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Lesser elite in crisis: family strategies of divination (yinyang) school instructors in the Yuan–Ming transition

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Abstract

This article examines the intertwined history of local divination schools and divination instructors during the Yuan–Ming transition through a microhistory of the Zhu family—a diviner family who, as newcomers to Suzhou, carefully navigated the turbulent dynastic transition. Based on broader prosopographical research of Yuan and Ming divination school instructors, this study draws two main conclusions regarding social and institutional history during this crisis period. First, the Zhu family, representing lesser elites whose status depended on state institutions, survived the Yuan–Ming transition by building local networks, transforming their expertise, and manipulating narratives of their family history. Second, despite the Ming founder's order for the re-establishment of local divination schools, it was the diviner families, seeking to recover from the dynastic transition, who played a key role in restoring the local institution. This study extends our understanding of the scope of the fourteenth-century crisis, its diverse manifestations across social groups, and the manipulation of crisis narratives for various purposes. It also proposes a bottom-up approach to engage with the Yuan–Ming social and institutional continuity and rupture.

Keywords: divination; family strategies; Ming; school; Yuan

Introduction

Zhu Quan 朱权 (1310?–1401) grew up in the Wu 吳 county of Suzhou 蘇州 with his mother and two younger brothers. His father, a state divination school instructor, and an immigrant to Wu, had died when Zhu Quan was a little older than ten. Yet, he remembered with admiration the days on which his father's literati friends had frequented their house. Some of them even taught the young boy. Although Zhu Quan aspired to join the rank of the literati, he eventually followed his father's path, which was not bad at all. He married a daughter of a prosperous local family, who bore him a son. Celebrated scholars in Suzhou were drawn to him by his expertise in divination. In around the 1340s, Zhu Quan became the divination school instructor of Suzhou route (called Pingjiang 平江 in the Yuan) through local recommendation.¹

¹ The Zhu family's biographies are carved on their tombstones, excavated in 2010. For the archaeological report, see Ding Jinlong 丁金龍 et al., 'Jiangsu Suzhou xiejiafen yuanming zhushi jianu fajue baogao' 江蘇蘇州謝家墳元明朱氏家族墓發掘報告, *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 IV (2018), pp. 29–41. The texts of the tombstones were also published in Ding Yi 丁一, 'Jiangsu suzhou shihu jingqu xiejiafen zhushi mudi chutu muzhide chubu

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