APPENDIX 1

Table of Contents of the Taibo yinjing (ca. 760s?), Huqianjing (1005) and the Wujing Zongyao (1044)

Taibo:

juan 1 and 2. Human Scheming (Ren mou 人某).

juan 3. Diverse ceremonies and rituals (zayi): bestowing the yue ax (a symbol of command), responsibilities and dispositions of the head commander (jiang jun), the battle array commander (zhenjiang), company commander (duijiang), horse commander (majiang), leading people (jianren 鑒人), physiognomizing horses; swearing in troops and army rules; guarding the fortresses (sai) and the four barbarians.

juan 4. war equipment

juan 5. preparation (yubei) supply and tactical

juan 6. battle array schema

juan 7. jieshu (official communications inc. prayer texts) and yuefang (formula for medicines)

juan 8. various divination techniques

juan 9. Hidden Period cosmography (dunjia)

juan 10. miscellaneous cosmograph (shi) methods.
Huoqian jing:

juan 1. explanation of the individual natural forces (heaven, earth, human) and how to read the Three Talents (sancai)

juan 2. ruler relationship to commanders; commander’s dispositions and responsibilities, sending out troops, basic orders for troops in naval and land warfare.

juan 3. on military strategy, plans and schemes, war rehearsals, planning ahead, winning ahead, victory and defeat, recognizing spies, depending and forcing (duoshi), surprise attacks and deceptive maneuvers (xixu), employing balance of power, deploying spies (shijian 間), assigning defense.

juan 4. Taking advantage of and avoiding various situations.

juan 5. recognizing various terrains, the enemies camps and battle array schema, reckoning heavenly qi and earthly forms, going counter to the ancient methods.

juan 6. various forms of attack and defense, including how to build walled cities and its various elements, signal towers, equipment and instructions for attack and defense of cities, how to find one’s way when lost.

juan 7. banners, flags, drums, gongs and horns for the general and during battle.

juan 8. general discussion of forming camp, Six Water Cycles, disposition of land and mountains, the four celestial animals, battle array schema, training with the bow, crossbow, and flags, hunting for the camp, military music, bestowing rank, head commander, array commander, battalion commander, guarding horses, keeping livestock.

juan 9. general discussions of the four arrays, specifics of four arrays, the flying axle array.
juan 10. human physiognomy, general discussion of metal wounds, prescriptions for metal wounds, general discussion of epidemic and pestilential vapors; prescriptions for epidemics and pestilence, prescriptions for chapping, exorcism rituals; general discussion of horse physiognomy, horse prescriptions, horsehair benefits and warnings (about health?), healing metal wounds of horses, healing miscellaneous illnesses of horses.

juan 11. General discussion of heaven’s timing, auspicious and inauspicious days for dispatching troops, “four battle” scheme, orphans and empties, nine victory method, arranging foot soldiers according to the stems and branches, (dibingfa 地兵法), yellow tiger tail?, the floating [heavenly] gates, the eight trigrams, five surnames, Heavenly Mainstay Cable, Duke of Thunder, Twelve [Heavenly] Generals, three Nines.

juan 12. Turning and Reckoning the Six Water Cycles (cosmograph), the Hidden Period wandering gates, Five Elements victory and defeat, battle position (zhan wei), Eight Palaces.

juan 13 various methods of prognostication.

juan 14. prognosticating the various heavenly bodies.

juan 15. prognostication the five element stars

juan 16. General discussion of the astrological field allocation (fenye 分野) system,¹ and the individual fields.

juan 17 general discussion of cloud vapors, divining various types of cloud vapors.

juan 18. Heaven, earth, rainbows, thunder and lightning, divining the climate, miscellaneous divination, general discussion of divining the wind, the five tones wind divination, punishments and killing wind divination, twelve

positions wind divination, opposite wind divination, miscellaneous wind and rain divination, the eight solar divisions divination.

juan 19. bird divination, five methods of bird divination.

juan 20. swearing-in oaths; prayers and sacrifices, prayer for anointing the drums (xinggu); returning troops.
Wujing Zongyao

Wujing zongyao former collection: This is comprised of the former and the latter collections, each of twenty chapters. According to Herbert Franke, the former collection (qianji) consists of fifteen chapters of General Rules (zhidu 制度) and five chapters of a military geography, describing the border areas, their geography and main fortification sites.

In the former collection:

juan 1. General rules for strategy and selection of military leaders
juan 2. training, battle arrays, drills.
juan 3. tactical rules for battles
juan 4. use and direction of special weapons
juan 5. march arrays, reconnaissance, food and provisions, signal communications.
   Military sacrifices, military oaths, settling fears.
juan 6. setting up camp, various theories of making camps, night fighting, guards,
   avoiding and treating illness, timekeeping, water sources, keeping horses.
juan 7. Song battle array schema
juan 8. battle array schema of various military thinkers
juan 9. nine types of land and six forms, fighting on terrain types, military assessment
   of various regional groups (tusu)
juan 10. attacking towns
juan 11. naval warfare, attacking with fire
juan 12. defending towns
juan 13. weapons, armor, vehicles
juan 14. rewards and punishments (martial law)
juan 15. discipline on the march, tallies and tablets, continuing command, spies, leading and guiding troops

juan 16. Hebei province, northern tribes territory and terrain, former territory of the northwest tribes, the various provinces surrounding the capital

juan 17. Hedong province

juan 18. Shanxi province, the territory and terrain of the four foreign peoples

juan 19. Yi, Zi and Kui provinces (Sichuan)

juan 20. Jing and Hu north and south provinces, Guangnan east and west provinces.

Wujing zongyao latter collection:

juan 1-15, accounts of former affairs;

juan 16. divination by heaven, earth, the five elements, the sun, and the moon

juan 17. divining by the constellations, the five stars, the positions of the 28 houses, anomalous stars, wind direction

juan 18. divining by cloud vapors, various divination of the climate, disasters and strange occurrences when on the march, the Great One cosmography

juan 19. setting up the positions of the yang cycle for Great One cosmography for determining victory and defeat, setting up yin cycle for same

APPENDIX 2

Li Quan’s Biography from the Daocang “Yunqi qiqian” j. 71-74

Li Quan’s cognomen was Da Guanzi, who lived on Xiaoshi Mountain; he preferred the way of immortality. He often traveled to famous mountains and broadly collected magical techniques (fangshu 方術).

When he went to Hukou Rock on Songshan, he obtained the Huangdi Yinfu benjing. It was written on silk with a cinnabar lacquered scroll bar, sealed in a large box. The inscription read: “On the seventh day of the seventh month of the second year of the Zhenjun reign of the Great [Wei Dynasty], Kou Qianzhi, a Daoist of the superior perspicacious Heaven stored these in this famous mountain, to pass on to any comrade.”

The texts were rotten, so Quan copied and read them more than a couple thousand times; however, in his heart-mind, he didn’t understand their meanings and rationales. Thereby he entered the Qin region and arrived at the foot of Mt. Li where he met an old woman. She wore her hair in a topknot, with escaping strands hanging down at the sides of her head, and shabby clothes. She was holding a cane. Her form and appearance were very peculiar. At the side of the road they could see the remaining fire burning the trees. Thereby she murmured to herself, saying, ‘Fire is engendered from wood; when the calamity manifests, it certainly will damage [this book].’ Li Quan was astonished and asked her saying, ‘This is the Huangdi Yinfujing, how could you speak of it this way?’

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2 Zheng tong daozang 38 ce. tai xuan bu [Yunqi qiqian j. 71-71].
正統道藏三十八冊. 太玄部雲笈七籤 Intertextual numbers give j. 112, no. 5 or 6.
3 i.e., insinuate that it could be damaged by fire because it is so powerful
The old woman said, “I have already received this *Yinfu[jing]* for three millennium and 360 years. You, young man, where did you get it?” Li Quan kowtowed and paid respects once again and told her the complete process of how he got it. The old woman said, “Young man, your cheek bones penetrate to the Gate of Life\(^4\) [生門 one of the gates of the *bagua*]. Your Wheel of Fate is even with the Corner of the Sun [temples], your blood and brain have not yet been diminished, the shadow of your heart-mind has not yet deviated. [After all], you are a worthy and prefer the Daoist method (*fa* 法); you are spiritually brave and fond of wisdom; you are really my ideal disciple. However, you will have serious disaster when you are forty-five years old.” Thereby, she took out a talisman written in cinnabar. She speared it with her cane and ordered Quan to kneel down and swallow it, saying, “From now on Heaven and Earth will protect you.”

Therefore, she sat on a rock and interpreted the meaning of the *Yinfu[jing]* to Li Quan, saying, “The *Yinfu* has a total of 300 words (*yan* 言). Among these, 100 characters speak of the evolved *Dao*; 100 speak of the evolved *fa* (methods, principles), 100 speak of the evolved arts (*shu* 術). At the top, there is the *Dao* by which the immortals embrace the One [perceptible existence], in the middle there is the principles (*fa*) to enrich the state and to stabilize the settled people; last, there are the arts to strengthen the troops and gain victory over enemies. All of these [three] inwardly come from the writer’s latent potential of heart-mind (*ji* 機); outwardly, they fit together with human affairs. In observing its essence and subtleties, the eight landscapes of the *Huangting* (courtyard of Heaven) are insufficient to grasp its profound abstruseness; in investigating its utmost importance, [all of] the classics, their commentaries, the philosophers, and the histories would be insufficient to be considered as [exemplary] writing; in entrusting its skillfulness (*qiao*) and wisdom,

\(^{4}\) These are all the names of acupuncture points.
Sun Wu, Wu [Qi], Han, and Bo were insufficient to be considered wondrous. [Anyone who] isn’t a scholar complying with the Dao cannot hear of it. Hence, the Realized person (zhiren) who uses it will obtain the Dao; the well-cultivated person who uses it will obtain the arts (shu); the ordinary person who uses it will meet with calamity: this is because their cognition and dispositions in life are not the same.\(^5\) Suppose one passes this on to any other comrade, they certainly should bestow it to him after having their heart-mind clear and preserving one’s full [moral] upstanding. One who possesses the text is the teacher, one who doesn’t have the text is the disciple. They should not consider the rich and the venerated important, nor consider the poor or the base unimportant. Anyone who violates this will be taken away twenty years of life. This text must to be read seven time a day, which will increase one’s latent potential of heart-mind, and increase their longevity. On the seventh day of the seventh month every year, you should write one copy and store it in the rock of a famous mountain. You can obtain a longer lifespan.”

The old woman said, “The sun has set, I have prepared rice, we can eat together.” From her sleeves she took out a ladle, and ordered Li Quan to fetch water from the valley. Upon filling the ladle, it suddenly weighed more than 100 catties. His strength couldn’t control it, and it sunk into the spring. Until he returned, he already lost where the old woman was. She merely left several quarts of prepared rice, that’s all. Quan ate them. Since then he cut off the grains (stopped eating).

In the Kaiyuan era, he served as Deputy Military Commissioner of Jiangling, and Deputy Executive Censor-in-chief. Quan knew the art of the schemes of serving as a general. He wrote the Taibo yinjing of ten chapters, and besides he wrote the Zhong Taizhi of ten chapters. At that time, he was rejected by Li Lingfu, and Quan’s

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\(^5\) The author is stressing that the student’s moral standing must be good.
position wasn’t high and significant. Following his own heart’s intention, he entered a famous mountain to pursue the Dao. Afterwards, his whereabouts were unknown.
APPENDIX 3

Selected translations “Military Rituals” from the Comprehensive Treatise (Tongzhi) and from the Official History of the Song (Songshi)⁶

Comprehensive Treatise (Tongzhi)

The “Military Rituals” (junli) rituals in the Comprehensive Treatise, which covers through the end of the Tang dynasty, follow with a short description. All were written into the Tang Kaiyuan (713-741) Ritual Code, the same ritual code that initially adopted by the Song court.

1. The Son of Heaven, the various lords and the commanders go on the march by performing the lei, yi, zao, and ma sacrifices. These were rituals performed prior to engagement and preparatory measures for sending out the troops. They were not performed in the capital, but after the troops leave the capital and before they engage the enemy. The lei ritual worships natural features (mountains, large rivers, etc.) and local deities; the yi ritual is performed at the altar of grain deity and the altar of earth deity. In the latter, the oath of loyalty is read, a divination is performed regarding the banners and then an animal is sacrificed. The blood of the animal is poured in a pit. The ear of the animal is given to the emperor, who in turn gives it to the head commander. The head commander smears blood on his mouth and then drinks the blood. Afterward, the animal is buried in the pit along with the text of the loyalty and performance oath; wine is poured in as the animal is buried. After the burial, a divination is performed for the day of battle. “The yi (宜) ritual is to request an appropriate conquest; the zao (造) ritual assures good strategic planning by the court;

⁶ TZ j. 44; SS j. 121 <Junli>, 2829-2840.
the lei (類) ritual respectfully receives heavenly timing for a brilliant conquest or the prudence to wait.”⁷ See Song section for ma ritual.

2. *Baji*: Sacrifices to deities along the route.⁸

3. *Hunting*.⁹ Similar to that of the Song below.

4. *Jiang wu*: Instructing and practicing military affairs.¹⁰ Sacrifices made at certain parts of the city. This was performed every year and was quite formal, a combination of sacrifice and military preparedness—for example, establishing the armies of the north and south. Sacrifices occur first in the capital, beheading the sacrificial animal at the East Gate; then it is taken out to the suburbs and performed at the suburban east gate. (This has formal characteristics similar to the great ritual of exorcism).¹¹

5. *Issuing Orders to the General to attack* (initiating the military expedition). This was an extremely formal ceremony. The Wei and Northern Ji Dynasties used diviners who performed tortoise shell divination. Words of the ceremony are recorded for the Ji. This took place in the temple and involved the bestowing of the *fu* and *yue* (the ceremonial spear and axe). They also sacrificed to “Taizu”.

6. *Xuan lubu*: Announcing victory report. This ritual originated in Jin dynasty, when the victory report was written on lacquered bamboo. In the Sui Dynasty (589-618), it involved dancing and stepping in the court, presumably mimicking battle. It was read in front of gathered officials, civil and military.

7. *Dashe xiangshe*: Archery ritual. (*dashe*, and *xiang she* appear to be official positions). The order of ceremony was extremely complicated in the Zhou Dynasty

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⁷ TZ 44, 592
⁸ TZ 44, 592. see ZY 1642.3.
⁹ (TZ 44, 593; lue 297-298.
¹⁰ ZY 1583.2; notice that these definitions include words and acts. McMullen “Qi Taigong” translates this as “rehearsals”.
¹¹ See TZ 44, 594 and TZ lue, 298.
(ca. 1100-722 and 722-403 B.C.). Each official takes a certain number of shots based on rank, accompanied by music according to certain scales and notes at each shot. Later in the Northern Ji (550-577 AD), the number of shots released was determined according to rank; the archer took a certain number of shots while sitting on horse, then shooting up, then down at a target, and at an animal’s head. The ritual involved offerings of wine and donning ceremonial dress. In the Tang Dynasty, it was performed on third day of third month and the ninth day of the ninth month, accompanied by music, especially drums and trumpets. It was a way for the emperor to reward military talent, and for the archer to rise in position.

8. *Heshuo fagu*: Chopping the drum when the sun and the moon come together. Similar to that of the Song below, except that it was performed during an eclipse of the moon.

9. Sacrificing to *Mazu* (Horse Progenitor). One of four seasonal sacrifices, performed in the autumn.

10. *Shinuo*: Seasonal exorcism. Exorcism ritual performed on the last day of each season.\(^\text{12}\)

*Official History of the Song* (Songshi)

“When the troops are being sent out, they must worship. This is called the Ma ritual, the first of the Military rituals. Next is the Military Rehearsals ritual (*jiang wu*). The rituals Accepting Surrender of the Vanquished Enemy and Offering War Captives at the Ancestral Temple (*shouxian xianfu*) follow these. The Field Hunting ritual comes next, and each according to its category may be appended to these.”\(^\text{13}\)


\(^{13}\) SS 121:2829.
**Maji (祡祭):** The large flags in front of the army are called the *ya* (牙); troops going out must worship them; this is called the Ma Ritual. One day before Taizong left the capital to attack Hedong, he dispatched an official to the suburban altar, using a small bovine to sacrifice to Chi You and Ma Ya. He dispatched another official, Li Chenyuan, to the northern suburban altar to observe the *qi*; using incense, willow branch, lamp oil, milk gruel, oil cakes, and fruit he sacrificed to the Heavenly King of the North (*Beifang Tian Wang*).

The Ma ceremony was fixed in the Xianping reign. They set up an altar on the remaining land in the court of the [...?] Departments…they set up the Military Ya and placed six banners opposite them…The Military [Ya] flags were white, the six banners were soap-colored [...?] (*zao 皂*).…Days for worship to Mazu (Horse Progenitor) and Mashe (Horse Society) were also selected.  

**Yuewu: Grand Review (Observing the military):** Taizu and Taizong, after they attacked and conquered [all] the four quarters, made new practice drills. They made a new pool outside the Red Brilliance Gate for practicing naval warfare. In Yang Hamlet west of the [capital] city walls, they set up a tower for military rehearsals. In the autumn, the ninth month, they had the Grand Review.

…A big rehearsal field was established by Zhenzong…..

…the ritual includes the emperor offering wine to commanders… there is then a session in the tea hut.  

(The rehearsals were opportunities to give gifts and rewards.)

In the first month of the second year of the Qiandao reign period, there was a great celebration; rewards were distributed to all; the participants danced and drummed all night.

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14. SS 121:2829  
15. SS 2834-35
Shouxiang: Accepting surrender. When Taizu conquered Shu, Meng Chang surrendered. On the day of the surrender, large alignments of horse and foot soldiers of the various armies on the left and right of Heavenly Street were set up; Chang and his subordinate officials were arranged according to their former rank, with their mats and quilts outside of the Mingde (Brilliant Virtue) Gate. Announcing their case, they [stood] in the horizontal street to the north of the Gate, wearing the hats of noble or high officials, and faced north in order of rank.

Kneeling, Chang offered the report to the emperor, to the gate official and then backed up to dai ming 待命. Before all this happened, they (Shi Chen) read to the end of the report to the emperor. Chang and [his associates?] prostrated themselves (made obeisance). Then the tongshi sheren (diplomatic mediator) extended a hand and helped Chang get up. Chang and the officials prayed, shouting “Wansui” (Ten-thousand years; i.e., long live the emperor).

[A Song official] distributed suits of clothing, caps and belts and laid them in front of [Chang]; then Chang and [his associates] knelt down to receive them. They changed clothes and mounted horses; they dismounted at the Sheng Long Gate. Chang’s subordinate officials dismounted at the Qilian Gate. The hemenshi guided Chang.

The emperor mounted and took his seat. The One Hundred officials entered in usual [court] manner; the lower officials [squad of soldiers? ban班] remained standing. Then the hemenshi led Chang [and others] in dancing, making obeisance and giving thanks.

Ordering Chang to mount the dais, the hemenshi led Chang from the east up the steps; the hemenshi comforted him [承旨]. Chang bowed low and [?]. Arriving before the throne, he trades places with [?]; then the subordinate officials performed their dance and left [the temple].
All officials make congratulations. Then there was a big banquet with the closest officials and Chang at the Great Brilliance Palace.\textsuperscript{16}

\textit{Xianfu: Offering war captives at the Imperial Ancestral Temple.} When Lingnan was conquered, Liu Chang was captured. He was brought to Ming De Gate (of imperial city?); in ranks were the Palace guards, the various troops, and one hundred officials in ordinary clothing arranged in front of the [gate] tower. [An official position, Others? 別] established the position of the \textit{xianfu} at East-West Street, facing north. Generals and field officers were positioned at the front of the war captives, further north and facing west. The officials directed the soldiers to bind Chang and his people with white silk cords. Then the Announcing Victory Report was quoted.

Arriving at the southwest gate of the Imperial Ancestral temple, Chang and [his associates] then dismounted, entered the Southern Gods Gate from the north, facing west they stood up. Leading officers and field commanders, they then stood at the south (opposite and facing Chang). As soon as the announcement ritual ended, they exited out the southwest gate; they mounted up and went to the \textit{Taishe} (Main Altar of the Grain [Earth]), and repeated the above ceremony.

Then they went to the west of the Imperial Avenue south of the building [at the Taishe complex], dismounted and waited while standing. The field officer of the \textit{xianfu}, wore full military dress, including wearing a knife. The appointed representative solemnly held the imperial audience tablet (\textit{banzou}); the various officials distributed [it around] and returned it [back to the appointed representative]; the tablet was then managed outside, and the emperor, wearing usual dress, took his seat. After the One Hundred officials danced in their turn, the \textit{tongshi sheren} (diplomatic mediator) guided Chang, who alone went to the \textit{xianfu} seat; the head

\textsuperscript{16} SS 2836.
offices and field commanders arrived at the front of the building and danced. When that was finished, the announcer of the Report of Victory next went to the front of the building and faced north, [the report] was announced to the Secretariat-Chancellery according to the ceremonial system for reading announcements. The tongshi sheren (official mediator) knelt and received the Announcing Victory Report; he handed it off to the Secretariat-Chancellery, who handed it to the representative of the Bingbu shangshu (Secretary for Military Affairs). Next, the Secretary of the Department of Punishments (Xingshu shangbu) went to the front of the building, knelt, and received [奏] the imperial decision [?]…officials who will manage the war captives.

The emperor interrogated and reprimanded Chang; Chang prostrated himself on the ground while waiting for his punishment. Upon the edict to execute his minister Gong Shengshu, the emperor especially explained the punishment to Chang, and bound him to his younger brother, Baoxing; he bestowed suits of clothing, cap and belt, boots and tablets, equipment and cloth, saddles and horses. Each donned their outfit, arranged [their clothes] and expressed their gratitude [謝] while [prostrating themselves fully horizontal] on the ground. The various officials congratulated and thanked and finished [the ritual]; the fangzhang [放仗] blades were cropped [performed the executions?] according to their ceremonies.17

(Not all xianfu rituals were as formal as this one, as in the case of Tai Yuan’s Liu Jiyuan. There, punishment was given without announcement of victory, etc. Liu and his associates all wore their former clothing.18)


tianlie: Field Hunting. This is performed in the suburbs (as opposed to in imperial city parks or other enclosed places), during the autumn, winter and sometimes the month of New Year. … Hunting happens in four suburbs.

17 SS 2836-37
18 SS 2837
Sometimes the emperor bestows on accompanying officials a narrow bao (long piece of clothing that reached to ankles, apparently specially bestowed). If one of the imperial princes shoots and kills an animal, he is awarded with a horse.

...Taizong hunted as a kind of martial training after he conquered the north, but because of the number of those poaching fox and rabbit, he ordered it forbidden....

...[The Field Hunting ritual] started out in the tower of the martial training arena; it involves playing music, and distributing drinks all around. Usually the emperor offered some of the catch at the ancestral temple. This practice had gone into disuse, but Tiazong thought it should be resurrected. A fixed ritual was developed after this...

In Renzong’s reign, it was said that training in the hunt caused the seasons to be in accord, and was good weapons practice. He requested that the ritual be ordered and revised. The Bureau of Military Affairs (Shumiyuan) fixed the system and order of the ritual.

On the day of the hunt, drums were sounded five times [...]. The emperor approached the Inside East Gate, bestowed the officials accompanying him with three rounds of wine. After performing thirty catties[?] of diao rong (釣容) music;¹⁹ the party then progressed to the Shan Lin Yuan Gate, where the emperor distributed food.

Following the hunt at Yang Hamlet, they banqueted in the Royal Tent, and performed the music of the regional commands (jiaofang music). He dispatched an envoy with utmost speed and care to make offerings at the Imperial Temple (tai miao). He ordered an old man to approach him and asked [the old man] questions, and bestowed on the old man food, drink, tea and coarse-spun silk; the silk and silver that he with the officers of the Five Regions Army [had among them] were not enough.

...After this event, an official memorialized the emperor, speaking of the virtue of

¹⁹ diao rong is key music played in; probably type of music.
Renzong and his generosity to the old man and how Renzong practiced military exercises only the high plains \[?\]^20 the official suggested that this should all be recorded by court historians. It was.

(Next, the history recounts an incident with a hunting party of several thousands. An accident occurred—someone was run down or accidentally shot, and Renzong didn’t hunt after that.^21)

*Daqiu: Playing Ball.* Daqiu originally was a game played in the army. Taizong ordered his officials to finalize the ritual in detail. In the third month of the year, the team gathers at the Palace of Great Brilliance. The officials clear the field, set up wooden [pickets] at the east and west ends as the ball gate. It is over one *zhang* [10 Chinese feet] high with a golden dragon carved at the head; below they distribute stones and put down lotus blossoms, using bright colors to lay out the blossoms. The right and left are separated into two teams, each host one [end] of these; they elect two people to guard each gate. These two guards each hold a small red flag, ...^22

*Jiuri fagu: Aiding the sun by cutting the drum.* Ritual prior to eclipse.^23

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^20 i.e., not on the suburban lands, where crops were cultivated. The imperial hunt sometimes damaged crops.
^21 SS2840-41
^22 SS 2841-42
^23 SS 2842-44