

ON THE TRAVEL, WAYSIDE AND WIND OFFERINGS
IN ANCIENT CHINA¹.

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The most important sacrifices of the ancient Chinese cult are the 類 *lei* and 旅 *li* sacrifices, the 禋 *yin* sacrifice and the 郊 *kiao* sacrifice.

Without going further into the rites of these sacrifices which are examined in detail elsewhere, we would draw attention to a characteristic feature which is common to these three principal sacrifices. In following up the development, one fact stands out clearly, namely, that the three sacrifices are in some way connected with road offering, or offerings to the four corners of the world or offerings to the winds: nay perhaps have sprung from them.

I 1. To begin with the 類 *lei* and 旅 *li* sacrifices. Both were ordinary resp. extraordinary sacrifices offered by the ruler to Shang-ti. This is not the place, however, to investigate whether the names of

¹ In this article the text criticisms of the Shu-king and other works, as rightly asked for by M. Pelliot in T'oung Pao vol. XXII, 1923 pp. 364, are not taken into account out of the consideration that they are irrelevant for our purpose. And in spite of the fact given by M. Pelliot l. c. p. 365, also known to me for a long time, that the Li-shu-t'ung and similar palaeographic works are of late and partly spurious origin, I base my palaeographic explanations on these works for the simple reason that the identification of ancient characters from bone—and other inscriptions are partly still doubtful and not complete. I myself devote my time to these identifications unfortunately not all publications during and after the war are accessible to me. But I think that the methods in palaeography must be the same as in phonetics. Therefore in general we also use for reconstructions the Ts'ü-yün and similar late works and not the Fang-yen or other older works; simply for the reason that these works contain a systematic survey of all equivalents required. Besides I do not neglect the sufficiently identified characters from bone—and other inscriptions. But practice shows that standard characters like those of deities or of the ritual, remain the same in their composition.

both sacrifices have any etymological relation to one another¹; it is quite sufficient to draw attention to the fact that both sacrifices have undergone development. For example, the latter sacrifice was brought to the mountains according to the Shu-king, ch. Yü-kung (= Ch. Cl. III, p. 121 resp. p. 125) [cf. also Lun-yü III, 6 (= Ch. Cl. I, p. 156)]. But let us leave the extraordinary sacrifices on one side and consider the ordinary *lei* sacrifice, which was the most important one to be brought by the ruler. We notice at once that according to Shu-king II, III, 6, the *lei* sacrifice was offered *before* the tours of inspection undertaken by the rulers in the 2nd, 5th, 8th and 11th months when the four holy mountains were visited. This custom is confirmed in the Li-ki 3(5) 10b, ch. Wang-chi (= SBE 27, 218 ff) where it is clearly stated: 天子將出類乎上帝宜乎社造乎禰 “When the son of Heaven was about to go forth, (then) he brought the *lei* sacrifice to Shang-ti, the *i* sacrifice to the spirit of the land (shê) and the *kiao* sacrifice to the ancestors”. Although the *lei* sacrifice was specifically brought *before* all journeys undertaken by the ruler—cf. e. g., Zhou-li 6, 33a, ch. Ta-chuh (= Biot II, p. 92) or Li-ki 3(5), 12a (天子將出征 . . . “When the son of Heaven was about to go forth on a punitive expedition . . .”)—the tours of inspection carried out by Shun appear to have been undertaken *regularly* (apparently coincident with the vegetation festivals).

It is also known of the *kiao* sacrifice that each time the son of Heaven “wishes to undertake a campaign of war, he must first offer the *kiao* sacrifice, in order to inform Heaven thereof; only when this is accomplished dare he venture to undertake the military attack, i. e., to go the right way of the son².” According to the Shi-king III, VII, 8 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 455) the sacrifices which were brought on the scene of warfare itself, were the 類 *lei* and the 騂 *ma* sacrifices, i. e., offerings brought to Shang-ti and to the equineformed deity (of the Earth?)³.

¹ According to the Liu-shu-t'ung, the old forms of the character are as follows:— 類 隸 隸 隸 The oldest (here the third) form, apparently according to the Ku Shang-ti, consists of: “Hill” plus “Hair(?)” or “(Cloth?)” plus: “Flesh”—“Flesh for the hill(?)”. The other forms for the character 隸-*lei* (ancient: 隸)—“class”, “kind” have been transferred to the character for the *lei* sacrifice.

² Cf. e. g., the Ch'un-t'ü-fan-lu quoted by O. Franke in „Das Problem des Ch'un-t'ü-fan-lu und Tung Tschung-schu's Tsch'un-t'ü-fan lu, Hamburg, 1920, p. 261.

³ According to the Li-ki 3(5) 12a, ch. Wang-chi (= SBE 27, 220), the war sacrifice 騂 *ma* was offered up by the king when he took the field against rebellious princes.

myriads of years with your virtue. Let Yin (enjoy) prosperity everlasting!" As is usually the case with burnt offerings, the *yin* sacrifice was offered up in the open air and according to the commentary to the Chou-li 5, 8b, ch. Ta-tsung-poh (= Biot I, p. 419) at the time of the winter solstice and on the round hill. (冬至於圓丘). A description of the magical character of this sacrifice and of the site of its consummation has been preserved to us in the plastic representation in the Shi-king II, 6, VIII (= Ch. Cl. IV, 380 ff.); in verse two, the weeds are uprooted and destructive insects exorcised¹, that they may be cast into the blazing fire (炎火 *yen huo*) by the 田祖 *t'ien-tsu*, "the Ancestral Lord of the Fields"². Verse 3 which follows gives a representation of the rain which fertilises the soil and it seems evident from this that a kind of pantomime took place when the *yin* sacrifice was offered³.

The *yin* sacrifice was both the first and last offering, inasmuch as it was brought at the end of the year after the Harvest Thanksgiving Festival but was also reckoned for the ensuing season of the year; this is said quite distinctly in the Shi-king III, 2, 1, 7, (= Ch. Cl. IV, 471) where these words occur: 以典嗣歲 "in order to consecrate the coming year".

According to the Shi-king ode quoted above, Ch. Cl. IV, 381/382 (concluding verse), the sacrifice must have taken place after the Harvest Thanksgiving Festival. In the same way according to Shu-king V, 13, 29 (= Ch. Cl. III, 451/452) it is brought after the winter sacrifice 烝 *chêng*. Again, *e. g.*, in the Tso-chuan, 6th year of Huan-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 47/49) it appears as a winter sacrifice.

Now while the offering of the *lei* sacrifice was reserved to the ruler from the beginning as a special privilege, the *yin* sacrifice was originally offered up by the people generally and only later became a special ceremony which was reserved to the king. In the Shi-king

¹ This is the most important of the rites which "are directed not so much to ensure fruitfulness as to render harmless the evil influences which threaten the seed". (Nielsson (P), Primitive Religion in Religionsgesch. Volksbücher III series 13/14 Tübingen 1911, p. 34). Cf. the conjuration formula in the Li-ki ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 432) with reference to the *Chia* festival.

² It is possible that the whole of this Shi-king ode was sung during the ceremony. Cf. also verse 2 of the preceding ode, where conjurations and prayers were addressed to the *t'ien-tsu* for "sweet rain".

II, 6, VIII, 4, it is also brought by the peasants in connection with the other harvest sacrifices. (曾孫來止. 以其婦子 "The distant descendant will come with his wives and children".) It is apparent from the Shi-king III, 2, 1, 1--2 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 465/467) that women were also allowed to bring the sacrifice, for we are told in that passage that 姜嫄 Kiang Yüan, the ancestress of the Chou offered it as a sacrifice for fecundity. The special significance which this sacrifice assumed through it for the Chou dynasty seems to have led to the result that the Chou rulers ascribed special importance to it and made it a royal sacrifice. The Shi-king ode, which describes in detail this sacrifice for fecundity seems to have played a special role in the sacrificial cult. There is also the curious remark in the Shi-king fragment IV, 1, III (= Ch. Cl. IV, 571) that Wên-wang was the first to offer up this sacrifice or else--since 肇 *chao* can also be translated thus--"founded" it¹. It is quite clear, however, from the Shu-king V, 13, 26/29 and apparently so from the Chou-li ch. Ta-tsung-poh that the Chou rulers did in point of fact actually offer up this sacrifice.

According to the Shi-king II, 6, VIII, 4, the passage which apparently characterises the most primitive conditions, the *yin* sacrifices were offered up to the 方 *fang*, *i. e.*, to the cardinal points or to the gods of the winds². The fact that mention is made of a red and a black (sacrifice) 騂黑 in this connection could very well lead to the conclusion that it was not merely a matter of the four cardinal points but of Heaven and Earth as well³. Again, we learn from the Shu-king II, 1, 6, (= Ch. Cl. III, 33/34) that Shun offered up the *yin* sacrifice to the 六宗 *liu-tsung*, "the six Honoured Ones". This strengthens the suggestion first thrown out by the commentator Fu

¹ Cf. the commentary in Legge's note on p. 572 for both interpretations.

² Cf. as well Shi-king II, 6, VII, 2, where a *yin* sacrifice is apparently also meant.

³ Chinese commentators as well as Legge ascribe both these expressions to the animals offered up to the North and South. This, however, cannot be the case, for were that so, a white animal would have to be offered to the West and a blue (or green) one to the East: no mention of this is to be found anywhere. A more probable assumption would be that a vegetation sacrifice was offered to the winds. Cf. Shi-king II, 6, VII, 2, where millet seed was offered to them and a sheep to the Spirit of the Soil 社 *shê*. Red and black sacrifices are much more likely to refer to Heaven and Earth. For the actual bringing of the *yin* sacrifice cf. also Tso-chuan, Ch. Cl. V, 47/49.

Shêng¹ and recently by Laufer² that the *liu-tsung* should be interpreted to mean the six cardinal points: north, south, east, west, zenith and nadir³. They are probably identical with the so-called 方明 *fang ming* found in the Ngi-li 20, ch. Kin-li (= Harlez p. 241, = Couvreur, p. 381, = Steele II, p. 7) which according to the commentary to the passage in question are = the 上下四方之神 or more commonly 神明 "the holy spirits", a colour is ascribed to each of these and as we find in the Chou-li ch. Ta-tsung-poh (= Biot I, 431 ff.) and ibid ch. T'ien-jui (= Biot I, 483 ff.) as well as ibid. ch. Yuh-jen (= Biot II, 519) they were each conceived symbolically by means of a jade sceptre. The six tortoises mentioned in the Chou-li 6, 24a, ch. Kuei-jen (= Biot II, 76/77 ff.) are attributed in special colours to Heaven, Earth and the four corners of the world respectively.

The important role played by the wind speaks for the high antiquity of the sacrifice, because the wind is a very important factor among those tribes where the sun has not yet acquired any special religious significance. The natural development of the vegetation cult would be for the chief role to be assigned to the demons of Heaven, especially the sun, and no longer to the winds or the other lower demons of nature. In accordance therewith we expect to find in China also the god of the sun or the god of Heaven gradually taking the place of the demons of the wind. In point of fact, we find, among other things, in the Chou-li 5, 8b, ch. Ta-tsung-poh, that the sacrifice is offered up to Heaven but not to Heaven alone: it is also offered to the Dyas *Huang-t'ien Shang-ti*. At the first glance the presence

¹ Cf. Legge ad loc (footnote).

² Cf. Laufer, Jade, A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion. Field Museum Publications 154. Anthropol. Ser. X, Chicago 1902, p. 120 ff. Laufer bases his argument mainly on Chou-li 5, 32a ff. (= Biot I, 486 ff.) and ibid 12, 46 (= Biot II, 528 ff.) and identifies the symbols of Heaven, Earth and the four cardinal points with the *liu-tsung*. Cf. also Haas, Theol. Literaturzeitung 1913, p. 290; Söderblom, Das Werden des Gottesglaubens, Leipzig 1916, p. 283 and Schindler in O. Z. 1916, IV, 324. Fraoke, Das Problem des Tsch'un-t's'iu etc., p. 262, tried to identify the *liu-tsung* with both the sacrifices which were afterwards called *kiao* and with those of the four seasons. He has obviously fallen a victim to the incorrect rendering of Fu Shêng's opinion given in Chavannes, M. H. I, p. 61, note 1.

³ Even to-day the importance of the four cardinal points (four corners of the world) is very great in the belief of indigenous Siberians. Cf. Tschubinow (G), Beiträge zum psychologischen Verständnis des sibirischen Zauberers (Diss.). Halle 1914, p. 61 and Wundt, Mythos und Religion² I, 519.

of *Shang-ti* seems very surprising, since as one of the inner demons of vegetation, *Shang-ti* should have nothing to do with a sacrifice which is offered up to the outer deities of vegetation. As a matter of fact, it is hardly possible to explain his presence through natural religious evolution; on the contrary, we seem to have to do with forced change of cult, which was probably the result of political motives. This supposition becomes stronger when we mention Shik'ing III, 2, 1, the Totem ode of the Chou Dynasty, where the *yin* sacrifice is described in detail. According thereto, Kiang Yüan, the ancestress of the Chou, offered up the *yin* sacrifice to enable her to bear the Totem of the Chou, Prince Millet, Hou Tsih. As the highest inner vegetation deity of the Chou, Hou Tsih, had to be reconciled with the highest inner vegetation demon of remote antiquity, and the best way of overcoming the contradiction was to make him a descendant of the other¹. For this reason, Kiang Yüan brings the sacrifice for fruitfulness not to the winds but to the highest plant-god and treads in his toe-print that she may become pregnant by him²: 克禋克祀. "She brought a burnt sacrifice, she brought offerings" in order that she might not be childless. It seems, therefore, that the *yin* sacrifice has taken the place of an older sacrifice (*Shang-ti* sacrifice³), an hypothesis which arises from the warding-off ceremony 韋 *pai* which was performed at the same time. We shall touch upon this ritual again and we shall then see that originally a dog was driven over. Now, if the dog has been replaced by a ram in the *yin* sacrifice, the fact begins to glimmer through, that originally a sacrifice other than the *yin* was brought to *Shang-ti*. We may perhaps be allowed to read, into the statement of the Erh-ya 8, 11 resp. the commentary ad loc, a further confirmation of the warding off ceremony at the *yin* sacrifice as found in the Shi-king. We are told there:—祭風曰磔 "To sacrifice to the wind is called *chih* 'to tear to pieces'." The commentator ad loc (Kuoh Poh) adds:—今俗當大道中磔狗云以止風此其象也 "To-day a dog is torn to pieces in the midst of the high road and one says, to appease the wind. This

¹ Cf. e. g., the role which the god Marduk had to adopt from the older Enlil in the Babylonian-Assyrian cult.

² The verse which follows, where *Shang-ti* lends his aid to Kiang Yüan, proves that it is really a question of *Shang-ti*'s toe-print and not, as Mao believes l. c., 466, foot note, a matter of the Emperor Ku, although she sometimes appears as his concubine.

is his image." The Tzū-tien s. v. observes:—孫炎曰既祭其禘其牲以散風也云云 "Sun Yen says: After that which has been bound¹ has been offered up, the sacrificial animal is torn to pieces that it may appease the wind etc²."

III 3. The 郊 *kiao* sacrifice is generally literally translated as border or boundary sacrifice, resp. sacrifice in the suburb, this translation being partly due³ to the written character. What are meant, however, are the old crossroads, *ubi viae competunt*, which served as the abodes of the spirits and were the spots at which they were worshipped.

This character of the sacrifice as a boundary sacrifice, resp. sacrifice of the suburb, finds its justification in the description given by Kiao-t'eh-sheng in the chapter of the Li-ki specially devoted to the *kiao* sacrifice, where the ceremonial therefore is described⁴. The K'iao-t'eh-sheng tells us that according to its own characteristics, the special *kiao* sacrifice was a sun offering, for it says quite distinctly:—大報天而主日也 "It was a great act of thanksgiving to Heaven and the sun was made the chief personality⁵". In the chapter Tsi-nyi of the Li-ki 8(24)46a (= SBE 28, 218) in a similar passage,

¹ On binding up the winds v. Gruppe, Griech. Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, München, 1906, I, 835. The binding of the Spirit of the Soil 社 *shè* is similar thereto. Cf. Chavannes, Le T'ai chan, p. 486 ff.

² Cf. similar ceremonies among the Indians along the North American Lakes. If surprised by a storm, they bound a dog and threw it overboard. Brinton, Myths of the New World³, Philadelphia 1896, pp. 159—162.

³ According to the Liu-shu-t'ung the old forms of the character showed: *septru* and *uén*.

⁴ Cf. Li-ki 5 (11) 24 b ff, esp. 34 b ff (= SBE 27, 428 ff). Among other things we are told: 於郊故謂之郊 "The sacrifice took place in the suburb [at the boundary]. Therefore it is called the sacrifice of the "boundary" ('suburb')." Shi-ki 28, 18b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu = M. H. III, 457, gives a similar explanation:—有司皆曰古者天子夏親祠上帝於郊故曰郊 "The officials say all: In olden times the Son of Heaven himself used to offer up sacrifice in the *kiao* to Shang-ti in the summer and in the *kiao* (suburb); therefore it is called *kiao* (sacrifice)."

⁵ P. Callery has already recognised this aspect of the sacrifice. On the other hand, Legge (SBE 27, 427, note) is absolutely wrong. He reads into the words 而主日 of the text:—"And the sun was considered (for the occasion) as the residence of (the spirit of) Heaven." 主 is here supposed to mean "spirit tablet" and he actually says:—"The sun became for the time the 'spirit tablet (神主)' of Heaven." He has been led astray to his curious interpretation partly through a rationalistic explanation of Fang K'üeh. It is, however, unnecessary to mention that such a conception is out of the question for a sacrifice which belongs to primitive times.

in the first place it is also brought to the sun. The use of torches (燭 *chuh*) although the sacrifice took place during the day (?) speaks in favour of a sun offering as well¹. Further, the sacrifice took place on a round hill, on the 圖丘壇 *yuán k'iu t'an*². When the Emperor Wên offered up the *kiao* sacrifice in 165 B. C., he chose the colour *red* in its honour (in memory of the ancient sun offering)³. That, however, cannot possibly have been the original character of the sacrifice, for in very primitive stages, the sun is not yet a deity to be worshipped. It is only much later that he assumes the role originally played by the lower demons of Heaven, *i. e.*, the winds. Here again we have various indications which go to show that the Chinese sun offering was originally sacrificed to other powers. In point of fact we find in the Chou-li 7, 16a, ch. Ta-ssü-ma (= Biot II, 181) that a *kiao* sacrifice took place after the autumn hunt at which a wild animal which had been overcome (*shou*) was offered up⁴, and that according to the Li-ki ch. Yüeh-ling (= SBE 27, 295) which is noticed in the Chou-li commentary ad loc, it was offered to the 四方 *ssü fang* "the four corners" "(winds)."⁵ It follows from this that the supplicatory sacrifice which was accomplished by laying out the net before the autumn hunt, was intended for the winds⁶ (禱

¹ Cf. Li-ki 5(11) 36a, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 429), also Shi-ki 28, 15b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (= M. H. III, 447):—通權火 "Des feux suspendus en l'air éclairaient toute la scène."

² Cf. the symbol of the sun at the sacrifice to the sun, the *kuai-pi*.

³ Shi-ki 28, 19a, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (= M. H. III, 457).

⁴ 饗獸于郊入獻禽以享烝 "The wild animal was brought to the *kiao* (as food for the gods) and when entering (the capital) the game was offered up as a winter sacrifice." Chou-li 7, 16a.

⁵ 命主祠祭禽于四方 "He (the Son of Heaven) commands those who administer the sacrifice to offer up the (captured) game to the four corners of the earth (the winds)." Li-ki 3(6) 80b ch. Yüeh-ling (last month of autumn). The commentary observes that the sacrifice took place in the *kiao* 以報四方之神 "in order to thank the spirits of the four corners of the earth (the winds)." Chou-li 5, 18b/19a (= Biot I, 450) reports the same application of the offering:—[若大甸則帥有司而饗獸于郊 . . . "If there be a great hunt, then he (Siao-tung-poh) places himself at the head of the officials and offers up a wild animal at the *kiao* (as food for the gods)"], and then the commentator refers to the spirits of the winds.

⁶ Chou-li 7, 13a ch. Ta-ssü-ma = Biot II, 175:—羅弊致禽以祀禱. The word 禱 *fang* is related to 方 *fang*, both etymologically and palaeographically, a fact which is noticed by the commentator. The character 示 "spirit" is simply added to the character 方 to denote the religious element.

fang) in the same way. Thus in connection with the hunt, which probably is the most primitive of all professions, the most important sacrifice was still offered to the winds and not to the sun. As an ancient hunt sacrifice the *kiao* is also characterised because the king has to shoot the sacrificial animal¹.

At the beginning of settlement, in the period of agriculture, the demons of the wind also played their part which afterwards was taken over by the sun. While later on again we find the Spirit of the Soil 社 *shê* and the sacrifice called after him in permanent connection with the 郊 *kiao* as the sacrifice to the heavenly powers; thus, e. g., Shu-king V, I, III, 3, (郊社不修) "the sacrifices *kiao* (to Heaven and *shê* to Earth) he did not perform" and Chung-yung XIX, 6 (= Ch. Cl. I, 404) (郊社之禮所以事上帝也云云) "With the ceremonies at the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth [*kiao shê*] they served Shang-ti etc. etc."; we still find, however, in Shi-king III, 3, IV, 6 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 532):—祈年孔夙, 方社不莫 "In praying for a good year² I was abundantly early, (in sacrificing) to (the Spirits of) the four Quarters and of the Soil (*fang shê*) I was not late"; and again in Shi-king II, 6, VII, 2 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 377)³:—以我齊明, 與我犧, 羊以社以方 "With my vessels full of bright millet and my pure unblemished victim-rams I have sacrificed to [the Spirit of]⁴ the Soil and to [those of] the four Quarters (*shê fang*)."

Here we still have the heavenly and earthly demons comprehended as 方社 *fang shê*: and it is the winds, not the sun, who are the foremost representatives of Heaven⁵. We have, however, a probable date for the transmission of the sacrifice to the sun which is found in a statement of Li-ki 8(24) 46a, ch. Tsi-ngi, where we are

¹ Cf. Chou-li 8, 14^a (= Biot II, p. 243), Shi-ki 28, 31^b (= M. H. III, p. 497). For further references see Schindler, Das Priestertum etc. p. 76 note 4.

² Cf. the 祈年殿 *Ki-nien-tien*, "hall of the temple where prayers are offered up for the year's harvest," with the province of the sacrificial country of Heaven: de Groot, Universalismus, p. 151.

³ The inversion of the usual 方社 is only due to the exigencies of rhyme.

⁴ Legge, *L. c.*, follows up the impossible identification of 社 *shê* with 后土 *hou t'u* which was already essayed by Mao and Chu Hi, only to be rejected by them and rightly so.

⁵ There still seems to be a remembrance of the original significance of the sacrifice in the Li-ki 5(10) 18b, ch. Li-k'i (= SBE 27, 410) where we are told that by offering up the sacrifice at the *kiao*, the wind and rain would be regulated and cold and heat made to set in at the appointed time (饗帝于郊而風雨節寒暑時).

told that the Hia still offered it up in the darkness of the night. (夏后氏祭其闕). But the sun was not allowed to enjoy the *kiao* sacrifice alone: it had to share it with other celestial bodies. We are told in the above mentioned passages of the Kiao-t'eh-sheng and the Tsi-ngi of the Li-ki that the moon was associated with the sun¹. The adoration of other deities of vegetation at the same time always enlarged the circle until at last the character of the *kiao* sacrifice was to a large extent hidden under the guise of a sun offering, although it was never completely extinguished. Besides the sun and moon, it seems that the dragon was drawn within the scope of the *kiao* sacrifice, for it appears on the royal standard (旂 *ki*) together with the sun and moon, thus, we are told, representing Heaven (以象天也)².

Again, when offering a sacrifice to the heavenly deity (?), the king always wore the costume with the rising dragon (as the symbol of Heaven).³

Now the dragon was a deity of the rain, for the crocodile (?) (scil. the dragon) awakes with the commencement of rain and appears on the banks of the river; and the primitive mind naturally looks upon the herald of rain as its bringer. Since wind and rain deities always stand in active relationship to one another, it is quite possible that the dragon may already have had his share in the *kiao* sacrifice while

¹ 郊之祭 . . . 配以月 "With the sacrifice at the *kiao* . . . the moon was associated . . ." Li-ki 8(24) 46a. The 饗 *wang* sacrifices which in practice were brought in the closest connection with the *kiao* sacrifices and in some extraordinary cases took their place, might be mentioned here for they seem to contain the moon element.

² V. Li-ki 5(11) 36b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (=SBE 27, 430).

³ Cf. Li-ki 6(13) 1a, ch. Yü-ts'ao (= SBE 28, 1). Different, however, according to Chou-li 5, 36a, ch. Ssü-fuh (= Biot II, 5) where the ruler put on the 袞 *kun* robe (which according to the commentary was decorated with dragons) when he brought sacrifices to the ancient rulers.

⁴ Therefore the commencement of the rainy season is called 龍見 *lung-hien* "the appearance of the dragon". Cf. Tso-chuan, 5th year of Huan-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 45/46). In the Shi-ki ch. K'ung-tzu-chuan (= M. H. V, 352), according to an old proverb, Confucius utters the warning to drain the pond because then the "scaly dragon" 蛟龍 *kiao-lung* (cf. thereto De Visser, The Dragon in China and Japan, Amsterdam 1913, p. 76 ff) will find no nourishment and will not show himself, and so the rain will be averted. For further information concerning the earth dragon who brings rain, see Erkes, Das Weltbild des Huai-nan-tze, note 172.

it was still a wind offering. According to the Shi-ki 28, 8b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (=M. H. III, 430) during the Hia period green dragon sojourned on the boundary (in the suburb) (where the *kiao* sacrifice was offered up) and "the vegetation thrived wonderfully" (青龍止於郊草木暢茂)¹.

In the Li-ki 8(23) 29b, ch. Tsi-fah (=SBE 28, 201/202) there is an enumeration of those deities of vegetation to whom the old *kiao* sacrifice was brought under the old dynasties. It seems to be that they are all totems. According to it Shun brought the *kiao* sacrifice to 譽 K'uh, the Hia offered it up to 鯀 K'un, the Yin to 冥 Ming and the Chou to 稷 Tsih². (According to the commentary these deities were only 配 *p'ei* "mates," "correlates" or "associated"). This statement may possibly have been systematized: some Chinese too assume this to have been the case, but the character of the gods mentioned shows that it cannot be pure invention. First of all, evidence occurs over and over again proving Hou Tsih to be a recipient of the *kiao* sacrifice. It is directly stated in the Tso-chuan, the 7th year of Siang-kung (=Ch. Cl. V, 430/431), that "the *kiao* sacrifice was offered up to Hou Tsih in the Lu state, to implore (blessings) for agriculture" (夫郊祀后稷以祈農事也)³.

According to the Li-ki 5(11) 36b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (=SBE 27, 430) Shang-ti⁴ and Hou Tsih both received the *kiao* sacrifice. Shi-ki 28, 3a, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (=M. H. III, 419) gives still earlier conditions, according to which Hou Tsih is a correlate to (associated with)⁵ Heaven, *i. e.*, with the deity to whom the *kiao* sacrifice was originally brought. He seems to have taken part in the enjoyment of the sacrifice already in the Shu-king V, 12, 5; we are told there

¹ Cf. also The Annals of the Bamboo Books, Ch. Cl. III, Proleg. p. 117: 夏道將興草木暢茂青龍止于郊

² Cf. Legge, *l. c.* p. 202, note 1 and Puni, Tre Capitoli del "Li-ki", Florence 1886, p. 1-2, who mentions a parallel passage from the Kuoh-yü.

³ The commentator understands from this that Hou Tsih was associated with Heaven (以配天).

⁴ At any rate the commentary to the passage says, mistaking the equality of Shang-ti and T'ien:—郊祀后稷以配天 "At the *kiao* sacrifice Hou Tsih is associated with Heaven."

⁵ 周公既相成王郊祀后稷以配天 "When Chou-kung was adviser to Ch'eng-wang, he brought the *kiao* sacrifice to Hou Tsih that he might be associated with Heaven."

that Chou-kung used two oxen as sacrificial animals at the *kiao* sacrifice (in Lo-yang) (用牲于郊牛二). According to Mao's commentary one of the animals was intended to Hou Tsih (as associated with Heaven) and as we can find no proof for the statement of other commentators that the animal was sacrificed to the earth (地), Mao may quite well have hit upon the correct interpretation.

The fact that the other statements have not given us an imitation of the Chou sacrifice¹, goes to prove that they were drawn from real conditions and that these conditions were not parallel to those prevailing at the sacrifice just mentioned. As the Chou brought the sacrifice to their ancestor, we should be right in expecting to see 契 Sieh² their ancestor mentioned among the Yin. Instead, however, 冥 Ming, the fifth ancestor, is the one given. 冥 Ming³ like 鯀 K'un⁴ is a water deity and therefore a demon of vegetation.

¹ Thus, *e. g.*, in the Tso-chuan, 7th year of Ch'ao-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 613/617) K'un asserts that the *kiao* sacrifice was offered to him under the Hia and in consequence all three dynasties offered to him.

² In its old form 象 = (Chuan-tzu-wei: 象 象 象 象). The Chuan-tzu-wei add 象 *ch'ung*—"vermin". The Tzu-tien s. v. 象 adds further 象形 "in the form of an elephant." The Han shu 22, 8b differentiates between Sieh and the "dark king" who is otherwise identified with him. According to the Chou-shu-ki-nien, The Annals of the Bamboo Books (Ch. Cl. III, Proleg. p. 128), Sieh was born from a swallow's egg which his mother 簡狄 *K'ien-ti* had swallowed. The statement that Sieh was born from an egg (在於卵) also occurs in Huai-nan-tzu 19, 4a. In the Li-ki 8(23), ch. Tsi-fah 契 Sieh is also commemorated as minister of education (司徒).

³ According to the Chuan-tzu-wei, the old forms of the sign 冥 are: 冥 冥 冥 冥. They mostly designate "Covered (imprisoned) sun". According to the same work (v. Tzu-tien s. v.): 冥水神也—"The dark ming is a water spirit." We are told in the Li-ki 8(23) 37b, ch. Tsi-fah (=SBE 28, 209):—冥勤其官而水死 "Ming died in the water in the midst of the greatest efforts for the execution of his office." The commentator remarks that this concerns the 冥 *hüan-ming* "the dark ming" and that he appears in the Yüeh-ling as "the deity of the winter" (*i. e.* when the sun has disappeared). In the Tso-chuan, in the 18th year of Ch'ao kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 669/671) we are told that at a conflagration, a supplicatory sacrifice was brought to 閼明 *Hüan-ming* and 回祿 *Hui-luh* (the god of fire) to stay the fire 禳火 冥 冥 回祿. Cheng K'ang-ch'eng to Chou-li 5, 9a, ch. Ta-tsung-poh (= Biot I, 421) explains *Hüan-ming*—with leanings towards the theory of the elements—as originating from the two sons of Shao-hao (脩 Siu and 熙 Hi) who was reared on water.

⁴ 鯀 K'un "the great fish", father of 禹 Yü and therefore ancestor of the Hia Dynasty, is the hero who was to regulate the great floods, in which, however, he was unsuccessful. For this reason, according to Shu-king II, i, 12 (=Ch. Cl. III, 40) he

The variation of the statements¹ concerning the sacrifice of Shun shows that this was not a matter of mere systemization; Even K'uh², who disputes with Shang-ti the fatherhood of Hou Tsih, seems to have been a demon of vegetation.

Owing to Shang-ti's association with Heaven, the *kiao* sacrifice was transfereed more and more to him; this step, however, seems to have been taken at a comparatively late date since the older sources know nothing of such a practice³. It is not until in the Li-ki that we find the *kiao* sacrifice offered up to Shang-ti as well. Cf. *e. g.*, Li-ki 4(9) 65 a, ch. Li-yün (=SBE 27, 385). We learn from these passages that the distinction between Shang-ti and Heaven has completely disappeared and that for this reason they cannot be very old. In the Li-ki 5(10) 18 b, ch. Li-k'i (=SBE 27, 410) [cf. also Li-ki 5(10) 22 b = SBE 27, 413] we are told that sacrifices were brought to Shang-ti at the *kiao* and that in this way the site of Heaven was established. In the Kiao-t'eh-sheng of the Li-ki 5(11) 36 b (=SBE 27, 430/431) mention is made of the sacrificial animals at the *kiao* and then it says:—萬物本乎天. 人本乎祖此所以配上帝也 "All things have their roots in Heaven (天); man has his root in (his) ancestor (祖); this is the reason why he (Hou Tsih) was associated with Shang-ti." This remarkable rationalistic argument proves in itself the lateness of this statement⁴. On the other hand,

was banished to the Yü-shan (羽山) (in Shantung) where he was kept a prisoner until his death. For the history of K'un cf. also Shu-king V, 4, 3; Li-ki 8(23) 37 a, ch. Tsi-fah et saepe. According to the Tso-chuan, the 7th year of Ch'ao-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 613/617) "(after his death) his spirit turned into a yellow bear that it might enter the Yü abysses" (其神化為黃熊以入於羽淵). According to the T'ien-wen line 40, he was revived by a sorceress.

¹ Differences are also found as far as the others are concerned. According to the Li-ki 4(9) 53 a, ch. Li-yün (=SBE 27, 372) (the rulers) of 杞 K'i (as descendants of Hia) offered up the *kiao* sacrifices (co-ordinately) to 禹 Yü, (the rulers) of 宋 Sung (as descendants of the Shang) offered up the *kiao* sacrifice (co-ordinately) to 契 Sieh.

² The emperor K'uh (Ti K'uh) with the dynastic title Kao-sin (高辛) is the father of Sieh.

³ Cf. the observation in Shi-ki 28, 18 b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (= M. H. II, 457) and *l. c.* 3 b (=M. H. 421), that from olden times onwards, the *kiao* sacrifice was always brought to Shang-ti in the territory of 雍 Yung. The latter statement is looked upon as uncanonical (不經) and is not mentioned by the official writers (摺紳).

⁴ The Kiao-t'eh-sheng is, like the whole of the Li-ki, a compilation of texts which belong to very different periods; hence the continual contradiction in the statements.

the more ancient character of the sacrifice still glimmers through the Li-ki passage (SBE 27, 410) quoted above, for it says there that when sacrifice was presented to (Shang-)ti at the *kiao*, the winds and rains were duly regulated and the cold and heat came each in its proper time. (饗帝于郊而風雨節寒暑時.)¹

The passage in Chung-yung XIX, 6 (= Ch. Cl. I, 404) with the dictum attributed to Confucius shows still further fusion: 郊社之禮所以事上帝也... "With the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth (*kiao shè*), they served Shang-ti." This attempt to reconcile all the sacrifices is to a certain extent due to the strong influence which was clearly exercised by Taoism in the Chung-yung name and according to which Heaven, Earth and all things in existence are merely emanations of one original being.

With the rise of the 五帝 wu-ti the *kiao* sacrifice was devoted to these goods. On the other hand the Ts'in and Han reformed this sacrifice again and according to the Shi-ki 28, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (=M. H. III, 485), extended it to their own highest deity, the Great One *T'ai-yih*, in memory of its ancient character, and we find it thus officially established in 113 B. C.

Originally the sacrificial gift probably consisted of the conquered wild animal which was offered up on the spot where the *kiao* sacrifice was presented to the winds. Cf. Chou-li 5, 18 b/19 a, ch. Siao-sung-poh (=Biot I, 450): 若大甸則帥有司而饋獸于郊... "If there be a great hunt (by the king), then he places himself at the head of all the officials and offers up the wild animal at the boundary (*kiao*)." The commentary to this passage adds that the wild animal was offered up at the *kiao* to the spirits of the four corners of the world (the winds) (以禽饋四方之神於郊). Cf. further the Chou-li passage (=Biot II, 181).

When the sacrifice developed into a sun offering (under the Chou?) we find a red bull as the representative of the sun. Cf. Kiao-t'eh-sheng in the Li-ki 5 (11) 35 a (= SBE 27, 428): 牲用騂尙赤 "The victim used (for the sacrifice) was a red one (a red steer) because red was highly prized." The sacrificial ritual of the ancient

¹ On the other hand, at a later period, a passage occurs in the Li-ki 5(10) 22 b, Li-k'i (=SBE 27, 413) where it is stated "that when offering the sacrifice to ti at the *kiao*, the highest expression of reverence is uttered." (祀帝於郊, 敬之至也).

hunt offering has, however, been retained, for the king generally *shoots* the animal instead of *slaughtering* it. The Kiao-t'eh-sheng [Li-ki 5 (11) 24b] begins with the statement that only one sacrificial animal is offered up (郊特牲). [Cf. further ch. Li-k'i of the Li-ki 5 (10) 5b = SBE 27, 398: 祭天特牲 "He offered sacrifices to Heaven with a single victim." The commentary to the passage runs as follows: 特獨也 "The victim is a single one."] The command that no pregnant animal had to be sacrificed may have something to do with this¹; but conceptions of ritual purity probably also have been the cause of such a command. In practice the matter was quite different. Hou Tsih, who is associated with Heaven, also receives an ox, as is shown in Shu-king V, 12, 5². In his case it was not necessary for the animal to be absolutely flawless although the animal dedicated to Heaven had to be without blemish³. The numerous observations of the Ch'un-tsi'u and the Tso-chuan go to show that this command was faithfully observed, for according to them the sacrifice took place at a later season and in fact had to be dropped at several occasions because no perfect animal could be obtained⁴. The *red* colour of the sacrificial animal is easily explained through the character of the sun sacrifice.

Strangely enough blood plays one of the chief roles at this sacrifice. Cf. Li-ki 5 (10) 15a = SBE 27, 406 and Li-ki 5 (11) 25a = SBE 27, 417:—郊血. According to the Chou-li 5, 9a, ch. Ta-tsung-poh

¹ 故天子牲孕弗食也, 祭帝弗用也 "Therefore the Son of Heaven did not ate of a pregnant sacrificial animal, neither did he use it when sacrificing to it." Li-ki 5 (11) 24b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 417).

² Since other deities already partook of the *kiao* sacrifice in hoary antiquity, we may assume that the custom of offering two sacrificial animals goes very far back.

³ 帝牛不吉以爲稷牛, 必在滌三月云云 "If the bull intended for the *ti* were found to be not felicitous, it was used as the (sacrificial) bull for (Hou) Tsih. The (sacrificial) bull intended for *ti* had to be kept in a pure stall for three months, etc." Li-ki 5 (11) 36b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 430).

⁴ Thus e. g., Ch'un-tsi'u in the 3rd year of Süan-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 291/292) 三年, 春, 王正月, 郊牛之口傷, 改卜, 牛牛死乃不郊 "In the third year, in the spring, in the first month of the king, the mouth of the bull was damaged. It was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted about the (other) bull. (This) bull died and then the *kiao* sacrifice did not take place." Cf. also the numerous passages where field-mice gnawed at the horns of the bull and so made the sacrificial animal unclean. Finally in Mêng-tzu and Chuang-tzu references are made among other things about the value and care of the sacrificial animal.

(= Biot I, 421) in its enumeration of the characteristic customs of the individual sacrifices, blood plays a special part at the Earth sacrifice only¹; we can therefore see an interweaving with the terrestrial cult². But the enumeration of the sacrificial gifts in both the Li-ki passages already mentioned seems to indicate a certain amount of systemisation. The actual burning seems rather to have been the chief feature of the ceremony; for in the middle of it all, next to the round hill, stood the fire altar 燔壇 *fan t'an* so characteristic of sun and celestial sacrifices. The so-called burnt sacrifice of a pile of wood 柴 *ch'ai* is, as a matter of fact, often designated as *the* sacrifice to Heaven. In the Chou-li it is to be found among the enumeration of those sacrifices and in the place where one might expect the *kiao* sacrifice, for it is offered to the sun with whom are associated the moon and the stars³. Again, the statement of the Tsi-fah in the Li-ki 8 (23) 31 (= SBE 28, 202)⁴ refers to Heaven. There the pile of wood is set alight on the great altar 泰壇 *t'ai t'an*⁵. Again, the king offered up a 柴 *ch'ai* when he went on tours of inspection or expeditions of war if he attained his goal. Thus according to the Shu-king II, 1, III, 8 Shun offered up a burnt sacrifice of a pile of wood when he reached the T'ai-shan or the other holy mountains; Li-ki 3 (5) 8b, ch. Wang-chi (SBE 27, 216) has the same reference⁶. An extension of this cult, however, can be seen from Li-ki 6 (16) 66a, ch. Ta-chuan (= SBE 28, 60) where Wu-wang offers up a burnt

¹ 以血祭祭社稷五祀五嶽 "Through the blood offering, sacrifices are brought to the Spirits of the Soil and of the Grain, to the five *ssü* [= 5 lares (?) or 5 ancient heroes(?)] and to the five holy mountains."

² It may also be an interpolation.

³ 以實柴祀日月星辰 "Through (the bull) on the pile of wood burnt offering, sacrifices are brought to the sun, moon, stars and stars." (Chou-li 5, 8b ch. Ta-tsung-poh (= Biot I, 420).

⁴ 燔柴於泰壇祭天也 "Sacrifices were brought to Heaven through burning pile of wood on the Great Altar." Li-ki 8 (23) 31a, ch. Tsi-fah.

⁵ According to the commentary the sacrificial animals and pieces of jade (牲玉) were placed upon the pile of wood. The fire altar is situated south-southeast of the middle of the Round Hill" (cf. De Groot, *Universismus*, p. 146).

⁶ 歲二月, 東巡守至于岱宗, 柴, 望秩于山川 "In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection to the east, as far as T'ai-tung. (There) he brought a burnt-offering on a pile of wood and offered up a sacrifice from (towards) the mountains and rivers." Shu-king II, 1, III, 8.

sacrifice on a pile of wood after the battle near Muh-ye to Shang-ti the Shu-king V, 3, 3, confirms this statement without mentioning that the *ch'ai* sacrifice was offered to Shang-ti². Ch. Li-k'i of Li-ki 5 (10) 12b (= SBE 27, 403/404) mentions a curious use of this sacrifice. Hia Fu-k'i, the keeper of the ancestral temple of Lu who is also conspicuous³ for his neglect of ceremonial at the sacrifices, offered up the burnt sacrifice *ch'ai* to the goddess of cookery⁴. This sacrifice however, seems to have been limited to the Lu provinces.

The remaining customs of the sacrifice *kiao* seem to show high antiquity. The preparations alone, apart from anything else are very extensive and point to the important position occupied by the sacrifice. The command in Kiao-t'eh-sheng to sweep the altars

· 牧之野武王之大事也。既事而退柴於上帝祈於社，設奠於牧室... "Wu-wang performed a great (sacrificial) service on the field of Muh-[ye]. Before he completed the service and had withdrawn, he brought a burnt offering on a pile of wood to Shang-ti, prayed (sacrificed) to the Spirit of the Soil (shé) and offered libations in the house (on the site of the temple) of Muh." Li-ki 6 (16) 66a. The commentator adds:—燔柴以告天 "He offered up the burnt offering on a pile of wood that he might solemnly proclaim (the events) to Heaven."

· 越三日庚戌柴望大告武成 "On the third day following K'eng-shu, he brought a burnt offering on a pile of wood and the sacrifice, from the (towards the mountains and rivers) *wang* and (thus) solemnly announced the successful completion of the war." Shu-king V, 3, 3.

· 3 Cf. Legge, SBE 27, 403, note 3. The commentary to the passage observes:—遂燔柴祭之是朱禮矣 "to offer up a burnt sacrifice on a pile of wood to it (the hearth), is not according to the *li* (law)."

· 4 燔柴於輿 "He brought a burnt sacrifice on a pile of wood to the goddess of cookery." Li-ki 5 (10) 12b. For further information concerning the goddess of cookery cf. Conrady in Stenz, Beiträge zur Volkskunde Süd-Schantungs, p. 36.

· 5 Cf. Stenz, *l. c.*, p. 37.

· 6 埽地而祭於其質也 "The earth was swept and the sacrifice was offered up (there) to mark its simplicity." Li-ki 5 (11) 34b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 428). Cf. Li-ki 5 (10) 8a, ch. Li-k'i (= SBE 27, 400):—... 至敬不壇埽地而祭 "... When offering up a sacrifice the greatest act of reverence was not in the (erection of the) altar (but) in the sweeping of the earth," where the commentator refers to the *kiao* sacrifice. Cf. the direction in the present cult according to which the Round Hill must be swept and which must be purified from top to bottom: De Groot, *l. c.* p. 160. Further it might be noted that the ancient character for "house", "temple" ("living room") *ts'in* = "a swept house". Cf. also the character for "broom" in 婦 *fu* "wife". It was apparently the duty of the wife to purify the ancestral temple besides providing vessels for the grain. For further information about the "sweeping" of the altar cf. v. Franke, Das Problem, etc. p. 272, note 4.

shows that the pile of wood was originally erected on the ground itself and not on an altar. Simple earthenware vessels and calabashes¹ served as sacrificial utensils. Again, at the beginning, the king wore simple garments, a point which is confirmed by the mention of the hempen² cap in the Shi-ki (= M. H. III, 225), while the chariot in which he drives is also simple³. Later on, the king displayed great pomp and wore the cap with the twelve precious stones besides the glorious robe⁴. As the solstice festival, the *kiao* is also a festival of great rejoicing and the *kiao* sacrifice is therefore celebrated with song and dance. According to Chou-li 6, 2 b, ch. Ta-ssü-yoh (= Biot II, 30) "at the time (the strain) *Huang-chung* was played (on the instrument), (the melody) *Ta-lü* was sung and the (dance) *Yün-men* was danced in order to sacrifice to the heavenly spirits." (乃奏黃鍾歌大呂舞雲門以祀天神.)

Further on fol. 4b (= Biot II, 34), we read:—凡樂園鍾爲宮黃鍾爲角大簇爲徵姑洗爲羽雲鼓雲鼗孤竹之管雲和之琴瑟雲門之舞冬至於地上之圓丘奏之 "Generally music is performed whereby the melody *Yuan-chung* is played with (the note) *Kung*, (the melody) *Huang-chung* is played with (the note) *Kioh*, (the melody) *Ta-t'eh* with (the note) *Chi*, (the melody) *Ku-si* with (the note) *Yü*, and whereby thunder drums (are beaten) and the thunder tambourines (are shaken), the bamboo flutes (are blown), the harps and zithers from (the mountain) *Yün-ho* seized and (the dance) *Yün-men* performed, (all) at the winter solstice on the round hill, above on the earth." Cf. De Groot, *Universismus*, p. 168 ff.,

· 1 器用陶匏以象天地之性也 "Clay utensils and pumpkins were used as vessels, in order to represent the natural of Heaven and Earth." Li-ki 1 *l. c.* Cf. the 匏爵 "pumpkin-goblets" of the modern *kiao* sacrifice in De Groot *l. c.*, p. 175.

· 2 Cf. Lun-yü IX, 3, 1;—麻冕禮也 "The hempen cap is accordance with the *li*." Otherwise the king would have worn the great tiara during the sacrifice to Heaven. Cf. Chou-li (= Biot II, 5).

· 3 乘素車貴其質也 "He drove in the simple (white) chariot on account of its (*i. e.*, the sacrifice's) simplicity." Li-ki 5 (11) 36b. The commentary explains the 素車 *su-ch'ê* as "the wooden chariot of the Yin" (殷之木路也). Cf. Chou-li, 6, 48a (= Biot II, 127) concerning the *su-ch'ê*.

· 4 天重象聖人則之 "Heaven hangs out (his) shining pictures and the sages imitated him." Li-ki 5 (11) 36b. Later on the *kiao* sacrifice became the most grandiose ceremony of the state cult.

on the placing of the musicians during the *kiao* sacrifice in the modern cult: mourners have to put off their mourning for the day¹.

Originally, while it was still an offering to the winds, the *kiao* sacrifice was not limited to any special point of time, but as the sacrifice after the chief hunts it took place in spring and autumn. When it was transferred to the sun it was limited to the solstice festivals. In the Tzū-tien s. v. 郊 *kiao*, we are told:—祭名冬至祀天于南郊夏至祀地于北郊故謂祀天地爲郊 “The name of the sacrifice of the winter solstice is the offering to Heaven at the southern suburb [boundary] (*kiao*); that of the summer solstice is the sacrifice to Earth at the northern suburb [boundary] (*kiao*). Therefore the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth are called *kiao* (sacrifices).” Leaving later embellishment aside (as that of the sacrifice to the Earth in the summer) we must retain the winter solstice as the time limit for the sacrifice. The Shi-ki 28, 2b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (= M. H. III, 417) quotes from a certain 周宮 *Chou-kuan* “The Officials of the Chou”, according to which sacrifices were brought to Heaven at the southern suburb [boundary] (*kiao*) during the winter solstice and to the deities of the Earth at the northern (*kiao*) during the summer solstice². The *kiao* is verified twice in the Kiao-t’eh-sheng as the sacrifice of the summer solstice. We are told in the Li-ki 5(11) 34b (= SBE 27, 427):—郊之祭也迎辰日之至也 “At the sacrifice at the suburb [boundary] (*kiao*), he (scil. the

¹ 喪者不哭不敢凶服 “The mourners wept not, neither did they dare put on their mourning dress.” Li-ki 5(11) 36a, ch. Kiao-t’eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 429). Cf. similarly Li-ki 8(24) 45a, ch. Tsi-ngi (= SBE, 28, 217): “During the *kiao* sacrifice, the mourners dared not weep and those who wore mourning dress dared not enter the gate of the capital (不敢入國門).

² 周宮曰冬至祀天於南郊迎長日之至夏日至祭地祇皆用樂無而神乃可得而禮也 “The *Chou-kuan* says: At the winter solstice sacrifices are brought to Heaven at the southern *kiao*. Thus the advent of growing day is awaited. At the summer solstice sacrifices were brought to the Spirits of the Earth. (On) all (these occasions) music and dances are performed, and so the spirits can be reached and the rites carried out.” Shi-ki 28, 2b. Fol. 15b of the same chapter of the Shi-ki (= M. H. III, 447) also tells us among other things:—三年一郊奏以冬十月爲歲首故常以十月上宿郊見 “One *kiao* sacrifice took place every three years. The Ts’in reckoned the tenth month in the winter as the beginning of the year. Therefore (the ruler) in his own might, person went in the tenth month, within the first ten days of the month to perform the *kiao* sacrifice.”

Son of Heaven) solemnly welcomed the arrival of the longest day.” Then again 5 (11) 35a:—郊之用辛也周之始郊日以至 “The *kiao* was offered up on a *sin*-day (for it was) the Chou (N. B. King Wu-wang after the battle near Muh-ye) who commenced the *kiao* at the (winter) solstice.” As a result of the confusion with other vegetation sacrifices of various dynasties, the *kiao* sacrifice became a spring sacrifice, as is shown by the practice of the Ch’un-ts’iu and the Tso-chuan for Lu. The following statements are found in the Ch’un-ts’iu concerning the time when the *kiao* sacrifice was offered: 1. Ch. Cl. V, 217:—夏四日四卜郊 “In summer, in the fourth month, the tortoise-shell was consulted for the fourth time concerning the *kiao* sacrifice”. 2. Ch. Cl. V, 291:—三年春王正月郊牛之口傷改卜牛牛死乃不郊 “In the third year (of Duke Süan) in the spring, in the first month of the king, the bull (which was destined) for the *kiao* suffered some injury in the mouth. It was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted concerning the (other) bull. The bull died, and so the *kiao* sacrifice was not offered.” 3. Ch. Cl. V, 361 says:—七年春王正月驪鼠食郊牛角改卜牛驪鼠又食其角乃免牛 “In the seventh year (of the duke), in the spring, in the first month of the king, some field mice gnawed at the horns of the bull (destined) for the *kiao* sacrifice. It was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted concerning an(other) bull. (But) field mice again gnawed at its horns, whereupon the bull was let go.” Again *ibid*:—不郊猶三望 “(In summer) there was no *kiao* sacrifice but in spite of that we offered up sacrifices to the three *wang*.” Ch. Cl. V, 372 tells us:—夏四月五卜郊不從乃不郊 “In summer, in the fourth month, the tortoise-shell was consulted for a fifth time about the *kiao* sacrifice. As (the result) was not favourable, the *kiao* sacrifice did not take place.” Ch. Cl. V, 789:—驪鼠食郊牛牛死改卜牛 “(In the fifteenth year of Duke Ting, in the first month of spring) field mice gnawed at the bull (which was destined) for the *kiao* sacrifice. The bull died; it was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted concerning the (other) bull.” And *ibid*:—夏五月辛亥郊 “In summer, in the fifth month, on the day *Sin-hai*, the *kiao* sacrifice took place.” Ch. Cl. V, 792:—驪鼠食郊牛改卜牛 “(In the first year of Duke Ngai, in the spring) field mice gnawed at the bull (which was destined) for the *kiao* sacrifice. It was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted concerning

the (other) bull." According to the same source, the *kiao* sacrifice took place in the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *Sin-si* (夏四月辛巳郊).

We learn from this that in Lu, under the Chou, the sacrifice was brought in the summer: in reality, therefore, in the spring. This practice is further confirmed by the statements of the Tso-chuan. According to it, in the 5th year of Huan-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 45/46) the *kiao* sacrifice was brought at the time *K'i-chih* 啟蟄 "at the emergence of the insects from their burrows" *i. e.*, at the beginning of spring. This statement is confirmed in the Tso-chuan, 7th year of Siang-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 430/431) and the writer adds that ploughing followed directly on the *kiao* sacrifice.

The last passage mentions that the *kiao* sacrifice concerned an offering to Hou Tsih and that blessings for the tilling of the fields were entreated¹.

The practice during the Ch'un-ts'iu period shows therefore—although not all commentators will admit it—that by that time the *kiao* sacrifice was no longer (or rather not only) a solstice sacrifice but also a spring sacrifice².

The sacrifice is specially mentioned under the Ts'in as the offering after the 立春 "beginning of spring" and before ploughing the land. Lü-shi Ch'un-ts'iu 1, 3a and Li-ki 3(6) 47b, ch. Yüeh-ling (=SBE 27, 254) tell us:—是月也天子乃以元日禘穀于上帝 "In this first (spring) month the son of Heaven on the first day³ brought sacrifices of grain to Shang-ti (or: the son of Heaven) entreats Shang-ti to bless the grain"⁴.

Since that time the sacrifice remained⁵ as the sacrifice of the winter solstice and that of the spring at the southern boundary 南郊

是故啟蟄而郊郊而後耕 „Therefore the *kiao* sacrifice is offered at the time *K'i-chih* and ploughing follows after the *kiao*. Tso-chuan, 7th year of Siang-kung.

¹ Cf. Legge, Ch. Cl. V, 219, par. 3-5.

² According to the commentary the first day (元日) is the first (幸) *sin* day.

³ The commentary adds that the Son of Heaven reaps his grain offering by tilling the field with 1000 Mou.

⁴ Cf. the description in De Harlez:—大清祭禮 La Religion et les Cérémonies Impériales de la Chine Moderne, 1893, p. 76 ff.;—Farjanel, Le Culte Impérial en Chine J. A. Sér. 10, vol. VIII (1906) p. 431-516;—Grube, Religion und Kultus der Chinesen, p. 73 ff. and lastly the most detailed and best representation of the modern principal

of the capital. The former is offered up on the 圓丘壇 *üan-k'iu-t'an*, "The altar of the round hill"¹ and the latter on the 新穀壇 *ki-kuh-t'an*, "the altar of the grain offering"².

Under the Chou the day of sacrifice had at least to contain the cyclical character 辛 *sin*. The reason given is that after the battle near Muh-ye Wu-wang first offered the *kiao* sacrifice on a *sin* day³.

The real *kiao* sacrifice is only that which is offered to Heaven at the southern *kiao*, although other sacrifices analogous to it were also brought at the other suburbs (boundaries); it may perhaps be that these inherited the remembrance of the *kiao* sacrifice being originally offered to the four corners of the world (四方). There is an obscure passage in the Chou-li where mention is made of a *kiao* while the Shu-king speaks once of 3 *kiao*⁴. There were 4 *lei* and 4 *wang* corresponding to the 4 *kiao* and according to Chou-li 5, 16b, ch. Siao-tsung-poh (= Biot I, 441) altars were erected at all of them⁵.

It is probable that as an offering to the winds, the *kiao* was not offered up to any special demons or gods, as little as it is the case to-day among the Siberians and other peoples. This would explain why it was brought by an official of quite secondary rank when it became part of the state cult, in that place where it first attained significance, *i. e.*, after the autumn hunt. Once, however, it was directed to the sun or Heaven, it fell under the personal duties of the ruler of the state, by whom the rite is to be performed to this very day. In the Li-ki 4(9) 65a, ch. Li-yün (=SBE 27, 385) mention

sacrifice in De Groot, *Universismus*, p. 141 ff. There is an illustration of the sacrifice in S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, New York 1895, I, with the words "Imperial Worship of Shangti on the Altar of Heaven at Peking."

¹ De Groot, *l. c.* p. 144 ff.

² De Groot, *l. c.* p. 150 ff.

³ 郊之用辛也周之始郊日以至 "For the *kiao* a *sin* day was used, (because) the Chou first offered up the *kiao* at the (winter) solstice." Li-ki 5 (11) 5a, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (=SBE 27, 428) (s. above p. 645). Cf. the notes of the K'ien-lung editors in Legge *l. c.* For further explanations why a 辛 *sin* day has been chosen cf. Morgan, *A Case of Ritualism in JKAS China Branch*, 1917, p. 136, note.

⁴ Cf. Shu-king V, 29, 5.

⁵ 兆五帝于四郊四望四類亦如之 "He erected altars to the *wu-ti* at the four *kiao*. He did likewise for the four *wang* and the four *lei*." Chou-li 5, 16b.

is made that the ancient kings used to offer it¹. In the Shu-king V, 1, III, 3, the last Emperor of the Shang dynasty Chou-sin, is reproached for neglecting² the *kiao* (and the *shé*). In the Shi-king III, 3, IV, 2, the king complains that drought has set in in spite of the fact that he piously offered up the *kiao* sacrifice³. In the Shi-ki (=M. H. III, 221) the *kiao* sacrifice is designated as royal sacrifice. Therefore Confucius makes a serious reproach in the Li-ki 4(9) 53b, ch. Li-yün (=SBE 27, 371)⁴ that the ruler of Lu has taken upon himself to offer up the *kiao* sacrifice. We are told there:—魯之郊禘非禮也周公其衰矣祀之郊也禹也宋之郊也契也是天子之事守也故天子祭天地諸侯祭社稷 “The *kiao* and *shé* sacrifices performed in Lu are against the ritual instructions. How has (the ritual) of Chou-kung (fallen) into decay? The *kiao* sacrifice in K'i was offered (on account of) Yü. The *kiao* sacrifice in Sung was offered (on account of) Sieh. Thus were preserved the sacrificial observances of the Son of Heaven. For the Son of Heaven offered sacrifices to Heaven and Earth (only) while the feudal lords offered to the Spirits of the Soil and the Grain.”

The ploughing of the land by the ruler⁵ took place in connection with the spring *kiao* sacrifice; in the Li-ki 3(6) 47b, ch. Yüeh-ling (=SBE 27, 254/255) (=Lü-shi Ch'un-ts'iu I, 33a ff) it is called: 藉帝藉 *kêng ti-tsieh* “the ploughing of the imperial field”.

¹ 故祭帝於郊所以定天位也 “Therefore the (scil. the 先王 “ancient kings”) brought sacrifices to the *ti* at the *kiao* and thus the place of Heaven was established.” Li-ki 4(9) 65a.

² 郊社不修 “The sacrifice *kiao* (to Heaven) and *shé* (to the Spirits of the Soil) he did not perform.” Shu-king V, 1, III, 3.

³ 自郊徂宮 “From the *kiao* I have gone to the ancestral temple.” Shi-king III, 3, IV, 2.

⁴ Cf. also M. H. V, 392, note.

⁵ Cf. also Ch. Cl. V, 430/431; further the commentary to Chou-li I, 31b ch. T'ien-ssü (=Biot I, 84):—王以孟春躬耕帝藉云云 “At the beginning of spring the king himself ploughs the imperial field, etc.” According to the present ritual, the ploughing ceremony was preceded by a sacrifice to the Sien-nung (先農) (Cf. De Groot, *l. c.* p. 238). Cf. the fuller treatment of the cult of Sien-nung and Shien-nung (神農) in Franke, *Kêng tschi t'u* p. 11 ff. We have taken the following statement of the Hou Han-shu I4, 5a from there:—“According to the old ritual of the Han, the princely field was ploughed in the east at the beginning of spring and the princes offered sacrifices to Sien-nung. Sien-nung is synonymous with Shen-nung Yeu-ti.”

We have thus seen how the three greatest sacrifices of China have had their beginnings in ancient travel, roadside or wind sacrifices.

The actual road sacrifice is mentioned in Ngi-li 16, 10a, ch. Ping-li (=De Harlez p. 163, Steele I p. 191). We are told there of the ambassador of a certain state who received a 命 *ming*, a commission, and performed the solemn ceremony in the ancestral temple before his departure. It was a question of the gifts which the ambassador should take with him and which had been laid out. After the ambassador had performed the sacrifice and the sacrificial silk had been buried 理 *mai*, the text says:—又釋幣于行遂受命 “Then he (the liturgist) offers up the sacrificial rolls of black and red silk to the Road¹ and after that he (the commissioner) receives the 命 *ming*.” The sacrifice to the God of the Road 行 *ling* forms one of the five 五祀 *wu ssü* sacrifices, which are generally designated as domestic sacrifices. These consist of the sacrifices to the protecting spirits of the inner gate, the cooking hearth, the outer gate, the road leading home and the middle rain gutters. In the Ts'in calendar of the Li-ki, the Yüeh-ling (Li-ki 3, 82a, 3, 86b, 3, 91b =SBE 27, 297, 302, 306), the 祀行 sacrifice is recognised² as specifically a winter one. We find mention of the real travel sacrifice in the commentary (*ku*) of the Ngi-li 18, 24a, ch. Ping-li (=de Harlez p. 216)³. We are told there: (使者) 出祖釋軾祭酒脯乃飲酒于其側 “When departing (the commissioner) offers up the *tsu* sacrifices and performs the *pah* ceremony. He offers up wine and dried meat and then drinks wine etc. etc.” Here we have two sacrificial rituals which must be explained more fully. Concerning the 祖 *tsu* sacrifices, this is generally regarded as the sacrifice to the God of Road⁴. The modern character consists of

¹ 釋 *shi*—“to sprinkle, to saturate, to leave;” it also has the meaning “to lay down, to bring,” throughout in the Ngi-li.

² The commentary observes concerning the passage where the sacrifices are brought to the road:—在廟門外之西 *i. e.*, outside the gate of the temple in the west. Cf. Legge's remark in SBE 27, 297. According to the Ch'un-ts'iu-fan-lu and other sources the well has taken the place of the road.

³ De Harlez *l. c.* has the following fantastic translation:—“Quand l'envoyé a passé la porte de la capitale, il offre un sacrifice aux ancêtres et au génie des chemins (et pose les offrandes sur le chemin à gauche de la grande porte). Il offre du vin et des grandes séchées (prie, annonce son voyage) et boit le vin (offert) à côté (du lieu du sacrifice).”

⁴ Cf. Legge to Shi III, 3, VI, 7 (=Ch. Cl. IV, 545) in his note where he says:—祖 was the name of a sacrifice to the Spirit of Roads, at the commencement of a

The commentary to the passage from the Ngi-li (*ki*) 18, 24 (concerning the 祖 and 輶 ceremonies) shows that a dog was used for the 輶 *pah*. It says:—其牲犬羊可也 “Their sacrificial animals may be a dog and a sheep.” The same commentary refers among other things to Chou-li 9, 27b, ch. 犬人 *ch'üan-jen* “dog-man” (= Biot II, 346) where it says:—犬人掌犬牲凡祭祀共犬牲用怪物伏瘞亦如之 “The dog-man (officer) is instructed to offer up the dog as a sacrifice. He (brings) a dog as an offering at all sacrifices. The animal which is used (for a sacrifice) must be without blemish and of one colour. He acts in a like manner at the ceremony for the 伏 *fu*, i. e., the driving over the sacrificial animal and at that of the 瘞 *i*, i. e., the burial of the sacrificial animal.” The commentary to this remarks:—伏謂伏犬以王車轢之瘞謂埋祭也 “*Fu* means: to offer up a dog as a sacrifice by having it run over by the king's carriage; *i* means: to offer up by means of burying.” Then follows a reference to Erh-ya 5, 25a: 祭地曰瘞埋 “To bring a sacrifice to Earth is called *i mai*, to bury in secret.” The text of the Chou-li 9, 27b then continues:—凡幾珥沈羣用騶可也 “If (the dog) be used for the smearing with blood and if it be drowned or torn to pieces, then a spotted one may (also) be used.” After this little digression, let us turn once more to that

赤友猶言扶拔也主除蟲豸自埋者; this, however, rests upon an (incorrect) identification with 拔, for it is in no way related to the apparent root 羣 (two hands unrooting a tree?). Again the 友 of the Chou-li is written in the Liu-shu-t'ung 騶 *poh* = “Goddess of Drought” (Shi III, 3, IV, 5). Apart from this the Shi-wu is the only other source which compares 友 with 除 “expulser”.

The commentary gives the old form 龍 *lung* for 騶 *mang*. 幾 to be read 魁 *k'ui* (with which Cheng K'ang-ch'eng also identifies it) should equal 跋 *kuei*, and as a matter of fact he refers to Erh-ya 5, 25:—祭山曰跋 (text 廢 *ki*) 縣 “To sacrifice to the mountain is called *kuei hien*,” but 跋 is the phonetic way of writing for 廢 (度) and is according to the Tzū-tien:—跋謂埋藏之 “*Kuei* means: to bury it in secret.” This explanation, however, does not seem to fit, since the burying at the sacrifice to the Earth was quite common and is mentioned. The commentary makes 珥 equal 血 *erh* “to smear with blood” (Cf. further the commentary to Chou-li 9, 15b = Biot, II, 333 note). According to Erh-ya *l. c.* 沈 is 祭川曰浮沈 “To sacrifice to the rivers is called *fon-ch'an* = to cause to sink.” The commentary then refers to Chou-li 5, 9a, ch. Ta-tsung-poh (= Biot I, 421/422) in support of this:—(職曰)以狸 (=埋)沈祭山林川澤以禱羣祭四方百物... “By burying, sacrifices are brought to the mountains and the woods, by causing

Ngi-li commentary to 18, 24. This continues as follows:—古文輶作被 “The Ku-wên form of 輶 is 被 *fu* “warding off a disaster” “(to sprinkle)”. This, however, is not confirmed either by the Chuan-tzu-wei or by the Liu-shu-t'ung. These latter merely have forms like 輶. Mao identifies 輶 with 跋 *poh* “to go through the grass” (= 草行), but this is disputed by our commentator. Thus far the commentary.

From all the statements about the 輶 *pah* ceremony which are found especially in the Chou-li, we are able to form the following conclusions; namely, that it consisted of a certain warding off ceremony at the beginning of a journey or before the driving over ceremony; it is therefore a matter of indifference whether the 輶 *pah* is an image or a symbol which preceded the ceremony or whether the character 輶 has been constructed as a result of this custom. The ceremony is described as follows in the Chou-li 8, 17a, ch. Ta-yü “Great Driver” (= Biot II, 249):—大馭掌馭玉路以祀及犯輶王自左馭馭不祝登受轡犯輶遂驅之

to sink to rivers and the marshes, by opening and cutting to pieces sacrifices are brought to the four corners of the world (winds) and to the hundred Beings.” Although the whole systematic division of the sacrifices in the Ta-tsung-poh chapter seems to have been manipulated a great deal, its core is very ancient, for we often hear e. g., of sinking something at the sacrifice to the god of the river. Another similar systematic compilation of the various ways of bringing sacrifices is also found in the Ngi-li 20, 44b, ch. Kin-li (apparently belonging to the 記):—(天子)祭天燔柴祭山丘陵升祭川沈祭地瘞 “When bringing sacrifices to Heaven, he (the Son of Heaven) used burnt sacrifices on a pile of wood, when offering to the mountains, hills and heaps of earth, he surmounted (something), when offering to the rivers he sank (something), when offering to the Earth he buried (something).” 羣 (cf. also Chou-li 9, 29b) = 礫 “to tear to pieces”. The inscriptions on bone speak more often of dogs being buried or burnt. Cf. Hopkins, Pictographic Reconnaissances in JKAS, October 1917, p. 784.

According to the Tzū-tien 被 means “the warding off and frightening away of all evil.” 拂除災求福也又潔也除也. According to the Chou-li 6, 38b (= Biot II, 104) the *nü-wu* (女巫) were entrusted with the warding off and exorcising ceremonies 被除. In the Tso-chuan, the 25th year of Siang-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 511/515), we read:—祝被社 “The liturgist performs the exorcising warding off ceremony at the *shé*”; and in the Tso-chuan, 5th year of Ting-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 750/754):—君以軍行被社鼙鼓祝奉以從 “If the prince go out with the army, then the liturgist performs the warding off ceremony at the *shé*, smears the drums with blood and follows with the portable image;” Tso-chuan, 29th year of Siang-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 544/547):—被殯 “to ward off the coffin”. Legge translates 被 “to sprinkle” throughout, apparently in accordance with the commentary to Chou-li 6, 38b.

„The great driver is commissioned to bring the jade carriage to the ceremony, and when the ceremony of attack and driving over is performed, the king himself drives. The driver steps down and recites the prayers and performs the sacrifice. He seizes the bridle, performs the ceremony of 'attack and driving over' and then drives the horse farther"¹. Following straight on this we are told in 8, 18a, ch. Jung-p'u "Driver of the War Chariot" (= Biot II, 251):—... 犯轅如玉路之儀凡巡守及兵車之會亦如之 "He (the Jung-p'u) performs the ceremony of 'attack and driving over' in exactly the same way as the rite with the jade carriage. He does the same at tours of inspection as well as at the gatherings of arms and chariots." Thus far the ritual at the 轅 *pai* according to the Chou-li. In the Shi-ki III, 2, 1, on the other hand, there is no question of a journey or road sacrifice² but of a warding off ceremony at the 禴 *yin* sacrifice for the coming year (嗣歲). We are told there:—取羝以禴 "We take a ram to perform the driving over ceremony." The ritual at which the warding off ceremony is performed with a dog apparently occurs at all conjuration sacrifices which took place at the gate³, but from the standpoint of the history of religion it matters very little whether the dog was driven over or cut to pieces, the main purpose being to symbolise the destruction of the hostile demon⁴.

In the chapter Yüeh-ling of the Li-ki 3(6) 57 b, we are told that a dog was torn to pieces and buried at the nine gates in order to

¹ Cf. the commentary on p. 651.

² Cf. Legge, Ch. Cl. IV, 471: "We sacrifice a ram to the spirit of the path. Legge says in the note:—"轅 was the name of a sacrifice offered to the spirits of the roads on setting out on a journey; but from the mention of it here, we must conclude that it was also used in connection with the services of the ancestral temple."

³ Cf. the conjuration sacrifice 禴 *yung*. It is interesting to note that in the Ngü-li 12, 32 (4i) the dog was sacrificed at the east gate during a banquet. The passage quoted says:—其牲狗也烹于門外東方 "His sacrificial animal is the dog. It is cooked outside the gate on the east side." [Cf., Li-ki 10(45), 51a, ch. Hsiang-yin-kiu-ü (SBE 28, 443): 烹狗於東方] The commentary (cf. Legge *l. c.*) refers to the dog as the guard. For further information concerning the sacrifice of dogs cf. Ngü-li 7, 20 a/b (= De Harlez p. 74, who gives a fantastic translation).

⁴ Cf. similar phenomena in the Indo-Chinese and the circles of culture related thereto. E. g., Prschewalsky, Reisen nach Tibet, p. 150; Bogoras, The Chukchee, p. 13; Sternberg, Die Religion der Giljaken in the Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft VIII, 1905, p. 257 (p. 270/271 and 472/34: Description of the sacrifice of a dog); Kennan, Zeltleben in Sibirien, p. 113.

ward off epidemics of pestilence which are mentioned. It is the ceremony known as 難 *no*. There it says:—命國難九門磔攘以畢春氣. It was fixed that the ceremony was performed within the town to ward off the epidemics of pestilence. Dogs were torn to pieces at the nine gates to banish danger and to bring about the spring breezes"¹. The dog may also have been regarded as a "scapegoat" for a demon of sickness². It can, however, also be possible that the Feng-suh-t'ung-ügi 7 a/b is right when it refers among other things to this statement of the Li-ki, according to which a dog was laid out on view (著) at each of the 四門 four gates because it served as a good watchman³. This would explain to a certain extent the special position of the 大司寇 Minister of Justice (literally: Great Protector against Robbery)⁴ and his representative⁵ at the dog sacrifice, as we find it in the Chou-li. The Feng-suh-t'ung-ügi *l. c.* then gives a further reference from the Shi-ki ch. V, 6, 9 (言秦德)⁶ for the meaning of the sacrifice, which has no more been understood by him than it has been by the other commentators of the Li-ki passage. According to this 德公 Teh-kung first had a dog torn to pieces in such manner as to provide a protection against 蠱 菑 "pestilence and evil". Nowadays gates and floors are smeared with the blood of a white dog "to avert misfortune (辟除不祥)". The passage in the Shi-ki V, 6, 9 reads:—秦德公二年初伏以狗禦蠱 "The Duke Teh of Ts'in instituted the sacrifice *fu* in the second year (of his reign) in order to

¹ Cf. Legge, SBE, 27, 266 and note. Li-ki 3(6) 76a, ch. Yüeh-ling (=SBE 27, 288/289) says that the Son of Heaven performs the *no* ceremony (to avert pestilence and sickness) in the second autumn month. He also tastes hempseed with dog's flesh after having brought it as a sacrifice beforehand in the ancestral temple.

² For similar customs, cf. Bastian, Ein Jahr auf Reisen, I, p. 619; Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, p. 487 (warding off the dog demon [epilepsy?]). In Babylon a black dog was attached to the demon of fever (Labartu); cf. Myhrmann in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 15, p. 157. The votive dogs which served to frighten off the demons should perhaps be considered in this connection.

³ Cf. in a similar manner the symbol of a dog as a guardian on oriental talismans. V. Bastian *l. c.* p. 588 note.

⁴ Chou-li 9, 10a (= Biot II, 315): 大祭祀奉犬牲 "At the great sacrifices he offers a dog as the sacrificial animal."

⁵ Cf. the same mission at the great sacrifices for the Ta-ssü-kou as we have it in the Chou-li 9, 13a (= Biot II, 324). Further in Chou-li 9, 15b, ch. Shi-ssü (= Biot II, 333) it says:—凡芻珥則奉犬牲 "At all the blood-smearing ceremonies he offers the dog as the sacrificial animal."

⁶ De Visser, The Dog and Cat in Japanese Superstition, p. 4.

avert the pestilence by means of a dog" and is treated in various ways, by Chavannes in M. H. II, 23 (also *ibid* p. 237), [cf. further *ch. Fêng-shan-shu* 4 b (= M. H. III, 422/423)] and by De Groot. R. S. V. 826. While De Groot l. c. takes the expression 初伏 *ch'u fu*: "the commencement of the hottest summer period" to indicate a conception of time already in 676 B. C. and which he undoubtedly maintains until the very latest period as the "dog's day"¹, Chavannes interprets the time given in the strictest conception of the cult, an interpretation with which I agree, and he translates: "Il institue (le sacrifice de l'époque) fou".

Taking all in all, we see what an important role was played by the dog in the sacrificial cult of ancient China, a role which has often been overlooked² for it seems to have been inseparable from the travel sacrifice.

¹ Sirius is represented as the wolf of Heaven and is shot at. The heavenly arrow (M. H. III, 412) lays low the dangerous star of Heat and Robbery which at the same time is the protecting star of Ts'in.

² Cf. for example the sacrifice of a white dog (白犬) as given in the Shan-hai-king I, 13b: 其祠皆以白狗祀 "At their sacrifices they all offered through (the medium of) a white dog." (Kosny, Chan-Hai-King p. 34 translates absolute nonsense). Cf. also Tzū-tien s. v. 禮. Cf. Horatio Hale, The Iroquois Sacrifice of the White Dog, in the American Anthropologist, vol. VII, 1885 for further information concerning the sacrifice of a white dog among other nations. In the Muh-p'ien-tzū-chuan, 4, 24/b the Son of Heaven sacrifices a dog besides the other animals (天子之橐馬橐牛 龍狗橐羊). According to the Chou-li 4, 39 b (= Biot I, 396) it was the 槁人 *kao-jen* who had to feed the dogs destined for sacrifice (with grain). Further, the dog was used together with the pig and the cock for the purification by blood (at the Tabernacle ceremony). Cf. Tso-chuan, 11th year of Yin-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 31/33).