# *Yusi Jing* - A treatise of "Western" Astral Science in Chinese and its versified version *Xitian yusi jing*\*

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# I. Introduction

Yusi jing 聿斯經 is a title attributed to a handful of foreign astral treatises widely mentioned in Chinese historiographical works since the late first millennium. Its historical presence and scope of influence are attested by the references and citations found in documents from Dunhuang, China and Japan. Based on the extant materials, scholars have suggested the classical Greek genethliacal astrology exemplified by Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* to be its source and that the Christians of the East-Syrian Church were responsible for its transmission.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, only fragments of the text survived and there have been no attempts to examine the content of the text itself. In this paper, I will examine a text titled *Xitian yusi jing* 西天聿斯經 found in the *Xingxue dacheng* 星學 大成 ("Grand Compendium of Astral Studies"), a Ming anthology of astral treatises. The content, authorship and putative sources of this text, as well as its relation with the *Yusi jing* will be discussed. In addition, an edition and English translation of the text, together with a comparison with Dorotheus' *Carmen Astrologicum* and other works are provided.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By "East-Syrian Church" I refer to the Christian community of the Sasanian world, which referred to itself as the "Church of the East", spread throughout the Persian Empire in the sixth century and established itself in Tang China from the seventh century onward, calling itself *Jingjiao* 景教, literally, "Luminous Teaching" (Walker 2006: xviii, Nicolini-Zani 2013b: 64). In the older literature, its members have been called "Nestorians", a polemic label given by their adversaries, considered thus a misnomer by recent scholars (Brock 1996: 23-35, Deeg 2006: 92 fn. 4.). Although the Sasanian empire was largely destroyed by the Arab invasion during the first half of the seventh century CE, its subjects including the diasporic Christians in China continued to associate themselves with Persia (波斯 *Bosi*) and Syria (大秦 *Daqin*) culturally and geographically (Jiang BQ 1990: 3, 6-8). In this paper, the "Christians" refer to both monastic and lay members of this religious community.

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The *Yusi jing* was known to the Chinese as a treatise on the genethliacal astrology of "Western" origin.<sup>2</sup> Among the extant records, the earliest mention of the text with two titles containing the word *yusi* 聿斯 is found in a list of astral texts recorded in the *Xintangshu* 新唐書 (New Records of the Tang), an eleventh century historiographical work:<sup>3</sup>

《都利聿斯經》,二卷。貞元中,都利術士李彌乾傳自西天竺,有璩公者譯其文。 陳輔《聿斯四門經》,一卷。

*Duli yusi jing*, two fascicles. During the years of *Zhenyuan* (785-805 CE) [of the Tang dynasty, the text] was brought [to China] by the necromancer *Li Miqian* from western India. A certain [officer, by the name of] *Qu* translated the text.<sup>4</sup> *Yusi simen jing* of Chen Fu, one fascicle.

A more detailed description of the *Yusi jing*, with even more enigmatic variants of apparently a series of related texts, is listed under "miscellaneous astral-astronomical works" (*zaxingli* 雜星歷) in the twelfth-century encyclopedia *Tongzhi* 通志 by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162 CE):<sup>5</sup>

都利聿斯經,二卷。本梵書,五卷。唐貞元初,有都利術士李彌乾將至京師,推 十一星行歷,知人命貴賤。 新修聿斯四門經,一卷。唐待詔陳輔重修。 徐氏續聿斯歌,一卷。 都利聿斯歌訣,一卷。安修睦撰,關子明注。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Here I follow Pingree's usage of the term genethliacal astrology or genethlialogy to refer to a particular branch of the divinatory science, whereby one makes "the prediction of the life of the native on the basis of the horoscope cast at his birth—a science that was developed in Hellenistic Egypt in the second century B.C." (Pingree 1981: 81).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fascicle 59. Zhonghua shuju ed. p. 1548.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The name was suffixed with the honorific *gong*  $\Delta$ . Though it does not necessarily refer to a ranked officer *per se*, it may well be the case as the evidence suggests (§III.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Fascicle 68. *Zhonghua shuju* ed. p.801. Zheng Qiao listed in total 41 titles (65 fasc.) under the category of *zaxingli*, as distinguished from other works under *zhengli* 正歴 ("official [Chinese] astronomical texts") (63 titles), *lishu* 歷術 ("[Chinese] astronomical treatises") (53 titles), *qiyaoli* 七曜歷 ("seven-luminary astronomical texts") (30 titles), and *kelou* 刻漏 ("water clocks") (15 titles). All together, these 202 titles (667 fasc.) are classified as *lisu* 歷數 (astronomical-mathematical works), distinguished once again from the more philosophical astral works under the generic *tianwen* 天文 or astral category. The *li*, often confusingly translated as "calendar," carries multiple senses and depending on the context, may connote the summary, the detailed product or the system of astronomical computation (Sivin 2003: 41). Zheng Qiao considered the *Yusi jing* an astronomical and not an astral work most likely due to its mathematical content pertaining to the horoscope.

聿斯鈔略,一卷。 聿斯隱經,一卷。 羅濵都利聿斯大衍書,一卷。

*Duliyusi jing*, two fascicles. The original Sanskrit text [contains] five fascicles. <During the early years of *Zhenyuan* of the Tang Dynasty, the "Duli" necromancer *Li Miqian* brought it to the capital city (i.e., Chang'an). It enables one to reckon the movement of the eleven luminaries and to predict the fortune of the individuals.>

*Yusi simen jing newly edited*, one fascicle. The work was edited by Chen Fu, Expectant Official of the Tang [Dynasty].<sup>6</sup>

Xu yusi ge ("Yusi in verse", expanded) by Xu, one fascicle.

*Duli yusi ge* ("*Duli yusi*" in versified axioms, one fascicle. Composed by An Xiulu. Commentary by Guan Ziming.

Yusi [jing] abridged, one fascicle.

Yusi yin jing ("The hidden text of Yusi"), one fascicle.

Luobin duli yusi dayan shu, one fascicle.

Around a century later, in another encyclopedic work titled *Yuhai* 玉海 by Wang Yinglin 王應麟(1223-1296 CE), additional entries under the heading *Tang Yusi jing* 唐聿斯經 ("*Yusi jing* of the Tang [Period]") are found.<sup>7</sup>

本朝楚衍明聿斯經。 劉熙古續聿斯歌,一卷。 六壬釋例序列,一卷。 Chu Yan of the present dynasty (i.e., Southern Song) is conversant in the *Yusi jing*.<sup>8</sup> *Xu yusi ge* ("*Yusi* in verse", expanded) of Liu Xigu, one fascicle.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Liu Xigu (930-974 CE), historian and official at the Northern Song court.

*Liuren Shili xulie* ("Enumeration of examples of Liuren"), one fascicle.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I follow here Hucker's English translation. Chen Fu was most likely an assistant to the Grand Astrologer as given in the example (Hucker 1985: 475).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> SKQS *Yuhai* 5.39b. The first three entries are identical to those of the *Tongzhi*, followed by an entry of Amoghavajra's *Xiuyao jing*. The following three entries are not found in the previous two historiographical works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Chu Yan (fl. eleventh century), mathematician and astronomer at the Southern Song court. Jao, however, took this entry as the title of a text (Jao 1979: 84). This appears unlikely since without a fascicle number mentioned, it is probably an interlinear remark transferred by the scribe inadvertently to the main text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The inclusion of a "Liuren" text here is striking since it has been considered to be one of the indigenous fate-calculation or the so-called "cosmic board" systems. For a general description, see Ho 2003: 4, 113-138. Although the connection between the various systems of "Chinese mathematical astrology" and their Western counterpart is yet to be firmly established, the configuration of the "star board" resembles to the horoscope described in the XTYSJ (see §III.3.3).

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The above bibliographical entries given by the three works offer us tantalizing clues regarding the origin of these texts, bearing in mind that their content may not be accurate or even correct.<sup>11</sup> Among the first modern scholars to consider the texts bearing the titles "Duli", "Yusi" and "Simen" as related works were Chavannes and Pelliot, who suggested Sogdiana as a possible source of these texts.<sup>12</sup> Chavannes and Pelliot identified in a Dunhuang Chinese manuscript (P.3847) the East-Syrian Christian monk Jingjing 景淨 (fl. late eighth century), identified elsewhere as Adam, as the translator of the *Simen jing* 四門經.<sup>13</sup> This title is listed among the thirty texts translated by Jingjing, out of the five hundred and thirty texts brought to China by the monk Aluoben 阿羅本 during the reign of Taizong 太宗 in the ninth year of Zhenguan 貞觀 (635 CE).<sup>14</sup> This identification thus gives the *Simen jing*, and possibly *Yusi simen jing* a potential East-Syrian Christian affiliation.

The content of the *Yusi jing* remained elusive as it was presumed to be lost in China. A text of the same titled was brought to Japan from China in 865 CE by the Shingon monk Shū'ei 宗叡 (809-884 CE) and was disseminated among the Japanese Buddhists as an astrological manual.<sup>15</sup> Following the clues provided by Kuwabara,<sup>16</sup> Ishida identified fragmentary citations in a number of Japanese sources, among which, the Buddhist astral work *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜 dated 874 CE, attributed somewhat questionably to the famed Chinese Buddhist astronomer Yixing -行,<sup>17</sup> and a horoscopic note titled *Sukuyō unmei kanroku* 宿曜運命勘錄, dated early twelfth century toward the end of the Hei'an Period.<sup>18</sup> The citations are all in prose, giving readings of various nativities with comments on conjunctions and aspects such as trine.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Ishida proposed the full title of the text as *Duli yusi simen jing* 都利聿斯四門經, thus unlike Chavannes and Pelliot, considered the multiple texts containing a part of this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For a comprehensive treatment of the variant titles including those in other catalogues, see Ishida 1950: 49-59. The description of *Li Miqian* from Western India 西天竺 is certainly incorrect, as foreigners in China with the last name Li has been associated with the Christians (§III.2), and is not known to have any Indian connection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Chavannes and Pelliot 1913: 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Chavannes and Pelliot 1913: 134. On Jingjing or Adam, see Takakusu 1896, Saeki 1951: 34-36, Nicolini-Zani 2009: 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Appendix C. On Aluoben (transcribed also as Alopên), see Saeki 1951: 84-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> 新書寫請來法門等目録 T2174A: 都利聿斯經。一部,五卷. *Duli yusi jing*. One item in five fascicles. See also T2216.56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Kuwabara 1926: 600.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> §II.2.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ishida 1950: 60-61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid.

proposed title as simply variants of the same text.<sup>20</sup> Ishida did not attempt to identify the source of the materials, claiming due to the fragmentary nature of the citations and the possibility of "Iranian interpolation".<sup>21</sup> The *Yusi jing* citations suggest that the text must have been a comprehensive horoscopic treatise of ultimately Greek origin, which Yabuuti identified as Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* (second century CE). Yabuuti moreover connects the word *Simen* ("four door") to the four parts of the *Tetrabiblos*, or *Quadripartitum*.<sup>22</sup> On the basis of Ishida's suggestion of the full reconstruction of the title of the text (*Duli yusi simen jing*), together with Yubuuti and Momo's studies, Yano proposed *Duliyusi* as a corrupt reading of the Chinese transcription of Ptolemy in Pahlavī (P-Ţ-L-M-W-S).<sup>23</sup> According to Yano, Ptolemy's astrological works such as the *Tetrabiblos* and the *Karpos* were already translated into Syriac in the mid-seventh or early eight century, thus that Ptolemy's works were transmitted to the Tang Dynasty China is "not surprising at all" and the *Duliyusi jing* may be "a Chinese translation of one of the 'pseudoepigraphies' such as was known to the Umayyad prince Khālid ibn Yazīd (704 or 708)".<sup>24</sup>

In 1978, important citations of the *Yusi jing* was identified by Jao in his examination of the Dunhuang document P.4071 dated the seventh year of Kaibao 開寶 (974 CE).<sup>25</sup> Though the citations were fragmentary, Jao came to the conclusion that the *Yusi jing* was an astral treatise of the eleven-luminary system, that is, an astral system with the seven planets together with the two Indian pseudoplanets  $R\bar{a}hu$  and Ketu, and the two additional Chinese pseudoplanets *Yuebei* 月孛 and *Ziqi* 紫氣.<sup>26</sup>

More recently, on the basis of the works of the abovementioned scholars, further studies on the *Yusi jing* were made by three Chinese scholars, Jiang Xiaoyuan 江曉原, Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 and Ho Peng Yoke 何丙郁. Jiang refuted Chavannes and Pelliot's suggestion of the Sogdian affiliation of the text as "unlikely", and considered the work a text transmitted from India and of ultimately Greek origin.<sup>27</sup> Although Jiang's argument

<sup>27</sup> Jiang XY 1992: 270-272; 2004 [1991]: 292-293. Jiang thus supported Yabuuti's claim of Greek origin, but adopted Jao's reading of *duli* as the Talas River. As far as I can see there is no evidence to support such claim. While there is abundant evidence to show how Greek elements gradually entered into mainstream Indian astral science throughout the first half of the first millennium (Yano 1987, Mak 2012, 2013b), the Buddhist astral science tends to be of a more conservative nature well until the eighth century with the rise of Esoteric

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ishida 1950: 56-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ishida 1950: 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Yabuuti 1963: 169-172. A more detailed account was given later in Momo 1975.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Yano 1990: 218-219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Jao 1979: 78ff. See discussion in §II.2.2 and Appendix B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Jao's claim followed a passage quoted by Ishida which says: "The ordinary people knew only seven luminaries, not knowing the *xuxing* 虛星 (subtle or invisible stars) called *Rāhu* and *Ketu*. These stars are in a hidden position and are invisible," (Ishida 1950: 57, Jao 1979: 80). Ishida erroneously attributed the citation to *Xiuyao jing* rather than the *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* (T1311.21.461c, see §II.2.3).

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lacks substantial support, he made an important suggestion that the *Yusi jing*, together with other similar horoscopic treatises might have played a role in the the development of the Chinese genethliacal astrology and divinatory system known as *sizhu bazi* 四柱八 字.<sup>28</sup>

Rong, on the basis of the 1980 discovery of a double East-Syrian Christian tombstone, established links between the East-Syrian Christians in China and the *Yusi jing* by examining the carrier of Li Su 李素, an astronomer of Persian origin who later became the Director of Astronomy in the Tang Court sometime between the late eighth century and the early ninth century.<sup>29</sup> Rong came to the conclusion that the *Duli yusi jing* and the *Simen jing* are texts originated from Ptolemy's astronomical works, translated and edited by the Persians, transmitted eastward to West India where further transformation took place, and was eventually brought to China in the late eighth century.<sup>30</sup>

Ho followed largely the views of the Ishida and Yano, and unlike Jao, believed the *Duli yusi* has no meaning in Chinese and should thus be a phonetic transcription of certain foreign name. Like Jiang, Ho suggested that the "Ptolemaic astrology modified by Iranian culture" might have been the source of the Chinese mathematical divinatory system known as *Taiyi*  $\pm Z$ .<sup>31</sup> Quite remarkably, Ho noted in the *Xingxue dacheng* (XXDC) both titles *Xitian yusi jing* and *Xitian duli yusi jing*, but was unaware of the fact that the text of XTYSJ may in fact be found in the XXDC itself.<sup>32</sup> As it turns out, the XTYSJ has been preserved all along as a Chinese astrological treatise of obscure origin; thus after over a century of scholarly speculation, the purported connection between the *Yusi jing* and Greek genethliacal astrology can finally be put under examination on the basis of its actual content.<sup>33</sup>

Buddhism. Even if the original *Yusi jing* were first brought to western India, it is unlikely that it was the Buddhists who brought the text to China.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Jiang XY 1992: 272; 2004 [1991]: 314-315. In the later Chinese versions, the true planetary longitude becomes completely irrelevant, somewhat akin to the later development of Western horoscopy, where precession is not taken into account. The position of the "astral entities" were calculated through a variety of computations based largely on the native's birth date and hour.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See §III.2.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Rong 2001 [1998]: 251.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ho 2003: 71-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ibid. Ho described the full texts of the two titles as "no longer extant".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> An edition of the XTYSJ with modern punctuation together with modern Chinese translation was published by Guo An 郭安 and Zhong Lin 鐘琳. 1993. *Xingxue dacheng* 星學大成. 北京: 北京師範大學出版社. The translation has not been particularly helpful as it contains neither footnotes nor true explanations to the content.

# **II.** Textual sources

#### **II.1 Manuscripts**

The XTYSJ is found in the seventh fascicle of the XXDC, a major anthology of astral treatises in thirty fascicles by the Ming scholar Wan Minying 萬民英, completed in the forty-second year of Jiajing 嘉靖 (1563 CE).<sup>34</sup> The text was later anthologized in turn in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (SKQS) in the forty-sixth year of Qianlong 乾隆 (1781). Our edition of the XTYSJ is based on this anthologized version, collated with parallel materials of unknown origin found in fascicles 1, 2, 6, 7 of the XXDC (II.2.4). Although the XTYSJ was presented coherently, Wan claimed that it was not complete and that its content may be found in various other texts.<sup>35</sup> The title of the text was frequently abbreviated as *Yusi jing* and was referred to in the XTYSJ itself as the *Xitian duli jing* 西 天都例經.<sup>36</sup> At various places in the XXDC, in particular where the parallel verses of XTYSJ are found, Wan provided his own commentary to these excerpts reorganized thematically.

## **II.2** Parallel texts and Testimonia

#### II.2.1 Greek genethliacal astrology

The XTYSJ is a work on genethliacal astrology, namely prognostication based on planetary positions in the nativity or birth chart. This form of genethliacal astrology of ultimately Greek origin, which evolved from a Mesopotamian background, contains a number of unique concepts such as the division of the celestial sphere along the ecliptic into twelve equal parts represented by zodiacal signs, unique astrological properties assigned to each of seven planets or luminaries, and the interpretation of the positions of the planets in relation to the signs and the "places" (*topoi*), as well as among each other in geometrical configurations, also known as "aspect" (e.g., "trine").<sup>37</sup> Subsequently,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> There exists apparently an earlier redaction in ten fascicles, described as *Lianghuai yanzheng caijin ben* 兩 注鹽政採進本 as known to the author of the eighteenth-century *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提 要 (SQZMTY), which in addition gives a brief summary of each of the ten fascicles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> In the preface to the *Yelü xueshi xingming mijue*, another astral treatise included in the XXDC, Wan explained that "Western" astral treatises such as the *Xitian duli yusi jing* were preserved in the works of different authors and that he was not able to obtain the complete text. 星命之説,其法傳自西天。今西天都 例聿斯等經,散載諸家。余弗獲覩厥全然。(XXDC 10.1a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Wan's usage appears inconsistent. On one hand, he considers *Yusi jing* and *Duli jing* as the titles referring to the same text. 故聿斯經云即都例經也...(XXDC 23.15b). On the other hand, he referred to "texts such as the *Xitian duli yusi*", making it uncertain whether it is to be taken as one text or two, namely *Xitian duli [jing*] and *Yusi [jing*] (see footnote above). Similar expression is found elsewhere in the text: 三辰通載一書, 集琅 玕, 源髓西天都例玉闆等經而作也(XXDC 14.1a). *Yuguan* 玉闆 is apparently an oral variant of *Yusi* 聿斯.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> For the Mesopotamian background and evolution of Greek astrology, see Pingree 1997: 21-29.

horoscopic techniques proliferated as it spread to other regions. The Greco-Indian variety of this form of astrology was first transmitted into China via Indian and Central Asian Buddhists who brought along with them texts such as the Sūryagrabha-parivarta of the Mahāsamnipāta where concepts such as  $hor\bar{a}$  (ascendant) and the zodiacal signs were described and translated into Chinese in the sixth century.<sup>38</sup> However, there has not been any evidence so far to suggest that the Buddhists had ever fully developed the Indo-Greek genethliacal astrology which had become one of the most popular forms and one of the three main branches of classical Indian astral science by the sixth century CE:<sup>39</sup> the Buddhist horoscopy practiced by the Esoteric Buddhists in East Asia contain in fact distinctly non-Indian features.<sup>40</sup> The "Yusi" cluster of texts might have been the product of the first attempt to introduce to the Chinese the original Greco-Syrian or Greco-Persian astral treatises in the late eighth century, without the Buddhist intermediary. It is known that throughout the second half of the first millennium, a number of Greek texts of scientific nature were in circulation in the Near East in their Syriac, Middle Persian and later Arabic translations. Popular Greek astral treatises such Dorotheus' Carmen Astrologicum and Vettius Valens' Anthologiae were first translated into Middle Persian in the Sasanian Persian Empire, and later from Middle Persian to Arabic in the early Abbāsid period (second half of the eighth century to the early ninth century).<sup>41</sup> Ptolemy's celebrated astral treatise *Tetrabiblos* was translated first into Syriac in the mid-seventh or early eighth century, followed soon by a Pahlavī version which was in turn translated into Arabic in 812 CE.<sup>42</sup> The XTYSJ, as we shall see, shares features with all the abovementioned works and the eastward transmission of Greek astral treatises was thus part of the larger circulation of knowledge in Eurasia. The term Xitian in the title, literally "Western Heaven", or figuratively "distant land in the West" is thus surprisingly appropriate.43

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Mak 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The tripartite division of *jyotişa* was first described by Varāhamihira (BS 1.9) and Greco-Indian genethlialogy corresponds what is formally called *horā* or more popularly *jātaka* (Pingree 1981: 1-2; Mak 2012: 1-2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Among the many non-Indian features of Buddhist astral science discrepancies in iconography and techniques in horoscopy are most noteworthy (Mak 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Other texts include: Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus' *Geoponica*, Teucer of Babylon's *Paranatellonta*, and Hermes Trismegistus' "de *Stellis Beibeniis*." Van Bladel offered a possible sixth, the astrological work attributed to Zoroaster, *Kitāb al-Mawālīd* (van Bladel 2009: 27, fn. 20).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Nau 1929-30: 327-338, 1931-32: 197-202; Yano 1990: 218. The Syriac translation of Greek astronomical works such as Ptolemy's Almagest seemed to have played less of a role compared to other scientific texts and the early reference to its Syriac translation was rather late in the twelfth century (Takahashi 2014: 319).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Xitian harkens back also to the Xitianzhu 西天竺 ("Western India) given in the Xintangshu. At any rate, there should be no Li family from "Western India" and as Rong has convincingly shown, the Li family has a long history associated with Christian astral knowledge and the "Western Heaven" refers most likely to

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## II.2.2 Dunhuang document P.4071 (Appendix B)

The earliest extant citation of the actual content of the *Yusi jing* is found in the Dunhuang document P.4071 dated 974 CE, made by a certain Sogdian astrologer named *Kang Zun* 康遵.<sup>44</sup> The document is a witness to the popularity of genethliacal astrology, as well as the particular type of astral science practiced in the Chinese frontier, in particular within the Sogdian-speaking communities.<sup>45</sup> Although not all the *Yusi jing* citations from P.4071 can be found in the XTYSJ, one verse which describes Mercury in Virgo is nearly identical to the latter. A link between the two documents separated for nearly a millennium can thus be established.<sup>46</sup> The XTYSJ and possibly other astral treatises belong to the *Yusi*-cluster of texts were in circulation in China by the tenth century.

A closer scrutiny of the *Yusi jing* citations in the P.4071 reveals their connection with the XTYSJ and other citations found elsewhere. Firstly, the Dunhuang citations is in a versified form of seven characters, hence decidedly different from the prose citations found later in Japan. Moreover, the citations contain no explicit reference to any pseudoplanet,<sup>47</sup> thus putting the claim that the *Yusi jing* is a text of eleven luminary system, a view put forward by the Song historian Zheng Qiao and followed by others into doubt.<sup>48</sup> That the *Yusi jing* contains no references to the pseudoplanets is not surprising

<sup>48</sup> In a recent survey of divinatory materials in Dunhuang manuscripts, Kalinowski made the same assertion,

Sogdiana or somewhere further "west." *Xitianzhu* is likely a misunderstanding on the part of the bibliographer. For a different view, see Jiang BQ 1990: 9-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The last name *Kang* as well the locale mentioned in the document (靈州 *Lingzhou*) described in colophon of the document point to the Sogdian origin of its author. Since the *Yusi jing* was cited in the document, Jao connects this Dunhuang document with the *Duliyusi jing* mentioned in the *Xintangshu* and identified the word *Duli* as a transcription of the Talas river, near Samarkand where Kang Zun would have come from (Jao 1979: 80). Although Jao's interpretation was supported by some (Jiang BQ 1990: 8), the transcription of Talas as *duli* appears to me unconvincing on linguistic ground.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> While there were Sogdian-speaking Christians of the Church of the East, the predominant religion of Sogdiana is Zoroastrianism or more accurately speaking, the indigenized form of it known as Mazdaism (Jiang BQ 1990: 6-7). The popularity and widespread dissemination of mantic practices in the region is exemplified in the biography of the eighth century Sogdian Shi Dumeng 史都蒙 who travelled all the way to Japan as an ambassador (Zhang BB 2006: 77-78).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> For a complete list of *Yusi jing* citations found in Dunhuang documents and other Japanese sources, see Appendix A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Nowhere in the *Yusi jing* citations from P.4071 or any other extant sources are the two pseudoplanets  $R\bar{a}hu$  and *Ketu* mentioned. In the FTHLJY, the two pseudoplanets (without the other two Chinese ones *Yuebei* and *Ziqi*) were mentioned but the following description appears to be citation from the *Qiyao rangzai jue*  $\pm \mathbb{R}$  (QYRZJ, T1308). In P4071r8col5-6, *Yuebei* was mentioned. But this citation appears problematic as it does not conform to the seven-character pattern seen in the earlier citation (P4071r3col5-6) and appears to be an interpolation. At any rate, the fourth pseudoplanet *Ziqi* is also nowhere to be found.

since such concept has not yet been developed in early Greek astral works such as those composed by Dorotheus, Ptolemy and Vettius Valens.

*II.2.3 Japanese sources: Fantian huoluo jiuyao (FTHLJY)* 梵天火羅九曜 and Xiuyao yunming kanlu (XYYMKL, Jp. Sukuyō unmei kanroku) 宿曜運命勘錄 A number of Yusi jing citations are noted in two Japanese sources, the FTHLJY and XYYMKL.<sup>49</sup> However, no identification can be made in the XTYSJ. As mentioned earlier, the pseudoplanets mentioned in the FTHLJY is not found in any of the extant Yusi jing materials.<sup>50</sup> It should be noted that the citations in the XYYMKL are not always literal, as shown by the way its author paraphrased the citations from other well known

following possibly Jao, for classifying the *Yusi jing* cited in P. 4071 as belonging to the system of "*les onze luminaires*" without any consideration of the Japanese citations of the *Yusi jing* identified by Ishida (Kalinowski 2003: 240-241). Niu raised the same concern though he did not take notice that *Rāhu* and *Ketu* are absent in the *Yusi jing* citations (Niu 2010: 52; 2012: 92). The description in FTHLJY is possibly a later interpolation which confused the later development of *Yusi jing* with the original one (see III.3.2.2).

<sup>49</sup> See Appendix A, Ishida 1950: 58 fn. 5, 61-62, Niu 2005: 319-329. The Yusi jing citation in the FTHLJY appears to be an interpolation by a Japanese hand, as its begins with a commentarial-style remark "according to Yusi jing" 按聿斯經云. As FTHLJY is not noted in any known Buddhist catalogues in mainland China, its attribution to Yixing appears also doubtful. A number of copies of this text, descended likely from the same source text brought to Japan, were found in temples of Shingon affiliation in Japan and were edited as T1311 in the Taishō Tripițaka. Niu's claim that the work is based on "Yixing's translation of Sanskrit texts, or a draft of it or oral records by Yixing's disciple" (Niu 2005: 327) is contradicted by the presence of Chinese interpolations, Sogdian names of planets as well as other non-Indian descriptions found throughout the text (e.g., the description of Ketu as baowei 豹尾, literally "tail of leopard"). While the term huoluo 火羅(=horā) in the title of the text may be traced back to the distinctive concept of "ascendant" in Greek horoscopy, neither this term nor fantian 梵天 were substantiated in the text itself. The Prākritic form hora appeared in the Eastern Turkestan manuscript fragment (British Library Or. 15011/23 ln. 5) of the Sūryagarbhaparivarta of the Mahāsamnipātasūtra (neither the Chinese nor Tibetan parallels translated the word, however; see my forthcoming work on the Mahāsamnipātasūtra). The usage here, however, appears rather loose, referring likely only to horoscopic work in general. The text refers to a Huoluo tu 火羅圖 or "horā figuration", which is mentioned also in a number of Japanese commentaries (T2216, 2408, 2409, 2473, 2486, 2500).

<sup>50</sup> The development of the Chinese pseudoplanets has been treated in Huang YN 1993a/1993b. The evolution of both Indian and Chinese pseudoplanets is discussed in my two papers "The History of Pseudo-planets in China (I): from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century C.E.", and "The History of Psuedo-planets in China (II): from 11<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century C.E.," presented at the workshop "The Bright Dark Ages: Comparative and Connective Perspectives" organized by the Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore (NUS), Feb 27-28, 2013, and at 8th International Convention of Asia Scholars: The East-West Crossroads. Macau, Jun 24-27, 2013, respectively. A full length monograph is expected to be published in 2015 in the Sino-Platonic Papers series of the University of Pennsylvania.

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Yusi jing

Buddhist texts such as the *Xiuyao jing* 宿曜經 and *Daji jing* 大集經. Nonetheless, the source of the Japanese *Yusi jing* citations is likely to be connected to the five-fascicle *Yusi jing* brought to Japan by the Buddhist monk Shū'ei in 865 CE as noted in the catalogue of sūtras. Unfortunately, the true content of the origianl *Yusi jing* and its relationship with other works of the *Yusi*-cluster such as the XTYSJ cannot be established unless more materials of the former are identified and examined.

#### *II.2.4 Parallel materials in the XXDC*

Somewhat intriguing is a parallel set or maybe even sets of verses which mirror closely the XTYSJ, found in the XXDC, the same text where the full text of XTYSJ is found. These parallel verses appear to be reorganized by topic and are scattered throughout various fascicles of the XXDC (1, 2, 6, 7). These verses were at times different not only in wording, but also in content.<sup>51</sup> Wan Minying, the author of the XXDC, did not give any explanation regarding the source of these verses, although in one instance he did refer the reader to the "*Xitian Duli jing*" [sic] 西天都例經 at the end of one set of such verses.<sup>52</sup> There are some instances which suggest that the fragmentary parallel verses may be of later composition, as they appear to be more sinicized than the XTYSJ proper, with greater preference over Chinese nomenclature such as the twelve branches instead of the names of the zodiacal signs.<sup>53</sup> With the exception of the mention of the *shishen* 蝕神 (Eclipse God), there is no reference to any pseudoplanet in these parallel verses, as in the case of the XTYSJ proper.

#### II.2.5 Mingyi tianwen shu 明譯天文書

Further parallel materials may be found in the *Mingyi tianwen shu* (MYTWS), a Ming astral work (c. 1383 CE) largely comprised of a translation of Kūshyār ibn Labbān's astral treatise *al-Madkhal fī Şinā at Aḥkām al-Nujūm* (abbreviated here, *Madkhal*) dated late tenth century.<sup>54</sup> The chief source of the *Madkhal* is Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* or one of its versions. Though Kūshyār had certainly added materials, most likely astral works of his Islamic predecessors Abū Ma shar and Māshā allāh, thus not found in any extant version of the *Tetrabiblos*.<sup>55</sup> There are differences between the MYTWS and the Arabic *Madkhal* extant, and it is not certain whether the MYTWS was translated from the Arabic *Madkhal* or its Middle Persian version,<sup>56</sup> As we shall see, the XTYSJ is not so closely connected

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> The parallel verses to the corresponding sections of the XTYSJ are given in our edition of the text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> XXDC6.16b. Wan's usage suggests the original title to be *Xitian duli yusi jing* 西天都例聿斯經.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> For example wu 午 and wei 未 instead of *shizi* 獅子 (Leo) and *xie* 蟹 (Cancer).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> The translation was made by four Islamic astronomers Haida'er 海達兒, Adawuding 阿荅兀丁, Mashayihei 馬沙亦黑 and Mahama 馬哈麻, officers of the Ming Royal Observatory, under the supervision of Wu Bozong 吳伯宗. On the background of the MYTWS, as well as the *Madkhal*, see Yano 1997: v-xxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Yabuuti 1969: 235-242; Yano 1997: vi-vii, xvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Yano 1997: xxi.

with the *Tetrabiblos* as far as its content is concerned (§III.3). However, given the similarity of Chinese expressions noted in the technical vocabulary of the XTYSJ and the MYTWS, it is possible that the translators of the MYTWS were familiar with the *Yusi*-cluster of texts and were influenced by them.<sup>57</sup>

#### II.2.6 Other related texts

Some notable but hitherto unexamined works which contain materials possibly related to the XTYSJ are the *Xingming zongkuo* 星命總括 (XMZK) and the *Pingxing lingtai miyao jing* (PXLTMYJ) 秤星靈臺祕要經. The XMZK in three fascicles was composed by the Khitan scholar Yelü Chun 耶律純 in 984 CE, and was anthologized as the tenth fascicle of the XXDC under the title *Yelü xueshi xingming mijue* 耶律學士星命秘訣.<sup>58</sup> This work gives an exposition of genethliacal astrology, with Greek elements such as the triplicities and the Zodiac thoroughly amalgamated with the four pseudoplanets and Chinese elements such as the twenty-eight lunar lodges and the twelve earthly branches (*dizhi* 地支). The rigorous application of the eleven-luminary system in the XMZK appears nonetheless to be a further development from the *Yusi jing*, corresponding to the later Song and Japanese descriptions of the "*Yusi jing*". According to the preface of the XMZK, Yelü acquired his astral knowledge from the Royal Astrologer of Korea when he was the Liao ambassador to Korea.<sup>59</sup> The author of XXDC appears to be greatly familiar with this work, and considered the work an authority on "Western" astral science.<sup>60</sup>

The PXLTMYJ is preserved in the Ming Taoist collection Zhengtong daozang 正統道 藏 and its content appears to be fragmentary.<sup>61</sup> Popularly known as the Lingtai jing, this purportedly Taoist text is noted in various bibliographical catalogues as well as astral treatises including the XXDC. Similar to the XMZK, this text presents genethliacal astrology with Greek elements thoroughly mixed with the four pseudoplanets and other Chinese elements. In one section titled Dongche xian ge 洞徹限歌, the beginning of the seven-character verses bear a curious resemblance to the XTYSJ. The origin of PXLTMYJ is unknown, though it is generally thought to be a work from the Song period and can conceivably be influenced by the XTYSJ.<sup>62</sup>

Based on the aforementioned textual-historical sources, the genealogy and sources of the *Yusi jing* may be summarized as follows (fig. 1):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> For example, the adoption of the idiosyncratic *shuangnü* 雙女 ("double female") as the translation for Virgo. See §III.3.3 fn. 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> SKQS 子部七, 術數類五.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> The claim was however put into question in the SQZMTY (fasc. 109).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> See Wan's preface in XXDC 10: 1a-2a.

<sup>61</sup> 洞真部眾術類(136-137冊).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> The title is found in the catalogue of the *Tongzhi*. Some scholars claim that the text might be dated as early as late ninth century (Hu 1995: 399).



Fig. 1 Genealogy of the Yusi jing in China and it sources

# **III.** Content

#### **III.1** Composition

The seven-character form of the XTYSJ suggests that it was conceived as a popular work, composed for the ease of memorization in a style similar to the *Butian ge* 步天歌, a widely known Chinese astral work in verse.<sup>63</sup> Given the large number of variant texts of the *Yusi jing* family as attested in various catalogues, it is likely that the XTYSJ is simply one of the many versified forms of an earlier version of five fascicles, presumably in prose. The *Yusi jing* family of texts appear to have been disseminated not only by the courtly literati, but also by a class of wandering grass-roots scholars who make a living out of fortune telling.<sup>64</sup>

## **III.2** Date and Authorship

#### III.2.1 The East-Syrian Christians and the transmission of the Yusi jing

As mentioned in the introduction, among the extant Chinese bibliographical records the title *Yusi jing* was first mentioned in the eleventh century historiographical work *Xintangshu*. Together with Zheng Qiao's account, the original *Yusi jing* in five fascicles could be tentatively dated to the late eighth century. If the titles *Simen* and *(Duli)yusi* indeed refer to the same family of text (as proposed by Pelliot and Chavannes), or even to the same text (as proposed Ishida and others), then based on the description given in P.3847, the date of the materials of this text may be pushed back to 635 CE, when the Persian or East-Syrian Christian monk Aluoben 阿羅本 (Middle Persian: \*Ardabān) first brought five hundred thirty texts to China, including the manuscript of the *Simen jing*.<sup>65</sup> Subsequently, the monk Jingjing 景淨 was said to have translated thirty of these texts including the *Simen jing* into Chinese.<sup>66</sup> While the idea that an astrological treatise was translated alongside with Christian theological works may appear unusual at the first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Zhou 2004. The popular, so-called *xiao li* 小曆 (unofficial astronomical almanacs, or literally the minor ephemerides) are sometimes versified in similar seven-character format (Wang 1983: 56, 59-60).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> There exists a class of wandering and often legendary *buyi*-s 布衣 from the Tang up to the end of the Qing Dynasty who shunned official positions, lived as independent scholars, and possessed unusual skills in arts, music, poetry and prognostication (as exemplified by the mastery of the *Yusi jing*) (Huang YH 2013: 48, Zhang Q 2014: 161, Wu 2006: 99). Although Wan Minying, as well as the later compilers of the SKQS were state-employed academics, the source materials they gathered had likely a grass-roots origin, which accounts for their irregularity and heterogeneity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> The name *Aluoben* existed only in Chinese and has been suggested by Saeki to be a transcription of "Abraham" (Saeki 1951: 85). More recent scholarship identifies *Aluoben* with the Old Persian name "Ardabān", which means "the one protected by the law" (Nicolini-Zani 2013a: 107 fn. 8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> The concept of translation, if we follow the Chinese model, is somewhat different from the modern one. The translation work is often attributed nominally to the representative of a translation team, rather than to the individual(s) who actually translated the work into the target language.

glance, given the important role the East-Syrian Church known to have played in transmitting Greek secular knowledge throughout the Near East and beyond toward the latter half of the first millennium, it is not inconceivable that the East-Syrian Christians who came to China brought along with them secular texts such as those of Greek astral science.<sup>67</sup>

A number of additional textual and epigraphical evidences indeed corroborate the above conjecture, namely, that the *Yusi jing* and its versified version XTYSJ have their origin in an astral treatise of Greek origin. The most important epigraphic evidence by far comes from the Xi'an stele *Daqin jingjiao liuxing zhongguo beisong* 大秦景教流行中國 碑頌 dated 781 CE, which consists of 1756 Chinese characters and some 70 Syriac words.<sup>68</sup> The name of the same monk Jingjing was mentioned, identified in Syriac as "Adam, Priest and Chorepiscopus, and Papash' of Chinestan".<sup>69</sup> Another important piece of information provided by this stele was the date, given in Chinese as the second year of *Jianzhong* 建中(781 CE), on the seventh day of the first month. The day was designated as *Da yao senwen ri* 大耀森文日, that is, Sunday, or literally the first [day of the week] in Pahlavī (Ēw-šambih).<sup>70</sup> The same Chinese transcription, *Yao senwu* 曜森勿, is noted in the second fascicle of Amoghavajra's *Xiuyao jing* 宿曜經 (T1299, as narrated by his disciple Shi Yao 史瑤), where the names for the rest of the week in Middle Persian were given with equivalents in Sogdian and Sanskrit.<sup>71</sup> In Amoghavajra's text, these Middle Persian names are described as *Bosi* 波斯.<sup>72</sup> The inscription of the Xi'an stele finishes in

<sup>71</sup> Saeki 1951: 45-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Walker 2006: 180. Multilingual Christian scholars and translators well-versed in Greek texts thrived under the patriarchate of Timothy I (fl. 780-823 CE) who was noted for his missionary zeal. For the most updated research on the subject, see Berti 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> This stele stands as a witness to the presence of the East-Syrian Christian communities in China from 635 to 781 CE (Horne 1917: 381-392; Nicolini-Zani 2013a: 106 fn. 4). For complete text and translation, see Saeki 1951: 53-77 (translation), 78-112 (notes), [R]1-12 (transcription of Chinese and Syriac).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Saeki 1951: 34. The landmark year 635 CE mentioned in P.3847 was also noted (Zhu 1993: 130).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> The original reads 大唐建中二年, 歲在作噩, 太簇月七日, 大耀森文日建立. I follow here the Pahlavī reconstruction given in Yano 1986: 91 (Cf. Pelliot 1996: 308 note 281). Based on the Chinese date given, the date has been suggested to be February 4, 781 CE (Saeki 1951:45-46). The date is confirmed to be a Sunday in both Persian and Indian calendars: i) 1 Dai [10] Yazdegird 149 (Benno van Dalen's Calendar Conversion Program); Phalguna Śuklapakşa 6, Śaka 702 (Yano Michio's ii) pancanga 3.14: http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/). Yano furthermore pointed out to me that Sunday coinciding with the first day of the Persian month may have additional significance, since the first day of the month is known as Öhrmazd, an auspicious day connected with Ahura Mazda (Neugebauer and Pingree 1971: 14).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> The Tang Christians monasteries were initially labeled as *Bosi*, but changed later to *Daqin* 大秦 (Byzantine Roman Empire) in 745 CE after an imperial edict was issued by Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (713-755 CE) (Forte 1996: 353-355, Nicolini-Zani 2013a: 100, 107 fn. 7).

Syriac with the date of the erection of the stele, given as "the year of the Greeks one thousand and ninety-two" in Seleucid era.<sup>73</sup> It thus becomes apparent that the elites of this East-Syrian Christian community were well-versed in Syriac as their liturgical language, though culturally speaking they identify themselves as Persian and their common language is most likely Middle Persian or Pahlavī.<sup>74</sup> Their astronomical and astral system is of Greek origin, which was common in the Near East especially during the latter half of the first millennium.

# III.2.2 Li Su the Persian astronomer in the Tang court

In 1980, a double-tombstone was discovered in Xi'an, providing us important clues with regards to the astronomical activities of the East-Syrian Christians in China. The inscription on the tombstone gives the biographies of a Persian couple, Li Su 李素 (743 - 817 CE) and his wife Bei shi 卑失.<sup>75</sup> The biographical account informs us that Li Su, known also by his courtesy name Wenzhen 文貞, belonged to a royal lineage of the Western country of Persia 西國波斯, whose ancestor was dispatched to Tang China as "hostage" or *zhizi* 質子 during the mid-eighth century.<sup>76</sup> The Li family, though of Persia origin, had settled for generations in the southern city of Guangzhou 廣州, a gateway of the Maritime Silk Road in Southern China.<sup>77</sup> Some time during the years of *Dali* 大歷

 $<sup>^{73}</sup>$  The original in Syriac reads *basnath alep w'thes'in w'tharthen d'Iaounaie* (Saeki 1951: 69). The Greek years referred to here corresponds to those of the Seleucid era, which began in 311 BCE when the Greek general Seleucus reconquered Babylonia (Boiy 2000: 116, 119, 121). The Seleucid era was used in Syria throughout the first millennium and the reckoning of the Greek years agrees with the Chinese date: 1092 - 311 = 781.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> The linguistic picture is complicated by the presence of a sizeable community of Sogdian-speaking Christians of the Church of the East. At any rate, the Christians in Tang China identified themselves as originating from Persia and the influence from Persia may be seen in use of Pahlavī name of the weeks as mentioned above instead of the Sogdian *myr*, despite the latter being widely known to the Chinese as *mi*  $\frac{1}{2}$  (Zhuang 1960). The popularity of Sogdian astrology is attested in works such as the QYRZJ and P.3379 where Sogdian names of the planets were used (Gao 1993: 787). For the interaction among the different foreign religious groups in medieval China and their contribution in terms of astronomical knowledge, see Mak 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Chen GY 1981: 25-31; Rong 2001 [1998]: 239 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> 祖益,初,天寶中,銜自君命,來通國好,承我帝澤,納充質子... (Rong 2001 [1998]: 240). The "hostage" system was implemented to "guarantee suzerainty of the Tang court", that is, in exchange for protection of the Central Asian states under the constant threat of invasion by the Western Turks, Arabs and Tibetans (Ge 2001: 182-183; Nicolini-Zani 2004: 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> The trade activities of the Persians in Guangzhou are noted in Huichao 慧超's *Wang wu Tianzhuguo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 (P.3532). The Persian (Christian) community in Guangzhou area also appears to have outlived the northern ones (Deeg 2006: 107). The Chinese term *Bosi* (=Persia) continues to be used until early eleventh century as a reference to the homeland of the Christians, though many of them live in Sogdiana as

(766 - 779 CE), Li Su relocated to Chang'an as he was recruited as an officer at the Sitiantai 司天台 (Directorate of Astronomy) where he worked for nearly half a century before he passed away. Among the titles Li Su had earned was the Sitianjian 司天監 or Director of Astronomy, comparable to the achievement of the members of the Gautama family who had established themselves in the Directorate of Astrology (later Directorate of Astronomy) since a century earlier.<sup>78</sup> Quite remarkably, the same courtesy name Wenzhen was noted in the list of Christian clergies, with the Syriac transcription  $L\bar{u}q\bar{a}$  in the Xi'an Stele dated 781 CE.<sup>79</sup> It may be noted at the time of the erection of the stele, Li Su at the age of thirty-eight, just moved not long ago from Guangzhou to Chang'an to take up the position at the Directorate of Astronomy.<sup>80</sup> It is most likely that a ranked official such as Li Su, or  $L\bar{u}q\bar{a}$ , would become a part of the elite community of East-Syrian Christians in Chang'an as indicated in the Xi'an Stele.<sup>81</sup> If we turn our attention back to the entry on the Duliyusi jing in the Xintangshu, we can see that the dating of the import of this text, namely, the years of Zhenyuan (785-805 CE) coincides with the office of Li Su. Although the exact identity of Li Miqian and the translator "Qu" is uncertain, it is most likely that they both belong to the Christian community, some of whom had adopted the surname Li.<sup>82</sup> Li Su in fact appears to be the most likely candidate who translated the original Duliyusi jing in Syriac or Pahlavī (mistaken as Sanskrit by the bibliographer) in five fascicles into the *Duliyusi jing* in Chinese in two fascicles which is no longer extant, and was referred to as "officer Qu" before he was later promoted years after as the Director of Astronomy. Subsequently, many abridgements of this text were

well as different parts of China (Jiang BQ 1990: 2-3, 7-8).

<sup>79</sup> Pelliot 1996: 502. For the identification of Li Su with  $L\bar{u}q\bar{a}$  (Luka), see Rong 2001 [1998]: 256.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> For the office *Sitiantai* and the position *Sitianjian*, see Hucker 1985: 456. It may be noted that the office and position dedicated to astronomical observation and calendar making were created during the Tang Dynasty, developed from the former traditional office of *Taishiju* 太史局 (Astrological Service, changed to *Taishijian* 太史監 or "Directorate of Astrology" in 604 CE) and the post of *Taishiling* 太史令 or "Grand Astrologer" (Hucker 1985: 481-482). The members of the Gautama family of three generations took up various positions in the Directorate from 665 to 776 CE (Chen JJ 1985, Zhang HM 1994: 77-78, Sen 1995). As Rong has pointed out, the fact that Li Su had to be transferred to the capital from Guangzhou to take up the post of astronomer, suggested that the Indian astronomers had declined and replacements had to be sought elsewhere (Rong 2001 [1998]: 246-248).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Since Gautamasiddha passed away in 776 CE, it is possible that Li Su was recruited to fill in the vacancy (Rong 2001 [1998]: 246). At any rate, Li Su was already in Chang'an by the time the Xi'an Stele was erected. <sup>81</sup> All the Chinese names bear the prefix *seng* 僧 or monk, which as Rong pointed out is of no problem since

there was apparently no requirement of celibacy for the Christian monks in China (Rong 2001[1998]: 257).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Ishida 1950: 57-59, Rong 2001 [1998]: 251. It is possible that both *Miqian* and *Qu* are the corrupt Chinese transcriptions of some Syriac names. Tentatively, I would like to suggest *Micā* and  $[L\bar{u}]q\bar{a}$  as their original forms.

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produced, among which was the one-fascicled *Yusi simen jing* by Chen Fu 陳輔, an assistant officer at the Directorate of Astronomy, who most likely worked with Li Su and other Persian or Central Asian astronomers.<sup>83</sup> The XTYSJ of the present study appears to be one of the many of such abridgements as noted in the *Tongzhi*.

Further historiographical materials reveal that the East-Syrian Christians who came to China did possess a working knowledge of the Greek astral science and other scientific knowledge.<sup>84</sup> Persian activities including instrument-making were noted as early as the early eighth century in Guangzhou, where Li Su and the older generations of the Li family settled prior to Li Su's relocation to Chang'an.<sup>85</sup> The fact that Li Su the Persian astronomer was held in such high esteem by the Chinese emperor suggests that the former must have had both the resources and skills to transfer this knowledge into the Chinese. It should be borne in mind that his Indian predecessor Gautamasiddha had produced advanced astronomical treatises such as the *Jiuzhi li* 九 執 曆 (\**navagrahakaraṇa*) where sophisticated astronomical algorithm and sine table were employed.<sup>86</sup> Li Su and his colleagues must have found themselves in the position where they had to justify the superiority of their scientific knowledge and skills, prompting the translation of new astral treatises.<sup>87</sup>

#### III.2.3 The development of the Yusi-cluster of texts

The various documents we have seen so far concur with the conjecture that the five-fascicle *Yusi jing* was translated some time before the end of the eighth century by the Christians in Chang'an and its subsequent dissemination across East Asia. By the ninth century, the text was already circulating outside the circles of Persian astronomers and the Chinese court elites and thus the Buddhist monk Shū'ei was able to bring a copy of the manuscript to Japan. The Dunhuang document P.4071 showed that a version of the text was used by practicing Sino-Sogdian astrologers. The various titles associated with the *Yusi jing*, constituting what appears to be a *Yusi*-cluster of texts, further indicate their popularity among both the Chinese court elites and the commoners well into the Song

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Rong 2001 [1998]: 251-252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> For an overview of the role of the Christians and Persian merchants as intermediary of Byzantine Greek culture, in the sphere of not just astronomy, but also architecture, arts and the medical science, see Zhang XS 2005: 76-88; 2008: 229-234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> In the second year of *Kaiyuan* (714 CE), the authority in Guangzhou was alarmed by the Persian monks (Christians) making "unusual instruments" in Guangzhou. 開元二年十二月嶺南市舶司右威衛中郎將周慶 立波斯僧及烈等廣造奇器異巧 (唐要會 62.6). The description thus highlights the scientific knowledge of the Christian community in Guangzhou from which the Li family most likely came from. For discussion, see Kuwabara 1954: 9; Rong 2001 [1998]: 248.

<sup>86</sup> Yabuuti 1979.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> This tradition of Persian astronomical learning in China appeared to have continued well up to the thirteenth century, when the Christian astronomer Isaac was employed in the Yuan observatory.

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Period.<sup>88</sup> The versification in the genre of ge 歌, and their textual fluidity, exemplified by the parallels and variants of the XTYSJ (§II.2.4) suggest an oral tradition, cultivated possibly by the grass-roots itinerant literati known as *buyi* 布衣.<sup>89</sup> Wan Minying, the author of XXDC, while gathering astral treatises from various sources, recognized the *Yusi jing* as the prototypical astral treatise from the "West". Wan's XXDC as a whole, however, deals with a variety of much more sinicized forms of astral science. The *Yusi jing* for the Chinese thus became a relic or distant memory of Greco-Persian astral science.<sup>90</sup>

#### **III.3** Content of the XTYSJ

#### III.3.1 Philosophical background

The XTYSJ does not have a philosophical preamble, nor does it offer a rationale for genethlical astrology. Rather, it goes directly into the technicalities such as the general principle of signs, places, planetary strength, aspects such as trine (120°), as well as specific techniques such as lots and profection, practical matters which are essential to prognostication.<sup>91</sup> The XTYSJ in this sense may be considered an astrological handbook, a practical abridgement of the much longer *Yusi jing* no longer extant. The XTYSJ contains a number of concepts which were certainly foreign to the Chinese, even subsequent to the dissemination of Indian astral science in China by the Indian and Central Asian Buddhists. Some of these concepts include the Aristotelian qualitative categories of moisture and dryness (XTYSJ 7.43),<sup>92</sup> as well as other mathematical and astronomical concepts the horoscopy entails.<sup>93</sup>

## III.3.2 Planetary science

The XTYSJ does not supply directly any astronomical information, but astronomical

<sup>93</sup> See §II.2.1, §III.3.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> See introduction. Chen Fu, Chu Yan and Liu Xigu were all state officials. The first two were associated with the Bureau of Astronomy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> A handful of anecdotal accounts in Chinese literature up to the nineteenth century suggest this could well be the case (§III.1.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> The foreign elements in the horoscopy were generally recognized by the Chinese scholars as noted in the SQZMTY (entry for *Yanqin tongzuan* 演禽通纂) where all works utilizing the concept of the twelve zodiacal signs are connected together. From an iconographical standpoint, influences from these horoscopic texts have also been noted (Huang J 2012: 90). In particular, those in which the four extra pseudoplanets are mentioned often reveal their non-Indian, Central Asian influences (Liao 2004: 75-79). A systematic comparison of these iconographical representations is yet to be made.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> See §III.3.3 for a discussion of these general and specific techniques. On "profection", see fn. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> The description of humid and dry signs in the XTYSJ is unusual. In the *Tetrabiblos*, the planets are classified according to the four qualitative categories: heat, coldness, moisture and dryness, which form the basis or at least justification of the planetary exaltation scheme (see III.4.2).

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knowledge is generally assumed, in particular, the reckoning of planetary longitude which is fundamental to the casting of a horoscope. As in the western astral science, astronomy serves as the *ancilla* or handmaiden to astrology, and one may expect a work such as the XTYSJ to be accompanied by an ephemeris. Unfortunately, the extant XTYSJ, being an abridged, versified version of the *Yusi jing*, does not contain any reference to such an astronomical work.<sup>94</sup>

#### III.3.2.1 Planetary exaltation

Among the many clues which connect the XTYSJ to the Greek astral science, is the exaltation of the seven planets, given as follows with comparable texts (table 1). As the *Tetrabiblos* does not actually give the degrees of exaltation but only the signs as part of its naturalistic exegesis, it is clear the XTYSJ or its predecessor the *Yusi jing* is not a direct translation of the Greek text. The degrees of planetary exaltation given in the XTYSJ resembles those given in works by authors such as Dorotheus and Vettius Valens.<sup>95</sup> As such earlier conjectures concerning the relation between the *Yusi jing* and Ptolemy as put forward by Ishida, Yabuuti and Yano will need to reexamined.

#### III.3.2.2 Lunar nodes and the pseudoplanets

As far as the pseudoplanets are concerned, the XTYSJ contains no reference to them, and presents only seven luminaries, as one would expect from its Greek antecedent.<sup>96</sup> Wan made no comment on this point, assuming most likely that the XTYSJ presents an eleven-luminary system just like Zheng Qiao in his *Tongzhi*.<sup>97</sup> It may be noted that in the Taoist PXLTMYJ, materials parallel to the XTYSJ (§3) contain additional descriptions of the pseudoplanets *Rāhu* and *Ziqi*, suggesting that the four pseudoplanets were likely a later development on the basis of the *Yusi jing*.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> One of the candidates for the accompanying astronomical work is the *Futian li* 符天曆, an ephemeris dated to the tenth century and possibly earlier. On the background and characteristics of this work, see Nakayama 1964; Momo 1964, 1978; Wang 1983. In the P.4071, the *Futian li* was said to be used to provide the longitudes of the eleven luminaries. In his XXDC, Wan Minying, being a much later writer, followed the Yuan ephemeris *Shoushi li* 授時曆 composed by Guo Shoujing 郭守敬 and others in 1281 CE.

 $<sup>^{95}</sup>$  The exaltation for Mercury was most likely erroneously recorded in the XTYSJ as 2×5 instead of 3×5 as shown in the parallel verse elsewhere in XXDC. The degrees for Jupiter and Venus exaltation are given in terms of zodiacal sign and the corresponding Chinese lunar lodge (XTYSJ 7.40b-41a, cf. XXDC 1.23b-24a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> The MYTWS contains, however, the two Indian pseudoplanets  $R\bar{a}hu$  and Ketu in the description of planetary exaltation (MYTWS 1.14.1 = Madkhal 1.13).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> The assumption of Wan appears to be that the details on the four pseudoplanets were to be found in the purported lost portion of the XTYSJ. Elsewhere, Wan connects the eleven-luminary system with the *Yusi jing*: 三辰通載一書集琅玕,源髓西天都例玉闗等經而作也。十一曜為一辰,二十八宿為一辰,十二次舎為

一辰。(XXDC 14.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> This agrees largely with Niu's speculation that the eleven-luminary system was developed from the

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	Sun	Moon	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Venus	Mercury	Head/ Rāhu	Tail/ Ketu
Tetrabiblos I.19	Υ	б	쉐	ී	R	×	m	-	-
Dorotheus I.2 <sup>99</sup>	Ƴ19°	∀3°	<u>~21°</u>	©15°	る28°	)+(27°	∭15°	-	-
XTYSJ 7.40b-41a	Ƴ19°	∀3°	<u>~21°</u>	⊙ 13;10° <sup>100</sup>	る (4×7=) 28°		$ \begin{array}{c}     \text{mp} \\     (2 \times 5) \\     10^{\circ 102} \end{array} $	-	-
XXDC 1.23b-24a	Ƴ1 <b>9°</b>	∀3°	<u></u> 21°	ි 13;10°	る (4×7=) 28°		∭ (3×5) 15°	-	-
MYTWS 1.14.1 <sup>104</sup>	Ƴ19°	∀3°	<u>~21°</u>	©15°	る28°	)+(27°	₩015°	Щ3°	׳3°
Yavanajātaka 1.58-60 <sup>105</sup>	Ƴ10°	∀3°	<u>~20°</u>	©5°	る28°	)+(27°	₩15°	-	-
Brhajjātaka 7.6 <sup>106</sup>	Ƴ10°	∀3°	<u>~20°</u>	©5°	る28°	)+(27°	₩15°	-	-

Table 1 Comparison of values of planetary exaltation among major astral treatises

#### III.3.3 Horoscopy

Although the XTYSJ itself does not include any sample horoscope either through description or actual representation, the procedures of horoscopy described in details enable us to reconstruct the horoscope schema (fig. 2), which matches the one found elsewhere in the XXDC (fig. 3). Overall speaking, beside certain elements of sinicization such as representing the astrological places (*topoi*) by the twelve earthly branches (*dizhi* 地支), the East Asian horoscope resembles its Greek antecedent with all its key

nine-luminary system though Niu was unable to state the exact role of the *Yusi jing* in this process (Niu 2012: 95).

<sup>99</sup> Pingree 1978: II.221. Identical also to Vettius Valens III.4.

<sup>100</sup> The verse gives the Chinese lunar lodge *Gui*  $\Re$  which should be understood as the translation of the corresponding Sanskrit nakṣatra *Puṣya*, the standard longitude of which in the Siddhānta texts is 93;20° - 106;40° (Yano 2011: 127). The mean value would thus be 100° or 3s 10°.

<sup>101</sup> The verse (§IV) reads "Venus in Pisces exalting in Shi". The lunar lunar lodge *Shi*  $\underline{\hat{z}}$  corresponds to *Pūrvabhādrapada* (320° - 333;20°) has the mean value of 326;40° or 10s 26;40°, which falls into Aquarius rather than Pisces. To save the contradiction, I have emended Shi  $\underline{\hat{z}}$  to Kui  $\underline{\hat{z}}$  which would give the value of (346;40°-360°) or mean longitude of 353;20° or 11s 23;20°.

 $^{102}\,$  Emended to  $15^\circ$  in our edition. See fn. 17 to XTYSJ §IV.

<sup>103</sup> Same as fn. 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Yano 1997: 268. Identical to the *Kitāb al-ulūf* of (Pingree 1968: 61-62) of Abū Ma'shar (787 - 886 CE), as well as the *Madkhal* 14.1, except the latter has a variant of the "Tail" at  $\frac{2}{3}$  (Yano 1997: 35).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Pingree 1978: II.220. On the revised view on the historical position of this work based on the latest discovery, see Mak 2013a/2013b/2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Pingree 1978: II.221.

characteristics (§II.2.1). <sup>107</sup> These common features include most notably the counterclockwise representations of both the twelve signs starting from Aries ( $\dot{\Box}$   $\dot{\Xi}$  *baiyang*) and the twelve places starting from the ascendant ( $\hat{\Box}$   $\dot{\Xi}$  *minggong*) placed below the Eastern horizon to the left. The schema thus represents essentially the celestial globe, where the twelve signs of equal portion 30° rise and fall clockwise through the twelve places (fig. 3).<sup>108</sup>

A number of unusual features in the Chinese translation of some key technical terms found in the XTYSJ offer us additional clues concerning the origin and transmission of the text. Firstly, the Chinese words for "signs" and "places" are generally *gong* 宮 and *wei* 位 respectively. In many instances, they appear interchangeable, reflecting the "imprecision of language" inherent in most early Greek horoscopic treatises.<sup>109</sup> Secondly, the term *minggong* (literally, "life mansion") for the first "place" or the "ascendant" is connected with the Middle Persian translation which means *gyānān* ("life"), betraying once again its Persian connection.<sup>110</sup> Last but not least is the idiosyncratic translation of Virgo as *shuangnü* 雙女 (lit. "double female"), which likely first appeared in the *Yusi jing* and was later adopted in other Chinese astral texts and even the Buddhist works.<sup>111</sup>

Of particular interest are the topics discussed in the XTYSJ, some of which are found only in the works of Dorotheus and Vettius Valens, and not in Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* (Table 2). Among the most noteworthy absence of horoscopic topics in the *Tetrabiblos* are the descriptions of the twelve places and the degree of planetary exaltation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Two main varieties of horoscopes are found in East Asia: i) circular and ii) quadrate. The two varieties are found mainly in Japan and China respectively, although there are a large number of hybrids (Yano 1986: 40-45).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> For a description of the variety of horoscopes found in different traditions - Greco-Roman, Indian, Arabic and East Asian, see Yano 1986: 37-45, 164-178; Ovason 2005: 15-21. Thomann argues that the quadrate horoscope that "suddenly emerged in Western Astrology" from the eighth to the tenth century "most probably came from East Asia" (Thomann 2008: 114). This somewhat surprising claim should be re-examined with the quadrate East Asian horoscopes, together with the circular varieties found in East and Southeast Asia. <sup>109</sup> Tester 1987: 72-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> The Chinese translation of the remaining eleven places are not given in this text, but in the QYRZJ transmitted by the esoteric Buddhists and other later Chinese horoscopic treatises. These names provide additional evidence of their Persian connection (Itō 1980: 215-229, Yano 1986: 38-40).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> The translation *shuangnü* is found later in two Song translations of the tantric Buddhist works *Dafangdeng pusa wenshu shili genben yigui jing* 大方廣菩薩藏文殊師利根本儀軌經 (T1191) by Tian Xizai 天息災 (fl. tenth century) and *Nanliji shibaluo tianshuo zhilun jing* 難儞計濕嚩囉天說支輪經 (T1312) by Faxian 法賢 (Dharmadeva, fl. tenth century). Quite remarkably, representation of Virgo as two women was noted also iconographically in Mogao cave 61, the Xuanhua tomb as well as the Japanese tantric iconography. *Shuangnü* has not been attested in earlier Buddhist translations and cannot be derived from the Sanskrit *kanyā*. Cf. MYTWS 2.1 (also *Madkhal* 1.9): 二體宮者陰陽宮雙女宮人馬宮雙魚宮是也. For discussion on possible sources for this unusual variant translation, see Mak 2015.

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Additional techniques such as doctrine of the third day of Moon (VI), the reckoning of annual profection (XIII) which are common to the XTYSJ and Dorotheus are not found in the *Tetrabiblos* either. Such differences follow the general observation that Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* has a philosophical character as the author attempted to establish a scientific foundation for astrology, whereas the works of Dorotheus and Vettius Valens are concerned with the actual horoscopic procedures for the purpose of prognostication.<sup>112</sup>



Fig. 2 Twelve places (topoi) and the Chinese earthly branch in XTYSJ

廣東西路金水會	日旺	開西 水日會	司分三可日樂宫 京西南路金旺爾 狮子	あらいるとう	四川 金助月	秦分雍州月樂	辰飘各 木旺	都府此土會樂書	晉 河北東路 險 扇
鄭分兖州金響 宋分豫州	京東西路日樂 京畿	令辰卵	士 樂之 圖	▲ 星學大成	野所屬	* 星辰分	及 函 ※	真定府月乘旺 土日	河北西路 金票 京西北路
計旺 菱州 字旺	羅旺 河西河北羅廟 人馬	一浙江福建土 願	A 河西河北大旺 唐竭	<u>×</u>	梓州 水土朝北	子 齊分青州土 樂	A) 京東路	合月羅照朝喜	日朝河東路 水發

×"mp	* N	1× 69	П
<u>۳</u>			۶"A
' m.			<sup>vi</sup> ආ
" ×	<sup>™</sup> V3	™≈≈	×н

Fig. 3 A quadrate sixteenth century Chinese horoscope (XXDC 1.5)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Riley 1987: 235; 1988: 67, 82. Ptolemy's treatment of horoscopy appears to be entirely theoretical and rather uniquely among other major astral treatises did not cite any sample horoscope (Riley 1996a: 7).

Key topics	XTYSJ <sup>1</sup>	Dorotheus	Vettius Valens	Tetrabiblos
Twelve places (topoi)	Ι	I.5	II.4-16, IV.12	III.10
				(incomplete) <sup>1</sup>
Trigon <sup>113</sup> and sect	I, II, III	I.1,5,6	II.1-2, III.5	I.18
Exaltation (§III.3.2.1)	III Sign and	I.2 Sign and	III.4 Sign and degree	I.19 Sign only
	degree	degree		
Doctrine of the Third	VI	I.12	I.14 ?	-
day of Moon <sup>114</sup>				
Lots <sup>115</sup>	VII	I.9 "Demon"	II.3,20, III.11, IX.2,8	III.10
	"Appearance"	and "Fortune"	"Daimon" and	"Fortune"
	and "Fortune"		"Fortune"	
Annual profection <sup>116</sup>	XIII	IV.1 Lord of	IV.11 Operative year	-
		the year		

Table 2 Topic comparison of XTYSJ with major Greek astral treatises

#### III.4 Yusi jing and Dorotheus' Carmen Astrologicum

From the foregoing discussion, we can see that how the historical circumstances which allowed Greek astral science to be transmitted to China via the East-Syrian Christians as the intermediary. Furthermore, the striking resemblance between the content of the XTYSJ and that of Dorotheus' *Carmen Astrologicum* suggests the two works to be closely connected. It may be noted that Dorotheus' work was once highly popular in the Near Eastern world for centuries before it was overshadowed by Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* and that its extant Arabic version contains traces of its earlier form in Pahlavī.<sup>117</sup> As an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Trigon or triplicity (Greek: τρίγωνον; Latin: *trigonum*; Sanskrit: *trikona*) refers to a group of three signs separated by 120°. As such there are three trigons in the zodiac (Tester 1987: 34).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> This prognostication requires one to determine the sign where the Moon is in on the third day after birth and the description is identical between the XTYSJ and Dorotheus. The explanation given in Vettius Valens appears somewhat obscure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> On the concept of Lot, see Riley 1987: 238-240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> The term *xingnian* 行年 is equivalent to the "lord of the year" and the "operative year" in Dorotheus and Vettius Valens respectively. The method is known as "profection" in the later astrological literature based on Latin *profectio*, and was described by Pingree as follows under the heading "transfer of years" in the fourth book of Dorotheus: When a native is born, the l0rd of the year is the lord of the house [ascendent] in which the native was born. Thus count from the ascendent a year for each sign until you reach the year which you desire; the lord of that house is the lord of the year (Dorotheus 245). In my edition of the XTYSJ, I used the term "house of annual profection" to refer to the sign, counting counterclockwise from the ascendent the age of the native at the rate of one sign per year. Ptolemy did not employ such device, although he described a similar concept known as *prorogator* which moves at the rate of one degree per year (III.10).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Pingree 1976: VII. There has also been a suggestion that the intermediate translation was in Syriac (Rosenthal 1975: 240).

additional remark, Dorotheus' poem was known also as the *Pentateuchos*, literally "five scrolls", referring to the five books the work contains. This coincides with the number of fascicles of the *fan* 梵 (Sanskrit [sic]) version of the *Yusi jing* noted in the *Xintangshu*.<sup>118</sup>

From the information gleaned from the Chinese bibliographical sources as well as the analysis of the content of the XTYSJ, what appears to be the most likely scenario whereby the *Yusi jing* came into existence is that the text Aluoben and his colleagues brought to China some time before the eighth century was a version of Dorotheus' *Carmen Astrologicum*. This text must have been written not in Sanskrit as the Chinese bibliographer erroneously suggested, but in one of the Near East or even Central Asian languages, with Pahlavī being the most likely candidate.<sup>119</sup> As the content of the XTYSJ bears close resemblance to the work of Dorotheus and not of Ptolemy, the name *Duliyusi* could have been derived from the former instead of the latter.<sup>120</sup> This identification of the XTYSJ with Dorotheus' *Carmen Astrologicum* offers us important evidence of an earlier state of the text and its transmission.<sup>121</sup> As for the transmission of the *Tetrabiblos* in East Asia, as shown earlier (§II.2.5), it entered China some time before the fourteenth century via Kūshyār ibn Labbān's *Madkal*. From the Chinese translation of technical terms found in the MYTWS, the translators must have been familiar with the non-Indian astral works such as the XTYSJ. This body of technical astral vocabulary, together with the unique

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> The original title to the Dorotheus' astrological poem ("*Carmen Astrologicum*") is unknown. For the background on the "five scrolls", see Bouché-Leclercq 1899: 192-199. While the Arabic edition indeed contains five books, the fifth book deals with catarche instead of genethlialogy and thus the four books may be considered a unit (communication with László Levente). The mysterious *simen* or "four gates" mentioned in some of the titles associated with the *Yusi jing* could be a reference to this original genethliacal text in four scrolls.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> That is, just as the day of week was expressed in its Middle Persian form in the Xi'an Stele. The Pahlavī version of Dorotheus is no longer extant but its existence can be ascertained by external references, as well as traces left in the Arabic translation. While the philological problems associated with this text are beyond the scope of this paper, it suffices to say that the Arabic translation of Dorotheus made by 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī in about 800 CE appears to be based on a Pahlavī version with contaminations and interpolations (Pingree 1976: xiii, 1989: 229-230, 1997: 36-47, 1999: 127, 135; van Bladel 2009: 30-31, 38).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> I thank László Levente for suggesting to me this possibility. The Syriac and Arabic forms are DWRT?WS (هواهدي), Smith 1879: 859) and *Duruthīyūs* respectively, while the Pahlavī form of Dorotheus is not known. Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti informed me that the Arabic transcription is likely derived from the Syrian transcription (Personal correspondence, 2014.12.16).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> László Levente has undertaken the initial analysis of the content of the XTYSJ comparing with the Arabic Dorotheus and other horoscopic treatises. Some of fruits of this labor are shown in the notes to the translation of the text and are too numerous to acknowledge. Of desideratum would be a thorough analysis of the XTYSJ together with all parallel materials in the XXDC on one hand, and a careful comparison with all related materials extant in the "West", in Greek, Syriac, Pahlavī, Arabic and Latin, and possibly other Central Asian languages on the other – a work which would call forth the expertise of scholars from the most diverse fields.

horoscope schema, a legacy from the *Yusi jing*, are observed in a number of the astral systems practiced even today in East Asia.

# **IV. Conclusion**

Although the full picture of the Greek astral science brought by the East-Syrian Christians and their role in disseminating this body of knowledge in China is yet to emerge, we have enough evidence to suggest that the *Yusi jing* is the Chinese translation of a Greco-Persian astral text circulated in Central Asia some time prior to the seventh century. This translation, though no longer extant, was dated some time in the late eighth century, attributed to a certain Qu, who was closely associated with the Persian astronomer Li Su or Lūqā, the Director of Astronomy recruited by the Tang court to succeed the Indian astronomer Gautamasiddha. Subsequently, a number of abridgements were made to form a *Yusi*-cluster of texts. The XTYSJ of our present study must have been one of these abridgements, popularized and vulgarized as they spread outside the elite court circle some time prior to the late tenth century, the *terminus ante quem* provided by the Dunhuang document P.4071. The XTYSJ is thus the earliest specimen of non-Indian Greek astral treatise extant in Chinese.

A close examination of the content of the XTYSJ reveals that some of the speculations concerning the *Yusi jing* made by previous scholars such as Ishida, Yabuuti, Yano, Jao and Jiang require further reexamination. First of all, the unique content of the XTYSJ connects the *Yusi jing* to Greek astral works of more practical nature, exemplified most notably by Dorotheus' *Carmen Astrologicum*, rather than the more philosophically oriented *Tetrabiblos* of Ptolemy. Furthermore, the absence of pseudoplanets in the XTYSJ casts some doubts on the traditional view that the *Yusi jing* was an astral work of eleven-luminary system. Chinese astral works where nine and eleven luminaries are described appear to be a further development based on the *Yusi jing*.

To sum, the Greek astral science exemplified by the *Yusi jing*, imported by the East-Syrian Christians and disseminated throughout in China toward the latter part of the first millennium, became later the prototype of "Western astral science" for the medieval Chinese astrologers. A further investigation of the *Yusi jing* family of texts together with other related astral texts may help to clarify the origin of the highly vigorous non-astrological divinatory systems which emerged in China at the beginning of the second millennium, and to provide a proper evaluation of the impact of "Western" astral science on its "Eastern" counterpart.

Yusi jing

# Abbreviations and symbols

*	Emendation			
<<	Text aligned to the top			
>>	Indentation			
/	Column break			
<	Variant character (Standardized < Original)			
	Undecipherable character			
BJ	Bṛhajjātaka by Varāhamihira (Jhā ed., 1944 with Utpala's			
	commentary Bhațțotpalīya-samskrta-Vivrti)			
BS	Brhatsamhitā by Varāhamihira (Dvivedī ed., 1997)			
Dorotheus	Dorothei Sidonii Carmen Astrologicum (Pingree 1976)			
FTHLJY	Fantian huoluo jiuyao 梵天火羅九曜. T1311.			
MYTMS	Mingyi tianwen shu 明譯天文書 (Yano 1997)			
PXLTMYJ	Pingxing lingtai miyao jing 秤星靈臺秘要經 in ZTDZ (洞真部眾術			
	類 Dongzheng bu, zhongshu lei).			
QYRZJ	Qiyao rangzai jue 七曜攘災害訣. T1308.			
KYZJ	Kaiyuan zhanjing 開元占經 by Gautamasiddha (ed. SKQS)			
Madkhal	al-Madkhal fī Ṣinā <sup>s</sup> at Aḥkām al-Nujūm (Yano 1997)			
SKQS	Siku quanshu 四庫全書			
SQZMTY	Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要 (ed. Shanghai)			
	(av. at http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/ShikoTeiyo/)			
Т	Taishō Tripiṭaka 大正新脩大藏經			
THY	Tang huiyao 唐會要 (ed. Congshu jicheng chubian)			
Tetrabiblos	Tetrabiblos. Robbins, F.E. (ed.). 1940. Loeb Classical Library.			
Vettius Valens	Anthologies (Pingree 1986). English translation (Riley 1996b).			
XMZK	Xingming zongkuo 星命總括 by Yelu Chun 耶律純 (ed. SKQS)			
XTYSJ	Xitian yusi jing 西天聿斯經 (ed. SKQS)			
XXDC	Xingxue dacheng 星學大成 (ed. SKQS)			
XYYMKL	Xiuyao yunming kanlu (Jp. Sukuyō unmei kanroku) 宿曜運命勘錄			
	(Ishida 1950)			
YJ	Yavanajātaka by Sphujidhvaja. Pingree, David (ed.). 1978.			
ZTDZ	Zhengtong daozang 正統道藏. (ed. 新文豐 Xinwenfeng)			

# Glossary of East Asian terms and proper names

Aluoben	阿羅本
Bei shi	卑失
Bosi	波斯
Butian ge	步天歌
Buyi	布衣
Chen Fu	陳輔
Daqin	大秦
Daqin jingjiao liuxing zhong	gguo beisong 大秦景教流行中國碑頌
Dali	大歷
Da yao senwen ri	大耀森文日
Duliyusi jing	都利聿斯經
Fantian huoluo jiuyao	梵天火羅九曜
Kang Zun	康遵
Li Su	李素
Jiajing	嘉靖
Jianzhong	建中
Jiang Xiaoyuan	江曉原
Jingjing	景淨
Jiuzhi li	九執曆
Qianlong	乾隆
Qu	璩
Kaibao	開寶
Li Miqian	李彌乾
Guangzhou	廣州
Ho Peng Yoke	何丙郁
Qiyao rangzai jue	七曜攘災訣
Rong Xinjiang	榮新江
Sanfang	三方
Sanhe	三合
Seng	僧
Shi Yao	史瑤
Shū'ei	宗叡
Sitianjian	司天監
Sitiantai	司天台
Siku quanshu	四庫全書
Simen jing	四門經
Sizhu bazi	四柱八字
Sukuyō unmei kanroku	宿曜運命勘錄

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Yusi jing

Taishijian	太史監
Taishiju	太史局
Taishiling	太史令
Taiyi	太乙
Taizong	太宗
Tongzhi	通志
Wan Minying	萬民英
Wenzhen	文貞
Xintangshu	新唐書
Xitian	西天
Xitian duli jing	西天都例經
Xitianzhu	西天竺
Xiuyao jing	宿曜經
Yao senwu	曜森勿
Yixing	一行
Yuebei	月孛
Yusi jing	聿斯經
Zaxingli	雜星歷
Zhenguan	貞觀
Zheng Qiao	鄭樵
Zhenyuan	貞元
Zhizi	質子
Ziqi	紫氣

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# 萬民英著:《星學大成》

#### 《西天聿斯經》

#### I. (7.39)

1	人命生來禀星算,	曆數幽玄妙難斷。
	須識西天都例經,	理義分明有條貫。
	但問生時日宿宮,	加向時辰迴視東。
	天輪轉出地輪上,	卯上分明是命宫。
5	因之以配十二位,	十二位中有高貴。
	卯并巳午最高强,	子酉之方次强位。
	寅申頭上名近强,	未亥微看三合方。
	此方照處有不照,	(7.40)七曜皆同貴此鄉。
	辰戌二宮名惡弱,	星辰不欲照臨著。
10	一切加臨落此宮,	資財福祿盡消滅。
	第三宮中號閑極,	五星不得纎毫力。
	惟有月向此宫生,	却向命宫添福徳。

Variants:1 暦<厯;1 斷<斷

Parallels and Testimonia:

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Dorotheus I.5
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1-12 XXDC6.2a-b <<三辰論十二位高下歌>>
當生日看在何宫,加向元時回視東。
天輪自轉地輪定,夘上長為命所宗。
然後配以十二位,其中昭然賤與貴。
已夘午上為最强,子酉之方是其次。
寅申亦以近名之,三合要看亥與未。
此為照處餘則非,吉星要聚凶星離。
辰戌二方稱惡弱,天象奚堪下臨著。
善曜何常能致祥,凶星好事渾銷鑠。
第三之宫號閑極,五星不得纖毫力。
惟有月在此方生,却向命中添福德。<sup>1</sup>
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1 PXLTMYJ>>洞微限歌

人生貴賤稟星推,限數交宮各有時。

4 MYTMS 1.21<sup>2</sup>

凡看各星在何宫分。一命宫者。何謂?言:人初生時,看東方是何宫分。出地平環上,即爲命宫。

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Madkhal 1.20.1.

# *Grand Anthology of Astral Learning* composed by Wan Minying

#### Xitian Yusi Jing (XTYSJ)

I. (7.39) The human life from the time of birth is subject to the reckoning of the stars. The astronomical calculation is subtle and difficult to grasp. One must know the Treatise of Duli of the West. Its meanings are clear and logical. One should [first] find out the Sun-dwelling sign at the time of birth. Add the [number of past] double-hours [from sunrise] turning in reverse toward the East.<sup>3</sup> [With] the celestial wheel rotating above the terrestrial wheel, the ascendant sign is [thus] clearly indicated in the East (Mao).<sup>4</sup> The twelve places are arranged starting from it; among these twelve places, there are the exalted ones. The first (Mao), together with the eleventh (Si) and the tenth (Wu) are the strongest. Next strongest are the fourth (Zi) and the seventh place (You). The moderately strong ones are the second (Yin) and the eighth (Shen). The fifth (Hai) and the ninth (Wei) are necessarily considered as the configuration of trine. Such configuration [is known as] the aspect [and there are places] not aspected [as well]. (7.40) All the seven luminaries favor these [two] places. The twelfth (Chen) and the sixth (Xu) places are known as bad and weak. The luminaries are not keen to aspect or preside over them. Whatever falls into such sign (i.e., place), all the wealth and fortune would be destroyed. The third sign (i.e., place) is known as "extreme idle". [If the five luminaries fall into it,] they become ineffectual. Only if the Moon falls into this sign would fortune be added to the ascendant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Followed by commentary: 十二宫高下乃逆數 也。凡吉凶星曜在命,三合及對見之,則力緊也。 丑之為位,乃在癸水之末,且其為土,又是虚處。 水遇虚則明,故宜於月。雖曰閑極,實可為用。 比其他星曜所不能,及大抵以夘為命,則當從此 推之。在餘位者固,不可執為例也。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I translate here the Chinese *gong* and *i* as "sign" and "place" respectively. The terms are used interchangeably in the text. To avoid confusion, the mixed usage is italicized.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The celestial and terrestrial wheels refer to the ecliptic and the horizon respectively. Here the astrological places ( $\tau \circ \pi \sigma \tau$ ), with exception to the third, are represented by the twelve earthly branches in reverse order starting from Mao (East) as the first place. The content is nearly identical to Dorotheus'.
II.	(7.40)	
1	七曜陰陽各三主,	強弱輪排依此數。
	白日生人見配之,	夜則歸宫求類取。
	陰主三方月火金,	便為陰曜福其陰。
	陽主三方日木土,	白日生人貴為主。
	夜生白日背陰陽,	福祿不堅難積聚。
5	西天之法重三方,	生時貴欲在高強。
	三方若得居高位,	居宿之中各福貴。

忽然七曜並相當,超騰必作人中瑞。

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus I.1

Tetrabiblos I.18

XXDC2.20a-b <<論	Ē	方主星立例歌>>		
七政隂陽各有取	,	品量以配三方主	0	
畫生只在日上求	,	夜則須從月中取	0	
當知月火金為隂	,	日木土向陽類尋	0	
夜宜隂主晝陽主	,	不背端能為福深	0	
隂如逢晝陽逢夜	,	難説終身禍不侵	0	
西天之法重乎此	,	最要其星在高位	0	
各得其宜乗旺行	,	必主生来居富貴	0	
七曜更臨身命宫	,	超騰必作人間瑞	0	5

II. (7.40) The seven luminaries, male and female, are each assigned as the lord of three (i.e., lord of a triplicity). Their strength is listed in the following order. Those who are born during the day correspond to [the Sun]; as for those who are born at night, the corresponding sign may be sought from the similar (i.e., the Moon). The female lords of triplicity are the Moon, Mars and Venus, who are the female luminaries favorable to [those who are born at] night. The male lords of triplicity are the Sun, Jupiter and Saturn, which are revered as the lords to those who are born during the day. If [those who are supposed to be born during] the day is born at night, then his fortune would not endure and would be difficult to amass. The Western astrology places great importance on the triplicities and it is desirable that [these places] are strong at the time of birth. If all these three places all obtain an exalted position [of a luminary], then [the place] dwelt [by the exalted luminary] will be auspicious in its respective [field]. If it so happens that all the seven luminaries match, the native would certainly turn out to be the best among men.6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Followed by commentary: 論三方主星,立例及 明其大畧。畫生就日,夜生就月。各於其所,在 宫取之。日木土主陽,月火金主隂。晝夜不背則 為福。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> That is, presumably all the seven luminaries in their exalted position, with the topic of planetary exaltation carried over from the last verse. As pointed out by the tenth-century Indian astronomer Utpala in his commentary to BJ 7.6, 11.18, such configuration (as given in section III; Indian version with minor variants, see §III.2.1) is astronomically impossible, with Mercury's maximum elongation being less than 30°. The parallel version, however, suggests the configuration to be all seven luminaries in the ascendant.

III. (7.40)

1	金木二星為善星,	<b>所為非主</b>
	火土二星為惡曜,	三方切怕他臨照。
	夜生陰宮主光明,	晝則陽宮最為妙。
	夜忌土星晝忌火,	各自相逢斷為禍。
5	火在陰宮土在陽,	縱有災殃還較可。
	獨有水星本無定,	見附近處即為性,
	附陽即陽之相輔,	附陰即陰為害病,
	與日合照主榮貴,	巧妙聰明難比並。
	木為文兮火為武,	金為兵兮土為主。
10	五星見月即非常,	三主居高必台輔。

極寒極燥熱,故凶。

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Parallels and Testimonia:
Dorotheus I.6<sup>7</sup>
XXDC2.20b-21a
  金木從来是善星,所臨非主亦非榮。
  三方却怕逢火土,的有無情惡曜名。
  夜見隂宫方烜赫,晝生陽位始光明。8
PXLTMYJ
  若遇羅喉金木曜,太陽紫熙月同隨,
  限逢此曜加官禄9。火土二星到便危。
  夜降土星盡火曜,三方不是死無疑。<sup>10</sup>
  此星若是三方主,雖有災傷命不離。11
  畫土夜受如是主,限逢稱遂轉官資,
  火陰陽土宮尤妙。
2 MYTMS 1.3 <sup>12</sup>
  木星金星吉,性温和。因性温和,故吉。土
  星火星凶,土星性極寒,火星性極燥熱。因
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III. Venus and Jupiter are the auspicious stars (i.e., benefics). Even if they are not the lord [of the sign], they still bring favorable results. The two stars Mars and Saturn are the inauspicious luminaries (i.e., malefics). The [sign of] triplicities always fear of being aspected by them. It is desirable for one to be born at night in a female sign, or born during the day in a male sign. Saturn and Mars are harmful to [those who are born at] night and during the day respectively. Their respective encounter results certainly in calamity. When Mars is in a female sign or Saturn in a male sign, even if there may be misfortune, it would not be so bad. Mercury alone is not fixed, as its character is determined by those in is proximity. When associated with a male [luminary], then it becomes a benefic male. When associated with a female [luminary], then it becomes a malefic female. When it conjoins with or is aspected by the Sun, then it becomes an auspicious lord, resulting in someone who is incomparably intelligent. Jupiter presides over arts. Mars presides over warfare. Venus presides over weaponry. Saturn presides over lordship (?). Unusual effects result if the five stars aspect the Moon. If three [of the five luminaries] are exalted, then [the native] is certainly an important official.

Variants: 宮<宮 斷<斷

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The effects of Saturn and Mars on the day-born/night-born as well as the feminine/masculine signs in Dorotheus I.6 appear to be opposite to this passage in the XTYSJ. Elsewhere in Dorotheus (I.10, I.26), this doctrine in presented in opposite.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> XXDC commentary: 論金木水火土, 惟不是三 方。方主星, 其禍福不同如此。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> PXLTMYJ commentary: 限數若逢金木日月紫 炁羅睺主喜慶之事。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> **PXLTMYJ commentary**: 夜生人,土不是主。 畫生人,火不是主。限數若逢立主死。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> PXLTMYJ commentary: 如夜生土是主晝生火 是主限數若逢雖有災難而不至死。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cf. Madkhal 1.3.

- IV. (7.40-7.41)
- 1 諸曜皆言在強位,更要七星乘旺氣。 日旺白羊十九度。(7.41)月旺金牛第三 位,

土旺秤宫二十一,火旺磨蝎四與七, 雙女辰星三<sup>\*</sup>五中,金占魚宮旺在奎<sup>\*</sup>,

- 5 星七度與柳十三。太白流之實可堪。 木向蟹宮初入鬼,旺氣相成主崇位。
- Apparatus
- 4 三五中]emend., 二五中 XXDC
- 4 旺在奎]emend., 旺在室 XXDC

#### Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus I.2

XXDC1.23b-24a >>七政旺宫星度歌<<

七政各得居強所,君看分明乘旺處。 日據白羊十九間,月入金牛第三度。 土在天秤二十一,火居磨蝎四與七。 水居女上三五中,金占雙魚必當室。 不離七與十三前,據此求之始為的。 木經巨蟹初入鬼,此生所舉多如意。 但於旺處逢一星,斷然莫作常人視。<sup>13</sup>

MYTMS 1.14.1

自古論七曜廟旺度數並無不同。太陽在白羊 宮第十九度。太陰在金牛宮第三度。土星在 天稱宮二十一度。木星在巨蠏宮十五度。火 星在磨羯宮二十八度。金星在雙魚宮二十七 度。水星在雙女宮十五度。計都在陰陽宮第 三度。羅睺在人馬宮第三度。

#### IV.<sup>14</sup>

The luminaries are [thus] said to be in exalted position, and especially if the seven stars are in maximum exaltation.<sup>15</sup> The Sun is at maximum exaltation in Aries 19°, (7.41) the Moon in Taurus 3°, Saturn in Libra 21°, Mars in Capricorn 28°, Mercury in "Double Female" <sup>16</sup> (Virgo) 15°,<sup>17</sup> Venus in Pisces exalting in Kui.<sup>18</sup> It is excellent if Venus is moving across Xing 7° or Liu 13°.<sup>19</sup> Jupiter is at maximum exaltation, presiding over a superior place when it is in Cancer, entering in the first part of Gui.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> XXDC commentary: 論七政旺宫,太陽躔婁宿 八度,是戌宫十九度也。太陽躔胃宿六度,是酉 宫三度。土躔亢宿六度,是辰宫二十一度也。火 躔斗十八度并二十一度,是丑宫四度與七度也。 水躔翼八度并十度,是巳宫三度與五度也。金在 室七度并十三度,屬亥宫。木在鬼初度并十三度, 屬未宫。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See §III.3.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cf. Dorotheus I.2 Sun =  $\uparrow 19^\circ$ ; Moon =  $\forall 3^\circ$ ; Saturn =  $\frown 21^\circ$ ; Jupiter =  $\odot 15^\circ$ ; Mars =  $\overline{\diamond}28^\circ$ ; Venus =  $\div 27^\circ$ ; Mercury =  $\Im 15^\circ$ . Also *Madkhal* I.14.1 = *Tetrabiblos* I.19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> On the unusual translation of Virgo as "Double Female", see §III.3.3 fn.111.

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$  Emended from the original 10° (2×5) which is most certainly a scribal or block print mistake. The correct form (3×5) was shown in the parallel passage in XXDC1.23b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The original reading of Shi corresponding to  $P\bar{u}rvabh\bar{a}drapada$  320;0° - 333;20° (mean longitude at 326;40° or 10s 26;40°) would contradict "Pisces" given in the same verse. The emendation to Kui ( $\neq$ (23;20) is necessary. See §III.3.2.1 fn.98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The two coordinates correspond to *Maghā* 7° and  $\bar{A}sles\bar{a}$  13°, which fall in Leo and Cancer respectively.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Mean longitude at ©13°10'. See §III.3.2.1 fn.
 97.

V. (7.41)

- 各於旺處逢一星,出入旌旄主權貴, 更加所好轉為精。木樂尾兮土寶瓶。
   金愛牛宫火重蝎。水居雙女最為靈。
   生時一宿皆臨照,即為豪貴處王庭。
- 5 五星見月三方主,要得居高生旺處。 陽生向日陰生月,將相三公必無慮。

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus I.1

3 P4071r3col5-6 案聿厮經云,水居雙女[最]為靈。 生時一个臨強處,即為毫富處王庭。

3 XXDC17.2b 琅玕經云,水居雙女最為靈,華省臺官給諌 臣。巨蟹栁星超職位,股肱帝力彩絲綸。或 臨亥子多招禄,方主推之福轉純。身命限中 俱見照,財多恩博更相親。

1 MYTMS 1.14.2

何爲旺宮旺度,言各星到本位上,高貴有力。

V.

If in each of these places of maximum exaltation there is a [corresponding] star, then [the native] would be one with military command, power and wealth; whatever he was predisposed to would be strengthened. Jupiter rejoices in Wei (=Sagittarius). Venus loves the sign of Taurus. Mars looks up to Scorpio. It is best if Mercury dwells in the "double female" (=Virgo). If each of these signs is aspected [by their favored planet], then [the native] would be from a high-class family, or associated with the royal court. If the five planets are aspected by the Moon and that they are in triplicity, in addition in high exaltation and favored place, those born during the day have the Sun in their ascendant and those born at night have the Moon, then [the native] would certainly become a ministerial official of the highest rank.

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- 又看生後三日宮,月到何星分度中。 金木相逢主文學,聰明必見水星遇。 更遇善星作宮主,宫主復來在强宮。 此為有福無難人,一生所為稍皆遂。
   忽然三日月逢火,推命之中最為禍。
- 第一損壽二損財, 速厄顛危常折挫。 更遇土星相合地, 終身坎坷多迍否。 木曜縱横不照之, 壽終不得夭然矣。

Parallel:

Dorotheus I.12

## VI.

Next, one looks three days after birth at the sign where the Moon has reached in terms of degrees. If it conjoins Venus or Jupiter, then [the native] would excel in the belles-lettres. If it conjoins with Mercury, then he would certainly be intelligent. If it conjoins with a benefic which happens to be the lord of the sign it dwells, and furthermore, the lord of the sign is also in a strong position, then this one is blessed with fortune and will see no calamity. Whatever he endeavors during this lifetime would all be fulfilled. However, if on the third day the Moon conjoins with Mars, then it would be of the worst prognosis. First of all, the lifespan would be reduced. Furthermore, his wealth will be damaged. He will suffer calamities and always experience hardship. If [the Moon] conjoins with Saturn, he will experience suffering and setback throughout his life. If it is not aspected by Jupiter, then he will not live a full life and die young.

VII. (7.41-7.42)

1	相貌福徳宮又别,	畫生從日夜從月。
	所取日月相去宫,	還從東上配其宫。
	所終之處為相貌,	即看何曜在其中。
	若遇善星更月照,	福壽堅牢添祿料。
5	又兼金木作宫辰,	復在高強最為妙。
	其次又看相合地,(	7.42)土木金兮同一
位	• •	
	忽居强處照其人,	的作公侯得榮貴。
	若逢土木水合照,	性直文章主巧妙。
	忽作熒惑反相刑,	即向命宫作凶兆。

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus I.9

Tetrabiblos III.10

Vettius Valens IX: 8

XXDC6.16b-17a<<再論福徳宫變格>> 福徳一宫人莫窮,畫生從日夜從陰。 數取日月相去位,還從東出配其終。 數盡之處為相位,次看何宿守其中。 若遇善星相對照,福壽高崇禄料豐。 又兼金木作宫主,福徳高强福更隆。<sup>21</sup>

### VII.

The two signs [of the Lots of] "Appearance" and "Fortune" are to be distinguished [in the following way].<sup>22</sup> For the day-born, [counting] from the Sun and for the night-born from the Moon, take the number of signs between the Sun and the Moon. Apply that [number of] signs from the ascendant. The final place would be the [Lot of] "Appearance", one should then observe which planet is located in it. If it is a benefic and aspected furthermore by the Moon, then there will certainly be longevity and wealth. It would be the wonderful if both Venus and Jupiter are in their favored sign, or even better, if they are in their deep exaltation. Then one looks at the conjunctions. (7.42) If Saturn, Jupiter and Venus are in the same place, or if the "person" is aspected by the planet in its exaltation, then he will certainly become a nobility with fame and honor. If Saturn and Jupiter are conjoined with or aspected by Mercury, then [the native] will be inclined toward literature and excelled in it. But if [they are conjoined with or aspected by] Mars, [the native] will be adversely affected. If this happens in the ascendant, it is an evil omen.

<sup>22</sup> On the "Lots", see §III.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> XXDC commentary: 見<u>西天都例經</u>。福德者為 身命之根源,吉星聚此則福壽堅牢,惡曜臨之則 命浮弱。吉凶如響,凡推其福徳宫。日生則從太 陽數至太隂,夜生則從太陰數至太陽,數其相去 幾宫,然後從命宫數其相去宫位,即為相貌。次 則福徳,若正坐高强,復得吉星為本宫之主,加 以文星又在高强,必然享福無窮,受禄綿逺。

# VIII. (7.42) 1 土木同行生在畫,更向陽宫富貴有。 夜生若向陽位中,變作迍邅作凶咎。 土金合照福堅牢,性潔難婚亦貴豪。 金火合與照強位,華鮮衣服志居高。

5 火土合兮有學祿,智慧多端好反覆。 木火同宮主貴權,為事心中多敏速。 木星合得好資財,容貌端嚴志多惑。 月合木兮自遷榮,月加即好減差平。

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus I.14-19

#### XXDC6.6b-7a 歌曰:

土日同方生在晝,更在陽宫當富有	0
夜人倘見落陰鄉,作事多艱是殃咎	o
土星合照福堅牢,好潔難婚亦貴豪	o
金如會火守强位,性緊貪華性更高	0
水與土合有學禄,智慧無窮愛番覆	0
木火同照主貴權,設施驚衆誇神速	0
木金宜得女財多,貴貌端嚴心多慾	。23

#### VIII.

If Saturn and Jupiter move concurrently in a male sign for a day born, then there will be wealth. If [the native] is a night born and this happens in a male sign, then it will become hardship and cause evil. The conjunction and aspect of Saturn and Venus are mostly auspicious. His nature is pure and even though marriage might be difficult, he would nonetheless have a lavish life. The conjunction and aspect of Venus and Mars result in beautiful and brilliant clothes and someone with a high mind. The conjunction of Mars and Saturn results in scholarship and a clever mind with lots of ideas but tendency to change one's mind. When Jupiter and Mars are in the same sign, [the native] would be noble and powerful, with a dedicated mind in his affairs handled with great zest. The conjunction of Jupiter [?] result in wealth, good appearance but a mind prone to suspicion. The conjunction of the Moon and Jupiter result in rise to prosperity through one's own effort. A waxing Moon is good, while a waning one not so.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> XXDC commentary: 此二星在命宫,或對合見

之主,得富貴貴而多妬。

IX.(7.42-7.43)
1 火合日兮生在夜,日在火兮必權霸。 木星照曜定封侯,却向武中稱善價。 火星合照最超殊,貴顯堂堂出衆徒。 火合月兮生在夜,縱然殘減亦分符。
5 木照更能添福徳,豐厚多財貴宗族。 月火照兮每倍加,常患瘡病在其足。 同宮一處見土木,火不照兮足財穀。 忽然兼居土木宮,主握兵符多侍僕。 木金祿厚有慈貴,名高美貌足財穀。
10 水日同宮或左右,必豐學問足文辭。 水木同位又同行,高才博學任公卿。 月木同宮位清列,又在日前更殊絶。 生時值火伏同宮,(7.43)先代家財盡消 滅。

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus I.14-19

XXDC6.6b-7a	
日在火兮生在夜	, 若攄火西必權霸。
木星更照定封侯	, 尤於武庫増聲價。
從來日與木同塗	, 貴顕成家與衆殊。
夜生月若火相會	,縱然殘減亦分符。
更向高强逢著木	,名達財豐真貴族。
火如照月當畫盈	,却苦瘡痍每煎蹙。

#### IX.

The conjunction of Mars and the Sun for the night born, [hence] the combination of Sun and Fire would inevitably result in dominating power. If aspected by Jupiter, then one will become an appointed feudal lord, known to be precious one in the martial world. If conjoined with or aspected by Mars, then [the native] would be extraordinary, outstanding among all the followers. The conjunction of Mars and the Moon for the night born, even though there will be some deficiencies, there would still be some official appointment. If aspected by Jupiter, then it will be more auspicious, with greater wealth and fortune benefiting one's own clan. If the waxing Moon is aspected by Mars, there will always be problem of abscess in [the native]'s feet.<sup>24</sup> When Saturn and Jupiter are in the same sign, except when aspected by Mars, then there will be abundance of wealth. Otherwise, [if Mars] is located in the same sign as Saturn and Jupiter, then [the native] would have military control with many subordinates. [The conjunction and aspect of] Jupiter and Venus result in great fortune and nobility, with fame, beauty and wealth. If Mercury is located in the same sign or is next to it, then there will be great learning and skill in words. If Mercury and Jupiter are in the same place and are both in prograde motion, then [the native] would be talented and learned, occupying a high office. If the Moon and Jupiter are in the same sign, [the native] would be in a high position. If [the conjunction of the Moon and Jupiter] are preceded by the Sun, things will even be greater. [But, if the conjunction of the Moon and Jupiter] meets Mars in the same sign, (7.43) then all the fortune from the past generation will be consumed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The parallel verse gives the additional condition of a daytime waxing Moon.

- 福星多處必財豐,惡曜還生貧賤中。
   第六位兮對十二,兩宮就分各凶忌。
   生時七曜居此宫,一世貧窮苦憔悴。
   白日生人火占高,與日復來相對視,
- 5 夜生土曜亦如然,短壽孤窮登望位。 月落惡星分度間,惡星高處善星閑, 三方不照五星伏,必為賤隸處人寰。

Variants: 隸 > 隷

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus I.7

XXDC6.17a>>再論相貌奴僕兩位<</p>
相貌奴僕非高位,兩者多緣凶與忌。
當生七曜落其間,一世孤窮苦憔悴。
畫裏生人火占高,月最不宜來對視。
夜逢土宿同此推,太薄如何望身貴。
月在惡曜行度間,惡者復强善者閑。
三方不救五星伏,必為賤隸處人寰。<sup>25</sup>

#### Х.

Wherever there are many auspicious stars, there is certainly great wealth; if the malefic luminaries recur, [the native is certainly] in destitute. The sixth position, as well as its opposite twelfth position, the two signs are both inauspicious. If the seven luminaries occupy this sign at the time of birth, [the native] would be poor and in destitute for his entire life. For a day-born person where Mars occupy the exalted position and moreover aspected by the Sun, [as well as] a night-born where Saturn is similar state, [the native] will be short-lived, lonely and poor, yearning higher position. If the Moon fell within the degrees between the malefics, and that the malefics are in the exalted position while the benefics in the weak position, and that there are trines, and the five stars are unseen (heliacally set), then [the native] will certainly be low, subservient and be someone's slave.

 $^{25}$  XXDC commentary: 論相貌奴僕,於理為長。 識者宜詳味之。 XI. (7.43)

 更有五星相對視,就中五星為災瘴, 相對在强并在月,中年困苦多消竭。
 濕宫水照投江湖,乾位蟲狼多咬啮, 少男少女少資財,多疾多迍多口舌。
 或遭毒藥兼臨刑,了了經中皆具説。

Parallels and Testimonia:

#### Dorotheus II.16

XXDC6.7b 論星曜對照命宫歌: 更推星曜相衝望,就中火土為災障, 對在强方并見月,中年困苦多消歇。 濕宫水照當憂溺,乾位却須防獸嚙, 少男少女少資財,多病多迍多口舌。 或遭毒藥及刑傷,了了經中皆具説。<sup>26</sup>

#### XII. (7.43)

- 曜經宮中陽為土,復在陰中更辛苦。 火金相對不宜婚,金月相照却宜婦。 鎮星對望詞蹇澁,為事尋常濫心腹。 火月促壽及風狂,火月自傷仍尅父。
- 5 水月猶自厄言辭,土月對宫不宜母。 火星同月轉就土,土星照月轉就火。 火月同宮皆深禍。不然同在十宫生, 或守月行西没墜,此為夭折貧賤人, 又更防災家破敗。

Parallels and Testimonia:

XXDC6.8a-b>>

諸方最怕陽對木,復在陰宫更勞漉。 金如望火不利婚,若使迎陰却宜娶。 土星衝月蹇語言,作事多妖難與語。 月如見土夭并狂,見水其音為吃苦。 火日自傷先尅父,土月須知不宜母。 火星對月轉就火,須信望中俱作禍。<sup>27</sup> 不然共守上下宫,或伴月行西沒過, 此為夭折寒微人,縱使暫成終亦破。<sup>28</sup>

#### XI.

If the five stars aspect each other, then the five stars cause calamities especially. If the aspects take place in strong positions together with the Moon, then [the native] would be in trouble during his middle years experiencing great loss. In Mercury aspects the wet signs, one would throw oneself into river and lake (i.e., drowning). In the dry positions, the crawling animals and the wolves will bite often. There will be few sons, few daughters and few wealth, but much disease, much affliction, and much quarrels. Or [the native] will be poisoned or even executed, just as it was explained in details in the texts.

#### XII.

If the luminary which passes through a male sign turns out to be Saturn, it will be difficult, and more so if [Saturn] is in a female [sign]. If Mars and Venus aspect each other, then marriage is not recommended. On the other hand, if Venus and the Moon aspect each other, then it is good for taking on a wife. If Saturn is aspected by a full Moon, then one's words become impeded, and his actions always deviate from what he really meant. Mars and Moon [in the same sign] will shorten life and cause madness. Mars and Moon [in the same sign also] lead to self-afflicted injury as well as damage to one's father. Mercury and Moon cause impediment to one's own speech. Saturn and Moon in aspect with each other are not good for the mother. [The following configurations] are all disastrous: Conjunction of Mars and Moon, aspected by Saturn; conjunction of Saturn and Moon, aspected by Mars; conjunction of Mars and Moon. If all the [malefics] are located in the tenth sign, or if conjoining with the Moon, they descend in the West, [the native] will be a short-lived and poor person. One should moreover protect oneself against calamities and family becoming ruined.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> XXDC commentary: 東南巳午為乾宮西北亥 子為濕宫。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> XXDC commentary: 火月或土對土月或火對 及月對土火是也。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> XXDC commentary: 流年星與限值及太歲相 宜則有如意之事然根基。淺薄終久不利也。按 此節專論日月怕見火上亦須分晝夜而言之。

#### XIII. (7.43-7.44)

星運要知災福時,却向行年宮上推。 行年初起從東起,還將一歲一宫移。 每歲皆須就日生,(7.44)數至今年宮上推。

#### Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus IV.1 XXDC7.20b >>論洞微行年小限<< 要識星行禍福時,須在流年位上推。起於東出常 為例,一宫一嵗逆移之。 交來每遇生日後,不問陰陽總若斯。<sup>29</sup>

#### XIV. (7.44)

木照金臨皆有喜,	加官益職定無疑。
更到金木原守處,	木金又照復何慮。
必得相逢見貴人,	舊祿重加福自新。
娶婦孕子貴門庭,	運縮盈虚皆有據。
行年東出亦同占,	水加原守喜同兼。
身命二宫皆要木,	金星同照喜加添。
更須促取行年至,	善星高位福同住。
但行獅子蟹宮位,	日月便為宮主是。
日貴長時福即多,	月到初生喜來至。
月虧日短為厄時,	須向心中明作計。
土火生時原守宮,	行年命運到其中。
口舌資財須詳忌,	不然憂怕事關心。
如今火土又來臨,	厄難慮忌不相容。
末後相看第八位,	生時何曜守其中。
若遇曜神并土火,	多為法溺促其終。
更益火月來西没,	或居上下禍皆同。

<sup>29</sup> XXDC commentary: 流年小限立例,始於命宫 順天輪,而轉次至財帛。若在地盤則為逆矣。

#### XIII.

To divine the fortune of the luminary, one should calculate based on the sign of the "annual profection".<sup>30</sup> [The sign of] the "annual profection" starts from the Eastern [horizon], and it moves one sign per year counter-clockwise. Every year, [it moves] only on the date of birth, (7.44) and it counts until the sign of the current year which is to be considered.

#### XIV.

[If the sign of the annual profection] is aspected or conjoined by Jupiter and Venus, there will certainly be joy, promotion in official title and duties. If [the sign of the annual profection] moves to the sign of "original protection" (vuanshou) of Venus and Jupiter, and furthermore aspected by Jupiter or Venus, one will certainly meet a protégé; his fortune will be enhanced from the past and his well-being renewed. When it comes to marriage, giving birth, [matters which pertain to] familial welfare, the fortune may wane, wax or be in vain depending all on the factors.<sup>31</sup> One would divine in the same manner when [the sign of] the annual profection rises from the East; it is even more auspicious if Mercury coincides with [its] home sign. In the two signs shen ("body") and ming ("life"), [aspect by] Jupiter is desirable;<sup>32</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> On "Profection", see §III.3, fn. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The variants in XXDC7.20b reads "one should strive to avoid the malefics at such occasions".

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  So far, the "place" *ming* refers to the ascendant in the text. In the parallel text, it refers to the *zhugong* or "principle *sign*" which appears to be singular. The reference to the two *signs* here is not clear to me. In Vettius Valens IV.12, the first two signs carry the names of "body" and "life" respectively.

Parallels and Testimonia:

#### Dorotheus IV.1 Tetrabiblos 3.12 XXDC7.20b-21a << 木照金臨皆有喜,益財遷職多如意。 復到二星原守宫,凡有所圖無不遂。 貴人更得一相逢,舊祿既加新祿至。 納婦生兒吉慶門,此時自是凶星避。 行年東出若同此,榮進有期亦緣水。 更看所至主宫星,如在高强自然利。 假如限到午與未,日月更為其主星。 日在長時福即深,月遇初生吉無比。 日短月虧仍有災,用茲可以推餘位。 行年如到火土處,口舌資財悉堪慮。 若使其星復照之,困厄須知少生路。 次第常推第八宫,生時何曜在其中。 如值蝕神并土火,遭刑遇溺卒然终。 或是火月來西没, 及因上下禍多同。<sup>33</sup>

[cont'] if aspected also by Venus, it is even more auspicious. It is even more desirable if [the sign of] the current year closely approach the benefics in their exalted position; fortune abides [with such person]. But in the case of the signs of Leo and Cancer, the lords of the sign are the Sun and the Moon respectively. The Sun is auspicious when the [day] hours are long; the Moon brings joy if it has just begun to wax. A waning Moon and a Sun with short [hours] are inauspicious, and one should anticipate and plan wisely. If Saturn and Mars were in their home signs at the time of birth, [or if] by fate [the sign of] the current year coincides with them, one should beware of verbal conflict and financial matters, or else they would become matters of great worries. If [the sign of the annual profection] is aspected furthermore by Mars or Saturn, there will be disaster, trouble and conflict. Finally, one should look at the eighth place, to see which luminary is located in it. If [the sign of the annual profection] meets the luminary lord, together with Saturn or Mars,<sup>34</sup> then the native would most likely die by drowning as punishment. It is equally inauspicious if Mars or the Moon descends in the West (seventh place), or that it is located [in the sign] before or after.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> XXDC commentary (for the following section): 自一嵗從命宫起, 逆行一年移一宫。遇生日即交 也,不論男女皆同行。所行之宫,但只看其宫内 有何星。照臨而消息,禍福大凡遇到火土計孛, 原守宫即為災。到木金紫炁原守宫,必有遷官進 財喜事。若到宫内並無星辰臨照,即看其時有何 行年星來到宫内。木星入行年順行,即通泰。退 逆, 喪服及口舌。金星木星同入, 則君子加官, 常人財喜。或在遷移,則有遷轉出入之喜。水月 同入,得女人財,君子遷榮。火入,煩撓口舌。 土入,三合有惡曜,主刑禁。火月同入,主傷墜 驚恐。土月同入, 主冷病或痢疾。火入, 行年在 日宫,則君子遷官,常人男女得財稱心。土與羅 計入,多重病連綿。紫炁入在公遷,進在私財物 稱意,更是原守則重重喜慶,或進人口。計都入 在辰戌宫,孝服官事。孛入行年,多奸非及迍悶, 若更原守, 並無星臨視, 即看宫主善惡而斷吉凶。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The eighth position in the Chinese system would be *wei* 未, which corresponds to Cancer, whose luminary lord is the Moon as described earlier (also in variant reading XXDC7.20b). The variant reading XXDC7.20b which gives *shishen* 蝕神 or Eclipse God, instead of luminary lord appears to be an attempt to clarify the malefic nature of this luminary lord.

#### XV. (7.44-7.45)

生時不欲星辰弱,善惡之中皆減力。 退留伏守不如行,對合宮中皆好亟。 十五度中皆正照,過此還同不相識。 近轉得好福堅牢,推命之人貯心頭。 五星照守近南方,少年得祿恐非常。 好曜初星皆西没,早年祿後與倉卒。 惟是火星莫照西,即知不得終簪笏。 生時土火在西方,(7.45)所招凶禍難儔匹。 更有加臨虛没位,須多理曉其中意。 人生禍福皆前定,分數無逃於天地。 但知子細認其歌,更盡經中玄妙義。

#### Parallel:

Dorotheus I.6-7

## XV.

It is not desirable to have weak stars at the time of birth. [In such a case,] the power of both auspiciousness and inauspiciousness is reduced. Retrogression, stationary position, disappearance [of a luminary] are all inferior to prograde motion. [A luminary] is most powerful when it aspects or conjoins [the first] sign. The strongest effect is given at the fifteenth degree. If one exceeds that, the effect may be the similar but not identical. If [the luminaries] turn close [to the East (ascendant)], the good fortune will be firm; the fortune teller should bear that in mind. If the five stars are all located near the South (zenith), one will probably make extraordinary achievement in one's youth. If the benefics and the "waxing" star all descend in the West, one will make great achievement in one's early life, but die early. The least desirable is Mars to aspect the West (descendent), as one will never gain any official employment. At the time of birth, if Saturn and Mars are in the West (descendent), (7.45) the resultant evil will be incomparable. Furthermore, there is the superimposition of weak and negative position, and one should ponder much its meanings. The fortune of human life is all predetermined, the fate as calculated does not deviate from the Heaven and the Earth. One should learn these verses with care, in order to unravel the profound meaning of the text.

## Appendices

## A. References / Citations of "Yusi jing" from extant sources

## **B. Dunhuang Astral Document** (Pelliot 4701)

P4071r1	符天十一曜見生 兗州分野
P4071r2	木星退危三都 不全有差別
P4071r3	日在木度合 若在私者
P4071r4	必放外族 下無進身□
P4071r5	因或即幸 其年必有骨
P4071r6	肉離折財務分張 或財帛至
P4071r7	水星亢是德星 推子第男女
P4071r8	案五星經云 白衣術士康遵課

## C. Manuscript containing a list of *Jingjiao* Chinese translations (Pelliot 3847)

P3847r3	景教三威蒙度贊	諸目瞻仰不
P3847r4	是我等聖主大師	報信法王
P3847r5	敬禮常明皇樂經	猶未飜譯

## D. Xitian Yusi Jing 西天聿斯經 (Siku Quanshu 四庫全書)

星學大成 7.39	忽然大小運相逢 此方照處有不照
星學大成 7.40	七曜皆同貴此鄉 日旺白羊十九度
星學大成 7.41	月旺金牛第三位 其次又看相合地
星學大成 7.42	土木金兮同一位 生時值火伏同宮
星學大成 7.43	先代家財盡消滅 每歲皆須就日生
星學大成 7.44	數至今年宮上推 生時土火在西方
星學大成 7.45	所招凶禍難儔匹 餘倣此推

## A. References / Citations of "Yusi jing" from extant sources

FTHLJY	按聿斯經云,凡人只知有七曜*不晴虛星號曰羅睺計都。此星
T(1311)21.461c	在隱位而不見,逢日月即蝕,號曰蝕神。
	*原本冠註曰不下脱知字次晴字誤也
P4071r3co15-6	案聿厮經云,水居雙女「最〕為靈。生時一个臨強處,即為
1 10/1150015 0	毫富處王庭。命宮後守天秤宮,生後三日入命宮。金順又照
	福何慮,生後三日加臨富,必是遭逢見遇人,舊祿重遷更新
	取。
D4071#9aa15 6	安妻厩领二 乙午前而县口四「牧] 独田之右八,党开时日
P4071r8col5-6	案聿厮經云,子午卯酉号曰四[煞],雖田宅有分,當生時月 勃在此中,必不久。
P3847r5col8-	四門經 謹案諸經目錄大秦本教經都五百卅部,並是貝葉梵
	音。唐太宗皇帝貞觀九年,西域太德僧阿羅本屆于中夏,並
	奏上本音。房玄齡、魏徵宣譯奏言,後召本教大德僧景淨,
	譯得以上卅部卷,餘大數具在貝皮夾,猶未飜譯。
XYYMKL908.	[第一天性]聿斯經云,金水同宮,即令能人,兼有學藝,
431a-b	作文章。
	又云,金在本度,眾人皆稱為賢德,當得人欽仰。
	又云,金在木宮,常須受人指揮,所營之事遲鈍。
	又云,金在月宮,有聲明,解說未來之事。 又云,金在土宮,細心人難測量,所行事,皆凡人可知食。
	又公子亚征工艺,和心八雜炮重,而同事,自几八号加良。
XYYMKL908.	[第二榮富]聿斯經云,土木三合,並居高處照見榮貴性,
431b-432a	或主口那。口久。
	或云,土與木三合,在強位,足財物,有田宅產業,因出行
	在外轉加益財產。 又云,火日三合,盛光榮。
	又云,云在木度合,口寺觀之事,或為僧中之長。
	又云,水在土宮合,得外人財物云々。
	又云,土在木宮,足聲名,處貴位。
	又云,土在木度,足財物,或小之時散盡,已後卻富貴,勝
	於諸親眷。
	又云,水在金度合,因公事著聲名,主寺觀之事,僧諸口之
	中皆為長,王者口錢足財,以賢智加財物云々。 又三,日本本庶,田經營条錢物,立造行得言書言,署年言
	又云,月在木度,因經營多錢物,亦遠行得高貴富,置年高 漸好。
	(判入) -

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## **B. Dunhuang Astral Document** (Pelliot 4701)

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2 学家东 上在 れたし 臣白 石影师 行段照 エクタ 多般 ねり 外所旧民餐每事帳東 1 子宫周 意私宿之 n 活 行為空 うゆ 王多難 の若在白 ろくシンシン

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#### C. Manuscript containing a list of *Jingjiao* Chinese translations (Pelliot 3847)

城使完火江漂大師是我的其座復超無新高大師前 普救度大師 是 大音貌苦不祥芳貳 般菩根 光威畫察有界運自始 常意父明子淨風王於諸帝中為師帝 死上諸天深欲数 善議真性得無緊聖子端任父右座 廣度苦界 復以色見不可相惟獨 於諸世等為法皇常居妙明 彼 惟 至誠礼一切 家聖慈光枚 我等 妙樂 個 化性蒙依止三才慈父百羅 詞一切善 神威無等力惟 聖主 本復要 0é 慧性稱請歌 切合真畫婦仰 it 款 語力 度 国称 x 黑 師 讃 離魔難尋無及正真 大師是我等 松我令-切 德常活命王慈喜美 助 大地重念書安和 是 浙 我 諸 宿不轉 河普軍大 捨 嬴 法 壯 無人事得 群生積重罪 諸目 £ 彼 淡 K. 志 七般請降 念慈風歌 儼 清 每畔界 師 膳 父大 诤 鉄 仰 能 駵 存 見 焉 徳 不 充 穀

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思 根 髮 截意大聖 普救度大師慧力 是我等聖主大師 大秦京教三威家度請一卷 藏 滋大聖普等 移 眼法王 身盧詞寧俱 憲法王 法王 妙身皇父 復 与枯 多惠法王 議及淨風 經 塘 你法王 信法王 同 アト 古思法 称 降 3 助 是 施 甘 摩拒薛法王 河 京通 珉艷 諸 我 影 T 今種 モ上三身同婦一體 性 弥沙史法王 嬴 ĩ 法 法王 法王 我 随身皇子 浙 清 僧法王 荡 £ 歉 有 at the deals to tak 彩 K. E 慈父 家 摩若書思法王 法 膳 師 寶路法王 如聖法王 安羅法王 闿 耳不 仰 能 称 漫王 海 善 施詞 不 焉

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## D. Xitian Yusi Jing 西天聿斯經 (Siku Quanshu 四庫全書)

忽然大小運相逢即時趕入黃泉路	七曜皆同貴此鄉辰戌二宫名惡弱星辰不欲照臨著
山此限專思入墓運胸限送運逆限順 如命宫納音如大小二運入墓者極怕此限男忌辰戌女忌丑未	一切加臨落此官資財福祿盡消滅第三官中號開極
	五星不得纖毫力惟有月向此宫生却向命宫添福德
大算須知倒限年海風吹動釣魚船火羅李土皆臨限	七曜陰陽各三主强弱輪排依此數白日生人見配之
此地催人下九泉	夜則歸宫求類取陰主三方月火金便為陰曜福其陰
求如諸限皆為惡星相照死無疑也倒限之法自古為信然但以諸星推	陽主三方日木土白日生人貴為主夜生白日背陰陽
論倒限	福祿不堅難積聚西天之法重三方生時貴欲在高强
論當生之限主星限宫星及小限次及行年星數四殺	三方若得居高位居宿之中各福貴忽然七曜並相當
欽定四庫全書 四 男男大战 雪	欽定四庫全書 医 医考大成 早
三合推之若皆凶星照臨可定其危矣若有吉曜救助	趙勝必作人中瑞金木二星為善星所為非主亦為祭
亦當分其輕重而詳辯之	火土二星為惡罪三方切怕他臨照夜生陰宫主光明
西天聿斯經	畫則陽宫最為妙夜忌土星畫忌火各自相逢新為禍
人命生來禀星算恶致幽玄妙難漸須識西天都例經	火在陰宫土在陽縱有災殃還較可獨有水星本無定
理義分明有條貫但問生時日宿宫加向時辰週視東	見附近處即為性附陽即陽之相輔附陰即陰為害病
天輪轉出地輪上印上分明是命宫因之以配十二位	與日合照主禁貴巧妙聰明難比並木為文兮火為武
十二位中有高貴卯并已午最高强子酉之方次强位	金為兵分土為主五星見月即非常三主居高必台輔
寅申頭上名近强未亥徵看三合方此方照處有不照	諸曜皆言在强位更要七星乘旺氣日旺白羊十九度

星學大成 7.39-40

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Yusi jing

所取 生時 又兼金木作宫辰復在高强最為妙其次又看相合地 即看何曜在其中若遇善星更月照福壽堅牢添禄料 壽終不得天然矣相貌福德宫又别畫生從日夜從月 更遇土星相合地終身坎坷多逃否木曜縱横不照之 推命之中最為禍第一損壽二損財返厄顛危常折挫 此為有福無難人一生所為稍皆遂忽然三日月逢火 欽定四庫全書 又看生後三日宫月到何星分度中金木相逢主文學 要得居高生旺處陽生向日陰生月將相三公必無慮 雙女辰星二五中金占魚宫旺在室星七度與柳十三 月旺金牛第三位土旺秤宫二十一火旺 聰明必見水星遇更遇善星作宫主宫主復來在强宫 木樂尾兮土寶瓶金愛牛宫火重蝎水居雙女最為靈 各於旺處逢一星出入旌旄主權貴更加所好轉為精 太白流之實可堪木向蟹宫初入鬼旺氣相成主崇位 H 一宿皆臨照即為豪貴處王庭五星見月三方主 月 相去宫還從東上配其宫所終之處為相貌 Pa 星學大山 唐蝎四 「真七 月合木兮自遷榮月加即好減差平火合日兮生在夜 火土合今有學祿智慧多端好反覆木火同宫主貴權 若進土本水合照性直文章主巧妙忽作熒惑反相刑 土木金今同 月木同宫位清列又在日前更殊絶生時值火伏同宫 月火照今每倍加常患瘡病在其足同宫一處見土木 縱然殘滅亦分将木照更能添福德豐厚多財貴宗族 欽定四庫全書 為事心中多敏速木星合得好資財容貌端嚴志多惑 必豐學問足文辭水木同位又同行高才博學任公卿 木金祿厚有慈貴名高美貌足財穀水日同宫或左右 火不照今足財穀忽然兼居土木宫主握兵将多侍僕 火星合照最超殊貴顯堂堂出衆徒火合月兮生在夜 日在火今心權霸木星照曜定封候却向武中稱善價 性潔難婚亦貴豪金火合與照强位華鮮衣服志居高 夜生若向陽位中變作远還作凶咎土金合照福堅牢 即向命宫作凶兆土木同行生在畫更向陽宫富貴有 1000 位忽居强處照其人的 豪华大成 作公候得榮貴

星學大成 7.41-42

Bill M. Mak

欽定四庫全書 第六位分對十二兩官就分各凶品生時七曜居此宫 先代家財盡消減福星多處必財豐惡曜還生貧賤中 星運要知災福時却向行年官上推 或守月行西没墜此為天折貧賤人 土星照月轉就火火月同宫皆深禍不然同在十宫生 水月猶自厄言辭土月對宫不宜母火星同月轉就土 為事尋常濫心腹火月促壽及風狂火月自傷仍憩父 火金相對不宜婚金月相照却宜婦鎮星對望詞蹇遊 了了經中皆具說曜經宫中陽為土復在陰中更辛苦 惡星高處善星開三方不照五星伏必為賤肆處人寰 少男少女少資財多疾多逸多口舌或遭毒藥兼臨刑 更有五星相對視就中五星為災瘴相對在强并在月 夜生土曜亦如然短壽孤窮登望位月落惡星分度間 行年初起從東起還將 世貧窮苦憔悴白日生人火占高與日復來相對視 年困苦多消竭濕官水照投江湖乾位蟲狼多咬啮 FT 豪圣學夫成 一歲一宫移每歲皆須就日生 又更防災家破敗 野 欽定四庫全書 四 月到初生喜來至月虧日短為厄時須向心中明作計 對合宫中皆好五十五度中皆正照過此還同不相識 生時不欲星辰弱善惡之中皆滅力退留伏守不如行 多為法溺促其終更益火月來西没或居上下禍皆同 末後相看第八位生時何曜守其中若遇曜神并土火 王火生時原守宫行年命運到其中口舌資財須詳忌 但行獅子蟹宫位日月便為宫主是日貴長時福即多 數至今年宫上 惟 少年得粮恐非常好曜初星皆西没早年禄後與倉卒 近轉得好福堅牢推命之人貯心頭五星照守近南方 不然憂怕事關心如今火土又來臨厄難慮忌不相容 金星同照喜加添更須促取行年至善星高位福同住 舊祿重加福自新娶婦孕子貴門庭運縮盈虛皆有據 更到金木原守處木金又照復何慮必得相逢見貴人 行年東出亦同占水加原守喜同兼身命二宫皆要木 是火星莫照西即 推木照金臨皆有喜加官益職定無疑 知不得終籍筋生時土火在西方 奉上大成 習る

星學大成 7.43-44

「あるオブエオゴブ山民三丁三古三丁三古三丁一百一 上起二歲管十年太陽從火論火數二逆數六二故 一二在一二十二在四六十六在午二十七在未二十 一一一個個星六十五在已二十六在午二十七在末二十 一一個個星六十五在已二十六在午二十七在末二十 二年重數五八十五在已各十年木無零數六十三六十 三年重載五八十五在已各十年本無零數六十三六十 二年通前是三限一周餘傲此推	家為木方 出為上方比印三方主謂之三限更從午,一次為木方出為上方比印三方主謂之一限更盡經中玄妙義 一般竹羅三限 一般竹羅三限
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星學大成 7.45

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