CLASSICS
OF CHINESE
THOUGHT

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Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan
Commentary on the "Spring and Autumn Annals"
Translated by Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li, and David Schaberg

Zuo Tradition

Zuozhuan

左傳

Commentary on the "Spring and Autumn Annals"

TRANSLATED AND INTRODUCED BY

Stephen Durrant

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UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS

Seattle and London

Publication of this book was made possible in part by generous gifts from Joseph and Lauren Allen, Nancy Alvord, Michael Burnap and Irene Tanake, Ruth and Alvin Eller, Griffith Way, and other donors.

Printed and bound in the United States of America
Design by Thomas Eykemans
Composed in Minion, typeface designed by Robert Slimbach
19 18 17 16 5 4 3 2 1

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
www.washington.edu/uwpress

ISBN 978-0-295-99913+7

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA
Names: Durrant, Stephen W., 1944– translator. | Li, Wai-yee, translator. | Schaberg, David, 1964– translator.
Title: Zuo tradition = Zuozhuan : commentary on the "Spring and autumn annals" / translated and introduced by Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li, David Schaberg.
Other titles: Zuozhuan. English. | Commentary on the "Spring and autumn annals"
Description: 1st edition. | Seattle : University of Washington Press, [2016] | Series: Classics of Chinese thought | Includes bibliographical references and indexes. Contents: Chronology of dynasties — Volume One — Lord Yin — Lord Huan — Lord Zhuang — Lord Min — Lord Xi — Lord Wen — Lord Xuan — Volume Two — Lord Cheng — Lord Xiang — Volume Three — Lord Zhao — Lord Ding — Lord Ai — Place name index — Personal name index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016014414 | ISBN 9780295999159 (hardcover : acid-free paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Confucius. Chun qiu. | China—History—Zhou dynasty, 1122–221 B.C.—Early works to 1800. | China—History—Zhou dynasty, 1122–221 B.C.—Historiography. | Shandong Sheng (China)—History—Early works to 1800. | Shandong Sheng (China)—Historiography.
Classification: LCC PL2470.Z6 Z8713 2016 | DDC 895.18/107—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016014414

The paper used in this publication is acid-free and meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1984. ∞

To the memory of Livia Plaks and Anthony C. Yu

Contents

Acknowledgments

Our work on this project has extended across more springs and autumns than we originally envisaged. Perhaps at the outset we underestimated the difficulty of this great text, or perhaps we overestimated our own abilities as translators—or, possibly, both. Still, if our time spent with *Zuozhuan* has brought frustrations, it has also brought joys. The most obvious joy has come from slowly working our way together through this rich literary masterpiece in a desperate but sincere effort to beat translation's odds, to find *les mots justes*, to capture in English the austere, unmistakable style that we all admired in *Zuozhuan* prose. For what is translation but exceedingly slow, careful, interpretative reading, undertaken with and for other readers, born from the urge to share with others the pleasure one takes in a difficult, remote work of art? Chief among our frustrations was the realization that our English translation, no matter how much effort we have put into it, does not and could never reproduce the genius of the original. We can perhaps draw comfort from the realization that the higher the quality of a text, the more it defies perfect translation.

Another joy of our work together and individually over the years has been the support and encouragement of so many colleagues, students, friends, and family. The three of us extend our heartfelt appreciation to those who have read our translation and have offered valuable suggestions. Michael Nylan, Andrew Plaks, and Yuri Pines all worked through the entire manuscript with great meticulousness and helped us improve our translation in numerous ways. Many others have helped us with particular problems in *Zuozhuan* or have read and responded to portions of our work. Among these scholars are Lothar von Falkenhausen, David Keightley, Göran Malmqvist, Christoph Harbsmeier, Reinhard Emmerich, Enno Giele, Li Long-shien, David Pankenier, and Chang Su-ching. Lorri Hagman, Jacqueline Volin, Pamela Bruton, and other members of the staff at the University of Washington Press encouraged us at every stage of this project and have been more patient with us

than we have sometimes deserved. We are grateful for their help. Our project has benefited from the financial support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Fairbank Center and the Asia Center at Harvard University, and the Oregon Humanities Center and the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures at the University of Oregon. Sabbatical leaves funded by Harvard University, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Radcliffe Institute of Advanced Study, the University of California at Los Angeles, and the American Academy at Berlin allowed us to devote time to the translation of *Zuozhuan*, even as other projects claimed our attention.

During the last decade, each of the three of us has taught graduate seminars dealing with *Zuozhuan*. Our interaction with students in these seminars has convinced us once again of how much research and publication can benefit from engagement with good students in the classroom. We are deeply grateful to our students for their willingness both to encourage and to challenge us. We also express our gratitude to Bill Nelson at "Bill's Imac" for his help with maps and to several students who provided valuable assistance with technical details: Sara Higgins, Shijia Nie, and Xingwei Fu at the University of Oregon, and Ted Ming-tak Hui at Harvard University. The image for the cover is based on a rubbing from a stele (dated 241) with fragments of the text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* carved in three script styles. We thank the Special Collections in Fine Arts Library, Harvard University, for permitting the use of this image.

Numerous friends and members of our families have helped us in one way or another with this lengthy project. We cannot name them all but would like to thank Omer Bartov, Françoise Calin Durrant, and Daphne Pi-Wei Lei for their support and encouragement over the years.

Finally, we take full responsibility for the mistakes and infelicities that remain in this book and can only hope that, despite such possible problems, our work will help *Zuozhuan* achieve its deserved place among the masterpieces that have come to us from the ancient world.

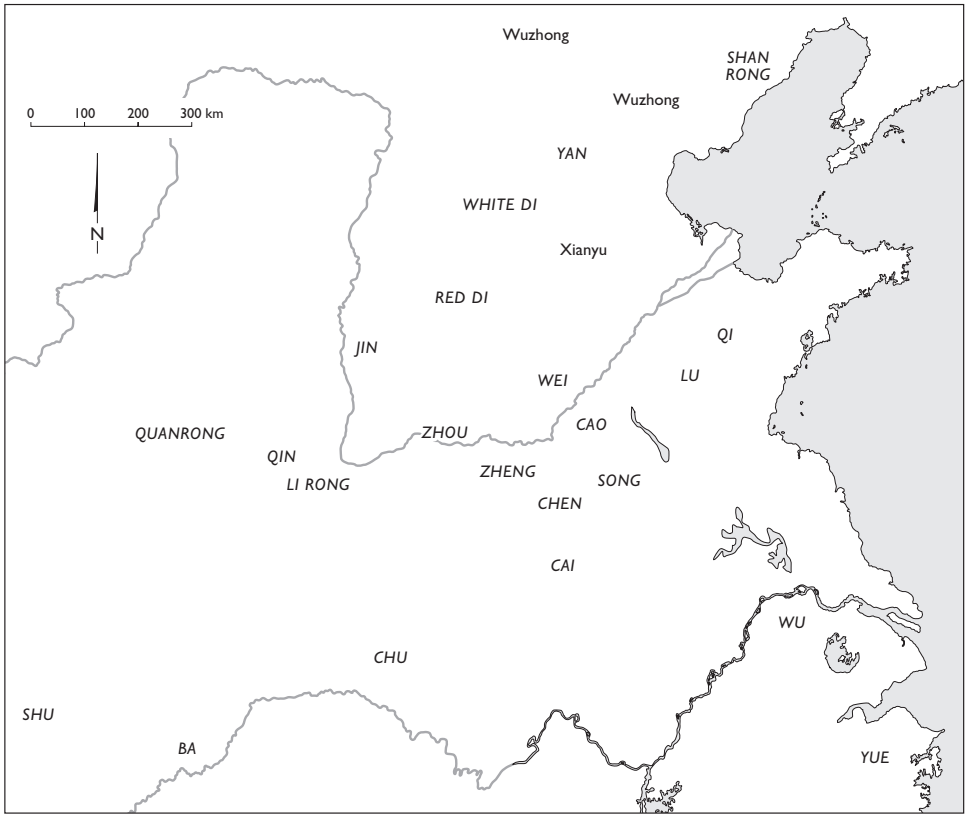
Abbreviations

BMFEA	*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*
EC	*Early China*
Gongyang	*Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu* 春秋公羊傳注疏
Guliang	*Chunqiu Guliang zhuan zhushu* 春秋穀梁傳注疏
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
Karlgren	Bernhard Karlgren, "Glosses on the *Tso Chuan*," *BMFEA* 41 (1969): 1–158
Legge	James Legge, trans., *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*, vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics* (1872; repr., Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1895)
SBBY	*Sibu beiyao* 四部備要
SKQS	*Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 影印文淵閣四庫全書
SSJZS	*Chongkan Song ben Shisan jing zhushu fu jiaokan ji* 重刊宋本十三經注疏附校勘記
Takezoe	Takezoe Kōkō 竹添光鴻, ed. and annotator, *Saden Kaisen* 左傳會箋 (1912; repr., Taipei: Fenghuang, 1961)
XBZZJC	*Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* 新編諸子集成
Yang	Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, ed. and annotator, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, rev. ed., 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990)
ZZ	*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義

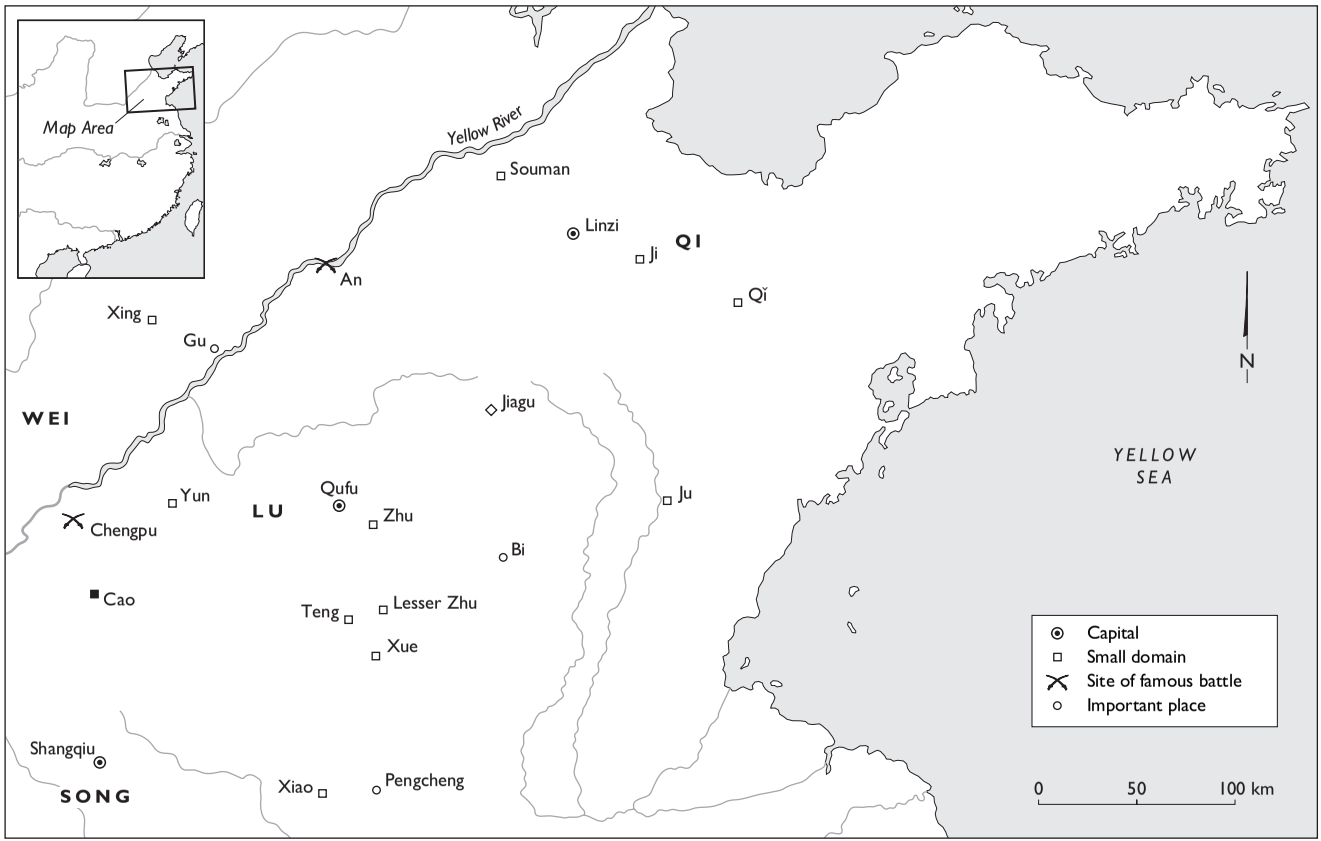
Chronology of Dynasties

Xia	ca. 21st–16th BCE
Shang	ca. 1600–1045 BCE
Zhou	1045–256
Western Zhou	1045–771
Eastern Zhou	770–256
Spring and Autumn	770–476
Warring States	475–221
Qin	221–206
Han	202 BCE–220 CE
Former Han (also called Western Han)	202 BCE–9 CE
Xin (Wang Mang reign)	9–23
Gengshi Emperor	23–25
Later Han (also called Eastern Han)	25–220
Six Dynasties	220–589
Three Kingdoms	220–280
Jin	265–420
Northern and Southern Dynasties	420–589
Sui	581–618
Tang	618–907
The Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms	902–979
Song	960–1279
Northern Song	960–1127
Southern Song	1127–1279
Yuan	1279–1368
Ming	1368–1644
Qing	1644–1912

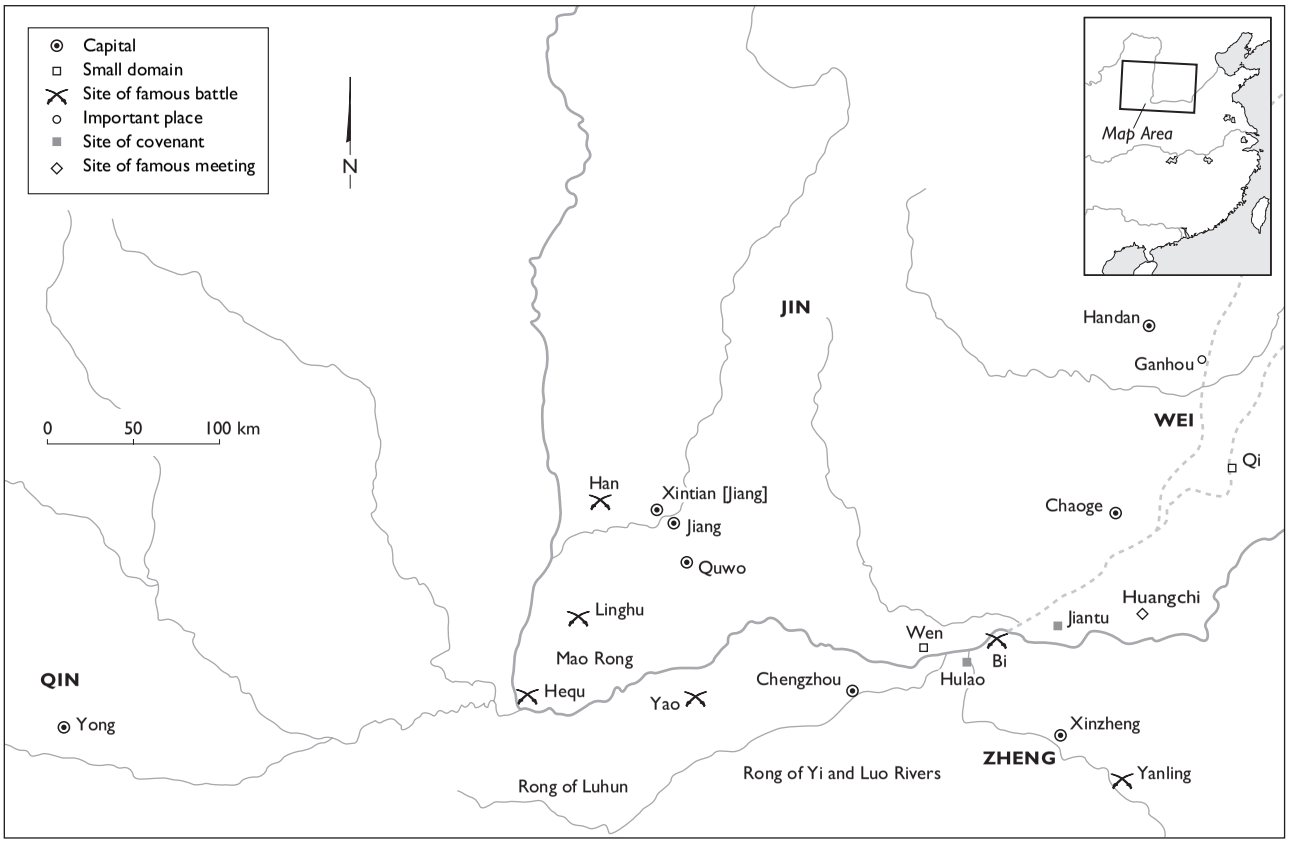
Adapted from Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 10–13.



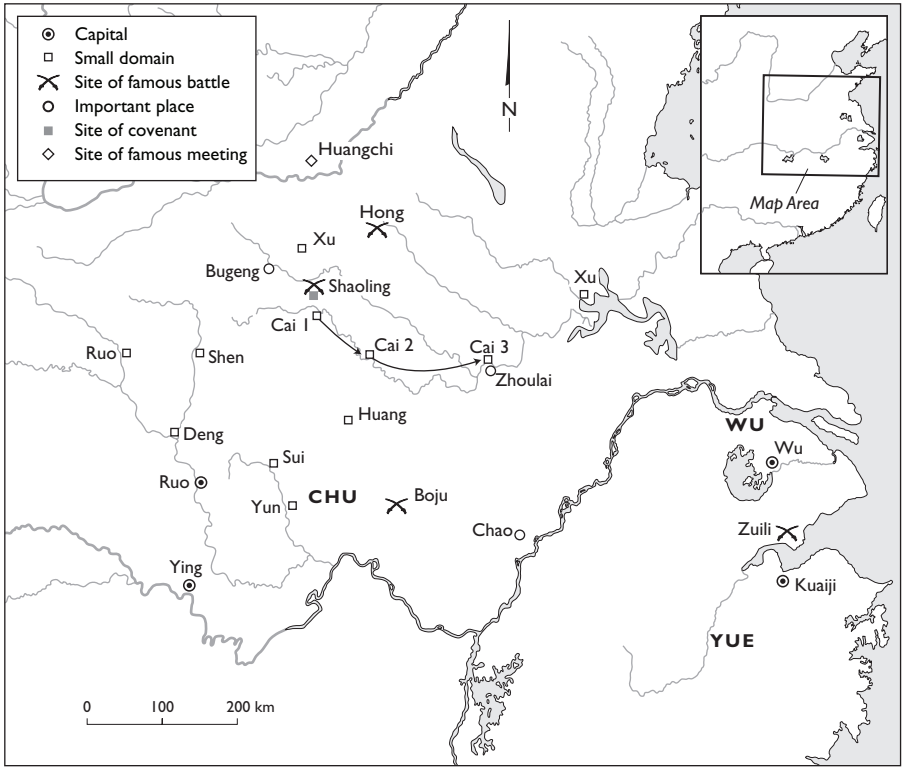
Map 1. Major domains and peoples during the Spring and Autumn Period



Map 2. Important places on the North China Plain



Map 3. Important places in the Upper Yellow River / Wei River Basin



Map 4. Important places in the South

Introduction

This is an introduction in three parts, arranged as a gradual entrée to *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Tradition). The first section, designed for newcomers to *Zuozhuan*, is a general introduction to the work itself, to Chinese history from the late eighth to the early fifth century BCE, and to the principles of our translation. Nonspecialist readers may wish to proceed directly from this general introduction to the pleasures of the history itself. The remaining sections of the introduction are more technical and are addressed to scholars in Chinese studies, historians of the ancient world, and specialists in related fields. The second part examines the historical and intellectual context in which *Zuozhuan* originated and revisits the long scholarly debate over the text's provenance. The third part details the critical place that *Zuozhuan* has occupied in the Chinese tradition during the past two millennia. With these observations on textual and cultural history as a foundation, the reader will be well prepared to understand the singular importance that *Zuozhuan* continues to have as a monument of early Chinese historical writing. We offer our introduction, and our translation itself, as a dedicatory gate and stairway to this edifice, with the fond hope that readers will visit often and stay long.

PART I: ON *ZUOZHUAN*, SPRING AND AUTUMN HISTORY, AND TRANSLATION CONVENTIONS

THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF *ZUOZHUAN*

Zuozhuan is the largest text to come to us from pre-imperial China (i.e., from before 221 BCE). One might also argue that it is the most important text from that era. As such, *Zuozhuan* deserves a place alongside other great histories from the ancient world, like those of Herodotus, Thucydides, and the Deuteronomic historians, with which it is roughly contemporaneous. There are several reasons why *Zuozhuan* has not found

such a place. One of the chief of these is that it has been transmitted to us as a commentary to another text, the *Annals* (Chunqiu 春秋), and follows the year-by-year chronology of that text. Consequently, single story lines are often broken up and distributed in a strictly chronological fashion, with other story lines and unrelated events intervening, so that it requires an excellent memory, or at least patient cross-checking, to keep the various interweaving accounts straight. In addition, the voice of the *Zuozhuan* historian is largely masked, so that the personality of the narrator rarely shines through. Put somewhat differently, there is no "I" in the text, no identifiable historian at our side guiding us in the fashion of Herodotus or Thucydides, who name themselves in the very first sentence of their respective texts and repeatedly appear as guides or commentators throughout their narratives. When compared with the works of such early Greek historians, *Zuozhuan* can sound impersonal, but the absence of a self-conscious narrative voice also gives it a dramatic, authoritative tone. This stylistic feature, like the annalistic fragmentation of the narratives, poses unique challenges for the reader, but it also has its own appeal, as we hope this translation will demonstrate.

We have already noted the fact that *Zuozhuan* narratives are distributed according to the year-by-year organization of the *Annals*, creating a pattern of interweaving story lines that can sometimes be difficult to follow. In addition, the language of the narrative sections of *Zuozhuan* is exceedingly terse and elliptical. One scholar has aptly described *Zuozhuan* narratives as "lapidary." That is, episodes are carefully crafted and, in a manner of speaking, "hard." Nouns and verbs predominate, characters act and are acted upon, with adjectival description rare and consequently taking on particular significance wherever it does occur. Very often sentences or events are simply juxtaposed without explicit connective tissue. In one brief narrative, for example, a ruler takes for himself a woman intended for his son because he "finds her beautiful" (*mei zhi* 美之). Unhappy consequences cascade from his decision, one of the first being that his wife "hangs herself" (Huan 16.2). The reader can easily understand why she has been driven to this extremity, but here, as so often elsewhere in *Zuozhuan*, no explanation and certainly no psychological penetration into her unhappy mental state are provided, just as we are not told in the biblical narrative of Abraham and Isaac, to refer to another early narrative tradition, what Abraham thinks as he raises his knife to sacrifice his son.[1] In general, the *Zuozhuan* narrator is absent, allowing the action to speak for itself and deflecting his own judgments into the speeches and pronouncements of his characters, one of the most important of them being the moralizing "noble man" (*junzi* 君子). When, for example, the ever-present Herodotus, Greek author of *The Histories*, says that the Athenian Solon "claimed to be traveling to see the world, but it was really to avoid the possibility of having to repeal any of the laws he had made" (1.13), he is giving more explanation of a

character's motives than one finds anywhere in *Zuozhuan*, at least in the narrative voice.

But the narrative terseness of *Zuozhuan* stands in stark contrast to the speeches the text presents. An exceedingly brief narrative can quickly lead to a speech of considerable length and great rhetorical complexity. Extensive parallelism, citation of earlier sources such as the *Odes* (Shijing 詩經), numbered sets, and a whole host of technical rhetorical features are employed as speakers admonish and sometimes overwhelm their audience. One of the functions of *Zuozhuan*, as we explain below, was to model for aspiring officials the importance and power of speechmaking.

One must remain attentive while reading *Zuozhuan*, not only because so much is left unexpressed and must be surmised but also because one of the messages of this text is that the world is full of signs that can be read: a commander "lifts his feet high," and because of this a wise adviser knows that "his intentions are not firm" (Huan 13.1); a prince receives a ceremonial jade "indolently," and a minister concludes that the prince "will have no progeny" (Xi 11.2); a ruler's index finger moves involuntarily, and he knows that that day he will "taste something extraordinary" (Xuan 4.2). Just as meaning can be found in the smallest gestures and briefest comments, so hidden significance can be mined from the seemingly straightforward text of *Zuozhuan* and the *Annals*. But such reading of the world is not always easy. In one peculiar case, a lord dresses his heir apparent in a peculiar "half-body robe," touching off a dispute among the officials as to what this means, although it quickly becomes clear that the costume is ominous (Min 2.7). Acts of oracle-bone or milfoil divination and dream interpretation reported in *Zuozhuan* are also often highly complicated and susceptible to a variety of readings, some of them far-fetched on the surface.[2]

Many of these signs, and so much else about *Zuozhuan* narrative and speechmaking, foreshadow the future. One does not continue reading this text to find out who will rise and who will fall, who will win and who will lose, for the careful reader knows in advance what outcomes will ensue. The battle narratives are the clearest example of this. Much space is given to the preparation for battle and the signs that foretell the outcome, with the actual action on the battlefield typically narrated briefly or ignored altogether. For example, Jiang Bingzhang 姜炳璋 (1709–86) noted that, in one case where the "ruler's virtue" has been described, "It is precisely by reason of this quality that victory is determined even before the battle begins."[3]

The world of *Zuozhuan* can be read because it is a world filled with the prescriptions of ritual propriety. One scholar of *Zuozhuan* narrative has said that the message of this text is that the good are usually rewarded and the bad punished.[4] While this generalization applies in some cases, the moral world of *Zuozhuan* is by no means a simple and straightforward one. In fact, much of the text seems to be struggling in a fascinating

way with the vast complexity of human situations and the need to see ritual propriety not as a clearly delineated list of rights and wrongs but as a guiding principle that must be adapted to particular situations with flexibility and intelligence. Mercy, for example, might often be a good thing, but the ritual obligations and the practical exigencies of war sometimes make acts of mercy not just foolhardy but morally wrong (Xi 22.8, Xuan 2.1).

The text we today call *Zuozhuan* might have been derived from a text originally known as *Zuo's Annals* (Zuoshi chunqiu 左氏春秋). The earliest reference to this title is found in Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (145?–86?) *Records of the Historian* (Shiji 史記). According to that account, after Confucius (551–479) died, his disciples began to disagree about the oral interpretation of the *Annals*, which the Master had supposedly transmitted to them. Consequently, "the Lu gentleman," a certain Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, was afraid that the true teachings would be lost. "Therefore, taking Confucius' scribal records as his basis, he put in order all their words and completed *Zuo's Annals*."[5] While few scholars today still believe that Zuo Qiuming was responsible for *Zuozhuan*, its title, at least as usually understood, commemorates his surname.

In Ban Gu's 班固 (32–92) *History of the Han* (Hanshu 漢書), which was written approximately 150 years after the *Records of the Historian*, *Zuo's Annals* is regularly called *Zuo's Commentary* or *Zuo's Tradition* (Zuoshi zhuan 左氏傳).[6] This new title may well have resulted from editorial work undertaken by Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BCE–23 CE), who, along with his father, Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8), had been employed by the Han Emperor Cheng (r. 33–7) to examine texts collected from across the empire and to collate them against material held in the imperial archives. Liu Xin seems to have spent considerable time on *Zuo's Annals*, and he became an ardent supporter of this text, even pleading in a letter to court officials of Emperor Ai (r. 7–1) that the text be given official recognition, which means that it would have been taught in the Imperial Academy under the direction of officially appointed Academicians (*boshi* 博士). The title change from *Zuo's Annals* to *Zuo's Commentary* may signal changes Liu made in the nature and structure of the text in order to emphasize its exegetical relationship to the *Annals*, although it is unclear how extensive his editorial work might actually have been. The current name of the text, *Zuozhuan*, and the current structure of the text appear to derive from the hand of Du Yu 杜預 (222–284), who is credited with weaving the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* into a single text, giving *Zuozhuan* an even more obvious commentarial structure and thereby enhancing its prestige.[7] Du Yu also reedited and standardized the text, while providing it with his own commentary, which drew upon and ultimately replaced much of the commentarial tradition preceding him.[8] (For more on these issues, see part II below.)

For well over two millennia, the *Annals* has been listed among the

Confucian "Five Classics," a group of texts that became the foundation of virtually all official imperial Chinese education.[9] One eminent scholar, Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850–1908), even suggested that among these classics the *Annals* and the *Classic of Changes* (Yijing 易經) were preeminent, constituting a kind of advanced study that could be fully understood only by the best students.[10] This elevated status derives in part from a tradition ascribing the *Annals* in its present form to Confucius himself. Such a tradition is already found in *Mencius* (Mengzi 孟子), a text written perhaps two hundred years after Confucius' death, where we read that when Confucius completed the *Annals*, it had such powerful influence that "treasonous ministers and maleficent sons were terrified."[11] *Mencius* goes on to claim that Confucius once said, "Those who understand me will do so only through the *Annals*."[12] At a slightly later time, perhaps inspired by this *Mencius* passage, many believed not only that the *Annals* came from the hand of Confucius but that the Master had used this text to convey "lofty principles in subtle words."[13]

Anyone who turns to the *Annals* after encountering such views as those found in *Mencius* and in later Confucian writings will almost certainly be surprised, even disappointed. The *Annals* is a slender text composed of slightly fewer than seventeen thousand written Chinese characters. It appears, at least at first reading, to do little more than list in highly economical and straightforward language short notices of events that took place in the central domains between 722 and 479 BCE as seen from the small domain of Lu 魯, where it was compiled. It probably derives from official court records—and terse records at that. The name *Chunqiu* literally means "spring and autumn," which is an abbreviation of the sequence of four seasons and refers to a type of record keeping in which events are registered not just under a year and a month but under a season as well. With relatively few exceptions, at least one event is registered for each season of each year for the 242 years included in the *Annals*. Other early Chinese domains might have maintained records similar to the Lu *Annals*. Passages in at least two early Chinese texts refer to other such court records, and an annalistic text for the domain of Weì 魏, known as *Bamboo Annals* (Zhushu jinian 竹書記年), was discovered around 280 CE.[14]

The extraordinary stylistic precision and consistency of the *Annals* support the sense that Lu scribes adhered to a system in recording events. For example, a Lu ruler is usually referred to as "the lord" (*gong* 公) but, on the occasion of his funeral, is called "our ruler" (*wojun* 我君), with his posthumous honorific. Rulers of Chu and Wu, who styled themselves "kings" (*wang* 王), are called in the text "leaders" (*ren* 人) or "masters" (*zi* 子), one of the lower noble ranks. The assassination of a ruler is described with the word *shi* 弑, which indicates the violation of hierarchy—except for Lu rulers, whose murder is cloaked behind the word "expire" (*hong* 薨). Murdered rulers of other states are sometimes

simply reported to have "died" (*zu* 卒).[15] Words associated with military conflicts, such as "battle" (*zhan* 戰), "defeat" (*bai* 敗), "overcome" (*ke* 克), "completely defeated" (*baiji* 敗績), "invade" (*qin* 侵), "surprise attack" (*xi* 襲), "attack" (*fa* 伐), "punish" (*tao* 討), "enter" (*ru* 入), "seize" (*huo* 獲), "lay siege to" (*wei* 圍), or "extinguish" (*mie* 滅), seem to have precise meanings and imply evaluation of the justice or appropriateness of military operations. When Lu is defeated in battle, the words "completely defeated" are not used (with one exception).[16] As these examples and exceptions show, many "rules" can be deduced, although few are absolutely consistent.

Spurred on by the purported link to Confucius and the notion that there was much more to the *Annals* than a first reading might disclose, early Chinese scholars produced a rich body of commentarial literature on this text. In fact, the *Annals* has come down to us not as an independent text but only attached in slightly variant form to each of three commentaries or "traditions" (*zhuan* 傳): *Zuozhuan* 左傳, *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳, and *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳. All three of these *Annals* commentaries have at times exercised a significant influence upon the Chinese tradition, but the longest and most complex of them, *Zuozhuan*, has eventually enjoyed the greatest prestige, although *Gongyang* reigned preeminent as official learning during the Han dynasty. Whereas the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries primarily dissect the "subtle words" of the *Annals* so as to lay bare the "great principles" it supposedly contains, *Zuozhuan* provides historical context for events that occurred during the Spring and Autumn period (770–476), some noted in the *Annals* and some not.

Zuozhuan also includes exegetical passages, although a good portion of the *Annals* has no *Zuozhuan* exegesis, and sometimes there seem to be pointed contradictions between the two texts. The sense of system in the *Annals* is challenged by shifts in meanings in *Zuozhuan*. *Zuozhuan* also covers events until 468 BCE (Ai 27), thirteen years after the capture of the *lin* (Ai 14.1), sometimes referred to as a "unicorn,"[17] and eleven years after the death of Confucius (Ai 16.3), events that respectively mark the end of the *Annals* in *Gongyang* (the *lin*) and in *Guliang* (the *lin*) and *Zuozhuan* (Confucius' death). All these issues have raised doubts about the exact relationship between the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan*.

All three exegetical traditions interpret stylistic conventions and even textual corruption of the *Annals* as markers of the sage's intention, although *Gongyang* and *Guliang* do so much more insistently and consistently than *Zuozhuan*. In one case, a missing word is construed as a deliberate expression of doubt.[18] Designating Chu and Wu rulers (who called themselves kings) as "masters" is thought to convey criticism of the overreaching ambitions of "barbarians" and to set normative standards for "rectifying names" (*zhengming* 正名), so that names correspond to roles and functions.[19] The omission in the *Annals* of references

to burials of Chu and Wu rulers supposedly functions to avoid the use of the title of "king."[20] Concealing a Lu ruler's murder, which might have simply "reflected the wording of official notifications to other states" (*cong fu* 從訃, *cong gao* 從告), especially if we consider the new ruler's frequent role as perpetrator, is said in *Gongyang* and *Guliang* to reflect Confucius' choice of "concealment in internal matters" (*neihui* 內諱). "To conceal the truth" (*hui* 諱) to honor or protect one's domain or ruler[21] in turn implies that "bare facts" should yield pride of place to normative human relations in historical records.

Reverence for the *Annals* as the sage's moral judgments was pervasive, but there have always been dissenters. The Tang scholar and thinker Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721), famous for his *Comprehensive Study of Historical Writings* (Shitong 史通), casts doubt on the sacrosanct text by examining its inconsistencies. The Song chief minister and scholar-poet Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–86), with typical boldness, dismissed the *Annals* as "fragmentary and corrupt court reports" (*duanlan chaobao* 斷爛朝報).[22] But criticism of this type reflects a distinctly minority view.

It is perhaps no accident that Liu Zhiji, skeptical about the *Annals*, should also have been an ardent champion of *Zuozhuan*; the latter spoke to his interests in the methods of historical writing much more than the former. More generally, most recognize that the historical events marked by the *Annals* would be incomprehensible without *Zuozhuan*. To read the *Annals* in China was most often to read it alongside *Zuozhuan*, with the latter providing the narrative detail and rhetorical flesh the former lacked.

Zuozhuan is more than ten times longer than the *Annals*, containing just fewer than 180,000 written Chinese characters. A rich combination of narratives and speeches, it has been read as a reliable history of the Spring and Autumn era, as a great model of prose style, and as a repository of Confucian values. If we must now question *Zuozhuan*'s reliability as a historical source, at least for the period of time it claims to describe, and exercise care in reducing the text to a simple set of values, Confucian or otherwise, we can hardly question the raw power of its prose and the rhetorical brilliance of its speeches. One major voice in Chinese literary thought, Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 522), regarded *Zuozhuan* prose as "the winged glory of the sages' writings, the crowning achievement of records and texts."[23] And Liu Zhiji found the speeches in the text "flowing and beautiful yet never in excess."[24]

Despite the importance of both the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* within the Chinese tradition, these texts, as noted above, have never gained a significant readership outside East Asia beyond a small number of early-China specialists. Our hope is that the following translation will help change this situation. Translating these texts was a daunting task in part because of the many difficulties they present, some of which we will discuss below, and in part because there is already an excellent English-

language translation of both the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan*, James Legge's (1855–97) *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*.

More than 140 years have now passed since James Legge published his complete translation of the *Annals* with an attached translation of almost the whole *Zuozhuan*.[25] His work was the only largely complete English-language version until a reworking of Legge's translation of *Zuozhuan*, without the accompanying *Annals*, was published in China several years ago.[26] Legge's work was a great sinological achievement and has become a standard source for students of early China, a measuring rod against which subsequent translations of these texts must be evaluated, including the present one. In view of Legge's achievement, why, one might ask, is a new translation needed at all? In what follows we hope it will become clear how our own reading, understanding, and presentation of the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* differ from Legge's. But for now we would note three important reasons for this new translation. First, the last century or so has brought genuine advances in our understanding of the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan*, and some of these advances impinge directly upon questions of translation. Second, Legge's Victorian prose, despite its stateliness, is not "the most stylistically expressive and elegant"[27] and is, moreover, becoming more and more remote from the twenty-first-century reader. And third, the format and presentation of Legge's text, despite several reprints, remain unattractive, awkward, and difficult to use, although recent online versions have to some extent remedied this situation.[28] Still, we do not presume that our work replaces that of our predecessor. As we have said, his translation is the measuring rod, and readers can surely profit from consulting his version as well as our own.

We should add a brief word here concerning the complete French translation of the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* by the tireless Jesuit scholar Séraphin Couvreur (1835–1919), *Tch'ouen ts'iou et Tso tchouan*. The format of this three-volume work makes it much easier to use than Legge's text. It is also more conservative than Legge's, consistently following Du Yu's commentary. Paul Demiéville (1894–1979) judges Couvreur with reference to Legge as follows: "He makes no attempt at original interpretation or personal evaluation, such as James Legge rather prematurely attempted in his English version."[29] While this is an accurate characterization of Couvreur, whether it is fair to Legge depends on how one evaluates the latter's "original interpretations."

THE *ANNALS*, *ZUOZHUAN*, AND THE HISTORY OF THE SPRING AND AUTUMN PERIOD

The very term "Spring and Autumn period" (given above) points to the critical role the *Annals* and its commentaries have played in the construction of Chinese history. The period, which encompasses the years covered by the text, 722–479, is named for the text. The date 722 BCE

marks the ascension of Lord Yin to the position of ruler in the relatively small eastern domain of Lu. The start of Lord Yin's reign is noteworthy only because the *Annals* begins in that year. Nothing else of great import occurs. In the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries, the *Annals* ends with the capture of the *lin* in 481 BCE, the fourteenth year of the reign of Lord Ai of Lu. In *Zuozhuan*, the *Annals* ends two years later, in 479 BCE, the year of Confucius' death: "In summer, in the fourth month, on the *jichou* day, Kong Qiu [Confucius] died" (Ai 16.3).

Some historians have objected to demarcating a historical period with reference to the beginning and ending of a text, however much influence that text might have exerted, and suggest that periods should be defined by unquestionably important moments. One such moment is 770 BCE, when the Zhou court moved from its capital near modern-day Xi'an 西安 to the new capital Chengzhou 成周 in the region of modern-day Luoyang 洛陽. Since Luoyang is well to the east of Xi'an, 770 BCE separates the eras of what came to be known as the Western Zhou and the Eastern Zhou. This date also marks a significant milestone in the gradual decline of Zhou power, a decline that had begun almost a century earlier and was to continue until the Zhou kings became little more than figureheads by the middle of the Spring and Autumn period. 476 BCE is sometimes chosen as the closing date of the Spring and Autumn period because it marks the end of the reign of King Jìng of Zhou 周敬王 (r. 519–476), when the capital moved further east, forming a new Chengzhou (the old Chengzhou was renamed Wangcheng 王城), due to Wangzi Zhao's 王子朝 rebellion (Zhao 22–Zhao 29). Another significant event that some historians identify as the close of this period is the virtual breakup in 453 BCE of the once-powerful domain of Jin 晉 into three smaller domains: Han 韓, Weì 魏, and Zhao 趙, domains that were "officially recognized by the Zhou king in 403 BCE."[30] Besides marking the demise of a domain that had played a major role throughout much of the Spring and Autumn period, this event marks the ascendancy of powerful ministerial lineages, which had seriously undermined even the illusion of an old Zhou ritual order and had also marked a trend toward the bureaucratization and professionalization of the domains.[31] Thus, although the dates 770 and 476 or 453 BCE might be preferred as commemorating major historical events, 722 and 479 BCE remain significant dates in the traditional periodization of Chinese history by reason of the prestige of a single text, the *Annals*.

We have referred above to *Zuozhuan* as a "history," the quotation marks here reflecting our belief that it is a particularly problematic instance of this category. Still, no single text has had a greater influence upon the way Spring and Autumn history has been presented both in China and in the West. When the early historians Sima Tan 司馬談 (d. 110 BCE) and his son Sima Qian wrote the first comprehensive history of China, in a certain sense creating "China" in the process, they used some of the

materials now found in our *Zuozhuan* as their single most important source for the Spring and Autumn period.[32] This circumstance has not changed greatly over time. For example, in the article on Spring and Autumn history in the prestigious *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, we read: "Despite a lack of corroborating evidence from other sources, there is no reason to doubt the details of political and military activities given in *Zuozhuan*, or the roles played by prominent figures in it, such as Guan Zhong 管仲."[33] Such faith in the essential historical reliability of *Zuozhuan* has been labeled "the worst error in classical Sinology."[34]

If we commit this "worst error," writing history as it is reported in *Zuozhuan*, what is the result? On the most basic level, we then produce an account replete with conflict. In fact, 490 instances of warfare are recorded in *Zuozhuan*. For this reason, one Qing scholar argued that *Zuozhuan* is "the ancestor of books on military strategy" (*bingfa zhi zu* 兵法之祖).[35] The abundant instances of conflict recorded in *Zuozhuan* take place both between domains and within domains. The four major Spring and Autumn domains of Qi, Jin, Qin, and Chu annihilated 128 of the 148 other domains mentioned in *Zuozhuan*. Many of these domains were small and fell with relatively little resistance, but warfare between the major powers could be brutal. "Five great battles" described in *Zuozhuan* are often cited as examples: Jin and its allies' victory over Chu at Chengpu in 632 BCE (Xi 28); Jin's defeat of Qin at the battle of Yao in 627 BCE (Xi 33); Chu's victory over Jin at Bi in 598 BCE (Xuan 12); Jin, Lu, and Wei's decisive defeat of Qi at the battle of An in 589 BCE (Cheng 2); and Chu's disastrous loss to Jin in the battle of Yanling in 575 BCE (Cheng 16). Conflict between the major domains was constant, and small domains scrambled to survive the violence.

Strife within a single domain, often within the same lineage or family, could also be relentless. The first major narrative of *Zuozhuan* describes the rebellion of a younger brother, supported by his mother, against his older brother, the rightful heir to the domain of Zheng (Yin 1.4).[36] The text goes on to record a century of major succession crises in the larger domain of Jin, provoked in part by the establishment in 745 BCE of a subordinate lineage at Quwo that functioned very much like an independent power center (Huan 2.8, 3.1, 7.4, Zhuang 16.5).[37] Fraternal conflict, ministerial rebellion, and intergenerational strife, often between father and son, continue on page after page throughout *Zuozhuan*. The old Zhou polity was founded on a kinship structure under which royal relatives were granted vassal domains. Meritorious officials and key allies who were granted domains often had marriage ties with the Zhou house. Within many of those subordinate domains, kinsmen also held the most important offices. This emphasis upon kinship and lineage continues throughout the Spring and Autumn period and is reflected in *Zuozhuan*.[38] Thus, we can correctly say that *Zuozhuan* for the most part depicts aristocratic society as normative. This dominance of hered-

itary, lineage-based administrative power is eventually challenged by an emerging meritocracy and a weakening of "family sentiment,"[39] which will come to characterize the Warring States period. Many of the *Zuozhuan* speeches can be regarded as high-minded but ultimately unsuccessful attempts to slow the decline of the Spring and Autumn kinship order.

A number of institutions described on the pages of *Zuozhuan* aim to stem the violence and bring stability to the strife-ridden domains. In the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period, the Zhou court still exercised some moral suasion, a faint echo of an earlier time, part memory and part myth, when they had brought peace to the realm, but their power had become vastly diminished. In 707 BCE, Zhou prestige suffered a terrible blow. The domain of Zheng, which had been a close supporter of Zhou and had provided three Zhou chief ministers, launched an attack on its former ally. Zhu Dan 祝聃, a Zheng official, shot the king in the shoulder, and the latter was saved only when Zhu Dan's ruler recommended forbearance: "A noble man does not wish always to assert superiority over others."[40]

With Zhou leadership in shambles, meetings between domains became frequent. The *Annals* provides contemporary evidence of many of these meetings and notes the covenants that were so frequently and solemnly sworn between participants, but only *Zuozhuan* and the other two commentary traditions refer to a new order under which one lord was recognized as first among equals—an "overlord" or "hegemon" (*ba* 霸), as he is usually called. The first of these overlords was Lord Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (r. 685–643). In the fifteenth year of Lord Zhuang of Lu (679 BCE), the *Annals* records a meeting between the Prince of Qi, the Duke of Song, the Prince of Chen, the Prince of Wei, and the Liege of Zheng at a place named Juan. *Zuozhuan* adds that "Qi was for the first time acting as overlord."[41] The famous Lord Wen of Jin 晉文公 (r. 636–628) also became overlord, striving, at least in theory, to preserve the Zhou order, and other rulers attempted to ascend to the same status. But what slowly emerged was a sort of balance of power or what some have referred to as a multistate system.[42] Indeed, *Zuozhuan* describes a world in which power gradually shifted from the "central domains," such as Zheng, Song, and Wei, toward the periphery represented by four big powers: Jin in the north, Qi in the east, Chu in the south, and Qin in the west. As time passes, more and more of *Zuozhuan*'s attention focuses on these domains and then, in its final decades, on the two new players in the southeast, Wu and Yue.

As we have noted above, auxiliary aristocratic lineages and ministerial lineages become gradually more important in *Zuozhuan*. For example, much space is given to members of the three lineages descending from subordinate sons of Lord Huan 桓 of Lu (r. 711–694). One of these, the Ji 季 or Jisun 季孫 lineage, came to dominate Lu politics and, with

the help of the other two lineages descended from Lord Huan, even expelled Lord Zhao 魯昭公 from the domain in 517 BCE. In describing this humiliating event, the *Annals* discreetly notes that "the lord retired to Qi,"[43] but *Zuozhuan* makes it quite clear that his departure was coerced (see Zhao 25.6). Jin was another domain dominated by powerful ministers (who, unlike their counterparts in Lu, were not related to the ruling house) and beset by lineage rivalries from circa 600 BCE onward; these led to the partition of Jin in 453 by three warring lineages: Han, Weì, and Zhao. Other examples could be given of the ascension of originally subordinate lineages. Eventually, almost all Spring and Autumn rulers were "overshadowed by high ministers" who began "to dominate state affairs."[44]

The order *Zuozhuan* offers as the surest antidote to the growing chaos of the age is ritual propriety, or *li* 禮. In speech after speech, *Zuozhuan* rhetoricians warn of the deleterious results of departures from ritual propriety. In fact, the motor of historical change—invariably change for the worse—is deviation from ritual. All the violence and conflict on the pages of *Zuozhuan*, and perhaps even the transforming processes of history itself, would stop if only leaders would conform to the good order that is inscribed in the patterns of ritual propriety.[45] Two external voices in particular are cited repeatedly in the text as judges of ritual behavior: "the noble man" and Confucius.[46] The former authority, who remains anonymous and somewhat mysterious, is quoted in seventy-eight instances distributed relatively evenly throughout the text, while Confucius is quoted twenty-five times, mostly in the years of the Lu Lords who ruled in the latter part of the Spring and Autumn period. These are voices of stability that try to bring order to a political and social world portrayed as being in decline.

If we reject an account of Spring and Autumn history that is largely based upon *Zuozhuan*, we are left with rather scanty material to reconstruct that history. Few would question the credibility of the *Annals* itself as an authentic record compiled by Lu domain scribes, but this text comprises records of only certain types of events and conveys information very selectively.[47] The *Annals* does give evidence of a high level of interdomain diplomacy, along with frequent conflict, but as noted earlier it gives no support to the *Zuozhuan* notion that for the first century of the Spring and Autumn period a particular leader was recognized as overlord and that other rulers aspired to this status throughout the period. Moreover, there is no clear evidence in the *Annals* for the intermittent awareness in *Zuozhuan* of "a cultural divide between the 'Huaxia' 華夏 population and the totality of the 'Rongdi' 戎狄, which by the middle Spring and Autumn period had clearly gained a meaning similar to 'barbarian' as the word is used in English."[48]

The few textual records that can be confidently dated to the Spring and Autumn period are overshadowed by the large and ever-growing

body of archaeological finds. Still, the archaeological evidence from early China remains fragmentary and strongly skewed toward the excavation of tombs rather than settlements, although there is some indication that this situation is now changing. It has been common for Chinese archaeologists to use the textual record as a filter through which to examine and categorize archaeological finds, and archaeological evidence does substantiate textual traditions in many instances.[49] However, we must note that some of the material evidence does not support what we read in early texts. For example, early Confucian texts, *Zuozhuan* included, tend to idealize the early years of the Western Zhou and treat it as a radical break from the earlier Shang dynasty. The archaeological evidence indicates no wholesale cultural shift from the Shang to the Zhou, although the practice of massive human sacrifice does seem to have ceased under the Zhou. The Zhou people, insofar as they represent a new intrusion into the central China plains, for the most part seem to have continued Shang traditions. The idealization of the new Zhou ritual practice, which supposedly supplanted the older Shang order, might indeed reflect a ritual reform that actually took place in the Middle Western Zhou, sometime around 850 BCE, in an attempt to buttress Zhou ruling power when it had begun to decline.[50]

This "Middle Western Zhou Ritual Reform," as it has come to be called, seems to have marked a shift from an early ritual world characterized by rich and sometimes frightening animal motifs on sacrificial bronze vessels and by abundant ritual drinking to a more orderly system of ritual that reinforced political and social hierarchy, a shift, so to speak, from a more Dionysian to a more Apollonian habit of social interaction. Bronze vessels securely dated to the postreform period are humbler and "suggest a desire to reform the spirit of ritual by reducing its complexity and linking it with everyday activities."[51] It could indeed be that the remembrance of a superstitious Shang order, which is reflected in Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian*, is actually a faint remembrance of times before the Middle Western Zhou Ritual Reform.[52] In many ways, then, this reform might have created a foundation for the Spring and Autumn "segmentary aristocracy,"[53] as well as for the skepticism about the supernatural that characterizes portions of *Zuozhuan*.[54]

Archaeology also attests to a second significant shift, which has been labeled the "Middle Spring and Autumn Ritual Restructuring." The assemblages found in tombs during this period, with the noteworthy exception of those deriving from the westernmost domain (Qin), show a growing split between a small elite and the more common people, the latter including the "lesser elite." Gradually, Spring and Autumn society seems to have become dominated by a relatively small subset of ruling families eager to maintain distance between themselves and those they ruled, a trend that may indeed be reflected in the *Zuozhuan* emphasis upon lineages, which we have noted above.

The period of this ritual restructuring also saw an important religious transformation. Whereas early Zhou tombs emphasize continuity between this world and the next, with funerary ritual designed to mirror the "basic ritual dimension of the deceased's social existence,"[55] Spring and Autumn tomb architecture becomes more domestic, with tombs designed as homelike, self-sufficient enclosures intended to keep the dead content and contained. The emphasis is no longer upon "commonality" but upon "the discontinuity between the living and the dead."[56] One cannot help but recall in this regard the famous Confucian injunction to "respect the ghosts and spirits and keep them at a distance" or the Zheng minister Zichan's 子產 statement, found in *Zuozhuan*, that "the Way of Heaven is far away, while the Way of men is near at hand."[57]

It would be extreme to reject the historicity of *Zuozhuan* outright and to rely instead entirely upon archaeology, the *Annals*, and a few other texts or sections of texts for the reconstruction of Spring and Autumn history. Most recent studies of *Zuozhuan* agree that the text derives from various sources and is composed of strata that accumulated over time. As Yuri Pines observes, "Few would doubt that the *Zuo* is a compilation of earlier sources."[58] Enough of these sources, he believes, are sufficiently near in time to the events they describe that one can use *Zuozhuan* to reconstruct ideological change in the roughly two and a half centuries of Spring and Autumn history. But he also provides a list of thirteen *Zuozhuan* passages containing information unavailable at the close of the Spring and Autumn period.[59] In addition, Pines notes other "spurious speeches and interpolations" that have also contaminated the text.[60] For him, then, most of the strata of the text are from the period they describe, while a later stratum is clearly of Warring States origin. While holding that "early Chinese literary and scholarly practice, by its very nature, produced texts that must frustrate our attempts to fix their origins,"[61] David Schaberg suggests that *Zuozhuan* draws both upon earlier textual sources and upon a rich tradition of orality.[62] He describes a process whereby "anecdotes and speeches were transcribed from the oral tradition" beginning around 400 BCE, a process that then continued for some time.[63] Thus, *Zuozhuan* might be a layered text, but the layers remain malleable and exceedingly difficult to define and date with any precision. This particular conception of the development of *Zuozhuan* will be explored in much greater detail in part II below.

A. Taeko Brooks discerns some of the same change in *Zuozhuan* ideology noted by Pines. Focusing primarily upon the shifting conceptions of Heaven (*tian* 天) and ritual propriety, she identifies five layers in the text and, correlating these with ideology as reflected in other texts, dates the layers from 390 to 312 BCE. For her, then, *Zuozhuan* is a layered text that can be quite precisely dated and ascribed to the mid–Warring States period.[64] In a study we shall turn to forthwith, Barry B. Blakeley notes that Brooks' study "touches almost exclusively on the narratives (espe-

cially the Discourses)" and is therefore "relevant only to that segment of the text."[65] Thus, Brooks' theory of the layered nature of the text leaves the door open to the possibility that some nonnarrative layers of the text predate her 390 BCE date.

Blakeley takes a formalistic approach to identifying a number of *Zuozhuan* sources. First of all, he notes a redaction of the *Annals* embedded in *Zuozhuan* that is not always the same as the various versions of the *Annals* that we possess today. In his conception, those sections of *Zuozhuan* that seem to be duplicates or near duplicates of *Annals* entries are a major part of this source. The implication is that the *Zuozhuan* we now find interwoven with the *Annals* was based upon explanations of a somewhat different transmission of the *Annals*. Second, Blakeley identifies other passages that resemble *Annals* entries but are "presumably derived from chronicles kept in states other than Lu."[66] Third, *Zuozhuan* contains commentary, such as the sayings of "the noble man" or of Confucius, and "value judgments concerning ritual or behavioral correctness" that might come from quite different hands and might even date from a time later than much of the rest of the text.[67] Fourth, there is clearly material in *Zuozhuan* that dates to the Warring States period. If we take away the parts of *Zuozhuan* that come from these four sources, we are left with most of the narratives, which constitute the bulk of the text. Blakeley divides this material into two categories. The first of these categories includes what he describes as "simple, straightforward accounts of events that could reasonably represent contemporary records and may have been transmitted in written form." These particular narratives have neither "didactic function nor entertainment value."[68] The second category includes longer, more elaborate narratives that might have been transmitted orally and are less reliable historically, although these too must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. Consequently, Blakeley concludes that a generalized verdict about the date or reliability of a particular narrative is difficult: "Instead, every segment, even utterance, in the text must be judged independently."[69]

Most scholars of early China would agree that it might be as dangerous to dismiss the historical reliability of all of *Zuozhuan* as it is to accept it all uncritically. As the extensive discussion in part II below indicates, we too believe that *Zuozhuan* is a text of great complexity deriving from a number of practices in early China: extensive record keeping; a strong tradition of teaching, which drew upon and further explicated written records; an emphasis upon effective rhetoric for political purposes, which led to the production and transmission of model speeches; and a scholarly practice of compiling, transmitting, and circulating texts. Whether future research can further unravel the sources and layers of *Zuozhuan* and the authenticity of each remains to be seen. But it is likely that *Zuozhuan*, carefully used, can contribute to our historical understanding of both the Spring and Autumn period *and* the Warring States

period—that is, both the years it purports to chronicle and the era defining its textual formation.

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE TRANSLATION

The base Chinese text we have reproduced is that of Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), which he published in 1815 as part of his highly influential reprint of rare Song editions of the thirteen classics.[70] We have regularly consulted and followed the modern punctuated and annotated edition of Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1902–92), who sometimes alters Ruan's text.[71] In those cases where we adopt a reading differing from Yang and Ruan that significantly affects our translation, we have so noted. While our text is not a full critical edition consistently listing such variants as those from Dunhuang and Japanese manuscripts, it is practical and serviceable for the task at hand.

Our organization and numbering of the texts of the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* follow Yang Bojun. Accordingly, all *Annals* entries for a given year appear before the *Zuozhuan* entries for the same year. In each case these entries are numbered successively. Thus, under "Lord Yin 3," *Annals* entries are given as 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7 and are followed by *Zuozhuan* entries 3.1 through 3.7.[72] One of the interesting features of *Zuozhuan*, which indicates that it was originally not just a commentary, is that some *Annals* lines are not commented upon and, more significantly, some *Zuozhuan* entries have no *Annals* equivalent, as we have noted earlier. Where a particular *Annals* entry and a *Zuozhuan* entry have a close relationship, we indicate this by giving in parentheses the number of the corresponding entry. Thus, the first *Annals* entry of Lord Yin 3 is given as 3.1(2), which indicates that the corresponding *Zuozhuan* entry is *Zuozhuan* 3.2 below, which in turn will be fully numbered as 3.2(1), pointing to the corresponding *Annals* entry above. The lack of a number in parentheses for any given entry indicates that there is no counterpart in the other text. We must voice a word of caution: while the correspondence between the two texts is often clear, it occasionally becomes more questionable and requires subjective judgment. We have tried to be consistent, but the attentive reader may find passages where he or she disagrees with what we have marked or have failed to mark as a correspondence.

For each of the twelve Lords of Lu, we have provided an introduction. The purpose of the introduction is to highlight and clarify some of the important events and themes appearing in that particular section of the text. To further help readers, we give brief introductions to many individual entries and, on occasion, even to portions of particular entries. As we have noted earlier, one of the difficulties in reading *Zuozhuan* is that story lines or strings of related events are often broken up by the interposition of other events. In introducing entries, we attempt to indicate

previous entries and later entries belonging to the same sequence of events. We also try to identify recurrent themes or figures—for example, the wise barbarian, the humble adviser, communication through riddles, and so forth. This makes it possible to read our translation either successively or by jumping from place to place to follow a particular series of related entries. The latter way of reading, incidentally, was common in China, for several re-presentations of *Zuozhuan* from as early as the Song dynasty conveniently group related entries together.[73]

One of the biggest difficulties one encounters in reading *Zuozhuan* is that it is replete with personal names. One scholar has counted 2,767 persons who are named in the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan*. The largest number are people who come from the domain of Jin (411), followed by Lu (316), then Chu (279), Qi (273), Zhou (205), Zheng (203), Wei (197), and Song (191).[74] Moreover, many persons in the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* have two or more names, so that the reader is often left overwhelmed, if not completely bewildered. Naming conventions during the period of time reflected in these texts are extremely complex and often relate to clan and lineage organization and official ranks and positions. Basically, most elite members of society belong to a large descent group, or *xing* 姓 (sometimes called a "clan"), and a smaller unit known as a "lineage," or *shi* 氏.

Lineage names can be derived from birth sequence (e.g., the Meng 孟 or Zhongsun 仲孫, Ji 季 or Jisun 季孫, Shusun 叔孫, and Shuzhong 叔仲 lineages in Lu); the name of the place where the lineage head was put in power (e.g., Fan 范, Zhao 趙, and Wèi 魏 in Jin); the birth name of a lineage head (e.g., the descendants of Gongzi Dang 公子蕩, the son of Lord Huan of Song 宋桓公, became the Dang lineage 蕩氏); the courtesy name of a lineage head (e.g., Gongzi Yan 公子偃, the son of Lord Mu of Zheng 鄭穆公, had the courtesy name Ziyou 子游, and by his grandsons' generation "You" had become the lineage name 游氏); the name of a noble's natal domain after he flees to another domain (e.g., Gongzi Wan 公子完 flees from Chen to Qi [Zhuang 22.1a], and his descendants in Qi formed the Chen lineage 陳氏); or a rank in court or in the army (e.g., the Zhonghang 中行 lineage in Jin started with Xun Linfu 荀林父, who commanded the "central column," or *zhonghang* 中行, in the Jin army [Xi 28.13]; the ancestor of the Ji 籍 lineage in Jin obtained that name because he was in charge of "texts and documents," or *dianji* 典籍 [Zhao 15.7]). Typically, clan names appear in the names of elite females, whereas lineage names appear in the names of males.

Shortly after birth, persons received a name, or *ming* 名. A passage in *Zuozhuan* (Huan 6.6) briefly describes the naming ceremony and includes the Lu minister Shen Xu's 申繻 explanation of appropriate and inappropriate naming. Somewhat earlier in *Zuozhuan* (Huan 2.8), there is an example of the potentially disastrous consequences of inappropriate naming. According to early ritual texts, upon the capping ceremony

for males at the age of twenty and the hair-pinning for females at the age of fifteen, the young person received a second name, or "courtesy name" (*zi* 字), sometimes called a "style name" or "cognomen" in English-language sources.[75] As Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766–1834) convincingly showed, there is often semantic resonance between a person's birth name and courtesy name.[76] Birth sequence indicators are commonly attached to the courtesy name: *meng* 孟 or *bo* 伯 for the eldest, *zhong* 仲 for the middle, and *shu* 叔 or *ji* 季 for the youngest. In addition, such gender markers as *zi* 子 or *fu* 父 commonly appear in courtesy names.

A rich variety of possible name forms can arise from these principles and from several others, such as the use of posthumous names, or *shihao* 諡號, which supposedly convey an evaluation of a person's life or achievement. Thus, it is not unusual in *Zuozhuan* for a single person to be called by four or five names, and one of the major characters, the Jin minister Fan Hui 范會, is called by nine names. Almost all major persons have at least two names: the basic lineage name / birth name combination and a courtesy name. Designations such as Gongzi 公子 (the lord's son), Gongsun 公孫 (the lord's grandson), Wangzi 王子 (the king's son), Wangsun 王孫 (the king's grandson), or Wangshu 王叔 (the king's uncle) are used with birth names. Different permutations of lineage name, the place(s) a lineage head is put in power, birth sequence, birth name, courtesy name, and office held yield variations for men's name forms. For women the components of name forms include varying combinations of two or three of the following: her birth sequence, the name or clan name of her natal domain, the name of her natal lineage, the posthumous name of her husband, the name or clan name of her husband's domain, and her own posthumous name.

The conditions under which one name rather than another is used in *Zuozhuan* are not always clear. Whereas in the *Annals* birth names predominate, in *Zuozhuan* there is a marked preference for courtesy names. A few tendencies can be identified in the selection of one name over another. When a person first appears in the text, he is often identified by birth name. Characters also refer to themselves by birth name. *Zuozhuan* passages that draw on the *Annals* or imitate an annals style often follow the *Annals* convention of using the birth name.

As much as possible, we have simplified names in our translation by calling each person by a single name. Some will object to such a practice, since it erases a critical feature of the original text, and some scholars believe that different names convey judgment or information regarding the provenance of the materials, but Chinese names are difficult enough for a nonspecialist to recognize and remember without the added complexity of having to deal with several names for virtually every major character in the text. We have, however, prepared a personal name index and use a system of superscript references to indicate which of the variants actually appears in the Chinese text. For example, in our translation

of Yin 8.9 the reader will encounter "Gongzi Hui[a]." By referring to the index under "Gongzi Hui," the name we use throughout *Zuozhuan* for this figure, one sees that the superscript "a" corresponds to "Yufu." This indicates that in the Chinese original of Yin 8.9 Yufu is actually the name being used in this particular instance. In deciding which name to use in our translation, we have sometimes chosen the name we thought an English reader might remember most easily, and we have sometimes decided to use the variant that actually appears in *Zuozhuan* most frequently or that most clearly indicates the relationship of a particular character to a lineage or clan. The first of these considerations means that birth names appear more often in our translation than in *Zuozhuan* itself. Sometimes, however, we have not been able to avoid using two different names for a single character. The most common examples of this type occur where one name appears in the *Annals*, but we have for one reason or another decided to use another name in *Zuozhuan*. Since we do not want to alter the formulaic language of the *Annals*, we have in such cases retained the *Annals* name in our translation of that text and have added the selected *Zuozhuan* variant immediately afterward in parentheses. In some cases, the change of status necessitates the use of different names: for example, Chong'er 重耳 becomes Lord Wen of Jin 晉文公 and Gongzi Wei 公子圍 is later King Ling of Chu 楚靈王. In the personal name index, we have provided information (when it is available) about dates, lineage affiliations, and kinship relations.

In the case of place names that coincidentally share the same Mandarin romanization and that appear frequently and are of continuing significance in the narrative, we have used pinyin tone marks to remove ambiguities. For example, the large domain 齊 is romanized as "Qi," whereas the small domain 杞 is romanized as "Qǐ," and the settlement 戚, the power base of Wei ministers of the Sun line, is romanized as "Qī." The domains Xu 徐 and Xǔ 許 and the domains Wei 衛 and Weì 魏 are likewise differentiated. For the two domains written with the same character, 燕, one in the north and one in the south, we have arbitrarily decided to write the northern domain name as Yan and the southern domain as Yān. All such romanizations can be found in the Place Name Index.

The nature of the calendar followed in the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* is complex and the subject of rich tradition of study, which we will not attempt to summarize here.[77] Years, as noted above, are marked in the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* by reference to the lords of the domain of Lu: "Lord Yin 1," "Lord Yin 2," . . . , "Lord Ai 27." We have inserted a Western calendar equivalent after each of these years—for example, Lord Yin 1 (722 BCE)—although there is not a perfect correspondence between the beginning and ending of years in the ancient Chinese lunar calendar and modern Western calendars. As one would expect from an annals system that derives its name from the sequence of seasons, the four seasons are almost always noted, with at least one event typically registered for each

season. In the Zhou calendar, which was used in the domain of Lu, the designation *chun*, "spring," roughly corresponds to our winter, and so forth. Days in traditional China were named by a sequence of characters recurring in a cycle of sixty combinations, the so-called sexagenary cycle.[78] This cycle operates independently from the lunar months, so that it is impossible to tell from the date name in the sexagenary cycle alone how far into a particular month the event took place. Such correspondences, however, have been established, and Yang Bojun regularly provides in a note the numerical day of the month that corresponds to a date name.[79] In our translation, we reproduce the cyclical date names and then, following Yang, give the sequence day of the month in parentheses. For example, note the following entry from Lord Xi 1 (659 BCE): "In the twelfth month, on the *dingsi* day (18), the funeral cortege of Lord Zhuang's wife arrived from Qi." *Dingsi* is the romanized equivalent of the two-character name of the day in the sexagenary cycle, while "(18)," which is added by reference to Yang's gloss, indicates that in this case *dingsi* falls on the eighteenth day of the twelfth lunar month.

How much and what type of footnoting to provide in a translation are always difficult decisions. Our goal has been to produce a reader-friendly translation. Thus, we have tried to make our notes useful and have not consistently supplied footnotes giving information that an early-China scholar could easily access from a Chinese-language commentary. In some instances, we also supply in footnotes alternative versions of particular events as they appear in Warring States texts such as *Discourses of the States* (Guoyu 國語), *Master Han Fei* (Han Feizi 韓非子), and *Annals of Master Yan* (Yanzi chunqiu 晏子春秋), or even the considerably later *Records of the Historian*. These notes are meant, not as a comprehensive guide for the sinologist reader, who can find such information elsewhere, but as an indication to the more general reader of the rich texture of early Chinese texts and the way in which particular accounts are circulated and modified.

One problem with a face-to-face classical Chinese–English translation is that the Chinese text requires so much less space than the translation, leaving a large amount of empty space on the left side page. To compensate for this, we usually begin our footnotes on the left side and continue them, where necessary, on the right. Footnoting in this fashion will mean that the reader's eyes must often sweep from the right page to the left page to find the relevant footnote, but it also means that the heft and price of the book the reader now holds have been somewhat reduced!

Translation from early Chinese is a challenging task, especially in the case of a text as linguistically rich and textually complex as *Zuozhuan*. We have tried to be reasonably consistent in our translation of terminology without becoming too rigid. Both the demands of English style and the basically heterogeneous nature of *Zuozhuan* itself should allow for some variance. Certain translation choices, we know, will raise eye-

brows, if not ire. For example, we have chosen to render *guo* 國 as "domain" rather than the usual "state." We do this to remind the reader of two characteristics of the *guo* in Spring and Autumn China. First, a *guo* was a nexus of settlements extending out from a walled central city or capital, also called *guo*, toward a border area that was rarely as clearly delineated as the frontiers of a modern state.[80] Second, power in the domain was usually a matter of lineage and sublineage relationships, with the lord (Latin *dominus*, a distant root of the word "domain") at the center. Administrative structures were not elaborate, and official business was usually a "family affair." High officers (*dafu* 大夫) and ministers (*qing* 卿), who come to overshadow many lords of the ruling houses, fill offices that often become hereditary; their source of power and revenue was settlements (*yi* 邑) under their administration and jurisdiction. Serving under them are officers (*shi* 士), usually unranked descendants of branch lineages serving in chariot units. Inhabitants of the capital (*guoren* 國人) sometimes seem to be able to act collectively and sway policy decisions.[81]

We also have not adhered to the traditional way of translating the five ranks of early China: *gong* 公, *hou* 侯, *bo* 伯, *zi* 子, and *nan* 男, usually "duke," "marquis," "earl," "count," and "baron," respectively. These terms not only lead the reader into the feudal world of medieval Europe but also convey a sense of hierarchy and orderliness that was not always so clear in the world of early China. Although a *Zuozhuan* passage indicates that these terms for ranks were not an entirely meaningless jumble (Xi 4.4), they were not applied consistently in *Zuozhuan*, as Chen Pan 陳槃 has so persuasively demonstrated.[82] Consequently, we have rendered the five ranks as "duke," "prince," "liege," "master," and "head."

The first of these terms, *gong*, not only is used to designate the rulers of such domains as Song and Guo but also is a more general honorific bestowed upon every ruler at the time of his death and used consistently thereafter, usually attached to the ruler's posthumous name. Thus, our text is organized not around twelve Lu "dukes" but around twelve Lu "lords." Each of these is identified in the text by his posthumous name (Yin, Huan, Zhuang, Min, etc.), with the honorific title *gong* that follows thus being understood as the general honorific "lord." Things can become tricky when, for example, a particular Duke of Song (Song gong 宋公) becomes Lord Shang of Song (Song Shang gong 宋殤公) after he dies and is buried. *Zuozhuan* refers to both the "Duke of Song" (e.g., Yin 4.2, 4.3, 4.4) and "Lord Shang" (e.g., Yin 3.5, 4.3). We translate the term *gong* differently in the second case because every ruler becomes a "lord" when he dies and is given his posthumous name. For example, when Liege Fuchu of Cao (Cao bo Fuchu 曹伯負芻) dies, even though he was never a "duke" or a "lord" (*gong*) while alive, he is posthumously named Lord Cheng (Cheng gong 成公). Furthermore, *gong* is also often used on its own as a way of referring to a living ruler who is being spoken to or

mentioned. In the *Annals* an unqualified *gong* always refers to the Lord of Lu. In these cases we have typically translated *gong* as "our lord" to remind the reader that the *Annals* is a Lu text and maintains that perspective throughout. But in the case of *Zuozhuan*, we translate an unqualified *gong* as "our lord" when it refers to the Lu ruler and simply as "the lord" when it refers to the ruler of some other domain. This feature of our translation, which is meant to assist the reader, does have the result of giving *Zuozhuan* a Lu point of view that is not so apparent in the original and may not accurately reflect the origin of the text.[83] In addition, Zhou court ministers are also called *gong*. To differentiate them from rulers of domains, we have rendered their names without the genitive—Liu Kang gong 劉康公, for example, is translated as Liu Duke Kang (rather than Duke Kang of Liu).

Many other translation choices, which we will not describe in further detail here, deviate from sinological convention, but we hope none of these are too jarring or, more seriously, too far removed from the meaning of the original. Without pretending that we have necessarily produced a translation superior to that of James Legge, we do think there is some merit in trying to defamiliarize the text somewhat for those readers already steeped in Legge's version. One of the advantages to having so many different translations of Homer or of the Bible is that the person who does not read the original languages can move from translation to translation, gaining new insights and perspectives from each. We hope that the reader will find what we have produced here to be fresh and clear. And should our work encourage other translations of this rich and wonderful text, translations with styles and features that set them apart from ours, so much the better!

PART II: THE EARLY HISTORY OF *ZUOZHUAN*

Present consensus holds that *Zuozhuan* was largely complete by the end of the fourth century BCE.[84] Predictions voiced within the text do not anticipate events much later than those years. Intellectual positions adopted by historical characters in the work are for the most part consistent with trends of this and earlier eras. The text's diction preserves certain archaic distinctions that were forgotten in later times. Manuscripts recovered from tombs dating to around 300 BCE show that educated elites of the middle Warring States period were committing philosophical arguments and historical anecdotes to writing, sometimes in texts thousands of characters long. Some large part of our *Zuozhuan* likely circulated in writing by that time.

Still, if a nearly complete version of *Zuozhuan* was being read and transmitted by the end of the Warring States period, it received surprisingly little attention in the texts that survive from those years. True,

Zuozhuan seems originally to have had no distinguishing title of its own, instead sharing the general title *Chunqiu* with a much larger corpus of materials, and an early version of our text may have had an early independent transmission among these materials.[85] But despite all the Warring States texts that reproduce bits of narrative and reasoning now found in *Zuozhuan*, none refer to *Zuozhuan* as a source, and very few mention even the *Annals*. Entirely absent are unequivocal references to an annalistic history of the kind we possess today, with narratives for multiple domains and exegetical passages on the *Annals* arranged year by year for the whole span of the twelve Lu Lords from Yin to Ai. In short, while internal evidence suggests that much of the content of *Zuozhuan* was in writing by the end of the fourth century BCE, no pre-Han source demonstrates that the whole of that content had been organized into a coherent work, whether in annalistic form or in any other order.

Reconstructing the early history of *Zuozhuan* thus becomes a matter of investigating the diverse forms in which its content may have been transmitted in the time before its compilation and its earliest attestations as a complete, annalistically arranged text. This question of form in turn raises questions about function. For any written primary sources upon which *Zuozhuan* was able to draw, what prompted the initial act of writing? What good were these textual materials, and where, and to whom? Where *Zuozhuan* incorporated materials that had been transmitted orally, what purpose had they served when spoken aloud, and, again, what spurred their transcription? How and why did historical information move from place to place over time and become widely shared knowledge? What justified the preservation of components of the proto-*Zuozhuan* before they were assembled around the common historiographical project of telling a believable truth about the past?

Zuozhuan derives ultimately from at least five early Chinese social practices or functions in which commemoration and interpretation of the past were made to serve present needs. These were record keeping, teaching, speaking, compiling, and transmitting. While in history these practices overlapped and interlocked with one another, they may nonetheless be distinguished in analysis and do mark out different aspects of the completed *Zuozhuan*.

RECORD KEEPING

Ruling institutions in the Yellow River valley had employed writing in the management of large-scale political networks perhaps even before the date (ca. 1200 BCE) of the earliest extant examples of Chinese writing, the oracle bones.[86] As Robert Bagley has argued, citing comparative evidence from Mesopotamia, the courts that used and inscribed the oracle bones in divination ceremonies may already have been using more perishable materials for a range of administrative functions.[87] Edward

Shaughnessy and others have pointed out that, given the large numbers of Western Zhou bronze vessels that bear inscriptions, writing was by no means an unfamiliar tool at the beginning of the first millennium BCE.[88] Martin Kern has shown that inscriptional evidence and received texts alike suggest large staffs of literate officials both on elite levels and in the ranks of functionaries.[89]

One may readily speculate about the types of texts early writers were producing, archiving, and transmitting. The scapulae and turtle plastrons upon which divination charges and prognostications were carved are sometimes thought to have been archived; bones were in any case retained for a period of days for verification, and the effort expended upon writing itself suggests that the information on the bones may have merited longer-term preservation.[90] Bronze inscriptions preserved from the Western Zhou show that courts used bamboo texts in investiture ceremonies and afterward retained these texts as records. The existence of such texts as the *Bamboo Annals*, with its accurate records of very early astronomical occurrences, strongly suggests that early courts maintained succinct chronicles of important events.[91] The discovery that Sima Qian's list of Shang kings is corroborated by the oracle bones implies that Shang and Zhou courts maintained records of successions.[92] Finally, references in *Zuozhuan* and elsewhere show that courts maintained "canons" (*dian* 典, *dianji* 典籍), which in some cases were written documents and in some cases clearly were protocols regarded as having the same constancy as written documents.[93]

By the first centuries of the Eastern Zhou, to judge from references in *Zuozhuan* and other early texts, courts were keeping records of covenants sworn ("covenant documents," *mengshu* 盟書) in "covenant archives" (*mengfu* 盟府) or "archives of precedents" (*gufu* 故府) (e.g., Xi 5.8, 26.3, Xiang 11.5, Ding 1.1). These archives also apparently contained records of "merits" (*xun* 勳) and "rewards" (*shang* 賞), that is, records of recognition and prerogatives granted to certain historical individuals and to their descendants (see, e.g., Xi 26.3, Xiang 11.5, Zhao 4.8).[94] Such celebrations of service could easily have formed the kernel of later historical accounts.

The character and use of such archival materials may be judged by the words of the Lu nobleman Zhan Xi 展喜, who by citing them stops a Qi attack:

> Previously, the Zhou Duke and the Grand Lord were like arms and legs to the Zhou household, bracing and supporting King Cheng. King Cheng honored their exertions and bestowed upon them a covenant that said, "May your sons and grandsons in every generation do no harm to one another." This covenant was stored away in the covenant archives, and the grand preceptor took responsibility for keeping it. (Xi 26.3)[95]

The passage is telling in several ways. In the covenant ceremony as we know it from archaeological evidence, writing played a key role as a tool for intensifying ritual speech. By committing to writing the oath that was sworn and then smearing that writing with the blood of a sacrificial victim and burying it with the victim, the parties to the oath codified its precise terms and laid them before the divine powers, who would enforce them.[96] Reconstructions of the investiture ceremony show that records of merit and reward likewise had their origin in primary documents used in the ceremony itself.[97] By keeping and citing copies of such documents, the parties turned what had initially been ritual uses of writing to commemorative or protohistoriographical ends. Compiled at the royal court or at the court of a single domain, the retained documents would have constituted a record of the many noble lines' most memorable political ties and achievements; the scribes and other functionaries who mastered the texts would have known history as a series of services rendered and rewards bestowed. Versions of such records preserved in individual noble houses might naturally have attracted supplementary accounts, written or simply remembered and retold, of the specific historical circumstances under which the family won its greatest glories.[98]

These treasuries may have contained other sorts of records as well. Certain passages in *Zuozhuan* are so detailed in their narrative description and so clear about the dating of specific events that they seem most likely to have originated as contemporaneous accounts.[99] Scribes in courts and noble houses may well have maintained records of important events. What proportion of *Zuozhuan* derives from such records is impossible to determine. Again, communications that originally had a written character, such as letters or official notifications, might well have found their way into archives and ultimately into *Zuozhuan*.[100] As for the speeches that figure in so many *Zuozhuan* narratives, it is true that certain royal utterances had often been committed to writing, but evidence for widespread contemporaneous transcription of others' speeches is lacking.[101] Strong evidence shows that by the Warring States period, legal reports and records were being kept in courts, and one may surmise that this practice had its roots further back, during the Spring and Autumn period.[102]

Among the texts kept by the Lu court was the little chronicle that would ultimately come to be known as the *Annals*.[103] *Zuozhuan* makes reference to similar brief court chronicles in Jin and Qi (Xuan 2.3, Xiang 25.2), and *Mencius* (4B.21) gives the names of chronicles for Jin and Chu. The *Bamboo Annals*, a text that shows some formal similarities to the *Annals*, has been mentioned above.

The original purpose of the *Annals* is unknown. Recent scholarship has focused on two possibilities.[104] First, the records may have been intended initially for presentation in the Ancestral Temple, with the ancestors themselves as readers. The highly formulaic nature of the writ-

ing would then reflect the strict expectations imposed by ritual and the religious occasion. Second, the records may have been intended for latter-day readers. Several *Zuozhuan* passages imply that historical actors were conscious that their deeds could be recorded for posterity. The references to the keeping of court chronicles in Jin and Qi, mentioned above, suggest that once an *Annals*-style notation of an event had been composed, the scribe (*shi* 史) who composed it would "show it at court" (*yi shi yu chao* 以示於朝), and that he might moreover accept considerable risk in order to capture the truth of the event (Xuan 2.3, Xiang 25.2).

The two hypotheses are not irreconcilable. Between the imagined readerships of past ancestors and future descendants, contemporary readers paid careful attention to what was being recorded.[105] Indeed, the mix of events recorded in the *Annals*—from ritual observances to celestial and natural aberrations, diplomatic engagements, and military expeditions—implies that the chronicle served as a kind of ledger, and that the items entered in it defined the overall status of the Lu court's relations with its political and spiritual counterparts. Whether or not all the entries in the *Annals* were reported in the Ancestral Temple, this ledger and the state of affairs it defined would have both a sacral quality, as being of concern to the ruler's ancestors, and a historical quality, as being of use to future policy makers and ritual practitioners. Any court official wishing to know the history of Lu's ties with a particular state, the services rendered by a particular Lu noble line, or the incidence of eclipses and other possible portents would benefit from knowledge of the chronicle.

Traditional scholarship held that our *Annals* came from the hand of Confucius, who had either edited an existing text or composed it anew, and that his intention had been to convey, through his choices of wording, subtle moral judgments of the people and events mentioned in the text.[106] No similar notions of intent or subtle wording are linked with the other chronicles mentioned above or with the practice of chronicle keeping itself. Nonetheless, the possibility that chronicle entries were shown in court at the moment of recording and widely known thereafter does provide a general context for the belief that they convey "praise and blame" (*baobian* 褒貶).[107] Strictly speaking, the story of Confucius' involvement with the *Annals* has less to do with composition than with teaching and with the transmission of the text beyond the Lu court.

TEACHING

Archives and other collections of written records are not sufficient unto themselves. If the media on which they are written are perishable, they cannot survive without periodic recopying, and even records on more durable materials threaten to become worthless if there is no one around who can read them correctly. Record keeping thus entails teaching,

which may extend from the narrow training in literacy required of scribes to the much broader cultural instruction required to reproduce the political system in which archives have value.

Relatively little is known about education in Eastern Zhou China. Designated heirs were assigned tutors (*fu* 傅), whose precise teaching duties, however, are rarely mentioned.[108] Their curriculum presumably included elements of the traditional "Six Arts"—ritual, music, archery, chariot driving, calligraphy, and calculation—as well as some training in prestigious songs and speeches from the past.[109] If we focus only on the verbal elements of a noble education, it appears that knowledge of the *Odes* mattered above all, as such knowledge was indispensable in competent diplomacy and oratory.[110] Speakers in *Zuozhuan* also sometimes cite other inherited materials, such as the *Documents* (Shu 書), the *Changes* (Yi 易), and various sayings, and these may well have been taught to young people, either through reading or through recitation and memorization.

Given the uses to which historical knowledge was being put in speeches, it is likely that teaching about the past had a place in early curricula. One Warring States text twice mentions the *Annals* in connection with the work of tutors for young heirs apparent: once when the *Annals* is listed with other works as a key component of an heir's education, and again when a man is chosen as tutor entirely on the basis of his mastery of the *Annals*.[111] In evaluating such passages it is important to note that the title *Annals* likely refers not to the chronicle alone but to a larger body of teachings about the past, which may or may not have been organized around a reading of the chronicle.[112] If it is indeed the case that the *Annals* and similar chronicles served as ledgers of political and supernatural engagements, then the training of new members of the ruling elite would require not a narrow knowledge of the chronicle alone but a thorough knowledge of the events behind it. If the *Annals* chronicle had a place in such training, it would have served as an aide-mémoire, its every entry linked to a larger narrative that could be conveyed in the course of teaching.[113] Further, teachers involved in the education of promising young men would have made an obvious conduit for the transmission of the court chronicle in institutions not directly attached to court.[114]

The earliest account of the composition of what came to be known as *Zuozhuan* and its relation to the *Annals* concerns Confucius' teaching of his disciples rather than the training of a prince. Moreover, as it comes from the *Records of the Historian*, completed around 90 BCE by Sima Qian, it is relatively late. It has much to tell us nonetheless:

> Confucius clearly understood the Royal Way and approached more than seventy rulers, but none of them could make use of him. So he went west and observed the Zhou house. He

> discoursed upon (*lun* 論) the scribal records and the old legends and then, adopting the perspective of Lu (*xing yu Lu* 興於魯), put in order its *Annals*, recording the events of Lord Yin and continuing as far as the capture of the *lin* under Lord Ai.[115] He made concise its phrases and wording, eliminated all excess and repetition, and in this way created a system of rules of signification (*yifa* 義法). The Royal Way was there complete and the affairs of men fully encompassed.
>
> The seventy disciples received the meanings of the tradition orally (*koushou qi zhuanzhi* 口受其傳指). Since there were patterned words that satirized and ridiculed, praised and obscured, and impugned, they could not make them plain by writing them out. The Lu gentleman Zuo Qiuming feared that the various disciples, differing in their biases, would be content with their own opinions and lose what was genuine. Therefore, taking Confucius' scribal records as his basis, he put in order (*lun*) all their words and completed *Zuo's Annals* (*Zuoshi chunqiu*).[116]

In this way, according to Sima Qian, the text that he knew as *Zuo's Annals* originated as an accurate record of Confucius' teachings on the *Annals*, transcribed by a single author in Lu within a few years of the teacher's death.[117]

The account is likely a simplification of a process that stretched over a period of decades or centuries and involved not one author and teacher but many, and not seventy disciples but hundreds. In his compressed account of authorship, Sima Qian sets aside the history of court chronicles and establishes in its place a vision of sagely research, order, and comprehensiveness. The past that was most relevant in the life of courts and in the education of the elite was the history of the network of domains related through the Zhou royal house, but what made this history relevant was its impact on the particular court with which a student was associated. That Confucius is made to acquire his historical knowledge during his legendary trip to the Zhou domain justifies the claim that the *Annals* embodies the Royal Way, while the observation that he "adopted the perspective of Lu"—or, more literally, "took his start from Lu"—reflects the character of the actual text as a local chronicle. Confucius "discourses upon" (or "sorts out" or "evaluates") not only written records but also "old legends" or "things heard from olden times." The allusion to orally transmitted materials ensures that, despite its extreme concision, the *Annals* nonetheless encapsulates all the knowledge that Confucius found valuable during his researches. Finally, this claim that the *Annals* is all-encompassing, along with the belief that it is written according to rules for signification (*yifa*), guarantees the text's interpretability and makes a place for the many teachers who would undertake to interpret it for their students.

The passage's account of the early transmission of the *Annals* reflects the anxieties that surrounded the teaching, the interpretation, and the preservation of historical knowledge. Even as Confucius is made the first and greatest writer of history, the peculiarities of his magnum opus are explained as effects of his original vocation as adviser and teacher of future advisers. Succinctness and narrowness of focus are reinterpreted as intentional restraint, the courtier's avoidance of direct confrontation. But this exemplary style has its drawbacks. The text is dependent upon its teachers, and particularly upon teachers who, like Confucius, can maintain the true knowledge of the events behind the *Annals*' brief notations. After Confucius is gone, his disciples are not up to the task of preserving this knowledge in a unified and coherent form, and their explanations of the cryptic text threaten to go awry. Here Zuo Qiuming steps in, fixing the correct tradition in writing. Zuo Qiuming is otherwise known in early texts only from the *Analects*, where Confucius mentions him with admiration as an opponent of glibness and insincerity.[118]

By attributing *Zuozhuan* to a contemporary of Confucius and making it prior to all other exegetical traditions of the *Annals* and compilations of historical lore that would follow, the *Records of the Historian* account gives *Zuozhuan* a singular prestige. Any reader would have known, however, that in the centuries since Confucius' death and the final entries in the *Annals*, no fewer than five distinct traditions of expertise in *Annals* interpretation had flourished and competed with each other. The proto-*Zuozhuan* was only one among them, and one that before Sima Qian's time (and perhaps for at least another century after) was overshadowed by two others. The account's allusion to the danger of interpretive divergence reflects a real profusion of exegetical approaches to the *Annals* during the Warring States and Han periods.

Here it is useful to consider a second version of the composition story told in Ban Gu's *History of the Han*, specifically from the bibliographical treatise incorporated into that work:

> Because Lu was the domain of the Zhou Duke, and its ritual and cultural patterns were complete in all their specifics, and its scribal officers kept to their rules, [Confucius] joined with Zuo Qiuming in viewing its scribal records. He based his work upon deeds and followed the way of men. By addressing moments of ascendancy, he caused achievements to be established;[119] by seizing upon failures, he brought punishment to completion. He used days and months to determine the numbers of the calendar; he availed himself of the rulers' court visits and of envoys' diplomatic trips to demonstrate correct ritual and music. Since there were those whom it praised or obscured or critiqued or impugned, and these could not be made plain in writing, he passed it on

> orally to his disciples. But as the disciples went away from him, they differed in what they said. Qiuming was afraid that each of the disciples would be content with his own opinion and lose what was genuine, so he put in order the original affairs and founded a tradition (*zhuan* 傳), making it clear that the Master did not explain the classic on the basis of empty words. The great men critiqued and impugned in the *Annals* were contemporary rulers and subjects, men who possessed authority and power, and the facts of their doings were all laid out in this transmission. The text was therefore hidden away and not made widely known; that is why it escaped the troubles of the times.[120]

In its differences from the *Records of the Historian* account, Ban Gu's version suggests that the story of the composition of the *Annals* and proto-*Zuozhuan* remained fluid even as late as the first century CE. The detail of Confucius' trip to Zhou disappears, while Zuo Qiuming becomes involved not only in the final write-up of the transmission but even in the initial research, here apparently conducted in the Lu scribal records.

Both the *Records of the Historian* and the *History of the Han* reflect the elevated status that the *Annals* had achieved as the supposed distillation of Confucius' historical judgment. Where the *Records of the Historian* sees the *Annals* as the embodiment of the Royal Way, the *History of the Han* sees it as establishing norms for justice, for the calendar, and for ritual and music. For both Han historians, the *Annals* is both complete in itself and dependent upon teachers who can draw out its lessons for every new generation of students.

From this point on, the *History of the Han* and the *Records of the Historian* differ more strikingly. The *History of the Han* continues its account by following the main course of *Annals* scholarship during the Warring States and Han periods:

> In later eras the oral explanations circulated widely, so one had the transmissions of Gongyang, Guliang, Zou, and Jia. Among these four varieties of expertise (*jia* 家), Gongyang and Guliang were given a place among the officers for learning, while for Zou's there are no teachers and for Jia's there was never a written text.[121]

Of these four transmissions, only *Gongyang* and *Guliang* are extant.[122] These contain relatively little supplementary narrative but focus on detailed explanations of word choice in the *Annals* and especially on the ways in which word choice might reveal Confucius' own judgments of historical events. Because both *Gongyang* and *Guliang* take the form of an extended series of questions and answers about the *Annals*, these texts seem to re-create the scene of teaching, with a patient teacher train-

ing an attentive student in all the implied nuances of the sage's style. Indeed, the end of the passage suggests that all four of these transmissions existed as teaching traditions and that *Gongyang* and *Guliang* succeeded because, as codifications of traditions, they were useful in the training of future teachers.

During the Warring States period, the intense reading of the *Annals* made possible by the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* teaching traditions would have furthered an education in moral and historical judgment and, more generally, in the intellectual imitation of teachers and of the ultimate teacher-author, Confucius himself. Once it is assumed that the wording of the *Annals* represents Confucius' own careful choices, the chronicle becomes a rich treasury of exemplary evaluations, a counterpart to the sparser judgments preserved in the *Analects*.[123] And while the many sayings attributed to Confucius and the many anecdotes told about him would have been of general use in ethical training, the *Annals* teaching traditions came to have a much more specific and practical application. During the Han, scholars who were trained in the *Gongyang* tradition, among them Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 179–ca. 104 BCE), treated it as a legal casebook, adopting the implied judgments of Confucius on historical events as precedents for contemporary rulings.[124] This period saw the triumph of the teachers' transformation of the Lu chronicle into the coded record of Confucius' judgments. Never again in the history of classical scholarship in China would a work be accorded such a prescriptive power.

SPEAKING

Both record keeping and the kind of *Annals* exegesis attributed to Confucius and his followers presume the existence of a larger sphere of activity in which knowledge of history could become valuable. This sphere was statecraft, and the means by which educated men (and, in rare cases, women) affected the course of events was persuasion, usually in speech. To be sure, training in effective speech encompassed much else, including some of the themes and arguments that would develop into China's great philosophical traditions. But to consider for the present only what the proto-*Zuozhuan* had in common with most other Warring States texts, it was the techniques of successful speech that the work foregrounded and taught, not only a particular interest in such themes as ritual, virtue, and the proper ways of governance.

Where the *History of the Han* traces the line of *Annals* teaching transmissions, including the two that were accorded official recognition, the parallel *Records of the Historian* passage—presumably a model for Ban Gu's account—does not so much as mention these transmissions, even though Sima Qian would of course have known of the traditions of *Annals* exegesis. Instead, the *Records of the Historian* places *Zuozhuan*

in a very different context, one that implies a different sort of teaching and different applications of historical knowledge. If the teaching transmissions that led to the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* idealized a personal and juridical imitation of the sage, *Zuozhuan* in its alternative context exemplified a much broader range of skills and aspirations, most importantly the art of speaking.

The *Records of the Historian* account of the composition of *Zuo's Annals*, the first part of which was cited above, continues as follows:

> Duo Jiao 鐸椒 (fl. 339–329) served as tutor to King Wei of Chu 楚威王 [r. 339–329]. Because the king could not read the *Annals* in its entirety, Duo Jiao selected its examples of success and failure, forty passages in all, and made *Duo's Subtleties* (Duoshi wei 鐸氏微).[125] In the time of King Xiaocheng of Zhao 趙孝成王 [r. 265–245], the king's minister Yu Qing 虞卿 (fl. 265–245) selected from the *Annals* for times past, observed the state of affairs in more recent times, and then for his own part composed the eight chapters that make up *Yu's Annals* (Yushi chunqiu 虞氏春秋).[126] Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE), minister to King Zhuangxiang of Qin 秦莊襄王 [r. 249–247], also contemplated distant antiquity and then cut and excerpted from the *Annals* and collected events from the era of the Six States [i.e., the Warring States period], forming them into the eight examinations, the six discourses, and the twelve almanacs that make up *Lü's Annals* (Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋).[127] Coming down to the likes of Xun Qing 荀卿 (Xunzi, ca. 335– ca. 238), Mengzi, Gongsun Gu 公孫固, and Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233 BCE), each of them again and again selected from the writings related to the *Annals* in composing their works; examples are too numerous to record.[128] Under the Han, Chancellor Zhang Cang 張蒼 (d. 152 BCE) made a digest of the Five Virtues in their calendrical order, and Senior Counselor Dong Zhongshu extended the significations of the *Annals*; both of them wrote quite a lot about it.[129]

Although the titles of several of the works mentioned here recall the old affiliation with the *Annals*, they seem to have little to do with direct exegesis of the chronicle. Since the *Records of the Historian* author believed that *Duo's Subtleties* and *Yu's Annals* were excerpted from *Zuozhuan* (the *Annals* in the cited passage above probably refers to *Zuozhuan* or proto-*Zuozhuan* materials), these likely shared that work's preference for narrative and argument over direct exegesis. Where extant, the other works referred to in the passage—*Lü's Annals*, *Xunzi* 荀子, *Mencius*, *Han Feizi*, and *The Luxuriant Dew of the Annals* (Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露)—all draw upon narratives of Spring and Autumn history to substantiate philosophical points.

Two of the examples given in the *Records of the Historian* are especially revealing. *Han Feizi* contains entire chapters of categorized illustrative anecdotes, including *Zuozhuan*-style historical narratives, and moreover includes chapters on oratorical technique that refer to the use of narratives in speeches.[130] *Yu's Annals* is no longer extant, but a surviving list of its chapters shows that it was organized topically around themes of statecraft and political strategy. Tellingly, one of its chapters was called "Probing and Touching" (Chuaimo 揣摩).[131] The compound *chuaimo* is otherwise associated with the arts of the persuader, who "probes" the hidden feelings of his audience and then discovers ways to "touch" on these in the course of his speech, in this way achieving his oratorical aims.[132] It is conceivable, then, that what justified the inclusion of *Zuozhuan*-style material in these two works was the utility of historical anecdotes in persuasion.

A concern with effective speech and narrative evidence may likewise be traced in the other works. *Xunzi* includes passages on the art of persuasion and makes frequent use of historical illustrations.[133] The enormous *Lü's Annals*, which offers a comprehensive view of the workings of the natural and political worlds, frequently substantiates its positions with historical anecdotes; it also contains several chapters on the problems of speech.[134] The common thread running through all the works, from *Duo's Subtleties* to *The Luxuriant Dew of the Annals*, is a faith in the value of historical evidence in the demonstration of abstract principles of ethics and statecraft. Although this faith would become one of the underlying assumptions of philosophers, of essay writers, and, indeed, of all educated Chinese, all evidence suggests that it long predated the coming of widespread literacy and was in fact a commonplace of reasoning and argumentation from very early times.[135]

Recalling the habits of record keeping discussed above, it is clear from early accounts that, whatever the precise contents of court archives, it was considered possible for men of a certain status to know of and to cite the texts these archives held. Zhan Xi's citation of King Cheng's covenant is but one example of such behavior. Yet citations of this kind are quite rare in *Zuozhuan* and other early texts. Far more common are references to historical data that do not necessarily imply any recourse to writing. Speechmakers in *Zuozhuan* regularly make rhetorical use of historical anecdotes without mentioning reading or writing.[136] The exemplary speeches and oratorical manuals of the Warring States period further imply that a skilled speaker would have at his disposal a ready supply of narrative illustrations for arguments of all kinds, and that these could be supplied from memory; in no case does a speaker read his speech aloud from a written script. Unless one assumes that contemporaneous written accounts were always kept and always trumped hearsay, and that speakers and thinkers learned all their history through reading alone—patent improbabilities, in any era—it is certain that some of the extant texts'

narratives about Spring and Autumn period history circulated by word of mouth before they were written down.[137]

Viewed in this context, *Zuozhuan* takes on a new aspect. As a putative source for *Duo's Subtleties* and the texts listed in the *Records of the Historian*, *Zuozhuan* comes to look like a master collection of historical accounts useful in the demonstration of principles and, besides, a collection of models of effective political persuasion. As such, it differs markedly from *Gongyang* and *Guliang*, with their focus on the exegetical interpretation of the chronicle and their quest for the judgments of the sage. But it does not truly depart from the kinds of teaching that might reasonably be ascribed to the historical Confucius, who was a teacher both of history and of political methods, especially rhetoric. Many of the sayings attributed to Confucius in the *Analects* are comments on historical events and individuals.[138] In *Zuozhuan* he often figures as a student and critic of history, in numerous passages taking the role of the "noble man" and offering a summary moral interpretation.[139] Confucius' attention to the craft of speech is most evident in his observation that study of the *Odes* is pointless if the student cannot use the songs properly on diplomatic occasions.[140] In this and other remarks it becomes clear that one key aim of Confucius' lessons was to prepare his students to speak elegantly and powerfully in court contexts.[141] *Zuozhuan* itself reflects this aim most clearly. After Zichan brilliantly counters a Jin rebuke for a Zheng attack on Chen, Confucius remarks, "As the *Records* has it: 'Use words that are adequate to the intent; use ornamentation that is adequate to the words.' Without words, who can know the intent? Words without ornamentation cannot go far. For Jin to become overlord, and Zheng to enter Chen, there would have been no merit had it not been for ornamented words and phrases. Words and phrases must be used with care!" (Xiang 25.10).

Whether or not we accept at face value the claim about *Zuozhuan*'s origins in the *Records of the Historian*, the idea that the text relates to a program in oratorical training pursued by Confucius and his admirers is an attractive one. *Zuozhuan* itself and numerous other texts show that fine speaking was a highly prized skill. They show further that what defined fine speaking was skill in literary patterning and a complete command of historical precedents, tags of traditional language, and other sources of authority. Many of the characteristics of early texts, from their narrative form to their handling of direct discourse, are explained by early elites' interest in persuasive speech and historical demonstration. Even the anecdote, the distinctive fundamental narrative unit adopted in *Zuozhuan* and virtually all other early texts that touch on history, may have evolved in the context of practical persuasion; anecdotes lend themselves to use as precedents or analogies for matters under deliberation and are therefore useful oratorical tools. Further, anecdotes in general tend to feature the quoted speech of ministers and

advisers. *Zuozhuan* is especially rich in examples of powerful speech of all kinds, from the cutting remark to full-length policy persuasions and archaic forms of address.[142] Taken together, these speeches constitute a rhetoric of sorts, demonstrating by example all the techniques of citation, exemplification, and patterning that characterized fine speaking. Many of these speeches and the narratives in which they are embedded also reflect ideals of ritual behavior and statecraft taught by Confucius and his followers.[143] As students learned the substance of history and resources for their own speeches, they would also have encountered memorable, imitable models of speech.

The Warring States period saw the rise of influential "roving persuaders" (*youshui zhi shi* 遊說之士) such as Su Qin 蘇秦 (4th cent. BCE) and Zhang Yi 張儀 (4th cent. BCE), who by their speeches made themselves strategic helmsmen for the major states of their day. The art of oratory flourished in the era, attaining a new prestige and promising a route to fame and fortune for the talented and cunning. Such works as *Han Feizi* and *Xunzi*, with their advice on oratory, reflect this prestige, as does the later *Strategies of the Warring States* (Zhanguo ce 戰國策), with its hundreds of examples of strategic speech attributed to Warring States speakers. As James Crump has observed, the *Strategies of the Warring States* includes what appear to be practice speeches composed, perhaps by students, for set situations in the manner of Roman *suasoriae*; one may venture further that the entire compilation has the character of a rhetorical manual or *tekhnē* in one of the older senses of that word, that is, as a collection of examples for imitation.[144] In a milieu that was producing such works as these, many *Zuozhuan* anecdotes would have been read not only—and perhaps not primarily—as records of historical fact but also as imitable examples of clever and virtuous eloquence. Whether arranged topically, as they seem to have been in the compilations mentioned in the *Records of the Historian*, or according to some other ordering principle, the *Zuozhuan* anecdotes would have been a treasure-house for the speaker-in-training.

COMPILING AND TRANSMITTING

What would ultimately make *Zuozhuan* more influential than most of the other texts with contemporaneous formative stages was a convergence of the two teaching traditions discussed above: the *Annals*-exegetical tradition that led to the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries and the oratorical-training tradition that preserved examples of good speech. From the exegetical approach came a strictly chronological principle of order, since the line-by-line interpretation of the chronicle entailed a month-by-month, year-by-year review of the materials of history. From the anecdotal approach came fuller narratives, often going well beyond anything intimated in the chronicle itself, and a preoccupation with the

themes that would most often have been relevant when speakers used history: lessons of military and political strategy, the importance of tradition, the effectiveness of ritual, the dangers of unchecked power, and the value of wise counselors. By presenting the origins, consequences, and meanings of historical events in anecdotal installments fixed to a chronological frame, the compilers who gave *Zuozhuan* its annalistic form pointed the way beyond exegesis and instruction to the beginnings of the craft of history.

It is impossible to trace with precision all the steps that led to the present annalistic presentation of *Zuozhuan* and the disposition of the *Annals* in segments introducing each year. Scattered references from the Warring States period and afterward offer only blurry snapshots of the text in the course of its development. The habits of record keeping, of education, and of argumentation discussed above doubtless remained relevant to uses of the text and continued to influence its development. As the unification of China under the Qin dynasty (221–206) and the subsequent Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE) brought a new drive to establish authoritative texts and teachers under the sponsorship of the imperial court, compilation and transmission gradually became matters of official concern, government archives obtained copies of privately transmitted editions, and the form and value of *Zuozhuan* were debated at court.

As *Records of the Historian* and *History of the Han* passages on the composition of *Zuozhuan* show, Han dynasty scholars believed that the content of *Zuozhuan* was in place shortly after the death of Confucius and was based on oral transmission of his teachings about the written *Annals* chronicle. More recent work has shown that at least some of the materials found in *Zuozhuan* can be no earlier than the late fourth century BCE. Given the sparsity of the evidence, we may choose to believe that a substantial core of *Zuozhuan* was in place early on, acquiring only minor additions before finally being stabilized as a complete text by the late fourth century BCE. The form of presentation would change in the hands of later transmitters, but the content would in large part trace back to the teachings of Confucius and his immediate disciples. This view, which tracks close to the understanding of the text shared by most Chinese scholars in the imperial era, accepts *Zuozhuan* as a commentary (*zhuan*) on the *Annals*.[145]

Yet *Zuozhuan* as we have it is less homogeneous than this model would predict it to be. A number of scholars have identified discrepancies in the text that argue against a single author or single standard of narrative approach.[146] Further, the technological and logistic difficulties attending the production, preservation, and transmission of a text of this size before the era of imperial sponsorship would have made the complete *Zuozhuan* impractical to use and consequently obscure. It is likely, therefore, that what circulated was not the complete *Zuozhuan* but par-

tial versions of it. If the traditional view cited above is correct, then such partial versions were excerpts of the kind mentioned by Sima Qian. But if more common early Chinese trends in text production are any indication, these partial versions were not excerpts from an already-complete *Zuozhuan* but instead components that would ultimately be combined with other materials to form the complete *Zuozhuan*.[147] Such partial versions would have included *Duo's Subtleties* and *Yu's Annals*, both known to Sima Qian. They may also have included writings resembling the so-called Jizhong 汲冢 finds, texts likely buried just after 300 BCE and recovered around 280 CE at what is now Jixian 汲縣, Henan; one of these was said to have included "excerpts" from *Zuozhuan*.[148] Where the anecdotes recounted in these texts were not taken from other written sources, they must have been based on writers' knowledge of the historical lore regularly used in speeches. Interest in such lore would have in turn driven the circulation of texts, the production of new ones, and aggregation into larger collections.[149]

Significantly, both *Yu's Annals* and the Jizhong *Zuozhuan* text are said to have been arranged topically, as one would expect of texts designed for use by educators and would-be advisers.[150] Sima Qian's list of Warring States and Han texts related to the *Annals* shows that chronological ordering was by no means an inevitable or even a preferred way of arranging such material. It is possible, therefore, that during the earliest period of *Zuozhuan*'s development, as it was being pieced together from smaller collections of disparate kinds, the materials in the text were distributed according to topics.[151] One can only speculate as to what the topics were, but topics known from smaller collections may offer some clues. *Yu's Annals* gathered its anecdotes under the headings "Conduct and Propriety," "Forms of Address and Titles," "Probing and Touching," and "Administration and Strategy." The Jizhong texts included a collection of stories about divination.[152] Another strong possibility is that *Zuozhuan* was in its earliest formative stage ordered on a geographical principle, with sections devoted to each of the major domains of the Spring and Autumn era, and perhaps with anecdotes presented in chronological order within each section. This is the order adopted by the *Discourses of the States*, *Zuozhuan*'s closest cousin among early Chinese works and a text long known to have a close connection with *Zuozhuan*.[153]

The initial compilation of *Zuozhuan* did not put a stop to other writers' efforts to capture Spring and Autumn lore. Many writers told their own versions of anecdotes found in *Zuozhuan*, perhaps drawing directly on the lore used by orators; and writers like Han Fei made their own compilations of anecdotes that were not dominated by *Zuozhuan* materials. In its early development as an aggregate text, and a fortiori as a congeries of small anecdote collections, *Zuozhuan* would have had no special authority. Even as late as the early second century BCE, it was still possible for a writer to put together a little gathering of Spring and

Autumn anecdotes, several of them not attested in *Zuozhuan* or differing markedly from *Zuozhuan* counterparts.[154]

A number of sources sketch the transmission of *Zuozhuan* from its putative early fifth-century origins down to the moment when the imperial Han court recognized its importance by appointing Academicians to teach it. According to Liu Xiang, *Zuozhuan* was handed down from Zuo Qiuming himself to Zeng Shen 曾申 (fl. 5th cent. BCE), son of Zeng Shen 曾參, a prominent follower of Confucius. From Zeng Shen it went to the famous general Wu Qi 吳起 (440–381) and thence to his son Wu Qi 吳期 (fl. 4th cent. BCE). The latter handed it on to Duo Jiao of Chu and Yu Qing, both mentioned above. Yu Qing passed it to the writer and thinker Xunzi, and the latter taught it to Zhang Cang, one of the most prominent officials and literati of the early Western Han.[155]

Ban Gu continued where Liu Xiang left off.[156] With the rise of the Han, not only Zhang Cang but also the literary star Jia Yi 賈誼 (201–169), Governor of the Capital Zhang Chang 張敞 (fl. 61–55), and Grand Counselor of the Palace Liu Gongzi 劉公子 (early Han?) all cultivated a knowledge of *Zuozhuan*.[157] Jia Yi composed a definitions-and-references commentary (*xungu* 訓故) on *Zuozhuan* and transmitted it to a Mr. Guan 貫公 of the Zhao region, who served as an Academician in the court of Prince Xian 獻 of Hejian 河間 (r. 155–129). Guan's son Guan Changqing 貫長卿 passed the text on to Zhang Yu 張禹 (d. after 56 BCE). The latter impressed the value of *Zuozhuan* on the rising official Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 (ca. 107–47), who cited *Zuozhuan* in his official writings and later brought Zhang to the attention of Emperor Xuan 漢宣帝 (r. 74–49 BCE). Zhang Yu died while awaiting his audience, but not before passing *Zuozhuan* on to Yin Gengshi 尹更始 (fl. 51 BCE), a scholar who also specialized in the *Guliang* commentary. Yin Gengshi passed it to his son Yin Xian 尹咸 (fl. 5 CE), to the future chancellor Zhai Fangjin 翟方進 (fl. 15–7 BCE), and to Hu Chang 胡常 (fl. 28–18). From Hu Chang it passed to Jia Hu 賈護 (dates unknown), then to Chen Qin 陳欽 (fl. 11–14 CE), and then to the regent and would-be usurper Wang Mang (46 BCE–23 CE). Meanwhile, Liu Xin had received *Zuozhuan* from both Yin Gengshi and Zhai Fangjin.

Taken in isolation, the transmission record says nothing about the content or form of the work being transmitted. The operative word in the passage, to "hand over" (*shou* 授), with its counterpart to "receive" (*shou* 受), is quite vague, and while it is linked throughout the passage with the physical transmission of a written text, it appears also to imply face-to-face teaching, as various links in the chain depend on acquaintance and familiarity between teacher and student. Jia Yi's commentary might have accompanied any partial version of *Zuozhuan* in any order of presentation. Further, the sketch is tenuous and unconvincing, positing for most periods only a single line of transmission and only from the early Han on reflecting the wider recognition and importance that a collection of

this kind would have acquired. Nonetheless, the transmission record is valuable in that it identifies a number of men who saw value in the sorts of materials found in *Zuozhuan* and who, especially those of them who lived in the Han, rose high enough in officialdom to lend the text some of their own prestige.

Two key moments in the transmission merit closer examination because of the possibility that they involved changes in the text. First, the appointment of Mr. Guan as Academician for *Zuozhuan* in the court of Liu De 劉德, Prince Xian of Hejian, marks the earliest official recognition of and sponsorship for the text. According to the *History of the Han*, Liu De so loved learning and antiquities that he devised a way of discovering texts among the populace: anyone who brought an excellent old text to him would receive a gift of money and a fair copy of the text. The prince would keep the original. Scholars and keepers of old texts flocked to him, and his library rivaled that of the imperial court. In contrast to Liu An 劉安, Prince of Huainan 淮南王 (179?–122), another collector of texts and scholars, Liu De gathered mostly pre-Qin editions, mainly of works associated with Confucius and his followers, written in archaic script (*guwen* 古文). Besides appointing Mr. Guan, Liu De also appointed one other Academician, for the Mao tradition in *Odes* scholarship.[158] It may not be a coincidence that the *Odes* citations and explanations found in *Zuozhuan* are closest to the Mao tradition.[159] If the *Zuozhuan* text he obtained echoed many Mao readings, as does ours, then the discovery may have spurred the prince's interest in that *Odes* tradition. On the other hand, in a court setting where an influential patron presided over the copying of texts and carried on the Qin practice of employing professional classicists to manage the study of texts, editing work on *Zuozhuan* might have tended to create consistency with the Mao tradition. The possibility remains that the prince, his Academician, and his retinue changed *Zuozhuan* somehow in the course of transmitting it.

A second, even more crucial stage in the transmission of *Zuozhuan* was the editing work done by Liu Xin in the course of his efforts to have an imperial court Academician appointed for the text. This effort came in the context of broader debates over the value of the *Guliang* commentary as a complement to the *Gongyang* commentary, which had long enjoyed court support.[160] *Zuozhuan*'s pre-imperial pedigree and the attention devoted to *Zuozhuan* by highly placed Han figures like Zhang Cang, Jia Yi, Liu De, Xiao Wangzhi, and Zhai Fangjin had lent the text a great deal of credibility. Zhang Cang's mastery of calendrical science may have helped arguments for treating *Zuozhuan* as a commentary on the *Annals*, since proponents of the other commentaries, *Gongyang* in particular, had bolstered their authority by building large historical schemes on the basis of Five Phases correlations.[161] Sima Qian's reliance on *Zuozhuan* would likewise have aided *Zuozhuan* proponents, at least to the extent that such reliance was a matter of public knowledge.[162] That

several of the figures who transmitted *Zuozhuan* also transmitted already-recognized traditions would have served to elevate *Zuozhuan*.[163] By the late first century BCE, many scholars surely would have shared Huan Tan's 桓譚 (ca. 43 BCE–28 CE) view that the *Guliang* and the *Gongyang* commentaries were both deficient in their treatment of the historical material behind the *Annals* and that "*Zuozhuan* is to the classic as the surface of a robe is to its lining; their dependence upon each other makes them complete. If one had the classic without the commentary, even if a sage were made to close his doors and think on it for ten years, he would not be able to understand it."[164] With or without official recognition, the "tradition" (*zhuan*) linked to Zuo Qiuming was now being used and cited as a "commentary" (*zhuan*) by some of the most prominent officials in the empire.

Liu Xin, son of the noted scholar, textual collator, and intellectual Liu Xiang, was learned enough as a young man to have been appointed to help his father in his collation work in the imperial archives during the reign of Emperor Cheng 漢成帝 (r. 33–7 BCE).[165] After Liu Xiang's death, Wang Mang appointed Liu Xin to a series of important offices and brought him into close contact with Emperor Ai 漢哀帝 (r. 7–1 BCE). During this time he compiled the *Seven Summaries* (Qilu 七錄), a catalog of archived texts that built on his father's work and later became the basis of the "Treatise on Classics and Other Writings" (Yiwenzhi 藝文志) in Ban Gu's *History of the Han*. Like Yin Gengshi and Zhai Fangjin, Liu Xin devoted years to the study of the *Guliang* commentary, receiving instruction in it from his father. Coming upon copies of *Zuozhuan* preserved in the archives, Liu Xin gradually became convinced of its superiority to other commentaries and sought out additional instruction in it:

> When Liu Xin was collating texts in the archives, he saw a *Zuo's Annals* written in archaic script and greatly admired it. At the time the clerk to Chancellor Yin Xian, who had a mastery of *Zuozhuan*, was working with Liu Xin to collate the classic and the commentary. Liu Xin received a certain amount of training in it from Yin Xian and from Chancellor Zhai Fangjin, asking them substantial questions about its greater significance. Originally, because *Zuozhuan* abounded in graphs in archaic script and old expressions, scholars had transmitted no more than definitions and references.[166] But when Liu Xin worked on *Zuozhuan*, he pulled out the text of the commentary to explain the classic, causing the two to illuminate each other, and with this the significance and principle of each passage and sentence were made complete.[167]

Later readers have rightly attributed enormous significance to this passage. Qing dynasty scholars like Liu Fenglu 劉逢祿 (1776–1829), who

believed that Liu Xin forged some of the comments in *Zuozhuan*, and Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927), who hoped to demonstrate that Liu Xin had foisted a forged or heavily contaminated *Zuozhuan* on contemporaries in order to support Wang Mang's claims to legitimacy, saw in this passage, among others, an oblique reference to the act of forgery.[168] To judge strictly on the basis of the text itself, without attributing any greater political aims to the editorial work, it seems unlikely that Liu Xin introduced radical changes in *Zuozhuan*. Versions of the text were after all already well known to a number of prominent court officials, and it would have been difficult for Liu Xin to introduce entirely new material even with the support of an archival text and the powerful regent Wang Mang.[169]

Liu Xin's changes to the text were apparently changes in its form. Before his time, *Zuozhuan* was transmitted separately from the *Annals*. This separation seems to have been reflected in Liu Xin's own catalog of the imperial archives, where he found the "old *Annals* classic in twelve bamboo bundles" (*Chunqiu jing shi'er pian* 春秋古經十二篇), a "classic on eleven silk rolls" (*jing shiyi juan* 經十一卷), comprising the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries, and—apart from these—a "*Zuozhuan* on thirty silk rolls " (*Zuoshi zhuan sanshi juan* 左氏傳三十卷)."[170] When Liu Xin "pulled out the text of the commentary to explain the classic," he most likely reordered *Zuozhuan* as he knew it to make it resemble the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries, arranging its materials in chronological order to correspond year for year with the chronicle.[171] He seems also to have added a complete text of the *Annals* at the beginning of *Zuozhuan*.[172] The present year-by-year interspersing of the *Annals* with *Zuozhuan* was an innovation introduced by Du Yu.[173]

Once Liu Xin enjoyed the favor of Emperor Ai, he moved to have Academicians appointed in formal recognition of *Zuozhuan* and several other texts preserved in archaic-script editions. As it had become customary to decide such issues through formal court debate, the emperor summoned Academicians of the Five Classics to discuss the matter. Since some of the Academicians did not dare pose questions, presumably fearing Liu Xin's influence with the emperor and with Wang Mang, Liu Xin made his case in a famous letter addressed to the Academicians of the Superintendent of Ceremonials.[174] Liu Xin's main point was that *Zuozhuan*, like other texts preserved in archaic script, was more ancient than and therefore more reliable than the commentaries passed down via oral transmission.[175] Work in the imperial archives had turned up copies of *Zuozhuan*, all in archaic script, some of them more than twenty sections (*tong* 通) in length.[176] This discovery had in turn prompted Emperor Cheng to intensify work in the archives and, further, to seek texts that had been kept hidden by the populace. Among these were various traditions deriving from princely courts, including Mr. Guan's teachings on *Zuozhuan*. In view of the superiority of earlier sources, in

view of the present emperor's father's support for recovery work, and in view of the proven relevance of *Zuozhuan* in explaining the *Annals*, it was to be regretted that shortsighted scholars clung to their own petty learning and rejected a text that could guide the state in its grander ritual decisions.

Liu Xin certainly had his own aims in promoting *Zuozhuan*. He was known for citing the text in arguments on omen interpretation, a form of discourse that was immensely influential in his era.[177] He was identified as one of the closest associates of Wang Mang, who exploited classical scholarship in his efforts to reform and ultimately to take over the imperial court.[178] Finally, however, all the evidence against Liu Xin is circumstantial, and the arguments that carried the day in his own time have remained convincing for later readers, who, like Huan Tan and his contemporaries, have found it wearying, if not impossible, to read the *Annals* without *Zuozhuan*. After an initial imperial sponsorship of studies on *Zuozhuan* and other texts in 8 BCE, an Academician was appointed for the text during the reign of Emperor Ping (r. 1 BCE–5 CE).[179] The fall of Wang Mang and the restoration of the Han ruling house did not discredit *Zuozhuan*, which was assigned four Academicians in 28 CE.[180]

The status of *Zuozhuan* was made secure by a series of commentaries by leading scholars. In 76 CE, Emperor Zhang (r. 75–88) summoned to the palace a descendant of Jia Yi, Jiu Kui 賈逵 (30–101), a prominent classical scholar who had composed an "explanations and definitions" (*jiegu* 解詁) for *Zuozhuan* and *Discourses of the States* in fifty-one sections. Jia Kui's father, Jia Hui 賈徽, had studied *Zuozhuan* with Liu Xin and had himself produced a commentary in twenty-one *pian*, the *Ordered Principles of Composition for Zuo's Commentary* (Zuoshi tiaoli 左氏條例). Impressed by Jia Kui's learning, the emperor had him instruct twenty talented students of the *Gongyang* commentary in *Zuozhuan* and send each of them home with a copy of the classic and the commentary on bamboo and paper.[181] In the next century, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) and Fu Qian 服虔 (ca. 125–ca. 195) both wrote commentaries on the text; famously, Zheng Xuan is said to have turned over the draft of his own to Fu Qian on discovering that the two of them had offered similar interpretations.[182] Finally, in the third century, the Jin statesman, general, and scholar Du Yu wrote what has proven to be the single most influential commentary on *Zuozhuan*, the *Collected Explanations of the Zuo Tradition on the "Annals"* (Chunqiu Zuozhuan jijie 春秋左傳集解), a magisterial work in which Du drew heavily upon earlier commentaries, in effect subsuming and replacing them.[183] Du's *Collected Explanations* would serve as the basis for all subsequent commentaries on *Zuozhuan*, including the imperially sponsored Tang work overseen by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648), the *Correct Meanings of the Zuo Tradition on the "Annals"* (Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi 春秋左傳正義).

Even with the production and transmission of full-length written

commentaries like Du's and Kong's, *Zuozhuan* did not entirely leave behind the social contexts that had produced it. Teachers continued to teach it, students to learn it, and speakers and writers to cite it as a source of authority. It had developed in part around a habit of record keeping and around a core of written records, and with its success it came to be regarded as the reliable record of an entire era and as an example of form that would be imitated by later compilers of annalistic histories.[184] As a purported transcription of the teachings of Zuo Qiuming, a contemporary of Confucius, it would be read for centuries as a guide to the correct interpretation of historical events and an indispensable supplement to other decodings of Confucius' *Annals* messages. As a treasury of recounted speech and distinctive narrative prose, it would inspire essayists, historians, and philosophical writers throughout imperial Chinese history, not least in the heyday of the "Ancient-Style Prose" (*guwen* 古文) movement of the Tang and Song dynasties. Thus, the process of compilation and transmission that produced our *Zuozhuan* never really removed it from its early uses but instead for a long time maintained and upheld the practices that *Zuozhuan* reflected.

PART III: *ZUOZHUAN* IN THE CHINESE TRADITION

It is hard to overstate the influence of *Zuozhuan* in the Chinese tradition. On the most obvious level, the Chinese language carries memories of the text in countless idioms and allusions. Suffice it here to give a few examples. To impose order but to end up undermining it is "to unsnarl silk threads but entangle them further" (*zhisi yi fen* 治絲益棼), a Lu minister's figure for a Wei usurper's doomed attempt to pacify the people through his revolt (Yin 4.3).[185] "To try to chew one's navel and not to reach it" (*shiqi moji* 噬臍莫及) is to be doomed to vain regret, just like the Deng ruler who trusts his nephew, King Wen of Chu 楚文王, and loses his domain to him (Zhuang 6.3).[186] A person spurred to act with pent-up vigor "drums once to arouse the energy" (*yi gu zuoqi* 一鼓作氣), a phrase used by Cao Gui 曹劌 as he explains a Lu victory to Lord Zhuang of Lu 魯莊公 (Zhuang 10.1). Desperation produces the impetus for action, because "even a trapped beast goes on struggling" (*kunshou you dou* 困獸猶鬬): thus does Lord Wen of Jin explain his relief at the execution of a commander in the rival domain of Chu (Xuan 12.5).[187] To be amenable to good advice is to "follow good as naturally as water flowing" (*congshan ru liu* 從善如流), which is how a "noble man" praises a Jin commander for heeding strategic counsel (Cheng 8.2). An incurable malady is one that "has entered the space between the diaphragm and the heart" (*bing ru gaohuang* 病入膏肓). That idiom is derived from a dream in which Lord Jing of Jin 晉景公 sees his own illness assume the form of two young boys who decide to hide in that recess,[188] "where the

illness can neither be overcome with heat treatment nor reached through acupuncture" (Cheng 10.4). "Holding a chess piece without deciding" (*juqi bu ding* 舉棋不定) is hesitating, possibly with disastrous consequences, as does Ning Xi 甯喜, "who is about to put a ruler in his place and cannot decide" (*zhijun er fu ding* 置君而弗定); a prescient minister notes that he thus treats "dealing with the ruler as a lesser game than chess" (*shi jun buru yiqi* 視君不如弈棋; Xiang 25.15). When the part upsets the whole, or the subsidiary the dominant, one says, "When a tail is large, it will not wag" (*wei da bu diao* 尾大不掉), a phrase from the Chu minister Shen Shushi's 申叔時 remonstrance with his king about the dangers of appointing his younger brother to rule in a newly annexed border territory (Zhao 11.10). To be "ground sharp in preparation" (*moli yi xu* 摩厲以須) is to wait for the opportune moment to act efficaciously, as the Chu minister Ran Dan 然丹 did when he prepared to let the sharp blade of remonstrance fall on King Ling of Chu 楚靈王 (Zhao 12.11).[189] Classical and modern writers tap the linguistic resources of *Zuozhuan*. To aspire to eloquence and erudition is to master an idiomatic and allusive universe of which *Zuozhuan* is an indispensable component. Beyond such verbal echoes, *Zuozhuan* is a key window to the world of thought in early China. It also shapes ideas about form, structure, meaning, and representation for the historiographical and literary tradition.

ZUOZHUAN AND THE EXEGETICAL TRADITION

As we have shown in part II, the early history of *Zuozhuan* culminates in its recognition as an exegetical tradition of the *Annals*. Like the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries, *Zuozhuan* has its share of exegetical passages seeking to derive a normative moral-political system from the *Annals*. However, as mentioned above, the preponderance of narrative and rhetorical passages distinguishes it from the other two traditions. Du Yu seeks to heighten *Zuozhuan*'s credentials as an exegetical text by elaborating its "rules," codified in the classificatory functions of the word *fan* 凡 ("in cases of"), said to summarize or explain how words are used in the *Annals*. He also considerably expands the definition of exegesis by showing how apparent noncorrespondence can be regarded as a way of supplementing the canonical text. He does so by emphasizing the dual identity of Zuo Qiuming as both the sage's like-minded contemporary and a state scribe (*guoshi* 國史) who, "having personally surveyed the texts, had to record widely and speak comprehensively."[190] In this sense, the idea of "Zuo Qiuming" is used to unite historical narrative and exegetical purpose in the text. The sense of unity and system must contend, however, with internal differences, a function of divergent sources and formative contexts shaping the text over a long period of accretion.

For an example we can turn to an entry from the first year of the *Annals* (722 BCE): "In summer, in the fifth month, the Liege of Zheng

overcame Duan at Yan" 夏五月，鄭伯克段于鄢. This line invites scrutiny, in the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* traditions, over the choice of the word "overcame" (*ke* 克), the designation of the Liege of Zheng's younger brother as "Duan" 段 (rather than as "Gongshu [the lord's younger brother] Duan" 共叔段 or "Gongzi [the lord's son] Duan" 公子段), and the significance of recording the place name Yan. As we shall see below, the *Annals* entry elicits different questions answered in the *Zuozhuan* account: How and why did that happen? What were the consequences and implications? What emerges is the implicit belief in narrative as a necessary vehicle of historical meanings enshrined in a higher canonical text.[191]

We are told in *Zuozhuan* that Wu Jiang 武姜, the mother of Lord Zhuang of Zheng 鄭莊公 and his younger brother Duan, favors the latter on account of Lord Zhuang's breech birth. She repeatedly plots with Duan to usurp Lord Zhuang's position. Against all counsel to forestall the rebellion before it is too late, Lord Zhuang refuses to act until Duan's rebellion is full-fledged. Then he crushes it and drives Duan into exile. The consequent estrangement from his mother, whom he vows never to see again until they reach the Yellow Springs (the underworld), is healed only when an ingenious border officer, Ying Kaoshu 潁考叔, suggests that he dig a tunnel and meet his mother there. By substituting the literal for the metaphorical meanings of "Yellow Springs," Ying Kaoshu brings about reconciliation without undoing Lord Zhuang's vow. The account is framed by exegetical comments that, by elucidating meanings of words in the corresponding entry from the *Annals*, condemn both Duan and Lord Zhuang for the almost fratricidal conflict, and it concludes with the comments of "the noble man," who lauds the power of filial piety to heal divisions (Yin 1.4).

If the comments do not sufficiently "contain" the narrative, it may be because their focus on kinship relations, tested, distorted, and then partially restored, does not address the boundaries of political authority. On that issue the account is reticent and tempered enough to support a reading of tacit celebration of eradicating subversion in the interest of greater unity and centralization, despite centuries of commentaries bent on unmasking Lord Zhuang and condemning him for deliberately abetting Duan and maneuvering the latter into treason. Furthermore, the reconciliation of mother and son, either dismissed as a further indication of Lord Zhuang's duplicity or accepted as evidence of his repentance in commentarial traditions, might also have been intended as a lesson in manipulating meanings to master moral rhetoric and achieve a convincing public display of virtue. Indeed, many episodes chronicling Lord Zhuang's expanding power are punctuated by speeches couched in the rhetoric of ritual propriety (Yin 8.2, 11.3, Huan 1.1, 1.2), which may reflect contemporary diplomatic language or public proclamations and may also represent moral justifications stemming from pro-Zheng sympa-

thies. Alternatively, following the cue of many commentaries, one can read apparent approbation as hidden irony, delivered in the same spirit as other isolated negative judgments. Either way, the modulation of perspectives is made possible by narrative elaboration and suggests different layers or source materials.[192]

The diversity of sources amalgamated into *Zuozhuan* is evident on various levels. Clusters of anecdotes that develop around a person, especially wise and capable ministers, might have circulated as "clan histories"[193] or moral-political teachings associated with that character. Calendrical discrepancies in *Zuozhuan* indicate different geographical origins—the domains of Lu and Qi, for example, follow the Zhou calendar, whereas Jin uses the Xia calendar. (This also results in discrepancies between *Zuozhuan* and the *Annals*, which sometimes follow different calendars.) Sometimes distinctive conventions seem to pertain to materials from different domains—for example, only in Jin-related materials are all the commanders and aides listed whenever an army is mobilized, and accounts of power struggles in Song are unique in always mentioning the six ministers.[194] Regional differences in the representation of ruler-subject relationships point to varying historical situations and ideologies. In Chu, for example, the ruler is twice compared to Heaven and his command is upheld as inviolable, and Chu rulers are sometimes praised for their altruism and self-knowledge despite their failures (Xuan 4.3, Ding 4.3, Xiang 13.4, Ai 6.4). A Chu minister who, in the heat of remonstrance, threatens the Chu king with a weapon, punishes himself by cutting off his own feet and commits suicide when the king dies (Zhuang 19.1). This may suggest that powerful Chu kings justified and were justified by political thought maximizing the ruler's claims. By contrast, one is tempted to link the great power of noble lineages in Jin to some recurrent concerns in what might have been Jin sources—the fulsome praise of just rewards for ministers, the arguments justifying the expulsion of unworthy rulers, and the sympathetic treatment of ministers involved in regicide (Min 1.6, Xi 33.6, Xuan 15.6, Xiang 11.5, Zhao 28.3, Xiang 14.6, Zhao 32.4, Xuan 2.3, Cheng 17.10, 18.1). Views of the collateral branches of the ruling family also differ: in domains where the ascendant noble lineages bore clan names different from that of the ruling house, such as Jin and Qi, noble lineages related to the ruler by kinship are seen as sharing the same fate of decline as the ruling house (Zhao 3.3); they are thus no longer presented in adversarial situations, as in Lu and Song.

In the last two thousand years, those who question whether *Zuozhuan* is an exegetical tradition of the *Annals* often claim that *Zuozhuan* is "about history, not exegesis."[195] This distinction implies that historical writings are bound to exceed or diverge from exegetical writings because the goal of the former is to illuminate what happened rather than what should have happened. This is a model of containment and transgres-

sion; the "excesses" in *Zuozhuan* not contained by exegetical purpose are thought to be closer to the spirit of historical inquiry. More generally, historical inquiry seems to thrive when there is tension between normative systems and the forces that challenge them, between ideological purpose and skepticism. Perhaps it is no accident that the great Han historian Sima Qian, who draws upon *Zuozhuan* extensively for his *Records of the Historian*, should question whether "the Way of Heaven" (*tiandao* 天道) exists and invite accusations of heterodoxy by encompassing knights-errant, jesters, and moneymakers in his sympathy, even while affirming his affiliation with the Confucian tradition.[196]

Exegetical claims are inseparable from Confucian perspectives in commentary traditions. As noted above, some scholars now believe that exegetical comments belong to a later stratum of the text, but the idea that *Zuozhuan* conforms broadly to Confucian thought as it evolved through the Warring States era is still widely accepted. Yet there are indisputably divergent perspectives in the text. We have here an astounding mix of cynical practicality and idealistic moral rhetoric, views that look to the past and earlier texts for guidance versus voices that urge changes and laud expediency, arguments for and against greater power for the ruler or the noble lineages, positions for and against the right of the governed to criticize the policies of the leaders of domains, militaristic and strategic interests versus moralized and ritualized perspectives on warfare, reverence for "the Way of Heaven" and the realm of spirits versus defiance or exposure of their fickleness or unknowability, distrust of and hostility for barbarians as "bestial" or being "not of the same kith and kin" (*fei wo zu lei* 非我族類) (Min 1.2, Cheng 4.4, Xiang 4.7) versus praise of them as bona fide bearers of Chinese cultural values and masters of esoteric knowledge (Xi 29.4, Xiang 14.1, Zhao 17.3).[197] Some of these views cannot be subsumed under the idea of a unified, coherent Confucian vision. Indeed, over the centuries, despite the prevailing affirmation of *Zuozhuan* as a canonical classic that embodies Confucian values, there have always been skeptics who questioned the Confucian credentials of the text, from Han scholars who championed the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* traditions (and felt that *Zuozhuan* challenged their exegetical prerogatives) to later Confucian thinkers who criticized *Zuozhuan* for its moments of ruthless pragmatism and views that deviate from various versions of orthodox moral and sociopolitical order.

Instead of imagining a mastermind orchestrating divergent perspectives, we should perhaps see differences as a function of *Zuozhuan*'s complex textual history, in part a correlative of the different sources and formal constraints mentioned earlier, in part a reflection of the varying responses to political disorder in a vital formative period in the history of Chinese political thought. It is often said that *Zuozhuan* is didactic and moralistic. Being "didactic," however, is not the same as being "univocal." Different positions encoded in narratives and arguments suggest

competing lessons, possibly in contexts of political persuasion of those in power, both by laying down the broad principles of government and by making specific policy recommendations. In this sense, *Zuozhuan* is a platform for articulating the competing conceptions of political order that flourished during its long period of formation.

Narrative units in *Zuozhuan* often involve instances of causal reasoning: how and why an event happened. This can be a discrete account or one spanning a number of years (interrupted by other narratives). Since the present format of the text, by virtue of being tailored to match the *Annals*, presents materials year by year, episodes that belong to different narrative sequences are juxtaposed. There are exceptions, of course, the most famous being the more or less self-contained narrative sequences describing Chong'er's (eventually the Jin ruler Lord Wen) exile, wanderings, return to Jin, and his rise to become the most powerful overlord of his time (Xi 23.6, 24.1, 25.1–25.6, 27.4, 28.1–28.13). For the most part, however, the reader has to trace different sequences simultaneously. He is aided to a certain extent by retrospective and prospective comments, advice, explanations, or judgments built into or appended to the unfolding narrative. They are provided by a categorical "noble man," by "Confucius" (who should be understood as a persona in the text rather than the actual historical personage), by prescient contemporary statesmen, and by two categories that often overlap: the scribe (*shi* 史) and the diviner (*bu* 卜).

Such comments and judgments are dominated by the rhetoric of virtue and good order. These speakers employ moral words liberally—most notably "ritual propriety" (*li* 禮) and "virtue" (*de* 德) but also "duty" (*yi* 義), "humaneness" or "nobility of spirit" (*ren* 仁), "reverence" (*jing* 敬), "rectitude" (*zheng* 正), "loyalty" (*zhong* 忠), "good faith" (*xin* 信), and "disinterestedness" or "the quality of being yielding" (*rang* 讓). These speakers presume and foster continuity as they invoke past models, especially the creation of the early Zhou order, and encourage aspirations to become models for later generations. They employ enumeration, definitions, distinctions, and the logic of sequential progression to augment a sense of clarity and inevitability. This rhetoric is, however, imposed on accounts of violence, disorder, destruction, and iniquities. What, then, is the relationship between the two? Sometimes this rhetoric is shown to be effective in staving off ruin and restoring ritual, moral, and political order, even if only briefly in some cases. More often than not, the rhetoric of order has no effect on unfolding events but serves to define the moral parameters of the situation. Unheeded remonstrance and speeches framed as judgments or moral explanations fall into this category. In this sense, there is no necessary paradox between virtuous rhetoric and ethical-political failures—the former simply gives a negative judgment of the latter.

However, the rich circumstantial details that make *Zuozhuan* engrossing can also introduce tensions between message and context. A high-sounding speech lauding ritual propriety may simply be justifying existing or emerging power relations (e.g., Xi 28.3). A supposedly self-evident truth such as the primacy of kin relations in political organization (e.g., Xi 22.6) may turn out to be only one polemical position among several when we recall that there are stories of justified fratricide in *Zuozhuan*. An argument urging a moral position may be couched as extravagant verbal performance, as in "indirect remonstrance," a kind of instruction via seduction whereby the persuader abets the desires and encourages the excesses of the listener only to urge a message of restraint and order (e.g., Zhao 12.11).[198]

The common perception that *Zuozhuan* simply draws didactic lessons from historical events does not do justice to its complex moral universe. An apparently consistent position may conceal changing premises. Different perspectives can be associated with the same persona or characters. We try to be consistent in rendering the semantic universe of *Zuozhuan*, but the polysemy of "virtue words" may be construed from their functions in different arguments and contexts. The same ethical vocabulary—most notably appeals to ritual propriety—can support opposed positions. For example, when the Zheng minister Zichan breaks away from convention and casts penal codes on bronze vessels in 536 BCE, the Jin minister Shuxiang 叔向, who espouses a more traditionalist position, expresses his opposition in a letter to Zichan by invoking a vision of idealized antiquity wherein ritual norms are fulfilled through the imitation of virtue and submission to its affective power. Zichan in reply declares that his goal is to "save his generation" (*jiu shi* 救世) (Zhao 6.3). Elsewhere in *Zuozhuan* Zichan is praised for adherence to ritual propriety and for expanding its application (e.g., Zhao 12.3). The elevation of ritual propriety could thus serve both conservative and reformist arguments.

On one level, such heterogeneity translates into a kind of impartiality. Compared with *Gongyang* and *Guliang*, *Zuozhuan* is more balanced in its judgments. For example, during the battle between Song and Chu fought at the Hong River in 638 BCE, Lord Xiang of Song 宋襄公 refuses to attack before the Chu army crosses the river and again before they form their ranks, thus missing the only two opportunities whereby Song may achieve victory. When Lord Xiang justifies his decision as adherence to ancient rites of battle, his supervisor of the military, Ziyu 子魚, gives an eloquent rebuttal, arguing that battles call for different ritual criteria and suggesting that Lord Xiang's standards are outmoded and self-defeating (Xi 22.8). *Gongyang* praises Lord Xiang for his respect for ritual, comparing him to King Wen of Zhou, put forward as the epitome of the sage-ruler. *Guliang* blames him, claiming that his inde-

fensible words render him "less than human." *Zuozhuan* is unique in granting both Lord Xiang and his critic Ziyu the chance to articulate their positions, although there is obviously greater sympathy for Ziyu.

Differences that might have been a function of textual history or deliberate impartiality can thus allow us to appreciate a rich and complex picture not only of past events but also of the forces determining their representation. In the accounts of the rise of overlords such as Lord Huan of Qi and Lord Wen of Jin, for example, statesmen and advisers make speeches celebrating the merging of ritual propriety with power and profit. At the same time we have the narrative contexts of these speeches, as well as accounts of events (from elsewhere in *Zuozhuan*) that such speeches represent or interpret. We are thus provided with the means to reconstruct events as well as assess their interpretations.

In this sense, contradictions sometimes illuminate processes of historical interpretation. The figure of Confucius is a case in point. Both *Gongyang* and *Guliang* record the year of Confucius' birth and, as we have seen, mythologize the relationship between the capture of the *lin* and the completion of the *Annals*. The corresponding passage in *Zuozhuan* is shorter but typically contains more circumstantial details. A Lu officer captures the *lin* but considers it inauspicious. Confucius identifies the animal and corrects the officer's misjudgment, whereupon the officer takes it (Ai 14.1). There is no discussion of the *lin* as omen. The *Annals* embedded in *Zuozhuan* ends two years later, with the death of Confucius. This means that one strand or layer of the text is interested in asserting the link between Confucius and the *Annals*. Despite passages confirming this connection, however, the idea of Confucius pitting textual or moral order against decline and disorder is not consistently pursued in *Zuozhuan*.

Some anecdotes about Confucius in *Zuozhuan* are already quasi-hagiographic: a Lu nobleman, ashamed of his own ritual incompetence, on his deathbed (518 BCE) enjoins his sons to serve Confucius as their teacher (Zhao 7.12). Since Confucius is only around thirty at that point, such prescient advice is based on foreknowledge of his rise. Confucius shows cleverness, tenacity, and rhetorical prowess when he officiates at a meeting between the Lu ruler and the Qi ruler at Jiagu, where Qi tries unsuccessfully to intimidate Lu (Ding 10.2). Like the unnamed "noble man," Confucius comments on events in *Zuozhuan*; from the early sixth century BCE on, he is also an active participant in and an observer of events. He emerges as a symbol for a range of positions in the text.

In some comments, Confucius eloquently propounds on the need to adhere to ritual propriety, as if normative standards are absolute and unalterable. In other cases, expediency matters more; sometimes he seems to be a practical moralist who urges efficacy as the criterion of good judgment. Cautious assessment of a situation determines his refusal to get involved in contemporary Wei politics or to give his opin-

ions directly to the leaders of the Ji lineage in Lu. Confucius criticizes Jin leaders for casting penal codes on bronze vessels. Publicized written codes, which imply administrative reforms and a more rigid justice, are also associated with Zichan, as noted earlier. Yet Confucius also repeatedly applauds and defends Zichan, including his view on the necessity for harsh punishment. He sometimes does so proleptically, as if anticipating charges that Zichan is "not humane" (*bu ren* 不仁) (Xiang 31.11).

In the protracted power struggle between Lu rulers and leaders of the dominant Ji lineage, Confucius implicitly criticizes the latter but seems amenable to compromises. After all, when he and his disciples "served in Lu," they were working for or with the ministerial lineages. As supervisor of corrections, Confucius has a ditch dug to connect the tomb of Lord Zhao, driven into exile by Ji leaders, to the other Lu rulers' tombs, in implicit opposition to the Ji lineage (Ding 1.4). When Lord Zhao's principal wife dies, Confucius takes part in the condolences and then visits Ji Kangzi 季康子: the Ji lineage head did not wear a mourning cowl, "so Confucius removed his hempen cap and sash and bowed" (Ai 12.2). Most commentators read this gesture as Confucius' tacit protest, but it seems also plausible to interpret it as his concession. The different images of Confucius in *Zuozhuan* answer needs to present him as an agent in history and as its judge, as one determined by or rising above his historical situation, and as one using the past to advocate changes or to defend tradition.

The image of Confucius that obtains in the traditions of scholarship on *Zuozhuan*, however, usually emphasizes the unity of action and judgment, which reflects a more general concern with distilling a coherent, consistent ethical system from the *Annals* and its commentaries. This is especially evident in the production of commentary traditions closely identified with imperial patronage, official learning (*guanxue* 官學), and the examination system. The *Correct Meanings of the Zuo Tradition on the "Annals,"* which adheres to and elaborates Du Yu's commentary even while incorporating divergent readings,[199] was part of the *Correct Meanings of the Five Classics* project that provided the ideological foundation for the newly unified Tang Empire.

Sometimes the need to use the *Annals* to justify a political vision can lead to impatience with the wealth of historical details in *Zuozhuan*, as with Song scholars who favor emphasis on the *Annals* and a highly selective use of *Zuozhuan* to articulate their views on "honoring the king" (*zunwang* 尊王) and "repelling the barbarians" (*rangyi* 攘夷) in response to the threat of nomadic invasions.[200] Thus, Sun Fu 孫復 (992–1057) opines that the *Annals* conveys "only blame and no praise" (*you bian wu bao* 有貶無褒) in his *Elucidation of the Subtleties of Honoring the King in the "Annals"* (Chunqiu zunwang fawei 春秋尊王發微), which criticizes all three commentary traditions.[201] Hu Anguo's 胡安國 (1074–1138) *Commentary on the "Annals"* (Chunqiu zhuan 春秋傳) emphasizes the

opposition of Chinese and barbarians and pointedly marginalizes *Zuozhuan*.[202] Hu's commentary emerged as de facto official learning with the stamp of imperial approval and became especially influential during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) by virtue of its inclusion in the examination system.

Although the Hu commentary was not officially abandoned and replaced by *Zuozhuan* in the examination until 1793, it was the object of stringent critiques starting in the early Qing (1644–1912). The reaction against the blatantly political uses of the *Annals* was evident when the Kangxi 康熙 emperor (r. 1662–1722) sponsored the *Imperially Sanctioned "Annals" and Its Collected Commentary Traditions* (Qin ding Chunqiu zhuanshuo huizuan 欽定春秋傳說彙纂, 1699). Of course, the Qing court's rejection of Hu's strident "antibarbarian" rhetoric in favor of a more general emphasis on ritual propriety and loyalty was itself a political gesture. Beyond ideological orientation, the emphasis on "concrete learning" (*shixue* 實學), "political engagement" (*jingshi* 經世), as well as philological and historical interests, motivated scholars to collect and evaluate *Zuozhuan* commentaries.[203]

The commentaries of Du Yu and Kong Yingda are incorporated in the authoritative version of *Zuozhuan* that Ruan Yuan and his colleagues produced by a careful comparison of textual variants in extant editions. However, powerful new currents in Qing scholarship criticized Du and Kong and focused on recovering Han exegetical comments, often cited without proper attribution in the commentaries by Du and Kong. Han learning (*Hanxue* 漢學) stipulates that "the meaning of the canonical classics is preserved in philological explanations" (*jing zhi yi cun hu xun* 經之義存乎訓).[204] Philological and bibliographic scholarship branched off into *Zuozhuan*-based studies of rituals, geography, calendrical systems, and historical events of the Spring and Autumn period. Major works in this tradition include Hui Dong's 惠棟 (1697–1758) *Supplementary Annotations on Zuozhuan* (Zuozhuan buzhu 左傳補注), Hong Liangji's 洪亮吉 (1746–1809) *Exegesis on Zuozhuan* (Chunqiu Zuozhuan gu 春秋左傳詁), Gu Donggao's 顧棟高 (1697–1759) *Major Categories of Significance during the Spring and Autumn Period* (Chunqiu dashi biao 春秋大事表), the portions on *Zuozhuan* in Wang Yinzhi's 王引之 (1766–1834) *Studies of the Classics* (Jingyi shuwen 經義述聞), and the systematic and exhaustive collection of Han commentaries in *Critical Evaluation of Ancient Zuozhuan Commentaries* (Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan jiuzhu shuzheng 春秋左氏傳舊注疏證) by Liu Wenqi 劉文淇 (1789–1854) and his descendants. The insights of Qing philological scholarship inform the most important modern *Zuozhuan* editions and studies: Bernhard Karlgren's "Glosses on the *Tso chuan*," Takezoe Kōkō's 竹添光鴻 (1842–1917) *Collected Commentaries on Zuozhuan* (Saden Kaisen 左傳會箋), Yang Bojun's *Annotated Zuozhuan* (Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu 春秋左傳注), and Wu Jing'an's 吳靜安 *Sequel to the Critical Evaluation*

of Ancient Zuozhuan Commentaries (Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan jiuzhu shuzheng xu 春秋左氏傳舊注疏證續).

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philological *Zuozhuan* scholars rarely made grand claims about its overarching vision or categorical principles (*yili* 義理, *yili* 義例). It is only in response to attacks on *Zuozhuan* by Liu Fenglu and Kang Youwei, the *Gongyang* and New Text scholars mentioned above, that scholars like Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884–1919) and Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1868–1936) elucidated the moral-political vision of *Zuozhuan* and argued for its authenticity through extensive comparative references to Warring States and Western Han texts, in effect treating the latter as sources for *Zuozhuan* exegesis.[205] From the perspective of historical linguistics, Karlgren reached similar conclusions on the authenticity and dating of *Zuozhuan*.[206]

The theory that *Zuozhuan* was Liu Xin's forgery did not stand up to scrutiny. The anxieties it addresses, however, are deep-rooted. As mentioned above, a long line of commentators suspected that *Zuozhuan* deviates from the sage's teachings. The moments when it questions the ruler's authority or lauds expediency have especially invited criticism. The motives for questioning *Zuozhuan*'s exegetical filiation to the *Annals* can be scholastic, political, or historical.[207] It is ironic that arguments defending *Zuozhuan*'s authenticity also implicitly take it beyond the traditional understanding of exegesis by showing how embedded it is in various strands of Warring States thought.[208]

ZUOZHUAN AND CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHY

The acceptance of *Zuozhuan* as an exegetical tradition of the *Annals* has important implications for the idea of history. That process started with the passage cited above from the *Records of the Historian* on Zuo Qiuming's role in amplifying and discussing the *Annals*. Sima Qian posits deliberation of differences, magnified by the fluidity of oral transmission, as integral to the compilation of *Zuozhuan*. Ideas about encompassing and adjudicating differences had profound implications for Sima Qian's own writings. In the autobiographical final chapter of the *Records of the Historian*, Sima Qian articulates his own vision of historical writing through Confucius' description of the *Annals*: "I wanted to convey this [i.e., my concerns] through abstract, conceptual language, but it would not be as profound, compelling, and clear as embodying and revealing them through past events and actions."[209] In fact, the "thickness" and complexity of events are displayed, not in the *Annals* or in the purely exegetical comments, but only in the more detailed accounts in *Zuozhuan*, and to a lesser extent in their narrative counterparts in the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries.

To appreciate *Zuozhuan*'s foundational role for Chinese historiography, we may begin with some early attempts to think about what it

means to commemorate and understand the past. According to "Treatise on Arts and Writings" in the *History of the Han*, "For the kings in ancient times, each generation had its official scribes. . . . the scribe of the left recorded words, and the scribe of the right recorded events. The record of events became the *Annals*, and the record of words became the *Documents*."[210] The order of right and left is reversed and assimilated into a picture of ritual propriety in the *Records of Ritual* (Liji 禮記): "When he [the Son of Heaven] moves, the scribe of the left records it. When he speaks, the scribe of the right records it."[211]

In *Zuozhuan*, scribes "in action" write down precise and concise statements, comparable to the entries found in the extant *Annals*, but there is no reference to scribes recording speeches. Instead, scribes join a host of other characters in making speeches. For Liu Zhiji, the fact that some long speeches invite comments by scribes and ministers from other states attests to their circulation as written texts.[212] But the reports of speeches could also have circulated orally, and the custom of appending judgment to speeches and narratives is pervasive and possibly conventionalized. Without totally dismissing their actual recording, we can imagine conventions of presenting ideas as speech acts (such as proclamation, remonstrance, instruction, or interlocution), at varying temporal distances from the supposed moment of utterance, and the circulation of speeches in oral or written forms. Contexts of invention, reconstruction, or transmission must have shaped the numerous speeches in *Zuozhuan*.

The interweaving of speeches and narrative leads Liu Zhiji to assert that *Zuozhuan* "does not follow ancient rules" on their separate recording. But Liu goes on to claim that this is a felicitous combination that engages the interest of the reader.[213] Indeed, the convention of framing ideas as speech acts and distilling drama from them or using them to propel the narrative becomes standard practice in Chinese historical writings. This feature is so pervasive that the paradigm is no longer one of influence but of common ground. A brief foray into Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* illustrates this: not only are the sections devoted to those who swayed rulers with skillful persuasion (such as Confucius' disciple Zigong 子貢,[214] Zhang Yi, Su Qin, and Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連) predictably dominated by their speeches,[215] but all the decisive moments in the rise of Han, as well as early Han power struggles and policy debates, are defined through speeches. The Han founder Liu Bang's 劉邦 (r. 202–195) listing of Xiang Yu's 項羽 (d. 202 BCE) crimes at Guangwu 廣武 shows how Liu's camp masters the moral rhetoric that would eventually justify Han victory in the Chu-Han struggle.[216] Liu Bang's chief helper, Han Xin 韓信, (d. 196 BCE) refuses to heed his adviser Kuai Tong's 蒯通 eloquent persuasion on the necessity of rebellion, thus exposing the spuriousness of later charges of treason against Han Xin as well as Liu Bang's dependence upon him for his eventual

triumph.[217] The power struggles between the Han minister Yuan Ang 袁盎 (d. 148 BCE) and Chao Cuo 晁錯 (d. 154 BCE), with their opposed visions of the power balance between the central government and princely domains, are understood through their speeches to Emperor Jing of Han 漢景帝 (r. 157–141).[218] Sima Qian's own dim view of the expansion of the Han Empire under Emperor Wu 漢武帝 (r. 141–87) may be apprehended through the recorded remonstrance by Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 (d. 121 BCE) and Zhufu Yan 主父偃 (d. 126 BCE) against attacking the Xiongnu 匈奴.[219]

When Liu Zhiji classifies historical writings in the seventh century, he identifies six schools, represented by the *Annals* ("school of recording events," *jishi jia* 記事家), the *Documents* ("school of recording words," *jiyan jia* 記言家), *Zuozhuan* ("annalistic school," *biannian jia* 編年家), the *Discourses of the States* ("school of arrangement by states," *guobie jia* 國別家), the *Records of the Historian* ("school of annals and biographies from antiquity to the present," *tonggu jizhuan jia* 通古紀傳家), and the *History of the Han* ("school of single-dynasty annals and biographies," *duandai jizhuan jia* 斷代紀傳家).[220] As we have seen, his views on how *Zuozhuan* transgresses the boundaries established by the *Annals* and the *Documents* lead him to consider it superior to the latter two as historical writing.[221] He regards the *Discourses of the States* as a kind of supplement to *Zuozhuan*[222] and is critical of inconsistencies in the *Records of the Historian*. Despite his high regard for *Zuozhuan*, he acknowledges in the same chapter that it is the *History of the Han* that becomes the model for official historiography.

At first glance it would seem that the annalistic format of *Zuozhuan* is less influential than the categories of historical knowledge established in the *Records of the Historian* and the *History of the Han*. In fact, annalistic history continues to hold sway in many ways. Even after the monumental *Records of the Historian* and *History of the Han* consolidate the form of biographies, treatises, and tables in universal and dynastic histories, annalistic history still lays claim to being a more concise and comprehensive way to organize knowledge about the past, so much so that Xun Yue 荀悅 (148–209) is said to have composed the *Han Annals* (Hanji 漢紀) in answer to the desire of Emperor Xian of Han 漢獻帝 (r. 189–220) to have the history of Western Han (202 BCE–25 CE) rewritten in the annalistic format because he found Ban Gu's *History of the Han* too tedious and bewildering.[223]

Legitimate political authority in imperial China came with the prerogative of determining the calendar and the ways of counting years by reign titles. Annalistic history not only seemingly affirms the legitimacy of the political authority that determines the temporal framework but also conveys a kind of intrinsic dignity. "Basic Annals" 本紀, the sections that deal with rulers (usually emperors) in the *Records of the Historian* and in all subsequent dynastic histories, follow the annalistic format.[224]

The ties of annals to legitimation through ways of reckoning historical periods, first articulated in the Han dynasty, are retrospectively projected onto the *Annals*, whose use of the Zhou calendar is said to indicate allegiance to the early Zhou political order.[225] As mentioned above, accounts in *Zuozhuan* refer to different calendrical systems.[226] Many imperial commentators, however, believed that exegetical purpose guided the presentation of such differences, with the goal of upholding the Zhou order.

Annalistic histories are often concerned with questions of legitimate succession. Thus, Yuan Hong's 袁宏 (328–76) *Later Han Annals* (Hou Hanji 後漢紀) adheres to strict definitions of Han legitimacy and severely criticizes Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220) and Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226) as usurpers.[227] In doing so Yuan Hong was also addressing a contemporary crisis: the military commander Huan Wen's 桓溫 (312–73) overreaching ambition threatened the already-diminished Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420). It is not surprising that the most famous annalistic history, Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019–86) *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑), which picks up a few decades after *Zuozhuan* ends (403 BCE) and continues through the end of the Five Dynasties (959), and much more so Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) interpretation and abbreviation of that work, *Main Principles of "Comprehensive Mirror"* (Tongjian gangmu 通鑑綱目), are also key texts for debating notions of dynastic legitimacy (*zhengtong* 正統). In some cases, legitimacy as proclaimed through annalistic history was a gesture that compensated for political failure. In the wake of the Qing conquest, the Ming loyalist Zha Jizuo 查繼佐 (1601–76) compiled the history of the rump Ming court of Prince Lu (Zhu Yihai 朱以海 [1618–62]) and entitled it *Lu Annals* (Lu chunqiu 魯春秋).

The biography as a category of historical knowledge is Sima Qian's invention. However, the materials contributing to such biographies, from anecdotes to speeches, are ubiquitous in *Zuozhuan*. For example, Sima Qian's biography of Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (d. 484 BCE), a key character in the conflicts between Wu and Chu and between Wu and Yue, is culled and reworked from *Zuozhuan* accounts. One branch of *Zuozhuan* scholarship is devoted to constructing biographies by reorganizing *Zuozhuan* materials.[228]

By the same token, other common categories in official historiography, such as chronological tables and treatises on subjects as diverse as ritual, geography, or arts and letters, can be drawn from *Zuozhuan*. One Song scholar, Cheng Gongshuo 程公說 (1171–1207), reorganized *Zuozhuan* materials and presented them as tables, genealogies, and treatises.[229] As mentioned above, there are also rearrangements of the text by events and states that conform to other forms of historical writings in the tradition.[230] Historical commentaries that acquire a life of their own through richness of details and viewpoints, such as Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 (372–451) commentary on Chen Shou's 陳壽 (233–97) *History of*

the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo zhi 三國志), also show a special affinity with *Zuozhuan*, especially in its intermittent independence from the text for which it is supposed to function as commentary.

The elucidative and interpretive concerns of framed comments in *Zuozhuan* continue as stated judgments in many forms of Chinese historical writings. Sima Qian juxtaposes event and judgment and modulates his perspectives through the complex, ironic balance between the narrative and the discursive components, between supposedly objective accounts and subjective illumination, in his chapters, which all conclude with the comments of the grand historian (*taishi gong yue* 太史公曰).[231] It became conventional in official historiography to end with the judgment of the historian, who adopts the usual self-designation of an official as the emperor's "subject" or "servant" (*chen* 臣).

Beyond form and structure, *Zuozhuan* is a crucial text for defining ideas about history writing in the Chinese tradition. The word for "history" in modern and classical Chinese, *shi* 史, sometimes rendered as "historian," "scribe," or "astrologer" in early texts, does not appear in the *Annals*, although scholarly consensus maintains that persons holding the office of *shi* were responsible for recording those annalistic entries. It is in *Zuozhuan* that we see the *shi* in his multiple guises—as record keeper, astrologer, diviner, ritualist, adviser, envoy, textual specialist, and commentator. We have translated *shi* as "scribe," but some stories surrounding that figure elaborate a kind of historical self-consciousness.[232]

One of the most memorable episodes on the making of historical records in *Zuozhuan* deals with scribes who brave death to record a regicide in Qi in 548 BCE. The Qi minister Cui Zhu 崔杼 assassinates Lord Zhuang of Qi 齊莊公 and installs Lord Jing 齊景公. He has already gained the acquiescence of other ministers when Qi scribes defy him:

> The grand scribe wrote, "Cui Zhu assassinated his ruler." Cui Zhu put him to death. The scribe's younger brothers succeeded him and wrote the same thing, and so two more persons were killed. Another younger brother again wrote it, whereupon Cui Zhu desisted. The scribe of the south, having heard that the grand scribes had all died, clutched the bamboo strips and set out. When he heard that the record had already been made, he turned back. (Xiang 25.2)

The line for which the Qi scribes sacrificed their lives is found in the *Annals*. But the story of their courage, as well as the dense web of intrigues and betrayals that incriminate almost all sides and justify self-preservation at the cost of equivocation, thus showing how the scribes' statement of fact is but one facet of a complex picture, belongs to *Zuozhuan*. Cui Zhu had installed Lord Zhuang earlier and then murdered him when the lord cuckolded him. Cui Zhu and his line in turn fall

victim to his coconspirator Qing Feng 慶封, who is eventually driven into exile by self-styled defenders of the Qi ruling house. The wise Qi minister Yan Ying 晏嬰 mourns Lord Zhuang of Qi in a ritually proper fashion but refuses to die or go into exile for him, at the same time managing to avoid both complicity with and outright defiance of the usurpers' new government.[233]

The Qi scribes become traditional tokens of the historian's integrity. Their unflinching recording of facts comes to be honored as the ideal of honesty and forthrightness in historical writing (*zhishu* 直書, *zhibi* 直筆). Further, the historian's task is implied not only by the scribes' defiant self-sacrifice but also by the way in which the framing narrative extends "truth telling" to the details and perspectives that condition judgment. The notion that the moral authority of historical judgment, built on impartiality, should rectify the injustices in the apparent triumphs of power is self-consciously embraced by Sima Qian and becomes a cultural ideal.

The Song poet-statesman, loyalist, and martyr Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236–83) links the Qi scribes to the Jin scribe Dong Hu 董狐 in a parallel couplet, presenting them as representatives of the "righteous spirit" (*zhengqi* 正氣) between heaven and earth.[234] Yet the truthfulness of Dong Hu's record, when compared with that of the Qi scribes, is of a different kind. The *Annals* and Dong Hu in *Zuozhuan* name Zhao Dun 趙盾 as having assassinated his ruler, Lord Ling of Jin 晉靈公, although according to the *Zuozhuan* narrative, the actual act is committed by Zhao Chuan 趙穿. In *Zuozhuan*, Dong Hu explains his judgment thus to Zhao Dun: "You are the chief minister. Yet fleeing you did not cross the domain border; upon returning you did not chastise the culprit. If you are not responsible, who would be?" (Xuan 2.3). At the same time, the narrative enumerates Lord Ling's misdeeds and thus implicitly mitigates blame even while asserting Zhao Dun's responsibility. The lord's gratuitous cruelty, rejection of remonstrance, and murderous intentions regarding Zhao Dun make him culpable. *Zuozhuan* stakes out a range of perspectives on the ruler-minister relationship and emphasizes reciprocity to the extent that expulsions and even assassinations of unworthy rulers are sometimes presented as justifiable (e.g., Xuan 4.2, Xiang 14.6, Zhao 32.4), although such a position is unthinkable for many imperial commentators.[235]

Gongyang and (more briefly) *Guliang* both tell this story, but the *Zuozhuan* account is unique in adding another level of self-conscious deliberation through Confucius' comments:[236] "Dong Hu was a worthy scribe of ancient times: he did not conceal anything in his rules of writing. Zhao Dun was a worthy high officer of ancient times: he bore a guilty verdict for the sake of those rules. What a pity! Had he crossed the domain border, he would have been absolved." Can Confucius possibly mean that a technical detail of location would have absolved Zhao Dun

even if he were guilty? Or does he mean that had Zhao Dun crossed the border, it would have proved that he was actually not party to the regicide? One would assume the latter, considering Confucius' sympathy for Zhao Dun: he wishes this "worthy high officer of ancient times" had not been responsible. Confucius balances empathy and judgment as he evaluates evidence and circumstantial contexts and ponders the margins of intention and execution.

As is often the case, contexts and chronology introduce ambiguities and complexities in *Zuozhuan*. *Gongyang* and *Guliang* are silent on the earlier exploits of Zhao Dun. It is only in *Zuozhuan* that we learn of his role in the succession struggles in Jin. Thirteen years earlier, Zhao Dun opposed the accession of the future Lord Ling, then a mere infant or very young child, and he switched his allegiance from a rival noble son to Lord Ling only under duress. Dominant in Jin government for two decades (621–601), he is eulogized for his just policies at one point (Wen 6.1) but criticized for his harshness at another (Wen 7.5). *Zuozhuan* thus encompasses two perspectives on Zhao Dun: one indicts him, while the other retains sympathy for him. This apparent ambivalence may be traced to differences rooted in the political reality of the fifth or fourth century BCE, when voices could be found to speak for and against the Zhao house, and to divergent conceptions of the ruler-minister relationship.

The account of Lord Ling's assassination seems designed to both elicit sympathy for Zhao Dun and indict him. Irrespective of the motives behind this doubleness, the account remains a remarkable moment of reflection on how historical knowledge and judgment may be established. Dong Hu's record is upheld in the tradition as historical writing that "condemns the intention" (*zhuxin* 誅心), as distinct from that which "condemns the act" (*zhuji* 誅迹). The historian's acumen (*shishi* 史識) goes beyond the surface to probe what is hidden by combining empathy and judgment, in the spirit of Confucius' comments.

Confucius' commendation of both Dong Hu and Zhao Dun implies a measure of ambiguity regarding judgment of Zhao Dun. This goes against the grain of traditional scholarship on historiography, which has room only for stable irony, as evinced by discussions of the terms for indirectness: "concealment" (*hui* 諱) and "crooked brush" (*qubi* 曲筆). The *Gongyang* and *Guliang* traditions develop elaborate theories of "concealment": the sage is said to conceal historical facts to honor or protect his kin (*qinzhe* 親者), worthy men (*xianzhe* 賢者), those to be respected (*zunzhe* 尊者), his own domain (*nei* 內), and the central domains (*zhongguo* 中國) (regarding their relationship with "barbarians"). *Zuozhuan* uses the term *hui* much more sparingly, primarily in relation to Lu rulers. The reasoning behind "concealment" implies that "bare facts" should yield pride of place to normative human relations in historical records. The word *hui* may also refer to the cautious silence or indirectness

employed to negotiate the dangers of political references, something imposed by external necessity rather than embraced as an ethical choice. Likewise, the term "crooked brush" can yield two different interpretations: it can be accepted as necessary expediency or even praiseworthy decorum, or it can be used disparagingly to mean distortions of truth (often to pander to the powers that be).[237] By such logic, when faced with ambivalence or contradictions in *Zuozhuan*, later commentators are prone to read it as irony (from the standpoint of staunch orthodoxy), or they may question the Confucian credentials of the text.

Such precision and complexity suggest that *Zuozhuan* fulfills ideals that it ascribes to the *Annals*: "Such is the way that the *Annals* articulates judgment—subtle yet pointed, clear yet indirect, restrained yet richly patterned, exhaustive yet not excessive, chastising evil and encouraging goodness. Who but the sage could have shaped it?" (Cheng 14.4).[238] As we have seen, however, the text also encompasses internal differences that sometimes seem to problematize these formulations of perfect balance.

ZUOZHUAN AND THE LITERARY TRADITION

It is customary to regard the historical value and the literary value of *Zuozhuan* as distinct categories, if not indeed incommensurate attributes. For example, defenders of "historical facts" are often suspicious of the ghosts, spirits, dreams, omens, prophecies, and secretive communications that periodically appear in the text,[239] while literary historians happily appropriate them as clues to the origins of the Chinese fictional imagination. The pleasure in rhetoric so evident in *Zuozhuan* leads some traditional commentators to perceive a tension between "embellishment" (*wen* 文) and "substance" (*zhi* 質).[240] The Tang poet and prose master Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), for example, faults *Zuozhuan* for its "fanciful and exaggerated" (*fukua* 浮誇) diction.[241]

We will never know for sure the balance between "how it really was" and the attitudes, rhetorical modes, and intellectual currents ascendant during the period of *Zuozhuan*'s formation,[242] but we are on firmer ground with the latter. For example, statesmen might indeed have performed recitations from the *Odes* in diplomatic gatherings in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE,[243] but what seems more certain is how the competence to articulate aspirations and negotiate differences through common allegiance to a shared textual tradition is enshrined as a cultural ideal by the time of *Zuozhuan*'s compilation.[244] The same may be said of the ceremonious courtesy of officers on the battlefield in *Zuozhuan*, which might have been remembered as an ideal or exaggerated through the lens of nostalgia during the intensifying conflicts of the Warring States era. Our rationalist bias discounts the Jin ruler Lord Jing's 晉景公 dream of a vengeful ghost that resulted in his grotesque death in 581 BCE (Cheng 10.4), but we can infer from it the role of powerful Jin ministerial

lineages in shaping some *Zuozhuan* narratives—the ghost in this story is the ancestor of the Zhao lineage that had been almost entirely eliminated two years earlier (583 BCE) (Cheng 8.6). The dream emerges as a crucible for considering the ruler-minister relationship, agency and fate, requital and causality.

The idea that kernels of historical truths can or should be separated from the rich verbal fabric is misleading. What is more germane to the sense of history is the conscious formulation of patterns and principles to understand the past. What we now consider supernatural or suprarational occurrences, rhetorical constructions, or narrative devices represent such patterns and principles. In other words, literary constructions or formal choices are but modes of historical interpretation. Liu Zhiji understands this very well: he devotes various chapters of the *Comprehensive Study of Historical Writings* to narrative art and rhetorical strategies, constantly upholding *Zuozhuan* as the source of the finest examples.

That said, *Zuozhuan* is also rightly recognized as a foundational text in the Chinese literary tradition irrespective of its importance for historical facts and historical thought. Many of the genres that Liu Xie discusses in his categorization and discussion of fine writings, *Literary Mind and Carvings of Dragons* (Wenxin diaolong 文心雕龍), such as remonstrance, exposition, biography, ordinance, persuasion, disputation, inscription, recitation, eulogy, prayer, or lamentation, are based on examples from *Zuozhuan*. It is especially influential as a model for classical prose, as evinced by numerous anthologies that use *Zuozhuan* excerpts to explain principles of literary composition.[245] Movements of renewal in the history of Chinese prose invariably draw upon *Zuozhuan*. Among the Tang-Song prose masters, some show affinities with *Zuozhuan* even when they are critical (e.g., Han Yu, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 [1007–72]), while others (like Su Shi 蘇軾 [1036–1101] and his brother Su Che 蘇轍 [1039–1112]) effusively embrace it.[246] During the Ming dynasty, not only is *Zuozhuan* a key text for movements championing "revival of the ancients" (*fugu* 復古),[247] but even those advocating Tang and Song models are themselves drawing from it via Tang-Song mediation.[248] Even those sporting deliberate informality refer to *Zuozhuan*'s anecdotal flair. Masters of Tongcheng 桐城, the dominant school in Qing prose in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, uphold *Zuozhuan* as the repository for "principles and methods of writing" (*wenzhang yifa* 文章義法).

The recognition of *Zuozhuan* as providing models for both examination essays (*shiwen* 時文) and classical prose (*guwen* 古文) resulted in the development of many Ming and Qing commentary editions that focus on literary composition and appreciation (*pingdian* 評點).[249] The Kangxi emperor's interest in *Zuozhuan* led to the inclusion of eighty-one *Zuozhuan* excerpts in the *Imperial Selection of Exemplary Sources for Classical Prose* (Yu xuan guwen yuanjian 御選古文淵鑑), with comments

by the Kangxi emperor and his ministers. Major literary commentaries on *Zuozhuan* include Jin Shengtan's 金聖歎 (1608–61) *Analysis of Zuozhuan* (Zuozhuan shi 左傳釋) and the section on *Zuozhuan* in his *Essential Readings for Talented Scholars* (Tianxia caizi bidu shu 天下才子必讀書), Wang Yuan's 王源 (1648–1710) *Commentary on Zuozhuan* (Zuozhuan ping 左傳評), the Tongcheng master Fang Bao's 方苞 (1668–1749) *Key Principles and Methods of Writing in Zuozhuan* (Zuozhuan yifa juyao 左傳義法舉要), Feng Lihua 馮李驊 (ca. late 17th–early 18th cent.) and Lu Hao's 陸浩 (ca. late 17th–early 18th cent.) *Embroidered Zuozhuan* (Zuoxiu 左繡), and Lin Shu's 林紓 (1852–1924) *Essence of Zuozhuan* (Zuozhuan jiehua 左傳擷華). Whereas "principles and methods of writing" merge effortlessly with staunch orthodoxy and the discussion of significatory principles (*shufa* 書法) in the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* in Fang Bao's work, other literary commentaries acknowledge the gap between literary merit and exegetical purpose.[250]

Jin Shengtan famously declares that he wrote his commentary on the play *Western Chamber* (Xixiang ji 西廂記) in order to provide guidelines for reading *Zuozhuan*.[251] Jin's analysis of *Zuozhuan*, *Records of the Historian*, *Zhuangzi*, Du Fu's 杜甫 poetry, *Western Chamber*, and *Water Margin* (Shuihu zhuan 水滸傳) points to the common grounds of reading defined through a shared commentary culture in the late imperial period. *Zuozhuan* has also had a great influence on the form and method of fiction, if only because of the continuum between history and fiction in the tradition, as evinced by the use of the terms "unofficial history" (*baishi* 稗史) and "lesser history" (*yeshi* 野史)[252] for what we would categorize as fiction. The apology for fiction is often based on the assertion that it is on a par with historical writings: "it really happened" and "it offers a lesson." Even the most blatantly fantastic fiction may employ the rhetoric of authentication, replete with precise details of time and place and painstaking accounts of transmission. And even the most flagrantly provocative or subversive fiction may invoke the rhetoric of moral orthodoxy, albeit sometimes ironically. The presumed filiation to the rhetoric and concerns of official historiography is most evident in the genre of historical fiction, of which the preeminent example is *Three Kingdoms* (Sanguo zhi yanyi 三國志演義, first extant edition 1522).[253] One of the best-known fictionalized histories is Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) *New Records of the Various States* (Xin lieguo zhi 新列國誌), derived in part from Yu Shaoyu's 余紹虞 (16th cent.) account of the Shang and Zhou dynasties. Feng conceives of his project as the exegetical vernacularization of canonical historical writings, especially *Zuozhuan* and the *Records of the Historian*. *New Records* is best known in a slightly revised form, edited by Cai Yuanfang 蔡元放 (18th cent.) and renamed the *Records of the Various States during the Eastern Zhou* (Dong Zhou lieguo zhi 東周列國誌).

On the formal level, classical tales[254] share the juxtaposition of narra-

tive and judgment or commentary standard in historiography since *Zuozhuan* and the *Records of the Historian*. Later writers and anthologists of stories give new twists to this convention. For example, Feng Menglong, who compiled *Categories and Classifications of Feelings* (Qingshi leilue 情史類略), ends his entries with comments by "the Historian of Feelings" (Qingshi shi 情史氏). Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) appends comments, by turns earnest, ironic, digressive, and facetious, to his own stories, most of them fantastic, under the name "the Historian of the Strange" (Yishi shi 異史氏) in the *Records of the Strange from the Liaozhai Studio* (Liaozhai zhiyi 聊齋誌異). Exploiting this convention of concluding comments, a writer can veer between straightforward ruminations on the story and far-flung reflections on his own art or the meanings of fictional illusion. Vernacular fiction dispenses with the "noble man" or other traditionally authoritative commentators but often preserves the insertion of judgment, interpretation, and commentary with the voice of the narrator as storyteller.

There are also subtler but no less pervasive connections. *Zuozhuan* is famous for the economy of its language, whereby high drama is concentrated in a few words. To name a few examples: the Song assassin, Chang Wan 長萬, captured in Chen, demonstrates his immense strength: "The Chen leaders sent a woman to ply him with wine, and they then wrapped him up in rhinoceros hide. By the time he arrived in Song, his hands and his feet were both poking out" (Zhuang 12.1). The achievement of Lord Huan of Qi as overlord is summarized through the fate of Xing and Wei: "For Xing to be relocated was like a return, and the domain of Wei forgot its loss" (Min 2.9). The Jin minister Fan Hui's success in Jin is conveyed in one line: "As a result, the brigands in Jin fled to Qin" (Xuan 16.1). In the account of the battle of Bi between Jin and Chu, the Jin commander, anxious to gather the remnants of his defeated army, issues an order in panic: "Those who cross the river first will be rewarded!" Predictably, Jin soldiers fight to board the boats: "The fingers in the boats were so numerous that they could be scooped up" (Xuan 12.2).[255] This one gruesome detail captures the disarray, demoralization, and barbarization of the retreating Jin troops. Soldiers already in the boats, fearing pursuit by the Chu army and also afraid that the boats would sink under excessive weight, try to fend off soldiers struggling to climb on board by cutting off their fingers.

The *Records of the Historian* continues such stylistic economy. At one of the turning points in the Chu-Han struggle, the Han army was routed, and fallen Han soldiers clogged the Sui River: "the water of the Sui River, on account of that, no longer flowed."[256] The image makes the reversal of Han fortunes, facilitated by a sudden storm, all the more dramatic. Referring to the vicissitudes in the lives of the Han ministers Ji An 汲黯 and Zheng Dangshi 鄭當時, Sima Qian cites the emblematic fate of Lord Di: after he lost office, "bird traps could be set up outside his gates."[257]

Precision and concision thus come to be enshrined as literary ideals, especially for classical prose and classical tales and narratives.

With the aesthetics of symbolic condensation, a gesture or a line often bespeaks a person's destiny or sums up a complex historical situation in *Zuozhuan*. The disintegration of the northern alliance in the last decades covered by *Zuozhuan* is heralded by a trivial but symbolic transgression when Jin presides over a meeting at Shaoling in 506 BCE. "The men of Jin asked to borrow feathers from Zheng, and the men of Zheng gave them some. The next day, someone attended the meeting with the feathers attached to his banner. With this, Jin lost the allegiance of the princes" (Ding 4.1).[258] Yiwu 夷吾, posthumously honored as Lord Hui, is said to have been "slack and inattentive" (*duo* 惰) when he received the ceremonial jade signifying royal recognition of his position as Jin's ruler (Xi 11.2). On the basis of Yiwu's comportment at this ceremony, the court scribe and diviner Guo 內史過 predicts that his line will not last, and Yiwu's reign is indeed a chronicle of failures.

While this kind of detail and ritual judgment primarily concern a person's place in a ritual system, there are also moments that capture the contours of personality. In one example, after the downfall of King Ling of Chu, we are given an anecdote that sums up his naive hubris and downfall. He divines by turtle shell, seeking an answer to the question of whether he would gain rulership of all-under-heaven. When the result is inauspicious, he throws down the turtle shell, curses Heaven and cries, "Such a petty thing and yet you do not give it to me! I will take it for myself!"[259] This gesture of defiant ritual infraction is offered as historical explanation. In other instances, a single gesture embodies complex psychological maneuvers: when Chong'er, posthumously honored as Lord Wen, is returning to Jin to be restored as its ruler, his follower Hu Yan 狐偃 gives him a ceremonial jade disk and asks to leave his service, claiming that in their exile together he must have given cause for offense. Chong'er throws the jade into the river, thereby inviting the river god to bear witness to his sincere intention to be "of one heart" (*tongxin* 同心) with Hu Yan (Xi 24.1). Hu Yan's proposal to sever ties is thus used to seal a pact.

Sima Qian develops this focus on significant moments and uses them to create unity, resonance, and momentum in the *Records of the Historian*. As a child, the Han official Zhang Tang 張湯 (d. 116 BCE) meticulously tries and executes an offending rat.[260] The combination of self-righteous cruelty and pleasure in violence that eventually makes him a "harsh official" (*kuli* 酷吏) are already evident in that scene. In another example, the youthful Li Si's 李斯 (d. 208 BCE) moment of epiphany, when he witnesses the demeaning existence of mice in the latrine and the confident contentment of mice in the barn, leads him to conclude that circumstances override essence and spurs him to master "the art of serving rulers" (*di wang zhi shu* 帝王之術) to become the legalist minister of Qin.[261] An act that cannot impinge upon the course of events may

nevertheless convey the essence of character or situation. In one well-known example, Xiang Yu, the defeated contender for empire, sings one last song for his favorite consort and stages a final performance of valor for the remnants of his troops, declaring as he falls: "This is how Heaven has destroyed me. It is not my faults in battle."[262] The mixture here of pathos and grandeur, blindness and insight, has great expressive and explanatory power, although Xiang Yu's last act amounts to nothing more than a futile gesture.

Suffice it to observe that while various religions, thought systems, and aesthetic contexts might have shaped the understanding of what constitutes significant moments in different periods, the logic of symbolic condensation often persists in various ways. Even some examples of late imperial vernacular fiction, often of formidable length, focus less on plot than on particular emblematic moments. For example, in Cao Xueqin's 曹雪芹 (1715?–1764?) *Story of the Stone* (Honglou meng 紅樓夢), widely recognized as the masterpiece of Chinese fiction, the major characters are all associated with specific gestures and scenes. We remember the heroine Lin Daiyu burying fallen blossoms and the hero Jia Baoyu tearing fans to amuse his maidservant Qingwen. Often we confront this embedded proposition: namely, that given the gap between self and world, value and meaning may have to be privately willed. This idea, in turn bracketed by irony and nostalgia, of course implies versions of subjectivity and social reality that have no meaning or relevance for the world of *Zuozhuan*. What is noteworthy is how particular moments can in different ways become focal points of narrative, sometimes defying the logic of plot or teleology.

Yet the very definition of narrative takes us beyond the moment. In *Zuozhuan*, duration and sequence are often tied to insistent causal reasoning. Narratives and speeches that are spread out over a number of years may be tied together by explanatory threads, giving credence to final judgments and justifying the successes or failures of characters or domains. The account of a major battle often consists of many discrete anecdotes, most of them not directly connected to each other but rather geared toward an explanation of the final outcome on both strategic and moral levels, although anecdotes that seem to serve no particular explanatory function may sometimes also be included because of their story interest or didactic intent. Later historical fiction such as the *Three Kingdoms*, also mixing scenes of combat and explanatory intent with didactic and entertaining elements in descriptions of battles and showing a fascination for cunning and stratagems, sometimes brings to mind *Zuozhuan*, which may be considered one of the sources for its imaginative universe.

The chronological arrangement of *Zuozhuan* sometimes imposes distance between cause and consequence. The interweaving of different narrative strands also means that determining whether an episode

belongs to a sequence of events depends on the identification or definition of the sequence. For example, the Jin defeat at the battle of Bi in 597 BCE (Xuan 12.2) can belong to narratives about Jin decline, the rise of Chu, the fate of ministerial lineages in Jin, or the ideal of the overlord, to name but a few possibilities. Once embedded in precise temporal contexts and chronological ordering, materials of diverse origins or rhetorical purposes contribute to new kinds of causal reasoning. For later writers and readers, the form of *Zuozhuan* encouraged habits of weaving and decoding plots that place special emphasis on the interplay of associations and discontinuities, clues and signs, temporal and spatial shifts. Some examples from the vocabulary of fiction commentary, such as "hidden brush" (*yinbi* 隱筆, *fubi* 伏筆), "cry and echo" (*huying* 呼應), "parallelism from a distance" (*yaodui* 遙對), "laying down the thread from a thousand miles away" (*qianli fuxian* 千里伏線), "horizontal clouds cutting off the peaks" (*hengyun duanling* 橫雲斷嶺), or "snake lines of ashes in the grass" (*caohui shexian* 草灰蛇線), are devoted to the delineation of such modes of writing and reading.

Temporal sequence sometimes acquires a kind of spatial form in *Zuozhuan*, when patterns of balance, contrast, and repetition that obtain on the level of syntax in many speeches are translated into structural principles. Some of the longer narratives (or, rather, clusters of anecdotes) demonstrate these patterns. The account of the battle of Yanling (575 BCE) is a good example (Cheng 16.5). It begins with parallel predictions of the outcome from the ministers of Lu and Zheng, allies of, respectively, Jin and Chu, the main parties involved in the conflict. Those predictions in turn follow from the Jin and Chu ministers' analyses of the weaknesses of their own domains, which would render Chu defeat inevitable and Jin victory hollow. In the middle of the battle, there is a dramatic moment of analogous mutual assessment. A distinct sense of shifting perspectives and cinematic spectacle unfolds as first Bo Zhouli 伯州犁, exiled from Jin, interprets for King Gong of Chu 楚共王, from a high perch, the meaning of various movements of Jin troops, and then Fen Huang of Miao 苗賁皇, exiled from Chu, strategizes for Lord Li of Jin 晉厲公. Toward the end, the image of the Jin ruler's chariot mired in a bog is juxtaposed with that of the Chu king's injury, as he is shot in the eye.

This type of patterning proves influential for the narrative tradition. Late imperial vernacular novels, for example, are sometimes very long and have meandering plots, but there are often patterns and meanings that emerge from contrast and complementarity within each chapter, between chapters, and between narrative units that comprise clusters of chapters, as well as figural and structural repetitions.[263] The shifting perspectives tailored to motives, calculations, and self-justifications on all sides in accounts of *Zuozhuan* battles signal a more general engagement and sympathy with more than one viewpoint. Sometimes different and potentially contradictory positions in one event (or series of events)

are all given their due. For example, both Wu Shang, who vindicates filial duty and embraces certain death, and his brother Wu Zixu, who chooses instead to pursue vengeance, are affirmed as moral exemplars (Zhao 20.3). A deeply flawed character like King Ling of Chu can still engage our sympathy in his moments of generosity and fairness or when he shows a glimmer of self-understanding (Zhao 7.2, 8.6, 12.11, 13.2). In the tradition of historiography, this comes to be understood as impartiality, the breadth of vision that would allow Sima Qian, for example, to give the perspectives of both sides in the Chu-Han struggle or to see the world through the eyes of both the First Emperor of Qin and his would-be assassins. In the literary tradition, such capacious imagination facilitates complexity and comprehensiveness. It also bears secret affinities with the irony and liminality that create such types as "demonic immortals" (*yaoxian* 妖仙, *Journey to the West* [Xiyou ji 西遊記]), "deviant heroes" (*jianxiong* 奸雄, *Three Kingdoms*), and the sentient stone "unfit to repair heaven" (*wucai butian* 無才補天, *Story of the Stone*) in the fictional tradition.

NOTES

1 We have in mind Erich Auerbach's analysis of this narrative in his *Mimesis*, 8–9.

2 For a study of the many ways in which the narratives of *Zuozhuan* teach the reading of the world, see Wai-yee Li, *Readability of the Past*, esp. 172–248; Wai-yee Li, "Dreams of Interpretation."

3 Jiang Bingzhang, *Du Zuo buyi*, 314.

4 J. C. Y. Wang, "Early Chinese Narrative," 14.

5 故因孔子史記具論其語，成左氏春秋 (*Shiji* 14.510). For a fuller account of this passage, see XLIV–XLV.

6 In the *History of the Han* the text under discussion here is labeled "*Zuoshi zhuan*" several dozen times and "*Zuozhuan*" only once, the latter instance being almost certainly an interpolation (27.1428). The fact that the title "*Zuoshi chunqiu*" does appear in the *History of the Han* four times indicates that the text underwent a name change during the period covered by Ban Gu's history of the Western Han dynasty.

7 As the discussion in part II indicates, the precise role of Du Yu in restructuring the text of *Zuozhuan* is not easily determined. There is some indication that restructuring was occurring even before Du Yu's time. See Shen Yucheng and Liu Ning, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue shi gao*, 135–48.

8 Vogelsang, "Prolegomena to Critical *Zuozhuan* Studies," 944–45.

9 For an excellent introduction to these texts, see Nylan, *Five "Confucian" Classics*.

10 Pi Xirui, *Jingxue lishi*, 6b.

11 亂臣賊子懼 (*Mencius* 3B.6).

12 知我者其惟春秋 (ibid.).

13 微言大義 (*Hanshu* 30.1701).

14 See Wai-yee Li, "Pre-Qin Annals." For reference to other texts that seem to be in the *Annals* tradition, see *Mozi* 墨子 31, "Ming gui xia" 明鬼下, 8.200–226; and *Mencius* 4B.21. On the rather problematic *Bamboo Annals*, see Nivison, "*Chu shu chi nian*"; Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, 185–256; and Nivison,

Riddle of the Bamboo Annals. There have been recent discoveries of excavated texts similar to the *Bamboo Annals* emerging from archaeological digs and acquired by Qinghua University.

15 See *Annals*, Yin 11.4, Huan 18.2, and Min 2.3. The word "die" (*zu* 卒), instead of the customary *hong*, is used for Ziban, who ruled for two months in 662 BCE before being murdered (*Annals*, Zhuang 32.5).

16 The exception is Zhuang 9.5.

17 The *lin* is a strange and unclassifiable animal, often translated simplistically as "unicorn." In the lexicographical work *Erya*, the *lin* is said to have "the body of an antelope, the tail of an ox, and one horn." *Gongyang* exegesis turns the end date of the *Annals* into a paradoxical time of decline and progress, despair and joy. Confucius is said to have wept when he heard about the capture of the *lin*, seeing a parallel between his failure to implement his vision and the capture of this auspicious animal. The *Gongyang* tradition claims that the *lin* conferred the kingly mandate on Confucius to create a new moral-metaphysical system to "await later sages." See also our notes on Ai 14.1; Wai-yee Li, *Readability of the Past*, 411–21.

18 See the *Guliang* commentary on the words "summer fifth" in Huan 14.3 (*Chunqiu Guliang zhuan*, Huan 14, 4.8a).

19 *Shiji* 47.1943.

20 *Gongyang*, Xuan 18, 16.210.

21 References to such examples of "concealment" are much more common in *Gongyang* and *Guliang* than in *Zuozhuan,* see LXXV–LXXVI

22 *Song shi* 327.10550. Wang Anshi is said to have authored a commentary on *Zuozhuan* (*Zuoshi jie* 左氏解), but it is no longer extant.

23 聖文之羽翮，記籍之冠冕也 (*Wenxin diaolong yizheng*, 569 ["Shi zhuan" 史傳 16]).

24 言流靡而不淫 (*Shitong tongshi,* 2.1 ["Yan yu" 言語 6]), translated by Schaberg, *Patterned Past*, 21.

25 In a number of cases, Legge does not translate *Zuozhuan* passages that comment only briefly on an *Annals* entry.

26 Hu Zhihui, *Zuo's Commentary*. One way in which this translation differs from our own is that it makes virtually no effort to guide or assist the reader with introductory materials or footnotes.

27 Girardot, *Victorian Translation of China*, 357.

28 See, e.g., http://tls.uni-hd.de/projectDescription/texts/texts_TLS.lasso#Z.

29 Demiéville, *Choix d'études sinologiques*, 464–65.

30 Lewis, "Warring States Political History," 600.

31 On the growing sophistication of domain government during the Warring States period, see ibid., 603–16.

32 For a study of the ways in which *Shiji* adapts *Zuozhuan*, see Gu Lisan, *Sima Qian chuanxie Shiji caiyong Zuozhuan de yanjiu*.

33 Hsü, "The Spring and Autumn Period," 547.

34 Bruce Brooks, http://www.umass.edu/wsp/resources/overview.html#sa.

35 Cited in Luo Junfeng's discussion of Li Yuanchun's *Zuoshi bingfa* in *Qingdai Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue yanjiu*, 337. There are at least ten works from imperial China that focus on military stratagems (*binglue* 兵略) and the art of war (*bingfa* 兵法) in *Zuozhuan*. See Yang Pingnan, *Zuozhuan xu zhan zhi zijian jingshen*, 3.

36 For a more detailed discussion of this episode, see LIX–LX.

37 See also *Shiji* 14.539.

38 See, for example, Mark Edward Lewis's discussion of excavated Spring and Autumn covenant texts in "Ritual Origins of the Warring States," esp. 75.

39 Hsü, "The Spring and Autumn Period," 568.

40 君子不欲多上人 (*Zuozhuan*, Huan 5.3).

41 齊始霸也 (*Zuozhuan*, Zhuang 15.1).

42 See Walker, *Multi-state System of Ancient China*.
43 公孫于齊 (*Annals*, Zhao 25.5).
44 Hsü, "The Spring and Autumn Period," 571.
45 On this topic, see Schaberg, *Patterned Past,* 74–75 et passim.
46 The term *junzi* and its counterpart *xiaoren* 小人 ("petty man") designate both social status and moral qualities in *Zuozhuan*. The "noble man" as commentator combines both, but the emphasis is on the moral significance of his comments.
47 Van Auken, "Could 'Subtle Words' Have Conveyed 'Praise and Blame'?," 47–112.
48 Li Feng sees this awareness as increasingly implacable; see his *Landscape and Power in Early China*, 286. Li Feng's statement and evidence notwithstanding, the picture is a fairly complicated one. There are in *Zuozhuan* disparaging remarks about the Rongdi and references to the center-periphery model, but many accounts also support the picture of "proximity and mixture of Hua and Yi peoples" (*huayi za chu* 華夷雜處), and there are also passages praising "barbarians." See LXIII. Cf. Gu Donggao, "Chunqiu siyi biao" 春秋四裔表, in *Chunqiu dashi biao* 2:2159–99; Tong Shuye, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan yanjiu*, 225–30; Tong Shuye, *Tong Shuye lishi dili lunji*, 169–77; Schaberg, *Patterned Past*, 130–35.
49 Yang Bojun often cites epigraphic evidence in his annotations (e.g., 1:90, 4:1695), as does Wu Jing'an in *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan jiuzhu shuzheng xu* (e.g., 8, 24, 214, 365, 1522–23). Among the most famous excavated vessels is "Zifan's (Hu Yan) Bell" (Zifan bianzhong 子犯編鐘); its 132–word inscription details Zifan's participation in the Chengpu campaign and the gifts he received from the Zhou king. The date of the gift recorded in the inscription is exactly the same as in the account in *Zuozhuan*, Xi 28.3h. The inscription refers to the "six armies from the west" (*xi zhi liushi* 西之六師), which have been identified as the six divisions of Jin troops. This substantiates the *Zuozhuan* claim that it was Jin rather than a broader coalition (as the *Annals* asserts) that defeated Chu. On Zifan's Bell, see Zhang Guangyuan, "Chunqiu Jin Wen chengba Zifan hezhong chushi"; and Li Xueqin, "Bulun Zifan bianzhong."
50 This has been suggested in von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 51. Much of what follows draws from this study.
51 Ibid., 50.
52 *Shiji* 8.393.
53 Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence*, 28–36.
54 On *Zuozhuan* attitudes toward the supernatural, see the recent study by Li Long-shien, "You '*Zuozhuan*' de 'Shenguai xushi' lun qi renwen jingshen." Cf. Schaberg, *Patterned Past*, 96–124; Tong Shuye, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan yanjiu*, 193–95.
55 Von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 299.
56 Ibid., 301.
57 敬鬼神而遠之 (*Analects* 6.22); 天道遠，人道邇 (*Zuozhuan*, Zhao 18.3).
58 Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought*, 16.
59 Ibid., 221–31.
60 Ibid., 233–46.
61 Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 315.
62 Ibid., 319. On sedimentation and heterogeneity in the formation of *Zuozhuan,* see also Wai-yee Li, *Readability of the Past*, 33–58.
63 For a useful summary of Schaberg's conception of how *Zuozhuan* took form, see his *Patterned Past*, 322–24.
64 A. T. Brooks, "Heaven, Li, and the Formation of the *Zuozhuan*."
65 Blakeley, "'On the Authenticity and Nature of the *Zuo zhuan*' Revisited,"265, n151. By "discourses" Blakeley is referring to the speeches. It is here that most of the ideology of the text (e.g., notions of "Heaven"), which Brooks uses to assign layers to *Zuozhuan*, can be discerned.

66 Ibid., 221.
67 Ibid., 224. The view that the "noble man" comments were late additions was expressed already in the Song dynasty; see *Zhuzi yulei*, 83.2150. See also Liu Shipei, "Sima Qian *Zuozhuan* yi xuli," 468–90; Durrant, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Conception of *Tso Chuan*," 300.
68 Blakeley, "'On the Authenticity and Nature of the *Zuo zhuan*' Revisited," 263.
69 Ibid., 264.
70 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*. On the significance of this edition, see Vogelsang, "Prolegomena to Critical *Zuozhuan* Studies," 965–68.
71 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*. We have relied extensively on Yang Bojun's notes throughout our translation.
72 In the case of very long *Zuozhuan* entries, we have further marked sections alphabetically, e.g., "Zhao 1.1a," "Zhao 1.1b," etc. These subdivisions correspond for the most part to paragraph breaks in Yang's text.
73 See Wai-yee Li, *Readability of the Past,* 37–38. The earliest extant Chinese historical work organized according to events (*jishi benmo ti* 紀事本末體) is Yuan Shu, *Tongjian jishi benmo*, a reworking of Sima Guang's *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑). Ye Qingchen's 葉清塵 *Chunqiu zuanlei* 春秋纂類, organized according to the same principle and based on *Zuozhuan*, predates Yuan's work by more than a century. Unfortunately, it is no longer extant (Shen Yucheng and Liu Ning, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue shi gao*, 244). Later examples abound. See, e.g., Qing dynasty compilations such as Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645–1704), *Zuozhuan jishi benmo*, and Ma Su 馬驌 (1620–73), *Zuozhuan shi wei*. Burton Watson has followed a similar procedure in parts of his popular, partial translation of *Zuozhuan*. See his *Tso Chuan*.
74 Cheng Faren, *Chunqiu renpu*, 4. Fang Xuanchen ("Zuozhuan renwu minghao yanjiu") identifies 2,373 distinct individuals. See also Fang Zhaohui, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan renwu pu*, 1082–1112.
75 *Liji*, "Qu li shang" 曲禮上, 17a; "Nei ze" 內則, 21b.
76 Wang Yinzhi, *Zhou Qin ming zi jiegu*.
77 See, e.g., Chen Houyao, *Chunqiu changli*; Gu Donggao, *Chunqiu dashi biao*, 1:494; Luo Shilin, *Chunqiu Shuorun yitong*; Cheng Rongjing, *Chunqiu rinan zhipu*; Wang Tao, *Chunqiu lixue sanzhong*. More recently, see Gassmann, *Antikchinesisches Kalenderwesen*, with discussion and review by Manthe.
78 For a clear explanation of the sexagenary cycle, see Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 175–78.
79 Yang (1:80) lists Chen Houyao, *Chunqiu changli*, in his bibliography and may also have drawn on Dong Zuobin, *Zhongguo nianli zongpu*, which has since been superseded by Xu Xiqi, *Xinbian Zhongguo sanqian nian liri jiansuobiao*.
80 See Du Zhengsheng, *Gudai shehui yu guojia*, 449–78, 609–702. The identification of the *guo* with "capital" has led us to translate *guoren* 國人 as "inhabitants of the capital."
81 On the role of *guoren*, see Du Zhengsheng, *Zhoudai chengbang*; Du Zhengsheng, *Gudai shehui yu guojia*, 470–78.
82 Chen Pan, *Chunqiu dashi biao lieguo jue xing ji cunmie biao zhuan yi*, l.5b–10a. Yang (294) also questions the rigidity of the "system" of ranks. Gu Donggao lists Chunqiu domains and the supposed rank of their rulers, as well as their capitals and dates, in *Chunqiu dashi biao*, 1:563–608. For a more recent study, see Li Feng, "Transmitting Antiquity."
83 There are several different opinions on the domain where *Zuozhuan* might have originated. See discussion in part II.
84 For overviews of Chinese scholars' arguments, see Shen Yucheng and Liu Ning, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue shi gao*, 386–88; Liu Liming, *Chunqiu jingzhuan yanjiu,*

141–55; Wu Xifei, "*Zuozhuan* zhengyi zhushuo shuping"; Niu Hongen, "Lun *Zuozhuan* di chengshu niandai."

85 See discussion below and Jin Dejian, *Sima Qian suojian shu kao*, 105–11.

86 For this date, see Boltz, "Language and Writing," 108. For examples of earlier marks that may or may not be regarded as true writing, see Qiu Xigui, *Chinese Writing*, 30–44.

87 Bagley, "Anyang Writing and the Origin of the Chinese Writing System." Two fine recent dissertations have furthered and contested Bagley's case, respectively: Haicheng Wang, "Writing and the State in Early China in Comparative Perspective"; and A. D. Smith, "Learning to Write in Early China."

88 See Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 298–99.

89 See Kern, "Offices of Writing and Reading in the *Zhouli*"; and Kern, "Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China."

90 On preservation of oracle bones, see Keightley, "The Shang," 252.

91 On the *Bamboo Annals*, see references given in n. 14 above.

92 Keightley, *Sources of Shang History*, 95, 185–87.

93 For *dian* that are unequivocally written, see *Zuozhuan*, Xiang 11.5 (*dian*), Ding 4.1 (*diance* 典策), and Zhao 26.9 (*dianji*). For *dian* as constant practices possibly based on documents, see Xuan 12.2, Xuan 16.4, Cheng 2.9, Xiang 14.8, Zhao 15.7, and Ai 11.7.

94 See also *Yi Zhou shu huijiao jizhu*, 2:800.

95 Cf. Xi 5.8 and Ding 1.1. The Zhou Duke and the Grand Lord were the Western Zhou founders of Lu and Qi, respectively.

96 Weld, "Covenant Texts from Houma and Wenxian," esp. 156; Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 46–47.

97 Von Falkenhausen, "Issues in Western Zhou Studies," 162–63.

98 Blakeley ("'On the Authenticity and Nature of the *Zuo zhuan*' Revisited," 244–54) treats a body of material that might have originated in this way.

99 Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought*, 19. See also Blakeley, "'On the Authenticity and Nature of the *Zuo zhuan*' Revisited," 238–43.

100 *Zuozhuan*, Wen 17.4, Cheng 7.5, Xiang 3.7, Xiang 24.2, Xiang 29.4, Zhao 5.1, and Zhao 6.3. It is possible that major proclamations like the ones recorded at Cheng 13.3 and Zhao 26.9 were conveyed to their audiences not only in speech but also in writing, though the text mentions only speech.

101 In our view, the evidence that Pines cites in *Foundations of Confucian Thought*, 255, n. 43, does not make the case for any regular recording of statesmen's speeches. The *Discourses of the States* episode cited there may well refer to an exceptional act of recording, and the *Zuozhuan* passage (Xiang 27.4b) says nothing at all about the recording or reading of speeches.

102 Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 28–29.

103 *Zuozhuan*, Zhao 2.1. That the passage specifies that this is the *Annals* of Lu supports the hypothesis that other states maintained similar chronicles.

104 For a fine summary of these positions, see Van Auken, "Formal Analysis of the *Chuenchiou*," 38–46.

105 Besides the cases of Dong Hu and the scribes who recorded Cui Zhu's crimes (*Zuozhuan*, Xuan 2.3, Xiang 25.2) discussed in part III, see the viewing of the Lu *Annals* at Zhao 2.1.

106 Early acceptance of this view can be found in *Shiji* 47.1943–44.

107 For the idea of the *Annals* as a text of coded praise and blame, see, e.g., *Chunqiu fanlu yizheng*, 463 (79 "Weide suo sheng" 威德所生).

108 See, e.g., *Zuozhuan*, Zhuang 19.2, Xi 4.6, and Xi 9.4. Variants of *fu* include *taifu* 太傅, *taishi* 太師, *shaofu* 少傅, and *shaoshi* 少師. See Gu Donggao, "Chunqiu lieguo guanzhi biao," *j.* 10, in *Chunqiu dashi biao*, 2:1058–63.

109 The earliest listing of the Six Arts is found in *Zhouli* 4.1010.

110 Two episodes in *Zuozhuan* (Xiang 27.2, Xiang 28.9) imply that skill in *Odes* recitation was expected and incompetence despised. The *Analects* likewise attests to the importance of a mastery of *Odes* recitation; see *Analects* 13.5, 16.13, 17.9.

111 See *Guoyu jijie*, 485–86 ("Chu yu" 1.1), 415 ("Jin yu" 7.8).

112 See Jin Dejian, *Sima Qian suojian shu kao*, 105–15.

113 For the idea of the *Annals* as aide-mémoire, see Rosthorn, "Das *Tsch'un-tsch'iu* und seine Verfasser."

114 On the formation of enduring groups of scholars and continuing traditions of scholarship outside court, see Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 63–83.

115 This remark suggests that Sima Qian had not seen the additional years (Ai 15–16) that follow the capture of the *lin* in the *Zuozhuan* version of the *Annals*.

116 *Shiji* 14.509–10. For an extended discussion of this and related passages, see Durrant, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Conception of *Tso chuan*."

117 Predictably, a number of modern scholars also associate the text with a scholar from Lu, whether Zuo Qiuming or some unnamed other: see, e.g., Zhao Guangxian, "*Zuozhuan* bianzhuan kao (xia)," 45–58, esp. 51–52; Hu Nianyi, "*Zuozhuan* di zhenwei he xiezuo shidai wenti kaobian," esp. 29; Huang Lili, "Shuo *Zuozhuan*." According to Bruce Brooks (http://www.umass.edu/wsp/chronology/overview.html#ws), the text was begun in Lu and finished in Qi. Zhao Guangxian ("*Zuozhuan* bianzhuan kao [xia]," 48–51) reviews and refutes arguments that it was composed by Wu Qi 吳起 of Wei or Confucius' disciple Zixia 子夏, who lived for a time in Wei; see also Wai-yee Li, *Readability of the Past*, 52–58. Zhu Xi (*Zhuzi yulei*, 83.2147) speculated that the "Zuo" in the title may suggest that the author is a descendant of the Chu Scribe of the Left Yixiang 左史倚相, given that Chu is so well represented in *Zuozhuan*. Finally, Hirase Takao (*Saden no shiryō hihanteki kenkyū*, 22) argues on the basis of *Zuozhuan*'s calendrical systems that the text implicitly supports the legitimacy of the Warring States domain of Han as a royal successor to Zhou.

118 *Analects* 5.25.

119 Ban may be alluding here to *Zuozhuan*, Xiang 24.1.

120 *Hanshu* 30.1715.

121 Ibid.

122 A recent study on the *Gongyang* commentary is Gentz, *Das Gongyang zhuan*.

123 For historical judgments in the *Analects*, see n. 138. In fact, since the *Analects* may have been compiled as late as 150 BCE and did not until later receive the official recognition that *Gongyang* had, it is possible that during Warring States and early Han transmissions on the teachings of the *Annals* were more influential than the *Analects* as guides to Confucius' thought. On the late formation of the *Analects* as a stable collection, see Makeham, "Formation of *Lunyu* as a Book," 10–13.

124 Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon*, 127–81. For uses of the *Annals* in efforts to regulate Western Han administrative activity, see *Shiji* 30.1424; *Hanshu* 24B.1160.

125 *Hanshu* 30.1713 lists a work entitled *Duo's Subtleties* in three *pian*.

126 The *History of the Han* mentions a *Yu's Annals* in fifteen *pian* (30.1726), as well as a *Transmission of Yu's Subtleties* (Yushi weizhuan 虞氏微傳) in two *pian* (30.1713).

127 For translations of these section titles, see Knoblock and Reigel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*.

128 The work attributed to Gongsun Gu is no longer extant. See *Hanshu* 30.1725, where a note states that the text in one *pian* and eighteen sections brought together accounts of ancient and recent successes and failures and was composed for King Min of Qi 齊閔王 (r. 323–284) when he had fallen from power. This Gongsun Gu

is not to be confused with the seventh-century Gongsun Gu of Song mentioned in *Zuozhuan*.

129 *Shiji* 14.510.

130 See *Han Feizi* 3, "Nan yan" 難言, 48–59; 12, "Shui nan" 說 難, 221–37; and 31–35, the "Chu shui" 儲說 chapters, 516–790. On how history and philosophy are entwined in early Chinese anecdotes, see Schaberg, "Chinese History and Philosophy."

131 *Shiji* 76.2375.

132 See *Shiji* 69.2242, on Su Qin's training, with parallel passage in *Zhanguo ce*, "Qin 1", 3.85. The *Guiguzi* 鬼谷子, a text on persuasive strategy that may date from as early as the fourth century BCE, devotes separate chapters to "Probing" and to "Touching." For discussion and translation, see Broschat, "*Guiguzi*." The compound *chuaimo* has come to mean mental calculation and psychological manipulation in classical and modern Chinese.

133 See *Xunzi* 5, "Fei xiang" 非相, 73–89.

134 E.g., *Lüshi chunqiu*, "Shun shui" 順說, 15.905ff.; "Shen ying" 審應, 18.1141–66.

135 The "Daya" 大雅 odes of *Shijing* (Mao 235–65) depend especially heavily on lessons from the past; "King Wen" (Mao 235), the ode cited most frequently in *Zuozhuan*, is an idealized retelling of that king's reign. For the model of the past in bronze inscriptions, see Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*.

136 One way to track uses of history in *Zuozhuan* is to watch how speakers use the adverb *xi* 昔, which normally introduces a historical precedent or analogy. See, e.g., Min 2.7, Xi 4.1, and Xi 6.4; altogether there are nearly eighty such instances.

137 For scholars who have held that the materials of *Zuozhuan* were in part transmitted orally, see Schaberg, *Patterned Past*, 320–22.

138 E.g., *Analects* 3.22, 5.15–19, 5.21, 5.23–25, 6.15, 7.31, 8.1, 8.18–19, and 8.21.

139 On the *junzi* ("noble man") and Confucius as commentators on events in *Zuozhuan*, see Henry, "'Junzi yue' versus 'Zhongni yue' in *Zuozhuan*."

140 *Analects* 13.5.

141 On the *Odes* and speech, see *Analects* 7.18, 16.13, and 17.9. On speech more generally, see *Analects* 5.8, 10.1, 11.3, and 13.3.

142 For a lengthy address in an elevated register, see Zhao 26.9. The challenges or invitations issued before battle are also typically couched in an elevated, archaic register: see Xi 28.3, Cheng 2.3, and Cheng 16.5.

143 See Schaberg, *Patterned Past*, esp. 125–60.

144 Crump, *Intrigues*, 101–9. On the *tekhnē*, see Cole, *Origins of Rhetoric in Ancient Greece*, 81–83.

145 See reflections on this question in Wai-yee Li, *Readability of the Past*, 31–33. A sensitive recent consideration of *Zuozhuan* as a commentary on the *Annals* is Zhang Suqing, *Xushi yu jieshi—Zuozhuan jingjie yanjiu*.

146 See, e.g., Dan Zhu 啖助 (724–70), cited in Lu Chun, *Chunqiu jizhuan zuanli*, 380–81; Gu Yanwu, *Rizhi lu jishi* 4.70; Blakeley, "On the Authenticity and Nature of the *Zuo zhuan*' Revisited"; A. T. Brooks, "Heaven, *Li*, and the Formation of the *Zuozhuan*."

147 On circulation of texts in relatively short forms, later combined into larger collections, see Li Ling, "Chutu faxian yu gushu niandai di zai renshi."

148 For details on the finds, see Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, 131–53. As Shaughnessy notes (133), various sources give 279, 280, and 281 as the year of the discovery.

149 A somewhat too ambitious reconstruction of the connections among oral tradition and texts like Duo's and Yu's, *Discourses of the States*, and *Zuozhuan* is to be found in Zhang Jun, "*Guoyu* chengbian xinzheng."

150 Shaughnessy (*Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, 145) translates the description of these earlier texts given in Du Yu's afterword to his *Zuozhuan* commentary; see especially the remarks on *Shi Chun* 師春, a collection of divination stories.

151 The fact that the *Records of the Historian* links *Zuozhuan* to topically arranged *Annals* texts, while the *History of the Han* links it to chronologically arranged *Annals* exegeses, might reflect a change in *Zuozhuan*'s arrangement between 100 BCE and the middle of the first century CE.

152 Hung, preface to *Combined Concordances to Ch'un-ch'iu, Kung-yang, Ku-liang, and Tso-chuan*, xxvi.

153 Tong Shuye, "Guoyu yu *Zuozhuan* wenti hou'an."

154 See Pines, "History as a Guide to the Netherworld."

155 Liu Xiang's reconstruction of the transmission is cited by Kong Yingda in his annotation to the preface to the *Annals*; see *ZZ* 1.6. Liu Xiang gives slightly different titles to the works of Duo and Yu and gives their size as three *pian* and two *pian*, respectively (*Hanshu* 30.1713). In a fragment of Liu Xiang's catalog preserved in another work, Liu mentions a *Chaocuo* 抄撮 by Duo in nine *juan* (*Hanshu "Yiwenzhi" jiangshu*, 61). By contrast, the *Records of the Historian* account puts Duo's and Yu's works at forty passages (*zhang* 章) and eight *pian*, respectively. It is apparent that different works circulated under a general association with Duo Jiao and Yu Qing.

156 The following paragraph is based on *Hanshu* 88.3620.

157 Since this purports to be a list of early Han figures, it is strange that the first-century BCE Governor of the Capital Zhang Chang is included. The list might begin with the early Han and stretch forward, but in that case it is strange that Zhang Chang is listed before Liu Gongzi, whom Loewe dates to the early Han. See Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods*, 302, 677. Since Liu Gongzi is mentioned only here, one solution would be to treat the list as a chronological overview, with Liu Gongzi coming after Zhang Chang.

158 *Hanshu* 23.2410.

159 Zhang Suqing (*Zuozhuan chengshi yanjiu*, 15–21) acknowledges the similarities between *Zuozhuan*'s version of the *Odes* and the Mao tradition while emphasizing that they are by no means identical.

160 *Gongyang* had been taught at the highest levels since the middle second century BCE (see *Hanshu* 88.3617), while *Guliang* received official support only in the reign of Emperor Xuan (r. 74–48 BCE; *Hanshu* 88.3621).

161 For Zhang Cang's expertise in calendrical science and correlative cosmology, see *Hanshu* 42.2098.

162 See Gu Lisan, *Sima Qian zhuanxie Shiji caiyong Zuozhuan di yanjiu*. That the *Records of the Historian* was not readily available to readers during the first century BCE is clear from *Hanshu* 62.2737.

163 Besides Prince Xian of Hejian, see also Hu Chang, who worked on *Shangshu* (*Hanshu* 88.3607), Yin Gengshi, who worked on *Guliang* and composed a "passage and line" (*zhangju* 章句) commentary (*Hanshu* 88.3618), and Zhai Fangjin, who specialized in calendrical science and *Guliang* (*Hanshu* 84.3421). Yin's commentary, like Duo Jiao's work (*Shiji* 14.510), appears to have focused on exemplary cases of success and failure; for the term *bianli* 變理 ("principles of transformation"), compare the use at *Hanshu* 100B.4267 and the meaning of *bian* at 64B.3830.

164 For this and related fragments from Huan Tan's work, see Pokora, *Hsin-lun*, 94–95.

165 The following sketch is based on *Hanshu* 36.1967–72.

166 See *Hanshu* 88.3620, where Jia Yi is said to have composed just such a commentary for *Zuozhuan*. *Xun* 訓 refers to definitions of words; *gu* 故 we take to be elaborations of the circumstances and referents that determine the meaning of a particular statement.

167 *Hanshu* 36.1967.
168 Liu Fenglu, *Zuoshi chunqiu kaozheng*; and Kang Youwei, *Xinxue weijing kao*, 398.
169 For a classic rebuttal of charges against Liu Xin and his father, see Qian Mu, "Liu Xiang Xin fuzi nianpu."
170 *Hanshu* 30.1712–13.
171 Further evidence of such rearrangement is Shi Dan's 師丹 (d. 3 CE) charge that Xin had "altered and disordered old passages" (*gailuan jiuzhang* 改亂舊章); see *Hanshu* 36.1972.
172 Maspero, "La composition et la date du *Tso-chuan*," 183.
173 Du Yu (*ZZ* 1.16) claims to have introduced this reordering of the text. See also Maspero, "La composition et la date du *Tso-chuan*," 184.
174 See *Hanshu* 36.1968–72. The letter was later included in the *Wenxuan* of Xiao Tong under the title "A Letter Rebuking the Academicians of the Superintendent for Ceremonials" (Yi shu rang taichang boshi 移書讓太常博士); see *Wenxuan* 43:1952–57.
175 Here it is important to note that although Liu Xin does mention certain texts discovered secreted in a wall on the site of Confucius' home, he never includes *Zuozhuan* among these, insisting more plausibly on the usual transmission through teachers and disciples. By the first century CE, however, Wang Chong could claim that *Zuozhuan* was among the texts in Confucius' wall; see *Lunheng* 61, "Yi wen" 佚文, 20.860–61; 83, "An shu" 案書, 29.1161–62. Michael Nylan has called into question earlier claims concerning a deep divide between scholars who favored "Ancient Script" (*guwen* 古文) texts—that is, texts written in pre-Qin graphs, perhaps including texts like those purportedly recovered from Confucius' wall—and those who swore by "New Texts" (*jinwen* 今文). See Nylan, "*Chin wen / Ku wen* Controversy in Han Times."
176 The passage is obscure. *Tong* 通 is attested with the meaning "section" in *Sanguo zhi*; see *Wang Li gu Hanyu zidian*, 1435.
177 *Hanshu* 27, "Treatise on the Five Phases," is full of Liu's citations of *Zuozhuan.*
178 *Hanshu* 99.4045–46.
179 *Hanshu* 67.2927, 88.3621.
180 *Hou Hanshu* 36.1228–29.
181 *Hou Hanshu* 36.1234–39.
182 *Shishuo xinyu jianshu*, 105. Fu Qian's commentary has not been transmitted in its entirety, but fragments are collected in Hong Liangji, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan gu*. On Eastern Han *Zuozhuan* scholarship more generally, see Shen Yucheng and Liu Ning, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue shi gao*, 110–29; Wai, "Merging Horizons."
183 Blakeley, "Notes on the Reliability and Objectivity of the Tu Yü Commentary on the Tso Chuan."
184 See discussion of Xun Yue, Yuan Shu, et al., LXIX–LXX, n. 73.
185 The text has a slightly different formulation: *zhisi er fen zhi* 治絲而棼之. Chinese idioms are often condensed into four characters, hence the paraphrase.
186 The Deng ruler's other nephews urged him not to trust the Chu king: "If you fail to make plans early on, later you'll have to chew your navel, attempting the impossible" 若不早圖，後君噬齊.
187 The Wu Prince Fugai 夫槩 uses the same expression while pursuing Chu forces during the battle of Boju 柏舉: he reasons that escaping Chu troops should be allowed to cross the river and attacked only when half of them have crossed, since trapping the whole army on the near side of the river would only make them fight more ferociously (Ding 4.3).
188 The text describes this as "the space between the heart and the diaphragm, and below the fat at the tip of the heart" (*huang zhi shang, gao zhi xia* 肓之上、膏之下).
189 For a much longer, but by no means exhaustive, list, see Zhang Gaoping, *Zuozhuan zhi wenxue jiazhi*, 25–30.

190 *ZZ* 1.11.
191 Xu Fuguan characterizes this process as "using historical accounts to transmit canonical meanings" (*yi shi chuan jing* 以史傳經); see his *Liang Han sixiang shi*, 3:270–75.
192 The foregoing paragraphs and several to follow have been published previously in slightly different form in Wai-yee Li, "Pre-Qin Annals."
193 Dan Zhu, cited in Lu Chun, *Chunqiu jizhuan zuanli*, 381.
194 Ibid., 380–81.
195 See, e.g., *Zhuzi yulei*, 83.2152.
196 *Shiji* 61.2125. For accusations of heterodoxy, see Ban Gu's charges in *Hanshu* 62.2737. Cf. Durrant, *The Cloudy Mirror*; Wai-yee Li, "The Idea of Authority"; Hardy, *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo*.
197 The *Gongyang* and *Guliang* traditions are much more insistent about "honoring the king and repelling the barbarians" (*zunwang rangyi* 尊王攘夷), although that perspective is also articulated in *Zuozhuan*.
198 On psychological manipulation in remonstrance, see Schaberg, "Playing at Critique"; Wai-yee Li, "Riddles, Concealment, and Rhetoric in Early China."
199 The principle that "the subcommentary should not refute the commentary" (*shu bu bo zhu* 疏不駁注) stipulates that Du Yu's commentary should not be explicitly questioned.
200 On Song scholarship on the *Annals* and its commentaries, see Shen Yucheng and Liu Ning, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue shi gao*, 202–45; Li Jianjun, *Songdai Chunqiu xue yu Song xing wenhua*; Song Dingzong, *Chunqiu Song xue fawei*.
201 Cited in Shen Yucheng and Liu Ning, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue shi gao*, 204.
202 Ibid., 221–25.
203 On Qing scholarship on *Zuozhuan*, see Zhang Suqing, *Qingdai Han xue yu Zuozhuan xue*; Luo Junfeng, *Qingdai Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue yanjiu*; Zhang Gaoping, *Chunqiu shufa yu Zuozhuan xue shi*.
204 Hui Dong, cited in Zhang Suqing, *Qingdai Han xue yu Zuozhuan xue*, 76.
205 See Luo Junfeng, *Qingdai Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue yanjiu*, 250–327.
206 Karlgren, *Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan*.
207 *Gongyang* and *Guliang* scholars primarily interested in elucidating the significatory principles supposedly embodied by the *Annals*, from He Xiu 何休 (129–82), Fan Ning (330–401), to Liu Fenglu and Pi Xiru, fault *Zuozhuan* for straying beyond exegesis of the *Annals*. Those using the *Annals* or the *Gongyang* tradition to enunciate a political vision, from Song scholars like Hu Anguo to the Qing reformer Kang Youwei, find the historical details in *Zuozhuan* inconvenient and irrelevant. From a less partisan perspective, those who recognize the historical veracity of *Zuozhuan* (e.g., Zhu Xi, Gu Yanwu) often implicitly question its exegetical filiation to the *Annals*.
208 Qian Mu, who definitively refuted the theory of Liu Xin's forgery in his "Liu Xiang Xin fuzi nianpu," 50 et passim, also quotes with approval Yao Nai's 姚鼐 (1731–1815) theory that Wu Qi—and the military, pragmatic strain of thought with which he is associated—might have played a role in *Zuozhuan*'s transmission; see Qian Mu, *Xian Qin zhuzi xinian*, 192–95.
209 我欲載之空言，不如見之於行事之深切著明也 (*Shiji* 130.3297).
210 左史記言，右史記事。事爲春秋，言爲尚書 (*Hanshu* 30.1715).
211 動則左史書之，言則右史書之 (*Liji* 29.545).
212 *Shitong tongshi*, 3.80 ("Shen Zuo" 申左).
213 *Shitong tongshi*, 1.21–22 ("Zai yan" 載言 3).
214 There are many references to Zigong's rhetorical brilliance in *Zuozhuan* (Ai 7.3, 11.3, 12.3, 12.4, 15.4, 16.3, 26.3, 27.2), but he emerges as a full-blown rhetorical hero whose speeches shape interstate relations in *Shiji* 67.

215 *Shiji* 69, 70, 83.

216 *Shiji* 8.376–77. By contrast, the account of the confrontation at Guangwu in *Shiji* 7 exposes Liu Bang's ruthlessness.

217 *Shiji* 92.2622–24.

218 *Shiji* 101, 106.

219 *Shiji* 112.2954–60.

220 *Shitong tongshi*, 1.1–15 ("Liu jia" 六家 1).

221 In treating the *Annals* and the *Documents* as historical writings, Liu Zhiji presages Zhang Xuecheng's 章學誠 (1738–1801) famous dictum that "the six canonical classics are all histories" (*liujing jieshi* 六經皆史); see *Wenshi tongyi jiaozhu*, 1:1. Liu's effacement of the boundary between canon and history, as well as his critique of the *Annals* and the *Documents*, provokes the indignation of Pu Qilong (ca. 1670–ca. 1762), who provides a learned commentary to the *Comprehensive Study of Historical Writing*; see Pu's comments on the chapter "Huo jing" 惑經 in *Shitong tongshi*, 3.63–77.

222 *Discourses of the States* and *Zuozhuan* are traditionally designated as the "external commentary tradition" (*waizhuan* 外傳) and the "internal commentary tradition" (*neizhuan* 內傳), respectively, of the *Annals*.

223 *Hou Hanshu* 62.2062.

224 From the *History of the Han* on, the convention emerges that only rulers with rightful political authority should be mentioned in "Basic Annals"—hence the criticism of Sima Qian's decision to include Xiang Yu, rival of the Han founder, and Empress Lü, traditionally regarded as a usurper, in "Basic Annals." Obviously, Sima Qian, who established the category of "Basic Annals," had a different conception of its definition.

225 This is especially emphasized in the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* traditions.

226 Calendrical studies constitute one tradition of scholarship on the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan*. See n. 77 above.

227 See Yuan Hong's comments in *Hou Hanji jiaozhu* 30.862–63. Yuan also quotes in full Zhuge Liang's 諸葛亮 memorial condemning Cao Cao (*Hou Hanji jiaozhu* 30.856–58) and criticizes Liu Xiu 劉秀, the first Eastern Han Emperor, for seizing power from a supposedly more legitimate Han ruler (*Hou Hanji jiaozhu* 3.63).

228 See, e.g., Wang Dang (fl. early 12th cent.), *Chunqiu lieguo zhuchen zhuanshuo*; Liu Jie (15th cent.), *Chunqiu liezhuan*; Shao Wenzhuang, *Chunqiu zhu mingchen zhuan*; Tang Shunzhi (1507–60), *Zuoshi shimo*.

229 See his *Chunqiu fenji*. Another notable example is Gu Donggao's *Chunqiu dashi biao*, which reorganizes *Zuozhuan* materials into tables and treatises.

230 See n. 73 above. Notable examples include Ma Su, *Zuozhuan shi wei*; Gao Shiqi, *Zuozhuan jishi benmo*; Wu Kaisheng 吳闓生 (1877–1949), *Zuozhuan wei*.

231 In some cases, there are deliberate disjunctions between narrative and comment. For example, Sima Qian comments that Xiang Yu is wrong to blame Heaven (*Shiji* 7.338–39), but Sima also presents reversals of fortune beyond Xiang's control in the narrative (7.322). Sima blames Han Xin for treason in the final comments (92.2360) but implicitly defends him in the narrative. The intensely personal and lyrical tone of some of Sima's comments contrasts markedly with the practical and moral judgments of the "noble man" and "Confucius" in *Zuozhuan*.

232 While "scribe" cannot encompass the multiple roles of the *shi* 史, who is more likely to observe the stars, perform divination, or offer advice or remonstrance in *Zuozhuan*, we have chosen "scribe" because record keeping is one of the key functions of the *shi*. On the many roles of the *shi* in early China, see Chen Tongsheng, *Zhongguo shiguan wenhua yu Shiji*; Xu Fuguan, *Liang Han sixiang shi*, 3:224–46.

233 For this series of events, see entries between Xiang 25 (548 BCE) and Xiang 28

(545 BCE). It is interesting that several times in *Yanzi chunqiu* Confucius appears to criticize Yan Ying for serving three lords, and in some passages Confucius and Yan Ying are presented as adversaries (*Yanzi chunqiu jishi*, 7.489, 8.491–92, 8.500–504). Obviously, Yan Ying's arguments about expediency come to be seen as requiring defense or at least explanation in the face of a late Warring States understanding of Confucian principles.

234 Wen Tianxiang, "Song of the Righteous Breath" (Zhengqi ge 正氣歌): "In Qi, the grand scribes' bamboo strips, / In Jin, Dong Hu's brush" 在齊太史簡, 在晉董狐筆. See *Wen Tianxiang quanji*, 15.601–2. Wen Tianxiang defended the crumbling Song dynasty against the invading Mongols, and his poem suggests that the example of these early historians, as well as his expectation of how he will be remembered in history, gave him moral courage.

235 On the Qi historians and Dong Hu, see Durrant, "The Task and Ritual of Historical Writing in Early China"; Wai-yee Li, *Readability of the Past*, 322–26, 408–10.

236 Recall our earlier caution to read "Confucius" as a persona in the text rather than the historical Confucius.

237 *Shitong tongshi*, 2.32–37 ("Qubi" 曲筆 25).

238 Cf. Zhao 31.5.

239 The *Guliang* master Fan Ning 范寧 (339–401) opined: "The Zuo tradition is rich and elaborate. Its fault lies in its supernatural references," or, literally, in its references to spirit mediums 左氏艷而富, 其失也巫 (*Guliang*, "Xu" 7). "Rich and elaborate" are usually terms of approbation, but Fan Ning implies a connection between elaboration and wayward imagination.

240 Jin Shengtan (1608–61) embraced this perceived imbalance as proof of *Zuozhuan*'s literary merits: "Every line and every word are superb literature, not factual events" 句句字字是妙文, 不是實事. See Jin Shengtan, *Guanhua tang di liu caizi shu Xixiang ji*, 5.92 ("Si jing" 寺警). Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811–72) is somewhat more critical: "[*Zuozhuan*] is prone to draw upon the strange and wondrous. Its fine words and phrases are dazzling and it has left substance behind" 好稱引奇誕, 文辭爛然, 浮於質矣 ("Shengzhe huaxiang ji" 聖哲畫像記, in *Zeng Guofan shiwen ji*, 289). Elsewhere, however, Zeng is full of praise for *Zuozhuan*.

241 Han Yu: "The *Annals* is careful and sober; *Zuozhuan* is fanciful and exaggerated" 春秋嚴謹, 左氏浮誇; see *Dongya tang Changli jizhu*, 12.200 ("Jin xue jie" 進學解). Many commentators are quick to point out Han Yu's own debt to *Zuozhuan* prose. See, for example, Fang Bao's 方苞 (1668–1749) comments in his preface to *Guwen yuexuan* 古文約選.

242 Pines suggests in his *Foundations of Confucian Thought* that *Zuozhuan* can be read as intellectual history of the Spring and Autumn period.

243 Examples are found between 637 BCE (Xi 23.6) and 506 BCE (Ding 4.2) in *Zuozhuan*. For a convenient table listing all instances of recitation in *Zuozhuan*, see Zhang Suqing, *Zuozhuan chengshi yanjiu*, 261–88.

244 See Schaberg, *Patterned Past*, 234–43; Zhang Suqing, *Zuozhuan chengshi yanjiu*, 83–84; Wai-yee Li, "Poetry and Diplomacy in *Zuozhuan*."

245 For some examples, see Zhen Dexiu, *Wenzhang zhengzong*; Lü Zuqian, *Donglai boyi*; Wu Chucai and Wu Diaohou, *Guwen guanzhi*; Fang Bao, *Guwen yuexuan*; Yao Nai, *Gu wenci leizuan*; and Wu Zengqi, *Hanfenlou gu jin wen chao*.

246 For Han Yu's criticism, see n. 241 above. Taking up Han Yu's mantle, Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, and Su Che were all major Song literary figures who charted the development of classical prose.

247 Namely, the so-called Early Seven Masters and the Later Seven Masters.

248 Champions of the Tang-Song school (*Tang Song pai* 唐宋派) include Tang Shunzhi and Mao Kun 茅坤 (1512–1601).

249 See Luo Junfeng, *Qing dai Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue yanjiu*, 328–76; Zhang Gaoping,

Chunqiu shufa yu Zuozhuan xue shi, 253–88; Huang Zhaoji, *Jian'ao yu yuanzhao*; Cai Miaozhen, *Zhuixun yu chuanshi*. For a list of *Zuozhuan pingdian* editions, see Zhang Gaoping, *Zuozhuan wenzhang yifa danwei*, cited in Cai Miaozhen, *Zhuixun yu chuanshi*, 13.

250 See, e.g., Zhu Shi, "Zuoxiu xu": "Zuozhuan is about fine writing, it is not about transmitting the meaning of the *Annals*" 左氏文章也，非經傳也 (cited in Cai Miaozhen, *Zhuixun yu chuanshi*, 164).

251 Jin Shengtan, *Guanhua tang di liu caizi shu Xixiang ji*, in *Jin Shengtan quanji*, 3:46–47.

252 *Bai* 稗 refers to plants that look like wheat or millet but bear smaller, inedible grain. It suggests insignificance and false resemblance, as in Ding 10.2. The word *ye* 野 ("in the wilds") denotes marginality. Both terms, *baishi* and *yeshi*, thus imply a negative judgment, but their distinction from historical writings is premised not on a truth-falsehood axis but rather on a gradation of significance.

253 The title means, literally, "The Elaboration of the Meanings of *Records of the Three Kingdoms*." The book draws upon Chen Shou's *Sanguo zhi* and Pei Songzhi's commentary on it (see LXX–LXXI above), as well as Fan Ye's *Hou Hanshu*, Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian*, and Zhu Xi's *Zizhi Tongjian gangmu*. The fusion of the historiographical tradition with the mythologizing memory preserved in storytelling and drama prompted Zhang Xuecheng (*Bingchen zhaji* 丙辰箚記, 90) to pronounce it "seven parts historical fact, three parts fictional arrangement" 七分實事，三分虛構.

254 Written in classical Chinese, these tales are often shorter and more condensed than their vernacular counterparts.

255 先濟者有賞。。。舟中之指可掬也. This detail also appears in the *Gongyang* tradition, which, however, does not provide the circumstantial context of Jin retreat that allows it to serve as the climax to the episode. The battle of Bi is mentioned only in passing in *Guliang*.

256 睢水為之不流 (*Shiji* 7.321–22).

257 門外可設雀羅 (*Shiji* 122.3113–14).

258 晉人假羽旄於鄭，鄭人與之。明日，或旆以會。晉於是乎失諸侯. This echoes an earlier incident in 559 BCE: the Jin minister Fan Gai "borrowed feathers and oxtail hair from Qi and did not return them. From then on Qi began to shift their allegiance" 范宣子假羽毛於齊而弗歸，齊人始貳。 (Xiang 14.10).

259 是區區者而不余畀，余必自取之 (Zhao 13.2).

260 *Shiji* 122.3137.

261 *Shiji* 87.2539–40.

262 天亡我，非戰之罪也 (*Shiji* 7.334–35).

263 See Plaks, *Archetype and Allegory in "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*; Plaks, *Chinese Narrative*; Plaks, *Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel*.

Zuo Tradition / *Zuozhuan*

VOLUME 1

隱公

Lord Yin (722–712 BCE)

Zuozhuan begins with a problematic succession, the first of many such episodes that point to the danger so often accompanying moments of political transition. Lord Yin, the first of the twelve Lu Lords, is the son of a secondary consort and rules for eleven years as a regent for his younger brother, the future Lord Huan. This situation must have created confusion, and in the end, the Lu minister Gongzi Hui decided that one of these two brothers had to be eliminated. Lord Yin refused to join a conspiracy against his younger sibling and was consequently killed.

While several sections of Lord Yin are regularly anthologized (chief among these is the story of the conflict between Lord Zhuang of Zheng and his younger brother; see Yin 1.4), most of the accounts in these earliest years of *Zuozhuan* are relatively brief and do little more than comment upon or expand upon *Annals* entries. In so doing, some of the patterns of the *Zuo* commentary that persist throughout the text are established. Among these are simple statements of why a particular event took place (2.1, 2.6, 3.6, 5.6, 5.10, 7.4), explanations of the subtle praise and blame contained in ostensibly straightforward *Annals* lines (1.4, 3.2, 4.4), incorporation of *Annals* entries into much longer historical narratives (3.5, 4.5, 5.8), comments on the significance of what the *Annals* fails to record (1.1, 1.3, 1.6, 1.7, 7.1), judgments of ritual appropriateness (5.1, 8.5, 8.6), disquisitions on fine distinctions in wording (3.2, 9.1), and so forth. So while other sections of *Zuozhuan* might have greater literary merit, or are at least more expansive, careful reading of the Lord Yin section familiarizes the reader with many of the conventions that continue throughout the text.

In general, the world of *Zuozhuan* broadens geographically as one reads on. Thus, the Lord Yin years are geographically constricted. The large outlying domains of Qin and Chu are not mentioned at all, and even the more centrally located domain of Jin plays a relatively minor

左傳

Preface

惠公元妃孟子。孟子卒，繼室以聲子，生隱公。宋武公生仲子。仲子生而有文在其手，曰為魯夫人，故仲子歸于我。生桓公而惠公薨，是以隱公立而奉之。

1 Meng Zi, Lord Hui's first wife, was a daughter of the ruling clan of Song. Her name literally means "the eldest Zi," Zi 子 being the name of the ruling clan. Zhong Zi, mentioned later in the story, was the second daughter of the Duke of Song. Sheng Zi was presumably a member of the Song ducal household who came to Lu as a member of Meng Zi's entourage. Sheng Zi is an unusual name. Most consorts have names that include a birth sequence marker (e.g., Meng Zi), the name of their native domain or natal family, or their husband's posthumous name (see introduction). Occasionally, a consort may have had a posthumous name of her own, and Sheng in the name Sheng Zi (which means something like "The Illustrious Zi") might be such a case (see Yang, 1:2–3, 2:562).

2 For other instances of lines on the palm of the hand announcing extraordinary destinies, see Min 2.4 and Zhao 1.12, 32.4b.

role. Most of the following entries concern events in Lu, Qi, Song, Zheng, Wei, and a number of relatively small domains, all these located in the North China Plain largely between the Yellow and Huai Rivers. Among these domains, Zheng is particularly active, leading some Chinese scholars to refer to Lord Zhuang of Zheng (r. 743–701) as a "minor overlord," a forerunner of such major overlords as Lord Huan of Qi (r. 685–643) and Lord Wen of Jin (r. 636–628). The shifting interdomain alliances of these years are not always easy to follow, in part because the narratives are so short, and we are sometimes left to guess why new alliances form or dissolve and why attacks are suddenly launched upon this or that domain.

LORD YIN

ZUO

The following passage, which begins Zuozhuan, *falls outside the regular annalistic structure of the text and therefore functions as something of a "preface." Lord Hui had ruled the domain of Lu for more than four decades (768–722). The next two Lu rulers, lords Yin and Huan, were his sons. As this passage indicates, Lord Yin, the older of the two, was born of a lesser wife, while Lord Huan was the son of the Lady of Lu.*

Preface

Lord Hui's first wife was Meng Zi. When Meng Zi had died, he raised to her place Sheng Zi, who bore Lord Yin.[1] Lord Wu of Song fathered Zhong Zi. When Zhong Zi was born she had a design in the palm of her hand, which resembled written characters that said, "She will be the Lady of Lu."[2] That is why Zhong Zi came to us in marriage. Soon after she gave birth to Lord Huan, Lord Hui expired. Because of this, Lord Yin was established in power but served Lord Huan.[3]

3 Lord Yin supposedly was to act as regent until Lord Huan reached his majority. A quite different, somewhat more scandalous account appears in *Shiji* 33.1528–29: "Lord Hui's main wife had no son, but the lord's lowly concubine Sheng Zi gave birth to a son Xi [i.e., the future Lord Yin]. When Xi grew up, they found a wife for him in Song. The young woman of Song arrived and was lovely, so Lord Hui appropriated her and made her his own wife. She gave birth to a son Yun [the future Lord Huan]. He elevated the Song woman to be his main wife and took Yun as heir apparent. When Lord Hui died, because Yun was young, the Lu men were united in ordering Xi to act as regent. So we do not say 'he acceded to his position.'" Similar stories of fathers appropriating brides intended for their sons are found at Huan 16.5 and Zhao 19.2.

春秋

1.1(1) 元年，春，王正月。

1.2(2) 三月，公及邾儀父盟于蔑。

1.3(4) 夏，五月，鄭伯克段于鄢。

1.4(5) 秋，七月，天王使宰咺來歸惠公、仲子之賵。

1.5(8) 九月，及宋人盟于宿。

1.6(13) 冬，十有二月，祭伯來。

1.7(14) 公子益師卒。

左傳

1.1(1) 元年，春，王周正月，不書即位，攝也。

1.2(2) 三月，公及邾儀父盟于蔑，邾子克也。未王命，故不書爵。曰「儀父」，貴之也。公攝位而欲求好於邾，故為蔑之盟。

1.3 夏，四月，費伯帥師城郎。不書，非公命也。

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4 "Royal first month" refers to the calendar of the Zhou king, who in this case is King Ping 平王 (r. 770–720). Spring began with the first lunar month of the year, which in the Zhou calendar corresponds to the eleventh month of the current lunar calendar. Thus, as Yang (1:6) notes, "During the Yin and Zhou periods, spring corresponds to our winter." Multiple year dates (e.g., 722–711) are given without BCE, while single year dates will be marked BCE.

5 Zhu 邾 was a small domain of the Cao 曹 lineage originally located just southeast of present-day Qufu 曲阜 in Shandong. It later was relocated further to the south and was under the control of the domain of Lu (map 2). Mie 蔑 belonged to the domain of Lu and was located east of present-day Sishui County 泗水縣, Shandong.

6 Yan 鄢 was located north of present-day Yanling County 鄢陵縣, Henan.

7 In the *Documents* (Shu 書) the Zhou rulers are simply called "kings," but in the *Annals* they are called "Heaven-appointed kings" (*tian wang* 天王). Gu Yanwu (*Rizhi lu jishi*, 4.76) claims that at a time when the rulers of Chu, Wu, Xu, and Yue

LORD YIN 1 (722 BCE)

ANNALS

The first year, spring, the royal first month.[4] 1.1(1)

In the third month, our lord and Zhu Yifu swore a covenant at Mie.[5] 1.2(2)

In summer, in the fifth month, the Liege of Zheng overcame Duan (Gongshu Duan) at Yan.[6] 1.3(4)

In autumn, in the seventh month, the Heaven-appointed king[7] sent his steward Xuan to us to present the funeral equipment for Lord Hui and Zhong Zi.[8] 1.4(5)

In the ninth month, we swore a covenant with a Song leader at Su.[9] 1.5(8)

In winter, in the twelfth month, the Zhai Liege came. 1.6(13)

Gongzi Yishi died. 1.7(14)

ZUO

The following three short entries are the first of many passages in Zuozhuan *that speculate as to why a particular event or a particular item of information is not recorded in the* Annals.

The first year, spring, the royal Zhou first month: the text does not record that he acceded to his position because he was acting as regent. 1.1(1)

In the third month, our lord and Zhu Yifu swore a covenant at Mie: Yifu was Ke, the Master of Zhu. But he did not yet have the king's appointment. For this reason, it does not record his rank. That the text says "Yifu" is to honor him.[10] Being in the position of regent, our lord wanted to seek good relations with Zhu. He therefore swore the covenant of Mie. 1.2(2)

In summer, in the fourth month, Qinfu of Bi[a] led troops to fortify Lang.[11] This is not recorded because it was not by our lord's command. 1.3

called themselves "kings," the sage wants to elevate Zhou kings by calling them "Heaven-appointed." In *Zuozhuan*, the Zhou ruler is sometimes called "the Heaven-appointed king," sometimes "Son of Heaven" (*tianzi* 天子), and sometimes simply "the king."

8 According to Yang (1:8), traditional funeral equipment (*feng* 賵) included a chariot, horses, and silk.

9 Su 宿 was the name of a small domain slightly southeast of present-day Dongping County 東平縣, Shandong.

10 "Fu" 父, in the name Yifu, means literally "father" and was added to the names of males as both a gender indicator and an honorific.

11 Lang 郎 was located in the domain of Lu northeast of Yutai County 魚臺縣, Shandong.

1.4a(3) 初，鄭武公娶于申，曰武姜，生莊公及共叔段。莊公寤生，驚姜氏，故名曰寤生，遂惡之。愛共叔段，欲立之。亟請於武公，公弗許。及莊公即位，為之請制。公曰：「制，巖邑也，虢叔死焉。佗邑唯命。」請京，使居之，謂之京城大叔。

祭仲曰：「都，城過百雉，國之害也。先王之制：大都，不過參國之一；中，五之一；小，九之一。今京不度，非制也，君將不堪。」公曰：「姜氏欲之，焉辟害？」

對曰：「姜氏何厭之有？不如早為之所，無使滋蔓！蔓，難圖也。蔓草猶不可除，況君之寵弟乎？」公曰：「多行不義，必自斃，子姑待之。」

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12 Shen 申 was a small domain of the Jiang 姜 lineage (the same lineage that ruled the larger domain of Qi) and was located near present-day Nanyang City 南陽市 in Henan.

13 Gong 共 is the name of the place to which Gongshu Duan will eventually flee. It was at this time a small domain, located near present-day Hui County 輝縣, Henan, and later became part of Wei (Min 2.5). "Shu" means "younger brother" and Duan is his given name. So he is literally "Duan the Younger Brother of Gong." Later, he is referred to as "Senior Younger Brother" (*taishu* 大叔), that is, the oldest among Lord Zhuang's younger brothers.

14 While most commentators interpret the passage in this way (see Karlgren, gl. 1), Du Yu reads it as "She woke up and Lord Zhuang was already born" (*ZZ* 2.35). Thus, Legge (5) translates: "Duke Zhuang was born as she was waking from sleep." In the *Shiji* retelling of the story (42.1759), the birth of Lord Zhuang is simply described as "difficult." Cf. Qian Zhongshu, *Guanzhui bian*, 1:167–68.

The next episode is a famous flashback narrative and describes events in the domain of Zheng during the reigns of Lord Wu (r. 770–744) and his son Lord Zhuang (r. 743–701) that led to the rebellion of Lord Zhuang's younger brother Gongshu Duan.

Earlier, Lord Wu of Zheng had taken a wife in Shen who was known as Wu Jiang.[12] She bore Lord Zhuang and Gongshu Duan.[13] Lord Zhuang was breech born, and Lady Jiang was shaken. For this reason, she named him Wusheng [Breech Born] and consequently hated him.[14] She loved Gongshu Duan and wanted to establish him as heir. Time and again she asked this favor of Lord Wu, but the lord would not grant it. When Lord Zhuang acceded to his position, she requested the settlement of Zhi for Gongshu Duan. The lord said, "Zhi is a strategic place. Guo Shu died there.[15] For any other place, you need only issue a command!" She requested Jing,[16] and the lord sent Gongshu Duan[b] to live there, calling him "The Senior Younger Brother of the Walled City Jing." 1.4a(3)

Zhai Zhong said, "For the wall of an outlying city to exceed one hundred *zhi* is a danger for the capital.[17] In the system of the former kings, large cities did not exceed one-third of the capital, middle-sized cities did not exceed one-fifth, and small cities, one-ninth. Now Jing, failing to conform to this standard, is not in accordance with the rules. You, my lord, will not be able to bear it." The lord said, "Since Lady Jiang wanted this, how am I to avoid harm?"

Zhai Zhong replied, "How will Lady Jiang ever be satisfied? It would be better to settle this matter right away. Do not encourage creeping vines to spread! Once they spread, they are difficult to control. If even creeping vines cannot be rooted out, then how much less the favored younger brother of a ruler?" The lord said, "If he repeatedly commits undutiful acts, he surely will bring himself down. For the time being, sir, just wait for this."

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15 Guo Shu appears in *Guoyu*, "Zheng yu," 16.507. Guo 虢, in this name, refers to the small domain of Eastern Guo, Zhi 制 being a settlement originally belonging to this domain. Eastern Guo was supposedly attacked and destroyed by Lord Huan of Zheng, and it is to this event that the passage above presumably refers.

16 Jing 京 was located southeast of present-day Xingyang County 滎陽縣, Henan.

17 A *zhi* 雉 is a measure used for the height and length of a city wall. While some equate the length of a *zhi* with three *zhang* 丈 (one *zhang* = 231 cm), others argue that it is five *zhang*, or just over ten meters. If the latter is correct, then one hundred *zhi* would be 1.15 kilometers. Since the Chinese measure of distance *li* 里 is roughly one-third of a kilometer, Zhai Zhong's statement accords well with Mencius' indication that a city wall of three *li* constitutes a major city (*Mencius* 2B.1). For further information, see Takezoe, 1.21.

1.4b 既而大叔命西鄙、北鄙貳於己。公子呂曰：「國不堪貳，君將若之何？欲與大叔，臣請事之；若弗與，則請除之，無生民心。」公曰：「無庸，將自及。」

大叔又收貳以為己邑，至于廩延。子封曰：「可矣。厚將得眾。」公曰：「不義，不暱。厚將崩。」

大叔完聚，繕甲兵，具卒乘，將襲鄭，夫人將啟之。公聞其期，曰：「可矣。」命子封帥車二百乘以伐京。京叛大叔段。段入于鄢。公伐諸鄢。五月辛丑，大叔出奔共。

書曰：「鄭伯克段于鄢。」段不弟，故不言弟；如二君，故曰克；稱鄭伯，譏失教也：謂之鄭志。不言出奔，難之也。

Shortly thereafter, the Senior Younger Brother commanded the western and northern marches to switch their allegiance to him. Gongzi Lü said, "A domain cannot bear divided allegiance. What are you, my lord, going to do about this? If you want to give the domain to the Senior Younger Brother, then I beg to serve him. If you are not going to give it to him, then I beg to root him out so as not to arouse the people's sentiments!" The lord said, "It is not necessary. He will come to an end by himself."[18] 1.4b

The Senior Younger Brother went on to gather the disloyal[19] and make them into his own settlements, reaching as far as Linyan.[20] Gongzi Lü[a] said, "Now we can act! If he gets any stronger, he will win the multitudes." The lord said, "If he is not dutiful, the people will not be devoted to him. If he gets stronger, he will collapse."

The Senior Younger Brother reinforced walls, gathered provisions, repaired his armor and weapons, and prepared his infantry and chariots. He was going to make a surprise attack upon Zheng, and Lady Jiang was going to open the city gate for him. When the lord heard that a date had been set, he said, "Now we can act!" He commanded Gongzi Lü[a] to lead two hundred chariots to attack Jing. Jing turned against the Senior Younger Brother Duan, who entered Yan. The lord attacked him at Yan. In the fifth month, on the *xinchou* day (23), the Senior Younger Brother left Yan and fled to Gong.

The text says, "The Liege of Zheng overcame Duan[b] at Yan." Gongshu Duan did not behave like a younger brother, so it does not speak of a younger brother. They were like two rulers, so it says "overcame." That it labels him "the Liege of Zheng" is to criticize his neglect of instruction:[21] what happened is judged to have been Zheng's intention.[22] That the text does not say he left Yan and fled is to express disapproval of him.

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18 This idea of biding one's time while an enemy multiplies his crimes appears elsewhere in *Zuozhuan* (see Xuan 15.2, Zhao 4.1, 11.2).

19 This presumably refers to the leaders of local settlements who were asked to transfer allegiance from the legitimate ruler to the contender.

20 The precise location of Linyan 廩延 is disputed, but Du Yu (*ZZ* 2.36) believes it was located north of present-day Yanjin County 延津縣, Henan.

21 *Zuozhuan* attaches significance here to the fact that the *Annals* identifies Lord Zhuang by his title as a ruler rather than by his position as an older brother.

22 That is, the *Annals*, subtly and properly read, implies that the Liege of Zheng, Lord Zhuang, intended all along to put his younger brother in a situation of conflict so that he could take military action against him. The reading of *zhi* 志 as "hidden intention" is echoed in Zhuang 7.1. But the word *zhi* can also mean "expressed intent," as in Zhao 16.3. Cf. Qian Zhongshu, *Guanzhui bian*, 1:172–73.

1.4c 遂寘姜氏于城潁，而誓之曰：「不及黃泉，無相見也！」既而悔之。

潁考叔為潁谷封人，聞之，有獻於公。公賜之食。食舍肉。公問之。對曰：「小人有母，皆嘗小人之食矣；未嘗君之羹，請以遺之。」公曰：「爾有母遺，繄我獨無！」潁考叔曰：「敢問何謂也？」公語之故，且告之悔。對曰：「君何患焉？若闕地及泉，隧而相見，其誰曰不然？」公從之。公入而賦：

大隧之中，
其樂也融融。

姜出而賦：

大隧之外，
其樂也洩洩。

遂為母子如初。君子曰：「潁考叔，純孝也，愛其母，施及莊公。《詩》曰：

孝子不匱，
永錫爾類。

其是之謂乎！」

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23 Chengying 城潁 was located northwest of present-day Linying County 臨潁縣, Henan. "Yellow Springs" is a subterranean world where the spirits of the dead presumably go.

24 This passage is making use of the terminology and technology of tomb construction. Ramps into the tomb were open to the air in the case of Zhou kings but were covered tunnels in the case of the lords (see Yang's commentary to Lord Xi 25.2, 1:432).

25 Both of these couplets rhyme in Old Chinese and follow the typical four-character-line pattern of the *Odes*.

26 This is the first of seventy-eight cases where a judgment by the "noble man" (*junzi* 君子) is quoted. On this feature, see the introduction and particularly Schaberg, "Platitude and Persona."

27 Quoted from *Maoshi* 247, "Ji zui" 既醉, 17B.606. This is the first of many quotations of odes in *Zuozhuan*. The majority of such quotations are among the 305 canonical pieces included in the *Odes*. However, some quotations, in each case noted, are from pieces not included in the *Odes*. The latter are sometimes referred to as "lost odes" (*yishi* 逸詩) but might more properly be called "noncanonical odes" since they were not included in what was to become the canonical collection. On the use of quotations from the *Odes* in *Zuozhuan*, see, among other studies, Zhang Suqing, *Zuozhuan chengshi yanjiu*; Mao Zhenhua, *Zuozhuan fushi yanjiu*; Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*; Wai-yee Li, "Poetry and Diplomacy in *Zuozhuan*"; and Schaberg, "Virtue and Talent."

28 The "Mao Commentary" links three of the "Zheng Odes" to this story (*Maoshi* 76, "Qiang Zhongzi" 將仲子; 77, "Shu yu tian" 叔于田; and 78, "Taishu yu tian" 大叔于田; see *Maoshi zhengyi* 4B.161–66). The "Mao Commentary" faults Lord Zhuang

The rebellion having been successfully put down, attention now shifts to the rift between the lord and his mother. Here, as elsewhere in Zuozhuan *(see, e.g., Huan 16.5 and Xi 4.6), we see just how far filial devotion extends. The wise officer Ying Kaoshu makes a proposal that enables the lord to keep his hasty oath while at the same time metaphorically restaging the birth scene in a way that, in this instance, brings harmony.*

Consequently, the lord placed Lady Jiang in Chengying and swore an oath: "Until we reach the Yellow Springs, we will not see each other!"[23] Shortly thereafter he regretted this. 1.4c

Ying Kaoshu was the border officer in charge of Ying Valley. When he heard of these events, he offered gifts to the lord. The lord granted him a meal, but as Kaoshu ate, he put aside the meat. The lord asked about this, and Kaoshu responded, "Your humble servant has a mother. She has always partaken of my meals, but she has never tasted my lord's stew. I request your permission to give some to her." The lord said, "You have a mother to give things to. Alas, I alone have none!" Ying Kaoshu said, "Dare I ask what you mean?" The lord explained the circumstances to him and also admitted his regret. Kaoshu replied, "Why should you worry about this? If you dig into the earth as far as the springs and meet each other in the tunnel, who could say this goes against the vow?"[24] The lord took his advice. On entering the tunnel, the lord recited,

> Within the great tunnel
> Our joy flows together.

On exiting the tunnel, Lady Jiang recited,

> Outside the great tunnel,
> Our joy spreads abroad.[25]

And consequently they were mother and son as at the beginning. The noble man said,[26] "Ying Kaoshu was pure in his filial piety. He loved his mother and tendered his example to Lord Zhuang. As it says in the *Odes*,

> The filial son is unstinting,
> And forever blesses your kind.[27]

Surely this is what is meant!"[28]

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for being indecisive: "He did not prevail over his mother and thereby harmed his younger brother. His younger brother neglected the proper way, and he did not control him. Zhai Zhong remonstrated but the lord did not listen to him. Failure to be ruthless in small matters leads to great disorder" (4B.161). The "Mao Commentary" also claims that Duan was well liked: "The younger brother was talented and fond of bravado. Though not dutiful, he gained [the support] of the multitudes" (4B.163). *Maoshi* 77, if read after the "Mao Commentary" as a description of Duan, turns the latter into a much-beloved people's hero.

1.5(4) 秋，七月，天王使宰咺來歸惠公、仲子之賵。緩，且子氏未薨，故名。
天子七月而葬，同軌畢至；諸侯五月，同盟至；大夫三月，同位至；士踰月，外姻至。贈死不及尸，弔生不及哀，豫凶事，非禮也。

1.6 八月，紀人伐夷。夷不告，故不書。

1.7 有蜚。不為災，亦不書。

1.8(5) 惠公之季年，敗宋師于黃。公立而求成焉。九月，及宋人盟于宿，始通也。

29 The implication is that this was an inappropriate action, and Steward Xuan's name is thus provided as a form of blame.

30 This is apparently a way of referring to the leaders of the central cultural region. The assumption, perhaps idealized, is that all the central domains used a common chariot axle length, thus facilitating travel from one domain to another. Legge (7) translates this as "all the princes with whom he had covenanted."

31 In calculating this "full month," one does not count the month of death; the next month constitutes the "full month," with the burial taking place in the following month. Yang (1:16) notes that this is equivalent to the "three months" specified in *Liji* 6.110.

32 At least two of the three principles were violated in this case: the representative of the king, Steward Xuan, arrived after the body had been buried, and he "anticipated the unlucky event" by bringing funeral equipage for the Lady Zi, who had not yet died.

The next episode returns us to the events in the domain of Lu subsequent to the death of Lord Hui (Yin "preface," 1.9, 1.10).

In autumn, in the seventh month, the Heaven-appointed king sent his steward Xuan to us to present the funeral equipment for Lord Hui and Zhong Zi. They were late in arriving, and Lady Zi also had not yet expired, and that is why the steward is named.[29] 1.5(4)

The Son of Heaven is buried after seven months, leaders of the same axle standard attending;[30] a prince after five months, those joined with him in covenants attending; a high officer after three months, those of the same rank attending; and a regular officer after a full month,[31] his relatives by marriage attending. To fail to give gifts for the dead while the body is still lying in state, to fail to express condolences to the living while they are still in mourning, and to anticipate the unlucky event were not in accordance with ritual propriety.[32]

The following two events presume knowledge of specific events in the earliest year of the Spring and Autumn period not recorded in the Annals. *This of course raises the problematic question of other records or traditions to which the* Zuozhuan *compilers might have had access.*

In the eighth month, the men of Ji attacked the Yi.[33] The Yi did not report the attack, and that is why it is not recorded. 1.6

There were locusts. It did not become a disaster, so it also is not recorded. 1.7

Despite the following covenant between Lu and Song, Lu's relationship with its neighbor to the southwest will remain difficult, as they later refuse to rescue Song (Yin 5.8), break off the exchange of envoys (Yin 9.3), and defeat Song in several battles (Yin 10.3, Huan 13.1, etc.).

In the last year of Lord Hui's life, he defeated Song troops at Huang.[34] When Lord Yin was established as ruler, he sought an accord with Song. In the ninth month, we swore a covenant with a Song leader at Su: this was the beginning of relations with them. 1.8(5)

33 Ji 紀 was the name of a small domain of the Jiang 姜 lineage. It was located just to the south of present-day Shouguang County 壽廣縣 (map 2). The Yi people are sometimes contrasted with the Hua 華, a term for the people of the central domains. The name "Yi" was at times used for widely distributed groups, with the particular group mentioned above dwelling in the Shandong area. Later, the Yi were routinely identified with the east.

34 Huang 黃 was located in the domain of Song just east of present-day Minquan County 民權縣, Henan.

1.9 冬，十月庚申，改葬惠公。公弗臨，故不書。惠公之薨也，有宋師，大子少，葬故有闕，是以改葬。

1.10 衛侯來會葬，不見公，亦不書。

1.11 鄭共叔之亂，公孫滑出奔衛。衛人為之伐鄭，取廩延。鄭人以王師、虢師伐衛南鄙。請師於邾，邾子使私於公子豫。豫請往，公弗許，遂行，及邾人、鄭人盟于翼。不書，非公命也。

1.12 新作南門，不書，亦非公命也。

1.13(6) 十二月，祭伯來，非王命也。

1.14(7) 眾父卒，公不與小斂，故不書日。

The future Lord Huan, we learn below, had already been designated "heir apparent." Lord Yin presumably does not attend the reburial of his father because of his somewhat ambiguous position as regent/usurper.

In winter, in the tenth month, on the *gengshen* day (14), Lord Hui was reburied. Our lord did not attend, and that is why it is not recorded. When Lord Hui expired, there was conflict with Song troops, and the heir apparent was still young, so there were omissions in the burial protocol. It was for this reason he was reburied. 1.9

The Prince of Wei came to participate in the burial ceremony, but he did not meet with our lord, so it also is not recorded. 1.10

Zuozhuan *returns to the aftermath of Gongshu Duan's rebellion in the domain of Zheng (Yin 1.4).*

During the rebellion of Gongshu Duan[a] in Zheng, Gongsun Hua left Zheng and fled to Wei.[35] For his sake the Wei leaders attacked Zheng and seized Linyan. The Zheng leaders took troops from the king and troops from the domain of Guo to attack Wei's southern marches. Zheng requested troops from Zhu, and the Master of Zhu sent a private message to Gongzi Yu.[36] Yu asked permission to go, but our lord would not allow it. Yu subsequently departed and swore a covenant with a Zhu leader and a Zheng leader at Yi.[37] This is not recorded because it was not by our lord's command. 1.11

The southern gate was built anew. This is not recorded because it also was not by our lord's command. 1.12

In the twelfth month, the Zhai Liege came: this was contrary to the king's command. 1.13(6)

Some commentators suggest that Lord Yin does not participate in the burial ritual of a minister, just as he did not participate in the reburial of his father (Yin 1.9), to exhibit humility over the fact that he is a regent rather than the legitimate successor (see Yang, 1:19).

When Gongzi Yishi[a] died, our lord did not participate in the dressing of the body, and that is why the text does not record the day. 1.14(7)

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35 Gongsun Hua was the son of Gongshu Duan and, as his name indicates, the grandson of Lord Wu of Zheng.

36 Gongzi Yu was a high officer in the domain of Lu. Lu thus becomes involved in the event through the unauthorized participation of one of its high officials. Note, however, that Lu did have an alliance with Zhu (Yin 1.2).

37 Yi 翼 belonged to the domain of Zhu and was located southwest of present-day Huang County 黃縣, Shandong.

春秋

2.1(1) 二年，春，公會戎于潛。

2.2(2) 夏，五月，莒人入向。

2.3(3) 無駭帥師入極。

2.4(4) 秋，八月庚辰，公及戎盟于唐。

2.5(5) 九月，紀裂繻來逆女。

2.6 冬，十月，伯姬歸于紀。

2.7(6) 紀子帛、莒子盟于密。

2.8 十有二月，乙卯，夫人子氏薨。

2.9(8) 鄭人伐衛。

左傳

2.1(1) 二年，春，公會戎于潛，修惠公之好也。戎請盟，公辭。

2.2(2) 莒子娶于向，向姜不安莒而歸。夏，莒人入向，以姜氏還。

2.3(3) 司空無駭入極，費庚父勝之。

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38 Qian 潛 was located near present-day Jining City 濟寧市, Shandong.

39 Ju 莒 was a small domain of the Ji 己 lineage and was located near present-day Ju County 莒縣 in Shandong (map 2). Xiang 向 was located just to the south of Ju.

40 Jí 極 was a small domain subordinate to Lu and located south of Jinxiang County 金鄉縣 in Shandong.

41 The eighth month in this year did not contain a *gengchen* day.

42 Tang 棠 was located in the domain of Lu and is identified with present-day Yucheng Town 魚城鎮, north of Yutai County 魚臺縣, Shandong.

43 The bride in question is Bo Ji. The character *ni* 逆 appears periodically in the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* in reference to a ceremony in which the ruler or his designated high officials go out to the border to meet and escort back a ruler's future wife. Lord Wen 4.4 specifies that it is contrary to ritual for this to be done by those below the rank of "minister" (*qing* 卿). Since *Zuozhuan* does not criticize this particular instance as "contrary to ritual," it must consider Ji Liexu to be a minister.

44 Bo Ji is the eldest daughter of the deceased Lord Hui of Lu. She is the same woman referred to in the *Annals*, Yin 2.5.

45 Du Yu (*ZZ* 2.41) argues that Ji Zibo and Ji Liexu are the same person, a position Yang (1:21) supports. Mi 密 was in the domain of Ju and located east of present-day Changyi County 昌邑縣, Shandong.

LORD YIN 2 (721 BCE)

ANNALS

In the second year, in spring, our lord met with the Rong at Qian.[38] 2.1(1)

In summer, in the fifth month, a Ju leader entered Xiang.[39] 2.2(2)

Wuhai led out troops and entered Jí.[40] 2.3(3)

In autumn, in the eighth month, on the *gengchen* day,[41] our lord and the Rong swore a covenant at Tang.[42] 2.4(4)

In the ninth month, Ji Liexu came to meet and escort home a bride.[43] 2.5(5)

In winter, in the tenth month, Bo Ji went to marry in Ji.[44] 2.6

Zibo of Ji (Ji Liexu) and the Master of Ju swore a covenant at Mi.[45] 2.7(6)

In the twelfth month, on the *yimao* day (15), our lord's wife, Lady Zi, expired. 2.8

A Zheng leader attacked Wei. 2.9(8)

ZUO

In the second year, in spring, our lord met with the Rong at Qian:[46] this was to restore the good relations that prevailed in the time of Lord Hui. The Rong asked for a covenant, but our lord declined. 2.1(1)

The flight of a wife provokes military action that returns her to her husband, the Master of Ju.

The Master of Ju took a wife in Xiang. Xiang Jiang, his wife, did not feel at home in Ju and returned home. In summer, a Ju leader entered Xiang and returned with the Lady Jiang.[47] 2.2(2)

The supervisor of works, Wuhai, entered Jí. Qinfu of Bi[a] conquered it.[48] 2.3(3)

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46 The Rong 戎 are a group of people usually identified as non-Sinitic—that is, as not belonging to the central "Chinese" culture. Like many such designations, however, the term is a vague one. As Tong Shuye says, "the peoples named 'Rong' in the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* are quite numerous" (see discussion in *Chunqiu Zuozhuan yanjiu*, 252–54). This particular group obviously lived close to the region of Lu. In Yin 9.5 below, we encounter a group named the "Northern Rong," who presumably lived to the north of Jin and Qi. Other groups of Rong are met with here and there throughout the years that follow.

47 From later *Zuozhuan* entries, it appears that Xiang was a part of the domain of Ju after this time, so it is possible that this action resulted in the wholesale assimilation of Xiang into Ju.

48 This is somewhat obscure. The Lu official Wuhai's entry into Jí seems to have provoked Qinfu of Bi, another Lu official, to undertake a military expedition against this city. This is the first instance of the use of the word "enter" (*ru* 入), which implies aggression and military intervention.

2.4(4) 戎請盟。秋，盟于唐，復修戎好也。

2.5(5) 九月，紀裂繻來逆女，卿為君逆也。

2.6(7) 冬，紀子帛、莒子盟于密，魯故也。

2.7(9) 鄭人伐衛，討公孫滑之亂也。

春秋

3.1 三年，春，王二月己巳，日有食之。

3.2(1) 三月，庚戌，天王崩。

3.3(2) 夏，四月辛卯，君氏卒。

3.4(4) 秋，武氏子來求賻。

3.5(5) 八月庚辰，宋公和卒。

3.6(6) 冬，十有二月，齊侯、鄭伯盟于石門。

3.7 癸未，葬宋穆公。

The Rong requested a covenant. In autumn, we swore a covenant at Tang: this was to restore good relations with the Rong. 2.4(4)

In the ninth month, Ji Liexu came to meet and escort home a bride: the minister greeted and escorted her on the ruler's behalf. 2.5(5)

In winter, Ji Liexu[a] and the Master of Ju swore a covenant at Mi: this was because of Lu.[49] 2.6(7)

The short note below returns us to the conflict between Zheng and Wei precipitated by the flight of Gongshu Duan's son, Gongsun Hua, to the domain of Wei (Yin 1.11).

A Zheng leader attacked Wei: this was to chastise Gongsun Hua for the unrest. 2.7(9)

LORD YIN 3 (720 BCE)

ANNALS

In the third year, in spring, in the royal second month, on the *jisi* day (1), there was an eclipse of the sun.[50] 3.1

In the third month, on the *gengxu* day (12), the Heaven-appointed king succumbed. 3.2(1)

In summer, in the fourth month, on the *xinmao* day (24), the ruler's lady died. 3.3(2)

In autumn, a son of the Wu lineage came to seek burial gifts.[51] 3.4(4)

In the eighth month, on the *gengchen* day (15), He, the Duke of Song, died.[52] 3.5(5)

In winter, in the twelfth month, the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng swore a covenant at Shimen.[53] 3.6(6)

On the *guiwei* day (12), Lord Mu of Song was buried. 3.7

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49 This particular covenant was undertaken "because of Lu" in the sense that Ji wished to improve relations between Lu and Ju (Yang, 1:21).

50 A full eclipse of the sun did occur in this part of China on 22 February 720 BCE. This is the first of thirty-six eclipses recorded in the *Annals*.

51 The Wu lineage leader was a Zhou minister and was seeking burial gifts for the recently deceased King Ping of Zhou (r. 770–720).

52 Known posthumously as Lord Mu of Song (r. 728–720).

53 Shimen 石門 was located southwest of present-day Changqing County 長清縣, Shandong.

左傳

3.1(2) 三年，春，王三月壬戌，平王崩。赴以庚戌，故書之。

3.2(3) 夏，君氏卒——聲子也。不赴於諸侯，不反哭于寢，不祔于姑，故不曰「薨」。不稱夫人，故不言葬，不書姓。為公故，曰「君氏」。

3.3 鄭武公、莊公為平王卿士。王貳于虢。鄭伯怨王。王曰：「無之。」故周、鄭交質。王子狐為質於鄭，鄭公子忽為質於周。王崩，周人將畀虢公政。四月，鄭祭足帥師取溫之麥。秋，又取成周之禾。周、鄭交惡。

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54 For some unknown reason, the messengers gave the wrong date. The *Zuozhuan* compilers apparently had a different source for this date.

55 The term *junshi* 君氏, "ruler's wife," does not appear elsewhere in *Zuozhuan*. The "stepmother" in question is Zhong Zi, the mother of Lord Huan and the wife of Lord Yin's father, Lord Hui. Thus, Sheng Zi was not accorded the funeral ritual that was normal for the mother of the lord. The sections of *Zuozhuan* commenting on the phrasing of the *Annals* often make much of the precise word used for "to die." We have so far seen three such words, which from the least to the most prestigious are *zu* 卒, *hong* 薨, and *beng* 崩, "to die," "to expire," and "to succumb." Normally, the mother of a lord would "expire" (*hong*) and not "die" (*zu*).

56 During the early Spring and Autumn period, the leaders of the territorial domains of Zheng and Guo typically acted simultaneously as high ministers in the Zhou court. The word used here, *er* 貳, which we have translated in this context as "to make a second commitment," is usually used to describe disloyalty, as in the case of the rebellious Gongshu Duan above (Yin 1.4). That the word is used in this passage to describe the Zhou king may say something about how the *Zuozhuan* author/compiler saw Zhou as an agent in history in contradistinction to Zhou as an ideal. Gu Yanwu faulted the treatment of Zhou here as if it were just another domain and claimed this reflected the *Zuozhuan* compiler's "profound ignorance of the *Annals*' principles" (*Rizhi lu jishi,* 4.91).

57 Exchanging hostages is a method of assuring that neither will act against the other's interests. However, the usefulness of this practice will be called into question in this passage.

The long reign of King Ping of Zhou (r. 770–720) comes to an end.

In the third year, in spring, in the royal third month, on the *renxu* day (24), King Ping succumbed. In sending notice of death, they said it was the *gengxu* day,[54] and that is why they recorded that date. 3.1(2)

Sheng Zi, the mother of Lord Yin, dies the year after Zhong Zi, the mother of the future Lord Huan, dies (Annals, Yin 2.8).

In summer, the ruler's lady died: this was Sheng Zi. Our lord did not send notice of death to the princes, he did not wail at the Ancestral Temple upon returning from her funeral, and he did not place her spirit tablet next to his stepmother's. That is why it does not say "expired." She was not called "the lord's wife." That is why it does not speak of her burial and does not record her clan name. But on account of the lord, she is called "the ruler's lady."[55] 3.2(3)

Zheng had enjoyed a privileged relationship with King Ping of Zhou, but with King Ping's death (Yin 3.1), the domain of Guo threatens Zheng's status. The noble man, in one of the longer quotations of this sort in Zuozhuan*, argues that any exchange of hostages indicates that "good faith" is lacking.*

Lord Wu and Lord Zhuang of Zheng were ministers under King Ping. The king made a second commitment to the domain of Guo.[56] The Liege of Zheng was vexed with the king, but the king said, "There is no such commitment." Zhou and Zheng therefore exchanged hostages.[57] Wangzi Hu became a hostage in Zheng, and Gongzi Hu of Zheng became a hostage in Zhou. After the king succumbed, the Zhou leaders were going to let Jifu, the Guo Duke[a], have charge of the administration. In the fourth month, Zhai Zhong[a] of Zheng led troops and took the wheat of Wen. In autumn, they also took the grains of Chengzhou.[58] Zhou and Zheng hated each other. 3.3

58 Wen 溫 and Chengzhou 成周 were both part of the Zhou domain. Zheng is lashing out against Zhou for the latter's new association with Guo. Wen belonged to the royal Zhou domain and was located south of present-day Wen County 溫縣, Henan. Chengzhou was the capital of the Eastern Zhou and was located just east of present-day Loyang City 洛陽市, Henan (see map 3).

君子曰：「信不由中，質無益也。明恕而行，要之以禮，雖無有質，誰能間之？苟有明信，澗、溪、沼、沚之毛，蘋、蘩、蘊、藻之菜，筐、筥、錡、釜之器，潢、汙、行、潦之水，可薦於鬼神，可羞於王公，而況君子結二國之信，行之以禮，又焉用質？風有〈采蘩〉、〈采蘋〉，雅有〈行葦〉、〈泂酌〉，昭忠信也。」

3.4(4) 武氏子來求賻，王未葬也。

3.5(5) 宋穆公疾，召大司馬孔父而屬殤公焉，曰：「先君舍與夷而立寡人，寡人弗敢忘。若以大夫之靈，得保首領以沒；先君若問與夷，其將何辭以對？請子奉之，以主社稷。寡人雖死，亦無悔焉。」

對曰：「群臣願奉馮也。」公曰：「不可。先君以寡人為賢，使主社稷。若棄德不讓，是廢先君之舉也，豈曰能賢？光昭先君之令德，可不務乎？吾子其無廢先君之功！」使公子馮出居於鄭。八月，庚辰，宋穆公卒，殤公即位。

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59 *Maoshi* 13, "Cai fan" 采蘩, 1C.46–47; 15, "Cai pin" 采蘋, 1D.52; 246, "Xing wei" 行葦, 17B.600; and 251, "Dong zhuo" 泂酌, 17C.622, respectively. All these odes supposedly reflect the very virtues of loyalty and good faith that the noble man here commends. "Airs" (*feng* 風) and "Elegantiae" (*ya* 雅) refer to sections in the *Odes*.

60 Kongfu is particularly significant because he is said to be the direct ancestor of Confucius; see Fu Qian's commentary cited by Du Yu (Zhao 7.13; Yang, 4:1295).

61 The descendants of the former Shang dynasty had been settled in the domain of Song. We may see here a reflection of a Shang tradition in which younger brothers rather than sons sometimes succeeded to the rulership.

62 For other examples of this expression, see Xuan 13.4 and Zhao 25.8.

63 Gongzi Ping, Lord Mu's son, later becomes Lord Zhuang of Song (Huan 2.1; Yang, 1:85). The posthumous name "Shang" 殤 is inauspicious and often given to those who die young. Lord Shang is murdered in Huan 2.1 below and is also criticized for a reign that saw eleven battles in ten years. This makes the noble man's paean to Lord Xuan all the more ironic. Lord Xuan and Lord Mu are praised for yielding power (*rang* 讓) to a rightful heir and bypassing their own sons, but these acts of supposed disinterestedness only result in chaos in Song.

The noble man said, "If good faith does not spring from within, then hostages are of no benefit. But if parties act with exemplary forbearance and restrain themselves with ritual propriety, then even without hostages, who could come between them? If only there is exemplary good faith, then even the vegetation along creeks, brooks, ponds, and pools, such plants as duckweed, white southernwood, and bunches of algae, such vessels as square bamboo baskets, round bamboo baskets, pots, and pans, and water from lakes and puddles in the road can be offered to ghosts and spirits and presented to kings and lords. How much less would one have need of hostages when noble men make a bond of good faith between their two domains and carry out this bond on the basis of ritual? In the 'Airs' of the Odes, there are 'Gathering Artemisia' and 'Gathering Duckweed,' and in the 'Elegantiae,' there are 'Wayside Reeds' and 'At the Wayside Pool,' to display loyalty and good faith."[59]

A son of the Wu lineage came to seek burial gifts: the king had not yet been buried. 3.4(4)

Lord Xuan of Song (r. 747–729) had passed control of the domain not to his own son but to his younger brother, who became Lord Mu (r. 728–720). In the following passage, Lord Mu reciprocates by recommending Lord Xuan's son Yuyi, who will be posthumously honored as Lord Shang, over his own son Ping as the next ruler.

Lord Mu of Song fell ill. He summoned Kongfu,[60] the grand supervisor of the military, and entrusted Lord Shang to him, saying, "The previous ruler set Yuyi aside and established me as ruler, the unworthy one. I dare not forget this.[61] If, by means of the numinous power of the high officer, I manage to die with my head upon my shoulders,[62] then should the former ruler ask about Yuyi, with what words of explanation could I answer? I request that you respectfully serve him as he rules over the altars of the domain. Then, even though I die, I would have no regret about this." 3.5(5)

Kongfu responded, "Your subjects wish to serve Gongzi Ping." The lord said, "This cannot be. The former ruler considered me, the unworthy one, worthy and made me rule over the altars of the domain. If I were to cast virtue aside and not yield to his son, it would render meaningless the choice of the former ruler. How could I be called a man of competence and worth? Can we not make a great effort to glorify the former ruler's exemplary virtue? My good sir, let us not reject the merit of the former ruler!" They sent Gongzi Ping out of the domain to reside in Zheng. In the eighth month, on the *gengchen* day, Lord Mu of Song died, and Lord Shang acceded to his position.[63]

君子曰：「宋宣公可謂知人矣。立穆公，其子饗之，命以義夫！商頌曰：

殷受命咸宜，
百祿是荷。

其是之謂乎！」

3.6(6) 冬，齊、鄭盟于石門，尋盧之盟也。庚戌，鄭伯之車僨于濟。

3.7 衛莊公娶于齊東宮得臣之妹，曰莊姜，美而無子，衛人所為賦〈碩人〉也。又娶于陳，曰厲嬀，生孝伯，早死。其娣戴嬀，生桓公，莊姜以為己子。

公子州吁，嬖人之子也。有寵而好兵，公弗禁。莊姜惡之。石碏諫曰：「臣聞愛子，教之以義方，弗納於邪。驕、奢、淫、泆，所自邪也。四者之來，寵祿過也。將立州吁，乃定之矣；若猶未也，階之為禍。夫寵而不驕，驕而能降，降而不憾，憾而能畛者，鮮矣。且夫賤妨貴，少陵長，遠間親，新間舊，小加大，淫破義，所謂六逆也；君義，臣行，父慈，子孝，兄愛，弟敬，所謂六順也。去順效逆，所以速禍也。君人者，將禍是務去，而速之，無乃不可乎？」

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64 A passage found in *Maoshi* 303, "Xuan niao" 玄鳥, 20C.792.

65 Much of this story is repeated in *Shiji* 38.1623. The noble man also enters that account to render a judgment, albeit in slightly different words.

66 There was no *gengxu* day in the twelfth month, which is the month in which the *Annals* says that Lu and Zheng entered into the Shimen covenant.

67 The reason for noting the Liege of Zheng's accident is difficult to fathom. Du Yu adds that this happened "because he encountered a storm" (*ZZ* 3.52).

68 "Recited" in this case can also be rendered as "composed." The "Mao Commentary" links two odes to this event. The first, *Maoshi* 56, "Kao pan" 考槃, 3B.128, is supposedly directed at Lord Zhuang of Wei, who "was not able to continue the calling of the former lords and caused a worthy to retire and live in poverty." The second, *Maoshi* 57, "Shuo ren" 碩人, 3B.129 (translated here as "The Great Lady"), "expresses sympathy for Zhuang Jiang." The commentator says, "Lord Zhuang was misled by a favored concubine and allowed her to become arrogant and to slander superiors. Zhuang Jiang was worthy . . . but in the end she did not have sons. The people of the domain sympathized with and grieved for her." *Lienü zhuan* (1.11–12) tells a different story: Zhuang Jiang starts off as a frivolous woman interested only in adornment, but her Qi instructress brings her back to the right path by composing "The Great Lady."

69 It was common for a younger sister, in this case Dai Gui, to be sent along with the main bride as a secondary wife.

70 Karlgren (gl. 8) takes this somewhat differently: "Those who, when indignant, can be calmly dignified are few."

The noble man said, "Lord Xuan of Song can be said to be a wise judge of others! He established Lord Mu as ruler, and his son enjoyed in turn the offerings for a ruler. His command was indeed based upon dutifulness, was it not? The 'Shang Hymn' says,

> When the Yin rulers passed on the Mandate, it was always proper,
> And all the blessings they then did bear.[64]

Surely this is what is meant!"[65]

In winter, Qi and Zheng swore a covenant at Shimen: this was to renew the covenant of Lú. On the *gengxu* day,[66] the chariot of the Liege of Zheng tipped over into the Ji River.[67] 3.6(6)

Succession in the domain of Wei is now complicated by the ruler's indulgence of the child of a favorite, and a loyal minister, Shi Que, remonstrates (Yin 4.1, 4.3, 4.5).

Lord Zhuang of Wei took as wife the younger sister of Dechen, the heir apparent of the domain of Qi. Known as Zhuang Jiang, she was beautiful but had no sons. It was for her that the people of Wei recited the ode "The Great Lady."[68] The lord next took a wife in Chen known as Li Gui. She gave birth to Xiaobo, but he died young. Her younger sister, Dai Gui, gave birth to Lord Huan, whom Zhuang Jiang took as her own son.[69] 3.7

Zhouxu[a] was the child of a favorite. He had the lord's favor and was fond of weaponry, and the lord did not restrain him. Zhuang Jiang hated him. Shi Que remonstrated: "I have heard that if one loves a son, one teaches him the ways of duty and does not allow him to stray into deviant paths. Pride, wastefulness, lewdness, and dissipation are origins of deviance. These four come when favor and reward are excessive. If you are going to establish Zhouxu as heir, then settle it now! If you are not ready to do this, then you are building steps to disaster. Few indeed are those who are indulged but do not become prideful; are prideful but able to step down; are able to step down but not be indignant; are indignant but able to keep within boundaries![70] Moreover, for the lowly to hinder the honored, for the young to insult the old, for the distant to come between kin, for the new to come between those with old ties, for the small to lord it over the great, for the lewd to destroy the dutiful, these are called the six violations. For rulers to be dutiful, for subjects to fulfill their tasks, for fathers to be kind, for sons to be filial, for older brothers to show love, and for younger brothers to be respectful, these are called the six compliances. To reject the compliances and follow the violations is the way to hasten disaster. One who rules over men should devote himself to forestalling disaster; is it not then unacceptable that he should instead hasten it?"

弗聽。其子厚與州吁游，禁之，不可。桓公立，乃老。

春秋

4.1 四年，春，王二月，莒人伐杞，取牟婁。

4.2(2) 戊申，衛州吁弑其君完。

4.3(2) 夏，公及宋公遇于清。

4.4(3) 宋公、陳侯、蔡人、衛人伐鄭。

4.5(4) 秋，翬帥師會宋公、陳侯、蔡人、衛人伐鄭。

4.6(5) 九月，衛人殺州吁于濮。

4.7(6) 冬，十有二月，衛人立晉。

左傳

4.1(2) 四年，春，衛州吁弑桓公而立。

4.2(3) 公與宋公為會，將尋宿之盟。未及期，衛人來告亂。夏，公及宋公遇于清。

The lord did not heed this. Shi Que's son, Shi Hou[a], kept company with Zhouxu. Shi Que forbad this, but his son refused. When Lord Huan was established as ruler, Shi Que retired on account of age.

LORD YIN 4 (719 BCE)

ANNALS

In the fourth year, in spring, in the royal second month, a Ju leader attacked Qǐ and took Moulou.[71] 4.1

On the *wushen* day,[72] Zhouxu of Wei assassinated his ruler Wan. 4.2(2)

In summer, our lord met up with the Duke of Song at Qing.[73] 4.3(2)

The Duke of Song, the Prince of Chen, a Cai leader, and a Wei leader attacked Zheng. 4.4(3)

In autumn, Hui (Gongzi Hui) led out troops; met with the Duke of Song, the Prince of Chen, a Cai leader, and a Wei leader; and attacked Zheng. 4.5(4)

In the ninth month, Wei leaders put Zhouxu to death at Pu.[74] 4.6(5)

In winter, in the twelfth month, Wei leaders instated Jin.[75] 4.7(6)

ZUO

The Wei ruler's indulgence of Zhouxu, described in the previous Zuozhuan *episode (Yin 3.7), leads to assassination and rebellion (Yin 4.3, 4.5).*

In the fourth year, in spring, Zhouxu of Wei assassinated Lord Huan and was established as ruler. 4.1(2)

Our lord arranged for a meeting with the Duke of Song and was going to renew the covenant of Su. But before the appointed meeting time, the men of Wei came to announce the unrest in Wei. In summer, our lord met up with the Duke of Song at Qing. 4.2(3)

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71 Qǐ 杞 was a small domain of the Si 姒 line and was located, at this time, near present-day Anqiu County 安丘縣 (map 2). Moulou 牟婁 was located in the small domain of Ju in present-day Zhucheng County 諸城縣, Shandong.

72 According to the Lu calendar as we know it, there was no *wushen* day in the second month of this year.

73 Du Yu (*ZZ* 3.55) notes that "meeting up" (*yu* 遇) involves less ritual formality than the more frequent "meeting" (*hui* 會). Qing 清 was in the domain of Wei south of present-day Dong'e County 東阿縣, Shandong.

74 Pu 濮 was located southeast of present-day Bo County 亳縣, Anhui.

75 Jin, known in history as Lord Xuan, ruled over Wei in the years 718–700.

4.3(4) 宋殤公之即位也，公子馮出奔鄭。鄭人欲納之。及衛州吁立，將修先君之怨於鄭，而求寵於諸侯，以和其民。使告於宋曰：「君若伐鄭，以除君害，君為主，敝邑以賦與陳、蔡從，則衛國之願也。」

宋人許之。於是陳、蔡方睦於衛，故宋公、陳侯、蔡人、衛人伐鄭，圍其東門，五日而還。

公問於眾仲曰：「衛州吁其成乎？」對曰：「臣聞以德和民，不聞以亂。以亂，猶治絲而棼之也。夫州吁，阻兵而安忍。阻兵，無眾；安忍，無親。眾叛、親離，難以濟矣。夫兵，猶火也；弗戢，將自焚也。夫州吁弒其君，而虐用其民，於是乎不務令德，而欲以亂成，必不免矣。」

4.4(5) 秋，諸侯復伐鄭。宋公使來乞師，公辭之。羽父請以師會之，公弗許。固請而行。故書曰「翬帥師」，疾之也。諸侯之師敗鄭徒兵，取其禾而還。

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76 He is, of course, referring to Gongzi Ping of Song, who was a rival to Lord Shang and had fled to Zheng.

77 *Shiji* 37.1592 adds to this account by saying that sometime earlier Zhouxu had "sought to become friends" with Gongshu Duan and that his attack on Zheng was undertaken on behalf of Duan.

78 The point of mentioning the defeat of the infantry seems to be to indicate that this battle involved no loss of chariots and hence was not a serious blow to the domain of Zheng.

Three strands of narrative converge as Zhouxu (Yin 3.7, 4.1) tries to take advantage of the displaced Gongzi Ping of Song (Yin 3.5) to repay Wei's grudge against Zheng (Yin 1.11, 2.7).

When Lord Shang of Song acceded to his position, Gongzi Ping left Song and fled to Zheng. The Zheng leaders wanted to install him in power in Song. When Zhouxu of Wei was established as ruler, he was going to foster the resentment the former Wei rulers had held against Zheng and seek favor among the princes as a way to pacify his own people. He sent someone to proclaim in Song as follows: "If you, my lord, were to attack Zheng, so as to remove the threat you face,[76] then you will be the leader, and our humble settlement will contribute troops and join forces with Chen and Cai to follow you. This is what the domain of Wei wishes!" 4.3(4)

The Song leaders agreed to this. Precisely at this time, Chen and Cai were on friendly terms with Wei, and that is why the Duke of Song, the Prince of Chen, a Cai leader, and a Wei leader attacked Zheng. They laid siege to the eastern gate of the capital, but after five days they returned home.[77]

Our lord asked Zhong Zhong, "Do you suppose that Zhouxu of Wei will succeed?" He responded, "I have heard of pacifying the people through virtue, but I have not heard of doing so through disorder. To do so through disorder is like trying to unsnarl silk threads and entangling them further. Zhouxu depends upon weaponry and is comfortable with cruelty. If he depends upon weaponry, he will not have the support of the multitude. If he is comfortable with cruelty, he will not have close associates. When the people turn against him and his close associates are alienated, it will be difficult to succeed! Now, weapons are the same as fire. If one does not contain it, one will be consumed oneself. Zhouxu assassinated his ruler and has cruelly used his people. If at this crucial juncture, he does not strive for exemplary virtue but wishes to succeed through disorder, he surely will not escape calamity!"

The Lu minister Gongzi Hui disobeys his ruler and leads troops against Zheng. His impetuosity will be seen again in a later episode (Yin 10.2).

In autumn, the princes again attacked Zheng. The Duke of Song sent someone to us to plead for troops. Our lord courteously declined. Gongzi Hui[a] asked to lead troops and meet up with Song, but our lord would not allow it. He was insistent in his request and then departed on his own. Thus, that the text says, "Hui led out troops," is to criticize him. The troops of the princes defeated the infantry of Zheng,[78] seized their grains, and returned home. 4.4(5)

4.5(6) 州吁未能和其民，厚問定君於石子。石子曰：「王覲為可。」曰：「何以得覲？」曰：「陳桓公方有寵於王。陳、衛方睦，若朝陳使請，必可得也。」

厚從州吁如陳。石碏使告于陳曰：「衛國褊小，老夫耄矣，無能為也。此二人者，實弒寡君，敢即圖之。」陳人執之，而請涖于衛。九月，衛人使右宰醜涖殺州吁于濮。石碏使其宰獳羊肩涖殺石厚于陳。

君子曰：「石碏，純臣也。惡州吁而厚與焉。『大義滅親』，其是之謂乎！」

4.6(7) 衛人逆公子晉于邢。冬，十二月，宣公即位。書曰「衛人立晉」，眾也。

春秋

5.1(1) 五年，春，公矢魚于棠。

5.2(3) 夏，四月，葬衛桓公。

5.3(6) 秋，衛師入郕。

5.4(7) 九月，考仲子之宮。初獻六羽。

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79 Tong Shuye (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan yanjiu*, 46) argues that Shi Que's advice indicates that the Zhou king still possessed considerable moral authority over the lords.

80 This becomes a common proverb.

81 Both the *Guliang*, Yin 5 (2.21), and the *Gongyang*, Yin 5 (3.34), commentaries have *guan* 觀, "to inspect," instead of *shi* 矢. Some have suggested that the latter be taken in the meaning of "arrow" and understood as *she* 射, "to shoot": "the lord shot fish

Zhouxu's brief control of Wei comes to an end as Shi Que sets a trap that leads to the execution of both his ruler and his own son (Yin 3.7, 4.1, 4.3). The noble man here puts public dutifulness above personal kinship relations.

Zhouxu was not yet able to unify his people. Hou asked his father, Shi Que[a], about stabilizing the position of the ruler, and Shi Que[a] said, "An audience with the king would accomplish this."[79] Hou asked, "How does one gain an audience?" Shi Que said, "Lord Huan of Chen just now is in favor with the king, and Chen and Wei just now are at peace. If you visit the court of Chen and have them make the request, certainly an audience could be gained." 4.5(6)

Hou went along with Zhouxu to Chen. Shi Que sent someone to declare to Chen as follows: "The domain of Wei is narrow and small, and I, the old man, am infirm. There really is nothing I can accomplish. It was none other than these two men who assassinated our ruler. I presume to use this opportunity to lay plans to ensnare them." The Chen leaders arrested them and requested that Wei oversee the matter. In the ninth month, the Wei leaders sent Steward of the Right Chou to oversee the execution of Zhouxu in Pu. Shi Que sent his steward Nou Yangjian to oversee the execution of Shi Hou in Chen.

The noble man said, "Shi Que was a subject of the purest sort. He hated Zhouxu and Shi Hou associated with him. 'For the sake of great dutifulness, he exterminates his kin.'[80] Surely this is what is meant!"

The Wei leaders met Gongzi Jin in Xing. In winter, the twelfth month, Gongzi Jin (later Lord Xuan), acceded to his position. The text says, "Wei leaders instated Jin": this was the multitude's will. 4.6(7)

LORD YIN 5 (718 BCE)

ANNALS

In the fifth year, in spring, our lord arrayed the fishermen at Tang.[81] 5.1(1)

In summer, in the fourth month, Lord Huan of Wei was buried. 5.2(3)

In autumn, Wei troops entered Cheng.[82] 5.3(6)

In the ninth month, we dedicated a temple for Zhong Zi. For the first time, a six-row feather dance was offered. 5.4(7)

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at Tang." For the meaning "arrayed" in the sense of *chen* 陳, see Yang, 1:39. Tang 棠 was located in the domain of Lu and has been identified with present-day Yucheng Town 魚城鎮, north of Yutai County 魚臺縣, Shandong.

82 Cheng was a small domain that belonged to the Ji 姬 lineage. It is of uncertain location, although southeast of present-day Pu County 濮縣, Shandong, is one possibility (Yang, 1:42–43).

5.5(8) 邾人、鄭人伐宋。

5.6 螟。

5.7(9) 冬，十有二月辛巳，公子彄卒。

5.8(10) 宋人伐鄭，圍長葛。

左傳

5.1(1) 五年，春，公將如棠觀魚者。臧僖伯諫曰：「凡物不足以講大事，其材不足以備器用，則君不舉焉。君，將納民於軌、物者也。故講事以度軌量謂之軌，取材以章物采謂之物。不軌不物，謂之亂政。亂政亟行，所以敗也。故春蒐、夏苗、秋獮、冬狩，皆於農隙以講事也。三年而治兵，入而振旅。歸而飲至，以數軍實。昭文章，明貴賤，辨等列，順少長，習威儀也。鳥獸之肉不登於俎，皮革、齒牙、骨角、毛羽不登於器，則公不射，古之制也。若夫山林、川澤之實，器用之資，皁隸之事，官司之守，非君所及也。」

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83 Changge 長葛 was located in the domain of Zheng northeast of present-day Changge County 長葛縣, Henan.

84 Commentators explain "great affairs" (*da shi* 大事) as affairs concerning sacrifices and the military (see also Cheng 13.2). Legge (18) translates as follows: "All *pursuit* of creatures in which the great affairs *of the state* are not illustrated . . ."

85 Here we are given the names of the four seasonal hunts, which were obviously also regarded as military exercises.

86 See Huan 2.7 for the celebration at the Ancestral Temple on the return of an expedition.

87 According to one commentator, when the troops marched forth to battle, the younger soldiers were placed in the front ranks and the older were put at the back.

A Zhu leader and a Zheng leader attacked Song. 5.5(8)

There was an infestation of caterpillars. 5.6

In winter, in the twelfth month, on the *xinsi* day (29), Gongzi Kou (Zang Xibo) died. 5.7(9)

A Song leader attacked Zheng and laid siege to Changge.[83] 5.8(10)

ZUO

In the following passage, the Lu ruler plans a seemingly innocuous visit to "inspect the fisheries," only to receive a stern lecture concerning the rather limited activities appropriate to a ruler. Such concern about how a ruler's example can change mores is also encountered in Huan 2.2 and Zhuang 23.1, 24.1, and 24.2.

In the fifth year, in spring, our lord was going to visit Tang to inspect the fisheries. Zang Xibo remonstrated: "In all cases when an object does not suffice for instruction in the great affairs,[84] or a material in no way suffices for supplying vessels and instruments, the ruler takes no action with regard to it. A ruler is the one who guides the people into the right paths and the proper usage of objects. That is why offering instruction in the great affairs so as to fix the right paths and measures is called 'establishing the path.' And selecting materials so as to display the color of objects is called 'establishing the proper use of objects.' Failing to establish right paths and the proper usage of objects is called 'disorderly government.' Disorderly government repeatedly practiced is the reason a domain suffers defeat. That is why the spring *sou* hunt, the summer *miao* hunt, the autumn *xian* hunt, and the winter *shou* hunt all involve military instruction undertaken during breaks in the agricultural seasons.[85] Every three years, we drill the soldiers, enter the capital, and marshal the troops. When the troops return from an expedition, there is drinking to celebrate their arrival, and the spoils are numbered.[86] We display the patterned insignia, clarify the noble and the base, distinguish the levels and ranks, and put in harmony the young and the old:[87] this is for the sake of exercising the authority of ceremonial decorum. If the flesh of a bird or a beast is not to be put upon the sacrificial stand, or the skins and hides, teeth and tusks, bone and horn, or hair and feathers are not to be put in a sacrificial vessel, then a lord does not engage in archery. This is the system of old. As for the products of the mountains, forests, rivers, and marshes, these are the materials for ordinary vessels and articles of use, the affairs of menial laborers, and the duties of petty officers; they are not the concern of a ruler." 5.1(1)

公曰：「吾將略地焉。」遂往，陳魚而觀之，僖伯稱疾不從。書曰「公矢魚于棠」，非禮也，且言遠地也。

5.2 曲沃莊伯以鄭人、邢人伐翼，王使尹氏、武氏助之。翼侯奔隨。

5.3(2) 夏，葬衛桓公。衛亂，是以緩。

5.4 四月，鄭人侵衛牧，以報東門之役，衛人以燕師伐鄭，鄭祭足、原繁、洩駕以三軍軍其前，使曼伯與子元潛軍軍其後。燕人畏鄭三軍，而不虞制人。六月，鄭二公子以制人敗燕師于北制。

君子曰：「不備不虞，不可以師。」

5.5 曲沃叛王。秋，王命虢公伐曲沃，而立哀侯于翼。

5.6(3) 衛之亂也，邾人侵衛，故衛師入邾。

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88 The phrase *lue di* 略地 is problematic (see Karlgren, gl. 13). We have followed the interpretation of Yang (1:44) and of Wang Li (*Wang Li gu Hanyu zidian*, 745, where he glosses this very example).

89 Since Zang Xibo died later in the same year, this may have been more than just a "diplomatic sickness."

90 Quwo 曲沃 was a capital of the Jin domain and was located east of present-day Wenxi County 聞喜縣, Shanxi (see map 3). Yi 翼 was also in Jin and located southeast of present-day Yicheng County 翼城縣, Shanxi.

91 Sui 隨 was located in the domain of Jin southeast of present-day Jiexiu County 介休縣, Shanxi. A rebellion had been raging in Jin for five generations, and Yang (1:44) thinks that this had prevented Jin emissaries from coming to Lu with reports that could then have been incorporated into the *Annals*. Rival branches of the Jin ruling house had their power bases in Quwo and Yi (Jiang). According to Huan 2.8 (Yang, 1:91–95) and *Shiji* 39.1638–39, Prince Zhao of Jin (r. 745–740) had granted the city Quwo to Chengshi, the younger brother of his predecessor Prince Wen (r. 780–746). Quwo became larger than the Jin capital, called Yi here (earlier known as Jiang, a name it would later resume). Chengshi eventually used Quwo as the base of an unsuccessful rebellion. Liege Zhuang, referred to above, was Chengshi's son. He continued the rebellion, killing Prince Xiao of Jin (r. 739–724), the successor to Prince Zhao. However, the people of Jin drove Liege Zhuang back into Quwo. After Prince Hou's successor Prince E (r. 723–718) died, Liege Zhuang attacked again, the attack referred to in the *Zuozhuan* entry above.

92 As noted in the Kong Yingda commentary (*ZZ*-Kong 3.61), this minor state of Yān, sometimes called Southern Yān, was located about ninety kilometers northeast of the capital of Zheng and is to be distinguished from the larger Yan, located near present-day Beijing, that played a role in Warring States affairs.

93 Identifying Manbo with Gongzi Hu (later Lord Zhao of Zheng) is controversial. Yang (1:45) prefers identifying him with Ziyi, who appears later in Zhuang 14.2. Gongzi Tu (called Ziyuan here) later becomes Lord Li of Zheng. Thus, the two "noble sons" who defeated the Yān army would be Gongzi Hu and Gongzi Tu, who later vie for the throne in Zheng.

Our lord said, "I will inspect the borderlands."[88] Consequently, he went out, arrayed the fishermen, and inspected them. Zang Xibo claimed that he was sick and did not go along.[89] The text says, "Our lord arrayed the fishermen at Tang": this was not in accordance with ritual propriety, and it is saying, moreover, that Tang was a distant place.

The affairs of the domain of Jin, where Quwo is located, first enter the narrative. Background can be found in Huan 2.8.

Liege Zhuang of Quwo took the men of Zheng and the men of Xing to attack Yi.[90] The king sent the Yin lineage head and the Wu lineage head to assist them. The Prince of Yi fled to Sui.[91] 5.2

In summer, Lord Huan of Wei was buried. Wei was in disorder, so the burial was delayed. 5.3(2)

Conflict between Zheng and Wei continues, this time initiated by Zheng to avenge the actions reported in Yin 4.3.

In the fourth month, the men of Zheng invaded the pastures of Wei in order to avenge the campaign at the eastern gate. The Wei leaders took along Yān troops to attack Zheng.[92] Zhai Zhong[a], Yuan Fan, and Xie Jia of Zheng led three armies and stationed them in the vanguard. They sent Gongzi Hu[a] and Gongzi Tu[a] to hide an army and station it to the rear of enemy lines.[93] The men of Yān feared the three Zheng armies but had not anticipated the men of Zhi.[94] In the sixth month, the two noble sons of Zheng led the men of Zhi to defeat the Yān troops at Northern Zhi.[95] 5.4

The noble man said, "If you are not prepared for the unexpected, you cannot command troops."

The trouble in Jin broadens to include the Zhou king (Yin 5.2).

Quwo rebelled against the king. In autumn, the king commanded Jifu, the Guo Duke[a], to attack Quwo and establish Prince Ai as ruler at Yi.[96] 5.5

While Wei was in disorder, the men of Cheng invaded Wei. That is why Wei troops entered Cheng. 5.6(3)

94 The ambushing troops led by Gongzi Hu and Gongzi Tu were obviously hidden near the city of Zhi behind the invading troops from Wei and Yan.

95 Yang (1:45) identifies this place with Hulao and the "strategic place" mentioned in Yin 1.4 earlier (see map 3).

96 Prince Ai governed Jin from 717 to 710 (see *Shiji* 39.1639, 14.551–57).

5.7(4) 九月，考仲子之宮將萬焉。公問羽數於眾仲。對曰：「天子用八，諸侯用六，大夫四，士二。夫舞，所以節八音而行八風，故自八以下。」

公從之。於是初獻六羽，始用六佾也。

5.8(5) 宋人取邾田。邾人告於鄭曰：「請君釋憾於宋，敝邑為道。」

鄭人以王師會之，伐宋，入其郛，以報東門之役。宋人使來告命。公聞其入郛也，將救之，問於使者曰：「師何及？」對曰：「未及國。」公怒，乃止。辭使者曰：「君命寡人同恤社稷之難，今問諸使者，曰：『師未及國』，非寡人之所敢知也。」

5.9(7) 冬，十二月辛巳，臧僖伯卒。公曰：「叔父有憾於寡人，寡人弗敢忘。」葬之加一等。

5.10(8) 宋人伐鄭，圍長葛，以報入郛之役也。

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97 The eight sounds are those produced by instruments made, respectively, of metal, stone, silk thread, bamboo, gourds, earth, hide, and wood. The eight winds are named in *Lüshi chunqiu* 13.658. See also Xiang 29.13, Zhao 20.8, and Zhao 25.3. The "eight-row dance" (*bayi* 八佾) is also identified as ceremonial entertainment appropriate only for rulers in *Analects* 3.1.

98 In the performance of this dance, eight dancers form one row, and the number of rows in a performance, as noted in Yin 5.7, was fixed according to the rank of the person being honored. Eight rows were specified for the Son of Heaven, but the domain of Lu, with leaders descending from the Zhou Duke, had also used eight rows until this occasion. Confucius complains in *Analects* 3.1 about the Ji lineage from Lu that still presumed, in the first part of the fifth century BCE, to use eight rows. The performers of this dance held poles to which pheasant feathers were affixed.

On the death of Zhong Zi, mother of the subsequent Lord of Lu, see Annals, *Yin 2.8. The entry below resembles several others in* Zuozhuan *that explain the origin of certain customs or institutions (see, e.g., Xi 33.3, Xuan 8.5, Cheng 2.4, Xiang 4.8, Xiang 6.1, Zhao 10.3, Ding 8.6).*

In the ninth month, we dedicated a temple for Zhong Zi, and the Wan dance was going to be performed there. Our lord asked Zhong Zhong about the number of feathered dancers to use. He responded, "The Son of Heaven employs eight rows, princes employ six, high officers four, and regular officers two. Dance is a means of regulating the eight sounds and making the eight winds circulate.[97] That is why the number ranges from eight down." 5.7(4)

Our lord followed this. Thereupon, for the first time, they offered six rows of feathered dancers. This was the beginning of using six rows.[98]

Zheng, still smarting from Song's invasion the previous year (Yin 4.3), finds an opportunity to attack Song. Lu refuses to intercede because the danger to Song is not yet deemed sufficiently serious.

The men of Song occupied the fields of Zhu. A Zhu leader reported this to Zheng, saying, "We request that you, my lord, vent your resentment upon Song. And our humble settlement will lead the way." 5.8(5)

With troops from the king, the men of Zheng joined with Zhu and attacked Song and entered their outer ramparts to avenge the campaign at the eastern gate. The Song leaders sent someone to us to convey his ruler's command. When our lord heard that the forces had entered the outer ramparts of Song, he was prepared to rescue them. He asked the envoy, "How far have the troops advanced?" When the messenger responded, "They have not yet reached the capital," our lord became angry and immediately stopped action. Dismissing the envoy, he said, "Your ruler commanded that I, the unworthy one, share his care for the troubles besetting his altars of the domain, but now when I ask the envoy about it, he says, 'The troops have not yet reached the capital.' This is not something I would presume to take notice of."

Lord Yin gives a posthumous reward to Zang Xibo, who had been frustrated with Lord Yin, presumably over earlier events (Yin 5.1).

In winter, in the twelfth month, on the *xinsi* day (29), Zang Xibo died. Our lord said, "My uncle was resentful of me, the unworthy one. I would not presume to forget that." In burying him, our lord added one rank. 5.9(7)

The cycle of revenge between Song and Zheng continues (Yin 5.8).

The men of Song attacked Zheng and laid siege to Changge: this was to avenge the campaign in which Zheng had entered the outer ramparts. 5.10(8)

春秋

6.1(1) 六年，春，鄭人來渝平。

6.2(3) 夏，五月辛酉，公會齊侯盟于艾。

6.3 秋，七月。

6.4(5) 冬，宋人取長葛。

左傳

6.1(1) 六年，春，鄭人來渝平，更成也。

6.2 翼九宗五正、頃父之子嘉父逆晉侯于隨，納諸鄂，晉人謂之鄂侯。

6.3(2) 夏，盟于艾，始平于齊也。

6.4 五月庚申，鄭伯侵陳，大獲。往歲，鄭伯請成于陳，陳侯不許。五父諫曰：「親仁善鄰，國之寶也。君其許鄭！」陳侯曰：「宋、衛實難，鄭何能為？」遂不許。

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99 Ai 艾 was located in the domain of Qi southwest of present-day Xintai County 新泰縣, Shandong.

100 Ding 4.1 (506 BCE) describes the original investiture of the rulers of Jin. To Tang Shu, the younger brother of King Wu and the first ruler of Jin, were given "nine ancestral lines of the Huai clan and five regulators for overseeing official duties" (Yang, 4:1539). By this time, several hundred years later, the title "nine ancestral clans and five regulators" seems to have become the name of an office in Jin (Yang, 1:49). The use of this title here indicates that Qingfu was of high status. Yi was likely the place where Qingfu and Jiafu resided.

LORD YIN 6 (717 BCE)

ANNALS

In the sixth year, in spring, a Zheng leader came to sue for peace. 6.1(1)

In summer, in the fifth month, on the *xinyou* day (12), our lord met with the Prince of Qi and swore a covenant at Ai.[99] 6.2(3)

Autumn, the seventh month. 6.3

In winter, a Song leader took Changge. 6.4(5)

ZUO

In spring, in the sixth year, a Zheng leader came to sue for peace: this was to reestablish accord. 6.1(1)

The following short entry deals with the aftermath of the rebellions in Jin (Yin 5.2, 5.5).

Jiafu, the son of Qingfu of Yi, officer for the nine ancestral lines and five regulators,[100] met the Prince of Jin at Sui and installed him in power at E.[101] The men of Jin called him "Prince E." 6.2

In summer, our lord swore a covenant at Ai: this was the beginning of peace with Qi.[102] 6.3(2)

Zheng retaliates against Chen, who had been a part of the earlier alliance against Zheng (Yin 4.3). Assuming a rather pro-Zheng perspective, the noble man here castigates as evil a Chen ruler who seems guilty of little more than strategic miscalculation.

In the fifth month, on the *gengshen* day (11), the Liege of Zheng invaded Chen and took a large amount of spoils. In the previous year, the Liege of Zheng had requested peace with Chen, but the Prince of Chen had not agreed. Wufu had remonstrated: "To draw near the noble in spirit and to treat one's neighbor well are the treasures of a domain. I hope that you, my lord, will agree to Zheng's request." The Prince of Chen said, "It is Song and Wei that are the threats. What can Zheng do?" So he did not agree. 6.4

101 E 鄂 was located in Jin south of present-day Xiangning County 鄉寧縣, Shanxi.

102 This presumably resolved conflict that had existed between Lu and Qi previous to the beginning of the *Annals* in 722 BCE.

君子曰：「善不可失，惡不可長，其陳桓公之謂乎！長惡不悛，從自及也。雖欲救之，其將能乎？商書曰：『惡之易也，如火之燎于原，不可鄉邇，其猶可撲滅？』周任有言曰：『為國家者，見惡如農夫之務去草焉，芟夷薀崇之，絕其本根，勿使能殖，則善者信矣。』」

6.5(4) 秋，宋人取長葛。

6.6 冬，京師來告饑，公為之請糴於宋、衛、齊、鄭，禮也。

6.7 鄭伯如周，始朝桓王也。王不禮焉。周桓公言於王曰：「我周之東遷，晉、鄭焉依。善鄭以勸來者，猶懼不蔽，況不禮焉？鄭不來矣。」

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103 *Shangshu,* "Pan Geng shang" 盤庚上, 9.129. This is the first of numerous quotations from the *Documents* (Shu 書) in *Zuozhuan*. The textual history of the *Documents* is complex and will not be given here in any detail. Suffice it to say that there were various versions of the *Documents* during the time *Zuozhuan* was compiled. After the Qin bibliocaust of 213 BCE, two main versions circulated, a Modern Script (*jinwen* 今文) version, so-named because it was written in the Qin reformed script, and an Ancient Script (*guwen* 古文) version, written in the pre-Qin script. The latter subsequently disappeared but was then "reconstituted" during the third and fourth centuries CE. In subsequent quotations from the *Documents*, we will indicate those cases where the quotation is now found in the Ancient Script version. However, the precise relationship between these versions and what existed during the latter Zhou period is unclear. See Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics,* 127–35.

104 The Han scholar Ma Rong (79–166 CE) identifies Zhou Ren as "a skilled scribe of ancient times" (see Yang, 1:50).

The noble man said, "Good relations are not to be neglected; enmity is not to be nurtured. Surely this could refer to Lord Huan of Chen! By nurturing enmity and not repenting, he went the way of bringing disaster upon himself. Although one might desire to save a person like this, would one be capable of it? As it says in the *Shang Documents*, 'The spread of iniquity is like a fire blazing on the plains. One cannot even draw near to it, so how could one beat it out?'[103] Zhou Ren[104] has a saying, 'Those who rule domains and patrimonies look upon iniquity in the same way a farmer exerts effort to remove weeds: he cuts them down and piles them up, eradicates them and does not allow them to grow. Only then can good be extended.'"

The Zheng settlement of Changge falls to Song (Yin 5.10).

In autumn, a Song leader took Changge.[105] 6.5(4)

In winter, a report of famine came from the capital. Our lord, because of this, made requests in Song, Wei, Qi, and Zheng for shipments of grain. This was in accordance with ritual propriety. 6.6

Zheng's troubled relations with the Zhou court continue (Yin 3.3) as the Zheng leader makes his initial visit to the new Zhou ruler, King Huan (r. 719–697).

The Liege of Zheng went to Zhou. This was the first time he visited the court of King Huan. The king did not accord him the appropriate ritual propriety. The Zhou Duke Huan[106] said to the king, "In our Zhou relocation to the east, it was upon Jin and Zheng that we relied. If we treat Zheng well, we encourage others to come to our court. Even at that, I am afraid they will not arrive. How much less so if we do not treat Zheng with ritual propriety so that even Zheng will come no more!" 6.7

105 The *Annals* says this took place in winter; *Zuozhuan*, in autumn. Yang (1:51) explains that the domain of Song perhaps employed the Shang calendar and the discrepancy arises from this.

106 It is somewhat confusing that the king and the Zhou Duke have the same posthumous name, Huan. The latter is identified later on as Heijian 黑肩 (Huan 18.3). He is from the royal family and held a high position at court.

春秋

7.1 七年，春，王三月，叔姬歸于紀。

7.2(1) 滕侯卒。

7.3(2) 夏，城中丘。

7.4(3) 齊侯使其弟年來聘。

7.5(4) 秋，公伐邾。

7.6(5) 冬，天王使凡伯來聘。戎伐凡伯于楚丘以歸。

左傳

7.1(2) 七年，春，滕侯卒。不書名，未同盟也。凡諸侯同盟，於是稱名，故薨則赴以名，告終、稱嗣也，以繼好息民，謂之禮經。

7.2(3) 夏，城中丘。書不時也。

7.3(4) 齊侯使夷仲年來聘，結艾之盟也。

7.4(5) 秋，宋及鄭平。七月庚申，盟于宿。公伐邾，為宋討也。

7.5(6) 初，戎朝于周，發幣于公卿，凡伯弗賓。冬，王使凡伯來聘。還，戎伐之于楚丘以歸。

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107 Du Yu and other commentators believe that Shu Ji is going as secondary consort, setting out this year only because she was too young to accompany Bo Ji in Yin 2.6 (*ZZ* 4.3b).

108 Teng 滕 was the name of a domain located to the southeast of Lu near present-day Teng County 滕縣 in Shandong (map 2).

109 Zhongqiu 中丘 was located in the domain of Lu northeast of present-day Linyi County 臨沂縣, Shandong.

110 "Official visits" (*pin* 聘) take place when a superior visits an inferior or peers visit each other, while a "court visit" (*chao* 朝) involves an inferior visiting a superior. Thus, the rulers of small domains make court visits, while great domains send high officers to pay official visits. See Gu Donggao, "Chunqiu binli biao" 春秋賓禮表, in *Chunqiu dashi biao*.

111 Fan 凡 was the name of a small domain that was located north of the Yellow River in Henan, and the Fan Liege served hereditarily as a high official in the Zhou court. Chuqiu 楚丘 was located between Song and Cao to the southwest of Chengwu County 成武縣, Shandong.

LORD YIN 7 (716 BCE)

ANNALS

In the seventh year, in spring, in the royal third month, Shu Ji went to marry in Ji.[107] 7.1

The Prince of Teng died.[108] 7.2(1)

In summer, we fortified Zhongqiu.[109] 7.3(2)

The Prince of Qi sent his younger brother, Nian (Yi Zhongnian), to us on an official visit.[110] 7.4(3)

In autumn, our lord attacked Zhu. 7.5(4)

In winter, the Heaven-appointed king sent the Fan Liege to us on an official visit. The Rong attacked the Fan Liege at Chuqiu and took him home with them.[111] 7.6(5)

ZUO

In the seventh year, in spring, the Prince of Teng died. It does not record his birth name because Teng had not yet joined in a covenant with Lu. In all cases when one of the princes has joined in a covenant with us, then he is referred to by name. Therefore, when one expired, the notice of death used birth names, announced the death, and proclaimed the successor in order to continue good relations and to calm the people. We consider this a regular principle of ritual propriety. 7.1(2)

In summer, we fortified Zhongqiu: this is recorded because it was not timely. 7.2(3)

The covenant of Ai between Qi and Lu is confirmed (Yin 6.3).

The Prince of Qi sent Yi Zhongnian to us on an official visit: this was to make fast the covenant of Ai. 7.3(4)

A peace agreement brings a temporary end to the conflict between Song and Zheng (Yin 5.8, 5.10). Zhu had instigated one of the attacks on Song and is now punished by Lu.

In autumn, Song and Zheng made peace. In the seventh month, on the *gengshen* day (17), they swore a covenant at Su. Our lord attacked Zhu: this was to chastise it on behalf of Song. 7.4(5)

Earlier, the Rong had visited the Zhou court and had distributed gifts to the princes and ministers. The Fan Liege did not treat them appropriately as guests. In winter, the king sent the Fan Liege to us on an official visit. As he was returning, the Rong attacked him at Chuqiu and took him home with them. 7.5(6)

7.6 陳及鄭平。十二月，陳五父如鄭涖盟。壬申，及鄭伯盟，歃如忘。洩伯曰：「五父必不免，不賴盟矣。」

鄭良佐如陳涖盟，辛巳，及陳侯盟，亦知陳之將亂也。

7.7 鄭公子忽在王所，故陳侯請妻之，鄭伯許之，乃成婚。

春秋

8.1(1) 八年，春，宋公、衛侯遇于垂。

8.2(2) 三月，鄭伯使宛來歸祊。庚寅，我入祊。

8.3 夏，六月己亥，蔡侯考父卒。

8.4 辛亥，宿男卒。

8.5(5) 秋，七月庚午，宋公、齊侯、衛侯盟于瓦屋。

8.6 八月，葬蔡宣公。

8.7(7) 九月辛卯，公及莒人盟于浮來。

8.8 螟。

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112 Chui 垂 was located in the domain of Wei north of present-day Cao County 曹縣, Shandong.

113 According to Du Yu (*ZZ* 4.73), Wawu 瓦屋 was located in the royal domain of Zhou northwest of present-day Wen County 溫縣, Henan.

114 Fulai 浮來 was located in the small domain of Ju west of present-day Ju County 莒縣, Shandong.

Chen and Zheng end the hostility of the past few years (Yin 4.3, 6.7), and Xie Jia makes an ominous prediction about Wufu, which will come to pass (Annals, Huan 6.4). Note that Wufu is presented as the voice of sagacity in an earlier entry (Yin 6.4). Judgment in Zuozhuan *tends to pertain to specific situations, and inconsistency in the portrayal of a character often passes without comment.*

Chen and Zheng made peace. In the twelfth month, Wufu of Chen went to Zheng to oversee the covenant. On the *renshen* day (2), he swore a covenant with the Liege of Zheng. But as he smeared his lips with blood, he appeared inattentive. Xie Jia[a] said, "Wufu surely will not escape disaster. He does not put his trust in the covenant." 7.6

Liang Zuo of Zheng went to Chen to oversee the covenant. On the *xinsi* day (11) of the month, as he swore the covenant with the Prince of Chen, he also perceived that Chen was about to fall into disorder.

Gongzi Hu, the Zheng hostage in Zhou, marries a daughter of Chen (Yin 3.3). His refusal to form a marriage alliance with Qi may explain his downfall (Huan 6.4).

Gongzi Hu of Zheng resided at the king's residence. That is why the Prince of Chen requested to give him his daughter as wife. The Liege of Zheng agreed to this, so they concluded the marriage ceremony. 7.7

LORD YIN 8 (715 BCE)

ANNALS

In the eighth year, in spring, the Duke of Song and the Prince of Wei met up at Chui.[112] 8.1(1)

In the third month, the Liege of Zheng sent Wan to come to present Beng. On the *gengyin* day (21), we entered Beng. 8.2(2)

In summer, in the sixth month, on the *jihai* day (21), Kaofu, the Prince of Cai, died. 8.3

On the *xinhai* day (14), the Head of Su died. 8.4

In autumn, in the seventh month, on the *gengwu* day (3), the Duke of Song, the Prince of Qi, and the Prince of Wei swore a covenant at Wawu.[113] 8.5(5)

In the eighth month, Lord Xuan of Cai was buried. 8.6

In the ninth month, on the *xinmao* day (25), our lord and a Ju leader swore a covenant at Fulai.[114] 8.7(7)

There was an infestation of caterpillars. 8.8

8.9(9) 冬，十有二月，無駭卒。

左傳

8.1(1) 八年，春，齊侯將平宋、衛，有會期。宋公以幣請於衛，請先相見。衛侯許之，故遇于犬丘。

8.2(2) 鄭伯請釋泰山之祀而祀周公，以泰山之祊易許田。三月，鄭伯使宛來歸祊，不祀泰山也。

8.3 夏，虢公忌父始作卿士于周。

8.4 四月甲辰，鄭公子忽如陳逆婦嬀。辛亥，以嬀氏歸。甲寅，入于鄭。陳鍼子送女，先配而後祖。鍼子曰：「是不為夫婦，誣其祖矣。非禮也，何以能育？」

115 The wording here is ambiguous and can be read "to make peace between Song and Wei." However, the latter two domains had been allies against Zheng. Yin 8.4 makes it quite clear that the prince was attempting to make peace between Song and Wei on the one side and Zheng on the other (Yang, 1:57–58).

116 Yang (1:58) notes that Quanqiu 犬丘 is an alternate name for Chui 垂, the place name that appears in *Annals* 8.1.

117 Zheng had been founded in 806 BCE when the younger brother of the mother of King Xuan of Zhou (r. 827–782) was granted this region as his domain. This original ruler of Zheng is known to history as Lord Huan (r. 806–771). At the time he was granted Zheng, Huan was also given Beng, which was located in the region of Lu near Mount Tai, quite far removed from Zheng, as a place where he could stay when attending the king's sacrifices at the sacred mountain. However, these sacrifices had not been offered for a long time, and Beng served no real purpose for the domain of Zheng. The lands of Xǔ, by contrast, were adjacent to Zheng but had been presented earlier to Lu as a place where leaders could stay on their journeys to the Zhou capital. Thus, the land swap described here would reunite each domain with a piece of land

In winter, in the twelfth month, Wuhai died. 8.9(9)

ZUO

The Prince of Qi reconciles Song and Wei with Zheng, ending a long-standing conflict (see, e.g., Yin 4.4).

In the eighth year, in spring, the Prince of Qi, intended to bring peace to Song and Wei.[115] A time had already been set for a meeting. The Duke of Song made a request to Wei with gifts, asking that they see each other beforehand. The Prince of Wei agreed to this, and that is why they met up at Quanqiu.[116] 8.1(1)

The land swap between Lu and Zheng described below takes place only after three years have passed (Huan 1.1 below).

The Liege of Zheng asked to give up the sacrificial shrine at Mount Tai and offer sacrifices instead to the Zhou Duke and thereby exchange Beng near Mount Tai for the lands of Xǔ. In the third month, the Liege of Zheng sent Wan to come to present Beng: this was because they would no longer sacrifice at Mount Tai.[117] 8.2(2)

From the brief passage below it appears that Guo has indeed gained a privileged relationship with the Zhou court (Yin 3.3).

In summer, Jifu, the Guo Duke, began to act as chief minister in Zhou. 8.3

Gongzi Hu of Zheng, who had been a hostage in Zhou, now returns to his home in Zheng with his new wife from Chen (Yin 3.3, 7.7). A Chen representative who goes along to escort the bride to Zheng disapproves of the couple's conduct. The anecdote is used to explain Gongzi Hu's failure to secure the succession.

In the fourth month, on the *jiachen* day (6), Gongzi Hu of Zheng went to Chen to meet and escort home Gui as bride. On the *xinhai* day (13), he started homeward with the Lady Gui, and on the *jiayin* day (16), he entered Zheng. Qianzi of Chen was escorting the young woman. The couple first had sexual relations and only then sacrificed to the ancestors. Qianzi said, "In this they did not act as proper husband and wife but deceived their ancestors. This was not in accordance with ritual propriety. How will they be able to produce children?" 8.4

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much closer to its capital. The exchange is also mentioned twice in *Shiji*. In the first mention, *Shiji* says that "the noble man criticized it" (33.1529). No such criticism appears in *Zuozhuan*, but *Gongyang* says, "When a Son of Heaven is reigning, princes cannot exchange land with one another" (Huan 1, 4.46). In the second *Shiji* passage (42.1760), the swap is linked to Zheng's anger at Zhou for a lack of ritual courtesy.

8.5(5) 齊人卒平宋、衛于鄭。秋，會于溫，盟于瓦屋，以釋東門之役，禮也。

8.6 八月丙戌，鄭伯以齊人朝王，禮也。

8.7(7) 公及莒人盟于浮來，以成紀好也。

8.8 冬，齊侯使來告成三國。公使眾仲對曰：「君釋三國之圖，以鳩其民，君之惠也。寡君聞命矣，敢不承受君之明德。」

8.9(9) 無駭卒，羽父請謚與族。公問族於眾仲。眾仲對曰：「天子建德，因生以賜姓，胙之土而命之氏。諸侯以字為謚，因以為族。官有世功，則有官族。邑亦如之。」公命以字為展氏。

118 The eighth month did not have a *bingxu* day.
119 For additional information on the topic of clan names, see the introduction.

In the following two passages, the domain of Qi intercedes on Zheng's behalf to dispel ill-will generated by Song and Wei's earlier invasion (Yin 4.3) and to arrange a visit of Lord Zhuang, the Liege of Zheng, to the royal court.

The Qi leaders finally made peace for Song and Wei with Zheng. In autumn, they met up at Wen and swore a covenant at Wawu so as to dispel the ill will from the campaign at the eastern gate. This was in accordance with ritual propriety. 8.5(5)

In the eighth month, on the *bingxu* day,[118] by means of the intercession of the Qi leaders, the Liege of Zheng went to visit the court of the king. This was in accordance with ritual propriety. 8.6

Ju and Ji had earlier sworn a covenant, which was meant to put them both on good terms with Lu (Yin 2.7). The relationships are here further formalized.

Our lord and a Ju leader swore a covenant at Fulai: this was to formalize good relations with Ji. 8.7(7)

The peace agreement between the three domains of Song, Wei, and Zheng, which the domain of Qi has brokered, is announced in Lu (Yin 8.5). Peace will be short-lived (Yin 9.3).

In winter, the Prince of Qi sent someone to us to announce an accord among the three domains. Our lord sent Zhong Zhong to reply, "Your ruler has put an end to the plots of the three domains against one another and has made their people secure. This is the kindness of your ruler. The unworthy ruler has heard your command! Would he presume not to accept your ruler's exemplary virtue?" 8.8

As before (Yin 5.7), Zhong Zhong gives the Lord of Lu critical counsel, this time on the issue of names. This is an important passage explaining the different roots of lineage names.

Wuhai died. Gongzi Hui[a] requested that he be given a posthumous name and a lineage name. Our lord asked Zhong Zhong about lineage names, and Zhong Zhong responded, "When the Son of Heaven establishes the virtuous, he goes by their place of birth in giving them a clan name. In granting them land, he bestows a lineage name upon them. A prince makes the virtuous man's courtesy name a posthumous name for him, and it consequently becomes a lineage name. If in a certain office they have had merit over generations, then they have a lineage name derived from that office. In the case of hereditary settlements it is likewise."[119] Our lord, going by the courtesy name, named them the "Zhan" branch lineage. 8.9(9)

春秋

9.1 九年，春，天王使南季來聘。

9.2(1) 三月癸酉，大雨，震電。庚辰，大雨雪。

9.3 挾卒。

9.4(2) 夏，城郎。

9.5 秋，七月。

9.6(5) 冬，公會齊侯于防。

左傳

9.1(2) 九年，春，王三月癸酉，大雨霖以震，書始也；辰，大雨雪，亦如之。書，時失也。凡雨，自三日以往為霖，平地尺為大雪。

9.2(4) 夏，城郎。書，不時也。

9.3 宋公不王，鄭伯為王左卿士，以王命討之。伐宋。宋以入郛之役怨公，不告命。公怒，絕宋使。

9.4 秋，鄭人以王命來告伐宋。

9.5(6) 冬，公會齊侯于防，謀伐宋也。

120 Xie must be the name of a Lu high officer.

121 A place by this name was fortified in the first year of Lord Yin (1.3). Yang (1:63) suspects that this reference may be to a second Lang 郎 closer to the center of Lu.

122 Fang 防 was located northeast of Fei County, 費縣, Shandong.

LORD YIN 9 (714 BCE)

ANNALS

In the ninth year, in spring, the Heaven-appointed king sent Nan Ji to us on an official visit. 9.1

In the third month, on the *guiyou* day (10), there was a great rainstorm with thunder and lightning. On the *gengchen* day (17), there was a great snowfall. 9.2(1)

Xie died.[120] 9.3

In summer, we fortified Lang.[121] 9.4(2)

Autumn, the seventh month. 9.5

In winter, our lord met with the Prince of Qi at Fang.[122] 9.6(5)

ZUO

In the ninth year, in spring, in the royal third month, on the *guiyou* day (10), there was a great rainstorm with thunder: the text records when the storm began. On the *gengchen* day (17), there was a great snowfall: it does the same in this case. These are recorded because they were out of season. In all cases when it rains for three days or more, it is called "a storm" (*lin*). When there is a foot of snow on the ground, it is called "a great snowfall" (*daxue*). 9.1(2)

In summer, we fortified Lang: this is recorded because it was not timely.[123] 9.2(4)

The brief peace between Zheng and Song (Yin 8.5, 8.8) comes to an end, and Song reacts to the earlier refusal of Lu to provide help (Yin 5.5) despite the fact that Lu had later chastised Zhu on Song's behalf (Yin 7.4).

The Duke of Song did not go to the king's court. The Liege of Zheng was the king's minister of the left and by command of the king went to chastise him. They attacked Song. Because of the campaign in which Zheng had entered their ramparts, Song held a grudge against our lord and did not announce the commands to Lu. Our lord was angry and broke off exchange of envoys with Song. 9.3

In autumn, a Zheng leader came by command of the king to announce the attack upon Song. 9.4

In winter, our lord met with the Prince of Qi at Fang: this was to plan an attack on Song. 9.5(6)

123 That is, it presumably was in conflict with the agricultural season and hence diverted farmers from their usual work in the fields.

9.6 北戎侵鄭。鄭伯禦之，患戎師，曰：「彼徒我車，懼其侵軼我也。」

公子突曰：「使勇而無剛者，嘗寇而速去之。君為三覆以待之。戎輕而不整，貪而無親；勝不相讓，敗不相救。先者見獲，必務進；進而遇覆，必速奔。後者不救，則無繼矣。乃可以逞。」

從之。戎人之前遇覆者奔，祝聃逐之，衷戎師，前後擊之，盡殪。戎師大奔。十一月，甲寅，鄭人大敗戎師。

春秋

10.1(1) 十年，春，王二月，公會齊侯、鄭伯于中丘。

10.2(2) 夏，翬帥師會齊人、鄭人伐宋。

10.3(3) 六月壬戌，公敗宋師于菅。辛未，取郜。辛巳，取防。

124 The fear seems to be that the chariots are not easily maneuverable and will get bogged down among the foot soldiers. Thus, the proposed strategy involves a quick probe and retreat designed to draw part of the Rong army in among the Zheng lines.

The Rong have appeared before (Yin 7.5), but here for the first time they are characterized disapprovingly as a cultural "other." Gongzi Tu is a younger son who will become a usurper and will drive out his older brother, the heir apparent Gongzhi Hu. Here he is implicitly commended for his valor and judgment.

The Northern Rong invaded Zheng. The Liege of Zheng blocked their advance. Worried about the Rong troops, he said, "They are on foot, and we are in chariots. I am afraid they will engulf us from the rear."[124] 9.6

Gongzi Tu said, "Send some soldiers who are brave but not inflexible to probe the enemy and then quickly disengage from them. You, my lord, put ambushes in three places to await them. The Rong are lax and disorganized; they are greedy and know nothing of kith and kin. In victory, they will not defer to one another; and in defeat, they will not save one another. When those in the front ranks see they are going to take captives, they will surely make an effort to advance. As they advance, they will run into our ambushes and then surely will hasten to flee. Those at the back will not rescue them, and there will be no one to continue the attack! And so it is we can resolve matters."

The Liege of Zheng followed this. When the front ranks of the Rong ran into the ambush, they fled. Zhu Dan chased them and split the Rong troops in half. The Zheng force attacked them from the front and from behind and annihilated them. The Rong troops were completely routed. In the eleventh month, on the *jiayin* day,[125] the men of Zheng roundly defeated the Rong army.

LORD YIN 10 (713 BCE)

ANNALS

In the tenth year, in spring, in the royal second month, our lord met with the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng at Zhongqiu. 10.1(1)

In summer, Hui (Gongzi Hui) led out troops, met with a Qi leader and a Zheng leader, and attacked Song. 10.2(2)

In the sixth month, on the *renxu* day (7), our lord defeated Song troops at Guan.[126] On the *xinwei* day (16), we took Gao.[127] On the *xinsi* day (26), we took Fang. 10.3(3)

125 There was no *jiayin* day in the eleventh month of this year.

126 The written character 菅 is normally pronounced *jian*, but Yang (1:67) notes that as a place name it should be *guan*. It was located in the domain of Song north of present-day Dan County 單縣, Shandong.

127 Gao 郜 was located southeast of present-day Chengwu County 成武縣, Shandong.

10.4(4) 秋，宋人、衛人入鄭。宋人、蔡人、衛人伐戴。鄭伯伐取之。

10.5(6) 冬，十月壬午，齊人、鄭人入郜。

左傳

10.1(1) 十年，春，王正月，公會齊侯、鄭伯于中丘。癸丑，盟于鄧，為師期。

10.2(2) 夏，五月，羽父先會齊侯、鄭伯伐宋。

10.3(3) 六月戊申，公會齊侯、鄭伯于老桃。壬戌，公敗宋師于菅。庚午，鄭師入郜；辛未，歸于我。庚辰，鄭師入防；辛巳，歸于我。

君子謂鄭莊公於是乎可謂正矣，以王命討不庭，不貪其土，以勞王爵，正之體也。

128 Yang says that the character 戴 is here pronounced *zai* rather than *dai*. Both *Guliang*, Yin 10 (2.25), and *Gongyang*, Yin 10 (3.41), have the character 載, which is most likely correct. Takezoe (1.88) notes that these two characters are often used for one another in early texts. Zai is attested as a small domain of the Ji 姬 lineage on bone and bronze inscriptions from the Shang period. Presumably, the domain was reestablished during the Zhou (Yang, 1:67) and was located east of present-day Minquan County 民權縣, Henan.

129 The *Annals* mentions a meeting in the first month but does not mention a covenant. *Zuozhuan* places the meeting in the first month. However, the *guichou* day, given as the twenty-fifth day above, is in the second month rather than the first. At this time, they fixed a time for their troops to join in attacking Song. The place Deng 鄧 is of unknown location.

In autumn, a Song leader and a Wei leader entered Zheng. A Song leader, a Cai leader, and a Wei leader attacked Zai.[128] The Liege of Zheng attacked and took it. 10.4(4)

In winter, in the tenth month, on the *renwu* day (29), a Qi leader and a Zheng leader entered Cheng. 10.5(6)

ZUO

The conflict broadens (Yin 9.3) as Lu, Qi, and Zheng join to attack Song.

In the tenth year, in spring, in the royal first month, our lord met with the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng at Zhongqiu. On the *guichou* day (21), they swore a covenant at Deng and fixed a time for the troops to march forth.[129] 10.1(1)

In summer, in the fifth month, Gongzi Hui[a] met beforehand with the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng and attacked Song.[130] 10.2(2)

Lord Zhuang of Zheng is commended for properly conducting military action against Song (Yin 9.3, 10.1). Is a Lu scribe praising him because of territorial gains for Lu? Later commentators often decry Lord Zhuang's deviousness and defiance of the Zhou king, but Zuozhuan *presents a complex and ambiguous character. Here he is explicitly praised for acting on the Zhou king's behalf.*

In the sixth month, on the *wushen* day,[131] our lord met with the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng at Laotao.[132] On the *renxu* day (7), our lord defeated the Song troops at Jian. On the *gengwu* day (15), Zheng troops entered Gao; and on the *xinwei* day (16), Gao was presented to us. On the *gengchen* day (25), Zheng troops entered Fang; and on the *xinsi* day (26), Fang was presented to us. 10.3(3)

The noble man said that Lord Zhuang of Zheng in this action could be called "correct." On the king's command he chastised one who did not come to court. He did not covet their lands but used them to reward the exertions of one with a royal rank.[133] This is the embodiment of correctness.

130 That is, Gongzi Hui went ahead of the Lord of Lu to join in the battle.

131 There was no *wushen* day in the sixth month.

132 Laotao 老桃 was located in the domain of Song northeast of present-day Jining County 濟寧縣, Shandong.

133 That is, the Lord of Lu.

10.4(4) 蔡人、衛人、郜人不會王命。秋，七月，庚寅，鄭師入郊，猶在郊。宋人、衛人入鄭，蔡人從之伐戴。八月壬戌，鄭伯圍戴。癸亥，克之，取三師焉。宋、衛既入鄭，而以伐戴召蔡人，蔡人怒，故不和而敗。

10.5 九月戊寅，鄭伯入宋。

10.6(5) 冬，齊人、鄭人入郜，討違王命也。

春秋

11.1(1) 十有一年，春，滕侯、薛侯來朝。

11.2(2) 夏，公會鄭伯于時來。

11.3(3) 秋，七月壬午，公及齊侯、鄭伯入許。

11.4(8) 冬，十有一月壬辰，公薨。

左傳

11.1(1) 十一年，春，滕侯、薛侯來朝，爭長。薛侯曰：「我先封。」滕侯曰：「我，周之卜正也；薛，庶姓也，我不可以後之。」

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134 Cai and Wei did not join in the attack on Song but allied themselves with Song instead. It appears that Song and Wei turned aside from their attack on Zheng and summoned Cai to join them in an attack on Zai. Zheng launched a counterattack and defeated all three of them.

135 There was no *wuyin* day in the ninth month of this year.

136 For the hierarchical implications of this sort of visit (*chao* 朝), see note on *Annals*, Yin 7.4.

A Cai leader, a Wei leader, and a Cheng leader did not comply with the king's command and join the attack. In autumn, in the seventh month, on the *gengyin* day (5), Zheng troops had entered the outskirts of the Zheng capital but were still in the outskirts when a Song leader, a Cai leader, and a Wei leader entered Zheng. A Cai leader accompanied them to attack Zai. In the eighth month, on the *renxu* day (8), the Liege of Zheng laid siege to Zai. On the *guihai* day (9), he defeated it and seized the troops of the three domains there. Song and Wei had already entered Zheng territory and, in order to attack Zai, had summoned a Cai leader. The Cai leader was angry, and that is the reason the troops were not in harmony and were defeated.[134] 10.4(4)

In the ninth month, on the *wuyin* day,[135] the Liege of Zheng entered Song. 10.5

In winter, a Qi leader and a Zheng leader entered Cheng: this was to chastise them for violating the king's command. 10.6(5)

LORD YIN 11 (712 BCE)

ANNALS

In the eleventh year, in spring, the Prince of Teng and the Prince of Xue came to court.[136] 11.1(1)

In summer, our lord met with the Liege of Zheng at Shilai (Lai).[137] 11.2(2)

In autumn, in the seventh month, on the *renwu* day (3), our lord joined with the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng and entered Xǔ.[138] 11.3(3)

In winter, in the eleventh month, on the *renchen* day (15), our lord expired. 11.4(8)

ZUO

An argument over seniority is settled through appeals to the degree of filiation with the Zhou court.

In the eleventh year, in spring, the Prince of Teng and the Prince of Xue came to court: they argued over seniority. The Prince of Xue said, "We were granted a domain first." The Prince of Teng said, "We were the directors of divination under the Zhou. Xue is of a subordinate clan. We cannot be placed after them." 11.1(1)

137 Shilai 時來 was in the domain of Zheng north of Zhengzhou City 鄭州市, Henan.

138 Xǔ 許 was a domain of the Jiang 姜 clan and was located east of present-day Xuchang 許昌 in Henan.

公使羽父請於薛侯曰：「君與滕君辱在寡人，周諺有之曰：『山有木，工則度之；賓有禮，主則擇之。』周之宗盟，異姓為後。寡人若朝于薛，不敢與諸任齒。君若辱貺寡人，則願以滕君為請。」

薛侯許之，乃長滕侯。

11.2(2) 夏，公會鄭伯于郲，謀伐許也。鄭伯將伐許。五月，甲辰，授兵於大宮。公孫閼與潁考叔爭車，潁考叔挾輈以走，子都拔棘以逐之。及大逵，弗及，子都怒。

11.3a(3) 秋，七月，公會齊侯、鄭伯伐許。庚辰，傅于許。潁考叔取鄭伯之旗蝥弧以先登，子都自下射之，顛。瑕叔盈又以蝥弧登，周麾而呼曰：「君登矣！」鄭師畢登。壬午，遂入許。許莊公奔衛。

齊侯以許讓公。公曰：「君謂許不共，故從君討之。許既伏其罪矣，雖君有命，寡人弗敢與聞。」乃與鄭人。

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139 There are several different interpretations of the character 在 *zai* in this context. We have read the character in its usual meaning (see Karlgren, gl. 18).

140 We follow Yu Yue 俞樾 in taking 宗 *zong* here verbally and in the sense of 主 *zhu*, "to rule over, to manage" (see Takezoe, 1.92; and Karlgren, gl. 19).

141 The ruling house of Xue had the clan name Ren 任. The name of the ruling clans of both the Zhou domain and the domain of Teng was Ji (姬). When the Prince of Teng describes Xue as deriving from "a subordinate clan," the phrase he uses (*shu xing* 庶姓) is mildly pejorative, implying that Xue stems from a secondary wife or concubine. When the Lord of Lu speaks, he uses the much more neutral and hence more politic phrase "different clans" (*yi xing* 異姓).

142 Pulling a chariot in this manner was, to be sure, a great feat of strength on the part of Kaoshu!

143 Maohu 蝥弧 is the name of the Zheng flag. We also know the name of the flag of the domain of Qi: Linggupi 靈姑鈚 (Zhao 10.2). Kong Yingda says, "The meaning of these names cannot be known" (*ZZ*-Kong 4.79). However, Liu Wenqi glosses *mao* as *mou* 牟 in the sense of "great" or "big" and suggests that *maohu* means "great flag pole" (see *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan jiuzhu shuzheng*, 57).

144 Precisely what Xǔ did not do is somewhat problematic. We have followed Takezoe (1.94). Yang (1:74) has a different interpretation that would lead to a translation something like "Xǔ was not reverent."

Our lord sent Gongzi Hui[a] to make a request of the Prince of Xue: "You, my lord, and the ruler of Teng have deigned to be here with me, the unworthy one.[139] A Zhou proverb has it that 'mountains have their trees, but it is the carpenter who measures their size. Guests have their rituals, but it is the host who chooses what is appropriate.' In covenant meetings managed by the Zhou,[140] those of different clans come last. If I were to visit the Xue court, I would not presume to be put alongside the various Ren domains.[141] If you, my lord, would deign to grant me a kindness, then I would wish to make a request on behalf of the Teng ruler."

The Prince of Xue agreed to this, so they gave the Prince of Teng the superior position.

What the small domain of Xǔ had done to provoke the anger of the domains of Qi, Zheng, and Lu is unclear, but in the following episodes, they launch an attack on Xǔ. Xǔ is eventually put under the control of Zheng, but Lord Zhuang of Zheng wisely decides to make the occupation temporary. Ying Kaoshu also reappears in the following episodes, a decade after he helped Lord Zhuang resolve conflict with his mother (Yin 1.4), and is killed in the assault on Xǔ (Yin 11.3).

In summer, our lord met with the Liege of Zheng at Lai: this was to plan an attack on Xǔ. The Liege of Zheng was about to attack Xǔ. In the fifth month, on the *jiachen* day (24), they distributed the weapons in the Grand Ancestral Temple. Zidu[a] contended with Ying Kaoshu over a chariot. Kaoshu clasped the shaft of the chariot under his arm and ran away.[142] Zidu pulled out his lance and chased him but reached the great road without having caught him. Zidu was furious. 11.2(2)

In autumn, in the seventh month, our lord met with the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng to attack Xǔ. On the *gengchen* day (1), they pressed hard upon Xǔ. Ying Kaoshu took the Maohu banner of the Liege of Zheng and was the first to ascend the wall. [143] Zidu shot him from below with an arrow, and he fell from the wall. Xia Shuying next took the Maohu banner and ascended. Waving the banner to all sides, he yelled out, "Our lord has ascended!" And the Zheng troops all climbed to the top. On the *renwu* day (3), they entered Xǔ, and Lord Zhuang of Xǔ fled to Wei. 11.3a(3)

The Prince of Qi yielded control of Xǔ to our lord, and the latter said, "You, my lord, stated that Xǔ had not presented tribute,[144] and that is why we followed you to chastise it. Xǔ already has submitted to punishment for its crimes. Even though you have issued a command, I, the unworthy one, would not presume to agree to what I have heard." And so he gave Xǔ to the Zheng leaders.

11.3b 鄭伯使許大夫百里奉許叔以居許東偏，曰：「天禍許國，鬼神實不逞于許君，而假手于我寡人，寡人唯是一二父兄不能共億，其敢以許自為功乎？寡人有弟，不能和協，而使餬其口於四方，其況能久有許乎？吾子其奉許叔以撫柔此民也，吾將使獲也佐吾子。若寡人得沒于地，天其以禮悔禍于許，無寧茲許公復奉其社稷，唯我鄭國之有請謁焉，如舊婚媾，其能降以相從也。無滋他族實偪處此，以與我鄭國爭此土也。吾子孫其覆亡之不暇，而況能禋祀許乎？寡人之使吾子處此，不唯許國之為，亦聊以固吾圉也。」

及使公孫獲處許西偏，曰：「凡而器用財賄，無寘於許。我死，乃亟去之！吾先君新邑於此，王室而既卑矣，周之子孫日失其序。夫許，大岳之胤也。天而既厭周德矣，吾其能與許爭乎？」

君子謂鄭莊公「於是乎有禮。禮，經國家，定社稷，序民人，利後嗣者也。許無刑而伐之，服而舍之，度德而處之，量力而行之，相時而動，無累後人，可謂知禮矣。」

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145 Xǔ Shu was the younger brother of the lord of Xǔ.

146 He is of course referring here to his conflict with his younger brother Duan (see Yin 1.4).

147 Gongsun Huo was a high officer of Zheng.

148 We have followed Takezoe's reading of 聊 *liao* (1.96), which is also Karlgren's understanding (gl. 22), although the latter mistakenly assigns such a reading to Du Yu. Yang (1:75) understands *liao* to mean "for the time being"—that is, "but it is also, for the time being, to stabilize our own borders."

149 This is referring to the region of "New Zheng." Zheng was founded during the Western Zhou period in the region of Shaanxi. However, after the Zhou moved to the east (771 BCE), Lord Huan of Zheng attacked Guo 虢 and Gui 檜 and established New Zheng in this area.

150 Commentators identify *taiyue* 大岳, "Grand Peaks"—and, by extension, "chiefs of the Grand Peaks"—with *siyue* 四嶽, "the Four Peaks," which is used in reference to the "chiefs of the Four Peaks," who were supposedly aides to Yao or Shun (see *Shangshu*, "Yao dian" 堯典, 2.26). In *Guoyu*, they are said to be descendants of Gonggong, and Wei Zhao claims that they helped the sage king Yu in controlling the floods (*Guoyu*, "Zhou yu 3," 3.104, 105n13).

The rather ambiguous portrayal of Lord Zhuang, the Liege of Zheng, continues (see Yin 1.4). Despite rhetorical flourishes and disclaimer of self-interest, he is turning Xǔ into a de facto Zheng protectorate. In the following passage his action seems to merit the noble man's approval. But in the very next episode (Yin 11.4), the noble man criticizes his neglect of good governance.

The Liege of Zheng had Baili, a high officer of Xǔ, serve Xǔ Shu and 11.3b
reside in the eastern sector of Xǔ,[145] saying, "Heaven brought calamity upon the domain of Xǔ. In truth it was the ghosts and spirits who were displeased with the Prince of Xǔ and who then borrowed my hands to punish him. When I, the unworthy one, have not been able to bring peace even to one or two of my elders, how should I dare claim Xǔ as my own merit? I have a younger brother and was not able to live in harmony with him but sent him to find nourishment abroad.[146] Still less would I be able to hold on to Xǔ for a long time! I hope that you, my good sir, will support Xǔ Shu in pacifying and soothing these people. And I will send Gongsun Huo to assist you.[147] If I manage to die a natural death, and Heaven, in accord with ritual propriety, repents of the calamity visited upon Xǔ, should I not prefer that the Lord of Xǔ be made again to serve his altars of the domain? Then if our domain of Zheng were to make a request of him, so that as of old we would be joined through marriage, he would condescend to go along with us. Let it not be that it is other lineages that press close and dwell here, thereby contending with our domain of Zheng for this land. My sons and grandsons would then have no time to save themselves from destruction, still less to be able to offer sacrifices to Xǔ. That I send you, my good sir, to dwell in this place is not just for the domain of Xǔ but also because I rely upon you, for the time being, to shore up our own borders."[148]

He then sent Gongsun Huo to dwell in the western sector of Xǔ, saying, "Do not put any of your ritual vessels or valuables in Xǔ. When I die, quickly depart. Our former ruler established his new settlement here,[149] but the royal house has already declined, and the sons and grandsons of Zhou day after day lose their order of ranks. This very Xǔ is the offspring of the Grand Peaks.[150] Since Heaven has had its fill of Zhou's virtue, should I then be able to contend with Xǔ?"

The noble man said of Lord Zhuang of Zheng: "In this he showed ritual propriety. Ritual is that which regulates the domain and its patrimonies, stabilizes the altars of the domain, gives order to the people, and benefits inheritors. Xǔ was lawless, and Lord Zhuang attacked it. It submitted, and he departed. Taking measure of his virtue, he managed the situation. Taking stock of his strength, he went forward. Examining the times, he took action. And he did not burden those who followed. He can be said to have understood ritual."

11.4 鄭伯使卒出�well，行出犬、雞，以詛射潁考叔者。君子謂鄭莊公「失政刑矣。政以治民，刑以正邪。既無德政，又無威刑，是以及邪。邪而詛之，將何益矣！」

11.5 王取鄔、劉、蔿、邘之田于鄭，而與鄭人蘇忿生之田：溫、原、絺、樊、隰郕、欑茅、向、盟、州、陘、隤、懷。

君子是以知桓王之失鄭也：「恕而行之，德之則也，禮之經也。己弗能有，而以與人，人之不至，不亦宜乎？」

11.6 鄭、息有違言。息侯伐鄭，鄭伯與戰于竟，息師大敗而還。

君子是以知息之將亡也：「不度德，不量力，不親親，不徵辭，不察有罪。犯五不韙，而以伐人，其喪師也，不亦宜乎？」

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151 *Maoshi* 199, "He ren si" 何人斯, 12C.425, makes reference to the use of "the three creatures" (*san wu* 三物) to bind someone with an oath. Zheng Xuan says that the three creatures are the boar, the dog, and the chicken (*Maoshi*-Zheng 2:427). Yang (1:76) suggests that these three creatures could also be used in sacrifices that were intended to bind another with a curse.

152 See also Tong Shuye, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan yanjiu*, 41; Yu Yingshi, *Zhongguo jinshi lunli yu shangren jingshen*.

Lord Zhuang pronounces a curse upon the killer of Ying Kaoshu (Yin 1.4, 11.3).

11.4 The Liege of Zheng had each company of soldiers contribute a boar and each squadron contribute a dog or a chicken in order to pronounce a curse upon the man who shot Ying Kaoshu.[151] The noble man said of Lord Zhuang of Zheng: "He had indeed neglected government and penal law. Government is the means to regulate the people. Penal law is the means to correct deviance. Since he had neither a virtuous government nor stern penal law, Zidu therefore came to deviance. What is the benefit of cursing someone after they have become deviant?"

The noble man here criticizes the Zhou king for giving away lands over which he exercised little control. Zheng itself will have trouble controlling these lands (see Huan 7.2). Zheng's somewhat aggressive behavior throughout the early years of Zuozhuan *has led some to suggest that Lord Zhuang was something of a "minor overlord" and that Zheng power might have been based upon economic power that derived from privileging the merchant class (on this see Xi 33.1, Cheng 3.10, Zhao 16.3).*[152]

11.5 The king took the lands of Wu, Liu, Wei, and Yu in Zheng and presented the Zheng leaders with the lands of Su Fensheng,[153] namely, Wen, Yuan, Chi, Fan, Xicheng, Cuanmao, Xiang, Meng, Zhou, Xing, Tui, and Huai.

The noble man knew by this that King Huan had lost Zheng. "To act upon fellow feeling is the standard of virtue and the principle of ritual propriety. He himself was not able to control his land, so he gave it to others. Is it not after all proper that others did not come to his court?"

11.6 Zheng and Xi had a verbal disagreement. The Prince of Xi attacked Zheng, and the Liege of Zheng fought with them along the border. The Xi troops were roundly defeated and returned home.

The noble man knew by this that Xi was about to perish:[154] "They did not take measure of their virtue, they did not take stock of their strength, they did not treat their kin with proper affection, they did not seek to verify allegations, and they did not examine into whether there had been a crime. They committed these five wrongs and thereby attacked others. Is it not fitting that they lost an army?"

153 Su Fensheng was given the territory of Wen in the time of King Wu of Zhou and became supervisor of justice (Cheng 11.7). In Zhuang 19.2 we learn that Wen is still held by the Su lineage, so what is given away here must be only a part of the "fields of Su Fensheng."

154 We know that Xi had indeed perished by 680 BCE (Zhuang 14.3).

11.7 冬，十月，鄭伯以虢師伐宋。壬戌，大敗宋師，以報其入鄭也。宋不告命，故不書。凡諸侯有命，告則書，不然則否。師出臧否，亦如之。雖及滅國，滅不告敗，勝不告克，不書于策。

11.8(4) 羽父請殺桓公，將以求大宰。公曰：「為其少故也，吾將授之矣。使營菟裘，吾將老焉。」羽父懼，反譖公于桓公而請弒之。

公之為公子也，與鄭人戰于狐壤，止焉。鄭人囚諸尹氏。賂尹氏，而禱於其主鍾巫。遂與尹氏歸，而立其主。

十一月，公祭鍾巫，齊于社圃，館于寫氏。壬辰，羽父使賊弒公于寫氏，立桓公，而討寫氏，有死者。

不書葬，不成喪也。

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155 There was no office in Lu by the title "grand steward" (大宰 *da zai*). Yang (1:79) supplies evidence that this term was sometimes used for a high minister or for one who held a high government position.

156 Yang (1:79) believes that the text is incomplete at this point. We think the ellipsis is a logical one and have therefore added "I have ruled" to the literal "Because he was young: that is the reason."

157 Tuqiu 菟裘, where the Lu ruler proposes to retire, was probably located southeast of present-day Tai'an County 泰安縣, Shandong.

158 The preface to Lord Yin's assassination is described in *Shiji* 33.1529 with somewhat more dialogue: "Gongzi Hui slanderously said to Lord Yin, 'The common people would like to change rulers. I hope you will be established in power. I request permission to kill Yun for you, lord, and then you can make me a minister.' Lord Yin said, 'This [i.e., Yun's rule] was the previous ruler's command. But because Yun was young, I consequently acted as regent. I just now am building up the area of Tuqiu and will retire there. I will present the government to Yun.' Hui was afraid Yun would learn of this and would turn on him and execute him. So he slandered Lord Yin to Yun, saying, 'Lord Yin wants to be instated and get rid of you. You should plan for this! I request permission to kill Lord Yin for you.'"

The pattern of conflict between Song and Zheng continues as Zheng retaliates for Song's action reported in Yin 10.4.

In winter, in the tenth month, the Liege of Zheng attacked Song with Guo troops. On the *renxu* day (14), they roundly defeated the Song troops. This was in retaliation for Song's incursion into Zheng. Song did not notify Lu of its orders, and that is why it is not recorded. In all cases when the princes issued an order, if we were notified, then it was recorded; otherwise, it was not. If it was not reported, then it was not recorded. When troops went out, whether to a good outcome or not, it was the same. Even in the case of the destruction of a domain, if the destroyed did not report the defeat and the victorious did not report the conquest, it is not recorded on the bamboo strips. 11.7

Zuozhuan *here provides details on the death of Lord Yin of Lu. Gongzi Hui, eager to enhance his own power, wants the future Lord Huan out of the way, but Lord Yin's loyalty to his younger half brother continues and leads to his tragic demise. Only his death is noted in* Annals*, Yin 11.4, but here we are informed that he was assassinated.*

Gongzi Hui[a] requested that Lord Huan be put to death and aimed in this way to seek for himself the position of grand steward.[155] Our lord said, "It was because of his youth that I have ruled.[156] I am going to hand rule over to him! Let Tuqiu be built up and I will retire there."[157] Frightened, Gongzi Hui[a] turned around and slandered Lord Yin to Lord Huan and requested that the former be assassinated.[158] 11.8(4)

When our lord was still a young prince, he had done battle with the Zheng men at Hurang and had been detained there.[159] The Zheng men had imprisoned him among the Yin lineage. He had bribed the Yin lineage head and offered a prayer to Zhongwu, the god of the Yin lineage. Subsequently, he had returned to Lu along with the Yin lineage head, and they had established an altar to Zhongwu in Lu.

In the eleventh month, our lord was going to perform a sacrifice to Zhongwu. He had been fasting in the She Garden and was lodging with the Wei lineage head.[160] On the *renchen* day (15), Gongzi Hui[a] sent brigands to assassinate our lord in the Wei lineage head's house. After establishing Lord Huan as ruler, they chastised the Wei lineage and some died.

That the text does not record the burial is because they did not complete the proper mourning ritual.

159 Hurang 狐壤 was located in the domain of Zheng north of present-day Xuchang City 許昌市, Henan.

160 The Wei lineage head was apparently a Lu official.

桓公

Lord Huan (711–694 BCE)

The reign of Lord Huan begins and ends with a murder. Lord Huan comes to power when his half brother Lord Yin, who is acting as regent, is killed by henchmen of the ambitious Gongzi Hui, himself a member of the Lu royal family (Yin 11.8). Curiously, neither the *Annals* nor *Zuozhuan* expresses any disapproval of this murder. Lord Huan is in turn brutally killed while visiting the domain of Qi, as a result of his wife's (Wen Jiang) sexual liaison with the Prince of Qi, her own older brother (Huan 18.1). Such violence is not unusual in these pages: the ruler of Song is assassinated (2.1); the heir apparent of Chen is killed, sending the domain into disarray (5.1); the Zhou king is shot in the shoulder with an arrow (5.3); the Wei heir apparent is killed and his brother Lord Hui is forced to flee the domain; Lord Zhao of Zheng is killed (17.8); and the Zhou Duke plans to assassinate King Zhuang but is himself killed first (18.2). In short, the political world of the central domains seems anything but stable.

Qin and Chu, two domains that are to play a major role in the remainder of *Zuozhuan* and subsequent history as well, are first mentioned in the Lord Huan years: Chu in 710 (2.2) and Qin in 708 (4.3). Chu immediately plays an aggressive role, attacking Sui in 706 (6.2, 8.2), defeating forces from Deng and You in 703 (9.2), crushing a Yun army in 701 (11.2), and overwhelming Jiao in 700 (12.3), only to suffer defeat itself in 699 at the hands of Rong and Luo forces (13.1). Nevertheless, the major focus in the years of Lord Huan remains largely upon Lu, Zheng, Song, Wei, Qi, and Zhou, with the political rivals Zheng and Song particularly active.

The Lord Huan section of *Zuozhuan* continues very much in the style of Lord Yin. The typical entry is brief. In fact, several years pass with entries that either add little to their respective *Annals* entries or largely imitate the terse *Annals* format (see years 4, 7, 14). Still, several passages of Lord Huan are of considerable literary interest. Among these we

春秋

1.1(1) 元年，春，王正月，公即位。

1.2(1) 三月，公會鄭伯于垂，鄭伯以璧假許田。

1.3(2) 夏，四月丁未，公及鄭伯盟于越。

1.4(3) 秋，大水。

1.5 冬，十月。

might mention the Sui minister Ji Liang's virtuous efforts to hold Chu at bay, which include his famous rationalistic argument that "the people are the masters of the gods" (6.2); the attempts of both Dou Bobi and the Chu ruler's perspicacious wife Deng Man to avert Chu's humiliating defeat (13.1); Yong Jí's choice to save her father's life rather than that of her husband (15.2); Jizi's intense filial piety and his brother's equally intense fraternal devotion (16.5); and, of course, the violent murder of Lord Huan (18.2). Also in this section the formal remonstrance first appears in full form. Although Shi Que's remonstrance in Yin 3.3 is tightly structured and the remonstrance against the trip to the fisheries in Yin 5.1 is ornate, the form as encountered in Huan 2.2 points toward the complexity that remonstrance will assume in subsequent sections of *Zuozhuan*. Zang Aibo, the Lu minister who delivers this particular remonstrance, wins the accolades of the Zhou court scribe, who states what will become a recurring message of *Zuozhuan*: "When his ruler erred, he was not remiss in remonstrating with him on the basis of virtue."

LORD HUAN 1 (711 BCE)

ANNALS

In the first year, in spring, in the royal first month, our lord acceded to his position. 1.1(1)

In the third month, our lord met with the Liege of Zheng at Chui. The Liege of Zheng, giving a jade disk as a gift, borrowed the lands of Xǔ. 1.2(1)

In summer, in the fourth month, on the *dingwei* day (2), our lord and the Liege of Zheng swore a covenant at Yue.[1] 1.3(2)

In autumn, there was a great flood. 1.4(3)

Winter, the tenth month. 1.5

1 The Yue 越 referred to here was located in the area of present-day Cao County 曹縣, Shandong.

左傳

1.1(1, 2) 元年，春，公即位，修好于鄭。鄭人請復祀周公，卒易祊田。公許之。三月，鄭伯以璧假許田，為周公祊故也。

1.2(3) 夏，四月丁未，公及鄭伯盟于越，結祊成也。盟曰：「渝盟，無享國！」

1.3(4) 秋，大水。凡平原出水為大水。

1.4 冬，鄭伯拜盟。

1.5 宋華父督見孔父之妻于路，目逆而送之，曰：「美而豔。」

春秋

2.1(1) 二年，春，王正月戊申，宋督弒其君與夷及其大夫孔父。

2.2 滕子來朝。

2.3(1) 三月，公會齊侯、陳侯、鄭伯于稷，以成宋亂。

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2 That is, two items were involved, permission to offer sacrifices to the Zhou Duke and the land transfer. Thus, the gift of the jade disk was added to the land transfer to compensate Lu. *Guliang*, Huan 1 (3.28), suggests that the *Annals* uses the word "borrow" or "loan" (*jia* 假) to avoid the unpleasant reality that this was actually a land swap.

3 There was no *wushen* day in the first month.

ZUO

In Yin 8.2 the Liege of Zheng first requested an exchange of lands with Lu and asked permission to offer sacrifices to the Zhou Duke, the founding ancestor of the Lu domain. The exchange is finally completed, but only after the Liege of Zheng has added the additional gift of jade, thus giving two things for the two things he is gaining. The ritual excuse (sacrifices to the Zhou Duke, ancestor of Lu) masks the drive for territorial expansion and consolidation.

In the first year, in spring, our lord acceded to his position. He fostered good relations with Zheng. The Zheng leaders asked permission to offer sacrifices again to the Zhou Duke and to complete the transfer of the lands of Beng. Our lord agreed to this. In the third month, the Liege of Zheng, giving a jade disk as a gift, borrowed the lands of Xǔ: this was because of the negotiations about the Zhou Duke and Beng.[2] 1.1(1, 2)

In summer, in the fourth month, on the *dingwei* day (2), our lord and the Liege of Zheng swore a covenant at Yue: this was to formalize completion of the exchange of Beng. The covenant said, "May he who violates the covenant not have the benefit of his domain!" 1.2(3)

In autumn, there was a great flood. In all cases when water overflows the plains, it is considered "a great flood." 1.3(4)

In winter, the Liege of Zheng came here to bow in thanks for the covenant. I.4

The following event sets up a fatal enmity between Kongfu, said to be a direct ancestor of Confucius and supervisor of the military in Song (Yin 3.5), and Huafu Du.

Huafu Du of Song met the wife of Kongfu on a road. He eyed her as she approached and as she departed. "Lovely and radiant," he said. 1.5

LORD HUAN 2 (710 BCE)

ANNALS

In the second year, in spring, in the royal first month, on the *wushen* day,[3] Du (Huafu Du) of Song assassinated his ruler Yuyi and the high officer Kongfu. 2.1(1)

The Master of Teng came to visit our court. 2.2

In the third month, our lord met with the Prince of Qi, the Prince of Chen, and the Liege of Zheng at Ji in order to settle the turmoil in Song.[4] 2.3(1)

4 Ji 稷 was located in the domain of Song in present-day Shangqiu County 商丘縣, Henan.

2.4(2) 夏，四月，取郜大鼎于宋。戊申，納于太廟。

2.5(3) 秋，七月，杞侯來朝。

2.6(4) 蔡侯、鄭伯會于鄧。

2.7(5) 九月，入杞。

2.8(6) 公及戎盟于唐。

2.9(7) 冬，公至自唐。

左傳

2.1(1, 3) 二年，春，宋督攻孔氏，殺孔父而取其妻。公怒，督懼，遂弒殤公。君子以督為有無君之心，而後動於惡，故先書弒其君。會于稷，以成宋亂，為賂故，立華氏也。

宋殤公立，十年十一戰，民不堪命。孔父嘉為司馬，督為大宰，故因民之不堪命，先宣言曰：「司馬則然。」已殺孔父而弒殤公，召莊公于鄭而立之，以親鄭。以郜大鼎賂公，齊、陳、鄭皆有賂，故遂相宋公。

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5 Gao 郜 was the name of a small domain located near present-day Chengwu County 成武縣 on the Shandong Peninsula that was originally granted to the son of King Wen. The domain of Song eventually destroyed Gao, and the cauldron referred to here was presumably moved to Song at that time. In *Annals*, Yin 10.3, Lu seized the territory of Gao from Song in battle, and that is perhaps why the cauldron is now presented. Several cauldrons from the state of Gao are extant (Yang, 1:84).

6 Deng 鄧 was a small domain eventually absorbed by Chu. It was located in Deng County 鄧縣, Henan.

7 What is at stake here is the order of the murders. *Zuozhuan* asserts that Kongfu was killed first and here tries to explain why the *Annals* puts the murder of the ruler Yuyi (Lord Shang) first. That is, he had given no place for a ruler in his heart and therefore killed Kongfu. Huafu Du had, in a sense, eliminated the ruler before he committed his first murder. The noble man also seems to be continuing his concern with moral-legal issues and criminal responsibility taken up earlier in Yin 11.4.

In summer, in the fourth month, we took the great cauldron of Gao from Song.[5] On the *wushen* day (9), we installed it in the Grand Ancestral Temple. 2.4(2)

In autumn, in the seventh month, the Prince of Qǐ came to visit our court. 2.5(3)

The Prince of Cai and the Liege of Zheng met in Deng.[6] 2.6(4)

In the ninth month, we entered Qǐ. 2.7(5)

Our lord and the Rong swore a covenant at Tang. 2.8(6)

In winter, our lord arrived from Tang. 2.9(7)

ZUO

The murder of Lord Shang of Song here results from Huafu Du's lust for the wife of Kongfu (Huan 1.5). Gongzi Ping, the future Lord Zhuang of Song and the son of Lord Mu, who had been passed over for the rulership of Song earlier (Yin 3.5), is brought back from exile in Zheng (Yin 4.3), and generous gifts are distributed to the lords as a way of neutralizing opposition to the change of government in Song.

In the second year, in spring, Huafu Du[a] of Song attacked the Kong house, killing Kongfu and seizing his wife. The lord was angry, and Huafu Du[b] was filled with fear. As a result he assassinated Lord Shang. The noble man considered that Du first had a heart in which there was no place for his ruler and only afterward was stirred to his evil act. That is why the text first records that he assassinated his ruler.[7] There was a meeting at Ji in order to settle the turmoil in Song. But because presents were offered, the lords established the hereditary Hua lineage.[8] 2.1(1, 3)

After Lord Shang was established in power, there were eleven battles in ten years, and the people could not bear his commands. Kongfu[a] had been supervisor of the military and Du had been grand steward. That is why Huafu Du, exploiting the fact that the people could not bear the commands, first proclaimed, "It's all the fault of the supervisor of the military." Then, after he had killed Kongfu and assassinated Lord Shang, he summoned Lord Zhuang from Zheng and established him in power, thereby endearing himself to the people of Zheng. He offered the great cauldron of Gao as a present to our lord. Qi, Chen, and Zheng all received presents as well, and that is why Huafu subsequently served as minister for the Duke of Song.

8 Du belonged to the Hua line, a name taken by this family much later than the date of this entry (Yang, 1:85). For participants in the meeting at Ji, see *Annals*, Yin 2.3.

2.2(4) 夏，四月，取郜大鼎于宋。戊申，納于太廟，非禮也。臧哀伯諫曰：

君人者，將昭德塞違，以臨照百官，猶懼或失之，故昭令德以示子孫。是以清廟茅屋，大路越席，大羹不致，粢食不鑿，昭其儉也。衮、冕、黻、珽，帶、裳、幅、舄，衡、紞、紘、綖，昭其度也。藻、率、鞞、鞸，鞶、厲、游、纓，昭其數也。火、龍、黼、黻，昭其文也。五色比象，昭其物也。鍚、鸞、和、鈴，昭其聲也。三辰旂旗，昭其明也。夫德，儉而有度，登降有數，文物以紀之，聲明以發之，以臨照百官。百官於是乎戒懼而不敢易紀律。

Song's gift, the great cauldron of Gao (2.1), is installed in Lu, much to the consternation of the wise adviser Zang Aibo (son of Zang Xibo), whose remonstrance displays many of the rhetorical flourishes that will typify speeches throughout Zuozhuan.

In summer, in the fourth month, we took the great cauldron of Gao from Song. On the *wushen* day (9), we installed it in the Grand Ancestral Temple. This was not in accordance with ritual propriety. Zang Aibo remonstrated: 2.2(4)

> A true ruler of men will manifest virtue and block disobedience, in this way overseeing and shining a light upon his officials. Still, he fears that he might sometimes fail at this, and therefore he manifests exemplary virtue and displays it for his sons and grandsons. So it is that the Pellucid Temple has a thatched roof,[9] the grand chariot has rush mats, the grand broth is unseasoned, and the grains are unrefined: these manifest his frugality. The robes, ceremonial cap, leathern apron, and jade tablet; the belt, skirt, gaiters, and wooden-soled footwear; the hat pin, ear-plug cords, hat string, and cap board: these manifest his adherence to proper standards. The jade-offering box, sash, sheath, and sheath decorations; the leathern belt, belt tassels, pennant streamers, and bridle: these manifest his distinctions of rank. The weaves of fire, of dragons, of black and white axes, and of blue and black undulations: these manifest his proper patterning. The five colors matched with the images: these manifest his proper use of things. The bells on the horses' foreheads, on the chariot, on the carriage shaft, and on the flags: these manifest his proper use of sounds. The flags decorated with the three heavenly bodies: these manifest his proper resplendence. Now when virtue is frugal but has standards, maintains distinctions despite any amplifications or reductions, is marked by patterning and proper use, and is expressed in sounds and resplendence, it is used to oversee and shine down upon the many officials. The officials thereupon show caution and fear and dare not transgress the rules and statutes.

9 "Pellucid Temple" ("Qing miao" 清廟) is the title of *Maoshi* 266. The "Mao Commentary" explains that it is a temple where sacrifices are offered to King Wen. Commentators explain *qing* 清 in this context as either "lucid" or "tranquil" (*Maoshi* 19A.706).

今滅德立違，而寘其賂器於太廟，以明示百官。百官象之，其又何誅焉？國家之敗由官邪也，官之失德，寵賂章也。郜鼎在廟，章孰甚焉？武王克商，遷九鼎于雒邑，義士猶或非之，而況將昭違亂之賂器於太廟，其若之何？

公不聽。

周內史聞之曰：「臧孫達其有後於魯乎！君違，不忘諫之以德。」

2.3(5) 秋，七月，杞侯來朝，不敬。杞侯歸，乃謀伐之。

2.4(6) 蔡侯、鄭伯會于鄧，始懼楚也。

2.5(7) 九月，入杞，討不敬也。

2.6(8) 公及戎盟于唐，修舊好也。

10 The Zangsun lineage, to which Zang Aibo belongs, does indeed continue to hold high office in Lu and prospers well into the Warring States period. Among its most famous sons is Zang Wenzhong, first mentioned in *Zuozhuan* in Zhuang 28.4. The lineage is attested in *Zuozhuan* as late as Ai 24.1 (471 BCE), 240 years from the time of this prophetic utterance, and later even Mencius has trouble with one of them (see

> In the present case, stifling virtue and setting up disobedience as an example, you place a vessel received as a bribe in the Grand Ancestral Temple and make a clear display of it to the many officials. When the officials imitate such conduct, how are you going to punish them for this? The defeat of a domain or patrimony starts from the deviations of officials. The officials' neglect of virtue is demonstrated in their partiality for bribes. For the cauldron of Gao to be in the temple—what demonstration could be more extreme than this! Even when King Wu conquered Shang and moved the nine cauldrons to the settlement at Luo, there were nonetheless some men of lofty principles who criticized him. How much worse is it to place in the Grand Ancestral Temple a vessel won as a bribe for showing disobedience and disorder!

Our lord did not heed this.

The court scribe of Zhou heard of this and said, "I expect that Zang Aibo[a] will have descendants in Lu! When his ruler erred, he was not remiss in remonstrating with him on the basis of virtue."[10]

In autumn, in the seventh month, the Prince of Qǐ came to visit our court: he did not show respect. When the Prince of Qǐ returned home, we made plans to attack him. 2.3(5)

The following brief entry is the first reference in Zuozhuan *to the southern domain of Chu, which will very soon become a major player in the political world.*

The Prince of Cai and the Liege of Zheng met in Deng: this was the beginning of fear for Chu. 2.4(6)

On Qǐ's disrespect for Lu, see Huan 2.3.

In the ninth month, we entered Qǐ: this was to chastise them for their disrespect. 2.5(7)

Lu's earlier covenants with the Rong (Yin 2.1, 2.4) had apparently been disrupted by the events of Yin 7.5.

Our lord and the Rong swore a covenant at Tang: this was to restore age-old amity. 2.6(8)

Mencius 1B.16). A brief note on the installation of the cauldron given as a present appears in *Shiji* 33.1530 with the additional statement that a noble man criticized this, which is taken as evidence that the quotations from the "noble man," considered a late addition by some scholars, were already in *Zuozhuan* at least by the early Han when *Shiji* was compiled.

2.7(9) 冬，公至自唐，告于廟也。凡公行，告于宗廟；反行，飲至、舍爵、策勳焉，禮也。特相會，往來稱地，讓事也。自參以上，則往稱地，來稱會，成事也。

2.8 初，晉穆侯之夫人姜氏以條之役生大子，命之曰仇。其弟以千畝之戰生，命之曰成師。

師服曰：「異哉，君之名子也！夫名以制義，義以出禮，禮以體政，政以正民，是以政成而民聽。易則生亂。嘉耦曰妃，怨耦曰仇，古之命也。今君命大子曰仇，弟曰成師，始兆亂矣。兄其替乎！」

11 In other words, when only two of the princes were holding a meeting, no leader was designated so that it was necessary that only the place of the meeting be recorded since each of the lords would of course yield priority to the other.

12 According to the *Bamboo Annals* (Zhushu jinian), the armies of Jin were defeated in this battle by the Rong peoples of Tiao (see *Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng*, King Xuan 38.257). Presumably because of this defeat, the son was given this rather unpropitious name.

Two important items of information appear in the following passage: first, certain events were reported in the Ancestral Temple, a practice also mentioned in Liji *(18.360); second, official records were made of meritorious acts.*

In winter, our lord arrived from Tang: this was reported in the temple. 2.7(9)
In all cases when the lord goes on a journey, he makes a report in the Ancestral Temple. When he returns from his journey, drinking celebrates his arrival, goblets are set out, and merits are recorded on bamboo strips. This is in accordance with ritual propriety. When meeting alone with one other domain, whether our lord leaves the domain or someone else comes, the place is noted. This is a matter of yielding priority as host.[11] When three or more parties attend, if our lord leaves the domain, the place is noted, but if others come here, then just the occurrence of the meeting is noted. This is a matter of fulfilling the duties of host.

*The following passage provides background to events that are noted in Yin 5.2. The domain of Jin faced the problem that the auxiliary line in control of the city of Quwo had become more powerful than the ruler in control of the capital, Yi. The balance of power between the trunk (*ben 本*) and branch (*zhi 枝*) or branch tip (*mo 末*) of a lineage is a recurrent concern in the text. The calamity Preceptor Fu predicts here will be fulfilled in Huan 3.1. For other examples of anecdotes concerning naming, see Huan 6.5, Wen 11.5, Xuan 4.3, and Zhao 4.8.*

Earlier, because Lady Jiang, the wife of Prince Mu of Jin, had given birth 2.8
to the heir apparent during the campaign against Tiao, they named the infant Chou ["Enemy"].[12] His younger brother was born at the time of the battle of Qianmou, and they named him Chengshi ["Successful Troops"].[13]

Preceptor Fu[14] said, "Strange indeed is the way my lord has named his sons! Now, with names, one regulates duties. With duties, one produces rituals. With rituals, one embodies government. With government, one corrects the people. Therefore, when the government is brought to completion, the people heed it, but when it is altered, disorder arises. A partner in amity is called a 'mate,' and a partner in resentment is called an 'enemy.' This is the ancient way of naming. Now, for you to name your eldest son Chou and his younger brother Chengshi is to give a first portent of turmoil! Surely the elder brother will be replaced."

13 The campaign against Tao is dated to 805 BCE. The Jin victory at Qianmou is noted in *Shiji* 15.525 under the twenty-sixth year of King Xuan (802 BCE).

14 A high officer in the state of Jin.

惠之二十四年，晉始亂，故封桓叔于曲沃。靖侯之孫欒賓傅之。師服曰：「吾聞國家之立也，本大而末小，是以能固。故天子建國，諸侯立家，卿置側室，大夫有貳宗，士有隸子弟，庶人、工、商，各有分親，皆有等衰。是以民服事其上，而下無覬覦。今晉，甸侯也，而建國，本既弱矣，其能久乎？」

惠之三十年，晉潘父弒昭侯而納桓叔，不克。晉人立孝侯。惠之四十五年，曲沃莊伯伐翼，弒孝侯。翼人立其弟鄂侯。鄂侯生哀侯。哀侯侵陘庭之田。陘庭南鄙啟曲沃伐翼。

春秋

3.1(2) 三年，春，正月，公會齊侯于嬴。

3.2(3) 夏，齊侯、衛侯胥命于蒲。

3.3(4) 六月，公會杞侯于郚。

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15 This predates the beginning of the *Annals* by twenty-three years.

16 Since Prince Jing (d. 841 BCE) was the great-great-grandfather of Chengshi, Luan Bin would be a great uncle. *Shiji* 39.1638 explains as follows: "In his thirty-fifth year [746 BCE] Prince Wen, Chou, died. His son Bo, Prince Zhao, was established. In the first year of Prince Zhao, he granted a domain to Prince Wen's younger brother Chengshi in Quwo. The city of Quwo was larger than Yi. Yi was the ruler's capital city of Jin. Chengshi was given his domain at Quwo and was called Huan Shu. One of the grandsons of Prince Jing by a concubine, Luan Bin, served as minister to Huan Shu. Huan Shu was fifty-eight at that time and was fond of virtue. The people of the domain of Jin all were attached to him."

17 The terms *ce shi* 側室, "auxiliary households," and *er zong* 貳宗, "collateral line leaders," also appear in Xiang 14.6 and Wen 12.6. They seem to refer to the lineages of younger sons and sons of concubines (Yang, 1:94).

In the twenty-fourth year of Lord Hui of Lu (745 BCE),[15] Jin first fell into disorder, and that is why they put Chengshi[a] in power in Quwo. The grandson of Prince Jing, Luan Bin, served him as tutor.[16] Preceptor Fu said, "I have heard that when domains and patrimonies are established, the trunk is large and the branches are small and that is why they are sturdy. Thus, the Son of Heaven establishes domains; the princes establish patrimonies; the ministers set up auxiliary households; the high officers have their collateral line leaders;[17] the officers have sons and younger brothers who are subordinate to them; and the landsmen, the artisans, and the merchants each make distinctions among relatives. All of these have gradations of status.[18] Therefore, the people submit to and serve their superiors, and inferiors have no inappropriate aspirations. Now, Jin was once a princedom in the king's lands and then was established as a domain. Now that the trunk already has grown weak, can Jin last long?"

In the thirtieth year of Lord Hui (739 BCE), Panfu of Jin assassinated Prince Zhao and was going to install Chengshi[a] in power, but he did not prevail. The Jin leaders established Prince Xiao as ruler. In the forty-fifth year of Lord Hui (724 BCE), Liege Zhuang of Quwo attacked Yi and assassinated Prince Xiao. The Yi leaders established his younger brother Prince E as ruler. Prince E fathered Prince Ai. Prince Ai invaded the fields of Xingting, and the people of the southern marches of Xingting opened the way for Quwo to attack Yi.[19]

LORD HUAN 3 (709 BCE)

ANNALS

In the third year, in spring, in the first month, our lord met with the Prince of Qi at Ying.[20] 3.1(2)

In summer, the Prince of Qi and the Prince of Wei exchanged commands at Pu.[21] 3.2(3)

In the sixth month, our lord met with the Prince of Qǐ at Cheng. 3.3(4)

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18 Takezoe (2.26) notes that these gradations of status extend from the Son of Heaven down to the common people, the latter including unranked members of the aristocratic lineages and capital dwellers but neither slaves nor the provincial population.

19 This retrospective narrative is unusual in that it is not linked to any event that took place in the second year of Lord Huan. One gains the impression from this and other passages that the compilers of *Zuozhuan* possessed fairly detailed records from the domain of Jin. It is possible that the entry was originally part of Huan 3.1, which concerns an attack by Quwo.

20 Ying 嬴 was located in the domain of Qi northwest of present-day Laiwu County 萊蕪縣, Shandong.

21 *Xu ming* 胥命 is used of an agreement where no formal covenant was sworn (Yang, 1:96). Pu 蒲 was located in Wei territory east of current Changyuan County 長垣縣, Henan.

3.4 秋，七月壬辰朔，日有食之，既。

3.5(5) 公子翬如齊逆女。

3.6(6) 九月，齊侯送姜氏于讙。

3.7 公會齊侯于讙。

3.8(7) 夫人姜氏至自齊。

3.9(7) 冬，齊侯使其弟年來聘。

3.10 有年。

左傳

3.1 三年，春，曲沃武公伐翼，次于陘庭。韓萬御戎；梁弘為右。逐翼侯于汾隰，驂絓而止，夜獲之，及欒共叔。

3.2(1) 會于嬴，成婚于齊也。

3.3(2) 夏，齊侯、衛侯胥命于蒲，不盟也。

3.4(3) 公會杞侯于郚，杞求成也。

3.5(5) 秋，公子翬如齊逆女，修先君之好，故曰「公子」。

In autumn, in the seventh month, on the *renchen* day, the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was a total eclipse.[22] 3.4

Gongzi Hui went to Qi to meet and escort home a bride.[23] 3.5(5)

In the ninth month, the Prince of Qi escorted Lady Jiang to Huan.[24] 3.6(6)

Our lord met with the Prince of Qi at Huan. 3.7

Our lord's wife, Lady Jiang, arrived from Qi. 3.8(7)

In winter, the Prince of Qi sent his younger brother, Nian (Yi Zhongnian), to us on an official visit. 3.9(7)

There was a bountiful harvest. 3.10

ZUO

The following episode continues the events of Huan 2.8.

In the third year, in spring, Lord Wu of Quwo attacked Yi and camped at Xingting. Han Wan drove the war chariot and Liang Hong was the spearman on the right. As they pursued the Prince of Yi in the Fen Marsh, one of his trace horses became tangled in the undergrowth, and he was brought to a halt. In the night they captured him and Luan Gongshu.[25] 3.1

They met at Ying: this was to conclude the marriage in Qi. 3.2(1)

In summer, the Prince of Qi and the Prince of Wei exchanged commands at Pu: it was not a case of swearing a covenant. 3.3(2)

Our lord met the Prince of Qǐ at Cheng: this was because Qǐ had sought an accord. 3.4(3)

In autumn, Gongzi Hui went to Qi to meet and escort home a bride. He fostered the amity that prevailed among the former rulers, and that is why he is referred to as "Gongzi," a noble son.[26] 3.5(5)

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22 Calculations indicate that this eclipse actually took place in the eighth month.

23 Presumably this bride is the Lady Jiang mentioned below as the wife of Lord Huan of Lu.

24 Huan 讙 was a small domain north of present-day Ningyang County 寧陽縣, Shandong.

25 Luan Gongshu was the son of Luan Bin, who served Chengshi as tutor (Huan 2.8). *Guoyu* says that Lord Wu of Quwo attacked the main Jin city of Yi, killed the Prince of Yi, and halted Luan Gongshu. Lord Wu then offered Luan Gongshu power in Jin, but the latter refused and "fought to the death" (*Guoyu*, "Jin yu 1," 7.251).

26 In earlier entries (e.g., *Annals*, Yin 4.5), Hui is referred to by name only, without "Gongzi." Recall that Gongzi Hui is responsible for the murder of Lord Yin.

3.6(6) 齊侯送姜氏于讙，非禮也。凡公女嫁于敵國：姊妹，則上卿送之，以禮於先君；公子，則下卿送之。於大國，雖公子，亦上卿送之。於天子，則諸卿皆行，公不自送。於小國，則上大夫送之。

3.7(8, 9) 冬，齊仲年來聘，致夫人也。

3.8 芮伯萬之母芮姜惡芮伯之多寵人也，故逐之，出居于魏。

春秋

4.1(1) 四年，春，正月，公狩于郎。

4.2(2) 夏，天王使宰渠伯糾來聘。

左傳

4.1(1) 四年，春，正月，公狩于郎。書時，禮也。

4.2(2) 夏，周宰渠伯糾來聘。父在，故名。

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27 Rui 芮 was a small domain that was located within the royal domain, in present-day Shanxi. It was ruled by the Ji 姬 lineage, whose leaders once served the Zhou as ministers.

28 The commentaries express consternation that there are no entries under this year for autumn and winter. Normally the first month of a season is registered even if no noteworthy event took place at that time.

The Qi ruler personally escorts his sister to Lu for her marriage to Lord Huan. We find out later about their incestuous relationship (see Huan 18.1).

The Prince of Qi escorted Lady Jiang to Huan: this was not in accordance with ritual propriety. In all cases when the daughter of a lord is married into a coequal domain and is a sister of the reigning lord, then a high minister escorts her to show ritual courtesy to the former ruler. If she is the child of the ruling lord, then a lower-ranking minister escorts her. But if the marriage is to a greater domain, it is still a high minister who escorts her even if she is a child of the lord. If the marriage is to the Son of Heaven, then the ministers all go, but the lord himself does not escort her. If she marries into a smaller domain, then the senior high officers escort her. 3.6(6)

In winter, Nian, the younger brother of the Qi lord, came on an official visit: this was to bring our lord's wife. 3.7(8, 9)

A ruler's mother, outraged by her son's profligacy, drives him into exile. A series of short episodes below will trace his activities in exile and his eventual return to Rui (Huan 4.4, 9.3, 10.3).

Rui Jiang, the mother of Wan, the Liege of Rui, hated the fact that the Liege of Rui had so many favorites.[27] That is why she drove him away, and he left the domain to reside in Weì. 3.8

LORD HUAN 4 (708 BCE)

ANNALS

In the fourth year, in spring, in the first month, our lord went on the winter hunt at Lang. 4.1(1)

In summer, the Heaven-appointed king sent his steward Qu Bojiu to us on an official visit.[28] 4.2(2)

ZUO

In the fourth year, in spring, in the first month, our lord went on the winter hunt at Lang. The season is recorded because it was timely and was in accordance with ritual propriety.[29] 4.1(1)

In summer, Qu Bojiu, the Zhou steward, came on an official visit. His father was still alive, and that is why he is named.[30] 4.2(2)

29 The first month of the Zhou calendar, which begins the spring, here corresponds to the twelfth month of the Xia calendar, which is a winter month. Hence, the traditional "winter hunt" is held in the spring (Yang, 1:101).

30 Presumably, he would have been called simply the Master of Qu had his father been dead and had Bojiu assumed leadership of the clan.

4.3 秋，秦師侵芮，敗焉，小之也。

4.4 冬，王師、秦師圍魏，執芮伯以歸。

春秋

5.1(1) 五年，春，正月甲戌、己丑，陳侯鮑卒。

5.2(2) 夏，齊侯、鄭伯如紀。

5.3(4) 天王使仍叔之子來聘。

5.4 葬陳桓公。

5.5 城祝丘。

5.6(3) 秋，蔡人、衛人、陳人從王伐鄭。

5.7(5) 大雩。

5.8 螽。

5.9(6) 冬，州公如曹。

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31 The entry is curious for giving two dates, the first in the previous month (i.e., the final month of the previous year) and the second fifteen days later. The *Zuozhuan* entry below claims that Chen was in disorder, and two separate announcements of the death came to Lu, one on each of the dates noted above. *Guliang*, Huan 5 (3.32), says that the lord disappeared on the first date and that his body was recovered on the second, so it was impossible to know the precise time of death. Another possibility is that the first date is an interpolation. For another example of a date discrepancy, in that case between the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan*, see Yin 3.1.

32 Yang Bojun believes that the son was representing his father, an official, who was too old to undertake the journey himself (cf. *Annals*, Yin 3.4). As Yang (1:24) notes, the Yin lineage head (Yinshi 尹氏), the Wu lineage head (武氏), Reng Shu 仍叔, Rong Shu 榮叔, and Jiafu 家父 were hereditary officers in the king's court. The words *shi* 氏, *shu* 叔, and *fu* 父 here signify honored rank rather than any strictly defined kinship relation.

The domain of Qin, which will later play an extremely powerful role in the early Chinese political world, makes its first appearance in Zuozhuan.

In autumn, Qin troops invaded Rui and were defeated by them. This was because Qin had underestimated them. 4.3

Qin, defeated by Rui in the previous passage, captures the Rui exile (Huan 3.8).

In winter, the king's troops and Qin troops laid siege to Weì. They seized the Liege of Rui and brought him back with them. 4.4

LORD HUAN 5 (707 BCE)

ANNALS

In the fifth year, in spring, in the first month, on the *jiaxu* day (21) or the *jichou* day (6), Bao, the Prince of Chen, died.[31] 5.1(1)

In summer, the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng went to Ji. 5.2(2)

The Heaven-appointed king sent the son of Reng Shu to us on a formal visit.[32] 5.3(4)

Lord Huan of Chen was buried. 5.4

We fortified Zhuqiu.[33] 5.5

In autumn, a Cai leader, a Wei leader, and a Chen leader followed the king and attacked Zheng. 5.6(3)

There was a great rain sacrifice. 5.7(5)

There were locusts. 5.8

In winter, the Lord of Zhōu [the Lord of Chunyu] went to Cao.[34] 5.9(6)

33 Zhuqiu 祝丘 was located in the domain of Lu in present-day Linyi County 臨沂縣, Shandong.

34 Zhōu 州 was a small domain located to the northeast of present-day Anqiu County 安丘縣, Shandong. The domain capital was Chunyu 淳于, a name by which the domain itself is sometimes known (see, e.g., *Zuozhuan* below). The domain of Cao 曹 was founded when King Wu, the founder of the Zhou dynasty, established a younger brother there. It was located near Dingtao County 定陶縣 in southern Shandong.

左傳

5.1(1) 五年，春，正月甲戌、己丑，陳侯鮑卒。再赴也。於是陳亂，文公子佗殺大子免而代之。公疾病而亂作，國人分散，故再赴。

5.2(2) 夏，齊侯、鄭伯朝于紀，欲以襲之。紀人知之。

5.3(6) 王奪鄭伯政，鄭伯不朝。秋，王以諸侯伐鄭，鄭伯禦之。王為中軍；虢公林父將右軍，蔡人、衛人屬焉；周公黑肩將左軍，陳人屬焉。

鄭子元請為左拒，以當蔡人、衛人；為右拒，以當陳人，曰：「陳亂，民莫有鬬心。若先犯之，必奔。王卒顧之，必亂。蔡、衛不枝，固將先奔。既而萃於王卒，可以集事。」從之。

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35 Since Lord Wen was the previous ruler of Chen, Tuo was the younger brother of the newly deceased Bao (Lord Huan of Chen).

36 This is the first occurrence of the term *guoren* 國人, which we have here translated as "the inhabitants of the capital." Tong Shuye explains (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan yanjiu*, 132–46) that this has a narrower and a broader meaning during the Spring and Autumn period. That is, it can refer to the inhabitants of the capital, as here and in most cases elsewhere in *Zuozhuan*, or it can refer more broadly to the inhabitants of the entire domain. Tong suggests that these *guoren*, at least in the narrower sense of the word, might have been relatively small in number, and *Zuozhuan* indicates that they had significant political importance (see, e.g., Xiang 25.2 and 30.10, where they swear to uphold covenants).

In the fifth year, in spring, in the first month, on the *jiaxu* day (21) or the *jichou* day (6), Bao, the Prince of Chen, died. They had sent notice of his death twice. At that time, Chen was in disorder. Gongzi Tuo, the son of Lord Wen, killed the heir apparent Mian and replaced him.[35] The lord was extremely ill, and when disorder arose, the inhabitants of the capital were divided and scattered,[36] and that is the reason they sent notice of his death twice. 5.1(1)

In summer, the Prince of Qi and the Liege of Zheng visited the Ji court, intending by this means to make a surprise attack on Ji. The Ji leaders learned of this. 5.2(2)

The next episode details further deterioration in the relationship between the domain of Zheng and the royal court of Zhou (see Yin 3.3 and 8.3). Gongzi Tu's speech below is the first of many examples in Zuozhuan *of military advice, which led to its reputation as, among other things, a handbook of military strategy.*

The king had stripped political authority from the Liege of Zheng, and the Liege of Zheng no longer visited his court. In autumn, the king led the princes to attack Zheng, and the Liege of Zheng led the opposition against them. The king took charge of the central army. Guo Zhong[a], the Guo Duke, led the army of the right, and the men of Cai and Wei were under his command. Zhou Duke Huan[a], led the army of the left, and the men of Chen were under his command. 5.3(6)

Gongzi Tu[a] of Zheng requested that they form a counterforce on the left to face the men of Cai and Wei and a counterforce on the right to face the men of Chen.[37] He said, "Chen is in disorder and none of its people have the will to fight. If we engage them first, they will surely flee. When the king's infantry looks back and sees this, they are sure to fall into disarray. Cai and Wei are unsupported and will assuredly flee beforehand. Afterward, we can concentrate our army upon the king's infantry and bring the matter to completion." They followed this plan.

37 The character 拒 *ju* has been understood as describing a particular military formation: "the square formation." Karlgren (gl. 29), we think, is correct in arguing that the character here probably means simply "to resist."

曼伯為右拒，祭仲足為左拒，原繁、高渠彌以中軍奉公，為魚麗之陳。先偏後伍，伍承彌縫。戰于繻葛。命二拒曰：「旝動而鼓！」蔡、衛、陳皆奔，王卒亂，鄭師合以攻之，王卒大敗。祝聃射王中肩，王亦能軍。祝聃請從之。公曰：「君子不欲多上人，況敢陵天子乎？苟自救也，社稷無隕，多矣。」夜，鄭伯使祭足勞王，且問左右。

5.4(3) 仍叔之子來聘，弱也。

5.5(7) 秋，大雩。書不時也。凡祀，啟蟄而郊，龍見而雩，始殺而嘗，閉蟄而烝。過則書。

5.6(9) 冬，淳于公如曹。度其國危，遂不復。

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38 This is a problematic interpretation. Du Yu quotes *Sima fa* as stating that a *pian* 偏 is a military unit of twenty-five chariots. Du Yu also believes that *wu* 伍 refers to a unit of five men that accompanied each chariot (*ZZ* 6.106). Yang (1:105) questions this interpretation and concludes, quite judiciously, that for the time being it is well to leave out what is doubtful. The interpretation above presumes a tight formation of twenty-five chariots with a larger reserve to fill in gaps as lead chariots fall by the wayside. Thus, *yu li* 魚麗 is understood as referring to a school of fish, where one fish takes up the position of the leader when a leader is removed. For a quite different interpretation, see Karlgren, gl. 30. Other examples concerning military formations can be found in Xuan 12.2 and Cheng 7.5.

39 This is the same place as Changge, named in Yin 5.10.

40 An abbreviated description of this conflict appears in *Shiji* 42.1760 with the added note that the attack on Zheng resulted from the fact that Lord Zhuang of Zheng "did not go to the Zhou court." King Huan's wound was not mortal, and he lived for another ten years.

41 That is, by indicating that this was "a son," the *Annals* supposedly points to his extreme youth.

42 The explanation given here for the untimely offering of the rain sacrifice is curious. As Yang (1:107) notes, there are two occasions on which such a sacrifice is offered. The first is the regular time—that is, at the beginning of the summer, when there is fear that the rains will be insufficient to sustain the crops. The second occasion is when there is a drought, and several such instances are recorded in the *Annals* with no *Zuozhuan* notice that this was in any way inappropriate. The sacrifices referred

Gongzi Hu[a] formed a counterforce on the right, and Zhai Zhong[b] formed an opposing force on the left. Yuan Fan and Gao Qumi led the army of the center to support the Lord of Zheng and formed a "fish school formation" with twenty-five chariots in front, each followed by five chariots to close up gaps.[38] They fought at Xuge.[39] A command was issued to the two counterforces: "When the signal banners move, beat the war drums!" Cai, Wei, and Chen all fled, and the king's infantry was thrown into disorder. The Zheng troops closed ranks to strike at them, and the king's infantry was roundly defeated. Zhu Dan shot the king in the shoulder with an arrow, but the king was still able to battle on. Zhu Dan asked permission to pursue him, but the Liege of Zheng said, "A noble man does not wish always to assert superiority over others. How much less would one dare to insult the Son of Heaven! So long as one is able to save oneself, and the altars of the domain do not fall, that would be more than enough." During the night, the Liege of Zheng sent Zhai Zhong[a] to inquire after the health of the king and also to ask about the welfare of his supporters.[40]

The son of Reng Shu came on an official visit: the text is indicating that he was young.[41] 5.4(3)

The following passage describes a regular succession of sacrifices all linked to natural events. Only deviations from this ritual cycle, we read, are noted.

In autumn, there was a great rain sacrifice. It is recorded because it was not timely. In the case of all such sacrifices, when the insects have emerged from hibernation, one offers the sacrifice in the outskirts; when the Dragon constellation has appeared, one offers the rain sacrifice; when the withering has first begun, one offers the autumn sacrifice; and when the insects have gone into hibernation, one offers the winter sacrifice. If the proper season for the sacrifices has passed, then it is recorded.[42] 5.5(7)

In winter, the Lord of Chunyu went to Cao.[43] He calculated that his domain was in danger and consequently did not return. 5.6(9)

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to above are part of a seasonal schedule. The "sacrifice in the outskirts," so named because it was offered outside the capital, took place at the beginning of the year (also the beginning of spring according to the early Chinese reckoning of seasons) and was essentially a prayer for a successful agricultural season. The rain sacrifice took place sometime during the fourth lunar month of the Xia calendar when a constellation known as the Dragon first appeared. "When the withering has first begun" refers to that time when the vapors of autumn arise and plants begin to die. This is the time of autumn [*chang* or the tasting of the first fruits] sacrifice.

43 The Lord of Chunyu is the leader of the small domain of Zhōu 州.

春秋

6.1(1) 六年，春，正月，寔來。

6.2(3) 夏，四月，公會紀侯于成。

6.3(5) 秋，八月壬午，大閱。

6.4 蔡人殺陳佗。

6.5(6) 九月丁卯，子同生。

6.6(7) 冬，紀侯來朝。

左傳

6.1(1) 六年，春，自曹來朝。書曰「寔來」，不復其國也。

6.2a 楚武王侵隨，使薳章求成焉，軍於瑕以待之。隨人使少師董成。鬬伯比言于楚子曰：「吾不得志於漢東也，我則使然。我張吾三軍，而被吾甲兵，以武臨之，彼則懼而協以謀我，故難間也。漢東之國，隨為大。隨張，必棄小國。小國離，楚之利也。少師侈，請羸師以張之。」熊率且比曰：「季梁在，何益？」鬬伯比曰：「以為後圖，少師得其君。」王毀軍而納少師。

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44 This refers to the Lord of Zhōu mentioned in *Annals*, Huan 5.9. The ambiguity results from the fact that the original *Annals* entries came one after the other and were not broken up, as presented here and in most current Chinese editions, by the *Zuo*, *Gongyang*, or *Guliang* commentaries.

45 Cheng 成 is also sometimes written as 郕 and was located in the domain of Lu northeast of Ningyang County 寧陽縣, Shandong.

46 There is no reference to this event in *Zuozhuan* under this year, but the execution of Tuo, also known as Wufu, is mentioned in Zhuang 22.1.

47 Zitong will be the next lord of Lu and will be known posthumously as Lord Zhuang. Yang (1:109) notes that, of the twelve lords of Lu recorded in the *Annals*, only Lord Zhuang was the eldest son of the main wife. This is the one Lu heir apparent whose birth is recorded in the *Annals*, which suggests a post factum manipulation of this exceptional record, since no one at the time of his birth could have known that he would live to succeed.

LORD HUAN 6 (706 BCE)

ANNALS

In the sixth year, in spring, in the first month, he did come.[44] 6.1(1)

In summer, in the fourth month, our lord met with the Prince of Ji in Cheng.[45] 6.2(3)

In autumn, in the eighth month, on the *renwu* day (8), there was a grand review of troops. 6.3(5)

Cai leaders put Chen Tuo to death.[46] 6.4

In the ninth month, on the *dingmao* day (24), Zitong was born.[47] 6.5(6)

In winter, the Prince of Ji came to visit our court. 6.6(7)

ZUO

In the sixth year, in spring, he came to visit our court from Cao. That the text says that "he did come here" is because he had not returned to his domain. 6.1(1)

The southern domain of Chu has been mentioned earlier (Huan 2.4), but the following is the first time it plays a major role in Zuozhuan.

King Wu of Chu invaded Sui and had Wei Zhang seek an accord with them. The king stationed his troops at Xia to await Wei Zhang's return.[48] The Sui leaders sent an adjutant to manage the peace negotiations. Dou Bobi spoke to the Master of Chu: "If we do not achieve our aims east of the Han River, then we have only ourselves to blame. Having swollen the ranks of our three armies and having put on our armor and weapons, we approach Sui in martial display. Our enemies are afraid and have united to plot against us. That is why it will be difficult to foment discord among them. Sui is the largest of the domains east of the Han River. If Sui becomes swollen with pride, it must disregard the interests of the smaller domains. For the small domains to break with Sui is to Chu's advantage. The adjutant is haughty. Let us make our troops appear weak in order to cause him to become overconfident." Xionglü Jubi said, "As long as Ji Liang is alive, what good will this do?" Dou Bobi said, "It will serve our later plans. The adjutant will have his ruler's favor." The king made his troops appear to be in disarray and welcomed the Sui adjutant. 6.2a

48 Sui 隨 was a small domain with the clan name Jiang 姜 and was located south of present-day Sui County 隨縣 in Hubei. *Shiji* 40.1695 claims that Chu was angry because Sui had rebelled against them.

6.2b 少師歸，請追楚師。隨侯將許之。季梁止之，曰：「天方授楚，楚之贏，其誘我也。君何急焉？臣聞小之能敵大也，小道大淫。所謂道，忠於民而信於神也。上思利民，忠也；祝史正辭，信也。今民餒而君逞欲，祝史矯舉以祭，臣不知其可也。」公曰：「吾牲牷肥腯，粢盛豐備，何則不信？」

對曰：「夫民，神之主也，是以聖王先成民而後致力於神。故奉牲以告曰『博碩肥腯』，謂民力之普存也，謂其畜之碩大蕃滋也，謂其不疾瘯蠡也，謂其備腯咸有也；奉盛以告曰：『絜粢豐盛』，謂其三時不害而民和年豐也；奉酒醴以告曰『嘉栗旨酒』，謂其上下皆有嘉德而無違心也。所謂馨香，無讒慝也。故務其三時，修其五教，親其九族，以致其禋祀，於是乎民和而神降之福，故動則有成。今民各有心，而鬼神乏

49 On the interpretation of this problematic phrase, see Karlgren, gl. 32.

50 In Wen 18.7, the five precepts are explained as the dutifulness of a father, the kindness of a mother, the amiability of an older brother, the respectfulness of a younger brother, and the filial piety of a son.

51 The precise nature of these "nine degrees" is disputed. What is clear is that it refers to a very extended family. For details, see Yang, 1:112.

This section, in which the Sui minister Ji Liang argues that service to the people should come before sacrifices to the gods, is one of a number of Zuozhuan *passages that reflect a belief that proper sacrifices alone are not sufficient to gain the support of gods and spirits (Zhuang 10.1, Xi 5.8). This is one of many* Zuozhuan *references to how rulership is ultimately justified by the people's well-being. See also Zhuang 32.3, Xi 19.3, Wen 13.3, and Cheng 15.1 (among many other passages). Note the resemblance of this passage to the famous proclamation in the* Mencius *that "the people are of supreme importance" (7B.14, Lau trans.).*

The adjutant returned to his ruler and asked permission to pursue the Chu troops. The Prince of Sui was about to allow this when Ji Liang stopped him, saying, "Heaven is just now bestowing favor upon Chu. Chu's appearance of weakness means that they are enticing us. Why act so quickly, my lord? I have heard that when the small can match the large, it is because the small is in accord with the Way and the large is debauched. What is meant by being 'in accord with the Way' is being devoted to the people and being honest with the spirits. When superiors think of benefiting the people, that is being devoted. When the invocators and scribes are correct in what they say, that is being honest. Now, the people are starving while you, my lord, satisfy your desires. The invocators and scribes falsely praise you in offering sacrifices. I, your servant, do not know how this can be acceptable." The lord said, "My sacrificial animals are unblemished and fat; and the vessels of millet are full and complete in number. How is this dishonest?" 6.2b

Ji Liang responded: "The people are the masters of the gods. Therefore, the sage-kings first achieved success with the people and only then expended effort on service to the gods. That is why, when presenting sacrificial animals, they announced, 'Broad, large, sleek, and fat.' This means the strength of the people is widely preserved; it means the domestic animals are large and breeding well; it means the animals do not suffer from skin afflictions;[49] and it means they are fat and plentiful. When presenting sacrificial vessels, they announced, 'Pure millet fills the vessels.' This means there were no disasters during the three agricultural seasons, the people are at peace, and the harvest is abundant. When presenting sacrificial wine, they announced, 'Fine and pure, an excellent wine.' That means superiors and inferiors all possess fine virtue and have no thought of disobeying; and the fragrance of which they speak is the absence of slander and villainy. Thus, one exerted effort during the three seasons, cultivated the five precepts,[50] and showed affection for all nine degrees of relatives[51] so as to present untainted offerings. In such circumstances, the people were at peace and the gods sent down blessings upon them. That is why, when they acted, they had success. But today, each person has his own intentions, and the ghosts and spirits lack a master.

主；君雖獨豐，其何福之有？君姑修政，而親兄弟之國，庶免於難。」隨侯懼而修政，楚不敢伐。

6.3(2) 夏，會于成，紀來諮謀齊難也。

6.4 北戎伐齊，齊使乞師于鄭。鄭大子忽帥師救齊。六月，大敗戎師，獲其二帥大良、少良，甲首三百，以獻於齊。

於是諸侯之大夫戍齊，齊人饋之餼，使魯為其班。後鄭。鄭忽以其有功也，怒，故有郎之師。

公之未婚於齊也，齊侯欲以文姜妻鄭大子忽。大子忽辭。人問其故。大子曰：「人各有耦，齊大，非吾耦也。《詩》云：『自求多福。』在我而已，大國何為？」

君子曰：「善自為謀。」

及其敗戎師也，齊侯又請妻之。固辭。人問其故。大子曰：「無事於齊，吾猶不敢。今以君命奔齊之急，而受室以歸，是以師婚也。民其謂我何？」遂辭諸鄭伯。

6.5(3) 秋，大閱，簡車馬也。

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52 This is a "flash-forward" to Huan 10.5.

53 The phrase "Qi is large and not a proper mate" 齊大非耦 becomes a set phrase meaning that it is unwise to take as partner someone of much greater power or higher status.

54 A quotation from *Maoshi* 235, "Wen wang" 文王, 16A.537.

55 The "Mao Commentary" explicitly attaches the Zheng heir apparent Hu to several Zheng odes (see introductory comments to *Maoshi* 83, "You nü tongche" 有女同車, 4C.170; 84, "Shan you fu su" 山有扶蘇, 4C.171; 85, "Tuo xi" 蘀兮, 4C.172; 86, "Jiao tong" 狡童, 4C.173). Regarding the first of these the "Mao Commentary" says: "The Zheng people censured Hu for not marrying the Qi woman. The heir apparent Hu once had acquired merit in Qi and the Prince of Qi asked to give him a wife. Though the Qi woman was worthy, he would not take her. In the end, he did not have the help of a great domain and so was driven into exile. That is why the people censured him." In Huan 11.3, the Zheng minister Zhai Zhong also advises Hu to marry the Qi woman and adds further that Hu has "many favorites." The "Mao Commentary" attributes a number of other misdeeds to Hu, among them "not being able to make plans in collaboration with worthy men," an obvious allusion to his failure to accept Zhai Zhong's advice (*Maoshi* 4C.172).

Although it is true that you yourself, my lord, enjoy abundance, what blessings could there be? If you for now would cultivate good government and draw close to fraternal domains, you might just manage to avoid calamity." The Prince of Sui was frightened and cultivated good government. Chu did not dare to launch an attack.

In summer, there was a meeting in Cheng: the reason that Ji came was to consult and plan about the difficulties with Qi. 6.3(2)

The Northern Rong had previously attacked Zheng (Yin 9.6). Here they turn their attention toward Qi, as the latter gets help from Zheng. Gongzi Hu, the heir apparent of Zheng, refuses the offer of a Qi princess as reward for Zheng's aid. While this is presented here as a wise decision, Zhai Zheng will later declare it a strategic mistake (Huan 11.3). Gongzi Hu was earlier criticized for flouting ritual propriety in his marriage to a daughter of Chen (Yin 8.3, 8.4).

The Northern Rong attacked Qi. Qi sent someone to plead for troops from Zheng. Gongzi Hu[b], the Zheng heir apparent, led troops to rescue Qi. In the sixth month, they roundly defeated the Rong troops and captured their two leaders, Liang the Elder and Liang the Younger, and presented them to Qi along with the severed heads of three hundred armed men. 6.4

At that time, the high officers of the princes were garrisoned in Qi. The Qi leaders sent provisions to them and had the domain of Lu determine the order of distribution. Lu put Zheng last. Because he considered that they had achieved merit, Gongzi Hu[c] was angry. That is why there would be the campaign at Lang.[52]

When our lord had not yet taken Wen Jiang as a wife from Qi, the Prince of Qi had wanted to make her the wife of the Zheng heir apparent Gongzi Hu[b], but the heir apparent Hu declined. When someone asked why, the heir apparent said, "For each person there is a mate. Qi is a large domain, so she is not my proper mate.[53] As it says in the *Odes*, 'For themselves they sought many blessings.'[54] This is a matter for myself alone. Why should a large domain be involved?"

The noble man said, "He was skilled at planning for himself."

When Gongzi Hu had defeated the Rong troops, the Prince of Qi again asked to marry one of his daughters to Hu, but he steadfastly refused. When someone asked why, Gongzi Hu[b] said, "Even when I had performed no service for Qi, I did not dare. Now, if after rushing on my lord's command to aid Qi in its distress, I should receive a wife and return home, that would be using troops to arrange a marriage. What would the people then say of me?" Consequently, he declined, using his father, the Liege of Zheng, as pretext.[55]

In autumn, there was a grand review of troops: this was to examine the chariots and the horses. 6.5(3)

6.6(5) 九月丁卯，子同生。以大子生之禮舉之，接以太牢，卜士負之，士妻食之，公與文姜、宗婦命之。

公問名於申繻。對曰：「名有五：有信，有義，有象，有假，有類。以名生為信，以德命為義，以類命為象，取於物為假，取於父為類。不以國，不以官，不以山川，不以隱疾，不以畜牲，不以器幣。周人以諱事神，名，終將諱之。故以國則廢名，以官則廢職，以山川則廢主，以畜牲則廢祀，以器幣則廢禮。晉以僖侯廢司徒，宋以武公廢司空，先君獻、武廢二山，是以大物不可以命。」公曰：「是其生也，與吾同物，命之曰同。」

6.7(6) 冬，紀侯來朝，請王命以求成于齊。公告不能。

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56 Du Yu (*ZZ* 6.112) believes that Lord Huan, the father, received his wife, Zitong's mother. On our interpretation, see Yang, 1:114. This ceremony, the *tailao*, consisted of the sacrifice of an ox, a sheep, and a pig.

57 This type of name is presumably a broad category. According to commentators, it includes people like Tang Shuyu [Tang Shu], who was born with a design resembling the character *yu* in the palm of his hand, and those who were named according to the day upon which they were born or according to the first sound they made after birth. The notion seems to be that this type of name is "ready made," coming from some circumstance of the birth itself.

58 King Wen, for example, was named *chang* 昌, "glorious," because he possessed this quality.

59 Confucius, for example, was named *qiu* 丘, "hill," we are told, because his head resembled the shape of a hill.

60 Confucius named his son *li* 鯉, "carp," a name borrowed from the name of a thing.

61 The name derives in some way from the father.

62 After the death of a ruler with the same name as that of a domain, that name would be respectfully concealed, and thus the name of the domain would have to be changed, which would create considerable inconvenience.

63 Prince Xi was given the name Situ 司徒, "supervisor of conscripts," which then could not be used after his death, forcing a change in the name of this office. Lord Wu of Song was named Sikong 司空, "supervisor of works."

The next Lord of Lu, the future Lord Zhuang, is born. The issue of proper naming is taken up once again (see Huan 2.8). In this passage we are informed that the tradition of not speaking the personal name of a deceased ruler—that is, "respectful concealment"—means that one must exercise caution to avoid giving personal names that will eliminate essential words from common use.

In the ninth month, on the *dingmao* day (24), Zitong was born. They celebrated the birth with the ritual appropriate to the birth of an heir apparent, and his father received him with the sacrifice of the three domestic animals.[56] They divined to select an officer to carry him and the wife of an officer to nurse him. Our lord and Wen Jiang, along with the women of the clan, were going to name him. 6.6(5)

Our lord asked Shen Xu about names, and he responded, "Names are of five types: tokens of truth, meanings, resemblances, borrowings, and kinds. Being born with a name is a token of truth.[57] Being named according to some personal virtue is a meaning.[58] Being named according to some similarity is a resemblance.[59] When a name is taken from a thing, it is a borrowing.[60] And when a name is taken from the father, it is a kind.[61] One does not use the name of a domain; one does not use the name of an office, of a mountain or a river, of a malady or illness, of domestic animals, or of utensils and precious ceremonial objects. The Zhou leaders used a system of respectful concealment in serving spirits, and when one passed away, his name was avoided as respectful concealment. Therefore, using a domain name would do away with that name.[62] Using the name of an office would do away with that official duty. Using the name of a mountain or a river would do away with the spirit master of that place. Using the name of a domestic animal would do away with a sacrifice. Using the name of a ceremonial vessel or a ceremonial gift would do away with a ritual. Jin, because of Prince Xi, did away with the supervisor of conscripts, and Song, because of Lord Wu, did away with the office of supervisor of works.[63] Our former rulers Xian and Wu did away with the names of two mountains.[64] Therefore, great things cannot be used as names!" Our lord said, "This child's day of birth is the same as mine, so I will name him Tong ['Same']."

The small domain of Ji continues to try to ease its problems with Qi (Huan 6.3) but Lu refuses to intercede on their behalf.

In winter, the Prince of Ji came to visit our court. He requested the king's command to seek an accord with Qi, but our lord told him he was unable to do this. 6.7(6)

64 That is, the personal names of these rulers were the same as the names of mountains, and thus the names of the mountains had to be changed after their deaths.

春秋

7.1 七年，春，二月己亥，焚咸丘。

7.2(1) 夏，穀伯綏來朝。鄧侯吾離來朝。

左傳

7.1(2) 七年，春，穀伯、鄧侯來朝。名，賤之也。

7.2 夏，盟、向求成于鄭，既而背之。

7.3 秋，鄭人、齊人、衛人伐盟、向。王遷盟、向之民于郟。

7.4 冬，曲沃伯誘晉小子侯殺之。

春秋

8.1 八年，春，正月己卯，烝。

8.2 天王使家父來聘。

8.3 夏，五月丁丑，烝。

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65 In a fire-hunt, the fields and woods were burned in order to drive the game into the open. According to *Liji* ("Jiao te sheng" 郊特牲, 25.491), this type of hunt took place in the winter months. Xianqiu 咸丘 was in the domain of Lu south of present-day Juye County 巨野縣, Shandong.

66 Gu 穀 was the name of a small domain located northwest of present-day Gucheng County 穀城縣 in Hubei and should be distinguished from another Gu 穀 located in Shandong (see *Annals*, Zhuang 7.5). Deng 鄧, a small domain from which several bronze vessels have been preserved, was located near present-day Deng County 鄧縣 in Henan (map 4).

67 There is a discrepancy between the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan* as to the season in which this event took place. Du Yu dismisses the issue with the conjecture that the Liege of Gu and the Prince of Deng came in the spring but were honored officially only in the summer (*ZZ* 7.118). Zhao Yi notes that such discrepancies appear elsewhere between the two texts and suggests that the differences arise from discrepancies

LORD HUAN 7 (705 BCE)

ANNALS

In the seventh year, in spring, in the second month, on the *jihai* day (28), there was a fire-hunt at Xianqiu.[65] 7.1

In summer, Sui, the Liege of Gu, came to visit our court. Wuli, the Prince of Deng, came to visit our court.[66] 7.2(1)

ZUO

In the seventh year, in spring, the Liege of Gu and the Prince of Deng came to visit our court. That they are named is to demean them.[67] 7.1(2)

Meng and Xiang were among the twelve places the royal Zhou court granted to Zheng earlier (Yin 11.5), but they apparently had not submitted, which brought on the conflict noted in this and the subsequent passage.

In summer, Meng and Xiang sought an accord with Zheng. Afterward, they rebelled against Zheng. 7.2

In autumn, the men of Zheng, Qi, and Wei attacked Meng and Xiang. The king relocated the people of Meng and Xiang to Jia.[68] 7.3

In winter, the Liege of Quwo lured the young Prince of Jin to Quwo and killed him. 7.4

LORD HUAN 8 (704 BCE)

ANNALS

In the eighth year, in spring, in the first month, on the *jimao* day (14), we offered the winter sacrifice.[69] 8.1

The Heaven-appointed king sent Jiafu to us on an official visit. 8.2

In summer, in the fifth month, on the *dingchou* day (13), we offered the winter sacrifice. 8.3

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between the Zhou and Xia calendars (see his comments in *Gaiyu congkao*, 2.16–17).

68 Jia 郏 was located in the royal domain of Zhou near present-day Luoyang City 洛陽市, Henan.

69 According to Huan 5.5, the *zheng* or winter sacrifice was offered at the time of the hibernation of insects and was noted in the *Annals* only when performed at an improper time. According to *Zuozhuan*, then, this passage and *Annals*, Huan 8.3, are recording untimely sacrifices. A more plausible explanation, we think, is that *Zuozhuan* is imposing a later, much more rigidly fixed ritual calendar upon an earlier age when it did not apply. The *zheng* sacrifice is offered in the winter (our fall). The character *zheng* 烝 also has the meaning "many" or "much" (*zhong* 眾) and is an expression of hope that the offerings presented from the harvest will be abundant (Takezoe, 2.39).

8.4 秋，伐邾。

8.5 冬，十月，雨雪。

8.6(4) 祭公來，遂逆王后于紀。

左傳

8.1 八年，春，滅翼。

8.2 隨少師有寵。楚鬬伯比曰：「可矣。讎有釁，不可失也。」夏，楚子合諸侯于沈鹿。黃、隨不會。使薳章讓黃。楚子伐隨。軍于漢、淮之間。季梁請下之，「弗許而後戰，所以怒我而怠寇也。」少師謂隨侯曰：「必速戰。不然，將失楚師。」隨侯禦之。

望楚師。季梁曰：「楚人上左，君必左，無與王遇。且攻其右。右無良焉，必敗。偏敗，眾乃攜矣。」少師曰：「不當王，非敵也。」

弗從。戰于速杞。隨師敗績。隨侯逸。鬬丹獲其戎車與其戎右少師。

秋，隨及楚平，楚子將不許。鬬伯比曰：「天去其疾矣，隨未可克也。」乃盟而還。

8.3 冬，王命虢仲立晉哀侯之弟緡于晉。

8.4(6) 祭公來，遂逆王后于紀，禮也。

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70 This is the equivalent of our September, unseasonably early for a snowstorm.

71 King Huan had been the king of Zhou for sixteen years already. It is difficult to believe that he had no queen for such a long period of time. Presumably, then, this is the occasion of greeting a second wife (Yang, 1:120–21).

72 Yi 翼 was the capital of Jin and was located southeast of Yicheng County 翼城縣, Shanxi. This passage continues the narrative of Huan 7.4. That is, after the murder of the Prince of Jin, the Liege of Quwo went on to destroy Yi.

73 Huang 黃 was a small domain located near Huangchuan County 黃川縣 in Henan. The capital has been excavated, and a number of bronze vessels from the domain have been discovered (Yang, 1:121).

74 Du Yu takes this to mean "the Chu ruler must be on the left" (*ZZ* 7.119). Gu Yanwu argues (*Rizhi lu jishi*, 27.620) that Ji Liang is urging the Sui ruler to go to his left and thereby attack the right side of the Chu force. Both interpretations are plausible and amount to the same conclusion: "Do not engage the King of Chu." While most other domains emphasize the right side over the left in battle, Chu seems to do the reverse.

75 Suqi 速杞 was located west of present-day Yingshan County 應山縣, Hubei.

76 The malady, Yang (1:123) thinks, is the adjutant who urged Sui to fight Chu and has now been captured.

In autumn, we attacked Zhu. 8.4

In winter, in the tenth month, it snowed.[70] 8.5

The Zhai Duke came to Lu. He then went to meet and escort home the queen from Ji.[71] 8.6(4)

ZUO

After killing the Jin heir (Huan 7.4), the Liege of Quwo completes his conquest of the Jin capital.

In the eighth year, in spring, Yi was destroyed.[72] 8.1

Chu now launches the attack on Sui that it had previously postponed (Huan 6.2).

The Sui adjutant enjoyed great favor. Dou Bobi of Chu said, "Now we can act! Our enemy has given us an opening. We cannot lose the opportunity." In summer, the Master of Chu gathered the princes at Shenlu. The domains of Huang and Sui did not attend.[73] Sending Wei Zhang to reprimand the Huang leaders, the Master of Chu attacked Sui, stationing his army between the Han and Huai Rivers. Ji Liang of Sui requested that they submit to Chu: "If they do not agree to this and afterward we join in battle, this will prove a means of whipping up our troops and making the Chu raiders lax." But the adjutant said to the Prince of Sui, "We must join in battle quickly. If we do not, we will lose our chance to push back the Chu troops." So the prince engaged the Chu troops in battle. 8.2

Looking out over the Chu troops, Ji Liang said, "The Chu leaders are placing emphasis on the left wing. You, my lord, must be on our left.[74] Do not engage the King of Chu. Moreover, if you attack their right wing, since the right has no skilled men there, they will surely be defeated. When one wing is defeated, the multitude will disperse." But the adjutant said, "If you do not face their king, you are not coequal with him."

The prince did not follow Ji Liang's advice. They joined in battle at Suqi,[75] and the adjutant was completely defeated. The prince of Sui escaped. Dou Dan captured his war chariot along with the adjutant, who was the prince's attendant of the right.

In autumn, Sui and Chu made peace. The Master of Chu was not going to allow this, but Dou Bobi said, "Heaven has removed its malady,[76] so Sui cannot yet be subdued." They then swore a covenant and withdrew.

In winter, the king ordered Guo Zhong to establish Min, the younger brother of Prince Ai of Jin, as ruler in Jin. 8.3

The Zhai Duke came to Lu. He then went to meet and escort home the queen from Ji: this was in accordance with ritual propriety. 8.4(6)

春秋

9.1(1) 九年，春，紀季姜歸于京師。

9.2 夏，四月。

9.3 秋，七月。

9.4(4) 冬，曹伯使其世子射姑來朝。

左傳

9.1(1) 九年，春，紀季姜歸于京師。凡諸侯之女行，唯王后書。

9.2 巴子使韓服告于楚，請與鄧為好。楚子使道朔將巴客以聘於鄧，鄧南鄙鄾人攻而奪之幣，殺道朔及巴行人。楚子使薳章讓於鄧。鄧人弗受。

夏，楚使鬬廉帥師及巴師圍鄾。鄧養甥、聃甥帥師救鄾。三逐巴師，不克。鬬廉衡陳其師於巴師之中，以戰，而北。鄧人逐之，背巴師；而夾攻之。鄧師大敗。鄾人宵潰。

9.3 秋，虢仲、芮伯、梁伯、荀侯、賈伯伐曲沃。

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77 *Jing* 京, originally the name of a city established by the predynastic Zhou ruler Duke Liu, came to be used more generally in later times of the Zhou capital. *Shi* 師 often appears in Zhou writings after the name of a city (Yang, 1:123–24).

78 There is a problem with the location of the domain of Ba 巴, which has traditionally been identified with another Ba, well known in history and located in present-day Sichuan near Chongqing 重慶. The context here, however, indicates that Ba was located somewhere near Deng 鄧 on the northwest border of Chu. Yang (1:124) believes that Ba was located in Hubei during the Spring and Autumn period and was relocated to Sichuan during the Warring States period. You 鄾 was apparently a small domain near Xiangyang 襄陽 in present-day Hubei. It is mentioned again in Ai 18.2, by which time it had become a Chu city.

LORD HUAN 9 (703 BCE)

ANNALS

In the ninth year, in spring, Ji Jiang of Ji went to marry in the Zhou capital.[77] 9.1(1)

Summer, the fourth month. 9.2

Autumn, the seventh month. 9.3

In winter, the Liege of Cao sent his heir apparent Yigu to us to visit our court. 9.4(4)

ZUO

In the ninth year, in spring, Ji Jiang of Ji went to marry in the Zhou capital. In all cases, when a daughter of a prince travels, it is recorded only when she is becoming a queen. 9.1(1)

Conflicts break out between Chu and Deng; Chu will conquer Deng fifteen years later (Zhuang 6.3).

The Master of Ba sent Han Fu to report to Chu and to ask their help in establishing good relations with Deng.[78] The Master of Chu had Dao Shuo lead the Ba emissary on an official visit to Deng. The men of You, in the southwestern marches of Deng, attacked them, stealing their gifts[79] and killing Dao Shuo and the Ba envoy. The Master of Chu sent Wei Zhang to reprimand Deng, but the Deng leader would not receive him. 9.2

In summer, Chu sent Dou Lian to lead troops and join up with Ba troops to lay siege to You.[80] Nephew Yang and Nephew Nan of Deng led troops to provide aid to You. Three times they charged after the Ba troops but could not prevail. Dou Lian then arrayed his forces right across the middle of the Ba troops to engage Deng in battle but suffered defeat. The men of Deng charged after them, leaving the Ba troops in their rear. And then Ba and Chu attacked in a pincer movement. The Deng troops were roundly defeated, and the men of You scattered in the night.

In autumn, Guo Zhong, the Liege of Rui, the Liege of Liang, the Prince of Xun, and the Liege of Jia attacked Quwo. 9.3

79 Presumably, the gifts stolen were those that the Ba emissary was carrying to offer to the domain of Deng in an effort to promote good relations.

80 You 鄾 was a small domain located northeast of Xiangyang County 襄陽縣, Hubei.

9.4(4) 冬，曹大子來朝。賓之以上卿，禮也。享曹大子。初獻，樂奏而歎。施父曰：「曹大子其有憂乎！非歎所也。」

春秋

10.l(1) 十年，春，王正月庚申，曹伯終生卒。

10.2 夏，五月，葬曹桓公。

10.3 秋，公會衛侯于桃丘，弗遇。

10.4(5) 冬，十有二月丙午，齊侯、衛侯、鄭伯來戰于郎。

左傳

10.1(1) 十年，春，曹桓公卒。

10.2 虢仲譖其大夫詹父於王。詹父有辭，以王師伐虢。夏，虢公出奔虞。

10.3 秋，秦人納芮伯萬于芮。

The following is an example of a wise minister interpreting a small gesture or sign, a theme that recurs throughout Zuozhuan *(see, e.g., Huan 13.1, Zhao 25.1). Grief unwarranted by occasion bodes misfortune (see, e.g., Zhao 21.5, 25.1, 28.4).*

In winter, the heir apparent of Cao came to visit our court. That we received him in the manner appropriate to a high minister was in accordance with ritual propriety. We offered him ceremonial toasts. During the first wine offering, as the music began, he sighed. Shifu said, "Surely the Cao heir apparent will have some reason for grief! This is not the proper occasion for a sigh." 9.4(4)

LORD HUAN 10 (702 BCE)

ANNALS

In the tenth year, in spring, in the royal first month, on the *gengshen* day (6), Zhongsheng, the Liege of Cao, died. 10.1(1)

In summer, in the fifth month, Lord Huan of Cao was buried. 10.2

In autumn, our lord was to meet with the Prince of Wei at Taoqiu,[81] but he did not meet up with him. 10.3

In winter, in the twelfth month, on the *bingwu* day (27), the Prince of Qi, the Prince of Wei, and the Liege of Zheng came and did battle at Lang. 10.4(5)

ZUO

The Cao heir's sigh (Huan 9.4) is connected to his father's death.

In the tenth year, in spring, Lord Huan of Cao died. 10.1(1)

A crack opens in Guo's privileged position at the Zhou court (Yin 8.3).

Guo Zhong slandered his high officer Zhanfu to the king. Zhanfu was able to offer an explanation. He attacked Guo with royal troops. In summer, Guo Zhong, the Guo Duke, left the domain and fled to Yu.[82] 10.2

Qin had detained the Liege of Rui for the previous six years (Huan 4.4).

In autumn, the Qin leaders installed Wan, the Liege of Rui, in power in Rui. 10.3

81 Taoqiu 桃丘 was located in the domain of Wei east of present-day Anping Township 安平鎮 in Dong'e County 東阿縣, Shandong.

82 Yu 虞 was a small domain located just north of present-day Pinglu County 平陸縣 in Shanxi

10.4 初，虞叔有玉，虞公求旃。弗獻。既而悔之，曰：「周諺有之：『匹夫無罪，懷璧其罪。』吾焉用此，其以賈害也？」乃獻之。又求其寶劍。叔曰：「是無厭也。無厭，將及我。」遂伐虞公。故虞公出奔共池。

10.5(4) 冬，齊、衛、鄭來戰于郎，我有辭也。

初，北戎病齊，諸侯救之，鄭公子忽有功焉。齊人餼諸侯，使魯次之。魯以周班後鄭。鄭人怒，請師於齊。齊人以衛師助之，故不稱侵伐。先書齊、衛，王爵也。

春秋

11.1(1) 十有一年，春，正月，齊人、衛人、鄭人盟于惡曹。

11.2 夏，五月癸未，鄭伯寤生卒。

11.3 秋，七月，葬鄭莊公。

11.4(3) 九月，宋人執鄭祭仲。突歸于鄭。鄭忽出奔衛。

11.5 柔會宋公、陳侯、蔡叔盟于折。

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83 Yu Shu was the younger brother of the duke.

84 Gongchi 共池 was located in Pinglu County 平陸縣, Shanxi.

85 The implication is that Lu was indeed correct in the order it had established. Although Zheng was the leader of the three domains attacking Lu, the *Annals* puts Qi and Wei first, thus reaffirming the correct rank according to which the provisions were distributed.

A ruler's insatiable greed results in his exile.

Earlier, Yu Shu[83] had possessed a jade. The Duke of Yu asked him for it, but Yu would not offer it. Afterward, Yu Shu regretted this and said, "A Zhou proverb has it that 'a common man may be without crime until cherishing a valuable jade becomes his crime.' What use do I have of this that I should use it to buy harm for myself?" So he offered it. The duke also asked for his precious sword, and Shu said, "That one cannot be satisfied. And if he cannot be satisfied, harm will come to me." Thereupon, he attacked the Duke of Yu, and that is why the Duke of Yu fled to Gongchi.[84] 10.4

The battle at Lang, predicted several years earlier (Huan 6.4), takes place when Zheng attacks Lu for the earlier slight.

In winter, Qi, Wei, and Zheng came and did battle at Lang. But we had an explanation for our action. 10.5(4)

Earlier, the Northern Rong people had afflicted Qi. The princes rescued Qi, and Gongzi Hu of Zheng had acquired merit in the action. When the Qi leaders distributed provisions to the princes, they had Lu establish the priority among them. Lu used the ranking established by Zhou and put Zheng last. The Zheng leaders were furious and requested troops from Qi. Qi leaders, making use of Wei troops, assisted them. That is why it does not say they "invaded" or "attacked." It records Qi and Wei first because they have ranks given by the king.[85]

LORD HUAN 11 (701 BCE)

ANNALS

In the eleventh year, in spring, in the first month, a Qi leader, a Wei leader, and a Zheng leader swore a covenant at Wucao.[86] 11.1(1)

In summer, in the fifth month, on the *guiwei* day (7), Wusheng, the Liege of Zheng, died. 11.2

In autumn, in the seventh month, Lord Zhuang of Zheng was buried. 11.3

In the ninth month, Song leaders arrested Zhai Zhong of Zheng. Tu (Gongzi Tu) went home to Zheng, and Hu of Zheng (Gongzi Hu) departed and fled to Wei. 11.4(3)

Rou met with the Duke of Song, the Prince of Chen, and Cai Shu and swore a covenant at Zhe.[87] 11.5

86 The precise location of Wucao 惡曹 is disputed. It is perhaps to be identified with Wucao 烏曹 southeast of present-day Yanjin County 延津縣, Henan (see Yang, 1:129).

87 Rou was a high officer of the domain of Lu. The location of Zhe 折 is unknown.

11.6 公會宋公于夫鐘。

11.7 冬，十有二月，公會宋公于闞。

左傳

11.1(1) 十一年，春，齊、衛、鄭、宋盟于惡曹。

11.2 楚屈瑕將盟貳、軫。鄖人軍於蒲騷，將與隨、絞、州、蓼伐楚師。莫敖患之。鬬廉曰：「鄖人軍其郊，必不誡。且日虞四邑之至也。君次於郊郢，以禦四邑，我以銳師宵加於鄖。鄖有虞心而恃其城，莫有鬬志。若敗鄖師，四邑必離。」莫敖曰：「盍請濟師於王？」對曰：「師克在和，不在眾。商、周之不敵，君之所聞也。成軍以出，又何濟焉？」莫敖曰：「卜之？」對曰：「卜以決疑。不疑，何卜？」遂敗鄖師於蒲騷，卒盟而還。

11.3(4) 鄭昭公之敗北戎也，齊人將妻之。昭公辭。祭仲曰：「必取之。君多內寵，子無大援，將不立。三公子皆君也。」弗從。夏，鄭莊公卒。

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88 Both Fuzhong 夫鐘 and Kan 闞 were in Lu territory and very close to each other near modern Nanwang Lake 南旺湖, Shandong.

89 Note the addition of the domain of Song. It is also curious that *Zuozhuan* does not contain the word "leaders" (*ren* 人) here and thus is more compact than the *Annals*.

90 The first of these small domains, Er 貳, was located within the boundaries of present-day Yingshan County 應山縣 in Hubei, while Zhen 軫 was farther to the south, near present-day Yingcheng County 應城縣. Chu eventually eradicated both domains.

91 Yun 鄖 was a small domain possibly located near Anlu County 安陸縣 in Hubei. The four domains mentioned here were located in present-day Hubei and southern Henan.

92 We have chosen the French word *maréchal* to translate the Chu office *mo'ao* 莫敖 (elsewhere written *moxiao* 莫囂). The position seems to be equivalent to the supervisor of the military, *sima* 司馬, in other domains and probably sounded slightly foreign to the central domains.

93 See Karlgren, gl. 39.

94 The armies of Zhou defeated the Shang armies in the eleventh century BCE and thereafter founded the Zhou dynasty.

95 Dou Lian plainly would like to consign divination to the margins. In his opinion, it should be used only when human judgment cannot remove serious doubts.

96 Pusao 蒲騷 was a small domain northwest of Yingshan County 應山縣, Hubei.

97 *Shiji* 42.1761 claims the three sons referred to here are Hu 忽 (Lord Zhao), Tu 突 (Lord Li), and Wei 亹. Du Yu does not count the heir apparent Hu and includes another son, Ziyi 子儀 (*ZZ* 7.122). It is true that three sons of Lord Zhuang did indeed rule the state, including Ziyi.

Our lord met with the Duke of Song at Fuzhong. 11.6

In winter, in the twelfth month, our lord met with the Duke of Song at Kan.[88] 11.7

ZUO

In the eleventh year, in spring, Qi, Wei, Zheng, and Song swore a covenant at Wucao.[89] 11.1(1)

Chu continues to gain power (Huan 8.2, 9.2), and the Chu adviser recommends an attack on Yun and rejects divination, which should be used, he says, only when there is no certainty about a course of action.

Qu Xia of Chu was going to swear a covenant with the domains of Er and Zhen.[90] The men of Yun were stationed at Pusao and were going to join with Sui, Jiao, Zhōu, and Liao to attack the Chu troops.[91] The maréchal,[92] Qu Xia, was worried about this. Dou Lian said, "The men of Yun are stationed in their own outlying districts and are certainly not on guard. Moreover, each day they anticipate the arrival of troops from the four settlements. You, my lord, should set up camp in the outlying districts of Ying in order to block the advance of the men of the four settlements. I will lead our crack troops and fall upon Yun during the night. The men of Yun are worried and are relying on their city wall.[93] None of them has the will to fight. If we defeat the Yun troops, the four settlements will certainly stand aside." Maréchal Qu Xia said, "Why not request reinforcements from the king?" He responded, "Military victory resides in coordination and not in numbers. You, my lord, have heard that Zhou could not match Shang in numbers.[94] When we have formed our army and marched out, what need is there of reinforcements?" The maréchal said, "Let us divine about it." He responded, "Divination is for resolving doubts. Why divine when there are no doubts?"[95] They then defeated the Yun troops at Pusao, completed their covenant, and turned back.[96] 11.2

Lord Zhao of Zheng is the previous Gongzi Hu. He had helped Qi earlier (Huan 6.4) but refused a marriage alliance with Qi and now is forced to flee. Zhai Zhong's political acumen, evident in the advice he offered Lord Zhuang of Zheng (Yin 1.3), prompted him to urge Gongzi Hu to seek allies to buttress his position (without avail). Here he switches sides and supports Gongzi Hu's younger brother Gongzi Tu (Lord Li), driving Gongzi Hu into exile.

When Lord Zhao of Zheng defeated the Northern Rong, the Qi leaders had wished to give him a wife, but Lord Zhao had declined. Zhai Zhong said, "You must accept her. Our lord has many concubines. If you, sir, do not have the help of a great domain, you will not be established as ruler. The three other noble sons could all become rulers."[97] But he did not heed this advice. In summer, Lord Zhuang of Zheng died. 11.3(4)

初，祭封人仲足有寵於莊公，莊公使為卿。為公娶鄧曼，生昭公。故祭仲立之。宋雍氏女於鄭莊公，曰雍姞，生厲公。雍氏宗，有寵於宋莊公，故誘祭仲而執之，曰：「不立突，將死。」亦執厲公而求賂焉。祭仲與宋人盟，以厲公歸而立之。秋，九月丁亥，昭公奔衛。己亥，厲公立。

春秋

12.1 十有二年，春，正月。

12.2(1) 夏，六月壬寅，公會杞侯、莒子盟于曲池。

12.3(2) 秋，七月丁亥，公會宋公、燕人盟于穀丘。

12.4 八月壬辰，陳侯躍卒。

12.5(2) 公會宋公于虛。

12.6(2) 冬，十有一月，公會宋公于龜。

12.7(2) 丙戌，公會鄭伯，盟于武父。

12.8 丙戌，衛侯晉卒。

12.9(2) 十有二月，及鄭師伐宋。丁未，戰于宋。

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98 This Deng Man is not to be confused with a woman of the same name who appears in 13.1 below as the prescient wife of King Wu of Chu.

99 The same events are described very similarly in *Shiji* 42.1759–60.

100 Quchi 曲池 was in the domain of Lu northeast of present-day Ningyang County 寧陽縣, Shandong.

101 Guqiu 穀丘, or "Gu Mound," was located in the domain of Song and is called "Goudou Knoll" 句瀆之丘 in the *Zuozhuan* passage below (Huan 12.2). It was located southeast of Shangqiu County 商丘縣, Shandong.

Earlier, Zhai Zhong[c], the man who had been given an allotment at Zhai, was in favor with Lord Zhuang, and Lord Zhuang had made him a minister. He had arranged for the lord to marry Deng Man,[98] and she gave birth to Lord Zhao. That was why Zhai Zhong had established him as ruler. The Yong line of Song had given a daughter to Lord Zhuang of Zheng. She was named Yong Jí and gave birth to Tu, the future Lord Li. The Yong line was honored as a major lineage and was in favor with Lord Zhuang of Song. They therefore lured Zhai Zhong to Song and then, arresting him, said, "If you do not establish Tu as ruler, you will die." They also seized Lord Li and sought ransom for him. Zhai Zhong swore a covenant with the Song leaders, took Lord Li back to Zheng, and established him as ruler. In autumn, the *dinghai* day (13), Lord Zhao fled to Wei, and on the *jihai* day (25), Lord Li was established as ruler.[99]

LORD HUAN 12 (700 BCE)

ANNALS

The twelfth year, spring, the first month. 12.1

In summer, in the sixth month, on the *renyin* day (2), our lord met with the Prince of Qǐ and the Master of Ju and swore a covenant at Quchi.[100] 12.2(1)

In autumn, in the seventh month, on the *dinghai* day (17), our lord met with the Duke of Song and a Yān leader and swore a covenant at Guqiu.[101] 12.3(2)

In the eighth month, on the *renchen* day,[102] Yue, the Prince of Chen, died. 12.4

Our lord met with the Duke of Song at Xu.[103] 12.5(2)

In winter, in the eleventh month, our lord met with the Duke of Song at Gui.[104] 12.6(2)

On the *bingxu* day (18), our lord met with the Liege of Zheng and swore a covenant at Wufu.[105] 12.7(2)

On the *bingxu* day (18), Jin, the Prince of Wei, died. 12.8

In the twelfth month, we joined with Zheng troops and attacked Song. On the *dingwei* day (10), we did battle in Song. 12.9(2)

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102 There was no *renchen* day in the eighth month.

103 Xu 虛 was located in the domain of Song east of present-day Yanjin County 延津縣, Henan.

104 Gui 龜 was located in Song in present-day Sui County 睢縣, Henan.

105 Wufu 武父 was located in the domain of Zheng south of present-day Dongming County 東明縣, Henan.

左傳

12.1(2) 十二年，夏，盟于曲池，平杞、莒也。

12.2 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9) 公欲平宋、鄭。秋，公及宋公盟于句瀆之丘。宋成未可知也，故又會于虛；冬，又會于龜。宋公辭平，故與鄭伯盟于武父，遂帥師而伐宋，戰焉，宋無信也。

君子曰：「苟信不繼，盟無益也。《詩》云：

君子屢盟，
亂是用長。

無信也。」

12.3 楚伐絞，軍其南門。莫敖屈瑕曰：「絞小而輕，輕則寡謀。請無扞采樵者以誘之。」

從之，絞人獲三十人。明日，絞人爭出，驅楚役徒於山中。楚人坐其北門，而覆諸山下。大敗之。為城下之盟而還。

12.4 伐絞之役，楚師分涉於彭。羅人欲伐之。使伯嘉諜之。三巡數之。

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106 Yang (1:134) argues that *goudou* 句瀆 is a phonetic variant of *gu* 穀, the latter being an allegro form.

107 The lines are from *Maoshi* 198, "Qiao yan" 巧言, 12C.424. Cf. Xiang 29.17.

108 Wood gatherers accompanying troops were usually protected, but here they are not since their purpose was to lure the enemy. Swearing a covenant at the foot of the wall of the defeated city was apparently an insult to that domain, in this case Jiao, because the victor could dictate the terms (Yang, 1:135). For other examples of a covenant of this type, see Wen 15.7, Xuan 15.2, and Ai 8.2.

109 This entry seems to have been misplaced. It may originally have been attached to what follows in the spring of the thirteenth year, when Chu attacks Luo, presumably because of Luo's aggressive intentions described here (Yang, 1:135). The Peng River 彭水 is called the Nanhe 南河 today. It flows out of the southwest of Fang County 房縣 in Hubei. Luo 羅 was a small domain of the Xiong 熊 clan name and of problematic location.

In the twelfth year, in summer, we swore a covenant at Quchi: this was to pacify Qǐ and Ju. 12.1(2)

Bad relations between Song and Zheng had persisted for some time (Yin 4.3, 9.3, 10.1). Lu here sides with Zheng, despite conflict with Zheng not long before (Huan 10.5). On the question of good faith, compare the judgment here with the noble man's comments in Yin 3.3. The following Zuozhuan *passage is somewhat unusual in stringing five* Annals *entries into a single short paragraph.*

Our lord wanted to make peace between Song and Zheng. In autumn, our lord swore a covenant with the Duke of Song at Goudou Knoll.[106] It was impossible to tell yet whether Song would agree to peace, and that is why we met again at Xu, and then, in the winter, still once more at Gui. The Duke of Song declined the terms, and that is the reason we swore a covenant with the Liege of Zheng at Wufu and then led troops and attacked Song. We did battle there. That is because Song had not exercised good faith. 12.2 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9)

The noble man said, "So long as one gives his word but does not follow up on it, a covenant is of no benefit. As it says in the *Odes*,

> Noble men repeatedly swear covenants,
> But disorder is thereby only prolonged.[107]

That is because of a lack of good faith."

Chu's military successes continue (Huan 9.2, 11.2), on this occasion through trickery.

Chu attacked Jiao and stationed troops at its southern gate. Maréchal Qu Xia said, "Jiao is small, and its people are frivolous. Since they are frivolous, they are deficient in making plans. I request that we leave our wood gatherers unguarded so as to lure them out." 12.3

Chu followed this, and the men of Jiao captured thirty wood gatherers. The next day, the men of Jiao struggled with one another to come out first and drove the Chu conscripts into the mountains. The Chu leaders had placed men at the northern gate and fixed an ambush at the foot of the mountains. Chu roundly defeated them. After forcing Jiao to swear a covenant at the foot of the city wall, the Chu troops returned home.[108]

On the occasion of the campaign against Jiao, the Chu troops had divided to cross over the Peng River. The Luo leaders had wanted to attack them and sent Bojia to spy on them. He counted the Chu troops three times.[109] 12.4

春秋

13.1(2) 十有三年，春，二月，公會紀侯、鄭伯。己巳，及齊侯、宋公、衛侯、燕人戰。齊師、宋師、衛師、燕師敗績。

13.2 三月，葬衛宣公。

13.3 夏，大水。

13.4 秋，七月。

13.5 冬，十月。

左傳

13.1 十三年，春，楚屈瑕伐羅，鬬伯比送之。還，謂其御曰：「莫敖必敗，舉趾高，心不固矣。」遂見楚子，曰：「必濟師！」楚子辭焉。

入告夫人鄧曼。鄧曼曰：「大夫其非眾之謂，其謂君撫小民以信，訓諸司以德，而威莫敖以刑也。莫敖狃於蒲騷之役，將自用也，必小羅。君若不鎮撫，其不設備乎！夫固謂君訓眾而好鎮撫之，召諸司而勸之以令德，見莫敖而告諸天之不假易也。不然，夫豈不知楚師之盡行也？」楚子使賴人追之，不及。

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110 See Huan 12.1.

111 That is, all the troops of Chu had already been sent to fight Luo, so Dou Bobi *must* have been speaking of something other than simply sending more troops.

112 Lai 賴 was a small domain located near modern Lishandian 厲山店, Sui County 隨縣, in Hubei.

LORD HUAN 13 (699 BCE)

ANNALS

In the thirteenth year, in spring, in the second month, our lord met with the Prince of Ji and the Liege of Zheng. On the *jisi* day (3), they did battle with the Prince of Qi, the Duke of Song, the Prince of Wei, and a Yān leader. The Qi troops, Song troops, Wei troops, and Yān troops were completely defeated. 13.1(2)

In the third month, Lord Xuan of Wei was buried. 13.2

In summer, there was a great flood. 13.3

Autumn, the seventh month. 13.4

Winter, the tenth month. 13.5

ZUO

Chu finally suffers a reversal as the King of Chu rejects the wise counsel of Dou Bobi and then acts too slowly on the good advice of his wife Deng Man, who displays similar wisdom in another passage (Zhuang 13.1). Here the king pardons his commanders, unlike in later cases where they either are killed or commit suicide. Deng Man is included in the "Benevolent Sagacity" (Renzhi 仁智) section of Lienü zhuan (3.2).

In the thirteenth year, in spring, Qu Xia, the Maréchal of Chu, set out to attack Luo. Dou Bobi saw him off. As Dou Bobi was returning, he told his chariot driver, "The maréchal is certain to be defeated. He lifts his feet high; his intentions are not firm." Dou Bobi then met with the Master of Chu and said, "We must reinforce the troops." But the Master of Chu refused to do this. 13.1

The Master of Chu went in and reported this to his wife Deng Man, and Deng Man said, "The high officer was not speaking of numbers but was saying that you, my lord, should soothe the common people with good faith, instruct their overseers with virtue, and overawe the maréchal with punishments. The maréchal, emboldened by the Pusao campaign,[110] will rely too much upon himself and is certain to underestimate Luo. If you, my lord, do not take control and offer assistance, he will not set up a proper defense! Now, assuredly Dou Bobi was saying that you should instruct the multitude and control and assist them properly, should summon the high officers and encourage them with your exemplary virtue, and should meet with the maréchal and tell him that Heaven will not treat him leniently. If Dou Bobi did not mean this, then how could he not have known that all the Chu troops were already on the march?"[111] The Master of Chu sent some Lai men to chase after Qu Xia, but they did not arrive in time.[112]

莫敖使徇于師曰：「諫者有刑！」及鄢，亂次以濟，遂無次。且不設備。及羅，羅與盧戎兩軍之，大敗之。莫敖縊于荒谷。群帥囚於冶父以聽刑。楚子曰：「孤之罪也。」皆免之。

13.2(1) 宋多責賂於鄭。鄭不堪命，故以紀、魯及齊與宋、衛、燕戰。不書所戰，後也。

13.3 鄭人來請修好。

春秋

14.1(1) 十有四年，春，正月，公會鄭伯于曹。

14.2 無冰。

14.3(2) 夏五，鄭伯使其弟語來盟。

14.4(3) 秋，八月壬申，御廩災。

14.5(3) 乙亥，嘗。

14.6 冬，十有二月丁巳，齊侯祿父卒。

14.7(4) 宋人以齊人、蔡人、衛人、陳人伐鄭。

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113 Huang Valley 荒谷 was located in the domain of Chu just outside the capital north of present-day Jiangling County 江陵縣, Hubei.

114 Yefu 冶父 was also near the Chu capital and is identified with present-day Jiangling City 江陵市, Hubei.

115 Presumably, Song made these demands because Lord Li of Zheng had acquired his position through Song's help.

The maréchal had a crier declare to the troops, "Those who remonstrate will be punished." When they reached the Yan River, they crossed with their ranks in disorder, and from then on they remained in disorder. Moreover, they did not set up a proper defense. When they reached Luo, the Luo fighters along with the Lu Rong engaged them in battle from both sides and roundly defeated them. The maréchal hanged himself in the Huang Valley.[113] All the military leaders of Chu were imprisoned at Yefu to await punishment.[114] The Master of Chu said, "It was all my fault," and pardoned them all.

The battle of Lu and Zheng against Song is mentioned earlier (Huan 12.2), and the Annals *records that it ended in victory (13.1).*

Song frequently demanded that Zheng offer gifts.[115] Zheng could not bear these demands, and that is the reason it joined Ji and Lu and did battle with Qi, Song, Wei, and Yān. The place of the battle is not recorded because we arrived late. 13.2(1)

A Zheng leader came to request that we foster good relations. 13.3

LORD HUAN 14 (698 BCE)

ANNALS

In the fourteenth year, in spring, in the first month, our lord met with the Liege of Zheng at Cao. 14.1(1)

There was no ice.[116] 14.2

In summer, in the fifth month, the Liege of Zheng sent his younger brother, Yu (Ziren), to us to swear a covenant. 14.3(2)

In autumn, in the eighth month, on the *renshen* day (15), there was a disastrous fire in the granary of the Ancestral Temple.[117] 14.4(3)

On the *yihai* day (18), we offered the autumn sacrifice. 14.5(3)

In winter, in the twelfth month, on the *dingsi* day (2), Lufu, the Prince of Qi, died. 14.6

A Song leader, taking with him a Qi leader, a Cai leader, a Wei leader, and a Chen leader, attacked Zheng. 14.7(4)

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116 A lack of ice is mentioned three times in the *Annals* (Huan 14.2, Cheng 1.3, and Xiang 28.1). Apparently, during the second lunar month of each year, ice was gathered and stored. Thus, a lack of ice in this month was considered noteworthy. On the importance of a domain's handling of ice, see Zhao 4.2.

117 According to Du Yu (*ZZ* 7.125), the *yulin* 御廩 was a storehouse where the grains harvested by the lord himself and used for the ancestral sacrifices were kept. This was also referred to as the *shencang* 神倉, "storehouse for the spirits."

左傳

14.1(1) 十四年，春，會于曹。曹人致餼，禮也。

14.2(3) 夏，鄭子人來尋盟，且修曹之會。

14.3(4, 5) 秋，八月壬申，御廩災。乙亥嘗，書不害也。

14.4(7) 冬，宋人以諸侯伐鄭，報宋之戰也。焚渠門，入，及大逵。伐東郊，取牛首。以大宮之椽歸為盧門之椽。

春秋

15.1(1) 十有五年，春，二月，天王使家父來求車。

15.2 三月乙未，天王崩。

15.3 夏，四月己巳，葬齊僖公。

15.4(2) 五月，鄭伯突出奔蔡。

15.5(3) 鄭世子忽復歸于鄭。

15.6(4) 許叔入于許。

15.7(5) 公會齊侯于艾。

15.8 邾人、牟人、葛人來朝。

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118 On this covenant, see *Annals*, Huan 12.7. Ziren was the courtesy name (*zi*) of Yu, the younger brother of the Liege of Zheng.

119 Niushou 牛首 ("Ox Head") was in the domain of Zheng slightly northeast of present-day Tongxu County 通許縣, Henan.

120 The name of this Song gate is also attested in *Lüshi chunqiu* 8:1391.

121 This was King Huan of Zhou (r. 719–697), who had reigned for twenty-three years.

122 The term *shizi* 世子, "heir apparent," is used even though his father had been dead for four years. This terminology indicates that he is the legitimate successor to his father, Lord Zhuang.

ZUO

In the fourteenth year, in spring, we met at Cao. That the Cao leaders sent provisions was in accordance with ritual propriety. 14.1(1)

In summer, Ziren of Zheng came to renew a covenant and also to build on the meeting of Cao.[118] 14.2(3)

In autumn, in the eighth month, on the *renshen* day (15), there was a disastrous fire in the granary of the Ancestral Temple. On the *yihai* day (18), we offered the autumn sacrifice. This was recorded because no harm was done. 14.3(4, 5)

Song strikes back at Zheng (Huan 12.2, 13.2).

In winter, a Song leader, taking with him the princes, attacked Zheng; this was in retaliation for the battle of Song. They burned the Qu Gate, entered the city, and got as far as the main thoroughfare. Then they attacked the eastern outlying district and seized Niushou.[119] They took the rafters of the grand temple back with them and made them into the rafters of the Lu Gate.[120] 14.4(7)

LORD HUAN 15 (697 BCE)

ANNALS

In the fifteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the Heaven-appointed king sent Jiafu to us to seek chariots. 15.1(1)

In the third month, on the *yiwei* day (11), the Heaven-appointed king succumbed.[121] 15.2

In summer, in the fourth month, on the *jisi* day (15), Lord Xi of Qi was buried. 15.3

In the fifth month, Tu, the Liege of Zheng, departed and fled to Cai. 15.4(2)

The Zheng heir apparent, Hu, went home again to Zheng.[122] 15.5(3)

The younger brother of the Head of Xǔ entered Xǔ.[123] 15.6(4)

Our lord met with the Prince of Qi at Ai. 15.7(5)

A Zhu leader, a Mou leader, and a Ge leader came to visit our court.[124] 15.8

123 He had been given a settlement at the eastern marches of the domain of Xǔ 許 (Yin 11.2).

124 The small, ancient domain of Mou 牟 was located just east of present-day Laiwu County 萊蕪縣 in Shangdong. The location of the ancient domain of Ge 葛 is disputed. Some believe it was a small domain located near Mount Tai on the Shandong Peninsula, while others believe it was just north of Ningling County 寧陵縣 in Henan.

15.9 秋，九月，鄭伯突入于櫟。

15.10(7) 冬，十有一月，公會宋公、衛侯、陳侯于袲，伐鄭。

左傳

15.1(1) 十五年，春，天王使家父來求車，非禮也。諸侯不貢車服，天子不私求財。

15.2(4) 祭仲專，鄭伯患之，使其婿雍糾殺之。將享諸郊。雍姬知之，謂其母曰：「父與夫孰親？」其母曰：「人盡夫也，父一而已，胡可比也？」遂告祭仲曰：「雍氏舍其室而將享子於郊，吾惑之，以告。」

祭仲殺雍糾，尸諸周氏之汪。公載以出，曰：「謀及婦人，宜其死也。」夏，厲公出奔蔡。

15.3(5) 六月乙亥，昭公入。

15.4(6) 許叔入于許。

15.5(7) 公會齊侯于艾，謀定許也。

15.6 秋，鄭伯因櫟人殺檀伯，而遂居櫟。

15.7(10) 冬，會于袲，謀伐鄭，將納厲公也。弗克而還。

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125 Li 櫟 was a major city in Zheng and was located near present-day Yu County 禹縣 in Henan.

126 Chi 袲 was located in the domain of Song near present-day Su County 宿縣, Henan.

127 Qian Zhongshu (*Guanzhui bian*, 1:174) notes the parallel with Antigone's "A husband lost might be replaced."

In autumn, in the ninth month, Tu, the Liege of Zheng, entered Li.[125] 15.9

In winter, in the eleventh month, our lord met with the Duke of Song, the Prince of Wei, and the Prince of Chen at Chi and attacked Zheng.[126] 15.10(7)

ZUO

In the fifteenth year, in spring, the Heaven-appointed king sent Jiafu to us to seek chariots: this was not in accordance with ritual propriety. The princes do not offer chariots and official regalia, and the Son of Heaven does not privately ask for goods. 15.1(1)

The Liege of Zheng's plot to eliminate Zhai Zhong is exposed after a daughter chooses to save her father rather than her husband. Lord Li, the Liege of Zheng, is forced to flee Zheng (Huan 11.3), and in the next section (15.3), Lord Zhao, the famous Hu, returns.

Zhai Zhong was monopolizing power, and the Liege of Zheng worried about this. He sent Zhai Zhong's son-in-law Yong Jiu to kill him. Yong was going to offer Zhai Zhong ceremonial toasts in the outlying district. Yong Ji, Yong Jiu's wife, learned of the plot and said to her mother, "Whom should one hold dearer, a father or a husband?" Her mother said, "Any man can be a husband, but one has only a single father. How can they be compared?"[127] And so she reported to Zhai Zhong, "Yong Jiu did not use his house and is instead going to offer you ceremonial toasts in the outlying district. I am mystified by this and so report." 15.2(4)

Zhai Zhong killed Yong Jiu and exposed his corpse near the pond of the Zhou lineage. The Lord of Zheng loaded the corpse into his carriage and took it out with him as he left the domain, saying, "He let his wife in on his plans; it is fitting that he died!" In the summer, Lord Li departed and fled to Cai.

In the sixth month, on the *yihai* day (22), Lord Zhao entered Zheng. 15.3(5)

The younger brother of the Head of Xǔ entered into Xǔ. 15.4(6)

Our lord met with the Prince of Qi at Ai: this was to plan to settle the disorder in Xǔ. 15.5(7)

In autumn, the Liege of Zheng, with the help of the Li men, killed the Tan Liege and thus took up residence in Li.[128] 15.6

In winter we met at Chi: this was to plan an attack on Zheng and to install Lord Li in power. But we were unable to accomplish this and returned to our domains. 15.7(10)

128 The Tan Liege was the head of the Tan lineage and a high officer in Zheng who controlled the capital city of Li.

春秋

16.1(1) 十有六年，春，正月，公會宋公、蔡侯、衛侯于曹。

16.2(2) 夏，四月，公會宋公、衛侯、陳侯、蔡侯伐鄭。

16.3(3) 秋，七月，公至自伐鄭。

16.4(4) 冬，城向。

16.5(5) 十有一月，衛侯朔出奔齊。

左傳

16.1(1) 十六年，春，正月，會于曹，謀伐鄭也。

16.2(2) 夏，伐鄭。

16.3(3) 秋，七月，公至自伐鄭，以飲至之禮也。

16.4(4) 冬，城向，書時也。

16.5(5) 初，衛宣公烝於夷姜，生急子，屬諸右公子。為之娶於齊，而美，公取之。生壽及朔。屬壽於左公子。夷姜縊。

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129 On the small domain of Xiang, see *Annals*, Yin 2.2.

130 *Yin zhi* 飲至 apparently describes a ceremony performed upon returning to the domain. According to Yang (1:42–43), this consisted of a report in the Ancestral Temple and the offering of toasts to faithful followers (cf. Yin 5.1).

131 "To consort with" is our translation for the highly problematic term *zheng* 烝, usually "steam" or "to steam." While the early commentators insist that this means to have an illegitimate sexual relationship "with a member of the older generation," some have argued, Tong Shuye (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan yanjiu*, 209–13) perhaps the most noteworthy among them, that the practice of *zheng* originally was not considered improper. Rather, Tong argues, sons of noble lineages had access to the concubines and wives of a deceased father other than their own mother. Confucian commentators who lived in an era when such a relationship could only be branded as "immoral" misunderstood this practice. Yi Jiang was a concubine of Lord Zhuang of Wei, Lord Xuan's deceased father.

LORD HUAN 16 (696 BCE)

ANNALS

In the sixteenth year, in spring, in the first month, our lord met with the Duke of Song, the Prince of Cai, and the Prince of Wei at Cao. 16.1(1)

In summer, in the fourth month, our lord met with the Duke of Song, the Prince of Wei, the Prince of Chen, and the Prince of Cai and attacked Zheng. 16.2(2)

In autumn, in the seventh month, our lord arrived from the attack on Zheng. 16.3(3)

In winter, we fortified Xiang.[129] 16.4(4)

In the eleventh month, Shuo, the Prince of Wei, departed and fled to Qi. 16.5(5)

ZUO

The following three passages appear to be a continuation of the events of the previous year (15.10) and were perhaps motivated by a desire to return Lord Li to Zheng (15.2).

In the sixteenth year, in spring, in the first month, we met at Cao: this was to plan an attack on Zheng. 16.1(1)

In summer, we attacked Zheng. 16.2(2)

In autumn, in the seventh month, our lord arrived from the attack on Zheng: this was to carry out the ritual of drinking to celebrate his arrival.[130] 16.3(3)

In winter, we fortified Xiang: this is recorded because it was timely. 16.4(4)

Lord Xuan, who had been established after Zhouxu was executed (Yin 4.5, 4.6), complicates the succession in Wei. The following entry is a splendid example of the impressive economy of Zuozhuan *narrative.*

Earlier, Lord Xuan of Wei had consorted with Yi Jiang, who gave birth to Jizi.[131] They entrusted him to the Noble Son of the Right.[132] They selected a wife for him in Qi, and she was beautiful, so Lord Xuan took her for himself. She gave birth to Shou and Shuo, and Shou was entrusted to the Noble Son of the Left. Yi Jiang hanged herself. 16.5(5)

132 The terms "Noble Son of the Right" and "Noble Son of the Left" are presented here as if they were official titles. Little is known about these positions except that from the context here, and from Sima Qian's interpretation (see n. 135 below), they would seem to be members of the ruler's family who are to fulfill the responsibility of preceptors.

宣姜與公子朔構急子。公使諸齊。使盜待諸莘，將殺之。壽子告之，使行。不可，曰：「棄父之命，惡用子矣？有無父之國則可也。」及行，飲以酒。壽子載其旌以先，盜殺之。急子至，曰：「我之求也，此何罪？請殺我乎！」又殺之。二公子故怨惠公。

十一月，左公子洩、右公子職立公子黔牟。惠公奔齊。

春秋

17.1(1) 十有七年，春，正月丙辰，公會齊侯、紀侯，盟于黃。

17.2(2) 二月丙午，公會邾儀父，盟于趡。

17.3(3) 夏，五月丙午，及齊師戰于奚。

17.4(4) 六月丁丑，蔡侯封人卒。

17.5(5) 秋，八月，蔡季自陳歸于蔡。

17.6 癸巳，葬蔡桓侯。

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133 Shen 莘 was located along the border between the domains of Qi and Wei just north of present-day Shen County 莘縣, Shandong.

134 The two noble sons referred to here are, of course, the Noble Son of the Right and the Noble Son of the Left, who had acted as preceptors to Jizi and Shou, both now dead. Lord Hui was the posthumous honorific of Shuo after he became the ruler of Wei. The reign dates of the rulers in question are as follows: Lord Zhuang, 757–735; Lord Xuan, 718–700; Lord Hui (Shuo), 699–697; and Qianmou, 696–688. However, Lord Hui returns to Wei in 688 BCE and continues to rule until 669 BCE, so the reign of Qianmou is often treated as an interregnum.

135 Lord Hui had ruled only three years (699–697) before he was forced to flee. *Shiji* 37.1593 contains a somewhat expanded version of this story, providing several additional details. First of all, the word *zheng*, "to consort with," is deleted, and we are told that Lord Huan "loved the main wife Yi Jiang," masking somewhat the fact that this was his father's concubine. Sima Qian states explicitly that the Noble Sons of the Left and Right were "commanded to tutor" Jizi and Shou. We are also told that "Lord Xuan, because he himself had appropriated the heir apparent's wife, hated the heir apparent in his heart and wanted to get rid of him." Furthermore, so that the brigands would recognize the heir apparent, he was "given a white pennant." In

Xuan Jiang, the woman from Qi, conspired with Shuo against Jizi. Lord Xuan sent Jizi to Qi and sent brigands to await him at Shen,[133] where they were to kill him. Shou[a] told Jizi of the plot to induce him to set out for some other place, but Jizi was unwilling and said, "If he rejects his father's command, of what use is a son! If only there were a domain without fathers, then I could flee there." When Jizi was about to depart, Shou plied him with wine. Shou[a] then carried his banner and went first. The brigands killed him. When Jizi arrived, he said, "I am the one you were after. What crime did he commit? Please kill me!" The bandits also killed him. The two noble sons consequently hated Lord Hui.[134]

In the eleventh month, Xie, the Noble Son of the Left, and Zhi, the Noble Son of the Right, established Gongzi Qianmou as ruler. Lord Hui fled to Qi.[135]

LORD HUAN 17 (695 BCE)

ANNALS

In the seventeenth year, in spring, in the first month, on the *bingchen* day (13), our lord met with the Prince of Qi and the Prince of Ji and swore a covenant at Huang.[136] 17.1(1)

In the second month, on the *bingwu* day,[137] our lord met with Yifu of Zhu and swore a covenant at Cui. 17.2(2)

In summer, in the fifth month, on the *bingwu* day (5), we did battle with Qi troops at Xi. 17.3(3)

In the sixth month, on the *dingchou* day (6), Fengren, the Prince of Cai, died. 17.4(4)

In autumn, in the eighth month, the youngest brother of the Prince of Cai went home from Chen to Cai. 17.5(5)

On the *guisi* day (23), Prince Huan of Cai was buried. 17.6

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short, this becomes a very interesting example of a *Shiji* re-presentation of a *Zuozhuan* story. The "Mao Commentary" attaches *Maoshi* 58, "Meng" 氓, 3C.134, to Lord Xuan and reads it as a harsh critique of his misbehavior: "In the time of Lord Xuan, ritual and dutifulness had disappeared and lewd practices flourished. The distinctions between male and female were not maintained, and they consequently ran after and seduced one another." *Maoshi* 44, "Er zi cheng zhou" 二子乘舟, 2C.106, is also associated with this event. People of Wei, who were saddened by "the two sons who contended to die for one another," supposedly wrote this ode. Note, however, that in this ode Jizi and Shou journey by boat!

136 Huang 黃 is not the state mentioned earlier but a small territory between Qi and Lu. It was located northeast of present-day Zichuan District 淄川區, Zibo City 淄博市, Shandong.

137 There was no *bingwu* day in the second month.