

An Annotated Translation of the *Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*

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Abstract

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The *Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*¹ (hereafter *Codex*), completed in the 12th year of Emperor Qianlong's reign (1747), is the first independent written record of Manchu Shamanism. It meticulously documents the procedures, hymns, and ritual instruments of a religious tradition practiced in the Qing court, which Qianlong identified as indigenous to the Manchus.

This thesis presents the first annotated English translation of the *Codex*'s ceremonial programs and hymns. The translations of the programs are based on both the Manchu text and its official Chinese counterpart, while the hymns are translated solely from the Manchu original. Besides providing background on the structure and operations of the Qing imperial court, my annotations explicate the meanings of the Manchu terms for the ritual actions, instruments, and ceremonies, many of which were obscured in the Chinese translation.

In the introduction, I examine the existing translations and research on the *Codex*, the text's production, and the two types of rituals mentioned in its title—Veneration and Thanksgiving. I seek to address the gaps in previous scholarships stemming from inadequate attention to the Manchu text and misconceptions on Shamanism. This project lays the groundwork for further research into the Qing court's Shamanic traditions and their broader cultural, social, and political implications.

¹ Ch. 钦定满洲祭神祭天典礼 [*qinding manzhou jishen jitian dianli*], Ma. *hesei toktobuha manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe*.

Table of Contents

<u>Introduction</u>	1
<u>Notes on Previous Approaches and Research</u>	2
<u>Translations and Commentaries</u>	2
<u>Studies on the <i>Codex</i></u>	6
<u>The Making of the Document</u>	10
<u>The Production</u>	10
<u>The Translation</u>	13
<u>Versions and Copies</u>	15
<u>Contents</u>	16
<u>General Overview</u>	16
<u>Qing Court Shamanic Rituals</u>	18
<u>Conclusion</u>	27
<u>Translation</u>	28
<u>Juan One</u>	28
<u>The Imperial Edict</u>	28
<u>List of Official Titles</u>	30
<u>Table of Contents</u>	33
<u>On the Veneration and the Thanksgiving</u>	36
<u>On Fresh Offerings at the Lights-Out Ceremony</u>	37
<u>Comprehensive Record of Old Manchu Rituals</u>	38
<u>Ceremonial Program for New Year's Ceremony at the Kunning Palace</u>	47
<u>Ceremonial Program for New Year's Ceremony at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse</u>	47
<u>Ceremonial Program for Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse</u>	48
<u>Supplication for Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse (on the Third of January and the First of Each Month)</u>	50
<u>Ceremonial Program for the Veneration at the Šangsi Spirit (Ch. 尚锡神 [<i>shangxi shen</i>], Ma. <i>šangsi enduri</i>) Pavilion</u>	51
<u>Supplication for the Veneration at the Šangsi Spirit Pavilion</u>	52
<u>Ceremonial Program for Inviting Deities to be Venerated in the Tangse</u>	52
<u>Ceremonial Program for Inviting Deities to the [Kunning] Palace</u>	53
<u>Ceremonial Program for Monthly Veneration at the Kunning Palace</u>	53
<u>Supplications for the Monthly Veneration at the Kunning Palace</u>	61
<u>Ceremonial Program for Thanksgiving [on] the day after Veneration</u>	66
<u>Thanksgiving Proclamation on the Day after Veneration</u>	68
<u>Juan Two</u>	68
<u>Ceremonial Program for Daily Veneration at the Kunning Palace</u>	68
<u>Supplications for Daily Veneration at the Kunning Palace</u>	69
<u>Ceremonial Program for Seasonal Wealth Offering</u>	69
<u>Supplications for Seasonal Wealth Offering</u>	71
<u>Ceremonial Program for the Buddha Bathing</u>	72
<u>Supplications for the Buddha Bathing</u>	74
<u>Juan Three</u>	75

<u>Ceremonial Program for Preparatory Rite</u>	75
<u>Supplications for the Preparatory Rite</u>	76
<u>Ceremonial Program for the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse</u>	80
<u>Supplications for the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse</u>	85
<u>Ceremonial Program for the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace</u>	85
<u>Supplications for the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace</u>	87
<u>Ceremonial Program for Thanksgiving on the Day After the Grand Rite</u>	92
<u>Thanksgiving Proclamation on the Day after the Grand Rite</u>	92
<u>Juan Four</u>	92
<u>Ceremonial Program for the Blessing Petition</u>	92
<u>Supplications for the Blessing Petition</u>	96
<u>Supplications for the Blessing Petition for Infants</u>	97
<u>Supplication for the Lights-Out Ceremony with Chick Offerings in the Spring</u>	99
<u>Supplication for the Lights-Out Ceremony with Gosling Offerings in the Summer</u>	99
<u>Supplication for the Lights-Out Ceremony with Fish Offering in Autumn</u>	100
<u>Supplication for the Lights-Out Ceremony with Pheasant Offerings in Winter</u>	100
<u>Supplication for All Lights-Out Ceremonies with Fresh Offerings</u>	100
<u>Ceremonial Program for the Equine Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse</u>	101
<u>Supplications for the Equine Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse</u>	102
<u>Ceremonial Program for the First Day of The Equine Veneration</u>	102
<u>Supplications for the First Day of the Equine Veneration</u>	103
<u>Ceremonial Program for the Second Day of the Equine Veneration</u>	107
<u>Supplications for the Second Day of the Equine Veneration</u>	107
<u>Postscript</u>	108
<u>The Memorials</u>	109
<u>Bibliography</u>	111

Introduction

In the twelfth year of his reign (1747), Emperor Qianlong² announced the completion of the *Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*, written in what him called “the national language (Ch. 国语 [guoyu], Ma. *manju gisun*)”—Manchu.³ The *Codex* meticulously describes the actions, procedures, hymns, instruments, offerings, and participants involved in a religious tradition that the emperor explicitly identified as having been practiced by all Manchus since time immemorial.⁴ Although he intended for the text to urgently remedy a perceived lapse in practice in the Forbidden Palace, he envisioned that it would also serve to immortalize “the old customs of the Manchus”—*manjusa i fe doro*.

As early as 1804, the “old customs of the Manchus” have been referred to as “*Chamanisme*” in Western scholarship.⁵ The exogenous descriptor of the religious tradition was coined by adding the French suffix *-isme* to the phonetic transcription of the Manchu word *Saman*, who is the main celebrant of these ceremonies. Chamanisme (or “shamanism” in English) received explosive attention in the West after the publication of Mircea Eliade’s *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l’extase* in 1951. Despite its deep cultural impact, Eliade’s definition of “shamanism” as a global spiritual phenomenon characterized by ecstatic trances should not be taken granted in scientific scholarships on the original Manchu traditions. In my research, I refer to the topical religion as *Shamanism* to emphasize my contextualized focus and distinguish it from the deep-seated ideological presuppositions irrevocably shrouding “shamanism.” In doing so, I aim to establish for the readers an immediate familiarity with the context and to signal a clear distancing from previous flawed paradigms. When citing directly from earlier scholarship, I will maintain the authors’ original presentation of the related words in quotation marks.

My thesis provides the first annotated English translation of all the ritual programs and hymns in the *Codex*. My translations of the ritual programs are informed by both the Classical Chinese and the Manchu text. All translations of the hymns are based solely on the Manchu text. After setting the scholarly and historical contexts, I present my original findings on two main types of rituals documented in the *Codex*—the Veneration and the Thanksgiving. My goal is to elucidate the content of the variation of Shamanism addressed in the *Codex* and correct the errors that have accumulated in past scholarship. Ultimately, I hope the findings will serve as a foundation for further research into the religious, ethnic, social, and political realities of the Qing court.

² Ch. 乾隆. Qianlong was born in 1711 and ruled from 1735 to 1796. His personal name is 弘历 [hongli] in Chinese, and Hung Lii in Manchu.

³ *Codex*, *juan* 1, “the Imperial Edict,” 2b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1a.

⁵ Louis Mathieu Langlès, *Rituel des Tatars-Mantchoux, rédigé par l'ordre de l'empereur kien-long, et précédé d'un discours préliminaire composé par ce souverain; avec les dessins des principaux ustensiles et instrumens du culte chamanique: ouvrage traduit par Extraits du tatâr-mantchou, et accompagné des Textes en caractères originaux* (Paris, 1804).

Notes on Previous Approaches and Research

Translations and Commentaries

The first prominent translation of the *Codex* in Western scholarship was published by Louis Mathieu Langlès in 1804. His foreword to the *Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou Francois* contains one of the first comprehensive elucidations of the Manchu orthography in the West.⁶ As its title *Rituel des Tatars-Mantchoux rédigé par l'ordre de l'empereur kien-long, et précédé d'un discours préliminaire composé par ce souverain; avec les dessins des principaux ustensiles et instrumens du culte Chamanique: ouvrage traduit par extraits du tatâr-mantchou, et accompagné des textes en caractères originaux* artfully summarizes, the text is a partial French translation of the Manchu-language *Codex* which includes Emperor Qianlong's imperial edict, a discussion segment attributed to the emperor by Langlès,⁷ illustrations of the selected ritual instruments, and a selection of texts written in the Manchu alphabet. It also provides the translations of the names and titles of the *Codex*'s contributors and its table of contents. He explains that his book covers the “most instructive parts of the work” and describes the ritual programs and hymns, which makes up the majority of the *Codex*, as “extremely tedious details.”⁸

Langlès' commentaries came in the forms of an introduction, footnotes on the Manchu terms, and random paragraphs mixed into the main body of the text. Unfortunately, like many contemporary Orientalists, Langlès was biased and mistaken about many historical facts about Asian religions and the Manchu rulers of China. He was confident that the Manchu word *saman*, transcribed in French as *Chaman*, was the real name of the “founder of Buddhism”—*Châkmoni*.⁹ The “*culte Chamanique*” of the Manchus was presumed to be an offshoot of a branch of Buddhism termed *Samanéisme*.¹⁰ When Samanéisme spread to the “rude and vagabond” hordes of Tatar, its “civilized” values became corrupted and only the “exaggerated superstitions” survived.¹¹ He also failed to recognize that his understanding of the boundary of “Tatary” does not encompass the Manchu's place of origin—the lush, temperate forests of Northeast Asia. In describing Qianlong's longing for his homeland, Langlès wrote: “the delightful houses of pleasure...in China could not make him forget the deserts of Tatary.”¹²

Apart from these errors, Langlès provided several significant insights into the context of *Codex* that generally corroborated with the text itself and later scholarships. First, he observed that Qianlong's preoccupation with conserving “his ancestral religion” paralleled his conservation of the Manchu language. Langlès asserted these initiatives aimed beyond simple

⁶ Langlès deemed earlier attempts at deciphering the Manchu alphabet to be rather low in quality. The dictionary presents the readers with the words' original Manchu script (flipped ninety degrees counterclockwise), its Latinized version, and contextualized definitions. M. Amyot and L. Langlès, *Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou Francois, Tome Premier* (Paris: 1789), ix-xl.

⁷ In contrast to the description in the title, Langlès admits that the section in question was in fact authored by the scholars and approved by the emperor. *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁹ Better known now as *Sakyamuni* in English, or *Shakyamuni* in French. *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁰ Based on Langlès' description, the Samanéens might have been the Buddhist religious mendicants (*śramaṇa* in Sanskrit, and *samaṇa* in Pali.) *Ibid.*, 16. Eliade and S.M. Shirokogoroff both supported the idea that the Tungusic word *šaman* (cognate of *saman*) is a derivation of the Pali *samaṇa* but denied that “shamanism” is a sect of Buddhism. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 495.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Langlès perhaps had in mind the areas now known as Central Asia and Mongolia. *Ibid.*, 8.

preservation and directed at “perfecting [the traditions] and rivaling [those] of the Chinese.”¹³ Second, the “Chamanique” universe was populated with benevolent and malevolent “secondary gods” who are capable of manipulating the events and operations of the world.¹⁴ Each tribe had its own “favorite divinities”.¹⁵ Third, since before the Manchus were “civilized,” i.e., adopted sedentary lifestyle after the conquest of China proper, they addressed prayers and made offerings to idols that were kept in their homes and tents.¹⁶ Postconquest, beautifully constructed altars—“even a kind of small tabernacle”—replaced the less adorned idols.¹⁷ The method and frequency of offerings remain unchanged—once in the morning, and once at night. The evening ritual was assigned unexplained primacy by Langlès.¹⁸ Fourth, the principal celebration of the Manchu “Chamanistes” took place in spring and autumn of each year.¹⁹ Some Manchu clans in these occasions mounted “a pole or a sort of beam,” on top of which hung the offerings and parts of the sacrificed animals.²⁰ Given the overgeneralizing tendency of the 18-19th century Orientalists, it’s unclear to which degree the mentioned tribes fall into our current understanding of the Manchu people or their predecessors. I highlighted these accounts on the merit that analogous narratives and practices were explicitly stated in the *Codex*, varying only in depth and details.

An outstanding study and translation of the Manchu-language *Codex* was published by Charles-Joseph de Harlez in Belgium in 1887. His *La religion nationale des tartares orientaux: Mandchous et Mongols, comparée à la religion des anciens Chinois, d’après les textes indigènes, avec le rituel tartares de l’empereur K’ien-Long, traduit pour la première fois* provides a comprehensive introduction, translation of the ritual programs, hymns, and preparations of offerings covered in the first 5 *juans*,²¹ an examination of the religious traditions of the Mongols, and ancient Chinese sources reporting on the Manchu’s “*Shamanisme*.”

The book’s introduction discusses the identity and characterization of the venerated entities, the parameter and purposes of the ritual locations, the roles and qualities of the main celebrant—the Saman—and other ritual assistants, the different types of ritual actions and ceremonies, the preparation of offerings, and the religion of the Manchu’s predecessors.²² In interpreting the contents of the Manchu *Codex*, de Harlez did not look to existing Western theories, scriptures from other religions, anthropological accounts on groups now recognized as Tungusic, or reports on the practices of any Manchu clans outside of the Forbidden Palace. His highly contextualized investigation was built solely upon the text’s internal clues and imperially commissioned

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 17.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ As I will expand below, the ritual programs for the Monthly Veneration, Daily Veneration, the Preparatory Rite, the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace, and the two-day Equine Veneration are highly similar. De Harlez only translated the ritual program for the Monthly Veneration in full and claimed the rest to be identical, not realizing the differences in required instruments, personnel, and offerings.

²² He identified them as the “Niu-Tchie” rulers of China during the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234). The word should be “女真 [nüzhen]” in Chinese, and “Jurchen” in English. In the official narratives of the Qing rulers, the Jurchen rulers of Jin were indeed recognized as the predecessors to the Manchus. Charles-Joseph de Harlez, *La religion nationale des tartares orientaux: Mandchous et Mongols, comparée à la religion des anciens Chinois, d’après les textes indigènes, avec le rituel tartares de l’empereur K’ien-Long, traduit pour la première fois* (Belgium: 1887), 53.

Manchu dictionaries such as the *Manju gisun i buleku bithe*²³ and *Qingwen Huishu*.²⁴ This is best demonstrated in his treatment of *foucihi* (the Buddha) and *pousa* (the Bodhisattva).²⁵ De Harlez was familiar with Langlès' assumption that the religion documented in the *Codex* was a "corrupted form" of Buddhism.²⁶ He was also aware of basic Mahayana concepts such as the distinctions between the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas.²⁷ However, he exercised plenty caution in applying preconceived notions to *foucihi* and *pousa*, focusing exclusively on how the figures were perceived in their immediate context. He explained that according to the *Manju gisun i buleku bithe*, the *foucihi* refers to the Buddha, a holy man of the West and an idol to the Lamas, the monks, and the nuns.²⁸ The same source defines the *pousa* as "an honorary title for the Buddha."²⁹ Instead of challenging the present definitions based on Mahayana teachings, de Harlez reviewed the depictions and treatments of *foucihi* and *pousa* evident in the ceremonial programs themselves. The *foucihi* is represented by a statue, on top of which suspended a parasol called *lapari*.³⁰ A ceremony is specifically devoted to him.³¹ On the other hand, the *pousa* is represented by a tablet bearing his name, which is enclosed in a case.³² De Harlez then reached a tentative conclusion that *pousa* is likely Avalokitesvara, or another Bodhisattva in Mahayana Buddhism.³³

More substantially, he stressed that the *foucihi* was not perceived by the Manchus as the principle supramundane being who occupies the highest cosmic hierarchy, as the Buddha was for the Buddhists.³⁴ His assessment of Buddhist and Chinese influences on the *Codex*'s rituals remains poignant for current studies of Manchu religion and culture and deserves to be quoted in its entirety. Addressing the presence of spirit tablets and Buddhist entities, de Harlez argues:

Mais la croyance à ces esprits et la nature qui leur est ici attribuée, les pratiques inventées pour les rendre favorables, les apaiser, le sacerdoce samanique, ses usages et ses instruments: ceintures, grelots, sonnettes, glaives, flèches, tambours, etc.; les prières du Rituel, les règles sacrificielles générales et particulières, l'immolation des porcs, les papier-monnaie à consumer par la flamme, le double jeu des tambours, les mais avec les vases superposés, les banderoles flottant au cou des chevaux consacrés aux esprits, tout en un mot est tartare et rien que tartare.

Le bouddhisme est venu poser un double nom au milieu de la liste des objets de la vénération populaire, il a fait créer quelques cérémonies en l'honneur du nouveau

²³ Lit. "the book [standing as] a mirror of the Manchu language." Its Chinese title is 御制清文鉴 [*yuzhi qingwen jian*], which translates to "Imperial Commissioned Qing Language (Manchu) Dictionary." Ibid., 12.

²⁴ Lit. "Lexicon of the Qing Language" Its Chinese title is 清文汇书 [*qingwen huishu*]. De Harlez transcribed the title erroneously as "*T'sing-wen-wei-shu*." Ibid.

²⁵ In Möllendorff's romanization system, which is the one adhered to in my translation, the two Manchu words are written as *fucihi* and *fusa*. They are each 佛 [*fo*] and 菩萨 [*pusa*] in the Chinese-language *Codex*.

²⁶ Ibid., 6.

²⁷ He referred to Mahayana Buddhism as the "bouddhisme septentrional," or "Buddhism of the north." Ibid., 15-6.

²⁸ Ibid., 15.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ *Labari* in Möllendorff's system. A [parasol] constructed with curtain-like top and fringe that is suspended above the Buddha (*Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 4b).

³¹ See the segments on the Buddha Bathing Ceremony in my translation. De Harlez, *La religion nationale des tartares orientaux*, 15.

³² Ibid. The "*pousa*" was actually depicted on a portrait, and enclosed in a wooden cylinder when not in use.

³³ It is obvious from this statement that de Harlez was not in possession of the Chinese-language *Codex*, which conclusively identified *pousa* as Avalokitesvara. Ibid., 16.

³⁴ Ibid.

personnage introduit parmi les êtres surnaturels vénérés dans l'Extrême-Orient, et c'est tout. A cela s'est borné son rôle et son influence.³⁵

The comment presents an excellent counterargument to the current scholarly consensus that the Qing court's Shamanic rituals had become overly Sinicized and had lost its function as the carrier of Manchu culture. My evaluation of the *Codex's* religious contents aligns closely with that of de Harlez's: unique and endemic beliefs and practices persisted and abounded in the Qing court's Shamanic rituals. Regardless of the truth value of our opinions, a salient but seldom addressed point needs be raised: superficial similitudes in ritual instruments and venerated entities, by themselves, only signify the presence of external influences. In examining a religious tradition, one must also pay attention to the manners and types of worship, the interactions between the celebrants and the supramundane, conceptions of the divine, and much more.

The unfortunate shortcoming of de Harlez's work lies in the inaccuracy of his translations. One example can be found towards the end of the ritual program for the veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall. De Harlez translated the phrase "*saman...halmari be tanjurara*"³⁶ as "il bénit et vénère le glaive."³⁷ Without addressing the style of translation and choices of wording, his error lies in mistaking the function of the accusative case marker *be*. The main syntactic function of *be* is to denote the direct object of a transitive verb.³⁸ However, it can also indicate an adverbial modifier of manner.³⁹ In this case the latter rule applies, as *halmari* (which I translate as "the Spirit Saber") cannot be the direct object of the intransitive verb *tanjurambi* (which I translate as "to pray"). It's worth mentioning, however, that the Manchu texts de Harlez was working with were "CC. 922 de la Bibliothèque de Paris et 423 de celle de Saint-Petersbourg,"⁴⁰ which are not the same sources I reference in this work (*vide infra*).

An annotated Russian translation of the Manchu-language *Codex* was completed in 1939 by A.V. Grebenshchikov, who also collected the manuscripts for the renowned *Nišan samani bithe*.⁴¹ Grebenshchikov had conducted abundant fieldwork among the peoples of Siberia and the Amur region.⁴² His vast knowledge of the Tungusic peoples' religious traditions informed the detailed commentaries and multifaceted analysis of the *Codex*. Unfortunately, his work could not be published because of the outbreak of World War II.⁴³ His translation of the *Codex* and rich, largely unprocessed personal archives can be found in the Архив Востоковедов (Orientalist Archive) of the Институт востоковедения Российской академии наук (Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences) in St. Petersburg, Russia.⁴⁴

³⁵ Ibid., 51.

³⁶ *Halmari*: A thin iron blade with threaded iron rings held during rituals. *Tanjurara* (imperfect participle of *tanjurambi*): to plead for fortune with supplications to deities. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 45b–46a and 52a.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Liliya M. Gorelova, *Manchu Grammar* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 166.

³⁹ Ibid., 70.

⁴⁰ De Harlez, *La religion nationale des tartares orientaux*, 8.

⁴¹ Lit. Book of the *Nišan Saman*. Tatiana A. Pang, "Rare Manchu Manuscripts from the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Science," *Manuscripta Orientalia*, no. 3 (1995): 34.

⁴² Tatiana A. Pang, "Materialien zum mandschurischen schamanismus aus der Sammlung A.V. Grebenshchikov," in *Studia et Documenta Manchu-Shamanica*, ed. Giovanni Stary (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 37.

⁴³ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 33.

Yeh Gaoshu's *Manwen Qinding Manzhou Jishen Jitian Dianli Yizhu*⁴⁵ provides the latinized Manchu text, preliminary Chinese translation of the Manchu text, the original Chinese text, and annotations of select Manchu phrases. Yeh's translation of the Manchu text is not presented in the format of full sentences. Instead, the fragments of phrases and clauses are displayed in parenthesis and inserted into the latinized Manchu text. Yeh's annotations also relied primarily on imperially commissioned Manchu dictionaries such as the *Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian* (here after *Expanded Mirror*)⁴⁶ and *Qingwen Zonghui*,⁴⁷ both of which are the expanded and revised versions of the dictionaries de Harlez referenced. The majority of his annotations focused on defining the verbs describing specific ritual actions, the ingredients and preparation of offerings, and Manchu ritual instruments. His methodology has pivotal influences on my annotating strategies in this work.

Although Yeh does not offer additional commentaries on the ceremonial programs and hymns, his footnotes draw attention to the nuances and complexities of the court's Shamanic rituals that were totally lost in translation. For example, in the Chinese-language *Codex*, the Manchu words *jalbarimbi* and *samdambi* were both translated as 祝祷 [*zhudao*].⁴⁸ *Jalbarimbi* refers to the action of pleading for fortune through auspicious sayings to the spirits and deities,⁴⁹ while *samdambi* correspond closely to the notion of "spirit dancing," where the Saman walks in a slithering motion while wearing the Spirit Hat and Waist Bells and striking the Tambourine.⁵⁰ The two Manchu verbs convey drastically different (series of) actions and their immediate contexts. On the other hand, the Chinese *dao Zhu* can only communicate the general act of praying or propitiation, leaving much of the original meanings unexpressed.

Studies on the *Codex*

Plenty of work has been done on the Qing court's Shamanic rituals as described in the *Codex*. I will address the research of Nicola di Cosmo and Evelyn Rawski, as their views on the saliency and vitality of Shamanism in the Qing court are largely representative of current consensus.

Di Cosmo discusses the "clericalization of shamanic rituals [*sic*]" through the creation of the *Codex* against the context of the Qianlong's efforts to preserve the cultural distinctiveness of the Manchus.⁵¹ For di Cosmo, the primary purposes for the *Codex* was to provide the correct form of worship for *all Manchus* and unify an undoubtedly heterogeneous tradition; however, he admits that there is little evidence that it was enforced outside the court.⁵² He situates the *Codex* rituals among the "Tungus and Siberian shamanism" and lists several of its defining features based on *The Tale of the Nišan Shamaness*,⁵³ the research of twentieth-century Russian ethnographer Shirokogoroff, and recent anthropological studies conducted by Chinese scholars. Di Cosmo

⁴⁵ *Annotated Translation of the Manchu-Language Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*. Its Chinese title is 满文钦定满洲祭神祭天典礼译注.

⁴⁶ Ch. 御制增订清文鉴. It's the expanded version of the *Manju gisun i buleku bithe*.

⁴⁷ Ch. 清文总汇. *The Expanded Qing Language Dictionary and the Comprehensive Lexicon of the Qing Language*. It is the expanded version of *Qingwen Huishu*.

⁴⁸ *Zhudao* can be translated in English as "to wish, to pray."

⁴⁹ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 45b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli yizhu*, 46.

⁵⁰ Spirit dancing, also "spirit jumping," are translations of the Chinese term 跳神 [*tiaoshen*]. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 45b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli yizhu*, 119.

⁵¹ Nicola di Cosmo, "Manchu Shamanic Ceremonies at the Qing Court," *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph P. McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 352-98.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 357-9.

⁵³ Its manuscript was collected by A.V. Grebenshchikov in the early twentieth century.

describes the “shaman” as the central figure of a clan’s spiritual and social life, who links the human plane with Heaven and the underworld and yields magical healing powers.⁵⁴ Interestingly, he describes several ritual actions as mistakenly bearing the mark of “shamanistic beliefs,” including the complete consumption of sacrificial meat by ritual attendants, ritual offering of an alcoholic beverage, and the sacrifice of a white horse to heaven and of a black ox to earth.⁵⁵

Di Cosmo believes that the codification of the formerly oral religious tradition preserved only its exterior form—the singing and chanting, and not the substance.⁵⁶ The same stance is shared by many Qing historians and Manchu ethnographers.⁵⁷ The depletion of its authentic religious contents is evident in the high positions accorded to the Buddha, Avalokiteshvara, and Guanyu, figures who are central to Chinese popular worships.⁵⁸ The “shamans” no longer enjoyed pivotal social or political roles in the court.⁵⁹ In the past, they communicated with the spirits in a language “incomprehensible to others,” and the content of their communication changed constantly. In documenting the exact wordings of supplications, the language lost its “creative...and magical properties.”⁶⁰ He concluded that the court rituals were almost totally reshaped to align with Chinese traditions and Qianlong’s attempt to ameliorate the decay of Manchu religious tradition and cultural distinctness acted as an accelerant to that very process.

Di Cosmo seems to be somewhat familiar with the Manchu-language *Codex*. He included an English translation of the Qianlong emperor’s imperial edict, originally written in Manchu, and provided the original Manchu words for terms such as the *fodo* (willow branch), *somo* (the Sacrificial Pole), and *weceku* (the spirits).⁶¹ In other instances, he referenced only Chinese sources. Only the Chinese names for the various halls and pavilions in the Tangse (Ch. 堂子 [*tangzi*], Ma. *tangse*)—one of the two major Shamanic ritual locations of the Qing court—were provided.⁶² His appendix which includes the descriptions of the different “shamanic” ceremonies referenced exclusively Chinese-language sources.⁶³

In *The Last Emperors*, Evelyn Rawski delves deeper into the religious content of the *Codex*. Like di Cosmo, Rawski rejects Eliade’s model of a universal shamanism and situates the court rituals among the “shamanism” of the Tungusic tribes of North Asia. Also basing her understanding of the tradition primarily on the *Tale of the Nišan Shamaness* and recent anthropological studies, Rawski gives the following hallmarks of “shamanism.” The Manchus had two types of “shamans”: the “transformational shamans” and the “patriarchal shamans.”⁶⁴

⁵⁴ Ibid., 367.

⁵⁵ Other than the immolation of the horse and the ox, the other actions were duplicated in the Qing court’s practices. In the *ulin hengkilembi* ritual (see segments on “Seasonal Wealth Offering” in my translation), two horses and two oxen are led in front of the deities. However, they are not sacrificed—they were later sold to Manchus outside the Aisin Gioro clan. The return from the sales is spent on purchasing the pigs sacrificed in various rituals. Ibid., 367-8.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 375.

⁵⁷ See Liu and Ding, *Samanjiao yu dongbei minzu*, 139; Humphrey, “Shamanic Practices and the State,” 212-3; Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental Complex of the Northern Tungus*, 204. Mark Elliott presents a view in *The Manchu Way* that argues despite the high degree of formalization, the court’s practice “was still shamanism, if only because those who were practicing it” believed so. 240.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 377, 390.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 389.

⁶¹ In my work, the terms are translated as the Blessed Willow, the Spirit Pole, and the deities.

⁶² The other one is the Kunning Palace. Ibid., 380.

⁶³ The two sources are *Daqing huidian shili* (大清会典事例) and *Qing shi gao* (清史稿). Ibid., 394.

⁶⁴ Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 232.

The former typically suffered a “shamanic illness,” which signify that they were “chosen” by a deity to serve the profession. They are capable of healing the sick and embark on trance-journeys to the underworld to bring the spirits of the dead back to life.⁶⁵ On the other hand, the latter were trained and specialized in performing the rites of their own clans.⁶⁶ Rawski believes that the influence of the *Codex* had reached a wide range of Manchu clans, including those living on the northern border with Russia.⁶⁷ She argues that the contribution of “court-prescribed shamanism” to the diminution of “ecstatic shamanism” can be seen in the return of clan gods who “seized the shamans” and compelled them to perform heterodox rituals during the Opium War era.⁶⁸ For Rawski, the supernatural selection of “shamans” by supramundane entities and interdimensional trance-journeys are central to the authentic “ecstatic shamanism”, which is antithetical to the “bureaucratized” practices of the court.

Rawski’s engagement with the Manchu text is limited. Although she distinguishes the two main types of rituals (*metembi* and *wecembi*), she is mistaken in what they entail. She claims that the most important “shamanic” rite is the *wecembi*, whose Chinese translation is 背灯祭 [*beideng ji*]. However, the correct Manchu correspondence of *beideng ji* is *tuibumbi*, which constitutes a part of the regular evening *wecembi* rituals (for detailed expositions on these rites, *vide infra*). Her claim that an annual sacrifice to the “horse deity” was performed further demonstrates her unfamiliarity with the Manchu text. In the Chinese-language *Codex*, this ritual is referred to as 祭马神 [*ji mashen*], meaning “the worship of the horse deity.” The original Manchu text, on the other hand, refers to it as *morin i jalin wecere* (*wecembi*), which translates to “veneration [conducted] for the sake of horses.”

Di Cosmos’ and Rawski’s analyses are representative of current scholarly consensus on the Qing court’s Shamanic worships. First, a unitary “shamanism” of the Manchu people exists. Its characteristics can be gleaned from all Manchu clans and is relatively stable across the board. Second, *ecstatic* elements, defined ambiguously as trance-journeys, “shamanic illnesses,” or magical healing powers, constitute the absolute essence of the singular “shamanism” of the Manchus, without which the religion only lingers on as a husk. Third, the *Codex* was deemed as a failed attempt at preserving the religious cultural distinctiveness of the Manchus as the indigenous religion is fundamentally incompatible with standardization.

Two major issues underlie these assumptions. First, one must caution reaching an overarching characterization of the religious traditions of the Manchus. Both the *Codex* and modern ethnographies emphasize the significant divergences between clans. Different clans worshipped different deities, who have different mythologies, in different manners.⁶⁹ The procedures, contents, and timing of the same ritual observed by most Manchus also vary across

⁶⁵ Ibid., 224.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 232-3.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 241.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ The relevant segments in *Codex* will be explained below. For more examples of ethnographies since the 20th century, see *Social Organization of the Manchus* (1924) by Shirokogoroff, *Manzu shixing longnian banpu yu jisi huodong kaocha* (2014) by Yu et al., *Manzu mukun yu saman jiao* (2012) by Fan, and *Manzu saman wenhua yicun diaocha* (2010) by Fu and Zhao. The recent anthropological accounts largely conform to Shirokogoroff’s observation, which agrees largely with the *Codex*: many clans (Ma. *hala*) venerate deities that are unique to them. Some tribes (Ma. *mukūn*, a localized subdivision of a *hala*) also have deities that are not shared by other tribes belonging in the same clan.

clans. For instance, most clans have practices involving a spiritually significant tree/branch.⁷⁰ In the Qing court, the *hūture baime* ritual involves tying a string to a large willow branch erected in the center of the yard, wedging pastries between the twigs, waving a special arrow towards the branch, sprinkling wine with chopsticks, and more.⁷¹ Its purpose was for the protection and safety of young children.⁷² A folk instantiation of this ritual, observed by Fu and Meng, shares most steps as the court practice. However, the sequence of each step, the placements of ritual instruments, and the actions taken within each step are dissimilar.⁷³ It is conducted for the future prosperity of the children and the multiplication of offsprings.⁷⁴ A ritual bearing similar features is held by the Guan (Ch. 关) clan in Ningguta (Ch. 宁古塔): followed by the clan members, the Saman arranges offerings of incense, alcohol, and coloured paper beneath a hundred-year-old tree growing in the west of the village.⁷⁵ After the members kowtow towards the tree, the colour paper are tied to the trunk and the alcohol are poured around the roots.⁷⁶ Its purpose is unknown. Based on thematic similarities of the practices, we may surmise that these three rituals are variations of the same one. Nevertheless, it is near impossible to reach a definition of “the ritual involving a spiritually significant tree/branch.” Even the general descriptor I offered leaves excessive room for conflation—the Thanksgiving rituals (*metembi*), as I will explain below, also center around “a spiritually significant branch.” If one asserts the essence of the ritual is any concrete ritual actions, instruments, or purposes, one risks excluding many localized manifestations or mistaking unrelated ceremonies as being in the same category. The same logic applies to arriving at an overarching definition of “Manchu shamanism:” one must exercise great discretion in prescribing a specific action (such as “ecstatic trances”), instrument, ritual, or mythology as the central tenant of the highly diverse Shamanic traditions of the Manchus.⁷⁷

Second, as the *Codex* was the first known emic and comprehensive ritual manual of a Manchu clan (Aisin Gioro), information on prior and contemporary practices remains scant. Current understandings of the Manchu’s religious beliefs and customs are built primarily upon modern anthropological studies of clans outside of the capital, ritual codices of prominent Manchu families, and limited etic observations on the traditions in the palace and the prominent families during the Qing dynasty. The compilation of *Codex* predated all the most relied-upon sources. Any essence(s) one could speculate of the Manchu’s religious traditions would belong to a different temporal plane than the *Codex*. Any comparison of the *Codex*’s practices is inherently anachronistic.

However, by no means is surveying the divergent yet overlapping Manchu religious customs totally meaningless in dissecting the Qing court’s Shamanic rituals. It is also undeniable that the religious practices of a group may go through transformations as its social, economic, political, and structural reality shifts. The Aisin Gioros were unlikely an exception. As they evolved from an ordinary Tungusic clan in the Chinese borderlands to the absolute sovereign of China, they were exposed to a wide range of foreign influences, adapted to the highly centralized

⁷⁰ Jie Guan, *Shensheng de xianxian: ningguta manzu saman jizu yishi yanjiu* (Harbin: Heilongjiang Daxue Chubanshe, 2015), 170.

⁷¹ See the ceremonial program and supplications for the “Blessing Petition” in my translation.

⁷² *Codex*, *juan* 4, “Postscript,” 1b.

⁷³ Yuguang Fu and Huiying Meng, *Manzu saman jiao yanjiu* (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1991), 202.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Jie Guan, *Shensheng de xianxian*, 170.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ The history of the construction, consolidation, and transformation of the Manchu ethnic identity further complicates the issue.

and hierarchical political system, and confronted with the dilemma of justifying their rule to the Han Chinese population. The probability that their indigenous religion remained unaffected is low. It is only that existing evidence is insufficient in establishing that the ostensibly lacking “ecstatic” elements disappeared from the Aisin Gioro clan after the founding of the Qing dynasty in 1644.

Thus, we must reframe the current narrative which attempts to define the ideal form of “Manchu shamanism” and contrasts it to the Qing court’s practice. To start, we can reassess the present conclusion that since “ecstatic elements” are missing, the Qing court’s Shamanic practices were overshadowed by Chinese and Buddhist influences and failed to preserve Manchu cultural identity on the religious front. I will argue that the vaguely defined “ecstatic elements,” albeit the most *prominently* culturally distinct aspect of many Manchu worships, was not the only one that could set them apart from outgroups.⁷⁸ I will highlight the culturally unique components of the *Codex*’s rituals that were never known to be prevalent amongst Chinese or Buddhist circles. I will also highlight that, contrary to popular belief, ritual actions that align with some definitions of “ecstasy” might have persisted behind the resplendent and impenetrable walls of the forbidden city.

The Making of the Document

The edict calling for the composition of the Manchu *Codex* was not included in the book itself. The edict calling for the production of a Chinese translation was issued in the forty-second year of Qianlong’s reign (1777), and it was completed three years later (1780).⁷⁹ The Chinese *Codex* was added to the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*⁸⁰ under the category of “histories” and the subcategory of “bureaucratic text on ceremonial propriety.” It stands as the only tome that was originally written in Manchu and subsequently translated into Chinese for collation into the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*.⁸¹

The Production

The creative process began with inspections of all the Shamanic hymns in circulation in the palace. The Samans were ordered to write down the verses they use in the rituals. Upon examination, the *Codex*’s chief directors remarked that “not only are there many mistakes in grammar and wording, but the proclamations of the palace Samans from the Left and Right Wings⁸² also do not align with one another.”⁸³ Next, the directors commanded the princes of the

⁷⁸ Although Elliott believes the court’s Shamanic rituals were overly adulterated and ceased to be “ecstatic,” he holds that they still served to distinguish the Manchus from other ethnicities who weren’t allowed attendance. *The Manchu Way*, 241. His argument is primarily based upon the Manchu rituals’ exclusivity, instead of their cultural distinctiveness.

⁷⁹ *Codex*, *juan* 1, “Table of Contents,” 5a. Ibid., *juan* 4, “the [First] Memorial,” 1b.

⁸⁰ Ch. 四库全书 [*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*]. Commissioned by Qianlong, it was of the largest and most comprehensive collections of Chinese literature and scholarly.

⁸¹ Gaoshu Yeh, *Manwen Qinding Manzhou Jishen Jitian Dianli Yizhu* (Taipei: Showwe, *Dianli yizhu*), 15.

⁸² Ch. 左右两翼 [*zuoyou liang yi*], Ma. *gala galai*. The Left Wing (Ch. 左翼 [*zuoyi*], Ma. *dashūwan gala*) includes the Bordered Yellow Banner, Plain White Banner, Bordered White Banner, and Plain Blue Banner. They occupy the eastern Banner neighborhoods in Beijing and are arrayed on the viewer’s right side in battle formations. The Right Wing (Ch. 右翼 [*youyi*], Ma. *jebele gala*) includes the Plain Yellow Banner, Plain Red Banner, Bordered Red Banner, and Bordered Blue Banner. They occupy the western Banner neighbourhoods in Beijing and are arrayed on the viewer’s left side in battle formations. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 79 and 405.

⁸³ The section explicating this process is titled “On the Veneration and the Thanksgiving” in my translation.

blood, dukes, and the households of former prominent Samans to copy and submit the hymns they retained from the past and are currently performed at home. They then carefully examined the submitted documents, corrected the mistakes (possibly grammatic and semantic ones), integrated all the information, and added their own remarks before presenting the results to the emperor. They composed original hymns to be performed in the Equine Veneration Chamber, enumerated the specifications of the offerings and ritual instruments, and drew illustrations of the instruments. They also created Manchu names for materials that were only known in Chinese, such as the timber of the *Phoebe Zhennan* tree.

Qianlong claimed in his 1747 edict that he was highly involved in the production of the Manchu *Codex*. After the first draft was submitted to him for review, he personally edited it. For all discrepancies and uncertainties in the hymns' wording, he sent the directors back to consult the elders or individuals from the Manchu's "place of origin (Ch. 本处 [*benchu*], Ma. *bade*)."

The revised text was further examined and edited by the emperor himself. And the end of the edict, Qianlong declares his aspirations in promulgating and participating in the project: to ensure the eternal preservation and implementation of the old Manchu customs, and to express his deep reverence for the ceremonial propriety.

Prince of the blood of the first degree Yūn Lu was assigned to spearhead the production of the original Manchu text. Besides occupying the highest-ranking nobility title for imperial family members, Yūn Lu was also the sixteenth son of the Kangxi Emperor⁸⁴ and the lieutenant-general of the Plain Yellow Banner (Ch. 正黄旗满洲都统 [*zhenghuangqi manzhou dutong*]). His assignment to the project, however, was predicated on not only his prestige, but his familiarity and special connections to the imperial Shamanic rites. Per ritual customs, on days after the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting took place in the palace, the princes of the blood were expected to bring home and venerate the statues and portraits of the Shamanic deities from the Kunming Palace. After Kangxi put a halt to the tradition in the fifty-seventh year of this reign (1719), the Yongzheng Emperor⁸⁵ reinstated it in 1723, specifically requesting participation from Yūn Lu and his brother Yūn Siyang.⁸⁶ Yūn Lu remained as the only prince of the blood who continued to partake this activity during Qianlong's reign.⁸⁷ His dedication and proficiency with the "old customs of the Manchu" did not go unnoticed by Qianlong. In the eighth year of his reign (1743), the emperor tasked Yūn Lu to oversee the execution of the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting during one of his Eastern Tours at the old capital Mukden.⁸⁸ Afterwards, the emperor lamented the gradual loss of the Shamanic tradition to the nobles, announcing that none besides Yūn Lu was competent for the task.⁸⁹

Right beneath him, the other chief directors were Yūn Too, Hūng Jeo, Fuheng, Laiboo, Haiwang, Samhe, and Adai. A common thread that connects their profuse and eclectic official titles was their affiliations with the imperial relatives and their affairs. Yūn Too and Hūng Jeo, like Yūn Lu, were princes of the blood of the first degree. Yūn Too presides over the Imperial

⁸⁴ Ch. 康熙. The third emperor of the Qing dynasty, Aisin Gioro Hiowan Yei.

⁸⁵ Ch. 雍正. The fourth emperor of the Qing dynasty, Aisin Gioro Yin Zhen. He was the fourth son of Kangxi and the father to Qianlong.

⁸⁶ See "Comprehensive Record of Old Manchu Rituals" in my translation.

⁸⁷ Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 18. The last capital of the Late Jin Dynasty (Ch. 后金 [*houjin*]), ruled by the House of Aisin Gioro. In 1635, Hong Taiji officially changed the name of the dynasty to the Great Qing (Ch. 大清 [*daqing*]), marking the start of the Qing Dynasty. The city is now known as "沈阳 [*shenyang*]."

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Clan Court, which has judicial and disciplinary authority over all the Qing nobles. Hūng Jeo, on the other hand, presides over the Imperial Household Department. Without exception, all other officials engaged in the production of the *Codex*, as well as all individuals who assumed various roles in its rituals, were affiliated with the same institutional apparatus. The Imperial Household Department supervises various needs of the palace, such as the ceremonial matters, the leasing of imperial lands, the storage of silver, and the manufacture of supplies. Since the department is involved with the more intimate aspects of the emperor's life, it is marked by a veil of privacy. The general bilingual policy which mandated all governmental documents to be presented in both Manchu and Chinese did not apply to the Imperial Household Department files: many Manchu-language documents were never duplicated in Chinese.⁹⁰

On at least two occasions, the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* editors emphasized that the *Codex* was “implemented complementarily”⁹¹ alongside the *Comprehensive Rites of the Qing* (Ch. 大清通礼 [*daqing tongli*]). The production team for the *Comprehensive Rites*, in contrast, was employed by the Board of Rites, a central bureaucratic organ responsible for creating and executing legislations on *li*.⁹² *Li* is an abstract notion often understood as the organizing social, political, and moral principle and the central tenant for Confucian teachings. Besides the regulations on social and hierarchical conducts, *li* was also physically embodied in ceremonies. By the time Qianlong commanded the production of the *Comprehensive Rites* in 1735, *li* has been an integral part of Chinese civilizations for nearly two millennium. The document was created for the upkeep of the ceremonial aspects of *li*. Its opening remarks by Kangxi, Qianlong, and the tome's chief director Laiboo, unequivocally stress the importance of conserving and transmitting Confucian ceremonial proprieties. While its direct recipients were highly selective, covering only the emperor's households, the imperial and non-imperial nobles, and high government officials, the purpose for their adherence, professedly as well as intrinsic to Confucian rhetorics, was to demonstrate obeisance to the Mandate of Heaven which ensures the proper functioning of the state.

The *Codex* was not so ambitious in its stated projection of potential influence. In addition to the usual subjects of the Imperial Clan Court and the Imperial Household Department—the imperial relatives and the emperor's household—Qianlong also nominated “those who venerate the deities of the Gioro clan” as the targeted audience. The “Gioro clan” could refer to a large demographic encompassing multiple clans. In the context of the *Codex*, it most likely included the imperial Aisin Gioro clan, the Sirin Gioro clan, and the Irgen Gioro clan, as the latter two were mentioned explicitly as sharing many identical customs. It has been postulated that the clans with the “Gioro” name were once branches of the same clan.⁹³ By the time of Qianlong, this marker had lost its connotation of common descent.⁹⁴ The non-imperial Gioro clans were commoners and were not considered as related of the Aisin Gioros. Collectively, these commoner Gioros occupy one of the “eight noted Manchu surnames” documented in the *General*

⁹⁰ Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 12-3.

⁹¹ Ch. 相辅而行 [*xiangfu erxing*]. *Codex*, juan 1, “Table of Contents,” 5b. Laiboo et al., *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries zongmu tiyao*, juan 82, 26a. The Chinese phrasings are identical in the two sources.

⁹² Macabe Keliher, *The Board of Rites and the Making of Qing China* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 11-7.

⁹³ Xiaomeng Liu, *Manzu de buluo yu guojia* (Jilin: Wenshi Publishing, 1996), 32.

⁹⁴ Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 50.

Genealogy of the Clans of the Manchu Eight Banners.⁹⁵ Despite the lack of acknowledged genealogical kinship, the Gioro clans mentioned in the *Codex* were connected to the emperor by the virtue of their shared religious practices. The emperor's 1747 edict also implied that the Manchu people as a collective would benefit from the documentation of *their* "old customs." According to Qianlong, the *Codex* preserves the ritual customs primarily of the Aisin Gioro and other selected clans, and by extrapolation, the Manchu people.

The juxtaposition of the *Codex* and the *Comprehensive Rites* is compelling. The two tomes are not "complementary" to each other in their areas of regulated behaviours, addressees, or jurisdictional spaces. They both directed the ceremonial behaviours of roughly the same demographic—the very upper echelons of the Qing empire, around the similar location—the Forbidden Palace. They were complementary culturally.

The production of *the Codex* appeared to be a conscious compensation for the lack of Manchu ritual manuals in the palace, especially considering Qianlong's preoccupation with consolidating a distinct and enduring Manchu cultural identity.⁹⁶ In the foreword to the lengthy and exhaustive *Comprehensive Rites*, he stressed the importance of apprehending and preserving the Confucian *li*.⁹⁷ This exact sentiment was altered slightly to target the "old customs of the Manchus" and communicated to the *Codex*'s compilers eleven years after it was first uttered to the *Comprehensive Rites*' team in 1735. The two tomes are highly similar in style, both mechanically describe the actions and procedures of the ceremonies, the positions and postures of the celebrants and participations, the numbers and specifications of the ritual instruments and offerings, and the exact wordings of the hymns. Their compositions also closely resemble one another, both begin with the emperor's comment(s), followed by the names and titles of the contributors and remarks on general context, before diving into the main body of the texts. These similarities were unlikely mere coincidences: Laiboo, the chief director of the *Comprehensive Rites*, was appointed as one of the auxiliary directors for the *Codex*.⁹⁸ The stylistic and compositional commonalities signal a consistent official approach toward the Chinese Confucian and the Manchu Shamanic ceremonial proprieties. The production and presentation of the *Codex* should be seen as a deliberate statement that the "old customs of the Manchus" afforded the same reverence and investment afforded to that of the Han Chinese in the Qing court.

The Translation

Unlike the production team, the names and titles of the translators were not listed in the *Codex*. We know that Agūi (Ch. 阿桂 [*a gui*]) and Minzhong Yu (Ch. 于敏中) were tasked with the translation through the postscript they co-authored and the two memorials submitted by Agūi. They both held non-imperial hereditary nobility titles, with Agūi being a First-Class Duke (Ch. 一等公 [*yideng gong*]) and Yu being a First-Class Commandant of Light Chariots (Ch. 一等轻车都尉 [*yideng qingche duwei*]). Besides Agūi's appointment as the Chamberlain of Imperial

⁹⁵ Ch. 八旗满洲氏族通谱 [*baqi manzhou shizu tong pu*], Ma. *jakūn gūsai manjusai mukūn hala be uheri ejehe bithe*. Besides the Sirin Gioro and Irgen Gioro, the other documented clans were the Šušu Gioro, the Tongyan Gioro, the Aha Gioro, the Ayan Gioro, the Cara Gioro, and the Hūlun Gioro (*juan* 12, 1a).

⁹⁶ See Crossley, *Orphan Warriors*, 15-22 and *A Translucent Mirror*; Elliott, "The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies" and *Emperor Qianlong*, 50-65.

⁹⁷ *Comprehensive Rites*, "the Emperor's Foreword," 1a-b.

⁹⁸ Laiboo held positions in both the Board of Rites and the Imperial Household Department.

Bodyguard (Ch. 领侍卫内大臣 [*lingshiwei neidachen*]), the two had no additional affiliation with the Internal Household Department by the time of the postscript's submission in 1780.

Agūi's first memorial compiled into the *Codex* indicates that they only worked on the translation of the first four *juans*, as that of *juan* 5 and 6 which elaborate on the required materials were already completed. They did, however, proofread the completed translations. This detail might be explained by the fact that a Chinese text was more urgently needed for the palace workers who prepared and manufactured the offerings and ritual instruments.

The translators were also asked to investigate the identities of all venerated spirits and deities, the main purposes of the rituals, and the incomprehensible phrases in the hymns. They shared their findings in the postscript. Overall, they were only able to explain a small fractions of what they were tasked with, and the explanations they offered were exceedingly brief. To supplement this lack, they proposed a general theory for the origins of all venerated entities and gave a detailed explanation for their treatments with the unsolved elements.

Based on the limited information they had, the translators posited the following: [We] assume that during the ancient times, each place and nation venerated [their] specific deities. [They were] either worshipped to repay the favours for manifesting miracles or given offerings because [their] merits and virtues have left an impression on the people. Then, the tradition has passed on and [the people] have observed the rituals sincerely [without knowing their origins]. The passages on ritual customs have instructed that once [a tradition] begins [to be observed], it cannot be deserted.

For spirits and deities whose identities were unknown, the two decided to transliterate their names into Chinese without projecting any assumptions. This decision necessitated further justification, as the transliterated names are often made up partially or entirely of intelligible words. For example, for the deity *Niyansi Ahūn*, while the meaning of *niyansi* could not be determined, *ahūn* is a very common Manchu word, meaning “elder brother.” In the case of *Ancun Ayara*, both words are decipherable: *ancun* means “earring,” and *ayara* means “kumis,” a type of yogurt drink. Yet, when combined, the meaning of the phrase is not immediately apparent.

Agūi and Yu explained the reasoning behind their approach with precedents set in the *Book of Rites*, a Confucius classic:

[The passage] “King Wen as Son and Heir (Ch. 文王世子 [*wenwang shizi*])” mentions the “veneration of the late master.” In Zheng Yuan's⁹⁹ annotation, [he explains that] the identity of the “late master” is unknown and only compared [him] to [the masters] in the academies mentioned in the *Rites of Zhou* (Ch. 周礼 [*zhouli*]) and Han scholars of classics. From this, we know that whenever the people of antiquity could not ascertain the truth behind an individual, [they] refrained from misattributing facts or risking [the creation of] groundless fabrications. Therefore, in exercising caution, [we] have left the parts [we] do not understand unchanged and dared not to erroneously assert their meanings.

They faced a very similar issue when dealing with the unexplained segments of hymns. For one of the refrains in question, *gu i šongkon*, not only every word is intelligible, but the meaning of the phrase is reasonably coherent—its literal translation is “jade-coloured gyrfalcon,” a variety of gyrfalcon that must be submitted to the Imperial Household Department when

⁹⁹ Ch. 郑元 <玄> [*zheng yuan, xuan*]. 127–200 CE.

captured.¹⁰⁰ Citing further precedents from Confucius classics—*Yuefu* (Ch. 乐府) poems and the *Book of Song* (Ch. 宋书 [*songshu*])—the two exercised caution and “reverently recorded the [supplications] in their original form to preserve their true essence, not daring to tamper with them arbitrarily.”

Qianlong’s response to the completion of the translation and the translator’s reports was lukewarm, responding only in the phrase: “noted.” The postscripts and the first memorial from Agūi were translated into Manchu and added to the end of *juan* 4 of the Manchu text. There is no indication that the emperor was personally involved in the translation or related investigations.

Versions and Copies

A few official versions of the Chinese and Manchu texts are known to exist.¹⁰¹ From within the text, we know four copies of the *Codex* existed by 1780. According to a memorial submitted by the chief translator Agūi, three copies of the Chinese text were made: one was included in the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, one was sent to be displayed at the Maoqin Hall,¹⁰² and one was stored at the Imperial Study.¹⁰³ From another correspondence between Agūi and the emperor one month later, a Manchu text, presumably the original one, was issued and kept by the Wuying Hall.¹⁰⁴

Following the fall of the Qing dynasty in the early twentieth century, the Korean scholar Kim Kuro provided detailed accounts of five versions of the *Codex* he examined.¹⁰⁵ The four Chinese texts include a *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* copy, a copy by the Grand Secretariat, an edition compiled in the *Comprehensive History of the Eight Banners* in the reign of the Jiaqing emperor, and a printed text collected by the Fengtian Manchuria Railway Library.¹⁰⁶ The only Manchu text discovered by Kim was produced by Wuying Hall, likely a copy delivered to Shengjing (now Shenyang) for the training of the Samans.¹⁰⁷

Three versions of the Manchu *Codex* can be found in the Tōyō Bunko Museum in Japan, each listed as 432. 清文祭祀条例 (*qingwen jisi tiaoli*), 433. 钦定满洲祭神祭天典例 (*qinding manzhou jishen jitian dianli*), and 434. 钦定满洲祭神祭天典例 (*qinding manzhou jishen jitian dianli*).¹⁰⁸ The Chinese titles for items 433 and 434 diverge from that of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* edition by one character—the former ones use 例 [*li*] instead of 礼 [*li*]. However, this discrepancy does not significantly impact the meaning as the two characters could be interchangeable in this context. According to Yeh, items 432 and 433 are completely identical

¹⁰⁰ Bin Yang, *Tales by the Willow Palisade*, *juan* 3.

¹⁰¹ The following list is not exhaustive.

¹⁰² Ch. 懋勤殿 [*maoqin dian*]. Located in the Qianqing Palace complex.

¹⁰³ Ch. 尚书房 [*shangshu fang*]. Also located in the Qianqing Palace complex, the Imperial Study served as the institution where the imperial princes received education in literature and archery (Wan 1996, 25). *Codex*, *juan* 4, “the [First] Memorial,” 1b.

¹⁰⁴ Ch. 武英殿 [*wuying dian*]. Ibid., “the [Second] Memorial,” 1a.

¹⁰⁵ Xiaoli Jiang, “Did the Imperially Commissioned Manchu Rites for Sacrifices to the Spirits and to Heaven Standardize Manchu Shamanism?” *Religions* 9, no. 12 (2018): 4. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9120400>.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 23–4. The translations for the three titles are *Ritual Regulations in Manchu*, *Imperial Commissioned Code of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*, and *Imperial Commissioned Code of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*.

in content and differ from 434 slightly, possibly due to editorial mistakes.¹⁰⁹ The Manchu *Codex* referenced in my translation is the latinized version of the item 432 provided by Yeh's *Dianli Yizhu*.

Bibliotheca Albertina of Universitat Leipzig also has a copy of the Manchu *Codex* in collection. On the front covers, the title is written in Chinese as “满洲祭祀条例 (*manzhou jisi tiaoli*, lit. Manchu ritual regulations).” The Manchu title, written along the books' gutters, differs from that of the 1747 original one only in the omission of *hesei tokto buha* (imperial commission): “*manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe*.” The omission may suggest that the current copy was completed prior to Qianlong's announcement of the *Codex*'s completion, which was when *hesei tokto buha* was added to the title.¹¹⁰ However, the Chinese translation of the title was first introduced in a memorial submitted by Agūi in 1780, thirty-three years after the Manchu text was issued.¹¹¹ More research is needed in discerning the purpose, content, and time of completion of the Bibliotheca Albertina's collection.

Contents

General Overview

The *Codex* is divided into six *juans*. The first four *juans* detail the actions undertaken by all participants as well as the verses of the hymns performed by Saman and others in ceremonies that took place in the Tangse, the Kunning Palace, and Equine Veneration Chamber. The program and hymns of a ritual are written separately in successive chapters. Qianlong's 1747 edict, the names and titles of those who worked on the Manchu *Codex*, a table of contents, a memorial submitted by the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* editors from the forty-sixth year of Qianlong's reign (1781)¹¹², and three general discussion chapters¹¹³ are included at the beginning of *juan* 1. At the end of *juan* 4, a postscript, two memorials submitted by the Chinese translators in the forty-fifth of Qianlong's reign (1780),¹¹⁴ and the emperor's responses are included. *Juan* 5 lists the number, manufacture, and specifications of the furniture, utensils, ritual instruments, and offerings used. *Juan* 6 provides the illustrations of the ritual instruments, furnitures, and layout of the Tangse. In total, the *Codex* documents nineteen ceremonial programs and twenty-one sets of hymns.

The imperial edict, the discussion chapters, and the memorials provide us with some preliminary cultural contexts as Qianlong and the compilers understood them. These segments are very careful in distinguishing the religious traditions shared by the Manchus as a collective and those subject to clan influences.

The following religious customs have been classified explicitly as being observed by all or most Manchus in the *Codex*. The accuracy of these statements is to be determined.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹¹⁰ Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 17.

¹¹¹ Agūi referred to the *Codex* as “满洲祭祀 (*manzhou jisi*),” which is still two characters shorter than the Chinese title on the cover. Ibid., 17.

¹¹² This brief memorial was not included the Manchu text referenced in this project.

¹¹³ See “On the Veneration and the Thanksgiving,” “On Fresh Offerings at Lights-Out Ceremony,” and “Comprehensive Record of Old Manchu Rituals” in my translation.

¹¹⁴ Only the first memorial was included in the Manchu text referenced in this project.

First, Qianlong stated that “we Manchus”¹¹⁵ had dedicated ceremonies to Heaven (Ma. *abka*), the Buddha, and deities with the utmost respect since time immemorial. The Manchu word used to express respect is *ujelembihebi*¹¹⁶. This verbal form, ending in *-mbihebi*, indicates frequent actions in the distant past. This sentiment is repeated by the compilers in the chapter titled “*luji manzhou jishen gushi*,”¹¹⁷ confirming that Heaven, the Buddha, and other deities have been traditionally venerated by all in “our Manchu country”.¹¹⁸ More specifically, the Sakyamuni Buddha, the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva, and Guanyu¹¹⁹ are venerated by all in the morning. The definition of Heaven can be inferred from that of the Son of Heaven (Ma. *abkai jui*), who governs, modifies, instructs, and unifies all things in place of Heaven, ensuring the proper order of the world.¹²⁰ The Manchu concept of *abka* seemed to be closely related to the Chinese concept of *tian*: it is the non-anthropomorphized adjudicator of the cosmic order and the divine authority governing the universe. The emperor, as the Son of Heaven (*tianzi* in Chinese), is Heaven’s plenipotentiary on Earth.

Second, according to Qianlong, all Manchu clans observe their own variations of *wecembi* (Veneration/Rite), *metembi* (Thanksgiving), and *tuibumbi* (Lights-Out Ceremony). *Wecembi* and *metembi* are two major categories of Shamanic rituals included in the *Codex*’s Manchu title. *Wecembi* is defined as “all worships at temples and altars [dedicated to] the spirits and the deities.”¹²¹ It is translated as 祭神 [*jishen*], or the veneration of deities, in the *Codex*’s Chinese title. It could refer to a specific type of ritual or used as a general term for all ritual behaviours. *Metembi* is defined as “to venerate Heaven by [offering] slaughtered cattle”.¹²² It is also called *julesi bumbi*, which translates to “to give toward the south.”¹²³ The reason, as the *Codex* explains, was that all *metembi* rituals, which involve the Spirit Pole,¹²⁴ are conducted facing the south. It is translated as 祭天 [*jitian*], or the veneration of Heaven, in the Chinese title. Alternatively, it is referred to as 还愿 [*huanyuan*] in the Chinese text, which means “to repay (fulfilled) vows.” The two Chinese translations of *metembi* are not incompatible: the recipient of the people’s gratitude is Heaven. The universality of the *metembi* rituals was slightly challenged by the *Codex*’s compilers, who noted that some Manchu clans did not observe it. The distinction between *wecembi* and *metembi* is not always clear. For example, despite the mounting of the Spirit Pole is categorized as Thanksgiving (*metembi*), the biannual ritual of the Pole-Mounting at Tangse is referred to as *ambarame wecere* (*wecembi*), lit. Grand Rite/Veneration in the *Codex*. *Tuibumbi* is making a petition (to deities) after the lights are distinguished, following the conclusion of the evening segment of the Veneration.¹²⁵ In the *Codex*, the ceremonial program

¹¹⁵ Ma. *muṣei* (genitive case of *muṣe*) *manjusa*. *Muṣe* is the inclusive first-person plural “we”, which includes the conversational partner.

¹¹⁶ Its root word *ujelembi* means “to value greatly, to treat respectfully.”

¹¹⁷ See the segment titled “Comprehensive Record of Old Manchu Rituals” in my translation

¹¹⁸ Ma. *muṣei manju gurun*. The Manchu country does not refer to the whole of the Qing dynasty, but encompass those deemed to be ethnically Manchu.

¹¹⁹ Ch. 关羽, Ma. *guan i beise*. Guanyu is commonly worshipped in Chinese folk practices. In the Manchu-language *Codex*, he is addressed as either *guan i beise* or *guan mafa enduri*.

¹²⁰ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 3, 3b.

¹²¹ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 40a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli yizhu*, 44.

¹²² *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 43b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli yizhu*, 44.

¹²³ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 43b.

¹²⁴ Ch. 神杆 [*shen'gan*], Ma. *somo*. The wooden pole mounted during *metembi*. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 51b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli yizhu*, 68.

¹²⁵ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 42b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli yizhu*, 44.

for *tuibumbi* is not listed separately from that of the Veneration. Instead, it could be seen as a pivotal component which takes place towards the end of the Veneration. The practices of the first two types of rituals in the Qing court will be further discussed below.

Third, while the rules regarding offerings varied across all clans, some general trends can be observed. All animal oblations¹²⁶ offered in the Veneration and the Thanksgiving must be neat and intact: slightly defective specimens are not to be used. In *most* Manchu clans, wine or water is poured into the animals' ears before slaughtering, and cooked meat is offered. This stands in contrast with Chinese folk traditions, where uncooked meat is offered. The Manchu clans that offer pigs in the Venerations did not offer pig in funeral-related rituals. The offered wine and pastries are always prepared at home and not purchased from the markets.

The following variances in Manchu Shamanic customs are noted.

First, although all clans supposedly observe Veneration, Thanksgiving, and Lights-Out Ceremony, the steps, frequencies, and timing of the rituals, the specifications of the offered animals, pastries, and wine, the deities venerated at night, the physical objects through which the deities are venerated, the selection criteria of the Saman, the materials and manufacture of ritual instruments, and the rules on consuming the offered meat are expected to be different.

Second, the *Codex* lists several rituals that are observed by some Manchu clans outside of the imperial court. These include "Pox-Recovery Offering (Ma. *balhambi*)," "Bun-Giving (*suwayan bumbi*)," "Evil Dispelling (Ma. *gasan dulebumbi*)," "Crop Veneration (Ma. *usin wecembi*)," "Threshing Ground Veneration (Ma. *falan sombi*)," and "Calamity Dispelling (*jugembi*)." For brief descriptions of these rituals, see the chapter "Comprehensive Record of Old Manchu Rituals" in my translation. Their ceremonial programs and supplications are absent in the *Codex*.

Qing Court Shamanic Rituals

In the following segment, I will offer analyses of the *wecembi* and *metembi* rituals which are encapsulated in the *Codex*'s Manchu title. I want to stress that the current discussion pertains only strictly to the Qing court. Even though the clan typically function as the fundamental unit for shared Shamanic beliefs and practices, this was not true for the Aisin Gioro clan. The complex stratification of imperial relatives structured according to lineage and ranks was reflected in their differentiated ritual obligations. The precise delineations of these distinctions fall beyond the scope of this study.

Wecembi:

When *wecembi* refers to a specific type of ritual, it is translated as Veneration or Rite. The two terms are interchangeable: I have chosen to represent two consecutive *wecembi* rituals as "Rites" to demonstrate their shared connection to the biannual mounting of the Spirit Pole at the Tangse. Here, I will discuss *wecembi* in its sense as a distinct ritual category.

Five ceremonies fall under this category: the Monthly Veneration, the Daily Veneration, the Preparatory Rite, the Grand Rite at the Kunming Palace, and the Equine Veneration. The first four take place at the Kunming Palace located in the inner court, and the Equine Veneration takes place at the Equine Veneration Chamber located in the north of the Forbidden Palace, west of the Shenwu Gate.¹²⁷ The *wecembi* ritual is realized in one day and consists of two constituent

¹²⁶ Ch. 牺牲 [*xisheng*], Ma. *šusu*. Resources provided for military officials when they are out on missions. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 4, 43a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli yizhu*, 63.

¹²⁷ Xiaoli Jiang, *Qingdai Manzu Samanjiao Yanjiu* (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021), 104.

units—the Morning Veneration and the Evening Veneration. The Equine Veneration happen over two days, with each day functioning as a complete *wecembi* celebration. Their ceremonial programs are outlined in two separate chapters.

The Monthly Veneration takes place on the third of the first lunar month and the first of the rest of the months. The Daily Veneration takes place daily, except for on the days of fasting and slaughter-ban.¹²⁸ The Preparatory Rite takes place on the two days before the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting, which happened biannually in spring and fall. The Grant Rite at the Kunning Palace takes place on the same day as the Grant Rite of the Pole-Mounting after its conclusion. The two consecutive days of Equine Veneration take place in spring and fall.¹²⁹

The five *wecembi* rituals were largely similar. How they differed from each other is explained in detail in my translation. A few general observations will be made. The Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace is the most lavish variation, requiring the most offerings, repetitions of prayers, and Samans who presided over the ceremony. The second most elaborate variation was the Monthly Veneration. Tied in the third place are the Daily Veneration and the Preparatory Rite, whose ritual programs are entirely identical. Compared to the Monthly Veneration, instead of the Sweet Wine, water is offered and proffered (*vide infra*) in these two rituals. The Equine Veneration is the least grand *wecembi* ritual, requiring fewer participants its execution and instruments made of less valuable materials. While the other ceremonial programs all include instructions for the emperor, they are missing in those of the Equine Veneration. The latter also features a unique step of fumigating the ribbons that were once tied to the horses for whom the ritual was conducted. Fumigation of items, called 开光[*kaiguang*], is commonly practiced by the Chinese Buddhists as a means to offer blessings. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign (1761), uncertain whether this step was Shamanic or “Lamaist (Tibetan Buddhist)” in origin, Qianlong ordered an investigation. The result confirmed that the fumigation of ribbons was indeed Shamanic.¹³⁰

In the morning, the Sakyamuni Buddha, the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and Guan Yu are venerated. The *Codex* incorporates an illustration for the pavilion in which the Buddha’s statue was placed. The pavilion was strikingly petite in size, measuring at approximately 70 cm in height and 33 cm in width.¹³¹ The dimension of the Buddha’s statue, therefore, is expected to be even smaller. The Bodhisattva and Guan Yu are physically embodied as portraits. Their dimensions are unknown; however, both the wooden cylinders where they are stored are also measured at approximately 70 cm in length.¹³² As the ritual commences, the door to the Buddha’s pavilion is opened, and the portraits are attached to a large, embroidered golden drapery tied to two triangle shelves on the wall. After the conclusion of the Morning Veneration, the pavilion door is closed, and the portraits are placed back in their respective cylinders. It was very common for the small pavilion containing the Buddha’s statue, the statue itself, and the deities’ portraits to be relocated for various purposes in the Qing court’s Shamanic rituals. This custom, virtually unheard of amongst Chinese folk practices, Mahayana Buddhists, and Tibetan Buddhists, was likely culturally endemic to the Aisin Gioro clan.

¹²⁸ The days of fasting and slaughter-ban do not appear to be culturally Manchu in origin.

¹²⁹ Kunggang et al., eds, *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (1818), *juan* 1206, 1a.

¹³⁰ More accurately, the fumigation is done in the ways of the Saman. *Ibid.*, 2a.

¹³¹ *Codex*, *juan* 6, 23b.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 24b.

The next significant step in the Morning Veneration is the proffering of wine¹³³—*gingnembi* in Manchu. *Gingnembi* occurs in most of the Qing court's Shamanic rituals and is not exclusive to the Morning Veneration. In the ceremonial context, it refers to the action of raising upwards and offering the wine cup along with the tray it rests on.¹³⁴ It is thus distinguished from the *offering of wine*, where wine cups are placed in specific locations, such as in front of the Buddha's pavilion. The process of wine proffering begins with the Saman kneeling in front of the physical embodiments of the deities. A chief incense stewardess¹³⁵ presents the tray and the wine cup to the Saman, who accepts and proffers them for six or nine times depending on the occasion. After each proffer, the Saman pours the wine into an empty bowl placed in front of her. Then, the cup is filled with more wine taken from another bowl, and the gesture is repeated. The procedure can be simplified as ceremonially transferring the wine in one bowl to another using the cup. In the meantime, one is expected to hear the sound of the Three-Cord Lute, Pipa, Wooden Clappers, and a special chant called *orolo*. The exact meaning of the word, as we are told by the *Codex's* Chinese translators, was lost. It has been described as a prolonged ritualistic call in *Qingwen Zonghui*.¹³⁶

Before the two pigs are sacrificed in the Morning Veneration, the pavilion and the portraits are moved elsewhere and the Saman proffers wine once more. Then, she pours the liquid into the pigs' ears. The pigs' failure to shake their ears indicates the deities' refusal of the offered oblations.¹³⁷ All parts of the pigs, including their bones, blood, lard, and intestines, are assembled and offered on two large tables. The meat is cooked, and a bowl of Sacrificial Meat—*amsun i yali*—is prepared by mixing sliced pork and broth.¹³⁸ The number of the bowls of Sacrificial Meat also changes depending on the occasion. The emperor, or the Saman in his absence, kowtows in front of the Sacrificial Meat before consuming it. It cannot be taken out of the parameters of the ritual locations. The same process is repeated during the Evening Veneration, except it is not necessary to remove the deities venerated at night prior to the slaughter. The sacrifice of pigs is also not exclusive to the *wecembi* rituals.

In the Evening Veneration, the Murigan Deity, Portrait Deity, and Mongolian Deity (also addressed in hymns as Katun Noyan) are worshiped. Their identities are not explicated. The Portrait Deity is physically embodied as a portrait, which is attached to a black embroidered drapery hanging on a rack. The Mongolian Deity is represented by a small, black-lacquered chair with backrest placed to the left of the rack. It is unclear what tangible form the Murigan Deity took—it is fastened to the rack, however, not as a portrait on the drapery. The deities venerated in the evenings are stored inside a black-lacquered drawer table when not in use.

I want to draw attention to a series of actions in the Evening Veneration—*samdambi*. The delineated behaviours and contents of the performed hymns align much with some descriptions in the *Tale of the Nišan Shamaness*, which has significantly contributed to current understandings of “ecstatic shamanism”.

Without referencing the Manchu *Codex*, one may easily overlook the series of *samdambi* actions. Its Chinese translation, 祝祷 [*zhudao*], conflates *samdambi* as an instance of obeisance or prayer invocation. Based on *samdambi's* close etymological relation to *saman* and the

¹³³ Water is proffered in the Daily Veneration, the Preparatory Rite, and Equine Veneration.

¹³⁴ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 45b.

¹³⁵ Ch. 司香 [*sixiang*], Ma. *hiyan i da*.

¹³⁶ *Qingwen Zonghui*, juan 2, 20a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 95.

¹³⁷ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 19, 17a.

¹³⁸ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 44b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 85.

characteristics of the actions it signifies, I have translated it as “to shamanize.” Its definition in the *Expanded Mirror* is as follows: the Saman, wearing the Spirit Hat (Ma. *yekse*) and Waist Bells (Ma. *siša*), strikes the Tambourine (Ma. *imcin*)¹³⁹ and walks in a slithering motion.¹⁴⁰ The Spirit Hat is decorated with metal sheets cut into the shapes of deer antlers.¹⁴¹ The Waist Bells are thin iron tubes strung together and tied on top of the Saman’s skirt (Ma. *hūsihan*), which clings as she swings.¹⁴² The Tambourine has a narrow rim and leather batter. It is held in one hand and struck with an arrow-shaped drumstick, covered with beaver skin.¹⁴³ In all the Evening Venerations, the Saman shamanizes three times. Each time she shamanizes, she walks to and fro in front of the deities, sways her body like a python, and invokes to the deities with a hymn. The three hymns are structurally similar and differ from each other only in their initial verses, which included addresses to deities and remained largely indecipherable, according to the *Codex*’s Chinese translators.¹⁴⁴ Like most Shamanic hymns performed in the court, they also explicate the subject for whom the ritual is conducted and conclude with a formulaic sequence beseeching protection and blessings. Two eunuchs stand next to her and harmonize to the sound of her voice and movements by hitting a drum with two regular drumsticks and striking the Wooden Clappers.

The Qing court’s *samdambi* procedures closely resembles Nišan’s actions before a spirit “entered” her body and accompanied her to the “land of the dead (Ma. *bucehe gurun*):”

...The Nišan shaman tied the shaman’s garments, bells (*siša*), and skirt (*hūsihan*) onto her body and put the nine-bird cap (*yekse*) on her head. Her tall, slender body waved like a trembling willow, imitating the tune Yangcun...The soft tune winding, her subtle voice accompanying, she beseeched in a murmur.¹⁴⁵

Her utterance consists of repetitions of two words with no recognizable meanings (*hoge yage*), plea for a supramundane entity to “descend quickly,” and instructions for her male assistant Nari Fiyanggo. At the same time, he harmonizes with Nišan by hitting a drum with drumstick.¹⁴⁶ Nišan also mentions in passing a “dampened, leather-covered drumstick” in her conversation with Nari Fiyanggo.¹⁴⁷ However, how it relates to his performances is unclear. The *Tale of the Nišan Shamaness* is able to offer the readers some narratives on the significances of the characters’ actions and attires. By murmuring the hymn, she “became disoriented and the spirit entered, permeating her fully.”¹⁴⁸ The assistant’s drumstick is used not only to resonate with the Saman, but also to “lead and conduct the spirits” that will accompany them to the land of the dead.¹⁴⁹ Her nine-bird cap is perhaps a reference to the roosters fastened to her head as payments to the various entities in the land of the dead.¹⁵⁰ Nišan’s actions serve as prime examples of the

¹³⁹ In the *Codex*, the Manchu word for the Tambourine was *untun*. While *untun* and *imcin* are interchangeable, the former sometimes refers specifically to the Tambourine held by female Samans, and the latter to the Tambourine held by male Samans. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 52b-53a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 120.

¹⁴⁰ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 45b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 119.

¹⁴¹ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 53b-54a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 119.

¹⁴² *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 53b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 120.

¹⁴³ *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 52b-53a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 120. *Codex*, juan 6, 44b.

¹⁴⁴ *Codex*, juan 4, “Postscript,” 3b.

¹⁴⁵ Stephen Durrant and Margaret Nowak, *The Tale of the Nisan Shamaness: A Manchu Folk Epic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 57-8.

¹⁴⁶ The number of drumsticks used is unclear, as Manchu nouns aren’t always pluralized. *Ibid.*, 57 and 59.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 57-8.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.

Saman's ability to communicate with supramundane entities, "spirit possession," and trance-journeys—all interpreted presently as defining features of "ecstatic shamanism."

Juxtaposing the two processes highlights their multiple parallels. Both Samans are equipped with *siša*, *hūsihan*, and *yekse*. They both move their bodies in a manner that resembles serpentine-like undulation. As they are swishing and invoking, (male) assistants struck the drums with drumsticks. The contents of their hymns are also similar: both include cryptic mumbles illegible to others and profess a wish or command that is expected to be fulfilled by the addressee.

As noted earlier, di Cosmo believes that the Qing court's Shamanic rituals only retained the exterior form of "authentic shamanism" and lost the essence. One may argue that the *samdambi* performance serves as an example of the preservation of form and the deterioration of transcendent meaning. However, the genre and format of the *Codex* makes it impossible to either affirm or dispute the hypothesis based solely on the text. The *Codex* served exclusively as a manual for ritual propriety and accuracy. The purpose of its genre was to preserve the traditional ceremonial behaviours and hymn verses, focusing on procedural and performative precision instead of the spiritual implications of each action. This emphasis is also true for the *Comprehensive Rites*, which the *Codex* was modeled after—while the apposite actions, hymns, and arrangements of instruments are thoroughly outlined, their underlying reasons or philosophies remained unexplained. The *Codex*'s omission of ritual exegesis is, therefore, neither unsurprising nor unexpected. Questions such as whether a spirit enters the Qing court's Saman and accompanies her to another realm during the *samdambi* sequences are entirely beyond the document's scope. Without external evidence unpacking the transcendent relevance of each ritual component, one should refrain from asserting that the court's Shamanic rituals did not involve spirit possession or trance journeys and retained only superficial forms. It cannot be concluded from the *Codex* alone that the "essence" is lost, as the "essence" does not have a place within the framework of the Qing court's ritual manual.

In contrast, the *Tale of the Nišan Shamaness* is centered around storytelling. It recounts Nišan's mission to rescue the soul of Sergudai Fiyanggo from the land of the dead. The legend follows a structured plot with key elements such as exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, and resolution. The development and coherency of the story often hinges on expositions of the spiritual significance of the Saman's movements and chants. If we strip away the narrative and mythological components to leave only the depictions of Nišan's and her assistant's actions, we will end up with a text very similar to the *Codex*. It would describe the Saman's garments, the prepared offerings, the verses of the hymns, and the steps in her dance. Furthermore, even if *samdambi* was not perceived as facilitating a "trance-journey" by the court Saman and the observers, the claims that the court's rituals ceased to be "authentic shamanic" still requires closer examination. Due to the diversity of beliefs and practices amongst the Manchus, it is hasty to assume that the similar series of actions ever represented the same spiritual reality for the Aisin Gioro clan and the clan(s) where Nišan's tale originated.

In contrasting the court's practice and the "dark, scary, and mysterious...primitive ritual," Mark Elliott has described the former as a simple task requiring only the recitation of a prepared text. The latter, according to him, "really had to establish contact with a spirit and produce a specific result" through spontaneous conversations.¹⁵¹ This echoes di Cosmo's assertion that when the hymns were formalized, they lost their "magical properties." As mentioned above, the function of most of the court's hymns does appear to align with pursuing a desired outcome with

¹⁵¹Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 240.

supernatural assistance, as they begin with addresses to specific deity or deities, followed by a request for blessings for an individual or individuals. The major discrepancy noted by Elliott and di Cosmo, therefore, seems to lie in the authors' beliefs that the Shamanic deities are *objectively* unresponsive to formulaic entreaties prepared beforehand. The discussion then ceases to be a scientific scholarship on the court's religious practices, but theological stance on the true divine nature of the Shamanic deities and the right way to communicate with them. The Qing court's hymn performances and modern variations on the peripheral are more accurately described as analogous methods of establishing contact with the supernatural, with the former being more rehearsed and the latter more extemporaneous. However, even the degree to which the "primitive" interactions are improvised is poorly established—they are reported to be made up primarily, sometimes entirely, of fixed sets of chants that reflect the invoked deity's mythology, abilities, and temperament.¹⁵²

Most current scholarly investigations of the Qing court's Shamanism arrive at a judgment of the spiritual realities and constitutions of "authentic" Shamanism from anachronistic accounts of non-imperial clans and decide that since the *Codex* failed to address these spiritual constitutions, Qing court Shamanism no longer observed the practices authentic to Manchu culture. In my opinion, the emphasis and approach are inappropriate. Instead, scholars should divert their attention to the information one could confidently extract from available sources. The *Codex*, along with other court documents, can sufficiently answer questions such as what types of worships were conducted, how were the supramundane entities represented and venerated, its official status in the court compared to other religious traditions, how did the *Codex* rituals facilitate the imperium's sociopolitical agendas, and many more. My introduction and translation aim to begin redirecting the dominant methodological focus away from inadequate anachronistic comparisons and assumptions on what "true" Shamanism must represent.

Having concluded the preliminary review of the *wecembi* rituals, I will now discuss the *metembi* ones.

Metembi

Two types of *metembi* rituals were observed in the Qing court. I have translated the word as Thanksgiving to reflect its Chinese translation in the imperially commissioned Manchu dictionaries (*huanyuan*) and its purpose of repaying the Heaven's favours with slaughtered cattle. The first type includes *metere* (the imperfect participle of *metembi*) in the titles of their ritual programs and take place in the Kunning Palace on the day after the Monthly Veneration and the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace. Their procedures and hymns are entirely identical. The second type of *metembi* ritual is the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting, which takes place biannually in spring and autumn at the Tangse. It appears to be the most significant Shamanic ritual in a calendrical year.

As the first category of *metembi* rituals commences, the Buddha's statue, its pavilion and the portrait of the Bodhisattva are relocated to a room in the west of the Kunning Palace. They are placed back in their original space after the ritual's conclusion. Their treatment mirrors what happens before the slaughtering of pigs in *wecembi*. It might be hypothesized that the physical embodiments of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva are removed so they are not exposed to the

¹⁵² See Huiying Meng, *Zhongguo beifang minzu saman jiao* (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2000); Yu et al., *Manzu shixing longnian banpu yu jisi huodong kaocha*, 71-89; Zhizhong Zhao, *Manzu saman shenge yanjiu* (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2010), 123-39. The examples of hymns of the "wild rituals" given by Zhao are fully scripted. Compared to the Qing court's hymns, they are longer and contain more information on the addressed entities.

scenes of killing and feasting of the animal, as many Buddhist traditions emphasize vegetarianism and non-violence. The *metembi* rituals are dedicated to the Heaven and no physical embodiments of deities are set up.

After the Buddha and the Bodhisattva are removed, the Spirit Pole made of pine wood¹⁵³ is temporarily dismounted and leaned on its supporting pillar. The cervical vertebrae of a pig attached to the pole in the prior Thanksgiving are removed and burnt in a special furnace. Then, an official of sacrificial attributes of Manchu descent scatters the Sacrificial Rice¹⁵⁴ three times while supplicating. The Manchu official of sacrificial attributes is the main celebrant presiding over this type of *metembi* rituals. The participation of the Saman is only required when the emperor or princes does not attend them, and she would kowtow in their capacity, holding their clothes.

When the pig is slaughtered, its cervical vertebrae is removed and three distinct types of meat—the Thanksgiving Meat,¹⁵⁵ the Petite Meat,¹⁵⁶ and the Grand Meat¹⁵⁷—are ceremonially prepared. The *Expanded Mirror* offers two definitions of the Thanksgiving Meat. In the context of the Thanksgiving ritual, it refers to thinly sliced pork that is placed into a bushel fastened to the top of the Spirit Pole.¹⁵⁸ In the context of Venerations, it refers to small sections of meat that are thrown onto rooftops before the rest is distributed and eaten by the people.¹⁵⁹ The second custom is likely practiced by other non-imperial Manchu clans, as it is not mentioned in the *Codex*. The Thanksgiving Meat is taken and boiled first. It will be placed in the bushel along with the pig's gallbladder and Sacrificial Rice before the pole is mounted again. Then, the Petite Meat is cut, boiled, put into two bowls, and offered on a tall table. Compared to the Sacrificial Meat offered in *wecembi*, the Petite Meat is displayed next to two bowls of steamed barnyard grass grains, besides which spoons are placed. One bowl of Petite Meat and grains each will be brought inside the Kunning Palace from the yard and consumed by the emperor and the empress. The rest is left outside and consumed by the eunuchs and officials of sacrificial attributes along with the broth. Lastly, the left-over raw meat and bones are brought inside the palace. They are boiled to prepare the Grand Meat, which is consumed by ministers and guards indoor.

After the skin, lard, and bones are disposed of in the same manner as in *wecembi* and the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas are returned to their usual spots, the first type of *metembi* ritual is concluded. The Thanksgiving Meat and Sacrificial Rice placed in the bushel at the top of the Spirit Pole are a clear parallel to the offerings of Petite Meat and barnyard grass consumed by the emperor and the empress. It also parallels the pork, pastries, and wine offered in front of the physical placeholders of the deities in regular *wecembi*. My speculation is that the meat, rice, and gallbladder are offerings to Heaven. They are likely placed at the top of the Spirit Pole because the elevated position brings them closer to the intended recipient. Interestingly, while the ritual program discusses the disposal of the old cervical vertebrae, it does not mention the disposal of the meat and rice in the bushel. They are hypothesized to be ingested by birds before the next

¹⁵³ Approximately 3.6 m in length. *Codex*, *juan* 6, 34a, and *juan* 5, 5a.

¹⁵⁴ Ch. 米[*mi*], Ma. *soca bele*. The rice scattered and tossed during Thanksgiving. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 44b. Quoted in *Dianli yizhu*, 78.

¹⁵⁵ Ch. 精肉 [*jingrou*], Ma. *oyo gaiŋi* (perfect converb of *gaimbi*: to take).

¹⁵⁶ Ma. *sori yali*. The Chinese text does not mention Petite Meat.

¹⁵⁷ Ch. 大肉[*darou*], Ma. *amba yali*, lit. large meat.

¹⁵⁸ *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 45a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli yizhu*, 142.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*.

Thanksgiving ritual takes place at the Kunning Palace. Elliott theorizes that the bushel's contents are expected to be delivered to the "Lord of Heaven" by the magpie, a chief Manchu totem.¹⁶⁰

The second type of *metembi* ritual, the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse, is arguably the most significant Shamanic ceremony celebrated in the Qing court. It is the only ritual that involves the emperor and the imperial relatives in the capacity of assistants. The Preparatory Rite takes place on the two days immediately preceding the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting. The Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace, the most elaborate *wecembi* ritual, follows immediately after. Although the program and hymns of the Thanksgiving following the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace are entirely identical to the regular variant, the *Codex* compilers took pains to reiterate them separately. All the above-mentioned rituals are presented in *juan* 3 of the *Codex*, marking their belonging to a cohesive cluster.

The Spirit Pole for the Grand Rite at the Tangse is also made of pine wood. A month prior, several officials in the Eight Banners travel to the Yanqing prefecture (Ch. 延庆州 [*yanqing zhou*], Ma. *yan king jeo*) of Jyli province.¹⁶¹ On a ritually pure mountain, with the local mandarins, they cut down a pine tree measuring approximately 2 metres in height and 15 centimetres in diameter. The top nine branches of the tree are preserved, while the rest are removed to make the Spirit Pole. It is wrapped in yellow fabric and transported to the Tangse, where it is mounted on the stone base in front of the Pavilion-Styled Hall one day prior to the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting.

On the day of the Grand Rite, the physical embodiments of the deities worshipped in the Morning Veneration—Buddha, Avalokitesvara, and Guanyu—are placed in golden silk palanquins and brought to the Tangse. They are set up in the same way as in regular *wecembi* rituals in the Tangse's Feast Hall and will be brought back to the Kunning Palace after the ceremony concludes. The transportation of the deities venerated in the Kunning Palace to Tangse with palanquins is not exclusive to the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting—it also takes place on the twenty-sixth of the twelfth lunar month and featured in the Buddha Bathing and the Seasonal Wealth Offering ceremonies. Depending on the occasion, they are either displayed in the usual manner or offered to in the palanquins.

Three long strands of String Cord (Ch. 索绳 [*suosheng*], Ma. *siren futa*) are gathered at one end and tied to a hoop on the Feast Hall's north gable, in proximity to the deities. It is pulled from the Feast Hall, through the Pavilion-Styled Hall, to the Spirit Pole, which are aligned on a north-south axis. It is threaded through a hole at the top of the Feast Hall's lattice door, extending across the yard. It then passes through both the south- and north-facing lattice doors of the Pavilion-Styled Hall before finally being tied to the Spirit Pole. Coloured paper cut into the shape of coins is attached to the exposed sections of the String Cord in the yard.

Next, two Samans proffer wine. They first proffer in unison once outside the Feast Hall and once in the Pavilion-Styled Hall, following the usual steps. One Saman then remains inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall while the other leaves to pray holding a sabre in the Feast Hall. Praying with a sabre is also a step inherent in all *wecembi* rituals. Like the proffering of wine, it is accompanied by the melody of the Pipa, the Three-Cord Lute, the Wooden Clappers, and *orolo*. The second Saman then returns to the Pavilion-Styled Hall and prays again with a sabre. Then, she kneels, supplicates, kowtows, stands up, and put her hands together to salute. The Saman who remained in the Pavilion-Styled Hall repeats the series of actions following kneeling,

¹⁶⁰ Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 239.

¹⁶¹ Ch. 直隶 [*zhili*]. Now Hebei province.

signalling the closing stages of the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting. It officially concludes after the deities are carried back to the Kunning Palace, when the emperor is absent.

When the emperor attends the ceremony, the ritual's ending changes drastically. After the deities depart from the Tangse, the emperor sits on a cushion outside of the Feast Hall to its west, facing east. A Minister of the Household then equips him with the Wooden Clappers. Princes of the blood and beiles take their seat on top of the brick-paved steps, and the beile princes and dukes sit at its bottom. The side on which they sit corresponds to their affiliation with the Left of Right Wing in the Eight Banners. They are also given the Wooden Clappers. When one Saman proffers wine and prays with the sabre outside the Feast Hall, together with officials of sacrificial attributes, the emperor and the imperial relatives participate in striking their allotted instrument. After the Saman finishes praying, the emperor kowtows in the Feast Hall and the Pavilion-Styled Hall. He then sits in the center of the "room in the west," presumably the western compartment of the Feast Hall, and consumes the offered pastries and wine presented by officials under the Imperial Buttery (Ch. 膳房 [*shanfang*], Ma. *budai boode*). The ceremony concludes after the emperor distribute the pastries and wine among the princes and dukes.

The emperor's involvement in the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting is significant in two ways. First, his presence or absence does not significantly alter the course of other rituals.¹⁶² His role typically involves performing a kowtow before the deities and being the first to consume the cooked pork. If he is absent, the Saman kowtows in his place, and the ministers and guards on duty would consume the pork. However, in the Grand Rite at the Tangse, the emperor's presence introduces a completely novel ritual component in which his role cannot be substituted. No parallel for his participation is found in the prior steps of the same ritual or elsewhere in the *Codex*. Second, in no other rituals the emperor takes on an auxiliary role in service of the Saman. The striking of the Wooden Clappers is customarily carried out by eunuchs and guards as a backdrop to the primary ritual action of proffering or praying conducted by the Saman. In the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting, the emperor's contribution is identical to that of the imperial relatives and the officials of sacrificial attributes, a responsibility usually undertaken by individuals of much lower sociopolitical status.

In the highly hierarchical environment of the Qing imperium, the ritual behaviours and roles of the emperor and the imperial clan members carry heavy discursive weight which communicates and constructs power and identity. This is especially true for the Tangse rituals, whose protocols and observances constantly evolved to serve the emperor's political agenda since the reign of Nurhaci, who laid the foundation for the Manchu conquest of China.¹⁶³ Hong Taiji, successor of Nurhaci and the first emperor of the Qing dynasty, also heavily invested in the reformation of the Board of Rite. The indispensable apparatus has governed the ritual order and state ideology of Chinese dynasties for over a millennium. Its development under Hong Taiji continued to shape and consolidate the structure of the Qing imperium, especially through the careful inclusion and positioning of imperial relatives in state ceremonies.¹⁶⁴ The Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting—the ostensibly most significant Manchu Shamanic celebrations in a

¹⁶² It appears that the participation of the emperor and the empress is required for the Blessing Petition ritual, as the ceremonial program provides no alternative arrangements in their absence. The Blessing Petition also seems to be conducted based on necessity rather than a fixed calendar. In addition, not all ceremonial programs include instructions for the emperor or the empress.

¹⁶³ For Nurhaci's transformation—even creation—of the Tangse rites and its developments until Kangxi's reign (1661-1722), see Julia Manchu Wu, "The New Year *Tangse* Ceremony and the Making of Qing Rule."

¹⁶⁴ See Keliher, *The Board of Rites and the Making of Qing China*.

calendrical year, under Qianlong—who was well known for his commitment to preserving Manchu cultural identity, undoubtedly drives the narrative on cultural and political allegiance of participants. However, a full exploration of this subject lies outside the scope of this thesis and warrants further research.

Conclusion

This introduction has outlined the existing translations and scholarships on the *Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*, the process of its compilation and translation, and the two main types of ritual activities encapsulated in the text's title—Veneration (*jishen/wecembi*), and Thanksgiving (*jitian/metembi*). I have also sought to clarify some of the complexities surrounding the on-going academic discussion of the ostensible absence of “ecstatic elements” in the Qing court's Shamanic rituals.

Many religious, social, and political aspects of the *Codex* remain open to further inquiries. Besides the *samdambi* action sequences, the Lights-Out Ceremony also contains plenty of practical components that align with descriptions of “ecstatic shamanism.” The categorization of the venerated supramundane entities, their attributions, mythology and ontology, the ways through which they are physically embodied, and their positionality in the cosmic order remain unaddressed. I'm also unable to include the actions, significances, and symbolic expressions in the other eleven rituals. Beyond the parameters of Shamanic rituals, the *Codex* also contains a wealth of information on the nature of services provided by those in the Eight Banners System, the construction and reinforcement of prestige, status and hierarchies within the imperial relatives, the purpose and responsibilities of the Imperial Household Department, and more. Given the scarcity of surviving written documents on Manchu Shamanic beliefs and practices that were created prior or contemporary to the *Codex*, methodological ingenuity and creativity is demanded in understanding the hypothesized adaptations and transformations of the Aisin Gioro's Shamanic rituals since Nurhaci's rise to power. A reassessment of the *Codex*'s reach and impact is also necessary. I intend to pursue these inquiries in the future.

In the following section, I present my annotated English translation of the ceremonial programs and hymns in the *Codex*. This translation aims to provide better access to the Qing court's Shamanic rituals and lay the foundation for future explorations and analysis of the broader religious, social, and political contexts within which these rituals were performed. I wish to call the readers' attention to the rich practices and narratives that were culturally endemic to the Manchus. I also want the readers to consider the deeper sociopolitical discourses ingrained in these rituals and how they may have shaped the Qing imperium and Late Imperial China.

Translation

Juan One

The Imperial Edict

Copied from the Grand Secretariat (Ch. 内阁 [*neige*], Ma. *dorgi yamun*) on the ninth of the seventh lunar month of the twelfth year of Qianlong's reign (1747). Memorialized on ninth of the seventh lunar month of the twelfth year of Qianlong's reign.

We Manchu people are pious and reverent by nature. Thus, the Veneration and Thanksgiving ceremonies [dedicated] to Heaven (Ch. 天 [*tian*], Ma. *abka*), Buddha, and the

spirits¹⁶⁵ have always been observed with the utmost respect.¹⁶⁶ Different clans perform rites in accordance with their [local] customs. While [their observances of] rites such as the Veneration,¹⁶⁷ the Thanksgiving,¹⁶⁸ and the Lights-Out Ceremony¹⁶⁹ may vary slightly, they remain largely similar.

As for our Gioro clan,¹⁷⁰ from the imperial palace to the households of the princes of the blood,¹⁷¹ heavy emphasis is placed on supplications.¹⁷² In earlier times, the Samans¹⁷³ were all born in [our] place of origin (Ch. 本处 [*benchu*], Ma. *bade*) and had learned the national language¹⁷⁴ from a young age. Whenever the Veneration, Thanksgiving, Lights-Out Ceremony, Preparatory Rite, Blessing Petition, Bun-Giving, Evil Dispelling, Crop Veneration, and Equine Veneration [were performed, the Samans] would always examine the matters thoroughly to compose auspicious verses as invocations.¹⁷⁵ Afterwards, as the Samans passed down the national language from one to another, the wording and pronunciation of the orally transmitted supplications and invocations gradually began to diverge.

At present, not only have the supplications and invocations of the princes of the blood who had left the palace¹⁷⁶ been passed down across generations and differed from one another,

¹⁶⁵ Ch. 神 [*shen*], Ma. *enduri*. *Expanded Mirror* offers two definitions of *enduri*. In its first definition, *enduri* refers to “all positively bright and auspicious spirits.” The second definition of *enduri* refers to “the invisible and soundless [entities] that people worship. [They are worshipped in a manner] that resemble temple worships (*juan* 19, 12a).”

¹⁶⁶ The Manchu word used here is *ujelembihebi* (*ujelembi*: to value greatly, to treat respectfully). This verbal form, ending in *-mbihebi*, indicates frequent actions in the distant past. This temporal distinction is not expressed in the Chinese text.

¹⁶⁷ Ch. 祭神 [*jishen*], Ma. *wecere* (imperfect participle of *wecembi*). *Wecembi* (to worship): all worships at temples and altars [dedicated to] the spirits and the deities. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 40a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 44). *Wecembi* can be used as a general term to describe “rituals,” or to denote a specific type of ritual. In the former cases, I have translated *wecembi* as “ritual” or “ceremony.” In the latter cases, it is translated as “Veneration” and “Rite.”

¹⁶⁸ Ch. 祭天 [*jitian*], Ma. *metere* (imperfect participle of *metembi*). *Metembi* (to perform Thanksgiving): to venerate Heaven by [offering] slaughtered cattle. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 43b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 44. The Chinese term listed in *Expanded Mirror* is 还愿 [*huanyuan*], which means “to repay (fulfilled) wishes.” *Huanyuan* is also called *julesi bumbi*, lit. “to give toward the south.” *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 43b.

¹⁶⁹ Ch. 背灯 [*beideng*], Ma. *tuiburengge* (nominalized form of *tuibumbi*). *Tuibumbi*: after the Evening Veneration has concluded, a petition [to deities/spirits is made] once more after the lights are distinguished. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 42b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 44.

¹⁷⁰ Ch. 爱新觉罗姓 [*aixin jueluo xing*], Ma. *gioroi hala*. The Chinese text translates to the “Aisin Gioro clan (last name),” which would limit the scope of the emperor’s address to the descendants of Taksi. The Gioro clan encompasses a much larger demographic, including groups such as the Sirin Gioros, the Irgen Gioros, and the Šušu Gioros.

¹⁷¹ Ch. 王 [*wang*], Ma. *wang*.

¹⁷² Ch. 祝辞 [*zhu*], Ma. *forobure* (imperfect participle of *forobumbi*) *gisun*. *Forobumbi*: Samans ask [the deities for blessings] with auspicious speeches after kneeling in rituals. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 46a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 45.

¹⁷³ Ch. 司祝 [*sizhu*], Ma. *samasa* (plural of *saman*). The person who invokes and petitions [blessings] from the spirits and deities. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 10, 13a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 45.

¹⁷⁴ Refers to the Manchu language.

¹⁷⁵ Ch. 祷祝 [*zhudao*], Ma. *jalbarimbihe* (past continuous form of *jalbarimbi*). *Jalbarimbi*: to petition to the spirits and the deities for blessings with auspicious sayings. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 45b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 46. The mentioned rituals will be further discussed below.

¹⁷⁶ Ch. 大内分出之王 [*danei fenchu zhiwang*], Ma. *dergi delheme tucibuhe wang*.

but [those] used in the palace also [exhibit] discrepancies from [their] original wording and pronunciation. If [this issue] is not corrected now by documenting [these passages] in written forms, [I] fear that such errors and lapses will continue to grow.

Therefore, [I] commanded the princes of the blood and ministers to carefully investigate [the original supplications and invocations] and compile them into separate chapters, along with illustrations of the ritual instruments. After [their memorials] were submitted for review in succession, I personally examined and edited them. For all discrepancies in the wording and pronunciation of the supplications, [the directors] either consulted the elders or visited individuals from [our] place of origin. I [then] further edited the text. Certain ritual instruments lacked corresponding terms in the national language and had to be pronounced in Chinese—for example, the *Phoebe Zhennan* wood (Ch. 楠木 [nanmu], Ma. nan mu moo). These have now been translated into the national language based on their meanings.

[These findings] are compiled into six *juans*. Hence, the old Manchu customs will be implemented forever and never [be subject to] errors or lost. [It] also serves as an expression of my reverence for the ceremonial propriety. Now that the book is finished, [I have] named it the *Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*. The names of all the princes of the blood, ministers, and officials who worked on [the project] are also documented.

List of Official Titles

The Names and Titles of the Princes, Ministers, Officials who [acted as] the Chief Directors, Construction Commissioners, Overseers of Works, Overseer of Illustrations, and Copiers of the *Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*¹⁷⁷

Imperially Commissioned Chief Directors:

The Minister of the Household and the Lieutenant-General of the Plain Yellow Manchu Banner. Three recordings of merit [was earned for his contributions in this project]. The Righteous (Ch. 和碩庄 [zhuang], Ma. hošoi tob) Prince of the Blood of the First Degree. The minister Yūn Lu (Ch. 允祿 [yunlu]).

The Presiding Controller of the Imperial Clan Court. Six recordings of merit [were earned]. The Courteous (Ch. 履 [lǔ], Ma. dorolon) Prince of the Blood of the First Degree. The minister Yūn Too (Ch. 允禔 [yuntao]).

The Minister of the Household and the Lieutenant-General of the Bordered Yellow Manchu Banner. Three recordings of merit [were earned]. The Harmonious (Ch. 和 [he], Ma. hūwaliyaka) Prince of the Blood of the First Degree. The minister Hūng Jeo (Ch. 弘昼 [hongzhou]).

The Speaker at the Imperial Discussion Banquets,¹⁷⁸ the Grand Guardian of the Emperor, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Secretariat, the Grand Minister of the Deliberative Council,¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ The translations of the titles reference Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*; Marsh, *The Mandarins; the Circulation of Elites in China, 1600-1900*; Lui, *The Hanlin Academy: Training Ground for the Ambitious, 1644-1850*; Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in the Imperial China*; and Park, “Officials and Chinese Justice: Public and Private Wrongdoing in Qing Law.”

the Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard, the Minister of the Household, the Overseer of the Three Storehouses,¹⁸⁰ and the Loyal and Courageous Duke (Ch. 忠勇公 [*zhongyong gong*], Ma. *tondo baturu gung*). Three advancements in grade and three military advancements in grade [were earned]. The minister Fuheng (Ch. 傅恒 [*fuheng*]).

The Grand Tutor of the Heir Apparent, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Secretariat, the Grand Minister of the Deliberative Council, the Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard, the President of the Board of Justice, and the Minister of the Household. The minister Laiboo (Ch. 来保 [*laibao*]).

The Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent, the Senior Assistant Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard, the President of the Board of Rites, the Overseer of the Three Storehouses, and the Minister of the Household. The minister Haiwang (Ch. 海望 [*haiwang*]).

The Grand Minister of the Deliberative Council, the President of the Board of Works, the Director of the Imperial Gardens and Hunting Parks, and the Minister of the Household. The minister Samhe (Ch. 三和 [*sanhe*]).

In charge of the affairs of the Imperial Hunting Department and the Manchu Artillery and Musketry Division, The Guard of the Antechamber, the Lieutenant-General, and the Commandant of the Right Wing of the Vanguard Division [overseeing] the Guides. One advancement in grade, one military recording of merit, and three ordinary recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Adai (Ch. 阿岱 [*adai*]).

The Construction Commissioners:

The Director of the Department of the Privy Purse and the Superintendent of the Six Imperial Storehouses. Fourteen recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Guwanju (Ch. 官著 [*guanzhu*]).

Director (of the Department of the Privy Purse). Seven recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Sele (Ch. 色勒 [*sele*]).

The Director of the Department of Ceremonial, the Captain. Eight recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Cara (Ch. 察喇 [*chala*]).

The Assistant Director (of the Department of Ceremonial). Ten recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Mingšan (Ch. 明善 [*mingshan*]).

¹⁷⁸ Ch. 经筵讲官 [*jingyan jiangguan*], Ma. *ambarame giyangnara hafan*. The imperial discussion banquets, held in mid-spring and mid-autumn, were presided over by two Chinese and two Manchu Hanlin officials. Lui, *The Hanlin Academy*, 29.

¹⁷⁹ Ch. 议政大臣 [*yizheng dachen*], Ma. *hebei amban*. Here, I follow Hucker's translation of the Chinese term *yizhen dachen*. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in the Imperial China*, 266.

¹⁸⁰ Ch. 管理三库事务 [*guanli sanku shiwu*], Ma. *ilan namum i baita be kadalame icihiyara*. The Three Storehouses were the Silver Vault, Piece Goods Vault, and Miscellany Vault under the Board of Revenue. They were collectively overseen by a Minister of the Household. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in the Imperial China*, 266.

The Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes (of the Department of Ceremonial). Sixty ministers [were involved in the project].

The Overseers of Works:

The Director of the Department of the Privy Purse, the Superintendent of the Six Imperial Storehouses, and the Company Captain. Two advancements in grade and fifteen recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Boošan (Ch. 宝善 [*baoshan*]).

The Captain of Bondservant Company. The minister Šengguwanboo (Ch. 陞官保 [*shengguanbao*]).

The Overseer of Illustrations:

The Assistant Director of the Department of Works. Three recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Booge (Ch. 保格 [*baoge*]).

The Copiers:

The Chief Clerk of the Department of Ceremonial. One recording of merit [was earned]. The minister Yungtai (Ch. 永泰 [*yongtai*]).

The Chief Clerk (of the Department of Ceremonial). The minister I Ting Biyoo (Ch. 宜廷彪 [*yi tingbiao*]).

Overseers of Works at the Printing Office and Bookbinding at the Wuying Hall (Ch. 武英殿 [*wuying dian*]):

Director of the (Accounts Department, overseeing) the Office for Collecting Rents of Imperial Lands (Ch. 三旗银两庄头处 [*sanqi yinliang zhuangtou chu*]) and Captain. Six advancements in grade and seventeen recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Yungboo (Ch. 永保 [*yongboo*]).

Assistant Director of the (Accounts Department, overseeing) the Office for Collecting Rents of Imperial Lands and Captain. The minister Yungjung (Ch. 永忠 [*yongzhong*]).

Assistant Director of the Department of the Privy Purse. The minister Yungtai (Ch. 永泰 [*yongtai*]).

Controller (at the Department of the Privy Purse). One advancement of grade¹⁸¹ and five recordings of merit [were earned]. The minister Sangge (Ch. 桑格 [*sangge*]).

Controller (at the Department of the Privy Purse). One advancement of grade [was earned]. The minister Liboo (Ch. 李保 [*libao*]).

Controller (at the Department of the Privy Purse). Two advancements of grade [were earned]. The minister Yoo Wen Bin (Ch. 姚文斌 [*yao wenbin*]).

¹⁸¹ The Chinese text omits Sangge's advancement of grade.

Storehouse Overseer (at the Department of the Privy Purse). The minister Hūsitai (Ch. 虎什泰 [*hushitai*]).

Storehouse Overseer (at the Department of the Privy Purse). The minister G'ao Yung Žin (Ch. 高永仁 [*gao yongren*]).

Table of Contents

Juan One

On Veneration and Thanksgiving

On Fresh Offerings at the Lights-Out Ceremony

Comprehensive Record of Old Manchu Rituals

Ceremonial Program for the New Year's Ceremony at the Kunning Palace

Ceremonial Program for the New Year's Ceremony at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

Ceremonial Program for the Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

Supplication for the Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

Ceremonial Program for the Veneration at the Šangsi Spirit Pavilion

Supplication for the Veneration at the Šangsi Spirit Pavilion

Ceremonial Program for Inviting Deities to be Venerated at the Tangse

Ceremonial Program for Inviting Deities to the Palace

Ceremonial Program for the Monthly Veneration at the Kunning Palace

Supplications for the Monthly Veneration at the Kunning Palace

Ceremonial Program for the Thanksgiving on the Day after Veneration

Thanksgiving Proclamation on the Day after Veneration

Juan Two

Ceremonial Program for the Daily Venerations at the Kunning Palace

Supplications for the Daily Venerations at the Kunning Palace

Ceremonial Program for the Seasonal Wealth Offering

Supplications for the Seasonal Wealth Offering

Ceremonial Program for the Buddha-Bathing

Supplications for the Buddha-Bathing

Juan Three

Ceremonial Program for the Preparatory Rite

Supplications for the Preparatory Rite

Ceremonial Program for the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting¹⁸² at the Tangse

Supplications for the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse

Ceremonial Program for the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace

Supplications for the Grand-Rite at the Kunning Palace

Ceremonial Program for the Thanksgiving on the Day after the Grand Rite

Thanksgiving Proclamation on the Day after the Grand Rite

Juan Four

Ceremonial Program for the Blessing Petition

Supplications for the Blessing Petition

Supplications for the Blessing Petition for Infants

Supplication for Chick-Offering at the Lights-Out Ceremony

Supplication for Gosling-Offering at the Lights-Out Ceremony

Supplication for Fish-Offering at the Lights-Out Ceremony

Supplication for Pheasant-Offering at the Lights-Out Ceremony

Supplication for All Fresh-Offering at the Lights-Out Ceremony

Ceremonial Program for the Equine Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

Supplications for the Equine Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

Ceremonial Program for the First Day of the Equine Veneration

Supplications for the First Day of the Equine Veneration

Ceremonial Program for the Second Day of the Equine Veneration

Supplications for the Second Day of the Equine Veneration

Juan Five

Catalogue of the Instruments used in the Veneration and Thanksgiving

Juan Six

Illustrations of the Instruments used in the Veneration and Thanksgiving

¹⁸² Ch. 大祭 [*daji*], Ma. *ambarame wecere*. Distinguished from the Qing Dynasty's Great Sacrifice (Ch. 大祀 [*dasi*]), which is directed by the Board of Rites at the Altar of Heaven (Ch. 天坛 [*tiantan*]), Altar of Earth (Ch. 地坛 [*ditan*]), Imperial Ancestral Temple (Ch. 太庙 [*taimiao*]), Altar of the Spirits (Ch. 社稷坛 [*sheji tan*]), and Temple of Confucius (Ch. 文庙 [*wenmiao*]). Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in the Imperial China*, 203–4.

We reverently present this memorial:¹⁸³

The six *juans* of the *Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving* were compiled in the twelfth year of Qianlong's reign (1747) as commanded by a special imperial edict.

The foundation of our country was established in the land of the east. [Our] customs are so pure and robust that they moved Heaven and the deities. [We] honor the ceremonial canons with remarkable sincerity. [We] propitiate [the deities'] protection wholeheartedly and [promote] ceremonial propriety vigorously. [These] virtues have remained unchanged for ten thousand generations. As for the transmission of ritual customs, [they] have not been documented through text. The supplications used [in rituals] were passed down orally, gradually [leading to] a conflation of wording and pronunciation, deviating from the original. [The emperor] commanded the princes of the blood, dukes, and ministers to carefully investigate the evidence and compile them [in a tome] that will last forever.

The beginning [of the tome] lists various memorials and accounts of the past. It then meticulously details the ceremonial programs, supplications, invocations, the number of the instruments, and illustrations [of the instruments]. After each *juan* is completed, a copy is made and submitted [to the emperor], who personally reviews and edits [it] to ensure it is thorough and exhaustive. Thus, [the emperor's] righteous [gratitude] for [the deities'] fulfillment of vows and sincerity toward the sacred peak¹⁸⁴ could be revered for ten thousand years.

The first edition [of the *Codex*] was written only in the national script and the national language. In the forty-second year of Qianlong's reign (1747), [the emperor] commanded again for a Chinese translation [to be made] according to [the passages'] meanings. [This edict was] also carefully carried out and [the text] was prudently edited. The finished book is implemented complementarily to the *Comprehensive Rites of the Great Qing*, manifesting perfect completeness.

Reverently Submitted after proofreading in the seventh lunar month of the forty-seventh year of Qianlong's reign (1782).

Chief Editors: Ji Yun 纪昀, Lu Xixiong 陆锡熊, Sun Shiyi 孙士毅

Chief Proofreader: Lu Feixi 陆费墀

¹⁸³ This memorial is only present in the Chinese text included in the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*.

¹⁸⁴ Ch. 越 [*yue*]. In Chinese history, the Five Sacred Peaks have evolved to be conceived as sacred entities indispensable for imperial success. The Changbai Mountain, which was regarded as the Manchu's legendary place of origin, became deified under Emperor Kangxi. The emperor commanded that rituals dedicated to the Changbai Mountain should be carried out with the same protocols used in those dedicated to the Five Sacred Peaks in China. The orthographic choice of “越,” instead of the customary “岳” or “嶽,” may indicate a deliberate attempt to distinguish the Changbai Mountain from the Five Sacred Peaks of China proper. James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscapes of the Southern Sacred Peaks in Medieval China* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2009), 41; Mark Elliott, “The Limits of Tartary’ Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 3 (2000): 603–46; *Shengzu renhuangdi shilu*, *juan* 71.

On the Veneration and the Thanksgiving

At the Kunning Palace, the Morning Veneration and the Evening Veneration [are performed] daily. Thanksgiving [is performed] monthly. The Grand Rite [is celebrated] in spring and autumn of each year. The Wealth Offering [is performed] seasonally. Each month, pure paper is hung inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall and the Šangsi Spirit Pavilion at the Tangse. The Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting [is celebrated] in spring and autumn. All ceremonial customs have been practiced for a long time. Without doubt, [the ceremonies] are solemn and magnificent.

It is only [a shame that] in the past, the Samans were fluent in the national language. On auspicious occasions, they were able to invoke fitting supplications [they had] composed. Later on, the Samans' [fluency in the] national language deteriorated compared to their predecessors. Due to the lack of written documentation, the oral transmission of [some supplications led to] lapses in their wording and pronunciation. At present, the Thanksgiving proclamations and the invocations for hanging up paper that have been documented by the Office of Palace Ceremonials¹⁸⁵ have [been preserved] without any lapses. If all of the Samans' proclamations are not promptly consolidated and documented, as [stated in] the edict of the Saintly Lord,¹⁸⁶ [these lapses in] wording and pronunciation will continue escalate. We have now prudently recorded all the verses the Samans [use in] the Venerations, the Lights-Out Ceremony, invocations, supplications, and the Blessing Petition.¹⁸⁷ Upon careful examination, [we find that] not only are there many mistakes in grammar and wording, but the proclamations of the palace Samans from the Left and Right Wings also do not align with one another.

Therefore, we commanded the princes of the blood and dukes from the Five Banners¹⁸⁸ to record and submit the passages they [use in] rituals at home. [We] also commanded the households of the former prominent Samans to copy and submit the supplications and invocations they have retained from the past. [These documents] are gathered into one place and reverently and prudently examined. [We] corrected the mistakes, supplemented the incomplete [passages], and abridged the redundant [ones]. *We integrated all [the information] to the best of our abilities*¹⁸⁹ and added our own remarks. [We] respectfully submit [them] to the emperor for review and await his response.

¹⁸⁵ Ch. 掌仪司 [zhangyi si], Ma. *doloron be kadalara sy*. A division under the Imperial Household Department which oversees ceremonial activities in the court and has authority over the eunuchs. The Samans, Incense Stewardesses, and Officials of Sacrificial Attributes are affiliated with the Department of Ceremonial. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 15.

¹⁸⁶ Ch. 圣 [sheng], Ma. *enduringge ejen*. The honorific title for the wise and enlightened [one] ordained by Heaven to foster all. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 3, 4a–b.

¹⁸⁷ Ch. 祀 [si], Ma. *hūhuri baire* (imperfect participle of *baimbi*, to seek). In later passages, the term is translated to Chinese as 求福 [qiufu].

¹⁸⁸ Ch. 五旗 [wuqi], Ma. *sunja gūsa*. Another broad categorization of the Eight Banners distinguishes the “Upper Three Banners (Ch. 上三旗 [shangsanqi], Ma. *dergi ilan gūsa*)” and the “Lower Five Banners (Ch. 下五旗 [xiawuqi], Ma. *fejergi sunja gūsa*).” The Upper Three Banners were the emperor’s “personal property” and more populous. The Five Lower Banners, also referred to as the Five Banners, were under the command of princes and other nobles. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 79.

¹⁸⁹ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

Upon additional review [we noted that] the Daily Veneration at the Kunning Palace is performed once again separately in the Equine Veneration Chamber¹⁹⁰ during the time of the Equine Veneration.¹⁹¹ Therefore, all the supplications and invocations [for the Equine Veneration] should also be corrected accordingly. We have reverently composed each verse and submitted [them] to the emperor for review.

[We have] edited all the [information] as commanded by the Saintly Lord. Let [it be] implemented for eternity!

Members of the main¹⁹² and collateral¹⁹³ lines of the Qing nobles below the [ranks] of the prince of the blood, together with Manchu families who worship the deities of the Gioro clan are permitted to copy [this document] if they wish to do so. The subjects of the Saintly Lord [could] receive [his] grace, and the old Manchu customs will be implemented forever, never fading out. [We hereby] submit this discussion memorial.

On Fresh Offerings at the Lights-Out Ceremony

[According] to our Manchu customs, all oblations¹⁹⁴ [offered] in the Veneration and the Thanksgiving are neat and intact. The slightly defective [ones] are discarded. By the same logic, the entirety of the oblations is offered to the deities, with no remnants retained. Even the gallbladders and hooves [of the animals] are removed and displayed on a plate on a separate table.

[Back] when we [lived] at our place of origin,¹⁹⁵ since the game reserves were nearby, the captured games would be offered in the Lights-Out Ceremony while they were still nice and fresh. Afterwards, when [we] moved to Beijing, the game reserves were faraway. Either the captured games took an entire day [to arrive], have [sustained] multiple wounds, or have been disemboweled. Since they were damaged, [we] did not dare to offer [them as oblations].

Reverently following the imperial edict, we now [propose the following after] detailed discussions. As it was in the past, the games captured by the emperor on reserves in locations such as Mukden still will not be offered, due to the difficulties in transporting them to Beijing. Besides that, at present, newly acquired fresh fruits and vegetables are offered to the deities in the palace. According to the traditional customs, goods such as chicks and fish were offered in

¹⁹⁰ Ch. 祭马神室 [*jima shenshi*], Ma. *morin i jalin wecere boo*. It is located north of the Forbidden Palace and west of the Shenwu Gate. Xiaoli Jiang, *Qingdai manzu samanjiào yanjiu* (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021), 104.

¹⁹¹ Ch. 祭马神 [*ji mashen*], Ma. *morin i jalin wecere*. The Chinese term implies the veneration of a “horse deity.” However, the Manchu text specifies that the veneration is conducted *for the sake of* horses.

¹⁹² Ch. 宗室 [*zongshi*], Ma. *uksun*. One of two branches of Qing nobility. The *uksun* is the “mainline” and encompass the direct offsprings from the patriline of Nurhaci and his brothers. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 201.

¹⁹³ Ch. 觉罗 [*jueluo*], Ma. *gioro*. The other branch of Qing nobility. The *gioro* is the “collateral line” and encompass the descendants of the remaining branches of Giocangga's lineage (i.e., Taksi's brothers and uncles). It is different from the *Gioro* clan. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 201

¹⁹⁴ Ch. 牺牲 [*xisheng*], Ma. *šusu*. Resources provided for military officials when they are out on missions. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 4, 43a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 63.

¹⁹⁵ “[Our] place of origin,” or “[our] former place” is explicated only in the Manchu text—*daci bade*. The Chinese text reads “in the early [history] of Manchuria.”

the Lights-Out Ceremony. Now, goods such as chicks and fish are still offered in the households of the princes of the blood and the Manchu people. Thus, from now on, deer, roe, and other games captured by the emperor in vicinal locations such as the Southern Enclosure¹⁹⁶ may be offered in the Lights-Out Ceremony as commanded by him [under the following stipulations:] the game only suffered one injury, and its tail, hooves, and intestines are intact. It shall be dutifully delivered to the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes (Ch. 司俎 [*sizu*], Ma. *amsun i urse*) to be reverently prepared. The damaged games that suffered multiple wounds still will not be used.

We [have arranged that] newly acquired fresh produce [would be offered] in accordance with the seasons. [We recommend that,] each year, two chicks be offered in the Lights-Out Ceremony in spring, one gosling be offered in the Lights-Out Ceremony in summer, one fish be offered in the Lights-Out Ceremony in autumn, and two pheasants be offered in the Lights-Out Ceremony in winter.

The estate managers¹⁹⁷ shall select succulent chicks and goslings and forward them to the Accounts Department¹⁹⁸ to be offered. The fishermen and hunters shall select the fresh and intact fish and pheasants and forward them to the Imperial Hunt.¹⁹⁹ Under the supervision of the ministers from the Department of Ceremonials, succulent, fresh, and intact live animals are selected and forwarded to the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes (Ch. 司俎官 [*sizu guan*], Ma. *amsun i janggin*). [They] will be carefully prepared before being offered to the deities in the Lights-Out Ceremony. [These regulations] have already been implemented.

Comprehensive Record of Old Manchu Rituals

Since ancient times, our Manchu nation has sincerely honoured Heaven, the Buddha, and the deities. For this reason, during the founding of Mukden,²⁰⁰ the Tangse (Ch. 堂子 [*tangzi*]) was built to venerate Heaven, and shrines²⁰¹ were set up in the main hall of the bedchamber²⁰² to venerate the Buddha, Bodhisattva, spirits, and deities.²⁰³ Although later on, [other] altars and temples were constructed to worship the Heaven, Buddha, and the spirits separately, the old traditions remain unaltered and are implemented alongside the [new] ritual customs. Until [the

¹⁹⁶ Ch. 南苑 [*nanyuan*], Ma. *sirga kūwaran*. A game reserve near Beijing under the purview of the Bureau of Imperial Gardens and Hunting Parks.

¹⁹⁷ Ch. 庄头 [*zhuangtou*], Ma. *jangturi*. The managers of imperial lands leased to the Upper Three Banners. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 15; Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in the Imperial China*, 187.

¹⁹⁸ Ch. 会计司 [*kuaiji si*], Ma. *acabufi bodoro sy*. A division under the Imperial Household that collects rents of Banner Property. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 15.

¹⁹⁹ Ch. 都虞司 [*duyu si*], Ma. *buthašara be kadalara sy*. A division under the Imperial Household oversees security personnel and hunting related activities. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 16.

²⁰⁰ Ch. 盛京 [*shengjing*].

²⁰¹ Ch. 神位 [*shenwei*], Ma. *weceku*. The Manchu text only mentions “the deities,” without describing any physical instruments through which they were worshipped.

²⁰² The Kunming Palace, where the Samanic rituals took place in the Forbidden Palace, also served as the bedchamber for the emperor and the empress on their wedding night. Yi Wan, ed., *Gugong cidian* (Shanghai: Wenhui, 1997), 28.

²⁰³ Ch. 神 [*shen*], Ma. *weceku*. Likely in contradistinction to *enduri*, *weceku* is defined in *Expanded Mirror* as “spirits (*enduri*) worshipped and venerated to at home (*boode*).” Both *enduri* and *weceku* are translated as 神 [*shen*] in the Chinese-language *Codex*. Juan 19, 12a

time of] the generations of our Saintly Lords, [who] conquered China and came to Beijing, the old ritual customs have been upheld for many years.

All Manchu clans also place the utmost importance on rituals. Although each clan follows its own local traditions, the practices are largely similar with only minor variations. The emperor's household, princes of the blood, beile,²⁰⁴ beile prince,²⁰⁵ and dukes²⁰⁶ all venerate facing south at the Tangse. As for the Manchu people, [they also] venerate facing south in their yard at home. In addition, Spirit Poles²⁰⁷ are mounted and worshipped. All [ritual activities mentioned above] constitute the veneration of Heaven.

The deities venerated universally in the morning are Buddha, the Bodhisattva, and Lord Guan. However, the deities venerated in the evening vary slightly across the clans. In searching for the worships' origins, since many years have passed and the elders are exceedingly reluctant to divulge [information], [we] were unable to understand [the matter] fully.²⁰⁸ It is [likely that some of them] are the spirits of places, mountains, or rivers who had manifestly or imperceptibly protected and aided [the people]. [They are] worshipped so the favours [may be] repaid.

In the palace, the [Grand] Rite of the Pole-Mounting [is celebrated] at the Tangse biennially in spring and autumn. The Preparatory Rite and Grand Rite²⁰⁹ are then [celebrated] at [Kunning] Palace. Asides from the days of fasting and with a ban on slaughter, Veneration is [held] daily, Thanksgiving [is celebrated] on the second of each month, and Wealth Offering [takes place] seasonally.

The princes²¹⁰ who had left the palace, as well as the princes still living in it, shall [attend] Veneration at the Kunning Palace when commanded by the emperor. After participating in the Monthly Veneration and Thanksgiving at the palace, one after another, [they shall] each [observe] the Veneration for one day and the Thanksgiving for one day. The princes who had not left the Forbidden Palace and are still living in it shall [observe] the Veneration and Thanksgiving in their own living quarters each month.

One after another, princes of the blood, beiles, beile princes, and dukes [shall attend] the [Grand] Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse twice a year, in spring and autumn. [They shall observe] the Preparatory Rite and Grand Rite at home. [In the capacity] of the Monthly Veneration and Thanksgiving, dukes, marquises, earls,²¹¹ ministers, officials, to bannermen at

²⁰⁴ Ch. 贝勒 [*beile*], Ma. *beile*.

²⁰⁵ Ch. 贝子 [*beizi*], Ma. *beise*.

²⁰⁶ Ch. 公 [*gong*], Ma. *gung*.

²⁰⁷ Ch. 神杆 [*shen'gan*], Ma. *somo*. The wooden pole mounted during Thanksgiving. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 51b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 68.

²⁰⁸ Here, the Manchu text deviates significantly from the Chinese one. The Chinese text conveys only "[one shall] be sincere and respectful to the purposes and origins of [their] rituals."

²⁰⁹ The Chinese text omitted the celebration of Grand Rite.

²¹⁰ Ch. 皇子 [*huangzi*], Ma. *age*. Male heirs in the mainline of the Qing nobles who are eligible to receive titles. Yün Tao et al., eds., *Qinding daqing huidian zeli*, juan 1, 7b. 1764.

²¹¹ Ch. 公侯伯 [*gong hou bo*], Ma. *gung heo be*. Merit-based hereditary titles given to those outside of the imperial lineage. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 4, 6a.

large²¹² [perform] the Veneration at home either monthly, seasonally, biennially, or for a single season.

Two to three days after the biennial [Grand] Rite of the Pole-Mounting in the palace, princes of the blood of the first degree to dukes with the eight privileges²¹³ shall reverently invite the Morning Deities and the Evening Deities from the Kunning Palace to their home one after another based on [their] ranks. On the day of the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting, after the Morning Deities have been invited to the Tangse to be venerated, [they are then] invited back home²¹⁴ where the Grand Rite [is conducted]. Afterwards, in the same manner, [the princes and dukes shall] invite the deities [home] and venerate [them]. At the end of the month, the Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes and Officials of Sacrificial Attributes from the palace *go to the residence where the deities were last venerated*²¹⁵ and reverently invite them back to the palace. During this time, at the Kunning Palace, the Morning Veneration takes place daily in front of the gold pavilion [that was] enshrining the Buddha, [its] base, and the Spirit Drapery.²¹⁶ The Evening Veneration takes place in front of the frame, the Spirit Drapery, and the deity's chair.²¹⁷

In the fifty-seventh year of Kangxi's reign (1719), Emperor Shengzu Ren²¹⁸ issued an imperial edict to stop the princes of the blood and others from inviting the deities [back to their residences]. In the first year of Yongzheng's reign (1723), Emperor Shizong Xian²¹⁹ issued a special imperial edict instructing the Prince of Blood of the First Degree Zhuang²²⁰ and the Prince of Blood of the First Degree Yi²²¹ to each reverently invite the deities to their residences to be venerated.

Some Manchu clans employ female Samans in rituals at home, while others employ male Samans. From the emperor's household, the main and collateral lines of nobles without post, to

²¹² Ch. 闲散满洲 [*xiansan manzhou*], Ma. *sula manju*. Manchus without ranks or pay, Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 327.

²¹³ Ch. 入八分公 [*rubafen gong*], Ma. *jakūn ubu de dosika gung*. According to *Qinding daqing huidian zeli*, eight *hosoi beiles* were elected during the Tianming era (1616–1626) to jointly discuss state affairs with Nurhači. They were the original dukes with the eight privileges. These eight privileges include “the use of purple buttons, three-eyed peacock feathers, and dragon squares on costumes; red-painted spears at entrances of residences; breast-tassels and purple reins on horses; a special type of teapot; and sitting on yellow or red rugs. After Tiancong (天聪, Ma. *abkai sure*) era (1627–35), all appointed dukes were without the eight privileges, except those “meritorious enough to be elevated to the rank of beile prince.” Yūn Tao et al., eds., *Qinding daqing huidian zeli*, *juan* 1.

²¹⁴ Refers to the Kunning Palace.

²¹⁵ The italicized part is omitted from the Chinese text.

²¹⁶ Ch. 幔帐 [*mangzhang*], Ma. *mengse*. The silk [pieces] hung on a frame during Venerations. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 51b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 71.

²¹⁷ Ch. 神座 [*shenzuo*], Ma. *teku*. *Teku*: seat. In the Evening Veneration, the Mongolian Deity is placed on a chair-shaped instrument with backrest. The base for the Buddha's pavilion is also referred to as *teku* in the Manchu text.

²¹⁸ Both Kangxi and Emperor Shengzu Ren refers to the third Emperor of the Qing dynasty, Aisin Gioro Hiowan Yei. Kangxi is the emperor's era name, Shengzu is his temple name, and Ren is his honorific posthumous title.

²¹⁹ The fourth emperor of the Qing dynasty who reigned from 1722 to 1735. His personal name is Aisin Gioro In Jen, his era name is Yongzheng, and his honorific posthumous title is Xian.

²²⁰ Ch. 庄亲王 [*zhuang qinwang*], Ma. *tob cin wang*. He is one of the chief directors credited for the *Codex's* compilation.

²²¹ Ch. 怡亲王 [*yi qinwang*], Ma. *urgun cin wang*. The thirteenth son of Kangxi.

Manchus of the Irgen Gioro and Sirin Gioro clans, female Samans [preside over] the rituals. In the past, the wives of former emperors and of princes of the blood had been appointed as Samans. Now, in palace worships, the Samans who preside over the rituals are still selected from the wives of the ministers and officials from the collateral line of nobles. For the princes living in the palace, when they are commanded by imperial edicts to [attend] rituals at the Kunming Palace, Samans from the collateral line are still appointed to [preside over] the rituals. Besides that, the Samans conducting rituals for the princes living in the Forbidden Palace are selected from the wives of [individuals] from the Gioro clans in the bondservant companies or half-companies of the Upper Three Banners. [Alternatively, they could be selected from] the wives of the ministers, officials, and bannermen at large from other clans. Princes living outside the palace, princes of the blood, beiles, beile princes, and dukes all select Samans from amongst the wives of [individuals] from the Gioro clans in the bondservant companies or half-companies. [Alternatively, they can employ] the wives of ministers, officials, and bannermen at large from other clans as their Saman to conduct the ceremonies.

If a Saman cannot be appointed from among [one's] subordinates, Manchu women in the subordinate bondservant companies or half companies may serve as the Samans who [conduct] the rituals. Alternatively, a Saman may be sought from other sources to [conduct] the rituals. From dukes, marquises, earls, ministers, officials, to bannermen at large, those who employ female Samans all appoint [a female] from their own tribe²²² to [conduct] the rituals. If a Saman is indeed not obtainable [from the desired demographics], one [conducts] the rituals at home and prepare offerings, burn incenses, and proffer wine in imitation of the Saman. The heads of the households [would] kowtow, “spare”²²³ the oblations, offer meat, and then kowtow [again to perform] the Veneration. In families where male Samans are employed [to conduct] the rituals, the male Samans [could] be sought from within each household.

From the palace, main and collateral lines of nobles without posts, to the Manchus in the Irgen Gioro and Sirin Gioro, pigs are used in rituals. Two pigs are offered during each of the daily Morning and Evening [Venerations]. One pig is offered during Thanksgiving. From the princes of the blood to dukes with the eight privileges, two pigs are offered in each of the Morning and Evening [Veneration] during the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting. As [for those] from the main and collateral lines of nobles without posts, one pig is offered during each of the Morning and Evening [Veneration] on ordinary days and during the Preparatory Rite. One pig is offered during the Thanksgiving.

In the palace, during the two-day Equine Veneration [which takes place] after the [Grand] Rite of the Pole-Mounting, two pigs are offered each [day]. The princes of the blood and dukes [observe] Equine Veneration for one day and offer one pig each [day]. During the Blessing Petition, two carps are offered. Among other Manchu clans, some [observe] only the Blessing

²²² Ch. 族 [zu], Ma. *mukūn*. A *mukūn* is a localized subdivision of a *hala* (clan). *Mukūns* constitutes the basic kinship units of Manchu social organization. Both *mukūn* and *hala* are exogamic units; however, people of the same clan from different *mukūns* can intermarry. A *hala* may be composed of multiple *mukūns* or none, depending on its size and scale. According to Shirokogorov, “*mukūn* and *mukūnda* (the leader of a *mukūn*) could not exist, if the...exogamic unit had not its own spirits.” When a *mukūn* splits up to form new exogamic units, or a *hala* is spilt into two or more *mukūns*, the spirits of the clan are also divided. In the *Codex*, “*hala*” is translated as 姓 [xing] (last name) in Chinese, and “*mukūn*” is translated as zu. Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization of the Manchus*, 58–66

²²³ Ch. 省 [xing], Ma. *silgifi* (perfect converb for *silgimbi*). Besides being the euphemism for “to slaughter,” *silgimbi* also means “(to slip through an opening) as a fly through a crack.” *Expanded Mirror*, juan 32, 74a.

Petition, while others [observe] only the Thanksgiving. Some offer a single pig during the Veneration and Thanksgiving, [while others] offer a sheep, a pig and a sheep, multiple pigs and sheep, or an indefinite number of piglets, geese, and fish. As for the pouring of wine into the oblation's ear²²⁴ and the offering of cooked [meat], [these practices] remain largely consistent [across different Manchu clans].

In the palace, for the Lights-Out Ceremony, either games and wildfowls first captured by the emperor, or newly acquired gosling, duckling, chick,²²⁵ or fish are offered. In some households of the princes of the blood and the Manchu people, geese, chickens, fish, newly harvested grains, and other items are also [offered] in the Lights-Out Ceremony.

Besides the Veneration, the Thanksgiving, the Blessed Willow Veneration,²²⁶ the Blessing Petition, and the Equine Veneration, [some] Manchus also make Pig-Buns (Ch. 猪糕 [zhugao], Ma. *ulgiyan efen*) [as] Thanksgiving when their children catch poxvirus. This is called the “Pox-Recovery Offering.”²²⁷ The offering of buns in the Thanksgiving is called the “Bun-Giving.”²²⁸ In the dimness of the night, a piglet is [sacrificed] for Thanksgiving outside the gable of the house, facing the direction of the setting sun. This is called the “Evil Dispelling.”²²⁹ When the growing grains [encounter] pest infestations or drought, [people] go to the fields and insert strips of paper onto thin sticks, [making them] resemble flags. [They then] prepare steamed pastries or glutinous foxtail millet rice and bring them to the fields to [perform] ritual. This is called the “Crop Veneration (Ch. 祭田苗神 [ji tianmiaoshen], Ma. *usin wecembi*).” After the crops are harvested in autumn, pastries are made and brought to the threshing grounds. This is called the “Threshing Ground Veneration.”²³⁰ In addition, the worship of the Big Dipper at night is called “Calamity Dispelling.”²³¹

²²⁴ Ch. 酒 [jiu], Ma. *jungšun*. The water, wine or other liquid poured into the ear of the pig [that is about to be slaughtered] in ceremonies. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 45a. Quoted in Yeh Dianli Yizhu, 75.

²²⁵ Ch. 鵞 [e], Ma. *šoron*. The larger young of ducks or geese is called *šoron* (*Expanded Mirror*, juan 31, 32b). Also refers to the young of wild pheasants (*Expanded Mirror*, juan 30, 21a).

²²⁶ Ch. 树柳枝祭 [shu liuzhi ji], Ma. *fodo wecere*. The ritual [involving] erecting willow branch and tying String Cord (Ma. *siren futa*). According to the *Codex*, the Blessed Willow veneration is a part of the Blessing Petition ceremony. The String Cord is used in both the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse and in the Blessing Petition. For more information, see the footnote on *siren futa* in the ceremonial program for the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 43a

²²⁷ Ch. 痘祭 [douji], Ma. *balhambi*. When [one] catches poxvirus, pig-buns are offered as sacrifice in return for protection. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 43b. Quoted in Yeh Dianli Yizhu, 76.

²²⁸ Ch. 糕祭 [gaoji], Ma. *suwayan bumbi*. Although its description in the *Expanded Mirror* does not tell us more about the “Bun-Giving,” the Manchu term itself and its Chinese translation offers some additional insights. The literal translation of *suwayan bumbi* is “to give yellow.” Its corresponding Chinese translation in the *Expanded Mirror* is “面猪还愿 [mianzhu huanyuan],” lit. “Thanksgiving [with] flour pig.”

²²⁹ Ch. 去崇 [qusu], Ma. *gasan dulebumbi*. *Gas*: carrion, carcass. *Dulebumbi*: to endure, to surpass. The piglet is offered as a sacrifice to Heaven (...*mihan i metere be gasan dulebumbi sembi*). The Evil Dispelling is peculiar, as all other Thanksgiving rituals—offering slaughtered animals to Heaven—are performed facing south instead of west. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 43b–44a

²³⁰ Ch. 祭场院 [ji changyuan], Ma. *falan sombi*. Ma. *Je Falan*: threshing ground. *Sombi*: to scatter.

²³¹ Ch. 禳祭 [rangji], Ma. *jugembi*. *Rang* is a calamity-dispelling ritual. The translation is based on the Chinese term. The worship of the Big Dipper is also called *amasi bumbi*, lit. “to give to the north” Note that “to give to the south,” or *julesi bumbi*, is the alternative term for the Thanksgiving. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 44b.

[When] the Manchu people have lived in a village for a long time and [are to perform] Veneration, [they] thread ropes through new clothes in their bedchambers to [make them] resemble the Spirit Drapery. Following the usual customs for the Veneration, wine, pastries, and pigs are offered. Thus, when Emperor Shengzu Ren resided at Changchun Garden²³² and Jehol²³³ for extended periods, Spirit Drapery were hung, and the Buddha's pavilion and the deity's chair²³⁴ were set up [to perform] Veneration. In the eighth year of Qianlong's reign (1743), following the example of [his] ancestor, the Saintly Lord also hung the Spirit Drapery and set up the pavilion and deity's chair for the Veneration while staying at Jehol. As for the Thanksgiving, it can be celebrated wherever the Manchu people reside. [One need] only find a clean piece of wood [to serve] as the Spirit Pole. [At its end,] either a Spirit Pole Bushel is placed, or a bundle of grass is tied. The pig is then acquired, and the Sacrificial Rice²³⁵ is scattered to [celebrate] the Thanksgiving.

From the princes of the blood, beiles, beile princes, dukes, the main and collateral lines of nobles, ministers from various Manchu clans, officials, to bannermen at large, each [celebrates] the Wealth Offering²³⁶ at home on joyous occasions. When [one encounters] a situation requiring invoking [assistance from the deities], [they] also [conduct] the Wealth Offering to seek blessings. Additionally, before the daughters of the ministers, officials, and the Manchu people marry, goods are taken from [their future] husbands' households to [perform] the Wealth Offering to the deities. Afterwards, the Veneration and Thanksgiving [are also celebrated]. There are also Manchus who do not place a drawer table in front of the deities. [Instead,] they only offer a censer on top of Spirit Plank.²³⁷

During all rituals, the main celebrants [shall] remove [their] hats to demonstrate sincerity and respect.²³⁸

Regarding the offering of pastries: during the biennial Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting in the palace, [held in] spring and autumn, the Pounded Rice Cake²³⁹ and Rolled Cake²⁴⁰ and are

²³² Ch. 畅春园 [*changchun yuan*], Ma. *cang cun yuwan*. Located in west Beijing, the Changchun was Kangxi's favorite garden where he spent multiple months every year. Jianli Yang, "Qingdai changchunyuan shuaibai shulüe," *The Palace Museum Journal* 2 (2015): 115–25.

²³³ Ch. 热河 [*zehe*], Ma. *že ho*. Also known as Chengde Mountain Resort, Jehol is the summer residence of Qing emperors.

²³⁴ Ch. 神位 [*shenwei*], Ma. *teku*. It is ambiguous whether *teku* refers to the base of the Buddha's pavilion, or the chair with backrest on which the Mongolian Deity is enshrined during Evening Veneration.

²³⁵ Ch. 米 [*mi*], Ma. *soca bele*. The rice scattered and tossed during Thanksgiving. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 44b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 78.

²³⁶ Ch. 以财物献神 [*yicaiwu xianshen*], Ma. *ulin gidambi*. A ritual [that involves] bringing riches [such as] silk, horses, and oxen in front of the deities, kowtowing, and selling [the offerings]. According to its corresponding ceremonial program in the *Codex*, the offerings (excluding silver ingots) are sold to purchase the pigs offered in rituals. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 42b.

²³⁷ Ch. 神板 [*shenban*], Ma. *sendehen*. Wooden plank [shelf] on which the deities are enshrined. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 51b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 78–9.

²³⁸ This sentence is only present in the Chinese text.

²³⁹ Ch. 打糕 [*dagao*], Ma. *tūme efen*. Sticky rice made from steaming proso millet and other sticky grains is hit thoroughly with wooden hammers. The product is called *tūme efen*. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 27, 40a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 79.

offered. In the first lunar month, the Caise²⁴¹ is offered. In the fifth lunar month, the Linden-Leaf Bun²⁴² is offered. In the sixth lunar month, the *Perilla*-Leaf (Ch. 苏叶 [*suye*], Ma. *malanggū*) Bun is offered. In the seventh lunar month, newly harvested non-glutinous proso millet²⁴³ is steamed to make the Drizzled Cake,²⁴⁴ [which is then] offered. In the eighth lunar month, newly harvested glutinous foxtail millet²⁴⁵ is steamed to make rice, pounded thoroughly with a wooden hammer, and made into the *Giyose*.²⁴⁶ [It is] then deep-fried and offered. For all the remaining months, the Sprinkled Cake²⁴⁷ is offered. All [pastries are made] using glutinous foxtail millet, excluding the Drizzled Cake and Rolled Cakes.

[These customs are observed] also by the households of the princes of the blood. Some Manchu households from other clans make offerings in the same way as well. Alternatively, the Bean-Flour Cake (Ch. 豆面饅頭 [*doumian bobo*], Ma. *sesi*), steamed glutinous foxtail millet rice, or boiled newly harvested wheat is offered. Some households also grind newly harvested buckwheat into flour to make thin pancakes, called the Fried Pancakes,²⁴⁸ which are offered to be consumed²⁴⁹ by the deities. Glutinous rice [is used as a] substitute for glutinous foxtail millet by the Manchus living in garrisons south of the Long River, where [the latter] is not cultivated. The Manchus living in Beijing without an estate manager [may] substitute glutinous foxtail millet with the glutinous rice included in their grain stipend when making wine, the Sprinkled Cake, and the Pounded Rice Cake.

²⁴⁰ Ch. 搓条饅頭 [*cuotiao bobo*], Ma. *mudan efen*. Leavened dough is made with [only] buckwheat flour, or [buckwheat flour] mixed with foxtail millet and proso millet flour. The dough is rolled into a long and winding shape and deep-fried in oil. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 27, 46a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 79.

²⁴¹ Ch. 饅子 [*sanzi*], Ma. *caise*. Wheat flour is blended with water and stretched into thin, elongated strands. These strands are then intertwined and deep-fried in oil. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 27, 44b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 79.

²⁴² Ch. 椶叶饅頭 [*jiaye bobo*], Ma. *nunggele mooi abdaha efen*. It is like the popular “玻璃叶饼 [*boliye bing*],” lit. “glass-leaf bun,” in northeast China, which is traditionally prepared in June (the fifth month of the lunar calendar). The glass-leaf buns are also made with the leaves of Mongolian Oat.

²⁴³ Ch. 黍 [*shu*], Ma. *ira*. *Shu* typically refers to glutinous proso millet, but it can refer to its non-glutinous variety. In *Expanded Mirror*, *ira* refers to non-glutinous proso millet, while *yeye ira* refers to the glutinous variety. The Chinese translation for *ira* in the *Expanded Mirror* is 糜 (variant of 糜 [*mi*]), whereas the translation for *yeye ira* is 黍. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 28, 37a

²⁴⁴ Ch. 淋浆糕 [*linjiang gao*], Ma. *miyegu efen*. Grind steamed non-glutinous proso millet into powder and stir with water. [The mixture is then] put in a bag, squeezed onto a steamer lined with cloth, and steamed. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 27, 40b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 80.

²⁴⁵ Ch. 稷 [*ji*], Ma. *fisihe*. Conventionally, *ji* is the non-glutinous variant of *shu*. The Codex’s Chinese text does not follow this convention. *Fisihe* is described as “same type of grain as *je* (not *ira*)” and glutinous. *Fisihe*, therefore, most likely refers to glutinous foxtail millet, which conventionally correspond to 粱 [*liang*] in Chinese. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 27, 36a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 80.

²⁴⁶ Ch. 饺子 [*jiaozi*], Ma. *giyose efen*. The Chinese text refers to what is conventionally known as dumpling. However, the Manchu term describe a completely different type of pastry. *Giyose efen*, or *giogiyan efen*, is a fried dish made with pounded glutinous foxtail millet (*fisihe*) wrap and filled with red bean paste (). The Chinese dumpling is called *hoho efen* in Manchu and referred to as “水饺子 [*shui jiaozi*]” in *Expanded Mirror*. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 27, 40a and 46a–b

²⁴⁷ Ch. 撒糕 [*sagao*], Ma. *feshen efen*. *Feshen*: bamboo steamer.

²⁴⁸ Ch. 煎饼 [*jianbing*], Ma. *mere jempin*. *Mere*: buckwheat.

²⁴⁹ Ma. *sukjimbi*. The deities and spirits accepting and receiving the essence of the offerings. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 42a.

Regarding methods of winemaking: in the palace, forty days prior to the biennial Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting [held in] spring and autumn, a vat is set up. Steamed glutinous foxtail millet is mixed with distiller's yeast and fermented. This is called Clear Wine.²⁵⁰ For the regular Monthly Veneration, glutinous foxtail millet is steamed three days prior and mixed with distiller's yeast to be fermented. This is called Sweet Wine.²⁵¹ [These customs] are also observed by the households of the princes of the blood. The Manchu people use either glutinous foxtail millet or glutinous rice to make wine. Some Manchu households also use non-glutinous foxtail millet, glutinous foxtail millet, or rough cocklebur (Ch. 苍耳 [*cang'er*], Ma. *senggete*) to make ceremonial liquor (Ch. 烧酒 [*shaojiu*], Ma. *arki*). All Manchus prepare the pastries and wine used in rituals at home rather than purchasing them from the market.

[For this purpose], the Spirit Kitchen²⁵² was specifically built in the palace. For the Monthly Veneration, the brewing of Sweet Wine, fumigation of distiller yeast, grinding of flour, steaming of rice, boiling of red bean, frying of soybean, making of the Rolled Cake, Caise, and extracting of *perilla* oil are handled by the Spirit Kitchen. One of each utensil—including the pestle, grain mill, bean mill, steamer, pot, vat, trough basin without handles, trough basin with handles, willow wicker basket, large shallow wicker baster, bucket, carrying pole, sieve, winnowing basket, is prepared specifically [for the Spirit Kitchen] and must not be used elsewhere.

In the households of the princes of the blood and the Longstanding Meritorious Manchus,²⁵³ a set [of utensils] is exclusively prepared [for ritual purposes]. As for the Manchu commoners with limited estates, before the day of the ritual and after offerings have been prepared, pots and vats are cleaned and put away in preparation for ritual usage. For this reason, following the old customs, [their] neighbors or relatives [would] prepare and deliver meals to the households where the offerings are being prepared, and the pots and stoves are put away. On the days of the Veneration and Thanksgiving, all persons who had delivered meals are invited to eat the Sacrificial Meat²⁵⁴ together.

In the past, during rituals at [our] place of origin, high quality pure paper could not be obtained. Therefore, in each household, Summer Cloth²⁵⁵ or ramie (Ch. 麻苧 [*mazhu*], Ma. *olo*)

²⁵⁰ Ch. 清酒 [*qingjiu*], Ma. *gocima nure*. Home-brewed wine for ritual purposes. The English translation is based on the Chinese text. *Qingwen zonghui*, juan 4, 7b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 82.

²⁵¹ Ch. 醴酒 [*lijiu*], Ma. *jancuhūn nure*. A Sweet Wine with low alcohol content. Gao, Shiqi. *Hucong dongxun rilu*. 1862. Appendix, 5b.

²⁵² Ch. 神厨 [*shenchu*], Ma. *amsun i boo*, lit. “the house of the sacrificial offering.” Located in the Chuanxin Hall (Ch. 传心殿 [*chuanxin dian*]) complex, where tablets of the mythological kings, such as Fuxi, Shennong, Shun, are enshrined. Wan, *Gugong cidian*, 15.

²⁵³ Ch. 勋旧满洲 [*xunjiu manzhou*], Ma. *fe fujuri manjusai* (genitive of the plural of *manju*, the Manchu people).

The title 勋旧佐领 [*xunjiu zuoling*], or Longstanding Meritorious Company Commander, was awarded to the distinguished tribal leaders who pled allegiance to Nurhaci. The title is hereditary, typically inherited by the first-born son of the first wife. Yün Too et al., ed., *Qinding daqing huidian*, juan 97, 12a.

²⁵⁴ Ch. 祭肉 [*jirou*], Ma. *amsun i yali*. Refers to all the meat offered in Veneration and Thanksgiving from slaughtered livestock that is cut, sliced, and mixed with broth. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 44b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 85.

²⁵⁵ Ch. 夏布 [*xiabu*], Ma. *hiyaban*. A fabric woven with hemp and silk. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 23, 29a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 85.

was beaten to pulp, soaked in water, mixed with rice water, and hung on bamboo curtains to make paper.

The Manchu people have always followed the ritual taboos. All deities must be enshrined in the main chamber. According to the customs, the meat [offered] in the Lights-Out Ceremony can be taken out of the door, while the meat offered in the Morning Veneration, excluding the skin and bones, must not be taken out of the door. When the [offered] meat is eaten and the servants are ordered by the masters to [eat it], [they] cannot cross over the threshold while chewing the meat in [their] mouth. [They] must swallow [it] before [they are] permitted to leave the door to the room where the Veneration takes place. Some households permit all the meat [offered] in rituals to be taken out of the door. There are also households where the meat offered in the Lights-Out Ceremony could not be taken out of the door.

The Manchu clans that offer pigs in the Veneration do not offer pig in grave visitations.²⁵⁶ Therefore, Emperor Shunzhi Zhang²⁵⁷ specifically commanded that the pig among the uncooked oxen, sheep, and pig [used to be] offered in graveside rituals to be replaced with one ox and two sheep. Among all Manchu families that raise cattle, pigs are allowed in the yard [attached] to the ritual chamber. The pig that wanders into [the yard] would be “spared” in the Veneration. “To spare” is a term that substitutes for “to slaughter.” The death of the pig is called “breath resting”²⁵⁸ All pigs *and other items [offered]*²⁵⁹ in the Veneration and the Lights-Out Ceremony are called “oblations.” During rituals, the burning of the hung paper money is called “melting (Ch. 化 [hua], Ma. *tekdebumbi*).” The burning and trimming of hair on the pig’s head and hooves is not called “shaving,” but “paring.”²⁶⁰

If [one] has already prepared the offering and brewed wine, [they must] not enter a household where mourning [is taking place]. If [they] must go due to circumstances outside of [their] control, having already polluted their eyes, [they] must refrain from entering any ritual chamber immediately afterward. [They] must wait until the rise of a new moon to enter. Alternatively, [they] could enter three days after changing their clothes and hats and bathing. If mourning [is taking place] in one’s own household, the deities must be invited out and temporarily relocated to a [ritually] clean location. If mourning is taking place in the tribe, [one must] remove the mourning garments outside the gate before entering the yard. If the household has no other estates, [one must] clean [their] face, wash [their] eyes, burn grass, and jump over the fire before entering. The Spirit Plank [must] be covered with a red silk square, red blanket, or red paper. It is prohibited to enter the ritual chamber and yard while holding a whip. Within the ritual chambers, it is prohibited to ostentatiously display wealth or impudently shed tears. Those who do not embellish [their] hats with tassels are not allowed to enter. [One must] not punish others. [One must] not discuss sorrowful matters. [One must] not utter taboos or sinister words. [One must] choose to only speak of joyous and auspicious things.

²⁵⁶ Ch. 墓祭喪祭 [*muji sangji*], Ma. *waliyara* (imperfect participle for *waliyambi*). To prepare tables and trays [with goods] and to burn paper money as offering for the deceased. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 58a.

²⁵⁷ Ch. 世祖章皇帝 [*shizu zhang huangdi*], Ma. *šidzu eldembuhe huwangdi*. The first emperor of the Qing dynasty who reigned from 1643–61.

²⁵⁸ Ch. 气息 [*qixi*], Ma. *tekdeke*. *Tekdeke* also functions as the perfect participle of *tekdembi*, which refers to the sleeves of clothing creeping up. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 24, 21a.

²⁵⁹ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

²⁶⁰ Ch. 癢 [*xun*], Ma. *waša*. *Waša* also functions as the imperative of *wašambi*, meaning “to scratch.”

Emperor Shengzu Ren had issued multiple imperial edicts, [mandating that] the elders' customs on taboos be strictly followed. Reverently contemplating the writings in *Emperor Shengzu Ren's Court Maxims*,²⁶¹ [we found that] all the old taboos and prohibitions of the Manchus align with what was written in the old books. At present, in families with elders, the same taboos and prohibitions are [adhered to] by the sons and grandsons for [their] elders. In families with many sons and grandsons, the elders likewise [uphold these] taboos and prohibitions for the sakes of [their] sons and grandsons. Now you understand these charitable and respectful sentiments, [you should] pursue them as instructed by the imperial edict.

Ceremonial Program for New Year's Ceremony at the Kunning Palace

On the third watch, the Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense before the shrines²⁶² of both the Morning Deities and the Evening Deities. When the emperor and empress kowtow,²⁶³ the Chief Incense Stewardess lays out the mats.

If the emperor attends the ceremony along with princes of the blood, beile and beile princes, [they] kowtow in front of the Morning Deities and the Evening Deities at the Kunning Palace. The Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense in the customary manner and lays out the mat (Ch. 毯 [*tan*], Ma. *jafu*) for the emperor to kowtow.

Ceremonial Program for New Year's Ceremony at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

On the first of January each year, when the emperor arrives at the Tangse to kowtow, the Director of the Imperial Armoury²⁶⁴ lays out the cushion (Ch. 褥 [*ru*], Ma. *sektefun*) for the emperor to kowtow in the center of the pathway.²⁶⁵ [Upon] the emperor's arrival, he stands upright in front of the Pavilion-Styled Hall. The Herald²⁶⁶ from the Court of State Ceremonial²⁶⁷ makes the proclamation.²⁶⁸ After the emperor [performs] the rite of kneeling three times and kowtowing nine times, [he] returns to the palace.

²⁶¹ Ch. 圣祖仁皇帝庭训格言 [*shengzu renhuangdi tingxun geyan*], Ma. *šengdzu gosin hūwangdi tacihiya ten i gisun*.

²⁶² Ch. 神位 [*shenwei*], Ma. *weceku i soorin*. *Soorin*: seat, throne.

²⁶³ Ch. 行礼 [*xingli*], Ma. *doroloci* (conditional converb of *dorolombi*). *Dorolombi*: to ceremonially kowtow. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 32b.

²⁶⁴ Ch. 武备院卿 [*wubeiyuan qin*], Ma. *faksi jurgan i aliha hafan*. The Imperial Armoury is a subdivision of the Imperial Household Department that oversees the manufacturing of arsenals for the emperor's use and for the army. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 19–20.

²⁶⁵ Ch. 甬路 [*yonglu*], Ma. *celehe jugūn*. Central pathways (Ma. *dulimbai jugūn*) inside the palace courtyard. Ma. *dulimba jugūn*: brick-paved paths leading from the main room to the main gate. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 20, 3b and *juan* 21, 16a.

²⁶⁶ Ch. 鸣赞 [*mingzan*], Ma. *hūlara hafasa* (plural of *hafan*). *Mingzan* is a position affiliated with the Board of Rites, which oversees the ceremonial activities of the empire.

²⁶⁷ Ch. 鸿臚寺 [*honglu si*], Ma. *doro jorire yamun*. The Court of State Ceremonial is responsible for informing banquet guests of the proper etiquette required for the ceremonies. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 487.

²⁶⁸ Ch. 赞行礼 [*zan xingli*], Ma. *hūlame*, imperfect converb of *hūlambi*. *Hūlambi*: to voice instructions during ceremonies by the heralds. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 5a.

In advance, one Minister of the Household (Ch. 内务府总管 [*neiwufu zongguan*], Ma. *booi amban*) is dispatched to hang twenty-seven pieces of pure paper money (Ch. 净纸钱 [*jing zhiqian*], Ma. *bolgo hoošan jiha*) on the firwood pole erected beneath the tall table in the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse. Then, one after another, the Officers of the Princes' Bodyguard (Ch. 护卫 [*huwei*], Ma. *hiyasa*) hang twenty-seven pieces of pure paper money. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes (Ch. 司俎官 [*sizu guan*], Ma. *amsun i janggin*) lights incense.

Ceremonial Program for Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

The Veneration [is performed] on the third of January and the first of each month at the Tangse. On these days, one Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes and one Official of Sacrificial Attributes hang twenty-seven pieces of paper money²⁶⁹ on the firwood pole erected beneath the tall table in the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse. On the table, a plate of in-season food²⁷⁰ and a cup of Sweet Wine are offered. Then, two bowls are placed on the small table that has been set up *on the ground*:²⁷¹ one contains wine, [while] the [other] is left empty. The Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense.

Two eunuchs, [one] playing the Three-Cord Lute (Ch. 三弦 [*sanxian*], Ma. *tenggeri*) and [the other] the Pipa (Ch. 琵琶 [*pipa*], Ma. *fifan*), sit on the west side of the pathway outside the Pavilion-Styled Hall, facing east. The Tangse guards [who] strike the Wooden Clappers²⁷² and clap [their] hands [sit] on the east side, facing west.

The Saman enters and kneels. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the tray and the cup and hand [them] over to the Saman. The Saman accepts the tray and the cup to proffer²⁷³ the wine six times. One Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stands to the east of the stairway outside the Pavilion-Styled Hall and strikes the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation.²⁷⁴ [The eunuchs and guards] play the Third-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. Each time the Saman proffers the wine, [she] pours the proffered wine [from the cup] into the empty bowl. The newly [poured] wine is then scooped from the bowl containing Sweet Wine and [poured] into the two cups and offered. With each

²⁶⁹ Ch. 纸钱 [*zhiqian*], Ma. *hoošan jiha*. The “paper money” hung in the Tangse on the first of each month are, in fact, intact pieces of Korean Paper that have not been cut into the shape of coins. *Codex*, *juan* 5, 4b.

²⁷⁰ The Manchu text specifies that “cake (*efen*)” is offered, while the Chinese text uses the generic term “food (食 [*shi*]).”

²⁷¹ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

²⁷² Ch. 拍板 [*paiban*], Ma. *carki*. Three or five wooden planks, narrow at the top and wide at the bottom, are threaded together with strings. They are struck to harmonize with the drums [played by the eunuch] and the Tambourine played by female Samans. There are two illustrations of the Wooden Clappers in *juan* 6 of the *Codex*: one is “used during the ritual when the Saman proffers wine, holds the Sacred Sabre, and invokes with a hymn (10b).” The other is “used during the Morning Veneration when the Saman proffers wine, holds the Sacred Sabre, and invokes with hymns (40a).” The illustrations for both entries are identical. They are both 1 *chi* 1 *cun* 5 *fen* (approx. 38.3 cm) long and 2 *cun* (approx. 6.7 cm) wide. The illustrations demonstrate that the Wooden Clappers are made with three pieces of wooden planks. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 53a.

²⁷³ Ch. 献 [*xian*], Ma. *gingnembi*. To raise upwards and offer the wine cup along with the tray it rests on during rituals. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 45b.

²⁷⁴ Ma. *hūlara be tuwame*. All mentions of “in accordance with the proclamation” are omitted in the Chinese text. It is unclear which proclamation the text is referring to.

wine proffering, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sings *orolo*²⁷⁵ in accordance with the proclamation. The Tangse guards [also] sing *orolo*.

After [the Saman] proffers [wine] six times, the cup and tray are handed over to the Chief Incense Stewardess [*standing in the back*].²⁷⁶ The Saman kowtows once, stands up, and puts [her] palms together to salute.²⁷⁷ The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stops striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. The [playing of] the Three-Cord Lute, the Pipa, and the Wooden Clappers halts temporarily. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the Spirit Sabre²⁷⁸ and hands [it] over to the Saman. The Saman accepts the Spirit Sabre and advances. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes strikes the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. [The eunuchs and guards] play the Third-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. The Saman kowtows once and stands up. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sings *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. [The crowd also] sings *orolo*.

The Saman prays²⁷⁹ three times while holding up the Spirit Sabre and invokes²⁸⁰ with a hymn²⁸¹ once. *Orolo* is sung when [she] prays holding up the Spirit Sabre. In this manner, the Saman invokes with hymns three times and [prays] nine times. Afterwards, the Saman kowtows once, stands up, prays three more times, and hands the Spirit Sabre to the Chief Incense Stewardess [*standing in the back*].²⁸² The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stops striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. The [playing of] the Three-Cord Lute, the Pipa, and the Wooden Clappers [also] halts. The Saman kneels, supplicates,²⁸³ kowtows once,

²⁷⁵ Ch. 鄂啰罗 [*e luo luo*], Ma. *orolo*. During the ritual, participants are instructed to extend their voices in a prolonged call. *Qingwen Zonghui*, *juan 2*, 20a. Quoted in Yeh Dianli *Yizhu*, 95.

²⁷⁶ All descriptions of the Chief Incense Stewardess as being positioned behind the Saman are omitted in the Chinese *Codex*.

²⁷⁷ Ch. 合掌致敬 [*hezhang zhijing*], Ma. *giogin arambi*. To put [one's] two palms together in an upright [position], raising upwards in an proffering [motion]. This *Expanded Mirror* entry is found under the "Buddhist Category (Ch. 佛类 [*folei*], Ma. *fucihi i haqin*)."*Expanded Mirror*, *juan 19*, 8b

²⁷⁸ Ch. 神刀 [*shendao*], Ma. *halmari*: A thin iron blade with threaded iron rings held during rituals (*Expanded Mirror*, *juan 6*, 52a). Like the Wooden Clappers, two illustrations of the Sacred Sabre appear in *juan 6* of the *Codex*, both titled "Sacred Sabre used by the Saman when praying during the Morning Veneration" (10a, 40a). However, they differ in size and are presumably used for different occasions. The sabre illustrated on page 10a is 2 *chi* 3 *cun* 6 *fen* (approx. 78.7 cm) long and 2 *cun* 1 *fen* (approximately 7.0 cm) wide. It is likely used in the Tangse rituals, as the instruments illustrated on the adjacent pages are also used in the Tangse. The sabre on page 40a is slightly longer, measuring 2 *chi* 4 *cun* 2 *fen* (approx. 80.7 cm) in length and 2 *cun* 1 *fen* (approx. 7.0 cm) in width. It is likely used in the Kunming Palace rituals.

²⁷⁹ Ch. 祷祝 [*daozhu*], Ma. *tanjurafi* (perfect converb of *tanjurambi*). *Tanjurambi*: to plead for fortune with supplications (*forobumbi*) to deities. For definition of *forobumbi*, see below. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan 6*, 45b–46a

²⁸⁰ Ch. 祝祷 [*zhudao*], Ma. *jalbarifi* (perfect converb of *jalbarimbi*). *Jalbarimbi*: to plead for fortune through auspicious sayings to spirits and deities. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan 6*, 45b. Quoted in Yeh Dianli *Yizhu*, 46.

²⁸¹ Ch. 神歌 [*shen'ge*], Ma. *jarime* (imperfect converb of *Jarimbi*). *Jarimbi*: Samans invoke with melodies in front of deities. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan 6*, 46a.

²⁸² The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

²⁸³ Ch. 祝 [*zhu*], Ma. *forobufi* (perfect converb of *forobumbi*). *Forobumbi*: Samans ask [the deities for fortune] with auspicious speeches after kneeling in rituals. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan 6*, 46a.

and stands up. She puts [her] palms together to salute before retreating. The offered food²⁸⁴ and wine are distributed among the Tangse guards.

Supplication for Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse (on the Third of January and the First of Each Month)

Sons of Heaven,²⁸⁵ Niohon Taiji,²⁸⁶ Uduben Beise. Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out)²⁸⁷ for whom [wine] is proffered. Encircled by [their] head, copulated²⁸⁸ on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow.²⁸⁹ Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots. With the

²⁸⁴ “Pastry (*efen*)” in Manchu text.

²⁸⁵ Ch. 上天之子 [*shangtian zhizi*], Ma. *abkai juse* (plural of *abkai jui*). *Abkai jui*: [the one who] governs, modifies, instructs, and unifies all things in place of Heaven, ensuring the proper order [of the world]. The Heaven becomes [their] father, and the earth [their] mother. [The Son of Heaven] nourishes the people. According to this definition in *Expanded Mirror*, the Manchu *abkai jui* corresponds to the Chinese concept of the “Son of Heaven (*tianzi*),” where the emperor is regarded as the plenipotentiary of Heaven and possesses the highest power on Earth. This entry also indicates that the Manchu *abka* (sky) not only refers to the natural phenomenon of Earth’s atmosphere but has taken on a spiritual connotation as the ultimate ruler of all things. For this reason, *abka* is translated as “Heaven” rather than “sky.” *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 3, 3b.

²⁸⁶ *Niohon*: blue, blue green. The Chinese text offers only a transliteration of the Manchu original — “*niuhuan taiji*.” In the postscript to the Chinese text, the chief translators Agūi and Yu Minzhong admitted that they could not ascertain the origins of *Niohon Taiji* and *Uduben Beise*. They noted that they opted to transliterate the terms whose meanings are obscure to preserve their original forms in the postscript to the *Codex*. I am following the same approach by transliterating these terms to maintain consistency with the original text.

²⁸⁷ The texts within the parentheses are repeated in every hymn in the format of commentaries in the original texts. I retained them to demonstrate fidelity.

²⁸⁸ Ma. *meiren de fehunfi* (perfective converb of *fehumbi*). *Meiren*: the shoulder. *De*: dative case marker. *Fehumbi*: the mating of the male and female birds or chickens (*Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 31, 35a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 98). *Fehumbi* can also mean “to step on (*Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 14, 52a).” The Chinese text retains much of the ambiguity surrounding the meaning of *fehumbi*, translating the phrase as “仔于肩 [*zai/zī yu jian*].” The triple heteronym “仔” can be pronounced as “*zāi*,” “*zī*,” or “*zī*.” The first two pronunciations are most commonly used: the former refers to children, young persons, or the young of animals, and the latter refers to the young of animals or is used in the word “仔细 [*zixi*],” meaning “carefully.” If we take “仔” to mean the young of birds or chickens, then *fehumbi* should refer to copulation. However, when “仔” is pronounced “*zī*” and paired with 肩 *jian*, it could mean “to bear, to support.” The most famous literary example of this use can be found in the poem “To Revere (Ch. 敬之 [*jingzhi*])” in the *Eulogies of Zhou* (Ch. 周颂 [*zhousong*]) segment of the *Classic of Poetry* (Ch. 诗经 [*shijing*]): “佛时仔肩 (*bi/fu shi zī jian*).” Here, *zī jian* means “to shoulder [responsibility].” In this context, *fehumbi* could mean “to step,” indicating that the entity/entities whom the supplication is directed are standing or perching on the person’s shoulders. I have adopted the first interpretation of *fehumbi* in my translation.

²⁸⁹ The verbs present the clauses starting with “make...” are *acabu*, *šarambu*, and *sorombu*. They are inflected in a strong imperative mood, expressed by the verbal stem. This imperative form usually denotes an address to the second person(s) “occupying a lower or similar position” in respect to the speaker. It expressed a direct command by social superiors and are frequently seen in imperial edicts (Porter 2016). Gorelova, Liliya M. *Manchu Grammar* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 297; David Porter, “Lesson 7: Verb I,” *An Online Self-Study Introduction to Manchu in 21 Lessons*, 2016, <https://www.manchustudiesgroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Lesson-7-Verbs-I.pdf>.

spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive²⁹⁰ abundant years and age.

Ceremonial Program for the Veneration at the Šangsi Spirit (Ch. 尚锡神 [*shangxi shen*], Ma. *šangsi enduri*) Pavilion

On the first of each month, Veneration is performed in the Šangsi Spirit Pavilion, located in the southeast of the Tangse. A plate of in-season pastry and a cup of Sweet Wine are offered on the tall table. The Official of Sacrificial Attributes lights incense, and the Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes (Ch. 司俎满洲 [*sizu manzhou*], Ma. *amsun i manju*) hangs pure paper on the firwood pole erected under the tall table.²⁹¹ Then, one after another, the Officers of the Princes' Bodyguards hang up pure paper.

One of the Captains of Bondservant Company (Ch. 管领 [*guanlin*], Ma. *booī da*) of Manchu descent²⁹² puts on the Japa Mala²⁹³ of abstention²⁹⁴ and removes [his] hat, jacket and belt before entering [the pavilion]. [He] kneels, supplicates, kowtows, and leaves. The Official of Sacrificial Attributes enters [the pavilion] and pours the proffered wine into the large bowl placed on the ground in front of the table. [He] removes the in-season pastry and gives it to the Captain of Bondservant Company.

²⁹⁰ Ma. *bahabuki*: the causative form of *bahambi* (to obtain) in the optative mood. This optative form, marked by the verbal ending *-ki*, can carry an imperative meaning when addressing the second and the third persons. Gorelova, *Manchu Grammar*, 295.

²⁹¹ According to the illustration in *juan 6* of the *Codex*, the firwood pole stands upright directly beneath the center of a rectangle table (21a). The pole, measured at 3 *chi* 1 *cun* tall (approx. 103 cm) tall, likely touches the bottom of the tabletop, as the table is 3 *chi* 8 *cun* tall (approx. 130 cm) (21a). However, since the *Codex* does not indicate the thickness of the tabletop, it cannot be stated for sure whether the pole has contact with it. One stretcher is constructed along each of the two long sides of the table, and two stretchers are constructed along each of the two short sides. A stick is placed on top of the lower stretchers along the short sides, running underneath the table, with its ends protruding outward. The pieces of paper money are likely tied to the stick. The tall table in the Pavillion-Styled Hall, also featuring a firwood pole underneath, is constructed in a very similar way (16a). The table in the Pavillion-Styled Hall is smaller in length and width, but the height remains the same. The firwood pole underneath is also slightly shorter, standing at only 2 *chi* 9 *cun* (approx. 97 cm) (16a).

²⁹² The Captain of Bondservants Company is described as being of Manchu descent (*manju halangga booī da*, lit. 'Captain of Bondservant Company from a Manchu clan'). There are three categories of bondservant companies attached to the Bordered Yellow Banner: Manchu companies (Ch. 满洲佐领 [*manzhou zuoling*], Ma. *manju niru*), half companies (Ch. 管领 [*guanling*], Ma. *hontoho*), and "standard-bearer and drummer" companies (Ch. 旗鼓佐领 [*qigu zuoling*], Ma. *ciqu niru*). The "standard-bearer and drummer" companies are defined as companies comprised of Chinese bondservants. The text seems to suggest that the Captain of Bondservant Company can be chosen from either the Manchu companies or the half companies, as it is his genealogical lineage—not company association—that is emphasized. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 407.

²⁹³ Ch. 数珠 [*shuzhu*], Ma. *erihe*. Fruits from the Indian Bodhidharma tree or [materials] such as coral and agate are crafted into one hundred and eight round beads. [These beads are] threaded together with thin string and worn around the neck. *Erihe*'s description matches that of the Buddhist *Japa Mala*, a string of prayer beads typically consisting of one hundred and eight beads. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan 24*, 7b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 99

²⁹⁴ Ch. 斋戒 [*zhaijie*], Ma. *targara* (imperfect participle of *targambi*). *Targambi*: to abstain from forbidden things before rituals and worships. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan 19*, 8b–9a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 99.

Supplication for the Veneration at the Šangsi Spirit Pavilion

Bondservant Company Captain's Supplication for the Veneration at the Šangsi Spirit Pavilion on the First of Each Month.

Sons of Heaven, Šangsi Spirit. The old month has passed, and the new month has commenced. Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom offerings have been prepared and [the Captain of Bondservant Company] has come to hang up paper. Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out), please look after [them] with peace and tranquility, please watch over [them] with jubilation and goodness.

Ceremonial Program for Inviting Deities to be Venerated in the Tangse

On the twenty-sixth of the twelve lunar month each year, deities are invited for offerings in the Tangse. On that day, as the time [for the ritual] approaches, sixteen eunuchs in golden silk garments raise two yellow silk Spirit Palanquins²⁹⁵ through the Inner Left Gate,²⁹⁶ the Jin'guang Left Gate,²⁹⁷ and the Jinghe Gate,²⁹⁸ and wait outside the gate to the Kunning Palace. Two Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes in yellow silk garments reverently invite the Morning and Evening Deities to be enshrined inside the palanquins.

The sixteen eunuchs in golden silk garments lift the two palanquins and exits the main gate of the palace. [Leading] in the front are also eunuchs in golden silk garments, carrying four pairs of Guiding Batons (Ch. 引仗[yinzhang], Ma. *yarure mukšan*) and two pairs of Goat-Horn Lanterns. Two Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes, two Officials of Sacrificial Attributes, two Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes lead [the procession] inside the palace.²⁹⁹ [When they] reach the outside of the Qianqing Gate,³⁰⁰ ten Senior Bodyguards (Ch. 侍卫[shiwu], Ma. *hiya*) lead in the front. One official from the Department of Ceremonials follows [the procession] out of the East Chang'an Gate.³⁰¹

[Upon] reaching the Feast Hall³⁰² inside of the Tangse, the Morning Deities are enshrined in the east and the Evening Deities [are enshrined in the] west, along with [their] palanquins. A

²⁹⁵ Ch. 輿[yu], Ma. *kiyoo*. The Manchu text reads: "raises the deities' palanquins with yellow silk top and curtain."

²⁹⁶ Ch. 内左门[nei zuomen], Ma. *nei dzo men*. Located at the east of the Qianqing Gate. Wan, *Gugong cidian*, 21.

²⁹⁷ Ch. 近光左门[jin'guang zuomen], Ma. *gin guwang dzo men*. Located directly north of the Inner Left Gate. Wan, *Gugong cidian*, 35.

²⁹⁸ Ch. 景和门[jinghemmen], Ma. *ging ho men*. The eastern side wing gate of the Kunning Palace. Wan, *Gugong cidian*, 29.

²⁹⁹ The inner court.

³⁰⁰ Ch. 乾清门[qianqing men], Ma. *kiyan cing men*. The inner court's main gate. Wan, *Gugong cidian*, 20.

³⁰¹ Ch. 东长安门[dong chang'an men], Ma. *dergi enteheme elhe obure duka*. The gate on the east side of the Chang'an Street outside the Tiananmen, the main gate of the Imperial City. The procession begins from outside the inner court in the east, travels through the inner court to receive the deities from the Kunning Palace, exits the inner and outer courts, and ends at the Tangse, located outside the Imperial City. Wan, *Gugong cidian*, 2–3.

³⁰² Ch. 飨殿[xiangdian], Ma. *wecere i deyen*. Translation is based on the Chinese text. The Manchurian term *wecere i deyen* translates to "worshipping hall."

large low table is placed in front of each palanquin, with one censer³⁰³ offered on each table. Every day, the guards at the Tangse light incense twice in the morning and twice at night.

Ceremonial Program for Inviting Deities to the [Kunning] Palace

On the second of first lunar month each year, the deities are invited back to the [Kunning] Palace from the Tangse. On that day, as the time [for the ritual] approaches, sixteen eunuchs in golden silk garments enter the Feast Hall and raise the two yellow-silk Spirit Palanquins. In the front, four pairs of Guiding Batons and two pairs of Goat-Horn Lanterns are all carried by eunuchs in golden silk garments. Ten Senior Bodyguards lead in the front, with one official from the Department of Ceremonials following in the rear.

Again, [the procession] enters through the East Chang'an Gate, [passes] through the central gate³⁰⁴ of the palace, and stops at the Qianqing Gate. Two Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes, two Officials of Sacrificial Attributes, and two Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes lead in the front. Upon entering the Qianqing Gate and reaching the Kunning Palace, two Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes in yellow silk garments reverently invite the deities [to disembark from their] palanquins. [Once] inside the Kunning Palace, each [deity] is enshrined in its original place.

Ceremonial Program for Monthly Veneration at the Kunning Palace³⁰⁵

On the third of the first lunar month and the first of each month, the Morning Deities are venerated at the Kunning Palace. In advance, a yellow cotton string is threaded through the top of the golden Spirit Drapery embroidered with red-coloured goldthreads.³⁰⁶ [It is then] hung on the vermilion-lacquered triangle shelf nailed to the west gable, featuring sculpted dragon heads and [adorned with] golden plaques (Ch. 髹金 [*xiujin*], Ma. *aisin i hoošan*). Four pieces of [paper] money are cut from two pieces of pure paper, each folded four times. [They are] attached to both ends of the Spirit Drapery. The pavilion [adorned with] gold plaques [where the] Buddha is enshrined, together with [its] base, is placed in the south. The door to the pavilion is opened. The portrait of the Bodhisattva is hung on the drapery, followed by the portrait of Lord Guan. Both are enshrined on the large oven-bed,³⁰⁷ facing east.

³⁰³Ch. 香礮 [*xiangdie*], Ma. *hiyan fila*. A vessel used to burn incense for deities. While both the Chinese term *xiangdie* and the Manchurian term *hiyan fila* translate to “incense plate,” the vessel itself is not shaped like a plate but resembles a censer. The censer used inside the Feast Hall is made of copper with, measuring 5 *cun* 3 *fen* (approx. 17.65 cm) x 3 *cun* 5 *fen* (approx. 11.66 cm) x 5 *cun* (approx. 16.66 cm). It has a flat top for burning incense, support by two side panels. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 51b; *Codex*, *juan* 6, 8a.

³⁰⁴ Likely the Meridian Gate (Ch. 午门 [*wumen*]), the main gate of the Forbidden City. The center arch of the Meridian Gate is reserved for the emperor, the empress' palanquin on her wedding day, and the first to third place winners of the imperial exam after the final results has been announced. Zhimin Shi, “Wumen 午门,” *The Palace Museum*, accessed September 2024, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/explore/building/236454>.

³⁰⁵ The Monthly Veneration is largely similar to the Daily Veneration, the Preparatory Rite, the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace, and the Equine Veneration. I will not include the whole translations of the ceremonial programs of the other rituals. Instead, I will explain how they differ from the Monthly Veneration.

³⁰⁶ Ch. 片金 [*pianjin*], Ma. *hiltasikū*. Silk embroidered with golden threads. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 23, 17a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*. 106.

³⁰⁷ Ch. 炕 [*kang*], Ma. *nahan*. A traditional bed used primarily in northeastern China. A *kang* is typically made of clay and bricks with a fireplace in its interior cavity. It is used not only for sleeping but also for eating and other activities during the day.

Two large, vermilion-lacquered low tables are placed on the oven-bed. On each table, three censers, three cups of Sweet Wine, and nine plates of in-season fruit are offered. The Sprinkled Cake is cut into squares and divided into ten plates: nine plates are offered on the table, and one is offered under the table to the north. The Drizzled Cake is offered in the same manner in the seventh lunar month. Beneath the edge of the oven-bed, a bottle of Sweet Wine is offered. A yellow-floral red mat is laid out in front of the bottle.

A long low table is set up for proffering wine, with two yellow-glazed large bowls placed atop. One bowl is filled with Sweet Wine, and the other is empty. In advance, Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes (Ch. 司俎太监 [*sizu taijian*], Ma. *amsun i taigiyasa*) lay two pieces of thickly greased Korean Paper³⁰⁸ on the ground in front of the pot in the center chamber. Two large, vermilion-lacquered tables, covered³⁰⁹ with tin, are brought inside and arranged in two separate rows, facing west. Each [table] is placed on top of the greased Korean Paper.

Then, the Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense. The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes and Officials of Sacrificial Attributes bring in two pigs to the right side of the gate to the Kunning Palace, with [the pigs'] heads facing north. Two Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes [assigned to] play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes, eight Officials of Sacrificial Attributes, and two Chief Eunuchs (Ch. 首领太监 [*shouling taijian*], Ma. *da taigiyān*) enter in [this] order. [Those playing] the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa [stand] in the front while the remaining ten people [stand] in the back, forming two rows. They all sit with [their] legs crossed, play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, and strike the Wooden Clappers. In the back, the Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes kneel on one knee and clap [their] hands.

The Saman advance to the front of the table where wine is proffered and kneel. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the tray and [wine] cup, handing [them] to the Saman. The Saman accepts [them] and proffers the wine six times. With each proffering, [she] pours the proffered wine into the empty bowl. Newly [poured] wine is then scooped from the bowls containing the Sweet Wine and poured into the two cups for [further] offering. With each proffering, the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes sing *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. After offering six times, [she] hands the cup and tray back to the Chief Incense Stewardess [*standing*] in the back.³¹⁰ [The Saman] kowtows once, stands up, and puts [her] palms together to salute. [The playing of] the Three-Cord Lute, the Pipa, and the Wooden Clappers halts temporarily.

The Chief Incense Stewardess and Incense Stewardesses remove the two bowls containing wine as well as the table on which the wine was proffered. [They] set up a small low table for the Saman to kowtow. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the Spirit Sabre to the Saman. The Saman accepts the Spirit Sabre and advances. The Officials of Sacrificial Attributes resume playing the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, striking the Wooden Clappers, and clapping [their] hands. The Saman kowtows once and stands up. The Officials of Sacrificial Attributes sing *orolo*.

³⁰⁸ Ch. 高丽纸 [*gaoli zhi*], Ma. *solho hoošan*. Paper paid as tribute by Korean ministers. Very firm and thick. Peel off layer by layer when in use. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 7, 57a.

³⁰⁹ Ch. 包 [*bao*], Ma. *buruha* [perfect participle of *burimbi*]. To add an outer covering to things, or to nail stretched pelt onto the edge of a drum. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 26, 27a.

³¹⁰ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

The Saman prays three times while holding up the Spirit Sabre and invokes with a hymn once. *Orolo* is sung again by the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes when [the Saman] prays while holding up the Spirit Sabre. In this manner, the Saman invokes with hymns three times and [prays] nine times. Afterwards, the Shaman kowtows once, stands up, prays three more times, and hands the Spirit Sabre to the Chief Incense Stewardess. Those playing the Three-Cord Lute, the Pipa, and the Wooden Clappers stand up and retreat the side.

When the emperor attends the ceremony himself, the Chief Incense Stewardess moves the small low table [for] the Saman to kowtow to the north. The emperor *removes [his] crown*,³¹¹ advances in front of the Morning Deities, and stands upright in the center. The Saman kneels first, then emperor kneels. After the Saman supplicates, the emperor kowtows once, stands up, and retreats. The Saman kowtows, stands up, and puts [her] palms together to salute.

If the empress also attends the ceremony, the emperor kowtows in the south and the empress [kowtows] in the north. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes and Officials of Sacrificial Attributes all exit the palace, leaving only the Incense Stewardesses and the eunuchs inside. On days when the emperor and the empress do not attend the ceremony, the Saman kowtows.

After [they] kowtow, the Chief Incense Stewardess removes the two cups of wine offered in front of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva and closes the door to the small pavilion where the Buddha is enshrined. [She] removes the Bodhisattva's portrait and place [it] in yellow-lacquered wooden cylinder. The small pavilion enshrining the Buddha, together with the two censers offered in the front, are moved to be enshrined in the large pavilion in the west of the Kunning Palace by the Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes. The censers are offered in the front, and the base of the small pavilion is moved to the back. Then, the Spirit Drapery is moved slightly to the south. The portrait of Lord Guan is moved to the center. The offered wine, and the censers are [also] moved to the center. The wine bottle is covered with a piece of clean cloth. The people playing the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa and striking the Wooden Clappers enter and sit in the original place. The Incense Stewardesses collect the mat, fold it three times, and lay [it] near the edge of the oven-bed. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the cup and tray and hands [them] over to the Saman.

The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes carry a pig through the door and place [it] beneath the edge of the oven-bed, with its head facing west. One Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes bends one knee to presses on the pig. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes, the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes, the Chief Eunuchs, and the eunuchs play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. The Saman kneels on the red mat [that was] folded three times beneath the edge of the oven-bed, diagonally facing the southwest. [She] raises the cup and tray and proffers the wine once. The Officials of Sacrificial Attributes sing *orolo* like before.

After the wine is proffered, the Saman invokes and pours the two cups of wine into one cup. The Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes holds the [first] pig's ear while the Saman pours the wine into the pig's ear. [The Saman then] hands the cup and tray back to the Chief Incense Stewardess [*standing in the back*]³¹² and kowtows once. The [playing of] the Three-

³¹¹ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

³¹² The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

Cord Lute, the Pipa, and the Wooden Clappers halts temporarily. The Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes holds the pig's tail and turns [it so that the] pig's head faces east. The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes advance, raise the pig, and temporarily place [it] on the large table covered with tin. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the cup and tray and hands [them] to the Saman. The Saman accepts the cup and tray.

The second pig is brought in through the door. The proffering and pouring of wine follow the prior instructions.³¹³ The two pigs are both placed on the large tables covered with tin, with their heads facing west. [They are then] "spared." In front of each table, two Female Officials of Sacrificial Attributes collect the blood by holding a wood trough basin with silver interior. The Incense Stewardesses remove the mat, bring in the long, vermilion-lacquered tall table, and place [it] in front of the western oven-bed. The wooden trough basins containing blood are placed on the tall table, and all the offered pastries, wine, and fruits are removed.

After the pigs' breaths have "rested," the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes turn the pigs' heads [to be] parallel to the table, directly facing south. [They] remove [the pigs'] skin, disassemble [them] along the joints, and boil [the pieces] inside the large pot. The skin on the [pigs'] heads, hooves, and tails are left intact, with only the hair "pared". [After it is] burnt, [these parts] are also boiled inside the large pot. The entrails are placed inside a wooden trough basin with tin interior and taken to be processed and cleaned in another room.

After [the entrails] are brought back, the wooden trough basins containing blood are placed on the ground. One Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes enters and kneels on one knee in front of the tall table. [He] pours the blood into the intestines and also boils [them] in the pot. The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes place the skin in the wooden trough basin for containing skin. [They] remove the two large tables covered with tin and the thickly greased Korean Paper. The gallbladders and hooves are placed on the small, vermilion-lacquered wooden plate at the north edge of the large low table on the oven-bed.

When the meat is cooked, a bowl of thinly sliced Sacrificial Meat [is prepared]. Along with a pair of chopsticks, [it is] offered at the center of the large low table. The [remaining] meat from the two pigs is placed separately in two wooden trough basins with silver interior. The front and hind legs are placed at the four corners, with the chests facing the front, the tail bones facing the back, and the ribs placed on either side. Once assembled, the pigs' heads are placed on top. Then, the spleens and lard are placed intact on the [pigs'] nose bridges. [These] are offered on the long, tall table, facing the deities.

The Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense, and the Incense Stewardesses lay out the yellow-floral red mat. One Chief Incense Stewardess holds the bowl containing the Sweet Wine, and one Chief Incense Stewardess holds the empty bowl. [They] both step forward and stand upright. Another Chief Incense Stewardess raises the cup and tray and hands [them] over to the Saman. The Saman advances, kneels, and proffers the wine three times. During this wine proffering, the proffering of wine, the exchange of cups, the pouring of wine, the Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes' playing of the Three-Chord Lute and the Pipa, the Officials of Sacrificial

³¹³ The Manchu text elaborates upon the Chinese one: "Then, the second pig is brought in through the door. Like before, wine is proffered, the Wooden Clappers are struck, the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa are played, and [the people] sing *orolo*. [The Saman] pours wine [into the pig's ear], kowtows once, stands up, and retreats. [The playing of] the Three-Cord Lute, the Pipa, and the Wooden Clappers halts. The people stand up and retreat.

Attributes' striking of the Wooden Clappers, and the Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes' clapping and singing *orolo* thrice all follow the prior instructions. After offering three times, [the Saman] hands the cup and tray back to the Chief Incense Stewardess [standing] in the back. [The Saman] kowtows, stands up, and puts [her] palms to salute.

[When] the emperor and the empress attend the ceremony, the prior instructions apply. After [they] kowtow in front of the Sacrificial Meat, the Sacrificial Meat is removed [but] must not be taken out of the door. [It is] placed on a plate and arranged in sequence in front of the long table. When the emperor consumes the offered meat with the empress or with princes and ministers, [his] commands shall be adhered to. On days the emperor does not consume the offering, the ministers and the Senior Bodyguards on duty are ordered to enter [the Kunning Palace] and eat [it].

After eating, the Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes remove the skin and bones. The skin and lard are sent to the Imperial Buttery (Ch. 膳房 [*shanfang*], Ma. *budai boode*). The bones, gallbladders, and hooves are sent to a [ritually] clean location, where they are burned and then thrown into the river. The Spirit Drapery is rolled up and stored. The paper money hanging [alongside the drapery] is preserved. At the end of the month, [the paper money] is placed in a Korean Paper sack. On New Year's Eve, [it is] sent to the Tangse and burned along with the pure paper hanging in the Tangse and the Spirit Pole. The portrait of Lord Guan is stored in a vermilion-lacquered wooden cylinder. The small pavilion enshrining the Buddha, the wooden cylinders containing the Bodhisattva's portrait, and two censers are invited to be relocated to the room to the west. The small pavilion is placed on the pavilion's base. The two cylinders [containing] the portrait of the Bodhisattva and the portrait of Lord Guan are placed on a vermilion-lacquered drawer table with floral pattern, which is placed against the west gable. Three censers are offered to the east of the table.

The ceremonial program for the Evening Veneration is as follows: in advance, blue silk Spirit Drapery, embroidered with red-coloured goldthreads, is fastened to a black-lacquered frame. To the west of the ridge, even large and small Spirit Bells (Ch. 神铃 [*shenling*], Ma. *honggon*) are strung [together] with a yellow leather string and tied to the top of a birchwood pole. [The portrait of] the Murigan Deity (Ch. 穆哩罕神 [*mulihan shen*], Ma. *murigan weceku*) is reverently invited and hung on the frame, [starting] from the west. The [image of] the Portrait Deity (Ch. 画像神 [*huaxiang shen*], Ma. *nirugan weceku*) is hung in the center of the Spirit Drapery. The *black-lacquered chair with backrest*³¹⁴ of the Mongolian Deity (Ch. 蒙古神 [*menggu shen*], Ma. *monggo weceku*) is placed to the left. [They are] all enshrined on the northern oven-bed, facing south.

Two large, vermilion-lacquered low tables, five censers, five cups of Sweet Wine, and nine plates of in-season fruit are placed on the oven-bed. As before, the Sprinkled Cake is divided into ten plates—nine plates are offered on the table, with one offered under the table to the west. Beneath the edge of the oven-bed, one bottle of Sweet Wine is offered.

³¹⁴ The italicized part is only expressed in the Chinese text as “the base/seat (Ch. 座 [*zuo*]).” It is 2 *chi* 1 *cun* (approx. 70 cm) in length, 9 *cun* 5 *fen* (approx. 32 cm) in width, and 1 *chi* 8 *cun* in height (approx. 60 cm). *Codex, juan* 6, 30b.

Before the pigs are brought in, the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, together with two censors, are invited out to be enshrined in the large pavilion in the west room. The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes are instructed to pave greased paper and set up the table in advance, all following the ceremonial program for the Morning Veneration. At this time, the pigs are brought [into the room] and placed in the usual spot. The Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense. The Incense Stewardesses place the black-lacquered stool, where the Saman sits on during shamanization,³¹⁵ in front of the deities. Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes place a drum and its base near the stool. The Saman ties the Shiny Satin³¹⁶ Skirt and Waist Bells³¹⁷ [around her waist], holds the Tambourine³¹⁸ and Drumstick,³¹⁹ and advances in front of the deities. Two Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes enter and stand facing the west. One eunuch hits the drum, while the other eunuch strikes the Wooden Clappers.

The Saman begins to summon³²⁰ the deities by chanting hymn while sitting on the stool and hitting the Tambourine. The eunuch hits the drum once with one hand to match the [sound of the] Tambourine. The Saman [then] stands up and shamanizes for the first time, walking backward with swaying steps. The eunuch hits the drum three times with both hands to match the [sound of the] Tambourine. The Saman continues to shamanize, walking forward with swaying steps. The eunuch hits the drum five times with both hands to match the [sound of the] Tambourine. The Saman [then] stands up and invokes with the summoning hymn for the first time. [The eunuchs] hit the drum five times and strike the Wooden Clappers three times to match [the sound of the Tambourine].

[When the Saman shamanizes for the] second time, [she walks] backward and forward with swaying steps. Only the drum is hit seven times. When the Saman stands still to invoke with a hymn, the drum is hit five times, and the Wooden Clappers are struck three times.

[During] the third time [the Saman] shamanizes, only the drum is hit eleven times. When the Saman stands still to invoke with a hymn for the third time, one eunuch hits the drum four times. Toward the end, [the eunuch hitting the drum] crosses and hits the two drumsticks³²¹ once.

³¹⁵ Ch. 祝祷 [zhudao], Ma. *samdara* (imperfect participle of *samdambi*). The Saman, wearing the Spirit Hat (Ma. *yekse*) and Waist Bells (Ma. *siša*), strikes the Tambourine (Ma. *imcin*) and walks in a slithering motion. The corresponding Chinese term for *samdambi* in *Expanded Mirror* is “跳神 [tiaoshen].” *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 45b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 11.

³¹⁶ Ch. 闪缎 [shanduan], Ma. *alha*. [A type of silk satin] featuring a patterned background and embroidered with silk threads in two distinct colors. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 23, 16a.

³¹⁷ Ch. 腰铃 [yaoling], Ma. *siša*. [The waist bells] are tied [above] the Saman’s pelvis during Venerations and the dispel of evil spirits (Ch. 送祟 [songsui], Ma. *fudešere*, imperfect participle of *fudešembi*). The thin iron tubes make sounds when [the Saman’s body] sways. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 53b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 120. *Fudešembi*: After the Veneration of deities, the Saman shamanizes to dispel harmful spirits. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 19, 23b.

³¹⁸ Ch. 手鼓 [shougu], Ma. *untun*. A narrow-rimmed [tambourine] with leather stretched over one side. [The Saman] holds it with one hand and strikes it with another. Used in worships at home. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 52b–53a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 120.

³¹⁹ Ma. *gisun*. The word is omitted in the Chinese text. The Saman only holds a singular drumstick, which is 1 *chi* 2 *cun* long. It is wrapped with otter skin and resembles an arrow. *Codex*, juan 6, 44b.

³²⁰ Ch. 祈请 [qiqing], Ma. *solire* (imperfect participle of *solimbi*, to invite, to summon). Note that *solimbi* is also used to describe “inviting” the deities, such as Buddha, to be enshrined elsewhere.

³²¹ The eunuch hitting the drum is equipped with two regular drumsticks. *Codex*, juan 6, 44a.

The Wooden Clappers are struck three times. After invoking with hymn for the third time, the Saman shamanizes again, with the drum hit four times. [After hitting] the drum three times [in this manner], [the eunuchs] retreat. The Saman hands the Tambourine and Drumstick to the Incense Stewardesses and unties the Shiny Satin Skirt and Waist Bells. The Incense Stewardesses lay out the yellow-floral red mat.

When the emperor attends the ceremony himself, the Incense Stewardesses move the small low table where the Saman kowtows to the west. The emperor *takes off [his] crown*,³²² advances in front of the Evening Deities, and stands upright in the center. The Saman kneels first. After [she] supplicates, the emperor kowtows, following the [same] ritual program for the Morning Veneration. If the empress also attends the ceremony, the emperor kowtows in the east and the empress in the west. On days when neither emperor nor empress attend the ceremony, the Saman kowtows.

After [they] kowtow, the wine bottle is covered up with a clean cloth. The Incense Stewardesses remove the mat, fold it three times, and lay [it] near the edge of the oven-bed. A bowl of Sweet Wine and an empty cup is placed on the edge of the oven-bed. The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes carry a pig through the door and place [it] beneath the edge of the oven-bed with [its] head facing north.³²³ One Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes bends one knee and presses on the pig. The Saman kneels on the mat [that was] folded three times under the edge of the oven-bed, facing diagonally northeast.³²⁴ [She] pours wine from the bowl into the cup and invokes while holding [it]. The Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes holds the pig's ear, and the Saman pours the wine into the pig's ear. [She then] places the cup on the edge of the oven-bed³²⁵ and kowtows once. The Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes holds the pig's tail and moves [it so that] the pig's head faces south.³²⁶ The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes advance, raise the pig, and temporarily place [it] along the large table covered with tin.

The Saman kneels and pours [more] wine from the bowl into the cup. [The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes] raise the second pig through the door. Like before, [the Saman] proffers wine, invokes, kowtows once after pouring the wine, stands up, and retreats. Both pigs are placed on the large tables covered with tin, [their] heads facing west. [They are then] "spared." In front of each table, two Female Officials of Sacrificial Attributes collect the blood by holding wood trough basins with silver interior. The Incense Stewardesses remove the mat. [They] bring in the long, vermilion-lacquered tall table and place [it] in front of the north³²⁷ oven-bed. The wooden trough basins for catching blood are placed on the long, tall table. All plates of pastries on the large low table, except for one, are removed. The remaining pastries, wine and fruits are also removed.

After the pigs' breaths have "rested," the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes turn the pigs' heads [to be] parallel to the table, facing south. The skinning, dissembling, making of the blood sausage, boiling of meat, and removal of the large tables covered with tin and greased paper are all [carried out] in accordance with the ceremonial program for the Morning Veneration.

³²² The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

³²³ The pigs' heads face west in the Morning Veneration.

³²⁴ Southwest in the Morning Veneration.

³²⁵ The cup is handed to the Chief Incense Stewardess in the Morning Veneration.

³²⁶ East in Morning Veneration.

³²⁷ Western oven-bed in the Morning Veneration.

However, [in the Evening Veneration], the gallbladders and hooves are burnt in the furnace. Once the meat is cooked, five bowls of thinly sliced Sacrificial Meat [are prepared]. [They] are offered on the two large low tables on the oven-bed, with a pair of chopsticks besides each bowl.

The meat from the two pigs is placed separately in two wooden trough basins with silver interior on the long, tall table in front of the deities, following the ceremonial program for the Morning Veneration. The Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense, and the Incense Stewardesses lay out the yellow-floral red mat. The Saman advances, kneels, supplicates, and puts [her] palms together to salute. The Incense Stewardesses removes the mat and place the stool, which the Saman sits on, in its usual place for the Evening Veneration.

Then, a small table is set up *in the front*,³²⁸ with small Waist Bells displayed atop. The Spirit Bells are [also] placed on the table to the east. The fire and light in the censer are extinguished, and the black silk curtain, used in the Lights-Out Ceremony, is unfurled to conceal the fire in the furnace. The people retreat and close the door. The eunuch hitting the drum moves it near the front of the curtain. The Saman sits on the stool.

When the Saman summons toward the Spirit Bells by invoking with hymn for the first time, the drum is hit four times. The drumsticks are crossed and hit once. The [other eunuch] strikes the Wooden Clappers three times in harmony. Then, the Saman takes the [birchwood] pole on which the Spirit Bell [are tied to], shakes them, and invokes with a hymn. The drum is hit five times, and the Wooden Clappers are struck three times in harmony. The Saman [then] puts down the Spirit Bells.

When the Saman summons toward the Waist Bells by invoking with hymn for the first time, the drum is hit four times. The drumsticks are crossed and hit once. The [other eunuch] strikes the Wooden Clappers three times in harmony. When the Saman shakes the Waist Bells and invoke with a hymn, the drum is hit five times, and the Wooden Clappers are struck three times to harmonize with the sound of the Waist Bells. After the invocation is finished, the drum is hit three times, and the Wooden Clappers are struck once.

The curtain used in the Lights-Out Ceremony is rolled up, and the door is opened [for] the light and fire to enter. The Sacrificial Meat is removed and sent to the Imperial Buttery. The Buddha, the portrait of the Bodhisattva, and two censers are taken [back] to be enshrined in their original places in the west room. The two censers are also placed in the original position. The Spirit Drapery is rolled up, and the portraits of the Evening Deities are removed. Along with Mongolian Deity and Murigan Deity, [they are] all reverently stored inside a vermilion-lacquered coffer placed on the floral pattern black-lacquered drawer table near the north wall. Five censers are offered to the south of the table.

On days the Veneration is [performed] for the princes, the princes kowtow while the Saman supplicates. If the princes do not kowtow, the Saman supplicates and kowtows.

Before the princes live in separate households, if they live outside of the palace, the deities are reverently set up in the main chamber of their residence. [For] the Morning Veneration, the hung drapery and the Buddha pavilion *with its base*³²⁹ are worshipped. [For] Evening Veneration, the drapery is tied to the frame, and the [the Mongolian Deity's] chair *with*

³²⁸ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

³²⁹ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

*backrest*³³⁰ are worshipped. In the Morning Veneration, before the pigs are brought in, two censers are taken out and offered in the pavilion under the west gable veranda outside the room [where] the ritual takes place. After the skin and bones are removed, [the censers] are brought in and offered on the vermilion-lacquered drawer table where the Morning Deities are placed. In the Evening Veneration, other than the removal of the censers, the rest [of the ceremony] follows the ceremonial program at the Kunning Palace.

As for princes of the blood, beile, beile prince, dukes, the main and collateral lines of nobles, as well as Irgen Gioros and Sirin Gioros, they all venerate according to this ceremonial program.

Supplications for the Monthly Veneration at the Kunning Palace

Supplication for Invoking with Hymn in the Morning Veneration at the Kunning Palace on the Third of January and the First of each Month

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan (Ch. 关圣帝君 [*guansheng dijun*], Ma. *guwan i beise*).

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invocation [to be Recited when] Pouring Wine into Pig Ears at the Morning Veneration

Sons of Heaven, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom oblation is proffered. Please receive and accept [it] with jubilation and goodness.

Supplication for Morning Meat Offering

Sons of Heaven, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [meat] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn

³³⁰ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Summoning Hymn [performed] during the Evening Veneration [while] Sitting on the Stool

Niyansi of Ahūn³³¹ who descended from Heaven, Niyansi of light who split from the sun. The Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara,³³² Muri Muriha.³³³ Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn³³⁴ Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.³³⁵

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

First Hymn Invocation:

Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Second Hymn Invocation

Enduri Senggu,³³⁶ Senggu Enduri.

³³¹ Ma. *ahūn*: elder brother.

³³² Ma. *ayara*: sour milk (yogurt).

³³³ Ma. *murimbi*: to twist.

³³⁴ Ma. *narhūn*: fine, thin; detailed, minute.

³³⁵ Ma. *katun*: strong. Noyan: Mongolian for master, leader, king. The *Codex*'s postscript explains that Katun Noyan is a "Mongolian God (Ch. 蒙古神 [*menggushen*])." He/she is venerated for having assisted the clan in the past.

³³⁶ Ma. *enduri*: spirit. *Sengguwecuke*: dreadful, frightening.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Last Hymn Invocation:

Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication while Kneeling after Shamanizing and [Performing] Hymn

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invocation [to be Recited when] Pouring Wine into the Pigs' Ears during the Evening Veneration

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom oblation is proffered. Please receive and accept [it] with jubilation and goodness.

Supplication for Evening Meat Offering

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [meat] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Summoning Hymn [Performed] toward the Spirit Bells for the First Time during the Lights-Out Ceremony

Je irehu, je narhūn.

Close the door and window and summon, narhūn.

Hide the pot's vapor and the stove's fire and summon, narhūn.

Since [you have been] summoned, please descend to the throne,³³⁷ narhūn.

Since the Lights-Out Rite [is performed], please descend to the goblet stand,³³⁸ narhūn.

Nadan Daihūn, please descend and enchant, narhūn.

Jorgon Junggi,³³⁹ please descend and command, narhūn.

The soul³⁴⁰ has stepped on the bell, please dismount, narhūn.

The vein has wormed on the bell, please dismount, narhūn.

Hymn Invocation while Striking the Spirit Bell the Second Time

Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu, Jorgon Junggi, Juru Juktehen.³⁴¹

³³⁷ Ma. *soorin*. The Manchu text is also translated as “shrine” elsewhere in the text.

³³⁸ Ma. *tusergen*: a tall table on which cups and trays were placed at banquets. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 38b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 135.

³³⁹ Ma. *jorgon*: twelve. *Jung*: bell.

³⁴⁰ Ma. *orin*. The *yin* vital fluid, used together with *fayangga* (Ch. 魂[*hun*]). The corresponding Chinese character is 魄 [*po*]. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 10, 62b.

³⁴¹ Ma. *juru*: pair, couple. *Juktehen*: temple.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invitation with Hymn toward the Spirit Bells for the Third Time

Je irehu je, gu i šongkon.³⁴²

Raise the goblet stand and summon, gu i šongkon.

Set up the assembled oblations and summon, gu i šongkon.

Since [you have been] summoned, please descend to the throne, gu i šongkon.

Since the Lights-Out Ceremony [is performed], please descend to the goblet stand, gu i šongkon.

Waving [your] wings and feathers, please descend, gu i šongkon.

Worm on the vein and the Waist Bell, please descend, gu i šongkon

Hymn Invocation while Striking the Spirit Bell the Fourth Time

The conjured deities, the summoning offsprings. Those with mouth venerated, the acolytes³⁴³ worshipped.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

³⁴² Ma. *gu*: jade. *Songkon*: gyrfalcon (Ch. 海东青 [*haidongqing*]). Likely referring to gyrfalcons with pure white feathers. According to Bing Yang's *Tales by the Willow Palisade*, falcon hunting was prominent in the East of Liao (now Liaoning Province). The pure white gyrfalcon was the most precious—all captured specimens must be delivered to the Imperial Household Department (*juan* 3). The stanza “waving your wings and feathers, please descend” also gives credence to the hypothesis that *gu i šongkon* is a bird.

³⁴³ Ma. *ambasa* (plural for *amban*). *Amban* usually refers to ministers (Ch. 大臣 [*dachen*]). In *Expanded Mirror*, *amban* is defined as [someone who] fervently tend to [one's] duties and serve the master (*juan* 4, 2b). Based on the context, “acolyte” is a more appropriate translation than the bureaucratic position of “minister.”

Ceremonial Program for Thanksgiving [on] the day after Veneration

[For] the Thanksgiving held on the day after [the Grand Rite and the Monthly] Veneration, the portraits of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva³⁴⁴ are invited out in advance per pervious ceremonial program and enshrined in the large pavilion in the room to the west of the Kunning Palace. Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes (Ch. 司俎太監 [*sizu taijian*], Ma. *amsun i taigiyasa*) lay thickly greased Korean Paper to the northeast of the Spirit Pole. [They] set up a vermilion-lacquered table, covered with tin, facing west. The mounted Spirit Pole is lowered. With [its] end facing east, the Pole is diagonally leaned on the supporting pillar.³⁴⁵ The head of the Pole is propped on the ground.

The old pieces of pure paper clipped [to the Pole] and the old cervical vertebrae³⁴⁶ threaded [onto the top of the Pole] are removed. [They are] placed in a yellow copper potholder to be incinerated. In front of the Spirit Pole Stone,³⁴⁷ a tall, vermilion-lacquered table is set up upward and three silver plates are offered [on top]. The plate in the center contains the Sacrificial Rice, and the two plates on either side are left empty. A piece of pure paper is placed on the table.

In the northwest direction and slightly further away from the Spirit Pole Stone, a vermilion-lacquered frame is set up. The frame is covered with a red blanket.³⁴⁸ South of the frame, a rosewood desk [is set up to display] square plates. Two vermilion-lacquered square plates are positioned sequentially toward the back. Several cutting boards are placed on the plates. The red copper pot and yellow copper potholder are moved to the north of the wooden plates, with the furnace door facing east.

At that time, the Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes bring in the pig and place [it] slightly behind the east side of the Spirit Pole Stone, with [its] head facing south. [When] the emperor attends the ceremony himself, the Incense Stewardesses (Ch. 司香妇人 [*sixiang furen*], Ma. *hiyan i hehesi*) lay the yellow-floral red mat for the emperor to kowtow inside door to the Kunning Palace near the threshold. The emperor enters the door, removes [his] crown, and kneels upright facing the Spirit Pole. The Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes enters and stands facing the front. [He] holds the plate [containing] the Sacrificial Rice and scatters it once. [After] completing the Thanksgiving proclamation, [he] scatters the rice twice more and retreats. The emperor kowtows, stands up, and leaves.

If the empress also attends the ceremony, the emperor kowtows in the center, and the empress [kowtows] in the west. The male³⁴⁹ Officials of Sacrificial Attributes withdraw to the outside of [the palace]. The eunuchs lead the Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes, [who performs] the Thanksgiving invocation, to stand [with his] back turned [toward the palace]. On

³⁴⁴ The Manchu text does not include “the portraits of:” ...The Buddha and Boddhisatva are invited out...

³⁴⁵ The supporting pillar is made from *Phoebe zhennan* and is five *chi* tall (approx. 160 cm). *Codex, juan 6*, 33b.

³⁴⁶ Ch. 胫骨 [*jinggu*], Ma. *ildufun giranggi*. The bone threaded at the end of the Thanksgiving Spirit Pole. *Expanded Mirror, juan 6*, 52a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 139.

³⁴⁷ Ch. 杆石 [*ganshi*], Ma. *somo i wehei*. The stone base of the Spirit Pole. The Spirit Pole, together with its supporting pillar, both stand on top of the stone. *Codex, juan 6*, 33b.

³⁴⁸ Ch. 氍 [*zhan*], Ma. *jafu*. It is the same type of material as the yellow-floral red mat. The frame is not the same one on which Spirit Drapery is hung.

³⁴⁹ The gender of the Official of Sacrificial Attributes is only specified in the Manchu text.

days when the emperor and the empress do not attend the ceremony, the Saman kowtows while holding the emperor's clothes.

[After] completing the kowtow, the Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes turn the pig's head toward the west and "spare" it on the large table covered with tin. Two Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes collect the blood by holding a wooden trough basin with silver interior. [They then] place it on the tall table. Once the pig's breaths have "rested," [the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes] turn the pig's head to be parallel [to the table], facing south. The Officials of Sacrificial Attributes then skin the pig in the courtyard. [They] first remove the cervical vertebrae and the Thanksgiving Meat.³⁵⁰ Then, [they] select enough Petite Meat³⁵¹ from the remaining [meat] and boil it in the red-copper pot. The rest [of the pig is] dissembled at the joints and displayed in the wooden trough basin with silver interior. The [pig's] head is displayed at the front and covered with skin. [It is] placed parallel on the large table covered with tin, facing south. The entrails are also placed in the wooden trough basin after being trimmed. The wooden trough basin containing blood is placed horizontally in front of the wooden trough basin containing meat.

When the meat is cooked, the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes sit behind the wooden trough basins, facing east. The cooked meat is thinly sliced into strands. First, the Thanksgiving Meat and the cervical vertebrae are taken to be offered on the silver plate on the west edge of the tall table. The gallbladder is placed on the silver plate set up to the east. After the Petite Meat [is sliced] into thin slices, the sliced Petite Meat is placed into two bowls. A pair of chopsticks is placed [besides] each [bowl]. Two bowls of rice [made from] barnyard grass (Ch. 稗米 [*baimi*], Ma. *hife*) [are set up,] with a spoon [besides] each [bowl]. From east to west, the [bowls of] rice and meat are offered next to each other.

After the offerings are prepared, when the emperor attends the ceremony himself, the Manchu Official of Sacrificial Attributes, like before, holds the plate of Sacrificial Rice and scatters the rice once. After [performing] the Thanksgiving proclamation, [he] scatters the rice twice more and retreats. After [the emperor] kowtows, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes and the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes thread the [new] cervical vertebrae onto the end of the Spirit Pole. The Thanksgiving Meat, gallbladder, and the Sacrificial Rice are all put into the Spirit Pole Bushel.³⁵² The Spirit Pole is then mounted. [Pieces of] pure paper is clipped between the Spirit Pole and its supporting pillar.

The Petite Meat and [barnyard grass] rice offered on the east side [of the tall table] are taken into the Kunning Palace, where [it is] consumed by the emperor and the empress. On days when the emperor and the empress do not attend the ceremony, the people in the Kunning Palace are instructed to eat [the offerings]. The Petite Meat and [barnyard grass] rice on the west side [of the tall table] remain outside, [where] the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes and eunuchs are ordered to eat it along with the broth and meat left in the pot. The remaining raw meat and bones, the wooden trough basins with the silver interior, the tall table covered with tin, and the thickly greased Korean Paper are all moved into the Kunning Palace. Following the ritual program for

³⁵⁰ Ch. 精肉 [*jingrou*], Ma. *oyo gaifi* (perfect converb of *gaimbi*: to take).

³⁵¹ The Chinese text does not mention Petite Meat. Ma. *sori yali*.

³⁵² The bushel is made from *Phoebe zhennan* and shaped like a bowl. The Spirit Pole goes through the bottom of the bowl-shaped bushel and the bushel is placed near the top of the pole. The radius of the bushel is seven *cun* (approx. 23 cm), and the height of the bushel is six *cun* (approx. 20 cm). *Codex, juan 6*, 33b.

Veneration, the head and hooves [of the pig] are roasted, and blood is poured into the intestines. [These are then] boiled in a large pot. Once the Grande Meat³⁵³ is cooked, [it is] placed in the plate and remains there. [It is] also not allowed to be taken out of the door. The ministers and Senior Bodyguards are ordered to enter inside and eat [it]. After the meal, the Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes remove the greased paper, tall table, skin, and bones [from inside the Kunning Palace]. The skin and lard are sent to the Imperial Buttery. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes takes the bones to a [ritually] clean location, where they are burned and then thrown into the river.

The portraits of the Buddha and the Boddhisatva are invited from the west room and placed in their original shrines.³⁵⁴ The potholder remains its original position. Items such as the frame and the square dishes are each placed back to their original spots. In cases of rainfall or snowfall, the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes and Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes open a large greased-paper umbrella and [place it] over the table and pot [used in] the Thanksgiving for coverage. When Thanksgiving is performed for the princes, the princes kowtow. If the princes do not kowtow, the Saman kowtows while holding the princes' clothes.

Thanksgiving Proclamation on the Day after Veneration

Anje. The great Heaven, listen [to] the Gioro clan!

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom Thanksgiving is performed is called out), for whom goods were purchased, emolument was sought, the usable pig was obtained, to be presented to the great Heaven. Please take and receive with one hand. After gathering and receiving with two hands, [please bestow] that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year abundant years, manifold age, long life, deep root. Please look after [them] with peace and tranquility, please watch over [them] with jubilation and kindness.

Juan Two

Ceremonial Program for Daily Veneration at the Kunning Palace

Translator's notes:

The Daily Veneration that takes place at the Kunning Palace is largely similar to the Monthly Veneration, with only the following differences:

First, after the portraits of the deities are hung and the vermilion-lacquered large table is placed on the oven-bed, three cups of clean water are set up on the table, instead of three cups of Sweet Wine and nine plates of in-season fruit. Immediately after, only a small low table for the Saman to kowtow and a yellow-floral red mat is placed beneath the edge of the oven-bed, instead of the instruments for the Saman's wine proffering. The Saman does not offer the water in this step.

³⁵³ Ch. 大肉[*darou*], Ma. *amba yali*.

³⁵⁴ Ch. 原位 [*yuanwei*], Ma. *an i da soorin*: usual seat/throne.

Second, all usages of wine at the Monthly Veneration are substituted with water in the Daily Veneration. Thus, the covering of the wine bottle with clean cloth is omitted, and clean water is poured into the pigs' ears.

Third, after the bowls of thinly sliced Sacrificial Meat are set up and the pieces of the cooked pig are assembled on the long, tall table, a small, low table for kowtow is set up for the Saman. In the same manner wine is proffered in the Monthly Veneration, the Saman proffers the water with the bowls accompanied by the sound of the Three-Cord Lute, the Pipa, the Wooden Clappers, and *orolo* for the first time.

Supplications for Daily Veneration at the Kunning Palace

Translator's notes:

The supplications, invocations, and summoning hymns used in the Daily Veneration are entirely identical to those of the Monthly Veneration.

Ceremonial Program for Seasonal Wealth Offering

Each year, on the day of the seasonal Wealth Offering to the deities, the Spirit Draperies of the Morning and Evening Deities are hung following the usual ceremonial program. The Morning and Evening Deities are enshrined in the usual manner. Incense is lit in the censers [used] in the Morning and Evening Venerations. A Supervisor of Drovers³⁵⁵ leads two horses from the Palace Stud (Ch. 上驷院 [*shangsi yuan*], Ma. *dergi adun i jurgan*), and an Inspector of the Ox Stables³⁵⁶ leads two oxen from the Pasturage Department³⁵⁷ [to the Kunning Palace]. Officials from the Bullion Vaults at the Department of the Privy Purse³⁵⁸ raise two gold ingots and two *large*³⁵⁹ silver ingots [into the Kunning Palace]. Ten pieces of Python Satin,³⁶⁰ Dragon Satin,³⁶¹ silk embroidered with goldthreads,³⁶² Japanese Satin,³⁶³ and Shiny Satin³⁶⁴ each, and

³⁵⁵ Ch. 侍卫 [*shiwei*], Ma. *adun i hiya*. Supervisors of droves are affiliated with the Palace Stud, under the Imperial Household Department. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 19.

³⁵⁶ Ch. 廐长 [*jiuzhang*], Ma. *ihan guwan i da*. The Manchu text specifies that the type of cattle the inspector oversees—ox. Inspectors of stables are also affiliated with the Palace Stud. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 19.

³⁵⁷ Ch. 庆丰司 [*qingfeng si*], Ma. *elgiyan fusembure sy*. The Pasturage Department, a division under the Imperial Household Department, manages the flocks and herds maintained for palace use. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 17.

³⁵⁸ Ch. 广储司 [*guangchu si*], Ma. *ambula asarara sy*. The Department of the Privy Purse, a division under the Imperial Household Department, oversees six storehouses: the Bullion Vaults, Fur Store, Porcelain Store, Silk Store, Imperial Wardrobe, and Tea Store. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 17.

³⁵⁹ This descriptor of the silver ingots is omitted in the Chinese text.

³⁶⁰ Ch. 蟒缎 [*mangduan*], Ma. *gecuheri*. Silk threads of various colors and gold threads are joined and woven together, then embroidered with dragon [motifs such as] *bolin* and *ten*. Ma. *bolin gecuheri*: [A variation of] Python Satin [featuring] dragons facing each other. Ma. *ten*: [A variant of] Python Satin [featuring] multiple horizontal sections of small dragon [motifs]. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 23, 14b–15a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 178.

³⁶¹ Ch. 龙缎 [*longduan*], Ma. *undurakū*. A type of Python Satin [featuring only] dragons facing [each other] and does not [feature] multiple horizontal sections of small dragon [motifs]. According to the *Expanded Mirror*, Dragon Satin is a subtype of Python Satin. However, the Qing court distinguishes the textiles featuring dragon and those featuring python in another significant way. Dragons depicted with five digits on each foot are identified as “dragons,” while those with four digits are identified as pythons. Under Qianlong, dragon motifs are exclusive to the

forty pieces of Fine Black Cloth³⁶⁵ are put on a vermilion-lacquered low table, carried by Inspectors (Ch. 库使 [*kushi*], Ma. *ulin i niyalma*) [affiliated with] the Silk Store.

Officials from the Department of Ceremonials and Officials of Sacrificial Attributes guide [the procession] in the front. Led by Ministers of the Household and ministers from the Palace Stud, [they] enter from the gate west of the Qianqing Gate.³⁶⁶ [The procession] pass through the room in the west of the Qianqing Palace, the front of the Jiaotai Hall, and reaches the outside of the Kunning Gate. Horses are positioned to the west, and oxen are positioned to the east, with [their] heads facing upward. The Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes raise the gold ingots, large silver ingots and the table [displaying] satin and cloth and bring [them] inside the Kunning Palace. The Chief Incense Stewardess receives [the items]. The table displaying the satin and cloth is put on the ground in front of the Morning Deities. The gold and silver ingots are placed on top of the satin, and the yellow-floral red mat is laid [on the ground].

The Saman advances, kneels, and kowtows while supplicating. After [she] kowtows, the Chief Incense Stewardesses raise the table and place [it] on the ground in front of the Evening Deities. The red mat is [also] moved and laid [in the new location]. The Saman advances, kneels, and kowtows while supplicating once more. After [the Saman] kowtows, the offered gold, silver, satin, and cloth are stored inside the vermilion-lacquered drawer table adorned with floral patterns, upon which the Morning Deities are enshrined.

The ministers, Senior Bodyguards, and officials lead the horses and oxen out [of the Kunning Palace]. After three days, the Chief Eunuch takes the [offered] gold, silver, satin, and cloth out of [the drawer table]. Apart from the silver [ingots], the gold [ingots], satin, cloth, horses, and oxen are handed over to the Accounts Department. Their prices are estimated and then sold. However, they cannot be sold to Manchus of the same clan. The return [from the sale] is used to buy pigs to be [slaughtered] in rituals.

emperor, the empress, imperial concubines of the first and the second degree, imperial princesses, princes of the blood, and the daughters of a prince of the blood of the first degree (beiles can wear casual attire (常服 [*changfu*]) with dragon motifs). Since the eleventh year of Kangxi's reign (1673), the collateral line of Qing nobles without rank and officials with ranks lower than the fifth cannot use python motifs. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 23, 14 b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli yizhu*, 178; Yūn Tao et al., *Qinding daqing huidian*, juan 30, 13a; Yūn Tao et al., *Qinding daqing huidian zeli*, juan 65.

³⁶² The Spirit Draperies used in the Venerations and the Buddha Bathing are made with this material.

³⁶³ Ch. 倭缎 [*woduan*], Ma. *cekemu*. On the outward facing side of the garment, silk threads are densely and neatly picked out [to form] naps. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 23, 16b–17a. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 178.

³⁶⁴ The Saman's Skirt worn in the Evening Veneration is made with the same material.

³⁶⁵ Ch. 毛青三梭布 [*maoqing sansuo bu*], Ma. *mocin samsu*. Fine and beautiful black cloth. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 23, 29b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 178.

³⁶⁶ Ch. 乾清右门 [*qianqing youmen*], Ma. *kiyan cing men dukai waigi*. A "Qianqing Right Gate" does not exist. However, there are three gates that fit this description. First, as the Qianqing Gate consists of three arches, the procession could be entering from the west arch. Second, the Longzong Gate (隆宗门), located just southwest of the Qianqing Gate, is an important passage between the Inner and Outer Courts. Third, the Yuehua Gate (月华门), located just northwest of the Qianqing Gate, would provide easy access to the rooms located in the west of the Qianqing Palace.

[When] the emperor attends the ceremony himself, following the usual ceremonial program, [he] removes [his] crown³⁶⁷ and kowtows. When [the date for Wealth Offering] coincides with Veneration, Wealth Offering commences after the meat is consumed, the skin and bones have been taken out [of the palace], and the Buddha and the Bodhisattva have been invited back [to their original spot].

Supplications for Seasonal Wealth Offering

Supplication in Front of the Morning Deities during Seasonal Wealth Offering each Year

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Yellow gold, white silver, Python Satin, Dragon Satin, silk embroidered with goldthreads, Japanese Satin, Glossy Satin, colourful silk, fine blue cloth with reddish tinge,³⁶⁸ fine blue cloth,³⁶⁹ horses with manes, and oxen with reins are raised to be proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication in Front of the Evening Deities during Seasonal Wealth Offering each Year

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Onggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual] is proffered.

Yellow gold, white silver, Python Satin, Dragon Satin, silk embroidered with goldthreads, Japanese Satin, Glossy Satin, colourful silk, fine blue cloth with reddish tinge, fine blue cloth, horses with manes, and oxen with reins are raised to be proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

³⁶⁷ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

³⁶⁸ Ma. *mocin*. Fine and beautiful blue cloth with reddish tinge. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 23, 29b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 181.

³⁶⁹ Ma. *samsu*. Fine and beautiful blue cloth. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 23, 30a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 181

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Ceremonial Program for the Buddha Bathing

On the eighth of the eighth lunar month—the birthday of the Buddha—a ritual is performed. On that day, the Spirit Drapery is hung up in advance at the center of the Feast Hall, [located] in the Tangse. When the time [for the Buddha Bathing] arrives, eight eunuchs in golden silk garments raise the yellow silk Spirit Palanquin and enter through the Inner Left Gate, the Jin'guang Left Gate, the Jinghe Gate, and stand ready outside the gate to the Kunning Palace. Two Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes in yellow silk garments reverently invite the Buddha's pavilion, the *yellow-lacquered* wooden cylinder containing the portrait of the Bodhisattva, and the *vermillion-lacquered*³⁷⁰ wooden cylinder containing the portrait of Lord Guan inside the palanquin. The eight eunuchs in golden silk garments raises [the palanquin] and exits through the main gate of the palace. In the front, two pairs of Guiding Batons and two pairs of Goat-Horn Lanterns are also held by eunuchs in golden silk garments. Two Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes, two Officials of Sacrificial Attributes, and two Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes lead [the procession] inside the palace. When [they] arrive at the outside of the Qianqing Gate, ten Officers of the Princes' Bodyguard lead in the front. One official from the Department of Ceremonial, one Chief Eunuch of Sacrificial Attributes, and eight eunuchs follow [in the back]. The Linden-Leaf Buns, the bottle of Sweet Wine, the red honey, and the cotton to be offered are placed on the racks inside the tiered food boxes, carried by Corporals and Bannermen at Large.

When [the procession] arrives at the Tangse, the eunuchs reverently invite the deities [out of the palanquins]. The Buddha's pavilion is enshrined on its base in the west. Then, one after another, the portrait of the Bodhisattva and the portrait of Lord Guan are hung on the Spirit Drapery. After [they] have been enshrined, the buns, the wine, the honey, and the cotton sent by princes as offerings are gathered. Small amounts are taken from both the red honey prepared in the palace and the honey submitted by the princes. [It is] placed in a yellow-porcelain bathing pool³⁷¹ and stirred with clean water. The Chief Incense Stewardess opens the pavilion door, and the Saman invites the Buddha inside the yellow-porcelain bathing pool. After bathing [the Buddha], new cotton is placed [underneath him as a] cushion. [The Buddha] is enshrined [back] in the original place.

The Linden-Leaf Buns submitted by the princes are offered on the two large, yellow-lacquered low tables. The nine plates of Linden-Leaf Bun from the palace are offered on top. Three cups of Sweet Wine and three censers are also offered at the usual place. The Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense. Two large yellow-porcelain bowls are placed on the small table beneath the edge of the oven-bed, containing the wine prepared by the palace and the wine submitted by the princes.

Inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall, the Linden-Leaf Buns and the buns sent by the princes are placed in silver plates and offered. The wine that has been sent in is placed and offered in the two large blue-floral porcelain bowls on the low table. In advance, twenty-seven pieces of paper

³⁷⁰ The descriptions of the cylinders' colour are omitted in the Chinese text.

³⁷¹ Ch. 浴池 [yuchi], Ma. *cara*. [A vessel] with legs and shaped like a jug without a lid. It is made with materials such as gold and silver. *Expanded Mirror*, Book 25, 17b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 185.

money were hung on the firwood pole erected under the tall table. Every person dispatched by the princes [to bring the offerings] hangs paper money.

Two eunuchs from the palace who play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa [are positioned] outside the Feast Hall, to the west of the brick-paved steps. The Officers of the Princes' Bodyguard and [the princes'] officials sit facing [each other] on either side of the brick-paved path. [They] strike the Wooden Clappers and clap [their] hands. Two Samans wearing female court garments³⁷² advance and kneel. Two Chief Incense Stewardesses raise two sets of trays and [wine] cups and hand [them] over to the two Samans. The two Samans receive the trays and the cups and proffer wine nine times in unison. One Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stands beneath the steps of the Feast Hall to the east, striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. [The eunuchs, bodyguards, and officials] play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. Each time the two Samans proffer [wine], the proffered wine is poured into the red-floral porcelain jars placed on both sides. New wine is then scooped from the bowls containing the Sweet Wine and poured into each of the two cups for [further] proffering. With each proffering, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sing *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. The [crowd also] sings *orolo*.

After proffering [wine] nine times, the two Samans hand the trays and the cups back to the Chief Incense Stewardesses [*standing*] *in the back*.³⁷³ Together, [they] kowtow, stand up, and put [their] hands together to salute. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stops striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. The [playing of] the Three-Cord Lutes, the Pipa, and Wooden Clappers [also] halts temporarily.

The two Samans enter the Pavilion-Styled Hall and kneel. The Chief Incense Stewardesses raise and hand over the trays and the cups. The two Samans proffer the wine nine times in unison. The playing of the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, the striking of the Wooden Clappers, the clapping of hands, and the singing of *orolo* [follow] the same instructions as the wine proffering [inside the] Feast Hall. After proffering [wine, the Samans] hand the trays and the cups back to the Chief Incense Stewardesses [*standing*] *in the back*.³⁷⁴ [The Samans] kowtow once, stand up, and put [their] hands together to salute.

One Saman remains in the Pavilion-Styled Hall and awaits [the next steps]. [The other] Saman enters the Feast Hall and stands in the center. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the Spirit Sabre and hands [it to the Saman]. The Saman takes the Spirit Sabre and advances. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes strikes the Wooden Clappers in accordance with proclamation. [The eunuchs, bodyguards, and officials] then play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. The Saman kowtows once and stands up. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sings *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. [The crowd] sings *orolo* [as well]. The Saman prays three times while holding the Spirit Sabre and invokes with a hymn once. As [the Saman] prays while holding the Spirit Sabre, [the crowd] sings *orolo*. After [the Saman] invokes with hymns for three times and prays nine times in this manner, [the eunuchs, bodyguards, and officials] continue to play the Three-Cord Lutes and the PIPAS, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands.

³⁷²Ch. 朝服 [*chaofu*], Ma. *cuba sijigiyān*. A sleeveless court garment made with silk with dragon patterns. Worn by females. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 24, 11a.

³⁷³ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

³⁷⁴ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

[The same] Saman enters the Pavilion-Styled Hall, kowtows once, and stands up. The hymn invocation, the praying with the Spirit Sabre, and the singing of *orolo* all follow the same instructions [as those] inside the Feast Hall. Once [the Saman] finishes praying, [she] enters the Feast Hall again, kowtows once, and stands up. [Upon] praying three more times, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sings *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. [The crowd] sings *orolo* once. After [the Saman] completes the prayers, [she] hands the Spirit Sabre back to the Chief Incense Stewardess. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stops striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. [The eunuchs, bodyguards, and officials] cease playing the Three-Cord Lutes, the Pipas, and the Wooden Clappers. [They all] stand up and retreat. The Saman kneels again, supplicates, kowtows, stands up, put [her] hands together to salute, and retreats.

The Saman waiting inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall also kneels, supplicates, kowtows, stands up, put [her] hands together to salute, and retreats. The Chief Incense Stewardess closes the door to the Buddha's pavilion, takes down the portrait of the Bodhisattva and the portrait of Lord Guan, and reverently stores them in [their respective] wooden cylinders. Once again, the Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes in yellow silk garments are appointed to enshrine [the Buddha, the Bodhisattva, and Lord Guan] inside the palanquin. [The procession,] led by [eunuchs holding] Guiding Batons and lanterns, invites [the deities] back to [the Kunning] Palace. All the offered wine and buns are distributed among the accompanying Officers of the Princes' Bodyguard, officials, and Officials of Sacrificial Attributes.

Supplications for the Buddha Bathing

The Buddha Bathing Supplication inside the Feast Hall of the Tangse on the Eighth of April

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of the Army, Guan Prince of the Blood.

Humble subjects of [such and such] zodiac year, (the year of birth of the individuals for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual] is proffered.

Since [it is] the blessed day [when] the Buddha was born, [offerings] have been gathered from the various households to be proffered to the spirits and the deities. The proffered [items] have turned into merits.

Encircled by [their] heads, copulated on [their] shoulders of the humble subjects. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, may [they] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall of the Tangse

Sons of Heaven, Niohon Taiji, Uduben Beise.

Humble subjects of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individuals for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual] is proffered.

Since [it is] the blessed day [when] the Buddha was born, [offerings] have been gathered from the various households to be proffered to the spirits and the deities. The proffered [items] have turned into merits.

Encircled by [their] heads, copulated on [their] shoulders of the humble subjects. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, [and] the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With spirits looking after and deities watching over, may [they] receive abundant years and age.

Juan Three

Ceremonial Program for Preparatory Rite³⁷⁵

Translator's notes:

The ceremonial program for the Preparatory Rite is entirely identical to that of the Daily Veneration. The two rites differ only in the supplications. The Preparatory Rite takes place in the Kunning Palace in the two days immediately preceding the biennial Grand Rites.

The meaning of *uyun jafambi* is not entirely clear. *Uyun* is the Manchu word for number nine, and the verb *jafambi* conveys a wide range of meanings (most commonly “to take, to grasp”). I have chosen to translate the term as “Preparatory Rite” for the following reasons. First, *uyun jafambi* is defined in *EXPANDED MIRROR* as the “two successive days of Veneration before the Grand Rite (*juan* 6, 42b).” While *Expanded Mirror* does not explicate the meaning of the term or its underlying mythology, it defines the ritual in relation to the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting that immediately succeeds it. Since *uyun jafambi* rite is identical to the ordinary Daily Veneration except for its supplications, it may be understood as a special variation of the daily rite in preparation or anticipation of the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting.

Second, when used in a Shamanic ceremonial context, *jafambi* could mean “to prepare.” In *juan* 6 of the *Expanded Mirror*, *amsun jafambi* (Ch. 整理祭物 [*zhengli jiwu*]) is defined as the “pouring of wine, [arranging of] grains, and making of oil in preparation for Veneration (42b).” In a supplication performed during the Preparatory Rite, *uyun* appears in the phrase “*uyun be ulime*.” Since the verb *ulimbi* refers to the deities’ acceptance and consumption of the oblation’s essence,³⁷⁶ the phrase could be understood as their “consumption of *uyun*”. While the mythical or religious significance of *uyun* remains unclear, it can be assumed that *uyun* in this text is analogous to a type of offering associated with the ritual. Therefore, *uyun jafambi* may be understood as the preparation of *uyun*.

³⁷⁵ Ch. 报祭 [*baoji*], Ma. *uyun jafame* (imperfect participle of *jafambi*, to take, to grasp).

³⁷⁶ The corresponding Chinese term is “领 [*ling*],” meaning to receive. *Ulimbi* can also indicate “thread (string) through (something).” Note that the word *ulimibi* is used in the ceremonial program of the Evening Veneration, before the portraits of the deities are hung up: “*amba ajige honggon nadan be suwayan ilgin ulifi* (seven large and small Sacred Bells are threaded with yellow leather [string]).” *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 42a.

Supplications for the Preparatory Rite

Supplication for Invoking with Hymn at the Morning Veneration at the Kunning Palace for the Preparatory Rite, [which takes place] One and Two Days before the Biennial Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting in Spring and Autumn

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation (Ma. *uyun*) are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invocation [to be Recited when] Pouring Clean Water³⁷⁷ into Pig Ears at the Morning Veneration

Sons of Heaven, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom oblation is proffered. Please receive and accept [it] with jubilation and goodness.

Supplication for Morning Meat Offering

Sons of Heaven, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

³⁷⁷ Ma. *jungšun*. It is translated here as “Clean Water” based on the context of the hymn, as it refers to all types of liquids poured into the ears of the pigs that are slaughtered in Shamanic rituals.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Summoning Hymn [performed] during the Evening Veneration [while] Sitting on the Stool

Niyansi of Ahūn who descended from Heaven, Niyansi of light who split from the sun. The Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

First Hymn Invocation:

Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Second Hymn Invocation

Enduri Senggu, Senggu Enduri.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Last Hymn Invocation:

Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication while Kneeling after Shamanizing and [Performing] Hymn

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invocation [to be Recited when] Pouring Clean Water into the Pigs' Ears during the Evening Veneration

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom oblation is proffered. Please receive and accept [it] with jubilation and goodness.

Supplication for Evening Meat Offering

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Summoning Hymn [Performed] toward the Spirit Bells for the First Time during the Lights-Out Ceremony

Je irehu, je narhūn.

Close the door and window and summon, narhūn.

Hide the pot's vapor and the stove's fire and summon, narhūn.

Since [you have been] summoned, please descend to the throne, narhūn.

Since the Lights-Out Rite [is performed], please descend to the goblet stand, narhūn.

Nadan Daihūn, please descend and enchant, narhūn.

Jorgon Junggi, please descend and command, narhūn.

The soul has stepped on the bell, please dismount, narhūn.

The vein has wormed on the bell, please dismount, narhūn.

Hymn Invocation while Striking the Spirit Bell the Second Time

Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu, Jorgon Junggi, Juru Juktehen.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invitation with Hymn toward the Spirit Bells for the Third Time

Je irehu je, gu i šongkon.

Raise the goblet stand and summon, gu i šongkon.

Set up the assembled oblations and summon, gu i šongkon.

Since [you have been] summoned, please descend to the throne, gu i šongkon.

Since the Lights-Out Ceremony [is performed], please descend to the goblet stand, gu i šongkon.

Waving your wings and feathers, please descend, gu i šongkon.

Worming on the vein and the Waist Bell, please descend, gu i šongkon

Hymn Invocation while Striking the Spirit Bell the Fourth Time

The conjured deities, the summoning offsprings. Those with mouth venerated, the acolytes worshipped.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight, the offerings on the first and second days of the preparation are prepared and proffered to the gods and deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Ceremonial Program for the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse

The biennial Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting [takes place] at the Tangse in spring and autumn. A month before prior, a vice Captain of Bondservant Company, followed by three Corporals (Ch. 领催 [*lingcui*], Ma. *bošokū*) and twenty Privates of the First Class (Ch. 披甲 [*píjiā*], Ma. *uksin*), travels to the Yanqing prefecture (Ch. 延庆州 [*yanqing zhou*], Ma. *yan king*

jeo) of Jyli province.³⁷⁸ On a [ritually] pure mountain, with the local mandarins, [they] cut down a pine tree measuring two *zhang*³⁷⁹ in height and five *cun*³⁸⁰ in diameter. The top nine branches of the tree are preserved, while the rest are removed to form the Spirit Pole. [The pole] is wrapped in yellow fabric and transported to the Tangse, where it is temporarily leaned diagonally against the center vermilion-lacquered wooden frame³⁸¹ set up near the south wall.

On the day prior to the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting, the pole is mounted on the stone at the center front of the Pavilion-Styled Hall. On the day of the ritual, in the center of the Feast Hall, yellow cotton strings are threaded through the top of the golden silk Spirit Drapery embroidered with red-coloured goldthreads. [The Spirit Drapery] is tied and hung from the iron hoops nailed to the east and west gables. The base of the Buddha's pavilion is set up in front of the west edge of the northern oven-bed. Two large, yellow-lacquered low tables are placed on the oven-bed. Three censers are offered on [each] table. A low table [made of] *Phoebe zhennan* wood is placed beneath the edge of the oven-bed. Two large blue-floral porcelain bowls are displayed on the table. Two small red-floral porcelain jars are placed on the ground to either side of the table. A yellow-floral red mat is spread in front of the table.

Inside the Feast Hall, a yellow copper censer is offered on a tall table [made of] *Phoebe zhennan* wood. Two large blue-floral porcelain bowls are placed on the low table [made of] *Phoebe zhennan* wood, [placed] in front of the tall table. Two small green porcelain jars with faint dragon [patterns] are set on the ground to either side. Two pairs of branched candleholders (Ch. 臺灯 [*chudeng*], Ma. *hiyabulakū*) with yellow silk gauze [lampshades] are placed inside the Feast Hall. Two pairs of branched candleholders with yellow silk gauze [lampshades] are placed inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall. Cooling mats and thirty-two branched candleholders with red paper [lampshades] are placed along both the central pathways and pathways.

When the time [for the ritual] arrives, eight eunuchs in golden silk garments carry the yellow silk Spirit Palanquin through the Inner Left Gate, the Jin'guang Left Gate, the Jinghe Gate, and stand ready outside the gate to the Kunning Palace. Two Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes in yellow silk garments reverently welcome the Buddha's pavilion, the yellow-lacquered wooden cylinder containing the portrait of the Bodhisattva, and the vermilion-lacquered wooden cylinder containing the portrait of Lord Guan to be enshrined in the palanquin. The eight eunuchs raise [the palanquin] and exit through the main gate of the palace. In the front are two pairs of Guiding Batons and two pairs of Goat-horn Lanterns, also carried by eunuchs in golden silk garments.

Inside the palace, [the procession] is led by two Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes, two Officials of Sacrificial Attributes, and two Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes. Outside of the Qianqing Gate, ten Senior Bodyguards take the lead. Following them are one official from the Department of Ceremonials, one Chief Eunuch of Sacrificial Attributes, and eight eunuchs.

³⁷⁸ Ch. 直隶 [*zhili*]. Now Hebei province.

³⁷⁹ Approximately 2.06 m.

³⁸⁰ Approximately 15.2 cm.

³⁸¹ Ch. 架 [*jia*], Ma. *tehe*. According to the illustration in *juan 6* of *Codex*, seven frames, resembling horizontal bars in gymnastics, are placed together in a consecutive row near the south wall of the Tangse. The center frame is slightly taller and wider than the rest (2a–b).

The bottle of Clear Wine, Pounded Rice Cake, String Cord,³⁸² pure paper, and String Cord Plank³⁸³ are placed on the racks within the tiered food boxes. The Corporals and the Bannermen at Large carry [the tiered food boxes] and follow at the rear [of the procession].

When the procession reaches the Tangse, the Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes in yellow silk garments reverently invite the deities [out of the palanquin]. The Buddha's pavilion is shrined on the base to the west. Then, the portrait of the Boddhisatva is hung on the Spirit Drapery. Then, the portrait of Lord Guan is then hung.

Three strands of String Cords are gathered at one end, which is tied to the hoop nailed to the center of the north gable. The [other] ends [of the String Cords] pass through the center hole in the horizontal window at the top of the lattice door. [These cords] are pulled toward the center of the two vermilion-lacquered wooden shelves placed in the pathway, [designated] for tying the String Cords. [Each of the three strands is] threaded through the three holes at the top of the String Cord Plank. Twenty-seven pieces of paper money, cut from yellow, green, and white Korean Paper, are combined into nine pieces and attached to the three strands of String Cords in the three holes at the top of the String Cord Plank. [The three strands] are then gathered into one and pulled through the holes in the horizontal windows at the top of the lattice doors, located on the south and north sides of the Pavilion-Styled Hall. [The end of the String Cord] is tied to the Spirit Pole. A Spirit Banner³⁸⁴ [made of] yellow Korean linen (Ch. 高丽布 [*gaoli bu*], Ma. *mušuri*) is attached to the top of the Spirit Pole.

Twenty-seven pieces of paper money, cut from yellow, green, and white Korean Paper, are affixed to the firwood pole erected in the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse beneath the tall table. In the Feast Hall, nine plates of Pounded Rice Cake and Rolled Cake and three cups of Clear Wine are offered on the two large low tables placed along the edge of the oven-bed. The Chief Incense Stewardess opens the pavilion door and lights incense. [She] pours Clear Wine into the two large blue-floral porcelain bowls on the low table beneath the edge of the oven-bed. Inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall, three plates of Pounded Rice Cake and Rolled Cake, [along with] one cup of Clear Wine, are offered on the tall table. Clear wine is also poured into the two large blue-floral porcelain bowls on the low table.

Two eunuchs playing the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa [are positioned] outside the Feast Hall, to the west of the brick-paved steps.³⁸⁵ Twenty Senior Bodyguards, [assigned] to strike the

³⁸² Ch. 索绳 [*suosheng*], Ma. *siren futa*. *Siren*: string, vein. *Futa*: cord. *Siren futa*: the *siren futa* is used in the “willow branch ritual (fortune petition)” and is made of various strings of different colours. During the ritual, one end of *siren futa* is tied to the Blessed Willow and the other is tied near the deities' tablets. *Siren* also appears in the summoning hymn during the Lights-Out Ceremony addressed to *gu i šongkon*: “*Siren siša de sišame wasiki gu i šongkon* (worming on the vein and the bell, please descend, *gu i šongkon*).” *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 52a–b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 227

³⁸³ Ch. 神杆顶 [*shen'gan ding*], Ma. *halbaha moo*. A three-holed, two-foot-long wooden plank used in Samanic ceremonies. Jerry Norman, *A Comprehensive Manchu-English Dictionary*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 163.

³⁸⁴ Ch. 神幡 [*shenfan*], Ma. *enduri girdan*. Banners hung in front of the Buddha and spirits. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 19, 6a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 229.

³⁸⁵ Ch. 丹碧 [*danbi*], Ma. *celehen*. According to Kroll et al., *danbi* are the steps in front of a palace or the open platform in front of a main palace hall. Paul W. Kroll, William Hubbard Baxter, William G. Boltz, David R.

Wooden Clappers, sit on either side of the brick-paved path. [They] strike the Wooden Clappers and clap [their] hands. Two Samans in female court garments enters and kneel [in place]. Two Chief Incense Stewardesses raise the trays and [wine] cups and hand [them] over to each of the two Samans. The two Samans take the trays and the cups and proffer the wine in unison for nine times. One Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stands beneath the steps of the Feast Hall to the east, striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. [The eunuchs and guards] play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. Each time the two Samans proffer wine, they each pour the proffered wine into the red-floral porcelain jars placed on either side. New wine is then scooped from the bowls containing Clear Wine and poured into the two cups for [further] offering. Each time [the Samans] proffer wine, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sing *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. The guards [also] sing *orolo*. After proffering nine times, the two Samans hand the trays and the cups back to the Chief Incense Stewardesses [*standing*] *in the back*.³⁸⁶ Together, [they] kowtow, stand, and put [their] hands together to salute. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stops striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. The [playing of] the Three-Cord Lutes, the Pipa, and the Wooden Clappers [also] halts temporarily.

The two Samans enter the Pavilion-Styled Hall and kneel. The Chief Incense Stewardesses hand over the trays and the cups. The two Samans proffer wine nine times in unison. The playing of the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, the striking of the Wooden Clappers, the clapping of hands, and the singing of *orolo* [follow] the same instructions for the wine proffering at the Feast Hall. After proffering [wine,] the Samans hand the trays and the cups back to the Chief Incense Stewardesses [*standing*] *in the back*.³⁸⁷ [The Samans] kowtow once, stand up, and put [their] hands together to salute.

One Saman remains in the Pavilion-Styled Hall to await [the next steps]. [The other] Saman enters the Feast Hall and stands in the center. The Chief Incense Stewardess hands over the Spirit Sabre to the Saman. The Saman accepts the Spirit Sabre and advances forward. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes strikes the Wooden Clappers in accordance with proclamation. [The eunuch and guards] then play the Three-Cord Lutes and the Pipas, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. The Saman kowtows once and stands up. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sing *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. The Senior Bodyguards sing *orolo*. The Saman prays three times while holding the Spirit Sabre and invokes with a hymn once. As [the Saman] prays with the Spirit Sabre, the guards sing *orolo*. After [the Saman] invokes with hymns for three times and prays nine times, [the eunuchs and guards] continue to play the Three-Cord Lutes and the Pipas, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands.

[The same] Saman enters the Pavilion-Styled Hall, kowtows once, and stands up. The hymn invocation, praying with Spirit Sabre, and the guards' singing of *orolo* all follow the same instructions as that in the Feast Hall. Once [the Saman] finishes praying, [she] enters the Feast Hall once again, kowtows once, and stands up. Upon praying three more times, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sings *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. The Senior Bodyguards

Knechtges, Y. Edmund Lien, Antje Richter, Matthias L. Richter, and Ding Xiang Warner, *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese*, 3rd ed., newly revised and expanded (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 74–5.

³⁸⁶ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

³⁸⁷ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

sing *orolo* once. After [the Saman] finishes praying, [she] hands the Spirit Sabre back to the Chief Incense Stewardess. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stops striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. [The eunuchs and guards] cease [playing] the Three-Cord Lutes, the Pipas, and the Wooden Clappers. [They all] stand up and retreat. The Saman kneels again, supplicates, kowtows, stands up, puts [her] hands together to salute, and retreats.

The Saman waiting inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall also kneels, supplicates, kowtows, stands up, puts [her] hands together to salute, and retreats. The Chief Incense Stewardess closes the door to the Buddha's pavilion, takes down the portrait of the Bodhisattva and the portrait of Lord Guan, and reverently stores them in [their respective] wooden cylinders. The Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes in yellow silk garments once again enshrine [the Buddha, the Bodhisattva, and Lord Guan] inside the palanquin. [The procession,] led by [eunuchs holding] batons and lanterns, invites [the deities] back to the [Kunning] Palace.

When the emperor attends the ceremony himself, officials from the Department of Ceremonial lay out the emperor's ceremonial cushion inside the Feast Hall and the Pavilion-Styled Hall. The Director of the Imperial Armoury lays out the emperor's sitting cushion outside the west lattice doors of the Feast Hall in advance. [Once] the emperor sits facing the east on the cushion placed beneath the west roof of the Feast Hall, the Minister of the Household strikes the Wooden Clappers. Two Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes who play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa advance to the west side of the brick-paved steps. Ten Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes and Officials of Sacrificial Attributes who strike the Wooden Clappers [position themselves] on either side of the brick-paved steps. Then, Princes of the Blood and Beiles take their seats atop the brick-paved steps, while the Beile Princes and Dukes sit at the bottom. [The side on which they] sit corresponds to [their affiliation] with the Left of Right Wing. Officials from the Department of Ceremonial distribute the Wooden Clappers to the Princes of the Blood and the Beiles.

One Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stands beneath the Feast Hall steps to the east. The Saman proffers wine and prays while holding the Spirit Sabre. [The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes] strikes the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. [The others] then play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, clap [their] hands, and sing *orolo*. The emperor enters the Feast Hall, *removes [his] crown*,³⁸⁸ and kowtows. [He] then enters the Pavilion-Styled Hall, *removes [his] crown again*,³⁸⁹ and kowtows. After [the emperor] kowtows, the Director of the Imperial Armoury lays out the emperor's sitting cushion in the center of room in the west. After the emperor sits down facing the south, the Chief Trencher-Knight³⁹⁰ and Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes raise the small table on which the offered pastries are placed, [presenting it to the emperor]. The Chief Cupbearer³⁹¹ raises and present the offered wine. The emperor consumes the offering [before] bestowing [the rest] to all the Princes and Dukes. Once the ceremony concludes, the emperor returns to the palace. The remaining

³⁸⁸ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

³⁸⁹ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

³⁹⁰ Ch. 尚膳正 [*shangshanzheng*], Ma. *budai da*. An official in the Imperial Buttery under the Imperial Household Department. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 21.

³⁹¹ Ch. 尚茶正 [*shangcha zheng*], Ma. *cai da*. An official in the Imperial Buttery under the Imperial Household Department. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 22.

pastries and wine are distributed amongst the attending guards, officials, and Officials of Sacrificial Attributes.

Supplications for the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse

Supplication [Performed] inside the Feast Hall during the Pole-Lifting Grand Rite each Spring and Autumn

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of the Army, Guan Prince of the Blood.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine, and filling with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication [Performed] inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall in the Tangse

Sons of Heaven, Niohon Taiji, Uduben Beise.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filling with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle to be proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Ceremonial Program for the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace

Translator's notes:

The Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace is largely similar to the Monthly Rite. Therefore, it is also nearly identical to the Daily Veneration, the Preparatory Rite, and the Equine Veneration.

It constitutes the most elaborate rendition. It differs from the Monthly Veneration in the following ways:

First, the ceremonial program for the Grand Rite begins with these extra instructions:

“In the Kunning Palace, forty days prior to the biennial Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting in spring and autumn at the Tangse, a vat is set up in front of the deities’ shrines on the western oven-bed. It is used to contain Clear Wine, which was made before the Preparatory Rite. The Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes dye pieces of clean, white Korean Linen by [soaking them] in the water in which the fruits of the pagoda tree have been boiled. [The linen] is then tailored to make the Spirit Banner. Yellow and green cotton threads are twisted to make the String Cord, where silk pieces of different colours are attached. In addition, [pieces of] paper are dyed and cut into [the shape of] money. On the day of the Preparatory Rite, the Female Officials of Sacrificial Attributes make deep-fried Rolled Cakes. On the day of the Grand Rite, after the Morning Deities were reverently invited to the Tangse to be venerated, they are welcomed back to the palace.”

Second, the offering and proffering of wine in the Grand Rite differs notably from that in the Monthly Veneration in the following ways:

- a. Clear Wine is used throughout the ritual, instead of Sweet Wine or clean water.
- b. After the Morning Deities are set up and two large vermilion-lacquered low tables are placed on the oven-bed, *three*, instead of one, bottles of Clear Wine are placed beneath the edge. On the long low table for wine proffering, *three*, instead of two, yellow glaze large bowls are placed, with one containing wine and two left empty. This configuration allows two Samans to proffer wine after the pigs are brought in. While their actions remain the same, the two Samans proffer wine in unison for *nine* times, instead of the six in the Monthly Veneration. An extra step is also added: after the bowls and the wine-proffering table are removed, the three cups of wine offered on the large low table (alongside other offered pastries and fruits) are also poured into the bowls. More wine is then poured from the yellow glaze large bowl containing wine. The rest of the ritual is presided over by only one Saman.
- c. After the Saman prays with the Spirit Sabre for nine times and invokes with hymns for three times, three new cups of wine are offered on the large low table to replace the ones that had been poured out.
- d. After the bowls of thinly sliced Sacrificial Meat are set up and the pieces of the cooked pig are assembled on the long, tall table, one Saman proffers wine six times, instead of three.
- e. In the Evening Veneration, after the portraits of the deities are hung on the drapery, five cups of Clear Wine are placed on the vermilion-lacquered table on the oven-bed, with three bottles underneath the edge. The five cups of wine are replaced after the Saman unties her Skirt and Waist Bells.

Third, according to the illustrations in *juan 6* of *Codex*, the golden silk Spirit Drapery embroidered with red-coloured gold threads used in the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace is a different one than that used in other variations of the Morning Veneration (7b and 26a). The one used in the Grand Rite is also used in the Buddha Bathing (7b). There doesn’t seem to be any discernable differences in size or pattern between the two Spirit Draperies.

Fourth, besides wine, nine plates of in-season fruit, Pounded Rice Cake, and Rolled Cake are also offered.

Fifth, after the Buddha's pavilion is moved to be enshrined in the west room and before the portrait of Lord Guan is hung in the center, the pure paper hung on the south side of the Spirit Drapery is taken and placed on the vermilion-lacquered drawer table. When the eunuchs remove the skin and bones of the pigs slaughtered in the morning, they also remove the pure paper on the drawer table.

Supplications for the Grand Rite at the Kunning Palace

Supplication for Invoking with Hymn at the Morning Veneration at the Kunning Palace for the Grand Rite

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invocation [to be Recited when] Pouring Wine into Pig Ears at the Morning Veneration

Sons of Heaven, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom oblation is proffered. Please receive and accept [it] with jubilation and goodness.

Supplication for Morning Meat Offering

Sons of Heaven, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Summoning Hymn [performed] during the Evening Veneration [while] Sitting on the Stool

Niyansi of Ahūn who descended from Heaven, Niyansi of light who split from the sun. The Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

First Hymn Invocation:

Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Second Hymn Invocation

Enduri Senggu, Senggu Enduri.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Last Hymn Invocation:

Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication while Kneeling after Shamanizing and [Performing] Hymn

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn

white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invocation [to be Recited when] Pouring Wine into the Pigs' Ears during the Evening Veneration

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom oblation is proffered. Please receive and accept [it] with jubilation and goodness.

Supplication for Evening Meat Offering

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been fashioned [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Summoning Hymn [Performed] toward the Spirit Bells for the First Time during the Lights-Out Ceremony

Je irehu, je narhūn.

Close the door and window and summon, narhūn.

Hide the pot's vapor and the stove's fire and summon, narhūn.

Since [you have been] summoned, please descend to the throne, narhūn.

Since the Lights-Out Rite [is performed], please descend to the goblet stand, narhūn.

Nadan Daihūn, please descend and enchant, narhūn.

Jorgon Junggi, please descend and command, narhūn.

The soul has stepped on the bell, please dismount, narhūn.

The vein has wormed on the bell, please dismount, narhūn.

Hymn Invocation while Striking the Spirit Bell the Second Time

Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu, Jorgon Junggi, Juru Juktehen.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Invitation with Hymn toward the Spirit Bells for the Third Time

Je irehu je, gu i šongkon.

Raise the goblet stand and summon, gu i šongkon.

Set up the assembled oblations and summon, gu i šongkon.

Since [you have been] summoned, please descend to the throne, gu i šongkon.

Since the Lights-Out Ceremony [is performed], please descend to the goblet stand, gu i šongkon.

Waving your wings and feathers, please descend, gu i šongkon.

Worming on the vein and the Waist Bell, please descend, gu i šongkon.

Hymn Invocation while Striking the Spirit Bell the Fourth Time

The conjured deities, the summoning offsprings. Those with mouth venerated, the acolytes worshipped.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom [this ritual is performed].

Feasting on nine and filled with eight. On the day nine is fulfilled, lifting the pole and pulling the Cord String, grand offerings have been prepared [according to the] great principle and proffered to the spirits and the deities.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Ceremonial Program for Thanksgiving on the Day After the Grand Rite

Translator's notes:

The ceremonial program for Thanksgiving after the Grand Rite is entirely identical to that of the regular Thanksgiving.

Thanksgiving Proclamation on the Day after the Grand Rite

Translator's notes:

The Thanksgiving proclamation after the Grand Rite is entirely identical to that of the regular Thanksgiving.

Juan Four

Ceremonial Program for the Blessing Petition³⁹²

Several days before the Blessing Petition ceremony, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes, Officials of Sacrificial Attributes, and Chief Incense Stewardesses collect and bring cotton threads and patches from nine Manchu families³⁹³ without circumstances³⁹⁴ to twist two Strings of Fortune³⁹⁵ and sew three small Shoulder Patches.³⁹⁶ Sweet wine is brewed. One day prior [to the ceremony], two Officials of Sacrificial Attributes and two Manchu Officials of

³⁹² Ch. 求福 [qiufu], Ma. *hūturi baire* (imperfect participle of *baime*: to seek). the Blessing Petition: to worship the Blessed Willow when Strings of Fortune are worn around small children's necks. For definitions of the String of Fortune and worship of the Blessed Willow, see below. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 43b

³⁹³ Ch. 满洲九家 [*manzhou jiujia*], Ma. *manju halangga niyalma uyun booci*, lit. "from nine families [with] Manchu last names." The designations of these nine families remain unclear. It is possible that eight of these Manchu families correspond to the "eight noted Manchu surnames" recorded in the *General Genealogy of the Clans of the Eight Manchu Banners*—Gūwalgiya, Niohuru, Šumuru, Hešeri, Tatara, Gioro, Tunggiya, and Nara (*juan* 1, 5, 6, 9, 11, 20, 19, and 22). The remaining last name might have been Aisin Gioro, belonging to the Qing royal family. The Aisin Gioro surname is distinct from the aforementioned Gioro in that the former is "the national surname," while the latter belong to commoners. Huang Ji et al., eds., *Qinding huangchao tongzhi* (1787), *juan* 1, 6b–7a."

³⁹⁴ Ch. 无事故 [*wu shigu*], Ma. *baita turgun akū*. Without affairs, assignments, or obligations.

³⁹⁵ Ch. 线索 [*xiansuo*], Ma. *sorokū futa*. The [string] made by twisting together threads of different colours. [It is] worn around the necks of small children during the Blessing Petition ceremonies. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 52b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 280.

³⁹⁶ Ch. 小方戒绸 [*xiaofang jiechou*], Ma. *targa*. Small square patches sewn onto the back of the small children's clothes during rituals. The Chinese term corresponding to *targa* in *Expanded Mirror* is "肩项上方绸片 [*jianshan dingde fangchoupian*]," lit. silk squares worn on the shoulder. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 52b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 280.

Sacrificial Attributes, led by two Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes, travel to Yingtai.³⁹⁷ Under the supervision of the officials from the Bureau of Imperial Gardens and Hunting Parks,³⁹⁸ [they] cut down an intact willow tree that is nine *chi* tall with a diameter of three *cun*.³⁹⁹ [It] is wrapped in yellow cloth and reverently brought to be placed temporarily at a [ritually] clean location.

On the day of the Blessing Petition, the stone on which the Blessed Willow⁴⁰⁰ is installed is placed at the center of the corridor outside the Kunning Palace door. The Blessed Willow is mounted on the stone. On the Blessed Willow, one piece of Blessed Willow Paper⁴⁰¹ and three Shoulder Patches in three colors are hung. The deities [are set up], and the Spirit Drapery is hung [in the same manner] as in the Morning Veneration. After [the deities are] enshrined, three censers, three cups of Sweet Wine, nine plates of Bean Cake (Ch. 豆擦糕 [*douca gao*], Ma. *dubise efen*), nine plates of Fried Cake (Ch. 爍糕 [*zhagao*], Ma. *caruha efen*), and nine plates of Pounded Rice Cake are offered on the large low table. A bottle of Sweet Wine is offered beneath the edge of the oven-bed. To the south of the western oven-bed, the large, vermilion-lacquered Blessing Petition Tall Table is set up. Nine cups of Sweet Wine, two large bowls of boiled carp, two bowls of barnyard grass rice, and two bowls of Coin Cake⁴⁰² made with red beans are offered [on the Blessing Petition Tall Table]. The Fried Cakes, Bean Cakes, and Pounded Rice Cakes, in multiples of nine, are stacked in layers on the table.

On the western oven-bed behind the tall table, two cushions are placed. A bundle of cured linen is tied to the Spirit Arrow.⁴⁰³ The multi-coloured cotton threads gathered from the nine families are twisted into two strands and temporarily tied to the Spirit Arrow. The Spirit Arrow is erected under the western oven-bed, to the north of the wine bottle. Silk strips of different colours are clipped onto the String Cord⁴⁰⁴ made of yellow and green cotton threads. The head [of the String Cord] is tied to the iron ring affixed to the west gable, and the tail is threaded through the door and tied to the Blessed Willow. Incense Stewardesses lay out the yellow-floral red mat [used] for kowtow.

³⁹⁷ Ch. 瀛台 [*yintai*], Ma. *ingtai*. Island in the Southern Sea Lake located to the west of the Forbidden City. Also refers to the lakes of Central Sea and Southern Sea. Parts of the imperial garden. Liu et al., eds., *Qingdai Zhongnanhai dang'an: zhengwu huodong juan*, vol. 1, preface (Beijing: Xiyuan chubanshe, 2004).

³⁹⁸ Ch. 奉宸苑 [*fengchen yuan*], Ma. *dorgi belhere yamun*. A division under the Imperial Household that controls the imperial garden, hunting parks, and the growing of rice for the court. Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, 20.

³⁹⁹ Nine *chi*: approx. 3 m. Three *cun*: approx. 10 cm.

⁴⁰⁰ Ch. 柳枝 [*liuzhi*], Ma. *fodo moo*. *Fodo*: the willow branch erected during the Blessing Petition ceremonies. The Chinese term corresponding to this entry is “求福柳枝 [*qiufu liuzhi*],” lit. willow branch [used in] the Blessing Petition. The Blessed Willow is distinguished from the common willow tree in the Manchu spellings of the words: the former is *fodo* (*moo*), while the latter is *fodoho* (*moo*). *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 52a.

⁴⁰¹ Ch. 钱纸条 [*qian jingzhitiao*], Ma. *ilgari*. The paper strips wrapped around the Blessed Willow. The Chinese translation of the term in *Expanded Mirror* is 树枝上纸条 [*shuzhishang zhitiao*], lit. strips of paper on the tree branch. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 52a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 281.

⁴⁰² Ch. 水飴子 [*shuituanzi*], Ma. *toholiyo efen*. A flat [pastry] made with flour and shaped like a coin. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 27, 45a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 282.

⁴⁰³ Ch. 神箭 [*shenjian*], Ma. *debse*. The arrow used in the Blessing Petition ceremonies with cured linen tied to [it]. The illustration of the Sacred Arrow in *juan* 6 of the *Codex* demonstrates that long strips of linen, approximately the same length as the arrow's shaft, are attached to the nock (27b). *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 52b. Quoted in Yeh *Dianli Yizhu*, 282

⁴⁰⁴ The String Cord is also used in the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting.

When the emperor and the empress attend the ceremony themselves, they enter the Kunning Palace and stand in the south. The Chief Eunuch of Sacrificial Attributes and the Eunuchs of Sacrificial Attributes, following the same instructions for the Morning Veneration, sit on the ground in rows and play the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa and strike the Wooden Clappers. The Saman advances. Holding the Spirit Sabre, [she] prays and invokes three times with hymn. Each time [she] prays, the eunuchs sing *orolo*. After the invocation, the Chief Incense Stewardess raises and hands over the Strings of Fortune, cured linen, and Spirit Arrow to the Saman. The Chief Incense Stewardess and the Incense Stewardesses raise the Blessing Petition Tall Table that was placed in the west, take it out of the door, and offer it in front of the Blessed Willow. The Saman holds the Spirit Sabre with [her] left hand and takes the Spirit Arrow with [her] right hand, exits, and stands in front of the table.

The Incense Stewardesses lay the yellow-floral red mat inside the threshold. The emperor removes [his] crown⁴⁰⁵ and kneels inside the threshold in the center. The empress kneels to [his] east.

Positioned at the right side of the table, the Saman waves the Spirit Arrow toward the Blessed Willow and brushes the cured linen on the Blessed Willow. After invoking with hymns for the first time, the Saman bows to the east while holding the Spirit Arrow. [She] presents the cured linen to the emperor. The emperor strokes [it] three times and holds [it] in [his] arms. Then, the eunuchs [assigned] to strike the Wooden Clappers sing *orolo*. After waving the Spirit Arrow and invoking with hymn for the second time, the Saman presents the cured linen to the emperor once more. Again, the emperor strokes [it] three times and holds [it] in [his] arms. The eunuchs sing *orolo*. After waving the Spirit Arrow and invoking with hymn thrice, [the Saman] presents the cured linen to the empress, who also strokes [it] three times and holds [it] in [her] arms. The eunuchs sing *orolo*. The emperor and the empress kowtow once, stand up, and sit on the cushions laid on the western oven-bed. [They] raise the wine offered on the table and gently sprinkle it on the Blessed Willow with chopsticks.⁴⁰⁶ [They] wedge the pastries offered on the table between the forks and branches of the Blessed Willow.

The Blessing Petition Tall Table is carried inside and placed in its original place.⁴⁰⁷ The Saman enters and stands in front of the deities. After [she] waves the Spirit Arrow [toward the deities] and invokes with hymns, she presents the cured linen to the emperor. Like before, the emperor strokes [it] three times and holds [it] in [his] arms. After waving the Spirit Arrow and invoking with hymn for the second time, the Saman presents the cured linen to the emperor once more. Again, the emperor strokes [it] three times and holds [it] in [his] arms. After waving the Spirit Arrow and invoking with hymn thrice, [the Saman] presents the cured linen to the empress.

⁴⁰⁵ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

⁴⁰⁶ Ch. 洒[sa], Ma. *cacumbi*. Two entries of *cacumbi* are found in the *Expanded Mirror*. The first entry corresponds to the Chinese term 洒酒祭天 [*sajiu jitian*], lit. “to sprinkle wine [as a] sacrifice to Heaven (*juan* 6, 36a).” During bridal banquets, after meat has been ceremonially thrown to the roof (Ma. *oyo gaiha*) and liquor and meat have been offered, the newly married man supplicates and sprinkles [wine] toward the south (*juan* 6, 36a–b). The second entry is found in the same *juan*, with the Chinese translation of 洒酒祭神 [*sajiu jishen*], lit. “to sprinkle wine to venerate deities.” With chopsticks, wine or liquor is lightly sprinkled toward the spirits and the deities. *Expanded Mirror*, 45b, quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 285.

⁴⁰⁷ It seems uncustomary for the emperor and the empress to perform manual labour such as carrying a table covered with offerings. The action is most likely carried out by the Chief Incense Stewardess and the Incense Stewardesses, who moved the tall table outdoor in the first place.

Like before, [the empress] strokes [it] three times and holds [it] in [her] arms. Each time [the emperor and the empress] stroke [the cured linen], the eunuchs still sing *orolo*.

The Saman hands the Spirit Sabre to the Chief Incense Stewardess. [The Saman] removes the two Strings of Fortune tied to the Spirit Arrow before also handing the Spirit Arrow to the Chief Incense Stewardess. The Chief Incense Stewardess erects the Spirit Arrow in its original place. The emperor and the empress stand up. *The emperor removes [his] crown.*⁴⁰⁸ [They] advance in front of the deities and kneel in the usual places during ceremonies. One Saman places one String of Fortune around the emperor's neck. Another Saman places [the other] String of Fortune around the empress's neck. Then, one Saman kneels in the west and supplicates. After the supplication, [she] kowtows once, stands up, and put [her] palms together to salute. The emperor and the empress kowtow in unison once. After [they] stand up, the emperor and the empress still sit on the cushions placed on the western oven-bed.

The Samans and the Chief Incense Stewardesses gather the tributes⁴⁰⁹ that have been offered in a plate and [present them] to be consumed by the emperor and the empress. After consuming the tributes, the emperor and the empress stand up and return to [their] palaces. The rest of the tributes are not permitted to [be brought] outside the door. [They are] all distributed to be eaten by the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes and eunuchs within the palace, with no remnants allowed to remain. After [they have been] eaten [by the people], the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes take the scales and bones of the fish and discard [them] in a [ritually] clean river. The people are also ordered to finish the pastries wedged onto the Blessed Willow, with no remnants allowed to remain.

During the evening [section] of the Blessing Petition, as in the [usual] Evening Veneration, the Spirit Drapery is hung on the frame and the deities are reverently enshrined. Two large low tables are placed on the oven-bed. Five censers, five cups of Sweet Wine, nine plates of Bean Cake, nine plates of Fried Cake, and nine plates of Pounded Rice Cake are offered [on the tables]. The Saman puts on the [Shiny Silk] Skirt, ties the Waist Bells [around her waist], holds the Tambourine and Drumstick in her hand, and shamanize with hymns as in the usual [Evening] Veneration. The eunuchs also hit the drum and strike the Wooden Clappers. After shamanizing, the Saman removes the Skirt and Waist Bells to supplicate and kowtow.

The emperor and the empress kowtow as in the [usual] Evening Veneration. After [they] kowtow, the remaining tributes are also not permitted to [be brought] outside the door. The leftover dreg from fermenting wine is made into porridge and distributed to be eaten by the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes and the eunuchs inside the Kunning Palace. After the meal, the String Cord tied to the Blessed Willow is removed and placed in a sack. [The sack] is hung on the west gable. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes, the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes,

⁴⁰⁸ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

⁴⁰⁹ Ch. 福胙 [fuzuo], Ma. *kesi amsun*. Whenever the emperor consumes the offerings, the offerings are called *zuo* in the Chinese text. In the rest of the *Codex*, the corresponding Manchu text are either *amsun* (offerings), or *doboho yali/efen/nure* (the offered meat/pastry/wine). Here, however, the corresponding Manchu text is *kesi amsun*. On its own, *kesi* refers to the kindness and mercy granted by the king, or blessing bestowed by Heaven. *Kesi* is used in this sense in the ceremonial program for the Grand Rite of the Pole-Mounting at the Tangse, when the emperor gives the rest of the offerings to the princes and dukes (“...*wang, gung de kesi encembi*”). When referring to offerings in a ceremonial context, *kesi* refers to the offering consumed by the emperor in prominent rituals. See the definition of *kesi yali* (Ch. 祚肉 [zuorou]): the offered meat received and consumed (*alime*, imperfect converb of *alimbi*, synonym of *sukjimbi*) by the emperor in grand rites (*ambarame wecere*). *Expanded Mirror*, juan 6, 42a.

and the Manchu Officials of Sacrificial Attributes take the Blessed Willow and deliver [it] to the Tangse, where [it is] burned along with the Spirit Pole and the pure paper on New Year's Day. The Strings of Fortune worn around the emperor's and the empress' [necks] are taken off after three days. The empress personally takes [them] to the Kunning Palace and gives it to the Saman. The Saman receives [them] and place them in a sack. After the [sack] is hung up,⁴¹⁰ the empress kowtows once and returns to [her] palace.

Supplications for the Blessing Petition

Hymn Invocation While the Saman Waves the Spirit Arrow toward the Blessed Willow Outdoors. [Takes Place] during Blessing Petition [Ceremony] after the Blessed Willow is Planted.

Foli Fodo, Omosi Mama.⁴¹¹ To the spirits and the deities, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom offerings from nine families were gathered to be proffered.

The Foli Blessed Willow was planted, the String Cord was drawn, the Spirit Arrow is waved to petition for blessings, and strength is given. [Be] full of mercy for that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out).

Please give the gathered blessings to the temples,⁴¹² please give ten thousand blessings to the bosom. Please bring about the accumulation of a thousand blessings, please bring about the refinement of nine blessings, please bring about the fulfillment of eight blessings, please envelop [them] in blessings.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, make the hair on [their] head turn white, make the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined, make [them] grow old together, form the two people into a pair, enrich [their] livelihood, make [them] ascend with aid, sprout the leaves, propagate the roots. Turn the rice that was eaten into meat, dissolve the water that was drunk into marrow, feed the mouth with delicious food, germinate [on the subject] a red complexion. Long life, deep root. Please let [this person] receive abundant years and age

Blessing Petition Supplication in front of the Morning Deities

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of the Army, Guan Beile Prince. Foli Fodo, Omosi Mama. To the spirits and the deities, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom offerings from nine families were gathered to be proffered.

⁴¹⁰ The location is not specified.

⁴¹¹ Ch. 鄂谟锡妈妈 [*e mo xi mama*], Ma. *omosi mama*. The deity worshipped in the Blessing Petition. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 19, 12b–13a. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 290.

⁴¹² The flat areas on the side of the face between one's eyes and ears, the temples.

The Foli Blessed Willow was planted, the String Cord was drawn, [before] the Spirit Arrow is waved to petition for blessings, and strength is given. [Be] full of mercy for that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out).

Please give the gathered blessings to the temples, please give ten thousand blessings to the bosom. Please bring about the accumulation of a thousand blessings, please bring about the refinement of nine blessings, please bring about the fulfillment of eight blessings, please envelop [them] in blessings.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, make the hair on [their] head turn white, make the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined, make [them] grow old together, form the two people into a pair, enrich [their] livelihood, make [them] ascend with aid, sprout the leaves, propagate the roots. Turn the rice that was eaten into meat, dissolve the water that was drunk into marrow, feed the mouth with delicious food, germinate [on the subject] a red complexion. Long life, deep root. Please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Blessing Petition Supplication in front of the Evening Deities

Sons of Heaven, the Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha, Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu, Enduri Senggu, Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan. Foli Fodo, Omosi Mama. To the spirits and the deities, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom offerings from nine families were gathered to be proffered.

The Foli Blessed Willow was planted, the String Cord was drawn, [before] the Spirit Arrow is waved to petition for blessings, and strength is given. [Be] full of mercy for that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out).

Please give the gathered blessings to the temples, please give ten thousand blessings to the bosom. Please bring about the accumulation of a thousand blessings, please bring about the refinement of nine blessings, please bring about the fulfillment of eight blessings, please envelop [them] in blessings.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, make the hair on [their] head turn white, make the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined, make [them] grow old together, form the two people into a pair, enrich [their] livelihood, make [them] ascend with aid, sprout the leaves, propagate the roots. Turn the rice that was eaten into meat, dissolve the water that was drunk into marrow, feed the mouth with delicious food, germinate [on the subject] a red complexion. Long life, deep root. Please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplications for the Blessing Petition for Infants

Hymn Invocation While the Saman Waves the Spirit Arrow toward the Blessed Willow Outdoors. [Takes Place] during the Blessing Petition for Infants after the Blessed Willow is Planted.

Foli Fodo, Omosi Mama. To the spirits and the deities, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom offerings from nine families were gathered to be proffered.

The Foli Blessed Willow was planted, the String Cord was drawn, [before] the Spirit Arrow is waved to petition for blessings, and strength is given. [Be] full of mercy for that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out).

Please give the gathered blessings to the temples, please give ten thousand blessings to the bosom. Please bring about the accumulation of a thousand blessings, please bring about the refinement of nine blessings, please bring about the fulfillment of eight blessings, please envelop [the infant] in blessings.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, make the hair on [their] head turn white, make the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined, make [them] grow heavier, broaden [their] shoulders, sprout the leaves, propagate the roots. Turn the rice that was eaten into meat, dissolve the water that was drunk into marrow, feed the mouth with delicious food, germinate [on the subject] a red complexion. Long life, deep root. Please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Blessing Petition Supplication in front of the Morning Deities

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of the Army, Guan Beile Prince. Foli Fodo, Omosi Mama. To the spirits and the deities, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom offerings from nine families were gathered to be proffered.

The Foli Blessed Willow was planted, the String Cord was drawn, [before] the Spirit Arrow is waved to petition for blessings, and strength is given. [Be] full of mercy for that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out).

Please give the gathered blessings to the temples, please give ten thousand blessings to the bosom. Please bring about the accumulation of a thousand blessings, please bring about the refinement of nine blessings, please bring about the fulfillment of eight blessings, please envelop [them] in blessings.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, make the hair on [their] head turn white, make the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined, make [them] grow old together, form the two people into a pair, enrich [their] livelihood, make [them] ascend with aid, sprout the leaves, propagate the roots. Turn the rice that was eaten into meat, dissolve the water that was drunk into marrow, feed the mouth with delicious food, germinate [on the subject] a red complexion. Long life, deep root. Please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Blessing Petition Supplication in front of the Evening Deities

Sons of Heaven, the Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha, Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu, Enduri Senggu, Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan. Foli Fodo, Omosi Mama. To the spirits and the deities, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out) for whom offerings from nine families were gathered to be proffered.

The Foli Blessed Willow was planted, the String Cord was drawn, [before] the Spirit Arrow is waved to petition for blessings, and strength is given. [Be] full of mercy for that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the ritual is performed is called out).

Please give the gathered blessings to the temples, please give ten thousand blessings to the bosom. Please bring about the accumulation of a thousand blessings, please bring about the refinement of nine blessings, please bring about the fulfillment of eight blessings, please envelop [them] in blessings.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, make the hair on [their] head turn white, make the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined, make [them] grow old together, form the two people into a pair, enrich [their] livelihood, make [them] ascend with aid, sprout the leaves, propagate the roots. Turn the rice that was eaten into meat, dissolve the water that was drunk into marrow, feed the mouth with delicious food, germinate [on the subject] a red complexion. Long life, deep root. Please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication for the Lights-Out Ceremony with Chick Offerings in the Spring

Sons of Heaven, the Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the Lights-Out Ceremony is performed is called out) for whom a home-raised, pure oblation with wings had [its] neck wrung, and wings plucked to be proffered to the spirits.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication for the Lights-Out Ceremony with Gosling Offerings in the Summer

Sons of Heaven, the Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the Lights-Out Ceremony is performed is

called out) for whom a home-raised, pure oblation with wings had [its] neck wrung, and wings plucked to be proffered to the spirits.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication for the Lights-Out Ceremony with Fish Offering in Autumn

Sons of Heaven, the Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the Lights-Out Ceremony is performed is called out) for whom pure oblations taken from the rivers and streams are proffered to the spirits.

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication for the Lights-Out Ceremony with Pheasant Offerings in Winter

Sons of Heaven, the Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the Lights-Out Ceremony is performed is called out) for whom pure oblations taken from the mountain summits are proffered to the spirits

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Supplication for All Lights-Out Ceremonies with Fresh Offerings

Sons of Heaven, the Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year, humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual for whom the Lights-Out Ceremony is performed is called out) for whom pure oblations taken from the mountain summits are proffered to the spirits

Encircled by [their] head, copulated on [their] shoulders. Protecting the front and supporting the back, make jubilation and goodness be joined. Make the hair on [their] head turn white, and the teeth in [their] mouth turn yellow. Abundant years, manifold ages. Long life, deep roots.

With the spirits looking after, and the deities watching over, please let [this person] receive abundant years and age.

Ceremonial Program for the Equine Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

On the first day of the Equine Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse, one Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes and one Official of Sacrificial Attributes hang twenty-seven pieces of pure paper money on the firwood pole erected under the tall table inside the Pavilion-Styled Hall. A plate of Pounded Rice Cake, a cup of Sweet Wine, and twenty pairs of green Horse-Tail Ribbons⁴¹³ are offered on the tall table. Then, two large bowls are placed on the low table that was set up on the ground: one contains wine, [while] the [other] is left empty. The Chief Incense Stewardess lights incense.

The Inspector of Drovers lead ten white horses to the east of the pathway outside the Pavilion-Styled Hall [and make them stand] facing west. The two eunuchs [appointed to play] the Three-Cord Lute and the Pipa sit on the west side of the pathway outside the Pavilion-Styled Hall, facing east. The Tangse guards [who] strike the Wooden Clappers and clap [their] hands [sit] on the east side, facing west.

The Saman enters and kneels. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the tray and the cup and hand [them] over to the Saman. The Saman accepts [them] and proffer the wine six times. One Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stands to the east of the stairway outside the Pavilion-Styled Hall and strikes the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. [The eunuchs and guards] play the Third-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. Each time the Saman proffers the wine, she pours it [from the cup] into the empty bowl. The newly [poured] wine is then scooped from the bowl into the two cups and proffered. With each proffering, the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sings *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. The Tangse guards [also] sing *orolo*.

After [the wine is] proffered [like this] six times, the cup and tray are handed over to the Chief Incense Stewardess [*standing*] *in the back*.⁴¹⁴ The Saman kowtows once, stands up, and puts [her] palms together to salute. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stops striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. The [playing of] the Three-Cord Lute, the Pipa, and the Wooden Clappers halts temporarily. The Chief Incense Stewardess raises the Spirit Sabre and hands [it] over to the Saman. The Saman accepts the Spirit Sabre and advances. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes strikes the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. [The eunuchs and guards] play the Third-Cord Lute and the Pipa, strike the Wooden Clappers, and clap [their] hands. The Saman kowtows once and stands up. The

⁴¹³ Ch. 绸条 [*choutiao*], Ma. *soriha*. Long stripes of cloth tied to the horses governed by the deity (Ma. *weceku de ejelebuhe morin*). The Chinese text indicates that they are fashioned with woven silk. Which deity—*weceku*—governs the horses is unclear. *Expanded Mirror*; juan 6, 54a–b. Quoted in Yeh, *Dianli Yizhu*, 305.

⁴¹⁴ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes sings *orolo* in accordance with the proclamation. [The crowd also] sings *orolo*.

The Saman prays three times while holding up the Spirit Sabre and invokes with a hymn once. *Orolo* is sung when [she] prays holding up the Spirit Sabre. In keeping with prior instructions, the Saman invokes with hymns three times and [prays] nine times. Afterwards, the Saman kowtows once, stands up, prays three more times, and hands the Spirit Sabre to the Chief Incense Stewardess [*standing*] in the back.⁴¹⁵ The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes stops striking the Wooden Clappers in accordance with the proclamation. The [playing of] the Three-Cord Lute, the Pipa, And the Wooden Clappers [also] halts. The Saman kneels, supplicates, kowtows once, and stands near the east side of the tall table. [She] takes the Horse-Tail Ribbons placed on the table and fumigate them over an incense vessel⁴¹⁶ while invoking. [She then] gives the Horse-Tail Ribbons to the Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes and retreats. The Supervisor of Sacrificial Attributes gives the Horse-Tail Ribbons to the Supervisor of Drovers to tie [them] to the horses' manes and tails. The offered pastries and wine are distributed amongst the Supervisors of Drovers

Supplications for the Equine Veneration at the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse

Supplications for the First Day of Veneration for the Riding Horses in the Pavilion-Styled Hall at the Tangse.

Sons of Heaven, Niohon Taiji, Uduben Beise.

The horse ridden by that humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [this ritual] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on mug wort (Ma. *suiha*) to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deities, please [offer] assistance!

Ceremonial Program for the First Day of The Equine Veneration

Translator's notes:

The first day of the Equine Veneration is largely similar to the Monthly Veneration, with the following differences:

First, it takes place in the Equine Veneration Chamber, located in the south of the Shenwu Gate. The Spirit Drapery is hung on irons hoops nailed to the west gable, instead of the

⁴¹⁵ The italicized part is omitted in the Chinese text.

⁴¹⁶ Ch. 香炉 [*xianglu*], Ma. *hiyan i dabukū*. According to the illustration in the *juan* 6 of the *Codex*, the incense vessel is larger than the more frequently mentioned censer and has two decorative side panels extending upwards. The difference between the *Expanded Mirror* entries for the incense vessel (*hiyan dabukū*) and the censer (*hiyan fila*) emphasizes their differing purposes: the incense burned on the censer is offered to the *deities*, while the recipient of that in the incense vessel is not specified. *Expanded Mirror*, *juan* 6, 50b and 51b.

vermilion-lacquered triangle shelf engraved with dragon heads. The base of the Buddha's pavilion, together with two censers, are moved to a pavilion set up outside the west gable of the Equine Veneration Chamber.

Second, in the morning, after the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes put lard on the nose bridge of the pig and lights incense, Horse-Tail Ribbons are placed next to the bowls of Sacrificial Meat. On the first day, seventy pairs of red silk ribbons are placed on the large low table. In the Evening Veneration on both days, after the Officials of Sacrificial Attributes divide the meat into two wooden trough basins with tin interior and lights incense, thirty pairs of black ribbons of the same type are placed on next to the bowls of Sacrificial Meat on the large low table. After the removal of Sacrificial Meat at completion of the Lights-Out Ceremony, the ribbons are fumigated above the censer and given to Senior Bodyguards affiliated with the Palace Stud. Ribbons fumigated on the first day are distributed to the stables (Ch. 廊[*lang*], Ma. *heren*).

Third, although the base of the Buddha's pavilion and the Spirit Drapery are mentioned in the ceremonial program, the statue of the Buddha, the portraits of the Bodhisattva and Lord Guan, and the portraits of the Evening Deities are not.

Fourth, Greased Korean Paper is not used in the Equine Veneration. Instead of Sprinkled Cakes and in-season fruit, Pounded Rice Cakes, Rolled Cakes, and Sweet Wine are offered. Blue brocade is used on the Lights-Out Ceremony on both days, instead of the customary black one.

Fifth, the ceremonial program does not include instructions for the emperor. It can be assumed that the emperor does not attend this Veneration.

Sixth, the interior of all wooden trough basin used in the Equine Veneration is covered with tin. Wooden trough basins with silver interior are used in all other variations of the Morning Veneration, with the exception of the ones containing blood.

Seventh, compared to the Monthly Veneration, the number of Officials and Supervisors of Sacrificial Attributes and Head Eunuchs presiding over the ceremony is halved.

Eighth, the Sacrificial Meat and offered pastries are distributed amongst those affiliated with the Palace Stud, such as ministers, guards, officials, inspectors of the stables, inspectors of droves, and others. The Chinese text specifies that the Inspectors of the Stables (Ch. 厩长 [*jiuzhang*]) receives the sacrificial offerings on the first day, and Inspectors of Droves (Ch. 牧长 [*muzhang*]) on the second. The Manchu text does not distinguish between the two titles.

Supplications for the First Day of the Equine Veneration

Supplication for Invoking with Hymn on the First Day of the Equine Veneration in the Equine Veneration Chamber

Sons of Heaven, Buddha and Bodhisattva, Lord and Master, General of The Army, Beile Prince Guan.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age. Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Invocation [to be Recited when] Pouring Wine into Pig Ears at the Morning Veneration

Sons of Heaven, General of The Army, Beile Prince Guan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whose riding horse oblation is proffered. Please accept and receive [it] with jubilation and goodness.

Supplication for Morning Meat Offering

Sons of Heaven, General of the Army, Beile Prince Guan.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [meat] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Invitation by Hymn [performed] in Evening Veneration [while] Sitting on the Stool

Niyansi of Ahūn who descended from Heaven, Niyansi of light who split from the sun. The Niyansi spirit. Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

First Hymn Invocation:

Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Second Hymn Invocation

Enduri Senggu, Senggu Enduri.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Last Hymn Invocation:

Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Supplication after Kneeling after Shamanizing by Chanting Hymn

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Invocation [to be Recited when] Pouring Wine into Pig Ears at the Evening Veneration

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

Humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whose riding horse oblation is offered. Please accept and receive [it] with jubilation and goodness.

Supplication for Evening Meat Offering

Sons of Heaven, Niyansi Spirit, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha. Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Niyancu. Enduri Senggu. Baiman Janggin, Nadan Weihuri, Endu Monggolo, Katun Noyan.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [meat] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Invitation by Invocating with Hymn toward the Spirit Bells for the First Time during the Lights-Out Ceremony

Je irehu, je narhūn.

Close the door and window and summon, narhūn.

Hide the pot's vapor and the stove's fire and summon, narhūn.

Since [you have been] summoned, please descend to the throne, narhūn.

Since the Lights-Out Rite [is performed], please descend to the goblet stand, narhūn.

Nadan Daihūn, please descend and enchant, narhūn.

Jorgon Junggi, please descend and command, narhūn.

The soul has stepped on the bell, please dismount, narhūn.

The vein has wormed on the bell, please dismount, narhūn.

Hymn Invocation while Striking the Spirit Bell the Second Time

Nadan Daihūn, Narhūn Hiyancu, Jorgon Junggi, Juru Juktehen.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Invitation with Hymn toward the Spirit Bells for the Third Time

Je irehu je, gu i šongkon.

Raise the goblet stand and summon, gu i šongkon.

Set up the assembled oblations and summon, gu i šongkon.

Since [you have been] summoned, please descend to the throne, gu i šongkon.

Since the Lights-Out Ceremony [is performed], please descend to the goblet stand, gu i šongkon.

Please wave [your] wings and feathers and descend, gu i šongkon.

Please worm on the vein and the Waist Bell and descend, gu i šongkon

Hymn Invocation while Striking the Spirit Bell the Fourth Time

The conjured deities, the summoning offsprings. Those with mouth venerated, the acolytes worshipped.

The horse ridden by humble subject of [such and such] zodiac year (the year of birth of the individual whose horse the ritual is performed for is called out) for whom [wine] is proffered.

Grasp [its] spine to make [it] ascend, grasp [its] mane to make [it] float. Drinking wind to make [it] swell, slurping mist to make [it] fatten. Eating hay to make it recover, chewing on Chinese mug wort to make it age.

Don't let [it] fall into a ditch, don't let [it] encounter bandits. Spirits, please [offer] support! Deity, please [offer] assistance!

Ceremonial Program for the Second Day of the Equine Veneration

Translator's notes:

The second day of the Equine Veneration is nearly identical to the first day, with the following changes:

Two hundred and eighty pairs of blue ribbons are placed on the table in the morning. The ribbons fumigated in the evening are distributed to the “propagating herd (Ch. 廊 [*lang*], Ma. *fusembure adun*).”

Supplications for the Second Day of the Equine Veneration

Translator's notes:

The hymns performed on the second day of the Equine Veneration is nearly identical to those of the same day, with the following changes

First, the verse “the horse ridden by humble subject...” is changed into “the horse propagating the herd...”

Second, all stanzas of “do not let it fall into a ditch, do not let it encounter bandits” are changed to “make [the horse that propagates the herd] sprout greatly like leaf, make [the horse that propagates the herd] multiply exceedingly like roots.”

Postscript⁴¹⁷

[We] respectfully [submit] the tome of *Imperially Commissioned Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving* for review. After thoroughly investigating the old customs and correcting the inconsistencies, the truth [about the Manchu traditions can] be preserved and passed on for ages.

Now, [following] the imperial edict, we have translated [the *Codex*] into Chinese and compiled it into the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* [after] investigating the Manchu text in detail. We found that the deities venerated in the morning at the Kunning Palace are the Sakyamuni Buddha, Avalokitésvara,⁴¹⁸ and Guan Beile Prince. The deities venerated in the evening are the Murigan Deity, Portrait Deity, and Mongolian Deity. On the day after the Monthly Veneration and the Grand Rite, Thanksgiving is reverently [performed] to repay the [favours] of the Spirit of Heaven.⁴¹⁹ We could not find any information on [most of] the titles mentioned in the supplications—Ahūn i Niyansi, Ancun Ayara, Muri Muriha, Nadan Daihūn, Enduri Senggu, Baiman Jangging, Nadan Wehuri, Endu Monggolo, and Katun Noyan—aside from Nadan Daihūn and Katun Noyan. Nadan Daihūn refers to the Big Dipper. Katun Noyan is a Mongolian Deity who is venerated because [it had] bestowed favors [on us] in the past.

As for the deity Foli Fodo Omosi Mama [who is associated with] the Blessing Petition ritual, [during which] the Blessed Willow is planted, [it is] known to be venerated for the protection of children. The Šangsi Spirit worshipped at the Tangse is venerated for the sake of farmlands and crops. [We] do not know the origins of the Niohon Taiji and Uduben Beise mentioned in the supplications.

[We] assume that during the ancient times, each place and nation venerated [their] specific deities. [They were] either worshipped to repay the favours for manifesting miracles or given offerings because [their] merits and virtues have left an impression on the people. Then, the tradition has passed on and [the people] have observed the rituals sincerely [without knowing their origins]. The passages on ritual customs have instructed that once [a tradition] begins [to be observed], it cannot be deserted.

Since [the Manchus] ascended to the throne under the Mandate of Heaven, [we have been sustained] by the collective blessings of countless spirits. [This ritual] codex is reverently compiled to repay for their graciousness. Although we are not able to explain exhaustively the origins [of the practices and deities] as a long time has passed, [we found precedents in] the *Book of Rites* (Ch. 礼记 [*lijì*]) [that justifies our editorial decisions]. [The passage] “King Wen as Son and Heir (Ch. 文王世子 [*wenwang shizi*])” mentions the “veneration of the late master (Ch. 先师 [*xianshi*]).” In Zheng Yuan’s⁴²⁰ annotation, [he explains that] the identity of the “late master” is unknown and only compared [him] to [the masters] in the academies mentioned in the *Rites of Zhou* (Ch. 周礼 [*zhouli*]) and Han scholars of classics. From this, we know that whenever the

⁴¹⁷ The postscript was originally written in Chinese before translated into Manchu.

⁴¹⁸ Ch. 观世音菩萨 [*guanshiyin pusa*], Ma. *jilan i bulekušere fusa*. *Jilan*: compassion. *Bulekušemi*: to see thoroughly, to reflect in a mirror.

⁴¹⁹ Ch. 天神 [*tianshen*], Ma. *abkai enduri*. There is no entry for *abkai enduri* in the *Expanded Mirror*. However, a close match is the *abkai han*—the honorary title for the supreme lord of the Heaven above. *Juan* 19, 12a.

⁴²⁰ Ch. 郑元 <玄> [*zheng yuan, xuan*]. 127–200 CE.

people of antiquity could not ascertain the truth behind an individual, [they] refrained from misattributing facts or risking [the creation of] groundless fabrications. Therefore, in exercising caution, [we] have left the parts [we] do not understand unchanged and dared not to erroneously assert their meanings.

All explicable parts of the supplications were translated into Chinese based on their meanings. We only know the pronunciations of phrases like “jorgon junggi, juru juktehen, je, irehu, je, narhūn, gu i šongkon, fisun, anje, and orolo,” and cannot explain what they mean. After the Jiawu year of the Tianxing reign of the Great Jin⁴²¹ (1234), many books were lost, leaving few literary references [from the past]. Thus, the elders only orally passed down [the supplications]. Now many years have passed and [their] meanings are further obscured. When referencing the *Yuefu* (Ch. 乐府) [poems] of the Han Dynasty, [we found that] only the pronunciations, not the meanings, of “*shou zhong wu* [Ch. 收中吾]” from “By the Tall Terrace (Ch. 临高台 [*lin gaotai*])” and “*fei hu xi* [Ch. 妃呼豨]” from “The One I Long For (Ch. 有所思 [*you suo si*])” remained. In addition, the correct sound of the *duo* dance song⁴²² “Ritual and Music Written by the Sage”⁴²³ in the music segments (Ch. 乐志 [*yuezhi*]) of the *Book of Song* (Ch. 宋书 [*songshu*]) is wholly preserved. As they were passed down through generations, all the questionable phrases remain unaltered. Now, [we] have reverently recorded the [supplications] in their original form to preserve their true essence, not daring to tamper with them arbitrarily.

[By]:

The Diarist at the Imperial Discussion Banquets, Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Grand Secretary of Wuying Hall, Assistant Director of the Library, Adjutant General, Controller of the Board of Civil Appointments, Chancellor of the National Academy, Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard, First-Class Duke Chengmou Yingyong, the minister Agūi.

The Diarist at the Imperial Discussion Banquets, Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Grand Secretary of Wenhua Hall, Assistant Director of the Library, Chancellor of the National Academy, Controller of the Board of Revenue, Hereditary First-Class Commandant of Light Chariots.⁴²⁴ The minister Yu Mingzhong (Ch. 于敏中, Ma. *ioi min jung*).

The Memorials

(Memorial One)

⁴²¹ Ch. 大金天兴甲午 [*dajin tianxing jiawu*], Ma. *aisin gurun i tian hing sehe niowanggiyan morin aniya*. The year 1234 C.E. marks the demise of the Jin Dynasty.

⁴²² Ch. 铎舞曲 [*duo wuqu*], Ma. *cinggilakū maksin i ucun*. *Duo*: a type of large bell.

⁴²³ Ch. 圣人制礼乐 [*shengrenzhi liyue*], Ma. *enduringge niyalma dorolon kumun be toktobuha fiyelen*. The meaning of the text is not readily discernible.

⁴²⁴ Ch. 世袭一等轻车都尉 [*shixi yideng qingche duwei*], Ma. *jalan sirara uju jergi adaha hafan*. Ranked in the 6th place and below the baron (Ch. 子 [*zi*], Ma. *jingkini hafan*), the Commandant of Light Chariots is a non-imperial hereditary nobility title. *Expanded Mirror*, juan 4, 7b.

The Diarist at the Imperial Discussion Banquets, Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Grand Secretary of Wuying Hall, Assistant Director of the Library, Adjutant General, Controller of the Board of Civil Appointments, Chancellor of the National Academy, Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard, First Class Duke Chengmou Yingyong, minister Agūi respectfully memorialize:

Upon review, [I report that] the *Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving* comprises a total of six *juans*. By the imperial edict, Yu Minzhong and I, Agūi, were commanded to translate [the text] and compile it into the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*. The first through fourth *juans* had been reverently translated into Chinese and submitted to the emperor for his perusal.

Juan 5, [which documents] the manufacture of the instruments, and *juan* 6, [which presents] the illustrations of the instruments, had long been translated into Chinese. Now, after being proofread once more and with new illustrations drawn, they are submitted for the emperor's review.

The same edict also commanded us to thoroughly differentiate the Buddha, the Bodhisattva, Lord Guan, the spirits venerated at the Tangse, and the location where the Thanksgiving to Heaven [takes place]. The questionable [materials] whose origin could not be explicated, the old sayings in the supplications whose pronunciation, not the meaning, have been passed down, and the [editorial justifications] to quell doubts and establish credibility are explained in a brief postscript. The postscript, prudently composed, is attached to the end of the *juan* 4 of the Chinese text and forwarded [as a] yellow tally.

After the emperor's [responsory] edict is issued, [the Chinese *Codex*] will be handed to the Library, where it will be compiled into the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* and passed on for eternity. Two [additional] copies will also be made: one will be displayed in the Maoqin Hall (Ch. 懋勤殿), and the other will be stored at the Imperial Study.⁴²⁵ On this account, I have submitted this informative memorial on the second of the seventh lunar month, the forty-fifth year of Qianlong's reign (1780).

[The emperor's response:]

Noted. The postscript [shall be] translated into the Qing language immediately.

(Memorial 2)

The Diarist at the Imperial Discussion Banquets, Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Grand Secretary of Wuying Hall, Assistant Director of the Library, Adjutant General, Controller of the Board of Civil Appointments, Chancellor of the National Academy, Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard, First Class Duke Chengmou Yingyong, minister Agūi respectfully memorialize:

The postscript of the *Codex of Manchu Veneration and Thanksgiving*, which was respectfully submitted earlier, [received the response] in an imperial edict commanding its immediate translation into the Qing language. Together with the officials at the Manchu-Chinese Translation Office (Ch. 缮书房 [*fanshu fang*]), [we] have prudently completed the translation

⁴²⁵ Ch. 尚书房 [*shangshu fang*]. Located inside the Qianqing Gate, the Imperial Study served as the institution where the imperial princes received education in literature and archery. Wan, *Gugong cidian*, 25.

and hereby submit it to the emperor for review. Once the [responsory] edict is issued, [the translated postscript] will be copied in the same format as the [*Codex*'s] Qing language text. [It will be] sent to Wuying Hall to be appended to the tome at the end of *juan* 4. On this account I have submitted the memorial to inform [the emperor].

[The emperor's response:]

Noted.

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