

# The Five "Confucian" Classics, by Michael Nylan

## Endnotes

- Page ¶ **Chapter 6 — The *Spring and Autumn Annals***
- 253 1 "...period (770-256 BC)"—For the epigraph, see SJ 121:3115. For the relation of the Chunqiu to the Annals of Lu, see George Kennedy (1942). The Mozi in the Minggui chapter mentions at least four state archives. Mencius 4B/21 (cited below) speaks of two additional compilations, though he clearly thought the Chunqiu a separate work from the Annals of Lu. There was also the Bamboo Annals found ca. AD 281, which seems to represent the archival records of Jin and its successor state Wei up to 299 BC. Note that the Zuozhuan seems to have affinities with the Chunqiu jueyu silk manuscript found in 1973 at Mawangdui.
- 254 1 "...transfers of power"—Many fine scholars in imperial China, including Wang Anshi and Wang Yangming, doubted the attribution of the Chunqiu to Confucius. See Zhang Yiren (1991), chap. 1.
- 254 1 "...of political life"—This statement is recorded in Er 23:305. Cf. *ibid.*, jing shuo 4:1086.
- 254 2 "...in the past"—Hannah Arendt (1968), pp. 121-22: "Authority, in contradistinction to power, has its roots in the past."
- 254 2 "...[the Han rulers]"—CQYD 487/Ai 14/Gong 1.
- 254 2 "...and the Duke of Shao"—See Kong Guangsen (1860), pp. 1b-2a. The many Han sources for the belief that Confucius wrote the Chunqiu as a guide to future dynasties include the memorials addressed to the throne by Dong Zhongshu (see introduction). For examples from later texts, see Jean Levi (1992) and DeWoskin and Crump (1996).
- 254 2 "...of actual events"—SJ 130:3297; trans. by Watson (1958), p. 51. According to the Suoyin commentary by Sima Zhen, *kongyan* (here, "abstract [moral] judgments") refers to "praise and blame about rights and wrongs." Eric Henry (forthcoming) says of the Zuo and the Guoyu that "the dramatic circumstances in which the speeches on ritual often occur endow them with a point and urgency that they would lack in the expository surroundings of a purely ritual text." These texts illustrate "pure and applied ritual," he says.
- 255 1 "...or political guidance"—Two of the five references to the Chunqiu in the Xunzi characterize the text as *wei*, but there are reasons to believe that both passages are later interpolations. See XZYD 2/1/30; 22/8/67.
- 255 1 "...sense of them"—By early Han, no fewer than five traditions were associated with the Chunqiu. But one of these traditions (that of Mr. Zou) had no teachers and another (that of Mr. Jia) had records (*lu*) but no text. See HS 30:1713, 1715. In late imperial China, a fourth tradition gained an authority virtually equal to that of the Gongyang, Guliang, and Zuo: the commentary by Hu Anguo (1074-1138), which was made the basis of Chunqiu studies at the beginning of the reign of the Ming emperor Yongle (r. 1403-24). See Song Dingzuo (1983), pp. 62-65, 127-67; Wang Gengsheng (1982), esp. pp. 26-29. According to Hihara Toshikuni (1976), p. 27, the Guliang, and possibly the Gongyang, may not have been written down before the Han, though its tradition(s) may date to the pre-Han period. Hihara thinks two citations in the Xunzi refer to the Gongyang traditions (pp. 28-29). But the Gongyang shows signs of being composed by successive accretions over a long period (p. 33).
- 256 1 "...the men of Song"—CQYD 131/Xi 28/3 Zuo (Watson, pp. 50ff).

- 256 1 "...to all situations"—The early commentators never thought that complete consistency was the point; they tended more to judge actions by their contexts. See comments attributed to Confucius in HFZ 9:30:166 (Liao, I, 293).
- 256 2 "...for the crime"—For the first citation, see SW 3B:65A; for the second, DDLJ, pian 48, 3/3a. Wang Guowei (1927), shows that the word shi depicts a hand (presumably that of an official) holding a vessel used to contain tallies at archery contests. The shi originally kept accounts of court activities, astronomical affairs, and divination results. MZYD 106/68/21-23 therefore includes the archivists with court magicians and technicians. A Western Zhou vessel which refers to shi is the Song gui, recorded in Kinbun 24, no. 153. As the position of shi was hereditary in pre-Han times, accurate record keeping was a matter of family honor. See CQYD 305/Xiang 25/2 Zuo for the state archivists who chose to die. A useful summary of ancient Chinese traditions regarding the shi is given in Burton Watson (1958), pp. 70-74; Beasley and Pulleyblank (1961). Shigesawa Toshio (1984), p. 8, remarks that Confucius's supposed authorship of the Chunqiu was responsible for the enormous prestige accorded history and historians in imperial China.
- 256 2 "...workings of history"—Numerous examples of the conflation of canon, commentary, and apocrypha could be given, including FSTY 3:11. Beginning in Soong, however, it was the fashion to reject the three interpretive traditions, the better to focus on the Chunqiu Classic. Liu Chang (1019-68), for example, wrote in chap. 1 of his Chunqiu chuanheng, "Although the traditions can be trusted, do not trust them... Trust the Chunqiu and nothing more."
- 257 1 "...for the period"—See William Hung (1937), pp. i-iv; Yang Bojun (1989), p. 84. Saito and Ozawa (1992) report that while a good bit of the astronomical data in the Chunqiu can be verified, a few pieces of data seem either to have been fabricated for cosmological reasons or to be corrupted in the text.
- 257 1 "...information was lacking"—George Kennedy (1942) shows a correlation between the amount of detail (particularly dates and places) and a particular state's relative distance from Lu.
- 257 1 "...compiler was Confucius"—Many scholars have denied Confucius's authorship of the Chunqiu and identified the text with the annals of the Lu state: in Tang, Liu Zhiji (661-721), in his famous "Doubting the Classics" (Huoqing) essay; in Song, Liu Kezhuang (1187-1269), cited in JYK; in Ming, Xu Xuemo (1522-93); and in the twentieth century, Zhang Binglin (1997), p. 264; William Hung in his preface to the CQYD; and Kondô Noriyuki (1981), among others. In Western Jin, the commentator Du Yu (222-84) in his preface to the CQZSZ emphasized that Confucius based his compilation of the text on the Lu archival materials. On the possible identity between the Lu state annals and the Chunqiu, see also Hihara Toshikuni (1976), pp. 3ff., which denies Confucius's authorship. Jens Østergard Petersen (Copenhagen) is "not aware of any convincing argument in support of the position that the Chunqiu Classic is not basically the Lu chronicle of the same name" (private communication, 15 Jan. 1997).
- 257 2 "...something of a mystery"—I am indebted to Petersen for the information in the footnote. As the 1876 edition includes old prefaces by Du Yu, He Xi, and Fan Ning, but no modern preface, it cannot help to date the practice of intersplicing the texts.

- 257 2 "...from Jin, matches neither"—He Xiu in his Gongyang commentary points out the Qi dialect words. Textual differences between the three commentaries have been studied by many Qing scholars, including Mao Qiling, Zhao Tan, and Zhu Junsheng. For the possibility that the Zuo reflects the language of Jin, see Henri Maspero (1931). The Zuo zhuan is quite detailed in its history of Jin and its successor states, but its "long, retrospective, synthesizing approach to Chu history" has seldom been remarked upon, aside from Eric Henry (forthcoming), chap. 7. (And since unconfirmed reports from the Shanghai Museum mention a recently excavated but as yet unpublished commentary attributed to Confucius in Chu script, one should not entirely discount the possibility of the Zuo's reliance on Chu materials, our notions of "barbarian" vs. Central States civilizations notwithstanding. The Song scholar Zheng Chao, in his *Liu jing aolun*, already commented upon the Zuo's concern with the state affairs of Jin and Chu.) Note also that during the Western Jin dynasty (265-317), tomb robbers discovered a text in the grave of King Xiang of Wei (r. 318-296 BC), whose language and content seemed in parts close to or identical with that of the Zuo zhuan. See Henri Maspero (1928), Qian Mu (1935), pp. 80-81, Qian Xuantong (1935) in GSB, V, 68, for further information. Han texts offer no fewer than three stories about the origin of the Zuo: (1) that it had been stored in the imperial archives all along, as Liu Xin alleged; (2) that it had been submitted to the throne at the beginning of Han by the scholar Zhang Cang, as the preface to the SW alleged; and (3) that it had been found in the wall of Confucius's family mansion, as LH alleged. Regarding the Zuo, Chavannes believed it to be the work of "several men belonging to one and the same school and the same region." See Bernhard Karlgren (1926), p. 30.
- 257 2 "...contemporary of Confucius"—SJ 14:509 is the first extant reference to link the Zuo (or possibly an associated work?) to "a gentleman of Lu, Zuo Qiuming." The somewhat obscure passage is usually taken to say that Zuo Qiuming arranged the "words of praise and blame" circulating among Confucius's disciples, adding them to a historical narrative that Sima Qian enigmatically called the *Kongzi shiji* (Archival Records of Confucius). The earliest extant reference to Zuo Qiuming as a contemporary of Confucius is attributed to Yan Pengzu, a Han Chunqiu master, but only in the *Kongzi jiayu*, not a particularly reliable source. See Gary Arbuckle (1991), p. 300. For a charming sketch of Zuo Qiuming and Zixia receiving the Chunqiu transmission from Confucius, see Jin 75:1978, biography of Xun Song. Since the Tang period, beginning with the work of Lu Chun, doubts have been expressed about the attribution of the Zuo zhuan. See Zhao Guangxian (1980), pp. 144ff.; Wang Gengsheng (1982), pp. 21ff. Wang Anshi's *Chunqiu jie* (Explication of the Chunqiu) (no longer extant) in one jian posed eleven arguments against the attribution to Zuo Qiuming.
- 258 1 "...as mid-Western Han"—See He Xiu, for Duke Yin 2, which says that the text was written down during the reign of the Han emperor Jingdi (r. 156-141 BC). As the text observes a taboo character for Emperor Jing, at least one edition was written down then. On the difficulties of dating the Gongyang, given the paucity of external and internal evidence, see Li Xinlin (1989).
- 258 1 "...variant on the Gongyang"—According to Pu Weizhong (1995), pp. 169-83, the Guliang tradition stresses the *sancong* (duties for women): that they follow their fathers before marriage, their husbands while married, and their sons when widowed. See CQYD 6/Yin 2/6 Gu.
- 258 1 "...as the first century BC"—Pu Weizhong (1995), chap. 3.1, argues that the Guliang may predate Lu Jia's (fl. 206-168) Xinyu.

- 258 2 "...on the Chunqiu"—In late Western Han, for example, some Academicians opposed state sponsorship for the Zuo on the grounds that the Zuo did not represent an interpretive tradition or commentary on the Chunqiu. See HS 7:1970. For accounts of this controversy, see Kamada Tadashi (1963), pp. 389-413. Lu Chun, Zhao Kuang, and Cheng Shang of the Tang, and Ye Mengde of the Song believed the Zuo to be a Warring States history. See Song Dingzuo (1983), pp. 25-31. Also note that the two best scholars working on the Zuo in the People's Republic, Zhao Guangxian and Hu Nianyi, both have concluded that the Zuo was originally written as an independent work and only later associated with the Chunqiu.
- 258 2 "...in the chronicle"—See Liu Fenglu (1805). For certain entries (e.g., Duke Huan 5 and Duke Zhuang 28), the two texts do not accord. For entries in the Chunqiu that are not in the Zuo, see, e.g., Duke Yin 2, 12th month, on the death of Furen Zishi; and Duke Yin 3, 2nd month, on an eclipse. For entries in the Zuo that have no corresponding Chunqiu entry, see, e.g., Duke Yin 1, 4th month, when Zhi Bo led troops to wall Lang; and the 8th month, on "attacking the Yi barbarians." Yang Bojun (1992), pp. 189, 215, 286, 323, 411, 1109, 1441, 1527, and 1529, gives examples in which the intersplicing of the Zuo and Chunqiu texts results in an interruption of the Zuo narratives by the Chunqiu. William Hong, preface to the CQYD, explains discrepancies between the Chunqiu and Zuo by positing the existence during Han of two canonical Chunqiu texts, the earlier version of which disappeared sometime in Han. Several works have tried to establish the original Zuo narrative units. See the works of Ma Su; GaoSQ; Wu Kaisheng (1923), and Han Xizhou (1940).
- 258 2 "...contradicts the Chunqiu"—For example, CQYD 4/Yin 1/4 Zuo, says that the "Son of Heaven is buried in the seventh month [after death]" while "the lords of the land are buried in the fifth." In the Chunqiu, there is only one Zhou king, King Xiang, who is buried in the seventh month; others are buried either in the third or fifth month. Such contradictions are listed in Pu Weizhong (1995), pp. 47ff. Bruce Brooks (1993) in WSWG, believes that the early entries in the text can hardly have been written at the time, since they contain anachronistic references to iron tools, mass armies, five-planet astrology, a schematic ritual cycle, and the beginnings of the apotheosis of Confucius. A cluster of such anachronisms would prove a late date for the Zuo. Yet iron tools existed in China, though in very small numbers, in the early Chunqiu years. One bronze inscription dating to 566 BC speaks of "three armies" (*sanjun*), as in Kinbun 38, #215, p. 254, a possible, if not certain, reference to mass armies using infantry. Five-planet astrology, according to David Pankenier's work, may have originated in Shang, though it was not well developed as a general theory until Han times. Five elements in the Zuo lead me to assign a date several centuries after Confucius: (1) the apotheosis of Confucius; (2) its grammar, which, despite inconsistencies, cannot date even to the sixth century BC; (3) the use of different calendrical systems in the Zuo and the Chunqiu, as discussed in Zhao Guangxian (1980), p. 136ff; (4) some few major contradictions in viewpoint between the Zuo and Chunqiu texts, as discussed in Tsuda Sôkichi (1958), pp. 436-70; and (5) the portrait of ruler-subject relations in the Zuo, which seems anachronistic.
- 258 2 "...the Chunqiu period"—See LiuZJ, "Shen Zuo"; Sima Guang, cited in *Jingyi kao*, chap. 109; and Gu Yanwu in RZL, chap. 4, "Chunqiu jueyi zhishu."
- 258 2 "...commentaries and histories"—Henri Maspero (1931). His theory would help to account for some of the oddities of the Zuo, e.g., referring to Confucius by three different titles: Zhongni, Kong Qiu, and Master Kong. Maspero's theory gains some support from a badly damaged ms. written on silk from Mawangdui, whose interpretation of events in the Chunqiu period sometimes corresponds with those of the Zuo). See MWD, III. Further support comes from Ogura Yoshihiko (1960), which points to separate strata within the Zuo narratives. Bruce Brooks (1994) postulates two early versions, one written by Lu scholars in late Zhou to promote Lu as cultural center, and one written by scholars in Qi (possibly to amuse and edify Duke Xuan of Qi).

- 258 3 "...with absolute assurance"—The phrase "sedimented text" comes from Wai-yee Li (private communication). Barry Blakely, query 25 (25 Nov. 1993), quoted in Bruce Brooks (1993), WSWG, speaks of the Zuo's consistency in style, grammar, narrative sophistication, and philosophical stance, though Jens Petersen (private communication) believes that the "consistency of Zuozhuan is overrated." Zhao Guangxian (1981) summarizes earlier arguments. My hypothesis only apparently contradicts several famous scholars, including Gu Yanwu in RZL, chap. 4, which maintains that the Zuo "was not created by one person or compiled in one generation," and Yao Nai, who also flatly states, "The text Zuoshi (here = Zuozhuan) did not come from one person. There were repeated accretions and additions, those by Wu Qi and his followers being especially numerous." See Yao, wen 3/4b. Eric Henry (forthcoming), chap. 5, perhaps says it best: "Tso chuan is a mosaic of independent narrative units tightly arranged on a time line, ranging in length from brief notices to sage-like narrations of many hundreds of characters... Tso chuan arose primarily through an additive, not a disintegrative, process....[As] the bits from which the whole was put together had for the most part a long, independent existence before they became part of the Tso chuan,.. the stories, while all more or less fictional in character, vary quite a bit in age, genre, purpose, and relationship to real events." In the same chapter, Henry speculates about the collaboration in the pre-Qin period between recitation specialists and script specialists (the annalist-diviners) in the work of recalling past events.
- 259 1 "...of the Chunqiu"—HS 36:1967.
- 259 1 "...between 468 BC and 300 BC"—Bernhard Karlgren (1926).
- 259 1 "...closer to 300 BC"—E.g., Itano Chôhatai (1975). Xu Zhongshu (1962), Zhao Guangxian (1981), and Yang Bojun (1992) opt for a date sometime in the fourth century BC. Hu Nianyi (1981) prefers a fifth century BC date. Kondô Noriyuki (1983) asserts that the Zuo was written in the second century BC, but his argument is based upon two questionable proofs: the Zuo's supposed opposition to the Ten Wings interpretation of the Changes and its opposition to tyrannical centralized authority. Other Japanese scholars, (mis)reading the astronomical data, place the composition of the Zuo even later, from the third to the first century BC, following Kamada Tadashi, who places it "after 320 BC," or Iijima Tadao and Tsuda Sôkichi, who date the Zuo to the first century BC. But neither Kamada nor Tsuda were astronomers and Iijima was simply wrong in his calculations. The astronomer Shinjô Shinzô (1927), p. 394, argued cogently that references to the Jupiter cycles and other such astronomical data recorded in the Zuo must date from the period 365-329 BC, with the text probably compiled in 345 BC; also that the astronomical data included in the Zuo cannot represent eyewitness accounts of Chunqiu phenomena. Scholars should note that Xu Renfu's multiple works argue for a Han date for the Zuo. Xu's main points are ably summarized in Shen and Liu (1992), pp. 368-70.
- 259 1 "...in the years 487-330"—Among others, Zhao Guangxian (1981), pp. 56-58, has argued that the prognostications are not central to the Zuo, even that they are later interpolations. But why, then, continue to make them the basis for dating of the text, as Zhao does? To my mind, the prognostications in the Zuo constitute an integral part of the text's proof that one can rule better by ritual. Many of the most striking prognostications take human behavior as portents, an idea advanced by Xunzi. See, for example, CQYD 124/Xi 24/fu ii; CQYD 104/Xi 11/fu i. CQYD 61/Zhuang 14/fu 1, in fact, alleges that all uncanny manifestations (*yao*) derive from men's inconstancy.
- 259 2 "...its critics conceded"—The Zuo differs most obviously from its counterparts, the Gongyang and Guliang, in offering more background information in a more exciting style. The closest possible parallel to the Zuo is the Guoyu, of course. For the relation of the Zuo to the Guoyu, see Alan Imber (1975), II, 309, which neatly summarizes the problem.

- 260 1 "...not yet been punished"—The most lucid elucidation of praise and blame writing that I have read is to be found in Moss Roberts (1970); my translation draws from Roberts and from Malmqvist. Note that the Jisun, Mengsun, and Shunsun ministerial clans that dominated the Lu ruling house during most of the period covered by the Chunqiu all claimed descent from Duke Huan; in all likelihood, they would have had the Lu archivists emphasize the more noble birth of Duke Huan.
- 261 2 "...involves a ruler"—Similar attitudes toward revenge inform the Gongyang and the Liji, both of which oppose the Zuo's position; hence the difficulty when Zheng Xuan came to write his commentary for the Liji, since Zheng was in sympathy with the Zuo's position. For more on revenge, see Anne Cheng (1997). For the Gongyang on the ruler, see CQYD 50/Zhuang 4/7 Gong.
- 261 2 "...and family hierarchies"—In HHS 36:1236, Jia Kui praises the Zuo's firm support for family and state hierarchy and condemns the Gongyang's supposedly dangerous "reliance on [explanations in terms of] weighing moral priorities," which Jia Kui and others equated with "making expedient changes." The Zuo interpretive traditions, according to Jia and others, showed that the Liu imperial clan were not lowborn upstarts, but descendants from Emperor Yao of antiquity. Moreover, the Zuo, unlike the Gongyang and Guliang traditions, makes little reference to Heaven as the Son of Heaven's superior. On the other hand, Pi Xirui (1954), pp. 22, 25-28, 37-39, sharply criticized the Zuo for recording entries that justified the expulsion of the ruler (Dukes Xiang 14 and Zhao 32) and for admitting that some few rulers "were immoral" (Duke Wen 16). (In this, Pi follows Zhu Xi's criticisms, as recorded in ZZYL. It has been claimed that when literati saw the need to strengthen centralized authority, the popularity of the Zuo declined. See Jiang Yihua (1985), pp. 22-23. I am indebted to Yuri Pines for the reference to Pi Xirui and Jiang. Jia Kui, of course, is a Zuo partisan when he makes this assessment. I accept Jia's assessment because of the Han Gongyang masters' pronouncements in the Salt and Iron Debates of 81 BC and in extant legal rulings that worked against the absolute prerogatives of state and biological family (see below). Note also that some scholars believe that the passage adduced as evidence for the Han ruling house's descent from the antique sage-ruler Yao is an interpolation.
- 262 1 "...as Dong Zhongshu"—Also Humu Sheng and Gongsun Hong.
- 262 1 "...to Emperor Xuan's liking"—HS 88:3618; cf. Wang Baoxuan (1994), chap. 4.
- 262 2 "...of the Gongyang"—See Wang Guowei (1928), pp. 37-45. The Gongyang and Guliang adherents throughout the imperial period did not regard the Zuo as a commentary to the Chunqiu, but as an independent history. They therefore called it Zuoshi chungiu (The Annals of Mr. Zuo), rather than Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan (Commentary of Mr. Zuo on the Chunqiu).
- 262 2 "...from scholastic discussions"—The "monumental achievements" included Du Yu's collected commentaries on the Zuo and Fan Ning's on the Guliang; also, the works of the Jin dynasty scholars Jing Xiang (on place names) and Xu Miao (on pronunciation). See Jin 75:1976-78, for the Chunqiu Academicians under Jin.
- 262 2 "...of a bun seller"—SKZ 23:675. Wang Anshi (1021-86) rejected the Chunqiu entirely and blocked state sponsorship of its three textual traditions, citing three main reasons: (1) that the Chunqiu was not good history, being too brief; (2) that the judgements associated with it were unreliable and contradictory; and (3) that in presuming the utter perfection of the old Zhou institutions, the text gave ammunition to conservatives who opposed any change of institutions. See James Liu (1959), pp. 30-34.
- 262 2 "...its commentarial traditions"—See Benjamin Elman (1984) and (1990); Michael Nylan (1994).

- 263 1 "...ruler as liege-lord"—Notwithstanding certain disparities between European feudalism and the Zhou system, the Zhou may be called feudal in three senses: (1) its serfs were bound to the land; (2) its military elite was identical with its political elite; and (3) its political power was highly decentralized, though nominal allegiance was still owed to the king.
- 263 2 "...ZhuXia communities distinctive"—Ogura Yoshihiko (1965) concludes that the mentality of making hard-and-fast contrasts between the civilized We-group of the ZhuXia peoples and the "barbarian" outsiders developed mainly during the Eastern Zhou period; he therefore sees the Zuozhuan expounding a late Warring States point of view. Bruce Brooks speculates that barbarian ideas may initially have been well received in the rest of the area now called China, but the Lu elites were particularly anxious to define themselves as cultural arbiters by condemning all barbarian ways.
- 263 2 "...judgment on the events"—The Chunqiu text is only slightly longer than 16,000 characters in length. Few entries exceed forty-five characters. The shortest entry is a single character.
- 264 1 "...their didactic principles"—Mencius 3B/9; 4B/21; trans. after Lau, pp. 114, 131. According to the Gongyang commentary, the Chunqiu harshly criticizes officials who fail to take revenge against regicides as a deterrent against rebellious subjects. See Li Xinlin (1989), p. 170ff.
- 264 2 "...courts of his time"—The locus classicus for weiyang is HS 30:1701, but the term appears in the related sense of "secret plans" in the LSCQ. As Zhong Xuan wrote, "Although Confucius had the virtue of a sage, he did not dare to openly change the models/laws (fa) of the former kings ... So whenever there was something he wanted to change, he wrote secretly [about it] in the apocrypha, then stored it away so that it would be transmitted to later kings [i.e., Han]." See SGLFJ 2a. Earlier, Sima Qian in SJ 130:3297 had suggested that "Confucius knew that words [of protest] would be of no use, that the way would not be practiced" so he made a "standard for All-under Heaven... simply so that the king's affairs might be [later] realized." Liu Xiang, writing in SY 1/14a, has Confucius say, "If the Zhou virtue had not been moribund, the Chunqiu would not have been written." Much later, Hu Anguo's (1074-1138) influential commentary to the Chunqiu came up with another explanation: As the Sage was the repository of impartial Heavenly principles (*Tianli*), he was not only empowered but required to criticize the moral failings of the Son of Heaven. See Hu's preface to his commentary, HAG. Note that Sun Fu (998-1057), by contrast, saw the entire Chunqiu as an unremitting record of blame, rather than praise and blame, exposing the relations obtaining between barbarians and Chinese.
- 264 2 "...the hierarchical order"—Although the Zuo tends to be quite critical of the Zhou kings and the Lu dukes, it gives ten instances in which it explains what has been omitted in the Chunqiu by reference to taboos. CQYD 449/Ding 6/7 Gong, for example, interprets the omission of the character "He" in the name of Zhongsun Heji as "blame." This interpretation seems stretched, since the same person in other entries (Duke Zhao 32; Duke Ding 3, 8, 10, 12; Duke Ai 103, 6) is not criticized. For another example, see Yang Bojun (1989), p. 82.
- 265 1 "...praise and blame"—Mark Edward Lewis (1999), chap. 5, has an elegant formulation whereby the early sage-kings like Fu Xi create the material world and also the world of written graphs as parallel realms. By contrast, the Duke of Zhou, who is credited with the creation or transmission of many canonical texts, rules as regent but never as king. The final separation between monarchy and textual authority comes with Confucius, Lewis writes, who is suwang in opposition to the monarchy.

- 265 2 "...in the Zuo zhuan itself"—As shown below, the Zuo portrays Confucius offering criticism very openly, as when he rushes into the Lu court to demand that the Lu ruler punish the clan of Chen in Qi (see below). Other legends had Confucius serving as Minister of Justice or chief of police.
- 265 2 "...a plainspoken man"—Analects 7/24; Waley, p. 128 [renum.]. Some realized, of course, that the Analects had probably been edited and slightly amended.
- 266 2 "...with deep significance"—Gu Donggao (1679-1759) argued that changes in state relations were happening so quickly that the archivists simply could not always keep up with them. See GuD, pp. 614-32.
- 266 3 "...in today's parlance"—Lest we dismiss the Chinese as strange or gullible, consider a modern parallel: the statement "George Bush said he would 'geet' Saddam Hussein" feels very different from the statement, "The President of the United States led the other leaders of the free world in the punitive attack against the President of Iraq." Throughout imperial China this kind of focus on word choice continued. For example, Hu Anguo (1074-1138), following He Xiu's reading of lines that refer to the Zhou king merely as king rather than as Heavenly king, interpreted the lesser title as the Chunqiu's harsh censure of the Zhou kings for contributing to the destruction of the old Zhou ritual order. See HAG commentaries for Duke Huan 5; Duke Zhuang 1; and Duke Wen 5.
- 267 1 "...had been killed"—And in describing military matters, it matters greatly whether an action was forced upon an army or freely undertaken, and so on. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 88, for more information. Compare also the Gongyang and Guliang entries on CQYD 2/Yin 1/3 Gong, Gu, where the interpretation hinges on the choice of the word "vanquished," on the brother's designation as Duan (rather than as "ducal brother Duan" or "ducal prince Duan"); and on the significance of recording the place name Yan. Compare also the many words used to convey and color the idea of defeat. In the Zuo, the rhetorical modes of expressing praise and blame (*shufa*) share the catechismal style of the Gongyang and Guliang.
- 267 2 "...much stronger opponent"—CQYD 119/Xi 22/4 Gong, Gu.
- 267 2 "...own troop strength"—CQYD 116/Xi 21/2 Zuo.
- 267 2 "...from further depredations"—CQYD 86/Xi 1/4 jing (Legge, 133).
- 267 2 "...the Zhou king"—For more on the Gongyang's concern for unification, see Pu Weizhong (1995), pp. 98-107.
- 267 2 "...that it elicited"—QFJ 10a.
- 267 3 "...the sage's judgment"—See Zhong chap. 13 (ICS p. 20, line 17); cf. Wai-ye Li (1994) p. 348.
- 268 1 "...the "esoteric classics"—HHS 30:1043.



- 268 1 "...to have been Confucius"—By the late 3rd c. BC, as we see from the Hanfeizi, the Chunqiu was commonly assumed — probably because of comments attributed to Mencius — to be Confucius's redaction of a Lu Chunqiu, in which Confucius turned a record of events into a guide to ethical behavior. Apart from two references to a sage (the Sage?) as author of the Chunqiu, the Zuo deals with the text as a product of Lu scribes. This may be why the Zuo, in contrast to the Gongyang and Guliang traditions, notes what the Chunqiu text has not recorded (*bushu*). Note, then, that the Zuo's claims about itself curiously accord more closely with the Modern Script (*jinwen*) description of it than with its own proponents' inflated claims for it, i.e., that it was the work of a friend or disciple of Confucius, who based his work on Confucius's oral teachings. The Guliang's position on the authorship of the Chunqiu is less clear, as phrases in the Guliang are liable to different constructions. A Guliang entry for Duke Huan 2 reports that some say that the Chunqiu text observes taboos with respect to the state of Song and the Kong family members because Confucius was its author. See Tsuda Sôkichi (1958), pp. 214ff. And a Guliang entry for Duke Huan 14 seems to refer to Confucius as author by speaking of Dukes Yin and Huan in the distant past and Dukes Ding and Ai in the present. Two separate passages in the Gongyang seem unambiguously to consider the Chunqiu to be the work of Confucius himself: those under Duke Xuan 1 (5 Gong) and Duke Zhao 12 (1 Gong) (trans. Malmqvist, I, 180, 203).
- 269 2 "...the hapless heir deposed"—SJ 49:1976-77, quoting CQYD 1/Yin 1/Gong 1: "The son is honored on account of his mother; the mother, on account of the son.." Court intrigue resulting in executions also followed upon the "New King Changes Institutions" doctrine, which Dong Zhongshu derived from the Gongyang.
- 269 2 "...to surpass her in rank"—Kong and Ke (1988), p. 37. Another instance that can be cited comes from the Jin period, when Du Yu, citing the Zuo as precedent, suggested shortening the mourning period for the heir apparent. See Wang Fuzhi, *Du Tongjian lun*, chap. 11.
- 269 3 "...under Qin and Han"—Gu Yanwu saw a sharp break in rituals, customs, and institutions occurring in the transition between the Chunqiu and Warring States periods. For Gu, see RZL, cited in Pu Weizhong (1995), p. 155. Gu's analysis is supported by recent archaeological evidence, according to Jessica Rawson.
- 270 1 "...to mere chance"—Analects 13/3; Waley, pp. 171-72.
- 270 2 "...and the son a son"—Analects 12/11; Waley, p. 166.
- 270 2 "...productively with others"—Henry Rosemont (1997), p. 72. As Rosemont points out, this notion does not in any way deny our strong sense of being continuous selves, "only the philosophically more common (and paradox-generating) concept of strict self-identity."
- 270 2 "...roles he inhabits"—See the speech of the Wei minister Beigong Wenzi, which claims that *weiyi* (awesome dignity) will accrue to persons who fulfill their roles. See CQYD 337/Xiang 31/ fu ix.
- 270 3 "...of good government"—John Makeham (1991), pp. 16, 81. Note that in general the Chinese have tended to be more interested in the social uses of language than in the idea of language as repository of essential meanings (i.e., its representational function). Zheng Xuan, in LYYS 7/3b-4a, defined *ming* (names) as *zi* (characters), so that the "correcting *ming*" meant rectifying erroneous interpretations of words once they had been set down in writing.

- 270 3 "...states, and events")—Ancient theories of the normative and regulative power of words probably had other sources as well, including ancient rites of incantation, divination, and supplication. This age-old belief in the normative and regulative functions of words, in turn, contributes to contemporary China's concern with class labels and appropriate political terminology, as discussed in Michael Schoenhals (1992).
- 271 1 "...choice and action"—See Chad Hansen (1983) for the regulative function of zhengming; cf. Hall and Ames (1987), pp. 268-275, for the performative force of naming; quotation from *ibid.*, p. 273.
- 271 2 "...of the community"—The Chinese have tended to believe, counter to modern American notions of social equity, that parties unequal in power and status can have an equal interest in maintaining a hierarchical community, so long as it is fair, since all persons gain both identity and security in their specific societal niche.
- 271 2 "...names and positions"—ZZYD 91/33/10. The two chapters that make reference to the Chunqiu are late (probably Han). See Hihara Toshikuni (1976), p. 7.
- 272 1 "...to the barbarians"—E.g., CQYD 40/Huan 13/Gong 1; CQYD 239/Cheng 15/Gong 12.
- 272 1 "...them preferential treatment"—CQYD 79/Zhuang 32/Gong 3. Hihara Toshikuni (1976), pp. 160-96, offers the best analysis of this concept that I have read.
- 272 1 "...some future regime"—See OYX 16/2a, which refers to CQYD 1/Yin 1/Gong 1.
- 272 2 "...gifts at morning]"—See CQYD 7-8/Yin 3/Gong, Gu 4. Translations from the Gongyang and Guliang rely heavily on Malmqvist (1971), (1975).
- 273 1 "...treated as kin"—Jens Petersen (private communication) finds the criterion of "treating kin as kin" inapplicable here, since the text justifies its censure in other terms, but I think that criterion is implied by the phrase, "Even if the Zhou royal house had not requested gifts, the Lu ducal house still would have been obliged to present them."
- 273 2 "...the historical materials"—As Hsiao Kung-chuan (1979), p. 133, remarks, "The import of all these cases of defining 'names and duties' is seldom exposed and developed in the Zuo Commentary, whereas in the Gongyang and Guliang Commentaries these are delineated in great detail." See, for example, the explicit "Rectification" talk in CQYD 205/Xuan 15/5 Gu.
- 273 2 "...the Gongyang or Guliang"—In a few cases (e.g., CQYD 184/Xuan 4/fu) the Zuo does frame its own rules about wording in the Chunqiu. Some scholars have suggested that since the Zuo usually places direct comments about wording at the very ends of individual entries, following a repetition or paraphrase of the Chunqiu's original wording, this means that they were considered less important than the historical narratives. This argument is hardly conclusive, but that position does suggest later interpolations.
- 273 2 "...of ritual rule"—Zheng Xuan suggested that the Zuo was the best of the three traditions in discussing ritual. See his "Liuyi lun."

- 273 2 "...to Confucius himself"—Some 25 passages that purport to record the judgments of Confucius himself are listed in Zhang Suqing (1991), pp. 289-92. Soome 109 passages begin either with the phrase, "The gentleman says,..." or with the phrase, "Zhongni [=courtesy name for Confucius] said." Twelve passages begin, "The gentleman says..."; in these, Zhu Xi found so little merit that he doubted Confucius's authorship. (See ZZYL 83:2150.) Of course, Confucius could not refer to himself by the term "gentleman" or by his own courtesy name. Also, if Confucius is "the gentleman," why would the text need both kinds of entries ("the gentleman says" and "Confucius says")? And why would the two kinds of entries sometimes contradict each other in their moral assessments? I believe that such remarks were mostly appended by the compiler of the Zuo, though some may have been added by later moralists, including Liu Xin. It is not at all unusual for texts dating from Warring States and Han to insert moralizing passages under the heading, "the gentleman says," and in many cases it can be conclusively shown that the gentleman is not Confucius, but an earlier respected statesman or thinker. See CQYD 25/Huan 2/5 Zuo, where the phrase "a gentleman says" clearly refers to the compiler of the Chunqiu. Two different explanations have been offered — sometimes in the same text — for the *shuyue* or *bushu* passages in the Zuo: that Confucius is speaking as author of the Chunqiu; and that Confucius is commenting on the Chunqiu, which has been authored by someone else. Du Yu believed that Confucius used the *shu* and *bushu* passages to explicate the morality of his own time (as opposed to that of Western Zhou). By Du Yu's theory, the fifty *fanli* passages included in the Zuo (minus a few exceptions noted in Song times by Liu Chang in his *Chunqiu quanheng*) attempt to formulate general rules about feudal customs and the proper forms of address at the time of early Western Zhou, presuming the reader's complete ignorance of antique usages. See Zheng Liangshu (1982), pp. 342-63; Shen and Liu (1992), pp. 27-28, 144-46, for further information; Pu Weizhong (1995), pp. 70-98; Kamada Tadashi (1963), pp. 54-66; and Yang Shanggui (1936), which disputes the idea that such passages are later interpolations. The best study in English on the problem is Eric Henry (1999).
- 273 3 "...at times even unorthodox"—See the severe criticism of the Zuo leveled by Fan Sheng in AD 26 (HS 36:1228).
- 273 3 "...and the Zhan'guo ce."—Note that the Guoyu is called the *waizhuan* (outer tradition) to the Chunqiu in some Han works, for example, Zhong ch. 11 (ICCS p. 16, line 27). Perhaps it is the Zuo's comparative disinclination to engage in overt praise and blame that led the great historian and literary critic Liu Zhiji (661-721) to make the extraordinary claim that the Zuozhuan was a better work of history than the Chunqiu. Liu was able to make this statement because he doubted whether Confucius was author or editor of the Chunqiu. See LiuZJ pp. 503-18 (index 10288ff.). Zhu Xi in a similar vein said that the historian records events in detail, though he may make mistakes on matters of principle; by contrast, the classicist has success with meaning but may make many errors in recording events. See ZZYL 83, no. 7 (VI, p. 2146); no. 32 (VI, p. 2125); cf. ZZYL 57, no. 9 (IV, pp. 1345-46), analyzed in Conrad Schirokauer (1993), esp. pp. 196-204. Many anecdotes attest to the incredible popularity of the Zuo. Liu Zhiji in the preface to his *Shitong* reports that in his youth he was a poor student, detesting each and every line in the Archaic Script Documents. One day, however, he overheard his father and elder brother discussing lines from the Zuozhuan. He then begged his father to let him switch his studies over to the Zuo, promising that he would "never again be a slackard" if he could study it instead. His father then gave him permission to study with his brother, and within the year he had caught up in his studies. Thereafter, his interest in classical studies never flagged. Gu Jiegang (1893-1980) similarly reported that as a boy he read the Zuo "with the elation of one who has been carried back bodily to the society of the Spring and Autumn Period," though he thoroughly detested reading the Court Airs of the Odes. See Hummel (1931), pp. 8-10.

- 273 3 "...the usual Zuo Commentary"—The title *Zuozhuan* is not attested until Liu Xin (53 BC-AD 23). Before then, the text was known as the *Zuoshi chunqiu*. Liu Xin may have been the first to present the text as a commentary on the *Chunqiu*, but there is simply no firm evidence. Certainly, the work cannot be a forgery by Liu Xin, as some traditional scholars, including Kang Youwei, alleged.
- 274 1 "...Confucian ethical holdover"—Itano Chôhatai (1975), p. 128, shows that the Zuo veers between approbation of utilitarian politics and the defense of older ethical ideas. Tsuda Sôkichi (1958), pp. 436-70, argues that ethical discrepancies between the Zuo and the *Chunqiu* are so pronounced that the Zuo cannot have been written originally as commentary or tradition attached to the *Chunqiu*. For example, Zuo entries for Duke Yin 3 treat the Zhou royal domain and its sometime rival, the state of Zheng, as two states of equal standing; it also recognizes the self-styled kings of the barbarian states of Wu and Chu as such, implying their equal standing with the Zhou royal house. I argue below that the Zuo uses this means to suggest the gulf between the idealized claims of hegemony and the realities of power politics.
- 274 1 "...heart of Confucius?"—For *julun qiyu*, see SJ 14:509. Note, however, Zhu Xi's comment that the *Zuozhuan* was inferior to both the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* in its explication of moral principles. See ZZYL 83:2152.
- 274 3 "...of solemn pronouncements"—Interestingly enough, James White (1984), chap. 3., believes that Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, a roughly contemporaneous work, is also a study on words losing their meaning.
- 274 3 "...Jia Kui (30-101) insisted"—For explicit references to the "Rectification of Names," see, e.g., Duke Xuan 2 (607 BC), which refers to Duke Ling of Jin as "no true ruler"; also Duke Xiang 25 (548 BC), regarding the duties of ruler and minister with reference to the Rectification of Names; and Duke Cheng 2 [589 BC], which speaks of a "minister who acts as [true] minister." Many examples may also be culled from the entries on Duke Ai. Liu Xin, the most famous early proponent of the Zuo, insisted that it was the final arbiter on "names [i.e., titles] and ranks," even when it contradicted the *Liji* and the *Guliang*. See HS 73:3127. Jia Kui, in promoting the Zuo, picked thirty-seven passages that supposedly "with special clarity" explicated the "rectified meaning of [the social roles of] ruler and subject and the structure of father and son" (HHS 36:1236-37). Few modern scholars have taken up this same approach to the Zuo. Exceptions are Qian Xuantong (1936b), in GSB, V, 17, and Yamada Taku (1968), p. 28, which say that individual entries in the Zuo assign praise and blame through their narratives, rather than by probing the language of the *Chunqiu*. Twice the Zuo states that "ritual vessel and name are the things that cannot be lent to others." See CQYD 211/Cheng 2/2 Zuo; 436/Zhao 32/6 Zuo.
- 275 2 "...to rectified names"—Han scholars were the first to note the centrality of ritual in the *Zuozhuan*. SJ 130:3296 calls the *Chunqiu* the "great progenitor of rites and duty," but HS 30:1715 says that Zuoqiu Ming compiled the *Zuozhuan* in order to "rectify rites and music." Cf. Zheng Xuan, quoted in YKJ, I, 928; cf. Jin 75:1978. The notion that considerations of zhengming have shaped the *Chunqiu* continues to inform modern research. See, e.g., Chen Zhu (1929), chap. 9; Wang Gengsheng (1982), p. 29. The modern scholar Li Zongtong supplies statistical proof: The Zuo narrator refers to particular actions as "being the ritual" 67x, as "being not the ritual" 32x. Figures in the narrative refer to acts "being the ritual" 6x and "being not the ritual" 16x. The anonymous gentleman refers to "being the ritual" or "not being the ritual" 6x. The comments attributed to Confucius refer to ritual twice. A sum total of 129 acts in the Zuo, then, are explicitly assessed in terms of ritual, and this sum does not count the many passages in which (a) the concept is implicit and (b) where ritual performances are described (637 references to blood covenants, with multiple references to the same covenants); hundreds of ceremonies required by military campaigns; sacrifices; funeral rituals; banquets; etc.).

- 275 4 "...their own virtue"—SJ 4:135-36, which is largely based upon GY, Zhouyu A..
- 276 1 "...in real life"—Although each stage produced some reformers who advocated the "Rectification of Names," the essentials of the ZhuXia civilization were never restored, as the reformers did little more than urge a return to the previous, somewhat less corrupt stage. The Zuo suggests that the only exception to this rule was Confucius, who knew enough to reconstruct the entire ZhuXia order, but who was given no opportunity to do so. Instead of my four stages, Jian Cuizhen (1981), pp. 190ff., speaks of four major changes to the fortunes of the Zhou royal house. But ritual is presented as the "main operative force in history; ... men prosper or fail and nations rise or fall according to how much they have li," according to William McNaughton (1971), p. 25.
- 276 2 "...benefits future generations"—CQYD 21/Yin 11/3 Zuo.
- 276 2 "...agreed-upon meanings"—See CQYD 280/Xiang 14/fu 3, which defines the good ruler as "master of the spirits and hope of the people." Cf. *ibid.*, 9/Yinn 3/fu 2, defining the Five Relations. Note that in the early days of the Chunqiu, in AD 673, the Duke of Zheng won't allow others to kill the Zhou Son of Heaven in battle, though he has both the motive and the opportunity for the murder (CQYD 30/Huan 5/6 Zuo; CQYD 37/Huan 11/fu i).
- 277 1 "...or admirable pretenses"—See CQYD 60-61/Zhuang 13/4 Zuo, Gong, which show Duke Huan of Qi honoring a forced covenant with Lu, and this mark of Duke HHuan's good faith persuades All-under-Heaven to trust him, at least initially.
- 277 2 "...meaning for most"—Though the entries for most of the sixth century BC are more voluminous than those for earlier and later periods.
- 277 3 "...the gods or man"—Worthy advisers in the early stages help identify alternatives in terms of moral choice. For example, Shi Que insists that having true love for a son means not indulging him, lest he develop bad habits (CQYD 9/Yin 3/fu 2). Later, Bao Shuya clearly recognizes that Duke Xiang of Qi is treating the people in an arbitrary manner (CQYD 55/Zhuang 8/5 Zuo).
- 277 3 "...to ascribed roles"—By contrast, later, the CQYD 109/Xi 15/14 Zuo depicts the failure by Yiwu (Duke Hui of Jin) to keep his promises, after which Qin decides to attack him.
- 277 4 "...ever meet again!"—CQYD 2-3/Yin 1/2 Zuo.
- 278 1 "...had seen before"—*Ibid.*
- 278 2 "...among Zhou subjects"—Though the military power of the Zhou rulers is waning, the Zuo makes it clear that for awhile the Zhou vassals continue to acknowledge the superiority of the Zhou king ritually, as when they present barbarian captives after each battle (e.g., CQYD 83/Min 2/7 Zuo; CQYD 133/Xi 28/5 Zuo). This ritual acknowledgment becomes a complete sham by CQYD 217/Cheng 3/fu iii., when powerful states still offer captives to the Zhou king while virtually ignoring him in all other ways.
- 279 1 "...the reigning Zhou king"—CQYD 45/Huan 18/fu ii.
- 279 2 "...the state of Wei"—CQYD 43/Huan 16/5 Zuo, dated to some thirty years after the book opens. Cf. CQYD 8-9/Yin 3/fu ii.
- 279 2 "...be felt on high"—*Analects* 14/35 (Waley, p. 189).
- 280 1 "...course of action"—CQYD 93/Xi 4/9/fu i. Cf. GY 7:93-94 ("Jin yu 1," entry 4), where Shensheng rejects advice that might have kept him alive.

- 280 2 "...theme in the Zuo)"—See CQYD 55/Zhuang 8/5 Zuo, for the courageous defense by the footman of his master's life.
- 280 2 "...return to ritual"—Analects 12/1 (Waley, p. 164); cf. *ibid.* 6/25 (Waley, p. 121).
- 280 2 "...to their persons"—See CQYD 52/Zhuang 6/fu, for the case of the marquis of Tang, who refuses to kill the ruler of Chu; CQYD 56/Zhuang 9/6 Zuo., for the brave men who are killed in the line of duty; CQYD 61/Zhuang 14/fu i, for the official Yuan Fan, who was dishonored, though he had no "double-heart," as he had ever been loyal to the interests of his state.
- 280 2 "...walking virtue's path"—In stages 3 and 4, of course, such persuasions grow much longer, in response to the increasing lack of societal mores. See, e.g., Shi Hui's speech: "When a state is unswerving in its attention to virtue and punishments, government undertakings, regulations and propriety, it cannot be opposed. There's no going to war with a state like that!" (CQYD 196/Xuan 12/3 Zuo, for 597 BC). Numerous entries suggest that it is virtue which gives a person or state an advantage; some suggest also that a lack of virtue prevents one from having the edge in interstate competition. See, e.g., CQZZG, pp. 291, 293, 319, 327, 344, 444.
- 280 3 "...be of [great] use"—CQYD 73/Zhuang 27/fu i.
- 280 3 "...transform the state"—Analects 4/13 (Waley, 104) argues ritual's efficacy; in Confucius's mind, "nothing more need be said."
- 281 1 "...and military procedures"—CQYD 57/Zhuang 10/1 Zuo.
- 281 1 "...and incommensurate choices"—In the earliest years, the choice is only between right and wrong, as loyalty to the family is in theory conflated with loyalty to the state. As the years proceed, however, the choices become ever more complicated. Loyalty to the state can mean loyalty to the ruler, to one's native place, or to the best interests of the people; loyalty to family can mean loyalty to one's clan, paterfamilias, or own interests. Inevitably, these proliferating choices are shown to be in increasing conflict. See, e.g., CQYD 181/Xuan 2/4 Zuo, for 607 BC, which pits the people's interests against those of the ruler; or 304-5/Xiang 25/2 Zuo, for 548 BC, where loyalty might be owing either to the ruling ministerial families or to the ruler alone. The contending sources of authority naturally proliferate as soon as wealth begins to count as much as hereditary birth (e.g., CQYD 461/Ding 13/fu).
- 281 3 "...primus inter pares"—In theory, the unrighteous cannot act as hegemon. See CQYD 214/Cheng 2/Zuo 4 (Watson, 177). From the very beginning, however, it is most unclear whether the hegemon is chosen for his military might or his moral authority. See CQYD 196/Xuan 12/Zuo 3 (Watson, 88). Some commentators would fault the institution of the meng (sworn oaths). See HAG, for Duke Yin 3, 12th month. Criticism of the meng begins as early as 700 BC, when Ode 198 is cited as proof of the counterproductiveness of making treaties when the parties cannot be trusted. See CQYD 39/Huan 12/9 Zuo. It continues throughout the Zuo, appearing, for example, in CQYD 328/Xiang 29/fu viii, which dates to 544 BC.
- 281 3 "...the new realpolitik"— See, e.g., CQYD 309/Xiang 26/3 Zuo on the gap. The religious functions of head of state are performed by the Son of Heaven;; the political functions, by the hegemon. Thus the hegemonic system is as much a perversion as a promotion of "rectifying names." The hegemon in effect takes power away from an old order in return for keeping a lesser, military order. His office provides a prime example of a system moving away from ascription of roles to competition for roles. For the relation between virtue, force, and the hegemon, see Ogura Yoshihiko (1960).

- 281 3 "...a complex social order?"—The Zuo supplies numerous proofs of the hollowness of the virtue of Dukes Huan and Wen. For Duke Huan of Qi, see, e.g., CQYDD 101/Xi 9/4 Zuo; CQYD 101/Xi 9/4 Zuo, which states flatly, "The Qi ruler does not devote himself to virtue, yet he is diligent enough with regard to distant expeditions." At the battle of An, we learn that Duke Wen of Jin lacks the qualifications to serve as leader of the alliance. See CQYD 214/Cheng 2/4 Zuo. In CQYD 132/Xi 28/5 Zuo, Jin's goal is to provoke Chu into battle while parading its allegiance to ritual; cf. CQYD 136/Xi 28/23 Zuo. The hegemon's intent to use the Zhou king for their own purposes is exemplified by Duke Wen's "summoning" (zhao •1) of King Xiang to meet the feudal lords at Wen (CQYD 133/Xi 28/8 Gu). Duke Wen is anxious to appropriate for himself the auspicious omen of the "Yellow Emperor engaged in battle at Banchuan." See CQYD 125/Xi 25/fu 1.
- 281 3 "...those 'without rituals'"—CQYD 414/Zhao 25/1 Zuo, which citation begins, "Those who use virtue to surpass others will flourish,..."
- 282 1 "...order through ritual"—That the very possession of a state depends upon xin (good faith) is shown in CQZZG, pp. 558, 592, 621. The highest praise goes to Duke Huan of Qi at the Yanggu meeting (recorded in CQYD, Duke Xi 3) when he persuades other states to swear to uphold moral standards, without coercing them to undertake a solemn oath.
- 282 1 "...subordinates follow suit"—An example of a hegemon furthering private aims is provided by Duke Wen of Jin, who twice forces the Zhou king to attend interstate meetings, though he is supposedly serving the Zhou king's interests. The Zuo also makes it plain that (the future) Duke Wen of Jin preferred to fight first and use ritual later, as in the battle of Chengpu recorded in the twenty-eighth year of Duke Xi of Lu. In theory, the hegemon calls upon his allies to fight only in the interests of maintaining sociopolitical order. But one hegemon, acting out of jealousy, calls his treaty partners to war simply to put an end to a sexual liaison (CQYD 215/Cheng 2/fu i). [Soon after, Yang Zhen, "who does not deserve to be called a human being," brings his state into war and defeat because of a private grievance (CQYD 180/Xuan 2/ 1 Zuo, corresponding to 607 BC). Duke Xiang of Song, "at his first convening of a multi-state assembly,.. oppressed the rulers of two states, using one of them as a sacrifice to a ... spirit" (CQYD 389/Zhao 15/7 Zuo). Lord Zhuang of Chu persuaded his fellow lords to help him punish the crimes of Chen, but he then proceeded to make the offending state a Chu district because he coveted its wealth (CQYD 194/Xuan 11/7 Zuo). And in another episode (recorded in GY 10:124, "Jin yu 4," entry 5), Duke Wen of Jin destroys a state because its ruler had spied on him while bathing. Eric Henry (forthcoming), citing the Mencius, comments, "The very concept 'hegemon' is in part that of a ruler whose virtue is inauthentic, a ruler who uses public professions of worthy objectives as a mask for personal ambition."
- 282 1 "...in his cause"—See CQYD 241/Cheng 16/7 Zuo, for the year 575 BC. For a later story, see CQYD 305/Xiang 25/2 Zuo, for the year 548 BC.
- 282 2 "...of this malignant amorality"—As verbatim transcriptions of actual speech, the Zuo speeches are obviously problematic, being too polished, too infallible in their predictions, and too liable to record private conversations.
- 282 2 "...a particular overlord"—CQYD 157/Wen 7/fu. Very soon, all words are in doubt. A gentleman is defined as a good marksman and speechifier (CQYD 198/Xuuan 12/3 Zuo; cf. CQYD 213/Cheng 2/4 Zuo). Other conventions of honor in battle are held up to ridicule (CQYD 121/Xi 22/4 fu ii).
- 282 2 "...spectacles for viewing"—CQYD 132/Xi 28/5 Zuo.

- 282 2 "...enrich state resources"—CQYD 199/Xuan 12/3 Zuo. The duke credits war with all the charismatic power formerly attributed to virtue itself. Shusun Muzzi illustrates the disjunction between outward compliance with rituals and the Right and internal corruption, for a man of apparent probity and wisdom is later revealed as having failed in the "principal business" of the high official, selecting worthy men; apparently, unbeknown to readers of earlier entries, his household has been a byword for lawlessness and treachery for years. See CQYD 257/Xiang 4/2 Zuo; 355-56/Zhao 4./6 Zuo. Eric Henry (forthcoming), chap. 7, draws attention to Wu Chen, who plays a comparable role in the Zuo, being "an outstanding example of ... simultaneous success in the arts of rhetoric, deception, and statecraft."
- 282 2 "...are not rejected"—For virtue as victory, see CQYD 289/Xiang 19/fu ii. For disputes over the true definition of "good faith" and "courage," see, e.g., CQYD 493/Ai 16/fu iii. For disputes over "loyalty," see CQYD 310/Xiang 26/fu i. For "caring," see CQYD 302/Xiang 24/fu i. The definitions of several virtue words are debated in CQYD 445/Ding 4/16 Zuo. For passages that show equivocation or that problematize naming, see CQYD 246/Cheng 17/fu i; CQYD 304/Xiang 25/2 Zuo; CQYD 318/Xiang 27/fu iii.
- 282 2 "...generosity, or compassion"—One example of family values giving way to greed for power is Lu's considering forsaking its alliance with Jin, with whom it is tied by family links, and going over to Chu to gain advantage (CQYD 220/Cheng 4/7 Zuo).
- 282 2 "...a ludicrous move"—Members of the hegemonic system of alliance are pledged to attack any state committing immoral or illegal acts (defined as conduct contrary to the terms of the alliance). But soon treaties are kept or broken because of bribery or personal advantage. Sima Qian characterized the end of the Chunqiu period thus: "False titles flew about and oaths and agreements could not be trusted. Although men exchanged hostages and broke tallies, they still could not enforce promises" (SJ 15:685). Duke Wen of Jin is hegemon but Jin takes bribes not to call up alliance members to punish an offender. When the people of Song murder its rulers, Song's neighbors do not launch a punitive campaign against it, but instead take bribes from the regicides to desist from the attack (CQYD 178/Xuan 1/8 Zuo). Some feudal lords bring in invocators to try to scare their allies into obeying the treaties they will sign. Others advocate taking the mothers of rulers as hostages to ensure "good faith" (i.e., compliance with treaty). See, e.g., CQYD 214/Cheng 2/4 Zuo.
- 282 3 "...exercises in futility"—It is also impossible to plan rationally, for people act unpredictably. The Zuo tells us that directly. See CQYD 476/Ai 7/3 Zuo.
- 283 1 "...the ruler wants"—Cf. the argument in GY 4:52 (Lu yu A).
- 283 1 "...debauchery and decay"—A good example of this comes from CQYD 344-51/Zhao 1-3, concerning the marriage of a Qi princess to Duke Ping of Jin.>
- 283 1 "...for 'to murder'"—CQYD Ai 6/4 Zuo. Meanwhile, the Zuo labels hegemons as robber barons who punish the small-time bandits (CQYD 293/Xiang 21/2 Zuo).
- 283 1 "...on action falter"—CQYD Duke 265/Xiang 8/8 Zuo. Before long, powerful rulers like Duke Mu of Qin will not hesitate to attack even a state in mourning (CQYD 142/Xi 33/3 Zuo).
- 283 1 "...Duplicity becomes common"—Though one aspect of virtue is "being without duplicity," some speakers now label "lack of duplicity" as a crime, presumably because it offends the conventions.



- 283 1 "...their basest impulses"—Several times the Zuo quotes Ode 260, which contains the lines: "He [the ideal leader] does not insult the poor, ... the widdower or the widow." See CQYD 345/Zhao 1/11 Zuo; CQYD 445Ding 4/16 Zuo.
- 283 1 "...husbands and lovers"—Admittedly, the traditional commentators held Lady Xia herself responsible for her misfortunes, but this is not necessarily a sign of gender bias. Beautiful men are also said to "sow discord" in CQYD 294/Xiang 21/4 Zuo; and 173/Wen 16/7 Zuo.
- 283 1 "...enemies over her"—CQYD 191/Xuan 9/14 Zuo; 215/Cheng 2/fu i; 225/Cheng 7/10 Zuo; 313/Xiang 26/fu vi.
- 283 1 "...to challenge its power"—While Chu was not a member of the Central States order, its material wealth and long-standing traditions placed it far above the other "barbarian" states.
- 283 1 "...inheritors of Zhou"—See, e.g., the comments by the junzi in CQYD 282/Xiang 14/fu vi on the exemplary loyalty of the Chu prime minister Zi Nang. Cf. CQFL 3:30. Note that the inheritors of the Central States civilization often lived cheek-by-jowl with "barbarians." Supposedly, barbarian groups lack not only the proper sociopolitical and gender hierarchies but they are also motivated by profit. See the Gongyang entries for Duke Yin 7; Duke Xi 12 and 33; Duke Zhuang 10; and Duke Ai 13. The Gongyang commentary exemplifies the pervasive fear of being "barbarized" through contact with non-Chinese, and the loss of civilization built through the efforts and genius of sage-kings (culture-heroes). The Zuo demarcates barbarian from Chinese with even greater strictness, identifying the barbarians as those "whose heart/mind is necessarily different," which implies a doubt whether the barbarians are capable of civilization through education. (See Duke Cheng 4.) On the other hand, it is the Zuo that metes out praise and blame by the same Central States criteria to Duke Mu of Qin, while the Gongyang and Guliang tend to dismiss the duke as a mere barbarian. In contrast to early entries in the Zuo, which uniformly attest Chinese cultural superiority invested in knowledge and observance of the rites (e.g., CQYD 19/Yin 10/fu i), midway through the Zuo it becomes clear that some of the barbarians (for example, the Chu) seem to understand and honor moral precepts better than former members of the ZhuXia. See CQYD 229/Cheng 9/fu ii. Another entry portrays the rulers of Yue as moral exemplars (p. 845). Cf. CQYD 467/Ai 1/fu iv; CQYD 474/Ai 6/6 Zuo; and CQYD 370/Zhao 9/fu ii essentially puts the Zhou royal house and the Rong barbarians on an even footing. SJ 4:111. Wai-ye Li (1994), p. 350, makes the point that the distinction between the Chinese and barbarian states seems to "heighten the perception" of "the magnanimity or folly" of the Chinese. For the comments attributed to Confucius, see Analects 3/5; 5/6; 9/13.
- 284 1 "...among the Four Barbarians?"—CQYD 393/Zhao 17/3 Zuo.
- 284 1 "...phase of an era"—CQYD 348-49/Zhao 3/fu ii.
- 284 2 "...up all around"—LiuZJ, "Zuo shi zhuan" (index 11586).
- 284 2 "...is nearly universal?"—Earlier in the Zuo, "speeches and dramatized dialogue [that] serve to identify the right and wrong of a particular situation, and thus to justify an outcome... account for much of the material that characteristically precedes a major event, such as a battle." See Ronald Egan (1977), p. 329.
- 284 2 "...have cheated them?"—CQYD 203/Xuan 15/2 Zuo; 260/Xiang 5/6 Zuo. The entry for Duke Xuan 15, corresponding to the year 594 BC, ends with the following speech: "Duty cannot keep faith with two rulers, and good faith cannot obey two sets of orders."

- 284 2 "...lack of good faith?"—CQYD 259/Xiang 5/3 Zuo. In another dilemma, Lu accedes to unreasonable demands of Wu, which are against ritual (Wu wants Lu to give it a hundred sets of sacrificial animals, when only twelve are given to the King of Zhou.) Lu accedes out of fear, but it is then responsible for furthering the moral decline.
- 284 2 "...on [solely] by oneself?"—See, e.g., CQYD 115/Xi 19/7 Zuo; CQYD 152/Wen 5/6 Zuo; CQYD 157/Wen 7/10 Zuo. Cf. CQYD 110/Xi 15/14 Zuo, for the battle of HHan in 645 BC.
- 284 2 "...quickly from office?"—CQYD 474/Ai 6/6 Zuo shows the replacement of an excellent Chu ruler.
- 284 2 "...sections of the Zuo"—Note the apparent inability of the Zuo to decide where the blame for disaster properly lies. CQYD 110/Xi 15/15 Zuo; CQYD 2011/Xuan 13/Zuo 4, state clearly, "The evil that comes to a person has been brought on by himself." But other entries give naturalistic explanations of ill luck/good luck (e.g., CQYD 111/Xi 16/1 Zuo) or they make Heaven or the gods partly responsible (e.g., CQYD 203/Xuan 15/2 Zuo). (Extra-human factors in the early entries, by contrast, are generally discounted.)
- 285 1 "...they injure us?"—CQYD 3/1/Xiang 27/5 Zuo.
- 285 2 "...implements of battle"—E.g., CQYD 126/Xi 25/fu i, on the different role that virtue and harsh punishments play in ruling the state; cf. CQYD 196/Xuan 12/3 Zuo. See also the speech that says, "Ritual in the conduct of government is like the moistening which cools the heat" — in other words, it is a remedy or palliative no longer absolutely central to the conduct of government (CQYD 337/Xiang 31/fu ix, for 542 BC). Still another example comes from CQYD 240/Cheng 16/7 Zuo, for 575 BC, where Shenshu Shi calls "virtue, penalties, circumspection, righteousness, propriety, and good faith" the "implements of battle." Some state advisers seem to imply that it's best to reserve good faith and ritual for diplomatic exchanges, effectively excluding it from domestic policy.
- 286 2 "...of state power]"—CQYD 491-2/Ai 15/fu iii.
- 287 3 "...of communication cannot"—Such entries suggest that there is little hope, even among the wisest of the wise men, of ever reconstructing a language of community from this near-total incoherence. See CQYD 192/Xuan 10/9 Zuo.
- 287 4 "...by every rival"—Cf. Confucius's positions on punishment/war in the Analects.
- 287 4 "...by entangling them"—CQYD 10/Y in 4/4 Zuo.
- 288 1 "...hung like a thread"—SY 8/1a-1b. Cf. Dong Zhongshu's description of the Chunqiu period in terms of "thirty-six regicides and fifty-two dissolutions of states" (SJ 130:3297). Strictly speaking, only twenty-five acts are labeled regicides by the Chunqiu; the larger number is derived when the commentaries add the murders of ducal heirs and when the commentaries count the murders of three dukes of Lu (Duke Yin, Duke Huan, and Duke Min).
- 288 2 "...fair and workable"—Cf. SY 3/1a, which directly refers to Confucius's hidden meaning in the Chunqiu. The word *li* (ritual) is used nearly six hundred times in the Chunqiu and its three commentaries, suggesting that conformity with ritual should be the major preoccupation in governance. Mao Qiling therefore saw rituals as the key to understanding the Annals. See SKTY 29:69.

- 288 2 "...of benevolent rule"—The nobility is wont to utter remarks like, "I'll just exterminate those fellows and then have some breakfast." See CQYD 2111/Cheng 2/3 Zuo.
- 288 2 "...the people is he"—CQYD 180/Xuan 2/4 Zuo.
- 288 2 "...to sicken and die"—CQYD 404/Zhao 22/fu i.
- 288 2 "...burned to death"—CQYD 440/Ding 3/4 Zuo.
- 288 2 "...to have him killed"—CQYD 179-80/Xuan 4/4 Zuo.
- 288 2 "...in his own filth"—CQYD 230/Cheng 10/5 Zuo shows the humiliation of Duke Jing of Jin. As CQYD 389/Zhao 15/fu iii says, "A man will meet his end doing what he enjoys."
- 288 3 "...All-under-Heaven"—The Chunqiu commentaries are not so naive as to suggest that the elite's virtue can save the state, in the absence of practical wisdom. Duke Xiang of Song retained integrity but was so ignorant of strategy that he was finally seized by Chu (Xi 21); Bozong, a high minister of Jin, prized frankness, but his ignorance of changing times resulted in his death (Cheng 15); Shusun Bao, fond of goodness but a poor judge of people, was starved to death (Zhao 4).
- 288 3 "...or conflicting loyalties"—Cf. Analects 2/19; Waley, p. 92. CQZZG, pp. 230, 253, 265, 309, 312, 226, 339, 385, certainly argue for a clarification, even a reordering, of moral priorities. In CQYD 6-7/ Yin 3/fu ii (for 720 BC), however, Shi Que clearly knows how to prioritize responsibilities. My analysis of the Chunqiu in some respects recalls that of Sun Fu's (992-1057) commentary on the Chunqiu, which says that Confucius wrote the work to establish two constant principles of government: the need for centralized political authority and the defense of the political and cultural integrity of China against barbarian encroachment. But to me, the Zuo seems far less concerned with barbarian encroachment than with moral decline.
- 288 3 "...to imitate their betters"—For the use of sumptuary regulations and gifts to "satisfy desires," see the CQYD 332-3/Xiang 30/fu vi. In the Zuo, commoners are often more inclined to enforce sumptuary regulations than their superiors (CQYD 447/Ai 5/fu iv). Cf. the remark attributed to Confucius, cited in CQYD 217/Cheng 2/10 Zuo, for 589 BC.
- 289 1 "...enmity and blame"—CQYD367/Zhao 8/fu 1, which cites Ode 194 on the utility of good words, which allow their speakers to "dwell thereby in prosperity." Cf. CQYD 101/Xi 9/6 Zuo, which refers to Ode 256 in averring the impossibility of doing away with the ill effects of faulty speech; also CQYD 332/Xiang 30/9 Zuo, which approves the decision to expunge certain officers' names from the record, since the officers lacked good faith.
- 289 2 "...of ritual rule"—For rhetorical pieces on ritual in the last century of the Zuo, see Duke Cheng 12, the speech of Xi Zhi; Duke Cheng 13, the speech of Liu Kang; Duke Xiang 31, the speech of Beigong Wenzhi; Duke Zhao 5, the speech of Nü Shuqi; and Duke Zhao 26, speech of Yan Ying. A speech attributed to Zi Taishu in Duke Zhao 25 is almost certainly a later interpolation, according to Yuri Pines (private communication). These extended rhetorical pieces on ritual may take their model from CQYD 11-12/Yin 5/1 Zuo; 25-26/Huan 2/6 Zuo. Many narratives in the Zuo, of course, attempt to prove the conventional efficacy of taking virtue's path. To cite one example that does not concern either Zichan or Confucius, there is the story of the mission to Lu by Han Xuanzi of Jin, in which Han says, "I only now [after examining the Lu archives] understand the virtue of the Duke of Zhou and the reason why the Zhou became kings." See CQYD 346/Zhao 2/1 Zuo (Legge, 583).

- 289            "...than on force"—The primary objection to reliance on force is stated clearly in CQYD 10/Yin 4/4 Zuo, for the year 719 BC (see my main text).. CQYD 476/Ai 7/3 Zuo explains that rule by fear is completely unpredictable. Thus, when the language of consensus disappears, no one can plan wisely; also "The small serve the great only when there is xin [good faith] (ibid. 4/Zuo)
- 289    3            "...naïve as well"—HFZ 19/89, quoted with approval in XG 9, says that King Yan of Xu cultivated benevolence and righteousness but not military strength and in the end his country was destroyed.
- 289    3            "...dependable moral language"—In the Zuo, it is usually characters peripheral to the action who are farseeing. The two chief exceptions to this pattern are Zichan and Confucius.
- 289    4            "...Duke Mu of Zheng"—CQYD 264/Xiang 8/3 Zuo (Legge, 435). Note that Zichan is also known as Gongsun Qiao or Zimei. A measure of the importance that the Zuo accords to Zichan is his appearance in no fewer than fifty-four entries, most of them extensive; by comparison, the hegemon Duke Wen of Jin (638-28 BC) appears in a mere thirty entries. My remarks on Zichan owe much to a conversation with John Moffett, librarian at the Needham Research Institute in Cambridge, and to an excellent article by François Martin (1997). As will be obvious, I disagree with Martin's main conclusion, which I believe overestimates the dominance of the "tender-minded" strains in Confucian theory over more "tough-minded" strains associated with Xunzi while positing sharp distinctions between Legalists and Ru. To my mind, Martin's evidence supports quite another reading, in which the most tough-minded Ru excoriate Zichan for weakness in office while the tender-minded take him to task for supposed failures to educate the people. Martin seems to overlook (1) just how many people the "Confucian" Gongyang traditions were willing to condemn to death; (2) Confucius's approval of the statutes written by the Duke of Zhou in Lu (in CQYD 483/Ai 11/fu 2); and (3) Confucius's demonstration of his own devotion to law at Jiagu (see below). Despite my different reading of the materials, I have profited greatly from Martin's learned article. Mark Edward Lewis (1999), chap. 1, clearly shows that the sharp division between "rule by law" and "rule by ritual" is not supported by archaeological evidence from the period; excavated texts from Yunmeng and Baoshan show law and ritual were intimately bound.
- 290    1            "...ministers in Zheng"—CQYD 291/Xiang 19/11 Zuo (Legge, 483).
- 290    1            "...rank to Zichan"—CQYD 332/Xiang 30/fu 6 (Legge, 558).
- 290    2            "...to resolve them"—See CQYD 385/Zhao 13/5 Zuo (Legge, 652), said in connection with another state; CQYD 332/Xiang 30/fu 6 (Legge, 555-56). Zichan refused to take sides in the fighting, arguing that the warring parties were "both his brethren" and that "since things had come to this pass," he would follow "whomever Heaven favored" (Legge, 557).
- 290    2            "...can be secured"—CQYD 352/Zhao 4/fu i.
- 290    2            "...ancient sumptuary regulations"—CQYD 310/Xiang 26/fu 3 (Legge, 524). On two other occasions Zichan remarked that large rewards would only occasion the envy and ill-feeling of others; see ibid. 302/Xiang 24/fu 1 (Legge, 507); 365/Zhao 7/fu 1 (Legge, 617).
- 290    2            "...many missions abroad"—CQYD 335/Xiang 31/fu 3 (Legge, 564) gives Zichan's response to a foreign ruler's rudeness; ibid., 308/Xiang 25/fu 5 (Legge, 541) describes ideal interstate relations; ibid., 302/Xiang 24/fu 2 (Legge, 507) and 295-96/Xiang 22/fu ii (Legge, 495) implicitly contrast Jin's attempt to bully Zheng with the ideal conduct of the great state toward the small.
- 291    1            "...the Zhou king"—See François Martin (1997), p. 72, for an analysis of this speech.
- 291    1            "...way with words"—CQYD 308/Xiang 25/fu 5 (Legge, 516).

- 291 1 "...be dispensed with"—CQYD 336/Xiang 31/fu 3 (Legge, 565), which cites Ode 254 on the importance of correct speech.
- 291 2 "...earth, and society"—For the necessity of good faith, see CQYD 264/Xiang 8/3 Zuo (Legge, 435); for virtue as the foundation of the state, see *ibid.*, 302/Xiang 24/fu 1 (Legge, 507); for propriety as a bulwark, see *ibid.*, 331/Xiang 30/fu 7 (Legge, 557); and for li as the lead rope, see *ibid.*, 414/Zhao 25/2 Zuo (Legge, 708-9).
- 291 2 "...or contravening the proprieties"—See SJ 119:3101. For Zichan's refusal to contravene the proprieties, see CQYD 371/Zhao 10/fu (Legge, 630).
- 291 2 "...welfare of his people"—See, e.g., CQYD 395/Zhao 18/2 Zuo (Legge, 671) for Zichan's measures to reduce the people's misery after a disastrous fire, lest the other states take advantage of Zheng's calamity. See also *ibid.*, 377/Zhao 12/4 Zuo (Legge, 639) for Zichan's refusal to convenience himself and the other nobles at the expense of the common people. From the very first Zuo entries in which Zichan appears, it is clear that the common people admire him, since they contribute funds to help him (CQYD 282/Xiang 15/fu 2 [Legge, 566]).
- 291 2 "...for sagely conduct"—CQYD 336/Xiang 31/fu 7 (Legge, 566).
- 292 1 "...the jade ring"—CQYD 391/Zhao 16/fu 3 (Legge, 664).
- 292 2 "...were truly repentant"—See François Martin (1997), p. 72, fn. 25, for Zichan's reputation as a discerning judge, and CQYD 330/Xiang 30/fu 6 (Legge, 558).
- 293 1 "...take the reins?"—CQYD 333/Xiang 30/fu 6 (Legge, 558). LSCQ 4 records nearly the same songs. HSWZ 3/24 is no less laudatory about Zichan's administration. For the trope of Zichan as doctor for the state's ills, see Tsuda Sôkichi (1958), pp. 249f. See *ibid.*, pp. 250ff. , on problems with the chronology of Zichan's administration.
- 293 2 "...inadequacies as a leader"—Zichan's modesty appears as well in his admission of his rusticity, made to smooth the ruffled feathers of Jin's minister, SShuxiang, in CQYD 360/Zhao 6/fu 1 (Legge, 608-9).
- 293 2 "...the body politic"—CQYD 335/Xiang 31/fu iii (Legge, 556); 347/Zhao 2/3 Zuo (Legge, 584). Cf. XinX 11-21, p. 67; also François Martin (19997), p. 81.
- 293 3 "...from the ancients"—CQYD 403/Zhao 20/fu 7 (Legge, 684). SJ 119:3101 reports that the old people who had known Zichan's administration for twenty-six years sobbed, "To whom will the people turn?"
- 293 3 "...confronted disaster again"—For a flattering portrait of Zichan's administration, see SY 7/6b; SJ 67/1b. Duke Ai, successor to Zichan's ruler, Duke Shenng, was assassinated by a subject in 455 BC. Under Duke Yu (r. 424-423 BC), the state was defeated by Han, and thereafter Zheng operated virtually as Han's client state until Han destroyed it in 375 BC.
- 293 3 "...harmonizing interstate relations"—Mencius 3A.
- 293 4 "...portrait of the Sage"—The Zuo entries are Zhao 7/6 Zuo; Ding 1/5 Zuo; Ding 10/3 Zuo; Ding 12/2 Zuo; Ai 3/3 Zuo; Ai 12/2 Zuo; Ai 14/11 Zuo; Ai 15/ffu 3; Ai 16/4 Zuo. Of these entries, Ding 1 is somewhat suspect; the information that Confucius is now sikou seems to have been clumsily appended to another entry on the funeral cortege of the Duke of Lu. Fewer entries in the Gongyang and Guliang treat Confucius; the Chunqiu classic (jing) records only the birth and death dates of Confucius . See Duke Xiang 29/9; Duke Ai 16/4.

- 294 1 "...their rightful places"—CQYD 366/Zhao 7/6 Zuo. Meng Xizi's search for a ritual master like Confucius reflected his own distress that he had been unable, on a state visit to Chu in 535 BC, to preside over court rituals there.
- 294 2 "...the dukes of Lu"—CQYD 438/Ding 1/5 Zuo (Legge, 745). Later legend inflated the importance of the post of *sikou*, so that Confucius became Minister of Justice in Lu. This directly contradicts Confucius's own statement that he ranked below the state counselors. See above and below.
- 297 1 "...in the covenant"—CQYD 455-56/Ding 10/3 Zuo. The account of Confucius's exemplary role at Jiagu is further amplified in the Shiji biography of Confucius (SJ 47) and in KZJY 1/2a-3b.
- 297 3 "...to Confucius's earlier speech]"—CQYD 456/Ding 10/3 Zuo. Tsuda Sôkichi (1958), pp. 223ff., provides an excellent analysis of this Zuo account as it compares with the Guliang traditions.
- 298 2 "...he names it"—CQYD 488/Ai 14/1 Zuo. Cf. SJ 47:1912, in which Confucius correctly identifies the contents of an excavated earthen jar as the remains of a buried sheep, on the basis of his knowledge of ancient traditions; GY 5:73 ("Lu yu B"), where Confucius identifies the source of a giant bone uncovered by a landslide at Kuaiji; and CQYD 111/Xi 16/1 Gu, where Confucius identifies and interprets the portent of the waterbirds. HSWZ 5/5 defines the Great Classicist (da Ru) as someone able, "when outlandish creatures or strange transformations ... suddenly come to light somewhere ... to produce a comprehensive category [of naming] to account for them." The same impulse informs all such stories: the desire to identify Confucius as a man whose extraordinary perspicacity makes him the magical master of naming. Cf. GZ 3:69, which says, "Therefore, the sage makes his body tranquil and waits for things. When a thing comes, then he names it. If correct names are employed, then things will naturally be in good order; if perverted names are employed, things will naturally be in a state of collapse" (trans. after John Makeham [1991], I, 143); and HNZ 10/1a, which says: "When things come, he names them; when affairs present themselves, he responds." The sage-ruler by his godlike illumination (shenming) is capable of apprehending the essential nature of things and, based on those essential qualities, then devising an appropriate name." Similar stories with the same purpose are told in the Zuo about Zichan. See Tsuda Sôkichi (1958), pp. 233f.
- 298 2 "...return safely home"—CQYD 492/Ai 15/fu iii. Voltaire would have been appalled, for it was he who said, "I admire Confucius. He was the first [great] teacher not to deceive divine illumination."
- 298 2 "...of the ministerial clans"—CQYD 459/Ding 12/10 Zuo.
- 298 3 "...assassinated his ruler"—The Chens, of course, become the Tians, who before long supplant the Jiang as rulers of Qi.
- 298 3 "...silent about this"—CQYD 490/Ai 14/11 Zuo.
- 299 2 "...peer in the empire"—FY 3:8.
- 299 3 "...roles in society"—CQYD 483/Ai 11/fu ii. Confucius, of course, would have them model themselves on the Duke of Zhou's behavior.
- 299 3 "...nobility of failure"—It is the Chunqiu and its commentaries, especially the Gongyang, that promote the idea of the nobility of failure. E.g., CQYD 56/Zhuang 9/6 Gong.
- 300 1 "...erred in this"—CQYD 492-3/Ai 16/4 Zuo; Legge, p. 846.

- 300 2 "...Nearly without exception"—Admittedly, Confucius's disciple Sima Niu does not acquit himself particularly well in CQYD 489-90/Ai 14/10 Zuo, but his mottive is unclear.
- 300 2 "...territory for Lu"—CQYD 491/Ai 15/7 Zuo; cf. CQYD 484/Ai 12/4 Zuo.
- 300 2 "...his absolute trustworthiness"—See, CQYD 492/Ai 15/fu iii: Zilu is willing to die for his master "since he has eaten his salary." Cf. 488/Ai 14/3 Zuo, wherre Zilu refuses to give Yi his promise, since he is engaged in traitorous activity.
- 301 1 "...capture a unicorn"—The qilin, according to the Shuowen, the earliest extant dictionary in China (compiled AD 100), symbolizes benevolence, since it refuses to use its fleshy horn. It has the body of a horse or antelope and the tail of an ox. The unicorn symbol was reworked in popular legends, which say that before Confucius was born, his mother went to Ni Mountain to pray for a son. His elder brother, Mengpi, had deformed feet, disqualifying him from officiating at sacrificial ceremonies, so a second son was needed. On her return home, a unicorn appeared in the courtyard and spat a silken scroll from its mouth. The scroll read, "A star from Heaven has come to earth to promote the vigor of the Zhou dynasty." When Confucius was born, his parents named him Zhongni (Second Son Ni). Music floated down from heaven and five immortals descended sedately from the clouds. One of them proclaimed, "Heaven gives birth to a sage; music descends from the skies." For these stories, see the CIS apocrypha, also Thomas Wilson (forthcoming); and DeWoskin and Crump. Note that the appearance of the qilin omen in the Chunqiu contrasts with the lack of omens accorded Confucius in Analects 9/8.
- 301 1 "...has shown itself"—KZJY, whose account is in substantial agreement with Gongyang traditions.
- 301 1 "...of a great state"—CQYD 478/CQYD Ai 8/2 Zuo.
- 301 2 "...events in China"—According to Queli 6/1a, within two years of the death of Confucius, the state of Lu had set aside the work of a hundred houuseholds to support temple sacrifices to the Master. According to SJ 47:1945, which may be no more trustworthy, "The people of Lu held annual sacrifices at Kongzi's grave mound.... Later generations have without interruption stored his clothes, cap, zither, carriage, and texts in the temple there for these more than two hundred years."
- 301 2 "...to the Han"—He Xiu 28/6a.
- 302 1 "...have my wish"—Translation after Stephen Owen (1986), p. 11, citing the Zuo for the year 515 BC.
- 302 2 "...early Zhou rulers"—Contra Herrlee Creel (1970). See Edward Shaughnessy (1991). The current archaeological record for China suggests that the eearly Western Zhou rulers held tenuous sway over the surrounding local peoples. Zhou culture was largely confined to key administrative seats, which functioned like islands in a sea of less materially advanced cultures.
- 302 2 "...form of war"—See David Wong (1984), chap. 9, which argues that what the Zuo really condemns is the transition from a virtue- or rites-cenntered morality to a more contractual (i.e., rights-centered) morality. Regarding the increased contacts: In the eighth century BC, the average mission from Lu traveled 112 miles; by late sixth century, the average mission traveled 454 miles. See Hsü Cho-yün (1965), pp. 35-59. For more on the cultural diffusion of burial rituals, see Jessica Rawson (forthcoming). The dramatic growth in such cultural exchanges may explain why the Chunqiu exegesis seeks to define differences between "barbarian" and ZhuXia or Central States culture. He Xiu, the Eastern Han exegete, defined the different stages of acculturation primarily in terms of mourning rituals and other status indicators. See Pu Weizhong (1995), chap. 2, sect. 3.

- 302 3 "...be indelibly altered"—Archaeological proof comes from the 1976 excavation at Yanxiang Paqitun of preimperial Qin graves in which the burials of nobility conformed closely with the ritual prescriptions ascribed to the Zhou. See Lin Jianming (1981), p. 64; Han Wei (1986). Archaeology also shows that the repertoire of bronze vessels buried in Central States aristocratic tombs changed considerably over time, in ways that suggest that the Central States culture was being modified by its contacts with the "barbarians."
- 303 1 "...of successful statesmanship"—The Gongyang tradition divides the Chunqiu into three discrete parts ("Three Ages") distinguished by Confucius's choice of language: events that Confucius directly witnessed (during the reigns of Dukes Zhao, Ding, and Ai); those he had heard from eyewitnesses (during the reigns of Dukes Wen, Xuan, Cheng, and Xiang); and those known only through transmitted records (during the reigns of Dukes Yin, Huan, Zhuang, Min, and Xi). See Stephen Owen (1986), p. 10, for the phrase "elegaic Zhou." (The historian Ernest Renan (1823-92) once wrote that the most important precondition for forging a strong sense of a national past is forgetting a great deal of history.) Note also that the Chunqiu portrayal of Confucius differs somewhat from that of the Analects, where Confucius seems far more preoccupied with self-cultivation, on the assumption that governing comes naturally to the cultivated man.
- 303 1 "...by classical principles"—The description of the feudal states inhabitants comes from Gu Jiegang (1930?); XinS 1/4a; 1/3b.
- 303 2 "...unified under Han"—According to Thomas Metzger (1990), this tendency to regard history as a teleological process moving toward a good end (i.e., the ultimate merging of all cultures on the basis of universally valid ends) is as typical of Chinese intellectuals today as it was of Gongyang specialists in Han.
- 303 2 "...for Han rulers"—See Qian Mu (1942), p. 9. Wang Chong called the Chunqiu the "classic of the [Han] dynasty," meaning that it both predicted and guided the Han. See LH 61:411 (Forke, II, 277); and Wang's statement, "The Five Classics are also [not unlike the edicts issued by the royal house] that upon which the Han ruling house is established" (LH 34:249). Cf. He Xiu, commentary to Duke Ai 14. Jia Kui in Eastern Han supported his advocacy of the Zuo by pointing out that it alone among the classics can be construed as saying that the Liu clan were descended from the ancient sage-king Yao. Pi Xirui (1907), p. 121, gives further information.
- 303 2 "...of dynastic succession)"—See Pu Weizhong (1995), chap. 2, sect. 4, on the commentaries' analysis of what constitutes a barbarian. On da yitong, see *ibid.*, chap. 2. On zhengtong throughout Asia, see Zhu Yunying (1981). On the importance of culturalism, see Joseph Levenson (1965), I, 40-43, 98-100.
- 304 1 "...or confusing wording]"—The entire definition of the Great Peace comes from He Xiu's subcommentary to Duke Yin 1. Classicists in Song, most importantly Sun Fu and Hu Anguo, expanded this idea, relating the Chunqiu to the Li yun chapter of the Liji. For more on the latter work, see chapter 4 of this book. Note also that for Kang Youwei the character *ping* encompassed legal, social, and gender equality, as well as "peace." For further information in English on the Three Ages, see Hsiao Kung-ch'uan (1979), pp. 124-42. For Kang, see chapter 7 of this book.
- 304 2 "...precedents from them"—LJ 26/1; trans. differs from Legge, II, 256. This translation tries to capture the two senses of the verb *bi* (1) to compare; and so (2) to make or apply precedents.
- 304 2 "...the prefectural officials"—CQJY, in MGH, II, 1180.
- 304 2 "...brought to trial"—CQJY, in MGH, II, 1180-81.



- 304 2 "...and social rank"—Dong was also drawing here upon the Documents tradition (see chapter 3). But he was clearly departing from Qin precedents, which reportedly did not take into account the intention of the agent(s).
- 305 1 "...with aristocratic rebels"—On treason, for example, the Chunqiu masters' verdicts were extremely harsh. Consequently, the Han emperors appointed Chunqiu masters as jurists on key treason trials, such as those of the King of Huainan (in early Western Han) and of the King of Chu (in early Eastern Han).
- 305 2 "...of evil acts"—A statement often repeated in Han texts (e.g., the LH), which reflects CQYD 19/Yin 10/4 Gong.
- 305 2 "...for the dynasties"—Especially from the Song period onward, scholar-officials, (e.g., Ouyang Xiu) experimented with writing histories in the Chunqiu style. See James Liu (1967), esp. pp. 100-113.
- 306 1 "...lasting Great Peace?"—For talk of oppositional history, see Walter Benjamin (1969), p. 256.
- 306 2 "...to religious salvation"—Another stimulus to seeking fame was filial piety, a pre-Confucian notion carried over into Confucian teachings. According to early texts, including the Mencius, the filial son works to raise his rank in order to reflect glory on his parents. His achievement plus the filial piety that inspired it would earn him a place in history.
- 306 2 "...history continuously transmitted"—Friedrich Nietzsche defined fame as "the belief in the solidarity and continuity of the greatness of all ages and a protest against ... transitoriness of all things." See Nietzsche (1874), p. 69.
- 306 2 "...destination is different"—"Yao" ms. from Mawangdui trans. in Donald Harper (1977).
- 306 2 "...in the book"—TPYL 472/3a is one of several editions that identify the rich person as a merchant; they also amend the figure of ten million cash to one hundred thousand cash.
- 306 2 "...no reason at all' ?"—LH 61:413; Forke, II, 279.
- 306 3 "...co-prosperity sphere"—Zhou Yutong (1926), p. 15. See Joshua Fogel (1984) for the remanufactured form of Confucian tradition that served Japanese fascism.