seen in the *Dream Divination Book*, an in-depth understanding of one's physical condition allows for the most accurate prognosis, including imbalances in *qi*. Knowledge of the day, time, and physical condition of one's body at the time of a dream is directly related to the *Inner Canon*'s discussion about excess *qi*. The *Dream Divination Book* explicitly states that whether one is drunk or full may affect one's dreams, as do the authors of the *Inner Canon*. Both texts maintain that an adherence to *yin qi* and *yang qi* are vital for understanding one's dreams. The *Dream Divination Book* states "one must obey the four seasons and the *yang* category," and the *Inner Canon* explains that an overabundance of either *yin qi* or *yang qi* influences the body. In other words, *qi* is what regulates our bodies, linking us to the cosmos.

Another possible medical cause for dreams found in the *Inner Canon* is a lack of *qi*. The following section describes the problems that arise from insufficient *qi*:

Therefore lessened *qi* causes fainting, leading a person to dream absurd dreams causing confusion. Three *yang* and the vessels cut off; three *yin* and the vessels decline in the same way as lessened *qi* does. Therefore, deficient lung *qi* causes a person to dream about white things, and see those who were beheaded and bloody killed in disorder; when this happens one dreams of seeing warfare. Deficient kidney *qi* causes a person to dream about boats drowning a person; when this happens one dreams of falling into water as if afraid. Deficient liver *qi* causes a person to dream about mushrooms, fragrant grass, and trees; when this happens one dreams of hiding beneath the trees and not daring to rise up. Deficient heart *qi* causes a person to dream about fire-fighting and about *yang* things (thunder and lightning); when this happens one dreams of burning. Deficient spleen *qi* causes a person to dream that food and drink are unsatisfactory; when this happens one dreams of building walls and covering a house (concealing rooms). These are the five viscera *qi* deficiencies, *yang qi* is in surplus, *yin qi* is insufficient, to harmonize the five is to diagnose, harmonize *yin* and *yang*...¹⁰⁹

Dreaming of warfare and blood is associated with the metal phase (so is the color white); deficient lung *qi* is a deficiency in metal. Dreaming of boats and water is

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 1284.

associated with the water phase; deficient kidney *qi* is a deficiency in water. Hiding among trees is associated with the wood phase; deficient liver *qi* is a deficiency in wood. Fire is clearly associated with the fire phase; deficient heart *qi* is a deficiency in fire. Building walls or covering a house is associated with the earth phase; deficient spleen *qi* is a deficiency in earth. While a very specific balance is needed inside the body for health, it is unclear whether these dreams are considered “bad” or “good.” Rather, they are another form of symptom of irregularity or illness. If one were to dream about food and drink as unsatisfactory, that would be a sign for a physician that his or her spleen *qi* was deficient, and could therefore decide upon a treatment based on that diagnosis.

The authors of the *Inner Canon* stress that deficient *qi* is directly related to the five phases, and thus impacts our bodies and our dreams; the authors of the *Dream Divination Book* also explicate connections between one’s dreams (and thus, one’s body) and the five phases. The major difference between the information in the *Inner Canon* and the *Dream Divination Book* is that the authors of the *Dream Divination Book* ascribe auspicious or inauspicious qualities to one’s dreams. The *Inner Canon* focuses on deficient *qi* as problematic for one’s health, but “to harmonize the five is to diagnose, harmonize *yin* and *yang*.” The *Dream Divination Book* prioritizes the auspicious nature of a dream occurring on the appropriate corresponding day (according to the five phases).

The final cause for dreams as discussed by the authors of the *Inner Canon* is called “*xie qi*” or pathogenic, evil, or demonic *qi*. The translation for the term *xie* (邪) *qi* is an “illness-causing pathogen” that needs to be dispelled from the body for health to flourish. But the character “*xie*” has a number of meanings including “demonic,”

“nefarious,” or “evil.” In chapter 43 of the *Spiritual Pivot*, the Yellow Emperor asks, “I want to know the causes of *xie qi* inside the body that steep, excess and proliferate and give rise to a bad reaction—when all is said and done, what kind are they?” The physician Qi Bo’s response is interesting:

Those stimulating *xie* [forces] come from the outside and attack the inside. Moreover, when there is not a fixed position, and there is an excess in the viscera but it does not have a fixed place to reside, and the defensive *qi* simultaneously flows, what follows is that the *hunpo*¹¹⁰ rises up, and this causes the patient to be unable to find restful sleep and has many¹¹¹ dreams. If the *xie qi* invades the organs, there is an excess (of *yang qi*) from the outside, and a lack (of *yin*) on the inside; if the *xie qi* invades the viscera, there is an excess (of *yin qi*) inside and a lack (of *yang qi*) outside.¹¹²

This passage illustrates that there are external forces that can invade the body as pathogens and influence one’s dreams. The pattern of events appears to be the following: invasive forces called *xie qi* come from the outside of the body and attack within. When these forces cannot find a place to reside due to defensive *qi* that tries to protect the body, then the *hunpo* of the person rises up. This is what appears to cause disturbed sleep and many dreams. Thus, a pathogen is also capable of influencing a person’s dreams. According to the *Inner Canon*, therefore, dreams may be viewed as a symptom of illness. As we shall see in Chapter 4, demons were also viewed as external pathogens related to one’s health.

It is not impossible to imagine that early Chinese readers might have taken information from both the *Dream Divination Book* and the *Inner Canon* and synthesize the material. If one has a dream that he or she is in a fire or in a bright place, it *could* be due to deficient heart *qi* and if that were to take place on a *bing* or

¹¹⁰ The term “hunpo” refers to two parts of the “soul” that which makes a person sentient. The heavier portion, the “po” remains with the corpse and grave after death, and the lighter “hun” flies up toward the heavens after death.

¹¹¹ The comments translate this term as such. The character is 喜.

¹¹² *Lingshu Jing Jiaoshi*, (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1982), 17.

ding day it would be interpreted as auspicious. The information from these two texts is not exclusionary—they exist in the same constructed universe. The five phases, *yinyang* and *qi* are all a part of this universe.

Conclusions:

The *Dream Divination Book* and medical texts such as the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* have a great deal in common in their perspective on dreams and the body. Both texts relate external and internal imbalances to the world of dreams. In some cases, dreams are indicators of disease. *Qi*, *yin* and *yang*, and the five phases influence both bodies and dreams. Moreover, as bodies influenced by the cosmos, early Chinese philosophers saw themselves existing in a dynamic universe where the balance of energy directly impacted one's health.

The *Dream Divination Book* is a manual for understanding one's dreams in terms of the imbalances that exist internally and externally to the body. As with medical texts from this period, knowledge of body's position in time and space allows us to understand such imbalances, and to divine. Time, date, and the condition of the physique were invaluable details for revealing underlying information, such as the meaning of certain dreams. The five phases play an important role in such knowledge as well, and dictate whether a dream is auspicious or not.

By making detailed comparisons between the *Dream Divination Book* and contemporaneous medical texts, it is evident that the technology of revealing information about connections between the cosmos and the human body is indicated. Additionally, it is possible that the *Dream Divination Book* and medical manuals were produced for similar purposes and for similar audiences: non-exceptional agents. But a great deal remains unknown. Delving into the Yinwan manuals will provide us with

more information about such non-exceptional agents, particularly since we have information about the tomb's occupant, Shi Rao. There are many similarities between the Yinwan manuals and daybooks from this period, and since many physical copies of daybooks exist, we will have a larger data pool from which to draw conclusions.

Chapter III: The Yinwan Manuals: An Example of Technological Manuals in the Han

Introduction:

Akin to the Yuelu Academy *Dream Divination Book*, I argue that the Yinwan (尹灣) divination texts are technical manuals, instructing potential readers about various methods for divination. These divination manuals found in Yinwan tomb number 6 emphasize the changing role of divination and ideas about efficacy during the Han Dynasty. As with the *Dream Divination Book*, the contents of the Yinwan divination manuals suggest a conception of divination that stands in contrast to those found in texts of earlier periods, particularly those found in tombs of the royal elite from the Shang and Zhou dynasties. Multiple divination methods are found in the same cache of texts. From the evidence found in Yinwan tomb 6 we learn that the readers of such manuals sometimes ignored the techniques or prognostications found in the manuals. I argue that this flexibility of prognostication can be traced back to the Warring States period.

In ancient China, a specialist was necessary for performing and interpreting divination prognostications, but it was often the case that multiple methods for divination were performed, as the individual seeking advice did not necessarily follow the prognostication from one method. One could, in fact, question the prognostication, and disagree with it. For royalty, the elite, and high-level bureaucrats, this was an expensive enterprise that involved multiple types of divination and also sacrificial

animals.¹¹³ Whether one used methods of divination to determine when to go to war or how to heal oneself from an illness, the divination itself was not set in stone, was not necessarily followed (that is, one prognostication might be chosen over another), and was flexible in terms of interpretation. The Yinwan manuals include multiple methods for divination, indicating a certain diversity in usage at this time, stemming from these divination practices of the past.

Thus, the Yinwan manuals were used as a *tool* for making life decisions and were most likely utilized in conjunction with other divinatory methods, perhaps even from the same cache. They were not texts that a person would follow without question. There is evidence that the Yinwan tomb occupant, Shi Rao 師饒, sometimes ignored the advice of the manuals. Thus, I argue that a flexibility existed with regard to the method or technology of divination and also with the interpretation. Moreover, recording these methods in a manual effectively standardizes the material, or at least it points to the possibility of standardization. This is not to say that standardization assumes rigidity of the material, rather it points to the dissemination of methods and information.

The authors of the Yinwan manuals provide detailed instructions catered to the needs and interests of low-level officials. While some of the divination manuals found in the Yinwan cache cover the general interests of a low-level official such as marriage and illness, other manuals present very specific subject matter, such as providing detailed instructions for choosing auspicious doorways when leaving on a business trip. These instructions describe a technique in accessible terms, thereby

¹¹³ A good example of this is the Baoshan case, see introduction to this dissertation. Another example is of the Prince of Jin and his dream, see Chapter 2 for more information.

removing the specialist and placing the power of interpretation in the hands of the manual-user. The Yinwan texts are thus considered manuals or handbooks because the authors simplify a technique to a reader, and as such, the texts appear to be designed to circumvent the lock on prophecy and knowledge maintained by diviners. As discussed in the previous chapter, detailed explanations for one's dreams and their meanings are explained in the *Dream Divination Book*. The Yinwan manuals are arguably even more accessible to readers, providing directions of interpretation using concise language and diagrams.

The divination manuals included in Yinwan tomb number 6 are entitled: "Supernatural tortoise divination" (神龜占), "Rain divination" (六甲占雨), "*Bo* Pattern divination" (博局占), "Acceptable Times for Punishment and Virtue" (刑德行時), "Auspicious/Inauspicious Travel Path" (行道吉凶), "Calendar for the First Year of the Yuanyan Reign" (元延元年曆譜), and "Calendar for the Fifth Month of the Third Year of the Yuanyan Reign" (元延三年五月曆譜). For the purposes of this chapter, we shall analyze the first five, which are in the best physical condition and provide us with the most information about a variety of divination techniques.¹¹⁴ I shall begin the chapter with a comparison between the Yinwan manuals and the content of daybooks, discussing varying opinions about daybooks from a scholarly perspective. Then, background information on the Yinwan tomb shall be provided as well as a description and analysis of the manuals at the core of this chapter. Next, comparisons to the *Dream Divination Book* will reveal more information about the nature of the Yinwan manuals, particularly as related to the diagrams they provide

¹¹⁴ The last two divination texts ("Calendar for the First Year of the Yuanyan Reign" and "Calendar for the Fifth Month of the Third Year of the Yuanyan Reign") are calendars, and do not provide methods for divination, but do include basic prognoses for specific calendric years.

their readers. Finally, conclusions shall be drawn based on the textual evidence at hand.

The Yinwan Manuals and Daybooks:

In recent scholarship, discussions about divinatory texts discovered in low-level official tombs have gravitated around the topic of the “daybook” or 日書. The term itself comes from the excavated text found in 1975, Shuihudi 睡虎地, upon which the two characters for “daybook” were written as a heading for two similar texts (now called “daybook A” and “daybook B”). These daybooks allow the reader to choose auspicious or inauspicious days in the sexagenary calendar year (see introduction for details on the sexagenary cycle or *ganzhi* system of ordinals). Thereafter, scholars consider any excavated text related to choosing auspicious calendar days a daybook.

There are disagreements about what exactly defines a daybook: some scholars view the daybooks as “religious” in nature. For example, Japanese scholar Kudō Moto'o—one of the world's experts on the Shuihudi Qin bamboo texts—contends that the Shuihudi daybooks are closely connected to Daoism. Kudō explains that in Shuihudi daybook A, there are two different prognostications with the same title, *yuxuyu* 禹須臾, and both provide auspicious days for traveling. He links the characters in that title to the deity worshiped as the guardian of travelers in Daoism (Yü 禹).¹¹⁵ Kudō claims that by the late Han, Daoist rituals performed throughout

¹¹⁵ Kudō Motoo, “The Ch'in Bamboo Strip *Book of Divination (Jih-shu)* and Ch'in Legalism,” *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 55 (1988): 30-31. The legendary emperor Yü 禹 was a deity worshipped as the guardian of travellers (*hsing-shen* 行神).

one's travels were also determined by the daybooks viewing the daybooks as a precursor to religious rites.

From another perspective, the authors of daybooks were interested in categorizing various natural states in the cosmos. Ethan Harkness explains in his dissertation that epistemologically, the authors of the daybooks categorized the cosmos based on natural divisions such as sex (male/female), or based on the movements of astrological entities (such as the constellation Taisui 太歲). Most importantly, daybooks include passages or diagrams “that assign taboos to particular days on the basis of the stem and/or branch values of days.”¹¹⁶ The daybooks encompass “both the practical, technical knowledge of the late Warring States period” and they “were highly malleable and could assume different forms to suit different people’s purposes.”¹¹⁷ The owners or users of the daybooks “engaged with their texts in a hands-on way” by altering them and reformatting around a “basic template” of a common daybook.¹¹⁸ Even during the Warring States period, a certain amount of daybook personalization can be found.

Most Chinese scholars agree that excavated texts involving calculations for auspicious or inauspicious days or actions should be considered daybooks,¹¹⁹ but not everyone agrees. Some of the classic texts from the Spring and Autumn period (771-476 B.C.E.) discuss the existence of specialists capable of determining auspicious or inauspicious days, and whose title includes the character for day, *rizhe* (diviners “日

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 12. Harkness also includes a whole list of rules that he feels pertain to the daybook definition.

¹¹⁷ Ethan Harkness, “Cosmology and the Quotidian: Day Books in Early China” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011), 90.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 90.

¹¹⁹ Sun Zhanyu 孙占宇, *Fangmatan Qinjian rishu zhengli yu yanjiu* 放马滩秦简日书整理与研究 (PhD diss., 西北师范大学文史学院, 2008), 1.

者”)¹²⁰ Liu Lexian’s seminal book on the subject, *Jianbo shushu wenxian tanlun* 简帛数术文献探论, discusses these practices and the texts surrounding them, and explains that the actions fulfilled by these diviners are found in today’s farmer’s almanacs and also found in the text of the daybooks.¹²¹ However, as Sun Zhanyu points out, many of the daybooks that are actually titled “daybooks” (such as the Shuihudi and Fangmatan daybooks) cover subject matter that supersedes auspicious or inauspicious dates or actions.¹²² Some of the texts considered daybooks by scholars cover a wide range of topics, and some are considered to be part of a singular text only because the texts are found together in a tomb. Whether the tomb occupants believed links existed between the texts is unknown.

One element that is identical in the daybooks and other forms of divination manuals (and indeed is part of the reason for the confusion of terms) is the use of the sexagenary cycle in order to decipher auspicious and inauspicious days. As previously discussed, the sexagenary cycle was used in early China as a calendar system for dates, which was used for the year, the day, and the hour. Variations on the cycle were used in ancient China as well. As Kalinowski writes, the rotating sexagenary cycle “formed a kind of combinatory algebra in which all the functions of time could be expressed in a single set of terms and subjected to the same chronological,

¹²⁰ The *Shiji* for instance has a chapter on the diviners (卷 127 《日者列传》) also 墨子 in the chapter called 贵义.

¹²¹ Liu Lexian 刘乐贤, *Jianbo shushu wenxian tanlun* 简帛数术文献探论 (湖北教育出版社, 2004), 352.

¹²² Sun Zhanyu 孙占宇, “Fangmatan Qin jian rishu zhengli yu yanjiu 放马滩秦简日书整理与研究,” (PhD diss., 西北师范大学, 2008), 1-11. Topics in these daybooks include keeping bad dreams at bay, legal codes, musical notes and their connection to the hexagrams, etc.

divinatory and symbolic manipulations.”¹²³ Moreover, the sexagenary cycle was also used “to designate not just the divisions of time but also positions in space: celestial sectors, terrestrial directions, etc.”

A shared view of the systems underlying the natural workings of the universe can be found in both manuals and daybooks (such as *yin* and *yang*) and such systems are seen as a source of a day’s relative auspiciousness or inauspiciousness. While it may be easy for us to claim that the underlying natural workings acted as a code for manual-users such as Shi Rao and therefore that these men followed the divinatory texts to the last detail, this does not seem to be the case. Shi Rao had a job to perform—one that required a great deal of local travel. One of the texts in the *Yinwan* cache, the “Auspicious/Inauspicious Travel Paths,” (行道吉凶), provides the best gates from which to exit depending on how much *yin* or *yang* a given day possesses. As Cai Wanjin explains, Shi Rao left a detailed diary of his travels for one year in particular, 元延二年 (corresponding with the year 11 B.C.E. of the Former Han dynasty).¹²⁴ Within this diary, we learn about the various locations Shi Rao visited on business trips, some details about the business that was engaged, and where Shi Rao spent the night. If one compares the days that Shi Rao was not supposed to leave his home (based on the manual) and the days on which he actually traveled, one can see that Shi Rao did not always heed the advice of the divinatory text regarding auspicious travel; it seems that he traveled on inauspicious days according to need. Thus practicality often took precedence over prognostication.

¹²³ Marc Kalinowski, “Time, Space, and Orientation: Figurative Representations of the Sexagenary Cycle in Ancient and Medieval China,” *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*, eds., Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métaillé (Brill: Leiden, 2007), 137.

¹²⁴ Cai Wanjin 蔡萬進, *Yinwan Hanmu Jiandu Lunkao* 漢墓簡牘論考 (Taipei: Guji chuban youxian gongsi, 1999), 16-17; 40-43.

Daybooks thus represent one of the clearest forms of manuals within the early Chinese context, and while there are definite links between the Yinwan manuals and what is deemed a daybook, there are also notable differences. Liu Lexian writes that the Yinwan manuals may share many qualities with daybooks, but he insists that they may not be considered a daybook.¹²⁵ For example, the geographical and topical scope of the Yinwan manuals appears to be smaller than the scope of a typical daybook. Focusing on the Yinwan manuals as an early form of technical knowledge allows us to understand a facet of early Chinese texts typically overlooked by contemporary scholarship.

The Yinwan Manuals:

The Yinwan divination manuals were discovered in burial number 6 in the town of Yinwan 尹灣, Donghai 東海 county (Lianyungang 連雲港 municipality, in Jiangsu Province) and belonged to Shi Rao 師饒 whose stylized name (字) was Junxiong 君兄,¹²⁶ and who was a low-level government official. A number of tombs were discovered at the Yinwan site, but only two were excavated. Both burial number 6 and number 2 contained artifacts. Burial 6 contained two tomb occupants, a male and female whose coffins contained burial items, and a wooden chest for burial goods at the foot of the two coffins. Measuring 4.2 meters wide, 2.7 meters deep, and 7.5 meters deep, the burial pit contained the coffins of Shi Rao and probably his wife. From the textual evidence found within the tomb, the tomb was dated by archaeologists to the end of the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.E-9 C.E.). Shi Rao was part of the Bureau of Merit, or *gongcao* 功曹, which was the name of the bureau and

¹²⁵ Liu Lexian 刘乐贤, *Yinwan Hanmu Jiandu zonglun* 尹湾汉墓简牍综论 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshan, 1999), 186.

¹²⁶ *Yinwan Han mu jiandu* 尹湾汉墓简牍 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997).

also of the official in charge of the bureau. As far as we can tell, Shi Rao had mostly local responsibilities including collecting tax information for the bureau and taking short trips in the immediate area. These low-level officials were actually well connected as they also had some responsibilities related to official promotions.¹²⁷ Michael Loewe writes, “[d]espite his low grade and salary (a hundred bushels) the *gong cao* bore responsible duties. As principal aide-de-camp to the governor, he was entrusted with confidential matters and was in charge of certain documents; it was in accordance with the information that he provided that officials would gain promotion.”¹²⁸

Many of the items found within the two coffins and adjoining chest include talismanic items for protection of the dead. Among the tomb artifacts uncovered in the burial chest were vessels made of lacquer and bronze, glazed pottery, wooden weapons such as swords and bows, wooden burial figurines, and bamboo slips (texts).¹²⁹ The right coffin, belonging to the female occupant, included bronze mirrors, bone hairpins, coins, and bronze toiletries. The left coffin, belonging to Shi Rao, had the majority of the burial items, including the wooden bamboo slips (texts). He had a beautifully crafted face guard, coins, glass materials, weapons, and various carvings. A white jade cicada was found near his head, and five wooden cicadas further down the length of the coffin. Finally, bronze mirrors were found in Shi Rao’s coffin as well.

¹²⁷ For more details, see Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 85-86. See also Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, *Zhongguo difang xingzheng zhidu shi: Qin Han defang xingzheng zhidu* 中國地方行政制度史: 秦漢地方行政制度 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 119 – 122.

¹²⁸ Michael Loewe, “The Operation of the Government,” *China’s Early Empires: A Re-appraisal*, 311.

¹²⁹ For a full list, see *Yinwan Han mu jiandu* 尹灣漢墓簡牘 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997).

Arguably the most valuable portion of the Yinwan manuals is the section on divination by means of a tortoise. Turtles and tortoises were seen as greatly auspicious creatures in early China. Shang kings used turtles to divine about their futures and the future of their armies. These oracle bones were read by specialists and gave the Shang kings an idea of how to plan their futures. For example, the best time to attack a neighboring army was a topic of divination. There are even some instances of divining about a toothache. The underlying cosmological framework points to two-way human-ancestor communication whereby humans request aid from their ancestors, and the ancestors respond in kind. The turtle itself was also believed to hold powers and was considered an important creature. *The Book of Rites* 禮記 famously describes the turtle as one of four creatures with spirit (靈) or intelligence.¹³⁰ Michael Loewe connects the use of tortoise shells with the belief that turtles represented wisdom and longevity, which were attractive qualities to ancient kings.¹³¹ Sarah Allan connects the physical shape of the turtle with a model of the earth and associations with the cosmos.¹³² There is also evidence that this method of divination continued into the Han dynasty.¹³³

¹³⁰ *Li Ji*, chapter “Li Yun,” verse 23. The other three creatures are the dragon, phoenix, and unicorn.

¹³¹ Michael Loewe, “Divination by Shells, Bones and Stalks during the Han Period,” *T’oung Pao* 74, 1/3 (1988): 84.

¹³² Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 104. See also Christopher Cullen’s explanation of ancient Chinese cosmography wherein an umbrella shaped heaven rotates above a flat earth, similar to the shape of a turtle shell. Christopher Cullen, *Astronomy and Mathematics in Ancient China: the Zhou bi suan jing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), xi.

¹³³ Among the grave goods in the tomb of the king of Nan Yue (d. 122 BCE) were fragments of such turtle remains. See Marc Kalinowski, “Divination and astrology: Received texts and excavated manuscripts,” *China’s Early Empires: A Re-appraisal*, 346.

While much remains unclear about divination by means of a tortoise in the Han, it is evident that the user of the Yinwan manual was meant to count the scutes on a tortoise shell, one scute per day for every day one's goods were stolen (see Figure 1). The physical shape of the turtle is utilized as a kind of compass, with the tail and head serving as cardinal directions (in this case North and South, respectively), and the legs serving as northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest. We may view this orientation as "a cardinally-oriented non-linear textual structure."¹³⁴ Instructions on how to use the manual are as follows: "The method for using the supernatural tortoise: after every first day of the [lunar] month, use the back left leg as the starting point moving counter-clock wise, when you arrive at the current day, stop and check the divination outcome."¹³⁵ One begins counting from the scute that corresponds to the back-left leg (as marked on the text) and if the goods were stolen three days prior, one counts counter-clockwise three scute along the curve of the turtle plastron (it is unclear whether one must use a live turtle, a shell, or the image of the turtle provided in the text). Wherever the counter lands is where one checks the prognostication. One example of such a prognostication is "[i]f the count stops on the back right leg, the thief will be easily captured, his surname is Wang and name is Dao, and he is due

¹³⁴ Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Spatial Organization of Ancient Chinese Texts (Preliminary Remarks)," *History of Science, History of Text* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 10.

¹³⁵ This manual is found on slip YM6D9, side 1. There is a black dot at the beginning of this sentence, and also one below the bottom-left leg of the turtle image on the wood slip. The words "以此右行" are below the dot. It is possible that this means that one counts the scutum on the turtle shell, making each turtle's shell unique to the divination process. One counts in a clockwise fashion from the day one's items were stolen until the current day, then checks to see the corresponding prognostication. These eight directions may be connected to *yin-yang* and five phases.

Northwest.”¹³⁶ This information could be very valuable to the reader of the manual as the successful capture of thieves might be a means for social mobility.



Figure 1: Tortoise and Rain divination images found in Yinwan cache of slips. Image from *Yinwan Hanmu jiandu zonglun* 尹灣漢墓簡牘綜論, (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1999) 20.

Other guides for capturing thieves exist among early Chinese excavated materials, indicating possible standardization attempts throughout the early period. If such texts were in circulation from the Qin through the Han, they may have developed differently. For instance, as Daniel Sou points out there are numerous examples from daybooks dating to the Qin that are “guides for catching thieves based on taboo days and personal information about them.”¹³⁷ Both Shuihudi A and Fangmatan B contain almost identical slips for capturing thieves. The information provided by the

¹³⁶ Please see the Appendix to this chapter for a full translation.

¹³⁷ Daniel Sou, *In the Government's Service: A Study of the Role and Practice of Early China's Officials Based on Excavated Manuscripts*, (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 229.

daybooks include the sexagenary day name, physical features of the thief including their sex, possible hiding places for the goods or thief, whether capture is feasible, and also possible characters included in the thief's name.¹³⁸ Officials may have utilized these texts as a preliminary tool for seeking out thieves and stolen goods.¹³⁹

An example of a text relating to divination by means of a tortoise was found in the Dunhuang Mogao caves (Or. 8210/S. 6878 Recto) dating many hundreds of years after the Yinwan tomb was completed. The text is on the verso of a Chinese sutra and is written in Tibetan. The Research Project Manager of the International Dunhuang Project, Sam van Schaik, wrote about this text on his personal blog¹⁴⁰ and similar to the Yinwan manual, the body of the tortoise is used like a compass aiding the user in recovering lost items. In contrast to the Yinwan manual, the text assists with lost items, not stolen ones, and the tortoise has some additional body parts (such as ears).

On the same slip of wood as the Yinwan "Supernatural tortoise divination" is a diagram entitled "six *jia* rain divination (六甲占雨);" (Figure 1) while it is difficult to know how this text used, a similar image can be found in daybooks from this period.¹⁴¹ Not uncommon with copied texts, there are errors in the Yinwan diagram (the wrong stem or branch, for example) and it has no instructions, but it is possible that this image was meant to be talismanic in its usage.

¹³⁸ Ibid. Chinese surnames are made up of components that may be broken down into multiple characters.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 236.

¹⁴⁰ <http://earlytibet.com/2008/11/28/the-golden-turtle/>

¹⁴¹ One example is from Kongjiapo (孔家坡, discovered in 2000 in Hubei) which also contains an image entitled "Image of Heaven's Jail 天牢圖" and is ovular and filled with the character for "day." Harkness writes that *Kongjiapo's* diagram-based prognostication systems "derive their persuasive power from visually striking correlations of temporal symbols with schematic representations of heaven, earth, and even man himself." See Harkness, 166. An almost identical image to the Yinwan example can be found in the Fangmatan daybook.

The next section of the Yinwan text of our study is entitled “*Bo* Pattern Divination” (博局占) referring to the Han dynasty game of *liubo* which was also used as a means for divination. This section is located on the reverse side of the slip containing “Supernatural Tortoise Divination.” For the game of *liubo* to be played, certain elements were necessary including a playing board (some are still preserved¹⁴²), two players, and game pieces. The text found in Shi Rao’s tomb included a divination manual with a diagram of a *liubo* board (Figure 2). Lillian Lan-ying Tseng’s article entitled “Representation and Appropriation: Rethinking the TLV Mirror in Han China” makes the connection between the *liubo* board found in the Yinwan tomb material and TLV mirrors, or bronze mirrors dating to the Han. On one side of these mirrors a repeated pattern “T,” “L,” and “V” is often found as well as inscriptions relating to divination.¹⁴³ Tseng claims that both *liubo* and TLV mirrors were used to “prevent the invasion of evil spirits,”¹⁴⁴ and illustrates the Han dynasty’s “auspicious mentality,” which Tseng defines as “collective attitudes of ordinary people toward auspiciousness and... inauspiciousness.”¹⁴⁵ The board found in the tomb may thus be considered a “talisman capable of fending off the inauspicious.”¹⁴⁶ She traces the transformation of symbols on the *liubo* game board to the TLV mirrors, showing that the appropriation of these symbols was critical for the practice of

¹⁴² The Metropolitan Museum of Art (NYC), for instance, has two tomb figurines playing the game with a model of a *liubo* board.

¹⁴³ For a full description of these mirrors and their usages, see Anneliese Bulling, *The Decoration of Mirrors of the Han Period: A Chronology* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1960). See also Anna Seidel, “Review: Tokens of Immortality in Han Graves (With an Appendix)” *Numen* 29.1 (Jul., 1982): 79-122.

¹⁴⁴ Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, “Representation and Appropriation: Rethinking the TLV Mirror in Han China,” *Early China* 29 (2004): 163-215.

¹⁴⁵ Tseng, see Footnote 3.

¹⁴⁶ Tseng, 164.

divination and are indicative of the reworking of symbolic patterns and the desire for auspiciousness during the Han.¹⁴⁷

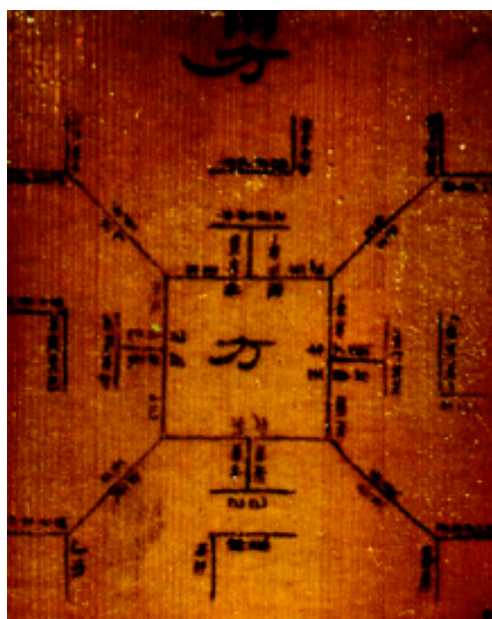


Figure 2: *Liubo* Divination board found in Yinwan cache of slips. Image from *Yinwan Hanmu jiandu zonglun* 尹灣漢墓簡牘綜論, (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1999) 21.

The introductory section of the Yinwan *liubo* manual divides possible divination topics into five: marriage (“Divine to obtain a wife, or to marry off a daughter”), excursions (“[Divine] to inquire about travelers¹⁴⁸”), imprisonment (“[Divine] to inquire about those who have been imprisoned”), illness (“[Divine] to inquire about those who are ill”), and absconders (“[Divine] to inquire about absconders”). The person looking at the board and interested in divining would find the current date of the sexagenary cycle on the board, the corresponding one-character term also inscribed on the board (*fang* 方, *lian* 廉, *jie* 楛, *dao* 道, *zhang* 張, *qu* 曲, *chu* 誦, *zhang* 長, or *gao* 高, see Figure 3), and finally read the prognostication related to the term and their inquiry. The reverse is also true: if a person was interested in the most auspicious date for marriage, for example, they could find the desired

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ The most auspicious scenario for those going on a long journey.

prognostication, the corresponding one-character term, and the list of thusly corresponding dates. For example, if it is the 43rd combination in the sexegenary cycle (丙午), and one's issue is one's health, one would find the date on the board, see that it corresponds to *fang* 方, then look at the prognosis for *fang*. The fifth column in the textual portion (below the board) is for health problems, and the fifth column in the *fang* section is “[t]oday there will be recovery from illness.”¹⁴⁹ For each of the nine characters, there is an extended prognostication that touches upon each of the five topics.

¹⁴⁹ Tseng points out that a poem about how to play the game of *liubo* written by Xu Bochang 許博昌 (ca. 156-141 B.C.E.) provides us with insight into how the game may have been played. The poem is as follows: 方畔揭道张。 *Fang pan jie dao zhang*,/张畔揭道方。 *zhang pan jie dao fang*,/张究屈玄高。 *Zhang jiu qu xuan gao*,/高玄屈究张。 *gao xuan qu jiu zhang*. Tseng translates this as From the corner of a “square” area there is a rising way to the “extension” area, From the corners of the “extension” area there are rising ways to the “square”; Throws taking one from the “extension” area to the “benders” beat the mysterious and high, The high and mysterious beats such throws by taking one from the “benders” to the “extension” area. (Tseng, 176) The nine characters in the Yinwan manual strongly resemble the nine words in Xu’s poem: “four are exact matches, one is identical in terms of pronunciation and reference, and two are comparable in meaning.” (Tseng, 178). Tseng therefore analyzes the nine characters in the Yinwan manual as instructions for the player.

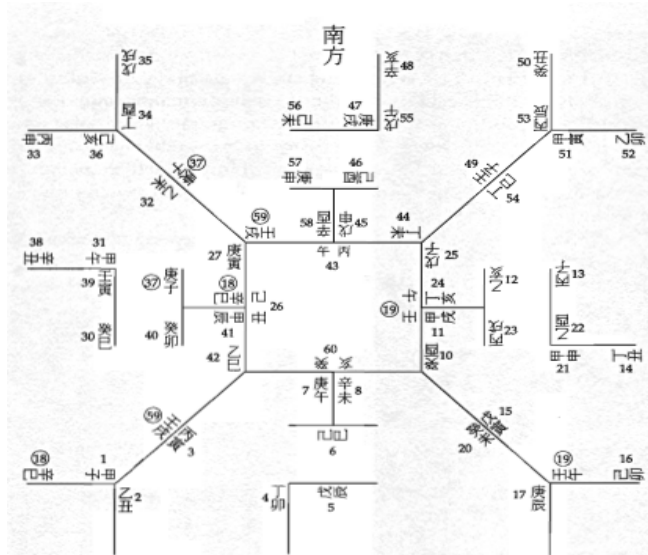


Figure 3: Reconstructed drawing of the TLV design and sexagenary cycle from the *liubo* divination board, Fig. 2. Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, “Representation and Appropriation: Rethinking the TLV Mirror in Han China,” *Early China* 29 (2004): 180.

A closer look at the textual portion of the wood slips will give us some insight into the interests and concerns of a low-level official during the Han, especially anxiety-inducing concerns. The prognostication for the first of the nine characters, *fang*, touches upon the five themes: the theme of marriage (“your wife will remain in the home for life, she will give birth to children”); the theme of travel (“today is suitable for arrival”); the theme of imprisonment (“divination is uncertain”¹⁵⁰); the theme of illness (“today there will be recovery from illness”); and the theme of absconders (“fugitives will give themselves up to the law”). A basic prognostication follows each of the characters in a similar fashion. For a low-level official whose duties included traveling, doling out punishments, and overseeing the recapture of fugitives, three of the five main themes found in the Yinwan *liubo* manual are apparent.

Two of the themes covered by the *liubo* manual involve the personal life of the manual’s user—marriage and health. In a number of sections, these two themes

¹⁵⁰ The theme of imprisonment is more evident in other passages.

are linked. For instance, in the *lian* section it reads, “your wife will fall ill, she will not grow old with you, she will give birth to children.” While that prognostication is not ideal, the promise of children would be desirable to the user. In some cases, the prognostication clarifies the personality of one’s wife: “your wife will be jealous” (*jie* section); “your wife will be kind and cautious, with few words” (*qu* section); “your wife will be tyrannical and brutal” (*zhang* section). Generally, bearing children is the focus of the prognostication in this manual, though sometimes the wife’s capabilities are mentioned (“your wife will save money for your family” in the *zhang* section). The prognostications regarding illness are also varied. Sometimes the text is very specific about the illness: “the illness is in a pulled, spasmodic tendon” (*qu* section) or “[the ill person’s] body and internal organs will mutually twitch and spasm” (*chu* section). Other times, the prognostication is very general, providing information about death or survival from an illness.

Similar to the *liubo* manual, “Acceptable Times for Punishment and Virtue” (刑德行時) also has two possible divination methods: day focused and prognosis focused. One could choose an auspicious day and time of day depending upon the prognosis, or one could divine about the auspicious nature of a specific day and time of day. The topics for divination for potential users of this manual—who, like Shi Rao, were most likely low-level officials—are audiences with one’s superiors, traveling on long journeys, prisoners, absconders, illness, and children. In this case, days are divided by the sexagenary cycle and also times of day (such as from the time the cock crows until breakfast, or from late afternoon until sunset). Thus, for instance, if it is a *ren* or *gui* day, and it is during the period of time from sunset until the cock crows, it is *duan* or “a proper time.” The prognostication for *duan* is as follows:

Asking for an audience [with a person of higher position] is auspicious; traveling on a long journey, there will be happy events; a prisoner will be pronounced innocent; those who fall ill will not die; those who have children will be greatly auspicious.

This period of time on *ren* or *gui* days is very auspicious: it is a good time to ask for an audience with one's superior, a good time for a journey, a good time for a prisoner, illness will not cause death, and those who have children will be successful. This manual is written in very general terms—a day or time is either auspicious or inauspicious.

The final section of the *Yinwan* manuals to be discussed is entitled “Auspicious/Inauspicious Travel Path,” (行道吉凶) which categorizes days in the sexagenary cycle based on the number of *yin* or *yang* on any given day. Three *yin* or three *yang* are the highest possible combinations and are categorized as either inauspicious or auspicious for traveling. Similar to the methods described in the texts examined above, one may choose a particular day and check the situation related to that day, or one may choose the most ideal prognosis (in this case, a day with three *yang*), and make subsequent plans. The text itself is divided into the Ten Heavenly Stems and six corresponding Earthly Branches. Those six corresponding branches have a distinct cyclical pattern when taken as a whole.¹⁵¹ Each of these sections provides a statement about how many *yin* or *yang* are on a given day and which gate is auspicious or inauspicious. For example:

Guiyou day has three *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Guiwei* day has three *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Guisi* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Guimao* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Guichou* day has three *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Guihai* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Eastern gate [is auspicious].

¹⁵¹ For instance, the first stem and the first branch are the first pair in section 1; the second stem and the second branch are the first pair in section 2; the third stem and the third branch are the first pair in section 3, and so on. See Appendix II.5 for more information.

Finally, there are five short prognostication statements regarding the days as divided by *yin-yang*.

If traveling on a day with three *yang* and exits from the appropriate gate, all things will be successful, no taboo will be carried out on that day. If traveling on a day with three *yang* and does not exit from the appropriate gate, the traveler will be anxious, but in the end will be successful. If traveling on a day with two *yang* and one *yin*, even though he leaves from the appropriate gate, the traveler's affairs will be incomplete. If traveling on a day with two *yin* and one *yang*, even though he leaves from the appropriate gate, the traveler will inevitably be captured and tied up. If traveling on a day with three *yin*, do not exit the gate as the traveler will certainly die.

According to the manual, the worst-case scenario is if the traveler leaves his home on a day consisting of three *yin* (a total of 8 possible days) and one should stay inside.¹⁵²

The best-case scenario is if the traveler leaves on a day consisting of three *yang* (a total of 26 possible days¹⁵³) and exits from the gate as delineated¹⁵³ by the manual. Thus, according to the authors of the manual, there are many more opportunities for a positive and auspicious traveling experience.

With this much detail regarding the sexagenary cycle, an official could plan his affairs with a great deal of care and consideration. Although one may determine which days are efficacious for travel (by their strength in *yin* or *yang*), as mentioned above Shi Rao did not always the advice found in the manual, as he needed to travel fairly regularly for his job. This provides us with insight into the advisory nature of such manuals. Shi Rao was buried with a detailed diary of his business travels from the year 11 B.C.E., and when we compare the “Auspicious/Inauspicious Travel Path” with his diary, we see that Shi Rao did travel on inauspicious days. It is not clear what gates he used in his travels, but according to the diary he even traveled on gravely

¹⁵² *yihai, yimao, jisi, jimao, jihai, xinsi, xinmao, xinhai.*

¹⁵³ *jiazi, jiaxu, jiawu, jiayin, bingyin, bingzi, bingxu, bingwu, dingchou, dingyou, dingwei, wuyin, wuzi, wuxu, wuwu, gengwu, gengyin, gengzi, gengxu, renwu, renyin, renzi, renxu, guiyou, guiwei, guichou.*

inauspicious days (such as days with three *yin*). For example, on a *sixing* day—one containing three *yin*—he arrived at a dormitory and stayed there for the night.¹⁵⁴

Comparisons to the *Dream Divination Book*

Both the Yuelu Academy *Dream Divination Book* and the Yinwan manuals cater to the needs of the non-exceptional agent and using the sexagenary cycle, decode auspicious and inauspicious times for various activities. Both texts relay divination methods using accessible language, and interpret various relationships (such as *yin-yang*) to uncover certain truths about how to proceed with one's life.¹⁵⁵

The first major difference between the *Dream Divination Book* and the Yinwan manuals is the connection to early Chinese medicine: the former reveals a direct link to healing the body through *qi* and the Five phases, and the later reveals an indirect interest to healing, one of many concerns for the manual's potential user. Since dreams and illness are linked, the *Dream Divination Book* portrays a personal connection to one's body and to illness. There are many rules for divining in the *Dream Divination Book* and they are inextricably connected to the physical condition of the body and also positioning the body in time. Understanding the cosmic connections to the Five phases and the body gives an individual power over his or her body. Not only can one decode one's dreams, but one can decode imbalances within one's body and thereby heal oneself (or avoid illness altogether). The Yinwan manuals, on the other hand, portray illness as one of many concerns for an individual. There is thus an indirect connection or interest in healing the body, one concern

¹⁵⁴ See strips 32-33 of 《元廷二年日記》.

¹⁵⁵ *Yin* and *yang* are only part of the code, however. For example, of the four self-contained manuals analyzed in this chapter, only one of them (“Auspicious/Inauspicious Travel Path”) divides days up based on their *yin-yang* qualities.

among other concerns for marriage, children, and business dealings. Some of the manuals have nothing to do with illness at all, indeed, only “*Bo* Pattern divination” refers to medical concerns.

The most important difference is that the Yinwan manuals make use of diagrams to transmit information to the reader-viewer. A diagram is defined in *The Culture of Diagram* as “a proliferation of manifestly selective packets of dissimilar data correlated in an explicitly process-oriented array that has some of the attributes of a representation but is situated in a world like an object.”¹⁵⁶ In other words, a diagram organizes data for a viewer “and allows them to be apprehended in series” or “from several vantage points” and “shifts in scale, focus, or resolution provokes seriated cognitive processes demanding an active correlation of information.”¹⁵⁷ The importance of the observer of the diagram must also be stressed, as the observer needs to focus and shift his or her perceptual attention from diagram to spatial context and back again. Any observer of diagrams must process information in very specific ways. Moreover, a diagram “is not a representation of something else; it is the thing itself.”¹⁵⁸

We may view the diagrams found in the Yinwan cache of texts in the same light: they too contain cognitive processes and make use of sophisticated methods for communicating information. Historically, diagrams were used in tomb art (such as the TLV mirrors described above), and are found in divinatory texts as often as on tomb artifacts. The authors of the Yinwan manuals utilize diagrams in new ways, particularly since the creator of a diagram has the “capacity to shape the way others

¹⁵⁶ John Bender and Michael Marrinan, *The Culture of Diagram* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 7.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁵⁸ Reviel Netz, *The Shaping of Deduction in Greek Mathematics: A Study in Cognitive History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 60.

see the world, and, by extension, the potential to shape collective views of the world by convention and education.”¹⁵⁹ This kind of influence over the observer implies a relationship between the diagram-creator and the diagram-observer where information is transmitted between the two.

In order to use the “Supernatural tortoise Divination,” cognitive links are necessary as the observer would need to envision the diagram of the tortoise provided, correlate the diagram to an actual tortoise, and use that diagram in a technical manner to divine. The observer would primarily need the cognitive tools necessary to use the diagram and either extend that information outward onto an actual animal, or use the diagram itself for the purposes of divination. The angle of the tortoise itself indicates to the observer from which foot to begin counting (as opposed to stating it within the text). Thus, the diagram is the most observable form of technology as revealing knowledge. This is historically linked to the first maps which are also scaled and placed in tombs during this period.¹⁶⁰ Without the technology of the “bird’s eye view,” neither maps nor the Yinwan tortoise text could be used. This skill of *correlation* is therefore key to such cognitive shifts as “[c]orrelation is a search for relationships among variables, and its success is measured when a convergence of data is recognized.”¹⁶¹ The Yinwan manuals and their diagrams include such correlations, convey knowledge to the observer, and assume that the observer can make the cognitive shifts necessary to use the technology provided. This diagram therefore simultaneously provides a representation of a tortoise and a *standardization* of a tortoise. Every tortoise may presumably be used in the method of divination delineated by “Supernatural Tortoise Divination” as long as they have all the

¹⁵⁹ Bender and Marrinan, 13.

¹⁶⁰ Fangmatan contains one of the earliest maps.

¹⁶¹ Bender and Marrinan, 17.

necessary tortoise parts (scutes on the shell, a head, a tail, etc). Or alternately, the diagram of the tortoise itself is enough and as the physical representation and standardization of all tortoises, one could count the scutes on the diagram without needing a physical tortoise at all.

Another Yinwan divination diagram that exemplifies the complexity of such diagrams is the *liubo* board. The diagram is directionally situated with “South 南方” located at the top and *fang* 方 in the center. *Fang* has a variety of meanings including “square,” “direction,” “prescription,” and “method.” These characters are physically larger than the sixty combinations made up of the Stems and Branches that are spread throughout the rest of the game board (see figure 2 and 3). One thing that must be mentioned at this interval is that mistakes that can be found in the sexagenary cycle in this diagram, which are often cited as the scribe’s transcription errors. Three days in the sexagenary cycle are also missing, and four days are repeated.¹⁶² These transcription errors have been amended by modern scholars,¹⁶³ providing some semblance of order to the diagram’s sixty dates (see figure 3).

Another connection that is made by scholars is the *liubo* board’s connection to the *shi* 式 instrument, used for divination in its own right.¹⁶⁴ There is some debate as to how the *shi* device was used and even how to translate the term (Christopher Cullen calls it a “cosmic model” and Donald Harper calls it a “cosmic board”), and there are some notable similarities to the Yinwan manual. Marc Kalinowski’s most

¹⁶² Lillian Lan-Ying Tseng, “Representation and Appropriation: Rethinking the TLV Mirror in Han China,” 181.

¹⁶³ Liu Lexian 劉樂賢, “Yinwan Han mu chutu shushu wenxian chutan” 尹灣漢墓出土數術文獻初探, *Yinwan Han mu jiandu zonglun* 尹灣漢墓簡牘綜論 (Beijing: Kexue, 1999), 175-86.

¹⁶⁴ See Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, 80-81; Kaplan, “On the Origin of the TLV Mirror,” 23-24.

recent article, “The Notion of ‘*Shi*’ 式 and some Related terms in Qin-Han Calendrical Astrology,” explicates the differences in usage and form (of which there are many), and his discussion of what he calls the “*shi*-diagram” is particularly revealing for our discussion. The “*shi*-diagram” is also called the “cord-hook diagram” due to the central cross and “V” or arrow shaped corners, and is found on wooden boards, bamboo slips, and silk. He writes,

The primary function of the cord-hook diagram is to indicate positions in space and in time, in the manner of a compass, the orientations of which can extend from four to eight, twelve, sixteen, and up to twenty-four positions. The extreme flexibility of the diagram and the intimate connection that it establishes between spatial and temporal coordinates gives it an obvious cosmological dimension.”¹⁶⁵

While the origins are unclear, the cord-hook diagram was “probably designed primarily to meet the technical requirements proper to the practice of astrologers and calendrologists.”¹⁶⁶ But these diagrams are also found in connection to divination, particularly in daybooks themselves. Sometimes they are purely decorative, but other times, a “spatial representation” of the stems and branches of the sexagenary cycle are included, often with divinatory inscriptions. Thus, the *shi*-diagram as well as other renditions of the term *shi* are to be considered “mantic devices.” The Yinwan *liubo* diagram may be related to the “*shi*-diagram” because it takes on similar design aspects and is also connected to divination. Not all scholars agree, however. Tseng does not consider the diagram connected to the “*shi*-diagram” because of the clear connections to TLV mirror design.

These types of diagrams—the “*shi*-diagram” and the Yinwan *liubo* board—are extremely sophisticated as they not only place the observer in time and space, but they

¹⁶⁵ Marc Kalinoswki, “The Notion of ‘*Shi*’ 式 and some Related terms in Qin-Han Calendrical Astrology” *Early China* 35-36 (2012-2013): 350-351.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 351.

are also the means by which a person can read the elusive messages found in the cosmos. More sophisticated than the tortoise diagram, this is not simply a bird's eye view. The *liubo* diagram requires observers to know about how they are situated in space and time, connect themselves to a game and game board, and read or divine through these layers. While it is possible that the game of *liubo* in relation to this diagram is inconsequential and that the TLV pattern is merely decorative, the divination quality of such a diagram would not be lost to the observer. The diagram is thus not simply a representation of divination, or a representation of our position in space and time, it is "the thing itself," or the key to uncovering mysteries in the cosmos. Similar to how a compass guides us on the earth, so too the diagram guides its users to the acceptable prognosis for the choices they make in the future. It is a *standardization* of signs in the cosmos: of time and space, and what lies beneath. And because of this standardization, a specialist is no longer necessary, various sacrifices are no longer needed, and complex rituals deemed excessive. If you can read, you can divine.

Conclusions:

When analyzing the Yuelu Academy *Dream Divination Book* vis-à-vis the Yinwan manuals, a few things become readily apparent. Both are clearly about using texts to divine one's future. Both standardize material, decode it for users, and thereby place the power of divination into their hands. However, the *Dream Divination Book* focuses on illness while the Yinwan manuals cite one's health as a concern among many. The reason for this is possibly due to the nature of dreams, which are conceived of as internalized in the body, and are closely connected to conceptions of health. The *Dream Divination Book* is about the body as related to the cosmos and the cosmos related to the body, thus the focus is on decoding medical concerns. The

Yinwan manuals, on the other hand, cover many topics, as there are many concerns individuals might have, including a future wife, or concerns relating to their bureaucratic jobs. Health is therefore only one among many concerns. The Yinwan manuals expect the user to correlate information and make cognitive shifts in order to both use and understand the manuals. While appearing deceptively simple, the Yinwan manuals actually represent a technological innovation, telling us a great deal about the technical sophistication and knowledge among low-level officials who used them. As we shall see in the next chapter, medieval medical texts found in the Dunhuang caves make use of diagrams as a means for protecting one's body. These diagrams, or talismans, utilize another type of cognitive correlation, and combine some of the technologies we find in the *Dream Divination Book* with the sophistication of diagram standardization found in the Yinwan manuals.

As with the Yuelu *Dream Divination Book*, the *Yinwan* divination manuals do not require a specialist to practice. A literate individual could read these manuals and perform divination alone. Moreover, a literate individual could perform a variety of types of divination through the materials found in the Yinwan manuals. These techniques provide readers with the knowledge necessary to gain control over their decisions and their futures. Exceptional agents are no longer the only efficacious ones.

The *Yinwan* manuals provide us with insight into the daily cosmological framework underlying the texts, with a unique categorization of time and space. While the sexagenary cycle is widely used in texts from this period, dividing days up by *yin-yang* is singular. Moreover, divination by means of a tortoise is unique because the body of the tortoise acts as a compass for divining the direction of thieves. "Acceptable Times for Punishment and Virtue" not as unique, for instance, because days divided by auspiciousness or inauspiciousness is a kind of categorization also

found in materials excavated elsewhere. Nevertheless, the authors of the Yinwan manuals envision a cosmos whose patterns are perceivable and exert direct influence on our daily lives. While the Yinwan manuals are not considered daybooks by scholars, there are some similarities between the two. Both the Yinwan manuals and daybooks categorize days and times of day in specific ways, particularly by assigning taboos or auspicious actions to perform on a given day. The intricate patterns found in the cosmos are the basis for which days are deemed auspicious, and various forms of *qi* such as *yin* and *yang* are vital for understanding what to expect on each day.

From the evidence discerned in Shi Rao's tomb, we see that these manuals were meant as aids for one's life, and not something a person followed without question. Just like the example of Shao Tuo (in the Baoshan tomb materials) who, unhappy with a prognostication, had his diviners use many methods, Shi Rao's tomb provides evidence of an attitude of flexibility toward divination that began during the Warring States period. The Yinwan manuals are an example of the unprecedented situation found in the Han dynasty whereby a low-level official had access to manuals that explicated multiple methods for divination.

The concerns of the manual reader align with concerns of low-level officials and included personal ones relating to one's health, wealth, family, and career. Recapturing criminals and the fate of prisoners, meetings with one's superiors, and the best times to travel for work are all divination topics. With such information, users could closely plan out their day, or their immediate futures. As a tool, this technology must have been very attractive to low-level officials, because it placed control over their immediate futures into their hands.

Chapter IV: Early Medical Manuals and Demonic Illness Etiology: A Comparison between Shuihudi's *Demonic Accusations* and Dunhuang's *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* (P. 2856 R° columns 23-81)

Introduction:

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Yinwan divination manuals standardize efficacy so that manual users maintain control over the method of divination they refer to and its meaning; in this chapter we will closely analyze Pélliot-Chinoise 2856 Recto (hereafter P. 2856 R°), columns 23-81, in an effort to understand the standardization of medical knowledge in a medieval text.¹⁶⁷ P. 2856 R° was found in the Mogao 莫高 caves at Dunhuang 敦煌 in Gansu province, one of a large cache of texts discovered in 1900 C.E. *Fabing shu* (發病書 *Book on the Occurrence of Illness*) is the title found on the colophon on P. 2856 R°, and the section in question explicates divining the names of illness-causing demons, the symptoms of illness, a description of the demons, and provides a variety of talismans based upon the sexagenary cycle to the reader for healing and protection. P. 2856 R° is similar to a text translated as “Demonic Accusations,” or *Jie* 詰, found in the Shuihudi excavated materials. *Demonic Accusations* provides a list of demons and their effects on human beings, including descriptions of illnesses of the body and the mind.

¹⁶⁷ Because we do not know exactly when the manuscript was written, I use the term “medieval” here following Christopher Cullen’s usage of the term. It refers to the period from the fall of the Han until the Tang Dynasty (618-907 C.E.) “during which a cluster of broadly interlinked social, intellectual and religious structures grew and came to their fruition.” Christopher Cullen, “Introduction,” *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 2-3.

By comparing the demonology section of the *Book on Occurrence of Illness* (columns 23-81) in P. 2856 R° to its earlier counterpart, *Demonic Accusations*, I argue that medical manuals such as the *Book on Occurrence of Illness* standardized ideas of efficacy, illness, and divination. Moreover, I argue that the authors of the manual viewed the information provided to their readers as empirical knowledge. Whereas the authors of the *Demonic Accusations* text portray demons and their effects on humans in uncomplicated terms (and is not, strictly, a medical manual), the demonology section of the *Book on Occurrence of Illness* utilizes sophisticated technology and medical analysis to provide tools for healing. I argue that the language used to describe illness is complex, yet unspecialized, indicating the advancement of medical terms to describe illness.¹⁶⁸ Even though there are other sections of the *Book on Occurrence of Illness* that also contain talismans, columns 23-81 shall be the focus of this chapter. That section is unique: it contains text, talisman, demonic image, and divination all in one document. Additionally, the text is the least damaged and thus easiest to read.¹⁶⁹

This chapter will first provide background information about the Dunhuang caves where the *Book on Occurrence of Illness* was discovered, then analyze secondary scholarship on the manuscript, discuss medical and religious scholarship on early Chinese sources, and end with a discussion of talismans, or *fu* 符. As we shall see, scholarship tends to focus on the material at hand as “religious,” or “occult” in nature, or even “magico-religious.” The aim of this chapter is to change that

¹⁶⁸ See for instance Elisabeth Hsu’s article “Tactility and the Body in Early Chinese Medicine,” *Science in Context* 18.1 (2005), where she explores such language in a variety of contexts.

¹⁶⁹ For more information about other portions of the *Book on Occurrence of Illness*, see Donald Harper’s article “Dunhuang Iatromantic Manuscripts: P. 2856 R and P. 2675 V,” 134-164.

perspective and view the medical manual found in P. 2856 R° as advancing technological information on healing illnesses caused by demons. The descriptions of the demons are categorized by the date based on the Twelve Earthly Branches upon which the patient fell ill. The material is presented in a chart-like form, with space for the image of the demon at the top, the corresponding talismans, and the date and descriptions of illness and demon below. This organization is accessible by allowing a manual user to quickly seek out the appropriate method for healing.

Background and Context for the Dunhuang Mogao caves:

In 1900, manuscripts were discovered in a walled up room in the Buddhist cave-shrines of Dunhuang, Gansu province, shedding new light on historical intricacies of the Silk Road. Dunhuang itself was a town located along the route of the Silk Road and in the Han dynasty it served as one of the first garrisons for the empire, guaranteeing safe passage for soldiers, officials, and traders of material and intellectual goods. Among the many Buddhist texts found at Dunhuang, thousands of non-Buddhist texts were also discovered in the caves, including over 100 medical texts. This suggests that Dunhuang was a center for copying and transmitting texts.¹⁷⁰ Strategically, Dunhuang was important for the Han and other empires to control because it provided a path through the Taklamakan Desert, and indeed, trade routes were established very early through Dunhuang as a result. Originally, the caves at Mogao in south-eastern Dunhuang were probably built by monks who excavated caves for meditative spaces and for worship. The first cave was dug in 366 C.E. by the monk Yuezun, but by the fifth century Buddhist donors paid highly for larger

¹⁷⁰ Susan Whitfield, *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts*, xii.

caves and the artwork within.¹⁷¹ By the Northern Wei period (386-534 C.E.) and throughout the Sui dynasty (581-618 C.E.) and the Tang dynasty (618-907 C.E.), emperors commissioned craftspeople and monks to build caves as a statement of power. Tang dynasty rulers in particular were interested in such cave-building projects, as they traced their imperial ancestry to the location of Dunhuang in north-western China.

The earliest manuscripts in the Mogao caves date to around 400 C.E. and the latest manuscripts date to the end of the tenth century when the cave was sealed, possibly due to Muslim invasions in 1006 C.E. A Daoist monk, Wang Yuanlu, stumbled upon the caves in 1900. In an effort to fund a restoration of the statues in some of the caves he sold many of the texts found within to foreign archeologists.¹⁷² Aurel Stein arrived in 1907 and acquired some 7,000 scrolls; Paul Pelliot arrived in 1908 and surveyed the remaining manuscripts, taking secular ones for his collection.¹⁷³ Because of this, the Dunhuang collection of manuscripts is spread all over the world: there are manuscripts in China, England, France, Germany, Russia and Japan.¹⁷⁴

Secondary Scholarship on P. 2856 R°:

Donald Harper's article, "Dunhuang Iatromantic Manuscripts: P. 2856 R° and P. 2675 V°," analyzes multiple sections from P. 2856 R° and compares them with another Dunhuang manuscript (P. 2675 V°) in an effort to uncover iatromantic qualities in both manuscripts. Iatromancy, or "the use of divination and related

¹⁷¹ Ibid., xiii.

¹⁷² Wang Yuanlu tried and failed to sell these texts to local officials. Ibid., xviii.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ In 1994 the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) was founded and went online in 1998. All Dunhuang resources came from that site.

methods to diagnose and treat illness,”¹⁷⁵ fits “within a broader field of magical medicine.” Harper claims that Dunhuang iatromantic literature is distinct from other types with magical content because the authors of the manuscripts see illness as simultaneously part of the spirit world but also a function of luck. This is where divination becomes valuable because the medical subject matter is categorized relating to the sexagenary cycle (*gan zhi*), and divination is a method for penetrating that information. Thus, “hemerological and calendrical systems provide people with a positive means both to identify the cause of illness after the fact and to avoid illness through knowledge of lucky and unlucky times beforehand.”¹⁷⁶

To further explain how iatromantic texts aid with healing, Harper describes the *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* as revealing “the extent to which medieval iatromancy continued the beliefs and practices of antiquity” in a number of ways: illness is caused by a calamity from the spirit world, hemerological and calendrical systems dictate the onset and resolution of calamity and illness, and treatment of the illness sometimes includes sacrifice, exorcism, and talismans.¹⁷⁷ According to Harper, such iatromantic patterns are not found in transmitted texts, making these manuscripts unique in their subject matter and usage. He classifies iatromantic texts to include “the association of illness with spirit world calamity, the use of mainly hemerological and calendrical systems, and magico-religious treatments” and argues that they may be distinguished from other divinatory calculations from this period.¹⁷⁸ As specialized information compiled together in manuscript form “there is ample evidence that iatromantic texts occupied a distinct place in a larger body of technical literature

¹⁷⁵ Donald Harper, “Dunhuang Iatromantic Manuscripts: P. 2856 R and P. 2675 V,” 134.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

(including medical literature).”¹⁷⁹ According to Harper, textual parallels point to shared iatromantic information among the authors of the manuscripts, proving the existence of a written textual tradition based on popular beliefs.¹⁸⁰ It is therefore possible that the *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* drew upon other iatromantic sources that were passed on, or perhaps it was a standard source for other texts.¹⁸¹ Finally, Harper notes that “iatromancy possessed a definite status in the eyes of the medieval elite.”¹⁸² Comparing parallel phrases in the *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* to other Dunhuang manuscripts and excavated materials and also parallel prohibitions in transmitted texts, Harper concludes that there was “a tradition that was shaped by the transmission of a written record of iatromantic knowledge, while remaining open to oral knowledge and local adaptation,” and that this tradition was thus not restricted to specialists.¹⁸³

Demons and Illness:

Historiographically, scholars use different methods to categorize texts (and beliefs) that deal with demons, talismans, and illness; most focus on “the occult” or magic as an underlying system. “It is fruitless to ask,” Michel Strickmann writes, “‘Is it Buddhist or Taoist?’ Clearly, therapeutic ensigillation [seals] has been both ‘Buddhist’ and ‘Taoist,’ and much more besides.”¹⁸⁴ He calls the first users of talismans and seals “occultists,” and cites men such as Ge Hong 葛洪 who wrote the *Baopuzi* inner chapters (*Book of the Master who Embraces Simplicity* 抱朴子内篇 written in c. 320 C.E.), which includes sections on demonology and talismans. Paul

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 138.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 139.

¹⁸² Ibid., 153.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 159.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 192.

Unschuld's focus is also on the occult aspect of such talismans. He explains that talismans often contained the likeness of deities, particularly once Daoism and Buddhism adopted this form of "demonic medicine." Practices utilizing drugs to expel demons also included "magic concepts" to guide users in the battle against demons.

Scholarship on demons and illness in early and medieval China typically stresses religious elements related to the root of illness. Strickmann's perspective on demons and illness is to focus on the "class of evil influence" known as *xie* (邪) and that "[i]n the area of medical pathology, such 'perverse breaths' or influences were always ready to invade the unwary or depleted human body and cause disease; these pathogens seem almost endowed with a will of their own..."¹⁸⁵ Connecting demons to *qi* ("vapor," "breath," "energy"), Chinese authors of medical texts viewed demonic manifestations as "transformations or perversions of *qi*" and thus, *xie* was a particularly pervasive illness or the cause of an illness. Identifying demons with *qi* "posits a cosmic analogy to the human body, and suggests an extension of the body and its vital animating forces into the realm of the demonic."¹⁸⁶ Because of the ambiguity of the relationship between demons and humans, the need for demonologies became necessary for classification purposes. Materials on how to deal with demons also became popular. Strickmann's language is notable in this passage because he proclaims that the "science of demonology" is inseparable from the religious dimension.

Unschuld analyzes the belief in demons and illness from a social perspective, claiming that the fear of demons and illness is representative of a fear of another class.

¹⁸⁵ Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 72.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

In his discussion of the “*gu* spirit” (worm spirit), Unschuld makes a realistic association with demonic illness and pathogens—in this case, parasitic infection. He writes,

The *gu*, a worm spirit, deserves special attention because it is a possible example of how the universal encounter of a region or epoch with actual parasite infestation, transformed by demonological concepts and the influence of social experiences, developed into an explanatory model that was able to convince both the educated and uneducated for many centuries.¹⁸⁷

To Unschuld, medically proven pathogens influenced religious concepts of illness.

Social experiences did the same thing, as is seen in the example of the worm spirit, whose usage shifted with social situations and thus represented different fears.

Unschuld believes that “very specific social conditions are necessary for the rise and general acceptance of the ideas encompassed by the concept *gu*.”¹⁸⁸ He closely connects the *gu* poison and *gu* worm to envy, greed, and society’s need for a removal of such social “poisons.” He sees the fear of *gu* poisoning as the fear of man (that someone is trying to poison you) and links this fear to the concept of the evil eye in other parts of the world which he calls “the social atmosphere of envy.” Citing only secondary scholarship, he shows that the concept of *gu* poisoning changed over time from an “internal” threat of one’s neighbor, to an “external” threat of barbarians or non-Han Chinese. A stigma against those who were “wealthy and clean” grew out of suspicion that such individuals must have achieved such wealth through criminal means, such as poison.¹⁸⁹ By simplifying all demonic belief into the fear of pain, the wealthy and the foreign, this analysis trivializes the beliefs of those Chinese who saw demons as the culprit for illness.

¹⁸⁷ Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 46.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁸⁹ See Unschuld, 48-50.

By focusing on the fear of demons and illness in strictly social terms, scholars such as Unschuld conceptualize ideas of demonic illness as formed by sociopolitical ideologies such as attitudes toward war. According to Unschuld, demonic medicine is seen as opposing ancient “ancestor therapy.” In ancestor therapy, an individual may follow social conventions and be protected from angry ancestors who might cause one to fall ill. But by the Warring States period, the system of communication that existed between the living and dead fell apart due to warfare and widespread violence and these “attitudes” gave rise to “the creation of myths that recognized demons as exerting an increasingly harmful influence upon man.”¹⁹⁰ The ancient views of demons thus “reflect certain central aspects of the political process during the decline of Zhou feudalism, including general uncertainty and the existential *angst* that seems to have marked the relationship among states as well as among individuals.”¹⁹¹ Wars between human beings dictated the types of conflicts used to combat demons.

Talismans and Healing:

One of the reasons P. 2856 R° is unique is because it contains medical talismans located above the demonological text. These are meant for healing the body from illness; and they are distinguishable from the kinds of talismans found in Daoist or Buddhist texts, because unlike other texts, they offer no mention of Daoism or Buddhism, deities, monks, or priests. Thus, they are “medical talismans,” a term chosen to emphasize their technological aspect and move away from a religious framework. Talismans in general are used for protective, exorcistic, and healing purposes, and are still in use by many communities in the present day. Of the Dunhuang manuscripts that include talismans, scholars are still unclear how a

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 35.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 37.

religious specialist (whether monk or priest) may have used the text or the talismans to aid people.¹⁹² This is very revealing of the indeterminate nature of the Dunhuang medical manuscripts from a scholarly perspective.

Religious information is often connected to medical healing in excavated texts, particularly due to the juxtaposition of textual materials and ritual objects within early tombs. Historically, talismans date back to the Han period and can be found written in esoteric script on Han tomb objects. As explained in her 1987 article, “Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs,” Anna Seidel writes:

Fu [talismans] diagrams figure at the end of several ordinance and contract texts. They also occur separately or combined with short demon-subduing spells on wooden tablets or on jars. Seals bearing the names and titles of the celestial deities invoked in the ordinances were, most likely, used by the exorcist presiding over the funeral and then deposited in the tomb.¹⁹³

Seidel’s conclusions about early forms of religion are shared by many scholars in the field, and all agree that talismans are used solely in religious contexts for protection, ward off evil, and for healing. During the Tang dynasty, religious differences between Daoism and Buddhism were more evident than before, and due to the ubiquitous belief in ghosts, demons, and deities in China, religious texts from this period focusing on medical healing stressed ritual healing.¹⁹⁴ With the pervasiveness of Indian religious beliefs and the advanced development of both Buddhism and Daoism, it is no wonder that scholars discuss demonology texts as purely religious.

¹⁹² Gao Guofan 高国藩, *Dunhuang gusu yu minsu liubian* 敦煌古俗与民俗流变 (Nanjing: Hehai daxue chubanshe, 1992), 68-69.

¹⁹³ Anna Seidel, “Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs,” *Dōkyō to shūkyō bunka*, Akitsuki Kan’ei, ed. (Tokyo: Hirakawa, 1987), 27.

¹⁹⁴ See Richard D. McBride II, “Esoteric Buddhism and its Relation to Healing and Demonology,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Charles D. Orzech et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 208-214.

Gao Guofan categorizes the Dunhuang talismans, dividing them into 14 groups, claiming that P. 2856 R° fits under the first and eighth categories: talismans that must be swallowed¹⁹⁵ and talismans of the doorways. The first category includes talismans that are related to demonic illnesses (*guibing* 鬼病) and, according to Guo, “in reality, only Daoist priests with pure visualizations [could use them], only for the sake of the infected and ignorant masses.”¹⁹⁶ This qualification points to the necessity of a priest who could maintain “pure visualizations,” which refers to a link made by the priest to the spirit world in order to infuse the talismans with power.¹⁹⁷ The eighth category is talismans of the doorways: talismans that are hung from the entryway, and talismans hung above the doorposts. Guo’s derogatory claim that priests would use talismans of this sort “for the sake of the infected and ignorant masses” tells us a great deal about the attitudes many scholars have with regard to this form of healing, and also emphasizes the assumption that the Dunhuang manuscripts are of a Daoist nature.

One famous example of Daoist talismans that looks very similar to the P. 2856 R° talismans are the ones found in the *Demon Register of Nüqing* (*Nüqing guilü* 女青鬼律), which clearly states its intended audience is the Celestial Master or Daoist

¹⁹⁵ Aside from the talismans that were used to protect fetuses and for the expedition of birth, the simplest of talisman categories include ones that must be swallowed with cold drinks or hot drinks, talismans where the patient must first spit before swallowing, talismans for people with dysentery or diarrhea, and talismans for profuse sweating (due to illness).

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 70.

¹⁹⁷ The second classification are protective talismans; the third are talismans that are both ingested and worn. The fourth category are for the protection of the eyes. The fifth category—arrow talismans—are typically for military persons. The sixth category are seals, are very common in Dunhuang and are closely connected to Daoist texts [For more information see *Dunhuang gusu yu minsu liubian*, 75-78]. The seventh category are talismans for the home or residence [See Ibid., 78-79 for more information]. The ninth category are talismans placed on the bed; the tenth category are tree talismans; the eleventh are for graves; the twelfth are for hanging up in the main room of the house; the thirteenth are called “Ride the Clouds talismans” and are for Daoist adepts to ride auspicious clouds. The final category, “invisible talismans” are for making Daoist adepts invisible.

adept.¹⁹⁸ Certain Daoist sects such as the Celestial Masters and Great Peace sects used talismans that were written on paper, burned, and drunk by the victim of demons or malevolent spirits.¹⁹⁹ A priest was required to perform the proper rituals needed to fully remove such evil forces. Daoist literature details plague deities, down to their names, titles, and functions, and in the case of the *Demon Register of Nüqing* of the Celestial Masters, such information is provided based on individual months, days, and hours.²⁰⁰ Plague demons became deities to “the eyes of the new religious movements,” and their texts reflected as much.²⁰¹ 36,000 demons are revealed to the adept, demons that can be warded off by knowing their names.²⁰² The *Demon Register of Nüqing* is not written in the same manner as a medical manual, for it reads like a Daoist text about demons rousing due to *immoral* behavior, and provides rules of conduct (daolü jinji 道律禁忌) for the adept.²⁰³ In this way, it deviates from the medical talismans found in P. 2856 R°.

Michel Strickmann emphasizes the connections between Daoist and Buddhist talismans by claiming that by the fifth century C.E., Chinese Buddhists adopted and transformed Daoist practices of exorcism by using talismans and seals (“ensigillation”). Strickmann details the “specialized science of demons”²⁰⁴ of China before and after Buddhism permeated Chinese society. His analysis includes

¹⁹⁸ Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 2004), 127.

¹⁹⁹ Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 114.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 289 n. 61. See also *Nüqing guilü*, 6.2a-5b.

²⁰¹ Richard von Glahn, 119.

²⁰² Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, 127-129.

²⁰³ 女青鬼律 *Nüqing guilü* in 道藏 *Dao zang*, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), 3 juan.

²⁰⁴ Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*. Bernard Faure, ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 71.

indigenous demons and foreign demons as related to a fear of outsiders. He points to the *Book of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing* 山海經) as a good example of this fear; in this text “underprivileged non-Chinese were assimilated to animals, if not to demons...they resembled...the dead...Even within the larger Chinese cultural area, dehumanization and demonization were (and still are) a frequent means of reinforcing identity and group solidarity.”²⁰⁵ Strickmann makes the important point that the word for ghost (*gui*) is the same for demon, “and the boundaries between the two groups seem to be quite fluid.”²⁰⁶

Not every scholar agrees with Strickmann’s argument that Buddhist talismans stem from Daoism, and in many ways this points to the larger debates about talismans as religious or magical objects. James Robson explains that talismans “have heretofore remained all but invisible to scholars of Chinese Buddhism since they have traditionally understood them to be of a Daoist provenance and have tended to place them on the wrong side of the problematic Western division between ‘pure’ religion and ‘denigrated’ magic.”²⁰⁷ “Magic” takes on a negative connotation, and thus talismans are discarded and seen as unworthy of study.

Robson details the historical background of talismans and their importance in China, describing how they function in a religious sphere of influence over forces incomprehensible to humans, particularly with regard to ritual specialists and their mastery over talismanic script. Talismans occur in a liminal sphere in the sense that they exist somewhere between the “legible” and the “illegible” and also the “spirit” and “human worlds” and thus served “as mediums for communication with (or

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 72.

²⁰⁷ James Robson, “Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 48.2 (Nov. 2008): 133.

control of) the realm of demons and deities.”²⁰⁸ Moreover, “talismanic script could express or illustrate ineffable meanings and powers that defy transmission by traditional modalities of communication: oral or written.”²⁰⁹ Talismans were thus “sacred” and “mirrored forms of primordial energies at the inception of the world and were therefore imbued with a spiritual power drawn from an ability to share in the essence of the thing it names or represents.” Thus, the language found in talismans is “rarefied language of the gods,” or *tianyu* (天語), and only wielded by a specialist.

The importance of the ritual specialist in writing the talisman is also closely connected to the contractual use of talismans, likewise requiring a specialist. Strickmann explains that Buddhist and Daoist talisman and ritual seal techniques are complicated by the fact that the “power of the implement is wholly related to the power of the officiating monk or priest—his control of the vital breaths within and his mastery of complex techniques of visualization.”²¹⁰ Thus the seal or talisman is

A concentrated tool of his own highly trained and heavily charged body. Its potency not only derives from the noble lineage to which the officiant belongs by virtue of his formal initiation but also draws strength directly from those supramundane powers for which his body serves as a conduit or transceiver.²¹¹

Because the power of the talisman stems from the specialist’s relationship with supernatural powers, the specialist is vital to the power of the talisman. The official seal of authority found on exorcistic talismans is also important. Scholars all point to the supposed origins of talismans: they began as two halves of the same object (in the shape of dragon, fish, or tiger) that were inscribed on the back as a contract and then

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 138.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 187.

²¹¹ Ibid.

split down the middle, each contractual party keeping one half as part of the agreement.²¹²

While Robson might stress that the language of the gods is found on all forms of talisman, there is no evidence of the language of the gods in the talismans found on P.2856 R.^o Each of the talismans in P.2856 R.^o contains a combination of recognizable Chinese characters and characters written in an esoteric script which is not easily understood (Figures 4-5)—but this esoteric script is not necessarily heavenly language. These medical talismans all contain the character for demon (*gui* 鬼) in them. The majority of them contain the character for day (*ri* 日); some contain the character *wei* (尾) which is the 6th of the 28 constellations; most contain a shape that looks a great deal like *gong* 弓 or the character for “bow;” some contain the character *chu* 出 (“to exit,” “to pay out,” “to produce”). Most of the talismans also contain an image of squares connected by a line, sometimes in a cross formation.

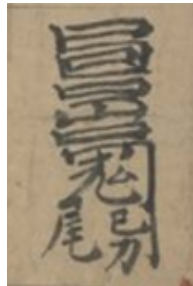


Figure 4: Talisman from *zi* (子) day, P. 2856 R.^o. Image taken from International Dunhuang Project website (idp.bl.uk)

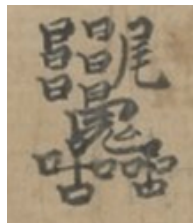


Figure 5: Talisman from *chou* (丑) day, P. 2856 R.^o. Image taken from International Dunhuang Project website (idp.bl.uk)

²¹² Ibid. See also James Robson, “Signs of Power,” 135-136.

For both Daoist and Buddhist healing talismans and the medical talismans in our study, very little knowledge of the body is necessary in order to follow the manual; moreover, very little knowledge of the demons themselves is necessary, as the text provides all the information. Some Buddhist manuscripts detail talismans and seals that may be worn on the body “for good fortune, attracting the love and respect of others, longevity, and the expulsion of demons.”²¹³ In this way, the Buddhist manuscript P. 2153 (a Buddhist text that was influenced by Daoism²¹⁴)—also found in the Dunhuang Mogao caves—is a good example of the kind of religious manual that has a lot in common with the medical talismans in P. 2856 R° particularly since the talismans themselves look similar.

However, the most important difference between Daoist and Buddhist talismans and the medical talismans in our study is that explanatory text found with Daoist and Buddhist talismans typically call upon various deities to add to the power of the talismans. For instance, P. 2153 calls upon the bodhisattva Guanyin for aid. However, in the text accompanying the medical talismans in P. 2856 R°, there is mention of neither deities nor ancestors. The only information necessary to have beforehand is what day the person fell ill. This does not necessarily mean that the talismans were not used in religious contexts, nor does it indicate that the users of the manual did not hold such beliefs. It does indicate that the authors of P. 2856 R° recorded empirical knowledge for the use of their readers.

Another difference between Daoist and Buddhist talismans such as the ones found in P. 2153 and medical talismans found in P. 2856 R° is that a specialist is

²¹³ James Robson, “Talismans in Chinese Esoteric Buddhism,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Charles D. Orzech et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 229.

²¹⁴ See descriptive paragraph about P. 2153 on the IDP website (idp.bl.uk). The website is open to many scholars and specialists for editing, but the section written for this manuscript was copied from Paul Pelliot’s notes.

necessary for Daoist and Buddhist talismans but not in order to use the medical talismans. In some respects, the mere fact that these talismans were written down removes the need of a ritual specialist. The Buddhist and Daoist manuscripts as they were written for individuals with some knowledge about Buddhism or Daoism. While a reader would not need such information, the authors of the manuals held such specialized knowledge. It is unclear if they were religious specialists, but they did control the information and chose to record it.

Another way to analyze the talismans and their power is linguistically. As Yona Dureau explains, “The word ‘talisman’ designates both the object used as a sign (of protection of power), or the sign, or the sums of signs represented on that object. As such, the talisman is a semiotic object of study.”²¹⁵ Focusing on Hebrew talismans and following Umberto Eco’s analysis of signs and their relationship to logical order and concepts, Dureau concludes that the power of talismans comes from their “self-referring quality” as it is interpreted by the talisman-bearer. Implementing control over the outside world (which would otherwise be outside of one’s control) is therefore the real purpose of the talisman.

While Dureau’s study focuses on a language (Hebrew) with an alphabet and very specific religious overtones, we can extend some of her conclusions to the talismans in P. 2856 R°. The symbol on the talisman in P. 2856 R° and other Chinese medical talismans is not of a language known to people, even though some aspects of it may be recognizable. Unlike a talisman that uses words, there is no real connection to sign, signifier, and signified because it is not a word spoken in Chinese. The medical talismans discussed in this chapter are not *words* per se (for example, they

²¹⁵ Yona Dureau, “The Talisman or the Word as an Object and as an Image-Signifier,” *Semiotica* (139-1/4, 2002): 23.

have no phonetic quality), but combinations of characters and images (Figure 5). While the signified concept of the talisman might be present (protection against demon X), the signifier is complicated by the fact that there is no phonetic quality to go along with it. Nevertheless, the talisman is meant to look like recognizable characters (for instance, they all include the character for demon *gui* 鬼). Due to the fact that these talismans are meant to be copied without the need of specialization nor specialist, the talismans are meaningless without the rest of the text. In other words, this section of P 2856 R° is a package deal: talisman, demonic image, text, and divination together form a whole.

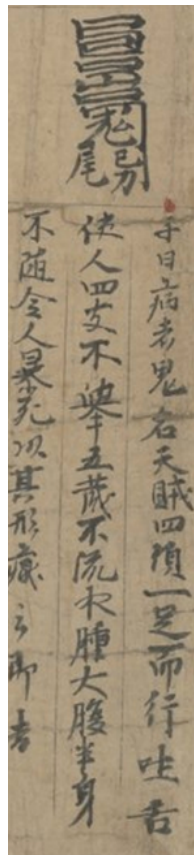


Figure 6: Talisman and text on P. 2856 R°. Image taken from International Dunhuang Project website (idp.bl.uk)

It is therefore my contention that medical talismans are prescriptions for healing, in effect locked to the day provided by divining, and equally intertwined with

the descriptive text. In terms of efficacy, one part cannot exist without the others. While scholars of religion often relate esoteric writing to “religious contexts,”²¹⁶ Jonathan Smith among others points to the act of writing itself as the most important element of talisman usage.²¹⁷ In the case of the medical talismans examined in this chapter, the writing of the talisman is only part of the healing process—equally important is divination and identification of the demons responsible for illness. The manual thus *reveals* information for healing to the reader.

Shuihudi’s *Demonic Accusations (Jie)* Text and the Quest for Health:

Below we shall examine the *Demonic Accusations* text as found in the bamboo slips from Shuihudi 睡虎地 in Yunmeng 云梦 county (located in present-day Hubei Province) and dating to 217 B.C.E. (the Qin dynasty).²¹⁸ Twelve Qin-dynasty tombs were discovered in this area in 1975, including tomb M11 in which over a thousand bamboo slips were discovered.²¹⁹ The tomb occupant was an official named Xi (喜) who worked as a clerk.²²⁰ Archaeologists discovered two versions of the same daybook and multiple Qin-government related bamboo texts in his tomb. *Demonic Accusations* is written on the reverse side of the slips containing daybook A, specifically the top of slip 24 through the bottom of slip 59.²²¹ Donald Harper analyzed the text in his article “A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century B.C.”

²¹⁶ See for example, James Robson, “Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 48.2 (Nov. 2008): 130-169.

²¹⁷ Jonathan Z. Smith, “Trading Places,” in *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 226.

²¹⁸ See chapter 2 for more information.

²¹⁹ Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin mu bianxiezu 雲夢睡虎地秦墓編寫組, eds, *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin mu* 雲夢睡虎地秦墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981).

²²⁰ See Robin D.S. Yates, “State Control of Bureaucrats Under the Qin: Techniques and Procedures” *Early China* 20 (1995): 349 for more information about Xi’s career.

²²¹ For the slips themselves, see *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 104-107.

and translated it in a chapter included in *Religions of China in Practice*. According to Harper, the most fundamental elements of demonology in “early Chinese religion” involved identifying ghosts of the dead and “sundry spirits,” and “determining whether they were beneficial or harmful, and whether they were to be propitiated or exorcised.”²²²

Harper writes that he applies the term “demonology” to the “knowledge of the spirit world that adjoined the human,” calling demonology an “occult art.” He makes reference “to demons, sprites, spectres, and related terms as a way of designating denizens of the spirit world. The nature of these spirits ran along a spectrum from totally noxious to potentially beneficial, a perception which was reflected in the various magical methods adopted in dealing with them.”²²³ He writes, “[d]emonographies were compiled to aid in identifying the shades and to teach the techniques of magical control” as can be found in the catalogue of the royal Han library.²²⁴ While these types of texts are found in transmitted materials, the *Shuihudi* bamboo slips and *Demonic Accusations* are the first found in the archaeological record.

Harper spends much of the article explaining why he decided to translate the title of the text—*jie* 詰 in the original text—as “spellbinding.” He contends that the meaning of *jie* is “not immediately apparent.”²²⁵ The character itself is translated to mean “question” or “interrogate,” but according to his philological analysis, the word from which the current meaning is derived belongs to “the religious lexicon of Shang

²²² Donald Harper, “A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century B.C.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.2 (Dec. 1985): 459-460.

²²³ *Ibid.*, nt 1, 460.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 460.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 471.

and Zhou times” or “a word family redolent with magical associations.”²²⁶ Using a combination of citations from other sections of the *Shuihudi* bamboo slips and the *Shuowen jiezi* (說文解字) Han dynasty dictionary, Harper concludes that *jie* means “accusation or accuse.”²²⁷ He adds a religious layer to this translation through the analysis of Japanese sinologist Shirakawa Shizuka who interprets the Shang dynasty box or mouth graphs as representing written communication with spirits.²²⁸ The character *jie* contains the character *ji* 吉 for “hard” or “fixed” which Shirakawa believes represents a “vessel with a knobbed lid on top” and originally “signified the spiritual benefaction which resulted from the offering of written prayers in sealed vessels.”²²⁹ Harper concludes that the graph for *jie* “is simply an expanded form of the same word” and that from Zhou dynasty materials it is apparent that the meaning of *jie* changed slightly to mean “to obligate oneself to the spirits by means of a written document and thus to subject to spiritual scrutiny.”²³⁰ After discussing a number of cognates of *jie*, Harper concludes that in the *Shuihudi* text, *jie*

on the one hand designated the use of written testimony as incontrovertible evidence for testing the veracity of a witness in judicial proceedings, and on the other hand was still applied to older practices in which oaths and spells had the power to magically obligate men and demons.²³¹

Thus, he translates *jie* as “Spellbinding.”

Although Harper’s decision to translate *jie* as “Spellbinding” has a great deal of linguistic and historical research backing it, I choose to translate the text as *Demonic Accusations*. Liu Lexian’s gloss on the character *jie* is to restrict or control

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid., 471-472.

²²⁸ Ibid., 472-473.

²²⁹ Ibid., 474.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid., 478-479.

demons.²³² Other scholars agree that the meaning of “*jie*” is to “prohibit” or to “ban.”²³³ The text accuses demons of causing various types of damages, from physically attacking people, causing depression, illness, strange animals or weather, and so on. Harper’s translation “Spellbinding” in English immediately provides the reader with a sense of the occult, magic or religion, which is not necessarily the case in the original Classical Chinese.

The introductory section of *Demonic Accusations* reads as follows:

Demonic accusations: Harmful demons are unreasonable against people and perform rashly, this is not auspicious for people. Report like this when interrogating (the demons), declare it, the path is made for people to avoid suffering from the terrible and terminate. Demons hate seeing a crooked crouch, sitting with one’s legs splayed out, linked steps, and a strange stance.²³⁴

The introduction announces methods for exorcising demons specifically using a combination of the methods provided in the rest of the text, and also in “prophylactic body postures.”²³⁵ Harper connects these bodily postures to Daoist therapeutic exercises, sexual practices, and postures of disrespect.²³⁶ He makes connections between “the postures and gestures used in magico-religious practice, those adopted in popular custom, and those which became part of the exercise regimen of physical cultivation.”²³⁷ The materials described in *Demonic Accusations* are documented in

²³² Liu Lexian 劉樂賢, *Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu Yanjiu* 睡虎地秦簡日書研究 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1993), 232-233.

²³³ Lai Guolong 來國龍, “Han Jin zhijian he guishu de shanbian he guishen hua de yuanliu 漢晉之間劾鬼術的嬗變和鬼神畫的源流,” *Yishu shi zhong de Han Jin yu Tang Song zhi bian* 藝術史中的漢晉與唐宋之變. Yan Juanying and Shi Shouqian eds. (Taipei: Shitou chuban, 2014): 67-69.

²³⁴ Translation based off of Liu Lexian’s notations. 劉樂賢, *Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu Yanjiu* 睡虎地秦簡日書研究 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1993), 225-226.

²³⁵ Harper, “Demonology,” 483.

²³⁶ Rules of conduct found in the *Liji* 禮記 or *Book of Rites* prohibit bending over, standing on one foot, etc. See Harper, “Demonography,” 485.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 486.

later periods (at least to some extent) but only in “formal religious rites.” Thus the text “permits us to set in focus a previously hazy picture of the interrelations between religious and folkloristic traditions in Warring States and Qin-Han times.” He concludes that “these exorcistic acts were not restricted to the observances of organized religion, but might be performed by any individual in a moment of need.”²³⁸ I do agree that an individual may turn to this text and glean the information necessary to change his or her circumstances. A good example of this is found in the examples pertaining to illness in the text.

There are five examples dealing with illness and healing in *Demonic Accusations*, and one dealing with foul dreams. The first reads,

If without cause an entire household becomes diseased, some die and some are sick, the cause is the *Ji* demon, (who is) buried upright. Above (the location of the demon) is dry when it should be wet, and wet when it should be dry. Dig it up and cast it out, then it will cease.²³⁹

If not for the information provided by the text, one might not know that the *Ji* demon infects people in the same household and causes some of them to die. The demon itself is buried somewhere near the house. One would be able to determine if this is the case by finding a dry patch in the rainy season or a wet patch in the dry season. Digging it up will remove its power. Knowledge of its name is also useful. In another case study, some patients die in their sleep:

If without cause an entire household becomes diseased, many die in their sleep, this is the *Bao* demon, buried. Above (the location of the demon) there is no grass nor matting. Dig it up and cast it out, then it will cease.

Once again the cause of the illness is unknown; the text provides the reader with the name of the demon and again, digging it up will end the illness. The demon in this

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ See notations in *Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu Yanjiu*, 236.

case was buried near the house and was not covered with grass or matting, but it is unclear if this is a cause or effect of demonic illness.

The illnesses described in the previous cases in *Demonic Accusations* are very generic, but in one particular case, very specific symptoms are described. In the following illness, unwanted hair either grows or falls out, and there is discoloration of the eyes:

If without cause an entire household becomes diseased, some die and some are sick, and the men and women lose their beards and hair and their eyes become yellow, this is the *Piao* human born as demon. Using one liter of black cardamom, and pound with a pestle into a paste. Mix the *Piao* with the paste, millet and meat, and eat it, then it will cease.²⁴⁰

Once again there is an unknown illness (“without cause”) that afflicts a household and some die. In this case, the name of the demon is not mentioned and the remedy is to ingest the demon itself.

In the final case, a demon called the “Yuanmu” causes illness:

If without cause the people in a household all begin to slobber, *Yuanmu* is in the home, and is small as a pestle, red and white. Its residence is dry when it should be wet, and wet when it should be dry. Dig a three-foot hole in the middle of the room and burn pig dung. Then it will cease.²⁴¹

Burning pig feces repels the demon. As with the Ji demon, an indication of the demon’s presence is dryness or wetness where it does not belong. The focus of the text in both cases is to determine where the demon is located so that it may be removed.

The examples relating to illness are not contextually unusual, indeed, the rest of the *Demonic Accusations* text clarifies similar methods for ridding oneself of pesky demons. All four of these examples include the concept of contracting illness

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 237.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 247.

“without cause.”²⁴² Li Jianmin believes that what the text is referring to “most likely implied that the person considered himself to be without moral fault.”²⁴³ The symptoms themselves are not especially descriptive; they are simply phrased, and present some individuals contracting an illness (“become diseased”), leading either to death, or to other symptoms including losing hair or growing excess hair, discoloration of the eye, or drooling. These are not expanded upon, but immediately the root of the illness is cited as demonic, usually providing the reader with the name of the demon, where that demon came from, where they reside, and finally how to be rid of them. In two instances, that which should be wet is dry, and that which is dry should be wet. In two cases, the demon needs to be dug up; in one, the demon must be ingested; and in another, pig feces should be burned after digging a hole. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there is also an example of a demon causing nightmares and a method using a pot for removing that demon. It is interesting to note that the phrase “after waking [the demon] cannot be divined” is the only mention of divination in the *Demonic Accusations* text. Guolong Lai indicates that the recording of such “folk” or “indigenous” recipes is an indication of the flow of information upward from a lower strata of society and the connections of low-level officials and local people.²⁴⁴

Each of the examples relating to illness in the *Demonic Accusations* text involves a physical remedy that directly affects the *demon* but only indirectly affects

²⁴² There is another case study that does not begin with these words, but also includes the name of the demon and how to be rid of it: “When the people in a household all have itching bodies—the Pestilence Demon inhabits it. Burn fresh paulownia wood inside the house. Then it will desist.”

²⁴³ Li Jianmin, “The Shall Expel Demons: Etiology, the Medical Canon and the Transformation of Medical Techniques before the Tang,” *Early Chinese Religion: Part One: Shang Through Han (1250 BC-220 AD)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1107.

²⁴⁴ Lai Guolong 來國龍, “Han Jin zhijian he guishu de shanbian he guishen hua de yuanliu 漢晉之間劾鬼術的嬗變和鬼神畫的源流,” *Yishu shi zhong de Han Jin yu Tang Song zhi bian 藝術史中的漢晉與唐宋之變*. Yan Juanying and Shi Shouqian eds. (Taipei: Shitou chuban, 2014): 70.

the body of the afflicted. The body of the afflicted person is only mentioned in order to relate a short description of symptoms, not the cure. Digging holes, burning feces, and ingesting the demon all attack the demon itself and either release it (thereby removing its power), kill it by ingesting it, or chase it away.

The *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* P. 2856 R° and Methods of Healing:

Demonic Accusations stands in contrast to the demonology text found in the Dunhuang collection P. 2856 R°, the *Book on the Occurrence of Illness*. This text includes detailed medical symptoms, the names and descriptions of the demons responsible, and remedies for healing through the use of talismans. The introduction to the text reads as follows:

Determine by divination the name of the demon for the day when a man or woman first became ill. If the symptoms of the malady correspond, then make the image of this demon and also write the talisman to suppress it. Also, swallowing them and attaching them over the doorway are both very auspicious. The method for writing the talisman is to make it using red cinnabar while sealing in the breath.²⁴⁵

One determines the name of the demon afflicting the patient by divining for the day the patient first fell ill (using the sexagenary cycle, specifically the Twelve Earthly Branches). Since the demon is the cause of the illness, in effect, one divines the illness itself. In order to heal the patient, ingesting talismans or attaching them on the doorway has both an exorcistic aspect (removal of the demon) and a healing aspect (as ingesting the talisman leads to healing). A method for writing the talisman is provided as well, and thus the instructions are delivered to the reader.

For every day of the Twelve Earthly Branches, a short paragraph is provided with the demon's name, description, symptoms of the illness, and the following

²⁴⁵ Translation taken from Donald Harper, "Dunhuang Iatromantic Manuscripts: P. 2856 R° and P. 2675 V," 142.

statement: “Using [the demon’s] image to suppress it is auspicious.” There is a diagram of the talisman above the writing and a space above that for the image of the demon (which was not provided on this manuscript, but which can be seen on S. 6216). The instructions at the end of each earthly branch read as follows: “Write this talisman in red. The ill person may swallow it or also attach it over the doorway. Quickly, quickly,—in accordance with the statutes and regulations.” This last sentence can be found on Daoist and Buddhist ordinances, but as Gao Guofan explains, it is not necessarily associated with Daoist or Buddhist ritual. During the Tang dynasty, poets also used this phrase (“急急如律令” also translated as “let my order be carried out immediately”).²⁴⁶

An example of the first earthly branch, *zi* (子), is written below:

If a person becomes ill on a *zi* day, the demon’s name is Celestial Brigand (*tianzei* 天賊). It has four heads and walks on one foot with its tongue sticking out. It causes a person to be unable to raise the four limbs; the five organs do not [maintain a proper] flow; there is oedema and the abdomen is enlarged; half of the body is immobilized. It causes a person to suffer violent death. Using [the demon’s] image to suppress it is auspicious.²⁴⁷

With the image of the demon above the talisman, and a description of the demon below, we may visualize the completed text. The demon drawing, talisman, and text form an entity that as a *whole* exorcises, heals, and educates the reader.

For every earthly branch, specific symptoms of illness are provided: the symptoms on a *zi* day include excess water in the body, enlarged abdomen, paralysis, and eventually death. Symptoms on a *chou* (丑) day include choking, head pain, loss of urine and dehydration. Symptoms on a *yin* (寅) day include spitting, pained movement, blindness, dirty discharge and copious speech. Symptoms on a *mao* (卯)

²⁴⁶ Gao Guofan, *Dunhuang gusu yu minsu liuban*, 108.

²⁴⁷ Translation by Donald Harper.

day include madness (including speech), crying out, hiding one's head or covering one's mouth, setting fires, and unsettled behavior. Symptoms on a *chen* (辰) day include spitting, chills, fevers, head pain, cold feet, bad eyesight and eye pain. On a *si* (巳) day, symptoms include ignoring pain in the chest and ribs, spitting blood, joint pain and eventual death. On a *wu* (午) day, symptoms include madness, loss of voice, distraction, problems with one's eyesight, and anxiety. On a *wei* (未) day, symptoms include spitting, singing sad songs, calling out to a person "at the wrong time," eating raw meat, and pain in the evenings. On a *shen* (申) day symptoms include madness and muteness, chills and fever in the bosom, and profuse sweating. On a *you* (酉) day, symptoms include madness and erratic movements, heavy limbs, and being unable "to differentiate between relatives and strangers." Symptoms on a *xu* (戌) day include diarrhea, deafness and nausea. Finally, symptoms on a *hai* (亥) day include paralysis.

The symptoms described in the *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* (P. 2856 R^o) are sophisticated descriptions of illness and yet also written in a manner that shows they are intended for the non-exceptional agent. Specialized information such as pulse diagnosis is not mentioned. Anyone with the ability to read could understand the symptoms listed above, as they are symptoms manifested externally and relate directly to the patient. No specialized knowledge is necessary for understanding how to recognize the symptoms, and a description provides readers with the information necessary to form their own conclusions. The authors of the text, on the other hand, were specialists who recorded empirical knowledge for their readers.

One form of power is that of identification which is derived from the symptoms provided by the author; a second form of power is that of identification of the demon, whereby the names and descriptions of the demons responsible for the

illness are explicated. Some of the demon's names are literal, such as "Iron Tooth," "Celestial Brigand," "Strong Boy," etc., but others do not appear to make literal sense. In terms of description, the demons themselves are all obviously abnormal as compared with a human body, and these abnormalities are clearly mapped out by the author. For instance, the Celestial Brigand is described as having four heads, walking on one foot with its tongue sticking out. The Tiangang demon (afflicting people on the *chou* day) has a green body and red face and also walks on one foot. This strange discoloration of the physical body of the demon is repeated throughout: Lao Muli (*mao* day) has a green head and a red body; Iron Tooth (*chen* day) has a red body; Strong Boy (*si* day) has green wings and a red body; Wenqing (*wu* day) has a green body and a yellow face; etc. Some of the demons have wings or horns. The demon called Ji (𪛗) has a dog's head and a snake's body. We learn much about the *body* of the demon, arguably more than we do about the body of the ill person. This is because the more information one has on the demon itself, the less power it can have over the body of the human. One need not be a specialist of the human body, but having detailed knowledge about the inflictor of illness in effect protects that person. As Von Glahn explains, "writing served apotropaic purposes: the actualization of knowledge in the written word exposed the true nature of demonic entities and thereby rendered them impotent."²⁴⁸

With symptom and illness classification clearly described, healing may commence through the use of talismans. The talismans listed in *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* (P. 2856 R^o) have been largely ignored by scholars of the Dunhuang medical manuscripts. Kalinowski does mention "talismanic cults" in his

²⁴⁸ Richard Von Glahn, *The Sinister Way*, 79.

article “Mantic Texts in their Cultural Context” as “syncretic.”²⁴⁹ As such, such cults were “integrated within a relatively organized religious system which included on the one hand, local official religion and, on the other, what could be defined as popular Confucianism.”²⁵⁰ He sees these “talismanic cults” as existing in part of a larger *shushu* tradition.²⁵¹ Talisman traditions are also written traditions, and Kalinowski is careful to explain that “despite their popular dimension,” such sources “express the same contents and are affiliated to the same lines of transmission as the writings of a supposedly more sophisticated nature mentioned in imperial bibliographical catalogues since the Han.” Kalinowski sees such mantic texts as belonging to a complex religious landscape and that they should be studied as a “separate tradition with its own techniques, prescriptions, and symbolic systems.”

The list of talismans as connected to every day of the Twelve Earthly Branches standardizes healing in a very specific way: it removes the ritual specialist typically involved in talismanic healing and places the power of healing (in connection to the identifying factors listed above) into the hands of the reader. The introduction provides the technical knowledge for writing the talismans: “make it using red cinnabar while sealing in the breath” and “write this talisman in red.” It also provides information for where to place the talismans for optimum usage: “the ill person may swallow it or also attach it over the doorway.” With a different talisman provided for each day of sickness, the standardization is quite specific. However, we must bear in mind that medical talismans are not unique to the text of *Book on the*

²⁴⁹ Marc Kalinowski, “Mantic Texts in their Cultural Context,” *Medieval Chinese Medicine*, 127.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 128.

²⁵¹ As discussed in previous chapters, the *shushu* tradition, or the Numbers-Techniques tradition, is a category in the bibliographical treatise of the *Hanshu* and includes divination and other “mantic” practices.

Occurrence of Illness P. 2856 R°. For instance, another Dunhuang manuscript—S. 6216 provides medical talismans, yet they are different. In S. 6216 we find the drawing of a demon next to a talisman for healing. Even though the demon, the Celestial Brigand, also appears in P. 2856 R°, the talisman provided there is different. The medical manual found in P. 2856 R° is particular only to this one text, and thus competition may be noted. The specificity of the manual provides it with a uniqueness that would have been attractive to readers or users because it gives the text itself an efficacy akin to that of a teacher. The difference in medical talismans also implies competition among authors of the manuals.

Comparisons and Conclusions:

The combination of talisman, demonic image, descriptions of demon and illness, the name of the demon, and the instructions for healing found in the *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* (P. 2856 R°) provide the reader with a concise and sophisticated manual for medical healing. Knowing the demon's name removes its malevolent power, and knowing what it looks like likewise removes its powers. But simply removing power is not enough: healing the patient is the purpose of this text. In the *Demonic Accusations* text from Shuihudi, cases of illnesses are small compared with other demonic problems. In fact, of the 70 cases provided by the *Demonic Accusations* text, only five are directly linked to illnesses or the deaths of household members. The descriptions of the demons are also very different—they are sometimes named, but rarely described. Generally, if described at all, the location of the demon is the focus. In P. 2856 R°, sophisticated and detailed symptoms of illness are provided, as are clear descriptions of the physical demon. In *Demonic Accusations*, removing the demon involves digging it up, ingesting it, throwing a shoe at it, throwing feces at it, and so on. Particularly in the cases of illness, nothing is

mentioned about the body of the patient. The one mention of ingesting the demon after mixing it with millet and meat may be the only mention of a physical therapy. In the text of P. 2856 R^o on the other hand, the body of the patient and the body of the demon are the dual foci. The talisman is ingested or placed over the doorway and is relational to the body of the ill. Similar to the paste in *Demonic Accusations*, ingesting it removes the power of the demon, but in P. 2856 R^o, the power also comes from “using the demon’s image to suppress it.” This “is auspicious.”

One of the biggest differences between the *Demonic Accusations* text and *Book on the Occurrence of Illness* (P. 2856 R^o) and the medical talismans is that the latter are directly related to divination, a technology that in turn mechanizes healing. One determines by divination the name of the demon responsible based on the day when the patient first became ill. The reader only needs to know the day a person became ill and all else is revealed in the text. In this way, P. 2856 R^o is more of a technological manual than *Demonic Accusations*. Both are manuals, nevertheless, as both reveal empirical knowledge to the reader without the reader needing any prior knowledge. But the introduction to *Demonic Accusations* makes reference to what “demons hate” and reveals to the reader that sitting in a “crooked crouch” or sitting with one’s legs splayed are all methods for repelling demons. That is all *Demonic Accusations* teaches its readers: how to exorcise demons who have inflicted certain pains on a household. In contrast, P. 2856 R^o reveals techniques for healing, and while the body of the demon and its name is important, it is arguably more important to know the day the patient fell ill so that healing may commence. The *Book on Occurrence of Illness* is thus a *medical* manual because it provides the reader with so much hitherto unknown knowledge about illness.

Furthermore, the use of the sexagenary cycle and divination as a means for diagnosis effectively standardizes illness as connecting the day a patient falls ill with a healing talisman standardizes the cure. Though it may seem odd to our modern eyes that a text about demons and talismans may be considered a medical manual, we must shed our biases in order to come as close as are able to the original function of the text. As G.E.R. Lloyd explains regarding the definition of “science,” we should see it “as a matter of the ambition to arrive at some understanding of the phenomena of the external, non-social world,”²⁵² and in this respect, we can understand why such a text could be a very powerful for healing the ill.

²⁵² G.E.R. Lloyd, *Ancient Worlds, Modern Reflections: Philosophical Perspectives on Greek and Chinese Science and Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004): 15.

Chapter V: Conclusions

In 2010, I took a trip to Tainan and made my way to the Grand Mazu Temple (大天后宮) dedicated to the deity Mazu (Tianhou), worshipped in Southern China since the Song dynasty (960-1279 C.E.). In a corner of the temple was a booth entitled “Safe and Sound Talisman DIY” (*pingan fu* 平安符 *DIY*). The booth included five different kinds of talismans to choose from, including one each for good exam scores, marriage, a happy family, health, and good luck. Each talisman had its own stamp. Users could take a slip of yellow paper, choose their talisman, impress it into red ink, press the stamp onto the paper, and place the paper into the provided paper covering with the deity’s face on it. The final step, as explained by the instruction poster, was to hold the talisman above the incense burner in front of the deity’s statue. Voila!: a do-it-yourself talisman. The poster provided all the instructions necessary for a literate user and acted as a manual for its audience. I did not need to find a Daoist priest in order to walk out of the temple with the appropriate protective talisman. In essence, this is the kind of method provided by the early authors of the divination manuals discussed in this dissertation. Given its claim to put the fate of his future in his own hands, one can imagine how attractive such a manual would be to an official in early China.

This dissertation has argued that the texts analyzed above may be viewed as early Chinese divination manuals where the authors of the manuals attempted to standardize hidden empirical knowledge for their readers. Moreover, such manuals

may be viewed as technological manuals since the readers or users of the manuals did not need any specialized training in order to follow the instructions and divine at will. The four texts covered in this dissertation originated in three of China's contemporary provinces: the Shuihudi *Spellbinding* text and the Yuelu Academy *Dream Divination Book* originated in Hubei Province, the Yinwan divination manuals were discovered in Jiangsu Province, and the Dunhuang caves are located in Gansu Province. The need to focus on manuals from different parts of a vast geographic area speaks to a scarcity of these kinds of texts. Nonetheless, the fact that we find these texts all over China also implies a certain ubiquitous need to place divinatory power in the hands of non-exceptional agents. With the discovery of new tombs every few years, in as little as ten years our understanding of the lives of officials and their concerns may change dramatically.

The texts examined in this dissertation have thematic overlaps as each text reveals knowledge about divination using the same underlying principles of the sexagenary cycle as a means for decoding cosmic influences. As such, understanding that calendar system and the time events occurred was seen as vital for divination and prognostication. For proper dream divination, a person needed to know when the dream occurred among other things. In order to determine who stole one's goods and where they are located, a person needed to know when the goods were stolen in the first place. Using the *liubo* board for divination also required knowledge of the calendar. Understanding the kind of illness afflicting a person depended upon the day they fell ill, as systematically depicted in P. 2856 R°. Talismans used for healing purposes are divided by the date a person fell ill.

Placed side by side in the fashion displayed here, information is revealed about officials and their concerns, particularly regarding illness and healing. For

instance, dreams were viewed as influenced by both external and internal forces and revealed information about imbalances that might cause illness. *Xie qi* or pathogenic *qi* could invade the body and cause horrible illness. Similarly, demonic influences on illness are discussed in both the *Demonic Accusations* text from the Shuihudi daybook and selections from the *Book on Occurrence of Illness*. In essence, *xie qi* and demons have similar malevolent effects on a person's body, and the knowledge explained in the manuals provides readers with the tools necessary for healing.

The method for disseminating information to readers is another point for comparison: using text, diagrams, and other visual tools, the authors of the manuals clarify complicated and hidden information found in the cosmos. Correlation of information and cognitive shifts are necessary for comprehension of diagrams, and are thus innovative tools for authors. Images of demons drawn above talismans and texts protected the ill and categorized demonic forces.

There is still much that we do not know and it is certain that this area would benefit from further research on the materials we have, as well as from the discovery of new materials. Who were the authors of these manuals? Were they the tomb occupants? Or were the tomb occupants the copyists? Were they unrelated to the writing and copying of the text altogether? The Yinwan manuals were written in different handwriting, and scholars believe there were a number of copyists, but if there was an original text, then who was that author? Was it Shi Rao? Selections from P. 2856 R° are found in other manuscripts from the same Dunhuang cache, but other examples of the *Book on Occurrence of Illness* are unknown. In the same way that scholars are still unsure who were the authors of the daybooks, it is unclear who authored the divination manuals.

What happened to the so-called specialists or exceptional agents who were in control of divination knowledge during the ancient period? It is possible that with the spread of Buddhism throughout China in the 2nd century, specialists moved into the temples and monasteries and became institution-based religious leaders. Knowledge could then pass from leader to students, either orally or in the form of textual knowledge. More research is required to understand how these shifts and changes occurred.

Whether these similarities and differences among far-flung divination manuals can be fashioned into a “developmental” trajectory is a question that will be left to future scholars and depend upon future archaeological finds. Thus, here, my only argument concerning historical change is that the unification of China under the Qin appears to have set in motion large-scale changes for the regulation of ritual life – both public and private, with great ramifications for the intellectual and cultural sphere. The practice of divination was no exception, and evidence suggests that it also underwent changes during this period. While we cannot yet not make claims about trajectory or extent of the use of divination manuals within early China, archeology currently suggests that it was in this period that divination manuals first appeared.

APPENDICES

Appendix I:

Full translation of the Yuelu Dream Divination Book (zhan meng shu).²⁵³

岳麓書院藏秦簡《占夢書》釋文

1523+1522 (殘) 若晝夢亟發，不得其日，以來為日，不得其時，以來為時，醉飽而夢雨，變氣不佔。晝言而莫夢之，有

1525 □□□□□始以來之時，恆令夢先，春日發時，夏日陽，秋日閉，冬日藏，佔夢之道，必順四時而陽

0102 其類，毋失四時之所宜，五分日、三分日夕，吉凶有節，善義有故。甲乙夢開？臧事也，丙丁夢憂[也]，

1514 戊己夢語言也，庚辛夢喜也，壬癸夢生事也。甲乙夢伐木，吉。丙丁夢失火高陽，吉。戊己[夢]

1526 官事，吉。庚辛夢□山鐵鍾，吉。壬癸夢行水為橋，吉。晦而夢三年至，夜半夢者二年而至，雞鳴夢者

1499 ²⁵⁴	夢亡其鈿帶備敬好器，必去其所愛 ²⁵⁵ 。	夢引腸必弟兄相去也 ²⁵⁶ 。
1527	夢亡於上者吉，亡於下者凶，是渭（謂）□凶。	夢為女子，必有失也，女子凶。
1518	□憂夢亡上者，凶。	夢夫妻相反受者，妻若夫，必有死者。
1495	夢亡下者，吉。	夢身被枯，妻若女必有死者，丈夫吉。
0029		夢林中□毛者，丈夫得資，女子得鬻。
0049	[夢] □□兄者有子也。	夢蛇入人口，胠（舌）（胃，逐）

²⁵³ The Chinese version below is not identical to the version found in Zhu and Chen's transcription. Thanks to Miranda Brown for providing me with this edited version of the text. Discussions will most likely continue as to the most up-to-date version of the transcription of the slips. Due to the fact that the first portion of the text is not contested and is the focus of my chapter, I have not documented every difference. For minor differences see Zhu Hanmin and Chen Songchang 朱漢民，陳松長, *Yuelu Shuyuan Cang Qin Jian* 嶽麓書院藏秦簡, (Shanghai: Shanghai ci shu chuban she, 2010), 39-44.

²⁵⁴ This numeral is the original slip number.

²⁵⁵ This column includes the top portion of the slips.

²⁵⁶ This column includes the bottom portion of the slips.

		不出，丈夫為祝，女子為巫。
1513	夢一書（畫）五變氣，不佔。	夢見獬豸狐生梟（燥），在丈夫取妻，女子家。
1591	夢乘舟船為遠行。	夢見大夫兵黍粟，其佔自當也。（亡矢兵）
2190	夢登高山勿徑（徑），大石上勿見？	
1517	夢燔治遂隋（墮）至手，數日吉。	夢人謁門，去者有新舍未塞。
1512	夢見項者，有親道遠所來者。	夢身生草者，死溝渠中。
1223	夢見羊者，傷欲食。	夢見豕者，明欲食。
1470	[夢]見犬者，行欲食。	夢見汲者，癘租欲食。
0017	[夢]見馬者，父欲食。	
0013	[夢] □□□又欲食。	夢見賚？人者，遂欲食
0011	毋買欲食。	夢見斬足者天閔（闕？）欲食。
0009		夢見□者毋死傷欲食。
1500	夢衣新衣乃傷於兵	夢見熊者見官長。
1494	夢見飲酒，不出三日必有雨。	夢見蟲者，魄君為奈（崇）。
1503	夢歌帶軫玄，有憂，不然有疾。	夢有史去射身者，乃有內資。
1474	[夢]見□雲有□□□□乃弟。	夢歌於宮中，乃有內資。
1493	□□□貴操箠臨於木，下有資毒，憂夢之禺辱，	夢歌於宮中，乃有內資。
0012	□□□樂將發，故憂未已，新憂有發，門行為奈（崇）。	• 憂夢之禺辱。
0315	夢紘外副為外憂內副為中憂。	夢見豆，不出三日家□□。
0312	夢天雨水，歲大襄。	夏？夢企匕上其佔□
1492	□□□□□□大壽。	夢見五幣皆為苛憂。
0073	夢燔其席蓐，入湯中，吉。	夢蛇則堊薑赫之有芮者。
0074	[夢] □出其腹其中產子男女食力傳死	夢見其夫為大寒。
0033		夢死者復起，更為棺槨。死者食，欲求衣裳。
0047	其？ □□不佔	夢見眾羊又犯人裡。
0048	□□□□□人寒秋	夢見□□者有□又□
0031	□夢歲？登丘陵緣木生長燔桑？，吉。	夢偽偽丈勞心。
0004		夢新夫侯？乃大解？
J39	□□夢見其肺肝腸胃者，必有親去之。	夢見肉，憂□。
0015	[夢見]涉淵有明，名□者。	夢井灑者，出財。
J51	夢如井溝中及沒淵，居室而毋戶，戌？死，大吉。	夢見虎豹者，見貴人。
1508	夢以泣洒人，得其亡子。	夢見李，為復故吏。

J53	夢以弱酒人，得其亡奴婢。	夢見桃，為有苛憂。
J50	□子而夢以其幫□邦？門及游渡江河，其佔大貴人。	夢見棗，得君子好言。
33	□□□不居	望之不生者，妻女不利。

[slips 1523+1522] If a daydream repeatedly appears, but one does not know the specific day, nor since what day, does not know the time, nor since what time, when drunk or full, dreaming of rain or a change in weather, do not divine. To dream in the day or in the evening, [1525] one has □□□□□ only then because it arrived/happened at that time. It is common to have seasonal dreams: on spring days [dreams] appear [about] time, summer days [are about] *yang*, autumn days [are about] obstruction, winter days [are about] concealing or storing. On the path to interpreting dreams one must obey the four seasons and the *yang* [0102] category, do not neglect or violate within the four seasons that which is suitable; the day is divided into five sections, day and night divided into three sections, auspicious and inauspicious have segments, good and evil have origins. *Jia* or *yi* dreams [foretell] the beginnings of a happy situation, *bing* or *ding* dreams are cause for worry, [1514] *wu* or *ji* dreams [foretell] conversations, *geng* or *xin* dreams [foretell] happiness, *ren* or *gui* dreams [foretell] disturbances. If on a *jia* or *yi* day, [one] dreams of felling trees, this is auspicious. If on a *bing* or *ding* day, [one] dreams of fire in a high and bright place, this is auspicious. If on a *wu* or *ji* day, [1526] [one] dreams of official business, this is auspicious. If on a *geng* or *xin* day, [one] dreams of mining a mountain [for casting] bells, this is auspicious. If on a *ren* or *gui* day, [one] dreams of a flowing river [by] a bridge, this is auspicious. On a dark day, dream of three years, in the middle of the night dream of two and two years, [when the] cock crows the dreamer [awakens]. [1499] Dream of fleeing [with] one's hooks and belt, and equipped respectfully with good weapons, surely [one will] go to the place one cherishes. Dream of a stretched intestine [bow string], brothers will surely be apart from one another. [1527] One who dreams of fleeing upward, this is auspicious; one who flees downward, this is inauspicious; this is called "□ inauspicious". Dream of a young woman, this will surely [lead to] failure, a woman is inauspicious. [1518] □ an anxious dream about one who flees upward, this is inauspicious. One who dreams of a husband and wife antagonizing each other and suffering, [in the dream,] the wife appears to the husband, there will be one who will surely die. [1495] Dream of one who flees downward, this is auspicious. Dream of one's body parts withered, [or if] a wife appears as a young girl, there will surely be one who will die; a husband is auspicious. [0029] [gap] One who dreams of the center of a forest □ feather, a man will acquire debts, a woman will acquire a cauldron. [0049] One who [dreams of] □□ an elder brother, they will have children. Dream of a snake entering a person's mouth, the tongue does not come out, for a man this is because of a blessing, for a woman this is because of a shaman. [1513] Dream of one document and five transformations of *qi*, do not divine. Dream about a porcupine, young pig, or fox alive and noisy, in (this situation) a man should take a wife, a woman should start a family. [1591] Dream of riding in a boat, one will go on a long journey. Dream about a senior official, soldier, or millet, one should definitely divine.

[2190] Dream of ascending heights over mountains with no path, great rocks above but do not see[cut off]

[1517] Dream of burning to rule and then offering sacrifices with one's hand, an attack on this day is auspicious.
 Dreams of a person calling upon a superior at the gate, the one who leaves has a new home and is not obstructed.

[1512] One who dreams about a sum of money, relatives will take the long trip to visit. One who dreams of a body and green grasses, [then] central irrigation canals [are] closed off.

[1223] One who dream about sheep, *Shang* (name of a deity) needs sacrifices.
 One who dreams of a pig, *Ming* (name of a deity) needs sacrifices.

[1470] One who dreams of a dog, a road deity needs sacrifices.
 One who dreams of drawing water, pestilence spirit *Zu* (deity) need sacrifices.

[0017] One who dreams of a horse, *Fu* (spirit) needs sacrifices.
 [gap]

[0013] □□□ needs sacrifices again.
 One who dreams of granting (?) a person, *Sui* (deity) needs sacrifices.

[0011] ... *Wumai* (spirit) needs sacrifices.
 One who dreams of chopping off a foot, *Tianxie* spirit needs sacrifices.

[0009] [gap] One who dreams of □, casualties (of war) do not need sacrifices.

[1500] Dream of wearing new clothes, one will be wounded by soldiers,
 One who dreams of a bear, will meet with a high official.

[1494] Dream of drinking alcohol, do not leave for three days, there will surely be rain.
 One of dreams of insects, your po will become a ghost. ²⁵⁷

[1503] Dream of a song and bearing a black carriage, there will be anxiety, one will not fall ill.
 Dream of an official shooting your body, then you will take on a position in the capital. ²⁵⁸

[1474] [If one] dreams of seeing □clouds, has □□□□ younger brother.
 Dream of singing while having sex, then one will take on a position in the capital.

[1493] □□□ a noble grasping a straw hat while near a tree, and underneath is provided with poison, anxious dreams of humiliation, Dream of singing while having sex, then one will take on a position in the capital.

[0012] □□□ music shall be emitted, the cause is worry that does not cease, when a new worry arises, the gods of the doorway-roads become ghosts. • Anxious dreams disgrace. ²⁵⁹

[0315] Dream of a silk thread on the outside corresponds to external anxiety; and internally corresponds to internal anxiety.
 Dream of bean-shaped cup, do not leave the house for three days □□

[0312] Dream of the rainy skies, in old age one will be assisted.
 Summer (?) dreams of looking toward daggers above is due to □□

[1492] □□□□□□ for longevity.

²⁵⁷ There is a quote by the Han poet Sima Xiangru (179-127 B.C.E): 司馬相如《長門賦》：“忽寢寐而夢想兮，魄若君之在旁。” The po is traditionally translated as part of the soul—the part that remains close to the grave after death.

²⁵⁸ Hanyu Da Cidian I-1015 A entry on 内资 is the following: “任京朝官的资历”.

²⁵⁹ The “•” is in the text itself—a dark, black dot.

Dream of the five gifts [chariots, horses, cloth, etc] is all on account of severe anxiety.
 [0073] Dream of burning one's straw mat, [or] entering into hot water, this is auspicious. Dream of a snake or a wasp or a scorpion sting, you will be rewarded.²⁶⁰
 [0074] Dream of □ coming out of one's stomach which within produces offspring, sons and daughters, then one will work to death.
 Dream about one's husband because of a Great Cold.
 [0033] [gap]
 Dream of the dead restored and returned, furthermore, of the inner and outer coffins. The dead eating, desiring [to wear] clothing.
 [0047] □□ do not divine.
 Dream about many sheep again a prisoner is nearby.
 [0048] □□□□ person in late autumn
 One who dreams of □ has □
 [0031] Dream of a pig (?) climbing hills and [dream of] growing trees and burning mulberry (?), this is auspicious.
 Dream of a false husband is worrisome.
 [0004] [gap]
 Dream of a new husband (?) this [is due to] a great separation (?).
 [J39] □□ dream about lungs, liver, intestines, stomach, surely a relative will depart.
 Dream of flesh, [this is due to] anxiety □
 [0015] [Dream of] wading an abyss is clear, someone of reputation □
 One who dreams of a well or canal, will lose wealth.
 [J51] Dream of going to the center of a well or gulley but it is not deep, or a house without a door, defend (?)and die, this is greatly auspicious.
 One who dreams about a tiger or panther, they will meet with a high court official.
 [1508] Dream of a weeping person, your child will die.
 Dream of a plum tree, this is because of a former subordinate.
 [J53] Dream of a weak, surprised person, one's slaves will die.
 Dream of a peach tree, this is because one has severe anxiety.
 [J50] □ children and dream of one's skirts □ [by] the city wall gate, and swimming across a large river, this is for a high court official.
 Dream of a jujube and receive a sovereign's compliments.
 [33] □□□ does not reside
 One who expects but does not give birth, wives and daughters will be unfavorable.

²⁶⁰ Literally, someone upon whom medals are tied.

Appendix II:

Yinwan Divination Manuals:

1. Supernatural Tortoise Divination:

- 用神龜之法：以月龜 [朝] 以後左足而右行，至今日之日止，問。The method for using the mystical tortoise: after every first day of the [lunar] month, use the back left leg as the starting point moving counter-clock wise, when you arrive at the current day, stop and check the divination's outcome.²⁶¹

直右脅者，可得，姓朱氏名長，正西。[Once the motion/count is complete] If the count stops on the right-upper portion of the body, the thief will be captured, his surname is Zhu and name is Zhang, and he is due West.

直後右足者，易得，為王氏名到，西北。If the count stops on the back right leg, the thief will be easily captured, his surname is Wang and name is Dao, and he is due Northwest.

直尾者，自歸，為莊氏名餘，正北。If the count stops on the tail, [the thief] will surrender of his own free will, his surname is Zhuang and his name Yu, and he is due North.

直後左足者，可得，為朝氏名歐，東北。If the count stops on the back left leg, the thief will be captured, his surname is Chao and his name Ou, and he is due Northeast.

直左脅者，可得，為鄭氏名起，正東。If the count stops on the left-upper portion of the body, the thief will be captured, his surname is Zheng and his name Qi, and he is due East.

直前左足者，難得，為李氏名多，東南。If the count stops on the front left leg, the thief will be difficult to capture, his surname is Li and his name is Duo, and he is due Southeast.

直頭者，毋來也，不可得，為張氏，正南。If the count stops on the head, the thief will not be brought to justice, he will not be captured, his surname is Zhang and he is due South.

直前右足者，難得，為陳氏名安，正<西>南。If the count stops on the front right leg, the thief will be difficult to capture, his surname is Chen and name An, and he is due South(west). (YM6D9 正 1)

²⁶¹ There is a black dot at the beginning of this sentence, and also one below the bottom-left leg of the turtle image on the wood slip. The words “以此右行” are below the dot. It is possible that this means that one counts the scutum on the turtle shell, making each turtle's shell unique to the divination process. One counts in a counter-clockwise fashion from the day one's items were stolen until the current day, then checks to see the corresponding prognostication. These eight directions may be connected to *yin-yang* and five phases.

2. Rain Divination: 六甲占雨 (YM6D9 正。3)

甲甲
戌子
丙乙乙甲
辰亥丑甲
戊丁丙丙乙甲
申巳子寅酉午
庚己戊丁丁丙乙甲
子酉午丑卯戌未辰
壬辛庚己戊戌丁丙乙甲
辰丑戌未寅辰亥申巳寅
癸壬辛庚己己戊丁丙乙
巳寅亥申卯巳子酉午卯
癸壬辛庚庚己戊丁
卯子酉辰午丑戌未
癸壬辛辛庚己
亥戌巳未寅亥
癸壬壬辛
亥午申卯
癸癸
未酉

- 占雨

3. Bo Pattern Divination:

- 占取婦，嫁女 Divine to obtain a wife, or to marry off a daughter.
- 問行者 [Divine] to inquire about travelers.²⁶²
- 問[繫]者 [Divine] to inquire about those who have been imprisoned.
- 問病者 [Divine] to inquire about those who are ill.
- 問亡者 [Divine] to inquire about absconders.

方。家室終，生產。今日宜至。疑，未可知。日有瘳。不出可得。²⁶³ *Fang*:²⁶⁴
Your wife will remain in the home for life, she will give birth to children. Today is suitable for arrival. [Divination] is uncertain. Today there will be recovery from illness. Fugitives will give themselves up to the law.

²⁶² The most auspicious scenario for those going on a long journey.

²⁶³ 可得 is unclear.

²⁶⁴ The “*fang*” area is the center square of the *liubo* board, and includes days 9 (壬申), 26 (己丑), 43 (丙午), and 60 (癸亥).

廉。婦有疾，不終，生。後一日至，過日更期。輕，易解。恐不起。居 [] 還 (?) 。 *Lian*:²⁶⁵ Your wife will fall ill, she will not grow old with you, she will give birth to children. Late one day [the traveler] will arrive, if [you] exceed by one day, simply change the arrival date. The punishment will be light, it will be easily discharged and [he should/will be] exempt from punishment. One should worry, for the ill person will perhaps never get well. Reside...and return [unclear].

媮。婦妬 [妒] ，不終，生。疾，日夜不留。治急。病匿幼中。日夜不留。 *Jie*:²⁶⁶ Your wife will be jealous, she will not grow old with you, she will give birth to children. Illness will advance quickly [to the traveler], day and night it will not cease. The conviction/punishment will quickly be decided. The illness is deep within the organs. Fugitives will flee day and night without cease.

道。婦見善室人。來而未至。事決。直久，不死。何物人見亡。 *Dao*:²⁶⁷ Your wife will receive the praise of your household. [The traveler] will leave but did will not arrive. The prisoner's lawsuit will quickly be decided upon. The illness will drag on for a long time, but the patient will not die. The person carrying a load will spot the fugitive. (?)

張。婦強梁，有子，當家。行者有憇。有憇。閒。難得復亡。 *Zhang*:²⁶⁸ Your wife will be tyrannical and brutal, have sons, and manage household affairs. Travelers will have a happy occasion. [Prisoners] will have a happy occasion. [Illness] will be interrupted. They will be difficult to capture, and they may flee again.

曲。婦惠謹，少言語。行者有憇。治急。病筋引。留，見止，必得。 *Qu*:²⁶⁹ Your wife will be kind and cautious, with few words. Travelers will have a happy occasion. The conviction/punishment will quickly be decided. The illness is in a pulled, spasmodic tendon. [The fugitive] will return and stop for a while, you will see this place and must be able to capture him.

²⁶⁵ The “*lian*” area of the *liubo* board surround the *fang* central square on the board and include days 8 (辛未), 10 (癸酉), 25 (戊子), 27 (庚寅), 42 (乙巳), 44 (丁未), 59 (壬戌).

²⁶⁶ The “*jie*” area of the *liubo* board extends from the *fang* square pointing toward the cardinal directions, the bottom of the “T” on the board. They include days 7 (庚午), 11 (甲戌), 24 (丁亥), 28 (辛卯), 41 (甲辰), 45 (戊申), 58 (辛酉).

²⁶⁷ The “*dao*” area of the *liubo* board perpendicularly faces the cardinal directions, the top of the “T” on the board. They include days 6 (己巳), 12 (乙亥), 23 (丙戌), 29 (壬辰), 40 (癸卯), 46 (己酉), and 57 (庚申).

²⁶⁸ The “*zhang*” area of the *liubo* board is the same as the *dao* area, except farther to the extremity of the board, as one of the arms of the “L”. It includes the following days: 5 (午辰), 13 (丙子), 22 (乙酉), 30 (癸巳), 39 (壬寅), 47 (庚戌), 56 (己未).

²⁶⁹ The “*qu*” area of the *liubo* board is closest to the edge of the board, extending toward the cardinal directions, one of the arms of the “L”. It includes the following days: 4 (丁卯), 14 (丁丑), 21 (甲申), 31 (甲午), 38 (辛丑), 48 (辛亥), 55 (戊午).

誣。婦不終，生。行者有所留。見深，難決。外內相引。不得。 *Chu*:²⁷⁰ Your wife will not grow old with you, she will give birth to children. The traveler will be compelled to stop over during a journey. [The prisoner's] case is very complicated, difficult to come to a conclusion. [The ill person's] body and internal organs will mutually twitch and spasm. [The fugitive] will not be captured.

長。婦有儲事。遠反未至。毋罪。直久，什一生。欲還，未敢也。 *Zhang*:²⁷¹ Your wife will save money for your family. Travelers will have a long way to go and be apart for a long time without end. [The prisoner] is innocent. The illness will last a long time and the patient will narrowly escape from death. [The fugitive] wishes to return home, but does not dare.

高。婦當家，難興。行者留。久，毋傷，解。直久，遠人 [] 死。難得，人將賣之。 *Gao*:²⁷² Your wife will manage household affairs but it will be difficult to flourish and grow. The traveler will be compelled to stop over during a journey. [The prisoner's] case will take a long time, but there will be no obstruction and in the end he will free himself. The illness will last a long time...death. [The fugitive] will be difficult to capture, and in the future will cause someone to sell off [the goods].

4. Acceptable Times for Punishment and Virtue:

刑德行時	甲乙	丙丁	戊己	庚辛	壬癸
雞鳴至蚤食	端	德	刑	罰	令
蚤食至日中	令	端	德	刑	罰
日中至舖時	罰	令	端	德	刑
舖時至日入	刑	罰	令	端	德
日中至雞鳴 ²⁷³	德	刑	罰	令	端

以端時請謁，見人，小吉；以行，有熹；击²⁷⁴者，毋罪；疾者，不死；生子，大吉。

以令時請謁，見人，大吉；以行，莫敢禁止；疾者，不死；击者，毋罪；亡人，不得；生子，必貴。

以罪時請謁，毆毆人，小凶；以行，不利；击者，有罪；疾者，死；生子，凶。

²⁷⁰ The “*chu*” area of the *liubo* board extend outward from the corners of the central *fang* square into Southeastern, Southwestern, Northeastern, and Northwestern directions. They are also the longest lines and include the following days: 3 (丙寅), 15 (戊寅), 20 (癸未), 32 (乙未), 37 (庚子), 49 (壬子), 54 (丁巳).

²⁷¹ The “*zhang*” area of the *liubo* board comprise of one of the lines of the “V” in the SE, SW, NE, and NW corners, extending out of the *chu* lines. They include the following days: 2 (乙丑), 16 (己卯), 19 (壬午), 33 (丙申), 36 (己亥), 50 (癸丑), 53 (丙辰).

²⁷² The “*gao*” area of the *liubo* board is the same as the *zhang* area, except the other line of the “V” in the SE, SW, NE, and NW corners. They include the following days: 1 (甲子), 17 (庚辰), 18 (辛巳), 34 (丁酉), 35 (戊戌), 51 (甲寅), 52 (乙卯).

²⁷³ The Zhang and Zhou edition makes this correction: 日中 (入) 至雞鳴

²⁷⁴ Unihan code 23aa0, older version of 击, but is actually read as 擊.

以刑時請謁，見人，大凶；以行，不利；击者，有罪；亡者，必得；生子（子，子）死。

以德時請謁，見人喜成；以行，大利；击者，毋罪；毆毆疾者，不死；亡盜，不得；生子，必吉。

Acceptable times for punishment and virtue:

***Jia/Yi* days:**

From the time the cock crows until breakfast: *duan*: a proper time

From breakfast time until mid-day: *ling*: a good time

From mid-day until late afternoon: *fa*: a time for punishment

From late afternoon until sunset: *xing*: a time for harsh punishment

From sunset until the cock crows: *de*: a virtuous time

***Bing/Ding* days:**

From the time the cock crows until breakfast: *de*: a virtuous time

From breakfast time until mid-day: *duan*: a proper time

From mid-day until late afternoon: *ling*: a good time

From late afternoon until sunset: *fa*: a time for punishment

From sunset until the cock crows: *xing*: a time for harsh punishment

***Wu/Ji* days:**

From the time the cock crows until breakfast: *xing*: a time for harsh punishment

From breakfast time until mid-day: *de*: a virtuous time

From mid-day until late afternoon: *duan*: a proper time

From late afternoon until sunset: *ling*: a good time

From sunset until the cock crows: *fa*: a time for punishment

***Geng/Xin* days:**

From the time the cock crows until breakfast: *fa*: a time for punishment

From breakfast time until mid-day: *xing*: a time for harsh punishment

From mid-day until late afternoon: *de*: a virtuous time

From late afternoon until sunset: *duan*: a proper time

From sunset until the cock crows: *ling*: a good time

***Ren/Gui* days:**

From the time the cock crows until breakfast: *ling*: a good time

From breakfast time until mid-day: *fa*: a time for punishment

From mid-day until late afternoon: *xing*: a time for harsh punishment

From late afternoon until sunset: *de*: a virtuous time

From sunset until the cock crows: *duan*: a proper time

If one receives *duan* [prognosis]: asking for an audience [with a person of higher position] is auspicious; traveling on a long journey, there will be happy events; a prisoner will be pronounced innocent; those who fall ill will not die; those who have children will be greatly auspicious.

If one receives *ling* [prognosis]: asking for an audience [with a person of higher position] is greatly auspicious; traveling on a long journey no one would dare prevent you; those who fall ill will not die; a prisoner will be pronounced innocent; those who have fled will not be captured; those who have children [the children] will surely be powerful and influential.

If one receives *fa* [prognosis]: asking for an audience [with a person of higher position] is inauspicious; traveling on a long journey, there will be unhappy events; a

prisoner will be pronounced guilty; those who fall ill will die; those who have children will be inauspicious.

If one receives *xing* [prognosis]: asking for an audience [with a person of higher position] is greatly inauspicious; traveling on a long journey, there will be unhappy events; a prisoner will be pronounced guilty; those who have fled will surely be captured; those who have children [the children] will die.

If one receives *de* [prognosis]: asking for an audience [with a person of higher position] will result in the fulfillment of happy events; traveling on a long journey is greatly auspicious; a prisoner will be pronounced innocent; [穀 穀] those who fall ill will not die; thieves who have fled will not be captured; those who have children [the children] will surely be powerful and influential.

5. Auspicious/Inauspicious Travel Path

甲子吉凶□ (YM6J90) Auspicious/Inauspicious on the *jiazi* day

甲子三陽西門 戌三陽北門 申二陽一陰北門 午三陽東門 辰二陽一陰南門 寅三陽南門 (YM6J91—97²⁷⁵)

Jiazi day has three *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Jiaxu* has three *yang*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Jiashen* has two *yang* one *yin*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Jiawu* has three *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Jiachen* has two *yang* and one *yin*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Jiayin* has three *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious].

乙丑二陰一陽東門 亥三陰毋門 酉二陽（陰）一陰（陽）南門 未二陰一陽西門 巳二（三）陰一陽西門 卯三陰毋門 (YM6J98—99)

Yichou day has two *yin* and one *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Yihai* day has three *yin*, no gate [is auspicious]. *Yiyu* day has two *yang* (*orig. yin*) and one *yin* (*orig. yang*), Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Yiwei* day has two *yin* and one *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Yisi* has two (*orig. three*) *yin* and one *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Yimao* has three *yin*, no gate [is auspicious].

丙寅三陽南門 子三陽西門 戌三陽北門 申二陽一陰北門 午三陽東門 辰二陽一陰南門 (YM6J100)

Bingyin day has three *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Bingzi* day has three *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Bingxu* day has three *yang*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Bingshen* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Bingwu* day has three *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Bingchen* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Southern gate [is auspicious].

丁卯二陽一陰北門 丑三陽東門 亥二陽一陰東門 酉三陽東（南）門 未三陽西門 巳二陽一陰西門 (YM6J101—102)

²⁷⁵ Wooden slip number.

Dingmao day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Dingchou* day has three *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Dinghai* day two *yang* and one *yin*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Dingyou* has three *yang* (Southern) gate [is auspicious]. *Dingwei* has three *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Dingsi* has two *yang* and one *yin*, Western gate [is auspicious].

戊辰二陽一陰南門 寅三陽南門 子三陽西門 戌三陽北門 申二陽一陰北門
午三陽東門 (YM6J103)

Wuchen day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Wuyin* day has three *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Wuzi* day has three *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Wuxu* day has three *yang*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Wushen* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Wuwu* day has three *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious].

己巳三陰毋門 卯三陰毋門 丑二陰一陽東門 亥三陰毋門 酉二陰一陽南門
未二陰一陽西門 (YM6J104)

Jisi day has three *yin*, no gate [is auspicious]. *Jimao* day has three *yin*, no gate [is auspicious]. *Jichou* day has two *yin* and one *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Jihai* day has three *yin*, no gate [is auspicious]. *Jiyou* day has two *yin* and one *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Jiwei* day has two *yin* and one *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious].

庚午三陽東門 辰二陽一陰南門 寅三陽南門 子三陽西門 戌三陽北門
申二陽一陰北門 (YM6J105)

Gengwu day has three *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Gengchen* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Gengyin* day has three *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Gengzi* has three *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Gengxu* day has three *yang*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Gengshen* has two *yang* and one *yin*, Northern gate [is auspicious].

辛未二陰一陽西門 巳三陰毋門 卯三陰毋門 丑二陰一陽南(東)門 亥三陰毋門
酉二陰一陽南門 (YM6J106)

Xinwei day has two *yin* and one *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Xinsi* day has three *yin*, no gate [is auspicious]. *Xinmao* has three *yin*, no gate [is auspicious]. *Xinchou* day has two *yin* and one *yang*, Southern (orig. eastern) gate [is auspicious]. *Xinhai* day has three *yin*, no gate [is auspicious]. *Xinyou* day has two *yin* and one *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious].

壬申二陽一陰北門 午三陽東門 辰二陽一陰南門 □ 寅三陽南門 子三陽西門
戌三陽北門 (YM6J107)

Renshen day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Renwu* day has three *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Renchen* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Renyin* day has three *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Renzi* day has three *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Renxu* day has three *yang*, Northern gate [is auspicious].

癸酉三陽南門 未三陽西門 巳二陽一陰西門 卯二陽一陰北門 丑
三陽東門 亥二陽一陰東門 (YM6J108)

Guiyou day has three *yang*, Southern gate [is auspicious]. *Guiwei* day has three *yang*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Guisi* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Western gate [is auspicious]. *Guimao* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Northern gate [is auspicious]. *Guichou* day has three *yang*, Eastern gate [is auspicious]. *Guihai* day has two *yang* and one *yin*, Eastern gate [is auspicious].

行得三陽又得其門，百事皆成，不辟執，咎之日。(YM6J109)

If traveling on a day with three *yang* and exits from the appropriate gate, all things will be successful, no taboo will be carried out on that day.

行得三陽不得其門，行者憂，事亦成。(YM6J110)

If traveling on a day with three *yang* and does not exit from the appropriate gate, the traveler will be anxious, but in the end will be successful.

行得二陽一陰，唯得其門，以行，其物不全。(YM6J111)

If traveling on a day with two *yang* and one *yin*, even though he leaves from the appropriate gate, the traveler's affairs will be incomplete.

行得二陰一陽，唯得其門，以行，必擊留束縛。(YM6J112)

If traveling on a day with two *yin* and one *yang*, even though he leaves from the appropriate gate, the traveler will inevitably be captured and tied up.

行得三陰毋門，不可行（行，行）必死亡。□ (YM6J113)

If traveling on a day with three *yin*, do not exit the gate as the traveler will certainly die.

Appendix III.

P. 2856 R° Columns 23-81 Dunhuang Mogao Caves

卜男女初得病日鬼名是誰，若患狀相當者，即作此鬼形並書符厭之，並吞及著門戶上，皆大吉。書符法用朱砂閉氣作之。

子日病者，鬼名天賊，四頭一足而行，吐舌，使人四支不舉，五藏不流，水腫大腹，半身不隨(遂)，令人暴死。以其形厭之即吉。此符朱書之，病人吞之，並書著門戶上，急急如律令。

“Determine by divination the name of the demon for the day when a man or woman first became ill. If the symptoms of the malady correspond, then make the image of this demon and also write the talisman to suppress it. Also, swallowing them and attaching them over the doorway are both very auspicious. The method for writing the

talisman is to make it using red cinnabar while sealing in the breath.

If a person becomes ill on a *zi* day, the demon's name is Celestial Brigand (*tianzei* 天賊). It has four heads and walks on one foot with its tongue sticking out. It causes a person to be unable to raise the four limbs; the five organs do not [maintain a proper] flow; there is oedema and the abdomen is enlarged; half of the body is immobilized. It causes a person to suffer violent death. Using [the demon's] image to suppress it is auspicious.

Write this talisman in red. The ill person may swallow it or also attach it over the doorway. Quickly, quickly,—in accordance with the statutes and regulations.²⁷⁶

丑日病者,鬼名是誰,天罡,青身赤面,手持氣[?],一足而行,令人噎塞,身體/頭目痛,暴死失溺,水不利,多口舌。以其形/厭之即吉。

If a person becomes ill on a *chou* day, the demon's name is Tiangang. It has a green body and a red face, and holds in his hand __[?], it walks on one leg. It causes a person to be choked up and stopped up, the body/head and eyes are pained; sudden death by losing urine, water is not beneficial, there is much dispute. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

寅日病者,鬼名同爐,黃頭赤身,令人/吐四,多語言,手足不隨(遂),目不見物,日汗/流出,從東南而來。以其形厭之即去。

If a person becomes ill on a *yin* day, the demon's name is Tonglu (same stove). It has a yellow head and a bare body. It causes a person to spit four times, to speak a lot, movements are not satisfied, eyes do not see; there is a daily dirty discharge, and it comes from the southeast. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

卯日病者,鬼名老目離,青頭赤身,[?]樂/使人狂病,令人多喚,藏頭掩口,入人家失火/狂語,恍惚不安。以其形厭之即吉。

If a person becomes ill on a *mao* day, the demon's name is Lao Muli (old departing eye), it has a green head and a red body...it causes a person to go mad, it also causes a person to cry out a lot, to hide one's head and cover one's mouth, to go into dwellings and set fire, [to speak] mad speech, to be distracted and unsettled. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

辰日病者,鬼名鐵齒,赤身[?]面,頭上有一/角,好食生血,令人吐逆,寒熱來去,頭痛/足冷,目疼不視冥冥。以其形厭之吉。

If a person becomes ill on a *chen* day, the demon's name is Tiechi (iron tooth), it has a red body...face, the top of the head has a horn, it likes food and raw blood. It causes a person to spit and be contrary, chills and fevers come and go, the head hurts and the feet are cold, the eyes hurt and see dimly. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

²⁷⁶ Donald Harper, "Dunhuang iatromantic manuscripts," *Medieval Chinese Medicine* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 142-143.

巳日病者鬼名強郎,頭戴半月,一足一手,青/翅赤身,員(圓)轉而行,令人斷氣,忌胸脇,吐血,心腹、百節疼,身鳴。以其形厭之吉。

If a person becomes ill on a *si* day, the demon's name is Qianglang (strong boy). It's head wears a half-moon, it has one foot and one hand, green wings and a red body, circular and changing. It causes a person to breathe one's last, to shun the chest and ribs, to spit blood, heart and abdomen, the one hundred joints are painful, the body rings out. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

午日病者,鬼名文卿,青身黃面,熱載戴王,令人狂,失音,恍惚,目視物冥冥,患喚(?)身踵。以其形厭之即吉。

If a person becomes ill on a *wu* day, the demon's name is Wenqing (literature minister), it has a green body and a yellow face, transports fever, wears [the shape of] a king. It causes a person to go mad, lose their voice, be absent-minded and distracted, to dimly look upon things, to worry and call out with the body not far behind. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

未日病者,鬼名嚙,狗頭蛇身,兩翅/足,朱紅面,令人吐,喉咽悲歌,或好喚/非時,食生肉,朝差暮劇。以其形厭之即去。

If a person becomes ill on a *wei* day, the demon's name is Ji, it has a dog's head and a snake's body, two wings and feet, a vermillion face. It causes a person to spit and for the throat to sing sad songs, to call out to a person at the wrong time, to eat raw meat, in the morning there is difference, in the evening it is acute. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

申日病者,鬼名銅聾,綠身翼戴魚/形,令人癡啞,懷寒熱,言語汗出,初[?]/[?]寒。以其形厭之即吉。

If a person becomes ill on a *shen* day, the demon's name is Tonglong (copper deaf), it has a green body, wings, and wears [the image of] a fish shape. It causes a person to go mad and be mute, chills and fever in the bosom, when speaking sweat is emitted, beginning...cold. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

酉日病者,(鬼)名耆耆,綠面非身待氣,俄/吐舌而行,令人狂顛,四支沉亂,不別親疏。以其形厭之即去。

If a person becomes ill on a *you* day, the demon's name is Qiqi. It has a green face and no [visible] body waiting for vapor, suddenly sticks out its tongue and leaves. It causes a person to go mad and jolt, the four limbs to sink in chaos, to be unable to differentiate between relatives and strangers. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

戌日病者,鬼名石繫機,眉生兩翅,手持刀而逢人即斫人,病人腹瀉、耳聾/噁口(心)。以其形厭之即去。

If a person becomes ill on a *xu* day, the demon's name is Shi Jiji, its brows are green and has two wings, it holds a knife in its hand and meets people to cut them. The patient has diarrhea, becomes deaf and is nauseated. Using the demon's image to

suppress it is auspicious.

亥日病者,鬼名東僧,赤面黃身,倒/腳向上,出(?) 兩手託地而行,入門,令人半/身不隨(遂),[?]不利。以其形厭之即吉。

If a person becomes ill on a *hai* day, the demon's name is Dongseng, it has a red face and a yellow body, it walks backward on its feet in an upward direction...both hands hold earth as it goes and enters the doorway. It causes half a person's body not to follow (paralysis)...to be detrimental. Using the demon's image to suppress it is auspicious.

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