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Daily Activities in the Calendars of Medieval China (Ninth and Tenth centuries): The Case of the Body Care Activities*

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Activities, what it is advisable to do or not, appear in the daily headings of Chinese calendars at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). They have survived, thanks to documents found at Dunhuang, and are a relatively significant number of calendars, around fifty, spread over a period of time perfectly defined, from the ninth to the tenth century. The extreme abundance of

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divination methods used in the calendar to determine, among other, activities, leads at first to wondering about how calendars were made, with the inclusion of Japanese sources. In a second step, given the hundreds of listed activities, we try to identify the relevant category in order to make a statistical analysis over a period of some two hundred years. However, outside of this quantitative approach, how can we understand these activities that appear devoid of context? Here we take the example of body care, essentially summarized in the calendars by the expressions "wash the hair and the body" (muyu 沐浴), "shaved head" (titou 剃頭), "wash the head" (xitou 洗頭), "remove the white hair" (ba baifa 拔白髮), "cut the nails of hands and feet" (shou jian jia zu 剪手足甲). By convening diverse sources, literary, medical, religious etc., we try to answer the following questions: What were the Chinese conceptions of these activities in general and particularly in the hemerology of calendar? Is there a solution of continuity between discourses on body care and what is shown the calendar? Finally, does the calendar develop a specific discourse on the body?

Keywords: medieval China, calendar, hemerology, body care

Introduction

What a strange thing the body is, so near and yet—always—so far away. It reminds us of its existence especially when it suffers, when it is out of kilter, subject to illness, hurt and pain. A strange object that varies according to knowledge about it: an entity conceived as a counterpoint to other entities, such as the soul, or the spirit; a composite entity forming a continuum with the functions of the intellect and with supernatural beings; for some a lying, misleading entity, for others, an almost perfect mirror of reality.

From one end of the world to the other, visions of the body differ significantly: while in the Christian religion, an heir to Greek philosophy, the body is regarded as a kind of obstacle, and, in Asia, it is viewed as an entity composed of various elements, some physical, others ethereal, no one sees it as uniform, either diachronically or synchronically, without a radical epistemic change. Beautiful Greek bodies, sculpted by gymnastics, suggest that the subject cannot be considered to have been entirely peripheral. The concerns with hygiene that emerged in Christian countries in the 18th and 19th centuries revolutionized the role of the body. The object of a new kind of scrutiny, it emerged from the invisible margins. Not only subject to history, it was also the focus of a multitude of different kinds of expertise which successively focused their attention on it. The composite Chinese body that, according to Mark Lewis, emerged in the fourth century before the Common Era, was subject to a number of different types of knowledge covering, amongst other things, philosophical ethics, religious and musical rituals, medicine and corporeal techniques.[1] While it is possible to extract from these various fields of knowledge an invariant composite body, it is nevertheless true that this

[1] Mark E. Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 498, Chap. 1: "The Human Body", 13-76.

common foundation supports a number of different points of view about the body that cannot be confused with one another, and that there existed differentiated uses and finalities concerning it that are impossible to subsume under a unique, artificial *episteme*. The Chinese body is not only a composite, which is, like its homologue in the Christian world, chronologically variable, but is also changeable depending on the knowledge applied to it at a given point in time: the ritualized body, like a State, with its subjects and governors; the body as a reflection of the cosmos, composed of Earth and Sky; the body as viewed by medicine, which patiently establishes, or re-establishes a balance between *yin* and *yang*; the body as an objective kinship link; the alchemical body in which what is at issue is the prolongation of life through a process designed to refine corporeal energy and expel mortiferous agents.[2] Without necessarily contradicting one another, all these discourses reflect a different perception, a different context, a different teleology. In sum, while superimposing the discourses one on top of another creates the effect of a composite body, it is nevertheless true that, in the final analysis, the disciplines resulting from these discourses are informed by their own internal logic.

Whether the body was subject, by means of discursive practices, to domestication (rituals), rebalancing (medicine), or transformation (alchemy), the care accorded to it was not specifically linked to its complex internal organization but, instead, to its interfaces, the point of contact with the exterior, its extensions. The *Liji* (禮記) distinguishes five parts of the body: the head, the trunk, the face, the hands and the feet, with each part referred to by means of a term expressing either what was done to it or the instrument with which it was done: *mu* (沐，washing the hair); *yu* (浴，washing the body); *mo* (沫，splashing the face); *guan* (盥，a basin for washing the hands); *xian* (洗，washing the feet).[3] The

[2] Mark E. Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China*, 13-76.

[3] *Liji* (禮記), *juan* 27, "Neize" (內則)12, dans *Shisan jing zhushu* (十三經注疏) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), vol. 2, 1461-1462. See also, Edward H. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the

expression "care of the body" did not, therefore, exist as such, and only the composite word, *muyu* (沐浴), sometimes abbreviated as *mu* (沐), is linked metaphorically to the act of washing—or la toilette, in French,[4] effectively delivering, in most instances, an indeterminate description of the activities actually carried out. However, *muyu* has the advantage of faithfully reflecting the importance accorded to the hair and the body. The *Liji* outlines precise rules for the hair, which is to be washed once every three days, and the body, to be washed every five days. It seems that it was left up to the choice of the individual as to when to wash his or her face, hands and feet. But, generally speaking, practices of this kind were not carry out in neutral circumstances—if, indeed, that could ever be the case:[5] they appear in a context of lustration, in which the body and spirit are purified; in a context of healing and the maintenance of life; and more rarely, but duly substantiated, in a context of social customs.[6]

Before any ritual, it was necessary to wash and fast in order to purify the body and mind out of respect for the gods. The same applied before formal visits to masters and kings, and at the three life milestones that are birth, marriage and death.[7] From the beginning of the Han period (209 ACE-220 CE), certain medical remedies, notably for sick babies, included a health-giving bath

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Floriate Clear Palace," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76:2 (1956), 58-59, Liu Zenggui (劉增貴), "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu" (中國古代的沐浴禮俗), *Dalu zazhi*, 98:4 (1999), 156.

4 The notions of "the care of the body," washing and hygiene emerged relatively recently. In Chinese, the neologism "shenti guanzhao" (身體觀照) used to translation this constellation of meaning was developed only recently.

5 In his article, "La toilette corporelle, un rite quotidien", *Les Cahiers du Cerfee*, no. 6 (1991), 21-30, Jacques Bonnet demonstrates that "all the terms relative to our washing and bathing practices have a religious origin," 22.

6 See E. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Clear Palace," 57-82, et Liu Zenggui, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 153-174.

7 See Liu Zenggui, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 162.

decocted from plants and herbs.[8] Some the recommendations of the approach known as the "Ancestor Peng" method (Pengzu, 彭祖), designed to respect the seasons and "facilitate" longevity (*yishou*, 益壽) concerned washing. It was suggested that, in spring and summer, people should get up early, wash their hands, clean their teeth, and cover their hair (*bei*, 被). During unusually hot periods, people should wash their hair (*mu*) and take fewer baths (*yu*). In autumn and winter, people should wash and bathe more frequently.[9]It was also in the context of a calendar in symbiosis with cosmic time that a purification ritual (*xi*, 禊), well documented in the Han period, was carried out in third month on the first day marked by the terrestrial cyclical sign *si* (巳)[10]. The ritual consisted in a bath taken, according to extant descriptions, in a river, to wash away dirt and calamities. Lastly, still in the Han period, but based on a social calendar, the rest days of civil servants, (*xiu mu*, 休沐), which fell on every fifth day, corresponded to those dedicated to washing the hair (and the body).[11]

In a remarkably precise and rigorous study, Ann Heirman and Mathieu Torck examine the rules governing the care of the body in Chinese Buddhism from the Tang to the Song period.[12] Gathered together under the category "a pure mind

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[8] See *"Mawang dui Han mu boshu"* (馬王堆漢墓帛書) (Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 1985), 32, and Liu Zenggui, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 161. For a translation, see Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature. The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998), 232-233.

[9] *Zhangjia shan Han mu zhujian* (張家山漢墓竹簡) (Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 2001), 285, see Liu Zenggui, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 159-160.

[10] See Liu Zenggui, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu" 164.There is still some uncertainty about whether it is a lunar or solar month.

[11] For references to the frequency of civil servants' holidays in the Han period, apparently highly variable depending on rank and region, see Liu Zenggui, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 166, note 6. In the agenda of a civil servant found in a tomb in Yinwan there are a number of references to "home rest" (*xiu su jia* 休宿家), most frequently after "missions" to areas outside the region. See "*Yinwan Han mu jiandu"* (尹灣漢墓簡牘) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 138-144, and Cai Wanjin (蔡萬進), *Yinwan Han mu jiandu lunkao* (Taipei: Taiwan guji chuban she, 2002), 17-18.

[12] A. Heirman, M. Torck, "*A Pure Mind in a Clean Body. Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China* "(Ghent: Academia Press, 2012).

in a clean body," numerous sources dealing with various disciplinary practices provide, in luxuriant detail, descriptions of bodily care practices in monasteries, covering bathing practices, latrines, ablutions, cleaning the teeth, washing the hair, and caring for the finger- and toenails. For each of these activities, Heirman and Torck present the situation described in the Chinese sources—generally, and perhaps incorrectly, referred to as secular—highlighting the continuity and discontinuity introduced into such practices by Buddhism. To the "classical" Buddhist sources, notably the texts of the *Vinaya*, on which the authors focus, we could add the documents of Dunhuang and Turfan, which the book edited by Catherine Despeux, published before Heirman and Torck's study, presented, analyzed, classified and indexed, thereby making available a substantial quantity of information on, amongst other things, the different parts of the body, including in the Buddhist context.[13] Amongst these neglected sources, we shall retain the yearly calendars.[14]

This inattention, far from being a guilty one (it is impossible to know and say everything) is not, of course, the only argument for specifically situating the subject of the care of the body within the context of the calendar. In truth, the calendar reflected an increasing emphasis on the care of the body in medieval China, as Heirman and Torck demonstrate in regard to religious disciplines in what is *a priori* a universal and divinatory context. Universal because the calendar is addressed to everyone, whatever the social class or religious affiliation of the reader: the mirror that it holds up reflects shared discourses and values. We say *a priori* because, in spite of the fact that it was an indispensable object of day-to-day life, it is not certain that, at the dawn of pre-modern China, it was accessible to all households, a situation that clearly

[13] Catherine Despeux, ed., "*Médecine, religion et société dans la Chine médiévale. Etude des manuscrits chinois de Dunhuang et de Turfan"* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, 2010).

[14] The book by A. Heirman and M. Torck contains only one reference (p. 156) to cutting the finger- and toenails (*chu shou zu jia,* 除手足甲) in the calendar of 956 (S. 95).

pertained in later periods. Divinatory, or more accurately, propitiatory, because prophylactic and apotropaic, since, like all activities described in the calendar, practices of the care of the body carried out on a favourable day guarantee a "good" future, either preventing or making it possible to avoid unfortunate events. On the other hand, this "body of the future," which also encompassed corporeal techniques for maintaining life, and, of course, a number of mantic techniques, including topomancy, is offered "free," without the sophisticated and "costly" dispositif of divinatory powers. Calendars were vehicles for the vulgarization of the body of the future.

In this article, we will present activities linked to the care of the body in the calendars of medieval China. The presentation will be preceded by a history of the activities described in calendars, the methods employed to define them, and the classification of those activities we have decided to apply.

History and Methods of Determination of Activities

The activities are described in the so-called Turfan calendars from the 7th century. Prior to that era, notably in the Qin and Han dynasties, such activities, defined as appropriate and inappropriate, were mentioned exclusively in famous treatises on hemerology (or "Books of Days", *rishu*, 日書), calendars the authors of which contented themselves with mentioning a few solar periods, a limited number of annual celebrations, and a few hemerological parameters, including for example the twelve *jianchu* (建除) and a number of spirit days.[15] In a

[15] The twelve markers include twelve terms, of which *jian* and *chu* are the first two, successively correlated with the days, form a cycle of twelve dates repeated infinitely. For further details, see Alain Arrault, "Les premiers calendriers chinois du IIe siècle avant notre ère au Xe siècle", Jacques Le Goff, Jean Lefort, Perrine Mane, eds., *Les Calendriers. Leurs enjeux dans l'espace et dans le temps* (Paris: Somogy – Editions d'Art, 2002), 169-191, in particular ,171-177. The daily spirits are so called because they are placed within the parameters of succeeding days; the same is true for monthly and annual spirits determined respectively by the parameters of months and years.

certain sense, there was a link between hemerological treatises and calendars, known in the Tang period as *liri* (曆日), and later, more explicitly, in the annotated calendars discovered in Dunhuang, the *juzhu liri* (具注曆日).[16] From then on, calendars began, in terms of form and content, to resemble the publications that we have become familiar with, indicating activities to be accomplished every day.

The great treatises of hemerology of the Qing dynasty (清) give precise indications about how to determine activities in function of various parameters, for example days (dates, induced sounds, or 納，[17]the twelve *jianchu* markers), and daily, monthly and annual spirits, etc.[18] In this context, it is not difficult to imagine the complexity of the task of prescribing rules, on a day-to-day basis, covering not only the spirits——the number of which was to reach immense proportions over the years and centuries——but also activities. Taking into account all the parameters, which were sometimes contradictory, with some of them authorizing specific activities and others precluded them, was a truly challenging job. Did some markers outweigh others, and if so which? As we shall see, although answering such questions is entirely possible on a case-by-case basis, it is clear that, in the end, the authors of the calendars

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[16] All the calendars found in Dunhuang have been analyzed and described in detail in Alain Arrault, Jean-Claude Martzloff, "*L*es calendriers", Marc Kalinowski, ed, "*Divination et société en Chine médiévale*"(Paris: BNF, 2003), 85-211. For a description of the history of the calendar from the 3rd century BCE to 10th century, covering its form, contents and names, see Alain Arrault, "*Les calendriers*", Jean-Pierre Drège,"*La fabrique du lisible*"(Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, 2014), 99-111; a "preprint" version is available at HAL-Archives ouvertes at http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00821293.

[17] The method of induced sounds consists in matching the sixty sexagesimal binomials with the five phases (metal, fire, wood, earth, water) and the five notes (*shang* 商, *zhi* 徵, *jue* 角, *gong* 宮, *yu* 羽). See Marc Kalinowski, "Hémérologie," in M. Kalinowski, ed., *Divination et société en Chine médiévale*, 220-222.

[18] See, for example, the most famous of the hemerological treatises, compiled in the reign of the Emperor Qianlong (乾隆) (reigned 1735-1796), the *Xieji bianfang shu* (協紀辨方書), in *Siku quanshu* (henceforth referred to as *SKQS*), Vol. 811.

always had a certain freedom of choice.

However, it appears that there was help at hand for the authors of calendars in the shape of a kind of manual which made life easier by reducing their freedom of choice. The Dunhuang manuscripts list hemerological manuals known as *liushi jiazi li* (sixty-day almanacs, 六十甲子曆).[19] For every sexagesimal binomial, the manuscripts present a series of prescriptions and prohibitions concerning bureaucracy, marriages, trade and heritage, religious activities, illnesses, care of the body, domestic activities, building work, agriculture and travel. But prognostics drawn from autonomous mantic procedures (topomancy, interpretation of dreams, etc.) conferred on the genre an orientation more closely linked to an individualized form of divination. However, the picture is a very different one for the writings accurately described as *lizhu* (calendar annotations, 曆注) that, for every solar month, described monthly parameters (solar periods, monthly spirits, etc.) and, in function of the sixty sexagesimal binomials possible for each day of the month, the daily markers (induced sounds, *jianchu* markers), daily spirities (the *yinyang* conjunction of the sixty *yinyang daxiao hui*, 陰陽大小會, binomials, Tian'en, 天恩, Fu 復, Mucang, 母倉, and Guiji,歸忌, spirits, etc.), and prescribed day-to-day activities. For the Chinese Middle Ages, only one of these *lizhu* has been conserved, and is currently to be found in Japan. Entitled "Kaiyuan Dayan lizhu" (Annotations on the Dayan Calendar of the Kaiyuan Era [713-741], 開元大衍曆注), it is contained in Chapters 32 and 33 of the *Daitô on.yô-sho*(the Book of Yin and Yang of the Tang, Chin Dynasty. *Da Tang yinyang shu*, 大唐陰陽書). According to Japanese Sinologists, this Book of Yin and Yang in fifty chapters, only two chapters of which are still extant,[20] is the work of Lü Cai(呂才, 606-665). Seven manuscript

[19] Marc Kalinowski, "Hémérologie," 222-224.

[20] The bibliographies of the History of the Tang (old and new version, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 and *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書) both include a reference to a *Yinyang shu* by Lü Cai, in 50 or 53 chapters, and a catalogue of Chinese books produced in around 891 and conserved in Japan lists a *Da Tang yinyang shu* by Lü Cai in 50 and 51 *juan*. Lü Cai's book seems

copies are conserved in Japan. They include a colophon indicating that, (1) Kamo no Yasunori (賀茂保憲，917-977), specialist in Yin and Yang and an expert in calendars (*reki hakase*, 曆博士), transmitted the document, written in 848 by Ōkasuga no Manomaro (大春日真野麻呂), who was also a famous calendar expert; (2) the compilation of this *lizhu* involved a comparison with other examples conserved by Buddhists, "Masters of the Celestial stages and of the Ways of Light" (*suku-yōshi*, 宿曜師), affiliated with the Kōfuku ji (興福寺) who lived in the late 10th century and early 11th century; (3) the Japanese Tantric monastery (*shingon*, 真言) Daigo ji (醍醐寺) held a copy.[21] While all specialists are agreed that the earliest copies date from the 9th and 10th centuries, it is nevertheless true that the manuscripts currently conserved are copies made between the 14th and 16th centuries.[22]. However, the fact that the copies were made much later does not call into question the faithfulness to the original,[23] since the astronomical and hemerological methods that the copies describe

to have been lost in the Song period, and the few fragments still extant in China are of an entirely different nature to these *lizhu*, which, it should be noted in passing, date from the Kaiyuan era, after the author's death. See Nakamura Shōhachi(中村璋八), "*Daitō on.yō-sho* kō" (大唐陰陽書考), *Nihon onmyōdō-sho no kenkyū* (日本陰陽道書の研究), Zōho-ban (增補版) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院, 2000), 568-569. See also, Yamashita Katsuaki(山下克明), "*Daitō on.yō-sho* no kōsatsu: Nihon no denp on o chūshin to shite" (大唐陰陽書の考察): 日本の伝本を中心として, Kobayashi Haruki 小林春樹, ed., *Higashi ajia no tenmon rekigaku ni kansuru takakuteki kenkyū* 東アジアの天文・暦学に関する多角的研究, Tokyo: Daitō bunka daigaku Tōyō kenkyūjo, 2001, 49-52.

21 See Nakamura Shōhachi, "*Daitō on.yō-sho* kō," 570-571, 580-581, and, for a detailed description of the copies conserved in Japan, as well as a precise biography of the personalities mentioned, see Yamashita Katsuaki, "*Daitō on.yō-sho* no kōsatsu: Nihon no denp on o chūshin to shite," 56-63.

22 The oldest extant copy dates from 1460, while another, dated 1542, claims to be a copy of the 1367 version. See Nakamura Shōhachi, "*Daitō on.yō-sho* kō," 571, 584-585, and Yamashita Katsuaki, "*Daitō on.yō-sho* no kōsatsu: Nihon no denp on o chūshin to shite," 57, 60.

23 It is, however, useful to remark here that the manuscript in the Tokyo Library has a number of lacunae: thirty sexagesimal binomials are missing in the 9th month and six in the 10th month. This is not pointed out by the bibliographers. Having been unable to consult them, we are unable to say whether or not this is true for the other copies.

closely correspond to what we know of the methods applied at the end of the Tang period. In regard to the fact that these "calendar applications" were used in the Dayan calendar in China from 729 to 761, and in Japan from 763 to 862, we know that reforms to the calendar, which were frequent in China, had very little impact on its "surface structure" (the annual calendar), which meant that hemerological methods could still be applied whatever the "astronomical" calendar in use.[24]. There is thus no doubt about the fact that this kind of manual was used by authors in Dunhuang and elsewhere (see Fig. 1).

[24] See Jean-Claude Marztloff, *Le calendrier chinois : structure et calculs* (*104 av. J. C. – 1644*) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009), 25-37, in particular in regard to notions of "deep" structure (mathematical calculations for establishing the calendar) and "surface" structure (the tangible annual calendar). In spite of substantial evidence that similar divinatory methods were used over the long-term, a more detailed analysis reveals that over the course of time there were variations in hemerological techniques applied to calendars, particularly in regard to the addition of new approaches and new parameters that changed over the centuries – and sometimes from region to region – for methods that nevertheless retained their original names. See Alain Arrault, "Les calendriers," 121-123.

Figure 1

Extract from the *Daitō on.yō-sho*, Chapter 33, register of the seventh month (on the right) and daily registers (on the left), University of Kyoto Library, 子 VII 6 3-1.

Thanks to these *lizhu*, all an author had to do was to align the first day of the month with the corresponding binomial to obtain the information required for every day of the month. In China, a similar type of publication, the *Sanli cuoyao* (三曆撮要),[25] made its appearance in the Southern Song period; the only difference being that the reference entries were not based on binomials but on the activities themselves. We have to wait until the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) for a complete *lizhu* of the Datong calendar(大統，1362-1366) similar to the one held in Japan.[26]

[25] *Sanli cuoyao*, Library of Zhongguo kexue yuan Ziran kexue shi yanjiu suo, No. 2596450.

[26] *Datong lizhu* (大統曆註), in *Guojia tushu guan cang Mingdai Datong liri huibian* (Beijing : Beijing tushu guan chuban she) vol. 6, 2007, 91-474. Dedicated to

Analysis of activities

Categorization of activities

In order to analyze the activities described in the Dunhaung calendars, we have listed the total number of activities in each calendar and retained those for which the number is over 100, a necessary condition for calculating percentages. There are eighteen calendars from Dunhuang, dating from between 809 and 989 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Total of activities depending on the year

(the boxes with grey backgrounds indicate the years retained)

Year 年代	No. of activities 行事總數	Year 年代	No. of activities 行事總數
993 (I-III) P3507	4	897 (III-VIII) P3248 r^o	149
989 (X-XII) P2705 r^o	193	897 (I-IV) San 1721	231
986 (I-XII) P3403 r^o + v^o	676	895 (III-X) P5548 (+ P4645B)	257
982 (I-V) S1473 r^o	289	894 (I) P3434 v^o	5
981 (I-XII) S6886 v^o	82	893 (IV-XII) P4996 (+P3476) r^o	489
959 (I) P2623 r^o	9	892 (XI-XII) P4983 r^o	53
956 (I-XII) S95 r^o	765	891 (IV-V) P2832A (P1)	17
955 (IX) (WA 37-9)	34	890 (I-II) D198	13
945 (I-II)	100	888 (IX-XI)	139

hemerological and calendar methods, the *Leibian lifa tongshu daquan* (類編歷法通書大全)by Xiong Zongli (熊宗立，1409-1481) also includes a *lizhu* in Chapter 11. My thanks to Marta Hanson for having pointed out this text to me.

S681 v° + Dh1454 v°		P3492 r° + v°	
944 (IV-VI) P2591	103	877 (I-XII) S-P6 r°	58
939 (I-II) BD15292	37	864 (I-V) P3284 v°	202
933 (III-VII) S276 vo	314	858 (I-V) S1439 v°	216
926 (I-XII) P3247 v°	182	834 (I-IV) P2765 r°	293
924 (I) S2404	11	829 (XI-XII) P2797 v°	48
923 (X-XII) P3555B (P14)	70	821 (II-IV) P2583 r°	77
922 (I, III, V) P3555B (P9)	180	809/855 (IV-VI) P3900 v°	120
905 (I-II) P2506 v°	72		
900 (IV-VI) P2973A r°	107		

We then divided the activities into twelve categories:

Table 2

Official activities 公務行事	Ritual activities 儀式行事	Marriages 婚嫁行事	Domestic activities 家務行事
Care of the body 身體關照	Medical activities 醫療行事	Education 入學行事	Construction activities 修造行事
Funerals 喪葬行事	Agricultural activities 農事行事	Travel 移動行事	Trade 生意行事

These categories are, at first sight, pure constructions that doubtless deserve to be improved and seem to be lacking in any rigorous Aristotelian logic. However, they were not elaborated in a random manner. In effect, they include descriptions of activities that the hemerological treatises tend to group together in common categories.[27] It is thus clear that separate spaces are reserved for

[27] Due to a lack of space, we have been unable to include in this article the tables of

funerals and marriages, even though they are rituals. Travel is a curious, even strange category compared to the others, which represent, generally speaking, the major fields of human activity; indeed, in China, and especially in Japan, travel receives special, even autonomous attention.[28] From a detailed perspective, it is true to say that activities linked to building, such as *zhenzhai* (making the home safer, 鎮宅), *anzhai* (pacifying the home, 安宅) or *shangliang* (installing the main ridge beam in the roof, 上梁), are known to have been important rites in terms of constructing and protecting the home but, inevitably, in treatises on topomancy dealing with human residences (domestic topomancy), they are associated with other types of construction. In other words, if the categories seem to be lacking in Aristotelian logic, it is because they function according to a different *modus operandi* characterized by analogies and correlations.

While there are a number of *raisons d'être* for the *modus operandi* underpinning these categories, it is nevertheless true that certain expressions, as we shall see in the case of the care of the body, pose interpretative problems in terms of their meaning or, in other words, of the exact sense that they covered for contemporary readers. For example, in the "Domestic Activities" category, should we understand the expressions *an chuang* (to make the bed, 安床) and *an chuangzhang* (make the bed and the put up the hangings, 安床帳) as referring exclusively to making the bed before sleeping in it, or, rather, as describing the action of cleaning and remaking the bed after it has been used by a mother and

activities encompassed by each category and their chronological emergence. However, readers who wish to do so can consult the tables in an author version available at HAL-SHS. See Alain Arrault, "Les soins du corps et les calendriers de Dunhuang (IX^{e}-X^{e} s.)," Appendix 1 "Tableaux des catégories d'activités d'après les calendriers de Dunhuang" on the website: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00825686.

[28] See Bernard Frank, "*Kata-imi et kata-tagae. Etude sur les interdits de direction à l'époque Heian"* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études japonaises, 1998). Besides treatises on calendars and divination, historical, literary and private Japanese sources indicate that prohibitions on direction and, consequently, on travel, were a major concern Japan in the 7th and 8th centuries BCE.

child post-childbirth? Or, again, the preparation of a marriage bed, or, quite simply, the need to make the bed on a regular basis? Starkly presented, without context, in a calendar which, it should be mentioned in passing, was of a non-discursive nature, it is hard to believe that at least some of these activities did not have a perfectly defined meaning which, sadly, escapes us. Others may have had the meaning that the user decided they should have, depending on his needs and on the general circumstances. In a certain sense, it is the reader, constrained or free, who arranges and creates the discourse, and not the author of the calendar, who contents himself with producing a series of bald statements.

Considered globally and independently of their categories, the activities mentioned in the calendars of the second half of the first millennium CE are described from a positive perspective. Indeed, the references are all prescriptive rather than prohibitive, with the exception of *bu sha sheng* (do not kill living beings, "Ritual Activities", 不殺生); *bu zhong shi* (do not plant or replant, "Agricultural Activities", 不種蒔); *bu po di* (do not pierce the ground, building works, 不破地); *bu yuan xing* (do not go far away, "Travel", 不遠行), which feature sporadically in a small number of 9th century calendars, before disappearing entirely in the 10th century. In a kind of mirror effect, practically all the activities mentioned in the prefaces are mentioned negatively in the calendars themselves. Clearly, indicating what is permitted on a day-to-day basis is less materially and psychologically burdensome: activities that are permitted do not exclude the possibility of doing something else, even if it is less appropriate to do so on that day; consulting the calendar, with its authorizations and prohibitions, substantially reduces the freedom to act and, in some circumstances, introduces the need to envisage other ways of getting around the obstacles presented therein (personal divination techniques or ritual procedures to annul negative effects).

If we exclude official activities which, by definition, concern individuals belonging to the elite, and references to *gonghou zaozuo* (the lords build, 公侯造作), *wang zhe xiuzhi* (the king repairs, 王者修治) in the field of construction, and *gonghou yi shang yixi* (the lords and their superiors move, 公侯已上移徙) in the field of travel—about which it should be remarked that they are, like prohibited activities, only included in the prefaces, and that they disappear from calendars in the 10th century—activities mentioned concern "ordinary people." Government activities such as military affairs are absent from the Dunhuang calendars. Even if there is a legitimate doubt about whether or not calendars were available to members of all social classes, it is nevertheless true that, in the late Middle Ages in China, this type of calendar reflected of a process of "universalization," a kind of "popularization," and, in any case, a desire to increase the readership.

Statistics about the activities

At the same time as categorizing the activities, we also subjected them to a statistical analysis. Since the results of our calculations are described in a table and in a graph describing the number of times activities are mentioned in calendars have been published elsewhere, we will limit ourselves here to reproducing our principal interpretations.[29]

"Ritual Activities" and "Building Activities" which, in reality, cover a multiplicity of practices, achieved the highest scores. Then come funerals, with over 10%, and, lastly, grouped together, the other categories of activity situated at between 0 and 10%. Percentages for certain activities deviate substantially

[29] See Alain Arrault, "Activités médicales et méthodes hémérologiques dans les calendriers de Dunhuang du IXe au Xe siècle : esprit humain (renshen) et esprit du jour (riyou)," in Catherine Despeux, ed., *Médecine, religion et société dans la Chine médiévale. Etudes des manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, 2010), 310-311.

from the average. For example, in calendars from 809 to 864, rates for official activities are abnormally high, and the same is true for travel. On the other hand, in the same period, percentages for care of the body and funerals are abnormally low. Meanwhile, the figures for ritual activities were unusually low in the years 888-897. These variations are translated visually in the lines on the graph,[30] which give the impression, legitimately, of substantial variations within the same activity until around the year 933. Around this pivotal year, not only do the percentage figures for individual activities become stable, but they also balance out. Rituals and building activities, which previously dominated to a very large degree——with a number of spectacular low points for rituals – tend to reflect other activities more closely. How can such phenomena be explained?

In order to explain these variations, we can, of course, refer to the political situation that pertained in the region of Dunhuang prior to the 1030s. The Tibetans occupied the area until 848, an occupation reflected in calendars by the absence of a Chinese reign name, with years marked exclusively by the sexagesimal binomial. The following period——known as the Government of the Army of the Just——witnessed the return of a government that recognized, in theory, the authority of the central Chinese power. But, in the second half of the 9th century, the "central power" of the Tang Dynasty was in decline, obliged to confront a series of rebellions, not least amongst them the Huang Chao (黃巢) rebellion, before collapsing entirely in the early 10th century, giving way to a period of political fragmentation referred to as the Five Dynasties and the Ten Kingdoms. While the rapid succession of dynasties and the swapping of power between the ancient capital of the Tang, Tang Chang'an (長安), and the city of Kaifeng (開封) certainly had an impact on calendars (differences in the notation of reign eras), this period of dynastic "disorder" corresponds precisely with the most complete calendar annotations (the hemerological method *yinyang da xiao hui*

[30] See Alain Arrault, "Activités médicales et méthodes hémérologiques dans les calendriers de Dunhuang du IXe au Xe siècle : esprit humain (*renshen*) et esprit du jour (*riyou*)," 311.

mentioned systematically after being "forgotten" for approximately 70 years, from 864 to 939; the addition of a third list dedicated to *renshen* and *riyou*[31] methods, etc.). Thus, as we have seen, descriptions of various activities were relatively similar up until the Song Dynasty (960-1279). It is not by chance if the names of the copyists and correctors of calendars appear for the first time at the end of the 9th century, and that the names of the authors of calendars appeared from the 930s until the end of the century with, as central figure Zhai Fengda (翟奉達, 883-961).[32] These authors, specialists in divinatory techniques who occupied relatively important posts in the local administration, were often associated with the Dunhuang Prefectoral School. The wealth of hemerological content and the fact that, in spite of the tormented political times, descriptions of activities had become relatively stable, can thus be imputed to the actions of a local school that was able, over the course of time, to hand down knowledge and train specialists.

The care of the body

In calendars, the care of the body is defined by the expressions "washing the hair and the bod" (沐浴), "shaving the head" (剃頭), "washing the head"(洗頭), "removing grey hair" (拔白髮), and "cutting the finger- and toenail" (剪手足甲).[33] It seems clear that an emphasis was placed on the hair and nails. This

[31] On the subject of methods associated with medical activities, see Alain Arrault, "Activités médicales et méthodes hémérologiques dans les calendriers de Dunhuang du IXe au Xe siècle : esprit humain (*renshen*) et esprit du jour (*riyou*)," 285-332.

[32] See Alain Arrault, "Les calendriers," 2003, 90-91.

[33] An interesting feature is the absence of rules governing the use of latrines; Buddhist texts, on the other hand, are full of precautions and recommendations about the act of going to the toilet. See, on this subject, Ann Heirman and Mathieu Torck, *A Pure Mind in a Clean Body. Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China*, 67-107. On the other hand, latrines are mentioned, to a lesser degree and, essentially, in calendars of the early 9th century, amongst construction activities: erecting latrines (*shu ce* 豎廁), putting warehouses and latrines in order (*zhi cang ce* 治倉廁), putting latrines

phenomenon was acknowledged by Jiang Shaoyuan (江紹原，1898-1983) who, in 1928, published a book entitled Hair, Beards and Nails (*Fa xu zhao*, 髮鬚爪), the sub-title of which, obligatory for someone engaged in the struggle for the "New" China, for science and against the superstitious beliefs of the Chinese "people," was "On the subject of [their superstitious] uses" ("*Guanyu tamen de mixin*", 關於它們的迷信).[34] However, using historical and ethnological sources, Jiang takes a rigorous approach to understanding those practices. In six chapters, he demonstrates that hair and nails can be used as to cure, as well as cause diseases; that there is a very powerful sympathetic link between the hair, the nails and their owner, to the degree that they can serve as stand ins in sacrificial rituals; that the hair and nails of dead people should be buried; and that the hair and nails should only be cut on appropriate days. The book also contains an appendix dedicated to the comparative ethnology of hair and nails around the world.

During the course of this study, we shall examine some of the sources used by Jiang, but first we shall return to the Dunhuang calendars. In the eighteen calendars we analyzed there is a noticeable dichotomy between those published prior to 900 CE and those published after that date.[35] In the first group, only two activities——bathing and shaving the head——are highlighted, while in later editions all the expressions associated with the care of the body appear (see Table 3).

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in order (*zhi ce* 治廁). See Alain Arrault, "Les calendriers". http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00825686, 26.

[34] Jiang Shaoyuan, *Fa xu zhao* : *Guanyu tamen de mixin* (髮鬚爪：關於它們的迷信) (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1928), republished in 1987 by Shanghai wenyi chuban she with the more politically correct title of *Fa xu zhao* : *Guanyu tamen de tongsu* (通俗) (Hair, Beards and Nails : On the Subject of their Customary Uses).

[35] This "caesura" occurs at more or less the same time as the appearance of the Cao(曹), who, in 914, replaced the Zhang(張)at the head of the government known as the "Return to Allegiance Army" (Gui yijun 歸義軍). Any link between discontinuities in the calendars and contemporary political events has yet to be demonstrated.

Table 3: Care of the body in the calendars of Dunhuang

	沐浴 Washing the hair and the body	剃頭 Shaving the head	洗頭 Washing the head	拔白髮 Removing grey hairs	剪足甲 Cutting the toenails	除足甲(爪) Disposing of toenails
989	▓		▓			
986	▓		▓			▓
982	▓	▓	▓			▓
956	▓	▓	▓			▓
944		▓	▓			
933	▓	▓	▓			▓
926	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
922		▓	▓			
900						
897	▓					
897	▓	▓				
895	▓	▓				
893	▓	▓				
888	▓					
864						
858	▓					
834						
809/ 855						

	除手足爪(甲) Disposing of finger- and toenails	剪爪甲 Cutting the nails	除爪甲 Disposing of finger- and toenails	除爪甲 Disposing of finger- and toenails	除手爪(甲) Disposing of fingernails
989	▓				
986	▓				▓
982	▓				▓
956	▓				▓
944	▓				▓
933	▓			▓	▓
926	▓	▓	▓		
922					
900					
897					
897					
895					
893					
888					
864					
858					
834					
809/ 855					

While this is, in itself, instructive——with an increase in types of body care mentioned and, consequently, a greater focus on the body——these expressions remain, as pointed out above, highly ambiguous in terms of their real meanings and applications. It thus seemed appropriate to attempt to use other resources to find out what kind of contexts these activities were carried out in.

Washing the hair and the body (*muyu*, 沐浴)

The expression muyu is often translated "bath," but it seems that immersing the body in water was not a widespread practice in China in the way that it was in ancient Rome. To date, archaeologists have discovered tools such as large basins and bowls in "bathrooms" (*yu shi*, 浴室), but no bathtubs or swimming pools have yet been found. It can therefore be posited that "baths" were taken standing up or crouching in a basin, the bather washing himself with soap and wet cloths——taking the place of washing gloves and towels——splashing and rinsing with water stored in small pots. Bathing in streams, rivers or hot springs is, of course, mentioned in Chinese literature, but it should be pointed out that the practice is an exceptional one most frequently associated with rituals. *Muyu* was, at any event, an individual affair; collective baths were the object of regular reprobation and were only introduced in Buddhist monasteries in the Tang period.[36] We have therefore taken the view that it would be prudent to translate muyu as "washing the hair and the body," or even to retain the Chinese expression muyu, with all its non dits, amongst which it is, however, possible to recognize the implicit distinction between "hair" and "body," as if the hair formed a separate part of the body, which can be explained in reference to a technical difference in the treatment of the two entities.

"Washing the hair and the body" occurs in two key moments of life: birth and death. A third moment may be marriage, on the subject of which some sources mention the *muyu* of the bride before the wedding and on the day after the ceremony in homage to her parents-in-law. Many sources stipulate that a month

[36] In the Song period, the poet Huang Tingjian (黃庭堅) (1045-1105) noted the "baths" he took in the diary he kept in his last year in Yizhou (宜州) (now the district of Yishan 宜山in Guangxi Province). Baths were taken, always in the company of friends, in the town in the houses of local people from the first to the fourth month (*minjia* 民家), then from the fifth month in the Chongning Buddhist Monastery (崇寧寺) every four or five days, and most frequently in the seventh month. The diary comes to an end after the eighth month. Huang died on the last day of the ninth month. The term systematically used for the bath in the monastery is *yu* (浴). See Huang Tingjian, "*Yizhou yiyou jiacheng* (宜州乙酉家乘)" (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1936). My thanks to Catherine Despeux for having pointed this book out to me.

after its birth, the new born child will receive its first *muyu*, along with the mother. Starting in the 6th century, the cycle of human life was based on the cosmological cycle: the five phases (*wuxing*, 五行) included stages of life and death over the course of the year, the fifth of which, just after birth (*sheng*, 生), was called *muyu*, affirming once again of the pre-eminent, ritualized role of this activity in the post-natal period.[37] However, washing the hair and body was also a factor in the preparation of the deceased before burial.[38] As well as these two crucial moments of existence (birth and death), the "bath" was also used as a metaphor for civil servants' holidays, every five days during the Han Dynasty, then every ten days in the Tang period. In effect, it was said that they "xiu mu" (休沐) or "xia mu" (下沐), or, in other words, that they "rest and wash (their hair)," or "go down and wash their hair."[39] *Muyu* also featured in other, highly ritualized occasions.[40]

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[37] According to the *Compendium of the Five Agents*, the five phases (wood, fire, metal, water, earth) traverse twelve stages: formation of the breath (*shouqi* 受氣), embryo (*tai* 胎), nutrition (*yang* 養), birth (*sheng* 生), ablution (*muyu*), maturity (*guandai* 冠帶), entry into service (*linguan* 臨官), reign (*wang* 王), decline (*shuai* 衰), illness (*bing* 病), death (*si* 死), and burial (*zang* 葬). See Marc Kalinowski, "*Cosmologie et divination dans la Chine ancienne. Le Compendium des cinq agents"* (Wuxing dayi), *VI*e *siècle* (Paris: EFEO, 1991), 203-207. Much later, this system, with variations in names and order, was incorporated into the divinatory method of the Eight Characters of Birth (*ba zi* 八字). Neither the cosmological cycle nor the divinatory method are mention in Dunhuang.

[38] Concerning washing the body in such circumstances, see Liu Zenggui, "*Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu,*" 162.

[39] See *Chuxue ji* (初學記), *juan* 20, "Jia" (假) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 482-483. Of course, a good many other terms and expressions were employed (*ji* 急, *gao* 告, *ning* 寧) to describe civil servants either taking or requesting time off for health reasons or due to the death of near ones. Under the Jin 晉, the rules provided for five *ji* (holidays) per month, with a maximum of sixty per year, and the possibility of requesting additional time off in case of illness.

[40] The *Lingqi jing* (靈棋經), a book on divination of an uncertain date based on "magic tokens," contains a description of rite that the reader must carry out on the seventh day of the first month, the Day of Man (*renri* 人日), before proceeding to the act of divination using the tokens. This ceremony, which could be repeated on the seventh day of every month, included, amongst other things, fasting and bathing, the disposal of offerings on a

According to the *Sishi zuanyao* (四時纂要), a work dating from between the end of the Tang and the beginning of the Five Dynasties, which is linked to the tradition of "monthly ordinances" (*yue ling*, 月令), ablutions were taken on the eighth day of the first month in a rite, sometimes referred to as the "Day of the Bath of the Immortals," that efficiently warded off calamities and unfortunate events:

> On the eighth day, the hair and body are washed [this note is, in fact, linked to the first month]. On the eighth day, [grey hairs] are removed; it is the happy day of the Immortals. On the first day of the branch *mao*(卯), if one washes ones hair, all diseases and illnesses will be cured. The Prefect of Nanyang was blind, Wang Jing of Taiyuan suffered from serious illnesses, but by using [this day] both of them were cured.
>
> 八日沐浴 (注具正月). 八日拔白, 神仙良日.上卯日沐髮, 愈疾. 南陽太守目盲, 太原王景有沉疴,用之皆愈 [41]

The relationship between *muyu* and, notably, the curing of diseases, is so strong that a Japanese treatise on hemerology by Onmyōdō dating from the 12th century insists on washing the hair and body on all days considered as appropriate. An ill person washes his hands and feet; in the basin of water, one applies (*kaji,* 加持) the sacramental powers of the dhāraṇī of divinities or entities like Buddha, the Master of Medicine of the East and Guanyin (觀世

clean mat, and reading out an incantation. See *Lingqi jing*, *shou juan* (首卷), in *SKQS*, 2a-3a. A more detailed version of this ceremony, which presents some notable differences with the description in the *SKQS*, is included in the *Lingqi benzhang zhengjing* (靈棋本章正經) of *Daozang* (道藏) (henceforth referred to as *DZ*). See *Lingqi benzhang zhengjing*, *DZ* 1041, fasc. 719, in *Zhonghua Daozang* (中華道藏) (Beijing: Hua Xia chuban she, 2004), Vol. 32, 4. For versions of the magic tokens method conserved in Dunhuang, see M. Kalinowski, "Cléromancie", in M. Kalinowski, ed., *Divination et société en Chine médiévale*, 313-315. This reference provides the opportunity to point out that, in China, every ritual is proceeded by a process of purification, in including fasting and bathing.

[41] See *Sishi zuanyao jiaoshi* (四時纂要校釋) (Beijing: Nongye chuban she, 1981), 49.

音).[42] In another, later text of the same kind, while various appropriate days and times are mentioned, the positive effects of *muyu* are nevertheless emphasized:

> [This phrase] comes from the Book of Bathing of the Yellow Emperor: with bathing days, one lengthens one's life and facilitates [the circulation] of the breath, one thus eliminates all illnesses; they are appropriate. Many years ago, the heir of the Yellow Emperor was ill; his health did not improve for thirteen years. By bathing at these times and on these days, his illness was cured. And also, by bathing on those days, the Prefect of Nanyang, who was unable to see, regained his sight.
>
> 出黃帝沐浴經，以此日沐浴長命益氣，除萬病吉．昔黃帝太子得病，十三年不差．以此日時沐浴即病愈差．又南陽太守盲無无所見，以此日沐浴即得見物[43]

The *Sishi zuanyao* offers throughout the year dates to *muyu*, or *mu* and *yu* separately: some are simply reported as fastuous (*ji*, 吉), others bring wealth, long life, insight (*congming*, 聰明) or eliminate the calamities, the number of occurrences remaining maximum of two per month. In the same vein, the Taoist anthology *Yunji Qiqian* (雲笈七籤), although the composition date is later (between 1017 and 1021) but, true to the genre, compiles earlier texts, delivers several methods of auspicious days for *muyu* (*muyu jiri* 沐浴日吉). For each of these methods, one auspicious day per month is indicated, sometimes specifying the time of day, but each has a particular purpose. One of them states that every good day if we take a *muyu* with a decoction of goji berries (*gouji,* 枸杞，*Lycium chinense*)[44] we "irradiated with light" (*guangze,* 光澤), without risk of

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[42] See "*Onmyō zassho* (陰陽雜書)", in Nakamura Shōhachi, "*Nihon onmyōdō-sho no kenkyū*," 147. My thanks to Nobumi Iyanaga for his help in interpreting this text, which includes a number of obscure passages.

[43] See "*Kichijitsukō hiden*(吉日考秘傳)" in Nakamura Shōhachi, *Nihon onmyōdō-sho no kenkyū*, 439. This work dates from the 15th century.

[44] The *Yunji qiqian* includes other decoction recipes for *muyu*, for example with five vegetals : basil(蘭香)(Ocimum basilicum L.), *lysimachia* (零陵香) (*Lysimachia*

illness or grow old; a second that, following days, the *muyu* will make teeth strong, man agile and robust, protect from woes, complaints, soldiers; will have a long life, avoid anxiety and fear, and even the thirteenth day of the last month to get as "maid" the Jade girl (*yunu*, 玉女). Two others promise more spiritual goods: the first meeting and union with the immortals (*shenxian hehui*, 神仙和會), the second the elimination of a variable number of faults according to the date, faults (*guo,* 過) which would otherwise end up hurting our life capital.[45]

From dates fixed by the great events in life and from precise calendar periods, defined once and for all, hemerologists made a transition to a system that included a multiplicity of appropriate days, days that must have so much virtues, with the simple virtue of hygiene receiving no attention.

According to analyses of the four largest calendars, respectively dated 893, 933, 956 and 986, reveal that the markers used to determine appropriate days for *muyu* were the twelve Earthly Branches (see Table 3). The four calendars' lowest "common denominator" includes the branches *chou* (丑) and *wei* (未), and *zi* (子), *chou*(丑), *wei*(未) for the calendars of 933, 956 and 986. In Manuscript P2661, the branches retained for washing the head and the body are *zi*(子), *chou* (丑), *wei* (未), *you* (酉), and *hai* (亥)[46], corresponding exactly to the calendar of 956. (There is, however, one exception: the calendar of 956

foenum-graecum Hance), spotted laurel (青木香) (*Aucuba japonica*), Chinese redbud (荊花) (*Cercis chinensis*), and white sandalwood (*Santalum album* L.). See "*Yunji qiqian* (雲笈七籤), "*juan* 41 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 891.

45 *Yunji qiqian*, *juan* 32, 724; *juan* 41, 895-896. It is also interesting to read in the same book, *juan* 36, 795-804, the section "*Shesheng yueling* (攝生月令)" "Monthly ordinances for keeping vital energies." The "*Yangsheng yuelan* (養生月覽)" (Monthly Reading on Nourishing Life, in *Xuxiu* (續修) *SKQS*, vol. 1029, 594-612), attributed to Zhou Shouzhong (周守中) (Song Dynasty), meets in the form of a calendar different prescriptions, among others those of *Sishi zuanyao* and *Yunji Qiqian*.

46 The hemerological notes on 2661 are entitled "*Zhuza lüe deyao chaozi yi ben* (諸雜略得要抄子一本)" and attributed to Yin Anren (尹安仁), mentionned as a student in the prefectural school. On the recto, a copy of the *Erya* (爾雅) was produced by Yin Chaozong (尹朝宗) in 774, which would suggest that these notes were written at a later date.

includes a day in the eleventh month marked by the branch *si* (巳), but it is legitimate to believe that this is in error.)[47].

Table 4: List of appropriate days for "washing the hair and body" (muyu) in four Dunhuang calendars

Solar month	Calendar of 893 (IV-XII)	Calendar of 933 (III-VII)	Calendar of 956 (I-XII)	Calendar of 986 (I-XII)
I				正月十四日 癸未木執
II				
III				三月四日壬申金執
IV		四月十六日壬戌 水執		四月一日己亥木破
V			五月廿日辛亥金 執*	
VI	六月十五日癸未 木建 閏六月二日己亥 木定*	六月七日壬子木 執* 六月十日乙卯水 成 六月十四日己未 火建	六月(五月)廿六 日己未火建 六月十四日乙亥 火定* 六月十五日丙子 水執	六月廿三日己未火 建
VII	七月十日丁丑水 執	七月十四日己丑 火執	七月(六月)廿八 日己丑火執 七月七日丁酉火	七月十一日丁丑水 執

[47] It is fairly remarkable that the methods of the *muyu* listed in the Japanese writings of the Onmyōdō and in the major Chinese treatises on hemerology of the Qing period bear very few similarities with those in the Dunhuang calendars.

			除*	
VIII	八月(七月)廿二日己丑火定		八月十五日乙亥火滿* 八月十七日丁丑水定	
IX			九月十日己亥木除	
X				
XI			十一月(十月)廿九日丁亥土閉* 十一月五日癸巳水執	十一月廿三日丁亥土閉*
XII			十二月十四日辛未土破	

* The days common to the *Daitō on yō-sho* and the Dunhuang calendars. Months between parentheses (五月) indicate the solar month.

Apart from the fact that virtually none of the above dates coincides with those of the methods compiled by the *Sishi zuanyao* and *Yunji qijian*[48], a comparison of the positions of the *muyu* on the Dunhuang calendars with those of the *Daitō on.yō-sho* reveals two things: (1). Very few have days in common, which implies that different methods were used to define their various positions in the calendar;[49] and (2). the number of occurrences of the expression *muyu* is

[48] It's also the same situation with several methods in medical knowledge, see Lin Fu-shih (林富士), "*Toufa, jibing yu yiliao — Yi Zhongguo Han Tang zhi jian de yixue wenxian wei zhu de chubu tantao*, (頭髮、疾病與醫療——以中國漢唐之間的醫學文獻為主的初步探討)", *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan Lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan*, 71-1 (2000), 100-101.

[49] In the *Daitō on.yō-sho*, appropriate days for *muyu* are determined by the presence in the binomials of the branches *shen* (申), *you* (酉), *hai* (亥)and *zi* (子), which therefore corresponds to a maximum of 20 out of 60 binomials. Curiously, the treatises on divination of the Hei'an era adopt an entirely different method for determining appropriate days, a method outlined in the 15th century "*Kichijitsukō hiden* (吉日考秘傳)". See *Kichinichikō hiden*, 439.

much higher in the calendar annotations: approximately twenty of the sixty possible binomials for any given month represent an appropriate day for *muyu*, which implies that one day in three in every month is suitable for bathing, in spite of the fact that, as we know, the calendars mention at most three appropriate days per month, and generally just one (see Table 3). On this last point, it should first of all be noted that the spirits *gang* (罡) and *kui* (魁), which prohibit all activity and which appear relatively frequently in the calendars, are entirely absent from the *Daitō on.yō-sho*. Also, in the final analysis, the author enjoys a certain degree of freedom in terms of choosing appropriate days and estimating, while taking into account customs and circumstances, the correct number of *muyu* per month. In a poem entitled "Washing my hair and body," ("Muyu", 沐浴), Bai Juyi (白居易，772-846) explains that he did not *muyu* for a long time:

> For passed years,[50] I have not washed either my hair or my body,
> (經年不沐浴)
> My skin and my flesh were filthy.
> (塵垢滿肌膚)
> This morning, after [finishing] washing and rinsing
> (今朝一澡濯)
> My body appeared ravaged by thinness and degeneracy.
> (衰瘦頗有餘)
> It seemed aged, with grey hair on the head and sideburns,
> (老色頭鬢白)
> An impression of illness, with weak body and limbs.
> (病形肢體虛)
> My baggy clothes are in need of new belts,

[50] The first two characters of the first verse, *jingnian* (經年), can be interpreted as either singular or plural: the year just past, or the years that have passed. The poem is linked to Bai Juyi's mother death and so could be written in 812 or 813, one or two years after she died.

(衣寬有贈帶)

My thinning hair needs no combing.

(髮少不勝梳)

I ask myself how old I am:

(自問今年幾)

I am at the beginning of my forty springs and autumns.

(春秋四十初)

If I'm already like this at forty,

(四十已如此)

What will I be like when I'm seventy?[51]

(七十復何如)

It's said the poem has been written after Bai Juyi's mother death in 811, a situation where a filial son must leave his office, return to his homeland and go into mourning for several years. Soon after his young daughter died suddenly. During the mourning, one of the rules prescribed that man should not be washed, and Bai Juyi probably refers to this rule when he said not to have *muyu* for years. It should nevertheless be pointed out that in regard to what can only be described as a bath, or, in other words, the total immersion of the body in water, some authors concerned with the "maintenance of life" (*yangsheng,* 養生) were of the opinion that it weakened the body and that, consequently, it was unwise to exaggerate, unlike the Buddhists who, probable heirs to the traditional Indian link between bathing and ritual, recommended the practice on a frequent basis.[52] The expression used to describe this negative effect is *ti xu* (體虛), literally the "depleted body," or the debility and weakness of the body, used by the poet in his description of his degraded state after washing (Verse 6), an "emptiness" and debility that it would be well to treat with some food and

[51] See "*Bai shi Changqing ji* (白氏長慶集)," *juan* 10, in *SKQS*, 11a.

[52] See, on this subject, Liu Zenggui, "*Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu*," 160, who quotes approvingly the Taoist work, "*Baopu zi* (抱朴子)" by the famous Ge Hong (葛洪，284 - ?).

alcohol.

Shaving the head (*titou*, 剃頭), washing the head (*xitou*, 洗頭)

What meanings do these expressions cover? *Titou* is only mentioned in the calendars of the 9th century, and then once again in 922 (*xitou*), before finally disappearing in the late 10th century (see Table 2, above). However, its concomitance with the term xitou over a period of nearly eighty years clearly demonstrates that, for readers of the time, there were differences between the two expressions. As for the "bath," the rite of shaving the hair was practiced on the newborn a month after the birth.[53] However, it is well known that head shaving was one of the punishments inflicted on delinquents as a mark of shame. But with Buddhism, it becomes the distinctive sign of disciples of the Buddha, a part of their identity. In the monk's ordination, the tonsure is an important, even decisive moment, accompanied by the recital of his vows: the applicant changes status, leaving his family and the wider world to join the community of monks and dedicate his life to his own salvation and that of other people.[54] Dunhuang was clearly a Buddhist stronghold, a major sanctuary of

[53] See the early 15th century book, "*Puji fang* (普濟方)" , *juan* 360, "*Titou fa* (剃頭髮)", in *SKQS*, 27a-28a. See also, Jiang Shaoyuan, (*Fa xu zhao*: *Guanyu tamen de mixin*,) 104-105, according to whom, in Ancient China, children had their hair cut, *but adults did not*. Jiang also quotes the medical treatise, "*Waitai biyao fang* (外臺秘要方)" and the hemerological treatise *"Yuxia ji* (玉匣記)" which indicates appropriate and inappropriate days on which to cut a child's hair for the first time ("shaving the head of the newborn infant", 剃胎頭), *Fa xu zhao*: *Guanyu tamen de mixin*, 105-106.

[54] See A. Heirman and M. Torck, "*A Pure Mind in a Clean Body. Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China*," 141-150, who also present illustrations of the ritual of the tonsure, as well as of the ritual of the shaving of the beard from the wall paintings in Grotto No. 25 in Yulin (dating from the 8th century). There is another representation of this ritual in Grotto No. 445 in Mogao, almost contemporary with the grotto in Yulin, which is in fact an illustration of the conversion of the concubines of Ratnadhvaja as described in the Sutra of the Birth of Maitreya (*Mile xia sheng jing*, 彌勒下生經).

the Western religion; almost all occurrences of the expressions *titou* and *tifa* (cut hair, 剃髮) in the literary texts up to Song dynasty, including non Buddhist texts, refer to the Buddhist ceremony[55]. On an other side, Dunhuang calendars did not content neither Buddhist rituals, ceremonies or festivals, nor specific Buddhist activities. The same is true for Taoism. Must we accept titou is the only Buddhist element in calendars? Or is it legitimate to think of the act of "shaving" as also encompassing less radical practices, such as cutting or refreshing the hair? Is it by chance if the washing of the head, and therefore the hair, was gradually to replace "shaving" in the calendars of the late 10th century? While evidently no longer a question of removing all the hair, it is still possible that xitou referred to cutting the hair. While it was no longer considered to be as powerfully curative as it had once been, "washing the hair" (xitou) had one undeniably positive virtue, namely that of maintaining health and prolonging life. Early in the Song period, Chao Yuezhi (晁說之，1059-1129) quotes a saying that he attributes to a certain Zhou Tianyou (周天祐):

> Zhou Tanyou said: "On the night of the Summer Solstice, at the hour zi 子，between 11pm and 1am), comb your hair two hundred times; it will help to unblock the yang and ensure that the breath of the five organs circulates freely throughout the year; this is referred to as the Washing of the Head of the Immortals." [56]
>
> 周天祐言：「冬至夜子時，梳頭一千二百，以贊陽出滯，使五藏之氣，終歲流通，謂之神仙洗頭法。」

The text therefore provides us with a supplementary detail: combing the hair, in fact a kind of a dry cleaning, was also assimilated to "washing the hair", in the same way as we have suggested that "shaving" and "washing" could also be interpreted as "cutting." In other words, a number of care practices linked to the

[55] Many thanks to the anonymous reviewer pointed this fact out to me, based on the database of the Academia Sinica *Hanji dianzi wenxian ziliao ku* (漢籍電子文獻資料庫.)

[56] Yuezhi, "*Chao shi keyu* (晁氏客語)", in *SKQS*, 23a.

head could be summed up in a single phrase.

The calendar-almanacs of 877 (SP6) and 978 (S612) both contain descriptions of a method for washing the hair on appropriate days. The first reads as follows:

> Third day: wealth and prestige; ninth day: promotion; tenth day: wealth [ ]; eleventh and twelfth days: the eyes see clearly; fifteenth and twentieth days: highly appropriate days; twenty-fourth day: great wealth; twenty-sixth day: alcohol and food. All preceding days are appropriate, all others are inappropriate.
>
> 三日八日富貴；九日加官；十日財□；十一十二日目明；十五日廿日大吉；廿四日招財；廿六日有酒食；已上日吉；餘日凶。

Meanwhile, the second is described as follows:

> Every month, the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, fifteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, twenty-third, twenty-fifth, twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth days are appropriate if they are used [to wash the head]; the following days, which are highly appropriate, can also be used: *zi*, *chou*, *shen*, *you*, *xu* et *hai*.
>
> 每月一日、三日、五日、七日、九日、十一日、十三日、十五日、十七日、十九日、廿一日、廿三日、廿五日、廿七日、廿九日、已上日用之吉，亦宜從子、丑、申、酉、戌、亥，大吉。

To these two calendars should be added the hemerological notes of Manuscript P2661 v°, which encompass under the same heading the appropriate days for *muyu* and washing the head, namely, as we have already seen, the days marked with the branches *zi*, *chou*, *wei*, *you* and *hai*. The clear difference between S-P6 and the three other manuscripts can doubtless be attributed to the fact that the former was, in all probability, produced in the province of Sichuan, rather than in Dunhuang. The most representative calendars, dated 893, 981 and 986 (see Table 4) also display differences——albeit small ones, with the 9th century calendar indicating "shaving the head," and those of the 10th century mentioning washing——since they share only three branches (*zi*, *chou, hai*). On

the other hand, the method employed, with a few minor variations, is identical in the calendar-almanac of 978 and the notes to P2661 v°, and in the calendars of 981 and 986, on the other.[57]

The calendar of 981 is interesting in more than one regard: the way in which the *xitou* are placed accords perfectly with the method applied in the calendar-almanac of 978: uneven days are marked with the branches *zi*, *chou*, *shen*, *you* and *hai*; the total number of activities is fifty-three, with *xitou* and *muyu* alone accounting for twenty-nine or, in other words, over half of them. It is rare that *xitou* is mentioned so frequently, the percentage generally hovering around 5% in the other calendars. The phenomenon can be explained in reference to the fact that this calendar seems to have been written with a specific purpose in mind. In effect, the death of a certain Ma Pingshui (馬平水) is mentioned, as are the days of the funeral ceremony of the Seven Fasts, each of which take place seven days apart, and the fast held on the hundredth day after the death.[58] It is thus legitimate to present the hypothesis that, in this instance, washing the hair is strictly linked to the funeral ceremony, especially in that the activity is mentioned between the calendar's first and second registers, rather than in the lower register with the other activities, as was usually the case. Washing the hair was thus an important event in the period of mourning, a characteristic not mentioned in any source, and which casts the activity as a purification rite, in the same way as washing the hair and the

[57] In the calendar of 981 the days with the branch *xu* are missing. In the calendar of 986, not only the days with the branch *zi* are missing, but so too is a day marked with the branch *si*. It should be noted in passing that the *xitou* (or *titou*) method listed in the hemerological treatises of the Qing period, the "*Xingli kaoyuan* (星曆考原)" and the "*Xieji bianfang shu* (協紀辨方書)", has practically nothing in common with the method applied in Dunhuang.

[58] In fact, it is probably a reference to the Ceremony of the Ten Fasts (*shi zhai* 十齋), carried out seven times on every seventh day, and then again on the hundredth and three hundredth day after the death, and which ends with the tenth fast, held three years after the death. Naturally, the two last fasts are not included in this calendar.

body.[59]

Table 5: Appearances of the activity "shaving the head" (*titou*) and "washing the head" (*xitou*) in the calendars of 893, 981 and 986

Month	893 (IV-XII)	981 (I-XII)	986 (I-XII)
I		三日乙丑閉　洗 十五日癸丑閉　洗 廿七日乙丑開　洗	三日壬申破　洗頭 廿四日癸巳滿　洗頭 廿八日丁酉破　洗頭
II		五日癸酉破　洗 十九日丁亥成　洗 廿一日己丑開　洗 廿九日丁酉執　洗	
III		三日庚子成　洗	
IV		十七日甲申平　洗 廿日丁亥破　洗頭 廿九日丙申滿　洗	十五日癸丑成　洗頭 廿七日乙丑危　洗頭

Removing grey hairs (*ba baifa* 拔白髮)

In all civilizations, grey hair is a sign of degeneration, a sign that must be either hidden or eliminated. In this regard, China was no exception and, indeed, its mythology of the Immortals describes beings who either never age, or who regain their youth, their hair reclaiming its original black sheen, and their teeth growing back.[60]

[59] In effect, it seems that the most common practice in Ancient China was for mourners to forgo washing throughout the entire funeral period, except in cases in which they suffered from inconvenient skin complaints. See Liu Zenggui, "*Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu,*" 162-163.

[60] See Xiao Fan (蕭璠), "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng*

According to many treatises, particularly in the field of medicine, hair is linked to the kidneys; others, however, believed that it was associated with the heart and the blood. If the hair goes grey, it is the sign of a weakening of the kidneys, the main source of vitality. With the passing of the years, the hair stops growing, then becomes daily shorter, and eventually begins to fall out. During this long process of degeneration, it goes grey, then yellow, then gradually but inevitably gives way to a bald shiny pate.[61]

It thus comes as no surprise that the potential appearance of grey hairs was a constant worry, and that those hairs had to be swiftly removed with the aid of a mirror (*jing*, 鏡) and a pair of tweezers (*nie,* 鑷), two instruments found in tombs of the Han period——sometimes together——and mentioned by poets who used them as symbols of anxiety and concern, as exemplified by the verses of Bai Juyi.[62] But, in spite of these two instruments, the sad truth is that more and more grey hairs inevitably appeared. Several approaches were applied in an attempt to stem the tide.

Firstly, there were the approaches involving cutaneous applications, including lotions (*mufa ji,* 沐法劑) and tonics (*gaoji,* 膏劑) applied to the hair and to the pores after shaving.[63] In a chapter largely dedicated to problems with unwanted hairs, pustules and facial spots, the *Ishinpō* (醫心方), compiled

fangshu(長生思想和與頭髮相關的養生方術)," *Zhongyang yanjiu lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan*, 69-4 (1998), 678-679.

[61] Xiao Fan, "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu,*" 685-687. Concerning medical knowledge and uses of hair in Medieval China, see Lin Fu-shih 林富士, "T*oufa, jibing yu yiliao—Yi Zhongguo Han Tang zhi jian de yixue wenxian wei zhu de chubu tantao,*" 71-1 (2000), 67-127.

[62] See Xiao Fan, "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu*," 692-697. The author quotes several writers and poets, the earliest of which used both the expressions *jing* and *nie* (and, later, *nie bai* 鑷白, "tweezer the grey [hair]" date from the 3rd century. The Tang poets, including Li Bai 李白，701-762), Xue Feng (薛逢，circa 841) and Bai Juyi, also used these expressions.

[63] Xiao Fan, "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu,*" 702-706. Ge Hong (葛洪，284-343?) was one of the first authors to provide a treatment designed to guarantee black hair.

by Tanba Yasuyori (丹波康賴，912-995), lists a number of methods for removing grey hairs and ensuring that they are replaced by black ones. One of these methods is taken from the Book of Food by Meng Shen (621-713) (*Meng Shen shijing,* 孟詵食經)

> Burn some walnuts until there is no more smoke, crush into a paste, and mix with ceruse. Remove the grey hairs and apply [the paste]. The hairs will grow back. (According to the Bencao shiyi 本草拾遺, making the paste, removing grey hairs and adding the paste to the pores will ensure that the hair becomes entirely black).[64]
>
> 胡桃燒令烟盡，研為泥，和胡粉。拔白髮毛敷之，即生毛。(今按：《本草拾遺》為泥，拔白髮以納孔中，其毛皆黑。)

Documents on medicine from Dunhuang and Turfan contain a large number of treatments for dyeing the hair and ensuring that it does not fall out (S.76, P. 2882, P. 3378, O.1078). Most of the medical treatments in S.1467 r° are designed for the head and the hair (hair loss, greying, baldness, etc.).[65] In terms of hair care, treatments involved indirect approaches, many of them administered orally, for example medicinal plant concoctions and alcoholic liqueurs.[66] Some treatments, meant primarily for other parts of the body, also had an impact on the hair, for example nasally administered treatments designed to counter "weakness" of the blood (*xuexu*, 血虛), ocular remedies, and brushing the teeth, which was also said to have beneficent effects on the eyes.[67] Manuscript P.3596 v° mentions a kind of "universal" pill for all the ills "of the husband" (colds, kidney pains, hernias, demonic influence, diarrhoea, impotence, etc.) that also

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[64] Tanba Yasuyori, "*Ishinpô* (医心方)", *juan* 4 (Beijing: Hua Xia chuban she, 1996), 105.

[65] For a description and presentation of these documents, see Catherine Despeux, ed., "*Médecine, religion et société dans la Chine médiévale. Etudes des manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan*," 213, 366, 444, 474, 551, 679.

[66] See, especially, "the *Beiji qianjin yaofang* (備急千金要方)" by Sun Simiao (孫思邈) and the "*Sishi zuanyao* (四時纂要)" for the two kinds of treatment, quoted by Xiao Fan, "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu*," 702, 705.

[67] Xiao Fan, "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu,*" 705-706.

prevents the hair and the sideburns going grey; if it has gone yellow, it will go black once more; if it has gone grey, it will take on a lacquered hue, etc. More general methods were also applied to fortifying the hair. Diets based on chrysanthemum flowers (*ju,* 菊), Solomon's seal (*huangjing,* 黃精), and seasame (*zhima,* 芝麻) taken as infusions or in alcoholic solutions, acted as rejuvenating agents not only for the body, but also for the hair.[68]

Gymnastic exercises were said to have the same virtues and, naturally, identical effects, as is demonstrated in the *Zhubing yuanhou zonglun* (諸病源候總論) by Chao Yuanfang (巢元方，circa 605-617):

> Untie your hair, sit facing east. Clasp your fists, stop breathing. Once this has been done, raise your hands, start breathing, and make movements, [then] cover your ears with your hands. This will cure headaches and ensure that your hair does not go grey …[69]
> (解髮東向坐，握固，不息，一通，舉左右手，導引，手掩兩耳，治頭風，令髮不白……)

A more straightforward practice, but one that was nevertheless accompanied by incantations, combing the hair was said to be of benefit in many regards, including, of course, helping to stop hair loss. The same was said to be true of massaging the scalp, which guaranteed that hair would not go grey.[70] More elaborate and complex, was psycho-corporeal alchemy, involving drinking water and eating jujube, while avoiding cereals (*juegu,* 絕穀), and sleeping on a curative pillow full of medicinal plants that would have an inevitable rejuvenating effect, turning grey hair black, causing teeth to grow back, and making it possible to walk three hundred *li* a day.[71]

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[68] Xiao Fan, "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu,*" 707-709.

[69] Chao Yuanfang, *Zhubing yuanhou zonglun*, *juan* 27, "Baifa hou " (白髮候), in *SKQS*, 6a-b, quoted by Xiao Fan, "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu*," 715.

[70] Xiao Fan, "*Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu*," 714-715.

[71] *Yunji qiqian*, *juan* 48*,* "Shen zhen fa bing xu" (神枕法并敘), 1079-1080, quoted by Xiao Fan, "Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu," 705.

In the all out war on grey hair, divinatory methods were also applied. Grey hairs had to be removed on specific days to ensure black hairs grew back in their place. The Taoist Tao Hongjing (陶弘景，456-536), and Sun Simiao (孫思邈，541-682) in his collection of medical treatments, suggest applying the method on one day per lunar month throughout the course of the year. Both authors suggest the same method, except for a few variations in the choice of specific days. Neither of them explain the criteria employed to determine which days are appropriate (see Table 5 below).

Table 6: Appropriate days for removing grey hair according to Tao Hongjing and Sun Simiao

Month / Day	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Tao Hongjing	4	8	11 (12)	16	20	24	28	19	16	13	10	7
Sun Simiao	4	8	12	16	20	24	28	19	25, 15	10	10	10

The *Ishinpō* which, as we have seen, contains numerous descriptions of hair treatments, includes only two mantic approaches, namely those of Sun Simiao, mentioned above, and the *Ruyi fang* (如意方), said to date from the 6th century. In this last, in the section entitled, "Techniques for preventing [the growth of] grey hair" ("Fan baifa shu", 反白髮術), we read that:

> On the fifth and eighth days and on the days marked [by the terrestrial branch] wu, burn the grey hairs.
> (以五八午日燒白髮)
>
> Another method: On the [sexagesimal binomial] guihai (n60) days, remove the grey hairs, then on the days [marked by the sexagesimal binomial] jiazi (n1), burn them, and they will stop [growing] on their

own.[72]

(癸亥日除白髮， 甲子日燒之，自斷)

In view of this near-obsession with grey hairs, it might be expected that the activity of plucking them (*ba baifa*) would be mentioned in all the calendars. Curiously, however, it appears in just one, dated 926, a strange fact indeed considering that the author was Zhai Fengda(翟奉達), a well known character in Dunhuang, who wrote four other calendars.[73] In the 926 calendar, the first date for removing grey hairs falls on the 19th day of the second month, and the second on the 16th day of the fifth month. Insofar as it is possible to judge, these dates do not correspond to those indicated by Tao Hongjing and Sun Simiao, or to those in the *Ishinpô*. Instead, they appear to correspond to the day marked by the indicator *chu* (Eviction, 除).[74] *Chu* also means "eliminate," or "suppress": removing grey hairs in order to make them disappear on an "Elimination" day seems logical and even recommendable. To our knowledge, only Sun Simiao uses this method of localization, with which he associates various techniques:

Method to ensure that [grey] hairs do not grow back.

On the day marked "Eviction," remove the hairs oneself, and cover with a soft turtle shell unguent. Or cover them with dog or pig saliva. They can also be covered with the milk of a bitch.[75]

(令髮不生方．除日自拔毛，以鼈脂涂之．又豬狗胆涂之．又狗乳亦涂之)

A few hundred years later, this method was recommended by the famous Li Shizhen (李時珍，1518-1593) in his *Bencao gangmu* (本草綱目):

Unguent [of turtle shell]. Main therapy: on the day marked "Eviction," remove the grey hairs, apply the unguent to the pores; the hairs will not grow back. If they are ready to grow back, apply the milk of a white bitch

[72] "*Ishinpô"*, 105.
[73] Alain Arrault, "*Les calendriers*",. 90-91, 156-157.
[74] One of the 12 *jianchu* markers, more precisely the second in the list.
[75] Sun Simiao, "*Beiji qianjin yaofang,"* 260.

to the pores.[76]
(鬣脂主治:除日拔白髮，取脂涂孔中，即不生。欲再生者，白犬乳汁涂之)

Cutting the finger and toenails

Nails do not seem to receive the same level of attention as hair. As Hierman and Torck observe, the rare references to them suggest that in Ancient China long fingernails were considered a sign of nobility.[77] Meanwhile, Buddhism includes cutting the finger- and toenails amongst the general rules of bodily cleanliness, and this in spite of the fact that the great Chinese patriarchs were happy to be pictured with exceeding long fingernails in official portraits, evidently proud to display this sign of their elite status.[78] Nevertheless, in the early Middle Ages in China, finger- and toenails were part of religious, medical and divinatory discourse.

According to a story from the Tang era, the mummified body of Li (李) was conserved in a temple on the mountain of Dongting (洞庭山) in the commandery of Xing (興) in the region of Wu (吳). This lady, who had mastered the arts of the Tao to the point that she was able to walk on water, had been murdered by her husband. Seven years later, her face and body were like those of the living, and the faithful came from far and wide to pray to her and ask for favours. On the first day of every month, she was washed and dressed (*muyu*, 沐浴), her nails cut, and powder and make-up applied to her face. He skin remained supple and she gave the impression that she was sleeping

[76] Li Shizhen, "*Bencao gangmu* (本草綱目)," *juan* 45, in *SKQS*, 18a-b. The *Bencao gangmu* lists over a hundred different hair treatments.
[77] A. Heirman, M. Torck, "*A Pure Mind in a Clean Body. Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China,"* 155-156.
[78] A. Heirman, M. Torck, "*A Pure Mind in a Clean Body. Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China,"* 143-150.

profoundly.[79] In the context, the impression that the mummified body was still living was reinforced by the fact that it received cosmetic treatment, especially in regard to the nails which, since they continued to grow, had to be cut.

The pygmy owl, which had a number of names (*xiuliu,* 鵂鶹， *chi,* 鴟，etc.), was also designated by the term *guiche* (鬼車), the "demon chariot," almost an equivalent to our "bird of ill omen." And it is not so much for its nocturnal lifestyle that it was given the name, but because it liked to eat (or steal) the finger- and toenails of human beings, which meant that it was capable of the foretelling the future of those who carelessly failed to bury their nails after cutting them. If they landed on a house and began to hoot, the inhabitants would inevitably meet a lugubrious fate.[80]. Cut nails were, therefore, not anodyne pieces of the body; they were still living pieces of their owner, based on which the bird of ill omen was able to make its predictions.

One of the first the great treatises in Chinese medicine, the *Lingshu jing* (靈樞經), links the nails to the liver and the gall-bladder. According to the treatise, the colour and texture of the nails is symptomatic of the state of the two internal organs.[81] But, beyond this traditional correlation between various parts of the body, the nails also have curative virtuous. According to later sources, after having been reduced to powder or ash and sometimes mixed with other ingredients, they had a salutary effect on wind in children, helped to alleviate the urinary problems of pregnant women, and even served as effective love philters.[82] Even more effective, cutting and ingesting finger- and toenails was

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[79] The story appeared in the "*Taiping guangji* (太平廣記)," *juan* 293 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 2333, which quotes as its source the *Jiwen* (紀聞) by Niu Su (牛肅，*circa* 7th-8th century).

[80] See Liu Xun (劉恂，*circa* 867-904), *Lingbiao luyi* (嶺表錄異), *xia* 下, in *SKQS*, 5a-b. The *Taiping yulan* (太平御覽), *juan* 927, in *SKQS*, 13a-b, quotes as its source for this nail-stealing, « soothsaying » bird, the *Bowu zhi* (博物志), which dates from the 3rd century.

[81] See *Huangdi neijing* (黃帝內經), *Lingshu jing*, *juan* 7, in *SKQS,* 15b.

[82] The *Bencao gangmu* (本草綱目), *juan* 52, "Zhao jia" (爪甲), in *SKQS*, 9a-10a, compiles

part of the process of eliminating the "Three Corpses and the Nine Worms" (sanshi jiuchong 三尸九蟲).[83] If care were not taken, these spirits, stationed in various parts of the body, could kill. Taoist methods linked to interior alchemy were recommended, as was cutting the fingernails on a *yin* (寅) day, and the toenails on a *wu* (午) day, and then, on the 16th day of the eleventh month, transforming them into ashes before ingesting them in order to "decapitate" the unwanted guests (*zhan san shi* 斬三尸).[84] The *Waitai biyao fang* suggests the same type of procedure to cure "energetic disorders" of the feet(*jiaoqi* 腳氣):

> On *chou* and *yin* days, cut the finger- and toenails; on *yin* days, cut the toenails. Every twelve days, the in-growing skin around the nails should be pared back in order to eliminate humidity.[85]
>
> (每至丑寅日，割手足爪甲，丑日指，寅日足。亦宜十二日一度，割少侵肉去氣。)

This practice is also one of the general prescriptions for a good diet designed for the "protection of life" (*bao sheng* 保生).[86] The days deemed appropriate for

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all the relevant methods, mentioning their sources, particularly Sun Simiao's *Qianjin yaofang*. Manuscript P. 2610 lists a number of "love" philters, some of which involves ashes of nails to be drunk in alcohol. See Catherine Despeux, ed., *Médecine, religion et société dans la Chine médiévale. Etudes des manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan*, 890-891.

83 On the subject of these three "vermins," see Catherine Despeux's fascinating "*Hygiène de vie et longévité à Dunhuang*" in Catherine Despeux, ed., *Médecine, religion et société dans la Chine médiévale. Etudes des manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan*, 780-787.

84 See the *Taishang chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing* (太上除三尸九蟲保生經), *DZ* 871 fasc. 580. The *Taishang* dates from between 907 and 960. See K. Schipper, F. Verellen, ed., *The Taoist Canon* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 364-365. These methods are also listed in the *Yunji qiqian*, *juan* 83, 1889. The *Bencao gangmu*, 9a, includes an entry according to which the finger- and toenails should be cut on the days on which the Three Corpses move through the hands and feet. Jiang Shaoyuan, *Fa xu zhao* : *Guanyu tamen de mixin,*. 110-112, also establishes a link between the Three Corpses and cutting the finger- and toenails. See also, Catherine Despeux, "Hygiène de vie et longévité à Dunhuang," 783-784.

85 *Waitai biyao fang*, *juan* 18 (Beijing: Huaxia chuban she, 1997), 337.

86 See *Baosheng ming* (保生銘), attributed to Sun Simiao, *DZ* 835 fasc. 571, which, amongst its many dietary suggestions, has this to say: " On *yin* and *chou* days, cut the

cutting the nails seem to have been slightly modified over the course of time, at least in the medical and hemerological fields. The *Ishinpô* recalls that the *Qianjin yaofang* recommended *ying* and *wu* days, as in the method for eliminating the Three Corpses, but that, in its own time, it was *chou* and *yin* that were preferred, as is indicated in the *Jiaoqi lun*(腳氣論)byTang Lin(唐臨 ， 600-659).[87] Indeed, the calendar notes of the *Daitō on.yō-sho* confirm that, on *chou* days, the fingernails were cut, and that the toenails were cut on the following day, a *yin* day.

This concern with the finger- and toenails emerged in calendars in the early 10th century (see Table 2, above). Initially, the vocabulary employed was vague: the calendars of 926 and, to a lesser degree, of 933, make use of terms *jian* (to cut, 剪) and *chu* (to eliminate, 除) indifferently to describe the cutting of nails, probably due to the fact that these were transitional, retaining some old features and acquiring certain new ones which were to impose themselves in the late 10th century. In these later calendars, only the word *chu* was retained so that finger- and toenails could be cut on the same day, or different days could be chosen for the finger- and toenails (see Table 6, below). On the other hand, the nails themselves are described either as "carapaces" (*jia*, 甲), or "claws" (*zhao,* 爪). There are far fewer dates suggested for cutting the nails than in the *Daitō on.yō-sho*, which, logically, retains five days in a cycle of sixty, approximately three times per month: in the calendars there are, at most, two occurrences per month with, curiously, two months without any occurrence at all (the tenth and twelfth).[88] Indeed, the method for defining appropriate days is perplexing. As is

nails; dye a hundred times the hairs ." This suggest is also mentioned in a work dating from the late Tang period. See K. Schipper, F. Verellen, ed., *The Taoist Canon,* 353.

[87] See *Ishinpô*, 568. More precisely, the *Qianjin yaofang*, *juan* 81, 18b, mentions *yin* days for the fingernails, but *jiawu* (甲午) days for the toenails. See Jiang Shaoyuan, "*Fa xu zhao* : *Guanyu tamen de mixin,"* 112.

[88] For comparative purposes, see Jiang Shaoyuan, *Fa xu zhao* : *Guanyu tamen de mixin,* 116-119, who, on the basis of criteria outlined in the *Xieji bianfang shu*, calculated the number of appropriate and inappropriate days in a year, not only for cutting the nails, but

shown in Table 6, we have attempted to establish statistically whether the method employed was based on the date, the Earthly Branch, or the *jianchu* marker. However, none of these three markers is satisfactory since, with only a few exceptions, they can all be used to mark appropriate days.[89] It should, however, be noted that the preferred days are, in decreasing order of frequency, the 12th, 2nd and 5th, and the 16th, 23rd and 25th; amongst the branches, the most frequent occurrences are, unsurprisingly, *chou* and *yin* days, followed by *wei* (未), *xu* (戌) and *chen* (辰). Lastly, if *chu* and *wei* (danger, 危) days are the most frequently mentioned of the *jianchi* markers, the days *po* 破 (destruction), *cheng* (maturity, 成), *ding* (fixity, 定) and *zhi* (maintenance, 執) also feature on a frequent basis. A test for other methods, for example that of the Yellow and Black Way (Huangdao, 黃道, Heidao, 黑道), or of placement based on the date or branch of the month, or on a mixture of criteria (branch and date), did not generate convincing results.[90]. It would thus appear that, in the Dunhuang calendars, there was no fixed rule governing the days on which nails were to be cut.

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also the hair. According to the author, the calendar for 1926 includes 62 appropriate days and 94 inappropriate days for these activities.

89 It should be noted in passing that, according to the Xieji bianfang shu, juan 10, in SKQS, 72a, the days on which the human spirit (renshen 人神) is in the hands, the feet, and the entire body (the 1st, 6th, 15th, 19th, 21se et 23rd days) it is forbidden to cut the nails, naturally enough for fear of "wounding" that spirit. The calendars of Dunhuang include descriptions of the method for localizing the human spirit, but make no mention of a prohibition on cutting the nails in function of its localization. On the subject of renshen, see A. Arrault, "Activités médicales et méthodes hémérologiques dans les calendriers de Dunhuang du IXe au Xe siècle : esprit humain (*renshen*) et esprit du jour (*riyou*),", 285-332.

90 Even the methods listed in the *onmyōdō* texts, including the "*Onmyō zassho*," chap. 35, and the *Kichijitsukō hiden*, chap. 36, that, however, include a greater number of parameters, do not corrrespond. The first, above the days *chou* and *yin*, indicate the 16th, 17th and last days of the month; the second is much more prolix. See, respectively, Nakamura Shōhachi, "*Nihon onmyōdō-sho no kenkyū*," 121 and 441. The "*Xingli kaoyuan* (星歷考原)" describes practically the same method as the "*Onmyō zassho*," See *Xingli kaoyuan, juan* 6, in *SKQS*, 24b.

Table 7: Appropriate days in the calendars for cutting the nails

Date / Lunar month	926 (I-XII)	933 (III-VII)	944 (IV-VI)	956 (I-XII)	982 (I-V)
I	正月 (十二月) 二日庚寅 除足甲 正月十六日甲辰 滿除手足爪			正月十七日庚戌成 除手足 正月 (二月) 廿九壬戌危 除手(甲)	正月十八日庚戌成 除足爪
II	二月廿五日辛亥危剪爪甲			二月六日戊辰除 除足爪 二月十二日甲戌危 除手足 (甲)	二月 (正月) 三日乙丑閉 除手足爪 二月十二日甲戌危 除手足爪
III				三月十二日甲辰建 除手(甲)	三月十三日甲辰建 除手足爪
IV		四月廿二日戊辰閉除手足甲			四月十六日丁丑成 除手甲 四月廿五日丙戌執 除手足爪
V		五月廿日已未除剪手足甲	五月 (四月) 五日丁丑成 除手甲 五月廿三	五月四日乙未除 除足爪	

			日乙未除 除手足爪		
VI	六月十二日 丙申除爪甲	六月 (五月) 二日丁未除 除爪手(足) 六月廿日乙 丑破 除足甲		六月十六 日丁丑破 除手甲	
VII	七月八日 辛酉除剪足 甲	七月 (六月) 二日丁丑破 剪手足甲		七月廿三 日癸丑執 (除)手甲	
VIII					
IX				九月一日 庚寅定 除足甲	
X					
XI					
XII					
Total occurrences of days of the month, terrestrial markers, jianchu markers					

Date / Lunar month	986 (I-XII)	989 (X-XII)	Day of the month	Terrestrial branches	Jianchu markers
I	正月(十二月)二 日辛未執 除手甲 正月五日甲戌成 除足甲		22 , 5, 16, 17, 18, 29	寅，辰， 未，戌4	除，滿, 執，危, 成3
II	二月三日辛丑開		32 , 6,	丑2，辰,	除，危

	除手足(爪)		122, 25	戌2，亥	3，開, 閉
III	三月十二日庚辰建 除手足爪 三月(四月)廿一日己丑成 除手甲		122 , 13, 21	丑，辰3	建3，成
IV	四月二日庚子危 除手足(爪) 四月 (五月)廿四日壬戌定 除手足爪		2, 16, 24, 25	子，丑，辰， 戌	定，執, 危，成, 閉
V	五月八日乙亥執 除手足爪 五月(六月)廿三日庚寅危 除手足爪		4, 5, 8, 20, 232	丑， 寅，未3，亥	除3, 執，危, 成
VI	六月五日辛丑破 除手甲 六月九日乙巳開 除手足爪		2, 5, 9, 12, 16	丑3， 巳, 未， 申	除2，破3，開
VII	七月十二日戊寅破除手足爪 七月廿四日庚寅破 除(手)甲		2, 8, 12, 23, 24	丑， 寅2，酉	除， 執， 破3
VIII	八月五日辛丑定 除手甲		5	丑	定
IX	九月一日丙寅定 除手足爪 九月廿五日庚寅定 除手甲		12, 25	寅3	定3
X					
XI	十一月十九日癸未危 除手甲	十一月五日癸未危 除手足爪	5 , 19	未2	危2
XII					
Total occurrences of days of the month, terrestrial markers, jianchu markers					

Months between parentheses, e.g. (十二月): solar month;

A day marked in bold indicates the number of occurrences for that day; the *jianchu* Earthly Branches and markers followed by a figure indicate the number of occurrences of those branches and markers.

Conclusion:

The calendar in China, as everywhere else, is a political issue. In effect, it is one of the major instruments for the legitimization of power on the part of the government, which reserves the right to elaborate and distribute it in a monopolistic manner. But this right is, in the end, entirely theoretical. Over the course of time, the calendar escapes from its creator, who cannot completely control the many ways in which it is elaborated and distributed.

Historical sources reveal that, in spite of laws prohibiting the writing and reproduction of calendars by anyone other than Imperial agencies, this intellectual and material monopoly declined in the Chinese Middle Ages, and continued to decline in pre-modern and modern China. Beyond, or beneath, political rationality, calendars, becoming ever more sophisticated thanks to the introduction of astronomical information (solar months, phases of the moon, sunrise and sunset, etc.), hemerological parameters (daily, monthly and annual spirits), and, above all, activities that were, *a priori*, understandable to one and all, were addressed to an ever wider audience, a fact which led to a need for manuals explaining how calendars should be written, as we have seen with the "Calendar Annotations" manual conserved in Japan. In other words, what was initially "esoteric" knowledge was made availabl——ecertainly in terms of the product of their methods and calculations——to a substantial number of people, thus rendering that knowledge "exoteric."

From this point of view, the activities indicated on a day-to-day basis reflect this process of "democratization," not only through their very existence, but also via their content, clearly orientated towards common activities not reserved to society's aristocratic fringe. Nevertheless, can we maintain that these

activities and their categorizations are a faithful reflection of the preoccupations of Chinese society in the late Middle Ages? There are two arguments to suggest the contrary: (1) It is clear that a choice is made amongst the innumerable human activities and that, moreover, the frequency (percentages) of the activities that are mentioned are themselves the result of decisions that may or may not be random. (2) These activities do not generate a coherent, well argumented, linear discourse but, instead, brute facts with no contextual background, the meaning of which is, in the final analysis, left to discretion of the reader-user. That this last had a precise interpretative framework at her disposal, whether or not she knew to what exactly the activities referred does not, *in our opinion*, make it possible to understand, for example, the meaning of the phrase "make the bed." Did it mean to make the bed up after a woman had used it to give birth; to prepare it in view of a marriage; or simply for more prosaic, everyday reasons? And what does "calling the women" (*hu nüfu,* 呼女婦) mean?

If the calendar is not a reflection of society, it is, perhaps, precisely because it is not a mirror held out to reflect, in a passive manner, the images processing before it, but, instead, a device that "in-forms" the real. It tells its users what is important and what it is worthwhile for them to do on an appropriate day. It adds value to activities that otherwise might have considerably less value or none at all. From this point of view, it contributes to shaping society which, in return, is reflected in it. Furthermore, if the activities that it presents so starkly are difficult to read, it is nevertheless clear that they emanate from a series of discourses that form a kind of constellation around them, discourses that give them meaning and to which, in one way or another, they are linked. As we have seen, as well as the calendar, care of the body involves medical, dietary, religious, and sometimes literary knowledge. There are echoes and obvious links between these fields of knowledge and the calendar, even if, in most cases, their individual teleologies diverge: medicine cures, diet maintains health, religion saves and renders immortal, the calendar anticipates.

Hemerological methods sometimes mirror one another, although there are variations. However, the fact that links emerge does not mean that these discourses exist only in terms of their interactions with other discourses; just because epistemic conceptions and elements overlap does not mean that they can be subsumed within the same paradigms. It is, for example, remarkable that, for example, the method for cutting the finger- and toenails described in the calendars does not correspond to any other, even the one outlined in the calendar annotations.

More generally, in regard to the care of the body, the calendar only emphasizes certain body parts, namely the extremities——the hair and the nails, rather than the mouth, the teeth and the ears, which are frequently dealt with in other areas of expertise. Paradoxically, it is these "prolongations" are closely linked to the body——they grow continuously thereby symbolizing corporeal vitality——that are taken into by calendar hemerology. It is, therefore, not so much a question of care as it is of the possibility of anticipating and preventing disease and guaranteeing the future of a body——and a person——thanks to her hair and nails.

In an earlier publication, we described the various medical activities associated with calendars. One of these concerned the human spirit (*renshen*). A curious entity, neither breath nor soul, nor linked to the "corpses" of the body mentioned during the course of this article, this spirit travels in the body on lunar days and in lunar months, insofar prohibited to apply acupuncture needles and moxas to the sites where the spirit was located.[91] From this we obtain a vision, based on the calendar, that is articulated around, on the one hand, an interior, a "moving" spirit, and, on the other, an exterior, extremities symbolizing vitality for a body turned to the future. In conclusion, the calendar

[91] Alain Arrault, "Activités médicales et méthodes hémérologiques dans les calendriers de Dunhuang du IXe au Xe siècle : esprit humain (*renshen*) et esprit du jour (*riyou*),", 285-332.

offers a coherent conception of the body and, above all, a differential gap in regard to other discourses which address the subject, providing what is at once a rapprochement and a break.

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中國中古時期曆日中的活動、身體及其照護 (9至10世紀)

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唐初，日常生活中可以做或不該做的活動會顯現在曆日裡。但多虧敦煌材料的發現，大約有五十種的曆日被保存下來，時代上精準地含蓋九至第十世紀。在曆日中，相當豐富的卜算技術被使用於日常生活裡，以決定那些活動是否可行。這不免讓人好奇曆日是怎麼製成的？作者用當時典藏在日本的材料試回答問題。其次，本文試圖指認出這兩百年材料中幾百種活動中的相關類別，以便統計分析。但是，要如何在這些統計之外，瞭解那些缺乏脈絡的活動？此處可以身體照護為例，在曆日中可歸類在「沐浴」、「剃頭」、「洗頭」、「拔白髮」、「剪手足甲」的語辭。本文使用不同的，如文集、醫療、宗教等材料，企圖回答下列問題：一、中國曆學對於這些一般與特殊活動的概念有哪些？二、身體論述與曆日所顯現的，二者之間有無持續的解決之道？而哪些會顯示在曆日之中？三、曆日中是否有對身體的論述？

關鍵詞：中古時期、曆日、曆學、身體照護

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