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# Spread and Preservation of Chinese Divination in Mongolian, 14<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> Centuries: The Documents of Dunhuang, Turfan, Qara Qota and Xarbuxyn Balgas

By

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The Mongolian blockprinted documents discovered in Turfan contained several fragments of a calendar dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> century which had been translated from the Chinese. This is one of the indicators that the Mongolian elite of the Yuan empire used traditional forms of Chinese legitimation to reinforce their supremacy in the eyes of the Mongolian populace.<sup>1</sup> After the Yuan dynasty collapsed, officially translated calendars disappeared. However, the Chinese divination methods of the calendars had not been abandoned and were used within by the Mongolian public in straight chronological sequence until their “re-introduction” during the Qing period. The evidence found in the birch bark manuscripts from Xarbuxyn Balgas proves that this tradition continued beyond the end of the Yuan, determined by popular Mongolian choice rather than their rulers’ interests.

## **Everyday divination by means of a Turfan Mongolian document**

There are two major types of Chinese divination. The first one directly relates to the astrological calendar, which calculates the best or most suitable and the worst or most unsuitable matters to be done on a daily basis. For each day, there is a list of recommendations and taboos for a specific day, a system known as *Juzhu liri* 具注曆日 (“annotated calendar”, i.e. annotated with divinations). The second divination method is simpler, not being overly dependent upon astrological considerations and usually intended for choosing auspicious dates for weddings, burial rites, etc. At times published in popular divination booklets, such as the *Yuxiaji* 玉匣記 (Jade box record), ‘simplified divination’ was usually included as part of *Juzhu liri* calendars, whether privately edited or officially published. This tradition started as early as in

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1 Ho Kai-Lung, “The Political Power and the Mongolian Translation of the Chinese Calendar during the Yuan Dynasty”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 50:1 (2006), pp. 57–69.

the late Tang (8<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>2</sup> and both divination books and *Juzhu liri* calendars were discovered in Dunhuang. This tradition is still adhered to in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia, but also in mainland China.<sup>3</sup>

A Turfan Mongolian document in 19 fragments has been identified as belonging to the same type of Chinese divination calendar with annotations translated into Mongolian.<sup>4</sup> As made evident in the six calendars, with their respective divination methods, analysed by Herbert Franke,<sup>5</sup> this Mongolian calendar is indeed a translation of the *Shoushili* 授時曆 [“Season-Granting Calendar”], which was the official Chinese calendar of the Yuan dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Terms of divination, such as auspicious advice, could be found throughout these fragments, as set out beneath:

| Mongolian terms                 | Original terms in Chinese | Meanings       | Turfan document numbers |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>mod šidkü</i> - <sup>7</sup> | 栽植 <i>zai zhi</i>         | to plant trees | 49, 1.7, 52,7           |

2 Dunhuang document S-P6, part of the Stein collection in London, exemplifies *Juzhuli* calendars in both types of divination. Dunhuang document Pel.chin.2905 (P. 2905), discovered by Paul Pelliot and currently in Paris, is a fine example of divination booklets.

3 *Juzhu liri* calendar is categorised as a *tongshu* 通書 [“omniscient book”]. Since *shu* 書 [“book”] is homophonous to *shu* 輸 [“failure”], it is commonly referred to as *tongsheng* 通勝 [“perpetual gain”]. Sometimes it is called *Huangli* 黃曆 [“yellow calendar”] referring to the mythical Yellow Emperor.

4 Dalantai Cerenodnom and Manfred Taube, *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH, 1993), pp. 147–163 (Nr.49–67) and illus. XXII – XXVIII.

5 Herbert Franke, *Mittelmongolische Kalenderfragmente aus Turfan* (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964).

6 Ho, “The Political Power and the Mongolian Translation”.

7 The verb *šidkü*- occurs only in the fragments of Mongol blockprint calendars from Turfan and Qara Qota. Herbert Franke, using the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Mukaddimat al-Adab* and Kowalewskis’s, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français* (Kasan: Imprimerie de l’Université, 1844–1849, p. 1489), posits that *šidkü*- < *šitke*- means “to plant”, derived from “to support, to set upright”. Franke’s explanation, however, appears conjectural. In line 7 of fragment nr. 49 (T II D 31) and line 7 of nr. 52 (T II M 166, 502b), the term *mod šidkü*- is between the terms *ür-e saču*- (to sow seeds) and *aduysun tejige*- (to feed animals). It is quite reasonable to assume that the term *mod šidkü*- is agrarian in nature. While the compound *zai zhong* 栽種 in the Chinese calendar of the Qing era means “to plant”, the character *zai* 栽 in itself means “to plant flowers or trees” and the character *zhong* 種 means “to plant grain”. The Mongolian word *mod* means “tree” or “wood”, which is why Herbert Franke conjectured that this term meant “to plant trees” (“Bäume pflanzen”). But he fails to explain why the terms *ür-e saču*- (“to sow seeds”) is not followed by the term *mod šidkü*- in line 13 of fragment nr. 54 (T III 230). Indeed, there is some degree of variation for the same Chinese divinatory terms in different time periods and often even within the same era. Between 1983 and 1984, 3000 mostly Chinese fragments were discovered in Qara Qota, western Inner Mongolia. There are eight fragments which are identified as fragments from calendars dating from the late Yuan era (14<sup>th</sup> century). For more details, see Zhang Peiyu 張培瑜, “Heicheng xinchu tianwen lifa wenshu canye de jidian fuji” 黑城新出天文曆法文書

|                                      |                            |                               |                                                        |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ür-e saču</i>                     | 種 蒔<br><i>zhong shi</i>    | to sow seeds                  | Nr. 49, line 7<br>Nr. 52, line 7<br>Nr. 54, l. 13      |
| <i>aduḃusun teḃige</i>               | 牧 養<br><i>mu yang</i>      | feed animals                  | Nr. 49, line 7<br>Nr. 52, line 7<br>Nr. 56, l. 16      |
| <i>niruyun modun ergü</i>            | 上 梁<br><i>shang liang</i>  | fix a wooden roof beam        | Nr. 54, line 11–12<br>Nr. 57, line 7 & 18              |
| <i>tuly-a baiḃul</i>                 | 豎 柱<br><i>shu zhu</i>      | erect a column                | Nr. 52, line 2<br>Nr. 54, l. 11<br>Nr. 57, line 7 & 18 |
| <i>qoriyan sebligül</i> <sup>8</sup> | 補 垣<br><i>bu yuan</i>      | repair the wall of the garden | Nr. 51, line 11, 21<br>Nr. 52, l. 15                   |
| <i>iseri orasiḃul-</i>               | 安 牀<br><i>an chuang</i>    | set up a bed                  | Nr. 53, l. 5;<br>Nr. 57, l. 14                         |
| <i>uḃur tegirmen orasiḃul-</i>       | 安 碓 磴<br><i>an dui wei</i> | set up a pestle and a mill    | Nr. 52, line 3<br>Nr. 58, line 8                       |
| <i>ḃaryu ḃaryula-</i>                | 詞 訟<br><i>ci song</i>      | take legal action             | Nr. 52, l. 19<br>Nr. 56, l. 14                         |

殘頁的幾點附記 [A few annotations on the newly unearthed fragments from Qara Qota], *Wenwu* 文物, 1988:4, p. 92. Most documents were published in 1991 with facsimiles. The two terms *zhong shi* 種蒔 “to sow seeds (of grain)” and *zai zhi* 栽植 “to plant trees (or flowers)” in fragment F13:W87 are written sequentially for day 25, but *zhong shi* “sow seeds” on its own for day 26. See: Li Yiyu 李逸友 (ed.), *Heicheng chutu tianwen wenshu – Hanwen wenshu juan* 黑城出土文書 (漢文文書卷) [Documents found in Qara Qota –Chinese documents volume] (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1991), p. 212 and [tuban wuyi 圖版伍壹 facsimile 51]. Most probably, these two Chinese terms were translated into Mongolian as *ür-e saču-* (to sow seeds) and *mod šidkü-* (to plant trees). Fragment F9:W57 from Qara Qota provides the final answer. The Chinese divinatory method *Baijiri* 百忌日 [One hundred avoidances each day] is copied onto this fragment from line 50 to its end. Lines 52 and 53 contain the Mongolian translation for “On day Yi, do not plant trees” [*Yi bu zai zhi* 乙不栽植], rendered as *yi üdür-tür modun üli sidkügdükü* [Yi day –at, woods not be-planted]. See Yoshida Junichi 吉田順一 and Chimed Dorji 齊木德道爾吉, *Harahoto shutsudo mongoru bunshono kenkyuu* ハラホト出土モンゴル文書の研究 [Study on Mongolian documents excavated at Qaraqota] (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 2008), pp. 137–146. In final conclusion, the Mongolian verb *sidkü-* must mean “to plant (trees)” and was thus used correctly by Herbert Franke to render the Chinese term *zai zhi* 栽植.

- 8 *Sebligül-* is derived from the verb *sebli-* (to repair) with a causative suffix *-gül-*. The verb *sebli-* is now written *selbi-*. The switching of *-b-* and *-l-* is part of a linguistic phenomenon referred to as metathesis.

|                                                      |                                 |                            |                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>noyalaqu nere ab-</i>                             | 受封<br><i>shou feng</i>          | be given an official title | Nr. 52, line 19                 |
| <i>ongyocala</i> <sup>9</sup><br><i>müren getül-</i> | 乘船渡水 <i>cheng chuan du shui</i> | cross a river by boat      | Nr. 51, l. 15<br>Nr. 52, line 8 |

Herbert Franke and Georg Kara identified those technical terms in the calendar by comparing both the Mongolian version and the Chinese version published by Qing officials in the year 1910.<sup>10</sup> But there were still some mismatches because some of the technical terms used in Chinese divination had already been altered, although their meaning remained intact.

The Mongolian version was directly translated from the original Chinese calendar, retaining all agrarian terms while not adding any ones for nomadic use. Such terms clearly related to the daily lives of the Han Chinese and not to the Mongols. The best representative is the term *ongyocala*–: “taking a boat”, a somewhat remote concept for the inhabitants of the Mongolian steppes and deserts. As this daily divination did not apply to the nomadic life style of the Mongols, it was given up after the Yuan empire collapsed. Without the support of a political power, this so-called Mongolian calendar could not survive.

### ***Zhoutang* divination in the Mongolian calendar from Turfan**

The second kind of divination, which is simpler and independent of calendrical calculations, was also found in the fragments of the Mongolian calendar from Turfan. Blockprint fragment nr. 55 (T II M 166, 502d) was written with a divination graph. The graph is a circle surrounded with eight Mongolian words radiating from the centre. Clockwise, these eight words read: *kürgen* (son-in-law), *qadum eke* (mother-in-law), *ger* (tent or home), *qadum ečige* (father-in-law), *nutuy* (campsite or countryside), *γolumta* (kitchen stove), *beri* (daughter-in-law), and *bayurči ger* (tent of cooker, i.e. kitchen).<sup>11</sup> Above this graph, five short sentences were written, which mean “sending out a daughter, getting a daughter-in-law, read around this graph.” This is clearly based on a traditional Chinese divination method referred to as *Jiaqu zhoutang* 嫁娶周堂 [“Marriage as in the House of Zhou”] or *Zhoutang yongri* 周堂用日 [“Dates chosen as in the House of Zhou”].<sup>12</sup> The best day for a wedding cere-

9 Derived from *ongyoca* [“by means of of animal” or “ship”], adding *-la-* to form a verb. Thus: “board a ship” or “travel by ship”.

10 Herbert Franke, *Mittelmongolische Kalenderfragmente aus Turfan*, pp. 44–45 and Georg Kara, “Weitere mittelmongolische Bruchstücke aus der Berliner Turfansammlung”, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 6 (1979), pp. 195–198.

11 Cerensodnom and Taube, *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*, p. 156 (no. 55) and illus. XXVI.

12 Herbert Franke, *Mittelmongolische Kalenderfragmente aus Turfan*, pp. 36–43. Herbert Franke compared it with the *Zhoutang* divination recorded in chapter 35 of *Xieji bianfang shu* 協紀辨方書, edited in 1739 by the Qing government.

mony could be selected by counting these eight terms clockwise or anti-clockwise.<sup>13</sup> *Zhoutang* divination had already been in use in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century, and is present in Dunhuang documents such as manuscripts S-P6 and Pel.chin.2905.<sup>14</sup> During the Yuan (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century), *Zhoutang* divination was republished in the popular encyclopedia *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 [“A detailed record of daily affairs”].<sup>15</sup> In the Ming era (14<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century), *Zhoutang* divination was also comprised in the official calendar *Datongli* 大統曆 [“Great Concordance Calendar”]. It was furthermore published in public divination booklets such as the *Yuxiaji* 玉匣記 [“Jade Box Record”], still in use in China today.

### ***Zhoutang* divination in the birch bark manuscripts from Xarboxyn Balgas**

Most scholars compared the divination fragments from Turfan with the Mongolian version of Chinese divination books in the Qing.<sup>16</sup> Ostensibly, Chinese divination methods were given up after the collapse of Yuan empire, to be reintroduced in the late seventeenth century with the support of Qing dynasty. But this is wrong. In 1970, thousands of birch bark manuscripts dating from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were discovered in the ruins of a Buddhist temple in Mongolia.<sup>17</sup> They provide valuable testimony to an unbroken transmission of Buddhism in Mongol history.<sup>18</sup> Two sets of birch bark documents, collated in two handwritten

13 These eight words represent the *bagua* 八卦 trigrams circle: *fu* 夫 (husband), *gu* 姑 (husband's mother), *tang* 堂 (main room), *weng* 翁 (husband's father), *di* 第 (residence), *zao* 竈 (stove), *fu* 婦 (wife) and *chu* 廚 (kitchen). The method for choosing a lucky day is to “count clockwise from the word *husband* during big lunar months (30 days) and anti-clockwise from the word *wife* if in a small lunar month (29 days); if the words *main room*, *residence*, *kitchen stove* or *kitchen* are reached, then it is a good day”.

14 Dunhuang manuscript S-P6 (London) is a *Juzhu liri* calendar of 877 A.D. The manuscript Pel.chin.2905 (P. 2905) is a divination booklet. Both of them were also written for *Zhoutang* divination. See Marc Kalinowski, *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale: étude des manuscrits de Dunhuang de la bibliothèque nationale de France et de la British Library* (Paris : Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003), pp. 245–246, 255–256 and Huang Zhengjian 黃正建, “Dunhuang zhan hunjia wenshu yu Tang Wudai de zhan hunjia” 敦煌占婚嫁文書與唐五代的占婚嫁 [“Divination of marriage in documents from Dunhuang and during the Tang and Five Dynasty periods”], *Xinshiji Dunhuang xuelunji* 新世紀敦煌學論集 [“Collection of Dunhuang studies in a new century”] (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2003), pp. 274–293.

15 *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), p. 160. This version was first printed in 1340.

16 Cerensodnom and Taube, *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*, p. 147. Herbert Franke, *Mittelmongolische Kalenderfragmente aus Turfan*, pp. 36–43.

17 Elisabetta Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts on Birch Bark from Xarboxyn Balgas in the Collection of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, part 1*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), pp. 1–17.

18 Chiodo points out that the Xarboxyn Balgas manuscripts “are valuable testimony to an unbroken transmission of Buddhist poetry” since the 14th century. See: Elisabetta Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts on Birch Bark from Xarboxyn Balgas in the Collection of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, part 2*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), pp. 6–7. Chiodo

fascicles contained several styles of divination. One of the texts was the *Zhoutang* divination from fascicle XBM 99.<sup>19</sup> The Mongolian operating instruction of this *Zhoutang* graph, partly defective, can still be identified as mirroring the Chinese original.

*yeke sara bög[esü] kürgen-eče nere jöb toýala;*  
big month -if, son-in-law -from name clockwise count;

*[bay]a sara bögesü ökin-eče nere [buruy]u toýalatuýai;*  
small month -if, daughter -from name anti-clockwise count-(imperative)

*nutuy bayur[č]i [ger] [γ]olomta eden-tu [...]*  
campsite kitchen [home] kitchen stove these -to [it is a good day]

Although incomplete, with only four original terms left intact (*bayurči*: kitchen<sup>20</sup>, *kürgen*: son-in-law, *qadam*: husband's parents and *ger*: tent, the order of the word-ring is exactly the same as encountered in *Zhoutang* divination.<sup>21</sup> Including the words in the operating instruction: *ökin* (daughter), *nutuy* (campsite), *γolomta* (kitchen stove), there are 7 words but one is still missing. By comparison, I have

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posits that the manuscript be dated to the first part of the 17th century, just before the establishment of the Qing. However, they preserved an older Buddhist tradition. Čoyiji and Öleji found that these documents used much medieval Mongolian (13th–14th century). Čoyiji 喬吉, Öleji 烏力吉, “Guanyu deguo chubande huashupi mengwen wenxian” 關於德國出版的樺樹皮蒙文文獻 [“About the birch bark Mongolian documents reprinted in Germany”], *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古學信息 [Mongolian studies information], 2001:3, pp. 16–19, 29. According to a different translation method and the use of the Ali-gali script, I found that they could be divided into two styles. The ‘new style’ began in the very late 16th century while the ‘old style’ preserved the Buddhist tradition from the 14th century. For example, in the old style, the word for a Tibetan monk bla-ma was transliterated as *lama*. But in the new style, it was rendered as *blama*. Also, the mantra of Avalokitesvara, was transliterated as *Oom mani bad mi qung* in old style, and *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* in new style. I believe that a large part of birch bark manuscripts were passed on in handwriting according to the old tradition from the 14th century. See: Ho Kai-lung 何啟龍, “Halebuhun balehasun gucheng chutu mengwen fojing zhizhongde meng-yuan yinsu” 哈勒不渾一巴勒哈孫古城出土蒙文佛經之中的蒙元因素 [“Mongolian and Yuan Factors in Buddhist texts written in Mongolian as discovered in the Ancient City of Xarboxyn Balgas], *Xibei Minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究 [N. W. Ethno-National Studies], 2005:2, pp. 38–49.

19 Elisabetta Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts, part 1*, p. 215 (XBM 99). Elisabetta Chiodo recognised it as the same wedding divination as in Turfan.

20 Chiodo read it as *bayuri* (base on which a tent is erected). The letter /č/ is missing, which must be an error made by a scribe during the long course of the document being passed on in handwriting. The correct form should be *bayurči ger* (kitchen).

21 The word-ring of this birch bark manuscript is equal to the one listed in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century encyclopedia *Shilin guangji*. While diametrically opposed in comparison with the Mongolian calendar from Turfan, the word order is still the same. They also carry the same meaning and almost the same wording.

reconstructed its word-ring listing in clockwise order: *nutuy* (campsite), *ɣolomta* (kitchen stove), *ökin* (daughter, i.e. daughter-in-law), *bayurči ger* (kitchen), *kürgen* (son-in-law), *qadam eke* (mother-in-law), *ger* (tent), and *qadum ečige* (father-in-law).

### The *Daliyue* divination in the manuscripts from Xarbuxyn Balgas

*Zhoutang* divination aside, there is another wedding divination from the first page of booklet XBM 99, albeit badly preserved. In the nearly complete text XBM 97, the same divination appears. Used by astrologers to select an auspicious lunar month for marrying one's daughter away, the divination hinges on the girl's birth year.<sup>22</sup> Here a few sentences from pages 2r line 9 to page 2v line 6, to illustrate this type of divination:

*üker qonin jıl – dü ökin-i tabun sara arban nigen sara ögbesü jökiq*  
 cow ram year –at girl, 5 month 11 month give out –if, suit  
*qubi sara doloyan sara ögbesü ere-yuyan daruqu mayu*  
 first month 7 month give out –if, man –to press bad

“If the girl (was born) in the year of ox or goat and married in the 5<sup>th</sup> month or the 11<sup>th</sup> month, the match is suitable. If she married in the first month or the 7<sup>th</sup> month, this would be bad for her husband.” This corresponds to the traditional Chinese divination referred to as *Daliyue* 大利月 [“month of great luck”]. Dunhuang manuscript Pel.chin.2905 is also equipped with a chart illustrating a *Daliyue* divination.<sup>23</sup> This chart is listed beneath.<sup>24</sup>

22 Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts, part 1*, pp. 210–212 (XBM97 2r – 6v), 214–215 (XBM 99 1r – 1v). Elisabetta Chiodo failed to identify this wedding divination and its origin.

23 Dunhuang manuscript Pel.chin.2905 is partly fractured and only half of the chart is preserved. The book *Sishi zuanyao* 四時纂要 [“A resumé of the four seasons”] from the 10<sup>th</sup> century is one of the earliest records of *Daliyue* divination. Huang Zhengjian used this book to restore the chart in Pel.chin.2905. See Huang Zhengjian, “Dunhuang zhan hunjia wenshu yu Tang Wudai de zhan hunjia”.

24 Dunhuang manuscript Pel.chin.2905 (P. 2905) used the Ten Heavenly Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches 十天干十二地支 system for measuring time, whereas the general public adheres to the *shengxiao* 生肖 system, with its twelve zodiac animal representations: rat for *zi* 子; ox for *chou* 丑; tiger for *yin* 寅; rabbit for *mao* 卯; dragon for *chen* 辰; snake for *si* 巳; horse for *wu* 午; goat for *wei* 未; monkey for *shen* 申; rooster for *you* 酉; dog for *xu* 戌 and pig for *hai* 亥. This 12 animal system was widely welcomed in Inner Asia, including Mongolia. For easy comparison, I have translated the chart into the 12-animal system instead of the twelve branches.

|                                                  | rat,<br>horse                    | ox,<br>goat                      | tiger,<br>monkey                   | rabbit,<br>rooster               | dragon,<br>dog                   | snake,<br>pig                    |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Great Luck                                       | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>    | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>  | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>  |
| Bad for the<br>matchmaker<br>& the eldest<br>son | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>  | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>9 <sup>th</sup> | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>  |
| Bad for the<br>husband's<br>parents              | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>  | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup>   | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>  | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>  |
| Bad for the<br>wife's<br>parents                 | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>  | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup>   | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>  | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> |
| Bad for the<br>husband or<br>son-in-law          | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>  | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>  | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup>   | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>  | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> |
| Bad for the<br>wife                              | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>    | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>  | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> |

The *Daliyue* divination in manuscript XBM 97 from Xarbusyn Balgas did not have any chart and was written as passages only. The whole set of passages should have run from pages 1 to 7 of XBM 97. Page 1 and 7 were already lost and page 4 was partly defective. In the above chart, the Mongolian passage is corrected and restored, and then I construct a chart to show the content. The animals correspond to birth years in the *shengxiao* 生肖 system, the numbers corresponding to the months and terms in the left column indicating whether the month is suitable or inauspicious. A bracket [...] shows where a passage is lost or defective.

|                                                  | [ ]                              | ox,<br>goat                      | tiger,<br>monkey                    | rabbit,<br>rooster               | dragon,<br>dog                   | snake,<br>pig                    |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Suitable                                         | [ ]                              | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>     | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>  | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>  |
| Bad for the<br>matchmaker<br>& the eldest<br>son | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> | 4 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>     |                                  |                                  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>  |
| Bad for the<br>husband's<br>parents              | [ ]                              | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>  | *4 <sup>th</sup> , 10 <sup>th</sup> | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> |                                  | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>  |
| Bad for the<br>wife's<br>parents                 | [ ]                              | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>  | [ ]                                 |                                  | *1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup> | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> |

|                     |                                  |                                  |                                   |                                  |                                  |     |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| Bad for the husband | [ ]                              | 1 <sup>st</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup>  | *6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> | *2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup> | [ ] |
| Bad for the wife    | 5 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> | 6 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> | [ ]                               | 2 <sup>nd</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup>  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>  | [ ] |

A box with an asterisk \* indicates that the information is correct in some other versions of *Daliyue* divination.<sup>25</sup> An empty box or a box with words in italics refers to erroneous content, probably due to manuscript copyists noting down wrong information or perpetuating existing mistakes. But as far as the passage in XBM 97 is concerned, most of its *Daliyue* contents are correctly recorded.

### A fragment of the *Taibai Venus* divinations from Qara Qota

Two Mongolian blockprint documents from the ruins of Qara Qota in the Alxa Desert, an important transportation link between the Mongol steppes and Gansu province during the Yuan, have been classified as Mongolian *Juzhu liri* calendars dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> On fragment no.063 (F192:W1), the part recording day and month is fractured and only the word *sara* (month) is still visible. On this fragment, there are many divinatory terms which are also extant in the calendar fragments from Turfan, for example, *mod šidkü*- “to plant trees”, *ür-e saču*- “to sow seeds”, *qoriyan sebligül*- “repair the wall of the garden”, *mör yar*- “to travel” etc.

Another fragment, no.062 (F9:W57), is not from a typical *Juzhu liri* calendar. By observing the different design of border lines and table lines, it has been speculated that it was “a kind of calendar similar to the Turfan’s but not the same”.<sup>27</sup> However, there is no table stating the month and the days on this fragment. It has three passages and each passage was based on one specific divination method. The first passage is from lines 1 to 25 and the first two lines are fractured. It mentions the wedding of a girl and various stellar positions over a month. For example, on the 1<sup>st</sup> day, 11<sup>th</sup> day or 21<sup>st</sup> day in a month, a specific star is in the East. When a girl gets married, she should not go in the opposite direction. Beneath a table with the cardinal points to illustrate the whole passage.

25 See chapter 36 of *Xieji bianfang shu* 協紀辨方書.

26 Yoshida and Chimed Dorji, “Harahoto shutsudo mongoru bunshono kenkyuu”, pp. 137–146. Between 1983 and 1984, 3000 fragments were discovered in the Qara Qota ruins in western Inner Mongolia. Most fragments date from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and are in Chinese. Released in 1991, Mongolists from China and Japan studied some of these fragments. Their results were published in 2008.

27 Yoshida and Chimed Dorji, “Harahoto shutsudo mongoru bunshono kenkyuu”, pp. 143–144.

| E                | SE               | S                | SW               | W                | NW               | N                | NE               | Centre<br>(earth) | Sky              |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup>  | 2 <sup>nd</sup>  | 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | 4 <sup>th</sup>  | 5 <sup>th</sup>  | 6 <sup>th</sup>  | 7 <sup>th</sup>  | 8 <sup>th</sup>  | 9 <sup>th</sup>   | 10 <sup>th</sup> |
| 11 <sup>th</sup> | 12 <sup>th</sup> | 13 <sup>th</sup> | 14 <sup>th</sup> | 15 <sup>th</sup> | 16 <sup>th</sup> | 17 <sup>th</sup> | 18 <sup>th</sup> | 19 <sup>th</sup>  | 20 <sup>th</sup> |
| 21 <sup>st</sup> | 22 <sup>nd</sup> | 23 <sup>rd</sup> | 24 <sup>th</sup> | 25 <sup>th</sup> | 26 <sup>th</sup> | 27 <sup>th</sup> | 28 <sup>th</sup> | 29 <sup>th</sup>  | 30 <sup>th</sup> |

The star's name in line 1 was defective, but the dates and positions of the star and their constellation give accurate hints. Based on the popular *Taibai riyou* 太白日遊 ["Daily itinerary of the Taibai star"] "Taibai" actually being the planet Venus, is a divination text originating from a Tantric Buddhist sutra introduced from India during the first part of eighth century.<sup>28</sup> Swiftly gaining in popularity, the *Taibai riyou* became a constant concomitant of the *Juzhu liri* calendar and edited into popular divination books. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it was translated into Mongolian. The second passage concerns inauspicious days for tailoring a dress. The third passage is about other inauspicious days for a variety of matters in daily life, all traditional Chinese divinations. All translated divinations, i.e. the *Zhoutang*, *Daliyue* and the *Taibai riyou*, were translated into Mongolian and spread into regions with Mongol populations, surviving well beyond the end of the Yuan empire.

### Unbroken transmission of Chinese divination in Mongolian

The Mongolian fragments from Turfan and Qara Qota prove that Chinese divination methods had already been transmitted to the Mongol public in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is true that the publication of the *Juzhu liri* calendar in Mongolia indicates the political motivation of the Yuan dynasty. After the empire's collapse, the Mongols lost their main source of paper and blockprint experts. While the Chinese-style calendar may have been abandoned, Chinese divination methods were preserved on hand-written birch barks over generations. Dozens of Chinese divination manuscripts from Xarbuxyn Balgas dating from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century have been found, further

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28 This sutra is called *Xiuyaojing* 宿曜經 [Sutra of Celestial Constellations and Bodies], its full name being *Wenshushili Pusa ji zhu xian suo shuo ji-xiong shiri shan-e Xiuyaojing* 文殊師利菩薩及諸仙所說吉凶時日善惡宿曜經 ["Manjusri Bodhisattva and sutras pronounced by other immortals concerning auspicious and inauspicious times and days, as well as Benevolent and adverse celestial constellations and bodies"]. It was said to have been translated from the Sanskrit by Amoghavajra (Bu kong 不空), a famous devotee of Tantrism during the Tang era. This sutra combined the knowledge of India and Babylonia in calculating the orbits of the five planets, the moon and the sun. The 12 astrological signs from Babylonia and the 28 mansions from India were used too. The Indian seven day week in the sutra was translated into both Persian-Sogdian and Chinese terms, a discovery made by Paul Pelliot, who named the sutra *Manjuçrī et les sages sur les heures et les jours fastes et néfastes et sur les luminaires et les mansions heureux et malheureux*. Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, «Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine», *Journal asiatique*, 1913, pp. 99–199.

strengthening the notion that Chinese traditions had established itself by then, as an important part of Mongolian divination. The parallel to the adoption of the originally Indian *Taibai riyou* during the 8<sup>th</sup> century becomes apparent. When during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the Qing dynasty lent its full support to the translation and printing of the Chinese *Juzhu liri* calendar and divination books, Chinese divination rose to its peak in the Mongolian territories. However, for the duration of the Ming empire, there was no political power to support any translation effort. So what fuelled this unbroken transmission, and who preserved and copied such time-honoured Chinese divinations?

The birch bark manuscripts, including the Mongolian and Tibetan versions, were placed inside a Buddhist stupa in Xarboxyn Balgas during the rite of consecration.<sup>29</sup> Most of these manuscripts are Buddhist sutras with brief philosophical annotations.<sup>30</sup> But also common divination manuscripts were being preserved by Buddhist monks during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Back in the Yuan era (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries), there is no hint of any divination documents at Qara Qota. The divination fragments from Turfan, however, provide an answer. While the recto of fragment no. 57 (T I D) is an example of an ordinary blockprinted Mongolian *Juzhu liri* calendar, its verso has three lines of handwritten Tibetan.<sup>31</sup> The Tibetan has not yet been translated and discussed.<sup>32</sup>

1. *cir 'gro-ba kun tu skye ba dran par gyur*
2. *tshe rabs kun tu shi ba'am skye ba na*
3. *rtag tu bdag ni rab-tu 'byung-ba sog*
4. *rgyal-ba kun kyi rjes su bdag slob gyur te*

“Having remembered everywhere creatures are born,  
in birth and death in all life times,  
may I always seek ordination  
and become a student of all victors!”

It is a part of the Tibetan version of the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (*mdo-phal-po-che*; *Huayanjing* 華嚴經).<sup>33</sup> The original blockprinted *Juzhu liri* calendar (recto) was

29 Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts, part 1*, pp. 1–2.

30 Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts, part 1*, pp. 6–11.

31 Cerensodnom and Taube, *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*, pp. 158–160 and illus. XXVII. These three lines are actually four sentences.

32 I wish to thank Dr. Lawrence Lau Yu-kwong 劉宇光 of Fudan University, Dr cand. Rinchen LO King Chung 仁欽·羅勁松 of Universität Leipzig, Dr. Marty Jiang Bo 江波 of Columbia University as well as Dr Nathan Hill (SOAS, University of London) for their help in my Tibetan translation. For illustration, see figure 7.

33 Part of chapter “Samantabhadra's Aspiration to Noble Deeds” (Puxian Pusa xiayuan pin 普賢行願品) in the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (*mdo-phal-po-che*; Hua Yan Jing 華嚴經). It constitutes the last three lines of the 16<sup>th</sup> *stotra* and the first line of 17<sup>th</sup>.

complemented with a handwritten Tibetan sutra, not an uncommon practice, since a dearth of paper frequently induced authors to recycle printed papers, official documents or pages from Buddhist books. Loan agreements for borrowing seeds or cloth, contracts for hiring workers, and land deeds were frequent vehicles.<sup>34</sup> However, fragment nr. 57 (T I D) from Turfan cannot be considered as an example of such “recycling”, since only the upper part of the fragment (verso) was covered in the Tibetan hymn and a large part was left empty. This wasteful practice could not have occurred during a period when reusing paper was common. It was most probably that the writer decided to extol the calendar because he really treasured it. The author was in all likelihood a Buddhist monk practising Tibetan Buddhism, the most popular manifestation of Buddhism in the Yuan era.

We discover the same practice in other places and cultures. Manuscript booklet Or. 8212 (161), taken by Stein from Dunhuang in 1907, is a good example for comparison. The divination booklet written in Orkhon Turkic runic script (*irq bitig*)<sup>35</sup> made use of an Indian divination technique which consisted of throwing a four-sided dice three times and choosing one of the sixty-four divinatory passages.<sup>36</sup> This popular divination originated in India and spread widely into Central Asia, Tibet<sup>37</sup> and even China.<sup>38</sup> Fascicle Or. 8212 (161) consists of fifty-eight sheets. The

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34 Eric Trombert, *Le crédit à Dunhuang: vie matérielle et société en Chine médiévale* (Paris: Collège de France, 1995). Chinese translation: Yu Xin 余欣, Chen Jianwei 陳建偉 trans., *Dunhuang de jiedai 敦煌的借貸* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003). Eric Trombert quoted fragment P.4514.3A as an example of contracts. It was blockprinted as a Buddhist diagram, its verso overwritten with a contract in 983.

35 Talât Tekin, *Irak Bitig – the Book of Omens* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), pp. 1–3.

36 James Hamilton, “Le colophon de l’Irak Bitig”, *Turcica*, 7 (1975), pp. 7–19. Chinese translation: Wu Chi-yü 吳其昱 (trans.), “Shazhou gu Tujuewen zhanbu shu irq bitig houji 沙州古突厥文占卜書 irq bitig 後記” [“The Colophon of an ancient Turkic divination book “irq bitig” from Dunhuang”], *Dunhuang Xue 敦煌學 [Études sur Touen-Houang]*, vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Association d’Études sur Touen-Houang, 1974), pp. 96–106.

37 James Hamilton, based on the findings of A. H. Francke and F. W. Thomas, wrote a short introduction about the popularisation of divination by throwing three dice in Turfan-Qočo, Mazār Tagh of Khotan and Dunhuang. Tibetan manuscripts with this divination were found in the above sites because the Tibetan empire conquered and ruled Inner Asia in the 8th and 9th centuries. James Hamilton, “Le colophon de l’Irak Bitig”, *Turcica*, 7 (1975), pp. 7–19. Dunhuang manuscript P. T. 1046 contains this divination in Tibetan, published by Marcelle Lalou in 1950 as part of *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang: conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot Tibétain)*, vol. 2. This manuscript was transliterated by Wang Yao and translated into Chinese: Wang Yao 王堯 and Chen Jian 陳踐, “Tubo shiqi de zhanbu yanjiu: Dunhuang Zang wenxiejuan yishi 吐蕃時期的占卜研究—敦煌藏文寫卷譯釋” [“Study of divinations in the era of Tibetan Empire: translation and explanation of Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang”] (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1987), pp. vii, 11, 154–161.

38 In the Dunhuang Chinese document S. 5614, this type of dice divination was translated into Chinese as the “Method of Mahesvara” (Moxishoulu bu 摩醯首羅卜). See Marc Kalinowski,

Turkic text is in black ink, and a colophon in red ink starts on the reverse of sheet 56, carrying over onto sheet 57. The colophon states that this booklet was most probably copied in a Manichaean monastery at Dunhuang by a young adept.<sup>39</sup> The fact that all identified Turkic pieces in Orkhon runic script from Turfan and Dunhuang belong to Manichaean literature indicates that divination booklet Or. 8212 (161) was also prepared by Manichaean scribes.<sup>40</sup> Even though divination by throwing dice was introduced by Indian Buddhism, it was generally absorbed by Turkic communities and welcomed by Turkic Manichaean believers. In similar fashion, Mongols (Buddhists or not) would later welcome Chinese divination.

However, the case is much more complicated. Originally, the first five sheets and the last sheet of booklet Or. 8212 (161) were blank. However, the inside pages were later filled with Chinese writing. Moreover, the last three pages of the Turkic text included the colophon which had been overwritten with Chinese characters.<sup>41</sup> These two Chinese passages had previously not raised any attention.<sup>42</sup> The first passage written on the first five sheets is the story about the life of the Buddha and his former incarnations such as the ‘Youth of the Himalayas’ (Xueshan Tongzi 雪山童子) and ‘King Šibi’ (*Shi Pi wang* 尸毗王). Another passage preserved on the last three sheets, overwriting the Turkic colophon, is a Chinese Buddhist verse entitled *Fozi chuan Zan* 佛子船讚 [‘In Praise of the Buddha’s vessel’], referring to the belief that the Buddha’s teaching can act as a ship to help all beings to escape from the ocean of misery.<sup>43</sup> These two passages are totally irrelevant to both dice divination and Turkic Manichaeism and it thus seems that this divination booklet was later preserved by a Buddhist follower because of the function of divination. This Buddhist believer treasured this book so much that he composed two Buddhist passages to honor the collection. The Turkic colophon was totally overwritten because it is about a heterodox religion, i.e. Manichaeism. But the text of divination was kept in good condition due to the role it played.

By means of manuscripts Or. 8212 (161) from Dunhuang and blockprint fragment Nr. 57 (T I D) from Turfan we can see the practice of divination could be

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“Recherche sur la numérologie à Dunhuang” (in Chinese), *Sinologie Française* [Faguo Han xue 法國漢學], vol. 5 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2000), p. 198. Huang Zhengjian 黃正建, *Dunhuang zhanbu wenshu yu Tang Wudai zhanbu yanjiu*, pp. 31–32. Marc Kalinowski, *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale*, pp. 320, 352, 368 [illustration 29].

39 James Hamilton, “Le colophon de l’Irq Bitig”.

40 Larry Clark, “The Turkic Manichaean Literature”, *Emerging from darkness: Studies in the recovery of Manichaean sources*, Paul Mirecki and Jason BeDuhn, eds, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 109.

41 Talât Tekin, *Irak Bitig – the Book of Omens*, p. 1.

42 Volker Rybatzki and Hu Hong 胡鴻, “The Irq Bitig, the Book of Divination: New Discoveries Concerning its Structure and Content”, *Journal of Tang Studies* [Tang yanjiu 唐研究], vol. XVI (2010), pp. 359–386.

43 Fascicle Or.8212 (161) has already been digitalized by the International Dunhuang Project. See [http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\\_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8212%2F161](http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8212%2F161).

treasured by Buddhist believers and monks in a variety of historical contexts. It is clear that by the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Buddhist monks in Turfan appreciated the Mongolian *Juzhu liri* calendar in the highest due to the divination methods used in the calendar. Buddhist monks were probably not the only ones to preserve Mongolian translated Chinese divinations, but most certainly had a keen interest. During the Ming period, when there was no political incentive to translate Chinese divinations, Buddhist monks assumed a most crucial role in preserving divinatory texts, also since there were too few scholars fluent in both Chinese and Mongolian who would have been able to perpetuate such divinations.

## Conclusion

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in order to enhance its legitimacy over all Mongols, the Yuan dynasty translated the Chinese *Juzhu liri* calendar into Mongolian. The translated calendar was published every year with its full political support. After the Yuan empire collapsed, official calendar publications in Mongolian were abandoned and the Mongol public showed no interest in preserving this calendar. On the other hand, the divination methods attached to the calendar were preserved by Buddhist monks. Since Buddhist practitioners now accounted for nearly all ritual practices in the Mongolian public sphere, the general public was thus exposed to the Chinese divination methods preserved in Buddhist monasteries.<sup>44</sup> This phenomenon was a reflection of the earlier absorption of Indian astrology and divination techniques from the *Xiuyaojing* 宿曜經 by the Chinese population. The public became entranced by the “new” texts for predicting the future and for preventing bad luck, regardless of whether these were based on Chinese, Tibetan or local Mongolian methods. Therefore, Buddhist practitioners copied Chinese texts even if such divination had no roots in Buddhism. And precisely for this same reason, the amulet *joo bičig* originating from Chinese Taoism was preserved by Buddhists on birch bark document XBM 153 from Xarbuxyn Balgas.<sup>45</sup> Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese divinations were welcomed by the Mongolian public, in an unbroken transmission until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, with even Tibetan monks in Mongolia cherishing such texts.<sup>46</sup>

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44 Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts, part 2*, pp. 8–9.

45 Not identified by Elisabetta Chiodo, in *supra*, pp. 8, 191–197.

46 C. R. Bawden, “On the Practice of Scapulimancy among the Mongols”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. IV (1958–1959), pp. 1–43. Bawden classifies Mongolian divinations into two categories. Category II refers to divinations which are not dependent upon astrological considerations, and can be subdivided into two groups. Group IIA is involuntary divination or the observance of naturally occurring omens such as traditional scapulimancy, and the interpretation of the cries of birds. Groups IIB is voluntary divination through deliberate choice of auspices, e.g. use of dice or the tossing of coins. Category I, which is dependent upon astrology, is not clearly analysed by Bawden and I think that it can also be subdivided into two groups: Group IA being highly dependent upon astrology, following the Mongolian *Juzhu liri*; group IB only partly depending upon astrology, e.g. *Zhoutang* divination, *Daliyue* divination.

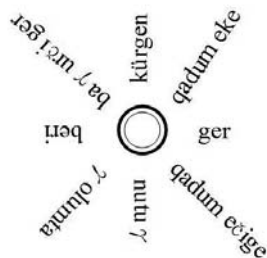


Fig 1. Illustration of *Zhoutang* divination with romanisation, from Turfan Mongolian blockprint fragment no. 55 (T II M 166, 502d).

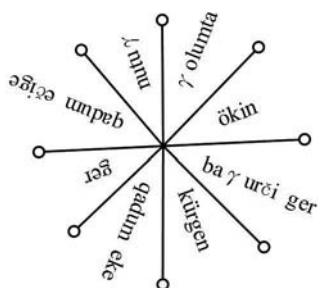


Fig 2. Reconstruction of the *Zhoutang*'s illustration with romanisation, from birch bark fragment XBM 99 of Xarbuxyn Balgas.

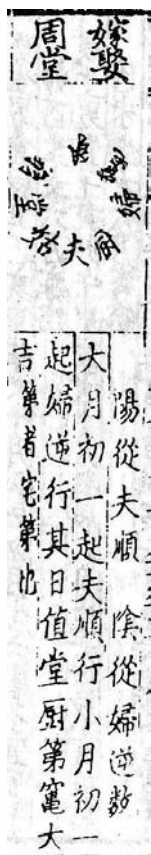


Fig 3. Photo of Zhoutang divination from the *Shilin guangji*, 1340 A.D.<sup>47</sup>

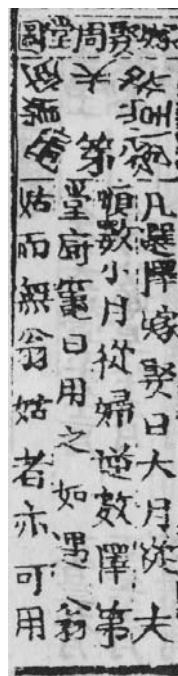


Fig 4. Photo of Zhoutang divination from the *Datongli* 1446 A.D.<sup>48</sup>

47 *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1998), p. 160.

48 *Guojia tushuguan cang Mingdai Datong liri huibian* 國家圖書館藏明代大統曆日彙編 ["Collection of Ming period official *Da Tong* calendars kept at the National Library of China"] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2007), vol. 1, p. 95.

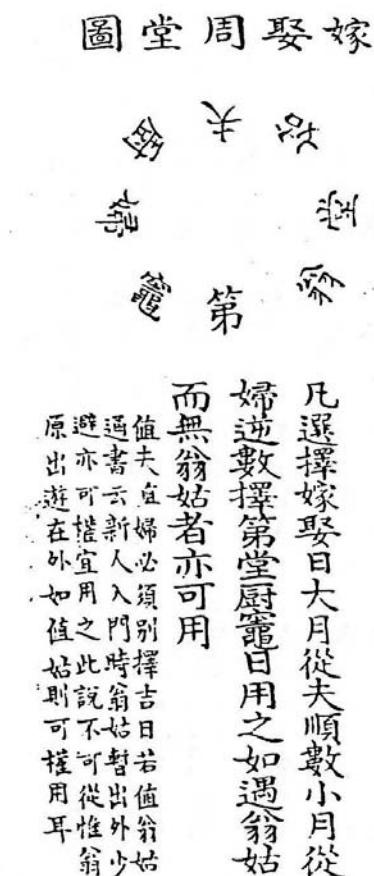


Fig 5. Photo of Zhoutang  
divination from the *Shixian*  
*Shujianshi*, 1722 A.D.<sup>49</sup>

49 Miao Zhijin 繆之晉, "Daqing shixianshu jianshi 大清時憲書箋釋" ["Analytical edition of the Qing Dynasty's official calendar Shi Xian"], *Xuxiu Sikuquanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), vol. 1040, p. 703.

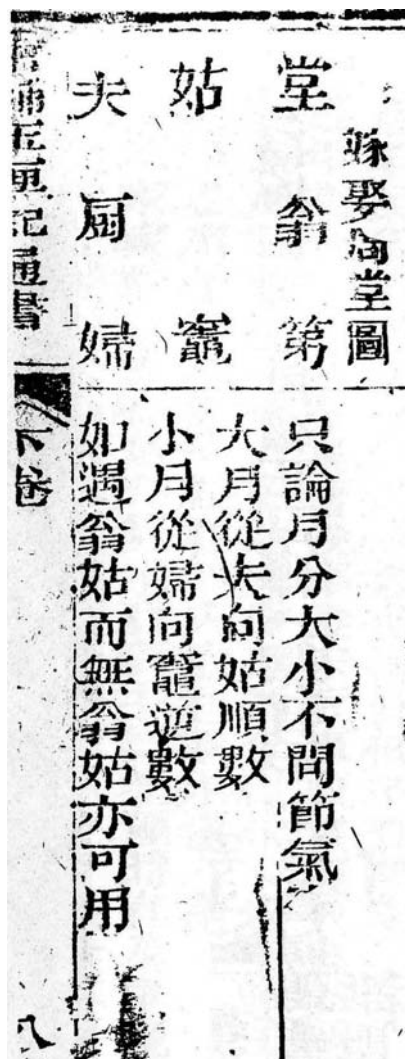


Fig 6. Photo of Zhoutang divination from the Yuxiaji, 1892 A.D.<sup>50</sup>

50 Zengbu Yuxiaji 增補玉匣記 ["Supplement to the Jade Box Records"], *Ming-Qing minjian zongjiao jingjuan wenxian* 明清民間宗教經卷文獻 ["Folk religious documents of the Ming-Qing era"] (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1999), vol. 12, p. 245.

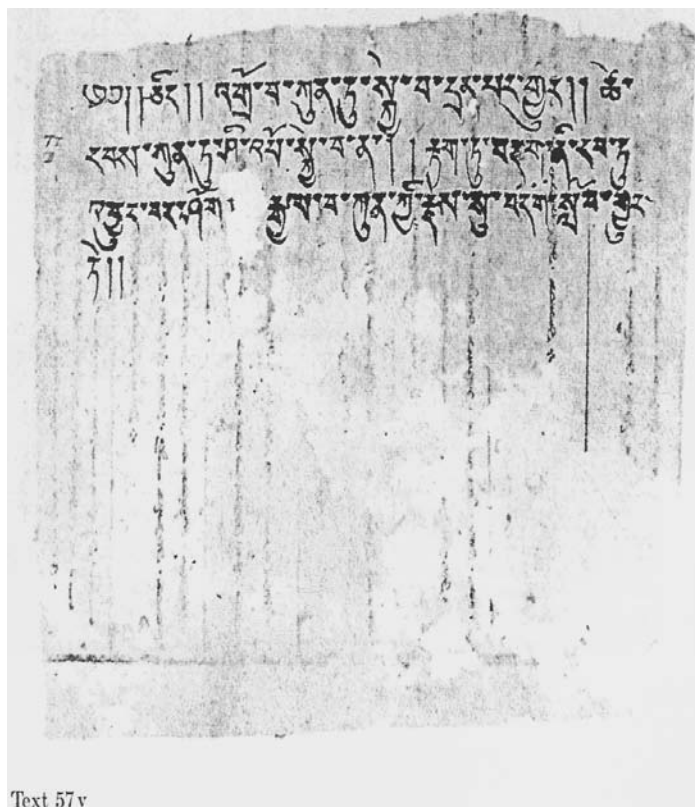


Fig. 7. Excerpt from the Tibetan version of the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (*mdo-phal-po-che*; *Huayanjing* 華嚴經), as reproduced in Dalantai Cerensodnom and Manfred Taube, *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*.

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