The Sacred and the Profane: A Study of "Chiu ko"

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As "Chiu ko" 九歌 has been generally recognized as shamanistic songs or playlets, it would not be unreasonable to assert that the purpose of chanting or performing them was to try to propitiate the fertility of the land. In fact, Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家 and Wen Ch'ung-i 文崇一 have already suggested this.[1] Ch'en thinks that these poems had some connection with the rain-making ritual, while Wen maintains in general terms that they were written for fertility rites. Wen points out that the Ch'u 楚 people used jade as a sacrificial object, because it was believed to have magic power to prevent the disaster of flooding or of drought, and that the worship of a mountain god was also aimed at bringing about sufficient rainfall for agriculture. As to "Kuo shang"國殤, it seems inconceivable that it has something to do with fertility. But we should note that in renewal rites a mock battle between the life force and death was often performed.[2] In the *Tsŏ chuan* 左傳 it is recorded that as a result of Wei's launching a punitive campaign against Hsing, heavy rainfall relieved Wei from a big drought.[3] Even if we subscribe to Ling Ch'un-sheng's 凌純聲 theory that "Kuo shang" is a description of head-hunting, this particular ritual is also intended to enhance the procreative power of the land.[4]

The performance of a fertility rite was nothing unusual in ancient China. Wen I-to 聞一多 and Ch'en Meng-chia believe these rites were held in such places as the mulberry grove of the Shang 商 people, or in some secret recessess in the mountain.[5] Therefore the romance of the Ch'u king with the goddess of Wu Mountain 巫山 (Shaman mountain) at Kao-t'ang 高唐 is actually a mythicization of this sexual rite. They also believe that the worship of the Supreme Matchmaker (*kao mei* 高禖) or the Goddess of Marriage, is actually a fertility cult.[6] According to the *Li chi* 禮記 , in the second lunar month when the swallows return home, animals are sacrificed to the Supreme Matchmaker, and the Emperor goes there in person. The queen and the court ladies, accompanied by the royal concubines, pay respect

to the one who beds with the Emperor. They bring along the cover of a bow and give the bow and some arrows to her in front of the Supreme Matchmaker.[7] As the arrow is a male sexual symbol there is no doubt that a sexual act, albeit a symbolic one, is performed. That this takes place in spring is also understandable. It is because that is the time for growth. This rite reminds us of the sacred marriage in the ancient Near East, in which the king was the consort of the goddess.[8]

We note that in Chinese sources the *cha* 蜡 sacrifice at the end of the lunar year is also a fertility rite. During this ceremony the official, *lo-shih* 羅氏 (net-keeper), brought the ruler a deer and a girl;[9] this official also had to prepare the female undergarments for this ceremony.[10] As in ancient China deers and birds were used as gifts for wedding ceremony,[11] the ruler apparently had to perform a sexual rite to propitiate the fecundity of the land. We should not view this as indecent, because the people involved were no less pious than any religious person.[12] It would be naive to think that the ancient Chinese were too prudish to think about sex. As a matter of fact, sexual symbols already existed in Early China. In the neolithic finds there are some cowry-shaped designs, which represent the vulva.[13] Many scholars believe that the *she* 社 (shrine of the earth god) was developed from phallic worship.[14] Later it became the place where communal group sex was held. In the *Chou li* 周禮 the Supreme Matchmaker would gather together all the young men and young girls to take part in a sex orgy and would not exclude those who elope.[15]

In 671 B. C., Duke Chuang of Lu 魯莊公 was criticized for his participating in a *she* ceremony in Ch'i 齊.[16] Apparently, he performed a sacred marriage with a girl impersonating a goddess. As we recall, the Han sacrificial songs were composed for the sacrifice at the Sweet Spring Palace 甘泉宮 and a round mound in the evening of the first *hsin* 辛 (the eighth number in the celestial branch system) day in the first lunar month. The mound looked like a buttock. And in 113 B.C., Emperor Wu 武帝 built a shrine for Earth Goddess on it.[17] The shape of this mound and the function of the deity leave no room for any doubt that a sexual rite was performed to enhance the procreative power of earth. As recorded in the *Shih chi* 史記 and the *Han shu* 漢書, "In the 11th month of the fifth year of the Yüan-ting 元鼎 reign (112 B. C.) people were cold and hungry. The Emperor therefore travelled around and offered sacrifices to Earth Goddess to pray for a good year. In the 'buttock'-shaped land in Chi-chou 冀州 (in today's Hopei, Shansi and Honan area) there was found a tripod with decorative

design."[18] The discovery of the tripod in this particularly shaped land implies Heaven's answer to Emperor Wu's prayer for good harvest. The sexual meaning of this story is unmistakable. In fact, the sexual act was no less sacred than other religious functions in early societies, as Arnold Van Gennep maintains that in the primitive mind coitus was believed to be of superior efficacy.[19] The Mao commentary 毛傳 to the *Shih ching* 詩經 says that in older days when there was a famine, the government would play down the importance of the propriety of human behavior to encourage more weddings and assemble the unmarried men and women in order to effect the fecundity of land.[20] This indicates that the ancient Chinese people were not unaware of the influence of homeopathic magic on crops. With all these parallel examples, we suggest that the original function of "Chiu ko" was to invoke the deities' blessings on the land. This suggestion can be reinforced by the romantic tone in these poems, such as the yearnings for the loved ones, the wedding, and the fertility images of clouds and fish.

From the literary viewpoint, these poems were beautifully written. The first poem "Tung-huang t'ai-i" 東皇太一 sets the tone of the ceremony. In the fragrance-filled hall there are music, food, and shamans and shamanesses in beautiful costumes. In this poem and in "Tung-chün" 東君 there is a description of how the shamans or shamanesses bring down the spirits from Heaven by singing and dancing, and, above all, by beating the drum.

揚枹兮拊鼓，
疏緩節兮安歌，
陳竽瑟兮浩倡。
靈偃蹇兮姣服。

Raising the sticks to beat the drums, [The shamans or shamanesses] sing softly at a slow tempo;
Then playing (lit. displaying) the reedpipes and the zithers they join in a chorus.
The spirits come elegantly and in beautiful costumes.

("Tung-huang t'ai-i," 11. 9-12)

緪瑟兮交鼓，
簫鐘兮瑤簴，
鳴䶵兮吹竽，
思靈保兮賢姱，
翾飛兮翠曾，
展詩兮會舞，
應律兮合節，
靈之來兮蔽日。

Tighten the strings of the zithers and play the drum together,
Ring the bell and shake the bell-stand,
Sound the *ch'ih* and blow the reedpipes.
Pretty are the shamanesses, as one can imagine. Like the king-fisher, flying round and round,
They dance, chanting the poems to music.
The spirits come (in a crowd), shutting out the sunlight.
("Tung-chün," 11. 11-18)

The drum is, it is noted, an important thing in the shaman's paraphernalia. V. M. Milkhailovskii remarks that the most important appurtenances of the shamanistic-profession are the tambourine and drum-stick, and the various parts of the shaman dress, and that besides its power in calling up spirits, the tambourine has the miraculous power of carrying the shaman.[21] I. M. Casanowicz also points out that the sounds of the drum can induce the spirits to submit to the shaman's will.[22] Thus, when the ceremony is over, the spirits are sent off by a roll of drums ("Li hun 禮魂 [Homage to the spirits]," 1.1).

In the second poem ("Yün-chung-chün"雲中君)the swiftness of the coming and going of the Lord-in-the-clouds is the dominant theme. (The poet uses "Longevity Palace" 壽宮 in the poem as a contrast to the transient stay of the cloud god.) This god travels far and wide in a dragon-drawn carriage. For the shamans and the votaries who pray for the bounty of the land, the presence of the Lord is of course very much desired. Therefore the last two lines say,

思夫君兮太息，
極勞心兮慆慆！
I think of you, my Lord, sighing deeply,
My heart is in great stress, throbbing and yearning.

The theme of the next two poems ("Hsiang chün" 湘君 and "Hsiang fu-jen" 湘夫人) is the courtship between the Lord and the Goddess of the Hsiang River. At first, because of some misunderstanding, the Lord and the Goddess blame each other for not keeping a tryst. As there is some difference in their hearts (i.e., ideas), the Lord thinks it useless to send a go-between to make up between them. He blames the Goddess for her infidelity and for "standing him up." But finally he is mollified and goes to the north bank to pay the Goddess a visit, for he thinks that Time will not come back again, so why not make the most of it? When he descends on the north bank, he

regrets the unnecessary misunderstanding, and he thinks they should not hold out on each other. So he asks rhetorically,

鳥何萃兮蘋中，
罾何爲兮木上？

Why do birds flock on the water weeds?
Why are fish-traps placed on trees?
("Hsiang fu-jen," 11. 7-8)

The dislocation of the birds and fish-traps is a metaphor for the misplaced blames of this divine couple. The Goddess then replies in kind that she is also thinking of him, but dares not tell him. She also regrets her folly:

麋何食兮庭中，
蛟何爲兮水裔？

Why do deers eat in the courtyard?
What are the water-dragons doing at the riverbank?
("Hsiang fu-jen" 11. 13-14)

After the reconciliation they build a bridal chamber with all kinds of flowers. When it is finished, spirits from the Chiu-i 九嶷 Mountain comes down to congratulate them. Both the newlyweds then feel that

時不可兮驟得，
聊逍遙兮容與。

This occasion is not easy to come by,
Let's take it easy and enjoy ourselves.
(11. 39-40)

Helplessness is the theme of the fifth poem ("Ta ssu-ming"大司命). To the common people the Senior Fate Controller is the one who decides the lifespan of each person. Yet, on the contrary, he admits he does not know who makes the decision. It seems that *yin* and *yang* are the agents who pull the strings. Once they have made the decision, he really cannot do anything. So he tries to comfort his votaries by saying this:

愁人兮奈何？
願若今兮無虧，
因人命兮有當，
孰離合兮可爲！

It saddens me, but what can I do about it?
I wish things would remain the same as now, without changing for the worse.
In fact, human life corresponds to some [predetermined formula],
How can some juggling (lit. separating and combining) [with *yin* and *yang*] do anything [to alter people's destinies]?

(11.25-28)

The sense of helplessness is carried over to the next poem ("Shao ssu-ming" 少司命). The Junior Fate Controller supposedly decides the size of the family of each person. People without male children whould naturally pray to him. Yet he cannot fulfill all their wishes. The votaries are bitter. They resent that the god unnecessarily put them through this ordeal. They ask the following question in an ironic way.

夫人自有兮美子，
蓀何爲兮愁苦？

If all the people have their own good sons,
For what reason are you, Fragrant one, so sad?
(11. 5-6)

In this poem it is the people who feel helpless. They could only pray for fertility by propitiation, but no one can change their fate. This echoes the Senior Fate Controller's statement that *yin* and *yang* are the only determining factors of human life.

The seventh poem ("Tung-chun 東君) is a description of the sunrise. The sun seems to be reluctant to come out. He sighs and hesitates, for he has just left the nocturnal party, in which there are good music and many pretty dancing and chanting shamanesses, who have attracted a crowd of divine spectators, a crowd so large that it shuts out the sunlight (11. 9-18). Unwilling though he is, the sun still has to come out. He then shoots his first ray at the star named Celestial Wolf 天狼 (or Sirius, the Dog Star), and, holding his bow, he makes a temporary retreat (11. 20-21). After taking some cinnamon ale by means of the Dipper, he holds the reins of his horse, riding upward at great speed, and traverses the vast expanse of the East (11. 22-24).

The purpose of offering sacrifice to the river is to make it flow forever, so that the land can be irrigated. Thus, in "Ho-po" 河伯 (Poem no. 8)

the river god is taken out and shown around so as to make him understand that the Great Earth needs his help.

登崑崙兮四望，
心飛揚兮浩蕩，
日將暮兮悵忘歸，
惟極浦兮寤懷。

Climbing up the K'un-lun, looking in four directions,
His heart is fluttering, and travelling afar.
The sun is setting; with a sense of sadness, he forgets to return;
Thinking of the ford at the far side [of the sky],
he awakens from his deep thought.

(11. 5-8)

He then is urged to leave his comfortable abode to go eastward. His friendliness is no match for the Mountain Spirit (Shan Kuei 山鬼) in poem no. 9. She is alone and suspicious of everything. She feels old and wants to be rejuvenated by a panacea (the legendary *ling-chih* 靈芝).

The year drawing to a close, who would make me beautiful again?
I pluck the *ling-chih* (lit, *san-hsiu* 三秀) in the mountains.

(11. 16-17)

Failing to attain her goal, she is suspicious that she is forsaken. She therefore wails and moans, as the monkeys or gibbons do, all day long.

The pessimistic outlook is changed in the last two poems. The theme of "kuo shang" is the spirit of dauntlessness. The hero fights courageously, and faces death unflinchingly. His heroism contrasts with the gloomy mood of the previous poem. In the last poem it is appropriate to have charming shamanesses to sing and dance to the beat of the drum when the sacrifice is over and the exhausted shamans have retired, and to have the Chief Shaman promise to deities that this custom of offering sacrifices to them will be intermittently practised as long as the orchids and the chrysanthemums bloom in spring and autumn respectively. Moreover, the last couplet may be considered an analogy to God's promise in the Old Testament that "while the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease" (Genesis 8:22). The optimism expressed here brings this set of songs to a close; and the hope of mankind is thus renewed.

From the technical point of view, the poet in this group of poems uses

irony, contrast and antithesis to enhance its literary flavor. In "Yün-chung-chün" he uses "Longevity Palace" as a contrast to the transient sojourn of the cloud god; in "Hsiang chün" and "Hsiang fu-jen" the contrast is between misunderstanding and reconciliation. The bird-fish-trap and deer-water-dragon metaphors also add some dimension to the poet's literary scope. The irony in "Ta ssu-ming" is that even the Controller of Fate is worried about growing old. The revelation of his inability to change people's destinies is an antithesis to the fanfare which heralds his entrance. And there is a comic scene in this poem. Realizing that the god can no longer be of any help, the shamaness parts with, leaving him love-lorn. All these examples may prove it unlikely that these poems were from the pens of the common people.

Although there is no way of telling whether the present order of the poems in this group was arranged by the poet, be he Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 or otherwise, or by the compiler, we can see a somewhat loose organization among the first nine poems. Threading through these poems is the theme of love of life. At the end of the second poem, a person is yearning to have a companion of the opposite sex. Then there is the love story of the Lord and the Goddess of the Hsiang River. After much regret for their misunderstanding, they reconcile with each other and get married. As some psycholanalysts suggest, marriage is a return to the mother, and in the mother people see life and death. So after marriage the shadow of death seems to be drawing near. Yet there is nothing people can do about this. They feel helpless, especially when they are childless. The continuity of their existence is threatened. Their wives then participate in the fertility rite in hope of having the situation reversed. But there is no guarantee that their wish will be fulfilled. This sense of helplessness may make people become hedonistic. Like the sun god, they enjoy the nocturnal parties and have many wives and concubines, as the river god has. Yet this indulgence in physical pleasure cannot last long. Soon failing health makes them more desirous of a miraculous cure. The shadow of death looms nearer and nearer, and darker and darker. The love-lorn wailing and moaning is mixed with sadness and fear.

靈塡塡兮雨冥冥，
猨啾啾兮又夜鳴。
風颯颯兮木蕭蕭，
思公子兮徒離憂。

Thunders booming and rain pouring,

Baboons wailing and monkeys crying at night,
Wind blowing, and tree rustling,
Thinking of you merely saddens me.
(11. 24-27)

The sad mood is replaced by the heroism exhibited by the warrior in "Kuo shang," who accepts death with open arms. To him, death is not the end of life. We still can enjoy his hero status after death. The idea of the alternation of life and death is metaphorically expressed in the last poem.

傳芭兮代舞！
. . . .
春蘭兮秋菊
長無絕兮終古。

Pass the fragrant plants [held by the shamans and/or shamanesses] and dance alternately.[23]

. . . .

The orchids in spring and the chrysanthemums in autumn,
May they grow intermittently forever.
(11. 2-5)

As in the vegetation cycle, from death emerges life. It is the hope for a better future that sustains human existence. This is exactly the idea the poet entertains. It is therefore fallacious to say that "Chiu ko" does not express any personal sentiments.[24]

After reading these poems, we have the notion that Time becomes a force of motivation in the poet's mind. In these poems there is the sense of helplessness created by the observation of the flux of Time. Its inexorable passage is felt by every person in an agricultural society. Sunshine, rainfall, irrigation by rivers, the change of season, and the life cycle in Nature – all these are uncontrollable by man. He feels powerless in dealing with the elements. In order to assure him of the meaningfulness of his existence, he lives in a religious world in which the sacred manifests itself. His yearning to accompany the deity reflects his fear of being left in the profane world. By taking part in a religious ceremony he will feel rejuvenated, and more importantly, he participates in and re-enters into the earliest stage of the creation process.[25]

The notion of the transience of life is found in "Yün-chung-chün." In

that poem the cloud god comes down to earth, and the poet wishes him to stay.

靈連蜷兮既留，
爛昭昭兮未央。
蹇將憺兮壽宮，
與日月兮齊光。
龍駕兮帝服，
聊翱游兮周章。
靈皇皇兮既降，
猋遠舉兮雲中。
覽冀州兮有餘，
橫四海兮焉窮。
思夫君兮太息，
極勞心兮慅慅！

The god, in a relaxed maner, has come down (lit. stay) on earth.
Dazzling, he shines far and wide.
He lives comfortably in the Longevity Palace,
Being as bright as the sun and the moon.
The king (i.e., the god) rides the dragon chariot,
To roam and circle around.
With glamor, the god has descended,
But suddenly he rises high in the clouds.
He looks down and finds more land besides Chi-chou to be seen,
And he traverses the [boundless land enveloped by the] four seas.
I think of you, my Lord, sighing deeply,
My heart is in great stress, throbbing and yearning.

(11. 3-14)

Phrases such as "infinitely (*wei-yang* 未央)," "Longevity Palace (*shou kung*)," and "boundless (*yen ch'iung* 焉窮 [lit. where it ends])" are used to reflect the poet's anxiety about the fleetingness of Time. In the next two poems ("Hsiang chun" and "Hsiang fu-jen") the poet spells out his anxiety by saying that Time, once gone, cannot come back again. In the song dedicated to the Senior Fate Controller the poet realizes the predestination of human fate. He sighs that what one expects never materializes during one's lifetime. This is analogous to a love-sick person waiting in vain for the loved one (1. 24). Fully aware of the futility of waiting, one should seize

upon the time, since life is as short-lived as a shooting star.

望美人兮未來，
臨風恍兮浩歌。
. . . .
登九天兮撫慧星。

Expecting the beauty, who is yet to come,
Disappointed, I sing loudly in the wind.
. . . .
I ascend the nine heavens, touching the shooting star.
("Shao ssu-ming," 11. 23-26)

No matter what one's attitude toward life is, he has to go toward his end, as the sun has to walk his heat. This idea is reminiscent of a statement in the *Chung-tzu* (Philosophical works of Master Chuang): "Man's going toward his end is as [fast as] the galloping of a horse; but he can never stop it. Is it not a sad affair?"[26]

The inexorable passage of Time makes man cling to his temporal world. This human attitude is reflected in the description of the river god.

日將暮兮愴忘歸，
惟極浦兮寤懷。

The sun is setting; with a sense of sadness he forgets to return,
Thinking of the ford at the far side [of the sky], he awakens from his deep thought.
(11. 7-8)

The "ford at the far side of the sky" is poignant with meaning. In contrast to the ever-flowing river, the ford is stationary; but it is the last (farthest) foothold before the poet plunges into the passage of Time. Therefore the second line implies that he will enjoy the things in the human world while he still can. But self-deceit can never blind one to reality. Even if one can forget the transiency of his life, his youth is forever gone ("Shan kuei," 1. 16). And the shadow of death looms closer and closer. It would be better to face death with unfliching courage ("Kuo shang," 11. 9 and 14). The whole sequence of these poems tells us of the losing battle we have to fight in our worldly existence. It is exactly this sense of helplessness that prompts man to seek help from the divine. By supplicating to and bringing down the deities, man thinks that he is living in a divine world in which

Time loses its significance. This is of course merely a hope or a dream. In fact, he realizes the fickleness of the gods. So he persists in fighting his own battle, albeit a losing one. He sings:

出不入兮往不反，
平原忽兮路超遠。
帶長劍兮挾秦弓，
首身離兮心不懲。
誠既勇兮又以武，
終剛强兮不可凌。
身既死兮神以靈，
魂魄毅兮爲鬼雄。

Once I have left, I would never re-enter; once I have gone, I would never return.
The plain is wide and the road is long.
I wear my long sword and carry a bow made in Ch'in.
Even my head and my body would be separate, my heart would not be bothered.
[The votaries sings:]
He really is courageous and martial,
To the end he is firm and strong, and invincible.
He is now dead, Yet his spirit still prevails,
He (lit. his soul) will still be the hero in the Otherworld.
("Kuo shang," 11. 11-18)

With this, he reaffirms his attachment to the human world by saying that forever the orchids would bloom in spring, and chrysanthemums, in autumn. It sounds paradoxical that while man is yearning for divine help, he reaffirms his existence in this world. Yet it is this paradox that gives the profoundest meaning to human tragedy.

Another point to be noted is that there are some ideas, sentences or phrases serving as bridges from one poem to the next. In the first poem the line "Shamanesses dance slowly, dressed in pretty costumes" is transformed into [Dressed in]floridly colored costume the spirit looks [as bright as] the flower of the sun tree (*jo-mu* 若木 – the mythical tree from which the sun comes out every morning)" in the second poem. The phrases *fu-chün* 夫君 (lord-husband) appears at the end of the second poem and the beginning of the third one; and the concluding couplet of the fourth poem is very much the same as that of the third one. The bridge connecting the third, fourth

and fifth poems is this sentence,

將以遺兮・・・・

I am going to present it as a gift to . . .

And the common theme in poem nos. 5 and 6 is the sense of helplessness. (The idea of waiting in vain for someone also appears in both of these two poems.) Then the fertility rite performed at night in the sixth poem becomes the Bacchic orgy in "Tung-chün," and the key phrase "forget to return" in the latter poem appears in "Ho-po" and "Shan kuei" also. If we do not take "Kuo shang" away from this group of poems, as Ling Ch'un-sheng and other have suggested, we may also say that the last but one couplet in "Shan kuei" creates the sombre atmosphere of the battleground in which the Nameless Heroes in "Kuo shang" lay down their lives. In fact, the theme that time is running short is common to both poems.

If the above observation holds true, it will raise great doubt about the idea that these poems were written by different persons at different times. It also shows that the rearrangement of their order, as made by some scholars,[27] is not only unnecessary but also detrimental to the uniqueness of these poems as a group.

Although we cannot be certain whether "Chiu ko" was written for sacrificial ceremonies or after the model of primitive religious practices, the recognition of the complexity of the structure of these songs rules out, it seems, the possibility that Ch'ü Yüan, or some other person, wrote these songs according to the depiction of some scenes in a picture, as Wen Ch'ung-i has theorized.

To sum up, for centuries people have been appreciating the poetic diction and the pathetic mode in "Chiu ko." Many scholars have been overly concerned with the identification of the deities so that they have overlooked the intrinsic literary merit of these poems. Indeed, "Chiu ko" was originally a group of religious songs, written for the purpose of enlisting divine help in fructifying the land. The erotic element in them was the vestige of sympathetic magic performed for this specific end. Despite their intended function, these poems most probably were no longer chanted or performed at a religious ceremony, since they were the finished work of a talented poet. It should be emphasized, however, that this poet utilized these songs to reveal the perennial dilemma of human existence. Unable to transcend the temporality of this profane world, man is left alone to fight to the bitter

end his losing battle with Time. When facing reality, he is not a weakling. He stands fast and fights courageously, even though he very well knows that he is doomed to lose. The tragic sense of this ever-present human drama is further deepended by his affirmation of this mundane life.

Notes

1. Ch'en, "高禖郊社祖廟通考," 清華學報 12:3 (July, 1937), 454; Wen, "九歌中的水神與華南的龍舟賽神," 民族學研究所集刊, 11 (Spring, 1961), 67; idem., "九歌中的上帝與自然神," *ibid.*, 17 (Spring, 1967), 48-49, and 71. See also Ch'en Yung 陳詠, "屈原的九歌與禱雨的關係" 文史哲, 7 (July, 1956), 67-68; Chan An-t'ai 詹安泰, 屈原 (Shanghai: Shanghai Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, 1957), p. 87.
2. Sir James Frazer, *The New Golden Bough* (New York: Criterion Books, 1959), pp. 265-68. In some places in Kwantung Province there were mock battles in the first lunar month and on the 5th day of the 5th month. The outcome of these battles would predict if these places would enjoy a prosperous year; see Ch'ü Ta-chün 屈大均, 廣東新語 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974) p. 301, item no. 335. The bull-fighting at Chin-hua 金華 also had the original function of propitiating the land; see Wolfram Eberhard, *Studies in Chinese Folklore and Related Essays* (Hague: Mouton & Co., 1970), pp. 73-82.
3. *Tso chuan* 左傳 (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 ed.), "閔公十九年," 6.4a.
4. Wang Sung-hsing 王崧興, "馬太安阿美族 (Mataan Ami) 之宗教及神話," 民族學研究所集刊, 12 (Autumn, 1961), 107-78.
5. Ch'en Meng-chia, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-72.
6. Ibid. See also Marcel Granet, *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China* (tr. E. D. Edwards) (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1932), p. 245. Derk Bodde considers *kao mei* ceremony a sex act; *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 260. See also Ikeda Suetoshi 池田末利, "高禖信仰の成立", "廣島大學文學部紀要" 24:1 (Jan.-June, 1965), 79-96; Tetsui Keiki 鐵井慶紀, "高禖の起源についての一試論," 東宗宗教, 30 (July-Dec., 1967), 20-34.
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8. See for example Samuel N. Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite: Aspects of Faith, Myth, and Ritual in Ancient Sumer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).
9. *Li chi*, "郊特牲," 8.6b.
10. *Chou li* 周禮 (*SPTK* ed.), "夏官上," 7.32a.
11. *Shih ching* 詩經 (*SPTK* ed.), "野有死麕" 1.19b-20a; *I li* 儀禮 (*SPTK* ed.), "士昏禮," 2.1a.
12. Sangar Brown II, *The Sex Worship and Symbolism of Primitive Races: An Interpretation* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1916), p. 33; T. Cliffton Long worth, *The Worship of Love in Ancient Greece* (London: Torchstream Books, 1954), p. 191.
13. Chang Kuang-chin 張光直, "中國遠古時代儀式生活的若干資料," 民族

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15. *Chou li* "地官下,"4.11b-12a.
16. *Tso chuan,* "莊公二十三年，" 3.15a Ku-liang chuan 穀梁傳 (SPTK ed.), 3.14a.
17. *Han shu* (*pai-na*百衲edition), 22.13b, 6.16a, 25A. 22a, 24b; *Shih chi,*12.8a, 10b-11a, 28.26b.
18. *Han shu* 6.17, also *Shih chi,* 12.11a-b.
19. Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (tr. Monika B. Vizedom and Grabielle L. Caffee) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 169.
20. *Shih ching,* "有狐 " 3.17b.
21. Milkhailovskii, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 24 (1895), 78.
22. Casanowicz, "Shamanism of the Natives of Siberia," *Smithsonian Institution — Annual Report* 1924, 425.
23. The original phrase *tai wu* is also interpreted as the "Chiu tai "代舞 dance; see Ch'en Meng-chia, "商代的神話與巫術，" 燕京學報，20 (Dec., 1936), 540-43; Ling Ch'un-sheng, "國殤禮魂與馘首祭梟 "，民族學研究所集刊， 9 (Spring, 1960), 445.
24. Chiang Liang-fu 姜亮夫，屈原賦校注 (Peking: Jen-mni weh-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1957), p. 186; Shih Shu-nü 施淑女，九歌天問二招的成立背景與楚辭文學精神的探討 (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1969), p. 38.
25. Mircea Eliade, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries* (tr. Philip Mairet) (London: Harvill Press, 1960), p. 152; *idem., The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (tr. Willard R. Trask) (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1959), pp. 79, 94-95.
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27. See Wen I-to 聞一多，聞一多全集 (Shanghai: K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1948), I, 273; II, 383-384; Shih-hsiang Chen, "On Structural Analysis of the Ch'u-Tz'u Nine Song," *Tamkang Review* 2:1 (April, 1971), 7; Su Hsüeh-lin 蘇雪林，屈原與九歌 (Taipei: Kuang-tung ch'u-pan-she, 1973), p. 194.