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To cite this article: Zhaogui Yang & Chao Cai (28 Feb 2024): A study of the *di* sacrifice rite in the Spring and Autumn Period, Studies in Chinese Religions, DOI: [10.1080/23729988.2024.2307267](https://doi.org/10.1080/23729988.2024.2307267)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23729988.2024.2307267>



Published online: 28 Feb 2024.



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A study of the *di* sacrifice rite in the Spring and Autumn Period

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ABSTRACT

The *di* sacrifice rite (*dili* 禘禮) is an important traditional Chinese religious ceremony for offering sacrifices to ancestors. The rites of the Shang, Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn Periods have evolved in terms of the person who conducts them, as well as regarding the recipients, forms and the time of the ritual. In the Shang Dynasty, the *di* sacrifice rite was performed by the king. In the Western Zhou Dynasty, the person who presided over the ceremony was first the King of Zhou, and then the counsellors. The Spring and Autumn *di* sacrifice rite inherited these practices and understandings. It involves a more detailed ritual: those who preside over the ceremony are first the feudal lords (*zhuhou* 諸侯), then the counsellors (*qing dafu* 卿大夫) and finally descending to the rank of officials of counsellors (*jiachen* 家臣). The *di* sacrifice addressees are also mainly close ancestors. The *di* rite eventually evolved to give rise to *guan* rituals (*guanli* 灌[禘]禮), auspicious ancestral rites, private *di* sacrifices, procedures for determining generation order of the clan temple (*ding zhaomu* 定昭穆), and other rituals.

KEYWORDS

di sacrifice rite 禘禮; Spring and Autumn Period; Shang Dynasty; Western Zhou Dynasty

1. Introduction

During the pre-Qin period (before 221 BCE), ‘the great affairs of a state are sacrifice and war’ (國之大事，在祀與戎), as noted by Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (502?–422 BCE?) in *Zuozhuan* 左傳 [Zuo Commentary], his commentary on the *Chunqiu jing* 春秋經 [Spring and Autumn Annal].¹ Rites were an important state matter at that time. The *di* sacrifice rite (*dili* 禘禮), an important part of the rituals, originated in the Shang Dynasty, probably from the sixteenth to the eleventh centuries BCE. It developed in the Western Zhou Dynasty (ca. 1046–771 BCE) and matured in the Spring and Autumn Period. In the late Spring and Autumn Period 春秋 (770–476 BCE), Confucius 孔子 (552–479 BCE) was asked about the *di* sacrifice rite, and he replied, ‘It is nothing I understand.’² Whether Confucius really did not understand or had a hidden agenda in his denial has been interpreted differently by scholars throughout the ages. Later interpretations of *di* sacrifice rite were influenced by *Liji* 禮記 [Book of Rites], which proposed the sayings: ‘the *di* rite of offering sacrifices to the ancestors from whom [we] came’ (禘其始祖之所

自出)³ and ‘no king, no *di* sacrifice rite’ (不王不禘)⁴ in the chapters ‘Sangfu xiaoji’ 喪服小記 [Notes of Smaller Matters Related to Mourning Dresses] and ‘Dazhuan’ 大傳 [Great Tradition of the (Book of the Documents)] of *Liji*, two formulations that were held up as the standard for the *di* sacrifice rite in later times. However, the sayings in the *Liji* are not in line with the original appearance of the *di* sacrifice rite of the pre-Qin period. Thus, it is necessary to distinguish the historical truth of the *di* rite of the pre-Qin period from *Liji*’s reading of it in order to not accept the latter at face value.

This article examines the historical development of the *di* sacrifice rite because, first, it has played an important role in Chinese history. In fact, several dynasties (e.g. Han [202 BCE–220 CE], Northern and Southern Dynasties [420–589], Song [960–1279], etc.) have had disputes over *di* sacrifice rites, as documented in *juan* 97–100 of *Wuli tongkao* 五禮通考 [Comprehensive Research on the Five Etiquette Systems] by Qin Huitian 秦蕙田 (1702–1764). The second reason is that these disputes are not the same, and with an in-depth application of the ‘double verification method’ (*Erchong kaozheng fa* 二重考證法), we need to solve some previously unsettled academic debates that arose in the pre-Qin and Han dynasties. Third, the *di* sacrifice rite is an important part of traditional Chinese culture and rituals, and it is our responsibility to return them to their original form, which is of great academic value to the study of rituals, history and culture.

This article chooses the *di* sacrifice rite of the Spring and Autumn Period as its focus because scholars have already studied the rite in the Shang Dynasty and the Western Zhou Dynasty. In contrast, the rite of the Spring and Autumn Period has not been given sustained scholarly attention. Only the two papers written by Pan Xiaoli 潘小麗 and Liu Lamei 柳臘梅 present several *Zuozhuan* materials recording the *di* sacrifice rite. Even in these papers, these materials are incomplete and are not discussed at length by the authors, each of whom only devotes two pages to them. In addition, Liu Yuan’s 劉源 *Shang Zhou jizu li yanjiu* 商周祭祖禮研究 [Research on Ancestral Worship Rites in the Shang and Zhou Dynasties] has a special chapter discussing the *di* sacrifice rite.⁵ Beyond the paucity of scholarship, there are other important reasons to focus on the ritual in the Spring and Autumn Period. First, it was an important period for the development of *di* sacrifice rite, during which it became more detailed. For instance, it was during this period that Zhan Qin 展禽 (i.e. Liuxia Hui 柳下惠 [720 BCE–621 BCE]) put forward the prototype of saying that ‘*di* rites of offering sacrifices to the ancestors from whom [we] came’ (禘其始祖之所自出),⁶ which had an important impact on later generations. In addition, the only primary historical sources about the *di* sacrifice rite in the Spring and Autumn Period are from *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* 國語 [Discourses of the States] (a collection of official national-style works from different countries during the Spring and Autumn Period), and there are no relevant excavated documents for the time being, so these two books are mainly cited in this article.⁷ Using these sources, this article explores several issues: the identity and status of the presider, and the target, time and form of the sacrifice, so that we can grasp the evolution and specific characteristics of the *di* sacrifice rite in the Spring and Autumn Period.

I shall begin this article by providing an overview of *di* sacrifice rite research in the Shang and Western Zhou dynasties so that we can better understand the continuities and innovations that took place during the Spring and Autumn Period.

Jao Tsung-I (i.e. Rao Zongyi) 饒宗頤 (1917–2018), Chang Yuzhi 常玉芝, Dong Lianchi 董蓮池, Liu Yuan and Pan Xiaoli studied the *di* sacrifice rite of the Shang

Dynasty and concluded that its intended recipients were ancestors, the gods of the four directions, the gods of nature (wind, autumn and water), the gods of mountains, the gods of animals (birds and tigers), the gods of the land, the gods of witchcraft and the golems.⁸ I studied the Shang Dynasty *di* sacrifice ritual materials and concluded that the fifth phase oracle bone inscription ceremony only worships ancestors within five generations, especially the deceased father. In addition, the rite offers sacrifices to the ancestor gods, but there is no rite to worship the first-generation ancestors, and there is no rite to offer sacrifices to heaven. Third, the *guan* rituals 裸礼 appeared in the period of King Xin 帝辛 (i.e. Zhouwang 紂王; ?-1046 BCE?), the last king of the Shang Dynasty.

The main inscriptions recording the *di* sacrifice rite of the Western Zhou include inscriptions on the following bronzes: *Xiao yuding* 小孟鼎 (Xiaoyu tripod), *Xiangui* 鮮簋 (Xian round bowl), *Lading* 刺鼎 (La tripod), *Fan Wine Container* 繁卣 (Fan small-mouthed wine vessel), *Dagui* 大簋 (Da round bowl), *Gengji Wine Container* 庚姬卣 (Gengji small-mouthed wine vessel), *Gengji zun* 庚姬尊 (Gengji wine goblet), *Zongren gui* 宗人簋 (Zongren round bowl) and *Zongren ding* 宗人鼎 (Zongren round bowl). These records indicate that the *di* sacrifice rite of the Western Zhou Dynasty had the following elements:

- (1) The officiating presiders were the kings of the Zhou Dynasty, feudal lords and nobles, each of whom held *di* sacrifice rites to their own ancestors. At the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty, the chief presider was the king, while dukes and lords 公侯 during the reign of King Mu 穆王 and general ministers during the reign of King Yi 夷王 (?-878 BC, the ninth king of the Western Zhou Dynasty) were allowed to hold *di* sacrifices to their ancestors.
- (2) The recipients of sacrifice: the Zhou people basically held rites for ancestors, especially close ancestors.
- (3) Sacrifice mode: Western Zhou *di* sacrifice rites are divided into a special sacrifice and a joint sacrifice.
- (4) Ritual time: the *di* sacrifice rites recorded in the above-mentioned bronze inscriptions were held from the first month to September, and there is no mention of the four seasonal festivals.
- (5) Place of worship: the *di* sacrifice rite was held in the royal ancestral shrine and ancestral temples.
- (6) The *di* sacrifice rite recorded in the Bronze Inscriptions was mostly held in the earlier period of the Western Zhou Dynasty, and was the most popular in the time of King Mu 穆王 (?-922 BCE?), the fifth king of the Western Zhou Dynasty.⁹

In contrast to the Shang Dynasty, Zhou people no longer held a *di* rite to the gods of the four directions, the gods of nature, the gods of animals, or the gods of the land. This is a major ritual innovation. In addition, there are four developments in the Zhou Dynasty's *di* rite: the first one is the development of the *guan* rituals ceremony. The second is that Zhou people held a ceremony at the ancestral temple after celebrating a war victory. The third development is that when the Zhou people held the rites, there was a part in which the king and his ministers answered each other. The fourth is a song that praises the blessings of the former king or ministers to the king. In this way, the Zhou *di* sacrifice rite was more elaborate, containing not just rituals, but also music, dance and poetry.

Having sketched the nature of the *di* sacrifice during the preceding dynasty, I will now delve into its version during the Spring and Autumn Period.

2. *di* sacrifice rite in Spring and Autumn Period

On the one hand, the Spring and Autumn Period *di* sacrifice rite inherited patterns from its Western Zhou expression. On the other hand, it involved significant changes in terms of ritual practices, the agents who performed them and the aims of the sacrifice. We may say that the *di* sacrifice rite during the Spring and Autumn Period is closely related to the ritual and music system when the Zhou Dynasty was ‘exhausted’ and ‘the Way does not prevail in the Empire.’¹⁰ Let us examine the continuities and changes.

2.1. *The identity of the host of di sacrifice changes*

During the Western Zhou period, the people who presided over the *di* sacrifice rite were the kings of the Zhou, the dukes and lords. By the end of the Spring and Autumn Period, the situation had changed: the people who presided over the *di* sacrifice rite were the feudal lords, the counsellors and the officials of counsellors.

Just as in the Western Zhou Dynasty, in the early and middle Spring and Autumn Period, the person who presided over the *di* sacrifice ceremony was a duke or lord. For example, ‘Mingong ernian’ 閔公二年 [Year Two of Duke Min] of *Zuozhuan* records: ‘In summer, in the fifth month, on *yiyou* [乙酉], [the duke 閔公] offered the fortunate *di* sacrifice [吉禘] on [placing the tablet of] duke Zhuang [莊公] (706 BC–662 BC).’¹¹ When Duke Zhuang, who reigned the state of Lu 魯 from 693 to 662 BCE, died in the eighth month of the thirty-second year of his reign, the auspicious ancestral ceremony should have been held in the eighth month of the second year of Duke Min’s reign (?–660 BCE; r. 661–660 BCE). Instead, Duke Min held the auspicious ancestral ceremony early in the fifth month, which is why the author of *Zuozhuan* said that it was ‘early.’¹²

By the late Spring and Autumn Period, those who presided over *di* sacrifice rites were the counsellors and their officials. ‘Zhaogong shiwunian’ 昭公十五年 [Year Fifteen of Duke Zhao (527 BCE)] of *Zuozhuan* records that a *di* sacrifice rite to Duke Wu 武公 (?–817 BCE) was to be held in the spring, and *Zuozhuan* records that ‘there was a sacrifice in the temple of Duke Wu [武公], Shugong [叔弓] died as the flute-players were entering.’¹³ Shugong 叔弓 (?–527 BCE) was the grandson of Duke Wen of Lu 魯文公 (?–609 BCE, r. 626–609 BCE), who had made many trips to other countries. He served as a minister, and this time he presided over the *di* sacrifice rite and died suddenly when the man with the flute entered. In ‘Dingong banian’ 定公八年 [Year Eight of Duke Ding (502 BCE)] of *Zuozhuan*, it is recorded that ‘Jiwu 季寤, Gongchu Ji [公鉏極], and Gongshan Buniu [公山不狃] couldn’t get their way with Jishi [季氏].’ ‘Yang Hu [陽虎], who wished to take off [the heads of] the three Huan clans [三桓], and to give to Jiwu [季寤] the place of Jishi [季氏], and to Shusun Che [叔孫輒] that of Shusun shi [叔孫氏], while he himself took the place of Mengshi [孟氏].’¹⁴ In the tenth month of that year, they ‘offered [a] sacrifice to the former dukes in their natural order,’¹⁵ and prayed to the previous dukes in the order of their reigns. In the second year of the reign of Duke Wen, the god of his father, Duke Xi 僖公 (?–627 BCE; r. 659 BCE–627 BCE), was placed before Duke Min, which was a ‘reverse sacrifice’ (逆祀). This generation order (昭穆) of the clan temple

had never been changed over. In order to gain support, Yang Hu (d.u.) corrected the order of Min 閔 and Xi 僖 to conform to the generation order in the clan temple system (昭穆). Yang Hu did so because he knew that ‘the people of Lu had always known that it was wrong to place the tablet of Duke Xi before that of Duke Min. By correcting the divine lordship of the two lords in this way, the people of Lu knew that they had acted for the sake of the righteousness of the ruler and his subjects, so that they could kill Ji Clan 季孫 and tell their predecessors in silence, in order to pray for the blessing of the gods.’¹⁶ Yang Hu’s move seemed to be bright and upright, but, in reality, he wanted to satisfy his own selfishness. He feared that the Duke of Xi would have soul and take retaliatory action against him, so he did not dare to hold the *di* sacrifice rite at the imperial temple, but only at the temple of Xi 僖廟.¹⁷

Shu Gong and Yang Hu were respectively counsellor and an official of a counsellor of Lu State in the late Spring and Autumn Period. They presided over the *di* ceremony. We can see that the identity of the host has changed. The *di* rites are no longer presided over by princes, but counsellors and officials also have the right to preside over them.

In the late Spring and Autumn Period, the power of the state of Lu was successively in the hands of the three Huan 三桓 families and officials of counsellors. Confucius said with deep emotion, ‘When the way prevails in the Empire, policy does not rest with Counsellors.’¹⁸ ‘Zhaogong ershiwunian’ 昭公二十五年 [Year Twenty-Five of Duke Zhao] of *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 [Gongyang Gao’s Commentary on *The Spring and Autumn Annals*] stated ‘The feudal lords have been tyrannical to the Son of Heaven (King) and the Counsellors to the feudal lords for a long time’ (諸侯僭於天子, 大夫僭於諸侯, 久矣).¹⁹ At that time, there was no Way in the world, and power was controlled by the counsellors and their officials, and they arrogated to themselves the right to conduct rituals. Hence, Shu Gong became the one who presided over the *di* sacrifice rite instead of Duke Zhao 昭公 (r. 541 BCE–510 BCE). In addition, the counsellors and their officials went even further to destroy the rites and music by holding private ancestral feasts. In the following section we will see that, Ji Pingzi 季平子 (?–505 BCE) and Yang Hu successively held private *di* sacrifices (私禘) against the previous rulers of Lu.

From the evolution of the identity of presider of *di* sacrifice rite – from feudal lords to counsellors, and then to officials of counsellors – we can see that in the decline of royal power during the Spring and Autumn Period, and changes in the rites and music that accompanied this erosion.

2.2. The form of *di* sacrifice rite

There were special sacrifices and joint sacrifices in the Western Zhou Dynasty. The Spring and Autumn Period inherited these two types of sacrifice. Nevertheless, their form changed.

2.2.1. Special *di* sacrifices 專禘 and joint sacrifices 合祭 during the Spring and Autumn Period

‘Mingong ernian’ 閔公二年 [Year Two of Duke Min] of the *Chunqiu jing* records: ‘In summer, in the fifth month, on *yiyou* [乙酉], [the duke] offered the fortunate *di* sacrifice on [placing the tablet of] Duke Zhuang.’²⁰ The so-called fortunate *di* sacrifice (auspicious ancestral ceremony) was held by the new ruler of a feudal state only after the death of the

previous ruler for three years, but Duke Min held the sacrifice three months earlier. Du Yu 杜預 (222–285) believed that this ‘is a great sacrifice to understand the order in the ancestral temple, and it is called *di* sacrifice rite.’²¹ This is a joint sacrifice.

As for the special sacrifice, for example, ‘Zhaogong shiwunian’ 昭公十五年 [Year Fifteen of Duke Zhao] of the *Chunqiu jing* records, ‘in the second month, on *yiyou*, something happened at the temple of Duke Wu [武公].’²² The *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* are different and complementary. For the temple of Duke Wu 魯武公 (r. 824–816 BCE), there are two views: on one side, the *Gongyang zhuan*, Du Yu and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) clearly say that it was the temple of Duke Wu of Lu 魯武宮, while the *Zuozhuan* differs, affirming that it was re-established in the sixth year of Duke Cheng 成公 (r. 590 BCE–573 BCE).²³ In the latter camp, Takezoe believes, it is ‘the name of the other palace, because the war of An 鞏 has merit and is established, not the temple of Duke Wu also.’²⁴ But in explaining that Duke Wu had a temple, he said, ‘Duke Wu Ao 武公敖 lived during the reign of King Xuan of Zhou 周宣王, and because he had performed martial feats, he was posthumously named Wu.’ He also quoted the article ‘Mingtang Wei’ 明堂位 [The Positions in the Hall of Distinction] of *Liji* as saying: ‘The temple of the king of Lu, Bo Qin 伯禽, was equivalent to the temple of King Wen in the Zhou dynasty 周文王. The temple of Duke Wu, Ji Ao 姬敖, was equivalent to the temple of King Wu of the Zhou dynasty 周武王, and both were clan temples that would never be destroyed’ (魯公之廟, 文世室也. 武公之廟, 武世室也).²⁵ According to this, the temple of Duke Wu was to never be destroyed. We may conclude, thus, that this *di* sacrifice ritual was a special ritual for Duke Wu held by Shu Gong, the counsellor of the state of Lu, on the fifteenth day of the second lunar month of the fifteenth year of Duke Zhao.

In the Spring and Autumn Period, feudal lords mostly took the Zhou rituals as their guidelines to consolidating their rule, performing two forms of *di* sacrifice rites: special sacrifice and joint sacrifice. The special sacrifice of the Western Zhou Dynasty was held by the king in the ancestral temple at that time and was made to the ancestors of the five generations in his direct line or only to his dead father. In contrast, for the special sacrifice during the Spring and Autumn Period, ‘The gods of the group of temples each held a festival in their temples’ (群廟之主則各就其廟祭).²⁶

2.2.2. Evolution of the auspicious ancestral sacrifice 吉禘 Zheng sacrifice 烝禘, Chang sacrifice 嘗禘 and di sacrifice during the Spring and Autumn Period

In the Spring and Autumn Period, the auspicious ancestral sacrifice (吉禘) became more elaborate, and the *zheng* sacrifice (烝禘), *chang* sacrifice (嘗禘) and *di* sacrifice could also be held during the three years of mourning. The so-called auspicious ancestral sacrifice is explained in ‘Mingong ernian’ 閔公二年 [Year Two of Duke Min] of the *Gongyang zhuan*, which says, ‘Those who say auspicious, cannot be auspicious. When is it not yet possible to be auspicious? Not yet three years. Three years have passed, why is it called not three years? Three years of mourning, in fact, with twenty-five months’ (吉者, 未可以吉也. 曷為未可以吉? 未三年也. 三年矣, 曷為謂之未三年? 三年之喪, 實以二十五月).²⁷ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1909–1992) further explains, ‘In ancient times, the three years of mourning were completed in twenty-five months, and the Lord of the newly deceased was sent to the temple so that the great sacrifice was made to examine generation order of the clan temple 昭穆, and the mourning was also auspicious.’²⁸ In other words, the auspicious ancestral ceremony

was held only after the king had been mourned for 25 months. However, according to the *Zuozhuan*, the auspicious ancestral ceremony could be held in the third year of the lord's mourning, or within three years. Indeed, 'Mingong ernian' 閔公二年 [Year Two of Duke Min] of the *Chunqiu jing* records: 'In summer, in the fifth month, on *yiyou* [乙酉], [the duke] offered the fortunate *di* sacrifice on [placing the tablet of] duke Zhuang.'²⁹

Originally, according to the ritual system, the auspicious ancestral ceremony for Duke Zhuang should have been held in the eighth month of the full three years, but it turned out to be three months earlier. An example of holding the ceremony within three years of the lord's death is provided by is 'Xigong ershisian nian' 僖公三十三年 [The thirty-third Year of Xigong] of *Zuozhuan*: 'We buried Duke He – the burial was late. The making of the Spirit-tablet was contrary to the rule. On occasion of the death of the prince of a State, when the weeping is ended, his spirit is supposed to take its place with that of his grandfather, with reference to which the spirit-tablet has been made, and is now set up. A special sacrifice goes on before this tablet, while the seasonal sacrifice and fortunate sacrifice at the end of the mourning take place in the temple' (葬僖公, 緩作主, 非禮也。凡君薨, 卒器而祔, 祔而作主, 特祀於主, 烝, 嘗, 禘於廟).³⁰ Duke Xi died in the twelfth month, a *yisi* 乙巳 day, and the God of Lord was made in the second month of the second year of the Duke of Wen, which is more than ten months after he should have been buried. That is why the text refers to being 'late to make the God of Lord.'

According to the ritual system, the rituals of *zheng* sacrifice, *chang* sacrifice 嘗禘, and *di* sacrifice rites are also performed at the ancestral temple together with other ancestors to the newly deceased god. Nevertheless, according to the *Zuozhuan*, even during the three years of the king's death there were *zheng* sacrifices and *chang* sacrifices. For example, the Duke Dao of Jin 晉悼公 (r. 572–558 BCE) died in the eleventh month of the fifteenth year of Duke Xiang of Lu 魯襄公 (r. 572–542 BCE) and was buried in the spring of the following year. The Duke Ping of Jin 晉平公 (r. 557–532 BCE) took his place, changed his mourning, arranged all the offices, and offered a winter *zheng* sacrifice in Quwo 曲沃.³¹ We see here that state of Jin 晉國 held *zheng* sacrifices within three years of the feudal lord's mourning. Contrary to the stipulation in the *Liji* and Han Confucianism that only one auspicious ancestral rite could be held after three years of mourning, in the Spring and Autumn Period, *di*, *zheng* and *chang* sacrifices could be held within three years of a prince's death. Kong Yingda has the same opinion.³²

In addition, the goddess of the lord's wife could be placed in the temple during the auspicious ancestral ceremony. In 'Xiong banian' 僖公八年 [Year Eight of Duke Xi] of the *Chunqiu jing*, it is written: 'In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke offered the great sacrifice in the grand temple, and [at the same time] placed the tablet of [Duke Zhuang's] wife in his shrine' (禘于大廟, 用致夫人).³³ Regarding the wife of a state ruler, if she did not die in the main house, her coffin could not be placed in the ancestral temple, the ruler of the state could not send an obituary to the allied marquise, and they could not place the tablet in the Imperial Temple. A case in point is Ai Jiang 哀姜 (?–660 BCE), the wife of Duke Zhuang of Lu 魯莊公, who murdered Duke Zhuang's sons, Ziban 子般 and Duke Min, and later fled the State of Zhu 邾國 and was killed by Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (reigned the state of Qin from 685 BCE–643 BCE). Her tablet did not qualify to be placed in the Imperial Temple. On this, the *Gongyang zhuan* and *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 [*Chunqiu Jing* Commentary by Guliang Chi] have the same view as the *Zuozhuan*.

Also, if the death of the feudal lord had not yet been marked in the auspicious ancestral ceremony, the feudal state could not start or participate in war. In the fifteenth and sixteenth years of Duke Xiang 襄公, Qi 齊 attacked the Chengdi 成地 and the south and the north of Lu successively. In the winter of the sixteenth year, Lu sent Mu Shu 穆叔 (?–538 BCE) to the state of Jin 晉國 to ask for help. One of the reasons for not rescuing Lu was that the ‘ruler has not yet offered the *di* sacrifice’ (以寡君之未禘祀).³⁴ Duke Dao of Jin had died in November of the year before, which was not yet one year before the attack. In light of the rule that requires 25 months of mourning before the auspicious ancestral ceremony can be held, the Duke Dao of Jin had not yet been buried and Jin was still in mourning. So, they did not send troops.³⁵

2.3. The process of *di* sacrifice rites became more elaborate

New important details were added to the *di* sacrifice during the Spring and Autumn Period.

2.3.1. Some *di* sacrifice rituals required officials to fast before the sacrifice

For example, ‘Zhaogong shiwunian’ 昭公十五年 [Year Fifteen of Duke Zhao] of the *Zuo zhuan* reports, ‘[Duke Zhao] being about to offer a *di* sacrifice in the temple of Duke Woo, orders had been given to all the officers to fast [in preparation for it]’ (將禘於武公, 戒百官).³⁶ Fasting and sacrifice are important parts of religion which enjoin certain moral obligations and lead people to fear the sacred and cultivate good moral qualities. In turn, the important value of moral formation is reflected in the proper performance of sacrifice. Although the rituals of *shi* 尸 sacrifice were gradually abolished during the Spring and Autumn Period, people still deeply missed and respected their ancestors and communicated directly with them in their consciousness. Moreover, ancestral gods were still the most important protectors, so believers had to be extremely sincere to them. In addition, the patriarchal relationship between the feudal states and clans was strengthened through the ancestral gods. In this context, fasting before the ritual served to cultivate sincerity and moral sentiments.³⁷

2.3.2. When the presiding minister died suddenly during the *di* sacrifice ceremony, the music and dance were to be stopped, but the ceremony could be carried out to the end

‘Zhaogong shiwu nian’ 昭公十五年 [The Fifteenth Year of Zhao Gong] of *Chunqiu jing* records, ‘In the second month, on *kuiyou*, there was a sacrifice in the temple of Duke Wu 公, when Shu Gong [叔弓] died as the flute-players were entering. The musicians were [consequently] sent away, and the sacrifice was finished [without them]’ (二月癸酉, 大事於武宮。鑰入, 叔弓卒。去樂, 卒事).³⁸ The music was removed, but the ritual was finished, which all Three Commentaries of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 《春秋》三傳 say was ritually appropriate. Scholars also point out that ‘the death of a counsellor in the course of the rituals was not told to the king by the others,’ which was ‘a sacrificial ritual for the king, while the death of a counsellor was not so important.’³⁹ This reflects the fact that people in the Spring and Autumn Period still adhered to the tradition of the Zhou rituals that emphasized a hierarchy of the upper and lower levels. The *Guliang zhuan* says that when a counsellor dies, the ruler of the state should also value the

counsellor's position in the state. If a counsellor dies in a ritual, he is also sacrificing for the state, and the ruler should have the right to deal with it even if the ritual is held, not just ignore it.⁴⁰

2.3.3. Further development of Guan rituals 灌禮 in the di sacrifice rite

Late Shang and Western Zhou already had the *guan* ritual, but the Spring and Autumn Period introduced new developments. The *guan* ritual is a part of the process of the *di* sacrifice rite. Ancient and modern scholars have commented on Confucius saying, 'I do not wish to witness that part of the *di* sacrifice which follows the opening libation to the impersonator' (禘自既灌而往者, 吾不欲觀之矣),⁴¹ and they have expressed two kinds of opinions. One is Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) explanation of *guan*: 'The *guan*, when the *di* sacrifice ritual has just begun, mixes the fragrant wine with the juice of tulip with apparition wine and pours it on the ground to welcome the gods down' (灌者, 方祭之始用鬱鬯之酒灌地以降神也).⁴² But Zhu Xi did not explain what the king did after the god came down. The views of Kong Anguo 孔安國 (ca. 156 BCE–74 BCE) and Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545) are similar to this.⁴³ The second opinion comes from Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200). His view is found in the Tang written version of the Commentary on the *Analects of Confucius*: 'The *di* sacrifice rite begins with the introduction of blood and flesh, and stops when the *shi* 尸 (a living person who was sacrificed on behalf of the dead in ancient ritual) is poured with wine on the ground and the . . . sacrifice to the gods' (禘祭之禮, 自血星(腥)始, 至於尸灌而神士(事)訖).⁴⁴ It means that the formal *di* ritual starts from the presentation of blood, and the person who presides over *di* ritual pours wine to the *shi* while the *shi* is on the ground and holds the ritual for the coming of the gods. After the gods came down, the divine service was over. Thus, this is the difference between Zheng Xuan and other scholars, since the ceremony of undressing begins with presenting blood. But he also did not say what the king did after the Guan ceremony.

2.3.4. Changes in the arrangement of the tablets of the first generation of ancestors and the last six monarchs in the Grand Temple 昭穆制⁴⁵

After the *guan* ritual, there is a procedure to determine the order of tablets of last six monarchs in the Grand Temple. In 'Minzhuan ernian' of *Zuozhuan*, it is recorded that 'In summer, [the duke] offered the fortunate *di* sacrifice [吉禘] on [placing the tablet of] duke Zhuang. It is too early' (夏, 吉禘于莊公, 速也).⁴⁶ In 'Xigong banian' 僖公八年 [The Eighth Year of Xi Gong] of the *Chunqiu jing*, it is written, 'In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke offered the great sacrifice in the grand temple, and [at the same time] placed the tablet of [duke Zhuang 魯莊公] wife in his shrine' (秋七月, 禘於大廟, 用致夫人).⁴⁷ Du Yu explained that after the inclusion of the new God of Lord in the temple, a great sacrifice was then held at the Grand Temple, followed by the ceremony of sequential generation order of the clan temple.⁴⁸ In the second year of Duke Wen, Duke Wen placed the tablet of his father, Duke Xi, above Duke Min, that is, '[the tablet of] duke He was advanced [to the place of that of duke Min]' (躋僖公). The *Zuozhuan* clearly criticises this as 'contrary to the order of sacrifice' (逆祀).⁴⁹ Confucius even strongly rebuked Zang Wenzhong 臧文仲 (?–617 BCE), the actual power holder at the time, for allowing this to happen, saying that it was an unwise move to 'indulge in ritual rebellion' (縱逆祀).⁵⁰ The Lu people had always believed that the fact that 'Duke Xi was advanced' (躋僖公) was against the rites and traditions. Although later scholars had

differing views, they all agreed that it was a ritual violation. Yang Hu 陽虎 (active 500s BCE) tried to rebel in the eighth year of Ding Gong (Duke Ding) 魯定公 (r. 509–495 BCE). He wanted to eliminate Ji Pingzi 季平子 (?–505 BCE) and prayed at the temple of Duke Xi ‘in accordance with the order of the tablets of the previous dukes’ (順祀先公而祈) to restore the original order of Min and Xi. Although it was for his own selfish interests, he hoped to win the support of the Lu people. As Yang Hu declared: ‘The Lu people knew that it was wrong (referring to the reversal of the position of Min and Xi), so I wanted to correct the position of the two tablets to please the people.’⁵¹

3. There is *di* ancestral music 禘樂 in the state of Lu

Di ancestral music is the music of the Son of Heaven. In ‘Xianggong shinian’ 襄公十年 [Year Ten of Duke Xiang] of *Zuo zhuan*, it is written that Duke Ping of Song 宋平公 (r. 575–532 BCE) hosted Duke Dao of Jin at Chuqiu 楚丘 with the music and dance of ‘Shang Lin’ 桑林. Xun Yan 荀偃 (?–554 BCE) and Shi Gai 士匄 (?–548 BCE) thought it was acceptable: ‘Among the states, it is [only] in Song and Lu that we can see the ceremonies [of the kings]. Lu has the music of the grand triennial sacrifices, and uses it when entertaining guests and at sacrifices; is it not allowable that Song should entertain our ruler with the Shang Lin?’ (諸侯宋，魯，於是觀禮。魯有禘樂，賓祭用之。宋以《桑林》享君，不亦可乎?)⁵² This confirms that Lu had *di* ancestral music, which was used only when feasting with important guests or holding major sacrifices. Song and Lu were feudal states of the same rank, and their ancestors were Cheng Tang 成湯 (1675–1588 BCE; founding king of Shang Dynasty) and Duke Dan of Zhou 周公旦 (r. 1042–1035 BCE; younger brother of King Wu of Zhou, once regent and crowned king) respectively, both of whom were Sons of Heaven. So, *di* ancestral music and the dance of ‘Shang Lin’ were both ceremonial music of the Sons of Heaven.

Scholars have traditionally held different views on whether or not the state of Lu had the music of the Son of Heaven. Different chapters of *Liji* say very different things. The chapter ‘Liyun’ 禮運 [Evolution of Ritual] says: ‘It was extremely rude for the state of Lu to perform the rituals of the Son of Heaven in the southern suburbs and to pay tribute to the ancestors at the temple’ (魯之郊，禘，非禮也)⁵³ This is a criticism of Lu’s unauthorised practice of the rites of the Son of Heaven. The ‘Mingtang wei’ says that King Cheng 成王 (?–1025 BCE; the second king of the Western Zhou Dynasty) ‘ordered that future generations of the rulers of the state of Lu should worship the Duke of Zhou with the rites and music of the Son of Heaven’ (命魯公世世祀周公以天子之禮樂)⁵⁴ Han Confucians also have different views on whether King Cheng buried the Duke of Zhou with the rites of the Son of Heaven or the rites of high officials 公卿. For instance, Mei Fu 梅福 (d.u.; a native of the Western Han Dynasty) and the chapter of ‘Feng gonghou’ 封公侯 [Enfeoffment] of *Baihu tong* 白虎通 [Virtuous Discussions Held in the White Tiger (Hall)] posit that King Cheng buried the Duke of Zhou with the rites of the Son of Heaven.⁵⁵

Tracing back to the origin, people in the Spring and Autumn Period shared the belief that the state of Lu had *di* ancestral music for the Son of Heaven, which was not an illegal ritual act. In addition to the people of the Jin 晉人, Cao Gui 曹劌 (active 680s; a military man in the time of Duke Zhuang of Lu) said during the time of Duke Zhuang of Lu: ‘When the Son of Heaven sacrificed to God, the feudal lords had to participate in the

sacrifice in order to receive the orders; the feudal lords sacrificed to the previous kings and dukes, and the counsellors had to help take care of it and accept the task' (天子祀上帝, 諸侯會之受命焉. 諸侯祀先王, 先公).⁵⁶ Wei Zhao 韋昭 (201–273) notes: 'The former king took after Emperor Yi 帝乙, the ancestral forefather of the Song Dynasty' (先王謂若宋祖帝乙). Emperor Yi (the last second king of the Shang Dynasty) was the Son of Heaven.⁵⁷ Lu was a feudal state and had the right to sacrifice to the previous kings. For Lu, sacrificing to the previous kings was not the exclusive right of the king of Zhou. In addition, 'Xianggong ershijiunian' 襄公二十九年 [Year Twenty-Nine of Duke Xiang] of *Zuo zhuan* records that Wu Jizha 吳季札 (ca. 576–484 BCE) came to Lu and 'begged that he might hear the music of Zhou' (請觀於周樂),⁵⁸ and Du Yu notes that 'Lu has the rituals and music of the Son of Heaven because of the Duke of Zhou' (魯以周公故, 有天子禮樂).⁵⁹ The music that Wu Jizha heard included not only the *Guofeng*, the *ya* 雅 (music and songs recorded in the Zhou Dynasty court in the *Book of Songs*), and the *sung* 頌 (one of the six meanings of the *Book of Songs*, songs accompanied by dance and praising ancestors, gods and monarchs) of the *Shijing* 詩經 [Book of Poetry], but also the music of King Wen of the Zhou 周文王 (?–1056 BCE?), the 'Xiangxiao' 象箛 (legendary music and dance of King Wen of Zhou Dynasty) and 'Nanyao' 南鑰 (a kind of music and dance during the reign of King Wen of Zhou Dynasty); the music of King Wu of the Zhou 周武王 (?–1043 BCE?), the 'Dawu' 大武 (songs and dances of King Wu's attack on King Zhou of Shang Dynasty); the music of Cheng Tang 成湯, 'Shaoho' 韶濩 (music and dance of Cheng Tang in Shang Dynasty); and the music of Dayu 大禹, 'Daxia' 大夏 (music and dance of Da Yu in Xia Dynasty), which were the 'music of four dynasties' (四代之樂).⁶⁰ From all this evidence, we may conclude that the state of Lu had the music of the Son of Heaven, including *di* ancestral music, and that this music was common in the Spring and Autumn Period.

4. Private *di* sacrifice 私禘

The so-called private *di* sacrifice was held without the consent of the feudal lords. In the late Spring and Autumn Period, the power of the counsellors and their officials, including the Ji clan 季氏 and Yang Hu, grew, and they were in control of the state of Lu. To demonstrate this power, they held private *di* sacrifices. 'Zhaogong ershiwunian' 昭公二十五年 [Year Twenty-Five of Duke Zhao] of the *Zuo zhuan* records that Duke Zhao of Lu 魯昭公 wanted to hold an *di* ancestral ritual for his father, Duke Xiang 襄公, but Ji Pingzi 季平子 held the ritual on the same day: '[About this time] it had been arranged to offer the *di* sacrifice in the temple of the duke Xiang, but only sixteen dancers were forthcoming, all the rest being employed at Jishi's' (萬者二人, 其眾萬於季氏).⁶¹ In the private *di* sacrifice held by the Ji clan, there were two other kinds of ritual violations, one being the unauthorised use of eight rows of eight dancers each, which could only be used by the Son of Heaven. Confucius scolded the Ji clan: 'They use eight rows of eight dancers each to perform in their courtyard. If this can be tolerated, what cannot be tolerated?' (八佾舞於庭, 是可忍也, 孰不可忍也).⁶² Confucius publicly condemns Ji's 'use of eight rows of eight dancers each to perform in their courtyard' as a violation of etiquette. Secondly, Ji used the song 'Yong' 雍, but Duke of Zhou had established that only the Son of Heaven could sing when the sacrificial offerings were removed. Confucius also decried this violation and said: "In attendance were the great lords. In

solemn dignity was the Emperor”. What application has this to the halls of the Three Families?’ (相維辟公，天子穆穆，奚取於三家之堂?)⁶³

The Ji clan not only arrogated to themselves the rites of feudal lords, but also appropriated even the rites of the Son of Heaven. In the late Spring and Autumn Period, the officials of counsellors took power, and between the fifth and eighth years of the reign of Duke Ding 定公, the power of the state of Lu was in the hands of Yang Hu.⁶⁴ In the eighth year of the reign of Duke Ding, Yang Hu held a private *di* sacrifice in order to win the hearts of the people of Lu, and to restore the correct order of tablets of Duke Min and Duke Xi. Like some nobles in the Spring and Autumn Period, Yang Hu ignored the rules of rituals for the sake of his personal needs and interests.⁶⁵

5. Other aspects

There are four additional innovations in the *di* sacrifice ceremony during the Spring and Autumn Period, which are discussed in detail below.

5.1. Ritual time

In the Western Zhou Dynasty, the *di* ancestral rite was held between the first month and ninth month, mainly in summer and autumn, and in the second, fifth, seventh and tenth months during the Spring and Autumn Period, including the rituals of the four seasons. ‘Luyu’ 魯語 [Discourse of Lu] of *Guoyu* records that Hou Jingzi 郈敬子 (d.u.; a minister of Duke Wen of Lu) replied to Duke Wen of Lu: ‘My ancestor Huibo 惠伯 received this dwelling from the official of Sili 司里, and I have been delivering sacrificial meat from this dwelling to the ruler of the country at the autumn, summer, winter and spring festivals every year for many years.’⁶⁶ Here, Hou Jingzi is referring to *chang*, *di*, *zheng* and *xiang* 享 sacrifices, which are the sacrifices for each of the four seasons. In other words, the *di* ancestral sacrifice was one of the four sacrifices, and was performed during the summer.

5.2. The recipients of *di* sacrifices

Following the tradition of the Western Zhou, in the Spring and Autumn Period *di* sacrifices were generally offered to one’s deceased father. However, there were some special cases. One of them was the *di* sacrifice of Duke Zhao to his ancestor Duke Wu, who was eleven generations before him.

Under the item for the fifteenth day of the second month of the fifth year of the reign of Duke Zhao, the *Chunqiu jing* and *Zuozhuan* record that ‘there was a sacrifice in the temple of Duke Wu’⁶⁷ and indicated the place and the addressee of the sacrifice. Duke Wu is neither the first ancestor of Lu nor a direct ancestor of Duke Zhao within five generations, so why did Duke Zhao sacrifice to Duke Wu? Takezoe Kōkō 竹添光鴻 (a.k.a. Takezoe Shinichirō 竹添進一郎) (1842–1917) explained: ‘Duke Wu, Ao 敖, lived during the reign of King Xuan of Zhou 周宣王 and had achieved military success.’⁶⁸ However, there are very few records of Duke Wu, let alone his military achievements. Scholars take into account two factors: the temple system and music and dance. First of all, regarding the temple system,

the chapter 'Mingtang wei' of *Liji* states that 'the temple of Duke Wu, Ji Ao 姬敖, was equivalent to the temple of King Wu of the Zhou 周武王, and both were clan temples that would never be destroyed' (武公之廟, 武世室也)⁶⁹; scholars also argue that Duke Wu's temple and the King Wu of Zhou's temple existed for a long time.⁷⁰ Secondly, in terms of music and dance, when offering sacrifices, 'there must be music and dance in the sacrifice, the literary dancer holds the feather and key, and the martial dancer holds the shield and axe. When he enters the temple, he must perform [the] literary dance first and then martial arts' (祭必有樂舞, 文舞執羽籥, 武舞執干戚. 其入廟, 必先文而後武).⁷¹ This is the reason why Duke Wu and his temple could be preserved from the early Western Zhou dynasty (Duke Wu was the ninth ruler of Lu in the Western Zhou) and was the object of sacrifice. This statement can only be used as a reference because there is no direct material in the existing documents to record the reasons why Duke Zhao of Lu offered sacrifices to Duke Wu.

Moreover, according to Zhan Qin and the chapter 'Jifa' 祭法 [Rules of Sacrifices] of *Liji* (the two sayings are basically identical), there are several kinds of people who can be included in the sacrificial ceremony: (1) 'those who are able to execute decrees and command the people of the world [can receive or are worthy of receiving] sacrifices' (法施於民); (2) 'those who were sacrificed to when they died after working hard and devoting themselves to the king's service' (以死勤事); (3) 'those who can prevent a major disaster' (能禦大災); (4) 'those who can withstand major disasters' (能扞大患). These 'all have made great contributions to the people' (皆有功烈於民者).⁷² However, Duke Wu's achievements are rarely mentioned in the classical texts, so it is possible that he did not have outstanding achievements or did not belong to the above-mentioned categories of people who contributed to the state of Lu. Luo Xinhui has examined the scope of ancestor worship in the Spring and Autumn Period and found that the worship of the distant generations of ancestors was more favoured by the descendants of the distant ancestors.⁷³ This preference could explain why Duke Zhao held a *di* sacrifice ceremony to Duke Wu.

5.3. In the Spring and Autumn Period, the *di* sacrifice rite was inherited from the Western Zhou and was listed in the national rituals

After mentioning the criteria for inclusion in the sacrificial ceremony, Zhan Qin said, 'There are five kinds of sacrifices in total, namely, *di* 禘, *jiao* 郊 (where the ceremony of offering sacrifices to heaven and earth is held in the suburbs), *zu* 祖 (traveling to worship the god of the road), *zong* 宗 (rituals for the worship of the ancestral temple), and *bao* 報 (a kind of mourning dress system, which is the fourth class in the five clothes system), which are the national sacrificial ceremonies.'⁷⁴ Zhan Qin mainly lived during the time of Duke Xi and Duke Wen of Lu. He explained that the five ceremonies of *di*, *jiao*, *zu*, *zong* and *bao*, which were inherited from the Western Zhou Dynasty, were considered national ceremonies at that time. We saw above that of these national ceremonies, the *di* sacrifice rite was held by the kings in the ancestral temple.

5.4. Supplement the two details of the *di* sacrifice rite

5.4.1. When the *di* sacrifice rite is held, the whole animal body is sacrificed

‘Zhouyu’ 周語 [Discourse of Zhou] of *Guoyu* records that King Ding of Zhou 周定王 (r. 606–586 BCE) told Fan Wuzi 范武子 (ca. 660–583 BCE), a counsellor of the State of Jin, ‘When holding the *di* and *jiao* sacrifice ceremonies, *quanzheng* 全烝 will be needed.’⁷⁵ Wei Zhao notes, ‘*quanzheng* refers to the dedication of the whole animal body to sacrifice . . . *di* sacrifice ritual requires the whole animal body.’⁷⁶

5.4.2. *Jiao* ceremony sets requirements for the offerings 犧牲 used in sacrifices 祭祀 ‘Chuyu’ 楚語 [Discourse of Chu] of *Guoyu* records that Guan Shefu 觀射父 (a religious thinker of the Chu state in the late Spring and Autumn Period) said to King Zhao of Chu 楚昭王 (r. 516 BCE–489 BCE): ‘The horns of the animals used for Spring festival and Summer festival should not exceed the size of cocoons and chestnuts; the horns of animals used for Winter festival and Autumn festival should not exceed the length of a handful’ (郊禘不過繭栗, 烝嘗不過把握). The reason for this is that ‘God relies on a fine and clear supervision to oversee the people, so he requires that the sacrifices be complete and not large’ (夫神以精明臨民者也, 故求備物, 不求豐大).⁷⁷ Therefore, for the sacrifices used in the *jiao* ceremony care should be taken so as to meet the requirements of God.

6. Conclusion

From the above argument, we can see that the *di* sacrifice rite of the Spring and Autumn Period not only inherited some rituals of the Western Zhou Dynasty, such as offering sacrifices to ancestors within five generations in a direct line, as well as special and joint sacrifices. At the same time, the rite developed significantly during this period. For example, while the persons who presided over the rituals in the early Spring and Autumn Period were kings, in the late period counsellors and the officials of counsellors came to play a prominent role. Auspicious festivals could be held after the ruler had been mourned for three years, and various sacrifices such as *zheng* sacrifice, *chang* sacrifice and *di* sacrifice were also held during these three years. Officials were required to fast before the sacrifices. If the presider (such as a counsellor) died suddenly during the ceremony, the music or dance had to be stopped, but the ceremony could be carried on to the end. The whole animal body should be used for sacrifices, and the sacrifices should not be large, but complete. In the late Spring and Autumn Period, some counsellors and their officials held private *di* sacrifice ceremonies to the former monarchs of Lu. It is worth noting that the historical materials on which these points are based on *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, and most of these materials come from the state of Lu. There are very few materials from other feudal states in this regard. Therefore, the nature of Spring and Autumn *di* sacrifice rite can be said to be a reflection of the *di* sacrifice rite of Lu. The state of Lu had the *di* ancestral music 禘樂 of the Son of Heaven, which was recognised by the nobility at that time.

Notes

1. ‘Chengong shisannian’ 成公十三年 [Year Thirteen of Duke Cheng], *Zuozhuan*, Legge, trans., *Ch’un Ts’ew*, 382.

2. Lau, trans., *The Analects*, 23.
3. Wang, trans., *Liji yijie*, 452.
4. *Ibid*, 455.
5. Pan, 'Diji kaolüe,' 5–27; Liu, 'Qianxi Yindai wanqi zhi Chunqiu shiqi diji de Bianhua,' 119, 125; Liu, *Shang Zhou jizu li yanjiu*, 47–76.
6. *Guoyu*, SKQS vol. 406: 49; Wang, trans., *Liji yijie*, 452.
7. This article does not discuss the *di* sacrifice rite in the Warring States because there are virtually no relevant historical records of this period.
8. Jao, *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji*, 995–998; Chang, *Shangdai zongjiao jisi*, 69–172; Dong, 'Yin Zhou diji tanzhen,' 75–77; Liu, *Shang Zhou jizu li yanjiu*, 70–71; Pan, 'Diji kaolüe,' 9–15. It should be noted that Liu Yuan did not point out that the recipients of the *di* sacrifice in Shang Dynasty included the gods of the land. He pointed out that the Shang *di* sacrifice was mainly a method of offering sacrifices, and the purpose of the ritual was to seek rain in order to obtain good agricultural harvests. Refer to page 71 of his book, *Shang Zhou jizu li yanjiu*. I believe that the *di* ritual of offering sacrifices has been a form of sacrificial ceremony since the Shang Dynasty, including its method of offering sacrifices. Moreover, I think the *guan* rituals 裸禮 appeared in the period of King Xin 帝辛.
9. Liu, 'Xizhou Jinwen zhong de jizu li,' 495–496; Cao, 'Xizhou shiqi de diji yu xiaji,' 404–415; Chen, 'Fanyou, Zouding ji Zhongmingwen Quanshi,' 15–16; Zhang, 'Xizhou jinwen liuzhong lizhi yanjiu,' 40–43. The six points mentioned above in my article are the same as those in Liu's *Shang Zhou jizu li yanjiu*, which are (2) and (4). For details, please refer to Liu, *Shang Zhou jizu li yanjiu*, 58–62, 71, 76.
10. Lau, trans., *The Analects*, 163.
11. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 128. Here and elsewhere, the Wechsler phonetic system used by Legge has been changed to the *pinyin* system.
12. *Ibid*.
13. *Ibid*, 658.
14. *Ibid*, 770.
15. *Ibid*.
16. Takezoe, *Sashi kaisen*, 2202.
17. *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, 1663; Yang, annot. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1568.
18. Lau, trans., *The Analects*, 163.
19. *Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan zhushu*, 2328.
20. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 128.
21. *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, 219.
22. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 658.
23. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 1902; *Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan zhushu*, 2292; *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, 679.
24. Takezoe, *Sashi kaisen*, 1876.
25. Wang, trans. *Liji yijie*, 444.
26. Gu, *Chunqiu dashi biao*, 1472.
27. *Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan zhushu*, in *Shisanjing Zhushu*, 2244.
28. Yang, annot., *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 262.
29. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 128.
30. *Ibid*, 226.
31. *Ibid*, 472.
32. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, 2143.
33. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 150–151.
34. *Ibid*, 473.
35. Jin state sent troops later.
36. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 658.
37. Chao, 'Shilun Chunqiu shiqi de zuxian chongbai,' 90–93.
38. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 658.
39. Takezoe, *Sashi kaisen*, 1877–1878.

40. *Chunqiu Guliang zhuan zhushu*, 2438.
41. Lau, trans., *The Analects*, 21.
42. *Zhuzi yulei*, 64.
43. *Lunyu jijie yishu*, 360–361.
44. Wang, *Tang xieben Lunyu Zhengshi zhu jiqi yangjiu*, 20.
45. System of Zhao and Mu 昭穆, arranging tablets of the first-generation ancestor and the last six monarchs in the Grand Temple. The first-generation ancestor or founder of dynasty in the centre, those ancestors of the second, fourth and sixth generations on the left were called Zhao 昭, and those of the third, fifth and seventh generations on the left were called Mu 穆.
46. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 128.
47. *Ibid.*, 150–151.
48. *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, 219, 265.
49. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 232, 234.
50. Yang, annot., *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 525.
51. Takezoe, *Sashi kaisen*, 2202.
52. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 446.
53. Wang, trans., *Liji yijie*, 294.
54. *Ibid.*, 437, 438.
55. Yeung, 'Xinhan rujia zhengzhi wenhua shiyu xia de Zhougong yu Kongzi,' 7–8.
56. *Guoyu*, SKQS vol. 406: 45.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 549.
59. *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, 1123.
60. *Ibid.*, 1128.
61. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 710.
62. Lau, trans., *The Analects*, 19.
63. *Ibid.*, 19.
64. Gu, *Chunqiu dashi biao*, 1759–1760.
65. Luo, 'Chunqiu shiqi jizu fanwei yanjiu,' 7–14.
66. *Guoyu*, SKQS vol. 406: 50.
67. Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 658.
68. Takezoe, *Sashi kaisen*, 1876.
69. Wang, trans., *Liji yijie*, 444.
70. Takezoe, *Sashi kaisen*, 1876.
71. *Ibid.*, 1877.
72. *Guoyu*, SKQS vol. 406: 48; Wang, trans., *Liji yijie*, 675.
73. Luo, 'Chunqiu shiqi jizu fanwei yanjiu,' 63–64.
74. *Guoyu*, SKQS vol. 406: 49. The definitions of *jiao*, *zu*, *zong*, and *bao* in this article are based on the interpretation of Qian, *Sanli tonglun*, 575, 467, 791.
75. *Guoyu*, SKQS vol. 406: 49.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*, 159.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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1. Abbreviaton

SKQS = *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書; see Secondary Sources, *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*.

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