THE CHINESE CLASSICS.
VOL. V.
THE CH'UN TS'EW, WITH THE TSO CHUEN.
不以文害辭，不以辭害意。志以意，逆是為得之。

Mencius, V. Pt. 1, IV. 2.
THE

CHINESE CLASSICS:

WITH

A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES,
PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

BY

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28605

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. V.—PART I.,
CONTAINING
DUKES YIN, HWAN, CHWANG, MIN, HE, WAN, SEUEN AND CH'ING;
AND THE PROLEGOMENA.

HONGKONG: LANE, CRAWFORD & CO.
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1872.
PREFACE.

The author is glad to be able to publish his fifth volume in less than twelve months after the publication of the fourth. There remain now only the Le Ke and the Yih King to be translated and annotated, and then the task which he undertook will be fully accomplished. As he must return to England in the course of next year, he cannot say when the publication of those two Works may be looked for. He will certainly not allow anything to interfere with the completion of his labours upon them; but the Le Ke is so very voluminous, and the Yih King is so entirely sui generis, that this will yet require some years. It will then have to be considered whether he can get them printed in England, or must return once more to Hongkong for that purpose. Moreover, the publication of them must depend in a good measure on the sale which the volumes already issued may continue to have.

The present volume contains not only the Ch'un Ts'êw of Confucius, but also the Commentary on it by Tso K'êw-ming. Had the author been content to publish merely the text of the Classic, with a translation of it, the volume would have been of small compass. But without the narratives of Tso the annals of the Sage would have given a most meagre and unsatisfactory account of the period covered by them. He did not therefore shrink from the great additional labour required to translate the whole of Tso's Work; and he believes it will be acknowledged that he has thereby rendered an important service to students of Chinese literature and to his readers generally. From the narratives of Tso there may be gathered as full and interesting an account of the history of China, from B.C. 721 to about 460, as we have of any of the nations of Europe during the Middle Ages.
The translation of the Ch’un Ts‘ëw itself may be made by an ordinary Chinese scholar *currente calamo*; but it is not so with the translation of the Tso Chuen. And the author had not the benefit of the labours of previous translators with either of them. In preparing his former volumes, he did his work in the first place without reference to those who had traversed the same fields before him, but he afterwards found it occasionally of advantage to compare his versions with those of others. This he has not been able to do in the present case. If any Sinologue be at times inclined to differ from him in the rendering of a passage of Tso, the author would ask him to suspend his judgment for a little. Prolonged study may perhaps show him that the meaning has seldom been mistaken. To have introduced notes vindicating his renderings, where the meaning was not immediately evident, would have greatly increased the size of the volume, already sufficiently large. His object has always been to translate faithfully, without resorting to paraphrase, which he considers a slovenly and unscholarly practice; yet he hopes that his versions are not in language that can be represented as uncouth, or unpleasant to read.

He has received the same assistance as in the case of the fourth volume in reading most of the proofs. And his obligations to the Rev. Mr. Chalmers have been even greater than before. Not only did he prepare the indexes of Subjects and Proper Names, but the author is indebted to him for the valuable maps of China in the Ch’un Ts‘ëw period, for the chronological table of the lunar months during it, and for various assistance on other points.

**Hongkong,** September 26th, 1872.
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ERRATA.

1. IN THE CHINESE TEXT OF THE CH'UAN TS'U-W.

Page 8, Col. 5, for 裂織 read 褐織.
Page 12, Col. 5, for 伯 read 伯.
Page 22, Col. 5, for 齊 read 齊.
Page 46, Col. 4, for 成 read 部.
Page 185, Col. 8, et al., for 不雨 read 不雨.

More than one half of the above are merely errors as regards the texts of the K'ang-he Ch'uan Ts'u-w, and have arisen from the compositors gathering the characters from copies in which the text of Tso-shu was altogether adhered to. In the same way is to be explained the occasional occurrence of 於 for 子 in the text, and of 子 for 於 in the Chuen.

II. IN THE CHINESE TEXT OF THE CHUEN.

Page 20, Col. 11, for 蕖 read 蕖.
Page 418, Col. 8, for 無 read 無.

III. CHINESE CHARACTERS IN THE NOTES.

Page 4, Col. 1, Col. 5, for 公 read 王.
Page 30, Col. 2, 32, insert Kung and Kuh have.
Page 40, Col. 1, " Kung has.
Page 59, Col. 2, 3, " Kung has.
Page 77, Col. 1, 8, " Kung and Kuh have.
Page 219, Col. 2, 67, " Kuh has.
Page 287, Col. 5, 6, insert Kung has.
Page 291, Col. 1, 10, " Kung has.

IV. CHINESE CHARACTERS IN INDEX III.

Page Col. Li.
Page 889, Col. 8, for 柏丘 read 朱白.
Page 898, Col. 2, 47, for 來 read 夾.
### V. IN THE PROLOGOMENA.

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<td>[for 君王读 王]</td>
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Nearly all the above errors might be corrected from Index III.

### VII. IN THE NOTES.

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<td>1; et al., for 秋 read 秋. The account of 秋's capital in the par. is also wrong; but this and some other geographical mistakes in the notes can be corrected from Index III.</td>
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PROLEGOMENA.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATURE AND VALUE OF THE CH'UN TS'ÉW.

APPENDIXES.—

I. SPECIMENS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF KUNG-YANG AND KUH-LEANG.

II. A LETTER QUESTIONING THE CONFUCIAN AUTHORSHIP OF THE CH'UN TS'ÉW BY T'UEN MEI OF THE PRESENT DYNASTY.

SECTION I.

DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE EXPECTATIONS RAISED BY THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF THE CH'UN TS'ÉW.

1. In the prolegomena to vol. I., on page 1, I have said that of the five King or classical works, the authorship, or compilation rather, of which is loosely attributed to Confucius, 'the Ch'ün Ts'êw is the only one which can rightly be described by Confucius as of his own making.' If I had been as familiar with the Ch'ün Ts'êw in 1861 as I am now, instead of appearing, as in that judgment, to allow that it is an original Work of the sage, I should have contented myself with saying that of it alone has the making been claimed for him. The question as to what he really did in the matter of this Classic is one of great perplexity.

2. The earliest authority who speaks on the subject is Mencius. No better could be desired; and the glowing account which he gives Mencius' account of the of the Work excites our liveliest expectations. Ch'ün Ts'êw.

His language puts it beyond doubt that in his time, not far removed from that of Confucius, there was a book current in China, called the Ch'ün Ts'êw, and accepted without question by him and others as having been made by the sage.
"The world," he says, 'was fallen into decay, and right principles had dwindled away. Perverse discourses and oppressive deeds were again waxen rife. Cases were occurring of ministers who murdered their rulers, and of sons who murdered their fathers. Confucius was afraid, and made the Ch'un Ts'ëw.\textsuperscript{1} He describes the work as of equal value with Yu's regulation of the waters of the deluge, and the duke of Chow's establishing his dynasty amid the desolations and disorder which had been wrought by the later sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang. 'Confucius completed the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror.\textsuperscript{2} Going more particularly into the nature of the Work, and fortifying himself with the words of the Master, Mencius says, 'The subjects of the Ch'un Ts'ëw are Hwan of Ts'e and Wân of Tsin, and its style is the historical. Confucius said, "Its righteous decisions I ventured to make."\textsuperscript{3} And again, 'What the Ch'un Ts'ëw contains are matters proper to the son of Heaven. On this account Confucius said, "Yes! It is the Ch'un Ts'ëw which will make men know me; and it is the Ch'un Ts'ëw which will make men condemn me."\textsuperscript{4} The words of Mencius, that Confucius made the Ch'un Ts'ëw, became thereafter part of the stock phraseology of Chinese scholars. If the Work itself had not been recovered under the Han dynasty, after the efforts of the tyrant of Ta'in to destroy the ancient monuments of literature, we should have regretted its loss, thinking of it as a history from the \textit{stilus} of the sage of China in which had been condensed the grandest utterances of his wisdom and the severest lessons of his virtue.

3. The making of a history, indeed, is different from the making of a poem, the development of a philosophy, and other literary

\textsuperscript{1} Mencius, III. Pt. i. IX. 7, 8.
\textsuperscript{2} 世衰道微,邪說暴行有作,臣弒其君者有之,孔子懼而作春秋.
\textsuperscript{3} 世衰道微,邪說暴行有作,臣弒其君者有之,孔子懼而作春秋.
\textsuperscript{4} 世衰道微,邪說暴行有作,臣弒其君者有之,孔子懼而作春秋.

We must suppose that Hwan of Ts'e and Wân of Tsin are here added as two of the most remarkable personages in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and that the first clause is not intended to convey the idea that the Work was all about them. I have mistranslated, and long over the other parts of the paragraph. 其文則史 might be translated:--'The text is from the historians.' But where then would there be any room for the righteous decisions' of Confucius himself? I must hold to the version I have given of the observation quoted from the sage, and it seems to require the translation of the previous clause as I have published it. Julian has:--Eius \textit{histories.} Confucius nobilis, Hanc equam, tum ego histionem recipiunt ex seba illum.'\textsuperscript{5} III. Pt. i. IX.

\textsuperscript{5} 春秋之帝王也,是故孔子曰:知我者其惟春秋乎,罪我者其惟春秋乎.
achievements in which we expect large results of original thought. What we are to expect in a history. In those we look for new combinations of the phenomena of human character, and new speculations on the divine order of the universe,—'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.' But from the historian all that we are entitled to require is a faithful record of facts. If he would win our special approval, he must weave his facts into an interesting narrative, trace their connexion with one another, and by unfolding the motives of the actors teach lessons that may have their fruit in guiding and directing the course of events in future generations. The making of history should be signalized by the vigour and elegance of the composition, and by the correct discrimination, impartiality, and comprehensiveness of the author's judgments.

When, with these ideas of what a history should be, we look into the Ch'\text{un} Ts\'{e}w, we experience immediately an intense feeling of disappointment in reading with such expectations the Ch'\text{un} Ts\'{e}w. Instead of a history of events woven artistically together, we find a congeries of the briefest possible intimations of matters in which the court and State of Loo were more or less concerned, extending over 242 years, without the slightest tincture of literary ability in the composition, or the slightest indication of judicial opinion on the part of the writer. The paragraphs are always brief. Each one is designed to commemorate a fact; but whether that fact be a display of virtue calculated to command our admiration, or a deed of atrocity fitted to awaken our disgust, it can hardly be said that there is anything in the language to convey to us the shadow of an idea of the author's feeling about it. The notices, for we cannot call them narratives, are absolutely unimpassioned. A base murder and a shining act of heroism are chronicled just as the eclipses of the sun are chronicled. So and so took place;—that is all. No details are given; no judgment is expressed. The reader may be conscious of an emotion of delight or of indignation according to the opinion which he forms of the event mentioned, especially when he has obtained a fuller account of it from some other quarter; but there is nothing in the text to excite the one feeling or the other. Whether the statements found in the Ch'\text{un} Ts\'{e}w be all reliable, and given according to the truth of the facts, is a point of the utmost importance, which will be duly considered by and by. I am at present only concerned to affirm that the Work is not at all of the nature which we should suppose from our
previous conception of it as a history by a great man, and from the accounts given of it by Confucius himself and by Mencius.  

4. If I have given in these remarks a correct, though brief, idea of what the Ch'Un Ts'êw is, we know not what to make of the statement of Confucius quoted by Mencius, that he had himself ventured to make the righteous decisions contained in it. Whether the book which we now have be that which Confucius is said to have made, or another, we examine it in vain for any 'righteous decisions,' for any decisions indeed of any kind, on the events which are indicated in it. This difficulty is a Gordian knot which I do not see any way of untying, and I have often wished that I could cut it by denying the genuineness of the present Ch'un Ts'êw altogether. 

But, as will by and by appear, the evidence which connects and identifies the existing Work with that made, whatever be the sense in which we are to take that term, by the sage, cannot be rebutted. The simplest way of disposing of the matter is to set the testimony of

1 It is amusing to read the following account of the Ch'un Ts'êw given by the writer of the treatise "On the Antiquity of the Chinese," on pp. 47, 48 of the 1st vol. of the "Memoires Concernant les Chinois."

"Le T'chou-tseu est un livre écrit de génie. Notre Socrate y manie l'Histoire en homme d'État, en Choyen, en Philosophe, en Savant, et en Morale. Son Jacobisme naïf et sublime le force à serrer sa narration, pour présenter les faits tout nus et détachés, pour ainsi dire, de la chaine des événements; mais ils sont destinés, colorés, enrichis et peints avec tant de force et de feu, qu'on en sort d'abord pourquis et jusqu'où ils sont dignes de louanges ou de blâmes. Nous ne connaissons point de livre en Europe, où l'on voit si bien le commencement, le progrès, le dénouement, et le remède des résolutions dans l'État et dans les mœurs; les vrais signes de roideur ou de mollesse, de tyrannie ou de discrétion, de modération simulée ou d'inconséquence dans le Gouvernement; les différences du talent, du génie, de l'expérience, de la profondeur des vues, de la bonté du cœur et de l'unité, de l'approvisionnement et des ressources d'un esprit référé dans les Princes et dans leurs ministres, l'imposante d'une administration bruyante et le fard d'une politique paternelle, les souffrances de la trahison et les scories de la décadence, les premières étincelles d'une révolte qui commence et les derniers élans d'une ligne éprouvée; la manière au front dont le Chang-ti (Dieu) dirige le cours des événements, pour élever ou renverser les Thémen, et punir ou récompenser tout à tour les Sujets. Le Tchou-tseu, voisin nous de ce point de vue, est le modèle de toutes les Histoires. Confucius a un style qui ne va qu'un tiers. Il semble que chaque caractère ait été fait pour l'endommager; ou il en termes plus qu'il emploie sont clairs et expressifs.

The above is certainly of a piece with the estimate of the ancient Age of China which I quoted from the same article in the Prolegomena to vol. IV., pp. 114, 115. Dr. Williams (Middle Kingdom, vol. I., p. 312) gives a more fair account of the Ch'un Ts'êw, but even he thinks that it contains much good matter of which we find no trace — it is but little better than a dry detail of facts, enlivened by few incidents, but containing many of those practical observations which distinguish the writings of the sage. Anyone who looks into the body of this volume will see that the text consists of nothing but a dry detail of facts or incidents, without a single practical observation. Confucius or not Confucius.

1 There have been Chinese scholars who have taken up this position. Wang Ts'ao, in a monograph on the subject, places Ma Twan-lin among them; but this is more than Ma's words, quoted in the third section, will sustain. With more reason he gives the name of Ho King (郝兢), of the Ming dynasty, who contends that the Ch'un Ts'êw of Confucius was not transmitted, and that we have only fragments of it in Tso-shu. Wang also says that according to Tung Chung-shoo and Fa-ku Tse-hui the text consisted of several myths of characters, in several thousand paragraphs, whereas Chang Ges of the Tang dynasty found in it only 18000 characters. But there can be no doubt the present text is substantially the same as that known in the Han dynasty. See Appendix II.

4]
Mencius on one side, though that method of proceeding can hardly be vindicated on critical grounds.

There can be no doubt, however, that the expression in Mencius about 'the righteous decisions' has had a most powerful and pernicious influence over the interpretation of the Classic. Chaou K'e, the earliest commentator on Mencius, explains the passage as intimating that the sage in making the Ch'un Ts'êw exercised his prerogative as 'the unsceptred king.' A subject merely, and without any order from his ruler, he yet made the Work on his own private authority; and his saying that he ventured to give his own judgments on things in it was simply an expression of his humility. Chaou gives the same explanation of those words of Mencius, that 'what the Ch'un Ts'êw contains are matters proper to the son of Heaven.' 'Confucius,' says the commentator, 'made the Ch'un Ts'êw by means of the Historical Records of Loo, setting forth his laws as an unsceptred king, which are what Mencius calls "the matters of the Son of Heaven."'

Hundreds of critics, from Kung-yang and Kuh-libang downwards, have tried to interpret the Classic on the principle of finding in almost every paragraph some 'righteous decision;' and in my notes I have in a hundred places pointed out the absurdities in which such a method lands us. The same peculiarity of the style, such as the omission of a clan-name, becomes in one passage the sign of censure and in another the sign of praise. The whole Book is a

孔子自謂窮取之.以之為素王也.孔子人臣,不受君命
私作之,故言窮,亦聖人之謙辭爾。 ①孔子懼王道
減故作春秋因魯史記設素王之法謂天子之事也。
① It may be well here to give the discussion of one notable case, the occasional omission of the

term king,—taken from Chaou Yih's 陰餘取考卷二:

② Every year should commence with "In the spring, in the king's first month," or if there was
nothing to be recorded under the first month, "In the spring, in the king's second month," or
"In the spring, in the king's third month," the object being thereby to do honour to the king.
In the 9th and 11th years, however, of duke Yin, we have only "In the spring," and in all the years
of duke Hwan but four the expression 'the king's' is omitted. Too Tu holds that in those years
the king had not issued the calendar; but seeing the prime intent of the Ch'un Ts'êw was to
honour the king, it is likely that for such an omission the Classic would have denied the year to
be the king's. Moreover, such omission was most likely to occur when the court was in confusion,
as in the troubles occasioned by the princes T'ui, Tao, and Chua; and yet we find the years of
those times all with the regular formula. How unlikely that the calendar should have been given
out in seasons of disorder, and neglected when all was tranquil in the times of Yin and Hwan?
Too's explanation is inadmissible.

③ Ch'ing-E-ch'un says, "Duke Hwan succeeded to Loo by the murder of his predecessor, and
in his first year the author wrote 'the king's,' thereby a royal law indicating his crime. The
same expression in the second year in the same way indicates the crime of Tuh of Sung in murdering
his ruler. Its omission in the third year shows that Hwan had no [fear of the] king before
his eyes." But this is very inconsistent. If we say that the omission of "the king's" shows that
Hwan had no fear of the king, surely it ought to have been omitted in his first year, when he was
guilty of such a crime. If we say that its occurrence in the first year is to indicate his crime,
collection of riddles, to which there are as many answers as there are guessers. It is hardly possible for a Chinese to cast off from his mind the influence of this *praise-and-censure* theory in studying the Classic. He has learned it when a child by committing to memory at school the lines of the *Primer of Three Characters,* and it has been obtruded upon him in most of his subsequent reading. Even a foreigner finds himself occasionally casting about for some such way of accounting for the ever varying forms of expression, unwilling to believe that the changes have been made at random. I proceed in another section to give a fuller idea of the nature of the Work, and to consider what were its sources, and whether we have reason to think that Confucius, in availing himself of them, made additions of his own or retrenchments.

are we to infer that wherever it occurs it indicates the crime of the ruler? What had Loo to do with Tuh of Sung's murdering his ruler? Is it reasonable that Loo's historiographers should have constructed their annals to punish him?

Ho Hêw says,—"In [Hwan's] 10th year we find the king's, because ten is the completion of numbers, and we find it in his 10th year, because that was the last of his rule." According to this we ought to find the king's" only in the year of a ruler's accession, in his tenth year, and the year of his death; but the practice in the Ch'un Tsêw is quite different from this. Ho Hêw's remark is unintelligible.

It may be said that since the Chow commencement of the year was not universally followed during the Ch'un Tsêw period, some States reckoning by the 1st month of Yin and others by that of Hea, although Loo generally held to the ritual of Chow, yet its irregularities in the matter of intercalation show that it did not keep to the first month of Chow. Perhaps the historiographers did so sometimes, and then Confucius wrote "the king's first month," by way of distinction, while he left the cases in which they made the year begin differently unmarked by such a note,—thereby condemning them. This last is poor Chao Yih's own explanation of the phenomenon, not a whit better than the devices of others which he condemns! It shows the correctness of my remark that it is next to impossible for a Chinese scholar to shake off the trammels of the creed in which he has been educated.

惡(see the 三字經, II. 79, 80.

SECTION II.

THE SOURCES OF THE CH'UN TSÊW, AND ITS NATURE. DID CONFUCIUS ALLOW HIMSELF ANY LIBERTY OF ADDITION OR RETRENCHMENT IN THE USE OF HIS AUTHORITIES?

1. What were Confucius' authorities for the events which he has chronicled in the Ch'un Tsêw? In proceeding to an inquiry into the Sources of the Work, it will be well to give at the commencement an explanation of its name.
The two characters, translated literally, simply mean Spring and Autumn. 'Anciently,' says Maou K'e-ling, 'the historiographers, in Meaning of the name.—the Ch'uan T'ouw recording events, did so with the specification of the day, the month, the season, and the year, to which each event belonged; and to the whole they gave the name of annals. It was proper that under every year there should be written the names of the four seasons, and the entire record of a year went by the name of Spring and Autumn, two of the seasons, being a compendious expression for all the four.'¹ 'Spring and Autumn' is thus equivalent to—Annals, digested under the seasons of every year. An inspection of the Work will prove that this is the proper meaning of its title. Even if there were nothing to be recorded under any season, it was still necessary to make a record of the season and of the first month in it. Entries like that in the 6th year of duke Yin,—¹ 'It was autumn, the 7th month,' where the next paragraph begins with 'In winter,' are frequent. If now and then a year occurs in which we do not find every season specified, we may be sure the omission is owing to the loss of a character or of a paragraph in the course of time. Chao K'e explains the title in the same way,² and so does Too Yu in the preface to his edition of the Tso Chuen.³ Other accounts of the name are only creations of fancy, and have arisen from a misconception of the nature of the Work. Thus Dr. Williams says, 'The spring and autumn annals are so called, because their commendations are life-giving like spring, and their censures are life-withering like autumn.'⁴ The Han scholars gave forth this, and other accounts of a similar kind, led away by their notions as to the nature of the Work on which I have touched in the preceding section. Not even, as I have said, in the Work itself do we find such censures and commendations; and much less are they trumpeted in the title of it.

¹ 古凡史官記事，必先立年月日時。而後書事于其下，謂之記年。故每歲所書四時必備，然而祗名春秋者，春可以該夏，秋可以該冬也。春秋毛氏傳，the Introductory chapter.
² 春秋，以始舉四時，記萬事之名，—on Men. III. Pt. ii. XXI. 5.
³ 記事者，以事別目，以月類目。以月類時，以時類年。故史之所記，必表年以首事，年有四時，故舉以爲所記之名也。On this passage K'ung Ying-tah quotes the following words from Ch'ing K'ung-shing: '春秋猶言四時也' and then he adds himself, '是謂春秋足包四時之義也。'
⁴ The Middle Kingdom, vol. I. p. 312. See to the same effect De Halde's 'Description de l'Empire de la Chine, et de la Tartarie Chinoise,' vol. II. p. 318.
2. That we are not to seek for any deep or mystical meaning in the title is still more evident from the fact that the name was in use before it was given to the compilation of Confucius. The first narrative of the Tao Chuen under the second year of duke Ch'aoou, when Confucius was only eleven years old, shows that this was the case in Loo. Then the principal minister of Tsin, being on a visit to the court of Loo, examined the documents in the charge of the grand-historiographer, and 'saw,' we are told, 'the Yih with its diagrams and the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo.'

But the records, or a class of the records, of every State in the kingdom of Chow appear to have been called by this name of Spring and Autumn. In the 'Narratives of the States,' the appointment of Shuh-hsiang to be tutor to the heir-apparent of the State of Tsin is grounded on 'his acquaintance with the Ch'un Ts'ew.' I take the name there as equivalent to history in general,—the historical summaries made in the various States of the kingdom. Shuh-hsiang's appointment was made in B.C. 568, about twenty years before Confucius was born. In the same Narratives, at a still earlier date, it is laid down as a rule for the heir-apparent of the State of Ts'o, that he should be taught the Ch'un Ts'ew. According to Mencius, the annals of Loo went by the name of the Ch'un Ts'ew, while those of Tsin were called the Shing, and those of Ts'e the T'aou-wuh. All these, however, he says, were books of the same character; and though the annals of different States might have other and particular names given to them, it seems clear that they might all be designated Ch'un Ts'ew. Thus we have a statement in Mih Teih that he 'had seen the Ch'un-ts'ew histories of a hundred States,' and elsewhere we find him speaking of the Ch'un Ts'ew of Chow, the Ch'un Ts'ew of Yen, the Ch'un Ts'ew of Sung, and the Ch'un Ts'ew of Ts'e.

1 觀書於太史氏, 見易象與魯春秋. In my translation of this passage on p. 883, I have omitted inadvertently to render the 見易象, and the whole might be taken as if 'the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo' were not one of the documents in the keeping of the historiographer.

2 羊舌肸習於春秋, 乃使傅太子敬. — See the 語語: 七 at the end.

3 教之春秋. — See the 国語: 楚語上: art 11. The prince to be taught was the son of king Chwang, who died B.C. 590.

4 Men IV, Pt. ii. XXL 吾見百國春秋史. — See the 墨子佚文, appended to the 15th Book of his Works.

5 In his 明. 觀書於太史氏, 見易象與魯春秋.
4. The Ch'ün Ts'êw of Loo supplied, it seems to me, the materials for the sage's Work;—if, indeed, he did any thing more than copy out what was ready to his hand.

The Ch'ün Ts'êw of Loo supplied the copy out what was ready to his hand, materials for the existing Ch'ün Ts'êw. I Ho Hêw, the famous Han editor of Kung-yang's commentary on it, in his introductory notes to the first year of Duke Yin, quotes from a Min Yin to the effect that Confucius, having received the command of Heaven to make his Ch'ün Ts'êw, sent Tsze-hêa and others of his disciples, fourteen men in all, to seek for the historical records of Chow, and that they got the precious books of 120 States, from which he proceeded to make his chronicle. This, however, is one of the wild statements which we find in many writers of the Han and Tsin dynasties. There is nothing in the Work to make it necessary to suppose that any other records were consulted but those of Loo. This is the view almost universally entertained by the scholars and critics of China itself, as in the statement given from Chaou K'é on p. 5. The omission, moreover, of many events which are narrated in the Chuen of Tso-shë makes it certain to my mind that Confucius confined himself to the tablets of his native State. Whether any of his disciples were associated with him in the labour of compilation we cannot tell. Pan Koo, in the chapter on the Literary History of the early Han dynasty, says that Tso K'êw-ming was so. How this was will be considered when I come to speak of Tso's commentary. Sze-ma Ts'éen's account would rather incline us to think that the whole was done by Confucius alone, for he says that when the Work was completed and shown to the disciples of Tsze-hêa, they could not improve it in a single character.

5. The Ch'ün Ts'êw of Loo then was the source of the Ch'ün Ts'êw of Confucius. The chronicles or annals which went by this

1 閣因受命制春秋之義使子夏等十四人求周史記於西周。此據《周書．史記．凡耳》注—see note to Lo Ch'ung's catalogue of the tablets of the Ch'ün Ts'êw and Works on it, 漢書三代上表文志第十一。Yen P'ing-tsoo, another scholar of the early Han dynasty, gives rather a different form to the association with Confucius in the Work,—that they went together to Chow to examine the Books in the keeping of the historiographers at the royal court:—巢攬墓曰: 孔子乃修春秋與左丘明乘如周觀書於周史。Quoted by Kung Ying-tah on Ts'oo Yü's Preface to the Tso Chuen.

2 以鲁周公之國, 禮文備, 史官有法, 舉與左丘明觀其史記。—see the 史記世家, 卷十七孔子世家. 

3 至於為春秋筆則筆, 則則子夏之徒不能贊一辭。—see the 史記世家, 卷十七孔子世家.
The nature of the Ch’un Ts’êw of the States, as we know, were the work of the historiographers or recorders, who, I have spoken of those officers in the prolegomena to vol. III, p. 11, and in those to vol. IV, pp. 24–26. Pan Koo in the same chapter from which I have made a quotation from him in the preceding paragraph, says that the historiographers of the Left recorded words, that is, Speeches, Charges, &c., and those of the Right recorded affairs; that the words formed the Shoo, and the affairs the Ch’un Ts’êw.  

But if we are to judge of what the Ch’un Ts’êw of the States were from what the one Ch’un Ts’êw preserved to us is, the statement that they contained the records of events cannot be admitted without considerable modification. There can have been no details in them, but only the briefest possible compends of the events, or references to them.

That there were the records of events, kept in the offices of historiography, must be freely admitted, and it will appear, when I come to speak of the commentary of Tso K’êw-ming, that to them we are mainly indebted for the narratives which impart so much interest to his Work. But the entries in the various Ch’un Ts’êw were not made from them,—not made from them fairly and honestly as when one tries to give in a very few words the substance of a narrative which is before him. Those entries related to events in the State itself, at the royal court, and in other States with which it maintained friendly relations. Communications about remarkable and ominous occurrences in one State, and about important transactions, were sent from it to others, and the receiving State entered them in its Ch’un Ts’êw in the terms in which they were made out, without regard to whether they conveyed a correct account of the facts or not. Then the great events in a State itself,—those connected with the ruling House and the principal families or clans in it, its relations with other States, and natural phenomena supposed to affect the general wellbeing, also found a place. Sometimes these things were recorded under the special direction of the ruler; at other times we must suppose that the historiographers committed them to tablets as a part of their official duty. How far truth, an exact conformity of the record with the circumstances, was observed in these entries about the internal affairs of a State, is a point on which it is not competent for me at this point of the inquiry to pronounce an opinion.

1 左史記言·右史記事事為春秋言為尚書

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6. In the prolegomena to vol. IV, p. 25, referring to the brief account which we have in the official Book of Chow of the duties of the historiographers of the Exterior at the royal court, I have made it appear that they had charge of the Histories of all the States, rendering the character che by 'Histories.' M. Biot, in his translation of the Official Book, has done the same; but Maou K'eling contends that those che were the Ch'un Ts'ew of the different States, or the brief notices of which they were made up. I have failed, however, to find elsewhere any evidence to support his view, and when he goes on to argue that three copies of those notices were always made,—one to be kept in the State itself, one for the royal court, and one to be sent to the historiographers of the various feudal courts with which the State was in the habit of exchanging such notifications,—the single passage to which he refers by no means bears out the conclusion which he draws from it; and indeed, as many copies must have been made as there were States to which the notice was to be sent. In other respects the account which he gives of those notices is so instructive that I subjoin a summary of it.

They were 'merely,' he says, 'slips of subjects,' and not 'summaries' or synopses,—containing barely the mention of the subject to which each of them referred. It was necessary there should be nothing in them inconsistent with, or contradictory to, the fuller narratives,
but they themselves gave no indication of the beginning or end of the events to which they referred, or of the various circumstances which marked their course. For instance, suppose the subject was going from Loo to the court of Tsin.—In VIII. xviii. 4, we are told that 'the duke went to Tsin,' the occasion of his doing so being to congratulate the new marquis of Tsin on his accession; whereas, in IX. iii. 2, we have a notice in the same characters about the child-marquis Seang, his going to Tsin being to present himself to that court on his own accession to Loo. Suppose, again, the subject to be a meeting between the rulers of Loo and Ts'e.—In III. xiii. 4, we are told that it is said that 'duke Chwang had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant in Ko,' the object being to make peace between the two States after the battle of Shing-k'ew; whereas, in xxiii. 10, we have the notice of a meeting and covenant between the same princes in Hoo, having reference to an alliance by marriage which they had agreed upon.

After further illustrating the nature of the notices, Mawu observes correctly, that to look in them for slight turns of expression, such as the mention of an individual's rank, or of his clan-name, or the specification of the day when an event occurred without the month, and to find in the presence or absence of these particulars the
expression of praise or blame, is no better than the gropings of a man in a dream. In this I fully agree with him, but as he has said that the 'slip-notices of the Ch'un Ts'êw' should not be inconsistent with the facts in a detailed narrative of the events to which they refer, he seems to push the point as to the colourlessness of the notices to an extreme, when he adds the following illustration of it on the authority of a brother of his own:—'The deaths of princes and great officers recorded in the Ch'un Ts'êw took place in various ways; but they all appear under the same form—"died." Thus in V. xxiv. 5 it is said that "E-woo, marquis of Ts'ai, died," the fact being that he was slain; in X. viii. 2 it is said that "Nêih, marquis of Ch'in, died," the fact being that he strangled himself; in II. v. 1 it is said that "Paoou, marquis of Ch'in, died," the fact being that he went mad and died; in XI. xiv. 6 it is said that "Kwang, viscount of Woo, died," the fact being that he did so of wounds received in battle; in XI. iii. 2 it is said that "Ch'uen, viscount of Woo, died," the fact being that he burned himself to death; in III. xxxii. 3 it is said that "the Kung-tsze Ya died," the fact being that he was compelled to take poison; in X. iv. 2 it is said that "Shuh-sun P'aoou died," the fact being that he was starved to death; in X. xxv. 7 it is said that "Shuh-sun Shay died," the fact being that he did so in answer to his own prayers; and in X. xxix. 3, it is said that "Shuh E died," the fact being that he did so without any illness. The one word "died," is used in such a variety of cases, and it is only one who knows profoundly the style of the text who can explain the comprehensive meaning of the term.  

But there is no meaning in the term beyond that of dying, and the conclusion of the mind is that the death indicated by it was a natural one. It is not history in any proper sense of the term which is given in such an undiscriminating style.

7. The reader has now a sufficiently accurate idea of what all the annals that went under the name of Ch'un Ts'êw were, of what especially the Ch'un Ts'êw still existing and with which we have to do is. It only remains for me in this section to inquire whether we have reason to believe that Confucius in compiling his Ch'un Ts'êw had anything to do with the Work, or whether we have reason to believe that Confucius made any changes in the style of the Ch'un Ts'êw of Loo.

On this point, as on so many others connected with the Work, we have not sufficient evidence to pronounce a very decided opinion. We are without a single word about it from Confucius himself, or from any of his immediate disciples; and from later scholars and
critics we have the most conflicting utterances regarding it. I have quoted a few words on p. 9, from Sze-ma Ts'ieen's account of the Ch'un Ts'iew, but I now give the whole of it:—"The master said, "No! No! The superior man is distressed lest his name should not be honourably mentioned after death. My principles do not make way in the world;—how shall I make myself known to future ages?"

On this, from the records of the historians he made the Ch'un Ts'iew, commencing with duke Yin, coming down to the 14th year of duke Gae, and thus embracing the times of twelve marquises. He kept close in it to [the annals of] Loo, showed his affection for Chow, and purposely made the three dynasties move before the reader. His style was condensed, but his scope was extensive. Thus the rulers of Woo and Ts'oo assumed to themselves the title of king; but in the Ch'un Ts'iew they are censured by being only styled viscounts. Thus also the son of Heaven was really summoned [by the marquis of Tsin] to attend the meeting at Ts'en-t'oo (V. xxviii. 8), but the Ch'un Ts'iew conceals the fact, and says (par. 16) that "the king by Heaven's grace held a court of inspection in Ho-yang." Such instances serve to illustrate the idea of the master in the censures and elisions which he employed to rectify the ways of those times, his aim being that, when future kings should study the work, its meaning should be appreciated, and all rebellious ministers and villainous sons under the sky become afraid. 2 When Confucius was in office, his language in listening to litigations was what others would have employed, and not peculiar to him; but in making the Ch'un Ts'iew, he wrote what he wrote, and he retrenched what he retrenched, so that the disciples of Tzee-hia could not improve it in a single character. When his disciples received from him the Ch'un Ts'iew, he said, "It is by the Ch'un Ts'iew that after ages will know me, and also by it that they will condemn me." 3

1 據魯親周故殷運之三代。I shall be glad if any Sinologue can make out the meaning of this passage more clearly than I have done. Chang Show-ts'aih (張守節), the glossarist of Sze-ma Ts'ieen under the T'ang dynasty (His preface is dated in the 8th month of a.d. 790), says on the last clause—殷中也, 又中運殷周之事也.

2 Here again Sze-ma's style is involved, and far from clear. 推此類以繫當世貶損之義後有王者舉而開之春秋之義行則天下貶臣.

3 Liu He (Proleg. to vol. III, p. 206) has a strange note on this utterance of Confucius: 知者, 行堯舜之道者, 罪者, 在王公之位見賢者, "The knowers would be those who practised the principles of Yao and Shun; the condemners would be kings and dukes in office who were censured and condemned [by the sage's righteous decisions]." This is ingenious, but far-fetched.
A thousand expressions of opinion, modelled upon that of Sze-ma Ts'e'en, might easily be adduced; all, it seems to me, as I have said already, prompted by an endeavour to reconcile the existing work with the accounts of the Ch'un Ts'ew given in Mencius. As we come down the course of time, we find the scholars of China less positive in the view that Confucius made any change in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo. Choo He says, 'The entries in the Ch'un Ts'ew, that, for instance, "Such a man did such a thing" are according to the old text of the historiographers of Loo, come down to us from the stylus of the sage, transcribing or retouching. Now-a-days, people, when they see the Ch'un Ts'ew, are sure to say, "Such and such a character has its stigma for such and such a man," so that Confucius thus took it on him, according to his private views, to dispense without authority his praise or blame. But Confucius simply wrote the thing correctly as it was, and the good or evil of it was manifest of itself. If people feel that they must express themselves as I have said, we must get into our hands the old text of the historiographers of Loo, so that, comparing it with what we now have, the difference and agreement between them would be apparent. But this is now impossible.'

Chaou Yih adduces two paragraphs from the 'Annals of the Bamboo Books,' which, he thinks, may be the original form of two in the Ch'un Ts'ew. The one is—'Duke Yin of Loo and duke Chwang of Choo made a covenant at Koo-meeh,\(^4\) corresponding to I. i. 2, 'In the third month, the duke and E-foo of Choo made a covenant in Meeh.' The other is—'Duke Heen of Tsin united with the army of Yu, and, attacking Kwolh, extinguished Héa-yang,\(^5\) corresponding to V. ii. 8, 'An army of Yu and an army of Tsin extinguished Héa-yang.' 'These two cases,' observes Chaou, 'show that the style of the historiographers of the States was, we may say, similar to that of the Ch'un Ts'ew, and that Confucius on deliberation only altered a few characters to lodge in others of his own his praise or censure.'\(^6\) But to make these two instances exactly to the point, it would be necessary that they should occur in the annals of the State of Loo, somehow preserved to us. Besides,

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\(^4\) See the Kang-hu Ch'un Ts'ew, 綱領 p. 18.—春秋所書，如某人為某事云云。
\(^5\) See the proleg. to vol. III. p. 160.
\(^6\) 同上, p. 165. 據此可見當時國史，其文法大槪本與春秋相似，孔子特酌易數字以寓褒貶耳。—see the 陔餘叢考, 卷二，the chapter 春秋底本.
the expressions 'duke Chwang' and 'duke Hsien' are retrospective, and not after the manner of the Ch'un Ts'ew.

With regard to the entry in III. vii. 2, that 'at midnight there was a fall of stars like rain,' referring, we must believe, to a grand appearance of meteors, Kung-yang tells us that the old text of the historiographers was—'It rained stars to within a foot of the earth, when they re-ascended?' Certainly the text was not altered here by Confucius to express either praise or censure. And if Kung-yang was able thus to quote the old text, it is strange he should only have done it in this solitary instance. If it had been so different from the present, with his propensities he would not have been slow to adduce it frequently. I must doubt his correctness in this case.

After the first entry under the 14th year of duke Gae, with which according to all Chinese critics the labours of Confucius terminated, Tao-shé gives no fewer than 27 paragraphs, bringing the history down to the death of the sage in Gae's 16th year. Those paragraphs were added; it is said, from the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo by Confucius' disciples; and I can see no difference between the style in them, and in the more than a thousand which passed under the revision of the master.

Is it a sign of my having imbibed something of the prejudice of native scholars, of which I spoke in the end of last section, that I do not like to express my opinion that Confucius did not alter a character in his authorities? Certainly he made no alterations to convey his sentiments of praise or blame;—the variations of style where there could be no change of sentiment or feeling underlying them forbid our supposing this.

SECTION III.

RECOVERY OF THE CH'UN TS'EW DURING THE HAN DYNASTY. WAS THIS INDEED THE CH'UN TS'EW OF CONFUCIUS?

1. Léw Hin's catalogue of the Works in the imperial library of the early Han dynasty, prepared, as I have shown in the proleg. to vol. I. p. 4, about the commencement of our Christian era, begins, on the Ch'un Ts'ew, with two collections of the text of the Classic:—'The old text of the Ch'un Ts'ew in twelve p'êen'; and 'The text of the Ch'un
Ts'êw in eleven "keuen" or Books. This is followed by a list of the Chuen, or Commentaries, of Tso, Kung-yang, Kuh-léang, Tsow, and Kêah; so that at this early time the text of the Classic was known, and there were writings of five different masters in illustration of it; the greater portion of which, the Chuen namely of Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-léang, remain to the present day. A dozen other Works follow, mostly by Kung-yang and Kuh-léang or their followers, showing how the Classic and the commentators on it had already engaged the attention of scholars.

2. Were the texts mentioned in the Han catalogue derived from the commentaries of Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-léang, or from some other independent source? In a note to the entry about them, Yen Sze-koô of the T'ang dynasty says that they were taken from Kung-yang and Kuh-léang. Many scholars confine his remark to the second collection, and it gives some censure to this view that the commentaries of those two masters were then in eleven Books; but it is to be observed on the other hand that with the differences which exist in their texts they could hardly have been formed into one collection.

With regard to the first entry—"the old text in twelve "pêen"—it is the general opinion that this was the text as taken from the Work of Tso. And there can be no doubt that during the Han dynasty the text and the commentary were kept separate in that Work, for Too Yu tells us that in his edition of it, early in the Tsin dynasty, he "took the years of the text and arranged them along with the corresponding years of the commentary." Moreover, in the Han dynasty, Tso's school and that of Kung-yang were distinguished as the old or ancient and the new or modern. To myself, however, the more natural interpretation of "the old text" in the entry appears to be—"the text in the ancient character; and if there were evidence to show that there was an edition of the text in Lüw Hui's time, independent of that derived from the three commentaries, the result would be satisfactory. Yuen Yuen was the first, so far as I know, to
do this, in the present century. In the preface to his "Examination of
the text of Tso's Commentary and K'ung Ying-ta'h's Annotations on
it," he calls attention to the fact that among the discoveries of old
tables in the wall of Confucius' house there were those of the
Ch'un Ts'êw. Pan Koo indeed omits to mention them in his
appendix to Lôw Hin's catalogue of the Shoo and Works on it,
where he speaks of the Shoo, the Le Ke, the Lun Yu, and the Hêaow
King as having been thus found; but Hên Shin, in the preface to his
dictionary, the Shwoh Wân, published A.D. 100, adds to the tablets
of these Works those of the Ch'un Ts'êw. I am willing therefore
to believe that it was this copy of the text of the Ch'un Ts'êw in
the ancient character which headed the catalogue of Lôw Hin; and
if it were so, all question as to the genuineness of our present
Classic may be considered as at an end.

3. There are many of the scholars of China, who would hesitate to
concur with me in this view, and prefer to abide by the opinion of
which very full expression has been given by Ma T wan-lin. He
views on the subject of Ma T wan-lin says, "Although there appears in
the catalogue of the Han dynasty "The old Text of the Ch'un Ts'êw,"n
yet the original text, as corrected by the master, was never discovered;
and the old texts compiled in the Han dynasty and subsequently
have all been taken from the three commentaries, and called by
the name of "The correct text." But there are many differences in
the texts which appear in those commentaries, and it is impossible
for the student to decide between them. For instance:--in I. i. 2
Tso gives the meeting between the marquis of Loo and E-foo of
Choo as having taken place in Mêeh (蔑), while Kung and Kuh
give the name as 烏, so that we cannot tell which of these charac-
ters the master wrote. So Mei (郟), in III. xxviii. 4, appears in
Kung and Kuh as 微, and Kueh-yin (厥意), in X. xi. 7, appears
in Kung and Kuh as 屈鉅. Instances of this kind are innumerable.
but they are generally in the names of places and unimportant.
In I. iii. 3, however, we have in Tso-she the entry 君氏卒, which
would be the notice of the death of Shing Tsze, the mother of duke
Yin, whereas in Kung and Kuh we read 尹氏卒, referring to the
death of a high minister of Choo; so that we cannot tell whose
death it was that the master chronicled as having taken place on

"春秋左傳注疏校勘記" 5 See proleg. vol. I. pp. 12, 13. "壁中
書者:魯共王壞孔子宅而得禮記.尚書.春秋.論語.孝經

18]
the day Sin-mau of the 4th month of the third year of duke Yin.1

'And not only so. In the 21st year of duke Sêang, both Kung-
yang and Kuh-Lêang have an entry to the effect that Confucius
was then born. But in the Ch'un Ts'êw only the births of the
heir-sons of the rulers of States were entered, as in II. vi. 5. In
other cases, the births even of hereditary nobles, who exercised an
all-powerful sway in the government of their States, like the members
of the Ke family [in Loo], did not find a place in the tablets; and
though the master be the teacher of emperors and kings for myriads
of ages, yet at his birth he was only the son of the commandant of the
city of Tsow. The historiographers of Loo would not make a record
of that event, and to say that he himself afterward entered it in the
classic which he prepared, is in the highest degree absurd.

'Moreover Tso, after the capture of the lin in the 14th year of duke
Gae, has further protracted the text to the 4th month of the 16th
year, when the death of Chung-ne is recorded;—which even Tso
Ching-nan considered to be not far from an act of forgery.

'Thus there are not only additions in the three commentaries to
the proper text of the Ch'un Ts'êw of things which are strange and
partly incredible, but the authors of them added [to the text] and
suppressed [portions of it] according to their pleasure. In what
they write under the 21st year of Sêang, Kung and Kuh added to
the text, to do honour to the master from whom they had received
it, and Tso made his addition in the 16th year of Gae, to show his
grief for the death of the master;—neither addition was in the
original text of the Ch'un Ts'êw. The three writers made their
commentaries according to what was current in men's mouths, and
what they heard with their ears, in their time, and each of them
thrust in whatever addition he desired to make. Subsequent scholars
again have adopted what they found in the three commentaries, one
favouring this and another that, and trying to make it clear; but
that they have attained to the mind of the sage in the use of his
stilus, now writing down and now retrenching, a thousand years
before them, is what I am not able to believe.'2

1 See my note on the passage in question, where I approve of a different interpretation of the
text of Kung and Kuh from that which Ma Tuan-Lin mentions. My Chinese text in that passage
is that of Kung and Kuh; and I take this opportunity to say that the text throughout is gathered
from the Kung-Lêang edition of the Classic. The editors generally follow Tso-shê; but occasionally,
as in this case, they adopt the text of Kung or Kuh. They have not told us by what principles
they were guided in the formation or preference of that which they have given.

2 春秋古經漢藝文志有之然夫子所修之春秋其
本文世所不見而自漢以來所編古經則俱自三傳中

19]
4. I have given the whole of Ma's remarks, because of the weight of his authority and the freedom with which he has expressed his views. The points, however, on which he insists do not make so unfavourable an impression on my mind against the integrity of our present text as they did upon his. That there was not in the Han dynasty a text of the Classic besides the texts found in the three commentaries is not so certain as he makes out. Very possibly, as I have shown in the second paragraph, a distinct text was found, as related by Heu Shin, in the year B.C. 153. But if we base the text simply on what is given in the commentaries, we must feel that we approximate very nearly to what it was when they made their appearance, to what it had been before the tyrant of Ts'in fancied that he had made an end of it. There is no evidence that anyone of them suppressed portions of the text as Ma affirms; and the additions of which he makes so much are only two, one by Kung-yang and Kuh-liang

同萬卿者家未子, 夫金秋政之史是十本意授書受諸而

異案, 聲曰, 乎其, 其所, 其所

為, 之, 之, 之, 之, 之, 之

矣可, 聲, 耳, 耳, 耳, 耳, 耳, 耳

今, 今, 今, 今, 今, 今, 今, 今, 今, 今

20]
(with a variation, however, to which he does not advert), and one by Tso, for we may consider all the paragraphs that follow the account of the capture of the lin as one addition. They were both very natural, and I should suppose were intended originally as notes rather than additions to the text. The various readings again in the three are really not of great importance. Occurring mostly in the names of men and places, they need not trouble us more than different ways of spelling unusual words in different editions of an English book would do. The most important variation of another character between them is that on which Ma insists so strongly,—君氏 and 尹氏 in I. iii. 3. This is not what we may compare to an error of orthography, arising from writing the same sound in different ways; it is evidently an error of transcription. Tso, I am of opinion, copied down 君 instead of 尹, and then tried, ingeniously but unsatisfactorily, to account in his commentary for the unusual combination of 君氏. Kung and Kuh copied 尹 correctly, but their historical knowledge was not sufficient to enable them to explain who 尹氏 was. Ma has altogether overlooked the consideration of the value attaching to the various readings as showing the independence of the three recensions. Adding to them the two of Tsow and Keah which soon perished, we have five different texts of the Ch'un T'sêw in existence in the second century before our era. Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-leang, had each his school of adherents, who sought to exalt the views of their master above those of his rivals. It is still competent to us to pronounce upon their respective views, and weigh the claims which they have to our consideration; but the question at present is simply about their texts. Notwithstanding the differences between these, there is no doubt in my mind that they flowed from a common original,

3. The following passage from Woo Ch'ing (吳澄, A.D. 1249-1333), may be considered as decisive on this point. I adduce it in preference to others, because he touches on some other matters which will interest some of my readers.
- an original which must have been compiled by Confucius from the Ch'un Ts'êw of Loo. On the subsequent preservation of that text it is not necessary to enter, excepting in so far as the early history of the three commentaries is concerned. When the authority of them was once established, there was a succession of scholars who from dynasty to dynasty devoted themselves to the illustration of them, the Works of hundreds of whom are existing at the present day. It may not be possible for us to determine the exact reading of names especially, in every paragraph, and there may be lacunae in other paragraphs, and some paragraphs perhaps were lost before the three texts were transcribed; but the text as formed from them must in my opinion be considered, notwithstanding its various readings, as a fair reproduction of what Confucius wrote, a sufficient copy of the Work by which he felt that posterity would judge him.

I proceed in the next section to describe the three early commentaries, after which we shall be prepared to estimate the value of the Work itself.

SECTION IV.

THE THREE EARLY COMMENTARIES ON THE CH'ÜN TS'ÊW.

1. Of the three early commentaries the first which made its appearance in the Han dynasty, and incomparably the most important, was that of Tso, or of Tso-kêw, for the opinions of scholars differ both as to the surname and the name of the author. The account of it given by Pan Koo is— that Tso

1. It is a common opinion which Mr. Wylie (General Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 6) endorses without hesitation, that the 'Narratives of the States' was by the same author as the Commentary about which we are inquiring; and we have the testimony of Tze-ma T'soen's autobiographical letter to a friend (漢書六十二·司馬遷·傳第三十二), as to his surname being Tso-kêw, and name Ming (左丘失明, 填有國語; and again, 左丘明無目). Our Tso would then have the surname of Tso-kêw. This is still held by many. Choo K-ton particularly insists on it as a point 'exceedingly clear,' and explains the dropping of the Kêw (丘) from a superstitious feeling not to be always repeating the name of the Master (孔邱). Pan Koo appears to have considered the simple Tso to be the surname and Kêw-ming the name; and there are many who concur with him. Others maintain that the surname was simply Tso, and that the name has been lost. So it is virtually now, for the Work is simply called the Tso Chuen. On these disputes about the surname and name, Hwang Taib (黃澤) (Yen dynasty) says with truth:— 左邱明, 論姓左邱, 名明, 非傳春秋者傳春秋者蓋姓左, 而失其名, 愚謂去古既遠, 此以爲是, 彼以爲非, 又焉有定論.
K'ew-ming was a disciple of the sage, who consulted along with him the historical records of Loo, before making his great Work; that when it was made, it was not advisable to publish it because of the praise and censure, the concealments and suppressions, which abounded in it, and that therefore he delivered it by word of mouth to the disciples, who thereupon withdrew and gave different accounts of the events referred to in it; that K'ew-ming, in order that the truth might not be lost, made his commentary, or narratives of those events, to make it clear that the master had not in his text used empty words; and finally, that it was necessary for him to keep his work concealed, to avoid the persecutions of the powerful rulers and officers whose conduct was freely and fully described in it. Pan Koo's account is correct thus far, that we have in Tso's Work a detailed account of most of the events of which the text of Confucius gives only hints. The Ch'un Ts'ew may be loosely compared to the headings or summaries of contents which are prefixed to the chapters in many editions of our Bibles, and Tso's commentaries to the chapters themselves. But we shall find that they contain more than this.

2. Who Tso was it is not easy to say. In the Analects, V. xxiv., Confucius says, 'Fine words, an insinuating appearance, and excessive respect;'--Tso-k'ew Ming was ashamed of such things, and I also am ashamed of them. To conceal resentment against a person, and appear friendly with him;--Tso-k'ew Ming was ashamed of such conduct, and I also am ashamed of it. Chaou K'e says, on the authority of K'ung Gan-kwoh, that the person whom Confucius spoke of thus, was the grand-historiographer of Loo, but adds nothing as to his being contemporary with the sage, or of an earlier time. The critics generally hold that he was some Worthy of an earlier age, on the ground that Confucius only drew comparisons between himself and men of a former period. I am not fully convinced by their reasonings. The Chinese text of the Analects is not so definite as the English translation of it. What Confucius says about Tso-k'ew Ming might be rendered in the present tense in the same way as what he says about himself. Nothing, however, would be gained by discussing a text on which it is not possible to arrive at a
positive decision. At the same time I may say that the view that Tso was a disciple of the master has very formidable difficulties to encounter. The Classic stops in the 14th year of duke Gae, B.C. 480, but Tso’s commentary extends to the 4th year of duke Taou, Gae’s successor, B.C. 468. In the last paragraph of it, moreover, there is an allusion to the ruin and death of Seun Yaou or Che Pih, a great officer of Tsin, which took place in 452, 27 or 28 years after the close of the Ch’un Ts’e’w. Not only so. The Head of the Chao family is mentioned in the same paragraph by his posthumous or honorary title, and of course he could not have received it till after his death, which took place in B.C. 424, 56 years after the capture of the lin, and 54 years after the death of the sage. Is it possible to believe that one so much younger than Confucius was among his disciples and possessed his confidence to the extent which the commonly received accounts of the making of the Ch’un Ts’e’w suppose?

3. Leaving these speculations about the name and person of Tso, we find that his commentary made its appearance soon after

the rise of the Han dynasty. Heu Shin history of his commentary.

joins the statement that Chang Ts’ang, marquis of Pih-p’ing presented the commentary of Tso written in the old characters of the Chow dynasty. Now this Chang Ts’ang had been high in office under the Ts’in dynasty, in charge, it would appear, of the imperial library. Having joined the party of the duke of P’ei, the founder of the Han dynasty, he became at last a favourite with him, and was placed in various positions of the greatest trust. His appointment to be marquis of Pih-p’ing took place in B.C. 200, about fifty years before the discovery of the text in the wall of Confucius’ house. Heu Shin says that ‘Chang presented’ the Work, meaning, I suppose, that he did so to the first emperor of Han, who was too much occupied, however, with the establishment of his dynasty to give much attention to literary matters. But after the time of Chang Ts’ang we never lose sight of Tso’s commentary. From him it passed to Kea E, of whom we have many notices as a famous

1 北平侯張蒦獻春秋左氏傳，郡國亦往往于山川得鼎彝，其銘皆前代之古文。 2 See the 漢書·四十二 傳第 十二，the first memoir. 3 Pih-p’ing embraced the present department of Yung-p’ing, Chih-le, and some adjacent territory.
scholar and statesman in the reign of the emperor Wăn (B.C. 178—
156). He published a Work of his own upon it, and then it
passed on to his grandson Kēa Kēa, and Kwan Kung, a great
scholar at the court of King Hēen of Ho-kēen, through whom an
attempt was made to obtain for it the imperial recognition, which
was defeated by the friends of the commentary of Kung-yang.
This, though later in making its appearance, had already found a
place in the imperial college. Kwan Kung transmitted his treasure
to his youngest son, named Chang-k'iing, and from him it went on
to Chang Ch'ang and Chang Yu, both famous men of their time.
To one of them, no doubt, belonged the ‘Niceties of the Ch'un
Ts'ēw, by Chang-she,' mentioned in Lēw Hin's catalogue. Yu
was intimate with Sēaou Wang-che, perhaps the most distin-
guished man of the time, whom he interested in the Work
of Tso, so that he called the attention to it of the emperor
Seuen (B.C. 72—48), and it might now have been formally recog-
nized but for Yu's death. The names of Yin Kăng-ch'e and
his son Yin Hēen, of Teh Fang-ts'in, Hoo Chang, and Kēa
Hoo lead us from Yu to Lēw Hin. His connexion with Tso's
Work may be considered as forming an era in its history. Having
found,' we are told in his biography, 'in the imperial library, the Ch'un
Ts'ēw and Tso's Chuen in the ancient characters, he became very
fond of them. At that time Yin Hēen, a secretary of the prime
minister, being well acquainted with Tso-she, examined along with
Hin the text and commentary. Hin took his opinion in some
particulars, and sought to learn the correct interpretation and great
aim of the Works by application to the prime minister Teh Fang-
tsin. Before this, because of the many ancient characters and
ancient sayings in Tso's Chuen, students had contented themselves
with simply explaining their meaning; but when Hin took it in hand,
he quoted the words of the commentary to explain the text, and made

4 漢書四十八傳第十八. 5 賈誼春秋左氏傳訓故
6 賈嘉. 7 賈公. 8 See the preleg. to vol. IV. p. 11. 9 K'un Ying-ta,
in his preface to Tso Yu's edition of the Tso Chuen says—漢武帝 (B.C. 139—86) 時，河
開獻左氏、議立左學，公羊之徒上書誣左氏，左氏之學
不立. 長卿. 11 張說. 12 張禹. 13 張氏春秋徵
十篇. 14 蕭望之. There is a long and interesting memoir of him in the 漢書
七十八. We find him, on his first introduction to the emperor Seuen, appealing to a passage
in the Ch'un Ts'ēw. 15 尹更始. 16 尹咸. 17 蕭方進. 18 胡
常. 19 蕭諭. 20 劉歆.
them throw light on each other, and from this time the exhibition of them in paragraphs and clauses was cultivated. Hin preferred Tso to Kung-yang and Kuh-lieng, considering that he agreed in his likenings and dislikings with the sage, and that he had himself seen the master,—a very different case from that of Kung and Kuh who were subsequent to the seventy disciples. The history then relates the disputes between Hin and his father Hëang, who was an adherent of the commentary of Kuh-lieng, and how he made an attempt to get the emperor Gae (B.C. 5—A.D.) to give Tso a place in the imperial college along with Kung and Kuh, which was defeated by the jealousy of their supporters. From this time, however, the advocates of Tso-she became more numerous and determined to have justice done to their master. They were successful for a short time in the reign of the emperor P'ing (A.D. 1—5), but Tso’s Work was again degraded as of less authority than the other two commentaries; and though Këa Kwei presented an argument on forty counts to prove its superiority, which was well received by the emperor Chang (A.D. 76—88), it was not till A.D. 99, under the emperor Ho, that the footing of Tso in the imperial college was finally established. The famous Ch’ing K’ang-shing (A.D. 127—199) having replied to three Works of Ho Hëw, the maintainer of the authority of Kung-yang, against Tso and Kuh-lieng, and shown the superiority of Tso, the other two commentaries began from this time to sink into neglect. It is melancholy to read the list of writers on Tso during the second and third dynasties of Han, of whom we have only fragmentary sentences remaining; but in A.D. 280, Too Yu or Too Yuen-k’ae, a scholar and general at the commencement of the Tsin dynasty, completed a great Work under the title of ‘Collected Explanations of the Text and Commentary of Tso-she on the Ch’ün Tsëw, in thirty chapters.’ This Work still remains, and will ever be a monument of the scholarship and painstaking of the writer.

21 See the 漢書三十六·楚元王傳第六. I have carefully read over the Work of 劉逢 羲 of the present dynasty, included in the 皇清經解, and called 左氏春秋考證, in which he labour to upset all the testimony about Lëw Hin, but it is quite inconclusive and unsatisfactory. 22 賈逵. 23 Luh Thë ming and others say this took place under Ho, in the 11th year of the period 元興. But that period lasted only one year. 元興 must be a mistake for 永元. 24 何休—see further on. 25 春秋左氏經傳集解三十卷—by 杜預, styled 元凱. He is also called 征南 from his military operations in the South, as in the quotation from Ma T‘wan-lin on p. 19. He was born A.D. 222, and died in 254.
4. Nothing need be said on the history of the commentary of Tso since the beginning of the Han dynasty. Some of the scholars of that age traced it back from Chang Ts'ang to nearly the time of Confucius, and Kung Ying-tah in nearly to the time of Confucius. His preface to Tso Yu's Work quotes the following from a production of Lü Hsiang (b.c. 80—9) which is now lost: 'Tso K'ew-ming delivered his Work to Ts'ang Shin. Shin transmitted it to Woo K'e; Woo K'e to his son K'e; K'e to Toh Tsüanou, a native of Ts'oo, who copied out selections from it in 8 books; Toh Tsüanou to Yu K'ing, who made 9 books of selections from it; Yu K'ing to Seun K'ing; and Seun K'ing to Chang Ts'ang.' I wish we had different and more authority for this statement, as Hsiang was not himself an adherent of Tso's Work. In his son Hin's catalogue which I have already referred to, two Works are mentioned by Toh-sha and Yu-sha, but there is nothing in their titles to connect them with Tso; and Sze-ma Ts'een says nothing in his memoir of Seun K'ing about any connexion that he had with the transmission of the commentary. Tso's Shin was the grandson of Ts'ang Sin, one of Confucius' principal disciples—the Ts'ang Se of Mencius, II. Pt. i. 1. 3. Tso's committing his Work to him would agree with what I have said in par. 2, and cast a doubt on his being a contemporary of the sage himself.

5. I have said that generally we have in the Work of Tso the details of the events of which we have but a shadow or the barest

intimation in the text of the Ch'un Tsew; but we have more than this. Of multitudes of events that during the 242 years of the Ch'un Tsew period took place in Loo and other States, to which the text makes no allusion, we have from Tso a full account. Where he got his information he does not tell us. Too Yu is probably correct when he says that Tso was himself one of the historiographers of Loo. Whatever of the history of that State was on record he was familiar with. If the records of other States were also collected there, he had studied them equally with those of his own. If he did not find them there, he must

1 劉向別錄云左邱明授曾申申授吳起起授其子期期授楚人鍾椒椒作抄撮八卷授虞卿卿作抄撮九卷授荀卿卿作抄撮九卷授張蒼 2 鐵氏微三篇虞氏微傳二篇 3 見史記七十四列傳第十四 4 身為國史躬覽載籍必廣記而備言之 27]
have gone in search of them, for he is as much at home in the events of Chow, Tsin, Ts'e, Sung, Ch'ing, Ta'oo, and other States, as he is in those of Loo. And not only does he draw from the records about the ruling Houses of the States, but also from the histories of the principal families or clans and the chief men in them. From whatever quarter, in whatever way, he got his information, he has transmitted it to us. The events and the characters of the time pass as in reality and life before us. In no ancient history of any country have we such a vivid picture of any lengthened period of its annals as we have from Tso of the 270 years which he has embraced in his Work. Without his Chuen the text of the sage would be of little value. Let the former be preserved, and we should have no occasion to regret the loss of the latter.

To myself it appears plain that Tso's Work was compiled on a twofold plan. First, he had reference to the text of the Ch'ün T'sêw, and wished to give the details of the events which were indicated in it. Occasionally also he sets himself to explain the words of that text, being sometimes successful and sometimes not. He lays down canons to regulate the meaning and application of certain characters, but it can hardly be said that we find him under the influence of the 'praise-and-censure' theory. In this respect he differs remarkably from Kung-yang and Kuh-lêang; and I have sometimes fancied that the characteristic is an evidence that he lived before Mencius, and had never read the accounts of the Classic which we find in him. His object evidently was to convey to his readers a knowledge of the facts given in the master's paragraphs as if independent and isolated in their connexion with one another. Hence he often mentions new facts which are necessary for that

2 The following passage from Tan T'ao (呉助) of the T'ang dynasty sets forth correctly this characteristic of Tso's work, and I adduce it without reference to Tso's peculiar opinions about our author:—

28]
purpose. As he generally introduces them chronologically, at the
time of their occurrence, he seems at times merely to increase the
mass of indigestible matter; but by and by we find what he has thus
related to stand in the relation of cause to something subsequently
chronicled. But his method with these additions to the text,
which are yet connected with it, is very various. As Too Yu says,
'Now he anticipates the text to show the origin of an affair; now
he comes after the text [with his narrative] to bring out fully the
meaning; now he lies alongside the text to discriminate the prin-
iciples in it; and now he appears to cross the text to bring together
things that differ:—thus various according to what he considered
the requirements of the case.'

What is very surprising is that he
does not appear to be conscious of frequent discrepancies between
the details of his narratives and the things as stated by Confucius.
Now and then, as on VI. xviii. 6, he says that the text conceals the
nature of the fact; but generally he seems insensible of the untrust-
worthiness of the representation in it.

Let it be understood, however, that Tso does not give the details
of every event which the Classic briefly indicates. We must suppose
that where he does not do so, his sources of information failed him,
and he was obliged to leave the notice of the text as it was. There
is the erroneous or defective entry in III. xxiv. 9,—'The duke of
Kwoi.' On it Tso says nothing. So on the five paragraphs of
Chwang's 26th year he has nothing to say, while he introduces brief
narratives of two other things, for the latter of which only we can
account as being given with an outlook into the future. Generally
speaking, the information given in the Chuen is scanty or abundant
in proportion to its distance from or nearness to the era assigned to its
compilation. The 18 years of duke Hwan, b.c. 710—693, occupy in
the following Work 37 pages; the 15 years of duke Ting, b.c. 508—
494, 50 pages. The 32 years of Chwang, b.c. 692—661, occupy 59
pages; the 32 of Ch'ao, b.c. 540—509, 173 pages. This certainly
gives us for the Work one attribute of verisimilitude.

-- 本先經以始事,或後經以終義,或依經以辦理,或錯
經以合異,隨義而發.--see Too's preface. 

4 I take the opportunity to advert
here to a question which has produced no end of speculation and discussion among the scholars
of China.—Why does the Chuen Tr'êw begin with duke Yin?—Might we not have expected the
sage to go back to the first origin of the State of Leo? I believe that the only reasonable answer
to these inquiries is this,—that the annals of the State previous to duke Yin's rule had been
together lost, or were in such a miserable state of dilapidation and disarrangement that nothing
could be made of them. We might have expected a sentence or two from the sage to enlightenment
us on the subject; but his oracle is dumb. Neither does the Chuen say anything about it. How
different the practice of writers of history in the West!.
But while Tso intended his Work to be a commentary on the text of the Ch'\textsuperscript{un} Ts\textsuperscript{èw}, I believe that he had in view another and higher object, and wished to give his readers a general view of the history of the country throughout all its States during the Ch'\textsuperscript{un} Ts\textsuperscript{èw} period. The account of the Chuen quoted above from Too Yu carries us a considerable way to this conclusion. Tso shows the origin and issue of many events, one phase of which merely is mentioned in the text. The unconnected entries of the classic are thus woven together, and a history is made out of them. But the new matter introduced by him is so very much, and often having no relation to anything stated in the text, yet calculated to bring the whole field of the era before us, and to indicate the progress of events on towards a different state of the kingdom, that we must suppose this to have been a prominent object in the author's mind. This characteristic of the Work has not escaped the notice of native scholars themselves. As early as the Tsin dynasty, Wang Ts\öeh preferred to it the commentary of Kung-yang on this account. 'Tso's style,' said he, 'is so rich, and his aim so extensive, that he is to be regarded as an author by himself, and not having it for his principal object to illustrate the classic.'\textsuperscript{13} Nearly to the same effect is the account of Tso's Chuen given by Wang Cheh of the Sung dynasty. After praising Tso as a skilful reader of the old histories and collector of various narratives, so that he accumulated a very complete account of the events in the Ch'\textsuperscript{un} Ts\textsuperscript{èw}, he yet adds:—'But though his book was made as an appendix to the classic, yet, apart from and outside that, it forms a book by itself, the author of which was led away by his fondness for strange stories, and carried his collecting them beyond what was proper. He was remiss in setting forth the fine and minute ideas of the sage, but yet his Work has a beginning and end, being all the compilation of one hand.' Chinese scholars write of Tso under the influence of their admiration and veneration for the sage. I could wish that he had written altogether independently of the Classic, in which case we might have had a history of those times as complete as a man...
knowing only the heroes and events of his own country could make. It is not too much to call Tso the Froissart of China. The historical novel called 'The History of the various States' shows the use which can be made of his narratives. They lie necessarily in my pages so many diejecta membra, but some one may yet give, mainly from them, an account of the closing centuries of the feudal state of China that shall be found to have an universal interest.

6. Three more points in regard to Tso's Work have yet to be considered:—the manner of his composition; how far his narratives are entitled to our belief; and whether there is reason to believe that additions were made to them by writers of the Ts'in and Han dynasties. By the manner of Tso's composition I do not mean the general character of his style. There is but one opinion as to that. It is acknowledged on all hands that he was a master of his peculiar style.

Condensed, yet vivid, he is eminently pictorial. The foreign student does not for some time find it easy to make out his meaning, but by and by he gets familiar with the style, and it then has a great charm for him. In the words which the foremost of French sinologues once used to me of him, Tso was un grand écrivain.1 But the peculiarity which I have in view is the way in which Tso constantly varies the appellations of the actors in his narratives. Very often they are named by their sacrificial or honorary epithets which were not given to them till after their death, so that it is plain he did not copy out the contemporaneous accounts or records which we suppose him to have had before him, and some critics have from this contended that the narratives were entirely constructed by himself, not drawn from historical sources.2 But such a conclusion is more than the premiss will justify. Tso might very well call his subjects of a former time by the titles which had been accorded to them after their death, and by which

6. 王哲曰，左氏善覽舊史，兼該衆説，得春秋之事，亦甚備。其書雖附輕而作，然於經外自成一書，故有貪惑異説，於信，以聖人微言，亦殊疏略而大抵有本末，蓋出於一手之所能述。

1. I select only two Chinese testimonies of the excellence of Tso's style. The first is from Senn Sung (荀偃) of the Tsin dynasty—其書善禱，多膏腴美表述張本繼末，以發明經意，信多奇偉，學者好之。 The other is from Choo E-ian of the present dynasty—匪獨詳事也，文之簡要不可及。

2. E.g., Lew Hwang (劉易) of the Tang dynasty says—左氏紀年序諸侯列會，具舉其説，知是後人追修，非當世正史也.
men generally would in his days speak of them. What is really perplexing is that in the same account the same individual is now called by his name, now by his honorific epithet, and now by his designation, or by one or other of his designations if he had more than one, so that the narrative becomes very confused, and it requires considerable research on the part of the reader to make out who is denominated in all this variety of ways. To give only one example:—in the account of the battle of Peih, in the 12th year of duke Seuen, of the leaders on the side of Tsin, we have, 1st, Seun Lin-foo, who by and by is styled Hwan-tsze; 2d, Sze Hwuy, who is variously denominated Woe-tsze of Suy, Suy Ke, and Sze Ke, while elsewhere he is called Woe-tsze of Fair; 3d, Seun Hwoh, also called Che-tsze, and elsewhere Yuen Hwoh, or Hwoh of Yuen; 4th, Seun Shou, called also Che Chwang-tsze and Che Ke; 5th, Han Keueh, by and by Han Hoon-tsze; 6th, Lwan Shoo, by and by Lwan Woe-tsze; 7th, Chau Choo, by and by Chau Chwang-tsze; and 8th, Keuh Kih, by and by Keuh Hoon-tsze. Similar instances might be quoted in great number. Chau Yih says that such a method of varying names and appellations was characteristic of the style of that time. If, indeed, it was characteristic of the time, I must think that Tso possessed it in an exaggerated degree. The confusion produced by it in his Work seems to have led to its cure. Sze-ma Ts'een and the writers of the Books of Han are careful, at the commencement of their biographies, to give the surname, name, and designation or designations of their subjects, so that the student has none of the perplexity in reading them, which he finds with Tso's Chuen.

The other two points regarding the Work, which I indicated are of more importance, and I will consider them together. Have we reason to receive Tso's narratives as they supplemented or added to. Are Tso's narratives reliable? Were they reliable, having been transcribed by him from pre-existent records with merely such modifications of style as suited his taste? Or did he invent some of them himself? Or were they added to by writers in the Tsin dynasty and that of
the Former Han? It is difficult to reply to these questions categorically. What has the greatest weight with me in favour of Tso’s general credibility is the difference between his commentary and those of Kung-yang and Kuh-léang. What of narrative belongs to the latter bears upon it the stamp of tradition, and evidently was not copied from written records but from accounts current in the months of men. It is, moreover, of comparatively small compass. Their Works must have been written when the memory of particular events in the past had in a great measure died out. If Tso’s sources of information had been available for them, they would, we may be sure, have made use of them. The internal evidence of the three Works leaves no doubt in the mind as to the priority of Tso’s. And as they all made their appearance early in the Han dynasty, we are carried back for the composition of Tso’s into the period of Chow. As his last entry is about an affair in the 4th year of duke Taou, who died B.C. 430, and he mentions in it the Head of the Chaou family in Tsin by his honorary epithet of Seang-tsze, which could not have been given before 424, we can hardly be wrong in assigning Tso to the fifth century before Christ. This brings him close to the age of Confucius who died in B.C. 478. Tso may then have been a young man;—he could hardly be a disciple enjoying that intimate association with the sage which Lew Hin, Pu Koo, and other Chinese scholars were fond of asserting.

But to maintain the general credibility of Tso’s Chuen as having been taken from authoritative sources and records acknowledged as genuine among the States of China when he wrote, leaves us at freedom to weigh his narratives and form our own opinion on grounds of reason as to the degree of confidence which we ought to repose in them. There are few critics of eminence among the Chinese who do not allow themselves a certain amount of liberty in this respect. Ch’ing E-ch’uen laid down two canons on the subject. ‘The Chuen of Tso,’ he says, ‘is not to be entirely believed; but only that portion of it which is in itself credible.’ To this no objection can be taken; but he opens a very difficult question, when he goes on, ‘We should from the Chuen examine the details of the events referred to in the text, and by means of the text discriminate between what

12 程子曰：左傳不可全信，信其所可信者爾；以傳考經之事迹以經別傳之真僞。—see the 經義考, Bk. 169, p. 5.
PHILOSOPHER.] NATURE AND VALUE OF THE CH'UN TS'E-W.

is true and false in the Chuen. On this I shall have to give an opinion in the next section, and only remark now that if we find the statements of the text and the Chuen in regard to matters of history irreconcilable, the most natural course would seem to be to decide in favour of the latter.

The K'ang-he editors defer in general to the authority of Tso; but even they do not scruple to suppress his narratives occasionally, or to elide portions of them. They suppress, for instance, the account of the conference between the marquises of Loo and Ta'e at Kâh-kuh, given under XI. x. 2, considering the part which Confucius is made to play at it to be derogatory to him.

Wang Gan-shih of the Sung dynasty published a treatise under the title of 'Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'e-w,' in which he undertook to prove from eleven instances that the Chuen was not composed by Tso K'ew-ming of the Chow dynasty, but by some one of a later date, under the dynasty, probably, of Ta'in. Wang's treatise is unfortunately lost, and we know not what all the eleven instances were. One of them was the use of the term *lah* in the Chuen on V. v. 9, to denominate a sacrifice after the winter solstice, which, it is contended, was first appointed under the dynasty of Ta'in. It may have been another where in IX. xi. 10 and xii. 5 we find mention made of military commanders of Ta'in with the title of *shoo chang,* which, again it is contended, was of later date than the Chow dynasty. Ch'ing E-ch'uen at any rate adduces these two as cases in the Chuen of purely Ta'in phraseology.

Apart from any discussion of these instances, I venture to state my own opinion, that interpolations were made in the Chuen after Tso had put his finishing touch to it, and probably during the dynasty of the former Han; and there are two classes of passages which seem to bear on them and in them the evidence of having been so dealt with.

[1] There are the moralizing which conclude many narratives and are interjected in others, generally with the formula—'The superior man will say,' and sometimes as if quoted from Confucius. They have often nothing or next to nothing to do with the subject of the narrative to which they are attached, and the manner in which they occasionally bring in quotations from the odes reminds

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13 王安石 14 See the 欽定四庫全書總目, 卷二六十, 審 15 處不艱矣在此行 16 稀長 17 處不艱矣 井 稀長 皆秦官秦語

34]
us of Han Ying's Illustrations of the She, of which I have given specimens in the proleg. to vol. IV. Choo He well asks what connexion the concluding portion of the Chuen after 1. vi. 2 has to do with what precedes, and points out many reflections in other parts which cannot be considered as the utterances of a superior man but the speculations of a mere scholar. Lin Leuh of the Sung dynasty and a multitude of other scholars attribute all these passages to Loew Hin. They certainly seem to me to bear upon them the Han stamp.

[ii.] There is a host of passages which contain predictions of the future, or allusions to such predictions, grounded on divination, meteorological and astrological considerations, and something in the manner or deportment of the parties concerned;—predictions which turn out to be true. We may be sure that none of these were made at the time assigned to them in the Chuen. Some of them which had their fulfilment before the end of the Ch'ung Ts'êw period may have been current in Tso's days, and incorporated by him with his narrative. Others, like the ending of the Chow dynasty after an existence of so many hundred years, the fulfilment of which was at a later date, were, no doubt, fabricated subsequently to that fulfilment, and interpolated during the time of the first Han.

But after deducting all these suspicious portions from Tso's Chuen, there remains the mass of it, which we may safely receive as having been compiled by him from records made contemporaneously with the events, and transmitted by him with the graces of his own style. It is, in my opinion, the most precious literary treasure which has come down to posterity from the Chow dynasty.

18 左傳君子曰，最無意思。因之為之。有甚深，有甚密，有甚當，有甚正。事不可謂人。其理甚遠，不如公。書曰：「君子思則贖，有之義。」《書》曰：「君子義。大德之罰。」《書》曰：「君子思則贖，有之義。」《書》曰：「君子義。大德之罰。」

19 林栗曰：左傳凡言君子曰，是劉歆之辭。
7. On the other two early commentaries, those of Kung-yang and Kuh-liang, it is not necessary that I should write at so much length. There is really nothing in them to entitle them to serious attention. Down to the present day, indeed, there are scholars in China who publish their lucubrations in favour of the one or of the other; but I think that my readers will all agree with me in the opinion which I have expressed about them, when they have examined the specimens of them which are appended to this chapter.

The commentaries themselves and various Works upon them are mentioned in Lèw Hin’s catalogue; — as stated above on page 17. With regard to the Work of Kung-yang, Tae Hwáng, of the second Kung-yang, Han dynasty, tells us that Kung-yang Kaou received the Ch’ün Ts’êw and explanations of it from Confucius’ disciple Puh Shang or Tsze-héa, and handed it down to his son Kung-yang Ping; that Ping handed it down again to his son Te; Te to his son Kan; Kan to his son Show; and that, in the reign of the emperor King (B.C. 155—140), Show, with his disciple Hoo-woo Tsze-too, committed it to bamboo and silk. According to this account, the Work was not committed to writing till about the middle of the second century before Christ. If it were really transmitted, from mouth to mouth, down to that time from the era of Confucius, we can hardly suppose that it did not suffer very considerably, now receiving additions and now losing portions, in its onward course. ² The fact, moreover, of its having been confined for more than 300 years to one

² According to Ho Hwé, this transmission of the Classic from mouth to mouth was commanded by Confucius, from his foreknowledge of the attempt of the tyrant of Ts’in to burn all the monuments of ancient literature! ³孔子知秦將燔詩書，其說口授相傳至漢公羊氏及弟子胡母生等，乃記於竹帛。
family takes away from the confidence which we might otherwise be inclined to repose in it.

There can be no doubt, however, that it was made public in the reign of King, and was acknowledged and admitted by his successor Woo (B.C. 139—86) into the imperial college. Hoo-woo was a con-
temporary and friend of the scholar Tung Chung-shoo, and in the biography of the scholar K'ang Kung, an adherent of Kuh-ling's commentary, we are told that the emperor Woo made K'ang and Tung dispute before him on the comparative merits of their two Masters, when Tung was held to be the victor. The emperor on this gave in his adhesion to Kung-yang, and his eldest son became a student of his Work.

It is not important to trace the history of Kung-yang's commentary farther on. The names of various writers on it and of their Works are preserved, but the Works are lost till we arrive at Ho Hëw (A.D. 129—183), who published his 'Explanations of Kung-yang on the Ch'un Ts'ïw.' This still remains. Ho Hëw did for Kung-yang what, as we have seen, Too Yën did at a later period for Tso K'ëw-ming.

The commentary of Kuh-ling is, like that of Kung-yang, carried back to Tsze-hua; but the line of transmission down to the Han dynasty is imperfectly given. The general opinion is that Kuh-ling's name was Ch'ih, but Yen Sze-koo says it was He. The next name mentioned as intrusted with the text which Ch'ih or He had received, and the commentary which he had made upon it, is Sun K'ing, the same who appears on p. 27, as the 6th in the list of those who handed on the Work of Tso. From Sun K'ing it is said to have passed to a Shin Kung of Loo. K'ang Kung, mentioned above, received it from Shin; and though it did not win the favour, as advocated by him, of the emperor Woo, yet it gained a place in the imperial college in the reign of Seuen (A.D. 72—48), and for some time was held generally in great estimation. It has been preserved to us in the Work of Fan Ning, a famous scholar and statesman of the Tsin dynasty in the second half of the 4th century; the title of which is, 'A Collection of the Explanations of the Chuen of Kuh-ling on the Ch'un Ts'ïw.'

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8董仲舒《江公》。See the 漢書八十八儒林傳第五十八。何氏休春秋公羊解詁。6赤喜顔師古曰：穀梁子名喜受經於子夏為經作傳傳孫（ut. 耦）於子本公傳通則丘江公。8春秋穀梁傳集解。For the biography of Fan Ning, see the 晉書七十五列傳第四十五。
7. One cannot compare carefully even the specimens of the two commentaries which I have given without seeing that there is often a great similarity between them, and having the conclusion suggested to the mind that the one was not made without reference to the other. It is not to be wondered at that some scholars, like Lin Hwang-chung of the Sung dynasty, should have supposed the two to be the production of the same writer.\textsuperscript{1} But the differences between them, and occasionally the style of composition, forbid us entertaining such a view. That they were one man has been maintained on another ground. The surnames of Kung-yang and Kuh-luang ceased with the publication of the commentaries. No Kung-yang nor Kuh-luang appears after that in Chinese history.\textsuperscript{2} This is certainly strange, especially when we consider that there were five Kung-yangs concerned, according to the received account, in the transmission of the commentary from Tsze-hea to the Han dynasty. I must leave this matter, however, in its own mist. Ch'ing Ts'ing-che,\textsuperscript{3} Lo Peih,\textsuperscript{4} and other Sung scholars held that the author of the two commentaries had been a Kueang, and that Kung-yang and Kuh-luang were merely two ways of spelling it;\textsuperscript{5} but the method of spelling by finals and initials was, there is reason to believe, unknown in the Han dynasty.

\textsuperscript{1} The K'ang-he editors in their Critical Introduction, p. 7, quote on this point from Choo Ho:

\textsuperscript{2} See the 氏姓譜, chh. 147, 150.

\textsuperscript{3} 鄭清之 \\
\textsuperscript{4} 羅璧 \\
\textsuperscript{5} 萬見春譜皆姜字切韻部疑為姜氏假託

SECTION V.

THE VALUE OF THE CH'UN TS\-EW.

1. I come now to what must be considered as the most important subject in this chapter,—to endeavour to estimate the value of the Object of this section. Ch'\textsuperscript{un} Ts\-\textsuperscript{ew} as a document of history; and this will involve a judgment, first, on the character of Confucius as its author, or as having made himself responsible for it by copying it from the tablets of his native State and giving it to the world with

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his *imprimatur*, and, next, a judgment on the influence which it has had on the successive governments of China and on the Chinese people at large.

2. My readers have received, I hope, a distinct idea of the nature of the Work as made up of the briefest possible notices of the events of the time which it covers, without any attempt to exhibit the connexion between them, or any expression of opinion as to the moral character which attaches to many of them. I have spoken of the disappointment which this occasions us, when we address ourselves to its perusal with the expectations which its general reputation and the glowing accounts of it given by Mencius have awakened. We cannot reconcile it with our idea of Confucius that he should have produced so trivial a Work; and we cannot comprehend how his countrymen, down to the present day, should believe in it, and set it forth as a grand achievement.

If there were no other attribute but this triviality belonging to it, we might dismiss it from our notice, and think of it only as of a mirage, which had from the cloudland lured us to it by the attractive appearances which it presented, all vanishing as we approached it and subjected it to a close examination. But there are other attributes of the Work which are of a serious character, and will not permit us to let it go so readily. On p. 13 I have applied the term *colourlessness* to the notices composing it, meaning thereby simply the absence of all indication of feeling or opinion respecting the subjects of them on the part of the writer or compiler. But are the things so dispassionately told correct in point of fact? Are all the notices really informing, or are many of them misleading? Is the very brief summary a fair representation of the events, or is it in many cases a gross misrepresentation of them?

In what I have said in the preceding sections, I have repeatedly intimated my own opinion that many of the notices of the Ch'un Ts'êw are not true; and the proof of this is found in the contradictions which abound between them and the events as given in detail in the Chuen of Tso, contradictions which are pointed out in my notes in hundreds of cases. It may occur to some that the Classic itself is to be believed rather than the narratives of Tso and the other commentators on it. If we are to rest in this dictum, there is of course an end of all study of the Ch'un Ts'êw period. From the Work of Confucius, confessedly, we learn nothing of interest, and now the relations of Tso which are
so rich in detail are not to be credited;—the two centuries and a
half become a blank. But it is impossible to rest in this view.
The multitude of details which Tso gives makes him the principal
witness in the case; but Kung and Kuh, greatly differing as they
do from him in the style of their commentaries, very often bear
out his statements, and are equally irreconcilable with the notices
of the sage and the inferences which we naturally draw from them.
How is it that the three men, all looking up with veneration to
Confucius, yet combine to contradict him as they do? Kung and
Kuh have their praise-and-censure theory to explain the language
which the master uses; but we have seen that it is inadmissible, and
it supplies no answer to the question which I have just put. And
the mass of Chinese scholars and writers, for nearly 2000 years,
have not scrupled to accept the history of the Ch'un Ts'êw period
given by Tso as in the main correct, maintaining at the same time
their allegiance to Confucius as 'the teacher of all ages,' the one
man at whose feet the whole world should sit, accepting every
paragraph from his *stilus* as a divine oracle. The thing is to me
inexplicable. There have been many times when I have mused
over the subject in writing the pages of this volume, and felt that
China was hardly less a strange country to me than Lilliput or
Laputa would be.

3. The scholars of China are ready, even forward, to admit that

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Chinese scholars admit that Confucius in the Ch'un Ts'êw often conceals the truth about things. On V. i. 6 Kung-yang says, 'The Ch'un Ts'êw conceals [the truth] on behalf of the high in rank, out of regard to kinship, and on behalf of men of worth.' On V. i. 1 Tso says that it was the rule for the historiographers to conceal any wickedness which affected the character of the State. But this 'concealing' covers all the ground occupied by our three English words—ignoring, concealing, and misrepresented.

[i. ] The Ch'un Ts'êw often ignores facts, and of this I will content myself with adducing two instances. The first shall be

It ignores facts comparatively, if not quite, an innocent omission. The fifth Book, containing the annals of duke Hsü, commences simply with the notice that it was his first year, the spring, the king's first month.'

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1 The character employed for to conceal is 謹 which is explained in various dictionaries by 避 'to avoid,' 難, 'to keep out of view,' and 隱, 'to shun,' 'to be cautious of.' 2 春秋為尊者諱為親者諱為賢者諱 3 諱國忌禮也

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It is not said that 'he came to the [vacant] seat,' that is, that he did so with the formal ceremonies proper to celebrate his accession to the marquisate. Tso asks why this notice was not given, and says it was because the duke He had gone out of the State. 'The duke,' says he, 'had fled out of the State and now re-entered it; but this is not recorded, being concealed (i.e., being ignored). To conceal the wickedness of the State was according to rule.' On the murder of duke Chwang's son Pan, who should have succeeded to his father, Shin, who became duke He, had fled to the State of Choo, and a boy of eight years old, known as duke Min, was made marquis, and when, within less than two years, he shared the fate of Pan, Shin returned to Loo, and took his place. What connexion all this had with the omission of the usual pageantry or ceremonies, and whether we have in it the true explanation of the absence of the usual notice, I am not prepared to say; but we cannot see what harm there could have been in mentioning duke He's flight from the State and subsequent return to it. A good and faithful chronicler would have been careful to do so, especially if the events did affect, as Tso says, the inauguration of the new rule. 4

The second instance of ignoring shall be one of more importance. It is well known that the lords of the great States of Ts'oo and Woo usurped during the Ch'un Ts'êw period the title of king, thus renouncing their allegiance to the dynasty of Chow which acknowledged them only as viscounts. It is by this style of viscount that they are designated in the Ch'un Ts'êw; but the remarkable fact is that it does not once notice the burial of anyone of all the lords of Ts'oo, or of Woo. The reason is that in such notices he must have appeared with his title of king. The rule was that every feudal lord, duke, marquis, earl, or baron, should after death be denominated as kung (or duke, and to this was added the honorary or sacrificial epithet by which he was afterwards to be known. When a notice was entered in the Ch'un Ts'êw of Loo, say of the burial of the marquis Ch'ung-urh of Tsin, the entry was that on such and such a month and day they buried duke Wân of Tsin. But the officers, deputed for the purpose from Loo, had assisted at the burial not of any duke of Ts'oo or of Woo, but of king so and

4 It will be well for the student to read the long note of K'ung Ying-tah on Tso Yü's remarks on the Chuen here. He acknowledges that it is impossible to say when the rule for concealing things was observed and when not.
80. What were the historiographers to do? If they called the king when living a viscount, it would seem to us reasonable that they might have been satisfied to call him a duke when dead. But this would have been a direct falsification of the notification which they had received from the State of the deceased. They therefore ignored the burial altogether, and so managed to make their suzerain of Chow the only king that appeared in their annals. Confucius sanctioned the practice; or if he suppressed all the paragraphs in which the burials of the lords of Ts’oo and Woo were entered, either as dukes or kings, then specially against him lies the charge of thus shrinking from looking the real state of things fairly in the face, as if he could make it any better by taking no notice of it.

[i.] A large list of cases of ignoring might be made out by comparing the notes and narratives of I so with the entries of the Ch’un Ts’oew, but the cases of concealing the truth are much more numerous; and in fact it is difficult to draw the line in regard to many of them between mere concealment and misrepresentation. I have quoted, on p. 13, from Maou K’e-ling many startling instances of the manner in which the simple notice ‘he died’ is used, covering almost every possible way of violent and unnatural death. It may be said that most of them relate to the deaths of princes of other States, and that the historiographers of Loo simply entered the notices as they were communicated to them from those States. Might we not have expected, however, that when their entries came under the revision of Confucius, he would have altered them so as to give his readers at least an inkling of the truth? But it is the same with the chronicling of deaths in Loo itself. Duke Yin was basely murdered, with the connivance of his brother who succeeded him, and all that is said about it in I. xi. 4 is—‘In winter, in the 11th month, on Jin-shin, the duke died.’ His successor was murdered in turn, with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and the entry in II. xviii. 2 is simply—‘In summer, in the 4th month, on Ping-tsze, the duke died in Ts’oew.’ In III. xxxii. three deaths are recorded. We read:—‘In autumn, in the 7th month, on Kwei-sze, duke [Hwan’s son] Ya died;’ ‘In the 8th month, on Kwei-hae, the duke died in the State-chamber;’ ‘In winter, in the 10th month, the duke’s son Pan died.’ Only the second of these deaths was a natural one. Ya was compelled to take poison by a half-brother Ke-yew, under circumstances which are held by
many critics to justify the deed. Pan who was now marquis, though he could not be entered as such by the historiographers till the year had elapsed, was murdered by an uncle, who wished to seize the marquisate for himself, without any mitigating circumstances. How is it that these three deaths, so different in their nature and attendant circumstances, are described by the same word? Here it is said 'Ya died,' and 'Pan died,' and they did not die natural deaths. In I. v. 7 it is said—'duke [Hiaou's] son K'ow died,' and in VIII. v. 18 we have—'Ke-sun Hâng-foo died,' and they both died natural deaths. What are we to think of a book which relates events in themselves so different without any difference in its forms of expression? The Kiang-he editors are fond of the solution of such perplexities which says that Confucius meant to set his readers inquiring after the details of the events which he indicated; but why did he not obviate the necessity for such inquiries altogether by varying his language as it would have been very easy to do? But for the Chuen we should entirely misunderstand a great number of the entries in the text.

To take two instances of a less violent kind than these descriptions of deaths,—in III. 1. 2, we read that 'in the 3d month the [late duke Hwan's] wife [Wân K'êung] retired to Ts'e,' and in X. xxv. 5 we read that 'in the 9th, month, on Ke-hae, the duke [Ch'au] retired to Ts'e.' In both passages 'retired' is equivalent to 'fled.' Duke Hwan's widow was understood to have been an accomplice in the murder of her husband, and to have been guilty of incest with her half-brother, the marquis of Ts'e;—she found it unpleasant, probably dangerous, for her to remain in Loo, and so she fled to Ts'e, where she would be safe and could continue to follow her evil courses. All this the historiographers and Confucius thought it necessary to gloss over by writing that she withdrew or retired to Ts'e. The case of duke Ch'au was different. He had been kept, like several of his predecessors, in a state of miserable subjection by the principal nobles of the State, especially by the Head of the Ke-sun family. Instigated by his sons, high-spirited young men who could not brook the restraints and shame of their condition, he attempted to cope with his powerful minister, and got the worst of it in the struggle. The consequence was that he fled to Ts'e; and the text is all that the Ch'un Ts'éw tells us about these affairs, unless we accept its most important entry of the ominous fact that a few months before the duke's flight, 'grackles came to Loo and built nests in trees.' Every one will allow that
sons should speak tenderly of the errors of their parents, and ministers and subjects generally throw a veil over the faults of their rulers; but it seems to be carrying the instinctive feeling of dutiful forbearance too far when a historian or chronicler tries to hide the truth about his ruler's conduct and condition from himself and his readers in the manner of the Ch'ün Ts'ēw. It should be kept in mind, moreover, that the historiographers of Loo, if Ch'oun had been the ruler of another State, would, probably, not have scrupled to say that Ke-sun E-joo drove him out, and that he fled to Ts'e. Where their own State was concerned, they dared not look the truth in the face. Had Wân Kēang been the marchioness of another State, they would have thought that it did not come within their province to say anything about her.

Two more instances of concealment will finish all that it is necessary to say on this part of my indictment against our Classic; and they shall be entries concerning the king. In V. xxviii. 16, it is said that 'the king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of inspection at Ho-yang;' and we suppose that we have an instance of one of those exercises of the royal prerogative which distinguished the kingdom in normal times. But the fact was very different. In the 4th month of the year Tsin had defeated Ts'oo in a great battle, and the States of the north were safe for a time from the encroachments of their ambitious neighbour. Next month the marquis of Tsin called a great meeting of the northern princes at which he required the king to be present. The king responded to the summons of his feudatory, and a brother of his own presided over the meeting;—though both of these facts are ignored in the text. In the winter, the marquis called another meeting in Ho-yang, a place in the present district of Wân, in the department of Hwaek'ing, Ho-nan, at which also he required the presence of the king, and which is chronicled in the 16th paragraph. Tso quotes a remark of Confucius on the case,—that 'for a subject to call his ruler to any place is a thing not to be set forth [as an example];' but to this I would reply that, the fact being so, it should not be recorded in a way to give the reader quite a different idea of it.

The other instance is less flagrant. In V. xxiv. 4 it is said, 'The king [by] Heaven's [grace] left [Chow], and resided in Ch'ing].' The facts were that a brother of the king had raised an insurrection against him, so that he was obliged to leave his capital and the imperial domain, and take refuge in Ch'ing, where he remained.
until in the next year he was restored to the royal city by an army of Ts'in. But as the Ch'un Ts'ëw says nothing of the troubles which occasioned the king's flight, so it says nothing about the manner in which he was restored. The whole history of the case is summed up in the paragraph that I have quoted, which conceals the facts, and of itself would not convey to us anything like an accurate impression of the actual circumstances.

[iii.] I go on to the third and most serious charge which can be brought against the Ch'un Ts'ëw. It not only ignores facts, and conceals them, but it also often misrepresents them, thus not merely hiding truth or distorting it, but telling us what was not the truth. The observation of Mencius, that, when the Ch'un Ts'ëw was made, rebellious ministers and villainous sons became afraid, suggests the instances by which this feature of the Classic may be best illustrated.

Let us first take the case of Chaou Tun, according to the entry in VII. ii. 4, that "Chaou Tun of Ts'in murdered his ruler, E-kaou." The fact is that Tun did not murder E-kaou. The marquis of Ts'in was a man of the vilest character, utterly unfit for his position, a scourge to the State, and a hater of all good men. Tun was his principal minister, a man of dignity and virtue, and had by his remonstrances, excited the special animosity of the marquis, who at one time had sent a bravo to his house to assassinate him, and at another had let loose a bloodhound upon him. Wearied out with the difficulties of his position, Tun had fled from the Court, and had nearly left the State, when a relative of his, called Chaou Ch'uen, attacked the marquis and put him to death; on which Tun returned to the capital, and resumed his place as chief minister. The only fault which I can see that he committed was that he continued to employ his relative Ch'uen in the government; but the probability is that he had not the power to deal with him in any other way. Had he been able to execute him, and proceeded to do so, it would have been, I venture to think, a proceeding of doubtful justice. But I ask my readers whether it was right, considering all the circumstances of the case, to brand Tun himself as the murderer of the marquis.

According to Tso, the entry in the text was made in the first place by Tung Hoo, the grand-historiographer of Ts'in, who showed it openly in the court, and silenced Tun when he remonstrated with him on its being a misrepresentation of himself. Tso also gives a
remark of Confucius, praising Tung Hoo, who made it his rule in what he wrote 'not to conceal!' and praising also Chaou Tun who humbly submitted to a charge of such wickedness. 'Alas for him!' said our sage. 'If he had crossed the border of the State, he would have escaped the charge.' The historiographers of Loo had entered the record in their Chun Tsew as they received it from Tsin; but I submit whether Confucius, in revising their work, ought not to have exercised his 'pruning pencil,' and modified the misrepresentation. A sage, as we call him, he might have allowed something for the provocations which Tun had received, and for the wickedness of the marquis's government; he ought not to have allowed Tun to remain charged with what was the deed of another.

Let us take a second case. In X. xix. 2 we read—'Che, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mac.' This, if it were true, would combine the guilt of both regicide and parricide. According to all the Chuen, Che was not the murderer in this case. He was watching his sick father, and gave him a wrong medicine in consequence of which he died. We have no reason to conclude that there was poison in the medicine which the son ignorantly gave. Some critics say that he ought to have tasted it himself before he gave it to his father. He might have done so, and yet not have discovered that it would be so injurious. There is no evidence, indeed, that he did not do so. The result preyed so on the young man's mind that he resigned the State to a younger brother, refused proper nourishment, and soon died. Even if it were he himself who insisted on the form of the entry about his father's death, Confucius, if he had feeling for human infirmity, would have modified it, and not allowed poor Che to go down to posterity charged with the crime of parricide, which, if we had only the Chun Tsew, there would be no means of denying.

Let us take a third case. It may seem to come properly under the preceding count of concealment of the truth, but I introduce it here, because of its contrast with the record in the next case which I will adduce. In X. i. 11, it is said,—'In winter, in the 11th month, on Ke-yew, Keun, viscount of Ts'oo, died.' The viscount, or king as he styled himself, was suddenly taken ill, of which Wei, the son of a former king, was informed, when he was on his way, in discharge of a mission, to the State of Ch'ing. He returned immediately, and entering the palace as if to inquire for the king's health, he strangled him, and proceeded to put
to death his two sons. Here certainly was a murder, which ought to have been recorded as such. No doubt, the murderer caused a notification to be sent to other States in the words of the Ch'un Ts'êw, saying simply that Keun had died, as if the death had been a natural one, and the historiographers had chronicled it in the terms in which it reached them; but ought not Confucius, in such a case especially, to have corrected their entry? To allow so misleading a statement to remain in his text was not the way to make rebellious ministers afraid.

The fourth case relates to the death of the above Wei, also called K'êen, the murderer of his king. Twelve years afterwards he himself came to an evil end. In X. xiii. 2 it is said—'In summer, in the 4th month, the Kung-tsze Pe of Ts'oo returned from Tsin to Ts'oo, and murdered his ruler K'êen in Kan-k'ê.' The real facts were these. Wei or K'êen displayed in his brief reign an insatiable ambition, and was guilty of many acts of oppression and cruelty. Having despatched a force to invade Seu, he halted himself at Kan-k'ê to give whatever aid might be required. Certain discontented spirits took the opportunity of his absence from the capital to organize a rebellion, which was headed by three of his brothers, one of whom was the Kung-tsze Pe. This Pe had fled to Tsin when K'êen murdered Keun, and was invited by the conspirators from that State back to Ts'aue in the first place, and forced to take command of the rebel forces. These were greatly successful. They advanced on the capital of Ts'oo, took possession of it, and put to death the sons of the absent king. The intelligence of these events threw him into the greatest distress and consternation. His army dispersed, and he took refuge with an officer who remained faithful to him, and in his house he strangled himself in the 5th month, unable to endure the disgrace and misery of his condition. What are we to make of such opposite and contradictory methods of describing events? Wei murdered Keun; and the deed is told as if Keun had died a natural death. The same Wei strangled himself, and the deed is told as if it had been a murder done by the Kung-tsze Pe. Pe was led by the device of a brother, K'e-tsiih, to kill himself in the 5th month, perhaps before Wei had committed suicide. The Ch'un Ts'êw says of this event that 'K'e-tsiih put to death—not murdered—the Kung-tsze Pe;' and we may suppose that K'e-tsiih, who became king, sent word round the States that Pe had murdered his predecessor; but surely Confucius ought to have
taken care that the whole series of transactions should not be misrepresented as it is in his paragraphs.

Let us take a fifth case. In XII. vi. 8 it is said that 'Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo.' In the previous year, Ch'oo-k'ew, marquis of Ts'e, had died, leaving the State to his favourite son T'oo, who was only a child. His other sons, who were grown up, fled in the winter to various States. Ch'in K'eih, one of the principal ministers of the State, finding that the government did not go on well, sent to Loo for Yang-sâng, one of Ch'oo-k'ew's sons, who had taken refuge there, and so managed matters in Ts'e that he was declared marquis, and the child T'oo displaced. Yet K'eih had no malice against T'oo, and so spoke of him in a dispute which he had with Yang-sâng, not long after the accession of the latter, as to awaken his fears lest the minister should attempt to restore the de-graded child. The consequence was that he sent a trusty officer to remove T'oo from the city where he had been placed for safety to another. Whether it was by the command of the new marquis, or on an impulse originating with himself, that officer took the opportunity to murder the child on the way. This man, therefore, whose name was Choo Maou, was the actual murderer of T'oo. If he were too mean in position to obtain a place in the Ch'un Ts'êw, the murder should have been ascribed to Yang-sâng or the marquis Taou, by whose servant and in whose interest, if not by whose command, it was committed. To ascribe it to Ch'in K'eih must be regarded as a gross misrepresentation. I cannot think that the existing marquis of Ts'e could have sent such a notification of the event to Loo, for for him to make Ch'in K'eih responsible for the deed was to declare that his own incumbency of the State was unjust, as it was Ch'in K'eih who had brought it about. Are we then to ascribe the entry entirely to Confucius? And are we to see in it a remarkable proof of his hatred of rebellion and usurpation, and his determination to hold the prime mover to it, however distant, and under whatever motives he had acted, responsible for all the consequences flowing from it?

The sixth and last case which I will adduce may be said not to be so contrary to the letter of the facts as the preceding five cases, and yet I am mistaken if in every western reader, who takes the trouble to make himself acquainted with those facts, it do not awaken a greater indignation against the record and its compiler than any of them. In VII. x. 8 we read that 'Hia Ch'ing-shoo of
Ch'in murdered his ruler Ping-kwoh. The circumstances in which the murder took place are sufficient, I am sure, to make us pronounce it a case of justifiable homicide. Hsia Ch'ing-shoo's mother, a widow, was a vile woman, and was carrying on a licentious connexion with the marquis of Ch'in and two of his ministers at the same time. The things which are related about the four are inexpressibly filthy. As the young man grew up, he felt deeply the disgrace of his family; and one day when the marquis and his ministers were feasting in an apartment of his mother's mansion, or rather of his own, for he was now the Head of the clan, he overheard them joking about himself. 'He is like you,' said the marquis to one of his companions. 'And he is also like your lordship,' returned the other. The three went on to speculate on what share each of them had in the youth, till he could no longer contain himself, and made a violent attack upon them. The ministers made their escape, and the marquis had nearly done so too, when, as he was getting through a hole in the stable, an arrow from the young man's bow transfixed him. So he died, and the Ch'un Tso'ew records the event as if it had been an atrocious murder! The poor youth met with a horrible fate. In the following year, the viscount of Ts'oo, himself flaunting the usurped title of king, determined to do justice upon him. Aided by the forces of other States, he invaded Ch'in, made a prisoner of Hsia Ch'ing-shoo, and had him torn in pieces by five chariots to which his head and his four limbs were bound. This execution is coldly related in xi. 5 by 'The people of Ts'oo put to death Hsia Ch'ing-shoo of Ch'in.' The text goes on to tell that the viscount entered the capital of Ch'in, and restored the two ministers, partners in the marquis's adultery, who had made their escape to Ts'oo; the whole being worded, according to Tso, 'to show how he observed the rules of propriety!'

4. It remains for me, having thus set forth the suppressions, the concealments, and the misrepresentations which abound in the Ch'un Tso'ew, to say a few words on the view which we must take from it of Confucius as its author or compiler. Again and again I have spoken of the triviality of the Work, and indicated my opinion of its being unworthy of the sage to have put together so slight a thing. But these positively bad characteristics of it on which I have now enlarged demand the expression of a sterner judgment.

1 See vol. IV, Pt. I. xii. ode IX.
The appointment of historiographers, at whatever period it first took place, was intended, no doubt, to secure the accurate record of events, and Confucius tells us, Ana. XV. xxv., that ‘even in his [early] days a historiographer would leave a blank in his text,’ that is, would do so rather than enter incorrectly anything of which he was not sure. I have mentioned on p. 45 the exaggerated idea of his duty which was cherished and manifested by Tung Hoo the grand-historiographer of Tsiu; and in Tso’s Chuen on IX. xxv. 2, we have a still more shining example of the virtue which men in this office were capable of displaying. There three brothers, historiographers of Tse, all submit to death rather than alter the record, which they had made correctly, that ‘Ts’uyu Ch’oo of Tse murdered his ruler Kwang,’ and a fourth brother, still persisting in the same entry, is at last left alone. These instances serve to show the idea in which the institution originated, and that there were men in China who understood it, appreciated it, and were prepared to die for it. Such men according to Confucius’ testimony were no more to be found in his time. According to the testimony of a thousand scholars and critics, it was because of this fact,—the few faithful historiographers in the past and the entire want of them in the present,—that the sage undertook the revision of the Ch’un Ts’ew of Loo. Might not the history of the institution in that ante-Christian time be adduced as a good illustration of what Lord Elgin once said, that ‘at all points of the circle described by man’s intelligence, the Chinese mind seems occasionally to have caught glimpses of a heaven far beyond the range of its ordinary ken and vision?’

Well—we have examined the model summary of history from the stylus of the sage, and it testifies to three characteristics of his mind which it is painful to have thus distinctly to point out. First, he had no reverence for truth in history,—I may say no reverence for truth, without any modification. He understood well enough what it was,—the description of events and actions according as they had taken place; but he himself constantly transgressed it in all the three ways which I have indicated. Second, he shrank from looking the truth fairly in the face. It was through this attribute of weakness that he so frequently endeavoured to hide the truth from himself and others, by ignoring it altogether, or by giving an imperfect and misleading account of it. Wherever his prejudices were concerned, he was liable to do this. Third, he had more

1 See Letters and Journals of James, eighth Earl of Elgin, p. 332.
sympathy with power than with weakness, and would overlook wickedness and oppression in authority rather than resentment and revenge in men who were suffering from them. He could conceive of nothing so worthy of condemnation as to be insubordinate. ² Hence he was frequently partial in his judgments on what happened to rulers, and unjust in his estimate of the conduct of their subjects. In this respect he was inferior to Mencius his disciple.

I have written these sentences about Confucius with reluctance, and from the compulsion of a sense of duty. I have been accused of being unjust to him, and of dealing with him inhumanly. ³ Others have said that I was partial to him, and represented his character and doctrines too favourably. The conflicting charges encourage me to hope that I have pursued the golden Mean, and dealt fairly with my subject. My conscience gives no response to the charge that I have been on the look-out for opportunities to depreciate Confucius. I know on the contrary that I have been forward to accord a generous appreciation to him and his teachings. But I have been unable to make a hero of him. My work was undertaken that I might understand for myself, and help others to understand, the religious, moral, social, and political condition of China, and that I might see and suggest the most likely methods of accomplishing its improvement. Nothing stands in the way of this improvement so much as the devotion of its scholars and government to Confucius. It is he who leads them that causes them to err and has destroyed the way of their paths.

5. The above sentence leads me to the last point on which I proposed to touch in this section,—the influence which the Ch'ün Tséw has had on the successive governments of China and on the Chinese people at large. And here I will be brief.

A great part of the historical literature of the country continues still to be modelled after our Classic and the Chuen of Tso. Immediately after the Chow dynasty the name of Ch'ün Tséw was given to a species of Work having little affinity with that of Confucius. We have the Ch'ün Tséw of Loh Puh-wei, the chief minister of Ts'in, Luh Kia's Ch'ün Tséw of Ts'o and Han, ¹ and many others, which were never held in great repute. In the after Han dynasty, how-

² See the Analects, VII. xxx. ³ See a review of my Ist volume, in the Edinburgh Review, April, 1869.

¹ 董不韋吕氏春秋陸賈楚漢春秋. See Chou Yih's first chapter on the Ch'ün Tséw, where he gives the names of a score of these Works.
ever, there was composed the 'Chronicles of Han,'\(^2\) on the plan of the Ch'\un Ts'e\'w. Histories of this kind received in the Sung dynasty the name of 'General Mirrors,'\(^3\) and 'General Mirrors, with Summary and Details,'\(^4\) the summary corresponding to the text of the Ch'\un Ts'e\'w, and the details to the Chuen. Down to the present dynasty Works have been composed with names having more or less affinity to those; and in reading them the student has to be on the watch and determine for himself how far the details bear out the statement of the summary. Such Works as the 'Digest of the History of the Successive Dynasties'\(^5\) are more after the plan of the text of the Ch'\un Ts'e\'w, but they become increasingly complex and difficult of execution with the lapse of time and the increasing extent of the empire.

But the influence of the Ch'\un Ts'e\'w on the literature of China is of little importance excepting as that influence has aided its moulding power on the government and character of the people; and in this respect it appears to me to have been very injurious. The three defects of Confucius which have left their impress so clearly on his Work have been painfully conspicuous in the history of the country and the people down to the present day. The teachings of Mencius, bringing into prominence the lessons of the Shoo and the She concerning the different awards of Providence, according as a government cherished or neglected the welfare of the people, have modified the extreme reverence for authority which was so remarkable in Confucius; but there remain altogether unmitigated the want of reverence for truth, and the shrinking from looking fairly at the realities of their condition and relations. And these are the great evils under which China is suffering at the present day. During the past forty years her position with regard to the more advanced nations of the world has been entirely changed. She has entered into treaties with them upon equal terms; but I do not think her ministers and people have yet looked this truth fairly in the face, so as to realize the fact that China is only one of many independent nations in the world, and that the 'beneath the sky,' over which her emperor has rule, is not all beneath the sky, but only a certain portion of it which is defined on the earth's surface and

\(^{2}\) 漢紀, composed by 菊悅 at the command of the emperor H\u2003em (獻帝).
\(^{3}\) See-ma Kwang's 資治通鑑, and Choo He's 通鑑綱目. 綱目 means a net,—the rope by which the whole is drawn together and the eyes or meshes of which it is composed.

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can be pointed out upon the map. But if they will not admit this, and strictly keep good faith according to the treaties which they have accepted, the result will be for them calamities greater than any that have yet befallen the empire. Their lot has fallen in critical times, when the books of Confucius are a very insufficient and unsafe guide for them. If my study of the Ch'un Ts'ew help towards convincing them of this, and leading them to look away from him to another Teacher, a great aim of my life will have been gained.
APPENDIX 1.

SPECIMENS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF KUNG-YANG AND KUH-LÉANG.

隱公，元年，一章。元年，春，王正月。

The first year of duke Yin, par. 1.

It was the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

公羊傳曰，元年者何，君之始年也。

春者何，歲之始也。

王者孰謂，謂文王也。

曷為先言王而後言正月，王正月也。

何言乎王正月，大一統也。

公何以不言即位，成公意也。

何成乎公之意，公將平國而反之桓，曷為反之桓，桓幼而貴，隱長而卑，其為尊卑也微，國人莫之知，隱長又賢，諸大夫從隱而立之，隱於是焉而辭立，則未知桓之將必得立也，且可桓立，則恐諸大夫不能相幼君也，故凡隱之立，為桓立也。

隱長又賢，何以不宜立，立適以長不以賢，立子以貴不以長。

桓何以貴，母貴也。

母貴則子何以貴，子以母貴，母以子貴。

穀梁傳曰，雖無事，必舉正月，謹始也。

公何以不言即位，成公志也。

焉成之，言君不取為公也。君之不取為公，何也，曰，將以讓桓也。

讓桓正乎，曰，不正。

春秋成人之美，不成人之惡，隱不正而成之何也，將以惡桓也。

其惡桓何也，隱將讓而桓弑之，則隱善矣。

善者不善其不善，何也，春信義而貴子，欲與桓非心，以遲之，隱曷，則是成子受也，桓之欲，則是受君之君，己雖天倫而畏其君，可謂輕千乘之國，蹈道則未也。
The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

"What is meant by 元年? The first year of the ruler.
What is meant by 春 (spring)? The first season of the year.
What is meant by 王 (the king)? It means king Wín.
Why does [the text] first give "king," and then "first month?" [To show that] it was the king's first month.
Why does it [so] mention the king's first month?
To magnify the union of the kingdom [under the dynasty of Chow].
Why is it not said that the duke came to the [vacant] seat? To give full expression to the duke's mind.
In what way does it give full expression to the duke's mind? The duke intended to bring the State to order, and then restore it to Hwan.
What is meant by restoring it to Hwan?
Hwan was younger, but nobler [than the duke by birth]; Yin was grown up, but lower [than Hwan by birth]. The difference between them in these respects, however, was small, and the people of the State did not know [their father's intention about the succession]. Yin being grown up and a man of worth, the great officers insisted on his being made marquis. If he had refused to be made so, he did not know for certain that Hwan would be raised to the dignity; and supposing that he were raised to it, he was afraid that the great officers might not give their assistance to so young a ruler. Therefore the whole transaction of Yin's elevation was with a view [in his mind] to the elevation of Hwan.
But since Yin was grown up and a man of worth, why was it not proper that he should be made marquis?
Among the sons of the wife proper, the succession devolved on the eldest, and not on the worthiest and ablest. Among a ruler's sons by other ladies of his harem, the succession devolved on the noblest, and not on the eldest.
In what respect was Hwan nobler [in rank] than Yin?
His mother was of higher position [than Yin's mother].
Though the mother was nobler, why should the son be [also] nobler? A son

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—"Although there was nothing to be recorded [under the first month], it was necessary to specify it;—its being the commencement [of the rule] required this attention to be paid to it.
Why is it not said that the duke came to the [vacant] seat? To give full expression to the duke's mind.
In what way does this give full expression to the duke's mind? It tells that Yin did not himself care to be duke.
What is meant by saying that he did not himself care to be duke? That he intended to resign the marquisate to Hwan.
Was it correct in him [to wish] to resign it to Hwan?
It was not correct.
The Ch'un Tseü gives full expression to men's excellent qualities, but does not do so to their evil;—why should it give such expression to [the intention of] Yin which was not correct?
With a view to show detestation of Hwan.
How does that detestation of Hwan appear?
Yin intended to resign in his favour, and yet Hwan murdered him;—showing Hwan's wickedness. Hwan murdered him, and yet Yin would have resigned in his favour,—showing Yin's goodness.
If Yin was thus good, why do you say that he was not correct?
In the Ch'un Tseü, what is righteous is held to be noble, and not what is [merely] kind. It would lead forward in the [straight] path, and not in the crooked. A filial son tries to display the excellent qualities of his father, and not the evil ones. The father was not correct, but perverse, in seeking to give the State to Hwan. Notwithstanding, he overcame this perversity of mind, and the State was given [at last] to Yin; but Yin had fathomed the purpose of their father, and therefore would have given the State to Hwan,—carrying out their father's wickedness. That there should be elder brother and younger brother is in the order of Heaven. A man receives his sonship from his father, and a feudal prince receives his rank from the king. To annul the order of Heaven, and forget his ruler and father in order to do a small kindness, is what is called walking in a small path. Looking at Yin, we
was held to share in the nobility of his mother; and a mother shared in the [subsequent] nobility of her son.

may say that he could make light of a State of a thousand chariots, but could not tread the way that is right.

桓公十有一年。四月。宋人執鄭祭仲。

The eleventh year of duke Hwan, par. 4.

The people of Sung seized Chae Chung of Ch'ing.

公羊傳曰。祭仲者何。鄭相也。

何以不名。賢也。

何以不稱人。仲者。以為知權也。難者。於國處。伯有善其國。故有仲。及仲有仲。係於其言。則曰。宋人何也。歎之也。

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:-

人 [people] here means the duke of Sung.

Why is he designated 人 (the people, or one of the people)?

To condemn him.

殷梁傳曰。宋人者。宋公也。其曰人何也。歎之也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:-

Who was Chae Chung?

The chief minister of Ch'ing.

Why is he not mentioned by his name?

Because of his worth.

What worthiness was there in Chae Chung?
He is to be considered as knowing how to act according to circumstances.

In what way did he know to act according to circumstances? A former earl of Ch'ing was on friendly terms with the duke of Kwai; and having an intrigue with his wife, he took the capital of Kwai, transferred that of Ch'ing to it, and left Lew to become a wilderness. After the death of duke Chwang, Chao Chung was going to inspect the state of Lew; and as his road lay through Sung, the people of that State seized him, and said, "Drive out Hwuh (Chwang's eldest son, who was now earl of Ch'ing) for us, and raise Tuh (Hwuh's brother) to the earldom."

If Chao Chung did not do as they required, his ruler must die, and the State perish. If he did as they required, his ruler would exchange death for life, and the State be preserved instead of perishing. Then by and by, [by his gradual management], Tuh might be sent forth as before, and Hwuh might return as before. If these things could not be secured, he would have to suffer [under the imputation of evil conduct], but yet there would be the State of Ch'ing. When the ancients acted according to the exigency of circumstances, they acted in the way in which Chao Chung now did.

What is meant by acting according to the exigency of circumstances? It is acting contrary to the ordinary course of what is right, yet so that good shall result. Such a course is not to be adopted apart from the imminent danger of death or ruin. There is a way to regulate the pursuing of it. A man may adopt it when the censure and loss will fall on himself, but not to the injury of another. A superior man will not slay another to save himself, nor ruin another to preserve himself.
The fifteenth year, par. 1.

In spring, in the second month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent K̓ea Foo to Loo to ask for carriages.

公羊傳曰。何以書。譏。何譏爾。王者無求。求車。非禮也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

'Why was this entry made?

By way of censure.

Censure of what?

The kings did not ask for anything. To ask for carriages was contrary to propriety.

毅廣傳曰。古者諸侯時獻于天子。以其國之所有。故有辭讓而無徵求。求車。非禮也。求金。甚矣。

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—

'Amongst the feudal princes at the [proper] times presented to the son of Heaven their offerings of the things which they had in their States. He might thus decline, but he did not demand or ask for, [anything]. To ask for carriages was contrary to propriety; to ask for money was still more so.

The fourth year of duke Chwang, par. 4.

The marquis of Ke made a grand leaving of his State.

公羊傳曰。大去者何。滅也。孰滅之。齊滅之。易為不言齊滅之。為襄公諱也。春秋為賢者諱也。何賢乎襄公。復讎也。何復讎。遠祖也。襄公享乎周。紀侯譏之。以襄公之為於此。焉者。事祖諱之心盡矣。盡之曰。襄公將復讎乎紀。卜之曰。師喪分焉。寡人死之。不為不吉也。遠祖者幾世乎。九世矣。九世猶可以復讎乎。雖百世可也。家亦可乎。日。不可。

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—

"Made a grand leaving," is as much as to say that [the marquis] did not leave a man behind him. It tells us that the people did not cease to follow him till all were gone in the space of four years. The marquis of Ke was a worthy prince, and the marquis of Ts's extinguished his State. The text does not say so, but that he made a grand leaving of it, thereby not allowing [the injurious action of] a small man towards a superior man to appear.
COMMENTARIES OF KUNG-YANG AND KU-LIANG.

[Page 38]
How many generations removed from him was the remote ancestor?

Nine.

May an injury be avenged after nine generations?

Yes; even after a hundred.

May [the Head of] a clan take such vengeance?

No.

Why then may [the ruler of] a State do it?

The ruler and the State are one. The disgrace of a former ruler is the same as the disgrace of the ruler of to-day. The disgrace of the ruler of to-day is the same as the disgrace of a former ruler.

How are the ruler and the State considered as one?

The ruler regards the State as his body, and one ruler comes after another;—hence the ruler and the State form one body.

But the present [marquis of] Ke had been guilty of no offence;—was not this [extinction of him] a case of rage?

No. If there had been in the ancient time an intelligent son of Heaven, the [then] marquis of Ke would have been taken off, and there would have been no [more any] marquis of Ke. His not having been taken off, and there being still a marquis of Ke, was the same as if there were no intelligent son of Heaven.

Anciently the princes had their occasions of meeting together, and their interchanges of court and complimentary visits, when they made reference in their language to their predecessors as furnishing the ground of their intercourse; but nothing of the kind ever took place between Ts'e and Ke;—it was incumbent on them not to exist together under the same sky. Therefore when Ts'e's] set about removing the marquis of Ke, it could not but remove [the State of] Ke.

If there had been [now] an intelligent son of Heaven, could duke Seang have done what he did?

No.

Why then did he do it?

When there is in the highest position [as it were] no son of Heaven, and below him no president of the quarter of the kingdom, one can for himself repay his long-standing wrongs and obligations of a contrary kind.
僖公二年，三章。虞师晋师滅夏陽。

The second year of duke He, par. 3.

An army of Yu and an army of Tsin extinguished Hēa-yang.
苟息牽馬操璧而前曰璧則

荀息牵引马匹、把握璧玉，然后说：“璧是也，而马齿加长矣。”

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—The use of the term “extinguished,” when it is not a State that is spoken of, arises from the importance of Han-yang.

Yu had no army—why is its army mentioned here?

Because it took the lead of Ts'in [in the affair], and it was necessary therefore to speak of its army.

How did it take the lead of Ts'in?

It presided over the extinguishing of Han-yang. Han-yang was a strong city of Yu and Kwoh. If it could be extinguished, then both Yu and Kwoh might be dealt with.

In what way did Yu preside over the extinguishing of Han-yang?

Duke Hsien of Ts'in wanted to invade Kwoh, and Sen Seih said to him, “Why should not your lordship take your team of K'ueh horses, and your pack of Ch'uy-keih, and with them borrow a way through Yu?” “Those are the most precious things in the State of Ts'in,” said the duke. “Suppose Yu should receive my offerings, and not lend us the passage, in what position should we be?” “But,” replied Sen Seih, “this is the way in which a small State serves a great one. If Yu do not lend us the right of way, it will not venture to receive our offerings. If it receive our offerings and lend us the way, then we shall [merely] be taking [the pack] from our own treasury, and placing it [for a time] in one outside, and taking [the horses] from our own stable, and placing them [for a time] in one outside.” The duke said, “There is Kung Che-k'e there—he will be sure to prevent the acceptance of our offerings.”

“Kung Che-k'e,” replied the minister, “is an intelligent man, but he is weak; and moreover, he has grown up from youth near his ruler. His very intelligence will make him speak too briefly; his weakness will keep him from remonstrating vehemently; and his having grown up near his ruler will make that ruler despise him. Moreover, the attractive objects will be before the ruler of Yu's senses, and the danger will be hid behind another State. The case, indeed, would cause anxiety to one whose intelligence was above mediocrity, but I imagine that the intelligence of the ruler of Yu is below mediocrity.”

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curious—he is sure not to follow his minister's advice. I beg you, considering everything, to let me go."

The deliberation ended with Duke Héen's adopting the proposed course; and when the duke of Yu saw the valuable offerings, he granted what [Tai] asked. Kung Che-k'e did indeed remonstrate, saying, "There are the words of the Record, 'When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.' Yu and Kwoh are the savours of each other. If they do not give mutual help, Tai will to-day take Kwoh, which Yu will to-morrow follow to ruin. Do not, O ruler, grant what is asked." The duke did not follow his advice, and ended by lending a passage [through his State to Tai] to take Kwoh. In the fourth year after, Tai returned, and took Yu. The duke of Yu [came], carrying the peih and leading the horses, when Seun Seih said [to the marquis of Tai], "What do you now think of my plan?" "It has succeeded," said Duke Héen. "The peih is still mine; but the teeth of the horses are grown longer." This he said in joke.

What was Hfa-yang?
A city of Kwoh.
Why is the name not preceded by the name of the State?
It is dealt with as if it had been itself a State.
Why so?
Because [the fate] of the ruler of the State was bound up with its fate.

十有六年,一章。春, 王正月, 戊申朔, 隕石于宋五, 是月, 六鶉退飛, 過宋都。

The sixteenth year, par. 1.

In spring, in the king's first month, on Mow-shin, the first day of the moon, there fell stones in Sung, five of them. In the same month, six fish-hawks flew backwards, past the capital of Sung.

公羊傳曰: 易為先言貴而後言寶石記聞聞其磺然, 視之則石, 察之則五。

穀梁傳曰: 先隕而後石, 何也? 隕而後石也;

于宋四竟之內曰宋, 後數,
是月者何，僅述是月也。何以不日，晦日也。晦則何以不言晦，春秋不書晦也。朔有事則書，晦雖有事不書。曷為先言六而後言鷹，六鷹退飛，則鷹退飛。六鷹何以書，記異也。五石六鷹何以書，記異也。外異不書，此何以書，為王者之後記異也。

The Chüen of Kung-yang says——
"How is it that the text first says, "there fell," and then "stones"?"

There fell stones is a record of what was heard. There was heard a noise of something falling. On looking at what had fallen, it was seen to be stones. On examination it was found there were five of them.

What is the meaning of "in the same month?"

That the thing occurred just within this month.

Why is the day not given?
It was the last day of the moon.

Why does the text not say so?
The Ch'un T'sêw does not enter the last day of the moon. When anything happened on the first day of the moon, it was so written; but although anything happened on the last day of the moon, the day was not given.

Why does the text say "six," and then "fish-hawks?"

"Six fish-hawks backwards flew" is a record of what was seen. When they looked at the objects, there were six. When they examined them, they were fish-hawks. When they examined them leisurely, they were flying backwards.

Why is this account given of [these] five stones and six fish-hawks? It is the record of a strange thing.

But strange things in other States are not recorded—why is this given here?

Because [Sung belonged to the descendants of the kings [of Shang].

散辭也，耳治也。是月者，決不日而月也。六鷹退飛，過宋都，先數，故辭也，目治也。

子曰，石無知之物。鷹微有知之物，故曰，石微有知，故曰之。君子不治，石不治。況於人乎，故曰不治，則王道不亢矣。

民所聚曰都。

The Chüen of Kuh-keang says——"Why does the text first say "there fell," and then "stones"?" There was the falling, and then the stones. 

"In Sung" means within the four quarters of that State. The number following after indicates that the stones were scattered about. [The language] has respect to the hearing of the ears. 

"In the same month" says definitely that it was not on the same day, but [some time] in the month.

In "six fish-hawks flying backwards, past the capital of Sung," the number is put first, indicating that [the birds] were collected together. [The language] has respect to the seeing of the eyes.

The master said, "Stones are things without any intelligence, and fish-hawks creatures that have a little intelligence. The stones, having no intelligence, are mentioned along with the day [when they [fell], and the fish-hawks, having a little intelligence, are mentioned along with the month [when they appeared]. The superior man [even] in regard to such things and creatures records nothing rashly. His expressions about stones and fish-hawks being thus exact, how much more will they be so about men! If the language had not been as it is about the five stones and six fish-hawks, the royal way would not have been fully exhibited." 

Where the people collect is called "the capital."
文公，十有一年，六月。冬，十月，甲午，叔孫得臣敗狄于鹹。

The eleventh year of duke Wăn, par. 6.

In winter, in the tenth month, on Kēah-woo, Shuh-sun Tih-shin defeated the Teih in Hēen.

公羊傳曰，狄者何，長狄也。兄弟三人，一者之齊，一者之魯，一者之齊，其之齊者，王子成父殺之，其之魯者，叔孫得臣殺之，則未知其之齊者也。

其言敗何，大之也。

其日何，大之也。

其地何，大之也。

何以書，記異也。

The Chun of Kung-yang says:— "What is meant by "the Teih"?"

A gigantic Teih. There were three brothers, one of whom went to Ts'e, another to Loo, and the third to Tain. The one that went to Ts'e was killed by the king's son Ch'ing-foo. The one who came to Loo was [now] killed by Shuh-sun Tih-shin. I do not know anything about the one who went to Tain.

Why is the word "defeated" used?
To magnify the affair.
Why is the day specified?
To magnify the affair.
Why is the place given?
To magnify the affair.
Why is the thing recorded?
As a record of what was strange.

穀梁傳曰，不言師師而言敗，何也，直敗一人之辭也。一人而曰敗，何也，以衆為言之也。

傳曰，長狄也，兄弟三人，佚岩中，舉石不能害，叔孫得臣最善射者也，射其目，其首益顚，斷其首而載之，然后乃言獲之。曰，古者不重創，不言獲，故不言獲，為內諱也。

The Chun of Kuh-leeang says:—
"How is it that we find here "defeated," and nothing about "leading a force?"

The language indicates that the defeat was only of one man.

How is "defeated" used with reference to one man?
Because he [was equal to] a multitude.

It is recorded that there were three gigantic Teih, who, one after another, threw the Middle States into confusion, and whom tiles and stones could not hurt. Shuh-sun Tih-shin was a skillful archer, and sent an arrow into the eye [of this one]. The giant's body stretched over 9 acres. His head was cut off, and put into a carriage, when the eye-brows appeared over the cross-bar. In these circumstances, why is it not said that he was captured? Anciently they did not inflict a second wound, nor capture a gray-haired enemy. Captured is not used here, to conceal the thing out of regard to Loo.

The giant that went to Ts'e was killed by the king's son Ch'ing-foo. Nothing is known about the one who went to Tain.
The fourteenth year, seventh paragraph.

The people of Tain undertook to establish Tsöeh-tsze as viscount of Choo, but did not [or, were not able to] do so.

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:— [The leader here] was Keih Keueh;—why is he called 人 (man)?

To make light of him,

Why does [the text] make light of him?

He had 800 chariots with their long naves, extending over a thousand li of ground. He passed by Sung, Ching, Tung, and Söeh, and entered at length a State of a thousand chariots, wishing to change the ruler whom the people had set up. But when he came beneath the wall of its capital, he then knew [the error of his enterprise]. How late was he in coming to that knowledge!

"He was not able to in-state." It is not said that he had invaded Choo;—how is mention made of his inability?

That "was not able" shows that [success] was forbidden by righteousness. Tsöeh-tsze's mother was a daughter of Tain, and K'woh-ten's was a daughter of T'oo's. K'woh-ten was the proper successor to their father, and Tsöeh-tsze was not.
in Choo-low,—a force surely more than sufficient for the purpose. But when he [proposed] to in-state him, the people of Choo-low said, "Tseeh-tse is the son of a daughter of Ts'in, and K'woh-tsean of a daughter of Ts'in. Try them on your fingers,—there will be four for Ts'eeh-tsean, and six for K'woh-tsean. If you will compel us by the power of your great State, we do not yet know whether Ts'e or Ts'in will take the lead. In rank the men are both noble, but K'woh-tsean is the elder." K'eih Keuch said, "It is not that my strength is insufficient to in-state him, but in point of right I cannot do so." With this he led his army away, and therefore the superior man magnifies his not in-stating [Tseeh-tsean].

The actor here was K'eih Keuch of Ts'in;—why is he called 人 (a man)? To condemn him.

Why is he condemned?
Not to allow a great officer to take it on him to displace or to set up a ruler.
How does it not allow this?
The actual [statement] allows it, but the style does not allow it.
Why does the style not allow it?
According to the right idea of a great officer, he cannot take it on him to displace or appoint a ruler.'

宣公八年, 三章。辛巳, 有事於太廟, 仲遂卒于垂。

The eighth year of duke Seuen, paragraph three.

On Sin-sze there was a sacrifice in the grand temple, when Chung Suy died at Ch'uyu.

公羊傳曰, 仲遂者何。公子遂也。
何以不稱公子, 贞。此公子也, 其曰仲, 何也。
穀梁傳曰。為若反命而後卒也。疏之也。
何謂疏之也, 是不卒者也, 不疏, 則無用見其不卒也。

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The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'Who was Chung-su?
The Kung-tse Suy.
Why is he not here styled Kung-tse?
By way of censure.
Why is censure expressed?
Because of his murder of [Wăn’s] son Ch’ih.
But why was not the censure (or, degradation) expressed at the time when he committed that murder?
Because he had [then] been guilty of no offence against [duke] Wăn, and there had [since] been no year [in which to signify his offence] against [Wăn’s] son.'

則其卒之何也，以譏乎宜也。
其譏乎宜何也，聞大夫之喪，則去乘卒事。

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—'This looks as if he had first reported the execution of his mission and then died.
He was a Kung-tse;—why does he appear here simply as Chung?
To treat him as if his relationship [to the ducal family] had been distant.
Why deal with him so?
To vitiate the notice of his dying. If he had not been so dealt with, that notice would not have been vitiated.
Why then mention his dying at all?
To convey censure of [duke] Su-en.
Why to censure [duke] Su-en?
On hearing of the death of a great officer, he should have removed the musicians and finished the business [in which he was engaged].'

十有五年，八章。初稅畝。
The fifteenth year, par. eighth.
For the first time a tax was levied from the produce of the acres.

公羊傳曰，初者何，始也。税收者何，履畝而稅也。
初稅畝何以書，譏。何譏爾，譏始履畝而稅也。

何譏乎始履畝而稅，古者什一而藉。
古者邑為什一而藉，什一者，天下之中正也，多乎什一，大貉小貉，寡乎什一，大貉小貉，什一者，天下之中正也，什一行，而頑聲作矣。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What is the meaning of 初?
For the first time.
What is meant by levying a tax from the acres?'

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—'初 means for the first time. Anciently, a tenth of the produce was levied by the mutual cultivation of the public fields and the others were not taxed. To commence levying part of the produce from [all] the acres was not right. Anciently
Walking over the acres, and levying part of the produce.

Why is an entry made of this first levying part of the produce of the acres [generally]? To condemn it.

What was there to condemn in it? The introduction of the system of walking over the acres, and levying part of the produce.

What was there to condemn in the introduction of this system? Anciently a tithe was taken [for the State] by the mutual labour of the people on the public fields.

Why did they anciently appoint this system?

The tax of a tenth [thus procured] is the justest and most correct for all under the sky. If more than this tenth be taken, we have great Kēchs and little Kēha. If less, we have great Mih and little Mih. A tithe is the justest and most correct for all under the sky.

When a tithe is the system, the sounds of praise [everywhere] arise.

900 paces formed a le, and a square of that size was called the nine-squares fields, consisting of 900 acres, of which the public fields formed one portion. If the yield from the private fields was not good, the officer of agriculture was blamed. If the yield from the public fields was not good, the people were blamed. [The record of] this first levying part of the produce from all the acres blames the duke for putting away the system of the public fields, and walking over all the fields to take a tithe of them, because he thereby required from the people all their strength. Anciently, [the people] had their dwellings in the public fields; there were their wells and cooking places; there they grew their onions and scallions.

成公三年、四章。甲子，新宮災，三日哭。

The third year of duke Ch'ing, par. four.

On Kēh-tsze the new temple took fire, when we wailed for it three days.

毂梁傳日，新宮者，祿宮也。三日哭，哀也。其哀，禮也。

The Chuan of Kung-yang says—The new temple was the temple of the duke's father.

To wail for three days was expressive of [great] grief, but that grief was according to the rules of propriety.
The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—
What was T'ou-hou?
A city of Ch'ing.
When a prince died anywhere within

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—
In consequence of the near relationship,
the duke did not dare to call it by his
father's honorary title;—thereby show-
ing his respect.
The language being respectful, and
the grief great, there is no condemnation
of duke Ch'ing to be sought here,

K'wan-hwan, earl of Ch'ing, went to the meeting; but before he
had seen the [other] princes, on Ping-seuh he died at Ta'aoou.

The seventh year of duke Seang, par. ten.

[The duke] could not bear to say
[directly that it was his father's temple];
Why is it said that they waited for it
directly that it was his father's temple?
It was a rule that, when a temple was
burned, there should be a waiting for
three days.
Why was this entry of the burning of
the new temple made?
To record the calamity.
his own territories, the place was not mentioned—why is it mentioned here?
To conceal the fact.
To conceal what fact?
His murder.
Who murdered him?
His great officers.
Why does not the text say so?
The thing is concealed on account of the Middle States?
Why so?
When the earl of Ch'ing was about to go to the meeting of the States in Wei, his great officers reproached him, saying, "The Middle States are not worth adhering to; you had better join with Ts'oo." When the earl objected to this counsel, they said, "If you think that the Middle States are righteous, they [notwithstanding] invaded us when we were mourning [for the last earl]; if you say that they are strong, yet they are not so strong as Ts'oo." With this they murdered him.
Why is no name—"the earl of Ch'ing, K'wun-yuen?"
[To express sorrow] that having been wounded, and being on his return [to his capital], he died before he reached his halting place.
As he did not see the [other] princess, why is it said that he went to the meeting?
To express fully his purpose.

二十有五年,十章。十有二月, 吳子遏伐楚, 門于巢卒。

The twenty-fifth year, tenth par.

In the 12th month, Goh, viscount of Woo, invaded Ts'oo, and died in an attack on one of the gates of Ch'aou.

公羊傳曰, 門于巢卒者, 何, 入門乎巢而卒也。
入門乎巢而卒者, 何, 入巢之門而卒也。
吳子説何以名, 傷而未反至乎舍而卒也。

穀梁傳曰, 以伐楚之事, 門, 于巢卒也, 于巢者, 外乎楚也, 門于巢乃伐楚也。
諸侯不生名, 取卒之名, 加之伐楚之上者, 見以伐
The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What is meant by 門子巢卒."

That he entered a gate in Ch'ao and died.
In what way had he entered a gate in Ch'ao and died?
He had entered a gate of Ch'ao and died.
Why does the viscount of Woo appear with his name Yeh?
[To show that] he was wounded and died before he could return to the station of his own troops.'

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—'In consequence of being engaged in an invasion of T'ao, he attacked one of the gates of Ch'ao and died.
The words "of (or, at) Ch'ao" show that that place was outside T'ao. By attacking the gates of Ch'ao, he would be able to invade T'ao.

A prince was not named when alive. Here the name, properly given to him when dead, is taken and placed before his invasion of T'ao, to show that it was in consequence of that invasion that he died.
How does it show that it was through his invasion of T'ao that he died?

Anciently, when [the army of] a great State was passing by a small city, the rule was that that small city should man its walls and ask what was its offence:
Yeh, the viscount of Woo, in [proceeding to] invade T'ao, came to Ch'ao, and entered one of its gates, when the gatekeeper shot him, so that he returned to the station [of his troops], wounded by an arrow, and died. Although an undertaking be of a civil nature, there should be at the same time military preparation. [The entry] condemns Ch'ao for not manning its walls and asking what was its offence, [and also] condemns the viscount of Woo for his careless exposure of himself.'

昭公四年三章。四章。秋七月。楚子。蔡侯。陳侯。許男。頓子。胡子。沈子。淮夷。伐吳。執齊慶封殺之。
The fourth year of Duke Ch’ao, pars. 3 and 4.

In autumn, in the seventh month, the viscount of Ts’oo, the marquises of Ts’aé and Ch’in, the baron of Heu, the viscounts of Tun, Hoo, and Shin, and the Hwae tribes, invaded Woo. They seized King Fung of Ts’e, and put him to death.

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'This was an invasion of Woo;—how is it that the paragraph tells us of the seizure of King Fung of Ts’ee?

He was taken off in behalf of Ts’e.

How was it that he was taken off in behalf of Ts’e?

King Fung had run away to Woo, and Woo had invested him with Fang.

In that case why is it not said that they invaded Fang?

Not to allow to the feudal princes the right of granting investiture.

What was the crime of King Fung?

He had exercised a pressure on the ruler of Ts’e, and thrown that State into confusion.'
The nineteenth year, par. 2 and 5.

In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-shin, Che, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae. In winter, there was the burial of duke Taou of Heu.

公羊傳曰，賊未討，何以書葬。不成于弑。
曷為不成于弑。止進薬而殺也。
止進薬而殺，則曷為加弒焉爾，譜子道之不盡也。

其譜子道之不盡奈何，曰，藥正子春之視疾也。復加一飯，則脱然愈。復加一衣，則脱然愈。進藥而殺，是以君子加弒焉爾。

曰，許世子止弒其君。

他自己在位呢？”The soldiers all laughed and chuckled.

King Fung had murdered his ruler, but that crime is not mentioned here in connexion with him, because he was not subject to king Lăng, and the text would not allow to Tê-foo (the right) to punish him. It is a part of the righteousness of the Ch'üen T'êw to employ the noble to regulate the mean, and the worthy to regulate the bad; but not to employ the disorderly to regulate disorder. Do we not have the same sentiment in what Confucius said, “Let a man who himself cherishes what is wicked punish another, and that other will die without submitting to him?”

十有九年，二章，五章，夏，五月，戊辰，許世子止弒其君買。冬，葬許悼公。
is 君子之 聽 止 也。葬 許 悼 公。是 君子 之 慰 止 也、 慰 止 者。 免 止 之 罪 論 也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—"How do we have the burial recorded here, while the ruffian [-murderer] was not yet punished? The thing did not amount to a murder.

How did it not amount to a murder?
Che gave [his father] medicine, and the medicine killed him.

In these circumstances why does the text say that Che murdered him?
To censure Che for not fully discharging the duty of a son.

How does it censure his failure in that?
Yoh-ching Tze-ch'un, when watching his sick [father], would give him an additional dish of rice, [and watch] eagerly whether it made him better; or he would give him a dish less, and watch the result eagerly. He would put on him a garment more, or a garment less, than usual, in the same way. Che gave the medicine, and the medicine killed [his father], and therefore the superior man charged him with murdering him.

In the [former] entry that 'Che, heirson of Heu, murdered his ruler Mii,' the superior man allows the charge against Che; in the [second] entry about the burial of duke Taou, he pardons Che. He pardons Che, that is, he withdraws the charge against him.

有司 不 舉。有司 之 罪 也。有司 舉 之。王者 不 用。王者 之 過 也。許 世 子 不 知 嘗 藥。累 及 許 君 也。

The Chuen of Kuh-leang says:—"The mention of the day along with the murder shows that the death was a natural one. As it was so, Che did not murder [his father]. Though he did not murder him, it is said that he did;—to reprove Che. Che said, "I am the same, as a murderer, and will not stand in my father's place." On this he resigned the State to his brother Hwuy, wept and wailed, and lived on congee, without taking a grain of rice, till in less than a year he died. The superior man here reprimands him according as he reproved himself.

The specification of the day of the death and of the season of the burial does not allow Che to lie under the charge of murdering his father.

When a son is born, if he escape not death from fire or water, it is the crime of his mother; if he have grown up to a boy with two tufts of hair, and do not go to a teacher, it is the crime of his father; if he go to a teacher, and his studies are desultory, and his mind do not become intelligent, it is the crime of himself; if he become intelligent, and the fame of his name be not heard of; it is the crime of his friends; if the fame of his name be heard of; and the officers do not bring him into notice, it is the crime of the officers; if the officers bring him to notice, and the king do not employ him, it is the fault of the king. The heirson of Heu did not know [his duty] to taste the medicine [for the ruler], and that ruler was involved [in the consequences of his ignorance].
The first year of duke Ting, parr. 1, 2.

In the [duke's] first year, in spring, the king's... In summer, in the sixth month, on Mow-shin, the duke came to the vacant seat.

公羊傳曰，定何以無正月，正月者，正即位也，定無正月者，即位後也。即位何以後，昭公在外，得入，不得入，未可知也，曷為未可知也，季氏也。定衰而無微辭。主人習其讀而問其有罪焉爾。癸亥，公之喪至自乾侯，然後即位，公之喪至自於兩楹之右，定君之位，然後即位。即位不日，此何以日？錄乎內也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'How is it that Ting has no first month [in his first year]?

[The mention of] the first month is to adjust the [ruler's] coming to the [vacant] seat; and Ting's having no first month is because his coming to the [vacant] seat was later.

How was it later?
[The coffin of] duke Ch'aou was [still] outside [the State], and whether it would be allowed to enter or not was not yet known.

How was it not yet known?
It depended on the Head of the Ke family.

In [the records about] Ting and Gue there are many obscure expressions. If they—the rulers—had read the text and inquired about its explanation, they would not have known whether they were charged with crime or not.

As it was on Kwei-lae that duke Ch'aou's coffin came from Kan-how, how was it that it was Mow-shin before [Ting] ascended the [vacant] seat?

When the coffin had been placed right between the two pillars, then he ascended the [vacant] seat. My master Shin-tze said, 'When the funeral rites of the
The Chou of Kuh-leang says:—'The text does not mention the first month, because Ting had no first month [in his first year].

Why had Ting no first month?

Because duke Chaoü's death was not a proper death, and Ting's commencement of his rule was not a proper commencement. As Chaoü's was not a proper death, Ting could not have a proper beginning. It is not said [here] that he came to the [vacant] seat, because Chaoü's coffin was outside the State.

The coffin was now placed in state, and so he took the [vacant] seat. Ting's having no first year shows that there was something which prevented him from having it. But the reason of its not being said that he came to the vacant seat when the year [in which duke Ch'aoü died] was expired, was that the coffin of the former duke was [still outside]. The notice of coming to the [vacant] seat was the regular way of declaring that the State was passed from one ruler to another. If the former did not die a proper death, the latter could not have a proper beginning, and vice versa. The notice that duke Ting came to the [vacant] seat on Mow-shin, is an instance of the care observed [in such a matter];—it was necessary that Ting's accession should be thus definitely marked.

How is the day of the duke's accession given?

[To show that] it was on the day Mow-shin.

It was on Kwei-hae that duke Ch'aoü's coffin came from Kan-how;—how was it not till Mow-shin that Ting took the [vacant] seat?

The proper ceremonies in the State must be gone through for the [former] ruler, before that could be done. Shin-tan said, "When the coffin was placed right between the two pillars, his successor took the [vacant] seat."

The great affairs within a State were mentioned with the day. The taking the [vacant] seat was a great affair for the ruler,—why is it [generally] given without the day?

It was made to commence with the year, and not regulated by the day.

Why then is the day given here?

To give emphasis to it.

In what way does it give emphasis to it?

To have taken the [vacant] seat when
哀公六年，七章，八章，齊陽生
八于齊，齊陳乞弑其君茶。

The sixth year of duke Gae, parr. 7, 8.

Yang-săng of Ts'e entered [the capital of] that State. Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo.
The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—"It was Yang-sang who entered [Ta'e], and murdered his ruler,—how is it that Ch'iu K'eih is represented as taking the lead in the deed?"

"Not to allow Yang-sang to be ruler over T'ou."

Why does [the text] not allow Yang-sang to be ruler over T'ou?

"Yang-sang was the proper heir [of Ta'e], and T'ou was not."

If T'ou were not the proper heir, why is he called the ruler?

Although he was not the proper heir, he had received the appointment [from his father]."

"Entered" denotes that the enterer is not received. Since T'ou was not the proper heir, why use that style?

As he had received the appointment, that style might be employed.

"Why is the name of the State used as if it were Yang-sang's clan-name?"

He took the State from T'ou.

The Chuen of Kug-leang says:—"It was Yang-sang who entered [Ta'e], and murdered his ruler,—how is it that Ch'iu K'eh is represented as taking the lead in the deed?"

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As he had received the appointment, that style might be employed.

"Why is the name of the State used as if it were Yang-sang's clan-name?"

He took the State from T'ou.
duke King was over, and all the great officers were at court; Ch'in K'eh said, 
"My mother is celebrating a sacrifice with fish and beans; I wish you all to come 
and renovate me at it." All accepted the 
invitation, and when they were come to 
his house, and sitten down, he said "I have 
some buffcoats which I have made; allow 
me to show them to you." To this they 
assented, and he then made some stout 
fellows bring a large sack into the open 
court. The sight of this frightened the 
officers, and made them change colour; 
and when the sack was opened, who 
should come forth from it but the Kung-
teze Yang-sang? "This," said Ch'in 
K'ein, "is our ruler." The officers could 
not help themselves, but one after another 
twice did obeisance with their faces to 
the north, and accepted [Yang-sang] as 
their ruler; and from this he went and 
murdered Shay.

十有三年, 三章, 公會晉侯及 
吳子于黃池。

The thirteenth year, paragraph 3.

The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin and the 
viscount of Woo at Hwang-ch'ie.

穀梁傳曰, 周何以稱子。 
吳主會也。 
吳主會, 則曷為先言晉侯。 
不與夷狄之主中國也。 
其言及吳子何, 會兩伯之 
辭也。 
不與夷狄之主中國, 則曷 
為以會兩伯之辭言之。重 
吳也。 
曷為重吳, 吳在是, 則天 
下諸侯莫敢不至也。 

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The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'Why is [the lord of] Woo styled viscount? Because Woo took the direction of the meeting.

If Woo took the direction of the meeting, why does [the text] first mention the marquis of Tsin?

Not to allow a barbarous [State] to take the direction of the Middle States.

What is the force of 及 before the viscount of Woo?

It serves to point out the meeting as one of two presiding chiefs.

As [the text] does not allow a barbarous [State] to take the direction of the Middle States, why does it represent the meeting as one of two presiding chiefs?

Because of the weight of Woo.

How had Woo so much weight? Woo being there, the [other] princes of the kingdom would not dare not to come.

吴王夫差曰好冠来，孔子曰，大哉，夫差未能言冠，而欲冠也。

The Chuen of Kuh-kiang says:—'Is not the viscount of Woo advanced at this meeting in Hwang-ch'ae? Here it is that he is [styled] viscount.

Woo was a barbarian State, where they cut their hair short and tattooed their bodies. [Its ruler now] wished, by means of the ceremonies of Loo and the power of Tsin, to bring about the wearing of both cap and garment. He contributed [also] of the products of the State to do honour to the king approved by Heaven. Woo is here advanced.

Woo was the greatest State of the east. Again and again it had brought the small States to meet the feudal princes, and to unite with the Middle States. Since Woo could do this was it not loyal? Woo is here advanced. King is the most honourable title, and viscount is comparatively mean. [The ruler of Woo, however] declined the honourable title, and was content with the mean one, to meet with the other princes and do honour to the king approved by Heaven. Foo-ch'a'e, king of Woo, used to say, "Bring me a good cap." Confucius said, "Great was Foo-ch'a'e!" Foo-ch'a'e could not have told you about the caps [of different ranks] but he wished for a cap.

APPENDIX II.

A LETTER QUESTIONING THE CONFUCIAN AUTHORSHIP OF THE CH'UN TSEW BY YUEN MEI OF THE PRESENT DYNASTY.

I have found the following letter in a large collection of the letters of the writer, published first, with glosses, in 1859 by Hoo Kwang-tow (胡光斗), a great admirer of them, under the title of 音註小倉山房尺牘. The writer, Yuen Mei (袁枚), styled Tsze-ts'ae (子才) and K'een-ch'ae (簡齋), was a member of the Han-lin college, and died in 1797, at the age of 82. The letter was written in reply to Yeh Shoo-shan (葉書山), also a member of the Han-lin college.
I have received your "Recondite Meanings of the Ch'\textsc{un} T\textsc{sew}," in which your exquisite knowledge is everywhere apparent. While availing yourself of [the Works of] Tan T'ao and Chao K\textsc{w}ang, you have far excelled them, and that of Hoo Ganting is not worthy to be spoken of [in comparison with yours]. But in my poor view I always feel that the Ch'\textsc{un} T\textsc{sew} was certainly not made by Confucius.

Confucius spoke of himself as "a transmitter and not a maker (Ana. VII. i.)." To make the Ch'\textsc{un} T\textsc{sew} was the business of the historiographers. Confucius was not a historiographer, and [he said that], "he who is not in a particular office has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties (Ana. VIII. xiv.)."—how should he have usurped the power of the historiographers, and in an unseemly way made [this Work] for them?

In the words, "It is [the Ch'\textsc{un} T\textsc{sew}] which will make men know me, and make men condemn me (Mencius, III. Pt. II. IX. 8)," he appears to take the position of an unscrupled king; but not only would the master not have been willing to do this, but the ruler and ministers and historiographers of Loo would not have borne it.

It is said that "Confucius wrote what he wrote and retrenched what he retrenched, so that neither Yew nor Hii were able to improve a single character (See the quotation from Sze-mu T\textsc{sew}, on p. 14)." Now the styles of Confucius ceased its labours when the Hii was taken, but the Ch'\textsc{un} T\textsc{sew} is continued after that.
which happened in [the spring of] Gao's 14th year, and only ends with the record of Confucius' death in the 16th year—whose style have we during those three years, and by whom was this portion of the work improved? It is clear that, as Loo had its historiographers, the preservation or the loss of the Ch'un Ts'êw had no connexion with Confucius.

1 Of all the books [about Confucius] there is none so trustworthy as the Analects. They tell us that the subjects which he taught were the Odes, the Shoo, and the maintenance of the rules of Propriety (Ana. VII. xvii.), and how, stimulating himself, he said, that, [if his life were prolonged], he would give fifty years to the study of the Yi; but there is not half a character in them about the Ch'un Ts'êw.

1 When Han Seun-k'oe was on a complimentary visit to Loo (See above, p. 8), he saw the Yi with its diagrams and the Ch'un Ts'êw of Loo. In the "Narratives of the States," under the State of Ts'oo, we find Shin Shuh-sha, the tutor of the eldest son of king Chwang, teaching him the Ch'un Ts'êw (I.b.), and under the State of Tsin we have Yang-shih Hieh celebrated for his acquaintance with the Ch'un Ts'êw (I.b.). Thus before Confucius, the States of the four quarters of the kingdom had long had their Ch'un Ts'êw. Perhaps when Confucius returned from Wei to Loo, in his leisure from his correcting labours on the Ya and the Sung (Ana. IX. xiv.), he happened to read the Ch'un Ts'êw, and made some slight improvements in it, so that we find Kung and Kuh quoting from what they call "the uncorrected Ch'un Ts'êw." On this we cannot speak positively, but certainly there was no such thing as the making of the Ch'un Ts'êw. What is still more ridiculous, Loo Tung laid the three commentaries up high on his shelves, and would only look at the text to search out the beginning and end [of the things referred to]. But [if we adopt that plan], we have the entry that "the king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of inspection in Ho-yang (V. xxviii. 16)," which is to the effect that king Seang of Chow held a court of inspection, without any cause, at a spot so far—a thousand le—from his capital. Then again, dukes Yin and Hwan were both murdered, and the text simply says that they died. In this way the upright style of the sage turns out not to be equal to that of Tung Hoo of Tsin, or to Ts'e's historiographer of the South. What is there [in the Ch'un Ts'êw] to serve as a warning to make rebellious ministers and villainous sons afraid?

Having arrived at my own conclusions about the Ch'un Ts'êw before I met with Yuen Mei's letter, I was astonished and gratified to find such a general agreement between his views and mine. He puts on one side with remarkable boldness the testimony of Mencius, on which I have dwelt in the first section as presenting the greatest difficulty in the way of our accepting the Ch'un Ts'êw as the work of the sage. He would fain deny, as I have said I should be glad to do, that Confucius had anything to do with compiling the chronicle; but the evidence is too strong on the opposite side, and his supposition, that Confucius, without any great purpose, made some slight improvements in the Ch'un Ts'êw of Loo towards the end of his life, do not satisfy the exigencies of the case. He has the same opinion that I have of the serious defects of the Work.
and on that account he would deny any authorship of Confucius in connexion with it; while I have ventured to reason on those defects as symptomatic of defects in the character of the compiler.

While not scrupling to brush away traditions with a bold hand, Yuen yet mentions one which served his purpose,—that Confucius ceased his labours on the Ch'ün Ts'êw when the lin was taken in the 14th year of duke Gae. Some say that it was the appearance of the lin which induced Confucius to set about the compilation of the classic as a lasting memorial of himself. Others say that the appearance of the lin was to signalize the conclusion of the sage's Work, but how long he had been engaged upon it previously they do not pretend to say. Nothing really is known upon the subject; and the silence of the Analects in regard to it, to which Yuen calls attention, is really note-worthy.
CHAPTER II.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CH'UN TS'EW.—

WITH TABLES OF SOLAR ECLIPSES; OF THE YEARS AND LUNAR MONTHS OF THE WHOLE PERIOD; AND OF THE KINGS, AND THE PRINCES OF THE PRINCIPAL FIEFS, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE CHOU DYNASTY.

SECTION I.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TEXT.

1. I have observed on p. 10 that natural phenomena, supposed to affect the general well-being of the State, formed one class of the things recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ew. Of this nature were eclipses of the sun, included by Maou K'e-ling, in the note on pp. 11, 12, among the "calamities and ominous occurrences," that are the 18th of the divisions under which he arranges all the subjects of these Chronicles. It must not be supposed that these eclipses were recorded with a view to the accumulation of astronomical facts for any scientific purpose;—the whole doctrine of the ancient Chinese concerning them was that given in the 9th ode of Book IV., Part II. of the She, made on occasion of an eclipse before the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and which gives us the first certain date in ancient Chinese history.

"The sun was eclipsed,
A thing of very evil omen.
For the moon to be eclipsed
Is but an ordinary matter;
Now that the sun has been eclipsed,—
How bad it is!"

But whatever was the motive for recording the eclipses, they are of the utmost value for determining the chronology of the time comprised in our Classic. It contains altogether the entries of thirty-six eclipses, the table of which given by Mr. Chalmers at the conclusion of his article on the "Astronomy of the ancient Chinese," in the prolegomena to my third volume, with his own calculation of the times of their occurrence, I reproduce here with some slight variations.

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## Solar Eclipses Recorded in the Chun Tsew

### As Recorded in the Text

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<th>Duke's Name</th>
<th>Year of Rule</th>
<th>Year of Cycle</th>
<th>Moon</th>
<th>Day of Cycle</th>
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<td>55</td>
<td>II.</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>VII.</td>
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<td>X.</td>
<td></td>
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[86]
### BY CALCULATION.

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month &amp; day</th>
<th>New style</th>
<th>Chinese Moon</th>
<th>Day of Cycle</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>-510</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Visible at sunrise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-728</td>
<td>July</td>
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<td>VIII</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Total about 3h. P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-684</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>XL</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Visible—Afternoon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>April</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Sunset.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-668</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>November</td>
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<td>XII</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>August</td>
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<td>IX</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Afternoon.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>August</td>
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<td>IX</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Afternoon.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>January</td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Sunrise.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>February</td>
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<td>IV</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Not visible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>October</td>
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<td>XI</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Visible at Noon.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Noon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-573</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>XL</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Scarcely visible at Sunrise.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-558</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Total about 1h. 15m P.M.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>VII</td>
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<td>October</td>
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<td>VIII</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Visible in the Morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>V</td>
<td>54</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-494</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>17</td>
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87]
2. In the table in the prolegomena to vol. III. Mr. Chalmers has referred these eclipses in the Ch'un Ts'ew to the emperors, or kings rather, of Chow in whose reigns they occurred; as we have to do here only with the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew, I have substituted for the titles of the kings those of the marquises of Loo, in connexion with whom the eclipses are mentioned in the text of the Classic. At his request also I have given the years in his calculation as -719, -708 &c., instead of B.C. 719, 708, &c., as being in accordance with the usage of astronomers. His calculation of the month and day, according to new style, remains unchanged, because it makes the comparison of the Chinese moons with our own, in relation to the solstices, plainer and easier for general readers. I have also introduced a 37th eclipse, which is recorded, in the brief supplement to the Classic, in the 4th paragraph after the text proper terminates.

Comparing now the times of the 36 eclipses as recorded and calculated, it will be seen, first, that two of them are entirely erroneous, and could not have taken place at all. Two eclipses are given as having occurred in the 21st and 24th years of duke Siang, corresponding to -551 and -548, on successive months; -a thing physically impossible. On p. 491 of this volume I have given the remark of a scholar of the T'ang dynasty that such a thing perhaps did occur in ancient times! No reasonable account of the twice repeated error has ever been given. Possibly two eclipses did occur some time during the Ch'un Ts'ew period on the months and days mentioned, but in other years; and the tablets of them got misplaced, and appear where they now do. In the mean time the records must be regarded as entirely erroneous.

1 Mr. Chalmers has sent me the following extract of a letter from Professor Airy—now Sir G.B. Airy—the Astronomer Royal, with whom he corresponded through a friend some years ago on the subject of these ancient Chinese eclipses:—'The year [of the eclipse in the She-king] may be expressed in either of these forms:

-778 for Astronomical purposes;
B.C. 778 for Chronological purposes.'

2 The three early commentaries do not touch on this error. Their writers, no doubt, were not aware that there was any error. In the note appended to the article on 'The Antiquity of the Chinese proved by Monuments,' in the 2d volume of the 'Mémoires concernant les Chinois,' the texts of these eclipses are given and translated without any intimation of their being wrong. In the article, however, p. 88, the writer says on the eclipses in the Ch'un Ts'ew:—'Si, dans la multitude, il s'en trouve quelques-unes (comme il s'en trouve en effet), qui n'ont pas avoir eu lieu, disons alors que, comme la coutume a toujours été que les Calculateurs fissent part du résultat de leurs Calculs, plusieurs jours avant où devait arriver l'éclipse, afin qu'en disposant tout pour les cérémonies qui se pratiquent dans ces sortes d'occasions, il est arrivé que les Astronomes, faute de savants Tables, ayant prédict une fausse eclipse, dont l'annonce a été livrée aux Historiographes, ceux-ci en ont tenu registre de la même manière que si elle avait été vraie, soit qu'ils la croissent telle, parce qu'un ciel obscur et chargé de nuages avait empêché d'observer; soit que, par négligence ou par un simple oubli, ils n'aient manqué à la rayer du catalogue des événements.' The explanation here suggested is specially inapplicable to the two eclipses under notice.
It will be seen, secondly, that two more of the eclipses are somehow given incorrectly. The 10th is recorded as happening in the 1st month of the 15th year of duke He, corresponding to -644. As proved by calculation, there was an eclipse in the 3d Chinese moon of that year, but it was not visible in Loo. This error, like the two former ones, must be left unexplained. The 15th eclipse appears as having occurred in the 17th year of duke Seuen, corresponding to -591, in the 6th month, on the cycle day Kwei-maou. But there was then no eclipse. Chinese astronomers discovered this error in the time of the eastern Tsin dynasty; but they have found no way of accounting for it. They have called attention, indeed, to the fact that an eclipse was possible on the 1st day of the fifth month; but that would be visible only in the southern hemisphere. It occurred to Mr. Chalmers, however, to try the 7th year of duke Seuen, and he found that that year, in the 6th month, on Kwei-maou, which was then the day of the new moon, there was an eclipse visible in Loo. No doubt, this was the eclipse intended in the text, inaccurately arranged under the 17th year instead of the 7th. This happy rectification of one error shows in what direction the rectification of the other errors is to be sought.

It will be seen, thirdly, that of the remaining 32 eclipses, the years, months, and cycle-days of 18, as determined by calculation, agree with those which are given in the text, while of the other 14 the years and cycle-days agree, and the months are different, generally by one month or two, and in two cases by three months. The difference of the months, however, gives confirmation to the truthfulness of the text, showing, indeed, that it is not absolutely correct, but proving, to my mind, that the historiographers entered the eclipses in the current months of the years when they were observed. In order to make those current months agree with the true months it would have been necessary that the process of intercalation should be regularly and scientifically observed. But it was not so observed in the time of the Ch'un Ts'ëw. In proof of this I need only refer the reader to what Mr. Chalmers has said on the subject in the prolegomena to vol. III. p. 92, and to his valuable table of the years and months of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, which concludes this section. There was not room for the same error with the cycle-days. No science was required in their application. Each successive day had its name determined by the successive terms of the cycle; and, when these were exhausted, the historiographers had only to begin again. Whether the months
were long or short, and whether the year contained an intercalary month or not, the cyclical names of the days were sure to be given correctly. All that was necessary was not to let any day go by unmarked. Those 14 eclipses,\(^3\) correct as to the years and cyclical days of their occurrence, and incorrect, only in the months to which they are referred, from an assignable cause, are to be accepted with as little hesitation as the 36 in regard to the date of which the record and the calculation entirely agree. The errors in them are of such a character as to show that the text was not constructed subsequently, but was made by the historiographers of Loo, in the exercise of their duties, along the whole course of the period.

3. It is hardly necessary to point out how the long list of eclipses thus verified determines the chronology of the Ch'un Ts'ew period. The first eclipse occurred in the 3d year of duke Yin, in

The chronology is determined by the eclipses; as in par. 1, commenced in -721. The last eclipse occurred in the last year of duke Ting, in -494, from which we have only to subtract 14 years of duke Gae's rule to get the last year of the period; and indeed in the supplementary text we have an eclipse occurring in Gae's 14th year, or in -480.

I have called attention in the preceding paragraph to the fact of the cycle-days being always given correctly for the eclipses. So they generally are for other events; but sometimes they are given wrong, as will be seen by comparing the subjoined table with the text, the days which could not be verified being omitted in the table. The errors of this kind, which are on the whole wonderfully few, are for the most part pointed out in the notes, according to the calculations of Too Yu, who says that there must be an error of the month or of the day. In some cases there may be a corruption of the cyclical names through carelessness of transcribers, which would give an error of the day; more frequently, I believe, the month is wrongly given, through the same irregularity of intercalation which has made the months given for the eclipses differ from the true months as ascertained by calculation.

4. I take this opportunity to touch on another subject which has often perplexed students of ancient Chinese history,—the different commencements of the year in the three great ancient dynasties of Hsia, Shang, and Chow. According to the representations of the scholars of

\(^3\) Of the third and fourth of these eclipses the text does not give the cyclical days; but I have not thought it worth while to call attention to this in my text.
the Han and all subsequent dynasties, the beginning of the year was changed, to signalize the new dynasty, by an exercise of the royal prerogative. Indeed, the phrase "san ching," occurring in the Shoo, III. ii. 3, has been interpreted as meaning the "three commencements of the year;" in which case it would be necessary to suppose that even before the Hēa dynasty the year had begun at different dates and in different months. But if I were translating the Shoo-king afresh, I should feel compelled to cast about for another meaning for the phrase in that passage. In point of fact the Ch'ūn Ts'ēw seems to show that the new commencement arose from the necessity of error which there was not sufficient science to correct. The year of the Hēa dynasty began originally with the first month of spring. By the end of that dynasty, through the neglect of the intercalation, it commenced, I suppose, a month earlier, and hence the sovereigns of Shang made that the beginning of their year. But during their tenure of the kingdom, the same process of error took place, and the year, I suppose again, had come to approximate to the time of the winter solstice when the kings of Chow superseded them. They adopted the retrogression, and made it their theory that the year should begin with the new moon preceding the winter solstice, i.e., between our November 22 and December 22. But their astronomers and historiographers had not knowledge enough to keep it there. An inspection of Mr. Chalmers' table following this paragraph shows a very marked tendency, increasing as time went on, to make the year begin in the month before the new moon preceding the winter solstice. Previous to the time of duke He, many of the years begin in the commencing month of the Shang dynasty; but subsequently, the 30th, 32d, and 33d years of duke He, the 18th year of Wān, the 3d, 4th, and 6th of Seuen, the 1st, 4th, 7th, 10th and 12th of Ch'ing, the 16th, 19th, 21st, and 27th of Seang, the 1st, 4th, 15th, 20th, and 28th of Ch'au, and the 2d, 7th, and 10th of Ting, all began in the month before the proper commencement of the Chow year. This was, no doubt, the ordinary commencement of the year when the dynasty of Ts'in superseded that of Chow, and so its emperor declared that the year should then begin;—three months before the period of Hēa, embracing a whole season, so that what was called its spring was actually the winter of the year, and the names of all the seasons were wrongly
applied. Thus each of the four dynasties which ran out their course
before our Christian era had its different commencement of the year.
Chinese writers, however, generally speak only of 'three correct
beginnings,' being unwilling to allow the dynasty of Ts'in to rank
with those of Hea, Shang, and Chow.

As has been pointed out in the 'Astronomy of the ancient Chinese'
by Mr. Chalmers, after the establishment of the Han dynasty, the
Chinese endeavoured to open communications with the west; and
from India they must have received great additions to their astro-
nomical knowledge. Their scholars became able to make a reformation
of the calendar; and adopting the maxim of Confucius, that the
seasons of Heka should be followed, they determined and arranged
that the year should thenceforth commence with the beginning of
spring, as it has since, with more or less of correctness, done.

The above observations show that of the four 'correct beginnings
of the year,' (including that of Ts'in), one only was correct, and the
proper nomenclature regarding them would be 'one correct and
three erroneous beginnings.' They should also end the partial and
bigoted pretensions of Chinese writers, when they talk of the universal
knowledge of their ancient worthies, and the more culpable partiality
and bigotry of some Sinologists who try to bear out their assertions.

5. In the following table the intercalary months are indicated
by a line. The principal guide in determining them has been the
cycle-days given in connexion with many of the events referred to.
According to the theory of the Chinese year, as explained in vol.
III., p. 22, there ought to be 7 intercalary months in every 19 years.
It will be seen that during the Ch'un Ts'ew period these months
were introduced very irregularly.

The small figures denote the cyclical numbers of the days men-
tioned in the text, so far as they can be verified. A small capital (z)
indicates an eclipse. The most important thing to be observed in
the table is the changing position of the first month, sometimes
preceding, sometimes following, the winter solstice, without any
apparent rule.
### TABLE OF THE YEARS AND MONTHS.

**LUNAR MONTHS ACCORDING TO CONFUCIUS.**

The small figures are the Cyclical numbers of days mentioned in the History.

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<th>Years</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
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<td>I. 45</td>
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<td>I. 160</td>
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<td>I. 55</td>
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<td>I. 99</td>
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<td>IV 18</td>
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SECTION II.

THE DATES IN THE TSO CHUEN.

1. The chronology of the Ch'üan Ts'äw period, as it appears in the Tso Chuen, is the same as that which appears in the text; but the dates of many events mentioned in both differ by one or two months; and where those dates are at the end or beginning of a year, the years to which they are assigned will also differ. This circumstance has wonderfully exercised the ingenuity of the Chinese critics; but a sufficient solution of the want of correspondence is found, in much the greater number of cases, in the fact that the feudal States were by no means agreed in using the commencement of the year prescribed by the dynasty of Chow. I have shown, in par. 4 of last section, that the Shang and Chow dynasties adopted each a different month for the beginning of the year from that employed by the dynasty of Hsia, not by arbitrary exercise of sovereignty to signalize their possession of the kingdom, but in consequence of the disorder into which the months of the year had fallen through the neglect or irregularity of intercalation. The peculiarity now under notice further shows the feebleness of the sway exercised by the kings of Chow over the feudal States, for several of those ruled by chiefs of the Chow surname yet continued to hold to the Hsia beginning of the year.

For example, in the narrative introduced by Tso after I. iii. 3, we are told that Chi'ing sent plundering expeditions into the royal
domain, which 'in the 4th month carried off the wheat of Wăn, and
in the autumn the rice of Ch'ing-chow;' meaning evidently the 4th
month and the autumn of the Hêa year.

Again, in V. v. 1, we are told that 'in spring, the marquis of Ts'in
put to death his heir-son Shin-sang,' whereas, according to the
Chuen, the deed was done in the 12th month of the preceding year.
In V. x. 3, Le K'êh of Ts'in murders his ruler in the first month of
the year, whereas, according to the Chuen, he did so in the 11th
month of the previous year. In V. xv. 13, a battle was fought
between Ts'in and Ts'in in the 11th month, while in the Chuen it
takes place in the 9th. Ts'in evidently regulated its months after
the Hêa calendar.

In Ts'e, whose princes were of the surname Kêang, it would
appear that the year continued to commence with the natural
spring, for in VI. xiv. 9 the murder of Shay, marquis of Ts'e,
appears as taking place in the 9th month, whereas the Chuen gives
it in the 7th.

In Sung, where the descendants of the kings of Shang held sway,
they naturally followed the calendar of Shang. Thus in I. vi. 4, an
army of Sung appears as taking Ch'ang-koh in winter, while Tso
says it did so in the autumn. And in the Shôo, V. viii., containing
the charge to the viscount of Wei on his appointment to be the first
duke of Sung, it would appear from par. 1 that authority is given
to him to use all the institutions of his ancestors.

This varying commencement of the year among the feudal States
of Chow may be substantiated from other sources besides the Ch'ũn
Ta'sêw and the Tso Chuen.¹ It not only shows, as I have said, the
feebleness of the dynasty of Chow; but it affords a strong confirm-
ation of the genuineness of Tso's narratives. Had they been con-
structed to illustrate the text, or even been introduced as subsidiary
to it without being occupied with events referred to in it, the com-
piler would have been careful to avoid such a discrepancy of dates.
As Lêw Yuen-foo of the Sung dynasty observed, 'The months and
days in Tso-she often differ from those in the text of the classic,
because he copied indiscriminately from the tablets of the histori-
ographers of the different States, which used the three different
commencements of the year without any fixed rule.'²

¹ See in the Work of Chuon Yih, Bk. II, his appendix to the section headed 章
² 劉原文謂左氏月日多與經不同,蓋左氏雜取當時
諸侯史策之文,其用三正參差不一,故與經多岐

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2. What I have said in the above paragraph goes strongly to support the genuineness of Tso's narratives. There are some other dates, however, in his commentary to which my attention has been called by Mr. Chalmers, and which would seem to show that they were introduced at a later period; some of them perhaps in the Han dynasty. Tso gives the day of the winter solstice in two years;—the 5th of duke He, and the 20th of duke Ch'ao. In the former case, B.C. 654, he says that the day Sin-hae (the 48th cyclical number) was the day of the winter solstice, and the first day of the first month; but this is an error of one day in regard to the new moon, and of three days in regard to the solstice, which fell that year on Kēah-ying (the 51st cyclical number). In the latter case, B.C. 521, he says that the solstice fell on the day Ke-ch'ow (the 26th cyclical number), whereas it fell on Sin-maou, two days later, and the day of new moon was also one day later. 'Here,' says Mr. Chalmers, 'the farther back the greater the error, so that the date and the method could not have been handed down from any previous time. If a year had been sought in duke He's time, when the new moon and solstice coincided, 646 would have been right; and 685 (646+19) or 627 (646-19) would also have been the proper commencement of a cycle of 19 years, which might have been repeated down to the end of the Ch'ün Ts'ēw period without much error. The error accumulates in reckoning onwards of course as well as in reckoning back, so that by the time of the Han dynasty the cycle would have to be shifted on to another set of years. But the text of the Chuen, and the commentary which you give under the 20th year of duke Ch'ao, were evidently written from a Han point of view. Twenty-two cycles of 19 years are reckoned back from the time of the emperor Woo,—say B.C. 103 (103+19×22=521), and it is affirmed that in 521 the solstice coincided with the new moon because it did so in 103. But it did not do so, nor did the new moon then fall on the day assigned to it. That a writer near the time of Confucius should give wrong dates is very likely; but that they should be systematically wrong, so as to agree with an imperfect method of calculation adopted some centuries later, and founded on observations then made—about B.C. 103—of the actual position of the sun and moon, is so improbable that I cannot believe it. The Metonic cycle cannot be repeated twenty-two times without incurring an error of two or three days.'

Again, on IX. xxviii. 1, and in some other passages, Tso mentions the place of the year-star or Jupiter, and Mr. Chalmers contends
that they were all interpolated at a subsequent date. On the case in IX. xxviii. 1, he observes:—"The position of the planet Jupiter was observed in the year B.C. 103, and recorded correctly by Sze-ma Ts’een, in Sing-ke (Sagittarius-Capricorn); and he thought, as the writer of the notices in the Tso Chuen evidently did likewise, that Jupiter’s period was exactly 12 years. But if this had been the case, Jupiter should not have been in Sing-ke in the 28th year of duke Seang, B.C. 544, because the intervening time of 441 years is not divisible by 12. Moreover, Jupiter was not really in Sing-ke in B.C. 544, but he would be there in 542, two years later. How then did the writer of the Chuen say that Jupiter was in Sing-ke, or ought to have been there, but "had licentiously advanced into Heuen-héaou (Capricorn-Aquarius)?" Probably because such was the course of the planet, and such the Chinese manner of viewing it 240 (12 × 20) years later,—say in B.C. 304. It might be 12 years before or after. And the writer, knowing this, ventured to count back two centuries and a half in cycles of 12, and then to affirm that the same phenomenon had been observed B.C. 544, and to found a story thereon. He could not have lived earlier than the time of Mencius. He might have been later. Jupiter in fact gains a sign every 86 years, or he completes seven circuits of the starry heavens in about 88 years instead of 84, and hence the discrepancy of 3 years, or 3 signs, between the observations of Sze-ma Ts’een and those on which Tso based his calculations. If he, or any authorities he had to quote from, had observed the planet in B.C. 544, they would have said it was in Ta-ho (Libra-Scorpio), not in Sing-ke, and much less in Heuen-héaou. There would then have been a discrepancy of 5 signs between him and Sze-ma instead of 3. In the matter of the "year-star," as in that of the winter solstice, Tso-shé is systematically wrong.

I am not prepared to question the conclusions to which Mr. Chalmers thus comes regarding the dates of the winter solstice, and the positions of the planet Jupiter, given in Tso’s commentary. But instead of saying, as he does, that Tso could not have lived earlier than the time of Mencius, and may have lived later, I would say that the narratives in which the Year-star is mentioned were made about that time, and interpolated into his Work during the Ts’in dynasty or in the first Han. They will come under the second class of passages for the interpolation of which I have made provision on p. 35 of the first Chapter. But after all that Mr. Chalmers has said, my faith remains firm in the genuineness of the mass of Tso’s
narratives as composed by him from veritable documents contemporaneous with the events to which they relate.

3. Before passing on from the chronology of the text and of the Tso Chuen, it deserves to be pointed out that neither in the Classic nor the Commentary have we any indication of the dating of events with reference to the age of the dynasty of Chow or to the reigns of its kings. In each State they spoke of events with reference to the years of their own rulers. The Classic, divided into twelve Books according to the years of the twelve marquises of Loo, is one example of this. Another is found in the Chuen on VI. xvii. 4, where a minister of Ch'ing, defending his ruler against the suspicions of Tsin, runs over various events, giving them all according to the years of the earl of Ch'ing, without reference to those of the king of Chow or of the marquis of Tsin. We have a third in the Chuen at the end of II. ii., where Tso gives a résumé of certain affairs of Tsin, prior to the Ch'un Ts'êw period, specifying them by the years of duke Hwuy of Loo.

Frequently, in order to make definite the date of an event, some other well known event, contemporaneous with it, is referred to. Thus, in the Chuen after IX. ix. 5, when the marquis of Tsin asks the age of the young marquis of Loo, Ke Woo-tsze replies that he was born in 'the year of the meeting at Sha-suy.' Again, in X. vii., in the 4th narrative appended to par. 4, a panic in Ch'ing is referred to 'the year when the descriptions of punishments were cast;' and on par. 8 it is said that one of the sons of the marquis of Wei was born in 'the year when Han Seuen-tsze became chief minister of Tsin, and went among the other States, paying complimentary visits.'

I need not adduce more examples. In these two ways are the dates of events determined:—by referring them to the years of some ruler of a State, or to some event of general notoriety, contemporaneous with them. They are not in any single instance determined by reference to the era of the dynasty or to the reigns of the kings of Chow. This peculiarity seems again to indicate that the sway which Chow exercised over the States was feeble and imperfect. Chaou Yih calls attention to the fact that the princes or nobles in the early part of the Han dynasty continued to exercise the prerogative of dating events from the year of their appointment or succession, and that the practice was stopped when the emperors of Han began to feel secure in their possession of the empire. It was in truth but a nominal supremacy which was yielded to the kings of Chow.
SECTION III.

LISTS OF THE KINGS OF CHOW, AND OF THE PRINCES OF THE PRINCIPAL FIEFS, FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE CLOSE OF THE DYNASTY.

I. Kings of Chow. Surname Ke (姬). Given, as are the princes of the States, with their sacrificial titles.

2. Ching (成) " 1,114. 20. Kwâng (匡) " 611.
3. K'ang (康) " 1,077. 21. Ting (定) " 605.
4. Ch'ou (昭) " 1,051. 22. K'ên (簡) " 584.
5. Muh (穆) " 1,000. 23. Liang (靈) " 570.
6. Kung (共) " 945. 24. King (景) " 543.
7. E (懿) " 938. 25. King (敬) " 518.
10. Le (厲) " 877. 28. K'ao (考) " 432.
11. Seuen (宣) " 826. 29. Wei-leh (威烈) " 424.
12. Tâ (幽) " 780. 30. Gan (安) " 400.
13. Ping (平) " 769. 31. Lèh (列) " 374.
14. Hwan (桓) " 718. 32. Hëen (顚) " 367.
16. He (僖) " 680. 34. Nan (範) " 318.
17. Hwuy (惠) " 675. Reign ended " 255.

II. Princes of Loo. Surname Ke. Marquises.

2. Pih-k'ên (伯禽) " 1,114. 9. Chin (眞) (真).
3. K'ao (考) " 1,061. 10. Woo (武) (武).

I have not given the date of the accession of the preceding nine marquises, it being difficult to make it out in several cases. Hwuy brings us to the Ch'üan Ta'êw period.

16. Hwan (桓) " 710. 18. Min (閔) " 660.

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III. Princes of Wei (衛). Surname Ke. Marquises; but for some time they had the title of Pih (伯), as presiding over several other States.

1. K'ang Shih (康叔; see the Shoo, [V. ix.])
2. K'ang Pih (康伯; B.C. 1,077.)
3. K'ao Pih (考伯; B.C. 1,051.)
4. Tseh Pih (鉅伯; B.C. 1,013.)
5. Tseh Pih (鉅伯; B.C. 953.)
6. Tseh Pih (鉅伯; B.C. 908.)
7. Ching Pih (靖伯; B.C. 893.)
8. King (頃, simply marquis).
9. Le (釐), or He (僖).
10. Kung Pih (共伯; B.C. 811.)
11. Woo (武; B.C. 811.)
12. Chwang (莊; B.C. 756.)
13. Hwan (桓; B.C. 733.)
14. Seun (宣; B.C. 717.)
15. Hwuy (惠; B.C. 698.)
16. K'wan-now (惠年; intermediately, B.C. 693.)
17. E (懿; B.C. 667.)
18. Tse (獻; B.C. 659.)
19. Wun (慕; B.C. 658.)
20. Ch'ing (成; B.C. 633.)
21. Muh (穆; B.C. 593.)
22. Ching (成; B.C. 587.)
23. Heun (惠; B.C. 575.)
24. Shang (商, 557; intermediate till 546.)
25. Sseang (襄; B.C. 542.)
26. Lung (靈; B.C. 533.)
27. Ch'uh (出; B.C. 491.)
28. Chwang (莊; B.C. 478; intermediate for one year.
29. Pan-seh (班師; B.C. 477; intermediate.
30. K'uen-k'ao (君起; B.C. 477; intermediate for two years.
31. Taou (悼; B.C. 467.)
32. King (敬; B.C. 449.)
33. Ch'ao (昭; B.C. 430.)
34. Hwae (懷; B.C. 424.)

35. Shin (慎; 413.) Under Shin Wei lost its independence, and became attached to Wei (魏). We have after him—36, Shing (設; 371; 37, Ch'ing (成; he was reduced in rank); 38, P'ing (平; 331); 39, Tseh Kaun (鉅文; still further reduced); 40, Hwae K'un (懷君; 281); 41, Yuen K'un (元君; 250; 42, K'ao K'o (考君), who was reduced to the condition of a private man by the second emperor of Ts'in.

IV. Princes of Ts'ae (蔡). Surname Ke. Marquises.

1. Ts'ae Shih-choh (蔡叔度).
   a brother of king Woo. Was subsequently banished. B.C. 1,121.
2. Ts'ae Chung-ho (蔡仲胡).
   Ts'ae's son. Was restored to Ts'ae, in B.C. 1,106.

(See the Shoo, V. xvii.)
3. Ts'uee Pih-hwang
   (蔡伯荒)
   B.C. 1,052.

4. Ts'uee Kung-how
   (蔡客侯)
   946.

5. Le
   (釐)
   892.

6. Woo
   (武)
   862.

7. E
   (夷)
   886.

8. He
   (僖)
   808.

9. Kung
   (共)
   760.

10. Tsu
    (虞)
    738.

11. Sheen
    (宣)
    748.

12. Hwan
    (桓)
    713.

13. Gae
    (哀)
    693.

Died a captive in Ts'oo, in 674.

14. Muh
    (穆)
    B.C. 673.

15. Chwang
    (莊)
    644.

16. Wän
    (文)
    619.

17. King
    (景)
    590.

18. Ling
    (靈)
    Killed in Ts'oo, in 530.

19. Ping
    (平)
    Restored by Ts'oo in 527.

20. Taou
    (悼)
    520.

21. Chaou
    (昭)
    517.

22. Ching
    (成)
    489.

23. Shing
    (聲)
    470.

24. Yuan
    (元)
    455.

25. Ts'e
    (齊)
    449.

Ts'uee was extinguished by [Ts'oo in 440.

V. Princes of Tsin (晉). Surname Ke. Marquises.

1. Tang Shuh-yu (唐叔虞)
   was invested with Tang in B.C. 1,106.

2. His son Sheh (燮) removed to Tsin, and
   was the first marquis of that State. Then we have:

3. Woo
   (武)

4. Ching
   (成)

5. Le
   (厲)
   whose years cannot be determined. Then come:

6. Tsing
   (靖)
   857.

For several rules Tsin had been maintaining a failing struggle against that
branch of the ruling House which had been established with the title of earl in
Keuh-yuh (曲沃), and Hwan Shuh (桓叔) and Chwang (莊伯), chiefs of
Keuh-yuh, enter in some lists into the line of the princes of Tsin. At last Ch'ing,
the successor of Chwang Pih, put Min to death, in 678, and was acknowledged by
the king as ruler of Tsin. He is:

7. Le
   (獻)
   B.C. 829.

8. Hsuen
   (獻)
   821.

9. Muh
   (穆)
   810.

10. Shang-shuh (棠叔)
    783.

11. Wän
    (文)
    779.

12. Chaou
    (昭)
    744.

13. Hsien
    (孝)
    737.

14. Goh
    (郭)
    722.

15. Gae
    (哀)
    718.

16. Seou-tse (小子)
    707.

17. Min
    (穆)
    702.

18. Woo
    (武)
    B.C. 677.

19. Hsuen
    (獻)
    675.

20. Hwa-tse (虞齊)
    650.

21. Ch'oh-tse (卓子)
    650.

22. Hwan
    (桓)
    649.

23. Hwan
    (桓)
    635.

24. Wän
    (文)
    634.

25. Seang
    (襄)
    B.C. 626.

26. Ling
    (靈)
    619.

27. Ch'ing
    (成)
    605.

28. King
    (景)
    598.

29. Lo
    (厲)
    579.

30. Taou
    (悼)
    571.

31. Ping
    (平)
    555.

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VI. The princes of Ts'aoou (曹). Surname Ke. Earls.

1. Chin-toh, a brother of King Woo.
2. Tse Pih, n.c. 1,031.
3. Chung Keun, n.c. 1,000.
5. Hoa Pih, n.c. 893.
7. Yeu Pih, n.c. 893.
8. Tse Pih, n.c. 824.
10. Shihfoo, n.c. 579.

Pih-yaung was made captive by Sung in 480, and Ts'aoou was then extinguished.

VII. Princes of Ch'ing (鄭). Surname Ke. Earls.

1. Yew, a brother of king Seun, received investiture in n.c. 905. He is known as Duke Hwan.
2. Woo, n.c. 769.
3. Chwang, n.c. 742.
5. Le, n.c. 899. He fled from the State in 896, and Chaou returned, but was murdered in 694.
6. Tse-meu, n.c. 694.
7. Tse-yang, or Tze-yo.
8. Wai, n.c. 671.
Seu was murdered in 335; but before that Ch'ing had become entirely dependent on the new State of Han. This allowed one other marquis known as Koun Yih (君乙), or duke K'ang (康), to be named; but extinguished the State in 374.

VIII. The princes of Woo (吳). Surname Ke. First, earls; then viscounts. After a time usurped the title of king.

The State of Woo, under a branch of the House of Chow, began before the rise of the Chow dynasty, under Tse-pih (太伯, the eldest son of the lord of Chow afterwards kinged as king Tse by his great-grandson the duke of Chow), who fled from Chow, along with his next brother, under the circumstances referred to in Ana. VIII i. He was the first ruler of Woo. We have :

1. Tse-pih (太伯).
2. Chung-yang (仲雍).

In Chow-ch'ang's time king Woo overthrew the dynasty of Shang, and confirmed him in the possession of Woo as a fist of the dynasty of Chow, with the title of earl. The point about the title is not clear; and we do not know when earl was exchanged for viscount. After Chow-ch'ang we have :

6. Hseung-suy (熊遂), 13. K-woo (夷吾),
8. K'ang-kwao (彊鳬), 15. Chuen (軻),
9. Yu-k'ao-choo-woo (徐鸒紘吾), 16. P'o-kaou (頑高),
10. Ko-choo (柯盧), 17. Kow-pe (句卑),
11. Chow-yao (周繇), 18. K'eu-ka'e (去齊),

In his time Woo first began to have communication with the northern States which constituted the kingdom of Chow proper. Most of the names of its princes do not sound like Chinese names.

20. Choo-fan (諸樊), B.C. 559, 23. L'eon (陵), B.C. 525,
21. Yu-chao (餘巢), 546, 24. Hoh-ku (閼盧), 513,

In 472 the king of Yush extinguished Woo, when Foo-ch'ao killed himself.

IX. The princes of Yen (燕). Surname Ke. Sometimes called marquises, sometimes only earls. In the end assumed the title of king.

Descended from Shih, duke of Shaou (召公奭), often mentioned in the Shoo (See V. xvi, et al.). He was the first ruler of Yen. Eight of his descendants, whose names and years cannot be ascertained are said to have ruled in it, and we come to :

10. Hwuy (惠侯), B.C. 868, 15. Muh (穆侯), B.C. 727,
11. Ha (僖侯) or Le (釐侯), 823, 16. Seuen (宣侯), = 709,
12. King (顷侯), 789, 17. Hwan (桓侯), = 696,
13. Gae (哀侯), 765, 18. Dukes Chwang (莊公), = 699,
14. Ch'ing (齊侯), 763, 19. Seeang (襄), = 656.
20. Sunen (宣, b.c. 616) 32. Ch'ing (成, b.c. 448).
21. Ch'aou (昭, b.c. 600) 33. Min (閔, b.c. 432).
22. Woo (武, b.c. 584) 34. Loor Hae (顓, or 後, b.c. 401).
23. Wăn (桓, b.c. 572) 35. Hwan (桓, b.c. 371).
24. Hwan (惠, b.c. 547) 36. Wăn (易王, b.c. 360).
25. Hwuy (悼, b.c. 543) 37. King Yih (易王, b.c. 331).
26. Taou (悼, b.c. 533) 38. Yih's son K'wan (子噻, b.c. 319).
27. Kung (共, b.c. 528) 39. Ch'aou (昭王, b.c. 310).
28. Ping (平, b.c. 522) 40. Hwuy (惠王, b.c. 277).
29. Keen (簡, b.c. 506) 41. Wuo-ch'ing (武成王, b.c. 270).
30. Hsien (獻, b.c. 501) 42. Hao (孝王, b.c. 256).
31. Hao (獻, b.c. 463) 43. The king Hw (王喜, b.c. 253).

He was made captive, and the State extinguished, by Ts'in in 221.

X. The princes of Ch'in (陳). Surname Kwei (姬), as being descended from Shun. Marquises.

King Woo, it is said, gave his eldest daughter in marriage to a Kwei Mwan (姬滿), the son of his chief potter, and invested him with Ch'in. He was the first marquis, and is known as duke Hoo (胡公). After him come:

7. Le (顓) or Hae (僖, b.c. 691). 17. Muh (穆, b.c. 646).

Gae strangled himself in 533, and the State was held by a prince of Ts'oo till 528, when the Kwei line was restored. We have:

23. Hwae (懷, 504).

Min was killed, and the State extinguished by Ts'oo, in 478,—the year in which Confucius died.

XI. The princes of Sung (宋). Surname Tsze (子), as being the descendants of the sovereigns of Yin or Shang, the representatives of T'ang the Successful.

1. Ke, viscount of Wei (微子敬), b.c. 1,052.
2. Wei Chung (微仲, b.c. 1,077).
3. Ke, duke of Sung (宋公稽).
4. Duke Ting (丁公, b.c. 999).
5. Min (穆, b.c. 934).
Yen took the title of king in 317, but Sung was extinguished by Ts'e in 285, and Yen fled to Wän and there died. Indeed from the time of duke Ts'o, Sung had become dependent on Ts'e. There is much difficulty in fixing the number of years that dukes King and the second Ch'aou ruled.

XII. The princes of Ts'e (齊). Surname K'ang (姜), as being descended from Yaou's chief minister. Marquises.

1. Shang-loo (尚父), who appears to have been one of the principal advisers of Wän and Woo both in peace and war, was invested by Woo with Ts'e, and is known as Ts'o Kung (太公). Then we have:

2. Duke Ting (丁公), b.c. 1,076. 16. Hsiaoou (孝); b.c. 641.
3. Yih (乙), 950. 17. Ch'aoou (昭); 631.
4. Kwei (癸), 946. 18. E (懿); 611.
5. Gae (亥), 938. 19. Hwuy (惠); 607.
6. Hoo (丑), 892. 20. King (敬); 597.
7. Hien (寅), 888. 21. Ling (靈); 580.
8. Woo (卯), 849. 22. Chwäng (莊); 552.
9. Le (辰), 823. 23. King (景); 546.
10. Wän (巳), 814. 24. Gan Yu-tao (晏孺子); 488.
11. Ch'üng (成), 802. 25. Ts'ai (悼); 487.
12. Chwäng (莊); 793. 26. K'ooen (儕); 488.
13. Le or Ho (高 or 僖), 729. 27. Ping (平); 479.
14. Seang (襄), 696. 28. Suen (宣); 464.
15. Hwan (桓), 682. 29. K'ang (康); 403.

For a considerable time the princes of Ts'e had been at the mercy of the Heads of the Ch'un (_prompt) family, the most powerful in the State. A prince of Ch'un took refuge in Ts'e in b.c. 671 (See the Chuen on III. xxii. 3), and his descendants are long grown into a powerful clan, and conceived the idea of superseding the line of
Kêng. They were known as Chîna (陈), but that surname they exchanged for Têen (田); it is not known when or why. In 390 Têen Ho (田和) removed duke Kêng from his capital, and placed him in a city near the sea, where he might maintain the sacrifices to his ancestors; and there he led an inglorious life till 378, when the line of Kêng came to a close. Têen Ho made application to the king of Chow and to the feudal princes to be acknowledged himself as marquis of Ta'e, which was acceded to, and his first year dates from 386.

Of the line of Têen in Ta'e we have:


Kêen continued till the first year of the dynasty of Tein, b.c. 220, when he made his submission to the new Power, and the independent existence of Ta'e ceased.

XIII. The princes of Ts'oo (楚). Surname Me (芈). Viscounts.

They claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-heuh (熊) but the first who had the surname Me appears to have been a Ke-lêen (季連) about the dawn of historic times. A Yûng Hsung (鬻熊) is mentioned with distinction in the time of king Wân, and his great-grandson, Hsung Yih (鬻絜) was invested with Ts'oo by king Ch'ing, as a viscount. It was not very long till the title of viscount was discarded, and that of king usurped. The Hsung was a clan-name, derived from Yûng Hsung.

1. Hsung Yih (鬻絜). 2. Hsung E ... (艾) b.c. 1,077. 3. Yuk ( риск) 1,051. 4. Shih (勝) 1,000. 5. Yung (聞) 945. 6. K'eu (渠). He assumed the title of king about 886, but gave it up again through fear of king Le of Chow.


17. King Woo ... (武王) b.c. 789. The title of king was assumed in 708.

XIV. The princes of Ts'in. Surname Ying. At first only earls.

They claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-hoeh, through Pi-h'e (伯爵) or Pi-hyih (伯益), the forerunner of Shao (Shoo, II. i. 22) who is said to have given him the surname of Ying. Sze-ma Ta-ch'en traces the family down through the Hia and Shang dynasties, but there is much that is evidently fabulous in the statements which he makes. At last we arrive at the time of king Huen of Chow, who was so pleased with the ability displayed by Fei-tze (非子), a scion of the family, in keeping cattle, that he employed him to look after his herds of horses, 'between the K'een and the Wei (河渭之閒),' and invested him with the small territory of Ts'in, as chief of an attached State, there to maintain the sacrifices to the Ying. Fei-tze occupies the first place in the list of the princes of Ts'in.

1. Fei-tze (非子), b.c. 908. 4. Ts'in Chung (秦仲), b.c. 843.
2. Ts'in Hou (秦侯), 860. 5. Duke Chwang (莊公), 820.

Seang gave important assistance to the House of Chow in the troubles connected with the death of king Yew, and the removal of the capital by king Ping to the east, and his rank was raised in 769 to that of earl, and Ts'in had now an independent existence among the other fiefs of Chow. Its territory was also greatly increased, and Seang received, what Chinese writers think was of evil omen, the old domain of the princes of Chow from mount K'e westwards.

11. Th (德), 678. 27. Hwuy (惠), 398.
12. Ssen (宣), 674. 28. Ch'uc-yih (出子), 385.
16. King (桓), 603. 32. King Wou (武王), 309.
17. Hwan (桓), 608. 33. Ch'ou-seang (昭襄), 305.
18. King (景), 576. 34. Héou-wán (孝文), 249.

It was in b.c. 324 that the title of king was first assumed.

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Became king in 245, and succeeded in establishing his sway over all the other States in 220, from which year dates the commencement of the Ta'ın dynasty. He reigned under the style of 典皇戴, emperor the First, till 209. In 208 he was succeeded by his son, emperor the Second (二世皇帝), and with his death in 204 the short-lived dynasty may be said to have ended.

**IT SEEMS DESIRABLE AT THE CLOSE OF THIS CHAPTER TO APPEND A TABLE OF THE CYCLE OF SIXTY.**

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CHAPTER III.

THE CHINA OF THE CH'UN TS'EW PERIOD:—CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO ITS TERRITORIAL EXTENT; THE DISORDER WHICH PREVAILED; THE GROWTH AND ENCROACHMENTS OF THE LARGER STATES; AND THE BARBAROUS TRIBES WHICH SURROUNDED IT.

1. On the territorial extent of the kingdom of Chow, and the names of the feudal States composing it, during the Ch'un Ts'êw period, I have nothing to add to what I have said on the same subjects for the period embraced in the Book of Poetry, on pp. 127–131 of the prolegomena to volume IV. A study of the large map accompanying this Chapter, in its two-fold form, with the names on the one in English and on the other in Chinese, will give the reader a more correct idea of these points than many pages of description could do. The period of the Book of Poetry overlapped that of the Ch'un Ts'êw by more than a hundred years. No new State arose during the latter, though several came into greater prominence than had formerly belonged to them; and the enlargement of territory which took place arose chiefly from the greater development which the position of Ts'in, Ts'oo, and Ts'in enabled them to give themselves.

2. It is often said that the period embraced in the Ch'un Ts'êw was one of disorder,—a social and political disorganization to be compared with the physical disorder caused by the inundating waters which called forth the labours of the great Yu so many ages before.¹ Mencius tells us that the Classic does not contain a single instance of a righteous war, a war, according to him, being righteous only when the supreme authority had marshalled its forces to punish some disobedient vassal, whereas, during the period chronicled by Confucius, we have nothing but the strifes and collisions of the various feudal States among themselves.² This is not absolutely correct, but it is an approximation to the truth. The disorder of the period, however, was only the sequel of the disorder that preceded it. Not long before it commenced, king P'ing had transferred the capital to the east in 769, in consequence of the death of his father king Yew at the hands of some of the wild tribes of the Jung. This movement was an open acknowledgment of the weakness of the sovereign

¹ See Mencius, III. Pt. II. IX. 11. ² Mencius, VII. Pt. II. II.
principles of benevolence and righteousness, carried out with
courtesy and in accordance with the rules of propriety, should have
produced, we find the States biting and devouring one another,
while the large and strong oppressed and absorbed the small and
weak. In the Chuen on IX. xxxix. 7, during a dispute at the court
of Tsin on some encroachments which Loo had made on the territory
of Ke, an officer reminds the marquis of what Tsin itself had done
in the same way. 'The princes,' said he, 'of Yu, Kwoh, Tsæaou,
Hwah, Hoh, Yang, Han, and Wei were Kes, and Tsin's greatness is
owing to its absorbing of their territories. If it had not encroached
on the small States, where would it have found territory to take?
Since the times of Woo and Hæen, we have annexed many of them,
and who can call us to account for what we have done?' The fact
was that Might had come to take the place of Right; and while states-
men were ever ready to talk of the fundamental principles of justice,
benevolence, and loyalty, the process of spoliation went on. The
number of States was continually becoming less, the smaller melting
away into the larger. 'The good old rule' came more and more
into vogue,

'the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.'

3. To ameliorate the evils arising from this state of disorder
and anarchy, and to keep it moreover in check, there arose during
the Ch'un Ts'ew period the singular device of presiding chiefs,—the
system of presiding chiefs: system of one State taking the lead and
direction of all the others, and exercising really royal functions
throughout the kingdom, while yet there was a profession of loyal
attachment to the House of Chow. The seeds of this contrivance
were sown, perhaps, at the very commencement of the dynasty,
when the dukes of Chow and Shaou were appointed viceroyos over
the eastern and western portions of the kingdom respectively, and
other princes were made, on their first investiture, chefs of regions,
embracing their own States and others adjacent to them. These
arrangements were disused as the kings of Chow felt secure in their
supremacy over all the States, and the nominees in the first instance
had been sincerely loyal and devoted to the establishment of the
dynasty; but now in the Ch'un Ts'ew period the kings were not

5 See the discourse of Ke Wän-tse in the Chuen on VII. xviii. 3 as a specimen of the admirable
sentiments which men, themselves of questionable character and course, could express.

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sufficiently sure of any of their vassals to delegate them to such an office. When one raised himself to the position, they were obliged unwillingly to confirm him in it.

Five of these presiding chiefs are named during the time under our review:—Hwan of Ts'ë (683-642); Wăn of Tsain (634-627); Séang of Sung (649-636); Muh of Ts'ìn (658-620); and Chwang of Ts'oo (612-590). The first two, however, are the best, and I think the only representatives of the system. Hwan was endowed with an extraordinary amount of magnanimity, and Wăn had been disciplined by a long experience of misfortune, and was subtle and scheming. Both of them were fully acknowledged as directors and controllers of the States generally by the court of Chow; and it seems to me not unlikely that if Wăn had been a younger man when he came to the marquisate of Ts'in, and his rule had been protracted to as great a length as that of Hwan, he would have gone on to supersede the dynasty of Chow altogether, and we should have had a dynasty of Ts'in nearly nine hundred years earlier than it occurs in Chinese chronology. As it was, his successors, till nearly the end of the Ch'un Tsëw period, claimed for their State the leading place in the kingdom; and it was generally conceded to them. Though the system of which I am speaking be connected with the names of the five princes which I have mentioned, it yet continued to subsist after them. They were simply the first to vindicate, or to endeavour to vindicate, a commanding influence for the States to which they belonged throughout the kingdom; and though neither Hwan nor Wăn had any one among their successors fully equal to them, they had many who tried to assert a supremacy, and Ts'in, as I have said, was long acknowledged to be 'lord of covenants.'

Séang of Sung was not entitled to a place among the five chiefs, either from his own character, or from the strength and resources of his State. He appears rather as a madman than a man of steady purpose; and many scholars exclude his name from the category, and introduce instead Hoh-len of Woo or Kow-ts'en of Yueh. Nor is Muh of Ts'ìn much better entitled to the place assigned to him, for though he was a prince of very superior character to Séang, his influence was felt only in the west of the kingdom, and not by the States generally. Chwang of Ts'oo, moreover, did certainly exercise the influence of a chief over several of the States, but he was not acknowledged as such by the king of Chow, and the

2 See Mencius, VI. Pt. ii. VII.
title of king which he claimed for himself sufficiently showed his feeling and purpose towards the existing dynasty. Still he and other kings of Ts'oo called the States frequently together, and many responded to their summons, knowing that a refusal would incur their resentment, and be visited with direst punishment.

I am inclined to believe that the system of presiding chiefs, or rather of leading States, did in a degree mitigate the evils of the prevailing disorder. Ts'e and Tsin certainly kept in check the encroachments of Ts'oo, which, barbarous as it was, would otherwise have speedily advanced to the overthrow of the House of Chow. Yet the system increased the misery that abounded, and if it retarded, perhaps, the downfall of the descendants of king Woo, it served to show that that was unavoidable in the end. It was most anomalous,—an imperium in imperio,—and weakened the bond of loyal attachment to the throne. Of what use were the kings of Chow, if they could not do their proper work of government, but must be continually devolving it on one or other of their vassals? No line of rulers can continue to keep possession of the supreme authority in a nation, if their incompetency be demonstrated for centuries together. The sentimental loyalty of Confucius had lost its attractions by the time of Mencius, who was ever on the outlook for 'a minister of Heaven,' who should make an end of Chow and of the contentions among the warring States together.

But the system also increased the expenditure of the smaller States. There still remained their dues to the kings of Chow, even though they paid them so irregularly that we have instances of messengers being sent from court to Loo, and doubtless they were sent to other States as well, to beg for money and other supplies. But they had also to meet the requisitions of the ruling State, and sometimes of more than one at the same time. There are many allusions in the narratives of Tso to the arbitrariness and severity of those requisitions. On X. xiii. 5, 6, for instance, we find Tszech'an of Ch'ing disputing on this point with the ministers of Tsin. 'Formerly,' said he, 'the sons of Heaven regulated the amount of contribution according to the rank of the State. Ch'ing ranks as the territory of an earl or a baron, and yet its contribution is now on the scale of a duke or a marquis. There is no regular rule for what we have to pay; and when our small State fails in rendering what is required, it is held to be an offender. When our contributions and offerings have no limit set to them, we have only to wait for our ruin.' It is evident, as we study the history of this system
of a leading State; that there was no help to come from it to the House of Chow, and no permanent alleviation of the evils under which the nation was suffering.

4. At the close of the Ch'un Ts'êw period the kingdom was in a worse and more hopeless condition than at its commencement; and it seems strange to us that it did not enter into the mind of Confucius to forecast that the feudal system which had so long prevailed in China was 'waxen old and ready to vanish away.' But what State was to come out victorious from its conflicts with all the others, and take the lead in settling a new order of things? Only the event could reveal this, but it could be known that the struggle for supremacy would lie between two or three powers; and the study of their growth supplies one of the most important lessons which the Work of the sage and the Commentary of Tso are calculated to teach us.

A glance at the map shows us that the China proper of Chow was confined at first within narrow limits. Even at the beginning of the Ch'un Ts'êw period it consisted of merely a few States of no great size, lying on either side of the Yellow River, from the point where its channel makes a sudden bend to the east onwards to its mouth.

North of the Royal Domain was Tsin, but, though a fief dating from the commencement of the kingdom, its growth had been so slow, that it is not till the second year of duke He, B.C. 657, that it appears in Confucius' text, on the eve of its subjugation of the small States of Yu and Kwoh. This was the first step which Tsin took in the career of enlargement by which it ere long attained to so great a size.

South of the Domain was Ts'oo; and, though it had been founded in the time of king Ch'ing, it does not appear in the text of our Classic till the tenth year of duke Chwang, B.C. 683. It is then called King, and we do not meet with it under the name of Ts'oo till the first year of duke He, B.C. 658.

West from the Domain was Ts'in, the first lord of which was given a local habitation and name only in B.C. 908; and it did not become an independent fief of the kingdom till the year 769. Its first appearance in our text is in the fifteenth year of duke He, B.C. 644.

A long way east from Ts'oo, and bordering on the sea, was the State of Woo, which, though claiming an earlier origin than the kingdom of Chow itself, is not mentioned in the classic till the seventh year of duke Ch'ing, B.C. 583.

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But it will be observed that these four States had from their situation grand opportunities for increasing their territory and their population; and the consequence was that before the end of the Ch'\-un Ts'\-ew period each of them occupied an extent of country many times larger than the Royal Domain, while Ts'\-oo was nearly as large as all the Middle States, as those of Chow proper were called, together. The way in which it and Tsin proceeded was by extinguishing and absorbing the smaller States adjacent to them, and by a constant process of subjugating the barbarous tribes, which lay on the south and west of Ts'\-oo, and on the north and east of Tsin. Tsin\'-in lay farther off from the settled parts of the country, and its princes had not so much to do in absorbing smaller States, but they early established their sway over all the Jung, or the wild hordes of the west. The leadership, which I have said in the preceding paragraph is improperly ascribed to duke Muh of Ts'\-in as being over the feudal States belonged to him in his relation to the Jung. The sea forbade any extension of the border of Woo on the east, but it found much land to be occupied on the north and south, and its armies, going up the Keang or Yang-tsze, met those of Ts'\-oo, and fought with them for the possession of the country between that great river and the Hwae.

The States of Chow proper had little room for any similar expansion. They were closely massed together. From the first immigration of the ancestors of the Chinese tribe, their course had been eastwards and mainly along the course of the Yellow River, and most of the older occupants of the country had been pushed before them to the borders of the sea. Ts'e extended right to the sea, and so did Ke which the other absorbed. Then came the small States of K'e and Keu, the latter of which had a sea border, while they do not seem to have ever thought of pushing their way into what is now called the promontory of Shan-tung. The people of both K'e and Keu were often taunted by the other States with belonging themselves to the E barbarians. South from Keu there was a tract extending inland a considerable way, occupied by E tribes and the half-civilized people of Seu, and reaching down to the hordes of the Hwae, which Loo pleased itself with the idea of reducing, but which it was never able to reduce. Altogether there was, as I have said, hardly any room for the growth of these middle States. Ts'e was the strongest of them, and longest maintained its independence, ultimately absorbing Sung, which had itself previously absorbed Ts'aou. Of the others, H\-en, Ts'\-ae, Ch'\-in, the two Choo, Loo, and in the end

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1 See the Shu, Part, IV., Bk. II., vde III.
Ch'ing fell to Ts'o, and Wei became dependent on one of the marquisates or kingdoms into which Tsin was divided.

Woo for a time made rapid progress, and seemed as if it would at least wrest the sovereignty of the south from Ts'o; but its downfall was more rapid than its rise had been. It was extinguished by Yueh a very few years after the close of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and Yueh itself had ere long to succumb to Ts'o.

Thus, as time went on, it became increasingly clear that the final struggle for the supreme power would be between Tsin and Ts'o. If Tsin had remained entire, it would probably have been more than a match for them both; but the elements of disorganization had long been at work in it, and it was divided, about the year B.C. 400, into three marquisates. The lords of these soon claimed, all of them, the title of king, and the way in which they maintained for a century and a half the struggle with Tsin and Ts'o shows how great the power of Tsin unbroken would have been. Ts'e and Yen also assumed the royal style, and made a gallant defence against the powers of the west and the south; but they would not have held out so long as they did but for the distance which intervened between them and the centres of both their adversaries. Tsin at last bore down all opposition, and though of all the great States that developed during the Ch'un Ts'ew period it was the latest to make its appearance, it remained master of the field. From the kings of Chow it cannot be said to have met with any resistance. Their history for three hundred years before the extinction of the dynasty is almost a blank. They continued to hold a nominal occupancy of the throne so long only because there were so many other princes contending for it.

The above review of the closing centuries of the dynasty of Chow, and of its overthrow by the king of Tsin, seems to prove, brief as it has been, that, given a number of warring States or nations, victory will in the long run declare itself in favour of that one which has the most extensive territory and the largest population. Tsin and Ts'o, when they first came into contact with the States of Chow proper, were, no doubt, inferior to them in the arts of civilization generally, and among these of the art of war; but they had vast resources and a rude energy, which compensated in the first place for want of skill, and they soon learned from their adversaries whatever was required for their effective application. A fixedness of purpose and recklessness in the expenditure of human life characterized their measures, and the struggle came at last to be mainly
between themselves. It ended more from the exhaustion of the combatants than from any real superiority on the part of Ts'in.

While the downfall of Chow has led me thus to speak of the success which must inevitably attend the efforts of the combatant whose resources are the greatest, if the contents of my volume led me to trace the history of China downwards for a few more years, it would be as evident that, while material strength is sure, when not deficient in warlike skill, to gain a conquest, it cannot consolidate it. The brief existence of the Ts'in dynasty seemed but to afford a breathing time to the warring States, and then China became once more horrid with the din of arms. Most of the States which had contended over the throne of Chow again took the field, and others with them, until, after sixteen years more of strife and misery, the contest was decided in favour of the House of Han, which joined to force of arms respect for the traditions of the country, and a profession at least of reverence for the virtues of justice and benevolence.

6. An incident occurred during the time of duke Seang which deserves to have attention called to it, as illustrating the saying that 'there is nothing new under the sun,' where we should not expect its illustration. The strife between Ts'o and Ts'in was then at its height; and the States generally were groaning under the miseries which it occasioned. It occurred to Hieang Seuh, a minister of Sung, that he would be deserving well of the country if he could put an end to the constant wars. The idea of a Peace Society took possession of his mind. He was by no means without ability himself, and had a faculty for negotiation and intrigue. He was, no doubt, sincerely desirous to abate the evils which abounded, but we are sorry to find that he was ambitious also 'to get a name' for himself by his measure, and had an eye to more substantial advantages as well. How his scheme worked itself out in his own mind we do not know; but after long brooding over it, he succeeded in giving it a practical shape, which may have been modified by the force of circumstances.

Being on friendly terms with the chief ministers of Ts'in and Ts'o, he first submitted his plan to them, and procured their assent to it. In Ts'in they said, 'War is destructive to the people and eats up our resources; and it is the greatest calamity of the small States. Seuh's plan will perhaps turn out impracticable, but we must give it our sanction; for if we do not, Ts'o will do it, and so improve its position with the States to our disadvantage. Similarly they
reasoned and agreed in Ts'oo, Ts'e, and Ts'in, The great powers appeared all to be willing.

Having succeeded thus far, Seuh proceeded to call a meeting of the States generally, and in the summer of 535 the representatives of not fewer than fourteen of them met in the capital of Sung. Various jealousies were displayed in making the arrangements preliminary to a covenant. Ts'e and Ts'in were exempted from taking the oath, so that the agreement was narrowed to a compact between Ts'oo and Ts'in, and the States which adhered to them respectively; and though this would secure a temporary peace to the kingdom, yet the two other great States, being left unbound, might take advantage of it, to prosecute their own ambitious designs. Ts'oo, moreover, displayed a fierce and unconciliating spirit which promised ill for the permanence of the arrangement. However, the covenant was accepted with these drawbacks. There should be war no more! And to assure so desirable an end, the princes who had been in the habit of acknowledging the superiority of Ts'oo should show their respect for Ts'in by appearing at its court, and those who had been adherents of Ts'in should similarly appear at the court of Ts'oo. Thus these two Powers would receive the homage of all the States; and it was implied, perhaps, that they would unite their forces to punish any State which should break the general peace. Nothing was said of the loyal service which was due from them all to the kings of Chow; and Ts'in and Ts'e were left, as I have said, unfettered, to take their own course. I apprehend that the princes and ministers who were at the meeting separated without much hope of the pacification being permanent;—as indeed it did not prove to be. Hêang Seuh alone thought that he had accomplished a great work; and without being satisfied, as we wish that he had been, with the consciousness that he had done so, he proceeded to ask a grant of lands and towns from the duke of Sung as a reward for 'arresting the occasion of death.' His application was acceded to, but it did not take effect. Seuh showed the charter of the grant which he had obtained to Tsze-han, the chief minister of the State, who said to him, 'It is by their arms that Ts'in and Ts'oo keep the small States in awe. Standing in awe, the high and low in them are loving and harmonious, and thus the States are kept quiet, and do service to the great powers, securing their own preservation and escaping ruin. Who can do away with the instruments of war? They have been long in requisition. By them the lawless are kept in awe, and accomplished virtue is displayed. On them
depends the preservation or the ruin of a country;—and you have been seeking to do away with them. Your scheme is a delusion, and there could be no greater offence than to lead the States astray by it. And not content with having escaped punishment, you have sought for reward!" With this he cut the document in pieces and cast it away, while Seuh submitted, and made no further claim to the grant which had been assigned to him.

So ended the first attempt which was made in the world to put an end to war on principles of expediency and by political arrangements. It was a delusion and proved a failure; but there must have been a deep and wide-spread feeling of the miseries which it was intended to remove, to secure for it its temporary acceptance. Though a delusion it was, it was a brilliant one. Though Seuh was a dreamer, I have thought that his name should have prominent mention given to it. More than two thousand years have elapsed since his time; Christianity, calling to universal 'peace on earth,' has come into the field; and under its auspices nations unheard of, it may be said unborn, in the era of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, have attained a wondrous growth, with appliances of science and a development commerce, which were then all-unknown:—and is it still a delusion to hope for arrangements which will obviate the necessity of a recurrence to 'the last resort,' the appeal to the force of arms?

6. Of the wild tribes which infested the territory of China proper during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, and surrounded it on every side, it is impossible to give an entirely satisfactory account. After we have gathered up the information supplied by Confucius and the Commentary of Tso, there occur questions connected with them to which we do not find any reply.

In the Shoo-V. ii., at the final struggle of king Woo with the last king of Shang, we find 'the Yung, the Shuh, the Keang, the Mauu, the Wei, the Loo, the P'ang, and the Puh,' eight tribes from the southwest, having their seats mostly in the present provinces of Sze-ch'üen and Hoo-pih, all assisting the former. As most of them appear during the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period, occupying the same locations, the probability is, that, when Shang was subdued, they received their share of the spoils, and returned to their fastnesses. Some honours and titles may have been conferred, besides, on their chiefs by Woo, but it does not appear that they acknowledged any allegiance to the House of Chow. If they did, we may be sure it was nothing more than nominal.

The wild tribes are generally divided into four classes, called by different names, according to their situation relative to the Middle
States. There were the Jung, or hordes of the west; the Teih, or hordes of the north; the E, or hordes of the east; and the Man, or hordes of the south. These designations are in the main correct, yet we find Jung tribes widely diffused, and not confined to the west only. When we bring together the hints and statements of the Text and the Commentary, the knowledge obtained concerning the four classes may be brought within small compass.

First, of the Jung. Seven divisions of these are indicated.

[i.] At the beginning of the period, we find tribes in the neighbourhood of Loo, which are simply called Jung, and whose seat was in the present district of Ts'aoou, department Ts'aoou-chow. Yin is introduced twice in his 2d year covenaniting with them. In his 7th year, we find them making captive an earl of Fan, on his return from Loo to the royal court, and carrying him off with them to their own settlements. Duke Hwan covenants with them in his 2d year. Duke Chwang in his 18th year pursues them across the Tse river; and in his 20th year they are invaded by a force from Ts'e. In his 24th year they make an inroad into the State of Ts'aoou, and compel a Ke, who may have been the earl of it, to flee to Ch'in. The duke appears in his 26th year conducting an expedition against them; and after that we hear nothing more about them. We may suppose that they were then finally subdued, and lost their individuality among the population of Loo.

[ii.] There were the 'Northern Jung,' the 'Hill Jung,' and the 'Woo-chungs,' who are referred to the present Tsun-hwa Chow in Chih-le. Tso mentions an incursion which they made in the 9th year of duke Yin into Ch'ing, when they sustained a great defeat, chiefly because they fought on foot, and had no chariots like the States of Chow. According to him, moreover, they invaded Ts'e in the 6th year of Hwan, and were again defeated through the assistance of Ch'ing. In the 30th year of Chwang, they reduced the State of Yen to great distress, and Ts'e directed an expedition against them, which brought away great spoil. In the 10th year of He, the marquis of Ts'e and the baron of Heu appear engaged in an invasion of them; and we hear no more of them till the 4th year of Säng, when Kèa-foo, viscount of Woo-chung (according to Too, the capital of the Hill Jung), presents a number of tiger and leopard skins to Tsin, begging that that State would be in harmony with the
Jung. In a discussion at the court of Tsin on the advances thus made, one of its ministers argued for a conciliatory policy on five grounds, the first of which was that these tribes were continually changing their residence, and were fond of selling their lands for goods, so that they might be acquired without the trouble and risks of war. Lastly, in the first year of duke Ch’aou, an officer of Tsin inflicts a great defeat on the Woo-chungs and the various tribes of the Teih; after which we have no further mention of the Hill Jung, the Northern Jung, or the Woo-chungs. They, no doubt, disappeared among the multitudes of Tsin.

[iii.] There were the ‘Jung of Luh-hwän,’ who had also the names of the ‘Jung of the surname Yun,’ the ‘Little Jung,’ the ‘Kêang Jung,’ the ‘Yin Jung,’ and the ‘Jung of Këw-chow.’ These had originally dwelt in the far west, in the territory which now forms Suh Chow in Kan-suh, which they called Luh-hwän; but in the 22d year of duke Hé, Tsin and Ts’in united in removing them to E-ch’uen, or the present district of Sung, in the department of Ho-nan. In Chwang’s 28th year they are called the Little Jung, and it appears that the mother of duke Hwuy of Tsin belonged to their tribe. In the 33d year of He, they give, as the Kêang Jung, important help to Tsin in a great defeat which it inflicted on the troops of Ts’in in the valley of Héauou. In the 3d year of Seuen, Ts’oo invaded them, and they seem to have coquettishly subsequently both with Ts’oo and Tsin, which led to the final extinction of their independence by the latter power in the 17th year of Ch’aou. In his 7th year a body of them appears as the Yin Jung, under the command of an officer of Tsin, and mention is made of how they had troubled the Royal Domain, and the Ke States generally, since their removal from their original seat. In the Chuen on Ch’aou, xxii. 8, another body of them is called the Jung of Këw-chow, and the same branch of them is mentioned as late as the 4th year of Gae.

[iv.] There were the ‘Jung of Yang-k’eu, Ts’euen-kaou, and about the E and the Loh,’ who had their seats about those two rivers, in the present district of Loh-yang, and perhaps other parts of the department of Ho-nan. Yang-k’eu and Ts’euen-kaou are taken to be the names of their principal settlements or towns. Thus these tribes infested the Royal Domain, and they were at one time

9 端隴之戎 10 允姓之戎 11 小戎 12 姜戎 13 隊戎 14 九州之戎 15 蕭州 16 郯縣 17 摺范兩

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very troublesome to the capital itself. In the 11th year of duke He, on the invitation of the king’s brother Tae, they attacked it with all their strength, entered the royal city, and burned one of its gates. Ts'in and Ts'in came to the help of the king, and obliged the Jung to make peace with him; but in the following year the services of the marquis of Ta’e, who was then the presiding prince among the States, were required for the same purpose, and in He’s 16th year he was obliged to call out the forces of all the States to occupy the Domain, and keep the Jung in check. In the 8th year of Wăn, an officer of Loo, having gone to the west to meet a minister of Ts'in, took the opportunity to make a covenant with these Jung, who, it is supposed, were them meditating an attack on Loo. Only once again do we meet with them. In the 6th year of duke Ch'ing, they are associated with other tribes, and with the forces of Ts'in, Wei, and Ch'ing, in an incursion into Sung. By this time they had probably settled down in the Domain as subjects of Chow.

[v.] There were the "Man,"18 called also the "Jung Man"19 to distinguish them from the Man of the south, and the "Maou Jung,"20 whose seats were in the present Joo-chow,21 Ho-nan. The Jung who are mentioned in the Chuen after VI. xvii. 5 as having been surprised by Kan Ch’uh of Chow, when they were drinking spirits, belonged to these; and in the first year of Ch'ing the royal army received a severe defeat from them. The Mans are enumerated among the other tribes in the expedition against Sung in the 6th year of Ch'ing, as mentioned above. In the 5th year of Sæang we find the king sending a member of the royal House to the court of Ts'in with a complaint against them. In the 16th year of Ch’aou, Ts’oo appears in the field, inveigles Kæ, viscount of the Man, into his power, and puts him to death; then establishes his superiority over all their territory, and appoints Kæ’s son as viscount in his room. Thenceforth this branch of the Jung appears to have been subject to Ts’oo. They rebelled against it in the 4th year of duke Gæ; and when their viscount Ch’ih was driven to take refuge in Ts'in, that State gave him up to Ts’oo;—a proceeding which is justly deemed to have been disgraceful to it.

[vi.] There were the "Dog Jung,"22 whose original seat was in the present department of Fung-ts’æang, Shen-se. Many critics identify them with the Heen-yun of the She in II. i. VII. and other odes, though Choo He says that these belonged to the Teih.

18 廣氏 19 戎蠻 20 茅戎 21 汝州 22 犬戎

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In B.C. 770 they made common cause with the marquis of Shin, and joined him in his measures against king Yew. Then, contrary to the wishes of the marquis, they gave the reins to their own greed of plunder, spoiled the capital,—the old capital of Fung, and put the king to death. Tsin and Ts'in came to the relief of the court, and drove the Jung away; but some branches of them appear to have maintained themselves in the more eastern regions which they had found so attractive. In the 2d year of Min, the duke of Kwoh defeated them near the junction of the Wei with the Ho, and again, in the second year of He, at a place in the present district of Wan-hsü, Shen Chow, Shan-se. This is the last we hear of them. Their original territory, no doubt, fell to the lot of Ts'in, but any portion of the tribe, which had settled on the east of the Ho, would be absorbed by Tsin.

[vii.] There were the 'Le Jung,' who occupied in the present district of Lin-t'ung, department Se-gan. According to the Chuen on III. xxviii. 1, duke Huen of Tsin invaded their territory, the chief of which, who had the title of baron, gave him his daughter in marriage. She was the Le Ke whose union with Huen was the occasion of so much confusion and misery in Tsin. That State, soon after, put an end to the independent existence of the tribe.

The above are all the tribes of the Jung mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ew and in Tso, excepting the Loo Jung, of whom I shall have to speak when we come to the Man of the South. Neither the sage nor his commentator had occasion to bring forward any others, for only these made their appearance in connexion with the States of China during the Ch'un-Ts'ew period. There were, however, many more tribes, which constituted, properly speaking, the Jung of the west, by the absorption of which it was that Ts'in reached such an eminence of power.

Second, of the Teih. Sze-ma Ts'een and Too Yu, the latter led away probably by Sze-ma, place some tribes of these on the west of the Ho; but so far as the evidence of Confucius and Tso-she goes, they are all to be sought on the east of that river, and appear extending from it, along the north of the different States, as far as the present Shan-tung. Up to the time of duke Seunen, we read in the text only of the Teih, but subsequently there appear two great divisions of them,—the 'Red Teih,' and the 'White Teih.' Then the Red Teih are no more mentioned after the third year of duke
Ch'ing, and the extinction of several tribes of them is recorded; but the White continued beyond the Ch'un-Ts'e period, and one tribe of them held its own till the time of the Warring States, when its chief took the title of king, and contended with the other combatants for the possession of all the dominions of Chow.

Of the Red Teih six tribes seem to be specified:—the 'Kaou-lohs of the eastern hills,' whose seat was the present district of Yuen-k'eh, K'ang Chow, Shan-se; the Tsêang-kaou-joo, whose seat is unknown; the 'Loos,' who have left their name in the district of Loo-shing, department Loo-gan, Shan-se; the 'Keals,' who occupied in the present district of Ke-tsih, department Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le; the 'Leu-yu,' in the present district of T'un-lew, department Loo-gan above; and the 'Toh-shin,' who were also somewhere in the same department.

Of the White Teih there were three tribes:—the 'Seen-yu,' or the 'Chung-shan,' in the present district of Ching-t'ing, department Ching-t'ing, Chih-le; the 'Fei,' in Kaou-shing district of the same department; and the 'Koo,' in Tsin Chow, also in Ching-t'ing.

I will now give an outline of what is related about the Teih in the text and in Tso.

[i.] While there is no intimation of any general distinction among their tribes.

They appear first in the 32d year of Chwang, invading the small State of Hing, which was by no means able to cope with them. Ts'e went in the first place to its rescue, but in the first year of He Hing removed its principal city to a situation where it would be more out of the way of the Teih, and the forces of Ts'e, Sung, and Ts'ao are introduced as fortifying the new capital.

About the same time the Teih attacked the more considerable State of Wei, and nearly annihilated it. In the 2d year of Min, they took its chief city, the inhabitants of which fled across the Ho. There only 730 people, men and women, could be got together again, and when to them were added the inhabitants of the two other chief towns of the State, the whole did not amount to more than 5,000 souls. This gives us a correct, but not an exalted idea, of the resources of many of the States of Chow in those days. Ts'e went to the help of Wei, as it had done in the case of Hing, gathered up the ruins of the State, and called out the other States to prepare a new capital for it.
While the Teih were thus successful against Hing and Wei, they came into contact with the Power which was ultimately to destroy their independence. In the 2d year of Min, the marquis of Tsin sent his eldest son against the settlements of the Kaou-loha. Other expeditions followed, and in the 7th year of He a general of that State inflicted a defeat on a portion of the Teih; but, when urged to follow up his victory, he said that he only wanted to frighten them, and would not accelerate a rising of all their tribes. The consequence was that in the following year we have the Teih retaliating by an invasion of Tsin.

In duke He's 10th year they penetrated into the Royal Domain, and overthrew the State of Wăn, the viscount of which fled to Wei. From that time, for several years, we find Wei, Ch'ing, and Ts'in, one after another, suffering from their incursions. In He's 18th year T's'e was in confusion in consequence of the death of duke Hwan, and the Teih went to succour the partizans of his younger sons; and two years after, T's'e and they made a covenant in the capital of Hing. In the 24th year they invaded Ch'ing, which the king, who was then in great distress from the machinations of his brother Tae, took for some reason as an acceptable service to himself. He married a daughter of one of their chiefs, and made her his queen—a position of which she soon proved herself unworthy.

In He's 31st year we find them again actively engaged against Wei, which was compelled to make another change of its capital. It was able, however, the year after, to make in its turn an incursion into their settlements, when they entered into a covenant with it, and left it unmolested till the 13th year of duke Wăn. Meanwhile they continued their incursions into T's'e, and went on to attack Loo and Suug, notwithstanding a check which they received from Ts'in in the last year of duke He. Loo also defeated them in the 12th year of Wăn.

[iii.] In the time of duke Seuen and subsequently, we read no more in the same way of the Teih, but of the Red and the White Teih. Of the latter we have an earlier mention in the Chuen, in the account of the battle of Ke, when Ts'in defeated the Teih, as I have mentioned above. It is then said that a viscount of the White Teih was taken prisoner. From some hints which are found in Tso it appears that about this time jealousies began to spring up among
the Teihs themselves. The Red tribes were trying to assert a superiority which the White would not allow, and so they were left, unsupported, to cope with Tsin for which they were by no means a match.

That great State had now consolidated its resources, and it made short work of the Red Teih. They invaded it in Seuen’s 4th and 7th years, and met with little opposition; Tsin purposely retiring before them to increase their arrogance. But in his 15th year an army entirely reduced the tribe of the Loos, and carried off their viscount Ying-urh; and next year another army similarly reduced the Kœahs and the Lëw-yu. In the 3d year of Ch’ing, Tsin and Wei joined in an invasion of the Tsêang-kaou-joo, with whom they dealt probably in the same way; for we have no further mention of the Red Teih. Wherever the Teih are mentioned after this, other circumstances show that the White Teih are meant.

[iii.] The White Teih made a bolder resistance, nor was Tsin ever able to destroy the independence of the tribe of the Seen-yu.

In the 8th year of Seuen, we find the White Teih associated with Tsin in the invasion of Ts’in. They would seem to have broken off entirely from the Red Teih, and to have been willing to join with the State which was in deadly hostility with them. Three years after, the marquis of Tsin had a great meeting, at a place within their territories, with all their tribes.

The alliance thus formed between them and Tsin was not very lasting. In the 9th year of Ch’ing, they are confederate with Ts’in and Ts’oo in invading Tsin; but they took nothing by their fickle-ness, for Tsin inflicted a defeat upon them in Ch’ing’s 12th year.

In Sêang’s 18th year, an embassy from them visited the court of Loo,—for what purpose we cannot tell. Nor are they again mentioned in the sage’s text, though the Chuen speaks frequently of them.

In Sêang’s 28th year, they appear, with the States which acknowledged the presidency of Ts’oo, visiting at the court of Tsin,—in accordance with the treaty of Sung. It would thus appear that they had gone over finally to the side of Ts’oo. They soon suffered for their course. In Ch’aus’s first year, an army of Tsin, under Seun Woo, defeated them at Ta-loo. In his 12th year, the same commander put an end to the independent existence of the Fei tribe, and carried away their viscount prisoner. So he dealt with the Koo tribe in Ch’aus’s 15th year; but he subsequently restored its viscount, which seems to have encouraged them to revolt again, and in Ch’aus’s 22d year, ‘Seun Woo a second time extinguished Koo.’

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The Sæn-yu were not so easily disposed of. Tsin attacked this tribe in Ch’aoou’s 12th year, and in his 13th and 15th, but without any decisive success. In the 3d year of Ting the army of Tsin was defeated by it, but returned to the attack in the following year, assisted by a force from Wei. Soon after this, the great families of Tsin began contending among themselves, and no effective action could be taken against the Sæn-yu. The tribe maintained its independence on into the period of the Warring States, and finally yielded to the kingdom of Chaou about the year B.C. 296.

Third, of the E. Confucius is reported, in the Analects, IX. xiii., as declaring that he would like to go and live among ‘the nine E,’ on which expression it is generally said that there were nine tribes of the E. There may have been so many originally, and Confucius may have used a phrase which had come down as descriptive of them from a former time. But we do not find nine tribes, nor even half that number, mentioned in the Ch’un Ts’aiou or in Tso’s Commentary. I believe that the power of the E tribes had been broken, and that many of them had disappeared among the inhabitants of the eastern States, before the time under our notice. We have to do only with the ‘E of the Hwae river,’37 of ‘Kæae,’38 of ‘Læe,’39 and of ‘Kin-mow.’40

[i.] The tribes of the Hwae were the only E whose power and numbers were considerable in the Ch’un-Ts’aiou period. The Chuen on V. xiii. 3 mentions that they were at that time distressing the State of Ke, so that they must have penetrated a long way north from the river about which lay their proper seats. From that time, for more than a hundred years, we do not again meet with them; but in the 4th year of duke Ch’aoou, at the first meeting of the States called by Ts’ioo, we find that the chiefs of these tribes were also present, and that they went on, immediately after, under the leading of Ts’ioo, to invade Woo. One other reference to them is all that occurs,—under the 27th year of Ch’aoou. Then, in the meeting at Hoo, Fan Hëen-tsze of Tsin, when enumerating the difficulties in the way of restoring duke Ch’aoou to Loo, says that the Head of the Ke family had succeeded in securing the adherences of the Hwae E. All these tribes fell in the end to the lot of Ts’ioo.

[ii.] Kæae was the name of a small tribe of the E,—in the present Kæau Chow, department of Læe-chow. In the 29th year of duke Hë, their chief comes twice to the court of Loo, when Tso tells a...
ridiculous story about his interpreting the loying of a cow. His visit, no doubt, had reference to an incursion which his tribe made the year after into Shao, a dependency of Sung. Kēe must have been absorbed either by Ts'e or by Loo.

[iii.] Lāc was in the present district of Hwang, department Tâng-chow,—on the borders of Ts'e. Its original inhabitants appear to have been brought to comparative civilization, and been ruled by a viscount of the surname Kēang, before the Ch'un-Ts'êw period. We find Ts'e, however, in constant hostility with it from its first appearance in the 7th year of duke Seuen to its extinction in the 6th year of Shang.

[iv.] Kin-mow was the principal town of a small tribe of E,—in the present district of E-shuuy, department E-chow. Its capture by Loo is mentioned in the 9th year of duke Seuen, and afterwards it appears, in the Chuen on X. viii. 6, as the most eastern city belonging to the State.

Fourth, of the Man. We have not much information in the Ch'un Ts'êw or in Ts'o about the tribes of the south, and that for the same reason which I have mentioned as making our authorities almost silent about the Jung proper, or the hordes of the far west. Ts'oo kept the Man under its control, and lay between most of their tribes and the States of Chow, so that the two hardly came into contact or collision, and the historiographers of the States had little occasion to refer to what was taking place among the southern populations. What we find related about them will be given under the divisions of the 'Loo Jung,' the 'various tribes of the Man,' the 'many tribes of the Puh,' and the tribes of 'Pa.'

[i.] In the Chuen at the beginning of the 13th year of duke Hwan we have an account of a fruitless expedition from Ts'oo against the small State of Lo, Lo being assisted by an army of the Loo Jung. One of the names in king Woo's 'Speech at Muh,' which I have referred to, thus comes here before us. These Jung occupied what is now the district of Nan-chang, in the department of Shang-yang, Hoo-pih. Tso says that, though they were called Jung, they belonged to the Man of the south. Geographically, they must be classed with them. They must have been reduced to subjection by Ts'oo not long after the above expedition, and their chief settlement converted into the town of Leu; for in the Chuen on VI. xvi. 6,
we have an army of Ts'oo marching on from Leu, where the Loo Jung had dwelt, and throwing open its granaries to soldiers and officers alike.

[i.] It is only in the Chu'n just referred to, in the 16th year of duke Wăn, that mention is made of the 'many tribes of the Man.' There was then, we are told, a great famine in Ts'oo, and the people of Yung, who are also mentioned in the Speech at Muh, and who had by this time coalesced into a State of some order and civilization, took advantage of it to incite a general rising of all the tribes of the south against that Power. The Man came to join in the movement from their seats in what are now the departments of Shin-chow and Yuen-chow in Hoo-nan. It was a critical time in the history of Ts'oo, and it was proposed that the capital should be abandoned. But bolder counsels prevailed; an army took the field; assistance came from Ts'in and Pa; the Man were severed from the combination, and made a covenant on their own account; and Yung was extinguished, that is, the sacrifices of its chiefs were abolished, and it was reduced to be a city of Ts'oo. There is no further mention of the Man in the Chu'n-Ts'ew period. It was not till the time of the Warring States that Ts'oo succeeded in depriving them of their independence.

[iii.] The Puh, it has been seen, were among the auxiliaries of king Woo in the conquest of Shang. The 'hundred' or many tribes of them took a principal part in the rising against Ts'oo, of which I have just spoken, and appear in it under the direction of the people of Keun, a small State between Yung and Lo. Where their own settlements were is uncertain. Some say they were in the present department of Keuh-ting, Yun-nan, which is too far off, though some tribes may have wandered there at a subsequent period; others, with more probability, place them in the departments of Ch'ang-tih and Shin-chow, Hoo-nan. On the occasion under our notice, Wei K̄a, one of the generals of Ts'oo, said about them, 'They think that we are unable from the famine to take the field. If we send forth an army, they are sure to be afraid, and will return to their own country. The Puh dwell apart from one another; and when they are hurriedly going off, each tribe for its own towns, who among them will have leisure to think of anybody but themselves?' It happened as he said. In fifteen days from Ts'oo's appearing in force there was an end of the attempt of the Puh.
Only twice more are they mentioned in the Chuen. In Chaou's 9th year, on occasion of a dispute between Chow and Ts'in, the representative of the royal court says boastfully that, when Woo subdued Shang, Pa, the Puh, Ts'oo, and T'ang were the territories of the kingdom in the south; and in his 19th year, we have Ts'oo preparing a naval expedition against the Puh. What became of them afterwards I have not been able to ascertain.

[iV.] Pa in the time of the Ch'un-Ts'ëw appears as a State ruled by viscounts of the surname Ke. It has left its name in the present district of Pa, department Chung-k'ing, Sze-ch'uen. In the Chuen on the 9th year of duke Hwan, we find it in good relations with Ts'oo, and co-operating with that State in the siege of Yëw, a city in the present department of Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. Under the 18th year of duke Chwang, Tso tells us that Pa then revolted from Ts'oo, and invaded it, its army advancing even to attack Ts'oo's capital. The only other mention of it is in the text of Wăn's 18th year, in connexion with the rising of the southern tribes against Ts'oo, when, as has been stated above, Pa and Ts'in came to the assistance of the latter. In the time of the Warring States, Pa fell to the share of Ts'in.

I have thus gathered up into as brief space as possible the information that we derive from the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso about the rude and uncivilized or semi-civilized tribes that infested the kingdom of Chow or surrounded it. The strongest impression which I receive from the review is one of grave doubt as to most of what we are told about the previous dynasties of Shang and Hëa. Is it possible that they could have held the territory occupied by the States of Chow for a thousand years before the rise of king Woo, and that we should find it, five and six centuries after his time, in the condition which is revealed to us by the sage and his commentator? I do not think so. We have seen that the China of Chow was a small affair; that of Shang and Hëa must have been much smaller;—extending not so far towards the sea on the east, and to a smaller distance north and south of the Yellow river. It was evidently, however, in the plan of Providence that by the Chinese race all the other tribes in the space now included in China proper should be first broken to pieces and stript of their individualities, and then welded as into one homogeneous nation. Its superior culture and capabilities fitted it for this task; and the process went on very gradually, and with many disturbances and interruptions, frequently with 'hideous ruin and combustion.'
Having first made good a settlement along the Yellow river, in the south-western parts of the present Shan-se, and perhaps also on the other side of the stream, the early immigrants sent forth their branches, scions of different families, east, west, north, and south, as so many suckers, among the ruder populations sparsely scattered about, which gradually gathered round them, till they lost their original peculiarities, and were prepared to be collected into larger communities, or into States. The first stage in the formation of the Chinese nation terminated with the ascendancy of the State of Ts'in and the establishment of its short-lived dynasty.

We have seen that of the more considerable of the wild tribes during the Ch'un-Ts'eü period their chiefs had titles like the princes of the States of Chow. We read of the viscounts of the Loos, of Fei, of Koo, and of the Kæang Jung, and of the baron of the Le Jung; and it has been asked whence they derived those titles. The Tso Chuen gives us no information on the point, and I am inclined to suppose that they assumed them themselves, to assert thereby their equality with the feudal nobles of Chow. Where they claimed to be the descendants of some great name in former ages of Chinese history, it would be easier to do so; and the title might be acknowledged by the kings of Chow. Or where internarrriages were formed with them by the royal House, or by the princes of the States, as we know was frequently done, the fathers of the brides might be ennobled for the occasion, and then the titles would be jealously retained. But the title was generally, I believe, the assumption of arrogance, as the Chinese would deem it.

There is one passage in the Chuen which shows that the tribes differed from the Chinese not only in their habits of life, but also in their languages. In the account of the meeting at Hsæng in the 14th year of duke Seang, which was attended by the representatives of more than a dozen States, and by the chief of at least one of the Jung tribes, who was a viscount (though the text does not say so), Fan Seun-tsze appears as wanting on behalf of Ts'in to seize the viscount, who belonged to the Kæang Jung or the Jung of Luh-hwän, attributing the loss of Ts'in's power and influence to unfavourable reports of its proceedings leaking out through them among the other States. The viscount makes a good defence, and says in con-

48 There is the saying of Confucius in the Analects, III. v.—"The rude tribes of the east and north have their rulers, and are not like the States of our great land which are without them. Without adopting the view of Ho An which I have given in my note upon the passage, I conclude that the sage is merely uttering a lament over the disorganisation and disobedience to authority, which he saw going on in Lo and other States. The rude tribes obeyed the 'Powers that were among them, titled or untitled; but very different was the state of things in China.
clusion:—"Our food, our drink, and our clothes are all different from those of the Flowery States; we do not exchange silks or other articles of introduction with their courts; *their language and ours do not admit of intercourse between us and them:*—what evil is it possible for us to have done?" If it was so with those Jung, it was the same, doubtless, with other tribes as well; and they had, probably, different languages among themselves, or at least different dialects of the same language which would render communication between them difficult. Even where the outlying chiefs or princes claimed connexion with the House of Chow, or traced their first appointment to it, the languages spoken in their States may have been different from that of China proper. I have pointed out how the names of the lords of Woo, both in structure and sound, do not appear to be Chinese. And in the account of Tsze-wăn who had been chief minister of Ts'o, given in the Chuen on VII. iv., his name of Now-woo-t'oo is explained by reference to the fact that he had been suckled by a tigress, when he was a child and cast away in a forest. The people of Ts'o, we are told, called suckling *now,* and their name for a tiger was *woot'oo*; and hence when the child was grown up, he was known by the name of *Now-woot'oo,* or Tiger-suckled. It would so happen that the languages of the people, who were not of a Chinese origin, and of their chiefs, would differ for a time; but in the end, the culture and the force of the superior race prevailed to bring the language and other characteristics into conformity with it.
CHAPTER IV.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME.

SECTION I.

CHINESE WORKS; WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF THEM.

1. In the 十三經註疏 (See proleg. to vol. 1., p. 129);—
   [i.] 春秋左傳注疏六十卷. 'The Ch'ün Ts'ëw and the Chuen of Tso, with Commentary and Explanations; in 60 Books,'
   [ii.] 春秋公羊傳注疏二十八卷. 'The Ch'ün Ts'ëw and the Chuen of Kung-yang; with Commentary and Explanations; in 28 Books,'
   [iii.] 春秋穀梁傳註疏二十卷. 'The Ch'ün Ts'ëw and the Chuen of Kuh-lêang, with Commentary and Explanations; in 20 Books.'

   The above three Works are of course K'üng Ying-tah's editions of the labours of Too Yu, Ho Hâw, and Fan Ning, on the text of the Ch'ün Ts'ëw and the early Commentaries of Tso-she, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lêang,—of all of which I have spoken in the first chapter of these prolegomena. K'üng's own explanations are as learned and prolix as in the case of the other Classics. Very little is to be gleaned after him from the books that have come down to us of the dynasties from the Han to the T'ang. I have generally used the edition of the thirteen King by Yuen Yuen; and to the text of the She in it I have referred in the prolegomena to vol. IV., p. 172. The student should use no other, where this is procurable. The above Works all contain Yuen's examination of K'üng's texts 春秋左傳公羊傳穀梁傳注疏按勘記.

4. 欽定春秋傳說彙纂. 'Compilation and Digest of Commentaries and Remarks on the Ch'ün Ts'ëw. By imperial authority.' In 40 Books, the first two being occupied with introductory matter. The Work was ordered and its preparation entrusted to a committee of the principal scholars of the empire in 1,699, the 38th year of the period K'ang-he, and appeared in 1,721, the 60th year of the same. I have generally called it the K'ang-he Ch'ün Ts'ëw. It deserves the praise which I have bestowed on the imperial editions, in the present dynasty, of the Shoo and the She, though I have been disposed to dissent more
frequently from the decisions of the editors themselves. They drew in preparing it from 134 writers:—3 of the Chow dynasty; 10 of the Han; 1 of the Tsin; 2 of the Suy; 13 of the T'ang; 57 of the Sung; 12 of the Yuen; and 36 of the Ming.

According to their plan, there are subjoined to the text occasionally brief notices of the different readings, the pronunciation of characters, and the matter. Then follow the Commentaries of Tso, Kung-yang, Kuh-léang, and Hoo Gan-kwoh (胡安國, styled 康侯), for the most part in full; but the editors sometimes take it on them to curtail or even suppress them entirely where they think them to be in error.

Hoo Gan-kwoh was a scholar and officer of the Sung dynasty (born in 1,074; died in 1,138). His commentary on our classic, in 30 Books, is not intrinsically of much value, but it was received on its publication with great applause by Kaou Tsung, the first emperor of the southern Sung dynasty; and all through the Ming dynasty, its authority was supreme. It formed the standard for competitors at the literary examinations. Having given those four Commentaries, the editors draw upon their host of Authorities (集説), and conclude, when they think it necessary, with their own decisions (案).

6. There was published in 1,677, at the district city of Keun-shan (崑山), department Soo-chow, Kéang-soo, a large collection of Works on the Classics, under the title of 通志堂經解, taken from the name of the hall or library of the gentleman to whom the books belonged. The expense of publication seems to have been borne by a Manchoo, called Nah-lan Ch'ing-tih, with the style of Yung-joh 納闊成德. The Collection contains 33 Works on the Ch'ùn Ts'êw, all but the last by writers of the Sung and Yuen dynasties. I have had the opportunity of consulting:

[i.] 春秋傳, 'Commentaries on the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In 15 Books, by Lew Ch'ang (劉敷; styled 原父); born 1,019, died 1,077. The author had written an earlier Work on the Ch'un Ts'êw, called 春秋權衡. The one under notice remained in manuscript, until the publication of the Collection in which we now find it. Still there seems no doubt of its genuineness. Lew draws largely on the three early Commentaries, but decides between them according to his own judgment, having adopted, however, the praise-and-censure theory from Kung-yang and Kuh-léang.

[ii.] 春秋傳, 'Commentaries on the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In 20 Books, by Yeh Mung-tih (葉夢得; styled 少藪, and also called 石林). These last two characters are generally prefixed to the title of
the Work, to distinguish it from the preceding and others. The author was born in 1,077, and died in 1,148. He shows on the one hand his dissent from Sun Fuh and others who wished to discard the three early Commentaries altogether, and not go beyond the text for its explanation, and on the other hand from Soo Cheh, who held to Tso-she and paid no regard to Kung and Kuh.

[iii.] 春秋通説. 'A general Exposition of the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In 13 Books; by Hwang Chung-yen (黃仲炎; styled 節晦), a scholar of the Sung dynasty, who seems for some reason or other not to have advanced beyond his first degree. His Work was completed in 1,230. He entirely discards the praise-and-censure theory, and is more than necessarily independent in his treatment of the three early Commentaries.

[iv.] 春秋集説. 'Collected Comments on the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In 11 Books; by Chang Hâh (張洽; styled 元德), a scholar of the first half of the 13th century. He had previously prepared a Work on the classic, which he called 春秋集傳; and, dissatisfied with the finish of it, he prepared the present one, in which he strove to imitate the style and manner of Choo Hê on the Analects and Men- cius;—and hence its name of 集説. It is a useful Work, very perspicuous.

[v.] 春秋或問. 'The meaning of the Ch'un Ts'êw Catechetically elicited.' In 20 Books; by Leu Ta-kwei (呂大圭; styled 圭叔, and also called 樸卿), who took his 8d degree in 1,247. The catechetical form enables the author to bring out his views with force; but there is nothing which can be called peculiarly his own. As between the early commentators, he adheres to Tso for the facts, and to Kuh-leang for the principles, having much to say against Kung-yang, and more against Ho Häw.

[vi.] 讀春秋編. 'Digest to help in reading the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In 12 Books; by Ch'in Shin (陳深; styled 子微), who lived both in the Sung and Yuen dynasties. He had given to his study the name of 清全齋, which characters often enter into the title of his Work. He makes constant use of Tso's Commentary, but is an advocate of the views of Hoo Gan-kwoh.

[vii.] 春秋諸國統紀. 'The Records in the Ch'un Ts'êw arranged under the States to which they severally belong.' In 22 Books; by Ts'e Le-k'êen (齊履謙; styled 伯恆). His preface is dated in 1,319. The peculiar character of the Work is shown in the title. He has placed the notices belonging to Loo before those of Chow;—very naturally, it seems to me, but the critics profess to
be shocked by the arrangement. A good deal of freedom is shown in the handling of subjects.

[viii.] 春秋或問, 'The meaning of the Chi’un Ts’êw Catechetically elicited.' In 10 Books; by Ch’ing Twan-hêoh (程端學, styled 時叔, called also 积齋), who took his third degree in 1,321. He was much employed in the office of historiography, and composed the Work next mentioned and another on the Chi’un Ts’êw before he felt equal to this, which is reckoned his chef d’oeuvre. It betrays a sceptical disposition in reference to the three early Commentaries, and is particularly rich in adducing the opinions of the Sung scholars.

[ix.] 春秋本義, 'The proper Meaning of the Chi’un Ts’êw.' In 30 Books; by Ch’ing Twan-hêoh above. This was his earliest Work on our Classic, and shows the same tendencies which are fully developed in 'The Meaning Catechetically elicited.' He gives the names of 176 Works and Authors, which he had consulted in preparing for his task.

[x.] 春秋諸傳會通, 'All the Commentaries on the Chi’un Ts’êw in one view.' In 24 Books; by Le Lüen (李廉; styled 行簡). The Author’s preface bears date in 1,349, towards the end of the Yuen dynasty. The substance of the three early Commentaries, and of their editors, Too Yu, Ho Hêw, and Fan Ning, of K’ung Ying-tah, Hoo Gan-kwoh, Ch’ing E-ch’uen, Ch’iin Foo-lîang (陳傅良), and Chang Hsiêh, is all to be found here, with the judgments on their different views of Le Lüen himself. It is a Work of great value.

[xi.] 春秋師說, 'My Master’s Teachings on the Chi’un Ts’êw. In 3 Books; by Châo Fang (趙汸; styled 子常). First published in 1,348. The author had studied under Hwang Tsih (黃澤), famous for his knowledge of the Yih King and the Chi’un Ts’êw; and here he gives what he had learned from him on the true meaning of those Classics, and the successes and failures of previous commentators.

[xii.] 春秋屬辭, 'The Style and Expression in the Chi’un Ts’êw on similar Subjects.' In 15 Books; by the same author as the above. This is an ingenious attempt to make out the principles by which Confucius was guided in his work of compiling the Chi’un Ts’êw from the historiographers of Loo. His principal Authorities are Too Yu and his own master Hwang Tsih; but he often differs from them. He did his work well; but we have seen that all conclusions on the subject must be very uncertain.
[xiii.] 春秋左氏傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Chuen of Tso-she.' In 10 Books, by the same Chaou Fang. A valuable Work. The writer has before him the three early Commentaries, and it is his object to correct errors and supply defects in Tso from Kung-yang and Kuh-liang. He has also before him the labours of Too Yu on Tso and of Chin Foo-leang on Kuh-liang, and he endeavours 'to take what is long in the one to supplement what is short in the other.'

19. 春秋釋例, 'The Laws of the Ch'un Ts'êw Explained.' By Too Yu; in 10 Books. This was a production of Too Yu, after he had completed his great Work on Tso's Chuen. It contains laws of style under 42 heads; then proceeds to the names of places, genealogies, and Too's scheme of the chronology of the Ch'un-Ts'êw period. It seems to me that three different Works of Too have here got mixed together. Choo E-tsun mentions the Laws of Style as a Work by itself, published under the Sung dynasty in 15 Books; noting that he had not been able to see it. He also notices the Chronology as a Work by itself, saying that only Too's preface to it remains. Indeed the whole was long supposed to be lost, but it was reproduced, as we have it now, in 1,777, from a Collection made in the period Yung-loh (1,403–1,424) of the Ming dynasty.

20. The 皇清經解 contains several Works on the Ch'un Ts'êw by the scholars of the present dynasty. I have used;—

[i.] 左傳杜解補正, 'Supplement, with Corrections, to Too's Explanations of the Tso Chuen.' In 3 Books; by Koo Yen-woo (See proleg. vol. IV., p. 101). Contains many useful hints for the translator of Tso. Koo makes much use of two scholars of the Ming dynasty,—Shaon Pau (邵寶) and Foo Sun (傅鏞), who had made it their business to discover the mistakes of Too.

[ii.] 學春秋隨筆, 'Jottings in the study of the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In 10 Books; by Wan Sze-ta (萬斯大; styled 充宗); born in 1,633, died in 1,783. Wan was well acquainted with the Le Ke, the official Book of Chow, and the E Le, and most of his remarks are based upon them. Chinese scholars praise him as having always good ground for what he says. I confess I have been inclined to call in question—now his Authorities, and now his interpretation of them.

[iii.] 春秋毛氏傳, 'Commentary on the Ch'un Ts'êw by Maou.' This is the work of Maou K'e-ling of whom I have had much to say in my previous volumes. In 35 Books. It is everywhere referred to in my notes. Occasionally one has to differ from
the author, but his views have in general commanded my approval. I thought at one time of simply translating his Work instead of giving all the Tso Chuen; but I considered that to do the latter would be more useful for students. Agreeing for the most part with Tso, Maou seems glad when he finds reason to differ from him; and he makes How Gan-kwoh his butt.

[v.] 春秋撰書刊誤, 'Errors in the Tablets of the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In two Books; by Maou K'e-ling. This is a defence of the text of Tso against the different readings that are found in Kung and Kuh.

[v.] 春秋屬辭比事記, 'An Exhibition of the Style of the Ch'un Ts'êw according to the analogies of the Subject-matter.' In two Books. Also by Maou K'e-ling. It contains a good demonstration of the baselessness of the praise-and-censure theory, and is intended to vindicate Maou's own four laws of interpretation, given in the introduction to his Commentary.

[vi.] 春秋說, 'Discourses on the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In 15 Books; by Hwuy Sze-k'e (惠士奇; styled 仲儒). He was also called 半農; and these two characters are often prefixed to the titles of his Works. This one on the Ch'un Ts'êw is of great value. The notices in the Classic are all classified; the views or illustrations of them afforded in the early Commentaries adduced; and the whole adjudicated on by the author.

[vii.] 春秋地理考實, 'The Geography of the Ch'un Ts'êw Examined and Determined.' In 4 Books; by Kêang Yung (See proleg. vol. IV., p. 98, n. 6). Displays much research; and is particularly valuable as bringing down the identifications of the ancient places to the geographical arrangements of the country at the present day. A foreigner is apt to err, as I have sometimes done in this matter, by accepting the geographical determinations in the K'ang-he edition of our classic, and then finding that the arrangement of departments and districts in a province has since been changed.

[viii.] 春秋左傳小疏, 'Short Glosses on the Ch'un Ts'êw and Tso Chuen.' In one Book; by Shin T'ung (沈彤; styled 冠雲, and also 果堂), who lived from 1,688 to 1,752, and was employed by the government in various literary tasks. He published 'short glosses' on several of the other classics as well as the Ch'un Ts'êw. I have found them useful.

[ix.] 春秋左傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Ch'un Ts'êw and Tso Chuen.' A Work similar to the above. In 8 Books;
by Hwuy Tung (惠棟; styled 定宇). It had been growing up in his family for three generations, until he revised the labours of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, added to them his own researches, and published it in 1,768. The reader of Too Yu will get considerable help from it.

[x.] 春秋正辭, 'The Language of the Ch'un Ts'ëw Determined and Regulated.' In 13 Books; by Chwang Ts'un-yu (莊存與), a scholar of the K'ên-lung period. The Work is for the most part an examination of the Classic according to the views and nomenclature of Kung-yang and Ho Hêw.

[xi.] 春秋左傳補疏, 'Supplementary Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso Chuen.' In 5 Books; by Ts'êaou Seun (焦循; styled 理堂 and 里堂). The writer's principal object was to supplement Kung Ying-tah's Explanations of Too Yu's comments on Tso.

[xii.] 春秋左傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ëw and Tso Chuen.' In 3 Books; by Ma Tsung-lêen (馬宗璉). Intended as a supplement to the Work with the same title by Hwuy Tung, noticed above.

[xiii.] 公羊何氏釋例, 'On the Laws of Ho Hêw in explaining the Commentary of Kung-yang.' In 10 Books; by Lâw Fung-luh (劉逢祿; styled 申甫), a scholar of the Kêa-k'ing period. A Work similar in design to No.x.

[xiv.] 公羊何氏解詁箋, 'Glosses on Ho Hêw's Explanations of Kung-yang.' In 1 Book; also by Lâw Fung-luh.

[xv.—xviii.] 發墨守評; 築架癟疾申何;左氏春秋考證, 籌膏自評. These are four Works by the same author. I have not translated the titles because they refer to controversies in the Han dynasty between Ho Hêw and Ch'ing K'ang-shing. The writer's object is to maintain the authority of Kung-yang and even of Kuh-lêang against Tso-she.

[xix.] 春秋異文箋, 'Glosses on the different readings in the text of the Ch'un Ts'êw.' In 13 Books; by Chaou T'an (趙垣), a scholar of the Kêa-k'ing period.

[xx.] 公羊禮說, 'Remarks on the rules of ceremony insisted on by Kung-yang.' In 1 Book; by Ling Shoo (凌濛); of the same period. He was a believer in Kung-yang.

[xxi.] 經義述聞, 'Recollections of Lessons on the meaning of the Classics.' In 10 Books, three of which are occupied with the Ch'un Ts'êw. By Wang Yin-che, whose 'Recollections of Lessons in the She' are noticed in the proleg. to vol. IV., p. 178.
41. 春秋地名考略, 'An Examination into the Names of places in the Ch'\un Ts\'ew.' In 14 Books; by Kaou Sze-ke (高士奇; styled 澗人), a great scholar of the K'ang-he period. The writer sometimes defeats his end by the minuteness of his researches. The Work is valuable, but not so convenient for the student as that on the same subject by K\u2103ang Yung, which I have already noticed.

42. 春秋大事表, 'The principal things in the Ch\un Ts\'ew exhibited in a tabular form.' In 50 Books, with one Book of Plates, and an Appendix. By Koo Tung-kaou (顧棟高; styled 震滄), a scholar and officer of the K\ang-he and K\u2103en-lung periods. I have met with no Work on the Ch\un Ts\'ew more exhaustive, and certainly with none from which I have myself derived more assistance. The author's tables and disquisitions supply the most abundant matter for study and research.

43. 春秋內傳古註輯存, 'The old Comments on the Ch\un Ts\'ew and Tao Chuen Collected and Preserved.' In 3 Books (三冊) by Yen Wei (嚴蔚; styled 豹人); published in 1,788. The Work is an attempt to gather and preserve the Comments of Fu\u2103 K\u2103en and other Commentators of the Han dynasty, to which the writer thinks Too Yu was often under obligation without acknowledging it.

44. 左氏春秋集說, 'Collected Discourses on the Ch\un Ts\'ew of Tso-she.' In 10 Books; with two Books of Introduction and Appendix, chiefly on the Laws of the Ch\un Ts\'ew. By Choo Goh-\u00e5ng (朱鶴齡; styled 長儒, and also called 愚巷), a graduate of the Ming dynasty who lived on into the present. The Work is useful, principally because the author is constantly quoting from Tan Tsoo and Chnou K\u2103w of the T\ang dynasty, though he does not himself agree with them.

45. 春秋占兹書, 'On the Articles on Divination in the Ch\un Ts\'ew.' In 3 Books. This is another Work bearing on the interpretation of the Tso Chuen by Maou K\u2103-e-ling, which has not been reprinted in the 皇清經解. The title is incorrect, because the references to divination in the text of the Ch\un Ts\'ew are the briefest possible, and the Work deals with articles in the Tso Chuen. It is said correctly in Maou's introductory notice that no satisfactory attempt to explain those articles had been made by Too Yu, K\u2103ung Ying-tah, or any other of the critics. It was bold in Maou to try to do so; but I do not think he has succeeded. So far as I have attained hitherto in the study of the Yih King and the ancient divination of the Chinese, I have failed to understand their principles;—if there be any principles in them.
46. 春秋條貫篇. "On the Connexion between the Notices in the text of the Ch'un Ts'êw." In 11 Books; also by Maou K'e-ling. The Work arose out of a dispute between Maou and the other Examiners at the competition for the third degree in 1,685, they contending that the connexion could only be discovered by means of the Chuen, and he that it could be ascertained from the text itself. The editors of the 'Catalogue of the Books in the Imperial Libraries (欽定四庫全書總目) condemn it as inferior to Maou's other productions on the Ch'un Ts'êw; but, like every other thing that he wrote, there is a great deal of force in many of his reasonings.

47. 春秋要要. "The most important Points in the Interpretation of the Ch'un Ts'êw Determined." In 6 Books; by Le Shin-kuh (李式穀; styled 海匏). The writer adopts the K'ang-hê Ch'un Ts'êw as the standard for interpreting the Classic, but now and then introduces a view of his own. It is a useful Work.

48. 閲左漫筆. "Occasional Jottings to help in reading the Tao Chuen." In 16 Books; by Ch'ang Mow-lue (常茂祿; styled 秋厔). This is one of the most recent Works on our Classic, the author's preface being dated in 1,867. He tells us that the Tao Chuen had been the mental food of his whole life, and that he had published two Works on special subjects connected with it. But he was in the habit of reading his favourite author, and the long list of critics and commentators on him, with pencil in hand; and wherever their remarks seemed to require addition or correction, he made his own notes; and so the materials for the present Work grew up gradually under his hand. One may get a good many suggestions from it.

49. 春秋左傳平議. "Quiet Discussions on Tso's Commentary on the Ch'un Ts'êw." In 3 Books; by Yu Yuel (俞樾; styled 蕭甫), like the last, a very recent writer. These 3 Books are only a portion of a large Work on all the classics, published in 1,866. He is helpful in determining the punctuation of the original; in fixing the exact meaning of characters; and on the interchanging use of characters by the ancient writers.

50. 左繹. "The Elegancies of Tso." In 30 Books; by Fung Le-hwa (馮李華; styled 天閹), and Luh Haou (陸浩; styled 大瀛). After various preliminary matter on the best way of reading the Tso Chuen, &c., the pages in the body of the Work are divided into two parts. In the lower part there are given the text and Tso's Commentary, with the comments of Too Yu at length, Luh Tih-ming's pronunciation of characters, and the glosses of Lin Yaou-sow (林
BOOKS USED IN PREPARING THE WORK.

The books used in preparing the work are: *Books Used in Preparing the Work* by Ch'iu Wang-chih, and from Kung Ying-ta-h, and from Koo Yen-woo's *Work*, the first of those mentioned above from the *Prolegomena*. The upper part of the page is occupied with Fung and Luh's own remarks, mostly designed to show the force and beauty of Tso's style. These give the name to the Work.

51. *左氏左義*, *Aids to the reading of Tso.* In *50 Books* by K'ang Ping-chang, whose *Work* on the *She* King I have noticed in the proleg. to *vol. IV.*, p. 175. The present *Work*, first published in 1,768, deserves much of the praise which I gave to the former. He differs from Too Yu on the laws of style in the classic, and thinks that Confucius simply copied the historiographers of Loo without altering or abbreviating their text.

From the first chapter of these prolegomena it will be seen that I have very much adopted these views myself, though aware of the objections that can be urged against them. K'ang appends short essays or disquisitions of his own on the events related to the narratives of Tso.

52. *春秋左氏傳集説*, *Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'êw and the Tso Chuen from all Sources.* In *60 Books*. This *Work* is still in manuscript, having been prepared, with a special view to my own assistance, by my friend Wang T'ao. It is entitled to the praise which I have bestowed, in the proleg. to *vol. IV.*, p. 176, on his *Work* on the *She*.

53. *春秋朔望考辨*, *An Examination into the first days of the moon, and the intercalary months, during the Ch'un-Ts'êw period.* In *3 Books*; also by Wang T'ao, and in manuscript. He shows the unsatisfactory nature of the chronological schemes proposed by Too Yu, Koo Tung-kaou, and Ch'ien How-yaou (陳厚耀) and then proceeds to his task, taking his data—now from the text, and now from the Chuen. His mind was first thoroughly stimulated on the subject by the Rev. Mr. Chalmers. There is certainly no *Work* in Chinese on the chronology of the Ch'un-Ts'êw period at all equal to this. He has also prepared in Chinese a table of the days of new moon and of the winter solstice for the whole period (春秋至朔表).

54. *春秋日食圖説*, *The Eclipses mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'êw, with Plates, and Disquisitions.* In *1 Book*. Also by Wang T'ao, and in manuscript. For the matter in this treatise, as for that in the above, Wang is mainly indebted to Mr. Chalmers.

55. *春秋問答*, *Difficulties with regard to the Ch'un Ts'êw, by way of Question and Answer.* In *1 Book*; by Wang T'ao, and
in manuscript. This treatise may be considered as Wang's endeavour to reply to questions proposed by myself, while engaged in the preparation and printing of this volume. It embraces most of the subjects which I have discussed in the previous chapters of these prolegomena. His answers are more or less satisfactory, but show the conservative character of the Chinese mind in regard to the views on the classics which have been current since the Han dynasty.

56. 左傳經世鈔, 'Extracts from the Tso Chuen.' In 23 Books; by Wei He (魏禧; styled 水叔), of the Ming dynasty. This Work contains the greater number of the narratives in Tso, those of them belonging to the same subject, which in his commentary are scattered over several years, being brought together. Explanatory glosses from Too Yu, Lin Yaou-sow, and Wei He himself are occasionally interspersed throughout Tso's text, and each paragraph is followed by reflections of a general or historical character from the compiler. It has been useful to me from the large characters, finely cut, in which the copy that I have is printed; and which is probably a reprint from an edition published in 1,748 by P'ang Kêa-ping (彭家屏; styled 業君). The經世 of the title is hardly translatable, and is taken from a remark by Chwang-tsze of the Chow dynasty about the Ch'un Tsêw (春秋經世先王之志).

57. 古文析義, 'Ancient Compositions, with Notes on their meaning.' In 16 Books; by Lin Yun-ming (林雲銘; styled 西仲), who took his third degree in 1,658. The Work is a little of the same nature as some volumes of "Elegant Extracts" from our English masters, which I have seen. A selection is made of the most celebrated pieces of composition from the Chow dynasty downwards, with explanations of the meaning and notes on the style interspersed, with a disposition at the end on the subject-matter by the compiler. The first two Books are occupied with pieces from the Tso Chuen. Lin Yun-ming was called a bibliomaniac (書癡) by his neighbours; but scholars speak contemptuously of his Works. Wang Taou calls the one before us 'a series of Lessons for a village school (鄉塾課蒙之本). The foreign student, however, is glad to get hold of it, especially at the commencement of his studies in the Tso Chuen.

The class of Works represented by the preceding is numerous. I have consulted the 古文析義新編; the 古文快筆; the 古文分編集評; the 古文觀止; the 古文評註; the 古文翼; the 古文眉誡; and the 古文淵鑑. Unfortunately they all deal with nearly the same pieces in Tso's Work.
I have not felt it necessary to introduce in the above list the Dictionaries and Works of general reference, with many others on the classics in general, which were mentioned in the lists in my preceding volumes, and have again been referred to as occasion required.

SECTION II.
TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER FOREIGN WORKS.

I have not to add to the Works of this class mentioned in my former volumes.

Dr. Bretschneider of Peking having stated in the Chinese Recorder for December 1870, p. 173, that the Ch'un Ts'êw had been translated into European languages, I made inquiry on the subject, to which that gentleman replied in the Recorder for July, 1871, pp. 51, 52. 'Some 40 years ago,' he says, 'Father Daniel, of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking, translated the Ch'un-ts'iu into Russian; but, so far as I know, this translation has never been published. The manuscript exists still. Besides this, parts of the Ch'un-ts'iu were translated into Russian, and published by other Russian Sinologues.' I have not seen these translations. Dr. Bretschneider refers also to a translation of the first book of the Ch'un Ts'êw by Bayer, with a Latin translation, which appeared in the 'Commentaria Academiae Petropolitanae,' vol. 7; but neither have I met with this.
春秋

元年春王正月。公及邾儀父盟于蔑。

夏五月，鄭伯克段于鄢。

秋七月，天王使宰咺來歸惠公仲子之賜。

冬十有二月，祭伯來。

公子益師卒。
I. 1 [It was his] first year, the spring, the king's first month.
   2 In the third month, the duke and E foo of Choo made a
     covenant in Meech.
   3 In summer, in the fifth month, the earl of Ch'ing overcame
     Twan in Yen.
   4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the king [by] Heaven's
     grace sent the [sub-] administrator Heuen with a
     present of [two] carriages and their horses for the funerals
     of duke Hwuy and [his wife] Chung Tse.
   5 In the ninth month, [the duke] and an officer of Sung
     made a covenant in Suh.
   6 In winter, in the twelfth month, the earl of Chae came [to
     Loo].
   7 Kung-tsze Yih-sze died.

**TITLE OF THE WORK.** — 春秋寓左傳
'The Spring and Autumn, with the Tao Chius.'
'Spring and Autumn' is equivalent to 'Annals, digested under
the four seasons of every year, only two seasons being given for
the sake of brevity. The subject of the name is fully discussed
in the Prolegomena, ch. I. I have printed
all the text of Tao Kueh-ying, immediately after the year of the
Classical to which it belongs.
Where his remarks are simply comments on the
The text, I have embodied them with my own notes.
His narratives, however, are all translated entire,
and the additional narratives which he gives,
not belonging to events referred to in the text,
and indicated by a (2) are included in the notes,
within brackets.

**TITLE OF THE BOOK.** — 隱公  'Duke Yin.'
Of the 12 dukes of Loo, whose years are chroni-
cled in the Ch'uan Ts'ew, Yin is the first, his
rule extending from B.C. 721—711. From the
establishment of Pje-k'in, son of the famous duke
of Chou, as marquis of Loo, in B.C. 1114, there
had been 13 chiefs. Yin's father and predecessor,
duke Hwuy (惠公), married first a daughter
of the House of Sung (孟子); and on her
death he supplied her place with Shing Tze
(遜子), one of her relatives who had followed
her from Sung to the husband of Loo. This lady
was the mother of Yin; but duke Hwuy by and
by took a second wife, the daughter of the
duke Wook (武) of Sung, called (仲子). Acc. to
Tao-shi, she had been born with some remark-
able lines on one of her hands, which were read as
meaning that she would become marchioness of
Loo. By her Hwuy had a son of higher dignity
than Yin, in consequence of the superior position
of his mother, and who afterwards made himself
duke Hwaun. This child being too young to take
charge of the State on his father's death, was
set aside in favour of Yin, who, however, only
considered himself as occupying in room of his
younger brother till the latter should come of
age.
Yin's name was Seih-koo (息姑). Yin being
the honorary or sacrificial title conferred after
his death, and meaning, — 'Sorrowfully swept
away, unsuccessful (隱義不成就)'.
Loo was only a marquisate. Its chiefs were
not dukes. Throughout the Ch'uan Ts'ew, how-
ever, we find the chiefs even of the smaller
States all dignified with the title of 'duke' after their death. Maou K'e-ling ingeniously
explains this as an instance of the style of the
'historiographers,' referring to the commencing
words in 'The Speech at Pe' (Shoo V. xxix).
— 公日, whereas, in the Preface to the Shoo,
pag. 60, instead of 公, we read 齊侯 'the
marquis of Loo.' The confusion which is caus-
ed, however, by the practice, in the narratives
of Tao Kueh-ying is very great, as he uses now
the name with the title of rank, and now the
honorary name and title of duke, with the most
entire indifference.
Yin's 1st year synchronised with the 49th of
king Ping (平王); the 9th year of Hsüe
(齊僖公); the 2d of Goh of Tain (晉
諸侯); the 11th. of Chwang of K'eh-yuhs
(曲沃莊伯); the 13th of Hwan of Wei.
The remaining character in this paragraph occasions the foreign student considerable perplexity. The commencement of the year was really in the 2d month of winter, and yet it is here said to have been in the spring. —春王正月

We have spring when it really was not spring. It must be kept in mind that the usual names for the seasons—春夏秋冬—only denote in the Ch'iu Tèwé the four quarters of the Chow year, beginning with the 2d month of winter. It was, no doubt, a perception of the inconvenience of such a calendar which made Confucius, loyal as he was to the dynasty of Chow, say that he preferred that of Hssè to it. Strange as it is to read of spring, when the time is really winter, and of winter when the season is still autumn, it will appear, as we go on, that such is really the style of the Ch'iu Tèwé. Moon, fully admitting all this, yet contends for a strange interpretation of the text, in which he joins 春 with 王 together, making the phrase to stand for the kings of Chow.—Spring kings, who reigned by the virtue of wood, the first of the five elements (五行之首). He presses, in support of this view, the words of T'ao-she on this paragraph. —元年春王正月，春，他 says, T'ao-she joined 春 with 王, as he himself would do; but T'ao-she's language need not be so construed, and 革 evidently stands by itself, just as the names of the other seasons do.

We come now to the incompleteness of the par., already pointed out. According to the analogy of the style in the first years of other dukes, it should be stated that in his 1st year and the 1st month of it, the duke took the place (即位) of his predecessor. According to the rules of Chow, on the death of a sovereign—and all the princes were little kings in their several States—his successor, acknowledged to be such as the chief mourner on the occasion and taking the direction of the proper ceremonies for the departed, ascended the throne by the binen. There is an interesting account of such an accession in the Shoo, V, xxii. The thing was done so hurriedly because 'the State could not be a single day without a sovereign (國家不可一日無君)'; or because, as we phrase it, 'the king never dies.' What remained of the year, however, was said to belong to the reign of the deceased king, and the new reign began with the beginning of the next year, when there was a more public 'taking of the place,' though I do not know that we have any account of the ceremonies which were then performed. The first 'place-taking' was equivalent to our 'accession;' the second, to our 'coronation.' The proper explanation, therefore, of the incompleteness of the paragraphs is that T'ìn omitted the ordinary 'place-taking' ceremonies, and of these there could be no record of them. Perhaps he made the omission, having it in mind to resign ere long in favour of his younger brother (so, T'ào-she), but to say that the usual 公即位
here omitted by Confucius, wither to show his approval or disapproval of Yin, as Kuh-leang does, followed by Hoo Gan-khuo (A.D. 1374—1138) and a hundred other commentators, is not to explain the text, but to perplex the reader with vain fancies.

Par. 2. There was nothing proper for record in the 1st and 2nd months of the year, and we come here to the third month. Choo (we have Choo-lo, 鄱, in Kung-yang) was a small State, nearly all surrounded by Loo—the pres. dist. of Tsow (鄭), dep. Yen-chow. At this time it was only a Foo-yung (附庸), attached to Loo (see Memor. V. 1, ii. 4); but in a few years after this its chief was raised to the dignity of viscount (子). The House had the surname of Te-wen (曹), and had been invested with the territory by king Woo, as being descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-ho. The chief's name, as we learn afterwards from the Ch'un Te'w, was K'ih (杞) E-loo (高 read in the 2d tone, found appended to many designations, by way of honour) is his designation (字), given to him here, says Tso-shu, by way of honor, for which remark there seems to be no ground. Meeh (Kuh and Kung both have the same sound) was a place belonging to Loo—in the pres. dist. of Sue-shway (泗水), dep. Yen-chow. We know nothing of any special object sought by the 'covenanting' here. Tso she merely says that the duke arranged for it to cultivate friendly relations with his neighbour, at the commencement of his temporary administration. "公 heads the record, here and in most other accounts of meetings and covenants on the part of the marquises of Loo with other princes—an order proper in the historiographers of that State. I can think of no better word for 王 than 'covenant,' 'to covenant.' On all occasions there was the death of a victim, over which the contracting parties appealed to superior or foreign, wishing that, if they violated the terms of their covenant, they might meet with a fate like that of the slain animal. One definition of the term is a 誓约, 'an agreement with an oath.' Compare the account of Jacob and Laban's covenant, Genesis, xxxi.

The 及 after 公 is to be taken as simply 合, 'with,' 'and,' Kung, Kuh, and others find questionable in it, which will not bear examination. [Tso-shu, after this paragraph, gives an incident of the 4th month, in summer, that the Earl of Pu led a force, and went to the Loo, where he was killed, because it was not done with the duke's order. See the 1st note on 'The speech at Pe' in the Shoe. I have translated the notice according to the view of Ch'iu Shao-k'ee given there; but Tso-shu could not have intended the 費伯 to be taken as meaning 'Earl of Pe,' but merely 'Fuh (some secon of the House of Loo) of Pe.']

Par. 3. Ching was an earldom which had not been of long duration. In B.C. 805, king Sense had invested his brother Yow (友) with the lands of Ching, in the prov. Hwa Chow (華州), dep. Tung-chow, Shih-si. Yow's son, Koueh-tu (瞿午), known as duke Wou (武公), conquered a territory more to the east,—the country of Kwoh and Kweil (魏國之地)—and settled in it, calling it 'New Ching;' the name of which is still retained in the district of Sin-ching (新鄭), dep. K'au-fung, Ho-nan. Wou's son, Woo-shang (衛生), known as duke Chwang (莊) and born in B.C. 756, is the earl of this part. Tawn was his younger brother. Yen has left its name in the dis. of Yen-ling (郯 鄄). Tso-shu's account of the event in the text is the following:—

'Duke Wou of Ching had married a daughter of the House of Shih, called Woo Kiang, who bore duke Chwang and his brother Tawn of Kung. Duke Chwang was born as she was waking from sleep (the meaning of the text here is uncertain), which frightened the lady so that she named him Woo-shang (衛公 born in waking), and hated him, while she loved Tawn, and wished him to be declared his father's heir. Often did she ask this of duke Wou, but he refused it. When duke Chwang came to the earldom, he begged him to confer on Tawn the city of Che. 'It is too dangerous a place,' was the reply. "The Younger of Kwoh died there; but in regard to any other place, you may command me." She then requested King; and there Tawn took up his residence, and came to be styled Tae-shuh ('the Great Younger') of King city. Chung of Chiao said to the duke, 'Any metropolitan city, whose wall is more than 3,000 cubits round, is dangerous to the State. According to the regulations of the former kings, such a city of the 1st order can have its wall only a third as long as that of the capital; one of the 2d order, only a fifth as long; and one of the least order, only a ninth. Now King is not in accordance with these measures and regulations. As ruler, you will not be able to endure Tawn in such a place.' The duke replied, 'It was our mother's wish,—how could I avoid the danger?" "The lady Kiang," returned the officer, 'is not to be satisfied. You had better take the necessary precautions, and not allow the danger to grow so great that it will be difficult to deal with it. Even grass, when it has grown and spread all about, cannot be removed,—how much less the brother of yourself, and the favoured brother as well!" The duke said, "By his many deeds of unrighteousness he will bring destruction on himself. Do you only wait a while.' After this, Tae-shuh ordered the places on the western and northern borders of the State to render to himself the same allegiance as they did to the earl. Then Kung-tzei Loo said to the duke, 'A State cannot sustain the burden of two services,—what will you do now? If you wish
THE CH'UN TS'EW, WITH THE TSO CHUEN.

BOOK I.

to give Ch'ing to Tse-shuh, allow me to serve him as a subject. If you do not mean to give it to him, allow me to put him out of the way, that the minds of the people be not perplexed.

"There is no need," the duke replied, "or seek a step. He cannot change of itself."

"Tse-shuh went on to take as his own the places from which he had required their divided contributions, as far as Lin-yen. Tse-fung [the designation of Kung-tseh Leu above] said:

"Now is the time. With these enlarged resources, he will draw all the people to himself." The duke replied, "They will not cleave to him, so unrighteous as he is. Through his prosperity he will fall the more."

"Tse-shuh wrought at his defence, gathered the people about him, put in order buff-coats and weapons, prepared footmen and chariots, intending to surprise Ch'ing, while his mother was to open to him from within. The duke heard the time agreed on between them, and said, "Now we can act." So he ordered Tse-fung, with two hundred chariots, to attack. King revolted from Tse-shuh, who then entered Yen, which the Tse-shuh proceeded to attack; and in the 5th month, on the day Sin-chow, Tse-shuh fled from it to Kung.

"In the words of the text, "The earl of Ch'ing overcame Ts'eu in Yen," Ts'eu is not called the earl's younger brother, because he did not show himself to be such. They were as two hostile princes, and therefore we have the word "overcomes." The duke isstyled the earl of Ch'ing simply, to condemn him for his failure to instruct his brother properly. Ts'eu's flight is not mentioned, in the text, because it was difficult to do so, having in mind Ch'ing's wish that Ts'eu might be killed.

"Immediately after these events, duke Chwang placed his mother K'ang in Shing-yi, and swore an oath, saying, "I will not see you again, till I have reached the yellow spring (i.e., till I am dead, and under the yellow earth)."

But he repeated of this. By and by, Ying K'un-shuh, the border-warden of the vale of Ying, heard of it, and presented an offering to the duke, who caused food to be placed before him. K'un-shuh put a piece of meat on one side, and when the duke asked the reason, he said, "I have a mother who always shares in what I eat. But she has not eaten of this meat which you, my ruler, have given, and I beg to be allowed to leave this piece for her." The duke said, "You have a mother to give it to. Alas! I alone have none." K'un-shuh asked what the duke meant, who then told him all the circumstances, and how he repeated of his oath.

"Why should you be distressed about that?" said the officer. "If you dig into the earth to the yellow springs, and then make a subterranean passage, where you can meet each other, who can say that your oath is not fulfilled?" The duke followed this suggestion; and as he entered the passage, sang:

"This great tunnel, within,
With joy doth run.
When his mother came out, she sang,
"This great tunnel, without,
With joy thou run." [After this, they were mother and son as before."

"A superior man may say," Ying K'un-shuh was filled indeed. His love for his mother pass-

ed over to and affected duke Chwang. Was there not here an illustration of what is said in the Book of Poetry,

"A filial son of piety unfailing."

"There shall be ever be conferred blessing on you?"

Space would fail me were I to make any remarks on the criticisms interpersed by Tao-shue in this and other narratives, or vindicate the translation of his narratives which I give. The reader will perceive that without the history in the Ch'ung, the Confucian text would give very little idea of the event which it professes to record, and there are numberless instances, more flagrant still, in the Book. The "kung," who moralizes, is understood to be Tao-shue himself. We have no other instances in the Ch'ung Ts'ew of its use in this paragraph.

Par. 4. 天子, "Heaven's king," or "king by Heaven's grace," is of course king Ts'ing. The sovereign of Ch'ing, as Heaven's vice-governor over the empire, is styled 天子, "Heaven's son;" in his relation to the feudal princes as their ruler, he was called 天王, "Heaven's king.

仲子 is "the second Ts'eu," i.e., the daughter of the duke of Sung, who became the 9th wife of duke Hwuy as mentioned in the note on the title of this book; nor Hwuy's mother, as Kung-shang absurdly says. 送 is explained in the dict. 送者,"presents to the dead," and 送者主人送葬者,"sends to the preceding mourner to bury his dead." But such presents were of various kinds, and 送 denotes the gift specially of one or more carriages and their horses. So both Kung and Kuh. The king sent such presents on the death of any of the princes or their wives; and here we have an instance in point. But there is much contention among the critics as to who the messenger was,—whether the king's chief Minister 聚, or some inferior officer of his department. The former view is taken by Kuh-shang, and confirmed by the editors of the K'ang-ho Ch'ung Ts'ew; but, as I must think, erroneously. Under the 聚 or 太聚, were two 小聚 and four 聚夫, called by Biot Grand-administrateurs généraux, "Sous-administrateurs generaux," and under-administrateurs generaux. It belonged to the department of the last, on all occasions of condolence, to superintend the arrangements, with every thing that was supplied by way of presents or offerings,—the silks, the silks, the money, &c. (see the Chow Le, I. iii. 56—78). The officer in the text was, no doubt, one of these aid-administrators; and this removes all difficulty which the critics find in the mention of an officer of higher rank by his name.

The rule was that princes should be buried five months after their death, and Tao-shue says that the king's message and gift arrived too late, as far as duke Hwuy was concerned. This criticism may be correct; but go on to say
that Chung Tze was not yet dead, and the message and gift were too early, so far as she was concerned. The king could never have been guilty of such an impropriety as to anticipate the lady's death in this way, and the view of Tso-he can only provoke a smile. He adds:—'The king's burial took place 7 months after his death, when all the feudal princes were expected to be present. The princes of a State was buried 5 months after his death, when all the princes, with whom he had corresponded, attended. The funeral of a great officer took place 3 months after his death, and was attended by all of the same rank; that of an officer, at the end of a month, and was attended by his relatives by affinity. Presents on account of a death were made before the burial, and visits of condolence were paid before the grief had assumed its greatest demonstrations. It was not assumed to anticipate such occurrences.'

On first translating the Ch'ung Tseh, I construed the par. as if these were his between 公 and 仲, and supposed that only one carriage and its horses were sent for the funeral of Chung Tseh, who had been the wife of Hwuy. I gave up the construction in deference to the prevailing opinion of the commentators; but it had been adopted by no less a scholar than Ch'ing Hsi, Tung P'ing, and K'ai Hsi. [A.D. 1083–1107].

[Two she has here two other entries under this season:—In the 8th month an officer of Ke attacked E; and 'There were locusts.' He adds that E sent no official announcement of the attack to Loo, and that therefore it was not recorded; and that no notice was entered of the locusts, because they did not amount to a plague.]

Par. 3. Sung was a dukedom, having its chief city in the pres. dis. of Shang-k'ow. The charge given to the viscount of Wei on his being appointed to the State is still preserved in the Shoo, V. viii. The dukedoms of Sung were descended from the kings of Yin and Shang; and of course their surname was Tseh (子). Such was a small State, in the present Tung-p'ing (東平) Chow, dep. Tsi-ch'ang, Shan-tung. It was thus near Loo, but a good way from Sung. Its chiefs were barons with the surname Fung (風).

Tso-he tells us that in the last year of duke Hwuy, he defeated an army of Sung in Hwang, but that now duke Yin sought for peace. It was with this object that the covenant in the text was made.

I translate as if 公 proceeded to, for so the wording must generally be supplied throughout the classic. Kung and Kuh both understand some inferior officer of Loo (微者), but in other places they themselves supply 公. By 未人, however, we must understand an officer of Sung. It is better to translate so than to say simply "a man of Sung."

[Between this par. and the next Tseh has the three following narratives:—

'In winter, in the 10th month, on the day Kung-shih, the body of duke Hwuy was removed and buried a second time. As the duke was not present, the event was not recorded. When duke Hwuy died, there was war with Sung, and the heir-prince was young, so that there was some omission in the burial. He was therefore now buried again, and in another grave. The marquis of Wei came to be present at the burial. He did not have an interview with the duke, and so his visit was not recorded.'

After the confusion occasioned by Kung-shuh of Ch'ing, Kung-sun Hwa (Twon or Kung-shuh's son) fled to Wei, and the people of Wei attacked Ch'ing in his behalf, and requested Lin-yen for him. Ch'ing then attacked the southern border of Wei, supported by a king's army and an army of Kweh, and also requested the aid of troops from Choo. The viscount of Choo sent a private message to Kung-tze Yu of Loo, who asked leave from the duke to go. It was refused; but he went and made a covenant with an officer of Choo and an officer of Ch'ing in Yih. No record was made of this, because Yu's going was against the duke's order."

'The southern gate of the city was made new. It was done without the duke's order, and so was not recorded."

Par. 5. Chao [a 著 is here read] was an earldom, in the present Ch'ing Chow (鄭州), dep. K'ue-fung, held by the descendants of one of the dukedoms of Chow's sons. Acc. to Tseh she the earl was a minister at court, and came to Loo, for what purpose we know not, without the orders of the king. Kung-yang, indeed, thinks he came as a refugee, and that is the designation of the individual merely (字), and not his title; while Kuh-liang makes the coming to have been to do a sort of homage to duke Yin. But this is simply guess work."

Par. 7. Of Yih-ze we know nothing but what the Tsoh par. tells. 'He was a duke's son,' but whether the son of Hwuy, or of Hwuy's father, we cannot tell. It is best in such a case to take 公子 as if it were the surname. So Ho Hwuy (何休) says here 公子者氏也. Kuh-liang finds a condemnation of Yih-ze in the omission of the day of his death; but the old method of interpretation which found praise or blame in the mention of or silence as to days, in the use of the name, the designation, the title, and such matters, is now discarded. 公 is the proper term to use for the death of an officer. Tseh gives the designation of Yih-ze as Chung-fu, and says that the day of his death is not recorded, because the duke did not attend at the ceremony of dressing the corpse, so it into the coffin.
二年，春公會於戚於潛。

夏五月，莒人入向。

秋八月，庚辰，公及戎盟於唐。

冬十月，伯姬歸於紀。

九月，紀裂繆來逆女。

紀子帛莒子盟於密。

十有二月，乙卯夫人子氏薨。

鄭人伐衛。

在第二年春天，公在戚於潛會盟。

第二年夏天五月，莒人入侵向。

第二年秋天八月，庚辰，公与戎在唐会盟。

第二年冬天十月，伯姬归于纪。

第二年九月，纪裂缪来迎女。

纪子帛与莒子在密盟。

第二年十二月，乙卯，夫人子氏去世。

郑国人入侵卫。

II. 

1. In his second year, in spring, the duke had a meeting with the [chief of the] Jung at Ta'êen.
2. In summer, in the fifth month, an army of Keu entered Hêang.
3. Woo-hêae led a force and entered Keih.
4. In autumn, in the eighth month, [on the day] Kâng-shin, the duke made a covenant with the Jung at T'ang.
5. In the ninth month, Le-seu of Ke came to meet the bride [for his prince].
6. In winter, in the tenth month, the duke's eldest daughter went to her home in Ke.
7. Tsze-pih of Ke and the count of Keu made a covenant at Meih.
8. In the twelfth month, on the day Yih-maou, the [duke's] wife, the lady Tsze, died.
9. An army of Ch'ing invaded Wei.
Par. 1. There is wanting here the character 王, "king," after 春, probably because no month is specified under whose reign it should be. Jung is properly the name of the wild tribes on the west of "the Middle State (西戎);" but in the time of Chow there were many of these tribes, and not those of the west only, settled in China along the seaboard and by the rivers.—remnants of the older inhabitants, not yet absorbed by the Chinese proper. We know, from the Shoo, that Loo was troubled even in the days of Pih-K'iu of the Hwa and the Jung of Shu. The Jung in the text may have been a remnant of the latter. Too Yu says their settlement was in what is now the dis. of Ts'aoou (曹), dep. Ts'aoou-chow. He says also that Ts'oon was a town of Loo, somewhere in the south-west of Ts'aoou-chow dep. 會戎 is met with the Jung. Kuh-kang says the term implies that the meeting originated with the other party, and not with Loo, and that the duke went out of his own State to it. Ho Hê on Kung-yang also advocates this view. But the meaning of 會 is not to be so determined; and, acc. to Too Yu, the place of meeting was in Loo. Too-she says the duke's object was to cultivate the old friendship which his father had maintained with the Jung, but that he declined to enter into a covenant, which the Jung wished him to make.

Par. 2. Ken has left its name in Ken Chow, dep. E-chow (沂州). It extended east from Loo to the seaboard. Its chiefs were viceroys, and claimed to be descended from the old Shao-hoan, Hwang-t'oo's successor. There is some difficulty about their surname, whether it was Ying (嬴) or Sze (齊). Hêang was a small State, within the boundaries of Ken. Too Yu, indeed, would place it in the pres. dis. of Hwa-yu (晉). He says that the viceroys of Ts'oon visited Ts'oon-dynasty (周), dep. Pung-yang (璜陽), Gaan-hwuy. There was a HSiang there, but it was too far from Ken to be that in the text. And there were two Hêang in the pres. Shantung, one of them 70 li from Ken Chow, which was probably that here. The chief of Hêang had the surname Kiang (姜), as we learn from what Too-she says on the par. The vicar of Ken had married a daughter of Hêang, but she could not rest in Keu, and went back to Hêang. This summer, an army from Ken entered Hêang, and took the lady Kiang back to Ken. I translate by "the army of Ken," after Moou (莒人者). 莒人者, who lays down the canon that, in the Ch'ün T'ieh, wherever mention is made of troops under the command of any officer, high or low, who is not specified by name or designation, we find simply "the men," of such and such a State. Too Yu says, somewhat to the same effect, that we find people of high rank. The term 會, "entered," occurs frequently of military expeditions; implying that "the entering is against the will of the invaded party (内弗反);" but other cases in which the entering was followed by the entire subjugation and occupancy of the place of the State. This latter was probably the case in regard to Keu and Hêang, though the language of Too-she translated above has been pleaded against this conclusion. 會 implies invasion and capture in the present; what was done subsequently cannot be learned from the term.

Par. 3. Woo-hiîe (Kuh reads, here and subsequently, 舞) was an officer of Loo,—a soldier of the ruling House, belonging to a branch which had not yet received a surname of its own. Tso-she says he was Loo's minister of Works, and adds that at this time he was defeated by Kiu-loo of Pe,—the same who walled Lung in the previous year. Kuh was a small attached State, referred to in the dis. of Yu-t'oo (魚臺), dep. Yen-chow (恩州). The incident given here is said to be the first in the Ch'ün T'ieh of officers taking it upon themselves to institute warlike movements. It certainly shows how loosely the reins of government were held by the marquises of the State.

Par. 4. Tung was a place belonging to Loo,—its site 12 li east from the pres. dis. city of Yu-t'oo. Too-she says that the Jung at the meeting in spring had requested a covenant which the duke then refused, granting it now, however, on a second application. The text says this covenant was made on the day Kung-shên, the 17th of the cycle; and Too Yu observes that in the 8th month of this year there was no Kung-shên day, and concludes that there is an error in the text of the 8th month for the 7th, the 9th day of which was Kung-shên. His calculation, however, proceeds on the supposition that the 1st year of Yin began with the day Sin-sze (辛亥). If we make it begin a month later, with the day Sin-sie (辛亥), according to another scheme, we get the day Kung-shên in the 8th month of this 2d year. But the Sin-sie scheme falls in other instances. The chronologists of China have toiled admirably on the months and days of the Ch'ün T'ieh, but thus far with only partial success. The dates in the classic and those in Tso-she's Ch'en are often irreconcilable. Two data are necessary to a complete scheme,—that the day on which the 1st year of Yin began be known with certainty, and that the intercalary months in subsequent years be ascertained. Neither of these data can be got. See Mr. Chalmers' essay on the Astronomy of the ancients, Chinese, in the Prolegomena to the Shoo, pp. 19—107.

Par. 5. Ke was a small State, a marquise, in the dis. of Shoo-kwang (壽光), dep. Ts'aoou-chow. It lay between Ke (莒) on the south and Ts'ei (齊) on the north; and we shall find, ere long, that it was absorbed by Ts'ei. Le-suo (萇) was the name of a minister.
of Ke. We know that he comes here to meet his prince's bride from the phrase 逆女, for, when a minister is described as coming to Loo to meet a lady of the House for himself, he is said 逆某姬, to meet such and such a lady Ke. He comes of course because he was sent, but it was not proper, according to the "rules for marriage," that that should be stated.

Par. 6. This is the sequel of the last par. As it is the first par. of a season, it seems proper that it should stand by itself, and not make one with the other as in the Kang-ho edition.

歸—嫁: "to be married," spoken of the lady. Her husband's house becomes her home.

Par. 7. Tze-pih, (in Tse-an 子幷) is explained by Too Yu as the designation of Le-seu in par. 5. Kung says he had not heard who 子伯 was; and Kuh makes 伯 a verb and construes thus:—'The viscount of Ke, considering himself an earl, took precedence and covenanted with the viscount of Ken.' This is sufficiently absurd, and besides, the chiefs of Ken were marquises, which makes Woo Ch'ing (A. D. 1249 — 1333) suppose that 子伯 may have got, by some mistake, into the text instead of 侯. Too Yu's view may be accepted as most likely. He says also that Moel was a town belonging to Ken;—in dia. of Ch'ung yih 岳, dep. Loo-chow. This places it a considerable way from Ken, though near to Ke. The identification of the site may be accepted, but one does not see how a place at such a distance from Ken should have belonged to it. My friend, the scholar Wang Tsan, has suggested that the chiefs of Ken themselves occupied originally in the territory of Loo-chow, and might claim jurisdiction over places there after they moved to the south. There was another Moel which is mentioned in the Chun Tsew,—in Ho-nan. Too-choo says that the meeting was 'on Loo's account,' which Too-yu explains as meaning that the count of Ke, kindly disposed to Loo through his recent marriage, arranged for the meeting to heal a long-standing alienation between Loo and Ken.

Par. 8. I have translated 夫人子氏 by "the duke's wife," meaning, of course, duke Yin. Too supposes the second wife of How to be the lady meant. In anticipation of whose death the king sent a funeral present in the previous year,—a visit which confutes itself. Kung thinks the lady was Yin's mother. Kuh takes the view I have done. The term 子氏 is appropriate to narrate the death of one of the princes. It is here applied to the death of a prince's wife,—the honour due to the husband passing to her.

Par. 9 Wei was a marquisate held by the descendants of K'ang-shih, one of the sons of king Wan, whose investiture with it is described in the Shoo, V. ix. It may be roughly said to have embraced the pres. dep. of Wei-hwuy (衛國), Ho-nan—lying, most of it, north of the Ho; but it extended eastwards, across part of Chih-lo, into Shan-tung as well. Its capital—subsequently changed,—was the old Chihou-ko (朝歌) of Shang, in pres. dia. of K'e (衛). The reason of Ch'ing's invasion of Wei is sufficiently indicated in one of the supplementary notices by Tsu-she of the occurrences in the 10th month of last year.

第三年。春。王二月己巳。

三月庚戌天王崩。夏四月辛卯尹氏卒。秋武氏子來求聘。冬十有二月齊侯鄭伯盟于石門。癸未葬宋穆公。
夏君氏卒，声子也，不赴于诸侯，不反哭于寝，不祔于姑，故不昭也，不称夫人。故不言葬。不书姓，为公故，曰君氏。

昭惠信也。

武氏子来聘，王未葬也。

宋穆公疾召大司马孔父而属殇公焉曰：‘先君病与其舍与夷而立寡人，寡人弗敢忘，若以大夫之德，得保首封，以没，以寡人。’使子韦奉之，以主社稷，寡人虽死，亦无悔焉。’对曰：‘寡臣闻命矣。’”

冬，齐侯盟于石门，寻weapons之盟也。庚戌，郑伯之车败于济，以义方弗莅焉，故 azt，著浮战，所自彼也，四者之末，而裨อด些也，将立州吁，乃定之矣，若犹未也，退之焉，而郑为公墓也。
III. 1 In his third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on the day Ke-seh, the sun was eclipsed.

2 In the third month, on the day Käng-seuh, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, on the day Sin-maou, [an officer of] the Yin family died.

4 In autumn, a son of the Woo family came [to Loo] to ask for the contribution of money towards the [king's] burial.

5 In the eighth month, on the day Käng-shin, Ho, duke of Sung, died.

6 In winter, in the twelfth month, the marquis of Ta'e and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant at Shih-mên.

7 [On the day] Kwei-we, there was the burial of duke Muh of Sung.

Par. 1. This is the list of the 38 eclipses of the sun mentioned in the Ch'ün Tsew. From the table in the preface to the Shoo, pp. 109, 104, it will be seen that it occurred on the 14th February, B.C. 719, being the 6th cycle day, or Ke-seh, of the 5th month of the Chow year. There is an error therefore in the text of 2 for 3. The mathematicians of China were themselves aware of this, as early as the Suy dynasty (A.D. 589-617). Evidently this year commenced on January 16th, instead of a month earlier, by some previous error of interpolation. Generally, the character 朔, 'the 1st day of the moon,' follows the name of the day of the eclipse; and as it is wanting here, Kung and Kuh conclude that the eclipse was really on the last day of the previous month. But this involves much greater difficulty than to suppose that the 朔 was omitted through inadvertence of the historiographers, or has dropped somehow out of the text.

日有食之，日有所食之者，'The sun had something which was devouring it.' The phenomenon had suggested this idea to the earliest Chinese, and the phrase became stereotyped in the language. On the occasions observed at an eclipse, 'to save the sun,' see the Shoo, III.iv.4, and note. Kung-yang thinks eclipses were recorded as extraordinary events 異, but the K'ung-ho editors approve rather the view that it was as calamitous presages 獄.

Par. 2. 崩, 'the fall of a mountain,' is the appropriate term for the death of a sovereign. Tso-ko says that king P'ing really died on the day Jin-wuh, i.e., 12 days before Kang-seuh, but that the official communication of the event gave the wrong date, which was therefore recorded; and too Yu thinks the date was wrongly communicated to harry the princes to the capital. But there must be some other way of explaining Tso-ko's statement, if it be correct.—The death of the sovereign was communicated to all the princes of the States, whose duty it then was to send off to the capital a high minister to take part in the preliminary funeral rites, and present the various offerings of money, silk, &c., required on such an occasion. The princes themselves did not go to the capital till the time of burial was arrived.

Par. 3. Who is denoted by the 尹氏 here is ill-determined. Tso-ko reads 君 instead of 尹, and 君氏 is something like our 'royal lady,' meaning duke Yin's mother. Kung-yang and Kuh-liang both have 尹 and suppose that by 尹氏 is intended some minister at the court of Chow that surname, 氏 intimating that whatever office he held had become hereditary in his family. Many other explanations of the words have been attempted. The most probable appears to be that of Kin Lo-t'ung (A.D. 1525-1603), which is strongly advocated by Moou,—that the person intended was an officer of Ch'ing, of whom we shall read in Tso-ko's Chüan, on the duke's 11th year, where the text here will again be touched on. Tso-ko says that the term 崩 is used here for the lady's death, instead of 薨 for three reasons: because 1st, no notice of her death was sent to other States in covenant with Loo; 3d, duke Yin, on
Here the Chuen has:—"Duke Muh [His sacrificial title] of Sung being ill, he called to him Kung-loo, his minister of War, and charged him to secure the succession to the duke. Shang, saying, "My predecessor passed by An-son Yu-e, and left the State to unwardy me. I dare not forget his deed; and if by your powerful influence I succeed in preserving my head till I die in peace, should my brother ask about Yu-e, what answer shall I be able to return? I beg you to secure him the appointment to be lord of the altars, and then I shall be able to die without regret." The other replied, "All the officers wish to support your son P'ing." "That must not be," said the duke. "My brother deceased me worthy, and made me lord of the altars. If I now throw away my virtue, and do not yield the State to his son, I shall be nullifying his promotion of me, and not worthy to be deemed honourable. Should it not be my chief object to illustrate brightly the excellent virtue of my brother? Do not you, my friend and minister, nullify his merit." On this Duke Muh's son, P'ing, was sent away to reside in Chi'ng; and when Muh died on the day K'ang-shin, in the 6th month, Duke Shang succeeded him. A superior man may say, "It may be pronounced of Duke Seuen (who preceded Muh) of Sung that he knew men. He made Muh possess the State, and his own son came afterwards to the enjoyment of it,—the charge was according to righteousness. Are not the words in the sacrificial odes of Shang?"

"Right is it that Yin should have the appointment, And sustain all the dignities (She, IV.iv.III.) descriptive of such a case."

Par. 6. Tao was one of the most powerful States, a marquisate, whose capital was Ying-k'ee (霩頯), in pres. dis. of Liu-tee (臨兩), dept. Ts'ing-chau; but it extended much beyond the boundaries of that department. Its princes had the surname of Kiang (姜), and traced their lineage up to the chief minister of Yaoo. Shih-min belonged to Tao,—in the south-west of Chi'ang-t'ing (長陽), dept. Tao-nan. It probably took its name from some 'Stone-gate' or embankment of the river Ts'e. Tao-she says that in connection with this meeting, "the carriage of the earl of Chi'ing was overturned in the Ts'e."

Par. 7. The Duke of Sung is mentioned here, with his honorary or sacrificial title of Muh (Muh and Kung have 哀), the burial taking place, of course, in his own State. We might translate—"We buried," it being the rule that friendly States should send a great officer to represent them on such occasions; and this Loo had here done.

[The Chuen appends here the following narrative about Wei:—

"Duke Chweng of Wei had married the sister of Tsh-shlin, the heir-son of the marquis of Ts'e, known as Chweng Kiang. She was beautiful but childless, and it was of her that the people of Wei made the song of the 'Great Lady' (She, I.v.III.)."

The Duke then married a daughter of the House of Chi'ing, called Le Kwei, who had a son called..."
第十四年

冬，九月，宋夏，戎取阴石。
In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army of Keu invaded Ke, and took Mow-low.


In summer, the duke and the duke of Sung met at Ts'ing.

The duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, an army of Ts'ae, and an army of Wei invaded Ch'ing.

In autumn, Hwuy led a force, and joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the army of Ts'ae, and the army of Wei, in the invasion of Ch'ing.

In the ninth month, the people of Wei put Chow-yu to death in Puh.

In winter, in the twelfth month, the people of Wei raised Tsin [to be marquis of the State].

Ke was a marquisate (its chiefs are also called earls and sometimes viscounts) whose capital at this time was Yeung-k'uew, and in diis of Ke, dept. Kao-fung. It lay between Ke on the south, and T'ue and Ke on the north. Its chiefs were descendants of the great Yu, and of course used the surname Ke (姬); see An. III. v. The capital was changed more than once in the period of the Ch'un Tsew. Mow-low was on its southern border, near to Keu—in diis Chou-shing (諸城).

'took,' is said to denote that the place was actually taken. Keu seems to have retained it. Kung and Khu say that this capture, being altogether foreign to Loo, should not have been recorded; but that Confucius entered it, to show his hatred of such an outrage on the part of Keu, especially as this is the 1st instance of the capture by one State of a city of another, recorded in this classic. But, no doubt, the capture was announced by Keu to Loo, and the record of it was in reality.

'弑,' is the term appropriate to the murder of a ruler by a minister, or of a father,
Hou-n-pi that died early. See Kwei, who had accompanied her to the harem, find a son, who was afterwards duke Hwan, and who was cherished by Chwang Këng as her own child. There was also Chou-yu, another son of the duke by a favourite concubine, a favoured child, and fond of his weapons, not restrained by the duke, but hated by Chwang Këng. Shih Tsèh remonstrated with the duke, saying: "Your servant has heard that, when you love a son, you should teach him righteous ways, and not help him on in the course of depravity. There are pride, extravagance, lewdness, and dissipation, by which one depraves himself; but these four vices come from over-indulgence and allowance. If you are going to make Chou-yu your successor, settle him in that position; if you have not yet decided on such a step, you are paving the way for him to create disorder. Few are who can be favoured without getting arrogant; few arrogant who can submit themselves to others; few who can submit themselves without being indignant at their position; and few who can keep patient under such a feeling of indignation. And moreover, there are what are called the six instances of insubordination,—when the mean stand in the way of the noble; or the young presume against their elders; or distant relatives cut out those who are nearer; or new friends alienate from the old; or a small Power attacks a great one; or lawless defeats righteousness. The ruler righteous and the minister acting accordingly; the father kind and the son dutiful; the elder brother loving and the younger respectful; these are what are called the six instances of what should be. To put away what should be and follow what should not be, is the way to accelerate calamity; and when a ruler of men accelerates the calamity which it should be his object to keep off, is not the case a deplorable one?" The duke did not listen to this remonstrance; and Tsèh's son, Hou, became a companion of Chou-yu. The father tried to restrain him, but in vain. When duke Hwan succeeded to his father, Tsèh withdrew from public life on the plea of old age."
IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army of Keu invaded Keu, and took Mow-lou.


3 In summer, the duke and the duke of Sung met at Ts'ing.

4 The duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'ın, an army of Ts'ae, and an army of Wei invaded Ch'ing.

5 In autumn, Hwuy led a force, and joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'ın, the army of Ts'ae, and the army of Wei, in the invasion of Ch'ing.

6 In the ninth month, the people of Wei put Chow-yu to death in Puh.

7 In winter, in the twelfth month, the people of Wei raised Ts'iu to be marquis of the State.

Par. 1. Keu was a marquisate (its chiefs are also called earls and sometimes viscounts) whose capital at this time was Yung-k'euw (雍邱) in dis. of Keu, dept. Kue-fung. It lay between Keu on the south, and Ts'ew and Ke (顓臾) on the north. Its chiefs were descendants of the great Tu, and of course had the surname Sze (姬); see Ana. III. v. The capital was changed more than once in the period of the Chun Ts'ew. Mow-lou was on its southern border, near to Keu, in dis. Chow-shing (諸城).

Par. 2. 記 is the term appropriate to the murder of a ruler by a minister, or of a father...
by a son. To understand the record fully, refer to the last narrative under last year from the Chuen. Kuh-liang, here and below, has 祝 for 州; and deep meanings are found in the omission of 公子, 'duke's son,' before the name;—about which we need not be particular.

完 was the name of the son of duke Chwang of Wei, mentioned as himself duke Hwan (桓) in the narrative referred to. It might appear that this par. belonged to the 2d month, but Tso Yu remarks that in that month there was no Mow-shin day. The characters 三月 should be at the commencement of the par.

Par. 3. 遇 is simply 'to meet,' as if without previous agreement, and this is the meaning put on the term here; as such an interpretation would be meaningless. Why should a casual incident of that nature be recorded? In the Le Ke, I, Pt. II, ii. 12, we are told that interviews between the princes before the time agreed upon were called 遇. So Tso she interprets the word here, and Tso Yu calls the interview 草大之期, 'a hurried arrangement.' Tso she says:—In spring Chow-yu of Wei had murdered duke Hwan, and taken his place. The duke and the duke of Sung had arranged for a meeting as a sequel to their covenant at Suh [in the 1st year]; but before the time came, they got the news of the confusion in Wei. In consequence of this, it would follow, they had only a hurried meeting. Tving was in Wei,—in dis. of Tung-o (東阿), dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 4. Ch'in was a marquisate, having its chief city in Tso-kw (兗州),—in pres. dis. of Hwae-ning (淮寧), dep. Ch'in-chow (so called from the ancient State), Ho-nan. Its chiefs were Kweis (僑), descended from Shun. Ch'in and Ts'ao were the most southern of the States of China proper in this period, and exposed consequently to danger from the barbarous Ts'ao, by which they were ultimately absorbed. Ts'ao was a marquisate, with which king Woo invested his brother Shuh-tou at the commencement of the dynasty;—in dep. Joo-ning (汝宁), Ho-nan. Its capital at this time was in Shang-ts'e (上蔡) dis. To understand the par. we must keep in mind the Chuen under par. 5, last year. Tso she adds here:—When Shang came to the dukedom of Sung, P'ing, the son of duke Mah, fled to Ch'ing, where there was a wish to vindicate his right to Sung. And now, when Chow-yu had made himself marquis of Wei, he thought at once of putting to rights his father's grudge against Ch'ing [see the 2d Chuen after p. 5, 1st year], and of getting for himself the favour of the prince, in order to make his potence more effectual. He sent a message, therefore, to the duke of Sung, saying, "If you will invade Ch'ing to remove the danger that is there to yourself [i.e. Moh's son P'ing], you shall be chief of the expedition; and all my levies, as well as Ch'in and Ts'su, will follow you;—this is the desire of the State of Wei." They acceded in Sung to the request; and as Ch'in and Ts'su were then friendly with Wei, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, an army of Ts'ao; and an army of Wei, of the name Ching, and laid siege for five days to the eastern gate of its capital;—when they returned.

The duke of Lo'ou asked Chung-chung whether Chow-yu of Wei would accomplish his ambition. "Your servant has heard," said the officer, that the people may be made well affected by virtue; I have not heard that they can be made so by violence. To use violence with that view is like trying to put silk in order and only raveling it. Chow-yu relies on his military force, and can do cruel things. For his military likenings the multitude will not cleave to him; and for his cruelty his relatives will not. With the multitude rebellious, and his friends leaving him, it will be difficult for him to be successful. Military weapons are like fire; if you don't lay the fire aside, it will burn yourself. Chow-yu murdered his prince, and he uses his people oppressively, thus not making excellent virtue his pursuit, but wishing to succeed by violence;—he will certainly not escape calamity."—

Par. 5. This Hwuy was an officer of Loo, a son, indeed, of the previous duke. He was afterwards concerned in the murder of duke Yin, and Kung and Kuh think that he was mentioned simply by his name, denoted of the 'duke's son,' as the rape's punishment of him for his share in that deed. But this view is quite inadmissible. Tso she thinks the omission shows Confucius' dislike of him in the incident here mentioned; but neither need we suppose that. The historiographers had merely entered his name. The 會 is little more than the 及 of other paragraphs. The Chuen says:—In the autumn, the princes again invaded Ch'ing, and the duke of Sung sent to ask the assistance of a force from Loo. Yu-fou [the designation of this Hwuy] asked leave to join them with a force. The duke refused, when he strongly urged his request, and went. Hence the brief record of the text, expressive of dislike to his conduct. The army of the princes defeated the footmen of Ch'ing, carried off the paddy from the fields, and returned.

Par. 6. Here and in p. 7, 衛 is "the people of Wei," as if the things recorded had the consent, and were, indeed, the doing of them all. Chow-yu might have been mentioned as 衛侯, being the ruler de facto; but he had had occupied his position only for a short time, and the marquis Hwan was not yet buried. Puh was in Ch'in, near a river so named. Tso she gives the following account of Chow-yu's death:—

Chow-yu finding himself unable to attach the people to himself, Shih T'ieh's son Hwuy asked his father how to establish the prince in the State. Shih said, "It may be done by his going and having an audience of the king." But how can this audience be obtained? "Duke Hwan of Ch'in," replied the father, "is in favour with the king, and Ch'in and Wei are on friendly terms. If the marquis go to the court of Ch'in, and get the duke to ask an
audience for him, it may be got." On this How went with Chow-yu to Ch'in; but Shih Tsêh sent information to Ch'in, saying, "The State of Wei is narrow and small, and I am aged and can do nothing. These two men are the real murderers of my prince, and I venture to ask that you will instantly take the proper measures with them." The people of Ch'in made them prisoners, and requested Wei to send and manage the rest. In the 9th month, the people of Wei sent Ch'ow, the superintendent of the Right, who put Chow-yu to death, at Pub, and Shih Tsêh sent his steward, Now Yang-

Fifth year.

五

夏四月，葬衛桓公。秋，衛師入郑，獻六羽。九月，考仲子之宮初告。冬十有一月，辛已，公薨。子彊，宋人伐鄭焉圍長葛。○曲沃莊伯以鄭人邢人伐翼，王使尹氏、燕師伐鄭，鄭祭足原繁、洩駕，以三軍軍其前。夏衛侯徧以告諸侯，衛人以駭東門之役，衛人以申之翼侯，奔隨。
V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke [went] to see the fishermen at T'ang.
2 In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Wei.
3 In autumn, an army of Wei entered Shing.
4 In the ninth month, [the duke] completed the shrine-palace of Chung Ts'eu. For the first time he exhibited [only] six rows of pantomimes.
5 An army of Choo and an army of Ch'ing invaded Sung.
6 There were the ming-insects.
7 In winter, in the twelfth month, duke Hse'sou's son K'ow died.
8 An army of Sung invaded Ch'ing, and besieged Ch'ang-koh.

Par. 1. Instead of 聾河 she has 錐 with the meaning of "to set in order," "to arrange." Then "fishing-man." T'ang was in the dis. of Yu-cren, a long way from K'ung-fow where the court of Lo was.

Take "fishermen's tower," remains, indeed, since A. D. 762, when the district was so called, a monument of the incident in this par. Tohu's view of it is that the duke, neglecting the business of govt., went off for his own pleasure to T'ang, and there had the fishermen drawn up with all their equipments, and watched them as they proceeded to catch their prey. A great scholar, Tsh Mung-ta (A. D. 1677-1138), and others, take 矢 as "to shoot," and think that duke Yin, really seeking his own pleasure, went off to T'ang on the pretext that he was going to shoot fish for use in sacrifices. The Chuen says:—The duke being about to go to T'ang, to see the fishermen, Tshang He-pih conversated with him, saying: "All pursuit of creatures in which the great affairs of the State are not illustrated, and when they do not supply materials available for use in its various requirements, the ruler does not engage in. Into the idea of a ruler it enters that he leads and helps the people on to what should be observed, and all the ramifications thereof. Hence the practice of exercises in admeasurement of the degrees of what should be observed is called fixing the rule, and the obtaining the materials..."
supplied thereby for the ornament of the various requirements of the State, in the guiding principle to show what creatures should be pursued. Where there are no such admeasurement and no such materials, the government is one of disorder; and the frequent indulgence in a government of disorder is the way to ruin. In accordance with this there are the spring hunting, the summer hunting, the autumn hunting, and the winter hunting:—all in the intervals of husbandry, for the illustration of one great business of States. Then every three years, there is the grand military review; when it is over, the troops are all led back; and their return is announced by the cup of spirits in the temple:—all to take reckoning of the accoutrements and spoils; to display the various blemmazies; to exhibit the noble and the mean; to distinguish the observance of order and ranks; to show the proper difference between the young and the old; and to practise the various observances of discipline. Now when the birds and beasts are such that their flesh is not presented in the sacrificial vessels, and their skins, hides, teeth, bones, horns, feathers, and hair are not used in the furniture of the State, the ancient rule that our dukes should not appear without them. With the creatures found in the mountains, forests, streams and marshes; with the materials for ordinary articles of use; with the business of underlings; and with the charges of inferior officers;—with all these the ruler has nothing to do. The duke said, "I will walk out on the mountain and see what we have had the fisherman drawn up in color, and looked at their operations. He still gave out that he was ill, and did not accompany him. The text, "The duke reviewed a display of the fisherman at T'ang," intimates the impropriety of the affair, and tells moreover how far the place was.

[The Chuen adds here a note about Tain (音):—]

Earl Cheng of K'ish-yu, with an army of Ch'ing and an army of Hsing, invaded Yih. The king sent his officers, the Heads of the Yin and Wu families, to assist him. The marquis of Yih said to Suy:—[Par. 2. This burial was very late, more than double the regular 5 months after the prince's death—owing to the confusion in which the State had been.

[The Chuen adds here—]

1. In the 4th month, an army of Ch'ing fell suddenly on the city Muh of Tse, to revenge the siege of its eastern gate [see the Chuen on p. 4 of last year]. An army of Wei, aided by one of the southern Yin invaded Ch'ing in return. The officers of Ch'ing, Chao Yen, T'ien K'ung, and Shih Kao, with three bodies of men, withstood them in front, and made the earl's two sons, Mung-yen, Tang-yuen, with another body, got stealthily behind them. The men of Yen were afraid of the three armies in their front, but had no anxiety about danger from the men of Ch'ing, [a town of Ch'ing in their rear]; so that in the 5th month, the two princes, with the men of Ch'ing, defeated the army of Yen near the city. A superior man may say that without preparation and anxiety an army cannot be properly conducted.

Part 3. Shing (秦) was a small State, an earldom, held by the descendants of Shih-wu (叔武), one of King Wan's sons—

in dia of Wan-shang (汶上, dep. Yen-chow. Acc. to Tso-she, during the troubles of Wei, Shing had made an incursion into it; hence this retributive expedition.

Par. 4. 考 is explained in the U-I-yu by 成, to complete;—see the Shoo, V. xii. 24. Fuh K'ong (服衷; towards the end of the Han. dyn.) contends that 考 is the name of the sacrifice offered immediately after the completion of the shrine-house (宮廟初成祭之名考), which seems to be the view also of Tso Yu. But the sacrifice was the sequence of the finishing of the temple; and we need not extend the meaning of 考 beyond that of the erection of the building. Chung Tze was the mother of duke Hwan, who was now heir to the State; but she was only the second wife of duke Hwan. The table of the 1st and proper wife had already received its proper place; and the erection of a separate house for that of Chung Tze was a device to please the young prince, but not according to rule. A feeling of this seems to have prompted the exhibition of six rows of pantomimes, as recorded in the last part of the par. 羽, "feathers," is here feather-wavers, i.e., the pantomimes, who waved the feathers of pheasants in harmony with the music which was played. Of such performers the kings used 8 rows, each consisting of 8 men, at their sacrifices, while the princes of States could only use 6 rows, each of 8 men. But it had been granted to the princes of Loo to use the kingly number in sacrifice to the duke of Chow, their great ancestor, and they had usurped the privilege so as to use it in sacrificing to his descendants; and on the occasion in the text duke Yin employed only the ordinary number used in sacrificing to the prince of a State. The Chuen says:—In the ninth month, having completed the shrine-palaces for Chung Tze, the pantomimes were about to be exhibited. The duke asked Chung-chung about their number, who replied, "The king has used 8 rows; princes of States, 6; great officers, 4; and scholars, 2. Now the dancing is employed in harmony with the instruments of music, and the motion of the 8 winds of the year; the number of them therefore descends in gradation from 8 rows." On this the duke for the 1st time exhibited only 6 feather-wavers, and used 6 rows.

Par. 5. The Chuen on this has—

"The people of Sung had taken some fields from Choo; and the people of Choo informed the earl of Ch'ing, saying, "If you will now vent your irritation on Sung, our poor town will lead the way for you." An officer of Ch'ing, aided by a king's army, joined the forces of Choo, and attacked Sung, penetrating to the suburbs of its capital; in revenge opened for the siege of the eastern gate of Ch'ing. They sent off an account of their circumstances from Sung to Loo; and when the duke heard that the enemy was in the suburbs of its capital, he was about to proceed to the relief of Sung. Asking the messenger, however, how far the enemies'
army had got, the man replied, "They have not yet reached our city." The duke was angry, and stopped his messengers, dismissing the messenger with the words, "Your prince in his message requested me to have compassion on the peril in which his altar were, and now you tell me that the enemy has not reached your city; I dare not take any notice of the case."

Par. 8. This is the record of a plague (災)." Some evil caused by the misconduct of men (災, 人之害也). The plague is described as a grub that eats the heart of the growing grain (蠧食苗心曰螟). It develops into the locust (即蝗也). It is named from the place of its injurious action, lying hid in the heart of the plant (冥冥難知).

Par. 7. This Kung-tse Kow is the same as the Tsung He-pih in the Chuen on p. 1. Kow was his name, and his designation was Tung-tang (子藏). His grandchild would first receive the clan-name of Tsang; from his designation; and he is so surmised in the Chuen as the ancestor of the Tsang family. He (僑) is the honorary title given after his death. On this par. the Chuen says—"On the death of Tsung He-pih, the Duke said, "My uncle was angry with me; for he did not listen to my remonstrance; but I dare not forget his faithfulness." He caused him to be buried with the honours of one rank above what was his due."

Par. 8. Ch'ung-koh was a town of Ch'ung;—its name remains in the dis. of Ch'ung-koh, in Hon (許) Chow, Ho-nan. This expedition, So-she observes, was in return for Ch'ung's attack of Sung mentioned in par. 5.

Sixth year.

Winter, 7th month. Sung and the States of the West concluded peace. The husk is drawn together, and the chest is filled with rice.

Spring, 5th month. Yu, the Duke of Ch'eu, in the name of the Ch'ung, set out to attack the States of the West, but did not reach them. He returned to Sung, and the States of the West sent their tribute to Sung. The Ch'ung did not come.

Winter, 7th month. Sung and the States of the West concluded peace. The husk is drawn together, and the chest is filled with rice.

Winter, 1st month. The Duke of Sung sent his chief minister to the States of the West to pay his respects. The States of the West repaid the visit. The Duke of Sung received the vessels of tribute.
VI. 1. In [the duke’s] sixth year, in spring, an officer of Ch’ing came [to Loo] with overtures of peace.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on [the day] Sin-yew, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts’et, when they made a covenant at Gae.

3. [It was] autumn, the seventh month.

4. In winter, an army of Sung took Ch’ang-koh.

Par. 1. The text here has 輸平, with Kung and Küh, while Tao-shi reads 淪平. Both the former commentators explain their phrase as “to the ruin of peace.” Tao-shi explains his by 更成, “which changed their relations of enmity, and there was peace,” 渼 meaning 輸納, “to change.” Later critics have taken it in the sense of “to present,” to offer; and thus a meaning is got out of the more likely reading, which comes to the same as the view of Tao-shi. There was reason for the overture of peace on the part of Ch’ing. Before Yin succeeded his father, he had been taken prisoner in an expedition against Ch’ing, and detained there. He made his escape, but might be supposed to be ill-affected towards it. When, however, he rejected the application from Sung the year before for assistance against Ch’ing, that State thought the time a favourable one for initiating proposals that Loo and it should be at amity.

[The Chuen has here another note about the affairs of Tain:—]

The nine original clan-branches of Yih, with the representation of the five ministers of the time of Yin, and Kaa-fu, son of King-fu, went to meet the marquis of Tain in Sung (see the Chuen after 1st par. of last year), and escorted him back to Goh. The people of Tain called him the marquis of Goh.

Par. 2. Gae was a hill in Loo; in the northwest of the dis. of Mung-yin (蒙陰), dep. Twing-chow. Loo and Tw were at feud before the time at which the Chuen Tw opened. This meeting and covenant were the commencement of peace between them.

[The Chuen here adds:—] In the 5th month, on the day Kung-shin, the earl of Ch’ing made a sudden raid into Ch’in, and got great spoil. The year before, the earl had requested peace from Ch’in, when his proposals were rejected. Wou-fu remonstrated with the marquis of Ch’ing, saying, “Intimacy with the virtuous and friendship with its neighbours are the jewels of a State. Do you grant Ch’ing’s request?” The marquis replied, “My difficulties are with Sung and Wei; what can Ch’ing do?” And so he repulsed Ch’ing.

‘A superior man may say: Good relations should not be lost, and evil relations should not be prolonged;—does not this seem to be illustrated in the case of duke Hwan of Ch’in? When a man goes on to prolong enmity, the consequences naturally come upon himself; and though he may wish deliverance from them, he will not obtain it. The Shang Shoo says, “The evil issues of enmity develop easily, as when there is a fire blazing on a plain. It cannot be approached, and still less can it be beaten out (Shoo, IV. vii. Pt. I. 13).” Chow Jin [see Ana. XVI. 1.6.] has said, “The Head of a State or of a clan looks upon evil relations as a husbandman looks upon weeds or grass, which must be removed. He cuts down, kills them, collects them, and heaps them up, exterminating their roots that they may not be able to grow; and then the good grain stretches itself out.”]

Par. 3. There was nothing to record in all the autumn of this year; but still it was necessary, according to the scheme of these annals, to indicate the season and the 1st month of it.

Par. 4. See the siege of this place in the last par. of last year. Too Yaa says that the siege had then been unsuccessful, but that Sung returned this year, and took the place by surprise. He says after, after Tao-shi, that the capture was made in autumn, but was only communicated in winter to Loo, so that the historiographers entered it under that season. But as Sung was held by the representatives of the House of Shang, its months would be those of that dynasty, and part of its autumn would be Chow’s winter.

[Tao-shi adds here the following two Chuen:—]

‘In winter, an announcement came from the capital of famine there, to meet which the duke asked the courts of Sung, Ts’et, Wei, and Ch’ing, to be allowed to purchase grain in their States. This was proper.’

‘The earl of Ch’ing went to Chow, and for the first time sought an audience of king Hwan. The king did not receive him courteously, when the duke Hwan of Chow said to him, “Our Chow’s removal to the east was all through the help of Ts’in and Ch’ing. You should treat Ch’ing well, to encourage other princes to come to court;—and still there is fear that they will not come. Now when he receives discourtesy, Ch’ing will not come again.”]
VII. 1 In his seventh year, in spring, in the king's third month, the duke's third daughter went to the harem of Ke.
2 The marquis of T'äng died.
3 In summer, we walled Chung-k'êw.
4 The marquis of Ts'e sent his younger brother Nêen [to Loo] with friendly inquiries.
5 In autumn, the duke invaded Choo.
6 In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the earl of Fan to Loo with friendly inquiries.
7 The Jung attacked the earl of Fan at Ts'oo-k'êw, and carried him back with them.
Par. 1. The marriage of the duke's eldest daughter to the marquis of Ke is entered in the 22d year, pp. 5, 8. There the 說— went to be married to, was the wife; here the 説 has only the significance which appears in the translation. When the daughter of a State was married, the rule was that she should be accompanied by a half-sister and a cousin (一姊—). Then two other States sent each a princess to attend her (二國來媵), each of whom was similarly accompanied by two relatives. Thus altogether a prince's marriage brought nine ladies to his harem (諸侯一壻九女). In the case of the text, the girl had been too young to accompany her sister in the 22d year, and had waited five years, till she reached the statutory age of 15, and could proceed to Ke. She appears twice again in the classic; and it is contended that such prominence was given to her, immobile though her rank, because it was the aggrieved the sage's sense of her worthiness.

Par. 2. Tang was a small State.—In the, of Tung, dept. Yen-chow, held by the descendents of Shih-sin 角氏, one of the princes of Woo's brothers. Its chief is here styled marquis, but afterwards appears only as viceroy, his rank having been reduced. According to the general practice of the Chun Tse, the name as well as the title should be given in the notice of his death. The death of the name here is probably an omission of the historian, but Tso-sha says that it is in order, because duke Yin and the marquis had never coevalled together.

He adds: 'At conflicts between the princes, they were mentioned by name, and therefore on the death of one of them, his name was given when the event was communicated to other States. At the same time his successor was also mentioned—for the continuance of friendship, and the assurance of the people. This was one of the standing regulations of the kingdom.'

Par. 3. Chun-k'ou was in dis. of Lu-men (蘭山), dept. E-chow. No doubt there was some exigency requiring it to be fortified. Tso-sha, however, says the record is made, because of the uneasiness of the undertaking, calling the people off from their field labours.

Par. 4. Tse-sha tells us that this Nen's designation was Hsi-chung (夷仲), and that the visit in the text was to cement the covenant made the year before (p. 9) by Loo and Tse. These 招 or missions of friendly inquiries were regular institutions, by which the princes maintained a good understanding with one another; see the Le Ko, I, Pt. II, b. 18. 使大夫問於諸侯曰聘. The employment by Tse of the prince's brother, instead of the officer usually charged with such a mission, was a special honour done to Loo.

From the Chun Lu, Bk. XXXVIII., p. 24, we learn that among States in the same quarter of the empire, there ought to have been every year the interchange of inquiries (相問), and every two years the interchange of gifts (相聘). Present offerings of silk and pieces of jade were made at such times.

Par. 5. Acc. to the Chun, this attack of Chio was a cowardly proceeding on the part of Loo; and a covenant of peace had been made between the two States, not long before.—According to the text, p. 2.—This autumn, Sung and Chiing made peace, and in the 1st month, on the day Kang-shin, covenanted at Shu. The duke proceeded to attack Chio, so punishing it to gratify Sung.

Par. 6. This earl of Fan was a high minister and noble at the court. Fan was in the pres. dis. of Hwuy (衛). Dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Not only was there an interchange of friendly missions among the princes themselves, but also between them and the king. Indeed, the king was supposed to send annually to every one of them to inquire about his welfare (王之所以撫邦國諸侯者). Chow Le, XXXVIII. 17); but as Ching E observes, for the king to send such a mission to Yin, who had never sent one to court, was derogatory to his dignity (非王體).

Par. 7. Those Jung are probably the same as those mentioned in the 22d year, pp. 1, 5. Tsoo-k'ou was in the east of the pres. dis. of T'ou, dept. T'ou-n-chow. The incident shows how lawless the time was. The Chun relates that some time before, the Jung had presented themselves at Chun in homage, and distributed presents among the high ministers, but that the earl of Fan had not received them courteously. They took advantage therefore of the opportunity presented by his return from Loo, attacked him, and carried him off. 以執, according to Kung-yang means that the Jung made the earl prisoner (執之); but Too Yu says that they did not seize him (非執也). The information, probably, by a remark of Kung-liang that the phrase denotes something lighter than seizure 治之於執, and the Kung-he editors say this interpretation is much the better of the two. They are also stumbling at the use of the word 伐 attacked. In the Chun, too, too weighty for the occasion. There, however, 伐 is; and I apprehend also is only a gentle way of telling that the earl was captured and carried off.

[The Chun has here:—]

'Chin' and Chiing made peace. In the 12th month, Woo-foo of Chin went to Chiing, and on the day Chiu-shih made a covenant with the earl,
and smeared his mouth with the blood of the victim, as if he were forgetting what he was doing. Si-ih Pih said, "Woo-tso will not escape a violent death. This covenant will be of no use to him."

Leang Tso of Ch'ing went to Ch'in, and on the day Sin-eeu made a covenant with the marquis, when he also perceived the disorders which were imminent in Ch'in.

"Hwai, son of the earl of Ch'ing, had lived at the king's [as a hostage; see the Chuen, after p. 8 of the 3rd year]; and on this account [i.e., according to Tso Yu, thinking it likely he would be a favourite with the king]: the marquis of Ch'in proposed to give him his daughter to wife. The earl acceded to the proposal, and the marriage was determined on."

**Eighth year.**

**八**

三月, 鄭伯使宛來歸於垂, 申侯厚待之。

夏, 六月, 申侯, 使宛男卒。

秋, 七月, 申侯, 葬蔡宣公。

九月, 葬蔡宣公。

冬, 十有二月, 无駒卒。

夏, 贺公忌父, 以泰山之社, 易于泰山。
In [the duke's] eighth year, in spring, the duke of Sung and the marquis of Wei met at Chuy.

In the third month, the earl of Ch'ing sent Yuen [to Loo] to give up P'ang.

On [the day] K'ang-yin we entered P'ang.

In summer, in the sixth month, on [the day] Ke-hae, K'ao-foo, marquis of Ts'a'e, died.

On [the day] Sin-hae, the baron of Suh died.

In autumn, in the seventh month, on [the day] K'ang-woo, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Tse'e, and the marquis of Wei made a covenant at Ya-uh.

In the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ts'a'e.

In the ninth month, on [the day] Sin-mau, the duke and an officer of Keu made a covenant at Fow-lae.

There were the ming-insects.

In winter, in the twelfth month, Woo-hiae died.

Par. 1. On this paragraph Tse-she says:—
'The marquis of Tse'e wanted to bring about peace between Sung and Wei. On the one hand and Ch'ing on the other, and had fixed a time for a meeting with the princes of the two former States. The duke of Sung, however, sent presents to Wei, and begged that the marquis and himself might have a previous meeting between themselves. The marquis agreed, and they met accordingly at K'uen-k'ue.' Regulated by this account, the meaning of 遇 differs slightly from that laid down on par. 3 of the 4th year. The idea, however, of a 'hurried' meeting remains. The meeting proposed by Tse'e was held in the 7th month; this was a preliminary meeting of Sung and Wei to consider how they should receive Tse'e's proposals. K'uen-k'ue in the Chuen and Chuy in the text, are two names of the same place; Tso-yu says it was in Wei, on the north of the dep. city of Ts'aoou-chow; but see on II. i.2.

Par. 2. Tse-she says here:—'The earl of Ch'ing intimated his wish to give up the sacrifice at mount Tse, and to sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to exchange therefore P'ang near mount Tse for the fields of Hseu. In the 8th month, accordingly, he sent Yuen to give up P'ang to Loo, and no more used the mount Tse sacrifice.' But to understand this, an explanation is necessary, which is supplied by Tso Yu. —When king Ching built the city of Lo, and was meditating the removal of his capital to it, he granted to the duke of Chow the lands of Hseu (in the southwest of the present Hseu Chow, dep. K'ao-fung), where the princes of Loo might reside when they visited Lo on state occasions; and subsequently a temple was built there to the duke of Chow. But the first earl of Ch'ing, as a brother of king Seuen, had the town of P'ang near mount Tse, where he and his successors might rest when called there on occasion of the king's eastern progresses and having then to assist at the sacrifices on or to the mountain.
Owing to the decay of the royal House, there was now an end of the kingly progress. The earl concluded that Ch'ing had no further occasion for P'ang, and therefore offered it to Liu, to which he assented, in exchange for K'uei, which was near to Ch'ing, volunteering to maintain there Liu's sacrifice to the duke of Chow.—If all this be correct, yet we know that Liu's part of the arrangement did not take effect for some time,—see the 1st year of duke Huan, p. 2. Yuen, of course, was an officer of Ch'ing.

Par. 3. Kung and Kuh lay great stress on the mention of the day here;—but without reason. The use of anus, however, seems strange, as that character should denote a hostile entry.

[The Chuen adds here:—]

In summer, Ko-foo, duke of Kwah, for the first time became a high minister and noble at the court of Chow.'

In the 4th month, on the day Ko-shih-shin, Hwan, son of the earl of Ch'ing, went to Chin, and met his Kwei bride. On the day Sin-hua, he commenced his return with her. On the day Kuo-shing, they entered the capital of Ch'ing, the officer Koen of Chin acting as escort to the lady. The prince was first stated, and then announced the thing in the ancestral temple. The officer Koen said, 'These are not husband and wife;—he is imposing on his fathers. The proceeding is improper. How can they expect to have children?'

Par. 5. Shu:—see on p. 5 of 1st year. The name of the baron should follow the title, but is wanting;—through an omission of the historiographer.

Par. 8. The meeting here is that spoken of in the Chuen on par. 1, as called by the Tse. Attention is called to it by critics as the first meeting in the Ch'in-Tsew when more than two princes came together to consult and covenant on the affairs of the time. As it was called by the marquis of Tse, he should appear 1st on the list; but, says Too Yu, he did honour to the duke of Sung, coding the presidency of the meeting to him. Too-yhe says they first met at K'a, and then covenanted together at Ya-hu. A reconciliation was effected between Sung and Wei and Ch'ing, and the siege of Ch'ing's eastern gates was condoned. Ya-hu was in the king's dominion,—30 km south of the dist. city of Wei-ch'uen (清川), dep. K'e-feng.

Par. 7. To this the Chuen adds:—

"In the 8th month, on the day Ping-shih, the earl of Ch'ing, through the marquis of Tse, appeared at court. This was proper."

Par. 8. Fow (Kung and Kuh read 包, i.e. was in Ken;—20 km west of the prov. city of Ken Chow. In the 2d year, p. 7, we have a meeting between the count of Ken and an officer to bring about a good understanding between Ken and Liu. This was the sequel of that,—to carry out the good purposes of Ko.'

Par. 9. See on paragraph 5, 5th year.

[The Chuen adds here:—In winter, the marquis of Tse sent a messenger to inform the duke that he had affected the pacification of the three States. [Sung, Wei, and Ch'ing]. The duke sent Chung-chung to reply to him, "That you have reconciled the conflicting schemes of the three States, and given rest and settlement to their people, is your kindness. O prince, I have heard your message, and dare not but accept and acknowledge your bright virtue.""

Par. 10. Woo-ho's:—see paragraph 3 of the 2d year. The Chuen has here:—On the death of Woo-ho, Yu-foo [the designation of Hway, IV, 8] requested for him an honorary title and a clan-name. The duke asked about the clan-name, who replied, 'When the Son of Heaven would ennable the virtuous, he gives them surnames from their birth-places (or the birth-places of their ancestors); he rewards them with territory, and the name of it becomes their clan-name. The princes again confer the clan-name from the designation of the grandfather, or from his honorary title [the text is here difficult to construe]. Or when merit has been displayed in one office by members of the same family for generations, the name of that office may become the clan-name, or the name of the city held by the family may become so." The duke determined that Woo-ho's clan-name should be Ch'en, from the designation of his grandfather (公子晨)."

Too Yu illustrates what the Chuen says about the procedure of the king by the case of the chief of Chin. They were descended from Shun, who was born near the river Kwei; hence they got the surname of Kwei. When they were invested with Ch'ing, that became their clan-name, to distinguish them from other branches of Shun's descendants. He says further, that the princes of States could not confer surnames (姓), but only clan-names (氏), which they did in the way described.

But while the theory of surnames and clan-names in ancient China may have been as we have described, they were often assumed and acknowledged without any conferring on the part of the king or the princes. See Maou K'o-ling's loc. He says:—When a ruler of Lo died, the event was recorded; when the ruler of another State died, that also was recorded, when the announcement of it arrived. The deaths of great officers, actions of the ruling family, were sometimes recorded and sometimes not; with the accompaniment of their clan-names or without, and with the mention of the month and day of the death or without it—all this proceeded from the historiographers of Lo, and the Master simply transcribed their record without making any change in it himself. We have here the mention of Woo-ho's death, without his clan-name, just as we have similar records of other officers in IV, 5; IX, 8; &c.

Now according to the ordinary view of the matter, the clan-name was only conferred on men who had been distinguished for their virtue. But on this principle few officers mentioned in the Ch'in Tsew could have received it, whereas we find it given to many of the worst characters, and we are abhorred for their flagrant wickedness. It is impossible to suppose that the clan-names of the officers of Tsew were all given by the marquises. The general rule was that the son of a deceased ruler was styled 公子, or " duke's son;" his son again, 公孫, or " duke's grandson." But in the next descent, the son took as a matter of course the designation of his grandfather, or his honorary title, or the name of his office, or of his city, and
made it his own clan-name. One surname branched out into many clan-names, and one clan-name branched out again into many family names. For instance, the surname 肖 becomes 肖氏, 肖氏又分而为族. The same is true for the surname 徐 which makes it appear here that Woo-hsi had no clan-name till after his death—which is not to be believed. His record of events is very much to be relied on; but as to every ten of his devices to explain the style of the classic, he is sure to be mistaken in five or six of them.

Ninth year.

九月癸酉大風大雪。庚辰，雨震電。三月使南季來聘。使，書不時也。

In the third month, King Kwei-yèw sent friendly inquiries to Loow and Nan. On [the day] Káng-shin there was a great fall of snow.

3 Hêh died.
4 In summer, we wallowed Lang.
5 It was autumn, the seventh month.
6 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts’e in Fang.
Par. 1. See on p. 5 of 7th year. Nan is the clan-name, and Ke the designation of the officer, the king’s messenger.

Par. 2. The Chuen says on this: — In spring, in the king’s 3d mouth, on the day Kwei-yew, there was great rain without causing, accompanied with thunder; this describes the beginning of the storm. On the day Kung-shih, there was a great fall of snow; this also in the same way describes its unseasonableness. When rain continues for more than three days, it is called a great rain (鎌). When it lies a foot deep on the ground, there has been a great fall of snow.

The 3d month of Chou’s spring was only the 1st month of spring, when thunder and much snow were certainly unseasonable phenomena.

Par. 3. Kung (Kung and Kuh have 俠) was an officer of Loo, a scion of the ruling House, belonging, Tsoo she would say, to a branch which had not yet received a clan-name.

Par. 4. See the Chuen after p. 2, 1st year. Lang was in the north-east of prov. dist. city of Yen-tze (魚臺). The waiting Lang at this time, Tsoo she says, was unseasonable.

Par. 5. See on VI. 3.

Par. 6. Fang (Kung and Kuh have 俠) was in Loo; in prov. dist. Pei, prov. E-chow. As preliminary to the meeting here, the Chuen has: — “The duke of Sung had not been discharging his duty to the king [by appearing at court], and the earl of Ch’ing, as the king’s minister of the Left, assumed a king’s order to punish him, and invaded Sung, the duke of which, resenting our duke’s conduct when his subsidies were entered, [see Chuen on V. 6], sent no information of his present difficulties. Our duke was angry, and broke off all communication with Sung. In autumn, an officer of Ch’ing came announcing the king’s command to attack Sung; and in winter the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts’e in Fang, to arrange for doing so.”

(The Chuen appends here the following narrative: — The northern Jung (their seat was in pres. dep. of Yung-ping, Cath-le) made a sudden raid into Ch’ing. The earl withstood them, but was troubled by the nature of their troops, and said, “They are footmen, while we have chariots. The fear is lest they fall suddenly upon us.” His son Tuh said, “Let a body of bold men, but not persistent, feign an attack upon the thieves, and then quickly draw off from them; and at the same time place three bodies in ambush to be ready for them. The Jung are light and nimble, but have no order; they are greedily and have no love for one another; when they conquer, no one will yield place to his fellow; and when they are defeated, no one tries to save another. When their front men see their success [in the retreat of our skirmishers], they will think of nothing, but to push forward. When they are thus advancing, and fall into the ambush, they will be sure to hurry away in flight. Those behind will not go to their rescue, so there will be no support to them; and thus your anxiety may be relieved.” The earl followed this plan. As soon as the front men of the Jung met with those who were in ambush, they fled, pursued by Ch’hu Tuh. Their detachment was surrounded; and smitten both in front and in rear, till they were all cut to pieces. The rest of the Jung made a grand flight. It was in the 12th month, on the day Keh-sin that the army of Ch’ing inflicted this great defeat on the Jung.”

Tenth year.

六月王戊公敗宋師于莒。

宋人執宋人伐取之。

秋宋人衛人八鄭，衛人伐取之。

冬十月壬午齊人鄭人伐。”
X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing in Chung-kêw.

2 In summer, Hwuy led a force, and joined an officer of Ts'e and an officer of Ch'ing in an invasion of Sung.

3 In the sixth month, on [the day] Jin-seuh, the duke defeated an army of Sung at Kwan.

4 On the day Sin-we, we took Kaou; on the day Sin-sze, we took Fang.

5 In autumn, an army of Sung and an army of Wei entered Ch'ing.

6 The army of Sung, the army of Ts'e, and the army of Wei attacked Tae. The earl of Ch'ing attacked and took them [all].

7 In winter, in the tenth month, on the day Jin-woo, an army of Ts'e and an army of Ch'ing entered Shing.

Par. 1. Chung-kêw.—see VII. 3. This meeting was a sequel to that in p. 6 of last year. The Chuen says on it:—"In the 1st month, the duke had a meeting with the princes of Ts'e and Ch'ing in Chung-kêw, and on the day Kwei-ch'i ou they made a covenant in T'ang, settling the time when they should take the field." From this it appears they made a covenant at this time; and to the question why it is not recorded in the text, all that Too Yu can say is that the duke only mentioned the meeting in the report he took back to his ancestral temple. Too Yu observes that the day Kwei-ch'i ou was the 20th of the 1st month, and that second month in the text must be an error. But all through this year, as often in other years, the months and days of the King and Chuen do not accord.

Par. 2. The Chuen on this is:—"In summer, in the 5th month, Yu-foo, preceding the duke, joined the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing in invading Sung." If this be correct, then both the marquis and earl are simply styled A, 'man' in the text; contrary to the general usage of the Work, where A either denotes an officer, not of very high rank, or a force under the command of such an officer. Agreeing with the Chuen, Too Yu says that Hwuy hurried away, ambitious of joining the two princes, and without waiting for orders from the duke, and that therefore his name alone is mentioned by the sage. But this is not more reasonable than the theory of Kung and Kuh mentioned in p. 5 of the 4th year. The text leads us to suppose that the princes of Loo, Ts'e, and Ch'ing all sent officers and troops against Sung, in anticipation of their own advance.

Par. 3. The Chuen is:—"In the 6th month, on the day Mow-shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing at Leou-ts'ao, and on the day Jin-seuh he defeated an army of Sung at Kwan." Too Yu from
this concludes that Ts'e and Ch'ing were dilatory, and had not united their forces with Loo, when the duke seized an advantage presented by the army of Sung, unprepared for action, and defeated it. The situation of Kwan does not appear to have been identified. Ts'e says it was in Sung.

Par. 4. The Chuen adds:—On the day Kwan's army entered Kaon, and on Sin-we the earl gave it over to us. On Kung-shin his army entered Fang, and on Sin-a his army gave it also over to us. From the text we should infer that both Kaon and Fang were taken by the troops of Loo. Ts'e-sha, however, goes on to moralize over his narrative:—The superior man will say that in this matter Duke Chwang of Ch'ing may be pronounced a correct man. With the king's command he was punishing a prince who had forsaken the court. Not considering his position for himself, he rewarded with the higher nobility of Loo;—this was a fine instance of correctness. Kaon was 80 li to the south-east from the pres. dis. city of Shing-woo (城武, dep. Yen-chow. Fang was also in Yen-chow, west of the dis. city of Kii-shang (金鄉).

[The Chuen adds here:—The people of Ts'e, of Wei, and of Shing, did not unite with Ch'ing and the others at the king's command.]

Par. 5. This was intended as a diversion, to compel Ch'ing to withdraw from Sung.

Par. 6. The Chuen adds:—Ts'e was a small State, having its chief city in pres. dis. of K'an-shing (考城), dep. Kwe-tih, Ho-nan. Its lords had the surnames of 束, and must have been some branch, therefore, of the old House of Sung. It would appear that the officers of Sung and Wei, after entering Ch'ing, had been joined by a body of troops from Ts'e, and then turned aside to attack Ts'e. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 7th month, the army of Ch'ing entered its own borders and was still there, when the troops of Sung and Wei entered the State. These were joined by a force from Ts'e, and proceeded to attack Ts'e. In the 8th month, on the day Sin-a, the earl of Ch'ing surrounded Ts'e; on Kwe-tih, he reduced it; at the same time the three armies. After Sung and Wei had entered Ch'ing, and then taken occasion to attack Ts'e, they called the forces of Ts'e to co-operate with them. The men of Ts'e were angry, so that there was discord among themselves, and they were defeated. Kung and K'uh both understand it, as many students do on a first look at the text, as referring to Ts'e, and seem to think that Ch'ing all at once made common cause with Sung, Wei, and Ts'e, and with their help took the city. But this is quite inconsistent with the relations of these States and Ch'ing. Hoo Ch'un-kwoh is of opinion that Ch'ing took advantage of the open strife and mutual dissatisfaction between Ts'e, Sung, Wei, and Ts'e, and so took the city and defeated the forces of the other three States. This is the view, followed in the 'History of the Divided States,' in its lively account of the affair. Upon the whole, the narrative in the Chuen is to be preferred, though it would be more easy to understand if it were spoken of the capture of a city.

[There is a short Chuen appended here, that in the 9th month, on the day Sin-a, the earl of Ch'ing again entered Sung.]

Par. 7. This is understood from the Chuen appended to p. 4. Ts'e says here that the alliance was formed to punish its disobedience to the king's command. Shing—see on p. 3 of the 5th year.

Eleventh year.
薛侯許之，乃長滕侯。詩曰：「不愆不忘，率由昔舊。」

①王春秋，鄭伯，祁大夫，於是許之，以為相。許之者，謂許徵伯也。許，許之也。徵，征伐之政，所以為周也。伯，伯其政也。是適也，故許之也。
XI. 1 In [the duke's] eleventh year, in spring, the marquis of Tâng and the marquis of Sêh appeared at the court [of Loo].

2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'êng at She-laé.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on the day Jin-woo, the duke, with the marquis of Ta'e and the earl of Ch'êng, entered Hen.

4 In winter, in the eleventh month, on [the day] Jin-shin, the duke died.

Par. 1. 朝 is here, of course, a verb; but it is difficult to give an exact rendering of it. Kung-yen says that the ch'ên was of the same nature as the pêng,—a friendly visit,—the difference being that the visitors in the pêng were officers, representing the princes, whereas in the ch'ên, the princes appeared themselves (諸侯來朝)．

According to the rules of the Chow dynasty, every prince within the five tenures was required to appear at the king's court, at least once, every six years.—see the Shoo V. xx. 14, and note, but this statute was little observed in the time of the Ch'un T'êw. The princes were also required to appear at one another's courts. I also says, on p. 3 of the 15th year of duke Wên, that they did so once in 8 years; but acc. to the Choo Lo, XXXVIII. 24, a prince visited his brother prince at their courts only once (世相見)．

Whatever the rule was, there was now no consistency in the observance of it.

Sêh was a marquise, near to Tâng, having its chief town 40 li south of the pres. dis. city which still bears the name of Tâng. Its lords were recognized as descended from Hwang-te, and had the surname of Jin (任).

In connection with this par., the Chuen says: —The two princes contended which should have the precedence. The marquis of Sêh said, "My Sun is the elder." The marquis said, "My encounter was the chief minister of divination to Chow. Yung is a different surname from that of our royal House. I cannot go after you." The duke sent a request by Yn-foo to the marquis of Sêh, saying, "Your lordship and the lord of Tâng have condescended to visit me. There is a common saying in Chow, 'The mountain has trees, but the workman measures them; Guests have certain rules, but the host selects them.' Now the House of Chow at present first sends the prince of its own surname, and those of different surnames come after. If I were at the court of Sêh, I should not dare to take rank with the Jin. If your lordship will condescend to confer kindness on me, allow me to make a request in favour of Tâng in this matter." The marquis of Sêh agreed, and gave the precedence to the marquis of Tâng.
Par. 2. After Kung and Kuh have five simply 刻 She-las was in Ch'ing; 40 is to the east of the dep. city of K'a-sung. The meeting was preliminary to the invasion of Heu, the result of which we have in the next par. The Chuen says:—"The duke and the earl of Ch'ing met at Lao, to make arrangements for the invasion of Heu. The earl being about to attack Heu, in the 5th month, on the day Kias-shin he took his weapons of war, out of the grand temple. Kung-sun Oh and Ying Kao-shuh contested for a chariot [a prize offered by the earl to the strongest of his officers]. Kao-shuh took the curved end of the chariot pole under his arm, and ran off with it, while Tae-too [the designation of Kung-sun Oh] spied his spear, and pursued him as far as the highway, without coming up with him. Tae-too was enraged." See this Chuen and the next told graphically in the 国志. 第七回.

Par. 3. Heu was a small State, which has left its name in the pres. Heu Chow, Hu-nan. Its lords were barons, having the surname Kiang (姜), and being descended from, Yaou's chief minister, the Four Mountains of the 1st Book of the Shoo. The State was on the south of Ch'ing, and suffered much from that greater Power, being often reduced to the verge of extinction, but manifesting a wonderful tenacity of life. Its capital at this time was Heu-ch'ing (許昌), 30 li to the east of the pres. Chow city. The Chuen is:—"On the day Kiang-shin, the three princes were close to Heu, when Ying Kao-shuh took the flag and the sword of the earl of Ch'ing, and was the first to mount the wall. Tae-too pierced him with an arrow from below, and he fell down dead. Heu Shih-ying took up the flag, and again mounting the wall with it, he waved it all about, and shouted, "Our lord has mounted." All the army of Ch'ing thought he had got up; and the day Jin-woo the princes entered Heu, duke Chwang of which fled to Wei. The marquis of T'eu refused to accept Heu, and wished the duke to take it; but the duke said, "You are my Lord, that the baron of Heu must not perform his duty, and I therefore followed you to punish him. He has paid the penalty of his crime; but, as to his State, I dare not take any notice even of your command." Heu therefore was given to Ch'ing, the earl of which made Pih-je, an officer of Heu, take charge of a younger brother of the baron, who had fled, and reside with him in the eastern border of the State, saying, "Heaven has sent calamity on Heu:—it must be that the Spirits were not pleased with its lord, and made his unworthy as I am, to punish him. But I have not been able to secure the reprobate of my ancillary cousin in Ch'ing;—dare I consider that Heaven has come to me from my merit? I had a younger brother, whom I should not restrain in harmony, and whom I cannot to wander about. filling his mouth in different States;—can I long enjoy the possession of Heu? Do you, Sir, maintain this youth, and help him to soothe and comfort the people of Heu; and I will send my officer Hwob to ask you. If I live out my days in the land, and Heaven thus graciously repent of the calamities inflicted on Heu, shall not the earl of Ch'ing again worship at his altar? Then when Ch'ing has requests and messages to send to Heaven, he will condescend to accede to them as intermarriages that have existed between our States might suggest, and there will be no people of other families allowed to reside here, and press upon Ch'ing, contending with it for the possession of this territory. In that case my descendants would have all their time occupied with defending themselves from overthrow, and could in no wise maintain the sacrifices of Heu. When I appoint you, Sir to dwell here, I do so not only for the sake of the State of Heu, but also to strengthen my own borders." Accordingly the earl sent Kung-sun Hwob to reside in the western border of Heu, charging him, "Do not place your equipments and various wealth in Heu, but when I am dead, quickly leave it. My predecessor was the first to establish his capital here in Ch'ing. Even the royal House has become small, and the descendants of Chow are daily losing their patrimonies. Now the lords of Heu are the posterity of T'ao-yoh; and since Heaven is manifesting its dissatisfaction with the virtue of Chow, and I am able to go on contending with Heu? The superior man may say that in this matter duke Chwang of Ch'ing behaved with propriety. It is propriety which governs States and clans, gives settlement to the tutelary altars, secures the order of the people, and provides for the good of one's future heirs. Because Heu transgressed the law, the earl punished it, and on its submission he left it. His arrangement of affairs was according to his measurement of his virtue; his action proceeded on the estimate of his strength; his movements were according to the exigency of the times,—so as not to embarrass those who should follow him. He may be pronounced one who knew propriety."

The earl of Ch'ing made every hundred soldiers contribute a pig, and every five and twenty contribute a fowl and a dog, and over their blood curse the man who had shot Ying Kao-shuh. The superior man may say here that duke Chwang of Ch'ing fell in his methods of government and punishment. Government is seen in the ruling of the people, and punishment in dealing rightly with the bad. As he showed neither the virtue of government, nor the terror of punishment, his officers became depraved. Of what benefit was it simply to curse the man who had so become depraved?"

(There are here appended three other Chuen—

'From Ch'ing the king took Woo, Lao, and the fields of Wei and Yu; and he gave to Ch'ing the fields which had been granted to Soo Fun-sing, containing the towns of Wan, Yuan, He, Fan, Seih-shing, Ta-wan-nun, Heang, Mang, Chow, Hing, Tuy, and Hwae. The superior man from this transaction may know that king Hwan had lost Ch'ing. To act towards another on the principle of reciprocity is the pattern of virtue, the standard rule of propriety. But when the king took what he could not hold himself, to give to another, was it not to be expected that that other would not come to his court?"

Ch'ing and Seih had some strifes of words, on which the marquis of Seih invaded Ch'ing,
The earl fought with him in the borders, when the army of Seih received a great defeat, and retreated. The superior man from this transaction may know that Seih would soon perish. Its lord did not consider the virtue of its opponent; he did not estimate his own strength; he did not cherish the regard which he should have done to his relative (the chief of Ch'ing and Seih were of the same surname); he made no examination into the language which was causing the strife; he did not try to ascertain whose the wrong was—but guilty in all these five points, he proceeded to attack the other side. Was it not right that he should lose his army?

In winter, in the tenth month, the earl of Ch'ing, aided by an army of Kwoh, invaded Sung, and on the day Jin-seul inflicted a great defeat on its army, thus taking revenge for Sung's entrance into Ch'ing the year before. Sung made no announcement of this to Loo, and therefore it was not entered in the historiographer's tablets. Whatever announcements were received from other princes were so entered; but where there was no announcement, no official record was made. The rule was also observed in regard to the good and evil, the success and defeat, of all military expeditions. Though the issue should be the extinction of a State, if the extinguished State did not announce its ruin, and the victor did not announce his conquest, the event was not written in the tablets.

Par. 4. The reader supposes from this paragraph that duke Yin died a natural death, instead of being murdered, as was really the case. And numerous other instances will occur throughout the classic, which make the foreign student think very doubtful of the merits of Confucius as a historian. The Chinese critics, however, can see no flaw in the sages. It was his duty, they say, to conceal such a nefarious transaction which reflected dishonour on his native State. And yet, they think, there are intimations of the real nature of the event, in its not being stated where he died, and in no entry being made of his burial! Of this and analogous peculiarities of the Chu'n Ts'ew I have spoken in the prolegomena.

The account of Yin's death, as given in the Chun Tseh:—Yu-foo asked leave to put duke Hwan (Yin's younger brother and successor) to death, intending thereon to ask to be made chief minister. The duke said, "I shall resign in his favour: I have not done so yet simply because of his youth. I have caused T'oo-k'ieh to be built, and mean there to spend my old age." Yu-foo was frightened at what he had done, and went and slandered the duke to Hwan, requesting leave to murder him. When he was a young man, the duke had fought with an army of Ch'ing at Hoo-jang, and was taken prisoner. Ch'ing kept him in confinement in the house of the officer Yin. He bribed this Yin, and prayed to Ch'ung-woo, the Spirit whose shrine Yin had set up in his house. After this he and Yin returned together to Loo, and there he set up an altar to Ch'ung-woo. In the eleventh month he was in the habit of going to sacrifice to this Ch'ung-woo, fasting in the enclosure of the altar to the Spirits of the land, and lodging in the house of the officer Wel. On the day Jin-shin, Yu-foo employed ruffians to murder the duke in the house of the officer Wel. He then raised duke Hwan to the marquiseate, and punished several members of the Wel family with death.

Tso-aih adds that the burial of duke Yin does not appear in the text, because the funeral rites were not paid to him.

The K'ang-ho editors have a note here on the circumstance that only in the first of Yin's eleven years is the 'first month (正月)' recorded. Kung and Kuh see in the omission an intimation that Yin 不自正, or 不正, did not consider himself, or was not, the rightful holder of the State. Disclaiming this view, the editors seem to think that the omission is in condemnation of Yin's never having returned any of the king's friendly messages, and never having gone himself to the capital, thereby being the first to set the example of not doing honour to the ruling monarch by going or sending to receive the calendar for the year from him. This is being wise above what is written. To seek for meanings in the Chu'n Ts'ew in this way makes the whole book a riddle, which two men will not guess alike.
I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king’s first month, the duke succeeded duke Yin.
2 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch‘ing in Chuy.
3 The earl of Ch‘ing borrowed the fields of Heu for a peih symbol.
4 In summer, in the fourth month, on [the day] Ting-we, the duke and the earl of Ch‘ing made a covenant in Yueh.
5 In autumn there were great floods.
6 It was winter, the tenth month.

The title of the Book. 桓公, 'Duke Hwan.' See what is said on the title of the former book, where it is related how this Hwan was a younger brother of Yin, and would have succeeded to the marquisate on their father’s death but for his youth. It appears that Yin had always intended to resign the dignity in his favour, when he should have grown up. The young man, however, was impatient, or perhaps he was doubtful of his brother’s intentions; so he hurl a ready ear to the slanders of their near relative Kung-tse Kwan, and gave his sanction to the murder of Yin. He thus became marquis
of Loo by a deed of atrocious guilt.—See the text. 

Tu-isen gives his name as Yun (允), while other authorities say that it was Kwei (軌).
The honorary title Hwan donates—Extender of cultivation and Subjugator of the distant tribes.

土服遠曰桓.

Hwan's rule lasted 18 years, B. C. 710-693. His 1st year synchronized with the 9th year of king Hwan; the 20th year of Hi of T'uei; the 7th year of Ga of Tai (哀) of Tain; the 8th of Seun of Wei; the 4th of Hwan (桓) of Ta-tse; the 33d of Chwang of Ch'ing; the 4th of Hwan of Ta-tai; the 5th of Hwan of Ch'in; the 40th of Woo of K'e (桓); the 9th of Shung of Sung; the 5th of Ning (寧) of T'ai; and the 50th of Woo of T'oo.

Par. 1. After what has been said on all the phrases in this part, in the notes on the 1st par. of the former Book, it is necessary to deal here, rather more at large, with the characters of the names. They are somewhat difficult to translate. To say "came to the throne" would be inaccurate, because Loo was only one of the feudal States of the kingdom; and "came to the place" or "to the seat," would be awkward. The reader will see how I have dealt with it. On the death of duke Yin, in the 11th month of the year before his brother had immediately taken his place; still what remained in that year was counted to Yin, and the first day of the next, his successor announced the beginning of the new rule in the ancestral temple,—changed the beginning (改元), as it is called,—and took solemn possession of the vacant dignity. This is the accession in the text; but here comes a great questioning with the critics. It seems to be a rule in the Chun T'ueh that the phrase "came to the place" is not used where the preceding marquis has been murdered. So we find at the accessions of Chwang, Min, and He. How is it that we find the phrase here, describing the accession of Hwan, chargeable with being necessary to the murder of his brother? The answer given by Ch'oo Hsi is the only sensible one. The paragraph simply relates what took place. Hwan omitted no ceremony that should have been proper on the occasion. He denied that he had been a party to the murder, and would have his accession gone about; as if Yin had died a natural death. No contrivances of Confucius, to construct his record so as to brand the new marquis, were necessary. His own conduct was the strongest condemnation of him.

Par. 2. Chuy,—see on L. viii. 1; but if Chuy belonged to Wei, as is stated there, Too Yu thinks it would hardly have been the meeting place of the marquis of Loo and the exil of Ch'ing. K'e Kwei (賈逵) thought it was in Loo, which seems more likely.—it is easier to suppose that the lords of Sung and Wei might have met in Loo on the occasion in L. viii. 1.

This point, however, need not affect the identification of the place, for Loo and Wei were conterminous on the north-west of Loo. Hwan would be glad to get the conterminous of Ch'ing, considering the circumstances by which he had just succumbed to Loo, and it appears from the next par. that Ch'ing had also something to gain by the meeting.

Par. 3. See the Chun on L. viii. 2, and Too Yu's explanation of it. Too says here:—"The duke on his ascension would cultivate the friendship of Ch'ing, and the earl (郞人) again requested liberty to sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to complete the existence of the fields of P'ang. The duke accorded, and in the 3d month the earl burned the fields of Hoo for a peck-stone; with reference to the sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to P'ang." It would appear that the exchange of the two lands of P'ang and Hoo, proposed by Ch'ing to Duke Yin, had not as yet taken full effect. Loo had taken possession of P'ang, but Hoo had not. Only a given to Ch'ing, and that Loo required something additional for it; and Soo Ch'ueh and Hoo Guan-ko mourned the loss of Ch'ing. Chun Foo-lang (陳傳良; of the Sung dynasty) thinks that the addition of the peck and the word "borrowing" were simply to gloss over the transaction. This is more likely. For the two princes to exchange lands granted to their States by an act of the royal House, without any reference to the reigning king, shows how his authority was reduced.

The peck was one of the five sceptres of symbols of rank held by the princes from the king. Counts and barons received peck, differentiated by the figures engraved upon them. But the princes carried other peck, called 瑣, in their visits among themselves; and it was, no doubt, one of these which was given at this time to Loo. All the peck were made round.

Par. 4. Yung is the same as Chuy; and the place had thus three names.—Chuy, Yung, and Kueen-k'ou. This covenant was the sequel of the meeting in p. 2, "to settle finally the exchange of P'ang and Hoo." Too says that among the words of the covenant there were,—"May he who departs from this covenant not enjoy his State!"

Par. 5. Acc. to Tso-shu, the phrase "great floods," is used when the water is cut off over the level plains.

Par. 6. See on L. vi. 3. The Chun appends here:—"In winter, the earl of Ch'ing [came, or sent] to render thanks for the covenant." 

"Hwa-foo Tuh of Sung happened to see the wife of Kung-foo [Confucius'] ancestor on the road. He went up to her, and went up to her, and said: 'The handsome and beautiful!'"
二年春正月，戊申，宋督弑其君及夷及
公及戎盟于唐。

冬公至自唐。
大夫越席，犬養不致，粱食不饗，明昭其烈也。哀見敝，接塗，帶裳幅，鳥衡繫綏，昭其度。藻華輝，格於懷，厲游繩，昭其數。也火龍黼黻，昭其文，也五色比象，昭其物，也錫金和鉦，昭其聲，也三辰旌旗，昭其明，也遺德僃，有度，登降	
廟以明示百官，百官象之，其又何誅焉。國家之敗，由官邪也。官之失德，隕其聲，不敏，而不敢易紀律，今滅德立憲，而專其器于聰	
商遷九鼎，于雒邑，義士猶或非之，而況昭遷。亂之器乎。大廟若之何？公下觀，周內史聞之，曰： Applying dynamic segmentation...
II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, on [the day] Mow-shin, Tuh of Sung murdered his ruler Yu-e, and the great officer K'ung-foo.

2 The viscount of T'ang appeared at the court of Loo.

3 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'a'e, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing, at Tseih, to settle the confusion of Sung.

4 In summer, in the fourth month, the duke brought the tripod of Kaou from Sung, and on [the day] Mow-shin deposited it in the Grand temple.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the marquis of Ke came to the court of Loo.

6 The marquis of Ts'a'e and the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting at T'ang.

7 In the ninth month we entered Ke.

8 The duke and the Jung made a covenant in T'ang.

9 In winter the duke arrived from T'ang.

Par. 1. The Chuen at the end of last year was preliminary to this par. Tsoo adds here:—'In the duke's 2d year, in spring, Tuh attacked the K'ung family, killed K'ung-foo, and carried off his wife. The duke was angry, and Tuh, in fear, proceeded also to murder him. The superior man understands that Tuh was one who had no regard for his ruler in his heart, and that hence proceeded his wicked movements. It is on this account that the text mentions first his murder of his ruler, though it was second in point of fact.' See farther on par. 3.

Hwa-foo Tuh was a grandson of duke Tse of Sung (died B.C. 706). See about Kung-foo K'ea in the prelog. to vol. I. p. 57. The Chuen sometimes 阳, is a respectful adjunct sometimes of the clan-name, and sometimes of the designation.

Par. 2. See on L.xi. 1. The only thing to be noticed here is the descent of the title from 'marquis' to 'viscount,' which has given rise to an immense amount of speculation and writing. Hoo Gau-kwoh's view may be mentioned,—that Confucius here degrades the marquis to condemn him for visiting a villain like the duke of Loo! The only satisfactory account of the difference of the titles is that given by Too Yu, that, for some reason, the lord of T'ang had been degraded in rank by king Hwan. The visit was, no doubt, to congratulate duke Hwan on his succession. According to the rule in the Chow Le (see on Lxi.1), all the other princes in this part of the kingdom should in the same way have come to Loo.

Par. 3. Tseih was in Sung: somewhere in the prea. dep. of K'ea-sung. Tsoo says that though the meeting is cautiously said in the text to have been 'to settle the confusion of Sung,' it was really brought about by bribes (see on next par.), to maintain the power of the Hwa family. He adds:—'During the 12 years of duke Shang's rule in Sung, he had fought 11 battles, so that the people were not able to endure the constant summons to the field. K'ung-foo K'ea was the minister of War, and Tuh was the premier of the State. Taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people, Tuh first set on foot a report that the constant fighting was owing to the minister of War, and then, after killing K'ung-foo, he murdered duke Shang. Immediately after, he called duke Chwang (the Kung-tse Ping; see the Chuen on L.iii.8) from Ch'ing, and raised him to the dukedom; in order to please Ch'ing, bribing also the duke of Loo with the great tripod of Kaou. Tseih, Ch'ing, and Chung all received bribes, and so Tuh acted as chief minister to the duke of Sung.'
right to give, and he had no right to receive.'

The "grand temple" was that of the duke of Chow.

There is here a long Chuen:—"This act of the duke was not proper, and Taung Gae-pih [son of Tsang He-pih, famous for his remonstrances and adresses to duke Yin;—see L. V. 1] re-
monstrated with him, saying, "He who is
rules of men makes it his object to illustrate his virtue, and to repress is others what is wrong,
that he may shed an enlightening influence on his officers. He is still afraid lest in any way he should fail to accomplish these things; and moreover he seeks to display excellent virtue for the benefit of his posterity. Thus it is that his ancestral temple has a roof of thatch; the mats in his grand chariot are only of grass; the grand soaps [grand, as used in sacrifice] are without condiments; the mullions are not finely
cleaned:—all these are illustrations of his thrift. His robe, cap, knee-covers, and mace; his girdle, lower robe, buskins, and shoes; the cross-
pieces of his cap, its dropper pendants, its fastening
strings, and its sash;—these all illustrate his observance of the statutory measures. His jewel-mats, and his scabbard, with its orna-
tments above and below; his belt, with its descending ends; the streamers of his flags and the ornamens at his horse's bramson;—these illustrate his attention to the regular degrees of rong. The flames, the dragons, the axes, and the symbol of distinction represented on his robe;—these illustrate the elegance of his taste. The various colours laid on in accordance with the appear-
ances of nature;—these illustrate his propriety his articles are made. The bells on his horse's foreheads and his, and those on his carriage pole and on his flags;—these illus-
rate his knowledge of sounds. The sun, moon and stars represented on his flags;—these illustrate the brightness of his intelligence.

"Now when thus virtuously thrifty and observant of the statutes, attentive to the degrees of high and low; his character stamped on his
elegant robes and his carriage; sounded forth also and brightly displayed:—when thus he presents himself for the enlightenment of his officers, they are struck with awe, and do not dare to depart from the rules and laws. But now you are extinguishing your virtue, and have given your support to man, altogether bad. You have placed moreover the bribe received from him in the grand temple, to exhibit it to your officers. If your officers copy your example, on what ground can you punish them? The rules of States and clans take its rise from the corruption of the officers. Officers lose their virtue, when the fondness for bribes on the part of their rulers is displayed to them; and here is the tripode of K'oum in your temple, so that this could not be more plainly displayed! When king Woo had subdued Shang, he removed the nine
tripodes to the city of Loh, and the rite of Shih and others, it would appear, condemned him to it; but what can be said when this bribe is seen in the grand temple,—this bribe of wick-
edness and disorder?" The duke did not listen to the remonstrance, but when Chow's histori-
ographer of the interior heard of it, he said,
"Tsang-cun Taeh shall have posterity in Loh: His ancestors were doing wrong, and he neglected not to administer to him virtuous reproof."

Parr. 3.7. See L. iv. 1; and p. 1. Tao-se says
that the marquis of K'ou behooved at this time disrespectfully, and that it was to punish him for this that the expedition in p. 7 was undert-
taken. Kung-yang and Kubehang, however, read 而 instead of 而 in p. 5.

Par. 5. There was a small State called Tsang, a long way off to the west near the river Han; but the Tsang here was a city of Tsao, 33 south
west of the new, dis. city of Yen-shing (晜
成), dep. K'ua-fung. Acc. to Tao-se, the lords of Tsang and Ch'ing met here, in fear for the first time of the encroachments and growing
power of Tsao.

Parr. 5.2. See L. I. I. 4. The duke and the
mogul met now, says Tao-se, to renew the good relations between the Jung and Loo. The
in p. 9, intimates that the duke on his return to Loo gave notice of his arrival in his ancestral temple. Tao-se says:—On setting out on any expedition, the duke announced the moment in the ancestral temple. On his return, he drank in celebration of that (飲至) in the temple; and when he put down the cup, he had the transaction entered in the tablet,—this was the rule. When only two parties were concerned
a meeting [as in these par.], the place of it
is mentioned both in the account of the setting out and of the return, as if to signify how each had declined to take the presidency. When three or more parties were concerned, then the place is mentioned in the account of the going, and on the return it is said, "The duke came from the meeting," intimating that there was a presidency, and the business was completed.

Tao-se has here a narrative about the affa-
irs of T'ai-lang:—Years back, the wife of Muh, marquis of T'ai-lang (B. C. 811-784), a lady Kiang, gave birth to her eldest son, at the time of the expedition against Tsao, and on that account there was given him the name of K'ou (仇 =
enemy,). His brother was born at the time of the battle of Tsao-mow, and he got with refer-
ence to it the name of Ching-sze (成帥 =
grand success). Soo-full said, "How strange the names our lord has given to his sons! Now names should be definitions of what is right; the doing of what is right produces rules of what is proper; those rules again are embodied in the practice of government; and government has its issues in the rectification of the people. Therefore when government is completed in this way, the people are obedient; when this contract is changed, it produces disorder. A good partner is called Po (姬 = consort); a grumbling partner is called K'ou (仇 = enemy);—these are ancient designations. Now our lord has
called his eldest son Enemy, and his second son Grand Success;—this is an early example of disre-
order, as if the elder brother would be superced-
ed."

In the 24th year of duke Hwun of Loo (B. C. 744), T'ai-lang began to be in confusion, and the marquis Ch'oum [son of K'ou above] appointed Lian Shih [his uncle, the above] as his minister. Soo-full said,
"I have heard that in the setting up of States and clans, in order to the security of the parent State, while its root is large, the branches must be small. Therefore the son of Heaven establishes States; princes of States establish clans. Heads of clans establish collateral families; great officers have their secondary branches; officers have their sons and younger brothers as their servants; and the common people, mechanics and traders, have their different relatives of various degrees. In this way the people serve their superiors, and inferiors cherish no ambitious designs. Now Tsin is a marquisate in the T'ien (甸) domain; and, establishing this State, even if it continues long, its root is weak. In the 90th year of duke Hwuy, Fan-foo killed the marquis Ch'ëou, and endeavoured without success to establish Hwan-stihi in Tsin. The people of Tsin appointed the marquis Heau. In the 45th year of duke Hwuy, Cheng, earl of K'in-yüeh, attacked Yih, and murdered the marquis Heau. The people of Tsin set up his younger brother, the marquis Goh. Goh begat the marquis Gao. Gao overran the lands of Hsing-ying, which were on his southern border, and so opened the way for K'in-yüeh to attack Yih."

Third year.

夏齊侯衛侯胥命于蒲。

冬，齊侯使其弟年來聘。
III. 1 In his third year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ta'e in Ying.
2 In summer, the marquis of Ta'e and the marquis of Wei pledged each other at P'oo.
3 In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke in Shing.
4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on [the day] Jin-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was totally eclipsed.
5 Duke Hsiao's son, Hwuy, went to Ta'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.
6 In the ninth month, the marquis of Ta'e escorted his daughter to Hwan.
7 The duke and the marquis of Ta'e had a meeting in Hwan.
8 The [duke's] wife, the lady K'ang, arrived from Ta'e.
9 In winter, the marquis of Ta'e, sent his younger brother Neen with friendly inquiries.
10 There was a good year.

[To-sha here continues his narrative of events in Ta'en.—In the 30th year, in spring, duke Woo of K'ou-yun, [son of earl Chwang], proceeded against Yih, and halted in Hing-yang. [His uncle]. Han Wan drove his chariot, having on his right a young Hwang. They pursued the marquis of Yih [i.e., Ta'en] to the banks of the Fun, when the trace of one of his outside horses got entangled about the yoke, and the carriage stopped. They caught him in the night, and Kung-shuh of Lwan with him.]

Par. 1. The absence of 'king's,' after 春 and before 正月, has given rise to endless speculation and conjectures, especially as the character is wanting in most of the years of Hwan. Too Tu thinks that the king had not sent round the calendar to the princes on those years. Kuh-kiang thinks the omission is to mark the sage's condemnation of duke Hwan's character. But then it should have been omitted every year,—especially in the 1st. Even Too's explanation cannot be admitted in all the omissions of the term throughout the classics. We can only accept the omission without trying to account for it. Yih belonged to Ta'en,—50 li to the south-east of the pres. dep. city of Yang-gan. The object of the meeting here was to settle a marriage between the duke and a princess of Ta'en. The K'ang-he editors say here that as 王 intimates that the mover of the meeting was not Loo but the outside party, and we must suppose here that the mover was really the marquis of Loo, wishing to strengthen himself in his ill-acquired dignity by an alliance with a powerful house. The term is used to mark Confucius' condemnation of Ta'en. But the thing itself was the condemnation of Ta'en, and we need not look for it in the simple term.

Par. 2. P'oo was in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ch'ung-yun (長垣) dis. dep. Ta-nung, Chih-le. 胜命 相命 charged each other, i.e., the subject about which the two princes had met, was put in writing, and read out in the hearing of them both; but they separated, simply pledged each other in a certain line of conduct, without having gone through the formalities of making a covenant.

Par. 3. Too and Kuh both have 腊 while Kung-yang reads 纣. The K'ang-he editors think Kung's reading is right. Both Ke (纣) and Shing, they say, were afraid of Ta'en, and were cultivating the friendship of Loo as a counterpoise to the other powerful State Shing.—see L. v. 4.

Par. 4. See on III.1, 既一盡, 'totally.' There was a total eclipse in this year, on the day Jinhin; but the month, acc. to Mr. Childers' table, should be the 6th, and not the 7th. See prop. to the Shoo, p. 106.

Par. 5—8. See on III.2. The ancient practice of the princes going themselves to meet their brides had long fallen into disuse, though it might sometimes be observed, especially by the lord of a small State intermarrying with a larger. Hwuy (L. iv. 5; 2, 2) appears here with his full title of 'duke's son,' acc. to Too-sha out of respect to his father, a former marquis of Loo, and who, it might be presumed, was pleased with the match; but the reader need not weary himself in trying to account for the difference of style in this matter between this and former paragraphs.

Hwan was in Loo,—in pres. dis. of Pei-shang (肥城), dep. Ta-ne-nan. It was contrary to the regular rule for the marquis himself to escort his daughter; but probably he had some business of another kind to discuss with the marquis of Loo. Too-sha says: 'It was contrary to the rule for the marquis of Ta'en to escort his daughter. In all cases of the marriages of the daughters of princes—if the intermarriage were with a State of equal dignity and power, and the ladies were sisters of the ruling prince, a minister of the highest rank escorted
them, out of respect to their father, the former lord of the State; but if they were daughters of the ruling prince, only a minister of a lower rank escorted them; if the intermarriage were with a greater State, even in the case of a daughter of the ruling prince, a minister of the highest rank escorted her; if the intermarriage were with the son of Heaven, all the ministers of the State went, only the ruler himself did not go; and if it were with a smaller State, then the escort was only a great officer of the 1st class.' Observe the bride is here called 長氏 'Lady K'ang,' as being still in Ts'e with her father.

The duke may be said to have observed the ancient ceremony of meeting his bride, as Hwan was on the borders between Loo and Ts'e.

Par. 8. Having now entered Loo, the bride has passed into the wife (夫人) on this see the last par. of the previous year.

Par. 9. See I. v. 5, and note. Too-she says that the subject of this mission was to carry her parents' salutations to the wife (致夫人). Too Yu adds that it was to inquire also about her deportment, whether it was becomingly modest and reverent, and to show the earnest regard which the union might be supposed to produce between the States. A mission of this kind sent from Loo would be called 致女, coming as Loo it has the general name of the 賄. Such a mission was sent three months after the lady had left her parents. If she were not giving satisfaction, she might be returned. (So Ying-čhe says: 一其意言不堪事致女則欲以之歸).

Par. 10. The phrase 有年 is expressive of a good year; no crop failing (五穀皆熟). It is strange that the critics should find a mystery in this simple paragraph, as if the sage had preserved the record to show how things turned out in Loo as they ought not to have done under so bad a ruler as Hwan.

[Too-she appends here: 'Juy K'ang, the mother of Wan, earl of Juy, immortalized him because of his many favours, drove him out of Juy, and he took up his residence in Wei (魏).']

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**Fourth year.**

來聘。鄙之也。小之也。秋，秦師圍魏，秦師圍魏，王使在，故名。夏，公狩于郕，公狩于郕。夏，周宰來聘，書時，禮也。

IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke hunted in Lang.

2 In summer, the king [by] Heaven's [grace], sent the [sub-] administrator, K'eu Pih-k'ew, to Loo with friendly inquiries.

Par. 1. 狩, here is the name of the winter hunt celebrated, as Too says, 'at the proper season,' in reality Chow's 1st month, was the 9th month of winter. This is an instance in point to show that Chow's 'spring' did really include two months of the natural winter. Lang—see L. iv. 4.

Par. 2. See I. I. 4, for the meaning of 鄕 K'eu was the name of a city in Chow, from which the official family to whom it was granted took their clan-name. Too-she says the name (Pih-k'ew) of the messenger is given because his father was still alive. If he had not been so, we should have read "葉氏."

There is no entry here under autumn or winter; not even the names of those seasons and their first months. This is contrary to the rule of the classic, and we must believe that a portion of the text is here lost. Of course many of the Chinese critics are unable to accept so simple a solution of the matter, and will have it that the sage left those seasons out of the year, to express his displeasure with duke Hwan, and his condemnation of the king for sending friendly inquiries to such a man as he was.

[Too-she has two brief notes of events that happened in the second half of this year:—

'In autumn, an army of Ts'in made a raid on Juy, and was defeated. It was defeated through making too light of Juy.'

'In winter a king's army and an army of Ts'in besieged Wei. The army of Ts'in captured the earl of Juy, and carried him back to Ts'in with it.']
五年春正月甲戌己丑，陳侯左傳曰。五年春正月甲戌己丑，陳侯鮑卒，葬陳桓公。

冬州公如曹。
V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the first month, on Keah-seuh or Ke-ch'ow, Paoou, marquis of Ch'in, died.

2 In summer, the marquises of Ts'ae and the earl of Ch'ing went to Ke.

3 The king [by] Heaven's [grace], sent the son of Jing Shuh to Loo with friendly inquiries.

4 There was the burial of duke Hwan of Ch'in.

5 We walled Chuh-k'ew.

6 In autumn, an army of Ts'ae, an army of Wei, and an army of Ch'in followed the king and invaded Ch'ing.

7 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

8 There were locusts.

9 In winter the duke of Chow went to Ts'aoou.

Par. 1. There is here evidently some corruption of the text. Between Keah-seuh and Ke-ch'ow, there are 14 clear days. We can hardly conceive how the historiographers could have entered the death of the marquis as having occurred on the one day or the other. If by any possibility they had done so, here, if anywhere, there was need for the pruning pencil of Confucius (筆削). Teo-shu says that two different announcements were communicated to Loo, and adds, 'At this time Ch'in was all in confusion. To, the son of duke Wan, had killed the marquis's eldest son, Wan [so 免 is here read], and superseded him. The disorder arose when the marquis was very ill; the people got scattered; and so two announcements were taken to Loo.' But this is an explanation made to suit the text. Ch'ing E supposes that after Keah-seuh some entry has dropped out which constituted the 1st par., and then a second par. commences with 己丑. This is a reasonable conjecture, but there is another difficulty in the text which renders it insubstantial. The day Ke-ch'ow was in the 1st month of this year, but Keah-seuh was in the 12th month of the preceding. This error of the month, as preceding 甲戌, is equally fatal to the solution of Kung-yang and Kuh-jiang, that the marquis, in a fit of madness, or some other way, disappeared on the first of the days mentioned, and was found dead on the second. The text is evidently corrupt. Leave out the two characters 甲戌 and the difficulty disappears.

Par. 2. 右 as in III.6, simply erez, 'to go to.' Teo says that 'the lords of Ts'ae and Ch'ing went to the court of Ke wishing to surprise it, and that the people of Ke knew their design.' The marquis of Ke, it is understood, communicated their visit and its object to Loo, to which alone he looked for help; and so the entry of a transaction, apparently foreign to Loo, was made by its historiographers. We shall see, hereafter, that Ke's fear of Ts'ae was well founded.

Par. 3. For 仍 Kuh-jiang has 任. Compare I.iii. 4. Jing Shuh must have been a great officer of Chow. The critics are much concerned to determine whether Jing Shuh himself was dead, or only old, so that his son was employed instead of him, and whether he took it upon him to send his son, or the son was directly commissioned by the king. The last point seems to be settled by the text; the others only give rise to uncertain speculations. Teo-shu simply says the messenger was 'a youth (儒 also).'

Par. 5. Chuh-k'ew is believed to have been 30 li to the south-east of the present city of E-chow. Too thinks it was walled as a precaution, in consequence of the designs of Ts'ae on Ke.

Par. 6. On this paragraph Teo-shu gives us the following narrative:

'The king deprived the earl of Ch'ing of all shares in the government of the kingdom, and the earl in consequence no more appeared at court. In autumn the king led several of the princes to invade Ch'ing, when the earl withstood him. The king drew up his forces so that he himself was in the centre, while Lin-foo, duke of Ke-wah, commanded the army of the right, having the troops of Ts'ae and Wei attached to him, and Huh-k'eiou, duke of Chow, commanded on the left, having the troops of Ch'in. Ts'e-yuen of Ch'ing asked the earl to draw their troops up in squares, on the left opposed to the armies of Ts'ae and Wei, and on the right to the men of Ch'in. "Ch'in," said he, "is at this time all in confusion, and the people have no heart to fight. If we attack them first, they will be sure to run. The king's soldiers seeing this will fall into disorder, and the troops of Ts'ae and Wei will set them the example of flight without making any resistance. Let us then collect our troops.
and fall upon the king;—in this way we may calculate on success." The earl followed this counsel. Man-pih commanded the square on the right; Chueh Chung-teh that on the left; while Yuen Fan and Kau K’ue-me, with the earl, led the centre, which was drawn up in fish-scale array. There was always a force of 26 chariots, supported by 5 fies of 5 men each, to maintain a close and unbroken front. The battle was fought at Sun-kok. The earl commanded the squares on the right and left to wait till they saw his flag waved, and then to advance with drums beating. The troops of Tsao, Wei, and Ch’in all fled, while the king’s were thrown into disorder. The forces of Ch’ing then united in an attack on the opposite centre. The king received a great defeat, and an arrow shot by Chuh Tan wounded him in the shoulder; but, notwithstanding this, he retreated, still maintaining an able fight. Chuh Tan asked leave to pursue him, but the earl said, "A superior man does not wish to be always showing superiority over others; much less dare he offer insult to the son of Heaven! If we manage to save ourselves, and the altar of Ch’ing take no damage, we have accomplished very much." At night he sent Tsoh of Chao to comfort the king, and to ask after the welfare of his officers."

Par. 7. "A sacrifice in time of drought." The Ch’uens says that to offer this sacrifice—at least the grand sacrifice for rain—in the autumn was unseasonable, and therefore the record of it appears here. Tao-i adds—

"With regard to the sacrifices in general, at the season of Ku-chih [the emergence of insects from their burrows]—the 1st month of Hsia, and the 3d of the Chow year], the border sacrifice to Heaven was offered; at the season of Lung-hoan [the appearance of the Dragon (see the Shoo, on Pt. I. par. 26)]—the 4th month of Hsia, and the 5th of Chow, the sacrifice for rain; at the season of Chi’sah [the commencement of death]—the 6th month of Hsia, and the 10th of Chow], the Shang or sacrifice of first fruits; and at the season of Pei-chih [the closing of insects in their burrows]—the 10th month of Hsia, and 12th of Chow], the Ching or winter sacrifice. If any of those sacrifices were offered after the season for them, the historiographers made an entry of it." According then to Tao-shih, this sacrifice for rain was competent to Chow and its various States only in the 6th month, its object being to supplicate for rain in the beginning of summer, that there might be a good harvest;—of course it was out of season to offer this sacrifice in any month of Chow’s autum.

But I believe, with Maou K’6-lung, that while there was the regular sacrifice at the beginning of the natural summer, special sacrifices might be offered at any season of prolonged drought, and it does not follow, therefore, that the sacrifice in the text was unseasonable. As to the name ‘grand,’ characterizing the sacrifice here, it has given rise to much controversy. Kia Kwei thought the sacrifice was addressed to Heaven or God by the princes of Lo, under sanction of the grant to their ancestor to use imperial rites, and is therefore here called ‘grand.’ This point we must leave.

Par. 8. "Kau (in Kung-yang, 蒐) are described by Tso Yu as 蚩蠻之屬, a kind of locusts.

Par. 9. Chow was a small State, in pres. dis. of Gang-k’ou (安丘) dep. Tsing-chow. Its prince appears here with the title of duke;—it is supposed because some previous lord had been one of the three Kung or dukes at the king’s court. His capital was Shun-yu (淳于). Ta’ouou was an earldom, held by the descendants of one of the sons of king Wén;—its capital was Tsun-k’ou (聞丘), in pres. dis. of Ting-t’ou, dep. Tsun-chow. Tao-i says on the par.—"In winter, the duke of Shun-yu went to Ta’ouou, reckoning that his State was in a perilous state; and he did not return to it."

Sixth year.

六年春正月，左傳曰，六

夏四月，公會於成紀侯子成，來朝。秋八月，王會於秦，留有不復來。其國也。

紀侯子成。
吾甲兵，以武臨之。彼則憂而協以謀我，故難間也。漢東之國，為大測張，必棄小國，小國離楚之利，為師修，

謂民力之易存也。謂其畜之積大蓄積也。謂其不及庸庸也。謂其勤勞咸有也。謂其不疾緩緩也。謂其居之惡惡也。謂其三時偕其五教，親其九族，以致其祿秩，於斯乎民和，而神降之福，故動則有成。今民各有心，而鬼神之主，君

夏會于成紀，來討，謀齊難也。

北戎伐齊，齊侯使其師于鄭。鄭子忽帥師救齊。六月，大敗戎師，獲其二帥。大良、少良。甲首三百，以獻于齊。齐侯欲以文姜妻，郑子忽，子忽辭人間其故，子曰，人各有稱，齊大非吾耦也。詩云，自求多福，在我而已。大國何為，君子自為。及其敗戎師也。齊侯又謂，此之故，子曰，我有王命。齊人，其謂我何，遂述諸鄭伯。

秋大閱，親馬也。九月丁卯，同生，以犬子生之禮，舉之。癸巳，卜士，賊之。士妻貳之。此宗，婦命之，公與文姜宗婦命之，公問名於申繹，對曰，名有五，有信，有義，有象，有假，有類，以名生，為信以德，命為義，以類命為象，取於物為假，取於非為類，不以國。
VI. 1 In the [duke's sixth] year, in spring, in the first month, Shih came to Loo.
2 In summer, in the fourth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke in Ching.
3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jin-woo, [the duke] held a grand military review.
4 The people of Ts'ae put to death T'o of Ch'in.
5 In the ninth month, on [the day] Ting-maou, the [duke's] son, T'ung, was born.
6 In winter, the marquis of Ke came to [our] court.

Par. 1. According to all the three Chun, this is a continuation of the last par. In last year, Ts'o-shhe says:—"In the spring, he came from T'ou to the court of Loo. The text 来, intimates that he did not return again to his own State." In this way, 来 = for good, and Ts'o Yu defines it by 携. Kung and Kah explain it by 是 and is, this man. Ching E and Hoo Gan-kwo, however, suppose that Shih was the name of the duke of Chow. A prince, living, ought not to be called by his name, but this poor ex-duke, a fugitive from his State, in order to return to it, was in his princely character as good as dead, and might be named. The K'ang-he editors say both views are to be preserved. The point is one of trivial importance.

[There is appended here in the Chun the following narrative:—"King Woo of T'ou (this viscount of T'ou had usurped the title of "king") burst suddenly into Say, and sent Wei Chang to say that T'ou and Say might be on good terms with each other, meanwhile waiting with his army at Hao for intelligence. The court of Say sent Shao-ze [少师; this is evidently the name of an office; but nothing can be ascertained about it. I have therefore followed the example of the Loo-ch'ow Ch'ee which calls the phrase the name of the marquis of Say's favourite to manage the conclusion of a treaty of peace. Tse Pih-pe said to the viscount of T'ou, 'That we have not got our will on the east of the Han is all owing to ourselves. We have displayed our three armies, our men all equipped with their buff coats and weapons, and so we have presented ourselves to the States in all our power. They have been afraid, therefore, and have united together to provide against our designs. It is this which makes it difficult to separate them. Of the States east of the Han Say is the greatest. Let Say once be elated, and then it will spurn the smaller States, which will become alienated from it; this will be to the advantage of T'ou. This Shao-ze is a vain extravagant man; let us humble him by making our army appear as if it were weak.' Hsien Loan-tsun pe said, 'While Ke Leang is in Say, of what use will this be?' Tse Pih-pe replied, 'It will serve as a basis for future movements.' Shao-ze is his prince's favourite. The king, according to Pih-pe's counsel, gave his army a dilapidated appearance, and then received Shao-ze, who on his return to Say requested leave to pursue the army of T'ou. The marquis was about to grant it, when Ke Leang stopped him, saying, 'Heaven is now giving power to T'ou. Its exhibition of weakness was only made to deceive us. Why, O ruler, be so hasty? I have heard that the condition in which a small State can match with a great one, is when the small one is ruled according to reason, and the great one is abandoned to wild excess. What I mean by being ruled according to reason, is showing a loyal love for the people, and a faithful worship of the Spirits. When the ruler thinks only of benefiting the people, that is loyal loving of them; when the priests' words are all correct, that is faithful worship. Now our people are famishing, and the prince indulges his desires; the priests are hypocrites in their sacrifices.—I do not know whether there is the condition of success.' The marquis said, 'My subjects are the best, and well fed; the millet in the vessels is good and all complete,—where is there any want of sincerity?' Ke Leang replied, '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; that to this was owing the large growth of the animals; that to this it was owing
they were so fat, and amply sufficient. When they presented their vessels of milk, and announced it as clean and abundant, they meant that the milk of the three seasons had been done to the cause of husbandry; that the people were harmonious, and the years good. When they presented their distilled and sweet spirits, and announced them as admirable, strong, and good, they meant that the superiors and inferiors were all of admirable virtue, and their hearts in nothing inclined to perverseness; what was termed the widely diffused fragrance was really that there were no slanderers nor wicked men. In this way it was that they exerted themselves that the labours of the three seasons should be performed; they cultivated and imitated the five great duties of society; they cherished and promoted the affection that should exist among the nine classes of kindred: and from this they proceeded to their pure sacrifices. Thus their people were harmonious, and the Spirits sent down blessings, so that every movement they undertook was successful. Now the people's hearts are all at variance, and the Spirits have no lord [i.e., none whom they will serve, and whom they obey]. A breath of wind may be liberal in your acts of worship, what blessing can that bring? I pray you to cultivate good government, and be friendly with the States of your brother princes; then perhaps you will escape calamity;" 

"The marquis of Su was afraid, and attended properly to his duties of government; and T'ao did not dare to attack him."

Par. 2. Tao says the marquis of Ke came to this meeting to consult with Loo about his difficulties with T'ao. The 成 in the text is from Kuh-kiang. Tao and Kung both read 成 which makes Tao give the situation differently from that of the other in Liv. 3. 90 to north-east from prex. dia. city of Ning-yang. 

(The Chuen has here:- "The northern Jung had invaded T'ao, which sent to ask the assistance of a force from Ch'ing. Hwuh, the eldest son of the earl of Ch'ing, led a force accordingly to the help of T'ao, and inflicted a great defeat on the enemy. On his return, he met his two leaders, T'ai-lang and Shau-lang, which he presented to the marquis with the heads of 300 of their buffed-coated warriors. At that time the great officers of many of the princes were keeping guard in T'ao, and the marquis supplied them with cattle, employing the officers of Loo to arrange the order of distribution. These placed the troops of Ch'ing last, which made Hwuh indignant, considering that this had been the merit of the victory; and it gave rise to the battle of Lang [see the 40th year]."

"Before the duke of Loo had married the daughter of T'ao, the marquis wished to marry her: Wan Keang—to Hwuh; but he had refused the match. Some one asked the reason of his refusal, when he replied, "People should be equally matched. A daughter of T'ao is too great a match for me." The odes says, "For himself he seeks much happiness (She, Ill. 1. 147.) I have to do with what depends on myself alone: how can I do with greater advantage." A superior man will say that Hwuh did well in thus making himself the centre of his plan of life. On this occasion, when he had defeated the army of the Jung, the marquis of T'ao again asked him to take another of his daughters to wife, but again he firmly refused. Being asked the reason, he replied, "When I was in the army, when I had had nothing to do in T'ao, I still did not dare to marry one of its princesses. Now I hurried here by our ruler's order to succour T'ao in its exigency: if I returned from it with a wife, it would be as if I had won her by arms." In this way he declined the alliance on the ground of wanting the earl of Ch'ing's command."

Tao-se seems to have forgotten here that he had already narrated the marriage of Hwuh of Ch'ing to a daughter of the house of Ch'in, under Liv. 3. The marquis of T'ao would hardly have offered one of his daughters to fill a secondary place in Hwuh's harem.)

Par. 3. 背一簡車馬 'to examine the chariots and horses.' This was an annual ceremony, to which the winter hunt was supplementary. See the Chow Le, Bk. XXXIX., pp. 34—35. Many of the critics think that the holding this review, as here, in the 5th month in summer, was unsuitable, and that it is recorded to condemn it. But the duke might easily have had reasons sufficient to justify him for holding such a review at this time.

Par. 4. Tao-se has no Chuen here, but we find what serves for one under the 32nd year of duke Chwung. We have seen, under V. 1, that T'o had killed the oldest son of the marquis of Ch'in, and superseded him. But that son's younger brother was a son of a princess of T'ao, and in his interest T'ao now did justice on T'o. T'o had not yet been recognized as marquis of Ch'in, and therefore we have simply his name, without his title. I have translated 背人 by 'the people of T'ao,' after the analogy of 當人 in Liv. 67. Kuh and Kung account for his death at the hands of some people of T'ao by saying that he had intruded into the territory of T'ao in hunting or for a worse purpose, and was killed in a quarrel about a bird or a woman. Their Chuen, however, where matters of history are concerned, are not to be compared with Tseus'.

Par. 5. Tao-se tells us that this entry of T'ao's birth intimates that he was received with all the honours proper to the birth of a son and heir; that an ox, a sheep, and a pig were sacrificed on the occasion; that an officer of divination carried him on his back, and his wife nursed him; and that the duke, with the child's mother, W'an Eshang, and the wives of the duke's noble kindred, gave him his name. This last ceremony took place on the 30th day after the birth. Tao-se adds:—The duke asked Shih Si in about names, who replied "Names are taken from five things:—some pre-destination; some auspice of virtue; some striking appearance about the child; the borrowing the name of some object; or some similarity. When a child is born with a name on it, then it is pre-destination (charactaristic, such as 友, may seem to be made by some marks on the body, and so is taken as the name); when a child is named from some virtue, this is called an auspice (Ch'ang, the name of king W'an, is an instance in point); when it is named from some resemblance about it to something, this is called naming from the
第七年。

來侯來義。癸丑，成己春，

離鄭殺夏丘。元正，

凡成侯五年。
Eighth year.

王后于紀。春，正月，己卯烝。夏，五月，丁丑來聘。王使家父從之，齊會使顏章謂黃楚子伐隨，軍於漢。秋，伐邾。冬，十月，雨雪。天王使家父從之，齊會使顏章謂黃楚子伐隨，軍於漢。

秋，伐邾。冬，十月，雨雪。王使家父從之，齊會使顏章謂黃楚子伐隨，軍於漢。秋，伐邾。冬，十月，雨雪。王使家父從之，齊會使顏章謂黃楚子伐隨，軍於漢。

第八年，春，正月，己卯烝。夏，五月，丁丑來聘。王使家父從之，齊會使顏章謂黃楚子伐隨，軍於漢。秋，伐邾。冬，十月，雨雪。天王使家父從之，齊會使顏章謂黃楚子伐隨，軍於漢。

In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the first month, on Ke-maou, we offered the winter sacrifice.

The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Kea Foo to Loo with friendly inquiries.

In summer, in the fifth month, on Ting-ch'ow, we offered the winter sacrifice.

In autumn, we invaded Choo.

In winter, there was snow.

The duke of Chae came [to Loo], and immediately after went to meet the king's bride in Ke.
Par. 1. 祭 was the name of the sacrifice offered in the ancestral temple at mid-winter. 弼 — 祭, all; — all the labours of the year had been completed, and the fruits of the earth gathered in. They could therefore be now presented more largely than at the other seasonal sacrifices. This is supposed to be the reason of the name. Chow’s 1st month was the 3rd month of Hsu’s winter. The ching sacrifice was now offered, therefore, at the proper time; but a record of it is here entered, the critics think, to show the absurdity of offering the same again in summer, as in par. 3.

Par. 2. See I. vii. 6. 家 is the clan-name, the surname, and 翟 is the designation. The rule was, it is said, that great officers of Chow sent on such missions to the States should be mentioned with their designation; but I am not sure of the correctness of such a rule.

[Tao-shu adds here that: “In the spring there was the extinction of Yin,” i.e., the swift of K’o-ning-yeh extinguished Tsin, or thought he had done so.]

Par. 3. The proper sacrifice at this time was the 緘. To repeat at this season the winter sacrifice was certainly a strange proceeding.

[Tao-shu here gives the sequel of the Chuen under VI.1.1] Shao-shu says, “When the favourite in Su-y, and Tow Pih-pu of Ts’oo said, "Our enemy presents an opening, which we must not lose." Accordingly, in summer, the viceroy of Ts’oo called the princes of the south together at Ch’iu-luh; and as Hwang and Su-y did not attend, he sent Wei Chang to reproach Hwang, while he proceeded himself to attack Su-y, encamping his army between the Han and the Huo. Ke Léung begged the marquis of Su-y to make offers of submission. "If we refuse them," he said, "and we fight afterwards, this will have made our men indignant and the thieves reniels." Shao-shu, however, said, "We must fight quickly, for, if we do not do so, we shall lose the army of Ts’oo a second time." The marquis took the field; and as he surveyed from a distance the army of Ts’oo, Ke Léung said, "In Ts’oo they attach greatest importance to the left; the king is sure to be on the left. Don’t let us meet him, but let us attack their right. There are no good soldiers there, and they will be beaten. When a part is beaten, the whole will be disorganized." Shao-shu said, "If we do not meet the king, we are no soldiers." The marquis would not follow Ke-Léung’s advice. The battle was fought in Su-ho, and the army of Su-y was completely defeated. The marquis fled. Tow Yen captured his war-chariot, and Shao-shu who had occupied the place in the right of it. In autumn, Su-y and Ts’oo made peace. At first the viscount was unwilling to grant peace, but Tow Pih-pu said, "Heaven has removed from Su-y him who was its plague; it is not yet to be subdued." Accordingly the viscount granted a covenant, and withdrew with his army."

Par. 4. The critics are much divided on the question whether the duke himself commanded in person in this expedition or not. I do not see that it can be determined; and have left the matter in the translation indefinite. Many of the neighbouring small lords had been to Loo since Hwan’s accession, but he of Choo had not made his appearance. This invasion was the consequence probably.

Par. 5. This was only the 5th month of Hsu, and snow was unseasonable. [Tao-shu has here: “In winter, the king ordered Chung of K’o to establish Min, younger brother of the marquis Goe, as marquis of Ts’oo.”]

Par. 6. In L. i. 6, we have an earl of Choo. The duke in the text may have been the same, or a son of that earl, here called king or duke, as being one of the king’s three highest ministers; — see the Shoo, V. xx. 5. When the king was taking a wife from one of the States, the rule was that one of these kings should meet her, and one of the princes of the same surname as the royal house, act as director in the affair. The king himself could not appear in it, in consistency with his supreme position. Everything in this part, therefore, is, as Tao-shu says, "proper." The duke of Choo came from Chow, got his orders from the duke of Loo, and then went to Ts’oo to meet the bride, whom Loo could not designate 女, "daughter" of Ke, simply, as she was going to be 皇后 (皇后). The poet marquis of Ke had, no doubt, managed to bring the match about, as a forlorn hope against the attempts on him of the lord of Ts’oo. Maou observes that as this was the 15th year of king Hwan, it cannot be supposed that he had remained queen-less up to this time, and that the daughter of Ke was being taken by him as a second wife (再妻).

Ninth year.

來朝。子使其世伯。歸于京。使十。曹。夏。秋。冬。春。
IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the lady Keăng, fourth daughter of [the marquis of] Ke, went to her palace in the capital.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, the earl of Ts'aou sent his heir, Yih-koo, to our court.

Par. 1. This is the sequel of the last par. of last year. Ts'a-shē observes that the historians did not enter any intermarriages of other States, excepting where they were with the royal House. Ke is the 4th in order of birth, and appears here as the designation of the lady, so that the translation might have been simply "Keăng of Ke."—See L. &. 6. I have here rendered it "to her palace," as Keăng was a royal bride. On 京師 Kang-yang says, 'The phrase denotes the dwelling of the son of Heaven. Keăng means "great," and 京師 means "all." Where the son of Heaven dwells must be described by such terms.'

Par. 2, 3. See on I. vi. 3.

[The Chuen adds:—The viscount of Pa sent Hsun Puh with an announcement to Ts'oo, asking Ts'oo's services to bring about good relations between it and Tung. The viscount of Ts'oo then sent Ts'oo-suh, along with the visitor from Pa, to present a friendly message to Tung, but the man of Yëw, on the southern borders of Tung, attacked them, carried off the presents they were bearing, and slew them both. Ts'oo sent Wei Chang to complain to the lord of Tung of the matter, but he would not acknowledge that he had any hand in it.

In summer, Ts'oo sent Tow Lëen with a force and a force of Tung to lay siege to Yëw, to the relief of which the lord of Tung sent his nephews Yang and Tan. They made three successful attacks on the troops of Pa, and Ts'oo and Pa were likely to fail. Tow Lëen then threw his force right in between the troops of Pa, engaged the enemy, and took to flight. The men of Tung pursued them, till their backs were towards the troops of Pa, and they were attacked on both sides. The army of Tung received a great defeat, and during the night the men of Yëw dispersed."

"In autumn, the brother of the duke of Kwoh, the earl of Juy, the earl of Lëang, the marquis of Soum, and the earl of Keănn, invaded K'üah-yub."

Par. 4. The earl of Ts'aoū himself was ill, and therefore sent his son to visit the marquis of Loo in his stead. Ts'a-shē says:—"The son of the earl of Ts'au was received, as was proper, with the honours due to a minister of the highest rank. At the ceremonial reception which was given to him, when the first cup was presented, as the music struck up, he sighed. She-ts'oo said, "The prince of Ts'au will soon be said indeed. This is not the place for sighing."

The critics are much divided in their views of this visit, and labour hard to find the sage's work of 'condemnation' in it.
Tenth year.

Oct. 公會衛侯于午 齊侯衛侯鄭冬十有二月丙午，齊侯來戰于郎。曹桓公會衛侯于夏五月，葬曹桓公。庚申，曹伯終生。左傳曰：十年，春，曹桓公卒。

X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Kang-shin, Chung-sang, earl of Ts'aoou, died.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Ts'aou.

3 In autumn, the duke [went to] have a meeting with the marquis of Wei in Taou-k'ew, but did not meet with him.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ping-woo, the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing came and fought [with us] at Lang.

Par. 1. Parr. 1, 2. See the Chin on last par. of last year. A great mystery is found in the reappearance of 王; in the 10th year, the completion of numbers. Too blends the two parr. together, saying that 'in the spring duke Hwan of Ts'aou died.'

'Too the adds here—'The brother of the duke of Kwoh slandered his great officer Chen Foo to the king. Chen Foo was able to rebut the slander, and with an army from the king attacked Kwoh. In summer, the duke of Kwoh fled to Yu.'

Par. 3. Ts'aoou-k'ew was in Wei; it is to the west of the present dist. city of Tung-o (東阿), in dept. Tung-ch'ang. The meeting had been agreed upon, and the duke was anxious to detach Wei from the party of Ch'ing, which was threatening Loo; see next par. The marquis of Wei, however, changed his mind, and determined to go with the other side.

'Too the adds—'In autumn, Taou restored Wan, earl of Juy, to Juy.' See the Chun at the end of the 4th year.
冬，公來會齊侯於宿。齊侯享公於莒。二月，齊侯來朝。三月，齊侯來會燕。四月，齊侯來會鄭伯。五月，齊侯來會鄭伯。六月，齊侯來會鄭伯。七月，齊侯來會鄭伯。八月，齊侯來會鄭伯。九月，齊侯來會鄭伯。十月，齊侯來會鄭伯。十一月，齊侯來會鄭伯。十二月，齊侯來會鄭伯。
In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the first month, an officer of Ts'é, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'ing made a covenant in Goh-ts'ao.

In summer, in the fifth month, on [the day] Kwei-we, Woo-sang, earl of Ch'ing, died.

In autumn, in the seventh month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Ch'ing.

In the ninth month, the people of Sung seized Ch'ae Chung of Ch'ing.

Tuh returned to Ch'ing.

Hwuh of Ch'ing fled to Wei.

Yew had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, and the third brother of [the marquis of] Ts'ae, in Cheh.

The duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Foo-chung.

In winter, in the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in K'an.

Par. 1. The position of Goh-ts'ao is not known. This meeting was doubtless a sequel, in some way, to the expedition of the three princes, the previous month, against Loo. Ts'ao says that Ts'ae, Wei, Ch'ing, and Sung all united in the covenant, and Tuo thinks therefore that Sung was wanting in the toxi. But the mention of Sung is supposed by many, and I think correctly, to be an error of Tso. But who were the covenanting parties? Sun Kess (孫覺) of the K'anghe editors, and many other critics, contend that they were the princes of the three States, who are called 宋, in condemnation. But why were they not called 宋 in the par. immediately before? It is better to understand 宋 here, as in many other places, of officers appointed by the princes to act for them.

[The appendix here—K'ess Hsia of Ts'aeo was about to make a covenant with Urb and Chin, when the people of Yen took post with their army at Foo-sou, intending, with Sun, Kessou, Chow, and Léenou, to attack the army of Ts'ao. The Moh-nsou (this was the name of an office in Ts'ao. The party intended is K'sou Hsia) was troubled about it; but Tso Leen said, "The people of Yen, having their army in their suborns, are sure to be off their guard; and they are daily anxious for the arrival of the armies of the other four States. Do you, sir, take up a position at Kessou-ying to withstand the advance of those forces, and I will make an attack upon Yen at night with a nimble, ardent troop. The men of Yen are anxiously looking out, and relying on the proximity of their city, so that they have no mind to fight. If we defeat the army of Yen, the other four cities will abandon their alliances with it." Kess Hsia replied, "Why not ask the help of more troops from the king [i.e. the viscount of Ts'ao]?" The other said, "An army conquers by its harmony, and not by its numbers. You have heard how unequally Shang and Chow were matched. We have some forth with a complete army; what more do we want?" The Moh-nsou said, "Let us divine about it." "We divine," returned the other, "to determine in case of doubt. Where we have no doubts, why
should we divine?" Immediately he defeated the army of Yun in Poo-sou. The covenant with Uli and Chian was completed, and they returned.

"When duke Ch'ao of Ch'ing (i.e. the earl's son Hwuh, afterwards duke Ch'ao) defeated the northern Jung, the marquis of Pu wished to give him one of his daughters to wife. When he declined the match, Chue Chung said to him, "You must take her. Our prince has many favourites in his family. Without some great support, you will not be able to secure the succession to yourself. Your three brothers may all aspire to the earldom."

"Hwuh, however, did not follow the advice.""

Parr. 2, 3. The earl of Ch'ing was certainly the ruling spirit of his time, shrewd, crafty, and daring,—the hero of the first part of the Ch'un T'eu. His burial should not have taken place till the 10th month. There must have been something in the circumstances of the State to cause it to be hurried. Too she appeals to par. 2—Chung T'eu had been border-warden of Chia, and became a favourite with duke Chwang, who made him one of his chief ministers. He had got the duke married to a lady, Man, one of the daughters of the House of T'ang, and the produce of the union was duke Ch'iao (the duke's son Hwuh). It was on this account that Chue Chung secured the succession to him.

Parr. 4—6. Chue was a place or district in Ch'ing, of which Chue Chiang, as we learn from the last Chuen, had been warden; and it became equivalent to his surname, and actually the surname of his descendants. Too says that Chue was really his surname, and Chue his name; but I must believe that Chue was the designation, and T'eu (足) the name.

—The people of Sung: like in VI. 4. A literal translation of "grabbed" would be "grabbed". The reason of the seizure of Chue Chiang is told by Too—the officer of Sung had married a daughter, called Yung K'uei (雍局; Yung was the father's clan name; K'uei the surname) to duke Chwang of Ch'ing. She bore a son [T'eu], who became duke Le. The Yung clan was in favour with duke Chwang of Sung, who therefore beguiled Chue Chiang, seizing him, and telling him that, unless he raised T'eu to the earldom, he should die. At the same time he seized duke Lo [Tu], and required the promise of bribes from him. Chue Chiang made a covenant with an officer of Sung, took duke Le back with him to Ch'ing, and set him up."

The action of pp. 5, 6 was almost contemporaneous. As the Chuen says:—"In the 9th month, on T'ing-hse, duke Ch'iao fled to Wei, and on K'e-hse (12 days after) duke Le was acknowledged in his room."

As Hwuh had been both de jure and de facto earl of Ch'ing since his father's death, the critics are much concerned to find the reason why he is mentioned here simply by his name, without his title. Kung-yang thinks the style is after the simplicity of the Yin dynasty, which called the son by his name in presence of the father; and the former earl might be considered as only just dead,—in fact, as almost still alive. Kue-foh thinks the name is given, as to a prince who had lost his State. Hoo G'an-kwoh thinks the name is condemnatory of him, for having refused the strong alliance which T'eu had pressed on him. Too's explanation is more likely. The announcement of his exit, he says, was from Ch'ing, which gave his name in contempt, and the historiographers of Loo entered it as it came to them. But see on XV. 4.

Parr. 7. The situation of Chih has not been determined. Yaw was a great officer of Loo, who, acc. to Too, she, had not received a clan name. On T'ai, Too Yu says that T'ai is the name, and Maou agrees with him. It serves, indeed, the purpose of a name; but I prefer to render the word, according to its signification, as in the translation. So, Sun T'ai (蔡).
公會宋公于虛。
冬十有一月，公會宋公于龜。丙戌，公會鄭伯于武父。
會于虛冬，又會于龜，宋公辭平。故又會于武父。

于宋。
師伐宋，丁未戰。丙戌，衛侯晉卒。

XII. 1 It was the [duke's] twelfth year, the spring, the first month.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Jin-yin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke and the viscount of K'eu, when they made a covenant at K'eu-ch'e.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ting-hae, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, and an officer of Yen, when they made a covenant at K'uh-k'ew.

4 In the eighth month, on Jin-shin, Yoh, marquis of Ch'in, died.

5 The duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Heu.

6 In winter, in the eleventh month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Kwei.

7 On Ping-seuh, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant at Woo-foo.

8 On Ping-seuh, Tain, marquis of Wei, died.

9 In the twelfth month, our army and the army of Ch'ing invaded Sung; and on Ting-we a battle was fought in Sung.
Par. 1. See on L.v. 2.

Par. 2. For Ke, we have Ke- in Kung and Kuh. For '池' Kung has '池', K'ing-chie was in Loo; 40 li to the north-east of pres. dis. city of K'ing-fow. We might translate the characters—the pool of K'eh.' There is or was such a pool, having its source in Shih-mu (石門) hill.

Tso-shu says the object of this meeting was 'to reconcile Ke and Keu,' which had been at feud since Keu invaded Ke in the 4th year of Duke Yin.

Par. 3. Kuh-k'ew was in Sung;—30 li north from the dep. city of Ts'ou-chou. Tso-shu says:'The duke, wishing to reconcile Sung and Ch'ing, had a meeting in the autumn with the duke of Sung, at the height of Kow-tou (刊之丘). This is another name for Kuh-k'ew. Yen here is the southern Yen, a small earldom, whose lords had the surname K'eh (姬), and professed to be descended from Hwang-te. It was in the pres. dis. of Keh (汲), dep. Wei-houy, Ho-man. Sung had required very great promises from Ts'ou, as the price of establishing him in Ch'ing; and the non-fulfilment of them created great animosity between the two States. Loo, at Ch'ing's solicitation, tried to act as mediator; but without success. But if this meeting were, as Tso-shu says, held simply on account of the differences between Sung and Ch'ing, we cannot account for the presence of an officer of Yen, whose weight in the scale, on one side or the other, would hardly be appreciable. Woo Ch'ing (吳澄), the great Yuen commentator, thinks therefore, that the meeting was called for another purpose in which Yen had an interest, and that Loo took the opportunity to touch on Ch'ing matters. The 'History of the Different States' gives quite another turn to the par., and makes K'eh the earl of the northern Yen, who happened to arrive at Kuh-k'ew, while the meeting was being held, on his way to the court of Sung.

Par. 4. This marquis was canonized as duke Loo (厲公). His burial is not recorded, because Loo did not attend it. See on L.i. 7. Ho Hw'e foolishly supposes that this marquis was the son of To, and therefore his burial is not entered.—'in condemnation of To.' Too Yü observes that the day Jin-shin was the 23rd of the 7th month; and explains the error of entering the death under the 8th month as having arisen from the hieroglyphists of Loo, simply taking down the date as it was given them erroneously, so far as the month was concerned, in the message from Ch'ing (從赴).

Par. 5, 6. Tso-shu says:—Uncertain whether Sung would be reconciled to Ch'ing or not, Loo persevered in its endeavours; and the duke had the meetings in these two paragraphs. Hsu and Kwei were both in Sung; but their positions are not well determined.

Par. 7. Sung had now positively declined to be reconciled, and Loo takes decidedly the side of Ch'ing. Woo-fu was in Ch'ing,—in the south-west of pres. dis. of Tung-ming (東明), dep. Ta-ming, Chih-je.

Par. 8. This is the only instance in the Ch'ou T'ung, in which, when entries of two or more different things that occurred on the same day are made, the name of the day is given with each of them.

Par. 9. This is the sequel of par. 7. The text, however, is not so precise as usual. We want a subject before 夜, which should be 'the duke' or '我師', as I have given it. Then the clause at the end is quite indefinite, so that Kung and Kuh both say that Loo and Ch'ing quarrelled, and fought between themselves,—whereas we find them fighting on the same side in the 2d par. of next year. Tso-shu, after mentioning the meeting of Loo and Ch'ing at Woo-fu, adds:—Immediately after, they led their forces and invaded Sung, with which they fought a battle,—to punish it for its want of good faith. A superior man will say, 'If there be not the appendage of good faith, covenants are of no use. It is said in the Poems (11. v. IV. 3),—The king is continually insisting on covenants, and the disorder is thereby increased;'—which was from the want of good faith.' [The Chou adds here:—T'ou invaded K'aoou, and attacked the south gate of the city. The Muh-gan, K'eh-hia, said, 'K'aoou being small will be lightly moved. Lightly moved, its plans will be with little thought. Let us leave our wood-gatherers unprotected and so entrap it.' His advice was followed, and the people of K'aoou caught 30 men. Next day they struggled to get out to pursue the service-men of T'ou upon the hill. The army took post at the north gate, and an ambuscade had been placed at the foot of the hill. K'aoou received a great defeat. T'ou imposed a covenant beneath the wall, and withdrew. In this invasion of K'aoou, the army of T'ou waded through the Pun in separate divisions. The people of Lo wished to attack them, and sent Pih-kia to act as a spy. He went thrice round the troops, and counted them:]
XIII. 1 In his thirteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke and the earl of Ch'ing; and on Ke-se he fought with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and an officer of Yen, when the armies of Ts'e, Sung, Wei, and Yen received a severe defeat.

2 In the third month there was the burial of duke Seuen of Wei.

3 In summer there were great floods.

4 It was autumn, the seventh month.

5 It was winter, the tenth month.

(Tso-shu gives the following narrative as prior to the fight in par. 1—"In spring, K'ueh His of Ts'e proceeded to invade Lo, and was espoused part of the way by T'ou Pi-ke. As Khi-po was returning, he told to his charioteer, "The Mok-kwou will certainly be defeated. He walks high on his tiptoes; his mind is not firm." Immediately after, he had an interview with the viscount of Tseu, and begged him to send more troops. The viscount refused, and when he had gone into his palace told his wife, a Man of Tung [see on VII.8] about the matter.)
"Your great officer's words," said she, "were not merely for the sake of sending more troops; his meaning was that you should comfort the inferiors by your good faith, instruct all the officers by your virtue, and gain the Moh-gan by the fear of punishment. The Moh-gan, accustomed to success by the action of Poo-sam (see the Chun appended to XI.; but perhaps for Poo-sam we should read Kesou) will presume on his own ability, and is sure to make too little of Lo. If you do not control him and confound the army, the Moh-gan will not make the necessary preparations. Pih-po's meaning certainly is that you, my Lord, should instruct all the people, by good words controlling him and comforting them; that you should call the officers and stimulate them as the subject of excellent virtue; that you should see the Moh-gan, and tell him how Heaven does not make use of haughty, supercilious men. If this were not his meaning, he would not speak as he has done;—does he not know that all the army of Tse'e has gone on the expedition?" The viscount on this sent a Man of Lo after Kesh His, but he could not overtake him. Meanwhile the Moh-gan had sent an order round the army that whoever remonstrated with him should be punished. When they got to the river Yen, the troops got disorderly in crossing it. After that, they observed no order, and the general made no preparations. When they got to Lo, its army and one of the Loo Jung (see the Shoo, V.i.b.) attacked them, and inflicted a great defeat. The Moh-gan strangled himself in the valley of Hwang, and all the principal officers of the expedition rendered themselves as prisoners at Yen-tou to await their punishment. But the viscount of Tse'e said, "The fault was mine," and forgave them all."

Par. 1. The three Chuen all differ as to the parties in whose interest this battle was fought. Kung-yang thinks they were Lo and Sung; Tso-fe is of the same view; and Tse'e, Sung and Ching. The Kung-fe editors prefer the view of Kuh-ling, referring to the arguments of Chao Kuang (超臣; of the Ch'en dynasty), Hoo Guan-kwoh, Sun Kosh, and Woo Ching in its favour; and place the scene of the battle in the

Fourteenth year.
In his fourteenth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing in Ts'aiou.

There was no ice.

In summer, in the 5th [month],—the earl of Ch'ing sent his younger brother Yu to Loo to make a covenant.

In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jin-shin, the granary of the ancestral temple was struck with lightning.

On Yih-hae we offered the autumnal sacrifice.

In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, Luh-foo, marquis of Ts'ai, died.

An officer of Sung, with an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'aiou, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'in, invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Since the meeting of the duke and earl at Woo-foo in the 12th year, Loo and Ch'ing had been fast allies, and this meeting was, no doubt, to cement the bond between them. Tso says that, as they met in Ts'aiou, the earl of Ts'aiou was also a party at the meeting. Tso-hse adds that the people of Ts'aiou supplied, cattle and other fresh provisions,—which was proper.

Par. 2. The 1st month of Chow was the 11th of Hsia, the 24th month of winter, when there ought to have been ice.

Par. 3. After 五月there is wanting the character 月;¹ a month; and perhaps other characters as well. Or it may be, as some critics think, that it is an interpolation.

Instead of 言, Kuh-liang has 言. Tso-hse says:—The son of duke Chou of Ch'ing, Tso-hse [子人; this was the designation of Yu, and afterwards became a clan-name] came to renew the covenant (尋盟), and to confirm the meeting in Ts'aiou. I suppose this meeting had been agreed on. Kuh-liang lays down a law, that where the day of a covenant is not given, it intimates that the covenant had formerly been arranged for. The law is arbitrary; but the fact in this case was, probably, as it would assume.

Par. 4. Chou Ch'ing says:—When the prince is in his chariot, he is in immediate proximity to his charioteer. (與御者最相親近) Therefore the charioteer is used of the men whom the prince approaches nearest, and also of the things which the prince himself uses. The granary was that in which the rice which was produced from the field was stored; used to supply the grain for the vessels of the ancestral temple, and which it was not presumed to apply to any other use. This is an attempt to explain the use of 炎 here; and it is strange the dictionary takes no notice of the term in this passage. The phrase might be rendered by the duke's own granary; as well as by those I have employed in the translation, 炎—met with calamity; but acc. to Tso-hse, in the Chun Ts'ueh the term is used specially of calamity by fire from Heaven (天火曰炎).

Par. 5. The Chun was a regularly recurring sacrifice; and as ordinary and regular things are not entered in the Chun Ts'ueh, the critics are greatly concerned to account for this entry. A sufficient reason seems to be supplied in the date. The Chun was due on the 6th month of Hsia, and it was now only the 8th month of Chow, —the 6th month of Hsia. But the grain for it would have to be supplied from the granary which had been burned; and by the mention of the sacrifice immediately after that event, the text seems to intimate some connection between the two things. Tso-hse simply
says that the proximity of the texts shows that 'no harm was done' by the lightning; i.e., observes Too, 'the fire was extinguished before it reached the grain.' But, contends Kuh-hsiang, to use the miserable remains of the grain scattered by the lightning was very disrespectful; and not to divine again for another day on which to offer the Shang, after such an ominous disaster, Hoo Gan-kwó shows, was more disrespectful still! To a western reader all this seems 'much ado about nothing.'

Par. 7. Too Yu gives here, from another part of the Chuen, a useful canon about the use of 以 in the text and similar paragraphs:—'When armies can be ordered to the right or the left, 以 is used.' The character simply 用 is used. In this case the troops of T'ae and other States were at the disposal of Sung. Once in the Shé—IV.1. [iii.] V.—we find the same usage of 以. The invasion of Ch'ing was in reprisal for the events in par. 1 of last year, and XII.8. The Chuen says:—'In winter, an officer of Sung, aided by armies from several princes, invaded Ch'ing, to avenge the battle [or battles] in Sung. The allies burned the K'u gate of its outer wall and penetrated to the great road. Then they attacked the eastern suburbs; took New-shan; and carried off the beams of Ch'ing's ancestral temple to supply those of the Loy gate of Sung [carried off the year before].'

Fifteenth year.

十有五年春。二月天王崩。五月鄭伯出奔蔡。五月己巳葬齊僖公。四月蔡世子忽復歸於鄭。

冬十月公會齊侯于艾。秋九月鄭伯突八于棘。
XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Kee Foo to Loo to ask for carriages.

2 In the third month, on Yih-wo, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-sze, there was the burial of duke He of Ts'e.

4 In the fifth month, Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, fled to Ts'a.

5 Hwuh, heir-son of Ch'ing, returned to his dignity in Ch'ing.

6 The third brother of [the baron of] Heu entered into Heu.

7 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Gae.

8 An officer of Choo, an officer of Mow, and an officer of Koh came to [our] court.

9 In autumn, in the ninth month, Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, entered into Leih.

10 In winter, in the eleventh month, the duke joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the marquis of Ch'in, at Ch'e, and they invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. 家父—see VIII. 2. On the whole par., see on I. III. 8. To say she says here:—"This mission was contrary to propriety. It did not belong to the princess to contribute carriages or dresses to the king; and it was not for the son of Heaven privately to ask for money or valuables."

Par. 2. See on I. III. 2.

Par. 4. The Chuen relates:—"Chao Chung monopolized the government of Ch'ing, to the great trouble of the earl, who employed Chung's son-in-law, Yung Kiew [the Yang Kiew had come to Ch'ing with Tuh from Sung, and married a daughter of Chao Chung] to kill him. Kiew proposed alone as at a feast which he was to give Ch'ing in the suburbs, but Yung Kiew [Kiew's wife, and Chung's daughter] became aware of the design, and said to her mother, "Is this a father or a husband the nearer and dearest?" The mother said, "Any man may be husband to a woman, but she can have but one father. How can there be any comparison between them?" She then told Chao Chung, saying, "Yung is leaving his house, and intends to feast you in the suburbs; and there kill you. I got him to tell me by guilt." On this Chao Chung killed Yung Kiew, and threw away his body by the pool of the Chou family. The earl took it with him in his carriage, and left the State, saying, "It was right he should die, who communicated his plans to his wife!" Thus in summer duke Le quitted Ch'ing, and fled to Ts'a."

Here Tuh has his title given him, which, we saw, was withheld from Hwuh in XL. 9. Some of the reasons assigned by the
critics for that withholding were then adduced, but another may here be suggested. Under Hwuh, Loo and Ch'ing were continued after this to be enemies. Under Tuh, they were friends. These different conditions betray themselves in the historiographers, and Confucius did not care to alter their style in XL 6. In this par. it should seem that these ought to be some mention of Chao Chung's expelling his prince; but the characters 出奔 went out and fled, imply an impelling violence behind.

Par. 5. The feeling of Loo against Hwuh appears here also in his being only called 子 or 'heir-son.' Too says:—In the 6th month, on Yih-bao, duke Ch'iao entered. The phrase 復歸 however, implies his recovery of former dignity. In a Chuan on duke Ch'ing, XVIII 6, Too has—復其位日 復歸, 'restoration to one's dignity is expressed by 復歸.'

Par. 6. See the long Chuen on the affairs of Hwuh on L. XL 2. The Hsiao Shuh here is the young brother of the hwan who had fled before Ching and its allies, and whom the earl had placed in the eastern borders of the State, as if with some provision of what now occurred. After sixteen years, the young man recovered the possession of his fathers. A here has not the hostile meaning which it generally bears, though the K'ung he editors think such a term is used to convey some blame of Hwuh, for taking possession of the seat of his fathers without announcing his purpose to the king, and getting his sanction to his undertaking. But of what use could such a proceeding have been? The king was hardly able to sustain himself. The after A seems to distinguish this use of from the cases in which it is followed directly by its object.

Par. 7. Too says the object of this meeting was 'to consult about the settlement of Hen,' but the critics doubt this view as nothing is found in the Ch'üan T'ieh, or elsewhere to confirm it. See I. vi. 2. For Kung has 鄭 and Kuh 奚.

Par. 8. Choo, Mow, and Koh were all small States, though the lords of Choo came to be called viscount and marquis, and the chief of Koh was an earl, with the surname Ying (臥). It was in pres. dia. of Ning-ling (定陵), dep. Kwai-tih. Mow was merely an 'attached' State, in pres. dia. of Lau-woo (萊蕪), dep. T'ae-gan. Too Yu thinks the three visitors were all the heir-sons of the three small States; the chiefs of which, as being merely attached, would be entered by their names, and their sons, therefore, would simply be called 'men,' and not named; but this is mere conjecture. We may adhere here to the translation of A by 'officer.'

Par. 9. Leih was a strong city of Ch'ing, in pres. Yu Chow, dep. Kau-fung. Too says:—In autumn, [Tuh], the earl of Ch'ing procured the death of T'an Pih [the commandant of Leih] by some of the people of Leih, and immediately took up his residence in it. The meaning of A here is intermediate between its purely hostile significance, and that in par. 6. Kung-yang supposes that this occupation of Leih was equivalent to the recovery by Tuh of Ch'ing, led away probably by the 'earl of Ch'ing,' in which we again see the favour which Loo bore to Tuh.

Par. 10. Chu was in Sung,—in Shuh Chow (宿州), dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. Too says the movement was to restore duke Le; and that it was unsuccessful, and the invaders returned. Kung-yang has 賣 after A; and D for 賣. Sung was induced to join the undertaking, probably by assurances from Tuh that, if he were once again re-established in Ch'ing, he would fulfill the promises he had formerly made.
In his sixteenth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ue, and the marquis of Wei, in Ts'au.

In summer, in the fourth month, the duke joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ch'in, and the marquis of Ts'ue, in invading Ch'ing.

In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

In winter, we wallied Heang.

In the eleventh month, Soh, marquis of Wei, fled to Ts'e.

The expedition by Loo, Sung, Wei and Ch'in against Ch'ing in the 11th month of the last year had been unsuccessful. The princes of Loo, Sung, and Wei now meet and arrange for another, and they have Ts'e also to join their confederacy. Soo-she says:—"The object of the meeting was to plan about invading Ch'ing."

This is the sequel of the last part; and Ch'in re-appears in the expedition. In accounts of conferences and expeditions, Ts'e is always placed before Wei, as in par. 1, while it is last in order. This makes Ssoo say that at this time the marquis of Ts'e was 'the last to arrive.' Ying-t'ang, however, quotes from Pan Kou (historian of the 1st Han), to the effect that, from Yin to the 14th year of duke Chwang,—a period of 48 years,—there was no regular order of precedence among the princes, as no really leading one among them had yet arisen. See on II. 9.

It is mentioned before, I. ii. 2, that 'Kuen entered Heang;' and in VII. iv. 1, we read that duke Seum attacked Kuen and took Heang. But here we find duke Hwan fortifying Heang. This may hardly have been the same place, but another, properly belonging to Loo. Too Yu says nothing here on this point, nor does any other of the critics, so far as I have observed. Too-soo observes that this undertaking was recorded because it was 'at the proper time.' But the time for such undertakings was not yet come, according to the natural reading of the paragraph, which simply says the thing was done in winter; and as the next part begins with the specification of the 11th month, we conclude that Heang was walled in the 10th,—which was only the 5th month of the Ssu year. To justify Too-soo's observation, therefore, Too contends that though no month is mentioned here, we must understand the 11th month; and he says also that the sixth month of this year was intercalary, which of course would carry the 11th month of Chou forward to the term for such an undertaking. All this, however, is very uncertain.

Too-soo has here a melancholy narrative:—"Long before this, duke Seum of Wei had committed incest with E-hsung [a concubine of his father;—comp. I. Cor. v. 1], the produc-...
XVII. 1 In his seventeenth year, in spring, in the first month, on Ping-shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the marquis of Ke, when they made a covenant in Hwang.

2 In the second month, on Ping-woo, the duke had a meeting with E-foo of Choo, when they made a covenant in Ts'uy.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Ping-woo, we fought with the army of Ts'e at He.

4 In the sixth month, on Ting-ch'ow, Fung-jin, marquis of Ts'a'e, died.

5 In autumn, in the eighth month, the fourth brother of [the marquis of] Ts'ai returned from Chi'ch'in to Ts'a'e.

6 On Kwei-sze there was the burial of the marquis Hwan of Ts'a'e.

7 Along with an army of Sung and an army of Wei, [we] invaded Choo.

8 In winter, in the tenth month, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

Par. 1. Hwang, acc. to Ts'oo, was in Ts'ou. Some find it in the pres. dis. of Hwang, dep. Tsung-chou; but that would seem to be too distant from Loo, though convenient enough for Ts'ou and Ke. Tee-foo says that the object of the meeting was to reconcile Ts'e and Ke, and so consult about the affairs of Wei. We may suppose that Ke was now in more danger from Ts'e, since the death of the king, and the consequent loss of his influence in favour of his son-in-law.

Par. 2. Ts'ui was in Loo, somewhere in the borders of the pres. dis. of Ssu-shan and Teou. Tee-foo says the object of the meeting was to renew the covenant at Mei'; see L. 2. Tee-foo observes that Ping-woo was not in the 2d month, but was the 4th day of the 3d month. It is plain that there could be no Ping-woo in the 2d month, as we have said, in the next par. recurring in the 5th month. Kung has 几 instead of 會.

Par. 3. Kung-foo has here no 夏, and Kung-hsü, instead of 午, 齊. He was in Loo; in pres. dis. of T'ang, dept. Yen-chou. Tee-foo says:—This fight was in consequence of some border dispute. When it arose, the people of Ts'e made a steady incursion into the borders of Loo, the officers of which came and told the duke, who said, "On the borders it is for you carefully to guard your own particular charge, and to be prepared for anything unexpected. In the meantime look thoroughly to your preparations; and when the thing comes, fight. What need you come to see me for?"

The covenant of the 1st month had proved of little use.

Par. 5. 季 has the meaning in the translation, and was also and naturally the designation of the individual. On par. 4 Teo says that, on the death of the marquis [who had no son], the people of Ts'a'e called his younger brother from Chi'ch'in; and here he observes that the entry here [the designation being given, and not the name] shows how highly the people of Ts'a'e thought of him. I think the character 既 intimates that Ke was raised to be marquis of Ts'e; and this was, as the preface, acc. to Teo-foo, who identifies him with Huen-woo, who, we shall see hereafter, was carried off prisoner by Teo-foo.

I am surprised that the Kung-foo editors doubt this identification, and follow the opinion of Ho Hse, the editor of Kung-yang, who says that Ke refused to accept the marquisate, which was then given to Huen-woo. Kung-foo says strangely that Ke was a nobleman of Ts'e, raised by the support of Chi'ch'in to be marquis. Yet even he does not doubt the elevation of Ke.

Par. 6. In all other cases, where the burial of a prince is recorded, the title of duke follows the honorary or sacrificial epithets. Here we have a solitary instance, where the title of rank, borne during the life-time, is preserved. This has given rise to much speculation. It seems the simplest solution of the difficulty to suppose an error in the text of 侯 for 公.

Par. 7. Loo had covenanted with Choo in the 3d month, and, the year before, Choo had sent its salutations to the court of Loo; and yet here we find Loo joined with Sung and Wei in an invasion of Choo. Teo-foo says that Loo was following the lead of Sung, which, acc. to Tsao, was quarrelling with Choo about their borders.
Par. 8. This eclipse took place Oct. 3d, B.C. 634, and on Kang-wu, the 7th day of the cycle. The day of the cycle is not given in the text, because, acc. to T'ao-shu, the “officers had lost it.” He adds, “The son of Heaven had his “officer of the days (百官),” and the princess their “superintendent of the days (日御).” The officer of the days had the rank of a high minister, and it was his business to regulate the days of the year. The superintendents of the days were required not to lose the days [which they had received from the king’s officer], but to deliver them to the chief officers in their prince’s courts. It may have been so that the number of the days was thus lost; but it is simpler to suppose that the historiographers on this occasion omitted it. This is the view taken by many critics;

As Chao K’ung (袁; Tang dyn.),
Ch’iu Fei-chang (承; 19th cent.), and
Chun Hsi-shuang (延; Ming dyn.).
The K’ang-hsi editors observe, that, during the Han dynasty and previously, astronomers could only determine the first day of the moon, approximately, in an average way (平朔), from the average motion of the sun and moon, but that from the time of Liu Hung, (劉洪; the After Han dyn.), and through his labors, it became possible to determine exactly the time of new moon (定朔), by adding or subtracting from the average time, as might be necessary. Still, this want of exactitude in these times could not affect the day of the cycle on which a phenomenon like an eclipse was to be recorded.

The Chuen appends here:—Years back, when the earl of Ch’ing (Woo-shang, duke Chuang, the earl) had wished to make Kao K’ueu-me one of his high ministers, duke Chi’ou (then the earl’s son Hwah), who disliked Kao, had represented strongly against such a measure. The earl did not listen to him; but when duke Chi’ou succeeded to the State, Kao was afraid lest he should put him to death. On the day Sin-mao, therefore, he took the initiative, and killed duke Chi’ou, raising up his brother Wu in his room. A superior man will say that the prince knew the man whom he disliked. Kung-tse Tah said, “Kao Ping (Kao K’ueu-me) indeed deserved an evil end! His revenge of an ill done to him was excessive.”

Eighteenth year.

Yuan Hui, Wei, Shang, Chin, Chou, Su, Ch’in, Chou, Li, Shang, Chou, Chou, Shang, Ch’ing, Chin, Chou, Chou, Chou.

The year of the trigram Wei (yı). The year, 18th year of Shih (聖), 2nd year of Wuyi (武).
In his eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, near the Luh, after which the duke and his wife, the lady Keang, went to Ts'e.

In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-tsze, the duke died in Ts'e; and on Ting-yew, his coffin arrived from Ts'e.

It was autumn, the seventh month.

In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, we buried our ruler, duke Hwan.

Par. 1. Once more, at the commencement of duke Hwan's last year, the character 王 re-appears, and the fancies to which its re-appearance has given rise are numerous and ridiculous. It would be as fruitless to detail as to discuss them. We must read the two entries about the meeting on the Luh, and the going to Ts'e, in one par. because of the 遂, which, as a 繼事之詞, or a word connecting events, links them together. The character 華 in the second part does not occur in Kung-yang; and Twan Yuh-tee, in his Old Text of Ts'e-shih's Ch'un Ts'ew, omits it, contending that Kuh-ssang also did not have it. It is, however, in all the editions of Kuh that I have seen. Twan says that it is a "vulgar addition" to Ts'e-shih's Ch'un Tsew. The critics generally receive it, however. The conjunctions 及, 而, and 暨 are those proper to the Classic, and for the 與 here they account by insisting on its equivalence to 許, "to grant," "to allow." It was contrary to propriety for the duke's wife to go to Ts'e, but she was sent on going, and the duke weakly allowed her to accompany him.

The Luh (pronounced Luh or Luh) was a stream, which flows into the Tse in the north-west of the dis. of Luh-ssing (i.e. Hsien), dep. Hsiao-nan. We have no information of the business discussed at this meeting between Loo and Tse; and the ordinary view is that it had been brought about by duke Seang of Tse simply with a view to bring his sister and him together, and then to get her further to accompany him to his capital. The only scholar who controverts this view is Wan Sus-ta (萬斯大), of the pres. dyne., who argues, feebly however, that Seang was a younger brother of Wan Keang, and that the inscurbtion connection between them originated at this meeting.

The Chuen says:—'In spring the duke, being about to travel, allowed at the same time his wife Keang to go with him to Tse. Shih-sea said, "The woman has her husband's house; the man has his wife's chamber; and there must be no delinquency on either side; then is there that which is called propriety. Any change in this matter is sure to lead to ruin."' Notwithstanding this re-sonstration, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tse near the Luh, and then went on with Wan Keang [his wife was styled Wan, from her elegance and accomplishments] to Tse, where she had criminal connection with the marquis, her brother. The duke angrily reproached her, and she told the marquis of it.'

Par. 2. In continuation of the last Chuen, Ts'ao-shih says:—'The marquis feasted the duke, and then, [having made him drunk], employed P'ang-sang, a half-brother of his own, to take him to his lodging in his carriage. The duke died in the carriage, and the people of Loo sent a message to the marquis of Tse's, saying, "Our poor lord, in awe of your majesty, did not dare to remain quietly at home, but went to renew the old friendship between your State and ours. After the ceremonies had been all completed, he did not come back. We do not fix the crime on any one, but the wicked deed is known among all the princes, and we beg you will take the shame of it away with P'ang-sang." On this, the people of Tse put P'ang-sang to death.'

The reader will find all the incidents of Hwan's visit in Tse, his wife's misconduct, his death, &c., graphically told in the 'History of the Different States.' Bk. XIII. As to Confucius, silence about them in the text, see the note to I. xi. 4. Choo He says very lamely, 'Confucius gives a straightforward narration, and his judgment lies in the facts themselves. When he says, "The duke met with the marquis of Tse in such and such a place; the duke and his wife Keang went to Tse; the duke died in Tse; the duke's coffin came from Tse; the duke's wife withdrew to Tse:—with such re-
tries plainly before our eyes, we could understand the nature of them without any Chmen."

要 is to be taken here as: "the coffin with the body in it."—see the dictionary, in loc.

Par. 3. [Tso-sha gives these two narratives:—
In autumn, the marquis of Tse went with a force to Shoo-cho, and there Tse-wa [the new earl of Ch'ing; see the Chuen at the end of last year] went to have a meeting with him, Kaou Kwen-ee being in attendance as his minister. In the 7th month, on Mou-south, the marquis put Tse-wa to death, and caused Kaou Kwen-me to be torn in pieces by chariots. After this, Chae Chung sent to Ch'in for another son of duke Chwang, met him, and made him earl of Ch'ing. When Tse-wa and Kwen-ee were setting out for Shoo-cho, Chae Chung, knowing what would happen, made a pretence of being ill, and would not accompany them. Some people said, "Chae Chung escaped by his intelligence," and he himself said that it was so.

"The duke of Chow [Hih-kien; see the Chuen in Y. 6] wished to murder king Chwang, and set his brother Kih [the king's brother; another son of king Hwan] on the throne. Sin Pih told the king of it, and then he and the king put the duke of Chow, Hih-kien, to death, while the king's brother Kih fled to Yen. Formerly, Tse-wa [the designation of Kih] was the favourite with king Hwan, who placed him under the care of the duke of Chow. Sin Pih remonstrated with the duke, saying, "Equal queens (i.e., a concubine made the equal of the queen), equal sons (i.e., the son of a concubine put on the same level as the queen's son), two governments (i.e., favourites made equal to ministers), and equal cities (i.e., any other fortified city made as large as the capital)—these all tend to disorder." The duke paid no heed to this advice, and he consequently came to his bad end."

[The marquis of Tse, having committed incest with his sister, and murdered his brother-in-law, proceeded to execute the justice which the former of these narratives describes to save princes and people into silence about his own misdeeds. The division of the body by five chariots was a horrible punishment. The head, the two arms, and two legs were bound, each to a carriage in which an ox was yoked, each animal placed in a separate direction. The oxen were then urged and beaten till the head and limbs were torn from the body.]

Par. 4. The burial took place later than it should have done; and indeed, according to Kung and Kub, it should not have taken place at all until the real murderer of the duke was punished. But what could Loo do in the circumstances? The evil man had come to an evil end; and the best plan was to consign his coffin to the earth.
書三王之年，五穀豐，百姓安，王業興，為王之正。王維其年，五十有六，公榮外。王為十有五之王，去於圓。
acknowledging her kinship;—as was proper; but even this is doubtful.

Kung and Kuh give a very strange view of the par. They think that "Wu Keang had not returned at all to Loo; and that duke Chwang, just at this period of mourning for his father, was led to think sorrowfully of her absence, and ordered the entry in the text to be made about her. This is clearly most unlikely in itself, and contrary to the usage of 孫 which we shall meet with in other passages.

Par. 3. A treaty of marriage had for more than a year been going on between Loo, on behalf of the royal House, on the one hand, and T'eu on the other. When the king wanted to marry one of his daughters to any of the princes, it was considered inconsistent with his dignity to appear in the matter himself; and a prince of the same surname was employed as interlocutor and manager. This duty was frequently devolved on the princes of Loo; and Hwan had undertaken it in this instance. His meeting with the marquis of T'eu at Luh, in the first month of last year, had reference perhaps to this very matter. When the marriage was fixed, the rule was that the king should send the lady, escorted by a high minister, to the court of the managing prince; and there she was met or sent for by her future husband.

Accordingly, we have in the text the earl [a royal minister, so titled] of Shen [the name of the city assigned to him in the royal domain] escorting the lady (王姬, a royal Ke) to Loo.

On this view of the paragraph, all is plain; but instead of 封, Kung and Kuh, followed in this instance by the K'ung-ho editors, have 逆 met. This necessitates our understanding 單伯 as the surname and designation of an officer of Loo, specially commissioned, somehow, to meet and convey the king's daughter to Loo. One can easily see how 逆和送 might be mistaken, the one for the other. There can be no doubt, it seems to me, that Tso's reading should be followed.

Par. 4. It was autumn, when the king's daughter arrived at the capital of Loo. The case was a hard one, as Chwang was still in mourning for his father. To be managing the marriage of the king's daughter to the man who had murdered his own father, was a greater difficulty still. The case was met, in part at least, by not receiving the lady in the palace or the ancestral temple, but building a 舍, a sort of hall or reception-house for her, outside the city. Tso-sha says, 'This was treating her as an outsider (外);—which was proper.'

Par. 5. 命 is used here as in the Shoo, V, viii, 4, meaning the symbols of investiture or more generally of royal favour. These were of 9 kinds, all of which could be conferred only on the holder of a 貫 of the first class,—a duke or a marquis. An earl might have seven of them; a viscount or a baron, 5. The proper place for conferring them was the court, on the noble's personal appearance; but they might also
be sent;—as in the Shoo, V. xiii. 29. To confer
them, as here, on a dead man, seems very
strange; and on a man who had been stained
with crime, is stranger still. Whatever the
gifts were, they would be treasured in Loo as
royal testimonials to the excellence of duke
Hwan. Yung (the clan-name) Shuh (the de-
signation) was a great officer of the court.
According to the analogy of other passages,
there ought to be 天 before 王. It may have
slipped out of the text, or been unwittingly
omitted by the historiographers.
Par. 5. Ts'e here takes an important step
in carrying out its cherished purpose of ex-
tinguishing the State of Ke. Ping is referred
to somewhere in the preface, dep. of Ts'ing-chow;
Ts'e (齊) is read, to dis. of Chang-yih (昌
邑), same dep.; and Wou to a place 60 li to the
south-west of dis. Guan-chou (安丘), dep.
Ts'e-nan. These were three towns or cities of
Ke, the inhabitants of which the marquis of
Ts'e removed within his own State, peopling
them also; we must suppose, with his own sub-
jects. Kuh-liang wrongly supposes that the
three names are those of three small States,
absorbed by Ts'e at this time in addition to Ke.
But the end of Ke was not yet.

Second year.

二年春王二月。卒。葬陈莊公。葬陳莊公。

秋七月齊王姬。女。于齊侯齊。會齊侯會氏姜人夫。冬年二。曰傳左

II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second
month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Ch'in.
2 In summer, duke [Hwan's] son K'ing-foo led a force, and
invaded Yu-yu-k'ouw.
3 In autumn, in the seventh month, the king's daughter,
[married to the marquis] of Ts'e, died.
4 In winter, in the twelfth month, the [late duke's] wife, the
lady K'ueang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in
Choh.
5 On Yih-yew, Ping, duke of Sung, died.

Par. 2. K'ing-foo was the name of a half-
brother of duke Chwang, older than he, but the
son of a concubine. Older than Chwang, he should
be designated Ming (孟); but as not being the
son of the rightful wife, he was only styled
Chwang (仲), and his descendants became the
Chwang-sun (仲孫) clan, which subsequently
was changed into Ming-sun (孟孫);—see the
note in the Analects on II. v. i. Kung-yang is
wrong in saying he was a younger full brother
of Chwang;—how could a boy of 10 or there-

about be commanding on a military expedition?
Too says that Yu-yu-k'ouw was the name of a
State, while Kung, Kuh, and Ying-tah, all make
it a city of Choo (郯). Too's view is to be
preferred; and from the foreign, barbarous, tri-
syllable aspect of the name, we may infer that
the State was that of some wild tribe, not far
from Loo.

Par. 3. The 列國志 says the lady pined
away, and died broken-hearted, on finding what
sort of a husband she was married to. Her death
is entered here, contrary to the rule in such
matters, probably because Loo had superintend-
ed the marriage, and she might be considered as one of the daughters of the State. See a reference to the death of this lady, and duke Chwang's wearing mourning for her 9 months, in the Le Ke, II. Pt. II. 1. 18.

Par. 4. The critics are unanimous in supposing that this par. implies that Wan Kung had again returned to Loo, after her withdrawal to Ts'e in the 3d month of last year. Choh [Kung-yang has 識] was in Ts'e, on its western border. Tao-shu says plainly that the object of the meeting was a repetition of the former crime.

Par. 5. See the Chuen appended to I. iii. 5, and the note on II. ii. 3.

Third year.

In the duke's third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Neih joined an army of Ts'e in invading Wei.

In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Sung.

In the fifth month, there was the burial of king Hwan.

In autumn, the third brother of [the marquis of] Ke entered with [the city of] Hwuy under [the protection of] Ts'e.

In winter, the duke halted in Hwah.

Par. 1. Compare I. iv. 5. We have here the name Neih, just as in that par. we have the name Hwuy. Tao-shu says here, as there, that the omission of 公子, 'duke's son,' before the name, indicates the sage's dislike of the individual and his enterprise (疾之也); and though that omission has no such significance, the invasion of Wei was certainly most blameworthy. Soh the marquis of Wei, stained with atrocious crimes, had fled to Ts'e, in the 16th year of Hwan, and Ke-en now, with the approval of the king [see VI. 1.], had been raised to his place; yet here we have Ts'e moving to restore Soh, and Loo, forgetting its own injuries received from Ts'e, joining in the attempt.

Par. 3. Tao-shu remarks that this burial was late; and late it was, as king Hwan had died in the 16th year of duke Hwan. Some reason therefore must have been for deferring the inter-

ment so long, but we know not what. Kung and Kuh, without any evidence in support of their view, suppose that this was a second burial,—the removal of the coffin from its first resting place to another.

Par. 4. The marquis of Ke was of course the eldest brother of his family (伯), and the one here mentioned would be his 3d or his 4th brother. Hwuy was a city of Ke,—in the pres. dis. of Liu-tze (褔澤), dep. Tving-chow. Ts'e had begun to carry into effect its purpose of annexing the State of Ke (see I. 8). This brother of the marquis, seeing the approaching fate of the whole State, makes offer of the city and district under his charge, and enters Ts'e as a Foo-yung, or attached State, in which he might preserve the sacrifices to his ancestors. Tao-shu says that 'Ke now began to be divided.'
Par. 5. Hswah (Kung and Kuh have 吕), acc. to Too, belonged to Ch'ing;—in Suay Chou (睢州), dep. Kwei-shih; but Mason and many other recent critics think it was the name of a small State near to Ch'ing. Too says that the duke wanted to have a meeting with the marquis of Ch'ing (Tse-e), to consult if anything could be done for Ke, but that the marquis declared his own difficulties (arising from his brother Tu-h), and declined a meeting. In explanation of the term 宿, Too adds:—"In all military expeditions, where a halt is made for one night, it is called 宿; and when for more than two nights, it is called 宿."
5 In the sixth month, on Yih-ch'ow, the marquis of Ts'e interred [duke Yin's] eldest daughter of Ke.

6 It was autumn, the seventh month.

7 In winter, the duke and an officer of Ts'e hunted in Choh.

Par. 1. Chuh-k'ew,—see on II. v. 5. It appears from this that the duke's mother had returned to Loo after her meeting with her brother in II. 4. Her now getting him to come to Loo, and openly feasting him, shows how they were becoming more and more shameless.

Par. 2. This is the lady whose marriage was chronicled in I. II. 5, 6. The death of daughters of the House of Loo who had been married to other princes was chronicled by the historiographers; and sometimes their burial also.

[Teo-she adds here:—] In the 3d month of this year, king Wou of Ts'e, made new arrangements for marshalling the army, and supplied the soldiers with the hooked spear. He was then going to invade Suy; and, being about to fast before the delivery of the new weapons, he went into his palace, and told his wife, Man of Tung [see the Chuen after II. xili. 1] that his heart felt all-ali.ated. "Your majesty's life [lit. revenues]," said she, sighing, "is near an end. After fulness comes that dissipation; such is the way of Heaven. The former rulers [in whose temple he was going to fast] must know this; and therefore, at the commencement of this military undertaking, when you were about to issue your great commands, they have thus agitated your majesty's heart. If the expedition take no damage, and your majesty die on the march, it will be the happiness of the State." The king marched immediately after this, and died under a sun tree. The chief minister [see Ana. V. xiii..] Tow Ke, and the Moh-gou, K'ueh Ch'ung, made a new path, bridged over the Cha, and led their army close to Suy, the inhabitants of which were afraid, and asked for terms of peace. The Moh-gou, or if by the king's command, entered the city, and made a covenant with the marquis of Suy, asking him also to come to a meeting on the north of the Han, after which the army returned. It was not till it had crossed the Han that the king's death was made known, and the funeral rites began.

Par. 3. Chuy,—see I. viii. 1. The meeting here had reference, probably, to Ke, which was now near use as an independent State. Hoo Gan-kwoh, and many other critics think Tuh, or duke Le, is the earl of Ching here intended; but much more likely is the view that it was Tse-e [see the Chuen after p. 5 of II. xliii.]. The word 遇 is used instead of 會, probably because the meeting wanted some of the usual formalities.

Par. 4. Tao-she says:—The marquis of Ke was unable to submit to Tse'e, and gave over the State to his 5d brother. In summer, he took a grand leave of it, to escape the oppression of Tse'e. The poor marquis was unable to cope with his relentless enemy, and rather than sacrifice the lives of the people in a vain struggle, he gave the State over to his brother, who had already put himself under the jurisdiction of Tse'e (III. 4). Too says that 'to leave and not return is called a grand leaving.' The phrase is here complimentary. Kung-yang, indeed, argues that the style of the paragraph, conciliating the fact that Tse'e now extinguished the State of Ke, was designed to gloss over the wickedness of the marquis of Tse'e in the act, because he thereby revenged the wrong done in B.C. 823 to one of his ancestors, who was boiled to death at the court of Chow, having been slandered by the then lord of Ke! The marquis of Tse'e, therefore, was now only discharging a duty of revenge in destroying the House of Ke! Into such vagaries do the critics fall, who will find 'praise or censure' in the turn of every sentence in this Classic.

Par. 5. The leaving his wife unburied shows to what straits the prince of Ke had been reduced, when he went away. The marquis of Tse'e, we may suppose, now performed the duty of interment, with all the honours due to the lady's rank, partly in compliment to Loo, and partly to conciliate the people.

Par. 7. Here, as in II. 4, Kung-yang has 郡 instead of 禄. Both Kung and Kuh say that 車人 is intended the marquis of Tse'e himself; but Too simply says the phrase 微者, 'a mere officer,' adding that the nature of the whole transaction,—the duke's crossing his own borders and hunting in another State with one of inferior rank,—is sufficiently apparent.
V. 1 It was [the duke’s] fifth year, the spring, the king’s first month.

2 In summer, [duke Hwan’s] wife, the lady Kéang went to the army of Ts‘e.

3 In autumn, Le-laé of E paid a visit to our court.

4 In winter, the duke joined an officer of Ts‘e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch‘in, and an officer of Ts‘ae, and invaded Wei.

Par. 2. The army of Ts‘e was probably in Ke at this time. Wan Kiang now joined her brother, in the sight of thousands. Wang Pao says:— The mouth of former meetings, as at Choh and Chu-b‘ew, was mentioned, intimating that after some days the marquis and his sister separated. Here the season is given, intimating that they remained together for months.

Par. 3. E (Kung-yang has 倪) was a small attached territory under the jurisdiction of Sung.—In pres. dis. of T‘ang, dep. Yen-chou. Its chief, as Ts‘e says, had not received from the king any symbol of dignity (未王命) and therefore he is mentioned by his name.—Le (Tso has 靖) lao. The chiefs of attached territories are mentioned both by their names, and designations. Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks that the same indicates that the territory is that of some barbarous tribe. Tung Chung-shou (董仲舒; early in the Han dyn.) says that when the territory contained 30 square li, the chief was mentioned by his designation; when it had only 20 square li, simply by his name. All this is very doubtful.

Par. 4. The object of this expedition was the restoration of Soh, or duke Hwuy;—see II. xvi. 5.

Sixth year.

冬子突救衛

侯朔于八月

秋公至自

夏子突救衛

侯於八月

冬者來歸衛

人來伐衛

歸衛俘

正月，王者人

夏子突救衛

職，乃位，君以之子也

本，不謀知本之本

不于，是不於，非於，從，是年，楚子伐楚，十六年楚復伐楚滅之。
VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Tsze-tuh, an officer of the king, endeavoured to relieve [the capital of] Wei.
   2 In summer, in the sixth month, Soh, marquis of Wei, entered [the capital of] Wei.
   3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the invasion of Wei.
   4 There were the ming-insects.
   5 In winter, an officer of Ts'e came to present [to Loo] the spoils of Wei.

Par. 1. Kung and Kuh both read here instead of 正. The king endeavoured to support Wei against the attempt to re-instate Soh, but his ministers all declined the risk of commanding the expedition. Only Tsze-tuh in the text, not even a "great officer," would hazard himself on the enterprise. Too, followed by Ying-tuh, and a host of others, consider that Tsze-tuh was the officer's designation, while Kung and Kuh have many critics, and among them for once Maoo Ke-lug, affirming that it was his name. I think the former view is the correct one.

Par. 2. As Soh had been the facto marquis of Wei, the入千衡 here, as descriptive of his restoration, is peculiar. Comp. II. xi. 5, xv, 5, et al. The phrase seems to be condemnatory of him, entering as an enemy into his capital. Tsze-tuh says:—"In summer, the marquis of Wei entered; drove Kung-tse K'een-mow [see the Chun to II. xvi. 5] to Chow, and Ning Kwei to Ts'in; and put to death Soh and Chih, the sons of duke Ilwan by the two ladies on the right and left of the harem. After this he took his place as marquis. The superior man will say, "The action of the two sons of duke Irwan in raising K'een-mow to the marquisate was ill-considered. He who would be able to make sure the seat to which he raises any one, must measure the beginning and the end of his prestige, and then establish him as circumstances direct. He who knows the individual to have no root in himself, he dismisses him from his plans. If he knows that his root will not produce branches, it is vain to try to strengthen him." The Book of Poetry says, "The root and the branches increase for a hundred generations.""

Par. 4. See L. v. 6.

Par. 5. Kung and Kuh both read 資 here for 修. and Tsze-tuh also has 資 in his Chun, so that Soh expects 修 to be an error of the text. It need not be so, however, for 修 may signify either prisoners or precious spoils generally. See an instance of the latter application of it in the Preface to the Shoo, p. 14. Tsze-tuh says that this gift of the spoils of Wei was made at the request of Wann-kwang.

The Thuang adds here:—"King Wan of Ts'oo was invading Shoo and passed by T'ang. Ko, marquis of T'ang, said, "He is my sister's son;" and therupon detained and feasted him. Three other sisters' sons, called Chay, Tan, and Yang requested leave to put the viscount [i.e., the emperor] to death, but the marquis refused it. "It is certainly this man," said they, "who will destroy the State of T'ang. If we do not take this early measure, hereafter you will have to gnaw your nails,—will you then be able to take any measures? This is the time to do what should be done." The marquis, however, said, "If I do this deed, no man will hereafter eat from my board.吾餘。what I have left; i.e., what remains to me for my own use, after all the sacrificial offerings." They replied, "If you do not follow our advice, even the altars will have no victims, and where will you henceforth get food to put on your board?" Still the marquis would not listen to them; and in the year after he returned from invading Shoo, the viscount of Ts'oo attacked T'ang. In the 16th year of duke Chun, he again attacked and extingushed it.]
VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kêang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Fang.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-maou, at night, the regular stars were not visible. At midnight, there was a fall of stars like rain.

3 In autumn, there were great floods, so that there was no wheat nor other grain in the blade.

4 In winter, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kêang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Kuh.

Par. 1. Fang.—see I. 71. 5. As Fang was in Loo, Ts'-she says that this meeting was sought by Ts'e. Of course, when a meeting between the brother and sister was in Ts'e, he would say that Wen Kêang was the mover to it.

Par. 2. 星如雨—The stars fell as rain, seems plain enough. Ts'e, however, and Kuh-lêang take 星如雨—'and,' The former says:—'The stars fell along with the rain;' the latter, 'There fell stars, and it rained.' Kung-yang says, without giving any authority, that, before Confucius revised the text of the Chun T'ien of Loo, this entry was—雨星不及地尺而復, 'It rained stars to within a foot of the earth, when they reascended.'

Par. 3. 秋大雨—see II. 1. 57 et al. At this time the wheat was getting to be ripe, while the rice, millet, &c., were only in the blade. The floods washed all away; yet Ts'e-she says 'they did not hurt the good grain,' meaning there was still time to sow the pauzy and millet again, and reap a crop before the winter. The Kung-hie editors cast out of the text this remark of Ts'e's, indicating thereby, as on other occasions of the same suppression, their dissent from it.

Par. 4. Kuh belonged to Ts'e,—was in the pres. dis. of Tung-'u (東阿), dep. Yen-chow.

Eighth year.

第八年.
VIII.  1. In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, [our] army halted at Lang, to wait for the troops of Ch'in, and the troops of Ts'æe.

2. On Kéah-woo, we exercised the soldiers in the use of their weapons.

3. In summer, [our] army and the army of Ts'æe besieged Shing. Shing surrendered to the army of Ts'æe.

4. In autumn, [our] army returned.

5. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Kwei-we, Woo-che of Ts'ae murdered his ruler, Choo-urh.

Par. 1. Lang.—see I. 14; et al. The duke had probably made an agreement with the princes of Ch'in and Ts'ae to join in the attack on Shing; and as their troops had not arrived at the time agreed on, the army of Loo was obliged to wait for them here at Lang. This is the natural explanation of the par. Pao Ning, on Kah-ling, and Ho Hiu, on Kung-yang, suppose that the halting of the troops at Lang was to meet a real or pretended invasion of Loo by Ts'ae and Ch'in.

Par. 2. Kung-yang reads 祠 for 治, but with the same meaning. Ts'a-chie says that the 治兵, whatever it was, took place in the ancestral temple, and was proper. But it took place, evidently, at Lang, while the troops were halting for those of Ts'ae and Ch'in. As to the expression 治兵 it is a technical phrase, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to determine.
In the Chou Lé, XXIX, 25—33, we have an account of the hunting at the four seasons of the year, and the military exercises practised in connection with them, under the direction of the minister of War. At mid-spring the men were taught the toils of the chase; at mid-summer, the arts of war; at mid-autumn, the arts of government; and at mid-winter, the science of government.

In the summer, the men were taught the arts of war, and the methods of attack. Some critics find fault with Tzen’s saying that the soldiers in order, when the exercise was appropriate to mid-autumn; but it was so appropriate only in times of peace. Now Loo was engaged in war, and it was then appropriate, whenever it would be advantageous.

Par. 3. Shing (Kung has  成),—see I. v. 3. As no mention is made of Tz’e and Ch’ien, their troops probably had not come up at all. And we do not know the circumstances sufficiently to understand why Shing surrendered to Tz’e alone, and not to the allied army of Tz’e and Loo. That a slight was done to Loo, we understand from the Chou:—When Shing surrendered to the army of T’ung, Chang K’ung-fou asked leave to attack that army. The Duke said, “No. It is I who am really not virtuous. Of what crime is the army of Tz’e guilty? The crime is all from me.” The Book of Hess says:—

1. Kao-yao vigorously served abroad his virtue, and it made the people submissive (see on the Shoo, II. ii. 10). “Let us meanwhile give ourselves to the cultivation of our virtue, and hide our time.” It would appear from this narrative that duke Chang was himself with the army, though the style of all the paragraphs makes us conclude that he was not himself commanding.

Par. 4. The return of an army is not usually chronicled in the Ch’uan Téw as it is here. Tso-chie observes that from the time of Hsia the superior men will command, duke Chang. It is not easy to see the point of the remark, unless we take it as referring to the duke’s words in the preceding Chouen.

Par. 5. Choo-arb was the name of the marquis of T’ou,—duke Shang. Woo-chie was a son of E. Chang-shen (庚仲年), an uncle of the marquis. The marquis was therefore...

"The marquis of T’au had sent Eon Ching and Kwan Che-fou to keep guard at K’wei-k’ew. It was the custom of the men when they left the capital, and he said, "When the men are in T’au again, I will relieve you of your guard for twelve months; and no word coming from the marquis, they requested to be relieved. But their request was refused, and in consequence they fell into rebellion.

"Chung-wo, a son of the Duke, had left a son, called Kung-sun Woo-chie, who was a favourite with Hsia, and had been placed by him, so far as his robes and other distinctions were concerned, on the same footing as a son of his own. Duke Shang, however, had degraded him. The two generals, therefore, associated themselves with him to carry out their plan. There was a first cousin also of Eon Ching in the duke’s harem, who had lost his favour, and her, they employed as a spy upon his movements. Woo-chie having declared to her that if their enterprise was successful, he would make her his wife.

"In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis went to amuse himself at Koo-fun, and was hunting on Pei-k’ew, when a large bear made its appearance. One of the attendants said, "It is the Kung-t’se P’ang-sang [see the Chou on II. xvii. 3]. The marquis was enraged and said, "Does P’ang-sang dare to show himself?" With this he shot at the creature, which stood up on its hind legs like a man, and howled. The marquis was afraid, and fell down in his carriage, injuring one of his feet, and losing the shoe. Having returned to the palace where he was lodging, he required his footman Pe to bring the shoe, and when it could not be found, scourged him, till the blood flowed. Pe ran out of the room, and met several assassins at the gate, who seized and bound him. "Should I oppose you?" said Pe, seeing which they believed him. He then requested leave to go in before them, when he hid the marquis, came out again, and fought with them till he was killed in the gate. Shih-chie Fun-foo died fighting on the stairs, on which the assassins entered the chamber, and Pe and Mung Yang [who had taken the marquis’ place] in the bed. “This is not he,” they soon cried.

"It is not like him.” They then discovered the duke’s foot, [where he was hiding] behind the door, murdered him, and raised up Woo-chie in his place.

"Before this, when duke Shang came to the marquisate, Paon Sun-yen, seeing his irregularities, said, “The prince is making the people despise him; there will soon be disorder;” and he fled to Kuei with Hsia’s son, Sun-on-phi. When the disorder broke out, Kwan E-wou and Shaoon Hwiu fled to Koo with Kuei, another of Hsia’s sons.

"Before his elevation, Kung-sun Woo-chie had behaved oppressively to Yung Lin.

It will be seen from this narrative that Woo-chie was not the actual murderer of the marquis of T’au, nor indeed the first mover in the taking of him off. Still, as he was the one who was to profit by his death, the Ch’un Téw charges the deed on him. The marquis departs his fate.
Ninth year.

公及齊大夫盟于郫。自秋七月丁酉葬齊襄公。八月庚申及齊師戰于乾時，我師敗績。九月齊人取子糾殺之。冬浚洙。

九月，齊人取子糾，殺之。君也。公及齊大夫盟于郫，齊無知。左傳曰，九年春，雍廪殺無知。

I. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the people of Ts'e killed Woo-che.
2 The duke made a covenant with [some] great officers of Ts'e at Ke.
3 In summer, the duke invaded Ts'e, intending to instate Kēw; [but] Séaou-pih [had already] entered Ts'e.
4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ting-yēw, there was the burial of duke Séang of Ts'e.
5 In the eighth month, on Kāng-shin, we fought with the army of Ts'e at Kān-she, when our army received a severe defeat.
6 In the ninth month, the people of Ts'e took Tsze-kāw, and put him to death.
7 In winter, we deepened the Shoo.
Par. 1. I translate 齊人 here by 'the people of Te'," after the analogy of L. iv. 6, 7, or al. Tso-shu tells us, however, that the real slayer of Woo-che was Yang Liu, mentioned at the end of the last Chun. "Woo-che had taken his place as marquis of Te; but only 2 months had elapsed, and his title had not been acknowledged by the other princes. He is therefore mentioned in the text simply by his name.

Par. 2. Ke (Kung and Kuh have 質) was in Lo,-90 to the east of the dis. city of Yih (賑), dep. Yam-chow. On the death of Woo-che, great officers were sent to Loo to arrange about making Kew, who had taken refuge there soon after the murder of duke Sheng, marquis in his room. This was the subject of the covenant at Ke. Tso-shu explains the fact of the duke's covenant with them, a thing beneath his dignity, by saying that there was at this time no ruler in Te.

Par. 3. It does not immediately appear why the duke should have Te to instate Kew, seeing that Kew's elevation has been matter of covenant between him and representatives of Te. Opposition, probably, was anticipated from Shao-pih, and the military force to provide against it. But the duke's movements were not speedy enough to effect his object. Tso-shu, both in his text and Chun, has 未 instead of 未, which would indicate that Kew was the older of the two brothers. And the evidence does preponderate in favour of this view, though the opposite one has many advocates of note. The Kung-ho editors spend a whole page in reviewing the question. The Chun on VIII. 4 states that Shao-pih had fled to Kew, and here it is said:—"Duke Hwan had been before and in entering Te from Kew."

Par. 4. It was now the ninth month since the murder of the marquis. His burial had been deferred in consequence of the troubles of the State.

Par. 5. Kua-shu was in Te;—in the north of pres. dis. of Poh-hing (博興), dep. Trin-chow. Notwithstanding that Shao-pih had anticipated his brother, and got possession of Te, the duke of Loo persevered in his efforts in favour of Kew, and suffered this defeat.

败績—see on II, xii. Tso-shu says:—"At this battle the duke lost his war-chariot, but got into another, and proceeded homewards. Tso-shu and Lesang-tse [who had been in the chariot with him] took his flag, and separated from him by a lower road [to deceive the enemy]; and the consequence was that they were both taken. Thus, the duke himself commanded in this expedition,—a fact which the text is so constructed as to conceal.

Par. 6. It is here said that 'the people of Te' took Tso-kw, and killed him, but in reality they were Loo hands which put him to death. To require his death was cruel on the part of Te. To deliver him up, to kill him in fact, was base in the extreme on the part of Loo. A foreigner loses all patience with Confucius and the Chun Tse-wu when he finds the events of history misrepresented in it. The Chun says:—"Pao Shun led an army to Loo, and said to the duke, "Tso-kw is our prince's near relative; we beg of you to take him off. Kwan and Shao are his enemies; we beg them to be delivered to us, and our prince will feel satisfied." On this we killed Tso-kw in Sang-tow, when Shao Wun died with him, while Kwan Chung asked to be kept as a prisoner. Pao Shun received him from Loo, and set him free when they had got to Sang-fow. On their return to the capital, he informed the marquis of all the circumstances, saying also, "Kwan Kue-woo's talents for government are greater than those of Kwan Hw [a minister and noble of Te]. If you employ him as your chief minister and helper, it will be well." The marquis followed the advice."

Par. 7. The Shoo was a river flowing from the north-east of Loo in a south-west direction till it joined the Yuen (源), after which their united stream flowed on to the Soe (索). The object in deepening it was to make it a better defence against the attempts of Te. The crises are all severe against duke Chung for wanting his people's strength in this undertaking. It may have been foolish and useless, but it would be hard to extract any condemnation of it from the text.

[T the student who is familiar with the Annals and Mencius will now have recognized two names well known to him,—duke Hwan of Te, the first and in some respects the greatest of the five or leaders of the princes, and Kwan Chung, or Kwan Kue-woo, his chief minister.]

Tenth year.
于郞，公敗鄣

八月，公會於

宋師於乘

從也，公曰，

秋，九月，

人三鼓，師

一戰，戰則

以蔡師

之大敗，師

師滅譚

冬，十月，

蔡哀侯，子

齊侯之出，

冬，齊師滅譚

X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the
duke defeated the army of Ts'e at Ch'ang-choh.

2 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Sung.

3 In the third month, the people of Sung removed [the State
of] Suh.

4 In summer, in the sixth month, an army of Ts'e and an
army of Sung halted at Lang. The duke defeated the
army of Sung at Shing-k'ew.

5 In autumn, in the ninth month, King defeated the army of
Ts'ae at Sin, and carried Heen-woo, marquis of Ts'ae,
back [to King].

6 In winter, in the tenth month, an army of Ts'e extinguished
T'an. The viscount of T'an fled to Keu.
Par. 1. Ch'ung-ch'ou was in Lu, but its position has not been identified. Lo P'ei （羅泌） says that of the class of Shang removed by king Ch'ing to Lo, one was called Ch'ung-ch'ou, as having been located in Ch'ung-ch'ou. The Chuen here is:—The army of Ts'e invaded our State, and the duke was about to fight, when one Ts'e-sou Kwei requested to be introduced to him. One of Kwei's fellow-villagers said him, "The flesh-eaters [comp. Ps. xxxv. 20] are planning for the occasion; what have you to do to intermediate?" He replied, "The flesh-eaters are poor creatures, and cannot form any far-reaching plans." So he entered and was introduced, when he asked the duke what encouragement he had to fight. The duke said, "Clothes and food minister to my repose, but I do not dare to monopolise them;—I make it a point to share them with others." "That," replied Kwei, "is but small kindness, and does not reach to all. The people will not follow you for that." The duke said, "In the victims, the gods, and the silk, used in sacrifice, I do not dare to go beyond the appointed rules;—I make it a point to be sincere." "That is but small sincerity; it is not perfect;—the spirits will not bless you for that." The duke said again, "In all matters of legal process, whether small or great, although I may not be able to search them out thoroughly, I make it a point to decide according to the real circumstances." "That," answered Kwei, "bespeaks a heartlessness;—you may venture one battle on that. When you fight, I beg to be allowed to attend you. The duke took him with him in his chariot. The battle was fought in Ch'ung-ch'ou. The duke was about to order the drums to beat an advance, when Kwei said, "Not yet;" and after the men of Ts'e had advanced three times with their drums beating, he said, "Now is the time." The army of Ts'e received a severe defeat; but when the duke was about to dash after them, Kwei again said, "Not yet." He then got down, and examined the tracks left by their chariot-wheels, remounted, got on the front-bar, and looked after the flying army. After this he said "Pauzang," which the duke did. When the victory had been secured, the duke asked Kwei the reason of what he had done. "In fighting," was the reply, "all depends on the courageous spirit. When the drums beat first, that excites the spirit. A second advance occasions a diminution of the spirit; and with a third, it is exhausted. With our spirit at the highest pitch we fell on them with their spirits exhausted; and so we conquered. But it is difficult to follow a great Stain. I was afraid there might be an ambush. I looked therefore at the traces of their wheels, and found them all-confused; I looked after their flags, and they were dropping—then I gave the order to pursue them."

Par. 2. This is the first record in the text of the military expedition called 蛟. As the word denotes (蛟—漸進), it was a stealthy incursion. Kung-yeang says: 蛟精曰蛟; an ill-ordered advance is called 蛟; one in good array is called 捕." Tso-she, better: "有鐘鼓曰伐, 無
The viscount of Te'oo at this first appearance of the House in the text was king Wan, a son of Woo, by name Heung-tao.

The Chum says:—The marquis Gae of Te'oo had married a daughter of the House of Chin, and the marquis of Seih had married another. When the latter lady [息, Kwe], surname of Chin, on one occasion was going back to Seih, she passed by Te'oo, and the marquis said, 'She is my sister-in-law.' He detained her, therefore, and saw her, not treating her as a guest should be treated. When the marquis of Seih heard of it, he was enraged, and sent a messenger to king Wan of Te'oo, saying, 'Attack me, and I will ask assistance from Te'oo, when you can attack it.' The viscount of Te'oo did so; and in autumn, in the 9th month, Te'oo defeated the army of Te'oo at Sin, and carried off the marquis, Heung-tao.

Par. 6. Tan was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, within the circle of Te'oo. Its chief town was 70 li to the south-east of the capital city of Leih-shing, dep. Tse-nan. This is the first time in the text of the extinction of a State. The term implies the destruction of its ruling House, the abolition of its sacrifices, and the absorption of the people and territory by the prevailing Power. The Chum says:—When the marquis of Te'oo [i.e., the present marquis] fled from the State [see the Chum on VII.11.5], and was passing by Tan, the viscount showed him no courtesy. When he entered it again, and the other princes were all congratulating him, the viscount did not make his appearance. In winter, therefore, an army of Te'oo extirpated Tan, which had behaved so improperly. The viscount fled to Kuei, having formerly made a covenant with the lord of it.
XI. 1 It was the [duke's] eleventh year, the spring, the king's first month.
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-yin, the duke defeated an army of Sung at Tsze.
3 In autumn, there were great floods in Sung.
4 In winter, a daughter of the king went to her home in Ts'e.

Par. 2. Tsze was in Loo,—in dep. of Yenchow; diff. from the Tsze in I. 8. The Chuen says:—"Because of the action at Shing-k'êw, Sung now made an incursion into our State. The duke withstood the enemy, and pressing on them before they were formed in order of battle, he defeated them at Tsze." Then follows an explanation of various military terms;—"In all military expeditions, when an action is forced before the enemy's army is drawn up, the text says, "defeated such and such an army." When both sides are drawn up, it is said, "fought," "a battle was fought." When there has been a great overthrow, the style is, "disgracefully defeated." When any one of extraordinary valor is taken, it is said, "vanquished so and so." When the defeat is utter, it is said, "took such and such an army." When the army of the capital is defeated, it is said, "The king's army was disgracefully defeated in such and such a place."

Par. 3. Comp. III.1.5. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, there were great floods in Sung, and the duke sent a messenger with his condolences, saying, 'Heaven has sent down excessive rains to the injury of the millet for sacrifice. I feel that I must console you.' The answer was, 'I am an orphan; and must confess my want of reverence, for which Heaven has smitten down this plague. And moreover I have caused you sorrow, and beg to acknowledge the condescension of your message.' Tsang Wan-chung said, 'Sung must be going to flourish. Yu and Tang took the blame on themselves, and they prospered grandly. Kesh and Chow threw the blame on others, and their ruin came swiftly. Moreover when a State meets with calamity, it is the rule for the prince to call himself an orphan. With language showing anxious fear, and using the right name, Sung cannot be far from prosperity.' Afterwards it was known that the answer was in the words of duke Cheung's son Yu-yueh, and then Tsang Sun-tai said, 'This man deserves to be ruler. He has a heart of pity for the people.'"

Par. 4. See on I. 3, 4, 7. Like his predecessor, duke Hwan of Tse had sought a royal bride; and the arrangements for the marriage had, as before, been put under the management of the marquis of Loo. Tse says that the marquess of Tse came to meet his bride, Kung Ke, where Kung (共—恭) is the honorary title by which the lady was known after her death.

(The Chuen adds here:— 'In the action at Shing-k'êw, [in the 10th year] the duke with his arms called Kin Puh-ko [金僕侯 might be translated "Steel Servant-lady," but the last two characters are often written differently.] shot Nan-kung Chang-wan, after which the spearman on the right, Chuen-sun, took him prisoner. He was subsequently released at the request of the people of Sung, but the duke of Sung ridiculed him, saying, "Formerly, I respected you; but since you have been the prisoner of Loo, I respect you no more." This annoyed Ch'ung-woan.')
XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's first month, duke [Yin's] third daughter, [who had been married to the marquis] of Ke, went [from Loo] to Hwuy.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Keah-woo, Wan of Sung murdered his ruler Ts'êch, and his great officer K'êw-muh.

4 In winter, in the tenth month, Wan of Sung fled to Ch'in.

Par. 1. "The marriage of this lady, such as it was, was entered in I. vi. i.—see the note on which par. We have seen in what circumstances the marquis of Ke finally abandoned his State (IV. 4), leaving his wife proper unburied. It would seem that the lady in the text had then returned to Loo; but as the marquis' brother had been admitted into Ts'ê with the city of Hwuy (III. 4), and there maintained the sacrifices to his ancestors, she considered that as her home, and now proceeded to it. Her husband was probably by this time among the departed chiefs, who had their shrines in the ancestral temple. Her conduct, from a Chinese point of view, was specially virtuous. The force of full here went to her home.'

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—Wan of Sung murdered duke Min in Mung-liah; and, meeting K'êw-muh in the gate, he killed him with a slap of his hand. He then met the chief minister, Tuh, [see II. ii. i.] on the west of the eastern palace, and also killed him. He raised Tse-yêh in the duchedom, while all the sons of former dukes fled to Siscou, except Yu-yêh [see the Chuen on XI. 3], who fled to Poh, to besiege which Nan-kung New and Màng-hwoh led a force.

The Wan here is, of course, the Nan-kung Chang-wan of the Chuen at the end of the year, the Chiang (長) there being probably his designation. K'êw-muh was the name of the officer who was killed, and some critics, thinking it necessary to account for his being mention merely by his name, say there was nothing good about him worthy of commendation. The par. is especially to show the futility of looking for praise or blame in such matters. The murderer is here mentioned by his name, and so also is the officer who died in attempting to punish him for his deed.

Par. 3. The Chuen is.—In the 10th month, Shuh Ts'êan of Siscou, and the descendants of the dukes Tao, Woo, Suen, Mulu, and Chewang, with an army of Taou, attacked the force that was besieging Poh. They killed Nan-kung New in the fight, and afterwards killed Tse-yêh in the capital, raising duke Hwan [the Yu-yêh mentioned in two previous Chuen] in his place. Màng-hwoh fled to Wei, and Nan-kung Wan to Ch'in. Wen took his mother with him in a carriage [a hawrow] which he himself pushed along, accomplishing all the journey [more than 70 miles] in one day. The people of Sung requested Wei in deliver up Màng-hwoh to them; and when there was an unwillingness to do so, Shih K'o-tao said, 'Refuse him not. Wickedness is the same all under heaven. If we protect the man who has done wickedly in Sung, of what advantage will our protecting him be? To gain a fellow and lose a State, to favour wickedness and cast away friendship, is not wise counsel.' On this the people of Wei gave Hwoh up. Sung also requested Nan-kung Wan from Ch'in, offering a bribe at the same time. The people of Ch'in employed a woman to make him drunk, and then bound him up in a rhinoceros' hide. By the time that he reached Sung, his hands and feet appeared through the hide. The people of Sung made pickles both of him and Màng-kwoo.

Thus Chang-wan paid the penalty of his guilt; but as we learn this only from the Chuen, and it is not said in the text, it is not said in the text.

The critics have much to say on the condemnation of the people of Sung, which the silence of the text implies. Then it does not mention the burial of duke Min (閔公), whom Wen murdered, and that is understood to indicate Confucius' disapproval of him. It is surprising that the Kung-he editors should not have been able to emancipate themselves from the bondage in which the early interpreters of the Ch'ueh Ts'êe were held.
Thirteenth year.

In spring, the Marquis of Ts'e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'ih, and an officer of T'o-s'ae, had a meeting at Pih-hang.

In summer, an army of Ts'e extinguished Suy.

It was autumn, the seventh month.

In winter, the Duke had a meeting with the Marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant at Ko.

Par. 1. Pih-hang was in Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Tong-o, dept. Yen-chow. The meeting here was called by the Marquis of Ts'e, as Ts'o-shih says, "to settle the disorder of Sung." But it has a greater historical interest as the first of the gatherings of princes of States under the presidency of one of their number, who was acknowledged, or wished to be acknowledged, as a sort of viceroy. Hwan of Ts'e was the first to assume to this position, and his leadership dates, according to many, from this year, B. C. 590, though it could hardly be said to be generally recognized till two years later. Whether he had the king's commission to undertake the pacification of Sung does not clearly appear.

Kuh-hang reads 齊人 instead of 齊侯, though he believes that the marquis is really intended, and that the Duke of Sung and the lords of Ch'ih, Ts'e, and Ch'ao were the others, or "men" present at the meeting, among them "men" and desiring them of their titles being the device of Confucius to condemn their whole proceeding! The K'un-hse editors, maintaining the received text of 齊侯, as yet agree with Kuh in interpreting all the other princes. Of course, if the reading 齊人 be retained, there can be no nonsense in the text as applied to the other princes, for Hwan was the greatest sinner of them all, and to interpret the word 齊 as "people," to indicate that the presidency of the States was now given by a kind of general consent to Hwan, which is the view of So, Chih-shih (蘇撤), and many others, only mystifies the whole subject. We must take the translation,—see 1. I. 5, II. x. 1, et al., as yet the other princes distrusted Ts'e, and only sent officers to the conference.

Par. 2. Suy was a small State, within the limits of Loo, and near to Shing (耿), whose chief had the surname of Kwei (賈), as being descended from Shun. Its chief town was 20 li to the north-west of the pres. dis. of Ning-yang, dept. Yen-chow. Ts'o-shih says that "no officer had been sent from it to the meeting at Pih-hang, and in the summer, a force from Ts'e extinguished it, and occupied it with a body of men on guard." As to the translation of 齊人 as "army," see on LII. 2.

Par. 3. See I. vi. 3; et al.

Par. 4. Ko was in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Tong-o, dept. Yen-chow. Tso-shih says that "this covenant was the first step to peace between Loo and Ts'e." Kang-yang relates a story in connection with it, which has obtained general currency and belief,—When Duke Ch'hou was about to meet with Hwan, the officer Te-nou [the Textuen Kwei of the Chuen on X. I] advanced to him, and said, "What is your feeling, O marquis, of one of the marquises?" The Duke said, "It was better for me to die than to live." "In that case," said Te-nou, "do you prove yourself a match for the ruler, and I will prove myself a match for his minister."
“Very well,” replied the duke; and the meeting was held. When the duke ascended the altar, Ta'non followed him with his sword in his hand. Khan Chung advanced, and said, “What does the marquis require?” Ta'non replied, “Our cities are overrun, and our borders oppressed. Does your ruler not consider it?” Khan Chung looked at Hwan, and said, “Does your lordship grant the request?” The marquis said, “Yes.” Ta'non then requested a covenant, and duke Hwan descended from the altar, and made a covenant. When this was done, Ta'non threw away his sword, and took his leave. A forced covenant like this might have been disregarded, but duke Hwan did not break it. The officer Ta'non might have been regarded as his enemy, but duke Hwan did not resent his conduct. The good faith of duke Hwan began from this covenant at Ko to be acknowledged throughout the kingdom.

[The Chuen adds here:—“The people of Sung renounced the engagements at the meeting of Pih-hang.”]

**Fourteenth year.**

**XIV.**

**DUKE CHWANG.**

10. **Ten years. Spring.**

Zin, Mien, Chou, Wei, Jen, Ch'ou, Ch'un, Ne, Shen, Shu, and Sung. In the 5th month, Jen invaded Sung, and took the city of T'ou. In the 7th month, Jen invaded Shu, and took the city of Wei. In the 8th month, Jen invaded Ne, and took the city of Shu. In the 9th month, Jen invaded Shu, and took the city of Wei. In the 10th month, Jen invaded Ne, and took the city of Shu. In the 11th month, Jen invaded Shu, and took the city of Wei. In the 12th month, Jen invaded Ne, and took the city of Shu.
In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, an army of T'se, an army of Ch'ing, and an army of T's'ao, invaded Sung.

2 In summer, the earl of Shen joined in the invasion of Sung.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, King entered [the capital of] T's'ae.

4 In winter, the earl of Shen had a meeting with the marquis of T's'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing, at Keuen.

Par. 1. This invasion was in consequence of the fact mentioned in the last Chuen. Hoo Gan-kwoh says that the here indicates that the leaders were of inferior rank and the forces few, but the Kuang-ho editors desire to such a canon as applicable to all cases of the use of. He adds that for 20 years the marquis of T'ae did not send out a 'great officer' in command of a military expedition, being occupied with consolidating the power of the State for the great object of his ambition; but this assertion they show to be false. No doubt, the here indicates that the princes of the States named did not themselves command the forces. I translate the term by 'army.'

Par. 2. The earl of Shen.—see on 1.3. Tso-sha simply says:—In summer, the earl of Shen joined them [the armies in the above par.], received the submission of Sung, and returned. The marquis of T's'e, as Tso says, had requested the aid of the king to coerce Sung to the acknowledgement of its engagements; and the result was this mission of the earl of Shen. It was an important move of the marquis to obtain the royal sanction to his claim to be the leader of the princes.

[The Chuen gives here a long narrative about the affairs of Ch'ing:—Duke Le [see II. xvi. 9] of Ch'ing stole into the country from Lo-ho; and, at T'sao-ling, he captured Foo Hse, who said, 'If you let me go, I will undertake to effect your restoration.' The duke, accordingly, made a covenant with him, and forgave him. In the sixth month, on Kshaw-tze, Hse killed the actual earl [the text simply is 鄭子, "a son of Ch'ing''] and his two sons, and restored duke Lei.]

Before this, two serpents, one inside and one outside, had fought together in the southern gate of the capital, till the inside one was killed. It was six years after this when duke Le entered. The duke [of Lu] heard of the circumstances, and asked Shiu Seu, saying, "Hsu Tshu's renovation came from that supernatural appearance?"

The answer was, "When men are full of fear, their breath, as it were, blazes up, and brings such things. Monsters and monstrous events take their rise from this. If men afford no care to them, they do not arise of themselves. When men abandon the constant course of virtue, then monstrosities appear. Therefore it is that there are monsters and monstrous events."

"When duke Le had entered Ch'ing, he put Foo Hse to death, and sent a message to Yuen Fan [see the Chuen, after 1. v. 2]. Fan had taken a principal part in the establishing of Tso-je, saying, 'Foo Hse was divided in his allegiance to me, and for such a cause Chow has its regular penalty,—he has suffered for his crime.' To all who restored me and had no wavering in their allegiance, I promised that they should be great officers of the first class; and now I wish to consider the matter with you, uncle, when I find from the State, you had no words to speak for me in it, now that I have re-entered, you again have no thought about me,—I feel displeased at this." Yuen Fan replied, 'Your ancestor, duke Hwan, gave command to my ancestor to take charge of the stone-shrines in the ancestral temple. While the altars of the land and genealogy had their lord [in the ruling earl], what greater treachery could there have been than to turn one's thoughts to another out of the State? So long as he presided over those altars, among all the people of the State, who was there that was not his subject? That a subject should not have a double heart is the law of Heaven. Tso-je held the earldom for fourteen years;—did not those who took measures to call in your lordship show a divided allegiance? Of the children of duke Chwang, your father, there are still 8 men; if they were all to prefer offices, dignities, and other bribes, so as thereby to accomplish their object, what would become of your lordship? But I have heard your commands. And forthwith he strode by himself.'

Par. 3. King.—see X. 5. The Chuen says:—'The marquis Gao [Hsien-wo of X. 5] of Tse, in revenge for the defeat at Sin, talked with the account of Tsoe admiringly about the lady Kwei, wife of the marquis of Sish. The account went to
Fifteenth year.

冬十有五年春，齊侯、宋公陳侯、鄭伯、齊夫人姜氏會於鄭。宋人伐邾，邾人敗之。

XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing, had a meeting at Keuen.
2 In summer, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kéang, went to Ts'e.
3 In autumn, a body of men from Sung, one from Ts'e, and one from Choo, invaded E.
4 A body of men from Ch'ing made an inroad into Sung.
5 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. We have the same princes here, as in the meeting at the same place a month or two before, with the addition of the marquis of Ch'in. Tso-she says that that now 'for the first time Ts'e was pa, or leader of the States,' which is true in so far as the representative of the king had returned to Choo, and without his presence, the other princes acknowledged the authority of Hwan. The earl of Ch'ing here, and at the previous meeting, was, of course, Tuh, or duke Le.

Par. 2. Here again the restless and unprincipled Wán Kéang appears. What now took her to Ts'e we do not know, but her going there was contrary to rule. The daughter of one State, married into another, might at certain times revisit her parents; but, after their deaths, she could only send a minister to ask after the welfare of her brothers and other relatives.

Par. 3. For 郑 here Kung-yang has 兒. It is the same as in Y. 3, and was afterwards
Sixteenth year.

月。十有六年，春，王正月。

夏，宋人伐邾，邾人朝宋。

秋，荆伐郑。郑伯，许男，会齐侯，宋公，陈侯，卫侯，邢伯，滑伯，滕侯，宋子，同盟于幽。郑伯自櫷入，即告于楚秋，楚伐郑，郑杀公子闾，荆强，公馈定叔出奔。郑及洛杉不礼也。

冬，有二月，会齐侯，宋公，郑伯，许男，滑伯，滕侯，般侯，宋子，同盟于幽。郑伯以十月，入，夏，月，郑及.Minute is inالية a year. 君子谓强弱不比其时也。

王使告命，曲沃伐，以军为。初，晋武公伐狄，狄人遂，国乱，耳而疏之，既而弗报。故子国作乱，将至，伐狄，杀狄者，取其地，遂出奔，号惠公立而复之。

XVI. 1 It was the [duke's] sixteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.
2 In summer, a body of men from Sung, one from Ts'e, and one from Wei, invaded Ch'ing.
3 In autumn, King invaded Ch'ing.
4 In winter, in the twelfth month, [the duke] had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the mar-
quis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Hsu, the earl of Hwah, and the viscount of Ts'ang, when they made a covenant together in Yew.

5 K'ih, viscount of Choo, died.

Par. 2. This expedition was on account of Sung,—to punish Ch'ing for its invasion of Sung in the previous autumn. Sung, as in the attack on Ch'ao, commanded: in the expedition, and its men are therefore mentioned before those of Ts'e.

Par. 3. Ts'e or King here takes another step in advance, and comes more threateningly near to the States of the "Middle kingdom," Ch'in, Ts'e, Hsu, and Ch'ing had all to bear the brunt of its ambitious inroads; and from this time Ch'ing especially became the field of contention between it and Ts'e with the other Powers dominating in the north. The reason for its present invasion of Ch'ing is given by Ts'e:—When the earl of Ch'ing entered the State from Leih [see the Chuen after Il.xxv.4] he was dilatory in announcing the thing to Ts'e, in consequence of which Ts'e this autumn invaded Ch'ing, and penetrated as far as Leih—because of the earl's want of the proper courtesy.

[The Chuen adds:—'The earl of Ch'ing sent himself to deal with those who had taken part in the disturbances connected with the death of Yung Kew [see the Chuen on Il.xxv.4]. In the fall he put to death the Kung-tze Oh [there must be a mistake here either of the name or of the person] and cut off the feet of Kung-tse [these men had been partisans of Choo Chung]. Kung-tse Ting-shuh [父 is the clan-name; 叔, the designation; 定 is the hon. title] fled to Wei, but after 3 years the earl restored him, saying, 'Kung-shuh [brother of duke Chwang, the Kung-shuh Twan of the Chuen, I.ii.3. He was grandfather to this Kung-tse Ting-shuh] must not be left without posterity in Ch'ing.' He made him enter the city in the 10th month, saying that it was a good month, with reference to its celebration of the numerals. The superior man must say that Kung-tse Ting-shuh was not able to defend his feet [a poor joke on his punishment; meaning that he should have fled from the State].

Par. 4. This was no doubt an important gathering, and might be called the inauguration of the marquis of Ts'e's presidency. We have here the phrase 同盟 'they covenanted together,' which has not occurred before; and the critics make great efforts to determine its meaning. Kung makes it 同欲, 'covenanted with a common desire,' to which Kuh-lang adds that the common object was to honour Chow.' Ts'e-she says that the meeting was held with reference to the settlement of the affairs of Ch'ing and its submission (鄭成), which makes Ts'e define the phrase as 服从 'the submission of all who had had a different inclination and been unwilling to acknowledge the authority of Ts'e. Where the meaning is thus undetermined, the safe plan is to keep to a literal rendering. The contracting parties were numerous: they united in acknowledging the presidency of the marquis of Ts'e, and took hands with him to support the House of Chow. Yew, where the meeting was held, was in Sung,—in the pres. dis. of Kuo-shing (考城) dep. Kwai-tih. Kung-yang reads 公 before 會, and certainly we must understand that it was duke Chwang himself who was present on the part of Loo. Too, indeed, supposes that the absence of any subject before 會 indicates that the representative of Loo was some officer of inferior rank (微者); while Hoo Gan-kwoh and others, believing that the duke was present, think that the 公 was purposely left out to conceal the fact.

Up to this par., Wei has always taken precedence of Ch'ing, where their marquises were mentioned together, but here and subsequently Ch'in is enumerated first. It is supposed that the marquis of Ts'e made this arrangement in honour of Shun, whose descendants held Ch'in, and to mark his sense of the importance of the State as a bulwark, though small in itself, against the encroachments of Ts'e. Hwah here is diff. from the small State of the same name in III.5. This was an earldom, whose descendants had the Chow surname of K'uei (姬).

Its chief town was Fei (費), 20 li. south of the pres. dis. city of Yen-shan, dep. Ho-nan. Between 許男 and 清伯 both have 曹伯.

Par. 5. This K'ih was the name of E-foo, lord of Choo, who appears in I.2. At that time Choo was only a State attached to Loo. Here its chief appears as a viscount. The only reasonable account of this is that given by Ts'e-Yu, that the marquis of Ts'e had obtained from the king a patent of sufficiency for Choo. Kuh-lang seems to think absurdly enough, that the submission was from the pen of Confucius.

[The Chuen here calls our attention to the affairs of Ts'ai:—'The king sent the duke of Kwoh to confer on the earl of Kuei-yuh the title of marquis of Ts'ai,—to maintain only one army.'

'Before this, duke Woo of Ts'ai had attacked Kuei and captured Kwei-choo [Kuei was in Chow; and the city held by Kwei-choo, a great officer of the court], whom, however, he let go on the petition of Wei Kwoh. But for this service, Kwoh got no acknowledgment, and he therefore raised an insurrection, and said to the people of Ts'ai, 'Attack Kuei with me, and take its territory.' According he attacked it with an army of Ts'ai, and killed Kwei-choo. Kuei-foo, duke of Kwoh, fled to the State of Kwoh, and it was not till after the accession of king Hway that he was restored.']
Seventeenth year.

In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, the people of Ts'e made Chen of Ch'ing prisoner.

In summer, the men of Ts'e in Suy were all slaughtered.

In autumn, Chen of Ch'ing made his escape from Ts'e to Loo.

In winter there were many deer.

Par. 1. This Chen (Kung has 鞭) was chief minister to Ts'e; see the Chuen, after XIV. 2. He had consented to the murder of Ts'e by P'an Hu, and Ts'e had retained him in his office. It is not clear why Ts'e seized him at this time. Tso-shu says it was because Ch'ing had not been to the court of Ts'e. Kung-yang thinks it was because he was a worthless, artful man. The Chuen seems to indicate that for whatever reason he was seized, the act met with general approval.

Par. 2. The extinction of Suy by Ts'e was related in XIII. 2, where the Chuen adds that Ts'e stationed men in guard over the territory. A sufficient number of the people, it appears, had been left to deal with the guards of Ts'e in the way here described. The Chuen says:--"The Suy class of Yin, Ling, Kung-lou, and Sen-syu feasted the guards of Ts'e, made them drunk, and killed them.--the men of Ts'e were all slaughtered." For 鞭 Kung-yang takes it in the sense of "made a complete end of themselves," attributing their slaughter to their own carelessness. The translation inverts the order of the text, in order to bring out the historical meaning.

Par. 3. The 鞭 implies, of course, that it was to Loo that Chen came; and this brought on Loo the anger of Ts'e.

Par. 4. The 鞭 was a species of deer; see Mencius I. Pt. II. 1. It is described as a species of the 孟 (鹿), by which latter term is meant the stag deer. But the 鞭 is larger and of a dark greenish colour; it is fond of marshy places, and is said to shed its horns about the time of the winter solstice. I think it must be our red deer, or a variety of it. These creatures appeared in such numbers, as to be a plague. So thinks Too; others think it is only the unusualness of their appearing that is recorded.

Eighteenth year.

In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in autumn, the people of Ts'e made Chen of Ch'ing prisoner.

In summer, Chen of Ch'ing made his escape from Ts'e to Loo.

In winter there were many deer.

Par. 1. This Chen (Kung has 鞭) was chief minister to Ts'e; see the Chuen, after XIV. 2. He had consented to the murder of Ts'e by P'an Hu, and Ts'e had retained him in his office. It is not clear why Ts'e seized him at this time. Tso-shu says it was because Ch'ing had not been to the court of Ts'e. Kung-yang thinks it was because he was a worthless, artful man. The Chuen seems to indicate that for whatever reason he was seized, the act met with general approval.

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XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, the sun was eclipsed.

2 In summer, the duke pursued the Jung to the west of the Tse.

3 In autumn there were yih.

4 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. The eclipse which is here intended took place on April 6th, B.C. 675, on the day Jin-tse (王子), the 1st of the 5th month. There is in the text therefore an error of one month, even if we suppose another intercalary. It will be observed that the record is imperfect, the day of the eclipse not being given.

[The Chuen relates here:—This spring, the duke of Kwoth and the marquis of Tsin appeared at the king's court. The king feasted them, supplying them with new, sweet, spirits, and conferring gifts on them to encourage their festivity. To each of them he gave five pairs of jade ornaments and three horses—which was contrary to propriety. When the king bestowed his favours on the princes, as their titles and rank are different, so also should his offerings be. He does not take the offerings of one and, as it were, lend them to another.]

'The duke of Kwoth the marquis of Tsin, and the evil of Ch'ing, sent duke Chwang of Yuen to meet the king's bride in Ch'in, who came accordingly to the capital. She became queen Hwu.'

Par. 2. Too says that the coming from the pursuit of the Jung is not mentioned and is in fact concealed; but surely it is implied in that pursuit of them. The Jung,—see l. 3. 1. The Tse,—see the Shoo, III. Bk. I. Pt. I. 390.

Par. 3. I cannot tell what the yih was or is,—see the Shoo, IV. V. 8. 'The Kwoth-wuws defines it as 'a short fox,' but that is surely another name for the creature. Too Yu gives the same name, and adds:—'It sports out from man on its mouth.' The P'ang-taoon calls it 'the archer.' The K'ang-he, diet. quotes another account of it, that it is like a turtle, has three feet, is produced in the southern Yuen, and is also called 'the shadow-shooter,' because, being in the water and a man being on the shore, it can kill him by darting at his shadow. The same account adds that, see, to some, it sports sand on people, which penetrates their skin, and produces such an irritation that it becomes quite a plague. These statements lead us to think of some kind of fly, produced from the water, and inflicting a painful bite. It was peculiar to the country south of Loo, and its appearing there in great numbers this autumn made the thing be recorded.

This perhaps is the proper explanation of the par., but many critics consider that some kind of beast is intended, and that instead of we should read—some say 毛, some say 毫. This view is ingeniously supported by Wang Taou. A third view, that Chen of Ch'ing, who had taken refuge in Loo from Teo, (XVII.3), is intended, as a cheat and deceiver, [毛 being intended to suggest 毛], must be at once rejected.

[To the last par. the Chuen appended—Before this, king Woo of Teo had conquered K'ooen, and entrusted the government of it to Tow Min, who held it and rebelled. The king besieged K'ooen, took it, and put Min to death, removing the people to Na-ch'oo, where he put them under the charge of Yen Guan. When king Wan succeeded to Woo, he invaded Shin along with the people of Pa, when he so frightened the army of Pa, that the people revolted from Teo, attacked Na-ch'oo, took it, and advanced to attack the gate of the capital. Yen Guan made his escape from them by swimming across the Yung, but the evacuation of Teo put him to death. His kindred in consequence raised an insurrection; and this winter, the people of Pa took advantage of their movement to invade Teo.]

VOL V.
Nineteenth year.

秋公子結媵陳人之婦于鄄遂及齊侯宋公盟

XIX. 1 It was the [duke's] nineteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.

It was summer, the fourth month.

In autumn, Kêeh, a son of duke [Hwan], was escorting to Keu'en a daughter to accompany to the harem the wife of an officer of Ch'in, when he took occasion to make a covenant with the marquis of Ts'e and the duke of Sung.

Duke Hwan's [wife], the lady Kêang went to Keu.

In winter, a body of men from Ts'e, a body from Sung, and one from Ch'in, invaded our western borders.
the viscount would not follow it, he proceeded to threaten him with a weapon, for fear of which the other adopted his advice. Yuk-ken was said, "I have frightened my ruler with a weapon: no crime could be greater." He then cut off his own feet. The people of Tsao made him their grand porter, and styled him Tse-pih, making the office also hereditary to his descendants. The superior man will say that Yuk-ken loved his prince. He exonerated with him till he led himself to a severe punishment; and after that punishment, he still did not forget to urge on his prince to what was good."

Par. 3. 膝者送女之稱. "Ying is the same used for escorting a young lady." There is much difference of opinion about the par. Who the lady was, and who the man of Chiu, was, are questions greatly disputed. My own view in the translation is that defended by the K'ang-he editors, and I will give their note on the passage:—Kung and Kih both think that the young lady was a daughter of the House of Loo, who was being escorted to the house of the wife of Mr. Marquis. But Ch'ing E. is of opinion that "the man of Chiu" was not the marquis, but some one of inferior rank. Ch'ing E. however, thinks that some great House of Chiu was marrying a daughter to an officer of Chiu, and that Chiu is here escorting a daughter of his own by a concubine to go and accompany her to her home. Now, according to Kung Ting-tah, ladies intended for such a duty, were escorted to the State from which the wife proper was to be married, that they might follow him, and the words of the text, "to Chiu" seem to determine in favour of Ch'ing's interpretation. Ying-tah, indeed, to meet the view of Kung and Kih, says that Chiu was belonging to Wei; that Chiu was escorting his charge to Wei; and that when he got to Chiu, he halted with her, and made a covenant as related. But if the case had been thus, we should have read 至 to Chiu."
XX. 1 In the duke's twentieth year, in spring, in the king's second month, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kêang, went to Kêu.

2 In summer, there was a great disaster from fire in Tsê.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, a body of men from Tsê smeared the Jung.

Par. 1. See on the 4th par. of last year.

[The Chün here resumes the narrative introduced after par. 4 of last year;—This spring, the eunuch of Ch'ing attempted to harmonise the royal House, but without success; but he seized Chung-fu of Yen. In summer, he brought the king back with him, who took up his residence in Loth. In autumn, the king and the eunuch entered into Wou, from which they surprised Chung-chou, brought away the valuable articles from it, and returned to Loth. In winter, King Ch'ang's son Tuyi feasted the five great officers, when all the royal music and pantomimic dances were performed. The eunuch of Ch'ing heard of it, and said to Sin of Chou, "This I have heard, that when sorrow or joy is unreasonable, calamity is sure to come. Now king Ch'ang's son Tuyi is singing and dancing as if he were never tired;—it is being joyful over calamity! When the minister of Crime executes the penalty of death, the ruler does not have his table fully spread;—how much less would be dare to be joyous over calamity! What calamity could be greater than to take violent possession of the king's throne? When one, in a time of calamity, forgets to be sorrowful, sorrow is sure to come to him. Why should we not restore the king?"

The duke of Kêin said, "It is what I desire to do."

Par. 2. See II. xiv. 4. Kung-yang, indeed, says that 大災—大疫, 'great calamity'; i.e., there was a great plague affecting people's health in Tsê. But this meaning of 災 cannot be applied to the other passages in the Classic where the term occurs.

Par. 4. Kuh-ching has 我 instead of 我. The two characters might easily be confounded; but the received reading is to be followed. Loo had been troubled with these Jung two years before—the attack on them now by Tsê was probably intended to conciliate Loo. The marquis of Tsê had certainly been rather remiss in his position of pa. He ought not to have allowed Ch'ing to take the lead in supporting King Hwan against the rebels in Chou.

Twenty-first year.

二十一年春王正月。冬十月。夏五月。秋七月。冬十月。辛酉。葬鄭厲公。夫人姜氏薨。自虢叔自北門入殺鄭伯將王自圍門城。鄭伯將王自圍門。入殲虢叔。五月。鄭厲公卒。自虎舉以東。原伯假命於頭。夏同伐王。自虢叔。五月。鄭厲公卒。自虎舉以東...

Book III.
XXI. 1 It was the [duke’s] twenty-first year, the spring, the king’s first month.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-yew, Tuh, earl of Ch’ing, died.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-seuh, [duke Hwan’s] wife, the lady K’ang, died.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Le of Ch’ing.

Par. 2. Continuing the Chuen after the 1st year of last year, Tsoo says—"In the duke’s 21st year, accordingly, in spring, they [the earl of Ch’ing and Shuh of Kwoh] pledged each other at Me; and in summer, they, together attacked the royal city. The earl entered, along with the king, at the south gate, and Shuh of Kwoh entered at the north gate, when they killed Tseu-yu and the five great officers. The earl of Ch’ing feasted the king in the palace on the west of the gateway with the representations of the penal code. There was a complete service of music, and the king gave him what had formerly been granted to duke Woo,—all the territory eastward from Hoo-loon. The earl of Yuen said, "The earl of Ch’ing is following the bad example which he condemned in Tseu-yu. He also will fire with calamity." In the 5th month, duke Le of Ch’ing died."

On Tuh who here passes off the stage, Chang Hiah (張洽；a writer of the 13th cent.) says—"Tuh was only the son of duke Chwang by a concubine, yet after his father’s death he snatched the caridom from Hwuh; and though driven out for a time by Chae Chwang, he entered again into Leih, and in the end made himself master of the State. Thus it is that we have no statement of Hwuh, Wu, and K’s holding the caridom, because they could not keep it, and the different style about Tuh is understood to indicate that, first and last, he was able to maintain himself. Here then was a man, a usurper and a traitor, and the Chuen Tseu calls him ruler from his beginning to his end, and records moreover, however, how he died in his dignity:—it is in this way that it shows how mean men are permitted to get their wills, rebellious villains come to a good end, the royal laws have no course, and the world is thrown all into confusion!"

Par. 3. The reader is not sorry to have done with Wau-k’ung.

[The last Chuen is here completed.—"The king made a progress of survey of the fief of Kwoh, when the duke made a palace for him in Fang. The king granted to Kwoh the territory of Tseu-t’seu. When the earl of Ch’ing feasted the king, the king had given him a queen’s large girdle with the mirror in it. The duke of Kwoh now begged for something, and the king gave him a drinking cup. This was the first occasion of the hatred which the earl of Ch’ing [duke Wan, son of Tuh] cherished against the king. In winter, the king returned from Kwoh."

Par. 4. Something had occurred to make the burial be delayed beyond the regular time.
XXII. 1 In his twenty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, [the duke] pardoned [all] inadvertent offences however great.

2 On Kwei-ch'ow we buried our duchess, Wên Kêang.

3 The people of Ch'in put to death Yu-k'ow, son of their marquis.

4 It was summer, the fifth month.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping-shin, the duke made a covenant with Kao He of Ts'e in Fang.

6 In winter, the duke went to Ts'e, and presented the marriage-offerings of silk.

Par. 1. In the Shoo, II. ii. 11, we read that it was a rule with Shun, 他不知無大. "that inadvertent offences, however great." Chwang, therefore, appears here to have done nothing more than was sanctioned by the example of Shun. I do not know why the critics should find such fault with him as they do. Kâh-kâng followed by Kê Kwei, thinks that the grace was done at this time, as some atonement for the wickedness of Wên Kêang, the duke's mother, who was about to be buried.
Par. 2. 我小君——see Ana. XVI. xiv.

According to the rule laid down there, the phrase 小君 was the title for the wife of the prince of a state used by the people in speaking of her to the people of other States. 我 takes the place of she, as the entry here is in the annals of Loo itself. The marquis being styled duke after death, I have styled his wife duchess. K'ung, we know, was her surname, as being of the House of T'ae; Wan was the honorary title given to her on account of her beauty and accomplishments, no account being taken of her extraordinary wickedness.

Par. 3. For 御 Kung and Kuh read 脈.

The real killer of Yu-k'ow was his father,—the Duke of Yen, the reason for the deed being unknown. It is supposed that the statement in the text is according to the form in which the announcement was made to Loo,—to conceal the nature of the affair.

The Chuen says:—"In spring, the people of Ch'iu killed the marquis's eldest son, Yu-k'ow, on which the Ch'iu people and Ch'iu and Ch'un-p'ei fled to T'ae, and the latter theme to Loo. The marquis of T'ae wanted to make Ch'ing-chung [the designation of the Kung-tse Kwan] one of his high ministers, but he declined, saying, 'Your subject is here an exile. I am fortunate if I obtain your forgiveness, and enjoy the advantage of your indulgent government. That you pardon my want of practice in the lessons of instruction, and hold me guiltless of crimes, and free me from a life of toil—this is your lordship's kindness. What I obtain is much—should I dare to disgrace a high position, and as accelerate the advancement of other officers? Let me die if I do not decline the honour you propose. The ode says (this ode is not in the Shih).

'From that distant chariot;
They call me with the bow.
Do I not wish to go?
But I am afraid of my friends.'"

The marquis then made him superintendent of all the departments of labour. One day he was entertaining the marquis at his house, who became joyous over the spirits, and said, "Let us continue it with lights." But he refused, saying, "I divined about the day; but I have not divined about the night; I dare not do it."

The superior man will say, "In drinking there should be the complete observance of the rules; but not to carry it on to excess was righteousness. Completely to observe the rules with his prince is one thing; but not to allow him to go to excess, was truly virtuous.

"At an earlier time, the great officer K consulted the tortoise-shell about giving his daughter in marriage to Ch'ing-chung. His wife sought the meaning of the indication, and said: "It is fortunate. The oracle is

"The male and female phoenix fly together,
Singing harmoniously with gom-like sounds."

The postarity of this scion of the Kwan [surname of the House of Ch'in] will be nourished among the Kung [surname of the House of Ch'eu]. In five generations they will be prosperous, and the highest ministers in T'ae; in eight, there will be none to compare with them for greatness."

"Duke Le of Ch'iu was the son of a daughter of the House of T'ae. In consequence, the people of T'ae put to death Wan-foo [the same who is called Yoo of Ch'iu. See ill. 5, in the note], and raised him to the marquisate. He begat Ching-chung, during whose boyhood there came one of the historiographers of Ch'oo to see the marquis of Ch'iu, having with him the Chow Yih. The marquis made him consult it by the millstone on the future of the boy, when he found the diagram Kwan, and then by the change of manipulation, the diagram Fei."

"Here," he said, "is the deliverance!—We behold the light of the State. This is auspicious for one to be the king's guest. [See the Yih on the 4th line, counting from the bottom. This is the diagram Kwan]. Shall this boy in his generation possess the State of Ch'iu? or if he do not possess this State, does it mean that he shall possess another? Or is the thing foretold not of his own person, but of his descendant? The light is far off, and its brightness appears reflected from something else. Kwan represents the earth; Sun, the top part of the diagram Kwan; wind, heaven; Sun becoming K'oo, over the earth (as in the diagram Pan), represents mountains, Thus the boy has all the treasures of mountains, and is shone on by the light of heaven—he will dwell above the earth. Hence it is said, "We behold the light of the State. This is auspicious for him to be the king's guest." A king's guest fills the royal courts, and the display of all the productions of the State, and the offerings of gos and silks, is all exalted things of heaven and earth; hence it is said—"It is auspicious for him to be the king's guest."

"But there is still that word—behold, and therefore I say the thing perhaps is to be hereafter. And will the wind move and appear upon the earth—therefore I say it is to be perhaps in another State. If it be in another State, it must be in that of the K'ieng; for the K'ieng are the descendants of the Grand-mountain [Yuen's chief minister]. But the mountains stand up as it were the mates of heaven. There cannot be two things equally great; as Ch'iu decays, this boy will flourish."

When Ch'in received its first great blow [B.C. 532], Ch'in Hwan [the representative of the Kung-tse Kwan in the 8th generation] had come to be great in T'ae. When he was entirely punished [B.C. 477], the officer Ching was directing the government of that State.

(The descendants of the Kung-tse Kwan became the Teo family, which gradually ascended on the authority of the House of K'ieng, and ended by superseding it in the possession of the State of T'ae. The Farrago of the Chuen is intended to show how all this was prognosticated beforehand. I call it a Farrago, for it is no plainer in the original nor in the Manchu version, than it is in my translation.)

Par. 4. In an entry like this, giving merely the season and a month of it, the month ought
to be the first of the season. Such is the rule observed throughout the Chiun Ts'ew, excepting in this passage. Many of the critics hold that

Par. 6. The presenting of silks was the fourth step in treaties of marriage, on the part of the intending husband;—it was called the Oo. But when the prince of a State was a party concerned, these gifts were to be sent by a great officer. For the marquis himself to go to Ts'ew with them was 'contrary to rule,' which he violated in another respect,—arranging for his marriage so soon after his mother's death. There must have been reasons for his urgency which we do not know. The common belief is that this marriage had been arranged for by Wen K'ang immediately after the young lady's birth, about 20 years before this, and that before her death she had insisted on Chwung's fulfilling the engagement immediately, without reference to that event, he having already delayed so long, unwilling to marry the daughter of his father's murderer. But he had not continued single all that time,—as we learn from the events of his 32d year. The marriage he now proceeded to enter into was an evil one for him. The lady was hardly better than her aunt, his mother, had been.

Twenty-third year.

戈及齊侯遇于殼。
XXIII.

1. In his twenty-third year, in spring, the Duke arrived from Ts'e.

2. Shu of Chae went to Loo with friendly inquiries.

3. In summer, the Duke went to Ts'e to see [the service at] the altar to the Spirits of the land.

4. The Duke arrived from Ts'e.

5. An officer of King came to Loo with friendly inquiries.

6. The Duke and the Marquis of Ts'e met at Kuh.

7. Shu of Siaou paid a court visit to the Duke.


9. In winter, in the eleventh month, Yih-koo, Earl of Ts'aou died.

10. In the twelfth month, on Kea-yin, the Duke had a meeting with the Marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant at Hoo.

Par. 1. A. See H. ii. 9. Chang Hao observes here, that the practice, intimated in the 夏, of announcing the return to the capital in the ancestral temple was after the example of the earliest sovereigns of the Shoo, and refers to III. i. 10. of that Book, where it is related that Shun, on returning after the close of his tour of inspection, went to the temple of the Cultivated ancestor, and offered sacrifice.

Par. 2. By Chae Shu we are to understand either the earl of Chae, or one of his brothers. He, or his father, is called 'duke of Chae,' in H. viii. 10, as being one of the king's three principal ministers. If the earl himself be here intended, as is most likely, the 夏 is his designation.

Par. 3. This act of the Duke was of the same kind as that of Yin in seeing the fisher-men at Tung--; L. v. 1. There was something remarkable about the sacrifice in Ts'e which attracted visitors. Wu Ch'ing says:—"The Shoo (夏) was an ordinary thing,—the sacrifice offered by princes to the Spirits of the land within their States; other princes did not go to witness it. But it was a custom in Ts'e to take the opportunity of this sacrifice to assemble their armies, and make a boastful display of their majesty and numbers, assembling others to witness it. It was this which afforded a pretext to the Duke for going at this time to Ts'e. The Choo has:—'When the Duke was taking this step, which was contrary to rule, Ts'e's Kwei remonstrated with him, saying: 'Do not go. The rules of ceremony are all designed for the right adjustment of the people. Hence these are meetings of the princes [at the royal court], to inaugurate the duties severally incumbent on the high and low, and to lay down the amount of contributions which are to be severally made. There are courts visits, to rectify the true position of the different ranks of nobility, and to arrange the order of the young and the old. There are punitive expeditions, to punish the disobedient. The princes have their services on the king's behalf; and the king has his tours of inspection among the princes;—when these meetings and visits are observed on a grand scale. Excepting on such occasions, a prince does not move from his own State. The ruler's movements must be written down. If there be written concerning you, what was not according to the laws, how will your descendants look at it?"

[The Choo adds here the following, about the affairs of Tan:—'In Tan, the circle of families descended from Hwan and Chiang (夏), the Hwan-shuh, or "Grand Success,"]
of the Chuen appended to the 2d year of Hwan, where earl Chwang is also mentioned) began to press on duke Heen, (the marquis at this time), who was distressed by them. Sze Wei said to him, "Let us do away with the officer Foe, [Some take 去富子 as meaning—"Let us do away with the wealthy among them""] and then all the other descendants of the two princes may be dealt with." The duke asked him to attempt the thing, when Wei consulted with all the others, calumniated Foe to them, and then took him off.

Par. 5. With this commenced T'oo's intercourse of courtesy with Loo, and indeed with any part of China proper.

Par. 6. Kuh, —sec VII.4. This was but a hurried meeting; but it serves to show how anxious duke Chwang was to get his marriage treaty carried through.

Par. 7. Shuh of Siou is the same as Shuh Ta-ain of Siou, mentioned in the Chuen on XII.4. Up to that time he had merely been a great officer of Sung, holding the city of Siou; but because of the services he then rendered in the troubles of the State, duke Hwan erected Siou into a Fee-yaung or attached territory, of which this Shuh and his descendants were the lords. Here we find him paying a visit to the duke of Loo. The par. is not in the usual form, 色叔來朝, because the visit was paid at Kuh, and not at the court of Loo. The city of Siou was in the prov. dept. of Tschow (徐州), 10 li north from the dist. city of Siou.

Par. 8. According to rule, the pillars were required to be of a very dark colour, nearly black. The painting them red, it is understood, was to dazzle the young wife who would soon be appearing in the temple, and to propitiate the spirit of Hwan, when the daughter of his murderer should be presented as the wife of his son.

Par. 9. Hoo was in Ch'ing,—in the northwest of the prov. districy of Tsuen-woo (原武), dep. Hwan-king. It is supposed the meeting had reference to the impending marriage.
XXIV. 1 In the duke's twenty-fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, he carved the rafters of [duke] Hwan's temple.

2 There was the burial of duke Chwang of Ts'aou.

3 In summer, the duke went to Ts'e to meet his bride.

4 In autumn, the duke arrived from Ts'e.

5 In the eighth month, his wife, the lady Keang, entered [the capital].

6 On Mow-yin, the great officers belonging to the ducal House, and their wives, had an interview with her, and presented offerings of silks.

7 There were great floods.

8 In winter, the Jung made an inroad into Ts'aou, when Ke of Ts'aou fled to Ch'in, and Ch'ih returned to Ts'aou.

9 The duke of Kwoh—

Par. 1. This act was of the same nature as the painting the pillars in par. 8 of last year. Too-she says—This was another act contrary to rule. Yu-sum [the designation of K'ang (岡), a great officer, the master of the Workmen. See the 魯語, 3d art.] remonstrated, saying, "Your subject has heard that economical moderation is the reverence of virtue, and that extravagance is one of the greatest of wickedness. Our former ruler possessed that reverent virtue, and you are as it were carrying him on to that great wickedness—is not this what should not be?" Khu-liang tells us that the rule for the rafters of the temple of a son of Heaven was that they should be hewn, and rubbed smooth, and then polished bright with a fine stone, while in that of the prince of a State the rafters were only hewn, and rubbed smooth, and in that of a great officer they were simply hewn. how the lady Keang in person, he ought to have entered with her on the same day. As to the reason of their entering on different days, Kung-yang (as expounded by Too Yo) thinks that as Mang Jin [the duke's earlier mistress of the harem], was in the palace, Keang was unwilling to enter, and must have made the duke agree to remove Mang Jin, while she herself came leisurely on. And so also it was that, when she entered the quad on the day Ting-chou, she did not immediately present herself in the ancestral temple; but it was the next day, Mow-yin, when she repaired thither, and the ceremony of giving audience to the wives of the great officers who were related to the duke by consanguinity, was gone through. Here surely is an example where the rule about the meaning of 人, mentioned on Li. 2, cannot be applied. Where was the hostility here on the part of the 'entered,' or the 'unwillingness to receive' on the part of the 'entered?' Yet Khu-liang would make it out that the term indicates a kind of horror in the temple at the entrance of the daughter of the man who had murdered duke Hwan.

Par. 5. On this par. Maou K'u-liang says—As the duke met the lady Keang in person, he ought to have entered with her on the same day. As to the reason of their entering on different days, Kung-yang (as expounded by Too Yo) thinks that as Mang Jin [the duke's earlier mistress of the harem], was in the palace, Keang was unwilling to enter, and must have made the duke agree to remove Mang Jin, while she herself came leisurely on. And so also it was that, when she entered the quad on the day Ting-chou, she did not immediately present herself in the ancestral temple; but it was the next day, Mow-yin, when she repaired thither, and the ceremony of giving audience to the wives of the great officers who were related to the duke by consanguinity, was gone through. Here surely is an example where the rule about the meaning of 人, mentioned on Li. 2, cannot be applied. Where was the hostility here on the part of the 'entered,' or the 'unwillingness to receive' on the part of the 'entered?' Yet Khu-liang would make it out that the term indicates a kind of horror in the temple at the entrance of the daughter of the man who had murdered duke Hwan.

Par. 6. K'ung-yang (as expounded by Too Yo) thinks that as Mang Jin [the duke's earlier mistress of the harem], was in the palace, Keang was unwilling to enter, and must have made the duke agree to remove Mang Jin, while she herself came leisurely on. And so also it was that, when she entered the quad on the day Ting-chou, she did not immediately present herself in the ancestral temple; but it was the next day, Mow-yin, when she repaired thither, and the ceremony of giving audience to the wives of the great officers who were related to the duke by consanguinity, was gone through. Here surely is an example where the rule about the meaning of 人, mentioned on Li. 2, cannot be applied. Where was the hostility here on the part of the 'entered,' or the 'unwillingness to receive' on the part of the 'entered?' Yet Khu-liang would make it out that the term indicates a kind of horror in the temple at the entrance of the daughter of the man who had murdered duke Hwan.

The first interview, when introductory presents were used, was called 會. The 會, used pro-
property of gifts of silks, may also comprehend other offerings, such as gems. The interview spoken of took place in the ancestral temple, on the new wife's first appearance there, nearly equivalent to our celebration of a marriage in a church. The great officers were there officially, and at such a time their wives accompanied them. In the subdued style of the narrative of the paragraph, the student may think that only the wires are spoken of, but we must take 大夫 as in apposition with 宗婦, and not under its regimen. This appears clearly from the Chun. In autumn, when Gae Kwang arrived, the duke made the wives of the great officers, at their first interview, offer silks and gems—which was contrary to rule. Yu-sun said, "The offerings of males are, the greatest of these, gems and silks, and the lesser, birds and animals [that 吉 sometimes 鳥, see the 增];—the different things illustrating their rank. But the offerings of women are only nuts, dates, and pieces of dried flesh, to show their respect. Now males and females were the same offerings, there is 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 duchess surely is what should not be."

[The Chun continues here the narrative after par. 3 of last year about the affairs of T'ein:--See Wei of T'ai again took counsel with all the other scions of the ruling House, and got them to put to death the two sons of the T'eu family. He announced the fact to the marquis, saying "Things are in progress. It will not take more than two years to relieve you of all trouble.""

Par. 8. See on II. 1. 5.

Par. 9. Ke here is said by Too Yu to have been 曹世子, 'the heir-son of T'eu.'

He must therefore have succeeded to his father in the end of the last year (see XXIII. 9), and he is here mentioned without any title because of his weakness and incompetency to hold his own. Too also says that Ch'ih was duke Ho, who follows, in the list of lords of T'eu, after duke Ch'ang. But the Historical Records say that his name was K (考), and make no mention of any Ch'ih. We have not the information necessary fully to elucidate the paragraph.

Kung-yang reads-- 赤 臭 足 曹 郭公, joining on the two characters of the next par., and understanding the whole thus:—There was a duke of Kwoh whose name was Ch'ih. He had lost his own territory, and now finding T'eu without a lord, he entered and took possession of it!

The latter way of dealing with the par. is adopted by many, and in support of it a passage is quoted by Mencius from the writings of the philosopher Kwan, the marquis of T'eu's prime minister: "This is a mistake. The passage is in Lü Hsia's 新序, 姑三. "—Duke Hwan of T'eu went to Kwoh, and asked an old man how the State had come to ruin. The reply was, "It was because our lord loved the good and hated evil. According to your words, said the duke "he was a worthy prince. How could he come to ruin?" The old man answered, "He loved the good, but he was unable to employ them. He hated the bad, but he was unable to put them away. Therefore it was the State perished."

Possibly, we ought to read 邑 公, but even then, it is not known where this Kwoh was.
XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, the marquis of Ch'in sent Joo Shuh to Loo with friendly inquiries.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Kwei-ch'ow, Soh, marquis of Wei, died.

3 In the sixth month, on Sin-we, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed, when we beat drums, and offered victims at the altar of the land.

4 The duke's eldest daughter went to her home in Ke.

5 In autumn, there were great floods, when we beat drums, and offered victims at the altar of the land, and at the [city] gates.

6 In winter, duke [Hwan's] son Yew went to Ch'in.

Par. 1. 督 is read as 偪, the clan-name of a family of Ch'in, connected with the ruling house. 

按 the individual's designation. Too-shu says that now 'first was a contract of friendship made with Ch'in,' meaning first since the invasion of the western borders of Loo by Ch'in in the duke's 19th year. He adds that the designation of the messenger is used and not the name, to express commendation of his mission; but such a canon for the use of names, &c., is without foundation. And as is the rule insisted on by Kuh-liang, that the designation shows that Joo's official appointment in Ch'in had been confirmed by the king.

Par. 2. Soh;—see H. xvi. 5; III. vi. 2.

Par. 3. This eclipse took place in the morning of the 18th May, B.C. 668. With regard to the ceremonies which are mentioned, the Chuen says they were extraordinary, adding: 'Only on the first day of the moon in the 1st month [i.e., of summer], when no encomium of the Yin influence [on the months of the year] had yet begun, on occasion of an eclipse of the sun, did they present offerings of silk at the altar of the land, and beat drums in the court.' The Chuen, on the 17th year of Duke Ch'ou (p. 157, par. 2), says that 'the king did not have his table spread so liberally as usual, and made drums be beaten at the altar of the land; and that princes of States presented offerings of silk at the altar, and had drums beaten in their courts.' Now in the text the drums are beaten at the altar,—one irregular thing; and victims are offered instead of silks,—another. As to Too-shu's statement that the things he mentions were done only on the 1st month of summer, when the masculine energies of nature were all predominant, it may be doubted whether the 唯正月之朔 is correctly taken by Too Yu (whom I have followed) in the sense of 'only.' The same observances took place, probably, at all eclipses. That in the Shoo, III. iv, in connection with which we have them, was in the 9th month of Hua.

Par. 4. On the 1st par. of the 27th year, Too observes that 'the eldest Ke' here was duke Chwang's daughter. She must have been so, for any daughter of his father would, long ere this time, have been married away. Many critics dwell on the fact that nothing has been said here about the meeting of the lady, as in the marriage of duke Yin's daughter i. ii. 5. The point is unimportant. The husband was not the marquis of Ke, but his son.

Par. 5. The calamity of 'great floods' has been mentioned several times; but this is the first mention of special deprecatory services on such an occasion. Perhaps the regular ceremonies were now first departed from. The Chuen says:—'The observances here were also extraordinary. On all occasions of calamities from the hand of Heaven, there were offerings of silks, and not of victims. And drums were not beaten, excepting on the pressage of calamities by the sun and moon.' Too defines 門 as 国門, 'the city gates,' which is doubtless correct. But the Chuen says nothing about the drumming and sacrificing at them. Kung-yang says it was improper; but I do not know of any authority for his saying so.
Twenty-sixth year.

XXVI. 1 In his twenty-sixth year, in spring, the duke invaded the Jung.
2 In summer, the duke arrived from the invasion of the Jung.
3 Ts'aiou put to death one of its great officers.
4 In autumn, the duke joined an officer of Sung and an officer of Ts'e in invading Sen.
5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Kwei-hae, the first day of the moon the sun was eclipsed.

The lords of the State of Sen were viscounts, whose chief town was 80 le north from the press. Sen-chow (泗洲) in Gan-hwuy. They professed the same ancestry as the State of Ts'in (秦), and were of course Yings (贏).

[To parr. 1, 2. The Chuen appends:—In spring, Sze Wei of Ts'in became grand minister of Works, and in summer, he enlarged the walls of K'ouang, so as to secure a greater depth for the palace.]

[To parr. 3. Ts'i-she says nothing on this par. We do not know who the officer put to death was, nor what was the offence charged against him; and the par. should be left in this obscurity, like the 8th of the 24th year, also relating to the affairs of Ts'aou.

[To par. 4. the Chuen appends:—In autumn, a body of men from Kwoh made an incursion into Ts'in; and in winter, another body did the same.]

Par. 5. This eclipse took place in the morning of the 3d Nov., B.C. 667.
二十有七年，春，公會杞。夏，六月，公會鉅侯於洮。秋，公會鉅侯於鄆。冬，公會鉅侯於城濮。

XXVII. 1 In his twenty-seventh year, in spring, the duke had a meeting with his eldest daughter, [married to the heir of Ke, in T‘aou.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts‘e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch‘in, and the earl of Ch‘ing, when they made a covenant together in Yêw.

3 In autumn, duke [Hwan’s] son, Yêw, went to Ch‘in to the burial of Yuen Chung.

4 In winter, the duke’s eldest daughter—she of Ke—came [to Loo].

5 King of Keu came to meet the duke’s third daughter as his bride.
The earl of Ke appeared at our court.

The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Shing-puh.

Par. 1. Ts'an is said by Tso Yu. to have been in Loo; and the K'ang-ho edition gives its site as so & to the south of the city of Pu Ch'ow (泸州), dep. Ta-wou-chow. But K'ang Yang (江永) observes that Ke lay east from Loo, and that Pu Ch'ow is in what was the western part of the State, so that it is not likely the lady would have crossed Loo to meet her father. He therefore concludes that the site is the same as T'ai-chou, mentioned in the Chuen under par. 4 of the 7th year of duke Chu-wou, and to be referred to the pres. dis. of Sze-he-hou, dep. Ten-chow. This, no doubt, is the better identifications.

Tso-shen condemns the meeting, saying—

"There was no proper occasion for it. The son of Heaven is supposed to make no tour of inspection unless it be for the publication of righteousness; the prince of a State to make no movement unless it be on the people's business; and a minister not to go beyond the boundaries of the State unless by his ruler's command. Possibly, however, there may have been circumstances which justified it. Ch'o Hsiung-k'ang (卓爾康) of the Ming dyn., 1st part of 17th cent., for instance, says that the pride and jealousy of the duke's young Ts'e wife may have rendered a preliminary meeting necessary, before this daughter of the duke could pay the visit of duty mentioned in par. 4.

Par. 2. Comp. XVI. 4. The place of meeting here is the same, and we have also the phrase 同盟, in both par. Tso-shen says the covenant was made 'on occasion of the submission of Ch'in and Ch'ing.' Too, in explanation of the Chuen, refers to the troubles of Ch'in in Chwang's 23d year, when T'eu received King-chung who had fled from it, and to the fact of the earl of Ch'ing having made a treaty with T'eu in the 33d year, so that the loyal affection of the two States to T'eu might be doubted, but a good understanding was now come to.

Par. 3. Yuen is the clan-name, and Ch'ung the designation, which is here given, because, after the death of a minister, the rule was to mention him by it, and not his name. The Chuen says that the journey of Yew was "contrary to rule," and adds that Yuen-chung was an old friend of Ke Yew. But the journey, according to the Chuen on par. 1, was only "contrary to rule," if it was made without the prince's authority. Chang Hiah, Wou Ching, and Wang Kih-hwan, all advocate the view that Ke Yew had obtained that sanction; and the K'ang-ho editors further add that, if he had not done so, the character 須 would not have been used of his journey.

Par. 4. The Chuen says this visit was 了 to return to salute her parents. Such a visit was the once a year while the parents were alive. The Chuen gives also the following canon—"When the daughter of the prince of a State comes back to visit her parents, only the word 來 is used; when she returns divorced, the phrase 來歸 is employed. When the wife of a prince goes to visit her parents it is said—如歸. "she goes to such and such a State; when she goes back divorced, it is said—歸於某."
二十有八年春王三月，左傳曰，二十八年春，齊侯伐衛，敗衛師於甄，以王命取路而還。齊人伐衛，敗績。夏四月丁未邾子鄂卒。秋荆伐鄭。會齊人宋人救鄭。藏孫辰告翟于齊。
城破邑，都之廟邑都築禮壇孫冬，鳥楚謀奔鄭
邑無主先有也，邑也，于辰饒，乃幕告桐人
曰曰曰君宗凡非，齊，告減止，有曰丘，將

XXVIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, in the
king's third month, on Keah-yin, an army of Ts'e
invaded Wei. The men of Wei and the men of
Ts'e fought a battle, when the men of Wei re-
ceived a disgraceful defeat.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-we, So,
viscount of Choo, died.

3 In autumn, King invaded Ch'ing.

4 The duke joined an officer of Ts'e and an officer of
Sung in relieving Ch'ing.

5 In winter we enclosed Mei.

6 There was a great want of wheat and rice.

7 Tsang-sun Shin represented the case to Ts'e, and ob-
tained leave to buy grain there.

Par. 1. 齊人 - see II. xii. 1. Ten-she
says here:—In spring, the marquis of Ts'e
invaded Wei; defeated the army of Wei in battle;
declared the command he had received from
the king; took bribes and returned. It appears
from this account that the marquis of Ts'e him-
self took part, if we ought not to say commanded,
in the invasion and defeat of Wei; and hence
arises a difficulty in accounting for the first
齊人. Two Tsu thinks that the announcement
of the affair to Leu was so constructed as to
make it appear that only an officer was in
charge of the army, and so the shame of accept-
ing bribes might be averted from the marquis.
Whatever be thought of this view, it proceeds
on the acknowledgment of 齊人 as properly
meaning 'an officer of Ts'e,' and does not sanction
the idea that the marquis is here purposely
called a 'man,' or an 'officer,' to signify the
sage's disapprobation of his conduct. But we
need not depart from the usual application of
齊人.

The marquis accompanied the army, but
he did not command it. This is the view of
Maon. Woo Ch'ing thought that the marquis
remained in Shing-pu, expecting that a small
demonstration would be enough to coerce Wei
into submission, whereas the army of Wei rashly
provoked a battle. This account of the matter
derives confirmation from the 齊人 proceeding

齊人 in the second part of the par.

[The Ch'un here resumes its account of the
affairs of Ts'n.—Duke Hsin of Ts'n married a
daughter of the House of K'ai, who had no
child. Afterwards he committed incest with
his father's concubine Ts'e K'iang, by whom he
had a daughter who became wife of the Mub of
Ts'in, and a son Shih-kung, whom he, after his
father's death, acknowledged as his heir. Subse-
quently he married two ladies from among the
mub, the one of whom, called Hoo Ke of the
great Jung, bore Ch'ung-urh, and the other, who
was of the small Jung, bore K'oo. When Ts'n
invaded the Le, Jung, their chief, a baron, gave
him to wife his daughter, Le Ke, who bore a son
called Ho Ts'e, while her younger sister bore him
Ch'oo-hwa. Le Ke became the favorite with the
duke, and wished to get her son declared his
successor. In order to this, she bribed two of-
cers, who were favorites with him.—Leang-woo,
of the outer court, and another, Woo from Tung-
kwan, and got them to speak to the marquis to
this effect:—K'in-yulh contains your lordship's
ancestral temple; P'oo and Huh-k'ewh are your
boundary cities. They should not be without
their lords residing in them. If your ancestral
city be without its lord, the people will not feel
afraid; if the others be without their lords, that
will lead the Jung to form encroaching projects.
When they do so, the people will despise the
government as being remiss; to the harm of the
State. If the heir-apparent be put in charge of
K'in-yulh, and Ch'ung-yulh and K'oo be put
in charge, the one of P'oo, and the other of
Huh-k'ewh, this will both save the people and keep
the Jung in fear, and display, moreover, your
lordship's effective rule. She made them both
say further, 'The wide territory of the Ts'in
will in this way be a sort of capital of Ts'n. Is it not
right thus to extend the country of the State?'
The marquis was pleased with these sugges-
tions, and in the summer he sent his eldest son
to reside in K'in-yulh, Ch'ung-yulh to reside in
the city of P'oo, and K'oo in K'in-yulh. Thus all
his other sons were sent away to the borders,
and only the sons of Le Ke and her sister were
left in K'eyang. The end was that the two Woo
and Le Ke slandered the others, and got Ho-tee's
appointed heir to the State. The people of
Ts'n called the two Woo the pair of plunders.]

Par. 2. This So had been viscount of Choo
for 12 years. He was succeeded by his son,
Koo-ch'oo (逐孫).
PART. 3. 4. 《King, — see on X. 3. In par. 4, after 宋人 Kung-yang has 高美人.
The Chuen has — Tae-yuen, chief minister of T'ao, wished to seduce the widow of king Wan, and made a hall by the side of her palace, where he set on foot exhibitions of dancers. When the lady heard them, she wept, and said, "Our deceased lord by means of these dances practised preparations for war. But now the minister makes no use of them against our enemies, but exhibits them by the side of me, waiting solicitously for my death;—is not this strange?" One of her attendants repeated these words to Tae-yuen, who said, "She does not forget the duty of surprising our enemies, while I on the contrary have forgotten it."

"In autumn, with 800 chariots, he invaded Ch'ing, and entered its territory by the barrier-gate of Kieh-tsheh. He himself, with Tow Yu-k'ang, Tow Woo, and Kang-shu Puh-pe, led the way with streamers flying; while Tow Nan, Wang-sun Yew, and Wang-sun He, brought up the rear. All the chariots entered by the Sian gate, and advanced to the market place on the high way. The portcullis gate, leading to the city, however, was open, and people were coming out who spoke the dialect of Tae-yuen. Tae-yuen said, "Ah, there are men in Ch'ing!" When the princes came to relieve it, the army of T'ao retreated in the night; and when the people of Ch'ing were about to flee to T'an-k'ew, their spies brought word that there were birds about the tents of T'ao, so they stopped their flight."
XXIX. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, in spring he repaired his stables.

2 In summer, a body of men from Ch'ing made an incursion into Hen.

3 In autumn, there was [a plague of] fēi insects.

4 In winter, [duke Yin's] third daughter—she of Ke—died.

5 We wallowed Choo and Fang.

Par. 1. Main says, 新則修舊之詞 the term 新 denotes the repairing of the old. This seems to be the correct interpretation. Ho Hsü says that the repairing of an old thing is called 新 if additions are made to the old, the character 作 is used; when a thing is made for the first time, we say 見 Others, however, will have it that in this case the old stables were removed, and entirely new ones erected. E.g. Ch'ing Tuan-hsü (程端學, Yuen dyn.)—新者徹其舊而新之也. Kueh-chiang says that by 延廬 we are to understand the duke's stables. The special import of 延 is not known. We might translate it 'long,' and Wang Pao (王葆) aptly compares it to the 'long treasury (長府)' mentioned Ana. XI. xiii. i. As to the character of the transaction, Ts'o-she observes that 'it was unreasonable. The horses were left out of their stables at the vernal equinox, when the day and night were of equal length, and brought back at the autumnal. The season of Choo's spring, or Hsia's winter, therefore was not the time to repair the stables.

Par. 2. The Chuen here gives definitions of terms:—An expedition with calls and drums was called 伐 (an attack or invasion); one without them, 侵 (a stealthy incursion); one made quickly and with a small force, 陡 (a surprise).

Par. 3. Ts'o-she says that these fēi constituted a plague—and that the appearance of such creatures was not recorded unless they amounted to a plague. The canon is probably applicable here, but the appearance of unusual things is also found, where the idea of their being a plague is inadmissible. But what the fēi were is much disputed. Liu Hsiang, Ho Hsü, and others, think they were a kind of fly, produced in Yuch, and extraordinary in Loo. More likely is the opinion of others that the fēi was a kind of locust, that called the 臭蠟—the 賿 of the Shu; known also as the 臭蠟. Liu Ch'ang (劉倉; A.D. 1019-1077) absurdly identifies the fēi with a monster mentioned in the 山海經—like an ox, with a white head, one eye, and a dragon's tail, &c.

Par. 4. 叔姬—see J. vii. 1; III. xii. 1. There was no State of Ke (紀) now; but the lady for her worthiness retains her title.

Par. 5. Choo was So in the south-west of the pres. div. city of Choo-shing (諸城), dep. Te'ing-chow. Fang has occurred several times. The Chuen says: the walling of these was reasonable, and adds:—'With regard to all labours in building, when the first star of the Dragon [see on the Shoo, I. 5] appeared [the 11th month of Chow], the labours of husbandry were finished, and the people were warned to prepare for these others. When the Ho (Fire) star appeared [after the previous one], the materials were all ready for use. When Mercury culminated at dusk, the work should be going on. By the solution, all should be finished.'

[The Chuen adds:—'Pe of Fan rebelled against the king.']
XXX. 1 It was the [duke's] thirtieth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, [our] troops halted at Ch'ing.

3 In autumn, in the seventh month, a body of men from Ts'e reduced Chang.

4 In the eighth month, on Kwei-hae, we buried [duke Yin's] third daughter,—her of Ke.

5 In the ninth month, on Kang-woo, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed, when we beat drums and offered victims at the altar of the land.

6 In winter, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e met on the Loo side of the Tse.

7 An officer of Ts'e invaded the hill Jung.

[The Chuen inserts after par. 1:—In spring, the king commanded the duke of Kweh to punish Fe of Fan; and in summer, in the 4th month, on Ping-shin, the duke entered Fan, seized Ch'ung-je, and carried him to the capital.]
In autumn, Tsoo Fan, duke of Shin [as the viscount of Tsoo had usurped the title of king, here one of his officers is styled duke], put Tsoo-yeen to death. Tsoo Tsoo-wu-foo became chief minister, and emptied his house of everything to alleviate the difficulties of the State."

Para. 3. Chang was a small State, whose chief town was 50 li east of the city of Tung-p'ing Chow, dep. of Tsoo-gan. Its chiefs were K'engs and it is said to have been a Tsoo-yung of Ke (紀). But it seems to have been too distant from that State to be attached to it. 降 (降), used actively, signifies to reduce. It indicates that little or no resistance was made; — Chang surrendered on the appearance of the enemy, and thenceforth was part of Tsoo.

Para. 4. Luo sent a great officer to superintend this service.

Para. 5. This eclipse took place on the 31st August, B. C. 683. As to the observances employed, see on XXV, 4.

Para. 6. The river Tsoo (see the Shoo, III, Pt. I, 20, 27: Pt. II, 10) served as part of the boundary line between Tsoo and Luo, and so we have 萊 (萊) and 麹 (曲) on the Tsoo side and the Luo side of the Tsoo. The hurried meeting here is said by Tsoo-shu, to have been to consult about the Hill Jung, who had reduced the State of Tsoo to great distress.

Para. 7. The Hill Jung, or northern Jung, had their seat in the pres. dep. of Yung-p'ing (永平), Chih-ling, in the north-east of that province. There is a most graphic account of this expedition in the 列國志, 二十一回, but I fear it is mostly fabulous. It proceeds on the supposition that the marquise of Tsoo himself conducted his troops, attended by Kwan Chung. Kung and Kuh also both think that he did so, but their view proceeds on a false interpretation of the phrase 祐人. See the note by the K'ang-he editors in loc.

Thirty-first year.

冬,不雨。秋,飭築臺于秦。夏,四月,齊侯來,築臺于薛。卒,焉荀,齊侯率師,伐宋,于薛。王命季孫友,行,非,侯,於司,之功。四月,宋公,來齊,左傳,二十一,日。

XXXI. 1 In his thirty first year, in spring, [the duke] built a tower in Lang.
2 In summer, in the fourth month, the earl of Sceh died.
3 [The duke] built a tower in Sceh.
4 In the sixth month, the marquis of Tse'e came and presented [to the duke some of the] prisoners and spoils of the Jung.
5 In autumn, [the duke] built a tower in Ts'lin.
6 In winter, there fell no rain.

Par. 1, 3, 5. This might be called a year of tower building. These various entries show how the duke was carrying his penchant in this respect to extravagance. Lang. — see I, 5, 4; et al. Sceh was in the south-east of the pres. dep. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. Ts'lin was a little way south of the pres. dep. city of Fan (范), dep. Tsoo-chow.

Par. 2. See L, 11, 1. There we have the 'marquis' of Sceh, and here only the earl. It is supposed that the rank of marquis had been reduced, as in the case of Ke, XXVII, 6. Too
The idea of a march past Loo, of the returning with all the spoils displayed, which many of the critics have adopted from Kung-yang, is properly rejected by the K'ang-he editors. The Chuan says: — 'This affair was contrary to rule. When a prince has gained successes over any of the wild tribes, he presents the spoils to the king, who employs them to terrify other tribes. Spoils taken by one State from another are not so presented; and the princes do not send of their spoils to one another.'

Par. 3. This entry is made as of an unusual thing. Some of the critics say that as there were no crops on the ground, the want of rain could do no harm. It would, however, occasion much suffering.

Thirty-second year.

夏宋公齊侯遇于梁

秋七月癸巳公予路

卒

夏宋公齊侯遇于梁

三有二年、春城小

左右傳曰,三十二年,春城小穀為管仲也。
In the [duke's] thirty-second year, in spring, he walled Ssao-kuh.

In summer, the duke of Sung and the marquis of Ts'e met in Leang-k'âu.

In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kwei-sze, duke [Hwan's] son, Ya, died.

In the eighth month, on Kwei-hae, the duke died in the State-chamber.

In winter, in the tenth month, on Ke-we, the [duke's] son, Pan, died.

Duke [Hwan's] son, King-foo, went to Ts'e.

The Teih invaded Hing.

Par. 1. Teo-she says that ‘this wailing of Ssao-kuh was on behalf of Kwan Chung,’ and Teo Yu adds, in explanation, that duke Chwang, moved by the virtue of Hwan of Tw'e, to gratify him walled the city which he had assigned to Kwan Chung, his adviser and minister. If this be correct, then Ssao-kuh was, as Teo says, in Tw'e, the same as the Kuh in VII. 6, XXIII. 8. It occurs often heretofore, and always by the name of Kuh; and in a Chuen appended to X. xi. 3, it is said that duke Hwan walled in it, and placed Kwan Chung in it. But that city is called Kub, and never Ssao-kuh. Fan Ning, therefore, has many followers, when he says that this was a town of Leoo, and that they argue that if Teo-she's opinion were correct, the text would have 王 before the name of the place. From the text alone we certainly conclude that Ssao-kuh belonged in Leoo. Par. 2. Leang-k'âu was in Tw'e, 30 li to the east of the present dist. city of Shing-woo, dep. Tw'e-chow. Teo-she says that ‘the marquis of Ts'e, with a view to punish Tw'e for its invasion of Ching [in the duke's 28th year], called a meeting of the princes, and that the duke of Sung requested an interview with him before any of the others, in consequence of which they met here in Leang-k'âu.’ Teo adds that the marquis was so pleased with the seal that he made the duke appear before himself in the account of their meeting! The Chuen adds here a strange narrative: ‘In autumn, in the 7th month, there was the descent of a Spirit in Sin [She belonged to Kwoh]. King Hwuy asked Ko, the historiographer of the interior, the reason of it, and he replied, “When a State is about to flourish, intelligent Spirits descend in it, to survey its virtue. When it is going to perish, Spirits also descend in it, to behold its wickedness. Thus there have been instances of States flourishing from Spirits appearing, and also of States perishing; cases in point might be adduced from the dynasties of Ya, Hwa, Shang, and Chou.” The king then asked what should be done in the case of this Spirit, and Ko replied, “Present to it its own proper offerings, which are those proper to the day on which it came.” The king acted accordingly, and the historiographer went to Kwoh, and presented the offerings. There he heard that the duke of Kwoh had been requesting the favour of enlarged territory from the Spirit, and on his return, he said, “Kwoh is sure to perish. The duke is oppressive, and listens to Spirits.” The Spirit stayed in Sin six months, when the duke of Kwoh caused the prayer-master Yen, the superintendent of the ancestral temple Kho, and the historiographer Yin, to sacrifice to it, and the Spirit promised to give him territory. The historiographer Yin said, “Ah! Kwoh will perish. I have heard, that when a State is about to flourish, its ruler receives his lessons from the people, and when it is about to perish, he receives his lessons from Spirits. The Spirits are intelligent, correct, and impartial. Their course is regulated by the feelings of men. The skilllessness of Kwoh’s virtue extends to many things. How can any increase of territory be obtained?”’ Par. 3. “Ya died.” He was in fact murdered, or done to death, and the statement in the
text is fashioned to conceal the deed perpetrated. The Chuen relates:—At an early time, the duke built a tower near the residence of the Chang family, from which he got a sight of Shun Jun [La], the eldest son of Chuen. He was the successor of Chuen, and followed him, but he shut the door against him. He then said he would make her his wife, when she consented to his desires, cutting at the same time her arm, and with the blood making a covenant with him. She afterwards bore a son to the duke, who was called Pan.

"On occasion of a sacrifice for rain, the duke was disconcerted, as the subject at the residence of the Shun family, while his daughter was looking on at what was taking place. The chief groom Loh was outside the wall, and attempted to make sport with her, which incensed her brother Pan, so that he ordered Loh to be scourged. When the duke heard of it, he said, "You should have had him put to death. He is not a man to be scourged. Loh is possessed of great strength, and can throw the cover of a carriage." (The meaning of 警身 here is much disputed) over the south gate."

"When the duke was ill, he consulted his half-brother Shun-ya about who should be his successor, and Ya said, "K'ung-foo [Ya's own full brother] has ability." The duke also asked his full brother Ke-yew, who replied that he would make Pan to the death." A little ago," said the duke, "Ya mentioned the ability of K'ung-foo." On this Chiung Ke [Ching was the hon. title of Ke-yew] sent a messenger with the duke's order to command He-shuh [Shun-ya]. He was his hon. title] to wait in the family of the officer K'ien-woo, where he made Ke present poison to him, with the message, "Drink it, and your posterity shall be preserved in the State. If you do not drink it, you shall die, and your posterity shall be made no account of." He drank the poison, returned as far as Kweitvenus, and died. His son was made of the first of the Shun family."

The critics for the most part justify Ke-yew for taking off Shun-ya in the manner described in the text. Ya was the full brother of K'ung-foo, and faithful, having the interest of the State at heart. K'ung-foo and Shun-ya were half-brothers of Chang, themselves full brothers; and K'ung-foo's ambitious and crafty disposition was well known. He was carrying on a criminal intrigue with Gae Kien, and his aim was to become marquis himself. From what occurred at the duke's death-bed, it appeared to Ke-yew that Ya was confederate with his brother, and he therefore took him off, as the best way to weaken K'ung-foo, and secure the succession of Pan. Shih K'6e [石介: A.D. 1005-1057] discourses on the subject in the following way:—Affection between brothers, and righteousness between ruler and subject, and in the latter of these things can be dispensed with, but it is a paramount way to be allowed to the affection, it may happen that the righteousness cannot be maintained; and if it be allowed to the righteousness, it may happen that the affection cannot have its course. When such a case is, it is required obedience and virtue to deal in these things. When King Wu died, his brothers K'wan and T'au led on Kuei-foo to rebel. If the duke of Chow had regarded merely his affection for his brothers, the kingdom must have been ruined, and the young king imperilled. He would not sacrifice the kingdom to his own individual feelings, nor allow his private affection to overrule the righteousness due from him as a subject to his sovereign; and so, in the strength of great righteousness, he punished his brothers with death.

In the case before us, Shuh-ya wanted to raise K'ung-foo to the lordship of Loo. If Ke-yew had regarded merely his affection for his brothers, K'ung-foo must have become marquis, and Loo would have been thrown into confusion. Yew would not allow his private feelings to prevent the discharge of his public duty, nor exchange for the life of one man the benefit of the whole State; and so, in the storm discharge of great public righteousness, he poisoned Ya. After ages can surely examine the nature of his deed. When the duke of Chow cut off his brothers K'wan and T'au, he proclaimed their guilt. When Ke-yew poisoned Shuh-ya, he concealed the deed. The crime of the duke of Chow's two brothers was displayed; the crime of He-shuh was still hidden, and could not be known. And hence it is that it appears in the text as if he had died a natural death."

Par. 4. 路門 is explained by Kung, Kuk, and others, 正門, 'the right chamber.' See the note in the Shuo, on V. xxii. 10. The last or innermost of the gates of the king's palace, or of the palace of the prince of a State, was called 路門, and inside it were the apartments called 言 (寝室). That character means 'to sleep,' but the 言 are not bedrooms, in our sense of the term. They did not form part of the harem. There were three of them,—the 言 (高) or 'High' 言, the 言 (小), or 'Small' 言, the 言 (近), and the 言 (近) (近) or 'Small' 言. The Loo was the State chamber, where the king or prince gave audience to his ministers, and sometimes feasted his guests; and here it was proper he should die, open to the visits of his ministers, and with none of his wives or female attendants about him. The Chuen says that on the duke's death, his son Pan succeeded to him, and stopped in the house of the officer Chang [As appears from the previous Chuen, the house of his mother's family.]

Par. 5. Here we have another concealment of the truth, for the new marquis was murdered, without any of the mitigating circumstances which have been urged to justify the deed of K'ung-foo in putting Shuh-ya to death. The Chuen says:—Kung-chung [K'ung-foo. Kung is the hon. title, and Chang the designation] employed the chief groom Loh to murder the young marquis Pan in the house of the Chang family. Ching Ke then fled to Chin, and another son of Chuen, known as duke Min, was raised to the marquisate. W'ang said: the language of the paragraph, 子 聞 simply means 'the son Pan.' Pan had, indeed, succeeded to his father, but Chang was raised to the marquisate. The year, moreover, had not closed, and a new rule had not been publicly inaugurated. The
new marquis, therefore, is not acknowledged as such. His rule was abortive. He is not called 君 or 公, and his death is described by 卒 instead of 已未. Kung and Kuh read 乙未; but 乙未 was in the 11th month, not the 10th.

Par. 6. King-foo had murdered Pan, and aimed to become marquis himself. Something, however, was in the way of his immediately accomplishing his object, and here he goes to Teve, probably to represent the things which had occurred in Loo in the manner most favorable to himself, and to pave the way for his further projects. Maou thinks that 如 is a euphemism for 捕; but there is no necessity for that view. But who had secured the succession of Duke Min? The last two clauses of the last Chuen are 成季奔陳, 立閱公. I have translated the concluding clause passively; but the K'ang-he editors carry on 成季 to 立 as its subject. I do not see how Ch'ing Ko, himself compelled to flee the State, could effect the acknowledgment of Min. Probably K'ing-foo saw that if, after murdering one of Chwang's sons, he proceeded at once to set the other aside, public feeling would be too strong for him; and he therefore co-operated with other officers in the designation of Min, then only 8 years old, meaning to deal with him ere long.

Par. 7. Hing was a marquisate held by descendants of the Duke of Chow. Its chief town was at first in the pres. dis. of Hing-t'ao, 萨, dep. Shun-tih, Chih-le; but, in two years after this time, at a place 12 li to the south-west of the pres. dep. city of Tung-ch'ang, Shantung. Toh is the general name for the wild tribes of the north. This is the first mention of them in the Ch'un T'ieh.
BOOK IV. DUKE MIN.

First year.

元年春王正月，齊人救邢。

齊侯盟于落姑。秋八月，公及齊侯盟于落姑。冬齊仲孫來歸。
I. 1 It was [the duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.
2 A body of men from Tsé'e [went to] relieve Hing.
3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Sin-yêw, we buried our ruler, Duke Chwang.
4 In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Tsé'e at Loh-koo.
5 The officer Ke came back to Loo.
6 In winter, Chung-sun of Tsé'e came to [Loo].

**Title of the Book—**

This was a son of Duke Chwang, by a half-sister of the duchess Gaa Kiang, one of the ladies, who accompanied her from Tsé'e to the home of Loo in Chwang's 24th year, and who is generally mentioned as Shih Kiang (叔姜). He could only be, therefore, about 8 years old at his father's death. Called to the marquisate in consequence of the murder of his brother, Fan, his own brief rule was closed in as hapless a manner by a similar end. His name was Ke'e-pong (啟方). It appears in the Historical Records as (開), because the emperor King (景帝) of the Han dynasty was also named Ke' (啟), and another Ke could not appear in a work then published. The honorary title Min duotes—'Victim of calamity in the State (在國逢難日閱).'

Min's rule embraced the years B.C. 600, 601. His 1st year was synchronized with the 16th of king Hwuy (惠) of Ts'ien; the 25th of Hwan (桓) of Ts'e; the 16th of Huen (惠) of Ts'en; the 8th of E (昭) of Wei; the 14th of Mou (穆) of Ts'ao; the 13th of Wan (文) of Ch'in; the 1st of Pan, duke Chwan (昭公班) of Ts'en; the 22 of Seun (宣) of Ch'in; the 12th of Hwuy (惠) of Ke; the 21st of Hwan (桓) of Sung; the 8th of Ch'ing (成) of Ts'ii; and the 11th of Ch'ing (成) of Ts'ao.

Par. 1. See on I.1; III.1. Ts'e says that the part does not conclude with 阙位, because the State was in confusion.

Par. 2. The Chuen has here—'The Ts'e and Jung are wolves, to whom no indulgence should be given; within the States of the Great land, all are nearly related, and none should be abandoned, luxurious repose is a poison, which should not be cherished. The one says, 'Did we not long to return?' But we were afraid of what was written in the tablets [The She, Part II. i. VIII.], meaning that the States should be community: another in calamities they were exposed to. I beg you to succour Hing, in accordance with what is commanded in the tablets.' On this a force went from Ts'e to succour Hing. 齊人 indicates that the marquis of Ts'e did not go to Hing himself, nor send a great officer. It would have been better if he had done so. See on V.1.2.

Par. 3. This interment took place late, 'because,' says Ts'ai-shao, 'of the troubles and confusion in the State.'

Par. 4, 5. The Chuen says—The duke covenanted with the marquis of Ts'e at Loh-koo, and besought him to restore Ke-yêw [who had
The marquis must have had the meeting with the marquis of T'ie arranged for him, and the question has been much discussed among the critics as to who suggested to him to request the return of Ke-yew. After all they have said, it is clear that the boy himself. The 列国志 gives a pretty account of his holding the marquis by the skirt, and asking him to bring Ke-yew back to save him from King-foo. Koo-foo was in T'ie, in pres. dist. of T'ie-yin (平陰), dep. T'ie-ghun.

Par. 6. Chung-sun was an officer of T'ie, a grandson of Chung, himself a son of duke Siang or duke Ho (仲孫齊公子仲氏之孫). The two characters are here used as another clan-name. His name was Teisou (狄宗). The Chuen says: — In winter, Chung-sun Teisou of T'ie came to investigate the difficulties of our condition, and is here mentioned by his clan-name, in communication. On his return he said, 'If King-foo be not removed, the troubles of Loo will not have an end.' But how shall he be removed?' asked the duke. 'Exciting troubles without ceasing,' replied Teisou, 'he will destroy himself. You can wait for the issue.' The duke said, 'May we now take Loo to ourselves?' Teisou answered, 'No. Loo still holds fast to the rules of Chow, and these are a sure foundation for a State. I have heard the saying, that when a State is about to perish its root must first be destroyed, and then the destruction of the branches and leaves will follow. While Loo does not abandon the rules of Chow, it will not be possible to move it. Let it be the object of your grace to quiet the troubles of Loo, and be friendly to it. To be friendly with States that observe the rules of propriety; to help those that have in them the elements of solidity and strength; to complete the separation of those that are divided and distanced; and to overthrow those that are full of disorder and confusion; these are the methods by which a prince with the functions of provident among the States proceeds.'

[The Chuen here returns to the affairs of T'ie: — The marquis of T'ie formed two armies (See the Chuen after III. xvi.5) taking the command of the 1st one himself, while his eldest son Sin-sheng commanded the other. Chao Sub drove the marquis' chariot, and Pih Wan was the spearman on his right. With these forces they extinguished the States of Kang, Hoh, and Wei (魏; see on the title of the Shu, L. ix.) and on the return of the expedition the marquis walled K'chiu-yih for his son, gave Kang to Chao Sub, and Wei to Piih Wan, constituting them great officers of Wei. Pih Wan, constituting them great officers of Wei. See Wei said to himself, 'The marquis' eldest son will not get possession of the State. He has been separately established in a capital city (See the Chuen appended to III. xxviii. 1), and had the dignity of a high minister [as leader of the 10 army]. His greatness has already culminated; how should he become marquis in addition to this? He had better make his escape to some other State, and not allow the charge of guilt to fall upon him. Might he not be satisfied to play the part of T'se-pih of Woo (See on Ana. VIII. 1)? He will still have an excellent name: — how much better than to stay and let calamity come on him! Moreover, the proverb says, 'If one's heart have no flaw, what need have regret having no family?' If Heaven means to confer dignity on our eldest prince, shall there be no Tsin for him?'

'The diviner Yen said, 'The descendants of Pih Wan are sure to become great. 万 (万 = lofty) is the completion of numbers, and Wei (魏; see on the title of the Shu, L. ix.) is a grand name. That his rewards should commence with this Wei is a proof that Heaven is opening up his way. With reference to the son of Heaven we speak of 'the millions of the people'; with reference to the prince of a State, of 'the myriads.' Since, in the case of Pih Wan, the grand name, i.e., 魏, is followed by the complete number, it is plain that the multitudes will belong to his posterity.'

'At an earlier period, Pih Wan had divined by the milfoil about his becoming an officer of Tain, and obtained the diagram Ch'uan (離), and afterwards, by the manipulation, Pe (革). Sin Lenou interpreted it to be lucky. 'Ch'uan,' said he, 'indicates Firmness, and Pe indicates Entering; what could be more fortunate? — he must become numerous and prosperous. Moreover, the symbol Ch'uan (離) — the lower part of Ch'uan (離) becomes that for the earth (土); the lower half of Pe.) Carriages and horses follow one another; he has feet to stand on; an elder brother's lot; the protection of a mother; and the attraction of the multitudes. These six indications [arising from the change of the lowest line in the diagram Ch'uan (離)] will not change. United, they indicate his firmness; in their repos, they indicate his majesty: — the divination is that of a duke or a marquis. Himself the descendant of a duke (Pih Wan was descended from one of the lords of Peh; but of the early history of that principality we know nothing), his posterity shall return to the original dignity.']
Second year.

二年春王正月齊人

夏五月乙酉吉禘于莊公。

秋八月辛丑公薨。

冬齊高子來盟。

九月夫人姜氏孫于鄭，棄其師。

公子慶父出奔莒。

成季之將生也，桓公使卜楚丘之筮卜之曰：男也。其名曰友，在公之右，開于兩社，為公室輔，氏立之。獻仲曰：魯不昌，必有此。遇大有之乾。同復子交破，為之君所及生。有文在其手，曰友。遂以命之。十二月，秋人伐衛，衛懿公好鶴，鶴有乘，將戰國人受甲，皆曰：使鶴，鶴實有祿。余焉能戰。公與石祁子鞅興華。祁子鞅聞衛侯不下去，其駕是以被敗。秋人囚史華龍骨與禮孔，以逐衛人，
二人曰，我犬史也，實掌其祭，不先國不可得也。乃先之，則告守曰：「不亦可乎？今齊人，夜與國人，出秋入鹽，遂從之，又不為我者，我犬史也，實掌其祭，不先國不可得也。」

釋曰：齊人與國人，出秋入鹽，遂從之，又不為我者，我犬史也，實掌其祭，不先國不可得也。乃先之，則告守曰：「不亦可乎？今齊人，夜與國人，出秋入鹽，遂從之，又不為我者，我犬史也，實掌其祭，不先國不可得也。」
II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, a force from Ta'e removed [the people of] Yang.
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yi-yuew, [the duke] offered the fortunate to sacrifice on [placing the tablet of] duke Chwang [in the ancestral temple].
3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-ch'ow, the duke died.
4 In the ninth month, [duke Chwang's] wife, the lady Keang, withdrew to Choo.
5 Duke [Hwan's] son, King-foo, fled to Keu.
6 In winter, the officer Kaou of Ta'e came and made a covenant.
7 In the twelfth month, the Teih entered [the capital of] Wei.
8 Ch'ing threw away its army.

Par. 1. Yang was a marquetry, held by some branch of the House of Chow. It is referred to the pres. dis. of E-chow (沂州), dep. E-chow. 遷—see III. 1. 8; x. 2. It is supposed that Ta'e removed the people to the pres. dis. of Tih-foo (益都), near the seat of its own power. Whether duke Hwan altogether extinguished the House of Yang, or permitted it to continue its sacrifices in its new site as an attached territory, we cannot tell.

[The Chuen has here:—In spring, the duke of Kwoh defeated the Dog Jung at the bend of the Wei. Chou Ch'e-k'aoon said, "Success bestowed where there is no virtue is the prelude to calamity. Calamities will soon come." On this he fled to Tsin."

Par. 2. The meaning of 禮 here is determined by the 吉 which precedes it, though that term is used improperly. When the period of mourning for a king or prince of a State was completed,—a period nominally of 8 years, but actually only of 35 months,—then his Spirit-tablet was solemnly placed in the ancestral temple, the tablet of one of his ancestors being removed, according to a certain prescribed order, to make room for it, and there it would remain till, in process of time, it was in turn pushed out by the tablets of some later king or prince;—see the Doctrines of the Mean, xix. 4. The whole service on these occasions was called 祭, and also 義, the latter term having reference to the sacrifices offered to all the Spirit-occupants of the temple, the former to the discrimination of the order of kindred according to which the new tablet received its place. 禮 is employed of other sacrificial occasions, but they are not to be thought of here. But 25 months at least must have elapsed from the death before the new tablet could be placed in the temple, and duke Chwang had now been dead only 22 months;—the service was performed before the proper time. As Tso-ah says, it was too early. 速也]

Par. 3. Again we have a case of base murder spoken of as if it had been a natural death. The Chuen says:—Before this, the duke's tutor had violently taken away some fields belonging to Puh Ke, the duke not forbidding him. In the autumn, at this time, Kung-chung (i.e., King-foo) employed Puh Ke to murder the duke at the Wei side-gate of the palace.

Par. 4. Comp. III. 1. 2. The difference between the two par. is, that here the lady's surname (姜氏) is given, while there it is suppressed. But we cannot account for the difference, and must accept the entries as they came from the historiographers. Kei, Puh, and other critics, say that Tsai Keang has her
surname given to her because she was not so wicked as Wan Kang! The reason of her withdrawal from Lu was plain. Kung-fen had now procured the death of two of Chwang's sons, and had only agreed to dismiss the general odium with which he was regarded. Gae Kang and he were living criminally together. She had probably been privy to the deaths of Pau and Duke Min. She was obliged to withdraw from the storm of popular indignation. The reason of her going to Choo was perhaps to make friends with Ke-yew, who had also taken refuge in that State.

Hence, as in other places, Kung-yang has 鄭 instead of 鄭.

Par. 5. Kung-fen also succeeded to the throne. The Chuseu says:—Ch'ing-ku, immediately on the duke's death, went to Choo, taking with him Duke Chwang's remaining son, who was afterwards Duke Ho; and when Kung-chung fled to K'eu, he returned to the State, and raised this son to the marquisate. He afterwards sent to K'on and Kue, and requested the delivery of Kung-chung. The sons of K'eu were standing in his way, but when he got to Kue, he sent out Duke Hwa's son, Yu, to beg for his life. The request was refused, and Yu went back, weeping loudly as he went. When Kung-chung heard him, he said, "It is the voice of Hwa-ssu [the name of the Kung-tam Yü], and I grieved at the sight of him."

Duke Min was the son of Shih Kang, a sister of Gae Kang, on which account the people of Te required his appointment to be marquis. Kung-chung had been carrying on a criminal intrigue with Gae Kang, who wished to get the State, and she had, with that view, been privy to the death of Min. She had therefore withdrawn to Choo, but an officer of Te took her, put her to death in E, and carried her body back with him. Duke K'ue requested that it might be given to him, and then buried her. In the year in which the Chuseu some particulars about Ke-yew:—Just before the birth of Ch'ing-ku, Duke Hwa was made father of Ch'oo-oo-ke's master of the diviners, consult the tortoise-shell, which he did, saying, "It will be a boy. When he is grown, he will be at the right side of the duke, between the two altars of the land. He shall be a helper to the ducal House; and when the family of Ke shall perish, Loo shall not flourish." He also consulted the profit of the child, and obtained the diagram Ta-yew (大有), and then K'én (乾).

"He shall come back," said he, "to the same distinction as his father. They shall reverence him as if he were in their ruler's place." When the boy was born, there was a figure on his hand,—that of the character T'ao (友), and he was named accordingly!"

Par. 6. Kaon is mentioned without name or designation, but with a simple 父 after the clan-name, as in the case of Ke-tse, L. 5. The object of his coming to Loo was to help in the regime and conduct of the State, and that he might be able to report about the character of the new marquis. With him he made the covenant,—on behalf of Te.

Par. 7. The ruin which the Teih dealt on Wei is related in the Chuseu.—In the 12th month, the Teih invaded Wei, the marquis of which, duke K'o, was noted for his fondness for storks. So fond was he of the creatures, that some of them were carried about in great officers' carriages. When the time for the buff-coats came, and the people received their barks, they all said, "Employ the storks! The storks truly have their revenues and dignities—how should we be able to fight?" The duke gave his semicircle of jade to Shih Ke's, and an arrow to Ning Chwang, and appointed them to guard the city, saying, "With these emblems of authority, aid the State, doing whatever you shall deem most advantageous." To his wife he gave his embroidered robe, notting to it, "Listen to these two officers." He then mounted his war-chariot, K'eu Kung being charioteer, and Tsao-foo the spearman on the right. Hwang K led the way in front with one body of men, and Kung Ying-te brought up the rear. A battle was fought with the Teih near the marsh of Yung, when the army of Wei was shamelessly defeated, and the State itself might be said to be extinguished. The marquis would not leave his flag, which made the defeat the greater. The Teih then made prisoners of the historiographers Hwa, Lung-hwa, and Lo Kung, and were carrying them in pursuit of the fugitives, when they said, [working on the superstition of the Teih], "We are the grand officers; the State is really in our management; and if we do not go before you, the city cannot be taken." On this they were allowed to go before the pursuers; and when they reached the wall, they said to the officers who had been left to guard the city, "You must not remain here." That same night, Shih and Ning left the city with the people; and the Teih entered it, and then pursued, inflicting another defeat on the fugitives at the Ho.

Before this, when duke Hwa [Soh of ll.xvi. 5, etc.] succeeded to the throne, he was young, and the people of Te required Ch'oo-foo-pi to form a connection with Seuen Kung [See the Chuseu, on ll.xvi. 5. Seuen Kung was Soh's mother, and Ch'oo-foo-pi was a half-brother]; and when he refused, they compelled him to do it. From this union there sprang T'oo-tse, Soh who was afterwards Duke Hwa. Hwa was afterwards Duke Hwa, the wife of Hwa of Sang, and the wife of Muh of Hea [See on the Soh, I. iv. X.]. Hwa had gone to Te, before the invasion of the Teih, because of the many troubles of Wei; and after their two defeats, duke Hwa of Sung met the fugitives at the Ho, and carried them over the river at night.

All that remained of the people of Wei, men and women, or numbered to 750 only, and when these were added to the number of Kung and T'ang, the number was only 5,000. Soh, or duke T'oo, was raised to K's place, and lived in a hut in T'oo-kon, another town of Wei. On this occasion the wife of Muh of Hea made the sacrifice:—

Par. 8. Ch'oo [載駙]. The Soh, I. iv. odo X.]. The marquis of T'oo sent his eldest son, Wook-wel, with 300 chariots and 8,000 mailed men, to guard T'oo-kon. He also sent to the duke a team of 4 horses; 8 suit of sacrificial robes; oxen, sheep, pigs, foul, and dogs, in all live, and materials for doors. He also sent to his wife a great officer's carriage ornamented with sculp- skin, and 30 pieces of fine embroidered silk.
The text says that 'the Teih entered Wei' and the critics are divided on the amount of meaning in the term 'entered.' Fan Ningsbueh thinks it is equivalent to 'extinguished.' Sun K'eoh thinks that, as we afterward find Wei mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'uew, the Teih could not have taken possession of the territory. The Ch'un Chueh shows that the entry of the Teih into the State, and their capture of its capital, were not followed by the extinction of the State. See what has been said about A. on I. ii. 2.

Par. 8. The Ch'un Chueh says on this par.—'The earl of Ch'ing hated Kao K'i-kh, and sent him with an army to the borders of the Ho, where he remained stationed for a long time, without being recalled. The troops dispersed, and returned to their homes. Kao K'i-kh himself fled to Ch'i; and the people of Ch'ing, with reference to the affair, made the T'ying Jin. (The Shu, I, vii, ode V.)' K'aou K'i-kh was an earl of Ch'ing, sycovous and disrespectful to his ruler, who wanted to get rid of him, and took the method described in the Ch'un Chueh to do so.

其師 OF CHUN CHUEH. abandoned its army' i.e., sent it away to the borders, and then took no more thought about it.

[Here follow four narratives in the Ch'un Chueh—]

The marquis of Ts'in proposed sending his eldest son Shih-sung to invade the Kaou-luh tribe of the eastern hill (in Shan-yi), when Le K'i-kh reproved him, saying, 'It is the business of the eldest son to bear the vessels of millet for the great sacrifices, and for those at the altars of the land and the grain, and also to inspect the provisions cooked for the ruler every morning and evening. On this account he is styled the great son.' When the ruler goes abroad, he guards the capital; and if another be appointed to guard it, he attends upon his father. When he attends upon him, he is called 'Son of the host,' when he stays behind on guard, he is called 'Inspector of the State.'—this is the ancient rule. But to lead the army and determine its movements and plans, issuing all commands to the troops—is what the ruler and his chief minister have to provide for; it is not the business of the eldest son. The conduct of an army all depends on the definite commands which are given. If the son receive the commands of another, it is injurious to his majesty; if he determines himself the commands, he is unlawful. For this reason the ruler's proper son and heir ought not to have the command of the army. The ruler fails to employ the right man in devolving the command on him; and if, as commander, he loses the majesty which belongs to him, how can he afterwards be employed? Your servant, moreover, has heard that the Kaou-luh will fight. Leave, I pray you, your son alone, and do not send him.' The duke said, 'I have away soon, and I do not yet know whom shall appoint my successor.' And on this K'i-kh withdrew, without making any reply. When the saw the duke's eldest son, the prince asked him whether he was to be dismissed, and K'i-kh replied, 'Let the people know how you can predate over them; and teach them their duties in the army. Be only afraid of not reverently attending to these two things:—why should you be dismissed? As a son, moreover,

you have to fear lest you should not be final; you have not, fear lest you should not be appointed to the succession. Cultivate yourself, and do not be finding fault with others; so shall you escape calamity.'

When his eldest son took the command of the army, the duke gave him a robe of two colours, and his golden semicircle to hang at his girdle. Hoo Tuh was his charioteer, and Si'en T'ao the spearman on his right. Leang Yü-ta-ya-yang was charioteer to Han E [who led the 2d host], and Si'en T'ao-muh was the spearman on his right. The great officer Yang-sheh acted as adjutant.

Si'en T'ao said, 'It is only on this expedition that he has worn this parti-coloured robe, and carried this important symbol. Let him exact himself, and admit nothing evil in his own half of his person. With his present power, he ought to keep calamity far away. Giving himself no occasion for it, what has he to fear?' Hoo Tuh, however, sighed and said, 'The time is the proof of the thing; the garment is the distinction of the person; the symbol is the manifestation of the feeling. There was a real interest in the expedition, the order for it would have come earlier; the robe for his person would have been of one colour; and the proper feeling would have been given the proper symbol for the girdle. This parti-coloured robe shows a wish to remove his person; this golden semicircle for the girdle shows the abandonment of kindly feeling. The robe thus indicating a wish for the removal of the person; the time shutting the prince up from success; the garment thin; the winter killing; the metal cold; and the symbol the imperfect circle—is what there in these things to be trusted to? Although the prince may wish to do his utmost, can the Teih be utterly destroyed?'

Leang Yü-ta-ya-yang said, 'The commander of an army receives his commands in the ancestral temple, and the sacrificial flesh at the altar of the land. He should wear the ordinary dress also, and since the prince cannot do so, but has this parti-coloured robe, the nature of the duke's command may be hence understood. Than that the prince should die for being unfilial, it is better that he should take his escape.' Han E said, 'The parti-coloured robe is strange and uncommon; the gold semicircle shows a wish that he should not return; though he do return, of what good will it be? The duke has his mind made up. Si'en T'ao-muh said, 'Even a madman would have his doubts excited by this dress. The duke's command was, 'Destroy utterly the enemy, and then return; but can the enemy be utterly destroyed? Even if we should make an end of the enemy, there are collatorum in the court; we had better abandon the expedition and go away.' Hoo Tuh also wished to go, but the great officer Yang-sheh said, 'This is wrong. If the prince disobey his father's command, he will be unfilial; if he abandon the banishment to him, he will be unfaithful. Although he knows the cold feeling of his father, he must not choose to do evil. Rather let him die in the service.'

When the prince was about to fight, Hoo Tuh remonstrated with him, saying, 'Do not do so. Si'en T'ao gave counsel to duke Huan of Chow [See the 2d Chuen, after I. viii. 3] saying, 'The favourite of the harem made equal
to the queen; the favourites of the court made equal to the ministers of the government; the son of a concubine made equal to the legitimate son; and another great city made as large as the capital;—these are the foundation of disorder." But the duke of Chow would not listen to him, and so came to his unfortunate end. The root of disorder is already formed in this. Can your succession to the State be made sure? Be filial, and seek the repose of the people;—lay your plans for this. It will be better than endangering your person, and accelerating the imputation to you of guilt.""

3d. "In the 1st year of He, duke Hwan of Tw'e removed the capital of Hing to E-s, and in his second established Wei in Tw'oo-kou-w. The people of Hing moved to their new seat as if they were going home, and the State of Wei forgot its ruin."

4th. "Duke Wan of Wei, in garments of coarse linen and a cap of coarse silk, laboured to improve his resources; encouraged agriculture; promoted trade; treated the mechanics kindly; reverently sought the moral instruction of the people; stimulated them to learn; imposed nothing but what was right; and employed the able. The consequence was that while his leather carriages in his first year were only 30, in his last year they amounted to 900."
BOOK V. DUKE HE.

First year.

元年春王正月，齊師、宋師次于聶北，救邢。

夏六月，邢遷于夷儀，齊師、宋師、曹師、城邢。

秋七月，戊辰夫人姜氏薨于夷齊人以歸。

楚人伐鄭。

八月，公會齊侯宋公鄭伯曹伯邾人于裡。

九月，公敗邾師于偃。

冬十月，壬午公子友帥師敗莒師于鄑，獲莒挈。

十有二月，丁巳夫人氏之喪至自齊。
I. 1 It was the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 An army of Ts'e, an army of Sung, and an army of Ts'aou halted at Neesh-pih, [in proceeding] to the rescue of Hing.

3 In summer, in the sixth month, Hing removed [its capital] to E-e.

4 The army of Ts'e, the army of Sung, and the army of Ts'aou walled [the new capital of] Hing.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-shin, duke [Chwang's] wife, the lady Keang, died at 3, an officer of Ts'e taking her [body] back with him.

6 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

7 In the eighth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, in Ch'ing.

8 In the ninth month, the duke defeated an army of Choo at Yen.

9 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, duke [Hwan's] son Yew led an army and defeated an army of Keu at Le, taking Neu of Keu.

10 In the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, the coffin of duke [Chwang's] wife arrived from Ts'e.
Par. 2. The after 是 the reading of Kung and Kuh. Tao-shé has 曹伯, evidently a mistake. Nouch-phii was a place in Hsing, north-east from the pren. dis. city of Lium-shing (柳城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. The T'eh had again invaded Hsing, which applied to T'ee for help, and accordingly we have the armies of T'ee and other States here proceeding to its relief. The phrases 齊師, &c., imply that, while the relieving forces were considerable, they were under the command of great officers, and not of the princes of the States themselves. The critics are much divided in their opinion on the allies' halting in their march to relieve Hsing, most of them condemning it as improper in the urgency of the case. We do not know the circumstances sufficiently, however, to judge whether it was a prudent measure merely, or an unprofitable one—to make their help more prized by Hsing when given at this moment in its distress.

Par. 3. E-n (Kung, 陳儀) —see on III.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:— The princes proceeded to relieve Hsing, when the people discovered was led to the allied armies, which then went on and drove out the T'eh. They collected all the furniture and other articles of the people, and brought them away, without the soldiers appropriating anything to themselves. In summer, Hsing removed to E-n.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:— The princes went the city of Hsing, thus relieving it in its distress. It was the rule for the princes of the States to relieve the distressed, to distribute to the necessities of times of calamity, and to punish offending States.

Kao K'ang (高開) observes: — The marquis of T'ee was ill, and that his dower. Finally he did succeed to it, which, if his Choo, or the sage does not conceal its fault on the ground of his merit, nor does he conceal his merit because of his fault, this is royal law.

Par. 6. The latter part of the Chuen on IV. ii. is appended to this par. The marquis of T'ee, in his capacity of leader of the States, determined to execute justice on Gae K'ang, notwithstanding his near relation to her, considering her too had to be allowed to live. He therefore had her brought from Choo, whether she had fled from Loo, to E, somewhere in T'ee, and there put her to death, or obliged her to strangle herself. The officer, who superintended the deed, took her body back to T'ee;—so we must understand 以歸. Kuh-liang, and, after him, Hoo Gan-kweh, take the characters as 以歸 her back to Loo, contrary to their usual usage, and specially to par. 10. The marquis of T'ee did not hesitate to execute his own sister, whose wickedness was so atrocious, but the Chuen conceals the nature of her death.

Par. 7. Here for the 1st time we meet with the name 楚, instead of which 楚 has hitherto been used. The same sense was called either T'ee or Ching, and the same usage obtained with the name of the State, though, as T'ee seems to intimate, the name 楚 was about this time publicly assumed. Tao-shé says that T'ee attacked Ching, because of its adherence to the alliance with T'ee, and that the meeting at Ching was followed by a covenant at Loo (鄭), with a view to the relief of Ching. The Loo here in the Chuen may be, as Tao-shé says, another name for Ching (鄭), or it may be that the princes, after their conference at Ching, moved a little way off to another place, called Loo, and there covenanted. The Ching (鄭) in Kung-yang was in Ching, somewhere in the pren. dis. of Ch'in, dep. Kuee-fung, Ho-nan.

Par. 8. Yen (Kung-yang, 楚) was in Lo, in the pres. dis. of Pe, dep. Yen-chow. We do not know what grounds of quarrel there were at this time between Loo and Choo, and as duke Hsü and an officer of Choo had not been in good fellowship at the meeting in Ching the month before, this makes the entry the more strange. Tao-shé says the defeat was inflicted on the guards of Hen-k'wé, who were about to return. Yen Yu explains this by supposing that Hen-k'wé was in Choo, and that he had sent troops there, after sending Gae K'ang to her death in T'ee, intending that they should make an incursion into Lo. On finding, however, that T'ee gave up the body of Gae K'ang to Loo, and that the two States continued on good terms, Choo was afraid, and was proceeding to withdraw its troops, when duke Hsü, having become aware of their original object, attacked and defeated them. A fatal objection to this explanation is, that Hen-k'wé must be assigned to Loo, according to the analogy of all the passages in which the duke of Lo is said to have defeated the forces of another power in any place. The most likely account of the occasion which I have met with, is one suggested by Wang T'ou, that when Ke-yew fled with the prince Shih to Loo, on the murder of Duke Min, they had made great promises to Choo, if that court would help them to regain Loo; and that Choo now, claiming the merit of their restoration and Shih's elevation to the marquisate, had sent a force to seize and keep possession of Hen-k'wé, to enforce his demand that the promises should be made good. He caught only loss, however, by his greed.

Par. 9. Lu (Kung, 莊) belonged to Loo. The Chuen says:— In winter, an officer of Keu came seeking for bribes, but duke Hsü's son, Yen, defeated his troops at Le, and took Keu, the younger brother of the viscount of Keu. Tao-shé adds that Hsü was not so high a minister [intending thus to account, by one of his cousins, for the mention of the individual simply by his name], and that the whole par. is in commendation of Ke-yew for the capture of Keu. After this, the Chuen resumes, 'The duke for the sake of Ke-yew, the fields on the north of the Wn, and Pe.'

The Chuen on IV. ii. 3 tells us how Ke-yew bribed Keu to deliver up King-fu. Not satisfied with what he had thus received, the viscount had sent his troops to require further payment. Both Choo and Keu, we may assume,
were presuming that the new rule would be too weak to resist their demands.

most naturally leads to the conclusion that Neu was captured alive; which is inconsistent with a version of the transaction given by K'uh-Jeng—that K'o-yëw proposed to Neu that they two should decide the contest by boxing, and let their troops look on, and that then, when he found he was getting the worst, he disposed of his antagonist with a dagger which he carried about his person.

Par. 10. The want of 某 here before 氏 is evidently a simple error of the text. It is astonishing what nonsense even the K'ang-hse editors write, on the supposition that 'Confucius could not express his condemnation so well as by leaving out her surname in this place.' Tso-she observes that the superior man may say that the people of Tsev dealt too severely with Gao Kung in putting her to death; for that a woman follows—has her obsequies to be rendered to—the determinate male relatives." His meaning seems to be that, as she had married from Tsev into Loo, it belonged to Loo to deal with her; she was no longer amenable to Tsev. Comp. II. xviii. 2.

Second year.

二年春王正月城

楚人侵鄭

○齊人盟于貞

十月不雨

○魯公攻戎于柤。晋卜假曰，戎必亡矣。亡下。又于柤不恒，又于柤有功。成天尊之禨而益其疾，下必易患而莫能其民矣。不可以五稔，也必易患而莫能其民矣。不可以五稔，也必易患而莫能其民矣。不可以五稔，也必易患而莫能其民矣。不可以五稔，也必易患而莫能其民矣。不可以五稔。
II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, we [aided in] the walling of Tso-oo-k'ow.
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-sze, we buried our duchess, Gae K'ang.
3 An army of Yu and an army of Ts'eu extinguished Hsia-yang.
4 In autumn, in the ninth month, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, an officer of K'ang, and an officer of Hwang, made a covenant in Kwan.
5 In winter, in the tenth month, there was no rain.
6 A body of men from Tsoo made an incursion into Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Tsoo-k'ow was the new capital of Wei. The abandonment of the old capital [See on I. ii. 9], and the subsequent destruction of it by the Ts'eh, have been described in the Chuen on IV. ii. 7, where it is also stated how the shattered remnant of the State collected again in Ts'oo. The marquis of Ts'e, however, decided that Tsoo-k'ow [diff. from another place of the same name, also in. Wei, mentioned in I. vii. 17]—oo-le east of the pres. dis. city of Hwa-li (浮丘), dep. Ta-ming, Chhi-lu,—would be a better site for a capital, and arranged with the other princes to raise its walls. The Chuen says:—"In spring, the princes walled Tsoo-k'ow, and established Wei there." Ts'e thinks that no mention is made in the text of any previous meeting of the princes for this purpose, because Lu was late in arriving.

In par. 3 of the previous year, it is stated that the armies of the States 'walked Hsing' (邢), the reason being that the marquis and people of Hsing had already taken up their quarters in K'oo, as the head-city of their revived State. Here it is not said that the armies 'walked Wei' (衛), because the marquis and people were still at Ts'oo, and would remove to Tsoo-k'ow only when it was ready for their reception.

Par. 2. See III. xxii. 2.

Par. 3. For the 1st time the States of Yu and Ts'eh appear in the text of the Chuen Tsoo:—the former on the eve of its extinction; the latter soon to develop into one of the greatest Powers of the period. Yu was held by the descendents of Chuang-yang (仲雍), second son of king Ts'e, grandfather of king Wan, with the title of duke. Its capital was 45-le east of the pres. dis. city of Ping-luh (平陸), dep. Shan-shu, Tsoo was a marquisate, held by the descendents of Shih-yu (叔虞), a son of king Woo. Its capital at this time was at K'ang, which has left its name in the pres. Kiang Chow (綏) of Shan-shu. Its position allowed Ts'eh great opportunity for enlarging its territory, and this was the main cause of the great progress which it made. Hsia-yang (Kung and Kuh,夏陽) was the second city of the State of Kwoh, in the north-east of the pres. dis. of Ping-luh (平陸), dep. Ping-yang. The possession of Kwoh was all important to Kwoh, the State to which it belonged, and induced to Yu also. Ts'eh by acquiring Hsia-yang could go on without difficulty to annex both the States.

The Chuen says:—"Seun Seih of Ten requested leave from the marquis to take his team of Kwoh horses and his peak of Ch'ung-koh jade, and with them borrow a way from Yu to search through it and attack Kwoh [Yu was on the south of Ts'eh, and Kwoh again on the south of Yu]. "They are the things I hold most precious," said the marquis. Seih replied, "But if you get a way through Yu, it is but like placing them in a treasury outside the State for a time."

"There is Kung Che-k's in Yu," objected the duke. "Kung Che-k's returned the other, is a weak man, and incapable of reasoning vigorously. And, moreover, from his youth up he has always been with the duke of Yu, who is so familiar with him, that though he should reason, the duke will not listen to him." The marquis accordingly sent Seun Seih to borrow a way through Yu, with this message:—"Formerly, K'oo [a small State], against right and reason, entered your State from Ts'eh-lung and attacked the three gates of Ming. It suffered for its doing:—all through your Grace. Now Kwoh, against right and reason, has been keeping guards about the travellers' lodges, to make incursions from them into my southern borders, and I venture to beg a right of way from you to ask an account of its offence." The duke of Yu granted the request, and even asked to take the load in invading Kwoh. Kung Che-k's remonstrated with him, but in vain; and he raised his army for the enterprise.

In summer, Le K'oo and Seun Seih brought on the army of Ts'en, made a junction with that of Yu, and invaded Kwoh, when they extinguished it.

The army of Yu is mentioned first, because of the bribes which the duke accepted.

To speak of 'extinguishing Hsia-yang,' which was not a State, sounds strange; but Kuh-kang accounts for the language on the ground of the importance of the place. Maen K'oo-ling even says that Hsia-yang is here another name for Yu.—See Memelus, V. P. 1. IX. 2.

Par. 4. K'ang was a small State, held by Yings (宕), in pres. Ho-nan. Its exact place is not determined,—some placing it in div. of
Third year.

Chung-yang (正陽) dep. Joo-ning; and some in dis. of Seih (衛). Kwang-chow (光州).
Hwang was also a small State, held by Yings in the same Kwang-chow. Both Käng and Hwang acknowledged the superiority of T'oo; their new transferring their allegiance to T'oo is indicative of the approaching struggle between those two great States. Ts'ao says this meeting was held to receive the submission of Käng and Hwang. Kwan (槤, 槊) was in Sung.—10 ¼ south-east from dis. city of Ts'ao, dep. Ts'ao-chow.

[The Chuen adds here:—1st: 'Tsoou of T'oo, chief of the cumuhs, for the 1st time let out the contemplated expedition of duke Hwan in T'o-yu.'

2d. 'The duke of Kwoh defeated the Sung at Sang-P'ên. The diviner Yen of Ts'ao said: "Kwoh is sure to perish. The duke is not afraid, though he has lost Hêa-yang, but go on to acquire more military fame—Heaven is taking away his insight, and increasing his disease. He is sure to take his difficulties with Ts'ao easily, and show no kindness to his people. He will not have five more harvests."]

Par. 3. See III. xxvii. 6.

Par. 6. The Chuen says that, at this time, 'Tsoo Chuang carried off prisoner Pan Pih of Ch'ing.'

III. 1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, it did not rain.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, it did not rain.

3. A body of men from Seih took Shoo.

4. In the sixth month, it rained.

5. In autumn, the marquis of Tse, the duke of Sung, an officer of Kâng, and an officer of Hwang, had a meeting at Yang-kueh.

6. In winter, Duke [Hwan's] son, Yêw, went to Tse to make a covenant.

7. A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.
Parr. 1, 2, 4. The Chuen says:—In spring it did not rain, but in summer, in the 6th month, it did. "From the 10th month of the previous year to the end of the 6th month of this year, there had been no rain; but as it is not said "there was a drought," it is not assigned to a calamity. The mention of its raining in the 6th month is dwelt on by the critics. They contrast the three—September, October, November—entries here about rain, with VI, vi, where seven months' want of rain is summed up in one par., saying that the various entries here, and especially the last one, show how much He must have sympathised with the suffering of the people.

Par. 5. See III, xxvi. 4. Shoo was a small State; in yrs. 5, 6, of Lo. It is not easy to determine the force of 取, 'took,' which has occurred once before in III, ix, 6, with rather a diff. application. Kung-yang thinks that 取 indicates the case with which the capture was made, and Tsoo that it indicates that only a small force was employed against Shoo. Some think that 取 is here 滅, 'extinguished,' but the meaning is not so intense as that. The Kung-he editors approve the view of Le Loan (李廉, end of the Yuan dyn.), which is reasonable, that Shoo belonged to the party of Tsoo, and that Seu now took, and held it for a time, in the interest of Tsoo, to facilitate the progress of the contemplated expedition to the south.

Par. 6. Tsoo says this meeting was to plan about the invasion of Tsoo. See p. 6 of last year. The Kung-he editors agree with Tsoo's account of the object of the meeting, though Kung and Kuh do not mention it. They say that the expedition against Tsoo had been determined on in the meeting at Ch'ing (鄭), in He's 1st year, and that the subsequent meeting at Kwan, and this at Yang-kh, were held especially to secure the adherence of the powerful Sung, and of the distant Kung and Hwang. Yang-kh was in Tsoo, 30 li north-east from the pres. dist. city of same name, dep. Tien-chow.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—On this occasion, the marquis of Loo had not been represented at the meeting, but the duke here, at the request of Tsoo, sends Ke-yi to take part in the covenant.

The Chuen adds:—The marquis of Tsoo and Ke of Tsoo [one of his ladies] were in a boat on a lake in the park, when she made it rock. The marquis was afraid, changed colour, and forbade her; but she persisted. The marquis was angry, and sent her back to Tsoo, without absolutely putting her away. They married her away there, however, to another.]
葬於穆公。異

月公孫usz

冬十有二

左傳曰，四年春，齊侯以諸侯之師侵蔡殺遂伐楚，楚子使與師言曰：君處北海，寡人處

南夷，唯是風馬牛不相及也，不虞君之涉吾地也。何故晉仲對曰：吾召康公命我，先君大

公曰：五侯九伯無所不至，是以即位正三禮。我先君履，東至於海，西至於河，南至於穆陵，北

至于無棣。爾貢包茅不入，王祭不共，無以彌縫，寡人是幅。今齊侯使師興師，寡君將興師，以

完如師。君之責也，君不聽，寡人無以畜。齊侯之師與屈完乘而觀之。齊侯曰：寡君不榖，是為

之事，何德之及。齊侯曰：吾是以師，及同好，何為對曰：善。齊侯以告齊師曰：齊侯之師，誰敢不

服君若力。楚國方城以為城，漢水以為池，雖眾無所用之屈完。及諸侯盟。陳蔡之置，謂鄭伯之師

曰：此眾戰。誰能善之，以此攻城，何城不克。對曰：吾若德，諸侯誰敢不服君若力。詩

訇。陳討不忠也，許穆公卒，子師葬之以侯禮。凡諸侯薨，于饗會加等。死王事，加等，於是有以衰斂

長，其絹日音，言之於卿者之義。言一翕十年，尚有臭不可聞。立之生。齊之始生，卓子及將立。奕齊既

與中大夫謀，齊國公曰：君夢齊姜，必適祭之。犬子有生，所言之齊，政於曲沃歸。
IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, in an incursion into Ts'sae. [The people of] Ts'sae dispersed, when the [allies] proceeded to invade Ts'oo, and halted at Hing.

2 In summer, Sin-chin, baron of Heu, died.

3 K'eh Hwan of Ts'oo came to make a covenant in [the camp of] the armies. The covenant was made at Shaouling.

4 The army of Ts'e made Yuen Ts'aou-t'oo of Ch'in prisoner.

5 In autumn, [the duke], with an officer of Keang and an officer of Hwang, invaded Ch'in.

6 In the eighth month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'oo.

7 There was the burial of duke Muh of Heu.

8 In winter, in the twelfth month, Kung-sun Tsze led a force, and joined an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, an officer of Heu, and an officer of Ts'aou, in an incursion into Ch'in.

Per. 1. The Chuen says:—'In this year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e, with the force of many of the princes, made an incursion into Ts'sae, and, when the marquis and people dispersed and fled, proceeded to invade Ts'oo. The viscount of Ts'oo sent a messenger to the allied army to say to the marquis, 'Your lordship's place is by the northern sea, and mine is by the southern; so remote are our boundaries that our cattle and horses, in the heat of their excitement, cannot affect one another. Without my having any idea of it, your lordship has come to my country. What is the reason of your delay?' Kuan Chung replied, 'Duke Kang of Shao delivered the charge to Ts'oo-kung, the first lord of our Ts'e, saying, 'Do you undertake to punish the guilty among the princes of all the five degrees, and the chiefs of all the nine provinces, in order to support and help the House of Chow?' So there was given to our founder rule over the land, from the sea on the east to the Ho on the west, and from Muh-ling on the south to Woo-to on the north. Your tribute of covered cases of the three-ribbed rush [Shoo III.1. Pt.1.43] is not rendered. That, so that the king's sacrifices are not supplied with it, and there is nothing with which to strain the spirits—of this we have to ask you an account. King Ch'aou moreover never came back from the expedition which he undertook to the south (king Ch'aou had been drowned in the Han, in B.C. 1016). How the thing happened, was never clearly known. Kuan Chung seems to intuate that there had been some treachery on the part of Ts'oo. But it was late now to be inquiring into an event more than three centuries back; and into this also we have to inquire.' The messenger replied, 'That the tribune has not been forwarded is the fault of our lord;—how should he presume not to pay it? As to king Ch'aou's not returning from the south, you should inquire about it along the banks of the river.' After this the army of the allies advanced, and halted at Hing.'
The marquis of T'oe said that he had meant to recall the lady, and that T'oe had no right to marry her away to another. "You are in error," On VI. iii. 1, Tso-she defines the term as expressing "the flight of the people from their lord." They disappear like water (流移若積水之潰). T'oe certainly does not appear with advantage in the controversy with the messenger of Tsoo. For three years preparations had been making for the expedition. The marquis and Kwan Chung ought to have declared openly and boldly the grounds on which they were conducting all the States of the north to attack T'oe. Instead of urging merely trivial matters. There is something to be admired, however, in the approval which a hundred critics give to the way in which matters were conducted, so as to obtain the submission of T'oe without the effusion of blood; but they overlook the fact that it was obtained by a trivial submission which was obtained.

Par. 2. Tso-she says, on p. 7, that the hero "died in the army," which is probably correct, though Loo Ch'ang and other critics say he had returned from the army ill, and died in Heh. Kung-Mu says that this Sin-chin was the same as Hui Shih of II. xvi. 6, and that he had ruled his State for 42 years.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—In summer, the viceroy of T'oe sent K'ueh Hwan to the army of the allies, which retired, and halted at Shou-ling. The marquis of T'oe sent the armies of all the princes drawn up in array, and took K'ueh Hwan with him in the same carriage to survey them. He then said, "Is it on my unworthy account that these are here? No, but in confirmation of the friendship of the princes with my predecessors. What do you think of T'oe's being on the same terms of friendship with me?" K'ueh Hwan replied, "If from your lordship's favour the allies of our land and grain may receive blessing, and you will continue to receive our prince, this is his wish." The marquis then said, "Fighting with these multitudes, who can withstand me? What city could withstand our attack?" K'ueh Hwan replied, "If from your lordship's favour the allies of our land and grain may receive blessing, and you will continue to receive our prince, this is his wish." The marquis then said, "Fighting with these multitudes, who can withstand me? What city could withstand our attack?"

Shou-ling was in T'oe, —43 east from the city of Yen-shing, Hau Chow, Ho-man. From the text it might be concluded that two covenants were formed; but it was not so. K'ueh Hwan came to the camp of the allies, and intimated the wish of the viceroy of T'oe to make a covenant with them, if they would retire a little—which was done. It will appear clear that there was here a lame and impotent conclusion to T'oe's expedition against T'oe.

Par. 4. The reason of this seizure is given in the Chuen:—"Yuen (Kung and Kuh have without the 事) T'oe-foo, a great official of Ch'in, said to Shin Hwo, a great official of Ch'ing, "If the armies march through Ch'in and Ch'ing, our States will be very much distressed. If they go by the eastern regions, and show their grand array to the wild tribes there, returning along the sea-coast, it will be better." Shin Hwo approved of the proposal, which T'oe-foo then laid before the marquis of T'oe, who agreed with it. After this, Shin Hwo had an interview with the marquis, and said, "The army has been in the field a long time. If it march through the eastern regions, and meet with enemies, I fear the soldiers will not be fit for use. If it march through Ch'in and Ch'ing, which can supply them with provisions and sandales, it will be a better arrangement." The marquis was pleased, and gave Shin the town of Hoo-jeou, while he seized at the same time Yuen T'oe-foo.

Par. 5. Tso-she says this was done "to punish Ch'in for its unfaithfulness." It would appear, then, that the marquis of Ch'in had been privy to the artful counsel of Yuen T'oe-foo; or perhaps, as Wang Tse-ting [王植] Ming dyn., of the 16th century] supposed, he had otherwise indicated his intention to join the side of T'oe. This is more likely. The marquis of T'oe had deserted the punishment of Ch'in on Loo, Kenson, and Hwang.

Par. 6. Kung-Mu here lays down a rule, that if the duke had been absent on two engagements, then the entry of his return should be associated with the latter; but if the second were smaller than the other, then with the first. But such a rule is unnecessary. The attack of Ch'in was only an incident growing out of the invasion of T'oe.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Duke Muh ( Duke Muh , of Heu died in the army, and was buried with the ceremonies due to a marquis. As a rule, when a prince died on a visit to the king, or at a meeting with the other princes, his rank was advanced one degree. If he died while engaged in the king's business, it was advanced two degrees. On this occasion, Muh might have been laid in his coffin with a duke's robe.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"Shu-shun Tae-pho (This was the Kung-shun Tze (Kung, here and afterwards, gives the name as 聰). He was grandson of duke Hwan, and chief of the Shu-shun clan. Tae is the hon. title, and Pil his designation as the eldest of his family.) led a force, and joined the forces of the other princes in an incursion into Ch'in, which sorely sought peace, and Yuen T'oe-foo was restored to it.

[The Chuen here brings up the affairs of Tain.]—Before this, duke Hien of Tain had wished to make Le Ke his wife. The tortoise-shell indicated that the thing would be unlucky, but the milfoil pronounced it lucky. The duke said, "I will follow the milfoil." The diviner by the tortoise-shell said, "The milfoil is reckoned inferior in its indications to the tortoise-shell. You had better follow the latter. And moreover, the oracle was:

"The change made by inordinate devotion Steals away the good qualities of the duke. There is a fragrant herb, and a crimson one: And ten years hence the noisemess will continue."
惠與敬，何以事君？詩云：「懷德惟寧，宗子惟城，君其修德而固宗子，何城如之三年將，尊師焉，子用慎退而賦曰，狐裘尨茸，一國三公，吾誰適從，及難，公使夫人，被覆蒲褥，耳曰，君父之命不校，乃徇曰，校者吾聽也，踐高而走，

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In the [duke's] fifth year in spring, the marquis of Ts'in put to death his heir-son Shin-sang.

2 Duke Chwang's eldest daughter came from Ke, and presented her son at our court.

3 In summer, Kung-sun Taze went to Mow.

4 The duke, and the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Hsu, and the earl of Ts'aou, had a meeting with the king's heir-son in Show-cha.

5 In autumn, in the eighth month, the [above] princes made a covenant in Show-cha.

6 The earl of Ch'ing stole away home, and did not join in the covenant.

7 An officer of Ts'oo extinguished Heen. The viscount of Heen fled to Hwang.

8 In the ninth month, on Mow-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

9 In winter, the people of Ts'in seized the duke of Yu.

[The Chuen says:—'On the day Sin-hao, of the king's first month in this year, being the 1st day of the month, there was the winter solstice. The duke, having given out the 1st day of the moon, ascended his observatory to survey the heavens, and caused the record of the fact to be made;—in accordance with rule. At the equinoxes, the solstices, and the commencement of each season, there was required a record of the appearances of the clouds, and their indications, in order to make what preparations should be necessary.' But the winter solstice this year fell on Réash-yin (甲寅), three days later than Sin-hao. Chinese astronomers have themselves called attention to this—see K'ang Yung's 梁梅卷四, p. 4.]

Par. i. According to the Chuen, at the end of last year, Shin-sang committed suicide, driven to do so by his father, in the winter of that year. Too explains the entry here, by saying 'it follows the announcement from Ts'in.' Ts'in in fact followed the calendar of Hsia. Too-shé's narrative is according to that calendar, and the entry here is also correct, according to the calendar of Chow. It seems desirable to translate 太子 differently from

太子, and I know not how to do so but by using the term 'heir-son.'

The Chuen has here:—'Before this, the marquis of Ts'in had employed the Wei to call Poo and K'ung and the three of us, Ch'ung-urb and E-wo, to help him. Wei did not look carefully after the work, and pleased faggots between the back and facing of the walls. E-wo represented the matter to the marquis, who caused Wei to be reprimanded. That officer, having bowed his head to the ground, replied, 'I have heard the sayings that when there is grief in a family where death has not occurred, real sorrow is sure to come, and that when you fortify a city when there is no threatening of war, your enemies are sure to hold it. In waiting a place to be held by robbers and enemies, what occasion was there for me to be careful? If an officer with a charge neglect the command given to him, he fails in respect; if he makes strong a place to be held by enemies, he fails in fidelity. Failing in respect and fidelity, how can he serve his lord? As the ode (She, III, ii. X. 6) says, The cherishing of virtue insures tranquility; The circle of relatives serves as a wall.'

Let our ruler cultivate his virtue and make sure all the circle of his House; there is no
fortification equal to this. In three years we shall have war; why should I be careful?"

When he withdrew, he sang to himself,

"Shaggy is the fox fur;
Three dukes in one State—
Which shall I follow?"

When the trouble came, the duke sent the command to P'o. Ch'ung-ch'yi said,

"The command of my ruler and father is not to be opposed; and he issued an order to his followers, saying, "He who opposes it is my enemy. Hence then was getting over the wall to run, where we cut off his sleeve. He had made his escape, however, and fled to the T'eh."

Par. 2. We have the marriage of this daughter of Loo in the 25th year of duke Chwang, her father. It is disputed whether she was a full or only a half sister of duke Hei—but it is most likely that she was his full sister. Ying-tah puts a stop at 来, and makes 高子子

= its son. Ph Ke of Ke came to Loo [to visit her mother]; her son appeared at the court. He supposed that she came to Loo for any purpose but to pay a dutiful visit to her mother would be contrary to all Chinese rules of propriety; but as the text stands, I cannot but conclude that the presentation of her son at his uncle's court was the reason for her visit.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"Kung-sun Tse went to Mow—to marry a lady of Mow;' on which Tso remarks, "Shun-sun Tse was marrying a lady of Mow. As a minister could not leave the State without his ruler's orders, he therefore went to marry the duke's command to go to Mow with friendly inquiries, and took the opportunity to meet his bride, and bring her to Loo.

Mow.—See on II. xv. 8.

Par. 4. Shou-che (Kung has 首戴) was in Wei,—in the south-east of the present Sui Chow (雎州), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-man. Tso says that the meeting at this place with the king's eldest son Ch'ing was to consult about measures to keep Chow tranquil. The king had it in contemplation to degrade his eldest son, and give the right of succession to a younger son, of another mother; and to prevent the confusion to which such a proceeding would give rise, the marquis of T'ae assembled the States, that they might thus publicly acknowledge Ch'ing as the heir to the kingdom;—much to the dissatisfaction of the king, as we shall see.

[The Chuen introduces here.—Yuen Sen-chung (the T'ei sou-tou of IV. 4) of Ch'in, presenting how Shun How of Ch'ing had been troublesome to him at Shao-ling, advised him to call the town, which Tse had sent upon him, saying, "To call it well will give you a great name, which your descendents will not forget; and I will aid you by asking leave for you to do it."

Accordingly, he asked permission for the undertaking, in behalf of Shun, from the princes, and the town was fortified beautifully. Yuen then slandered Shun to the earl of Ch'ing, saying that he had fortified the city he had received so admirably with the instruments of rebuilding; and from this time, Shun How was looked upon as an offender.]
Hwan and Chwang been guilty of? and yet Tain
destroyed them entirely, feeling that they might
press on it [See the Chuen after III. xxv. 5].
Its near relatives, whom it might have been
expected to favour, it yet put to death, because
their greatest pressed upon it—what may not
Tain do to you, when there is your State to
gain?" The duke said, "My sacrificial offerings
have been abundant and pure; the Spirits will
not forsake, but will sustain me." His minister
replied, "I have heard that the Spirits do not
accept the persons of men, but that it is virtue
to which they cleave. Hence in the Books of Chow
we read, 'Great Heaven has no affections;
— it helps only the virtuous [Shoo, V. xvii. 4];
and, 'It is not the millet which has the pleasing
fragrance; it is bright virtue [Shoo, V. xxii. 8];
and again, 'People do not slight offerings, but it is
virtue which is the thing accepted [Shoo, V.xviii.].
Thus if a ruler have not virtue, the people will not
be attached to him, and the Spirits will not accept
his offerings. What the Spirits will adhere to is
a man's virtue. If Tain take Yu, and then
cultivate bright virtue, and therewith present
fragrant offerings, will the Spirits vomit them
out?" The duke did not listen to him, but
granted the request of the messenger of Tain.
"Kung Che-ke went away from Yu, with all
the circle of his family, saying, 'Yu will not
see the winter sacrifice.' Its doom is in this
expedition. Tain will not make a second attempt."
In the 8th month, on Kiah-woo, the marquis
of Tain laid siege to Shang-yang [the chief city
of Kwoh], and asked the diviner Yen whether he
should succeed in the enterprise. Yen replied
that he should, and he then asked when. Yen
said, "The children have a song which says,
"Towards day break of Ping,
Wet of the Dragon lies hid in the
junction of the sun and moon.
With combined energy and grand display,
Are advanced the flags to capture Kwoh.
Grandly appears the Shau star,
And the T'uen-tui is dim.
When Ho culminates, the enterprise will be
completed,
And the duke of Kwoh will flee."
"According to this, you will succeed at the
meeting of the 9th and 10th months. In
the morning of Ping-taze, the sun will be in
Wet, and the moon in T'aih; the Shau-bo will be
exactly in the south;—this is sure to be the
time."
"In winter, in the 12th month, on Ping-taze, the
1st day of the month, Tain extinguished Kwoh,
and Chow, the duke, fled to the capital. The
army, on its return, took up its quarters in Yu,
surprised the city, and extinguished the State,
seizing the duke, and his great officer Tsing-pih,
whom the marquis employed to escort his
daughter, Muh Ke, to Tain. The marquis continued
the sacrifices of Yu in Tain, and presented to the king
the tribute due from it. The brief language of
the text is commemorative of Yu, and expresses,
besides, the case with which Tain annihilated it."

Sixth year.
VI. 1 It was the [duke's] sixth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'ai, in invading Ch'ing, when they besieged Sin-shing.

3 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'e besieged Heu, and the princes went from Ch'ing to relieve it.

4 In winter, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

[The Chunqiu here continues the affairs of Ts'in:--"The marquis of Ts'in sent Ko: Hwa to attack K'ouh. E-woo was unable to maintain it, so he made a covenant and went away. He thought himself of fleeing to the Ts'uih, but Ko: Hwa said, 'If so, following after your brother [Ch'unqiu-uch], and fleeing to the same place, it will appear as if you had been criminals together. You had better go to Leang; it is near to Ts'ai, and is kindly regarded by it.' E-woo went accordingly to Leang.

"Par. 2. The Chunqiu says:--"In summer, the princes invaded Ch'ing, because the earl had stolen away from the covenant at Show-ch'ue. They laid siege to Sin-melh which Ch'ing had fortified, though it was not the season for such an undertaking." The Chunqiu calls the place Sin-melh, or 'New Melh,' and the text calls it Sin-shing, or 'the New city,' referring to its having been recently walled. It was 30 li to the southeast of the present city of Melh, dep. K'ou-fang.

Par. 3. "Besieged Heu," i.e., laid siege to the principal city of Heu. So we are to understand other passages, where, apparently, the siege of a State is spoken of. The Chunqiu says:--"The viscount of Ts'o besieged Heu, in order to relieve Ch'ing. The princes relieved Heu, and he retired." The Chunqiu implies, as in the translation, that the princes marched their troops from Ch'ing to Heu.

[The Chunqiu adds here a narrative which shows what little use the expedition against Ts'e had been. The States in the south continued to feel that it was better for them to keep in alliance with the aggressive Power. --In winter, the marquis of Ts'e went with the Duke of Heu, and had an interview with the viscount of Ts'o in Woo-shing. The baron of Heu appeared with his hands tied behind his back, and holding a perli in his mouth. His great officers were headbands and other clothes of the deepest mourning, and the inferior officers pushed a coffin along on a carriage. The viscount asked Fung Pil what he should do, who replied, "When King Woo had vanquished Yin, Ko: viscount of Wei, appeared before him in this fashion. King Woo with his own hands loosed his bands, received his seal, ordered away the emblems of doom, burned his coffin, treated him courteously, and robbed him, sending him back to his place." The viscount of Ts'o followed this example.]

Seventh year.
In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, an officer of Ts'e invaded Ch'ing.

In summer, the viscount of Little Choo paid a court visit to Loo.

Ch'ing put to death its great officer, Shin How.

In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, Kwan; heir-son of Ch'in, and Hwa, heir-son of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant in Ning-moo.
5 Pan, earl of Ts'ouou, died.
6 Duke [Hwan's] son, Yew, went to Ts'e.
7 In winter, there was the burial of duke Ch'aou of Ts'ouou.

Par. 1. Ch'ing was in an evil case between Ts'ou and Ts'e, and experienced the general fate of trimmers. The Chuen says:—On this occasion, K'ung Shuh said to the earl of Ch'ing, "The proverb says, 'When a man is incapable of firm resolve, why should he feel it a pain to be humble?' You are not able to be strong, and you are not able to be weak;—it is the way to ruin yourself; the State is in peril. Let me entreat you to Ts'e, in order to save the State." The earl said, 'I know how peace with Ts'e can be brought about. Have patience with me for a little.' The officer replied, 'While we are asleep in the morning that we shall see the evening, how can we wait for your determination?'"

Par. 2. Siou or Little Chou is the same as E (亙) of III. v. 2; xu. 2. Its chief E-lae, it is said, had been very assiduous in serving the marquis of Ts'e, who got the king to confer on him a patent of nobility, and raise him to the rank of viscount. He is here in consequence of his elevation, paying a court visit to Lo. The name adopted for the new State was Little Chou. The viscounts of Chou and the lords of E were descended from the same ancestor. See on IV. 4, and the narrative after V. 4. The Chuen says here:—Ch'ing put to death Shin How to please Ts'e, and because of the ill report of him given by Yuen Tsao-yu. Shin How was a native of Shin, a son of the marquis of Shin by a daughter of Ts'ou, and had been a favourite with king Wan of Ts'ou. When king Wan was about to die, he gave How a pebb, and sent him away, saying, 'It is only I that know you. You are all bent on gain, insatiable. I have given you to, and allowed you to beg from me, without dwelling on your faults, but my successor will require much from you, and you are sure not to escape the consequences of your conduct. You must quickly leave Ts'ou; and do not go to a small State, for it will not be able to bear you.' When king Wan was buried, Shin How fled to Ch'ing, where also be became a favourite with duke Le. When Ts'ai-wan [Ts'ai Two-wo-oo-oo, chief minister of Ts'ou] heard of his death, he said, 'The ancient who will said, 'No one knows a minister like his ruler.' How's errors could not be changed.'

Par. 4. T'ing-moo (Kuh-liang han 聚母) was in Loo, 20 li east of the pres. dis. city of Yuen-chow, dep. Yen-chow. This was a meeting in robes (衣裳之會), i.e., the princes did not have any military following. The K'ung-ho editors say that the lords of Ch'in and Ch'ing sent their heir-sons. Both of these States had lately been attacked by Ts'e. Ch'in would fear have declined the covenant, but did not venture to do so. Ch'ing would fear have been present at it, but was not permitted to be so. They therefore did not presente themselves, but sent their sons. The Chuen says:—This meeting at T'ing-moo was to consult about Ch'ing. Kwan Chung said to the marquis of Ts'e, "I have heard the sayings, 'Call the wavering with courtesy; cherish the remote with kindness; when kindness and courtesy are shown invariably, there are none but will be won.'" The marquis accordingly manifested courtesy to the princes, and their officers received him in the list of the tribute their territories had to pay to the king. The earl of Ch'ing having sent his eldest son Hwa to receive the commands of the meeting, the young prince said to the marquis, "It was the three clans of Seh, Yung, and Tse-jin, who opposed your lordship's orders. If you will remove them as the basis of a pacification, I will become, at the head of Ch'ing, as one of your own subjects, and your lordship will be a gainer in every way."

The marquis was about to agree to his proposal; but Kwan Chung said, "You have bound all the princes to you by your propriety and truth; and will it not be improper to end with an opposite policy? Here we should have propriety in the form of no treachery between son and father, and truth in that of the son's observing his father's commands according to the exigency of the times. There cannot be greater crimality than that of him who acts contrary to these two things." "We princes," replied the duke, "have tried to punish Ch'ing, but without success. And now when such an opportunity is presented to me, may I not take advantage of it?" "Let your lordship," said Kwan, "deal gently with the case of Ch'ing in kindness, and add to this an instructive exposition of it, and then, when you again lead the princes to punish the State, it will feel that utter overthrow is imminent, and will be consumed with terror. If on the contrary you deal with it, adopting the counsel of this criminal, Ch'ing will have a case to allege, and will not be afraid. Consider too that you have assembled the princes to do honour to virtue, and if at the meeting you give place to this villain, and follow his counsel, what will there be to show to your descendants? And further, the virtue, the punishments, the rules of propriety, and the righteousnes, displayed at the meetings of the princes, are recorded in every State. When a record is made of the place given to such a criminal, there will be an end of your lordship's covenants. If you do the thing and do not record it, that will show that your virtue is not complete. Let not your lordship proceed on his request. Ch'ing is sure to accept the covenant. And for this Hwa, the earl of Ch'ing's eldest son, to seek the assistance of a great State to weaken his own,—he will not escape without suffering for it. The government of Ch'ing, moreover, is in the hands of Shuh-chen, Too Shuh, and Sun Shuh, those three good men;—you would find no opportunity now to act against it."

*On this the marquis of Ts'e declined the proflers of the prince, who in consequence of this
affair was regarded as a criminal in Ch'ing. The earl begged from T'e'e the favour of a covenant.

Par. 5. For 郑brate has a 一般.

[After p. 7, the Chun says—In the intercalary month [which must thus have been a double twelfth], king Hwuy died. King Siang, in consequence of the troubles that were occasioned by T'ae-shuh Ts'e, and fearing his accession might not be secured, did not make his father's death public, and sent an announcement of his difficulties to T'ae..]

**Eighth year.**

**八**

- 会王人，齊侯，宋公，而後發喪。
- 郑伯乞盟。
- 會王、正月、公也，鄭伯乞盟，請服也。襄王定位，左傳曰，八年，春，盟于洮，謀王室也。

**冬**

- 用致夫人。

**秋七月，以大廟，於大廟。**

- 夏狄伐晉。

- 秋，禣而致，哀姜薨。非禮也，凡夫子不薨，於廟，不在于廟，不在于廟。秋，春秋之役也，復期月。而已無德，眾狄伐之為之必大也，克里曰卿，卿之秋，以弔之。

- 郑伯乞盟，欲服也。襄王定位，左傳曰，八年，春，盟于洮，謀王室也。

**冬十有二月，丁未。**

- 不及也，且又不順遂走而退。

**VIII. 1** In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke had a meeting with an officer of the king, the marquis of Tse'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the baron of Hsiao, the earl of Ta'ou, and Kwan, heir-son of Ch'in, when they made a covenant in Ta'ou.

2 The earl of Ch'ing begged [to be admitted to] the covenant.

3 In summer, the Teih invaded Tain.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke offered the great sacrifice in the grand temple, and [at
the same time] placed the tablet of [duke Chwang's]
wife in his shrine.

5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-we, the king

Par. 1. 3. The Ta-on here is different from that
in III, xxiv. 1. This was in Te-on. — 60 li
south-west from the pres. city of Fuk Chow (福州), dep. Ta-on-chow. The Chuen says:
- The object of the covenant was to concert
measures for the royal House. The Earl of Ch'ing begged leave to take part in it, asking that
Ts'ou would accept his submission. The succession
of king Seang was settled, and he proceeded to
publish his father's death.

The king's death, according to the Chuen,
took place in the second year, whereas the
6th par. here states that it occurred in the 12th
month of this year. Woo Ch'ing, Wang Ts'ouon,
and many other critics, think that Ta-o must be in error as to the date of the death.
It is, indeed, not easy to understand how so
important an event could have been concealed for
twelve months. The queen and her son Shuh Ta
were anxious to prevent the succession of Ch'ing, could not have remained ignorant of
it all that time.

The Earl of Ch'ing now felt that there was
no course for him but to humble himself. He
had withdrawn from the meeting in the 5th
year, which was to recognize the right of the
king's son Ch'ing to the throne; and now he is
obliged to beg to be allowed to take part in
the meeting which recognized him.

Par. 3. The Chuen says: — Le Khi had
commanded a force against the Teih, with
Ling Yaw as his charioteer, and Kwah Yih as the
commander on the left. He defeated them at Ta'se
Liang, when Ling said to him, "The Teih are not
ashamed to fly. If you follow them, you will
obtain a great conquest." Le Khi replied, "It is
dangerous to frighten them only. Don't let us accelerate
a rising of all their tribes." Kwah Yih said:
"Let a year be completed, and the Teih will be
here again. We are only showing them our
weakness." Sure enough, this summer, the Teih
invaded Teih, to avenge their defeat at Ta'se
Liang. The exact month of the year had come
round again.

Par. 4. There are two things recorded in this
par.; first, the offering of the sacrifice and
next, the taking occasion at it (indicated by the
Use-fo) to introduce a lady, the wife of some
duke, into the grand temple, or the temple of the
duke of Chow, ancestor of the House of Loo.

1st. This sacrifice here is to be distinguished
from the "Spirit-offerings," or "fortune off," mentioned
in IV, ii. 2. It is the great sacrifice (大祭,
offered once in 3 years, according to Tso Yu,
or once in 5 years, according to others. The
individual sacrificed to in it was the remotest
ancestor to whom the kings, or the princes of States
ruled by officials from the royal House, traced
their lineage. The kings would thus sacrifice to
the ancestors of the emperor Kih (帝), and the
marquises of Loo to king Wan. Whether Loo did
arrogate the rights to offer the sacrifices to the
emperor Kih, pleading a special grant to do so
given to the duke of Chow by king Ching, is a
question that need not be considered here. This
'sacrifice' is that here spoken of, and we
have the record of it this year, and not on other
years of its occurrence, because of the extraordinary
rate that was made of it, as related in the
latter part of the par.

3d. Who was the lady intended here by 夫人?
Ts'ou says she was Gao K'ang, duke
Ch'ang's wife. — He offered the sacrifice, and
introduced the tabernacle of Gao K'ang — which
was contrary to rule. In the case of the death of
a king's wife, if she died not in her proper
chamber; or the passage of her coffin were not
announced in the ancestral temple; or her
decision were not communicated to the princess
who had corresponded with her husband; or her
tablet had not been temporarily placed by that
of her husband's father's wife; then her tablet
could not be placed in her husband's shrine.

致 is here employed in the sense given by Tso Yu:
"致者致新死之主於廟而列之昭穆 All the conditions re-
quired for this ceremony had been observed in
the case of Gao K'ang, excepting the first. She
had not died in her chamber, but through her
own wickedness had been put to death in Teih;
and though, duke He had brought her body
back to Loo, and buried it with all the usual
forms, yet one important element was wanting,
sufficient, in Ts'ou's opinion, to vitiate this
final honour attempted to be paid to her.

Kung-yang took a different view. Acc. to him,
the wife here is duke He's own wife. He had
arranged to marry a daughter of Ts'ou; but a
lady of Teih, intended for the barn, arriving
before her, duke He was obliged by the power
of Teih to make her his wife, by the ceremony
of introducing her on this occasion into the
temple. But this appears to be merely a story
concocted by Kung to explain the text in some
likely way.

Kuh-liang seems to think that the lady was
Ch'ing Yung, duke He's mother; and if this
be the case, then it is sure that the present
Spirit-tablets this view is absurd, because she
did not die till the 4th year of
duke Wan. Liu Chiang, Chung Hish, however,
and a host of other critics, adopt a modification
of this view, that duke He somehow took this
occasion to install his own mother as duke Chwang's
proper wife. But they fail to show that such a
proceeding was in any way competent to a son.

— On the whole Tso's view most commends
itself to our acceptance.

Par. 5. See what has been said on the date
of the king's death under par. 1. Tso says
here, that 'an officer of the king came to announce
that his death, and that the announcement
was made so late, because of the difficulties
connected with the succession.'
[The Chuen adds here:—"The duke of Sung being ill, his eldest son by his recognized wife, Tsze-foo, earnestly entreated him, saying, "My brother, Muh-i, is older than I, and is entirely virtuous. Do make him your successor." The duke gave charge to Tsze-yu (the above Muh-i) that so it should be, but he refused, saying,

"What greater virtues could there be than to do as the dignity of the State?—I am not equal to him. And moreover, the thing itself would not be in accordance with what is right." With this he ran out of the duke's presence.

Ninth year.

秋.

九月，乙酉，伯姬卒。
IX. 1 In the duke's ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ting-ch'ow, Yu-yueh, duke of Sung, died.
2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the [king's] chief minister, the duke of Chow, and with the marquis of Ts'e, the son [of the late duke] of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Tsou, in K'wei-k'ew.
3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Yih-yew, the duke's eldest daughter died.
4 In the ninth month, on Mow-shin, the princes made a covenant in K'wei-k'ew.
5 On Keh-tase, Kwei-choo, marquis of Tsin, died.
6 In winter, Le K'hi put to death He-ts'e, the son of his [deceased] ruler.
Parr. 1.2. Yu-yuh,—see the events of his accession in the Chuen on III. xii. 3.4. He was succeeded by his son Tezoofoo (茲父), known as duke Szang (襄公). In the period of his early mourning, before his father was buried, Tezoofoo came in mourning garb to this meeting at Kweili-kwew, and therefore he is mentioned in p. 2 as 宋子, "son, or new duke, of Sung." Two-sha lays down the canon, that the successor to the throne, while his predecessor was unburied, was called Sësou-tung (小童) or "boy," and the successor to a State, in like circumstances, Tezoo (子), or "the son." Kung and Kuh for 正月, road 二月, and 蠍 for 御 Kweili-kwew was in Sung, —30 le cast from the pres. dia. city of Kiong-shing (考城), dep. Kwe-fung. The Chuen says:—The meeting at Kweili-kwew was to repeat the former covenant [that in VIII. 1], and to cultivate the good relations which all princes had with all others;—which was proper. The king sent his prime minister (the 家宰 of the Shoo, XX. v. 1) Kung to present to the marquis of Tezoo some of his sacrificial flesh, with the message, "The son of Heaven has been sacrificing to Wan and Wu, and sends Kung to present a portion of the flesh to his uncle of a different surname." The marquis was about to descend the steps, and do obeisance, when Kung said, "There was another command. The son of Heaven charged me to say that, in consideration of his uncle's 70 years, he confers on him an additional degree of distinction,—that he shall not descend and do obeisance." "Heaven's majesty," replied the marquis, "is not far from me,—not a cubit, not 8 inches. Shall I, Sësou-pih, dare to cover this command of the son of Heaven, and not descend and do obeisance? If I did so, I should fear that majesty was falling low, and left a stigma on the son of Heaven. I dare not but descend and do obeisance." With this he descended the steps, did obeisance, ascended again, and received the flesh.

Parr. 4. The Chuen says:—In autumn, the marquis of Tezoo made the covenant with the princes in Kweili-kwew to this effect:—"All who have united in this covenant shall hereafter banish everything contrary to good relations among us." The prime minister Kung had previously left to return to the capital; and when on the way, he met the marquis of Tsien, and said to him, "You need not go on to the meeting. The marquis of Tezoo does not make virtue his first object, and is more anxious about what is remote than near. Thus in the north he invaded the Hill Jung; on the south, he invaded Tezoo; and in the west, he has assembled this meeting. As to what he may do hereafter eastward, I do not know, but he will not go to the west. Let us go to the west, if Tezoo goes to fall into disorder? Let your lordship see yourself to still all disorder in Tsien, and not be anxious about going on to this meeting." The Kung-ho editors say they agree with many critics of former dynasties in doubting the truth of this narrative.

Parr. 5.6. There is a difficulty here with the date, the day Kish-foo being really 4 days earlier than Mow-shin of the 4th par. I think, therefore, that Kish-shu (甲戍), Kungyang's reading, is here to be preferred, though the received text does not follow him, while it follows Kuh-liang in giving 诡諾 instead of Tezoo's 傌諾.

The Chuen says:—On the death of duke Hém [whose name was Kweili-choe] of Tsien, Le Kuh and P'e Chung wished to raise Chung-foo, who was afterwards duke Wan, to the marquisate, and therefore raised an insurrection with his partizans, and those of his brothers, Shin-shang and E-woo. Years before this, duke Hém had appointed Seuen Sëch to assist him in the training of He-të, and when he was ill, he called Sëch to him, and said, "I ventured to lay on you the charge of this child; how will you now do in reference to him?" Sëch bowed his head to the ground, and replied, "I will put forth all my strength and resources on his behalf, doing so with loyalty and sincere devotion. If I succeed, it will be owing to your lordship's influence; if I do not succeed, my death shall follow my endeavours." "What would you mean by loyalty and sincere devotion?" asked the duke. "Doing to the extent of my knowledge whatever will be advantageous to your House is loyalty. Performing the duties to you, the departed, and serving him, the living, so that mother of you would have any doubts about me, is sincere devotion." When Le Kuh was fully purposed to kill He-të, he first informed Seuen Sëch, saying, "The friends of Chung-nih and his brothers, all full of resentment, are about to rise; Tsien and Tsien will assist them:—what can you do in such a case?" "I will die with He-të," replied Sëch. "That will be of no use," urged the other. Seuen Sëch said, "I am tied by loyalty and duty to you, and I must not say another thing now. I am able and willing to make good my words, and do you think I will grudge my life to do so? Although it may be of no use, how can I do otherwise? And in all your help to him." Sëch did so, and directed the new marquis in the burial of duke Hém.

In the 10th month, Le Kuh slew Ch'oh in the court, and Seuen Sëch died with him. The superior of Loo, thus, in Seuen Sëch we have what is declared in the ode, [The Shu, IV. ill. II. 3].

A flaw in a white gem
May be ground away;
But not a flaw in speech
Nothing can be done."
It may be well to observe here that these murders in this Chuen were not done by K’li himself; though, as the instruments were employed by him, he is justly charged with them.

In p. 6 Kung-yang reads 脩 for 殺. Ho-te became marquis of Tsun on the death of his father, and was K’li’s 二 or ruler. Kung-yang says he is here styled 之子 or son merely, because the year of his father’s death was still running; but such a canon does not hold in many other instances. We might, indeed, read 子奚齊, after the analogy of p. 2; but the peculiar style here, 其君之子, must be due to the circumstances of the case: the youth of Ho-te, his want of a real title to the place; and his early death.

The Chuen adds three notices here:—

1st. "The marquis of Tsun, with the armies of the princes, invaded Tsun, and returned, after advancing as far as Kaou-shang. The expedition was to punish and put down the disorders of the State. The order about it did not reach Loo, and so no record of it was made."

2d. "K’eh Juy made E-woo offer heavy bribes to Tsin, to obtain its help in entering Tsun, saying to him, "The State is ready in the possession of others; you need grudge nothing. If you enter and can get the people, you will have no difficulty about the territory." E-woo followed his counsel. Shih Piang of Tsun led a force and joined the army of Tsin; and they placed E-woo as duke Hwey in duke Hien’s place.

3d. When duke Siao succeeded to Sung, from regard to the virtue of his brother Muh-a [see the Chuen at the end of last year], he made him general of the left, and administrator of the government. On this Sung was finely ruled, and the office of general of the left became hereditary in the Yu family. (Yu was the clan-name of Muh-a’s descendants.)"

This is spoken of him who loves not nor hates, who envies not nor is ambitious. But now E-woo’s words are full of envy and ambition; it will be hard for him to settle the State. The earl said, "Being anxious, he will have much to resent his conduct: how can he succeed in his ambition? But this will be our gain."

Tenth year.

Muh-a 十年, 春王正月, 公左傳日, 十年, 子叛王即秋, 蘇又不能於秋, 無信也, 北.

冬大雨雪。
In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.

2 The Teih extinguished Wān; and the viscount of Wān fled to Wei.

3 Le K'ih of Tsin murdered his ruler Ch'oh, and the great officer Seun Seih.

4 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e and the baron of Heu invaded the northern Jung.

5 Tsin put to death its great officer Le K'ih.

6 It was autumn, the seventh month.

7 In winter, there was a great fall of snow.

Par. 1. Tsoo Tse (漢書: Tang dyn., 8th century) says that the character 如 is al-
ways used by the duke and minis-
ters of Soo, to visit other courts or present
friendly inquiries. Duke He here goes to Ts'e to
appear at the court of the marquis as the leader of the States.

Par. 2. The viscount of Wān, or the viscount of Soo, was one of the descendents of the duke of Soo (called shih as being one of the three shih or highest ministers of the king), minister of Crime to king Woe. Out of the court, they were
viscounts of Soo, or of Wān, Wān being the
name of their principal city.—30 k. west of the
præ. dis. city of Wān, dep. Hwas'king (懷
慶), Ho-nan. In the 1st par. appended to L. xi, 3,
the King and Chou. Duke Hsen had been buried, and Chou or Chou-tieh appears here consequently as marquis or ruler.

Par. 4. These northern Jung were the same as the Hill Jung of III. xxx. 1. Why the baron of Hsen should alone have accompanied Tae in this expedition we cannot tell.

Par. 5. The Chuen says on this—"In sum-
mer, in the 4th month, Ke-foo, duke of Chow, and Tang, son of king He (2), joined Seih Ch'ung of Tae in securing the establishment of the marquis of Tain, who put to death Le K'i in order to clear himself of any suspicion with him in the murder which he had committed. When he was about to put him to death, he sent a message to him, saying, 'But for you, I should not have attained to my present position; but considering that you murdered two marquises and one great officer, is it not a difficult thing for you to rule?') K'i replied, 'If others had not been removed, how could you have found room to rise? But if you wish to make out a man's guilt, there is no difficulty in finding ground to do so. I have heard your command.' With this he cut his own throat, and died. At this time Pei Ch'ing was absent on a visit of friendly inquiries in Tae, and to entreat the earl to grant some delay in the payment of the bribes promised to him, so that he escaped for the present.'

Par. 6. [The Chuen adds the following story.—The marquis of Tain took up the body of his brother Kang (共太子), the eldest son, and had it re-interred. In the summer, Hoo Tuh went to the lower capital (i.e., K'tuh-yuh) in connection with this, when he met the former young prince, who made him get up and take his seat for him, as he had been accustomed to do, and then said to him, 'K社会组织 has violated all propriety. I have presented a request to God and obtained it. I am going to give Tain to Chou, which will maintain the sacrifices to me.' Tuh replied, 'I have heard that he has come as a spirit of the dead.' The earl said, 'How can he, who has lost the position, agree to such a request? But you have only escaped the calamity; who can expel your ruler?'"]

Eleventh year.

冬。楚伐黄。
XI. 1. In the [duke's] eleventh year, Tsin put to death its great officer, Pe Cheung-foo.
2. In summer, the duke and his wife, the lady Keang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh.
3. In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
4. In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Hwang.

Par. 1. See the last Chuen. Tso-shu says that in spring the marquis of Tsin sent an announcement to Peo of the disorder attempted to be raised by Pe Cheung. This is Tso's own attempt to reconcile the date of Pe Cheung's death, as given here, with the real date assigned to it in the Chuen referred to. But we have seen that both dates are correct——this, according to the calendar of Chou; that, according to the calendar of Hsia.

[The Chuen adds:—"The king by Heaven's grace sent duke Woo of Shao and Kwo, the historiographer of the interior, to confer the symbol of his rank on the marquis of Tsin. He received the nori with an air of indifference; and Kwo, on his return to the court, said to the king, "The marquis of Tsin is not one who will have any successor of his own children. Your majesty conferred on him the symbol of investiture, and he received the auspicious jade with an air of indifference. Taking the lead that in self-abandonment, is he likely to have any one to succeed him? The rules of propriety are the stem of a State; and reverence is the chariot that conveys them along. Where there is not reverence, these rules do not have their course; and where this is the case, the distinctions of superiors and inferiors are all obscured."

When this occurs, there can be no transmission of a State to after generations." See the 國語, L. (周語, 上), art. 12.]

Par. 2. Comp. H. viii. 1. It would appear from this that duke Ke had married a lady of Ts'e, a daughter probably of duke Hwan. But that she should accompany him, as here, to a meeting with her father even, was contrary to all Chinese ideas of propriety. Tso Yu says:—"A wife does not accompany or meet a visitor beyond the gate; when she sees her brothers, she does not cross the threshold of the harem. To go to this meeting with the duke was contrary to rule."

[The Chuen adds:—"In summer, the Jung of Yang-kuo, Tse-ku, and about the K and the Loh, united in attacking the capital, entered the royal city, and burned the eastern gate; king Hwang's son Ts'e having called them. Tsin and Tsin invaded the Jung in order to relieve the king. In autumn, the marquis of Tsin caused the Jung to make peace with the king."

Par. 3. See on II. v. 7.]

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"The people of Hwang did not send their tribute to Tsin, and a body of men, therefore, from Ts'oo attacked Hwang in the winter."

Twelfth year.
XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Kang-woo, the sun was eclipsed.

2 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Hwang.

3 It was autumn, the seventh month.

4 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-chow, Ch’oo-k’ew, marquis of Ch’in, died.

Par. 1. This eclipse took place in the after-.noon of March 29th, B.C. 847. Too observes that the historiographer had omitted to enter that Kang-woo was the 1st day of the moon.

[The Chuen adds here:—The Chuen adds here:—In the spring, the States walked the suburbs of Ts’oo-k’ew of Wei [see II.1]; fearing troubles from the life.] Par. 2. The Chuen says:—The people of Hwang, relying on the friendship of the States with Ts’oo, did not render the tribute which was due from them to Ts’oo, saying “From Yang (the capital of Ts’oo) to us is 900 li, what harm can Ts’oo do to us?” This summer, Ts’oo extinguished Hwang. Kuh-Hang says:—At the meeting in Kwan [II.4], Kwan Chung said to the marquis of Ts’oo: “Kiang and Hwang are far from Ts’oo and near to Ts’oo,—States which Ts’oo considers advantageous to it. Should Ts’oo attack them, and you not to be able to save them, you will cease to be looked up to by the States.” The marquis would not listen to him, but made a covenant with Kiang and Hwang. On the death of Kwan Chung, Ts’oo invaded Kiang, and extinguished Hwang; and Ts’oo, indeed, was not able to save them.” Whether Kwan Chung gave the advice here ascribed to him at Kwan we do not know; but Kuh is wrong in supposing he was not dead—he died in the 15th year of duke Hie.

Par. 3. [The Chuen gives here two narratives:—The king, because of the attack of the Jung, proceeded to punish his brother Tae;—who fled to Tae.’]

Par. 4. In winter, the marquis of Ts’oo sent Kwan E-woo to make peace between the Jung and the king; and Seih P’ang to make peace between the Jung and Ts’ao. The king wanted to feast Kwan Chung with the ceremonies due to a minister of the highest grade. But Kwan Chung declined them, saying, “I am but an officer of mean condition. These are Kwoh and Kao in Ts’oo, both holding their appointment from the son of Heaven. If they should come in spring or in autumn to receive your majesty’s orders, with what ceremonies should they be entertained? A simple servant of my prince, I venture to refuse the honour you propose.” The king said, “Messengers of my uncle, I approve your merit. You maintain your excellent virtues, which I never can forget. Go and discharge the duties of your office, and do not disobey my commands.” Kwan Chung finally accepted the ceremonies of a minister of the lower grade, and returned to Ts’oo.

The superior man will say, “Kwan well deserved that his sacrifices should be perpetuated from generation to generation. He was humbly courteous, and did not forget his superiors.” As the ode [Shu, III.1, ode V.5] says:—

“O our amiable, courteous prince, Was rewarded by the Spirit.”
The Ch'un Tse-w, with the Tso Chuen.

BOOK V

Thirteenth year.

XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the Teih made an incursion into Wei.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ch'in.

3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'ou, in Hs'en.

4 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

5 In winter, duke [Hwan's] son, Yëw, went to Ts'e.

Par. 1. It was in anticipation of trouble to Wei from the Teih that the States fortified the suburbs of Ts'oo-k'ew—so related in the Chien—this year, in the commencement of the year. Chiao P'ang-fei (趙朋飛, towards the end of the Sung dyn.) supposes that the object of the Teih was to make Wei deliver to them the viscount of Wan, who had fled there, as related in X. 2.

[The Chuen adds here:—This spring, the marquis of Ts'e sent Chung-sun Ts'ao to a mission of friendly inquiries to Chow, and to speak about the king's brother Tse, but when the former business was concluded, Ts'ao did not speak further to the king; and when giving an account of his mission, on his return, he said, "We cannot yet speak about Tse. The king's... "]
anger has not subsided. Perhaps it will do so in 10 years. But in less than ten years, the king will not recall him.”

Par. 3. Here was in Wei.—60 le south-east from the pres. K'ue Choo (開州), dep. Ta-ning, Chih-ku. The Chuen says:—The meeting at Hien was because the E of Kweih were distressing Ke, and also to consult about the roival House.

[The Chuen has here another brief narrative:—In antiquity, because of the difficulties created by the Jung, the States determined to guard Choo; and Chung-sun Te'son of Ta's conducted their troops to it.]

Par. 5. This was the 30th visit which Yew had now made in He's time to Ta's. We see what a sway he must have had in Lo, and what service the marquis of Ta's required for his protectorate.

[The Chuen adds here:—In winter Ta's was suffering a second time a season of scarcity, and sent to Ta's to be allowed to buy grain. The earl of Ta's asked Tse-nung [Kung-sun Che] whether he should give the grain, and that officer replied, “If you grant this great favour, and the marquis of Ta's make a due return for it, you will have nothing more to require. If you grant it, and he make no return, his people will be alienated from him. If you then proceed to punish him, not having the multitudes with him, he is sure to be defeated. “The earl put the same question to his minister Phie-le, who replied, “The calamities inflicted by Heaven flow abroad, and different States have them in their turn. To succour in such calamities, and compassionately one's neighbours, is the proper way; and he who pursues it will have blesing.”

Pac, the son of Phe Ching, was then in Ta's, and asked leave to lead an expedition to attack Ta's, but the earl said to him, “Its ruler is evil; but of what offences have his people been guilty?” On this Ta's contributed grain to Ta's, vessels following one another from Yung to Kung; and the affair was called “The service of the trains of boats.”]

See the 国語, IV. iii. (晉語三), art. 5. Wang Sal-ta-sh (王錫爵), Mingsh, A.D. 1834-1819, gives an opinion on the merits of the advice tempered in the above matter by Kung-sun Che and Phie-le. He respectively, which may well be called in question. 'Phie-le's words,' he says, 'were benevolent, kind, and entirely generous; but they were not equal to Kung-sun Che's, based on a calculation of consequences. A truly worthy minister he was!'

Fourteenth year.

The•夏•諸侯城縛陵。•

秋八月。辛卯，

防使鄫子來。

秋，郕侯將有大災，亡國，

冬，蔡侯肸卒。

冬，蔡侯肸卒。
XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, the States walled Yuen-ling.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke's youngest daughter and the viscount of Ts'ang met in Fang, when she caused the viscount to come and pay the duke a court-visit.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-maou, [part of the hill of] Sha-luh fell down.

4 The Teh made an incursion into Ch'ing.

5 In winter, Hih, marquis of Ts'ae, died.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"The States walled Yuen-ling, and removed Ke to it, as its capital. The various princes engaged in the work are not mentioned, through the omission of the historiographers." Yuen-ling was a town of Ke, —50 § south-east of the prov. dis. city of Chang-luh, dep. Ts'ing-chow. To this the lord of Ke wished to move his capital from Yung-kuei (雍邱) in the dis. of Ke, 札, dep. Kuefung, He-nan, where he was much distressed by the E of the Hwao; and the marquis of Ts'ue took the lead in the movement, and directed the different States to prepare the city for the contemplated removal. Compare the wailing of T'oo-kuei in II. 1.

Par. 2. This par. has wonderfully voxel, and continues to vex, the critics. Ts'o-shue gives this account of it:—"The duke's youngest daughter, married to the viscount of Ts'ang, came to Loo to visit her parents. The duke was angry and detested her, because the viscount of Ts'ang had not been to the court of Loo. In summer, she met the viscount in Fang, and made him pay a visit to the court. This account of the matter is probably the correct one. The difficulties in its way are the omission of the 郑 and the 9th par. of next year, which would seem to be a record of the lady's marriage to the viscount. But when the duke detested her, as the Chuen supposes, in Loo, he no doubt, considered the marriage to be annulled. This may account for the omission of the 郑, and in the subsequent entry, 他 will = 'went to her old house,' and not = 'went to her new home on being married.'

The principal views which have been taken of the par. appear in the note of the Kung-hse editors:—"The meeting of the duke's daughter with the viscount of Ts'ang, without the duke's forbidding it, and her asking the viscount to come to the court of Loo and his listening to her, were both contrary to propriety; and the thing is recorded in the Chun Ts'ueh to condemn it. The view of Ho Guang-wu, that the duke, from love to his daughter, allowed her to choose her own husband, is based on what is said by Kung and Kuh, and scholars generally have adopted it; but it is wrong. Duke He was a worthy ruler, and his wife, Shing Kueh, has the praise of being a virtuous lady;—would they have been willing to allow such a thing? Some allege that the style, where 郑 does not precede 郑, shows that the lady was not married; but they do not consider that the duke, in anger, at the viscount's not coming to court, annulled the marriage for the time; and when he afterwards sent his daughter back, as Ts'ang here does not proceed, neither do they proceed as if he did so in the later record. If, indeed, the viscount had come to court to ask the lady in marriage, there would have been nothing subsequently of his presenting the bridal gifts and coming to meet her; but there is nothing of this in the text. Fan Ning had reason when he doubted the view of Kung and Kuh, and regarded that of Ts'o-shue as having more of verisimilitude."

Kuh-liang has noted for Ts'e was a small State in prov. dis. of Yih (御), dep. Yen-chow. Its lords were See (氏), and claimed to be descended from Yu. 135 2. The hill of Sha-luh was in Ts'ueh, 45 § east of the prov. district city of Yuan-shing (元城), dep. Ts'ing-ming. The Chuen says that when the diviner Ten of Ts'ing heard of the event, he said, 'By the time a full year is completed, there will be great calamity, so as nearly to ruin our State.'

Par. 3. The repeated incursions and invasions of the Teh show that not only was the royal House very feeble, but that the power of Ts'e was also waning.

Par. 3. This was duke Mih (穆), a son of the Huen-wu, of whose captivity in Tsoo we have an account in III. x. 5. There he remained till his death in duke Chwang's 19th year, when Hih became marquis of Ts'ueh. 135 3. The Chuen relates here:—'In winter, there was a scarcity in Ts'ieh, which sent to Ts'ien to beg to be allowed to buy grain. They refused in Ts'ieh, but King Ching said, 'To make such a return for Ts'ieh's favour to us shows a want of relative feeling; to make our gain from the calamity of others shows a want of benevolence; to be greedy is inauspicious; to cherish anger against our neighbours is unrighteous. When we have lost these four virtues, how shall we preserve our State?' Kwoh Yih said, 'When the skin has been lost, where can you place the hair?' Ching replied, 'We are casting away faith, and making a vile return to our neighbour,—in the time of our calamity who will pity us? Calamity is sure to come where there has been no faith; and without helpers we are sure to perish. Thus it will be with us, acting in this way.' Kwoh Yih said, 'To gain the peace
would not lessen T'ien's resentment, and we should not be kind to our enemy." "Him," said Ch'ing, "who is ungrateful for favours, and makes a gain of the calamities of others, the people reprobate. Even his nearest friends will feel hostile to him; how much more his resentful opponents!" The marquis, however, would not listen to his counsel, and King Ch'ing retired, saying, "Would that the marquis might repent of this!"

**Fifteenth year.**

十有五年春，王正，公如齊。楚人伐徐。

三月，公會齊侯。宋公、陳侯、衛侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯盟於

牡丘，遂次於匡。

公孫敖帥師及諸侯之大夫救徐。

秋七月，齊師、曹師伐厲。

九月公至自會。季姬歸於郕。

冬，宋人伐曹。楚人敗徐於婁林。

十有一月壬戌，晉侯及秦伯戰於韓，獲晉侯。
三月，盟于雍丘，夏，盟于宋，秋，伐徐以救宋。夏，五月，日有食之，不书朔与月，官失之也。甲申，伐徐，徐败。秋，伐周，以救徐也。

左传曰：十五年春，楚人伐徐，徐告于夏，故也。丁巳，盟于宋。秋，伐徐。

宋人伐曹，讨旧怨也。三月，宋人败其师于襄城，此之也，楚败于/dataTables也。秋，楚伐宋，宋人败之，故曰：故楚败于雎也。冬，宋人伐曹，故曰：楚败于雎也。夏，五月，日有食之，不书朔与月，官失之也。甲申，伐徐，徐败。秋，伐周，以救徐也。
遂失秦伯，秦师获晋侯以归，晋大夫反首，舍从之，秦伯使辞焉，二三子何其怨也，寡人之从君而西也，亦晋侯以厚德也。既而丧归，用之中大夫其何有焉。且君人恐畏以重我，天地以要我，不图晋，重其意也，我食Plans皆哭，晋君无相也，震之离，离之震，为雷为火，为赢败，次眾车说其轓首，又无志也。女承顺，亦无讪也，西垂责言，不从史苏之言，吾不及此，韩简侍曰，盘动生成，也，物生而后有象，象而后有滋滋，而有数，先君之败德及。可数乎。史苏是占，勿从何。广言，曰，下民之寒。匪降自天，笃终齐，急爱，好，言。

十月，晋阴阴，众说秦伯，善于王城。秦伯曰，晋国和乎，对曰，不和，小人小小之君，而悼惧其亲，不常征镇以立。
In his fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.

In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'êng, the baron of Hêu, and the earl of Ts'aiou, when they made a covenant in Mow-kêw, and then went on till they halted at K'wang.

Kungsun Gaou led a force, and, with the great officers of the other princes, endeavoured to relieve Seu.

In summer, in the fifth month, the sun was eclipsed.

In autumn, in the seventh month, an army of Ts'e and an army of Ts'aiou invaded Le.

In the eighth month, there were locusts.

In the ninth month, the duke arrived from the meeting with the other princes.

The duke's third daughter went to her home in Ts'ang.

On Ke-maou, the last day of the month, the temple of E-ph was struck by lightning.

In winter, a body of men from Sung invaded Ts'aiou.

The men of Ts'êo defeated Seu at Low-lin.

In the eleventh month, on Jin-seuh, the marquis of Ts'in and the earl of Ts'in fought at Han, when the marquis of Ts'in was taken.

Par. 1. Chang Hîshâ says:—"In the duke's ancient year, the duke paid a court-visit to Ts'e, and here again in his 15th he does the same:—a court-visit in 5 years, serving Ts'e as the rule required him to serve the son of Heaven!"

Par. 2. Tso-chê says that the reason for this attack was that 'Seu had joined the States' of the north. See on III. 9.

Par. 3. Tse-kêw was probably in Ts'e,—70 le to the north-east of the dis. city of Leau-
shing (責城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. K'wang
was in Wei,—in dep. of Tsung-ching, Chih-le.
Tao-she says that the covenant at Mow-k'we
was to confirm that at Kwel-k'we [see IX. 23],
and for the relief of Sen. The princes would
then seem to have advanced southwards to
Kwel-k'we to have waited there, to allow
the troops of Loo, and of other States as well,
to arrive and effect a junction, before proceeding
to try consequences with the army of Tsung.
Kung-sun Gaon was the son of King-hao of
Mew. He had so much in the times of Chwang
and Min. He is also known as Mung Muh-pih
(孟穆伯). From p. 12 we see that the
endeavour to relieve Sen was unsuccessful.
After this the mark of Tsu was made no more
arrangements for the relief of any of the States.
The vigour of his presidency was evidently
declining.
Par. 5. Tao-she remarks on there being no
record of the day on which this eclipse took place,
and the absence also of the character 明; but
there was no eclipse in all this year visible in
Loo. There was indeed an eclipse of the sun on
January 23th, B. C. 844; but it could not have
been seen there.
Par. 6. Le was one of the subject States of
Tsu, see the pres. Suy Chow (蘇州). dep.
Ts'kuan (德安), Hoo-pih. The object of
attacking Le was to effect a diversion in favour
of Sen, and so help the relief of that State.
Par. 7. Kung has 城 for 領. See II. v. 3.
Kuh-liang tries to lay down a canon here, that
when the plague of locusts was very great, the
mouth of its occurrence is given; and when it
was light, only the season.
Par. 9. See on p. 2 of last year.
Par. 10. 真 is here used as an impersonal
verb. The Siwoh-wan explains it by 劉歴
柱物者, "a crash of thunder, shaking things."
Of course it was the lightning which struck
the temple, but the Chinese, like the Hebrews,
considered the lightning to be a 'hot
thunderbolt' (Psalm, LXXXVIII. 48). Tao-she
observes that we may see from this that the
Chun clau (展氏) was chargeable with some
secret wickedness. Apart from this interpreta-
tion of the event, telling us that the E-pih here
belonged to the clan of whose constitution we have
an account in the Chun on I. vili. 10 [E in the
text is the honorary title of the officer whose
temple suffered, and Pih was his designation];
—beyond this we know nothing about him.
Kuh-liang refers to the Law, as a case in point, to
show that, from the emperor to the lower
officials, all had their temples or shrine-houses:
the emperor, 7 of them; prince of States, 51
great officers 3; and lower officers, 2.
Par. 11. Both Sany and Tsung were at the
meeting in Mow-k'we. This attack boded ill
for the relief of Sen, and showed how feeble the
control of Tsu had become.
Par. 12. Low-lin was in Sen,—in the north-
east of the dia. of Hung (釧), dep. Fung-yang.

Gan-huwy. Tao-she says that Sen was defeated
through relying on the succour of the States.
Par. 13. The Chun says:— When the
mark of Tsu first entered that State from Tsung,
she saw the 2d narrative appended to the pass.
(See of I. vili. 49, 50). The mark of Tsu had
formed the territory of Kwoh, as far as Mount
Iwo, on the north, and to the city of Hsueh-iang,
on the north of the Ho; but he did not surren-
der any of this territory, any of these cities.
Afterwards, when Sen was suffering from
scarcity, Tsu sent grain to it; but when scarcity
came to the lot of Tsu, Tsu shut its markets,
and would not allow the sale of grain. In conse-
quence of all these things, the earl of Tsu
determined to invade Tsun.

The diviner, consulted the miffioll
about the expedition, and said: "A lucky re-
response:—cross the Ho; the prince's chariots are
defeated." The earl asked to have the thing
more fully explained, and the diviner said, "It is
very lucky. Thrice shall you defeat his troops,
and finally capture the mark of Tsun. The
diagram found is Koo (子), of which it is said,

The thousand chariots thrice are put
to flight.
What then remains you catch,—the
one fox wight."

That fox in Koo must be the mark of Tsun.
Moreover, the inner symbol of Koo (子)
represents wind, the outer (辛) represents
hills. The season of the year is now the autumn.
We blow down the fruits on the hill, and we take
the trees:—it is plain we are to conquer. The
fruit blown down, and the trees all taken;—what
can this be but defeat to Tsun?"

After three defeats of Tsun, the armies
came to Han. The mark of Tsun said to King Ching,
"The robbers have penetrated far; what is to be
done?" "It is your lordship," replied Ching,
"who has brought them so far, and can you ask
what is to be done?" "He is against me," said
the mark; and he proceeded to divine who
should be the spearman upon his right. The
response was for King Ching, but he would not
employ him. Poo-yang acted as charioteer, and
Kao Pah-yue was spearman on the right. The
chariot was drawn by four small horses which
had been presented by the minister Ching. King Ching
said, "Anciently, on great occasions, the prince
was required to use the horses born in his own
State. Natives of the climate, and knowing the
minds of the people, they are docile to instruc-
tion, and accustomed to the roads;—whitherso-
ever they may be directed, they are true, to
their driver's will. Now for the fight that is
before us, you are using horses of a different
State. When they become afraid, they will
change their usual way, and go contrary to the will of their driver. When they become confused, they will get all excited. Their luridous blood will flush all their bodies, and their veins will swell where they stand. Externally they will appear strong, but internally they will be exhausted. They will refuse to advance or retire; they will be unable to turn round. Your lordship is sure to repent employing them."

"The marquis paid special attention to this warning; and on the 9th month [i.e., the 9th month of Hsin] he met the army of Tsin, when he sent Han Keen to survey it. Keen reported, "Their army is smaller than ours, but their spirit for fighting is double ours." "For what reason?" asked the duke. "When you find the State, returned the officer, "you sought the help of Tsin; when you entered it again, it was by Tsin's favour; and in our scarcity, you ate Tsin's grain. Thrice did you receive Tsin's benefaction, and you now do no return for them;—on this account its army is come. Now when we are about to come to blows, we are out of spirit and they are all ardent. To say their spirit is double ours is below the truth."

"The marquis," Soro said, "Even an ordinary man should not be made arrogant by yielding to him: how much less a State like Tsin! On this he sent an offer of battle, saying, "Feeble as I am, I have assembled my multitudes, and cannot leave you. If you will not return to your own State, I will certainly not evade your commands." The earl of Tsin sent Kung-sun Che with his reply, "Before your lordship entered your State, I was full of fears for you; when you had entered it and were not secure in its possession, I was still anxious about your position. But if that be now secure, dare I refuse to accept your commands?" Han Keen retired, saying, "Your spirit is fortunate if we only meet with captivity."

On the day Jin-seul, the battle was fought in the plain of Han. The horses of the marquis of Tsin's carriage turned aside into a slough, and stuck fast. The marquis shouted to King Ching, who replied, "Obedience to remonstrance, and disobedience to the oracle, you obstinately sought for defeat; and would you now escape?" and left him. In the meantime, Han Keen, driven by Leang Yew-ni, and having Kew Yih on his right, met the earl of Tsin, and was about to take him, when King Ching prevented him, sending him away to save the marquis. In the end, Tsin took the marquis of Tsin prisoner, and carried him off. Many of the great officers of Tsin followed his prince, with dishevelled hair, and sleeping on the grass in the open air. The earl sent to decline their presence in such fashion, saying, "Why should you be so distressed? That I am accompanying your ruler to the west, is in fulfillment of that strange dream in Tsin [see the Chuen after X. 8]; I dare not proceed to extremities with him." The officers of Tsin did obeisance thrice with their heads to the ground, saying, "Your lordship treats the sovereign of Tsin, and has over your head the great Heaven. Great Heaven and sovereign Earth have heard your lordship's words. On your servants here below they come as the wind."

When Muho Ko heard that the marquis of Tsin was approaching, she took her eldest son Yung, with his brother Hwong, and her daughters, Kean and Peeth, and ascended a tower, treading as she went upon faggots [which she caused to be placed on the ground and steps]. She then sent a messenger, clad in the deepest mourning, to meet the earl, and to deliver to him her Went, and made my two lords see each other, not with gems and silks, but with the instruments of war. If the marquis of Tsin come here in the morning, we die in the evening. If he come in the evening, he will come in the morning." Her lordship consider the matter, and determine it." On this the earl lodged his prisoner in the Marvellous tower [See the She, III. I. VIII. Tsin had come into possession of this tower, when it received the territory of Kue-chow]. The great officers begged leave to bring him into the city, but the earl said, "With the marquis of Tsin as my prisoner, I was returning as with great spoil; but the and may be that I return over as many deaths. How can I do so? Of what good would it be to return? The winds and rain, moreover, have been heavy on me with their distress and sorrow; I have bound myself by appealing to Heaven and Earth. If I do not consider kindly the sorrow of those men, I shall increase their anger; if I eat my words, I shall be false to Heaven and Earth. To increase anger will be hard to endure; to be false to Heaven and Earth will be insipidous. I must restore the marquis of Tsin." The Kung-sun Chih said, "You had better put him to death, and not allow him to collect his resources for further mischief." Tze-sang [Kung-sun Che] said, "Restore him, and get his eldest son here as a hostage,—this will lead to great results. Tsin is not yet to be extinguished, and if you put his ruler to death, the result will only be evil. Moreover, there are the words of the historian Tse, "Do not initiate misery; do not trust to the disorder of others; do not increase their anger. Increased anger is hard to endure; oppressive treatment is insipidous."

The earl then offered Tsin conditions of peace, and the marquis sent Koeh Keih to tell Leun E-sang of Hsin, and to call him to meet him. Tze-kin [the designation of Leun E-sang] instructed him how to act, saying, "Call the people of the State to the council, and let them as if by command of the marquis, giving them also this message of their own. Although I may return to Tsin, our allies will be disgraced. Consult the fortuneteller, and let Yu [the eldest son] take my place."

All the people wept in hearing these words, and E-sang proceeded to take some lands of the marquis and appropriate them to the people, saying, "Our prince does not grieve for his own exiles, but his sorrow is all for his subjects,—this is the extreme of kindness. What shall we do for our prince?" They all asked him what could be done, and he said, "Let us collect our revenues and look to our weapons, in order to support his young son. When the States hear of it, bow, while we have lost one prince, we have another in his son, how we are all united and harmonious, and how our preparations for war are greater than before, those who love us will admire and encourage us, and those who hate us will fear;—this perhaps will be of a great advantage to our condition." The people were all pleased, and throughout the State, in every district, they prepared their weapons.
Years before this, when Duke He of Tsin was divorcing the milfoil about the marriage of his eldest daughter to the earl of Tsin, he got the diagrams Kwei-me'i (晧微), and then the diagram K'wei (晧). The historiographer Soo interpreted the indication, and said, "It is unlucky. The sentence (on the top line in Kwei-me'i) is, 'The man cuts up his sheep, and there is no blood; the girl presents her basket, but there is no gift in it.' The neighbours on the west reproaches us for our words which cannot be made good. And Kwei-me'i's becoming K'wei is the same as our getting no help from the sun. For the symbol Chin (晧) to become Le (晧) is the same as for Pe to become Chin; we have thunder and fire,—the Yin defeating the Ke. The connection between the carriage and its axle is broken; the fire burns the flags,—our military expeditions will be without advantage; there is defeat in T'ung-ch'e (沖). In Kwei-me'i's becoming K'wei we have a solitary, and an enemy against whom the bow is bent (see the Yin, on the top line of the diagram K'wei). But it seems to me of no use trying to make out any principle of the characters like the present.) Then the nephew follows his aunt. In 6 years he makes his escape, He flies back to his State, abandoning his wife. Next year he dies in the wild of Kao-liang (敖梁). When Duke Hwuy came to be in Tsin, he said, "If my father had followed the interpretation of the historiographer Soo, I should not have come to my present condition." Han K'ien was his aide, and said, "The tortoise-shell gives its figures, and the milfoil its numbers. When things are produced, they have their figures; their figures go on to multiply; that multiplication goes on to numbers. Your father's violations of virtue were almost innumerable. Although he did not follow the interpretation of the historiographer Soo, how could that increase your misfortune?"

As the ode says (Sh. I. xi. ode IX. 7):—

'The calamities of the inferior people Do not come down from Heaven.

False words and hatred behind the back—

The earnest, strong, poet of this is from men.'

In this par. there appears for the first time in the text the great State of Tsin, which went on till it displaced the dynasty of Chow in about 4 centuries from this time. Its lords were Yen (晧), who claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Ch'ien-hu in Shun's minister Pih (伯益 or 帥). Fei-ke (非 巳) 19th in decent from Pih, was appointed lord of the small attached territory of Tsin (in pres. dia. Yung-si: 吴, Tsin Ch'ow, in Kun-suh), in B.C. 908, by king Hsun. In B.C. 780, Tsin became an independent carldom; and in 718, the ruling earl (duke Ning: 宁公) moved the capital to Pung-yang (in dia. of Mau, dep. Pung-t'iaang, Shun-se.). In B.C. 676, another change was made to Yang (雅), in dia. of Pung-t'iaang, which was the seat of its power at this time. Han was in Tsin,—in Hsao Ch'ow, Shun-se.

[The Chuen continues its narrative of the relations between Tsin and T'ang.—In the 10th month, Hsing of Yin (Yin was another city, in addition to Hsia above, held by Hsing) from T'ang had a meeting with the earl of T'ang, when they made a covenant in the old royal city. The earl asked whether they were united in T'ang, and the other replied, 'We are not. The smaller people are ashamed at losing their ruler, and grieved at the death of their friends. They do not shrink from contributing their revenues, and getting their weapons in order, that they may sustain Yin; and they say, 'We must have vengeance on our foes. We had rather serve the Jung and the Teih than not have it.' Superior men love their ruler, while they know his transgressions. Neither do they shrink from contributing their revenues, and preparing their weapons, to be in readiness for the command of T'ang; and they say, 'We must repay the conduct of T'ang. Though we die, we shall not be delivered from this. In this way there is not a harmony of views.' The earl then asked what they said in the State about the death of E-sang said, 'The inferior people are full of distress, saying he will not get off; but superior men, judging by their own estimate of things, think he is sure to return. The inferior people say, 'We have only injured T'ang; T'ang restore our prince? Superior men say, 'We know our transgressions; T'ang is sure to restore our prince. To take him prisoner because of his disobedience, and to let him go on his real submission,—what virtue could be greater than this? What punishment more disgusting? Those who submit to T'ang will cherish the virtue; those who are dissatisfied will dread the punishment—the presidency of T'ang over the States may be secured by its conduct in this one case. You put him in the marquisate, but he was not secure in it; you have displaced him, and perhaps will not restore him—this will be to turn your virtue into a cause of resentment. We do not think that T'ang will act thus.' The earl said, 'This is also my view;' and he proceeded to change the place of the marquis of T'ang, and lodged him in a public reception-house. He also sent him seven oxen, seven sheep, and seven pigs.

'When the marquis was about to return, Go Sih said to King Ch'ing, 'Had you not better to another State?' King replied, 'I plunged our ruler into defeat; on his defeat I was unable to die. Should I now cause him to fall in punishing me, I should not play the part of a subject. A subject and yet not a subject, to what State should I go?'

In the 11th month, the marquis of T'ang returned to T'ang; on the day Ting-ch'ow he caused King Ch'ing to be put to death, and then entered his capital.

'That same year, Tsin had a scarcity, and the earl of T'ang again supplied it with grain, saying, 'I feel angry with its ruler, but I pity its people. I heard, moreover, that when T'ang-shah was appointed to T'ang, the count of Ke said, 'His descendants are sure to become great.' How can I expect to see T'ang? Let me meanwhile plant more deeply my virtue, and wait for a really able ruler to arise in T'ang.' On this T'ang (for the first time the text speaks of it) which the territory yielded by T'ang on the east of the Ho, and placed officers in charge of it.]

22
Sixteenth year.

Ten

There were six years, the first month, the first day of the moon, there fell stones in Sung—five of them. In the same month, six fish-hawks flew backwards, past the capital of Sung.

In the third month, on Jin-shin, duke Hwan's son, Ke Yêw, died.

In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-shin, the duke's youngest daughter—she of Ts'ang—died.

In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kâuah-tsze, Kungsun Tsze died.

In winter, in the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the marquis of Hing, and the earl of Ts'ãou in Hwae.
Par. 4. For 祖 Kung-yang has 之. See V. iv. 8; v. 3. It may be added here that he was the son of Shuh-yi, whose death or murder appears in III. xxxii. 3.

The Chuen adds here three brief notices:
1st. In autumn, the Teh made an incursion into Tein, and took Hoo-ch'oo, and Show-toh. They then crossed the Fun, and advanced to Kwun-too;—taking advantage of the defeat of Tein by T'iu.
2nd. 'The king sent word to T'eu of the troubles still raised by the Jung, and T'eu called out troops from the various States to guard Chow.'
3rd. 'In winter, in the 11th month, on Yih-mou, Ch'ing put to death the earl's eldest son Hwa.' See VII. 4, and the Chuen there.

Par. 5. Hwa was in the present See Chow (泗州), Gan-hwv, taking its name from the Hwa river. We have here for the first time the marquis of Hing present at these meetings of the States, and his place is given him after the earl of Ching and the baron of Hwai. This order is supposed to have been determined by the marquis of T'eu. The Chuen says:—This meeting was held to consult about T'ang (which was hard pressed by the E of the Hwa), and to make a progress in the east. It was proposed to wall T'ang; but the soldiers engaged in the service fell sick. Some one got a mauling in the night, and cried out, 'There is disorder in T'eu;' and so they returned without completing the work.' This was the last of the meetings called by the marquis of T'eu as president of the States. From the 1st at Pih-hang (III. xii. 1) down to this, he had held eleven meetings of a pacific character (衣裳之會), and four prolix of military operations (兵車之會). His influence declined after the meeting at K'we-k'ew (IX. 2). The fabric of his greatness had been reared more by Kwan Chung than himself. The minister was now gone, and the prince was soon to follow him, by a miserable end, and leave his own State a prey to years of confusion.
Par. 1. Ying-shu was a small State, which acknowledged the jurisdiction of Tu-fo, in the present Chow of Loo-sun (六安). Gan-hu-yu. In the west of the Chow, close on the borders of the district of Ying-shan (英山), is a city called Ying. This expedition was undertaken by Tu-fo in the interest of Seu, "to avenge," Tu says, "the defeat of Seu by Tu-fo at Low-lin," in the duke's 15th year. (The Chuen adds here:—"In summer, Yu, the eldest son of the marquis of Tsu, went as a hostage to Tsu, and Tsu restored the territory on the east of the Ho, which had been ceded by Tsu, giving also a wife to Yu. When duke Hau-wei [the marquis of Tsu] was a refugee in Liang, the part of it gave him to wife Liang Yung [Yung was the surname of the House of Liang]. As she went in pregnancy beyond the usual time, the diviner, Shou-choo, and his son, consulted the tortoise-shell about the matter. The son said, 'She will have both a boy and a girl.' "Yes," added the father, "and the son will be another's subject, and the daughter will be a concubine.' On this account the boy was called Yu [a groomsman], and the girl was named Tsieh [concubine]. When Yu went as a hostage to Tsu, Ti-wel became a concubine in the house of Tsu."

Par. 2. Hsia was a small State—the name of which remains in the dia. of Hsia-shing (項城), dep. Ch'ing-chow (陳州), Ho-nan. Kuang and Kaü both attribute the extinction of Hsia to Tse, and the K'ang-hsi editors defend their view ingeniously: but in that case 载 would have appeared in the text. A notice like the present, without the name of another State preceding the verb, must always be understood of
Loo. The Chuen says:—"An army extinguished Hsiang. At the meeting of Hwae, the duke was engaged with the other princes on the business before them; but, before he returned, he took Hsiang. Tse thought it was matter for punishment, and detained the duke as a prisoner." This account might have been more explicit. We cannot suppose that duke He himself left the conference at Hwae, and conducted the troops which extinguished Hsiang. He had probably entrusted the expedition to one of his officers; and when the news of it reached the assembly, Tse was able to detain him as a prisoner. And yet it is not easy to understand how the princes should have remained so long at Hwae.

Par. 3. The wife of duke He was probably a daughter of the marquis of T'ae;—see on XI. 2. Tse she says:—Shih Hsiang met the marquis of T'ae at this time on the duke's account; meaning, no doubt, that her object was to procure her husband's liberation. P'ien was in Loo,—50 li east from the pres. dis. city of Tsan-hwuy, dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 4. Tse says the wording of this par. intimates that, after the meeting at Hwae, there had been some business of the States, and conceals it; i.e., it says nothing about the duke's having been kept a prisoner by Tse.

Par. 5. Seou-pih had thus had a long rule of 43 years. The Chuen says:—"The marquis of T'ae had three wives—a Ke of the royal House; a Ying of Seu; and a Ke of T'ae; but none of them had any son. The marquis loved a full harum, and had many favorites and concubines in it. There were six who were to him as wives—the elder Ke of Wei, who bore Woon-mang (Mang is the 'elder'; Woon, the hon. title. This youth is commonly mentioned by his name Woon-k'wei (無威)); the younger Ke of Wei, who bore a son, who was afterwards duke Hwuy; a Ke of Ching, who bore a son, afterwards duke Hsiao; a Ying of Keh, who bore a son, afterwards duke Ch'sou; a Ke of Neih, who bore a son, afterwards duke E; a Tse of the Hwa clan of Sung, who bore a son, called Tse-yung. The marquis and Kwan Chung had given him who was afterwards duke Hsiao in charge to duke Siaof of Sung, as the intended heir of the State. Woo, the chief cook, however, had favour with Kung Ke of Wei (the elder Ke of Wei above), and by means of Tseou, the chief of the eunuchs, who introduced his viands to the marquis, he had favour with him also, and obtained a promise from him that Woon-mang should be his successor. On the death of Kwan Chung, five of the six sons all begged to be declared heir. When the marquis died on Yih-hae of the 10th month, Yih-ya [the designation of Woo the cook] entered the palace, and along with the eunuch Tseou, by the help of the favoured officers of the interior, put all the other officers to death, and set up Woon-k'wei in his father's place, the brother who was afterwards duke Hsiao fleeing to Sung. The date of the marquis's death, as communicated to Loo, was Yih-hae; but it was the night of Sin-ea (67 days after), before his body was put into a coffin at night, such was the disorder and confusion.

Eighteenth year.
In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke of Sung, the earl of Ts'o-an, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Choo invaded Ts'e.

In summer, an army of ours went to relieve Ts'e.

In the fifth month, on Mow-yin, the army of Sung and the army of Ts'e fought at Yen, when the latter was disgracefully defeated.

The Teih [came to] succour Ts'e.

In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ting-hae, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Ts'e.

In winter, a body of men from Hing and a body of the Teih invaded Wei.

Part 1. Kung-yang, as usual, for 郦妻 has 郦妻, and also introduces 會 after 公.

The object of this movement on the part of Sung was to fulfill the charge which the duke had received from the marquis of Ts'e, to secure the succession to his son Ch'ou, or duke Hsan, too. says:—Duke Shang of Sung with several other princes invaded Ts'e; and in the 5th month, the people of T'e put Woo-k'wei to death.

'The Chuen appends here:—The earl of Ch'eng for the first time paid a court-visit to Ts'o-an, the vassal of which gave him a quantity of metal. Afterwards he repeated that he had done so, and made a covenant with the earl, when he required him not to use it for casting weapons. In consequence the earl made with it iron bells.'

Part 2. If this interference on the part of Loo was intended to support Woo-k'wei, it was too late. Mao sums up what may have been in the interest of P'wan (潘), who was afterwards duke Ch'ou, and was married to a daughter of duke Hsuan, too. says that the entry indicates approval of the movement. This part, and p. 4 below, show how indefinite the meaning of 以 sometimes is.

Part 3. Yen was in Ts'e.—In the pres. dist. of Luih-shing (歷城), dep. Ts'ao-nan. The Chuen says:—The people of Ts'e wanted to raise duke Hsuan to the marquisate, but could not overcome the opposition of the adherents of duke Hwan's other four sons [only four, Woo- being now dead], who then left the city and fought with the men of Sung. These defeated their army in Yen, raised duke Hsuan to the marquisate, and returned to their own State. It would appear that the combined force mentioned in it. I had dispersed on the elevation of Woo-k'wei, and that the troops of Loo had also been withdrawn. In this narrative, therefore, only the army of Sung was engaged. It had been suddenly called again into the field.

Part 4. These Teih had probably been called to their aid by the four sons of the late marquis, who were struggling against their brother, the protege of Sung.

Part 5. An interval of 11 months thus occurred between the death of duke Hwan and his burial,—owing to the disorder and contests in the State. Duke Hsuan interfered him magnificently and barbarously on the top of the New-year (牛首) hill.

Part 6. Not long before this, both Hing and Wei had been brought to the verge of extinction by the Teih; and yet here we find Hing allied with the Teih against Wei. We need not wonder at the subsequent fate of Hing at the hands of Wei. The Chuen says:—In winter, a body of men from Hing, and a body of the Teih, invaded Wei, and invested Woo-p'po. The marquis of Wei offered to resign in favour of any one of his uncles or brothers, or of their sons. Yen, having assembled all his officers at court, he said, "If any one is able to deal with this matter, I, Hwyn, will gladly follow him." All declined the proffered dignity, however, and the marquis after-
Nineteenth year.

十有九年。春王三月。宋人執滕子。城而居之。

夏六月。宋公曹人邾人。盟于曹南。

秋宋人圍曹。

冬會陳人蔡人楚人鄭人。盟于齊。

梁亡。
XIX. 1 In the [duke’s] nineteenth year, in spring, in the king’s third month, the people of Sung seized Ying-ts’e, viscount of Ts’ang.

2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke of Sung, an officer of Ts’aou, and an officer of Choo, made a covenant in the south of Ts’aou.

3 The viscount of Ts’ang met and covenanted [with them] in Choo.

4 On Ke-yew, the people of Choo seized the viscount of Ts’ang, and used him [as a victim].

5 In autumn, a body of men from Sung invested [the capital of] Ts’aou.

6 A body of men from Wei invaded Hing.

7 In winter, [the duke] had a meeting with an officer of Ch’in, an officer of Ts’ae, an officer of Ts’oo, and an officer of Ch’ing, when they made a covenant in Ts’e.

8 Lüang perished.

[The Chuen, resuming the brief narrative at the end of last year, adds that, in the duke’s 19th year, in spring, ‘T’ien proceeded to wall the place which it had taken, and occupied it.’]

Par. 1. The Chuen says nothing to explain why Sung made this seizure of the viscount of Ts’ang. Its words are merely, ‘The people of Sung seized duke Tsuou of Ts’ang.’ The duke of Sung is understood to be intended by 宋人; and the use of 人 is supposed to be condemnatory of the procedure. But Mau shows that such a canon for the use of 人, in the accounts of seizures, cannot be applied all through the Chuen. The adding the name of the viscount of Ts’ang is supposed by Ho Guo-kwoh and a host of other critics to be condemnatory of him; but even the K’ang-he editors reject the view.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 宋公, and of course 郭姜 for 郭. The proper reading, however, is that of the text. The duke of Sung was ambitious to continue the presidency of Hwan of Ts’ae, and had tried to get a large gathering of the princes to this covenant. But not one was present. Even the earl of Ts’ao, in whose State the place of meeting was, did not appear in person; and was negligent also, it appears, in sending the supplies of provisions for the covenanted parties; which the lord of the State where they met was always expected to contribute.

Par. 3. The viscount of Ts’ang came too late for the covenant in Ts’ao. Whether he had been minded from the first to come, but been detained; or had been summoned, as Mau supposes, by a special messenger sent from Ts’ao by the duke of Sung, and yet after all been too late, we do not know. However, too late he was; but, being fearful probably of the consequences, he followed some at least of the covenanted to Choo, and would appear there, from p. 3, to have taken the covenant. This did not avail, however, to save him from a terrible fate. Too says, 用之言者用畜牲.' The word
used' means that they used him as an animal victim. The thing was done by Choo at the command of the duke of Sung. The Chuen narrator says: The duke of Sung made duke Wan of Choo sacrifice the viscount of Tsang at an altar on the bank of the Suy, to awe and draw him the wild tribes of the east. The duke's minister of war, Tsze-yu [the duke's brother, Muh-ye], (see the Chuen at the end of the 8th year, and of the 9th), said, 'Antiquely, the six domestic animals were not used at the same sacrifice; for small affairs they did not use great victims—how much less would they have presumed to use human beings! Sacrifices are offered for the benefit of men. Men are the hosts of the Spirits at the seat. If you sacrifice a man, who will enjoy it? Duke Hwan of Ts'e preserved three perishing States, and thereby drew all the princes to him; and yet righteous scholars say that his virtue was too slight. But now our lord, at his first assembling of the princes, has treated with oppression the rulers of two States, and has further used one of them in sacrifice to an un-Buddhist and un-Heavenly Spirit; will it not be difficult to get the presidency of the States in this way? If he die a natural death, he will be fortunate.'

I must add here that Kuh-lung gives a much mitigated meaning of the 'used,' 'used,' thinking that all which it denotes is that they struck the victim of Tsang on the nose till it bled, and then smeared all the sacrificial vessels with the blood.

Par. 6. The Chuen says: 'This attack of Ts'ao was to punish it for its not submitting to Sung. Tsze-yu said to the duke of Sung, 'It is said that the marquise of Ts'ung had abandoned himself to disorder, and invaded his State; but after he had been in the field for 30 days, the marquis tendered no submission. Wan therefore withdrew; and, after cultivating himself for 3 months of virtue, he again invaded Ts'ung, when the marquise made submisson, at his before he had quitted his entourage. As is said in the Shih (III. I. o. o. VI. 2),

A His example set on his wife. Extended to his brothers, And was felt by all the clans and States.'

May it not be presumed that the virtue of your prince is in some respects defective; and if, while it is so, you attack others, what will be the result be? Why not for a time give yourself to self-examination and the cultivation of virtue? You may then proceed to move, when that is without defect.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says: 'This is the attack of Hing in return for the siege of Ts'oo'-yoo [see on p. 6 of last year]. At this time there was a great drought in Wei, and the marquise divined by the tortoise-shell whether he should sacrifice to the hills and rivers, and obtained an unfavourable reply. The officer Kung Ch'ang [Ch'ang is the hon. title] said, 'Formerly there was a scarcity in Chou; but after the conquest of Yu-t'ie there ensued an abundant year. Now Hing acts without any regard to principle, and there is no leader among the princes. May not Heaven be wishing to employ Wei to punish Hing?' The marquise followed his advice; and immediately after the army was in motion, it raised.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says: 'It is probable that duke He himself was present at this meeting. If he were not there himself, he must have been represented by one of his great officers. The meeting was important as the first general assembly of northern States, in which Ts'oo sent its representatives. The account of the conference given by Ts'oo-sha is:—Duke Mu of Ch'in asked that a good understanding should be cultivated between the princes of the various States, and that they should not forget the virtue and services of Hwan of Ts'e, and renewed their good fellowship under Hwan. But what good fellowship had Ts'oo had with the States of the north under the presidency of Ts'e? The meeting was held most likely to consult how to meet the ambition of the duke of Sung, against whom we shall presently find Ts'oo taking most decided part. Indeed, Kung Ping-chang supposes that the meeting was called by Ch'in at Ts'oo's instigation.'
In his twentieth year, in spring, [the duke] renewed and altered the south gate of the capital.

2 In summer, the viscount of Kaou came [to Loo] on a court-visit.

3 In the fifth month, on Yih-sze, the western palace was burnt.

4 A body of men from Ch'ing entered Hwah.

5 In autumn, an officer of Ts'e and an officer of the Teih made a covenant in Hing.

6 In winter, a body of men from Ts'o invaded Suy.

Par. 1. This was the 'southern gate' of the capital, as in the translation (南門: 當城). Before this, it was, suc. to Too Yu, called the Teih gate (庭), but after the alterations now made, it got the name of Kaou morn, or High gate (高門). 新 indicates the substitution of a new gate for the old one, (言新), and 作 indicates that the new gate was on a diffr. plan from the old (所修有). The Churen says: That the record of this transaction was made to show its unseasonableness, adding that all works for opening communication [such as walls, roads, and bridges], or for closing it [such as wells and moats], should be undertaken as they were required. Tao-she's idea, of course, is that this was a work of ornament more than of necessity, and that the season of the year for such an undertaking had gone by.

Par. 2. This Kaou was a small State in the pres. dia. of Shing-wu, dep. T'au-chow. As we learn from the Churen on XXIV. 2, it was held by the descendants of one of the sons of Wen's son. Nothing is heard of it before or after the trivial incident in the text.

Par. 3. see II. xiv. 4: III. xx. 2. What building is here spoken of is not well known. Kaib's opinion that it was the temple or shrine house of duke Min has been exploded. Some portion of the harem is probably intended.

Par. 4. Hwah, see III. iii. 5. The Churen says: The people of Hwah had revolted from Ch'ing, and submitted to Weî; and this summer, Sze, a son of the earl of Ch'ing, and Sieh Took'lo, led a force and entered its chief city.

Par. 5. Tao-she says that this covenant was in the interest of Hing, to consult about the difficulties it was in from Weî, which was then much distressing Hing. We have seen the Teih and Hing leagued against Weî in XVIII. 6; and the same year, Weî had taken part in the invasion of Teî.

Par. 6. The name of Suy still remains in Suy Chow dep. of Th-gan (梅安). Hoo-phin. It was a marquisate, and its lords were Koe (委). The Churen says: - 'Say, with the various States east of the Han, had revolted from Weî; and this winter, N'ioo-t'oo left Teî, led a force against it, accepted its proffers of submission, and returned. The superior man may say that Suy suffered this invasion, because it had not measured its strength. The errors of those who move only after they have measured their strength are few. Do success and defeat come from one's own or from others? The answer is in the words of the Shu (I. Li- chou VI. 1).

"Might I not have been there in the early morning? But there was too much dew on the path."

[Duke Shang wished to call together the princes, and unite them under himself. Ta'en, the retainer of Min, on his board of it, and said, "He may succeed who curbs his own desires to follow the views of others; but he will seldom do so who tries to make others follow his desires."]
Twenty-first year.

二十一纪一年，春，狄侵卫。

宋人伐齐。楚人伐宋。盟于鹿上。

秋，宋公伐郑。楚子、陈侯、蔡侯、郑伯伐宋，宋公以伐宋。

许男自曹伯、会于孟，执宋公。宋人使宜申来献捷。

冬，伐邾。

有二月，癸丑，公会诸侯于薄，释宋公，盟于薄，释宋公。

楚人伐宋。公于孟，子鱼曰：‘楚其在此乎？’欲己甚，其何以堪之？于是楚子之子，遂以伐宋，会于薄，释之，子鱼曰：‘公未足以惩君也。’有济之礼，以服事，诸侯人，肩须兮。

秋，诸侯会宋公于孟，子鱼曰：‘楚其在此乎？欲己甚，其何以堪之？于是楚子之子，遂以伐宋，会于薄，释之，子鱼曰：‘公未足以惩君也。’有济之礼，以服事，诸侯人，肩须兮。’

1. In the [duke's] twenty-first year, in spring, the Teih made an incursion into Wei.
2. An officer of Sung, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Ts'o, made a covenant at Luh-shang.
3. In summer, there was great drought.
4. In autumn, the duke of Sung, the viscount of Ts'o, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of
Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aoou, had a meeting in Yu, when the others seized the duke of Sung, and went on to invade Sung.

5 In winter, the duke invaded Choo.

6 The people of Ts'oo sent E-shin to Loo, to present [some of the] spoils [of Sung].

7 In the twelfth month, on Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with [several of] the princes, when they made a covenant in Poh, and liberated the duke of Sung.

Par. 1. This incursion was, no doubt, in the interests of Hsing, and a sequel of the covenant between the Teh and T'ee in p. 5 of last year.

Par. 2. Lu-hshang was in Sung,—in the pres. dia. of Tse-ho (太和), dep. Ying-chow.

Gan-hwey. Tso-eh says,—"The idea of this covenant originated with Sung, and the object in it of the duke of Sung was to ask the States from T'oo [i.e. to ask T'oo to code its influence over the various States to Sung]. T'oo granted the request, when Min-ho, the duke's brother, said, "A small State is sure to bring calamity on itself by striving for the power of commanding covenants,—is Sung now going on to perish? We shall be fortunate if there ensue defeat only." Hoo Ning (胡寧; Sung dyn., a little earlier than Choo Ho), Woo Ch'ing, and the critics generally, suppose that the princes of the States are intended by 人, but such a view lands the translator of the Classic in inextricable difficulties. Why should the princes be reduced to 'men,' simply in this par., and then have their titles given to them in p. 4? Too Yu observes that 齊人 preceding 齊 is a show that the meeting and covenant originated with Sung.

Par. 3. Too observes that the language intimates that the drought continued after the usual sacrifice for rain ( 太和) had been presented; and Ying-tah expands the remark by saying that in the Classic we sometimes see the entry 人, and sometimes 人; that in the former case the sacrifice has been followed by rain, while in the latter the drought continues. The Ch'oo says,—"The duke wished, in consequence of the drought, to burn a witch and a person much associated. T'ang Wan-shang said to him, "That is not the proper preparation in a time of drought. Put in good repair your walls, the inner and the outer; lessen your food; be sparing in all your expenditure. Be in earnest to be economical, and encourage people to help one another—this is the most important preparation. What have the witch and the emaciated person to do with the matter? If Heaven wish to put them to death, it had better not have given them life. If they can really produce drought, to burn them will increase the calamity." The duke followed his advice; and that year, the scarcity was not very great." (In the Le Ke, II. Pt. II. iii. 29, there is an account of exposing in the sun, in a time of drought, a...
Twenty-second year.

二十二年春。三月，鄭伯如楚，夏，宋公伐邾，子魚曰，所謂禱在此矣。宋，宋公衛侯許，夏，宋公衛侯許。子魚曰，吾聞之，往者我先君，簡王，將侵秦，天子使史憂告之，曰，無以侵秦，今此其戒乎，其禮先矣。秋，秦將侵宋，宋人請師。宋子魚曰，吾子當從之，宋公及子魚，將帥宋師，以伐邾。邾人敗績。邾人以獻，故出師，公及邾人，不設備而殺之，臧文仲曰，國無小，不以易也，無備雖衆不可恃也。詩曰，戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰。不罹也，況我小國乎？君其無謂邾小，謙謙有禮。又曰，敬之敬之，天維顯思，命不易哉，先王之明德，猶無不難也。無人可救列，楚人伐宋，以救邾，宋公將戰，大司馬固諫曰，天之棄商久矣，君將人伐之，可救也，已弗，聰也，十一月，已，朔，宋公及楚人，戰于泓，宋人敗績。邾人獲魚，賜諸魚門。宋人既成列，楚人未既濟，司馬曰，彼衆我寡，及其未既濟也，請擊之。
XXII. 1 In his twenty-second year, the duke invaded Choo, and took Seu-k'eu.

2 In summer, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the baron of Heu, and the viscount of T'ang, invaded Ch'ing.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ting-we, we fought with an army of Choo at Shing-hing.

4 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ke-sze, the first day of the moon, the duke of Sung fought with an army of Ts'oo near the Hung, when the army of Sung was disgracefully defeated.

Par. 1. Seu-k'eu was a small State, whose lords were Fungs, with the rank of viscount, purporting to be descended from Fuh-he,—in the press. Tung-ping Chou, dep. Tse-gan. See the Chuen on p. 5 of last year. Tao-še says here that 'the duke took Seu-k'eu, and restored its ruler,—which was according to rule.' The text says nothing, indeed, of Lee's re-establishment of Seu-k'eu; but we find Lee again taking it, in VI. vii. 2; so that Tao-še's account of what was now done must be correct.

Par. 2. The Chuen says,—In the 5th month, the sect of Ch'ing went to Ts'o; and in summer, the duke of Sung invaded Ch'ing. Tso-yü said, 'What I call our calamity will be brought about by this expedition.' His seizure in the past year had not taught the duke of Sung the folly of matching himself against Ts'oo, which he could not but know would resent this attack of Ch'ing.

[The Chuen append here three narrative—I. When king 2'ing removed from the old capital of Choo to the next, Sin Yew happened to go to E-ch'uen, and saw there a man sacrificing in the wilderness with dishevelled hair. "Before a hundred years are expired," said he, "I fear this place will be occupied by the Jung. The proper rules of ceremony are already lost in it." This autumn, Tsin and Tai removed the Jung of Luh-hwan to E-ch'uen. But more than a hundred years from the removal to the eastern capital had elapsed.]

2d. "Ye, the eldest son of the marquis of Ts'in was a hostage in Ts'oo, and wished to make his escape and return to Ts'in. He said to his wife, the lady Ying. "Shall I take you with me?" But she replied, "You are the eldest son of Ts'oo, and here you are, the subject of disgrace. It is right that you should wish to return to your own State; but your handmaid was appointed by the ruler of Ts'oo to wait on you and hold your towel and comb, to assure you and ensure your stay. Should I follow you to Ts'in, I shall be setting at nought his command. I dare not follow you, but neither
Dare I tell of your intention?" On this the prince made his escape alone to Ts'ien.

3d. Foo Shi spoke to the king, saying, "Let me entreat you to recall Ts'ae-Yung; he had fled to the Ch'en after the Ch'ing. See the Ch'ing after XII, 3." It is said in the Shi [II. iv. oede VIII, 12].

"They assemble their neighbours,
And their relatives are all of their praise."

If brothers among ourselves cannot agree,
How can we murmur at the want of harmony
Among the princes of the States?"
The king was pleased, and king Hwuy's son T'ae [T'ang-shu] returned from T'ae, and was restored to his rank, the king having called him.

Par. 3. Shih-hsing was in Lee, but its position has not been precisely determined. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'ao, because of the affair of Seu-k'ou, came out in anger against us with an army of Sung, being minded to fight the despotic Chou, and without preparation. Tsang Wan-chung said, "However small a State be, it is not to be slighted; and if preparations be not made, however numerous a force be, it is not to be relied on. It is said in the Shi [II. iv. col. I. 6]."

"We should be apprehensive and careful,
As if we were on the brink of a deep gulf,
And again (Shi, IV, i. Pt. iii. oede III).

"Let me be reverent, let me be reverent;
Heaven's method is clear,—
Its appointment is not easily preserved."

Intelligent as the ancient kings were, they constantly saw difficulties to be overcome and dangers to be met. They perceived how much more should a small State like ours do so! Let not your lordship think of Chou as small. Be not scorpions carry poison;—much more will a State do so!" The duke would not listen to this remonstrance, and in the battle of Sung he was killed fighting with Chou. Shih-hsing, when our army was disgracefully defeated. The people of Chou captured the duke's helmet, and suspended it over their fish cage.

From the Chuen we learn that Loo was here shamefully beaten; but the text says nothing about this. This is another instance of the strange silence of Confucius.

Par. 4. Hung was the name of a river. The site of his battle is referred to a spot, 80 li north of the dis. city of Chay-shing (城)
dep. Kwu-th, the Chuen says:—"An army of Two invaded Sung in order to relieve Ch'ing. The duke of Yung was minded to fight, his minister of War remonstrated strongly with him, saying, "Heaven has long abandoned the House of Shang [Sung was the conservator of the Shang sacrifices]. Your Grace may wish to raise it again, but such opposition to Heaven will be unpardonable." The duke, however, would not listen to advice, and in winter, in the 11th month, on Ko-ya, the last day of the moon, he fought with the army of Yung near the Hung."

The sun and moon were all drawn up for battle, before those of Yung had all crossed the river; and the ministers of War said to the duke,

"They are many, and we are few. Pray let us attack them, before they have all crossed over."

The duke refused; and again, when the minister asked leave to attack them after they had crossed, but when they were not yet drawn up, he refused, waiting till they were properly marshalled before he commenced to fight. The Ch'ing after XII, 3. The army of Sung was shamefully defeated; one of the duke's thighs was hurt; and the wonder of the gates (keepers of the palace gates, who had followed the duke to the field) were all slain. The people of the State all said, "This is the duke, but he said, "The superior man does not inflict a second wound, and does not take prisoner any one of gray hairs. When the ancients had their armies in the field, they would not attack an enemy when he was in a dell; and though I am but the poor representative of a fallen dynasty, I would not sound my drums to attack an unarmed host." T'ze-yu, the minister of War, said, "Your Grace does not know the rules of fighting": Given a strong enemy, in a dell or with his troops not drawn up, it is Heaven assisting us. It is not proper for us to advance upon him so impetuous with our drums beating, even thus afraid we may not get the victory. Moreover, the strong men now opposed us are all our antagonists. Even the old and withered among them are to be captured by us, if we can only take them: what have we to do with their being gray-haired? We call into clear play the principle of shame in teaching men to fight, our object being that they should slay the enemy. If our antagonist be not wounded unwise, why should we not repeat the blow? If we grudge a second wound, it would be better not to wound him at all. If we would spare the gray-haired, we had better submit at once to the many. In an army, what are used are sharp weapons, while the instruments of brass and the drums are to remove the men's spirits. The sharp weapons may be used against foes untangled in a dell; when their noise is the loudest and the men's spirits are all on fire, the drums may be borne against the enemy in disorder.

[The Chuen gives here the following:—Early in the morning of Ping-tsoe, the ladies M'ei and Risan, the wives of Wang, the earl of Ch'ing, went to congregate the viscount of Yung, and feast his troops, at the marsh of Ko, when the viscount made the band-master T'ien display to them the captives, and the ears of the slain. The superior man will pronounce that this was contrary to rule. A woman, when escorting or meeting a visitor, does not go beyond the gate; when seeing her brothers, she does not cross the threshold. The business of war has nothing to do with the employment of women."

On T'ing-ch'ou, the viscount entered the city of Ch'ing, and was feasted. Nine times the cup was presented to him; the courtyard was filled with a hundred diff. objects; six kinds of food were set forth in the dishes more than the diners. He left the city at night after the feast. Wan M'ei accompanying him to the army; and he took the earth's two daughters with him to Yung. Shih-ch'en said, "The king of Yung will not die a natural death! The reason you have ended in his breaking down the distinctions regulating the intercourse between the sexes; and where this is done, there can be no propriety. How should he die a natural death? The prince was, meanly, that he will not attain to the presidency of them."]
Twenty-fourth year.

二十一有三

夏，齊侯伐宋圍缗。宋襄公卒，傷於泓故也。

秋，楚人伐宋。

冬，杞子卒。
XXIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Sung, and laid siege to Min.
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Kâng-yin, Tsze-foo, duke of Sung, died.
3 In autumn, an officer of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in.
4 In winter, in the eleventh month, the viscount of Ke died.

Par. L. Min (here and afterwards Kuh-liang 韓) was a town of Sung, −30 km to the north-east of the present city of Chin-hoang (金鄉), dep. Yen-show. Kung-yang says that the mention of besieging a town (殲) such as Min is condemnatory of the violence of Ts'e's action against Sung; and Kuh-liang thinks that invasion and siege, both related in the same short par., stamp the action of Ts'e as excessive and
had. Neither of these views can be accepted. Tsu-she's account of the par. is, that the marquis of Ts'ueh wished to punish Sung because of the Duke's absenting himself from the covenant in Tei mentioned in XIX. 7. Certainly the Duke of Sung deserved well of the marquis of Tei at the first, supporting him against his brothers, and surrendering his claim to the State in the room of his father. We may speculate as to jealousies and misunderstandings which subsequently sprang up between them; but we have not sufficient information to enable us to speak positively of the real causes of the invasion of Sung here mentioned.

Par. 2. Kung-yang gives the name as CANGFANG. The Duke's death, according to Ts'o, was in consequence of the wound he received at the battle of Hung. His career by no means corresponded to the expectations excited by him on his first appearance in the history of this period;—see the Chuan at the end of the 8th year. He is commonly enumerated as one of the 'five leaders of the States,' but he never attained to that position. It is difficult to believe that he was really sane.

Par. 3. The Chuan says:—In autumn, Ch'ung Ti-shih of Teo led an army, and invaded Ch'in, to punish it for 'indecency' against Teo, to the side of Sung [It would be difficult to make this out from the text of the classic]. He took T'ai-shan and E; walled Tun, and returned. Tun-wang, thinking Ti-shih had done good service, prosecuted his appointment as chief minister of Teo in his own room. Shih-plih asked him on what views for the good of the State he had done so; and he replied, 'I have done it to secure the quiet of the State. When you have men who have rendered great service, and you do not give them the noblest offices, are they likely to remain quiet? There are few who can do so.' [The Chuan turns here to the affairs of Ts'ai:—'In the 4th month, duke Hui of Ts'ai died, and his successor, duke Hwae [Yu, who escaped from Ts'ai], commanded that none should follow the fugitive, Ch'ung-ar, and defined the period of 12 months, after which there would be pardon no more for any that remained with him. Men of and Yan, the sons of Hwai, had followed Ch'ung-ar, and were with him in T'ai; but their father did not call them home. In the same year, duke Hwae was apprehended him in winter, and said, 'If your son come back, you shall be let off.' Ts'ui replied, 'The ancient rule was that when a son was fit for official service, his father should enjoin upon him to be faithful. The new officer, moreover, wrote his name on a tablet, and gave the pledge of a dead animal to his lord, declaring that any wavering in his fidelity should be punished with death. Now the sons of your servant have had their names with Ch'ung-ar for many years. If I should go on to enjoin them here, I should be teaching them to swerve from their allegiance. If, as their father, should teach them to do so, how should I be fit to serve your lordship? Punish without excess or injustice, according to your intelligence; this is what your servant desires to see. If you punish more than is right, to gratify yourself, who will be found without guilt?—But I have heard your commands.' On this the Duke put him to death."

The master of divination, saying that he was ill, did not leave his house; but when he heard of Ts'ai's execution, he remarked, 'It is said in one of the Books of Chow [Shoo, V. Ix. 9], "So, by a grand intelligence, will you subdue the soul of the people." But when our prince puts people to death, to gratify himself, is not the case hard? The people see none of his virtue, and hear only of his cruel executions;—is he likely to leave any of his children in Ts'ai?'"

Par. 4. Tsu-she says:—'This was the death of duk of Ch'ung of Ke. His name is not given, because he had never corresponded with Lo [The canon cannot be substantiated]. The rule was, that when any prince had corresponded with others, the announcement of his death was accompanied with his name, and the historiographers recorded it. Where this was not the case, they did not enter the name;—to avoid seeking any mistake through want of the proper expressiveness.'

The lords of Ke, as being the representatives of the sovereigns of the Hsia dynasty, were originally dukes. In II. II. 5, we have,—the marquis of Ke, subsequently, the rank is reduced to that of 'earl,' here there is a further reduction to 'viceroy.' These changes are supposed to have been made by the kings of Chow.

[The Chuan now takes up the wanderings of Ch'ung-ar, who became duke Wan of Ts'ai:—'When Ch'ung-ar, as of duke Hwae of Ts'ai, first met with misfortunes, a body of men from Ts'ai attacked him in the city of E-soo, the men of which wanted to fight with them. Ch'ung-ar, however, would not allow them to do so, saying, 'By favour of the command of my ruler and father, and through possession of the encomium he has assigned me, I have got the rule over these men; and if I should employ them to strive with him, my own crime would be very great. I will fly.'"

He then fled to the Ts'ai (B. C. 604); and there followed him—Hoo Yen, Chao Truy, Tien Ke'hi, Wei Wou-foo [Woo is the honorific; 郎 officer], Ke-tsan, minister of Works [with many others]. In an invasion of the Tsang-kao-jo, the Ts'ai captured the two daughters of their chief, Shih Wei and Ke Wei, and presented them to the prince. He took Ke Wei to himself as his wife, and gave him Pih-chou and Shih-lee. Her elder sister he gave to Chao Tsi, who had by her son Tun. When he was about to go to Ts'e, he said to Ke Wei, "Wait for me five and twenty years; and if I have not come back then, you can marry another husband." She replied, "I am now 25; and if I am to marry again after other 25, I will go to my coffin. I had rather wait for you.""

The prince left the Ts'ai (B. C. 605). Travelling among them 12 years. Travelling through Wei, duke Wou treated him discourteously; and as he was leaving it by Wou-loh, he was reduced to beg food of a countryman, who gave him a cloth of earth. The prince was angry, and wished to encumber him with his wealth. Tun-wan [Hoo Yen] said, "It is Heaven's gift [a gift of the soil; a happy men]." On this he buried his head to the earth, received the cloth, and took it with him in his carriage.
When he came to Ty-w, duke Hwan gave him a lady of his own surname to wife, and he had 20 teams of 4 horses each. He abandoned himself to the enjoyment of his position, but his followers were dissatisfied with it, determined to leave Ty-w, and consulted with him about what they should do under the shade of a mulberry tree. There happened to be upon the tree a girl of the harem, employed about silk worms, who overheard their deliberations, and reported them to the lady Kiang, the prince's wife. Her mistress put her to death, and said to the prince, "You wish to go again upon your travels. I have put to death one who overheard your designs [meaning so to prevent the thing getting talked about]." The prince protested that he had no such purpose; but his wife said to him, "Go. By cherishing me and repose here, you are ruining your fame. The prince refused to leave; and she then consulted with Tse-fan, made the prince drunk, and sent him to the apartments. When the prince awoke, he seized a spear, and ran after Tse-fan.

When they came to Ts'ow, duke Kang, having heard that the prince's escape presented the appearance of one solid bone, wished to see him naked, and pressed near to look at him when he was bathing. The wife of He Foo-ke [an officer of Tse-fan] said to her husband, "When I look at the followers of the prince of Tain, every one of them is fit to be chief minister of a State. If he only use their help, he is sure to return to Tain and be its marquis; and when that happens, he is sure to obtain his ambition, and become leader of the States. He will then punish all who have been discommodious to him, and Ts'ow will be the first to suffer. Why should you not go quickly, and show yourself to be a different man from the sort and his treasures. On this, Foo-ke sent the prince a dish of meat, with a piece of paper on which the prince accepted the meat, but returned the paper.

When they came to Sung, the duke presented the prince 20 teams of horses; but when they came to Ch'ing, duke Wan there was another to receive uncivilly. Sung-chieh reproached with him, saying, "I have heard that men cannot attain to the excellence of him whose way is opened by Heaven. The prince of Tain has 3 things which make it likely that Heaven may be going to establish him. I pray your lordship to treat him courteously. When husband and wife are of the same surname, their children do not prosper. The prince of Tain himself and his mother had a Ke for his mother; and yet they adhere to him—this is one thing. During all his troubles, a frightful afraid, Heaven has not granted quiet to the State of Tain, which would seem as if it were preparing the way for his return to it—this is a second thing. There are three of his officers, sufficient to occupy the highest place; and yet they adhere to him—this is the third thing. Tain and Ch'ing, moreover, are of the same stock. You might be excused to treat courteously any prince of Tain passing through the States; but how much more should you treat him whose way Heaven is thus opening?" To this reproof, the earl of Ch'ing would not listen.

"When they came to Ty-w, the viscount of Tse-fan said, "the prince of Ty-w was one day feasting the prince, and said, "If you return to Tain, and become its marquis, how will you recompense my kindness to you?" The prince replied, "Women, gems, and silks, your lordship has. Feathers, hair, ivory and hides, are all produced in your lordship's country; those of them that come to Tain, are but your superabundances. What liam should I build with which to recompense your kindness?"

"Nevertheless," urged the viscount, "how would you recompense me?" The prince replied, "If by your lordship's powerful influence I shall recover the State of Tain, should Ty-w and Tain go to war and meet in the plain of the Middle Land, I will withdraw from your lordship's three stages [each of 30 li]. If then I do not receive your commands to come from hostility, with my whip and my bow in my hand, and my quiver and my bow-case on my right, I will manœuvre with your lordship."

"On this, Tse-fan, [Ch'ing Tsh-chin of the Chu on p. 90], begged that the prince might be put to death, but the viscount said, "The prince of Tain is a grand character, and yet distinguished by moderation, highly accomplished and yet courteous. His followers are severely grave and yet generous, loyal and of uniting ability. The present marquis of Tain has his marquisate attached to him. In his own State and out of it, he is universally hated. I have heard, moreover, that the Ke of Tain, the descendants of Singh of Tung [See the Shoo, V. i.], thought, they might afterwards decay, get would not perish;—may not this be about to be verified in the prince? When Heaven intends to prosper a man, who can stop him? He who opposes Heaven must incur great guilt."

"After this, the viscount sent the prince away with an escort to Tain, where the earl presented him with five ladies, Hwai Ying [the earl's daughter, who had been given to Ty, who fled from Tain, and became duke of Kwei among them. He would make her hold a goblet, and pour water from it for him to wash his hands. When he had done, he ordered her away with a motion of his set hands [the meaning of the Choo here is variously taken], on which she ran away in anger, "Tain and Tain are equals; why do you treat me as, if I were mean?" The prince became afraid, and humbled himself, putting off his robes, and assuming the garb of a prisoner."

Another day, the earl invited him to a feast; when Tse-fan said, "I am not so accomplished as Ty-w; pray make him attend you. The prince sang the Ho-shaw (a lost ode; unless, indeed, as is likely, the Meon-shaw, II. iii. IX. is intended, so that the prince would make himself to the Ho, and Ty-w to the sea, to which the Ho Shaws, and the earl, the Luh-yuush [She, II. iii. ode II. The ode celebrates the services of an ancient noble in the cause of the kingdom, as if the earl of Ty-w were aspiring such services to be rendered henceforth by the prince of Tain]. Chou Tchew said, "Ch'ung-yush, render thanks for the earl's gift." The prince then descended the steps, and bowed with his head to the ground. The earl also descended a step, and made a demonstration. Tchew said, "When your lordship laid your charge, on Ch'ung-yush, as to how he should assist the son of Heaven, he dared not but make so humble an acknowledgement."}
Twenty-fourth year.

Years: 春正月，秋七月。 秋，狄伐鄭。

夏，狄伐鄭。

冬，天王出居於鄭。 晋侯夷吾卒。
習侯賞從亡者介之推不言祿亦弗及推曰獻公之子九人唯君在矣惠懷無親外內棄之天未絶晉必有主主習叔非君而誰天實置之而二三子以為己力不亦讕乎縑人之財猶謂之盜況貪天之功以為己力乎下義其罪上賞之令上下相蒙難與處矣其母曰盍亦求之以死誰愈對曰曰言身之事也身將隱焉用文之是求愈也其母曰能如是乎與女德無極婦怨無終狄必為患王又弗聽初廿皀公有寵於惠後惠後立之未及而卒皀公奔齊王復之又
It was the duke's twenty-fourth year, the spring, the king's first month.

In summer, the Teih invaded Ch'ing.

It was autumn, the seventh month.

In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] left [Chow], and resided in Ch'ing.

E-woo, marquis of Ts'in, died.

Par. 1. (The Chuen continues the account of the fortunes of Ch'iung-urh in the following narratives.)

Int. In spring, the earl of Teihn restored Ch'ing-urh—the event is not recorded in the text, because the marquis of Ts'in did not announce his entrance to Leo. When the invaders came to the Ho, Tei-fan delivered up to the prince a pair of peah [which he had received from the earl of Ts'in], saying, "Your servant has followed your lordship all about under heaven, as if bearing a halter and bridle, and my offences have been very many. I know them myself, and much more does your lordship know them. Allow me from this time to disappear." The prince said, "Wherein I do not continue to be of the same mind as my uncle [Tei-fan was the brother of the prince's mother], may the Spirit of this clear water pardon me?" And at the same time he threw the peah into the stream. Having crossed the Ho, the troops laid siege to Ling-ho, entered Sang-
to reunite, and took K'e-w'tseu. In the 3d month, on Kiah-woo, the army of Tin came to meet them, and took post at Loo-lieh. The earl of Tin sent his general Chiu, a son of duke Ch'ung, to the temple of T'ui, and to the temple of tin. On the 4th, on Sin-ch'ow, Huo Yen and the great officers of T'ai and Tin made a council. On Jin-yin the prince entered the army of Tin, and on P'ing-woo, he entered K'ew-yu. On Ting-woo, he went solemnly to the temple of T'ui, and on Mow-shin, he caused duke Hwa to be put to death in Kaou-Hiang. This does not appear in the text for the same reason that no announcement of it was made to Luo.

3d. Ch'en and Kih [Leu E-sang and Kih Juy, ministers of dukes Hwa and Hwae], fearing lest the new marquis should be hard upon them, planned to burn the palace and murder him. Po, the chief of the samnuns [who had been commissioned by his father, duke Hien, and afterwards, by his brother, duke Hwa, to kill Chiung-ur], begged an interview, but the marquis sent to reproach him, and refused to see him, saying, "In the affairs of the state of P'oo, my father, who is seated by your side, is the next day, and you came on that same day. Afterwards, when I was hunting on the banks of the Wei with the chief of the Tin, you came in behalf of duke Hwa, to seek for me and kill me. So now I have ordered Po to set fire to the place in three days, and you reached it in two. Although the undertaking was by your ruler's orders, why were you so rapid in the execution? The two [of which you cut off a part at P'oo] is still in my possession; go away." Po replied, "I said to myself that his lordship, entering the State [after so long a period of trial], was sure to have knowledge of the work. If he still have it not, he will again find himself in difficulties. It is the ancient rule, that, when an officer receives his ruler's commands, he think[s] of no other individual. Charged to remove the danger of my ruler, I remaind nothing but how I might be able to do it. What was his lordship at P'oo, or among the Tin to me? Now his lordship is master of the State;—is there no P'oo, are there no Tin [against which he may need my help]? Duke Hwa discovered to me all about the shooting of the buckles of his girdle and made Kwan Ch'ung his chief minister. If his lordship is going to act differently, I shall not trouble him to say anything to me. There are very many who will follow me, and not a poor buck like me only." The marquis then saw him, when he told him of the impeding attempts, on which the marquis, in the 3d month, secretly withdrew, and joined the earl of Tin in the [old] [of course] the last day of the month, the palace was set on fire; but Simg of Hwa and Kih Juy [of course] did not find the marquis. They then proceeded to the Hoo, from which the earl of Tin contrived to win him to his presence, three hours to the west. The marquis then met his wife, the lady Ying, and took her with him to Tin. The earl sent an escort of 3,000 men as guards, and who supervised all the departments of service about the court.

5th. In earlier years, the marquis had a personal attendant called Thao-seun, who had charge of his treasury. This boy, when the prince was obliged to flee, ran away, carrying the contents of the treasury with him. He had used them all, however, in seeking to procure the marquis's return; and when he did re-enter the State, he bought an interview with him. The marquis declined to see him, and sent word that he was bathing. T'ou-seun said to the servant [who brought the reply], "In bathing, the heart is turned upside down [Referring to the position of the body in bathing; with the head bent down], and one's plans are all reversed. It was natural I should be told that I cannot see him. Those who stayed in Tin were his ministers, guarding the alters of the land; and those who went with him were his servants, carrying balfier and bridge. Both may stand accepted." Why must he go and those who stayed in the country as criminals? If he, now lord of the State, shew such enmity to a poor man like me, multitudes will be filled with alarm." The servant repeated these words to the marquis, who instantly granted T'ou-seun an interview.

4th. "The chief of the Tin sent Ke Wei to Tin, and asked what should be done with the marquis's two children by her. The marquis has given [a daughter of his own], to be wife, to T'ung, to Kwoh of Ting, and Ying of Low. This lady—Ch'ou Kie—begged her husband that he would bring home from the Tin his son Tin, with his mother Shih Wei. Tin-yen [Ch'ou T'ae's daughter] refused to do so, but Ke said, "He who in the enjoyment of present prosperity forgets his old friends is not fit to command others. You must meet them, and bring them here." She pressed the matter so strongly, that at last he agreed that they should come. Finding that Tin was possessed of ability; she further pressed it earnestly on the marquis, her father, to cause him to be declared T'ou-seun, her, while her own three sons were ranked below him. She also caused Shih Wei to be made mistress of the harem, and occupied herself in an inferior position."

5th. "The marquis of Tin was rewarding those who had followed and adhered to him during his long exile; Kiao Che-wuy [who had once cut off a portion of his own thigh, to relieve the prince's utmost hunger] did not ask for any recompense, and it so happened that he was given to him. "The sons of duke Hwa," said he, "were nine, and only the marquis remains. Hwa and Hwae made no friends, and were abandoned by all, whether in the State or out of it. But Heaven had not abandoned the House of Tin, and was sure to raise some one to provide over his sacrifices;—and who should do that but the marquis? It was Heaven who placed him in his present position; and how false it is in those of other to think it was their strength which did it. He who steals but the money of another man is pronounced a thief; what name shall be given to them who seek to appropriate to themselves the work of Heaven? They, below, think their guilt is their righteousness, and the marquis, above, rewards their unworthiness. He above and they below are deceiving and deceived; it is difficult for me to dwell along with them!" His mother said to him, "Why not go as well as others, and ask for some recompense?" but if you see without receiving any, [never having asked], of whom can you complain?" He replied, "Were I to imitate them in their wrongdoing, my offence would be greater than theirs.
左傳，二十五年春衛人伐邢，二禮從國子巡城，被以赴外殺之，正月丙午衛侯燦滅邢同姓也，故名禮至為

晋侯曰，晋以公孫，擊裴也，楚大而有威，而信宜於諸侯，今為可矣，使卜偃卜之曰：吉，歸黃帝戰于阪泉之兆，公曰：吾不堪也，對曰：周禮未改，今之王，古之帝也，公曰：以тек

以進公，不亦可乎，大有去疾而復，亦其所也，諸侯辭秦師而下，三月甲辰，次于陽樊，右師圍溫，左師逆王，楚國申黃、秦師，秦師因申公息，息公逆，及遂圍陳，陳納馬子於頓。

楚國屈禦冠以申息之師，戎密秦人過析、隴入，而係興人，以圍商密，昏而鄭焉，寢坎血加書，為與子儀子，得原失信何以庇之所，日損多，是舍而原，遂原伯賞于奠趙襄，為原大夫，師遂為温大夫，

陳曰，余被殺國子，余被殺，

晉侯間原守於寺人勃鞮，對曰：昔趙衰以壺殼失道，而弗食，故使為原，
And I have spoken [what may seem] words of resentment and complaint,—I will eat none of their food." His mother said, "But what say you to letting your case at least be known?" And he answered, "I was an embellishment of the person. I shall withdraw my person entirely from the world, and why should I use what is employed to seek its embellishment?" His mother said, "Can you take this course? Then I will retire and hide myself from the world with you." The marquis of Ts'in afterwards sought for K'ae Che-t'oe-yu, but in vain, and endowed a sacrifice to him with the fields of Mien-siang. "It will be a moment," said he, "of my neglect, and a mark of distinction for the good man."

Par. 2. The Chuen says on this:—When the troops of Ch'ing entered Hwah [see XX. 4], the people of Hwah received its commands; but when they withdrew, it went over again to Wei. Sen, son of the earl of Ch'ing, and Soo Tso-yn-moi went against it with a force, when the king sent Pih-fuh and Yew-sun Pih to intercede with Ch'ing in behalf of Hwah; but the earl, resenting how king Hwuy, on his restoration [to the capital], had not conferred a cup on duke Le [see XX. 1, 2. 3], and also how king Seang soon took the part of Wei and Hwah, would not listen to his commands, and made the two officers prisoners. The king was angry, and wished to invade Ch'ing with the Teih. Foo Shin remonstrated with him, saying, 1 Do not do this. Your servant has heard that in the highest antiquity the people were kept in tranquillity by virtue. Since, therefore, the two sovereigns showed favour to their own relatives, and went on from them to others. Thus the duke of Chow, grieved by the want of harmony in the concluding times [of the two previous dynasties], raised the relatives of the royal House to the rule of States, that they might act as fences and screens to Chow. The princes of Kwan, Ts'ie, Sheng, Hoh, Loo, Wei, Man, Tsoo, Kam, Yung, Tsoou, Tung, Puh, Yuen, Fung, and Seun were all sons of king Wan. Those of Yu, Tsin, Ying, and Han were sons of king Woo. Those of Fan, Tseang, Hing, Man, Tsoo, and Chue were descendants of the duke of Chow. Duke Muh of Shau, thinking that the two relations of the virtue of Chow assembled all the members of the royal-House in Ch'ing-chow, and made the ode which says [Shi, II. L. ode IV.].

1 The flowers of the cherry tree,—
Are they not gorgeously displayed?
Of all the men in the world,
There are none like brothers.

In the 4th stanza it is said,
Brothers may squabble inside the walls,
But they will resist insult from without.
Thus, although brothers may have small quarrels among themselves, they will not for them cast away their relative affection. But now, when your Majesty, unable to bear the resentment of a slight quarrel, is casting away the affection of Ch'ing, what is to be said? And to employ the meritorious, to show affection to one's relatives, to cultivate the acquaintance of those without the gates to honour the worthy—these are the greatest of virtuous. To approach the deaf and to follow the blind, to agree with the weird and to use the stupid—these are the greatest of evils. To cast away what is virtuous and give honour to what is evil, is the greatest of calamities. To Ch'ing belongs the merit of assisting king P'ing and king Tsi, and it answered he, "was an embellishment of the person. I shall withdraw my person entirely from the world, and why should I use what is employed to seek its embellishment?" His mother said, "Can you take this course? Then I will retire and hide myself from the world with you." The marquis of Ts'in afterwards sought for K'ae Che-t'oe-yu, but in vain, and endowed a sacrifice to him with the fields of Mien-siang. "It will be a moment," said he, "of my neglect, and a mark of distinction for the good man."

Par. 2. The Chuen says on this:—When the troops of Ch'ing entered Hwah [see XX. 4], the people of Hwah received its commands; but when they withdrew, it went over again to Wei. Sen, son of the earl of Ch'ing, and Soo Tso-yn-moi went against it with a force, when the king sent Pih-fuh and Yew-sun Pih to intercede with Ch'ing in behalf of Hwah; but the earl, resenting how king Hwuy, on his restoration [to the capital], had not conferred a cup on duke Le [see XX. 1, 2. 3], and also how king Seang soon took the part of Wei and Hwah, would not listen to his commands, and made the two officers prisoners. The king was angry, and wished to invade Ch'ing with the Teih. Foo Shin remonstrated with him, saying, 1 Do not do this. Your servant has heard that in the highest antiquity the people were kept in tranquillity by virtue. Since, therefore, the two sovereigns showed favour to their own relatives, and went on from them to others. Thus the duke of Chow, grieved by the want of harmony in the concluding times [of the two previous dynasties], raised the relatives of the royal House to the rule of States, that they might act as fences and screens to Chow. The princes of Kwan, Ts'ie, Sheng, Hoh, Loo, Wei, Man, Tsoo, Kam, Yung, Tsoou, Tung, Puh, Yuen, Fung, and Seun were all sons of king Wan. Those of Yu, Tsin, Ying, and Han were sons of king Woo. Those of Fan, Tseang, Hing, Man, Tsoo, and Chue were descendants of the duke of Chow. Duke Muh of Shau, thinking that the two relations of the virtue of Chow assembled all the members of the royal-House in Ch'ing-chow, and made the ode which says [Shi, II. L. ode IV.].

1 The flowers of the cherry tree,—
Are they not gorgeously displayed?
Of all the men in the world,
There are none like brothers.

In the 4th stanza it is said,
Brothers may squabble inside the walls,
But they will resist insult from without.
Thus, although brothers may have small quarrels among themselves, they will not for them cast away their relative affection. But now, when your Majesty, unable to bear the resentment of a slight quarrel, is casting away the affection of Ch'ing, what is to be said? And to employ the meritorious, to show affection to one's relatives, to cultivate the acquaintance of those without the gates to honour the worthy—these are the greatest of virtuous. To approach the deaf and to follow the blind, to agree with the weird and to use the stupid—these are the greatest of evils. To cast away what is virtuous and give honour to what is evil, is the greatest of calamities. To Ch'ing belongs the merit of assisting king P'ing and king Tsi, and it answered he, "was an embellishment of the person. I shall withdraw my person entirely from the world, and why should I use what is employed to seek its embellishment?" His mother said, "Can you take this course? Then I will retire and hide myself from the world with you." The marquis of Ts'in afterwards sought for K'ae Che-t'oe-yu, but in vain, and endowed a sacrifice to him with the fields of Mien-siang. "It will be a moment," said he, "of my neglect, and a mark of distinction for the good man."

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T'ao-sue, supporting T'ao-shu, invaded Chow with an army of the Tei-h, inflicted a great defeat on the royal forces, and took Ke-fou, duke of Chow, the ears of Yuen and Mau, and Foo Shu. The king bestowed himself to Ch'ing, and resided in Fan, while T'ao-shuah and the lady Wei dwelt in Wan.

'The Chuen adds here two other narratives:—T'ao-sue, younger brother of Hwa, heir-son of Ch'ing [who was put to death in the 16th year], had fled to Sung. There he was fond of wearing a cap made of the feathers of the kingfisher. The earl of Ch'ing heard of it, and was displeased, and employed some ruffians to induce him to follow them, when, in the 8th month, they killed him between Ch'in and Sung. The superior man may say that when the clothes are not befitting, it indicates calamity to the person. The ode [Shoo I. xiv. ode II.] says,

"Those creatures Are not equal to their apparel."

The clothes of T'ao-sue were not such as were befitting him. The language of another ode (II. vi. ode III. 5),

"I have myself caused the distress," may be considered applicable to T'ao-sue. In the Bo Kee [Shoo, II. ii. 8] it is said, "The earth is reduced to order, and the influences of Heaven are operated with effect!"—there was a correspondency between them.

Sung having made peace with T'oo, duke Ch'ing of Sung went to T'oo. On his return, he entered the capital of Ch'ing, when the earl, wishing to feast him, asked Hwang Woo-tse how the ceremonies to be employed. Woo-tse replied, "The dukes of Sung are the descendants of the last dynasty. They appear as guests at the court of Chow. When the son of Heaven sacrifices, he sends them portions of the flesh; when they condole with him on occasion of a death, he bows to them and thanks them. Let your ceremonies be abundant and generous." The earl acted accordingly, and feasted the duke of Sung with extraordinary ceremonies."

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"In winter, the king sent a messenger to announce his troubles to Loo, saying, "Without goodness, without virtue, I offended my own brother Tao, the favourite son of our mother, and I am now as a borderer in the country of Ch'ing, in Fan. I venture to make this known to my uncle." Tsang Wun-chung said, "The son of Heaven is covered with dust, driven out from Chow. We dare not but fly to ask for his officers and guards." The king sent Kéen Sze-fou to inform Tain of his circumstances, and Tso Yen-fou to inform T'oo. The son of Heaven cannot be said to leave his country, and yet he is said in the text to have done so:—because he was avoiding the troubles raised by his own brother. For the son of Heaven to wear mourning garments, and to assume such deprecating names for himself, [as in his message to Loo], was proper (in king Shang's circumstances). The earl of Ch'ing, with K'ung Tsai-tung-sue, Shih K'ae-fou, and Hoo Suen-to, examined and saw that the officers sent insufficient supplies to Fan, and then attended to the government of their own state—which was proper."

Par. 5. E-woo, or duke Hwâu, died the previous year; but it is supposed that the announcement of his death was only now made to Loo.

[The Chuen adds here the following account:—A force from Wei was about to invade Hing, when Le Che said (to the marquise of Wei), "If you do not make sure of some of its ministers, the state cannot be secured." Let me and my brother go and take office there." On this the two went to Hing, and became ministers in it.]

Twenty-fifth year.

廿有五年春正月

丙午衛侯燭滅邢

夏四月癸酉衛侯燭卒。

宋殺其大夫。

秋楚人圍陳納頓子丁

宋燬伯姬來逆婦。

斗子莒廧盟於洮。

莽衛文公。
XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ping-woo, Wei, marquis of Wei, extinguished Hing.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Kwei-yew, Wei, marquis of Wei, died.

3 The duke's eldest daughter, married to a Tang of Sung, came [to Loo] to meet the wife [for her son].

4 Sung put to death [one of] its great officers.

5 In autumn, a body of men from Ta'oo invested [the capital of] Ch'in, and restored the viscount of Tun to Tun.

6 There was the burial of duke Wán of Wei.

7 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Kwei-hae, the duke had a meeting with the heir-son of Wei and King of Keu, when they made a covenant in T'aou.

Par. 1. The Chuen says—"In spring, a force from Wei invaded Hing. The two Le [see the last Chun] were following Kwoh-tze and going round the city-wall, when they held him fast in their arms, and went with him to the outside, killing him. In the 1st month, on Ping-woo, Wei, marquis of Wei, extinguished Hing. The lords of Wei and Hing were of the same surname, and therefore the text gives the name of the marquis, [to his disgrace]. La Che had the words engraved on a stele. "I grasped Kwoh-tze in my arms and killed him. No one dared to stop me," [thus publishing his own shame].

We see that the preservation of Hing, one of the great achievements of duke Hwan of Ts'in [see III. xxxii. 7; V. I. 2, 3, 4] did not long avail for that State. What is remarkable, is that it should perish at last at the hands of Wei, which had been reduced by the name Teh to even greater straits than itself [see IV. ii. 7]. Most of the critics lay great stress, like Tso-she, on the name of the marquis of Wei, being found here in the text, and a passage of the Le Ke [L. Pt. II. B. 21] is referred to, which would make it out that the mention of the name is condemnatory, and strikes the wickedness of the marquis of Wei in extinguishing a State held by a prince of the same surname as himself. But the canon in that passage, no doubt, made to suit this single text. Choo He imagines that the Le here has got into the text, by the error of a copyist, from the next paragraph.

Par. 2. From the last Chun on IV. ii. it appears that this prince was a man of perseverance and resources. His character, however, does not stand high with the critics; see the remarks of Ke-Pun in the Jen Sê.

Par. 3. There was a powerful family of the clan-name of Tang in Sung, and duke He's eldest daughter must have been married to the head, or some principal son of it, though the match is not mentioned in the classic. Here she came to Loo to take back a wife, we must suppose for her son, but nothing is said from what family the young lady was taken. On the phrase 出女, instead of 出女, compare 出婦.
is not this also encouraging? If we leave the diagram aside, and come back to T'ai-yüe, it also tells of a series of events, where the subject goes.

In this the marquis of Tain declined the assistance of the army of Tsin, and went down the Ho. In the 3d month, on K'eh-shin, he halted at Yang-fan, when the army of the right proceeded to invest Wan, and that of the left to meet the king. In summer, in the 4th month, on Ting-zeo, the king re-entered the royal city. T'ai-shih was taken in Wan, and put to death at Seh-shing. On Mow-woo, the marquis of Tain had an audience of the king, who feasted him with great hospitality, and gave him gifts to increase his joy. The minister asked that the privilege of being carried to his grave by a standing regiment might be granted him, but the king refused, saying, "This is the distinction of our kings, where there is not conduct to supersede the holders of the kingdom; to make one's self a second king is what you yourself, my uncle, would hate." Notwithstanding this refusal, the king conferred on Tain the lands of Yang-fan, Wèi, Yuen, T'wan-mou; and Tain proceeded to occupy the district of Nan-yang. Yang-fan refused to submit, and the troops of Tain laid siege to it. T'wan-lo had the honor of the command. It is true that he knew the art of war; but there was no smoke, and the people of the Middle State are not familiar with it. It is by the beauty of the wild trusses round about that the city is held. It is worth while to undertake to subject it. Here are none but the king's relatives and friends; by what will you make them captive? On this the marquis allowed the people to quit the city.

Par. 5. Tain was a small State; whose lords were Kuei, with the title of viscounts; in the press. His father, k'ang, was Shang-shih-wu, of Tsin-chow. It was extinguished by Tso in the 15th year of Duke Tsin. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, Tain and Tsin invaded the State of Jehu. At that time, Tow K'eh and K'eh Shih Yu-kow, with the forces of Shih and Seh, were guarding the territory of Shang-mel in behalf of Tso. The troops of Tain, passing by a shaded spot near Seh, [a town of Tso], entered it, and bound many of their people [to make them appear as prisoners], whom they had taken, with whom they proceeded to besiege Shang-mel, taking care to approach it in the dusk. During the night, they dug a pit, in which they placed a quantity of blood, showing also a writing over it, pretending that these were the proofs of a covenant with Tso and T'ou-pei (the above Tow and K'eh-shih). The people of Shang-mel became afraid, and concluded that Tain had taken Seh, and that the guards had gone away to their own State. They surrendered, therefore, to the army of Tain, which also made prisoners of T'e-o's duke of Shih, and Tou-pei, duke of Seh. T'ou-yu, chief minister of Tso, pursued the army of Tain, but could not overtake it, or take the king, who laid siege to the capital of Ch'in, and restored the viscount of Tain to his state."
公至自伐齊。

冬，楚人伐宋，圍碏。

公以楚師伐齊，取穀。

冬，楚人傳國，夏，齊侯伐我北鄙。
XXVI. 1 In his twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king’s first month, on Ke-we, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Keu and Ning Suh of Wei, when they made a covenant in Hsüang.

2 A body of men from Ts’e made an incursion into our western borders, when the duke pursued the army of Ts’e to He, but did not come up with it.

3 In summer, a body of men from Ts’e invaded our northern borders.

4 A body of men from Wei invaded Ts’e.

5 Suy, son of duke [Chuang], went to Ts’oo, to beg [the assistance of] an army.

6 In autumn, an officer of Ts’oo extinguished K’wei, and carried the viscount of K’wei back with them.

7 In winter, a body of men from Ts’oo invaded Sung, and besieged Min.

8 The duke, with an army of Ts’oo, invaded Ts’e, and took Kuh.

9 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ts’e.

Par. 1. Hsüang.—see on II. i. 2; II. xvi. 4. This Hsüang was probably that of Keu. The Chuen tells us that the count of Keu was styled Tsen-pei (著子), and that Ning Suh (Kung-yang, here and afterwards, has, 遮), was the officer known by his honorary title of Chuang (莊子), adding that this meeting was to confirm the previous one at Tsao. The count of Keu had only then been there by one of his officers, while here he attended in person—the reconciliation of Loo and Keu might be considered complete.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has here 詣 and Kuh-liang 訷, instead of 逝. Ts’e-shu has not 弗. He says that the incursion was made by Ts’e, to punish Loo for the two covenants at Tsao and Hsüang. A better reason may be found in the antagonistic position which Loo took to the present marquis of Ts’e on his accession—see on XVIII. 2. He was a town of Ts’e, in the south-west of pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep. Yen-chow. The Kung-li editors have a long note on the change of style in the par. from 萬人 to 齋師, which has wonderfully vexed the critics. If the commonly accepted view, that the term 齋人 is used of a small body of men under a commander of mean rank, and 齋師 of a large body of men under a similar command, were indubitably correct, we might be perplexed by the change of terms; but the text surely is an instance in point to show that the two forms of expression may be used to convey the same meaning. Or if it be insisted on that 齍人—an officer of Ts’e, one of no great rank, commanding in the incursion, the 齍師 can only mean ‘the army’ or force which he conducted.

Par. 3. Duke Hsuan of Ts’e was himself present with these invading forces. The Chuen says:—Duke Hsuan of Ts’e invaded our northern borders. Duke He sent Chuen He to offer provisions to the invading forces, having first made him receive instructions from Chuen K’un [the famous K’un-He, He, the father]. Accordingly, before the marquis of Ts’e had entered our borders, Chuen He followed in his track, came up with him, and said, ‘My prince, hearing that your lordship was on the march and descending to come to his small city, has sent himself, his poor servant, with these provisions for your officers.’ The marquis asked whether the people of Loo were afraid. ‘Small people,’ replied He, ‘are afraid, but the superior men are not.’ ‘Your houses,’ said the marquis, ‘are empty as a hanging musical-stone, and in your fields there is no green grass—on what do they rely that they are not afraid?’ He answered, ‘They rely on the charge of a former king. Formerly the duke of Chou and Ts’e-kung were legs and arms to the House of Chow, and supported and aided king Ch’ing, who rewarded them, and gave them a charge, saying, ‘From generation to generation let your descendants refrain from harming one another.’ It was preserved in the repository of charges, under the care of the grand-master [of Chow]. Thus it was that when duke Hwan assembled the various States, taking measures to cure the want of harmony among them, to heal their short-comings, and to relieve those who were in distress. In all this he was illustrating that ancient charge. When your lordship took his place, all the States were full of hope, saying, ‘He will carry on the meritorious work of Hwan.’ On this account
its ruling family was of the same surname as the lords of Ts‘ao,—an off-shot from the ruling
House of that State. The Chuen says:—"The
count of K‘wei did not sacrifice to Chuh-yang
and Yuh-hsing [the remote ancestors of the
House of Ts‘ao and also of K‘wei]..."
and an officer
was sent from Ts‘ao to reproach him. He replied,
"The founder of our State, Hsing Cho, was af-
iicted with a disease, from which those Spirits
did not deliver him, and he was obliged to hide
himself here in K‘wei. In this way we lost con-
nection with Ts‘ao, and why should we offer
these sacrifices?" In autumn, Ch‘ing Tih-shin
[the prime minister of Ts‘ao], Ts‘ao-yuh] and
Ts‘o E-shin led an army and extinguished
K‘wei, when they carried the viscount back
with them to Ts‘ao."
XXVII. 1. In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, the viscount of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, on Kang-yin, Ch'aou, marquis of Ts'e, died.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Yih-we, there was the burial of duke Hsiaou of Ts'e.

4. On Yih-sze, Suy, son of duke Ch'wang, led an army and entered Ke.

5. In winter, an officer of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ch'in,
the marquis of Ts'ai, the earl of Ch'ing, and the
baron of Hen, laid siege to [the capital of] Sung.
6 In the twelfth month, on Keah-seuh, the duke had a
meeting with the [above] princes, when they made
a covenant in Sung.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—Duke Hwan of
Ke paid a court-visit, and used the ceremonies of the E, for which reason he is called merely vis-
count. But the duke despised Ke, because of its
want of respectfulness." This explanation of
the title Ts'ai-tsu here must be incorrect; see
what is said on 楓子 in XXIII. 4. Even the
K'ang-he editors reject Ts'ai-shu's view in this
place. The lords of Ke had been degraded by the
king to the rank of viscount; we shall find
hereafter that they regained one step of dignity.
It may be ventured that this visit-commence-
text is the same which is mentioned in V. 2. as
presented by his mother, a sister of duke He,
when he was a child. He himself became, a few years after this, a son-in-
law of the duke.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—At this time Loo
had reason for resentment against Te'n, but the
duke did not neglect the observances proper in
cases of death;—which was proper.

Par. 3. The reason or other of the inter-
ment was hurried.

Par. 4. Too observes that the data here must be
wrong; there was no Yeh-in in the 6th
month of this year, but that day was the 6th of
the 8th month. The Chuen says that this at-
tack of Ke was to punish it for the neglect of
the proper ceremonies, assumed in the Chuen
on the 1st par. Most critics condemn the notion of
Loo in making this return to the viscount for his visit in the spring;—and properly.
Chao P'ang-fai (趙鳯飛) says that the
true character of Loo may be seen in it (魯之為魯抑可見矣), timorous and
creeping before the strong, arrogant and
oppressive to the weak.

Par. 5. The Chuen says here:—The vis-
count of Te'n, wishing to lay siege to the
capital of Sung, made Ts'an-yen exercises and
inspect the troops for the expedition in K'ued, and at the end of a whole morning,
he had not punished a single man. Ts'an-yen in
the next place was employed to exercise the
troops in Wei, and at the day's end he had
scorched seven men, and bored through the
eears of three. The editors of the State all
complained at Ts'an-yen, when he recommended
Ts'en-yen (his recommendation of Ts'en-yen), when he detained them to drink
with him. Wei Kae was then a boy, and
came late, offering no congratulations. Ts'an-
wen asked the reason of his conduct, and he
replied, "I do not know on what I should con-
gratulate you. You have resigned the government to
Ts'en-yen, thinking, no doubt, that his ap-
pointment would quiet the State. But with
quietness in the State and defeat abroad, what
will be gained? The defeat of Ts'en-yen will be
owing to your recommendation of him; and
what cause for congratulation is there in a re-
commodation which will bring defeat to the
State? Ts'en-yen is a violent man, and regarded
of the observances of propriety, so that he is
unfit to rule the people. If he be entrusted
with the command of more than 300 chariots, he will
not enter the capital again. If I congratulate
you after he has returned from being entrusted
with a larger command, my congratulations will
not be too late."

'In winter, the viscount of Ts'au and several
other princes laid siege to the capital of Sung,
the dukes of which went Kung-sun Koo to Taen to
report the strait in which he was. Seen Chin said
to the marquis, 'Now you may recompense the
harm you received from Sung, and relieve its distress.
The opportunity is now presented to acquire the
proper mastery and make sure of the leadership of
the State.' Hao Yen said, 'Ts'en-yen has just
secured the adherence of Ts'au, and there only
contracted a marriage with Wei. If we invade
Ts'au and Wei, Ts'au will be sure to go to
their help, and so Sung and Ts'au will be deliv-
ered from it.' On this, the marquis ordered a
hunting in Pe-lin, and formed a third army [see
the Chuen after IV. 1. 8]. He then consulted
about a commander in-chief. Chao Ts'ai said,
'K'ao Hwot is the man. I have heard him speak.
He explains all about music and proprieties, and
is versed in the Books of Poetry and History. These
Books are the repository of righteousness,
and in music and proprieties we have the
patterns of virtue, while virtue and righteousness
are roots of all advantage. In the Books of
Hsin [Shoo, II. 6, where there is some
difference in the text] it is said, 'They
were appointed by their speech; they were
tested by their works; they received chariots
and robes according to their services.' Let your
lordship make trial of him.' Upon this the marquis
appointed K'ao Hwot to command the second
army, that of the centre, with K'ao Taen as his
assistant. Hao Yen was made commander of
the first army, but he declined in favour of Hoo
Mou, and acted as his assistant. The marquis then
ordered Chao Ts'un-yen to take the third command,
but he declined in favour of Lwan Che and
Sien Chin, on which Lwan Che was made com-
mander of the third army, with Sien Chin as his
assistant. Seen Lin-fou acted as charioteer
for the marquis, and Wei Ch'ow was the
spearman on the right.

'When the marquis of Taen got possession of the
State, he taught the people for two years,
and then wished to employ them in war.
Ts'a-six said, 'While the people do
don't know righteousness, they will not live
quietly.' On this, beyond the State, the marquis
settled, the troubles of king Sung, and in it he
studied the people's advantage, till their lives
were happy and cherished by them. He then
wished to employ them, but Ts'a-six again said,
'The people do not yet know good faith, and do
not understand how they are to be employed.'
On this the marquis attacked Yuen, and showed
them what good faith was, so that in their
bargains they sought no advantage, and intelligently fulfilled all their words. "May they now be employed?" asked the marquis, but Tse-suan once more replied, 'While they do not know the observances of propriety, their respectfulness is not brought out.' On this, the marquis made great hunting parties, and showed them the gradations of different ranks, making special officers of degrees to adjust all the services. When the people could receive their orders, without making any mistake, then he employed them, drove out the guards of Kui (see XXVI.8), and relieved the siege of Sung. The securing of his leadership of the States by one battle was owing to this intelligent training.

The 'man of T'oo' in the text was Tse-yuh; but though he commanded, the viscount himself was with the army,—as the Chuen relates.

Par. 6. Loo now belonged to the party of T'oo, and the duke therefore went to Sung, to prove his adhesion. The critics needlessly find a great significance in the express mention of 'the duke' (公), and in the use of the general phrase 'the princes' (諸侯), without any special mention of 'the viscount of T'oo.'

Twenty-eighth year.

公子貞成衛，不卒成刺之。楚人救衛。

三月丙午，晉侯入曹，曹伯拜宋人。

夏四月己巳，晉侯齊師宋師秦師及楚人戰於城濮，楚師敗績。

五月癸丑，公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、蔡侯、鄭伯、衛侯，盟於践土。

六月，衛侯鄭自楚復歸於衛，衛元咺自奔晉。
秦頟之告楚，楚欲稱霸，而分曹衛之邑以適宋人。楚之彊，以齊、衛之臣，使申叔去殤，使子玉去陳，曰：「無從申叔，且何信？」楚之為齊、衛所困，而陳國之民，皆怨其王，故去之。申叔去殤，使子玉去陳，曰：「無從申叔，且何信？」楚之為齊、衛所困，而陳國之民，皆怨其王，故去之。申叔去殤，使子玉去陳，曰：「無從申叔，且何信？」楚之為齊、衛所困，而陳國之民，皆怨其王，故去之。申叔去殤，使子玉去陳，曰：「無從申叔，且何信？」楚之為齊、衛所困，而陳國之民，皆怨其王，故去之。申叔去殤，使子玉去陳，曰：「無從申叔，且何信？」楚之為齊、衛所困，而陳國之民，皆怨其王，故去之。申叔去殤，使子玉去陳，曰：「無從申叔，且何信？」楚之為齊、衛所困，而陳國之民，皆怨其王，故去之。申叔去殤，使子玉去陳，曰：「無從申叔，且何信？」楚之為齊、衛所困，而陳國之民，皆怨其王，故去之。申叔去殤，使子玉去陳，曰：「無從申叔，且何信？」楚之為齊、衛所困，而陳國之民，皆怨其王，故去之。
有行者，誰扞牧圉，不協之故，用昭反皇，於爾大神，以誇天東，自今日以往，咸盟之後，行者無保其力，居者無倖使與之乘而入，公子出犬，華仲前罵，叔武將沐，聞君至，喜抽髮走出，前驅射而殺之。公知其無罪也，枕之股而哭之。犬走出，公使殺之，元咺出奔晉，二、城濮之戰，晉軍風于澤，亡大旆之左旃。祁膳，好命司馬殺之。以徇于諸侯使，荀茂伐之。師還，壬午，濟河舟，之唐，晉帥師以入，申振旅禮以入，晉獻俘授馘，欲至大賞，寡會討賊，殺舟之僕以徇于國民。是大服，君子謂文公能刑矣，齊罪而民服詩云。惠此中國，以绥四方，不失賞刑之謂也。

是會也，晉侯召王以諸侯見，且使王狩，仲尼曰：以臣召君不可以訓。故書曰：天王狩于河陽，非其地也，且明德也。申公羊于王所。晉侯曰：曹伯，女封曹伯。曹伯，鄭伯，宋伯，衛伯，楚伯，鄭伯，衛伯，宋伯，曹伯。春秋傳曰：鄭伯，衛侯。非也。凡非刑也，禮以行義，信以守禮，刑以正邪，舍此三者，君將何何公。說復曹伯，遂會諸侯圍許。
XXVIII. 1 In the duke's twenty-eighth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin made an incursion into Ts'aoou. He [also] invaded Wei.

2 Mae, son of duke [Chwang], was guarding Wei. [Because] he did not do so successfully, [the duke] put him to death.

3 A body of men from Ts'oo endeavored to relieve Wei.

4 In the third month, on Ping-woo, the marquis of Tsin entered [the capital of] Ts'aoou, seized the earl of Ts'aoou, and gave him to the people of Sung.

5 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-sze, the marquis of Tsin, and the armies of Ts'e, Sung, and Ts'in, fought with the men of Ts'oo in Shing-puh, when the army of Ts'oo was disgracefully defeated.

6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, Tih-shin.

7 The marquis of Wei left his State, and fled to Ts'oo.

8 In the fifth month, on Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of Ch'ing, the viscount of Wei, and the viscount of Keu, when they made a covenant at Ts'en-t'oo.

9 The marquis of Ch'in went to the [above] meeting.

10 The duke paid a court-visit in the place where the king was.

11 In the sixth month, Ch'ing, marquis of Wei, returned from Ts'oo to his rule in Wei. Yuen Heuen of Wei left the State, and fled to Tsin.

12 Kwan, marquis of Ch'in, died.

13 In autumn, duke [Chwang's] eldest daughter, [married to the former viscount] of Ke, came to Loo.

14 Suy, son of duke [Chwang], went to Ts'e.

15 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of Ch'ing, the heirson of Ch'in, the viscount of Keu, the viscount of Choo, and an officer of Ts'in, in Wän.

16 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of reception in Ho-yang.

17 On Jin-shin, the duke paid a court-visit in the place where the king was.

18 An officer of Tsin seized the marquis of Wei, and carried him to the capital.

19 Yuen Heuen of Wei returned from Tsin to his place in Wei.

20 The princes then besieged [the capital of] Heu.

21 Séang, earl of Ts'aou, was restored to his State, and forthwith joined the other princes in the siege of Heu.
Par. 1. The Chuen says:—In spring, the marquis of Tain, wishing to invade Ts'ou, asked to be allowed to march through Wei, but the people of Wei refused the privilege. On this, he advanced his forces, and crossed the Ho at its most southern part, made an incursion into Ts'ou, and invaded Wei. In the 1st month, on Moon-shin, he took Woo-lu. In the 3rd month, Keng Hwah of Tain died, and Chih of Yuen got the command of the army. In the 4th, Sou Shin, the assistant-commander of the third, from the marquis's high consideration of his ability, the marquis of Tain and the marquis of Ts'e made a covenant at Lien-yu. The marquis of Wei begged to be admitted to it, but Tain refused. He then wished to take the side of Ts'e, but the people of the State did not wish this, and thrust him out,—in order to please Tain. On this he left the capital, and resided at Seng-shu.

The repetition of the marquis of Tain in the text indicates that the raid into Ts'ou and the attack of Wei were two distinct undertakings, previously determined on. If the meaning were that Tain seized the opportunity of being in Wei, because he failed in maintaining his guard, Mao Hsü-ling calls the accuracy of the execution of Tain into question, principally because of the conduct of Tain's being made only in the next par. But this is being hypercritical. The conduct of Lee in the case illustrates the weakness and want of connection in his government, which have already been pointed out.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—Mae was guarding the Wei in the interest of Ts'e, and when the people of Ts'e were unsuccessful in relieving it, the Duke became afraid of Ts'ou, and put Tung-ting [i.e., Mae] to death to please it, saying at the same time to the people of Ts'e that he put him to death because he failed in maintaining his guard. Mao Hsü-ling says: 'The execution of Tain.' We are not justified in following this, for the reason that the name of the marquis is not mentioned in the text. The state, as Kung-yang says:—Tai [i.e., the general] being at the head of an army, and the people of Ts'e not being enabled to relieve it, there is a uniform inclination to regard the marquis. The Chuen is correct.

Par. 3. Here is another instance of the modified dignity that must often be allowable to the reader and the Chuen in the text. As Ch'un-tzu is the Chinese for the king of T'o, and the term in the text is K'o, the Chuen is correct.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—The marquis of Tain besieged the capital of Ts'ou, and in an attack on one of its gates, many of his soldiers were killed. The people of Ts'ou took their bodies, and exposed them on the top of the wall, to his great distress. Having heard his men planning among themselves, and saying, "Let us say that we will go and encamp among their graves," he removed part of the army there. The people of Ts'ou shuddered in their fear, made coffins for the bodies which they had got, and sent them forth from the city. The army of Tain attacked it while in this consternation, and in the 3d month, on Ping-shu, the marquis entered the city, declared to the earl his fault in not supporting Ho K'oo, and finding that there were no troops in the army, that the king's favours had not been returned, that he had formerly done him [see the long Chuen at the end of the 22d year]. Wei Chou and Ten Hwah were angry at this, and said, "The marquis has not tried to recompense all our labour in his cause, and here he makes such a return for a trifling service." On this they sent and burned the house of Ho, when Wei Chou was hurt in the breast in the confusion. The marquis wished to put him to death [for violating his commands], but regretting to lose his ability and strength, he sent a messenger to ask for him, and to see how he was, intending, should he be very ill, to execute him. Chou bound up his breast, and, when he saw the messenger, said, "By the good influence of his kinsman the Duke of Hou, I have an easy way to stand as an afterthought, instead of the second of the State, we should have followed the latter.

Par. 5. Sheng-pi, says:—in III. xxvii. 7. The Chuen says:—The account of Ts'e had in the
not follow the army of Tein. The marquis of Tain was a
fugitive abroad for 19 years, and yet he has succeeded
in getting possession of the State. He has experienced
perils, difficulties, and hardships; he is thoroughly
acquainted with the truth and the falsehood of
men; Heaven has given him length of years, and
removed who wished to injure him—can be whom
Heaven thus establishes be displeased? The
Art of War says, "When things are properly
arranged, then return." When you know yourself
to be in difficulties, then withdraw; and
also, "The virtuous man is not to be opposed."
These three rules are all applicable to the
greatest case of Tein.
"Tae-yu sent Pih-fun to Shin to beg to be
allowed to fight, saying, "I do not presume
to say that I shall certainly conquer; but I wish to
shut the mouth of my calumniators." The king
(i.e., the vicount of Tevo) was angry, and gave
him another additional troop;—only the cohort of
the west, the guards of the prince of Tevo,
and the six troops of Jeh-when, went to join the
army in Sung. Tae-yu then sent Yuen Ch'uan
with this message to the army of Tein,—"Please
to restore the marques of the State, and re-instate
the earl of Teou, and L in my turn, will
give up the siege of Sung." Tae-fan said,
"Tae-yu has no sense of courtesy or propriety."
Our lord is to get one advantage, and he himself
will get two. We must not lose this opportunity of
fighting." Seco Chiu said to Tae-fan, "Accede to the proposal.
To settle the affairs of men may be called the highest
exercise of propriety. Tevo by one proposal
would settle the difficulties of three States;—if
we by one word in reply prevent this settlement,
then we are chargeable with the want of prop-
riety—and on what grounds can we go to
fight? If we refuse to accede to Tevo's proposal,
we shall abandon Sung. Our object has been
to relieve it; and if we abandon it instead,
what will the States think of us? There will be,
in our refusal, three States which Tevo has
sought to benefit, three States whose resentment
will be awakened. When those who are dis-
pleased with us become so numerous, where
will be our means to fight? Our best plan will
be privately to promise to restore the princes of
Teou and We, so alienating them from Tevo;
and at the same time let us select Yuen Ch'uan
to make Tevo still more angry. After we have
fought, we can take further measures on all
these points." The marquis was pleased with
this advice, and accordingly he kept Yuen
Ch'uan a prisoner in We, at the same time
deliberately promising the princes of Teou and
We to restore them to their States; and they,
in consequence, announced to Tae-yu their
separation from the side of Tevo. Tae-yu
was so angry with those things that he followed
the marquis of Tain, who retreated before him.
The smaller officers of the army said, "It is
disgraceful for the prince of one State thus to
avoid the minister of another. The army of
Tevo has been for the last six months why do we retreat before it?" Tae-fan said to
them, "It is the goodness of its name which
makes an army strong; you cannot call it old
because it may have served a long time. But
for the kindness of Tevo, we should not be in
our present circumstances; and this retreat of
three stages is to repay that kindness. If the
marquis showed ingratitude for that and ate
his words [See the Chun at the end of the
23d year], to meeting Tevo as an enemy, we
should be in the wrong and Tevo would be in
the right—its host would be as if it had abund-
ant rations, and could not be pronounced old
and weary. If, when we retire, Tevo also
withdraws its army, what can it be said that we
are requiring of it? But if it do not do so,
then our prince retires, and its subject keeps
pressing upon him—Tevo will be in the
wrong. When Tain had thus restored 90 hs, the
host of Tevo wished to stop, but Tae-yu
would not do so.
"In summer, in the 4th month, on Mou-shin,
the marquis of Tain, the duke of Sung, Kwoh
Kuai-fan and Tevo Tiao of Teo, and Yin, a
younger son of the earl of Tain, all halted at
Shing-yu, while the army of Tevo encamped
with the height of K in its rear. The marquis
was troubled by the strength of the enemy's position,
but he heard the soldiers singing to themselves
the line,
"Beautiful and rich is the field on the plain;
The old crop removed, the new comes again." 
The marquis was doubting about their meaning,
but Tae-yu said to him, "Fight. If we fight
and are victorious, you are sure to gain all the
States; if we do not succeed, we have the outer
and inner defences of the mountains and the
Ho, and shall not receive any serious injury."
"But," said the marquis, "what of the kindness
which I received from Tevo? Lwan Ching-
tse said, "All the Ke States north of the Han
have been absorbed by Tevo. You are thinking
of the small kindness which you received yourself,
and forgetting the great disgrace done to
your name,—the best plan is to fight." The
marquis dreamt that he was boxing with the
vicount of Tevo, when the vicount knocked
down upon him, and sucked his brains. This made
him afraid again, but Tae-yu said, "The dream
is lucky. We lie looking to his coming, while
Tevo is nursing, as if acknowledging its guilt;
and moreover, we deal gently with it."
"Tae-yu sent Teo Pol, to request that Tain
would fight with him, saying, "Let me have a
game with your men. Your lords are
on the cross-board of your carriage and look on,
and I will be there to see you." The marquis
made Lwan Che give the following reply, "I
have heard your command. I dared not to
forget the kindness of the lord of Tevo, and
therefore I am here. I retired before his officer;
—should I have dared to oppose himself? Since
I have not received your orders not to fight, I
will trouble you, Sir, to say to your leaders,
'Prepare your chariots; see reverently to your
prince's business; to-morrow morning I will see
you.'"
"The chariots of Tain were 700, with the har-
ness of the horses on back, breast, belly, and
hips, all complete. The marquis ascended the
army on the 12th of Tse-sin to survey the army, when he
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down to increase his munitions of war. On Ksas, the army was drawn up for battle on the north of Sin, Sea Shih, with his command, as the assistant leader of the 3rd army, being opposed to the troops of Chih and Tsao. Tsao-yeh, with the large numbers of troops, suddenly turned towards the centres, and said, "To-day shall make an end of Tain," while Tsao-se commanded the left, and Tse-e-shang on the right. Sea Shih, having covered his horses with tiger skins, commenced the battle by attacking the troops of Chih and Tsao, which took the flight, and the right army of Tsao was scattered. Ho Maou set up two large flags, and then he carried back, while Luan Chen, also pretended to fly, dragging branches of trees behind his chariots [i.e., increase the dust, and make his movement all the more respectable]. The army of Tsao dashed after the fugitives, when Yuen Chih and Kieh Tain, with the 3rd army and the marginal's own army, came across upon it. At the same time, Ho Maou and Hoo Yen attacked Tsao-se on the other side, and the left army of Tsao was scattered. The army of Tsao indeed was disgracefully defeated, for Tsao-yeh only did not suffer as the other leaders, because he collected his forces, and declined from the flight. The army of Tain occupied his camp, and praised his prognosis for 3 days, retiring on the day Kwet-yew.

Par. 6. Tib-shin died by his own hand, his command having to forgive his waywardness in seeking a battle with Tain, and the disgrace incurred by his defeat. That the test should describe his death as if he had been publicly executed, or at least put to death by the command of the general, the viscount of Tsao, is an instance, that only a narrower one, of the misrepresentations of fact that abound in the classic, and in which Chinese critics will see only the subtle wisdom of Confucius. The Chuen says:—At an earlier time, Tsao-yeh had made for himself a cap of fawn-skin, adorned with carnation gams and with strings ornamented with jade; but he had not worn it. Before the battle, he dreamt that the spirit of the Ho said to him, "Give your cap to me, and I will give you the marib of Mang-shoo," and that he would not make the exchange. The dream becoming known, his son Tsao and Tsao-se sent Yung Hwang to recompense him; but it was in vain. Yung Hwang, [Kien (i.e., as the son of Yung Hwang)] said, "If by dying you could benefit the operations of the army, perhaps you would do it; how much more should you be prepared to give up these gams and jade? They are but dirt, and if by them you can benefit the operations of the army, why should you grudge them?" The general would not listen to this counsel; and when he came forth, he said to his son and Tsao-se, "A Spirit cannot aid a minister like me. If the minister does not do his utmost in the service of the people, he will ruin himself." After the defeat, the viscount of Tsao sent him the message, "If you come here, how will you answer to the oiders of Shih and Seih for the death of their children?" Tsao-se and Sun-yau [Tsao-yeh's son] said to the messenger, "Tib-shin was going to die, but we stopped him, saying that the viscount would himself like to put him to death." Tsao-yeh then proceeded to Leen-yau, and there died [committed suicide]. When the marquis of Tain heard of it, his joy was great. "There is no one," he said, "to poison my joy now. Wei Len-shih will indeed be chief minister in Tse-yeh's room. But he will himself be his own care; he will not be devoted to the people."" Par. 7. We have seen, in the Chuen on par. 1, that the marquis of Tain had promised to restore the prince of Wei to his state. But the latter probably did not believe the promise; and in an access of alarm, on hearing of the battle of Shing-puh, he fled to Tsao. According to the canon that princes who have lost their States should be mentioned by name, the critics vex themselves to account for the omission of the name here — see the note of the Kung-hi editors on the subject.

Par. 8. Tsao-yeh was Ching, in the northwest of the pres. dis. of Yang-tsal (Kang-si), dep. K'een-tung, Ho-nan. The only difficulty in translating the par. is with 被. We are told in the Chuen on the 1st par., how the people of Wei had driven out their ruler, who took up his residence in Shing-new, till he fled to Tsao, as related in the last par. He had a younger brother, Shih-yau, however, in charge of the State, and he it was who took part in this meeting and covenant. We cannot translate by 'son' or 'heir', because Shih-yau was not the sun, but the brother, of the ruler of Wei. He seems to be here called 'viceroy', and have his place assigned after the earl of Ching, of whom in other places the 'marquis' of Wei takes precedence.

According to the Chuen, the king himself was present at Tsao-yeh, and conferred high honors on the marquis of Tain, appointing him also to be the chief of the princes, and leader of the States. These things should have been recorded in the classic. That they are not recorded, is another instance — more important than the last — of the peculiarity of the Book, now silent as to certain events, now misrepresenting them.

The Chuen says:—On Kseh-yau, the marquis of Ping, came to pay his respects and accorded him the title of earl; and the king sent for the horse to be reared in Tsao-yeh. Three months before the battle of Shing-puh, the earl of Ching had gone to Tsao-yeh, and offered the service of his army; but after the defeat of Tsao-yeh, he was afraid to take the State, and sent his submission to Tain. Luan Chen of Tain went thither to the capital of Ching, and made a covenant with the earl; and in the 5th month the marquis himself and the earl made a covenant in Mang-yang. On Ting-yau, the marquis presented the spoils and prisoners of Tsao-yeh to the king—100 chariots with their horses all in mail, and 1000 foot-soldiers. The earl of Ching acted as assistant to the king in treating the marquis and the great earl of the State of Ping had treated his ancestor (Shoo, V.xxviii). On Ke-yau, the king feasted him with sweet spirits, and conferred on him various gifts. He also commissionezed the minister Yin and his own brother Hoo, with the historiographer of the Interior, Sing Hing-fon, to convey the written appointment of the marquis of Tain to be the chief of the princes, giving him the robes to be worn in the carriage adorned with metal, and those proper for a chariot of war, one red bow and a hundred red arrows, a black bow and a
thousand arrows, a jar of spirits, made from the black mullet, flavoured with herbs, and three bowls of rice for the guards. The words of the appointment were: "The king says to his uncle, Reversely discharge the king's commands, so as to give tranquillity to the States in every quarter, and drive far away all who are ill-disposed to the king. The other princes declined his honours: but at last accepting them, he said, 'I, Chung-urb, venture twice to do obeisance, with my head bowed to the earth,—and so do I receive and will maintain the great, distinguished, excellent charge of the son of Heaven.' With this he received the tablet, and went out. At this meeting, from first to last, thrice he had audience of the king. When the marquis of Wei heard of the defeat of the army of Te-pe, he became afraid, and fled from Sung-nen to go to Te-foo. He went, however, to Ch'in, and sent Shuh-woo under the care of Yuen Huen to take part in the covenant of the princes. On Kwej-hoe, Hoo, a son of king Hwuy, presided over a covenant of them all in the court of the king's palace. The words of it were, 'We will all assist the royal House, and do no harm to one another. If any one transgress this covenant, may the intelligent Spirits destroy him; so that he shall lose his people, and not be able to possess his State, and to the remotest posterity, let him have no descendant old or young!' The superior man will say that this covenant was sincere, and that in all this service the marquis of Tein overcame by the virtuous training which he had given to his people.

In the text no mention is made of king Sung's brother Hoo taking part in the covenant of Teen-toe. Maou says that he is not mentioned, because, though he presided over the covenant, he was not a party to it, and did not shed his blood with the blood of the victim. The covenant was made, acc. to the text, on Kwej-chow, the 18th day of the month; acc. to the Chuen, on Kwej-hoe, the 29th day. Too observes that one or other of these dates must be wrong.

Par. 9. The marquis of Ch'in had been one of the adherents of Te'oo, but now he wished, like others, to profit by the victory of the prince of Tein. He went to the meeting, but did not arrive at Teen-toe, till the covenant was over.

Par. 10. This par. implies what is related in the Chuen on p. 8, that the king in person had met the marquis of Tein on his return from the victory at Shing-pah. 'The king's palace was of course the palace built for him at Tein-toe.' Kuh-liang says that when the Tyou are mentioned, the place should not be given, and that the mention of the place, where the visit is made or the audience had, intimates that it is not the proper place for the king to be in; but the criticism is groundless. I translate "Sung" here as usual. 'Had an audience' would be equally suitable. Wang Kuh-kwan (汪克寬; A.D. 1804—1872) observes that it is a general term to describe audiences with the ruler (朝者覲君之總稱 also).

Par. 11. 復聞;—see on II. xv. 5. The Chuen says:—'Some one accused Yuen Huen to the marquis of Wei, saying that Yuen Huen was raising Shuh-woo to the real marquisate, and the marquis theretofore caused Huen's son, Keho, who was in attendance on him, to be put to death. Notwithstanding this, Huen did not disregard the charge which he had received from the marquis, but supported E-alun (E is the hon. title of Shuh-woo, the marquis' brother) in the guardianship of the State. In the 6th month, the people of Tein restored the marquis, and then the officer Ning Woo (on the marquis' part) and the people of Tein made the following covenant in Yuen-poh;—'Huen sent down calamity on the State of Wei, so that the ruler and his subjects were not harmonious, and we were brought to our present state of sorrow. But now Heaven is guiding all minds, bringing them in humility to a mutual accord. If there had not been those who abode in the State, who would have kept the altar in its place? If there had not been those who went abroad with him, who would have guarded his cattle and horses? Because of the former want of harmony, we now clearly beg to covenant before you, great Spirits, asking you to direct our consciences—from this time forward after this covenant, those who went abroad with the marquis shall not presume upon their services, and those who remained in the State need not fear that any crime will be imputed to them. If any break this covenant, exciting dissatisfaction and quarrels, may the intelligent Spirits and our former rulers mark and destroy them!" When the people heard this covenant, they had no longer any doubts in their minds. After this, the marquis wished to enter the capital before the time agreed upon, the officer Ning going before him [to prepare the people]. Ch'ang Tsang who had charge of the gate, thinking he was a messenger, entered in the same carriage with him. Meanwhile the marquis' brother Chuen-kenen, and Hwa Ch'ung, rode on ahead of him. Shuh-woo was then about to bathe; but when he heard that the marquis was come, he ran joyfully out to meet him, holding his hair in his hand, and was killed by an arrow from one of those who had gone before. The marquis knew that he had been guilty of no crime, pillowed the corpse on his own thigh, and wept over it. Chuen-kenen ran away, but the marquis sent after him, and put him to death. Yuen Huen fled to Tein.'

The text says that the marquis of Wei returned from Te'oo, to which he had fled in p. 7. The Chuen on p. 8, however, makes us think that he never went so far as Te'oo, but stopped short in his flight, and went to Tein. This is also the account of him given in the

Kuh-liang infers from the 自楚 that it was Te'oo which restored the marquis to his State (自楚有奉焉); but Tyoo was not in a condition at present to put forth such an influence in behalf of its adherents.

Par. 13. In the 1st par. of last year we have the viscount of Ke, son of the lady in the text, at the court of Loo, and in p. 4, an officer of Loo attacks Ke. The visit here was probably
undertakes with reference to the misunderstanding between the two States, the mother of the viscount of the one and sister of the marquis of the other wishing to reconcile them.

Par. 14. This was a visit of friendly inquiry, for which many reasons can be assigned. A likely one is that it was a sequel to the covenant at Tsien-too, in which both Lo and Ts'ei had taken part.

(The Chuen appends here:—At the battle of Shing-puh, the castle of the army of Ts'in ran, being in heat, into a marsh, and were lost; the left flag, belonging to the great banner, was lost;—through K'e-Mwan’s disbelieving orders. The provost-marshal caused him to be put to death in consequence; the punishment was made known to all the assisting princes; and Maon Fei was appointed in his place. On the return of the army, it crossed the Ho on Jin-woo. Chow Che-kiou had gone home before, and Sus Hway was temporarily made spearman on the right. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Ping-shin, the troops in triumphal array entered the capital of Ts'in. The spoils were presented, and the left ears that had been cut off from the soldiers of Ts'oo were set forth, in the temple. There also the marquis drank the cup of return, and distributed rewards on a great scale, publishing the summons for another assembly of the State, and the punishment of those who waved allegiance. Chow Che-kiou was put to death, and his doom declared throughout the State, so that the people were saved into a great submission. The superior man will declare that duke Wan excelled in the use of punishments, swaying the people by the execution of three criminals [Tzen Hieh, K'e-Mwan, and Chow Che-kiou]. What we read in the Book of Poetry [Shen, III, ii. and IX. 1],

"Cherish this centre of the State, To give rest to all within its four quarters."

is descriptive of the right use of the regular punishments.

Par. 18. Wan.—See V.x. 2. It had been conferred by king Seang on Ts'in, as related in the Chuen appended to par. 4 of the 25th year. This meeting was the one, the summonses to which is mentioned in the last Chuen. Kuh-ling has not the character 使侯. The meeting is memorable as the 1st of these gatherings of the States at which Ts'in, destined to absorb them all, was represented. The marquis of Ch'in, known as duke Kung (共公), had succeeded to his father, whose death is recorded in p. 12, but the father being not yet buried, he appears here only as son, and is ranked after the earl of Ch'ing. The Chuen says that at this meeting, measures were taken to punish the States which were not assisters in mourning Hieh, and perhaps also Wei.

Par. 16. Ho-yang was in pres. dep. of Ho-nan, within the territory of Wan.

For 丘 has 守, The Chuen says:—As to the assembly here, the marquis of Ts'in called the king to it, and then with all the princes he had an interview with him, and made him hold a court of inspection. Ch'ung-ne said, "For a subject to call his ruler to any place is a thing not to be set forth as an example." Therefore the text says,—"The king held a court of reception at Ho-yang." The text thus shows that there was not the place for the king to hold a court, and also illustrates the excellent service of the marquis of Ts'in." In this Chuen we have the inauspicious admission by Confucius himself, that he misrepresented facts, relating events not according to the truth of his knowledge. I suppose that his words stop at 諭, and that in 故 書云云 we have the language of Tze-ch'ieh, intimating that Confucius wanted to give some intimation—which is very judicious indeed—that the thing was not exactly as he said, and at the same time to acknowledge the good intention of the marquis of Ts'in in the whole transaction.

Par. 17. See on par. 10. Jin-shin was in the 10th month. The characters 十月 have probably been lost from the commencement of the par.

Par. 18. The marquis of Wei had been persuaded by Ning Woo to go to the meeting at Wan; but the marquis of Ts'in refused to allow him to take part in it, and indeed put him under guard, till he should have determined on his guilt in the death of his brother. Ning Woo and two other officers, K'en Chwang and Sing Yang, accompanied their ruler to Wan.

The Chuen says:—The marquis of Wei and Yuen Huen pleaded against each other. The officer K'en Chwang was representative of the marquis, as the defendant, with Ning Woo to assist him, and Sing Yang as his advocate. The marquis's pleas could not be sustained; and the marquis of Ts'in put Sing Yang to death, and cut off the head of K'en Chwang. Considering that Ning Yü [the name of Ning Woo] had acted a faithful part, he let him off; but he seized the marquis himself, and conveyed him to the capital, where he was confined in a dark room, with Ning Woo to attend to supplying him with provisions in a bag.

For 丘 has 守, The Chuen says:—Yuen Huen returned to Wei, and raised Hieh, another son of duke Wan, to be marquis. Why must suppose that Huen had the authority of the marquis of Ts'in for what he did; but the critics are unanimous in condemning him. The case of the marquis was now in the king's hands; and Huen should have waited for the royal decision about him and the affairs of the State.

Par. 20. Huen, though only a small State, was the most persistent in adhering to the fortunes of Tze-shou, influenced probably by the consideration of its own contiguity to that State.

The 遂 implies that the princes proceeded from their meeting at Wan and audience of the king, in the attack of Hieu, without returning to their States, or engaging in any other enterprise.

Par. 21. The Chuen says:—On Tung-chow the princes all laid siege to the capital of Hieu.

The marquis of Ts'in falling ill, Hieh now, a personal attendant of the earl of Ts'oo, bribed
the officer of divination, and got him to attribute the marquis's illness to his dealing with Ts'ao.

"Duke Hwan of Ts'ao," represented the officer, "assembled the princes, and established States of different surnames from his own [e.g., Hing and Wei]: but your lordship now assembles them, and extinguishes States of your own surname; for Shu Tsin-tsoh, the first lord of Ts'ao was a son of king Wan, and T'ang-shuh, our first lord, was a son of king Woo. Not only is it not proper to assemble the princes and extinguish any of your own surname, but you made the same promise to the earl of Ts'ao as to the marquis of Wei, and you have not restored the earl as you did the marquis;—you have not shown good faith. Their crime was the same, and their punishment is different:—you do not show an equal justice. It is by propriety that righteousness is carried out; it is by good faith that propriety is maintained; it is by equal justice that depravity is corrected.

If your lordship let these three things go, in what position will you be placed?" The marquis was pleased, and restored the earl of Ts'ao, who immediately joined the other princes at Heu."

[The Chuen has here an additional article:—"The marquis of Ts'in formed three new columns of army to withstand the Teih. Sung Lin-sou had the command of that of the centre; Ts'oo Keih of that of the right, and Sung Moeh of that of the left."]

Twentyninth year.

In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, in spring, Koh-loo of K'ae came to Loo.
2 The duke arrived from the siege of [the capital of] Heu.
3 In summer, in the sixth month, [the duke] had a meeting with an officer of the king, an officer of Ts'in, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Ts'in, when they made a covenant in Teih-ts'euen.
4 In autumn, there was great fall a of hail.
5 In winter, Koh-loo of K'ae came [again] to Loo.
Par. 1. Kuee was a small State held by one of the E. or wild tribes of the east. In the south of the prov. Kioush Chow (膠州), dep. Lan-chow. Kuh-loo was the name of its chief at this time. His coming to Loo would be equivalent to a court-visit (入), but such visits were not interchanged by the princes of China with the barbarous chieftains, and therefore, we have simply 来, 'he came.' The Chuen says:—

"Kuh-loo of Kiee came to pay a court-visit to the duke, and camped in the country above Ch'ang-yen. The duke being absent at the meeting with the other princes, they sent him forage and rice,—which was proper."

Par. 2. Kung and Kuh both have 公 before 会. Kung is Chou. Teih-te'enou was near the capital,—30 li north-east from the pres. city of Loh-yang, dep. Ho-nan. The name was taken from that of a spring which formed a small lake. The Chuen says:—"The duke had a meeting with king Hwuy's son Hoo, Hoo Yen of Tsun, Kung-sun Koo of Sung, Kwoh Kiew-foo of Tse, Yuen Tsoou-tse of Chin, and the earl of Tsin's son Yin, when they made a covenant at Teih-te'enou,—to renew and confirm the covenant at Tseou-foo, and to consult about invading Ch'ing. The names of the ministers of the civil and military States are not in the text, so I cannot give them. According to rule, a minister of a State ought not to hold a meeting with a duke or a marquis, though he may do so with an earl, a viscount, or a baron. This decision of Tseou-she may be called in question. The view of Hoo Gun-kwoh and others, that the title 'duke (公)' is omitted in the text to conceal the disgrace of the marquis meeting with his inferiors, is ridiculous.

Par. 3. Kung and Kuh both have 公 before 會. Kung is Chou. Teih-te'enou was near the capital,—30 li north-east from the pres. city of Loh-yang, dep. Ho-nan. The name was taken from that of a spring which formed a small lake. The Chuen says:—"The duke had a meeting with king Hwuy's son Hoo, Hoo Yen of Tsun, Kung-sun Koo of Sung, Kwoh Kiew-foo of Tse, Yuen Tsoou-tse of Chin, and the earl of Tsin's son Yin, when they made a covenant at Teih-te'enou,—to renew and confirm the covenant at Tseou-foo, and to consult about invading Ch'ing. The names of the ministers of the civil and military States are not in the text, so I cannot give them. According to rule, a minister of a State ought not to hold a meeting with a duke or a marquis, though he may do so with an earl, a viscount, or a baron. This decision of Tseou-she may be called in question. The view of Hoo Gun-kwoh and others, that the title 'duke (公)' is omitted in the text to conceal the disgrace of the marquis meeting with his inferiors, is ridiculous.

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Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"He came again, because he had not seen the duke the former time. He was received in the court, treated with ceremony, and feasted in an extraordinary way. Hearing a cow lowing, he said, 'She has had three calves that have all been used as victims. Her voice says so.' On inquiry this was found to be really the case."
XXX. 1 It was the [duke’s] thirtieth year, the spring, the king’s first month.

2 In summer, the Teih made an incursion into Ta’e.

3 In autumn, Wei put to death its great officer, Yuen Heuen, and duke [Wan’s] son, Hêa.

4 Ch’in, marquis of Wei, returned to Wei.

5 A body of men from Ta’in laid siege to [the capital of] Ch’in.

6 A body of men from Kêe made an incursion into Sé’au.

7 In winter, the king [by] Heaven’s grace sent his chief minister, the duke of Chow, to Loo, on a mission of friendly inquiries.

8 Duke [Chwang’s] son, Suy, went to the capital, and at the same time went to Ta’in.
Par. 2. The Chuen says:—"An officer of Tain was conducting an incursion into Ch'ing, to see whether that State could be attacked with advantage or not. The Tesh took the opportunity of Tain's being thus occupied with Ch'ing, and in the summer made an incursion into T'ye. Woo Ch'ing says:—"In the winter of the duke's 28th year, Tain proceeded from the meeting at Wan to besiege Hen, and yet Hen did not submit. In the summer of the 29th year, at the covenant of Tesh-taih, the markquis consulted about an incursion into Ch'ing, and yet Ch'ing showed no signs of fear. And now in the summer of this year, the Tesh seized their opportunity, and made an incursion into T'ye. It is plain that after the battle of Shing-puh and the meeting of Teseen-foo, the power of duke Wan as leader of the States went on gradually to decay;—the state of things at this time might have led him to reflection.'"

Par. 3. Compare on p. 6 of the 29th year. By Wei we must understand the markquis of Wei, who instigated the murder of Yuen, though it was committed before his entrance into the capital as lord in the Chuen.—The markquis of Yuen employed the physician Yen to poison the markquis of Wei, but Ming Yu bribed the physician to make the poison so weak that his master did not die of it. The duke of Liu after this interested on his behalf, and presented the king and the markquis of Tain each with 10 pairs of jade ornaments. The king acceded to the duke's intercession, and in autumn the markquis of Wei was released. He then bribed Chow Ch'eu and Yaw Kiu, saying, "If you can secure my restoration, I will make you my high ministers." On this Chow and Yaw killed Yuen Huen, with Tese-tee and Tese-e. When the markquis was entering the ancestral temple to sacrifice to his predecessors, Chow and Yaw were there in full dress to receive the charge as ministers. Chow preceded, but when he came to the door, he was taken ill, and died, upon which Kiu declined the appointment."

Nothing is said in the Chuen on the markquis of Wei, which in many editions is made to form a paragraph by itself. Two questions have vexed the critics greatly. 1st, Hsia had been markquis of Wei for more than a year [see XXVIII. 19, and the Chuen on it]; how is it that in the text he is simply called 'duke's son'? (公子). To meet this difficulty, Liu Ch'ing (劉掜, A.D. 1019-1057) denies the truth of the statement, 立公子瑕, in the Chuen referred to, so that Hsia had never been anything but公子; on which the K'ang-ho editors remark that the truth of the Chuen is not to be doubted. Hsu K'un-kwuh thinks that though Hsia had been markquis of Wei, he had not accepted the dignity, and only considered himself as holding the place of his brother, till he should be liberated from his captivity; and that consequently the公子 of the text is the endorsement of his integrity. Wang Yuan (王元) in the end of the Sung dynasty, holds that Hsia had accepted the markquisate from Yuen Huen, and was as guilty as his minister, so that the text calls him merely公子, to show that his twelve months' tenure of dignity was only a usurpation. The imperial editors, setting aside these three views approve of that of T'oo Yen, who admits that Hsia had been made markquis by Yuen, but thinks that the title of君 or 'ruler' is not given to him, because he had not been recognized by the princes at any general meeting of the States; and they then go on to set forth the usage of the classic in such cases as that of Hsia and his brother more fully than T'oo had done. 2d, What significance is there in the record of the death of Hsia following that of Yuen, with the connecting 且 between them? Should the ruler thus follow his officer? The text indicates that Hsia had been the tool of Yuen, and was involved consequently in the same fate. Mao aptly refers to II. iii. 1, where the ruler precedes the officers with the same 且. But here we have 且 simply. The reason of the difference in the language probably is, that in the former case the markquis had fled from Wei, and so left it as it were by his own act, while in the other he had been detained from it by the action of the markquis of Tain, and against his own will."

Par. 4. In XXVIII. 1, the former return of the markquis to his State is described by 吳郢子瑕; here we have 酆 simply. The reason of the difference in the language probably is, that in the former case the markquis had fled from Wei, and so left it as it were by his own act, while in the other he had been detained from it by the action of the markquis of Tain, and against his own will.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"In the 9th month, on Keh-woo, the markquis of Tain and the earl of T'oein laid siege to Ch'ing, because of the want of course is which the earl of It had shown to the markquis in his wanderings [See the Chuen at the end of the 234 year], and because he was with double-mindedess inclining to T'oein. The army of Tain took a position at Hang-lieh, and that of T'oein at Fan-man. Yih Cheh-hoo said to the earl of Ch'ing, 'The State is in imminent peril. If you send Chih Cheh-woo to see the earl of Tain, his army is sure to be withdrawn.' The earl took the advice, but Chih Cheh-woo declined the mission, saying, 'When your servant was in the strength of his age, he was regarded as not equal to others; and now he is old, and unable to render any service.' The earl said, 'That I was not able to employ you earlier, and now beg your help in my straits, I acknowledge to be my fault. But if Ch'ing perils, you also will suffer loss.' On this Cheh-woo agreed, and undertook the mission.

At night he was let down from the city-wall by a rope; and when he saw the earl of Tain, he said, 'With Tain and T'oein both besetting its capital, Ch'ing knows that it must perish. If the ruin of Ch'ing were to benefit your lordship, I should not dare to speak to you; you might well urge your officers and soldiers in
such a case. But you know the difficulty there
would be with such a distant border, another
State intervening. Of what advantage is it to
you to destroy Ch'ing to benefit your neighbors?
His advantage would be your disadvantage. If
you leave Ch'ing to be master and host here on
the way to the seat, when your officers go and
come with their baggage, it can minister to
their necessities—and surely this will be no
injury to you. And moreover, your lordship
was a benefactor to the former marquis of Tan,
and he promised you the cities of Ts'ao-ho and
Hei; but in the morning he crossed the Ho, and
in the evening he commenced building defenses
against you—this your lordship knows. But
Tan is insatiable. Having made Ch'ing its
boundary on the east, it will go on to want to
enlarge its border on the west. And how will
it be able to do that except by taking territory
from Tsin? To diminish Tsin in order to
advantage Tsin—this is a matter for your
lordship to think about.

The earl of Tsin was pleased with this
speech, and made a covenant with the people of
Ch'ing, appointing Ke Tze, Pung Sun, and
Yang Sun to guard the territory, while he him-
self returned to Tsin. Tze-fan asked leave to
pursue and smite him, but the marquis of Tan
said, "No. But for his assistance I should not
have arrived at my present state. To get the
benefit of a man's help, and then to injure him,
would show a want of benevolence. To have
erred in those with whom I was to co-operate
shows my want of knowledge. To exchange
the orderly array in which we came here for one
of disorder would show a want of martial skill.
I will withdraw." And upon this he also left
Ch'ing.

Before this, Lan, a son of the earl of
Ch'ing, had fled from that State to Tsin. Fol-
lowing the marquis of Tan in the invasion of
Ch'ing, he begged that he might not take any
part in, or be present at, the siege. His request
was granted, and he was sent to the eastern
border of Tain to wait for further orders. Shi

K'ueh-foo and Hou Seuen-to now came to meet
him, and hail him as his father's successor, that
by means of him they might ask peace from
Tain—and this was granted to them.'

It appears from the Chuen that the lords of
Tain and Tsin were both with their forces in
Ch'ing. We must suppose, however, that they
did not themselves command, and hence we
have 音胡秦人 in the text. Too Yu says the
people were 微者, 'small men' of inferior rank, but
need not be so limited; and in fact we know that Tze-fan was in the
army of Tain.

Par. 6. Tzao-sun appears before this in the
Chuen on III. xii. 8. It was a small State, a
Feo-mung of Sung, and has lost its name in the
prea. d. of Sæou, dep. Sue-chow (徐 州),
Shang-soo. Chang K'ueh supposes that the visits of the chief of K'ueh to Loo in the last
year were somehow connected with the move-
ment in the text.

Par. 7. Compare on I. ix. 1. 宰 is here
太宰, 'the prime minister,' as in IX. 2.

The Chuen says:—At the entertainment to him,
there were the packed roots of the sweet flag cut
small, rice, millet, and the salt in the form of
a tiger, all set forth. Yeh (the prime minister's
name) declined such an entertainment, saying, 'The
ruler of a State, whose civil talents make him
illustrious, and whose military prowess makes him
an object of dread, is feasted with such a com-
plete array of provisions, to emblem his virtues.
The five savours are introduced, and viands of
the finest grains, with the salt in the shape of
a tiger, to illustrate his services; but I am not
worthy of such a feast.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says: 'Tung mun Shang-
chung [see the Chuen on XXVI. 5] was going
with friendly inquiries to Chow, when he took
the occasion to pay a similar visit in the first
place to Tsin.'

Thirty-first year.

帝丘

帝丘

十有二月,衛遷丁

三十有一年, 春取
XXXI. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-first year, we took the lands of Tse-se.

2 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Tsin.

3 In summer, in the fourth month, [the duke] divined a fourth time for [the day of] the border sacrifice.

4 The divination was adverse, and so the victim was let go.

5 Still he offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.

6 It was autumn, the seventh month.

7 In winter, duke [Chwang's] eldest daughter—she of Ke—came [to Loo], seeking for a wife [for her son].

8 The Teih besieged [the capital of] Wei.

9 In the twelfth month, Wei removed its capital to Té-k'eu.

Par. 1. In III. xviii. 2 the characters 濟 denote simply 'west of the Tse,' but here, and in VII. i. 8, x. 2, they must be the name of a certain district or tract of country, the exact position of which is now impossible to define. As Tso Yu says, 竟界未定. Tso-shu says that it was a portion of the territory of Teihou, which the marquis of Tsin had appropriated to other States in the duke's 26th year; and he tells the following story about the acquisition of it—'The duke sent Taung Wan-chung to receive his portion, who was passing a night at Chung-kwan, the people of which said to him, 'Tsin, having recently secured the obedience of the princes, will be most kind to those who are most respectful. If you don't make haste, you will not be in time to get any.' The officer acted accordingly, and got for his share of the territory of Teihou all the portion extending from Taeou to the south and east as far as the Tse.' But this account of Loo's acquisition of Tse-se has been much questioned. Chao K'wang, Léw Ch'ung, and many others, discarding the idea of its being a gift from Tsin, hold that the territory had formerly belonged to Loo, had been taken from it by Tseeou, and that Loo now claimed and retook it. They make a canon, that wherever Loo is mentioned as 'taking' towns or land, and no name of a State to which they belonged is given, we are to understand that Loo was only retaining its own. Maon, according to its own, is more bold, and decisive in his view, arguing strongly against the alleged grant of Tsin, and saying that Loo took the opportunity of Tseeou's def.
cultists to attack it and deprive it of this territory. This is the proper explanation of the text. The canon referred to is exploded by VII. 1.2.

Par. 2. Tao-sha says that Ssang-chung went to Tsin to render thanks and acknowledgement for the fields of Tsaoon. But Loo would think it necessary to communicate its acquisition of the territory to the leader of the State, though not indebted for it to his gift.

Par. 3. The question concerning which border sacrifice is here spoken of has been much agitated. Kang-yang, following the Hoo Gan-kwoh and others, thinks it is the sacrifice at the winter solstice, the grand sacrifice to Heaven and God, which was proper only in the king, but the right to offer which had been granted, it is sold, by king Ch'ing to the duke of Chow, the founder of the House of Loo. Loo and others think the sacrifice intended is that of the spring, the sacrifice to God, desiring a blessing on the grain. This is mentioned in the Chuen on II. v. 1; and I must believe it is that referred to here. We cannot suppose that duke He was still, in the 4th month, divining about the sacrifice which was to be offered if offered by him at all, in the first. The divining was to fix the day on which the sacrifice should be offered, which was restricted to one of the six days in the month, the 1st of the 3 being deemed the luckiest. Kang-yang thinks that if the 1st six days of the 1st month was unlucky, then the 1st of the 2nd was tried, and so on to the 3rd month; but it is better to suppose that this occasion the 6 six days of the 3rd month were all divined for and proved unlucky, so that a fourth divination was made for the 1st six days of the 4th month, as the sacrifice might be presented up to the time of the equinox. When this also proved unfavourable, the sacrifice was put off for that year, and the victim was set go.

Par. 4. For here see on XXVIII. 2. The lady has been mentioned in XXVIII. 13. The son for whom she sought a wife was, no doubt, the ruling viscount of Ke, mentioned in XXVIII. 1, as coming to Loo, soon after his accession to the State.

Par. 5. We saw, in the 2nd year of duke Min, what injury the Ts'in then wrought to Wei. They obliged the removal of its principal city to T'oo-k'eu in the 3rd year of duke He; and we find them here necessitating another removal. T'oo-k'eu was in K'au Chow. As preliminary to the Chuen, it may be mentioned that Hsüe-chung (后相), the 5th of the sovereigns of Hsü, was obliged to reside for a part of his life in T'oo-k'eu. The Chuen says:—The marquis of Wei consulted the tortoise-shell about T'oo-k'eu, and was told his House should dwell there for 300 years. Soon after, he dreamt that K'ang-shih, the last marquis of Wei, said to him that Ssang took away from him the supplies of his offerings. The marquis on this gave orders to sacrifice also to Ssang; but the officer Ning-Woo objected, saying, "Spirits do not accept the sacrifices of those who are not of their own line. Who are Ke and Ts'ang? Are they the line of Hsü?" For long Ssang has received no offerings here,—"owing to your fault of Wei. You should not interfere with the sacrifice prescribed by king Ch'ing and the duke of Chow. Please withdraw the order about sacrificing to Ssang."
Thirty-second year.

三十三年

春正月甲子，秦伯卒。

夏四月己丑，秋，秦人侵狄。

冬，晋文公卒。庚辰，葬于曲沃。出殡柩于绛。

秋，卫人及狄盟。郑伯侵卫。

冬，使王师伐狄。

己卯，晋侯重耳卒。

冬，有二月，晋人葬于曲沃。

冬，有雨。雨。

XXXII. 1 It was the [duke's] thirty-second year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-ch'ow, Tseeh, earl of Ch'ing, died.

3. A body of men from Wei made an incursion into [the country of] the Teih.

4. In autumn, an officer of Wei made a covenant with the Teih.

5. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ke-maou, Ch'ung-urh, marquis of Tsin, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuan here introduces a short note about the relations of Ts'in and Ta'oe:—
In the spring, T'ow Chaug of Ta'oe came to Ts'in and requested peace. Yang Ch'oo-foo returned the visit from Ta'oe. This was the commencement of communications between Ts'in and Ta'oe.]

Par. 2. [For the word 捷, Kung-yang has 捷接.]

Par. 3A. The Teih, it appears, had not done Wei so much injury in the previous year, as in the time of Duke Min. The Chuan says:— In summer, when there was discord among the Teih, a body of men from Wei made an incursion into the country of the Teih.
sion into their country. The Teih begged for peace, and in ambiguous terms a covenant with them.

Par. 3. The marquis of Ts'in thus enjoyed the dignity at which he arrived, after so many hardships and wanderings, only for nine years. He had several attributes of the hero about him, and we cannot but wish that he had been permitted a longer time in which to exercise his leadership of the States. Confucius (Ana. X. xvi.) compares him unfavourably with Hwam of Ts'in; but his judgment of the two men may be questioned.

"The Chuen says—'On Kung-shin, they were conveying his coffin to place it in the people of K'ouh-yüh; when, as it was leaving K'ouh, there came a voice from it like the howling of an angry bull. The diviner Yen made the great officers do obeisance to the coffin, saying, 'His lordship is charging us about a great affair. There will be an army of the west passing by us; we shall smite it, and obtain a great victory.'"

No Ke Tsao [see the Chuen on XXX. 5] had sent information from Ch'ing to Ts'in, saying, 'The people of Ch'ing have entreated to pay the key of their northern gate. If an army come secretly upon it, the city may be got. Duke Muh [the earl of Ts'in] consulted K'ou Shih about the subject, and that officer replied, 'That a distant place can be surprised by an army toiled with a long march is what I have not learned. The strength of the men will be worn out with toil, and the distant town will be prepared for them;—does not the undertaking seem impracticable? Ch'ing is sure to know the doings of our army. Our soldiers, enduring the toil, and getting nothing, will become disaffected. And moreover, to whom can such a march of a thousand miles be unknown?' The earl, however, declined this counsel, called for Mang-ming [the son of Pin-la He], Se-kwih, and Pin-yih, and ordered them to collect an army outside the east gate. K'ou Shih went over it, and said, "General Mang, I see the army's going forth but I shall not see its entry again." The earl sent to say to him, 'What do you know, you centurion? It would take two hands to grasp the tree upon your grave [i.e., you ought to have died long ago]." K'ou Shih's son also sent in the expedition, and the old man escorted him, weeping and saying, 'It will be at Hiau that the men of Ts'in will resist the army. At Hiau there are two ridges. On the southern ridge is the grave of the sovereign Kaou of the Hiau dynasty; the northern is where king Wan took refuge from the wind and rain. You will die between them. There I will gather your bones." Immediately after this the army of Ts'in marched to the east.'

Thirty-third year.

齊人敗狄于箕。秋公于遂師伐邾。

劃侯使國來聘。夏四月辛巳晉人及姜戎敗秦。
冬十月，公如齊。十月，公至齊。公至齊，有二月。使視客館。奉稱曰，爾以齊得齊，必使聞之。齊人不可果也。故攻之不克，圍之不繼。吾是以歸，不獲而還。公問齊之政。齊人曰，君若修政，吾畏之。君若不修政，吾從而伐之。君若以禮，吾朝夕拜君之手。君若不以禮，吾則與諸侯从者盟之。公曰，爾言，心之有也。則許之。
XXXIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-third year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army from Ts'in entered Hwah.
2 The marquis of Ta'e sent Kwoh Kwei-foo to the duke on a mission of friendly inquiries.
3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-sze, the men of Ts'in and the Kêang Jung defeated [the army of] Ts'in at Hêau.
4 On Kwei-sze there was the burial of duke Wân of Ts'in.
5 The Teih made an incursion into Ta'e.
6 The duke invaded Choo, and took Tsze-low.
7 In autumn, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, led an army, and invaded Choo.
8 A body of men from Ts'in defeated the Teih in Ke.
9 In winter, in the tenth month, the duke went to Ta'e.
10 In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from Ta'e.
11 On Yih-sze, the duke died in the Small chamber.
12 There fell hoar-frost without killing the grass. Plum trees bore their fruit.
13 A body of men from Ts'in, one from Ch'în, and one from Ch'îng, invaded Heu.

Par. 1. Hwah,—see III. iii. 5. From the last Chuen we see that 賽人 here denotes "an army of Ts'in," not inconsiderable in numbers, and under commanders of no mean rank.

入者入其國而不據其地也。入 denotes that they entered the city, but did not keep possession of the territory. The Chuen says:—"In spring, the army of Ta'e was passing by the north-gate of the real city of Chou, when the mailed men on the right and left of the chariots [merely] took off their helmets and descended, springing afterwards with a bound into the chariots,—the 300 of them. Wang-sun Mwan was still quite young, but when he saw this, he said to the king, 'The army of Ta'e acts lightly and is unobservant of propriety;—it is sure to be defeated. Acting so lightly, there must be little counsel in it. Unobservant of propriety, it will be heedless. When it enters a dangerous pass, and is heedless, being moreover without wise counsellors, can it escape defeat?"

When the army entered Hwah, Hên Kaou, a merchant of Ch'îng, on his way to traffic in Chou, met it. He went with four dressed hides, exceeding 15 oxen, to distribute them among the soldiers, and said [to the general], "My prince, having heard that you were marching with your army, and would pass by our poor city, ventures thus to refresh your attendants. Our poor city, when your attendants come there, can supply them, while they stay, with one day's provisions, and provide them, when they go, with one night's escort." At the same time he sent intelligence of what was taking place with all possible speed to Ch'îng. The earl [on receiving the tidings], sent to see what was going on at the lodging houses which had been built for the guards of Ta'e, and found there bundles all ready, wagons loaded, weapons sharpened, and the horses fed. On this he sent Hwang Woo to decline their further services, and say to them, "You have been detained. Sirs, too long at our poor city. Our dried flesh, our money, our rice, our cattle, are all used up. We have our park of Tsuen as Ta'e has its of Keu. Suppose you supply yourselves with deer from it to give our poor city some rest." On this Ke Ta'e fled to Ta'e, while Pung Sun and Yang Sun fled to Sung. Mâng-ming said, "Ch'îng is prepared for us. We cannot hope to surprise it. If we attack it, we shall not immediately take it; and if we lay siege to it, we are too far off to receive succour. Let us return." The army of Ta'e then proceeded to extinguish Hwah, and returned."

Par. 2. In the duke's thirty-sixth year, Kung-tâze Soy went to Ta'e on a friendly mission. The visit in the text was, probably, the response to it. Kwei-foo was the ambassador's name. The Chuen calls him Kwoh Chwang-tâze, or the officer Kwoh, Chwang being his honorary title. The Chuen says:—"When Kwoh Chwang of Ta'e came on his friendly mission, from his reception in the borders to the parting feasts and gifts
to him, he was treated with the utmost ceremony, and also with sedulous attention. Tsung Wenchung said to the duke, "Since the officer Kwoh administered its govt, Tse has again secured all propriety swords us. Your lordship should pay a visit to it. Your servant has heard that submission to those who are obsequient of propriety is the [current] defence of the states."

Par. 3. After Tso-shu and Kuh-liang have left. Hsenu was a dangerous defile,—in the pres. dia. of Yang-ning (永寧), dep. Hsiao-nan. The Chuen says:—"[Seon] Chin of Yuen said to the marquis of Kern Shuh, has, under the influence of greed, been imposing toll on his people,—this is an opportunity given us by Heaven. It should not be lost; our enemy should not be let go unsanctioned. Such disobedience to Heaven will be inexcusable,—we must attack the army of Tain." Luan Che said, "We have not yet repaid the services rendered to our lord by Tain, and if we now attack its army, this is to make him dead indeed!" Seon Chin replied, "Tain has shown sympathy with us in our loss, but his attackcd two States of our environs. It is Tain who has been unobservant of propriety,—what have we to do with [former] favours? I have heard that if you let your enemy go a single day, you are preparing the misfortunes of several generations. In taking counsel for his prosperity, can we be said to be treating our last ruler as dead?"

The [new marquis] instantly issued orders [for the expedition]. The Keang Jung were called into the field on the spur of the moment. The marquis [joined the army], wearing his son's garb of unhumbled mourning, stained with black, and also his mourning scarf. Lâng Huang was his charioteer, and Lâo Ken his spearman on the right. In summer, in the 4th month, on Sin-se, he defeated the army of Tain at Hêkou, took [the commanders], Tsin-meng-shu, So-kweh Shuh, and Pih-yih Ping, prisoners, and brought them back with him to the capital, from which he proceeded in his dark-mourning garb to intercept Duke Wâh, which thereupon became the custom in Tain. Wân Ying [duke Wên's twi wife] interceded for the prisoners, saying, "In consequence of their stirring up enmity between you and him, [my father], the state of Tain will not be satisfied even if he should eat them. Why should you not send them back to be put to death in Tain, to satisfy the wish of my lord there?" The marquis acceded to her advice.

Seon Chin went to court, and asked about the Tain prisoners. The marquis replied, "My father's widow requested it, and I have let them go." The officer in a rage said, "Your warriors by their strength caught them in the field, and now they are let go for a woman's brief word in the state. By the overthrow of the services of the army, and such prolongation of the resentment of our enemies, our ruin will come at no distant day." With this, without turning round, he sat on the ground.

The marquis sent Yang Ch'iu-fu to pursue after the liberated commanders, but when he got to the Ilô, they were already on board a boat. Loosing the outside horse on the left of his chart, he said he had the marquis's order to present it to Mâng-ming. Mâng-ming took him by the head to the ground, and said, "Your prince's kindness in not taking the blood of me his prisoner to smear his drums [see Memochi, L. Pt. I, vi. 6], but liberating me to go and be killed in Tain,—this kindness, should my prince execute me, I will not forget in death. If by your prince's kindness I escape this fate, in three years I will thank him for his gift!"

The earl of Tain, in white mourning garments, was waiting for them in the borders of the capital, and went, looking in the direction where the army had been lost. "By my opposition to the counsel of Kêen Shuh," he said, "I brought disgrace on you, my generals. Mine has been the crime; and that I did not [before] disclaim Mâng-ming [from such a service] was my fault. What fault are you chargeable with? I will not for one error shut out of view your great merits."

The last Book of the Shoo is said to have been made by the earl of Tain on occasion of this defeat,—see the note on the name of that Book. The few sentences of the present Book are much more to the point than all its paragraphs. The K'ang-he editors have a long note, in which they discuss the question whether Tain was justified in attacking Tain in Hsenu, and conclude that it was so. The blame implied, as they fancy, in the text, they explain as kindly meant to hide the fact of the marquis of Tain, in deepest mourning, and his father yet unburied, taking part in such an affair; but this is unnecessary. The marquis may have been near the defile, but all the arrangements were made by Seon Chin who was the actual commander in the affair. The Keang Jung, represented as descendants of Yann's chief minister, came readily to the help of Tain, because duke Hwây had kindly received and protected them, when they were driven out of their old seats by Tain.

Par. 3. Tso-shu says the Teh venturcd on this, 'taking advantage of the mourning in Tain.'

Par. 67. For Kuh-liang has penn; Kuh-liang The place must have been in Tee-ning Chow (濟寧州), dep. Ten-chow. The Chuen says:—'The duke invaded Choo, and took Tse-loo, to repay the action at Shâng-hîng [see p. 3 of the 22nd year]. The people of Choo did not make preparations to receive an enemy; and in autumn Siâng-chung again invaded it.'

Par. 8. Ke was 35 li south from the pres. city of Tse-kâh (太谷), dep. Tse-yun. The Chuen says:—'The Teh invaded Tain, and came as far as Ke, where, in the 8th month, on MSS-tan, the marquis of Tain defeated them. Keang K'ên, viceroy of the White Teh. Seon Chin said [to himself], "[No better than] an ordinary man, I want my feeling on my ruler [Referring to his splitting before the marquis], and I was not punished; but dare I keep from punishing my own?" With this, he took off his hat, addressed the army of the Teh, and died. The Teh
returned his head, when his countenance looked so when he was alive.

Before this, Ke of K'ew [Seu Shin] was passing by K'ew on a mission, and saw Keneh of K'ew weeding in a field, when his wife brought his food to him. He showed to her all respect, under the idea that he as he would have done to a guest. Ke therefore took him back with him to the capital, and told duke Wan, saying, "About respect all other virtues gather. He who can show respect is sure to have virtue. Virtue lends his use in the government of the people. I entreat your lordship to employ him. Your servant has heard that outside one's door to behave as if one were receiving a guest, and to attend to all business as if it were a sacrifice [Comp. Ann. XII. ii.], is the pattern of perfect virtue." The duke said, "But should this be done, considering the crime of his father [See the Chun at the beginning of the 24th year. Kef)]) or the criminal whom Shan put to death," returned Ke, "was Kwan; and the man whom he resolved to dignity was [Kwan's son], Yu. The assassin of Hwang of Tse was Kwan King-chung, and yet he became his chief minister, and carried him on to success. In the announcement to the prince of Kung it is said, 'The father who is devoid of affection, and the son who is devoid of reverence; the elder brother who is unkind, and the younger who is disrespectful, are all to be punished, but not one for the offence of the other [See the Shoo, V. ix. 16, but the quotation is very inaccurate]. The ode says [Soo, I. iii. Ode X.]:

When we gather the yung and the fe
They should not be rejected because of their roots.

On this, duke Wan made Keh Keneh great officer of the 3d army.

On the return of the army from Ke, duke Sheng inquired Shien Tseu-kun [Son of Shien Chiu] with the 3d degree of rank, and made him commander of the 3d or middle army. He gave Shien Chiu the second rank, and the city of Shien Man, as his reward, saying, "The promotion of Keh Keneh was due to you." He conferred the 1st degree on Keh Keneh, and made him a high minister, restoring to him the city of Ke; but Keneh did not yet receive the command of an army.

Par. 11. See on II. xxxvii. 4. Too Yu says that 'the smaller chamber was the wife's chamber (夫人寝). The Chun says:—'In winter the duke went to Tse to pay a court-visit, and to conclude with the marqueses on the attack of Tyr. On his return, he said to the smaller chamber, having retired there to be more at rest.' Kuh-liang and other critics say he ought not to have breathed his last there.

Par. 12. For Kung-yang has Le, and ame are both the names of plum-trees, and their fruits;—I do not know the specific difference between them. The 10th month of Chow was the 5th month of Hwa. To find bare-trees on the ground, and at the same time the grass still vigorous, and plum-trees still bearing, was strange; and as an unusual phenomenon it is here recorded. The critics delight to dwell upon its moral significance, and Hoo Tan-kwo quotes a conversation on the paragraph, with duke Gae, ascribed to Confucius, which is in a similar strain.

It was said that Tseu-the says the object of this invasion was to punish Hwa for its insubordination to the side of Tseu.

[We have here 3 narratives in the Chun—
Tseu-shang, chief minister of Tseu, made an incursion into Tse and Chun, both of which made their subsidies, and sent them to invade Ch'ing, intending to place Hwa, son of duke Wan, as marquis in it. He made an attack at the Kieh-toe gate, when Hwa was overthrown in the pond of the Chou family. Kwan-chun, a servant of the marquis stationed outside the wall, caught him and presented his dead body. The marquis's wife covered it with a shroud, put it in a coffin, and buried it near Kieh-shing.

"Yang Choo-foo of Tsin made an incursion into Tseu, and Tseu-yang of Tseu made one into the Tsin army. Their two armies met each other across the river Chie between them. Yang, being dissatisfied with the position, sent to say to Tseu-shang, 'The man of civil virtue will not attack those who are acting according to an agreement, or the man of military power will not attack his enemy. If you wish to fight, I will withdraw 30 li, till you pass over and arrange your battle, receiving your commands as to the time, less or more. If you do not accept this offer, grant me the same indulgence to me. To keep our armies long in the field, and waste our resources is of no use.' He then had the horses yoked in his carriage to await the answer. Tseu-shang wished to cross the river, but Tse Sun-pih (the Tsun of the Chou on IV. xxvii. 6) said, 'He was the son of Tseu-yuh, or Tih-shin, of Tseu,' said, 'The walls, the gates, I have no need of faith. If they attack us, half our troops are crossed over, it will be too late to repent of our defeat. Better grant the indulgence to them.' On this the troops of Tseu withdrew 30 li. When Yang saw this, he spread abroad the report that the army of Tseu had retired, and immediately returned to Tsin. Shang-shin, the eldest son of the viscount of Tseu, slandered Tseu-shang [to his father], saying, 'He was bribed by Tsin, and got out of the way of our army,—to the shame of Tseu; there could not be a greater crime.' On this the viscount put Tseu-shang to death.

We buried duke Hwa; the burial was late [The construction and meaning here are uncertain]. The making the Spirit-tablet was contrary to rule. On occasion of the death of the prince of a State, when the weeping is ended, his spirit is supposed to take its place by that of his grandfather, with reference to which the spirit-tablet is made, and is now set up. A special sacrifice goes on before this tablet, while the seasonal sacrifices and the fortunate sacrifice at the end of the mourning take place in the temple."

These immediately preceding remarks are here by some mistake in their wrong place. They belong to the next book II. 2, and ii. 2.
元年春王正月，公即位。
二月癸亥，日有食之。
天王使叔服来会葬。
夏四月丁巳，葬我君僖公。
天王使毛伯来锡公命。
秋，公孙敖如齐。
In the first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

In the second month, on Kwei-hae, the sun was eclipsed.

The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Shuh-fuh to be present at the burial [of duke He].

In summer, in the fourth month, in Ting-sze, we buried our ruler, duke He.
5. The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the earl of Maou to confer on the duke the symbol [of investiture].
6. The marquis of Tsin invaded Wei.
7. Shuh-sun Tih-shiu went to the capital.
8. A body of men from Wei invaded Tsin.
9. In autumn, Kung-sun Gaou had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin in Ts'eith.
10. In winter, in the tenth month, on Ting-we, Shang-shin, heir-son of Ts'oo, murdered his ruler, Keun.
11. Kung-sun Gaou went to Ts'eith.

**Title of the Book:** 文公·「Duke Wan」

Duke Wan’s name was Hsing (騊). He was the son of duke He by his wife Shing Kiang (聘姜), a daughter of the House of Tew. His rule lasted 18 years, B.C. 725–708. His honorary title Wan denotes—Gentle and kindly, losing the people (文惠愛民曰文), or, ‘Loyal, truthful, and courteous’ (忠信接禮曰文).

His 1st year synchronized with the 22nd of king Säng (襄王), the 23rd of Shäng (襄) of Tain; the 7th of Ch’ou (昭) of Tew; the 8th of Ch’ing (成) of Wei; the 10th of Chwäng (莊) of Ts’i; the 19th of Mu (穆) of Ch’ing; the 27th of Kung (共) of Ts’ou; the 4th of Kung (共) of Ch’in; the 11th of Hwan (桓) of Ke; the 11th of Ch’ing (成) of Sung; the 34th of Mu (穆) of Tain; and the 46th of Ch’ing of Ts’oow.

**Par. 1.** Everything was auspicious at the accession of duke Wan, and therefore we have the account of it in full, without anything to be said against the day, as in II. 1. 1. Duke He indeed was not yet buried; but that circumstance was not allowed to interfere with the proclaimed of the new rule, and the young marquis’s reception of his ministers, on the 1st day of the new year.

**Par. 2.** Before Su Yang-hsia had a day. Too Yu, accepting Tao-chou’s text, observes that the day is omitted through the carelessness of the historians. The eclipse took place on the 26th January, B.C. 625.

**Par. 3.** The prince of one State sent an emissary to attend at the interment of the prince of another State; but in the Ch’en Ts’ew no record is made of the appearance of such envoy at Loo. The record here is because the mission of Shuh-sun was a special honour done to Loo by the king. The Chuen says that this Shuh-sun was historiographer of the interior, and adds:—Kung-sun Gaou had heard that he was a master of physiognomy, and introduced his two sons to him. Shuh-sun said, “Kuh will feed you; No will bury you. The lower part of Kuh’s face is large;—he will have posterity in the State of Lo.”

[To the appended note: “Here there was an intercalary 26th month,—which was contrary to rule. The method of the former kings in regulating the seasons was—to make a commencement at the proper beginning; to determine the correct beginning of the months from the commencement of the year to the end; and to reserve the overplus of days for the year’s end. By making the commencement at the proper beginning, order was secured, and there was no error. By determining the commencements of the months, the people were preserved from error, by reserving the overplus to the end of the year, affairs proceeded in a natural way.”]

**Par. 4.** The Chuen here repeats the text without any addition, showing that the day of the Chuen at the end of last year belongs to this place. The duke should have been buried 5 months after his death; but 6 had now elapsed, or 7, if we count the intercalary month.

**Par. 5.** Maou was a city and territory within the imperial domain, assigned by some to the pres. dia. of E-yang (宜陽), dep. Ho-nan. Its lords were earls, descendants of Shuh-ch’ing (叔鄭), one of the sons of king Wan; and were, one after another, in the service of the court. The name here conferred on the duke was doubtless the ‘jade token’, proper to his rank as marquis.—See the Shou, II. I. 7. Comp. also III. 1. 8. The mission of Shuh-sun Tih-shiu was to express the duke’s acknowledgments for this token of the royal favour;—

**Par. 6.** The Chuen says:—‘In the last years of duke Wan of Tain, the princes of the States came (most of them) to the court of Tain; but duke Ch’ing of Wei did not come; and he sent Kung Tah to make an incursion into Ch’in, attacking also Miu-tan and K’ang. At the end of his 1st year of mourning, duke Shang sent word to the States, and invaded Wei. When he had got to Nan-yang, Sien Tsou-kuu said to him, “You are imitating the crime [of Wei], and will meet with calamity. Let me ask your lordship to go to the king’s court.}
and I will go with the army." On this the marquis said: 'I was a guest in the king's house, while one of my officers took the king in the same manner, and the army in the same way.' On the first day of the fifth month, their army took the city of We. The marquis was taken prisoner.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—The people of Wei decided to entrust Ch'un to their circumstances. Duke Ts'ao of Ch'i was consulted, and he said: 'I will not speak with the marquis in your behalf.' On this the marquis of Wei decided to go to Ch'un, and attacked Ch'in. The superior man will say that this was the ancient method. The ancients passed from their own to take counsel with another State.'

Par. 9. Truth was the city of Wei, the capture of which is mentioned in the Chuen on par. 8. It was 7 north of the present city of K'ao Chow (開封), dep. of Ta-ning. The Chuen says:—In autumn, the marquis of Ch'in was laying out the boundaries of the land of Wei, and the K'un-lung-sun (孔融) had an interview with him. The K'un-lung-sun observed that this was the first instance in the text of the classic of great officers taking it on themselves to have meetings with the princes.

Par. 10. For Kung and Kuh have 彤. The Chuen says:—"At an earlier period, the viscount of Ts'oo, intending to declare Shang-shih his successor, consulted his chief minister Tz'ao-shang about it. Tz'ao-shang said: 'Your lordship is not yet old. You are also filled with much of your children.' You cannot degrade him hereafter, he will make disorders. The succession in Ts'oo has always been from among the young sons. Moreover, he has eyes [projecting] like those of a wolf, and a wolf's voice. He is capable of anything. You ought not to raise him to that position.' The viscount did it however. But afterwards he wished to appoint his son Ch'ih, instead, and to degrade Shang-shih. Shang-shih heard of his intention, but was not sure of it. He therefore told his tutor P'un T'ung, and asked him how he could get certain information. T'ung said: "Give a feast to the prince of Ch'ien (the viscount's sister), and behave disrespectfully to her." The prince did so, when the lady became angry, and cried out, "You slave, it is with reason that the king wishes to kill you, and appoint Chih in your place." Shang-shih told this to his tutor, saying: "The report is true." T'ung then said: "Are you able to serve Chih?" "No." "Are you able to leave the State?" "No." "Are you able to do the great thing?" "Yes."

"In winter, in the 10th month, Shang-shih, with his guards of his palace, held the king in siege. The king begged to have bear's paws to eat before he died. This was refused him, and on Ting he strangled himself. The prince immediately gave him the title of Ling, but his eyes would not shut. He changed it to Ting, and they shut. [Shang-shih] took his place, and is known as the king Man. He gave the house where he had lived as the eldest son to P'san T'ung, made him grand-tutor, and commander of the palace guards.'

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—Mah-eh [The k'uang and Tse-kung and the Soa-kang of Chou] went to Ts'e on a mission of friendly inquiry at the commencement of the duke of Yen's rule, which was right. On the succession of princes of States, their ministers should go everywhere on such friendly missions, maintaining and cultivating old friendships, and forming external alliances of support. Attention to the services which are due to other States, in order to defend one's own, and to respect one's own, is the course of loyal-heartedness, good faith, and humble complaisance. Loyal-heartedness is the correct manifestation of virtue. Good faith is the bond of virtue. Humble complaisance is the foundation of virtue.'

The Chuen then tells in conclusion to the affairs of Ch'in:—"After the battle of Hou, when the people of Tsin had returned the captives general to Tsin, his great officers and others about him said to the earl, 'This defeat was all the fault of Mung-ming; you must put him to death.' But the earl said, 'It was owing to my fault. They are the words of the ode of the earl of Chow' [She, Ill. Ill. Ode III. 13]."

Great winds have a path;—
The covetsome men try to suppress their peers.
If he would hear my words, I would speak to him;
But I can [only]: crouch over, as if I were drunk.
He will not employ the good,
And on the contrary causes me this distress.

It was by [my] covetousness. The ode is applicable to me. It was my covetousness which brought the misfortune on him. What crime had he?" Accordingly he again employed [Mung-ming] in the conduct of the government.'

Second year.
盟。

六月，公孫敖會宋公、陳侯、鄭伯、晉士縠盟于垂隴。

自十有二月不雨，至于秋七月，有二月之旱，至于秋八月丁卯，大旱于大廟，隴。

僖公。

冬。晉人、宋人、陳人、鄭人伐秦。

公子遂如齊納幣。
In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Kêah-tsê, he marquis of Ts'in and the army of Ts'in fought a battle in P'âng-ya, when the army of Ts'in was disgracefully defeated.

On Ting-ch'ow, [the duke] made the Spirit-tablet of duke He.

In the third month, on Yih-sê, [the duke] made a covenant with Ch'oo-foo of Ts'in.

In summer, in the sixth month, Kung-sun Gaou had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and Sze Hwoh of Ts'in, when they made a covenant in Ch'uy-lung.

From the twelfth month [of the last year] it had not rained until the autumn [of this] in the seventh month.

In the eighth month, on Ting-maou, there was the great [sacrificial] business in the grand temple, when [the tablet of] duke He was advanced [to the place of that of duke Min].

In winter, a body of men from Ts'in, one from Sung, one from Ch'in, and one from Ch'ing invaded Ts'in.

Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e, with the marriage offerings [for the duke].
Par. 1. The site of P'ang-ya (in Kung-yang, 彭牙) is not well ascertained. Probably it was in T'ain,—as Kung and Kuh say. According to Teo, it should be found 60 li to the north-east of the pres. city of T'ih-shuwan (白水), dept. Tung-chow, Shen-si. The Chuen says:—In the 2d year, in spring, Mäng-ming Shu of T'ain led an army against Tain, to repay his defeat at Hsiaou. In the 3d month, the marquis of T'ain went to meet him, Sien T'nien-k'ung commanding the army of the centre, with Chao T'ui-yu as his assistant. Woo-te of Wang-kwan acted as charioteer, and Tsoo Kuh-ken was spearman on the right. On K'ash-tsen they fought in P'ang-ya, when the army of T'ain received a severe defeat, the men of T'ai calling it the army with which T'ain acknowledged their marquis's gift. [See Mäng-ming's language at the end of the Chuen on p. 5 of the 33d year of duke He]. At the battle of Hsiaou, Liao Hwang had been charioteer, and Lue Keu the spearman on the right. On the day after it, duke S'ang had one of the prisoners brought to his tent, and ordered Lue Keu to kill him as a spear. The prisoner gave a shout, and Keu dropped the spear, on which Liao Shih took it up, killed him, and, taking his left ear, followed the marquis's chariot, who made him the spearman on the right.

At the battle of Ke, Sien Chin degraded Leng, and appointed Suh K'hi-t'ing in his place. Leng was angry, and one of his friends said to him, "Why not die here?" He replied, "I have no proper place to die in." Let me and you do a difficult thing," said the friend [meaning that they should kill the general], but Leng replied, "It is said in one of the histories of Chow, 'The brave who wills his superior shall have no place in the hall of Light.'" He who dies doing what is not righteous is not brave; he who dies in the public service is brave. By bravery I sought the place of spearman on the right; I am degraded as not being brave;—it is my present place. If I should say that my superior does not know me, and did that which would make my degradation right, I should only prove that he did not know me. Wait a little, my friend.

At P'ang-ya, when the army was marshalled for the battle, Leng Shih, with his own followers, dashed into the army of T'ain, and died. The army of T'ai followed him, and gained a great victory. The superior man will say that Leng Shih in this way proved himself a superior man. It is said in the ode [She, II, v. ode IV. 2]:—

"Let the superior man be angry. And disorder will be stopt;"

and again [She, III, ode VII. 5]:—

"The king rose majestic in his wrath, And marshalled his troops.

When Leng in his anger would not be guilty of disorder, but went on to do good service in the army, he may be called a superior man.

The ear of T'ain, [notwithstanding this fresh defeat], still employed Mäng-ming, who paid increased attention to the government of the State, and made the people large to the people. Chao Ch'ing [Ch'ing is the hou. title of Chao T'ui-yu] said to the officers of T'ain, "The army of T'ain will be here again, and we must get out of its way. He who in his apprehension increases his virtue cannot be matched. The ode says [She, III, ode I. 5]:—

"Ever think of your ancestors, Cultivating your virtue."

It is in this way that Mäng-ming thinks. Thinking of his virtue, without retarding his efforts, can he be retarded?"

Par. 2. The Chuen says that this records the wrong time at which the thing was done. Here belongs to the greater part of the 3d par. in the Chuen at the end of He's last year. According to Mian, the practice of the Chow dynasty on the death of the prince of a State was this:—1st, The spirit-tablets of the former princes were all taken from their shrines, and laid up for 6 months in the "grand apartment," during which time no sacrifices were offered to them. 2d, When the time at the end of those months came to place the tablets of the recently deceased prince by that of his grandfather, a procession was made with it to take the other tablets from their repository, and replace them in their shrines. The new tablet was placed in the shrine of the deceased's grandfather, and a sacrifice was offered to them two. 3d, After the tablet was carried back to the chamber where the prince had died, where sacrifices were offered to it, while all the others were left in their shrines, and sacrificed to as usual [As the Chuen says].

特视于主，主鲁者于廟， 14. At the conclusion of the mourning, the new tablet was taken to its proper shrine in the temple, and one of the older ones was removed;—in the form and order prescribed.

This account seems to be correct. Kung-yang thinks that, after the burial, a tablet of the wood of the mulberry tree was made, and sacrificed to in the chamber; and that, at a year from the death, this was changed for a tablet made of the wood of the chestnut tree. If it were so, and the 3d tablet be here spoken of, yet the time for making and setting it up had long gone by.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—The people of T'ain, because the duke had not paid a court visit to their marquis, came to punish him. On this he went to T'ain; and in summer, in the 4th month, on Ke-ya, Yang Ch'oo-foo was commissioned to make a covenant with him. This was done to disgrace the duke. The words of the text "made a covenant with Ch'oo-foo of T'ain," indicate dissatisfaction with that individual. The duke's visit to Tain is not recorded;—possibly, to keep it concealed. The Chuen correctly gives the day Ke-ya in the 4th month. Instead of the 3d month of the text.

Par. 4. Kuh-liang gives Vel velis for Vel velis; and both Kung and Kuh give Vel velis for Vel velis. Ch'uy-liang was in the north-east of the pres. dist. of Tung-tai, dept. K'ao-tung. The Chuen says:—The duke had not arrived [from Tain]; and in the 4th month, Muh-pih had a meeting with the princes vowed, and See Hwuh, minister of Works in Tain, at Ch'uy-liang, with reference to Tain's punishment of Wei. The marquis of Ch'in begged that Tain would accept the submission of Wei, and also seized Kung Tah, in order to please T'ain.' Two last sentences interject that See Hwuh is here mentioned by
his name and surname, because of his ability for his work.

Par. 5. Chou P'ung-fei contrasts the way in which so many months of drought are here summarily mentioned with the notice under duke He in V. ii. 5, iii. 4;—which see.

Par. 6. The 'great business' here is what is called the 'fortunate is sacrifice' in IV. ii. 2, where its nature has been sufficiently explained. Here, as there, it was performed 3 months before the proper time; and this coincidence might lead us to think that some new regulation affecting the date of the service had been adopted in Loo. The stress of the paragraph, however, is in the conclusion,—the advancement of the tablet of duke He into the place which had been for more than 30 years occupied by that of his brother and predecessor, Min. This has given rise to numerous subtle and perplexing discussions. The account of it in the Chuen is the following;—This was contrary to the order of sacrifice (迎祭). Too explains the phrase thus;—He was the elder brother, and they could not be placed as father and son; he had been the subject of Min, and his proper place was beneath him. But now his tablet was placed above Min's;—hence the expression 逆祭? 1 On this, Hsia-foo Fuh-ke, who was then director of the ancestral temple, wished to honour duke He, and told what he had seen, saying, 'I saw the new Spirit great, and the old Spirit small. To put the great one first, and the small one after it, is the natural order. And to advance him who was sage and worthy, is the act of intelligence. What is according to natural order and intelligence has a principle of reason in it.' But the superior man must consider the act to have been contrary to the propriety of the ceremony. In ceremonies everything must be in the proper natural order; and sacrifice is the great business of the States. How can it be called propriety to go contrary to the order of it? The son may have been revered and sage, but he does not take precedence of the father, who has enjoyed the oneness of oneness. Thus it was that the son did not take precedence of Kwan, nor Tung of T'ieh, nor Min of Hsia, nor Ch'eng of P'ung-chun. The emperor Yih was the ancestor of the House of Sung, and king Le the ancestor of that of Ch'ing; and not so much on account of their bad character, they keep in the temples their superior position. Thus also in the Praise-songs of Loo (She IV. II. Song IV. 3) we have,

"In spring and in autumn, without delay,
He presents his offerings without error,
To the great and sovereign God,
And to his great ancestor Pei-shih?1"
the superior man thus in effect saying, "Here is the order of ceremony; the Pei-shih be near in relationship, yet God takes the precedence in the sacrifice." Another ode says (She, I. liii. ode XIV. 2;—)

"I will ask for my aunts,
And then for my sister;"
the superior man thus saying, "Here is the order of ceremony; the aunts the nearest in relationship, yet the aunts take the precedence of her." Chung-wei said, 'There were these things which showed Tsang, Wan-chung's want of virtue, and three which showed his want of knowledge. His keeping Chou K'un (Liu-hsia Hsuy) in a low position; his removing the old gate; and his making his concubines weave rush mats for wine;—these showed his want of virtue. His making vain structures (See Ana. V. xxvii.); his allowing a sacrifice contrary to the proper order (The case in the text); and his sacrificing the Young-kw (A strange bird);—these showed his want of knowledge.'

The reader will probably think that this long note does not make the text plainer than it was before,—it states plainly on IV. i. 5, and on the 19th chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, that in the ancestral temple the shrines were arranged in two rows, on either side of the shrine of the founder of the House. On one side were the shrines of fathers facing the south. These were called ch'ou (重). On the other side, facing the north, were those of sons. They were called shih (氏). Of course the same were fathers in their turn; but the situation in the row was determined by reckoning from the founder. His grandson was the 1st chou, his son the 1st shih, and so on. But what was to be done when brothers followed one another in the succession. As here in the case of Min and He? Some critics say their tablets went all into the same shrine; but this is not the orthodox view. That holds that they were placed just as if they had been father and son, and the theory of the arrangement was overturned. Now when the tablet of Min got its place in the temple, he was a shih. That of He should have been moved into the other row, opposite to it, pushing out the He which was at the top. But duke Wan wished his father to have the more honourable chou place; and so Min's tablet was removed to the other row, and He took its place at the bottom of the other. The director of the temple lent himself to this infringement of the rule. He was in reality elder than Min; but Min had taken precedence of him in the succession, as the son of duke Ch'ung's, into the other row, and elder brother who was only the son of a concubine.

[Tso-shu's own remarks in the Chuen begin at 君子以为失礼. He is the 君子 or 'superior man' there. The other two 君子 are to be taken as the authors of the odes which are quoted, added by Tso-shu in confirmation of his own view. The Praise-song of Loo was made after the time of duke He.]

Par. 7. The Chuen says;—In winter, 8th Tso-ku of Ts'in, Kung-tse's Ch'ing of Sung, Yunn Sen of Ch'in, and Kung-tse Kwei-sing of Ch'ang, invaded Ts'in, when they took Wang and Ling-yu, and returned. The object of the expedition was to repay the campaigns of Ling-yu. The ministers are not named in the text, [and they are only called 人] 1 on account of duke Min (of Ts'in), out of regard to the honour of Ts'in,—an example of the respect paid to virtue. [This last sentence is merely Tso-shu's own erroneous criticism of the text.]
The marriage of the duke with a daughter of Ts'e is recorded in IV. 2. The presenting of the offerings of silk, donated by the duke, was subsequent to the ceremonies of the engagement, and therefore I think, notwithstanding the protest of the K'ang-lie editors, that Ts'e's view is very likely,—that the engagement had been made before the death of duke He, and that, as soon as the conclusion of the mourning permitted, Wai proceeded to take the next step. The Chuen says,—'This visit to Ts'e of Sseung-chung was according to rule. When a prince comes to the rule of a State, he shows his affection for the States whose princes are related to him by affinity, cultivates all relationships by marriage, and takes a humb' wife, to attend to the grain-vessels of the temple. This is filial piety, and filial piety is the beginning of propriety.'

Third year.

夏五月，王子虎卒。

秋楚人圍江。

秦人伐晉。

冬公如晉。公及晉侯盟於宋。

春王正月，叔孫得臣會晉人、宋人、陳人、衛人、鄭人伐沈。”
In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Shuh-sun Tih-shin joined an officer of Ts'in. an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'ìn. an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'ing, in invading Shin, the people of which dispersed.

In summer, in the fifth month, king [He's] son, Hoo, died.

A body of men from Ts'in invaded Ts'in.

In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo besieged Keang.

It rained locusts in Sung.

In winter, the duke went to Ts'in; and in the twelfth month, on Ke-sze, he made a covenant with the marquis of Ts'in.

Yang Ch'oo-foo of Ts'in led a force, and invaded Ts'oo, in order to relieve Keang.
"Never idle day or night,  
In the service of the one man,"  
were exemplified in Mäng-ming. And those  
[Sse, III. i. ode X. 8].

"His counsels reached on to his descendants,  
To give happiness and strength to his posterity,"
were exemplified in Tse-sang.

Acc. to the Chuen, the Earl of Tsin himself  
was in this expedition. Still the of the  
the text shows that he only accompanied it,  
and that the command was held by one of his ministers. The conclusion of this expedition does  
seem a more fitting occasion for the Speech of the еarl of Tsin which concludes the Shoo than  
the defeat at Hsào, to which it is commonly referred.

Par. 4. Käng,—see V. ii. 4. From the time of  
the meeting recorded in that par., Käng  
notwithstanding its proximity to T'eo, had  
continued to adhere to the northern States, and  
was now to suffer the consequences from its  
powerful neighbour. T'eo was, no doubt,  
induced to recommence its aggressive move-  
ments by the long continued hostilities between  
Tsin and Tsin. The Chuen says that, on this  
ocasion, Sîn Fuh of Tsin invaded T'eo in order to relieve Käng.

Par. 5. —see II. v. 8. The Chuen says  
that these locusts fell down and died. This  
seems to be Tso-sho's explanation of the text  
that 'it rained locusts.' This would be a prodigy,  
and not a calamity or plague, as Küh-Kiang  
makes out the visitation to have been. Sung  
was noted for such strange appearances;—see  
V. xvi. 1.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—They were appre-  
chensive in Tsin that they had behaved  
uncourteously to the duke [In the matter of the  
covenant, par. 3 of last year], and asked him to  
make a new covenant. The duke went accord-  
ingly to Tsin, and made a covenant with the  
marquis, who feasted him, and sang the ode  
beginning  

"Abundant grows the aster-southern-  
wood." (She, II. iii. ode II.)

Chwang-shuh [See on par. 1] descended the  
steps with the duke, that he might acknowledge  
The honour done to him, saying, "My small  
State having received the orders of your great  
State, I dare not but be most careful in my  
observances. Your lordship has conferred on  
me a great honour, and nothing could exceed my  
happiness. The happiness of my small State is  
from the kindness of your great one." The mar-  
quis also descended the steps, and declined the  
acknowledgements [which the duke was going to  
make]. They then re-ascended the steps, when  
the duke bowed twice, and sang the ode beginning  
"Our admirable, amiable Sovereign!" (She, III.  
ii. ode V.)

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—In winter, Tain  
represented the case of Käng to the court of Chow.  
In consequence, Wang-shuh, the duke Hwan, and  
Yang Ch’u-foo of Tsin, invaded T’eo in order  
to relieve Käng. They attacked Fang-shing,  
and having met with Tse-scho, duke of Seih,  
they returned. This narrative of the Chuen is  
not clear. Tse-scho was the commander of the  
expedition of T’eo against Käng. He retired  
before the troops of Tain, and then the relieving  
force also withdrew, having accomplished  
its object very imperfectly. Kung and Kuh  
leave out the  
before the K’ang-he  
editors enter here into a defence of the conduct  
of Tain in this transaction, against the condemna- 
tion of Hoo Gan-kwuh and other critics. Too Yu  
says that the duke Hwan in the Chuen was a  
son of duke Wan, king’s son Hoo, whose death  
was recorded in the second par. If it was so,  
then the Wang-shuh (王叔) in the Chuen here  
must be taken as a clan-name and not as  
the king’s uncle." I have so translated the  
characters in the former Chuen, because the  
relationship of Hoo seems to be determined by  
his being called both ‘king’s son,’ and king’s  
uncle.'
IV. 1. In his fourth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Ts'in.
2. In summer, [the duke] met his wife Kêang in Ts'e.
3. The Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.
4. In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Kêang.
5. The marquis of Ts'in invaded Ts'in.
6. The marquis of Wei sent Ning Yu to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
7. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jin-yin, the wife [of duke Chwang], the lady Fung, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here three short notices—1st, In spring they returned Kung Tsh in Ts'in to Wei [See the Chuen on II. 4], considering him: to be Wei's good man, and therefore letting him go.] 2d, In summer, the marquis of Wei went to Ts'in to make his acknowledgments [for the restoration of Kung Tsh]. 3d, The part of Teih went to Ts'in to have an understanding about the contributions [to the marquis, as the leader of the States.]

Par. 2. This par. has reference to duke Wa's marriage,—his bringing home to Loo the daughter of Tse, on whose account Kung-tse Sue conveyed the marriage gifts as related in II. 8. There are difficulties, however, in the interpretation and translation of it, arising from there being no subject of the verb expressed, and from the phrase 遮女 instead of the regular one 遮女; comp. II. ill. 5, and III. xxiv. 3. Tea-she holds that the subject of 遮 is some person of mean rank, who was employed on this mission. The Chuen says,—A high minister did not so to meet the lady— which was contrary to rule. It is then added, The superior man, knowing from this that Chuw Kêang (so the lady was afterwards styled) would not be trusted in Loo, might say, A man of noble rank acted at her betrothal, and a mean man met her [at her marriage]. While she was becoming duchess, she was treated as mean, and in the act of establishing her she was disowned. The duke threw away his confidence.
in her, and her authority as mistress of the harem was overthrown. This was a sure
prelude to disorder in the State, and of ruin in the family.
Right was it that she should not be
trusted. What is said in the ode (She, IV.1.1.)

She, IV.1.1. ode VII.

"Revere the majesty of Heaven,
And ever preserve its favour,"

may be considered as spoken of the reverence to be accorded to the mistrees of the
harem."

Kung-yang sees in this notice the indication of the indifference with which the lady was
treated, and supposes she was not a daughter of the marquis of Tse, but only of one of his
officers, of the same surname as the ruling House. But there can be no doubt the lady was a
daughter of the marquis. Kuh-lung would supply 夫 as the subject of 道. The duke
went in person to Tse for his bride, as duke Chwang is said to have done in III.xxv.8.
There the 夫 is expressed, while here it is wanting; but we have found it wanting in the
same way in more than a score of other paragraphs. Here, therefore, I must agree, as the
Kang-he editors do, with Kuh-lung, rather than with Tse. The duke went himself to Tse
to receive his bride.

But how have we 逆姫, instead of 夫?

as in III xxv.8. Too-she does not meet
this question, but Too repeats the explanation of the term 姬, which is given under V.xxv.8.
Kuh-lung also adds it, but I do not see how
it can be admitted in this case. And there is no necessity for it. The duke went to Tse, and
in his impatience completed the marriage there, instead of accepting his bride to Loo, and
there going through the ceremonies proper to the occasion; as he ought to have done.
Instead of 姬 simply, we might have 姬氏
as in II.iii.6, &c; but it is needless to find
either praise or blame in the omission of
the 姜氏.

Par. 2. See V.xxx.8. These northern hordes
seem to have become more and more restless and
daring.

Par. 4. The relief of Kiang in the end of
last year proved of little value. The Chuen
says:—"When Tse extinguished Kiang, the
earl of Tse made a mourning account of it; removed from his proper bed-chamber;
and did not allow his table to be fully spread;—going beyond the regular bounds [of sorrow].
One of his great officers consoled him, but he
said, "When a State with whose lord I had
convenanted is extinguished, although I could
not save it, I dare not, but feel compassion.
And I fear for myself." The superior man will
say that the words of the ode (She, III.1. Ode
VII.)

"There were those two dynasties,
But they failed in their government.
Throughout all the States in all the kingdom.
He examined, he exercised consideration,"

might be spoken of Muh of Tsein."

Par. 5. Too-she says that in this invasion the
marquis of Tsein besieged Tse and Sin-shing,
to repay Tse for the campaign of Wang-kwan;
—see the Chuen on par. 2 of last year. The
marquis of Tsein conducted the invasion in
person. It is absurd to seek for any other
reason for the text's saying so, and yet the
Kang-he editors express their agreement with
Chang Hih in the view that the marquis's
title is here given to indicate the sage's emphatic
condemnation of his persistence in hostilities!

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—Ning Woo of
Wei having come to Loo with friendly inquiries,
the duke was feasting with him, and had the
"Heavy is the dew." (She, II.ii. ode X.)
and the "Red Bows" (She, II.ii. ode I.)
engraved on his account. He did not protest against
these odes, nor did he make answer with any
other. The duke sent the officers of communi-
cation with envoys from other States to ask
him privately (the reason of his conduct). He
replied, "I supposed that the musicians, in
practising their art, happened to come to the
two pieces. Formerly, when princes of States
appeared at the king's court to receive instruc-
tions about their government, and the king
gratified them with an entertainment, then
the 'Heavy is the dew' was sung, the
son of Heaven being the sun [There spoken of],
and the princes receiving his commands,
As the dew is affected by the sun.
When they had battled with any against whom
the king was angry, and were reporting their successful
services, the king gave them a red bow with
a hundred red arrows, and a black bow with a
thousand arrows, to show how the feast was one
of recompense. Now I, an officer of a State,
am here to perpetuate the old friendship between
Wei and Loo; and though his lordship con-
siders to bestow them, how dare I accept such
great honours to bring on myself the charge of
crime?
"
Confucius has celebrated the virtue of
Ning Woo in the Ana., V.xx, and especially a
'simulacrum that could not be equaled.' The critics
are fond of finding in the narrative of the Chuen
an illustration of that simplicity.

Par. 7. Too says that 'in winter Chwing Fung
died,' Chwing being the title or epithet by which
she was called after death. She had been a con-
cubine of duke Chwang, and she is mentioned
in two Chuen—cha in V.xxi.6, and the 2d
one appended to IV.xi. On her son's coming to
be marquis she partook of his nobility (母以
子貴), and she here appears as 夫人 or
'wife' of duke Chwang. She was of the House of
Jin (任), which had the surname of Fung.

子貴 and she here appears as 夫人 or
'wife' of duke Chwang. She was of the House of
Jin (任), which had the surname of Fung.
Fifth year.

1. In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the king sent Shuh of Yung, with mouth-jewels and a carriage and horses [for the funeral of Ch'ing Fung.]

2. In the third month, on Sin-hae, we buried our duchess, Ch'ing Fung.

3. The king sent the earl of Shaou to be present at the burial.

4. In summer, Kung-sun Gaou went to Tsin.

5. A body of men from Ta'in entered Joh.

6. In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Luh.

7. In winter, in the tenth month, on Kéah-shin, Yeh, baron of Heu, died.

Note: The former of these passage is explained. The name of certain jewels—Pearls and gems—which were put into the mouth of the corpse (孔實). A Yung Shuh was the messenger, mentioned in the second passage referred to, as well as here; but it could not be the same man. The messenger on
this occasion was probably a son of the former. On that passage, Too Yu says that Yang was the 氏 or clan-name of the family. Here Fan Ning says that Yang Szihh was a great officer of the 1st rank in the service of the king, and that Yang was the name of his 役名, or the territory from which he derived his revenue. This is probably correct, but the name of the territory became the clan-name of the family. The 在 between 顏 and 師 intimates, acc. to Kung and Kuh, that the two gifts were distinct, and that each should have been conveyed by its proper envoy, while here they were both entrusted to Yang Szihh; contrary to rule. But this criticism is more than doubtful. The K'ung-hse editors, after a host of critics, see, in the omission of 天 before 王, a strong expression of the sage's condemnation of the king in thus sanctioning the elevation of duke Chwang's consu- bine to the rank of wife. This criticism is no more valuable than the former.

Par. 2. Comp. III. xiii. 2. As the lady Yang was now regarded as duke Chwang's wife, there is no difficulty with the terms of this paragraph. Hoon Gan-kwoh, indeed, says that this would involve a further departure from the rules of propriety, as there would be the spirit-tablets of two wives to go into duke Chwang's temple-shrine. It is admitted that in the shrine of a king only the tablet of his proper queen could be placed; but the tablets admissible into the shrines of great officers were not so limited; and what the rule was in regard to princes of States and their wives is not ascertained. See Maou Ke-ling in fo.

Par. 3. 與可伯 Kuh-liang has 毛伯. The son of Shou was a minister of the king, who derived his revenue from Shou, in the present dis. of Yuen-ku-hsü (垣曲). Kueang Chow (疆州) Shun-so. Teo-she says his mission was according to rule, as well as that of Yang Szihh, in par. 1; an opinion vehemently disputed by many of the critics.

Par. 4. The Chuen says nothing about this mission. Kao Kung (高閔) and other critics dwell with justice on the court. Loo paid to Ts'ai, while no messenger went to Chow to acknowledge all the king's favours. Par. 5. Joh was at this time a small State in the south-west of the present dis. of Nen-hiang (內鄉), dep. Nan-yang, Ho-sun. It was afterwards removed by Ts'oo farther south, to the dis. of E-shing (宜城) dep. Seang-yang, Hoo-phi. See the Chuen on V. xxx. 5. The Chuen here says:—Before this, Joh had revolted from Ts'oo, and become an adherent of Ts'in. Now it was inclining again to Ts'oo, and in the summer, a body of men from Ts'in entered it.

Par. 6. Luh was a small State—in the present Chow of Luh-gan (六安州), Gan-kuo. Its lords were Xena (偃), representatives of the ancient Kaou-yao. The Chuen says:—'The people of Luh had revolted from Ts'oo, and joined the E of the east. In autumn, therefore, Ch'ing Ts'ai-sin and Ch'ung-kei, of Ts'oo, led a force and extinguished Luh. In winter, Kung-tse Si'h of Ts'oo extinguished Liaoou. When Ts'ang Wan-ch'ing heard of the extinction of the two States, he said, 'Thus suddenly have ceased the sacrifices to Kaou-yao T'ung-kwem [See on the title of Bk. III., Pt. II. of the Chuen!] Alas that the virtue (of their lords) was not established, and that there was no help for the people!'"
冬十有二月，公子遂如晉。晉殺其大夫陽處父。晉侯驪卒。

（八年）左傳曰：夏，晉獻公伐夷，盡有之，使狐突帥將中軍，趙盾佐之，賜處父父，自溫以

之宣子於是始為國政，事父，正法，罪賢，刑董，道，由質，使有國之利，亦是以

賜黃鳥。君子曰：秦穆之不為盟主也，宜哉。死而棄民，先王之責也。今失之，罰至善，

人乎？詩曰：人之云亡，邦國殄瘁。身之言，為之行。若之，何故奪之？

以是其建本在能，教之在和。居之，為之，名之，不長命，以至天，不復東征也。

命聖王之今，縱無法，以遺後嗣，而又有其行之死，難以在上矣。君是知秦之

君，且近於秦，秦舊也。臨善則固，守長則順，立君愛之，且有四德，非必。

國，不立公子駁子，安而長。必立長君。趙孟曰：立公子，雍好善而長，先

之趙孟曰：赤，貢賠之在九人，其子何震之有，且為二難，淫也為先，君不能求大。
VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, there was the burial of duke He of Hen.

2 In summer, Ke-sun Hang-foo went to Ch'in.

3 In autumn, Ke-sun Hang-foo went to Tsin.

4 In the eighth month, on Yih-hae, Hwan, marquis of Tsin, died.

5 In winter, in the tenth month, duke Chwang's son, Suy, went to Tsin, to [be present at] the burial of duke Siang of Tsin.

6 Tsin put to death its great officer, Yang Ch'oo-foo.

7 Hoo Yih-koo of Tsin fled to the Tsih.

8 In the intercalary month, [the duke] did not inaugurate the month with the usual ceremonies, but still he appeared in the ancestral temple.

Par. 1. [The Chou asks here.—In the 6th year, in spring, Tsin had a military review in K, and disbanded two of its [five] armies [See the Chou after V. xxxi. 6.]. The death of so many of its great officers, mentioned in the previous notice, rendered this disbundment necessary.]. The marquis appointed Hoo Yih-koo to the command of the 4th or army of the centre [In room of Siang Tsiu-ken], with Chou Tso as assistant commander. When Yang Ch'oo-foo came from Wan [See the first Chou at the end of last year], there was a second review at Tung, when these appointments were changed. Yang had been attached as assistant to Chou Tso [Chou Tso was the father of Tun. Chou is the nom. title, and Re is the designation], and was therefore a partisan of the Chou family. Considering, moreover, the ability of Chou Tso, he said that to employ so able a man would be advantageous to the State. On this account Tun was advanced above [Yih-foo], and now he, the officer Seven, [i.e., was afterwards Tun's honorary title], began to administer the government of the State. He appointed regular rules for the various departments of business; adjusted
the laws for the serious degrees of crime; regulated all criminal and civil actions at law; searched out runaways; ordered the employment of spies and informers; and dealt with old ordinances that had fallen into foul disorder; restored to their original order the distinctions of rank; renewed according to their normal pattern offices that had fallen into disuse; brought out men whose path had been stopped and who were in obscurity. When he had completed his regulations, he delivered them to the grand-assistant, Yang, and the grand-master, K'ao T'o, that they might have them carried into practice in the State of Ts'in, as its regular laws.

Par. 2. Too says that this Hang-t'oo was the grandson of Yëw, who is first mentioned in Hist. xxv. 6, and who subsequently played a most important part in the affairs of Loo. He was either his grandson, or great grandson, — which of the two is uncertain. The Chuen says: — "Tsang Wang-chung, looking at the good relations of Ch'in and Wei, wished to seek the friendship of Ch'iu [for Loo]. In summer, therefore, K'e Wu [Wen] went to Hang-t'oo's posthumous title [see Ana. V. xix.], to entertain a friendly mission of Ch'in, marrying there himself at the same time." [There is a narrative about T'ai en appended here; — Jin-hsuan, the son of T'ai, died, and the three sons of T'ae-k'en, Yen-shih, Chung-hang, and K'un-ho, were buried alive along with him. They were known as the three good men of T'ai; and the people bewailed their fate in the strains of the ode called "The Yellow Birds" (She, I. xiv. VI.).] The superior man says, "It was right that Min of T'ai should not be master of covenants [i.e., leader of the States]! In his death he threw away the lives of his people. When the kings left the world, they yet left behind them a good example — would they ever have snatched away from it its good men? The words of the ode (She, Ill. iii. ode X. 5).

Men there are not, And the empire must go to ruin and misery; have reference to the want of good men. What shall be said of this case when such men were taken away? The ancient kings, knowing that there would not be long, largely established the sages and wise [as princes and officers]; planted their instructions in the soul of the manner [of the people]; justified the several modes of distinguishing rank and character; published excellent lessons; made the standard tubes and measures; showed [the people] the exact amount of their contributions; led them on by the rules of deportment; gave them the rules of their own example; declared to them the instructions and studies [of their predecessors]; taught them to guard [against what was evil] and obtain what was advantageous; employed for them the regular duties [of the several officers]; and led them on by the rules of propriety; — thus securing that the earth should yield its proper increase, and that all below them might sufficiently depend on them. It was after they had done all this that those ancient kings went to their end. Successive sage kings have acted in the same way. But now, granting that- duke Mu, had no such example to have to his posterior, yet when he proceeded to take away the good with him in his death, it would have been hard for him to be in the highest place. The superior man might know from this that T'ai would not again march in triumph to the east." Also for this prognostication of Tso-shu, so falsified by the future history of T'ai-ni]

Par. 3. The Chuen says:— "In autumn, when K'e Wu was about to go on a mission of friendly visit to T'ai, he caused inquiry to be made for him into all the observances to be practised on occasion of a death [Having heard that the marquis of T'ai was ill.] One of his people said to him, "Of what man will it be?" when he replied, "T'ai is prepared beforehand, so as to have no occasion for anxiety, in a good old lesson. To have to seek for the rule, and not be able to find them, would be a hard case. If I go beyond what is necessary in searching for them, what harm can it do?" Too and other critics find in this an illustration of Wan's "thinking thrice," which is mentioned in the Analects.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:— "When duke Shih died, his son, duke Liang, was still young, and his two brothers, duke Ling and duke Yi, were friendly to the State, marrying the difficulties that might arise, wished to have a grown up ruler appointed. Ch'ao Mung [Mung was the designation of Chao Tun] said, "Let us appoint duke Wu's son, Yen. He is the heir of what is good, and is grown up; our former marquis loved him; he is near at hand in T'ai; and T'ai is our old friend." By the appointment of a good man, the State will be strengthened. In serving the elder, we shall follow the natural order. In calling the loved one to the State, we are a fillial part. And by binding anew the old ties of friendship, we shall secure our reposes. Because of the difficulties with which the State is threatened, we wish to call a grown up ruler to its head, and with Yung, possessed of these four advantages, those difficulties will be removed." K'ao K'e [Huo Yih-kao] said, "Our better plan will be to appoint duke Wu's son, Liang. Shih Ying enjoyed the favours of two marquises [See the Chuen to V. xxiii. 4.]; if we raise his son to be our ruler, the people will reposes under him." Ch'ao Mung replied, "Shih Ying was mean, her rank being only ninth in the harem; — what feeling of majesty can her son inspire? And she was the favourite of two marquises; — therein was badness. Moreover, though the son of our former marquis, unable to find the patronage of a great State, but went out to a small State, a long way off. His mother lived, and himself far away, without majesty, Ch'in small and distant, incapable of helping him, are there for reposing under him? The lady Ke of Too [The mother of Yung], out of regard to our marquis just deceased, yielded her place to K'eh of Pëi [duke Shang's mother] and in regard to the kindness shown to duke Wu by the ]T'ai, she yielded again in favour of Ke Wu, making herself only the 4th in the harem. On these accounts our former ruler loved her son, and sent him to serve in T'ai, where he has been a minister of the second rank. Considering that T'ai is a great State, near at hand, able to afford him support; considering also how the righteousness of his mother and the love of his father are sufficient to save the people, will it not be right to call him to the head
of the State?" After this, Tan sent Seen Meeh and Seo Hwey to Tain to bring the prince Yang to Tain, while Kio Ke sent also to call prince Loi from Chet. Chaw Mung, however, caused Loi to be put to death [on the way] at Pe. For Kung-yang has 誉.

Par. 5. The K'ang-he editors make this into two paragraphs, the second beginning with 諏. Tao-shu, however, considered the whole as one, as is evident from his brief note, that 'Sceng-chung went to Tain, to bury duke Siang.'

Parr. 6, 7. The K'ang-he editors give these paragraphs as one, but I think it is better to follow the arrangement of Kuh-liang. He also has 林 instead of 射. The Chou says:

"Kio Ke resented Yang's causing him to be superseded in the command of the army of the centre [See the Chou after p. 1]; and knowing that he had not friends to succour him in Tain in the 9th month, he employed Suh Kuh-keu [Belonged to a branch of the Hoo family] to kill him. The language of the text, that 'Tain put to death its great officer;' is because Yang had interfered with the offices of others. In the 11th month, on Ping-yin, Tan put Suh Kih-pih [Kuh-keu] to death, on which Kio Ke fled to the Tuh. Chau Mung [Called the officer Susan; see the Chou after p. 1] by and by employed Yu Peen, to escort his family to join him there. Now at the grand review in E, Kio Ke had disregarded Yu Peen's, whose people wished on this occasion to put all Ke's family to death in repayment of that injury. But he said, "No. I have heard that it is contained in an old book, that neither kindliness nor wrong can be repaid in the persons of a man's children; and that is a principle with loyal-hearted people. My master [Chau Mung] is behaving courteously to Kio Ke, and would it not be bad if I took advantage of his favour to myself to avenge my private wrong? To depend on another's favour to do this] would not show bravery. In satisfying my own resentment, to increase the number of my enemies [By making Chau Mung his foe] would not show knowledge. To injure the public service for my private ends would not show loyalty. If I let go these three qualities, wherewith should I do service to my master?" So he collected all the members of Kio Ke's family, his household stuff, and his treasures, led the protecting force in person, and conveyed them to the borders [of the Tuh]."

It appears from the Chou that the death of Yang Chia-koo was procured by Hoo Yih-koo; and it is difficult to account for the language of the text which ascribes it to 'Tain,' to the act of the State. Tao-shu's explanation is altogether unsatisfactory. In advising duke Siang to supersede the less able by the elder man, Yang had only done his duty; and whether it were so or not, his action affords no explanation of the ascription of this death to Tain. Kau Kung says the record of the flight of Hoo Yih-koo, immediately after that of the death of Yang, sufficiently shows that he was the murderer; but this does not account for the 聖.

Kung-yang relates that duke Siang told Kio Ke that he superseded him on the representation of Yang; and some, accepting this account, hold that by the 'Tain' we are to understand duke Siang, who was now deceased. I can suggest nothing myself as a solution of the difficulty.

Par. 8. Tao-shu says: "Not to inaugurate solemnly the first day of the intercalary month was an infringement of the proper rule. The intercalary month is intended to adjust the seasons. The observance of the seasons is necessary for the performance of the labours of the year. It is those labours by which provision is made for the necessities of life. Herein lies the care of the lives of the people. Not to inaugurate properly the intercalary month was to set aside the regulation of the seasons;—what government of the people could there be in such a case?"

The inauguration of the month intended seems to be the offering of a sheep, alluded to in Ana. III. xvi. After this ceremony, the duke, it would appear, presented himself before the shrines of his ancestors, with what ceremonies we are not told; and this over, he proceeded to give audience to his officers. Maou Ke-lung thinks that that audience and the attention to the government which it implied is what is here intended by 朝于廟. but I cannot think so. The 猶 indicates that the ceremony which follows was less important than that which precedes it, which could not be said of attention to the business of the government.

Seventh year.
三月，甲戌，楚共王遂立，而以王后之子黄为太子。楚人杀薳者。薳者，薳昭之子也。薳昭，楚之重臣也，对于楚国的政局有一定的影响力。其子薳者，承继了父亲的势力，试图在楚国内重新树立自己的地位。然而，由于政治权力的争夺和内部矛盾，薳者的反对势力开始显现，最终导致了楚共王的立储之争。

晋与秦、狄之盟

晋先蔑奔秦，先蔑，晋国的君臣之一，因为对国事的不满而投奔了秦国。秦，当时强大的中原霸主，对晋国的盟约表示不满，因此先蔑选择投靠秦国。

夏四月，宋成公卒，於是公子成以右师、公孙枝为左师，宋公之子焉为司马，公子弥为司徒，公子𝖗为司马，护国之政。宋成公之子，以其才能和政治影响力，在宋国内影响力甚大。其子宋公之子焉，继承了父亲的政治才能，成为宋国的重要人物。

秋八月，公会诸侯于晋。诸侯，指的是各个国家的君主，他们聚集在一起，共同商讨国家大事。晋，当时的中原霸主，诸侯会盟，显示了其在中原的影响力和地位。

冬，徐伐莒。徐，春秋时期的国家，莒是其重要的城市。徐国发动进攻，显示出其在当地的影响力和军事实力。

公孙敖如莒。公孙敖，晋国的臣子，此次前往莒，可能是为了处理两国之间的事务。
In his seventh year, in spring, the duke invaded Choo.

In the third month, on Kēah-sub, he took Seu-kʻeu, and went on in consequence to wall Woo.

In summer, in the fourth month, Wang-shin, duke of Sung, died.

The people of Sung put to death [some of] their great officers.

On Mow-tsze, an army of Tsin and one of Tsʻin fought a battle at Ling-hoo.

Sēen Mēch of Tsin fled to Tsʻin.

The Teih made an incursion into our western borders.

In autumn, in the eighth month, the duke had a meeting with other princes and a great officer of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Hoo.
9 In winter, Seu invaded Keu.

10 Kung-sun Gou went to Keu to superintend a covenant.

Par. 1. Tao says the duke made this movement, 'taking the opportunity of the difficulties of Tain.'

Par. 2. Sen-keu (Kung-yang has 須胸).—see V. xxi. 1. It was originally a Fue-yang of Loo. Choo had taken and appropriated it; and duke He took it from Choo, as related in that par., and restored its proper ruler. Choo, it would seem, had taken it a second time, and duke Wun again reclaimed it, but not to restore it to its original holders. 'He placed over it,' says the Chuen, 'a son of duke Wun of Choo.'—with good reason. The section of Choo had fled from his own State, where he had attempted to overturn the government, and taken refuge in Loo. He was now made governor of Sen-keu, absorbed by Loo, which thus extinguished the sacrifices that had been there maintained to Fu-hsun. Woo was a town of Loo,—in the south-east of the dis. of Sze-shuy, dep. Yen-chow. Loo now proceeded to watt it, as a precaution against reprisals from Choo.

Par. 3. For 王臣 Kuh-son has 臣.

We have no subsequent entry of this duke's burial, probably because of the confusion into which Sung fell after his death, in which the ceremony was irregularly performed. Wang-shin became duke Ching.

Par. 4. The Chuen says,—In the 4th month, duke Ching of Sung died. At this time, duke Chiao's son, Ching, commanded the army of the right, and Kung-sun Yew [A Son of Muh-b;—see the narrative at the end of V. vii.] of the left; Loh Yu was minister of War; Lin Kwan, minister of Instruction; duke Hwan's son, Teng, minister of Works, and Hwa Yu-sun, minister of Crime. Duke Chiao [Who had succeeded to his father] wished to make away with some of the sons of former duked, but Loh Yu said to him, 'Let not these be touched.' The various clans of the ducal House are like branches and leaves. If you remove them, the root and trunk will have no shelter or shade. Even the doliouás and other creepers can give sheltering protection to their roots, and so the superior man would use them by way of comparison [See the Sha, L. vi. ode VII]; how much more should rulers of States do so! Your project is like what the common saying describes, 'He should protect it, and he allows the measuring line and axe to cut it down.' It is entirely to be condemned. Cherish them by your kindness, and they will be arms and legs to you; which of them will dare to cherish disaffection! Why should you think of removing them out of the way?' The duke would not listen to this counsel. The class therefore of Muh and Sung [i. e., the descendants of those two duked] led the people of the State to attack the duke, and killed Kung-sun Ko, and Kung-sun Ching in his palace. The six ministers succeeded in bringing the ducal house to harmony, and Loh Yu resigned his office as minister of War, in favour of the duke's brother, Gang. Duke Chiao then went to see the sons of his father, and buried him. The text says that the people of Sung put their great officers to death, without mentioning the names of those who did so, or of the sufferers, because they were many; it intimates also that the sufferers were not criminals. Tao-shih's explanation of the terms of the text is not satisfactory. Mao K'ue-lang says better, 'The text does not give the names of the players and the slain, the historiographers having ascertained neither who the former were, nor for what cause the latter suffered. Hence the summariness of the language.' I have made the translation in accordance with this criticism.

Par. 5. For 资 Kung-yang has 件 and before he has the characters 以師. Lingshoo was in Tain,—in the pres. dis. of E-sha (議氏), dep. P'yoo-chow, Shan-su. The Chuen says,—Duke Kung of Tsin sent an escort with duke Wun's son Yung to Tain, saying, 'When duke Wun entered Tain [in the 24th year of duke He], he had no sufficient guard with him, and hence came his difficulties from Loo and K'ouh.' He therefore gave Yung a numerous guard of troops.

"In the meantime, Muh Ying carried her son,—the eldest son of the late marquis,—every day in her arms to the court, and wept there, saying, 'What crime has the late marquis? and what crime has this child, his heir? In passing by the proper heir, not raising him to his father's place, and in seeking a ruler from abroad, what will you do with this child?' When she left the court, she carried her son to the mansion of the Chaus, and with her head bowed to the ground before Chaus Senon, she said to him, 'The late marquis took this child, and committed him to you, saying, 'Should this child turn out a man of ability, I shall receive it as your gift. Should he not do so, I shall have occasion to resent [your neglect of his training].' Now, though the marquis be deceased, his words must still be in your ear. Is it that you have abandoned his son? Chaus Senon and the other great officers were troubled by this conduct of Muh Ying, and were afraid of pressure from the people [Taking sides with her]. They accordingly turned their back on Sien Too [and his mission to Tsin], declared the child—duke Ling,—successor to the State, and took measures to oppose the army of Tsin.

"Ke Ching remained at the capital in charge of the government. Chau Tu himself went in command of the array of the centre, with Sen K'uh as assistant commander. Sen Chus and the other great officers were troubled by this conduct of Muh Ying, and were afraid of pressure from the people [Taking sides with her]. They accordingly turned their back on Sien Meeh [and his mission to Tsin], declared the child—duke Ling,—successor to the State, and took measures to oppose the army of Tsin.

"When they came to Kin-yun, Chau Senon said, 'If we were to receive [Yung whom] Tsin [is escorting], Tsin would be our guest. If we do not receive him, Tsin is our invader. As not to receive him, I shall be put to dilatory in our measures, Tsin will be led to suspect us. To be beforehand with others takes the
heart out of them;—this is a good plan in war.

To drive out an invader as if we were pursuing fugitives and then to instruct the soldiers therefore to sharpen their weapons and feed their horses, to take a good meal on their beds, and, with all arrangements for silence and secrecy, to start while it was yet dark.

In this way, on Ma-cue-tse he defeated the army, and pursued it to K'oo-show. On Ke-ch'ow, Sien Mieh fled to Tein, and See Hwuy followed him.

When Sien Mieh was sent on his mission to Tein, Sien Lin-fu had tried to stop him, saying, 'The [late marquis]'s wife and son are still here, and we are seeking a ruler abroad; this scheme will not succeed. What do you say to declining the mission on the plea of illness? If you do not do so, you will meet with calamity. Get another special minister to go; in your place—why must you go? Officers of the same department are comrades; I have been your comrade, and feel compelled to advise you thus with all my heart.' Much would not listen to this, and the other sang to him the 3d stanza of the Pan ode (P'ei, III. Ode 450). Still he would not heed him. When he became a fugitive, Sien Pih [Lin-fu] escorted to him in Tein all his family, with his household stuff, and treasures, saying, 'It is because of our comradeship.' See Hwuy was in Tein for 3 years without seeing Sien Pih [Sien Mieh]. One of his people said to him, 'You could become a fugitive with him from Tein, and you cannot see him here! What is the reason of this?' See Ke [Ke was Hwuy's designation] replied, 'I was in the same condemnation with him; it was not because I deemed him righteous [that I followed him];—why should I see him? And up to the time of his return to Tein, I did not see him.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—On this occasion, the duke sent word of the incursion to Tein. Chuan Seun sent a messenger, who, by means of Sien Ke, asked Fung Shoo [The chief minister of the Tein] about it, and reproved him. Fung Shoo asked Sien Ke which was the superior of the two, Chuan Tung or Chuan Tun. Sien Ke replied, 'Chuan Tung was the sun of a winter's day [To be cherished]; Chuan Tun is the sun of a summer's day [To be shorn from].'

Par. 8. Hoo was in Ch'ing,—in the north-west of the province. dis. of Yuen-foo, dep. Kao-fung. The Chuen says:—'In the 8th month, the marquis of Yen, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Hau, and the earl of T'ou, had a meeting with Chuan Tun of Tein, when they made a covenant in Hoo,—having reference to the accession of the new marquis of Tein. The duke arrived afterwards, and therefore the text does not say with whom he met. In all cases of any of our dukes meeting with other princes, when it is not said who those were, it must be understood that the duke came last. The reason why in such case the States are not given is to conceal the duke's want of diligence.' The causes which Teo here lays down for the explanation of the text have been called in question by Lee Ch'ang in his Sun Koo. Most of the critics, however, accord to it. To me, it seems very questionable.

Par. 9. Too Yu accounts for the brevity of this part, where only the same Seu is given without any mention of the leader, on the supposition that the historiographers recorded the notice as it was received from Seu, which was too barbarous a State to draw up an announcement of the kind in the proper form. Lee Ch'ang, however, argues, from the statement in the Chuen on the next par., that Seu sent, on the invasion of Tein, to seek a covenant with Hoo, and that the announcement came from it,—which is much more likely, and sufficiently accounts for the brevity of the notice.

Par. 10. Kung and Hoo have for. The Chuen says:—'Muh-pih [Kung-sun Guo] had married a wife from Kau, called Tse See [in the text should probably be] who bore him Wun-pih. Her sister Shing See bore him Hway-shih. On the death of Tse See he made proposals for another wife from Kau, but the party concerned in Kau declined them on the ground that Shing Ke was still alive, on which he made the proposal, on behalf of his cousin Siang-chung [Kung-cen So]. This winter, when Seu invaded Kau, they sent from Kau to Lo, begging for a covenant, and Muh-pih went to Kau to superintend the making of it, and at the same time to meet the lady for Siang-chung. When he got to Lo, having gone up to the wall of the city, [he saw her that] she was beautiful, and married her himself. Chung asked leave to attack him from the duke, who was about to give his consent, when Siang-chung Hway-pih [A grandson of Kung-t'a Pe Ya, who was murdered in Chwang's 23rd year; a brother of Shih-sun Tih-shin of I. 7. From him came the Shih-chung family] remonstrated, saying, 'Your servant has heard that hostilities within the State produce rebellion, while hostilities from without are from enemies. In dealing with enemies, you have still to do with strangers; in dealing with rebels, you are arrayed against yourself. Now a subject is going to produce confusion, and your lordship does not hinder him; and when the thing goes on to lead to hostils attacks [from without], what can be said?' The duke on this stopped Chung's movement, and Hway-pih reconciled the two officers, advising Chung to give up his claim to the lady, and Kung-sun Guo to send her back to Kau, and that they should again go as brothers as before. They followed his counsel.'

[The Chuen appends here:—Kioh Kueh of Tain said to Chuan Seun, 'Years ago, Wei being on bad terms with us, we took part of its territory [See the 1st year, par. 7]. Now it is on good terms with us, and we may stir the territory. When a State revolts from us, if we do not punish it, how can we display our majesty? When it submits, if we do not deal kindly with it, how can we display our indulgence? Without that majesty and indulgence, how can we display our virtue? And without virtue, how can we preside over the coronants [of the States]? You are our chief minister, the director of all the princes; and if you do not make it your object to manifest such virtue, what will be the consequence? It is told in one of the Books of Hao [or Yu; see the Shoo, II. II. 7].' Caution them with gentle words; correct them with the majesty of law; stimulate them with the virtue of song—from that, in order, that your success may never suffer diminution.' These are the virtues seen in the nine services, all of
Eighth year.

冬十月，壬午，公子遂會晉趙盾，盟于雍，盟于暴。

乙酉，公子遂會鄭戎，盟于雍。

秋八月，戊申，天王崩。

夏四月，春王正月。

八月，戊申，天王崩。
VIII. 1 It was the [duke's] eighth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Mow-shin, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

4 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, had a meeting with Chaou Tun of Ts'in, when they made a covenant in Hang-yung.

5 On Yi-yew, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, had a meeting with the Loh Jung, and made a covenant with them at Paou.

6 Kung-sun Gaou left to go to the capital, but he retraced his steps before he got to it. On Ping-seuh he fled to Keu.

7 There were locusts.

8 The people of Sung put to death their great officer, the minister of War. The minister of Works of Sung came to Loo a fugitive.

Par. 1. [The Chuen gives here the sequel of the narrative at the end of last year.—In spring, the marquis of Ts'in sent H'ao Yang to restore to Wei the lands of K'wang and Tsuw [See the Chuen on I. 6]. He also surrendered the territory, with which duke Wen had invested his son-in-law, Chu, from Shin to the border of Hoo-laou.]

Par. 2. [The Chuen appends here:—In spring, a body of men from Ts'in invaded Ts'in, and took Woo-shing; in return for the affair at Hoo-laou.]

Par. 3. Tao observes that this was king Seung. He was succeeded by his son Jin-shin (壬臣), known as king King (顓王).

Par. 4. Hang-yung was in Ch'ing,—near to Hoo, mentioned in p. 8 of last year. The Chuen says:—A body of men from Ts'in came to punish us on account of the covenant at Hoo [for which the duke arrived too late]. In winter, Seung-chung had a meeting with Chaou Tun, when they made a covenant in Hang-yung;—in satisfaction for [the duke's negligence in the matter of] the covenant at Hoo.

Par. 5. For Kung-yung, and also Tao's Chuen, have 伊維. This tribe of the Jang had its seat in the pres. dep. of Ho-nan. Tsun was in Ch'ing. It could not be far from Hang-yung, for Yi-yew was only the 30 day after Jin-woo, when Suy covenanted with Chaou Tun. Tao-she says that from that coven-
Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"The wife [widow] of [duke] Sieng of Sung was a sister of king Sieng, and duke Ch'ao戕 did not behave to her [his own grand-mother] with propriety. She, therefore, by means of the members of the Ta clan [Embracing the Loh Yu, Hwa Yu-sue, mentioned in the Chuen on p. 4 of last year, and others] got K'ang Shu, grandson of duke Sieng, put to death, with Kung-sun Ch'ang-le, and the grand-minister of war, duke Ch'ao's brother Gang, who were all partisans of duke Ch'ao. The minister of War died grasping his seal of office in his hands; and therefore his official dignity is mentioned in the text. The minister of Works, Tang E-chao, came a fugitive to Loo, having given up his seal to the keeper of the treasury, when he left Sung. The duke met him in the manner due to his office, and procured the restoration of him and his followers.

The text also mentions him by his official dignity, honouring him in the same way.'

[The Chuen returns here to the affairs of Tsin.—"At the grand military review at E (See the Chuen at the beginning of the 6th year), the marquis had wished to raise Ke Ch'ing-fou and Seen Too [to the command of the 1st army], and to give Seo Hwoh and L'ang Yih-turh the command of the 2d. Seen K'ih said to him, "The services of Hoo and Chao should not be forgotten." and the marquis followed the suggestion [in making the appointments]. Seen K'ih also subsequently took away from K'wae Tih the lands granted to him at Kiu-yuh. In consequence of these things, Ke Ch'ing-fou, Seen Too, Seo Hwoh, L'ang Yih-turh, and K'wae Tih, arranged to raise an insurrection [in the State]."]

Ninth year.

二月 叔孫得臣如京師。夫人姜氏如齊。

九月 秦人來求師。夫人姜氏如齊。曹伯襄卒。楚人伐鄭公子遂會晉人宋人衛人許人救鄭。夏狄侵齊。秋八月，曹伯襄卒。冬楚子使椒來聘。秦人來歸僖公成風之襚。葬曹共公。
IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the earl of Maou came to Loo, to ask for [a contribution of] money.

2 The duke's wife, the lady Kéang, went to Ts'e.

3 In the second month, Shuh-sun Tih-shin went to the capital.

4 On Sin-ch'ow there was the burial of king Séang.

5 The people of Tsin put to death their great officer Séen Too.

6 In the third month, the duke's wife, the lady Kéang, arrived from Ts'e.

7 The people of Tsin put to death their great officers, Sze Hwoh and Ke Ch'ing-foo.

8 A body of men from Ts'oó invaded Ch'ing. Suy, duke [Chwang's] son, joined an officer of Tsin, an officer of Sung, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Heu, to relieve Ch'ing.

9 In summer, the Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.

10 In autumn, in the eighth month, Séang, earl of Ts'aou, died.

11 In the ninth month, on Kwei-yéw, there was an earthquake.

12 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oó sent Tséaou to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.

13 An officer from Tsin came to present grave-clothes for duke He and Ch'ing Fung.

14 There was the burial of duke Kung of Ts'aou.

[Continuing the narrative at the end of last year, the Chuen proceeds:—In spring, in the king's first month, on Ke-yéw, [the conspirators] employed ruffians to kill Séen K'h. On Yih-yéw the people of Tsin put to death Séen Too and Léang Yih-urh.]
tute for the king's burial. Though this was the beginning of a new year since the death of the king, yet, being not buried, the text does not say that the messenger was sent by the new king of that mission. Two further says: "contrary to rule" and the earth's name was 'Wei.'

Par. 2. The lady Kang went to Ts'e to visit her parents. This all the critics admit, but as such visits were regularly made, and matters of custom and routine are held not to be entered in the Ch'un Ts'ieh, they hazard various conjectures to account for this record; with which the student need not be troubled.

Par. 3. These are treated in the Chuen as one paragraph. — "Chuang-shah (Chieh Ti-shih's posthumous title) went to Chou, to the burial of king Seang. Too says that it was according to rule for a minister to go to Chou on such an occasion; but it was not so. — The duke ought to have gone himself.

Par. 5. The fact here recorded is given in the Chuen at the beginning of the year, and is said to have occurred on the day Yih-yew. The Yih-yew was the 18th of the 1st month of this year. Here is a discrepancy between the text and the Chuen for which it is not easy to account.

Par. 6. This record is remarkable as being the only instance in which the return of a marchioness of Loo from a visit to her paternal State is entered. Fourteen lines the leaving of Loo is recorded; but only on this occasion is the solemn celebration of the return in the ancestral temple mentioned.

Par. 7. See the Chuen at the end of last year, and the beginning of this. Here the Chuen merely repeats the text, with the addition of the name of K'wae. The omission of that of the text, as of the name of Lao Shang Yih-wu in p. 5, is probably to be accounted for from the inferior rank of the two criminals. A crime is made to account for the use of a here and in p. 5, and some similar passages, that it is used when the punishment of criminals is spoken of, as if the execution were with the consent of the people. It does not, however, always hold. Kuh-lung has many followers in thinking that the 及 implies that Ch'ung-fou was involved (累及) in crime and its consequences by Kuo Hwau; but so much stress need not be laid on the term. Mao K'ung-ling says,及者之及之, 及 and next.

Par. 8. Ts'eou had now pretty well recovered from the defeat at Shang-puh. 12 years before this, and here resumes its attempts against the northern States. The Chuen says: — "Ean Shan [A great officer of Ts'eou] said to the viscount of Ts'eou, "The ruler of Ch'in is quite young, and has no thought about the States — you may take measures now for the land of the north." Accordingly the viscount took post with an army at Lang-yen, in [direct] the invasion of Ch'ung. He made prisoners of Kung-tse K'e, Kung-tse Mung, and Loh Uri, after which Ch'ung made peace with Ts'eou. Duke Ch'uang's son, Suny, joined Chou at Tun of Ts'e, Hua Ngau of Kung, Kung Tse of Wei, and a great officer of Hsu, in order to relieve Ch'ung, but they did not come up with the army of Ts'eou. The text does not give the names of the ministers [of the several States] because of their dilatoriness, to punish their want of sincerity."

Par. 9. With Ts'eou pressing on them from the south, and the Ts'e, even active and restless on the north, the States of the Middle kingdom were in an evil case. (The Chuen gives here two additional notes about Ts'eou: — "In summer, Ts'eou made an inursion into Ch'in, and reduced Hoo-k'ang, because of its submission to T'eou.

[In autumn, Kung-tse Choo of Ts'eou invaded Ch'in by the way of the eastern E. The troops of Ch'in defeated him, and captured Kung-tse, Choo. This success made Ch'in afraid, and it made peace with Ts'eou.]"

Par. 11. Too says: "It is the way of the earth to be still; its moving was accounted strange, and therefore recorded." Jin Kung-fu (任公騫) says: — For more than a hundred years before this we have no record of an earthquake; but from this time to King Gao, there are four earthquakes recorded — nature's response to the prevailing confusion in the kingdom, the princes disobedient to the son of Heaven, and their officers disobedient to the princes.

Par. 12. For Kuh-lung has 賂. The Chuen says: — "Tae-yueh Teinou came to us on a mission of friendly inquiries, and carried his offerings in a careless, arrogant manner. Shuchen Hwau-phih said, "This man is sure to cause the extinction of all the clan of Jih-gao. Treating thus insolently his ancient lords [in whose temple he had received the offerings for his mission], their Spirits will not bless him."

The rule in the case of friendly missions was that the rank of the sender should be mentioned. In a former mission from Ts'eou [see III. xxiii. 3], the rule is not observed; but here and afterwards, in the only other mission of this kind from Ts'eou, we have the viscount of Ts'eou. Ts'eou has now come into the category of the other States. Its progress in civilization and influence was acknowledged. The K'ung-he editors very unnecessarily recount the various methods of the critics to account for the 'commendation' which they think is indicated by the title.

Par. 13. 尸: grave-clothes, or the presentation of them for the use of the dead (祫者以衣送死人之稱). Such gifts were common between neighbouring States which were in friendly relations. In this case they came late, but we have a similar gift sent in the same way to Loo by the king in I. 1. 4. Too says: — This offering was according to rule. The States presented to one another their condolences and congratulations. Although their gifts might not correspond to the circumstances, yet if they were according to rule, they were recorded in the annals. Though the old friendship [thus signified] might not subsequently be forgotten. Ts'eou and Loo had taken part in the same covenant at Ts'eou-ts'ao. The former State now took advantage of that to cultivate its friendly relations with the States of the 'Middle kingdom.'
X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Sin-maou, Tsang-sun Shin died.
2 In summer, Ts'in invaded Tsin.
3 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, E-shin.
4 From the first month, it did not rain till autumn in the seventh month.
3. The [duke] made a covenant with the viscount of Soo at Joo-leih.

6. In winter, the Teih made an incursion into Sung.

7. The viscount of Ts'oo and the marquis of Ts'ae halted in Keueh-mih.

Par. 1. Tsang-son Shin.—see on III. xxviii. 7. Soo also Ana. V. xvi. He must have been an important minister of Loo for nearly half a century. Too says that his death is recorded here, because the duke went to present at the dismissal and preparing of his body for the coffin (公與小殯).

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—In spring, a body of men from Ts'in attacked Ts'in, and took Shou-siang. In summer, the earl of Ts'in invaded Ts'in, and took Pih-ching. In common with a host of critics, the Kung-he editors contend that the simple Ts'in here is condensatory of that State for keeping up the long series of hostilities with Ts'in, and thereby allowing Ts'oo to develop its power and aggression on the 'Middle kingdom.' But according to the Chuen, Ts'in had been the offender, and was responsible for the continuance of the animosity of Ts'in. The simple Ts'in in the text merely indicates that it was not known in Loo who in particular had commanded in the invasion.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—In earlier years, Yi-san, a soothsayer of Fan, had said that king Ch'ing [of Ts'oo], Tsao-yuh, and Tse-se [the K-shin of the text], would all die violent deaths. After the battle of Shing-puh, the king thought of this, and sent to stop Tsao-yuh, telling him he should not put himself to death, but the message came too late (See on V. xxvii. 6). The king also sent to stop Tse-se. He had attempted to hang himself, when the rope by which he was suspended broke. Just then the message arrived, and his suicide was stayed. After this Ch'ing appointed him duke of Shang. Sailing down the Han and ascending the Kiang, he was about to enter Ying. The king was in his island palace, and seeing Tse-se below, he was afraid, and refused an interview, but the other said, "Your servant [formerly] escaped dying, but there have been slanderers again saying that I am going to run away—I am coming back to die at the hands of the minister of Crime." King Ch'ing then made him director of the workmen; but after this he proceeded to plan with Tsao-kha the death of king Mah, who heard of the design, and in the 4th month put them to death;—both Tse-se and Chung-kwa (The above Tsao-kha).

Par. 4. See on II. 5.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 7th month, we made a covenant with the viscount of Soo, at Joo-leih, on account of the succession of king Ch'ing. A viscount of Soo appears in the Chuen, after III. xiv. 4, and on V. x. 2. See the note on the latter paragraph. There the State of Wan of Soo is described as annihilated; but king Siang had probably restored it. The viscount of Soo in the text would be a son of the one in duke He's time. The site of Joo-leih is not ascertained.

Parr. 6-7. These two paragraphs are sometimes edited as one, the reason, no doubt, being that the viscount of Ts'oo's halting at Keueh-mih was with a design against Sung, wasted by the incursion of the Teih. The Chuen says:—The marquis of Ch'in and the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting with the viscount of Ts'oo in Seli; and in the winter, [the viscount] and the marquis of Ts'ae halted at Keueh-mih, with the intention of thence attacking Sung. Hwa Yü-sze of Sung said to the duke, "Ts'oo wishes to display our weakness;—had we not better show first that we know it ourselves? Why must we let the viscount challenge us? We have no ability [to cope with him];—of what crime have the people been guilty [that you should involve them in hostilities]?" On this the duke went to meet the viscount, gave largess to his troops, and professed submission to his commands. He then led the way to hunt in Mang-choo.

The duke of Sung led the party on the right, and the earl of Ch'ing on the left. Fuh-nuy, duke of Ko-so, was director of the hunt for the right, and Tsze-choo and Wan-chi Woo-wei were directors for the left. Orders were given [to the princes present] to have their carriages yoked early in the morning, and [for each] to carry an instrument for raising fire with him. The duke of Sung disobeyed [the latter of] these commands, on which Woo-wei caused his charioteer to be hanged, to show to all the hunt [the offence the duke had been guilty of]. Some one said to Tsze-chow (Woo-wei) that the ruler of a State ought not to be so disgraced; but he replied, "Acting as my office requires of me, what have I to do with the position [of the offender]?" As the ode says (She, III. iii. ode VI. 5),

"He does not eject the hard
Nor does he devour the soft"

and again (She, III. ii. ode IX. 3),

"Give no indulgence to deceit and obsequiousness,
To make careful those who pay no regard
to the rule."

These passages show that one is not to shrink from dealing with the powerful. Dare I prefer the duties of my office to be thrown into disorder rather than to die?"

Tsao adds that the viscount of Keun withdrew secretly from this meeting at Keueh-mih. The site of that place does not seem to be ascertained.

Kung-yang has 屈服.
XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Kèun.

2 In summer, Shuh-chung P'ūng-sāng had a meeting with Kèoh Keueh of Tsin in Shing-k'wang.

3 In autumn, the earl of Ts'aiou paid a court-visit to Loo.

4 Duke Chwang's son, Suy, went to Sung.

5 The Teih made an incursion into Ta'e.

6 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kēah-woo, Shuh-sun Tih-shin defeated the Teih in Hēen.
Par. 1. Kōun (Kung-yang has 錦) was a small State, whose lords were viscounts,—in the pres. dis. of Yun (雲) dept. Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. Its chief town was Seih-heuch (錦穴). The last Chuen relates how the viscount of Kōun withdrew from the meeting at Kōun-mih; we have here his punishment. The Chuen says:—In spring, the viscount of Tseoo invaded Kōun, and Ching Ta-shin (Son of Ching Tsh-shin, who was defeated at Shing-pih) defeated the army of Kōun at Paung-choo. P'wan Teung (See the Chuen on I.10) again invaded Kōun, and advanced as far as to Seih-heuch.

Par. 2. Kung and Kuh had no 仲 after 叔 and they have 冢 instead of 藥. Shing-kwang was in Sung—106 to the west of the city of Kwei-chi. Shih-chung P'ang-sang is the Shih-chung Hwa-yu-pei, whom we have met with in the Chuen more than once. He was the brother of Shih-sun Tsh-shin, and son of Kung-sun Tsue, or Tso-pih, mentioned in the 4th year of duke Hsia—see the note on I.7. The object of the meeting, Tso-sha says, was to consult about the adhesion given in by several of the States to Tseoo. The Kung-hu editors observe that this is the first instance of a meeting by great officers of diff. States between themselves, to deliberate about public affairs—showing how the power was gradually sliding out of the hands of the princes of the States.

Par. 3. This was a son of duke Kung, whose death and burial are chronicled in the 9th year. Tso observes that he was himself duke Wai, and this visit was on the occasion of his succeeding to the marquis, to have an interview with his neighbour.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—Sheng-chung went on this friendly visit to Sung, when he mentioned the case of Tso K'oe-choo, [Sung's minister of Works (See VIII. 8), and procured his restoration, taking occasion also to congratulate Sung on its not having suffered from the army of Tseoo.

Par. 5. This Hien was in Loo,—diff. from the place of the same name in V. xii. 3. The Chuen says:—[The Tsh of] Sow-mawan made an incursion into Tseoo, and then came on to attack us. The duke consulted the tortoise-shell about sending Shih-sun Tsh-shin to pursue them, and received a favourable reply. How Shih-sun was charioteer to Chwang-shah (Tsh-shin); Hsian Tsh-sang was spearman on the right; and P'oo-fu Chwang-sang went also in the same chariot. In winter, in the tenth month, on Kesh-wo, the general defeated the Teih in Hien, and captured a giant called K'saou-jo. P'oo-fu Chwang-sang smote him in the throat with his spear, and killed him. They buried his head by the Tso-k'eu gate, and the general named one of his sons, known afterwards as Ssen-pih, after him.

Before this, in the time of duke Woo of Sung [Earlier than the period of the Chuen Tseoo], the Sow-mawan invaded Sung, and the minister of instruction, Hwang-fu Chwang-sang led forces against them, with Ugh Pan as his charioteer, Kung-tue Ruh-sang the spearman on his right, and New-foo, the minister of Crime, in the same chariot. He defeated the Teih at Chwang-k'eu, and captured a giant, called Yuen-sso. The two [other officers], and Hwang-fu, were killed, but I cannot suppose that the Kung-tue Kuh-sang and New-foo were sons of Hwang-fu, and the duke of Sung rewarded Ugh Pan with the revenues collected at one of the barrier gates, from which he was called Ugh-num.

After this, when Tsin extinguished Loo, in the 16th year of duke Ssen, Fan-yoo, a younger brother of K'saou-jo, was taken.

In the 23 year of duke Seang of Tseoo [The 16th of our duke Hwan], the Sow-mawan had invaded Tseoo, when Chwang-fu, a king's son, who was serving in Tseoo, captured Tsh-yoo, a younger brother still, and branded him with a pole by the north gate of Chwang-one, and afterwards the people of Wei captured the third younger brother, K'eo-jo. After all these captures, the Sow-mawan became extinct.

[Chung-tau says that all these stories about giants are to be doubted. Too gives the height of K'saou-jo as thirty cubits! In the 國語, 蘇語 下, art. 15, there is a story about the people of Woo consulting Confucion about a large bone which they had found, which the sage pronounced to be that of a giant killed by the great Ya]. He speaks there also of the long Teih of his days.

The Chuen appends here:—Choo-jo, the eldest son of (the sect of) Shing took his case in Poo-chung, and the people of the State did not yield him obedience.

Twelfth year.

夏占人 楚子 正春
子 伯
子 來 利
二月 月
朝 諸
王 有
圍巢。

秦伯使術來聘。

左傳曰："十二年春，衛伯卒，人立君大子以夫鐘與鄭邦來奔。公以諸侯之道，非禮也。"
Pars. 1. For Ḿa Kung-yang has Ḿ=T. Shing, see I. v. 3. We have in this para. the sequel to the Chuen with which the last year concludes. Tse says here, ‘In the 12th year, in spring, the son of Shing died, and the people raised another in his place. His eldest son then came to the court of Loo, surrendering to the duke of Foo-chung and Shing-kwai. The duke met him with the honours due to the prince of a State;—which was contrary to rule. Hence the text calls him “earl of Shing,” not does it mention the places as surrendered, in deference to him as a prince.’

In III. v. 3, we read that Shing surrendered to Tse, but that surrendering cannot have been equivalent to the extinction of the State, as Kung-yang supposes, else we should not read of it here. The account which Tse gives of the statement in the text, however, is much contested by the critics. Acc. to a rule, of which we have met with several instances, the son of the prince of a State, though succeeding quietly to his father, could not be named in the text by his title till a year had expired; and yet here is the son of the State, immediately after his father’s death, acting, moreover, a traitor’s part, and he is denominated ‘earl.’ Then, say the critics, a prince who has lost his State, is mentioned by his name, and there is no name here. The text is silent further about the fugitive’s treachery, in deference to him. What comes of all the canons about the ‘praise, and ‘condemnation’ which the structure of the paragraph is supposed to convey?

Par. 2. In X. xxvii. 1, the prince of Ké appears as viscount only. Here he has regained one degree of the former rank of the House. The Chuen says,—This visit of duke Hwan of Ke was the first time he had been to the court of Loo since the duke’s accession. Moreover he begged that the engagement between him and [duke He’s] daughter might be at an end, while yet his intermarrying [with the House of Loo] should not be so;—to which the duke agreed.—See on next para.

Par. 3. The Chuen continues,—In the 12th month, duke [He’s] second daughter died. It is not said,—‘of Ke,’ because her engagement of marriage with the earl of Ke had been broken off. The text ‘second daughter’ (叔女) tells us she was not a girl, [but had been betrothed]. According to the text, however, this was the lady who had been engaged to the earl of Ke when his mother came to the court of Loo in the 31st year of duke He, seeking a wife for him. She had remained in Loo, as being too young to be married until this time; and the earl of Ke finding, when he came in the previous month to Loo, that she was ill, begged that his engagement with her might be considered at an end, and that he might have a younger sister instead. The Kung-he editors do not venture to reject this account of Tse, though they intimate their opinion that his identification of the lady is wrong, and that his view was constructed by himself in consequence of his connecting this paragraph and the former too closely together. Tse’s remark as to the form of the characters 叔女 I do not understand. Too’s explanation, that ‘the death of young princesses, who had not been engaged to be married, were not recorded,’ would apply to the whole entry, and not to those terms.
As to the meaning of the 己 before 夫 there is no consent of the critics. Kung-yang says the lady is so termed by way of distinction. (3) as being duke Wan's full sister, but how the 己 marks such distinction it is difficult to perceive. I can make nothing of it.

Par. 4. Ch'oun was a small State, lying between Woo (吳) and Ta-foo. It has left its name in the pres. dia. of Ch'unan, dep. Luen-chow, Gan-hwu. The Ch'oun says: — On the death of Tsun Sun-pih (often mentioned before this in the Ch'uen as Ch'ung Ta-sin; the son of Ch'ing Tih-shin, who was defeated at Shing-puh. The Ta (大) here, appearing as a surname I don't understand], chief minister of Ta-foo, Ch'ing K'in took his place. [At this time] the diff. Shoo States, revolted from Ta-foo; and in summer Ta-foo-kung (the above Ch'ing K'in) seized Ping-ting, vizcuent of Shoo, and the vassal of Tsing, and went on to lay siege to Ch'oun.

Par. 5. Tao observes that this was another case of a first court-visit to duke Wan. K'oo Pun (李本; Ming dyn., 1st half of 16th cent.) says that since the seizure of duke Seun of Tsing by Sung in the 16th year of king Huo, the state had adhered to Sung; but that now, taking advantage of the troubles of Sung, it returned to its former preference for Loo.

Par. 6. Kung-yang has 逐 for 行. The Ch'uen says: — The earl of Ta-in sent Se-keih Shuh on this friendly mission, and to speak of his intention to invade Ta-in. Shang-chung (Kung-tse Suy) declined to receive the jade symbol [which he had brought], saying, "Your ruler, not forgetting the friendship between his father and us, has favoured Loo with this mission, giving its assurance that its protecting and soothing care, and signifying the importance of this mission with this grand instrument; but my ruler ventures to decline receiving it." The other replied, "This poor instrument is not worth your declining it." Thrice, however, [Suy], as the host, refused it, and then the guest replied, "My ruler wishing to obtain the favour of the duke of Chow and [his son], the (first) duke of Loo, by his service of your prince, sent me, with this poor instrument, of his father's, to deliver it to you, the manager of this negotiation, to be an auspicious symbol for the confirmation of our good agreement. It is to me the proof of my ruler's commission to the bond of friendship between our two States. This is why I presume to deliver it to you." Shang-chung said, "Without superior men, can a ruler order his State? Yours is no uncultivated State." He then sent Shuh away with rich presents.

[Se-keih Shuh was one of the leaders of the army of Ta-in in the expedition which terminated so fatally at Hitou; see the Ch'oun at V. xxxiii.]

3. His present mission was part of a scheme, on the part of Ta-in, to detach the States generally from Ta-in.] Par. 7. Ho-keih was in Ta-in. — near the pres. dep. city of Poo-chow (潮州). The Ch'uen says: — Because of the affair at Leng-ho (L.-Y. 3), this winter, the earl of Ta-in invaded Ta-in, and took Ko-keu. The troops of Ta-in went out to meet him. Ch'ao Chun commanded the army of the middle, with Seun Chin-luoo as assistant. Koeh Kruu led the 1st army, with Yu Pien as assistant. Luan Tun led the 2d army, with Su Kiih as assistant. Fan Woon-shuh was charioteer [to Ch'ao Tun; and in this order they followed the army of Ta-in to Ho-keih. Yu Pien said, "Ta-in cannot remain here long. Let us merely show a strong front, with deep entrenchments, and await his movements." Ch'ao Chun followed this counsel. The troops of Ta-in wished to fight, and the earl asked Su Hwuy how a battle could be brought about. "Ch'ao Chun," said Hwuy, "has recently brought out his adherent Yu Pien, and it must be he who has counselled this measure, in order to weary our army. [But] Tun has a cousin, named Ch'uen, a son-in-law of the [late] marquis. Being a favourite, and young, he has not been employed in military affairs, but he is fond of showing his bravery and is excitable. He is angry, moreover, at Yu Pien's being employed as assistant-commander of the 1st army. If you send a small body of troops to fight the [army of Ta-in], a battle may be brought about." On this the earl prayed to the Ho with a push, about the battle [that would ensue].

In the 12th month, on Mou-woo, [a portion of] the army of Ta-in made a sudden attack on Ta-in's 1st army, [and retaken], pursued by Ch'ao Ch'uen, without his being able to overtake it. When he returned, he said, in anger, "We took our provisions in our bags, and deemed our armour, surely to look for our enemies. What are we waiting for that we do not strike the enemy when he comes?" His officers said, "We are waiting for an opportunity." "I do not know," he replied, "their plans, but I will go forth alone," and forth he went with his followers. Ch'ao Chun (Tun) said, "If Ta-in capture Ch'uen, it will capture a high minister. If its army returns with such a victory, what shall I have to show in return?" With this the whole army went forth to battle, when there ensued a gentle encounter, and then both sides drew off. A messenger from the army of Ta-in came to that of Ta-in at night with a warning challenge, saying, "The soldiers of our two armies are not yet satisfied;—please let us see one another tomorrow." Yu Pien said to Tun, "The messenger's eyes kept moving about, and his words were incoherent; they are afraid of us, and will be going off. If we attack them at the Ho, we are sure to defeat them. Seun Shih and Ch'ao Ch'uen [went and] cried out, at the gates of Ta-in, to the army of Ta-in. "While the dead and the wounded are not gathered in, to abandon them is not kind. Not to wait for the stipulated time, but to attack men while they are in a perilous position, is not brave." The design was consequently abandoned, and in the night the army of Ta-in withdrew, made an incursion into Ta-in in another direction, and entered Hia.
I have translated "晋人秦人," by "the troops of Tain and those of Ts'iu." The K'ung-he editors hold that the simple "人" is condemnatory of both the hostile States, especially as there is no "及" between the phrases.

Par. 8. see III.xxiv. 5. Yun (Kung has 遼) was also a town in Loo,—in the north of the prov. of E-shway (沂水), dep. E-chow. Loo now walled them as a precaution against attempts on the part of Ku. "Tso-she says the thing is recorded to show "the timeliness of the proceeding."

Thirteenth year.

十有一年，春王正月。)

夏五月壬午，陳侯朔卒。

郑子 Também, 卒。

自正月至秋七月。...

冬公如晋衛侯會公于沓。

狄侵衛。

十有二月己丑，公及衛侯盟公還自衛。

在東奴餘人請東人之能與夫而不有司言，吾與之先，使土會，土會辭曰，晉人虎狼也，若君好其言，臣死妻子為誰，無益於君，不可殺也，言臣死，女子為誰，無患之足於朝，秦伯師于河西，魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西。魏人履士會之足於朝。
It was the [duke's] thirteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.

In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-woo, Soh, marquis of Ch'in, died.

K'eu-seu, viscount of Choo, died.

From the first month it did not rain till autumn, in the seventh month.

The roof of the permanent shrine-house went to ruin.

In winter, the duke went to Ts'in; and the marquis of Wei had a meeting with him in Tab.

The Teih made an incursion into Wei.

In the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, the duke and the marquis of Ts'in made a covenant. The duke was returning from Ts'in, when the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting with him in Fei.
and regrets (for the whole thing) will be of no avail." The earl said, "If they prove false to their word, I swear by the waters of the Ho, that I will send your family back to Ts'in." On this, Sun Hweng went with Shaw-yu. [As he was going], Jou Chou (an officer of Ts'in) presented to him a whip, saying, "Do not say that there are no men in Ts'in. (You get away), because my counsel has not at this time been followed." When they had crossed the Ho, the men of Wei (received them) with a shout, and returned; but Ts'in sent Sun's family back to Ts'in. Some of the attendants of Hui who remained there took the surname of Lee.

Par. 3. Kuh-liang has 太隧 instead of 太隧.

The Chuen says:-Duke Wan (Wan was Kue-sun's posthumous title) consulted the tortoise-shell about changing his capital to Yih. The officer [of divination] said, "The removal will be advantageous to the people, but not to their ruler." The viscount said, "If it be advantageous to the people, that will be advantageous to the Heaven. When Heaven produces the people, it appoints for them rulers for their profit. Since the people are to get advantage [from the removal], I shall share in it." His attendant said, "If your life may be prolonged, why should you not decide to remove?" He said, "My appointment is for the nourishing of the people; my death sooner or later has a fixed time. If the people are to be benefited, let us remove, and nothing could be more fortunate." The capital was accordingly removed to Yih; and in the 5th month of this year, 5 years after his accession), duke Wan died. The superior man may say that he knew the secret of life.

Par. 4. See X. 4, and II. 5.

Par. 5. The text here adopted is that of Kung-yung. Kuh-liang has 太室, and the same is found in the Chuen. Kung says:-By 太室 is meant the shrine-house of the [first] duke of Loo. That of the duke of Chow was called 太隧; that of the duke of Loo Pih-kiun, son of the duke of Chow), 世室; those of other dukes were simply called 宮. The same 太室 indicates that from generation to generation the spirit-board of Pih-kiun was not removed.' While Kuh-liang has

Fourteenth year.
鄭伯許男。曹伯晉趙盾癸酉，
同盟于新城。秋七月有星孛于北斗。
晋人纳捷蕃于邾，弗克纳。
公至自会，宋子哀来奔。
齐公子商人弑其君舍。
齐文公之卒也，公使弟焉不敬邾人来讨我，南歸，故惠
伯伐邾。邾文姬齐昭公生舍，叔姬无宠舍。无威公子商人逸
施。子叔姬姬齐昭公，生舍，叔姬无宠舍，无威公子商人逸施。子
叔姬姬齐昭公，生舍，叔姬无宠舍，无威公子商人逸施。
六月，甲申，公孙敖卒于齐。
冬，单伯如齐。齐人执单伯。
齐人杖于叔姬。
In his fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from Tsin.

A body of men from Choo invaded our southern border; [and] Shuh-P'ang-sang led a force, and invaded Choo.

In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-hae, P'wan, marquis of Ts'e, died.

In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the earl of Ts'aou, and Chaou Tun of Tsin; [and] on Kwei-yew they made a covenant together in Sin-shing.

In autumn, in the seventh month, there was a comet, which entered the Northern Bushel.

The duke arrived from the meeting.

The people of Tsin undertook to establish Ts'eh-tsze as viscount of Choo, but did not do so.

In the ninth month, on Keah-shin, Kung-sun Gaou died in Ts'e.

Shang-jin, a son of duke [Hwan] of Ts'e, murdered his ruler, Shuy.

Ts'ee-gue of Sung came to Loo, a fugitive.

In winter, the earl of Shen went to Ts'e; and the people of Ts'e seized him and held him prisoner.

The people of Ts'e [also] seized the second daughter of our house, who was there, and held her prisoner.
Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here:]—This spring, king K'ing died. Yueh, duke of Chow, and Wang-sun Soo were contending which should get the government into his hands; and therefore no intelligence of the event came officially to hands. The death of kings and princes of States which were not announced were not recorded, and the same rule obtained in regard to events prosperous or calamitous.—as a method of respecting the want of reverence implied in not making these communications.

Par. 2. The Chuen says—"On the death of duke Wan of Choo [See XIII.3], the duke sent his condolences by an officer, who did not behave respectfully; and a body of troops from Choo came to punish [the slight], and invaded our southern border. In consequence of this, Hsway-pih invaded Choo." Shuh P'ang-sang is the same as the Shuh-chung P'ang-sang of XI.2.

Par. 3. This P'wan—duce Ch'ao-hsü had made himself marquis of T'oe, in the 35th year of duke Hsüan, by the murder of the son of his brother, duke Hsiao. The Chuen says—"A second daughter of one of our dukes was the wife of duke Ch'ao of T'oe, and bore him Shih. She was not a favourite with him, however, and Shih was devoid of any dignity. Shang-jin, a son of duke Hwai, gave frequent largesses to the people, and collected about him many followers. When he had exhausted his own resources, he borrowed from the duke and [various] others [for the same purpose]. In summer, in the 4th month, duke Hsüan died, and Shih succeeded him."

Par. 4. Sin-sung was in Sun—southwest of the present day of Shang-k'e, dep. Kwo-tih. For the phrase 同盟, see on III. xvi. 6. The use of it here is favorable to the view of their being given by Ts'e-she. He says here that this meeting and covenant were to celebrate the submission [to Ts'ien] of the States which had [for a time] followed T'oe, and to consult about Choo.

[The Chuen appends here about T'oe]—In autumn, in the 7th month, on the night of Yih-mao, Shang-jin of T'oe murdered Shih, and offered to yield the State to [his own elder brother], Yuen. Yuen said, "You have been seeking it for a long time. I can serve you; but you are not the man in whom to awaken further dissatisfaction and resentment. Would you in that case spare me? Take you the marquisate."

Par. 5. 星孛彗星. 'a comet.' The meaning of 形字 is variously explained. K'ung Ying-tah says the comet is so called from the resemblance of its motion to that of a broom (其形字似掃帚). Then as a broom sweeps away what is old to give place to something new, a comet is supposed to presage changes.

With regard to this comet, the Chuen relates that Shuh-fu, the historiographer of the Interior, of Choo, said, "In not more than 7 years, the rulers of Sung, T'oe, and Ts'ai will all be amidst the disorder of their States." The 'Northern Bushel.' is Ura Major.

Par. 6. 万千具与后. The Chuen says—The first wife of duke Wan of Choo was a K'ung of T'oe, who bore to him K'woh-tsen, who became duke T'ing. His second wife was a Ke of Ts'in, who bore to him Tseh-t'ai. On his death, the people of Choo raised K'woh-tsen to his father's place, and Tseh-t'ai fled to Ts'in. Ch'ao Tan of Ts'in then sent an army of several of the States—a force [in all] of 800 chariots—to place him in the marquisate. But the people of Choo refused to receive him, saying, 'K'woh-tsen is the son of [Kung] of T'oe, and the elder of the two.' Ch'ao Senen said, 'They have reason for their refusal; and if we do not accept it, our conduct will be of evil omen.' He accordingly returned to Ts'in."

The K'ang-he editors say that the concluding words of the par.— 支仔寢—are expressive of approbation, and the人 in 着人 is an expression of condemnation. We can see that if the undertaking was bad, then its abandonment was good and right; but the approbation is not in the characters, but in the fact. There is difficulty with the 人, as according to the Chuen the forces of many States took part in the expedition. To be sure they were all engaged in it in the interest and at the summons of Ts'in; and therefore I prefer to translate 着人 here by 'the people of Ts'in,' rather than by 'an officer of Ts'in,' or 'a body of troops from Ts'in.'

[The Chuen append here two narratives. The first continues that after par. 1:]—The duke of Choo and Wang-sun Soo being about to argue their differences before Ts'in, the [new] king turned against Wang-sun Soo, and sent the minister Lin and Tan K'eu to explain the case of the duke of Choo. Ch'ao Senen pacified the royal House, and brought the parties to their former relations.

The 3d is about the affairs of T'oeo—On the accession of king Chwang [Son of king Muh], Tseh-kung and P'wan Ch'ung, intending to surprise the various Shoo States, appointed Kung-tze Sseh, and Tseh-o, to remain in charge of the government, while they themselves invaded Shoo-Hsien. These two officers, however, made an insurrection, proceeded to wall Yen, and employed a ruffian to kill Tseh-kung, who returned without succeeding in that attempt. In the 8th month, they carried off the viceroy, intending to go to Shang-nuch; but Tseh-o of Len and Shih-k'ung begged them to go to Len, and put them to death. Both Tseh K'ih [Tseh-o], and Kung-tze Sseh. At an earlier time, Tseh K'ih had been a prisoner in T'eu, which sent him, after the defeat at Hseon, back to T'oeo, to ask for a settlement of its differences with that State. This was effected, but he did not get his wish; (in the shape of reward.) Kung-tze Sseh had sought the office of chief minister, but did not obtain it. These were the reasons why the two sides an insurrection.]
Par. 10. The Chuen says:—"Kaou Gao of Sung was the body-guard of Se-an, and was appointed a high-minister. Disapproving of the Duke of Sung, he left the State, and then came a fugitive to Loo. His appearance in the text as 'Tze-gao' is in honour of him." To this criticism on the designation the Kang-hue editors make some answer.

Par. 11, 12. These two paragraphs have occasioned much perplexity and controversy. Duke Chiuon of Tse had been a son-in-law of Loo. His wife, it is understood, was the '3rd daughter of the House of Loo,' in p. 12, the mother of the murdered Shay, and whom Loo now wished to rescue from Tse.

The Chuen says:—"Seang-chung sent an announcement to the king, begging that of his favour he would require Tse to deliver up Ch'ou Ke, saying, "Having killed the son, what use have they for the mother? Let us receive her, and deal with her guilt." In winter, the earl of Shen went to Tse and begged that they would give up the lady; but they said, and held him as a prisoner, doing the same also with her."

Here Tao-shé understands 单伯, as in III. i. 3, which see. The Kang-hue editors, agreeing with the majority of the critics that 单伯 was an officer of Loo, reject here altogether Tse's narrative. The views of Kung and Kung, that Shen Pih had a criminal intrigue with the lady, they reject on other grounds. I think, however, Tao-shé's view is correct.

As to 子叔姬—see on XII. 3. The lady here of course is dist. from the one whose death is there recorded. Their being designated in the same way is certainly perplexing; and we do not know enough about them to explain and reconcile satisfactorily the two texts.

Fifteenth year.
秋，齊人侵我西鄙。左傳曰：十五年，春，文子如晉，為單伯與子叔姬故也。三月，宋華耦來盟，其官皆從之，書曰：宋司馬華孫貴之也。公與之宴，辭曰：君之先臣，得罪于宋獨公名在諸侯之策，臣承其祀，其敢辱君請承命於亞旅。魯人以孟氏，且國故也，葬視共仲，聲己不視，唯堂而哭。襄仲欲勿哭，惠伯曰：喪親之終也，雖不能始，善終可也。史佚有言曰：兄弟致矣，收之。賈季，叔孫為之喪，為之。來歸子叔姬。齊侯侵我西鄙，遂伐曹八其郛。秋，齊人侵我西鄙故季文子告于晉，遂伐曹八其郛。
XXV.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Tsin.

2. In the third month, Hwa-sun, minister of war, of Sung, came and made a covenant.

3. In summer, the earl of Ts'aou came to Loo on a court visit.

4. The people of Ts'e sent back to Loo the coffin of Kun-sun Gaou.

5. In the sixth month, on Sin-chow, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed. Drums were beaten, and victims were offered at the altar of the land.

6. The earl of Shen arrived from Ts'e.

7. Kêoh Keuh of Tsin led a force and invaded Ts'ae; and on Mow-shin, he entered [the capital of] Ts'ae.

8. In autumn, a body of men from Ts'e made an incursion into our western borders.


10. In winter, in the eleventh month, [many of] the States made a covenant at Hoo.

11. In the twelfth month, an officer of Ts'e came to Loo with the second daughter of our House.

12. The marquis of Ts'e made an incursion into our western borders, and then proceeded to invade Ts'aou, entering within the outer suburbs of its capital.

Par. 1. Ts'o-she says that this mission was on account of [the injury done by Ts'e to the earl of Shen, and the second daughter of the House of Loo. The duke thought that the fear of Tsin might influence Ts'e more than the king's authority.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—"Hwa Ngow of Sung came to Loo and made a covenant, accompanied by the officers of his department. The text speaks of him with his office—"Hwa-sun, minister of War, of Sung"—to do him honour. The duke was going to feast along with him, but he declined the honour, saying, "Your lordship's former servant, my ancestor Tuh, was a criminal with duke Shang of Sung (See II. II. 1). His name is in the records of all the States. Charged as I am with his sacrifices, dare I disgrace your lordship [so]? Let me receive your commands from one of your officers of the rank below that of a high minister." The people of
Loo considered him [in this speech] to be respectful and exact.

Hwa Ngow was, no doubt, made minister of War in Sung, after the death of duke Chou's brother, Gang, as related in the Chuen on VIII. 8. The 孫 is here added to his surname just as we have in Loo 季孫成孫. As he is not said in the text to have been sent (使) on the mission by the duke of Sung, the critics discuss the point, very fruitfully, whether he came to Loo as an envoy, or on his own motion.

Par. 3. Teo-ehe says, on this par., that "it was an ancient regulation that the princes of States should interchange these court-visits once in 5 years, in order to their better observances of the king's commands." But the subject of such visits is involved in obscurity. See on Lxi. i.

Par. 4. On p.8 of last year it was stated that the duke refused permission to have the body of Gaou brought to Loo to be buried. Here we find that the thing was finally brought about. The Chuen says:—"Some one in Tse gave counsel in regard to the ceremonies of the Máng family [The descendants of Kung-Foo, the Chung-sun clan, were sometimes called the Máng and the Máng-sun (孟氏, 孟孫氏), saying, "The House of Loo and you are of kin. Get the coffin all ready with its decorations, and place it in Tse-fow. Loo will be sure [to wish] to take it away." This counsel was taken, and the mandant of P'ien sent word to the court [of where the coffin was]. Hwa-yu-shub, still with all the symbols of deepest sorrow, took the opportunity to prosecute his [former] request, and stood in the court to await the duke's commands. The duke granted his request; when he took the coffin, and went through the ceremony of enshrouding the body [in the grand chamber of the Máng family]. An officer of Tse escorted the coffin. What the text says, that an officer of Tse brought the coffin of Kung-sun Gaou, was considered of regard to the Máng family, and its consanguinity with the ducal House. The burial was after the example of that of Kung-chung (Kung-Foo; with inferior honours to those due to a high minister). Shing Sse, (Gaou's first wife) did not go to see the coffin, but went inside the screen in the hall. Ssang-chung wished not to weep, but Hwa-yu-shub said to him, "With the mourning there is an end of one's [living] relationship. Although you [and he] could not [be on good terms] before, you may be so now that he is gone." The historian says, "Brethren should display all the beauty [of kindly regard], relieving another's wants, congratulating in prosperity, condoling in calamity, in sacrificing, reversing, in mourning really said. Although they may be unable to agree, they do not abandon the relative affection which should subsist between them." Do not you, Sir, fail in this point?—why should you cherish such resentment?" Ssang-chung was pleased, and conducted all his brethren to weep for Gaou.

Years after, Gaou's two sons came [from Koo] to Loo, when the affection of Máng Hên [The grandson of Gaou, and son of Wán-phí, Chung-shub Mélí, then Head of the family] for them became spoken of through the State. Some one slandered them to him, saying that they would kill him. He told this to Kie Wan; and the two young men [having heard of it], said, "His love for us is well known, and it is impossible we mean to kill him. Would this not be far from what is right? It is better that we should die than be considered so far removed from propriety." One of them, accordingly, died, defending the gate of Kow-ming, and the other died, defending the gate of Lo-kwé.

Par. 5. This eclipse took place at sunrise, on April 20th, B. C. 611. On the ceremonies which were now observed—

社—Teo-ehe remarks that they were 'contrary to rule,' adding, 'On occasion on an eclipse of the sun, the son of Heaven should not have his table spread so full as ordinarily, and should have drums beaten at the altar of the land, while princes of States should present offerings of silk at the altar of the land, and have drums beaten in their countries—thus showing how they serve the Spirit, teaching the people to serve their rulers, and exhibiting the different degrees of observance. Such was the way of antiquity.'

The text here, with the exception of the name of the day, is the same as that in the account of the eclipse in III. xxv. 8. Teo-ehe there says that the ceremonies were 'unnatural; here, that they were 'contrary to rule.' The K'ang-fo editors explain the difference of those criticisms by saying that the '6th month' in III. xxv. 8 is a mistake for the 7th month, while the 6th month of the text is correct. Now the 6th month of Chow was the 4th month of Hsia, or the 1st month of the natural summer, when according to Teo-ehe, the ceremonies mentioned in the Chuen were appropriate. In the eclipse of duke Chwang, they were 'unnatural; the month was not the time for them. In this eclipse of duke Wan, they would have been right, if they had only been performed 'according to rule.' Perhaps this is a correct explanation of the difference of Teo-ehe's decisions in the two cases;—ingenious it certainly is. But see what I have said on III. xxv. 8 about the distinction which Teo-ehe would make out between eclipses in the 1st month of summer, and at other times.

Par. 6. Here we have 單伯 again, and the par. is appealed to as decisive of the question about the individual so described, whether he belonged to Chow or to Loo. Evidently, it is said, he belonged to Loo. Ordinarily the return of officers from their missions was not chronicled. The only exception was in the case of such as had been sent and implored in the exercise of their functions. We have two cases in point, in X. xiv. 1, and xiv. 2; and here in the text is a third. 'The argument cannot be lightly set aside; but why should not the king's commissioner, who had endured on behalf of Loo so 單伯 had done, go to that State on his liberation, and be received by the duke in the ancestral temple.' Such a visit was perhaps necessary in order to the liberation of Loo's daughter, which is related in the 11th paragraph. Teo-ehe says here:—"The people of Tse granted what the earl of Shen requested, and liberated him, that he might come to Loo, and report
the fulfilment of his mission. The language of the text—"The earl of Shen came from Ts'ao—is modelled to honour him.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Ts'ao took no part in the covenant at Sin-shing [See p. 4 of last year], and now K'oo, K'ee, with the 1st and 3d armies, invaded Ts'ao, saying, "Our ruler is young;—we must not delay our work.' On Sin-shing, he entered [the capital of] Ts'ao, obliged [the marquis] to make a covenant with him close by the wall, and returned." Ts'ao adds that, when a State was [entirely] conquered, [the conquerors] were said to "extinguish it," and when a great city was taken, they were said to "enter it." The form of this par. indicates two operations on the part of the general of Ts'ao; first the invasion, and next, when that failed to produce the submission of Ts'ao, the capture of its capital.

Par. 8, 9. Ts'ao connects these two paragraphs together, saying that Häng-foo's visit to Ts'ao was to inform that leading State of the injury received from Ts'ao.

Par. 10. Häng-foo, see VII. 8. The Chuen says:—"In the winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Ts'ao, the Duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ts'ao, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Hon, and the marquis of Ts'ao, made a covenant at Hon, renewing that at Sin-shing, and to consult about invading Ts'ao. The people of Ts'ao bribed the marquis of Ts'ao, and he returned without doing anything against that State. At this time the duke was not present at the meeting because of his difficulties with Ts'ao. The text says that "the princes covenanted at Hon, [without specifying them]," because they were able to do nothing. This is Ts'ao's judgment, and may be questioned. He adds, "in general, on occasions of meetings of the States, when the Duke of Loo was not present, the names are not specified, to conceal the duke's remissness! When he was present, and yet the names are not specified, it is because he came late.'

Par. 11. Ts'ao says that Ts'ao thus sent the lady to Loo at last, 'because of the king,' i.e., in deference to his request or requirement.

Par. 12. The Chuen says that the form part of this paragraph tells the inability of the other States [to control Ts'ao]; and the movement of Ts'ao against Ts'ao was to punish it because of the earl's visit to Loo (in p. 8). It is defined as 大郭, the extension of the suburbs.

Liew Chüng observes that to penetrate thus far was nearly to enter the city itself. The Chuen continues:—"Ke Wan said, "The marquis of Ts'ao will not escape his doom. Himself regardless of propriety, he punishes those who observe it, saying, 'Why do you practice that rule?' [Now], propriety is to express accordance with Heaven; it is the way of Heaven. He sets himself against Heaven, and goes to punish others [for obeying it]—it will be hard for him to escape his doom." The ode says (She, II. iv. ode X. 8).

"Why do ye not stand in awe of one another? Ye do not stand in awe of Heaven.'

The superior man does not oppose the young or the mean, because he stands in awe of Heaven. It is said in the Praise-songs of Chow (She, IV. I. [1.] VII.), "I revere the majesty of Heaven. And for ever preserve its favours!"

By villainy he got his State. Though he were to try to keep it by all the rules of propriety, without the fear of Heaven, how can he preserve himself? I fear he would not be able to do so. Doing many things contrary to these rules, he cannot live (long)."

Sixteenth year.

父會齊侯弗及盟。翟陽穀齊侯弗及盟。

十有六年春, 季孫行。
左傳曰：十六年春，王正月，及齊平，公有疾。使季文子會齊侯于鉅野，請盟。齊侯不責，曰：齊君聞，夏五月，公不視朝，疾也。公使襄仲納路子齊侯于盟于邲。楚大饑，戎伐其西南夷，至于阜山，師于大林，又伐其東南，至于陽丘，以侵晥，庸人帥羣蠻以叛楚，諸侯率百濮，鳥呼將伐楚，於是申息之北門，不敢楚人謀徙於阪高，為齊高。廆曰，不可，我能往，寇亦能往，不如伐庸，庸與百濮未叛也，而自靈以往，振振同食，次於旬淵，使盧戢黎伐庸及庸方城，庸人逐之，因子楊，逃三宿而逸，出師旬有五日，百濮乃自陸以往，庸人與會。”
XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, Ke-sun Hängfoo had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh; but the marquis would not make a covenant with him.

2 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke for the fourth time did not give audience to his ministers on the first day of the moon.

3 In the sixth month, on Mow-shin, duke [Chuang's] son, Suy, and the marquis of Ts'e, made a covenant in Se-k'ew.

4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-we, [duke He's] wife, the lady K'iang, died.

5 [The duke] pulled down the tower of Ts'euen.

6 A force from Ts’oo, one from Ts’in, and one from Pa, extinguished Yung.

7 In winter, in the eleventh month, the people of Sung murdered their ruler, Ch’oo-k’ew.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"In the 1st month of this year, [Loo] and Ts'e agreed to be at peace, and the duke being ill, he sent Ke Wan to have a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh. Ke Wan requested a covenant, but the marquis was unwilling to make one, and said, "Allow me to wait till your ruler is better." It is to be understood that the marquis of Ts'e did not believe that the duke was really ill; and many of the critics suppose that the illness was in some measure at least feigned. Yang-kuh—see V. ill. 5.

Par. 2. Ts'o says that this neglect of the duties of the 1st day of the moon was owing to the duke's illness. The phrase 親勤 is a pregnant one. Acc. to Moon, the first day of the moon was inaugurated by the sacrifice of a sheep in the ancestral temple, after which the prince announced to his ancestors the arrival of the day, according to the calendar which he had received from the king, and asked their permission to go on to the duties of the month. All this was called 督勤. When these ceremonies were over, he proceeded to give audience to his ministers, and arrange, so far as could be done, for the business of the month, and this was called 侍勤 and 聆勤. From the 21st month to the 5th, this business had now been left undischarged. I do not see why we should not simply receive the reason assigned for it by Ts'o-shu; but the critics are as unbelieving in the duke's illness as the marquis of Ts'e was. K'oung Kang says that if the non-observation was from illness, it was nothing extraordinary, and would not have been recorded;—the real reason was the duke's indolence, and inattention to the duties of his position. Hwang Chung-yan (黃仲炎), Sung dyn., 1st half of 13th century, even finds in the text an indication that for 5 months on the duke had neglected all the affairs of the govt.

Par. 3. For P'ing Kung-yang has 聽, and K'ung-sheng has 聽. Se-k'ew was in Ts'oo, somewhere in the pres. dis. of Tung-ou (東阿), dep. Tung-gan.

The Chuen says that the covenant was brought about by the duke's sending Seang-chung (Seang-san Suy) with letters to the marquis of Ts'e.

Parr. 4, 5. This lady K'iang was Shing K'iang (馨姜), the widow of duke He, and mother of Wan. Kung-yang says that "the tower of Ts'euen" was the name given to that built at Lang by duke Chwao in his 31st year. The Chuen says:—"There came out from the palaces of Ts'euen, and entered the capital, serpents, as many as there had been marquises of Loo [No fewer than seventeen]; and when Shing-K'iang died on Sin-we in the 8th month, the duke caused the tower to be pulled down." If this story were true, we must suppose that the people believed there was some connection between the appearance of the serpents and the death of the duchess, who perhaps lived in the palace of Ts'euen.

Par. 5. Ts'oo was a considerable State, whose lords were vassals, with the Chou surname of Ko. It has left its name in Pa, the principal dis. of the dep. Chung-king (重慶), Szechuan. Of Yung little is known. Its chief town was 40 li east from the pres. dis. city of
Chul-shan (竹山), dep. Yun-yang (雲陽). 

Hoo-pth. The Chnum says:—"There was a great famine in Tyou, and the Jung invaded it on the south west, advancing as far as the hill of Tyou-ch'ing, and capturing all the town and the country of Tyou. Another body of them invaded it on the south-east, advancing as far as Yang-k'uee, and thence making an incursion to Tze-ch'oue. The people of Yung, [at the same time], headed all the troops of the state in the rear of these, and invaded Tyou. 

While those of K'ouen led on the many tribes of the Puh, and collected at Suen, intending to invade it. On this the gates of Shin and Suh on the north were kept shut, and some in Tyou counselled removing from the capital to Pukau. We K'ou, however, advised against such a step, saying, "If we can go there, the robbers also can go there. The best plan is to invade Yung. K'ou and all the Puh think that we are unable from the famine to take the field, and they therefore think we invade it. If we send out our army, they are sure to be afraid, and will return to their own country. The Puh dwell apart from one another, and when they are hurriedly going off, each tribe for its own towns, who amongst them will be in future to invade any body, but themselves?" An army accordingly was sent forth, and in 15 days there was an end of the attempt of the Puh. The army went on from Leu, throwing open the granaries, from which officers and men of the army carried away all until it lacked of Kow-she. From there T'ieh-lie of Leu was sent to make an incursion into Yung, as far as to Fang-shin, when the people drove him and his troops a way, taking prisoner Tze-yang Ch'wang. He managed to escape on the third night after, and said, "The troops of Yung are numerous, and all the Man are collected. We had better return to the army [at Kow-she]. Having raised the king's troops, and effected a junction with them, we may then advance." See-shuh said, "No. Let us for a time keep meeting the enemy, to make them presumptuous. When they are presumptuous, and we have become angry, we shall conquer them. This was the way in which our ruler went against Chia-tung. Yung shan, the king of Tyou, subdued Hung-sheh. Accordingly seven times they met the Jung, and seven times they fled. Only the men of Pa, Yaw, and Ya were employed to drive them on, so that the rest of Yung said that Tyou was not worth fighting with, and gave up making any preparations against an attack. The victorious of Tyou then hurried, with relays of forces, to join the army at Lin-pin. He divided it into two bodies, with one of which Tse-yang proceeded to invade Yung by Shih-k'e, while Tseh-pei led the other by Jin. A body of men from T'ien and another from Pa came to join Tzou. The result was that the troops of the Man made a covenant with the vassals of the state of Tseh, and agreed to divide the country. 

The above narrative is important, showing how Tyou, itself but half-civilized, was encompassed by tribes still more barbarous than itself, and in danger from them.  

Par. 7. For Kung-yang has The Chnum says:—"Paou of Sung, son of duke Ch'ing, and half-brother of duke Ch'iaou, courteously entertained the people of the State. In a time of famine he exhausted all his stores of grain, landing freely. To all who were 70 years old and upwards he sent [supplies of food], presenting them with more and rarer dishes at the [commencement of] the several seasons. There was no day when he was not a frequent visitor at the gates of the six high ministers to all whose ability he professed service and respect, and to his kinsfolk, from the descendants of duke Hwan downwards, he expressed sympathy and regard. Paou was beautiful and handsome, and the widow of duke Siun [Duke Chuan's grand- mother and also Paou's; as having been the principal wife of their grandfather] sought a criminal intrigue with him; and though this proved impracticable, she helped him to bestow his favours [more widely]. In consequence of the unprecedented course of duke Ch'iaou, the people wished to raise Paou to the dukedom, on the ground of the wishes of the grand-duchess.  

At this time, Hwa Yung was master of the right, and Kung-sun Yew of the left; Hwa N'go, minister of War; Lin Kwan, minister of Instruction; Tseh E-ch'oo, minister of Works; and the duke's brother, Chaoou, minister of Crime. Before this, when Tung [the last] minister of Works died, [his son], Kung-sun Yew, declined the office, and begged that it might be given to Tseh E-ch'oo, [his son]. Afterwards, he told people, saying, "Our ruler is so unprincipled, that, as the office would bring me near him, I was afraid of calamity coming on me. By putting the office into my hands, I may seem to show myself without protection. My son is a second self, but by means of him I could postpone any death for a while. Although I abandon him, I shall still not abandon my kindness."  

By and by, the grand-duchess wished to send the duke to hunt at Mung-chou, and have him put to death there. The duke came to be aware [of the plot], and set out carrying all his treasures with him. Tung E-ch'oo said to him, "Why not come to some other State?" He replied, "Since I have not been able to satisfy the great officers, nor my grandmother, nor the people, who of the princes of the States will receive me? And moreover, since I have been a ruler, than that I should go on to be a sinner for me to die." With this he illustrated all his treasures among his attendants, and made them go away. The grand-duchess sent word to the minister of Works that he should leave the duke, but he said, "I, having been my minister, I should now skirt away from him in his calamity, how should I appear before his successor?"  

In winter, in the 11th month, on Keah-yin, duke Chiaou was going to hunt at Mung-chou; but before he arrived at the place, the grand-duchess, a lady of the royal House, had him killed by the directors of the hunt. Tang E-ch'oo died with him. The words of the text—The mark of Sung murdered their ruler, Ch'oo-ch'eo—show that the ruler was held not principle. Duke Wu [The above Paou] succeeded him, and made his own brother Sen minister of Works. Hwa N'go died, and [the son of Tang E-ch'oo], Tang Heng, was made minister of War.'"
In all the twelve books of the Ch'un Te'w, there are 3 cases, in which the murder of the ruler is attributed to the people:—1st, that in the text; 2d, the murder of Shang-chiin by the people of Te'w (p. 3 of the 18th year); and 3d, the murder of Mithchow by the people of Kue (IX.xxxi.7). There are 4 cases in which the murder of the ruler is attributed to the State:—1st, the murder of Shoo-k'e by Kue (IX.xxxi.4 of the 18th year); 2d, that of Chou-yoo by Tain (VIII.xvii.2); 3d, that of Liou-k'e by Wei (IX.xxxv.3); and 4th, that of Pe by Szech (X.xxxi.8). Now of all these 7 cases, Tso's canon can only be applied, with an appearance of justice, to the first two, the murders of duke Chiaou of Sung, and Shang-chiin of Te'w. Then we have the murders of the three dukes Ling,—of Tain, of Te'wo, and of Kuein, who were all bad rulers. The names of their murderers are fully given, viz. Chiaou Tain (VII.ii.4), Kung-tze Pe (X. xiii.5), Hua Chiaou-shoo (VII.xv.7). How is it that we have similar facts recorded with such differences of manner? The answer is that the sage made the Ch'un Te'w from what he found in the tablets of the old historian, in which the entries were made according to the announcements received in T'ao from the drift. States, which might be abbreviated, but could not be added to. Now when ministers murdered their rulers, or sons their fathers, there would be few that would announce the exact truth to friendly States;—they would throw the crime on other, and generally on meaner parties. When the sage had carefully examined the historiographers of his State, and all that he heard in the 72 other States through which he travelled, if he wished to exhibit the real offender and execute him with his pencil, there was the drift, statement of the original communication; if he wished to allow the crime to rest on the parties on whom it was thrown, the real criminal escaped from the net. His plan was to leave it an open question as to the true criminals, and to write "the State murdered," or "the people of the State murdered,"—and thus, though he gave no names, the crime of rebellious ministers and ruthless sons did not escape.

This note sufficiently disposes of the canon of Tso-ch'e, and all other attempts to explain particular characters of the text on the "praise and blame" principle. The editors' own account of the matter has been sufficiently discussed in the prefaces.

Seventeenth year.

夏四月，癸亥，葬我小君聲姜。 齊侯伐我西鄙，六月，癸未，公及齊侯盟于穀。

秋，公至自穀。 請盟六月。 賢侯殺我北鄙，襄仲，穀侯乗我，黃父遂復。
In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, an officer of Ts'in, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'in, and an officer of Ch'ing, invaded Sung.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Kwei-hae, we buried our duchess, Shing Keang.

3 The marquis of Ts'e invaded our western borders. In the sixth month, on Kwei-wei, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e made a covenant in Kuh.

4 [Several] of the States had a meeting in Hoo.

5 In autumn, the duke arrived from Kuh.

6 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e.

Par. 1. Tso-she says——This spring, Seuin Lin-foo of Ts'in, Kung Tah of Wei, Kung-sun Ning of Ch'in, and Shih Ts'oo of Ch'ing invaded Sung. [Coming] to punish it, they said, "For what cause did ye murder your ruler?" but yet they recognized duke Wan, and returned. The names of the ministers are not given in the text, indicating that they failed in what [they had undertaken]. Tso-observe that from the time of duke Min, precedence is always given in the accounts of meetings, &c., to Ch'in over Wei, while in this instance we have the names of the ministers not given.

Par. 2. See om. III. xxvii. 2. Kung-yang gives Ts'e.

Tso says the burial took place late, in consequence of the troubles of Loo with Ts'e.
Far. 3. Kuh,—see III. vi. 4. Two says:—
"The marquis of Tse's invaded our northern border. Seang-chung (son of duke Wen) begged a covenant, and in the 6th month, a covenant was made in Kuh. The 'western' border of the text is the 'northern' in the Chuen. Ying-iah thinks the text is wrong, because Kuh lies north of Loo.

Far. 4. The Chuen says:—The marquis of Tain had a grand review in Hwag-foo, and proceeded to assemble the States again in Hoo;—for the pacification of Sung. The duke was not present at the meeting, because of the difficulties with Tse. The text says, 'the various princes,' [without further specifying them], because they accomplished nothing. At this meeting, the marquis of Tain did not see the earl of Ch'ing, and concluded that he was [again] inclining to Tse. Tse-kao of Ch'ing, [being aware of this], sent for the carriers of despatches and gave him a letter, in which he laid the following statement:—Before Chao Sen-se:—In the 3rd year of my ruler, he called the marquis of Tae, and agreed with him, that they should serve your State. In the 7th month, the marquis came to our poor city, on the way to Tain. But at that time we were occupied with the troubles caused by Hou Sen-to, and my ruler was not able to act along with him; but in the 11th month, having succeeded in diminishing [the power] of Sen-se, he followed the marquis that he might appear at your court before you the manager of its affairs. In his 12th year, [1], Kwèi-shou, assisted my ruler's eldest son, E, in persuading the marquis of Ch'in to separate from Tse, and go to the court of your ruler. In his 14th year, in the 7th month, my ruler further appeared at your court, to complete the business of [the submission of] Ch'in. In his 16th year, in the 5th month, the marquis of Ch'in went from our poor city to the court of your ruler. Last year, in the 1st month, Chiu Shih-sou went to present E at your court; and in the 6th month, my ruler appeared there himself. That Ch'in and Tae, near as they are to Tse, have not waivers [in their adherence to Tain], is all through our influence with them. But considering only our own service of your ruler, how is it that we do not escape [such an imputation as is brought against us]? Since his accession, our marquis paid one court-visit to duke Seang, and has twice appeared before your present ruler. [His son] E, and more than one of us, his ministers, have been one after another to Kiu. No other State has been more assiduous than ours in its service of Tain. And now your great State says to Ch'ing, 'You do not satisfy our wishes!' There is ruin for our poor city; we are at the last extremity. There is a saying of the ancients, 'Fearing for its head and fearing for its tail; there is little of the body left (not to fear for). And there is another, 'The deer driven to its death does not choose the [best] place to take shelter in.' When a small State serves a large one, if dealt with kindly, it shows the gratitude of a man; if not dealt with kindly, it acts like the stag. That runs into danger in its violent hurry, for how in its urgency should it be able to choose where to run? [The State], driven by the commands to it without limit, in the same way only knows that there is ruin before it. We will raise all our poor hives, and await you at Tse,—just as you, the director of affairs, may command us. Our [former] duke Wen in his second year, in the 6th month, on Jin-shih, acknowledged the court of Tae, but in his 4th year, in the 3rd month, on Jin-shih, because Tae made an incursion into Tse, he [felt obliged to] obtain terms of peace from Tae. Situated between great States, is it not our fault that we must follow their violent orders? If your great State do not consider these things, we will not seek to evade the command you shall lay upon us (i.e. Ch'ing would meet Tain in arms, if the necessity were laid upon it).

[After the receipt of this letter], Kung Shih of Tain went and settled the difficulties with Ch'ing, Ch'ao Chuen, and Ch'ie, son-in-law of duke Wen, going there as hostages.

Far. 5. The Chuen appends here two brief notices.—In autumn, Kung Ch'ub of Ch'ou surprised the Chung in Shin-ch'ou, while they were drinking spirits, and defeated them.

In winter, in the 10th month, E, the eldest son of the earl of Ch'ing, and Shih Tse'ou, became hostages in Tain.

Far. 6. The Chuen says:—Seang-chung went to Tse to express his acknowledgments for the covenant at Kuh. When he returned, he said, 'I heard the people of Tse [say] they will eat the wheat of Loo, but according to my view they will not be able to do so. The words of the marquis of Tse are rude; and Tung Wen-chung remarked that when a people's lord is rude, he is sure to die.'"

Eighteenth year.
秋公子遂，叔公文，立。夫人姜氏歸，居于齊。冬十月，子卒。齊懿仲之妻，使執狐貍，乘夏五月，公游于申池。二人浴于池中，獸以扑執狐貍，而使鰓。納管戰，而怒，不欲一挐安庸，何傷，邑曰，與周其邑而弗能病者，何如，乃謀鬛懿公，納諸竹中。
In his eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Ting-ch'ow, the duke died, [in a chamber] beneath [one] of his towers.

2. Ying, earl of Ts'ìn, died.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-seuh, the people of Ts'e murdered their ruler, Shang-jin.

4. In the sixth month, on Kwei-yêw, we buried our ruler, duke Wân.

5. In autumn, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, and Shuh-sun Tih-shin, went to Ts'e.

6. In winter, in the tenth month, the [duke's] son died.

7. The [duke's] wife, the lady Kêang, went back to Ts'e.

8. Ke-sun Hâng-foo went to Ts'e.


Par. 1. See on III. xxxii. 4. and V. xxxiii. 11.

Kuh-liang says here that duke Wân did not die in the place where he should have died; but all the Chuen, and the critics also, are provokingly silent as to what or where the place was. Only in Koo Tung-kiang's "Tables of the great matters in the Ch'un Tea" (顧棟高 春秋大事表 卷七之— 'I have found anything bearing on the subject. He says that the tower was that of Ts'e-men, mentioned in XVI. 5, —a tower in the city of Ts'e-men. It is there said that the duke pulled the tower down, and Koo adds that he pulled down the palace as well. Yet it happened that he died somewhere where the tower had been, showing that the death foreshadowed by the serpents that issued from under it was not that of Shing Kueang, but the duke's own death! The matter must be left in its obscurity.

The Chuen says:—In the spring, the marquis of Ts'e, was preparing for the time when he should take the field (to attack Lo), when he fell ill, and his physician said that he would die before autumn. The duke heard of it, and consulted the tortoise-shell, saying:—'May his death take place before the time [of his taking the field]!' The kueang-pih communicated the subject inquired about to the shell. Ts'oe-k'ue, the diviner, performed the operation, and said, 'The marquis of Ts'e will die before that time, though not of illness; and the duke also will die' without hearing of the marquis's death. There is evil also in store for him who communicated the subject to the shell.' Accordingly, the duke died on Ting-ch'ow, in the 24th month.

Par. 2. This was duke K'ang (康公) and this is the first record of the death of an earl of Ts'e in the Chuen. The growth of the State had been rapid, for it was not till after the battle of Shing-pâi that its chiefs interchanged messengers and other courtesies with the princes of the Middle States.

Par. 3. 賢 人. —see on XVI. 7. The Chuen says:—When duke K of Ts'e was [only] duke's son, he had a strife with the father of Ping Ch'uh about some fields, in which he did not get the better; and therefore, when he became marquis, he caused the grave of his opponent to be dug open, and the feet of the corpse to be cut off, while yet he employed Ch'uh as his charioteer. And though he took to himself the wife of Yen Ch'ii, he carried Ch'ii with him as the third attendant in his chariot.

In summer, in the 5th month, the marquis, having gone to the pool of Shin, these two men were bathing in the pool, when Ch'ih struck the other with a wad; and then said to him, when he grew angry, 'Since you allowed your wife to be taken from you without being angry, how does a tap like that hurt you?' 'How is it,' replied Ch'ii, 'between me and him who was able to see his father's feet cut off without feeling aggrieved?' The two men then consulted together, murdered duke K, and laid his body among the bamboos. They then returned to the city, calmly put down their cups (after drinking), and went away. The people of Ts'e raised duke Wuan's son Yuan to his brother's place.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says: — In autumn, Shang-chung and Chwang-shuh went to Ts'e, [to congratulalyze] duke Hwuy on account of his accession, and to express Loo's acknowledgment for the presence of an officer of Ts'e at duke Wuan's burial.' Shang-chung was charged with one of these duties, and Chwang-shuh with the other. Though they went together, each had his own mission. But they transacted other business in Ts'e. The Chuen says:—King Ying, the second wife [in rank] of duke Wuan bore him a son, [Tsêch, who became] duke Sêuèn. She was the duke's favourite, and privately paid court to Shang-chung, to whom she entrusted the care of her son's interests as he grew up. [In consequence of this], Shang-chung wished to declare Tsêch his father's successor; but Shug-chung (Shuh Pung-sîng, or Hwuy-pih) objected. When Chung had an interview with the marquis of Ts'e, he begged his sanction to what he proposed, and the marquis, being now in his own position, and wishing to be on friendly terms with Loo, granted it.'

Par. 5. The son who is here said to have died was called Goh, duke Wuan's eldest son by the lady Kêang (See IX. 2). By her, his proper wife, the duke had two sons, Goh and...
She; and on his death, Goh, the elder of the two, though only a child, had been recognized as ‘marquise;’ and as the late marquise was now buried, a thought urged him to appear here with his name and his title as ‘marquis’ or ‘ruler.’ Instead of dying a natural death, as we should conclude from the text, he was murdered, as the Chun immediately goes on to relate. The critics have a general deal to say as to varying to account for the state of the record in the text; but it is of the same character as many others throughout the classic, from which we should do anything but know the truth about the things recorded, if we were entirely dependent on the sage for our information. The instances of such are III.

xxiii, 3, and 野, in IX. xxxi, 3, are somewhat diff. from that before us, because in them the fathers of the young marquises had not yet been buried, and it was proper they should appear as ‘sons’ only.

The Chun says:—'In winter, in the 10th month, [Siang-chung] killed Goh and She, and set up [Tseh, who became] duke Seuen. The entry that ‘the [duke’s] son died’ is to recall the nature of the fact. Chung then, [as if] in the [young] ruler’s order, called Hwuy-jih [to come to him]. Hwuy-jih’s steward, Kung-jen Woo-ji, endeavoured to stop him, saying, that, if he entered [the palace], he was sure to die. Shih-chung said, ‘If I die in obeying my ruler’s command, it is right; I should do so.’ The steward answered, ‘Yes. If I be the ruler’s command; but if it be not, who should you listen to it?’ Hwuy-jih would not take the advice, and entered the palace, where they killed him, and hid his body among the horses’ dung. His steward then carried his wife and children with him, and fled to Tae; but the Shih-chung family was afterwards restored.'

Par. 8. 'The Chun says:— This return of duke Wan’s wife Kiang to Tae was a return for good. When she was about to go, she wept aloud. Passing through the market place, she cried out, ‘O Heaven! Chung has done wickedly, killing the son of the wife, and setting up the son of a concubine!’ All in the market wept, and the people of Loo called her Gao Kiang (the sorrowful Kiang).

Par. 8. Kung-tsun Suy, Shun-sun Tih-shih, and Kue-sum Hanguo were consanguineous [in the strictest degree, which had been perpetuated. The former two had got a sort of ascension for them from the marquis of Tae, as related in p. 5, and Hanguo now went to tell him of their accomplishment.

Par. 9. The Chun has a long narrative on this paragraph.—‘Duke Ke of Ken had two sons—Puh, the older, [and who should have succeeded him], and Kue-to; but through his love for Kue-to he degraded Puh. He also did many things against all propriety in the State, and Puh, by the help of the people, procured to murder him. He then gathered all his valuable treasures together, and came flying with them to Loo, and presented them to duke Seuen. The duke gave orders to assign them a city, saying, ‘It must be to him to-day;’ but Ke Wan made the minister of Crime send him beyond the borders, saying, ‘He must get there to-day.’ The duke asked the reason of this conduct, and Ke Wan sent K-i, the grand historiographer, with the following reply—‘A deceased great officer of our State, Tsang Wan-chung taught Hanguo rules to guide him in serving his ruler, and Hanguo gives them the widest application, not differing from them in his mind. Wan-chung’s words were, ‘When you see a man who observes the rules of propriety in his conduct to his ruler, behave to him as a dutiful son should do in nourishing his parents. When you see a man who transgresses these rules towards his ruler, take him off as you would a hawk pursues a small bird.’ The founder of our House the duke of Chow, in the Rules which he framed for Chow, said, ‘By means of the model of conduct you can see a man’s virtue. His virtue is evidenced in his management of affairs. From that management his merit can be measured. His servious result in the support of the people.’ In the Advisory Instructions which he made, [the duke of Chow] said, ‘He who overthrows the laws of conduct is a villain; and he who conceals him is his harbouer. He who fleches money is a thief; he who steals the treasures of a State is a traitor. He who harbours the villain, and who conceals the treasures of the traitor, is guilty of the greatest crime. He must suffer the regular penalty, without forgiveness such a case is not omitted in the Book of the Nine Punishments.’ When Hanguo viewed the whole scope of Puh’s evil conduct, he saw nothing in him fit to be a model of conduct. Filial reverence and loyal faith are virtues of good conduct; theft and villainy, sacrilege and treachery [the thief] and [accepting the gifts of the traitor], are vices of an eagle or a hawk. Now what was the pattern of filial reverence given by Puh of Ken?—The murder of his father and ruler. And his pattern of loyal faith was committing treason and stealing the treasures and jewels of the State. The man is a robber and a villain, the things he brought with him are the signs of his treachery. To protect him and accept his gifts would be to be a principal in harbouring him. If we were to [accept the duke of Chou’s] rule, take such an blind course, the people would have no pattern; and unable to take the measurement of good themselves, they would be in the midst of the model of bad conduct. It was for these reasons that [Hanguo] sent Puh out.'

The ancient [emperor] Keng-yang (f. 3) Chun-huen had eight descendants of ability [and virtue]—Taou-shih, Tuy-ge, Tsao yin, Ta-li, Mo-hang, Tsang-ying, and Shih-tai. They were wise, learned, and reverential, respected and admirable, all-considering and kind and harmonious; all under heaven called them the eight Worthies. Of these ten men [after] sects have acknowledged the excellence in his conduct, and not let them go beyond the ground. But in the time of Tsung, he was not able to raise them to office. When Shih, however, became Tsung’s minister, he raised the eight Harbinides to office, and employed them to superintend the department of the minister of
the Land. All matters connected with it were thus regulated, and everything was arranged in its proper season; the earth was reduced to order, and the influences of heaven operated with effect. He also raised the eight Worthies to high places, and made them the custodians of the duties pertaining to the five relations of society. Fathers became just and mothers gentle; elder brothers kindly, and younger ones respectful; and sons because filial—in the empire there was order, and beyond it submission.

The ancient emperor Hung [Hwang-te] had a descendant devoid of ability [and virtue]. He sought to overthrow faith, and destroyed loyalty. He delighted in evil speeches and tricks, and made them attractive; he was at home with slanderers, and employed the perverse; he readily received calumni; and sought out men's iniquities, to stigmatize what was sincere. All the people under heaven called him Monster.

The emperor Ch'un-liao [Preceded Chu-en-huh] had a descendant devoid of ability [and virtue]. He would receive no instruction; he would acknowledge no good words. When told, he was obstinate; when left alone, he was stupid. He was an arrogant barker of intelligent virtue, seeking to confound the heavenly rules of society. All the people under heaven called him Block.

Of these three men [after] ages acknowledged the wickedness, and execrated their evil names. But in the time of Tsao, he was not able to put them away.

The officer] Ts'in-yun [In the time of Hwang-te] had a descendant who was devoid of ability and virtue. He was greedy of eating and drinking, craving for money and property. Ever gratifying his lusts, and making a grand display, he was inextinguishable, rapacious in his exactions, accumulating scores of wealth. He had no idea of calculating where he should stop, and made no exceptions in favour of the orphan and the widow, felt no compassion for the poor and exhausted. All, the people under heaven likened him to the three other wicked ones, and called him Glutton.

When Shun became Tsao's minister, he received the nobles from the four quarters of the empire, and banished these four wicked ones, Chaos, Monster, Block, and Glutton, casting them out into the four distant regions, to meet the spite of the spirits and evil things. The consequence of this was, that, when Tsao died, all were in mourning, as if they had been put to death by common consent born Shun to be emperor, because he had raised to office those sixteen helpers, and had put away the four wicked ones. Thereon, the Book of Yu, in enumerating the services of Shun, says: He carefully watched the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be universally observed (The Shoe, II. i. 2).—none were disobedient to his instructions,
BOOK VII. DUKE SEUEN.

First year.

元年春王正月公即位。公子遂如齊迎女。三月遂以夫人婦姜至自齊。夏季孫行父如齊。晉放其大夫胥甲父於衛。公會齊侯於平州。公子遂如齊。六月齊人取濟西田。秋邾子來朝。楚子鄭人侵陳遂侵宋。晉趙盾帥師救陳。宋公陳侯衛侯曹伯會晉師於棐林伐鄭。晉人宋人伐鄭。
In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.

In the third month, Suy arrived with the [duke's] wife, the lady Keang, from Ts'e.

In summer, Ke-sun Hang-foo went to Ts'e.

Ts'in banished its great officer, Seu Kéah-foo, to Wei.

The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Ping-chow.

Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e.

In the sixth month, a body of men from Ts'e took the lands of Tse-se.

In autumn, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.

The viscount of Ts'e and an officer of Ch'in made an incursion into Ch'in, and went on to make one into Sung.

Chaou Tun of Ts'in led a force to relieve Ch'in.

The duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'hou, joined the army of Ts'in at Fei-lin, and invaded Ch'in.

In winter, Chaou Ch'uen of Ts'in led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'ung.

A body of men from Ts'in and one from Sung invaded Ch'in.
TITLE OF THE BOOK.—Duke Seun's rule lasted for 18 years, from B.C. 607 to 589. His name was Ts'e (接), or, according to Seun's tradition, Wei (微). He was a son of Duke Wan by his favourite concubine, King Ying (敬嬴). His honorary title Seun (宣) denotes a Food of asking, and universally informed (善問周達曰宣).

His first year synchronized with the fifth of king K'uang (匡); the 13th of Ling (靈) of T'ai; the 1st of Yuen, duke Huay of T'ae (憙公); the 27th of Ch'ing of Wei; the 4th of Wan (文) of T'ai; the 20th of Muh of Ch'ing; the 10th of Wan, (文) of T'ae; the 6th of Ling (靈) of Ch'in; the 25th of Hwan of Ke; the 5th of Wan (文) of Sung; the 1st year of Tsou, duke Kung (共公), of T'ai; and the 6th of Chwang (彰) of T'ae.

Par. 1. This record of Seun's accession is the same as that in II. i. i. His marquisate and Hwan's were both the fruit of murder, and, according to the canon for such a case, we should not have the 占位. See on II. i. i.

Par. 2. The transactions recorded here were hurried on ' contrary to all rule,' through the urgency of the duke's circumstances, and his anxiety to make his ill-got position good by an alliance with the powerful House of T'ai. The Ch'en on p. 5 of last year tells us how Su, had obtained the sanction of T'ai to the coup which he contemplated in Loo; and though it says nothing on p. 8, it is understood that Häng-foo, when he went to T'ai, after the coup, obtained a contract of marriage between the duke and a daughter of T'ai; and now no time was lost in the accomplishment of it. On 隍女, see I. ii. 5; and on the term 婦, see V. xxv, 3. But I do not see how the canon about the appellation 婦, which is there given, can apply here. Maou says, 'In her father's house the lady was called 婦; on the way to the State where she was to be married, she was called 婦; in that State she was called 夫人.'

Par. 3. Su, says:—'Su, is here (in p. 2) called duke's son;—to do honour to the ruler's command; and in p. 3 only Su, —to do honour to the wife.' I confess that I do not clearly understand this.

Par. 4. The alliance with T'ai had been accomplished, but it was necessary the marquis should be acknowledged as the ruler of Loo; as a conference with one or more great States; and to effect this was the object of Häng-foo's mission. Su, says:—'In summer Ke Wan went to T'ai, and with the offer of bribes begged the marquis to give [the marquis] to give [the duke] a meeting.'

Par. 5. 放 may be translated 'banished,' but it denotes 'banishment to a certain place,' where the criminal must remain (安置此地). The 大河 is no more than a river. After the affair at Hsiao-foo, Chao Ch'un and Sen Kesh-fuo, who were then assistant-commanders of the 3rd army, frustrated, as the Ch'en relates [VI. xii. 7] the design of Chao Tung to attack the army of T'ai while crossing the Hsiao. The crime had been allowed to fester for nearly 8 years, and is now visited on Sen Ch'en, but not on Chao Ch'un, the leader in the offense. The Ch'en says:—'The people of T'ai, to punish him for his disobedience to orders, banished Sen Kesh-fuo to Wei, and appointed his son, Sen Kesh, to his command. His Sin Shih to Tae.'

Par. 6. Ping-chou was in T'ai, in the pres. dia. of Loo-foo (樂), dep. Tae-gan. Tae says the meeting was to establish the duke's seat in Loo.

Par. 7. Tae also here calls Su, 'Tung-mun Shang-chung,' i.e., Shang-chung who lived near the eastern gate, where 東門 becomes a sort of surname; and says he now went to T'ai, to express [the duke's] acknowledgment for the settlement [of his position]. See on V. xxvi, 5.

Par. 8. Tae of T'ai, see on V. xxxi. 1. It seems strange action on the part of the marquis of T'ai, after all the favors he had done to duke Seun, now to proceed to appropriate parts of his territory. We must suppose that the bribe mentioned in the Ch'en on p. 4, had only been offered and not paid, and that T'ai lost no time in securing it (if these lands were the bribe), or at least an equivalent for it. The Ch'en says:—'These fields were taken, because of the service in the establishment of the duke, in order to bribe T'ai.'

Par. 9. All through the times of dukes Ke and Wan, Chao and Loo had been in bad relations. Perhaps the viscount of Chao came now to Loo, thinking the time was opportune for the healing of their differences, in which, however, he was deceived; see below in the 10th year. Many critics think he made his visit through fear of T'ai.

Par. 10. The Ch'en says:—'When the people of Sung murdered duke Ch'uan (VI. xvi. 7), Sen Lin-foo of T'ai, with the armies of several other States, invaded Sung; but Sung and T'ai made peace (VI. xvii. 1; the Ch'en); and duke Ling of Sung was subsequently admitted to a covenant with T'ai, (T'ai), moreover, assembled the States at Hoo (VI. xvi. 10), intending, in behalf of Loo, to punish T'ai; but on that occasion as well as the other, it took bribes and withdrew, [without doing anything]. Duke Muh of Ch'ing [on this] said, 'T'ai is not worth having to do with;' and he was thereafter admitted to a covenant by T'ae. On the death of Duke Kung of Ch'in (in Wan's 12th year), the people of T'ai did not behave courteously, and duke Ling of Ch'ing obtained a covenant from T'ai. The visit of T'ae, [therefore], now made an impression on Ch'in, and proceeded to make one into Sung.'

Par. 11. Tae says:—'To relieve Ch'in and Sung.'

Par. 12. For 仔, Kung-yang has 仔, and Fei-lin was in Ch'ing,—in the pres. dia. of Sin.
ch'ing, dep. Kue-fang.

The Chuan says:—"They met at Pin-lin to invade Ch'ing, but Wei K'e of Ts'oo came to its relief, met the allies at Pin-lin, and took Hseu Yang of Ts'n prisoner; on which the troops of Ts'n returned to their own State."

Par. 13. In the Chuan on VI. xvi. 4, we find Chao Ch'un going to Ch'ing as a hostage. He had not remained there long, as the peace between Ts'n and Ch'ing, patched up by the letter of Tseu-k'oa of Ch'ing, had soon come to an end.

Ts'ung was a small State, acknowledging the jurisdiction of Ts'n. Its territory aforesighting had been the State of Fung (呉), in the pres.

Second year.

二年春正月，王使宋，命於楚伐宋。宋與齊、魯、衛、陳、曹、莒、邾、杞，會於甄。及夏，宋師敗績。晉人、宋人、衛人、陳人，秦師伐晉，晉人、宋人、衛人、陳人，師戰於大棘。宋師敗績，獲宋華元。華元帥師及鄭公子歸生。師戰於大棘，宋師敗績。晉人、宋人、衛人、陳人。秋七月，晉趙盾弑其君夷皋。冬十月，乙亥，天王崩。
II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Jin-tsze, Hwa Yuen of Sung, at the head of a force, and duke [Wán's] son, Kwei-sing of Ch'ing, [also] at the head of a force, fought at Ta-keih, when the army of Sung was shamefully defeated, and Hwa Yuen was made prisoner.

2 An army of Ts'in invaded Ts'in.

3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'in, one from Sung, one from Wei, and one from Ch'in, made an incursion into Ch'ing.

4 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Yih-ch'ow, Chaou Tun of Ts'in murdered his ruler, E-kaou.

5 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

Par. 1. Ta-keih was in Sung.—at a bend in the west of the pres. Say Chow 據州. Sep. Kwei-ith. Some refer it to a place, not far from this, in the di. of Ning-ling. The Chüan says:—In the 2d month of this year, Kung-tsze Kwei-sing of Ch'ing received orders from Ts'in to invade Sung. Hwa Yuen and Yeh Leu of Sung met him; and on Jin-tsze of the 2d month they fought at Ta-keih, when the army of Sung received a disgraceful defeat. Hwa Yuen being made prisoner, and Yeh Leu captured [Yeh Leu was probably put to death as well, for so only can we make a distinction between 與 and 繼]. [The army of Ch'ing also took 480 chariots of war, 250 men, and the left ears of 100. K'wang Kauou engaged a man of Ch'ing, who jumped into a well, from which the other brought him out with the end of his spear,—only to be captured by him. The superior man will say that K'wang Kauou transgressed the rule of war, and was disobedient to orders, deserving to be taken. What is called the rule of war is to be having over in the ears that in war there should be the display of boldness and intrepidity. To shew one's enemy is boldness, and to show the utmost boldness is intrepidity; and he who does otherwise deserves death.

"When the battle was impending. Hwa Yuen slaughtered sheep to feed the soldiers, and did not give any to Yang Chin, his charioteer. When the battle came on, Chin said, "In the matter of the sheep yesterday, you were the master; in the business of to-day, I am the master." With this he drove with him into the army of Ch'ing, which caused the defeat. The superior man will say that Yang Chin did wrong. For his private resentment he brought defeat on his State, and destruction on many of the people. No crime could deserve greater punishment. May we not regard the words of the ode, about "people without conscience (She, II. vi., ode IX. 4)," as applicable to Yang Chin? He occasioned the death of many to gratify his own feeling.

"The people of Sung ransomed Hwa Yuen from Ch'ing with 100 chariots of war and 400 piebald horses. When the half of them had been sent, he made his escape back to Sung; and when he arrived at the capital, he stood outside the gate, and announced himself before he entered. When he saw Shuh-ting [The designation of Yang Chin], he said to him, "It was the horses that did so," but the other replied, "It was not the horses; it was myself." Having given this answer, he fled to Loo. Sung was repairing the wall of its capital, and Yuen had the superintendence of the work. As he was going a round of inspection, the builders sang, [as he passed].

"With goggle eyes and belly vast,
The buff-coats left, he's back at last.
The whiskers long, the whiskers long,
Are here, but not the buff-coats strong."

Yuen made [one of] them ride with him in his carriage, and said to him, "Bulls still have skins, rhinoceroses and wild bulls still are many. The throwing away the buff-coats was not such a great thing." The workman said,
"There may be the shine, but what about the red varnish for them?" Hwa Yuen said, "Go away. Those men have many months, and I am alone."

Par. 28. The Chuen says:—The army of T'ien invaded T'ien, in return for the attack of Ta-ung (P. 18 of last year), and besieged T'ai-tien. In summer, Chao Tung of T'ai-tien rebelled T'ai-tien; and then, going on from T'ai-tien, he proceeded, along with the armies of [several] States, to make an incursion into Ch'ing, in order to repay the action at Ta-keel. Tow Ta-ssen of T'ung was [sent] to relieve Ch'ing, saying, "Can we wish to get the adhesion of the States, and shrink from the difficulties in the way of doing so?" He halted therefore in Ch'ing to wait for the army of T'ai-tien. Chao Tung said, "T'ai-tien's clan is so strong in T'ung, that it is likely to come to ruin. Let us for a time [give way, and] increase its malady." He accordingly withdrew before it.

Par. 4. The Chuen says— Duke Ling of T'ai conducted himself in a way befitting a ruler. He loved heavy executions, to supply him with means for the carving of his walls, and shoot the people from the top of a tower to see how they tried to avoid his pellets. Because his cook had not done some boards properly thoroughly, he put him to death, and made some of his women carry his body past the court in a basket. Chao Tung and So Ke [Hway, of whose return from T'ai we have an account in the Chuen after XII, viii, 2] saw the man's hands, [appearing through the basket], and asked about the matter, which caused these grief. [Tung] was about to go and remonstrate with the duke, when So Ke said to him, "If you remonstrate and are not attended to, no one can come after you. Let me go first; and if my remonstrance do not prevail, you can come after." Accordingly, Hway entered the palace, and advanced, through the first three divisions of it, to the open court before the hall, before he was seen by the duke, whom he then said, "I know my errors, and will change them." Hway bowed his head to the ground, and replied, "Who is without errors? But there can be no greater excellence than for a man to reform and put them away. There are the words of the ode (She, III, ill, ode 1, 1):

"All have their [good] beginnings, But few are able to carry them out to the end."

From them we see that few are able to mend their errors. If your lordship can carry out your purpose to the end, the stability of the State will be made sure, and not your ministers only will have reliance on you. Another ode (She, III, ii, ode VI. 6) says,

"The defects in the king's duties Only Chung San-tu can repair."

[showing how that minister] could mend the errors of the king. If your lordship can repair your faults, your knife will never cease to be worn."

Notwithstanding this interview, the marquis made no change in his conduct; and [Chauon] So and [Chauon] Soen never made reported remonstrances, till the marquis was so vexed that he employed T'ung to kill him. This Mel went to Sen's house very early in the morning, but the door of the bedchamber was open, and there was the minister in all his robes ready to go to court. It being too early to go out, he sat down in a sort of half sleep. Mel retired, and said, with a sigh, "Thus mindful of the reverence due to his prince, he is indeed the people's lord. To murder the people's lord would be disloyalty, and to cast away from whom so great a man's command will be unfaithfulness. With this thought, before me, I had better die," and with these words he dashed his head against a cassia tree, and died.

In autumn, in the 9th month, the marquis called Chao Tung to drink with him, having first conceived soldiers who should attack him. Tung's retainer, who occupied the place on the right in his chariot, T'ao-ne Ming, got to know the design, and rushed up to the hall, saying, "It is contrary to rule for a minister to form a ruler at a feast to go beyond these cups." He then supported his master down from the steps. The marquis urged on an immense dog which he had after him, but Ming smote the brute and killed it. He leaves men, and men don't say Tung, "Fierce as the creaturess, but omit it do!" [In the meantime, the soldiers who were concealed made their appearance, but] Tung fought his way out, T'ao-ne Ming flying for him. Before this, when Sen was hunting on mount Show, he rested under a shady mulberry tree, and noticed one, Lung Cheh, lying near in a famishing condition. Sen asked what was the matter with him, and he said that he had not eaten for three days. When food was given him, however, he ate the half of it apart, and when asked why he did so, he said, "I have been learning abroad for three years, and do not know whether my mother is alive or not. Here I am not far from home, and beg to be allowed to leave this for her." Chao Tung made him eat the whole, and had a measure of rice and meat put up for him in a bag, which was given to him. This man was now present among the duke's soldiers, but, turning the head of his spear, he repelled other soldiers. The grand historiographer wrote of this entry, "Chao Tung murdered his ruler," and showed it in the court. Sen said to him, "It was not so," but he replied, "You are the highest minister. Flying from the State, you did not cross its borders; since you returned, you have not published the villain. If it was not you who murdered the marquis, who was it?" Sen said, "All the words (She, III, ii, ode VIII, 1):"
was not to conceal. Chao Seuen was a good great officer of old time:—in accordance with that law he accepted the charge of such wickedness. Alas! if he had crossed the border, he would have escaped it."

"Seuen then sent Chao Chiu-mun to Chow to meet duke Wan's son Him-t'un, whom he raised to the marquisate. On Jin-shin, Him-t'un presented himself in the temple of duke Woo [the first marquis of Tsin]."

The words of Confucius quoted above by Teo-shi are nowhere else to be found. Perhaps Tao had heard them from the sage, or they had been reported to him. Some even think that he put his own view here into the sage's lips to give it more weight. Tsin's conduct in employing the real murderer to go to Chow for duke Ling's successor cannot be justified; but on the whole, the reader will probably conclude that he received hard measure, first from the historiographer of Tsin, and then from the sage as the compiler of the Chi'un T'ien.

[The Chi'un appendix here a further narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—At the time of the troubles occasioned by Le-ku (See the Chiuen on V. iv. 8, et al.), an oath was taken [in Tsin] that they would not maintain in the State any of the sons of their marquises; and from that time they had no families in it which were branches of the ruling house. When duke Chieng [The above Him-t'un], however, succeeded to the State, he gave offices to the eldest sons by their wives of the high ministers, and assigned them lands, so that they should form the branch-families of his House. He gave offices also to the other sons of the ministers by the same mothers, and recognized them by that designation [as the Heads of their families]. Their sons by concubines were made leaders of the duke's columns [of chariots]. Thus Tsin came to have ducal families, other sons, and leaders of the duke's columns. Chao T'un begged that [his half-brother] Kwoh might be made [Head of] their branch of the ducal families, saying, "He was the loved son of our ruler's (duke Wan's) daughter, and but for her I should have been a Teih [See the Chiuen at the commencement of V. xxiv.]." The duke granted his request. In winter, T'un declared himself head of the flags-men of the chariots, and caused Ke of Ping [The above Kwoh], to whom he surrendered all his old adherents, to be made the great officer of their one among the ducal families."

Third year.

三年春，王正月，郊牛之口，葬匡王，夏，楚伐陸渾之戎。}

葬鄭穆公。}

宋師圍曹。}

冬十月丙戌，鄭伯蘭卒。}

楚子伐陸渾之戎。}

秋赤狄侵齊。}

夏楚人侵鄭。}

傷祇卜，牛牛死乃至不郊。
楚子伐陸浑之戎，遂至於洛，观兵於周郊。定王使王孫滿劳楚子。楚子问鼎之大小轻重焉。对曰：

子产曰：‘昔周文、武之际，文王之庙有鼎焉，今王其亦闻之乎？’楚子曰：‘予闻之矣。’子产曰：‘我闻之矣，昔我先君成王，葬我先君庄公於周之曲阜，以周之百宗。有王之端，以朝天下。天为有德也，故使有周鼎焉。昔武王克商，获有九鼎，乃迁於周，王其重焉。今天王其失之乎？’楚子曰：‘其然乎？吾实有罪。’遂归之。其后楚大夫皆请之，以为不获我也。’

III. 1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, the bull for the border sacrifice received some injury in its mouth. It was changed, and the tortoise-shell consulted about the [other] bull. That died, and so the border sacrifice was not offered.
2. Still [the duke] offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.

3. There was the burial of King K'wang.

4. The viscount of Ts'o invaded the Jung of Luh-hwán.

5. In summer, a body of men from Ts'o made an incursion into Ch'ing.

6. In autumn, the Red Teh made an incursion into Ts'ê.

7. An army of Sung laid siege to [the capital] of Ts'ao.

8. In winter, in the tenth month, on Ping-seuh, Lan, Earl of Ch'ing, died.

9. There was the burial of duke Muh of Ch'ing.

Par. 1.2. See on V. xxxii. 3–5. The border sacrifice, here, however, was probably that at the winter-solstice to Heaven. Kuh-chang and other critics think that the character 牛之口傷 indicates that the bull had itself become ill, without receiving any external injury (緩辭也傷自牛作也). Too says that the creature is here called 牛, and not 牲 or 'victim', because the day for the sacrifice had not yet been divined for. Too-she says:—'The giving up the border sacrifices, and yet offering those to the objects of Survey, were both contrary to rule. The latter were adjuncts to the former, and, if they were not offered, they might be omitted.' He does not say how the giving up the border sacrifices in the circumstances mentioned in the text was 'contrary to rule.' Mau thinks the fault was in giving it up so suddenly, without divining for another victim; but then he contends that the sacrifices were that offered at the beginning of summer, like the one in V. xxxi.

Par. 3. This burial must have been hurried on for some reason which we do not know. King K'wang was succeeded by his brother, king Ting (定王).

[The Chuen appends here:—'The marquises of Ts'ao invaded Ch'ing, and penetrated as far as Yen. Ch'ing then made peace with Ts'ao, and See Hwuy entered its capital, and made a covenant.] Par. 4. The Jung of Luh-hwán were a tribe of the Little Jung (小戎), whose original seat lay in the extreme west of the present Kao-shu; but, as related under the 23rd year of duke Hsü, they were removed by T'ai-kung to K'eh-chuan, in the north of the pres. dep. of Sung (嵩縣) dep. Ho-nan; which brought them within the reach of Ts'ao. They were also called the Yen Jung (陰戎). For this the Chuen has 貢, and both here and above omit this before the Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'ao invaded the Jung of Luh-hwán, and then went on as far as the Luh, where he reviewed his troops on the borders of Chow. King Ting sent Wang-ain Mun (See the former mention of him in the Chuen on V. xxxiii.) to him with congratulations and presents, when the viscount asked about the size and weight of the tripods. Mau says:—'The strength of the kingdom' depends on the [sovereign's] virtue, and not on the tripods. Anciently, when Hsü was distinguished for its virtue, the distant regions sent pictures of the [remarkable] objects in them. The nine pastors sent in the metal of their provinces, and the tripods were cast, with representations on them of those objects. All the objects were presented, and [instructions were given] of the preparations to be made in reference to them, so that the people might know the spirits and evil things. Thus the people, when they went among the rivers, marshes, hills, and forests, did not meet with the injurious things, and the hill-sprites, monstrous things, and water-sprites, did not meet with them [to do them injury]. Hereby a harmony was secured between the high and the low, and all enjoyed the blessing of Heaven. When the virtue of Kâih was all-obscured, the tripods were transferred to Shang, for 900 years. Chow of Shang proved cruel and oppressive, and they were transferred to Chow. When the virtue is commendable and brilliant, the tripods, though they were small, would he heavy, and in place to its reverse, to darkness and disorder, though they were large, they would be light. Heaven blesses intelligent virtue—on that its favour rests. King Ch'ing fixed the tripods in Kas-hu, and divined that the dynasty should extend through 80 generations, over 700 years. Though the virtue of Chow is decayed, the decree of Heaven is not yet changed. The weight of the tripods may not yet be inquired about.' Par. 5. The reason of this incursion, was, says Too-she, 'because Ch'ing had joined the party of Ts'ao.' See the Chuen appended to par. 3. The uter monomerism of Ling of Ts'ao had alienated Ch'ing from it; but the earl seems to have hastened, on his death, again to join the side of the north against Ts'ao. Par. 6. This is the first appearance of the Red Teh in the classic. They are supposed to have been so called, because they wore clothes of a red colour, as the White Teh preferred white. There were many tribes of them—the Loo-ashi (路氏), Kiah-ashi (甲氏), &c. Their seats were in the pres. dep. of Loo-gan (路安), Shan-se.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Three years after the accession of duke Wan of Sung, he put to
death his full brother, Sen, and the son of duke Chao, because of the scheme of the Head of the Woo clan about them. He then made the clans of Tai and Hwan attack Woo-shu in the court-house of Tse-pih, the minister of War, and drove out of the State the clan of Woo and Muh. They fled to Ts'ao, and with an army from it invaded Sung. In autumn, an army of Sung laid siege to the capital of Ts'ao, in return for the disorders occasioned by the officer Woo.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—In winter, duke Muh of Ch'in died. [His father] duke Wu, had a concubine of mean position, who was called Ten Kwei [As belonging to the House of the southern Yen], who dreamed that Heaven sent and gave her a fan flower, saying, "I am Pih-yew [The founder of that House]; I am your ancestor. This shall be [the emblem of] your child. As the fan is the most fragrant flower of a State, so shall men acknowledge and love him." After this, when duke Wu saw her, he gave her a fan flower, and lay with her. She wished to decline his approaches, saying, "I am but a poor concubine, and should I be fortunate enough to have a son, I shall not be believed. I will venture to prove it by this fan." The duke agreed, and she bore a son, [who became] duke Muh, and named him Lan. Now duke Wan had had an intrigue with Ch'in Kwei, the wife of [his uncle] Tse-pih, and she bore to him Tse-hwa and Tse-tsaang, the latter of whom, for some offense, left the State. His father by a deception put Tse-hwa to death in Nan-le [See the 3d Chuen after V. xvi. 4], and he made some ruffians kill Tse-tsaang between Ch'in and Sung [See the 1st narrative in the Chuen after V. xxiv. 2].

[Note: The text is interrupted and seems to be discussing various events and characters, possibly referencing historical events from Chinese history.]

Fourth year.

夏, 六月, 乙酉, 郑公子秦伯伐莒, 取向。齐侯平莒及邾莒人, 舍, 公及不公伐莒。"
左傳曰，四年春，公及齊侯平莒及郯，莒人不敢伐莒向非禮也，平國以禮，不以亂伐，不治亂，也以亂平亂，何治之有，無治，何以行禮？

楚人獻鼋於鄭靈公，公子宋與子家將見公子之肉指於示子家，他日我如此，必嘗異味，及入宰庖，將解鼋，相視而笑，公聞之，子家以吿及食大夫，遂召子公而弗與也，子公怒。宰殺之而去，君臣之義也，齊桓公微管仲，不能遂霸，鄭伯微子 Plays，不能光大其族，楚亦然，則亦皆亡，去疾何為，乃舍之。皆為大夫。

初，楚司馬子良生子椒，子文曰，必殺之是子也，熊虎之狀，豺狼之聲，弗殺必滅，若敖氏矣，諡曰，狼子野心，是乃狼也，其可禽乎。子良不可子文以之為大患，及將死，聚其族曰，椒也，知政也，遂行矣，及於難，且泣曰，鬼神不與，令尹已為司馬子越又惡之，乃以若敖氏之族，固伯嬴於棘陽而殺之，遂處棘陽，將攻王。王以三王之子為質，殽而殺之。子越為政，諡曰，令尹，自宋百伯，遂使收之，楚人謂之，謂虎於菟，故命之日，殽而殺之，遂滅若敖氏之族，適其二，盡於是，政而進之，遂滅若敖氏，初若敖娶尹克黃，使於齊，還及宋，聞亂，其人曰，不可以入矣，殽尹曰，棄君之命，獨誰愛之君，天也，天可逃乎，遂歸復命，而
IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e [tried to] reconcile Keu and T'An. The people of Keu were not willing [to be reconciled], and the duke invaded Keu and took Heang.

2 Taou, earl of Ts'in, died.

3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Yih-yew, duke [Wan's] son, Kwei-sang of Ch'ing, murdered his ruler, E.

4 The Red Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.

5 In autumn, the duke went to Ts'e.

6 The duke arrived from Ts'e.

7 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Tan was a small State, of the same surname as Keu [Se, E] which has left its name in the dim. of Tan-ching, Yen-chow, Heang is, no doubt, that mentioned in I. ii. 2. Two-she says that the duke acted wrongly, in now attacking Keu. States must be reconciled by the rules of propriety, and not by disorder. To attack Keu, without regulating the difference by those rules, was creating disorder. By disorder to attempt to reconcile disorder, left no room for the [proper] regulation; and without such regulation, how could any rule of propriety be carried out?

Par. 2. E was the eldest son of duke Muh, who died in the 10th month of the last year. He enjoyed his surname, therefore, but a very short time. The Chuen says: --“A large turtle had been presented from Ts'e to duke Ling of Ch'ing. Kung-tze Sung and Tsan-ki are going [soon after] to have an audience of the duke of Keu [Ts'e].” When the turtle appeared, the Duke Ling asked: “Where is the turtle king?” The duke of Keu (Ts'e) said: “It is in the river, why should it be given to you?” A great turtle was caught, and the turtle king was asked. The turtle king said: “I have a great turtle, therefore, what can I do?” But the turtle king was an enemy, and did not give him any. The turtle king was angry, dipped his finger into a dish, tasted the turtle, and went out, which so enraged the duke that he wished to kill him. The turtle king then consulted with Tsan-ki about their first killing the duke; but Tsan-ki said, “Even an animal which you have long kept about you, you shrink from killing; how much more should you shrink from killing your ruler?” The turtle king then turned round, and threatened to bring a charge against Tsan-ki, who then agreed, through fear, to let him take his course; and the turtle king murdered duke Ling in the summer.

The text says that Kwei-sang murdered the ruler, because his power was not sufficient.
When Te-an is entreated with the govt., do you quickly leave the State, so as to avoid the misfortunes he will occasion. They then went, and said, "If ghosts must be seeking for food, will not those of our I-ho-pan clan be consumed?" When Te-pan-wo, who was the chief minister of I, died, the office was given to Te-pan [Te-pan-wo's son, designated Te-pan]. Te-pan-yih was then minister of War, and Wei Kâ minister of Works. The latter made a false charge against Te-pan-yih and procured his death; when Te-pan-yih was made chief minister, and Kâ himself became minister of War, but was hated by Te-pan-yih, who, with the help of all the branches of the I-ho-pan clan, imprisoned him—Pi-hih-mu in Leam-yang, and put him to death. Te-an then took up his quarters in Ching-yang, and threatened to attack the king, who offered to place the sons of his three predecessors (Wen, Ching, and Mu) with him as hostages. The other, however, would not receive them, and encamped with his army on the banks of the Chang.

In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of T’ou and the I-ho-pan fought at Ka-woo-foo. Pi-hih-mu [Te-an] shot an arrow at the king, which skirted the curved pole of his chariot, reached the frame of the drum, and hit the metal jingle. A second arrow skirted in the same way the curvature of the pole, and then pierced the bamboo screen above the wheel. The troops became frightened and retired. The king made it circulated through the army, that when the former ruler, king Wen, started, he had got three arrows, two of which had been stolen by Pi-hih-mu, but had now been both discharged. Pi-hih-mu then made the drums be beaten again, and urged his men on, so that he [gained a complete victory, and] extinguished the clan of I-ho-pan.

Before this, I-ho-pan (I-ho-pan was viscount of T’ou) from B.C. 789 to 783) took to his haras a daughter of the House of Yan, who bore to him Tow Pih-pe [See the Chun in the beginning of II-xii., but, on his father's death, this son followed his mother, and was brought up in Yan]. He had an intrigue with a daughter of the viscount of Yan, the fruit of which was a son, after whom styled Tow-wan. Her mother caused the child to be thrown away in the [marsh of] Mung-ting. There a tigress suckled him. The thing was seen by the viscount of Yan, when hunting; and when he returned home in terror, his wife told him the whole affair, on which he sent for the child and had it cared for. The people of T’ou called suckling son, and a tiger they called wo-wu; hence the child was named Nuo-wo-wu [See his first appearance in the Chun after III.xxx.2, where he is called T’ou-wo-wu instead of Nuo-wo-wu], and his mother was married to Pi-hih-mu. The child subsequently became the chief minister of T’ou, T’san-wan. His grandson, T’ieh-hwai, was minister of Ramon, and was absent on a mission to T’ou [when the above rebellion took place]. He heard of it in Sung, on his way back, when his people said to him, "You must not enter the State." But he replied, "If I abandon the king's mission, who will receive it? My ruler is Heaven — can Heaven be fled from?" He accordingly returned to T’ou, reported the discharge of his mission, and then delivered himself a prisoner to the minister of Crime. The king thought of T’ou-wan's govt. of T’ou, and said, "If I leave T’ou-wan without any posterity, how shall I encourage men to good?" He made T’ieh-hwai return to his office, and changed his name to Sung.

Par. 7. Tow-she says the reason of this invasion was that Ch’ing had not yet submitted, notwithstanding that T’ou had attacked it in the summer of last year.

Fifth year.
V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke went to Ts'e.
2 In summer, the duke arrived from Ts'e.
3 In autumn, in the ninth month, Kaou Koo of Ts'e came to meet [his bride], the duke's second daughter.
4 Shuh-sun Tih-shin died.
5 In winter, Kaou Koo of Ts'e and the duke's second daughter came to Loo.
6 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Sixth year.

冬十月。秋八月。夏四月。

注：冬十月。秋八月。夏四月。
VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, Chao Tsun of Tsin and Sun Meen of Wei made an incursion into Ch'in.

2 It was summer, the fourth month.

3 In autumn, in the eighth month, there were locusts.

4 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. Sun Meen,—there was a clan with the surname Sun in Wei, descended from a son of duke Woo, who died B.C. 757, a little before the commencement of the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew. Tao-shu says here that the reason of this incursion by Tsin and Wei was Ch'in's adherence to Ts'ueo. The invasion of it by Seun Lin-foo the previous winter had failed to alter Ch'in's policy.

Kung-yang gives here in a long note an account of the murder of duke Ling of Tsin, substantially the same as that in Tao-shu's Chuen on II. 4, and seems to think that the reappearance of Chao Tsin in this par. is a sort of condemning him for his connection with the deed.

Par. 2. See on I. vi. 3. [The Chuen introduces two brief notices.—In summer, king Ting sent T'ae-tshu to ask a queen for him from Tsin.' In autumn, the Red Tsin invaded Tsin, when they besieged Hwan and Hing-kwè. The marquis of Tsin wished to invade his country [in return], but the officer Hwan of the middle column said to him, "Let [their chief first] make his people hate him, [for his incessant warfare], filling up the measure of his practices, and then he may be utterly destroyed. The language in one of the Books of Chow,—'Exterminate the great Yin (Shoo, V. 12. 4), is applicable to this kind of people.']

Par. 3. See II. v. 8.

Par. 4 [The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'In winter, duke Hwan of Shoo met the king's bride in Tsh'o.' 2d, 'A body of men from Ts'ueo invaded Ch'ing, took conditions of peace, and returned to Ts'ueo.' 3d, 'Kung-tze Man-nwan of Ch'ing spoke to the king's son Pih-liao [who was serving in Ch'ing], about his wish to become a high minister. Pih-liao told another person, saying, 'The case of one who covets [a high position] without the proper virtue appears from the Chow T'ieh, and is like the diagram Fang's (衡) becoming Le (易). [Man-nwan] will not live beyond the time thereby indicated.'] After the interval of a year, the people of Ch'ing put Man-nwan to death.]

Seventh year.
7th year, in spring, the marquis of Wei sent Sun Liang-foo to Loo, to make a covenant [with the duke].

2 In summer, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'ei in invading Loo.

3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the invasion of Loo.

4 There was great drought.

5 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, and the earl of Tsou, in Hii-jang.

Par. 1. The Chuen says that this mission of the officer Hwan [was the posthumous title of Sun Liang-foo] was the first intercourse between Wei and Loo, since the duke's accession, and that the object was to consult about the duke's attendance at a meeting to be called by Tsin. For these purposes a friendly mission of inquiry would have been sufficient; but it is to be understood that Wei was acting in the interest of Tsin, the new ruler of which wished to assert what he considered his claim to be the leader of the States. Duke Seum had, since his accession, been a devoted adherent of Tse, and had stood aloof from Tsin; and now Wei required from him the engagement of a covenant, to clear itself with Tsin, should the duke after all not attend the meeting.

Par. 2. Loo was a small State, held by Kseung, with the title of viscount, in the pres. dis. of Hwang (黃縣), dep. Tung-chow, Shantung. Tso-shu here gives his canon regarding the use of 賜 and 會, in the case of at least of military expeditions, saying that the 會 here implies that Loo had not been a party in planning the expedition. In all military expeditions, where Loo had previously acted in the planning of them, 會 is used; where it had not done so, we have 賜. The K'ang-hi editors accept the canon with a slight reservation.

Par. 4. See on v. xxi. 3. Too observes here that "the sacrifice for rain had had no effect, or perhaps it had not been offered." [The Chuen appends:—"The Red Tseh made an incursion into Tsin, and cut down and carried off the growing grain of Hii-jang.

Par. 5. Hii-jang was in Tsin.—10 th. northwest from the pres. dis. of Tseh-shu-yi, dep. Tseh-chow, Shantung.

The Chuen says—"Peace had been brought about between Ch'ing and Tsin by means of the counsels of Kung-tse Sung, who therefore now attended the earl of Ch'ing, as his assistant, to a meeting. In winter, a covenant was signed, and attended by the duke of Hii-jang, when the king's uncle, the duke of Hwan, was present, to consult on the case of discordant States. On the accession of the marquis of Tsin, [in the duke's 21st year] the duke had paid a court-call to him, nor had he since sent any great officer to Tsin with friendly inquiries. The people of Tsin therefore now detained him at the meeting, and when the covenant was made, at Hii-jang, [i.e., Hii-jang], he did not take part in it. He got away to Loo, however, by means of bribes, and the text does not mention the covenant at Hii-jang, to conceal the duke's disgrace in connection with it."

Eighth year.

戊子，夫人嬴氏。夏，六月，公子遂卒，{{會}}。如齊，至黃，乃復。辛巳，有事于大廟，仲遂卒于垂。壬午，猶繹，{{會}}。萬八，{{會}}。辛巳，至黃，乃復。八月，春公至自。
VIII.

1. In his eighth year, in spring, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Hih-jang].

2. In summer, in the sixth month, duke [Chwang’s] son, Suy, went to Ta’e. When he had got to Hwang, he returned.

3. On Sin-sze, there was a sacrifice in the grand temple; and Chung Suy died at Ch’uy.

4. On Jin-woo, the sacrifice was repeated for the next day; but when the pantomimes entered, they put away their flutes.

5. On Mow-tsze, [duke Wān’s] wife, the lady Ying, died.

6. An army of Tsin and the White Teih invaded Ts’in.

7. A body of men from Ts’oo extinguished Shoo-šaou.

8. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kēsh-tsze, the sun was totally eclipsed.

9. In winter, in the tenth month, on Ke-ch’ow, we [had arranged to] bury our duchess, King Ying.

10. Because of rain the interment was not effected; but on [the next day] Kâng-yin, at mid-day, it was completed.

11. [The duke] walled P’ing-yang.

12. An army of Ts’oo invaded Ch’in.
Par. 1. See on V. 1, 2. The Chuen has here
an entry, which terminates very strangely, and
which the Kung-lieh editors do not give, looking
on it, no doubt, as incredible.—This spring,
the White Tiel made peace with Tien, and in
the summer they joined it in an invasion of
Tain. The people of Tain caught a spy of Tain,
and put him to death in Kiang, in the market
place, but on the 6th day he came alive again!

Par. 2. Hwang.—See II. viii. 1. Kuh-Hung
seems to take 时 in the sense of 时命,
reported the execution of his mission,' which
is evidently incorrect. The meaning must be
that given in the translation. From the mention
of Suy's death in the next par., we must conclude
that, when he got to Hwang, he felt himself too ill
to proceed further, and began to retrace his
steps to Loo. The critics are hard upon him
for doing so. Too says it was 'contrary to rule,'
for, having received his ruler's commission, he
should have gone on till he died, and arranged
that his corpse should be carried to the capital of
Tevol.

Parr. 3, 4. Ch'uy was in Tevo,—somewhere in
the borders of the pres. div. of Fung-ying (平
陰), dep. Yen-chow. The phrase 有事—
有事, is from the usage in the Chuen Tevo,—comp.
大事, in VI. ii. 6, and 有事, in XVI. 2.
But what particular sacrifice is intended in the
text is a matter of controversy. Ying-tah and
many other critics think it was the Tsi (祫)
sacrifice;—see on V. viii. 4. Woo Ch'ing
and others hold that it was merely the summer
sensual sacrifice. The discussion of this question
is not important to the elucidation of the
text. The sacrifice was offered on Sin-sze, and that
same day the Kung-tze Suy died at Ch'uy.
The two events are chronicled together, though
it is not likely the news of Suy's death reached
Loo before the offering of the sacrifice. It
reached it, however, before the following day,
when the previous sacrifice was repeated;—see
the note on the name of the 9th Book in the
6th part of the Shoo. That repetition was
comparatively unimportant, and the news of Suy's
death should have prevented it. Hence Too
says it was 'contrary to rule,' and we
have the same decision regarding it, as from
Confucius himself, in the Le Ke, II., Pl. II. ii. 20.

In p. 4, 萬 is the name for the pantomimic
performers at the sacrifice. There were civil
pantomimes (文武) and martial pantomimes
(武舞), and the term 萬 was used to cover
both. Here we are to think only of the
civil. The martial pantomimes carried in their
right hand an axe, and in the left a shield; the
civil carried in their right a phoenix's feather,
and in their left a flute, on which they played.
The flutes were put away on this occasion, their
sound being thought inconsistent with the feel-
ings which the news of Suy's death should pro-
duce. It remains only to speak of the characters
仲遂, in p. 3, the former of which has occasion-
ed the critics great trouble. The 公子
of p. 2 gives place here, it will be seen, to
仲, which was only Suy's designation as
having been the second among his brothers.
It became the surname of his descendants, and
the simplest way of accounting for its employ-
ment here is to suppose, with Maou, that duke
Seyen at once gave it to his deceased relative
and minister as the clan-name (氏) of
himself and his posterity.

Par. 5. This was duke Seyen's mother.
Though only a concubine of duke Wan, she
appears here as his wife,—raised to that rank
by her son. Kuh and Kung have 熊
instead of 陰, making the lady thereby to have been
of the House of Tevo, and not of that of Ta in.

Par. 6. See on III. 6. This is the first
appearance of the white Tiel in the Classic. See
the Chuen at the commencement of this year.

Par. 7. This is with Kung-yang 熊.
Shoo-liou was a small State,—in the pres. div. of
Loo-kang (樂江), dep. Loo-chow, Ganz
way. The other Shoo States were near to it.
Too Yu says seriously that Shoo and Liou
were two States. The Chuen says:—'Tevo,
because the various Shoo States had revolted
from it, attacked Shoo-liou and extinguished
it. The vassal of Tevo laid out its borders,
as far as the banks of the Hwa, took a covenant
from Woo and Yueh, and returned to Ying.'

Par. 8. 既, is 'completely,' as in Ill. 4.
There is an error in the text in the record of this
eclipse. It was total about half past 5
o'clock in the afternoon of Sept. 12, B. C. 600,
thus corresponding to the 1st day of the
eleventh month, which would on that year be Ko-
tsue (甲子), as in the text. Wang Taou
supposes that the 七 in the text should be 十,
and would cast out the 秋, transferring the
冬 from the next par. to the head of this.
But in that way we should have no entry in
this year under the season of autumn,—which
is contrary to the rule of the classic. Perhaps
we should read 秋七月 as a paragraph,
simply saying,—'It was autumn, the 7th month.'
Then this par. will begin 萬十月 which
characters must be removed from p. 9, the day
己丑 of which would still be in the tenth
month,—the 36th day of it.

[The Chuen appends here:—Seu Kih of Tain
had an illness which unsettled his mind. Kitoh
Kiouch became chief minister of the State. In
autumn Seu Kih was discharged from his office,
and Chaoou Soh was appointed assistant-com-
mander of the 8th army.]

Par. 9, 10. Kung and Kuh for 烏鹿
have 烏鹿. But 頤鹿, as a posthumous title is evi-
dently wrong. 敬 so used denotes,—'Day and
night reverently attentive to duty (日夜敬事日敬).

Tao-she records that, at this burial, there being no flux in consequence of drought, they first used ropes made of the fibres of the doliophor to draw the bier. As the burial did not take place till the death after Ke-chou, we must understand this in the translation.

That day had been determined on for the ceremony, after consulting the tortoise-shell, according to the rule mentioned in the Le Ke. I. Part I. v. 33, that the day should be determined at least ten days before. At the interment of a person of rank, however, the number of persons employed and observances to be attended to was so great, that we can readily understand how the business would be stopt by rain, though such delay was not allowed in the case of the burial of a common person.

Tao-she says:—Not to complete the burial because of the rain was according to rule. The rule required that, the tortoise-shell should be consulted about an interment on a distant day, [not less than ten days]; before it took place, to avoid the charge of not being affectionately solicitous in the act of such a duty.' The K'ang-hou editors, however, strongly condemn the delay in the interment, thinking, with Kung and Kuh, that it was occasioned by the want of sufficient care and diligence in making the necessary preparations, even after the day had been fixed so long before.

Par. 11. Ping-yang was a little to the north-west of the present city of Sin-t'ao (新泰), dept. Tso-nan. Tao-she says the record was made to show the seasonable ness of the undertaking.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—Ch'in and T'ai had made peace. An army of Ts'uo, therefore, invaded Ch'in, took terms of submission from it, and returned.

Nine year.

九月，晋侯、宋公、卫侯、郑伯、曹伯、会于扈。

Tso-she.

正月，公如齐。
IX. 1 In his ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.
2 The duke arrived from Ts'e.
3 In summer, Chung-sun Mēeh went to the capital.
4 The marquis of Ts'e invaded Lae.
5 In autumn, [we] took Kin-nōw.
6 In the eighth month, the viscount of Tʻāng died.
7 In the ninth month, the marquis of Ts'in, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Chʻing, and the earl of Ts'en, had a meeting in Hoo.
8 Sūn Lin-foo of Ts'in led the armies [of the above States], and invaded Ch'in.
9 On Sin-yēw, Hii-tʻun, marquis of Ts'in, died in Hoo.
10 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-yēw, Chʻing, marquis of Wei, died.
11 A body of men from Sung laid siege to [the capital of] Tʻāng.
12 The viscount of Ts'en invaded Chʻing; [and] Kēoh Keueh of Ts'in led a force, and relieved it.
13 Ch'in put to death its great officer Sēeh Yay.

The Chun says—In spring, the king had sent to Loo demanding from the duke a mission of friendly inquiries. In summer, [therefore], Mung Hēen went on such a mission to Chow, and the king, considering that he conducted it according to the rules of propriety, gave him rich gifts. Too observes that the king's previous mission is not mentioned in the text, as a gentle condemnation of the king's conduct.

Par. 1, 2. Tso-šēe says nothing on these two par. 3. Fan Ning, Sun Fuh, and other critics, remark on the duke's throwing on one side the mourning for his mother, and going away to Tso; but we have seen that during all his rule the duke was reduced to a miserable subervience to that State.

Par. 3. This Chung-sun Mēeh was the grandson of Kung-sun Geon, whose name occurs so often in Books V. and VI. Of course he was the great-grandson of King-foo, who died, or was obliged rather to struggle himself, in the 24th year of duke Min. Mēeh's posthumous title was Hēen (獻), He was 孟獻子—see the Chun on VI. xiv. 4.
Tenth year.

..
六月，宋師伐滕。公孫歸父如齊，葬齊惠公。公孫歸父帥師伐邾，取郕。

秋，天王使王季子來聘。季孫行父如齊。

冬，公孫歸父如齊。齊侯使國佐來聘。

楚子伐鄭。
X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, the duke went to Ts'e. The duke arrived from Ts'e.
2 The people of Ts'e restored to us the lands of Ts'e-se.
3 In summer, in the the fourth month, on Ping-shin, the sun was eclipsed.
4 On Ke-sze, Yuen, marquis of Ts'e, died.
5 The Head of the Ts'iu family of Ts'e left the State, and fled to Wei.
6 The duke went to Ts'e.
7 In the fifth month, the duke arrived from Ts'e.
8 On Kwei-sze, Hea Ch'ing-shoo of Ch'in murdered his ruler, Ping-kwoh.
9 In the sixth month, an army of Sung invaded Ts'ang.
10 Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Ts'e, to the burial of duke Hway of Ts'e.
11 A body of men from Tsin, one from Sung, one from Wei, and one from Ts'aou, invaded Ch'ing.
12 In autumn, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent his youngest brother to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
13 Kung-sun Kwei-foo led a force to invade Choo, and took Yih.
14 There were great floods.
15 Ke-sun Häng-foo went to Ts'e.
16 In winter, Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Ts'e.
17 The marquis of Ts'e sent K'oh Tao to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
18 There was famine.
19 The viscount of Ts'aoo invaded Ch'ing.

The Chuen says:—'In summer, duke Hway of Ts'e died. Ts'uiy Choo had been a favourite with him, and [the ministers], Kaou and Kwoh, being afraid of Ts'uiy's exercising a pressure upon them, drove him out;—when he fled to Wei. The language of the text,—'The Head of the Ts'uiy family,' shows that he was not driven out for any fault of his (?); moreover, the announcement of it ran,—'Our subject, so and so, Head of the clan so and so, has failed to maintain the charge of his ancestral temple; and we presume to announce the fact.' Such announcement was made to other States in the case of one who had been sent with the mission-jade and offerings of silk (i.e., on missions of friendly inquiries) to them; but not in the case of other officers.'

The reason why we have 崔 杜 here, and not 崔 杜, if indeed the officer was really Choo, need not be anxiously sought. Ts'uiy's canon about it is inadmissible; so is Kung-yang's, that it is to condemn the principle and the practice in Ts'e of hereditary offices (世卿); and
so is Kuh-Isheng's, that it indicates that the
clan, as well as the individual, was driven from
the State.
Par. 6.7. The duke, says Tao-shih, hurried
away to Yew, to be present at the earliest cere-
monies to the deceased marquis. After this he
paid no more visits to Teo.
Par. 8. The Chuen says:—Duke Ling of
Chien, with Kung Ning and F. Hwang-fou, was
drinking in the house of the Hua family [See the
Chuen on the last par. of last year, when the
duke said to Hwang-foo, "Cheung-shoe [The
son of Hua Ke, and Head of the family, as his
father was dead] is like you." "He is also like
your leadership," was the reply. Cheung-shoe
overheard those remarks, and] was indignant at
them; and when the duke was trying to
escape [from the house] by the stable, he shot
and killed him. The two officers fled to Teo.
This is a case in which 'executed' would be a
better rendering really of "死 than 'murdered.'"

Par. 9. The siege of the capital of T'ang by
Sung in the past year [p. 10] had, we may
assume, been fruitless. Now, again, as the Chuen
says, the people of T'ang, relying upon Tain,
would not do service to Sung; and in the 6th
month, an army of Sung invaded T'ang.
Par. 10. Kwoi-foo was the son of Chung
Suy, and of course was himself a Kung-sun,
'grandson' of Duke Chwang. The burial of
duke Huyi took place before the proper time.
Huyi Chwang-foo observes that when we con-
sider how the head of the Teo clan was driven
out of the State immediately after the duke's
death, how the burial was hastened, and how
his son is styled marquis (p. 17) before the year
was expired, there must have been troubles in
Teo, of which we have not any record.
Par. 11. The Chuen says:—Ching had made
peace with Teo. [After the events related on
p. 13 of last year]. The armies of these States,
therefore, invaded Ching, took from it terms of
submission, and returned.
Par. 12. Kung-yang says that 'the king's
younger son' here introduced was the reigning
king's full brother. His father therefore was
king K'ing [頃王]. The prince's descendants
were dukes of Lii, and the Chuen here calls
him duke Kung of Lii,' adding that his visit
was in return for that of Mau. Huen to the
court, in p. 8 of last year.
Par. 13. Yew was a city of Choe,—in the
province of Teo, the dep. of Teyi, Choe. But
in the Chuen on p. 11, the capital of Choe appears removed to Yew; and the taking of
Yew would be equivalent to extinguishing
Choe, which, we know, was not the case. On
this account, the Kung-he editors incline to
adapt the reading of Kung-yang.—of 賜 he
Par. 14. Tao-shih says:—Ke Wan went on a
friendly mission to Teo, for the 1st time, since
the accession of the new marquis.
Par. 15. Teo-shih says:—In winter Tae-kao
(Kung-sun Kwoi-foo's designation) went to Teo,
with reference to our invasion of Choe.
Par. 16. Tao-shih says:—Kwoi Wou (武)
was the posthumous title of Kwoi T'ang's
mission was in return for that of Ke Wan, in p. 14.
Par. 17. Sun Fuh defines the term 'male/female'
as descriptive of the crops not coming to
maturity: 'the five kinds of grain not ripening
(五穀不登).'
Par. 18. The Chuen says:—The vicissi-
tude of Teo invaded Ching [See the reason on
p. 11]. See Huyi of Tain relieved it, and
drove the army of Teo to the north of the Yin.
Tae-kao (The Kung-tao Kwoi-foo) died, and
the people proceeded to punish the authors of
the disorder in which duke Yew died. They
broke open the coffin of Tae-kao, and drove all
the branches of the family from the State.
They changed the grave of duke Yew, and gave
him the posthumous title of Ling.
陳於公氏行納子。<br>
父儀孫。丁玄。

夏徵<wbr/>

楚成子求成於衆秋，衆秋然赤之役，遂服於晉。<br>
會於撝函，衆秋服也，是行也，諸大夫欲召狄，成子曰：吾聞之，非德莫如勤。非勤何以求人，能勤有繼其從之也，詩曰文王既勤止文王猶勤況實德乎？

冬，楚子為陳夏氏亂故，伐陳，謂陳人無動，將討於少西氏，遂入陳，殺夏徵舒，舒諸侯，因陳陳侯在晉申叔使於齊反復命而退，王使讓之曰：夏徵舒為不道，弑其君，率人以諸侯討而戮之，諸侯公，皆慶寡人，安獨不慶寡人，何故對曰，猶可言乎，言乎，王曰：可哉，夏徵舒弑其君，其罪大矣，討而戮之，其義也，抑人，亦有言曰，牽牛，以蹊人之田，而奪之牛，牽牛，以蹊人之田，而奪之，皆可言乎？

三月，發陳，取一人焉以歸諸夏州，故書曰：楚子入陳納公孫，儀行父於陳，有禮也，簡言之，鄭伯遂歸自是楚未得志焉，鄭既受盟於辰陵，又徵事於晉。

XI. 1 It was the [duke's] eleventh year, the spring, the king's first month.

2 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ch'ın, and the earl of Ch'ing, made a covenant in Shin-ling.

3 Kung-sun Kwei-foo joined an officer of Ts'e in invading Keu.

4 In autumn, the marquis of Tsin had a meeting with the Teih in Tswan-han.
5 In winter, in the tenth month, the people of Ta'o entered the territory of Ch'in.
6 On Ting-hae, the vassal of Ta'o entered the capital of Ch'in.
7 He restored Kung-sun Ning and E Hăng-foo to Ch'in.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—"This spring, the vassal of Ta'o invaded Ch'ing. Because of the action in the Chuen on par. 12 of the 9th year, and advanced, as far as Leih. Tae-lüang (K'eu-tah of the Chuen on IV.8) said, "Tain and Ta'o make no effort to show kindness (to smaller States), but keep struggling for the superiority—there is no reason why we should not take the side of the (first) concern. They have no faith—why should we show such faith?" Accordingly, Ch'ing accepted the demands of Ta'o; and in summer, Ta'o took a covenant in Shin-lung, when Ch'in and Ch'ing made their submission to it.

Shin-lung was in Ch'in—40 li to the north-west of the city of Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan.

Kung has 夔陵. This was the 2d time at which the chief of Ta'o presided over a meeting of other princes. The 1st time was in the 27th year of duke Hu.

[The Chuen adds here:—"Tze-ch'ung, minister of the Left, of Ta'o, made an incursion into Sung, while the king (i.e., the vassal) waited at Yan. Wei Gaa-li, the chief minister, undertook the warfare of Sze, and appointed the border-warden to make the arrangements and calculations for the business. He then gave these to the superintendent of the work, who estimated the labour to be done, and the number of days; gave out all the money that was necessary for it; adjusted the frames, and provided the baskets and stampers, and other articles for raising the walls; appointed equally their tasks, according to the distance of the labourers from the place; marked out with his foot the foundations; supplied the provisions; and determined the inspectors. The work was completed in 30 days, exactly in accordance with the previous calculations.

Par. 8. Notwithstanding the operations of the Ch'ung and Loo against K'ao in the duke's 4th year, that State, it would appear, continued to maintain a hostile attitude, which led to the invasion in the text.

Par. 4. We have here probably the issue of the policy towards the Ch'ung, recommended to the marquis of Tain in the Chuen appended to VI. 4. The Chuen says here:—"K'ung Ch'ing [K'ung K'e; Kung K'ao] of Tain sought for terms of peace from the Tain; and all the rest of their tribes, being distressed and indifferent at the services required from them by the Red Tain, made submission to Tain. The meeting this autumn was on the occasion of their doing so. In regard to the marquis's going to them, all the great officers wished to call the chiefs of the Tain [to Tain], but K'ung Ch'ing said, "Where there is no virtue, the next best thing is to show earnest diligence. Without such diligence, how can we seek for the adherence of others? If we can show it, however, [success] will follow. Let the marquis go to them." It is said in the ode (Shu. IV. 1. [Ill.] X.),

"King Wan did indeed labour earnestly.

[If king Wan did so, how much more ought we, who are of such inferior virtue?"

T'ao-wan-han was in the territory of the Tui, but its site has not been more exactly determined.

Par. 5—7. See IX. 16, and X. 8, with the Chuen on them. The Chuen says here:—"In winter, the vassal of Ta'o, because of the deed perpetrated by the head of the Hsia family, invaded Ch'ing, publishing a notice to the people that they should make no movement, or he wished to punish only the head of the Shao-see 諸侯 was the name of the grand-father of Ch'ing-sho. His designation was T'ao-juh-chih. Fortworth he entered [the capital of] Ch'in, and put to death Hsia Ching-sho, having him torn in pieces by chariots (See the 1st Chuen, appended to XVII. 9) at the Leih gate. He then proceeded to make Ch'in a district of Ta'o.

At this time, the marquis of Ch'in was in Tain; and Shuh of Shih had been sent [by the vassal] to T'ao. When Shuh returned, he reported the discharge of his mission, and withdrew, [without saying anything about the affairs of Ch'in]. The king sent to reproach him, saying, "Hsia Ch'ing-sho acted very wickedly, murdering his ruler. With [the forces of my own and] other States I have punished and executed him. The princes of those States and the dukes of our districts have all congratulated me; what is the reason that you alone have offered no congratulation?" "May I still call him king?" replied Shuh. "You may not call him the king; and Shuh continued, "The crime of Ch'ing-sho in murdering his ruler was great, and you performed a righteous deed in punishing and executing him. But the people here dislike the killing. "He led his ox through his man's field, and the ox was taken from him."

Now he that so led his ox to trample on another man's field indeed committed an offence; but when his ox was taken from him, the punishment was too severe. The princes followed you in this enterprise, saying it was to punish a criminal; but now you have made Ch'in one of your districts, desiring its riches. You called out the princes to punish an offender, and you are sending them away after satisfying your covetousness—does not this seem improper?"

The king replied, "Good! I had not heard this view of the case! Can I still give Ch'in back?"

That," said Shuh, "will be an instance of what we small men call "Taking a thing from one's breast and giving it [back]."

"The vassal accordingly restored the State of Ch'in; but from each of such its villages he took a man, and carried them with him to Ta'o, where he settled them in a place which he called Hsien-chow. Hence what the text says,—"The vassal
of Ts'oo entered Ch'in, and restored Kung-sun Ning, and E Häng-foo." is said to show how the viscount observed the rules of propriety.'

The viscount of Ts'oo did right in not appropriating Ch'in to himself; but most western readers will form a very different judgment from Ts'-she on his execution of Hsin Chîng-shoo and his restoration of the two villains, K'ung Ning and E Häng-foo. Here, as elsewhere, Kung-yang has given for Ts'oo.

(The Chuen adds here:—'After the affair at Le [See on IX. 12], the earl of Ch'ing made his escape home, and [the viscount of] Ts'oo was not able subsequently to obtain his desire. And though Ch'ing accepted a covenant [from Ts'oo] this year at Shin-ling, it kept trying to strengthen itself by doing service to Ts'in.')

Twelfth year.

楚子圍鄭，

楚子圍鄭，

楚子圍鄭，

冬十有二月，戊寅，楚子滅蕭。

宋師伐陳，衛人救陳。

夏六月癸卯，晉荀林父帥師及楚子戰於邲，晉師敗績。
爭軍，宵密，亦終夜有聲，丙辰，楚重於郊，遂次於衛，雍在 Nuevo，君盡其武軍，而收晉戶，以為絳館，臣聞克敵，必示子孫以無忘武功，楚子曰，非爾所知也，天文止戈，為武，武王克商，作頌曰，載戢干戈，載韶弓矢，我求懿德，肆于時夏。先王保之。又作武，其卒章曰，書定爾功，其三日，鋪時絳，我祖惟求定，六曰，經萬邦，履諸侯，兵不戢，兵不戢，以戎車政，有德，武有七德，我無一焉，何以示子孫，其為明王伐不群取其簠簋而封之，以為大饗之肉，於是乎有明覲之以禮，無德而強爭諸侯，何以和？和，孟國師而立公，子魚之臣，辛未，鄭殺僕叔，及子服君。子曰，史既所謂毋怙亂者。謂是類也。詩曰，亂離騈矣，爰其適歸歸於怙亂者，夫鄭伯許男如楚。

于時夏，先王保之。又作武，其卒章曰，書定爾功，其三日，鋪時絳，我祖惟求定，六曰，經萬邦，履諸侯，兵不戢，兵不戢，以戎車政，有德，武有七德，我無一焉，何以示子孫，其為明王伐不群取其簠簋而封之，以為大饗之肉，於是乎有明覲之以禮，無德而強爭諸侯，何以和？和，孟國師而立公，子魚之臣，辛未，鄭殺僕叔，及子服君。子曰，史既所謂毋怙亂者。謂是類也。詩曰，亂離騈矣，爰其適歸歸於怙亂者，夫鄭伯許男如楚。
死國言先之，陳，為其不貳，先之，取，焉，是，吾，履，言，於，於，於，於，於，於，於，於，於，於，於

XII. 1 In the duke's twelfth year, in spring, there was the burial of duke Ling of Ch'in.

2 The viscount of Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Ch'ing.

3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Yih-maoou, Senn Lin-foo of Tsin led a force, and fought with the viscount of Ts'oo at Peih,- when the army of Tain was disgracefully defeated.

4 It was autumn, the seventh month.

5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Mow-yin, the viscount of Ts'oo extinguished Sëaou.

6 An officer of Tsin, one of Sung, one of Wei, and one of Ts'au, made a covenant together at Ts'ing-k'êw.

7 An army of Sung invaded Ch'in, [but] a body of men from Wei relieved it.

Par. 1. Twenty-two months had elapsed since the death of duke Ling at the hands of Hèa Ch'ing-shoou. We can hardly suppose that his body had been unburied all that time. Perhaps the rites of interment were not performed in a more formal and solemn manner, the coffin being deposited in a new grave.

Par. 2. The Chuen at the end of last year was preparatory to this par., to supply the reason for the fresh invasion of Ch'ing by Ts'oo. We have here the following narrative:—In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo had held the capital of Ch'ing in siege for 17 days, when the people divided whether it would be well for them to accept conditions of peace, but the answer was not favourable. They then divided whether they should weep in the grand temple, and bring forth their chariots into the streets [i.e., probably, to be ready for removing where Ts'oo might direct]; and the reply was favourable. The people of the city made a great weeping, and the keepers of the parasols all cried aloud, so that the viscount of Ts'oo withdrew his men, till the people repaired the wall. He then advanced and renewed the siege, when the place was reduced on the end of three months. He entered the city by the Hwang gate, and proceeded to the principal streets, where he met by the earl of Ch'ing, with his staff exposed, and leading a sheep. "Uncared for by Heaven," said the earl, "I could not serve your lordship, and arouse your anger, till it has been discharged upon my city. The offence is all mine; and I loose nothing now but wait for your command. If you can carry me away to the south of the Kang, to occupy the land by the shores of the sea, be it so. If you take the State and give it to some other as its ruler, to whom I shall be as in the position of a handmaid, be it so. If you kindly regard former relations of friendship between our States, and to obtain blessing from [the kings] Le and Széen, and from [the dukes] Hwan and Woo, you do not extinguish our altars, so that I may change my course, and serve your lordship equally with the governors of the nine districts [which you have established], that will be your kindness, and it is my desire, but it is what I do not dare to hope for. I have presumed to disclose to you all my heart; your lordship will take your measures accordingly."

His attendants urged the viscount not to grant [the earl's request], urging that, having got the State, he ought not to forgive him; but the king replied, "Since the ruler of Ch'ing can humble himself thus, he must be able to secure the faith of his people; how can I hope to obtain the State?" With this he retired 30 li, and granted peace. Fwan Wang entered the city and made a covenant, and Tseu-tsang left it to be a hostage [with Ts'oo].

Par. 3. Peih was in Ch'ing,—it is to the east of Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—"In summer, in the sixth month, the armies of Tain [marched to] relieve Ch'ing. Seun Lin-foo commanded the army of the centre [In place of Kéih Kusch], with Seun Hwok as his assistant [In room of Lin-foo]. See Hwai commanded the first army, with Kéih K'uch as his assistant [In room of Chou Shou]. Chou Shou commanded the 3 army, with Twan Shou as his assistant. Chou Kwok and Chou Yüg were the great officers of the army of the centre; Kung Shou and Chou Chuen, those of the 1st army; and Shou Shou and Chou Tung, those of the 3rd army. Han Kanch was marshal of the host.

When they reached the Ho, they heard that Ch'ing had made peace with Ts'oo, and Hwan-t'ae [Hwan was Lin-foo's posthumous title] wished to return, saying, "We are too late for the relief of Ch'ing; what will be the use now of perilling the lives of our people? Let us wait till Ts'oo has retired, and then make a movement [against Ch'ing]."
Woo-tze of Say (See Hway) approved of this view, and said, "According to what I have heard, military enterprises should be undertaken only when there is an opportunity of prosecuting them with advantage. And the kind of success which arises from the virtue and justice in his person, the enforcement of the government, the order of the army, the right regulation of different affairs, and the statutes and rules of his State, is not to be contended with: it is not against such a one that we conduct punitive expeditions. Now when the army of Ta-oo punished Ch'in, there was anger because of the double dealing, and compulsion when the Great Chancellor was humbled himself. When it revolted from him, (the viscount) invaded it. When it submitted, he forgave it;—his kindness and justice were established. There was the justice of punishment in the attack of revolt; there was the kindness of virtue in the gentle dealing with submission. Both these things were shown."

"[Again], last year Ta-oo entered the capital of Ch'in, and this year it entered that of Ch'iung; but his people have not complained of the fatigue and toil, nor murmured against him. This is the reason why well its government is ordered."

[Then] throughout Ta-oo, when its forces are called out according to its system, its flourishing merchants, handicraftsmen, mechanics, and stationers, have not their several occupations injuriously interfered with, and the footmen and chariot-men act in harmony with one another;—showing how collision is avoided in its ordering of affairs.

[Further], when Wei Gaou became chief minister, he selected the best statutes of Ta-oo. When the army is marching, the (footmen of the) right keep on either side of the chariot, and those of the left go in quest of grass and rushes. The bearers of the standards of the snow keep in advance, looking out anxiously that nothing occur for which there is not preparation. The troops in the centre are ready to act as occasion may require, while behind them is the strength of the army.

The different officers move according to the signals displayed, and the ordering of the army is ready for any emergency, without special orders for it being given. Thus is Ta-oo able to carry out its statutes.

[Again], whereas the viscount of Ta-oo rules individuals to office, they are of the same surname with himself, chosen from among his relatives, and of other surnames, chosen from the old servants of the State. But offices are given with due respect to the necessary qualifications, and rewards are conferred according to the service performed, while at the same time additional kindness is shown to the aged. Strangers receive gifts, and enjoy various exemptions. Officers and the common people have different dresses to distinguish them. The noble have a defined standard of honour; the mean have to comport themselves according to different degrees. Thus are the rules of propriety observed in Ta-oo.

"Now why should we enter on a struggle with a State which thus manifests kindness, carries out justice, perfects its government, and observing its undertakings, follows its statutes, and observing the rules of propriety? To advance when you see advance is possible, and withhold in face of difficulties, is a good way of moving an army; to absorb weak States, and attack those that are willfully blind, is a good rule of war. Do you for the present order your army accordingly, and follow that maxim. There are other States that are weak and willfully blind; why must you deal with Ta-oo, as if it were so? There are the words of Chung Hway (Shoo, IV. ii. 7). "Take their States from the disorderly, deal summarily with those that are going to rule, subdue those that are weak. The Choh ode (She, IV. L [Ill.] VIII) (also) says, "Oh! powerful was the royal army. But he nourished it in obedience to circumstances, while the time was yet dark;—the king's object was to deal with the blind."

[Again], in the Woo (She, IV. L [I.] IX.) it is said, "Irresistible was his armour.

If you soothe (for a time) the weak, and bring on the willful blindness, aiming at armour [like that of Woo], you will pursue the proper course."

Che-tze (Shoo Hway), then, said, "This counsel is not good. Ts'in obtained the leadership of the States by the prowess of its armies and the strength of its leaders. But now it is losing the States, and its strength cannot be spoken of. If, when the enemy is before us, we do not follow him, we cannot be said to have prowess. If we are to lose our chief place among the States, the best thing we can do is to die. Moreover, we marched out with our armies in array; if, because the enemy is strong, we retire, we shall not be men. To begin with our ruler's charge to a command in the army, and to end with not being a man—you all may play that part, but I will not do so." Upon this with the portion of the army of the centre under his command, he crossed the Ho.

Chang-tze of Che (Soun Shew) said, "This army is in great peril. The case is that indicated in the change of the diagram Sze (一) into Lin (印刷). (On Sze) it is said, "A host must be led forth according to the rules of service. If these be not good, there will be evil." When the commanders all observe their proper harmony, the rules are good; if they oppose one another, they are not. (The change of 一 into indicates] the separation of the host producing weakness; it is the stopping up of a stream so as to form a marsh. The rules of service are turned into each one's taking his own way. Hence the words,—the rules become not good;—they are as if it were dried up. The full stream is dried up; it is stopped and cannot have its course; consequently evil anxieties ensue. Lin (moreover) is the name for what does not proceed. When a commander does not follow the orders of his leader, what greater want of on-going could there be? and it is the case we now have. If we do meet the enemy we are sure to be defeated; and the calamity will be owing to Che-tze. Though he should now escape, yet, on his return to Ts'in, great evil will await him."

Han Hieu-tze (Han Kowh) said to Hwan-tze, "Che-tze with his portion of the army has committed a grave offence. But you are commander-in-chief;—whose offence is it that the generals do not obey your orders? You have
lost our subject State (Ch'ing); and if you lose this army, your offence will indeed be heavy;—you had better advance. If the affair does not prove successful, there will be others to share the blame. Will it not be better for you to bear the blame as one of six than to bear it alone?"

'The whole army then crossed the Ho. The viscount of Tu'o was halting, with his army looking northwards, at Ten. The governor of Shin commanded the centre; Tze-ch'ung, the left; and Tze-fan, the right. The viscount meant to water their horses at the Ho, and then return to Tu'o. When he heard that the army of Ten had crossed, he wanted to withdraw before it; but his favourite, Woo T'can, wished to fight. Shuh-sun Gao, the chief minister of Tu'o, did not wish [to fight], and said, "Last year we entered Chin, and this year we have entered Ch'ing;—it cannot be said that we have accomplished nothing. If we fight and do not succeed, will the eating Tu'o's flesh be sufficient to atone for the result?" T'au was replied, "If the battle be gained, you will be proved to have been incapable of planning. If it is lost, my flesh will be in the army of Ten, and you will not get it to eat."

'The chief minister then turned his chariot to the south, and ordered the great standard to be carried back. But Woo T'can said to the king, "Ten's chief minister is new, and cannot make his bow. His assistant commander, Seen Hwob, is violent and headstrong, without any benevolence, and unwilling to obey the other's commands. The generals of the three armies would each take the chief control, but not one of them can do so. In comfort there is no supreme head; whom can the multitudes follow? In this expedition Ten cannot fail to be defeated. Moreover, if your majesty flee before a subject of Ten, what becomes of the honour of our altars?" The king felt powerfully these representations, and told the chief minister to change the course of the chariots, and proceed northwards. He then halted at Kwan to await the army of Ten, which was approaching.

[In the meantime], Hwang Shih of Ch'ing came on a mission to the army of Ten, saying, "Ch'ing has submitted to Tu'o only to preserve its altars, and does not wave in its preference for you. The army of Tu'o is proud with repeated victories, and weary with the length of its service. Nor does it make preparations for an engagement. If you attack it, the army of Ch'ing will account you; and Tu'o is sure to be defeated." Che-tse said, "The defeat of Tu'o, and the securing the adherence of Ch'ing, both depend on this action. We must agree to the envoy's proposal." Lwan Woo-tse (Lwan Shoo), however, urged, "Since the time when Tu'o subdued Yang [see above], its ruler has let on day pass without training and instructing his men, saying, 'Ah! the people's welfare is not easily secured. Calamity can come without a day's warning. You must be cautious and apprehensive, never to be so idle!' In the army [also], he has not slept a day without looking after the weapons, and admonishing the men, saying, 'Ah! victory cannot be made sure of. There was Chow, who, after a hundred conquests, yet left none to succeed him. He has also incited us three of Juh-
1 The viceroy of T'voo, however, sent another message to ask for peace with Tain, which was agreed to on the part of Tain; and a day was set for a covenant.

2 In the meantime, Hien Ph' of T'voo drove Yo P'ih, with Sheh Shinh on the right, to Tung, to treat and provoke the army of Tain. Hien Ph' said, ‘I have heard that when an array is flushed, the driver urges his chariot, with the flag shaking, close to the entrenchments, and then returns.’ Yo P'ih said, ‘I have heard that when the spearman on the right enters the entrenchments, cuts off an ear, takes another man prisoner, and returns.’ They all three did as they had heard, and were returning, pursued by the men of Tain, who came after them like two horns, from the left, and the right. Yo P'ih shot the horses on the left, and the men on the right, so that the pursuers could not advance. He had but one arrow left, when a stag rose up before the chariot, which he shot right into its heart. This stag was right behind him, when he made Sheh Shinh take the stag, and present it to the pursuer, saying, ‘It is not the season of the year for such a thing, the time for presenting animals has not arrived; but I will promise you this to your followers.’ Pao Kei stepped the pursuer, saying, ‘He on the left shoots well; be on the right speaks well—they are superior men.’ So they got off. Wei E [a son of Wei Heng, the Chou Ch'nom, p. 4] of Tain had asked to be appointed among the ducal clans [See the Chou at the end of the 2nd year], and been refused. In his resentment he wished to bring on the defeat of the army, and save the land. The commander-in-chief to allow him to flush the army of T'voo. This was refused; but his further request to be sent with a message to it was granted; so he went, challenged T'voo to battle, and was returning.

3 When E had got to the marsh of Yung, he saw six stage, and shot one of them. Then turning round, he presented it to Tung, saying, ‘Amid the business of the army, your hunters may be permitted to sup you with fresh meat, and I venture to present this for your followers.’

On this Shuh-tang gave orders to leave off the pursuit.

4 Choua Ch'un [son of Choua Ch'nom] had asked to be a minister [in Tain], and been refused. He was angry, moreover, at the escape of the party of T'voo which had flushed the army, and begged to be allowed to go and provoke a battle. This was refused, but he was allowed to go; and call T'voo to a covenant. So he and Wei E both went to the army of T'voo on their several missions.

5 Keh Hien-tze [Keh Kih] said, ‘These two dissatisfied spirits are gone. If we do not make preparations, we are sure to be defeated.’ The 'tze-tze said, ‘The people of Ch'ing advised us to fight, and we do not dare to follow their counsel. T'voo asked for peace, and we are not able to come to terms with it. T'voo is no acknowledged authority for the army; what can many preparations do?’ See Ke [Son Hwuy] said, ‘It is well to be prepared. If those two erauge T'voo, and its army come suddenly upon us, we shall lose our army in no time. Our best plan is to make preparations [for a battle].’ If T'voo do not make an attempt upon us, we can remove our preparations, and make a covenant, without the bellicose injury to a good understanding. If it do make an attempt, being prepared for it, we shall not be defeated. Even in the case of an interview between two princes, they take the precaution not to dispense with a guard of troops.’

Che-tsang [still] refused to agree to this proposal, and Sek. Ke sent Kung Soh and Han Chuen to place ambushments in front of Gaon. By this means the 1st army was saved from the defeat [which ensued]. Choua Ying-ke's sent a party to prepare boats at the Ho; and in this way, though he shared in the defeat, he and his men were the first to cross the river.

6 When P'wan Tang had driven away Wei E, Choua Ch'un came to him, and asked for the army of T'voo; and having spread his mat outside the gate of the camp, he sent his followers in. There were the two bodies of the viceroy's own chariots, drawn up on the right and left. Those on the left had all of them, while the horses yoked from day-break till mid-day; and those on the left had then been similarly harnessed until sun-down. Hien Yen was charioteer to the king in the body on the right, with Yang T'ao-ko as spearman; while Pao Kei performed the same duty on the left, with Keh Tung as spearman.

On Tih-moo, the king at the head of the chariots of the left, drove out to pursue Choua Ch'un, who abandoned his chariot, and ran into a wood, pursued by Keh Tung, who got his buff-coat and lower garment. [Meanwhile], being afraid in the camp of Tain that the two officers would manœuvre the army of T'voo, they had sent some large chariots to meet them. P'wan Tang, seeing at a distance the dust raised by these, sent a horseman with all speed to tell the king that the army of Tain was advancing.

7 The men of T'voo, [on their side] also, were afraid lest the king should enter the army of Tain, and issued from their camp in order of battle. Sun Shinh said, ‘Let us advance. It is better that we set upon them than let them set upon us. The ode says (She, II. lit. ode III, 4),’

8 ‘Ten large war chariots Led the van;—’

the object was to be beforehand with the enemy. The ‘Art of War’ [also] says, ‘Anticipate your enemy, and you take away his heart.’ Let us press on them.” Accordingly he hurried on the army. The carriages dashed along, and the footmen seemed to fly; and as they felt the army of Tain. Hwan-tse did not know what he was doing, but ordered the drums to be beaten in the army, crying out, “A reward to those who first cross the river!” The army of the centre and the 3rd army stood still, till the fingers of those trying to get in, and that were cut off by those who had already got possession could be taken up with both hands at once. The other armies moved to the right of the 1st, which alone held its place without moving. Te, minister of Works [in T'voo], led the troops which had occupied the left front to pursue the 3rd army. [At the same time], the
visecount sent Tang Hiaou and Tseun Kao-kuei with a message to the marquis Huuyi of Tung, saying, "All unworthy I am, and in my ambitious desires I have encountered a great enemy. I acknowledge my offence; but if T'woo do not conquer, it will be your lordship's disgrace. I write to depend on your powerful influence to complete the victory of my army." While sending this message, he ordered T'wan Tang, with 40 of the chariots of reserve, to follow the marquis of T'ang, and to act on the left by following the 1st army [of Tsin]. Kew Ph, (Kob K Yi) said, "Shall we await their onset?" Ke of Suy replied, "The army of T'woo is in the flush of its might. If it now collect around us, we are sure to be destroyed. Our best plan is to gather in our troops, and retreat. We shall share the reproach of the other armies, but we shall save the lives of the people." He then placed his own troops in the rear of the retreating forces, and retired without being defeated.

The king, seeing his own chariots of the right, wished to continue the pursuit in one of them; but K'eh Tung stopped him, saying, "You began with this, and you must end with this." From this time in T'woo the chariots of the left got the precedence.

In the flight, a chariot belonging to Tsin sank in a rut, and could not proceed. A man of T'woo told its occupant to take out the frame for weapons. After this, it advanced a little, and the horses wanted to turn. The same man advised to take out the large flag-staff, and lay it crosswise. When this was done, the carriage got out of the hole, when its occupant turned round and said to his helper, "We are not so accustomed to fly as the soldiers of your great State!"

Ch'ou K'ee gave his two best horses to assist his elder brother and his uncle, and was going back with the others, when he met the enemy, and was unable to escape them. He abandoned his chariot therefore, and ran into a wood. The great officer Tung was driving past with his two sons, and (catching sight of Ch'en), he told them not to look round. They did so, however, and said, "The old great officer Ch'ou is behind us." He was angry with them, and made them dismount, pointing to a tree, and saying, "Let me find your bodies there." He then gave the reins to Ch'en, who thus made his escape. The other, next day, found his sons' bodies at the spot which he had marked.

Huang Hoo-kue of T'woo took Ying of Chu prisoner; and when T'ing's father, Ch'uang-tse, knew it, he returned to the battle-field with the soldiers of his own clan. Wun-tze of Ch'ao [Wei E] acting as his charioteer, and many soldiers of the 4th army following him. Whenever he drew out an arrow, though it seemed to be useless, he fixed it in the quiver of Wun-tze, till the latter was angry, and said, "Are you not looking for your son? Indeed, you do not seem to look for him. You must not shoot an arrow that I cannot be sure of." He then shot the Leu-yin, Shang Lai-yen killed him, and took the body into the carriage. Another arrow hit the Kung-tze of Kueh-shen, whom he made prisoner; and these two trophies obtained, he returned to the army of Tsin. When it was dusk, the army of T'woo encamped in Feth, while that remained of that of Tsin could not encamp above there, but kept crossing the Ho all the night, the noise of its movements never ceasing.

On Pung-shin the heavy wagons of T'woo were brought to Puli, and the visecount went on to P'ing-ying. When Tang said to him, "Why should your lordship not signalize your triumph by making a mound, and collect in it the bodies of the Tsinites so as to form a grand monument? I have heard that successful battles should be shown to posterity, so that the prowess of them may not be forgotten." The visecount said, "You do not know what you are talking about. The character for "prouess," is formed by those for "to stay" and "a spear" (P'oo-I and E).

When king Woo had subdued Shang, he made the ode, which says (She, IV.1. [L.] VIII.),

He has called in shields and spears; He has returned to their home haws and arrows.
I will seek true virtue, And display it throughout the great land, That all may know that I may indeed preserve our appointment.

He also made the Woo (P'oo; She, IV.1. [ll.] X.), of which the last stanza says,

So he firmly established his merit.

The 6th stanza says (She, IV.1. [ll.] X. This is not now a part of the Woo song).

We wish to develop the purpose (of king Wu).
And go to seek the settlement of the kingdom.

The 6th stanza says (She, IV.1. [iii.] X.),

He gave repose to all the States.
And there ceased several years of plenty.

Thus military prowess is seen in the repression of cruelty, the calling in of the weapons of war, the preservation of the great appointment, the firm establishment of one's merit, the giving repose to the people, the harmonizing all the States, and the enlargement of the general wealth; and king Woo took care by those stanzas that his posterity should not forget this. Now I have caused the homes of the soldiers of two States to lie bleeding on the earth:—an act of cruelty; I display my weapons of war to save the States:—thus unable to call them in. Cruel and not calling in the weapons of war, how can I preserve the great appointment? And while still the State of Tsin remains, how can I firmly establish my merit? There are many things by which I oppress what the people desire, and how can they get repose from me? Without the practice of virtue, striving by force for supremacy among the States, how can I produce harmony among them? I have made my gain from the perils of others, and found my safety in their disorders;—these things are my glory, but what enlargement of the general wealth is there to them? Not one of the seven virtues belonging to the military prowess attaches to me:—what have I to display to my posterity? Let us simply make here a temple for the tables of my predecessors, and announce to
them our success. The merit of military prowess does not belong to me.

"Moreover, in ancient times, when the invading kings punished disrespectful and disobedient States, they took the greatest criminals among them, and buried them under a mound as the greatest punishment. Thus it was that great monuments were made for the warning of the nearby and all. But now when it is not certain to whom the guilt can positively be ascribed, and the people have all with the utmost loyalty died in fulfilling their ruler's commands, what grounds are there for rearing a grand monument?"

"After this the viscount offered sacrifice at the Ho, reared a temple for the tablets of his predecessors, announced to them the successful accomplishment of his enterprise, and returned to Te'oo.

"At this time, Shih Che of Ch'ing entered the army of Te'oo, and proposed to divide Ch'ing into two States, and appoint the Kung-tze Yu-shih over one of them. On Sin-wei, Ch'ing put to death P'uh-shih (Yu-shih) and T'ai-fu (Shih Che). The superior man may say that what the historiographer Yih remarked about not taking advantage of people's troubles was applicable to such parties. The ode says (She, II. v. ode X. 2),

"In such distress of disorder and separation, Whither can I betake myself?"

They betook themselves to those who have taken advantage of the trouble and disorder!"

Par. 4. [The Chuen appends here:—"If the earl of Ch'ing and the baron of Heu went to Te'oo," 2d, "In autumn, the army of T'ai returned, and Hsun-tze (Senn Lin-fou) requested that he might be put to death. The marquis was about to accede to the request, when Shih Ching-tze [a member of the Shih clan. His name was 滕濱, a-U-chih] said, "Do not do so. After the battle of Shing-puh [in the 25th year of Duke Hsü], the army of T'ai fed for 3 days on the grain [of the enemy], but there was still sorrow on the countenance of Duke Han. His attendants said to him: "On an occasion of such joy you are still sorrowful; would you be joyful in time of sorrow?" The duke replied, "While T'ai-shih is still alive, my sorrow cannot cease. A wild beast in the tails will still fight; how much more the chief minister of a State?" When Te'oo put T'ai-yuh [T'ai-shih] to death, the joy of the duke could then be seen by all. He said, "There is now none to embitter my peace." In fact [the death of T'ai-shih] was a second victory to T'ai, and a second defeat to Te'oo; and through the time of two rulers Te'oo could not again show itself strong. Now Heaven has, it may be, given a great warning to T'ai; but if you now proceed to put to death Lin-fou, thereby giving a second victory to Te'oo, will not T'ai be reduced for a long time to a state of weakness?" Lin-fou's service of his ruler has been of this character, thus, in an advance, his thought has been how to display his loyalty, and, when obliged to withdraw, his thought has been how to retrieve his errors;—he is a bulwark in the altars of T'ai, and what ground can you put him to death? His defeat is like an eclipse of the sun or moon; what injury does an eclipse do to those bodies?"

On this, the marquis of Te'oo ordered Hsun-tze to resume his office.

Par. 5. [Sic]—See V. xxx. 6. Too observes that there was no Mou-yin day in the 12th month of this year. Mou-yin was the 9th day of the 11th month. The Chuen says:—"In winter the viscount of Te'oo invaded Shih, which Hwa Ta-sou of Sung, with a body of men from Ta-ne, endeavored to relieve. The people of Sicau held as prisoners Hwung-siang K-linou and the Kung-tze Ping. The king said, "Do not put them to death, and I will retire." They put them to death, however, which enraged the king, so that he laid siege to their city; when the people dispersed. Woo-shih, duke of Shih, said to the king, "Many of the soldiers are suffering from the cold," on which he sent the soldiers to round all the heat, comforting the soldiers and encouraging them, which made them feel as if they were clad in quilted garments. They then approached Sicau, when Sicau Woo-shay spoke with the marshal Maou, and asked him, asking Shih-chen of Shih to him. Shih-chen said, "Have you any wheaten cakes made with heaven?" "No," said the other. "Have you any spirits made from the hill grass?" "No," was the reply again. "What then will you do when your belly is pained with the fish from the river?" asked Shih-chen. The other replied, "Look into a dry well, and save me out of it." "If you place a band of rushes on it," [said Shih-chen,] "I will know it." And when you hear the sound of weeping near the well, it will be I.""

Next day, the people of Sicau dispersed. Shih of Shih looked for the well, and there was the rush-band at it. He then went, and brought out [his friend] Woo-shih.

Par. 6. The K'un-ke editors observe that here for the first time we have the great officers of States covenanting together about the affairs of their States. Kung-k'iu was in Wei, 70 in the south-east of the present K'ueh-chow. dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. Tsou-she says:—"Hwich of Yuen (Shen Hwuh), Hwa Ta-sou of Sung, Ta-h of Wei, and an officer of Ta-ne, covenant together at T'ung-kio, to the effect that they would compassionate States which were in distress, and punish those that were disaffected." He adds, "The names of the ministers are not recorded, because they did not make their words good."

Par. 7. Chiulin had taken the side of Te'oo, and was therefore a 'disaffected State,' against which the States mentioned in the preceding par. should have acted in common, whereas we have Wei going to its help.

The Chuen says:—"In accordance with the covenant, Sung invaded Chiulin, but the people of Wei went to its help. K'un Ta of Te'oo said, "Our former ruler had a treaty with Chiulin; if the great State [of Te'oo] come to punish us [for helping it], I will die on account of the affair."
In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, an army of Ts'e invaded Keu.

In summer, the viscount of Ts'o invaded Sung.

In autumn, there were locusts.

In winter, Ts'in put to death its great officer, See'n Hwoh.

Kung-yang has Wei (Wei) here instead of Keu; but the latter is no doubt the correct reading. Nowhere in the Chun T'ieh have we any account of hostilities between Ts'e and Wei, whereas from the 4th year of Duke Siun, there seems to have been a state of chronic hostility between Keu on the one part, and Lo and Ts'e on the other [Sec. VI. i; XI. 3]. Two-shu says that the reason for the invasion in the text was because Keu, depending on the protection of Ts'in, would not do service to Ts'e.

Par. 2. Two-shu says:—The viscount of Ts'o invaded Sung, because it had endeavoured to relieve Siun. The superior man may say that, in the account of the covenant of Ts'in-kwo, Sung might have escaped [the disappointment indicated by the suppression of the name of its minister].

Par. 3. Here again Kung-yang has 螣 for 颉.

Par. 4. For 頚 Kub-lung has 頚. See'n Hwoh deserved to die, for the great defeat at Feh was mainly owing to his insubordination and he had since engaged in other notorious plotting. The Chuen says:—In autumn, the Red T'eh, at the invitation of See'n Hwoh, invaded Ts'in, and advanced as far as Ts'ing. In winter, Ts'in, to avenge the defeat at Feh and this advance of the T'eh to Ts'ing, laid the blame of both affairs on See'n Hwoh, and put him to death, exterminating also all the branches of his clan. The superior man may say that the maxim, "When evil comes on a man, it has been brought on by himself," found an illustration in See'n Hwoh.

[The Chuen appends here:—In consequence of the covenant at Ts'in-kwo, Ts'in sent to demand from Wei an account of its relieving Ch'in. The messenger would not go away, and said: "If the offence be not laid on some one, my mission will be followed up by an army of attack." Kung T'eh said, "If it will be of advantage to the State, please lay the blame on me. The ground of criminating me lies in the fact that, from me proceeded the movement which has excited the great State to demand reparation? I will die for this matter."
Fourteenth year.

十有四年,春正月,子殺其大夫孔達。孔達,齊君之臣也,逃於晉,耳以說子晉而免,遂告於諸侯曰:‘子晉,子之得意臣也。’

夏五月,壬申,齊侯伐鄭。

秋,九月,楚子圍宋。

冬,公孫歸父會齊侯於穀。{{孟獻子言,公曰:‘子之言,何以亡?’}}

宋之政事,齊人以齊侯之歸於宋,故子家之言曰:‘未之聞也。’

孟獻子言上公曰:‘臣聞小國之免於大國也,聘而獻物,是亦有容貌采章嘉淑而有加貨籌其不兔,誣而貽貞則無及也。今楚在宋君其圖之公說。'
3 The marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing.
4 In autumn, in the ninth month, the viscount of T'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Sung.
5 There was the burial of duke Wăn of Ta'aou.
6 In winter, Kung-sun Kwei-foo had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Kuh.

Par. 1. This is the sequel to the narrative at the end of the last year. The Chuen says:—In the duke's 18th year, in spring, Kung T'ai strangled himself, which the people of Wei represented so as to satisfy Tsin, and escape [further proceedings from that State]. They then announced the thing to the States, saying, "Our ruler had a bad minister, T'ai, who brought our poor city into collision with the great State. The minister has suffered for his crime, and we venture to inform you of it." But considering services which T'ai had performed in pacifying [the State], they gave his son [a daughter of the marquis] to wife, and made him continue in his father's position [as a great officer].

Par. 3. Ch'ing had acknowledged the supremacy of T'oo, after Tsin's defeat at Peih; hence this invasion of it. It is strange the Kung-he editors should find the sage's approval of the invasion in the words of the text,—the marquis of Tsin. The marquis conducted the expedition in person, and the facts are so stated. The right or wrong of it is to be determined by other considerations.

The Chuen says:—In summer, the marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, because of the defeat at Peih. He announced his doing so to the various States, held a review of his troops, and returned. This was by the counsel of Chung-hang Hwan-tae [Suns Lin-foo]. Chung-hang here becomes his surname. For the origin of the denomination, see the Chuen at the end of V. xxviii], who said, "Show them our array, and let them consult about it, and come to us." The people of Ch'ing were afraid, and sent Tse-chang to take the place of Tso-lung in T'oo [See the Chuen on XII. 1]. The early one went to T'oo, to consult about Tsin; and the State, considering with what propriety Tse-lung had behaved [in formerly declining the marquisate], recalled him.

Par. 4. This invasion of Sung and siege of its capital was a further movement of T'oo to weaken Tsin. How it was brought about is related in the Chuen:—The viscount of T'oo sent Shin Chow on a friendly mission to T'oo, telling him that he should go through Sung without asking a right of way. At the same time he sent the Kung-ta T'ung on a friendly mission to Tsin, without asking permission to pass through Ch'ing. Shin Chow, remembering how he had incurred the resentment of Sung in the affair at Mang-choo [See the Chuen on VI. x. 6. 7]. Chow here is the Woo-wei there], said, "Ch'ing is clear-sighted, but Sung is deaf. The messenger to Tsin will suffer no harm, but I am sure to meet with my death." The king said, "If Sung put you to death, I will invade it." Chow then introduced [his son], Se, to the king, and went on his journey.

When he came to Sung, they detained him there. Hwa Yuen said, "To pass through our State without asking our permission, is to treat our State as if it were a border of T'oo,—is to deal with it as if Sung were not a State. If we put to death its messenger, T'oo is sure to invade us; and Sung will perish. In either case Sung ceases to be a State." Accordingly, Shin Chow was put to death. When the viscount heard of it, he shook down his sleeves and rose from his seat. His shoes were written on him; to the room he had reached the threshold of his chamber; his sword was brought to him outside the door of the chamber; and his carriage reached him when he had got to the marketplace called Poo-son. In autumn, in the 9th month, he laid siege to the capital of Sung.

Par. 6. Kuh.—See III. vii. 4, et al. Kungsun Kwei-foo.—See on X. 16. Wang Paou and other critics strongly condemn Kwei-foo as having been the first great officer who did according to his own pleasure in the administration of the government of Loo. The Chuen says:—At this meeting, when Kwei-foo saw Gan Hwan-tae, he spoke with him about the affairs of Loo, rejoicing in his own position there. Hwan-tae told Kao Seun-tae [the Kao Koo of V. 8] about it, saying, "Tsze-kê's [The designation of Kwei-foo] is sure to come to ruin. He is all intent on [the dignities of] Loo. Being so, it is sure to cherish a covetous ambition, and an intention to be exalted against me. But when one schemes against others, they will scheme against him; and when a whole State schemes against a man, how can he escape going to ruin?" [The Chuen appends here:—Mang Hwan-tae [See the Chuen on VI. x. 4] said to the duke, "I have heard that the way in which a small State escapes [being incriminated by] a great one is by sending to it friendly missions, and making various offerings, on which there are the hundred things set forth in the court-yard. Or if the prince go himself to the court [of the great State] to show his services, then he assumes a pleased appearance, and makes elegant and valuable presents, even beyond what could be required of him. He acts thus lest he should not escape [being incriminated]. If, after being reprimanded, he present rich offerings, it is too late; T'oo is now in Sung; let your lordship consider what should be done." The duke was pleased.]
十五年春，公孫歸父會楚子于宋。”

“夏五月，宋人及楚人平。”

“六月癸卯，晉師滅赤狄潞氏，以潞子嬰兒歸。”

“秋，王札子殺召伯、毛伯。”

“仲孫蔑會齊高固于無婁。”

“冬，睦生。”

“初稅畝。”

“左傳曰：""十五年春，公孫歸父會楚子于宋。“

“公孫歸父會楚子于宋。”

“宋人使樂嬰齊告急于晉，晉侯欲救之。伯宗曰：‘不可。古人有言曰：‘雖鞭之長不及馬腹，天方授晉，楚未可與，爭之。雖欲之，彊之，必列天乎？’故曰：高下在心。’"
元為楚盟，曰我無爾詐爾無我虞，楚師將去宋，申犀稽首於王之馬前曰：毋長知死而已也不敢於王命。王棄言焉，王不能答，申叔時曰：築室反耕，可以備楚人。王曰：吾何以得楚矣？申叔曰：晉近，可以防之。王曰：楚師逆我，何以待之？申叔曰：楚師必敗，彼必取之。楚師若敗，必走，若走而可，可得也。楚人有三善：有寬，有信，有勇。寬者不可以敵，信者不可以沮，勇者不可以敵也。王子皙為政，使王子捷殺戴公及毛伯衛卒，立召襄。王孫蘇與召氏、毛氏爭政，使王子捷殺昭戴公及毛伯衛卒，立昭襄。
XV. 1 In the duke's fifteenth year, in spring, Kung-sun Kweifoo had an interview with the viscount of Ts'o in Sung.
2 In summer, in the fifth month, the people of Sung made peace with the people of Ts'oo.
3 In the sixth month, on Kwe-maou, an army of Tain extinguished the Loo tribe of the Red Teih, and carried Ying-urh, viscount of Loo, back with it to Tain.
4 A body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin.
5 The king's son Chah put to death the earls of Shaou and Maou.
6 In autumn, there were locusts.
7 Chung-sun Mieh had a meeting with Kaou Koo of Ts'e in Woo-lou.
8 For the first time an additional tithe was levied from the acre.
9 In winter, the larve of locusts were produced.
10 There was famine.

Par. 1. It is said at the end of the concluding Chuen of last year, that the duke was pleased with the suggestion of Mang Hien that he should send a friendly mission to the viscount of Tso. Here we are told how he proceeded to do so.

Par. 2. 宋人及楚人平—宋及楚平. "Sung made peace with Ts'oo. In accounts of peace made between States, only the names of the States are given, without the addition of 人 as here—see X. vii. 1; XLix. 1, etc.
But no stress is to be laid on the 人 here, as if it indicated the princes or ministers by whom the treaty of peace was made. The use of it is merely a variation of the usual style (史異 辭耳)—see the gloss of Ying-ah, in loc.
The Chuen relates—The people of Sung sent Yeh Ying-te to announce to Tsin how hard they were pressed, and the marquis of Tain wished to proceed to their relief. Hsi-huang, however, said, 'No. The ancients had a saying that, however long the whip was, it did not reach the horse's belly. Heaven is now giving [the power] to Ts'oo, and we cannot contend against it. Strong as Tsin is, can it resist Heaven? There are the common sayings, 'The mind must determine how high or how low it can go,' 'The rivers and meers receive [much] filth,' 'the hills and thickets hide noxious things,' 'the finest gems have flaws,' 'princes of States must at times take dirt in their mouths.' This is the way of Heaven; let your lordship wait [for another opportunity]."
The marquis then desisted from his purpose, and sent Hase Tang to Sung, to advise (the duke) not to surrender to Ts'oo, saying: 'Tain is raising all its forces, and they will [soon] be with you.' The people of Ch'ing took him prisoner, and delivered him to Ts'oo, when the viscount offered him large bribes to induce him to convey a message of a contrary character. He refused at first, but finally agreed to do so. He was then mounted on a turreted carriage; and having called the attention of the people of Sung, he delivered the message with which the marquis had entrusted him. The viscount was going to put him to death, and sent him a message, saying, 'Why did you thus violate the promise which you made to me? I do not break my faith with you;—it is you who have
cast [our agreement] away. Go quickly, and receive your punishment." Hsiao Yang replied.

"I have heard that when a prince gives out his command, it is a righteous act which he disdains to revoke; when a minister receives that command, he is bound in fidelity to fulfil it. The faithful fulfillment of the righteous command is beneficial to the State, and he who lays his plans so that that benefit shall be secured for the benefit of the alters is the people's friend. The righteous command does not admit of two fidelities; fidelity does not recognize two commands. When your lordship tried to bribe me, you knew not the nature of a command. I came forth with the command which I had received; and though I die, it has not fallen to the ground. To die in fulfilling the command is my happiness; [it will be seen that] my prince had a faithful servant. I have been able to accomplish my task;—though I die, what more should I seek for?" [On hearing this reply], the viscount let him go to return to Tain.

In summer, in the 6th month, the army of T'ou was about to withdraw from Sung, when Shih Se bowed his head to the ground before the king's horse and said, "Through Won-wei [Shih Ch'ao, Se's father] knew it would cost him his life, he did not dare to decline your majesty's commission; and your majesty is breaking your word." The king could not answer him. His charioteer, Shih Shih-shih-she, said, "If you build houses here, and send half the army back to till the ground, Sung will receive your commands and submit to them." [The king followed the counsel], and the people of Sung were afraid, and sent Hwa Yuen by night into the army of T'ou. He went up to the couch of Tze-fan, and roused him, saying, "My master has sent me to inform you of our distress. In the city we are exchanging our children and eating them, and splitting up their homes for fuel. Notwithstanding, if you require us to make a covenant with you under the walls, we will not do so, though our city should be utterly overthrown. Withdrew from us 50,000, and then we will accept your commands." Shih Se was afraid, made a covenant with Yuen, and informed the king, who retired 50,000, when Sung and T'ou made peace. Hwa Yuen remaining as a general with T'ou. The words of the covenant were, "We of T'ou will not devour you: do you not doubt us?"

Par. 3. 赤狄氏; see on III. 6. We see from this par. that the chiefs of the Loo tribes had the title of viscount. The Chuen relates:—The wife of Ying-ir, viscount of Loo, was an elder sister of duke King of Tsin. The power of the tribe was in the hands of Fung Shao, who put his father to death, and injured one of the viscount's eyes. The marquis of Tsin wished to attack the tribe, but the officers all advised against such an undertaking, saying that Fung Shao possessed three extraordinary endowments, and that Tsin had better wait for a future opportunity to deal with the Loo-shi. Pih-tang, however, said, "We must assist them [now]." [That] Tsin is chargeable with five crimes, and what help will his many extraordinary endowments be to him? His first crime is that he does not offer sacrifices; his second, that he is given to drunkenness; his third, that he abandoned Chung Chang, and took away the territory of the chief of Le; his fourth, that he dealt so cruelly with the eldest daughter of our State; and his fifth, that he injured the eye of his ruler. His reliance on his one extraordinary endowment, to the neglect of all virtualities, only increases his guilt. His successor will perhaps reverently abduct himself to the cultivation of virtue and righteousness, so as to serve both Spirits and men, thereby strengthening his title to the country—how will it be, if we should wait for such an one? If we do not punish the present criminal, but say, 'Let us wait for his successor,' and then proceed to punish him, who may have reasons to allege why he should not be touched at all, will not our course be unreasonable? To rely on one's endowments and numbers is the way to ruin—Chow of Shang followed it, and his utter ruin was the consequence. When the seasons of heaven are reversed, we have calamities; when the productions of the earth are reversed, we have prodigious things; when the virtues of men are reversed, we have disorders. It is these disorders which give rise to the calamities and prodigious things, just as the character for correctness, when reversed, produces that for failure. [See the 論語新解, Ch. 649, t. 2, art. 1]. All these things are predicable of the Tsu.
Par. 5. 王札子 is simply 王子, "the king's son, Chah." Why the characters are so inverted it is difficult to say. What the paragraph relates shows that the court of Chow must have been in as disorderly and lawless a condition as the courts of the districts. Chah was probably a brother of the reigning king. The Chuen says:—Wang-sun (i.e. A grandson of some former king) Soo had a contention with the chiefs of Shau and Maon about the chief sway in the government, and made the king's son Te-yen-ssen [The designation of Chah] put to death duke Tai of Shau and Wei, sarl of Maon. Afterward, Seang of Shau was appointed [in his father's place].

Par. 6. [The Chuen here relates:—1st, "The marquis of Ts'in rewarded Hwan-sen with the revenue of a thousand families with which the Tei ministers had been endowed, and he also rewarded Sze Pih [The see Chiang-tse of the 2d narrative appended to XII.4] with the district of Kwa-yen, saying, 'That I have got the territory of the Tei is all owing to you. But for you, I should have lost Pih-she [Sze Lin-foo; see the Chuen just referred to]. Yang-ssen Chih, speaking of these rewards, said, 'The words in (one of) the Books of Chow (Shoo, V. ix.) are, 'He employed the employable, and revered the reverend.' are applicable to such a case as this. Sze Pih advised the employment of Chung-hang Pih. The marquis confided in him, and followed his advice. This may be called a case of intelligent virtue."
The virtue by which king Wan raised the House of Chow did not go beyond this. Hence the see (Shoo, III.1. ode 1.2) says,

'Vast were the gifts of Chow,'
and thus it was that [king Wan] could perpetuate [his fortune]. It is impossible that he should not succeed who follows this way.'

2d. "The marquis of Ts'in sent Chou T'ung to present the spoils of the Tei of the court of Chow, where he behaved disrespectfully. Duke K'ang of Liu said, 'In less than ten years, Shu of Yen (Chiao Tung) will be sure to meet with great calamity. Heaven has taken his wine away from him as of 'intelligent virtue.'"

Par. 7. Chung-sun Moeh is the Ming-Hoon-tse, with whom we have not already. Kuon Koo is the minister of T'ye, whose marriage with one of the duke's daughters was related in the 5th year. Too says that Woo-low was a town of Ke (杞邑); but Kung-yang has for, and the place would thus be the Mow-lo which Keu took from Ke in the 4th year of duke Yin. We do not know what the two ministers met about, and need not occupy ourselves with the conjectures of the critics.

Par. 8. Tso-sha says:—'This enactment was contrary to rule. The grain contributed by the people should not have exceeded the tithe from the system of mutual dependence [see Mencius, III. Pt. I. iii. 6], having respect to the enlargement of the people's wealth.' It would appear then, acc. to this view, that, besides the produce of every tenth acre, cultivated by the common labour of the farmers round it, and the property of the State, duke Seives now required another 10th from the produce of the other 9 acres which every family cultivated for itself. And this is probably correct. From the Analects, XII. ix. 3, we learn that, in Confucius' time, two tenths of the produce of the land were levied by the State, and it is most likely that we have in the text the first imposition of the second of these. Kung and Kuh, however, think that the text only speaks of the abandonment of the ancient system of the cultivation of the public tenth of the land by the common labour of the husbandmen in the different plots around it, and the dividing it among them, and then requiring from each family a tenth of the produce of its allotment. The K'ang-he editors merely say that Hoo Gau-kwoh maintains this view, while ChooHe preferred that of Tso Yu, founded on Tso-sha's remarks, without giving any opinion of their own.

Par. 9, 10. 蜘 is the name for the locust in the grub or caterpillar state (始生曰蜘大日盈). I cannot understand the note of Tso-sha on these paragraphs. He says:

'In winter the larvae were produced, and there was famine. The language shows thankfulness for the luck.' Acc. to Tso, his idea is that those larvae were produced in the winter when they could not do much harm, but the winter of Chow was only the natural autumn of the year. In the natural summer there had been a plague of locusts; and now towards the end of autumn came these caterpillars to devour what the locusts had left. There was no 'luck' to be thankful for, but terrible calamity, and famine was the consequence.
XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, a body of men from Tsin extinguished the Kiah and Lo-yu tribes of the Red Teih.

2 In summer, the archery-court of [king] Séuen at Ch'ing-chow was set on fire.

3 In autumn, the duke's eldest daughter, who had been married to [the viscount of] T'an, returned to Loo [divorced].

4 In winter, there was a very plentiful year.

Far. 1. The Kiah-shih and the Lo-yu were, after the Loo-shih, the principal tribes of the Red Teih; the former having their site in the pres. dis. of K'ieh (期臘), dep. of Kwang-foo, Chih-le; while that of the latter, was in the dis. of Tsoo-lo (端留), dep. of Koo-gan, Shen-se.

The Chuen mentions another tribe,—that of the Toh-shih, which appears to have been a branch of the Lo-yu. On the extinction of these tribes, all the territory of the Red Teih came into the possession of Tsin.

The Chuen says,—In spring, Sse Hwai of Tsin led a force, and extinguished the Kiah tribe of the Red Teih, and also the tribes of Lo-yu and Toh-shih. In the 53d month he presented the spoils of the Teih [to the king]. The marquis of Tsin requested the robes of appointment for him] from the king, and, on a chariot to the command of the army of the centre, and also to be grand-guardians. After this the thieves of Tsin all fled into Tsin. Yang-shih Chih said, "I have heard that when Yu promoted good men, the bad men all disappeared, and here is an instance of the same. The words of the ode (She, II. v. ode II. 6).

Far. 2. Kung-yang has 謝火 for 火, and both Kung and Kuh have 謝火. This denotes that the fire was caused by men, and that it was from Heaven. Ch'ing-chow is the name as Keh-yang, the eastern or 'lower' capital of Chow—see the Shoo, V. xiv. 1. Too defines 謝 by 謝武屋, 'a house for the practice of military exercises,' archery being specially intended. Kung-yang and, recently, Macao understand the term in the meaning of 'temple,' but the other signification is ably vindicated by Ying-tah. 謝 is probably 謝王, though the meaning cannot be said to be well accor-
XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Käng-tsze, Seih-go, baron of Heh, died.

2 On Ting-we, Shin, marquis of Ta'e, died.

3 In summer there were the burials of duke Ch'aou of Heh, and of duke Wan of Ta'e.

4 In the sixth month, on Kwei-maou, the sun was eclipsed.

5 On Ke-we, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Taen, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ta'n, and the viscount of Choo, when they made a covenant together in Twan-taen.

6 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.

7 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jin-woo, the duke's younger brother, Shu-hheih, died.

Parr. 1–3. Ke Pun (季本; Ming dynasty) says:—At this time Heh and T'we were of the party of T'weo. Their announcing the death of their princes to Loo, and Loo's messages to them of condolence, show that it also inclined to the same side.

Par. 4. Here for the second time there is a serious error in these records of eclipses. The 1st day of the 6th month in this year was Khi-shin (甲辰), the day after Kwei-maou, and there was no eclipse upon it. This was ascertained by K'eang K'eh (鄭克塽), of the eastern T'ung dynasty. He and the Buddhist priest Yih-hang (一行) of the T'ung dynasty, made out an eclipse to have been possible on Yih-hae (乙亥), the 1st day of the 5th month; but this was in the southern hemisphere. There was one on Sin-we, in the 11th month; but it was not visible in Loo. There was, however, an eclipse in Seun's 7th year in the 6th month, when the Kwei-maou was the new moon; and I have no doubt it is that which is entered here by some displacement of the tablets.

Par. 5. Twan-taen was in Taen,—in the east of the pro. Taen Chou (登州), Shen-se. The Chosen says:—In spring, the marquis of Taen having sent K'eh K'eh to require the marquis of Ta'e to attend a meeting, duke K'eh placed his mother and her attendants (婦人 simply his women) behind a curtain so that they might see the envoy, [who had some bodily defect]; and as he ascended the steps, they were heard laughing in their apartment. Heen-tse (The posthumous title of K'eh K'eh) was indignant, and swore, "If I do not revenge this insult, may I not cross the Ho again!" He then
On the force of the 'together' (同), in the account of this covenant, the critics seem to differ, some holding that it indicates the 'common' purpose of the States to punish Tse, others their common opposition to Tse. The K'ang-he editors would extend the meaning to both those objects.

[The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'In autumn, in the 8th month, the army of Tain returned.' 2nd, 'Fan Woo-tae [Sze Hway. At first he was invested with Szy (慎), and is thence call Szy Woo-tae; afterwards he received the city of Fan, which became the surname of his descendants] being about to withdraw from the public service on account of his age, he called to him [his son] Wan-tao, and said, "Sshe [The son's name]. I have heard that they are few whose satisfaction or whose anger rests on its proper object, while with many the feeling passes to other objects. The idle (She, II, v. vole IV. 2) says,

"If the king were to be angry [with slanderers].
The disorder would probably be quickly abated,
If he were to show his joy [in the good],
The disorder would probably quickly cease!
Thus a superior man's being either made pleased or angry leads to the stopping of disorder. If that be not stopt, it goes on to increase. Perhaps Kioh-tae wishes to bring the disorder he is producing to an end by an invasion of Tsoo. If he do not succeed in this, I am afraid he will increase the disorder. I will declare myself too old, and let him obtain his wish, which may perhaps lead to the dispersion, [of the present evil]. Do you follow the other officers, and be careful of your conduct." On this he asked liberty to retire on the ground of his age, and Kioh Hien-tae became the chief administrator of the government.'

Par. 7. Two-sha says that Shuh-hsii was a full brother of the duke; and then he gives the following canon:—All the full brothers of the eldest son, while their father is alive, are called Kung-tae (duke's sons); and when he is dead, Kung-ts (duke's brothers). The appellation "younger brother" always denotes a full brother of the ruling duke.

Eighteenth year.

甲午, 鄂, 楚子, 王, .

秋, 夏, 四, 七, 八, 九, 有, 十, 貢, 伐, 蘭.
In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin and Tsang, heir-son of Wei, invaded Ts'e.

The duke invaded Ke.

It was summer, the fourth month.

In autumn, in the seventh month, an officer of Choo murdered the viscount of Tsang in his capital.

On Keah-seuh, Leu, viscount of Ts'oo, died.

Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Tain.

In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-seuh, the duke died in the State-chamber.

Kwei-foo was returning from Tsin; but when he got to Säng, he fled to Ts'e.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—When the invading armies had reached Yang-kou, the marquis of T'au had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Tsang, the former agreeing that his son K'ang should go to Tain as a hostage. On this the army of Tsin returned, and T'au Chhou and Nan-kwoh Yen made their escape back to T'au.

Huo Gan-kwoh thinks this invasion of T'au was brought about by K'ou Kih, to gratify his resentment against that State. The K'ang-he editors argue that it was a public movement on the part of the marquises of Tsin to punish T'au, because its marquises had kept away from the meeting at T'wan-tsoo. Certainly the growth of the power of T'au was mainly owing to T'au's standing aloof from Tain as the chief among the northern States.

Par. 2. [The Chuen appended here:—In summer, the duke sent to Ts'oo, to ask the assistance of an army;—wishing to invade T'au.]
Par. 4. Kuei-lung has 謂, for 鄔. Acc. to Tsao-sha, 戬 is the character employed to denote the murder of the prince of a state by some one of another state; just as indicates that the perpetrator was one of the prince's own subjects. Tsang—see V. xiv. 2.
In V. xix. 4 we have an account of a terrible outrage by the people of Choo on a former prince of Tsang. Wang K’āh-kwan (汪克寬) thinks that by 郡人 in the text we should understand the 郡子, 'the viscount of Choo,' but this seems inconsistent with the use of the character 戬. Choo, however, may denote—'a party of men from Choo.'

Par. 5. Here for the first time we have the death of one of the viscounts of Ts’ao recorded. His burial, however, is not mentioned, and there would have been a difficulty in recording it, as the deceased viscount must have then received the title which he claimed of 'king.' The Choo states:—In consequence of the death of king Chwang, the army [the help of which Loo had asked] did not come forth. Afterwards Loo availed itself of an army of Tsain [See VIII. ii. 2], in consequence of which Ts’ao had the meeting and covenant at Shih [VIII. ii. 10].

Par. 6. The object of this visit is given in the Choo:—Kuei-sun Kweł-foo was a favourite with the duke, whose elevation was due to [Kuei-foo's father], Sung-chung. Wishing to remove the three clans descended from duke Hwan, and thereby increase the power of the ducal house, he consulted with the duke, and went on a friendly mission to Tsain, hoping to accomplish his object by means of the people of Tsain."

Par. 7. See on III. xxxii. 4.
Par. 8. The Choo says:—'In winter, on the death of the duke, Ke Wăn-tze [Ke-sup Hăng-foo] said in the court, 'It was Chung who made us kill the son of the proper wife, and set up the son of another, so as to lose the great helper we might have calculated on.'" Ts’ao-shun [Ts’ang Hou; son of Tsang, Wen-chung, or Tsang-sun Shih in III. xxviii. 6], was angry, and said, 'Why did you not deal with him at the time? What offence is his son chargeable with?' But if you wish to send their clan away, allow me to do it.' Accordingly he drove the Tsun-mun clan out of the state. Tsen-kia had then returned from Tsain as far as to Sang. He then cleared a space of ground, and raised a tent on it, where he delivered the account of his mission to his assistant, [that it might be transmitted to Loo]. Having done, so, he took off his upper garment, bound his hair up with sackcloth, went to the place for it, and wept, gave three leaps, and left the tent. He then flot to Ts’oo. The style of the paragraph,—'Kweł-foo returned from Tsain,' is commodatory of him.' For Kung and Kueł have 擼. The place was in Loo.
I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
2 In the second month, on Sin-yêw, we buried our ruler, duke Seuen.
3 There was no ice.
4 In the third month, the K'êw and buff-coat ordinance was made.
5 In summer, Tsang-sun Heu and the marquis of Tsin made a covenant in Ch'ih-keih.
6 In autumn, the king's army was disgracefully defeated by the Maou-jung.
7 It was winter, the tenth month.
Duke Ch'ung.

Kâu (丘 or 卑) is a territorial designation.

Nine families occupied a tieng (井; see on Mencius, III. Pt. I. iii. 13); 4 tieng made a yâ (邑); 4 yâ made a kâu; and 4 kâu made a tieng (田). A tieng contained 6 square li. The addition of a li on each side made a ch'ing (成). A kâu may be taken in the sense of a buff-coat or coat of mail; a soldier clad in a buff-coat; a company of soldiers.

Kung and Kuh both take 甲 in the list of these senses; and think that the ordinance required the people in the kâu all to make buff-coats,—how many is not stated. But as Le Ch'ung observes, if this were the meaning, the text should be 作甲 and not 作丘甲.

Too Yu says:—"A kâu or 16 tieng contributed 1 war-horse and 5 oxen; a tieng or 64 tieng contributed 1 war-chariot, 1 war-horse, 10 oxen, 28 mailed soldiers, and 32 footmen. The government ordained the contribution of a horse from every 4 kâu. We cannot suppose that the ordinance in the text was so extreme and oppressive.

Hou Han-k'ou, going on a conversation between Tsea-lung of the T'ang dynasty and his minister Le Tsang (李靖), thought that whereas a kâu had formerly contributed 18 footmen, which formed 1 kind, the number had now increased to 25, the 4 kâu or the whole tieng thus sending into the field 100 men along with its chariot. This view has been generally followed; but recently, Wan Seu-ts'ao (萬斯大), of the period K'ang-hi, suggested the view that the ordinance had respect simply to the mailed soldiers of the chariot contributed by a tieng, increasing their number from three,—the charioteer, the archer on the left, and the spearmen or lancer on the right; to four; and leaving the number of the footmen unchanged. Sometimes there were 4 men, however, in the chariot as we learn from the Chuen on the defeat of the Tei at Hien, in the 11th year of duke Wan; and this he thinks was made the rule at this time in prospect of hostilities with T'eu. See the 學春秋簡筆在府清經解卷五十七.

Par. 3. Tseang-so Hsien,—see the Chuen on VII. xiii. 8. Chih-k'ueh was in Tei; but its situation has not been more particularly determined. Tao-sha says:—"[Loo] had heard that T'eu was about to come forth with an army of 10,000, and in summer made this covenant with Tei. Chuan P'ang-fa supposes, what is very likely, that the confederation against T'eu, of which we have the issue in par. 3 of next year, was now agreed upon.

Par. 4. The Maou-jung (Kung and Kuh 貨戎) had their site in the south-east of the prov. dis. of Ping-fuh (平陸), Ke'ne Chow, Shan-an. The defeat here sustained by the king's troops is that mentioned in the Chuen after par. 3. Too Yu says it is recorded now because it was only now, in the autumn, that it was announced to Loo.
Par. 7. [The Chuen relates here—In winter, Tsang Seuen-shuh [Tsang-ene Heu] gave orders that the military levis should be made, the walls all well repaired, and the instruments of defence provided, saying, "Ts'e and Ts'e-u are in bonds of friendship, and we have lately made a covenant with Ts'in. Ts'in and Ts'e-u are striving for the presidency of covenants. The army of Ts'e is sure to come [against us], and though the people of Ts'in invade Ts'e, Ts'e-u will go to its relief;—thus both Ts'e-u and Ts'e will together attack us. When we see our difficulties and make preparations for them, they may be resolved."]

Second year.

夏四月，齊侯伐我北鄙。

會晉郤克、衛孫良夫，帥師敗績于新筑。業齊師敗績。

秋七月，齊侯使國佐如師。己酉及國佐、盟于袁壑。庚寅，衛侯速卒。八月壬午，宋公鮑卒。取汶陽田。
冬，楚師、鄭師侵衛。

左傳曰：二年春，齊侯伐我北鄙，圍龍，جَمتازيرium(4,6),(994,993)

晉侯曰：將殺諸侯，而盟無人。而伐諸侯，殺無人。其不幸也，其無人也，無人也。遂南侵及顓丘，魯人盟于魯。
年


THE MIGHTY EMPEROR, WHO WOULD ESAY TO JOIN HIS CUSTOMS TO THOSE OF HIS VASSALS, ORDERED HIS MINISTERS TO FURNISH HIM WITH INFORMATION ON THE HABITS AND CUSTOMS OF THE VASSALS. BUT THE VASSALS, WHO HAD UNDERSTOOD AND SHARED THE WISDOM OF THE MIGHTY EMPEROR, WERE NOT READY TO BE AT THE MERCY OF THE MIGHTY EMPEROR.

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公使求好于楚莊王卒。宣公薨，不克作好。公即位，受盟于晉。會伐齊，衛人不行使于楚，而亦受盟于晉。從于伐齊，故楚令尹重為昭儀之役，以救齊。將起師，子重曰：「君弱，群臣不如先大夫，師衆而後可。」齊人喜，楚師遂退。故成公之薨也，而中行伯之弟也，新佐中軍，而善鄭皇戌，甚愛此子。其必因鄉而歸王，以告王。王間諸屈巫，對曰：「誠知善之矣。成公之薨也，而中行伯之弟也，新佐中軍，而善鄭皇戌。」其必許之，王遣夏姬歸將行諸晉，其必許之。戰，申臣請諸鄭。鄭伯許之。及共王即位，將為陽橋之役，使屈巫聘于齊。且告師期，巫臣盡室以行。申叔微從其車，曰：「齊師新敗。」曰：「吾不處不勝之國。」晉，而因欲至。以臣于晉不欲，鄭侯以逐者也，及鄭使介反幣而以夏姬行。申伯對曰：「吾所命也。」其車也，韶何之有焉。變伯見公亦如之。對曰：「為之詔也，士用命，而書何之有焉。」
II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern border.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-seuh, Sun Léang-foo of Wei led a force, and fought with the army of Ts'e at Sin-chuh, when the army of Wei received a severe defeat.

3 In the sixth month, on Kwei-yew, Ke-sun Häng-foo, Tsang-sun Heu, Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo, and Kung-sun Ying-ts'e, led a force, and joined Kéoh K'iuh of Tsin, Sun Léang-foo of Wei, and the Kung-tsze Show of Ts'aou, [after which] they fought with the marquis of Ts'e at Gan, when the army of Ts'e received a severe defeat.

4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kwoh Tso to the army [of the allies], which made a covenant with him on Ke-yew at Yuen-low.

5 In the eighth month, on Jin-woo, Paou, duke of Sung, died.

6 On Käng-yin, Suh, marquis of Wei, died.

7 We took the lands of Wân-yang.
8. In winter, an army of Ts'oo and an army of Ch'ing made an incursion into Wei.

9. In the eleventh month, the duke had a meeting with the Kung of Ts'oo in Shuh.

10. On Ping-shin, the duke made a covenant in Shuh with an officer of Ts'oo, an officer of Ts'in, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'ao, an officer of Choo, an officer of Seeh, and an officer of Ts'ang.

**Part 1.** The Chuen says:—"In the course of this invasion, the marquis of Ts'e laid siege to Lung, while his favorite, Lu-pu, Ts'e-lang-kwei, was made prisoner in attacking one of the gates. The marquis said, "Do not put him to death, and I will make a covenant with you, and not enter your borders." The people of Lung did not listen to the request, but put their prisoner to death, and dismembered him on the top of the wall. The marquis beat the drums himself, while his soldiers swore to mount the wall; and in three days Lung was taken. He then made an incursion southwards as far as Ch'uan-k'ow. Too observes that he cannot account for the silence of the text about this capture of Lung, and the subsequent incursion to Ch'uan-k'ow.

**Part 2.** Sin-chu was in Wei,—30 li south of the prince's district city of Wei (魏都, 魏都), dep. Tu-shih, Chih-je. The 立 in the text has made some critics think that the battle was in consequence of an invasion of Ts'e by Wei, while its being fought in Wei looks as if it were in consequence of an invasion of that State by Ts'e. The R'ung-chin editors, observe that Sun Lang-fou was indeed marching to invade Ts'e, when the army of that State, flushed with its successes in Lu, met him before he had left his own State, and defeated him. As he had given occasion, by his advance towards Ts'e, however, to the action, the 立 is used.

The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Wei sent Sun Lang-fou, Shih Tsu-eh, Ning Sen-yang, and Hsiang N'ing, to lead an incursion into that State, when they met with the army of that State. Shih-tesh wished to retreat, but Sun-tsze said, "No." Here we are with an army invading Ts'e. If we retreat on meeting with its army, what shall we say of our ruler? If we knew that we could not cope with it, we had better not have come forth. Since we have met it, our best plan is to fight." In summer.

Shih Ch'ing-tesh [Shih Tsu-eh; 成 was his post-humous title] said, "The army is defeated. If you do not wait a little (for reinforcements) I am afraid it will be entirely destroyed. If you lose all your men, what report will you have to give [to our ruler]?" The other commanders could make no reply, and he continued, [addressing the general], "You are the chief minister of the State. Should we lose you, it will be a disgrace to you; and they both lodged with him. Do you retire with the great body of the troops, while I remain here (to cover your retreat)."

By and by the approach of a great number of chariots was announced, and the army of Ts'e stayed its advance, halting at K'esh-keu.

"It was Chung-shun Yu-ho, commandant of Sin-chu, who thus came to the relief of Sun Hwan-tae, and secured his escape. In consequence, the people of Shuh would have engaged Yu-ho with a city, but he refused it, and asked to be permitted to have his suspended instruments of music disposed incompletely (like those of the prince of a State), and to appear at the festival with the saddle-girth and bridles trappings of a prince—which was granted to him."

When Chung-mu [Chung-mu] heard of this, he said, "Alas! it would have been better to give him many cities. It is only peculiar articles of use, and names, which cannot be granted to other (than those to whom they belong) to them a ruler has particularly to attend. It is by the [little] use of names that he secures the confidence of the people; it is by that confidence that he preserves the articles (distinctive of ranks); it is in these articles that the ceremonial distinctions of rank are hid; those ceremonial distinctions are essential to the practice of righteousness; it is righteousness which contributes to the advantage of the State; and it is that advantage which secures the quiet of the people. Attention to these things is the condition of (good) government. If they be conceded where they ought not to be conceded, it is giving away the kingdom in the practice of righteousness. When the government thus perishes, the State will follow it;—it is not possible to arrest that issue."

Part 3. Ts'ao says that Gan was in Ts'e, and K'un-tu that "Gan was 50 li from the capital of that State. But so great a distance is inconceivable, with the account which we have in the Chuen of the immediate advance of the victors after the battle to Yung-k'ow." Gan was probably the same person known previously by the name of Lei-li-heu (禮立和) in the press dep. of Ts'e-nan. The 公子首 Kung-yang has 公子手.

The Chuen says:—"Sun Hwan-tae returned to Sin-chu; but instead of entering it, he went on immediately to Tsu to beg the assistance of an army. [At the same time], Tsang Seun-shuh [Tsang-san Hen] had gone to Tsu for a similar purpose. [Koii-lui] the people of Wei and Ts'e had regular intercourse (Koii-lui; see the Chuen on VII. xvi. 5), to whom the marquis granted an army of 700 chariots (for an expedition against Ts'e) Kesh-keu said, "This was the amount of the force of
Chang-how said, "The eyes and ears of the army are on our flag and drum. It will advance or retire as our chariot does. While there is one man left to direct this chariot, we may achieve success. Why should you for your pain cause the failure of our ruler's great enterprise? When one man does his armour and takes his weapons, it is to go in the way of death; you are not in pain to death—strive to combat it!" With this, he held the reins with his left hand, and with the right took the drumstick, and beat the drum. The trained horses urged on, unable to stop, followed by the army. The army of Tse received a great defeat; and the marquis was pursued three times all round the hill of Ho-na-ching.

Han Koeu had dreamed, [the night before], that Ts'ae-yu, [his father], said to him, "Avoid both the left and the right of the chariot!" In consequence of this, he drove in the middle place, and pursued the marquis of Tse. Fung Hsia said, "Shoot the driver; he is a superior man." The marquis said, "Since you call him a superior man, it would be contrary to rule to shoot him." He shot therefore the man on the left, who fell down below the chariot, and then shot the man on the right, who died in it. [That is, Tse Koo-chang, who had lost his own chariot, came up to Han Koeu, and asked that he would take him into his. He agreed to do so, but with his elbow moved him away from the left, and then from the right, and made him stand behind himself. Soon after, he beat forward and adjusted the body of the spearman who had been on the right, which gave an opportunity to Fung Chow-fou and the marquis to change places. When the fugitives had nearly reached the spring of Hwa, one of the outside horses was caught by a tree, and stopped. Chow-fou, [some time before], had been lying in a sleeping carriage, when a snake made its appearance beneath him; it bit him, and though he had concealed the wound, he was now unable to push the carriage on, and the pursuers came up. Han Koeu went with a rope in his hand before the marquis's horses, bound two of them to the ground, and then presented to him a cup, with a pudding in it, saying, "My ruler sent me to intercede with you on behalf of Loo and Wei, charging me not to allow our army to enter deep into your lordship's territory. Unfortunately, I found myself thrown among the soldiers, and could not avoid my present position. I was afraid, moreover, that if I fled away as to escape from it, I should disgrace both my own ruler and your lordship. And being now in the position of a soldier, I venture to tell you of my want of ability, and to undertake the office [of your charioteer], so supplying your present need." Chow-fou then made the marquis descend from the chariot, and go to the spring of Hwa, to fetch some water, when he was received into an attendant chariot by Ching Chow-fou, Yuen Pei being the spearman on the right, and made his escape. Han Koeu presented Chow-fou [as the marquis] to Koo-hwm-tze, who, on discovering the fraud, was about to put him to death. The prisoner cried out, "Henceforth no one will take upon himself in his room the danger to which his ruler is exposed. One such person there is here; and will you put him to death?" Koo-hwm-tze said, "This man did not
shrink from the risk of death to secure the escape of his ruler—if I execute him, it will be inauspicious. I will forgive him as an encouragement to those who wish to serve their rulers.”

Accordingly, he spared his life, and, in the mean time, the marquis, after his escape, thrice issued from the army of Tsin, and thrice issued from it, looking for Ch'ow-Yo. Every time he hurried out at the head of his soldiers to stimulate those who wished to retire, and then he met among the Tsin men, who presented their spears and their shields, covering him till he passed through them into the army of Weh, which allowed him to escape. The army then went through the pass of Sun, the marquis charging the commandants [of the cities] whom he saw to exert themselves to the utmost, as the army was defeated. [Some one] urged a woman to get out of the way, but she said, “Has the marquis escaped?” Being told he had, she said, “Has the commander of the vanguard escaped?” Being told again that he had escaped, she said, “Since the marquis and my father have escaped, it does not matter so much; and run away.” The marquis considered that she was a woman of propriety, and finding on inquiry that she was the wife of the superintendent of entrenchments, he gave her the city of Shih-lou.

The Army of Tsin pursued that of T'ieh, entering the country by the [city of] K'ew-yu, and going on to attack Ma-hing. The marquis sent Pin Me-jin [K'eo T'ou; but why he is thus designated here has not been fully explained] to offer [the invaders] the steamer and the musical stone of Jut [which T'eu had taken] from Ke, and the territory [of Weh and Loo, which it had taken]; and if this would not satisfy them, to ascertain what they wanted. Pin Me-jin offered these leis; but the general of Tsin refused [no grant peace for them], and required that T'ueh should deliver up the daughter of Tung-shuh of Sian as a hostage, and make the divisions of the State run from east to west. The messenger replied, “The daughter of Tung-shuh of Sian is no other than the mother of our ruler. Our States are of equal rank, and she is not inferior to the mother of the ruler of Tsin. If you, in giving out your great commands to the king of Tsin, do not know them, you must pledge the mothers [of your rulers] with us as the proof of your good faith, which will be the character of such a course in relation to the commands of the former kings? And moreover, it is to command men not to be filial. The ode (She, III. ii. ode II.8) says—

“For such filial piety misunderstanding, There will be forever a conferred blessing on you.”

If you command the other princes to be unfilial, will you not be causing the followers of your ruler to do what is not virtuous?

“The former kings, in laying out the boundaries and divisions of the land, examined the character of the ground so that the greatest benefit might be derived from it. Hence the ode (She, II. vi. ode VI.1) says—

“We have laid out the boundaries and smaller divisions, The south-lying and east-lying acres.”

But now when you would lay out the fields of the other States, and say, “Their divisions are all run only from east to west,” such an arrangement would be of advantage only to your war-chariots. There is no regard in it to the character of the ground,—is not this to disown the commands [and example] of the former kings?

“To go against the former kings is to be unrighteous,—how can [the State which does so] be lord of commandants?” Tsin is here in error. The kindly rule of the four [great] kings was seen in their establishment of virtue, and in their sympathy with and furtherance of the common wishes of all the people. The presidency of the five leaders of the States was signaled by their laborious subduing of the States, and leading them to obey the commands of the kings. But now you seek to unite all the States for the gratification of your own limitless desires. The ode (She, IV. iii. ode IV. 4) says,

“Mildly he spread the rules of his government abroad, And all dignities became concentrated in him.”

You indeed have not that mildness, and you throw away [from Tsin] those dignities, but what harm can the other States receive from that?

“If you do not accord [to our request for peace], our ruler commissioned me to deliver this further message.—With the armies of your ruler you came to our poor State, and with our poor lives we gave largess to your followers. (Through the terror inspired by your rulers, our troops were defeated and dispersed.) If you, Sir, will kindly extend your favour to the fortunes of the State of T'ieh, and not destroy our altars, but allow the old friendship between your States and ours to be continued, then we shall not grudge giving up the precious things of our former rulers and the lands [which they had taken]. If you will not do this, then we will collect the fragments of our forces, and ask for another battle before the walls of our capital. Should we have the good fortune (to win it), we will extend your favour to the fortunes of your States. Should we not have that fortune, we shall much more not dare but listen to your commands.”

Loo and Weh strongly urged [K'eo K-tuh], saying, “T'ieh is angry with us. Those who have died in kindly extend your favour to the fortunes of the State of T'ieh, and not destroy our altars, but allow the old friendship between your States and ours to be continued, then we shall not grudge giving up the precious things of our former rulers and the lands [which they had taken]. If you will not do this, then we will collect the fragments of our forces, and ask for another battle before the walls of our capital. Should we have the good fortune (to win it), we will extend your favour to the fortunes of your States. Should we not have that fortune, we shall much more not dare but listen to your commands.”

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the site is not exactly determined. Chang Hshih says it was in the west of the pres. dis. of Lin- 
tsam, dept. Twing-chow. Others find it in the dis. of Tse-chuen (麓), dep. Tse-nam.

The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 7th month the army of Tain approached the capital of T'ao.
Kwsh Tse made a covenant at Yuen-lou, by which the people of Tain were required to return to
us the lands of Wang-yaang.

The Chuen adds here:—The duke of Lu [of Loo] met the army of Tain at Shang-ming, and, to
each of its three commanders (Kwsh Kih, See Shih, and Lwan Shio) he gave a carriage of
leather, with the robes of a minister of three degrees. The marshal of the host, the superin-
tendent of entrenchments, the master of the chariots, the master of the scouts, and the other
groomsmen inferior to them, all received the robes of an officer of one degree.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—In the 6th month of the Ka-shang year of Sun-ming. He was the first [duke
of Sung] to whom they gave an extravagant inter-
terment. The Chuen then goes on to quote [from
I Par. 8] Proverbs (for the walls of the grave), with more than the usual number of [eulogies]
carriages and [straw] horses. For the first time men (? images of men)
were interred with the corpse. The number of people who assembled for such an occasion was
augmented. The outer coffin was made with
4 pillars, and the inner one was ornamented
above and on the sides. The superior man
will say:—Hwa Yuan and Yoh Ken did not
act on this occasion as ministers ought to
do. It is the part of ministers to control the
restless movements and remove the errors of
their ruler, striving to do so even at the risk of
their lives. These two officers, while their ruler
was alive, allowed him to take the way of error;
and when he was dead, they acted as if they
were increasing his extravagances. They aban-
donned their ruler to wickedness, having nothing
about them of the proper character of ministers.

Par. 9. The Chuen must have died either during, or immediately after, his return
from T'ao. Kung-yang gives his name instead
of 速. The Chuen says:—In the 9th month,
duke Muh of Wei died. The three generals of
Tain, on their way from the campaign [in T'ao],
went to the capital of Wei [to offer their con-
dolences] and to comfort the sons of the prince (the
palace). The officers of Wei met them there,
and the women wept inside the gate. The same
rule was observed when the generals were escort-
ed away—and this became the regular method
of entertainment when there was to be an interment
[in Wei].

[The Chuen appendes here two long narratives:—1st. When T'ao was the Head of the
Hsia family in Ch'iu [see VII. xi. 5, and
par. 8]. Kwsh Tse was married to the daughter of
king Chwong wanted to take [his mother],
Hwa Ke, to her khome; but Woo-shin, duke of
Shih, said to him, "Do not do so. You called
out the States to punish a criminal. If you
now take his wife, she will be through desire of her beauty. Such desire is
lewdness, and lewdness is a great crime. One
of the Books of Chow [Shoo, V. ix. 2] says, "He
illustrated virtue and carefully abstained from
wickedness."It was thus that King Wao made
Chow [what it became]. "He illustrated his
virtue; that is, he did his utmost to put it away. If
he carefully abstained from wickedness;”—
that is, he did his utmost to put it away. If,
having removed the States to this expedition, you
are to go on to commit a great wickedness, that is not
careful abstain from it. Let you therefore well
consider the matter." The king on this
desisted from his purpose.

2nd. Tse-fan, then wished to take her; but Woo-
shin said to him, "She is a woman of evil coun-
se. She brought [her brother] Tse-fan, to an early
death; proved the death of [her husband] Yu-
shu; occasioned the murder of the marquis
Ling, the execution of [her son] Hwa Nan, the
expulsion of K'ung and E, and the ruin of the
State of Chia. What more insidious a wo-
man could there be? Man's life is encompassed
with difficulties;—is there any one who cannot
[naturally] find death? There are many be-
tiful women in the world;—why must you have
this one?" Tse-fan on this [likewise] gave up
his purpose.

The king then gave her to the Lceen-yin, Sseang
Lao, who died at the battle of Peh [in the
15th year of duke Senmu], though his body
had not been found. His son Hith-yen was a
connection with her; but Woo-shin sent a
message to her, saying, "Return to Ch'ing,
and I will make you regularly my wife." He
further brought about that they should send
from Ch'ing to call her there, on the ground
that the body [of her husband, Sseang Lao] could be found, and that she must come and
meet it. [Hwa] Ke informed the king of this
message, who asked K'ih Wuoo Woo-shin about
it. Woo-shin replied, "The thing is true. The
father of Chse Ying [A prisoner in T'ao, since
the battle of Peh] was a favourite with duke
Ching [of Tain], and is the youngest brother
of Chong-hang Ph [Seun Jan-fou]. He has
recently been made assistant-commander of the
army of the centre, and is very friendly with
Hwang Seou of Ch'ing. He is much attached
to this son, and is sure, through Ch'ing, to offer
to restore our king's son [A prisoner, since
the same battle, in T'ain] and the body of
Sseang Lao in exchange for him. The people of Ch'ing are afraid of [in consequence of the battle
of Peh], and anxious to conciliate its favour, so
that they will agree to the wishes of Chse Ying's
father." [In hearing this, the king] sent Hwa
Ke back to Ch'ing, and as she was about to
commence the journey, she said to those who
were escorting her, "If I do not get the body
[of my husband], I will not return here." [Thus
she went to Ch'ing, and by and by], Woo-shin
made proposals of marriage with her to the son
of Chse Ying, who accepted them.

*After the succession of king Kung [in T'eo],
when he was arranging for the expedition to
Yang-K'uan [In the winter of this year], he sent
K'ueh, Woo to go on a friendly mission to T'ao,
and to inform the marquis of the time of taking
the field. Woo-shin took all his family along
with him, and was met by Shih Shuh-kuo, who
was going to T'ing in the suite of his father.
Shuh-kuo said to him, "How strange! You
have the anxiety of all the armies of the State
on your mind, and yet you are as bright as
if proceeding to an encounter among the
cherry trees. You ought to be taking a
marriage with some lady." When Woo-
shin got to Ch’ing, he sent his assistant in the mission back to T’sew with the presents [he had received for Tsew], and proceeded to go elsewhere with Han Ke. He had been minded to fly to T’sew, but as its army had sustained the recent defeat, he said, "I will not live here. This State which is not victorious, and flew to Tsin, where, by means of K’oeh Chia, he obtained an appointment, and was made commander of Hing. T’seo-ten requested the king of T’sew to present large offerings (to Tsin), and get him dismissed from its service, but the king said, "He has gone in the way in which he had planned for himself; but in the plans which he laid for my father he was loyal. Loyalty secures the stability of the altar, and may cover a multitude of offenses. If he prove of advantage to it, moreover, would Tsin listen to our request, though it were made with large offerings? If he do not prove of service, Tsin will cast him off, without our having the trouble of sending a personal mission."

23. "When the army returned to Tsin, Fan Wăn-tse [See Seh; see the Chuen on p. 3] was the last [of the generals] to enter the capital. Woo-tse, [his father], said to him, "Have you really parted with me for Tsin?" He replied, "The army has done good service, and the people are meeting it with joy. If I had entered first, I should have attracted to myself their eyes and ears, and received the fame which belongs to the messenger-in-chief."

On this account I did not enter sooner." Woo-tse said, "We know by this that he will keep out of danger." K’oeh Peh had an interview with the duke, and said to him, "The victory was due to you." He replied, "It was due to your lordship’s instructions, and to the efforts of all your officers. No peculiar merit belonged to me." Fan Shih (Fan Wăn-tse) had an interview, and the duke complimented him in the same way, when he replied, "I got my appointment through [Seh] K’ang [the commander of the 1st army]. See Seh’s was only a temporary appointment, and the divisions were made by Kih. No peculiar merit belonged to me." When Luen Pih had an interview, the duke addressed him also in the same way, but he said, "It was Seh who instructed me, and the soldiers obeyed their orders. No peculiar merit belonged to me."

Par. 7. See on V. xxxi. 1. Tsin had insisted on T’sew’s surrendering this territory to Loo; and Loo seemed to have now taken decisive measures to secure it.

Par. 8. 9. 10. The Chuen says:—"Duke Seh had written to ask the friendship [and aid] of T’sew. [See the Chuen after VII. viii. 2 and 6.] But in consequence of his death and that of king Ch’ing, Loo and T’sew had not been allied. When duke Chieh succeeded to the State, he appealed a covenant with Tsin, and joined that State in the invasion of T’sew. [At the same time], the people of Wei had neglected to send any mission to T’sew, and had also appealed a covenant with Tsin, and followed it against T’sew. Tseo-choung, the chief minister of T’sew, therefore, made the expedition of Yung-k’eseu for the relief of T’sew. When he was about to raise the army for the service, he said, "Our ruler is young, and we are not equal to the great offiers of a former day. We shall require a large force in order to succeed."

"Numerous was the array of officers, And by them king Wăn enjoyed respect."

If even king Wăn employed a large force, much more must we do so! Moreover, our late ruler, duke Ch’ung, gave an order saying, "When we are in remote regions, our best plan is to show kindness and compassion to our own people, and use them well."

On this, he instituted a grand census from house to house, remitted taxes, was kind to the old and widowed, gave help to the needy, and pardoned offenders. He thus aroused all the forces of the State. The king’s own troops also went. T’sew Ming drove the king’s chariot, having duke Tsin of T’sew on the left, and duke Tsew of Hoo on the right. These two princes were both young, and they were cappd, not-withstanding, for the occasion.

In winter the army of T’sew made an incursion into Wei, and then into our territory, where it encamped at Shih. The duke wished to send Tsang-sun [Seh, shun] to it, but he declined, saying, "The army of T’sew has conquered far and been long on the way. It is sure to withdraw, and I do not dare to receive the fame of affecting such a service."

24. When the army advanced to Yung-k’eseu and Mäng-sun [Mung Heen-tseh, called also Ching-sun Mchih] begged leave to go and bribe it (to retreat). He took with him 1000 mandarins, 1000 female embassadors, and as many weavers, with (the duke’s son) Kung-hsing as hostages, and with them a request a covenant when T’sew agreed to make peace.

In the 11th month, the duke, with king [Mali’s] son, Ying-tse of T’sew, the marquis of T’sew, the baron of Hoo, Yush, great officer of the right, of Tsin, Hwa Yuen, of Sung, Kung-sun Ning of Ch’in, Sun Lian-fu of Wei, the Kung-tsew K’ou-tai of Ch’ing, and a great officer, of T’sew, made a covenant at Shih.

Par. 7. The names of the ministers of the different States are not given in the text, because this was an imperfect covenant. It may be called so, because they were at this time afraid of Tsin, and made the covenant with T’sew by stealth. The marquis of T’sew and the baron of Hoo were not mentioned, because they had occupied the carriage of the viscount of T’sew, and might be said to have lost their rank. The superior man will say, "His rank is that a man must be careful off! When once the rulers of Tsew and Tsin had failed to assert their rank, they were not numbered with the princes of the States—how much greater would be the consequence to men of inferior station!"

What this ode (She, III. III. ode V. 4) says,

"Not being idle in their stations, They secure the repose of the people," may be applied to a case like this."

Shih was a place belonging to Loo, in the west of the dis. of Tse-wan, dep. of the same name. The Kung-he editors observe that the K’un in p. 9 before Shih is the first time that any sign of the House of T’sew is thus designated; that the precedence given to T’sew and Tsin in p. 10 shows the power of those States; and that Tsew she is right in the sense which he assigns for the absence of Tsew and Hoo in the enumeration.
[The Chuen gives here the two following narratives:—1st. "When the army of T'oe reached Sung [on its return], Kung-häng [see above in the Chuen] stole away from it, back to Loo. Ts'ang Sun-shuh said: "Häng-fou, in thus shrinking from the discomfort of a few years, has had no regard to the welfare of the State of Loo. How shall the State deal with the case? Who will sustain the consequences? Hereafter, people will have to suffer them. The State has been abandoned." During this expedition, Tsin avoided T'oe through fear of the multitude of its army. The superior man will say: "Numbers cannot be dispensed with. Great officers, having the authority in their hands, could overcome by numbers; how much more must an intelligent ruler who uses his numbers well do so! What "The great Declaration" (Shoo, III. i. Pt. ii. 6) says, about Shang's having millions of people, divided in heart and Chow's having ten men united, illustrates the value of numbers (†)."

2d. "The marquis of Tsin sent Kung-suh [see Chwang-pih 士莊伯] to Chow with the prisoners and spoils of T'oe, but the king would not see him, and made duke Shang of Shen decline [the offerings], saying, "When any of the wild tribes, south, east, west or north, do not obey the king's commands, and by their dissoluteness and drunkenness are violating all the duties of society, the king gives command to attack them. Then when the spoils taken from them are presented, the king receives them in person, and rewards their punishers;—thus curbing the disrespectful, and encouraging the meritorious. When States, ruled by princes of the same surname with the royal House, or by princes of other surnames, are doing despite to the king's rules, he gives command to attack them. Then an announcement is made of the service performed, but no trophies of it are presented;—(the king) in this way showing his respect for his relatives and friends, and preventing fado license [in the punishment].

Now my uncle [of Tsin], having obtained a victory over T'oe, yet has not sent any of his ministers commissioned by me to guard and comfort the royal House. The messenger whom he has sent to comfort me, the One man, is this Kung-pih, whose office gives him no introduction to the royal House, which is contrary to the rules of the former kings. Though I wish to receive Kung-pih, yet I do not dare to disgrace my uncle by setting aside the old statutes. And T'oe is a State ruled by princes of another surname, descendants of the grand-tutor [of king Wen]. Granting that its ruler rudely indulged his own desires so as to excite the anger of my uncle, would it not have been sufficient to remonstrate with him, and instruct him?"

'To this speech, see Chwang-pih could make no reply, and the king entrusted the entertaining of him to his three [principal] ministers. They treated him with the ceremonies due to the great officer of a president of the States, announcing his ruler's conquest of his enemies,—a degree lower than the ceremonies proper to a high minister. The king also gave him an entertainment, and presented him privately with gifts, making the director of the ceremonies say to him, "This is contrary to rule. Do not make a record of it.""

Third year.

辛亥，葬衛穆公。乙亥，葬宋文公。甲子，新宮災三日。公至自晉。
秋叔孫僑如帥師圍棘。

右傳曰：「晉郤克、衛孫良夫伐衛。申之役，晉郤克、衛孫良夫從中軍，與連尹襄老之戶於楚，以求知寜。於是荀叔孫僑如帥師圍棘之田。」

大雩。晉郤克、衛孫良夫伐衛，如...

夏公如晉拜汶陽之田。子偃帥師禦之，使東鄙諸衛，敗諸丘典，皇戌如楚獻捷。
In his third year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'in, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'aou, in invading Ch'ing.

On Sin-hae there was the burial of duke Muh of Wei.

In the second month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

On Keah-tsze the new temple took fire, when we wailed for it three days.

On Yih-hae there was the burial of duke Wân of Sung.

In summer, the duke went to Ts'in.

K'eu-ts'ih, duke [Muh's] son, of Ch'ing led an army, and invaded Heu.

The duke arrived from Ts'in.

In autumn, Shuh-sun K'êaou-joo led an army, and laid siege to Keih.

There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

K'oeh K'êh of Ts'in, and Sun Lêang-foo of Wei, invaded the Tsêang-kaou-joo.

In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Ts'in sent Seun Kâng to Loo on a friendly mission; and the marquis of Wei sent Sun Lêang foo on the same.
13. On Ping-woo we made a covenant with Seun Käng, and on Tong-we we made one with Sun Léang-foo.

14. Ch'ing invaded Heu.

Par. 1. This par. shows how the weaker States oscillated between the two great ones of Tsin and T'oo, making covenants with them, and immediately after breaking them, according as the pressure came from them. Loo Sung, Wei, and T'oo had all been parties with Ch'ing to the covenant at Shuh; in which the presidency of T'oo was acknowledged, only two months before this; yet here they are, at the summons of Tsin, banded together with it, and invading Ch'ing. The Ch'en says—In the 32nd year, in spring, the States [mentioned] invaded Ch'ing, when their armies halted at Fuh-ni; the object being to avenge the battle of Feoh. [2] Sufficient reasons for the attack of Ch'ing may be found without going back as far as that battle]. A detachment then proceeded eastwards into the country, which was met by duke [Seun's] son, Yen, who defeated it at Kew-yu, having previously placed an ambuscade at Man in the eastern borders. Hwang Seun proceeded to T'oo with the trophies of this victory.

As the last Earl of T'oo and the marquis of Wei were both unbarred, their successors should not be mentioned here by their titles, but simply as 衛子 and 曹子, according to the analog of 未子 in V, ix, 2. Why this violation of rule, as Tso calls it, is committed here, we cannot tell. The failure of the enterprise is also kept back.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 祐 for 禰. The interment took place 3 months behind the proper time. The delay was probably occasioned by the expedition against Ch'ing.

Par. 3. By 新宮, we may understand the temple or shrine-house of duke Kung. Kung-yang says expressly the 宣公之宮, and Kuh-liang has, in the same effect, 祝宮. The three years of mourning for him had been completed, and his Spirit-tablet had been solemnly and regularly inscribed, for which the shrine-house proper to it [See on IV, ii, 2], when this was shortly after, it took place. It was according to rule for duke Ch'ing and his ministers to wait 3 days on such an occurrence.

Par. 4. The extravagant interment given to duke Wei is described on p. 6 of last year. Perhaps it was in the same spirit that the funeral was delayed, as if he had been emperor, till the 7th month after his death.

Par. 6. Tso says that the duke now went to Tain to make his acknowledgments for the lands of Wan-yang, which Tsin had compelled T'oo to restore to Loo.

Par. 7. Kueh-tso was the name of Tso-ling (子真), a son of duke Muh of Ch'ing, who appears, very creditably to himself, in the Ch'ien on VII, v, 2. Tso says that he now invaded Heu because that State, relying on the protection of T'oo, would not serve Ch'ing. It will be remembered how the exist of Ch'ing exist R}
servant of Tai Mem. It is thus I will repay you." The king said, "Tein is not to be controlled with." He thus treated Ying with exceedingly honor, and sent him back to Tein.

Par. 9. Tso observes that when Loo took or received from Tein the lands of Wan-yang, the city of Kehi, refused its submision, and, in consequence Shih-sun Keou-joo now sent signs to it, and we must suppose, took it. According to this, Kehi was in the territory of Wan-yang. It is referred to the pres. dir. of Fei-shing, dep. Tse-gan.

Par. 10. See on II.v. 7.

Par. 11. Tsing-kwan-joo is mentioned in the last Chun on V. xxii., where we also learn that the surname of the chief was Mag. Kung-yang gives the name with a 阮 instead of 丘 and Kuh-loong with a 矢. Tae-she says that the reason for the expedition was that the Tsing-kwan-joo were a remnant of the Red Tein. He adds, 'When it is said, "The Tein is dispersed,"' we are to understand that the chief had lost his hold on the people.

Farr. 12. The Chun says:—In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Tein sent Sun Kang to Loo on a friendly mission, and to renew the covenant (between Loo and Tein) [That made at Chih-kang, in Ching's 1st year]. The marquai of We [also] sent Sun Liang-joo on a similar mission, and to renew the covenant between Loo and Tein [That in the 7th year of duke Seunen]. The Duke consulted Tsang Siun-shuh saying, "The station of Ch' ang-hung Chih (Sun Kang) in Tein is that of a minister of the 3rd degree. The case of Tein is in Wei its minister of the 1st degree. With which shall I covenant first?" Siun-shuh replied, "A minister of the 1st degree in a second-rate State corresponds to one of the 2nd degree in a great State; its 2nd degree corresponds to the great State's 3d; and its 3d 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 of the lowest; the 2d degree to the great State's highest class of great officers, and the 3d degree to the second class. These are the relations of high and low [as concerns ministers and great officers], fixed by ancient rule. Now We, as compared with Tein, cannot be regarded as a State of the 2d degree; and Tein is lord of covenants—give the precedence to it." [Accordingly], on Ping-woo a covenant was made with Tein, and on Ting-we, with Wei;—which was right.

Par. 14. We have here three narratives appended in the Chun:—1st. In the 12th month, on Kehi-seul. Tain constituted six armies [See the Chun at the end of V. xxxvii.]. Han Keou, Chao Kwok, Kung Sch, Han Chuen, Seun Chuy, and Chao Chuen, were all made high ministers,—in reward for their service at Gau. 2d. The marquai of Tein paid a court-visit to Tein. When he was about to deliver his symbol of jade, Kuh Kuh ran forward and said, "This visit is on account of the laughter of your lordship's women, and the disgrace thereby inflicted [on me]. [See the Chun on VII. xvii. 5]; our ruler dare not accept this ceremony." When the marquai of Tein was feasting him of Tein, the latter looked [rather] at Han Keou, who said, "Does your lordship know me?" "Your clothes are different," was the reply [See the account of the battle of Gau, p. 3 of last year]. Han Keou ascended the steps with a cup of spirit, and said, "I did not presume not to risk my life, in order that your lordships might meet in this hall!"

3d. "When Sun Ying was a prisoner in Tein, a merchant of Ching formed a plan to convey him out of it in a bag of clothes. The plan was not carried out; but when Tein had restored Ying, the merchant went to Tein, where Ying treated him as well as he had really delivered him. The merchant said, "I did not do the service, and dare I receive this treatment as if I had done it? I am but a small man, and must not for my own advantage impose on a superior man." He went un to Tein."
IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, the duke of Sung sent Hwa Yuen to Loo on a friendly mission.
2 In the third month, on Jin-shim, Keen, earl of Ch'ing, died.
3 The earl of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.
4 In summer, in the fourth month, on Kēah-yin, Tsang-sun Heu died.
5 The duke went to Tsin.
6 There was the burial of duke Siang of Ch'ing.
7 In autumn, the duke arrived from Tsin.
8 In winter, we walled Yun.
9 The earl of Ch'ing invaded Heu.

Par. 1. Before this time, in all the period of the Ch'un T'ieh, Sung had sent no friendly mission of inquiry to Loo. It had sent no response even to the mission of the Kung-tseu Say in Wu's 11th year. There was probably some reason for Hwa Yuen's visit more than what Tse-she assigns—that it was to open communication with Loo on the part of the new duke of Sung (通嗣君).

Par. 2. On Tju Yu's scheme of the calendar, Jin-shim was the 29th day of the 3d month.

Par. 3. This sort of Ke was married to a daughter of Loo, of whose return to her native State, divorced, we found in the last part of last year. Tse says the visit he now paid to the court of Loo was in preparation for that event;—to explain, that is, the reasons which made it advisable. On the 2st see on VI. xii. 2.

Par. 4. Hseu had been an important oficer of Loo. He was succeeded by his son, Hseh (軏), known as Tsang-sun Wu-chung (武仲).

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—When the marquis of Tsin saw the duke, he did not behave to him with respect. Ke Wên-tseu (Ke-Sun. Hsia-ho) said, "The marquis of Tsin is sure not to escape [a violent death]." The details (She, IV. 1. [iii.] III.) says,

* Let me be reverent, let me be reverent.

Heaven's method is clear—
Its appointment is not easily preserved.*

The appointment of the marquis of Tsin depends on the State; ought he not to treat them with respect? In autumn, when the duke came [back] from Tsin, he wished to seek for a friendly reconciliation with Ts'oo, and to revolt from Tsin; but Ke Wên-tseu said to him: "You should not do so. Though Tsin has behaved unreasonably, we should not revolt from
it. The State is large; its ministers are harmonious; and it is near to us. The [other] States receive its orders. We may not yet cherish disaffection to it. The work of the historiographer Yü says, 'If he be not of our kin, he is sure to have a different mind.' Although T'ao be great, its capital is not near to us; will he be willing to love us?' On this, the duke desisted from his purpose.'

Par. 6. There were troubles, probably, in Ch'ing, which occasioned this hasty interment of duke Shang.

Par. 8. Kuang-yang has 運. T'ao thinks that the duke walled Yen, as a precautious measure against Ts'in, having it in mind to revolt from it. If this be a correct guess, then the Yen here must have been on the west of Lo, and a different place from the Yen in VI. xii. 8, which was fortified against any attempts of Ken from the east. But acc. to T'ao, on XI. x. 4 there was a Yen in the district of Wan-yang, and I agree with the Kuang-yang editors in approving the view of T'ao K'ung (戴溪) Sung dynasty, towards the end of the 12th cent. that this was the city in the text, and that Lo now fortified it, simply to strengthen itself, without reference to Ts'in. The Ch'iao on p. 7 says that the duke had desisted from his purpose to brave that power.

Par. 9. The Ch'iao says:—In winter, in the 4th month, Kuang-yun Shih of Ch'ing led a force, and endeavoured to lay out the boundaries of the fields of Hsin, [which Ch'ing had taken in its recent invasions]. The people of Hsin defeated him at Ch'en-k'o, when the earl of Ch'ing invaded that State [himself], and took the fortress of Ts'ien-fu and Liang-fu. Lew-an-sho of Ts'un, in command of the army of the centre, with Seun Show, as assistant-commander, and Seo Seo, assistant-commander of the 1st army, in order to relieve Hsin, made an invasion of Ch'ing, and took Fan-ch'ue. Tse-fan of Ts'eu then came to the relief of Ch'ing, and the earl of Ch'ing and the baron of Hsin sued each other [before him]. Hwang Seh pleading the case of the earl. Tse-fan could not determine the matter in dispute, and said, 'If you two princes will go before my ruler, then he and some of his ministers will hear together what you want to prove, and the merits of your case can be known. If you will not do so, then I (Tse-fan's name was 慎) do not feel myself able to ascertain the merits of it.'

The critics dwell on the incongruities of the earl of Ch'ing's being so stylish, and of his engaging himself in the invasion of Hsin, before the year in which his father died was completed.

[The Ch'iao adds here:—In winter, Chhao Ying [a younger, or the youngest, brother of Chhao T'ung, the great minister of Ts'in in duke Wan's time], had an intrigue with Chhao Ch'uang-k'e (Chuang-k'e was the wife of Chhao Sol, or Chhao Ch'uang-k'o, the son of Chhao T'ung).]

Fifth year.

秋

梁山崩

冬

10月己西天王崩。

11月己丑公會晋侯齊侯宋公衛侯鄭伯曹伯邾子。

杞伯同盟于碲牢。
In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the third daughter [of duke Wăn, who had been married to the earl] of Ke, came back to Loo.

Chung-sun Mēch went to Sung.

In summer, Shuh-sun Kēaou-joo had a meeting with Seun Show of Ts'in in Kuh.

[A part of] mount Leang fell down.

In autumn, there were great floods.

In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ke-yēw, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

In the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'in, the marquis of Ts'a, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscount of Choo, and the earl of Ke, when they made a covenant together in Ch'ung-laou.
Par. 5. Mount Lăng was in Ts'ai,—90 li to the north-east of the prin. dir. city of Han-shing, dep. S'gan, Shen-n. see on the Shoo, III. 1.

Par. 6. This was king T'ing (忙王子). Somehow this par. has got transposed in the Chuen, and follows the next. No remark is made on it which is contrary to Tseo-sha's practice, and has sent Too Yu conjecturing that the par. is an interpolation.

Par. 7. Ch'ung-iong was in Ch'ing,—8 li north from the present dis. city of Sung-k'ou (秀丘), dep. K'ai-tung. The Chuen says:—In winter, the States [mentioned] made a covenant together at Ch'ung-iong,—on occasion of the submission to T'ain of Ch'ing. They were consulting about another meeting, when the duke of Sung made Hsiao Wei-jun decline on his part, on account of the difficulties about Tse-lung [The Wei-kwei in the 3d narrative after par. 5].

On see III. xvi. 1. It here much perplexes the critics. The famous Ch'ing K interprets it of the parties thus meeting with one accord, neglectful of the duties incumbent on them upon the king's death!
六月，春王正月，公至自會。

取邾，衛孫良夫帥師侵宋。

夏，六月，邾子來朝。

秋，仲孫蔑叔孫僑如帥師侵宋。

王申鄭伯費卒。

以秋，齊人盟於黃池。
VI. 1 In his sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Ch'ung-lou].

2 In the second month, on Sin-sze, we set up a temple to [duke] Woo.

3 We took Chuen.

4 Sun Leang-foo of Wei led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.

5 In summer, in the sixth month, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.

6 Kung-sun Ying-ts'e went to Ts'in.

7 On Jin-shin, Pe, earl of Ch'ung, died.

8 In autumn, Chung-sun Mëeh and Shuh-sun Këaou-joo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.

9 The Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo led a force, and invaded Ch'ing.

10 In winter, Ke-sun Hâng-foo went to Ts'in.

11 Lwan Shoo of Ts'in led a force and relieved Ch'ing.

Par. 1. [The Chuen introduces here:—'This spring, the earl of Ch'ung went to Ts'in to pay his acknowledgments for the peace [to which Ts'in had admitted him]. Tse-yew [The Kung-tsze Yen in the 1st Chuen after p. 5 of last year] attending him. He delivered his nose of jade on the east of the eastern pillar [of the hall], on which See Ching-pah [Sue U-chab] said, 'The death of the earl of Ch'ing cannot be far off.' He quite forgets himself. His eyes roll about,
he walks rapidly, and does not rest in his place.

We may well conclude that he will not live long.

Par. 2. Two she appears to take 武宮, meaning 'a palace of victory' or 'a temple of war.' The Chuen is: 'In the 38th month, Ko Wun-tse, on account of the victory at Gun, set up a temple of War, which was contrary to rule. [A State] dependent on others to save it in its distress cannot establish a character for prowess. The establishment of that must proceed from itself, and not from others.' Too compares this with the proposal, which the visit of T'ao rejected, after the battle of Peih, that he should rent a monument of his triumph. It is better, with most of the critics, to take 武 in the sense of 武公, 'duke Wu,' an earlier marquis of Loo, from 823 to 815 B.C., who had been distinguished for his military successes. They were flushed, no doubt, at the time, in Loo with the victory at Gun, and in the spirit of military enterprise, they resolved to add to the ancestral temple a shrine to this duke, where a capital was replacing in its spirit tablet that had long been removed, thereafter to continue undisturbed. This temple or shrine house became Loo's 武世宅.

Par. 3. Chuen was a small State, attached to Loo, referred to some in the north-east of the pres. dis. of Tung-shing, 鄭城 (郯州). Loo now extinguished its sacrifices, and incorporated it with itself. Tso she thinks the brief record in the text intimates the ease with which the thing was accomplished.

Par. 4. The Chuen says: 'In the 38th month, Philip and Hsin-yang Yung of Tsin, Sun Liang-foo and King Shang of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, the Jung of E and Loo [See the Chuen after y. xii. 2], those of Loo-huan [See the Chuen after y. xii. 2] and the Man-sha, made an incursion into Loo, increased beyond doubt, had declined to attend the meeting [proposed at Chung-lou]. When their army was at Loo, the people of Wei were not maintaining any guard, and Yung wished to make a dash upon its capital, saying, 'Although we may not be able to enter it, yet shall we bring back many prisoners, and our office will not be deemed a mortal one.' Phltsung, however, said, 'No, WE is trusting Tsin, and therefore, though our army is in the outskirts of the city, it has made no preparations against an attack. If we make a dash upon it, we abandon our good faith. Though we should take many prisoners, yet having lost our faith, how can Tsin seek the leading of the States?' Yung then gave up his purpose. When the army returned, the people of Wei manned their parapets.'

Since the nature of the attack on Sung was as here described in the Chuen, it is not easy to understand why the text should simply attribute it to Wei. Nor can we account for the sudden purpose of Yung of Tsin to attack Wei.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about Tsin: 'The people of Tsin were consulting about leaving [their capital at] old Kung, and the great officers all said, 'We must occupy the [present] Shun-ha. The soil is rich and fruitful, and it

is near the salt marsh. There is profit in it for the people, and enjoyment for the ruler. Such a site is not to be lost.' At this time] Han Hien-tse [Han K'ueh] commanded the new army of the centre, and was also high chamberlain. The marquis bowed to him in following him, which he did to the court before the State chamber, and as they stood there, the marquis asked his opinion on the subject. Han Hien-tse replied, 'At Shun-ha the soil is thin and the water shallow. The evil airs about it are easily developed. This will make the people miserable. In their misery they will become feeble and diseased; and then we shall have swollen legs, and all the diseases generated by damp. The site there is not like that of Sin-tzen, where the soil is good and the water deep. It may be occupied without fear of disease. There are the Fan and the Kwei to carry away the evil airs; and the people, moreover, are docile. It offers advantages for ten generations. Mountains, marshes, forests, and salt-grounds are indeed most precious to a State; but when the country is rich and fruitful, the people grow proud and the capital is near such precious places, the ruling House becomes become, and the site cannot be called enjoyable.' The marquis was pleased, and followed the suggestion. In summer, in the 4th month, on Tsin-t'ao, Tsin removed its capital to Sin-tzen.'

Par. 5. Kung-sun Ying-tse was the son of Shuh-lich, whose death is mentioned in VII, xvii. 8. He was the grand son of Kung-sun Wan. He is known as Tae-shuh Shing-pih (子叔翳伯).

[The Chuen says: 'Tae-shuh Shing-pih went to Tsin, and got orders [for Loo] to invade Sung. In autumn, Ming Heen-tse and Shuh-sun Sheng-pih made an incursion into Sung, according to the orders of Tsin.'

Par. 7. Too observes that in this death of the marquis of Tsin, duke T'ao, we have the fulfillment of Shing-pih's words in the Chuen after par. 1.

Par. 8. Too says, 'Tae-ch'ung of T'ao invaded Ch'ing, because Ch'ing was [now] following the party of Tsin.'

Par. 9. Too says the object of this visit was to congratulate Tsin on the tranquillity of its capital. Chao P'ang-fei, however, thinks it was to tell Tsin of the submission of Sung, as in p. 23 of next year we find that State again confederate with Tsin against T'ao.'

Par. 11. Kung-yang has 侯 instead of 束; evidently an error. The Chuen says: 'Lwan Sho of Tsin [marched] to relieve Ch'ing, and at Jcuo-koh, met with the army of Tsin which retired from the State. The army of Tsin then proceeded to make an incursion into T'ao, to the relief of which came the Kung-tse, Shin and Shing, with the forces of Shin and Seh, which took up their position at Sung-ya, Chua T'ung and Chao Kwah wished to risk a battle, and begged Woo-tze [Lwan Sho] to do. He was about to accede to his request, when Chen Ch'ung-tse [Shen Sho], Fai Wan-tse [See Seh], and Han Hien-tse [Han K'ueh] demonstrated, saying, 'Do not enter, the camp to relieve Ch'ing, and when the army of T'ao is removed away from us, we come on here. Thus we have transferred the scene of our attack, and if we
go on to attack the army of T'ou, shall conquer it, and be sure to lose any battle. Even should we conquer, it will not be well. We came out with all our hosts; and should we defeat the forces of two districts of T'ou, what glory will there be in the achievement? But should we not be able to do so, the disgrace will be extreme. Our host plan is to return." Upon this, the army returned to T'ou. At this time nearly all the leaders of the army wished to fight, and some one said to Luan Woo-tan, "The sages found the way to success in the agreement of their wishes and those of the multitude. Why not [now] follow the multitude? You are commander-in-chief, and should decide according to the views of the people. Of your eleven assistant command-}


Seven year.


夏五月曹伯来朝。


秋楚公子婴齐帅师伐郑公会晋侯齐侯宋公卫侯曹伯莒子邾子杞伯救郑八月戊辰。


冬大雩。卫孙林父出奔晋。
VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, some field mice ate the horns of the bull for the border sacrifice. It was changed, and another divined for; but the mice again ate its horns, on which the bull was let go.

2 Woo invaded Ts'en.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, the earl of Ts'ou came to Loo on a court-visit.

4 There was no border sacrifice, but still we offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.

5 In autumn, the Kung-tsze Ying-tsa'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'ing. The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the mar-
quis of Wei, the earl of Ts'ou-n, the viscount of Keu, the viscount of Choo, and the earl of Ke, in relieving Ch'ing; and in the 8th month, on Maou-shin [these princes] made a covenant together in Ma-ling.

6 The duke arrived from the [above] meeting.

7 Woo entered Chow-lae.

8 In winter, there was a great sacrifice for rain.

9 Sun Lin-foo of Wei fled from that State to Tsin.

Par. 4. Coupling these two paragraphs together, as it would seem we ought to do, we must conclude that the border sacrifice referred to was not that at the winter solstice, but that in the spring, as in V. xxxi. 3, and that the bulls whose horns were injured were those which were being fed for that somewhat distant ceremony. Many critics contend that the sacrifice was that of the solstice;—see the Spring Autumn.

Par. 6. But par. 6 is fatal to that view.

The 6 is described as the smallest of all mice. The wound of its bite is said to be poisonous, and I have heard the same affirmed in Scotland of the bite of the harvest mouse. At the same time, the pain may not be felt immediately, and it is called the mouse of the pleasant month (甘口鼠, "Liu Hsiang and a host of critics dwell upon the event as a mysterious sign of the state of things in Loo, where the ruling family was coming more and more into contempt, and mean men were usurping the power of the State. Chou’s ‘Pang-fei’ speaks the views of those who say that the thing was from Heaven, and that its disastrous effect was an act of retribution. The more sensibly wise in the narrative only the record of a remarkable fact,—though we believe it was superstition which was the cause of the much-regarded which was paid to such occurrences.

Par. 2. This is the first mention of Woe in the text, and in the Chuen it is only once before mentioned, on VII. vii. 7. Its lords were vassals, descended from Tse-neh, the celebrated, self-denying, son of king Tae, of whose virtue Confucius speaks in the Analects, VIII.

The 1st capital of the State was called Mei-le (梅里), in the pres. dis. of Woe-min (無錫), dep. Chang-chow (常州), Kiang-sou.

Par. 9. The origin of the text is supposed to be expressive of contempt: but there is no real ground for such a view. Tso—see VII. iv. 1.

The Chuen says:—Woo invaded Tae, and Tae submitted to the terms of peace [which it imposed]. Ke Wan-tze said:—"The Middle States do not array their multitudes, and the wild tribes of the south and east enter and attack them, while there is none to pity the sufferers. [Tan] has no comforter." It is of such a case that the ode (Shu. II. iv. ode VII. 6) speaks,

'O umplying great Heaven,
There is no end to the disorder.'

When the highest State offers no condoleance, what one is not liable to similar injury? We shall perish, and that soon." The superior man will say, 'That he knew to be thus apprehensive was a proof that he would not perish.' [The Chuen here adds:—"Ts'ao-lang of Ch'ing attended duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing on a visit to Tsin, that he might [on his accession to the State], be introduced [to the marquis], and to give thanks for the army [of relief, of the past year]."

Par. 5. Tso-she observes that this was duke Suen.

Par. 5. Ma-ling was in Wei, 50 li to the south-east of the pres. city of Ta-ming. The Chuen says:—This autumn, Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'ao invaded Ch'ing, and encamped with his army at Fan, when the States came to relieve it. Kung Ch'un, and Hau Yu of Ch'ing assisted the army of Ts'ao, and took prisoner Chung-je, of Yen, whom they presented to Tsin. In the 8th month, the [assembled] States made a covenant together at Ma-ling, renewing the covenant at Ch'ung-foo [in the 9th year], and recognizing the submission of Keu [to Tsin]. The people of Tsin took Chung-je back with them, and kept him a prisoner in the arsenal.

Par. 7. Chow-lae was a city belonging to Tseu; 30 li north of the pres. city of Show Chow (蘇州), dep. Fung-yang, Gua-hui. Immediately on its appearance on the scene of the Ch'ing Tse, Woo becomes the antagonist of Tseu, and the balance of power among the States is sensibly affected. The Chuen says:—After the siege of [the capital of] Suen by Tseu [in the 14th year of duke Suen], when the army returned, Tsze-ch'ing requested that he might receive certain lands of Shin and Loo, as his reward, to which the king consented. Woo-shin, duke of Shin, however, reproached the impropriety of the grant, saying, 'It is these lands which make Shin and Loo the States they are. From them they derive the levies with which they withstand the States of the North. Take them away, and there will be no Shin and Loo. Tsze and Ch'ing are sure to come as far as the Han.' On this the king gave up all thought of the partition, but the resentment of Tsze-ch'ing against Woo-shin was excited.
When Tse-fan wished to take Hia Ke to his harem, Woo-shin interceded to prevent him, though he afterwards married her himself, and left Tse [see the Chuen after p. 6 of the 23rd year]. In consequence of this, Tse-fan also renounced Woo-shin's conduct, and when King Kung succeeded to his father, these two ministers put to death Tse-yn, Tse-tang, and Fu-k'ei, the said Tse-fan's people. They put to death in the same way Chih-yao, the son of Scang-noon, and thus divided the property of their victims among themselves and their friends. Tse-chung took the property of Tse-yn, and made the commandant of Shin and the king's son P'o divide that of Tse-tang, while Tse-fan took all that had belonged to Chih-yao and the commandant of Ts'ing. Woo-shin then sequestered [the property] from Tse-fan, saying, "You have served your ruler with slanderous words and covetous greed, and have put to death many innocent persons. I will cause you to be weary with running about on service till you die."

After this, Woo-shin obtained leave from the marquis of Ts'in to go on a mission to Woo, the vassal of which State, Shou-mung, was pleased with him. In this way he opened a communication between Woo and Ts'in. He went to Woo with a hundred choi-chos [chariotmen], and he left a fourth of them [This passage is obscure] with some archers and charioteers, who taught the men of Woo how to ride in chariots, and how to form the order of battle, leading them on to revolt from Ts'ao. He [also] left his son, Hoo-yung, to be minister of Woo in his communications with other States. Woo then began to attack Ts'ao, invading Chun-nou and Sen, to the relief of which Tse-chung was obliged to hurry. After the meeting at Ma-hing, when Woo entered Chow-lao, Tse-chung hurried there from Ch'ung. Thus it was that he and Tse-fan in one year flew about on seven different commissions. The truce of the south and east, which belonged to Ts'ao were all taken by Woo, which now began to have much communication with the superior States [of the north].

Par. 8. See on II. v. 7, et al.

Par. 9. This Sun Lin-fou was the son of Sun Leang-fou, the chief minister of Wei. The city held by the family was Tseh, which Lin-fou would appear to have surrendered to Ts'in. The Chuen says:--"Duke Ting of Wei hated Sun Lin-fou, who left the State this winter, and fled to Ts'in. The marquis went to Ts'in, which restored Ts'eh to Wei. We shall find hereafter this Lin-fou a great trouble to Wei."

Eighth year.

冬十月癸巳,叔姬卒。晉侯使士燮來聘。
VIII. 1. In the [dike's] eighth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Han Ch'uen to Loo, to speak about the lands of Wan-yang, which were [in consequence] restored to Tse.

2. Luan Shoo of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'ne.

3. Kung sun Ying-te went to Ken.

4. The duke of Sung sent Hwa Yuen to Loo on a friendly mission.

5. In summer, the duke of Sung sent Kung-sun Shou to Loo, to present his marriage-offering.

6. Tsin put to death its great officers, Chaou T'ung and Chaou Kwok.

7. In autumn, in the seventh month, the son of Heaven sent the earl of Shaou to confer on the duke the symbol [of investiture].

8. In winter, in the tenth month, on Kweimao, [dike Wan's] third daughter, [who had been married to the earl] of Ke, died.

9. The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Sseh to Loo on a friendly mission.

10. Shuh-sun K'saiou-jo joined Sze Sseh of Tsin, an officer of Tse, and an officer of Choo, in invading T'an.

11. An officer came from Wei, with ladies of that State to accompany to her harem [the bride of the duke of Sung.]

Par. 1. After the battle of Gan, Tsin had required Tse to restore to Loo the lands of Wan-yang, and Loo had taken possession of them, as related in p. 7 of 22 year; but now, to gratify Tse, Tsin exerts its authority and obliges Loo to restore the territory to it. The Chuen says:—

"On this occasion, Ke Wan-tse made a feast to Han Ch'uen on the way, as he was leaving, and then privately said to him, "Your great State, by its righteous decisions, maintains its claim to preëxcel over covenants; and on this account the other States cherish its favours and dread its punishments, without any thought of dissatisfaction. As to the lands of Wan-yang, they were an old possession of our poor State, and after the expedition against Tse you caused it to restore them to us. Now you give a different command, requiring us to restore them to Tse. Good faith in the doing what is right, and righteousness in the carrying out its orders;—these are what the small States hope from Tsin, and for these they cherish it. But if your good faith is not to be seen, and your righteousness is not to be found, which of all the States will not separate from you? The ode (She, L vi. ode IV, 4) says,

"I am not different,
But you are double in your ways.
It is you, Sir, who observe not the perfect rule,
Thus changeable in your conduct."
Here in the space of 7 years you give us [Wang-yang] and you take it away;—what greater changeableness could there be? The gentleman may go to the [celestial] court, but the changeableness, lost [the affections of] his wife; what must not the prince who assumes to be the leader of the States lose? He is to employ the influence of virtue; but when he changes about, how can he long retain [the attachment of] the States? The ode (Sho. Ill. ii. ode X. 1) says,

"Your plans do not reach far. And therefore I strongly admonish you."

Apprehensive lest Ts'in, by the want of a far-reaching foresight, should lose the States, I have ventured privately thus to speak to you."

Par. 2. In the Ch'en on p. 11 of the 6th year we have the troops of Ts'in making an incursion into Ts'e, which was relieved by Ts'ou, when Ts'en withdrew from the field. Ts'in now again attacks Ts'e, and goes on to enter Ts'e. The Ch'en says:—"Ts'en Shoo of Ts'en made an incursion into Ts'e, and went on to an incursion into Ts'e, when he captured [the great officer] Shun Lu. After the army of Ts'ou withdrew from Ts'en, he consented to the incursion into Shih, and captured its viscount, Ts'e. This was through [Ts'en Shoo's] continuing to take the advice of Che, Pan, and Han. The superior man will say, "He followed the wise and good, as on the course of a stream, and right it was that he was so successful." The ode (Sho. Ill. i. ode V. 3) says,

"Our amiable, courteous prince."

Extremely used the [good] men."

[So did king Wan], seeking for the wise and good, and he who was such is sure to accomplish much.

During this expedition, the Earl of Ch'ing was going to join the army of Ts'in, when he attacked the eastern gate of [the capital of] Hsü, and got great spoil.

Par. 3. Ts'e, she says:—Ts'ing Pi went to Kei, to meet his bride. The case is analogous to that of the Kung-shun Ts'e in V. viii. See the Ch'en there.

Par. 4. Ts'e, she says:—The Kung-shun Ts'e in V. viii. See the Ch'en there. For Kung and Kui have 锡 but it seems impossible to establish any distinction between the meaning of these terms. They are both applied to a gift from a superior to an inferior 上下之辞. Perhaps, as the Kung-he editors think, 锡 is more appropriate where the gift is one of favour, and where it is according to established conventions. The reader will observe the use of 天子 for the king, instead of 天王 which we hitherto found. Ts'e, she tells us that the Earl of Shun in the text was duke Huen. As to the symbol sent to duke Ch'ing, see on VI. 5. In duke Wan's case, however, it was sent at the proper time, immediately after he succeeded to his father. Here it comes late, as too Yu says

"來紕也."

[The Ch'en adds here:—The marquis of Ts'in sent Woo-shiu, duke of Shih, on a mission to Woo. Having asked leave to pass through Kei, he was standing with duke Kei above the city-meat, and said to him, "The wall is in a bad condition." The viscount of Kei replied, "Kei is a poor State, lying among the wild tribes of the east; who will think of taking any measure against such a place?"

Crafty men there are, who think of enlarging its boundaries for the advantage of the altar of their State;—what State is it where there is not such men? It is thus that there are so many large States. Some think [there may be such dangers]; some say things take their course.
my ruler and you. If your lordship come after the other princes, my ruler will not be able to serve you [any more]." Sêsh was about to return with the duke's request to Tsin, when Ke-un became afraid, and sent Seven-pilot with a force to join in the invasion of Tsin.

Par. 11. See on L. vi. 1. The bride of the duke of Song—known as Kung Ke—was famous, it is said, for her worth; and the States contended for the privilege of sending their daughters to accompany her to the haven. The canon which Tso-sha lays down, that such attendant ladies must be of the same surname as the bride, and not of a different surname, was broken down, we shall see, in her case.

Ninth year.

二月，伯姬歸于宋。公至自會。春秋七月，丙子，齊侯無野卒。冬十一月，葬齊獻公。秦人白狄伐晉。楚公子婴齊帥師伐莒。庚申，莒潰。楚人入鄅。
為，歸汶陽之田，故諸侯貳于晉，人懼會于蒲，以尋馬陵之盟。季文子謂范文子曰：「德則不競，尋盟何為？」

二月，伯姬歸于宋。

夏，季文子如宋致女復命公亭之賦韓奕之五章穆姜出于房。再拜曰：大夫勤勞不忘先君以及嗣君施及末。

晉人來聘，也。

秋，鄭伯如晉，人討其貳于楚也，執諸侯盟誓書伐鄭。鄭人使伯蠲行成。晉人殺之，非禮也。兵交，使在其間可。

冬十有一月，楚子重自陳，伐莒圍渠丘，渠丘城壞，莒人潰，莊公甲申，楚入莒。莒人囚楚公子平，楚人曰：勿殺之。

而俘莒人殺之。楚師圍莒，莒城亦壞，庚申，楚遂入莒，莒無備故也。君子曰：恃險而不御罪之大者也，備豫不虞者也。魯不成善之大者也，莒恃其險，而不脩城郭險，齊之間，而楚克其三都無備，也。夫詩曰：「雖有榛楛，無斧斧。」雖有牝牡，何獨無鮑？”

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IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the earl of Ke came to Loo, to meet the coffin of duke Wan's third daughter, and took it back with him to Ke.

2 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'in, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'un, the viscount of Keu, and the earl of Ke, when they made a covenant together in P'o-o.

3 The duke arrived from the meeting.

4 In the second month, duke [Seuen's] eldest daughter went to her home in Sung.

5 In summer, Ke-sun Hang-foo went to Sung, to celebrate the completion of the above lady's union with the duke of Sung.

6 An officer came from Ts'in with ladies of that State to go to the harem [of Sung].

7 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping-tsze, Woo-yay, marquis of Ts'e, died.

8 The people of Ts'in seized and held the earl of Ch'ing, and Lwan Shoo of Ts'in led a force and invaded Ch'ing.

9 In winter, in the eleventh month, there was the burial of duke K'ing of Ts'e.

10 The Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'o led a force and invaded Keu. On Kang-shin the people of Keu dispersed, and the troops of Ts'o entered Yun.

11 A body of men from Ts'in and the white Teih invaded Ts'in.

12 A body of men from Ch'ing laid siege to [the capital of] Hsu.

13 We walled Chung-shing.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—The earl of Ke came thus to meet the coffin, because we had asked him to do so. The remark [in p. 8 of last year] that "Shuh Ke of Ke died" is because of [the relation the lady had sustained to] Ke; this record of the earl's meeting her [coffin], is because of [the relation she had sustained to] Ke.

Kung-yang says that Ke was compelled by Loo to take the divorced wife's coffin back to Ke and bury it there. The Kung-he editors observe that this account and Ts'e-shu's are quite reconcilable.

Par. 2. P'o-o.—see H. iii. 2. The Chuen says:—Because of the restoration of the lands of Wan-yang [see p. i of last year], all the States became dissatisfied to Ts'in. The people of Ts'in were afraid, and called a meeting at P'o-o to renew the covenant of Ma-heng [see VII. 5]. Ke Wan-tze said to Fan Wan-tsze, "Since your virtue is not strong, of what use is the renewal of covenants?" The other replied, "By diligence in encouraging the States, by generosity in our treatment of them, by firm strength in withstanding our enemies, by appealing to the intelligent Spirit to bind our agreements, by..."
DUKE CH'UNG.

731.

That the marquis made them loose his bands, called him, and spoke comfortably to him. The man bowed twice before him, with his head to the ground, and the marquis spoke to him about his family. "We are musicians," said he, "Can you play?" "Music," said he, "was the profession of my father. Dare I learn any other?" The marquis made a lute be given to him, which he began to touch, as to the south. He was then asked about the character of the king of Te-oo, but he answered that was beyond the knowledge of a small man like himself. The marquis urging him, he replied, "When he was prince, his tutor and his guardian trained him; and in the morning he was to be seen with Ying-ta-o, and in the evening with Ts'ai. I do not know anything else about him." The duke repeated this conversation to Fan Wan-tzu, who said, "That prisoner of Te-oo is a superior man. He told you of the office of his father, showing that he is not ashamed of his origin. He played an air of his country, showing that he has not forgotten his old associations. He spoke of his king when he was prince, showing his own freedom from mercenariness. He mentioned the two ministers by name, doing honour to your lordship. His not being ashamed of his origin shows the man's virtue; his not forgetting his old associations, his good faith; his freedom from mercenariness, his loyalty; and his honouring your lordship, his intelligence. With virtue to undertake the management of affairs, good faith to keep it, and loyalty to complete it, he is sure to be competent to the successful conduct of a great business. Why should not your lordship send him back to Te-oo, and make him unite Te-an and Te-oo in bonds of peace?" The marquis followed this counsel, treated Chung-e with great ceremony, and sent him back to Te-oo to ask that there might be peace between it and Ts'ai."

Par. 10. The Yua (Kung-yang has 聞 mentioned here is diff. from that in IV. 8; but it is probably the same as that which appears in VI. xii. 8, as being walled by duke Wan. This was in the possession,—now of Kao, and now of Loo. The Chuen says, "In the 11th month, Ts'ai-chung of Ts'oo went on from Ch'in, and invaded Kao. He laid siege to Ken-kue, the walls of which were so badly built, that the people all dispersed, and fled to Kao, the troops of Yu-wu entering Ken-kue. The people of Kao made the Kung-tse of Yua a prisoner, and put him to death, notwithstanding that the enemy begged them not to do so, and promised, if they would spare him, to restore their captives. The army of Yua then laid siege to the city of Kao, whose walls were in the same condition as those of Ken-kue, and on Kun-shing the people dispersed. Te-oo went on to enter Yua, for Kao had made no preparations against it. A superior man will say, "To trust to one's insignificance and make no preparations against danger is the greatest of offences; while to prepare beforehand against what may not be foreseen is the greatest of excellences. Kao trusted to its insignificance, and did not raise its walls, so that in the course of twelve days, Te-oo subdued its three chief cities. This result was all from the want of preparation." The ede [It is now lost] says,
"Though you have silk and hemp,
Do not throw away your grass and rushes.
Though your wife be a Re or a King,
Do not slight your sons of till.
All men
Have their vicissitudes of want."

This shows that preparation ought never to be
interrupted."

Par. 11. In VII. viii. 6, we found the White
Teli confederate with Tain against Telin; here
they are leagued with Telin against Tain; the
cause, says Tsao-sha, of the general disaffection
of the States to Tain.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—The people of
Ching laid siege to Hao, to show Tain that
they were not urgent about their earl, (whom
it was keeping a prisoner). The plan proceeded
from Kung-shun Shin, who said, "If we send
out a force to besiege Hao, and make as if we
would appoint another ruler, taking our time to
send a messenger to Tain, that State is sure to
send back our ruler."

Par. 12. Too Yu, Mao, and others, think
Chung-shing was the name of a city of Loo,
which is the most natural interpretation of the
phrase. Others think the meaning is that the
duke now repaired the wall of the capital, the
walls of the cities generally. See on XI. vii. 6.
All that Tso-sha says is that the thing was done
at the proper season.

(The Chuen adds here:—In the 12th month,
the viscount of Ta'oo sent the Kung-tse Shin
to Tain, in return for the mission of Chung-ko,
asking that the two States should cultivate
friendship and knit the bonds of peace.)

Tenth year.

[Text continues with Chinese characters and a calendar layout.]

Autumn.
1. In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, Hih-pei, younger brother of the marquis of Wei, led a force and made an incursion into Ch'ing.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fifth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavourable, and we did not offer the sacrifice.

3. In the fifth month, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin; the marquis of T'se, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'ao-u, in invading Ch'ing.

4. An officer came from T'se to offer ladies of that State to go to the harem [of Sung].

5. On Ping-woo, now, marquis of Tain, died.

6. In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke went to Tain.

7. It was winter, the tenth month.

The Chuen introduces here—In the 10th year, in spring, the marquis of Tain sent Tsao Fei to T'ao, in return for its mission of the grand-administrator, Tsou Shang (See the Chuen at the end of last year).
for 10,000 ages—at could it have recognized the succession of a son while the father was yet alive, giving him his title? The former critics have all disapproved this matter. Mao, it may be observed, accepts Tso-shu's statement without question.

Par. 4. Tso-shu makes no remark on this paragraph. It is in contradication of his canon at the end of the 8th year, that the ladies, the attendants of a bride to her harem, must not be of a different surname from herself. The ladies of Wei (VIII.1), and those of Tsin (IX.6), were all Kés like the daughter of Loo, but here are Kšang claiming to join her company as well. Then the prince of a State was understood to be provided at once with nine partners—the wife proper, and eight attendants; but in this case the Duke of Sung was provided with twelve. There has been no end of speculations and discussion on the text, without any satisfactory conclusion. The thing may have been contrary to rule, but the text remains. There is nothing in the text to indicate that the action of Tso was not as proper as that of Wei and Tsin.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Tsin saw in a dream a great demon with dishevelled hair reaching to the ground, which beat its breast, and leaped up, saying, 'You have slain my descendant unrighteously, and I have presented my request to God in consequence [This would be the spirit of the founder of the Châu clan]." It then broke the great gate of the palace, advanced to the gate of the State chamber, and entered. The duke was afraid and went into a side-chamber, the door of which it also broke. The duke then awoke, and called for the witch of Sung-Tei, whom he told everything which he had dreamed. "What will be the issue?" asked the duke. "You will not taste the new wheat," she replied.

After this, the duke became very ill, and asked the services of a physician from Tsin, the earl of which sent the physician Hwán to do what he could for him. Before he came, the dukes dreamt that his disease turned into two boys, who said, "That is a skilful physician, it is to be feared he will hurt us; how shall we get out of his way?" Then one of them said, "If we take our place above the heart and below the throat, what can he do to us?" When the physician arrived, he asked, "Nothing can be done for this disease. Its seat is above the heart and below the throat. If I assail it with medicine, it will be of no use; if I attempt to puncture it, it cannot be reached. Nothing can be done for it." The duke said, "He is a skilful physician," gave him large gifts, and sent him back to Tsin.

In the sixth month, on Ping-woo, the marquis wished to taste the new wheat, and made the superintendent of his fields present some. While the baker was getting it ready, they called the witch of Sung-tei, showed her the wheat, and put her to death. As the marquis was about to taste the wheat, he felt it necessary to go to the privy, into which he fell, and so died. One of the servants who waited on him had dreamed in the morning that he carried the marquis on his back up to heaven. The same at mid-day carried him on his back from the privy, and was afterwards buried alive with him!"

[The Chuen adds here:—The earl of Ch'ing, punishing those who had set up other signs in his place, and Maou-shin, put to death Shu Sh-hsin and his brother Shu K'un [See the Chuen on para. 12 of last year]. The superior man will say, "Loyally, as a praise-worthy virtue, is still to be shown only to a proper object;—how much less should it be shown where may it not be deemed praise-worthy!?"

Par. 6. The Chuen says, "When the duke of Sung went to Tsin, they detained him there, and made him attend the burial of the marquis. At this time Tsoo Fei had not returned from Tsoo [See the Chuen at the beginning of the year]. In winter there was the burial of Duke Hing which was followed by the duke. No other prince of a State was present, and the historian of Loo, because of the disgrace connected with the thing, did not record, but concealed it.

Par. 7. Kung-yang has not this para, and it may be doubted whether the editions of Kuo-Tsing and Tso-shu before the T'ang dynasty had it. See the note in loco., on T'wan Yüeh-šu's 'Old Text of the Ch'un T'üe.'

Eleventh year.
左傳曰，十一年，春王三月，公至自晉，晉人以公為貳于楚，故止公，公請受盟，而後使歸。

秋，宣伯聘於齊，以修前好。

夏，季文子如晉，報聘，且結盟也。

秦伯子河，欲通于晉，晉惠公聞之，使與齊謀，欲通于秦。

秦公使諸侯安封蘇先封之。晉惠公先封之，後及子若，子若治其故，則王官之邑，也子安得之。晉侯使郤至，又不能於郤而退，襄王勞之。

是役也，晉師右，齊師五十乘。晉師與齊師合，晉侯使郤至，齊侯使佐。郤至退，佐陳之。

晉侯復命。冬，華元如楚，遂如晉，而晉賜之。
In summer, Ke-sun Hăng-foo went to Tain.
In autumn, Shuh-sun K'eaou-foo went to Ta'e.
It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. The duke had thus been fully 8 months in Tain,—more than half a year away from his own State. The Chuen says:—The people of Tsin, thinking that the duke had been inclining to the side of Ta'e, detained him till he requested that he might be permitted to make a covenant with Tain, and then they sent him home. The duke had gone to Tain, to offer his condolences on the death of duke King. They had charged him, we may suppose, with disaffection, and when he denied it, they wished to keep him a sort of prisoner, till they could learn from Tsou Fei, on his return from Tiao, whether their suspicions were well grounded or not. He seems, however, to have got away before that officer returned.

Par. 2. For , or without the , Kung-yang has . Köh Ch’ow was a first cousin of Köh K’i. ‘He came to Loo,’ says the Chuen, ‘on a friendly mission, and to make [on the part of Tain] the covenant [which the duke had requested.]’ It then proceeds to the following strange and melancholy narrative:—The mother of Shing-pii [The Kung-sun Ying-tae; see on VI. 6] had been without her; the regular ceremony of her betrothal; and Muh K’ang [Duke Seuen’s wife; sister-in-law, therefore, to this lady] said, ‘I will not acknowledge a comumiege as my sister-in-law.’ After the birth of Shing-pii, his father [Shuh-hui of VII. xxvii. 8] sent away the mother, who was afterwards married to Kwan Yu-bie of Ta’e. She bore him two children, and was then left a widow, when she came back with the children to Shing-pii. He got his half-brother made a great officer [of Loo], and married his half-sister to She Honou-shih [A descendant of Duke Huyu of Loo]. When Köh Ch’ow came on his friendly mission, he applied for a wife to Shing-pii, who took this half-sister from She Honou-shih, and gave her to him. She said [to her husband]: ‘Even birds and beasts do not consent to lose their mates; what do you propose to do?’ He said, ‘I am not able to die for you.’ On this she went [to Tain], where she bore two children to Köh. After his death, they sent her back from Tain to [her former husband] She, who met her at the Ho, and drowned it in two children. She was angry, and said to him, ‘You could not protect me when I was your wife, and let me go away from you, and now you are not able to cherish another man’s orphante and have killed them—when death do you expect to die?’ She then swore that she would not live again with him.

Par. 3. ‘She says:—Ku Wann-ien went to Tain on a friendly mission in return for that of Köh Ch’ow; and to make a covenant [on the part of Loo]. This second object of his mission is not mentioned in the text. Perhaps a covenant was not made after all; or the marquis of Tain did not make it in person, so that the historiographer of Loo purposely omitted to record it.

[The Chuen introduces here:—‘Ta’oo, duke of Chou, disliked the pressure of the clans descended from the kings] Huyu and Sheng, and he had a contention, moreover, about the chief place in the government with Phu-yu. Being worsted in this, he was angry and left the court, proceeding to Yang-fan. The king sent the viscount of Loo to bring him back from there, with whom [also] he made a covenant in Kueen, before he would enter [the capital]. Three days afterwards, however, he again fled to Tain.’

Par. 4. Tao-she says of this visit that ‘Suen-ni went on a friendly mission to Ta’e, to renew the former friendship between it and Loo.’

Par. 5. [Here we have three narratives in the Chuen:—1st, ‘Koe Ch’e [A grand-nephew of Koeh K’i] had a contention with [the court of] Chou about the lands of How. The king commissioned duke K’ang of Loo and duke Shihng of Shen, to dispute the question with him in Tain. He urged that Wan was an old grant made to his family, and he dared not allow [any part of] it to be lost. The viscount of Loo and Shen said, ‘Formerly, when Chou subdued Shang, it was given to various princes the territories which they should gently rule. Soo Fun-sing received Wan, and was minister of Crimes, and his territory and that of the east of Tain extended to the Ho. One of his descendants afterwards went among the Tain, and when he could do nothing among them, he fled to Wei [See V. xli].’

[By and by], King Shang rewarded duke Wan with the gift of Wan [See the Chuen after V. xxv. 4]. The families of Hoo and Yang were the first to occupy it, and then it came to Koe. If you examine its history, it was a city held by an officer of the king, who could allow to have it? The marquis of Tain then insisted that Koe Ch’e should not presume to contend about the place [any longer].]

3d. ‘Hya Tuen of Shang was on good terms with Tse-chung, the chief minister [of Tain], and also with Luan Wu-tiao [of Tain]. When he heard that the people of Shang had granted the peace proposed by Tain through Taou Fei, and had sent that officer back to give such a report of his mission, he went this winter, first to Tain and then to Tain, to consent the good understanding of the two States.’

3d. ‘Tain and Tain, having made peace, proposed to have a meeting at Ling-hoo. The marquis of Tain came first to the place, but the earl of Tain was then unwilling to cross the Ho. He halted in Wang-shing, and made the historiographer Ko go and make a covenant with the marquis of Tain on the east of the river. Köh Ch’ow of Tain [then went and] made a covenant with the earl on the west of it. Fan Wan-lane said, ‘Of what use is this covenant? Two parties make a covenant to establish their good faith. But a meeting together is the first demonstration of that good faith, and if the first step be not taken to it, it is likely to be evidenced afterwards.’ When the earl returned to Tain, he broke the [treaty of] peace with Tain.’
十有二年。左傳曰：十二年春，王使以周公之難來告。書曰：周公出奔。此本自周無出，周公自出故也。

春，周公出。書曰：周公出奔。凡自周無出，其於周公自出。故曰：書曰周公出奔。凡自周無出，周公自出故也。

秋，晉人敗狄於交剛。書曰：周公出奔。凡自周無出，周公自出。故曰：書曰周公出奔。凡自周無出，周公自出故也。

冬，十月。書曰：周公出奔。凡自周無出，周公自出。故曰：書曰周公出奔。凡自周無出，周公自出故也。

書曰：周公出奔。凡自周無出，周公自出。故曰：書曰周公出奔。凡自周無出，周公自出故也。
XII. 1. In the [duke's], twelfth year, in spring, the duke of Chow left and fled to Ts'in.
2. In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'in and the marquis of Wei in So-ta'sh.
3. In autumn, a body of men from Ts'in defeated the Teih at K'aou-kang.
4. It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. See the Chuen after par. 3 of last year. The duke of Chow fled to Ts'in, according to that, in the last year. Tso-shi supposes his flight is entered now, because it was not till this spring that it was communicated to Loo. He says:—This spring, the king sent the news to Loo of the troubles connected with the duke of Chow. The text says that he went out and fled to Ts'in. The words "went out" are not applied in the case of parties leaving Chow, but they are used here because the duke of Chow cast himself out.

Tso-shi's meaning is this:—A fugitive might go out from one State to another; but the whole kingdom belonged to Chow. The States were all Chow. An officer might flee from one part of Chow to another, but he could not go out from Chow. It was proper in such a case to say simply, "he fled to such and such a State," not "he went out from such a State to such and such a State."—see X. 36 vii. 3. In the text the proper style is departed from, because the duke of Chow repeated his flight, after the king had recalled him, "out-cast himself."—After all, the canon may be called in question.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 沙澤 for 鮎澤, the place so denominated has not been ascertained. The Chuen says:—Hwa Yuen of Sung having succeeded in cementing the peace between Ts'in and Te'oo, [see the 2d Chuen at the end of last year], this summer, in the 8th month, Sung Sze of Ts'in had a meeting with the Kung-ta\'s Pe of Te'oo, and Han Yem. They made a covenant on Kung-hou, outside the west gate of [the capital of] Sung, to the following effect:—Ts'in and Te'oo shall not go to war with each other. They shall have common likings and dislikings. They shall establish common states that are in calamity and in peril. They shall be ready to relieve such as are unfortunate. Ts'in shall attack any that would injure Te'oo, and Te'oo shall attack any that would injure Ts'in. Their roads shall be open to messengers that wish to pass with their offerings from the one to the other. They shall take measures against the destitute, and punish those who do not appear in the royal court. Who shall violate this covenant, may the intelligent spirits destroy him, causing his army to be defeated, and his possession of his State! [After this], the earl of Ch'ing went to Ts'in, to receive the conditions of the peace, in consequence of his being [thus] established at the meeting in So-ta'sh.

This Chuen has occasioned a good deal of speculation among the commentators. The text says nothing of the covenant between Ts'in and Te'oo, and the Chuen says nothing of the presence of Sung and Wei in the meeting at So-ta'sh. The K'ang-he editors say that Chuen K'uang denies that there was such a covenant, while the frequent meetings between K'oo Qhe and the Kung-ta's Pe of Te'oo show that it must have taken place. They suppose, therefore, that the sages, condemning and disliking the treaty between those Powers, here used his pruning knife, and cut away the record of it. They say further that Loo Ch'eng denies the truth of the Chuen's account of the meeting at So-ta'sh, but they preserve that account themselves out of deference to the general authority of Tso-shi.

Par. 3. The situation of K'aou-kang is, like that of So-ta'sh, undetermined. The Chuen says:—A body of the Teih took the opportunity of Ts'in's being occupied with the covenant in Sung to make an inroad into it; but not having made preparations [against a surprise], they were defeated in the autumn at K'aou-kang.

The Chuen gives here the following narrative:—K'oo Qhe of Ts'in went to Te'oo on a friendly mission, and on the part of Te'oo to make a covenant. The viscount of Te'oo invited him to an entertainment, when Tse-fan, who directed the ceremonies, had caused an apartment to be made under ground, in which the instruments of music were suspended. When K'oo Qhe was ascending the hall, the bells struck up [the signal for performance] underneath, which frightened him so that he ran out. Tse-fan said to him, "The day is wearing late; my ruler is waiting; be pleased, Sir, to enter." The earl replied, "Your ruler, mindful of the friendship between our former princes, extends his favour to my poor self, treating me with great ceremonies, down to a complete band of music. If by the blessing of Heaven our two rulers have an interview, what can take the place of this? I dare not receive [such an honour]." Tse-fan said, "If by the blessing of Heaven our two rulers have an interview, they will have nothing but an arrow to give to each other; they will not be using music. My ruler is waiting; be pleased, Sir, to enter." The other said, "If it be an arrow that they mutually offer and decline, that will be the greatest of evils; there will be no blessing in that. When good order prevails, the princes, in their intervals of leisure from the king's business, visit at one another's courts. When there are the ceremonies of entertainment and feasting; those of entertainment being a token of reverence and courtesy, those of feasting a display of indulgent kindness [Comp. the Chuen after VII. xi. 3]. Reverence and courtesy are seen in the practice of ceremonies; indulgent kindness is seen in the arrangements of the government. When the business of government is perfected by ceremonies, then the people enjoy rest, and the officers receive orders about the business they have to perform in the morning [only], and not in the evening [as well]. It is in this way that the princes prove themselves the protectors of their people. Therefore the ode (She, I. I. ode VII. 1) says,
Thirteenth year.

Ten years after, after the people and repress the selfishness of their own hearts, but in a time of disorder, it is the reverse. Now your words, Sir, speak the ways of disorder, which cannot be taken as a pattern. But you are host here, and I will not presume to disobey you." He entered accordingly.

When his business was over, and he returned, he told what had occurred to Fan Wen-tao, who said, "With such want of propriety, they are sure to eat their words. Our death will be at no distant day." In winter, the Kung-tze P'e of T'oo went to Tsin on a friendly mission, and to make a covenant on the part of T'oo. In the twelfth month, the marquis of Tsin covenanted with him in Chih-kho'i.

**December, 24th.**

The marquis of Ch'in, Ch'ing-mu, and his minister, Hsing-yen, hold a public assembly in the palace of Wei. The marquis addresses the assembled ministers.

"In a peaceful time, the people are the source of good and evil. But in a time of disorder, the princes are full of covetous greed, indulging their ambitious desires without shrinking; and for a few feet of territory will destroy their people, taking their martial officers and using them to carry out their hearts' purposes as arms and legs, as claws and teeth. Therefore the odes say (Odes, stanza 3).

"That bold and martial man Is the mind and heart of his prince."

"That bold and martial man Is shield and wall to his prince."

When throughout the kingdom right ways prevail, the princes are shields and walls to the
XIII. 1 In the [duke’s] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts’in sent K’éh E to Loo, to beg the assistance of an army.

2 In the third month, the duke went to the capital.

3 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke, going on from the capital, joined the marquis of Ts’in, the marquis of Ts’e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts’aiou, an officer of Choo, and an officer of T’ang, in invading Ts’in.

4 Loo, earl of Ts’aiou, died in the army.

5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts’in.

6 In winter, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ts’aiou.

Par. 1. Ts’in was now calling out the troops of the States which adhered to it for the invasion of Ts’in, mentioned in the 3d par. It was right therefore that it should use the phrase 乞師, and beg the assistance of an army, as it had not the authority of the king in the first place, for the expedition. The Ch’un says: — When K’éh E (the son of K’éh M’sh) came to Loo, he was not respectful in the execution of his mission. Mäng Hien-tze said, “This K’éh will [soon] perish! Propriety is the stem of character, and respectfulness is its foundation. K’éh-tze has not that foundation, and his ministry has come to him by inheritance. Having received a charge to ask for the assistance of an army, it must be for the defence of the altar of Ts’in, and he carries himself rudely, throwing away the charge of his ruler. What can happen to him but to perish [soon]?”

Par. 2. Though the duke now went to the capital, he only did so because it lay in his way, as he proceeded to join the army of Ts’in. It would appear, indeed, that the other princes did the same, it being, probably, part of Ts’in’s policy in this way to get the king’s sanction and the assistance of his troops to its enterprise against Ts’in. The Ch’un says: — ‘When the duke was going to the capital, Seuen-chih (Shih-shun K’éou-jo), wishing to obtain for his master the king, begged to be sent on beforehand. The king, however, received him only with the ceremonies due to an envoy. Mäng Hien-tze (Chung-sun M’éh) came on in attendance [on the duke], and the king considered him to be the duke’s director for the visit, and gave him large presents. The duke and the other princes had an audience of the king, and then followed duke K’ang of L’ew and duke Shih of Ch’ing, to join the marquis of Ts’in in the invasion of Ts’in. When the viscount of Ch’ing received the flesh of the sacrifice at the altar, his manner was not respectful. The viscount of L’ew said, “I have heard that men receive at birth the exact and correct principles of Heaven and Earth, and these are what is called their appointed nature. There are the rules of action, propriety, righteousness, and demeanour, to establish this nature. Men of ability cherish these rules so as to secure blessing, while those devoid of ability violate them so as to bring on themselves calamity. Therefore superior men diligently attend to the rules of propriety, and men
in an inferior position do their best. In regard to the rules of propriety, there is nothing like honoring the greatest and exhibiting one's spirit; that earnestness, in keeping one's duties in life. The great affairs of a State are sacrifice and war. At sacrifices [in the ancient temple] the officers receive the roasted flesh; in war they receive that offered at the altar of the land—these are the great ceremonies in worshipping the Spirits. Now the viscous of Ch'ing by his lazy wickedness has cast from him his proper nature—may we suppose that he will return from this expedition?"

"See an account of this visit of duke Ch'ing to the king's court in the 國語." "

Art. 9.
Par. 3. Kuh-shang, after 五月, his 公 至自京師—evidently an error. The Ch'ien says:—In summer, the marquis of Taen sent Seung of Lu (Known as Leu, Soum-teen (呂宣子), a son of Wu E (魏鉉) who appears in the Ch'ien on the battle of Pei) to declare the end of his friendly relations with Taen in the following terms:—In former times, our duke Hsien and your duke Muh were on terms of friendship, which they cultivated with all their might and with one mind, adding to it covants and oaths, and cementing it by the affinities of marriage. When Hsien was afflicting Taen, our duke Wan went to Ta'en, and duke Hsaw went to Hsien. When, through our evil fate, duke Hsien left the world, duke Muh was most mindful of their old friendship, and assisted our duke Hsaw, so that he presided over the sacrifices of Taen (See the 2d Ch'ien at the end of V. 18). But he could not complete his great service to Taen, and there ensued the battle of Han (See V. xv. 15). Afterwards, however, restated of this, and secured the accession of our duke Wan;—this was accomplished for us by Muh.

"Duke Wan then doaned buff-coat and helmet, traversed the plains and crossed the strong river by his way in the most dangerous duties, and operated against the States of the east, held by descendents of Yu Hsia and Chou, till he brought them all with him to the court of Taen; this surely was enough to repay the old kindness of duke Muh. And when the people of Ch'ing had been angrily troubling your borders, our duke Wan led the other States and Taen, and laid siege to the capital of Ch'ing. Then the great officers of Taen, without consulting our rulers, presumed to make a covenant with Ch'ing. The States were indignant at such conduct, and wished to risk the lives of their men against Taen. Duke Wan, however, afraid of the consequences, soothed and pacified them, so that the army of Taen effected its return, without suffering any injury. And thus we considered the greatest service to your western State.

"Through our evil fate, duke Wan (also) left the world, and your Muh sent no message of condolence, but hurrying duke Wan as dead, and slighting the youth of our duke Seung, he assailed our territory of Hsiao, violated and broke off all friendship with us, attacked our city of Paon-ching, cruably extinguished our Pe (the capital of) Hwah (See V. xxxii. 1), scattered and dispersed our brethren, broke the covenants that were between us, and would have overcome our State. Then our duke Seung was not unmindful of the former service which Muh had rendered (to his father); but he was afraid lest our allies should be cast down, and there ensued the battle of Honen (See V. xxxiii. 3).

"(Our Seung), even after this, wished to seek the forgiveness of duke Muh, but the duke would not listen to him. On this the Seung applied to Ts'oo (See the 2d Ch'ien after V. xiv. 7) planning against us. But through the influence which Heaven exerts on men's minds, Seung lost his life (See VI. 1. 10), and duke Muh did not succeed in carrying out his hostile intentions.

"When Muh and Seung left this world, Kang and Ling succeeded to them. (Your) duke Kang was the son of a daughter of Taen, but he still wished to spread and cut down our House, and to overturn our allies. He gave an army to a vile insect (The Kang-kwan Tun of Taen) to disturb our borders, in consequence of which we had the engagement at Ling-hoo (See VI. v. 7).

"Still persisting in his hostility, Kang entered our Ho-kwun, invaded our Sub-chuen, captured our Wang-kwan, dismembered our Ke-ma, in consequence of which we had the battle of Ho-kwun (See VI. xii. 7).

"That the way eastward was thus rendered impracticable to Taen was through duke Kang's own rejection of our friendship. When your friendship succeeded to him, our ruler, duke King, looked to the west with outstretched arm, saying, 'Now, perhaps, Taen will have compassion on us!' But, unkindly, you would not respond to us with a covenant, and took advantage of our difficulties with the Taen. You entered our Ho-huen, burned our Ke and Kao, cut down and destroyed the labours of our husbandmen, and killed the people of our borders, so that we had the gathering at Chou-shih (See VII. x. 4). Then the Ch'ien will be very sorry for the long continuance of our miserable hostilities; and wishing to obtain the blessing of the former rulers, Hsien and Muh, you sent Fih-ku with your commands to our duke King, saying that you and we should be friendly together, put away all evil feelings, and again cultivate the old kindness, thinking of the services that had formerly passed between our rulers. Before an oath in accordance with these words could be taken, duke King left the world, and I (寡君, here, and elsewhere in the speech, should be 寡人) went to have a meeting with you at Ling-hoo, when with an unhappy purpose you turned back, and rejected the covenant and oath (See the last Ch'ien after XI. 3).

"The White Teh and you are in the same province (Tung Chow). They are your enemies, while between us and them there have been intermarriages. You sent your messengers, saying that you and we should invade the Teh. I then dared not consider our affinities with them, but, in awe of your majesty, I received the command from your messenger. You, however, with a double heart, representing
to the Tsin that Tsin was going to attack them, and though they responded to you, they came with their host and told you of your conduct. The people of Tsin, hating your double-dealing, also came and told us saying, ‘Tsin is violating the covenant of Ling-hou, and came to ask a covenant with us, plainly appealing to God in the great heavens, in the three dukes of Tsin and the three kings of Tsin, that we may understand all its communications with Tsin, its only view has been to its own advantage. I [the king of Tsao], hating such want of virtue, declare it to you, that such injustice may be punished.’ The princes of the States, hearing these things, are joined by them in heart and head, and are come to me. I will lead them to hear your commands, seeking only your friendship. If you will show a kind consideration for them, and, in compassion for me, grant me a covenant, this is what I desire. I will then receive your wishes, quiet all the princes, and retire—how should I dare to seek the confusion [of strife]? If you will not bestow on us your great kindness, I am a man of plain speech; I cannot withdraw with the princes. I have promised to declare all my thoughts to your majesty, that they may consider what it will be best to do.”

Because duke Hsuan of Tsin, after making the covenant of Ling-hou with duke Ie of Tsao, proceeded to call on the Tsin and Tsao, wishing to persuade them to invade Tsin, therefore the States rendered their friendly aid to the latter. Luan-sho commanded Tsin’s army of the centre, with Sen Kung under him; Sen Shih the 1st army, with K’oeh E under him; Han Kuo the 2nd army, with Sen Ying under him; Ch’ueh Ch’o the 3rd army, with K’oeh K under him. K’oeh K [Different from the K’oeh E above] drove the chariot of the commander-in-chief, and Luan K’uen was spearman on the right. Mäng Hsien-tse said, “The general and charioteer are harmonious; this army will accomplish a great success.”

In the 5th month, on Ting-hou, the army of Tsin, with the numbers of the States, fought with the army of Tsin at Ma-syu. The army of Tsin received a great defeat. Ching Ch’ueh of Tsin was taken, and the Puh-king, Joo-foo. Duke Sszen of Ts’ien died in the spring, which then crossed the river, proceeded to Hoo-hou, and returned, meeting the marquis of Tsin at Sin-tao. Duke Suh of Ching [See the last Chuen] died in Hia.’

The speech of Lu Sheng in this narrative is considered one of the masterpieces of Tsin-K’wing. And so it is, as regards the composition, but it is sadly disfigured by its interpresentations and falsehoods. As between Tsin and Tsao, each State had its injuries from the other of which to complain but the balance of right would have inclined rather on the side of Tsao. The battle of Ma-syu, however, was very important, and kept Tsin’s shrewd in the west for a long time afterwards.

[The Chuen adds here:—] In the 9th month, on Ting-mau, the Kung-teh Pan [See on L.S. ] of Ching, [coming] from Tsao, sought by night to enter the grand temple, and when he was not able to do so, killed Tse-yin and Tese-rui [sons of duke Mah]. He then returned, and took up a position with his followers in the market-place. On Ke-sze, Tese-she [another son of duke Mah] led the people into the temple, and made a covenant with them, and afterwards burned the market place, killing Tse-joo [Pan], his brother. Taze-sang, his son, Sun-shu, and Tese-mang’s son, Sun-chu.

Par. 4. Par 楚. The Chuen says:—The people of Tsao appointed the king’s son, Foo-t’o, to take charge of the capital, and another son, Hin-shu, to meet the coffin of the father. In autumn, Foo-t’o paid to death the eldest son of the earl, and made himself earl. The prince begged to give up his earl, but Tsin, in consequence of the fatigue of the service [in which they had been engaged], asked them to wait till next year.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—In winter, after the burial of duke Scen, Tsao-ts’ou [the above Hin-shu] was going to leave the State, and the people all wished to follow him. Duke Ching (Foo-t’o) became afraid, acknowledged his offence, and begged [Tese-ts’ou to remain]. The latter returned accordingly [to the capital], and surrendered his city [to the duke].

Fourteenth year.
XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Choo, viscount of K'eu, died.
2 In summer, Sun Lin-foo of Wei returned from Tsin to Wei.
3 In autumn, Shuh-sun K'ao-joo went to Ts'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.
4 The Kung-tze He of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Hên.
5 In the ninth month, K'ao-joo arrived from T's'e with the [duke's] wife, the lady Kêang.
6 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kâng-yin, Tsang, marquis of Wei, died.
7 The earl of Ts'ìn died.
Par. 1. We have the death of the yu-ch'ang of Ko-hsien recorded, but there is no subsequent record of his burial; for which the following reason is assigned. The honourary title, with the style of 'duke,' is always given in mentioning the burial of princes. But the lords of Ko-hsien had no honourary titles assigned to them after death, the State not being sufficiently advanced in civilization to have adopted that custom. Hence their burials are not recorded. It may be added here that burials of the lords of Ta-yo and Wei are not given in the Chiin Ta-t'ung, because they had assumed the style of king.

Par. 2. See the flight of Sun Lin-fu to T'ai-t'sin in VII.3. The Chuen says:—In spring, the marquis of Wei went to T'ai-t'sin, where the marquis of T'ai-t'sin insisted on introducing Sun Lin-fu to him; but he would not see him. In summer, when he returned to Wei, the marquis of T'ai-t'sin sent K'oh Ch'ow with Lin-fu, to procure him an interview there. The marquis wanted [still] to refuse, but his wife, T'ing K'oung, said, 'Do not: he is the heir of the ministers of your predecessors, ancestor of your own House. The great State, moreover, makes intercession for him. If you do not grant his request, you will perish. Although you hate him, is it not better to see him than to perish? Be pleased to spare the mortification. Is it not proper to give respect to the people, and deal leniently with a minister so related to yourself?' [On this] the marquis granted Lin-fu an interview, and restored [his office] to him.

The marquis [also] feasted Ch'ing-shuh of K'ieh Ch'ow, Hsing Hwey-tse directing the ceremonies. Ch'ing-shuh behaved insolently, and Ninge-tse said, 'He and his family are likely to perish [soon].' Among the ancients entertainments and feasts were used to see the deportment of the guests, and to judge of their prosperity or calamity in the future. Hence it is said in the ode (Shih, II. vii. ode I. 4).

'There is the curved cup of rhinoceros horn, With the spirits in it, rich and soft. While it passes from one to another, they show no pride. All blessings must come to seek them.'

Now he conducts himself with pride,—it is the way to bring on himself calamity.'

Par. 3. The duke was now marrying a daughter of Te-o. The preliminary steps have not been mentioned. Two days after she was married, the son of Sun-shih now went to meet the lady, and that his clan-name is mentioned, to do honour to the duke's commission.

Par. 4. See on IV. 9. The Chuen says:—In the 8th month, Tsin-han Ch'ing invaded Hsien, and was defeated. On Sun-shih the earl himself again invaded it, and penetrated to the outer suburbs of its capital, when Hsien made peace by [surrendering] the territory with which Ch'ing had endowed Sun-shih.

Par. 5. See on VII. 5. The K'ang-he editors argue against K'uh-liang and other critics, who insist here that the duke ought to have met his bride in person. Too she thinks that the minister is mentioned here without his clan-name, in deference to the lady, adding, 'The superior man will say, 'The Chuen T'ang, in the apppellations which he uses, is clear with an exquisitely minute, distinct through obscurity, elegant by its gentle turns, and full without descending to be low, condemning what is evil, and encouraging what is good'—who [but] the sage could have compiled it as it is?'

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—When the marquis of Wei was ill, he made K'ung Ch'ing-tse and Ning Hwey-tse appoint K'au, his son by K'ung See, to be his successor. On his death in winter, in the 10th month, his wife, the lady K'oung, after she had done her weeping and lamentation, saw that K'au wore no appearance of sadness. She would not so much as drink, but sighed and said, 'This fellow will not only prove the ruin of the State of Wei, but we will begin with me, and my father's relics. Also! Heaven is afflicting the State of Wei, and I could not be induced to say that Chuen [A brother of K'au] should preside over its affairs!' When the great officers heard that she thus expressed herself, they were all filled with shed. After this Sun Hwey-tse would not venture to leave his articles of value in the capital, but deposited them all in Ta-chih, and cultivated assiduously the friendship of the great officers of T'ai-t'sin.
晉侯執曹伯於京師，公至自會。夏六月，宋公固卒。秋八月，庚辰，葬宋共公。楚子伐鄭。宋華元出奔晉。宋華元自晉歸於宋。宋殺其大夫山。宋魚石出奔楚。冬十一月，叔孫僑如會晉士榮癸。齊高無咎卒。宋華元僃孫林父鄭公子鱉。邾人會吳於鍾離。許遷于葉。
In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke Ting of Wei.

In the third month, on Yih-sze, Chung Ying-ts'e died.

On Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, Ch'ing the heir-son of Sung, Kwoh Tso of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, when they made a covenant together in Ts'eih.

The marquis of Ts'in seized the earl of Ts'aou, and delivered him at the capital.

The duke arrived from the meeting [at Ts'eih.]

In summer, in the sixth month, Koo, duke of Sung, died.

The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

In autumn, in the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Kung of Sung.

Hwa Yuen of Sung left the State and fled to Ts'in. From Ts'in he returned to Sung. Sung put to death its great officer Shan. Yu Shih of Sung fled to Ts'oo.
In winter, in the eleventh month, Shu-hsun K'e-aou-joo joined Sze S'eoh of Ts'in, Kaou Wo-k'ew of Ts'e, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, the Kung-tsze Ts'ew of Ch'ing, and an officer of Choo, in having a meeting with Woo at Chung-te.

Heu removed its capital to Sheh.

The Chung Ying-tse was a close friend of the Kung-sun Ying-tse of VIII.2, and other places. They were both duke's grandsons, but the latter was a grandson of duke We, the former of duke Chwang. The text has occasioned the commentators endless and needless difficulty. The death of duke Chwang's son, Suy, appears in VII.viii.3 as the death of Chuang Suy, from which it seemed a prior inference, that duke Shen had given him, on the news of his death, the surname of clan-name of 蒯; and here accordingly his son Ying-tse is so named. Kung-yang, however, thought that Ying-tse was the first to get the surname of Chung. He was not the eldest son of Suy, but—her eldest son was Kung-sun Kwei-foo of VII.xviii.6, etc. From the Chuen on VII.xviii.8, we learn that the other great family of Loo vanished on the death of duke Shen against the Chung or Tunmun family, and Kwei-foo, the head of it, fled to Ts'ew. Kung-yang says that the people of Loo, gripped that Kwei-foo should he left without a representative in the State, obtained from duke Ch'ing the recognition of his brother Ying-tse as such. He then became his brother's successor, and virtually his son, and their father became his (Ying-tse's) grand-father; and so by a rule of surnames, which was Suy's designation, became his surname! This view is followed by Too Yu and many others, while Mencius rejects it with great scorn, ridiculing the idea of Ying-tse's being at once the son and the grandson of the Kung-tsze Suy.

Parr. 5. In par. 4, for the single 蒯, Kung-yang has 善之 Ts'ew. See VI.1.9. As the death of the duke of Sung appears in the 6th par., we may presume that he was ill at the time of this meeting, and that therefore his son attended it in his room. Too says that the object of the meeting was to punish duke Ch'ing of T'awou [see his crime in the Chuen on XIII.1]. Tain, which would call the meeting, must have concealed this from Ch'ing. Too then gives a very doubtful canon to explain its being said that the marquis of Tain, and not the people of Tain, seized the culprit, saying that when a ruler has dealt with his people without any regard to what was right, and the states punish and seize him, then we read that 'the people of such and such a State seized him, but if his wickedness has not extended to his people, it is said, the ruler of such and such a State seized him.' Lee Ch'ang has sufficiently explained this double rule. Too adds from his tablets:—'The princes wished to introduce Tse-liang [the emeritus bro-
Yuen, when Yu Foo said, "If the master of the Right return, he is sure to set about punishing, and the clan of Hwa will perish." Yu Shih said, "If the master of the Right will return, although we should allow him to punish, he will certainly not dare to do so. His services, moreover, have been many and great, so that the people all like him. If we do not return, it is declared that the Hwa will not be allowed to maintain their sacrifices in Sung. Should he set about punishing, there is [Huang] Shih. It is only a small portion of the Hwa that will perish."

On this, Yu Shih went himself, and stopped Hwa Yuen at the Liu. Yu said that he would not be allowed to punish, and when this was granted, he returned, and made Hwa He and Kung- sun So lead the people to attack the Tang family, when they put to death Tseu-shan [Tang T'ai]. When it is said in the text that "Sung put to death its great officer Shun," the style intimates that he was rebelling against the usual forms of which he was a union.

[After this], Yu Shih, Huang Wei-jin, Lin Chou, Hsien Tse, and Yu Foo, went out [from the capital] and halted near the Su. They sent troops to the Tang family, when they put to death Tseu-shan [Tang T'ai]. When it is said in the text that "Sung put to death its great officer Shun," the style intimates that he was rebelling against the usual forms of which he was a union.

The minister of War, and Yuh E, minister of Crime, thus quelling the people.

Kung and Kuh give 宋殺其大夫山 and 宋魚石出奔楚 as distinct paragraphs. The integrity of the whole of the paragraph, indeed, has been called in question. The text says that Hwa Yuen had fled to Sung and then he returned to Sung from Tai, whereas, as in the Chuen, he was brought back to Sung before he reached Tai. The double occurrence of 宋華氏 and the use of 宋 five times in so short a space, certainly look suspicious. See Moon in loc.

[The Chuen adds here about Tai:—The three Kih Ch'ow, Che, and E] of Tai injured Phit-tung slandering him and procuring his death, and also that of [Tang T'ai] on which [Tang T'ai] son Puh-le fled to T'ou. Han Hsien-tse said, "Those Kih will not escape an evil end! Good men are appointed for government by Heaven and Earth. If destroying this way one and another of them be not sufficient to ruin those who do so, what [greater offences] is to he waited for? Whenever Phit-tung went to court, his wife had been accustomed to say to him, "Thieves are angry with the master [they want to rob], and the people hate their superior. You are fond of straightforward speaking, but it will bring you into difficulties.""

Par. 10. Chung-ke belonged to T'ouo, in the prov. dis. of Fung-yang, dep. Fung-yang, Gun-kway. This says Tao, was the first instance of communication between the States of the north and Woo.

Par. 11. Shih. see Analects, VII, xviii. The Chuen says:—Duke Ling of Huen, dreading the [constant] pressure of Ch'ing, asked leave of T'ouo to remove its capital (into its territory). Accordingly, on Sin-chow, the Kung-tse Shih of T'ouo removed Huen's chief city to Shih.

Sixteenth year.

十有六年春王正月

鄭伯戰于隴楚，鄭師敗績。甲午，晉侯使樂閔來結師。

六月丙寅朔，日有食之。鄭公子喜師師侵宋。

夏四月，雨木冰。鄭公子喜師師侵宋。
周曰：惟命不于常，有德之謂，
楚師還及王，王使謂子曰，先大夫之覆師，徒者，君不在，子無以爲過，不穀之罪也，子反再拜稽首曰，君賜臣
死死且不朽，臣之卒實，奔臣之罪也，子重使謂子曰，初隕師徒者，而亦聞之，蓋圖之對曰，雖微先大夫有
戰之日，齊國佐高無咎，至於師衆，侯出於衛公出於壇隍，宜伯通於豊姜欲去季孟，而取其室，將行，姜送公，
而使逐二子公，以魯難告曰，請反而聽命姜怒，公子偃公子鉏回，而飾，憂而行，是以後，使孟獻子守於宮宮，
子會子沙隨謀伐鄭，也宜伯使告郤犨曰，魯侯待於壇隍，以
待勝者郤犨將新軍，且爲公族大夫，以主東諸侯，取貨於宣伯，而訛公於晉侯，晋侯不見公，
大戾曹也，先君無乃若之何憂病未弭，而又討我寡君，以亡曹國，社稷之儲公子，是
圍鄭，子叔齊伯使叔孫豹請逆於晉師，當食於鄭郊，師遂以至，聲伯四日不食，以待之，食使者而後，食諸侯，還
於制田，知武子佐下軍，以諸侯之師僱陳，至於鳴鹿遂侵蔡未反，諸侯選於穎上，戊午，鄭子罕宵軍之宋齊衛，
皆失軍。

曹人復請於晉，晉侯謂子臧及，吾歸而君，君子臧及，曹伯歸子臧，盡致其邑與卿，而不，
亡而已，袂從晉矣，若欲得志於，魯請止行父，而殺之，我豈弒也，而事晉，蔑有令矣，魯不賁，小國，必瞭然，必必
叛矣，九月，晉人執季文子于莒，丘，公子選待於，訛使子叔齊伯請季孫於晉，郤犨曰，苟去仲孫蔑，而止季孫行父，
In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, it rained, and the trees became encrusted with ice.

2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-we, the viscount of T'ang died.

3 Duke [Muh's] son, He, of Ch'ing led a force, and made an inroad into Sung.

4 In the sixth month, on Ping-yin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

5 The marquis of Tsin sent Lwan Yin to Loo, to ask the assistance of an army.

6 On Käah-woo, the last day of the month, the marquis of Tsin fought with the viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ung at Yen-ling, when the viscount of Ts'oo and the army of Ch'ung received a great defeat.

7 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Tsib.

8 In autumn, the duke [went to have] a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Wei, Hwa Yuen of Sung, and an officer of Choo, in Sha-suy; [but the marquis of Tsin] would not see him.
The duke arrived from the meeting.
The duke went to visit the viscount of Yin, the marquis of Tsin, Kwoh Tso of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
The earl of Ts'aou returned from the capital.
In the ninth month, the people of Tsin seized Ke-sun Häng-foo, and lodged him in T'eaou-k'ew.
In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, Shuh-sun Ke-saou-joop fled to Ts'e.
In the twelfth month, on Yih-ch'ow, Ke-sun Häng-foo and Kōoh Ch'ow of Tsin made a covenant in Hoo.
The duke arrived from the meeting.
On Yih-yēw we put to death the duke's half-brother, Yen.

Par. 1. The critics bring all their powers of interpretation into the field to find the moral and political significance of this phenomenon in the State of Loo and of the kingdom generally; —very needlessly. We have simply the record of a striking fact; it had rained heavily, and immediately, after came a severe frost, so that the leaves lay on and hung from the trees. Kung and Kuh both explain the text by saying,

雨而木冰 'There was rain, and the trees became all over ice.'

[The Chuen adds here:—In spring, the minister of Ts'oo sent the Kung-taue Ch'ing from Woo-shing to seek for peace with Ch'ing by the gift of the lands of Joo-yin. [On this], Ch'ing revolted from Tain, and Ts'e-see went to the t'ien-chung, and made a covenant in Woo-shing.]

Par. 2. Tso tells us this was duke Wan (文公). He had held Ts'ang 10 years, and was succeeded by his son Yen (原), —duke Ch'in (成公).

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—Ts'e-see of Ch'ing invaded Sung, and was defeated at Chi-chi, by Tsin-shou T'ou and Yoh Ken. [This conquered them] insulted and insulted at Koo-kan, where they were not on their guard. The men of Ch'ing (consequently) overthrew and defeated them at Choh-lang, taking both the leader and Sung had been relying on its previous victory;

The above attack by Ch'ing on Sung was probably at the instigation of Tsoe. Therefore, the return for it was not long in coming, for the Chuen adds:—The marquis of Wei invaded Ch'ing, and advanced as far as Ming-yen; —in behalf of Tain.

Par. 4. This eclipse, visible at noon, took place on the 1st May, B.C. 574.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—The marquis of Tsin was going to invade Ch'ing. Fan Wun-tao said:—'To satisfy my desires, all the states would revolt from Tsin, and then Tsin might be destroyed.' [Wan-taue] are great events in Tsin itself, which he thought could only be kept in check by apprehensions from without, and their removal was necessary in his view to the prosperity of the State. [Finally Ch'ing revolt from Ch'in, the sorrow of Tsin will not have to be waited for long.'] Luan Woo-tan said, 'We must not in my time lose the States. We must invade Ch'ing.' On this the armies were called out. Luan Shoo commanded that of the centre, with Sse Shoo as assistant; Koo K'ow the 1st army, with Sseun Yen as assistant; Han Reow, the 3d; Koo Ch'ow acted as assistant-commander of the new army, Sseun Yen remaining and keeping guard in Tain. Koo Ch'ow went to Wei, and then on to Ts'e, to ask the assistance of their armies. Luan Tso came to Loo to ask the aid of an army from it. Ming Hwing-tao said, 'He will be victorious.'

Par. 6. Yen-ling was in Ch'ing. The name remains in the dia. So called, in the dep. of Kuo-fung. There had been a State of Yen, which was extinguished and incorporated with Ch'ing by duke Woo.

The Chuen says:—On Mou-yin, the armies of Tain commenced their march; and Ch'ing, hearing of their approach, sent word to T'ou, Youi Kao-urh going with the messenger. The viscount of Ts'oo marched to the relief of Ch'ing. The minister of War (Tse-fa) commanded the main army of the centre; the chief minister (Taaeh-chung) commanded on the left, and Ts'e-sun, minister of the Right, on the right. As they passed by Shin, Tse-fa entered the city, to see Shin Shuh-see [see on XV.7], and asked him what he thought of the expedition. The other replied, 'Virtuous goodness, punishments, religion, righteousness, propriety, and good faith, are the appliances of war. Virtuous goodness appears in the exercise of kindness; punishment in the correction of what is wrong, religion in the service of the Spirits; righteousness in the establishment of what is beneficial; propriety in doing things at the proper times; and good faith in the watchful keeping of everything. [When these things obtain], the people live well off, and their virtue is correct; all movements are with advantage, and wars are rightly ordered; the seasons are all accorded wide, and everything is prosperous; harmony prevails between superiors and inferiors; all movements are made without inordinate opposition; whatever the superiors require, everyone knows his duty. Hence it is said in the ode (She, IV. i. [1]) X.,
Thou didst establish [and nourish] the multitudes of our people,—
The immense gift of thy goodness.

In consequence of this, [in that ancient time], the spirits sent down their blessing, and the season all passed without calamity or injury. The wants of the people were abundantly supplied, and with consent harmony they received the orders of their superiors. They all did their utmost to obey those orders, and would devote themselves to death to supply the places of any that were lacking. This was the way to secure victory in battle. But now [the government of] Ts’o’o abandons the people in the State itself, and it breaks off its friendships with other States; it irreligiously violates its covenants, and at its words it moves in the season when it ought not to do so, and wearies its people to gratify its ambition. The people have lost their confidence in its good faith; let them advance or retire, they will be bolder guilefully. When men are thus anxious about what will come to them, who will be prepared to go to the death? Do you, Sir, do your utmost, but I shall not see you again.”

Yen Kow-nien returned [to Ch’ing] before the messenger, and Tse-tze asked him [about the army of Ts’o’o]. He replied, “Its march is rapid, and it passes through dangerous passes without order. The rapidity of its march leads to the want of proper thought, and its neglect of order disorganizes its ranks. Without thought and with its ranks disordered, how can it fight? I am afraid that Ts’o’o will be of no use to us.”

“In the 5th month, the army of Ts’in crossed the Ho, and heard of the approach of that of Ts’o’o. Fan Wan-tze wished that they should return, and said, ‘If we make as if we were avoiding Ts’o’o, it may lighten [our own] sorrow. We cannot unite the States in allegiance to Ts’in. Let us leave that to some one who can unite and hold them all. If we, the ministers of Ts’in, can harmoniously serve our ruler, we may be well content.” We-tze refused to take this counsel; and in the 6th month, Ts’n and Ts’o’o met at Yen-lung. [Then] Fan Wan-tze did not want to fight, but Kieh Che said to him, “At the battle of Han [See V. xii. 6] Huway could not marshal his troops; at the battle of Ke [See V. xiii. 5], Sien Ch’ing [died, and] could not return with an account of his commission; at the battle of Peth [See VII. xii. 5], Shun Pih could not return by the way he had advanced. These battles were all to the disgrace of Ts’in—youn. Sir, are you yourself acquainted with the history of our former rulers. If we now avoid Ts’o’o, it will be an additional disgrace.” Wan-tze replied, “There was reason for the frequent battles of our former rulers. [In their time], Ts’in, the Ts’o’, and Ts’o’o were all powerful enemies; and if they had not exerted their strength, their descendants would have been reduced to weakness. But now three of those strong ones have submitted, and we have only to cope with Ts’o’o. It is only a sage ruler who can safely be without trouble either from abroad or within his State. Excepting under a sage ruler, when there is quietness abroad, sorrow is sure to spring up at home; why should we not leave Ts’o’o to be an occasion of apprehension to us from abroad?”

On Kieh woo, the last day of the month, the army of Ts’o’o came close up to that of Ts’in, and drew up in order of battle. The officers of Ts’in were perplexed by this movement, when Fan K’ae [A lad, son of Wan-tze] ran with a lance to Ts’ai, and said, “Stop up the wells, and level the cooking places, marshal the army within the encampment, and make room for the heads of the columns to issue. Between Ts’in and Ts’o’o victory must be the gift of Heaven;—what necessity is there for being perplexed?” When Fan K’ae took a lance and chased [his son], saying, “The preservation or ruin of the State depends on Heaven; what does a boy like you know?” I-wan Shoo said, “The army of Ts’o’o is full of levity. Let us keep firm within our encampments, and in 3 days it will be sure to withdraw. If we then attack it, we shall get the victory.” Kieh Che said, “Ts’o’o affords us six advantages, which should not be lost:—the two ministers [commanding it] hate each other; the king’s soldiers are old; the army of Ch’ing is marshalled, but not in good order; the wild tribes of the south are there, but their forces are not marshalled; the army of Ts’in has been marshalled without regard to its being the last day of the month; there was a clamour during the marshalling, and there is still more now that it is effected, each man looks his own, without any heart for fighting. The old soldiers cannot be good; and with them to violate the day which Heaven requires men to stand in awe on,—we shall surely conquer.”

“The viscount of Ts’o’o got up on a carriage with a look-out on it to survey the army of Ts’in; and Tse-chung sent the grand-administrator, Pih Chow-le [See the Ch’en after p. 9 of last year] to wait behind him. The king said, “There are men running to the left and to the right. What does that mean? They are calling the officers,” replied Chow-le. “They are all collected in the army of the centre. They are not to take counsel. ‘They are pitching a tent.’ “It is reverently to divine before the spirit-tablets of Ts’in’s former rulers.” They are removing the tent.” “The commands of the marquis are about to be given forth.” “There is a great clamour, and there are clouds of dust.” “They are shutting up the wells and levelling the cooking places in order to form their ranks.” “They had mounted their carriages, and now the men on the left and right descend, with their weapons in their hands.” “It is to hear the speech of the general.” “Will they fight?” “I cannot yet tell.” “They had [again] mounted their carriages, and [again] those on the left and right descend.” “It is to pray in reference to the battle.” Chow-le [also] told the king about the marquis’s own men.”

[At the same time], Meaou Fun-huang [A fugitive from Ts’o’o, a son of To Wai; see the Ch’en after VII. iv. 6], was by the side of the marquis of Ts’in, and told him about the king’s own men. On both sides [the armies] said, “There is an officer of our State [with the enemy], and their number is great, not to be resisted.” Meaou Fun-huang said to the marquis, “The best soldiers of Ts’o’o are in the army of the centre, which is made up of clans descended from the kings of Ts’o’o. These soldiers and attack the left and right armies of Ts’o’o, and then bring all your three armies together against the king’s men; in this way you will inflict on Ts’o’o a great defeat.” The mar-
not dare to kneel in acknowledgment of your message, but I venture to say how the condescension of it from your ruler makes me feel not at ease. In consequence of present circumstances, I will venture with my hands to the ground to salute his messenger. And thus he saluted the messenger three times, and then withdrew.

'K‘eu-k‘en of Ts’in was pursuing the earl of Ch’ing, when his charioteer, Too Hw‘an-lo, said to him, 'Let us make haste after him. His driver often looks round, and has not his mind upon his horses. He can be overtaken.' Han K‘eu-k‘en, however, said, 'I ought not a second time to disgrace the ruler of a State [See the account of the battle of G‘an in the 2d year];' and desisted from the pursuit.

K‘eu-k‘en [then] pursued the earl, and the spearman on his right, P‘u Han-hoon, said to him, 'Let some runners go before and intercept him, and I will get into his chariot from behind, capture him, and descend.' K‘eu-k‘en said, 'He who injures the ruler of a State gets punished,' and also gave up the pursuit. Shih Shih [the earl’s charioteer; see above] then said, 'It was only because duke E of Wei would not take down his flag, that he was defeated at Yang [See on IV. ii. 7. The present passage Shows that we should there read Tsoo and he put the earl’s flag into the quiver. T’an K‘ou [the spearman] said to Shih Shih, ‘You are by our ruler’s side. Our defeat is great. I am not so important as you. Do you make your escape with the earl, and let me remain here.

And there he died.

The army of T‘o ‘oo drew near to a dangerous pass, and Shuhshen-Jen said to Yang Yew-ke, ‘Notwithstanding the king’s command, it being for the State, you must shoot.’ Yew-ke shot two arrows, each of which killed its man. Shuhshen-Jen seized a man, and hurried him to the cross bar in front of his chariot which was broken by the force; and the army of Ts’in, seeing such archery and such strength, stopped its pursuit, having made a prisoner of Fet, a son of the viscount of Ts‘oo.

Lwan K‘eu-k‘en, seeing the flag of Tze-ch‘ung, made a request to the marquis, saying, ‘The people of T‘o ‘oo say that flag is the signal flag of Tze-ch‘ung. That then is Tze-ch‘ung. Formerly, when I was sent on a mission to T‘o ‘oo, I asked him in what the worth of Tsin was seen. I told him it was seen in our love of ordnary arrangement, and when he asked in what besides, I said, in our love of being leisurely. Now his State and ours have engaged in battle, without any messenger having gone from us—that is not what can be called orderly arrangement. And if in the time of action I eat my words, that cannot be called acting leisurely. Allow me to send a drink to him.’ The marquis granted the request, and K‘eu-k‘en then sent a messenger with a vessel of spirits to Tze-ch‘ung, and to say for himself, ‘My ruler, through want of other officers, has employed me to be in attendance upon him with my spear, so that I cannot in person dispense bounty to your followers, and have sent So-and-So with a drink to you in my room.’ Tze-ch‘ung said, ‘This must be in consequence of what I said to me in T‘o ‘oo:—do not remember his words?’ He then received the vessel and drank, let the
was in the right and Tai in the wrong, the text does not shrink from intimating the disgrace. It must be confessed that the disgrace is intimated in a very indelicate manner.

The Chum says:—On the day of the battle, Kwoh Teo and Kao Wooc'k'e reached the line of Tai's army [of Tai]; the marquis of Wei came to his march to join them from his capital; and the army proceeded from Hwayoo. Siun-ph [Siun-sun K'assam-yo] had an interview with Muh K'ass [the duke's brother], and wanted to make away with Kae and Mung [Ko-er Harg-go or Ke Wang-tse, and Mung Hsien-tze or Chung-sun Muh] and appropriate their property. When the duke was commencing his march, Muh K'ass escorting him, urged him to drive out those two ministers; but he represented to her his difficulties with Tai, and begged that the matter might be in abeyance till his return, when he would bear her commands. She was angry, and the duke's two half brothers Yen and Tseu [just then] hurried past, she pointed to them, and said, "If you refuse, either of these may be our ruler." The duke waited at Hwa-tee, renewing his orders for a careful watch to be maintained in the palace, and appointed officers to guard it. After this he marched, but the delay made him too late [for the battle]. He had appointed Mung Hsien-tze to keep guard in the palace.

The meeting in autumn at Shu-say was to take measures for the invasion of Ching. Seven-pil sent information to Kwoh Chwo; sure enough, the duke had waited in Hwa-tee, till he should see which side conquered. [Now] K'och Chwo commanded the new army, and was president of that branch of the ducal relatives, with the management of the States of the east. He took bribes from Siun-ph, and accused the duke and the marquis of Tai, who consequently refused to see him.

Par. 9. [The Chum appends here.—The people of Tseuch made a petition to Tai, saying,"Since our last ruler, duke Seun, left the world, our people have been saying, 'is it that our sorrows do not ever come to an end?' And now you have further punished our present ruler, so as to send into exile his brother [See on XV, pp. 3, 4], the guardian of the altar of Tseuch [See on p. 9, of last year]. Thus the people are greatly destroying Tseuch. Is it not because our former ruler was chargeable with offences? If our present one is guilty, yet he had taken his place in an assembly [of the States] Your lordship is chief and leader of the States, because the punishments you have inflicted have not been contrary to virtue:—how is it that your dealings with our poor State should be the single exception to this? We venture thus privately to set forth our case."

Par. 10. The viceroy of Yin was a noble and minister of the royal court, his city of Yin being, probably, in the pres. dist. of E-yang, dep. of Ho-nan. That Tai should call out a minister of Chow to accompany it in the invasion of another State shows how low the royal authority was now reduced.

The Chum says:—In the 7th month, the duke joined duke Woe of Yin and the States in the invasion of Ching. When he was about to set out, Muh K'ass laid her comments on him in the same way as before, while he did, repeat-
of his arrangements for keeping guard, and went his way. The armies of the other States halted on the west of Ch'ing, and our army halted at Yin-yang, not daring to move through the pass. Sun-shih Shing-pih [The Kung-sun Ying-tay] sent Shuh-sun Paou [brother of K'un-sun] to ask a party from the army of Tsin to come and meet us, saying he would remain without eating, in the borders of Ch'ing, till it arrived. When the party did come to meet us, Shing-pih had been waiting for it 4 days without eating anything; and then he gave food to Paou's messenger [also], before he ate himself. The States then removed [with their forces] to Che-\. In this incident also Sun-shih, the assistant-commander of the 3rd army, and with him some forces of the States, he made an incursion into Ch'in, as far as Ming-luh. Thence he went on into Tsin; and before he returned, the States had removed to Ying-shang. There, on Mow-wou, Tae-han of Ch'ing attacked them in the night, and the leaders of the armies of Tsin and Wei all got separated from each other.

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—"The people of Tsin again begged Tsin [to return to them that earl]. The marquis said, "If Tae-tai returns, I will send back your ruler" [Tao-tsing]; Tae-tai returned [to Tsin] [Song on p. 4 of last year], and then the earl returned to Tsin. Tze-ting surrendered [to his brother] his city and his office of minister, and did not leave [his house to engage in the public service]." Par. 12. We must understand that K'un-sun Hing-pi was in attendance on the duke in the invasion of Ch'ing; Tsin-k'iu was a city of Tsin, but its situation is not known. Kung-yang has 招丘.

The Chuen says:—"Shen-pih [K'isen-jo] sent word to K'eh Ch'ou, saying, "Ko and Mang are in Loo what Luan and F'un are in Tsin—by them is all the section of the garrisons determined. Now they have consulted together, and say, 'The garrisons of Tsin issues from many gates; Tsin is not to be followed.'"

Chung-shih, [the inquisitor of the Shu] who is wise, said, "If you wish to get your will in Loo, let me ask you to detain Hing-pi, and put him to death. I will [here] cut off Miih, and serve Tsin with an unwavering fidelity. When Loo does not wish to be answerable to Tsin, the smaller States are sure to agree in their service. If you do not do so I request, when he returns, he is sure to revolt from you." In the 9th month, the people of Tsin rebelled and held Ke Wun-tai in Tsin-sen.

'The duke, returning from the expedition, was in Yan, while he sent Tseu-shih Shing-pih to ask Tsin to liberate Ke-sun. K'eh Ch'ou said to him, "If you take off Chung-sun Meeh, and we detain [here] Ke-sun Hing-pi, I will be more friendly with your State than with our own ducal House." Shing-pih replied, "You must have heard all about K'isen-jo. If you take away Meeh and Hing-pi, it will be a great casting away of Loo, and will involve my ruler in guilt [towards you]."

If you do not cast Loo away, but bestow on it your favour as a blessing of the duke of Ch'ou, so that my ruler can continue to serve yours; then these two men are the ministers on whom Loo's altars depend. Destroy them in the morning, and in the evening Loo is lost to you, for it lies near to the States that are hostile to you. If it be once lost to you and become hostile, how can you remedy such an issue?" K'eh Ch'ou urged, "I will ask a city for you." The other replied, "If I am but an ordinary, underling of Loo; dare I seek to become great through your great State? I have received my ruler's order to present to you this request. If I obtain it, your gift will be great; what more should I seek for?"

'Fen Wun-tai said to Luan Woo-tai: "Ko-sun has been minister to two marquises of Loo, but his counsellors have never worn silk, and his horses have not fed on grain. If we believe the slanderous and bad, and cast away the loyal and good, how shall we appear to the States? Tseu-sinh Ying-tay has discharged his ruler's commission without any selfishness. He consented for his State, without sparing from his purpose; consideration for himself did not make him forget his ruler. If we deny his request, we shall become a bad example. Ought we to take measures accordingly?" [On this], they agreed to peace with Loo, and liberate Ke-sun. Par. 12. On the liberation of Ke Wun-tai, the scale turned against K'isen-jo. The Chuen says:—"In winter, in the 10th month, [the people drove] away Shuh-sun K'isen-jo, and [the great officers] entered into a covenant regarding him. He fled to Tsin.

Par. 14. [The Chuen gives here two narratives:—1st, "Shing Mang-tai [the mother] of the marquis of Tae, a daughter of Sun of the House of Sung; the eldest daughter by a concubine] began to intrigue with K'isen-jo, and gave him a position between that of Koan and Kwok. He said, however, "I must not be charged with such an offence a second time," and fled to Wei, where also his position was between that of its ministers." 2nd, "The marquis of Tsin sent Koeh Chie to Chou to present the spoils of Tae's; and there, in talking with duke Shang of Shen, he frequently boasted of his services. The viscount of Shen said to the great officers of the court, "Ke of Wun [Koeh Chie; see the Chuen at the end of the 11th year] will come to an evil end! His position is below that of seven others, and he seeks to hide the merit of those above him. When resentments gather round a man, there is the root of all disaster. How can he who excites many resentments and prepares the steps of disaster continue in a high position? One of the Books of His (Shoo, III. iii. 5) says, "Should resentment be wailed for till it appears? It must be cared for before it is seen!" showing how cautious we should be in small things, but now he publishes what must occasion resentment. Can that end well?""}
Par. 16. The execution of Yen is ascribed in the Chun on p. 14 to Ke Wăn-nê, while here it would appear to be the action of the duke. The duke, no doubt, ordered it under the direction of the minister. The critics are puzzled to account for the execution of Yen, while his brother Tso was spared [See on p. 8], and they vex themselves also with the force of the  
[See on V. xxvii. 2].
作矣，愛我者祝我，使我速死無及於難孫氏之福也。六月，戊辰，王薨。

earl of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
3 In the sixth month, on Yih-yew, they made a covenant together in Ko-ling.
4 In autumn, the duke arrived from his meeting [with the other princes].
5 Kaou Woo-k'ew of Ts'e fled to Ken.
6 In the ninth month, on Sin-ch'ow, we offered the border sacrifice.
7 The marquis of Tsin sent Seun Ying to Loo to ask the assistance of an army.
8 In winter, the duke joined the viscount of Shen, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
9 In the eleventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.
10 On Jin-shin, Kung-sun Ying-ts'e died in Le-shin.
11 In the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, the sun was eclipsed.
12 Keoh-tseu, viscount of Choo, died.
13 Ts'in put to death its great officers, Keoh E, Keoh Ch'ow, and Keoh Che.
14 The people of Ts'oo extinguished Shoo-yung.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"This year, in spring, in the king's 1st month, Tze-erue of Ch'ing made an incursion into the district of Ken and Hwah in Tsin, when Pi-hung Kwoh of Wei, to relieve Tsin, made an incursion into Ch'ing, as far as Kaou-see." For Kung-yang has Pih-kung Kwoh is also known as Pih-kung E-teue (北宮懿子). Too says he was a great-grandson of duke Ch'ing of Wei. Many of the critics insist upon a canon here regarding the use of 敷, that it is used instead of 伐 when the invasion was made by a State at the command of the larger one whose superiority it acknowledges. The canon is without foundation, and would only mystify the text.

Par. 2. See on par. 10 of last year. In VI. xiv. 11, et al., we have "the earl of Shen; here the viscount." The title had been reduced. The Chuen says:—"In summer, in the 5th month, K'wan Wun, the eldest son of the earl of Ch'ing, and How Now, became hostages in Ts'oo, and the two Kung-teues of Ts'oo, Ch'ing and Yin, came to guard the territory of Ch'ing. The duke joined duke Woe of Yin, duke Siang of Shen, and [the forces of] other States, in invading Ch'ing, from Ho-Yang to Kiih-neu." (The Chuen introduces here: — "When Fan Woe-teue returned from Yen-ling, he made the prince of his ancestor temple pray that he might die, saying, "Our ruler is haughty and extravagant, and, by this victory over his enemies, Heaven is increasing his diseases. Trouble will soon arise. Let him that loves me curse me, so that I may soon die, and not see those troubles; that will be my happiness." In the 6th month, on Mew-ling, Sihh [Wan-teue] died. Too says that he committed suicide (自裁); but I do not know on what authority.)

Par. 3. Too says that Ko-ling was in the west of Ch'ing. Nothing more is known of it. The object of the covenant, according to Ts'oo-see, was to renew that of Ts'iih in the past year. The parties to the covenant were of course the princes and ministers mentioned in the former par. The omission of them here is unimportant, though many critics dwell on it, as intended to conceal the part taken in the covenant by the representatives of the king.

Par. 4. The duke returned as soon, the coalition having been failed. The Chuen says:— "Tze-chung of Ts'oo relieved Ch'ing, and took post with his army at Shoo-cheu, on which [the armies of] the States returned." (The Chuen introduces here: — "When Fan Woe-teue returned from Yen-ling, he made the prince of his ancestor temple pray that he might die, saying, "Our ruler is haughty and extravagant, and, by this victory over his enemies, Heaven is increasing his diseases. Trouble will soon arise. Let him that loves me curse me, so that I may soon die, and not see those troubles; that will be my happiness." In the 6th month, on Mew-ling, Sihh [Wan-teue] died. Too says that he committed suicide (自裁); but I do not know on what authority.)

Par. 5. The Chuen says:— "King Kiih of Ts'oo had an intrigue with Shing Mii-teue [See the 1st Chuen after p. 18 of last year], and was carried through a street leading to the palace in a carriage along with a woman, himself disguised as a woman. Pang Kiih [A great-grandson of Pang Shih-yu of duke Hwan's time] saw him, and told Kwoh Woe-teue [Kwoh Tso], who sent for Kiih, and spoke to him, Kiih [in consequence] for a long time kept in his house, but he informed the duchess that Kwoh-teue had been reproving him, which enraged her. When duke Ling went to join [the other princes], Kwoh-teue attended him, while Kaou and Pang remained in charge of the capital. When he was returning, before his arrival,
these officers kept the gates of the city shut, and made inquisition for strangers [so we might attempt to enter]. On this Kung-tse accused them, saying that they had meant not to admit the duke, but to appoint Duke King's son, Kauh, in his room, and that: Kung-tse was privy to their design. In summer, in the 7th month, on Jin-shih, [duke Ling] caused Paou Kow's feet to be cut off, and drove out Kauh Woe-koh, who fled to Kauh. [His son], Kauh Job held [their city of] Lo on against the State: and the people of Lo toarsed Paou Kwoh [Kow's brother] from Lo, and appointed him the Head of his family.

"Before this, Paou Kwoh had left the Paou family in T'ye, and come to Lo, where he became a servant to She Hsiaon-shih [See the Chuen on XL.2]. She was consulting the tortoise-shell about a steward, and K'ang K'ow-sen was indicated for the appointment. Now the steward of the She family had a town of 100 houses, which was assigned to K'ang K'ow-son. He, however, declined the appointment in favour of Paou Kwoh, and gave the town up to She. She Hsiaon-shih said, "The divination gave a favourable response for you." K'ang replied, "And what could be a greater proof of its being favourable than my giving the office to a faithful, good man?" Paou Kwoh served the She family faithfully, and therefore the people of T'ye now chose him to be the representative of the Paou family. Chung-on said, "The wisdom of Paou Ch'ung-tse (Paou K'ow) was not equal to that of a sunflower. Though has no power, it is able to protect its roots!"

"This certainly is not like one of Confucius' remarks, and the critics unanimously agree in protest against the ascription of it to him.

Par. 6. The 9th month of Chuen was the 7th of Hsia, when there ought to have been no border sacrifice. The use of "before" is singular, and has given rise to much speculation. Many critics, after Kung-yang, would make a canon, that "before" is always used to indicate disapprobation of that to which it is applied (用者宜用也). Some, especially Lii Ch'ang, think that it indicates the use of a human victim at this sacrifice, and the K'ang-he editors have needlessly given an elaborate refutation of that view. Mao thinks the text is defective.

Par. 7,8,9. Foiled in its previous expedition, Tsin began another attempt, equally unsuccessful, to regain its authority over Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—In winter, the States invaded Ch'ing and in the 10th month, on Kang-woo, they laid siege to its capital. Kung-tse, Sin of T'ye, came to its relief, and took post, with his army, on the Zoo, on which [the forces of the States withdrew.

Par. 10. For Kung-yang has 々, and Kuch-ih has 々. Where Lo-shih has not been ascertained. There is a difficulty about the day Jin-shih, which cannot have been in the 11th month of this year. Jin-shih is only two days after Kang-woo, when, according to the last Chuen, the allies laid siege to the capital of Ch'ing;—some time in the 10th month. Calculating back from Tsin-tse, as the 1st day of the 12th month, we must conclude likewise that the 11th month contained no Jin-shih day. The critics, since Kung and Kuh and their earliest editors, make Jin-shih to have been the 15th day of the 10th month; but this is in conflict with the 11th month of the previous paragraph. Too says that the 'day is wrong (日誤), meaning that either the 々 or the 々 is wrong;—in the 11th month of this year there were the days 々, 々, and 々, and also the 々 and the 々.

The Chuen says:—Before this, Shing-pih (the Kung-sun T'ing-te) dreamt that he was crossing the Hwae, when some one gave him a b'ang gem and a fine pearl, which he ate. He then fell a-crying, and his tears turned to k'ang gems and fine pearls, till his breast was filled with them. After this he sang:

"Crossing the waters of the Hwae,
They gave me a pearl and a gem.
Home let me go! Home let me go!
My breast with pearls and gems is full."

[When he awoke], he was afraid and did not venture to have the dream interpreted. Returning (now) from Ch'ing, on Jin-shih he arrived at Lo-shih, and had the dream interpreted, saying, "I was afraid it indicated my death, and did not venture to have it interpreted. Now the multitude with me is great, and the dream has followed me three years. It cannot harm me to tell it." He did so; and in the evening of that day he died.

[The Chuen here returns to the affairs of T'se in p. 5. The marquis of T'se sent Tray Ch'ou [See the Chuen on VII. x. 5.] as great officer in command, with K'ing Kuh, to lead a force and besiege Lo. K'ow Tso was then with the States at the siege of the capital of Ch'ing, but leave was asked and obtained for him to return to T'se, on account of the difficulties of the State. He went, and put K'ing Kuh to death, revolting also from the marquis in his own city of Kuh. The marquis made a covenant with him at Seu-kwan, and restored him. In the 10th month, Loo surrendered, and the marquis sent K'ow [Tso's son] Shing to inform Tsin of the troubles, having charged him to wait [for his further orders in T'ing.]

Par. 11. This eclipse took place 17th Oct., B. C. 573, and was visible in Lo on the morning.

Par. 12. This was duke Ting. He had been vissomint of Choo for 40 years. As from the 7th year of Ch'ing we find the troops of Choo, when engaged in expeditions with other States, always led by an officer or minister, we may presume that K'ow-tse was too old to take the field in person.

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—Duke Tse of Tsin was extravagant, and had many favourites besides the ladies of his harem. When he returned from Yen-ling, he wished to put out of their situations all the great officers, and to make a point in their room the individuals who were always about him. One of his favourites was
SEN TUNG, who cherished resentment against the Kéoh family, because of the dismissal from office of his father, Su Kwong, and the destruction of his family fortunes, harbored a grudge against Kéoh E-yang Woe, from whom Kéoh E had taken away some fields. A third was Kéoh of Chang-yu, who, at a former time, Kéoh Chow had had a quarrel about some fields; and Chyow had also seized and hand-cuffed him, and bound him with his hands, and children to one of the thills of a carriage.

"Three were all enemies of the Kéohs, and I was in a rage also at the conduct of Kéoh Chow, who had been my creditor,, thereby lending to the defeat of the army of Tain. When Lwan Shoo wished that the army of Tain should keep within its entrenchments, Chen insisted that they should go forth and fight which brought on the battle of Yen-mang. He wanted to procure Chee's dismissal from office, and get Pa, the son of an uncle of Tawn [who had been taken prisoner], to inform the duke, saying: "My ruler was really called to that battle [of Yen-mang] by Kéoh Chen, on the ground that the eastern armies had not arrived, and that the commanders of your own native armies were not sure to be defeated, and I will then raise Sun-chow [a great-grandson of Duke Sie-an of Tain] to the rule of Tain, and serve you." The duke told this to Lwan Shoo, who said, "It is a truth. If it were not so, he should have been so regardless of death. [In the battle], and have received a message from the enemy? Why should not your lordship try the thing by sending him on a mission to Chyow, and examining his conduct there?" [Accordingly], Kéoh Chen went on a friendly mission to Chyow, where Lwan Shoo sent word to Sun-chow to see him. This was spied out by an agent of the duke, who concluded that the whole charge against him was true, and cherished resentment against Kéoh Chen.

When the duke was hunting, he would eat his own provisions first, and then make the great officers come after them. [Once], Kéoh Chen was bringing [to the duke] a bear [which he had shot]. When Mung-chang, the chief of the enmities, snatched it away, and was shot to death by Kéoh Chen in consequence, [Kéoh Chen] said, "Kéoh E-yang despoies me.

When Duke Shoo wanted to take action against [the great officers], Sen Tung said to him, "You must begin with the three Kéoh. Their clans is large, but they have many enemies. Removing so large a clan will relieve you of pressure, and your action will be easy against those who have so many enemies." The duke approved of this plan. The Kéoh heard of it, and E proposed to attack the Duke saying: "Although we may die, we will not be put in peril. Kéoh E-yang, however, said: "The things which set a man up are fidelity, wisdom, and valor. A faithful man will not revolt against his ruler; a wise man will not injure the people; a valiant man will not raise disorder. If we become masters of the qualities, who will be with us? If by our death we increase the number of our enemies, of what use will it be? When a ruler puts a minister to death, what can the latter say to him? If we are really guilty, our death comes late; if he put us to death, long innocent, he will lose the people, and have no more afterwards, however much he may wish it. Let us simply wait our fate. We have received solemnments from our ruler, and by means of them have collected a party; but what offence could be greater than if with that party we should strive against his order?"

On Jin-woo, Su Tung and E-yang Woe wished to lead eight hundred men-at-arms to attack the Kéohs; but Kéoh E-yang Woe begged leave [to attempt their death] without using many followers, and the marquis sent Tawn Yip-yun with him to help him. Taking their spears and tucking up their skirts, they pretended to have some dispute together, and went on to where the three Kéoh were. These had planned to take counsel together in the archery hall, and there Kéoh with his spear killed Kéoh E-yang, and Chyow-shun of Kéoh (Kéoh Chyow), where they were sitting. Ké of Woe said, "Let me see from the danger," and ran off. Kéoh, however, overtook his carriage, killed him with his spear, took his body and those of the two others, and exposed them in the court. In the meantime Su Tung with the men-at-arms seized Lwan Shoo and Chyow-hang Yen (Seh Hian-tau) in the court, and Kéoh E-yang said, that they might be put to death, or sorrow would come to the marquis. The marquis, however, said, "I have exposed the corpses of three ministers in one morning, and cannot bear to add more to them." Kéoh replied, "They will bear to deal with you. I have heard that disorder occasioned by another State is hostility, while that which takes its origin within the State is treason. Hostility is to be met with virtue; treason with punishment. When you put [your enemies] to death without showing [any leniency], it cannot be said there is virtue in such a course; when your ministers exercise a pressure on you, and you do not cut them off, it cannot be said that there is punishment. There being neither virtue nor punishment, hostility and treason will come together. I beg to be allowed to leave the State." Accordingly he fled to the Téih.

The duke then sent to the two officers that they were at liberty to go, saying, "I have punished the Kéoh, and they have suffered for their guilt. No disgrace is intended you. Resume your offices and places." The two bowed twice with their heads to the ground, and replied, "Your lordship has punished the guilty; and that you have further granted us an escape from death,—this is your kindness. Till death we shall not forget it." They then went to their homes.

The duke made Su Tung a high minister; and [not long after], he was drinking and enjoying himself in the vicinity of the family of Ta-lang-la, when Lwan Shoo and Chyow-hang Yen seized and kept him prisoner. They called Sen Koe to join them, but he refused. They called Han Kien, but he also refused, saying, "Formerly I was brought up in the Chou family, and during the slanders of Mung Ke [See the Chou on VIII.6], I declined to use my sword. There is a saying of the ancients, "that no one likes to preside at the slaying of an old ox;" how much less would one do so at the slaying of a ruler? You gentlemen are not able to serve our ruler; what use could you make of me?"

Par. 14: The State of Shoo-yung was near that of Shoo-hione;—see on VII.8. The
Chuen says:—"The people of Shoo-yung, in consequence of the defeat of the army of Te'-oo (at Yen-ling), led the people of Woo to besiege Ch'ou, to attack K'ai, and to besiege Ke and Hway. Trusting in Woo, they made no preparations against Te'-oo, and the Kung-tao Toh-tze surprised their city, and extinguished their State."

(The Chuen adds here:—"In the intercalary month, on Yih-mao, the last day of it, Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen put to death Sen Tung. The people were out for the three Kaoh, and Sen Tung had led on his ruler to commit disorder, and the text therefore says in both cases that "Tain put its great officers to death."")

Eighteenth year.

公如晉。夏楚子鄭伯伐宋。宋魚石復入于彭城。

公至自晉。晉侯使士匄來聘。秋杞伯來朝。八月邾子來朝。冬楚人鄭人侵宋。晉侯使士鲂來乞師。十二月仲孫蔑會晉侯宋公衞侯邾子齊崔杼。同盟于虛杠。丁未葬我君成公。
左傳曰：十八年春王正月，庚申，晉涉柤，中行偃使程滑弑厲公，葬之於翼東門之外，以車一乘使荀偃告書。周子於京師而立之，生十四年矣。大夫逆於清原，周子曰：‘始進，則此非天下之民，彼人之求君也。’使告書曰：‘齊命殺之以叛故也，使齊人殺國勝。國弱來奔，王欲奔萊封為大夫，顏佐為司空。’

二月乙酉，晉悼公即位，於朝。始命百官，施舍，責賁賂，振窮賑賑，邑於無養，殺不辜，誅不直，厚賦斂，宥罪戾，節器用，時用民，欲無犯時，使魏相、士芻、魏馮趙武為卿，荀家、荀會、樂盡為大夫，使訓卿之子弟，共之。使士渥稽為大傅，使修范武子之法。右肩辛為司空，使修士之法。弁科御戎，校正屬焉。使訓諸御知之。義。張老為候奄，鐪邊為司馬。使訓卒乘，親以聽命。程鄭為乘馬御，六卿屬焉。使訓諸卿知之。凡六卿之長，皆民譽也。舉不失職，官不易方，耐不踰德，不陵正族，不倡民無誚言，所以復德也。
XVIII.

1. In the duke's [eighteenth] year, in spring, in the king's first month, Tsin put to death its great officer, Seu Ts'ung.

2. On Kang-shin, Tsin murdered a ruler, Chow-p'oo.

3. Ts'e put to death its great officer, Kwoh Tso.

4. The duke went to Tsin.

5. In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung; [when] Yu Shih of Sung again entered Piang-shing.

6. The duke arrived from Tsin.

7. The marquis of Tsin sent Sze K'ae to Loo on a mission of friendly enquiries.

8. In autumn, the earl of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.

9. In the eighth month, the viscount of Choo paid a court-visit to Loo.

10. We enclosed the deer park.

11. On Ke-ch'ow, the duke died in the state-chamber.

12. In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo and one from Ch'ing made an incursion into Sung.

13. The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Fang to ask the help of an army.
14. In winter, in the twelfth month, Chung-sun Meech had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'in, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the viscount of Choo, and Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, when they made a covenant together in Heu-ting.

15. On Ting-we, we buried our ruler, duke Ch'ing.

Par. 1. The death of Sen Tsung, as related in the last Chuen, took place in the 12th month, intercalary, of the last year. It appears now, acc. to Ts'o, because it was only now announced to Loa. Ts'in followed the calendar of Hin, instead of that of Chou.

Par. 2. See the Chuen on par. 12 of last year.

The Chuen here says:—Titi spring, in the 1st month, on Kang-sun, Iwan Shen and Chuang-hung Yen made Chung Hwak murder duke Le, whom they buried outside the east gate of Yhi, with a single carriage in attendance. They then sent Sen Ngang and Sen Pang to the capital to meet Chou-tace, and declared him duke Le's successor. Chow-tace was only 14 years old, and when the great officers met him in Ting-yuen, he said, "At first, I had no wish to arrive at this estate; and [now], though I have arrived at it, it is not to be ascribed to Heaven? When men seek a ruler, it is to have one who shall give out his orders. If, when they have called them to the head of the State, they do not follow his orders, what use have they made of them? If you mean to obey me, say so to-day; if not, say so to-day. If you still reverently follow your ruler, then the Spirits will bless us." They replied, "It is your sarrante's desire. We dare not but hearken to your commands. He then made a covenant with them on Kang-sun, and entered the capital, lodging in the house of Ph Ti-tse-tung. On Sin-sun he presented himself in the temple of [duke] Wai, and abolished seven men, who were unworthy to be ministers.

Chow-tace had a brother who was devoid of intelligence, so that he could not distinguish between wheat, and consequently could not be made marquis.

The Kung-he editors enter here again on the subject which they discussed on VL xvi. 7. The manner of duke Le is sacrificed to Ts'in, while it was really the work of two of the great officers of the State. Kunghe thought the style of the record intimated that the ruler had been very bad. The general view of the critics is, that the style of the entry does in a measure distribute the guilt of the murder among the people, to whom Le was an object of abhorrence. The editors demand this attempt to screen the deed of the two rascal ministers, and share their guilt among the people. The entry is given in consequence of the nature of the announcement from Ts'in, where there was now no unscrupulous historian like Tung Hoo, who recorded the guilt of Choua Ts'iu. The announcement must have concealed the real criminals by attributing the deed to other parties; but the Chuen Ts'iu would not so cover the guilt, and therefore attributed the deed to the king himself, that an enquiry might be excited, inquiry made, and the true criminals not escape from the net. It is impossible to lay down any 'canons' or offer any satisfactory explanation of the phraseology in cases like the present. We have the 12th par. of last year, and the first three paragraphs of this year, all occupied with executions or murders that cannot be judged of by the same standard, and yet the record of them is identical.

Par. 3. See the Chuen on par. 5 of last year, and that after par. 10. The Chuen says:—Because of the troubles about Kung [K'hi] in Ts'o, on Kang-sun, the last day of the moon, the marquis of Ts'in made the judge Hsi a Mini to kill Kwo Hoo with a spear, at an audience which he gave him in the inner palace, there being soldiers concealed in the palace of the marquis. The language of the text, "I've put to death his great officer Kwo Hoo," is because he had paid no respect to his ruler's cherished personal friend, and took it on himself to kill [K'hi], and had held Khu in rebellion. [At the same time], the marquis made the people of Ting-yung kill Kwo Shing, Kwo Hoo [A younger brother of Shing] then fled to Loa, and Wang Ts'ieh to Loa. Kung Fung was made a great officer, and Kung Tsu minister of Crime [Both these were sons of K'hi]. After this the marquis recalled Kwo Hoo, and appointed him heir and representative of the Kwo family—a which was according to rule.

[The Chuen continues here the narrative in that on p. 2:—In the 3d month, on Yhi-yew, on the 1st day of the moon, duke Taou [Sun-show] of Ts'in took the place of Le in the court, and for the first time gave their charges to the various officers. He bestowed [favour, benefactions], and forgave debts (due to the government); he extended his kindness to the military and to civilians; he redressed the cause of officers who had been dismissed from employment, and of those who had been kept back; he delivered the needy and distressed; he relieved the sufferers from calamity and misfortune; he laid prohibitions on dissoluteness and wickedness; he lightened taxes; he dealt gently with offenders; he employed the people at the proper times, employing them not to interfere with the seasons. He appointed Wei Silang, Sen Pang, Wei Kow, and Chuan Xun, to be high ministers; Senen Kiao, Senen Huy, Iwan Shen, and Hoon Woe, to be great officers over the different branches of the state, kindred, requiring them to teach the sons and younger brothers of the ministers the duties of reverence, ceremony, filial piety, and fraternal submission. He appointed Sen Un-Chen [Sen Ching-tse] to be grand-master, requiring him to revise and revive the laws of Fan Wu-Tso, and Yen-Chang Sin to be minister of Works, requiring him to revise and revive the laws of Seo Wei. Kio of Poo was principal charioteer, with all the head guards under him, and was required to instruct all the charioteers in the principles of righteousness. Sen Po was principal spearman on the right, with all the other spearmen under him, and was required to instruct these men in arms
in the service at any time required of them. Ministers [Being generals] were not allowed a special chariot, nor the usual honor parade by one of the ordinary officers. Ke He was transferred to the army of the north, where Yang-sheen's Mage and Wang-sheen's Yen were the leaders. Yi Kang was marshal, and Chang Luen [as chief of staff] was the 1st army commander. T'ieh Kung-yeh was the transferee of the 2nd army, with T'ieh Thu as marshal, and was required to take the soldiers and chariots before the army, which he received. Ch'ung Ch'ing was chief equerry, with the grandsons of the six chief ministers, under whom he was required to instruct in the rules of propriety. The chief of the six military departments were the objects of the people's praise. Not one was irregular to the office to which he was raised; no one interfered with the duties of another's department. Their dignities did not import their virtues. The assistant-commanders did not have the authority of the generals, nor did their subordinates press upon them. There was no word of dissatisfaction or reviling heard among the people, and thus the place of T'ai T'ien as the leader of the other states was restored,)

Par. 4. The duke," says Tao-sho, "went to T'ai T'ien to appear at the court of the new ruler.

Par. 5. Ch'ung-shih was in the prov. of Tung-shan (1), dep. Su-chow, Kiang-su. The Ch'en says:—In summer, in the 9th month, the year of Ch'ing made an invasion into Sung, and proceeded as far as the west of the province of T'ang. He then joined the district of T'ou who was invading Sung, and they took Ch'een-k'iao. Tzu-ka of T'ou and Hwang Shin of Ching made an invasion into Shang-k'uai, and took Yen-ch'ien. They then joined in attacking T'ung-shih, in which they placed Yu Shih, Hwang Wei-shu, Lin Chou, Hsiao T'ou, and Yu Foo [see the Ch'en on XV. pp. 839], left 300 chariots to guard the country, and returned. The text says that [Yu Shih] is "again entered," [Ch'ung-shih shih] is in the case of others, who have left their State, when the State sends and meets them [to bring them back], they are said "to enter it." When they have the places which they formerly held restored to them, they are said "to be restored again." When they are re-instated by the prince of another State, they are said "to be restored." When their restoration is effected by violence, they are said "to enter again.

The people of Sung were afflicted by these proceedings, but Se T'ou-wa says: "Why be afflicted ? If the people of T'ou had regarded those wicked men as we do, [and dealt with them] as we do to a nagle, then we should have served them."

Par. 14. The text gives one reason for this, that it was a cause of the people being a nagle. Or if it is another way it may have resulted from those objects of our detection, and made them help it in its measures, so as to stop the outposts which we might attempt to attack us, this also would have been an affliction. But now, T'ou has exalted these traitors to their prince, and has shared them a part of our territory, so as to step the plain route of communication between Sung and Woo—[i.e. it has satisfied the traitors' wishes, and thereby separated it from its own territories; it has poisoned the States against itself, and filled with apprehensions Woo and T'ai T'ien. Our course becomes much easier. This should be no sorrow to us. And for what have we served T'ai T'ien? It will be sure to pity us.

Par. 7. The Ch'en says:—When the duke arrived from T'ai T'ien, Fan Suen-tse (see K'ai) came to Loo with friendly inquiries, and acknowledged the duke's visit to the court of T'ai T'ien. The superior man will say that in this T'ai T'ien behaved with propriety.

Par. 8. The Ch'en says:—The visit of Ke Ke now came to congratulate the duke on the accomplishment of his journey, and to ask about T'ai T'ien. The duke in consequence told him all about the [new] marquis. The son on this went off quickly on a court visit to T'ai T'ien, and began an alliance of marriage with it.

Par. 9. There is a note here about Sung. In the 7th month, Sau Tze of Sung and Hwa He laid siege to P'ang-shih, when the former died.

Par. 9. Tao-sho says this visit was made by duke Suen of Chou, on occasion of his succumbing to the State, to have an interview with duke Ch'ing.

Par. 10. Tao-sho says this entry is made because of the unseasonableness of the proceeding.

Par. 11. See VII. xvill. 7, et al. "The record," says Tao-sho, shows that he died where he should have done.

Par. 12. The Ch'en says:—In the 11th month, Tsou-chang of T'ou came to relieve P'ang-shih, and invaded Sung. Hwa Yuen of Sung went to T'ai T'ien to report the urgency of their distress. Hwa Hen-tze was then T'ai T'ien's chief minister, and said: "It we wish to win men, we must first be earnest in their behalf. To establish our leadership, and secure our strength, we must begin with Sung." The marquis of T'ai T'ien then took post with an army at Tao-k'ou, to relieve Sung, and [his generals] met with the army of T'ou in the valley of Mei-kou, "It withdrew before them."

Par. 13. 致 T'ou-kung has no 影. The Ch'en says:—When Sue Fang asked for the help of an army, Ke Wun-tze asked Tsung Wun-chung what should be its number. The result is that in the expedition against Ch'ing. Ch'ih phu [Seun Feng] came to see us, the assistant-commander of the 2nd army. Now Che Ke [Sue Fang, a son or Sue Hwuy] is in the same position. Send the same number of troops, not to be in the van of Ch'ing. In serving a great State, we must not fail to observe the rank and titles of its envoys, and be very respectful." Ke Wun-tze followed this counsel.

Par. 15. This entry says Tao-sho, "interrogates that everything [about the death, burial, and succession] was natural and proper."