

How the History of Women in Early China Intersects with the History of Science in Early China

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At first the received history of science in China seems to have little place for women, especially in early China. Reconsiderations of the history of science in China and the status of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China* have not addressed this question. I begin with the question of what we mean by the history of science in China as it relates to women. I next survey what scientific disciplines and texts provide sources on women, either as practitioners or as consultants. I then review sources on women in (1) medicine, (2) the so-called *shushu* 數術 culture of numbers, divination and longevity practices described in the *Hanshu yiwenzhi* 漢書藝文志, and (3) the evidence from excavated texts.

INTRODUCTION: WOMEN AND THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE IN CHINA

It is useful to begin by asking what we mean by science. Are we looking at “science” or technology? Which sciences, and in what hierarchy of value of knowledge? As is well known, there has been an ongoing debate about the nature of Chinese science, reflection on the pioneering work of Joseph Needham, and what has been referred to as the “Needham problem”: variants on the question of why (or whether) the scientific revolution that transformed scientific disciplines in Europe did not take place in China. That debate, in its various forms, would appear to have nothing to do with women. It focused, in its European form, on the mathematization of science, and on the activities of court astronomical officials, who did not include women.

A second question to arise in considering the history of sciences in China is: of which ones? The plural is deliberate, since, as Nathan

Sivin has argued, Chinese accounts focused on sciences, rather than on a unified notion of science. Sivin breaks down the quantitative sciences into three disciplines: mathematics (*suan* 算), mathematical harmonics or acoustics (*lü* 律 or *lülü* 律呂) and mathematical astronomy (*li* 歷 or *lifa* 歷法), considered related to harmonics. He describes the qualitative sciences as: astrology (*tianwen* 天文), observation of celestial and meteorological events to rectify political order; medicine (*yi* 醫), including macrobiotics (*yangsheng* 養生) and materia medica (*bencao* 本草); alchemy, internal (*neidan* 內丹) and external (*waidan* 外丹); and siting (*fengshui* 風水).¹

Shushu Culture

Turning to indigenous classifications of knowledge, we may consider what has been called *shushu* culture. This rubric refers to the fifth and sixth sections of the *Hanshu yiwenzhi*, or Bibliographic Treatise.² They are divided into the following subsections.

Table 1: Categories of the Hanshu Bibliographic Treatise

Section 1	The Six Arts (<i>liuyi</i> 六藝), or Six Classics (<i>liujing</i> 六經)
Section 2	The Masters (<i>zhuzi</i> 諸子), the texts of Warring States philosophy
Section 3	Poetry (<i>shifu</i> 詩賦)
Section 4	Military Works (<i>bingshu</i> 兵書)
Section 5	Numbers and Techniques (<i>shushu</i> 數術). Including: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Celestial patterns (<i>tianwen</i> 天文). Divination by the stars and weather phenomena (clouds, mists, <i>qi</i> configurations), mapping the constellations (2) Calendars and chronologies (<i>lipu</i> 歷譜). Calendric computations and movements of the heavenly bodies (divinatory and otherwise) (3) Five phases (<i>wuxing</i> 五行). Five-phase and <i>yinyang</i> divination (including portents, hemerology, calendric astrology) (4) Milfoil and turtle-shell (<i>shigui</i> 蓍龜). Turtle-shell and yarrow divination, including the <i>Zhouyi</i>, the original text of the <i>Yijing</i> (5) Miscellaneous divination (<i>zazhan</i> 雜占) (6) Morphoscopy (<i>xingfa</i> 刑法). Works on geography, physiognomy, topomancy

Section 6 Recipes and Methods (*fangji* 方技). Works on medicine and longevity

- (1) Medical classics (*yijing* 醫經)
- (2) Classical recipes (*jingfang* 經方)
- (3) Sexual arts (*fangzhong* 房中)
- (4) Immortality practices (*shenxian* 神仙)

Which are part of the history of women? It is striking that the indigenous areas of Chinese science that seem most applicable to women, as subjects or objects, are the qualitative sciences, the very ones that were sidelined by the discourse of the scientific revolution. (To these we might add crafts such as sericulture and weaving, but they are beyond the scope of the present discussion.)

Here there are problems, which time does not permit us to consider in detail. A useful guide to some of these questions is Londa Schiebinger's *The Mind Has No Sex?: Women in the Origins of Modern Science*.³ Schiebinger examines a wide range of arguably "scientific" activities of women which have tended to fall below the radar of standard history of science. These include work in craft traditions, midwifery, cookbooks (and their relations to pharmacopeia), and the professionalization of science that eventually barred women who effectively practiced as physicians, mathematicians, etc. from the public exercise of their skills and knowledge. In this account she is looking at women as agents or practitioners. But she also considers women as objects of scientific reflection in areas such as cosmology, medicine and biology (including anatomy, race and botany).

Schiebinger's study is helpful and suggestive. It offers avenues to search for materials on women as quasi-scientific practitioners of both established *techne*, of crafts, and of such quasi-scientific techniques as divination.

WOMEN AND MEDICINE

I begin with medicine, not surprisingly, a rich source for scientific texts that affect women. There is already a large literature on medical texts concerning women in late imperial China. Let me begin with historical texts. Historical texts such as the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* include accounts of the use of various kinds of technical knowledge and invention by women. These include some of the earliest accounts of women's illnesses and women as practitioners of medical arts.

Historical Narratives

Early classificatory schemata describe *yin* and *yang* as two of six *qi*. In one, a physician describes the six *qi* of Heaven as *yin*, *yang*, wind, rain, dark and light.⁴ He attributes cold diseases to excess *yin* and hot diseases to excess *yang*. Extremes of wind and rain produce diseases of the extremities and viscera; excesses of dark and light produce mental illnesses.⁵ He describes women as “*yang* in matter” (*yang wu* 陽物) but “dark in season” (*hui shi* 晦時), and adds that excess generates diseases of internal heat (*nei re* 內熱) and *gu* 蠱 illnesses.⁶ The *Zuozhuan* also describes the emotions of love, hate, pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy as arising from the six *qi*.⁷

The *Zuozhuan* also gives an account that compares the healing techniques of a local female *wu* 巫 (spirit medium) and a foreign physician. It illustrates the possible activities of women as healers, although its female protagonist does not fare well. The Duke of Jin dreamed that a demon accused him of murdering its descendants, broke into the palace and pursued him from the chamber of state. He first consulted a *wu*. She recited the entire content of his dream to him and predicted that he would not live to taste the new wheat.

The duke became ill and then sought a physician from Qin. He had another dream in which the illness turned into two boys who debated how to evade the skilled physician, agreeing that they would be safe “above the diaphragm, below the heart.”⁸ The physician diagnoses the disease in these exact words, and says that it cannot be treated with either needles or drugs, and that nothing can be done.⁹

Here the *wu* and physician reach the same conclusion by oneiro-mancy, interpreting different dreams and without mutual consultation. Both make a negative prognosis, but the two are treated very differently. The physician is acknowledged for his skill and sent home with generous gifts. The duke executes the *wu* for her “false” prediction that he would not live to taste the new wheat. Her prediction is in fact correct; the duke falls dead in the privy before he can taste the wheat.¹⁰ The foreign Qin physician clearly is of higher status, and receives far better treatment for a negative prognosis.¹¹

The *Guoyu* contains a (somewhat controversial) passage that describes the aptitudes and roles of male and female *wu*:

古者民神不雜。民之精爽不攜貳者，而又能齊肅衷正，其智能上上下下比義，豕銖能光遠宣朗，其明能光照之，其聰能聽徹之，如是則明神降之，在男曰覲，在女曰巫。

In ancient times people and spirits did not intermingle. There were people whose essence was keen, who were without discord and who were able to be single-minded, reverent, correct and upright. Their wisdom could compare what was appropriate with regard to above and below, their sagacity could glorify what was distant and announce what was bright. Their clear sight could glorify and illuminate it; their keen hearing could hear it pervasively. If one were like this, the spirits would descend to them. If to a man, he was called a *xi*; if to a woman, she was called a *wu* (*Guoyu* 18.1, *Chu* 2, 559).¹²

This account is augmented by the *Zhouli*, which describes the duties of male and female *wu*. Male *wu* were responsible for sacrifices to departed spirits, which included calling them to the locale by their honorific titles. They were also responsible for winter offerings in the great temple; and spring rituals for protecting the country from disease. They preceded the king in visits of condolence (along with incantators). Female *wu* performed ablutions and anointing during regular exorcistic ceremonies. They performed dances to bring rain during drought; preceded the queen in visits of condolence (along with female incantators); and sang, wailed, and prayed during great calamities of the state.¹³

For purposes of the present discussion the important point is that these texts present women and men as having equivalent ritual functions that included rituals, medical remedies and exorcism.

Shiji 105

The most extensive account of the medical treatment of women in Han China comes from the biography of the Han physician Chunyu Yi 淳于意, a near contemporary of Sima Qian 司馬遷. He practiced medicine during the early Han period, more or less between 175 and 150 BCE. Of the twenty-five cases of which he left detailed records, about a third were women, so this text is an invaluable resource. It has been discussed extensively elsewhere.¹⁴ It shows several things. (1) Chunyu Yi had direct access to female patients of a wide range of ages and ranks. He could question them directly and used the same techniques of diagnosis and treatment on them that he used on male patients. In particular, he was able to perform pulse diagnosis on them, which is to say, he could touch them. (2) Some women were acquainted with *fangshi* 方士 techniques, the area of the Classical Recipes (*jingfang*) section of the

Recipes and Methods section of the *Yiwenzhi*. (3) It suggests that gender was not a major factor in Chunyu's diagnosis or medical treatment. (4) There is a relative lack of emphasis on differences between men and women based on their *yin* and *yang* makeup.

One case is particularly noteworthy because it describes a female practitioner. It concerned a female slave skilled in *fang* techniques for health and longevity. The text describes her as skilled in secret recipes (*fang* 方) and knowledgeable of several arts and the newest methods. Chunyu Yi urged her master (a king of Qi) to sell her back because she had an injured spleen and would die within the year, despite apparent health.¹⁵ Although Chunyu diagnosed her illness as potentially fatal, he noted that she retained normal pulse, hair and color, presumably through some kind of self-treatment by means of *fang* techniques.¹⁶

The Huangdi neijing

The situation of women in pre- and early imperial China has been discussed at length in Charlotte Furth's pioneering book *A Flourishing Yin*, and more recently in Robin Yates's article "Medicine for Women in Early China: A Preliminary Survey," so I will not repeat their conclusions (or differences) here.¹⁷ Suffice it to say that both outline a rich and changing array of sources for the study of women throughout the history of Chinese medicine. An important problem that arises in their discussions is the question of the androgyny of what Furth called "the Yellow Emperor's body." If, as Furth argues, the human body is truly conceived of as entirely androgynous prior to the development of Song gynecology, to what extent are pre-Song medical works valuable as texts on women? But since the study of women in China is a part of the study of gender in China, these texts are as much a part of the history of women as the more gendered medicine of later periods. I would argue, and have argued extensively elsewhere, that the early history of *yin-yang* theory, and the gender analogies that form part of that discourse, are also of extreme importance to the history of women.¹⁸

The *Huangdi neijing* is listed (and first appears) in the Recipes and Methods section of the *Hanshu yiwenzhi* under the first heading of Medical Classics (*Yijing*).¹⁹ It offers several different perspectives on women and medicine.

(1) The overall androgyny of the text, in which women are not specified as medically distinct from men.

(2) Passages that refer specifically to women, for example, references to the womb (SW 11.1.37), three references to childbirth (SW 18.3.6.56 and 49.6.139, LS 74.2.3.455), and a reference to blood poisoning in pregnant women (SW 71.3.3.229).²⁰

(3) Accounts of sexual difference, often closely linked to questions of fertility and reproduction. For example, *Suwen* 1 specifies the different numerical cycles that govern men's and women's life cycles and longevity. Females mature and age in cycles of seven; males mature and age in cycles of eight. Girls start to mature at seven, menstruate at fourteen, reach full growth at twenty-one, peak in strength at twenty-eight, start to age at thirty-five, become white-haired at forty-two, and become infertile at forty-nine. Boys start to mature at eight, secrete semen at sixteen, reach full height at twenty-four, peak in strength at thirty-two, start to age at forty, lose sexual vigor at forty-eight, lose sexual potency and physical strength at fifty-six, and lose their hair and teeth at sixty-two.²¹ *Suwen* 7 describes how a *yang* ailment of the heart and spleen systems affects reproduction. If untreated, women cease to menstruate and men cease to produce normal amounts of semen. If ignored, the condition causes dissipation of *qi* and death (for both men and women).²²

(4) Specific accounts of diseases that take the same course in women as in men. For example, *Suwen* 10 describes a rupture caused by accumulated *qi* in the spleen, manifested as a yellow, large and slow pulse. The text specifies that the disease has the same course in women and may be contracted from perspiration on the limbs and exposure to wind.²³

(5) *Yin-yang nan-nü* analogies. These passages describe the conditions of men and women by analogy with *yin* and *yang*, heaven and earth, and sometimes right and left. For example, the statement that women and men have opposite pulse patterns:

女子右為逆，左為從；男子左為逆，右為從。

In women the right [pulse] manifests opposition, the left manifests obedience; in men the left [pulse] manifests opposition, the right manifests obedience.²⁴

Another passage lays out an elaborate series of correspondences between the body and cosmos, including an account of sexual difference:

天圓地方，人頭圓足方以應之。天有日月，人有兩目，地有九州。人有九九竅，天有風雨。人有喜喜怒，天有雷電。人有音聲，天有四時。人有四四肢，天有五音。人有五藏，天有六律。人有六府，天有冬夏。人有寒熱，天有十日。人有手十指，辰有十二。人有足十指莖垂以應之，女子不足二節，以抱人形。天有陰陽，人有夫夫妻。歲有三百六十五日，人有三三百六十六節。

Heaven is round, earth is square; people's heads are round, their feet are square and thereby correspond to them. Heaven has the sun and moon, people have two eyes; Earth has nine regions, people have nine orifices. Heaven has wind and rain, people have joy and anger; Heaven has thunder and lightning, people have the notes and sounds. Heaven has four seasons, people have four limbs. Heaven has five tones, people have the five treasures; Heaven has six pitches, people have six palaces. Heaven has winter and summer, people have cold and hot [ailments]. Heaven has ten days, people have the hands' ten fingers; the Earth Branches are twelve, people have the feet's ten toes, a penis and a scrotum to correspond to them. Women are inadequate with respect to two of these [twelve] items, and thereby are able to bear children. Heaven has *yin* and *yang*; people have man and wife. The year has 365 days; the body has 360 joints.²⁵

This analogy clearly takes the male anatomy as the norm, both in its description of the “twelve members” and the reference to “nine apertures.”

In summary, the received textual tradition discusses women and medicine under the Medical classics and Classical recipes sections of the Recipes and Methods (*fangji*) section of the *Yiwenzhi*. The latter mentions the title of a text of recipes for women and infants titled *Furen ying'er fang* 婦人嬰兒方, but this is no longer extant.²⁶

What of the remaining two sections? Women appear indirectly in the category of Sexual Arts (*fangzhong*), in texts which were typically addressed to men. As for Immortality Practices (*shenxian*), there are indirect accounts of women who may have mastered such techniques within the received textual canon. For example, the *Liexianzhuan* or *Biographies of Immortals* includes the story of Mao Nü 毛女 or the “furry woman,” who fled the Qin court after the fall of Qin Shi Huang and encountered the Daoist Gu Chun 谷春, who instructed her in techniques that maintained her youth and longevity.²⁷

WOMEN AND THE MANTIC ARTS

Now I turn to my second topic: women and *shushu* culture. This topic has been less explored. Let me begin with the rubric of the *Hanshu yiwenzhi*. For our purposes it presents an immediate problem. The context for the formation of the *shushu* section of the *Yiwenzhi* was the institutionalization of traditional sciences by the government and the broader program of legitimizing dynastic power and defining the foundations of imperial orthodoxy. The problem for our purposes is that government institutionalization excluded women *prima facie*. Indeed, we might be tempted to compare the formation of Han textual canons and offices with the institutionalization of science in Europe.

With these caveats in mind, I now turn to a very tentative survey of a second broad area of potential “scientific” texts on women, in the four relevant categories of the Numbers and Techniques (*shushu*) section of the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi*: Celestial Patterns (*tianwen*), Milfoil and Turtle Shell (*shigui*), Miscellaneous Divination (*zazhan*), and Morphoscopy (*xingfa*). In the *Hanshu*, astrocalendric texts take precedence in position, quantity of texts and degree of imperial sponsorship. The last two categories, by contrast, address methods that were of less official importance, but more accessible to the population as a whole because of their intimate concern with the body. I will focus on three headings: turtle-shell and yarrow, astrocalendrics, and dreams and physiognomy.

A range of recent studies of divination have focused on the sociological and epistemological dimensions of divination, both in antiquity and in the present. This recent scholarship has underscored the rationality of divination, the pervasive influence of divinatory thinking, its complex social history, its role in the development of other hermeneutic traditions, and its place in an archaeology of knowledge. This emerging body of scholarship has paid little attention to the practice of divination by women.

Here, as elsewhere, information on women is relatively hard to come by, especially in the early period. Nonetheless, a corpus of biographical narratives portrays women as practitioners and consultants of divinatory arts. Because these have been less remarked upon I will mention sources on women and the mantic arts in some detail.

Tianwen

There are a few references to this last of the qualitative sciences. The

Lienüzhuan describes Jian Di 簡狄, the mother of Xie 契 (*Lienüzhuan* 1.3) as understanding *tianwen*.²⁸ More importantly, the astronomical chapters of the *Hanshu* were put into their final form by a woman: Ban Zhao 班昭.

Milfoil and Turtle Shell

There are many references to divinations about childbirth in the Shang oracle bones, and a tantalizing few references to women who may have prepared bones or shells for divinatory purposes. These references are very brief, but they do suggest the presence of women working as technical experts at the oldest levels of Chinese antiquity.

The *Zuozhuan* contains many accounts of divination about women and childbirth, and a few accounts of women performing or interpreting divinations. For example, in 563 BCE. the state of Zheng invaded the state of Wei, at a time when the Marquis of Wei elsewhere. The Wei official Sun Wenzi divined about whether to counterattack, but asked the king's stepmother Ding Jiang to interpret the crack:

孫文子卜追之獻兆於定姜。姜氏問繇，曰：兆如山陵，有夫出征而喪其雄。姜氏曰：征者，喪雄禦寇之利也。

Sun Wenzi cracked a turtle shell [performed turtleshell divination] on whether to pursue them, and then presented the crack to Ding Jiang. Lady Jiang asked for the omen. He said: “The crack is like a mountain: a party go on campaign and lose their leader.” Lady Jiang said: “Their losing their leader is the benefit of resisting bandits.”²⁹

The passage ends with a verification that Wei did counterattack and captured Huang Er of Zheng. Other passages in the *Zuozhuan* and *Lienüzhuan* also indicate Lady Jiang's reputation for wisdom (e.g., that she is not a ritual stand-in for her stepson).³⁰

Other examples appear in the *Lienüzhuan*. The life story of Jiang Yuan 姜嫄, the mother of Houji 后稷 (LNZ 1.2) describes how, when she wants to end her pregnancy, she performs turtle-shell and yarrow divination and offers sacrifice (*bushi yinsi* 卜筮禋祀).³¹ She is effectively attempting an abortion. Even more striking, she is described as a commoner, who knows how to perform turtle-shell divination.

Miscellaneous Divination: Oneiromancy

Under the category of Miscellaneous divination we find evidence of

two types of divination practiced by women: oneiromancy and wind divination.

The *Zuozhuan* gives some two dozen accounts of dream interpretation, sometimes supplemented by the consultation of *wu* (spirit mediums), physicians, or by turtle-shell and yarrow divination. Most of the dreams are those of rulers of states or their sons or ministers, and involve the fortunes of states, and an important area of rulers' fortunes is the future of their progeny. The *Zuozhuan* records many dreams about progeny and the choice of succession by both men and women. A few are dreams of commoners, and several are those of women. *Zuozhuan* dreams by women about progeny and succession take a somewhat different form from accounts of dreams by men. Yanji 燕姑, a low ranking concubine of Duke Wen of Zheng dreamed that Heaven presented her with a *lan* 蘭 flower and foretold a brilliant future for a son named Lan.³² There is an indirect account of a dream attributed to the wife of King Wu in antiquity. She is said to have dreamed of a spirit who predicts by name the birth of King Yu and names Cheng Tang as his future minister.³³ Finally, a commoner from Quanqiu 泉丘 dreams that she makes a tent for the temple of the Meng family with her curtains. She then seeks out the Lu nobleman Meng Xizi 孟僖子, who makes her an assistant to his concubine, and eventually has two sons by her.³⁴

These dreams are probably a variant of what Marc Kalinowski has described as predictive cycles in the *Zuozhuan*.³⁵ Such predictions are didactic, and are verified months or years later.

The *Hou Hanshu* biography of Empress Deng describes how, as a girl, she dreamed that she touched the heavens as if they were the tip of a stalactite, and drank the drippings from it. As regent, she used physiognomy to determine the innocence of some of her attendants after an incidence of theft in the palace.³⁶

Wind Divination

The biographies of diviners of auspicious days (*Shiji* 127) do not mention women diviners, but the *Shiji*, *Hanshu* and *Hou Hanshu* contain accounts of women *fangshi* and other mantic specialists. Accounts of prognostication by the “wind horns” (*fengjiao* 風角) appear in the *Hou Hanshu* introduction to the collected biographies of *fangshi* and in seven biographies of wind prognosticators.³⁷ One of them, Li Nan 李南 transmitted his skill to his

daughter.³⁸ She uses the same techniques, but in a domestic context and for different purposes, to predict her own fate. Li Nan's biography also relates how he passed his skills on to her:

南女亦曉家術，為由拳縣人妻。晨詣爨室，卒有暴風，婦便上堂從姑求歸，辭其二親。姑不許，乃跪而泣曰：「家世傳術，疾風卒起，先吹灶突及井，此禍為婦女主爨者，妾將亡之應。」因著其亡日。乃聽還家，如期病卒。

Nan's daughter also understood the [*fang*] arts of her family, and she was the wife of a man from Youjuan prefecture. One morning, as she entered the kitchen, there was a sudden burst of wind, and she rushed to her mother-in-law and sought to return to her own parents. When her mother-in-law would not permit it she knelt weeping and said: "My family has transmitted its arts through the generations. When an ill wind blows up suddenly and blows through the kitchen as far as the well, this is a sign of disaster for the woman in charge of the kitchen, and I will soon die." She disclosed the day of her death, and was allowed to return home. She fell ill and died in just such a way.³⁹

Morphoscopy: Physiognomy

It is not surprising that physiognomy should be practiced by women. It was not overly appropriated by state ritual, and did not require specialized equipment or texts. For example, Shuji 叔姬, the wife of Yang Shezi 羊舌子 of Jin (seventh century BCE) prognosticates that her newborn son Shu Yu 叔魚 will be corrupt and insatiable; and that he will be put to death for taking bribes.⁴⁰ She also prognosticated the future of her grandson. When she heard his voice, she declared that he had the voice of a wolf with a wild heart, who would destroy the Yang She clan.⁴¹ Her life story in the *Lienüzhuan* also emphasized her knowledge and use of physiognomy.⁴²

It is also striking that early texts depict male physiognomists as freely able to "read" female consultants by sight, and, presumably, in the case of blind practitioners, by touch. According to the *Lunheng*, the future Empress Lü is was physiognomised by an old man, in her husband's absence, in return for a drink. He predicted a noble future for her, and when her husband returned, she told him about it. Not only was he not angry, he sought out the old man and requested that he physiognomise him too.⁴³

In summary, the received tradition, and especially the *Zuozhuan*, gives evidence of women practicing most of the modes of divination

described in the *Hanshu yiwenzhi*. In addition, women frequently appear as the objects of state and private divination, a topic that is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

EXCAVATED TEXTS AND ARCHAEOLOGY

So far the account of women and the sciences in early China has relied exclusively on the received textual tradition. Now I turn briefly to the evidence from excavated texts, which supplement the received tradition with further evidence about women, medicine and the mantic arts.

Medicine

Archaeological evidence on medicine for women includes texts on pregnancy, a variety of recipe texts, and texts on the arts of the bedchamber. Our richest source for all these texts is Mawangdui 馬王堆 (Changsha, Hubei), which contains texts on a wide variety of medical subjects, including pregnancy, medical recipes, bedchamber arts, and illustrations of exercises, presumably for health and longevity.

Pregnancy

Perhaps most singular is a text on pregnancy, the *Taichan shu* 胎產書 or “Book of the Generation of the Fetus.”⁴⁴ The text begins with a diagram for the entombment of the afterbirth. It resembles the divinatory diagram used to determine a child’s fortune based on the branch sign associated with its date of birth found in the Shuihudi 睡虎地 daybooks (discussed below).⁴⁵ Next comes an account of the growth of the unborn child, dietary and ritual proscriptions for the various stages of pregnancy, and types of fetal instruction for each stage. The passages on fetal instruction contains instructions for each month of the pregnancy, and give substance to legendary accounts that the mothers of sage-kings knew how to instruct their sons before birth. The last part of the text consists of medical recipes concerned with pregnancy-related problems.

Recipe Texts

Another type of text is recipes that make specific reference to recipes or quasi-magical remedies to be used by women. Perhaps most important is the *Wushier bingfang* 五十二病方 (*Recipes for Fifty-two Ailments*),

from Mawangdui. Of the 282 recipes in the *Recipes for Fifty-two Ailments*, only seven make any mention of gender. In no case is the difference explained or otherwise remarked upon. Two recipes explicitly state that a recipe may be used by both men and women. A recipe for mad dog bites states that “women use the same medicine” (MS1.E.30). A recipe for inguinal swellings states that the recipe is “allowed for both men and women” (MS1.E.136).⁴⁶ Two recipes are specified as being for women. In a series of recipes for different kinds of urine retention (bloody, stone, lardy, etc.) two (MS1.E.111 and 112) are specified as “female urine retention.”

Three other recipes prescribe the same incantatory ritual, but specify that men repeat an action seven times and women twice seven. One is a recipe for curing warts that directs the sufferer to arrange clods of earth in a specified way and perform the Pace of Yu three times. Men are told to use seven clods and women twice seven (MS1.E.67). Another wart cure (MS1.E.70) uses an incantation, and instructs the men to rub the warts seven times and women twice seven. An incantation cure for lacquer rash (MS1.E.234) specifies that men are to spit seven times, and women twice seven.

Another collection of recipes excavated from tomb 30, Zhoujiatai 周家台 also specifies the same difference in the number of times men and women perform an action as part of a cure. In these recipes, the difference is in the amount of medicine that should be eaten or drunk.⁴⁷

Longevity

Several other texts from Mawangdui and elsewhere fall under the broad rubric of longevity. These include texts on sexual arts and gymnastic practices for health and longevity involving whole body movement. The Mawangdui medical manuscripts also contain texts on the arts of the bedchamber.⁴⁸

How and whether texts on gymnastics were intended solely for men is more difficult to determine. Of the forty-four figures depicted performing the gymnastic exercises in the Mawangdui text *Daoyin tu* 導引圖 or “Drawings of Guiding and Pulling,” about eight are clearly bare-chested, and all appear to be men.⁴⁹

There are accounts in the received tradition of women being instructed in exercise techniques by Daoists. For example the second-century CE *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 describes the invincible swordsmanship of a

maiden of Yue, a Daoist figure who was born in the southern forests and spontaneously learned the methods of swordsmanship, described in terms of the interplay of yin and yang and empty and full.⁵⁰

Divination

Archaeological evidence also suggests that divinatory materials were used by or with regard to women. These include cosmographic imagery and detailed divination related to childbirth.

Cosmographic Imagery

Historians of Chinese divination have pointed to astronomical or cosmological diagrams buried in Warring States and Han tombs. We may ask whether such devices were buried only in the tombs of men, or whether women also were buried with cosmographic imagery in their tombs. I would suggest that such implements appear in the tombs of both men and women, albeit in somewhat different forms. Cosmographic materials appear in the tombs of both men and women in late-Warring States and Han tombs, beginning with the “cord and hook” motif, which appears in a wide range of Warring States and Han contexts.

In the tombs of men, cosmographic imagery appears in diviners’ boards (*shi* 式), including dipper astrolabes and *liuren* 六壬 boards. The earliest type known is a dipper astrolabe (*beidou shi* 北斗式), which was used to determine the orientation of the handle of the North Dipper among the twenty-eight lunar lodges. It is a square wooden board with a handle, excavated from the mid-third century BCE Wangjiatai 王家台 tomb.⁵¹ I am unaware of instrumentation of this kind in any woman’s tomb. This is an area which warrants further research.

In addition, the cosmological cord-and-hook pattern appears in men’s tombs on *liubo* 六博 game boards, which were also used for divination.⁵² The oldest known *liubo* board dates from the fourth century and has been excavated from Tomb 314, Yutaishan 雨臺山 (Jiangling, Hubei).⁵³ Other boards have been excavated from Shuihudi, Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山, Mawangdui, Dafentou 大墳頭, and Yinwan 尹灣.⁵⁴

Women’s tombs frequently contain so-called TLV mirrors inscribed with a modification of the cord and hook pattern. In the “TLV” design,

a central square is inscribed inside another square or circle. The sides of the central square feature a T-shaped element and an L-shaped element facing the four cardinal directions. At the corners, the four internal angles of the cord and hook pattern form four V-shaped elements.⁵⁵ The TLV pattern appears on bronze mirrors from pre-Han and Han tombs. They are not divination instruments, but they are cosmographic representations included in the burials of elite women.⁵⁶

Daybooks: Marriage and Childbirth

Daybooks (*rishu* 日書) correlated the days of the calendar to auspicious action of various kinds, including marriage and childbirth. They had no fixed content, and provided practical guides to everyday actions.⁵⁷ They gave accounts of different kinds of practical activities and the days on which they should optimally be performed or avoided. A reader could determine quickly which days to select or avoid for particular activities, including marriage, journeys, construction projects, etc. The most complete daybooks found to date come from Shuihudi 睡虎地 tomb 11 (Yunmeng 雲夢, Hubei 217 BCE).⁵⁸

The content of the predictions suggest that the daybooks may have been used by both men and women (or their families), since their predictions reflected the interests and expectations of both parties. Some, like the wealth and character of a prospective wife (talkative, quiet, jealous, etc.) were of interest to a husband. Others, such as the likelihood of a woman's being abandoned, or of dying in childbirth, were of immediate interest to women. Others, such as the number of births and surviving children and the abiding love of a spouse, the birth of a child who would become a high official, or a thief, were of concern to both. This example is from the calendric tables:

達日，利以行師出征，見人。以祭，上下皆吉。生子，男吉，女必出於邦。

Da day: Beneficial for marshalling troops, marching out the army, audiences with others. For sacrifice, above and below, all auspicious. If a son is born: auspicious, if a daughter, she will be sure to depart from the country.

翼，利行。不可藏。以祠，必有火起。取妻，必棄。生子，男為覲，女為巫。

Wings: Beneficial for travel, storing away is not permitted. For sacrifice,

the fire will flare up. Marriage, she is sure to be abandoned. Children: A boy will become a *xi* [spirit medium], a girl will become a *wu*.⁵⁹

The daybooks also indicated auspicious days for marriage, described from the viewpoint of a prospective husband taking a wife or a father marrying off a daughter. They describe particular aspects of marriage to be desired or avoided by a prospective husband (and his family), a prospective wife (and hers), or both. These include: death in childbirth, abandonment, losing a home or having a depleted dwelling, childlessness, child mortality or lack of sons, and calamities for the parents. For example:

凡取[娶]妻、出女之日，冬三月奎、婁吉。以奎，夫愛妻；以婁，妻愛夫。

Days for taking a wife or marrying a daughter: In the third month of winter [the lunar lodges] Kui and Lou are auspicious. With Kui the husband will love the wife, with Lou the wife will love the husband.

癸丑、戊午、己未，禹以取[娶]椽山之女日也，不棄，必以子死。

Days *guichou, wuwu, jiwei*: “Yu married the Tushan girl” days. If she is not abandoned, she will be sure to die in childbirth.⁶⁰

A section on childbirth begins with a table of prognostications for the stem-branch combinations of the sexagenary cycle for sixty days. The ten columns of the table are the ten Heaven Stems. Each column contains six of the twelve Earth Branches, for example:

戊寅生子，去父母南。

A child born on the day *wuyin* will leave his parents and go south.

丙申生子，好家室。

A child born on the day *bingshen* will love family.

戊辰生子，有寵。

A child born on the day *wuchen* will be adored.⁶¹

Some predictions are equally applicable to men or women, for example: auspicious (Days 32, 45) or inauspicious (Days 3, 30, 38, 47), fond of speech (Day 4), happiness (Days 12, 18, 20, 26, 43), beauty

(Day 43), poverty and illness (Day 16), loving family (Days 23, 48), being orphaned young (Days 27, 51), a facial or body mole (Days 42, 54), being good (Day 46) or adored (Day 55).

Some clearly apply to men only: womanizer (7), warlike (9, 19, 21, 37, 52, 53), a career (11, 13), skill in battle (14, 52), love of wine or hunting (24, 33, 44), bravery (39), a future as a clerk (40, 41), and serving a lord (35). Others suggest reversals of fortune or relations with others that probably apply to men, for example: warlike and strong but orphaned young (21), sick and orphaned young, afterwards rich (22), happy, warlike, beneficial to a younger brother (31), fond of wine, sick, then rich (33), inauspicious, no mother, prison (34), ghostlike, a servant of others (56), and poor and powerful, but first to die (57).⁶²

Some give alternative predictions for girls and boys:

庚寅生子，女為賈，男好衣佩而貴。

A child born on the day *gengyin*, if a girl will become a merchant, if a boy, will love clothing and ornament and become honored.

壬寅生子，不[吉]，女為醫。

A child born on the day *renyin*: Inauspicious, a girl will become a physician.⁶³

This prediction is especially interesting in its suggestion that a woman could become a physician!

Next comes a second method based on a diagram for prenatal divination. The diagram predicts the child's fortune based on the branch sign associated with its time of birth.⁶⁴ The upper diagram is for children born in fall or winter, the lower for spring or summer (see Fig. 1).

The child will be extremely wealthy if the branch character for its birth day appears at the head (*si* for fall or winter, *mao* for spring or summer), but noble if at the neck (*wu* or *chen* for fall and winter, *si* or *chou* for spring and summer). If the character is in the figure's crotch, the child will be wealthy; under the arms, loved; in the hands, a skillful thief; under the feet, humble; on the "outside" (above the arms), a vagabond. The skillful and filial *dinghai* child will turn out well in any season: wealthy if born in the fall or winter and loved if born in spring or summer. The inauspicious *bingzi* child will be equally unlucky: humble if born in fall or winter and a thief if born in spring or summer. These predictions are far more gender-neutral than the day system.

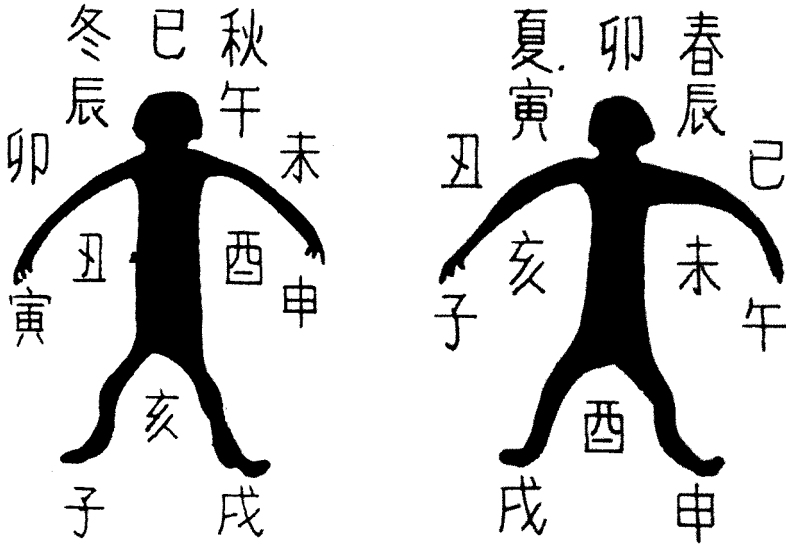
Interestingly, many of these techniques are borne out in the *Zuozhuan*. In addition to its medical references, it is noteworthy that women in the *Zuozhuan* engage in most of the modes of divination described in the *Hanshu yiwenzhi*. They frequently appear as the objects of state and private divination, yet they themselves have mantic access and in both state and domestic contexts they use a variety of methods to prognosticate about the future and use their prognostications to persuade others of what they consider the right course of action.

CONCLUSIONS

The textual tradition tends to neglect the activities of women, and medicine and divination are no exception. There is every reason to believe that most physicians and diviners were men, but given the overall lack of historical sources on women, the accounts that do appear become all the more significant. From this very preliminary survey we may hazard the following tentative conclusions. First, Chinese sources mention both female consultants and female practitioners of turtle-shell, yarrow, and dream divination as well as female *wu* who practiced medical arts, *fang* techniques and wind divination. Second, the evidence from excavated texts reflects a focus on both medicine and divination on marriage and childbirth. Finally, an apparent area of difference between early China and the late imperial period is the relative lack of gender distinction and greater access of female consultants to a range of specialists, including physicians and diviners.

By contrast, mantic activity presents a picture of greater gender distinction that is perhaps more contiguous with the practices of later periods. As Richard Smith has pointed out for late imperial China, male and female horoscopes were calculated differently; palm reading and pulse taking seem to have followed physicians' practice of using the left (yang) hand for a man and the right (yin) for a woman. Illustrations in physiognomy manuals made sharp gender distinctions in their portrayal and interpretation of physical features.⁶⁵ The interpretation of mantic evidence was also refracted through gender-based social roles. A man's fate calculation would predict his official position, wealth, etc.; the same calculation for a woman would typically predict her husband's prospects, rather than her own.⁶⁶ Prediction about her own future would typically be limited to auspicious dates for marriage or predictions about childbirth. Overall, these observations apply to much of the mantic material surveyed here.

Figure 1: Shuihudi Diagram for Predicting a Child's Fortune



ENDNOTES

- 1 Nathan Sivin, “Why the Scientific Revolution Did Not Take Place in China—Or Didn’t It?,” *Chinese Science* 5 (1982): pp. 45–66; and “Science and Medicine in Chinese History,” in *Heritage of China. Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, ed. Paul S. Ropp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 164–196.
- 2 For a particularly useful account see Marc Kalinowski, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion,” in *Religion and Chinese Society*, vol. 1, *Ancient and Medieval*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2004), pp. 223–248.
- 3 Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?: Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- 4 *Yin yang feng yu an ming* 陰陽風雨暗明. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Gaoxiong: Fuwen tushu chubanshe, 1991), Zhao 1.12, p. 1222.
- 5 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Zhao 1.12, p. 1222.
- 6 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Zhao 1.12, p. 1222. *Gu* refers to a quasi-magical poison, supposedly prepared by sealing venomous insects or snakes in a closed container until one had eaten all the others and concentrated their collective venom in its person. See Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 136.

- 7 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Zhao 25.3, p. 1458.
- 8 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Cheng 10.4, p. 849. There is a textual problem here: it is presumably the duke who has the dream, not the marquis. Cf. James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics V: The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen* (1872; repr., Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 372–374.
- 9 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Cheng 10.4, p. 850 (cf. Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, pp. 372–374). 居膏之上，膏之下。When a disease has lodged “below the heart” (*gao huang* 膏肓), it is deemed incurable.
- 10 For rain, see *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Zhao 16.6, p. 1382 (cf. Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 665) and *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 9.2, “Shun min,” pp. 478–480. For calamity see *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Zhao 18.1, p. 1394 (Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 671).
- 11 The rhetorical point of the story is to show the duke as unjust. It appears in one of many cycles of oracular rhetoric in which divination is used to reflect on moral character in *Zuozhuan* narratives.
- 12 For a very different paraphrase see Derk Bodde, “Myths of Ancient China,” in *Essays on Chinese Civilization/Derk Bodde*, ed. and intro. Charles Le Blanc and Dorothy Borei (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 66.
- 13 D. C. Lau, ed., *Zhouli zhuzi suoyin* 周禮逐字索引, ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1993), 3.55–56/46. For translation see Édouard Biot, trans., *Le Tcheou-li ou Rites des Tcheou*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1851; repr., Taipei: Chengwen, 1975), pp. 103–104.
- 14 For translation see R. F. Bridgman, “La médecine dans la Chine antique,” *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. 10 (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1955). For discussion see Lisa Raphals, *Sharing the Light: Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); Lisa Raphals, “The Treatment of Women in a Second-century Medical Casebook,” *Chinese Science* 15 (1998): pp. 7–28; Elisabeth Hsu, “Pulse Diagnostics in the Western Han: How *mai* and *shu* Determine *bing*,” in *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Michael Loewe, “The physician Chunyu Yi and his historical background,” in *En suivant La voie royale: mélanges offerts en hommage à Léon Vandermeersch*, eds. Jacques Gernet and Marc Kalinowski, with Jean-Pierre Diény (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1997): 297–313.
- 15 The king did not take the advice; she died the following spring. See Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) 105, p. 2805.
- 16 *Shiji* 105, p. 2805.
- 17 Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960–1665* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Robin D. S. Yates, “Medicine for Women in Early China: A Preliminary Survey,” *Nan Nü* 7, no. 2 (2005): pp. 127–181.
- 18 Raphals, *Sharing the Light*, chapter 6.
- 19 *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 30, p. 1776.

- 20 In addition, one passage refers to a specifically female ailment (*Lingshu* 81.2.481), another to women's lack of facial hair (*Lingshu* 65.2.1.435–6), and a question to Huang Di about the yin-yang of women (which he declines to answer) (*Suwen* 81.1.254). See Guo Aichun 郭霽春, ed., *Huangdi neijing lingshu* 黃帝內經靈樞 (Tianjin: Tianjin kexue jishu chubanshe, 1989) and Gao Shizong 高士宗, ed., *Huangdi suwen zhijie* 黃帝素問直解 (Shanghai: Kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 1980).
- 21 *Huangdi neijing suwen* 1.3.8.
- 22 *Huangdi neijing suwen* 7.2.26.
- 23 *Nü zi tong tong fa* 女子通通法, *Huangdi neijing suwen*, 10.4.2.36.
- 24 *Huangdi neijing suwen*, 15.2.45. Wang Bing's commentary explains that left corresponds to yang and right to yin; thus disorder in the pulse manifests on the left side in a man and on the right side in a woman.
- 25 *Huangdi neijing lingshu*, 71.2.446.
- 26 *Hanshu* 30, p. 1777. For several other recipe texts excavated from tombs see Yates, "Medicine for Women in Early China," pp. 137–139.
- 27 *Liexianzhuan*, story 54 in *Le Lie-sien tchouan* 列仙傳 *Biographies légendaires des immortels taoïstes de l'antiquité*, trans. Max Kaltenmark (1953; repr., Paris: De Boccard, 1987), pp. 159–161.
- 28 *Lienüzhuan jiaozhu* 列女傳校注, attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向, ed. Liang Duan 梁端 (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1: 2b.
- 29 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Xiang 10.5, pp. 978–979 (cf. Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 447).
- 30 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Xiang 14.4, p. 1013, *Lienüzhuan* 1: 5b.
- 31 *Lienüzhuan* 1: 2a. See also *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1988), Zheng 1.1, pp. 518–519 and *Shiji* 4, pp. 147–149.
- 32 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Xuan 3.6, pp. 674–675, Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 294.
- 33 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Zhao 1.12, pp. 1217–1223, Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 580.
- 34 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Zhao 11.4, pp. 1324–1325, Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 634.
- 35 Marc Kalinowski, "La rhétorique oraculaire dans les chroniques «anciennes de la Chine: Une étude des discours prédictifs dans le *Zuozhuan*," in *Divination et Rationalité en Chine Ancienne. Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident: Cahiers de recherches comparatives* 21, ed. Karine Chemla, Donald Harper and Marc Kalinowski (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 1999), pp. 39–48 and 56–65.
- 36 *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965) 10A, pp. 418–419.
- 37 *Hou Hanshu*, 72A, pp. 2703 and 2707–2221.
- 38 *Hou Hanshu*, 72A, p. 2716.
- 39 *Hou Hanshu*, 72B, p. 217, trans. after Xuyet Ngo Van, *Divination, magie et politique dans la Chine ancienne* (Paris, 1976, Paris, rpt. You-feng, 2002): 94–95.
- 40 *Lienüzhuan*, 3: 7a (story 10). An almost identical passage also appears in *Guoyu*, 14.3 (Jin 8), p. 453, cf. *Zuozhuan*, Zhao 28.2, pp. 1491–1493

(Legge 726) and *Lienüzhuan*. The *Guoyu* provides a much shorter version. In both cases, Shuji uses physiognomy to predict that the two newborns will bring destruction on the clan.

- 41 *Lienüzhuan* 3: 7a and *Guoyu* 14.3 (Jin 8), p. 453.
- 42 *Lienüzhuan* 3: 7b: 察於情性，推人之生以窮其命。
- 43 Wang Chong 王充, *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 3, “Gu xiang,” 11, pp. 113–115. For translation, see Alfred F. Forke, trans., *Lun Heng: Essays of Wang Chong*, 2 vols. (1911; repr., New York: Paragon Books, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 305–306.
- 44 Mawangdui Hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組, ed., *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書, vol. 4 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1983), in *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, trans. Donald Harper (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998).
- 45 *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu*, vol. 4, p. 133, explained in Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 372–377. A second diagram (p. 134) provides instructions for using stem-branch determinations for the correct burial of the afterbirth. For other kinds of connections between Mawangdui and Warring States divination texts see Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 35.
- 46 Recipes are cited from *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu*, vol. 4, as translated in Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*.
- 47 Hubeisheng Jingzhou shi Zhou Liang Yu Qiao yi zhi bowuguan 湖北省荆州市周梁玉橋遺址博物館, ed., *Guanju Qin Hanmu jiandu* 關沮秦漢墓簡牘 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), slips 322 and 323, pp. 128–129. For discussion of these see Yates, “Medicine for Women in Early China,” p. 136.
- 48 For more information on these texts see Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*; Li Ling and Keith McMahon, “The Contents and Terminology of the Mawangdui Texts on the Arts of the Bedchamber,” *Early China* 17 (1992): 145–185; and Douglas Wile, *Art of the Bedchamber: The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics Including Women’s Solo Meditation Texts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).
- 49 An illustration of the *Daoyin tu* appears in *Wenwu* 文物 1975.6, p. 9. See also Fu Juyou 傅舉有 and Chen Songchang 陳松長, *Mawangdui Han mu wenwu* 馬王堆漢墓文物 (Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1992), p. 150.
- 50 *Wu Yue Chunqiu jiaozhu* 吳越春秋校注 (Changsha: Yueli shushe, 2006), p. 242.
- 51 It is described (without illustration) in *Wenwu* 1995.1, p. 45.
- 52 Superimposing a “Heaven plate onto a *liubo* board generates both the vertical component of the “L”s and the right angles of the “V”s from the cord and hook pattern of the lower square plate. Like the diviner’s board, the *liubo* game board is a cosmograph, a model of the cosmos. The *Shiji* explicitly links the two as methods of divination by describing the procedures of the diviner who “divides the yarrow stalks, fixes the diagram, revolves the diviner’s board (*shi*) and prepares the [*liubo* board’s] divining straws” (*fence dinggua, xuanshi zhengqi* 分策定卦，旋式正棋). See

- Shiji* 127, p. 3218, trans. based on Timoteus Pokora, "Shih chi 127: The Symbiosis of Two Historians," in *Chinese Ideas about Nature and Society: Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde*, eds. Charles LeBlanc and Susan Blader (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1987): pp. 221–222.
- 53 Hubeisheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 湖北省荊州地區博物館, ed., *Jiangling Yutaishan Chumu* 江陵雨台山楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1984), pp. 103–104.
- 54 For Shuihudi, see Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu bianxie zu 雲夢睡虎地秦墓編寫組, ed., *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu* 雲夢睡虎地秦墓 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1981), pp. 55–56. For Fenghuangshan, see *Wenwu* 1974.6, pp. 50–51. For Mawangdui, see Hunansheng bowuguan 湖南省博物館 and Hunansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省文物考古研究所, eds., *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Hanmu* 長沙馬王堆二、三號漢墓 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2004), pp. 163–166. For Dafentou, see Yunmeng *Dafentou yihao Hanmu* "雲夢大墳頭一號漢墓," *Wenwu* (1973.9): 23–33. For Yinwan, see Lianyungang shi bowuguan 連雲港市博物館 et al., eds., *Yinwan Hanmu jiandu* 尹灣漢墓簡牘 (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1977), pp. 125–126.
- 55 Schuyler Cammann, "The 'TLV' Pattern on Cosmic Mirrors of the Han Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68, no. 4 (1948): pp. 159–167.
- 56 Hunansheng bowuguan, *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Hanmu*, p. 165. For an excellent discussion of early Chinese divination see Stephen L. Field, *Ancient Chinese Divination* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008). Field refers to the diviner's board as a cosmograph. David Pankenier (personal communication) argues that diviner's boards are instruments, rather than models, and as such are not cosmographic imagery.
- 57 See Michael Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Li Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考 (Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo chubanshe, 1993), pp. 39–43; and Poo Mu-chou, *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 69–101.
- 58 Daybooks have also been found at Jiudian 九店 tomb 56 (Hubei, late-fourth century BCE), at Fangmatan 放馬灘 tomb 1 (Tianshui 天水, Gansu, ca. 230–220 BCE), and most recently Zhoujiatai 周家台 (Guanju 關沮, Hubei, 213–209 BCE).
- 59 Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu bianxie zu, *Yunmeng Shuihudi* (1981), slips 736 and 823, trans. after Mu-Chou Poo, "Popular Belief in Ancient China," in *The China Mirror* (Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2009). <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/chinamirror/moduleview5.asp?MID=5&PID=1>. See also Liu Lexian 劉樂賢, *Shuihudi Qin jian rishu yanjiu* 睡虎地秦簡日書研究 (Taipei: Wenjin, 1994): pp. 109–116.
- 60 Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu bianxie zu, *Yunmeng Shuihudi* (1981), slips 890v and 894v, trans. after Poo, "Popular Belief," cf. Liu Lexian, *Shuihudi Qin jian*, pp. 204–212.
- 61 Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu bianxie zu, *Yunmeng Shuihudi* (1981), slips 869–878, trans. after Poo, "Popular Belief," cf. Liu Lexian, *Shuihudi Qin*

- jian*, pp. 179–86. Numbering of days follows their order in the table, which is read right to left (over the ten columns of the ten branches) and top to bottom.
- 62 Similarly: tall and capable (Day 10); happy, with a business (Day 36); leaving the country or parents (Days 5, 6, 15); loving fields and houses (Day 25); eating meat (Day 58); and predictions of wealth (Day 8) and fame (Day 51).
- 63 An alternative transliteration of the original Chu script is: 不女為醫，女子為也: If the child is not a girl he will become a physician; if it is a girl she will also become [a physician]. See Poo, “Popular Belief,” and Liu Lexian, *Shuibudi Qin jian*, pp. 180 and 182.
- 64 *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu*, vol. 4, p. 133, discussed in Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 372–377.
- 65 Richard Smith, “Divination in Late Imperial China: New Light on Old Problems,” in *The Imperative of Understanding: Chinese Philosophy, Onto-Hermeneutics, and Comparative Philosophy*, ed. On-cho Ng (New York: Global Scholarly Publications, 2008).
- 66 See Chao Wei-pang, “The Chinese Science of Fate Calculation,” *Folklore Studies* 5 (1946): 279–315, especially p. 314 and Richard Smith, “Divination in Late Imperial China: New Light on Old Problems,” in *Rethinking Chinese Thought: Hermeneutics, Onto-Hermeneutics, and Comparative Philosophy*.