

destruction.³ Even so, we can see in the case of Shao Tuo the reflection of the Shang beliefs upon the religious landscape of later times.

Like the famous shamanic poet Qu Yuan, Shao Tuo suffered in the court of the unappreciative Chu King Huai (r. 328-299 BCE). Tuo, as he was often referred to by his diviners, suffered three years of spiritual blame (*jiu* 咎) and died in the end without his team of ritualists discovering the “province” (*zhou* 州), that is, the location, of the ghost or spirit and source of the curse (*sui* 祟). The method for removing curses in the fourth century BCE in some ways had not changed much since the Shang period. In Shang divination records, ancestral anger was appeased with sacrifices of domestic animals and slaves. In the fourth century BCE, ritualists sacrificed domestic animals (no longer humans at this time) and gifts of jade and clothing. Ritualists in both times performed individual purification or exorcism rituals as well as adhering to annual ritual cycles of purification and sacrifice. During the Shang, the source of the curses was sought from among a hierarchy of thirty-one male and twenty female ancestral spirits, spirits whose needs were attended to every ten days in a series of five different sacrifices.⁴ In the fourth-century text, the source of the curse might equally be a god representing a cosmic force, a local nature god, an unhappy ghost, or an ancestor from the interconnected lineages of Tuo and of the Chu state.

During the Shang period, it was ancestral spirits that cast “blame” (*jiu*) upon a member of the royal clan. Divinations were then made to determine when that person was at last in a state of “being without blame” (*wu jiu* 無咎).⁵ By the time of the Warring States period, when the *Zuo-zhuan* chronicle of the Spring and Autumn period (770-475 BCE) was written, people could still sicken and die from being in a state of blame, but this state was often attributed to actions that offended Confucian morals,⁶ where blame was cast by the entire people of a nation,⁷ or the more abstract social rules associated with later Confucianism. Some examples combine Confucian ethos with blame by ancestral spirits and

³ For a discussion of the shift in schemes from Four Regions (*sifang*) to Five Phases (*wuxing*), see A. Wang 2000.

⁴ See Chang Yuzhi 1987 for details. These Five Sacrifices are different from the household cults, also termed Five Sacrifices, practiced in the Warring States period and later (see Chard 1999).

⁵ See Guo and Hu 1978-82, 6032 *zheng*; and other examples in Yao and Xiao 1989, vol. 1, 326.

⁶ See *Zuo-zhuan*, Zhuang 21, in *Chunqiu jingzhuo yinde*, vol. 1, 66.

⁷ *Zuo-zhuan*, Xi 22; Xiang 3, 21, in *Chunqiu jingzhuo yinde*, vol. 1, 119, 255, 294.

ghosts.⁸ Even so, divination by either tortoise shell or stalks was necessary to determine the state of blame and its outcome.⁹

The connection between spiritual blame and illness is evident on a pair of late fourth-century BCE jade tablets from the northwestern state of Qin (which was located in the old Zhou territory). These tablets are similar in concern to Shao Tuo's divination text, but the part they played in sacrifices was different. Their context concerns King Hui Wen of Qin (337-311 BCE), who had them inscribed with a prayer to Hua Mountain towards the end of his life.¹⁰ He was suffering from an incurable illness and was afraid he had incurred spiritual blame for having "wiped out the Zhou hereditary house and dispersed the statutes of (Zhou) law."¹¹ By ending Zhou access to the places (*fang*, literally "regions") for sacrifice, the spirits of the "mountains and rivers" and of the "foremost ancestors of the Five Rites" would not receive the necessary pig sacrifices and jade and silk gifts. King Hui Wen claimed, however, that because of his adoption of an eastern peoples' law he was blameless.¹² Using jade offerings, he announced this to the Great Mountain of Hua and asked that his body, afflicted from the abdomen down to his feet, be restored to health. He then sacrificed rams, a four-horse road chariot, and six humans—three at the Yin and three at the Yang side of the mountain. He promised continued sacrifices once his health was restored.

From the Xincai divination text fragments, we know that spiritual blame and curses can occur separately. The patient may be cleared of blame but not of a curse, or cleared of both. The diviners tested for both

⁸ *Zuo*zhuan, Xiang 4, in *Chunqiu jingzhuān yinde*, vol. 1, 257, where a child bride was given an inadequate funeral; Zhao 15, where the *di* ceremony to the ancestral spirits was poorly performed. In the latter case, evil halos appeared as an omen of the spirits' displeasure; Xiang 51, where a man claimed that even though he would die because of someone else's offense (hence become an unhappy ghost), he would not cast spiritual blame upon that person (suggesting a higher Confucian ethic that could supersede the power of the human spirits).

⁹ *Zuo*zhuan, Wen 18, where a patient's illness and ultimate death were determined by tortoise shell divination; Xiang 9, where a woman who offended Confucian sexual codes claimed no matter how the stalks and *Yi* manual decided her fate, she would die (suggesting again these social rules superseded the power of human spirits). See *Chunqiu jingzhuān yinde*, vol. 1, 174, 267.

¹⁰ Deciphered by Li Ling 1999 and Li Xueqin 2000.

¹¹ The Qin annexation of the symbolic Zhou house, residing in Chengzhou and protected by one neighboring state or another since 771 BC, is recorded in the "Zhou benji" 周本紀 of the *Shiji* (Takigawa 4.85).

¹² This is an obscure reference to his murdering Shang Yang, a Wei lord who originally brought him a copy of the six-chapter legal code of Wei; see Li Xueqin 2000, 50.

among an array of ancestral and nature spirits. In Baoshan and Xincai texts, recently deceased ancestors, the most likely cause of blame, received numerous sacrifices. The spirits most likely to be the source of curses seem to have been the astral god Grand Unity (Taiyi), the Controller of Fate (Siming), the three Chu founder gods (Laotong, Zhurong, and Xue Xiong), Chu King Shao, as well as one's more recently deceased ancestors. Since the occupant of the Xincai tomb, Pingye Jun Cheng (d. 377 BCE), apparently traveled quite a bit, curses were also found to be caused by the spirits of large rivers.¹³

Shao Tuo's spiritual blame likely occurred through his administrative duties to the Chu king. He often had to try criminal cases and may have been responsible for the capital punishment of innocent victims. As a minister of state, he, like the King of Qin, was concerned with wiping out blame for human death. His job, like Pingye Jun Cheng's, probably involved a great deal of travel, and in the course of dealing with local cases, he may also have offended nature deities.¹⁴ The Chu divination text recorded the sacrifices to a number of deities, all of whom may have cursed a passerby.

No divination procedure is recorded on the later Qin jade tablets buried on Hua Mountain. The jade tablets (*gui* 圭) were themselves the vehicle of the prayer or the "announcement" (*gao* 誥). This text functioned as the sacrificial gift to the mountain spirit. Text, prayer and oral pronouncements are also found in the Chu divination texts. In the Xincai divination text, announcements were made by ritualist Shao concerning a Great River and in one case a gift of combined text and announcement were sent to a hierarchy of early Chu kings following gifts of jades.¹⁵ The announcement began with the expression "Oh Alas!" (*wubu aizai* 於

¹³ Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 208 Yi IV & Ling 532, 678 and for no-blame no-curse, see *ibid.*, 224 Ling 520; for specific spirits see *ibid.* 202 Yi I 6, 22; 215 Ling 198 & 203; 221 Ling 426, 427. One fragment does claim "great blame" (*ibid.*, 223 Ling 468).

¹⁴ It is quite evident in the Xincai divination text, that the travels of Pingye Jun Cheng were also believed to be the cause of his illness. Not only are his specific travels mentioned but the greatest number of spirits appeased are those of places, particularly places linked to possible burial grounds or with "earth altars," *she* 社 (see Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 187-231, esp. 189 Jia III 11, 24; 206, Yi IV 9; 207, Yi IV 55; 208, Yi IV 100 and Ling 532, 678, Yi IV 110 and 117). From the fragments we see also a greater number of horse sacrifices and a concern about death occurring "outside" (*ibid.*, 197 Jia III 270; 207, Yi IV 52).

¹⁵ Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 189, Jia III 21, Ling 9 & Jia 23,27; 192, Jia II 134, 108.

嘒哀哉) and was followed by a reference to Pingye Jun Cheng as “Little Servant Cheng” (*xiaochen* Cheng 小臣成), an expression similar to that found at the beginning of announcements to ancestor spirits recorded on Western Zhou and later bronze inscriptions. One Xincai fragment suggests that spells or songs were also linked to divination: “(The diviner according to) its song said: ‘This day, not yet exorcised, greatly intone, continuously...intoning, anxiously, anxiously, so tied, so bound, in the end by... (..*yao yue*: *shi ri wei dui dayan*, *jiji X yan chuo chuo ruo zu ruo jie*, *zhong yi*...謠曰氏(是)日未兌(斂)大言繼繼言惴惴若組若結終以...).¹⁶ This oral command was likely used to finalize the exorcism of baleful influences or curses. The term “so” or “as such” (*ruo* 若) is also found in Western Zhou period bronze inscriptions before the word “to speak” *yue* 曰, when the king makes an announcement. A study by Wang Zhankui shows that *ruo* was used in the Shang oracle bones, in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, and some transmitted texts (such as the *Shangshu* 尚書) when a representative of Heaven, such as the early kings, was making a statement (*ming* 命) on behalf of Heaven or in the presence of spirits.¹⁷

In the Chu texts, we see a series of divination events that took place before and after the gifts to the spirits. In the earlier Zhou texts, gift giving came after the gift-giver's announcement about the gift-recipient to the ancestors. It is clear that these ancient practices were continued in one form or another up through the Qin period.

1. THE DIVINATION TEXT

There are two types of divination cycles represented in the Baoshan text: annually scheduled events and emergent, unscheduled events. During an annual summer sacrificial ritual and exorcism, Shao's personal diviners addressed general problems and attempted to clear Shao of spiritual blame through the next year. But at unspecified times during the year, the diviners addressed acute problems, such as Shao's physical illness. Both types were similar in that the results of the divination of one diviner were

¹⁶ Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 189, Jia III 31. It is tempting to interpret *wei dui* as the names of two auspicious hexagrams, Wei (for Wei Ji) and Dui, both in the *Yijing*, but the hexagrams used in the Xincai, Baoshan, and Wangshan texts never seem to be named in the text. For a discussion of ancient spells, see Harper 1985.

¹⁷ Wang Zhankui 1998.

confirmed, changed, and refined by the divination of other diviners using different methods. The process involved the isolation of the cursing spirit through divination that was made evident or “seen” (*jian* 見). Divination was also concerned with what type of sacrifice would satisfy the spirit. In the case of the annual exorcisms, this decision process would span a three-year period. Except in a few cases, it is not always clear when and if the proposed sacrifice was actually performed.

The divination events of diviners were referred to by later diviners as “exorcisms” (*duo* 斂) when confirming (a process that involved *zhuo* 轉 “turning to” or *yi* 迻 “moving to” the exorcism and divination event of a previous diviner) the earlier proposed sacrifices or when setting repayment sacrifices to spirits who presumably gave omens of good fortune. These divination records preserve the actions and words of the exorcism. After proceeding through this complex decision process, a diviner would “release” (*jie* 解) Shao from the curse of a particular spirit or ghost by a method that involved “beating” or “attacking” (*gong* 攻) it by means of his “will” (*si* 思) or his “command” (*ming* 命).¹⁸ The beating of demons perceived as hiding inside the body was a method for curing illness recorded in the *Zuo* *zhuo*.¹⁹ In the Baoshan and other Chu divination texts,²⁰ the exorcism seems to involve animal sacrifice and word magic, but other texts suggest that drums were involved.²¹ Another possibility is that this “beating” or “attacking” involved a procedure that might be classified as an early form of acupuncture. Excavated Qin-period texts dating to a hundred years after Shao Tuo’s death define “ghost beating” as “poking” the ghost with arrows made of thorns and chicken feathers shot from a peach-wood bow.²² Han and later texts mention the use of a needle-like

¹⁸ This may have involved the use of drums, bells, and screeching, see Harper 1985, 496. The use of music and bells in sacrifice and therapy for the occupant of the Xincai tomb is recorded on fragments of that tomb’s divination text (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 192, Jia II 136; 195 Jia III 209; 205, Yi III 63).

¹⁹ Cheng 10, in *Chunqin jingzhuo yanjiu yinde*, vol. 1, 230. The Archer Lord of Jin asked a physician from Qin after he dreamed of two *shuzi* (“beings that stand up” 豎子). The physician determined that these demons hid behind Jin Hou’s heart and throat and were hence unreachable through the method of *gong*.

²⁰ Jiangling area Tianxingguan Tomb 1 and Wangshan Tomb 1; see Mi Rutian 1988, 63-64, and Li Yunfu 1995. The former text, which belonged to Fan Sheng, Lord of Diyang 鄧陽君番剩, dates to around 340 BCE and is not yet published. The latter text belonged to Shao Gu 邵固, possibly also a descendant of King Zhao; it dates to perhaps a hundred years earlier and has been published, see Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1996; Shang Chengzuo 1995; and app. 3, below.

²¹ See app. 1, below, n. 18.

²² Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 212.

“stone” similar to jade called a “medicine stone” (*yaoshi* 藥石) or “piercing stone” (*bian* 砭) that was used to release the “evil blood” (*exue* 惡血) in swollen areas, carbuncles, or ulcerated infections. Stone tomb reliefs from the Eastern Han period seem to depict early doctors administering this technique. Their dress—half man and half bird—suggests a spirit or shaman doctor (dressed like the death-god *Rushou*).²³

The calendar of sacrifices and exorcisms kept by the Baoshan diviners reveals the influence of the natural philosophy of Yin-Yang Five Phases, as studied by Donald Harper.²⁴ Harper explains that between the fifth and third centuries BCE, those who managed the calendars, the officers in charge of the archives and astrology (*shi* 史), synchronized all natural phenomena and human activity. Curing an illness and performing exorcisms, then, involved attention to the fluctuations of the natural forces in accordance with the lunar calendar. Although Harper feels that the Baoshan divination text was created before the period of “correlative cosmology iatromancy,” which began late in the fourth century BCE,²⁵ I believe that the choice of days recorded in the divination events reveals a nascent awareness of natural agents and, perhaps, a correlative system of time, direction, and agent in the Baoshan material.

Within a century of Shao Tuo's death, we know from other excavated texts that the five natural Agents—wood, fire, earth, metal, water²⁶—informed every aspect of life. The *Zhouli* account of seasonal ailments and methods for their cure by “ailment physicians” (*jiji* 疾醫) provide a context for interpreting age-old notions in a correlative manner of “five processes”:

(They) handle the care of illness for the myriad peoples. There are contagious illnesses every season; in spring, there are headaches, summer, itchy scabs, fall, fevers and chills, and winter, coughing and the “rising of vapors.” (They) care for them with the Five Tastes, the Five Grains, the Five Herbs and watch over life and death with the Five Vapors, Five Sounds, and Five Senses (watching) if two out of the Nine Apertures change, or three out of the Nine Organs move. Whenever someone is sick, analyze (it according to season) and cure him. If they die in the end, the (physicians) write down what they did and give it to the Master Physician.” (*zhang yang wanmin zhi jibing. Sishi jie you liji, chushi you xiaoshouji, xiashi you yangjieji, qushi*

²³ Hu Houxuan 1984, 28-29; Lo 2002a, 105-11; and Lo 2002b, 208-09.

²⁴ Harper 1999.

²⁵ Harper 2001, 103-06.

²⁶ The “generation” cycle as seen in *Shuihudi Rishu* (“Day Books”) and the *Chu Silk Manuscript*; see A. Wang 2000, 110, table 3.2.

you nüebanji, dongsbi you sou, shangqiji. Yi wuwe, wugu, wuyao yang qi bing. Yi wuqi, wusheng, wuse shi qi sisbeng. Liangzhi yi jinqiao zhi bian, can zhi yi jinzang zhi dong. Fanmin zhi you jibingshe, fen er zhibi; sizhong, ze ge shu qi suoyi er ru yu yishi 掌養萬民之疾病。四時皆有癘疾，春時有疢首疾，夏時有痒疥疾，秋時有瘡寒疾，冬時有嗽、上氣疾。以五味、五穀、五藥養其病。以五氣、五聲、五色視其死生。兩之以九竅之變，參之以九藏之動。凡民之有疾病者，分而治之；死終，則各書其所以而入于醫師。²⁷

Particularly telling are “Day Books” (*rishu* 日書), which detail the auspicious or inauspicious nature of daily actions depending on the calendrical signs for each day and the agent or element influencing that day.²⁸ In these books, while the cause of illness is still a curse, the prognosis is affected by the agent, which influences the days of the illness. In this system a ritualist could calculate the appropriate action for a king or officer according to this complex correlative calendar rather than relying solely on divination methods. Translated below are selections on illness and cures for illness from a Day Book discovered in a tomb east of Jiangling, across the Han River. The tomb dates to the period when the Qin army, originally located northwest of Chu, had already forced the Chu out of the Jiangling region and continued their march east to destroy all remnants of competing royal houses.²⁹ According to the text, illness was affected by the particular agent or element in accordance with a particular directional and day sign, one of ten “stem” or twelve “branch” signs of an ancient sixty-day ritual calendar—which correlate, according to Wang Aihe, with the conquest and generation cycles of the Five Phases scheme.³⁰ Harper feels that the hemerological iatromancy (divination by “stem” and “branch” signs) evident in the “branch” section of this text did not yet reflect a full Yin-Yang Five Phases system as evident in Han texts, but more likely the simpler “Three Unities” (*sanhe* 三合) system, where elements were assigned three branch signs each. The “stem” text, however, did incorporate Five Phases correlations. Clearly, different sets of astrologers and ritualists of the fourth through third centuries BCE followed a variety of systems, none perhaps fully articulated or even prac-

²⁷ Tianguan Zhongzai” 天官冢宰, in *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 3, j. 9, 36-43.

²⁸ For a description of the Shuihudi *rishu* and a discussion of its mantic context, see Loewe 1994, 214-35.

²⁹ The tomb dates to around 217 BCE, just after the Qin conquest of 220. For details of the Chu move east, see Cook 1995.

³⁰ A. Wang 2000, 110-12. Harper 2001, 108-12, notes that “stem iatromancy in the Shuihudi manuscripts is based on the correlation of the stems with the Five Phases and on the conquest sequence of the Five Phases.”

ticed until the Han period.³¹ The following excerpts from two Shuihudi Day Books (A and B) provide a useful context in which to evaluate the Baoshan material.³² Much of the lore concerning illness, death, spiritual blame, curses, and ghosts is no doubt quite ancient and sheds light on earlier beliefs. Many of the ghosts appear in the Chu divination material. The following list of Stem (top row) and Branch day (bottom row) signs are for reference. The Agent and direction correlates from Day Books are added but, as Wang Aihe has shown, these exact correlations were by no means universally accepted and other manuscripts reveal slightly different sets:³³

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Jia 甲 Wood East	Yi 乙 Wood East	Bing 丙 Fire South	Ding 丁 Fire South	Wu 戊 Earth Center	Ji 己 Earth Center	Geng 庚 Metal West	Xin 辛 Metal West	Ren 壬 Water North	Gui 癸 Water North		
Zi 子 Water North	Chou 丑 Metal West	Yin 寅 Fire South	Mao 卯 Wood East	Chen 辰 Water North	Si 巳 Metal South	Wu 午 Fire South	Wei 未 Wood East	Shen 申 Water North	You 酉 Metal West	Xu 戌 Fire South	Hai 亥 Wood East

For example, from a few slips of a Shuihudi “Expelling” (*chu* 除) text,³⁴ we learn that on “expelling” days, “a male or female slave who escapes will not be retrieved. If you have a painful³⁵ sickness, it will not result in death,” but on “filling” (*ying* 盈) days, “you can build quarters; penned animals can give birth; you can build a residence; you can be a Sefu 齋夫 (a type of bailliff); if you have an illness it will be difficult to get up.” Many days were associated with omens of death. For example a list states:

The Zi Day concerns women. There will be a death and afterwards the death of a child. The spiritual blame is located in the canal. The Chou day concerns rats. Afterwards three people will die. Yin Day concerns nets. The spiritual blame is located in Room Four. A warning of fire on the outside. The Mao day concerns meetings. Afterwards a child, as as yet unborn younger brother, will die. [The spiritual blame] will belong to a deceased

³¹ See Kalinowski 1998-99 for a discussion of the *xingde* system of rising and falling influences based on the early Han Mawangdui Xingde text.

³² Harper 2001, 107-12, translates some of these texts. My translations differ slightly from his.

³³ The correlations are from Shuihudi Day Book A, and a Day Book from Fangmatan, as described by in A. Wang 2000, 94-97; for other systems, see *ibid.*, 96-101.

³⁴ Text from Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 2; from Day Book B.

³⁵ The word might also be a loan for “swelling,” or “serious.”

in-law.The Shen day concerns stones. Its spiritual blame is located in Room Two. If a child is born, it will be incomplete. The You day concerns witches.³⁶ Afterwards a small child will die within three months....

In a text determining the welfare of afflicted people, we see that if they fall sick on Jia or Yi days, they encounter problems from pork and their father's ghost and possibly (poisoning?) from a living person. On the next two days, the father's ghost must be appeased with red-colored meat, a rooster, and wine. However if they are "sick" (*bing* 病) on Geng or Xin days, they will improve on a Ren and get out of bed on a Gui day. If Fever 煩 and Jupiter 歲 are both located in the Southern Region (of the sky), and (Jupiter) is red, then the patient will die on a Fire day. This pattern continues through each set of stem days with varying color, star, and ghost correlations.³⁷

In a "Sickness" text in Day Book A,³⁸ we read:

If you are afflicted on a Jia or Yi day,³⁹ it is due to your mother and father having cursed you. For meat (offering), come inside from the east with it inside a lacquer vessel. If you are sick on a Wu or Ji day,⁴⁰ it will improve on a Geng day and you'll get out of bed on a Xin day.⁴¹ If you don't get out of bed and Fever resides in the east region and Jupiter is located in the east, and is a green color, you will die.⁴² If you are afflicted on a Bing or Ding day,⁴³ it is due to the grandfather's curse. For red-colored meat (use) a rooster, with wine. If you are sick on a Geng or Xin day, on a Ren day you will improve and on a Gui day recover.⁴⁴ If you don't recover, there is Fever to the south. And if Jupiter is in the south and is a red color, you will die. If you are afflicted on a Wu or Ji day, it is from a witch having

³⁶ The Shuihudi text defines female magicians as *wu* 巫 and male ones as *xi* 覡, a designation also seen in the *Guoyu* (containing tales of the Chunqiu period). Because *wu* can cause death by cursing, in this book I render the word as "witch." According to a Shuihudi Day Book, a woman may become a witch during the period influenced by the Big Dipper, but if she gives birth, the child will die before three years of age; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 192.

³⁷ Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 246-47; from Day Book B.

³⁸ Jao and Zeng 1982, pls. 6-7; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 193.

³⁹ Wood days; A. Wang 2000, 96.

⁴⁰ Earth days; A. Wang 2000, 96

⁴¹ Geng and Xin days are metal days; A. Wang 2000, 96.

⁴² Harper 2001, 112-13, understands 'Fever' to represent "an element of iatromantic pathology" that like "Year" (*sui*, which I translate as Jupiter, although Harper believes the Jupiter and Year cycles were distinct) has cyclical positions. I am not convinced that the cycles were so clearly distinguished by all practitioners and suspect that Fever and Jupiter were both astral phenomena and at least spirits. The order of the days represents a generation cycle; A. Wang 2000, 111.

⁴³ Fire days; A. Wang 2000, 96.

⁴⁴ Ren and gui days are water days; A. Wang 2000, 96.

activated⁴⁵ grandmother's curse.⁴⁶ For a yellow colored [meat] (use) a plain fish only⁴⁷ with wine. On a Ren or Gui day, you'll be sick, but on a Jia day improve and on a Yi day recover. You won't recover if Fever resides in the center of the Nation."⁴⁸

The text continues in this same rhetorical fashion substituting a variety of sources of the sickness (such as ghosts in the in-law's family who had died young or were cut off from their mothers), meats used to offer the spirit ("Use dog meat, fresh testicles for white color"), colors, star locations, and, finally, predictions of when and if the patient will die.

Days were even assigned gender, which would make them correlate with Yin and Yang. In a text denoted as the "Days for People,"⁴⁹ we read that: "Generally Zi, Mao, Yin, and You days are male child days; Wu, Wei, Shen, Chou, and Hai days are female child days. If you get sick on a female child day, you must wait for a female day to return before recovery. If there is death, then the dead must be buried on a male child day. ..."

In the text for "Visiting People" (*jianren* 見人), different days and directions are accessed for visiting with people "afflicted" (*ji* 疾), and methods given on how to cure them. For example, if you visited them on a Zi day when the eastern direction was auspicious and the west inauspicious, but they became ill on a Chen day, there would be little hope of recovery. But if they had become sick on a Wu day, there would be a good recovery. If you were visiting them because of a death or a birth which occurred on a Shen day, then you must bring black meat from the north. The implicated ghost might be an outer ghost of the great-grandfather generation (i.e., a deceased in-law). Similar injunctions applied to each of the Twelve Branch days with variations in direction and color correlations as well as different possible sources of spectral affliction (these included not only a variety of ghosts from different branches and generations of the family but also witches).⁵⁰

⁴⁵ I understand the term *kanxing* 堪行 as "given rise to and enabled" or "able to make move."

⁴⁶ Grandparents were denoted as Royal Mothers or Royal Fathers (*wangmu* or *wangfu*); great-grandparents were denoted as High Royal (*gaowang*) mothers or fathers.

⁴⁷ I take *qin* as a loan for *jin* 僅.

⁴⁸ The text has "nation" *bang* 邦, possibly a reference to the area of the sky associated with each state, see Pankenier 1999.

⁴⁹ Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 37.

⁵⁰ Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 42-44; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 245-46; from a Day Book B text.

One strip from a “Sickness” text notes that to cure a patient on a You, Wu, Si, or Yin day, the healer must take the place (*dai* 代) of the patient.⁵¹ This suggests that perhaps the magical operations were done upon the body of the healer in place of the patient, perhaps transferred to the patient’s body through some force of magic, the “will” or “command.”

The treatment of the dying patient also varied according to the day:

For one dying on a Jia or Yi day in the third month of spring, to later have happiness, it will come from facing the east. For one dying on a Bing or Ding day, there will be happiness to his east; if he faces west evil will happen to him; the dying must stay put. On a Wu or Ji day, the dying is sent out of the house to the west. If not, there will be death. On a Geng or Xin day, the dying is sent out of the house to the north. If not, there will be spiritual blame. On a Ren or Gui day, the dying will be cursed by Numinous Ghosts. He will receive ill fortune from the east. On a Jia or Yi day of the third month of summer, the dying will receive a premature death from the south or east. On a Bing or Ding day, the dying is sent out of the house to the west; to the south, he’ll receive ill fortune but to the east there will be happiness. On a Wu or Ji day, if the dying faces south or west, there will be happiness.”

The text continues in the same vein, substituting days, directions, and fates.⁵²

The Shuihudi text most concerned with ghosts is the “Spellbinding” text.⁵³ It lists numerous ghosts and devils that may cause sickness or premature death through spiritual blame and then provides the magical methods for dealing with them. Some were human ghosts who returned to loved ones, or were just “wandering” (*you* 游); some had died prematurely, such as fetuses, victims of crime or wrongful execution, drowning, or were unburied (such as those killed in battle) or “hungry” (did not receive sacrifices from descendants). Other ghosts were nature spirits who took on the form of men—such as Hill Ghosts, Spirit Dogs (who played the incubus), Spirit Insects—or took on the form of animals such as Whirlwinds. Ghosts grabbed people at night, turned into old women carrying children, sneaked into bedrooms, paraded as fireflies (or “Wild Fires” *yebuo* 野火). Many ghosts were violent or howled at night. There were demons, devils, and talking wolves. Perhaps most interesting—given Shao Tuo’s symptoms—is the case where if a man finds himself in a room unable to breathe or move, it is due to a Strong Spirit (*zhuangshen* 壯

⁵¹ Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 44; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 247.

⁵² Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 45-46; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 249.

⁵³ Harper 1985; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 212-19.

神)⁵⁴ in the room. This was cured by ingesting a fragrant brew of spring water, red pig, horse's tail, and dog's head.

Although this Day Book is almost a century later than the Baoshan divination text, some similarities are evident. Illness was the result of spiritual blame and curse, and illness and death had to be treated in accordance to natural forces, such as Yin and Yang or the directional powers and their color and day-sign correlates. On the other hand, the Baoshan text differs from the Shuihudi Day Book in the sense that, as a divination text, it consists of a series of proposed actions being presented to the spirits for approval, and is not a handbook consulted (perhaps by healers and diviners) for the proper alignment of behavior and time. If we consider the Baoshan divination text as a record⁵⁵ of actions taken and the Day Book as a handbook for dictating future action, then the Yi 易, or "Changes," texts might be considered handbooks of signs or "images" (*xiang* 象) associated with numerological divination, and with hexagrams derived from throwing milfoil sticks or dice. Two Yi texts exist today: the well-known *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經, also known as the "Zhou Changes," *Zhouyi* 周易) and the recently discovered version historically associated with the Shang, the "Book of Concealment," the *Guicang* 歸藏.⁵⁶ Both texts consist of fragments of old songs linked to named hexagrams. The names of the hexagrams are shared in both texts, but the hexagram types do not always match and the song traditions seem to be entirely different.⁵⁷ Although excavated versions of Yi texts and Day Books date to later than the Chu divination texts of the fourth century BCE, it is likely that the early doctors and ritualists who organized, performed, and recorded the divination texts found in the Chu tomb had earlier versions of handbooks of omens and directives for auspicious action to consult.

Yang Hua has compared the dates, divination types, and illness prognoses of early Day Books with those in the Baoshan and Wangshan records and concluded that the Chu diviners very likely used a Day Book of some sort to diagnose the source of the curse and whether it was likely to kill the patient or not.⁵⁸ The level of sophistication and complexity in the Yin-Yang Five Phases system evident in the Qin Day Books is not evident in

⁵⁴ An alternative reading is *shangshen* 傷神 "harmful spirit."

⁵⁵ For a study of stylistic similarities of the Baoshan text with the Shang oracle bone texts dating almost a thousand years earlier, see Li Ling 1990.

⁵⁶ Cook 1998 and 2004; Xing Wen 2000.

⁵⁷ See Xing Wen 2000A, 2003; Wang Mingqian 2004; Cook 2004 and forthcoming.

⁵⁸ Yang Hua 2003, 568-69.

the Baoshan divination text and does not exist at all in the Yi texts. This suggests different functions for these texts—records versus manuals—as well as an evolution from the Three Unities to the Five Phases system during the fourth to third centuries in the Jiangling region. We have no obvious evidence that the Baoshan ritualists had access to Day Books; their reference to specific hexagrams, however, does suggest their use of an omen reference text or Yi text. Since versions of both Day Books and Yi texts have been found in tombs around the Jiangling region, we know that within a hundred years both types of text were in use. Whether the Baoshan ritualists referred to a text documenting the earlier system of correlations is unknown, but it is not inconceivable given the text-rich environment of the Jiangling area.⁵⁹ A study of the Baoshan divination record suggests a less detailed concern with natural influences, one more concerned with the rising and falling influences of Yin and Yang evident in the months or seasons rather than day by day.

Scholars have reconstructed the Chu calendar of months by comparing the Shuihudi (which mentions the Chu system of months) and Baoshan texts.⁶⁰ Generally the Qin calendar was ahead of the Chu calendar by three months. If we assume that the new year began in the winter, then the months can be classified by season (see table 1, below).⁶¹ Liu Yuexin, in his study of the Chu Day Book from Jiudian 九店 (also in the Jiangling area), notes the importance of Jupiter's location to the classification of the months: "For the Tenth Month, Quxi (2), and Xiang Month (6), [Jupiter] is in the west. For the Cuan Month (11), Yuanxi (3), and Xiayi (5), [it is] in the south."⁶²

A summary of the religious activity by month and day suggests a basic sensitivity by Baoshan ritualists to Five Phases or Three Unities requirements as expressed in the Shuihudi Day Book (see table 2).⁶³ At the

⁵⁹ The discovery of texts traditionally associated with Confucian and Daoist thought in Jingmen-area tombs (known as the Guodian texts and the "Shanghai slips") attest to elite literacy and to the Jiangling metropolitan area as a magnet of multicultural talents from all over late Warring States-period China.

⁶⁰ See especially Wang Hongxing 1991; Liu Binhui 1991; Chen Wei 1996a, 8-9; Li Ling 2000, 279. Chen Wei 1996a, 249, suggests that since the annual exorcism rite took place in the summer month of Xingyi the Chu new year would have begun then. Zhu, Qiu, and Li follow Chen in their analysis of the Wangshan divination manuscript. Li Ling, following Liu Binhui and the Shuihudi order, feels that the Chu new year was in the Dongxi month.

⁶¹ For variant writing of these graphs, see Chen Wei 1996a, 2.

⁶² Liu Lexian 1998, 92.

⁶³ From A. Wang 2000, 93-94, 96, table 3.1. Harper 2001, 109-10, feels that the

Table 1: The Chu Calendar

SEASON	LUNAR MONTH NUMBER, AND MONTH NAME
Spring	1: Dongxi "Winter Eve" 冬夕
	2: Quxi "Bent Eve" 屈夕
	3: Yuanxi "Drawn-out Eve" 援夕
Summer	4: Xingyi "Diminished Peace" 刑夷
	5: Xiayi "Summer Peace" 夏夷
	6: Fangyue "Spinning Month" 紡月, or Xiangyue "Mortuary Sacrifice Month" 享月
Autumn	7: Qiyue "Seventh Month" 七月, or Xiaxi "Summer Eve"
	8: Bayue "Eighth Month" 八月
	9: Jiuyue "Ninth Month" 九月
Winter	10: Shiyue "Tenth Month" 十月
	11: Cuan Yue "Stove Month" 爨月
	12: Xianma "Sacrificial Horse" 獻馬

minimum, it seems that balancing Yin and Yang forces may have helped determine auspicious days for divination or sacrifice. Although we can assume that the annual exorcisms were scheduled events and that the illness divination events were emergent, we see nevertheless a seasonal alternation in terms of the correlate element or Agent. Ritualists alternated the "fire" months of summer (when Yang was at its peak) with "wood" and "water" months (when Yin was still influential, such as spring, or at its peak, such as winter). Generally, Yin-influenced days, such as by correlate elements wood, metal, and earth, were chosen for the fire season and a Yang-influenced day, such as by the correlate element fire, was chosen for the winter month. An exception to this seeming attempt to balance Yin and Yang days is evident in the case of the burial date of Dinghai, a fire day and one that had a long tradition of being an auspicious day. It was the most popular day for bronze casting beginning in the late Western Zhou period.⁶⁴ Fire days, Ding and Bing, were used either for burial

hemerological system for the 12 branch days "bears no relation to *yin-yang* or Five Phase [*wuxing*] correlations," but that there is a system evident for the stem days.

⁶⁴ See Cook 1990, 67-70, "Auspicious Days and Numerological Preferences."

or in mid-winter for animal sacrifices to Shao Tuo's patrilineal ancestral spirits—sacrifices actually performed, not merely those proposed. These may have been considered Yin events requiring the counterbalance of a Yang day. The dates of Shao's death and burial suggest a possible relation to Shuihudi concerns with directions and with dealing with the dy-

Table 2. The Baoshan Ritual Calendar and Five-Phase (*wuxing*) Correlates

SEASON	<i>Wuxing</i> CORRELATE	MONTH	DAY	<i>Wuxing</i> CORRELATE
318 BCE: Summer	South/Fire	4	Yiwei (#32)	Wood/Wood
317 BCE: Spring	East/Wood	1	Guichou (#50)	Water/Metal
		3	Guimao (#40)	Wood/Wood
Summer	South/Fire	5	Yichou (#2)	Wood/Metal
Winter	North/Water	11	Jiyou (#46)	Earth/Metal
			Bingchen (#53)	Fire/Water
316 BCE: Summer	South/Fire	4	Jimao (#16)	Earth/Wood
		5	Jihai (#36)	Earth/Wood
		6	Dinghai (#24)	Fire/Wood

ing,⁶⁵ mentioned above. Shao was buried on a Ding day and faced east. The last entry of the divination text was a Ji day, perhaps also the day of his death. The coffin had entered the tomb with the mourners facing west. Animal sacrifices presented to a succession of ancestral spirits (*yi* 翼 or 翌)⁶⁶ were performed in summer on a wood day in year 318, but in spring in year 317 on a water–Stem/metal–Branch day, possibly suggesting an adjustment of the Yin and Yang balance necessary in the choice of the day according to the season. However, a different animal sacrifice presented in the summer of 317 on a wood/metal day would

⁶⁵ I thank the late Gil Mattos for having pointed out to me that the word *si* 死 refers to both dying and death and that a person who was “killed” (*sha* 殺) may not be wholly dead.

⁶⁶ Li Ling 2000, 286, understands this as a secondary sacrifice, but see my arguments in app. 1, below, n. 23.

seemingly belie such a correlation, unless different sacrifices to different spirits with different animals all required balance. The type of meat presented was certainly an issue considered in the Shuihudi correlations, but such a consideration seems an unlikely level of complexity even for the cosmopolitan lineages of diviners of Jiangling during the fourth century BCE. Directions for activities were not recorded, although sacrifices to the spirit of the south were proposed in the summer, which accords with the Five Phases correlates.

The Baoshan text may be divided into twenty-six records associated with eight different dates or divination events from the years 318 to 316 BCE. Three annual exorcisms consist of three records apiece for the first two years, but include five records for the last year of Shao's life. There are four records during the second year that simply record sacrifices performed and the prayers made. They do not include divinations. Two were performed in the first month of spring on a water day, and two in the winter on a fire day. The exorcisms specifically addressing Shao's failing health during the second year include one record in the spring on a water day, and four records during the winter on an earth day. During the last year of his life, there are five records on the same day as the summer annual exorcism and one the next month, also in summer, all on earth days. The last record of the entire text is a rather sad note written on the back—no doubt after Shao's death—stating that “the name of the district (of the cursing spirit) is unknown.” From the tomb inventory text in Shao's tomb, we know that he was buried forty-nine days after the last divination record.

The types of sacrifice, the categories of spirits, and the types of divination used may also have correlated roughly with an early sort of Five Phases scheme. These factors have been coded in table 3 and assembled in table 4, given below. Because of the complexity of the cycle of divination events, I will discuss each section individually and also explain how they relate to the other sections.

Sacrificial offerings sent to the spirits included animals, jades, and clothing. The type of item sent was a reflection of the perceived status of the spirit and the amount of influence he or she may have had in removing Shao Tuo's blame. General categories of animal sacrifice included water buffalo, pigs, goats, dogs, and horses. Black or glossy male animals were reserved for the highest status gods or those perceived to have the greatest influence at the time. The most powerful animal sacrifice was the water buffalo. This was reserved for Chu kings and was

generally served in offering dishes or as a large soup. But in the final year of Shao Tuo's life, five early Chu kings each received a black water buffalo with a fattened piglet. Shao Tuo's patrilineal ancestors (descended from King Zhao) each received black male gelded (hence fat) pigs, but his mother received only the dried meat from a black pig. In the first year, the pigs were served as food dishes with wine. Interestingly, during this first year the father, mother, and the *lian'ao* (the name of a Chu office) of Dongling were singled out: the father would receive dried meat from a black pig made into food offerings and served with wine. The mother was originally slated to simply receive a fattened piglet served as a food offering with wine, but this was upgraded to receiving wine with a dried black pig-meat offering. The *lian'ao* usually received fattened piglets served as food offerings, but, during the last summer of Shao's life, his usual sacrifice was performed outside the city wall and a sacrifice of three ritual robes was added, suggesting that this spirit, perhaps an ancestor from the mother's side of the family (hence on the "outside"), was considered dangerous. During the last year of his life, Shao's most recently deceased three patrilineal ancestors received whole gelded pigs served as food offerings.

Recipients of black or glossy animals were almost always ancestral spirits, although the Earth Lord of the Residence received a black ram during the third divination cycle of annual exorcism for year 318 BCE. In subsequent years, he received male pigs or rams of no specified color. The difference most likely had to do with the type of sacrifice. In the first instance, the black ram was simply a proposed sacrifice (*aju*) whereas in the spring of 317 a male pig was actually sacrificed to "sate" (*yan*) him. Later that year, during the annual exorcism, he was repaid (*sai*) with a ram for perceived good influence. During the summer of 316 when Shao Tuo was critically ill, a ram was once again proposed as a sacrifice to the Earth Lord of the Residence. Presumably, Shao Tuo died before this proposal could be carried out and before the Earth Lord's beneficence could be confirmed and repaid.⁶⁷

While the earth gods—Earth Altar, Earth Lord, Earth Lord of the Wilds, and Earth Lord of the Residence⁶⁸—generally received some form

⁶⁷ Chen Wei 1996a, 177-79, has charted some of these relationships and noted that the type of sacrifice received by nature spirits is invariant during any single divination event, but can vary among events.

⁶⁸ The use of different terminology for the same god may be the result of different scribes. There are too few examples to anchor terminology to any particular scribe.

of animal sacrifice, ritualists repaid them for their beneficence with jade, particularly in the company of other nature spirits also being repaid in jade such as Grand Unity (Taiyi), Controller of Fate, Controller of Disaster, Grand Water, Two Children of Heaven, and Wei Mountain. By using the order of sacrifice as an indication of relative importance within the hierarchy of nature spirits, we may deduce that Taiyi and the Occluded Taiyi (the Yin or cloud covered version)—both celestial spirits—were just above the earth gods in rank. The Controller of Fate and the Controller of Disaster were about equal in rank, judging by the sacrificial meat type and order. Grand Water, the Two Children of Heaven, and Wei Mountain were nature gods likely associated with local landscape features, such as the Yangzi River.

The sixth divination event of annual exorcism of Shao's last year is interesting for the fact that Gu Ji, the most prominent diviner, took over the proceedings. He proposed clothing and goat sacrifices to a series of nature gods who had previously been paid with jade and pigs. This suggests that it is not always known what sacrifice would satisfy a particular spirit at a given time. In the second divination event of the annual exorcism for the previous year, he had paid off the same deities with jade. We see in strips 212-215 (dated to 317 BCE) that the gods Grand Unity, Earth Lord, Controller of Fate, Grand Water, Two Children of Heaven, and Wei Mountain each received a type of jade, and in strips 236-238 (316 BCE) the same spirits received a type of goat.⁶⁹ Both events took place during annual exorcisms and both were officiated by Gu Ji. Clothing sacrifices consisted of robes or different types of cap ties, all of which may have conferred rank upon the spirits when they assumed human form.

The term *dizhu* is used in strips 201-04, 206-08, 218-19, reflecting the first two years of the diviners' efforts to cure Shao Tuo, and is used consistently within a single divination event. Although the calligraphy of some events differs slightly from others, I cannot confidently claim this indicates different hands at work.

⁶⁹ Chen Wei 1996a, 177-79. In the Xincai text, the Controller of Fate received a deer (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 187, Jia I 15, 210 Ling 15).

1.1. *Baoshan Terms for Rituals, Offerings, and Spirits*1.1.1. *Rituals*

Exorcism

- “beating”⁷⁰ *gong* 攻 (beating out the evil influence in the body with some sort of technique—possibly using music and unspoken and spoken commands, *si* and *ming*—or with an implement to pierce and draw blood or fluids out of the body)
- “releasing” *jie* 解 (either releasing the body from the grip of the evil influence or releasing the influence out from the body)
- “expel” *chu* 除 (to cleanse a space of evil influence)

Prayers

- “Proposition prayer”⁷¹ *ju* 舉 (an initial prayer used to propose particular sacrifices to ancestral or nature spirits)
- “Succeeding prayer”⁷² *yi* 翌 (a secondary prayer used to confirm sacrifices to a series of ancestral spirits)
- Confirmation of prayers *zhuan* 轉 (proposed in earlier divination events by a different diviner, literally ‘turning to’⁷³)

1.1.2. *Sacrificial Offerings*Animal⁷⁴

- | | |
|---|--|
| black or glossy ⁷⁵ water buffalo | <i>dai niu</i> 黛牛 |
| black or glossy gelded pig | <i>dai huan</i> 黛豢 |
| dried meat of a black pig | <i>dai xi</i> 黛腊 |
| dried meat of a pig | <i>dai shi</i> 黛豕 |
| fattened piglet
豕、豕豕、豕豕豕 | <i>fei zhong, zhong shi, zhong zhong</i> 肥 |
| male pig | <i>jia</i> 豮 |
| whole gelded pig | <i>huan</i> 豢 |
| black ram | <i>gu</i> 羖 |
| gelded ram | <i>fu</i> 膚 |
| ewe | <i>zang</i> 羴 |
| white dog | <i>bai quan</i> 白犬 |
| sacrificial horse | <i>xi ma</i> 犧馬 |

⁷⁰ See app. 1, n. 18, and the discussion above, p. 84.

⁷¹ See app. 1, n. 36.

⁷² See app. 1, n. 23.

⁷³ See app. 1, n. 42.

⁷⁴ Note that besides many of these same sacrificial animals, the Xincai divination text includes horses, bear, and deer sacrifices (Henansheng wenwu kaogusuo 2003, 209-11 Yi IV 143, Ling 15, Ling 71, 137).

⁷⁵ See app. 1, n. 25.

Jade

circlet of a jade pendant	<i>peiyu yi huan</i> 佩玉一環
small jade circlet	<i>xiao huan</i> 小環
pierced jade pendent	<i>jue</i> 玦
strung jade disk	<i>bengpei</i> 繡佩
jade disk	<i>bi</i> 璧
tiger shaped jade	<i>hu</i> 琥

Clothing

cap ties	<i>guandai</i> 冠帶
cap ties that dangle outward	<i>pei qu guandai</i> 佩取冠帶
ritual robes	<i>yishang</i> 衣裳

Types of Offerings

“To pay respects to or entertain a deity with food sacrifices, possibly involving invoking the deity’s presence” ⁷⁶	<i>ke</i> 恪
“Payment to a deity in return for good influence”	<i>sai</i> 賽
“To satiate a deity with a food sacrifice”	<i>yan</i> 厭
“Present prepared dishes to a deity”	<i>ci</i> 祠
“Payment to a deity by ‘sending’ jade or clothing”	<i>gui</i> 歸
“To dismember a sacrificial animal, such as a white dog”	<i>fa</i> 伐
“To present sacrifices in the form of a mortuary feast”	<i>xiangji</i> 享祭

Methods of Presentation

“With wine and food”	<i>jiushi</i> 酒食
“As food offerings”	<i>kui</i> 饋
“As a great soup”	<i>da zang</i> 大臠
“Outside the city wall”	<i>jiao</i> 郊
“As a mortuary feast”	<i>xiang</i> 享

1.1.3. *Spirits*

Ancestral Spirits

King Zhao 昭王 (Chu king who is Shao Tuo’s link to Chu royalty, r. 515-489 BCE)

Wen Pingye Jun, Pingye Jun 文坪夜君 (Accomplished Lord or Pingye, Shao Tuo’s great great grandfather)

Wu Gongzi Chun 武公子春 (Chun of the Sire Wu line, Shao Tuo’s great grandfather)

Simazi Yin, Simazi Zhiyin, Xin Wang Fu 司馬子之音、新王父 (Zhiyin of the Sima line, New Royal Father, Shao Tuo’s grandfather)

Cai Gongzi Jia, Xin Fu 蔡公子家、新父 (Jia of the Sire Cai line, New Father, Shao Tuo’s father)

⁷⁶ See app. 1, n. 37.

Furen, Xin Mu 夫人、新母 (Wife of Cai Gongzi Jia, New Mother, Shao Tuo's mother)

Dongling *lian'ao* Zifa 東陵連囂子發 (*Lian'ao* Minister of Dongling, a deity outside of the patrilineal line of male ancestors, possible Shao Tuo's grandfather on his maternal side or other powerful influence in his life)

Chu Kings

Lao Tong 老童, Zhu Rong 祝融, Yu Yin 粥飲 (mythical founder kings of the Chu nation, possibly equivalent to nature deities)⁷⁷

Jing Wang zi Yin Lu yi Di Wu Wang 荆王自飲鹿以帝武王 (five kings from "Yin Lu," a.k.a. either Xiong Yi or Xiong Li, to "Di Wu," a.k.a. Xiong Tong or Chu King Wu, r. 740-690 BCE)⁷⁸

Ghosts

Human Harm, Harm	<i>ren hai, hai</i> 人害、害
Numinous Ancestors, Ancestors	<i>mingzu, zu</i> 明祖、祖
Dead Innocents	<i>bugu</i> 不辜
Those without Descendants	<i>wuhouzhe</i> 無後者
Those on the Water	<i>shuishang</i> 水上
Drowned People	<i>moren</i> 沒人
Those Who Died in Battle	<i>bingsi</i> 兵死

Nature

Grand Unity	Tai (for Taiyi) 太、太一
Occluded Grand Unity	Shi Tai 蝕太
Earth Altar	She 社
Earth Lord	Dizhu, Houtu 地主、后土
Earth Lord of the Residence 主、宮后土	Gong Dizhu, Gong Houtu 宮地
Earth Lord of the Wild	Ye Dizhu 野地主
Walkway	Xing 行
Residence Walkway	Gong Xing 宮行
Residence	Gongshi 宮室
Grand Gate	Da Men 大門
Controller of Fate	Siming 司命
Controller of Disasters	Sihuo 司禍
Grand Water	Da Shui 大水
Two Children of Heaven	Er Tianzi 二天子
Five Mountains	Wu Shan 五山

⁷⁷ See Cook 1994.

⁷⁸ See app. 1, nn. 127, 129.

Wei Mountain	Wei Shan 危山
High Hill, Low Hill	Gaoqiu, Xiaqiu 高丘、下丘
South	Nanfang 南方
Sun, Moon	Ri, Yue 日、月
Jupiter	Sui 歲
Ximu Station	Ximu Wei 析木位

From tables 2, 3, and 4 we can see that the twelve diviners used ten different methods of divination depending on the season or the day. In the summer (year 318) on a wood/wood day, diviners Gu Ji, Shi Beishang, and Ying Hui used the methods named *baojia*, *xunqiu*, and *yangshi* (a mixture of shell and stalk methods, see discussion below). Gu Ji again used the *baojia* in the summer of the next year (317) on a wood/metal day, and the next summer (316) on an earth/wood day. The same method was used by different diviners, Xu Ji, in the Winter on a earth/metal day and by diviner Guan Yi later in the same summer of year 316 on an earth/wood day. This suggests that any particular method can be used by a certain diviner once during a season, and preferably on wood or earth days. On the other hand, diviner Ke Guang used the *changxiao* method (possible a stalk method) in the spring and winter of year 317, but a different diviner of the same surname, Ke Jia, used it in the summer. Perhaps spring and summer seasons, associated with the east and the south, were considered to be Yang, and winter and fall, the north and west, were considered to be Yin and therefore subject to different natural forces. Divination methods *shaobao* and *tongge* (perhaps shell and stalk methods) were used only in the winter. No divinations were recorded on fire days. By far the most active divination period was in the summer at the time of the annual exorcism, perhaps indicating that the best time for getting rid of evil influences was when Yang was at its peak.⁷⁹

It is unclear whether an alternation in divination method had anything to do with Yin-Yang cosmology or even exactly which divination method is meant by the ten different names mentioned: “Protecting Home” *baojia* 保家, “Instructing Turtle” *xunmin* 訓鼃, “Centering Stalks” *yangshi*

⁷⁹ The Xincai text is too fragmentary to yield a list of diviners, methods, and seasons; some diviners shared surnames with Baoshan diviners (e.g. Gu, Xu, Ying, Guan, although the lead diviner seems to have been from the Peng 彭 family). Some of the same methods are used but also ones otherwise unknown in the Baoshan text. Most curious is the fact that some of the bone and stalk methods are specifically associated with particular Ministers of the Mounds 陵尹 and the warlord of Wei 衛侯 (see Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 187-231).

Table 3. Rituals, Offerings, and Deities by Divination Event

DIVINATION EVENT (strip no.)/event no.	RITUAL TYPE In performance order (Chinese term)	OFFERING TYPE (Chinese term)	DEITY TYPE (Chinese term)
<i>Event I: 318 BCE Early Summer, Day Yiwei</i>			
(197-198) / I.1	Exorcism (<i>gongjiè</i>)		Ghost (Renhai)
(199-200) / I.2	a. Succeeding prayer (<i>yi</i>)	Animal (<i>dai niu</i>)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
	b. Succeeding prayer (<i>yi</i>)	Animal (<i>dai huan</i>)	Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Zhiyin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
	c. Succeeding prayer (<i>yi</i>)	Animal (<i>dai xi</i>)	Ancestral (Furen)
(201-04, 202 back) / I.3	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>gu</i>)	Nature (Gong Dizhu)
	b. Offering (<i>ke</i>)	Animal (<i>dai xi</i>)	Ancestral (Xinfu Cai Gongzi Jia)
	c. Offering (<i>ke</i>)	Animal (<i>fei zhong</i>)	Ancestral (Xinmu)
	d. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>fei zhong</i>)	Ancestral (Dongling <i>lian'ao</i>)
	e. Confirmation of (<i>zhuann</i>):		
	i. Succeeding prayer (<i>yi</i>)	Animal (<i>dai niu</i>)	
	ii. Succeeding prayer (<i>yi</i>)	Animal (<i>dai huan</i>)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
			Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Zhiyin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
		Animal (<i>dai xi</i>)	Ancestral (<i>furen</i>)
<i>Event II: 317 BCE Early Spring, Day Guichou</i>			
(205) / II.1	Succeeding prayer (<i>yi</i>)	Animal (<i>dai niu</i>)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
(206) / II.2	Succeeding prayer (<i>yi</i>)	Animal (<i>dai huan</i>)	Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Zhiyin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
<i>Event III: 317 BCE Late Spring, Day Guimao</i>			
(207-08) / III	a. Offering (<i>ai</i>):	Animal (<i>jia</i>) Animal (<i>jia</i>)	Nature (Ye Dizhu) Nature (Gong Dizhu)
	b. Payment (<i>sai</i>)	Animal (<i>bai quan</i>)	Nature (Xing)
<i>Event IV: 317 BCE Midsummer, Day Yichou</i>			
(209-11) / IV.1	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (whole <i>huan</i>)	Nature (Shi Tai)
	b. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (whole <i>xi</i>)	Nature (She)
	c. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>bai quan</i>)	Nature (Xing)
	d. Confirmation of (<i>zhuann</i>): Payment (<i>sai</i>)	Animal (<i>zhong shi</i>)	Nature (Dongling <i>lian'ao</i>)
	e. i. Exorcism (<i>gongjiè</i>)		Ghost (<i>mingzu</i>)
	ii. Exorcism (<i>chu</i>)		Nature (Gongshi)

DIVINATION EVENT	RITUAL TYPE	OFFERING TYPE	DEITY TYPE	
(strip no.)/event no.	In performance order (Chinese term)	(Chinese term)	(Chinese term)	
(212-15) / IV.2	a. Confirmation of (<i>zhuān</i>): Payment (<i>sai</i>)	Jade (<i>peiyu yi huan</i>)	Nature (Tai)	
		Jade (<i>xiao huan</i>)	Nature (Houtu, Siming, Siguo)	
		Jade (<i>peiyu yihuan</i>)	Nature (Dashui)	
		Jade (<i>xiao huan</i>)	Nature (Er Tianzi)	
		Jade (<i>1kuai</i>)	Nature (Weishan)	
	b. Confirmation of (<i>zhuān</i>): Payment (<i>sai</i>)	Animal (<i>gu</i>)	Nature (Gong Houtu)	
	c. Confirmation of (<i>zhuān</i>):	i. Payment (<i>sai</i>)	Animal (<i>dai niu</i>)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
		ii. Payment (<i>sai</i>)	Animal (<i>dai huan</i>)	Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Zhiyin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
		iii. Payment (<i>sai</i>)	Animal (<i>dai xi</i>)	Ancestral (Xinmu)
	(216-17) / IV.3	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>zang</i>)	Founders (Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, Yu Yin)
b. Exorcism (<i>gongjie</i>)			Ghost (<i>bugu</i>)	
<i>Event V: 317 BCE Midwinter, Day Jiyou</i>				
(218-19) / V.1	a. Offering (<i>yan</i>)	Animal (<i>jia</i>)	Nature (Dizhu)	
	b. Payment (<i>sai</i>)	Animal (<i>bai quan</i>)	Nature (Xing)	
	c. Payment (<i>gu</i>)	Clothing (<i>guan dai</i>)	Nature (Er Tianzi)	
(220) / V.2	Same as V.1			
(221-22) / V.3	Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>dai niu</i>)	Ancestral (Xin Wang Fu)	
(223) / V.4	Confirmation of V.3 (<i>zhuān</i>)			
<i>Event VI: 317 BCE Midwinter, Day Bingchen</i>				
(224) / VI.1	Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>dai niu</i>)	Ancestral (Xin Wang Fu Sima Yin)	
(225) / VI.2	Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>fei zhuang</i>)	Ancestral (Dongling <i>lian'ao</i> Zifa)	
<i>Event VII: 316 BCE Early Summer, Day Jimao</i>				
(226-27) / VII.1	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (whole <i>huan</i>)	Nature (Shi Tai)	
	b. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>zhuang shi</i>)	Ghosts (<i>xiongdì wubouzhe</i> Zhao Liang, Zhao Cheng, Xian He Gong)	
(228-29) / VII.2	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>bai quan</i>)	Nature (Gongxing)	
	b. Exorcism (<i>gongchu</i>)		Nature (Gongshi)	
(230-31) / VII.3	a. Exorcism (<i>gong</i>)		? Nature (curse of Nanfang?)	
	b. Payment (<i>gu</i>)	Clothing (<i>peiqu guandai</i>)	Nature (Nanfang)	

DIVINATION EVENT	RITUAL TYPE	OFFERING TYPE	DEITY TYPE
(strip no.)/event no.	In performance order (Chinese term)	(Chinese term)	(Chinese term)
(232-33) / VII.4	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>gu</i>)	Nature (Gong Houtu)
	b. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>bai quan</i>)	Nature (Xing)
	c. Offering (<i>fa</i>)	Animal (<i>bai quan</i>)	Nature (Damen)
(234-35) / VII.5	No ritual		
(236-38 / VII.6	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>fu</i>) Animal (<i>zang</i>)	Nature (Tai) Nature (Houtu, Siming)
	b. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>fu</i>) Animal (<i>zang</i>) Animal (<i>gu</i>)	Nature (Dashui) Nature (Er Tianzi) Nature (Weishan)
	c. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (2 <i>gu</i>)	Founders (Chu <i>xian</i> Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, Yu Yin)
	d. Exorcism (<i>gongjie</i>)	Animal (whole <i>huan</i>)	Nature (Gaoqiu, Xiaqiu) Nature (Sui)
(239-41) / VII.7	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>zang</i>)	Nature (Wushan)
	b. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>dai niu</i>)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
	c. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>dai huan</i>)	Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun Ziliang, Wu Gong- zi Chun, Simazi Yin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
	d. Exorcism (<i>gongjie</i>)		Ghosts (<i>zu</i> , <i>bingsi</i>)
	e. Confirmation of VIII.6 (<i>zhuann</i>): Record of offering (<i>xiangji</i>)	Animal (whole <i>shi</i>)	Nature (Gaoqiu, Xiaqiu)
(242-44) / VII.8	Confirmation of VIII.6 (<i>zhuann</i>):		
	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>fu</i>) Animal (<i>zang</i>)	Nature (Tai) Nature (Houtu, Siming)
	b. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>fu</i>) Animal (<i>zang</i>) Animal (<i>gu</i>)	Nature (Dashui) Nature (Er Tianzi) Nature (Weishan)
	c. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>dai niu</i>)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
	d. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>zhuangzhuang</i>)	Ancestral (Dongling <i>lian'ao</i>)
	e. Record of offering (<i>gong</i>)	Clothing (3 <i>yishang</i>)	Ancestral (Dongling <i>lian'ao</i>)
	f. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (whole <i>xi</i>)	Ghost (<i>hai</i>)
(245-46) / VII.9	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>niu</i> , <i>shi</i>)	Founders (five Xing kings from Yin Lu to Di Wu Wang)
	b. Exorcism (<i>gongjie</i>)		Ghosts (<i>shuishang</i> , <i>moren</i>)
(247-48) / VII.10	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>xi ma</i>)	Nature (Da Shui)
	b. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>dai huan</i>)	Ancestral (Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Yin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
	c. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>xi</i>)	Nature (<i>she</i>)
	d. Exorcism (<i>gongjie</i>)		Nature (<i>riyue</i> , <i>bugu</i>)
Event VIII: 316 BCE Early Summer, Day Jibai			
(249-50) / VIII	a. Proposition prayer (<i>ju</i>)	Animal (<i>fei shi</i>)	Ghosts (<i>wuhouzebe</i>)
	b. Exorcism (<i>gongjie</i>)		Nature (Ximu <i>wei</i>)

Table 4. Names of Ritualists and Their Methods by Divination Event

EVENT NUMBER	RITUALIST	METHOD
I.1	Gu Ji	<i>baojia</i> (shell)
.2	Shi Beishang	<i>xungui</i> (shell)
.3	Ying Hui	<i>yangshi</i> (stalk)
II.1	Shao Ji	Sacrifice
II.2	Shao Ji	Sacrifice
III	Ke Guang	<i>changxiao</i> (stalk)
IV.1	Wu Sheng	<i>cbengde</i> (stalk)
.2	Gu Ji	<i>baojia</i> (shell)
.3	Ke Jia	<i>changxiao</i> (stalk)
V.1	Xu Ji	<i>baojia</i> (shell)
.2	Ke Guang	<i>changxiao</i> (stalk)
.3	Nong Qiang	<i>shaobao</i> (shell)
.4	Qu Yi	<i>tongge</i> (stalk)
VI.1	Xia Yu and Wei Zhuang	Sacrifice
.2	Xia Yu and Wei Zhuang	Sacrifice
VII.1	Gu Ji	<i>baojia</i> (shell)
.2	Chen Yi	<i>gongming</i>
.3	Guan Beng	<i>changling</i> (shell)
.4	Wu Sheng	<i>cbengde</i> (stalk)
.5	Xu Ji	<i>boling</i> (shell)
.6	Gu Ji	<i>baojia</i> (shell)
.7	Chen Yi	<i>gongming</i> (stalk)
.8	Guan Beng	<i>changling</i> (shell)
.9	Wu Sheng	<i>cbengde</i> (stalk)
.10	Xu Ji	<i>boling</i> (shell)
VIII	Guan Yi	<i>baojia</i> (shell)

央筮, “The Long and the Short” *changxiao* 長削 (*shao* 少),⁸⁰ “Uplifting Ascendance” *cbengde* 承德,⁸¹ “Little Treasure” *shaobao* 少寶,⁸² “Red Onion Grass” *tongge* 彤荅, “Respecting Fate” *gongming* 共命,⁸³ “Everlasting

⁸⁰ See the use of *xiao* for *shao* in the divination text. Yang Hua 2003, 569, suggests this divination type may in fact refer to use of a Day Book.

⁸¹ For *de* as “ascending power” vs. “rescinding power” (*xing* 刑), see Major 1987.

⁸² I read *shao* as *xiao* 小, a common loan for this time-period.

⁸³ The graph 共 is a common loan for the graph 恭.

Numinous One” *changling* 長靈, “Mixed Numinous One” *boling* 駁靈.⁸⁴ It is assumed that all the names referred to either tortoise shell (*baojia*, *xungui*, *shaobao*, *changling*, *boling*) or stalk (*yangshi*, *changxiao*, *chengde*, *tongge*, *gongming*?) methods.⁸⁵ Since most divination occurred in the spring or summer months, there is no obvious Yin-Yang classification of the methods by season. During the winter methods *baojia*, *changxiao*, *shaobao*, and *tongge* were used, revealing an alteration between shell and stalk method. This tendency to alternate between the two methods is also evident for the summer of year 316 BCE. In either season, the divination sessions begin with a shell method.⁸⁶ The stalk method *tongge* was used only once, in the winter, perhaps for the use of a bit of “red” Yang essence during a Yin month.

Three stalk method names provide insight into the divination process. We know that the *yangshi*, *chengde*, and *gongming* methods each resulted in hexagrams displayed in vertical rows of Yin (broken) and Yang (solid) numbers.⁸⁷ We know that there were at least two versions of hexagram (*gua* 卦) or Yi texts associated with stalk divination (how the stalks were thrown and the numbers read from the stalks is unclear):⁸⁸ the *Zhouyi* (or *Yijing*), associated in Han texts with Zhou traditions, and the *Guicang*, associated with Shang traditions. From excavated manuscripts we know that while they both used a similar set of hexagrams (with some

⁸⁴ The graph for *ling* was written with a 𪛗 element in the Wangshan and Xincai divination texts. Another popular shell type was the *Mangling* 𪛗靈 “vari-colored tortoise,” sometimes specified as “small” (*xiao*). The diviner Peng Ding 彭定 specialized in this method as well as in the *Boling* method (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 187 Jia I 25; 192 Jia III 133; 193 Jia III 157, 172, and Yi III 19; 195, Jia III 204). Peng Ding also used a method called *Mingluo* 鳴羅 (the *luo* graph seems to include another element, which commentators have deciphered as 月), perhaps loan graphs for a type of grass or stalk, *niaoluo* 萋蘿 (mentioned as separate types of grass but in the same line of the *Shijing* ode “Kuibian,” Mao no. 217). For a discussion of divination methods and specialists in the *Zhouli*, see Loewe 1994, 165-67.

⁸⁵ See Peng Hao 1991; For Li Ling’s and Chen Wei’s views see app. 1, notes on each method. Hu Yali 2002, 71, recently published a slightly different list, claiming that all are shell methods except *dayang*, *yangshi*, *chengde*, and *gongming*.

⁸⁶ This practice of alternation and seasonal accord is generally consistent with that discovered by Loewe in his study of late Warring States, Qin, and Han practices using shells, bones, and stalks, based on transmitted textual references; Loewe 1994, 166-71.

⁸⁷ See Cook 1998; Harper 1999, 853; Li Ling 2000, 251-71.

⁸⁸ Ailan and Xing Wen 2004 and Xing Wen 2000b suggest that since hexagram names are not mentioned, the stalk divination type practiced by Baoshan diviners may have been different from those who used the *Zhouyi* or *Guicang* manuals; Loewe 1994, 178, draws from the *Yili* to provide a picture of the divination event.

overlapping names) the accompanying texts preserve variants of different sets of legends. The *Guicang* text was discovered in a Qin tomb not far from the Baoshan region. It is possible that the Baoshan hexagrams were interpreted according to the omen texts or signs (*xiang*)⁸⁹ of the *Guicang*, whose lines were drawn from legendary story-cycles preserved in the Chu Silk Manuscript and in later texts,⁹⁰ and seem to associate auspicious and inauspicious signs with Yin and Yang. These texts include the deities known as the Controller of Yin and the Controller of Yang, as well as images associated with cosmic birth mythology: the Fusang tree, Fuxi, Nüwa, darkness, and lightness.⁹¹ The *Guicang* also includes images of ecstatic flight and possibly of shamanistic rituals of entertaining spirits with dance and music in a trance—behavior used by modern fortune tellers in China.⁹²

While it is unclear what omens the diviners used in their interpretations of the hexagrams, there are a few omens recorded in the Baoshan text indicated by the word “to see” (*jian* 見), which may have been a simplified expression of “to appear” (*xian* 現). In event V.1 in the winter of 317 BCE (translated in Appendix One), Xu Ji used the *baojia* method to divine the presence of a curse. The answer was positive because “The Grand Unity (Taiyi) looks at a tiger-shaped jade”—possibly a reference to astral movements or perhaps their reflection in some divination implement on the ground. Xu Ji used a tiger-shaped jade and a jade disk as part of the exorcism. First he used them to select a good month and day, and then he “sent” them, a ritual process that transferred the jades to the deity, possibly by hanging them upon a sacrificial animal.⁹³ A second omen is recorded in event V.3 of the same date (this and the next example are translated in Appendix One), in which the diviner Nong Qiang used the *shaobao* method to test the presence of a curse. The answer was positive and he “sees Xin Wang Fu who died prematurely.” The diviner Qu Yi then (in V.4) confirms the result and the omen. Seven days later Xin

⁸⁹ See Cook 1998; Lewis 1999a, chapter 6; and Cook forthcoming; Li Ling 2000, 260, notes that first a hexagram was derived (*suan* 算) through calculation (*shu* 數), then provided with a symbolic meaning (*xiang*) in the form of text. For a discussion of the rise of *shu* “calculation” in the Warring States period, see Harper 1999a, 822ff.

⁹⁰ See these texts, below, chap. 5.

⁹¹ For a discussion of this mythology and the Shang cosmic model, see Allan 1991.

⁹² See Morgan 1988; Wang Mingqin 2004; Cook forthcoming. Harper 1999, 866, suggests that shamans (witches or spirit technicians) (*wu* 巫) were increasingly relegated to lower levels of the religious hierarchy during the Warring States period.

⁹³ Luo 2005, 90.

Wang Fu Sima Yin, Shao Tuo's great grandfather, was presented with a black water buffalo sacrifice. On the same day, another ancestral spirit that died prematurely, Dongling *lian'ao* Zifa, was presented with a fat-tened piglet sacrifice. Both omens appeared with the use of a method believed to involve a tortoise shell and not stalks.

Traditionally, omens in cracked shells were simply cracks read as either auspicious or non-auspicious. In order to “see” beyond the cracks, the diviner had to have a more sophisticated fortune-telling device. Today we possess divination boards, *shi* 式, that is, a model of the cosmos controlled by Grand Unity (Taiyi), which have been excavated from third-century BCE tombs. Li Ling has shown how the shapes of these boards depicted cosmic models of the Yin-Yang Five Phases scheme used in the Day Books and in southern silk texts with diagrams of the seasons or of Yin-Yang Five Phases that have been found in Changsha, Hunan, tombs (down the Yangzi River from Jiangling, in an area deeply influenced by Chu culture).⁹⁴ Although excavated examples of the board date to the end of the Warring States period and later, Li suggests that cosmic models date back as early as Neolithic burials—which were bordered on each side with dragons and tigers formed out of shells—and can be traced up through the 443 BCE lacquer box—with the dragon and tiger pictured in the heavens around the twenty-eight stellar mansions.⁹⁵ The dragon-tiger motif continued forward into post-Han records of cosmic board texts, such as the “Taiyi Dragon Head Board Classic” of the Five Dynasties. In a Han silk painting from Changsha, Taiyi is pictured as a horned man riding a dragon, flanked by the Rain Master (in the form of a dragon) and the Thunder Lord (in the form of a tiger).⁹⁶ By the Tang period, we find texts for “Taiyi Boards” and “Thunder Lord Boards.”⁹⁷ The evidence of an astral dragon and tiger motif (common motifs in Chu art) evolving from as early as the Neolithic suggests that our Baoshan omen depicting a perhaps dragon-headed Taiyi looking at a tiger-jade may have been the result of a fourth-century BCE cosmic board manipulation; at least it is a divination type different from cracks in a tortoise shell.

⁹⁴ Li Ling 2000, 127-28, describes a Song dynasty “Taiyi Twelve Spirit (months)” board. For the Chu Silk Manuscript, see Li Ling 1999, 171-76, and for the “Yin-Yang Five Phase” illustration from a silk book of the same name found in the Han-period tomb at Mawangdui, Changsha, see Fu and Chen 1992, vol. 1, 145.

⁹⁵ Li Ling 2000, 78-81, 110-12.

⁹⁶ Found in Li Ling 1992, 23; and Cook and Major 1999, fig. 9.2.

⁹⁷ Li Ling 2000, 113-19, 126-28.

The ritual specialists in the Baoshan text included thirteen diviners who also performed exorcisms. Since the family names of most of these diviners are also found in the administrative records (buried also in the northern compartment of the tomb), we can assume that these were local Chu ritualists, possibly connected to the royal family. While the Baoshan texts do not refer to the specialists by title, judging from regulations preserved in the transmitted ritual texts, they were likely lower ranked *zhanren* 占人 or *buren* 卜人 who worked under a director of divination, a *taibu* 太卜. When it came to Shao Tuo's funeral (not recorded in the Baoshan divination text), control over the ceremonies and divination may have shifted to the *dazongren* 大宗人, *xiaozhongren* 小宗人, and simple *buren* 卜人, who, as Loewe explained, assisted the master of the house in protocol, took charge of particular divination methods, and carried out the divination. However, the numbers of diviners and methods used by the ritualists assigned to Shao Tuo were many more than accorded a *dafu* or *shi* rank in the ritual texts.⁹⁸ If we look at the Baoshan diviners with three or more records, we see that although they specialized in particular methods of divination, they performed both the scheduled annual and the non-scheduled exorcisms. The schedule of divinations recorded in the Xincai text cannot be reconstructed as yet from the fragments, but it is clear from the names of methods and diviners that families of diviners who specialized in particular methods were attached to the Chu elite, and traveled with them.

In addition to the diviners, three ritualists (*shiren* 事人) were specifically in charge of managing the offerings (*gong* 貢) and associated prayers (*dao* 禱), but not the divination required to confirm the rituals.⁹⁹ One of these ritualists was a member of the Shao family who was charged with making a black water buffalo into a great soup for the royal ancestor King Zhao (who reigned during the fifth century BCE). He also presented offerings of black gelded pigs for Shao's patrilineal ancestors. The other two ritualists handled the sacrifices to Shao Tuo's great-grandfather and the *lian'ao* of Dongling.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ For a discussion on how the roles of diviners overlapped with archivists (or astrologers) and shamans, see Xing Wen 1998; Loewe 1994, 165-67, 177, 180-82, 184. Loewe 1994, 165-67, 177, 180-82, 184.

⁹⁹ In the Xincai text, they were also in charge of musical performances involving bells that followed the sacrifice of large animals or "offerings" (*gong*).

¹⁰⁰ Lai 2002, chapter 5, suggests that as relatives they may have performed a "substitution" ritual, i.e. "taking up the position" (*wei* 位) as in the Corpse (*shi* 尸) ritual.

The diviners attempted through a process of elimination to isolate the source of the curse. The spirits and “districts” they searched out reflect the level of their concern for Shao’s problems. Over the three years, we see in the annual exorcisms an increasing focus away from Shao’s outer problems at court to inner problems with his residence and person. At first, when his ambitions were frustrated and his promotion slow in coming, the diviners exorcised Shao from the curse of Human Harm (possibly a curse put on Shao by a competitor at court or by a ghost). They proposed and confirmed sacrifices to Shao’s lineage spirits—King Zhao, four patrilineal spirits including his father, and his mother. They also proposed that animal sacrifices be sent to the Earth Lord of Shao’s Residence and to a dead Chu official, the *lian’ao* of Dongling, who must have had some influence over Shao Tuo when he was alive. This proposal would be confirmed the following year, 318, when the sacrifices to Shao’s recently deceased parents (confirmed the previous year) were finalized. These diviners refined their prediction of forthcoming happiness to a period of time within the next two months.

Shao’s “problems with his person” mentioned vaguely in the first year’s annual exorcism became clear by spring of the next year. He was ill. A single diviner sacrificed pigs to the Earth Lords of his Residence and of the Wilds and a white dog to the spirit of the Walkway—focusing on local earth deities possibly offended during Shao’s daily movements. This emphasis was continued during the summer annual exorcism, which first addressed the problem with Shao’s person and residence as well the issue concerning things “not going smoothly on the outside.” Besides sacrifices to the Earth Altar and the Residence Walkway, the diviner proposed sacrifices to the Occluded Grand Unity, the astral spirit Grand Unity when invisible—the cosmic high god in its *yin* form.¹⁰¹ He then released Shao from the curses of his Numinous Ancestors and cleared his home of evil. The next diviner focused on Shao’s problem with “evil in the king’s affairs” as well as his eternal “problems with his person.” This diviner focused on gifts of jade to cosmic and earth deities such as Grand Unity, the Earth Lord, the Controller of Fate, and the Controller of Disasters, Grand Water, the Two Children of Heaven (tree or water spirits or perhaps dead children),¹⁰² and Wei Mountain (possibly a local sacred moun-

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of the invisible, or Yin, power of Taiyi (*Yinde* 陰德), see Sun and Kistemaker 1997, 166–67.

¹⁰² See the two demons that killed Jin Hou, n. 19, above.

tain to the west).¹⁰³ He repaid Shao's lineage spirits with food sacrifices. The third diviner proposed sacrifices to three mythical founder gods of Chu¹⁰⁴ and exorcised the curse put on Shao by victims or Dead Innocents (perhaps the ghosts of people killed in crimes, or unfairly convicted of crimes and put to death during Shao's administration).

By winter, Shao's illness was again critical. Four diviners tried to isolate the curse. The first suggested that Grand Unity needed more jade. He fed the Earth Lord and Walkway another pig and white dog and sent cap strings (symbols of prestige) to the Two Children of Heaven. He suggested that cooked food be presented at a place named Piyang. The second diviner accepted the sacrificial recommendations for the exorcism but rejected the food presentation, saying that Shao would get better on a Geng or Xin day (both metal days that in the Shuihudi Day Books were often associated with recovery). The third diviner changed this prediction, phrasing it in the negative: Perhaps Shao would be sick until the middle of the month. He also claimed that the curse came from Shao's grandfather and therefore proposed sacrifices to him. The fourth diviner confirmed this and suggested that Shao might be sick until the middle of the month. Seven days later a separate set of ritualists performed sacrifices first to the grandfather and then to the dead Chu official. They prayed that Shao would be blessed with a complete lifespan.

During the last recorded annual exorcism, five diviners dealt with Shao's personal problems, problems in his residence, particularly in his bedroom where by this time he was confined to bed. The first diviner proposed sacrifices to the Occluded Grand Unity to three Shao brothers who died without descendants—a cosmic god and minor, perhaps jealous or hungry, spirits. The second diviner proposed a sacrifice to the Walkway spirit of Shao's residence and then cleared his residence of harmful influences. The third diviner "beat" Shao's curse and sent a gift of cap ties to the spirit of the south. The fourth diviner proposed sacrifices to the Earth Lord of the Residence, the Walkway, and the Grand Gate. The fifth diviner simply confirmed that now there was no spiritual blame, or curses, left.

Gu Ji, the diviner who began the annual exorcisms every other year, also initiated the divination session on Shao's health that immediately followed the annual exorcism. Gu recommended animal sacrifices to all the heaven and earth spirits previously mentioned, to the mythical Chu

¹⁰³ See the map of the Jiangling region in Blakeley 1999, 11, fig. I.I.

¹⁰⁴ For their associations with Yin and Yang, see Cook 1994.

founders (cosmic gods), and to the High Hill and Low Hill, presumably local nature gods. Gu ordered these spirits to help Shao walk again and then released Shao from the curse of Jupiter. The second diviner recommended animal sacrifices to the Five Mountains, to King Zhao, and to the four patrilineal ancestors of Shao (these included his grandfather and father). This diviner released Shao from the curses of his ancestors and specifically from those who died in battle, and then confirmed Gu Ji's sacrifice to the High and Low Hills as the appropriate location for the curse.

The third diviner confirmed Gu Ji's recommended sacrifices and added recommendations for sacrifices to King Zhao, the dead Chu official, and to the spirit of Harm itself. This diviner ordered that they stand Shao up and protect and cure him. The fourth diviner recommended a sacrifice to five ancient Chu kings (note a preference for groups of five) and released Shao from the curse of spirits on the water, specifically those of people who had drowned. Finally, the fifth diviner suggested sacrifices to the river god Grand Water, to three of Shao's patrilineal ancestors, and to the Earth Altar. He (or perhaps she) then released Shao from curses of the Sun and Moon and of the Dead Innocents.

Twenty days later a new diviner, using the method usually associated with Gu Ji, asked the shell if Shao Tuo was going to die or not. Could nothing be done? This diviner recommended sacrifices to the spirits of those whose lives had been cut short without descendants and then released Shao from the spirit of a specific Jupiter station, Ximu, commanding that this spirit get behind Tuo and raise him up. As we know, this eleventh-hour appeal to high gods and mean ghosts failed, and Shao died in the summer of 316 BCE, the victim of a curse from an unknown spirit in an unknown region.

There are three types or stages of sacrifice mentioned: the *ju*, the *yi*, and the *sai*. Since *sai* is found in later texts as a repayment sacrifice, scholars generally agree that this sacrifice was to repay a spirit for sending down blessings. The first two types are a little less clear. Li Ling suggests that the *ju* represented an "initial" sacrifice or prayer and *yi* represented the "next" or secondary sacrifice or prayer.¹⁰⁵ That these two work as a set and that there is some sort of system is clear from the text, but there are

¹⁰⁵ Li Ling 2000, 286; Yan Shixuan 2000, 104-05, recently pointed out that the Chu graph (written with 羽 over 能) was polyphonic and could be read as *yi* (一), *neng* (能), or *dai* (代). He feels that in the Baoshan case, it should be *dai* and refers to a diviner's taking over for another. For *ju*, he reads *yu* 與 but does not explain why.

not quite enough examples to prove without a doubt what that system was. From an examination of the first two types in terms of their sacrificial objects (i.e., what spirits are being addressed, mostly a succession of ancestral spirits), it seems that the first stage was actually a proposed sacrifice, a “raising up” (*ju* 舉) of prayer, rather than a record of an actual sacrifice. The secondary prayer seems then to confirm the proposal particularly when ancestral spirits are the objects. Although there are records of actual sacrifices, how these mesh with the proposed and confirmed prayers is difficult to know. Other particularities include the fact that *yi* prayers (and perhaps actual sacrifices) occurred only in the summer of year 318 and in the spring of year 317, whereas *ju* sacrifices occurred in the summer (and once in the winter) of every year. It is possible that the *yi* sacrifices were the continuation of an earlier diviner’s work that was not included in these records and that the *ju* sacrifices initiated in year 316 would have been followed by *yi* if Shao Tuo had still been alive. For example, spirits who received *yi* sacrifices in the summer of year 318 and the spring of year 317 included Shao Tuo’s patrilineal ancestors, distant lineage founder King Zhao, great-great-grandfather Pingye Jun, great-grandfather Wu Gongzi Chun, grandfather Simazi Yin, and his father Cai Gongzi Jia. His mother received *yi* sacrifices in the summer of 318 but not the following spring. In the summer of year 316, the patrilineal ancestors received a *ju* sacrifice. The type of offering in either case was roughly the same. The *sai* sacrifices to these patrilineal ancestors as well as his mother were recorded in the summer of year 317 with the same sacrificial animal offerings but with slight additions in the presentations. No *yi* sacrifices were recorded for any spirits other than ancestral spirits associated with Shao Tuo’s direct lineage. Those lineage spirits and the spirits of the most recently dead (such as the spirits of Shao’s mother and father, his grandfather, and an outer lineage spirit, the *lian’ao* of Dongling) seem to have been considered the most likely culprits for Shao’s curse and hence received the greatest number of proposed sacrifices (summer) and actual sacrifices (spring and winter).

Recipients of sacrifice included ghosts and distant kings. Ghosts were the spirits most likely to be “beaten” by the diviners in the summer exorcist ceremonies. They included the spirits of people who had died before their time, by ill means, without descendants, or without burial (as with soldiers or drowned people). There were two groups of distant kings—the mythical (Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, and Yu Yin, as given in the preceding list of Baoshan sacrificial and ritual terms), and the histori-

cal (the Five Jing Kings). The mythical group received the same type of sacrifice (goats) as many nature spirits (the Earth Lord, the Controller of Fate, the Two Children of Heaven, the Five Mountains), whereas the Five Jing Kings were offered water buffaloes and piglets as in the case of powerful lineage ancestors. The water buffalo sacrifice was proposed for King Zhao in the summers of 318 and 316 as part of the annual exorcism, and for Shao Tuo's grandfather in the winter of 317 during an acute period of Shao's illness. When it came to the actual sacrifice to his grandfather (and to the *lian'ao* of Dongling) seven days later, pigs were used, despite the fact that the original proposal of a more prestigious offering of water buffalo by diviner Nong Qiang had been confirmed by another diviner (Qu Yi). Except for this winter *ju* ceremony, the only other activity during the winter consisted of food, jade, and clothing gifts to nature spirits.

There seems to be a correlation between season and the source of curses in the Baoshan text, on the one hand, and curses by certain ancestral spirits and ghosts on particular days in the Shuihudi text, on the other. On Jia and Yi days, one's mother and father (meat offering); on a Bing or Ding day, one's grandfather (rooster sacrifice); on a Wu or Ji day, one's grandmother (fish); on a Geng or Xin day, Outside Ghosts and Those Who Died Young (dog meat and testicles); on a Ren or Gui day, Outside Ghosts of People Cut Off from Their Mothers (dried and sliced meat). Although the correlations of divination days with the types of sacrifices are not similar in the two texts, there may still have been some concern to match the meat type proposed to these deities in the Baoshan text with Yin-Yang or other natural agents rather than simply to indicate rank.

Although nature spirits such as animals, whirlwinds, and mounds or hills, are mentioned in the Shuihudi Day Books as sources of spiritual blame and curse, the range of nature spirits mentioned in Baoshan is not reflected in the Shuihudi texts. Nature spirits in the Baoshan text include astral and earth deities. Among the astral deities, there are Grand Unity and its Yin counterpart, the Occluded Grand Unity, Sun and Moon,¹⁰⁶ Jupiter, and the Jupiter station Ximu.¹⁰⁷ Proposals for sacrificial gifts of

¹⁰⁶ I suspect it is the astral bodies of the sun and moon that is indicated and not the stars (see Sun and Kristemaker 1997, 135-36).

¹⁰⁷ This station was located in the Yin 寅 chronogram, the Yan 燕 astral field, and the You 幽 province in northeastern section of the sky (Pankenier 1999, 265).

jade and ritual robes to Grand Unity were made in the summer as part of the annual exorcism, but jade was actually sent during the winter crisis. Pigs were sacrificed to the Occluded Grand Unity also during this time. The Sun and the Moon, Jupiter, and Ximu Station were exorcised like ghosts during the annual exorcism as possible evil influences on the sick Shao Tuo. Cosmic deities, the Controller of Fate and the Controller of Disasters, often received sacrifices at the same time as the Earth Lord. As a team they both received goats, but when the Earth Lord was worshipped separately as during the winter crisis, his hunger was "satiated" with a pig. Earth deities included those of the Earth Altar, the Earth Lords of the Residence and of the Wild, the Walkway, the Residence Walkway, the Residence, the Grand Gate, the Grand Water, the Two Children of Heaven, the Five Mountains, Wei Mountain, High Hill and Low Hill, and the South.

As Shao Tuo's illness intensified so too did the sacrifices to the earth deities—those Yin deities with perhaps the greatest control over his corporeal self. The diviners particularly focused on deities that Shao Tuo may have offended in the course of his daily life around his home, such as the Earth Lord of his Residence, the Residence itself (which had to be cleared of noxious influences), the Walkway of the Residence, the Great Gate, and the Earth Lord of the Wilds. The Earth Altar was most likely his personal Earth Altar possibly composed of a stone pillar or mound with vegetation and placed on the right side inside the main gate of his residential compound.¹⁰⁸ Goats and pigs were sacrificed to the Earth Lords and dogs to the Walkway and Gate. Outside his home, other potentially offended deities included geographical nature spirits such as those of the mountains and rivers. Except for the horse offered to the river spirit, Grand Water, and the pigs offered to the High Hill and the Low Hill, goats and items of ritual clothing were generally offered to the Two Children of Heaven, the Five Mountains, Wei Mountain suggesting a more distant connection to the patient's condition. Again, these rituals were proposed during the summer and carried out during the spring, summer, and winter months.

Attention to individual days in the Baoshan divination record occurred in the dating formula, as mentioned above, and also in the final statements or predictions. During the annual exorcism event of 318, during the first month of summer, ritualists predicted that relief of Shao Tuo's personal

¹⁰⁸ Kominami 1987; Wang Shenxing 1988, 145.

problems and problems at court would occur during “this period” (*qi* 期), presumably referring to the summer season. The next ritualist refined this prediction to either the second or third months of summer. A prediction during the third month of spring in 317 suggested that Shao’s problems would be so much better as to have an audience with the king the next month, the first month of summer. Predictions made during the annual exorcism of 317 suggested that Shao would not only achieve happiness during this period but that he would be free of spiritual blame (and curses) for three years and would become famous.

During the winter crisis, predictions were limited to the correct time and place to present sacrifices to relieve Shao’s illness. First a Jiayin day (wood/water) was suggested at a place called Piyang, possibly to the east if the Shuihudi scheme was accurate for this period. The next diviner approved the sacrifices along with an exorcism but claimed that Piyang was not a good location. Another diviner suggested that Shao would be sick until a Geng or Xin day (within the next two days), which accords to the Shuihudi scheme of metal days for cures. The next diviner made the prediction less specific and suggested Shao would be sick until the middle of the month (the second month of winter). During the divination cycles of 316, the diviners did not make predictions. Instead they tried to manipulate the cursing spirits to raise Shao back up out of bed and cure him.

In summary, we can see that the Baoshan diviners’ sensitivity to time in their regulation of the calendar of divination and in the timing of sacrifice events may represent a consciousness of natural forces that evolved into the sort of Five Phases scheme represented in the Shuihudi Day Books. The pantheon of Chu spirits was vast, yet divination regarding their influences seems to have been focused in the summer season, the time when Yang influence would be strongest. Winter was generally avoided except when acute episodes of Shao’s illness forced divination and sacrificial activity. The larger pattern of Yin and Yang influences seemed to dictate the divination calendar and the choice of days, but had little influence on which spirits in the pantheon were addressed—confirming that the Chu worship of these spirits had a longer history than Chu attention to Yin-Yang Five Phase type correlations.

This impression can be confirmed with a comparison of the early fourth-century Baoshan divination text with the slightly earlier Wangshan divination text, discovered in a tomb northwest of the Chu city of Jinan in Jiangling in 1965. The Wangshan bamboo text was among broken bam-

boo baskets in the eastern chamber of the relatively rich tomb of Shao Gu 邵固, possibly a great-grandson of King Dao (r. 401-381 BCE) who lived before or during the reign of King Wei (r. 339-329 BCE)¹⁰⁹—a generation before Shao Tuo. This text, while extremely fragmentary, reveals the same formulaic structure as the Baoshan text.¹¹⁰ Many of the divination methods, the sacrifices, the spirits, and even the patient's symptoms are similar to those mentioned in the Baoshan text. The family names of some of the diviners (for example, Ke and Xu) are also familiar from the Baoshan material, suggesting that diviners came from lineages of ritual specialists.¹¹¹ The Wangshan text seems to have been written during the summer and winter months of Xingyi (month 4), Cuanyue (month 11), Xianma (month 12). The annual exorcism was performed in summer. During this Yang month of Xingyi, water days were chosen (Guihai, day 60 and Guiwei, day 20). During the Yin month of Cuanyue, fire days were chosen (Bingchen, day 53, and Dingsi, day 54), but so also was a water day (Guichou, day 50). During the Yin month of Xianma, an earth day was chosen (Jiyou, day 46). Shao Gu, like Shao Tuo, suffered from a chest illness, but one that he seemed to feel in his bones. Like Shao Tuo, he was partially paralyzed. The diviners predicted improvement on a Bing or Ding day, both fire days, on an earth day (Jiwei, day 56), and recovery on metal days (Xinchou, day 38, and Gengshen, day 57). Diviners proposed that the Inner Purification ritual (*neizhai* 内齋) be performed on earth (Jisi, day 6), wood (Jiazi, day 1) or metal (Gengshen, day 57) days and the Outer (or Wild) Purification ritual (*yezhai*) be performed on a metal (Xinwei, day 8) day.¹¹² Sacrifices were recommended on wood (Yichou, day 22) or earth (Jiwei, day 56) days. Although it is difficult to recover much of a system from this extremely fragmented text, there does seem to be a general preference for earth, wood, and water days for sacrifices and fire or metal days for improvement from illness. The inconsistencies,

¹⁰⁹ Some scholars read Shao (written with an additional “heart” element) as *dao* 悼; see Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1996, 211-13. During the Warring States period the addition of semantic elements to phonetic graphs was relatively random.

¹¹⁰ The formulaic nature of the Baoshan text is discussed by Li Ling 1990, and more recently by Hu Yali 2002.

¹¹¹ The methods listed for the Wangshan Xu and the Baoshan Xu have different names.

¹¹² The Xincai text records the performance of the Inner Purification ritual on the eve of a Gengwu day (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 192 Jia III 134, 108).

however, do suggest that the Wangshan bamboo text accorded less with a later Yin-Yang Five Phases system than did the Baoshan text.

We do see a consistency between the two texts in the hierarchy of spirits and sacrifices. The same triad of sacrifices—*ju, yi, sai*—was used to propitiate similar ancestral spirits (including, King Zhao, sires of Pingye and Dongling, and his father), Chu Founders (Zhu Rong, Yu Yin, Lao Tong), ghosts (such as Innocent Victims, Numinous Ancestors), nature spirits associated with civilized places (such as the Earth Altar, Earth Lord of the Residence, and the Walkway), nature spirits associated with the wilds (such as the Mountains and Rivers, the Great Water, and the Two Children of Heaven), and cosmic spirits (such as Grand Unity and the Controller of Fate). Spirits associated with the earlier Four Regions (*sifang*) system seem more in evidence. Sacrifices were proposed to directional (or astral) spirits such as the South, the Northern Altar (Beizong 北宗), The Royal Child of the North (Wang zhi Beizi 王之北子), and the Great King of the East (Dong Da Wang 東大王).¹¹³ The existence of a King in the East suggests his opposite, the Royal Mother¹¹⁴ of the West attested in later texts, but in fact the west is not mentioned in either the Wangshan or the Baoshan texts.

By comparing the Baoshan divination material with the later Shuihudi Day Book and the earlier Wangshan divination text, we can see an evolving tendency to calculate ritual events according to changes in patterns of abstract natural forces. In each text, attention by ritual specialists to the effect of the rising and falling influences of Yin and Yang on human health and behavior is evidence suggesting that this aspect of Warring States-period natural philosophy had deep, perhaps very ancient, roots. However, no matter how abstractly or in what detail the rising and falling influences were calculated, the actual sources of illness still had names and perhaps faces.

¹¹³ Some scholars link references to the Great King of the East, the Holy King 聖王, and Zhao Wang into a hierarchy equivalent to King Jian, King Sheng, and King Dao; see Peng Hao 1988, 68.

¹¹⁴ We know from the Shuihudi text that the title *wangmu* referred to a grandmother spirit.

2. THE LACQUER PAINTING

The painting of guests arriving and a single man departing depicted on the lacquer box found in the northern compartment of Shao Tuo's tomb consists of five scenes (figures 11, 12). The scenes can each further be divided into three categories according to their direction of movement: left, right, and static—figures face to the left, to the right, or with their backs toward the viewer. Willow trees all seem to blow to the right, perhaps the east if the viewer is imagined as facing north (as would a supplicant at court) or west if the viewer faces south (the position of a ruler and the direction of “up” on ancient Chinese maps). For the sake of discussion, I will assume the painting was “read” like an ancient Chinese map, the viewer faced south, and the wind blew toward the west—although, in point of fact, since the painting was circular, it is in some sense directionless. I understand the trees to function as scene breaks. From the changing leaves and the migrating geese, the season is autumn.¹¹⁵

There are five figures in the static scene (figure 12a), possibly a scene depicting the departure of the man dressed in white or yellow (the third person from the left, with hat straps hanging down his front)¹¹⁶ in the center facing right (west). To his right facing him are two figures, possibly his wife (suggested by the looped coiffure and fuller dress) and an attendant.¹¹⁷ To the viewer's left (but on the central figure's right side) are two figures with their backs to the viewer: these are perhaps his sons or other important figures. Over the heads of each set of figures are sets of two flying birds, all flying left (east) against the wind. This static sending-off bears some resemblance to those depicted in the upper registers inside the house structures of Han funeral paintings at Mawangdui and Jinqueshan 金雀山,¹¹⁸ although the clothing and hats of these funeral scenes are quite different from the Baoshan scene. In the Mawangdui depiction (see figure 13) we see that the two kneeling figures wearing light blue and

¹¹⁵ Cui Renyi 1988, 72-73.

¹¹⁶ One point against the argument that the painting depicts mourning is a line in the *Liji* that states that straps do not hang down on mourning caps (*sangguan bu li* 喪冠不纓; “Tangong, shang”; *Liji Zhengzhu* 2.4a). The fact that this was an issue brought up in the *Liji* suggests the lack of a uniform standard.

¹¹⁷ According to many passages concerning funeral rites in the ritual texts, the women should stand to the west of the body facing east, and the men to the east of the body facing west. This accords with the painting.

¹¹⁸ See Li Ling 2004, 168, fig. 4.

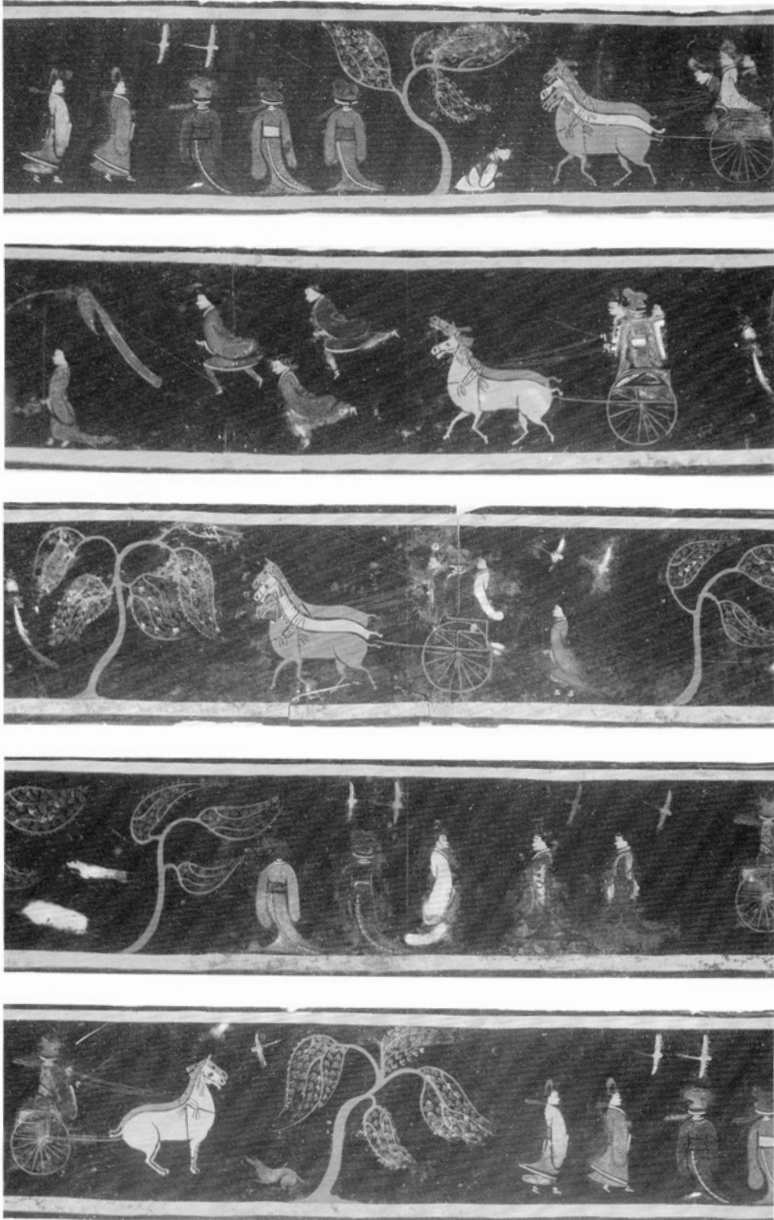
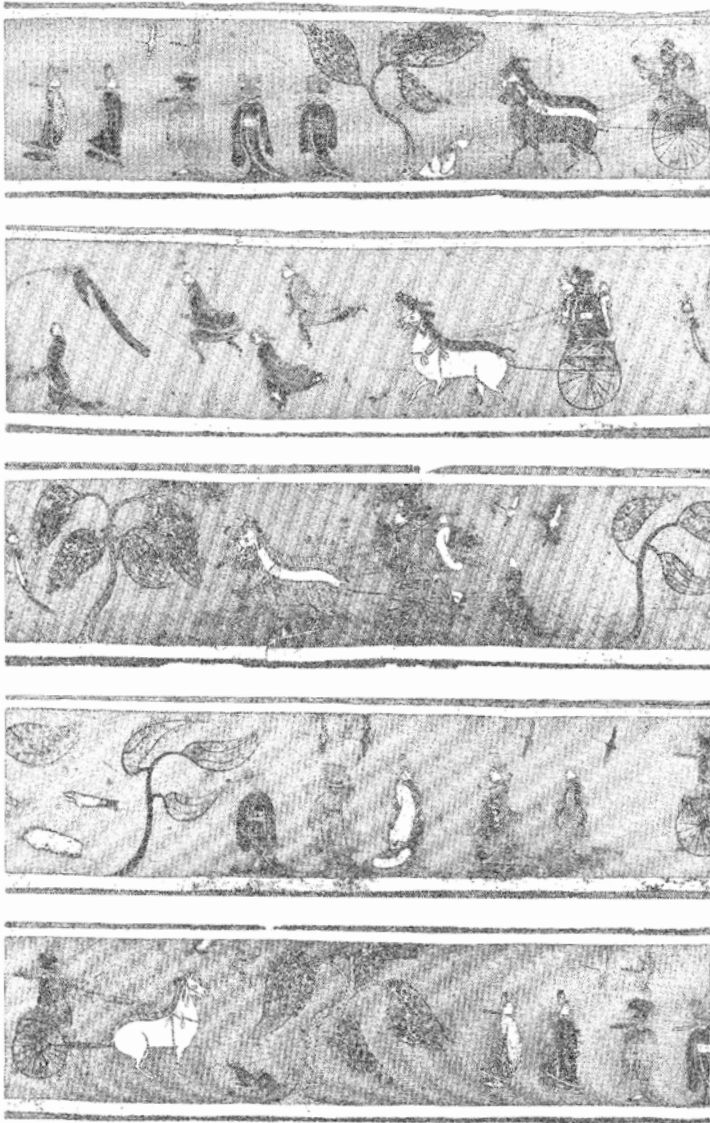


Figure 11. Departure Ceremony on Round Lacquer Box

(The accompanying alternative version of fig. 11, on the facing page, has been digitally edited to bring out various fine details.)

Originally with figures painted in blue, black, and yellow or white against a dark background. The robes have a red or red-and-black striped trim. Belts were black or



white. Caps were black or blue. Horse ornaments were blue. The horses were shades of red or brown as were the tree trunks and chariots. The tree leaves were blue and white. Skin tones were the same as the lighter horses. After Hubei, vol. 2, color plate 8. The painting is around the lid of a round lacquer box. Abstract winged dragon designs of red, blue, and yellow decorate around the sides of the bottom and on the top of the lid. The bottom of the box has a mountain décor somewhat similar to the spirit-tree base seen in figure 4b, above.

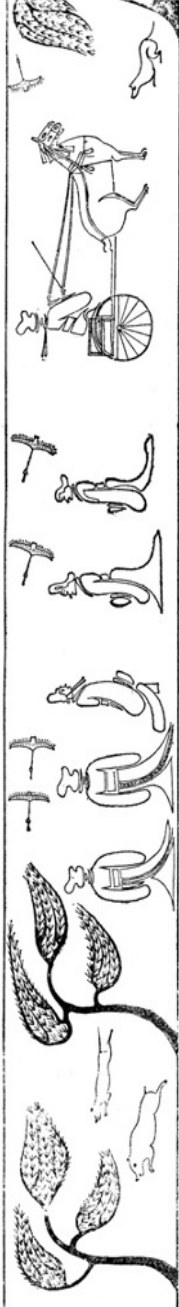


Figure 12A. Static View and Hunting Scene from Round Lacquer Box.

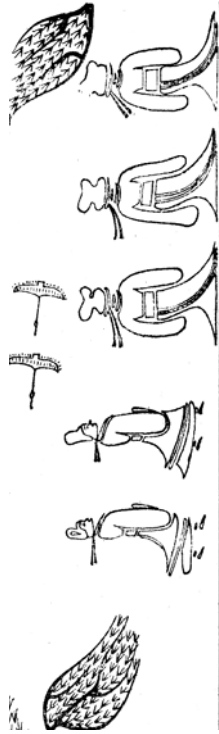


Figure 12B. Scene to Right of Static View

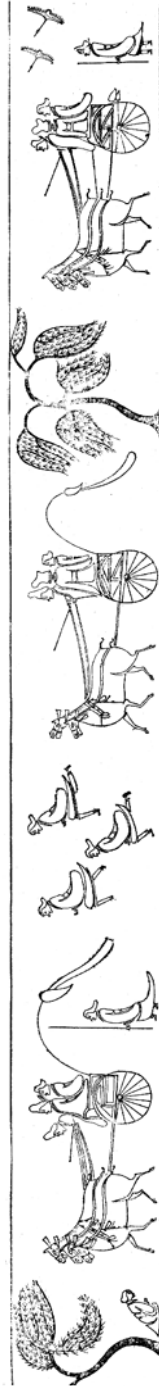


Figure 12C. Scene of Guests Arriving

Figures 12a-c are after Hubei, vol. 1, foldout.

red robes had small black hats and three female figures standing behind the deceased, Lady Dai. The only headgear for the women was a spray of flowers or herbs dangling out in front of their foreheads. The clothing was not funeral clothing (described in the ritual texts as made of plain colored roughly woven fibers); indeed, Lady Dai's outfit was patterned with swirling clouds and small figures over a bright red, reminiscent of the paintings on her coffin.¹¹⁹

The depiction on a vessel of people engaged in a ceremony was created over a century earlier than Shao Tuo's burial. Bronze vessels with inlaid or incised multi-register scenes depicting people engaged in hunting, religious ceremonies, battles, and other scenes (some including supernatural beings) were made during the fifth century BCE both to the north, in Houma 侯馬, Shanxi, and down the Yangzi, in Jiangsu.¹²⁰ These were widely distributed and clearly known to the Jiangling artists. Snippets of similar scenes were painted onto the cheeks of the double-headed dragon lacquer box from Tianxingguan (see figure 7b). Both the Tianxingguan box and the round pictorial Baoshan box are distinct from the earlier tradition in that neither is made of bronze and both were stor-

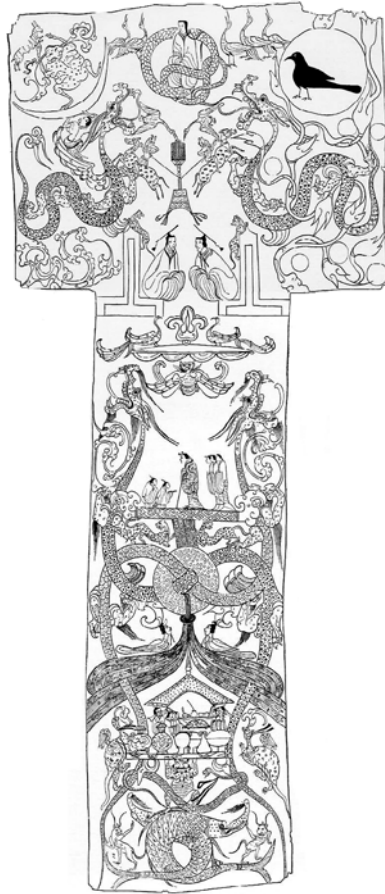


Figure 13. Han Funeral Painting from Mawangdui
After Hunansheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan
kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, fig. 38.

¹¹⁹ See Hunan bowuguan et al. 1973, pl. 76. For her coffin, see, for example, pl. 27. Her actual costume did not have small creatures on it, see pls. 80-252.

¹²⁰ Thote 1999b.

age not service vessels. Alain Thote suspects that the southern Yangzi incised vessels of hammered metal, being much easier to produce and transport (in contrast to the more conservative Houma tradition), were used for other ceremonies besides ancestral sacrifices, and in this sense might be considered precursors of the Jiangling boxes.¹²¹ Nevertheless, the Baoshan box represents a pictorial tradition we see more commonly in Han tomb art.

Hunting scenes, exorcism scenes, and scenes of processions in chariots, carved onto blocks in Han tombs or, more rarely, painted onto lacquerware or silk, are common features of Han tomb décor.¹²² The mixture of supernatural, historical, and everyday events as depicted in Han tombs supports Wu Hong's idea of the tomb as a "happy home" out of which a ghost would have no desire to travel. This painting in the Baoshan tomb, while perhaps a precursor of the more complex tableaux of Han tombs, can only be read within the context of contemporary and local tombs. Perhaps it is simply a depiction of an important event in local history, set into the tomb to remind the deceased of his rank and identity. Certainly, the hats¹²³ and costumes in the Baoshan painting, like those in the sending off scene for Lady Dai, do not seem funereal in nature—except perhaps the central departing figure that is in white. The figures are dressed as if they were sending their master off on a trip.

In figure 12a, to the right of the gathering is a single man (with hat and straps blowing left) in a chariot (facing west) holding the horses in check. This man with his back to the viewer may represent the waiting chariot driver. A solitary dog¹²⁴ is crouched before the still chariot, and a solitary bird above the dog flies towards the right (west). The presence

¹²¹ Thote 1999B, 22. Thote also notes (24) the use of imagery in common with the middle Yangzi River Valley culture, such as birds perched on top of objects and horned hybrid creatures with a bifurcated body.

¹²² For lacquer examples, see Li Zhengguang 2002, figs. 21, 22, 114, 130, 131; and Fu and Chen 1992, 62 (reprinted in Cook and Major 1999, 134, fig. 8.6). In paintings on silk, see Fu and Chen 1992, 32-33; for stone examples, see Liu et al. 2005, 131, 136 (1.9), 258, 271; Kaifeng dichu wenguan 1983, 40-56; Nanyang Handai hauxiangshi xueshu taolun bangongshi 1987, 83, 89, 91, 97, 221-23, 273; Wang Leiye 1989, 134-39, 147, 154, 170-72.

¹²³ The hat of the central figure may be a military style hat (see Sun Ji 1991, fig. 11-8) unless it is simply a sideways view of the high-crowned lopsided hats worn by the other figures. I can find no other record with a name for this style of hat.

¹²⁴ The color of the dog in the photograph would seem to be blue, but this may be due to color leeching from the tree leaves. The color for the bird overhead is similarly difficult to discern. Other birds are white, but this one and the two over the heads of the woman and her attendant are bluish.

of the dog suggests that the man departing, like the poetic persona in the closing scene of the “Li Sao” poem, will go on a hunt (perhaps after greeting the guests).¹²⁵ The bird, the only one in the entire painting flying to the right or west, may represent the eventual flight of the hunter. At the far left, separated by windblown trees, are symbols of the hunt: a white dog chasing a white boar.¹²⁶

Coming just right of the static scene of figure 12a, separated by a tree not so windblown, are depictions similar to those in the static scene but with the addition of another figure with his back to the viewer and with the central figure and his chariot driver missing (figure 12b). Two figures, dressed in blue and yellow (or white) robes and wearing hats with hanging straps, are walking in the same direction as the solitary man in the rightmost position of figure 12a, described above. He moves to the right (west) and towards the group of three standing men. Two of these three seem to wear the same dress as the standing men in the static scene of figure 12a, suggesting that they are either the same people in a different time (after the solitary man has departed) or different people of the same rank in the same time (part of the same party as those in the static scene). The third of the three, placed in the center, has the same blue color of robe as the figure to his right and the front figure of the walking pair (but with a distinguishing white belt), suggesting they are of similar rank—perhaps brothers. The straps from their hats fly in the same direction (to the left, east) as two birds overhead. The birds, like all other birds in the painting except the solitary bird in the static scene described above, fly east. This scene most likely depicts the greeting party for the guests arriving in three chariots described below.

To the left of the hunting scene (at the left end of figure 12a) and to the right of the scene with the greeting party (figure 12b) is placed a connected scene of guests arriving (depicted as follows, figure 12c). The high and relative status of the guests is evident from the varying number of horses and attendants and from the type of chariot décor

¹²⁵ Cui Renyi 1988, 74, feels that the man is mounting his chariot to go meet the guests.

¹²⁶ Cui Renyi 1988, 73, claims that since dogs and pigs are domestic animals this scene places the entire painting next to a residence. Based on this, he feels that the fleet of chariots is arriving at the residence. The pig (probably a boar, given what seems to be hair on its neck) and dog, however, are running through the woods, much like other wild and supernatural animals in Han hunting scenes. A white boar may have been considered to have supernatural qualities. In a Han-era variation of this painting, it is a boar (see chap. 4, n. 14, below).

and hat style. The guests arrive in three chariots with attendants on foot and are greeted by a kneeling figure (in white or yellow, possibly mourning clothes) depicted at the far left. This figure kneels before the only tree in the painting that bends to the left (east) suggesting a difference in time and space between the scenes depicting the arriving guests and the scenes depicting the send-off and greeting parties described above. In each chariot there are three figures, the driver and two passengers. The first chariot to arrive is a three-horse chariot. The driver bends forward as if in greeting, and two other figures, a smaller one (with no hat) behind another (dressed in yellow or white¹²⁷ and with a tall cap) all face forward. Under a trailing plume at the back of the chariot is a person (with no hat and carrying a tall staff) followed by three runners. The second chariot (also trailing a large plume) is a two-horse chariot with the same number of occupants but with the central figure (with a blue cap and robe) facing away from the viewer. No attendants follow; there is only a scene division of a rather static tree, suggesting no division of time and space between the scene of guests arriving in two chariots and the guests arriving in a single chariot.

Between the static tree and the windblown trees with the running pig and dog comes the final chariot of the arrival scene. It has three horses like the first chariot. This third chariot contains a driver, attendant, and a rider dressed in black with a blue cap with his back facing the viewer as in the second chariot. This third chariot has no plume and the head decoration of the horses hangs down rather than sticking upward, as is the case with the other two chariots. However, like the first chariot, behind this chariot there is an attendant holding a staff. But unlike the first chariot attendant, this last one has two birds flying overhead. All—chariots, birds, attendants—are moving to the left (east), the same direction as the first two chariots and quite likely represent members of a single large party of guests of different rank and relationship to the deceased.

This subject of the painting on the Baoshan, Tomb Number 2, round lacquer box is a precursor of one of many typical scenes found carved into stone tomb tiles or blocks¹²⁸—scenes described by Michael Loewe in

¹²⁷ It is difficult to determine the color. Hu Yali 1991, 501, claims it is yellow.

¹²⁸ D. Liu 2005, 380-82, points out that the Baoshan picture fits the Han genre and notes especially a Han-period painted mirror which includes a hunting scene with a wild boar. Elsewhere two figures play *liubo*. He describes them as scenes of secular life and therefore distinct from the mythological scenes. However, in Han depictions of *liubo* games often immortals are the players. It was a popular game in the pattern of a “cosmic diagram” and linked to divination (see Bower 2005, 369-71).

his study of Han funerary practice as “intended to ensure the deceased a safe, smooth, and speedy passage to their destined ends.” These scenes depict mythological tales, ritual performances, “the recitation of a prayer designed to bring about the desired end; or they might show a newly arrived soul reaching the company of those who had gone before.”¹²⁹ These pictures, he notes, like the mirrors and other objects and texts placed in Han tombs, served not only to amuse, remind, and aid the deceased in the afterlife but also as guides to their appropriate position in the comprehensive Yin-Yang Five Phases system.¹³⁰

The Baoshan painting on one level may simply represent an important event in Shao Tuo's political life and hence be a status symbol essential for establishing his rank in the spirit world. The choice of color and the style in the clothing and caps, the vivid blues and mournful whites and blacks, may simply have represented official garb or have been special to local funerals. On another level, the painting may also symbolically represent the deceased's setting off on a journey into the wilds to “hunt.” As in the *Chuci* song of departure, the hunt was a metaphor for the *hun*'s movement away from home into a borderland before flight into heaven. Although it is difficult to be sure of directions in a circular painting, it is possible to understand that the departing man and the arriving guests are coming from and going to opposite directions. If we understand that the spirit headed west (leaving the residence), the arriving guests would be coming from the east, the direction of the Shao Tuo's tomb ramp and the chamber set for the feast. If we take tombs and residences as reflections of each other, then these guests could be arriving to present gifts at his funeral, indicated perhaps by the addition of apotropaic feathers and staffs to the procession.¹³¹

Abstract images of flight—dragons and phoenixes—frame the painting around the box. As in most Chu tombs, Shao Tuo's coffin and other tomb equipment were also decorated with dragons and phoenixes,¹³² the mythical beings that pulled the *hun* persona in the “Li Sao” up to

¹²⁹ Loewe 2005, 102.

¹³⁰ Loewe 2005, 103, 107.

¹³¹ In a tale preserved in the “Tangong, xia” chapter of the *Liji*, a ruler, upon approaching a funeral, employed a shaman to dispel the evil (*e* 惡) with a peach-wood brush and dagger-axe (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 4, 3.5a).

¹³² For the bird as intermediary to the supernatural, see Childs-Johnson 1989. For a survey of phoenix imagery in Chu art, see Li Zhaohua 1991. For a depiction of a man with wings, tail feathers, and bird feet riding a phoenix in the Tianxingguan tomb, see Jingzhoushi bowuguan 2001, 19, fig. 39; see fig. 17, below.

heaven.¹³³ Shao Tuo's tomb, which was both "home" and a chariot, was packed and ready for his departure. Judging from the amount and types of goods packed into his tomb, the journey was perceived to be long and arduous. He would require food, jade, and clothing offerings, charms, and weapons to deflect the many unhappy spirits, ghosts, and demons that populated the supernatural landscape. The painting functions as a metaphor for Shao Tuo's departure from the tomb into the wilds.

¹³³ Dragons and phoenixes were standard equipment for spirit quests and sky travel in Han and later tales. One example is the Han tale of Western Zhou King Mu who traveled to the western paradise of Xiwangmu, Grandmother of the West. (On "wangmu" used to refer to one's deceased grandmother, see n. 46, above.)