

## **China 560s BC**

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1h6GCaDKY255kQX5AwAWZLFQSDg2PuymEsRmVTzidy6g/edit?usp=sharing>

This episode will be different from our other China ones as I've found the Annals of Lu which go year by year and point by point - similar to the Babylonian Chronicles. More on that in a bit but first our Lao Tzu quote from the Tao te Ching:

**Colors blind the eye  
Sounds deafen the ear  
Flavors numb the taste  
Thoughts weaken the mind  
Desires wither the heart**

**The master observes the world,  
But trusts his inner vision.  
He allows things to come and go.  
His heart is open as the sky**

We need space to see, silence to hear, etc. If the senses are cluttered with objects they lose their acuteness and decay. Once the heart lets go of desires it naturally overflows with love.

Observing things without judgment. Whatever happens is all right.  
The sky holds lots of things like the moon, sun, clouds, rain, snow.... Because it doesn't care which or when... it has room for them all.

[https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vinegar\\_tasters](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vinegar_tasters)



The three men are dipping their fingers in a vat of vinegar and tasting it; Confucius reacts with a sour expression, Buddha reacts with a bitter expression, and Lao Tzu reacts with a sweet expression. Each man's expression represents the predominant attitude of his philosophy: Confucianism saw life as sour, in need of rules to correct the degeneration of people; Buddhism saw life as bitter, dominated by pain and suffering due to the attachment to possessions and material desires; and Taoism saw life as sweet due to it being fundamentally perfect in its natural state.

Another interpretation of the painting is that, since the three men are gathered around one vat of vinegar, the "three teachings" are one.

### Chinese human sacrifice

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1-GhKc7m4hNaYzqAJ0AsTMjv4BcupahrpWCoeyM\\_1yVQ/edit?usp=sharing](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1-GhKc7m4hNaYzqAJ0AsTMjv4BcupahrpWCoeyM_1yVQ/edit?usp=sharing)

<https://www.sixthtone.com/news/1012136>

And this article says the symbol/word MAO may reflect human sacrifice - in the form of the Viking "Blood Eagle".

Is it a coincidence that Dan is descended from Vikings and my name starts with MAO (and my daughter just goes by Mao), IDK I'm just asking questions

## Chinese human sacrifice

Opinion

Why the rewriting of China's history 3,000 years ago still matters today

Confucius uncovered the truth of the Shang dynasty but agreed with King Wen and the Duke of Zhou to cover up disturbing facts

Beijing's claimed triumph over Covid-19, for instance, may not echo with all who endured the draconian quarantines

Published: 7:00am, 25 Apr, 2023

A book written about Chinese history 3,000 years ago has become an unlikely bestseller. In **Revelation**, or Jian Shang in Mandarin, historian Li Shuo concluded, through the study of oracle bone scripts and archaeological discoveries, that the Shang Dynasty in the early bronze age had embraced brutal cannibalism and human sacrifices. Further, the book describes how that part of the country's dark history was rewritten by the succeeding Zhou Dynasty, which overthrew Shang in 1,046 BC. According to the book, the Shang rulers believed in day-to-day intervention by gods in human life and offered human flesh to the heavens like the Aztecs did – prisoners of war, slaves and tribal leaders were tortured and slaughtered to “celebrate” occasions such as building a new house or commemorating a deceased noble. The founding father of the Zhou Dynasty, King Wen, lost a son in a brutal sacrifice and started to question the rituals. His other son King Wu overthrew Shang's rule, and came up with a new ritual system so that people would forget about the human sacrifices.

Pause. ....

Li's book is eye-opening in many ways as it sheds new light on the roots of Chinese culture. The way of life and ideology employed in the Shang Dynasty was covered up by Zhou and lost for later Chinese generations. The book provides a plausible explanation as to how and why it happened, hence the English title Revelation.

As part of the Shang-Zhou transition, the church retreated from Chinese state affairs at a very early stage and Chinese politics has no representation for priests.

To this day Chinese are not religious

Confucius, the great Chinese philosopher born five centuries after the collapse of Shang, uncovered the truth of the Shang dynasty but agreed with King Wen and the Duke of Zhou to cover up disturbing facts with a unified narrative. Confucius further put these coded messages into the classic texts that formed the origins of Chinese beliefs and society's moral compass.

The famous Confucius quote of “do not do to others what you would not have them do to you”, for instance, is a subtle but strong warning against any resurrection of human sacrifices.

### *Chinese plain in the late Spring and Autumn period (5th century BC)*



Last time in China we had the Battle of Yanling which Jin defeated Chu and regained their hegemony over the other states.

### **THE SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS - “The Chunqiu”**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spring\\_and\\_Autumn\\_Annals](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spring_and_Autumn_Annals)

“The Annals” is the official chronicle of the State of Lu, and covers 241-years from 722 to 481 BC. It is the earliest surviving Chinese historical text to be arranged in annals form. Because it was traditionally regarded as having been compiled by Confucius (after a claim to this effect by Mencius), it was included as one of the Five Classics of Chinese literature.

I’m going to post everything in the notes so you can see for yourselves and let me know if you want to hear more or less detail going forward...

here is a brief overview of the content, then I’ll go through it.

襄公 879 Lord Xiang (572–542 bce) The previous section ends with the assassination of Lord Li of Jin and a laudatory account of how the judicious appointments made by the new Jin ruler, the fourteen-year-old Lord Dao (r. 573–558), allow him to regain the status of overlord. The first half of the period covered here can be read as an account of Jin resurgence. Unlike earlier Jin overlords who sought legitimation through Zhou blessings (Lord Wen in Xi 28.3h, 28.9; Lord Xiang in Wen 1.5), Lord Dao focuses on achieving peace with the Rong tribes, which according to his adviser Wei Jiang will result in the princes being “awed into submission” (Xiang 4.7).

In a reversal of a covenant chief’s supposed duty to defend the Zhou house and fend off the barbarians, Jin arrests a Zhou envoy seeking Jin help against Rong incursions (Xiang 5.2). The exchange between Lord Dao and Wei Jiang on the symbolic power of music implies that the most visible token of Jin’s achievement as covenant chief is the gift of chariots, musicians, and sets of bells and chime-stones that Zheng offers to Jin (Xiang 11.5).

In fact, Zheng’s submission during these years is at best intermittent, and Zheng remains torn between Chu and Jin in various policy debates (Xiang 2.5, 8.7, 9.8, 11.2). Zheng and Jin publicly argue over the terms of Zheng allegiance during the swearing of a covenant oath (Xiang 9.5), and at one point Jin gives up the siege of Zheng as the Jin minister Zhi Ying acknowledges that Jin has no right to punish Zheng, since it “can neither stop Chu nor protect Zheng”

(Xiang 10.11). Lu and Song remain loyal Jin allies, although Jin needs to confirm Song allegiance through the gift of the settlement of Biyang (Xiang 10.2). Qi reluctantly complies with Jin pressure (Xiang 3.3), while Wu defies Jin outright (Xiang 3.5). Even temporary sway over Chen, a Chu ally, arouses anxiety among Jin ministers (Xiang 4.1, 5.9). A Qin-Chu coalition invades Jin and meets with little resistance (Xiang 9.4). In retaliation for its defeat by Qin at Li (Xiang 11.6), Jin leads its allies in a disastrous Lord Xiang 881 “Campaign of Changes and Procrastinations” (Xiang 14.3).

Jin military operations during these years are characterized by indecisiveness and contention among its leaders and merely half-hearted support from its allies (Xiang 9.5, 10.2, 10.11, 14.3).

Juxtaposed with these signs of weakness and division are categorical descriptions of good government in Jin and of its leaders' virtues (Xiang 9.4, 9.9, 13.3). The idea of Jin resurgence seems to be an attempt on the part of the Zuozhuan compiler (or one of its compilers) to wrest moments of triumph from a mixed record.

**LEAVE THIS OUT** Toward the end of Lord Dao's reign, Jin faces a new challenge with Qi disaffection (Xiang 14.10). Lord Ling of Qi (r. 581–554), though mocked for cowardice (Xiang 18.3), extinguishes the small domain of Lai to its east (Xiang 6.7) and also pursues an aggressive policy against Jin's ally Lu (Xiang 15.5, 16.4, 17.3, 18.3). Jin's campaign against Qi attains high drama when its commander Zhonghang Yan dreams of disputing a court case with, and being decapitated by, Lord Li of Jin (Xiang 18.3), whom he had murdered eighteen years earlier (Cheng 18.1). The meanings of the dream are fulfilled in the Jin victory at Pingyin (Xiang 18.3) and Zhonghang Yan's own death (Xiang 19.1). Qi-Jin conflicts continue despite peace agreements (Xiang 19.12, 20.2), and Qi offers refuge to Luan Ying and his followers, who are persecuted by the Fan lineage in Jin (Xiang 21.8, 22.3). Relations deteriorate further after Qi attacks Wei and Jin (Xiang 23.4) and moves toward an alliance with Chu (Xiang 24.5, 24.8). It is only with the assassination of Lord Zhuang of Qi, who was largely responsible for Qi's aggression against Jin, that Qi and Jin achieve a more lasting peace (Xiang 25.3). By this time there is also a more comprehensive effort to halt military conflict between Jin and Chu and their respective allies. First mentioned by the Jin minister Zhao Wu (Xiang 25.7) and noted by the...

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"The Annals" is the official chronicle of the State of Lu, and covers 241-years from 722 to 481 BC. It is the earliest surviving Chinese historical text to be arranged in annals form.[1] Because it was traditionally regarded as having been compiled by Confucius (after a claim to this effect by Mencius), it was included as one of the Five Classics of Chinese literature.

### **III. Third year. 569 BC**

1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, the Gongzi Yingqi of Chu led a force and invaded Wu.

2. The duke went to Jin.
3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Renxu, the duke and the marquis of Jin made a covenant in Changchu.
4. The duke arrived from Jin.
5. In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Shan, the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the viscount of Ju, the viscount of Zhu, and Guang, heir-son of Qi; and on Jiwei they made a covenant together at Jize.
6. The marquis of Chen sent Yuan Qiao to be present at the meeting.
7. On Wuyin, Shusun Bao, and the great officers of the various princes, made a covenant with Yuan Qiao of Chen.
8. In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.
9. In winter, Xun Ying of Jin led a force, and invaded Xu. - (Very small state)

#### COMMENTARY

**Par. 1.** We have here the commencement of those hostilities between Chu and Wu, which did more than all the power of the northern States to repress the growth of Chu. Jin had fostered the jealousy and ambition of Wu, until Chu saw that the most prudent course for itself was to take the initiative in making war.

The Zhuan says:—'This spring, Zichong of Chu invaded Wu with an army selected for the purpose. He subdued Jiuzi, and proceeded as far as mount Heng. Thence he sent Deng Liao to make an incursion into the country, with a force of 300 men, wearing buff-coats lacquered as if made of strings, and 3,000, whose coats were covered with silk. The people of Wu intercepted and attacked him. Deng Liao himself was taken, and of the men who wore buff-coats looked as if made of strings only 80 escaped, and of the others only 300. Zichong had returned [to Ying]; and three days after he had drunk his arrival [in the ancestral temple], the people of Wu invaded Chu, and took Jia. Jia was a good city, as Deng Liao was a good officer of Chu. Superior men observed that what Zichong gained in this expedition was not equal to what he lost. The people of Chu on this account blamed Zichong, who was so much distressed, that he fell into mental trouble, and died.'

Parr. 2—4. Zuo says that this court-visit was made as being proper on the duke's accession to the State. Of course the child was in the hands of his ministers, and did as they directed him. His guide at this time was Zhongsun Mie. As the duke had gone to the capital of Jin, and the name of the place where the marquis and he covenanted is given, it is supposed by Du that the

latter had courteously left the city, and met his young guest outside. Hence Yingda says that Changchu was a place near the wall of the capital of Jin.

The Zhuan says:—'At the covenant in Changchu, Meng Xianzi directed the duke, who bowed with his head to the ground. Zhi Wuzi said, "The son of Heaven is alive; and for your ruler to bow his head to the ground before him makes my ruler afraid." Xianzi replied, "Considering how our poor State stands there in the east, in proximity to our enemies, all our ruler's hope is in yours;—dare he but bow his head to the ground?"'

[The Zhuan appends here:—'Qi Xi (see the Zhuan after VIII. xviii. 3) asked leave to resign his office on account of age. The marquis of Jin asked him about his successor, and he recommended Xie Hu, who was his enemy. Hu, however, died, as he was about to be appointed, and the marquis consulted Xi again. He replied, "Wu (his own son) may do." About the same time Yangshe Zhi died, and the marquis asked Xi who should take his place, when he replied, "Chi (Zhi's son) will do." Accordingly Qi Wu was appointed tranquilizer of the army of the centre, and Yangshe Zhi assistant to him.

The superior man will say that Qi Xi thus showed himself capable of putting forward good men. He recommended his enemy;—evidently no flatterer; he got his own son appointed;—but from no partiality; he advanced his subordinate;—but with no partizanship. One of the Books of Shang (Shu, V. iv. 14) says,

"Without partiality, and without deflection, Broad and long is the royal path;" —words which may be applied to Qi Xi. Xie Hu, was recommended; Qi Wu got his position; and Bohua (Yangshe Chi) got his office:—in the filling up of one office three things were accomplished. He was indeed able to put forward good men. Good himself, he could put forward those who were like him. The ode (Shi, II. vi. ode X. 4) says,

"They have the ability, And right is it their actions should show it;"—so was it with Qi Xi!].

**Par. 5** Jize was in Jin,—in the north east of the pres. dep. of Guangping, Zhili. The Zhuan says:—'In consequence of the submission of Zheng, and wishing to cultivate the friendship of Wu, Jin proposed to call a meeting of the States, and therefore [the marquis] sent Shi Gai to inform Qi, saying, "My ruler has sent me, because of the difficulties of every year, and the want of preparation against evils that may arise, [to say that] he wishes to have an interview with his brethren, to consult about the case of States that are not in harmony with us, and begs your lordship to come to it. He has sent me to beg a covenant with you." The marquis of Qi wanted to refuse, but felt the difficulty of appearing to be among the discordant, and made a covenant [with Gai], beyond the Er. In the 6th month, the duke met duke Qing of Shan and the various princes; and on Jiwei they made a covenant together at Jize. The marquis of Jin sent Xun Hui to meet the viscount of Wu on the Huai, who, however, did not come [to the meeting].'

Most of the critics condemn this covenant on the ground that it was derogatory to the king to associate his representative, the viscount of Shan, in it. Du, however, and others think the



viscount may have been specially commissioned to take part in it, to establish the leadership of duke Dao among the States. The heir-son of Qi was a hostage in Jin (see on i. 2), and was therefore present at the meeting.

Parr. 6, 7. Here is another proof that the power of Chu had received a check, and that the States which had adhered to it were now seeking the alliance of Jin. The Zhuan says: —'Zixin of Chu, being made chief minister of the State, was exorbitant in his desire [for bribes] from the small States. [In consequence], duke Cheng of Chen sent Yuan Qiao to the meeting [of the States], to seek for reconciliation and peace. The marquis of Jin made He Zufu inform the princes of it. In the autumn, Shusun Bao and the great officers of the [other] States made a covenant with Yuan Qiao;—on Chen's thus begging to tender its submission.' No stress is to be laid on the two 及 in p. 7, as Gu and Gong would do.

[The Zhuan appends here:—'Yanggan, a brother of the marquis of Jin, having thrown the ranks into confusion at Quliang (near Jize), Wei Jiang (marshal of the army of the centre) executed his charioteer. The marquis was angry, and said to Yangshe Chi, "We assembled the States for our glory, and now this execution has been done on Yanggan; —the disgrace is extreme. You must put Wei Jiang to death without fail." Chi replied, "Jiang is not a man of double purpose. He will avoid no difficulty in the service of his ruler, and will evade no punishment due to any offense he may commit. He will be here to state his case; why should you send such an order about him?" When he had done, Wei Jiang arrived, gave a written statement to one of the [marquis's] attendants, and was about to fall upon his sword, but was stopped by Shi Fang and Zhang Lao. The marquis read the statement, which said, "Formerly, being in want of servants, you gave to me this office of marshal. I have heard that in a host submission to orders is the soldier's duty, and that when the business of the army may require the infliction of death, not to shrink from inflicting it is the officer's reverential duty. Your lordship had assembled the States, and I dared not but discharge my reverential duty. If your lordship's soldiers had failed in their duty, and your officers in theirs, the offence would have been extreme. I was afraid that the death which I should incur would also extend to Yanggan; I do not dare to escape from the consequences of guilt, for I was unable to give the necessary instructions previously, and proceeded to use the axe. My offence is heavy, and I dare not shrink from accepting the due, so as to enrage your mind. Allow me to return, and die at the hands of the minister of Crime."

The duke ran out barefoot, saying, "I spoke out of my love for my brother; you punished in accordance with military law. I was not able to instruct my brother, which made him violate your great orders;—that was my fault; do not you render it still heavier. Let me presume to request this of you." The marquis [now] considered that Wei Jiang was able by his use of punishments to aid [in the govt. of] the people. When then they returned from the service, he gave him a feast of ceremony, and made him assistant-commander of the new army]. Zhang Lao was made marshal of the army of the centre, and Shi Fu was made scout-master.'

There follows another brief notice:—'The Gongzi Heji, minister of War of Chu, made an incursion into Chen, because of the revolt of that State.'

Par. 9. The Zhuan says:——'Duke Ling of Xu adhered to Chu, and was not present at the meeting in Jize. In winter Zhi Wuzi of Jin led a force, and invaded Xu.'

#### IV. Fourth year. 568

1. In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Wu, marquis of Chen, died.
2. In summer, Shusun Bao went to Jin.
3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Wuzi, [duke Cheng's] wife, the lady Si, died.
4. There was the burial of duke Cheng of Chen.
5. In the eighth month, on Xinhai, we buried our duchess, Ding Si.
6. In winter, the duke went to Jin.
7. A body of men from Chen laid siege to the capital of Dun.

#### COMMENTARY

Par. 1. The Zhuan says:——'This spring, the army of Chu, in consequence of the revolt of Chen, was still in Fanyang. Han Xianzi was troubled about it, and said in the court [of Jin], "When king Wen led on the revolted States of Yin to serve Zhou, he knew the time. It is different now with our course. Alas!" In the 3d month, duke Cheng of Chen died; and when the people of Chu, who were then about to invade Chen, heard of the event, they stayed their movement. Nevertheless, the people of Chen would not hearken to Chu's commands. When Zang Wuzhong heard of it, he said, "Chen, thus refusing to submit to Chu, is sure to perish. When a great State behaves with courteous consideration, not to submit to it would be deemed blameworthy in [another] great State; how much more must it be deemed so in a small one!" In summer, Peng Ming of Chu made an incursion into Chen, because of the want of propriety which Chen had manifested.' The Kangxi editors are indignant at the remarks which Chu's persistence in attacking Chen elicited from the two statesmen of Jin and Lu. Now, they think, was the time to have taken the field in force against Chu.

Par. 2. Zuoshi thinks this visit of Bao to Jin was in return for that of Xun Ying in the 1st year; but that courtesy of Jin had been already more than responded to. We do not know what now took Bao to Jin.

The Zhuan says:——'Mushu went to Jin, in return for the friendly mission of Zhi Wuzi. The marquis gave him an entertainment; and when the bells gave the signal, [there were sung] three pieces of the Sixia, but he made no bow in acknowledgment. The musicians then sang the first three pieces in the first Book of the Greater odes of the kingdom; but neither did he bow in acknowledgment of these. They sang finally the first three pieces in the 1st Book of the Minor

odes, in acknowledgment of which he bowed three times. Han Xianzi sent the internuncius Ziyuan to him, saying, "You have come by the command of your ruler to our poor State. We have received you with the ceremonies appointed by our former rulers, adding the accompaniment of music. Where the honour was the greatest, you overlooked it; and where it was the least, you acknowledged it:—I presume to ask by what rules of propriety you were guided." The envoy replied, The first three pieces were those proper to an occasion when the son of Heaven is entertaining a chief among the princes; I did not presume to seem as if I heard them. The second three were those proper to the music at an interview between two princes; I did not presume to appear as if I had to do with them. But in the first of the last three, your ruler was complimenting mine;—I could not but presume to acknowledge the compliment. In the second, your ruler was cheering me for the toil of my embassy;—I dared not decline deeply to acknowledge [his kindness]. In the third, your ruler was instructing me, and telling me to be prosecuting my inquiries among the good. I have heard that to inquire about goodness is [the proper] questioning; to inquire about relative duties is [the proper] seeking for information; to inquire about propriety is [the proper] deliberation; to inquire about governmental affairs is [the proper] consultation; to inquire about calamities is [the proper] devising:—thus I obtained five excellent instructions, and I dared not but deeply to acknowledge [the favour]."

Parr. 3, 5. Here Gongyang makes the surname of the lady to have been 弋 and not 嬖. It is plain from the Zhuan that she was the mother of duke Xiang. The death of duke Cheng's wife—Qi Jiang—appears in the second year. The Si could only have been a concubine; yet she appears here as if she had been his wife, and was buried as such. The Kangxi editors cannot help calling attention to this impropriety, and they suppose that the entries were made just to call attention to it! The whole thing is the more remarkable, as it appears from the Zhuan that it was not thought necessary at first to bury Ding Si with any distinguished ceremonies at all. It says:—"In autumn, Ding Si died, and [it was proposed] that her coffin should not be carried into the ancestral temple on occasion of her interment; that there should be no [double] coffin; and that the subsequent ceremony of lamentation should be omitted. The artificer Qing said to Ji Wenzhi, "You are our chief minister, and in making the funeral rites of the duchess thus incomplete, you are not doing your duty to our ruler. When he is grown up, who will receive the blame?"

'Before this, Jisun had planted for himself six jia trees in the Pu orchard outside the east gate. Qing asked him for some trees [to make the coffin], and when he gave a half assent, the other used the jia in that orchard, without Jisun's forbidding him. The superior man will say, "Might not what we find in an [old] book, that he who is guilty of many breaches of propriety will find his conduct recoil upon himself, be spoken of Jisun?" ' The funeral must have been hurried on.

Par. 4. The State of Chen had revolted from Chu, and was now on the side of Jin. Lu in consequence, as one of the northern party, now sent an officer to be present at the burial of the marquis.

Par. 6. The Zhuan says:—"The duke now went to Jin, to receive its orders (as to the services to be rendered to the leading State). The marquis of Jin entertained him, and the duke

requested that Zeng might be attached to Lu. The marquis not agreeing to this, Meng Xianzi said, "Our ruler in Lu is in proximity to your adversaries, and wishes to serve your lordship firmly, without failing in any of the requirements of your officers. Zeng contributes no levies to your minister of War. Your officers are continually laying their commands on our poor State, which being of small dimensions is liable to fail in discharging them, and may be charged with some offence. Our ruler therefore wished to borrow the assistance [of Zeng]." On this the marquis assented to the application.'

Par. 7. Dun was one of the many small States acknowledging the supremacy of Chu. The Zhuan says:—'The people of Chu made Dun watch for opportunities in Chen, and attack it or make inroads into it. In consequence, the people of Chen laid siege to its principal city.'

[The Zhuan gives here a long narrative about Jin and the Rong. 'Jiafu, viscount of Wuzhong (a tribe of the Hill Rong) sent Meng Le to Jin, and through Wei Zhuangzi (Wei Jiang) presented a number of tiger and leopard skins, begging that Jin would agree to be in harmony with the various tribes of the Rong. The marquis said, "The Rong and Di know nothing of affection or friendship, and are full of greed. The best plan is to attack them." Wei Jiang said, "The States have only recently declared their submission to Jin, and Chen has recently sought our friendship. They will all be watching our course. If that be one of kindly goodness, they will maintain their friendship with us; if it be not, they will fall off and separate from us. If we make a toilsome expedition against the Rong, and Chu [in the mean time] invade Chen, we shall not be able to relieve that State;—we shall be throwing Chen away. The States also will be sure to revolt from us;—shall we not be acting an impolitic course, if we lose the States, though we gain the Rong? And in the Book of Instructions of Xia (Shu, III. iii. 2) mention is made of "Yi, prince of Qiong." The marquis said, "What about the prince Yi?" He replied, "Formerly, when the princes of Xia were in a decaying State, prince Yi removed from Xu to Qiongshi, and took advantage of [the dissatisfaction of] the people to supersede the line of Xia. Relying [afterwards] on his archery, he neglected the business of the people, and abandoned himself to the pursuit of the beasts of the plains. He put away from him Wu Luo, Bo Yin, Xiong Kun, and Meng Yu, and employed Zhuo of Han. This Zhuo was a slanderous scion of the House of Boming, prince of Han, who cast him out. Yi, [prince of Qiong], received him, trusted him, and made him his chief minister. Zhuo then fell to flattering all inside the palace, and gave bribes to all outside it. He cajoled the people, and encouraged Yi in his fondness for hunting. He plied more and more his deceit and wickedness to take from Yi his kingdom, until inside and outside the palace all were ready to acknowledge him. Still Yi made no change in his ways; and as he was [on one occasion] on his return from the field, his own servants killed him, boiled him, and gave his flesh to his sons to eat. They could not bear to eat it, and all died in the gate of Qiong. Mi then fled to the State of Youge. Zhuo took to himself Yi's wife, and by her had Ao and Yi. Relying on his slanderous villanies and deceit, he displayed virtue in governing the people, and made Ao with an army extinguish the States of Zhenguan and Zhenxun. He then placed Ao in Guo (過), and Yi in Ge (戈). [In the meantime], Mi went from Youge, and collected the remnant of the people of those two States, with whom he extinguished Zhuo, and raised Shaokang to the throne. Shaokang extinguished Ao in Guo, and [his son], the sovereign Zhu, extinguished Yi in Ge: The princes of Qiong thus perished because they had lost the people. Formerly, in the times of our

own Zhou, when Xin Jia was grand historiographer, he ordered each of the officers to write some lines reproving the king's defects. In the lines of the forester it was said,

'Wide and long Yu traveled about, When the nine regions he laid out, And through them led the nine-fold route. The people then safe homes possessed; Beasts ranged the grassy plains with zest. For man and beast sweet rest was found, And virtue reigned the empire round. Then took Yi Yi the emperor's place, His sole pursuit the wild beasts' chase. The people's care he quite forgot. Of does and stags alone he thought. Wars and such pastimes kings should flee; Soon passed the power of Xia from Yi. A forester, these lines I pen, And offer to my king's good men.' Such were the lines of the forester;—is there not matter of admonition in them?" At this time the marquis of Jin was fond of hunting, and therefore Wei Jiang took the opportunity to touch on the subject. The marquis then said, "Well then, will it not be our best plan to be on good terms with the Rong?" Jiang replied, "To be on good terms with the Rong has five advantages. The Rong and Di are continually changing their residence, and are fond of exchanging land for goods. Their lands can be purchased;—this is the first advantage. Our borders will not be kept in apprehension. The people can labour on their fields, and the husbandmen complete their toils;—this is the second. When the Rong and Di serve Jin, our neighbours all round will be terrified, and the States will be awed and cherish our friendship;—this is the third. Tranquillizing the Rong by our goodness, our armies will not be toiled, and weapons will not be broken;—this is the fourth. Taking warning from the sovereign Yi, and using only measures of virtue, the remote will come to us, and the near will be at rest;—this is the fifth." The marquis was pleased, and sent Wei Jiang to make a covenant with all the Rong. He also attended to the business of the people, and hunted [only] at the proper seasons.'

There is another narrative regarding Lu and Zhu:—'In winter, in the 10th month, a body of men from Zhu and another from Ju invaded Zeng. Zangsun He succoured Zeng, and made an incursion into Zhu, when he was defeated at Hutai. The people of the State went to meet the dead [who were being brought back], and all had their hair tied up with sack cloth. It was now that this style commenced in Lu. The people sang these lines on the occasion:—

"The fox-fur robe of Zang, Caused our loss at Hutai. Our ruler a child; Our general a dwarf. O dwarf, O dwarf, You caused our defeat in Zhu!" ']

#### V. Fifth year. **567 BC**

1. In his fifth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Jin.
2. In summer, the earl of Zheng sent the Gongzi Fa to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.
3. Shusun Bao and Wu, heir-son of Zeng, went to Jin.
4. Zhongsun Mie and Sun Linfu of Wey had a meeting with Wu at Shandao.
5. In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

6. Chu put to death its great officer, the Gongzi Renfu.

7. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earl of Xue, Guang, heir-son of Qi, an officer of Wu, and an officer of Zeng, in Qi.

8. The duke arrived from the meeting.

9. In winter, we went to guard Chen.

10. The Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force, and invaded Chen.

11. The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, and Guang, heir-son of Qi, in relieving Chen.

12. In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from the relief of Chen.

13. On Xinwei, Jisun Hangfu died.

#### COMMENTARY

Par. 1. [The Zhuan appends here:—'The king sent Wangshu Chensheng to accuse the Rong to Jin. The people of Jin seized and held him prisoner, while Shi Fang went to the capital, to tell how Wangshu was playing double with the Rong.]

Par. 2. Zuoshi says:—'This mission of Ziguo of Zheng was to open communication between Lu and the new earl of Zheng' The new earl of Zheng had succeeded to that State in the duke's 2d year; he might have sent a mission to Lu before this, but through Zheng's long adherence to Chu, its intercourse with the northern States had become irregular. Fa was son of duke Mu, and was styled Ziguo. He was the father of the famous Zichan (子產).

Par. 3. The Zhuan says:—'Mushu (Bao) procured an interview with [the marquis of] Jin for the eldest son of [the viscount of] Zeng, in order to complete the attaching of Zeng [to Lu]. The style of the text, joining Shusun Bao and Wu of Zeng together, [without a conjunction between their names], exhibits the latter as a great officer of Lu.'

Par. 4. Shandao was in Wu. Gong and Gu make the name 善稻, It appears to have been in the pres. Szechow (泗州), dep. Fengyang, Anhui. The Zhuan says:—'The viscount of Wu sent Shouyue to Jin, to explain the reason of his not attending the meeting at Jize, and to ask for another opportunity of joining the alliance of the other States. The people of Jin proposed on his account to assemble the States, and made Lu and Wey have a meeting with Wu beforehand, and convey to it the time of the [general] meeting. On this account Meng Xianzi and Sun Wenzi had a meeting with Wu at Shandao.' The names of Zhongsun Mie and Sun Linfu are joined

together like those of Shusun Bao and the prince of Zeng in the previous par., because they went to Wu by orders of Jin,—indeed, as its officers.

Par. 5. See on II. v. 7. Zuo adds here that the sacrifice was offered because of a prevailing drought.

Par. 6. The Zhuan says:—"The people of Chu were inquiring into the cause of the revolt of Chen, and it was said, "It was in consequence of exorbitant demands upon it of our chief minister Zixin;" and on this they put him to death. The words of the entry show that it was his covetousness [which brought his fate on Renfu]. The superior man will say that king Gong of Chu here failed in his use of punishment. The ode (a lost ode) says—

**"The great way is level and straight;** My mind is exact and discriminating. In deliberating on things which are not good, We should collect the [wise] men to determine them." He himself did not keep faith, and he put others to death to gratify his resentment;—was it not hard to have to do with him? One of the Books of Xia (Shu, II. ii. 14) says, "When one's good faith is established, he can accomplish his undertakings."

*(I included this because the Tao says the path is crooked)*

Par. 7. The Zhuan says:—"In the 9th month, on Bingwu, there was a covenant at Qi, the business being the presence of Wu at the meeting, and giving charge [to the States] about the guarding of Chen. Mushu, considering that to have Zeng attached to Lu was not advantageous, made a great officer of Zeng receive the charge [from Jin] at the meeting.' This last sentence would seem to be added to explain the presence of a representative of Zeng at the meeting. As attached to Lu, that State could not be separately represented at such a time; but Mushu thus publicly renounced the superiority which Lu had a short time obtained over it.

Par. 9. Not Lu alone sent forces to guard the territory of Chen; but the other States had also received orders from Jin at Qi to do the same. There must have been a gathering of troops from several of them.

Parr. 10, 11. Between 曹伯 and 齊 the text of Gong and Gu adds 莒子, 邾子, 滕子, 薛伯. The Zhuan says:—"Zinang became chief minister of Chu, on which Fan Xuanzi said, 'We shall lose Chen. The people of Chu, having found the cause of its disaffection and made Zinang minister, are sure to change their ways with it. And they are rapid in their measures to punish. Chen is near to Chu;—is it possible that the people, distressed morning and night, should not go to it? It is not ours to hold command of Chen. Let us let it go, as our best plan." In winter, the States commenced to guard the territory of Chen, and Chu invaded it. In the 11th month, on Jiawu. [Jin and its allies, all] met at Chengdi to relieve it.'

Par. 13. The Zhuan says:—"When Ji Wenzi died, the great officers went to his coffining, and the marquis was present in his proper place. The steward had arranged the furniture of the house in preparation for the burial. There was not a concubine who wore silk, nor a horse which



ate grain. There were no stores of money and gems, no valuable articles accumulated. The superior man hereby knows that Ji Wenzi was loyal to the ducal House. He acted as chief minister to three dukes, and yet he had accumulated nothing for himself;—is he not to be pronounced loyal?'

Wenzi was succeeded by his son Su (宿), known as Ji Wuzi (季武子),

VI. Sixth year. **566BC**

1. In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Renwu, Gurong, earl of Qi, died.
2. In summer, Hua Ruo of Song came a fugitive to Lu.
3. In autumn, there was the burial of duke Huan of Qi.
4. The viscount of Teng came to Lu on a court-visit.
5. The people of Ju extinguished Zeng. *This is not ZHENG it is ZENG and is a different state. A small state. Ju is a small place in the west. Don't even try to figure it all out unless you are doing a PHD dissertation on this era!*
6. In winter, Shusun Bao went to Zhu.
7. Jisun Su went to Jin.
8. In the twelfth month, the marquis of Qi extinguished Lai.

#### COMMENTARY

Par. 1. Zuoshi says:—'When duke Huan of Qi died this spring, the announcement of his death was made with his name for the 1st time [on occasion of the death of a prince of Qi], the reason being that he and our dukes had covenanted together.' This canon is applicable in the case of the only previous notice which we have of the death of a prince of Qi, where no name is given;—see V. xxiii. 4. Generally, however, throughout the classic, it will not apply. E.g., in I. viii. 4, we have the name of the marquis of Cai in the record of his death, though duke Yin had never covenanted with him. Again, in VIII. xiv. 7, we have the death of an earl of Qin without his name, tho' in ii. 10 there is the record of a covenant made by Lu with Qin.

Par. 2. The Zhuan says:—'Hua Ruo of Song (a grandson of Hua Jiao, in the Zhuan on VII. xii. 5) and Yue Pei, were great companions when young, and when grown up they made sport together, and went on to revile one another. [Once], Zidang (Yue Pei), in a passion with the other, twisted his bow [string] about his neck in the court. Duke Ping saw the thing, and said, "It would be strange if a minister of War, who is dealt with thus in the court, were equal to his office." He then drove Ruo out of the State; and in summer he came, a fugitive, to Lu. Zihan,



minister of Works, said, "To inflict different penalties on parties guilty of the same offence is improper punishment. What offence could be greater than [for Pei] to take it on himself [so] to disgrace [Ruo] in the court?" [Accordingly he proposed] also to drive out Zidang, who shot an arrow at his door, saying, "In a few days, shall you not be following me?" Zihan then became friendly with him as before.'

Par. 3. Lu had not before this sent an officer to attend the burial of a prince of Qi. The State was small and at a distance. But duke Huan had married a daughter of Lu, and Si,—Ding Si,—duke Xiang's mother, had been from Qi. These circumstances drew the States together more than had been the case before.

Par. 4. Zuo says that this visit of duke Cheng of Teng was the first on the part of Teng since duke Xiang's accession.

Par. 5. This calamity came upon Zeng, acc. to Zuoshi, 'through its trusting in bribes,'—bribes which it had paid to Lu for its protection. Nothing could be plainer than the statement here that Zeng was extinguished by Ju.

Mention, however, is made, in the 4th year of duke Zhao, of Lu's taking Zeng, as if it had not been extinguished now. The language there can only be equivalent to 'Lu took from Ju what had formerly been Zeng.' Gongyang, however, suggests another view of the 'extinguished' in the text;—that Ju now superseded the Si line in Zeng by the son of a daughter of Zeng married to one of its scions. There is no necessity for this view, and no evidence of it.

Par. 6. Zuoshi says:—'In winter, Mushu went to Zhu, with friendly inquiries, and to cultivate peace;'—after the battle of Hutai, in the end of last year.

Par. 7. Su was the son of Hangfu, and had succeeded to his father as chief minister of Lu. It would seem that it was necessary for him to get the sanction of the leading State to his appointment. The Zhuan says:—'An officer of Jin came to Lu to inquire about [the loss of] Zeng, and to reprove us for it, saying, "Why have you lost Zeng?" On this, Ji Wuzi went to Jin to have an interview [with the marquis], and to hear his commands.'

Par. 8.

This is too confusing! Use this:

Lai was a traditional enemy of the State of Qi to its west. In 567 BC, Lai attacked Qi but was decisively defeated by Duke Ling of Qi, and its last ruler Furou, Duke Gong of Lai, was killed. Lai was a large state, and Qi more than doubled in size after annexing Lai. The people were moved to Laiwu, where Mencius later called them the Qí dōng yě rén (齊東野人), the "savages of eastern Qi".

The Zhuan says:—'In the 11th month, the marquis of Qi extinguished Lai, through its reliance on the bribes [which it had offered to Qi], (see the Zhuan after ii. 2). In the 4th month of the last

year, when Ziguo of Zheng came on his friendly mission to Lu (see v. 2), Yan Ruo fortified Dongyang, and proceeded to lay siege to the capital of Lai. On Jiayin, he raised a mound round the wall, which was [gradually] brought close to the parapet. In the month [of this year] when duke Huan of Qi died, on Yiwei, Wang Jiao (see the Zhuan on VIII. xviii. 3), Zheng Yuzi (see the Zhuan after ii. 2), and the people of Tang attacked the army of Qi, which inflicted on them a great defeat, and entered Lai on Dingwei. Furou, duke Gong of Lai, fled to Tang. Zheng Yuzi and Wang Jiao fled to Ju, where they were put to death. In the 4th month, Chen Wuyu presented the most precious spoils of Lai in the temple of [duke] Xiang. Yan Ruo laid siege to Tang, and on Bingchen, in the 11th month, he extinguished it. Lai was removed to Ni. Gao Hou and Cui Shu superintended the laying out of its lands [anew]'.

VII. Seventh year. **565BC**

1. In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, the viscount of Tan came to Lu on a court-visit.
2. In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a third time about the border sacrifice. The divination was adverse, and the victim was let go.
3. The viscount of Little Zhu came to Lu on a court-visit.
4. We walled Bi. (Lu helped the state of Bi build a wall)
5. In autumn, Jisun Su went to Wey.
6. In the eighth month, there were locusts. THAT SUCKS!
7. In winter, in the tenth month, the marquis of Wey sent Sun Linfu to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries; and on Renxu [the duke] made a covenant with him.
8. The Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force and besieged [the capital of] Chen.
9. In the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, and the viscounts of Ju and Zhu, in Wei.
10. Kunwan earl of Zheng [set out] to go to the meeting; but before he had seen the [other] princes, on Bingxu, he died at Cao.
11. The marquis of Chen stole away [from the meeting] to Chen.

COMMENTARY

Par. 1. See on p. 4 of last year.

Par. 2. See on V. xxxi. 3—. There, however, the divination had been tried 4 times, while here the tortoise-shell was only consulted a 3d time; and it is understood that to divine thrice was in

accordance with rule. But on this occasion, as we learn from the Zhuan, the 3d divination was made after the equinox, when it was no longer proper to offer the border sacrifice. The Zhuan says:—'On this occasion, Meng Xianzi said, "From this time forth I know the virtue of the tortoise-shell and the milfoil. At this service we sacrifice to Houji, praying for a blessing on our husbandry. Hence the border sacrifice is offered at the season of Qizhe (the emergence of insects from their burrows; see on II. v. 7), and afterwards the people do their ploughing. Now the ploughing is done, and still we divined about the border sacrifice. It was right the divinations should be adverse.'

Par. 3. Like p. 1. See on p. 4 of last year.

Par. 4. Bi was the city belonging to the Ji or Jisun clan;—its name remains in the district so called, dep. of Yizhou. The old city was 20 li northwest from the pres. dis. city. Bi was granted originally by duke Xi to Ji You, the founder of the Ji clan;—see the Zhuan on V. i. 9. The Zhuan says:—'Nan Yi was commandant of Bi, and Shuzhong Zhaobo was superintendent of workmen. Wishing to be on good terms with Ke [Wuzi] and to flatter Nan Yi, he proposed to him to ask that Bi might be fortified, saying that he would allot a great number of workmen for the undertaking. On this the Head of the Ji clan fortified Bi.'

This event deserved record, as illustrating the gradual increase of the power of perhaps the most influential family in Lu.

Par. 5. Zuoshi says this visit to Wey was in return for that of Zishu or Gongsun Piao in the duke's 1st year, to explain the delay that had taken place, and assure Wey that it was from no disaffection. Mao thinks it unreasonable to suppose that we have here the response to a visit seven years before; what really occasioned it, however, he cannot tell.

Par. 6. See II. v. 8; et al.

[The Zhuan appends here:—'In winter, in the 10th month, Han Xianzi announced his [wish to retire from duty on account of] age. [His son], Muzi (Han Wuji; see the Zhuan after VIII. xviii. 3), the Head of one of the branches of the ducal kindred, had an incurable disease; and when it was proposed to appoint him his father's successor, he declined [the office] saying, "The ode says (Shi, I. ii. ode VI. 1):—

'Might I not have been there in the early morning? I said, "There is too much dew on the path."' And another says (Shi, II. iv. ode VII. 4):—

'Doing nothing personally and by himself, The people have no confidence in him.' I have not the ability [for the place]; may I not decline it in favour of another? I would ask that Qi (his younger brother) may be appointed. He associated much with Tian Su, and may be pronounced a lover of virtue. The ode says (Shi, II. vi. ode III. v.):—

'Quietly fulfil the duties of your office, Loving the correct and upright. So shall the Spirits hearken to you, And increase your brilliant happiness.' A compassionate attendance to the business of the people is goodness. The rectification of one's-self is real rectitude. The straightening of others crookedness is real correctness. These three things in harmony constitute virtue. To him who has such virtue, the Spirits will listen, and they will send down on him bright happiness. Would it not be well to appoint such an one?"

'On Gengxu, [Han Xianzi] made [his son], Xuanzi appear in court before the marquis, and then retired from office himself. The marquis, considering [also] that Han Wuji was possessed of high virtue, appointed him director of the Heads of all the branches of the ducal kindred].'

Par. 7. The Zhuan says:—"Sun Wenzi came on a friendly mission; to acknowledge also the [satisfactory] language of Wuzi (on his mission to Wey in autumn); and to renew the covenant of Sun Huanzi (in the third year of duke Cheng; see VIII. iii. 13). When the duke was ascending the steps, he ascended them along with him, on which Shusun Muzi (Bao), who was directing the ceremonies, hurried forward, and said, "At meetings of the States, our ruler has never followed after yours; and now you do not follow after our ruler;—he does not know wherein he has erred. Be pleased, Sir, to be a little more leisurely." Sunzi made no reply, and did not change his deportment. Mushu said, "Sunzi is sure to perish. For a minister to play the part of a ruler, to do wrong and not change one's conduct, are the first steps to ruin. The ode says (Shi, I. ii. ode VII.);

'They have retired to their meals from the court; Easy are they and self-possessed.' It speaks of officers acting naturally as they ought to do; but he who assumes such an appearance of ease in a cross and unreasonable course is sure to be broken."

Parr. 8, 9. For 鄴 Guliang has \*. The place was in Zheng. The Zhuan says:—"Zinang of Chu having laid siege to the capital of Chen, there was the meeting at Wei to succour it.' The meeting came to nothing, as we shall see, and thenceforth there was an end of any adherence to the northern States on the part of Chen.

Par. 10. For 鬍頑 Gong and Gu have 鬍原; and for 鄴 they have 操. Cao was in Zheng. The Zhuan says:—"When duke Xi of Zheng was [only his father's] eldest son, in the 16th year of duke Cheng he went with Zihan to Jin, and behaved improperly. He did the same in Chu, to which he had gone with Zifeng. In his first year, when he went to the court of Jin, Zifeng wished to accuse him to the marquis, and get him displaced, but Zihan stopped the attempt. When he was proceeding to the meeting at Wei, Zisi was with him as director, and to him also he behaved with impropriety. His attendants remonstrated, but he did not listen to them. They repeated their remonstrance, and he put them to death. When they got to Cao, Zisi employed some ruffians to kill the duke, and sent word to the States that he had died of fever. [His son], duke Jian, though but 5 years old, was raised to be earl."

Zhao Kuang and some other critics deny the account of the earl's murder which is given in the Zhuan (and also by Gong and Gu), and suppose from the language of the text, that he died a natural death. There can be no doubt, however, that the truth is to be found in the Zhuan.

Par. 11. The Zhuan says:—'The people of Chen were troubled by [the action of] Chu; and [while the marquis was absent at Wei], Qing Hu and Qing Yin proposed to the commander of Chu's army that they should send the Gongzi Huang to it, to be held as a prisoner. This was agreed to and acted on; and the two Qing then sent to the marquis at the meeting, saying, "The people of Chu have seized and hold your brother Huang. If you do not at once come back, your ministers cannot bear to see the impending fate of our altars and ancestral temple. We fear there will be two plans [for the future in debate]." On this the marquis stole away back.'

#### VIII. Eighth year. **565BC**

1. In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Jin.
2. In summer, there was the burial of duke Xi of Zheng.
3. A body of men from Zheng made an incursion into Cai, and captured duke [Zhuang's] son, Xie.
4. Jisun Su had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the earl of Zheng, an officer of Qi, an officer of Wey, and an officer of Zhu, in Xingqiu.
5. The duke arrived from Jin.
6. A body of men from Ju invaded our eastern borders.
7. In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
8. In winter, the Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force, and invaded Zheng.
9. The marquis of Jin sent Shi Gai to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

#### COMMENTARY

Par. 1. The duke was at the meeting of Wei the month before this, and now went on to Jin, without first returning to Lu. He went to Jin, says Zuoshi, 'on a court-visit, and to hear how often such visits, and visits of friendly inquiry, should be paid.' From the Zhuan after X.iii. 1, we learn that, when dukes Wen and Xiang of Jin led the States, the rule was that the other princes should appear in the court of Jin once in 5 years, and send a friendly mission once in 3 years. This rule had ceased to be observed, and duke Dao was now encouraged by his strength and success to regulate anew the relations between his own and other States.

Par. 2. The Kangxi editors observe that the classic, having given above the death of the earl of Zheng as it had been announced to Lu, —a natural death, and not a murder,—was now bound to give his burial. I suppose the burial is recorded, because it took place, and was attended by an officer of Lu.

[The Zhuan adds here:—'The sons of previous earls of Zheng, in consequence of the death of duke Xi, were planning to take off Zisi, when he anticipated their movement. On Gengchen, in the 4th month, this summer, on some charge of guilt, he put to death Zihu, Zixi, Zihou, and Ziding. Sun Ji and Sun E (sons of Zihu) fled to Wey'].

Par. 3. Here and afterwards Guliang has, for 變, 濕, which he interchanges with 溼 The Zhuan says:—'On Gengyin, Ziguo and Zi'er made an incursion into Cai, and captured its minister of War, duke [Zhuang's] son Xie. The people of Zheng were all glad, with the single exception of Zichan, who said, "There can be no greater misfortune to a small State than to have success in war while there is no virtue in its civil administration. When the people of Chu, come to punish us [for this exploit], we must yield to their demands. Yielding to Chu, the army of Jin is sure to come upon us. Both Jin and Chu will attack Zheng, which, within 4 or 5 years, will have no quiet." Ziguo (his father) was angry, and said to him, "What do you know? The expedition was a great commission of the State, and conducted by its chief minister. If a boy like you talk about it so, you will get into disgrace."'

Par. 4. Xingqiu was in Jin,—70 li to the south-east of the dis. city of Henei, dep. Huaiqing, Henan. The Zhuan says:—'In the 5th month, on Jiachen, [the marquis of Jin] held a meeting at Xingqiu; to give out his rules about the times for appearing at his court, and for friendly missions, when he made the great officers attend to receive his orders. [Our] Jisun Su, Gao Hou of Qi, Xiang Xu of Song, Ning Zhi of Wey, and a great officer of Zhu, were present. The earl of Zheng presented 螭 the spoils [of Cai] at the meeting, and so received the charge of Jin in person. The names of the great officers are not given, in deference to the marquis of Jin.' The Zhuan on the 1st par. says that the duke went to Jin to receive the instructions of that court about the relations between the States and it. He was not present, however, at Xingqiu; and the earl of Zheng was present only through his own forwardness, and wish to pay court to Jin. The marquis of Jin seems to have felt that, if he assembled the princes in person at Xingqiu, the proceedings would approximate too closely to a usurpation of kingly functions. Zuoshi's canon about the different 人 has little value.

Par. 5. Zuo says this invasion had reference to the defining the borders of the lands of Zeng. We can easily suppose that Lu had encroached, or was now endeavouring to encroach, on the west of what had been the territory of Zeng, supplying Ju with a casus belli.

Par. 6. See on v. 5.

Par. 7. The Zhuan says:—In winter, Zinang, of Chu invaded Zheng, to punish it for its raid on Cai. Zisi, Ziguo, and Zi'er wished to follow Chu. Zikong, Zijiao, and Zizhan, wished to [hold out, and] wait for Jin. Zisi said, "There is an ode (a lost ode) of Zhou which says,

'If you wait till the He becomes clear, The life of man is too short [for such a thing].' There are the decisions of the tortoise-shell, and various opinions of our counsellors; this is like making a net with conflicting views. The great families have many different plans, and the people are much divided. It is more and more difficult to conduct our affairs successfully. The people are in distress; let us for the time give way to Chu, to relieve our people. When the army of Jin arrives, we can also follow it. To wait the comer with reverent offerings of silks is the way for a small State. With cattle, gems, and silks, on our two borders, we can wait the approach of the stronger Power, and thus protect the people. The enemy will then do us no harm, and the people will not be distressed: —is not this a course that can be followed?"

'Zizhan said, "It is by good faith that a small State can serve a great one. If the small one do not observe good faith, war and disorder will be constantly coming on it, and the day of its ruin will not be distant. We are bound to faith [with Jin] by five meetings, and if we violate it, though Chu may help us, of what use will it be? With [Jin] that would befriend us you do not seek peace; with [Chu] that would make our State a border of its own you wish to [treat]:—this plan is not to be followed. We had better wait for Jin. Its ruler is intelligent; its four armies are all complete; its eight commanders are all harmonious: —it will not abandon Zheng. The army of Chu has come from far; its provisions will soon be exhausted; it must shortly retire:—why be troubled about it? According to what I have heard, no support is like good faith. Let us firmly hold out, to tire Chu, and let us lean on good faith, awaiting Jin:—is not this the course that should be followed? Zisi replied, "The ode (Shi, II. v. ode I. 3) says,

The counsellors are very many, And so nothing is accomplished. The words spoken fill the court, But who will take the responsibility of decision? We are as if we consulted [about a journey], without taking a step in advance, And therefore did not get on on the road.' Please let us follow Chu, and I will take the responsibility." Accordingly they made peace with Chu, and sent the king's son, Bopian to inform [the marquis of] Jin, saying, "Your lordship commanded our State to have its chariots in repair and its soldiers in readiness to punish the disorderly and remiss. The people of Cai were disobedient, and our people did not dare to abide quietly [looking on]. We called out all our levies to punish Cai, took captive Xie its minister of war, and presented him to your lordship at Xingqiu, And now Chu has come to punish us, asking why we commenced hostilities with Cai. It has burned all the stations on our borders; it has come insultingly up to our walls and suburbs. The multitudes of our people, husbands and wives, men and women, had no houses left in which to save one another. They have been destroyed with an utter overthrow, with no one to appeal to. If the fathers and elder brothers have not perished, the sons and younger brothers have done so. All were full of sorrow and distress, and there was none to protect them. Under the pressure of their destitution, they accepted a covenant with Chu, which I and my ministers were not able to prevent. I dare not but now inform you of it." Zhi Wuzi made the internuncius Ziyuan reply to Bopian, "Your ruler received such a message from Chu, and at the same time did not send a single messenger to inform our ruler, but instantly sought for rest under Chu:—it was your ruler's wish to do so; who would dare to oppose him? But our ruler will lead on the States and see him beneath his walls. Let your ruler take measures accordingly."



Par. 9. The Zhuan says:—'Fan Xuanzi (Shi Gai) came to Lu, on a friendly mission, and also to acknowledge the duke's visit [to Jin, in spring], and to give notice about taking the field against Zheng. The duke feasted him, on which occasion he sang the Biao you mei (Shi, I. ii. ode IX.), and Ji Wuzi (Jisun Su) rejoined, "Who will dare [not to obey your orders]? If you compare your ruler to a plum-tree, ours is to him as its fragrance, [a portion of the same plant]. Joyfully we receive your orders, and will obey them without regard to time." With this he sang the Jiao gong (Shi II. vii. ode IX.). When the guest was about to leave [the hall], Wuzi [also] sang the Tong gong (Shi, II. iii. ode I.), Xuanzi said, "After the battle of Chengpu, our former ruler, duke Wen, presented [the trophies of] his success in Hengyong (see the Zhuan on V. xxviii. 8), and received the red bow from king Xiang, to be preserved by his descendants. I have inherited the office held by my ancestor under that previous ruler, and dare not but receive your instructions?" The superior man considers that Xuanzi was acquainted with propriety.'

#### IX. Ninth year. **564BC**

1. In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, there was a fire in Song. - (it was the capital and a bad one)

2. In summer, Jisun Su went to Jin.

3. In the fifth month, on Xinyou, duke [Xuan's] wife, Jiang, died.

4. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Guiwei, we buried our duchess Mu Jiang.

5. In winter, the duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, the viscount of Little Zhu, and Guang, heir-son of Qi, in invading Zheng. In the twelfth month, on Jihai, these princes made a covenant together in Xi.

6. The viscount of Chu invaded Zheng.

#### COMMENTARY

Par. 1. Gongyang has here 火 instead of 災, and we may doubt whether the canon of Zuoshi, that 災 denotes a calamity produced by Heaven is applicable to this passage. The Zhuan makes it clear that the event thus briefly chronicled was a fire which desolated the capital of Song. This is another instance of the record in the Chunqiu of the prodigies and calamities that occurred in Song. Acc. to Gong and Gu, such events in other States ought not to be mentioned in the Classic, but they make an exception in the case of Song, as being entitled to preëminence among the other States, because its princes were the representatives of the line of Shang, or because Confucius was descended from a family of Song! But calamities in other States are sometimes chronicled in the text;—e.g. X. xviii. 2. Du is, no doubt, correct in saying we have this record here, because an announcement of the event was sent from Song to Lu.

The Zhuan says:—'In the duke's 9th year, in spring, there was a fire in Song. Yue Xi (Zihan) was then minister of Works, and made in consequence [the following] regulations [for such an event]. He appointed the officer Bo to take charge of the streets where the fire had not reached. He was to remove small houses, and plaster over large ones. He was to set forth baskets and barrows for carrying earth; provide well-ropes and buckets; prepare water jars; have things arranged according to their weight; dam the water up in places where it was collected; have earth and mud stored up; go round the walls, and measure off the places where watch and ward should be kept; and signalize the line of the fire. He appointed Hua Chen to have the public workmen in readiness, and to order the commandants outside the city to march their men from the borders and various stations to the place of the fire. He appointed Hua Yue to arrange that the officers of the right should be prepared for all they might be called on to do; and Xiang Xu to arrange similarly for the officers of the left. He appointed Yue Chuan in the same way to prepare the various instruments of punishment. He appointed Huang Yun to give orders to the master of the horse to bring out horses, and the chariot-master to bring out chariots, and to be prepared with buff-coats and weapons, in readiness for military guard. He appointed Xi Chuwu to look after the records kept in the different repositories. He ordered the superintendent and officers of the harem to maintain a careful watch in the palace. The masters of the right and left were to order the headmen of the 4 village-districts reverently to offer sacrifices. The great officer of religion was to sacrifice horses on the walls, and sacrifice to Pan'geng outside the western gate.

'The marquis of Jin asked Shi Ruo what was the reason of a saying which he had heard, that from the fires of Song it could be known there was a providence. "The ancient director of fire," replied Ruo, "was sacrificed to either when the heart or the beak of the Bird culminated at sunset, to regulate the kindling or the extinguishing of the people's fires. Hence the beak is the star Chunhuo, and the heart is Dahuo. Now the director of fire under Taotang (Yao) was Ebo, who dwelt in Shangqiu, and sacrificed to Dahuo, by fire regulating the seasons. Xiangtu came after him, and hence Shang paid special regard to the star Dahuo. The people of Shang, in calculating their disasters and calamities, discovered that they were sure to begin with fire, and hence came the saying about thereby knowing there was a providence." "Can the thing be certainly [known beforehand]?" asked the marquis, to which Ruo replied, "It depends on the ruler's course. When the disorders of a State have not evident indications, it cannot be known [beforehand]."

Par. 2. Zuo says this visit of Ji Wuzi to Jin was in return for that of Fan Xuanzi to Lu in the end of last year.

Par. 3. This lady was the grandmother of duke Xiang. Her intrigue with Qiaoru, and her threats to duke Cheng, have appeared in different narratives of the Zhuan. It would appear that she had been put under some restraint, and confined in the palace appropriate to the eldest son and heir-apparent of the State. The Zhuan says:—'Mu Jiang died in the eastern palace. When she first went into it, she consulted the milfoil, and got the second line of the diagram Gen (艮, ䷳). The diviner said, 'This is what remains when Gen becomes Sui (隨, ䷐). Sui is the symbol of getting out; your ladyship will soon get out from this.' She replied, "No. Of this diagram it is said in the Zhou yi, 'Sui indicates being great, penetrating, beneficial, firmly correct, without blame.'

Now that greatness is the lofty distinction of the person; that penetration is the assemblage of excellences; that beneficialness is the harmony of all righteousness; that firm correctness is the stem of all affairs. The person who is entirely virtuous is sufficient to take the presidency of others; admirable virtue is sufficient to secure an agreement with all propriety. Beneficialness to things is sufficient to effect a harmony of all righteousness. Firm correctness is sufficient to manage all affairs. But these things must not be in semblance merely. It is only thus that Sui could bring the assurance of blamelessness. Now I, a woman, and associated with disorder, am here in the place of inferior rank. Chargeable more over with a want of virtue, greatness cannot be predicated of me. Not having contributed to the quiet of the State, penetration cannot be predicated of me. Having brought harm to myself by my doings, beneficialness cannot be predicated of me. Having left my proper place for a bad intrigue, firm correctness cannot be predicated of me. To one who has those four virtues the diagram Sui belongs;—what have I to do with it, to whom none of them belongs? Having chosen evil, how can I be without blame? I shall die here; I shall never get out of this."

[The Zhuan appends here:—'Duke Jing of Qin sent Shi Qian to beg the assistance of an army from Chu, intending to invade Jin. The viscount granted it, but Zinang objected, saying, "We cannot now maintain a struggle with Jin. Its ruler employs officers according to their ability, and his appointments do justice to his choice. Every office is filled according to the regular rules. His ministers give way to others who are more able than themselves; his great officers discharge their duties; his scholars vigorously obey their instructions; his common people attend diligently to their husbandry; his merchants, mechanics, and inferior employes know nothing of changing their hereditary employments. Han Jue having retired in consequence of age, Zhi Ying asks for his instructions in conducting the government. Fan Gai was younger than Zhonghang Yan, but Yan had him advanced and made assistant-commander of the army of the centre. Han Qi was younger than Luan Yan, but Yan and Shi Fang had him advanced, and made assistant commander of the 1st army. Wei Jiang had performed many services, but considering Zhao Wu superior to himself, he became assistant under him. With the ruler thus intelligent and his servants thus loyal, his high officers thus ready to yield their places, and the inferior officers thus vigorous, at this time Jin cannot be resisted. Our proper course is to serve it; let your Majesty well consider the case." The king said, "I have granted the request of Qin. Though we are not a match for Jin, we must send an army forth." In autumn, the viscount of Chu took post with an army at Wucheng, in order to afford support to Qin. A body of men from Qin made an incursion into Jin, which was suffering from famine, and could not retaliate.']

Par. 4. Here, as elsewhere, Gongyang has 繆 for 穆童. The duchess was buried sooner than the rule required.

Par. 5. Xi was in Zheng. It was the same place which, in the Zhuan on VIII. xvii. 2, is called Xitong (戲童),—in the pres. dis. of Fanshui (汜水), dep. Kaifeng. Acc. to Du there was no Jihai day in the 12th month, and we should read 十有一 instead of 十有二. The Zhuan says:—'In winter, on the 10th month, the States invaded Zheng. On Gengwu, Ji Wuzi, Cui Shu of Qi, and Huang Yun of Song, followed Xun Ying and Shi Gai, and attacked the Zhuan gate. Beigong Kuo of Wey, an officer of Cao, and an officer of Zhu followed Xun Yan and Han Qi, and attacked [the

gate] Shizhiliang. Officers of Teng and Xue followed Luan Yan and Shi Fang, and attacked the north gate. Officers of Qi and Ni followed Zhao Wu and Wei Jiang, and cut down the chesnut trees along the roads. On Jiaxu, the armies collected in Fan, and orders were given to the States, saying, "Look to your weapons that they be ready for service; prepare dried and other provisions; send home the old and the young; place your sick in Hulao; forgive those who have committed small faults:—we are going to lay siege to the capital of Zheng." On this the people of Zheng became afraid, and wished to make peace. Zhonghang Xianzi (Xun Yan) said, "Let us hold the city in siege, and wait the arrival of the succours from Chu, and then fight a battle with them. If we do not do so, we shall have accomplished nothing." Zhi Wuzi, however, said, "Let us grant Zheng a covenant, and then withdraw our armies, in order to wear out the people of Chu. We shall divide our 4 armies into 3, and [with one of them and] the ardent troops of the States, meet the comers:—this will not be distressing to us, while Chu will not be able to endure it. This is still better than fighting. A struggle is not to be maintained by whitening the plains with bones to gratify [our pride]. There is no end to such great labour. It is a rule of the former kings that superior men should labour with their minds, and smaller men labour with their strength."

'None of the States wished to fight; so they granted peace; and in the 11th month, on Jihai, they made a covenant together in Xi,—on the submission of Zheng. When they were about to covenant, the six ministers of Zheng, —the Gongzis, Fei (Zisi), Fa (Ziguo), and Jia (Zikong), and the Gongsuns, Zhe (Zi'er), Chai (Zijiao), and Shezhi (Zizhan), with the great officers and younger members of the ministerial clans, all attended the earl of Zheng. Shi Zhuangzi made the words of the covenant to this effect, "After the covenant of today, if the State of Zheng hear any commands but those of Jin, and incline to any other, may there happen to it according to what is [imprecated] in this covenant!" The Gongzi Fei rushed forward at this, and said, "Heaven has dealt unfavourably with the State of Zheng, and given it its place midway between two great States, which do not bestow on it the marks of favour which could be appreciated, but demand its adherence by violence. Thus its Spirits cannot enjoy the sacrifices which should be presented to them, and its people cannot enjoy the advantages of its soil. Its husbands and wives are oppressed and straitened, full of misery, having none to appeal to. After this covenant of today, if the State of Zheng follow any other but that which extends propriety to it and strength to protect its people, but dares to waver in its adherence, may there happen to it according to [the imprecations in] this covenant!" Xun Yan said, "Change [the conditions of] this covenant." Gongsun Shezhi said, "These are solemn words in which we have appealed to the great Spirits. If we may change them, we may also revolt from your great State." Zhi Wuzi said to Xianzi "We indeed have not virtue, and it is not proper to force men to covenant with us. Without propriety, how can we preside over covenants? Let us agree for the present to this covenant, and withdraw. When we come again, after having cultivated our virtue, and rested our armies, we shall in the end win Zheng. Why must we determine to do so today? If we are without virtue, other people will cast us off, and not Zheng only; if we can rest and be harmonious, they will come to us from a distance. Why need we rely upon Zheng?" Accordingly they covenanted [as related above], and the forces of Jin withdrew.

'The people of Jin had thus not got their will with Zheng, and they again invaded it with the armies of the States. In the 12th month, on Guihai, they attacked the [same] three gates, and

persevered for five days at each (閏月 ought to be 門五日). Then on Wuyin, they crossed [the Wei] at Yinban, and over ran the country. After halting at Yinkou, they withdrew. Zikong proposed to attack the army of Jin, saying that it was old and exhausted, and the soldiers were all bent on returning home, so that a great victory could be gained over it. Zizhan, however, refused to sanction such a movement.'

[The Zhuan here relates the capping of duke Xiang:—"The duke accompanied the marquis of Jin [back from Zheng], and when they were at the He and he was with the marquis at a feast, the latter asked how old he was. Ji Wuzi replied, "He was born in the year of the meeting at Shasui (see VIII. xvi. 8)." He is twelve then," said the marquis. "That is a full decade of years, the period of a revolution of Jupiter. The ruler of a State may have a son when he is fifteen. It is the rule that he should be capped before he begets a son. Your ruler may now be capped. Why should you not get everything necessary for the ceremony ready?" Wuzi replied, "The capping of our ruler must be done with the ceremonies of libation and offerings; its different stages must be defined by the music of the bell and the musical stone; it must take place in the temple of his first ancestor. Our ruler is now travelling, and those things cannot be provided. Let us get to a brother State, and borrow what is necessary to prepare for the ceremony." The marquis assented; so, when the duke had got as far as Wey on his return, he was capped in the temple of duke Cheng. They borrowed the bell and musical stone of it for the purpose;—as was proper.'

This capping of duke Xiang out of Lu was a strange proceeding, and was probably done in the wantonness of the marquis of Jin, amusing himself with the child. Mao supposes that it is kept out of the text, to conceal the disgrace of it.]

Par. 6. Here Chu is down again upon Zheng, because of its making the covenant with Jin. The Zhuan says:—he viscount of Chu invaded Zheng, and Zisi proposed to make peace with him. Zikong and Zijiao said, "We have just made a covenant with the [other] great State, and, while the blood of it is not dry on our mouths, may we break it?" Zisi and Zizhan replied, "At that covenant we said that we would follow the strongest. Here now is the army of Chu arrived, and Jin does not come to save us, so that Chu is the strongest;—we are not presuming to break the words of the covenant and oath. Moreover, at a forced covenant where there is no sincerity, the Spirits are not present. They are present only where there is good faith. Good faith is the gem of speech, the essential point of all goodness; and therefore the Spirits draw near to it. They in their intelligence do not require adherence to a forced covenant;—it may be broken." Accordingly they made peace with Chu. The Gongzi Pirong entered the city to make a covenant, which was done in [the quarter] Zhongfen. [In the meantime], the widow of [king] Zhuang of Chu died, and [king] Gong returned [to Ying], without having been able to settle [the affairs of] Zheng.'

[The Zhuan appends here a notice of the measures of internal reform in Jin:—"When the marquis of Jin returned to his capital, he consulted how he could give rest and prosperity to the people. Wei Jiang begged that he would confer favors on them and grant remissions. On this all the accumulated stores of the State were given out in benefits. From the marquis downwards, all who had such stores brought them forth, till none were left unappropriated, and there was no

one exposed to the endurance of want. The marquis granted access to every source of advantage, and the people did not covet more than their proper share. In religious services they used offerings of silks instead of victims; guests were entertained with [the flesh of] a single animal; new articles of furniture and use were not made; only such chariots and robes were kept as sufficed for use. When this style had been practiced for twelve months, a right method and order prevailed throughout the State. **Then three expeditions were undertaken, and Chu was not able to contend [any more] with Jin.'**

X. Tenth year. **563BC**

1. In his tenth year, in spring, the duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, the viscount of Little Zhu, and Guang, heir-son of Qi, in a meeting with Wu at Zha.

2. **In summer, in the fifth month, on Jiawu, [Jin] went on [from the above meeting] to extinguish Biyang.**

3. The duke arrived from the meeting.

4. **The Gongzi Zhen of Chu, and the Gongsun Zhe of Zheng, led a force, and invaded Song.**

5. **An army of Jin invaded Qin.**

6. **In autumn, a body of men from Ju invaded our eastern borders.**

7. **The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju and Zhu, Guang, heir-son of Qi, the viscount of Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in invading Zheng.**

8. **In winter, some ruffians killed the Gongzis Fei and Fa, and the Gongsun Zhe, of Zheng.**

9. **We [sent troops] to guard Hulao.**

10. **The Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force to relieve Zheng.**

11. The duke arrived from the invasion of Zheng.

COMMENTARY

Par. 1. Du says Zha was in the territory of Chu, and the Kangxi editors identify it with the pres. Jiakou (澆口), in the dis. of Yi, dep. of Yanzhou. The one or the other must be wrong. The territory of Chu would thus have extended as far north as Lu. We may accept the statement of Du, and leave the question as to any more exact identification. The object of the meeting was, no doubt, to call forth the hostility of Wu to more active measures against Chu, so that that State should be obliged to relax its efforts to hold Zheng. The phrase 'a meeting with Wu (會吳),' with

out specifying the viscount himself or his representative on the occasion, has occasioned the critics a good deal of difficulty. The same style has occurred before, in VIII. xv. 10 and IX. v. 4, and we meet with it again, in xiv. 1. The most likely account that can be given of it is the remark, probably of Su Che, that only the name of the State is given because [to get the help of] that State was the object of the meeting (特書會吳以吳爲會故也).

The Zhuan says:—'The meeting at Zha was a meeting with Shoumeng, viscount of Wu. In the 3d month, on Guichou, Gao Hou of Qi came with his marquis's eldest son Guang, and had a previous meeting with the princes in Zhongli (see VIII. xv. 10), when they behaved disrespectfully. Shi Zhuangzi (Shi Ruo) said, "Gaozi, coming in attendance on his prince to a meeting of the States, ought to have in mind the protection of Qi's altars, and yet they both of them behave disrespectfully. They will not, I apprehend, escape an evil end." In summer, in the 4th month, on Wuwu, there was the meeting at Zha.'

Par. 2. Biyang was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Yun (爰). It was under the jurisdiction of Chu. Jin now led on the forces of the States from the meeting at Zha to attack it. Its principal town is said to have been 30 li to the south of the dis. of Yi, dep. Yanzhou. The Zhuan says:—'Xun Yan and Shi Gai of Jin asked leave to attack Biyang, and that it should be conferred on Xiang Xu of Song. Xun Ying said, "The city is small but strong. If you take it, it will be no great achievement; if you do not take it, you will be laughed at." They persisted in their request; and on Bingyin they laid siege to it, but could not overcome it.

'Qin Jinfu, the steward of the Meng family, drew after him a large waggon to the service. The people of Biyang having opened one of their gates, the soldiers of the States attacked it, [and had passed within]. Just then, the portcullis gate was let down, when He of Zou raised it up, and let out the stormers who had entered. Di Simi carried the wheel of a large carriage, which he covered with hides and used as a buckler. Holding this in his left hand, and carrying a spear in his right, he took the place of a body of 100 men. Meng Xianzi said, "To him we may apply the words of the ode (Shi, I. iii. ode XIII. 2), 'Strong as a tiger.'" The besieged hung strips of cloth over the wall, by one of which Jinfu climbed up to the parapet, when they cut it. Down he fell, when they hung out another; and when he had revived, he seized it and mounted again. Thrice he performed this feat, and on the besieged declining to give him another opportunity he retired, taking with him the three cut pieces, which he showed all through the army for three days.

'The forces of the States were long detained at Biyang; and Xun Yan and Shi Gai went with a request to Xun Ying, saying, "The rains will soon fall and the pools gather, when we are afraid we shall not be able to return. We ask you to withdraw the troops." Zhi Bo, (Xun Ying) became angry, and threw at them the stool on which he was leaning, which passed between the two. "You had determined," said he, "on two things, and then came and informed me of them. I was afraid of confusing your plans, and did not oppose you. You have imposed toil on our ruler; you have called out [the forces of] the States; you have dragged an old man like myself here. And now you have no prowess to show, but want to throw the blame on me, saying, that I ordered the retreat of the troops, and but for that you would have subdued the place. Can I, thus old and feeble, sustain such a heavy responsibility? If in 7 days you have not taken it, I shall take



yourselves instead of it." On this, in the 5th month, on Gengyin, Xun Yan and Shi Gai, led on their men to the attack of the city, themselves encountering [the shower] of arrows and stones. On Jiawu they extinguished it.

'The language of the text,—“They went on to extinguish Biyang,” shows that they proceeded to attack it from the meeting [at Zha]. [The marquis of Jin] would then have given Biyang to Xiang Xu, but he declined it, saying, “If your lordship will still condescend to guard and comfort the State of Song, and by the gift of Biyang distinguish my ruler and increase his territory, all his ministers will be at ease;—what gift can be equal to this? If you insist on conferring it on me alone, then I shall have called out the States to procure a fief for myself,—than which there could not be a greater crime. Though I die, I must entreat you not to do so.” Biyang accordingly was given to the duke of Song.

'The duke entertained the marquis of Jin in Chuqiu, and asked leave to use, [on the occasion, the music of] Sanglin (the music which had been used by the sovereigns of Shang). Xun Ying declined it, but Xun Yan and Shi Gai said, “Among the States, it is [only] in Song and Lu that we can see the ceremonies [of the kings]. Lu has the music of the grand triennial sacrifice, and uses it when entertaining guests and at sacrifices; is it not allowable that Song should entertain our ruler with the Sanglin?” The master of the pantomimes began indicating to them their places with the great flag, when the marquis became afraid, and withdrew to another apartment. When the flag was removed, he returned and finished the entertainment. On his way back [from Song], he fell ill at Zhuyong. They consulted the tortoise-shell [about his sickness], and [the Spirit of] Sanglin appeared. Xun Yan and Shi Gai wanted to hurry [back to Song], and to pray to it. Xun Ying, however, refused to allow them, and said, “I declined the ceremony. It was they who used it. If there indeed be this Spirit, let him visit the offence on them.” The marquis got better, and took the viscount of Biyang back with him to Jin, and presented him in the temple of [duke] Wu, calling him an Yi captive. [The lords of] Biyang had the surname of Yun. [The marquis] made the historiographer of the Interior in Zhou select one from the family of the [old] House to continue [its sacrifices], whom he placed in Huo as its commandant;—which was proper.

'When our army returned, Meng Xianzi employed Qin Jinfu as the spearman on the right of his chariot. He had a son, Qin Pizi, who was a disciple of Zhongni.'

As Zuoshi here mentions Confucius, it may be added that it was the sage's father, Shuliang He, who performed the feat of strength with the portcullis of Biyang.

Par. 4. Song had been rewarded for its allegiance to Jin with Biyang, and now it has to pay the price to Chu. The Zhuan says:—'In the 6th month, Zinang of Chu and Zi'er of Zheng invaded Song, taking post [first] at Ziwu. On Gengwu they laid siege to the capital, and attacked the Tong gate.'

Par. 5. The Zhuan says:—'Xun Ying of Jin invaded Qin, to retaliate its incursion.' The incursion of Qin is related in the Zhuan after p. 3 of last year. Jin was then unable to retaliate in consequence of a famine, but its vengeance had not slumbered long. At this time Qin was in



league with Chu, and the alliance between the States was drawn closer through the wife of king Gong being a sister of duke Jing of Qin.

[The Zhuan gives here a narrative, which is the sequel of that on p. 4:—'The marquis of Wey went to succour Song, and encamped with his forces at Xiangniu. Zizhan of Zheng said, "We must invade Wey. If we do not do so, we shall not be doing our part for Chu. We have offended against Jin, and if we also offend against Chu, what will be the consequence to our State?" Zisi said, "It will distress the State;" but Zizhan replied, "If we offend against both the great States, we shall perish. We may be distressed, but is that not better than perishing?" The other great officers all agreed with him, and Huang'er accordingly led a force and made an incursion into Wey,—[having received] orders from Chu.

'Sun Wenzhi (Linfu) consulted the tortoise-shell about pursuing the enemy, and presented the indication he had obtained to Ding Jiang (the mother of the marquis of Wey), who asked what the corresponding oracle was. "It is this," said Wenzhi. 'The indication being like a hill, a party go forth on an expedition, and lose their leader.'" The lady observed, "The invaders lose their leader;—this is favourable for those who resist them. Do you take measures accordingly." The people of Wey then pursued the enemy, and Sun Kuai captured Huang'er at Quanqiu.'

[There follows the account of an invasion of Lu by Chu. which ought to be given in the text. Du observes that, as it involved no disgrace to Lu, he cannot account for the silence about it.—In autumn, in the 7th month, Zinang of Chu and Zi'er of Zheng invaded our western borders. On their return they laid siege to Xiao (a city of Song), and reduced it in the 8th month, on Bingyin. In the 9th month. Zi'er of Zheng made an incursion on the northern border of Song. Meng Xianzi said, "Calamity must be going to befall Zheng." The aggressions of its armies are excessive. Even Zhou could not endure such violent efforts, and how much less Zheng! The calamity is likely to befall the three ministers who conduct its government!"]

Par. 6. The Zhuan says:—'The people of Ju taking advantage of the States being occupied, invaded our eastern borders.' Wang Kekuan observes that this movement shows strikingly the daring of Ju, as its viscount had taken part in nearly all the covenants ordered by duke Dao of Jin. It shows how incomplete the harmony was which the leading State sought to establish among the others which acknowledged its supremacy.

Par. 7. This was the first of the three expeditions of Jin mentioned in the Zhuan at the end of last year, by which that State wore out Chu, and established its supremacy, for a time, over Zheng. The Zhuan says:—'The States invaded Zheng. Cui Shu of Qi came with Guang, the eldest son of the marquis, to the army early, and the prince therefore took precedence of Teng. On Jiyou, the whole army took post at Niushou.' The proper place of the heir-son of Qi was after all the princes, as in p. 1. If he had received, indeed, the appointment of the king as his father's successor, and were administering for him the govt. of the State, he would have been entitled to rank as an earl, according to the rules of Zhou. But he had not received such appointment, as we infer from the Zhuan on the 19th year. The precedence now given to him was probably

brought about as Zuoshi says; but as we shall find that he continued to retain it, it is an instance of how the marquis of Jin took it upon him to override the standing statutes of the kingdom.

Par. 8. We have here the fulfilment of the prognostication in the Zhuan after p. 5. For 駢 Gong and Gu have 斐. We have in this par. the first occurrence of 盜 in the text, which I have translated "ruffians." Du Yu observes that, as the paragraph commences with that term, the rank of the murdered could not be mentioned in it. They were all ministers or great officers, and if their death had been by order or management of the State, the text would have been 鄭 殺, or 鄭 人, 殺 其 大 夫, 云 云. If the murderers had been great officers, their names and rank, and those of their victims as well, would have been given. But being what they were in this case, their names were not admissible in the text, and consequently we have the persons murdered without any intimation of their rank. No stigma is fixed upon them by the omission, as Guliang thought, and as Cheng Yi, Hu An'guo, and many other critics have contended. The men may have deserved their fate, but no evidence of that can be drawn from the style of the text.

The Zhuan says:—'Before this, Zisi (the Gongzi Fei) had a quarrel with Wei Zhi, and when he was about to take the field against the army of the States, he reduced the number of the chariots [which Zhi wanted to contribute to the expedition]. He had another quarrel with Zhi about the captives whom he had taken, and kept him down, saying his chariots had been beyond the number prescribed by rule, and would not allow him to present his spoils [before the marquis].

'Before this also, Zisi, in laying out the ditches through the fields, had occasioned the loss of fields to the Si, Du, Hou and Zishi families; and these four, along with Wei Zhi, collected a number of dissatisfied individuals, and proceeded, with the adherents of the sons of the ruling House (killed in the 8th year by Zisi; see the Zhuan after viii.2) to raise an insurrection. At this time the govt. was in the hands of Zisi; Ziguo (the Gongzi Fa) was minister of War; Zi'er (the Gongsun Zhe) was minister of Works; and Zikong was minister of Instruction. In winter in the 10th month, on Wuchen, Wei Zhi, Si Chen, Hou Jin, Du Rufu, and Zishi Pu, led a band of ruffians into the palace, and early in the morning attacked the chief minister at the audience in the western palace. They killed Zisi, Ziguo, and Zi'er, and carried off the earl to the northern palace. Zikong had known of their design, and so escaped death. The word 'ruffians' in the text indicates that none of them were great officers.

'Zixi, the son of Zisi) hearing of the ruffians, left his house without taking any precautions, went to [his father's] corpse, and pursued them. When they had entered the northern palace, however, he returned, and began giving out their arms [to his followers]. Most of the servants and concubines had fled, and most of the articles of furniture and use were lost.

'Zichan (the son of Ziguo), hearing of the ruffians, set a guard at his gate, got all his officers in readiness, shut up his storehouses, carefully secured his depositories, formed his men in ranks, and, then went forth with 17 chariots of war. Having gone to [his father's] corpse, he proceeded to attack the ruffians, in the northern palace. Zijiao (the Gongsun Chai) led the people to his

assistance, when they killed Wei Zhi and Zishi Pu. The majority of their followers perished, but Hou Jin fled to Jin, and Du Rufu, Si Chen, Wei Pian, and Si Qi fled to Song.

'Zikong (the Gongzi Jia) then took charge of the State, and made a covenant requiring that all in the various degrees of rank should receive the rules enacted by himself. The great officers, ministers, and younger members of the great families refusing obedience to this, he wished to take them off; but Zichan stopped him, and begged that for their sakes he would burn the covenant. He objected to do so, saying, "I wrote what I did for the settlement of the State. If I burn it because they all are dissatisfied, then the government is in their hands;—will it not be difficult to administer the affairs of the State?" Zichan replied, "It is difficult to go against the anger of them all; and it is difficult to secure the exclusive authority to yourself. If you insist on both these difficulties in order to quiet the State, it is the very way to endanger it. It is better to burn the writing, and so quiet all their minds. You will get what you wish, and they also will feel at ease;—will not this be well? By insisting on your exclusive authority, you will find it difficult to succeed; by going against the wishes of all, you will excite calamity:—you must follow my advice." On this Zikong, burned the writing of the covenant outside the Cang gate, after which the minds of all the others became composed.'

Par. 9. Hulao,—see ii. 9. The text would lead us to think that the keeping guard over Hulao was the action of Lu, and of Lu alone; whereas Jin had taken possession of that city, fortified it and now held it with the troops of its confederate States, as a strategical point against Zheng and Chu. Lu sent troops to guard it; and this alone the text mentions, but other States did the same. Originally it belonged to Zheng, but was not Zheng's now. Yet the text says—'Hulao of Zheng.' Du Yu and others see in this the style of Confucius writing retrospectively, expressing himself according to his knowledge of the purpose of Jin to restore the place to Zheng, when that State should really have broken with Chu. Hu An'guo, again, has his followers in maintaining that Confucius here assigned it to Zheng to mark his disapproval of Jin's ever taking it. The probability is that neither the one view nor the other is correct. The place properly belonged to Zheng; it was held against it by the confederates for a time; it was immediately restored to it:—what more natural than to mention it as 'Hulao of Zheng,' without any intention either 'to praise or to blame.' The Zhuan says:—'The armies of the States fortified [afresh] Hulao, and guarded the country about. The army of Jin fortified Wu and Zhi; and Shi Fang and Wei Jiang guarded them. The text speaks of Hulao of Zheng, though it was not [now] Zheng's, indicating that it was to be restored to it. Zheng [now] made peace with Jin.'

Par. 10. The Zhuan says:—'Zinang of Chu came to succour Zheng. In the 11th month, the armies of the States made a circuit round Zheng, and proceeded south to Yangling. Still the army of Chu did not retire, [seeing which], Zhi Wuzi proposed that the confederates should withdraw, saying, "If we now make our escape from Chu, it will become arrogant, and can be fought with when in that mood. Luan Yan, said, "To evade Chu will be a disgrace to Jin. Our having assembled the States will increase the disgrace. We had better die. I will advance alone." On this the [whole] army advanced, and on Jihai it and the army of Chu were opposed to each other with [only] the Ying between them. Zijiao [of Zheng] said. "The [armies of the] States are prepared to march. and are sure not to fight. If we follow Jin, they will retire; if we do not

follow it, they will retire. Chu is sure to besiege our city when they retire; but they will still do so. We had better follow Chu, and get its army to retire also." That night he crossed through the Ying, and made a covenant with Chu. Luan Yan wished to attack the army of Zheng, but Xun Ying said, "No. We cannot keep back Chu, neither can we protect Zheng. Of what offence is Zheng guilty? Our best plan is to leave a grudge against it, and withdraw. If we now attack its army, Chu will come to its help. If we fight, and do not conquer, the States will laugh at us. Victory cannot be commanded. We had better withdraw." Accordingly, on Dingwei the armies of the States withdrew, made an incursion into the northern borders of Zheng, and returned. The forces of Chu also withdrew.

Par. 11. [The Zhuan gives here a narrative about troubles at court:—'Wangshu Chensheng and Bo Yu had a quarrel about the govt. The king favoured, Bo Yu, when the other fled from the capital in a rage. The king recalled him when he had got to the He, and put the historiographer Jiao to death to please him. He would not enter [the capital]. however, and was allowed to remain [near the He]. The marquis of Jin sent Shi Gai to pacify the royal House, when Wangshu and Bo Yu maintained each his cause. The steward of Wangshu, and Xia Qin, the great officer of Bo Yu; pleaded in the court of the king, while Shi Gai listened to them. Wangshu's steward said, "When people who live in hovels, with wicker doors fitted to holes in the wall, insult their superiors, it is hard to be a man of superior rank." Xia Qin said, "When king Ping removed here to the east, there were seven families of us, who followed him, and on whom he was dependent for the victims which he used. He made a covenant with them over [the flesh of] a red bull, saying that from generation to generation they should hold their offices. If we had been people of such hovels, how could they have come to the east? and how could the king have been dependent on them? Now since Wangshu became chief minister, the govt. has been carried on by means of bribes, and punishments have been in the hands of his favourites. His officers have become enormously rich, and it is not to be wondered at if we are reduced to such hovels. Let your great State consider the case. If the low cannot obtain right, where is what we call justice?" Fan Xuanzi said, "Whom the son of Heaven favours, my ruler also favours; whom he disapproves, my ruler also disapproves." He then made Wangshu and Bo Yu prepare a summary of their case; but Wangshu could bring forward no evidence, and fled to Jin. There is no record of this in the text, because no announcement of it was made to Lu. Duke Jing of Shan then became high minister, to act as director for the royal House.']

#### XI. Eleventh year. **562BC**

1. In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, we formed three armies.
2. In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fourth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavorable, and the sacrifice was not offered.
3. The Gongsun Shezhi of Zheng led a force, and made an incursion into Song.
4. The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, Guang, heir-son of Qi, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in invading Zheng.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jiwei, [the above princes] made a covenant together on the north of Bocheng.

6. The duke arrived from the invasion of Zheng.

7. The viscount of Chu and the earl of Zheng invaded Song.

8. The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, Guang, heir-son of Qi, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in invading Zheng. There was a meeting in Xiaoyu.

9. The duke arrived from the meeting.

10. The people of Chu seized and held Liang Xiao, the messenger of Zheng.

11. In winter, a body of men from Qin invaded Jin.

#### COMMENTARY

Par. 1. 作 must be taken here as in VIII. 1. 4, indicating an arrangement either altogether new, or modifying in a most important manner existing arrangements on the subject to which it refers. The Zhuan says:—'This spring, Ji Wuzi wished to form 3 armies, and told Shusun Muzi (Bao) of his purpose, saying, "Let us make three armies, and each of us collect the revenue for the support of his army." Muzi replied, "When the demands [of Jin] come upon you, [according to this increased establishment], you will not be able [to meet them]." Wuzi, however, persisted in his request, till Muzi said, "Well, let us make a covenant." They covenanted accordingly at the gate of [duke] Xi's temple, the imprecatory sentences being repeated in the street of Wufu." In the 1st month they proceeded to the formation of the 3 armies, [the three clans] dividing the ducal prerogative [as it were] into three, and each of them taking one part to itself. The three chiefs broke up their own [establishments of] chariots. The Ji appointed that those who brought their followers and the amount of the military contribution of their families to him, should pay nothing more [to the State], and those who did not so enter his ranks should pay a double contribution. The Meng employed one half the sons and younger brothers in his service. The Shusun employed all the sons and younger brothers. [They had said that], unless they acted thus, they would not alter the old arrangements.'

It is to be wished that Zuoshi's narrative were more perspicuous and explicit;—see also the narrative under X. v. 1, when the new army, or that of the centre, was obliged to be discontinued. The arrangement for 3 armies which was now adopted was an important one, and marked an era in the history of Lu. It was originally a great State, and could furnish the 3 armies, which were assigned by the statutes of Zhou to a great State;—see the Zhou li, Bk. XXVIII. par. 3. But its power had gradually decayed; and as Jin rose to preëminence as the leading State of the kingdom, Lu sank to the class of the second-rate States (次國), which furnished only two

armies. The change from 3 to 2 seems to have taken place under Wen or Xuan. In this way Lu escaped some of the exactions of Jin, whose demands for military assistance were proportioned to the force which the States could furnish, and hence, in the Zhuan, Shusun Muzi objects to the formation of 3 armies on the ground that they would then be unable to meet the requirements of Jin. But up to this time, the armies of Lu, whether 3 or 2, had always belonged to the marquises, having been called forth by them as occasion required, and been commanded by their ministers according to their appointment. A great change now took place. The Heads of the three families, —the descendants of duke Huan, now not only claimed the command of the armies, but they claimed the armies as their own. Taking advantage of the youth of duke Xiang, their act was all but a parting of the State among themselves. They would henceforth be not only its ministers, but its lords, and the direct descendants of the duke of Zhou would be puppets in their hands. I must repeat the wish that we had fuller details of the formation of the three armies, and of the proceedings of the three chiefs. Du says that they added one army,—that of the centre, to the two already existing; but that is a very imperfect description of their act. The chariots which they broke up would be those belonging to themselves, for which they would now have no separate occasion, and which would go therefore to the formation of the third army. The text relates the event, as if it had proceeded from the duke, or by his authority.

Par. 2. See on V. xxxi. 3.

Par. 3. The Zhuan says:—'The people of Zheng were troubled about [their relations with] Jin and Chu, and all the great officers said, "Through our not following Jin, the State is nearly ruined. Chu is weaker than Jin, but Jin shows no eagerness in our behalf. If Jin were eager in our behalf, Chu would avoid it. What shall we do to make the army of Jin ready to encounter death for us? In that case Chu will not venture to oppose it, and we can firmly adhere to it." Zizhan said, "Let us commence hostilities against Song; the States are sure to come [to its help], when we will submit to them, and make a covenant. The army of Chu will then come, and we shall do the same with it. This will make Jin very angry. If it can then come quickly and resolutely [into the field], Chu will not be able to do anything against it, and we shall firmly adhere to Jin." The others were pleased with this proposal, and they made the officers of the borders commence a quarrel with Song, Xiang Xu of which retaliated with an incursion into Zheng, in which he took great spoil. Zizhan said, "We may now invade Song with an army. If we attack Song, the States are sure to attack us immediately. We will then hearken to their commands, and at the same time send notice to Chu. When its forces come, we shall further make a covenant with it; and by heavy bribes to the army of Jin, we shall escape [the vengeance of them both]." Accordingly, in summer, Zizhan (Shezhi) made an incursion into Song.'

Zizhan had formerly advocated the adherence of Zheng in good faith to Jin, while Zisi had been for adhering now to Jin and now to Chu, according to the pressure of the time. Zisi was now dead; and the commentators find great fault with Zizhan for the crooked course which he took to bring about the accomplishment of his own policy.

Par. 4. This is the second of Jin's great expeditions with the States of the north to break the power of Chu. The Zhuan says:—'In the fourth month, the States invaded Zheng. On Jihai, Guang, eldest son of [the marquis of] Qi, and Xiang Xu of Song, came first to its capital, and attacked the east gate. In the evening of that day, Xun Ying of Jin arrived in the western suburbs, from which he made an incursion to the old [capital of] Xu (see on VIII. xv. 11). Sun Linfu of Wey made an incursion on the northern borders of the State. In the 6th month, the States assembled at Beilin, and encamped in Xiang. Thence they took a circuit, and halted at Suo, after which they invested the capital, and made a [grand] display of their forces outside the south gate, and on the west crossed over the Jisui.'

Par. 5. Instead of 亳 Gong and Gu have 京. Bocheng was in Zheng, and, acc. to the Kangxi editors, must have been in the pres. district of Yanshi, dep. Henan. This is very doubtful. Du and nearly all the critics explain the 同 with reference to the presence of Zheng, and its joining in the covenant. No previous instance where the term has occurred exactly corresponds to this; and perhaps Dan Zhu is right in thinking that Zheng was not present. The Zhuan says:—'The people of Zheng [now] became afraid, and sought terms of accommodation. In autumn, in the 7th month, they made a covenant together in Bo. Fan Xuanzi said, "If we be not careful, we shall lose the States. Wearied as they have been by marching, and not [really] accomplishing anything, can they be but disaffected?" Accordingly, when they covenanted, the words were:—"All we who covenant together agree not to hoard up the produce of good years, not to shut one another out from advantages [that we possess], not to protect traitors, not to shelter criminals. We agree to aid one another in disasters and calamities, to have compassion on one another in seasons of misfortune and disorder, to cherish the same likings and dislikings, to support and encourage the royal House. Should any prince break these engagements, may He who watches over men's sincerity and He who watches over covenants, [the Spirits of] the famous hills and [of] the famous streams, the kings and dukes our predecessors, the whole host of Spirits, and all who are sacrificed to, the ancestors of our 12 (? 13) States with their 7 surnames:—may all these intelligent Spirits destroy him, so that he shall lose his people, his appointment pass from him, his family perish, and his State be utterly overthrown!"'

Par. 7. The Zhuan says:—'Zinang of Chu had asked the assistance of troops from Qin; and Zhan, Qin's great officer of the right, led a force to follow the viscount of Chu, intending to invade Zheng. [In the meantime], the earl of Zheng met [the army of Chu], [made his submission], and on Bingzi invaded Song [along with it].'

Par. 8. This is the third and last of the great expeditions of Jin against Chu. Xiaoyu was a place in Zheng, to the south of its capital, in the pres. Xuzhou (許州). The Zhuan says:—'In the 9th month, the States, with all their armies, again invaded Zheng. They showed their forces outside the east gate of the city, on which the people of Zheng made the king's son, Bopian, offer their submission. On Jiaxu, Zhao Wu of Jin entered the city, and made a covenant with the earl; and in winter, in the 10th month, on Dinghai, Zizhan came out, and made a covenant with the marquis of Jin. In the 12th month, on Wuyin, there was a meeting in Xiaoyu. On Gengchen, [the marquis of Jin] released his Zheng prisoners, treated them all courteously, and sent them back. He [also] called in his scouting parties, and forbade raids and pillaging. [At the same time], he

sent Shuxi to inform the [other] princes of these proceedings. The duke made Zangsun He return the following reply, "All we who have covenanted together [are here], because your great State found it necessary to punish a small one which had offended. Having obtained sufficient ground for your present course, you are ready to exercise forgiveness. My ruler has received your commands."

'The people of Zheng presented to the marquis of Jin the music-masters, Kui, Chu, and Juan; fifteen, each, of wide chariots and guard chariots with the buff-coats and weapons for them complete, and other war-chariots amounting altogether to a hundred; two sets of musical bells, with the large bells and musical stones belonging to them; and sixteen female musicians. The marquis gave one half [of these two last gifts] to Wei Jiang, saying, "It was you who taught me to harmonize the Rong and the Di, so as secure the adherence of the great States (see the long Zhuan at the end of the 4th year). In the space of 8 years, I have nine times assembled the States, and a harmony has prevailed among them like that of music. I beg to share the pleasure of these things with you." Wei Jiang declined the gifts, saying, "The harmonizing of the Rong and Di was the happy destiny of the State. The assembling of the States nine times within the space of eight years, and the princes all virtuously adhering, is to be ascribed to your lordship's powerful influence, and the labours of your various servants. What did I contribute to those results? What your servant wishes is that your lordship may enjoy your present pleasure and think about the future. The ode (Shi, II. vii. ode VIII. 4) says,

'To be delighted in are those princes, The guardians of the country of the Son of Heaven! To be delighted in are those princes; Around them all blessings collect. Discriminating and able are their attendants, Who also have followed them hither!' Now music helps the repose in virtue; righteousness is seen in the manner of occupying one's position; the rules of propriety are seen in one's practice; good faith maintains consistency; and benevolence makes one powerful in influencing others. When a prince has these qualities, then indeed he may be the guardian of the country, share in all blessings and emoluments, and attract people from a distance:—this is called music indeed. The Shu says (probably V. xv. 19 is intended), 'In a position of security, think of peril.' If you think thus, you will make preparation against the danger, and with the preparation there will be no calamity. I venture to offer you these admonitions." The marquis said, "Dare I but receive your commands in these instructions? But for you, however, I should not have known how to treat the Rong; I should not have been able to cross the He. To reward is a statute of the State, preserved in the repository of covenants; it may not be disused. Do you receive those things." It was thus that Wei Jiang first had bells and musical stones;—and it was right he should thus receive them.'

Par. 9. The canon laid down for entries like this is that, when the duke has been absent on more than one affair, the last shall be stated in the record of his return. It is so here. The duke left Lu to take part in the invasion of Zheng, which ended in the meeting at Xiaoyu; and it is said he arrived 'from the meeting.' In par. 6, however, it is said that he arrived 'from the invasion of Zheng,' though the event immediately preceding his return was the meeting and covenant at Bo. The commentators find 'praise and blame' in these variations of the style, but we may well believe that the historiographers made these entries, as the characters occurred to them,



without regard to any different character of the transactions in which the duke had been engaged.

Par. 10. For 霄 Guliang has 宵. The Zhuan says:—'The people of Zheng had sent Liang Xiao, and the grand-superintendent Shi Chuo, to Chu, to give notice of their intended submission to Jin in the words, [as from the earl], "Out of regard to my altars, I am not able to cherish your lordship [as my superior]. If your lordship with gems and silks will come to a good understanding with Jin, or if by a display of prowess you will overawe it, this would be what I desire." The people of Chu seized and held the two officers. The text speaks of "the messenger," intimating that [Liang Xiao] was an ambassador.'

Par. 11. The Zhuan says:—'Two dignitaries of Qin, Bao and Wu, led a force and invaded Jin, in order to succour Zheng. Bao first entered the territory of Jin, and was met by Shi Fang, who slighted the forces of Qin, and did not make preparation against them. On Renwu, Wu crossed [the He] from Fushi, and, joining Bao, went on with him into Jin. On Jichou the armies of the two States fought at Li, when that of Jin received a great defeat;—in consequence of making light of Qin.'

## XII. Twelfth year. **561BC**

1. In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, a body of men from Ju invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to Tai.

2. Jisun Su led a force and relieved Tai, after which he went on to enter Yun.

3. In summer, the marquis of Jin sent Shi Fang to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

4. In autumn, in the ninth month, Cheng, viscount of Wu, died.

5. In winter, the Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force, and made an incursion into Song.

6. The duke went to Jin.

## COMMENTARY

Parr. 1, 2 Tai was a city belonging to Lu, —in the pres. dis. of Bi, dep. Yizhou. Guliang has 郕. Yun is the same place mentioned in VI.xii.8, as then walled by duke Wen. In his time it belonged to Lu, but had subsequently been taken by Ju. Though Jisun Su now entered it, it does not appear to have remained in the possession of Lu.

The Zhuan says:—'This year, in spring, a body of men from Ju invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to Tai. Ji Wuzi then relieved Tai, and went on to enter Yun, from which he took its bell to form a deep dish for the duke.' 遂 is used as heretofore, to denote the going on from the accomplishment of one thing to another not originally contemplated. Gong and Gu, however,

remark that it was not competent for any one to do this but the ruler of the State himself, and hence the 遂 is here condemnatory of Jisun Su;—but see on III. xix. 3.

Par. 3. Zuo says that the object of Fang in this mission was to convey the acknowledgments of the marquis of Jin for the military services performed by Lu the previous year.

Par. 4. This viscount of Wu is better known by the name of Shoumeng, which we find in the 1st Zhuan on the 10th year. How he should have the two names of Shoumeng and Cheng is not easily explained. Fu Qian (服虔) of the Han dynasty supposed that the double name of this and the other lords of Wu is merely an attempt to spell, or give the sound of, the native term, so that in reality 壽夢 and 乘 are but one and the same name.

The Zhuan says:—'In autumn, Shoumeng, viscount of Wu, died. The duke went to the Zhou temple (that of king Wen) to wail for him;—which was according to rule. On occasion of the decease of any prince, if he were of a different surname from the duke, he was wailed for outside on the city wall. If he were of the same surname, the wailing took place in the ancestral (i.e., the Zhou) temple; if he were descended from the same individual who bore that surname, in the temple of that [common] ancestor; if he were of some common branch family from that ancestor, in the paternal temple. Thus the princes of Lu mourned for the Jis generally in the Zhou temple; but for the lords of Xing, Fan, Jiang, Mao, Zuo, and Zhai, in the temple of the duke of Zhou.' Here for the 1st time the Chunqiu records the death of a lord of Wu. But there is no record of the burial; not that an officer of Lu may not have been present at it, but because, as in the case of the lords of Chu, the usurped title of king must have been introduced.

Par. 5. The Zhuan says:—'In winter, Zinang of Chu, and Wudi, one of the dignitaries of Qin, invaded Song, and took post with their forces at Yangliang;—in retaliation for Jin's taking Zheng [from Chu].'

[The Zhuan here turns aside to a marriage negotiation on the part of the king—King Ling sought a queen from Qi. The marquis asked Yan Huanzi how he should reply, and that officer answered, "In the language of ceremony, issued by the former kings, we find that when the king applies for a queen to the prince of any State, the prince replies, 'Of daughters by my proper wife, I have so many; and of daughters by concubines I have so many.' If he have no daughter of his own, but has sisters and aunts, he says, 'Of so and so, who preceded me in this fief, there are so many daughters.' The marquis of Qi agreed to the proposed marriage, and the king sent Yin Li to settle the engagement.']

Par. 6. Zuo says, 'The duke went to Jin, to appear at its court, and to express his acknowledgments for the visit of Shi Fang.' Fang's visit was that in p. 3.

[The Zhuan here relates an incident, of which it is difficult to see the drift.—A daughter of the House of Qin had been married to [the viscount of] Chu. [This year], Zigeng (a son of king Zhuang, named Wu) minister of War to Chu, paid a friendly visit to Qin, to inquire after her mother in the viscountess's behalf. This was according to rule.]

### XIII. Thirteenth year. **560 BC**

1. In his thirteenth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Jin.
2. In summer, we took Shi.
3. In autumn, in the ninth month, on Gengchen, Shen, viscount of Chu, died.
4. In winter, we walled Fang.

### COMMENTARY

Par. 1. The Zhuan says:—"When the duke arrived from Jin, Meng Xianzi caused a record of his successful services to be made in the ancestral temple;—which was according to rule." See the Zhuan on II. ii. 9 about the force of 至 in such paragraphs as this. Du Yu goes at length into the matter here:—"Under the 2d year of duke Huan, the Zhuan says, "The duke arrived from Tang, and announced his doing so in the temple." Whenever the duke set out on a journey, he announced it in the ancestral temple. On his return, he drank in celebration of that in the temple; and when he put down the cup, he had his service recorded in the tablets:—this was the rule. In the 16th year of Huan, it says, "The duke came from the invasion of Zheng, and observed the ceremony of drinking on his arrival in the temple." It appears then (from those two passages and the present), that if any one of the three ceremonies,—the announcement in the temple, the drinking to celebrate the arrival, and the record in the tablets,—was observed, the notice of arrival was made; but if they were all neglected, there was no such notice.'

Par. 2. For 郛 Gongyang has 詩. Shi was a small State, near Lu,—in the present Jining (濟寧) Zhou, dep. Yanzhou. It was now incorporated with Lu. The Zhuan says:—"In summer, Shi was dismembered into three by disorders [which prevailed]. A force from Lu succoured Shi, and took the opportunity to take it.' Du observes on this, that, while the Zhuan speaks of 'a force from Lu,' the text does not use that term, intimating that the troops employed did not really amount to a 師, or 2,500 men. Zuoshi subjoins his canons regarding the force of several terms:—"Taking (取)" is used, when the thing was done with ease; "extinguishing (滅)," when it required a large force; "entering (入)," when the territory was not retained.' There is difficulty found, however, in the application of these canons; and some critics, as Liu Chang, call them in question altogether.

[The Zhuan appends here a narrative about the affairs of Jin:—"Xun Ying and Shi Fang died, and the marquis of Jin assembled his troops in Mianshang that he might order and regulate them. He appointed Shi Gai to the command of the army of the centre, but Gai declined, saying, "Boyou (Xun Yan) is my senior. Formerly from my acquaintance with, and knowledge of, Zhi Bo, I was assistant-commander under him; but I cannot [be regarded as] superior [to Yan]. I beg you to follow [my advice, and appoint] Boyou." Xun Yan was then made commander of the army of the centre, and Shi Gai was assistant-commander under him. [The marquis] appointed Han Qi to the command of the 1st army; but he wished to decline in favour of Zhao Wu. The marquis,

however, offered the command to Luan Yan, who also declined it, saying, "I am not equal to Han Qi, and as he wishes Zhao Wu to be above him, your lordship should hearken to him." Zhao Wu was then made commander of the 1st army, with Han Qi as assistant-commander. Luan Yan was continued as commander of the 3d army, and Wei Jiang was made assistant commander of it. Neither commander nor assistant-commander was appointed to the new army; but the marquis, finding it difficult to meet with proper men, ordered the officers of tens to lead their footmen and chariot-men, and all the other officers, to follow the 3d army;—which was right. On this, a great harmony prevailed among the people of Jin, and the States cultivated their friendly relations with it.

'The superior man will say, "Modesty is an essential point in the proprieties. Fan Xuanzi (Gai) having declined the command [offered to him], those below him did the same, and even Luan Yan, naturally forward, did not dare to act differently. The State of Jin was thus made tranquil, and the effect extended through several generations:—such was the force of a good example! Is not this a thing to be earnestly sought,—the good example of one man, securing the quiet and harmony of the people? The language of the Shu (V. xxvii. 13) is applicable to this;—"When the one man is good, all the people look to him as their dependence, and the repose of such a State will be perpetual.' Of the rise and prosperity of Zhou, the ode (Shi, III. i. ode I. 7) says:—

'Take your pattern from king Wen, And the myriad regions will repose confidence in you;' showing a pattern of excellence. But in the decline of Zhou, the ode (Shi, II. vi. ode I. 2) says:—

'The great officers are unfair; I am made to serve; I alone am deemed worthy;' showing how [at that time] they would not yield to one another. In an age of good government, men in high stations prefer ability, and give place to those who are below them; and the lesser people labour vigorously at their husbandry to serve their superiors. In this way all the rules of propriety are observed both by high and low, and slanderers and evil men fall into disrepute and disappear. Such a state of things arises from their not quarrelling about superiority;—it is what we call a state of admirable virtue. But in an age of disorder, men in high stations proclaim their merit in order to impose their will on those who are below them, and the lesser people boast of their arts to encroach on their superiors. In this way the rules of propriety are observed by neither high nor low, and disorders and oppressions grow up together. Such a state of things arises from contentions about superiority; —it is what we call a state where virtue is all obscured. The ruin of a State is sure to result from it."

Par. 3. This was king Gong (共王). He was succeeded by his son Zhao, known as king Kang (康王昭). The Zhuan says:—"The viscount of Chu was ill, and addressed his great officers, saying, "I, the unworthy, was called when young to preside over the altars. At the age of ten, I lost my father, and the dignity of the State fell to my lot before I had been trained by the instructions of the tutor and guardian. Thus it was that I lost my army at Yan (see VIII. xvi. 6), to the very great disgrace of our altars, and the very great sorrow of you. If by your influence I am able to preserve my head, and die a natural death, for the business of sacrifice and interment, whereby I shall take the place after my predecessors in the temple proper to me, I beg you will

call me by such an epithet as Ling (靈) or Li (厲), according as you shall choose." They gave him no reply, till he had charged them five times, when they consented.

'In the autumn, he—king Gong—died, and Zinang was consulting about the posthumous epithet for him, when the great officers said, "We have his own charge about it." Zinang said, "His charge was marked by humble reverence. Why should we use any other epithet but that which is expressive of that quality? He came to the charge of this glorious State of Chu; he tranquillized, and got the dominion of, the Man and the Yi; his expeditions went rapidly forth along the sea of the south; and he subjected the great States. And yet he knew his errors;—may he not be pronounced humbly reverent (共)? Let us call him by the epithet of Gong." The great officers agreed.'

[The Zhuan appends here:—'Wu made a raid upon Chu. Yang Youji hurried away with a charge [to resist the enemy], followed by Zigeng with a [larger] force. Yang Shu said, "Wu is taking advantage of the death of our king, thinking we shall not be able to take the field. They are sure to slight us, and not use proper caution. Do you place three ambushments, and wait for the result of my measures, giving me leave to decoy them." Zigeng having agreed to this, a battle was fought at Yongpu, when the troops of Wu received a great defeat, and the Gongzi Dang was taken. The superior man will say, "Wu was unpitying;—[as] the ode (Shi, II. iv. ode VII. 6) says,

'Great Heaven has no compassion, And there is no end to the disorders.'" Par. 4. Fang,—see I. ix. 6. The city was granted, probably about this time, to the Zangsun family. The Zhuan says:—'This text shows the seasonableness of the proceeding [from the state of other business]. They had wished to wall the city earlier, but Zang Wuzhong begged to wait till the labours of husbandry were finished;—which was right.'

[The Zhuan here takes up the narrative under xi. 10:—'Liang Xiao of Zheng, and the grand-superintendent Shi Chuo, were still in Chu. Shi Chuo said to Zinang, "The ancient kings divined about their progresses for five years, year by year seeking for a favourable response. When they found that repeated so many times, then they set out. If such a response was not repeated, they cultivated their virtue with increased assiduity, and divined again. Now Chu cannot maintain its struggle with Jin; but what is the offence of [Zheng's] messenger? You here detain one of its high ministers, relieving its court of the pressure [of its ministers on one another], making the others more harmonious and adhere firmly to Jin, with a hatred of Chu;—what is the use of such a measure? If you send him back, and thus frustrate the object of his mission, he will resent the conduct of his ruler, and be at enmity with the great officers, so that they will begin to draw different ways;—would not this be a better course?" On this the people of Chu sent them both back].'

## 560 - Death of King Gong of Chu

When King Gong ascended the throne in 590 BC Chu was the strongest power in China. In 597 BC his father King Zhuang defeated Jin in the Battle of Bi and was recognized as the Hegemon. BUT, King Gong's reign was marked by Chu's decisive defeat by Jin in 575 BC at the Battle of Yanling.

In 560 BC, when King Gong was dying from illness, he summoned his ministers and requested to be given the negative posthumous title of Ling or Li expressing shame for losing the Battle of Yanling and causing disgrace to the nation. The ministers agreed at his insistence, but after his death they instead gave him the title Gong, meaning "humbly reverent".

#### Succession

King Gong had at least five sons, four of whom became king. When King Gong died in 560 BC, he was succeeded by his eldest son King Kang of Chu,

Can you imagine Ashurbanipal saying on his deathbed - ya know... I wasn't that great how about after I die call me Ashurbanipal the Fool??