REVITALIZATION OF THE CULT OF HEAVEN: CEREMONIAL POLITICS IN THE EARLY MING

賀允宜 Yun-yi Ho
Visiting Professor, History Department, National Cheng Chi University

I. INTRODUCTION

In a panel report on the current state of Ming studies in the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) held at Toronto in March, 1976, Professor Ray Huang discussed its neglected components. He pointed out that the ritualistic proceedings during the Ming dynasty still to this day have not been studied.[1] It is certainly true that the massive documents pertaining to this subject are yet to be explored and organized.

Anyone who has ever used the *Veritable Records of T'ai-tsu* (*T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 太祖實錄)[2] must have had the experience of constantly confronting the recurring records of matters of ritual and sacrifice (*li*禮). The same fact is true of the vast *Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ta Ming hui-tien*大明會典).[3] As Professor Hucker pointed out, it devotes seventy-five of its two-hundred-eight chapters to the various aspects of *li*禮.[4] This is more than the amount devoted to any single subject discussed in the same work. The present paper, which is based on the research done in preparation for the doctoral dissertation,[5] is an attempt to rspond to Professor Huang's challenge by broadening the interest in Ming studies.

One salient characteristic of the early Ming 明朝 was its surging interest in the codification of rituals and sacrifices. F.W. Mote observes in his study that both in reaction to Mongol delinquency and in response to the active, constructive mood of the national restoration, the Ming dynasty established successive commissions to investigate, to recommend, and to compile reference books on rituals and sacrifices.[6] Among these ritualistic undertakings, the revitalization of the cult of Heaven calls for special attention. As an ex-peasant and ex-Buddhist monk who eventually climbed up the imperial throne, Chu Yuan-chang 朱元璋 realized that his legitimacy relied upon the sanction of the will of Heaven.[7] One ceremony which he used to reiterate his "Mandate of Heaven"天命 was the annual suburban sacrifice (*chiao-ssu* 郊祀) to Heaven and Earth.

To attach special importance to this sacrificial ceremony, Chu Yuan-chang established a personal example for the dynasty. He personally performed thirty such suburban sacrifices during his thrity-one years on the throne (1368–1398).[8]

Further, he instructed his heirs to continue this precedent by holding the same ceremony with equal sincerity and solemnity. He also forewarned them not to delegate such an imperial prerogative to any official but to perform it in person.[9] Even the death and mourning observation for parents should not constitute a sufficient reason for its dismissal.[10] They did not fail the founding emperor.[11] The diligence of the Ming emperors in strictly observing the suburban sacrifices deeply impressed the Confucian scholars in the succeeding Ch'ing dynasty 清朝 (1644–1911), who praised their piety and sincerity as being unsurpassable by any dynasty in Chinese history.[12]

Since the suburban sacrifices were so indispensible to the imperial legitimacy, the form they were to take must have been the result of the pasinstaking deliberations between Chu Yuan-chang and his Confucian counselors. Many of their conversations indicated that they had different interpretations on issues of ritual and sacrifice. It is predictable that the emperor desired to have his own opnions prevail. After all, the suburban sacrifices were to legitimize his "Mandate of Heaven." Chu held firmly, when the disputes occurred, that the matter of ritual, sacrifice, and music (*li-yüeh* 禮樂) was of imperial prerogative and the advice of the Confucian scholars was by no means imperative.[13]

Yet the Confucian scholars believed that *li* was the basic component of Confucianism and only they had the knowledge to know what were the correct forms of ritual and sacrifice and their real meanings. They were convinced that to keep them within the orthodox interpretation and under their expert guidance was their inalienable responsibility. It was the one issue they would not compromise too easily. Chu Yuan-chang did not gain the final victory in these fields until 1377.

The revitalization of the cult of Heaven was therefore a focus of the early Ming politics. It did not only provided the needed legitimacy to Chu Yuan-chang but also revealed many other issues hidden under the ritualistic politics. Our understanding of his relationship with the Confucian scholars, his adoption of Chu Hsi's neo-Confucianism as state ideology, and his administrative reorganization in 1380 may well be strengthened, if the ritualistic perspective is considered in the study.

There were two kinds of the suburban sacrifices in the period of T'ai-tsu 太祖. From 1368 to 1376 he held the separate sacrifices (*fen-chi* 分祭) to Heaven and Earth; from 1377 to 1398 he performed the combined sacrifices (*ho-chi* 合祭) to Heaven and Earth. Both ceremonies became precedents that were followed by his heirs, who performed the combined ceremony until the reign of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (1522-1567). It was during this period that the emperor ordered the complete review and overhaul of the dynastic ritualistic and sacrificial establishment.[14]

Subsequently, the separate sacrificial ceremony was restored and used throughout the remainder of the dynasty.

II. THE SEPARATE SUBURBAN SACRIFICES

The separate suburban sacrifices included two ceremonies. The first one, which was held at the round alter (*yuan-ch'iu* 圓丘) at the southern suburb of the imperial city on the winter solstice, was a sacrifice to Heaven. The round shape of the alter was intended to symbolize the circle of Heaven. The winter solstice was chosen to conform to the principle of harmony between the elements of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, Heaven being of *yin* and the winter solstice being of *yin*.

The second ceremony was the worship of Earth. It was held at the square alter (*fang-ch'iu* 方丘) at the northern suburb of the imperial city on the summer solstice. The square was patterned after the shape of Earth. The same principle of *yin-yang* harmony was equally stressed. Earth being of *yin* and the summer solstice being of *yang*.

Being the son of Heaven and Earth who received their mandate, only Chu Yuan-chang offered sacrifices to them. In the first two ceremonies, his father's spirit was not even an associate in the sacrifices despite of earlier dynastic precedents and his advisers' encouragement to do so. He declined their frequent resquests on the ground that his dynasty was not secure and the administration still needed improvement. He told his counselors that he was merely safeguarding the empire on behalf of the rulers of the past dynasties. After two years on the throne he decided to make his father's spirit an associate of Heaven and Earth.[15]

The ceremony of the suburban sacrifices was the most important ritualistic undertaking within the empire. The emperor personally participated in it. All the military officials with rank 5a and above and the civilian officials with rank 5a and above were required to attend. Several days before the sacrifices were to take place, all participants had to observe the external as well as the internal vigil and purification.[16] The display of the sacrificial vessels in the ceremony had to be arranged in an order fashion. Sacrificial wines and foods had to be prepared in a prescribed formula. Every minute action of the performance was rhythmically coordinated by the music, provided by a group of sixty-two musicians. The imperial guards and censors maintained order during the progress of the ceremony. Violators of the rules were punished.[17]

The suburban sacrifice to Heaven began with lighting the sacred firewood and roasting the sacrificial cow. This was followed by the imperial presentation of liba-

tions and foods. The sacrifice ended by burning the written prayers, foods, and wines in the smoking altar. Since Earth was represented by the *yin* element, the burnt sacrifice was replaced by the burying of the blood and hair of the cow in the beginning and the burying of the written prayers, foods, and wines in the burying pit at the completion of the ceremony.[18]

Patterning after his hierarchical structure of the secular world, Vhu Yuan-chang organized the spiritual world in a like manner. The spirits of Great Brightness (*ta-ming* 大明) and Great Darkness (*yeh-ming* 夜明),[19] the Planet Jupiter, the Five Peaks and Five Guardian Mountains, the Four Oceans and Four Rivers, the Stars and Constellations, the Wind-Cloud-Thunder-Rain, and all other deities were hierarchically placed in the same ceremony. However, they did not receive sacrifices from the emperor but from officials, who were prohibited by law to offer sacrifices to Heaven and Earth.

The suburban sacrifice was thus one occasion when the two worlds met – one was the sacred world led by Heaven and Earth and assisted by the lesser spirits and the other was the secular world led by the emperor and assisted by the imperial officials. By bringing them together, Chu Yuan-chang emerged as the sole mediator who alone could interpret the will of Heaven and coordinate the activities of the sacred and profane.

III. THE COMBINED SUBURBAN SACFIFICE

The previously held separate suburban sacrifices to Heaven and Earth were integrated into a single ceremony by Chu Yuan-chang in 1377. A Great Sacrificial Hall (*Ta-ssu tien* 大祀殿) was constructed on the site of the original round altar. It was from here that the emperor worshipped Heaven and Earth jointly and official representatives offered sacrifices to lesser spirits. Chu set another precedent for his heir by decreeing that the combined suburban sacrifice be held in the beginning of Spring, the season of resurrection, every year.[20]

Chu Yuan-chang's ceremonial integration eliminated many unnecessary duplications but kept the basic requirements of the separate suburban sacrifices. For example, he did not alter the observation of external and internal vigil and purification prior to the ceremony. The display of sacrificial vessels, sacrificial wines and foods, and the performing proceeding remained same. Since it was a combined ceremony, its opening procedures consisted of two parts: first, the lighting of the sacred firewood in the smoking alter for roasting the sacrificial cow, then the burying of the blood and hair of the cow in the burying pit. The sacrifice was also ended

with two parts: the burning and burial of all written prayers, sacrificial wines and foods, respectively.

IV. THE CEREMONIAL POLITICS IN THE EARLY MING

It was suggested above that the suburban sacrifices were revitalized by Chu Yuan-chang to legitimize his imperial authority and to manifest his Mandate of Heaven. He was concerned with the propriety of these ceremonies, for he was convinced that a ceremony performed at a wrong time and in an improper manner could bring about warnings from Heaven in the forms of visitations (*tsai* 災) and prodigies (*i* 異) and, consequently, could affect his Mandate of Heaven. He was greatly disturbed when these warnings did take place.

For example, in a season of drought he slept outside his palace uncovered. He hoped that this kind of self-punishment might eventually move Heaven so the rains would come.[21] On one occasion when lightning struck the palace, he set prisoners free to redress any wrong he might have done.[22] After another instance of heavenly warnings, he ordered officials to send straight forward memorials to criticize the governmental ineptness.[23] He took similar steps whenever irregularities in nature occured. Chu's faith in Heaven and the lesser spirits, in addition to the political consideration, made the revitalization of the cult of Heaven an urgent issue in the early Ming politics.

The court deliberations of the cult of Heaven and the problem of legitimation revealed another concern of Chu Yuan-chang. He realized that Confucian tradition was an significant element in legitimizing his authority. Furthermore, his counselors were the bearers of this tradition and he needed their service. On the other hand, he was also the founder of a new dynasty, he did not want his dynasty's identity to be bound in every aspect by the traditional precedents. His integration of the separate sacrifices was in this regard a synthesis of both old tradition and new creativity.

Separating the suburban sacrifices into two ceremonies was proposed by the early imperial counselors in a memorial to Chu Yuan-chang in 1368.[24] He mandated the integrated ceremony in 1377. He composed an"Essay on the Great Sacrifice" (*ta-ssu wen* 大祀文) in 1380 to justify the change and defend his views.[25] Both documents relied Confucian classics as the ultimate authority to support their respective arguments.

The memorial of 1368 was concerned with the historical origins and proper procedures of the sacrifices held at the round alter and square altar. The Confucian

scholars claimed that they found evidence in the *Ritual of Chou* (*Chou li* 周禮) justifying the separation of the sacrifice to Heaven. One piece of evidence was included in the description of the function of the Great Musician, who was descfibed as having responsibility for performing the sacrificial ceremony to Heaven at the round altar on the winter solstice.[26] Another reference related to the sacrifice of burnt sacrifice of burnt offerings performed by the Minister of Spring (*Ch'un kuan* 春官). He was in charge of offering sacrifices to the Lord-on-High of August Heaven.[27] Further, the scholars suggested that the ancient sacrifice to the spirit of soil (*she* 社) was actually a sacrifice to Earth (*ti* 地). They charged that it was through the misunderstanding of the classic by a Han commentator, Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (143–200), that the orginally unified ceremony of Earth was mistakenly broken into two. It was their contention that the Ming suburban sacrifices ought to comply with the precedents in the ancient texts: the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth should be separate.

The evidence from the *Ritual of Chou* was tenaciously upheld by the Confucian scholars in their argument for an individual sacrifice to Heaven. It was not solid support. For example, on the problem of sacrifice to Earth, the Confucian scholars ascribed mistakes to Cheng Hsüan, yet they did not petition the emperor to abolish the worship of *she* 社 , which was already being practiced. Inconclusive evidence from the classical literature made their arguments shaky and vulnerable to criticism.

The first criticism came directly from Chu Yuan-chang. In his "Essay on the Great Sacrifice," he accuses his Confucian scholars of distorting the meanings of the classics and consequently proposing the wrong ceremonies. He charges that their ignorance had angered Heaven to the extent that it caused heavy rainstorms on the days of sacrifices to demonstrate it fury. He admits that he was not aware of the meaning of this portent until he had chance to consult with a Han commentary on the *Classic of Changes* 易經 , made by Ching Fang 京房 (first century B.C.). Ching Fang said:

> The ceremony to communicate with spirits and deities and to offer them sacrifices must take place during the time when the cosmic order is in complete harmony. Only then would they become responsive. If there are blowing wind and unexpected rains, the ceremony must have been improperly and imperfectly organized.[28]

Upon reading Ching Fang's commentary, Chu said that he came to realize the correlation between the natural portent and the improperly organized suburban sacrifices. After they were replaced by his own reformed, integrated ceremony, the weather became very cooperative on the days of sacrifices, he claimed.[29]

Ching Fang's intepretation of the *Classic of Changes* was based upon the "prognostication theory" that expounded the Confucian classics in terms of the connection between human actions and natural visitations and prodigies. Sung Lien (1310–1381), Chu Yuan-chang's chief Confucian adviser, greatly disapproved of this approach. He once questioned: "If Ching Fang's immersion in numerology prevails, can the world still have the *Classic of Changes* and the *Analects* 論語?[30] The fact that Ching Fang's interpretation was rejected by early Ming scholars may have been the particular reason why Chu used it to ridicule his Confucians for failing to have organized ceremonies correctly on the basis of the "orthodox" interpretations of the classics. Chu's accusation was important justification for his contempt and harsh treatment of the Confucian scholars. If they were wrong on the ritualistic and sacrificial subjects which were their traditional expertise, how many more errors could they have made or would make on other political issues?

The first memorial, presented in 1368, was an indication of the importance of the Confucian scholars in formulating major policies in the founding period of the Ming. It showed Chu Yuan-chang's reliance upon them for many matters. He eagerly solicited their advice. He possibly utilized the deliberation and formation of rituals and sacrifices to retain the counselors in the court so that their continuing service was available. He personally attached to these same issues to reaffirm their confidence in him.

Chu Yuan-chang was apparently successful in this aspect. His participation in the deliberation with the Confucian scholars over a variety of topics was a great encouragement to them. Allowing it to take place at all was itself an act of grace. They were convinced that they were needed after all, and some of their most treasured expertise, the ritualistic and sacrificial knowledge, could now be put to a real use. They felt they were serving a sage-emperor, for was it not true that sage-emperors in past dynasties all solicited advice from their counselors and enjoyed joyful conversations with them?[31]

Yet, many scholars still refused to serve him. Appealing to those who were hidding, Chu Yuan-chang said:

> The administration of the nation is shared by all virtuous people, but many of whom are still hiding in the deep caves. Is this because the government failed to recruit them respectfully, or because the court lacked polite manner when receiving them, or because of may own ignorance to attract them that cause officials not to inform or recommend them to me? If this is not the case then why would the virtuous people and scholars of great ability be willing to sink in the world? The nation has just been stablized; I desire to discuss the ways of governing with all scholars. If there is anyone who can assist me in helping the people, the responsible officials send him to me respectfully.[32]

To recruit Confucian scholars was a difficult task, to retain those who were initially willing to serve was no less easy. Their presence in the court served many purposes. Their administrative skill and Confucian scholarship were, of course, always indispensible to the operation of the new government. Further, they would attract even more scholars. Symbolically, they and their ideology of Confucianism constituted a legitimizing element for the new dynasty. Chu Yuan-chang's beginning innumerable Confucian-oriented projects one after another represented a continuing effort to retain them. But they asked for leave as soon as the projects were completed.[33] Even Liu Chi 劉基 (1311-1375) and Sung Lien had no desire to serve the emperor permanently.

Those Confucian scholars who served Chu Yuan-chang must have become aware of his unpredictable personality. The ones who did stay to serve him wanted to have kind of safeguard to protect themselves from his arbitrary despotism. They could utilize Confucianism and classical tradition to serve this purpose. By formulating ritualistic and sacrificial ceremonies, the Confucian officials hoped they had imposed a code of conduct upon the emperor. Insisting upon the propriety of their proposed suburban sacrifices, they undoubtedly shared with the emperor in interpreting the will of Heaven. Chu Yuan-chang advocated Confucianism in order to recruit Confucian scholars; they willing supported this advocacy, but in order to restrict the emperor's personal absolutism. A few examples may shed some light on this aspect.

In 1369, just before the annual sacrifice to Earth, Chu Yuan-chang told Sung Lien that he was afraid of being unable to properly perform the ceremony because his mind was restless. Sung Lien 宋濂 answered:

> Mencius told us that in the cultivation of mind nothing is more important than the suppression of desire. If this can be practiced, mind will be settled and the body will become vigorous.[34]

Another instance is related to a drought in the imperial city. Nanking did not have rainfall for several months. Chu Yuan-chang offered personal prayers, but these were fruitless. He then blamed the surveillance commissioners (*an-ch'a shi* 按察使) and regional inspectors (*hsün-an yü-shih* 巡按御使) for having abused the law by imprisoning too many people. The drought was, consequently, a warning from Heaven, the emperor claimed. As a result, he ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the regional inspectors of Nanking and had them tied in the horse stable. Liu Chi took this opportunity to remonstrate against three things which he believed were

responsible for the drought. First, he said the *yin* element was too depressed because tens of thousands of soldiers' widows were retained in the military compounds. The second, too many people died in the construction projects and were left unburied. Third, all the followers of Chang Shih-ch'eng張士誠(1321-1367) had been forced into military service. Chu accepted Liu Chi's advice because he was so worried about the continuing drought. The widows were given permission either to get married or to return to their native homes; laborers who had to support parents were released from the corvee; and the followers of Chang Shih-ch'eng were released from the military service.[35]

Another series of natural phenomena caused Chu Yuan-chang great concnern. Strange sounds from Heaven had been audible for almost eight years. Sunspots, sometimes one and sometimes two or three, were visible for several years. "What goes wrong?" he asked. "Is it because my law has been severe or the government has been too strict?" The emperor sent a letter to Liu Chi, who happened to be in retirement, imploring immediate advice.[36] Liu Chi advised that since the dignity of the empire had already been established, it might be time to give some relief to the people by relaxing the law and controls.[37]

In his essay, "On Thunder" (*lei-shuo* 雷說), Liu Chi discussed the natural warnings. He said that once they appeared it would be extremely difficult to rectify them. The best recourse a ruler had was to practice the "way" that was initiated by the sage-rulers Yao堯, Shun舜, T'ang湯, and King Wu武王 and was transmitted by Confucius in order to prevent the prodigies from occurring in the first place.[38]

The tone of the "Essay on the Great Sacrifice" showed a very self-confident emperor who now believed that the empire had been under his firm control. He still needed the service of Confucian scholars, but all policy initiatives had to come from him. The essay was also an intellectual exercise by which Chu Yuan-chang demonstrated to his Confucian counselors that a soldier-emperor such as he could deal with highly technical and complex matters on ritual and sacrifice. His literary and philosophical confrontations with them may have resulted from his desire to challenge them on their own ground and to manage or even humble them.[39]

The modification of the suburban sacrifices from one form to another thus signaled many other changes shortly to come. Seen from a broader perspective, it represented the first step of Chu Yuan-chang's centralization of personal power and elimination of those who might compete with him.[40] The old leadership, which had generally associated with him in the early creation of the empire, was gradually replaced by new bureaucrats. The timing of ceremonial change coincided, interestingly, with the departure of many senior advisers: Liu Chi had died in 1375; Wang

Wei died in 1377; Kao Ch'i 高啓 was publicly executed in 1374;[41] and in the year of 1378, when the old sacrificial ceremony was abolished and when the Great Sacrificial Hall was completed, Sung Lien had gone home for retirement. The new sacrificial ceremony thus inaugurated a new period for Chu Yuan-chang and concluded his first ten-year rule, during which he sometimes had to beg help from Confucian scholars.

As suggested above, in the deliberation of the cult of Heaven, both Confucian scholars and the emperor stressed the significance of Confucian tradition and classical literature. Chu Yuan-chang realized that they were the means of legitimizing his authority. He also knew they could be restricting his power. He was their staunch defender when they supported his views. However, when they were used by the Confucian scholars in arguing against him in the dispute, he dismissed their values.

While still King of Wu 吳王 , Chu Yuan-chang had already had a round altar constructed. Being uncertain whether its style conformed to the ancient model or not, he inquired about it from Hsiung Ting, a historian of the Diaries of Activity and Respose. When Hsiung Ting answered that it deviated somewhat from the classical model, the emperor charged him as being pedantic and ignorant of the real meaning of sacrifices.[42]

In 1374, Chu Yuan-chang ordered an investigation of the traditional rules for the funeral service and mourning rites for the imperial concubines. The Confucian scholars stressed in their recommendation that the precedents discussed in the *Ritual of Chou* must be followed. This ignited Chu's anger. He decried their obstinate insistence on observing the ancient codes as anacrhonistic, in violation of true human nature. Should they be adopted, he feared these ceremonies could even ruin the "kingly way" of the imperial administration.[43]

Chu Yuan-chang's attack on his counselors' attachment to the classics was most evident in his "Essay on the Great Sacrifice." Rejecting the opinion of those who supported the separate suburban sacrifices, he asked:

> If people insist on following the past, there were periods when the earthenwares were used as drinking cups, meat was eaten raw, blood was sucked fresh, and the dwelling places were built on the trees or in the stone caves. Should all these be practiced in our world today?[44]

He contended that the lord of men was the son of Heaven and Earth, and he should sacriffice to them as a pair at the same time and at the same location just as what he would do to the spirits of his parents in the ancestor worship. Were Heaven and Earth even inferior to father and mother of the people? he asked. He criticized his Confucian scholars as being mired in the dead letters of the classics, unable to appreciate the essential substance of rituals and sacrifices.[45]

The suburban sacrifices desired by Chu Yuan-chang were a synthesis of the old tradition and new identity of his dynasty. He repeatedly instructed his officials that in forming sacrificial ceremonies the precedents used in the antiquity had to be compromised with the current situations. By holding them together, Chu Yuan-chang was the transmitter of the old and the creator of the new age. His combined sacrificial ceremony to Heaven and Earth served this purpose and legitimized his authority.

V. CONCLUSION

The revitalization of the cult of Heaven was a part of Chu Yuan-chang's search for imperial legitimacy. His adoption of a particular bureaucratic faction of Confucianism and particular classics and their commentaries. For that matter, procedural changes in ceremonies were not merely technical in nature; they also involved realignment of official ideology. This was no small concern to the Confucian scholars.

The classics and their numerous commentaries constituted the foundation of Confucianism. They were textbooks which all students had to study for the civil service examination. They were the moral precepts which the government expected people to follow. The seemingly superficial discussion over different interpretations of ritualistic and sacrificial matters therefore had much deeper implication. The feud among the Confucian scholars over whose views were more "orthodox" had always been an important part of the history of Confucianism. It was not only an academic feud; it had practical consequences. The Confucian ideology of the faction that succeeded would be that favored by the court as the official ideology of the empire. The members who maintained this particular Confucian ideology would control the key posts in the government. Consequently, they could use their influence in the court to further promote their views of orthodoxy. This correlation between intellectual conviction and political interest made the matter of ritual and sacrifice a recurring issue in Ming politics.

The cruel treatment received by the Confucians from the Ming emperors is well known. Its cause might lie in part in Confucian scholars' own weakness. As a result of their ideological feud on the ritualistic issue, they were never able to achieve the solidarity necessary to protect themselves from arbitrary actions by the Ming despots. The scholars remained factional. This internal disharmony made their ill-treatment inevitable. It is, of course, incorrect to attribute Ming factionalism of the Confucians to their recalcitrant intolerance of each other on issues of ritual and sacrifice alone. Nevertheless, these did contribute great deal to their prolonged

division and got in the way of successful compromise. One is tempted to ask whether it was not the idea of Chu Yuan-chang to deliberately entangle his Confucian counselors in this kind of controversy and to divide them on purpose. He always needed their service, but at the same time he was in constant fear that they might become too independent and too strong for him to control. Divided they would be amenable to him. It is in this regard that the revitalization of the cult of Heaven became the focus of early Ming politics.

NOTES

1. Ray Huang, "Institutions," *Ming Studies* 2 (Spring 1976): 11.
2. *Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 明太祖實錄 (The veritable records of Ming T'ai-tsu), 257 *chüan*. (Nan Kang, Taiwan: Academia Sinica, 1961-1962). (Hereafter referred to as *MTTSL*.)
3. *Ta Ming hui-tien* 大明會典 (Collected statutues of the Ming dynasty). Compiled by Shen Shih-hsing. Photographic reprint of the Wan-li ed. 228 *chüan*. (Taipei: Kuo Feng, 1963).
4. Charles O. Hucker, *The Traditional Chinese State in Ming Times (1368-1644)* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1961), p. 68.
5. Yun-yi Ho 賀允宜, "The Organization and Functions of the Ministry of Rites in the Early Ming Period (1368-1398)" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1976).
6. F. W. Mote, *The Poet Kao Ch'i 1336-1374* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 208.
7. *MTTSL*, 29:1-2.
8. For the total number of T'ai-tsu's suburban sacrifices, see Yun-yi Ho, pp. 236-238. T'ai-tsu did not perform the suburban sacrifice in 1378, because the Great Sacrificial Hall was not completed.
9. *Huang Ming tsu-hsün* 皇明祖訓 (The ancestral instructions of the Ming dynasty) quoted in the *Ch'in-ting hsü wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 欽定續文獻通考 (Political encyclopaedia compiled on the imperial order, continued). *Shih-t'ung* ed. 250 *chüan*. (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1395), 67:3416. (Hereafter referred to as *HWHTK*.)
10. *MTTSL*, 106: 2a-b.
11. For the total number of suburban sacrifices performed by the Ming emperors, see Yun-yi Ho, pp. 238-249.
12. *HWHTK*, 67: 2421b.
13. *MTTSL*, 27: 3b-4.
14. For the biography of Chia-ching in English, see Lienche Tu Fang, "Chu Hou-ts'ung," L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 1: 315-322.
15. Lung Wen-pin 龍文彬, *Ming Hui-yao* 明會要 (Selected documents of Ming political and social institutions), 80 *chüan* (Peking: Chu-hua shu-chü), p. 1.
16. The external preparation stressed abstention from unclean things and acts. It began with cleansing the body, changing to clean clothes, and sleeping alone. The abstainer should also

avoid drinking alchoholic beverages and eating meat or food which had strong, offensive odor, such as onions, the garlic, and the scallions. He had to stay away from sick people, avoid funeral service, not to listen to music, nor hear hear criminal cases in the law court. The internal vigil and purification demanded the constant contemplation on the omnipresent spirits. *MTTSL*, 40: 3b.

17. *Ta Ming hui-tien*, 165: 6.
18. For the procedures of the suburban sacrifices, see Yun-yi Ho, chapter 5.
19. May the worship of the spifits of Great Brightness (*ta-ming*) and Great Darkness (*yeh-ming*) the continuation of the infleunce of Manichaeism which postulated the existence of two kingdoms—the wrold of Light and the wrold of Darkness?
20. Chu Yuan-chang, "Ta-ssu wen," *Ming T'ai-tsu yü-chih wen-chi* 明太祖御製文集 (The collected writings of Ming T'ai-tsu). Photographic reprint of Chia-ching ed. 20 *chüan*. (Taipei: Hsueh-sheng shu-chü, 1965), 13:1-4. For a complete translation, see Yun-yi Ho, 229-234.
21. *MTTSL*, 53: 1.
22. *MTTSL*, 131: 41-b.
23. *MTTSL*, 109: 1.
24. *MTTSL*, 30: 1-3. For a complete translation, see Yun-yi Ho, 223-228.
25. Yun-yi Ho, 232-234.
26. *Chou-li* 周禮 *Cheng-chu* 鄭注(The Ritual of Chou with Cheng Hsüan's Commentary). *Ssu-pu pei-yao* ed. 20 *chüan*. (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1927-1935), 22: 7.
27. *Chou-li Cheng-chu*, 22: 7.
28. Quoted by Chu Yuan-chang in his "Essay on the Great Sacrifice," see Yun-yi Ho, 231.
2b. Chu Yuan-chang, "Essay gn the Great Sacrifice."
30. Sung Lien, *Sung Wen-ysien Kung ch'üan-chi* 宋文獻公全集(The completed works of Sung Lien). *Ssu-pu pei-yao* ed. 53 *chüan* (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1927-1935), 36: 1a-b.
31. *MTTSL*, 19:8.
32. Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉and others, comp. *Ming Shih* 明史(Ming history). Photographic feprint of the palace ed. 332 *chüan* (Taipei: Ch'i Ming, 196 , 2: 4c-5a.
33. For their reluctance to serve Chu Yuan-chang, see Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, "Tu Ming-ch'u k'ai-kuo chu-ch'en shih-wen chi,讀明初開國諸臣詩大集 ' *New Asia Journal* 6, 2 (1964): 245-326.
34. Sung Lien, 2: 3.
35. Liu Ch'en 劉辰, *Ming-ch'ao kuo-ch'u shih-chi* 明朝國初事蹟(The anecdotes of the early Ming). Reprinted in Hu Feng-tan ed. *Chin-hua ts'ung-shu*. one *chüan* (Chekiang Public Library, 1925), 38b-39.
36. Liu Chi, *Ch'eng-i Po wen-chi* 誠意伯文集 (The completed works of Liu Chi). *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed. 20 *chüan* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1920-1922), 1: 3b-4.
37. See *Kuo-ch'u li-hsien lu* 國初禮賢錄 (The respectful treatment to the worthies in the early period of the dynasty), in Shen Chieh-fu 沈節甫, comp., *Chi-lu hui-pien* 記錄彙編. Photographic reprint of the original Wan-li ed. (Shanghai: Han Fen Lou, 1938), 14:10.
38. Liu Chi, 7: 10-11.
39. Romeyn Taylor, "Social Origins of the Ming Dynasty 1351-1360," *Monumenta Serica* 22 (1963): 58.

40. Chu Yuan-chang's control of the important military genefals is described in a recent article. See Romeyn Taylor, "Ming T'ai-tsu and the Nobility of Merit," *Ming Studies* 2 (Spring 1976): 57-69.
41. For the study of Kao Ch'i, see *The Poet Kao Ch'i.*
42. *MTTSL*, 27: 3b-4.
43. Chu Yuan-chang, "Hsiao-tz'u-lu hsü" (Preface to the funeral service and mourning rites on the occasion of the death of Hsiao-tz'u) in Chang Lu, comp. *Huang Ming chih-shu* 皇明制書. Photographic reprint of Wan-li ed. 20 *chüan.* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1971), 12:1.
44. Chu Yuan-chang, "Ta-ssu wen." See Yun-yi Ho, 233.
45. Chu Yuan-chang, "Ta-ssu wen." See Yun-yi Ho, 229-234.