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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

DIVINATION AS DAOIST PRACTICE*

SAKADE YOSHINOBU

DESCRIPTION

Chinese divination can be discussed under many different aspects: its means, methods, objects and places. One cannot capture them all with one set definition or single presentation. Also, while divination plays an important role in Daoist practice, it is not a specifically Daoist subject or activity, nor even Confucian or Buddhist, but rather forms part of Chinese traditional culture in general. In the late Zhou dynasty, there was even a royal Director of Divination (Taibu 太卜) who had administrative councellors and staff at his disposal. The office was later, under the Han, placed under the surveillance of the Superintendent of Ceremonies (Taichang 太常), but continued to play an important role in determining the calendar and made decisions of both political and military import (see Loewe 1988a, 88-90). As a result of divination's official and pervasive position in Chinese culture, most materials on the subject are found not in the Daoist canon but in manifold texts of various origins. Most concepts involved in divination, similarly, cannot be linked with a specific system but instead must be approached as a fortuitous mixture of many, joined with some basic concepts of Chinese culture.

Confucius is famous for having said that he would "not speak of the extraordinary or the spirit world." Still, this attitude was considered inappropriate even for the Confucian elite who, whether officials in the imperial administration or students and intellectuals, were among the most active practitioners and recorders of divination. They made both official and private decisions based on astrology, *Yijing* or turtle-shell oracles, physiognomy, dream interpretation and other methods. They hoped to be masters of their future by discovering the proper ways to behave in the continuously unfolding cycles of the universe. The common people, too, made frequent use of divination in their efforts to fulfill their wishes and hopes and to avoid suffering and hardships. Divination was thus an integral part of the daily lives

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* Translated by Livia Kohn

of all Chinese, high or low, rich or poor (see Loewe and Blacker 1981), Daoist or Buddhist. It was therefore inevitable that it would also come to be a form of Daoist practice.

Most of the divination forms found in traditional China were highly technical; they were based less on personal inspiration or intuition than on the mastery of technical instruments, intricate correspondence patterns and complex calculation systems. Still, intuition did play a role, and the true Daoist master had more immediate and often truer insights into the workings of the cosmos than his technical counterpart. A case in point is the story in the *Zhuangzi* that contrasts the inscrutable Hugong 壺公 (Gourd Master) with the technical physiognomist. It ends with the latter, having tried without success to analyze the master, running off in shame and confusion (ch. 7). Among the many forms of divination, only one of a purely inspirational nature has survived through the centuries and flourished—the consultation of the gods or ancestors through spirit-mediums and shamans. These religious specialists entered into trance states to communicate directly with the divine and either ascended into the heavens in ecstatic flight or allowed themselves to be possessed by a supernatural agency whose words they spoke or wrote on a tray of sand (the planchette). The latter method was frequently employed by members of all social classes, and was common in both popular religion and Daoism. In Daoism it has further gained popularity over the last several centuries, leading to important new developments, especially during the Qing dynasty (see "Daoism in the Qing").

The following first presents the history of the more technical arts of divination in two sections: pre-Daoist and Daoist. Then it will introduce a selection of texts on divination from the Daoist canon that illustrate how Daoists applied divination in their rituals and activities. It concludes by exploring basic understandings of how fate and determination operated among Chinese in general and Daoists in particular.

History

EARLY METHODS. It is not clear when the Chinese began divining. Traditional historiography has it that the very earliest Xia dynasty (on the borders of early history) used a method known as "Connected Mountains" (*Lianshan* 連山), while its successor, the Shang dynasty, used a technique called "Safe Repository" (*Guizang* 歸藏; see Imai 1974). Nothing is known about these practices today and we cannot be sure whether they really existed or belong to the realm of myth. The earliest archaeological materials of divination, the so-called oracle bones 甲骨, date from the **Shang dynasty**. They are the carapaces of tortoises and scapula of cattle which were drilled and heated to allow the development of fine cracks, then interpreted as "yes"

or "no" answers to questions (see Smith 1991, 14-17). Later the **Zhou dynasty** used a method known as milfoil divination (*shizhan* 筮占; Smith 1991, 19-22). Here fifty stalks of this long-stemmed plant were divided first into two random piles, then counted off into sets of four until any number from one to four remained, determining the quality of either yin (even number) or yang (odd number). Each cast of the milfoil thus created a yin or yang pattern, which was then written down as either a broken (yin) or unbroken (yang) line and interpreted with the help of the *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes). *Yijing* divination was a highly prominent method early on, and linked with senior sages such as the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. It has remained popular through the ages and is still applied today (see Wilhelm 1950; Suzuki 1963; Smith 1991, 93-130). Oracle-bone divination ended in the Han (see Loewe 1988b).

In addition to these methods, the Zhou, from the Spring and Autumn period onwards, also divined by observing the winds (Sakade 1991, 45-127), *qi* or "ethers" (*houqi* 候氣; see Bodde 1959), the stars (astrology; see Eberhard 1970), people's looks (physiognomy 相; see Lessa 1968) and their dreams (see Lackner 1985; Smith 1991, 245-58; in Daoism, see Strickmann 1987). The *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Mr. Zuo's Commentary) accordingly describes the lives and deeds of many divination masters, documenting the tremendous flourishing of various methods at this time. Whether Confucius was inspired by them is unclear, but an apocryphal story in the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓氏外傳 (Separate Commentary on Mr. Han's Poems) says that his future kingly status was foretold by the physiognomist Gubu Ziqing 姑布子卿.

In the **Warring states** period numerous techniques were applied, as has become increasingly clear from recent excavations, especially from the territory of the state of Qin, which later succeeded in unifying the states and creating the first empire. One such excavation, of a tomb from Shuihudi 睡虎地 in Yunmeng 雲夢 (Hubei), provided textual materials on a number of hemerological (i.e., day selection) and calendrical (i.e., determination of auspicious times and places) methods (see Kalinowski 1986; Loewe 1988a; Kudô 1998). Among these methods, the *Jianchu* 建除 (Use/Avoid or Intallation/Expulsion) technique, also described in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Writings of the Master of Huainan, ch. 3), was especially prominent. It divided the days into twelve categories—stagnation, exultation, installation, decline, destruction, equilibrium, calmness, emptiness, stability, recovery, accomplishment and growth—then associated these with the stems and branches of the sixty-day cycle to determine the inherent tendency in every day of the calendar (Kalinowski 1986, 199). In the manuscripts this appears clearly, one text instructing to "use *yin* 寅, avoid *mao* 卯 and go for *chen* 辰," says:

> The first: useful day, advantageous ... It is most advantageous to wear cap, belt and sword. No problem riding in a carriage.

> The second: avoidance day, but one can go out on a private visit. (Kalinowski 1986; Loewe 1988a)

Much like the almanacs still popular in China today (see Smith 1992), these instructions during the **Han dynasty** were formalized into a system of good and bad days linked with twelve deities, which is mentioned in the *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records, ch. 127). Similar ideas were associated with the stars and interpreted through astrology, as is documented in the *Huainanzi* (ch. 1). Further archaeological evidence of the same beliefs was excavated from Fangmatan 放馬灘 in Tianshui 天水 (Gansu; see Harper 1994).

The *Shiji* also contains a rather critical record of Emperor Wu who, in his urge to determine the correct partner and way of marriage, assembled a large number of fortune-tellers at his court. Among them were masters of the five phases (*wuxing jia* 五行家), of geomancy (*kanyu jia* 堪輿家), constellation analysis (*congchen jia* 叢辰家), calendrics (*lijia* 曆家), correspondences between heaven and humanity (*tianren jia* 天人家) and of the Great Unity (*taiyi jia* 太一家). In addition, the *Shiji* describes astrology, watching the ethers and wind observation in some detail (ch. 27). The bibliography in the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the former Han) lists large numbers of texts on many different kinds of divination: 21 on astrology (in 445 j.), 8 on calendrics (606 j.), 31 on the five phases (652 j.), 15 on milfoil and tortoise (401 j.), 18 on dream interpretation (313 j.) and 6 on physiognomy (122 j.; see also "Han Cosmology and Mantic Practices").

The Han dynasty saw a great rise in divination activity, much of which was described and criticized by various authors. Thus **Wang Fu** 王符 (ab. 85-163 C.E.) in his *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 (Discussion of Hidden Things; see Kinney 1990) has specific chapters on oracles, shamans, dream interpretation and physiognomy (to which he paid particular attention). **Wang Chong** 王充 (ab. 27-100) in his *Lunheng* 論衡 (Balanced Discussions; see Forke 1972) mentions different practices in different sections, yet reveals a strong belief in the analysis of personality according to physiognomy. He says: "Human beings receive fate from Heaven, and this is reflected in their bodies" (ch. 3). Analyzing the bodily form, people can know their inner tendencies and predict the good and bad fortune likely to befall them. At the same time, when he says that people receive their fate from Heaven, he refers to the belief that all people are born under a particular star (*benming* 本命). Their *qi* matches that of the star; the star's position in the sky, brightness and movements determines their development and opportunities. This method was practiced not only by astrologers but also by the masters of the correspondences between heaven and humanity.

The great advance of divination under the Han also caught the attention of the historians, as is documented in the chapter on *fangshi* biographies in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han, ch. 82; see Ngo 1976; DeWos-

kin 1983; Sakade 1991, 23-44). ***Fangshi*** 方士, the masters of recipes and methods (*fangshu* 方術), were practitioners of methods that included longevity techniques, medicine, astronomy and calculation (mathematics) together with the many arts of divination. They excelled at them not only through superb technical skills, but also because allegedly they developed certain supernatural powers. Among their divination methods were wind-direction analysis (*fengjiao* 風角; see Loewe 1988c, 509-16; Sakade 1991, 45-127), calendrics (*dunjia* 遁甲; see Liu and Zhou 1993), Dipper astrology (*qizheng* 七政), primal *qi* examination (*yuanqi* 元氣), hemerology (*rize* 日擇), hexagram hemerology (*liuri qifen* 六日七分), encounter analysis (*fengzhan* 逢占), *qi* observation (*wangqi* 望氣) and cloud-pattern analysis (*yunqi* 雲氣).

To give a sample description, the latter two involved the observation of *qi* and were usually executed at the beginning of the year to determine the tendencies and major events to be expected in the coming cycle. ***Wangqi*** or *houqi* involved the burial of bamboo pitch-pipes of varying length in the earth in certain strategic places. A thin layer of ashes was then placed on their top, which would be disturbed in accordance with the various movements of the rising earth-*qi*, allowing predictions of weather and other tendencies (see Bodde 1959; Sakade 1991, 128-55.). ***Yunqi*** was a method of interpreting the formations and coloring of clouds in the sky as they appeared in certain places, again typically at the beginning of the year. For example, if a cloud that looked like a dog appeared over the city wall, this wall would not be taken in battle during the year. If a pig-shaped cloud appeared over a camped army, its commanding general would die (see Loewe 1988c, 502-3; Sakade 1991, 156-83). Predictions of a more personal nature would be made on the basis of **wind**. For example, if the wind came from the south, it was likely to carry heat and would harm the people's veins and hearts; if it came from the west, it would carry dryness and bring harm to the lungs and the skin; if it came from north, it often carried cold, which could infect the kidneys and bones; and if it came from the east, it would have a heavy feeling to it, which impacted on the liver and the flesh (Sakade 1991, 62).

All these were also taken up, to a greater or lesser degree, by Daoists of the second century C.E. For example, Zuo Ci 左慈 was described as a renowned *fangshi*, an expert in the "way of the gods" (*shendao* 神道), a great magician and fortune-teller (*Hou Hanshu*; *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, ch. 4). He was an influential Daoist, and teacher of Ge Xuan 葛玄, the great-uncle of Ge Hong 葛洪; much of the latter's alchemical knowledge originates with him (see his *Baopuzi*; see Ware 1966).

One method of great import during the Han dynasty was the so-called ***Yijing* calculations** (*xiangshu yi* 象數易). This methods was used actively in the theories of the *Cantong qi* 參同契 (Tally to the Book of Changes, CT 999-1008; see Pregadio 1996), allegedly written by the alchemist Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 of the second century C.E. and influential in the later practice of

inner alchemy. It goes back to the Han thinkers Meng Xi 孟喜(fl. 50 B.C.E.), the author of the *Yilin* 易林(Forest of the Changes; see Smith 1991, 28; Nylan and Sivin 1988), who combined the hexagrams of the *Yijing* with the twenty-four solar stations of the year, and Jing Fang 京房 (79-37 B.C.E.), who matched a series of twelve hexagrams with the twelve months of the year and the twelve double-hours of the day. The twelve hexagrams were waxing and waning (*xiaoxi gua* 消息卦), that is, they changed from all yang lines to all yin lines and back. They were used to visually demonstrate the alternating patterns of yin and yang. Later the method was further developed by Xun Shuang 荀爽(128-190) of the Later Han dynasty, who proposed a more intricate theory of the rise and fall of days and hexagrams (Smith 1991, 29), and by Yu Fan 虞翻 (164-233), who set up a system that included patterned hexagram changes, moving lines, reversed yin and yang lines, diagrams consisting only of two lines and the association of various line combinations with certain days in the sixty-day cycle. All these techniques and calculations, complex and intricate, greatly influenced not only the *Yijing* interpretation of later ages, but were also activated in the religious Daoist practice of inner alchemy.

The Han dynasty also saw a development of a new instrument for fate calculation, the diviner's compass or **cosmic board** (*shi* 式). It consisted of a square bottom plate that represented earth and was divided according to the eight directions. A round, movable plate was attached to it that represented the sky/heaven. The latter contained not only the sixty-day cycle, but also the twenty-eight lunar mansions and the twenty-four solar stations of the year (Kalinowski 1986, 212). Several examples of this compass have been excavated from Han tombs, the oldest from that of the Lord of Ruyin 汝陰 in Shuanggudui 雙古堆 in Fuyang 阜陽 (Anhui; see Harper 1978; Kalinowski 1983). It is based on the *liuren* 六壬 method, which also incorporates the Great Unity and the Nine Palaces, constellations of great import that also played a key role in Daoist cosmology (see Kalinowski 1985; Sakade 1991, 184-209). The oldest surviving text on this method is the *Huangdi longshou zhenjing* 黃帝龍首真經(The Yellow Emperor's Perfect Scripture of the Dragon Head, CT 283; see also CT 284), which dates from the Six Dynasties (Kalinowski 1986, 211-16). This was used also in the analysis of the appearance of forms (both earthly and celestial), and was a key instrument in the imperial department of astrology under the Tang, when its application focused on the patterns of the sun and its influence on human destiny.

DAOIST PRACTICES. The cosmological and alchemical theories developed in the Later Han through Wei Boyang, and formulated in his *Cantong qi*, not only influenced the practice of operative and inner alchemy, but were also essential to **Daoist *Yijing* calculations**. Here Jing Fang's way of matching trigrams with the stems and branches of the sixty-day system (*najia shuo* 納甲說) was linked further with five moon phases (new, full, waxing,

waning and ending) and came to be called the lunar trigram-day method. Here the days of the month were described with the help of trigrams and the ten stems, so that the third (new moon) was *chen na geng* 辰納庚, the eighth (waxing moon) was *dui na ding* 兌納丁, the fifteenth (full moon) was *qian na jiaren* 乾納甲壬, the twenty-third (waning moon) was *gen na bing* 艮納丙 and the thirtieth (ending moon) was *kun na yigui* 坤納乙癸. Variants of the same idea are also found in a system that uses either the twelve waxing and waning hexagrams or all sixty-four of them in conjunction with cyclical signs. The twelve waxing and waning hexagrams, beginning with all yang, then moving to all yin and back to all yang, were combined specifically with the twelve earthly branches (associated with Jupiter stations and the signs of the zodiac), and through them with the twelve months and the four seasons. These methods appear in rudimentary form in the *Taiping jing* 太平經 (Scripture of Great Peace, ed. Wang 1960, ch. 44), but become especially important in inner alchemy, when Peng Xiao 彭曉 of the Later Shu (10th c.) and Yu Yan 俞琰 of the Northern Song integrated them into their systems. The various procedures of inner alchemical practice, according to them, had to be undertaken in specific months, which were dermined by their yin or yang quality as designated in these hexagrams. Months governed by a hexagram of predominantly yin quality were thought to produce "punishment," while those governed by yang would help establish "virtue." The system was further expanded toward government politics; it demanded that certain administrative measures (censure, rewards) should only be taken in the corresponding months.

Ge Hong (283-343) in his *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity, CT 1185) mentions a **calendar method** of identifying the "kingly day" (*wangri* 王日). For example, his "kingly-day cinnabar practice" involves the taking of an elixir on this particular day, which will ensure extended longevity, and if one applies the method of eating gold on such a day, one's spirit will be strengthened and attain goodness (ch. 4). The picking of numinous mushrooms from the mountains and their ingestion should be undertaken only on a kingly day (ch. 11), and pledges to the Perfect One, which involved the smearing of one's lips with the blood of a sacrificial animal, would only be efficacious then (ch. 18). Here eight possible states of development—prosperous, strong, growing, declining, dead, imprisoned, vanishing and resting—are distinguished, then linked with the five phases, the four seasons and the eight trigrams to determine the cosmic pattern of growth, decline and transformation.

This calendar method can be described as a variant of the ***Dunjia* system**, about which Ge Hong lists a number of texts in chapter 19. They include the *Dunjia zhongjing* 遁甲中經 (Central Scripture of Dunjia Calendrics) and the *Taiyi dunjia* 太一遁甲 (Calendrics of the Great Unity; ch. 19). Later writers also link Ge Hong's name with other texts of this kind, such as

the *Dunjia yaoyong* 遁甲要用 (Essential Application of Dunjia, 4 j.), the *Dunjia miyao* 遁甲秘要 (Secret Essentials of Dunjia, 1 j.) and the *Dunjia yao* 遁甲要 (Key to Dunjia, 1 j.)—all listed in the bibliographic section of the *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui). His name also appears in connection with the *Sanyuan dunjia tu* 三元遁甲圖 (Illustrated Guide to the Dunjia Method of the Three Primes, 3 j.), which is mentioned in the bibliography of the *Tangshu* 唐書 (History of the Tang). It appears that this form of calendrics flourished especially in these periods, and the *Suishu* bibliography alone lists twenty-three texts on it.

One variation of the *dunjia* method also involved calculations based on the Nine Palaces, the Nine Stars, the eight directions, the twelve stems, yin-yang, the five phases, the four seasons, the Eight Nodes and the twenty-four solar stations of the year (see Liu and Zhou 1993). This rather complicated technique served to determine the auspicious or inauspicious nature of certain days and was originally part of military strategy. Ge Hong mentions it in the context of entering the great mountains, but it also appears in the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms), in the biography of Guan Lu 管輅, who successfully located a run-away bull with its help (ch. 29). In the Daoist canon, several texts relate to this method, including the *Liuyin dunjia zhenjing* 六陰遁甲真經 (Perfect Scripture of the Six Yin as Applied in Dunjia Calculation, CT 857), a work of the Northern Song dynasty; the *Wulei wuhou bifa* 五雷武侯秘法 (Secret Methods of Martial Observation of the Five Thunder Gods, CT 585), a text of the Jingming (Pure Brightness) school, dated to the fourteenth century; the *Huangdi taiyi bamen rushi jue* 黃帝太一八門入式訣 (Formula of the Yellow Emperor and the Great One on Using the Compass of the Eight Directions, CT 586, 10th c.); and the *Huangdi taiyi bamen shengsi jue* 黃帝太一八門生死訣 (Formula of the Yellow Emperor and the Great One on Life and Death of the Eight Directions, CT 588, 10th c.), which also describes magical and shamanic practices, such as becoming invisible, healing the sick and exorcising evil.

According to the *Baopuzi*, proper calendrical analysis is essential especially in entering the mountains,.

> Without knowing the secret technique of *dunjia*, the great mountains cannot be entered.
>
> If you do not pick an auspicious day and an auspicious time, you will be punished by the spirits. Never enter the mountains lightly! (ch. 17; see Ware 1966).

A similar admonition is found in a text of the Lingbao corpus, which says: "If you wish to enter the mountains, make sure to select a day of protection and righteousness. Days of focus are especially auspicious, but if you try to enter the mountains on a day of prohibition or punishment, you will certain die." This echoes a method of calendar calculation first mentioned in the *Huainanzi* (ch. 1), which divides the sixty-day cycle into five groups of twelve each and

classifies them as days of righteousness, protection, focus, prohibition or punishment. Each is then linked with a particular level of auspiciousness, righteousness days being best and punishment days being full of hardship.

Then again, the *Baopuzi* mentions the application of a ***Jiazi* calculation** method, which is similar to the *jianchu* system described in the *Shiji* and is explained in more concrete terms in the *Huainanzi*. A later text on this system is the *Xieji bianfang shu* 協紀辨方書 (Book on the Combined Analysis of Directions), an imperially sponsored compilation that was presented in 1741 and established the standard for divination at the time. It also appears in Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 (456-536) *Zhen'gao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected, CT 1016), where it is used to determine the most auspicious time and direction to draw potent talismans (ch. 9).

In terms of the correct location and placement of buildings and tombs, Daoists inherited a flourishing tradition of **Fengshui** 風水 from the early middle ages. Even before the unification of the empire under the Qin, the proper positioning of graves, houses and royal palaces had been of utmost concern. In the Han, Wang Chong actively criticizes what he considers the superstitious mixing of Fengshui and hemerology in the building of tombs (ch. 25) and the planning of residences (ch. 24). At this time, the dominant method was to determine the correct position of the structure's doorway in relation to the five phases; it was not yet called Fengshui but rather the art of planning residences (*tuzhai shu* 圖宅術). Later, the concern shifted from the placement of the front door to the complex relationship of the building to the formations of the surrounding hills, valleys and streams. This change, I think, has to do with the migration of the Han people from the northern plains to the hilly and watery landscape of southern China at the end of the Western Jin (317 C.E.). Finding themselves in a new environment, they began to see their lives as influenced by the *qi* of the wind (*feng*) from the hills and the water (*shui*) from the streams, and felt the urge to establish themselves in as much harmony with these forces as possible.

Early evidence of this tendency is found in the biography of **Guo Pu** 郭璞 (276-324) in the *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin, ch. 72) who selected a site for his mother's grave in Jiyang 暨陽 (Jiangsu) which was "one hundred paces away from the water." Later Guo Pu became the first "patriarch" of Fengshui, and his site selection served as a key illustration of how to practice it. The various aspects of gravesites were then named formally "dragon corners" (*longjiao* 龍角) or "dragon ears" (*long'er* 龍耳), the expression "dragon" being a metaphor for the site's *qi*. The same image appears earlier, in the Qin dynasty, when the general Meng Tian 蒙恬, the builder of the first great wall, committed suicide for having violated the "dragon veins" (*longmai* 龍脈) of the earth (*Shiji*, ch. 88). Guo Pu's close connection to Fengshui is evident in the use of his name in one of the classics, the *Guopu zangjing* 郭璞葬經 (Burial Scripture of Guo Pu), which dates from the Song dynasty.

It is also the first work to use the term *Fengshui*: "When it [the *qi*] strides upon the wind, it tends to disperse; when it is surrounded by water, it tends to stagnate" (ch. 1; see also *Jindai bishu* 津逮秘書, ch. 1). In addition, Guo Pu, who was not connected to any organized Daoist group during his lifetime, was later stylized as a Daoist immortal and said to have departed from this world through corpse-liberation (see *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, CT 298, ch. 28).

The practice of Fengshui is closely related to the Chinese system of ancestor worship and clan rèsponsibility. The placement of one's forebears' TOMBS has a direct and inescapable influence on the good fortune one can expect in this life and for one's descendants. Even for Daoists and Buddhists who left their family to become recluses, the question of their ancestors' fate was important, since they could only attain higher stages if their dead relatives were at peace in the otherworld. As a result, medieval Daoists not only performed elaborate rituals for the salvation and transfer of the ancestors to the immortals, but also concerned themselves with the correct placement of their earthly resting places. Thus the *Zhen'gao* mentions Fengshui variously, and especially notes the case of Fan Youchong 范幼沖, who said that he wished a tomb for his family which would cause "his *qi* to be supported by the blue dragon, his sins to be taken away by the red bird, his life to be extended by the dark warrior and his residence to be protected by the white tiger roaring the eight directions" (ch. 10). This shows that the technical terms "dragon" and "tiger" had become part of Fengshui practice by the sixth century; it also illustrates the role of the four heraldic animals in both Daoism and mantic practices. Another example from the same text is a dream of Yang Xi 楊羲, in which Xu Hui 許翽 tells him: "Your present burial place is not auspicious. The site's earth veins are intersected in too many places" (ch. 18). Here again we have evidence for Fengshui thinking in a active Daoist context. Although this connection has remained active to the present day, there are only two texts in the Daoist canon concerned with Fengshui, one from the eighth century, the other from the late Ming (see below).

The analysis of fate on the basis of the **physiognomy** of body and face (*xiangshu* 相術) also played a role in Daoist worldview and practices. First, in the middle ages, immortals were believed to show their celestial status, the fact that they were registered in the jade ledgers in heaven, in several physical marks, such as certain starry constellations represented in moles on their backs or chests, beautiful eyebrows, brilliantly gleaming eyes, and so on. These features are described in the *Housheng daojun lieji* 後聖道君列紀 (Annals of the Latter-day Sage, Lord of the Dao, CT 442) of the fourth century. They match the doctrine of "immortals' bones" (*xiangu* 仙骨), the particular skeletal signs of the immortals. Among key bones here are the sun horn (*rijiao* 日角) and the moon crescent (*yuexuan* 月懸), two bones on the forehead protruding

above the eyebrows like little horns. They are understood to be accumulations of *qi*, and characterize ancient sage-rulers such as Yao and also the Daoist deity Laozi (see Kohn 1996). Immortals are said to develop special bones within five years of dedicated practice, and especially through the visualization of the starry gods of the Three Terraces (Santai 三台; see *Yunji qiqian* 46). Together with the right bones, they also acquirevarious other physical signs, as is described in the *Jiuzhang banan yi* (Meaning of the Eight Hardships in Nine Sections):

> All celestial beings have auspicious signs: long eyebrows and high ears, bony noses and square pupils, gray kidneys with silky lines, cinnabar hearts with damask-patterned lungs (*Sandong zhunang* 8.2b)

These signs, moreover, indicate a greater purity of spirit and show the compassionate, kind and loving nature of the immortals (Kohn 1996, 203).

A greater concern with human physiognomy is evidenced in the Song dynasty. At this time, the individual rather than people's clan affiliation and the role they played in the community came to the fore. Aristocrats and officials developed a strong concern for their own personal abilities and destinies, and increasingly made use of divination methods to determine whether or not they would pass the imperial examinations and attain a government posting. As a result, many forms of fortune-telling came to flourish, including physiognomy, Fengshui and oracle slips. Cosmic diagrams that placed the individual in the greater pattern of things entered the philosophical discourse—such as the *Xiantian tu* 先天圖 (Diagram of Before Heaven) and the *Taiji tu* 太極圖 (Diagram of the Great Ultimate). Among leading Daoists and fortune-tellers of the early Song, **Chen Tuan** 陳摶, *zi* Tunan 圖南 or Fuyaozi 扶搖子 (d. 989), stands out. Originally from Henan, he spent the early decades of his life wandering to famous Daoist mountains and studying various arts and techniques and, in the 940s, he settled at the Yuntai guan 雲臺觀 (Cloud Terrace Monastery) on Huashan 華山. As recorded in *biji* 筆記 literature (notably Shao Bowen's 邵伯文 *Wenjian lu* 聞見錄, ch. 7), he was received by various emperors at the time and used his physiognomic skills not only to predict the rise of the Song dynasty, but also to determine who of the many sons of Taizong would make the best heir-apparent (see Kohn 1990). Aside from authoring one text (see below), he rose to lasting fame in the field as the patriarch to whom the standard handbook of physiognomy, the *Shenxiang quanbian* 神相全编 (Complete Guide to Spirit Physiognomy; ed. Liang 1980) of the early Ming dynasty, was attributed (see Kohn 1986).

One of his teachers was **Mayi daozhe** 麻衣道者 (Hempclad Daoist), to whom another major work in the field is attributed, the *Shenyi fu* 神異賦 (Rhapsody on the Marvels of Spirit), now contained in the *Mayi xiangfa* 麻衣相法 (Physiognomic Methods of the Hempclad Daoist). Nothing

is known about his life except that he encountered Chen Tuan at some point and imparted his techniques to him. The text has enjoyed lasting popularity and is still widely sold in bookstores and temples in Taiwan. Its methods have penetrated deeply into Chinese culture, as is evident from a story in the vernacular novel *Jinping mei* 金瓶梅 of the Ming dynasty (ch. 29; see Ogawa 1995).

In this work, the two protagonists Ximen Qing 西門慶 and Li Ping'er 李瓶兒 go to see the Daoist master Immortal Wu 吳神仙 to have their faces examined and their fortunes told. To Ximen Qing he says: "Your heavenly court 天庭 [the center of the forehead] is elevated; this means that you will never lack emoluments as long as you live." Later Ximen Qing acquires amazing riches and has as many as six wives. Again the Daoist tells him: "You have three lines at your mountain root 山根 [the area between the eyebrows]; this means you will be weak in your middle age." And indeed, Ximen Qing ends up suffering from an ailment that kills him in the prime of life. To his companion, Li Ping'er, the Daoist says: "You have a black shadow in your mountain root; this means there will be many tears just when you reach age twenty-seven [3 x 9]." This too proves true—the young lady dies at the predicted age, and her family and friends shed many tears.

All of these physical characteristics and their interpretation go back to the *Shenyi fu*, which says:

> If the heavenly court is elevated, the subject can expect to acquire wealth in his young years. ... If there are three lines at the mountain root, he will fade away in middle age. ... If the mountain root has a greenish-blackish coloring, great calamities will occur at age thirty-six [4 x 9].

It seems, therefore, that Master Wu in the novel closely followed Mayi's principles, which must have been quite commonly applied and familiar to readers of the Ming novel. Several texts that expound similar principles and methods also date from the Song dynasty and can be found in the Daoist canon (see below).

As regards the **contemporary practice** of divination, it is officially outlawed in the People's Republic of China, but plays an important role both among popular and Daoist practitioners in Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas Chinese communities. Practically all temples offer the possibility of obtaining an oracle slip (and even mainland temples are beginnming to do so again; see Morgan 1998), and in the vicinity of most there are shops of calendar specialists, physignomists and *Yijing* readers. Daoist funeral services for the salvation of the dead in all cases begin with the determination of an auspicious date for the burial, and the location and direction of the tomb are decided by a geomancer with the help of a cosmic board. The same holds true for secondary burials, in which the bones have been exhumed and washed and are placed in an urn for permanent keeping. Other Daoist ser-

vices similarly are only performed on proper and auspicious dates, be they simple exorcistic rites or grand sacrificial offerings. The system used here can be traced back to the late Ming dynasty, where it appears in the *Ziwei doushu* 紫微斗數 (Dipper Numbers of Purple Tenuity, CT 1485, 3 j.). Here the various combinations of the stems and branches of the sixty-day cycle are interpreted in relation to the stars in the Dipper, the constellation of Purple Tenuity in the center of the sky. The method's origins before the late Ming are unclear, but it is immensely popular today. Not only the day and time of the burial are determined by it, but also whether or not a husband and wife should best be interred jointly.

Texts

There are, as Kalinowski has shown (1990), over forty texts in the Daoist canon that have some relation with divination. He divides them into nine distinct categories:

> 1. *Yijing*; 2. Oracle slips; 3. Calendrics; 4. Auspicious days; 5. Astrology; 6. Weather predictions; 7. Geomancy; 8. Physiognomy; and 9. Miscellanea.

The following will present some of the texts already mentioned by Kalinowski plus several others of a related nature under the four headings of the prognostication of fate, personality, time and place.

FATE. A major method of fate-calculation in traditional China was astrology, the identification and evaluation of the individual's birth star. The first Daoist text to describe the close relationship of people and stars is the ***Taiping jing*** 太平經 (Scripture of Great Peace; ed. Wang 1960). Here people's fate is seen as determined by the star under which they are born, described and analyzed with the help of the stems and branches of the sixty-day cycle (see Penny 1990) and by the various sins they or their ancestors have committed (see Hendrischke 1991)

Another, medieval text that describes the same phenomenon is the ***Chisongzi zhongjie jing*** 赤松子中戒經 (Essential Precepts of Master Redpine, CT 185, 12pp.), which is cited in Ge Hong's *Baopuzi* and probably goes back to the fourth century, although its extant edition dates from the Song dynasty. The text presents a dialogue between the Yellow Emperor and Master Redpine, and its first section focuses on the problem of human life as determined by the stars. The text says:

> People each depend on a particular star for their lives. There are big stars and small, each governing a specific person's longevity and shortness [of life], decline and prosperity, poverty and wealth, death and life. (1a)

Whatever fate people are given by their star in the beginning of life, the Ruler of Fates (Siming 司命) also gives them a Talisman of Great Unity, which contains good starry energy and shines forth brightly. However, as people get involved with the vicissitudes of life, develop bad attitudes and commit evil deeds, the light of this talisman and thus the starry essence of the person begins to dim and eventually is extinguished. This fading of the light is parallel to the decline of the person, both physically and in terms of fate; its extinction means death (see Kohn 1998a, 840). The stars alone, therefore, are not sufficient to determine a person's fate, but they are responsible for the inherent tendencies and potentials of the human being.

A more technical astrological text is the ***Lingtai jing*** 靈臺經 (Scripture of the Numinous Terrace, CT 288, 21 pp.). Of unknown authorship, this probably originated after the Tang. It links the various fates of human beings with the twenty-eight lunar mansions and also contains instructions on the ritual propitiation of the stars (Kalinowski 1990, 104). It relates to the powerful belief in the powers of malevolent or baleful celestial influences (see Hou 1979a) and includes a certain amount of Indian astrology. An apparently related text. is the *Lingtai miyao jing* 靈臺秘要經 (Secret Essentials of the Scripture of the Numinous Terrace, CT 289), also by an unknown author. This work, however, can be dated to the late Tang and is not, strictly speaking, a divination text. It contains a clarification of the five phases as well as a number of esoteric exorcisms and spells.

Another way to determine personal fate was the consultation of **oracle slips** (*lingqian* 靈籤). Practitioners would enter a temple to consult the deity about their fate or a specific personal problem, then throw the so-called yin-yang blocks to ascertain the willingness of the god to respond to their query, and eventually pull a wooden stick with a number from a box or container. The number would lead to a piece of paper that usually contained a classical poem and some concrete advice on love, business, school, travels, and the like. This paper is known as the "oracle slip;" it is usually part of a set of several tens of slips (see Morgan 1998).

It is not clear when oracle slips were first developed as a method of fortune-telling. We do know that they were rather popular in the late Tang and Song dynasties. The earliest record of their use is found in a text called *Xingshu ji* 幸蜀記 (Record of Travels to Shu), according to which Wang Yan 王衍 of the Five Dynasties once went to pray at the temple of Zhang Wuzi 張惡子 and "obtained four characters as an oracle, which said: 'Going against Heaven will bring destruction' (*Shuofu* 說郛 54). Later the practice was the subject of an essay by Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1036-1101), the *Beiji lingqian* 北極靈籤 (Oracle Slips of the North Culmen), contained in his *Dongpo yangsheng ji* 東坡養生集 (Dongpo's Collection on Longevity Practices, ch. 3). He says:

> I visited the Tianqing Abbey 天慶觀 and paid my respects to the God of the North Culmen. There I obtained an oracle slip which would tell me about the good and bad fortune, auspicious and inauspicious times of my future. It said: "Through faith you attain harmony with the Dao, through wisdom you place the divine law first. These two must never be separate—thus you will reach an extended and happy life."

This not only testifies to the presence of oracle slips in the Song dynasty, but also that they were made available to the public in the halls of starry deities located within the precincts of Daoist monasteries.

The oldest continuously surviving set of oracle slips dates from the Jiading era of the Southern Song (1208-1224) and is found in a text called *Tianzhu lingqian* 天竺靈籤 (Oracle Slips of India; see Zheng 1958). As the title suggests, however, this is a text inspired by Indian culture and is predominantly used in Buddhist institutions.

The Daoist canon, on the other hand, contains nine texts on oracle slips, which usually consist of between forty and one hundred readings of fortunes (Kalinowski 1990, 89-91). One example is the ***Sisheng zhenjun lingqian*** 四聖真君靈籤 (Numinous Oracles of the Four Sage Lords, CT 1298, 49 pp.). This contains forty-nine slips; the oracles go back to the four leading popular/Daoist deities of the Song dynasty, Tianpeng 天蓬, Tianyou 天尤, Yisheng 翌聖, and Zhenwu 真武, but the text itself is probably post-Song. Another work of the same kind is the ***Xuanzhen lingying baoqian*** 玄真領養靈應寶籤 (Wonderful and Miraculous Oracles of Perfect Mystery, CT 1299). Dated to the late Yuan or early Ming, this arranges oracle slips in accordance with the twelve double-hours of the day and assigns thirty slips to each hour. It also contains explanations of the fortunes, thus aiding readers in their proper understanding.

Then there is the ***Shengmu yuanjun lingying baoqian*** 聖母元君靈應寶籤 (Wonderful and Miraculous Oracles of the Holy Mother Goddess, CT 1300), a Ming work that contains ninety-nine oracle slips and an explanation of each. The ***Hong'en lingqian*** 洪恩靈籤 (Oracle Slips of Hong'en, CT 1301) also dates from the Ming dynasty. Hong'en, the deity involved, is the collective honorary title bestowed by the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403-1425) upon the local Fujian heroes, Xu Zhizheng 徐知証 and Xu Zhi'e 徐知鄂. It has fifty-three oracles composed in seven-character verses. Another work of a very similar nature is the *Lingji lingqian* 靈濟靈籤 (Oracle Slips of Lingji, CT 1302). It, too, dates from the Ming and records oracles made by the Xu brothers, containing a total of sixty-four slips.

Unlike the *Futian lingqian* 扶天靈籤 (Oracle Slips of Supporting Heaven, CT 1303), whose provenance and date are unclear, the ***Huguo lingqian*** 護國靈籤 (Oracle Slips of Protecting the State, CT 1305) is clearly a work of the Song dynasty. Its one hundred fortunes are composed in seven-character verses in four-line stanzas. They are still in active use today, found in popular

temples to the God of War (Guandi 關帝) or the Goddess of Mercy (Guanyin 觀音), as well as in numerous Daoist abbeys and other institutions. They seem to have proved unusually reliable in their pronouncements to have been so widespread and active for so long.

PERSONALITY. Fate calculation geared specifically to the individual's personality and concerned with his/her bodily and psychological identity is usually associated with physiognomy, the "art of reading the mind's construction in the face" or the entire body. There are a number of early manuals and criticisms of this technique, but the earliest mention in Daoism is in conjunction with the looks of Laozi, who was stylized with the help of seventy-two physical signs adapted from early Daoism, Buddhism and popular religion (see Kohn 1996). Then again, there is the ***Houshen daojun lieji*** (Annals of the Latter-Day Sage, Lord of the Dao, CT 442), a late fourth-century text of the Shangqing environment (see Strickmann 1981). The text presents the physical characteristics of immortals, distinguished according to their status in heaven, and the psychological properties they exhibit in this world. For example,

> People with a jade name registered in the Golden Pavilion have sunshine in their eyes. They show pure teeth and white blood. Benevolent and compassionate in character, they love immortality. Bright and versatile, they are of high excellence.
>
> People with a jade registration in the golden books of Highest Clarity have the flowing Kui star on their backs and a slanted sternum in their chests. Generous and harmonious in character, they take care of others, their virtue reaching even to insects and worms.
>
> People with a clear writ in the cinnabar tablets of the Great Ultimate have distinct patterns in their hand lines, such as the character for "man" or "great." Withdrawn and cautious in character, they love perfection. Pure and empty [majestic], they are truly exceptional. (9b-10a)

The registration on the heavenly plane is therefore believed to be immediately linked with a physical appearance on earth, but it is also reflected in the psychological attitude and caring nature of the person in question. Daoists in this system made use of the traditional forms of physiognomy to give expression to their particular beliefs. They applied them also to historical figures, so that Lu Xiujing, for example, was said to have had "double wheels on his soles, feet with two ankle bones, hands with lines that read 'great' and spots on his body that formed the pattern of the Dipper" (Kohn 1996, 204).

Another Daoist-inspired text on physiognomy is Chen Tuan's ***Fengjian*** 風鑑 (Mirror of Auras). The text is divided into eighteen sections, beginning with the definitions of main terms and moving through an analysis of body forms based on the five phases, the quality of spirit and energy and the various typologies associated with them. Special emphasis is placed on signs

of longevity (or future immortality) and the role of the mind and spirit in the evolving appearance of the body (see Kohn 1988).

Also of the Northern Song dynasty is the ***Lingxin jingzhi*** 靈信經旨 (Pointers to Matching the Numinous, CT 1425, 8 pp), with an alternate version in CT 1481 (Kalinowski 1990, 108). It connects Daoism and physiognomy, and describes the meaning of certain facial patterns in relation to time and space. A later text of the same type is the ***Ji qirshier jia xiangshu*** 集七十二家相書 (Collection of Physiognomic Texts of Seventy-two Masters), compiled by the Daoist Zhang Zizhi 張紫芝 of the Chaoran guan 超然觀 (Monastery of Transcending So-being) of the Song dynasty. It was transmitted to Japan in the Kamakura period and survives in an original manuscript, today contained in the Kanazawa bunko Library. As a rare example of an authentic text of the time, this work is of high value to scholars.

TIME. Fate calculation based on time includes calendrics, such as the *jianchu*, *liuren* and *dunjia* methods, which all use a combination of different schemata (five phases, yin-yang, sixty-day cycle, etc.) to determine the most auspicious day and time for certain actions. In relation to this, two texts in the canon discuss the ***liuren*** method: the *Huangdi longshou zhenjing* 黃帝龍首真經 (The Yellow Emperor's Perfect Scripture of the Dragon Head, CT 283) and its related work, the *Huangdi jinkui yuheng jing* 黃帝金匱玉衡經 (The Yellow Emperor's Scripture of the Gold Casket and Jade Equalizer, CT 284).

In terms of the ***dunjia*** method, there is especially the *Liuyin dunjia zhenjing* 六陰遁甲真經 (Perfect Scripture of the Six Yin as Applied in Dunjia Calculation, CT 857), closely linked with similar texts found in CT 585, 586, 587 and 588 (Kalinowski 1990, 192-94). A related art is "hemerology," the determination of auspicious days for certain actions. This is closely linked with the almanacs which have existed since the early Han dynasty (see Loewe 1988a) and are still popular today (see Smith 1992). In Daoism, hemerology was especially applied to determine the best possibly days for rituals and ordinations. In regard to the latter, a mid-Tang document has come down to us, the ***Zeri li*** 擇日曆 (Calendar to Select [Good] Days, CT 1240, 8 pp). Written by the ritual master Zhang Wanfu 張萬福, it dates to around 720 and focuses on the best days for ordination to the various ranks of the priestly hierarchy from the Register Disciple of the Celestial Masters to the Preceptor of the Three Caverns (see Kalinowski 1990, 95-96; Benn 1991). The *jiazi* day, the first day of the cycle, is considered especially auspicious; kingly days are considered best for the beginning of a major sacrificial *jiao*.

Then there is the ***Chisongzi zhangli*** 赤松子章曆 (Master Redpine's Calendar for Petitions, CT 615, 6 j.), another Tang-dynasty document that includes much earlier material. The main focus of the work is the outline and description of the various forms of otherworldly communication prac-

ticed by the Celestial Masters, including memorials, petitions, and other administrative documents, for most of which it gives sample texts (see Nickerson 1996). It deals with auspicious times for these various communications in chapters 2 and 3, where it presents the best dates for regular festivals and offerings, methods to determine the good or bad qualities of certain days in conjunction with the heavens (using double-hours, lunar mansions, the sixty-day cycle and the eight directions), ways to properly position the participating deities and the structure of the sacred calendar in general. It is a work more concerned with taboos and does not deal specifically with prognostication.

PLACE. The art of determining the most auspicious location and placement of residences, tombs and sacred areas is geomancy or Fengshui, and it too features prominently in Daoist practice. Two texts in the Daoist canon deal with this method. First is the ***Huangdi zhaijing*** 黃帝宅經 (The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Residences, CT 282, 2 j.) which also appears in a Dunhuang fragment (P. 3865; see Miyazaki 1995; Kalinowski 1991) and in the Qing encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Kanyu sect.). Each version is somewhat fragmentary, the Dunhuang copy lacking the latter half, the *Daozang* version missing certain sections. Taken together, the texts make reference to various related Tang works, such as those by Lü Cai 呂才 and by Li Chunfeng 李淳風, and also uses a fair amount of Song-style technical terms. This suggests a date around the year 1000. It does not deal with Fengshui proper, but rather with the theory of analyzing the auspiciousness of residences. It describes the various directions and times that people living in them should employ to attain the best fortune in their activities. In particular, it presents the use of the twenty-four positions, a combination of the stems and branches with the eight trigrams.

The other text is the ***Kanyu wanxiao lu*** 堪輿完孝錄 (Record of Complete Filiality through Proper Place Selection, CT 1471, 8 j.), a collection of various divination methods of the later Ming period (ab. 1583) which is contained in the supplement to the Daoist canon (Kalinowski 1990, 107-8).

WORLDVIEW

DIVINATION is a way of determining the events or tendencies of the future with the help of signs that in various ways match the attitudes and behavior of individuals or groups. It is common not only among tribal peoples, but has played a part in all great civilizations and is still common today. Nor is it likely to vanish any time soon—human life in this world is forever unpredictable and insecure, and people will always seek knowledge about what the future may hold.

Divination has been practiced in many different ways over the ages, and its aims and means have varied widely. For example, a current rage in Japan is divination and fortune-telling by computer, something unheard of just a few years ago. Previously, people employed the twelve-star method, which was administered by the Shintô shrines. Then again, in the West fortune-telling through crystals, tea leaves, palmistry or cards has been popular, and they are still the dominant methods used.

In China, too, methods varied greatly in the different regions and historical periods. However, they all share the same underlying worldview, which can be described as the idea of *qi*. The Chinese have never divided their world into organic and inorganic parts, but rather have seen it as one integrated whole that shared the same underlying force of *qi*. Even today, modern words for "atmosphere" and "star" contain the character *qi*, displaying the word's continuing importance in the culture. Healing methods, too, rely on *qi*, such as the famous Qigong or Taiji quan, which aid in the circulation of this universal power through the human body.

Qi can be described as a form of subtle energy, a vital flow that forms things, animates beings and causes the changes and developments of all. It has two main characteristics. The first is its responsive nature, which means that one aspect of it matches all others, that one movement within it reverberates everywhere else. The second characteristic is its cyclicality, which means that it moves in specific cycles, such as day and night, summer and winter, youth and old age. *Qi* is commonly described as consisting of two major aspects, yin and yang, which alternate in continuous movement and never-ending interaction. More subtle are the five phases, which, again, allow the determination of particular phases and qualities of *qi*

Divination makes use of both these characteristics, seeing matching signs in apparently unrelated phenomena and predicting the movements of *qi* based on its cyclical patterns. It formalizes these patterns in various ways, using not only yin-yang and the five phases, but also applying the trigrams and hexagrams of the *Yijing*. For example, the twenty-four waxing and waning hexagrams, which show the growth first of yang, then of yin, are matched with the twenty-four two-week periods of the year, named after major weather and seasonal patterns such as Great Cold, Great Heat, Autumn Equinox and Rain Water. The idea is that heaven and earth follow regular cycles which are predictable and reliable and to which human beings need to adapt their attitudes and behaviors. Good fortune is perfect adaptation, while ill luck results from mismatch or contrariness. The *qi* in the human body is part of the larger *qi* patterns of heaven and earth, and people can learn about their own and their world's future by observing the inherent tendencies.

The *Yijing* makes use of these same ideas. Here the two forces yin and yang are depicted as lines in eight trigrams and sixty-four hexagrams. The

oracle is activated through the division of fifty milfoil stalks, which render a yin or a yang line each time they are cast. The lines, then, can move, allowing for a glimpse into the inherent movement of *qi*. As the *Xici* 繫辭 (Great Commentary) says: "The changes are without conscious deliberation, without intentional action. Serene and still, they are unmoving; when they receive an impulse, they pervade all under Heaven" (1.10). As the person acts in the world, so the patterns are activated; as he casts the oracle, so he can see how they form.

The *liuren* and cosmic board methods employ a slightly different division of *qi*. Here, the cosmic energy is described in twelve divisions, and using the stems and branches, and the various activities in heaven, earth and humanity are analyzed on their basis (see Chao 1946). Again, the goal is to see the interlocking patterns among the three forces and to pinpoint their inherent tendencies in accordance with the cyclical movements. The same holds true for the various ways of determining auspicious times and places, both being defined most fundamentally in terms of *qi* and analyzed in various numerological and abstract patterns.

FATE. Within this general framework, human fate in traditional China was seen as part of the greater cosmic patterns of the universe. People were thought to be born with a certain inherent qi quality, called *ming* 命 or "destiny," which determined their inherent abilities and the social status into which they were born. On that basis, people then developed certain attitudes and undertook certain deeds, which had an immediate effect on society, nature and the skies, and eventually would come back to affect them in one way or another. Divine administrators, such as the Ruler of Fates, would judge them and give them shorter or longer lives, in due accordance with their position and their actions in the world (see Hsü 1975; Yü 1987; Yamada 1991; Sakade 1991, 3-22; Chen 1994; 1997a; 1997b; Smith 1991, 173-221).

In Daoism, this basic understanding was developed to include the notion of "inherited evil," the belief that the deeds of one's ancestors had an impact on one's own life (see Hendrischke 1991). The basic methods of calculating fate were linked with the belief in personal stars (see Penny 1990; Kohn 1998a). In the middle ages, under the influence of Buddhism, Daoist ideas of fate expanded further to include personal faults of past lives as proposed in the karma doctrine. Also, from this time onward, punishments in the after life were believed to include sojourns to gruesome hells and the possibility of rebirth as a barbarian or an animal. Fate here became a great deal more complex and both methods of fate calculation and ritual ways of avoiding evil multiplied (see Kohn 1998b).

PERSONALITY. The analysis of personality and its future tendencies, too, is based on the fundamental worldview of *qi*. *Qi* always manifests itself as shape, and therefore all shapes are essentially *qi*. In the human body and

mind, as in fate, it appears on two levels—one a deep fundamental, inborn level that one can do nothing to change and must work with, the other a surface level that will alternate with the seasons and the developments that one undergoes. In physiognomy, these two levels are the bones and the complexion, the two mainstays of the art. Bones, together with flesh and voice, are features one is born with; the analysis of a person's bone structure (such as an immortal's bones), therefore, indicates very deep-seated inherent tendencies that even massive outer events will not alter. Complexion, on the other hand, is an expression of one's momentary state of health and mental attitude, together with one's habits and current behavior, and is a temporary phenomenon that may change. Complexion is therefore useful to the physiogomic analyst, as much as to the medical professional, to spot current patterns, and many warnings are given on its basis. But it is not a reliable source for long-term prognostication (see Hou 1979b; Kohn 1986; 1988; 1996; Lessa 1968).

Both levels are intimately connected, and people of certain fundamental body types are highly unlikely to develop certain types of behavior and complexion. Still, people can consciously alter their inherent tendencies, and have a certain degree of free will within the confines of the bones and personality traits they are born with. They suffer justifiably, being held responsible for their bad deeds by the celestial authorities and punished accordingly. The value of physiognomy as a form of fortune telling lies in its ability to tell people the potentials and limitations they have within their particular bodies, and to pinpoint possibly harmful tendencies they might be engaged in (see Zhu 1990; Zhang 1997; Sakade 1993).

TIME AND SPACE. These two, again, are expressions of the cosmic patterns of *qi*. Unlike fate and body, however, they function outside the immediate person or personality and can only be controlled in very limited ways. The importance of divination here lies in determining the most auspicious moment or spot for a certain activity to be undertaken by a particular person. Three things, therefore, must be matched: the inherent characteristics of the agent, the project to be undertaken and the right time or place for it. Most forms of divination are intended to accomplish this, be they the various calendar methods, the *Yijing*, the analysis of gravesites or the different forms of Fengshui.

Time in this context is understood as being both cyclical and linear, matching the mainstream Chinese conception. It is cyclical in its movement through the days, seasons and life cycles of all beings; it is linear in its manifestation in history and in the development of both personality (memory) and culture (progress; see Needham 1969; Sivin 1966; Frazer et al. 1986; Chen 1992; Pregadio 1995). To find an individual's specific position at the crossroads of the cyclical and linear manifestations of time is the key task of the diviner, who will consult the *Yijing* or read the cosmic board. As all human

activities issue a certain *qi* and have a distinct impact on the world at large, they are best undertaken in proper conjunction with the cosmic patterns—only thereby can good fortune be attained.

The same also holds true for the choice of certain spaces, be it the locating of a grave, a house or any other structure. The earth as a whole is a multilayered structure consisting of different layers of *qi*, and any action performed upon it will cause a change in the overall pattern. These changes can be with or against the natural pattern of the *qi*, and thus result in good or bad fortune for the people who create them. Mountains and valleys, often described as "dragons," have an energy of their own which must be properly analyzed to create the best possible environment for people (see Lip 1995; Wong 1996; Tan 1994; Smith 1991, 131-72). Daoists are very conscious of this, and their buildings in all cases closely conform to the principles of Feng-shui. In addition, Daoist scriptures serve to protect people from any possible harm they may inflict on the various powers of the earth as they build homesteads or dig graves.

To sum up, although not primarily practitioners of divinatory arts, Daoists were actively involved in them; although divination was never a form of Daoist practice *per se*, or even a specifically Daoist thing, it has been important. The various forms of divination developed as part of mainstream and popular Chinese culture and pervade all periods and aspects of Chinese history. They have their own traditions, texts, sages and major representatives, and only in certain cases is there an overlap with the Daoist tradition. Daoists have traditionally made ample use of various divination methods and a number of Daoists have become well known as masters of these arts. Divination still plays an important role in Daoism today, and many rites and practices could not be undertaken without it. Like Chinese medicine, divination is a practice that informs and supports Daoism but is not essentially Daoist in itself.

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