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 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. 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 found in the Xingxue dacheng ("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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1 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.
The *Yusi jing* was known to the Chinese as a treatise on the genethliacal astrology of “Western” origin. Among the extant records, the earliest mention of the text with two titles containing the word *yusi* 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:

《都利呂斯経》，二卷。貞元中，都利術士李彌乾傳自西天竺，有婆公者譯其文。

*Duli yusi jing*, two fascicles. During the years of *Zhenyuan* (785-905 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.

*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 杂星历) in the twelfth-century encyclopedia *Tongzhi* 通志 by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162 CE):

都利呂斯経，二卷。本梵書，五卷。唐貞元初，有都利術士李彌乾將至京師，惟十一星行歷，知人命貴賤。

新修呂斯四門經，一卷。唐待詔陳輔重修。

徐氏續呂斯歌，一卷。

都利呂斯歌訣，一卷。安修睦撰，闕子明注。

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2 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).


4 The name was suffixed with the honorific *gong* 公. Though it does not necessarily refer to a ranked officer per se, it may well be the case as the evidence suggests (§III.2).

5 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* 七曜歴 (“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* 歴數 (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.
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].

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 by Wang Yinglin (1223-1296 CE), additional entries under the heading Tang Yusi jing (“Yusi jing of the Tang [Period]”) are found.

Chu Yan of the present dynasty (i.e., Southern Song) is conversant in the Yusi jing.

Xu yusi ge (“Yusi in verse”, expanded) of Liu Xigu, one fascicle.

Liuren Shili xulie (“Enumeration of examples of Liuren”), one fascicle.

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6 I follow here Hucker’s English translation. Chen Fu was most likely an assistant to the Grand Astrolger as given in the example (Hucker 1985: 475).

7 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.

8 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.

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

10 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).
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. 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. 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. 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). 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. Following the clues provided by Kuwabara, 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 一行, and a horoscopic note titled Sukuyō unmei kanroku 宿曜運命勘錄, dated early twelfth century toward the end of the Heian Period. The citations are all in prose, giving readings of various nativities with comments on conjunctions and aspects such as trine. 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

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11 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.

12 Chavannes and Pelliot 1913: 169.


14 Appendix C. On Aluoben (transcribed also as Alopên), see Saeki 1951: 84-85.

15 新書寫請來法門等目錄 T2174A: 都利聿斯經。一部，五卷. Duli yusi jing. One item in five fascicles.

See also T2216.56.

16 Kuwabara 1926: 600.

17 §II.2.3.

18 Ishida 1950: 60-61.

19 Ibid.
proposed title as simply variants of the same text. 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”. 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. On the basis of Ishida’s suggestion of the full reconstruction of the title of the text (Duli yusi simen jing), together with Yabuuti and Momo’s studies, Yano proposed Duli yusi as a corrupt reading of the Chinese transcription of Ptolemy in Pahlavī (P-T-L-M-W-S). 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 Duli yusi 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)”.

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 (974 CE). 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 Rāhu and Ketu, and the two additional Chinese pseudoplanets Yuebei and Ziqi. 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, Rong Xinjiang, and Ho Peng Yoke. 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. Although Jiang’s argument

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20 Ishida 1950: 56-57.
21 Ishida 1950: 61.
22 Yabuuti 1963: 169-172. A more detailed account was given later in Momo 1975.
24 Ibid.
25 Jao 1979: 78ff. See discussion in §II.2.2 and Appendix B.
26 Jao’s claim followed a passage quoted by Ishida which says: “The ordinary people knew only seven luminaries, not knowing the xuxing (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).
27 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
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 development of the Chinese genethliacal astrology and divinatory system known as sizhu bazi 四柱八字. 28

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. 29 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. 30

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 太乙. 31 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. 32 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. 33

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.

28 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.

29 See §III.2.2.


32 Ibid. Ho described the full texts of the two titles as “no longer extant”.

33 An edition of the XTYSJ with modern punctuation together with modern Chinese translation was published by Guo An 郭安 and Zhong Lin 鍾琳. 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).34 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.35 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.36 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”).37 Subsequently,
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 Śūryagrabha-parivarta of the Mahāsāṃnipāta where concepts such as horā (ascendant) and the zodiacal signs were described and translated into Chinese in the sixth century. 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; the Buddhist horoscopy practiced by the Esoteric Buddhists in East Asia contain in fact distinctly non-Indian features. The “Yuṣi” 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). Ptolemy’s celebrated astral treatise Tetrabiblos was translated first into Syriac in the mid-seventh or early eighth century, followed soon by a Pahlavi version which was in turn translated into Arabic in 812 CE. 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.

38 Mak 2012.
39 The tripartite division of jyotisa 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).
40 Among the many non-Indian features of Buddhist astral science discrepancies in iconography and techniques in horoscopy are most noteworthy (Mak 2015).
41 Other texts include: Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus’ Geoponica, Teucer of Babylon’s Parapatellonta, and Hermes Trismegistus’ “de Stellis Beibeniss.” Van Bladel offered a possible sixth, the astrological work attributed to Zoroaster, Kitāb al-Mawālid (van Bladel 2009: 27, fn. 20).
42 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).
43 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
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.44 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.45 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.46 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,47 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.48 That the Yusi jing contains no references to the pseudoplanets is not surprising 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.

44 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.

45 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).

46 For a complete list of Yusi jing citations found in Dunhuang documents and other Japanese sources, see Appendix A.

47 Nowhere in the Yusi jing citations from P.4071 or any other extant sources are the two pseudoplanets Rāhu 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 Qiyaorangzai jue 七曜攘災缺 (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.

48 In a recent survey of divinatory materials in Dunhuang manuscripts, Kalinowski made the same assertion,
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.49 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.50 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).

49 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” 按戇氏經云. 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 Tripitaka. 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 Prākrit form hora appeared in the Eastern Turkestan manuscript fragment (British Library Or. 15011/23 In. 5) of the Sūryagarbhaparivarta of the Mahāsannipātisūtra (neither the Chinese nor Tibetan parallels translated the word, however; see my forthcoming work on the Mahāsannipātisūtra). 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 figuretion”, which is mentioned also in a number of Japanese commentaries (T2216, 2408, 2409, 2473, 2486, 2500).

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 original *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.\(^{51}\) 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.\(^{52}\) 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.\(^{53}\) With the exception of the mention of the *shishen* 蝠神 (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 Śinā’ at Aḥkām al-Nujūm* (abbreviated here, *Madkhal*) dated late tenth century.\(^{54}\) 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 Māshāʿallāh, thus not found in any extant version of the *Tetrabiblos*.\(^{55}\) 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.\(^{56}\) As we shall see, the XTYSJ is not so closely connected

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\(^{51}\) The parallel verses to the corresponding sections of the XTYSJ are given in our edition of the text.

\(^{52}\) XXDC6.16b. Wan’s usage suggests the original title to be *Xitian duli yusi jing* 西天都例紇斯經.

\(^{53}\) For example *wu* 午 and *wei* 未 instead of *shizi* 獅子 (Leo) and *xie* 蟹 (Cancer).

\(^{54}\) The translation was made by four Islamic astronomers Haida’er 海達兒, Adawuding 阿答兀丁, 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.


\(^{56}\) 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.\(^\text{57}\)

### 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) 靂星靈台秘要經. 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.\(^\text{58}\) 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.\(^\text{59}\) The author of XXDC appears to be greatly familiar with this work, and considered the work an authority on “Western” astral science.\(^\text{60}\)

The PXLTMYJ is preserved in the Ming Taoist collection *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 and its content appears to be fragmentary.\(^\text{61}\) 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.\(^\text{62}\)

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

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\(^{57}\) For example, the adoption of the idiosyncratic *shuangnü* 雙女 (“double female”) as the translation for Virgo. See §III.3.3 fn. 111.

\(^{58}\) SKQS 子酉七, 術數類五.

\(^{59}\) The claim was however put into question in the SQZMTY (fasc. 109).

\(^{60}\) See Wan’s preface in XXDC 10: 1a-2a.

\(^{61}\) 洞真部眾術類(136-137 冊).

\(^{62}\) 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 its 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. 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.

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*. Subsequently, the monk Jingjing 景淨 was said to have translated thirty of these texts including the *Simen jing* into Chinese. While the idea that an astrological treatise was translated alongside with Christian theological works may appear unusual at the first

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63 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).

64 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 grassroots origin, which accounts for their irregularity and heterogeneity.

65 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).

66 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.\(^{67}\)

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* 大秦景教流行中華碑頌 dated 781 CE, which consists of 1756 Chinese characters and some 70 Syriac words.\(^{68}\) The name of the same monk Jingjing was mentioned, identified in Syriac as “Adam, Priest and Chorepiscopus, and Papash’ of Chinestan”\(^{69}\). 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* 大耀曆文日, that is, Sunday, or literally the first [day of the week] in Pahlavi (Ēw-šambih).\(^{70}\) The same Chinese transcription, *Yao senwu* 曜森勿, is noted in the second fascicle of Amoghavajra’s *Xiuyao jing* 總曜經 (T1299, as narrated by his disciple Shi Yao 史瑞), where the names for the rest of the week in Middle Persian were given with equivalents in Sogdian and Sanskrit.\(^{71}\) In Amoghavajra’s text, these Middle Persian names are described as *Bosi* 波斯.\(^{72}\) The inscription of the Xi’an stele finishes in

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\(^{67}\) Walker 2006: 180. Multilingual Christian scholars and translators well-versed in Greek texts thrived under the patriarchy 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.

\(^{68}\) 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).

\(^{69}\) Saeki 1951: 34. The landmark year 635 CE mentioned in P.3847 was also noted (Zhu 1993: 130).

\(^{70}\) The original reads 大唐建中二年，歲在作噩，太歲月七日，大耀曆文日建立. I follow here the Pahlavi 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); ii) Phalguna Šuklapakṣa 6, Śaka 702 (Yano Michio's 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).

\(^{71}\) Saeki 1951: 45-45.

\(^{72}\) 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. 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. 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 卜氏. The biographical account informs us that Li Su, known also by his courtesy name Wenzhen 子温, 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 子 during the mid-eighth century. The Li family, though of Persian origin, had settled for generations in the southern city of Guangzhou 廣州, a gateway of the Maritime Silk Road in Southern China. Some time during the years of Dali 大業
(766 - 779 CE), Li Su relocated to Chang'an as he was recruited as an officer at the *Sitiantai* (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* 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. Quite remarkably, the same courtesy name *Wenzhen* was noted in the list of Christian clergies, with the Syriac transcription *Lūqā* in the Xi'an Stele dated 781 CE. 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. It is most likely that a ranked official such as Li Su, or *Lūqā*, would become a part of the elite community of East-Syrian Christians in Chang'an as indicated in the Xi'an Stele. 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. Li Su in fact appears to be the most likely candidate who translated the original *Duliyusi jing* in Syriac or Pahlavi (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).

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* (Astrological Service, changed to *Taishijian* or “Directorate of Astrology” in 604 CE) and the post of *Taishiling* 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 suggested that the Indian astronomers had declined and replacements had to be sought elsewhere (Rong 2001 [1998]: 246-248). 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.

All the Chinese names bear the prefix *seng* 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). 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 *[Lū]qā* as their original forms.

78 For the office *Sitiantai* and the position *Sitianjian*, see Hucker 1985: 456.


80 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.

81 All the Chinese names bear the prefix *seng* 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).

produced, among which was the one-fascicled *Yusi simen jing* by Chen Fu 陈辅, an assistant officer at the Directorate of Astronomy, who most likely worked with Li Su and other Persian or Central Asian astronomers. 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. 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. 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 Gautamasidhda had produced advanced astronomical treatises such as the *Jiuzhi li* (*navagrahakaraṇa*) where sophisticated astronomical algorithm and sine table were employed. 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.

### 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

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84 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.

85 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.

86 Yabuuti 1979.

87 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.
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. 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.

### 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. 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), as well as other mathematical and astronomical concepts the horoscopy entails.

#### III.3.2 Planetary science

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

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88 See introduction. Chen Fu, Chu Yan and Liu Xigu were all state officials. The first two were associated with the Bureau of Astronomy.

89 A handful of anecdotal accounts in Chinese literature up to the nineteenth century suggest this could well be the case (§III.1.).

90 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.

91 See §III.3.3 for a discussion of these general and specific techniques. On “profection”, see fn. 116.

92 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).

93 See §II.2.1, §III.3.3.
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. 94

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. 95 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. 96 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. 97 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. 98

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94 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 拘時曆 composed by Guo Shoujing 郭守敬 and others in 1281 CE.

95 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).

96 The MYTWS contains, however, the two Indian pseudoplanets Rāhu and Ketu in the description of planetary exaltation (MYTWS 1.14.1 = Madkhal 1.13).

97 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: 三辰通載一書集眾經，源離西天都例玉闋等經而作也。十一曜為一辰，二十八宿為一辰，十二次舍為一辰。（XXDC 14.1).

98 This agrees largely with Niu’s speculation that the eleven-luminary system was developed from the
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).

99 Pingree 1978: II.221. Identical also to Vettius Valens III.4.

100 The verse gives the Chinese lunar lodge Gui 戌 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′.

101 The verse (§IV) reads “Venus in Pisces exalting in Shi”. The lunar lunar lodge Shi 寅 corresponds to Pūrvadhārapada (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 寅 to Kui 戌 which would give the value of (346;40° -360°) or mean longitude of 353;20° or 11s 23;20′.

102 Emended to 15° in our edition. See fn. 17 to XTYSJ §IV.

103 Same as fn. 101.

104 Yano 1997: 268. Identical to the Kitāb al-ulūf of (Pingree 1968: 61-62) of Abū Maʿshar (787 - 886 CE), as well as the Madkhal 14.1, except the latter has a variant of the “Tail” at ʾ2/3° (Yano 1997: 35).

105 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.

106 Pingree 1978: II.221.
characteristics (§II.2.1). These common features include most notably the counterclockwise representations of both the twelve signs starting from Aries (白羊 baiyang) and the twelve places starting from the ascendant (命宮 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).

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 宫 and wei 位 respectively. In many instances, they appear interchangeable, reflecting the “imprecision of language” inherent in most early Greek horoscopic treatises. Secondly, the term minggong (literally, “life mansion”) for the first “place” or the “ascendant” is connected with the Middle Persian translation which means gyânân (“life”), betraying once again its Persian connection. 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.

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.

107 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).

108 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.


110 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 (Itô 1980: 215-229, Yano 1986: 38-40).

111 The translation shuangnü is found later in two Song translations of the tantric Buddhist works Dafangdeng pusa wenshu shili genben yigui jing 大方廣佛華厳經 (T1191) by Tian Xizai 天息災 (fl. tenth century) and Nanlijì shibaluo tianshuo zhilun jing 難頌計論嘿伝法論 (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鰲魚宮是也. For discussion on possible sources for this unusual variant translation, see Mak 2015.
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.\(^{112}\)

\(^{112}\) 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 | Dorotheus       | Vettius Valens   | Tetrabiblos   |
---|------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
Twelve places (topoi)        | I     | I.5             | II.4-16, IV.12  | III.10        |
|                               |       |                 |                 | (incomplete)  |
Trigon and sect               | I, II, III | I.1,5,6         | II.1-2, III.5  | I.18          |
Exaltation (§III.3.2.1)       | III Sign and degree | I.2 Sign and degree | III.4 Sign and degree | I.19 Sign only |
Doctrine of the Third day of Moon | VI    | I.12            | I.14 ?          | -             |
Lots                          | VII  | I.9 “Demon” and “Fortune” | II.3,20, III.11, IX.2,8 “Daimon” and “Fortune” | III.10 “Fortune” |
Annual profection             | XIII | IV.1 Lord of the year | IV.11 Operative 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 Pahlavi.\(^{117}\) As an

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\(^{113}\) Trigon or triplicity (Greek: τριγώνον; 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).

\(^{114}\) 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.

\(^{115}\) On the concept of Lot, see Riley 1987: 238-240.

\(^{116}\) The term xīngnian 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 astrology 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 0rd 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).

\(^{117}\) 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* 風 (Sanskrit [sic]) version of the *Yusi jing* noted in the *Xintangshu*.118

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.119 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.120 This identification of the XTYSJ with Dorotheus’ *Carmen Astrologicum* offers us important evidence of an earlier state of the text and its transmission.121 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

118 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.

119 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 ʿUmar ibn al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī in about 800 CE appears to be based on a Pahlavī version with contaminations and interpolations (Pingree 1976: xiiii, 1989: 229-230, 1997: 36-47, 1999: 127, 135; van Bladel 2009: 30-31, 38).

120 I thank László Levente for suggesting to me this possibility. The Syriac and Arabic forms are DWRT7WS (ܕܘܪܬܐܘܣ, Smith 1879: 859) and *Duruthyūs* 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).

121 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.
Abbreviations and symbols

* Emendation
<< Text aligned to the top
>> Indentation
/ Column break
< Variant character (Standardized < Original)
□ Undecipherable character

BJ Bhajjātaka by Varāhamihira (Jhā ed., 1944 with Utpala’s commentary Bhaṭṭotpaliya-saṃskṛta-Vivṛti)
BS Bhatsamhītā by Varāhamihira (Dvivedī ed., 1997)
Dorotheus Dorothei Sidonii Carmen Astrologicum (Pingree 1976)
FTHLJY Fantian huoluo jiuyao 梵天花羅九曜. T1311.
MYTMS Mingyi tianwen shu 明譯天文書 (Yano 1997)
PXLTMJ Pingxing liingtai 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 七曜讃災書訣. T1308.
KYZJ Kaiyuan zhanjing 開元占經 by Gautamasiddha (ed. SKQS)
Madkhal al-Madkhal fi Șinā‘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)
(T av. at http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/ShikoTeiyo/)
T Taishō Tripitaka 大正新脩大藏經
THY Tang huiyao 唐會要 (ed. Congshu jicheng chubian)
XMZK Xingming zongkuo 星命總括 by Yelu Chun 耶律純 (ed. SKQS)
XTYSJ Xitian yusi jing 西天異斯經 (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)
ZTDZ Zhengtong daoazang 正統道藏 (ed. 新文豐 Xinwenfeng)
## Glossary of East Asian terms and proper names

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chenxing chongxin ji qi xingxiang kaoyuan” 宋晋《辰星像》所反映的中國古代辰星崇拜及其形象考源. *Rongbaozai* 榮寶齋 5: 84-93.


Pelliot, Paul. 1996. L’inscription Nestorienne de Si-Ngan-Fou. Edited with Supplements


Yano Michio 矢野道雄 and Hayashi Takao 林隆夫. 2012. “Shakuyōkyō-no ni keitō-to Dōshisha shahon” 『宿曜経』の二系統と同志社写本 "Two Versions of the Xiuyao


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. [With] the celestial wheel rotating above the terrestrial wheel, the ascendant sign is [thus] clearly indicated in the East (Mao). 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 eleventh (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.
II. (7.40)

1 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

5 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 306. The parallel version, however, suggests the configuration to be all seven luminaries in the ascendant.

Followed by commentary: 論三方主星，立例及明其大畧。晝生就日，夜生就月，各於其所，在宮取之。日木土主陽，月火金主陰。晝夜不背則為福。
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.

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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 is presented in opposite.

XXDC commentary: 論金木水火土，惟不是三方。方主星，其祥福不同如此。

PXLTMYJ commentary: 限數若逢金木日月紫

PXLTMYJ commentary: 夜生人，土不是主，

PXLTMYJ commentary: 如夜生主是主畫生火

Cf. Madkhal 1.3.
IV. (7.40-7.41)

1. The luminaries are [thus] said to be in exalted position, and especially if the seven stars are in maximum exaltation. 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” 16° (Virgo) 15°, Venus in Pisces exalting in Kui. It is excellent if Venus is moving across Xing 7° or Liu 13°. Jupiter is at maximum exaltation, presiding over a superior place when it is in Cancer, entering in the first part of Gui. 20

2. See §III.3.2.
3. Cf. Dorotheus I.2 Sun = \(\text{♈}19°\); Moon = \(\text{♉}3°\); Saturn = \(\text{♊}21°\); Jupiter = \(\text{♋}15°\); Mars = \(\text{♌}28°\);
4. Venus = \(\text{♍}27°\); Mercury = \(\text{♍}15°\). Also Madkhal I.14.1 = Tetrabiblos I.19.
5. On the unusual translation of Virgo as “Double Female”, see §III.3.3 fn.111.
6. 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.
7. The original reading of Shi corresponding to \(\text{Pūrabhadrapada} 320;05^\circ - 333;20^\circ\) (mean longitude at 326;40° or 10s 26;40°) would contradict “Pisces” given in the same verse. The emendation to Kui (≈23;20) is necessary. See §III.3.2.1 fn.98.
8. The two coordinates correspond to \(\text{Magha} 7°\) and \(\text{Āśleśā} 13°\), which fall in Leo and Cancer respectively.
9. Mean longitude at \(\text{♑}13°10^\circ\). See §III.3.2.1 fn.97.
V. (7.41)

1. 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.

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus 1.1
3 P407r3col5-6
- 素聿烎綰云，水居雙女[最]為靈。
- 生時一個臨強處，即為寄處王庭。
3 XXDC17.2b
- 靭纨綰云，水居雙女為靈，華省宰官給課臣。巨蟹榜著超職位，殷商帝力彩縹緲。或臨亥子多招福，方主推之福福績。身命限中俱見照，財務恩博更相觀。
1 MYTMS 1.14.2
- 何為旺宮旺度，言各星到本位上，高貴有力，
VI. (7.41)

1 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，宮主復來在強宮，
此為有福無難人，一生所為皆善遂。

5 忽然三日月逢火，推命之中最為禍。
第一損壽二損財，逺厄願危常折挫。
更遇土星相合地，終身坎坷多逆否。
木曜縱横不照之，壽終不得天然矣。

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. The two signs [of the Lots of] “Appearance” and “Fortune” are to be distinguished [in the following way]. 22

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.

Parallels and Testimonia:
Dorotheus I.9
Tetrabiblos III.10
Vettius Valens IX: 8
XXDC6.16b-17a

21 XXDC commentary: 見西天都倒經。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，凡推其福德宮。日生則從太陽數至太陰，夜生則從太陰數至太陽，數其相去幾宮，然後從命宮數其相去宮位，即為相貌。次則福德，若正坐高強，復得吉星為本宮之主，加以文星又在高強，必然享福無窮，受福綿遠。

22 On the “Lots”, see §III.3.
VIII. (7.42)

1 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.

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus 1.14-19

XXDC6.6b-7a 叔曰：

Yusi jing

SCIAMVS 15

Yusi jing 147
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. 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.

24 The parallel verse gives the additional condition of a daytime waxing Moon.
X. (7.43)
1  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。
   生時七曜居此宮，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，短壽孤窮登至位。
   月落惡星分度間，惡星高處善星閹，
   三方不照五星伏，必為貶駄處人寰。

Variants: 隸 > 際
Parallels and Testimonia:
Dorotheus I.7
XXDC6.17a >> 論相貌妖僞兩位<<
相貌妖僞非高確，兩者多緣於邪忌。
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，惡者復強善者閹。
三方不照五星伏，必為貶駄處人寰。  

XXDC commentary: 論相貌妖僞，於理為長，識者宜詳味之。

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
XI. (7.43)

1. 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.

Parallels and Testimonia:

Dorotheus II.16

XXDC6.7b 論星曜對照命官 SUCH

Parallels and Testimonia:

XXDC6.8a-b >>

XII. (7.43)

1. 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.

Parallels and Testimonia:

XXDC6.8a-b >>

26 XXDC commentary: 東南巳午為乾宮西南亥子為震宮。
27 XXDC commentary: 火月或土對土月或火對及月對土火矣也。
28 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。按此番論日月怕見火月亦須分晝夜而言之。
XIII. (7.43-7.44)

To divine the fortune of the luminary, one should calculate based on the sign of the “annual profection”. [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. (7.44)

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” (yuanshou) 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. 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.

29 XXDC commentary: 流年限立例，始於命宮順天輪，而轉次至財帛。若在地盤則為逆矣。

30 On “Profection”, see §III.3, fn. 117.
31 The variants in XXDC7.20b reads “one should strive to avoid the malefics at such occasions”.
32 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

XXDC commentary (for the following section):
自一歲從命宮起，逆行一年移一宮。遇生日即交也，不論男女皆同行。所行之宮，但只看其宮內有何星。照臨而消息，福福大凡遇到火土計字，原守宮即是，到木星或木守宮，必有邁官進財喜事，若到宮內並無星辰臨照，即看其時有何行年星來到宮內。木星入行年順行，即通泰。逆，喪服及口舌。金星木星同入，則君臣加官，常人財喜，或在遙遷，則有遠適出入之喜。水月同入，得女人財，君子進榮，火入，煩繞口舌，土入，三合有惡曜，主刑殺。火月同入，主僧僧行。土月同入，主冷病或痢疾。火入，行年在日宮，則君臣遠官，常人男女得財稱心。土與羅計入，多重病速終。紫微入在公遷，進在私財物稱意，更是原守則重喜慶，或進人口。計都入在辰戌宮，孝服之宮。孛入行年，多妖非及暹閣，若更原守，並無星臨照，即看宮主惡凶而斷吉凶，[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, 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.

33 XXDC commentary (for the following section):

34 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 熾神 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)

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.

Parallel:

Dorotheus I.6-7
Appendices

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

B. Dunhuang Astral Document (Pelliot 4701)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P4071r1</td>
<td>符天十一曜見生... 兑州分野</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r2</td>
<td>木星退鉤三都... 不全有差別</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r3</td>
<td>日在木度合... 若在私者</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r4</td>
<td>必放外族... 下無進身口</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r5</td>
<td>因或即幸... 其年必有骨</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r6</td>
<td>肉離折財務分張... 或財帛至</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r7</td>
<td>水星亢是德星... 推子第男女</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r8</td>
<td>索五星經雲... 白衣術士康遲課</td>
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</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P3847r3</td>
<td>景教三威蒙度贊... 諸目瞻仰不</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3847r4</td>
<td>是我等聖主大師... 報信法王</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3847r5</td>
<td>敬禮常皇慶經... 猶未翻譯</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Xitian Yusi Jing 西天韋斯經 (Siku Quanshu 四庫全書)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>星學大成 7.39</td>
<td>忽然大小運相逢... 此方照處有不照</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>星學大成 7.40</td>
<td>七曜皆同貴此鄉... 旺白羊十九度</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>星學大成 7.41</td>
<td>月旺金牛第三位... 其次又看相合地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>星學大成 7.42</td>
<td>土木金兮同一位... 生時倉火伏同宮</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>星學大成 7.43</td>
<td>先代家財盡消滅... 每歲皆須就日生</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>星學大成 7.44</td>
<td>數至今年宮上推... 生時土火在西方</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>星學大成 7.45</td>
<td>所招凶禍難倚仗... 餘此推</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### A. References / Citations of "Yusi jing" from extant sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FTHLJY T(1311)21.461c</td>
<td>按歀斯經云，凡人只知有七曜*不晴虛星號曰曰羅曦計都。此星在隱位而不見，逢月日即蝕，號曰蝕神。*原本冠註日不下脫知字次晴字誤也</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r3col5-6</td>
<td>案歀斯經云，水居雙女【最】為難。生時一個迎強處，即為害危處王庭。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。</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4071r8col5-6</td>
<td>案歀斯經云，子午卯酉四日為【煞】，雖田宅有分，當生時月不在此中，必不久。</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3847r5col8-7</td>
<td>四門經... 議案諸經目錄六秦本教經都五百卄部，並是其極梵音。唐太宗皇帝貞觀九年，西域太德僧阿羅本留于中夏，並奏上本音。房玄齋，魏徵宣譯奏言，後召本教大德僧景淨，譯得以上卄部卷，餘大數具在貝皮夾，猶未譯譯。</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| XYYMKL908. 431a-b | [第一天性...] 歲斯經云，金水同宮，即命能人，兼有學藝，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。 |
| XYYMKL908. 431b-432a | [第二天命...] 歲斯經云，土木三合，並居高處照見榮貴性，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，金在木度合，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。  
又云，月在木度，因經營多財物，亦達行得當貴富，置年高漸好。 |
B. Dunhuang Astral Document (Pelliot 4701)
Yusi jing
C. Manuscript containing a list of Jingjiao Chinese translations (Pelliot 3847)
Yusi jing
D. Xitian Yusi Jing 西天聿斯經 (Siku Quanshu 四庫全書)

星學大成 7.39-40
星學大成 7.41-42
星學大成 7.43-44
星學大成 7.45

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