

The Yinyang Academies in Yuan China (1260-1368):  
Formation and Development

By  
Yuan Xu

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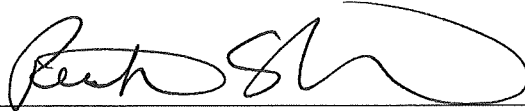
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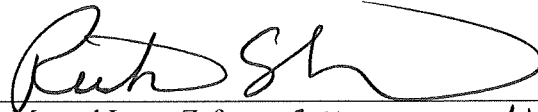
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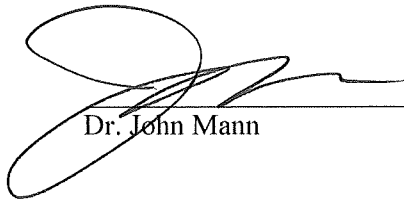
Dr. Reiko Shinno, Chair



Dr. Jane Pederson

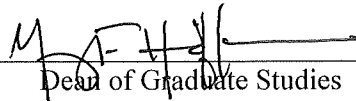


Dr. Manuel LopezZafra (*Shinno on his behalf*)



Dr. John Mann

APPROVED:

  
Dean of Graduate Studies

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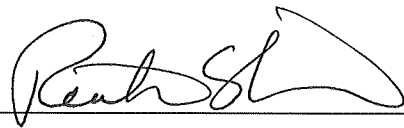
Yuan Xu

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Under the Supervision of Dr. Reiko Shinno

This thesis studies a broad historical context of the yinyang academy system established during the Yuan dynasty (1260-1368). The Mongol rulers created the system in order to regulate and educate yinyang practitioners, a group of people who mainly practiced astrology, astronomy, fortune-telling, and geomancy. Examining the imperial astronomical institutions and mantic practice in China from ancient times to the early Ming (1368-1644) period, I argue that three groups shaped the establishment of the yinyang academy system: Mongol rulers who had long respected the power of Mongol shamans and attempted to prevent other royal family members from taking advantage of them and other yinyang practitioners; Chinese elites who presented their new rulers with the long-standing notion in China that the emperors in the middle kingdom should

monopolize the study of astrology/astronomy in order to fulfill their duties and maintain their authority as the Son of Heaven (tianzi 天子); and Neo-Confucian scholars eager to restore and maintain public order by regulating mantic practices.



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Thesis Adviser

Date

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## Chinese Dynasties

Shang: 16<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century BCE

Zhou: 11<sup>th</sup> century-256 BCE

Qin: 221-207 BCE

Han: 202 BCE-220 CE

Wei: 220-265

Western Jin: 265-316

Nan-Bei chao: 420-589

Sui: 581-618

Tang: 608-907

Liao: 916-1125

Song: 960-1276

    Northern Song: 960-1127

    Southern Song: 1127-1276

Jin: 1115-1234

Yuan: 1260-1368 (Mongol Empire: 1206-1368)

Ming: 1368-1644

Qing: 1644-1912

## Great Khans and Emperors of the Mongol Empire and the Yuan Dynasty

Chinggis Khan (1162-1227, r. 1206-1227)

Tolui (1192-1232, r. 1227-1229)

Ögedei Khan (1186-1241, r. 1229-1241)

Güyük Khan (1206-1248, r. 1246-1248)

Möngke Khan (1209-1259, r. 1251-1259)

Qubilai (1215-1294, r. 1260-1294)

Temür (1265-1307, r. 1294-1307)

Haishan (1281-1311, r. 1307-1311)

Ayurbarwada (1285-1320, r. 1311-1320)

Shidebala (1302-1323, r. 1320-1323)

Yisün-Temür (1293-1328, r. 1323-1328)

Qoshila (1320-1328, r. 1328-1329)

Tuq-Temür (1304-1332, r. 1328, 1329-1332)

Irinchinbal (1326-1332, r. 1332)

Toghan- Temür (1320-1370, r. 1332-1370)

## Note on Transcription and Translation

In this thesis, I have adopted the *Hanyu pinyin* system for Chinese and the Hepburn romanization system for Japanese. For the translation of Mongolian names and words, I referred to Christopher Atwood's *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongolian Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004). For the translation of Chinese official titles, I mainly followed Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1988) and David M. Farquhar's *Government of China Under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990).

## Introduction

Jiao Rong 焦榮 (1247-1317) was a courteous and unadorned man in China under Mongol rule. He read hundreds of books related to fortune-telling including *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), which his father owned. As a result, he had extensive and deep knowledge regarding fortune-telling, especially a method called *xingqin* (星禽, lit. stars and birds). His predictions never failed. People from all kinds of places heard of his fame and visited him, so he had visitors one after another all day. The Administrator of Princely Establishment (*wangxiang* 王相, 2a) Shang Ting 商挺 (1209-1288) admired Jiao's fortune-telling skill and named Jiao's residence "the Room of Consciousness (*juezhai* 覺齋)." Great men of the time who served in high positions in Mongol's court, such as Administrator (*pingzhang* 平章) He 何 (*hao* Congshan 聰山), Adviser to the Heir Apparent (*taizi bingke* 太子賓客, rank 3b or above) Wang Liyong 王利用, Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts (*Hanlin chengzhi* 翰林承旨) Yao Sui 姚燧 (1239-1314), and Academician of Academy of Scholarly Worthies (*jixian xueshi* 集賢學士) Song 宋 (*hao* Yian 抑菴), treated Jiao with respect and sent him poems. Moreover, Grand Academicians of Academy of Scholarly Worthies (*jixian xueshi* 集賢大學士) Guo 郭 (*hao* Fangzhai 方齋) made the genealogy and wrote its preface for the Jiao family. At the beginning of his career, Jiao served as Yinyang Supervisor-in-Chief (*yinyang dutiling* 陰陽都提領) of places such as Anxi 安西, Yan'an 延安, Xingyuan 興元 (in present Shannxi province), Fengxiang 鳳翔 (in present Shannxi province) and Gongchang 鞏昌 (in present Gansu province). The yinyang academies (*yinyang xue* 陰陽學) of Shannxi 陝

西 and Sichun 四川 Branch Secretariats later abolished Supervisor (*tiju* 提舉) and established Professor (*jiaoshou* 教授). Under the recommendation of Shang Ting and promotion of Prince of Anxi 安西王, Jiao became the Yinyang Professor of Anxi circuit 安西路 (present Xian). Since Jiao was diligent, many scholars competed to become his students. In his career as professor, he published twenty volume books relate to the three phases (*sanyuan* 三元).<sup>1</sup> Jiao passed away in 1317 when he was seventy years old. He had four sons, and two of them became yinyang professors.<sup>2</sup>

This thesis will focus on people like Jiao Rong, who was a yinyang professor during the Yuan period (1260-1386). I aim to answer the following questions: Why did people like Jiao Rong, who practiced fortune-telling, receive respect from high ranked officials of the time? What were the duties of a yinyang professor? What was the yinyang academy system? Why did the Yuan rulers establish it? Did Mongolian shamanism affect the creation of the yinyang academies? And how did the roles of fortune-tellers and yinyang practitioners change over dynasties?

### Definition of Yinyang and Yinyang Practitioner

The *yinyang* 陰陽 thought, one of the most fundamental concepts of Chinese

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<sup>1</sup> “The Chinese commonly considered cycles of sixty years to be part of larger recurrent cycles of 120 years, known collectively as the three phases. These phases were: a beginning period of growth (*shangyuan*), a middle period of flourishing (*zhongyuan*), and an ending period of growth (*xiayuan*).” Richard J. Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 299. The three phases also refer to divination regarding marriage, resident, and tomb. Ye Xinmin, “First Investigation of the Yinyang Academies of the Yuan Dynasty,” *Menggu shi yanjiu*, Vol. 6 (2000): 52.

<sup>2</sup> Tong Shu, *Ju an ji, Wenyuange siku quanshu*, henceforth abbreviated as SKQS, 7.14-16.

philosophy, was formed at the end of the Warring States period (403-221 BCE). People used the yinyang theory to explain the flow of time and the changes in the natural world. The theory eventually developed into a complex form and interacted with other philosophies and religious ideas, such as Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. *Yang* originally means the sun shines and *yin* means clouds covers the sun.<sup>3</sup> The two words further refer to a “condition in which there exists two opposite but related and interdependent ideas or objects,”<sup>4</sup> such as heaven and earth, bright and dark, and male and female. Moreover, in premodern China, people believed that yin and yang are two fundamental “material energies” (*qi* 氣, lit. air) that composed the human body and further all things in the cosmos.<sup>5</sup>

The yinyang practitioners in the Yuan were a group of people which referred to who were experts of yinyang studies or practice such as astrology, astronomy, fortune-telling, and geomancy including residence divination (*xiangzhai* 相宅) and tomb divination (*xiangmu* 相墓).<sup>6</sup> We can easily see such mixed nature of the term from the examination subjects for professors in the Yinyang Academies from the section of the “Yinyang Academies” in *Institutions in the Sagely Administration of the Great Yuan* (*Yuan dianzhang* 元典章) and the biographies of the yinyang practitioners, all of which I will detailed in Chapter three.

In the present day, we refer to astrology as “the study of the movements and

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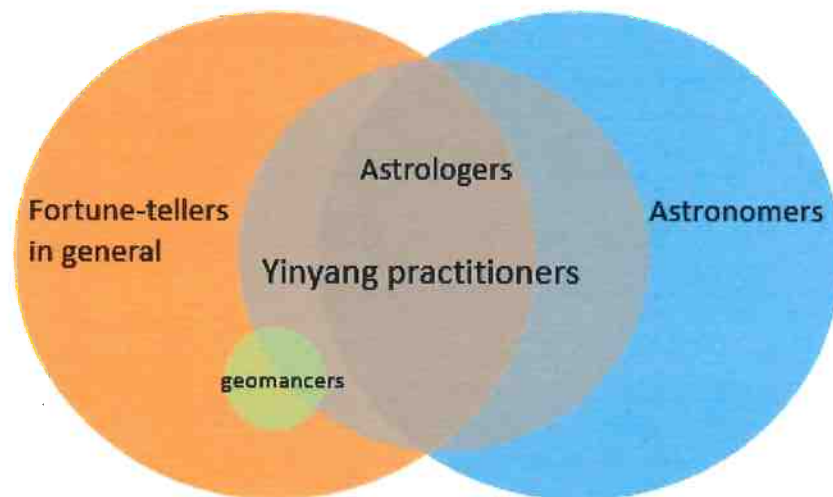
<sup>3</sup> Mizoguchi Yūzō et al., eds., *Chūgoku shisō bunka jiten* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2001), 470.

<sup>4</sup> Robin Wang, *Yinyang: The Way of Heaven and Earth in Chinese Thought and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Edmund Ryden, trans., *Key Concepts in Chinese Philosophy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 84.

<sup>6</sup> Qiu Shusen, ed., *Yuanshi cidian* (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 817.

relative positions of celestial bodies interpreted as having an influence on human affairs and the natural world”<sup>7</sup> and astronomy as “the branch of science which deals with celestial objects, space, and the physical universe as a whole.”<sup>8</sup> In ancient China, however, as well as other ancient civilizations, the two studies had no clear boundary. For convenience, I will translate *tianwen* 天文 as astronomy/astrology but the *tianwen* institution simply as the astronomical institution. When I describe one as an astrologer, I emphasize his ability of predicting the future through observing stars and natural phenomenon. When I describe one as an astronomer, I emphasize his skills outside of predicting, such as making calendars and calculating time. It should, however, be noted that they usually had knowledge of both subjects (see Figure1).



*Figure 1* Relationship among the Yuan yinyang practitioners, astronomers, astrologers, and fortune-tellers in general

<sup>7</sup> Oxford Dictionaries, accessed April 13, 2017, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/astrology>

<sup>8</sup> Oxford Dictionaries, accessed April 13, 2017, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/astronomy>

In addition, sometimes people simply refer yinyang practitioners as fortune-tellers in general. For example, in *A Guide to Bureaucratic Studies (Lixue zhinan 吏學指南)*, the author explained that the household of fortune-tellers (*bu* 卜) were “now called the yinyang household (*jin yue yinyang hu* 今日陰陽戶)”.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, while the early Mongol rulers attempt to gather yinyang practitioners or fortune-tellers, they made orders in Mongolian. They probably use the word *bö’e*, the generic term for shaman, and the translator referred it as the yinyang practitioner or fortune-teller.<sup>10</sup> I adopted the word “yinyang academy” as the translation of “*yinyang xue*,” although other historians have translated it as “Yinyang school” or “Geomancy school.”<sup>11</sup> That is because I would like to avoid confusion with the term “*yinyang jia* 陰陽家,” a group of philosophers during the Warring States period (5<sup>th</sup> century-221 BC), often also translated as “the Yinyang School.”

### Approach and Outline

While the yinyang theory was one of the most fundamental concepts of Chinese philosophy, the study of yinyang was also introduced to countries such as Japan and Korea. During the eighth century, the Japanese government established the Bureau of

<sup>9</sup> Xu Yuanrui, *Lixue zhinan* (Jiangsu: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1988), 31.

<sup>10</sup> Hu Qide, “Menggu beike wenxian suojian tongzhizhe de zongjiao gainian yu zhengce,” In *Mengyuan de lishi yu wen hua: mengyuanshi xueshu yangtaohui lunwen ji* (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth Endicott-West, “Notes on Shamans, Fortunetellers and Yin-yang Practitioners and Civil Administration in Yuan China,” In *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Amitai-Preiss and Morgan, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 230 translated *yinyang xue* as “Yin-yang school”; Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1988), 461 translated the word as “Yin-Yang School”; David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China Under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Seiner, 1990), 415 translated the word as “Geomancy School.”

*Onmyō* (Japanese pronunciation of yinyang) (*Onmyō ryō* 陰陽寮) which survived until the mid-nineteenth century. While modern historians have thoroughly studied *onmyō* in Japan, little has been studied on the yinyang academies established in 1291 by Qubilai Khan (1215-1294, r. 1260-1294) in China.

To the best of my knowledge, one English-language article and three Chinese-language articles has discussed the yinyang academies in China under the Mongols. Shen Jiandong's "First Investigation of the Yinyang Academy System of the Yuan and Ming Dynasty (Yuan Ming yinyangxue zhidu chutan)" (1989) studied the yinyang academy system of the Yuan and Ming dynasty (1368-1644) mainly through reading the Ming local gazetteers. He argued that the yinyang academies flourished during the Yuan and Ming because the central government attempted to control the yinyang studies.<sup>12</sup> Chen Gaohua's "Local government school of the Yuan dynasty (Yuandai de difang guanxue)" (1993) illustrated the yinyang academies as a part of the Yuan local government school system. Chen stated the yinyang academies were established to control yinyang practitioners from causing confusions in the society.<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Endicott-West's "Notes on Shamans, Fortunetellers and *Yin-yang* Practitioners and Civil Administration in Yuan China" (1999) examined how the political and religious influences of shamans and fortune-tellers shifted in China under the Mongols. She argued that while shamans and yinyang practitioners enjoyed a relatively higher political and social status at the beginning of the Mongol empire, their status declined after the reign of Möngke (1209-

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<sup>12</sup> Shen Jiandong, "First Investigation of the Yinyang Academy System of the Yuan and Ming Dynasty (Yuan Ming yinyangxue zhidu chutan)," *Dalu zazhi* 79.6 (Taipei: Dalu zazhi she, 1989), 27.

<sup>13</sup> Chen Gaohua, "Local Government School of the Yuan Dynasty (Yuandai de difang guanxue)," *Yuanshi luncong* 5 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993), 164.

1259, r. 1251-1259) because they were not compatible with the Chinese civil administration.<sup>14</sup> Ye Xinmin's "First Investigation of the Yinyang Academies of the Yuan dynasty (Yuandai yinyangxue chutan)" (2000) offered detailed information on the yinyang academies through introducing different primary sources such as the *History of the Yuan* (*Yuan shi* 元史) and *The Record of the Imperial Library Directorate* (*Mishujian zhi* 祕書監志).<sup>15</sup>

This thesis aims to offer broader historical context of the yinyang academy system in China. While the three above-mentioned Chinese historians looked at the basic characteristics of the yinyang academy system of the Yuan and Ming dynasty, Endicott-West focused on the Mongol rulers' influence on the changing status of yinyang practitioners. This paper will synthesize the two viewpoints and further argue that three groups shaped the establishment of the yinyang academy system: Mongol rulers who had long respected the power of Mongol shamans and attempted to prevent other royal family members from taking advantage of them and other yinyang practitioners; Chinese elites who presented their new rulers with the long-standing notion in China that the emperors in the middle kingdom should monopolize the study of astrology/astronomy in order to fulfill their duties and maintain their authority as the Son of Heaven (*tianzi* 天子); and Neo-Confucian scholars eager to restore and maintain public order by regulating mantic practices.

Broadly speaking, the study of yinyang academies mainly speak to three fields. First, it speaks to recent scholarship on cross-cultural exchanges in China under Mongol

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<sup>14</sup> Endicott-West, "Notes on Shamans," 237.

<sup>15</sup> Ye, "First Investigation of the Yinyang Academies of the Yuan Dynasty (Yuandai yinyangxue chutan)," 57.

rule. Until recently, the Yuan dynasty has not been less well studied as well as other dynasties since it was ruled by non-Han conquerors. While early historians emphasized negative aspects of Mongol conquest, recent historians such as Thomas T. Allsen, Reiko Shinno, and Miya Noriko have begun to focus on the Mongols' contributions on cross-cultural exchanges and development. For example, focusing on the cultural exchange between China and Iran when Iran was ruled by Mongolian il-qans, Allsen pointed out that the Mongols created a condition which promoted cultural exchanges.<sup>16</sup> He also briefly examined Mongol shamanism and pointed out their interest in fortune-tellers and yinyang practitioners of other countries. Shinno's work demonstrates that Mongols created a political and institutional environment that promoted the development of the Chinese medicine during the Yuan period through telling the story of an official and man of letter Yuan Jue (1266-1327). She also studies the medical schools, which was a part of Yuan local school system, just as the yinyang academy system was.<sup>17</sup> Miya shows that the Mongol rulers focused on the recruiting of specialists such as physicians and fortune-tellers and argues that the significant development in the fields of mathematic, astronomy, agriculture, and medicine during the Yuan dynasty is due to the Mongols' support of technocrats.<sup>18</sup>

The second field this study of yinyang academies speaks to is the study of Yuan mantic practice. Influenced by Western scientific culture, the traditional Chinese

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<sup>16</sup> Thomas Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5.

<sup>17</sup> Reiko Shinno, *The Politics of Medicine in China under Mongol Rule* (London: Routledge, 2016), 20.

<sup>18</sup> Miya Noriko, "Mongoru ōzoku to kitai no gijutsu shugi shūdan (Mongol imperial family and Chinese technocrats)," In *Gakumon no katachi: mōhitotsu no Chūgoku shisōshi*, ed. Kominami Ichirō (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2014), 200.

divination is categorized as pseudo-science today. In mainland China, divination is called feudal superstitions. During the Yuan period, however, the majority of people deeply believed in these “feudal superstitions.” According Richard J. Smith, “divination touched every sector of Chinese society, from emperor to peasant.”<sup>19</sup> In his careful study of divination of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), he noted the following regarding the roles of divination:

In the first place, it contributed to social order by regulating the rituals and rhythms of daily life... Secondly, Chinese fortune-tellers served as the functional equivalent of modern-day psychologists. As therapists and personal counsellors, they helped individuals in China to cope with their anxieties, whether inspired by bureaucratic problems, the examination system, or more mundane concerns.<sup>20</sup>

As Smith claimed, diviners had played important roles in traditional Chinese society. Liu Xiangguang’s work examines the activities of the Song (960-1276) fortune-tellers and points out the popularity of fortune-telling during the time due to the factors such as the increasing of population and expansion of the civil service examination.<sup>21</sup> Minakuchi Takuju offers thoughtful insight on the Chinese geomantic (*fengshui* 風水) practice from the Song to the Qing period through the eyes of Confucians. He shows how Confucians of different times “rectified” geomantic practice and thoughts according to the culture of the moment.<sup>22</sup> Minakuchi’s study also shows that the learning of fortune-telling such as geomancy is indispensable to understand people’s lives of the time.

The third field is the study of the Chinese imperial astronomical institutions.

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<sup>19</sup> Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers*, 9.

<sup>20</sup> Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers*, 268.

<sup>21</sup> Liu Xiangguang, *Songdai richang shenghuo zhong de busuan yu guiguai* (Taipei: Zhengda chuban she, 2013), 18.

<sup>22</sup> Minakuchi Takuju, *Jugaku kara mita fūsui: Sou kara Sinn ni itaru gensetsushi* (Tokyo: Fūkyōsya, 2016), 345-354.

Through looking at astrologers and yinyang practitioners, this paper aims to offer complexity of the history of Chinese imperial astronomical institutions. In premodern China, the study of astronomy and astrology had no clear boundary. Many imperial astronomical institutions had officials who were engaged in mantic work, although names of their position varied from time to time. Current scholarly works on Chinese imperial astronomical institutions, however, mostly emphasized what we see as science today, such as maps of stars, astronomical instruments, and calendrical science. For example, while Joseph Needham said, “Divination of the future, astrology, (and) geomancy...were part of the common background of all Chinese thinkers, both ancient and medieval. The historian of science cannot simply dismiss these theories and practices, for they throw much light on ancient conceptions of the universe,”<sup>23</sup> he put astrology separately with the thoughtfully studied astronomy chapter and introduced it briefly under the pseudo-sciences chapter. *Chinese Ancient Astronomical Institution and Astronomical Education* (*Zhongguo gudai tianwen jigou yu tianwen jiaoyu*) edited by Chen Xiaozhong and Zhang Shuli closely surveyed the history of the astronomical institutions from the earliest times to the Qing period. The book also mainly focused on the changing astronomical official system and “astronomical science.”

Chapter one through four of this thesis are arranged in chronological order. Chapter one briefly introduces mantic practices and imperial astronomical institutions in China from the Shang (16<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century BCE) to Tang (608-907) dynasty. Chapter two focuses on the influence of the expansion of mantic practice in the society of the Song

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<sup>23</sup> Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 2, *History of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 356.

(960-1276) and Jin (1115-1234) societies. Chapter three examines activities of yinyang practitioners and the establishment of the yinyang academy system in China under the Mongols (1206-1368). Chapter four looks at the Ming emperor Zhu Yuanzhang's 朱元璋 (1328-1398, r. 1368-1398) policy regarding fortune-tellers and further studies the yinyang academies seen in the Ming local gazetteers.

This thesis employs Chinese-language sources such as official histories (*zhengshi* 正史), legal and institutional texts, essays, poems, local gazetteers (*difangzhi* 地方志), biographies, and funeral inscriptions (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘). More specifically, I will use *Institutions in the Sagely Administration of the Great Yuan* and *The Record of the Imperial Library Directorate*, which contains a huge collection of legal codes and administrative orders issued in the Yuan period, to understand the laws regarding the yinyang academies; Complete Library of the Four Treasuries (Wenyuange siku quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書), a series of a large number of literati's writing from different dynasties; and Selected Ming Dynasty Gazetteers from the Tianyige Library (Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan 天一閣藏明代方志選刊), a collection which holds hundreds of local gazetteers of the Ming dynasty.

## Chapter 1 Intermediaries between Heaven and Man

This chapter traces the development of Chinese imperial astronomical institutions and mantic practice through the Shang to Tang period, because the Yuan yinyang practitioners were supervised by imperial astronomical institutions and mainly practiced astronomy/astrology and fortune-telling. Astronomers/astrologers served in Chinese central government from ancient times. Their origin can be traced back to the period of legendary emperor Yao 堯 (traditionally c.2356-2255BC), who ordered the Xi 羲 and He 和 families to observe the movement of stars and grant the time for the people (*jingshou minshi* 敬授民時).<sup>24</sup> Such activities were crucial for Chinese emperors who considered themselves as the Son of Heaven. Observing stars and divination were important ways to communicate with the high god (*di* 帝) or Heaven.<sup>25</sup> Making calendars was also one of the most important duties of the emperor of a new dynasty.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, while offering support to astronomers and astrologers, the rulers closely guarded astronomical/astrological knowledge within the imperial astronomical institutions.

### THE SHANG AND ZHOU DYNASTY (16<sup>th</sup>-256 BCE)

By the Shang dynasty (16th-11th century BCE), people had already began predicting future by reading the cracks in the animal bones and turtle plastrons. The

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<sup>24</sup> Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), 1.15. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 3, *The Shorter Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 188.

<sup>25</sup> Mizoguchi Yūzō et al., eds., *Chūgoku shisō bunka jiten* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, 2001), 483.

<sup>26</sup> Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers*, 74.

Shang kings acted not only as the political and military leader but also the priest who offered sacrifices to the Heaven. At the time, the only way to communicate with the Heaven was through using of the oracle bones.<sup>27</sup> To do this, the kings and their fortune-tellers heated the bones and read the cracks. The answer from the Heaven could be either positive or negative.<sup>28</sup> The Shang kings inquired various kinds of questions to their ancestors: weather, military affairs, construction, agriculture, ritual, hunting, dreams, sickness, and childbirth. More than 150,000 fragments of such oracle bones have been excavated from the late Shang sites.<sup>29</sup> Officials related to divination also began to appear around the Shang dynasty, such as Grand Scribe (*taishi* 太史) who observed stars and governed imperial books.<sup>30</sup> More official positions regarding astronomy/astrology appear in the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周礼), a book discovered around the Warring States period and describes the idealized Zhou (11th century-256 BCE) bureaucracy.<sup>31</sup> The following is the description of the imperial astronomer *pingxiangshi* 冯相氏 (lit. “one who mounts to a topographic height and observes the sky<sup>32</sup>”):

He concerns himself with the twelve years (the sidereal revolution of Jupiter), the twelve months, the twelve (double-) hours, the ten days, and the positions of the twenty-eight stars (the determinative stars of the *xiu* 宿). He distinguishes them and orders them so that he can make a general plan of the heaven. He takes observation of the sun at the winter and summer solstices, and of the moon at the spring and autumn equinoxes, in order to determine the succession of the four seasons. 冯相氏掌十有

<sup>27</sup> Mizoguchi Yūzō et al., eds., *Chūgoku shisō bunka jiten*, 3.

<sup>28</sup> Patricia Ebrey, *China: A Cultural, Social, and Political History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006), 12.

<sup>29</sup> Patricia Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 3-5.

<sup>30</sup> Chen Xiaozhong and Zhang Shuli, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen jigou yu tianwen jiaoyu* (Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education) (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue jishu chubanshe, 2008), 8.

<sup>31</sup> Shinno, *The Politics of Medicine*, 32.

<sup>32</sup> Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 386.

二歲，十有二月，十有二辰，十日，二十有八星之位。辨其敘事，以會天位。冬夏致日，春秋致月，以辨四時之敘。<sup>33</sup>

While having *pingxiangshi* observe stars and manage the time, the government also recruited astrologers called *baozhangshi* 保章氏 (lit. “a hereditary official responsible for guarding celestial manifestations”<sup>34</sup>) who claimed to be able to tell the fortune by watching the movements of stars and reading clouds and winds:

*Baozhangshi* concerns himself with the stars in the heaven, keeping a record of the changes and movements of the planets, the sun and the moon, in order to examine the movements of the terrestrial world, with the object of distinguishing (prognosticating) good and bad fortune. He divides the territories of the nine regions of the empire in accordance with their dependence on particular celestial bodies. All the fiefs and principalities are connected with distinct stars, and from this their prosperity or misfortune can be ascertained. He makes prognostications, according to the twelve years (of the Jupiter cycle), of good and evil in the terrestrial world. From the color of five kinds of clouds, he determines the coming of floods or drought, abundance or famine. From the twelve winds he draws conclusions about the state of harmony of heaven and earth, and takes note of the good or bad signs which result from their accord or disaccord. In general he concerns himself with the five kinds of phenomena, so as to warn the emperor to come to the aid of the government, and to allow for variation in the ceremonies according to the circumstances. 保章氏 掌天星，以志星辰日月之變動，以觀天下之遷，辨其吉兇。以星土辨九州之地，所封封域皆有分星，以觀妖祥。以十有二歲之相，觀天下之妖祥。以五雲之物，辨吉兇水旱降豐荒之稷象。以十有二風，察天地之和、命乖別之妖祥。凡此五物者，以詔救政，訪序事。<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Translation comes from Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 3, *The Shorter Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 189-190; Yang Tanyu, *Zhouli yizhu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), 378.

<sup>34</sup> Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, 366.

<sup>35</sup> Translation come from Needham, *Science and Civilization*, Vol. 3, 190; Yang, *Zhouli yizhu*, 379-380.

The *Rites of Zhou* also mentioned positions related to diviners such as grand diviner (*dabu* 大卜), diviner master (*bushi* 卜师), tortoise keeper (*guiren* 龜人), handler of divination bamboo (*chuishhi* 蓍氏), diviner (*zhanren* 占人), diviner with stalks (*shiren* 筮人), interpreter of dreams (*zhanmeng* 占夢), reporter of ill omens (*shijin* 視祲), and shamans such as director of sorcery (*siwu* 司巫), sorcerer (*nanwu* 男巫), sorceress (*niuwu* 女巫).<sup>36</sup>

According to Richard J. Smith, divination became even more popular by the late Zhou period. He argued that one of the main reasons for this is the creation and expansion of *Changes of Zhou* (*Zhouyi* 周易), one of the oldest systematic Chinese text on divination and philosophy.<sup>37</sup> The book provided information regarding the divination using milfoil stalks (*shi* 蓍). To perform this divination, a person would pick six milfoil stalks and make a hexagram composed by six unbroken or broken lines (such as ☰ and ☷). The unbroken line presents yang and the broken line presents yin. There were sixty-four patterns and each hexagram presented a different symbol. The *Changes of Zhou* described meanings of these hexagrams and remained an important Chinese classic to the present.<sup>38</sup> According to Smith, the fact that the late Zhou was a chaotic period full of wars also accelerated the popularity of divination. Divination was a way for people to decrease their anxiety from unstable living conditions. For example, they followed the instruction

<sup>36</sup> Yang, *Zhouli yizhu*, 350-373.

<sup>37</sup> Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers*, 22-23.

<sup>38</sup> Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, 8.

of an almanac called *rishu* 日書 to pick the right days for certain activities such as construction, marriage, travel, and even washing one's hair.<sup>39</sup>

## THE YINYANG SCHOOL

The late Zhou was also a period when all kinds of thinkers and philosophers, such as Confucians, Daoists, and Legalists, flourished and competed their ideas. The Yinyang School was one of the influential groups. The School seems to have enjoyed a higher status than other schools during the time. While Confucius and Mencius suffered from hunger and traveled through different states to find rulers who would listen to them, the rulers showed great respect to the representative thinker of the Yinyang School, Zou Yan 鄒衍 (305-240 BCE). For example, when he visited the state of Liang, King Hui 惠 went to the suburbs of the city to welcome him; When he went to the state of Zhao, prince Pingyuan 平原 personally cleaned Zou's seat; and when Zou Yan travelled to the state of Yan, King Zhao 昭 swept the road for Zou and asked Zou if he could listen to Zou's lesson along with Zou's disciples.<sup>40</sup>

Zou Yan is known to have linked the yinyang with the Five Elements/Phases theory (*wuxing* 五行), a theory that describes the relation among five elements—metal, wood, water, fire, and earth—and further explained all kinds of phenomena. According to Joseph Needham, if Zou Yan “was not the sole originator of the Five-Element theory, he

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<sup>39</sup> Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers*, 23.

<sup>40</sup> Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), 74.2345.

systematized and stabilized ideas on the subject.”<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, most of the works of Zou Yan and the Yinyang School have been lost. We, however, can learn some information from other texts which described the School. The early Han (206 BCE-222 CE) historiographer Sima Tan 司馬談 (206 BCE-8 CE) listed the Yinyang School as the first of six Chinese schools of thought, which also including Confucianism, Legalism, Daoism, Mohism, and Logicians.<sup>42</sup> Sima Tan offered an explanation about the School:

For the Yinyang School, the four seasons, the eight positions, the twelve measures and the twenty-four restrictions all have their own teachings and commands. One who follows them will flourish, and one who goes against them, if they do not die, will decline. But it is not necessary like this, and thus I say “it restrains people and multiplies what they fear.” In spring, things are born, in the summer they grow, in the fall they are gathered, and in the winter they are stored. This is the greater order of the way of heaven. If it is not followed, then one lacks the warp and woof of the world. Thus I say, “regarding the order of the four seasons, it is greatly following along that cannot be lost.” 夫陰陽四時、八位、十二度、二十四節各有教令，順之者昌，逆之者不死則亡，未必然也，故曰「使人拘而多畏」。夫春生夏長，秋收冬藏，此天道之大經也，弗順則無以為天下綱紀，故曰「四時之大順，不可失也」。<sup>43</sup>

The bibliography of the *Book of the Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書) listed twenty-one titles related to the Yinyang School.<sup>44</sup> The author also attempted to trace the origin of Schools of thought to different government ministries. The Yinyang School was connected to astronomers/astrologers:

The course of the Yinyang School probably came from the Yi and He, officials for astrology, reverently following great heaven, the calendar, moon, sun, and stars. They reverently gave out the proper timing for the

<sup>41</sup> Needham, *Science and Civilization*, Vol. 2, 232.

<sup>42</sup> Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 130.3288.

<sup>43</sup> I followed Wang’s translation with a few minor changes. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 130. 3290. Wang, *Yinyang: The Way of Heaven and Earth in China Thought and Culture*, 33.

<sup>44</sup> Needham, *Science and Civilization*, Vol. 2, 252.

people, and this is what they were strong in. When it comes to enacting restraints, then they were bound by prohibitions and taboos and sunken in minor numerology, abandoning human affairs to rely on ghosts and spirits. 陰陽家者流，蓋出於羲和之官，敬順昊天，歷象日月星辰，敬授民時，此其所長也。及拘者為之，則牽於禁忌，泥於小數，舍人事而任鬼神。<sup>45</sup>

As the two records showed, the Yinyang School emphasized taking actions on proper dates and timing. They were a group of *fangshi* 方士 (specialists in techniques) who were skilled on various practices such as reading oracle bones and analyzing the art of war. The author of the *Book of the Han* must have associated their teaching with the officials who worked in imperial astronomical institutions, and who governed calendrical science and decided dates for important events.

Needham suggested that “by the time of Ssuma Chhien [Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145 or 135 – 86 BC)], the Naturalist school [the Yinyang School] having died out as an organized group, all its practical arts had passed over to the Taoists [Daoist], while its five-element theories had become common property which the Confucians shared equally with everyone else.”<sup>46</sup> People who were called *yinyang jia* 陰陽家 (yinyang master) and *yinyang ren* 陰陽人 (yinyang practitioner) did appear in records of later dynasties, such as yinyang practitioners of the Yuan dynasty. They, however, as Needham claimed, no longer acted as an organized group. According to the introduction of the “Biographies of Craftsmen” (*fangji zhuan* 方伎傳) of the *Book of the Tang* (*Tangshu* 唐書), “techniques of destiny (*shushu* 術數 lit. art of number) and physiognomy (*zhangxiang* 占相) were all

<sup>45</sup> I followed Wang’s translation with a few minor changes. Ban Gu et al, *Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shudian, 1962), 30.1737-1738. Wang, *Yinyang*, 34.

<sup>46</sup> Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization*, Vol. 2, 235.

originated from the Yinyang School.”<sup>47</sup> Thus, after the Zhou period, yinyang master or practitioner tended to be used as the name of an occupation, holding similar meaning as fortune-tellers.

### THE QIN AND HAN DYNASTY (221 BCE-222 CE)

Astronomers/astrologers continued serving Chinese rulers during the Qin and Han dynasties. In the court of Emperor Wu 武 (156-87 BC, r. 140-87 BC) of the Han (202 BCE-220 CE), there were officials such as Imperial Diviner (*Taibu ling* 太卜令), Erudite of Diviner (*Taibu boshi* 太卜博士), Tortoiseshell Diviner (*Guibu* 龜卜), Diviner by the Classic of Changes (*Yishi* 易筮), Diviner by Air (*Zhanqi* 占氣), Astrologer (*Zhangxing* 占星), and Diviner by year (*Zhansui* 占歲) served.<sup>48</sup> The duty of the Imperial Diviner was to record the movement of stars, announce the new calendar at the end of the year, determine auspicious and inauspicious days for rituals, matrimony, and funerals, and to record good omens and disasters.<sup>49</sup>

The Imperial Diviner hold crucial roles since people of the time considered good omens and disasters, which they recorded, as the voice of the Heaven. The Han Confucian scholar Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179-104 BCE) systematized this doctrine called “interactions between Heaven and mankind (*tianren ganying* 天人感應)”. Adapting the theory of yinyang and the Five Elements from the Yinyang School, Dong

<sup>47</sup> Liu Xun et al. *Jiu Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhong hua shu ju, 1975), 191.5087.

<sup>48</sup> Chen and Zhang, *Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education*, 34.

<sup>49</sup> Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 25.3572.

believed that the Heaven would take different actions according to the way the ruler governed the country. In the *Book of the Han*, Dong claimed:

If a ruler lost his way, the Heaven will first censure him by causing disasters. If the ruler did not show the sign of regret, the Heaven will further send *guaiyi* (abnormal phenomenon/monster) to alert him. If the ruler still did not change, the country will be ruined. 國家將有失道之敗，而天乃先出災害以譴告之，不知自省，又出怪異以警懼之，尚不知變，而傷敗乃至。<sup>50</sup>

While the Heaven will punish injudicious rulers, there were also good omens if the ruler governed country wisely, such as the appearance of *qilin* 麒麟 (mythical Chinese animal), the phoenix (*fenghuang* 鳳凰), and auspicious clouds (*ruiyun* 瑞云).<sup>51</sup> Even though Dong almost lost his life by suggesting the theory of interactions between Heaven and mankind, the Han people commonly accepted the idea. Emperors thus had to further worry about natural disasters such as the sun and moon eclipses, thunder, earth quakes, floods, and droughts. For example, Emperor Ai 哀 (25-1 BCE, r. 7-1 BCE) admitted the sun eclipse occurred because he could not rule the country properly so there was a sun eclipse.<sup>52</sup>

### THE SUI AND TANG DYNASTY (581-960)

After more than three hundred years of disorder following the fall of the Han, the Sui dynasty (581-618) finally unified China in the late sixth century. Even though the Sui only lasted for thirty-seven years, the Sui government system created the foundation for

<sup>50</sup> Ban Gu et al, *Hanshu*, 56.2498.

<sup>51</sup> Mizoguchi Yūzō et al., eds., *Chūgoku shisō bunka jiten*, 162.

<sup>52</sup> Bo Shuren, ed, *Zhongguo tianwenxue shi* (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1996), 267.

the Tang (618-960). Lasted more than three hundred years, people generally regard the Tang as a high point in Chinese imperial history.<sup>53</sup> The first emperor of the Tang, Gaozu 高祖 (566-635, r. 618-626), employed a thousand of officials in the imperial astronomical institutions, which showed the strength of the empire.

### **The Imperial Astronomical Institutions and Imperial Divination Office**

The Sui emperors established its imperial astronomical institution called the Astrological Office (*Taishi cao* 太史曹). The office employed two Directors (*ling* 令), two Aides (*cheng* 丞), two Managers of the Calendar (*sili* 司曆) and four Astronomical Observers (*jianhou* 監候). Moreover, the Sui Astrological Office established Erudites (*boshi* 博士) for calendrical, astronomical/astrological, water clock, and ill omens report (*shijin* 視祲) sections to educate students within the institution.<sup>54</sup> The Sui also had an office specialized in divination, the Imperial Divination Office (*Taibu shu* 太卜署), under the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichang si* 太常寺). In the institution, there were twenty diviners (*bushi* 卜師), ten physiognomers (*xiangshi* 相師), sixteen male shamans (*nanxi* 男覲), eight female shamans (*nüwu* 女巫), two Erudites of Diviner, two Assistant Teachers of Diviner (*Taibu zhujiao* 太卜助教), one Erudite of Physiognomy

<sup>53</sup> Mark Edward Lewis, *Chinese Cosmopolitan Empire* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 1.

<sup>54</sup> Wei Zheng et al., *Suishu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 28.775. Chen and Zhang, *Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education*, 68.

(*Xiang boshi* 相博士), and one Assistant Teacher of Physiognomy (*Xiang zhujiao* 相助教).<sup>55</sup>

The Tang government later took over the Astrological Office of the Sui. Table 1 shows the officials employed in the Academy of Calendrical Studies (*taishi ju* 太史局) during the reign of Emperor Gaozu. The Tang astronomical institution changed its name and official positions several times.<sup>56</sup> According to Chen and Zhang, the official positions and numbers employed in the Institute of Astronomy (*sitian jian* 司天監) during the reign of Emperor Daizong 肅宗 (737-779, r.762-779) lasted until the end of the Tang period (see Table 2).<sup>57</sup>

Table 1 Officials in the Academy of Calendrical Studies during the reign of Emperor Gaozu

Position	Rank	Number of Person
Grand Astrologer 太史局令	5b2	1
Aide for Grand Astrologer 太史丞	7b2	2
Clerk 令史	?	2
Clerical Scribe 書令史	?	4
Manager of the Calendar 司曆	9b1	2
Directors of Calendrical Calculations 保章正	8b1	1
Erudite of the Calendar 曆博士	8b1	2
Calendrical Apprentice 曆生	?	36
Student of Calendar Binder 裝書曆生	9b2	5
Erudite of Astronomy 天文博士	9a2	2
Astronomical Observation Apprentice 天文觀生	?	90
Astronomy Student 天文生	?	60
Timekeeper 司辰師	?	17
Attendant Gentleman of Imperial Observatory 靈臺郎	8a1	2
Manager of the Water Clock 漏刻典事	?	16

<sup>55</sup> Wei Zheng et al., *Suishu* 28.776.

<sup>56</sup> For example, it used names such as Astrological Office, Directorate of Astrology (*taishi jian* 太史監), and the Institute of Astronomy.

<sup>57</sup> Chen and Zhang, *Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education*, 82-83.

Erudite of the Water Clock 漏刻博士	?	9
Student of the Water Clock 漏刻生	?	360
Time Keeper 典鐘	?	280
Time Drummer 典鼓	?	160
Astronomical Observer 監候	9b2	5

Sources: Chen Xiaozhong and Zhang Shuli, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen jigou yu tianwen jiaoyu* (Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education) (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue jishu chubanshe, 2008), 79.

Table 2 Officials in the Institute of Astronomy during the reign of Emperor Daizong

Position	Rank	Number of Person
Director 監	3b	1
Junior Director 少監	4a	2
Upper Aide 上丞	6a	1
Recorder 主簿	7a1	1
Secretary 主事	8a2	1
Spring Office Director 春官正	5a1	1
Summer Office Director 夏官正	5a1	1
Autumn Office Director 秋官正	5a1	1
Winter Office Director 冬官正	5a1	1
Mid-year Office Director 中官正	5a1	1
Vice Director in the Five Offices 五官副正	6a1	5
Attendant Gentleman of Imperial Observatory in the Five Offices 五官靈臺郎	7a2	5
Directors of Calendrical Calculations in the Five Offices 五官保章正	7b1	2
Supervisors of Water Clocks in the Five Offices 五官挈壺正	8a1	2
Astrological Observers in the Five Offices 五官監候	8a2	3
Manager of the Calendar in the Five Offices 五官司曆	8b1	5
Timekeepers in the Five Offices 五官司晨	9a1	8
Ritual Apprentice in the Five Offices 五官禮生	?	5
Clerkly Calligrapher in the Five Offices 五官楷書手	?	5
Clerk 令史	?	20
Erudite of the Water Clock 漏刻博士	9b2	20
Time Keeper, Time Drummer 典鐘、典鼓手	?	350
Astronomical Observation Apprentice 天文觀生	?	90
Calendrical Apprentice 曆生	?	55

Astronomy Student 天文生	?	50
Student of the Water Clock 漏刻生	?	40
Observer 視品	?	10

Sources: Chen Xiaozhong and Zhang Shuli, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen jigou yu tianwen jiaoyu* (Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education) (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue jishu chubanshe, 2008), 81.

The Tang rulers also established the Imperial Divination Office (see Table 3) which hired officials specialized on who performing rituals and divinations. The *New Book of the Tang* (*Xintangshu* 新唐書) provided information about the duty of the Office as below:

The Office governed the art of divination, which including *gui* (turtle), *wuzhao* (five signs), *yi*(change), and *shi* (ritual). When there were ceremonies and major events, (the Director of the Imperial Divination Office will) lead Divination Directors to pick a proper day, and show it to officials. Then they will step back and chose a turtle, burn its plastron and divine. First divine the first ten days of month, then second ten days of the month, and the last ten days of the month. When there were minor ceremonies and events, the Divination Directors will show (the result) to officials, choose the turtle and divine under the supervision of the Director the Imperial Divination Office. 掌卜筮之法：一曰龜，二曰五兆，三曰易，四曰式。祭祀、大事，率卜正卜日，示高於卿，退而命龜，既灼而占，先上旬，次中旬，次下旬。小祀、小事者，則卜正示高、命龜、作，而太卜令佐莅之。<sup>58</sup>

Table 3 Official of the Imperial Divination Office in the Tang Dynasty

Position	Rank	Number of Person
Director 太卜署令	7b2	1
Aide 太卜署丞	8b2	2
Divination Director 卜正	9b2	2
Erudite 博士	9b2	2
Assistant Teacher 卜助教	—	2
Diviner 卜師	—	20
Shaman 巫師	—	15
Divination Student 卜筮生	—	45

<sup>58</sup> Ouyang Xiu et al. *Xin Tangshu* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936), 48.1245-1246.

Garrison 府	—	1
Scribe 史	—	2
Clerk 掌固	—	2

Sources: Ouyang Xiu et al. *Xin Tangshu* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936), 48.1245-1246. Chen Xiaozhong and Zhang Shuli, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen jigou yu tianwen jiaoyu* (Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education) (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue jishu chubanshe, 2008), 83.

The Imperial Divination Office was also in charge of the ceremony of *danuo* 大儺, an exorcistic ceremony hold during the twelfth month of the lunar calendar. Officials would lead a group of children who were called *zhenzi* 侏子 (lit. virtuous children). The leading role of the ceremony was *fangxiang shi* 方相氏, or shaman, who hold a dagger in his right hand and shield in left hand. During the ceremony, these shamans will chant the name of the twelve gods in order to get rid of the evil ogres. When they left the palace, people will kill a rooster at the gate of the palace or castle.<sup>59</sup> These records show that while having astronomical institutions to practice astronomy/astrology, the Sui and Tang government also established Divination Office for specialists who performed rituals, practiced turtle divination, and took care affairs dealing with supernatural beings.<sup>60</sup>

### The Government School System

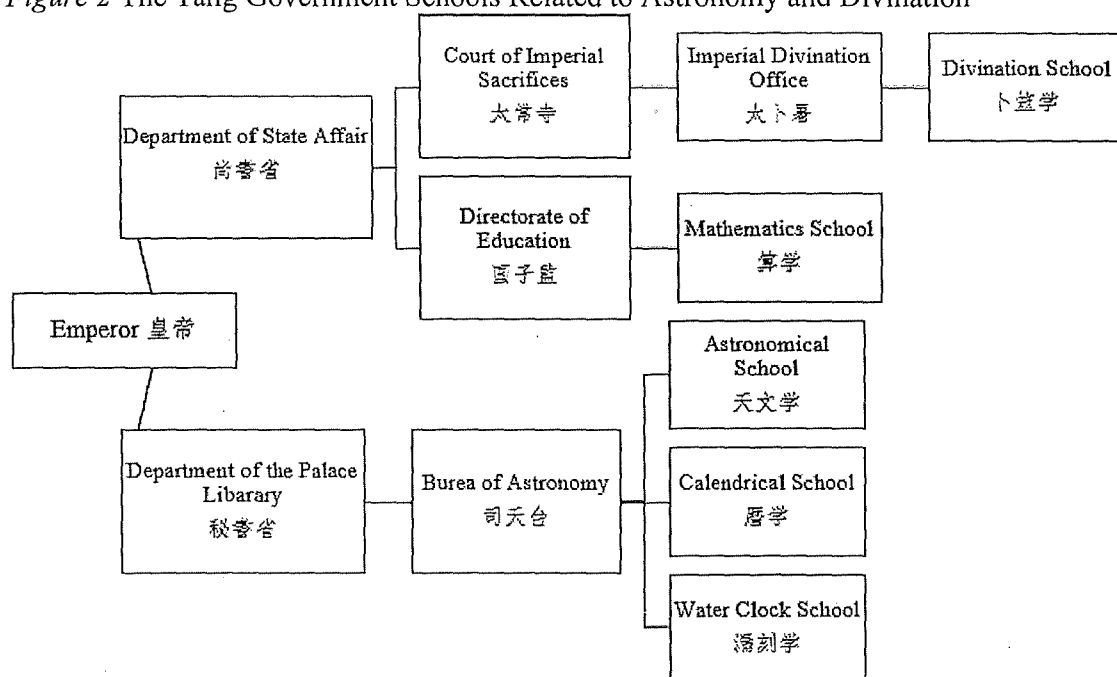
The Sui and Tang emperors promoted education by creating schools in the central government. As Table 1, 2 and 3 shows, positions such as Erudite of Astronomy, Erudite

<sup>59</sup> Ouyang Xiu et al. *Xin Tangshu* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936), 48.1245-1246.

<sup>60</sup> In addition, during the eighth century, Japanese government established the Bureau of Onmyō which modeled on the Tang astronomical institution. The Japanese yinyang masters were also known as their skills to exorcize evil spirits. Murayama Shu'ichi, *Nihon onmyōdō shi sō* (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1991), 30.

of the Water Clock, Astronomy Student, and Student of the Water Clock appeared in the astronomical institutions. Figure 2 shows the organization map of Divination, Mathematics, Astronomy, Calendrical Science, and Water Clock School in the central government.<sup>61</sup> The student of Schools mentioned above were chosen from the households which engaged in similar practice. If the number of descendants of such households was not enough, the School would choose students among commoners.<sup>62</sup>

Figure 2 The Tang Government Schools Related to Astronomy and Divination



Sources: Ren Yucan, *Tangdai guanxue tixi zhi yanjiu*, Taipei: Wunan tushu chubun gufen youxian gongsi, 2007, 87.

The Mathematics School was one of the schools organized by Directorate of Education (*Guozhi jian* 國子監), which aimed to educate students of mathematics. From the Sui to the Song dynasty, the school and its post was abolished and revived frequently.

<sup>61</sup> Ren, *Tangdai guanxue tixi zhi yanjiu*, 187.

<sup>62</sup> Ren, *Tangdai guanxue tixi zhi yanjiu*, 238.

Since mathematics had a close relationship with astronomy/astrology, the school sometimes became a unit of imperial astronomical institutions. For example, in 658, the government abolished the Mathematics School and moved the Erudite of Mathematics (*suanxue boshi* 算学博士) under the supervision of the Academy of Calendrical Studies. Four years later, the School was revived but the post of its students reduced from thirty to ten people.<sup>63</sup>

### Fortune-tellers of the Sui and Tang

Besides officials who worked in the astronomical institutions and the Imperial Divination Office, specialists skilled at yinyang appeared on the historical records of the time. For example, Xiao Ji 蕭吉 (d. c. 610, *zi* Wenxiu 文休), was the decedent of the brother of Emperor Wu of Liao 梁武帝 (464-549, r. 502-549) of the Liang Dynasty. Xiao was famous for broad knowledge, particularly his expertise in yinyang divination (*yinyang suanshu* 陰陽算術). When Emperor Xuan of Northern Zhou 北周宣帝 (559–580, r. 578-579) ruled the country, the government was in disorder. Xiao Ji sent remonstrance to advise Emperor Xuan but the emperor did not accept. By the Sui dynasty, he received the title of Chamberlain for Ceremonials (*taichang* 太常) and was in charge of assessing yinyang books of all ages. According to the *Book of the Sui* (*Suishu* 隋書), when Prince Fangling 房陵 (? -604) was the crown prince, the prince claimed that there were evils in the Eastern Palace and he had found rat demons (*shuyao* 鼠妖) many

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<sup>63</sup> Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 461. Chen and Zhang, *Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education*, 78.

times. The emperor ordered Xiao Ji to get rid of those evils. Xiao Ji successfully drove the evils by creating the altar and burning weeds and peach tree branches. When Empress Wenxian 文獻 (544-602) passed away, the emperor ordered Xiao Ji to pick burial site with good fortune. Xiao Ji divined each mountains and fields to pick up a proper spot. The *Book of the Sui* further recorded when Emperor Yang 煬 (569-618, r. 604-618) took over the crown, Xiao Ji received the title of the Vice Minister of the Court of the Imperial Treasury (*taifu shaoqin* 太府少卿). When he traveled though Huanyin 華陰 (present Shannxi province), he claimed that he saw white clouds on the top of the tomb of Yang Su 楊素 (? -606). Xiao Ji reported this to the Emperor secretly, and the Emperor asked him the reason. Ji replied, “This is the sign of military disaster which could destroy the Yang family. The disaster could be avoided if the family relocated the tomb.” Emperor Tang later suggested to Yang Su’s son Yang Xuangan 楊玄感 (? -613) to move the tomb. Yang Xuangan did not know the reason why the emperor recommended him to do so and thought it was just for a good fortune. He did not follow the advice because he was too busy to deal with family affairs while conquering Liaodong 遼東 (Goguryeo, one of the three ancient kingdom of Korea). Years later, the Yang family died off because of a rebellion. The emperor further trusted Xiao Ji.<sup>64</sup>

Other yinyang practitioners also showed up in the *Old Book of the Tang* (*Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書). In 709, yinyang practitioner Lu Ya 盧雅 and Hou Yi 侯藝 recommended Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (656-710, r. 684, 705-710) a proper date to

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<sup>64</sup> Wei Zheng et al., *Suishu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 78.1774-1777.

perform a ceremony.<sup>65</sup> In 799, Emperor Dezong 德宗 (742-805, r.779-905) ordered yinyang practitioners to use their magic to pray for rain because of the long-term drought.<sup>66</sup> During the reign of Emperor De 德 (742-805, r. 779-805), Zhu Tao 朱滔 (746-785) rebelled and lost in the war. He killed commander Cai Xiong 蔡雄 and Yang Bu 楊布, since they were the vanguards. He also killed yinyang practitioner Yi Shaobo 尹少伯, since he had said they would definitely win if they dispatched the army.<sup>67</sup>

### Regulations on Astronomers and Astrologers

While astronomers/astrologers and fortune-tellers played important roles in the government, they could also bring bad effects. As the yinyang practitioner Yi's stories demonstrates, their skills were considered to have been used to cause a rebellion. Concerns over improper yinyang books and activities of astronomers/astrologers and fortune-tellers became visible in records by the Sui and Tang dynasty.

At the beginning of the chapter of art (*yishu* 藝術) of the *Book of the Sui*, the author pointed out that while legendary specialists such as yinyang master Jizi 箕子, musician Boya 伯牙, and physician Bian Que 扁鵲 (died 310 BC) utilized their skill to help people, a few specialists of the time followed these legendary specialists. Many of them were licentious and unorthodox (*yinpi* 淫僻) which seriously disgrace the law of Heaven. Some of them were said to have altered yinyang in order to satisfy ruler's desire,

<sup>65</sup> Liu Xun et al. *Jiu Tangshu*, 21.831.

<sup>66</sup> Liu Xun et al. *Jiu Tangshu*, 13.390.

<sup>67</sup> Liu Xun et al. *Jiu Tangshu*, 134.93.

and others confused the people on the pretext of god and demon. Because of this, customs of the time became strange and inaccurate.<sup>68</sup>

Concerning the increasing of “fake” yinyang books, which contained many farfetched interpretations, Emperor Taizong 太宗 (598-649, r. 626-649) of the Tang ordered the Erudite of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (*taichang boshi* 太常博士) Lü Cai 呂才 (600-665) and other ten scholars to make corrections on those books: to delete the thoughtless (*qiansu* 淺俗) parts and leave useful parts. This project took fifteen years and they completed fifty-three revised volumes and kept forty-seven old volumes.<sup>69</sup> Lü is known for his negative attitude on fortune-telling and geomancy of the time. According to Ebrey, Lü provided the one of earliest critiques of such practices, following in part of his argument<sup>70</sup>:

Ordinary, ignorant people all believe the geomancy books. The diviners cheat them by making up tales about fortunes or disasters they are going to experience, leading these ignorant folk to feel themselves lucky... [As a result] [s]ome mourners will smile when greeting funeral guests because the day of the burial is said to be improper for weeping. Some believed taboos on relatives attending the burial and so do not accompany their parents' bodies to the grave. No sage ever taught such ideas! 野俗無識，皆信葬書，巫者詐其吉凶，愚人因而徼幸...或云辰日不宜哭泣，遂莞爾而對賓客受弔；或云同屬忌於臨壙，乃吉服不送其親。聖人設教，豈其然也。<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Wei Zheng et al., *Suishu* 28.776.

<sup>69</sup> Liu Xun et al. *Jiu Tangshu*, 79.2719-2720.

<sup>70</sup> Patricia Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, 120.

<sup>71</sup> Translation come from Patricia Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, 122.

Besides regulating and correcting yinyang books, the Tang rulers also made orders to limit activities of astronomers/astrologers. For example, in 840, Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (809-840, r.827-840) sent out the following edict: “the Bureau of Astronomy make predictions regarding disasters and auspicious omens, which should be keep in secret. I recently heard that officials of the Bureau are having communication with other officials and commoners frequently. They should act more prudently and restrict themselves. From now on, officials of the Bureau of Astronomy are not allowed to have communication with other officials and commoners. Let Censorate (*yushi tai* 御史臺) investigate this.”<sup>72</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This Chapter briefly introduced the imperial astronomical institutions of dynasties from ancient times until the Tang. As I showed, astronomers/astrologers, who played similar roles with yinyang practitioners, had very old roots in the Chinese government system. They observed stars, recorded natural phenomenal, predicted lucky and unlucky days for different events, and created calendars. Since observing stars and fortune-telling was crucial for the emperors to communicate with the Heaven, astronomers/astrologers served as “intermediaries between Heaven and man.” As such, Chinese rulers tried to monopolize astronomy/astrology and forbade commoners to study it. Despite the

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<sup>72</sup> Liu Xun et al. *Jiu Tangshu*, 36.1336.

government's efforts, however, the skill of astrology and fortune-telling further spread among the people as printing technique developed and intellect increased.

## Chapter 2 The Prevalence of Divination: Song and Jin period

Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤, the later Emperor Taizu 太祖 (927-976, r.960-976), set up the capital at Kaifeng and established the Song dynasty at the end of the Tang, which was a chaotic period full of wars. Although the Song was a highly advanced society in its day, the emperors were still concerned about their neighboring rivals. Their main rival was the Khitan people, who established the Liao (916-1125) dynasty and ruled North China down to the present-day Beijing. In the early twelfth century, the Liao and Song were further threatened by the rise of Jurchens. After defeating the Liao, the Jurchens proclaimed their own dynasty called the Jin (1115-1234) and attacked the Song next. They eventually took over Kaifeng and held Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082-1135, r. 1100-1126) and his son Emperor Qingzong 欽宗 (1100-1161, r. 1126-1127) as hostages. One of Qingzong's brothers was out of the Kaifeng by the time. He set up the new capital at Hangzhou and proclaimed himself as Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (1107-1187, r. 1127-1162).<sup>73</sup> The period before the defeat of Song in the Song-Jin Wars is called the Northern Song period (960-1127), and the period after the Song imperial family moved the capital to Hangzhou is called the Southern Song period (1127-1276). While examining imperial astronomical institutions and astronomers/astrologers who served rulers, this chapter focuses on the expansion of mantic practice in society during the Song and Jin period.

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<sup>73</sup> Ebrey, *China: A Cultural, Social, and Political History*, 127.

## THE SONG DYNASTY (960-1276)

From the Tang to the Song period, several large shifts occurred, which are known to historians of China as the “Tang-Song transition.” The population increased due to the stable grain supplies and improvement of health care. The commercial market grew and paper money was introduced. The civil service examination system expanded and the number of literate elites grew. The printing technology was developed, which made the spread of knowledge much easier. Neo-Confucianism, a philosophy which emphasized principles (*li* 理) and belief in unity and harmony, gained popularity.<sup>74</sup> These changes influenced the lives of people, including the activities of fortune-tellers. This section will first look at astronomers/astrologers who served in the government and further examine the influence of the Tang-Song transition on Song mantic practice.

### Fortune-Tellers of the Song

Specialists who were believed to have power to predict the future continued playing an active part in Song China. The Song dynasty was established by Zhao Kuangyin, the Emperor Taizu, and his young brother Zhao Kuangyi 趙匡義, the later Prince Jin 晉壬 and Emperor Taizong 太宗 (939-997, r.976-997). After Taizu passed away, his young brother, who was called Prince Jin by the time took over the crown. The event was not consistent with the common practice, since most of time, the Chinese emperor who had sons will appoint one of them as his successor. Even though he did not

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<sup>74</sup> Ebrey, *China: A Cultural, Social, and Political History*, 113. Beverly Bossler, *Courtesans, Concubines, and the Cult of Female Fidelity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 4-5.

determine the crown prince, Taizu had two healthy sons who had reached adulthood. Although Prince Jin tried to justify his enthronement through claiming it was the will of Empress Dowager Du 杜, the mother of Taizu and Prince Jin,<sup>75</sup> contemporary historians of China usually consider this as a *coup d'état*. This section will look at two fortune-tellers involved in this event.

The first fortune-teller was on Taizu's side. In 975, Taizu traveled to the west, where he encountered the Daoist who had predicted that he would become the emperor when Taizu was still a commoner. Taizu was overjoyed and ordered his subordinates to bring the Daoist secretly into the palace. In the palace, Taizu hastened to give the Daoist an audience and asked the Daoist how long he could live. The Daoist answered, "if the night of the twentieth day of the tenth month (November 14, 976) is sunny, you could live longer, otherwise, please take some action immediately." Snow and hail fell on that night, and Taizu passed away. According to Liu Xiangguang, by that time, Prince Jin had already controlled the capital Kaifeng. Taizu traveled to the west in 975 since he wanted to move the capital to Luoyang and felt the crisis of his life.<sup>76</sup> Taizu's act showed his deep trust on fortune-telling.

Another fortune-teller told the story of Prince Jin's side. Ma Shao 馬韶 came from Zhaozhou (current Heibei province). He studied astronomy/astrology and divinations called *dunjia* 遁甲 (lit. escaping techniques), *taiyi* 太乙 (lit. great second),

<sup>75</sup> Reiko Shinno, "Sōdai no kō to teishi ketteiken," in *Chūgoku no dentō shakai to kazoku*, ed. Yanagida setsuko sensei kokikinen ronshū henshū iinkai (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1993), 62-63.

<sup>76</sup> Liu, *Songdai richang shenghuo zhong de busuan yu guiguai*, 18.

and *liuren* 六壬 (lit. six nine).<sup>77</sup> During the reign of Emperor Taizu, his brother Prince Jin 晋王 made orders to strictly prohibit people from studying astronomy/astrology privately. By that time, Ma's friend Cheng Dexuan 程德玄 was a close subject of Prince Jin. Cheng warned Ma that he should not visit him. Ma, however, suddenly visited Cheng in a winter day of 976. Cheng was terrified and asked Ma the reason. Ma told Cheng that tomorrow will be the day when Prince Jin become the emperor. Cheng was surprised and kept Ma in a room. He went to the palace and told Prince Jin what Ma said. In the morning of the following day, when Prince Jin tried to inform this to his brother Taizu, he learned that Taizu had died and supposedly left a will to appoint Prince Jin as his successor. Ma was acquitted and received the position of Recorder of the Institute of Astronomy (*Sitianjian zhubu* 司天監主簿) a month later.<sup>78</sup> Ma's story was probably one of the inventions to justify the accession of Prince Jin. His story, however, still shows that the words of fortune-tellers carried significant weight among the Song emperors and officials.

### The Imperial Astronomical Institution

In the Northern Song period, the basic duty and official positions of the imperial astronomical institution did not change dramatically. The Song government, however, seems to have reduced the institution's scale. While the Institute of Astronomy (*Sitianjian* 司天監) of the end of the Tang had around seven hundred officials (Table 2), the

<sup>77</sup> *Dunjia*, *taiyi*, and *liuren* are the three component of the Three Style (*sanshi* 三式) divination.

<sup>78</sup> Tuotuo et al., *Songshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 461. 13498. Chen and Zhang, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen*, 118.

Song astronomical institutions had only around one hundred and forty officials during the reign of Emperor Taizu 宋太祖 (927-976, r.960-976) (Table 4).<sup>79</sup>

The Institute changed its name during the reign of Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (1048-1085, r.1067-1085), who favored so-called New Policies (*xinfa* 新法) initiated by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086). Although Wang left the court due to the anti-reformers claimed that the Heaven was not satisfied about the New Policies, which brought a drought in Heibe, <sup>80</sup> Shenzong promoted so-called Reform of Yuanfeng (Yuanfeng gaizhi 元豐改制) based on Wang's idea from 1080. The reform intended to re-organize the complex Song government system and to revive the Three Departments and Six Ministries system (*sansheng liubu* 三省六部) of the Tang.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, following the name of the beginning of the Tang, Shenzong renamed the Institute of Astronomy as the Academy of Calendrical Studies.

Table 4 Officials in the imperial astronomical institutions during the reign of Emperor Taizu

Position	Rank	Number of Persons
<b>Institute of Astronomy 司天監</b>		
Director 司天監正	3a	1
Junior Director 少監	4b	1
Deputy Director 監丞	7a	1
Assistant Magistrate 主簿	7b	1
Spring Office Director 春官正	5a	1
Summer Office Director 夏官正	5a	1
Autumn Office Director 秋官正	5a	1
Winter Office Director 冬官正	5a	1
Mid-year Office Director 中官正	5a	1

<sup>79</sup> Chen and Zhang, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen*, 79-82, 100.

<sup>80</sup> Tuotuo et al., *Songshi*, 327.10551.

<sup>81</sup> Umehara Kaoru, *Sōdai kanryō seido kenkyū* (Kyōto: Dōhōsha, 1985), xx.

Attendant Gentleman of Imperial Observatory 靈臺郎	8a	1
Directors of Calendrical Calculations 保章正	8b	1
Directors of Water Clocks 挈壺正	8b	1
Ritual Apprentice 禮生	?	4
Calendrical Apprentice 曆生	?	4
<b>Bureau of Astronomy 天文院</b>		
Diarists 測驗注記	?	2
Ritual Diviner 選擇官	?	8
Timekeeper 押更	?	15
Student 學生	?	30
Official Student 監生	?	No fixed number
<b>Department of Bell and Drum 鐘鼓樓</b>		
Guardian 節級	?	3
Watch Keeper 直官	?	3
Morning Chanter 鷄唱	?	3
Student 學生	?	36

Sources: Tuotuo et al., *Songshi*, 165. 3923. Chen Xiaozhong and Zhang Shuli, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen jigou yu tianwen jiaoyu* (Chinese ancient astronomical institution and astronomical education) (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue jishu chubanshe, 2008), 100.

The Song government did not establish the Imperial Divination Office as the Tang did. According to *Wenxian Tongkao* 文献通考 (Comprehensive Examination of Literature) compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1245-1322), the Song had diviners subservient to the Bureau of Astronomy (Sitian tai 司天臺) but did not establish specialized officials (*Song yi taibu li Sitian tai, ran buzhi zhuanguan* 宋以太卜隸司天臺, 然不置專官).<sup>82</sup> These facts, however, did not indicate that astronomers and astrologers were no longer important to the Song rulers.

The Song government actually emphasized astronomy projects. As Table 5 shows, besides the Institute of Astronomy, the government also established the Bureau of

<sup>82</sup> Ma Duanlin, *Wenxian Tongkao*, 59.499. SKQS.

Astronomy (*Tianwen yuan* 天文院) within the inner court, and the Department of Bell and Drum (*zhonggu lou* 鐘鼓樓). According to *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Dream Pool Essays) written by the Song statesman Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031 – 1095), the Institute of Astronomy and Bureau of Astronomy were supposed to compare their records to one another each night in order to avoid false or mistaken reports.<sup>83</sup> The Northern Song government also gave a much larger amount of financial support on astronomical activities than the Tang did, which included expense to create instruments and pay the salaries.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, the government treated its astronomical officials strictly. For example, since the director of Institute of Astronomy Wang Xiyuan 王熙元 made mistakes in elaborating dates, he was degraded to the junior director.<sup>85</sup>

In 1104, the Song government established the Mathematics School as the Tang did. The School had two hundred and ten posts for student. It selected students from households of officials and commoners. While the Tang mathematics student mainly studied the books related to mathematics such as *The Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art* (*Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術) and *The Zhou gnomon* (*Zhoubi suanjing* 周髀算經),<sup>86</sup> the student of the Song Mathematic also read books related to calculating the calendar (*lisuan* 曆算), divination (*sanshi* 三式), and astronomy/astrology.<sup>87</sup> In 1110, Emperor

<sup>83</sup> Yang Weisheng, *Shen Kuo quanji* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2011), 341. Needham, *Science and Civilization*, Vol. 3, 189.

<sup>84</sup> Sun Xiaochun and Han Yi, “The Northern Song State’s Financial Support for Astronomy,” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine*, (2014), 49.

<sup>85</sup> Tuotuo et al., *Songshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 461. 13498. Chen and Zhang, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen*, 118.

<sup>86</sup> Ouyang Xiu et al. *Xin Tangshu*, 48.1268.

<sup>87</sup> Tuotuo et al., *Songshi*, 157.3686-3687.

Huizong 徽宗 (1082-1135, r.1100-1126) organized the Mathematics students under the supervision of the Academy of Calendrical Studies.

The Southern Song court, which lost its half territory in the Jin-Song war, had a hard time to performing astronomy/astrology. Due to the shortage of talented people, they had to recruited scholars from outside of the government bureaucracy.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, escaping from the Jin army, the government left astronomical instruments behind in the capital Kaifeng. According to the *History of the Song* (*Songshi* 宋史), Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (1107-1187, r. 1127-1162) ordered the Academy of Calendrical Studies to rebuild those instruments in 1160, which was around thirty years after the Song government moved to south. Then, they could restart activities such as observing stars and telling good and evil fortune. The *History of the Song* also recorded in 1198, while officials of the Academy of Calendrical Studies claimed that the moon eclipse would happen during the daytime, the commoner astronomers/astrologers argued that it would happen at night. Then the moon eclipse happened at the night and the author of the *History of the Song* lamented, “commoners’ astronomy/astrology is more precise than the Academy of Calendrical Studies, does this mean that the text (for astronomers/astrologers) promoted by Taizong had no meaning?”<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Chen and Zhang, *Zhongguo gudai tianwen*, 118.

<sup>89</sup> Xu Jialu ed. *Ershisi shi quanyi*, Vol.22 *Songshi*, Part2, 784.

## The Prevalence of Divination

Several historians have argued that by the Song dynasty, fortune-telling became more popular among both elites and commoners. For example, modern historian Liu Xiangguang used the phrase “transition of the mantic culture” to describe the Song fortune-telling. He pointed out that due to the expansion of the civil service examination, the number of scholars and literati increased. While more and more scholars competed for the same government position, many of them became anxious and turned to fortune-tellers for help.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, as scholars failed repeatedly from the civil service examination, some of them found that divination was a way to make a living. The development of printing technology also made books on fortune-telling more accessible. The Song fortune-telling market therefore grew bigger than the Tang. According to Liu, while he could only find two cases that a scholar became a professional fortune-teller during the Northern Song, the number of such cases increased in the Southern Song, which appears in the increasing number of farewell letters written for former scholar fortune-tellers.<sup>91</sup> Liu also mentioned that not only emperors, high ranking official, and scholars but also the lower classes supported the activities of fortune-tellers. Since population, education, and the economy grew rapidly during the Song, all kinds of people visited fortune-tellers to inquire about opportunities for real estate, travel, marriage, health, career and offspring.<sup>92</sup> Figure 3 shows the fortune-teller in the famous *Along the River During the Qingming Festival* (*Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河圖) drawn by the Song dynasty artist Zhang Zeduan 張擇端 (1085–1145). The picture captures the daily

<sup>90</sup> Liu, *Songdai richang shenghuo zhong de busuan yu guiguai*, 18.

<sup>91</sup> Liu, *Songdai richang shenghuo zhong de busuan yu guiguai*, 74.

<sup>92</sup> Liu, *Songdai richang shenghuo zhong de busuan yu guiguai*, 47.

life of the Northern Song people. The fortune-teller could be found in the corner of the market, which shows the popularity of fortune-telling of the time.

Minakuchi Takuju also points out geomancy (*fenshui* 風水) gained great popularity by the Song dynasty. He argues that since the mobility of Song society was much higher than its former dynasty, geomancy was no longer just a method to predict the future for an individual or a family but a way to “control (*sousa* 操作)” the future. Geomancy maintained this level of popularity until the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), or the end of the Chinese empire.<sup>93</sup>



Figure 3 *Along the River During the Qingming Festival* (*Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河图). Image downloaded from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Along\\_the\\_River\\_During\\_the\\_Qingming\\_Festival](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Along_the_River_During_the_Qingming_Festival) in March 2017.

<sup>93</sup> Minakuchi Takuju, *Jugaku kara mita fūsui: Sou kara Sinn ni itaru gensetsushi* (Tokyo: Fūkyōsya, 2016), 15.

Another piece of evidence of the prevalence of fortune-telling appeared in the Song government's restriction on studying astronomy/astrology privately. According to the *History of the Song*, in 977, Emperor Taizong made an edict to collect astronomers/astrologers from each prefecture and put them under the supervision of the Bureau of Astronomy. Those who were not employed were tattooed on the face (*qing* 黥, a kind of punishment to prevent criminal from running away) and send to a sea-island.<sup>94</sup> In 1054, Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (1010-1063, r.1022-1063) made an edict disallowing astronomers/astrologers and mathematical officials of the Bureau of Astronomy from visiting ministers.<sup>95</sup> As the Ma Shao's story showed, people that studied astronomy/astrology privately and officials who had connection with an astronomer/astrologer could be seriously punished since Ma's friend Cheng was terrified when Ma visited him. The story, however, also showed that even though the government attempted to prohibit such activities, people such as Ma Shao who privately studied astronomy/astrology existed.

While Chinese rulers tried to restrict learning private astronomy/astrology in order to keep the knowledge of the Heaven to themselves, the literati were also ambitious to maintain the public order through codifying mantic practice. During the Song dynasty, philosophers such as Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107), Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) dramatically elaborated on the ideas of Confucius (551-479BC) and created a trend often called Neo-Confucianism, or the Learning of the Way (*daoxue* 道學). Confucians played a leading role in traditional Chinese society and

<sup>94</sup> Tuotuo et al., *Songshi*, 4.57.

<sup>95</sup> Tuotuo et al., *Songshi*, 12.237.

determined what was and what was not the “proper culture.” According to Minakuchi, by the Song dynasty, Neo-Confucians scholars had an even stronger belief that they were responsible for maintaining public order in every aspect.<sup>96</sup> For example, Cheng Yi argued that:

When telling the fortune of one’s tomb, see whether the land is rich or ill. It is not about the good or bad fortune claimed by yinyang masters (geomancers). If the land is rich, the ghosts will be peaceful, and their descendant will flourish. This is like raising plant by heaping up earth on its root, and the plant will grow thick. This is the natural theory. If the land is ill, the result will be the opposite. 卜其宅兆，卜其地之美惡也。非陰陽家所謂禍福也。地之美者，則神靈安，其子孫盛。若培壅其根而枝葉茂，理固然也。地之惡者，則反是。<sup>97</sup>

While Cheng showed his suspicion to yinyang masters (here mainly geomancers), Zhu Xi showed his positive attitude toward geomancy as he commented on Cheng’s opinion:

In my opinion, ancient (people) determined the land for tomb and the date for burial according to the result of oracle bones and milfoil stalks. Today’s people no longer know those methods, so they could follow the vulgar custom and pick up (land and date). 愚按，古者，葬地葬日皆決於卜筮。今人不曉占法，且從俗擇之可也。<sup>98</sup>

Although Zhu described geomancy as a vulgar custom, he encouraged people to follow it since the ancient methods were lost. These records shows that geomancy and further fortune-telling had gained popularity which Confucians scholars could no longer ignore. The concern on improper fortune-telling could be further seen in the following dynasties.

<sup>96</sup> Minakuchi, *Jugaku kara mita fūsui*, 14.

<sup>97</sup> Cited in Minakuchi, *Jugaku kara mita fūsui*, 124.

<sup>98</sup> Cited in Minakuchi, *Jugaku kara mita fūsui*, 125.

## THE JIN DYNASTY (1115-1234)

In 1115, the Jurchen leader Wanyan Aguda (1068-1123, r. 1115-1123) and his troops defeated the Liao which occupied North China. He proclaimed their own government as the Jin. The Jin rulers further attacked the Song and took over Kaifeng in 1161. Their territory, however, was then captured by the Mongols at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Since the Jin government ruled a larger Chinese population than the Liao, it employed more Chinese officials and performed closer to the Chinese political system.<sup>99</sup>

### The Institute of Astronomy

While the Southern Song took over the Academy of Calendrical Studies (the name of the imperial astronomical institutions of the early Tang and Song after the Yuanfeng Reform), the Jin government established the Institute of Astronomy (the name of the imperial astronomical institutions of the late Tang and Song before the Yuanfeng Reform) under the supervision of the Imperial Library Directorate. The Institute of Astronomy governed affairs related to astronomy, astrology, the calendar, and weather.<sup>100</sup> They also were able to access the astronomical instruments that the Song Bureau of Astronomy left in the Kaifeng. As Table 5 shows, the Institute employed both Chinese

<sup>99</sup> Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization*, 125-126.

<sup>100</sup> Tuotuo et al., *Jinshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 56.1270. Xu Jialu ed. *Ershisi shi quanyi*, Vol.21 *Jinshi*, Part 2,963.

and Jurchen people. Although it had fewer officials than other sections, it also revitalized the Divination Section.

According to the *History of the Jin* (金史 *Jinshi*), the Institute of Astronomy selected the students between fifteen to thirty years old from official or commoner households (*guanmin jia* 官民家) by holding an examination. The Institute chose student among commonalty (*caoze ren* 草澤人) every three years. The test adopted the Xuanming calendar 宣明曆 (lit. glorious calendar), a lunisolar calendar developed during the Tang dynasty, to test the knowledge of astronomical/astrological and calendrical science; *Book on Marriage* (*Hunshu* 婚書) and *New Book on Geomancy* (*Dili xinshu* 地理新書) to test the knowledge of marriage fortune-telling (*hehun* 合婚, a fortune-telling which compared the couple's birthday to see if they could get along) and tomb divination (*anzang* 安葬). The institution also tested the knowledge of divination with milfoil stalks (*yishi* 易筮), *liuren*, and numerological divination (*sanming wuxing* 三命五星).<sup>101</sup>

Table 5 Official of the Institute of Astronomy in the Jin Dynasty

Position	Rank	Number of Persons
Intendant 提點	5a	1
Director 司天監	5b	1
Junior Director 司天監少監	6b	1
Administrative Assistant 判官	8b	1
Administrator 司天管勾	9b	?
Teacher 教授	—	2
Probationary Clerk 長行人	—	50
The Astronomy Section 天文科	—	Chinese: 6 Jurchen: 6
The Calendrical Section 算曆科	—	8
The Divination Section 三式科	—	4
The Research Section 測驗科	—	8
The Clepsydra Section 漏刻科	—	25

<sup>101</sup> Tuotuo et al., *Jinshi*, 51,1152-1153.

Student 学生	—	Chinese: 50 Jurchen: 26
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Sources: Tuotuo et al., *Jinshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 56.1270. Xu Jialu ed. *Ershisi shi quanyi*, Vol.21 *Jinshi*, Part 2 (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2004),963.

### Fortune-Tellers of the Time

As former Chinese emperors did, the Jin rulers also had fortune-telling advisors. For example, Ma Guizhong 馬貴中 was a director of the Institute of Astronomy who served Digunai (1122 -1161, r. 1150-1161). Digunai is also known by his sinicized name Wanyan Liang 完顏亮 and his formal title Hailing Wang 海陵王. When Digunai planned to attack Song, he asked for Ma's advice. Ma described the recent movement of Mars and Venus, and pointed out that the movement of Venus was a sign of defeat, rebellion, and the change of emperors. Digunai also summoned Ma for advice on earthquake, gale, and halo.<sup>102</sup>

Another example is Wu Zhen 武禎 and his son Wu Kang 武亢. Wu Zhen's grandfather was a grand scribe but the family became farmers after North China was occupied by Jurchens. He had talent for astronomy, calendrical science, and divination. Pusan'anzen 僕散安貞, the consort prince, from Branch Bureau of Military Affairs (*Xingshumiyuan* 行樞密院) heard his fame and brought him to Xuzhou (in present Hebei province). He treated Wu Zhen as an honored guest and consulted Wu about the result each time he went to a battle. Wu's prediction proved right every time. Wu Zhen's son Wu Kang served the last emperor of the Jurchen-led Jin dynasty, Emperor Mo 末帝 (? - 1234, r.1234). At that time, the Jin were fighting the last major battle, the Siege of Caizhou (present-day Henan Province), against the Mongols. Emperor Mo, who had not

<sup>102</sup> Xu Jialu ed. *Ershisi shi quanyi*, Vol.21 *Jinshi*, Part 2, 2191-2192.

received the crown yet, asked Wu Kang that when the siege would be raised. Wu answered that on the thirteenth day (February 12, 1234), there would be no more soldiers and horses in the city. Emperor Mo did not know the real meaning and was pleased. He thought they would be rescued thus he ordered his army to manage provisions until that day. On the tenth day (February 9, 1234), the Mongols, however, defeated Caizhou and executed Emperor Mo, who had just become the emperor for less than a day earlier. The Mongols left the city on the thirteenth day and Wu Kang committed suicide on the same day.

While fortune-tellers became more popular during the Song-Jin period and continued serving as the advisors of rulers, the introduction of the “Biographies of Craftsmen” of the *History of the Jin* recorded the following phrases:

...ancient craftsmen use fortune-telling to guide people to do good things, today's craftsmen use fortune-telling to seduce people engage in immoral acts, ancient physicians made contributions by saving people's life, today's physicians may make profits by mistakenly killing people. Therefore, in governing the realm, even for matters of craftsmen, rulers should treat their posts carefully and try hard to determine whether they are wise or not.

...第古之為術以吉凶導人而為善，後世術者或以休咎導人為不善，古之為醫以活人為功，後世醫者或因以為利而誤殺人。故為政於天下，雖方伎之事亦必慎其所職掌而務旌別其賢否焉。<sup>103</sup>

Therefore, concerns over inappropriate acts of specialists continued to appear in writings of the Jin dynasty. The author of the writing above, who was also probably a Confucian, advised rulers to pay attention to such activities.

<sup>103</sup> Xu Jialu ed. *Ershisi shi quanyi*, Vol.21 *Jinshi*, Part 2, 2189-2190.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter showed that astronomers/astrologers continued served in the central government and some of them closely advised rulers. The Song and Jin government kept the posts for students in the astronomical institutions, and the Song revived the Mathematics School which not only taught mathematics but also calendrical science and divination. The teaching system within the astronomical institutions and the Mathematics School could be the matrix of the Yuan yinyang academy system. Fortune-telling and geomancy gained more popularity among society as the civil service examination expanded, print technology developed, and the number of scholars increased. The concerns regarding the activities of fortune-tellers was also in direct proportion with such popularity.

### Chapter 3

#### The Yinyang Academies and Yinyang Practitioners under Mongols

In the early thirteenth century, Chinggis Khan (1162-1227, r. 1206-1227) began his conquest of North China which was occupied by the Jin. After the death of the Khan, his descendants eventually defeated the Jin in 1234. At that time, the Mongols ruled North China and mainly followed the Jin government system. Around forty years later, in 1276, the Mongols further took over the Southern Song capital and put the whole of China under their control. Qubilai Khan (1215-1294, r. 1260-1294), the grandson of Chinggis Khan, adapted the word Yuan from the *Changes of Zhou* as the name of the dynasty and set up the Yuan capital in Daidu (modern Beijing).<sup>104</sup> This chapter examines how Mongol shamanistic beliefs and the Mongol ruler's attitude toward mantic practice shaped the establishment of the yinyang academy system. I will also study the Mongol policies regarding the yinyang academies and restrictions over yinyang practice.

#### Mongol Shamanism

Mongols have their own shamanism worshipping Tengri, or God of Heaven. Their shamans claimed to have the abilities to tell the future and to heal illnesses. Shamans are divided into black and yellow, and the former were considered as the traditional shaman who held original traditions.<sup>105</sup> Mongol chieftains often act as both the

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<sup>104</sup> Ebrey, *China: A Cultural, Social, and Political History*, 145-148.

<sup>105</sup> Mariko Namba Walter and Eva Jane Neumann Fridman, ed, *Shamanism: an encyclopedia of world beliefs, practices, and culture* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 545.

political and religious leaders similar to the ancient Chinese kings.<sup>106</sup> The power of the shaman was crucial since it was considered the only way to fight against with danger, disease, and evil spirits, which directly affected the stability of a clan.<sup>107</sup>

The Mongols believed that their shamans gained power from their ancestors. The following story illuminates the origin of the practice of shamanism and how shamans gained power. When the Mongols were still living in the northern Khangai, there was an old man who had certain magical power. When he was going to die, he asked his son to bury him with all honor and to continue making offerings for him after his death. In return, he said he would protect his son and his family. The son buried his father on a high place after his death, which was a symbol of high honor. In addition, the son continuing offering tea and milk at the old man's grave three times a month. As the old man's spirit interacted with other spirits, deities and even Tengri, the god who ruled sky, the old man became so powerful that he could cause bad weather and misfortune. The son's mother was also buried on a high place with and received the same full honor offerings as her husband. The mother's spirit acquired the power of controlling clouds, thunder, and hail. Her spirit also had ability to poison men and their livestock. Mongol shaman made offering to the two spirits and made their images from lamb skins and black berries which was called Ongghotn<sup>108</sup> According to Walther Heissig, shamanizing included practices such as:

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<sup>106</sup> Walther Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 6.

<sup>107</sup> Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, 9.

<sup>108</sup> Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, 9-10.

- a) Influence in favor of sick or aged people through worship, sacrifice or invocation in relation to a particular Ongghon, in order to relieve illness or the danger of death.
- b) Exorcism of a demon who is arousing evil or illness.
- c) Expulsion, which is performed when misfortune strikes property, the living or the dead.
- d) The recitation of blessings and magical formulae over herds, children, hunters and so on.
- e) Prophecy using the shoulder-blade of sheep.<sup>109</sup>

According to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Chinggis Khan had Darkhad or black shamans serve him.<sup>110</sup> The Khan himself was believed to have magical power. For example, according to the *Tabaqāt-I Nāsirī*, a history written in by Persian historian Minhaj-i-Siraj Juzjani in 1260:

(Chinggis Khan) was an adept in magic and deception, and some of the devils were his friends. Every now and again he used to fall into a trance, and in that state of insensibility all sorts of things used to proceed from his tongue, and that state of trance used to be similar to that which happened to him at the outset of his rise, and the devils who had power over him foretold his victories. The tunic and clothes which he had on and wore on the first occasion were placed in a trunk and he was wont to take them about with him. Whenever this inspiration came over him, every circumstance—victories, undertakings, the appearance of enemies, the defeat and reduction of countries—anything which he might desire, would all be uttered by his tongue. A person used to take the whole down in writing and enclose it in a bag and place a seal upon it, and when Chinggis Khan came to his senses again, they used to read his utterances over to him one by one; and according to these he would act, and more or less, indeed, the whole used to come true.<sup>111</sup>

The story described Chinggis like a shaman who received power from devils. He was able to predict the future through falling into a trance and tell the future unconsciously. It seems that Juzjani and his contemporaries believed that this ability supported the success

<sup>109</sup> Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, 12.

<sup>110</sup> Walter, ed, *Shamanism*, 545.

<sup>111</sup> John Andrew Boyle, "Turkish and Mongol Shamanism in the Middle Ages," *Folklore* 83, no. 3 (1972), 181.

of the great conqueror in military affairs. Chinggis also read sheep bones, which he performed during his campaign in India.<sup>112</sup>

Mongol shamans not only took important roles in military as fortune-tellers but also healers and sorcerers. The Mongols believed that an individual would lose his soul when he get sick, and a shaman could bring the soul back.<sup>113</sup> Luo Tianyi 羅天益, a Chinese physician who worked for the Mongols, mentioned in his *The Treasuries of Life Protection (Weisheng baojian 衛生寶鑒)* that the Mongols tried to have their shaman to cure a person who lost his mind (*fengmo 風魔*) in the military camp.<sup>114</sup> Although the shaman failed to heal the person, the story still shows that Mongols had employed their shamans as healers during the military campaign.

Mongol shamans known as *jadaci* were believed to have power to control weather. They had a special stone called a rain stone which could cause rainstorms and even snowstorms. The Mongol ruler is said to have utilized this ability to fight against their enemies. For example, according to Timothy May, during a war against the Jin, Ögedei (1186-1241, r 1229-1241) ordered his *jadaci* to summon a storm. The *jadaci* succeeded and the storm lasted for three days. While the Jin army was drenched, Ögedei's troops were outfitted with rain gear. They waited out the storm and ambushed the Jin army, and won the battle.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, 204.

<sup>113</sup> Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Yardley: Westholme Publishing, 2007), 67

<sup>114</sup> Luo Tianyi, *Weisheng baojian*, 6.59; Shinno, *The Politics of Medicine in China under Mongol Rule*, 133.

<sup>115</sup> May, *The Mongol Art of War*, 81.

Mongol shamans, who played similar roles as fortune-tellers and physicians in China, enjoyed relatively high status in Mongolian culture. Some of them even determined governmental business. For example, Thomas Allsen stated, “Policy initiatives and the placement of new encampments were in the hands of diviners.”<sup>116</sup> The Mongols not only respected their own shamanism, but also actively recruited fortune-tellers outside of the Mongolian Plains as they expanded their territories.

### Recruiting specialists

In the first year when Möngke Khan (Xianzong 憲宗, 1209–59, r. 1251–1259) became the emperor, one of his subjects, Gao Zhiyao 高智耀 suggested promoting the education of Confucians. The emperor asked, “How could Confucians be comparable to shamans and physicians?” Gao answered, “Confucians used three main-stays and five constant virtues (*gangchang* 綱常) to rule the reign, how could technicians (*fangji* 方伎) be comparable?” The emperor said, “Good. Nobody talked to me like you before,” and followed Gao’s suggestion.<sup>117</sup> This story suggested at the time, in Mongol ruler’s mind, specialists such as shamans and physicians were given more respect than Confucians.

A number of previous studies have mentioned the Mongols’ emphasis on recruiting specialists. Allsen’s work showed Mongols recruited various people in Eurasia such as Italians, Greeks, Russians, Alans, Armenians, Persians, Khitans, Uighurs, Tibetans, and Chinese.<sup>118</sup> The Mongols also respected Buddhist monks, Daoists,

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<sup>116</sup> Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, 204.

<sup>117</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 22.496. Also see Shinno, *The Politics of Medicine*, 30.

<sup>118</sup> Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, 6-7.

Christians, Muslims and other religious believers while they worshiped their own God of Heaven, *Tengri*. Reiko Shinno demonstrates that Mongols had promoted the development of Chinese medicine by recruiting and supporting physicians.<sup>119</sup> Miya Noriko argues that the significant development in the fields of mathematic, astronomy, agriculture, and medicine during the Yuan dynasty is due to the Mongols' support of technocrats.<sup>120</sup>

Yinyang practitioners, fortune-tellers, and shamans were included in these specialists. Shinno mentions Mongol rulers had repeatedly made edicts to recruit physicians and fortune-tellers, such as Ögedei Khan ordered to gather specialists including fortune-tellers in 1234 and 1235. Qubilai Khan ordered the king of Vietnam to send yinyang practitioners in 1262 and sent envoys to Jiangnan 江南 to look for yinyang practitioners in 1275.<sup>121</sup> In addition to Shinno's information, Qubilai Khan also ordered to seek out the descendants of sages of the former dynasty, Confucians, physicians, fortune-tellers (*bushi* 卜筮), people skilled at astronomy/astrology and calendrical science (*tongxiao tianwen lishu* 通曉天文曆數), and those who retired in mountains and woods in 1281. He repeated the order in 1292 and emperor Temür (1265-1307, r 1294-1307) also ordered to seek out sages who lived in mountains in 1305.<sup>122</sup>

Why did Mongols make heavy use of non-Mongols and favor people with specific skills? On the one hand, leaving their own physical and cultural environment and continuing to expand their territories, Mongols just simply had to recruit officials from

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<sup>119</sup> Shinno, *The Politics of Medicine*, 2-3.

<sup>120</sup> Miya, "Mongoru ōzoku to kitai no gijutsu shugi shūdan (Mongol imperial family and Chinese technocrats)," 177.

<sup>121</sup> Shinno, *The Politics of Medicine*, 25.

<sup>122</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 81.2034.

local residents since they did not have enough personnel. On the other hand, as nomads who were generalists by nature, they were attracted by specialists and artisans. Moreover, according to Allsen, “to a degree, the accumulation of talented individuals was a display designed to create an aura of majesty.”<sup>123</sup> The following section will provide ideal stories which show how astrologers and fortune-tellers created such aura of majesty through using their magic to control weather and serving their ruler.

### **Shamans and Fortune-tellers in Western Travelers' Eyes**

Two western travelers who received audience from Mongol rulers recorded the stories of fortune-tellers, astrologers, and shamans that surrounded Mongol rulers. One of them was William of Rubruck (c. 1220 – c. 1293), a missionary and explorer sent by King Louis IX (St. Louis, r. 1226-1270) of France. He traveled as far as Qara-Qorum, the capital of Mongolia between 1235 to 1260, where he met Möngke Khan. In his account, he described Mongol diviners as follows:

Their diviners are, as (Mangu Chan [Möngke Khan]) confessed to me, their priests; and whatever they say must be done is executed without delay... They are very numerous and always have a captain, like a pontiff, who always places his dwelling before the principal house of Mangu Chan, at about a stone's throw from it... Some among them know something of astronomy, particularly the chief, and they predict to them the eclipses of the sun and moon; and when one is about to take place all the people [stockpile] their food, for they must not go out of the door of their dwelling. And while the eclipse is taking place, they sound drums and instruments, and make a great noise and clamor. After the eclipse is over, they give themselves to drinking and feasting, and make great jollity. They predict lucky and unlucky days for the undertaking of all affairs; and so it is that they never assemble an army

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<sup>123</sup> Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, 200-201.

nor begin a war without their assent, and long since (the Mo'al) would have gone back to Hungary, but the diviners will not allow it.<sup>124</sup>

They are also called in when a child is born, to tell its fortune; and when anyone sickens they are called, and they repeat their incantations, and tell whether it is a natural malady or one resulting from witchcraft.<sup>125</sup>

William of Rubruck's description of diviners extends to nine pages. He also mentioned those who could use their magical power to hurt other people. The text shows that Möngke Khan employed diviners who had different skills. Some of them were skilled at astronomy and could predict eclipse. Others could tell auspicious days for different events, which had similar characteristics with Chinese yinyang practitioners.

Another traveler was Marco Polo (1254-1324), the Italian merchant who left the most famous account of Asia of this period. He described activities of astrologers in Shangdu 上都 (Kaiping 開平) while Qubilai Khan stayed in the city to avoid heat:

Now you may know that when the great Kaan[Khan] was staying in his palace in this place every year three months of the year, and there was rain or fog or bad weather, he had wise astrologers with him and wise charmers who go up on the roof of the palace where the great Kaan dwells, when any storm cloud or rain or mist rose in the air, and by their knowledge and by their incantation dispose all the clouds and rain and all the bad weather to remove above his palace, that they do not touch that palace, but go beyond; so that above the palace there was no bad weather nor ever a drop of water fell on it, and everywhere else the bad weather went on; rain, storm, and thunderbolts falling all around, while the palace was not touched by anything...<sup>126</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Rockhill, William Woodville ed., *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 239-240.

<sup>125</sup> William Woodville ed., *The journey of William of Rubruck*, 242.

<sup>126</sup> Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, trans. A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot (London: Routledge, 1938), 189.

According to Polo, Qubilai's astrologers and charmers could not only affect the weather but also perform magic:

For I tell you that when the great Kaan sits at dinner or at supper in his chief hall in his capital city...then these wise charmers of whom I have told you above, who are named bacsı, they do so much by their enchantments and by their arts that those full cups are lifted of themselves from the pavement where they were and go away by themselves alone, through the air to be presented before the great Kaan when he shall wish to drink, without anyone touching them. And when he has drunk, the said cups go back to the place from which they set out. And they do this sometimes while ten thousand men look on, and in the presence of whomsoever the lord wishes to see it; and this is most true and trustworthy with no lie, for it is done at the table of the lord every day.<sup>127</sup>

We would certainly never know if the magic really worked. We could, however, conclude from Polo's and Wiliam's records shows that astrologers and charmers served Mongol rulers in daily life. The Mongol rulers apparently trusted and relied on supernatural power and diviners enjoyed a high status. The fact that Möngke Khan trusted diviners could also be seen in the *History of the Yuan* (*Yuan shi* 元史), which described that:

Yet, he (Möngke Khan) deeply believed in the art of shamans, and before he took any actions he had to consult them faithfully first; scarcely a day went by [without his consulting them], and he himself never wearied of them. 然酷信巫覡卜筮之術，凡行事必謹叩之，殆無虛日，終不自厭也。<sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, 189.

<sup>128</sup> I followed the translation of Endicott-West with a few minor changes. Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 3.54. Endicott-West, "Notes on Shamans," 231. Endicott-West, "Notes on Shamans, Fortunetellers and Yin-yang Practitioners and Civil Administration in Yuan China," 227.

### The Yuan Astronomical Institution

Just as ancient times, astronomers and astrologers continued working in imperial astronomical institutions in China under the Mongols. The four institutions that governed affairs related to yinyang in the central government were: the Academy of Scholar Worthies (*Jixian yuan* 集賢院), which had as one of its duties recruiting hermits (*yinyi* 隱逸) and talented people (*xianliang* 賢良), and supervising events such as yinyang rituals (*yinyang jisi* 陰陽祭祀), and fortune-telling and sacrifices (*zhanbu jidun* 占卜祭遁)<sup>129</sup>; the Imperial Library Directorate (*Mishujian* 祕書監), which governed books of former dynasties and banned yinyang books (*yinyang jinshu* 陰陽禁書)<sup>130</sup>; and the Institute of Astronomy (*Sitian jian* 司天監) and the Academy of Calendrical Studies (*Taishi yuan* 太史院).

In the first year of Zhongtong 中統 (June 11, 1260-January 31, 1261), Qubilai Khan followed the example of the Jin dynasty and established the Bureau of Astronomy (*Sitiantai* 司天台). In 1271, the emperor established the Institute of Astronomy in addition and the Academy of Calendrical Studies in seven years later. As its name suggests, the Academy of Calendrical Studies published the official calendars, made almanacs for the empire, and trained calendrical specialists.<sup>131</sup> The Institute of Astronomy observed stars, offered divinations, and served as timekeeper for the court. It

<sup>129</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 87. 2192.

<sup>130</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 90. 2296.

<sup>131</sup> David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China Under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Seiner, 1990), 132.

was also a school that trained astronomers and astrologers. Table 6 shows the details of official positions.

Table 6 Officials of the Institute of Astronomy in the Yuan Dynasty

Position	Rank	Number of Persons
Intendant 提點	4a	1
Director 司天監正	4a	3
Junior Director 司天監少監	5a	5
Deputy Director 監丞	6a	4
Chief Clerk 知事	9b	1
Managing Clerk 令史	9b	2
Translation Clerk 譯史	9b	1
Translator and Seal Keeper 通事兼知印	9b	1
Supervisors of Studies 屬官提學	9b	2
Professor 教授	9b	2
Director of Students 學正	9b	2
Administrator of the Astronomy Section 天文科管勾	9b	2
Administrator of the Calendrical Section 算曆科管勾	9b	2
Administrator of the Divination Section 三式科管勾	9b	2
Administrator of the Research Section 測驗科管勾	9b	2
Administrator of the Clepsydra Section 漏刻科管勾	9b	2
Administrator for Yinyang 陰陽管勾	—	1
Officer to Survey the Constellations 押宿官	—	2
Assistant Keepers of the Clepsydra 司辰官	—	8
Astronomy Student 天文生	—	75

Sources: Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 90. 2296-2297. David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China Under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Seiner, 1990), 133. Yunli Shi, "Islamic Astronomy in the Service of Yuan and Ming Monarchs," *International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilization*, accessed July 12, 2016, <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Suhayl/article/viewFile/287236/375481>, 46-49.

In addition, Qubilai Khan also created the Institute of Muslim Astronomy (*Huihui sitianjian* 回回司天監) in 1271, which made observation of stars and created calendars.<sup>132</sup> Table 7 shows the official positions and numbers of the institution. These

<sup>132</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 90. 2297.

Muslim astronomers not only brought in books on Islamic astronomy but also divination, and translated them into Chinese.<sup>133</sup> For example, in *The Record of the Imperial Library Directorate*, it mentioned Islamic divination books such as *Methods of Divination* 藍木立占卜法度 (*Lanmuli zhanbu fadu*) and *Annotation of Bad and Good Fortune* 麻塔合立災福正義 (*Mataheli zaifuzhengyi*).<sup>134</sup> *Lanmuli* refers to *Raml* in Arabic which means sand or sand divination. Arabs used to tell fortune by sprinkling sand and observing the shape. *Zhanbu fadu* is the Chinese translation. *Mataheli* refers to *Mugta* in Arabic which could be translate as must, *zaifuzhengyi* is the Chinese book title.<sup>135</sup>

Table 7 Officials of the Institute of Muslim Astronomy in the Yuan Dynasty

Position	Rank	Number of Persons
Intendant 提點	4a	1
Director 司天監正	4a	3
Junior Director 司天監少監	5a	2
Deputy Director 監丞	6a	2
Chief Clerk 知事	9b	1
Translator and Seal Keeper 通事兼知印	—	1
Memorial Maker 奏差	—	1
Professor 屬官教授	—	1
Administrator of the Astronomy Section 天文科管勾	—	1
Administrator of the Calendrical Section 算曆科管勾	—	1
Administrator of the Divination Section 三式科管勾	—	1
Administrator of the Research Section 測驗科管勾	—	1
Administrator of the Clepsydra Section 漏刻科管勾	—	1
Yinyang practitioner 陰陽人	—	18

Sources: Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 90. 2296-2297. David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China Under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Seiner, 1990), 133. Yunli Shi, "Islamic Astronomy in the Service of Yuan and Ming Monarchs," *International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilization*,

<sup>133</sup> Yunli Shi, "Islamic Astronomy in the Service of Yuan and Ming Monarchs," *International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilization*, accessed July 12, 2016, <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Suhayl/article/viewFile/287236/375481>, 41.

<sup>134</sup> Wang Shidian, *Mingshu jian zhi*, 7. 17. SKQS.

<sup>135</sup> Liu Yingsheng, *Sichou zhi lu* (Nanjing: Jiangsusheng renmin chubanshe, 2014), 532-533.

accessed July 12, 2016, <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Suhayl/article/viewFile/287236/375481>, 46-49.

### **Nayan's Rebellion and Jin Dejin**

Nayan's Rebellion in 1287 was the direct cause for Qubilai's decision to regulate yinyang practitioners. Nayan (c.1257-1287) was the descendant of Belgütei (the half-brother of Chinggis Khan) and held appanages in Manchuria and eastern Mongolia.<sup>136</sup> According to Rossabi, Nayan's Rebellion reflected the Mongol princes' dissatisfaction and fear toward Qubilai's "growing closeness to the agricultural world and increasing estrangement from his nomadic heritage."<sup>137</sup> This section will also show the importance of yinyang practitioners in Mongol military affairs through looking at this event.

Marco Polo recorded the battle between Nayan and Qubilai in detail. Polo described Nayan as a thirty-year-old Tartars lord and a Nestorian Christian. He had around 400,000 horsemen and decided to challenge Qubilai since "he feared that the great Kaan would take away from him his rule."<sup>138</sup> Nayan secretly sent messengers to Khaidu, who was also a powerful ruler, to ask for support. Khaidu agreed to cooperate with Nayan to invade Qubilai's land. When Qubilai learned the two lords' plan, he decided to personally lead the campaign and gathered 360,000 horsemen and 100,000 footmen. Before the battle, he summoned astrologers to foretell the results:

And when the great Kaan had prepared these few people of whom I have told you above, he has it seen by his astrologers with their arts of

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<sup>136</sup> Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), 401.

<sup>137</sup> Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 222.

<sup>138</sup> Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, trans. A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot (London: Routledge, 1938), 191.

astrology, in the presence of the whole army, if he shall defeat his enemies and if he shall come to a good end of it, or be the loser of this battle. And those, who well knew this day that must come of this, considered it by their art and said, Sir, we tell thee good news; and in the name of our gods promise the thou shalt return victorious over thine enemies, and told him to go confidently, for he shall conquer and have the honours and the victory and that he shall deal with his enemies at his please and put them to death. The great Kann used always to do this performance of divination to inspirit his armies.<sup>139</sup>

Even though Polo did not mention the names of these astrologers, from the record of the *History of the Yuan*, we know that the Chinese yinyang practitioner Jin Dejin 靳德進 (1253-1312) performed divinations for Qubilai during the battle.

Jin's family originally came from Luzhou 潞州 (in present Shangxi 山西 province) and moved to Daming 大名 (in of present Hebei 河北 province) later. Jin's father Jin Xiang was talented at astrology and calendrical science (*xingli* 星曆). When Jin Xiang passed away, he received the title of Grand Academician of Scholarly Worthies (*Jixian daxueshi* 集賢大學士) from the government. Jin Dejin was talented and he supposedly solved any questions easily when he was young. Jin Xiang once talked to his wife Zhang 張, "Our family has been building good karma for generations but there were no talented descendants until we had Dejin."<sup>140</sup> Jin Dejin studied even harder after his father's death and was also good at astrology and calendrical science.<sup>141</sup> When Qubilai Khan ordered Grand Guardian (*taibao* 太保) Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216-1274) to select the officials of Grand Scribe, Jin gained the title of Administrator of the Divination Section (*sanshike guangou* 三式科管勾). Recommended by Zhang Wenqian 張文謙

<sup>139</sup> Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, 196.

<sup>140</sup> Zhao Mengfu, *Songxuezhai ji*, SKQS, 9.9.

<sup>141</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 203.4538-4539.

(1216-1283), the former Assistant Director of the Left (*zuocheng* 左丞), Jin performed divination for Qubilai several times and all of his words became true. He later moved to the Imperial Library Directorate and governed affairs related to astronomy. Influential vassals of the Yuan court also visited Jin when they experienced misfortune and Jin answered them sincerely and precisely.<sup>142</sup>

When Qubilai went to subdue Nayan, he brought Jin Dejin with him and ordered Jin to predict weather and the timing to send armies. All Jin's prophecies came true and made great opportunities for the army. At the end of an intense fights which lasted from morning until midnight of 1287, Qubilai's troops finally captured Nayan. Qubilai executed the traitor by wrapping him tightly in a carpet and drag him until he died, so the blood of the emperor's lineage would not be spilt on the ground.<sup>143</sup> When Qubilai wanted to exterminate the rebel army, Jin suggested the Khan wait for the surrender since Heaven cares for every living being (*tiandao haosheng* 天道好生). Moreover, he advised that,

The rebellion happened because (Nayan) was confused by fallacy, so he planned to obey the rule. We should gather all masters and establish yinyang instructors to educate them. Promote the most talented one every year. 叛始由惑於妖言，遂謀不軌，宜括天下術士，設陰陽教官，使訓學者，仍歲貢有成者一人。

Qubilai Khan accepted Jin's suggestion and created the system of the yinyang academies.

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<sup>142</sup> Zhao Mengfu, *Songxuezhai ji*, SKQS, 9.9.

<sup>143</sup> Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, 224.

<sup>144</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 203.4538-4539.

*Institutions in the Sagely Administration of the Great Yuan* (Yuan dianzhang 元典章) also says that the Nayan's Rebellion was that reason why they created the positions of the local Yingyang professors.<sup>145</sup> In a section titled, "Yinyang Masters (yinyang master 陰陽法師)", a Junior Director of the Institute of Astronomy Le 勒 sent a memorial saying that, "there was a skilled yinyang practitioner with the family name He 何 who spoke evil words at the region of Nayan. The government captured him from Nayan's region and executed him in 1289."<sup>146</sup> As Chen Gaohua and his co-editors points out in their punctuated version of *Institutions in the Sagely Administration of the Great Yuan*, the Junior Director of the Institute of Astronomy Le 勒 was probably an error for Jin 靳, who suggested that Qubilai to establish yinyang professors to educate yinyang masters right after they defeated Nayan. According to the Jin Dejin's funeral scripture, Jin was the Junior Director of the Institute of Astronomy around the time.<sup>147</sup>

Jin Dejin continued serving for the Yuan government until the early thirteenth century. For example, the *History of the Yuan* recorded that Jin worshiped stars (*jixing* 祭星) in the Bureau of Astronomy in 1305.<sup>148</sup> During the reign of Temür, the roof of storehouses in the capital were made of reeds. Some people requested to use tiles instead. The emperor asked Jin's opinion. Jin replied, "If we do such construction, prices will be

<sup>145</sup> While Endicott-West claimed that the Nayan that appeared in this document "cannot be the Prince Nayan who revolted in 1287 and died the same year" without explanation, Chinese historians such as Chen Gaohua and Ye Xinmin assumed that this is the Nayan who caused rebellion in 1287. Endicott-West, "Notes on Shamans, Fortunetellers and *Yin-yang* Practitioners and Civil Administration in Yuan China," 230-231. Chen, "Local Government School of the Yuan Dynasty," 165. Ye, "First Investigation of the Yinyang Academies of the Yuan Dynasty," 51

<sup>146</sup> *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang* (Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowu yuan, 1976), 32.9a.

<sup>147</sup> Zhao Mengfu, *Songxuezhai ji*, SKQS, 9.9.

<sup>148</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 21.462.

increase and exhaust our people. I do not think the project will benefit us.” Thus the emperor did not accept the idea to exchange the roof and ordered Jin to join every political meeting. Much of Jin’s advice were accepted and took effect.<sup>149</sup> When Ayurbarwada (1285-1320, r 1311-1320) became the emperor, he asked Jin to take a position in the Academy of Calendrical Studies. Jin tried to decline because of his illness but the emperor refused. The old yinyang master passed away in his position in 1312 when he was fifty-nine years old.

Yinyang practitioners played important roles in Yuan political and military affairs such as Nayan’s rebellion in 1287. On one hand, Chinese yinyang practitioner Jin Dejin helped Qubilai to defeat his enemies through predicting the weather and the right date for military movements. Besides offering divination, Jin Dejin was also a reliable advisor for Mongol rulers. On the other hand, people believe that Nayan caused the rebellion because he trusted evil words of a yinyang practitioner He. Recognizing the importance and danger of these fortune-tellers and yinyang masters, Qubilai Khan followed Jin Dejin’s suggestion and established the yinyang academy system in the summer of 1291.

### **The Establishment of the Yinyang Academies**

Three years after Nayan’s rebellion, in 1290, Qubilai Khan officially ordered to establish an instructor for each circuit.<sup>150</sup> One year later, the government began establishing yinyang academies in each circuit. Although the story of Jiao Rong from the

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<sup>149</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 203.4538-4539.

<sup>150</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 16. 338.

introduction showed that before Qubilai Khan's announcement, the yinyang academies already existed in some areas and had officials such as Supervisor-in-chief and Supervisor. The Khan ordered that the officials of each circuits should investigate people who understand yinyang in Metropolitan areas (Fuli 腹裏) and Jiangnan 江南, and the professors of each circuits should educate them according to the example of Confucian school (*ruxue* 儒學) and medical school (*yixue* 醫學). The provincial government (*shengfu* 省府) will choose the talented yinyang practitioners each year and send them to the capital to take the exam. If they had great skills and talent, they would receive a permit from the Bureau of Astronomy and serve for the emperor. At the beginning of the Yanyou 延祐 (1314-1320), the government arranged one yinyang professor at each circuit according to the example of Confucian school and medical school. The yinyang professor was supposed to govern all the yinyang practitioners and supervised by the Academy of Calendrical Studies.<sup>151</sup>

*Institutions in the Sagely Administration of the Great Yuan* recorded the process of choosing yinyang professors during the reign of Temür Khan. In the first year when the Khan took over the throne, he made an edit to the Central Secretariat (*zhongshusheng* 中書省), "Let the officials of each circuits keep the number of yinyang practitioners in either Haner 漢兒 and Manzi 蠻子 lands (i.e. North and South Chinese territories). If some of them have great skills, send them to here (the capital) and let them take the

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<sup>151</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 81. 2034.

exam. Employ those who have real understanding (on yinyang) to the Bureau of Astronomy, and send others back.”<sup>152</sup>

According to the report of the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部) in the same year, each circuit choose one skilled yinyang practitioner as the candidate of yinyang professor. The candidate answered the question from the three phases (*sanyuan* 三元) books. According to Ye, the three phases here referred to the marriage phase (*hunyuanyuan* 婚元), the resident phase (*zhaiyuanyuan* 宅元), and the tomb phase (*yingyuanyuan* 塋元).<sup>153</sup> The marriage phase (divination) used the book called *Essentials of the Ability of Divination* (*Zhancai daiyi shu* 占才大義書); the resident phase used *Secret of the Book of Zhou* (*Zhoushu aomi* 周書祕奧) and *Truthful Studies on Eight Resident* (*Bazhai tongzhen lun* 八宅通真論); and the tomb phase used *New Book on Geomancy* (*Dili xinshu* 地理新書), *Comprehensive Studies on the Tomb Phase* (*Yingyuanyuan zonglun* 塋元總論), and *Truthful Studies on Geomancy* (*Dili mingzhen lun* 地理明真論). The candidates were also required to have knowledge regarding fortune-telling (*zhansuan* 占算), numerological divination (*sanming wuxing* 三命五星), fortune-telling using *Changes of Zhou*, *liuren* 六壬 (lit. six nine), and technique of destiny (*shuxue* 數學).<sup>154</sup>

### Codification of the Yinyang Practice

<sup>152</sup> YDZ, 9.21a. Chen Gaohua et al., collated, *Yuan dian zhang*, 316.

<sup>153</sup> Ye, “First Investigation of the Yinyang Academies of the Yuan Dynasty,” 52.

<sup>154</sup> YDZ, 9.21a. Chen Gaohua et al., collated, *Yuan dian zhang*, 317. Ye, “First Investigation of the Yinyang Academies of the Yuan Dynasty,” 52.

While the Mongol rulers established the yinyang academy system to prevent yinyang practitioners from causing troubles, Chinese elites such as Jin Dejin further aimed to educate yinyang practitioners of the regime. The official records of the Tang and Jin showed the concerns regarding evil practice of fortune-tellers. The Song Neo-Confucian scholars expressed their own thought on geomancy practice. The Yuan elites/Neo-Confucian scholars also attempted to expand the appropriate yinyang knowledge based on their values by promoting and prohibiting specific books, determining the way for certain rituals, and sometimes directly criticizing the evil mantic practice.

As I mentioned in previous section, the government determined specific books for the examination of yinyang professors. The writing style of the *Institutions in the Sagely Administration of the Great Yuan* shows that while the Mongol emperors made the decision of having examinations to elect the yinyang professor, the contents and the books employed for the exam were determined by Chinese officials. The book also recorded the prohibition of holding books and calendars such as *Ritual of the Lord of Thunder* (*Leigong shi* 雷公式), *Push Back chart* (*Tuibeit tu* 推背圖), *Cards of Five Lords* (*Wugong fu* 五公符), *Sutra of the Blood Pot* (*Xuepen jing* 血盆經), and Seven Luminaries Calendar (*Qiyao li* 七曜曆) in Chinese official's words.<sup>155</sup>

In 1287, the officials of the Institute of Astronomy reorganized the *Classic of Soil Ox* (*Tu'niu jing* 土牛經) which set the proper ways to perform the Spring Ox (*chunniu* 春

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<sup>155</sup> YDZ, 9.10a-9b. Chen Gaohua et al., collated, *Yuan dian zhang*, 1122-1123. Ye, "First Investigation of the Yinyang Academies of the Yuan Dynasty," 50.

牛) ritual, because they were afraid that it would not be auspicious to perform the ritual as it was performed in the preceding Song period.<sup>156</sup> The Spring Ox ritual was a ritual that welcomed the spring.<sup>157</sup> Its origin could be traced back to *Book of Rites (Li ji 禮記)* composed during the Warring States to Han period, which described the ritual as “offer the soil ox in order to send the cold *qi* (*chu tuniu yi song hanqi* 出土牛以送寒氣).”<sup>158</sup> The *Classic of Soil Ox* instructed the colors, sizes, and other features of the figures of soil ox and herdsman (*mangshen* 芒神). For example, the *Classic* determined that if the day of the start of spring (*lichun* 立春) of the following year is on the first month of the season, the herdsman should represent as an old man; if it is on the second month of the season, the herdsman should represent as a young man; and if it is on the third month of the season, the herdsman should represent as a child.<sup>159</sup> According to Smith, the idea of “Spring Ox” was so popular by the Qing period that one could find the picture of the ox and the herdsman in Chinese almanacs, as seen in Figure 4.

<sup>156</sup> YDZ, 9.11b. Chen Gaohua et al., collated, *Yuan dian zhang*, 1125.

<sup>157</sup> Also see Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers*, 85.

<sup>158</sup> Wei shi, *liji jishuo*, SKQS, 46.14b.

<sup>159</sup> YDZ, 9.11a. Chen Gaohua et al., collated, *Yuan dian zhang*, 1125.

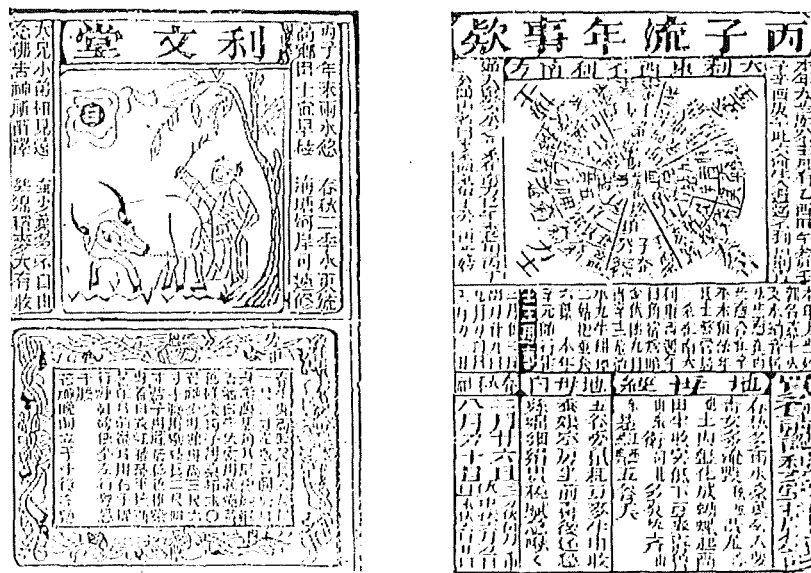


Figure 4 Almanac pages of 1876 which shows the illustration of the spring ox and auspicious times and direction.

Source: Richard J. Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 86.

While the Song literati expressed their thoughts on geomancy in their writings, the Yuan official Xu Shijing 許師敬 (1255? -1340) directly suggested that the emperor prohibit the practice. Xu Shijing was one of the sons of the Yuan Neo-Confucianist Xu Heng 許衡 (1209-1281), who was also an astronomer/astrologer. Xu Heng is known to have helped Guo Shoujing 郭守敬 (1231-1314 or 1316) to formulate the Granting the Season Calendar (*Shoushi li* 授時曆), a splendid calendar employed in imperial China for more than four hundred years. Xu Shijing was also a talented man who served as high ranked officials in the Yuan court, such as the Assistant Director of the Left in the Department of State Affairs (*zhongshu zuocheng* 中書左丞, rank 2a).<sup>160</sup> In 1325, when

<sup>160</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 29.656.

Xu was still the Investigation Commissioner (*lianfangshi* 廉訪使) of Shandong 山東, he advised Yisün-Temür (1293-1328, r 1323-1328) to regulate the family burial system, and to prohibit the improper yinyang geomancy (*yinyang xiangdi xieshuo* 陰陽相地邪說).<sup>161</sup>

### **Influence of Yinyang practitioners**

As in the Song dynasty, fortune-tellers gained great popularity in society. Polo described that in the capital Daidu 大都, where were more than five thousand Christian, Muslim, and Chinese astrologers and fortune-tellers. Qubilai Khan provided food and clothing for these specialists every year. They observed the movement of stars and predicted weather, natural disasters, disease, and wars according to the result. While serving the Mongol rulers, fortune-tellers also provided service for commoners. For example, Polo recorded how a fortune-teller diviners advised merchants who wanted to set up a trade through using their birthday:

...if anyone shall have proposed, in his mind, to enter upon some great work or to set out for some distant place for trade or for any other things which he must do, or shall have planned to do anything, and wished to foreknow the end of the business, he will inquire of these. He will go to find one of these astrologers...and so when a man shall ask of the astrologer or diviner what end his proposal shall obtain, and shall have first told him the day, hour, and minute of the moon of his birth and in the course of what year, then the diviner after inspecting the constellation and finding the planet under which he was born will foretell him everything which will happen to him on that journey in order, and how his proposal will prosper in all his doings, whether well or ill...<sup>162</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 29.654.

<sup>162</sup> Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, 252-253.

The words of these fortune-tellers or yinyang masters had practical impact on governmental and social actions. For example, on June 23, 1309, since yinyang practitioners claimed that it was not good to do the construction works from then until the birthday of the emperor (Haishan, born on August 4, 1281), the emperor ordered to stop the construction of the new temples.<sup>163</sup> On January 9, 1327, since the Islam yinyang practitioners predicted that there would be a disaster, the court gave two thousand cash to ascetics, beggars, and prisoners in order to exorcize the disaster. Another example is that when the people wanted to regulate the Wusong 吳松 river and start construction immediately, they had to ask for permission since yinyang practitioners said it was not good to move earth in the year of *guihai* 癸亥.<sup>164</sup>

The following story demonstrates how the words of yinyang practitioners could even affect the enthronement of the emperor. Qangli Togto 康里脱脱 (1272-1327) was an imperial member of the country of Kankalis. When Togto was young, he went hunting with his brother where he met Qubilai. The Khan believed Togto had a great talent when he saw Togto's manly body and ordered him to join the imperial guard. In 1301, Togto followed Haishan (Wuzong 武宗, 1281–1311, r. 1307–11) to subdue a rebellion. Haishan wanted to lead the army himself but Togto tried to stop the prince and grasped his horse's bridle. Haishan got upset and whipped Togto's hand but Togto still did not let the prince go. Haishan finally gave up. When Haishan talked about Togto with Duoerdaha 朵儿答

<sup>163</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 23. 511.

<sup>164</sup> The year could be 1263 or 1323. Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 65.1637.

哈, the general, Duoerdaha answered, “the prince in the army is like the head of the body, the collar of the cloth, if something bad happened to you, how could we be relieved? Togto’s behavior came from his loyalty.” The prince deeply agreed.<sup>165</sup>

By the time when Temür (Chengzong 成宗, 1265–1307, r. 1295–1307) had contracted a serious illness, the Empress-Dowager Targi 答己 (? -1322) could not decide who should be his successor. She offered the two princes’ astrological charts to a yinyang master and asked which prince should become the emperor. The yinyang master answered, “if the prince born in 1281 become the emperor, there will be disaster, if the prince born in 1285 become the emperor, the prince will rule a long period.” Haishan was born in 1281 and Ayurbarwada was born in 1285. The Empress-Dowager was deeply confused and sent her close vassal Duoer 朵耳 to tell Haishan, “Both of you two brothers are my sons, there is no difference. We, however, must consider the yinyang master’s word.” Haishan heard and did not say anything. He called Togto and said, “I guarded the frontier for years, and I am also the oldest son. There is no doubt who should become the emperor. Now the Empress-Dowager used destiny (*xingming* 星命) as an excuse. Destiny is uncertain and who could predict it? If I become the emperor and satisfy the heaven and people, even though it is only one day, my name will still remain for thousands of years. How could we disobey the ancestors’ rule and listen to a yinyang master? This must be some ministers who have monopolized the power and now fear I would punish them once I am enthroned. Togto, you go first and check the situation and bring me the information as soon as possible.” Togto departed right after he received Haishan’s word. Haishan

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<sup>165</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 138.3321-3322.

personally led a large army and went west. Togto rushed to Daidu and told the Empress-Dowager what Haishan said. The Empress-Dowager was shocked and said, “Even though it was the yinyang master who predicted such result, it was me who wanted to make a long-term consideration for the prince because I love him. The hateful officials were already removed. Princes and ministers have already made their decision. Why is the crown prince not coming to the capital right away ?”<sup>166</sup> Haishan inherited the throne in 1307 and suddenly passed away in 1311. His brother Ayurbarwada became the next emperor and reigned for nine years.

Even though Haishan chose not to listen to the Empress-Dowager’s decision, and we do not know whether the Empress-Dowager Targi trusted the yinyang master’s words or used it as an excuse. His words, however, could be cited as a reason to determine the imperial successor. Recognizing the importance of diviners and yinyang practitioners, Mongol rulers made edicts to regulate the activities of yinyang practitioners.

### **Regulation on Yinyang Practitioners and Yinyang Books**

As the Tang and Song government did, the Yuan government launched a series of regulations on inappropriate yinyang books and calendars. Yinyang practitioners and astronomers/astrologers managed the calendar, which were closely associated with the state power. The government was usually cautious about the scholars without governmental affiliations who investigated the movements of stars since they might be

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<sup>166</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 138.3322-3323.

connected to rebels who aimed to set up a new dynasty.<sup>167</sup> According to the *History of the Yuan*, in 1273, Qubilai Khan sent an order to prohibit Falcon Cage (*yingfang* 鷹坊) from disturbing citizens and prohibited holding yinyang books.<sup>168</sup> In 1286, the Khan ordered to burn the fake yinyang books and a calendar called Xinming 顯明 (lit. sunrise).<sup>169</sup>

What appears unique to China under the Mongols is that we find a good numbers of edicts which regulated the activities of yinyang practitioners and prohibited them from visiting imperial family members. This might be due to the fact that the Mongol princes usually owned their own lands and subjects through the system called allotted territory. More specifically speaking, in 1295, Emperor Temür issued to establish yinyang professor of each circuit and prohibited yinyang practitioners from visiting imperial princes and imperial sons-in-law.<sup>170</sup> Six year later, he further ordered Uyghur monks, yinyang practitioners, witches and wizards (*wuxi* 巫覡), Daoist monks, and shamans (*zhoushi* 呪師) to get permission before any huge prayer meeting or the practitioners would be punished.<sup>171</sup> In 1321, emperor Qoshila (Yingzong 英宗 1320-1328, r. 1328-1329) again prohibited fortune-tellers to associate with princes and imperial sons-in-law. Those who practice yinyang must not reveal their fortune-telling.<sup>172</sup> In 1325, Yisün-Temür (Taidingdi 泰定帝 1293-1328, r. 1323-1328) prohibited the Empress and imperial concubines, princes, and imperial sons-in-law to connect with astrologers. He also prohibited people to speak about fortune and misfortune unless he was an official of the

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<sup>167</sup> Needham, *Science and Civilization*, Vol. 3, 193.

<sup>168</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 8. 147.

<sup>169</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 14. 286.

<sup>170</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 18. 392.

<sup>171</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 20. 436.

<sup>172</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 27. 612.

Bureau of Astronomy.<sup>173</sup> In 1332, Tuq-Temür (Wenzong 文宗 1304-1332, r. 1328, 1329-1332) again made edict to prohibited fortune-tellers and yinyang practitioners to visit princes and officials' houses.<sup>174</sup> In 1334, Toghan- Temür (Shundi 順帝 1320-1370, r. 1332-1370) prohibited yinyang practitioners from nonsensical speak about fortune in the house of imperial relatives.<sup>175</sup>

The monograph on punishments (*xingfa* 刑法) of the *History of the Yuan* recorded detailed punishment on actions such as making fake yinyang books and telling wrong fortune to confuse people:

Whoever dares secretly to keep prohibited books on astrology and divination related to yinyang will be punished. It is forbidden the yinyang masters privately to fabricate books of divination; it is forbidden the Buddhist and Daoist privately to compose canonical texts, and in all cases it is forbidden to mislead the people by pernicious talk and heterodox doctrines. Those who break the law will face grave punishment. As for those who reside in a monastery or temple, the punishment shall extend to its superior; as for those who live outside, the local authorities shall investigate them. As for those who speak falsely about prohibited books, they shall be exiled. It is prohibited followers of the Yin-yang School and their sort to poison people's minds by making sacrifices to the stars by lantern light. Whoever falsely speaks of the movement of a star as a portent of calamity or good luck shall be beaten 107 times with the heavy stick. All yinyang masters are forbidden to enter without authorization the homes of imperial princes, imperial princesses, or imperial sons-in-law. It is forbidden to practice physiognomy, the writing of charms, and hydromancy by means of yinyang [methods], and in all cases heterodox arts and deluding the people by making them hope to achieve advancement in office are forbidden. Whoever breaks this law will be punished. 諸陰陽家天文圖識應禁之書，敢私藏者罪之。諸陰陽家偽造圖識，釋老家私撰經文，凡以邪說左道誣民惑眾者，禁之，違者重罪之。在寺觀者，

<sup>173</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 29. 653.

<sup>174</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 36. 805.

<sup>175</sup> Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 38. 823.

罪及主守，居外者，所在有司察之。諸妄言禁書者，徒。諸陰陽家者流，輒為人燃燈祭星，蠱惑人心者，禁之。諸妄言星變災祥，杖一百七。諸陰陽法師，輒入諸王公主駙馬家者，禁之。諸以陰陽相法書符呪水，凡異端之術，惑亂人聽，希求仕進者，禁之，違者罪之。<sup>176</sup>

As the law shows, people who secretly keeping and making prohibited books related to yinyang and fortune-tellers who confused commoners and imperial family members would receive heavy punishments.

## Conclusion

The Mongol rulers established the yinyang academy system in order to utilize the skills of yinyang practitioners and regulate their activities. Since Mongol shamans played central roles in their society, the Mongol rulers emphasized the recruiting of specialists such as yinyang practitioners and astronomers/astrologers as they expanded their territories. Some yinyang practitioners, however, abused their skill to cheat people and associated with the imperial family member and caused a rebellion. The yinyang academy system not only benefit the government through gathering talented practitioners from the whole country, but also prevented yinyang practitioners from performing evil actions. Moreover, the Chinese elites were able to regulate the practice of yinyang practitioners through the system. After the collapse of the Yuan, the Ming emperor Zhu Yuanzhang adopted and further expanded the yinyang academy system.

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<sup>176</sup> I followed Endicott-West's translation with a few minor changes. Endicott-West, "Notes on Shamans, Fortunetellers and *Yin-yang* Practitioners," 234.

## Chapter 4 Legacy of the Yuan dynasty

In the final years of the Yuan dynasty, Mongol emperors had a hard time keeping order in China. People suffered from natural disasters such as droughts and a colder than average climate.<sup>177</sup> As a result, a group of rebels called the Red Turbans gained power and finally took the Yuan capital in 1368. Their leader's name was Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398, r. 1368-1398), who became the first emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368-1600). The first half of this chapter will briefly introduce Zhu's attitude toward fortune-tellers and the astronomical institution of the Ming government. The second half of the chapter will look at the yinyang academies of the Ming period found in local gazetteers.

### Zhu Yuanzhang and Divination

Zhu Yuanzhang, the Hongwu Emperor, is known to have deeply believed in the spirits and magic. Zhu himself was a monk and practiced divination. Coming from a family of the bottom layer of society, his parents were poor and moved around a lot to look for work. They passed away due to a serious famine when Zhu was still young. The boy did not even have the money to buy their coffins.<sup>178</sup> In order to survive, he became a novice of the Huangjue Buddhist monastery 皇覺寺, where he probably learned reading and writing. At that time, people were dissatisfied with the government and rebellions

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<sup>177</sup> Ebrey, *China: A Cultural, Social, and Political History*, 152.

<sup>178</sup> Ebrey, *China: A Cultural, Social, and Political History*, 159.

occurred everywhere. In 1352, the Huangjue monastery was involved in the civil war between the Mongols and the rebels. It was burned by the Mongols. Zhu was at a loss and decided to make a divination to ask a god about his future.<sup>179</sup> When he predicted the result of escaping and staying, the result was not auspicious. The prediction showed that it was not bad to do what Zhu considered was inauspicious, to join rebels.<sup>180</sup> Following the instruction, Zhu joined the rebels and finally became the founder of the dynasty.

Zhu's maternal grandfather was a shaman who had magical power. After Zhu became emperor, he ordered Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-81) to record his grandfather's story. The grandfather's surname was Chen 陳. He served for the Song general Zhang Shijie 張世傑 (? -1279) in the naval forces. Defeated by the Mongols in a war, many of the soldiers drowned but Chen fortunately survived. He ran away with several companions but did not have food. While Chen's companions tried to find some dead horses in the mountain to eat, he was exhausted and fell into sleep. He dreamed of a man in white who told him not to eat horsemeat and that a boat would come for him that night. That night, Chen had another dream. He heard the sound of the scull. Then a man in purple used his wand to touch Chen's elbow and told him: the boat is here. Chen was surprised and woke up. He found himself already on the boat and saw the leader he had served. It was a vessel of the Mongols and the leader had already surrendered to them. Out of pity for Chen's circumstance, the leader hid Chen under the vessel's deck. Several days later, the vessel encountered a storm and could not advance. The Mongol captain was terrified.

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<sup>179</sup> Luther Carrington. Goodrich, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography: 1368-1644* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 382-383.

<sup>180</sup> Shen Jiefu et al., *Yuzhi huanglingbei* (Taipei: Tiwen yinsuguan, 1966), 1.1-4.

Chen's leader knew that Chen had shamanic power and drew him out from the deck. Using his power, Chen successfully calmed the storm. The Mongol captain was pleased and sent Chen back to the shore. Chen no longer wanted to be a soldier and chose to carry on a livelihood as a shaman. He did not have sons but had two daughters. The older one was the mother of Zhu Yuanzhang.<sup>181</sup> Zhu probably heard these exciting stories from his grandfather or mother when he was young.

Zhu also emphasized divination during the war. One of his key advisors Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-75) was talented in various scholarly works including astronomy, mathematics, and the art of war. Zhu frequently summoned Liu not only to hear his opinion about politics and military strategy, but also asked him to perform divination and forecast results prior to wars. Liu's ability to read heavenly phenomena (*tian xiang* 天象) was essential in the war between Zhu Yuanzhang and Chen Youliang 陳友諒 (1320-1363), another powerful leader among the rebels. Liu later became the director of the Directorate of Astronomy (*taishi ling* 太史令). He also created the new calendar for Zhu's new dynasty. Even after Liu's retirement, the emperor frequently wrote him letters to ask about heavenly phenomena.<sup>182</sup>

These episodes showed that Zhu Yuanzhang believed in and cared about fortune-telling. His attitude likely influenced the government's policies regarding astronomical

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<sup>181</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 300.7660-7661; John D. Langlois and Sun K'o-k'uan. "Three Teaching Syncretism and the Thought of Ming T'ai-tsu," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 43.1 (1983):105-106.

<sup>182</sup> Goodrich, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 932-933; Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, 74.1810.

institutions and yinyang academies. In 1380, Zhu ordered following edict attempting to establish officials of divination (*bushi zhi guan* 卜筮之官):

Diviners resolve doubts. When the dynasty has a great matter [to undertake], it will command diviners [to divine]. As I examine antiquity, the rulers who worked constantly on behalf of the way (dao 道), no matter how intelligent their senses, still could not be free of indecision. So with unremitting sincerity, they resolved their indecision before the diviners. In that way they spoke the meaning of the spirits and decided matters important to the dynasty...I have taken the throne for twelve years and officials of divination have not been chosen. Ministry of Rite of the Department of the State Affairs (*zhongshu libu* 中書禮部) should make an order to the realm to seek for [diviners], and I will test and hire them.<sup>183</sup>

As Zhu stated, he believed that having fortune-tellers as advisors were crucial for rulers. He established the imperial astronomical institution as well as former dynasties and further attempted to create an office for fortune-tellers.

### **Ming Astronomical Institutions**

Before he officially became the emperor, Zhu already had already established the Directorate of Astronomy (*qintian jian* 欽天監) for his Wu 吳 kingdom. Positions and official ranks of the Directorate are shown in Table 8. Directors of Calendrical Calculations (*baozhang zheng* 保章正) were responsible in observing the movement of stars, and telling the good or ill luck. In following years, the institution changed its name several times: from the Directorate of Astronomy to Astrological Commission to Institute of Astronomy and again the Directorate of Astronomy. Its duty and titles of the official

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<sup>183</sup> *Ming shilu* (Nan'gang: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1961-1966), 128.2035; I followed Langlois and Sun's translation with a few changes, Langlois and Sun, "Three Teaching Syncretism", 109.

within the institution, however, largely did not change. In addition, Zhu also continued on with the Institute of Muslim Astronomy, with one director, two junior directors, and two deputy directors. According to the *History of the Ming*, officials of the Directorate were not allowed to shift to another government department, and their descendants were not allowed to change their job.<sup>184</sup>

Table 8 Officials of the Directorate of Astronomy in the Ming Dynasty

Position	Rank	Number of Persons (reduced later)
Director 監正	5a	1
Assistant Director 監副	6a	2
Recorder 主簿	8a	1
Spring Office 春官	6a	1
Summer Office 夏官	6a	1
Autumn Office 秋官	6a	1
Winter Office 冬官	6a	1
Attendant Gentleman of Imperial Observatory in the five Offices 五官靈臺郎	7b	8(-4)
Directors of Calendrical Calculations in the five Offices 五官保章正	8a	2(-1)
Supervisors of Water Clocks in the five Offices 五官挈壺正	8b	2(-1)
Astrological Observers in the five Offices 五官監候	9a	3(-1)
Manager of the Calendar in the five Offices 五官司曆	9a	2
Timekeepers in the five Offices 五官司晨	9b	8(-6)
Erudite of the Water Clock 漏刻博士	9b	6(-5)
Astronomy Student 天文生	?	?
Yinyang practitioner 陰陽人	?	?

Source: Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 74.1810.

At the beginning of the Ming, Zhu also established so-called the Religious Office (*jiyi si* 稽疑司) to govern diviners. *Jiyi* literally means using fortune-telling to investigate

<sup>184</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, 74.1810-1811.

questions and doubts. The government dismissed the Office once and restored it in 1384.

The Office had officials presented in Table 9 but soon discontinued.<sup>185</sup>

Table 9 Officials of the Religious Office in the Ming Dynasty

Position	Rank	Number of Persons
Director 司令	6a	1
Left Aide 左丞	6b	1
Right Aide 右丞	6b	1
Augur 司筮	9a	No fixed number

Source: Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 74.1812.

### Ming Yinyang Academies

In 1384, Zhu sent the edict to establish the yinyang academies. It was four years after his announcement of establishing officials of divination and the same year as he restored the Religious Office. The gazetteer of Baoding county also recorded that “The country particularly emphasized the skill (of yinyang). In 1384, all the prefectures, subprefectures, and districts established the (yinyang) school. (*guojia you zhong qi shu, Hongwu shiqi nian fu zhou xian jie li xue* 国家尤重其術，洪武十七年府州縣皆立学).”<sup>186</sup>

Each prefecture had one Instructor (*yinyang zhengshu* 陰陽正術, 9b), each subprefecture had one Associate Instructor (*yinyang dianshu* 陰陽典術, unranked), and

<sup>185</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, 74.1812.

<sup>186</sup> Zhang Cai, *Baoding junzhi (Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan*, henceforth abbreviated as TYG), 5.13a.

each district had one Assistant Instructor (*yinyang xunshu* 陰陽訓術, unranked). The Instructor's seal was a regular square and made from bronze. It was one *cun* and nine *fen* wide (about 2.28 inch) and two *fen* and two *li* high (about 0.25 inch). The seal of Associate Instructor and Assistant Instructor was also made from bronze, and about one *cun* and three *fen* wide (about 1.56 inch), two *cun* and five *fen* deep (about 3 inch), and two *fen* and one *li* high (about 0.24 inch).<sup>187</sup> According to the gazetteer of Kunshan district, Yinyang Associate Instructors were responsible for managing the water clock. Recording disasters and auspicious omens was also part of their job.<sup>188</sup> Yinyang officials were appointed by the Ministry of Rites and supervised by the Provincial Administration Commission (*chengxuan buzheng shisi* 承宣布政使司).<sup>189</sup> They, however, did not receive salaries from the government.<sup>190</sup> Even though yinyang officials had no salaries officially, they could earn profits from holding rituals and managing local shrines. Therefore, some people even tried to purchase the post.<sup>191</sup>

The Ming official Hai Rui (1514-1587) expressed his opinion on yinyang officials in his essay "Evaluating Yinyang Officials (*Yinyanggun Canping* 陰陽官參評). He argued that a yinyang officials' duty was to observe and calculate the movement of stars, forecast weather and seasons, and predict the future of a whole city. He praised the ancient Zhou which had specialized officials and shamans for different rituals, and lamented that the post of yinyang officials of the time could be purchased. Hai asked

<sup>187</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, 72.1745.

<sup>188</sup> Yang Fengchun, *Kunshan xian zhi* (TYG), 3.3a.

<sup>189</sup> Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, 124, 256, 506.

<sup>190</sup> *Ming shilu*, 162.2519; Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, 75.1853.

<sup>191</sup> Shen, "First Investigation of the Yinyang Academy System of the Yuan and Ming Dynasty (Yuan Ming yinyangxue zhidu chutan)," 26.

shamans (here may be yinyang officials of the time) to explain the yinyang theory each time when there was a sun eclipse, a moon eclipse, drought, and ceremony begging for rain, but none of them understood. Therefore, Hai declared, “the yinyang those shamans claimed were fake! It is techniques of shamans used to control people but not the yinyang!”<sup>192</sup>

Yinyang academies also frequently appeared in local gazetteers. Figures 5 and 6 show two examples of yinyang academies on the maps of Ming cities. They were frequently found next to medical schools and watchtowers (*qiaolou* 譙樓). This is probably because these institutions had close connections. Some yinyang academies even shared or attached their office with the Temples of the Three Progenitors (*Sanhuang miao* 三皇廟), City-God temples (*chenguang miao* 城隍廟), watchtowers, and drum-towers (*gulou* 鼓樓).<sup>193</sup>

<sup>192</sup> Hai Rui, *Beiwang ji* 備忘集, SKQS, 6.5b-6a.

<sup>193</sup> Yuan Jinshi, *Huangyan xian zhi* (TYG), 2.5b. Dong Tianxi, *Ganzhou fu zhi* (TYG), 6.5b. He Menglun, *Jiangning xian zhi* (TYG), 8.9b. Shen Yi, *Weiyang zhi* (TYG), 3.4a.

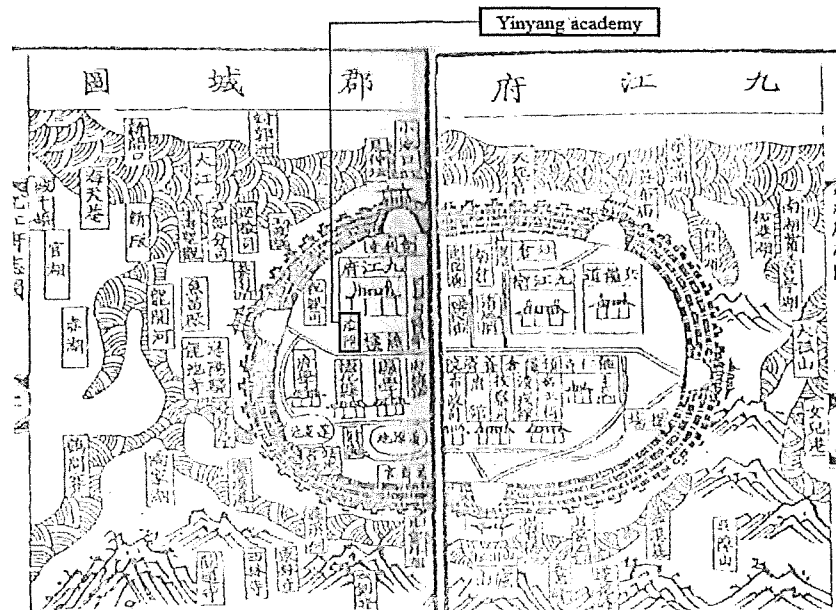


Figure 5 Map of Jiujiang prefectural, Jiangxi.

Source: Li Fan 李汎, *Jiujiang fu zhi* 九江府志. 1522-1566. In *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan*.

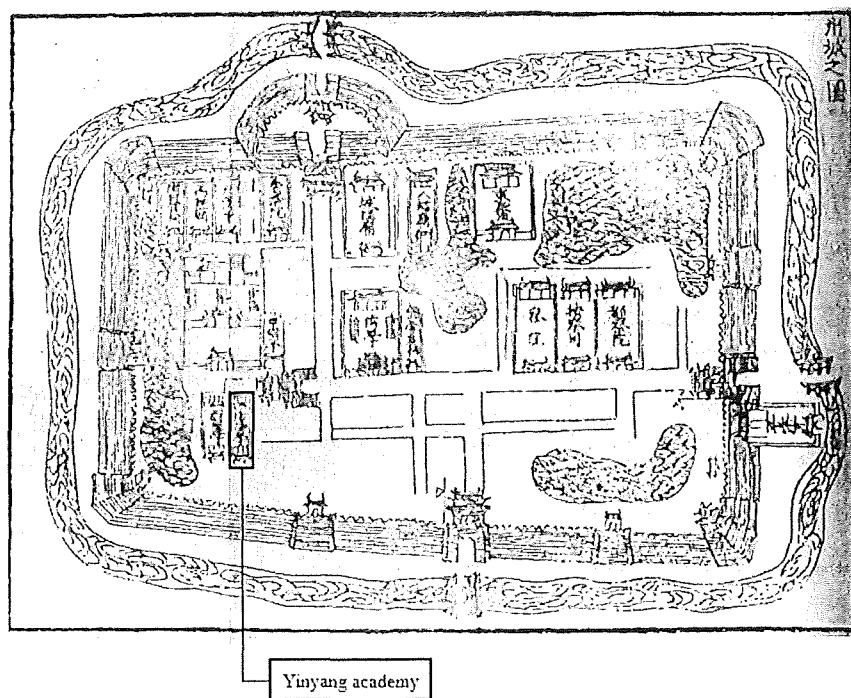


Figure 6 Map of Ba subprefecture, the North Metropolitan Area.

Source: Tang Jiao 唐交, *Bazhou zhi* 霸州志. 1522-1566. In *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan*.

Appendix I lists the information related to yinyang academies from Selected Ming Dynasty Gazetteers from the Tianyige Library. Out of 109 gazetteers, only five lacked records regarding yinyang academy, which shows that the academy was comparatively widespread. Seventy-five localities had records about when the academy was established: 46 of them were established between 1384 to 1385, when Zhu sent the edict to establish the yinyang academies. Thirteen cities established the academy prior to 1384. Some of them might have followed the tradition of the Yuan dynasty. Places such as Jingyin district 江陰, Shou subprefecture 壽, Yanping prefecture 延平, Ruijin district 瑞金, Weishi district 尉氏, Gushi district 固始, Changde prefecture 常德, and Yue prefecture 岳 also recorded that they had yinyang officials during the Yuan period.<sup>194</sup> Some cities also recorded the size of the academy's building. For example, the yinyang academy of Yi subprefecture 易 had three halls, six wing-rooms (*xiangfang* 廂房), and one house plate; the academy of Dongxinag 東鄉 was about 14.7-yards-wide and 16-yards-deep.<sup>195</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The Ming emperor Zhu Yuanzhang took over the yinyang academy system after the collapse of the Yuan dynasty. He believed that the advice of fortune-tellers was indispensable for Chinese rulers. On one hand, under the promotion of Zhu, the yinyang

<sup>194</sup> Zhang Gun, *Jiangyin xian zhi* (TYG), 11.5b. Li Yongle, *Shouzhou zhi* (TYG), 3.27a. Zheng Guangyun, *Yanping fu zhi* (TYG), 6.4b. Zhao Dong, *Ruijin xian zhi* (TYG), 2.11b; Wang Xin, *Weishi xian zhi* (TYG), 2.21b-22a. Ge Chen, *Gushi xian zhi* (TYG), 5.7a. Chen Hongmo, *Changde fu zhi* (TYG), 11.8b. Liu Ji, *Yuezhou fu zhi* (TYG), 10.51a.

<sup>195</sup> Dai Xian, *Yizhou zhi* (TYG), 3.3a. Rao Wenbi, *Dongxiang xian zhi* (TYG), 15.48b.

academies dramatically expanded among the country during the fourteenth century, on the other hand, as Appendix I shows, many of yinyang academies had been abolished around the sixteenth century.

## Conclusion

Centering on the yinyang academy system established in China under Mongol rules, this thesis has examined the activities of astronomers, astrologers, fortune-tellers, and yinyang practitioners from ancient times to the Ming dynasty in China. I have shown that specialists in these overlapping fields played crucial roles in the politics and society since the ancient period to mid-Ming period. They recorded and explained the auspicious and inauspicious omens, which expressed the will of Heaven; created calendars, which symbolized the legitimacy of the state; selected dates for important events and lands for the residence and tomb; and predicted weather and result of the battle during military campaigns. While many of these specialists utilized their skills to serve their rulers, some of them took part in rebellions and threatened the dynasties. Endorsed by the Mongol rulers, the Yuan yinyang academy system which oversaw yinyang practitioners, was an outcome of the cross-cultural exchanges. The establishment of the yinyang academies attempted to contain the knowledge regarding Heaven (astronomy/astrology) within the imperial palace and relevant governmental offices. Furthermore, designating specific books for the yinyang professor examination and the Yuan government attempted to codify “proper” yinyang knowledge.

Future research should clarify the history of the yinyang academy system from late Ming to Qing (1644-1912). For example, in Chapter 4, the Ming local gazetteers recorded more than twenty yinyang academies had been abolished by the sixteenth century (see Appendix I). Angela Ki Che Leung has pointed out that a similar trend can be identified with regards to medical schools. She pointed to “the growth of private-supported medical relief efforts” as the reason of the decline of the medical schools. I

would like to find out if this was the same for the yinyang academies. Browsing through some of the Qing sources, such as *Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty (Daqing huidian 大清會典)*, I have found that the yinyang academy system either survived or revived in the Qing period. I would like to examine the Qing emperors' attitude and policies regarding yinyang practitioners and compare them to the Mongol rulers. This would be a particularly an interesting question because the Qing dynasty, as ruled by Jurchens/Manchus, was the so-called conquest dynasty as the Yuan was. In addition, I see the need for more extensive research on the changing attitude of Confucian scholars toward fortune-telling or yinyang practice, a topic that I have begun exploring but have not completed in this thesis.

The idea of having officials responsible for astronomy, astrology, fortune-telling and studies on yinyang did not stay just in China. As the Tang legal codes and institutions were adopted in seventh to ninth-century Japan, they created their own governmental positions devoted to yinyang studies. As I mentioned in the introduction, I was first intrigued by the Yuan yinyang academy system because *onmyō ji* 陰陽師 (Japanese yinyang master) are famous in Japan. I have found that Japanese scholars have written about Japanese yinyang offices, but I have yet to see extensive comparative studies on the ways yinyang studies developed and institutionalized in China and Japan. I would also like to explore in this topic in my future research.

## Appendix I The Ming Yinyang Academies Seen in TYG

Location	Year Built	Builder/Reformer	Abolished	Sources
North Zhili 北直隸				
Shuntianfu 順天府	×			
Bazhou 霸州	?			<i>Bazhou zhi</i> 霸州志, Tang Jiao 唐交, 1522-1566, TYG, 2.6b.
South Zhili 南直隸				
Yingtianfu 應天府	×			
Jurongxian 句容縣	1384	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Xu De 許德		<i>Jurong xian zhi</i> 句容縣志, 1488-1505, Cao Xixian 曹襲先, TYG, 2.6a.
Gaochunxian 高淳縣	?			<i>Gaochun xian zhi</i> 高淳縣志, 1562, Liu Qidong 劉啓東, TYG, 2.2a.
Suzhoufu 蘇州府	×			
Kunshanxian 崑山縣	?			<i>Kunshan xian zhi</i> 崑山縣志, 1522-1566, Yang Fengchun 楊逢春, TYG, 2.2b.
Yangzhoufu 揚州府	?			<i>Weiyang zhi</i> 惟揚志, 1542, Shen Yi 盛儀, TYG, 2.5a.
Yizhenxian 儀真縣	1384	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Shi Rong 時榮		<i>Yizhen xian zhi</i> 儀真縣志, 1567-1572, Shen Jiarui 申嘉瑞, TYG, 3.11a.
Taixingxian 泰興縣	?			<i>Weiyang zhi</i> , 1542, 2.6a.
Gaoyouzhou 高郵州	?			<i>Weiyang zhi</i> , 1542, 2.6b.
Xinghuaxian 興化縣	?			<i>Weiyang zhi</i> , 1542, 2.6b.
Baoyingxian 寶應縣	?			<i>Weiyang zhi</i> , 1542, 2.7a.
Taizhou 泰州	?			<i>Weiyang zhi</i> , 1542, 2.7b.
Rufuxian 如皋縣	?			<i>Weiyang zhi</i> , 1542, 2.7b.
Tongzhou 通州	1384			<i>Tongzhou zhi</i> 通州志, 1530, Lin Ying 林穎, TYG, 2.8a.
Haimenxian 海門縣	?			<i>Tongzhou zhi</i> , 1530, 3.34b.
Changzhoufu 常州府	×			
Jiangyinxian 江陰縣	?			<i>Jiangyin xian zhi</i> 江陰縣志, 1522-1566, Zhang Gun 張袞, TYG, 11.5b.
Huaianfu 淮安府	×			
Haizhou 海州	1384			<i>Haizhou zhi</i> 海州志, 1572, Zhang Feng 張峯, TYG, 4.2b.
Huizhoufu 徽州府	?			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> 徽州府志, 1502, Wang Shunm 汪舜民, TYG, 5.6a.
Xiuningxian 休寧縣	?			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> , 1502, 5.8a.

Maoyuanxian 婺源縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> , 1502, 5.9b.
Qimenxian 祁門縣	1382			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> , 1502, 5.10b.
Qianxian 黟縣	1382			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> , 1502, 5.11b.
Jixixian 績溪縣	1382			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> , 1502, 5.12b.
Ningguofu 寧國府	?			<i>Ningguo xian zhi</i> 寧國縣志, 1531, Fan Gao 范鏞, TYG, 4.7a.
Xunchengxian 宣城 縣	?			<i>Ningguo xian zhi</i> , 1531, 4.15b.
Jingxian 涇縣	?			<i>Ningguo xian zhi</i> , 1531, 4.18b.
Ningguoxian 寧國縣	?			<i>Ningguo xian zhi</i> , 1531, 4.23a.
Qidexian 旌德縣	?			<i>Ningguo xian zhi</i> , 1531, 4.25b.
Taipingxian 太平縣	?			<i>Ningguo xian zhi</i> , 1531, 4.39a.
Fengyangfu 鳳陽府	×			
Suzhou 宿州	?			<i>Ningguo xian zhi</i> 宿州志, 1499, Zeng Xian 曾顯, TYG, 6.5a.
Lingbixian 靈璧縣	?			<i>Ningguo xian zhi</i> 池州府志, 1545, Wang Chong 王崇, TYG, 3.9a.
Yingzhou 潁州	?			<i>Yingzhou zhi</i> 潁州志, 1511, Liu Jie 劉節, TYG, 2.3b.
Shouzhou 壽州	?			<i>Shouzhou zhi</i> 壽州志, 1522- 1566, Li Yonglu 栗永祿, TYG, 3.27a.
Mengchengxian 蒙 城縣	?			<i>Shouzhou zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 3.27b.
Huoqiuxian 霍丘縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Shouzhou zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 3.27b.
Sizhou 泗州	×			
Tianchangxian 天長 縣	1375	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Shuai Wei 帥惟		<i>Tianchang xian zhi</i> 天長縣 志, 1550, Wang X 王心, TYG, 3.13a.
Gangdezhou 廣德州	×			
Jianpingxian 建平縣	?			<i>Jianping xian zhi</i> 建平縣志, 1522-1566, Lian Kuang 連 鏞, TYG, 3.3b.
Chizhoufu 池州府	?			<i>Chizhou fu zhi</i> 池州府志, 1545, Wang Chong 王崇, TYG, 3.9b.
Guichixian 貴池縣	?			<i>Chizhou fu zhi</i> , 1545, 3.9b.
Qingyangxian 青陽 縣	?			<i>Chizhou fu zhi</i> , 1545, 3.9b.

Tonglingxian 銅陵縣	1482	Magistrate Huang Ji 黃濟		<i>Tongling xian zhi</i> 銅陵縣志, 1522-1566, Li Shiyuan 李士元, TYG, 2.4b.
Shilixian 石埭縣	?			<i>Chizhou fu zhi</i> , 1545, 3.9b.
Jiandexian 建德縣	?			<i>Chizhou fu zhi</i> , 1545, 3.9b.
Dongliuxian 東流縣	?			<i>Chizhou fu zhi</i> , 1545, 3.9b.
<b>Fujian 福建</b>				
Jianningfu 建寧府	1384	Reformed by Magistrate Feng Jike 馮繼科 in 1552	Abolished for a long time	<i>Jiangng xian zhi</i> 建寧縣志, 1541, He Menglun 何孟倫, TYG, 8.3b. <i>Jianyang xian zhi</i> 建陽縣志, 1522-1566, Feng Jike 馮繼科, TYG, 4.5b.
Puchengxian 浦城縣	1385			<i>Jiangng xian zhi</i> , 1541, 8.9b.
Jianyangxian 建陽縣	1385		Abolished by the time	<i>Jiangng xian zhi</i> , 1541, 8.12a.
Songxixian 松溪縣	1385	Reformed by Magistrate Huang Jincuo 黃金措 in 1537		<i>Jiangng xian zhi</i> , 1541, 8.14b.
Chong anxian 崇安縣	1385			<i>Jiangng xian zhi</i> , 1541, 8.17a.
Zhenghexian 政和縣	1385	Reformed by Magistrate Zhang Xuanchong 張萱重 between 1506-1521		<i>Jiangng xian zhi</i> , 1541, 8.19a.
Yanpingfu 延平府	?			<i>Yanping fu zhi</i> 延平府志, 1525, Zheng Guangyun 鄭廣雲, TYG, 6.6b.
Youxixian 尤溪縣	?			<i>Yanping fu zhi</i> , 1525, 6.7b.
Shaxixian 沙縣	?			<i>Yanping fu zhi</i> , 1525, 6.7b.
Shunchangxian 順昌縣	?			<i>Yanping fu zhi</i> , 1525, 6.7b.
Jianglexian 將樂縣	?			<i>Yanping fu zhi</i> , 1525, 6.7a.
Yonganxian 永安縣	?			<i>Yanping fu zhi</i> , 1525, 6.8a.
Shaowufu 邵武府	?			<i>Shaowu fu zhi</i> 邵武府志, 1543, Chen Rang 陳讓, TYG, 3.9b.
Guangzhexian 光澤縣	1396			<i>Shaowu fu zhi</i> , 1543, 3.16a.
Tainingxian 泰寧縣	1385			<i>Shaowu fu zhi</i> , 1543, 3.20b.
Jianningxian 建寧縣	?			<i>Shaowu fu zhi</i> , 1543, 3.24a.
Zhangzhoufu 漳州府	×			
Jianyangxian 建陽縣	1400	Magistrate Qian Guxun 錢古訓 Reformed by Magistrate Chen		<i>Longxi xian zhi</i> 龍溪縣志, 1522-1566, Zhang Yue 張岳, TYG, 2.2b.

		Hongmo 陳洪謨 in 1512		
Quanzhoufu 泉州府	×			
Huianxian 惠安縣	1385		Abolished by the time	<i>Hui'an xian zhi</i> 惠安縣志, 1530, Zhang Yue 張岳, TYG, 8.4a.
Anxixian 安溪縣	1543			<i>Anxi xian zhi</i> 安溪縣志, 1552, L Younnian 林有年, TYG, 2.3a.
<b>Guizhou 貴州</b>				
Guiyangjunminfu 貴陽 軍民府	×			
Kaizhou 開州	1378			<i>Kaizhou zhi</i> 開州志, 1522- 1566, TYG, 2.4a.
Sinanfu 思南府				<i>San fu zhi</i> 思南府志, Tian Rucheng 田汝成, 1537, 1539, TYG, 2.6b.
<b>Henan 河南</b>				
Kaifengfu 開封府	×			
Weishixian 尉氏縣	1384	Reformed by Magistrate Liu Shao 劉紹 in 1481		<i>Weishi xian zhi</i> 尉氏縣志, 1549, Wang Xin 汪心, TYG, 2.24b.
Yanlingxian 鄴陵縣	?			<i>Yanling zhi</i> 鄴陵志, 1537, Liu Ren 劉認, TYG, 3.3b.
Lanyangxian 蘭陽縣	?			<i>Lanyang xian zhi</i> 蘭陽縣志, 1522-1566, Li Xicheng 李 希程, TYG, 4.1b.
Xuzhou 許州	?			<i>Xuzhou zhi</i> 許州志, 1541, Zhang Liangzhi 張良知, TYG, 2.3b.
Xiangchengxian 襄 城縣	?			<i>Xuzhou zhi</i> , 1541, 2.4a.
Changgexian 長葛 縣	?			<i>Xuzhou zhi</i> , 1541, 2.5a.
Yanchengxian 鄆城 縣	?			<i>Xuzhou zhi</i> , 1541, 2.6a.
Henanfu 河南府	×			
Yanshixian 偃師縣	1384			<i>Yanshi xian zhi</i> 偃師縣 志, 1504, Wei J 魏津, TYG, 1.20a.
Damingfu 大名府	1384			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> 大名府志, 1488-1505, Tang Jin 唐錦, TYG, 5.27a.
Yuanchengxian 元城 縣	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.28a.
Nanlexian 南樂縣	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.28b.

Weixian 魏縣	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.29b.
Qingfengxian 清豐縣	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.31a.
Neihuangxian 內黃縣	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.32a.
Binxian 濱縣	1501	Magistrate Guo Dongshan 郭東山		<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.36b.
Huanxian 滑縣	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.37a.
Kaizhou 開州	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.39a.
Changhuanxian 長垣縣	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.40a.
Dongmingxian 東明縣	?			<i>Daming fu zhi</i> , 1488-1505, 5.41b.
Baodingfu 保定府	1384			<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> 保定郡志, 1494, Zhang Cai 張才, TYG, 5.41b.
Yizhou 易州	1417/1488	Assistant Tan Fu 檀馥		<i>Yizhou zhi</i> 易州志, 1502, Dai Xian 戴銑, TYG, 3.3a.
Laishuixian 涑水縣	?			<i>Yizhou zhi</i> , 1502, 3.6a.
Wanxian 完縣	During 1368-1402			<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.19a.
Tangxian 唐縣	1384	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Liu Zhidao 劉志道		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.19b.
Qingduxian 慶都縣	1384			<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.21b.
Qizhou 祁州	?			<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.22a.
Shenzexian 深澤縣	?			<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.23a.
Ciluxian 東鹿縣	1409	Magistrate Gao Ji 高楫		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.24a.
Boyexian 博野縣	1384	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Meng Wende 孟文得 Reformed by Yinyang Assistant Instructor Liu Wenju 劉文聚 in 1405		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.25a.
Xinxian 蠡縣	1384	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Li Qin 栗欽		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.26a.
Anzhou 安州	1470	Magistrate Jin Duo 金鐸		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.26b.
Gaoyangxian 高陽縣	1384	Magistrate Jiang Zhongdi 江仲迪		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.27a.

Xin'anxian 新安縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.28a.
Xinchengxian 新城 縣	1384	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Jia Yu 賈郁		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.29a.
Xiongxian 雄縣	1375	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Zhang Xiao 張孝		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.30b.
Rongchengxian 容城 縣	?		Abolished during 1403-1424	<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.31a.
Dingxingxian 定興縣	1384	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Li Shun 李順		<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.32a.
Ansuxian 安肅縣	?			<i>Baoding jun zhi</i> , 1494, 5.33b.
Guangpingfu 廣平府	?			<i>Guangping fu zhi</i> 廣平府志, 1550, Chen Fei 陳棐, TYG, 4.5a.
Quxixian 曲西縣	?			<i>Guangping fu zhi</i> , 1550, 4.9a.
Jizexian 鷄澤縣	?			<i>Guangping fu zhi</i> , 1550, 4.10b.
Guangpingxian 廣平 縣	?			<i>Guangping fu zhi</i> , 1550, 4.11b.
Handanxian 邯鄲縣	?			<i>Guangping fu zhi</i> , 1550, 4.13b.
Weixian 威縣	?			<i>Guangping fu zhi</i> , 1550, 4.14a.
Qinghexian 清河縣	?			<i>Guangping fu zhi</i> , 1550, 4.14b.
Zhendingfu 真定府	×			
Zhaozhou 趙州	?			<i>Zhaozhou zhi</i> 趙州志, 1567, Cai Maozhao 蔡懋昭, TYG, 2.7b.
Ningjinxian 寧晉縣	?	Magistrate Chen Fei 陳棐		<i>Zhaozhou zhi</i> , 1567, 2.13b.
Longpingxian 隆平 縣	?			<i>Zhaozhou zhi</i> , 1567, 2.16a.
Baixiangxian 栢鄉 縣	?			<i>Zhaozhou zhi</i> , 1567, 2.20a.
Linchengxian 臨城\ 縣	?			<i>Zhaozhou zhi</i> , 1567, 2.23b.
Gaoyixian 高邑縣	?			<i>Zhaozhou zhi</i> , 1567, 2.25b.
Zanhuangxian 贊皇 縣	?			<i>Zhaozhou zhi</i> , 1567, 2.28b.
Yongpingfu 永平府	×			
Longqingzhou 隆慶 州	?			<i>Longqing zhi</i> 隆慶志, 1549, Xie Tinggui 謝庭桂, TYG, 2.4a.

Zhangdefu 彰德府	?			<i>Zhangde fu zhi</i> 彰德府志, 1522, Cui Xian 崔統, TYG, 3.4a.
Tangyinxian 湯陰縣	?			<i>Zhangde fu zhi</i> , 1522, 3.7a.
Linzhangxian 臨漳縣	1503	Jing Fang 景芳		<i>Zhangde fu zhi</i> , 1522, 3.8b.
Linxian 林縣	?			<i>Zhangde fu zhi</i> , 1522, 3.10a.
Cizhou 磁州	1482	Magistrate Zhang Mengfu 張夢輔		<i>Zhangde fu zhi</i> , 1522, 3.11b.
Wuan'anxian 武安縣	1384			<i>Zhangde fu zhi</i> , 1522, 3.13b.
Shexian 涉縣	?			<i>Zhangde fu zhi</i> , 1522, 3.14b.
Runingfu 汝寧府	×			
Guangzhou 光州	×			
Guangshanxian 光山縣	?			<i>Guangshan xian zhi</i> 光山縣志, 1556, Wang Jiashi 王家士, TYG, 3.5b.
Gushixian 固始縣	?			<i>Gushi xian zhi</i> 固始縣志, 1542, Ge Chen 葛臣, TYG, 5.7a.
Nanyangfu 南陽府	×			
Dengzhou 鄧州	1384			<i>Dengzhou zhi</i> 鄧州志, 1522-1566, Pan Tingnan 潘庭楠, TYG, 9.10a.
Neixiangxian 內鄉縣	1384			<i>Dengzhou zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 9.13b.
Xinyexian 新野縣	1375			<i>Dengzhou zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 9.16a.
Zhechuanxian 浙川縣	?			<i>Dengzhou zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 9.17a.
Guidefu 歸德府	×			
Xiayixian 夏邑縣	1384	Moved by Magistrate Zheng Xiang 鄭相 in 1545	Abolished for a long time	<i>Xiayi xian zhi</i> 夏邑縣志, 1545, Zheng Xiang 鄭相, TYG, 2.3b.
Weihuihu 衛輝府	×			
Xinxiangxian 新鄉縣	Begining of Hongwu (1368-1402)			<i>Xinxiang xian zhi</i> 新鄉縣志, 1506-1521, Zhu Shan 儲珊, TYG, 2.32b.
Ruzhou 汝州	?			<i>Ruzhou zhi</i> 汝州志, 1506, 1510, Cheng Tianguai 承天貴, TYG, 4.2a.
Qixian 郟縣	?			<i>Ruzhou zhi</i> , 1506, 1510, 4.4b.
Lushanxian 魯山縣	1384		Abolished for a long time	<i>Lushan xian zhi</i> 魯山縣志, 1522-1566, Sun Duo 孫鐸, TYG, 4.15b.

Baofengxian 寶豐縣	?			<i>Ruzhou zhi</i> , 1506, 1510, 4.4b.
Yiyangxian 伊陽縣	?			<i>Ruzhou zhi</i> , 1506, 1510, 4.4b.
<b>Jiangxi 江西</b>				
Jianchangfu 建昌府	?			<i>Jianchang fu zhi</i> 建昌府志, 1517, Xia Liangsheng 夏良勝, TYG, 6.8b.
Nanfengxian 南豐縣	?			<i>Jianchang fu zhi</i> , 1517, 6.13b.
Xinchengxian 新城縣	?			<i>Jianchang fu zhi</i> , 1517, 6.19b.
Guangchangxian 廣昌縣	?			<i>Jianchang fu zhi</i> , 1517, 6.23b.
Linjiangfu 臨江府	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Linjiang fu zhi</i> 臨江府志, 1572, Liu Song 劉松, TYG, 4.2b.
Xinganxian 新淦縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Linjiang fu zhi</i> , 1572, 4.4a.
Xinyuxian 新喻縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Linjiang fu zhi</i> , 1572, 4.3b.
Xiajiangxian 峽江縣	?			<i>Linjiang fu zhi</i> , 1572, 4.5b.
Jiujiangfu 九江府	During 1488-1505	Magistrate Gao Youji 高友璣 Reformed by Magistrate Feng Ceng 馮曾 between 1522-1566		<i>Jiujiang fu zhi</i> 九江府志, 1522-1566, Li Fan 李汎, TYG, 9.11b.
Deanxian 德安縣	1374	Magistrate Feng Mao 馮建	Abolished by the time	<i>Jiujiang fu zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 9.18a.
Ruichangxian 瑞昌縣	During 1368-1402	Magistrate Li Feng 李鳳 Reformed by Magistrate Huang Yuanda 黃源大 in 1510		<i>Jiujiang fu zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 9.19b. <i>Ruiduan xian zhi</i> 瑞昌縣志, 1522-1566, Lin Younian 林有年, TYG, 2.3a.
Hukouxian 湖口縣	1385	Magistrate Zheng Daozong 鄭道宗 Reformed by Magistrate Zhang Xuanmei 章玄梅 in 1520		<i>Jiujiang fu zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 9.20b.
Pengzexian 彭澤縣	?			<i>Jiujiang fu zhi</i> , 1522-1566, 9.23a.
Yuanzhoufu 袁州府	?	Magistrate Wang Jun 王俊		<i>Yuanzhou fu zhi</i> 袁州府志, 1514, Yan Gong 嚴嵩, TYG, 4.2a.
Yichunxian 宜春縣	?			<i>Yuanzhou fu zhi</i> 袁州府志, 1514, Yan Gong 嚴嵩, TYG, 4.4a.

Pingxiangxian 萍鄉縣	?			<i>Yuanzhou fu zhi</i> , 1514, 4.4b.
Wanzaixian 萬載縣	?			<i>Yuanzhou fu zhi</i> , 1514, 4.5b.
Ganzhoufu 贛州府	?			<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> 贛州府志, 1536, Dong Tianxi 董天錫, TYG, 6.3a.
Yuduxian 零都縣	?			<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.5b.
Xinfengxian 信豐縣	1380			<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.6b.
Yuguoxian 興國縣	?			<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.8a.
Huichangxian 會昌縣	?	Reformed by Magistrate Li Zhang 李璋 in 1535		<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.9a.
Anyuanxian 安遠縣	?			<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.9b.
Ningduxian 寧都縣	1378			<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.9b.
Ruijinxian 瑞金縣	1532	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Su Xiaoqing 蘇堯卿		<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.10a.
Longnanxian 龍南縣	?			<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.12b.
Shichengxian 石城縣	?			<i>Ganzhou fu zhi</i> , 1536, 6.13a.
Nankangfu 南康府	?			<i>Nankang fu zhi</i> 南康府志, 1519, Chen Lin 陳林, TYG, 4.7b.
Duchangxian 都昌縣	1376	Magistrate Wang Jingzhong 汪敬中		<i>Nankang fu zhi</i> , 1519, 4.9b.
Anyixian 安義縣	?			<i>Nankang fu zhi</i> , 1519, 4.11a.
Guanxinfu 廣信府	×			
Yongfengxian 永豐縣	?			<i>Yongfeng xian zhi</i> 永豐縣志, 1544, Guan Jg 管景, TYG, 2.17b.
Fuzhoufu 撫州府	×			
Dongxiangxian 東鄉縣	?			<i>Dongxiang xian zhi</i> 東鄉縣志, 1524, Rao Wenbi 饒文璧, TYG, 15.48b.
Shaanxi 陝西				
Hanzhongfu 漢中府	×			
Lüeyangxian 略陽縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Lüeyang xian zhi</i> 略陽縣志, 1552, Li Yuchun 李遇春, TYG, 2.3a.
Shandong 山東				
Jinanfu 濟南府	×			
Zichuanxian 淄川縣	?			<i>Zichun xian zhi</i> 淄川縣志, 1546, TYG, 3.35a.
Wudgzhou 武定州	?			

Taianzhou 泰安州	×			<i>Wuding zhou zhi</i> 武定州志, 1548, Liu Dian 劉佃, TYG, 3.33a.
Laiwuxian 萊蕪縣	?			<i>Laiwu xian zhi</i> 萊蕪縣志, 1548, Chen Ganyu 陳甘雨, TYG, 4.3a.
Qingzhoufu 青州府	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> 青州府志, 1565, Chen Ganyu 陳甘雨, TYG, 8.8b.
Boxingxian 博興縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.9a.
Gaoyuanxian 高苑縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.9b.
Leaxian 樂安縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.11a.
Shouguangxian 壽光縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.11b.
Changlexian 昌樂縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.12a.
Linquxian 臨朐縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.14a.
Zhuchengxian 諸城縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.15a.
Mengyinxian 蒙陰縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.17a.
Juzhou 莒州	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.18a.
Yisuixian 沂水縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.19a.
Rizhaoxian 日照縣	?			<i>Qingzhou fu zhi</i> , 1565, 8.19b.
Dongchangfu 東昌府	×			
Xinxian 莘縣	?			<i>Shenxian zhi</i> 莘縣志, 1515, Wu Zongqi 吳宗器, TYG, 3.2b.
Gaotangzhou 高唐州	×			
Xiajinxian 夏津縣	1384	Reformed by Magistrate Liu Luan 劉鑾 in 1532		<i>Xiajin xian zhi</i> 夏津縣志, 1540, Yi Shizhong 易時中, TYG, 45a.
Wuchengxian 武城縣	?			<i>Wucheng xian zhi</i> 武城縣志, 1549, You Qi 尤麒, TYG, 3.33a.
<b>Yunnan 雲南</b>				
Xundianfu 尋甸府				<i>Xundian fu zhi</i> 尋甸府志, 1550, Wang Shangyong 王尚用, TYG, 24a.
<b>Zhejiang 浙江</b>				
Yanzhoufu 嚴州府	×			
Chun'anxian 淳安縣	During 1403-1424	Reformed by Magistrate 王衡 in 1466 Reformed by		<i>Chun'an xian zhi</i> 淳安縣志, 1524, Yao Mghuan 姚鳴鸞, TYG, 6.5a.

		Magistrate Yao Minghuan 姚鳴鸞 in 1524		
Wenzhoufu 温州府	?			<i>Wenzhou zhi</i> 温州志, 1403-1424, Wang Zan 王瓚, TYG, 1.8a.
Ruianxian 瑞安縣	?			<i>Wenzhou zhi</i> , 1403-1424, 1.8b.
Leqingxian 樂清縣	1384			<i>Leqing xian zhi</i> 樂清縣志, 1403-1424, Luo Wensheng 駱文盛, TYG, 4.14b.
Pingyangxian 平陽縣	?			<i>Wenzhou zhi</i> , 1403-1424, 1.9a.
Taishunxian 泰順縣	?			<i>Wenzhou zhi</i> , 1403-1424, 1.9b.
Taizhoufu 台州府	×			
Taipingxian 太平縣	1498			<i>Taiping xian zhi</i> 太平縣志, 1522-1566, Zeng Caihan 曾才漢, TYG, 1.15a.
Huangyanxian 黃巖縣	1384			<i>Huangyan xian zhi</i> 黃巖縣志, 1574, Yuan Yingqi 袁應祺, TYG, 2.5b.
Shaoxingfu 紹興府	×			
Xinchangxian 新昌縣	?			<i>Xinchang xian zhi</i> 新昌縣志, 1579 Lü Guangxun 呂光洵, TYG, 1.9b.
Jinhua fu 金華府	×			
Pujiangxian 浦江縣	?			<i>Pujiang zhi lue</i> 浦江志略, 1526, Mao Fengshao 毛鳳韶, TYG, 3.2b.
Huzhoufu 湖州府	×			
Wukangxian 武康縣	?			<i>Wukang xian zhi</i> 武康縣志, 1550, Luo Wensheng 駱文盛, TYG, 3.13b.
Huguang 湖廣				
Hanyangfu 漢陽府	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Hanyang fu zhi</i> 漢陽府志, 1546, Zhu Yi 朱一, TYG, 7.6a.
Huangzhoufu 黃州府	?			<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i> 黃州府志, 1500, Lu Xizhe 魯希哲, TYG, 4.2a.
Machengxian 麻城縣	?			<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i> , 1500, 4.4a.
Huangbanxian 黃阪縣	?			<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i> , 1500, 4.5a.
Qisui xian 蕪水縣	?			<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i> , 1500, 4.6a.
Luotianxian 羅田縣	?			<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i> , 1500, 4.7a.

Qizhou 蕪州	?			<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i> , 1500, 4.8a.
Huangmeixian 黃梅縣	?			<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i> , 1500, 4.8b.
Guangjixian 廣濟縣	?			<i>Huangzhou fu zhi</i> , 1500, 4.9b.
Chengtianfu 承天府	×			
Mianyangzhou 沔陽州	?			<i>Mianyang zhi</i> 沔陽志, 1531, Tong Cheng Xu 童承叙, TYG, 3.36a.
Changdefu 常德府	1384			<i>Changde fu zhi</i> 常德府志, 1535, 1538, 1547, Chen Hongmo 陳洪謨, TYG, 4.10b.
Taoyuanxian 桃源縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Changde fu zhi</i> , 1535, 1538, 1547, 4.18b.
Longyangxian 龍陽縣	?			<i>Changde fu zhi</i> , 1535, 1538, 1547, 4.22a.
Yuanjiangxian 沅江縣	?			<i>Changde fu zhi</i> , 1535, 1538, 1547, 4.24b.
Yuezhoufu 岳州府	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Yuezhou fuzhi</i> 岳州府志, 1488, Liu Ji 劉璣, TYG, 10.51a.
Linxiangxian 臨湘縣	?			<i>Yuezhou fuzhi</i> , 1488, 10.53b.
Pingjingxian 平江縣	?			<i>Yuezhou fuzhi</i> , 1488, 10.54a.
Huarongxian 華容縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Yuezhou fuzhi</i> , 1488, 10.56b.
Fengzhou 澧州	?			<i>Yuezhou fuzhi</i> , 1488, 10.57b.
Anxiangxian 安鄉縣	?			<i>Yuezhou fuzhi</i> , 1488, 10.59a.
Shimensexian 石門縣	?			<i>Yuezhou fuzhi</i> , 1488, 10.59b.
Cilixian 慈利縣	1384	Yinyang Assistant Instructor Li Zhang 李彰 Reestablished by Yinyang Assistant Instructor Zheng Gong 鄭恭		<i>Cili xian zhi</i> 慈利縣志, 1573, Chen Guangqian 陳光前, TYG, 10.7a.
Chenzhou 郴州	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Chenzhou zhi</i> 郴州志, 1576, Hu Han 胡漢, TYG, 8.10b.
Yonglexian 永樂縣	?			<i>Chenzhou zhi</i> , 1576, 8.11a.
Xinningxian 興寧縣	?			<i>Chenzhou zhi</i> , 1576, 8.12a.
Yizhangxian 宜章縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Chenzhou zhi</i> , 1576, 8.13a.
Guiyangxian 桂陽縣	?			<i>Chenzhou zhi</i> , 1576, 8.14a.
Guidongxian 桂東縣	1525	Magistrate Zhou Fengming 周鳳鳴		<i>Chenzhou zhi</i> , 1576, 8.14b.
Hengzhoufu 衡州府	?			<i>Hengzhou fu zhi</i> 衡州府志, 1537, Liu Fu 劉敷, TYG, 3.3a.

Hengyangxian 衡陽縣	?			<i>Hengzhou fu zhi</i> ,1537, 3.3b.
Weiyangxian 未陽縣	?			<i>Hengzhou fu zhi</i> ,1537, 3.4a.
Changningxian 常寧縣	?			<i>Hengzhou fu zhi</i> ,1537, 3.5a.
Guiyangxian 桂陽縣	?			<i>Hengzhou fu zhi</i> ,1537, 3.4b.
Linwuxian 臨武縣	?			<i>Hengzhou fu zhi</i> ,1537, 3.5a.
Lanshanxian 藍山縣	?			<i>Hengzhou fu zhi</i> ,1537, 3.5b.
<b>Guangdong 廣東</b>				
Qiongtai 瓊臺府	1384			<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> 瓊臺志, 1506-1521, Tang Zhou 唐胄, TYG, 13.4a.
Dengmaixian 澄邁縣	1384			<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.9a.
Lin'gaoxian 臨高縣	1384			<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.10b.
Andingxian 安定縣	1384			<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.11b.
Wenchangxian 文昌縣	1384			<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.12b.
Huitongxian 會同縣	1384		Abolished for a long time	<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.14a.
Lehuixian 樂會縣	1384		Abolished for a long time	<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.15a.
Danzhou 儋州	1384			<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.16a.
Changhuaxian 昌化縣	1443			<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.18a.
Wanzhou 萬州	1384			<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.19a.
Lingsuixian 陵水縣	1384	Yinyang Student Liu Xibao 劉細保		<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.20b.
Yazhou 崖州	1384	Magistrate		<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.21b.
Gan'enxian 感恩縣	1384	Magistrate Aide Yang Gan 楊幹		<i>Qiongtai zhi</i> , 1506-1521, 13.23a.
Huizhoufu 惠州府	1384			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> 惠州府志,1556, Yang Zaiming 楊載鳴, TYG, 6.3b.
Boluo 博羅縣	1382			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> ,1556, 6.8b.
Chengchixian 城池縣	1382			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> ,1556, 6.11a.
Heyuanxian 河源縣	1406			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> ,1556, 6.14a.
Longchuanxian 龍川縣	?		Abolished for a long time	<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> ,1556, 6.16a.
Changlexian 長樂縣	?			<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> ,1556, 6.19b.

Quningxian 典寧縣	?		Abolished by the time	<i>Huizhou fu zhi</i> , 1556, 6.22b.
Chaozhoufu 潮州府	×			
Chaoyangxian 潮陽縣	1395			<i>Chaoyang xian zhi</i> 潮陽縣志, 1572, Lin Dachun 林大春, TYG, 9.18.
Shaozhoufu 韶州府	×			
Wengyuanxian 翁源縣	?			<i>Wengyuan xian zhi</i> 翁源縣誌, 1557, Li Kongming 李孔明, TYG, 18a.
Renhuaxian 仁化縣	?			<i>Renhua xian zhi</i> 仁化縣志, 1522-1566, Hu Ju'an 胡居安, TYG, 28b.
Lianzhoufu 廉州府	×			
Qinzhou 欽州	?			<i>Qinzhou zhi</i> 欽州志, 1539, Lin Xiyuan 林希元, TYG, 4.25b.
<b>Sichuan 四川</b>				
Kuizhoufu 夔州府	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> 夔州府志, 1513, Wu Qian 吳潛, TYG, 6.2a.
Yunyangxian 雲陽縣	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> , 1513, 6.2b.
Wanxian 萬縣	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> , 1513, 6.3a.
Liangshanxian 梁山縣	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> , 1513, 6.3b.
Kaixian 開縣	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> , 1513, 6.4a.
Xinningxian 新寧縣	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> , 1513, 6.4b.
Dongxiangxian 東鄉縣	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> , 1513, 6.4b.
Dangningxian 大寧縣	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> , 1513, 6.5b.
Dazhou 達州	?			<i>Kuizhou fu zhi</i> , 1513, 6.5a.
Yunyangxian 雲陽縣	?			<i>Yunyang xian zhi</i> 雲陽縣志, 1541, Q Jue 秦覺, TYG, 16a.
Mahufu 馬湖府	?			<i>Mahu fu zhi</i> 馬湖府志, 1555, Yu Chengxun 余承勳, TYG, 4.4a.

## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

SKQS Wenyuange siku quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書.

TYG Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan 天一閣藏明代方志選刊續編.

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