

Heaven, *Li*, and the Formation of the *Zuo*zhuan 左傳

A. Taeko Brooks 白妙子 (Amherst, Mass.)

1. Heaven (*Tian* 天) in the *Zuo*zhuan (52)
2. *Li* 禮 in the *Zuo*zhuan (61)
3. The Relation Between Heaven and *Li* (68)
4. Other *Zuo*zhuan Internal Evidence (69)
5. *Shu* 書 in the *Zuo*zhuan: The Earliest Layer (74)
6. The Final Layer of the *Zuo*zhuan (77)
7. The 04th Century Context of the *Zuo*zhuan (80)

Introduction

In this essay, I consider two key terms in the *Zuo*zhuan 左傳, as a way of clarifying its structure and suggesting its origin.

(1) I first take up the 131 passages containing the word *tian* 天 (Heaven).¹ I find that these passages imply different roles for Heaven in human affairs, and that the differences cannot be explained as differences in belief between states, or as evolution of ideas during the Spring and Autumn period, but are more likely compositional strata.

(2) I next examine the 278 passages containing the word *li* 禮 (ritual, propriety). I find that they show similar contrasts, and

(3) imply the same developmental scenario.

(4) I cite other evidence, including hegemon theories and *junzi yue* 君子曰 (gentleman says) judgements, to show that the proposed growth scenario for the *Zuo*zhuan is to some extent mirrored there also.

(5) I next consider passages which may reflect the earliest *Zuo*zhuan stratum, and

(6) the probable geographical setting and date of its latest layer.

(7) Externally, I note parallels in major 04c texts to show that the evolution here proposed is not isolated, but characteristic, and that these texts together document most of the major movements in the intellectual history of the period.²

I conclude that the *Zuo*zhuan is an accretional text, and that it was compiled over much of the 04th century.

I here assume my previous finding: that the *Chunqiu* 春秋 is not a coded morality treatise,³ but the actual chronicle of Lu for the period in question.

¹ I exclude compounds such as *Tianzi* 天子 “Son of Heaven”, *Tianwang* 天王 “King by the authority of Heaven” (both referring to the Zhou King), and *Tianxia* 天下 “All under Heaven” (the governable world). I here wish to thank Kennedy Research Fellow Sam Krentzman for assisting with the counting and cross-correlation of much of the usage evidence for this essay.

² Years “BC” are here indicated by a leading zero, as more linguistically neutral than any acronym, and as less confusing in practice than Needham’s prefixed minus sign.

³ Kennedy, “Interpretation”, 99, showed that naturalistic factors can explain many *Chunqiu* usages; see also Brooks, “Integrity”. Some *Chunqiu* usages do express judgement (Defoort, “Words”, 92-95, 105, Brooks, “Distancing”), but those judgements may plausibly be referred to the Lu ruler and his court *at the time*, and do not require the assumption of a later outside moralist.

1. Heaven (*Tian* 天) in the *Zuo*zhuan

In this section, I will identify five different Heaven categories in the *Zuo*zhuan, and show that the *Zuo*zhuan itself is aware of the difference between them. It should be said at the outset that both *tian* 天 and *li* 禮 may occur in a perfunctory or conventional sense, in a passage whose overall tone and ideology are different. I will treat these usages as “encapsulations.” In the Appendices, where all occurrences of these terms are listed, I code such passages as two-layered, giving first the Heaven (or *Li*) category, even if it is perfunctory in context, followed by the category that better characterizes the whole passage.

For clarity, I will first cite passages illustrating the *Zuo*zhuan rejection of one view of Heaven for another, thus attesting a felt difference between them.

Sacrificial versus Passive

What Waley called the “auguristic-sacrificial” view⁴ clearly obtained in Spring and Autumn times, as the *Chunqiu* attests. In commenting on the *Chunqiu*, the *Zuo*zhuan sometimes adopts that view. It does so only once in the Heaven passages, which on the whole express another idea of the role of Heaven. The Sacrificial view is explicitly rejected in *Zuo*zhuan 8/5:1:⁵

嬰夢天使謂己。祭余。余福女。使問諸士貞伯。貞伯曰。不識也。既而告其人曰。神福仁而禍淫。淫而無罰。福也。祭其得亡乎。祭之之明日而亡。

Ying dreamed that Heaven sent someone to say to him: “Sacrifice to me, and I will reward you.” He had someone ask Shi Zhengbo about it. Shi Zhengbo said: “I do not know.” Later he told one of his people, who said: “The spirits reward *ren* and penalize depravity. To be depraved and escape punishment is already a blessing. Even if you do sacrifice, can you avoid being banished?” The day after he sacrificed, he was indeed banished.

That is, sacrifice as a means of securing blessings from Heaven does not work. What this passage asserts instead is that rewards from on high are given, not for piety, but for *ethical* actions: actions meeting a human standard. Since Heaven is here seen as passively rewarding or punishing human actions, I call this the Passive Heaven group. The sacrificial idea is expressed also, but as encapsulated in, and as objected to by, the rest of the passage.

Sacrificial versus Active

The efficacy of sacrifice is again denied in *Zuo*zhuan 2/6:2, this time not in favor of personal virtue, but in favor of something different; namely, good government, and the proper treatment of the people. Ji Liang 季梁 is speaking to the Lord of Sui 隨侯:

天方授楚。楚之羸。其誘我也。... 臣聞小之能敵大也。小道大淫。... 夫民。神之主也。是以聖王先成民。而後致力於神。故奉牲以告曰。博碩肥腍。謂民力之普存也。...

“Heaven is now giving power to Chu. Its exhibition of weakness is only to deceive us. ... I have heard that the condition in which a small state can match with a great state is when the small one is ruled according to reason. ... The state of the people is what the Spirits regard. The sage kings therefore first secured the welfare of the people, and then put forth their strength in serving the Spirits. Thus when they presented their victims and announced them as large and fat, they meant that the people’s strength was all preserved. ...”

⁴ Waley, *Way*, 21.

⁵ Reference codes for *Chunqiu* and *Zuo*zhuan passages follow the Hong Kong concordance, which in turn is based on Yang Bojun’s numbering (which differs at many points from that of Legge, whose translation is otherwise often relied on).

Here the sacrifices are reinterpreted in terms of successful governmental attending to the needs of the larger population. Sacrificial piety is not wholly rejected, but becomes secondary. Giving power to Chu is an act of Heaven, and I call this the Active Heaven group. As later examples will show, Heaven in this category is seen not only as responding to human actions, but sometimes as acting on its own initiative, with its own agenda for history.

Active versus Transitional

There is a group of passages generally similar to the Active Heaven group, in which however the theory of a Heaven enforcing ethical norms or intervening in history is expressed not with confidence, but with doubt, or in a rhetorical context of excuse or exculpation. Actions in such cases are as often postponed as undertaken, and the general posture is either skepticism or sincere uncertainty. For uncertainty, we have *Zuo*zhuan 10/30:3:

不知天將以為虐乎。使翦喪吳國。而封大異姓乎。其抑亦將卒以祚吳乎。其終不遠矣。我盍姑億吾鬼神。而寧吾族姓。以待其歸。

“We do not know if Heaven will make him the object of its wrath, causing him to ruin the state of Wu and aggrandize some other surname [than the Zhou surname Wu was thought to bear], or if it will in the end make him the instrument of blessing Wu. The result will not be distant: why should we not meanwhile allow our Spirits to be quiet, and our people to rest in peace, till we see how the scale turns?”

The suggestion, rather than a direct assertion, is typical of this group, and so is the uncertainty about the results of Heaven’s interference in affairs. For an insincerity claim, we have *Zuo*zhuan 12/16:3, where the ruler of Lu is berated for his lament over Confucius’s death, since he had signally failed to employ Confucius in his life.

Active versus Natural

The most famous contrast of this sort is *Zuo*zhuan 5/22:8, where in one part of a long narrative, the Prince of Song has rejected, on grounds of virtue, his Marshal’s advice to strike the unprepared Chu enemy. That is, he refuses to violate the proper treatment of the people which belongs to what I have above called the Active Heaven view. He follows that view, and the Song army is accordingly defeated. The Prince then asserts that whatever might happen, he would never take the elderly prisoner, nor advance against an unformed army. For this seemingly honorable stance, the Marshal chides him thus:

君未知戰。勅敵之人。隘而不列。天贊我也。阻而鼓之。不亦可乎。猶有懼焉。且今之勅者。皆吾敵也。雖及胡者。獲則取之。何有於二毛。明恥。教戰。求殺敵也。傷未及死。如何勿重。若愛重傷。則如勿傷。愛其二毛。則如服焉。三軍以利用也。

“The Sovereign knows nothing of war. With a strong enemy, in a defile and not drawn up in order, Heaven is helping us. Is it not right for us then to drum the advance while he is hampered, when even then we may be unsure of success? And these strong men are all our enemies. Even if the old and feeble should be among them, if we can take them, we should do so; what does ‘elderly’ have to do with it? We call on our people’s sense of shame and teach them to fight for us, so that they will kill the enemy. If one wound should not be mortal, why not deal them another? If we scruple to inflict a second wound, we should not inflict the first; if we are going to pity the elderly, then we should simply submit to them. The Three Armies should do whatever will give them advantage.”

This is not a virtue calculus, but a calculus of military advantage, and ultimately of state advantage. If you aim to kill (as the classic warrior code envisions), then, logically, the more killing, the better. This view eliminates virtue factors from conduct decisions. It is the last

strongly expressed opinion in the story, and there is no doubt that it represents the view of the *Zuo* writer at that moment. We then cannot avoid the conclusion that more humane opinions expressed elsewhere in *Zuo* are here explicitly contradicted. The *Zuo* itself is thus ideologically composite.

Rationale of the Differences

These examples will show that the differences between the categories are visible, not merely to modern readers, but also to the *Zuo* writers. What is the nature of these differences?

1. Geography

They might reflect a contrast between the philosophies of different Spring and Autumn states. But we can easily find *Zuo* stories from one state which display more than one Heaven theory. Lu, for example, exemplifies all five: Sacrificial (3/25:3, where silk rather than animal victims is specified as the proper sacrifice to Heaven), Passive (10/3:8, where “敬逆來者 · 天所福也 those who meet guests respectfully receive blessings from Heaven”), Active (10/28:1, a complaint that “天禍魯國 Heaven is afflicting the state of Lu”), Transitional (12/16:3, the insincere lament for Confucius, quoted above), and Natural (10/32:4, a learned disquisition on the astral, and thus impersonal, mechanism of Heaven).

2. Time

The differences might reflect general evolution in *all* Spring and Autumn states. But Appendix 1 will show that there is no clustering of any category at either the beginning or end of the list (which is arranged in *Zuo* order, and thus in ostensible chronological order).

Since no readily imaginable hypothesis attributing these differences to Spring and Autumn times is supported by *Zuo* data, we are left with the hypothesis that they reflect stages through which the *Zuo* itself passed, from superstition to cold-eyed reason, in the course of its composition.

Descriptions

I will now give further examples of the types that were briefly defined above.

1. Sacrificial Heaven

Heaven sends blessings or disasters, and can be influenced by sacrifices. The only clear example is *Zuo* 3/25:2. The *Chunqiu* had said that in response to an eclipse, “鼓用牲于社 drums were beaten, and victims were offered at the *she* altar.” On this, the *Zuo* remarks:

非常也。唯正月之朔。慝未作。日有食之。於是乎用幣于社。伐鼓于朝。

This was irregular. It is for eclipses of the sun in the first month, when the baleful influence has not yet arisen, that silk is offered at the *she* altar, and the drum is beaten in court.

Zuo here does not criticize propitiatory sacrifices; it speaks as an *expert* in such sacrifices. This lone *Zuo* passage makes up less than 1% of the Heaven corpus.

2. Passive Heaven

Ethical considerations, including diplomatic protocol, not sacrificial piety, gain a response from Heaven. *Chunqiu* 10/3:4: “秋，小邾子來朝。 Autumn: The Master of Lesser Zhu came to court.” *Zuo* 10/3:8:

季武子欲卑之。穆叔曰。不可。曹滕二邾。實不忘我。好敬以逆之。猶懼其貳。又卑一睦焉。逆群好也。其如舊而加敬焉志曰。能敬無災。又曰。敬逆來者。天所福也。季孫從之。

Ji Wuzi planned to treat him with scant courtesy. Mushu said: "It should not be done. Cao, Teng, and the two Zhu have not forgotten our good will toward them. We should meet them respectfully, fearing lest they become estranged. Besides, if we demean a friendly neighbor, how shall we treat our [more distant] allies? Let it be as before, with even greater respect. The *Zhi* says, 'If you can be respectful, there will be no disasters,' and 'To meet with respect those who come is an action that Heaven will bless.'" Jisun followed his advice.

Examples of individual ethics rewarded are numerous in *Zuo*zhuan; for many readers, this is the typical *Zuo*zhuan philosophy. Examples within the Heaven subset are fewer, but do occur. Thus, to render assistance at a time of calamity earns Heaven's blessing (5/13:4, in Qin); Heaven blesses intelligent virtue (7/3:3, Chu); and those who violate canons of interpersonal respect will die (8/4:3, Jin). In this view, men behave, ethically or otherwise, including the showing of respect or disrespect to Heaven itself, and Heaven responds appropriately. There is no sacrificial element. Acts are judged by an ethical or behavioral or protocol standard. Defects in loyalty, good faith, honesty, and reverence (9/22:3), or general personal depravity (8/5:1), are punished by Heaven. On the positive side, virtue in interpersonal matters, such as gestures of respect on receiving a gift of sacrificial meat, also count as virtue: "能者養之以福 men of ability nourish those norms so as to secure blessings" (8/13:2, and implicitly 5/9:2).

Individual actions typically affect the individual; in the case of rulers or ministers, the fate of their state may be involved. Calamities including early death may result from the following: not sending a minister to meet the ruler's bride (6/4:4), lack of respect for another ruler (8/4:3), disrespectful deportment at a royal reception (8/13:2), or attacking another state without reason (6/15:11). A minister's concern for his state's defective behavior is said to be itself proof that the spirits will reward that state, and it will not perish (8/7:1). There is here something like a concept of repentance: acknowledging a fault (with implied concern for its correction in future) counts as a virtue.

The spokesmen in Passive Heaven stories who praise or blame their rulers are always officers. They sometimes quote the *Shi* (6/4:4, 6/15:11, 8/4:3, 8/7:1) or invoke ancient rulers (3/11:2, 7/3:3, 8/8:6) or the *Zhou*shu documents (8/8:6) or an enigmatic *Zhi* 志 (10/3:8) as their authority. These passages tend to be short (the median length is 91 characters). The 14 Passive Heaven passages together make up 11% of the Heaven group.

3. Active Heaven

Heaven's reward-or-punish function continues in this category, but here we also find *Zuo*zhuan stories in which Heaven takes a more proactive hand in historical events, without waiting for some individual action to occur, which it could then respond to. In 5/23:6, Heaven is sometimes seen as siding with an individual despite his lack of virtue in the conventional sense. Chonger 重耳, the future ruler of Jin, has just made a rude reply to the ruler of Chu:

子玉請殺之。楚子曰。晉公子廣而儉 ... 天將興之。誰能廢之。違天必有大咎。

Ziyu begged that [the Prince] might be put to death, but the ruler said: "The Prince of Jin is a grand character ... When Heaven intends to prosper a man, who can stop him? He who opposes Heaven must incur great guilt."

Chonger, in the *Zuo* view, is destined not only to succeed to the rule of Jin, but to gain hegemony over all the states. This outcome has been destined by Heaven. Heaven can also side with a state as such, as in the previously quoted 2/6:2: “天方授楚 Heaven is now giving power to Chu.” Heaven’s wish here is not based on the small merits or demerits of individuals, but on a larger historical agenda.

Heaven can act in history through calamities, as in Passive Heaven, but it can also use men as its agents. Heaven’s chosen agents do not include the supercilious (2/13:1). It may take away an individual’s insight and increase his moral confusion, as in 5/2:5:

是天奪之鑿。而益其疾也。必易晉而不撫其民矣。不可以五稔。

“This is because Heaven is taking away his insight, and increasing his disease. He is sure to take his difficulties with Jin lightly, and to show no kindness to his people. He will not see five more harvests.”

So also 7/15:7 and 8/17:3, 9/28:9 (“天其殃之也 Heaven is bringing him ruin”) and 9/29:17. On the positive side, Heaven guides all toward accord (5/28:5).

Conversely, those whom Heaven does not favor cannot be supported (like the rebellious Zhou King’s son; 10/22:5, 10/23:3, 10/26:9).

In pursuing historical outcomes, Heaven may also make use of states (10/11:2b):

天將假手於楚以斃之 … 天之假助不善。非祚之也。厚其凶惡。而降之罰也。

“Heaven will borrow the agency of Chu to destroy it [i.e. the state of Cai] … When Heaven borrows the assistance of the bad, it is not blessing them, it is increasing their evil and wickedness, and will [later] send down punishment upon them [also].”

In the Passive category, reward or punishment for individual action was received by that individual. In the Active category, virtuous action by a ruler may benefit the state but harm the ruler himself. In 6/13:3 the ruler of Zhu accepts a proposal to move the capital, which will benefit the people at the cost of his own death:

遂遷于繹。五月。邾文公卒。

The capital was accordingly moved to Yi, and in the 5th month, Wengong died.

Notable in this piece and in several others is a concern not just for the state, but specifically for the people of the state. The ruler in the above passage says:

天生民而樹之君。以利之也。民既利矣。孤必與焉。

“When Heaven produced the people, it gave them rulers for their profit. Since the people are to get advantage [from the move], I shall share in it.”

Not only is Heaven in these passages represented as giving birth to the people, it is seen as the creator of the entire social order. A speech in 9/14:6 puts it thus:

天生民而立之君。使司牧之。勿使失性。有君而為之貳。使師保之。勿使過度。是故天子有公 …

“Heaven, in giving birth to the people, appointed for them rulers to act as their superintendents and pastors, so that they should not lose their proper nature. For the rulers there are assigned their assistants to act as tutors and guardians to them, so that they should not go beyond their proper limits. Therefore, the Son of Heaven has his Princes, …”

The ruler who is accountable to his people, and the goal of preserving human nature, are characteristically Mencian. So is the removal of a bad ruler. 9/14:6:

衛人出其君。不亦甚乎。對曰。或者其君實甚。良君將賞善。養民如子。民奉其君。愛之如父母。其可出乎。若困民之主。百姓絕望。將安用之。弗去何為。

“Have not the people of Wei done very wrong in expelling their ruler?” [Shi Kuang] replied: “Perhaps the ruler had done very wrong. A good ruler will reward the virtuous, ... he will nourish the people as his children ... Then the people will maintain their ruler, love him as a parent, ... could such a ruler be expelled? ... If he makes the life of the people to be straitened, ... then the hope of the people is cut off, ... of what use is he, and what should they do but send him away?”

The focus on government in the Active Heaven section includes the punishment, not only of personal misconduct, but also of misgovernment as such (9/20:4):

慶氏無道。求專陳國。暴蔑其君。而去其親。五年不滅。是無天也。

“Those Qings, in violation of what is right, are seeking to monopolize the government of Chen, tyrannizing over their ruler, and getting his relatives out of the way. If within five years they are not exterminated, there can be no Heaven.”

The corollary is that good government (and in particular, good relations between the government and the people) strengthens the state, to the point where it is not vulnerable to attack from outside. Human sacrifice is rejected as contrary to Heaven’s giving life to the people: “天欲殺之。則如勿生。If Heaven had wished to put them to death, it would not have given them life” (5/21:2). The ruler of Qi is warned that a state like Lu which has the support of its people “未可取也 cannot be taken” (11/9:3a). The ruler of Zheng cares for his people; how then, wonders the King of Chu, “孤之願也。非所敢望也 could I hope [to obtain his state]?” (7/12:1).

In Passive Heaven, it was always the comments of officers which articulated the values intended by the story. In Active Heaven, by contrast, the spokesmen for the text’s values are drawn from a wider social range, and include wives (2/13:1, 5/23:6, 8/14:5), mothers (10:28/2), diviners (4/1:6a, 5/2:5), and music masters (9/14:6), as well as high figures: the *Tianzi* 天子 (10/32:3) and rulers (6:13/3, 7/12:1). This wider range is consistent with the Active Heaven interest in the ruler’s relation with a socially broader range of the people.

The 56 Active Heaven passages make up 43% of the Heaven group; the median length of an Active Heaven passage is 259 characters.

4. Transitional Heaven

These stories mark a step toward the very different Natural category. If the populist character of many Active Heaven passages suggests the doctrines of Mencius, this and the next category abandon those principles and interests, and imply a movement toward what Waley called a “realist” view of the world: as an amoral zone of competing power structures.

The Transitional passages reveal doubt about whether the Active Heaven model actually works as had been thought. Those expressing an Active Heaven analysis of a situation sometimes do so in the form of a polite suggestion, “Perhaps it is so that Heaven ...” This need be no more than decent courtly circumspection. But in other passages, the element of doubt is emphasized. Thus *Zuo*zhuan 10/4:1:

天或者欲逞其心。以厚其毒而降之罰。未可知也。

“Heaven perhaps intends to derange his mind, so as to concentrate the poison, and it will then subject him to penalties; we cannot be sure.”

As it happens, this event comes out as had been suggested. A request of the Chu King is granted by Jin, but without harm to Jin. There is no collapse of the Active Heaven model. There is merely considerable reluctance to be sure about it.

In some Transitional passages, an Active Heaven stance is taken, not in genuine doubt, but as a rhetorical ploy. The lament of Lu Aigong 魯哀公 at Confucius's death (“旻天不弔。不憇遺一老。Compassionate Heaven vouchsafes me no comfort, and has not left me the aged [Confucius] to support me”) is denounced as a sham by Zigan 子贛, i.e. Zigong 子貢 (12/16:3):

君其不沒於魯乎 … 禮失則昏。名失則愆。

“The ruler is not likely to die in Lu. ... Error in a point of ceremony shows darkness of mind; error in the use of a name is a fault.”

The ruler's Active Heaven invocation is here refuted on the spot. Insincerity also characterizes the speeches of two Qi and Jin officers who invoke Heaven to argue against restoring the Lu Prince (10/26:4, 10/27:4) The use of Active Heaven rhetoric merely as an excuse is seen in passages such as 9/25:10, where the wily Zichan 子產 is excusing Zheng's conquest of Chen to a displeased officer of Jin:

當陳隧者。井埋木刊。敝邑大懼不競。而恥大姬。天誘其衷 … 陳知其罪。授手于我。用敢獻功。

“The troops of Chen stopped up the wells and cut down the trees along the roads by which they marched. We were greatly afraid, knowing that we were not strong, and were ashamed of the disgrace thus done to Taiji. But Heaven moved our breasts ... and Chen was made to acknowledge its offense and surrender itself to us. And now we presume to report to you our success.”

Crediting Heaven with the victory shifts the blame. The speech is rhetorically adroit, as Confucius points out in an appended remark. In other passages, Heaven is used simply to justify an attack. In 5/19:4, Wei is suffering from drought. An officer suggests that perhaps Heaven wants Wei to attack Xing. The story ends:

從之。師興而雨。

[The ruler] followed this advice, and immediately after the army was set in motion, it began to rain (see also 1/11:3).

Sometimes the one making rhetorical use of the Active Heaven presumption is not an advisor, but a ruler. The youthful Zhouzi 周子 of Jin, on being summoned to be the new ruler of Jin, invokes Active Heaven in this way (8/18:1):

孤始願不及此。雖及此。豈非天乎。

“I never wished to arrive at this point, and yet I have. How can it be other than the work of Heaven?”

and then proceeds to exact an oath of unquestioning obedience from those present, his future subjects. In context, the Active Heaven invocation is not an affirmation of belief, but merely part of the political negotiation process.

The 19 Transitional passages make up 14% of the Heaven group; the median length is 249 characters.

5. Natural Heaven

The remaining 41 passages (31% of the Heaven group; median 326 characters) abandon any dialogue between Heaven and Man, whether its content is ritual propriety (Sacrificial Heaven),

human virtue (Passive Heaven), or destiny, asserted confidently (Active) or hesitantly (Transitional Heaven). Natural Heaven passages assume that victory goes to the strong (“Heaven” is conventionally said to “give victory”), or that Heaven determines human affairs without human input (as in the astral/terrestrial correspondence theory).

Several of these realist passages deal with the antiwar movement. Zihan 子罕 of Song tells his fellow officer, who has just negotiated a peace (9/27:6): “天生五材. 民並用之. Heaven made the five materials which supply men’s requirements; the people use all of them.” Arms is one:

兵 … 所以威不軌而昭文德也 … 廢興存亡 … 皆兵之由也. 而子去之. 不亦誣乎.

“It is by arms that the lawless are kept in awe, and accomplished virtue is displayed … the courses which lead to decline or growth, to survival or ruin … are to be traced to these instruments, and you seek to do away with them. Is not your scheme a delusion?”

This makes war not an interruption of order (as the code implicit in previous passages had always assumed), but itself part of the order of things.

The Prince of Song is not the ruler to seize, or be advised to seize, a chance advantage. By contrast, a Jin ruler is told in 5/33:3:

秦違蹇叔而以貪勤民. 天奉我也 … 必伐秦師.

“The Qin ruler has been imposing toil on his people; this is an opportunity given us by Heaven; … we must attack the Qin army.”

The ruler does so, and is victorious (compare Wu’s failure to destroy Yue, 12/1:2). It is emphasized that these chances do not represent any Heavenly purpose or favor: “齊晉亦唯天所授. 豈必晉. Between Qi and Jin, victory is the gift of Heaven. It will not necessarily go to Jin” (8/2:3; compare 8/16:5, 10/25:6). Sacrifices, once thought essential to the continuity of a state, are not limited by lineage; they can also be offered by a conqueror: “若晉取虞. 而明德以薦馨香. 神其吐之乎. If Jin takes Yu and cultivates bright virtue and therewith presents fragrant offerings, will the Spirits vomit them out?” (5/5:8). The objects of sacrifice, the favor of Heaven, are all at the disposal of the stronger party.

Heaven is also embodied in nature. Heavenly phenomena like comets or stars foretell the success or failure of military campaigns (9/18:4), the death of individuals (10/10:1), the extinction of states (10/9:4, 10/11:2a) and calamities such as fires (10/9:4, 10/17:5, 10/18:3).

Likewise, the human world is governed by rules and standards determined, and not merely enforced, by Heaven. This is not the old social order which was seen as established by Heaven in the Active passages. It is the world of nature, the regularities of the seasons, the pattern of astral events, which is now to be the model and moral textbook for men. “天地之經. 而民實則之. Heaven and earth have their regular procedures, and men take them for their pattern” (10/25:3b, compare 10/26:11). The state’s survival depends on observing these rules. The ruler is seen as more powerful than before (11/4:3) but his person is separate from the state; loyalty to the state’s altars, rather than to the ruler, is primary (3/14:2, 9/25:2, 10/27:2).

The term “Heaven” in this group is also used to assert a principle about life cycles and historical cycles: “盈而蕩. 天之道也. After fullness comes decay; this is the way of Heaven” (3/4:1; compare 12/11:4). Disasters can be faults in the Heavenly mechanism: “天反時為災. When the seasons of heaven are reversed, we have calamities” (7/15:3). No interaction between Heaven and man is involved. In this category might be placed *Yi* 易 symbolism (3/22:1b, 5/25:2a, 10/29:4, 10/32:4), which claims some grounding in the world system.

Appeals to Heaven to right injustice go unanswered. Aijiang, lamenting “天乎。仲為不道。殺適。立庶。 Oh Heaven, Zhong has done wickedly, killing the son of a wife and setting up the son of a concubine” (6/18:6), evokes sympathy from her hearers in the marketplace, but she draws no response from Heaven. Injustice is final.

These stories have no ethical framework. “Virtue” is a conventional verbal gesture, or denotes a concern for the preservation of the state. It does not involve judgements of personal conduct. Human standards are not of human origin, but are set by an impersonal cosmos. The state becomes increasingly prominent as the one reality, and the object of loyalty for both its ruler and its people.

These are not the *Zuo*zhuan stories that are most commonly read. If read, they are not usually read in this way. Taken as they come, and without influence from ideas expressed in other parts of the text, they give a much bleaker picture of the ethical universe than it is customary to attribute to the *Zuo*zhuan. Similar ideas are held by text spokesmen in other *Zuo*zhuan passages which happen not to use the word *tian* 天 (Heaven), and thus do not come under review in the present essay. These ideas are a surprisingly important part of the *Zuo*zhuan text. The line that defines them may be said to divide the text into two parts, a Virtue part and an After Virtue part.

Summary

The five stages noted above imply a development beginning with sacrifice, passing through ethics (the ideology which most readers associate with the *Zuo*zhuan), and arriving at a phase in which human virtue is irrelevant to outcomes:

1. In Sacrificial Heaven, the efficacy of sacrifices is all that is necessary to deal with natural disasters.
2. In Passive Heaven, individual misdemeanors are responsible for disasters. Heaven uses disasters to reward proper behavior and punish bad behavior.
3. In Active Heaven, Heaven continues to enforce ethical norms, but also guides history and uses men to fulfil its intention for history, in the process determining the rise and fall of families and states.
4. A Transition phase moves from an ethical toward an expedient or realistic view of Heaven. There is doubt about the validity of previous models.
5. In a final or post-Virtue phase, Heaven is constitutive but humanly neutral, and instead military advantage, power, and political expediency govern outcomes in the human sphere. Might makes right. When the term “virtue” is used in stories in this phase, it is effectively redefined as service to the state.

This picture largely mirrors the development of Chinese intellectual history during the 04th century.⁶ The “ethical” Heaven can be seen as providing a new guideline for the emerging bureaucratic state, with its reward and punishment structure (the Passive Heaven for rulers,

⁶ Pines, *Foundations*, 55-88, also sees Heaven as evolving, but from a different perspective and on a different time scale; from a “supreme deity and ultimate guardian of the social order in the early Zhou” to an “impersonalized objective law, with or without recognizable moral content” (p56). I think there can be no doubt that such contrasts exist within the *Zuo*zhuan material, but for reasons given above, and implicit in the distribution of passages representing these contrasting ideologies over the *Zuo*zhuan text (see most conveniently Appendix 1, below), I do not think that the conclusion of a change in real time, over the period covered by the *Chunqiu* chronicle, can stand. See further §7 below, for a specific argument linking this progression, and traits associated with it in the *Zuo*zhuan, to events and ideas which can be firmly attributed to the 04th century.

and the Active Heaven for a wider range of persons), and finally, a neutral Heaven presiding over the power struggles associated with the late 04th century escalation of warfare. In simplest terms, these stages lead from the old sacrificial-propitiatory mindset to the new cosmological speculations of the late 04th and early 03rd centuries, which for most governmental purposes would replace that mindset. In a later section of this essay, I will notice some of the ways that this same development plays out in other 04th century texts.

2. *Li* 禮 in the *Zuo*zhuan

I next take up the 278 *Zuo*zhuan passages including the word *li* 禮. This term occurs in different senses. It always means conformity to some rule of behavior, but that rule may be concerned with the spirit world (I will call those passages “Spirit *Li*”), the protocol of interpersonal and interstate relations (“Human *Li*”), the procedures of government (“Governmental *Li*,” with a zone of uncertainty which I will call “Disputed *Li*”), or the regularities of the cosmos (“Cosmic *Li*”). It scarcely needs demonstration that in early times *li* referred to the proprieties of sacrifice and the rules of human conduct. It is the latter two categories that are more surprising.⁷ The *Zuo*zhuan comes to our aid by insisting on a contrast (10/5:3):

晉侯謂女叔齊曰 … 自郊勞至于贈賄。禮無違者。何故不知。對曰。是儀也。不可謂禮。禮所以守其國。行其政令。無失其民者也。今政令在家。不能取也 … 言善於禮。不亦遠乎。

The ruler of Jin said to Ru Shuqi: “... Considering that the ruler from his reception of the gifts at departure did not err in propriety [*li*], how can you say he does not know it?” [Shuqi] said: “That was deportment, it cannot be called propriety. Propriety is that by which he maintains his state, has his administrative orders obeyed, and does not lose the allegiance of his people. Now, the government [of Lu] is controlled by the [Three] Clans, and he cannot take it from them. ... Is it then not far from right to say he is acquainted with *li*?”

An apparently earlier conventional notion of *li* as understood by the ruler of Jin is here rejected by Ru Shuqi in favor of a new notion of *li* comprising principles of successful government administration. I call the latter “Governmental *Li*.”

⁷ Pines, *Foundations*, 102, says of *Zuo*zhuan 10/25:11, “In Yan Ying’s reinterpretation, *li* had become a means for managing society and the state.” This view is what I here call Governmental *Li*. Pines continues (p102-103), “*Li* as a means for moral self-cultivation, a topic inseparable from the Zhanguo Confucian discourse, remained irrelevant for Chunqiu thinkers. Later generations of Confucians noticed this difference, but could not understand its reasons. Hence, Zhu Xi (1130–1200 C.E.) ironically mentioned Yan Ying’s promise ... and added “I don’t understand what he called *li* in those times, and how it could prevent this.” Zhu Xi’s confusion is like that of many modern readers; it reflects what I have called the “surprising” quality of these two *li* categories. In general, Pines (p103) sees a “major redefinition” of *li* from the Western Zhou “sacrificial ceremonies” to the late Spring and Autumn “hierarchical socio-political order, a universal panacea for all social ills”. As noted above (n6), I acknowledge the contrast to which Pines points, but cannot accept this dating of *Zuo*zhuan evidence, and argue below that these views, and all others contained in the *Zuo*zhuan, are exemplified in the 04th century. I suspect that the “later” thinkers of the high Warring States understood the contrast without difficulty, inasmuch as they were living through exactly that change of focus; for them it was a contemporary event. If we construe *li* in the early 04th century as having the non-sacrificial and merely deportmental sense of “the way things are done,” then the extension of the same term to mean “the way to manage [the government]” and “the way things happen [in the natural world],” then the evolving semantics of *li* are easy enough to follow. That this meaning shift was unintelligible to the highly depoliticized moral philosophers of the later Empire is itself also perfectly intelligible.

In *Zuo* 10/25:3b, the ceremonies of bowing, yielding precedence, and moving from one position to another are described as department, not *li*. We seem to be in the world of the preceding story. But it continues:

夫禮。天之經也。地之義也。民之行也。天地之經。而民實則之。

“*Li* are found in the regular procedures of Heaven and the right phenomena of Earth and the actions of men. Heaven and Earth have their regular procedures, and men take these for their pattern.”

This describes the origin of *li*, and asserts its universality. I call it “Cosmic *Li*.”

These two surprising categories are in addition to the more predictable Spirit and Human *Li*. From the *Zuo* passages quoted, it is clear that both Governmental and Cosmic *Li* are later than, and to an extent reject, Human (or Departmental) *Li*. The sequence is not itself clear from those “rejection” passages. I adopt the order implied above, which is that found in the corresponding Heaven categories. I also recognize a *Li* category corresponding to the Transitional Heaven layer.

Spirit *Li*

Spirit *Li* is concerned with man’s relations with the world of the spirits, specifically, the ruler’s deceased ancestors. All 6 examples are judgements by the *Zuo* that a given action is *fei li* 非禮 (contrary to *li*)” Thus 1/8:4:

鄭公子忽如陳。逆婦媯 … 先配而後祖。鍼子曰。是不為夫婦。誣其祖矣。非禮也。何以能育。

Hu, a son of the Zheng Earl, went to Chen to meet his bride. ... He first mated, then made announcement in the temple. [The officer] Zhenzi [of Chen, who had acted as escort to the lady] said: “They are not husband and wife; he is imposing on his fathers. It is contrary to *li*; how can they expect to have children?”

The implication is that the bad outcome will be caused directly by the offended spirits. I note that this belief in the actions of the spirits is held by a character in the story, and does not of itself commit the *Zuo* authorial voice to a similar belief.

In the other entries in this group, the *Zuo* judges actions, but it does not advocate beliefs. *Zuo* 5/31:3 and 7/3:1 deal with *Chunqiu* divinations about border sacrifices, and rule that one does not do such divinations for regular sacrifices; to do so is to be indifferent to ancient practices, and disrespectful as well. Likewise, in 7/8:2, it is said that to repeat a sacrifice after news of a death is contrary to *li*. *Zuo* 5/8:3 criticizes placing the spirit tablet of Duke Zhuang’s wife in the Great Temple because she did not die in her proper chamber. *Zuo* 5/33:11 criticizes making Xigong’s spirit tablet immediately after his burial; this should rather be done after the weeping is over, and in a special ceremony. These are judgements of ceremonial propriety.

Other *Zuo* passages mentioning sacrifices have been put in different categories. For example, there are passages where sacrifices are merged into government functions in general, or given theoretical rationalization. In 6/15:5, the sacrificial measures to be taken after an eclipse are said to be, not to placate the unseen forces (compare 3/25:3, which I place in Sacrificial Heaven), but to show how to serve the spirits, and to teach the people to serve their ruler. Another example is the 6/2:5b theory of sacrificial procedure as based on human relationships; the sacrifices themselves are seen as perfunctory but important state functions. Sacrifice no longer has its primary sense; it has been subsumed into government.

The 6 Spirit *Li* passages are short (13 to 57 characters, with a median of 31) and all use the formula *fei li* 非禮. They make up 2% of all *li* passages.

Human *Li*

This is the “deportment” *li* which is rejected by two passages quoted above (10/5:3 and 10/25:3b). The 126 passages of this type include a wide range of interpersonal and interstate behavior. Some are concerned for appropriate action in recurring situations such as marriage, death, and burial. Spirits as such are not mentioned in these passages; the propriety is human rather than sacramental. Respect is paid to procedure as such, but any consequences of *neglect* of procedure are to be looked for normally from men, and sometimes from an ethical Heaven, but not from spirits.

The *Zuo*zhuan is not shy about criticizing inappropriate behavior. Thus 3/24:2, which begins by paraphrasing the *Chunqiu* entry on which it comments:

秋。哀姜至。公使宗婦覲用幣。非禮也。御孫曰。男贄。大者玉帛。小者禽鳥。以章物也。女贄。不過榛。栗。棗。脩。以告虔也。今男女同贄。是無別也。男女之別。國之大節也。而由夫人亂之。無乃不可乎。

In autumn, when Aijiang arrived, the ruler made the wives of the great officers, at their first interview, offer silks and gems, which was contrary to *li*. Yusun said: “The greater offerings of males are gems and silks, and the lesser, birds and animals, the different things illustrating their rank. But the offerings of women are only nuts, dates, and pieces of dried flesh, to show their respect. On this occasion, males and females used the same offerings; there was no distinction between them. But the distinction between males and females is a grand law of the state, and that it should be confounded by the wife is surely not permissible.”

A whole theoretical structure – but not one grounded in the nature of spirits – is here erected by the *Zuo*zhuan to show the error of the offerings which *Chunqiu* simply reports.⁸

The consequences of acting contrary to *li*, in anecdotes in this category, include disorder in the state (from not having a great minister meet a bride, 6/4:4), and a prediction of unspecified ill consequences for a minister who skimps on the burial of his ruler’s wife (9/4:4). These consequences are described simply as outcomes, the mechanism of enforcement is left obscure. We may see here a retention of an earlier way of thinking, less supported by actual belief (and less complicated by ideas of social difference) than may have been the case in that same society, centuries earlier, during the actual Spring and Autumn centuries.

The desiderata for other categories of interpersonal and interstate relationships are numerous. They include humility (3/11:2, 5/24:5, 10/14:1), not displaying weapons or bragging of military success (8/6:2, 9/19:4), holding meetings (5/9:2, 9/28:2, 10/11:4), visiting other states (1/8:6, 6/1:8, 6/15:3, 9/1:4, 9/1:5, 9/12:6, 9/20:5, 10/9:6), assisting other states during famines (1/6:6,

⁸ On the assumption that the *Zuo*zhuan correctly understands *li*, later interpreters have not only found the *Chunqiu* text lacking in ritual understanding, but have attributed to the *Chunqiu* scribe an intention to record a wrong procedure as an implicit criticism of the Lu ruler. This line of thought rapidly leads to the theory that *Chunqiu* is not a chronicle at all, but a coded moral treatise authored (in some variants) by Confucius. It is better to note the general reality of the *Chunqiu* as a chronicle of its times (see Brooks, “Integrity”), to acknowledge the unlikelihood that any Lu scribe would be inclined or permitted to make of his text a running denunciation of Lu practices, and to accept the likelihood that the *Zuo*zhuan is speaking of Spring and Autumn practices from the perspective of a much later, and stricter, period. For the general increase in rigidity over the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, see Hinsch, “Separation”, 616. The author finesses the question of the *Zuo*zhuan evidence, which on the present finding would have strengthened his argument.

3/28:4), and providing provisions to visitors (2/14:1, 5/24:6, 5/29:1). There are also governmental desiderata: not using the people during planting season (9/13:6) or taxing them heavily (7/15:8); not attacking another state in the wake of its ruler's death (9/4:2, 9/19:6). The tone is civilian and cooperative. The efficacy of *li* behavior is often seen as its power of moral suasion. The value of correct positioning in producing a desirable human result is seen in 5/6:4:

蔡穆侯將許僖公以見楚子於武城。許男面縛銜璧。大夫衰絰。士輿櫬。楚子問諸逢伯。對曰。昔武王克殷。微子啟如是。武王親釋其縛。受其璧而祓之。焚其櫬。禮而命之。使復其所。楚子從之。

Lord Mu of Cai brought Prince Xi of Xu before the Master of Chu in Wucheng. The ruler of Xu appeared with his hands tied behind him, with a *bi* jade in his mouth [as though for burial], his great officers wore headbands and other clothes of deepest mourning, and the lower officers pushed a coffin along on a carriage. The Chu ruler asked Feng Bo what he should do. He replied: "When King Wu had vanquished Yin, Weizi Qi was like this, and King Wu personally loosed his bonds, received his *bi* jade, ordered away the emblems of doom, burned his coffin, treated him courteously, and robed him, sending him back to his place." The ruler of Chu followed this [example].

Proper *li*, in the Human group, is rewarded by good relations with other states (6/3:7, 8/18:6, 9/8:8) and by the protection of one's altars (5/33:2). It sometimes brings a reward of carriages (9/24:11) or rich gifts from the King (7/9:1). Want of *li* can mean early death (2/18:1, 6/15:11, 8/13:1), disorder in one's state (9/21:7), lack of a successor (5/11:2), military attacks (3/10:4, 3/16:2), alienation of others (1/3:3, 1/6:7, 1/11:5), loss of allies (7/1:8, 10/7:11), or extinction (3/10:4). Apart from dynastic continuity, which may be regarded as retained or elaborated from an earlier view, *li* in this category is seen as producing better human relations. The results are human, and the mechanism by which they are produced is also human.

The 126 Human *Li* passages vary from 6-186 characters in size, with a median of 39. Of them, 82 (65%) are formulaic, using the idioms *li* 禮 and *fei li* 非禮, and 44 (35%) use cognate forms like *you li* 有禮, *wu li* 無禮, or *buli* 不禮. The formulaic passages tend to be on the low to medium end of the size range for this category, and the spokesman in the formulaic passages tends to be the *Zuo* text voice itself. The nonformulaic or anecdotal passages feature officers as spokesmen, and they quote as authorities the rituals of Zhou (1/11:1, 5/21:4, 5/24:4, 7/16:4), the early King Wu (5/6:4), the *Sbi* (1/3:3, 6/4:4, 6/15:11, 10/7:11), or a text called *Zhi* 志 (9/4:4). When Heaven is cited from the *Sbi*, it is reinterpreted in context as an ethical entity, punishing evil and rewarding good, not as an entity which must be placated by sacrifices (as in the original *Sbi* poem). One also encounters in this section *Sbi* poems quoted at state banquets.

The 126 Human *Li* passages make up 45% of the total *Li* category.

Governmental *Li*

The Human *Li* passages describe or judge what is proper in personal and diplomatic contexts, sometimes with outcomes which *affect* the state. In the Governmental *Li* passages, the operation of government *itself* can be defined as *li*. Thus 10/5:3:

禮。所以守其國。行其政令。無失其民者也。

"*Li* is that by which he maintains his state, makes sure that his governmental orders are carried out, and does not lose [the allegiance of] his people."

And 10/14:3:

楚子使然丹簡上國之兵於宗丘。且撫其民。分貧振窮。長孤幼。養老疾 … 禮也。

“The Chu ruler sent Ran Dan to inspect the military forces of the upper part of the state, at Zongqiu, and to comfort the people, giving assistance to the poor and relief to the distressed, nurturing orphans and the young, nourishing the old and sick, ... all this is *li*.”

As in Active Heaven, consideration of the people is characteristic of Governmental *Li* passages. “公侯能為民干城。Princes are the protectors of the people” (8/12:4). They comfort and nourish the people (10/14:3), who are needed for the state’s defense (10/23:9). But the relationship of need is mutual. “民棄其上。不亡何待。When the people abandon their superiors, nothing but ruin comes” (10/23:9). Especially striking is the appearance of low-status individuals who function as advisors to rulers, and even as arbiters of *li*. This reverses the previous social locus of *li*. A wagoner advises an officer on how calamity can be avoided (8/5:4), a servant queries his master’s mourning rites (9/17:7), a cook stops his ruler from feasting before the burial of a minister (10/9:5), and a Zheng merchant saves his state from a surprise attack (5/33:1).

Also reflecting interest in low-status wisdom are quotations of popular proverbs as authority statements by officers of state (7:11:5):

夏徵舒弑其君。其罪大矣。討而戮之。君之義也。抑人亦有言曰。牽牛以蹊人之田。而奪之牛。牽牛以蹊者。信有罪矣。而奪之牛。罰已重矣 … 今縣陳 … 而以貪歸之。無乃不可乎。

“The crime of Xia Zhengshu in murdering his ruler was great, and you performed a righteous deed in punishing and executing him. But the people have a saying: ‘He led his ox through another man’s field, and the ox was taken from him.’ Now, he that so led his ox as to trample on another man’s field indeed committed an offence, but when the ox was taken from him, the punishment was too severe ... In annexing Chen ... you are sending them away after satisfying your own covetousness; does this not seem improper?”

Li in this category may have a direct role in the state’s military strength. “夫禮樂慈愛。戰所畜也。 *Li*, music, kindness, and affection are the means by which a fighting spirit is produced” (3/27:5). Military *li* operates above the personal level. “寡人之言。親愛也。吾子之討。軍禮也。 I speak out of love for my brother; you punish in accordance with military *li*” (9/3:7). *Li* governs military operations such as leaving officers at strategic places (10/5:8). *Li* also governs conquest. If a defeated state shows *li* and submits, it is left intact (7/11:5).

A new element in this category is that the states are sometimes seen as organized by a hegemonic figure. The mengzhu 盟主 or Lord of Covenants is considerate of the people and of all states (6/6:3, 6/7:8, 9/31:6, 10/1:1), follows the ancients on how to treat small and large states (8/3:7), and admits when he is not *li* (9/9:5). States are said to acknowledge the supremacy of Jin due to *li*: the small states do service to the great one, and the great state cherishes the small (10/30:2). It is hierarchical, but within a still somewhat reciprocal multi-state situation.

Remonstrance is an important motif in this category. Officers remonstrate with their rulers to show them the proper way to rule (1/5:1, 2/2:2, 3/23:1) or practice economic moderation (3/24:1). In a more drastic example of the type, an officer is killed for trying to correct his ruler (9/7:9).

Another trait is the multiplication of status distinctions and *li* rules. Accounts of diplomacy in earlier categories implied little more than instinctive courtesy as the rule of *li*. In this category, some passages make elaborate distinctions (10/5:4):

朝聘有珪。享覲有璋。… 設机而不倚。爵盈而不飲。宴有好貨。飧有陪鼎。…

“For appearances at court and complimentary visits there were the jade tokens of rank, for entertainments and receptions there were the semi-tokens. ... When the benches were spread [with the dishes], there was no leaning forward on them, and when the cup was filled, there was no drinking of it [till the time came]; for feasts there was the provision of good gifts; for meals there were double the usual number of dishes; ...”

or require complicated protocol in meetings (8/3:7):

仲行伯之於晉也。其位在三。孫子之於衛也。位為上卿。將誰先。對曰。次國之上卿。當大國之中。中當其下。下當其上大夫。小國之上卿。當大國之下卿。

“The station of Zhonghang Bo in Jin is that of a minister of the 3rd degree, while Sunzi in Wei is its minister of the 1st degree. With which shall I covenant first?” Xuanshu replied: “A minister of the 1st degree in a 2nd rate state corresponds to one of the 2nd degree in a great state; its 2nd degree corresponds to the great state’s 3rd, and its 3rd degree to the great state’s great officers of the highest class. In a small state, the minister of the 1st degree corresponds to a great state’s minister of the lowest degree.

These descriptions suggest a highly differentiated court society.

Formulaic passages make up only 12% of the Governmental *Li* category, and have a size range of 24-235 characters. Anecdotal passages range from 40 to 1,610 characters. The chief bulk of the longer passages is made up of long speeches. Long narratives usually break down into shorter units.

There are 98 Governmental *Li* passages, comprising 35% of all *Li* passages. The median length is 234 characters.

Disputed *Li*

In the previous category, *li* rules were invoked or expounded. Here, *li* itself is often the subject of dispute. Disputes center on what is proper in a given case (a minister’s funeral in 10/4:8 and 10/5:1a; eclipse responses in 10/17:2), or how *li* relates to policy aims (how to get rid of robbers if you treat them without *li* in 9/21:2, the danger that law codes will make the people disregard *li* in 10/6:3). In 12/24:3, Lu Aigong asks his Director of the Shrine (*zongren* 宗人) for the ceremony (*li*) for marrying a concubine. The Director answers that there is no such ceremony. Aigong proceeds anyway – and so loses the love of his people.

In all these cases, it is notable that the officers have become the arbiters of *li*. Thus, a contradictory attitude toward *li* on the part of a ruler is used as the basis for a minister’s argument in 11/6:2 (quoted above),

尤人而效之。非禮也。

“To condemn others and then to imitate them is contrary to *li*.”

Such inconsistency might be said to be the ruler disputing with himself; the officer judges. Similar in spirit are several passages in which a *li* argument is urged insincerely, or for rhetorical advantage only, by a speaker. Various lords had laid siege to the capital of Xu, and then in 5/28:12 we have:

晉侯有疾。曹伯之豎侯獮貨筮史。使曰。以曹為解。齊桓公為會而封異姓。今君為會。而滅同姓。公說。復曹伯。遂會諸侯于許。

The ruler of Jin falling ill, Hou Nou, an attendant of the ruler of Cao, bribed the divination officer and got him to attribute the Jin ruler's illness to his dealing with Cao. "Huan of Qi [represented the officer] assembled the princes and established states of surnames different from his own, but your lordship now assembles them, and extinguishes states of your own surname ... The ruler [of Jin] was pleased, and restored the ruler of Cao, who immediately joined the other princes at Xu.

In these passages, whether or not seemingly sincere, arguments about *li* tend to be decided in terms of advantage to the state. This is true of the above example, and of 5/30:3, 10/13:9, 10/18:6, and 10/18:7. States had been punished for *li* offenses in earlier layers also, but here, punishment is decreed by higher authority: the *houbo* or leader of the states, the Zhou King (5/1:3), or Heaven (1/11:3).

There are 22 Disputed *Li* passages, comprising 8% of the *Li* group. The size range is 14-1,329 characters, and the median length is 295 characters.

Cosmic *Li*

Typical of this group is 10/25:3b, cited above, where *li* is found in “天之經也。地之義也。 the regular procedures of Heaven and the right phenomena of Earth.” Cosmic regularities are models for human conduct, and for strengthening the state. *Li* itself, however derived, and defined as “禮以順時 doing things at the proper time,” becomes a tool of war (8/16:5). War for the good of the state is one of the duties of the ruler (9/18:4, 10/3:3), as is attacking non-*li* states: “一日縱敵。數世之患也。 If you let your enemy go for one single day, you are preparing misfortune for several generations” (5/33:3). This is in strong contrast to the earlier view of chastizing but not destroying states.

Previous categories emphasized the people. Here, the state comes first. Zichan of Zheng, elsewhere a champion of the smaller states, is here seen as an emblem of Legalism, reviled by the populace. He retorts that he is only interested in what will benefit the state; the opinions of the people do not matter (10/4:6). The state is an officer's first consideration, and himself the last (10/2:3). Failed remonstrances in earlier categories (such as 1/5:1, 2/2:2, 3/23:1) implied that the officer had done his duty; here, an officer is held responsible if he cannot succeed in keeping his ruler from indulgences that injure the state (10/1:12) or prevent assassination (10/20:4). Killing a ruler who has transgressed against *li* is no longer justified (6/18:7). The officers of state are thus held to a higher level of accountability in practical matters.

Heaven, both literally and figuratively, becomes the source of *li*. It is no longer non-*li* behavior or even bad governance that are the harbingers of death, but red and black vapors in the sky (10/15:1) or similar disorders of nature (10/20:1). The origin of *li* is in Heaven and Earth (10/26:11).

There are 26 Cosmic *Li* passages, comprising 10% of all *Li* passages; the median length is 324 characters. Of them, 4 use the *li ye* 禮也 formula and vary in size from 59 to 137 words, while 2 use the rather curious phrase *bujian fei li* 不犯非禮 (Legge: “does not violate the rules of propriety”); these have 779 and 827 characters. The remaining non-formulaic passages vary from 54 to 2,593 characters.

The tendency in all *Li* passages is for formulaic passages to be short, whatever their category, but (with one exception) for maximum size to increase with increasingly late categories (Spirit 57 characters, Human 186, Governmental 1,610, Disputed 1,329 – the slight exception – and Cosmic 2,593). It is true of early Chinese literature in general that the literary

devices and styles of early periods tend to remain available for later writers. With allowance for this “lapidary” factor, it is broadly true that later *Zuo* categories use a more expansive literary style, and that the latest material finally achieves what can fairly be called extended narrative: a continuous texture of events that is more than just a series of juxtaposed short anecdotal modules. In parallel with the clear ideological development noted here, we thus also observe an equally clear increase in literary capacity and skill.

3. The Relation Between Heaven and *Li*

In the preceding pages, Heaven and *Li* passages were analyzed separately. It is nevertheless obvious that the five categories distinguished in each group tend to be similar by pairs. I here examine the extent of this similarity, by comparing the Heaven and the *Li* character of the 33 passages in which both terms occur. In the table below I juxtapose the short descriptions previously given for the Heaven and the *Li* aspect of these 33 passages. It should be remembered that some Heaven occurrences are perfunctory, and some *Li* mentions are conventional.

Division is by Heaven category. I give the *Li* category as a one-letter abbreviation in the third column. Apart from grouping into categories, *Zuo* order is followed:

Sacrificial Heaven (no passages)

Passive Heaven (5 passages)

Irreverence brings calamity	3/11:2	H	Song ruler is <i>li</i> ; will prosper
Respectful of Heaven’s majesty	5/9:2	H	Covenant for friendship is <i>li</i>
Irreverence brings calamity	6/4:4	H	Lacking <i>li</i> , disorder ensues
Respect for Heaven preserves self	6/15:11	H	Lacking <i>li</i> , one cannot live long
Heaven’s guidelines include <i>li</i>	8/13:2	H	Nourish proper action: <i>li, yi</i>

Active Heaven (14 passages)

Heaven favors Chonger	5/23:6	G	Ruler is not <i>li</i> to Chonger
One Heaven helps can’t be stopped	5/28:3	G	To settle affairs of men is <i>li</i>
(Can’t escape fate)	8/10:4	H>G	(Correctly diagnosed illness)
Rudeness = misgovernment	8/12:4	G	If government is perfected by <i>li</i> ...
Heaven does not side with Zheng	9/9:5	G	Lord of Covenants must be <i>li</i>
Heaven blesses good government	9/26:10	G	Rewards/punishments are key to <i>li</i>
<i>Li</i> in gov’t gains Heaven blessings	9/28:8	G	[Ditto]
Follow him whom Heaven favors	9/30:10	G	<i>Li</i> is the bulwark of the state
Heaven inflicts no calamities	10/1:1	G	Good (<i>li</i>) rule avoids calamities
(Rails at Heaven)	10/13:2	G	Abandoning <i>li</i> brings disorder
Heaven denies peace to Zhou	10/26:9	G	Rebellious son is not <i>li</i>
Wu rejects Heaven, will fail	12/7:3	G	Commanding without <i>li</i> is bad
Envoy dies due to Heaven’s anger	12/15:2	G	Corpse completing mission is <i>li</i>
Much favor from Heaven in past	12/24:1	G	Jin’s gift is not according to <i>li</i>

Transitional Heaven (5 passages)

Heaven uses Zheng to punish Xue	1/11:3	D	Ruler is <i>li</i> ; punishes Xue
(“Heaven” is merely “sky”)	10/4:8	D	Dispute on <i>li</i> for officer funeral
Uses Heaven to excuse conduct	10/18:6	D	Military preparation is also <i>li</i>
Heaven will entrap Yang He; wait	11/6:2	D	Faulting but copying Lu is not <i>li</i>
(Calls vainly on Heaven)	12/16:3	D	Insincere eulogy violates <i>li</i>

Natural Heaven (8 passages)			
Heaven (chance) is assisting us	5/33:3	C	Qin's lack of <i>li</i> is our opportunity
Disturbs Heaven's constancy	6/18:7	C	Kill the man who transgresses <i>li</i>
Victory is gift of Heaven (chance)	8/2:3	H>C	(Concern for ruler is <i>li</i>)
Victory given by Heaven (chance)	8/16:5	C	<i>Li</i> and <i>yi</i> are tools of war
Heaven is aligned toward the NW	9/18:4	C	<i>Li</i> of Former Kings is to go to war
Heaven's excess causes illness	10/1:12	H>C	(Doctor rewarded lavishly)
Heaven/Earth are models for men	10/25:3b	C	<i>Li</i> is in Heaven's procedures, Earth's <i>yi</i>
Heaven bounties not repeated	10/25:6	H>C	Want something; in <i>li</i> be humble
Rules for gov't from Heaven/Earth	10/26:11	C	Ancients got <i>li</i> from Heaven/Earth

Always allowing for the persistence of “encapsulated” or conventional meanings (here parenthesized) within passages of later character, and for one mixed passage whose Heaven category is later than its *Li* category (8/2:3), and which by previous rule should be put where the later, that is, the Heaven, indication puts it, there is good agreement between the categories. I conclude that ideological evolution in the *Zuo*zhuan is not confined to single terms, and that the progress seen alike in the *Tian* and *Li* passages reflects a more comprehensive pattern of ideological evolution which characterizes the *Zuo*zhuan as a whole.

Ideology

That implied ideological evolution, I submit, makes sense as a development. The earliest *Zuo*zhuan layers are reminiscent of the old auguristic-sacrificial mentality, and to some degree share in, or functionally accept, its assumptions and outlook. In commenting on Spring and Autumn ritual as recorded in the *Chunqiu* entries, the *Zuo*zhuan is a sometimes hostile colleague of the *Chunqiu*, but still, at many points, a colleague nevertheless. From this starting point, the *Zuo*zhuan text appears to make continuous progress in its understanding of events. It moves to a humane or ethical basis for human actions, a basis which is gradually dominated, and then obscured, by the increasing importance of the state, which replaces persons as the recipient of Heavenly or *li*-based advantage. The basis of conduct is finally located outside the human world altogether, in the regularities of nature.

The thesis of this essay can now be stated: it is that the *Zuo*zhuan was written in several stages, each of them displaying a more or less distinct ideology.

In the concluding sections of this essay, I will attempt to locate the *Zuo*zhuan within the 04th century, and then to show that this highly plausible evolution is also closely coordinated with what was happening in the intellectual life of the 04th century as a whole: the high Warring States.

4. Other *Zuo*zhuan Internal Evidence

As a test of this theory, I will now see if the compositional stages which I have proposed for the *Zuo*zhuan agree with other evidence internal to the text. I will examine three types of evidence: (1) a word, (2) an analytical concept, and (3) two previous analyses implying possible layering in the *Zuo*zhuan.

A Word Test

The word *huo* 或 normally means “someone,” it can also mean “perhaps” (and in this sense can be distinctively written *huozhe* 或者). This sense of *huo* is not common in *Zuo*zhuan, and when it occurs, in Heaven/*Li* passages, it is confined to the later of the layers here proposed.

This does not mean that the usage was innovated at just this time. More likely, *huozhe* is part of the rhetoric of suggestion, and its appearance at that point in the *Zuo* simply reflects a more hesitant, less assertive, mode of speaking in those anecdotes. The reason for that mode of speaking may well be nothing more than what is perceived as the greater circumspection required in addressing a ruler. This in turn may usefully be seen as one more aspect of the continually growing power and importance of the state, as it affects the tone of the several *Zuo* compositional layers.

Of the 13 occurrences of *huozhe* in *Zuo*, 11 are in passages previously identified as belonging to one or both of the Heaven and *Li* sets; their position within those sets is shown below. The remaining 2 passages are added [in brackets] to the layer with which their general character would seem to associate them.

Active Heaven	Governmental <i>Li</i>
5/23:6	5/23:6
	[7/17:2]
9/14:6	
[10/7:7]	
Transitional Heaven	Disputed <i>Li</i>
5/19:4	
7/12:5	
9/27:7	
10/4:1	
12/1:4	
12/15:3	
Natural Heaven	Cosmic <i>Li</i>
7/15:3	12/12:4

Distribution of *huozhe* 或者 in *Zuo* Layers

It will be seen that a few uses of *huozhe* are found in the Active Heaven layer and its *Li* counterpart, but most are in the Transitional/Disputed layer, or later. This, as argued above, is the zone in which the least degree of moral assurance obtains, and thus where the maximum of risk attends the recommendations of ministers. The distribution of “perhaps” is thus intelligible in terms of the proposed *Zuo* layers, and to that extent gives additional support to the present layer theory.

Hexagrams and Trigrams.

Quotations from the *Yi* text occur in a total of 18 *Zuo* passages (one passage contains two mentions, giving a total of 19 relevant items). Of these 18 passages, 11 are placed in the chart below next to the Heaven or *Li* layer in which they occur; the other 7 are interpolated according to my judgement of their content. I note whether the *Yi* citation is based on a hexagram or a trigram, and whether it is an ethicizing sermon, a determination of the viability of an intended action, a prediction of a long-term future, such as that of a child or a marriage, or an analysis of an objective situation, or of reality itself.

Passive Heaven	Human <i>Li</i>
	[7/6:6] Hexagram: ethicizing
	9/28:2 Hexagram: ethicizing

Active Heaven	Governmental <i>Li</i>
	9/9:3 Hexagram: ethicizing
	[10/7:15] Hexagram: determination
	10:12:10 Hexagram: ethicizing
	[12/9:6] Hexagram: determination
Natural Heaven	Cosmic <i>Li</i>
3/22:1b Trigram: prediction	
[4/1:6b] Trigram: prediction	
[4/2:4] Hexagram: prediction	
5/15:4 Trigram: determination	
5/25:2a Trigram: prediction	
	7/12:2 Trigram: determination
8/16:5 Hexagram: determination	
9/25:2 Trigram: prediction	
10/1:12 Trigram: analysis	
[10/5:1b] Trigram: prediction	
[10/29:4] Hexagram: analysis (dragons)	
10/32:4 Trigram: analysis	

Hexagrams and Trigrams in the *Zuo*zhuan

In sum, hexagrams are used, and determinations of present action are made, in all layers. Otherwise, the material is sharply divided. All ethicizing occurs in the first two layers, whereas all trigrams,⁹ and all long-term predictions or analyses, are in the last layer. No ethical aspects remain in this final group; the emphasis is on what will happen and what advantage can be gained from knowing it, or on the structure of reality from a medical (10/1:12) or philosophical (10/32:4) standpoint. This division of content, and especially the isolation of the trigrams in the last layer, gives strong and independent support to the present layer theory.

The Hegemon Theory

I have earlier argued¹⁰ that the *Zuo*zhuan's hegemon theory is a construct which developed in three stages, each with its characteristic term for the hegemon position: first *mengzhu* 盟主, then *boubo* 侯伯, and finally *ba* 霸. The definition of the position grows increasingly severe in successive stages. Below I show the position of the 29 passages which use any of these terms, and which also figure in one, or both, of the Heaven and *Li* lists:

Active Heaven	Governmental <i>Li</i>
	6/6:3 <i>mengzhu</i>
	6/7:8 <i>mengzhu</i>
	8/3:7 <i>mengzhu</i>
9/9:5 <i>mengzhu</i>	9/9:5 <i>mengzhu</i>
	9/23:4 <i>mengzhu</i>
	9/31:6 <i>mengzhu</i>
10/1:1 <i>mengzhu</i>	10/1:1 <i>mengzhu</i>
10/11:5 <i>mengzhu</i>	
	10:13:3 <i>mengzhu</i>
	10/24:2 <i>mengzhu</i>
10/32:3 <i>mengzhu</i>	

⁹ "There are many indications that the hexagrams were the original images from which the trigrams were then later abstracted" (Wilhelm, *Change*, 37).

¹⁰ See Brooks, "Hegemon".

Transitional Heaven	Disputed <i>Li</i>
5/19:4 <i>houbo</i>	5/1:3 <i>houbo</i>
	5/28:3 <i>houbo</i>
9/25:10 <i>houbo</i>	8/2:9 <i>houbo</i>
10/4:1 <i>mengzhu</i>	*9/27:4 <i>houbo</i>
10/13:9 <i>mengzhu</i>	10/9:3 <i>houbo</i>
12/1:4 <i>houbo</i>	10/13:9 <i>mengzhu</i>
Natural Heaven	Cosmic <i>Li</i>
	4/1:5 <i>ba</i>
	5/22:9b <i>ba</i>
	5/27:4 <i>ba</i>
	7/12:2 <i>ba</i>
*8/2:3 <i>ba</i>	8/2:3 <i>ba</i>
	8/18:3 <i>ba</i>
	10/3:1 <i>ba</i>
	10/4:3 <i>ba</i>
	*12/12:4 <i>ba</i>

Distribution of Three Hegemon Terms in the *Zuo*zhuan

* more than one term used in these passages

Only the laterally-oriented term *mengzhu* occurs in the Active/Governmental category. The *mengzhu* entries in the Transitional/Disputed category show more tension: Jin's position as *mengzhu* is contested by Chu (10/4:1) and the *mengzhu*'s actions are less solicitous of small states and more punitive in nature (10/13:9). One passage (12/1:4) uses "*mengzhu*" retrospectively. They share a stratum with the more hierarchical *houbo*, appointed by the Zhou King. In the Natural/Cosmic category, the *ba*, who openly favors the stronger states, comes to power by his own military prowess, and is not at all subject to the authority of the Zhou King.

Thus the correspondence between the increasingly power-oriented "hegemon" terms and the *Zuo*zhuan compositional layers here proposed is exact. That correspondence tends to support the present proposal.

The Gentleman Speaks

Eric Henry¹¹ has noted an apparent ideological difference between the "Gentleman" (*junzi yue* 君子曰) and "Confucius" (*Zhongni yue* 仲尼曰 / *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰) judgements which are a prominent feature of the *Zuo*zhuan. He finds that the Gentleman "responds with uncomplicated enthusiasm when rules are just, when ministers are bold and loyal, and when evil-doers get their just deserts." The Confucius pieces, on the other hand, are concerned "not whether an action is righteous but whether it is wise or practical." It is relevant to ask how far this difference between idealism and empiricism coincides with the layers here proposed. Distinguishing the "Confucius" sayings as delivered by either *Zhongni* 仲尼 or *Kongzi* 孔子 in the Heaven and *Li* passages, we get the following picture:

¹¹ Henry, "Junzi"; see especially 140-144 and 147-148.

Passive Heaven	Human <i>Li</i>
	1/3:3 Gentleman
	1/11:5 Gentleman
	3/22:1a Gentleman
6/4:4 Gentleman	6/4:4 Gentleman
8/7:1 Gentleman	
	8/18:6 Gentleman
	9/2:3 Gentleman
	9/4:4 Gentleman
	9/8:8 Gentleman
Active Heaven	Governmental <i>Li</i>
	5/22/9a Gentleman
	6/2:5b Gentleman
	6/6:3 Gentleman
6/13:3 Gentleman	
	7/2:1 Gentleman
	8/2/2 Zhongni
	9/13:3 Gentleman
	10/3:4 Gentleman
	10/5:3 Gentleman
	10/7:12 Zhongni
	10/12:2 Gentleman
	10/12:11 Zhongni
	10/13:3 Zhongni
	10/31:5 Gentleman
11/9:3 Zhongni	
	11/10:4 Gentleman
	12/3:2 Kongzi
	12/11:7 Zhongni
Transitional Heaven	Disputed <i>Li</i>
1/11:3 Gentleman	
	5/28:3 Gentleman
	7/2:3 Kongzi
9/25:10 Zhongni	
	9/27:4 Zhongni
	10/5:1a Zhongni
Natural Heaven	Cosmic <i>Li</i>
9/27:6 Gentleman	
	10/3:3 Gentleman
	10/4:3 Gentleman
10/18:3 Gentleman	
10/28:3 Zhongni	10/20:4 Zhongni
12/6:4 Kongzi	

Gentleman and Confucius Comments in the *Zuo*zhuan

Without here entering into too great detail, or undertaking to reinvestigate the passages in question, three observations suggest themselves: (1) The “Gentleman” sayings are distributed over the entire *Zuo*zhuan. (2) The first two layers of the text, as here distinguished, have *only* “Gentleman” sayings, which thus probably belonged to the repertoire of the early *Zuo*zhuan writers, and were used by them over the whole range of the text. Those writers then apparently possessed *only* a “Gentleman says” device, and did not use “Confucius says” as an

alternative. (3) With one exception, all “Confucius” sayings (whether as Zhongni or Kongzi) are confined to, and predominate in, the chronological range of the *Zuo*zhuan which corresponds to the lifetime of Confucius, suggesting an intention on the part of the writers of that part of the text to have Confucius speak for himself during his lifetime, leaving more general comments to the “Gentleman.” These more pragmatic comments are then devices of the later *Zuo*zhuan writers, and reflect their increasingly realistic worldview.

However that may ultimately be, it suffices here to note that a contrast noticed by previous scholarship between idealistic and realistic statecraft pronouncements corresponds closely to the line here drawn between the first two and the last three compositional layers of the *Zuo*zhuan.

The Historiography of the *Chunqiu*

It is only in its late layers that the *Zuo*zhuan writers develop a full-fledged theory of the *Chunqiu* text itself. This theory is the one still commonly encountered, in which the *Chunqiu* text is seen as a body of moral judgements, intended as a warning for later ages. The “Gentleman,” in a Governmental *Li* passage (10/31:5), asserts that the *Chunqiu* was made as “以懲不義 a warning to unrighteousness,” to “數惡無禮 point out wickedness and want of *li*,” and that by this “善人勸焉。淫人懼焉 good men are encouraged and bad men made afraid.” In the still somewhat ethical Disputed *Li* layer, “Confucius” notes that the scribe who insisted on blaming Zhao Dun on the record, for the death of the ruler of Jin at which he had connived, was “古之良史也。書法不隱 a good historiographer of old – his rule for writing was not to conceal” (7/2:3). This may serve to remind us that the Disputed area of *Li*, and the increasingly dangerous area for criticism of public figures in general, is also the one which most logically calls for moral courage on the part of persons of integrity. The picture painted by the late *Zuo*zhuan layers is not cheerful, but it has its moments of nobility.

5. *Shu* 書 in the *Zuo*zhuan: The Earliest Layer

The analysis of the *Tian* and *Li* passages, above, revealed a tendency for later *Zuo*zhuan text layers to be associated with longer *Zuo*zhuan text units, and for longer units to be narrative rather than expository in character. Outside *Zuo*zhuan, the first example of a Warring States long narrative seems to be the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳, a work which was recovered from the tomb of Wei Xiangwang, and was most likely composed during that ruler’s reign (0319-0296). *Guanzi* 20 or *Guoyu* 6 (which derives from it, and which is internally datable to c0300)¹² seem to be based on the simpler treatment of Guan Zhong in the *Zuo*zhuan, and thus should postdate the *Zuo*zhuan. All this suggests that long narrative prose first appears in China toward the end of the 04th century.¹³ If so, the period of the *Zuo*zhuan overlaps the emergence of long prose, and conversely, it is not unreasonable to expect that the oldest *Zuo*zhuan passages will be found among its shortest pieces. I here test this assumption by considering a group of passages in which the term *shu* 書 refers not to writings in general, but specifically to the *Chunqiu* text.

¹² See Pankenier, “Astrology”. Like *Zuo*zhuan, the *Guoyu* uses calculated dates, and thus is datable by astronomical methods.

¹³ In the parallel but distinct category of expository or argumentative prose, as exemplified in the ethical chapters of the *Mozzi*, a similar tendency to increasing length is obvious within each set of essays under the same title (see Brooks, “Triplets”). I regard the earliest of these essays (*Mozzi* 17) as rhetorically close to a speech. Longer narrative prose as we find it in *Zuo*zhuan is a description which incorporates speeches as one class of constituent material. The detailed evolution of these two distinct but related types of literary expression is an important topic, but one which cannot be addressed here.

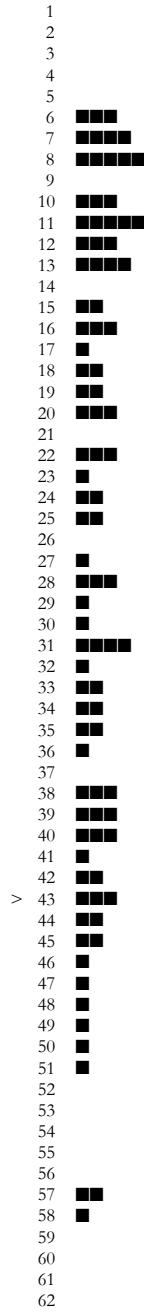


Diagram 1. Distribution of the Smaller *Shu* 書 Passages by Size
 The median size (>) of all passages in the entire set is 43 characters

There are 156 such passages, ranging in size from 6 to 1,160 characters; the median size is 43 characters. As the full list in Appendix 3 will show, the long pieces do not cluster solely at the end of the *Zuo* (an entry 563 characters long occurs in Yin 1, the first year of the *Chunqiu*). In general, the *Shu* and other short entries are found throughout all 12 reigns of the *Chunqiu*. There is thus no evidence that a capacity for longer prose developed over the Spring and Autumn period. It remains to be seen if the present layer theory can better accommodate the data.

The distribution of the smaller *Shu* pieces is given in Diagram 1, above. The *Shu* median size of 43 characters is notably smaller than that for the *Li* set (96) or the *Tian* set (245). Of the three, the *Shu* distribution is the most heavily skewed toward the small end. The modal (most common) size of *Shu* and *Li* pieces is very close, whereas the *Tian* pieces include a higher proportion of long passages. We might expect from this that both *Shu* and *Li* passages will participate in the shortest and probably earliest entries in the *Zuo*, but that the *Shu* pieces are more specialized in that role. This proves to be the case.

The *Shu* distribution suggests distinguishing two ranges, of 6-25 and 27-51 characters, each of which has a peak at the low end of the range and tails off slowly thereafter. I will take these two as first approximations of a meaningful division of the material, leaving the rest of the distribution as a third range.

Conventions (C)

One function which the *Zuo* *Shu* passages have is to state the rules of the *Chunqiu* text, the conventions observed by its scribes in making or not making an entry, and the meanings of its recurring terms. The conventions discussed include some that are mentioned only in early reigns, such as accession, burials, or actions not ordered by the ruler; and others that are found throughout the text, such as the seasonableness or routineness of an event, its being or not being formally reported to the Lu court, and the use or absence of names and titles. Also in this category are definitions of terms or usages in the *Chunqiu*, such as the statement that the men (*ren* 人) of a state refers to its masses (*zhong* 眾, 1/4:6), or that “took” (*qu* 取) implies that little military force was needed (9/13:2). Such “text convention” statements (coded as “C” in Appendix 3) seem to be descriptive and ethically neutral. They are much more common in the smaller passages (44 out of 49 entries, or 90%, in the 6-25 character range) than in the longer ones (16 of 43, or 37%, in the 27-51 character range, and 19 of 64, or 30%, in the 125-1,160 character range).

Judgements (J)

A second class of *Shu* statement explains *Chunqiu* entries by the propriety of the action itself. These include, or at any rate are difficult to distinguish from, statements of intentionality on the part of the text: to honor or to condemn some virtuous or depraved individual. Examples are *Zuo* statements that a certain name is given to a Song refugee “貴之也 to honor him” (6/14:12), or that the *Chunqiu* says that someone left the state and fled “罪[之]也 to condemn him” (9/29:14), or says that a *Chunqiu* entry saying that Shao killed the heir is “罪在招也 to show Shao’s guilt” (10/8:2). Such judgemental statements (coded as “J” in Appendix 3) comprise only 5 of 49 entries (10%) in the 6-25 character range, but 26 of 43 (60%) in the 27-51 character range, and 38 of 64 (59%) in the 125-1,160 character range. As in the Conventions category, the significant contrast is between the shortest range and all longer ones together.

Conventions statements dominate the shortest range, while Judgement statements become distinctly more common at all higher size levels.

There are some *Shu* explanations whose judgemental character is not apparent, at least not to the present reader, but which nevertheless appear to supply background information from which the reader envisioned by the *Zuo*zhuan would form a judgement (10/19:4, 10/23:2). These have been coded as J in Appendix 3. Some statements seem to combine C and J statements; these are coded as C+J.

Narrative Incorporations (N)

Sometimes the phrase *Shu yue* 書曰 simply quotes the *Chunqiu* entry as part of a *Zuo*zhuan narrative, as in 5/9:4. These are coded as N.

Historiographical Statements (H)

These three *Shu* passages do not impute praise or blame to *Chunqiu* statements (as in J), but more ambitiously define the ethos of the *Chunqiu* scribes (7/2:3, 10/31:5), or assign a historiographical purpose to the *Chunqiu* itself (9/25:2). They have been noticed in the preceding section.

Conclusion

The *Shu* passages evolve from an initial mode of curiosity (trying to understand the conventions of the *Chunqiu* text as received) to a mode of correction, in which judgements (mostly negative) are rendered on actions recorded in the *Chunqiu*, and end with a theory that the *Chunqiu* itself was composed to render those judgements implicitly, with the result that “善人勸焉。淫人懼焉” good men are encouraged and bad men are made afraid” (10/31:5).

6. The Final Layer of the *Zuo*zhuan

The *Chunqiu* itself is undoubtedly a Lu document, and it is natural to assume that the first attempts to understand it were made in Lu. The *Zuo*zhuan often gives Confucius a role as its ethical spokesman, another trait consistent with a Lu text. But in the last *Zuo*zhuan layer, there are traits that seem to point to Qi. Among these are:

- The addition of Qi Huangong to the list of hegemon
- Predictions of the Chen family’s future greatness in Qi
- Traces of Zou Yan’s astral-terrestrial theories

Qi Huangong first figures in the last or *ba* 霸 layer of the *Zuo*zhuan hegemon concept. That concept originally centered on Jin Wengong; Qi Huangong is an afterthought. His addition would have had no special value for a Lu audience, but has obvious appeal in Qi. At the same time, the treatment of Huangong in the *Zuo*zhuan is muted. It is conceded in 5/19:3 that he had “存三亡國。義士猶曰薄德” preserved three perishing states, yet righteous scholars say that his virtue was too slight.” Why this hesitancy? I suggest that it reflects the difficult position of the *Zuo*zhuan writers in Qi. They naturally wanted to single out the esteemed Huangong for praise, yet the Qi rulers of their time were descended from the usurping Chen family, who had overthrown Huangong’s line.

The Chen Clan were usurpers. The crime of ruler murder had received special censure in the earlier layers of the *Zuo*zhuan (as with the historiographers who insisted on recording Zhao Dun’s responsibility for a Jin ruler’s death, 7/2:3; and the murder of a Qi ruler by a member of

the Cui clan, 9/25:2). Since the actual usurpation of the Chen clan in Qi (the usually accepted date is 0386) fell outside the range of the *Chunqiu*, the *Zuo* writers did not have to deal with it directly. They could forefigure the Chen takeover by predictions (notably 3/22:1b and 10/3:3) tending to suggest its inevitability, and they could show that the Chen takeover was deserved, according to the old populist criteria. Yanzi makes exactly this point in 10/26:11:

齊侯與晏子坐于路寢。公歎曰。美哉室。其誰有此乎。晏子曰。敢問何謂也。公曰。吾以為在德。對曰。如君之言。其陳氏乎。陳氏雖無大德。而有施於民。豆區釜鍾之數。其取之公也薄。其施之民也厚。公厚斂焉。陳氏厚施焉。民歸之矣。詩曰。雖無德與女。式歌且舞。陳氏之施。民歌舞之矣。後世若少惰陳氏而不亡。則國其國也已。公曰。善哉。

The ruler of Qi was sitting with Yanzi in his chamber of state, and sighed: "How beautiful is this chamber! Who will have it?" Yanzi said: "I venture to ask what you mean." The ruler said: "I suppose it will depend on virtue." Yanzi responded: "Then will it not be the Chen family? The Chen family, though without great virtues, have been generous to the people. The sizes of the *dou*, the *qu*, the *ju*, and the *zhong* with which it collects taxes are small; the ones with which it distributes to the people are large. The [Qi] ruler's exactions are great; the generosity of Chen is great, and the people turn to them. The *Poem* says: 'Though I have no virtue to share with you, Let us sing and dance.' The munificence of Chen to the people make them sing and dance. Hereafter, should any of your descendants be remiss, and should the Chen family not have vanished, the State will be their State." The ruler said: "Good!"

The two go on to discuss how this inevitable transition can be delayed. But the text at bottom is a gesture of assent, amounting almost to a deed of abdication. None of this would have had any great utility in Lu. It is the solution to a problem that would have been important only for a political theorist operating in a Qi context.

Zou Yan is the Qi philosopher who came into favor following the disgrace of Mencius in 0313.¹⁴ He will most likely have been prominent somewhat before that date, both in Qi and elsewhere, and his distinctive astral-correspondence theory might well have been known to an intellectually aware writer in Lu.¹⁵ Awareness of Zou Yan may roughly date this portion of the text, but it does not establish that a Lu writer could not have written the passage in question.

But for a Lu writer, it is less easy to explain the *Zuo*'s glorification of Qi rulers both ancient (Huangong, reigned 0684-0643) and recent (the Chen line in Qi, one of whom was recognized as ruler by the Zhou King in 0386). There is a similar difficulty with the famous scene in Xiang 29:13b. The narrative setting is Lu, but the interpretation of the *Shi* poems promises a great future for Qi. That passage also refuses to recognize the *Lu Song* poems, which were part of the *Song* section in the Lu version of the *Shi*.¹⁶ The *Song* were performed on this occasion as a single section, and that section was evaluated solely in Zhou terms. We thus have in this *Zuo* passage an interpretive position which not only favors the political aspirations of Qi, but which also fails to recognize the cultural aspirations of Lu. I can only explain this by a shift in the locale of the *Zuo* itself from Lu to Qi.

¹⁴ See the basic account in *Shiji* 74 5/2343f; also Sivin, "Naturalists", 8-19.

¹⁵ A possible echo of such cosmic symbolism is found in *Lunyu* 2:1 (c0317).

¹⁶ One is quoted, as summing up the whole *Shi*, in *Lunyu* 2:2 (c0317).

Power

Once we recognize the possibility that a Qi ruler, not a Lu ruler, was the audience for the final layer of the *Zuo*zhuan, that layer becomes more intelligible. So understood, the layer not merely attests a recognition that times are getting worse, with ethics replaced by open power politics, as would also have been the position in a Lu context; it adopts a theory of politics which is directly addressed to one of the new great powers. The great powers were concerned not to win battles, but to absorb each other. The theory in this section of the *Zuo*zhuan provides for this eventuality. As was said in the 5/5:8 passage discussed above, “若晉取虞. 而明德以薦馨香. 神其吐之乎. If Jin takes Yu, and then cultivates bright virtue, and therewith presents fragrant offerings, will the Spirits vomit them out?” King Xuan of Qi was debating just that issue of the absorption of a state with different lineage, and therefore different sacrifices, in *Mengzi* 1B10:

齊人伐燕. 勝之. 宣王問曰. 或謂寡人勿取. 或謂寡人取之 ...

The people of Qi attacked Yan and conquered it. King Xuan asked: “Some tell me not to take possession of it for myself, and some tell me to take possession of it. ...”

Date

It is not to be expected that the *Zuo*zhuan will mention contemporary events directly. But the indirect indications are both consistent and suggestive. It is widely agreed that the fulfilled predictions of the fall of states in the *Zuo*zhuan were most likely made at a time when the actual outcomes were known. Among the less ambiguous of these are the end of Zheng in 0378 (foretold in general terms in 10/6:3) and that of Wei 衛 in 0330 (foretold as occurring 300 years hence in 5/31:5, under date of 0629). The *Zuo*zhuan, or that layer of it, must thus, at minimum, date from after 0330.

There are also more precise indications. The great event of the late 04th century in Qi was its invasion of Yan. We know from inscriptional evidence¹⁷ that this took place at the end of 0315. It led to a speedy conquest. The question, posed to Mencius in 0314 in the passage just quoted, was whether Qi should absorb Yan. The *Zuo*zhuan comment about Yu, saying in effect that anyone, not just a scion of the same lineage, may continue the sacrifices of a state, countenances such absorption. That is, it takes the same line on Yu that Mencius, in 0314, recommended for Yan.

Another oddly detailed *Zuo*zhuan comment is the one by Yanzi (quoted above) on the Chen family measures. It happens that we possess a set of measures which, as their inscription tells us, were the work of Chen De 陳得; they have been interpreted as measures used in collecting the Qi salt tax. The same Chen De figures on an inscription mentioning the campaign against Yan; he has been identified with the Tian De who led that campaign.¹⁸ I suggest that we have here a cluster of events from Qi Xuanwang's reign, the reform of the salt tax measuring system, and the invasion of Yan, both of which are approved of, and both of which are given a theoretical basis, in *Zuo*zhuan entries which are ostensibly about earlier times.

These seeming gestures of recognition of immediately contemporary events, if credited as such, would put the final layer of the *Zuo*zhuan not only after 0330, but more precisely in the crisis years of 0315/0314, and imply that the finished *Zuo*zhuan was in all probability submitted at that time for the approval of King Xuan of Qi.

¹⁷ Li, *Eastern*, 133-135.

¹⁸ This connection is also discussed in Li, *Eastern*, 133-135.

Scenario

I prefer to let the text theory here proposed rest on its merits, and not to have it judged by any associated speculation as to the authors of the *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n. To some readers, a scenario will nevertheless readily suggest itself. We may suppose that the *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n was the project of a group of people distinct from the *Anale*cts school and from the people around Mencius, but originally located in Lu, and at one point taking very much the same position on political populism as did the contemporary *Anale*cts (*Lunyu* 12-13, c0326-0322), and as did the historical Mencius, when he began to address the rulers of the major powers as a theorist in his own right (from 0320). That group might have come north with Mencius when he returned to Qi after his visit to Lu in 0317 to oversee his mother's funeral (see *Meng*z \acute{z} i 1B16). In Qi, to put the matter simply, the group continued to take a Mencian line, which by then had been much hardened and adapted to the rigors and realities of big-power politics. That the *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n was a success when presented in Qi is suggested by its soon becoming known in Wei.¹⁹ What became of the *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n group after Mencius's disgrace and departure in 0313 is a matter of conjecture, but it seems that Qi next turned for political advice to a small group led by none other than the native theorist Zou Yan.²⁰

7. The 04th Century Context of the *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n

I have argued that the *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n went through several ideologically distinct phases, beginning in the early 04th century, and ending late in that century. I will conclude by showing that the ideological progress described by the text mirrors the general political and intellectual development of that century.

The great event of the 04c is a single change with three major aspects: (1) the new bureaucratic state, which had the administrative capability to support (2) the new mass infantry army, which in turn involved (3) incorporating the common people into the state. The evidence for these changes points to the 04th century as their culminating point.²¹ I first review evidence for that 04th century dating.

Bureaucracy

For the bureaucratic state, we have the chapters identified by Rickett as the earliest in the *Guan*z \acute{z} i, and dated by him to the 04th century. Of these, *Guan*z \acute{z} i 1-3 and 7 have a special relationship to *Lunyu* 12-13 and 2, sharing not only common interests, but key phrases and even sentences.²² The early *Guan*z \acute{z} i as a whole is focused on statecraft in the largest sense, including the issue of how the ruler is to get his orders obeyed by the new and resistant bureaucratic structure. The *Anale*cts chapters in question were clearly written in dialogue with the *Guan*z \acute{z} i.²³ The *Anale*cts side of that dialogue, as was noted above, advocates a recognizably Mencian populism, of the kind seen in several anecdotes in the Active Heaven / Governmental *Li* layer of the *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n.

¹⁹ Among the texts buried with Wei Xiangwang in 0296 was a collection of the Yi divinations from the *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n.

²⁰ See again the apparently informed account in *Shiji* 74; also Sivin, "Naturalists", 8-19.

²¹ An exclusive reliance on the historically retrospective *Zuo*zhu \grave{a} n has created the impression (see for example Hsu, "Spring", 547, 554) that these changes took place centuries earlier.

²² See Brooks, *Anale*cts, 227-231 for an outline of the overlapping material.

²³ For a sample, where the *Anale*cts argues the importance of teaching the people virtues before using them in war, and the *Guan*z \acute{z} i eventually agrees, see Brooks, *Anale*cts, 257.

War

Apparently the first major battle between new style armies was Maling, fought between Qi and Wei 魏 in 0343.²⁴ In 0315 Qi invaded Yan, but was ousted by a coalition including Zhao 趙 and Sinicized Zhongshan 中山. After Mencius's departure from Qi in 0313, he advised the ruler of tiny Zou 鄒, who was having trouble putting into practice the new style of social trust on which (in Mencius's view) the mass army depended. We thus see the new army spreading first to large states, and later to tiny states. The earliest tactical manual of that army is the *Sunzi* 孫子, which is to be dated also to the middle and late 04th century.²⁵ The *Zuoꝑhuan* does not commit the gross anachronism of showing a mass army in action, but it does refer to “息民五年. 而後用師 resting the people for five years, and then using them in the army” (10/14:3) and “興徒兵 raising an infantry force” (10/20: 9), and some of its chariot battles are obviously envisioned along Sunzian tactical lines.²⁶

People

When Mencius saw the King of Liang (Wei) in 0320, he was asked, not for a new theory of the populist state, but for help in getting his already populist state to work as advertised (*Mengzi* 1A3):

寡人之於國也. 盡心焉耳矣. 河內凶. 則移其民於河東. 移其粟於河內. 河東凶亦然. 察鄰國之政. 無如寡人之用心者. 鄰國之民不加少. 寡人之民不加多. 何也.

“Small as my virtue is, I do exert my mind on my state. If the year be bad inside the river, I move people east of the river, and send grain to the inside; if the year is bad east of the river, I do the same. On examining the government of the neighbor states, I find no ruler who exerts his mind as I do. Yet the population of the neighbor states does not decrease, nor does my population increase. Why not?”

Benevolent government is thus not *new* to Wei in 0320, but it is clearly *recent*, and needs tinkering with. Similar tinkering can be seen in the *Sunzi*, each of whose earliest chapters²⁷ ends with a section on how the general can motivate and lead the soldiers drawn from the unmilitary mass of the population.

I will not continually stress, but I will here make, the point that if these new structures, bureaucratic, military, and social, had been innovated centuries earlier (as the *Zuoꝑhuan* invites us to believe), there would have been no need for the theorists of the 04th century to have engaged almost their whole mental energy in working out the basic principles all over again, from scratch. The same applies to law.

Law

It is widely agreed that the *Zuoꝑhuan* story of a law code cast on iron vessels (10/29:5) is anachronistic; it assumes too advanced an iron technology, and too widespread a degree of literacy. But law is a natural adjunct of bureaucracy, in codifying precedent and in population control. Our earliest evidence for law is the Baoshan 2 tomb of 0316, from the capital of Chu;

²⁴ The battle of Guiling, about a decade earlier according to the *Shiji*, may well be a doublet of this encounter, and not a separate event. I choose to trust Maling as real because it was in the following year, 0342, that the ruler of Qi assumed the title of King, as though marking a new era for Qi.

²⁵ Griffith, *Sun Tzu*, 11; see further Brooks, “Sun Wu” and Brooks, “Aetiology”.

²⁶ See the diagrams in Kierman, *Ways*, 47f and Sawyer, *Sun-tzu*, 95f and 120f.

²⁷ The chapters in question are *Sunzi* 9-11, with some relevant sections in later layers.

that system is already quite advanced.²⁸ It is roughly on schedule as a stage in the system first discussed in the early *Guanzi* (from c0360), and mentioned, though critically, in *Lunyu* 13:18 (c0322). The relation between law, with its promise of justice for the socially low, and the state's call for military service from that lower population, is symbolized in the *Zuo zhuan* by the tale of Cao Gui 曹劌 (3/10:1). Cao Gui is addressing his ruler:

問何以戰。公曰。衣食所安。弗敢專也。必以分人。對曰。小惠未遍。民弗從也。公曰。犧牲玉帛。弗敢加也。必以信。對曰。小信未孚。神弗福也。公曰。小大之獄。雖不能察。必以情。對曰。忠之屬也。可以一戰。戰則請從。

“On what basis will you do battle?” The Prince said: “The comforts of food and clothing I do not dare to monopolize; I always share them with others.” [Gui] answered: “Petty charity, not available to all; the people will not follow that.” The Prince said: “Sacrificial animals and offerings of jade and silk I do not dare to multiply; I am always sincere [in sacrificing].” [Gui] answered: “Petty sincerity, not generalized; the spirits will not bless that.” The Prince said: “In penal cases large or small, though I cannot fully investigate, I always decide according to the facts.” [Gui] answered: “That is something like loyalty. You can undertake one battle on that basis. If you should do battle, I ask permission to be your follower.”

Here, dressed up in antique clothing, is the basic social quid pro quo on which, at least in the eastern states, and at least as seen by the Confucian theorists, the new state and its army were to be founded.

The above examples are meant to show a large agreement between the changes clearly taking place in the 04c, and those dimly visible in the archaizing *Zuo zhuan*. In what follows, I will try to show that the specific sequence of *Zuo zhuan* layers, a sequence which itself is guaranteed by the passages where A is rejected in favor of B, mirrors the succession of ideas and issues in other 04th century statecraft texts.²⁹

It must be added that each of the 04c texts here cited has its own limits and conventions. The *Analec*s, like the *Zuo zhuan*, is concerned to avoid anachronisms and to preserve a literary style established for it in its earliest days. It tends to be slow in reacting to outside events, and often disapproves of them when it does notice them. The early *Mozhi* comes from a social level one step down from the serving elite to whose officer candidates the *Analec*s is largely addressed. It takes a strong antiwar stand, and most of its early doctrinal positions relate to this basic stand. Later, the Micians themselves reach the official service level, and their view of war and of some other things becomes more tolerant. The *Guanzi* is a collection of Qi-related statecraft writings evidently deriving from different hands, and to some extent from different persuasions; I largely follow Rickett in dating its individual chapters. I will respect these internal differences of date in the citations below.

1. The First *Zuo zhuan* Layer (Sacrificial Heaven / Spirit *Li*)

This includes the earliest *Shu* statements and other short comments aimed at defining the system of the *Chunqiu*, the way things work in that milieu. It also includes, as a second phase, judgements of approval or disapproval imputed to the *Chunqiu* text by the *Zuo zhuan*. The instinct to seek an explanation of the *Chunqiu* in its sacrificial and diplomatic protocol implies a

²⁸ For a preliminary report, see Weld, “Chu Law”.

²⁹ For the dates of the Mician ethical triplet chapters, see Brooks, “Triplets”; for the dates of the *Analec*s layers, see Brooks, *Analec*s, 208-246.

strong interest in protocol. Such an interest is a specialty of the Confucians. In the *Analects*, it is not an original emphasis. It occurs suddenly and in elaborate form with *Lamyu* 10, a small treatise on correct behavior at court and in private, including behavior toward sacrificial gifts and in the presence of death. Thus *Lamyu* 10:5b:

羔裘玄冠不以弔。吉月。必朝服而朝。齊。必有明衣布。

He does not visit the bereaved in fleece robe or dark cap. On auspicious days, he always attends court in his court dress. When fasting, he always has clean clothes, and of linen. (c0380)

There is not a single ethical precept in this entire *Analects* chapter.

2. The Second *Zuo*zhuan Layer (Passive Heaven / Human *Li*)

This layer represents the intrusion of ethics into the *Zuo*zhuan worldview, which means a certain loss of faith in the efficacy of sacrifice, and a shift from sacrificial faults to human misdemeanors as the reason for natural disasters. Thus *Zuo*zhuan 3/11:2:

孤實不敬。天降之災。

“I, an orphan, have been irreverent, and Heaven has sent down this plague.”

To this may be compared the human (in this case, the social) fault of *Mozi* 11:

今若天飄風苦雨，溱溱而至者，此天之所以罰百姓之不上同於天者也。

Now, the frequent visitations of hurricanes and torrents are merely the punishments from Heaven upon the people for their not identifying their standards with Heaven (c0370).

3. The Third *Zuo*zhuan Layer (Active Heaven / Governmental *Li*)

This layer still has an ethical emphasis, except that what secures Heaven’s favor is not sacrificial piety or generalized human respect, but good government, defined as effective administration, and sometimes specifically as taking proper care of the people. Thus *Zuo*zhuan 2/6:2:

夫民。神之主也。是以聖王先成民。而後致力於神 … 君姑脩政 … 庶免於難。

The state of the people is what the spirits regard. The Sage Kings therefore first secured the welfare of the people, and then put forth their strength in serving the spirits, … I pray you to cultivate good government, … and then perhaps you will escape calamity.

To this we may compare a new note which first appears in the second of the Mician 兼愛 or “Universal Love” chapter series, *Mozi* 15:

子墨子言曰。仁人之所以為事者。必興天下之利。除去天下之害。

Our master Mozi said: The business of *ren* is to be found in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities (c0355).

With Mencius, somewhat later, the *ren* 仁 man is the quintessential ruler, and his business is the government of his state. This Mician passage shows the same sense of the state as the ground for demonstrating virtue. It differs from the *Zuo*zhuan in its distinctive, and more egalitarian, social ethic. The Mician downplaying of social distinctions finds no echo in either the *Zuo*zhuan or its cousin the *Analects*.

In this section of the *Zuo*zhuan there also occurs the earliest of the three hegemon theories, typified by the term *mengzhu* 盟主 and characterized, on the whole, by solicitude for the small states and restraint of the big states. The theorists of this layer permit the use of power only as a last resort to restrain power.

The *Guanzi* theorists in Qi had from the beginning been concerned with the art of new-style government, without any particular ethical concerns at all. It seems reasonable to date this new impetus to the early years of the ruler who later became Weiwang, the first King of Qi. On that assumption, this typical pronouncement would be from approximately the same date as *Mozhi* 15. Thus *Guanzi* 3A1-2:

萬乘之國。兵不可以無主。土地博大。野不可以無吏。百姓殷眾。官不可以無長。操民之命。朝不可以無政。地博而國貧者。野不辟也。民眾而兵弱者。民無取也。

In a country of a myriad chariots, the armed forces must have a commander-in-chief. Its area being extensive, the countryside must have functionaries. Its population being large, the officers must have heads. In shaping the people's destiny, the court must have an administrative policy. If the area is extensive yet the state remains poor, it is because the countryside has not been brought under cultivation. If the population is large, yet its armed forces are weak, it is because there is nothing to motivate the people. (c0355)

The relationship of a higher degree of government organization, and a greater stress on motivation, to a stronger military capacity is very clear here.

4. The Fourth *Zuo*zhuan Layer (Transitional Heaven / Disputed *L*)

This layer marks a *Zuo*zhuan shift to a tougher definition of the hegemon function, and to greater acceptance of war in general. The duties of the *houbo* are said to include the punishing of offending states (5/1:3). Quite apart from the actions of the hegemon, Heaven is frequently said to use one state to punish another (1/11:3, 5/19:4, 9/25:10). So also *Mozhi* 19:

天命周文王伐殷有國。

Heaven ordered King Wen of Zhou to punish Yin and to take possession of the state. (c0328)

The Micians at this point are far advanced in their climb toward office-holding. It is in this same chapter that they first mitigate their earlier radical antiwar stance, and adopt instead a more permissive theory of justified war, redefining the pejorative term “attack” 攻 as “punish” 誅. In this way they made a place for the righteous conquests of old. Not everyone was equally accepting. The open admission of force as an instrument of state policy drew the fire of the *Analec*s. So *Lunyu* 12:17 (where the principle is expressed in terms of the use of force within the state):

季康子問政於孔子。孔子對曰。政者。正也。子帥以正。孰敢不正。

Ji Kangzi asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied: “Government is correcting. If you lead on a correct basis, who would dare *not* to be correct?” (c0326)

and *Lunyu* 12:19:

季康子問政於孔子曰。如殺無道。以就有道。何如。孔子對曰。子為政。焉用殺。子欲善。而民善矣。君子之德風。小人之德草。草上之風。必偃。

Ji Kangzi asked Confucius about government saying: “If I kill those who do not have the Way, in order to uphold those who have the Way, how would that be?” Confucius replied: “You are there to govern; what use have you for killing? If you desire the good, the people will be good. The virtue of the gentleman is the wind; the virtue of the little people is the grass. The wind on the grass will surely bend it.” (c0326)

This is the theory of the ruler as moral exemplar; indeed, as morally constitutive for society. It has no place for compulsion except as showing a failure of the ruler.

The *Analects*, like the *Zuo*zhuan, is not so careless of anachronism as to refer directly to the Qi theorists of its own time, with their principle that every member of society should carry out his job description. *Guanzi* 2:45-47 has:

君不君。則臣不臣。父不父。則子不子。上失其位。則下踰其節。上下不和。令乃不行。

If the prince is not a prince, his ministers will not be ministers. If the father does not act as a father, his sons will not act as sons. If the throne is remiss in maintaining its position, those below will overstep their bounds. If harmony is lacking between the throne and those below, orders will not be carried out. (c0327)

The new theory of bureaucratic function is not that different from the old theory of social roles, and the *Analects* Confucians are willing to claim this improvement. They make a Qi ruler of Confucius's time beg from him the maxim in question. *Lunyu* 12:11:

齊景公問政於孔子。孔子對曰。君君。臣臣。父父。子子。公曰。善哉。信如君不君。臣不臣。父不父。子不子。雖有粟。吾得而食諸。

Qi Jinggong asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied: "The ruler should be a ruler, the minister should be a minister, the father should be a father, the son should be a son." The Prince said: "Good indeed! Truly, if the ruler is not a ruler, the minister is not a minister, the father is not a father, and the son is not a son, even if I have millet, will I be able to eat it?" (c0326)

If the new government structure does not work properly, then the most basic social expectations will break down.

The *Analects* and the *Mozhi* agree about the need for extended training of the new popular army, but with certain differences. The Micians on the whole disapprove, but in the last of their antiwar tracts, they do concede that a certain amount of military preparation is necessary to deter the attack of hostile states. *Mozhi* 19:

將不勇。士不分。兵不利。教不習 ...

If the general be not courageous, if soldiers be not brave, if weapons be not sharp, if drills be not frequent, ... (c0328)

whereas the *Analects* is accepting, though solicitous for the people. *Lunyu* 13:29:

子曰。善人教民七年。亦可以即戎矣。

The Master said: "When good men have taught the people for seven years, one may then have recourse to arms." (c0322)

In the *Analects*/*Guanzi* dialogue, the question of training the people broadens out into the issue of preparing them for citizenship in general. Here, it would seem, the *Analects* takes the lead, and several *Guanzi* groups follow. As with the instruction of Qi Jinggong, above, Confucius is portrayed as a commentator on the governments of other states in *Lunyu* 13:9:

子適衛。冉有僕。子曰。庶矣哉。冉有曰。既庶矣。又何加焉。曰。富之。曰。既富矣。又何加焉。曰。教之。

The Master went to Wei, and Ran You was his equerry. The Master said: "How numerous they are!"

Ran You said: "Once they are numerous, what should be added to that?" He said: "Enrich them."

Ran You said: "Once they are rich, what should be added to that?" He said: "Teach them." (c0322)

Guanzi 1:3:

政之所興。在順民心。政之所廢。在逆民心。民惡憂勞。我佚樂之。民惡貧賤。我富貴之。民惡危墜。我存安之 ...

Success in government lies in following the hearts of the people. Failure lies in opposing them. The people hate trouble and toil, so [the prince] should provide them with leisure and freedom from care. The people hate poverty and low position, so [the prince] should provide them with riches and honor. The people hate danger and disaster, so [the prince] should insure their existence and provide them with security. ... (c0321)

Guanzi 7:6:

慶勉敦敬以顯之。富祿有功以勸之。爵貴有名以休之。

[The Prince] should commend and encourage those he respects to give them prominence. He should provide wealth and salaries to those who have merit to urge them on, and award rank and honors to those how have achieved fame to bring them fortune. (c0321)

Guanzi 7:7:

兼愛無遺。是謂君心。必先順教。萬民鄉風。

Spreading love universally and neglecting no one, this is called being of a princely mind. [The prince] should first be certain to provide instruction, and then the myriads of people will respond as if bending before the wind. (c0321)

The last quote, with its signature term *jian'ai* 兼愛 (universal love), shows the Mician character of one of the four groups among the early Qi theorists. This brings us almost up to the independent career of Mencius, who preached his own variant of the idea that the people, in one sense or another, come first in society. *Mengzi* 1A5:

王如施仁政於民。省刑罰。薄稅斂。深耕易耨。壯者以暇日修其孝悌忠信。入以事其父兄。出以事其長上。可使制挺以撻秦楚之堅甲利兵矣。

“If the King will dispense a benevolent government to the people, being sparing in the use of punishments and fines, and making the taxes and levies light, so causing that the fields shall be plowed deep and the weeding of them be carefully attended to, and that the strong-bodied, during their days of leisure, shall cultivate their filial piety, fraternal respectfulness, sincerity, and truthfulness, serving thereby, at home, their fathers and elder brothers, and, abroad, their seniors and superiors, you will then have a people who can be employed, with sticks which they have prepared, to oppose the strong mail and sharp weapons of the troops of Qin and Chu.” (0320)

The spectrum of specific opinions ranges all the way from social intimidation to social enlargement, but as the last quote makes plain, the ultimate goal of this policy, which was widespread in this period, is to strengthen the state.

5. The Fifth *Zuo zhuan* Layer (Natural Heaven / Cosmic *Li*)

In this final layer of the *Zuo zhuan*, the strong act openly in their own interest, and with less recourse to any sort of moral justification. Heaven no longer cares for man, but pursues its own regular and irregular way. At most, Heaven can serve as a symbol which man may do well to imitate. Thus *Zuo zhuan* 10/26:10:

且天之有彗也。以除穢也。... 君無違德。方國將至。何患於慧。

“There is a broom-star in the sky; it is for the removal of dirt. ... Let your lordship do nothing that departs from virtue, and from all quarters the states will come to you; why should you be troubled about a comet?”

and *Lunyu* 2:1:

子曰。為政以德。譬如北辰。居其所而眾星共之。

The Master said: “To conduct government by virtue can be compared to the North Star: it occupies its place, and the many stars bow before it.” (c0317)

One important idea in this section is the weakening of lineage as a prerequisite for valid rulership. The *Zuo*zhuan advances this theory to legitimize a pending conquest. *Zuo*zhuan 5/5:8:

若晉取虞。而明德以薦馨香。神其吐之乎。

“If Jin take Yu, and then cultivate bright virtue, and therewith present fragrant offerings, will the Spirits vomit them out?”

And the *Analec*s, perhaps predictably, rejects it. *Lamyu* 2:24:

子曰。非其鬼而祭之。諂也。

The Master said: “If it is not his own spirit but he sacrifices to it, he is presumptuous.” (c0317)

In this period, the same idea, with an extreme example of the divorce between merit and power, is articulated by Shen Dao, one of six experts chosen to study statecraft for the Qi government after the Yan debacle of 0314 [Fragment 12]:

堯為匹夫。不能治鄰家。而桀為天子。能亂天下。

When Yao was a commoner, he could not bring about order even among his neighbors. When Jie was Son of Heaven, he could throw the whole world into confusion.

The key idea is that positions in society are substitutable: whoever occupies the position of ruler can exert the power of a ruler. The power is not in the person; it comes with the position. This is implicit in the idea of social roles, and in the very idea of bureaucracy. The concept is fully articulated in the contemporary *Sunzi* 5 (c0318), which discusses the dynamic potential (*shi* 勢) of a position. If you are in a certain situation, that situation lets you do certain things. It is not your intrinsic power, but the context in which you use that power, that matters.

As was earlier argued, the *Zuo*zhuan ends by being involved with the Qi invasion of Yan and its disastrous aftermath, less a theory than a defeat for theory.

Conclusion

To continue in this way would be to write an intellectual history of the 04th century. In the space here available, I hope at least to have given grounds for thinking that the leading ideas in that century emerged logically, rooted in social changes which themselves occurred in a certain sequence, and that the various theoretical texts of the period took note of them, in various ways and with varying resistance, but in the same sequence. I suggest in conclusion that the *Zuo*zhuan is itself an 04th century theoretical text – one in which basic ideas such as the relation between Heaven and man are continually modified in response to a changing political context, and in which the nature and direction of history itself are explored. By the end of its growth, the *Zuo*zhuan has become the first work of Chinese historiography, attempting to render the past intelligible, and to prescribe effectively for the future.

The *Zuo*zhuan has always been admired for its narrative facility. I hope it may also come to be respected as a uniquely continuous record of reflections on history, documenting, as no other text of the period does in equal detail, the emergence of the first fully mature Chinese view of cosmos and society – a view that was to be definitive for the Empire which lay less than a century in the future.

Appendix 1: The 131 *Tian* Passages

In *Zuozhuan* order. A = Active, N = Natural, P = Passive, S = Sacrificial, T = Transitional

= Conventional locution, not reflecting tenor of whole passage

A > B = *Tian* segment seemingly A; whole passage for other reasons belongs in B

[Brackets] = encapsulated text; “quotes” = conventional usages

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
1/11:3	T	Zheng	Heaven uses Zheng to punish Xu	429
2/6:2	A	Chu	Heaven is now giving power to Chu	419
2/8:2	A	Chu	Heaven removes bad officer in Sui	157
2/13:1	A	Chu	Heaven does not make use of hasty men	156
3/4:1	N	Chu	After Fullness comes Decay (<i>tian zhi dao</i> 天之道)	115
3/11:2	P	Song	Want of reverence brings calamity from Heaven	109
3/14:2	N	Zheng	Not having a double heart is the law of Heaven	279
3/22:1b	N	Chen	Hexagram 53: Heaven is an auspicious symbol	264
3/25:3	S	Lu	Silk, not victims, is used in sacrifices to Heaven	28
4/1:6a	A	Jin	Heaven is opening the way for Jin Wen	167
5/2:5	A	Jin	Heaven is taking away his insight	38
5/5:8	N	Jin	Heaven has no affections	428
5/9:2	P	Qi	Respectful of Heaven's majesty (<i>ming</i> 命)	102
5/13:4	P	Qin	Helping at time of calamity earns Heaven's blessing	89
5/15:4	A>N	Jin	[<i>Sbi</i> : “Heaven does not send calamities, they come from men”]	1,121
5/19:4	T	Wei	“Heaven perhaps wants Wei to punish Xing”; rains	61
5/21:2	A	Lu	Heaven gave life to the people; do not kill them	61
5/22:7	P>A	Lu	[<i>Sbi</i> quote] > Heaven supports the militarily prepared	124
5/22:8	A>N	Song	[Heaven rejects Song] > exploit random advantages	260
5/23:6	A	Jin	Heaven is prospering Chonger; he cannot be stopped	770
5/24:1	A	Jin	Heaven has not abandoned Jin	754
5/24:3b	N	Jin	Earth is ordered; Heaven is successful (<i>cheng</i> 成)	9
5/25:2a	N	Jin	Trigram <i>qian</i> 乾 (“Heaven”) symbolizes success	188
5/28:3	A>T	Jin	Dream: Jin looks to sky, Chu is kneeling as if guilty	1,329
5/28:5	A	Wei	Heaven is guiding all minds	226
5/33:3	N	Qin	Qin's trouble is “Heaven” assisting [Jin]	354
6/4:4	P	Lu	Not to revere Heaven produces calamities	72
6/5:5	N	Jin	Heaven's mildness should be a model for men	103
6/13:3	A	Jin	Heaven gave people rulers to benefit them	96
6/15:11	P	Qi	Without respect for Heaven, one can't preserve oneself	131
6/18:6	N	Lu	Woman prays to Heaven, but injustice remains	37
6/18:7	N	Lu	Disturbs Heaven's constancy	756
7/3:3	P	Chu	Heaven blesses intelligent virtue	181
7/3:6	A	Zheng	Dreams Heaven sent a flower (favored her)	274
7/4:3	N	Chu	My ruler is “Heaven,” can Heaven be fled from?	409
7/12:1	A	Zheng	Zheng [uncared for by Heaven] seeks forgiveness	212
7/12:5	T	Jin	Heaven may perhaps be giving a warning to Jin	168
7/15:2	A	Jin	Strong as Jin is, it cannot resist Heaven	409
7/15:3	N	Jin	Reversal of Heaven's seasons brings calamities	223
7/15:7	A	Jin	Heaven has taken away his wits	31
7/16:2	P	Zhou	Calamities are from Heaven	20
8/2:3	N	Jin	Victory is the gift of “Heaven” [a matter of chance]	1,396
8/4:3	P	Jin	Heaven punishes the disrespectful with early death	46
8/5:1	P	Jin	(Heaven's) spirit blesses the virtuous	92
8/7:1	P	Lu	He acknowledges his fault, so he will not perish	71

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
8/8:6	P	Jin	Good Kings preserved Heaven's gifts	116
8/10:4	#>A	Jin	['Heaven' = sky, in a dream] > cannot avoid evil fate	206
8/12:4	#>A	Jin	[Protocol rudeness] > implies general misgovernment	359
8/13:2	P	Zhou	Heaven's guidelines include proper action: <i>li</i> 禮 / <i>yi</i> 義	169
8/13:3	A	Jin	The influence which Heaven exerts on men's minds	869
8/14:5	A	Wei	Heaven is afflicting the state of Wei	114
8/15:5	A>N	Jin	Man [who believes in supportive Heaven] is killed	70
8/16:5	N	Jin	Victory between Jin/Chu given by Heaven [chance]	1,903
8/17:3	A	Chu	Heaven is increasing his illness	57
8/18:1	T	Jin	Is it not to be ascribed to Heaven?	163
9/9:1	A	Song	From fires (calamities) we can know <i>tian zhi dao</i>	266
9/9:5	A	Zheng	Heaven is unfavorable to Zheng	470
9/13:5	#>N	Wu	Wu attack is compared to cruel Heaven [in <i>Shi</i> quote]	77
9/14:6	A	Jin	Heaven gave the people rulers	301
9/18:4	N	Chu	Heaven's alignment is toward the Northwest	330
9/20:4	A	Cai	If [misruling ministers] do not die, there is no Heaven	171
9/22:3	P	Qi	That high and low should be together (<i>tong</i> 同) is <i>tian zhi dao</i>	82
9/23:3	A	Jin	I may not have Heaven on my side	578
9/25:2	#>N	Qi	[Yanzi sighs to Heaven] > Loyalty to state, not person	843
9/25:10	A>T	Zheng	[Heaven moved us] > excuse of conduct	417
9/26:10	A	Chu	Tang by good government obtained Heaven's blessing	921
9/27:6	N	Song	Heaven produces the Five Materials (including arms)	222
9/27:7	T	Qi	Heaven is now perhaps going to abandon him	319
9/28:8	A	Zheng	If <i>li</i> in governance, will enjoy blessings of Heaven	523
9/28:9	A	Qi	Heaven would seem to enrich bad men	756
9/29:13b	N	Lu	Universal overshadowing of Heaven	498
9/29:17	A	Zheng	Heaven is afflicting Zheng for a long time	188
9/30:10	A	Zheng	Follow him whom Heaven favors	591
9/31:3	A	Lu	What a man desires, Heaven is sure to gratify	90
9/31:9	A	Wu	Heaven is opening the Way for him	113
10/1:1	A	Jin	Heaven has inflicted no great calamities	798
10/1:8	A	Qin	Heaven is assisting him	285
10/1:12	A+N	Jin	Excess of 6 Heavenly influences (<i>qi</i> 氣) produces disease	931
10/2:4	A	Zheng	Aid Heaven, not the bad	213
10/3:8	P	Lu	Respect for guests brings blessings from Heaven	70
10/4:1	T	Jin	Heaven perhaps wishes to gratify his ambition	610
10/4:8	#>T	Lu	[Heaven is the sky as it appears in a dream]	632
10/7:2	N	Chu	Heaven has 10 days; men have 10 classes	336
10/9:4	N	Chen	<i>Tian zhi dao</i> : Star predicts Chen will perish	87
10/10:1	N	Zheng	Heaven is arranged in 7 [constellations]	84
10/11:2a	N	Zhou	<i>Tian zhi dao</i> : Constellations predict fate of state	131
10/11:2b	A	Cai	Heaven will destroy Cai	182
10/11:5	A	Cai	Heaven will cast away Cai	132
10/13:2	A	Chu	King rejects shell prediction; rails at Heaven	1,619
10/17:5	N	Zheng	Heaven's doings are foretold by comets	225
10/18:3	N	Zheng	Rejects Way of Heaven for Way of men (realism)	390
10/18:6	A>T	Zheng	[Heaven has sent this plague] > excuse of conduct	286
10/19:8	T	Zheng	Heaven perhaps is causing ...	249
10/22:5	A	Zhou	Heaven has disowned ...	464
10/23:6	A	Zhou	Heaven is casting him off	51
10/25:3b	N	Jin	Heaven and Earth are models for men	379
10/25:6	N	Lu	Heaven's bounties are not repeated [not constant]	1,160

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
10/26:4	T	Qi	We cannot know if Heaven has abandoned Lu	494
10/26:9	A	Zhou	Heaven does not grant peace to Zhou	645
10/26:10	N	Qi	There is a broom-star in the sky	134
10/26:11	N	Qi	Rules for governance come from Heaven and Earth	309
10/27:2	N	Wu	I will follow whoever “Heaven” decrees as next ruler	350
10/27:4	T	Lu	[Jisun had the aid of Heaven] > justification	228
10/27:5	A	Lu	Heaven is sending calamity on Zhaogong	74
10/28:1	A	Lu	Heaven is afflicting the state of Lu	31
10/28:2	A	Jin	Heaven accumulated beauty in her, to her ruin	480
10/28:3	N	Jin	Heaven and Earth are warp and woof of <i>wen</i> 文	611
10/29:4	N	Jin	Yi hexagram <i>qian</i> : dragon flying in Heaven	561
10/30:3	T	Wu	We don’t know if Heaven will cause him to ruin Wu	211
10/32:3	A	Zhou	Heaven sent down calamity on Zhou	422
10/32:4	N	Lu	Heaven has 3 <i>chen</i> 辰. Earth has 5 substances (<i>ti</i> 體)	368
11/1:1	A	Jin	What Heaven is overthrowing cannot be supported	402
11/4:3	N	Wu	The ruler’s order is [equal to the will of] Heaven	1,144
11/6:2	T	Wei	Heaven will multiply Yang He’s offenses > postpone	177
11/9:3a	A	Qi	Lu has not suffered any calamity from Heaven	255
12/1:2	N	Wu	To preserve an enemy is to oppose will of “Heaven”	321
12/1:4	T	Chen	Heaven is perhaps teaching Chu a good lesson	208
12/1:6	A	Wu	During calamity from Heaven, he cared for people	205
12/2:3	A	Jin	Transgressed will of Heaven by slaughtering people	611
12/6:4	S>N	Chu	[Rejects sacrifice] > follows regularities (<i>chang</i> 常) of Heaven	339
12/7:3	A	Wu	Casting away Heaven, Wu will be ruined	263
12/11:3	#>T	Lu	[Ironic use of “Heaven” by Lu diplomat]	309
12/11:4	N	Wu	To grow and wane is <i>tian zhi dao</i>	190
12/14:4	#>A	Song	[Ruler swears by Heaven not to harm individual]	499
12/15:2	A	Chen	Envoy dies through Heaven’s anger on way to Wu	269
12/15:3	T	Qi	Heaven is perhaps using Chen as its axe	73
12/16:2	A	Wei	By the secret influence of Heaven	98
12/16:3	A>T	Lu	[Lament at Confucius’s death] by insincere ruler	95
12/17:4	A	Chu	If Heaven be minded to destroy it ...	254
12/17:5	A	Wei	Victim’s appeal to Heaven results in death of murderer	325
12/24:1	A	Jin	In the past, received much favor from Heaven	125

Appendix 2: The 278 *Li* Passages

In *Zuo*/*zhuan* order. C = Cosmic, D = Disputed, G = Governmental, H = Human, S = Spirit
 A > B = *Li* segment seemingly A; whole passage for other reasons belongs in B
 [Brackets] = encapsulated text; “quotes” = conventional usages

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
1/1:5	H	Lu	Anticipating burial presents is contrary to <i>li</i>	70
1/3:3	H	Zhou	Without good faith or <i>li</i> , hostages are of no use	170
1/5:1	G	Lu	Remonstrance: Prince viewing fishing is contrary to <i>li</i>	218
1/6:6	H	Lu	Aiding famine-stricken states is <i>li</i>	18
1/6:7	H	Zhou	Zhou King is not <i>li</i> to Zheng; Zheng will not come again	48
1/7:1	H	Lu	Rule of <i>li</i> about lack of name in death notice	42
1/8:4	S	Zheng	To mate before announcing marriage in temple is contrary to <i>li</i>	54
1/8:5	H	Zheng	Covenant condemning siege is <i>li</i>	24
1/8:6	H	Zhou	Rulers appearing at Zhou court is <i>li</i>	13
1/11:1	H	Lu	Host determines <i>li</i> (precedence) among guests in Zhou	114
1/11:3	D	Zheng	For ruler of Zheng to punish Xu is <i>li</i>	429

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
1/11:5	H	Zheng	Reciprocity (<i>shu</i> 恕) is a canon of <i>li</i>	72
2/2:2	G	Lu	Remonstrance: Presenting booty in temple is contrary to <i>li</i>	279
2/2:7	H	Lu	To announce return in temple is <i>li</i>	51
2/2:8	G	Jin	<i>Li</i> is embodied in government	273
2/3:6	H	Qi	Escorting daughter to marriage is contrary to <i>li</i>	68
2/4:1	H	Lu	Hunting in spring is <i>li</i>	13
2/6:6	H	Lu	The <i>li</i> of naming practices	186
2/8:4	H	Zhou	To meet King's bride in Ji is <i>li</i>	11
2/9:4	H	Lu	Entertaining Cao heir son like a minister is <i>li</i>	37
2/14:1	H	Cao	Providing provisions for visitors is <i>li</i>	13
2/15:1	H	Zhou	Asking for gifts is contrary to <i>li</i>	27
2/16:3	H	Lu	Drinking in temple after military expedition is <i>li</i>	14
2/17:7	H	Lu	For officers to record eclipses is <i>li</i>	45
2/18:1	H	Lu	Not to follow <i>li</i> in separation of sexes leads to ruin	118
3/1:2	H	Lu	Suppressing bad Lady Jiang's 姜 name in <i>Chunqiu</i> is <i>li</i>	17
3/1:3	H	Lu	Building reception house (for king's daughter) is <i>li</i>	12
3/8:1	H	Lu	To exercise troops is <i>li</i>	9
3/8:3	H>G	Qi	Favorite's rank and clothes (<i>li</i>) are same as ruler's son	263
3/10:4	H	Qi	Qi attacks Tan for lack of <i>li</i> toward Qi ruler	40
3/11:2	H	Song	Song ruler is <i>li</i> ; will prosper	109
3/16:2	H	Zheng	Chu attacks Zheng for lack of <i>li</i>	20
3/18:1	H	Zhou	Different rank, but same gift, is contrary to <i>li</i>	44
3/22:1a	H	Qi	In drinking, observe <i>li</i>	152
3/23:1	G	Lu	Remonstrance: Prince observing <i>she</i> 社 in Qi is contrary to <i>li</i>	423
3/24:1	G	Lu	Remonstrance: Excessive temple expenditure is contrary to <i>li</i>	45
3/24:2	H	Lu	Women offering gifts of gems and silk is contrary to <i>li</i>	72
3/27:3	H	Lu	Gongzi You attending burial in Chen is contrary to <i>li</i>	19
3/27:5	G	Jin	Guo does not nourish its people with <i>li</i> and kindness	66
3/28:4	H	Lu	To buy grain during famine is <i>li</i>	11
3/31:1	H	Qi	For Lu ruler to receive booty (from Qi) is contrary to <i>li</i>	43
4/1:5	C	Qi	The ba is only friendly to states which are <i>li</i> and solid	119
5/1:1	H	Lu	Concealing the wickedness of states is <i>li</i>	25
5/1:3	D	Xing 邢	<i>Houbo</i> punishes offending states, this is <i>li</i>	24
5/4:4	H	Lu	Burial of someone who dies in the army is <i>li</i>	34
5/5:1	H	Lu	Observing and recording winter solstice is <i>li</i>	39
5/6:4	H	Chu	Recommends treating defeated ruler with <i>li</i>	78
5/7:3	H>G	Qi	Summon wavering lords with <i>li</i> ... <i>li</i> wins all	314
5/8:3	S	Lu	To place a wife's tablet in the temple is contrary to <i>li</i>	33
5/9:2	H	Lu	Meeting, then covenant to cultivate friendship, is <i>li</i>	102
5/10:3	H>G	Jin	Yiwu (who wants to replace brother as ruler) has no <i>li</i>	256
5/11:2	H	Jin	If no <i>li</i> , no transmission of state to other generations	73
5/12:4	H>G	Qi	Acceptance of proper <i>li</i> ensures family continuity	121
5/21:4	H	Lu	<i>Li</i> of Zhou is to honor sacrifices	75
5/22:1	H	Lu	To attack state and restore its ruler is <i>li</i>	16
5/22:4	H	Zhou	<i>Li</i> is lost there; it will be occupied by the Rong	45
5/22:9a	H>G	Jin	To mix women and war is contrary to <i>li</i>	51
5/22:9b	H>C	Chu	He cannot be <i>ba</i> ; he ignores the <i>li</i> of the sexes	69
5/23:5	H	Qi 杞	Had covenanted, thus ruler is named in death notice; <i>li</i>	47
5/23:6	H>G	Zheng	Ruler is not <i>li</i> to Chonger (the future <i>mengzhu</i>)	770
5/24:4	H	Zheng	The Song ruler was feasted with abundant <i>li</i>	26
5/24:5	H	Zhou	For <i>Tianzi</i> 天子 to wear mourning garments is <i>li</i>	87
5/24:6	H	Zheng	To provide provisions for Zhou ruler is <i>li</i>	26

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
5/25:2b	H>G	Zhou	<i>Li</i> of Zhou has not changed (Chonger is not above King)	95
5/27:1	H	Lu	Qi 杞 uses barbarian <i>li</i> , and is thus despised by Lu ruler	23
5/27:2	H	Lu	To respect death observances despite resentment is <i>li</i>	14
5/27:3	H	Lu	Qi 杞 is attacked for want of <i>li</i>	7
5/27:4	G>C	Jin	Chonger becomes <i>ba</i> by training people in <i>li</i>	443
5/28:3	G>D	Jin	If we prevent settlement, chargeable with want of <i>li</i>	1,329
5/28:12	D	Jin	To assemble princes and then extinguish states contrary to <i>li</i>	114
5/29:1	H	Lu	To provide forage and rice for visitors is <i>li</i>	25
5/29:2	H	Lu	In <i>li</i> , a minister does not meet with a Prince	58
5/29:4	H	Lu	Individual is treated with <i>li</i> at court	40
5/30:3	D	Jin	Zheng is besieged by Jin (<i>boubu</i>) for its want of <i>li</i>	343
5/31:3	S	Lu	In <i>li</i> , there is no consultation about regular sacrifices	57
5/33:1	H>G	Qin	Qin army is careless and lacks <i>li</i> ; it will be defeated	235
5/33:2	H	Lu	Having <i>li</i> is the best defense of the state's altars	51
5/33:3	C	Jin	Qin's lack of <i>li</i> is Heaven assisting us	354
5/33:11	S	Lu	Making spirit tablets (in this case) was contrary to <i>li</i>	29
6/1:2	H	Lu	This intercalary month was contrary to <i>li</i>	50
6/1:8	H	Lu	Mission of friendly inquiry was <i>li</i>	56
6/2:5b	G	Lu	In <i>li</i> , all must be in proper natural order	155
6/2:7	H	Lu	Marriage offering was <i>li</i>	32
6/3:3	H	Lu	Sending condolence to Zhou is <i>li</i>	18
6/3:7	H	Jin	Jin apprehensive; they were not <i>li</i>	76
6/4:4	H	Lu	Minister not meeting bride is contrary to <i>li</i> ; leads to disorder	72
6/4:7	H	Wei	For me to accept this great <i>li</i> (大禮) would be a crime	115
6/5:1	H	Zhou	King sending burial gifts is <i>li</i>	19
6/6:1	G	Jin	Regulations restored the <i>li</i> (distinction) of ranks	120
6/6:3	G	Qin	Instruct and lead people by <i>li</i>	196
6/6:4	H	Lu	The <i>li</i> concerning death	45
6/6:8	H>G	Jin	Bad to take advantage of Master's <i>li</i> (to another)	132
6/6:9	H	Lu	Not to intercalate a month is contrary to <i>li</i>	41
6/7:2	H	Lu	To take from one and give to another is contrary to <i>li</i>	15
6/7:8	G	Jin	Want of <i>li</i> leads to dissatisfactions and revolts	171
6/8:6	G	Song	Zhaogong's lack of <i>li</i> led to disorder	87
6/9:2	H	Zhou	For King to request money/metal is contrary to <i>li</i>	16
6/9:10	H	Qin	Gift of burial clothes is <i>li</i>	33
6/12:1	H	Lu	To honor a fugitive is contrary to <i>li</i>	43
6/15:3	H	Cao	Court visits are <i>li</i>	22
6/15:4	H>G	Lu	Better die defending the city gates than be distant from <i>li</i>	217
6/15:5	S>G	Lu	To offer victims during an eclipse is contrary to <i>li</i>	55
6/15:11	H	Qi	Lacking <i>li</i> , one cannot live long	131
6/16:5	G	Song	He was <i>li</i> to the state's people, and became a ruler	336
6/18:7	C	Ju	Kill the man who transgresses the <i>li</i> due a ruler	756
7/1:8	H	Chu	Chu is not <i>li</i> to Chen (and Chen covenants with Jin)	117
7/2:1	H>G	Song	Transgressed <i>li</i> and disobeyed orders, thus captured	309
7/2:3	D	Jin	[To drink beyond 3 cups is contrary to <i>li</i>]	535
7/3:1	S	Lu	To give up one sacrifice and offer the other is not <i>li</i>	23
7/4:1	H	Lu	Reconcile by <i>li</i> (rather than attack)	50
7/8:2	S	Lu	To continue sacrifices after a death is contrary to <i>li</i>	13
7/8:5	H	Lu	Not to complete burial due to rain is <i>li</i>	27
7/9:1	H	Zhou	<i>Li</i> during visit to King; rewarded with gifts	23
7/11:5	G	Chu	Restoring state and its officers shows that he was <i>li</i>	258
7/12:2	C	Jin	Why fight a state with the right regulations and <i>li</i> ?	2,593
7/14:2	H	Zheng	Officer is <i>li</i> , and so is recalled from Chu	62

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
7/15:8	H	Lu	Tithe levied on acreage is contrary to <i>li</i>	15
7/16:4	H	Jin	Examines statutes to regulate the <i>li</i> of entertainment	92
7/17:1	D	Qi	Ruler feared he would not be treated with <i>li</i>	303
8/2:2	H>G	Wei	Better to give cities than <i>li</i> of office	225
8/2:3	H>C	Qi	[Concern for ruler's safety rather than defeat is <i>li</i>]	1,396
8/2:9	D	Zhou	The <i>li</i> due to an officer of the <i>houbo</i>	223
8/3:4	H>G	Chu	Repay Chu King's kindness by utmost <i>li</i> to own ruler	282
8/3:7	H>G	Lu	Relations between high and low fixed by ancient <i>li</i>	135
8/5/4	H>G	Jin	For ruler to confess faults during a calamity is <i>li</i>	117
8/6:2	H	Lu	Setting up a temple of war is contrary to <i>li</i>	35
8/8:5	H	Song	Ruler's presenting marriage offerings is <i>li</i>	12
8/8:10	H	Jin	Gifts are not <i>li</i> which is due to me	68
8/8:11	H	Wei	Wei man coming with harem ladies is <i>li</i>	21
8/9:6	H	Jin	Jin man coming with harem ladies is <i>li</i>	6
8/9:8	H	Jin	To kill an envoy is contrary to <i>li</i>	34
8/9:9	G	Jin	Treated with <i>li</i> , sent back to establish peace	220
8/10:4	H>G	Jin	[<i>Li</i> = gifts] to doctor for diagnosing ruler's illness	206
8/12:4	G	Chu	If government is perfected by <i>li</i> then people enjoy rest	359
8/13:1	H	Jin	<i>Li</i> is the stem of character, and respect is its foundation	66
8/13:2	H	Zhou	Nourish <i>li</i> and yi to secure blessings	169
8/15:3	H>G	Chu	Breaking covenant is not <i>li</i> , he will come to evil end	106
8/16:5	C	Jin	Righteousness and <i>li</i> are tools of war	1,903
8/18:2	H>G	Qi	To replace the executed head of a family is <i>li</i>	87
8/18:3	C	Jin	Jin as ba instructed officials in <i>li</i>	249
8/18:6	H	Jin	Jin was <i>li</i> to the Lu Prince	23
8/18:13	H	Lu	Sends Jin same number of troops as before; it is <i>li</i>	58
9/1:4	H	Lu	Zhu ruler's court visit is <i>li</i>	8
9/1:5	H	Lu	Visits from others for friendship is <i>li</i>	39
9/2:3	H	Lu	Taking another's coffin to bury own wife is contrary to <i>li</i>	95
9/3:7	G	Jin	To punish in accordance with military <i>li</i>	257
9/4:2	H	Chen	Chen ruler died, Chu cancelled attack; this is <i>li</i>	61
9/4:3	H>G	Jin	Visitor inquires about <i>li</i> , government, calamities	189
9/4:4	H	Lu	Breaches of <i>li</i> recoil on that person	93
9/7:9	H>G	Zheng	Ruler is not <i>li</i> ; he puts remonstrators to death	100
9/8:8	H	Lu	Jin officer praised as knowing <i>li</i>	115
9/9:3	H>G	Lu	Admirable virtue agrees with <i>li</i> ; I do not have this	177
9/9:5	H>G	Jin	Will follow a state which is <i>li</i> and can protect Zheng	470
9/9:7	H	Lu	Capping ceremony must be done with <i>li</i>	136
9/10:2	G	Jin	Song and Lu preserve <i>li</i> (of the ancients)	506
9/10:9	G	Zheng	Chariots beyond the number prescribed by <i>li</i>	375
9/11:5	G	Jin	Treated all prisoners with <i>li</i> (sent them home)	446
9/12:3	H	Lu	Wailing in the Zhou temple is <i>li</i>	60
9/12:5	H	Qi	Language of ceremony embodies <i>li</i> of Former Kings	82
9/12:6	H	Jin	To return a court visit is <i>li</i>	12
9/12:7	H	Chu	To inquire about a mother (via intermediary) is <i>li</i>	19
9/13:1	H	Lu	To record a ruler's successes is <i>li</i>	17
9/13:3	G	Jin	The order to follow the third army is <i>li</i>	334
9/13:6	H	Lu	Walling in right season is <i>li</i>	22
9/14:4	H>G	Wei	Shooting but missing fulfils <i>li</i> to both ruler and teacher	705
9/14:5	H	Jin	Disbanding the new army is <i>li</i>	66
9/15:2	H	Zhou	For minister to not meet bride is contrary to <i>li</i>	17
9/17:3	H	Qi	Humiliated by a <i>li</i> visit of a castrated minister	106

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
9/17:7	G	Qi	A form of <i>li</i> not proper to a great officer	40
9/18:4	C	Chu	Die without following <i>li</i> (of Former Kings; go to war)	330
9/19:4	H	Lu	Chastise those who do not have <i>li</i>	120
9/19:5	H>G	Qi	To expose a concubine's body in court is contrary to <i>li</i>	187
9/19:6	H	Jin	To stop attack upon hearing of ruler's death is <i>li</i>	13
9/19:7	H	Jin	To use gift of carriage at funeral is <i>li</i>	47
9/20:5	H	Lu	Court visit to Qi is <i>li</i>	8
9/21:2	D	Lu	How can you get rid of robbers if you show them great <i>li</i> ?	310
9/21:7	H	Qi	If <i>li</i> is lost, disorder must ensue	51
9/22:2	H>G	Zheng	Jin is not <i>li</i> to Zheng (which turns to Chu)	428
9/22:6	H>G	Chu	<i>Li</i> which obtains between ruler and minister	342
9/23:1	H	Jin	Not to discontinue music during mourning is contrary to <i>li</i>	28
9/23:4	H>G	Lu	Halting the army at Yongyu is <i>li</i>	303
9/24:11	H	Zhou	Admiring his <i>li</i> , the King gave him a carriage	24
9/25:7	H>G	Jin	Behave to smaller states with even greater <i>li</i>	68
9/25:11	C	Chu	Completing estimation of military levies is <i>li</i>	73
9/26:4	H>G	Zheng	Gifts diminishing by rank is <i>li</i>	96
9/26:10	G	Chu	Reward, punishment, compassion are key points of <i>li</i>	921
9/27:4	D	Lu	[Zhongni introduced new <i>li</i> for banquets]	1,006
9/28:2	H	Qi	Business first, then gifts, is <i>li</i>	84
9/28:3	H	Wei	Family head flees; nephew is appointed; this is <i>li</i>	28
9/28:8	H>G	Zheng	<i>li</i> in government secures blessings from Heaven	523
9/28:10	H	Zhou	No announcement, no record, of King's death is <i>li</i>	13
9/28:13	H	Jin	To mourn death of a covenanter is <i>li</i>	14
9/29:9	H>G	Jin	Ru Qi 女齊 was a master of <i>li</i>	68
9/29:13a	H>G	Zheng	Observe <i>li</i> in conduct of government	343
9/30:10	G	Zheng	<i>Li</i> is the bulwark of the state	591
9/31:6	G	Zheng	Showed <i>li</i> to complaining state	561
9/31:7	H	Zheng	Reporting to Chu and going to Jin is <i>li</i>	14
9/31:10	G	Wei	The rules of <i>li</i> are to government what ...	249
10/1:1	H>G	Chu	Sententious and agreeable to <i>li</i>	798
10/1:4	H>G	Zheng	Vessel for <i>li</i> of 5 cups at banquets	204
10/1:12	H>C	Jin	[<i>Li</i> = gifts] to doctor for analyzing ruler's illness	931
10/2:1	H>G	Jin	<i>Li</i> of Zhou are in Lu	232
10/2:3	C	Lu	Humility and submission are essential to <i>li</i>	125
10/3:1	C	Zheng	Wen and Xiang as <i>ba</i> had clear and simple <i>li</i>	219
10/3:3	C	Qi	<i>Li</i> over; discussed rise of Chen family in Qi	827
10/3:4	H>G	Jin	Violated no <i>li</i> , so received investiture	270
10/4:3	H>C	Chu	Securing <i>ba</i> position depends on <i>li</i>	449
10/4:6	G>C	Zheng	If <i>li</i> and <i>yi</i> are correct, why regard words of people?	156
10/4:8	D	Lu	Dispute whether certain funeral <i>li</i> is correct for officer	632
10/5:1a	D	Lu	For coffin of minister to leave from main gate is <i>li</i>	365
10/5:3	G	Jin	<i>Li</i> is maintaining one's state government	175
10/5:4	G	Chu	Neglect of <i>li</i> brings miseries and disorders	630
10/5:8	G	Chu	Leaving officers at strategic points is <i>li</i>	370
10/6:1	H	Qi 杞	Covenanted with ruler and sent condolences: <i>li</i>	16
10/6:2	H	Qin	Great officer attends Qin ruler's burial: <i>li</i>	9
10/6:3	D	Zheng	If laws are known, the people will cast away <i>li</i>	375
10/6:4	H>G	Jin	Knowledge of <i>li</i> is richly rewarded	104
10/6:11	H	Qi	Request to invade Yan is <i>li</i>	69
10/7:5	G>C	Lu	Not to lend authority to another is <i>li</i>	137
10/7:11	H	Wei	Jin shows no <i>li</i> to Wei, so Wei revolts	156
10/7:12	H>G	Lu	<i>Li</i> is the stem of men (wants sons to study with Cfs)	219

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
10/8:6	C	Chu	Carry out duty (<i>li</i>) unto death	238
10/9:3	D	Jin	Treated captive commander with <i>li</i> and sent him back	325
10/9:5	H>G	Jin	<i>Li</i> is seen in the conduct of affairs	213
10/9:6	H	Lu	Sending officer on court visit is <i>li</i>	9
10/10:4	H>G	Jin	Mixing funeral with business is not <i>li</i>	368
10/11:3	H	Lu	Military review is not <i>li</i>	13
10/11:4	H	Zhu 邾	Covenant to cultivate relationship is <i>li</i>	86
10/12:2	H>G	Zheng	In <i>li</i> , not overthrow another to establish oneself	151
10/12:4	H>G	Zheng	To be excused from meeting due to death is <i>li</i>	205
10/12:10	H>G	Lu	Ji Pingzi's 季平子 non- <i>li</i> behavior leads to revolt	509
10/12:11	H>G	Chu	Ruler does not subdue self and return to <i>li</i> : bad end	552
10/13:2	H>G	Chu	Abandoning <i>li</i> leads to disorder	1,619
10/13:3	G	Jin	It is <i>li</i> for Jin to be Lord of Covenants	1,078
10/13:5	H	Chu	Restoring states is <i>li</i>	53
10/13:6	H	Chu	Burying ruler is <i>li</i>	9
10/13:9	D	Jin	[Wait for <i>li</i> , here proper form of dismissal]	261
10/14:1	H	Lu	Honoring others and deprecating oneself is <i>li</i>	20
10/14:3	G	Chu	To rest people and then use them in the army is <i>li</i>	86
10/15:1	S>C	Lu	Vapors predict death, but sacrifices completed: <i>li</i>	59
10/15:7	H>G	Jin	King violates <i>li</i> in not observing 3 year mourning	444
10/16:2a	G	Chu	To kill bad ruler and replace him with his son is <i>li</i>	38
10/16:3	G	Zheng	If state does not observe <i>li</i> , how shall it seek glory?	959
10/17:2	D	Lu	Dispute on proper <i>li</i> during calamity of eclipse	164
10/18:6	S>D	Zheng	[Sacrifice during fire is <i>li</i>], military actions also taken	286
10/18:7	H>D	Chu	Xu observes no <i>li</i> to Zheng but is not pro-Chu	115
10/20:1	C	Song	Vapors in sky predict trouble in Song due to want of <i>li</i>	54
10/20:4	C	Lu	To conceal plot (against even a bad officer) is not <i>li</i>	779
10/21:3	H>G	Lu	Equal <i>li</i> to different ranks rightly angers Jin officer	70
10/23:9	H>G	Chu	Ancients guarded state by observing <i>li</i> with neighbors	219
10/24:2	H>G	Jin	Lord of Covenants treats detainee with <i>li</i> , lets him go	88
10/25:1	H>G	Song	Contemptuous officer without <i>li</i> will be ruined	76
10/25:3b	C	Jin	<i>Li</i> based on Heaven's pattern (<i>ying</i> 經), Earth's constants (<i>yi</i> 義)	379
10/25:6	H>C	Lu	If you want something from another, in <i>li</i> be humble	1,160
10/26:2	H	Song	Buried late ruler like former rulers: <i>li</i>	9
10/26:9	G	Zhou	King's rebellious son is exceedingly lacking in <i>li</i>	645
10/26:11	C	Qi	Ancient Kings received <i>li</i> from Heaven and Earth	309
10/30:2	G	Jin	States recognize Jin's supremacy due to <i>li</i>	269
10/31:5	H>G	Lu	<i>Chunqiu</i> exists to point out wickedness, want of <i>li</i>	235
11/3:4	H>G	Cai	<i>Li</i> (gifts) were not forwarded; you shall die	226
11/4:2	H>G	Zheng	Two <i>li</i> maxims, not overly broad: follow <i>li</i> and <i>yi</i>	62
11/6:2	D	Wei	Ruler told to condemn and then imitate them; contrary to <i>li</i>	177
11/8:7	H>G	Jin	Covenants should illustrate <i>li</i> ; service to Jin is <i>li</i>	281
11/10:2	H>G	Lu	Kong Qiu is acquainted with <i>li</i> but has no courage	264
11/10:4	H>G	Wei	Those who cast away <i>li</i> have fate different from others	162
11/10:6	H>G	Song	Must show <i>li</i> to ruler, not humiliate his favorite	141
11/15:1	H>G	Lu	Both rulers violate <i>li</i> ; both will die	117
11/15:7	H	Lu	Burial deferred on account of rain; <i>li</i>	10
12/3:2	G	Lu	People carried out books of <i>li</i> from treasury during fire	200
12/7:3	G	Wu	Laying commands on states without regard for <i>li</i>	263
12/8:2	G	Lu	To flee to an enemy state is contrary to <i>li</i>	481
12/11:7	G	Lu	To conduct government by <i>li</i>	123
12/12:4	C	Wu	Wu is not <i>li</i> ; it will be difficult for it to get <i>ba</i> position	318

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
12/15:2	H>G	Chen	Envoy dies; it is <i>li</i> to complete mission with his corpse	269
12/16:3	D	Lu	Ruler lament is insincere; he transgressed <i>li</i>	95
12/24:1	H>G	Jin	Gift is not according to <i>li</i>	125
12/24:3	D	Lu	Ruler ignores no <i>li</i> in marrying concubines	96
12/27:2	D	Lu	At Jisun's funeral, <i>li</i> was not up to par	14

Appendix 3: The 156 *Shu* Passages

In *Zuo* order. B = Background, C = Conventional, J = Judgemental, H = Historiographic
Layer given after a slash in column 2. 0 = a layer preceding those previously identified

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
1/1:1	C/0	Lu	Assisted younger brother, so accession not recorded	13
1/1:2	CJ0	Lu	Rank not recorded, but name recorded to honor him	41
1/1:3	C/0	Lu	Not Prince's order, so walling not recorded	15
1/1:4	J/3	Zheng	Did not behave like a brother, so not recorded as one	564
1/1:6	C/0	Yi 夷	Yi did not announce attack on them, so not recorded	12
1/1:7	C/0	Lu	Not at level of calamity or plague, so not recorded	8
1/1:9	C/0	Lu	Prince not present, so burial not recorded	34
1/1:10	C/0	Wei	No interview with Prince, so visit not recorded	11
1/1:11	C/0	Lu	Not Prince's order, so covenant not recorded	65
1/1:12	C/0	Lu	Gate not repaired on Prince's order, so not recorded	11
1/1:14	C/0	Lu	Prince not present, so day of death not recorded	12
1/3:1	C/0	Zhou	Death announcement gave wrong date, but still recorded	18
1/3:2	J/0	Lu	Out of regard for Prince, her surname not recorded	42
1/4:4	J/0	Lu	Says "Hui led force" to express dislike of his conduct	51
1/4:6	C/0	Wei	Says "Wei ren 衛人" meaning "people of the state of Wei"	24
1/5:1	J/3	Lu	Says "Prince watched fishing at Tang," not <i>li</i>	218
1/7:1	J/2	Teng 滕	<i>Tongmeng</i> 同盟 not made, so personal name not recorded at death	42
1/7:2	C/0	Lu	Walling unseasonable, so recorded	8
1/9:1	C/0	Lu	Great rain and thunder, recorded for first time	43
1/9:2	C/0	Lu	Walling unseasonable, so recorded	7
1/11:7	C/0	Song	Zheng defeat of Song not announced, so not recorded	64
1/11:8	C/0	Lu	No funeral rites, so burial not recorded	127
2/2:1	J/0	Song	Wicked deed (murder of ruler) recorded first	132
2/4:1	C/2	Lu	At proper season, so hunt recorded; this is <i>li</i>	13
2/5:5	C/0	Lu	Grand sacrifice for rain unseasonable, so recorded	28
2/6:1	C/0	Zhou	Says "Shi came" because he did not return to own state	16
2/9:1	C/0	Zhou	Marriages of Prince's daughters to Zhou King recorded	20
2/10:5	C/0	Lu	Recorded in order of rank as fixed by King	69
2/13:2	J/0	Lu	Prince was late, so place of battle not recorded	27
2/14:3	C/0	Lu	Lightning struck granary; no harm done, so recorded	15
2/16:4	C/0	Lu	Walling seasonable, so recorded	6
2/17:7	C/2	Lu	Officer had "lost" (<i>shi</i> 失) day of eclipse, so not recorded	45
3/2:1	J/0	Lu	Lady Jiang adulterous meeting recorded	15
3/29:1	C/0	Lu	Repair of stables unseasonable, so recorded	20
3/29:3	C/0	Lu	If not plague, not recorded; if becomes plague, recorded	13
3/29:4	C/0	Lu	Walling seasonable, so recorded	36
4/1:1	C/0	Lu	Confusion, so accession not recorded	10
4/1:5	J/5	Qi	Name of visitor recorded in order to honor him	119
5/1:1	CJ2	Lu	Accession not recorded to conceal disgrace; this is <i>li</i>	25
5/2:1	C/0	Lu	Lu came late, so meeting not recorded	18

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
5/2:2	J/3	Yu	<i>Chunqiu</i> listed Yu before Jin due to bribes	168
5/5:1	C/2	Lu	Winter sacrifice recorded; this is <i>li</i>	39
5/5:8	J/5	Jin	Says “Jin <i>ren</i> 晉人 seized Yu Prince” to condemn Yu	428
5/9:4	N/3	Jin	Says “Killed his ruler’s son,” father not yet buried	276
5/9:5	C/0	Qi	Qi invasion of Jin not announced, so not recorded	25
5/14:1	C/0	Lu	Names not recorded due to omission of historiographer	20
5/15:2	C/2	Lu	Officer had “lost” day of eclipse, so not recorded	16
5/17:4	J/0	Lu	Says “came from meeting” to conceal extinction of Xiang 向	31
5/19:7	J/0	Liang	Not recorded who extinguished Liang; was own fault	49
5/20:1	C/0	Lu	Repair of south gate unseasonable, so recorded	17
5/23:5	C/2	Qi 杞	No <i>tongmeng</i> made, so personal name not recorded at death	47
5/24:1	C/3	Jin	Chonger restoration not announced, so not recorded	754
5/24:5	C/2	Zhou	Says “ <i>Tianzi</i> left Zhou” to avoid trouble from brother	87
5/28:9	J/4	Zhou	Says “ <i>Tianzi</i> hunted in Heyang 河陽” to show was wrong place	44
5/29:2	J/2	Lu	Minister names not recorded to condemn them; is <i>li</i>	58
6/2:2	C/0	Lu	Making of spirit tablet unseasonable, so recorded	10
6/2:3	J/0	Lu	“Covenant <i>ji</i> 及 Jin Chufu” shows dissatisfaction	45
6/2:4	J/0	Jin	Name recorded due to ability for work	32
6/2:6	J/0	Jin	Minister names not recorded to honor Qin ruler	46
6/6:6	J/0	Jin	Says “Jin killed great officer” because he interfered	40
6/7:3	CJ3	Song	Many, and not criminals, so personal names not given	190
6/7:6	CJ0	Lu	Prince arrived late, so others at meeting not recorded	57
6/8:4	J/0	Lu	Says “Gongzi Sui ” due to excellence of his work	38
6/8:6	J/2	Song	Died faithfully; his office recorded to honor him	87
6/9:2	C/2	Zhou	Request for metal not King’s command, so not recorded	16
6/9:6	J/0	Lu	Minister names not recorded to punish want of sincerity	31
6/9:10	C/2	Qin	Burial gifts were recorded if made according to <i>li</i>	33
6/12:1	J/2	Cheng 郕	Calls a refugee a ruler, to honor him	43
6/12:2	C/0	Lu	Recorded as “2nd daughter” to indicate engagement	38
6/12:7	C/0	Lu	Walling seasonable, so recorded	7
6/13:4	J/0	Lu	Recorded ruin of shrine roof to show want of attention	12
6/14:1	C/0	Zhou	Deaths of rulers, if not announced, are not recorded	38
6/14:12	J/0	Song	Says “ <i>Zi'ai</i> 子哀 came” to honor him	29
6/14:13	C/0	Qi	Qi announced troubles (murder of ruler), so recorded	34
6/15:2	J/0	Song	Names “Song Minister of War, Huasun” to honor him	64
6/15:4	J/3	Qi	Wording of text shows regard for Meng family	217
6/15:6	J/0	Shan 單	Says “[Ruler] of Shan arrived from Qi” to honor him	33
6/15:9	J/0	Lu	Names not recorded to conceal Prince’s remissness	83
6/16:5	J/3	Song	Says “killed ruler” to show he was devoid of principle	315
6/17:1	J/0	Jin	Ministers failed in mission, so their names not recorded	39
6/17:4	J/3	Jin	Says “ <i>zhubou</i> 諸侯 [no names]” because accomplished nothing	399
6/18:5	J/0	Lu	Says “Prince’s son died” to conceal [his murder]	89
7/2:3	H/4	Jin	Historiographer recorded Zhao Dun’s murder of ruler	535
7/4:2	J/3	Jing	Says “murdered his ruler” because he did not prevent it	226
7/5:2	C/0	Lu	Prince exceeded <i>li</i> , so his return is recorded	8
7/5:3	C/0	Lu	Minister met her, so recorded as “2nd daughter”	22
7/7:4	J/0	Jin	Prince’s return due to bribes, so covenant not recorded	73
7/8:6	C/0	Lu	Walling seasonable, so recorded	6
7/10:2	J/0	Qi	Says “Cui Family” because not driven out for fault	77
7/11:5	J/3	Chu	Says “Chu ruler restored” to show he observed <i>li</i>	258
7/12:7	J/0	Jin	Did not keep word, so minister names not recorded	31
7/18:5	J/2	Lu	Says “Guifu returned from Jin” to commend him	125

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
8/2:8	J/3	Lu	Covenant imperfect, so names not recorded	443
8/8:9	C/0	Lu	3rd daughter divorced and returned, so record her death	11
8/9:13	C/0	Lu	Walling seasonable, so recorded	6
8/10:7	C/0	Lu	Prince's detention in Jin not recorded to conceal it	22
8/12:1	J/0	Zhou	Says "Zhougong 周公 fled to Jin" because he outcast himself	31
8/15:1	J/0	Jin	Says "Jin ruler seized:" had not dealt rightly w/ people	101
8/15:4	J/3	Song	Says "Song killed" <i>dafu</i> 大夫, implying he was rebelling	321
8/17:12	J/0	Jin	Misled ruler, so text says "Jin killed its <i>dafu</i> "	33
8/18:2	J/3	Qi	Says "put to death" <i>dafu</i> who was rebelling	87
8/18:5	C/3	Song	"Returned and entered" means entered by violence	190
8/18:10	C/0	Lu	Walling unseasonable, so recorded	7
8/18:15	C/0	Lu	Ruler's burial recorded properly	10
9/1:1	J/0	Song	Not of Song, but retrospectively recorded of Song	76
9/2:8	J/0	Chu	Says "killed [name]" because he took bribes	35
9/5:4	C/0	Lu	Names without conjunction show latter was Lu <i>dafu</i>	30
9/5:7	J/0	Chu	Says "killed <i>dafu</i> " due to his covetousness	80
9/8:4	J/0	Jin	<i>dafu</i> at meeting not recorded in deference to Jin	57
9/10:2	C/3	Jin	"Extinguished" shows they proceeded to attack it	506
9/10:10	C/0	Jin	Says "guard" because it was not Zheng territory	40
9/10:12	C/3	Zhou	Not announced, so not recorded	243
9/11:5	C/3	Zheng	Says "messenger" implying that he was an ambassador	446
9/13:2	C/0	Lu	Says " <i>qu</i> 取" when a city is easily taken	28
9/13:6	C/2	Lu	Walling seasonable, so recorded ... this is <i>li</i>	22
9/14:3	CJ3	Jin	Persons were remiss, so names not recorded	473
9/16:2	C/3	Jin	Says "joined ruler" but in reality another commanded	74
9/19:8	J/0	Qi	Says "killed" implying that the person had done wrong	28
9/19:9	J/3	Zheng	Says " <i>dafu</i> " because he took authority unto himself	163
9/20:4	J/3	Cai	Says "killed" implying his wishes not same as people	171
9/21:2	C/4	Zhu 邾	Brought important territory, so his name is recorded	310
9/23:6	J/0	Jin	Not called Jin <i>dafu</i> because entered from abroad	35
9/25:2	H/5	Qi	Historiographer recorded "Cuizi killed" his ruler	843
9/26:2	J/3	Wei	Says "murdered his ruler" to show his crime	497
9/26:7	J/3	Lu	Our of respect for ruler, the name is not recorded	274
9/27:4	J/3	Jin	Jin showed good faith, to it is recorded/listed first	1006
9/28:10	C/2	Zhou	King's death not announced, so not recorded; this is <i>li</i>	13
9/28:14	C/0	Zhou	Wrong day for King's death: recorded as announced	19
9/29:12	J/0	Qi 杞	Calls ruler " <i>zi</i> 子" to demean him (<i>jian ye</i> 賤也)	11
9/29:14	J/0	Qi	Says "left state and fled" to condemn him	44
9/30:6	J/0	Zhou	Says " <i>Tianwang</i> 天王 killed younger brother" to condemn him	138
9/30:10	J/3	Song	Says "such and such met" to condemn them	592
9/30:12	J/2	Song	No aid given, so names not recorded, to condemn them	155
9/31:8	J/0	Ju	Says "Ju <i>ren</i> 莒人 killed their ruler" to show he was a criminal	68
10/1:8	J/3	Qin	Says "fled to Jin" to condemn Qin ruler	285
10/3:2	C/0	Teng 滕	<i>Tongmeng</i> made, so personal name recorded at death	11
10/3:11	J/0	Yan	Says "Yan ruler fled to Qi" to condemn him	43
10/5:6	C/3	Ju 莒	Brought important territory, so his name is recorded	87
10/8:2	J/0	Chen	Says "Shao killed heir son" to show his guilt	138
10/9:7	CJ2	Lu	Enclosing park seasonable, so recorded; anecdote	48
10/12:5	J/0	Chu	Says "Chu killed 大夫" to show he clung to favors	40
10/16:1	J/0	Lu	Prince's detention in Jin not recorded to conceal it	19
10/19:4	J/0	Xu 許	Says "Murdered his ruler" ... <i>junzi</i> 君子 says ...	39
10/23:2	J/3	Jin	Says "Jin <i>ren</i> seized [name]" because he was Lu envoy	418
10:23:5	C/3	Wu	Says "extinguished" if by ruler, "taken" if by officer	302

Passage	Type	State	Content	Size
10/25:4	C/5	Lu	Grackles recorded because had never happened before	94
10/25:5	C/0	Lu	Drought recorded due to its severity	7
10/25:6	J/5	Lu	Says “Qi ruler condoled” because it was <i>li</i>	1160
10/30:1	J/0	Lu	Not earlier recorded Prince was in Yun and Ganhou	24
10/31:3	C/0	Xue 薛	<i>Tongmeng</i> made, so personal name recorded at death	8
10/31:5	H/3	Lu	<i>Chunqiu</i> records names to praise good and condemn bad	251
10/32:4	J/5	Lu	Says “Prince died in Ganhou” to show wrong place	368
11/9:3a	C/3	Lu	Says “ <i>de</i> 得” because they were articles of use	220
11/15:9	C/0	Lu	Walling unseasonable, so recorded	8
12/1:2	C/5	Wu	Wu entering Yue not announced, so not recorded	321
12/12:2	C/3	Lu	Married Wu daughter, so her surname not recorded	50

Appendix 4: *Zuoꝑhuan* Passages Divided in This Essay

Page/Line references are to the Hong Kong concordance

“a” = Segment first encountered in reading order, not necessarily earlier in date

“–” = Type not given because lacks terms discussed in this essay; included for completeness

It will be noticed that N passages are frequently parasitic on earlier passages.

Passage	Pg/Ln	Type/Size	Content
3/22:1a	56/3	H/152	Chen Gongzi Huan flees to Qi; his <i>li</i> behavior praised
3/22:1b	56/12	N/264	Flashback (<i>chu</i> 初): trigram prediction of greatness in Qi
4/1:6a	67/15	A/167	Person’s name indicates Heaven is opening way for him
4/1:6b	67/25	–/74	Flashback: trigram prediction of majesty in Jin
5/22:9a	99/12	G/51	<i>Junzi yue</i> 君子曰 judgement: Chu mixing of women and war is not <i>li</i>
5/22:9b	99/15	C/69	Change of scene: Chu ruler will not become ba
5/24:3a	104/14	–/76	Ends with <i>junzi yue</i> comment on calamity due to impropriety
5/24:3b	104/18	N/9	Addendum on <i>Shu</i> quote: Heaven/Earth correspondences
5:25:2a	105/25	N/188	Preposed: Trigram prediction of success for Jin ruler
5/25:2b	106/4	G/95	<i>Li</i> of Zhou do not allow Jin ruler to be above Zhou King
6/2:5a	125/31	–/16	“Contrary to order of sacrifice,” sacrifice is the priority
6/2:5b	125/31	G/155	Theory of sacrifice as subsumed into government
6/2:6c	126/9	–/41	<i>Zhongni yue</i> 仲尼曰 comment on Zang Wenzhong’s lack of virtue
9/29:13a	302/1	G/60	Wu visitor gives political advice to officers in many states
	303/22	G/283	[resumption of above; 9/29:13a total: 343 characters]
9/29:13b	302/32	N/498	Interpolation: Zhou music performed; Qi greatness predicted
10/5:1a	331/3	D/365	No reward or punishment for private services or wrongs
10/5:1b	331/23	–/227	Flashback: trigram prediction
10/11:2a	348/12	N/131	Preposed: Chu ruler beguiles and kills Cai ruler
10/11:2b	348/18	A/182	Chu besieges Cai (<i>Chunqiu</i> entry 10/11:4)
10/16:2a	363/29	G/38	Preposed: Chu ruler invests and kills Man Rong 蠻戎 ruler
10/16:2b	363/31	–/88	Chu ruler invades Xu 徐 (<i>Chunqiu</i> entry 10/16:1)
10/25:3a	386/1	–/30	Interstate meeting of officers
	387/18	–/105	[resumption of above; 10/25a total: 135 characters]
10/25:3b	387/3	N/379	Interpolation: <i>Li</i> is using Heaven and Earth as models

Works Cited

- Brooks, A. Taeko. "The Aetiology of the Sündž." *WSP* [*Warring States Papers*] [forthcoming].
- . "Distancing Jí 及 in the Chūn/Chyōu." *WSP* [forthcoming].
- . "Evolution of the Bà 霸 'Hegemon' Theory." *WSP* [forthcoming].
- . "The Integrity of the Chūn/Chyōu." *WSP* [forthcoming].
- . "The Mician Ethical Triplets." *WSP* [forthcoming].
- Brooks, E. Bruce. "Sūn Wǔ." *WSP* [forthcoming].
- , and A. Taeko Brooks. *The Original Analects. Sayings of Confucius and his Successors*. New York: Columbia, 1998.
- Defoort, Carine. "Can Words Produce Order?" *Cultural Dynamics* v. 12.1 (2000) 85-109.
- Griffith, Samuel B. *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*. Oxford: Oxford, 1963.
- Henry, Eric. "'Junzi Yue' Versus 'Zhongni Yue' in *Zuoqibuan*." *HJAS* v. 59.1 (1999): 125-161.
- Hinsch, Brett. "The Origins of Separation of the Sexes in China." *JAOS* v. 123.3 (2003): 595-616.
- Hsu, Cho-yun. "The Spring and Autumn Period," in: Michael Loewe et al. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, Cambridge: Cambridge, 1999.
- Kennedy, George A. "Interpretation of the Ch'un-Ch'iu." *JAOS* v. 62.1 (1942): 40-48.
- Kierman, Frank A, et al. (ed.). *Chinese Ways in Warfare*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1974.
- Legge, James. *The Chinese Classics*. 5 v. Oxford: Oxford, 1893-1895.
- Li, Xueqin. *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*. New Haven: Yale, 1985.
- Loewe, Michael (ed.). *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993.
- Mei, Yi-pao. *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse*. London: Probsthain, 1929.
- Pankenier, David W. "Astrology in the Gwó Yǔ." *WSP* [forthcoming].
- Pines, Yuri. *Foundations of Confucian Thought*. Honolulu: Hawaii, 2002.
- Rickett, W Allyn. *Guanzi*, v. 1. Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 1985.
- Sawyer, Ralph D. *Sun Tzu: Art of War*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994.
- Sivin, Nathan. "The Myth of the Naturalists." *Medicine, Philosophy, and Religion in Ancient China*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1995: 9-18.
- Thompson, P. M. *The Shen Tzu Fragments*. Oxford: Oxford, 1979.
- Waley, Arthur. *The Way and Its Power: A Study of the Tao Tê Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1934.
- Weld, Susan R. "Chu Law in Action: Legal Documents from Tomb 2 at Baoshan," in: Constance A. Cook and John S. Major (ed.), *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China*. Honolulu: Hawaii, 1999.
- Wilhelm, Hellmut. *Change: Eight Lectures on the I Ching*. New York: Pantheon, 1960.
- Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. *Chunqiu Zuoqibuan zhu* 春秋左傳注. rev. ed., 4 v. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990.