

AUTHORITY IN THE ZUOZHUAN

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Interdisciplinary Studies Program:  
Asian Studies  
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts

August 1996

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An Abstract of the Thesis of  
William E. Duncan for the degree of Master of Arts  
in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Asian Studies  
to be taken August 1996  
Title: AUTHORITY IN THE ZUOZHUAN

Approved:    
Dr. Stephen W. Durrant

The Zuozhuan 左傳 (Zuo Commentaries), a narrative history of China's Spring and Autumn period (722-479 BCE), has been included among the thirteen classics of Confucianism since the Tang dynasty. Yet its pages contain numerous references to Shang and early Zhou divination practices. It seems paradoxical that a text identified with Confucian humanism would be full of references to the supernatural.

I suggest that the Zuozhuan builds upon the foundations of the authority of Shang and Zhou ritual to establish the authority of Confucian doctrine. This phenomenon has been mentioned by other scholars, though no study has addressed this directly. It is the goal of this thesis to use passages in the Zuozhuan to demonstrate how authority moved from an external source to an internal source during the Eastern Zhou and to show that Zuozhuan makes use of

something that Lakoff and Johnson have called idealized cognitive models.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author expresses sincere gratitude and appreciation to Professors Durrant and Felsing in the preparation of this manuscript. I would also like to thank Professor Durrant for introducing me to articles by Wai-Yee Li and Kidder Smith, Jr. both of which have been extremely helpful in formulating my ideas. In addition, special thanks are due to Professor Delancey, whose insights into language and whose introduction to the ideas of Lakoff and Johnson have been essential to the successful completion of this work. I also thank Fan-chiang Ping and Tsai Yen for their assistance in Chinese language data entry. Finally, I would like to thank Doris Boylan for her editing expertise.

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Most students are introduced to the Zuozhuan 左傳 (Zuo Commentaries) as both an exemplar of history in pre-Qin 秦 China, and (in the world of literature) for its narrative prose. Zuozhuan, originally titled Zuoshi Chunqiu 左氏春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals of Mister Zuo), has long been considered one of three canonical commentaries on the Chunqiu 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) and, as such, included in the corpus of Confucian texts called jing 經. The Zuozhuan, however, also makes numerous references to divinatory practices which characterize the early Zhou 周 dynasty.<sup>1</sup> This seems somewhat paradoxical when considered alongside the social humanism promulgated by Confucius and his followers. References to divinatory practices occur in the records of eleven of the thirteen ducal reigns (with no

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<sup>1</sup>The Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series' Combined Concordances to Ch'un-chiu, Kung-yang, Ku-liang and Tso-chuan records 180 references in the Zuozhuan to five characters which are related to the three popular means of divination (i.e., zhan 占 'to look at, to interpret, to prognosticate', bu 卜 'to make cracks, to divine by bone or tortoise shell oracle', shi 筮 'yarrow, milfoil oracle', gui 龜 'turtle, tortoise, bone oracle (in general)', and meng 夢 'to dream'. For definitions, see Schuessler, Axel. A dictionary of early Zhou Chinese (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), pp. 47, 216, 412-3, 556, and 813.

references found in either the first or last reign), in a total of 67 episodes; making the phenomenon seem rather significant.

It appears that the writer of Zuozhuan was using the text to reinterpret the notion of authority, juxtaposing Zhou divination practices with interpretations that utilized Confucian teachings--establishing a new model of authority on the foundation of an older mode. This shift in the notion of authority has been noticed before by scholars such as Wai-Yee Li, who states:

The Han rationalization of the meaning of the word shih thus marks the transition from the magical authority of the historian as shaman-astrologer to the moral authority of the historian as inquirer into the causes and consequences of human action in time. This transition is accomplished in the Spring and Autumn Annals and its three commentary traditions...the [Zuo] Commentary treats the Annals less sacrosanct and sometimes amends it...what is the greatest interest about the [Zuo] Commentary is less the authenticity of its presumed exegetical function than its mode of understanding human existence in time: its interest in causation, its grand inclusiveness and its attention to the unique and the particular....<sup>2</sup>

Any discussion of the notion of 'authority' must, by nature, be treated in a rather circumspect manner because 'authority' is an abstract notion, and is not subject to the rigors of objective rational thought. This is all the more

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<sup>2</sup>Li, Wai-Yee. "The Idea of Authority in the Shih chi (Records of the Historian)," in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1994), pp. 346-351.

true when the expression of authority is a divination system which appeals to the supernatural and occurs in a text so closely associated to a particular set of ideological assumptions. In recent years, however, scholars such as linguist George Lakoff and philosopher Mark Johnson have discussed the validity of objectivism as an underlying assumption. Lakoff and Johnson claim that we conceptualize our world in terms of mental gestalts that are represented by a best example or prototype member of a given category and a set of extensions to other members of the category. These gestalts are what they term idealized cognitive models.<sup>3</sup> If the changing notion of authority, as described in the Zuozhuan, is to be understood as a natural and coincidental byproduct of the Warring States period, it may be that it will be best understood according to the paradigm which Lakoff and Johnson have termed "experiential realism."

This thesis is the product of reading and thinking about human cognition and about divination in the Zuozhuan and Confucianism in the later years of the Zhou dynasty. The specific goal of this thesis is to demonstrate, using passages from the Zuozhuan, that the writer used the text to

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<sup>3</sup>See Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. Metaphors We Live By (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 56-60; see also Lakoff, George. Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) pp. 486-490.

reinterpret the idea of authority projected by the early Zhou divination practices in the light of a new type of authority--the teachings of Confucius and his followers. Further, I will present a brief explanation of the ideas of Lakoff and Johnson, and conclude by constructing a tentative model of the process that might have occurred as we see in Zuozhuan. In conclusion, I will raise questions about the issue of intent, that is was the pro-Confucian perspective of the writer a result of his intentional intervention or was he writing as a product of his times?

#### Political Background

Zhou dynasty China (ca. 1050-221 BCE) is often referred to as one of the pinnacles of Chinese civilization. The establishment of the Zhou dynasty marks the introduction of new institutions in China--first, a political institution in the form of a fully developed feudalism; second, a philosophical institution in the form of the "hundred schools" 諸子百家 which develops as a result of the failure of the central authority of the Zhou kings; and an literary institution from which much of what we know about Chinese history and philosophy comes. One author has written about the glory of the Zhou in the following terms:

The Western [Zhou] 西周 period is often regarded as the fountainhead of Chinese civilization. This period was one in which a small but vigorous group of people gained power, developed a massive feudal

network, and proclaimed themselves the rightful directors of a grand cultural and political program. That they acted out this drama can be documented through and accumulation of evidence from varied sources. Many of China's significant institutions, including the traditional aristocratic kinship structure, and ideologies such as the notion of the Mandate of Heaven are thought to have originated in this period. Most revealing, however, was the establishment of [Zhongguo] 中國 (the Central Kingdom), or [Huaxia] 華夏, as it was called by the [Zhou] people in the eleventh century B.C. The concept of [Zhongguo] simultaneously defined 'China' as a state, a nation, and a civilization qualifying it as a 'universal state.'

In the late years of the Shang 商 dynasty, so tradition relates, a king named Zhou 紂 came to power. Apparently a tyrant, Zhou aroused the anger of several groups that lived on the margins of the Shang kingdom. Under the leadership of King Wen of Zhou 周文王, the coalition rebelled against the Shang. King Wen was killed before the conquest of Shang was completed (some time between 1122 and 1025 BCE), and was replaced by his son, King Wu 武王. King Wu himself died only seven years after the conquest of Shang, and was replaced by his young son, Cheng 成, and Wu's brother Dan 旦, who acted as regent under the title Duke of Zhou 周公.

After the conquest of the Shang, the leaders of the conquering armies were rewarded with holdings of land--fiefs. It is unclear whether it was King Wu or Duke Zhou who

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<sup>4</sup>Hsu, Cho-yun, and Katheryn M. Linduff. Western Chou Civilization (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. xvii.

instituted this political system, but the result of the system was that Zhou was protected by loyal supporters from the 'barbarian' groups which bordered the realm. In addition to rewarding the generals of the conquering armies, the Zhou also established a complex system of ritual<sup>5</sup> which set up the Zhou king as an interloper between the deity Tian 天 'heaven' and the minions on earth--tianxia 天下 'below heaven.' The Zhou king was known by the title Tianzi 天子 'Son of Heaven.' The key to the link between the king and heaven was the Tianming 天命 'Mandate of Heaven,' which was the Zhou justification for both the conquest of the Shang (who had lost the Mandate of Heaven) and the establishment of Zhou rule (because the Zhou had received the Mandate of Heaven).

The Zhou government utilized a divination system which they had inherited from the Shang in order to communicate with heaven; this system included both the interpretation of a series of symbols composed of three or six lines in a combination of unbroken and broken segments--what are now known as the gua 卦--and of cracks in the scapulae of oxen

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<sup>5</sup>There is reason to believe that the Zhou system was, in fact, the result of innovation of the Shang system which it supplanted; in Western history, a similar process occurred during the Roman imperial age, which followed the Greeks. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the Zhou dynasty is characterized by a de-mystification of ritual, so that by the time when the Zuozhuan was written, Heaven 天 was an impersonal force from which the Zhou rulers received their right to rule.

or the plastrons of turtle made when the bones were subject to the heat applied by a hot instrument. Originally, divination was limited to the royal court, and as such was the intellectual property of a small group of ministers called diviners, but the practice later spread to the houses of the zhuhou 諸侯 or feudal lords. During the Zhou, the practice of divination by using the stalks of milfoil plants was developed; this practice eventually supplanted the use of oracle bones for divinatory purposes. Perhaps one reason why milfoil divination replaced oracle bone divination was that it was technologically less complex; it did not require the use of fire and special implements, nor did it require the use of materials such as ox scapulae or turtle plastrons. Oddly enough, the change of media represents part of trend in writing technology as a whole. The system of divination and interpretation was favorable to recording in texts, which at the time, were being recorded on silk and bamboo, as well as the traditional bone and bronze. The popularization of milfoil divination developed alongside the spread of writing. Based upon patterns of short and long (broken and unbroken) lines, the milfoil divinations were associated with the Zhouyi (The Changes of Zhou), and copied into early texts. This, along with other aspects of the popular divinatory practices of Zhou times, will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The political unification of China under Zhou rule was relatively short-lived.<sup>6</sup> It may be speculated that as the participants in the Shang conquest died and were replaced by others, the relationship between the feudal lords and the royal house became less meaningful; it might also be that the quality of leadership provided by the Zhou declined. For whatever reason, the individual states, or guo 國, became stronger and began to pay less attention to the royal house. The extent to which the Zhou had lost the protection of the feudal lords is evidenced by the defeat suffered by King Xuan's 宣王 armies at the hands of the Jiang 姜, one of the groups from the margins of the Zhou realm.<sup>7</sup> Shortly afterward, King You 幽王 also suffered defeats at the hands of the marginal groups, in which You was killed; You's son Yujiu 宜臼 is supposed to have moved the Zhou capital to the eastern city of Chengzhou 成周 and enthroned himself as King Ping 平王, which establishes the Eastern Zhou 東周 (722-221 BCE).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Creel, Herrlee G. The Origins of Statecraft in China, Volume One: The Western Chou Empire (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 45.

<sup>7</sup>Ssu-ma, Ch'ien. The Grand Scribe's Records vol. 1, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed.; Tsai-fa Cheng, Zongli Lu, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., and Robert Reynolds, trans. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 72.

<sup>8</sup>Hsu and Linduff, pp. 259-260.

The story of the successes and failures of the Zhou polity illustrate the tension between notions of national unity and regional identity which have characterized much of China's history. Although Zhou rule was once again consolidated after the move to Chengzhou, it was not permanent. According to Li Xueqin, "...the Zhou royal house no longer possessed the power to control the lords, and the lords' power increased. Those that were strong economically and militarily competed to subjugate the neighboring weak and small lords. The Zhou king had no power to interfere with this...As a result, the powerful lords became increasingly more powerful and gradually developed into the so-called hegemonies, with the power to affect the national scene of all China."<sup>9</sup>

The Zuozhuan was written during the Warring States 戰國 period (456-221 BCE),<sup>10</sup> when several of the larger feudal houses, were contending for political supremacy<sup>11</sup>. Perhaps because of the political turmoil of the Warring States

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<sup>9</sup>Li, Xueqin. Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations trans. K.C. Chang. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Karlgren, Bernhard. On the authenticity and nature of the Tso-chuan, in Gotesborgs hogskolas arsskrift 32 (1926), pp. 64-65.

<sup>11</sup>According to Walker (1953:11)), "...the Eastern Chou...[was] a period in which over 170 small states are consolidated into less than a score of large and ambitious ones...obviously a period of important political change.

period, the writer of the Zuozhuan chooses as his subject matter the earlier Spring and Autumn period; he appeals to the greatness of the Zhou kings, using early Zhou society and polity as the standard from which China had fallen and the means by which China might return to greatness.

At the same time, the feudal lords were becoming more influential in the political world, and several members of the literati were promoting various ideologies and developing loyal followings. Between the sixth century and the third century (traditionally dated between 551 and 233 BCE), there existed in China an ideological struggle every bit as important as the political struggle which was occurring simultaneously. By the end of the Warring States period, the main players for the contending schools of thought included Kongzi, Mengzi, and Xunzi for the Confucians; Mozi for the Mohists; Zhuangzi for the Daoists; Hui Shi and Gongsun Long for the Logicians; Shang Yang, Shen Buhai, and Han Feizi for the Legalists; and Zou Yan for the Yin-Yang school.

From the Zhou dynasty emerged two prominent important institutions--feudalism, a political institution based upon ability and Confucianism, a second institution without the clear delineations of the first, yet based upon proper social relations, as expressed through the proper execution of ritual. Feudalism remained a powerful force throughout

most of China's long history. The early gatekeepers of the feudal system were the shi 史, ministers of the royal court and the great feudal houses, whose responsibility it was to record the words and deeds of the emperor and the royal court. Li states that, "... (t)he earliest description of the historian in the Chinese tradition--as shaman-astrologer, diviner, interpreter of dreams, political advisor, earnest inquirer, and fearless defender of the truth--are found in the [Zuo] Commentary. It is a range of images that help us gauge the transition from magical authority to moral authority in the conception of historical writing."<sup>12</sup> The ru were not seen as power-brokers during the Zhou dynasty. The obvious source of authority remained in the warrior-aristocrat class. But the ru were the teachers and, in some cases, the advisors of the aristocracy. These men exerted influence by what they wrote. The shi represent the official historians--a line which includes the great historians Sima Qian 司馬遷, who wrote the Shiji 史記 (Records of the Historian) and Ban Gu 班固, the writer of Han Shu 漢書 (The Book of the Han). While it is doubtful that the writer of Zuozhuan was a shi, the style of Zuozhuan was copied by the writers of subsequent histories, including Sima Qian. Li Wai-Yee refers to the Zuozhuan when she speaks of two kinds of

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<sup>12</sup>Li, p. 351.

authority--authority of the historian, as seen in the transition of the historian's functions from shaman-astrologer to recorder of human history; and authority of history itself, as represented by the Zuozhuan text as a source book for subsequent historians like Sima Qian and Ban Gu. While the historian was portrayed as the instrument by which authority was wielded in the Zuozhuan, the value of that authority was overlooked by most of the political leaders during the Warring States. It is the form which that authority takes that is the subject of this discussion.

By the Warring State period, a second group of early Chinese writers were asserting greater influence than the shi; these were the teachers, the ru 儒, who also acted as gatekeepers of the early cultural heritage. They saw themselves as transmitters of the past through the act of committing the past to written form by collecting, compiling and editing the written record. Oddly enough, both the ru and the shi seem to find their origins in the Yin 殷 period of the Shang dynasty; also both are said to have had religious functions.<sup>13</sup> The shi embody the magical

<sup>13</sup>See Hsu Fu-kuan 徐復觀. Yuan-shih--You Tsung-chiao Tung-hsiang Jen-wen Te Shih-Hsueh Te Cheng-li, 〈原史--由宗教通向人文的史學的成立〉 in Tu Wei-yun and Huang Chin-hsing, comp. 杜維運·黃紹興編 Chung-kuo Shih-hsueh-shih Lun-wen Hsuan-chi---San 〈中國史學史論文選集三〉 (Taipei: Huashi Chubanshe, 1976), pp. 3-16; see also Hu Shih 胡適. "Shuo Ju" 〈說儒〉 (Speaking About Ru), in Hu Shih Wen Ts'un 〈胡適文存〉 (The Collected Works of Hu Shih), vol. 4. (Taipei: Far East Books, 1968), pp. 35-51.

authority of the late Shang and early Zhou; only later did the shi become a recorder of the monarch's words and actions. In the late Zhou, the ru appear as the champions of an authority based on proper social interaction (through proper execution of the ritual).

Originally called ru 'weak' in opposition to the strength of the warrior, this group was composed of poor itinerant teachers, whose relative importance grew only after the authority of the Zhou kings was lost to the feudal lords. As the possessors of the knowledge of writing, these teachers became not only recorders of events, but they also recorded and transmitted ideas, specifically ideas of how to regain the glory of early times. It was from these ru that the great philosophers such as Confucius, Mencius, and Zhuangzi came.

During the Warring states period, the ru were not seen as a group which wielded much power but, as the teachers of the ruling classes, they had a profound influence on the development of Chinese society. The other way in which the ru influenced Chinese society was by being the stewards of China's early literary tradition, as well as the group best qualified to teach others to read. Thus the ru had a virtual monopoly on ideas which persisted into the early imperial age.

### Literary Background

The Zuozhuan is presented to us as the account of events which occurred in the state of Lu during the Spring and Autumn period. It has, traditionally, been considered to be a commentary on the Chunqiu, but the style and structure of the text set it apart as distinct from the other two commentaries--Gongyang 公羊 and Guliang 穀梁. The Gongyang and Guliang are known for their didactic bao-bian 褒貶 'praise and blame' style and their question-and-answer format. In contrast, the Zuozhuan allows the narrative itself to guide the didactic, or as Xu states, "transmit the text through history" 「以史傳經」, as opposed to the Gongyang and Guliang traditions which "transmit the text via meaning" 「以義傳經」.<sup>14</sup> Zuozhuan is arranged chronologically, according to the reign of each of thirteen dukes who reigned in Lu during the years between 722 and 463 BCE.

When was the Zuozhuan written and by whom? These questions are common to the study of almost all early Chinese texts. Through much of China's history, from as

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<sup>14</sup>Hsu Fu-kuan 徐復觀. Yuan-shih--You Tsung-chiao Tung-hsiang Jen-wen Te Shih-Hsueh Te Cheng-li, 〈原史--由宗教通向人文的史學的成立〉 in Tu Wei-yun and Huang Chin-hsing, comp. 杜維運·黃貂興編 (Chung-kuo Shih-hsueh-shih Lun-wen Hsuan-chi---San 〈中國史學史論文選集三〉 Taipei: Huashi Chubanshe, 1976), p.44.

early as the end of the second century BCE<sup>15</sup>, Confucius has been credited with writing or editing the five classics of Confucianism-- the Shijing 詩經, Shang Shu 尚書, Yijing 易經, Zhouli 周禮, and the Chunqiu. Modern scholarship has provided convincing evidence that this was not the case, but it is clear that the followers of Confucius did their best to present their master in a good light.<sup>16</sup> Several of the early texts were compiled by different authors over a period of years; some were reconstructed after the Qin 秦 book-burning in 213 BCE. As a result, the old and new have been combined, making any but the most general speculation about dating and authorship suspect. Karlgren has argued very convincingly, based on comparative studies of dialects, for a Warring States date for Zuozhuan<sup>17</sup>.

Authorship is another matter altogether. Tradition has attributed the text to a Zuo Qiuming or Zuoqiu Ming, whom

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<sup>15</sup>See Sima Qian 司馬遷. Shiji 史記 vol. 2., (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1982).

<sup>16</sup>See Loewe, Michael, ed. Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide (Berkeley: The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California--Berkeley, 1993) for a discussion of the authenticity and dating of these texts; see also Nienhauser, William H. Jr., ed. and comp. The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986).

<sup>17</sup>Karlgren, Bernhard. On the authenticity and nature of the Tso-chuan, in Gotesborgs hogskolas arsskrift 32 (1926), pp. 64-65.

Confucius was supposed to have admired.<sup>18</sup> If one accepts the relationship between Confucius and Zuo Qiuming at face value, then Karlgren's arguments on the issue of dating preclude Zuo from being the author. Other evidence that Zuo Qiuming was not the author of Zuozhuan includes the fact that Zuo, like Confucius, was from the state of Lu 魯, while Karlgren demonstrated that the dialect used in Zuozhuan was definitely not Lu-ese. Karlgren suggested similarities between the language of Zuozhuan and Guoyu; another writer has suggested that Guoyu might have been written in the state of Chu 楚, but to say that Zuozhuan was written by someone from Chu would be no more than speculation.

The combination of the political instability and philosophical fertility of the Warring States period

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<sup>18</sup>Sima Qian states, in Shiji 史記, Chapter 14, entitled "The Chronologies of the Twelve Feudal Lords," (十二諸侯年表第二), "...A gentleman of Lu, Zuoqiu Ming, was concerned that the various disciples [of Confucius] had different interpretations and that each would depend upon his own ideas and lose the true meaning of the teaching [of Confucius]. Therefore, he relied upon the historical records of Confucius, thoroughly explicated upon its words and completed Zuo shi Chungiu." 「魯君子左丘明懼弟子人人異端，各安其意，失其真故孔子史記具論其語，成左氏春秋」 see also Waley, Arthur, The Analects of Confucius (New York: Random House Books, 1938), p.113-114, in section V:24, Confucius is reported to have said, "Clever talk, a pretentious manner and a reverence that is only of the feet--Tso Ch'iu Ming was incapable of stooping to them, and I too could never stoop to them. Having to conceal one's indignation and keep on friendly terms with the people against whom one feels it--Tso Ch'iu Ming was incapable of stooping to such conduct, and I too am incapable of stooping to such conduct."

provided the writer of Zuozhuan, whoever he was, with great motivation to write nostalgically about the 'golden age' of the early Zhou and the decline the Spring and Autumn period. The Confucian influence on the author comes out in the text as he uses the characters and events portrayed to demonstrate the benefits of living by Confucian precepts, and letting the characters and events demonstrate the folly of living an undisciplined life. We will be looking at only one way in which the author promotes Confucian values in the Zuozhuan text--passages where divination is practiced. For our purposes, it is important that we see two clusters of early texts--texts which pre-date (at least in part) the Zuozhuan, including the Shijing, Yijing, Shang Shu and Chunqiu; and texts which come after Zuozhuan, including the Gongyang and Guliang commentary traditions and the ritual, or li 禮 texts (Zhouli 周禮, Liyi 儀禮 and Liji 禮記). It will be the first group--Shijing, Shang Shu, Zhouyi, and Chunqiu--which the Zuozhuan writer used to establish a model for authority within his own text--particularly the Yijing and the Shang Shu.

## CHAPTER II

DIVINATION AND THE ZUOZHUAN

In this chapter, I will discuss the various forms of divination found in the Zuozhuan, provide examples from the Zuozhuan, showing how divination was used (and where divination is explained in terms of Confucian principles), raise issues addressed by other scholars and discuss the ru in relation to their roles as stewards of information during the Eastern Zhou.

In the first chapter, it was noted that turtle shells and ox scapulae were used in the practice of divination even before the Shang dynasty; this practice reached its pinnacle of prominence during the Yin period of the Shang. This is illustrated by the definitions of the terms zhan 占 (to inquire by divination; to interpret; to divine by tortoise shell);<sup>1</sup> bu 卜 (to divine by scorching tortoise shell; make cracks, divine by bone or tortoise shell oracles; to scorch tortoise shells with fire and determine whether an event is

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<sup>1</sup>Cihai 辭海 (Shanghai: Shanghai Reference Publishing, 1979), p. 178; Schuessler, Axel. A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p. 813; Shi, Dong. Jianming Gu Hanyu Cidian 《簡明古漢語詞典》 (A Concise Dictionary of Classical Chinese) (Kunming: Yunnan People's Publishing House, 1985), p. 618.

auspicious or inauspicious);<sup>2</sup> and gui 龜 (tortoise shell, used in ancient times as currency; also used for divination; turtle, tortoise, oracle bone in general; used in ancient times for divination).<sup>3</sup> In the Zuozhuan, zhan has the generic meaning "to divine," while bu refers specifically to oracle bone divination; gui most frequently appears in its nominal form, but occasionally has a verbal meaning.

During the Western Zhou, we begin to see that milfoil stalks were also used for divinatory purposes, as evidenced in the classic text, the Zhouyi 周易 or Yijing. In Zuozhuan, shi has both the nominal meaning "milfoil, milfoil stalk" and the verbal meaning "to divine by milfoil."

The Zuozhuan mentions three different types of divinations or oracles: the oracle bones, the milfoil stalks, and the interpretation of dreams. In the whole of the Zuozhuan text, there are more than sixty passages that refer to one or more of the above forms of divination. The first such reference is found during the sixth year of the reign of Duke Huan 桓公 (705 BCE<sup>4</sup>); the last is recorded during the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Duke Ai 哀公 (469 BCE). Of the thirteen ducal reigns there are

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<sup>2</sup>Cihai, p. 169; Schuessler, p. 47; Shi, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Cihai, p. 1978; Schuessler, p. 216; Shi, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup>Dating related to ducal reigns in Zuozhuan is according to Legge's concordance table in volume 5 of The Chinese Classics, pp. v-x.

references to divination in eleven (all but the first, Duke Yin 陰公, and the last, Duke Dao 悼公). There are significantly more references in three ducal reigns--Duke Xi 僖公, Duke Zhao 昭公, and Duke Ai--than in the others.

From Legge, we can see that the Zuozhuan record covers a span of 258 years; in comparison, from the first record of divination in the reign of Duke Huan to the last in the reign of Duke Ai--a span of 236 years--over 90% of the whole of the Zuozhuan chronology. The table below lists the distribution of five characters related to the Zhou divination system, as found in the Zuozhuan--listed by ducal reign.

Table 1. Number of Occurrences of Certain Characters in Relation to Ducal Reign

	夢	占	卜	筮	龜	Total
陰						
桓			4			4
莊		1	1	1		3
閔		1	2	2	1	6
僖	4	3	13	8	2	30
文		1	3	2		6
宣	2		7		1	10
成	8	6	2	1		17
襄	1		9	3	2	15
昭	17	4	19	4	4	48
定			4		2	6
哀	6	4	19	3	3	35
悼						
Total	38	20	83	24	15	180

At first glance, the reigns of Dukes Xi, Zhao, and Ai stand out as having a significantly higher number of

occurrences of the five characters; if we analyze the data in relation to the number of years in the particular ducal reign, we construct an average of occurrences per year.<sup>5</sup> From this perspective, we see that during the two year reign of Duke Min 閔公, there were two episodes in which divinatory practices were mentioned six times (an average of two per year); there were 48 references, in sixteen episodes, during the 32 year reign of Duke Zhao (an average of one and one-half per year); and 35 references during the 27 year reign of Duke Ai (an average of not quite one and one-third per year). As a result of this informal statistical analysis, it becomes more and more apparent that divination has an important function in the Zuozhuan.

Comparing the frequency of occurrence among the five characters is another way of illustrating how the writer of Zuozhuan used divination in the text. The characters shi (24 references), meng 夢 'dream, to dream' (38 references), and gui (15 references) are characters whose meanings are unambiguous as they are used in the Zuozhuan; on the other hand, the terms bu (83 references) and zhan (20 references) present a less clear picture, particularly if we go beyond the Zuozhuan. In the broader context of pre-Qin literature,

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<sup>5</sup>It is of the utmost importance to keep in mind that this mathematical average has no value beyond the immediate need to see frequency distribution in relation to length of ducal reign; this figure is not generalizable beyond this particular discussion.

we can see that bu, like zhan, loses its association with the oracle bones, becoming a generic verb meaning 'to divine'. For the present, let us limit our discussion to a description of the three forms of divination practices noted in the Zuozhuan.

### Oracle Bone Divination<sup>6</sup>

Scapulamancy (divination by the use of ox scapulae) was the first form of divination practiced in China, followed by plastronomy (divination by the use of tortoise plastrons), which was the predominant form of oracle bone divination during the Yin 殷 period of the Shang dynasty. The method involved the use of some form of metal implement, heated to red-hot, which was then applied to the bone or shell in order to produce cracks in the material's surface. The interpretation, which was based upon some feature of these heat-produced cracks, was used to answer 'yes-or-no' type questions, which were also inscribed upon the bone/shell. A prototypical example of oracle bone divination is found in

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<sup>6</sup>Needham, Joseph. Science and Civilization in China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 347; Smith, Richard J. Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 14-19; Loewe, Michael. "China," in Loewe, Michael, and Carmen Blacker, eds. Oracles and Divination (Boulder: Shambhala. 1981), pp. 43-46.

the fourth episode of the second year of the reign of Duke Min (660 BCE):

成季之將聖也，桓公使卜楚丘之父卜之，曰：「男也，其名曰友，在公之右；間于兩社，為公室輔。季氏亡，則魯不昌。」又筮之，遇大有之乾，曰：「同復于父，敬如君所。」及生，有文在其手曰「友」，遂以命之。

At the time when Chengji was going to be born, Duke Huan instructed the father of the diviner Chuqiu to divine by tortoise shell; he said, "It is a boy. He will be named 'You,' he will be your right hand; and will stand between the two altars; he will assist in the Duke's court. When Mister Ji dies, the state of Lu will not prosper." He also divined by milfoil, encountering the hexagram Dayou going to the hexagram Jian, and said, "The son will be as respected as the father." When he was born, he had the mark 'You' on his hand; therefore, he was named accordingly.

This example seems rather straightforward; the duke consults the diviner, who divines using both the oracle bone and the milfoil. It presents one of the more common motivations for divining in the Zuozhuan. This example also illustrates a general characteristic of Zuozhuan divination passages--a divination followed by the diviner's interpretation, an interpretation that relates the individual to the destiny of the state. It is also important to note that, even into the seventh century, knowledge pertaining to divination was still in the hands of specialists--either diviners or other officials. We also see an early connection between milfoil divination and the Yi hexagrams (to be discussed in greater detail below).

The main advantage of the use of bone or shell was its durability as a medium; disadvantages included the difficulty of inscribing the medium, the complexity of the procedure, and the difficulty of storing these. Speculation exists which links the use of bones as a medium for divination to the practice of ritual sacrifice.<sup>7</sup> If we accept that possibility, then it is understandable that, as ritual practices were popularized (spreading from the royal court to the great houses), a different, more convenient medium for divination would be sought out.

Another example of the use of oracle bone divination in the Zuozhuan can be found in the first year of the reign of Duke Wen (608 BCE):

from 文公十八。一 (608 BCE)  
 十八年春，齊侯戒師期，而有疾。醫曰：「不及秋，將死。」公聞之，卜，曰：「尚無及期！」惠伯令龜。卜楚丘占之，曰：「齊侯不及期，非疾也；君亦不聞。令龜有咎。」二月丁丑，公薨。

In the spring of the eighteenth year, on the day which the marquis of Ji had set as date on which his troops would depart for battle, he became ill. The doctor said, "You will be dead before autumn." The Duke heard the news, divined it, and said, "I hope he doesn't last that long!" Earl Hui appealed to the tortoise shell; the diviner Chuqiu divined the matter, and said, "The marquis of Ji will die before that date, but not as a result of the illness. The head of state has not inquired of the matter. According to the tortoise shell, there will be disaster." On the Ding Chou of the second month, the duke died.

<sup>7</sup>Loewe, p. 43.

In the above passage, we see that by the end of the seventh century, divination was no longer the realm of specialists alone. It also illustrates another of the common motivations for practicing divination--death of a ruler. The prognostication has as much to do with the future of the state as the future of the individual. Like the first example, the divination is not suspect; it is accepted without questions.

#### Milfoil Divination and the Zhouyi

Milfoil divination has been linked with the Zhou dynasty in the same way that the oracle bones have been linked with the Shang (Yin) dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Even more significant is the fact that milfoil divination has been inextricably linked to one particular early text--the Zhouyi. The association between the text and milfoil divination has functioned to obscure the origins of the practice.<sup>9</sup> It is significant that changes which occurred in the interpretation of the Yi are evident in the Zuozhuan. Kidder Smith, Jr. studied these changes and wrote about them in an article entitled "Zhouyi Interpretation from Accounts in the Zuozhuan". Smith noted 15 passages in the Zuozhuan in

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<sup>8</sup>Needham, pp. 347-351; Smith, pp. 19-24; Loewe, pp. 46-52.

<sup>9</sup>Loewe, p. 46.

which milfoil divination is associated with the Zhouyi out of a total of 24 passages that refer to the Zhouyi.<sup>10</sup> Although Smith limits his study to passages from Zuozhuan, he demonstrates, quite effectively, the process of secularization and humanization that occurred in relation to divinatory practices during the Spring and Autumn period.

At the highest state of its development, milfoil divination appeared in the form of groups of long and short milfoil stalks, which were grouped together in sixes or threes, and interpreted as the eight trigrams or sixty-four hexagrams found in the grams found in the Zhouyi text. This method would have appealed not only to the humanism of the Confucians, but also the Naturalists because it was based upon the maximum number of combinations of three and six, respectively. Not only did milfoil stalks have the advantage of being reusable, the divination practice was much more limited in terms of number of possible results (How would one be able to predict the exact direction or length of a crack in a bone or turtle shell?) which required less equipment, but was a more intricate practice. What is more, the practice fit in well with what later developed into what is called "correlative-cosmology"<sup>11</sup> --the notion

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<sup>10</sup>See Smith, pp. 462-463.

<sup>11</sup>Needham, pp. 347-351.

of pairing things and associating them with either yin 陰 'darkness' or yang 陽 'brightness'.

In the Zuozhuan, the way that milfoil divination is used exhibits a degree of variation, which reflects the monumental changes occurring in China at the time. In the passage below from the fourth year of the reign of Duke Xi (656 BCE), we see references to both milfoil and oracle bone divination; we also see that the results of these two types of divination could be at odds, and that the relative efficacy of tortoise shell and milfoil divination might be disputed by either the diviner or the party for whom the divination was being made:

初，晉獻公欲以驪姬爲夫人，卜之，不吉；筮之，吉。公曰：「從筮。」卜人曰：「筮短龜長，不如從長。且其繇曰：『專之渝，攘公之瑜。一薰一蕕，十年尚猶有臭。』必不可！」弗聽，立之。生奚齊，其娣生卓子。及將立奚齊，既與中大夫成謀，姬謂大子曰：「君夢齊姜，必速祭之！」大子祭于曲沃，歸胙于公。公田，姬真諸宮六日。公至，毒而獻之。公祭之地，地墳。與犬，犬斃。于小臣，小臣亦斃。姬泣曰：「賊由大子。」大子奔新城。公殺其傅杜原款，或謂大子：「子辭，君必辯焉。」大子曰：「君非姬氏，居不安，食不飽。我辭，姬必有罪。君老矣，吾又不樂。」曰：「子其行乎？」大子曰：「君實不察其罪，被此名也以出，人誰納我？」十二月戊申，縊于新城。姬遂譖二公子曰：「皆知之。」重耳奔蒲，夷吾奔屈。

Duke Xian of Jin had been thinking for some time about establishing Liji as a wife; he divined by tortoise shell and it was inauspicious; by milfoil, and it was auspicious. The duke said, "According to the milfoil leaf." The diviner of the tortoise shell said, "The milfoil is unreliable, the tortoise shell is reliable; it would be better if it was according to the tortoise shell. Moreover, the oracle regarding this is, 'Partiality causes a person's heart to become wicked and they will steal your ram. Sweet grass which has been mixed with odious grass, even

after ten years will retain a stench.' This should by no means be done!" He did not listen and established her. She gave birth to Xiqi, her younger sister gave birth to Zhuozi. When the time had come that she planned to establish Xiqi as heir, Liji had already plotted with the ministers. Liji said to the heir-apparent, "The monarch dreamt that he saw your mother Qijiang. You certainly should go quickly and sacrifice." The heir-apparent went to Quwo and sacrificed, bringing the sacrificial wine and sacrificial meat to give to the duke. The duke was out hunting; Liji kept the wine and meat in the palace six days. When the duke arrived, she poisoned it and offered it to him. The duke sacrificed the wine to the earth and it became piled up like a grave; he gave the meat to a dog and the dog died. He gave some to a minor functionary and he also died. Crying, Ji said, "The plot is from the heir-apparent." The heir-apparent fled to Xincheng. The duke killed his tutor, Di Yuangu. Someone said to the heir-apparent, "If you argue your case, the monarch will certainly clear things up." The heir-apparent said, "If the monarch does not have Liji, the homeland will not be safe and there will not be enough food. If I argue my case, Liji will surely be found at fault. The monarch is old; I would also be unhappy." He said, "Then will you run away?" The heir-apparent said, "The monarch has not yet absolved me of guilt; if I carry this name out with me, who will succor me?" In the twelfth month, in the Wu Shen, he hanged himself in Xincheng. Ji framed the two ducal sons, saying: "They knew it." Chong Er fled to Pu; Yiwu fled to Qu.

At the outset of the above passage, we are made aware of a moral conflict. Duke Xian wanted to establish Liji as a wife. This type of moral conflict is characteristic of many divination passages in Zuozhuan. We see the desire before the divination, so it is safe to assume that the duke wanted to use the divination to validate his desire. When the prognostication of the oracle bones did not go his way,

the duke chose to divine by the use of the milfoil, which resulted in a more agreeable result for the duke. The diviner of the oracle bones protests that the oracle bone method is more reliable, but the duke follows the result which he had hoped for. The rest of the episode is a description of the negative consequences of the duke's putting his desires ahead of the portents of Tian (which is to say, the morally acceptable thing to do).

This episode, from the mid-seventh century, should be representative of early Spring and Autumn attitudes toward divination. The text describes explicit examples of both oracle bone and milfoil divination. What it also makes explicit is the possibility of contradictory results between the two forms. The effect of such contradiction, and the need for human resolution, is the weakening of the supernatural, or magical, aspect of the Yi. Needham reproduced a formulaic representation from the Shang Shu which was meant to settle any such disagreement<sup>12</sup>. This formula is copied in the table below:

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<sup>12</sup>Taken from the Hong Fan chapter; reprinted in Needham, p. 349.

Table 2. Resolving Conflicts Between Oracle Bone and Milfoil Divinations

Pro T, M or	Contra T, M	Definitely favourable or unfavourable as the case might be.
T or M	M or T	Milfoil valid for the immediate future, tortoise-shell valid for the further future.
T, M, P or	T, M, P	Favourable or unfavourable as the case might be, in spite of the opinions of ministers and people.
T, M, m or	T, M, m	Favourable or unfavourable as the case might be, in spite of the opinions of prince and people.
T, M, p or	T, M, p	Favourable or unfavourable as the case might be, in spite of the opinions of prince and ministers.

KEY. T=tortoise-shell; M=milfoil; P=opinion of the Prince; m=opinion of the Ministers; p = opinion of the People.

Source: Needham, Joseph: Science and Civilisation in China, volume II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p.349.

It is important to note that the Shang Shu places equal authority upon the human factor as with the oracle or milfoil when they are in agreement; even when the prognostication/opinion disagrees with other human factors. In other words, whoever was supported by the authority of the divination was, in theory, in the right. This signifies an important turning point in Chinese civilization--when man (at least some men) is on equal footing with Heaven. This particular example also raises another aspect of the thesis--that the writer of the Zuozhuan juxtaposed the early Zhou divinatory practices with Confucian ideals; in this case, the value of the authority of the minister to the ruling

house. There are, however, examples when the milfoil and oracle bones are ignored or rejected, such as the passage above from the reign of Duke Xi.

If we compare the passage from the reign of Duke Xi, with the first examples from Duke Huan and Duke Min, we can see that, at least in the early part of the Spring and Autumn period, divination was performed by a specialist, or buren 卜人 or bushi 卜士. In the first example, only the oracle bones are divined, and there is no contention about the explanation. In the second passage, the oracle bones were used first, and milfoil divination was used to substantiate the prognostication; in the third, the oracle bones were divined first, and milfoil divination was used afterward, but they were in opposition. The evidence from this passage substantiates the claim made in Shang Shu that the oracle bones were to be considered more efficacious. Nevertheless, we see that the duke makes the final decision, choosing to go with the prognostication which agrees with his desire. It is in situations such as this third passage where the moral-retributive, didactic function of the Zuozhuan is made manifest.

Smith chooses ten passages to make his case for the reinterpretation of Zhouyi passages in Zuozhuan.<sup>13</sup> From

<sup>13</sup>They are, chronologically, Duke Zhuang, year 22 (672 BCE); Duke Min, year 2 (660 BCE); Duke Xi, year 15 (645); Duke Xuan, year 6 (603 BCE); Duke Xuan, year 12 (597 BCE); Duke

these ten cases, as well as the other fourteen examples of Zhouyi interpretation in Zuozhuan, Smith notes several trends, including the specialist as diviner becoming the layman as diviner; the explicit use of oracle bones to the mixed use of bones and milfoil to the rhetorical reference to the Zhouyi without an actual divination; the use of Zhouyi as a method of prognosticating future events to the use of the Zhouyi as a means of strengthening one's oratory, as a means of explaining a medical prognosis, or as a means of discussing the natural world.<sup>14</sup>

#### Dream Interpretation

Within the collection of Confucian writings known as Shisan Jing 十三經 (The Thirteen Classics), written during the Zhou through Han dynasties, various sources have identified seven which include the word meng 夢 (dream, to dream); of those seven works, the Zuozhuan is clearly the richest source of information on dreams.<sup>15</sup> According to John Brennan, the Zuozhuan is, "...the richest source of

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Xiang, year 9 (564 BCE); Duke Xiang, year 25 (548 BCE); Duke Zhao, year 1 (541 BCE); Duke Zhao, year 12 (530 BCE); Duke Zhao, year 29 (513 BCE).

<sup>14</sup>See Smith, pp. 447-463.

<sup>15</sup>The Shisan Jing Suoyin 十三經索引 (Index to the Thirteen Classics) lists references to meng in the Zuozhuan, Er Ya 爾雅, Shujing 書經, and one of the Li texts; there is one meng reference in Lunyu 論語 The Analects, and Rudolf Wagner "Imperial dreams in China," in Carolyn T. Brown, ed.

dream records predating the unified imperial system instituted by the Qin..."<sup>16</sup> Like the other divinatory practices, "...the primary concerns reflected in the dreams found in the Zuozhuan are fundamental social phenomena--war, death, affairs of government, birth, succession of leadership, and illness. Those concerns are predominantly political."<sup>17</sup> There are more than 20 passages related to dreams in the Zuozhuan. Brennan refers to the Zhouli, or Rituals of Zhou and its description of a highly complex system of divination, to establish the place of dream interpretation within that system. Brennan also compares the relationship of dream divination and the Zhouli to that of milfoil divination and the Zhouyi.<sup>18</sup>

Dreams in the Zuozhuan are often linked to the other types of divination (e.g., the thirty-first year of the reign of Duke Zhao and the seventeenth year of Duke Ai). Dreams also differ from the two other divination practices

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夢: Psycho-Sinology--The Universe of Dreams in Chinese Culture (Washington, D.C.: Wilson Center, 1988), pp. , refers to meng passages in the Shijing, Shujing, Zhouli, Zhouyi, and Zuozhuan.

<sup>16</sup>Brennan, John. Dreams, Divination, and Statecraft: The Politics of Dreams in Early Chinese History and Literature, in The Dream and the Text ed. Carol S. Rupprecht (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), p. 80.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

of the Spring and Autumn period in that the interpretation is most often contained within the dream--eliminating the need for an outside interpretation.

Brennan's article describes a typology for dreams in the Zuozhuan, but it does not focus on the changing social function of dreams and dream interpretation during the Spring and Autumn period. Brennan lists three characteristics of types of Zuozhuan dreams: 1) Auditory dreams with direct messages for the dreamer; 2) dreams that are visitations with ancestors or benign spiritual beings; and 3) dreams where content plays no part in interpretation.<sup>19</sup>

A literary characterization of dream narratives in Zuozhuan reveals that a typical dream narrative will include the dreamer, a dream image--that is a person within the dream--and a thematic event. In four cases, the dreamer is also the main character of the dream; in twelve cases, the dreamer dreams of some supernatural entity--an emissary from Heaven or god, ancestral patriarchs, or sprits from nature. In one case, the dream image is the personification (as twins) of an illness.

The themes of dreams most often involved the state 國, or guo--the birth or death of rulers, the establishment of a new ruler and the process of accession to leadership,

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 92-93.

and military success or failure. Some dreams involved ritual sacrifice. It is clear, by evaluating the themes of dreams, that the dreams in the Zuozhuan relates information of national significance and would not have been considered odd within the context of the historical narrative; in this respect they are like the other two types of divination.

The aspect of Brennan's description that plays a significant part of this thesis is that "The dream records in the Zuozhuan show that the passive auditory dream was still considered normal during the Spring and Autumn and Warring periods..."<sup>20</sup> Dreams in Zuozhuan were auditory, which means that the dreamer is visited by an entity who makes a speech (not unlike the interpretation of the other forms of divination); auditory dreams related in a narrative must have been reconstructed; it is the author who must have done the reconstruction. Thus the writer of Zuozhuan is given free license, through dream discourse, to set the stage for the moral lesson.

The following example is illustrative of dream passages in the Zuozhuan. It comes from the seventeenth year of the reign of Duke Cheng 成公 (573 BCE):

晉侯夢大厲、被髮及地、搏膺而踊、曰、殺余孫不義、余得請于帝矣。壞大門、及寢門而入、公懼、入于室、又壞戶、公覺、召桑田巫、巫言如夢。公曰、何如。曰、不食新矣。公疾病、求醫於秦、秦伯使醫緩爲之、未至、公夢疾爲二子、曰、彼良醫也、懼傷我焉逃之。其一曰、居盲之上、膏之下、若我何。醫至曰、疾不可爲也、在盲之上、膏之下、攻之

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

不可、達之不及、藥不至焉、不可爲也。公曰、良醫也。厚爲之禮、而歸之。六月、丙午、晉侯欲麥、使甸人獻麥、饋人爲之召桑田巫、示而殺之。將食、張、如廁、陷而卒、小臣有晨夢負公以登天、及日中、負晉侯出諸廁、逐以爲殉。

The marquis of Jin dreamed about a large wildman, dishevelled hair reaching the ground, beating his breast and jumping up and down, saying, "You have murdered my grandsons; this is unrighteous. Heaven has granted me permission." He broke down the gate and went to the door of the sleeping quarters and entered. The official was afraid and entered the inner chamber. It again broke through the opening. The official awoke, called for the sorcerer from Sang Tian. The sorcerer spoke in accordance with the dream. The official said, "How about it (i.e. what can I do)?" He said, "you will not eat of the new rice." The official became gravely ill. He sought a doctor from Qin. The earl of Qin sent a doctor named Huan to deal with it. Before he arrived, the official dreamed that the illness became two lads, who said, "That one, he is surely a good doctor, I am afraid we will be harmed; where can we flee?" The other one said, "Let us reside above the diaphragm and below the heart, how will they get us?" When the doctor arrived, he said, "The illness cannot be dealt with, it is above the diaphragm and below the heart, moxibustion won't do, acupuncture won't reach it, medicine will not reach there, there is nothing to be done." The official said, "you truly are a good doctor." He lavished him with gifts and sent him back. On the Bingwu day of the sixth month, the marquis of Jin was hungry for rice; he sent the husbandman to select the rice, the chef to cook it. He sent for the sorcerer of Sang Tian, showed the rice to him and murdered him. Before he had eaten anything, he swole up, and, going to the toilet, he fell in and died. A servant had a dream in the early morning of him carrying the official on his back, all the way to heaven. By noon of the same day, he carried the official out of the cesspit, was killed, and was buried with the official.

The moral lesson appears at the very beginning of the passage, where we read the wildman rail, "This is unrighteous (不義)." The apparition in the dream has been



singing, "The fields are covered all the time; when the old is removed, it is replaced by the new." The duke had doubts about it, but Zifan said, "Fight! Fight and win, you'll surely attain the feudal lords; if you don't win, we have the mountains on the outside and the river inside, we'll not come to harm. The duke said, "What about the compassion of Chu?" Luan Zhenzi said, "The feudal lords of Hanyang have been absorbed by Chu; you think of a small kindness and forget a great disgrace. It is better to fight." The marquis of Jin dreamed that he was struggling with the viscount of Chu. The viscount of Chu knelt over him, then sucked out his brains; he was then afraid. Zifan said, "It is lucky. We see Heaven; Chu is kneeling, acknowledging his offense; moreover, we are gentle about it. Ziyu sent Doubo to engage Jin in battle by saying, "Allow us to play with your men; your lordship may watch from the back of your chariot and I will see you there. The marquis sent Luanzhi to respond, saying, "I have heard your commands. I did not dare to forget the compassion of lord of Chu; so I am here. I have withdrawn before the officer--did I dare oppose him? I did not receive orders not to fight; I will trouble you, ser, to speak to your officers, 'Prepare your chariots, attend with reverence to your princes's business.' I will see you tomorrow morning." Jin had 700 chariots, with riggings that covered the backs, flanks, and bellies of the horses. The marquis of Jin climbed to the site of Youxin to view the battle. He said, "The young and old are arrayed properly; the troops may be engaged." Then he ordered that the trees be cut down in order to increase his weapons. On Ji Si, the army attacked on the north of Xin; Xuchen, the assistant commander of the lower army, prepared to engage the armies of Chen and Cai. Ziyu, with the six brigades of Ruo'ao, commanded the middle army, and said, "Today will certainly mark the end of Jin." Zixi commanded the left flank, Zishang commanded the right flank. Xuchen covered the horses with tiger skins and first attacked Chen and Cai; Chen and Cai fled, and Chu's right was routed. Humao raised to flags and began to retreat; Luanzhi sent men to drag brush behind them (as if the army was in retreat). The Chu army pursued them; when Yuanzhen and Xiqin, with the middle army of the marquis' own troops, came upon them from both sides. Humao and Huyan attacked Zixi from either side and Chu's

left army was routed. The Chu army suffered a major defeat. Ziyu gathered his troops and did not attack, thus avoiding defeats. The Jin armies occupied for three days, eating their (Chu's) provisions. On the Gui Yu, they retired.

In the above example, the dreamer interpreted the dream to mean that he would be conquered by Chu--not an unreasonable interpretation, based upon the description of the dream. But Zifan steps in to provide an interpretation, contrived though it may seem, which casts Jin in a better light. If read in the larger context of the record of the twenty-eighth year as a whole, it turns out that the marquis of Jin was hesitant to attack Chu because of a promise that he had made at an earlier time. But as the Chu general was pressing to engage Jin in battle, the marquis' companions counsel him to fight. Thus, Zifan's interpretation of the dream may be contrary to the dream imagery and, at the same time, be consistent with the the political realities with which he had to deal. But questions have been raised about Zifan's interpretation, and whether or not it represents a Warring States perspective, or whether it represents the skepticism of the Han dynasty. Within the context of the Zuozhuan itself, though, the example supports the Confucian perspective and the ability of the wise minister to adapt to the situation.

One aspect of Zuozhuan narrative that stands out in contrast with the style of the other two commentary

traditions is that the Zuozhuan narrative depicts a clear relationship between human actions and the consequences of those actions. Divination passages in Zuozhuan are no exception to this rule. As we have seen in the above examples, the proper behavior of characters has predictably good results, while inappropriate behavior, likewise, has negative results.

While the passages from the Zuozhuan clearly depend upon Zhou divination practices to support moral judgements, the shift from the magical authority of the early Zhou to the moral authority of the later Zhou is not explicit, that is, it is not evident by analyzing patterns in the frequency of occurrence of the characters listed in Table 1 above.. Furthermore, it may be impossible to illuminate this shift of authority within the constraints of traditional objectivist thinking, because the shift of authority from the supernatural to the moral is not captured within a list of finite criteria. In the next chapter, a framework based upon prototypes and cognitive models will be constructed, and this framework will be employed to highlight the shift of authority that is the focus of this discussion.

## CHAPTER III

EXPERIENTIAL REALISM AND ZUOZHUAN<sup>1</sup>

The pivotal idea discussed in this thesis is that the writer of Zuozhuan recorded events in such a way that the supernatural model for authority established during the Yin period of the Shang dynasty and adopted by the Zhou--the ritual system, specifically, the practice of divination--is juxtaposed with a newer, humanistic model founded on Confucian teachings. The Zuozhuan writer interprets the older model in light of the newer model. It is this reinterpretation of authority which seems to be best understood within the paradigm promoted by linguist George Lakoff and philosopher Mark Johnson which they call 'experiential realism'. The focus of this chapter will be a description of experiential realism, accompanied by the application of the ideas of Lakoff and Johnson to the changing idea of authority in the Zuozhuan.

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<sup>1</sup>With apologies to Professors George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. The information presented in this chapter represents a synthesis of material published in these two works: Lakoff, George. Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. Metaphors We Live By (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

At the core of experiential realism is the notion that human conceptualization is structured metaphorically:

The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning down to the most mundane details. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor.<sup>2</sup>

Metaphor, as the basis of cognition, means that we understand 'event A' in terms of 'event B,' is manifested on different levels of human experience, and is obvious in the structuring of categories. At a very basic level, human spatial conceptualization is structured according to our experience in the physical world.

"Human spatial concepts, however, include UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, IN-OUT, NEAR-FAR, etc. It is these that are relevant to our continual everyday bodily functioning, and this gives them priority over other possible structurings of space--for us. In other words, the structure of our spatial concepts emerges from our constant spatial experience, that is our interaction with the physical environment."<sup>3</sup>

On one end of the conceptual continuum is the shared experience of humanity in terms of spatial concepts based upon our spatial experience. That end of the continuum is more amenable to a classical, or objective, model of categorization. On the other end of that continuum would be

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<sup>2</sup>Lakoff, pp. 370-371.

<sup>3</sup>Lakoff and Johnson, pp. 56-57.

individual experiences which are embodied by the relativist paradigm. Somewhere between the extremes of universal experience and individual experience lies the bulk of human experience--experience shared by a group. The constituency of the group is what determines the nature of conceptualization. This an important idea when trying to understand an abstract notion such as "authority."

How is authority defined? Based upon the above comments, authority is defined by any group which shares certain experiences, including experiences related to human social interactions. Here, in America, authority is understood in terms of a complex hierarchy where all members of the group (ideally) have an appropriate way of providing to the group and where all members are willing to abrogate certain opportunities for self-governance by accepting the decisions of an individual or subgroup which manipulates group interactions.

Authority, as defined in the beginning of the Zhou dynasty also depended upon the consensus of the people and was established by a tie with the supernatural--the mandate of heaven. The role of divination practices at that time is obvious. The Zhou ruler provided the people with a concrete embodiment of the abstract concept "authority." By the Warring States period, the embodiment of authority could no longer be found in the Zhou royal house. The power of the

royal house had long since dissipated among the various feudal lords. At the same time, on a local level, the authority of the individual houses was not based upon their link to Heaven, but was based upon knowledge--knowledge of martial strategies and diplomatic strategies, and knowledge of rituals which tied the various feudal houses together in a loose federation that still afforded deference, at least nominally, to the Zhou house.

Ritual is often conceptualized by one particular type of metaphor--metonymy--that involves the use of one thing to refer to another, related thing; in particular is the use of a part when referring to the whole:<sup>4</sup>

We are constantly performing rituals...all are repeated structured practices, some consciously designed in detail, some more consciously performed than others, and some emerging spontaneously. Each ritual is a repeated, coherently structured, and unified aspect of our experience. In performing them, we give structure and significance to our activities, minimizing chaos and disparity in our actions. In our terms, a ritual is one kind of experiential gestalt. It is a coherent sequence of actions, structured in terms of the natural dimensions of our experience. Religious rituals are typically metaphorical kinds of activities, which usually involve metonymies--real-world objects standing for entities in the world as defined by the conceptual system of the religion.<sup>5</sup>

Lakoff and Johnson see religious ritual (at least within the context of a discussion of experiential realism)

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<sup>4</sup>Lakoff and Johnson, pp. 35-36.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 233-234.

as a complex type of experiential gestalt which, like other experiential gestalts, is metaphorically structured, often using a 'part represents the whole' metaphor. Their discussion of religious ritual is both brief and written in generalities. Thus, the writer of the Zuozhuan understood the ritual as iconic. As such his understanding of authority would have been shared by some, if not all, of his contemporaries, but not necessarily shared by either the Chinese of the early Zhou, nor perhaps, by modern Chinese. But the picture of authority presented in the Zuozhuan, which can reliably considered as the model for authority during the Warring States, is one which reflects an aspect of the "glory" of the early Zhou model for authority and an aspect of the not-yet-popular model of authority which was popular among the literati, or ru, the group with which the Zuozhuan writer undoubtedly identified.

In order to clarify the above explanation, the following is an attempt to construct a model that demonstrates the cognitive structure of authority during the early, middle, and late Zhou dynasty:

<u>DATE</u>	<u>1000 BCE</u>	<u>700 BCE</u>	<u>350 BCE</u>
Concept	Authority	Authority	Authority
Icon	Ritual	Ritual ←	Ritual
Interloper	Diviner	Historian ←	Literati
Embodiment	Zhou king	Feudal lords	Sage King

### Conclusion

This thesis has combined the old and the new--the text, a narrative history of China from over 2000 years ago; the explanation, a theory which at the same time rejects the classical theory of conceptualization and embraces the latest developments from the fields of psychology, anthropology and linguistics. The thread which ties the two together is the idea of authority--a concept that undergoes change during the period chronicled. The means by which this transition is accomplished is a metonymic association between authority and the concrete expression of authority--that is to say that the early Zhou ritual practices represent authority throughout the whole of the Zhou dynasty. But the Zuozhuan writer presents the diviner/historian as an interloper, who acts as the representative of Confucian authority during the Warring States period.

In the early Zhou, while the Zhou king was seen as tianzi, "the Son of Heaven," it was the diviner who mediated between the supernatural authority of Heaven and its appointed representative. The diviner held the knowledge of the divinatory practices; the one who the monarch turned to in order to unravel Heaven's mysteries and point the direction by which the king would lead the people. During the Spring and Autumn period, the interloper was

either the diviner 卜人 or the historian 史. The functional differences between the two are hard to distinguish during the Spring and Autumn period. While divination still plays a central role during the Spring and Autumn period, there is the added responsibility of producing and interpreting the early texts--the Zhouli, the Zhouyi, and the Shi. At the end of the Zhou dynasty, during the Warring States period, the interloper is the teacher, the ru, who performs his social function as the transmitter of Chinese culture through his teaching--his legacy, his students and the texts attributed to him. The personification of the interloper of authority during the late Zhou is Kong Qiu 孔丘, or Confucius. While Confucius actually defines the Warring States period (which begins with his death in 479 BCE), he also embodies the concept ru, which later is redefined as followers of Confucius' teachings.

The writer of Zuozhuan lived at a time when Confucian teachings were far from established as the social norm. He also lived at a time of extreme political unrest. As such, he lived in a China looked back to the early Zhou for an ideal for social order. Thus, the perspective expressed in the Zuozhuan text is a mixture of the old and new. But did the Zuozhuan writer intentionally bias the perspective of the historical record? The text clearly presents a pro-Confucian bias. It has been the goal of this thesis to

present this proto-Confucianism side-by-side with the early Zhou system of divination. But such a clear textual bias has misled generation after generation of scholars, whose own biases toward the objectivism of rational thinking blind them to the possibility that the author of the Zuozhuan, like Confucius was a "transmitter" of history, rather than an "originator." The intervening 2000 years prevent modern scholars from ever settling the issue of intent. The Zuozhuan writer, along with his contemporaries, may have intentionally manipulated the way the record perceives Chinese civilization during pre-Qin times; but it is equally possible that the ru were not as much agents of social change, as they were the product of their time and, subsequently more as instruments through which natural change occurred.

What was the relationship between the shi (historian) and the ru (literati)? Although this question was unavoidable during the research phase of this study, the only relevance it has within the scope of the study is how the shi is portrayed within the text. The study was limited to passages related to divination; the word ru does not occur in any of the passages reviewed. On the other hand, it appears that the shi, as well as the buren and the various apparitions seen in the dreams, acts as the

transmitter for the views of the writer, the views of the ru.

The value of Lakoff and Johnson's "experiential realism" to this study has not been so much in revealing some unknown aspect of the text as it has been in revealing a persistent, yet unacknowledged bias in relation to the motivation that the Zuozhuan writer had for composing the text. The refusal of Lakoff and Johnson to participate in the fallacy of the "God's-eye-view" of reality, along with their openness to the potential for constructing alternative realities has unlocked the relationship between the divination practices--representing the magical authority of the early Zhou dynasty--and the oracles and interpretations of those oracles--which provide the Zuozhuan writer with a conduit for the transmission of the moral teachings that he saw as having the ability to guide China back into the light of its prior glory.

## APPENDIX A

## LIST OF OCCURRENCE OF CERTAIN CHARACTERS

IN THE ZUOZHUAN

Date	夢	占	卜	筮	龜	卦
桓 6.6			1			
桓 11.2			3			
莊 22.1		1	1	1		
閔 1.6		1	1	1		1
閔 2.4			1	1	1	
僖 4.6	1		1	2	1	
僖 15.4		3	3	4	1	1
僖 17.2			1			
僖 19.4			1			
僖 25.2			1	2		2
僖 28.4	2					
僖 31.3	1		6			
文 11.5			1			
文 13.3			1			
文 18.1		1	1	2		
宣 3.3			2			
宣 3.6	1					
宣 8.5			1			
宣 12.1			2		1	
宣 12.2			1			
宣 15.5	1		1			
成 2.3	1					
成 5.1	1					
成 6.11		1				
成 10.4	4					
成 16.5	1	2	1	1		1
成 17.8	1	3	1			
襄 7.2			2	1		
襄 9.3				1		
襄 10.2			2			
襄 13			1			
襄 18.3	1					
襄 23					1	
襄 24.8			1			
襄 25.2				1		

Date	夢	占	卜	筮	龜	卦
襄28			3		1	
襄31						
昭1.12	1		1			
昭3.2			4			
昭4.8	2					
昭5.1 5.8			4	1	1	
昭7	9	2		2		2
昭10			1			
昭11	1					
昭12		1				
昭13			2		1	
昭17	1		2		1	
昭18				1		
昭19			1		1	
昭25	1		1			
昭26			2			
昭31	2	1				
昭32			1			
定4			1			
定8			1			
定9					1	
哀2			1		2	
哀4			2			
哀6			1			
哀7	2					
哀9		1	1	1		
哀10			3			
哀16	1	1				
哀17	1	1	4			
哀18		1	4	1		
哀19				1		
哀23			4			
哀26	2					
哀27			2			
Total	38	20	83	24	17	7

Source: Combined concordances to Ch'un-chiu, Kung-yang, Kuliang and Tso-chuan, 4 vols. Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, supplement no. 11. Peiping. 1937, reprinted in Taiwan, 1966.

## APPENDIX B

DIVINATION PASSAGES IN ZUOZHUAN 左傳

from 桓公六。六 (706 BCE)

九月丁卯，子同生。以大子生之禮舉之：接以大牢，卜士負之，士妻食之，公與文姜，宗婦命之。公問命於申繻。對曰：「名有五，有信，有義，有象，有假，有類。以名生爲信，以德命爲義，以類命爲象，取於物爲假，取於父爲類。不以國不以官，不以山川，不以隱疾，不以畜牲，不以器幣。周人以諱事神，名，終將諱之。故以國則廢名，以官則廢職，以山川則廢主，以畜牲則廢祀，以器幣則廢禮。晉以僖侯廢司徒，宋以武公廢司空，先君獻，武廢二山，是以大物不可以命。」公曰：「是其生也，與吾同物，命之曰同。」

On the Dingmao (24th) day of the ninth month, Zitong was born. Then the ritual for the birth of the heir-apparent was performed for him: Drawing near by the sacrificial ox, the diviner carries him; the diviner's wife nurses him; the Duke and Wenjiang, the attendant approaches him. The Duke asked Shenxu about the naming process. He responded: "There are five conventions--faith, righteousness, similarity, borrowing, and type. Faith is naming according to the manner of the birth; righteousness is according to moral uprightness; similarity is naming by using a sound-alike name; borrowing is naming after

something in nature; type is naming after something related to the father. Naming is not according to the names of the states, nor the names of officials, nor the names of mountains or rivers, nor the names of maladies, nor the names of domesticated animals, nor the names of objects used in the rituals. The Zhou instituted taboos in order to appease the spirits; the name, after death, becomes taboo. Then, using names of officials can put the affairs of state in disarray; using the names of mountains or rivers can disrupt the divine order; using the names of domesticated animals can interfere with the sacrifices; using the names of objects used in ritual can desecrate the ritual. Jin established a taboo because of Duke Xi; Song established a taboo because of Duke Wu. Because of the mountains of the ancestral founders Xian and Wu, therefore these names may not be used in important matters." The Duke said, "The child's birthday and mine are the same. Name him Tong (same)."

from 桓公十一。二 (701 BCE)

楚屈瑕將盟貳，軫。鄆人軍於蒲騷，將與隨，絞，州，蓼伐楚師。莫敖患之。鬥廉曰：「鄆人軍其郊，必不誠。且日虞四邑之至也。君次於郊郢，以禦四邑，我以銳師宵加於鄆。鄆有虞心而恃其城，莫有鬥志。若敗鄆師，四邑必離。」莫敖曰：「盍請濟師於王？」對曰：「師克在和，不在衆。商，固之不敵，君之所聞也。成軍以出，有何濟焉？」莫敖曰：「卜之？」對曰：「卜以決疑。不疑，何卜？」遂敗鄆師於蒲騷，卒盟而還。

Quxia of Chu was going to make a treaty with Er and Zhen. The army of the Yun people, camped at Pu Sao, intended to attack the Chu army along with Sui, Qiao, Zhou, and Liao. The Mo'ao worried about it. Doulian said, "The army of the Yun is outside the city, they are certainly not ready for battle; day after day they wait anxiously for reinforcements from the other four states. If you, lord, will take up a position at Jiao Ying and resist the attack of these troops, I will attack Yun with troops at night using stealth. The Yun have no heart for battle, relying, instead, on the nearness of the walled city, and lack the will to fight. If we defeat the Yun troops, the other four states will, their alliance will surely fall apart. The Mo'ao said, "Why not ask the for troops from the king?" The other replied, "Armies overcome through harmony, not through superior numbers. The Shang and Zhou were not evenly matched, as you, lord, have heard; we come out having mustered the army. what else could we want?" The Mo'ao said, "Divine it." The other said, "Divine when there is doubt. Where there is no doubt, why divine?" He went out forthwith and defeated the Yun army at Pu Sao. The alliance was formed and they retired.

from 莊公二十二。一 (672 BCE)

二十二年春，陳人殺其大子御寇。陳公子完與顓孫奔齊。顓孫自齊來奔。齊侯使敬仲爲卿。辭曰：羈旅之臣幸若獲宥，及於寬政，赦其不閑於教

訓，而免於罪，弛於負擔，君之惠也。所獲多矣，敢辱高位以速官謗？請以死告。詩曰：『翹翹車乘，招我以弓。豈不欲往？畏我友朋。』使爲工正。飲桓公酒，樂。公曰：以火繼之。辭曰：臣卜其晝，未卜其夜，不敢。君子曰：酒以成禮，不繼以淫，義也；以君成禮，弗納於淫，仁也。初，懿氏卜妻敬仲。其妻占之，曰：「吉。是謂『鳳皇于飛，和鳴鏘鏘。有媿之後，將于姜。五世其昌，並于正卿。八世之後，莫之與京。』」陳厲公，蔡出也，故蔡人殺五父而立之。生敬仲。其少也，周史有以周易見陳侯者，陳侯使筮之，遇觀之否，曰：「是謂『觀國之光，利用賓于王。』此其代陳有國乎？不在此，其在異國；非此其身，在其子孫。光，遠而自他有耀者也。坤，土也；巽，風也，乾，天也。風爲天於土上，山也。有山之材，而照之以天光，於是乎居土上，故曰『觀國之光，利用賓于王。』庭賓旅百，奉之以玉帛，天地之美具焉，故曰『利用賓于王。』故曰其在後乎！風行而著於土，故曰在異國乎！若在異國，必姜姓也。姜，太嶽之後也。山嶽則配天。物莫能兩大。陳衰，此其昌乎！」及陳之初亡也，陳桓子始大於齊；其後亡也，成子得政。

In the spring of the twenty-second year, the Chen killed the eldest son, Yukou,. Gongzi Wan and Zhuansun of Chen fled to Qi, Zhuan Sun fled away from Qi (to Lu). The marquis of Qi desired for Jingzhong to become a high-ranking official. He declined, saying, "Your servant is long absent from his homeland, considering myself fortunate if you will pardon me and the benevolence of her government. You excuse my lack of learning, do not fold my offense against me, and relieve my stresses--all of these are your compassion. I have

received so much, how could I dare bring shame to this high position, thus accelerating the slander of the officials. I'd rather die! The poem says, "Flying, flying, the chariot rises, calling me with the bow, shouldn't I want to go, fearing my friends." He was made responsible for labor. He was drinking with Duke Huan, happily, when the duke said, light torches and let us continue. He declined, saying, "Your servant divined about the day, but did not divine about the night; I dare not. The gentleman says, "In drinking, fulfill the ritual; do not continue to the point of excess, in righteousness the gentleman fulfills the ritual, not giving in to excess, this is true benevolence." In the past, a Mister Yi divined whether or not to marry his daughter off to Jingzhong. His wife divined it, and said, "It is auspicious. This is as it was written, 'The phoenix takes flight, like the sound of beating cymbals. The descendants of Wei included Jiang. The fifth generation prospers, and also charity exists among the officials. After the eighth generation, no one will be able to overcome them!" Duke Li of Chen was the son of a woman from Cai; thus, the people of Cai killed Wufu, and established him (as marquis). Jingzhong was born. As a child, an historian of Zhou came to see the marquis of Chen, carrying the Zhouyi; Duke Li asked him to divine the milfoil, and it turned out to be Guan , which changed

to Pi . The diviner said, "This is as it has been written, "We see the radiance of the state, it is advantageous to be the king's guest." In this generation will he possess the state of Chen? Or if not this, in another state? If not himself, maybe one of his descendents. The light is afar and it is from something else. Guan is the earth, Sun is the wind, Qian is Heaven. Sun becoming Qian over the earth is symbolic of the mountains. having the resources of teh mountains and is enlightened by the light of Heaven. He will live on top of the earth, thus it is said, "We see the radiance of the state. It is advantageous to be the king's guest." The courtyard is filled with gifts by the guest, gifts of jade and textiles, the beauty of Heaven and earth, and so, it is said, "It is advantageous to be the king's guest." Originally (I) spoke of "behold" and so I have said that it might occur later. The wind moves appears above the earth; originally (I) said that it might be another state. If it is another state, it would have to be Jiang; Jiang is the descendant of the great Yue. The mountains are matched up with Heaven. There are no other two things as great. As Chen declines, this one wil prosper." When the beginning of the downfall was experienced in Chen, Chen Huanzi was beginning to be great in Qi; when the latter downfall came, Chengzi attained the government.

from 閔公二。四 (660 BCE)

成季之將聖也，桓公使卜楚丘之父卜之，曰：「男也，其名曰友，在公之右；間于兩社，爲公室輔。季氏亡，則魯不昌。」又筮之，遇大有之乾。曰：「同復于父，敬如君所。」及生，有文在其手曰「友」，遂以命之。

At the time when Chengji was about to be born, Duke Huan instructed the father of the diviner Chuqiu to divine; he said, "It is a boy. He will be named 'You,' he will be your right hand; he is between two groups; he will assist in the Duke's court. Mister Ji died, the state of Lu will not prosper." He read the milfoil yet another time, encountering Dayou's becoming Jian's, saying, "The son will be as respected as the father." When he was born, he had the mark 'You' on his hand; therefore, he was named accordingly.

from 僖公四。六 (656 BCE)

初，晉獻公欲以驪姬爲夫人，卜之，不吉；筮之，吉。公曰：「從筮。」卜人曰：「筮短龜長，不如從長。且其繇曰：『專之渝，攘公之瑜。一薰一蕕，十年尚猶有臭。』必不可！」弗聽，立之。生奚齊，其娣生卓子。及將立奚齊，既與中大夫成謀，姬謂太子曰：「君夢齊姜，必速祭之！」太子祭于曲沃，歸胙于公。公田，姬實諸宮六日。公至，毒而獻之。公祭之地，地墳。與犬，犬斃。于小臣，小臣亦斃。姬泣曰：「賊由太子。」太子奔新城。公殺其傅杜原款，或謂太子：「子辭，君必辯焉。」太子曰：

「君非姬氏，居不安，食不飽。我辭，姬必有罪。君老矣，吾又不樂。」  
 曰：「子其行乎？」大子曰：「君實不察其罪，被此名也以出，人誰納  
 我？」十二月戊申，縊于新城。姬遂譖二公子曰：「皆知之。」重耳奔  
 蒲，夷吾奔屈。

Duke Xian of Jin had been thinking for some time about establishing Liji as a wife; he divined by tortoise shell and it was inauspicious; by milfoil, and it was auspicious. The duke said, "According to the milfoil leaf." The diviner of the tortoise shell said, "The milfoil is unreliable, the tortoise shell is reliable; it would be better if it was according to the tortoise shell. Moreover, the oracle regarding this is, 'Partiality causes a person's heart to become wicked and they will steal your ram. Sweet grass which has been mixed with odious grass, even after ten years will retain a stench.' This should by no means be done!" He did not listen and established her. She gave birth to Xiqi, her younger sister gave birth to Zhuozi. When the time had come that she planned to establish Xiqi as heir, Liji had already plotted with the ministers. Liji said to the heir-apparent, "The monarch dreamt that he saw your mother Qijiang. You certainly should go quickly and sacrifice." The heir-apparent went to Quwo and sacrificed, bringing the sacrificial wine and sacrificial meat to give to the duke. The duke was out hunting; Liji kept the wine and meat in the palace six days. When the duke arrived, she

poisoned it and offered it to him. The duke sacrificed the wine to the earth and it became piled up like a grave; he gave the meat to a dog and the dog died. He gave some to a minor functionary and he also died. Crying, Ji said, "The plot is from the heir-apparent." The heir-apparent fled to Xincheng. The duke killed his tutor, Di Yuangu. Someone said to the heir-apparent, "If you argue your case, the monarch will certainly clear things up." The heir-apparent said, "If the monarch does not have Liji, the homeland will not be safe and there will not be enough food. If I argue my case, Liji will surely be found at fault. The monarch is old; I would also be unhappy." He said, "Then will you run away?" The heir-apparent said, "The monarch has not yet absolved me of guilt; if I carry this name out with me, who will succor me?" In the twelfth month, in the Wu Shen, he hanged himself in Xincheng. Ji framed the two ducal sons, saying: "They knew it." Chong Er fled to Pu; Yiwu fled to Qu.

from 僖公十五年。四 (645 BCE)

晉侯之入也，秦穆姬屬賈君焉，且曰：「盡納群公子。」晉侯烝於賈君，又不納群公子，是以穆姬怨之。晉侯許賂中大夫，既而皆背之。賂秦伯以河外列城五，東盡虢略，南及華山，內及解梁城，既而不與。秦饑，晉閉之糶，故秦伯伐晉。卜徒父筮之，吉：「涉河，候車敗。」對曰：「乃大吉也。三敗，必獲晉君。其卦遇蠱 曰：『千乘三去，三去之餘，獲其雄狐。』夫狐蠱，必其君也。蠱之貞，風也；其悔，山也。歲云秋矣，我

落其實，而取其材，所以克也。實落，材亡，不敗，何待？」三敗及韓。晉侯謂慶鄭曰：「寇深矣，若之何？」對曰：「君實深之，可若何！」公曰：「不孫！」卜右，慶鄭吉。弗使。步揚御戎，冢僕徒爲右。乘小駟，鄭入也。慶鄭曰：「吉者大事，必乘其產。生其水土，而知其人心；安其教訓，而服習其道；唯所納之，無不如志。今乘異產，以從戎事，及懼而變，將與人易。亂氣狡憤，陰血周作，張脈僨興，外疆中乾。進退不可，周旋不能，君必悔之。」弗聽。九月，晉侯逆秦師，使韓簡視師。復曰：「師少於我，鬥士倍我。」公曰：「何故？」對曰：「出因其資，入用其寵，饑食其粟，三施而無報，是以來也。今又擊之，我怠，秦奮，倍猶未也。」公曰：「一夫不可狃，況國乎？」遂使請戰，曰：「寡人不佞能合其衆而不能離也。君若不還，無所逃命。」秦伯使公孫枝對曰：「君之未入，寡人懼之；入而未定列，猶吾憂也。苟列定矣，敢不承命。」韓簡退曰：「吾幸而得囚。」壬戌，戰于韓原。晉戎馬還濘而止。公號慶鄭。慶鄭曰：「復諫違卜，固敗是求，又何逃焉？」遂去之。梁由靡御韓簡，虢射爲右，輅秦伯，將止之。鄭以救公誤之，遂失秦伯。獲晉侯以歸。晉大夫反首拔舍從之。秦伯使辭焉，曰：「二三子何其感也！寡人之從晉君而西也，豈敢以至？」晉大夫三拜稽首曰：「君履后土而戴皇天，皇天后土實聞君之言，群臣敢在下風。」穆姬聞晉侯將至，以太子瑩、弦與女簡璧登臺而履薪焉。使以免服衰經逆，且告曰：「上天降災，使我兩君匪以玉帛相見，而以興戎。若晉君朝以入，則婢子夕以死；夕以入，則朝以死。唯君裁之！」乃舍諸靈臺。大夫請入。公曰：「獲晉侯，以厚歸也，既而喪歸，焉用之？大夫其何有焉？且晉人感憂以重我，天地以要我。不圖晉憂，重其怒也；我食吾言，背天地也。重怒，難任；背天，不祥，必歸晉君。」公子繫曰：「不如殺之，無聚慝焉。」子桑曰：「歸之而質其大子

，必得大成。晉未可滅，而殺其君，祇以成惡。」且史佚有言曰：「吾始禍，無怙亂，無重怒。重怒，難任；陵人不祥。」乃許晉平。晉候使郤乞告瑕呂飴甥，且召之。子金教之言曰：「朝國人而以君命賞。且告之曰：『孤雖歸，辱社稷矣，其卜貳圉也。』」晉於是乎作爰田。呂甥曰：「君亡之不恤，而群臣是憂，惠之至也，將若君何？」衆曰：「何爲而可？」對曰：「征繕以輔孺子。諸侯聞之，喪君，群臣輯睦，甲兵益多。好我者勸，惡我者懼，庶有益乎！」衆說，晉於是乎作州兵。初，晉獻公筮嫁伯姬於秦，遇歸妹之睽。史蘇占之，曰：「不吉。其繇曰：『士刲羊，亦無盍也；女承筐，亦無貺也。西鄰責言，不可償也。歸妹之睽，猶無相也。』震之離，亦離之震。『爲雷爲火，爲嬴敗姬。車說其輶，火焚其旗，不利行師，敗于宗丘。歸妹睽孤，寇張之弧。姪其從姑，六年其逋，逃歸其國，而棄其家，明年其死於高粱之虛。』」及惠公在秦，曰：「先君若從史蘇之占，吾不及此夫！」韓簡侍，曰：「龜，象也；筮，數也。物生而後有象，滋而後有數。先君之敗德，及可數乎？史蘇是占，勿從何益？詩曰：『下民之孽，匪降自天。僇沓背憎，職競由人。』」

When the marquis of Jin entered, Muji of Qin, urged him to take care of lady Jia and to restore the ducal sons. The marquis of Jin had relations with lady Jia, and was not compassionate toward the ducal sons, which caused Muji to resent him. The marquis of Jin had made certain promises to some important officials of the state, which he went back on. He promised to the earl of Qin five cities beyond the river, extending east to the border of Guo, south to mount Hua, and north of the river to the city of Xie Liang; yet he

to surrender the territory. When Jin experienced a famine, Qin sent grain; when Qin experienced a famine, Jin refused. As a result, the earl of Qin attacked Jin. The diviner, Tufu, divined the milfoil stalks; it was auspicious, cross the river, the marquis' chariots will be defeated. He inquired further, so the diviner responded, saying, "This is great luck. You will three times defeat Jin. The hexagram encountered is Gu, which says, " A thousand chariots three times depart, after three departures, they will capture the male fox." The fox is gu, a pest, it must be the ruler. The lower part of Gu is 'wind', the upper part is mountain. The year is now in autumn. We will gather their fruit and take their timber, thus overcoming. Their fruit will fall and they will lose their timber; what else could it be than defeat?" After three defeats, the armies got to Han. The marquis of Jin spoke to Qingzheng, saying, "They have invaded deep; what can be done?" Qingzheng replied, "It is you lord, who has caused them to penetrate this deep. What else could have been done?" The duke said, "Insubordinate!" He divined whether Qingzheng should stand at his right side in the chariot, it was auspicious. He refused to use him. Buyang drove the chariot and Jia Putu was the right hand spearman. The chariot was pulled by a small team of four, which had been presented by Zheng. Qingzheng said, "In the old days, great

deeds were undertaken using a chariot pulled by native horses. Raised in the fields and drinking the water of the state, knowing the hearts of the people, relaxed in receiving instruction, and accustomed to the roads. They are submissive to the driver's will. These days, if one uses foreign horses for such deeds, they will act differently, going contrary to the driver's instructions. When they get confused, they get unmanageable, their whole bodies flushed with blood, causing their veins to bulge out. On the outside, they appear strong, but inside they are exhausted. They will neither advance or retreat, nor will they be able to turn around. If you do not heed these words, you will surely regret it. The duke did not listen. In the ninth month, he met the Qin army, when he sent Han Jian to scout. Jian reported, "Their army is smaller than ours, but their will to fight is twice that of ours." The duke said, "For what reason?" (Han Jian) responded, saying, "When you fled, you relied on Qin's assistance; when you returned, it was also with the assistance of Qin that you returned; in the famine, you ate it's grain. Three times you have benefitted without repaying; that is why they have come and are preparing to attack; while our troops have no spirit, theirs are full of rage. It is not enough to say that their fighting spirit is twice ours." The duke said, "An ordinary man should not be treated with contempt, much

less a great state." He sent an invitation to battle, saying, "I am a man of no ability, my forces now assembled, can not be called back. If you do not retire, I will have no way except to accept your challenge." The earl of Qin sent Gongsun Zhi to respond, saying, "Before your lordship returned to your state, I feared for you, and after you had returned but had not yet established yourself, I was still anxious for you. But now, if you have established your position firmly, how could I dare refuse to accept your invitation." Han Jian retired, saying, "We will be fortunate if we are only taken prisoner in battle." On the Ren Xu day, the two armies fought on the plain of Han. The Jin ruler's horses swerved and got bogged down. The duke called to Qingzheng, but Qingzheng said, "You have rejected my counsel and ignored the divination. You have brought defeat to yourself; how can you escape?" then he left. Meanwhile, Liang Youmo drove the chariot for Han Jian, who had Guo She on his right; and confronted the earl of Qin and were about to overtake him. But Qingzheng distracted them by calling them to rescue the duke of Jin. In the end, the Qin ruler and, instead, the ruler of Jin was captured and was taken back to Qin. The grand officials of Jin unbound their hair and, camping by night in the fields, followed after their captured ruler. But the Qin ruler sent someone to ask them to stop, saying, "Why are you gentlemen so sad? I am

escorting your lord to the west in order to end the dark dreams of Jin. How would I dare do anything more serious?" The ministers of Jin kowtowed three times and replied, "You, my lord, stand on earth and bear the heavens above you. Heaven and Earth have heard the words you have just spoken and will hold you to them. We, your servants, likewise stand humbly by your side and listen." When Muji heard that the Jin ruler was being brought to Qin, she took Ying, the heir-apparent, her younger son Hong, and her daughter Jianbi, and together they ascended a platform above a pile of brush. Muji had her servant dress them in mourning caps and hemp garments and in this way prepared to greet the two rulers when they arrived. She said to her children, "Heaven on high has sent down misfortune, making it impossible for these two rulers to meet in a friendly exchange of jade and silk, but rather rush into battle. If the ruler of Jin arrives in the morning, we will die in the evening; if he come at night, we will die the next morning. It is up to the ruler of Jin to decide." The Jin ruler stayed at the Spirit Terrace." The Qin officials asked that he be brought to the capital, but the duke of Qin replied, "When I captured the ruler of Jin, I supposed that I would be coming home triumphant. But if I am to come to a funeral, what profit is there in that. And you, my ministers--what have you to gain from this? Moreover, the men of Jin are grieved

and confused and hold me responsible for the well-being of their ruler, and Heaven and earth hold me accountable for my words. If I do not consider the fears of the men of Jin, I will only double their hatred, and if I fail to keep my promise, I will be at odds with Heaven and earth. Doubling hatred only makes one's own course more difficult, and turning against Heaven is an act of foolishness. We must allow the lord of Jin to return to his own state." The ducal son Zhi said, "Is it not better to kill him than to allow him to store up illwill against us." The ducal grandson Zisang said, "Send him home, but keep his heir here as a hostage. That way you are certain to reach an agreement. It is too soon to think of wiping out the state of Jin. If you kill its ruler, you are certain to stir up hatred. Moreover, the historian Yi spoke these words: 'Never initiate misfortune. Never exploit disorder. Never double hatred.' Doubling hatred makes one's own course more difficult, and abusing others is ill-omened." The earl of Qin agreed to make peace with Jin. The marquis of Jin dispatched Xiqi to report this to Xialu Yisheng and instructed the latter to come to Qin. When he arrived, he advised the duke to announce to his subjects that he, the ruler, wished them to assemble at court so that Xialu Yisheng could present rewards for him. He also advised the duke to say: "Although I am returning home, I have

disgraced the altars of grain and the soil of my country. Divine to determine whether or not my son You should ascend the throne." When the people of Jin heard this, they wept. The state of Jin then opened up the changed fields. Xialu Yisheng said to the people, "When our lord was in exile, his only concern was for us, the people. He acted with great magnanimity. What can be said of such a ruler?" The people said, "How can we repay his kindness?" Xialu Yisheng replied, "We can raise funds to use for armaments and in that way assist his young son. When the other feudal lords hear of this, they will realize that, though we have lost one ruler, we have gained another in his place, that harmony and accord prevail among the people, and that the state has increasing supplies of munitions and armor. Then those who favor us will encourage us and those who hate us will be afraid. Would this not be beneficial?" The people were pleased. Jin thus initiated the system of regional weaponry. In the past, Duke Xian of Jin divined the milfoil about whether he should give his daughter in marriage to Duke Mu of Qin. The divination encountered gui-mei , becoming kui . The historian Su divined it, saying, "inauspicious" saying further, "The interpretation is as it is written, 'a man stabs a sheep but there is no blood. A woman holds a basket but there is no gift.' A western neighbor's scorn cannot be repayed. A maiden becoming

estranged and still there is no one to help. Thunder becomes fire; fire becomes thunder. There will be thunder and fire. Ying will conquer Ji. Chariots will lose their axle caps; fire will burn their flags, no profit if the army advances, defeat at the mountain of the ancestors. The estranged maiden is lonely; the enemy pulls back his bow. The nephew attends his aunt for six years and runs away. fleeing to his homeland, there he abandons his family. The following year he dies in the barrens of Gao Liang. Later, when Duke Hui had been taken captive and was in Qin, he said, "If my father, the last ruler, had only heeded the divination indicated by the historian Su, I would not have come to this end." Han Jian, who was attending him at the time, said, "The tortoise shell divination employs patterns, while the milfoil employs numbers. After creatures are born, they begin to assume patterns. Later they begin to flourish, and after they have begun to flourish, they appear in numbers. But the ill-considered deeds of the late ruler--they were too many to be counted. What difference does it make that he failed to heed the divination? The poet says:  
'Calamities of the people below, they do not descend from Heaven. Chattering, babbling hatred behind one's back, this constant contention is the work of men'."

僖公，二十八。三 (631 BCE):

夏、四月戊辰。晉侯、宋公、齊國歸父、崔夭、秦小子憖、次于城濮、楚師背鄆而舍、晉侯患之、聽輿人之誦、曰、原田每每舍其舊而新是謀。公疑焉、子犯曰、戰也、戰而捷、必得諸侯、若其不捷、表裏山河、必無害也公曰、若楚惠何。欒貞子曰、漢陽諸姬、楚實盡之、思小惠而忘大恥、不如戰也、晉侯夢與楚子搏、楚子伏己而盪其腦、是以懼。子犯曰、吉、我得天、楚伏其罪、吾且柔之矣。子玉使鬥勃請戰、曰、請與君之士戲、君馮軾而觀之得臣與寓目焉。晉侯使欒枝對曰、寡君聞命矣、楚君之惠、未之敢忘、是以在此、爲大夫退、其敢當君乎、既不獲命矣、敢煩大夫、謂二三子、戒爾車乘、敬爾君事、詰朝將見、晉車七百乘、鞶韞鞅鞞、晉侯登有莘之虛以觀師、曰、小長有禮、其可用也、遂伐其木以益其兵。己巳晉師陳于莘北、胥臣以下軍之佐當陳蔡、子玉以若敖之六卒將中軍、曰、今日必無晉矣。子西將左、子上將右。胥臣蒙馬以虎皮、先犯陳蔡、陳蔡奔、楚右師潰。狐毛設二旆而退之欒枝與曳柴而偽遁、楚師馳之、原軫卻縠以中軍公族、橫擊之、狐毛狐偃以上軍夾攻子西、楚左師潰、楚師敗績。子玉收其卒而止、故不敗。晉師三日館穀、及癸酉而還。

In summer, on the Wuchen day of the fourth month, the marquis of Jin, the Duke of Song, the Guoguifu of Ji, Cui Yao, and Yin, a young son of the earl of Qin halted at Cheng Pu, while the Chu general encamped with E at their back. The marquis of Jin was apprehensive about it, but heard the troops singing, "The fields are covered all the time; when the old is removed, it is replaced by the new." The duke had doubts about it, but Zifan said, "Fight! Fight and win,

you'll surely attain the feudal lords; if you don't win, we have the mountains on the outside and the river inside, we'll not come to harm. The duke said, "What about the compassion of Chu?" Luan Zhenzi said, "The feudal lords of Hanyang have been absorbed by Chu; you think of a small kindness and forget a great disgrace. It is better to fight." The marquis of Jin dreamed that he was struggling with the viscount of Chu. The viscount of Chu knelt over him, then sucked out his brains; he was then afraid. Zifan said, "It is lucky. We see Heaven; Chu is kneeling, acknowledging his offense; moreover, we are gentle about it. Ziyu sent Doubo to engage Jin in battle by saying, "Allow us to play with your men; your lordship may watch from the back of your chariot and I will see you there. The marquis sent Luanzhi to respond, saying, "I have heard your commands. I did not dare to forget the compassion of lord of Chu; so I am here. I have withdrawn before the officer--did I dare oppose him? I did not receive orders not to fight; I will trouble you, ser, to speak to your officers, 'Prepare your chariots, attend with reverence to your princes's business.' I will see you tomorrow morning." Jin had 700 chariots, with riggings that covered the backs, flanks, and bellies of the horses. The marquis of Jin climbed to the site of Youxin to view the battle. He said, "The young and old are arrayed properly; the troops may be engaged." Then he

ordered that the trees be cut down in order to increase his weapons. On Ji Si, the army attacked on the north of Xin; Xuchen, the assistant commander of the lower army, prepared to engage the armies of Chen and Cai. Ziyu, with the six brigades of Ruo'ao, commanded the middle army, and said, "Today will certainly mark the end of Jin." Zixi commanded the left flank, Zishang commanded the right flank. Xuchen covered the horses with tiger skins and first attacked Chen and Cai; Chen and Cai fled, and Chu's right was routed. Humao raised to flags and began to retreat; Luanzhi sent men to drag brush behind them (as if the army was in retreat). The Chu army pursued them; when Yuanzhen and Xiqin, with the middle army of the marquis' own troops, came upon them from both sides. Humao and Huyan attacked Zixi from either side and Chu's left army was routed. The Chu army suffered a major defeat. Ziyu gathered his troops and did not attack, thus avoiding defeats. The Jin armies occupied for three days, eating their (Chu's) provisions. On the Gui Yu, they retired.

from 文公十八。— (609 BCE)

十八年春，齊侯戒師期，而有疾。醫曰：「不及秋，將死。」公聞之，卜，曰：「尚無及期！」惠伯令龜。卜楚丘占之，曰：「齊侯不及期，非疾也；君亦不聞。令龜有咎。」二月丁丑，公薨。

In the spring of the eighteenth year, on the day which the marquis of Ji had set as date on which his troops would

depart for battle, he became ill. The doctor said, "You will be dead before autumn." The Duke heard the news, divined it, and said, "I hope he doesn't last that long!" Earl Hui appealed to the tortoise shell; the diviner Chuqiu divined the matter, and said, "The marquis of Ji will die before that date, but not as a result of the illness. The head of state has not inquired of the matter. According to the tortoise shell, there will be disaster." On the Ding Chou day of the second month, the duke died.

from 宣公三。六 (606 BCE)

冬，鄭穆公卒。初，鄭文公有賤妾曰燕姁，夢天使與己蘭，曰：「余爲伯鯀。余，而祖也。以是爲而子。以蘭有國香，人服媚之如是。」既而文公見之，與蘭而御之。辭曰：「妾不才，幸而有子。將不信，敢徵蘭乎？」公曰：「諾。」生穆公，名之曰蘭。文公報鄭子之妃曰陳媯，生子華、子臧。子臧得罪而出。誘子華而殺之南里，使盜殺子臧於陳、宋之間。又娶于江，生公子士。朝于楚，楚人酖之，及葉而死。又娶于蘇，蘇生子瑕、子俞彌。俞彌早卒。洩駕惡瑕，文公亦惡之，故不立也。公遂群公子，公子蘭，奔晉，從晉文公伐鄭。石癸曰：「吾聞姬、姬耦，其子孫必蕃。姁，吉人也，后稷之元妃也。今公子蘭，姁甥也，天或啓之，必將爲君，其後必蕃。先納之，可以亢寵。」孔將鉏、侯宣多納之，盟于大宮而立之，以與晉平。穆公有疾，曰：「蘭死，吾其死乎！吾所以生也。」刈蘭而卒。

In the winter, Duke Mu of Zheng died. In the past, Duke Wen of Zheng had a concubine of little importance, called Yan

Jie, who dreamed that an emissary from Heaven gave her an orchid, saying, "I am the founder of the family name; I am your ancestor. This is how it will be for the child; just as the orchid is the aroma of the country." After this, when Duke Wen saw her, he gave her an orchid; then he had her. She resisted, saying that she was an incapable concubine; but if she was fortunate and had a son, no one would believe her and she would use the orchid as a proof. The duke made an oath. She gave birth to Duke Mu, who was called "Orchid." Duke Wen had a rendezvous with the first concubine of Zhengzi, a woman called Chen Wei, who gave birth to Zi Hua and Zi Zang. Zi Zang offended the court and fled. He deceived Zi Hua and murdered him at Nan Li, and recruited bandits to kill Zi Zang between Chen and Song. He also married from Jiang; she bore Prince Shi, who went to Chu, was poisoned by a man from Chu, and died at Ye. He also married with Su, giving birth to a son Xia and a son Yu Mi, who died at a young age. Si Jia hated Xia; Duke Wen also hated him, and was intent not to establish him. The duke expelled all of the ducal sons; Prince Lan escaped to Jin, and followed Duke Wen of Jin as he attacked Zheng. Shi Gui said, "I hear that when Ji and Jie link up, then the offspring will certainly be numerous, Jie are fortunate, the first concubine of Hou Ji is thus (blessed). Presently, Prince Lan, is thus a child of Jie, Heaven perhaps favors

him, and he will certainly become the ruler and his descendants will be numerous. If (we) first show him courtesy, we will be greatly favored. Kong Jiang Zu and Hou Xuan Duo showed him courtesy, made an alliance with him in the great palace and established him, attaining peace in Jin. Duke Mu had an illness; He said, "When the orchids die, I will also die. It is according to them that I live." When the orchids were picked, he died.

from 成公十七。八 (574 BCE)

初，聲伯夢涉洹，或與己瓊瑰食之，泣而爲瓊瑰盈其懷，從而歌之曰：濟洹之水，贈我以瓊瑰。歸乎歸乎，瓊瑰盈吾懷乎！懼不敢占也。還自鄭，壬申，至于狸脈而占之，曰：余恐死，故不敢占也。今衆繁而從余三年矣，無傷也。言之，之莫而卒。

In the past, the Earl of Sheng dreamed about crossing the Huan; someone gave him jade pearls and he ate them. He began to cry and jade pearls covered his bosom; then he sang, saying: "Crossing the waters of the Huan, I was given jade pearls. Return, return, the jade pearls have covered my bosom." He was afraid to divine the dream. Going from Zheng, he arrived at Li Shen and he had the dream divined; he said, "Before, I was afraid of dying, so I dared not have divined. Today, the multitudes are great and have followed me for three years and I have not been harmed." Having said this, he was dead before sunset.

## APPENDIX C

ZUOZHUAN 左傳 BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCESTexts

Du, Yu. Chungiu Sanzhuán 《春秋三傳》. Shang-hai: Shanghai Ku-chi Chu-pan-she. 1987.

Du Yu is the earliest commentator on Chungiu and Zuozhuan; as such he represents the perspective of early Confucian commentary. The value of this volume is not so much in the fact that it validates the hermeneutical value of later editions of the texts (although it does do this), but in the fact that exemplifies an early Confucian doctrinal perspective. This edition is a recent mainland reprinting of an earlier text which in turn came, perhaps, from the 1929 Commercial Press edition of Chungiu Jing Zhuan Ji Jie 《春秋經傳記解》 (Explanations on the Classic of the Spring and Autumn and its Commentaries).

Yǎng, Bojun 楊伯峻. Chungiu Zuozhuan Zhu 《春秋左傳注》 (Notes on the Annals and Zuo Commentaries). 4 vol. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. 1981.

楊氏所獻的《春秋左傳注》是現代經學者，歷史學者以及文學者都寶貴和歡迎的一套書卷。楊氏的文學角度算是比較守舊的，他的學業程度相當好。本書的次序如下安排：前書，凡例，引用書目，器物圖以及本文（括注解）。本文部分如下安排：經，傳，注解。楊氏在“前言”里頭提出許多與《春秋》和《左傳》的問題，比如說：春秋名義，春秋和孔子的關係，春秋的文學及歷史學的價值，左傳的作家，左傳成書的年代等等。

This set is composed of the complete texts of Chungiu and Zuozhuan, arranged so that the passages of both texts are juxtaposed. In addition to the texts, Yang also includes copious scholarly commentary, as well as prefatory statements in which he addresses the state of Chungiu and Zuozhuan scholarship, a bibliography (arranged both topically and chronologically), and an explanation for the

use of the set. This set is known for its conservative perspective and excellent scholarship.

### Translations

(by Language--with full translations preceding selections)

#### English

Legge, James. The Chinese Classics with a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes, volume 5. The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen. second edition, with minor text corrections and a Concordance Table. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 1960.

This volume is part of the second edition on Legge's monumental work, The Chinese Classics, and is composed of the complete Chinese text of both Chunqiu and Zuozhuan, along with a full English translation (the only full translation in English) and copious commentary. The text and translation are preceded by useful chapters on the nature and value of the Chunqiu, a chronology of the ducal reigns, and a general survey of China during the Spring and Autumn period. There is also a list of source texts. The text and translation are also supplemented by indexes ordered by subject, name, and Chinese character and phrase.

The primary benefit for modern English-speaking scholars is that Legge's is the only complete translation of both the Chunqiu and Zuozhuan. The main weakness of the work is the antiquated language and obsolete (and idiosyncratic) system of romanization, which makes reading the translation every bit as laborious as reading the original text. Despite this drawback, the translation is still useful when used with a modern Chinese translation (such as the one authored by Shen Yucheng, see below). The fact that both the text and the translation are contained in a single volume makes it a convenient volume to use.

Watson, Burton. The Tso Chuan: Selections from China's Oldest Narrative History. New York: Columbia University Press. 1989.

The translation provided by Watson has an upside and a downside. The upside is that the translation is eminently more readable than the Legge translation; the downside is that Watson does not include a full translation of Zuozhuan, nor does he include the Chinese text (or commentary).

## French

Couvreur, Seraphin. Tchouen tsieou et Tso tschouan, vols. 1-3. Ho Kien Fou, 1914; reprinted Paris: Cathasia. 1951.

This set is a reprint of the Jesuit fathers 1914 full translation of Chungiu 春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annals) and the Zuozhuan 左傳 (The Commentary of Zuo). This translation is based upon the ...text and is one of two renowned full translations in European languages (the other being Legges volume 5 of *The Chinese Classics*).

## Japanese

Takezoe, Koko. Sa Shi Kaisen 左傳會箋. 2 vols. Taipei: Tien-kung Shu-chu. 1993.

Takezoes Sa Shi Kaisen (or Zuozhuan Huijian, in Mandarin), is highly regarded within the corpus of Japanese scholarship related to Zuozhuan. It contains the Du text and commentary, as well as prefatory chapters explicating Zuozhuan related issues. The whole of the text is in kanji (漢字), with Japanese pronunciation diacritics and notes in kana. Thus, scholars who do not read Japanese may still benefit from the work.

## Mandarin (Bai-hua 白話)

Shen, Yucheng 沈玉成. Zuozhuan Yiwen 左傳譯文. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. 1991.

This volume is a modern Chinese translation of the Zuozhuan, based upon and used as a companion to the Yang Bojun work mentioned above. Being that it is a modern translation, it is much more accessible to scholars who read modern Chinese. In addition, as it lacks the commentary included in the Yang Bojun, it is much more readable, maintaining the continuity of narrative in a way that Chungiu Zuozhuan Zhu is unable to do. Again, the author consulted with Mr. Yang and the work is intended to be a companion to Chungiu Zuozhuan Zhu, so it lacks some of the scholarly value of the Yang Bojun work; on the contrary, the volume makes Zuozhuan accessible to a much broader readership, both in China and abroad.

Bibliographies, Collection Catalogs, Concordances,  
Dictionaries, Indexes and Maps

Combined concordances to Ch'un-chiu, Kung-yang, Ku-liang and Tso-chuan, 4 vols. Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, supplement no. 11. Peiping. 1937, reprinted in Taiwan, 1966.

The Harvard Yanjing Institutes Sinological Index Series is famous for its contribution to China studies. In this case, the Combined concordances supplement is, perhaps, the most comprehensive and helpful research tool for scholars interested in Chunqiu and Zuozhuan. It is actually a collection of research tools, including five indexes--each according to a different arrangement. The first volume contains all of the prefatory materials, including an extended preface, in which the authors outline the history of the Chunqiu and its three commentary traditions. The guide for usage briefly outlines the methodological strategies behind the indexes organizations, including the use of the four corners input method for Chinese and the Wade-Giles romanization. The first volume also includes a character index according to stroke order and according to alphabetized romanization. There is an explanatory table which is useful in understanding the four corners system used in the index. The rest of the first volume is taken up with a survey of the contents of Chunqiu, Zuozhuan, Gongyangzhuan, and Guliangzhuan.

The second volume is composed of two of the five indexes--one arranged by zhongti 中體 and one arranged by guoti 國體; the third volume also contains two indexes--arranged by ziti 字體 and piti 皮體; the fourth volume contains the fifth index--one arranged by (...unidentified character...). While I have not begun to understand the differences between the different indexes, I have been able to find any character I needed through either the stroke order or romanization indexes in volume one.

The entries themselves are comprehensive, listing all occurrences of a particular character in all of the texts. The entries are arranged first, chronologically by ducal reign and year and then cross-referenced to a page number in the Shisanjing Zhushu -- Jing Zhuan 十三經注疏--經傳 section. While a full understanding of the value of this set requires time and use, it is still accessible to the novice China scholar.

Fraser, Everard D.H., and James Haldane Stewart Lockhart.  
Index to the Tso chuan. London: Oxford University  
 Press. 1930, reprinted Taipei, 1966.

Cross-referenced to Legge, volume V, this volume is arranged by stroke order and includes (apparently) all of the characters used in the Zuozhuan text. In addition to the index, there is a brief preface, explanatory notes, and chronology of the ducal reigns, also cross-referenced to the pages in Legge.

He, Leshi 何樂士. Zuozhuan Xuci Yanjiu 《左傳虛詞研究》 (A Study of Grammatical Particles in Zuozhuan). Beijing: Shangwu Chubanshe. 1992.

This volume includes grammatical studies of a number of grammatical morphemes within the whole of classical Chinese syntax. While not an exhaustive study, the author includes discussions of the more common morphemes such as zhi 之, yi 以, and yu 與. This and Yang Bojuns dictionary should be included as part of the desk reference collection of every Zuozhuan scholar.

Herrmann, Albert. An Historical Atlas of China. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1966.

Based upon the earlier Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, An Historical Atlas of China is a collection of over 45 maps beginning with Prehistoric Sites in China and continuing through Modern China (with maps of agriculture, population, ethnolinguistic regions, among others). This represents the best historical atlas available in English. It is a volume of color plates with very legible legends in the Wade-Giles romanization. The prefatory essay and selected bibliography are useful in going beyond this volume to other sources. One of the advantages of this volume is that several of the plates place China in the larger context of the world. The volume is indexed separately by appearance on the historical maps and modern maps. Finally there is a list of Chinese characters associated with the romanizations.

Loewe, Michael, ed. Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide. Berkeley: The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California--Berkeley. 1993.

Loewe has gathered together some of the most knowledgeable scholars in early Chinese studies and given them the task of preparing bibliographical essays on 64 of the most prominent works of early Chinese history,

literature, and philosophy. Each of the essays is broken down into subsections dealing with the content, sources, dating and authorship, transmission, and other important aspects of the texts, as well as brief bibliographical listings of current editions, translations, secondary studies, and indexes. This volume stands out not only as a recent addition to the corpus of bibliographies of early Chinese works, but also because of the scholarly knowledge of the contributors. While this is not the comprehensive Indiana Companion type of volume, it is a very valuable resource.

Nienhauser, William H. Jr., ed. and comp. The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature.  
Bloomington: University of Indiana Press. 1986.

Possibly the most valuable single volume meta-resource on Chinese literature available in English, the Indiana Companion is just that--a companion to every would-be student of early Chinese literature. The work is subdivided into three major sections. The first six chapters make up the first section--introductory information--including a list of contributing scholars, a list of relevant journals, a guide for using the volume, a list of commonly cited references, a general bibliography, and a chronological listing of the major dynasties and periods of Chinese history.

The second section (entitled Part One in the volume) is a collection of essays describing various genre of Chinese literature. There are references to Zuozhuan, for example, in the essays on fiction, literary criticism, popular literature, prose, and rhetoric. Each of the essays is a succinct description of the development of that particular genre throughout Chinese literary history, including the current state of scholarship (i.e. the issues currently being discussed by scholars in that area) in the genre. Each essay is followed by a brief bibliography.

The third section (entitled Part Two) is a 772-page listing of hundreds of entries contained within the broad scope of traditional Chinese literature. Like the longer essays, each entry includes a brief synoptic essay relating the topic (person, title, or subject) followed by a short bibliography. In the case of Zuozhuan, there was a dedicated entry, as well as references to the work in fifteen other entries.

The final section of the volume is a three-way index--entries are arranged according to name, title, and subject. As a whole, this volume is one of the most useful, and user-

friendly volumes available to scholars interested in traditional Chinese literature.

Schuessler, Axel. A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese.  
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1987.

Schuessler's work, while both more recent and based upon the best scholarship of the past, shows one of the more disappointing aspects of modern scholarship--weak formatting. The contents of this volume, from the preface, introduction, and other valuable information at the front of the volume, to the dictionary itself, is all of the highest quality. On the contrary, the formatting is extremely disappointing, apparently typed on some sort of early generation word processor. This may reflect the expense of other formatting options, but on such a rare and valuable work, it is extremely disappointing.

Shigezawa, Toshio. Tso chuan Jen-ming Ti-ming Suo-yin 《左傳人名地名索引》 (Index of People and Place Names in Zuozhuan). Taipei: Kuang-wen Shu-chu. 1977.

Shigezawa's index of proper and place names is separated in just that way, with the proper name section preceding the place name section--both according to stroke order. The formatting is straightforward and the entries easy to understand. Having first located the name in the stroke order index, the entry lists the ducal reign and year in which the name is found, as well as alternate forms and their locations.

Tan Qixiang 譚其驥. Zhongguo Lishi Ditu Ji 《中國歷史地圖集》 (The Historical Atlas of China). 8 vols. Shanghai: Xinhua shudian. 1982-1989.

The first thing to stick out in the mind of an English speaking scholar is that the text in Tan's collection is fully bilingual in Chinese and English; even within the English language explanation, all Chinese names and titles are also written in Chinese. The Foreword includes an historical survey of Chinese cartographic works. It also includes a synopsis of the work involved in collecting for the Historical Atlas. Finally, each map group includes an explanation of the compiling principles. As for the maps, while the legends are bilingual, the maps themselves, including the scale, are solely in Chinese. The scope of this collection makes it invaluable to the serious China scholar, but those who may be linguistically challenged might benefit by using this set alongside the Herrmann volume.

Yang, Bojun. Chungiu Zuozhuan Cidian 《春秋左傳詞典》  
(Dictionary of Chungiu and Zuozhuan). Taipei: Han  
Ching Wen Hua. 1987.

According to the Users Guide, the dictionary is cross-referenced to Yang's Chungiu Zuozhuan Zhu. The dictionary contains all of the words appearing in Zuozhuan, including the number of times each word is used and what part of speech it is. The drawback of this book occurs in relation to place names, where it seems to be too general. Thus, a niche is carved out for the Shigezawa volume mentioned above.

Yang, Winston L. Y., Peter Li and Nathan K. Mao. Classical Chinese Fiction. Boston: G.K. Hall. 1978.

Yang et.al. have compiled a volume of essays and selected bibliographies with particular relevance to the study of Chinese fiction, specifically to the study of the genre which would be referred to in English as the novel.

Ye, Shaojun, comp. Shisanjing Suoyin 《十三經索引》 (Index to the Thirteen Classics). Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. 1983.

This volume is a mainland re-issue of the authors 1934 edition. According to the Second edition explanation, the Index is a companion volume to the Shisanjing Zhushu 《十三經注疏》 (Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics) re-edition. Each entry in the Index is cross-referenced to the text, section, and page in the Commentaries where it is found; it is couched within a phrase to facilitate locating it in the text. The new edition is arranged using simplified character forms and indexes by both the stroke order and the four corners methods.

#### General Bibliography

Allen, Joseph Roe, III. An Introductory Study of Narrative Structure in the Shiji, in Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews. Volume 3, Number 1, (January 1981), pages 31-66.

Allen begins his discussion of narrative structure by applying the ideas of Scholes and Kellogg--plot, meaning, character, and point of view--to analysis of the Shiji.

Allen then discusses various narrative devices , such as the empirical chronicle style, the direct quote and the narrators comment, used by Sima Qian. Having outlined his intended methodology, Allen proceeds with two case studies for textual analysis-- the biographies of Wu Zixu 伍子胥列傳 and Li Jiangjun 李將軍列傳. Allen concludes by restating that, while formal variation of narratological structure exists within Shiji, there is sufficient coherence to the work as a whole and the same literary devices used in western literature are found in this text--making methodological tools commonly applied to western literature equally useful in describing the Shiji.

Brennan, John. Dreams, Divination, and Statecraft: The Politics of Dreams in Early Chinese History and Literature, in The Dream and the Text. ed. Carol S. Rupprecht. New York: State University of New York Press. 1993.

Brennan's article is included in a volume by Carol Rupprecht dealing with dreams in literature. The author is interested in both the historicity of dreams and the history of dreams in early Chinese literature. Brennan takes note that most early records of dreams are in historical documents (although he does not mention that history was the predominant literary genre of the day). From this point of departure, he proceeds to focus on dreams recorded in early Chinese texts with political significance. He describes the political organization of the court officials having divinatory responsibilities, including the interpreter of dreams; he lists six types of dreams recorded in the Zhouli 周禮 (Rituals of Zhou), and then draws some conclusions about the causes of dreams and their relation to the dreamer. Having outlined his thesis and methodology, Brennan appeals to the Chunqiu and Zuozhuan for support of his arguments. Brennan uses accounts of dreams in Zuozhuan to establish a structural typology for dream accounts in early Chinese literature, as well, he demonstrates that dreams were part of a larger system of divination which changed over the period of time described in Zuozhuan.

Chang, I-jen, ed. 張以仁著 Ch'un-chiu Shih Lun-chi 《春秋史論集》 Taipei: Lien-ching Chu-pan Shih-yeh Kung-ssu. 1990.

This volume contains three chapters of particular interest to Zuozhuan scholars-- The relationship between Confucius and the Annals, The relationship between Zuozhuan and The Letters of the States 《國語》, " and Analyzing the later criticisms of the Letters in light of

the differences in the character of the Zuo Commentaries and the Letters of the States. Each essay is well-footnoted and the arguments of the author reflect a good knowledge of the extant scholarship as well as past debates. This is, by and large, a treatise on the historiography of Annals and the Zuo Commentaries.

Chang, K. C. The Archaeology of Ancient China, Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1986.

Chang, Kao-ping, ed. 張高評著 Tso-chuan Wen-chang I-fa T'an-wei 《左傳文章義法擲微》 Taipei: Wen-shih cheh Chu-pan-sheh. 1982.

This volume contains essays on various structural and literary issues related to the Zuozhuan as an example of Chinese narrative literature. These essays range from those more closely related to the linguistic structure of the work to those essays dealing with the more aesthetic aspects of the text.

Cohen, Alvin P. A possible fusion-word in the Yi-ching divinations in the Tso-chuan and the Kuo-yu, in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. 48.1 (1985), 106-110.

Cohen appeals to the Zuozhuan and Guoyu texts as the oldest examples of the Yijing accessible to scholars today. Among the examples of Yijing divinations in the other texts, there are several examples in which the hexagram changes; in other cases, the hexagram does not change. Cohen attempts to explain the phenomenon in this article. According to Cohen, there is a particular morpheme, 夬 (\*pwat) present in half of the cases in which a change does not occur, which is a fusion word with the specific meaning not change. While Cohens explanation is not without merit, the scope of its application is a total of three times in the whole of the Zuozhuan text.

Creel, Herrlee G. The Birth of China: A Study of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing. 1937.

\_\_\_\_\_. Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Origins of Statecraft in China, Volume One: The Western Chou Empire. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1970.

As an historian, Creel is particularly interested in events which occurred during the Western Zhou; some of these events have left an impression on the Zuozhuan, which Creel uses as one of his base texts. In addition to addressing political institutions, Creel also addresses issues of dating and historicity in his appendixes. This volume is now considered to be one of the standards for early Chinese history.

Dai, Junren, comp. and ed. 戴君仁等著. Chun-chiu San-chuan Yen-chiu Lun-chi 《春秋三傳研究論集》 Taipei: Li-ming Wen-hua Shih-yeh Tsung-ku fen Yu-hsien Kung-ssu. 1981.

This volume is a collection of essays written by various scholars on a range of issues relating to the Annals and its three commentary traditions. The essays about Confucius relation to the Annals and about the Zuo Commentaries are more numerous than those about the other two commentary traditions. Essays about various versions of the texts are also included. The main theme of this volume is the literary history of the works.

Shih shih 《釋「史」 Explaining, 'historian'》  
in Du Weiyun and Huang Jinxing, comp. 杜維運·黃韶興編  
Chung-kuo Shih-hsueh-shih Lun-wen Hsuan-chi---I 《中國  
史學史論文選集一》 Taipei: Hua-shih Chu-pan-sheh.  
1976:17-29.

This brief article is included in a collection on the study of history and the historian. Dai discusses the various common opinions about the original form and meaning of 史 historian. Dai's opinion differs from the common interpretation of 史 representing the rectifying hand 中正也. On the contrary, Dai opposes that interpretation as being part of the Taoist tradition, instead identifying the historian with the shaman, as an early official of divination. While this view differs from the one expressed above, it also has much support in the academic community. Dai argues for the historian as a recorder of divination prior to the time when he was a recorder of court history.

Durrant, Stephen. Smoothing edges and filling gaps:  
Zuozhuan and the General reader, in Journal of the  
American Oriental Society. 112.2 (December, 1992),  
pp36-41.

This is an article reviewing Burton Watson's Zuozhuan:  
Selections from Chinas Oldest Narrative History. Not only

does Durrant point up issues on which he and Watson differ, but he also discusses Zuozhuan in a way worthy of its literary grandeur. Durrant also commends Watson's introduction to Zuozhuan scholarship. This article could itself be read as an introduction to Zuozhuan studies.

\_\_\_\_\_. Ssu-ma Chiens conception of Tso-chuan, in Journal of the American Oriental Society. 112.2 (December, 1992), pp295-301.

In this article, Durrant defends two points: 1) The didactic function of Zuozhuan as seen by the author of Shiji; and 2) the similarity between the text as Sima Qian knew it and the text as it was copied by Liu Xin. The importance of this position is that it opposes the common opinion that Liu Xin was unprincipled in his copying of the early Confucian texts. Durrant also makes clear that he sees (and portrays Sima Qian in the same way) Zuozhuan as intimately related to Chunqiu and not an independent work. These opinions represent very conservative views in regard to three points of controversy in Zuozhuan scholarship--new text vs old text; Zuozhuan as an independent work vs Zuozhuan as a commentary appended to Chunqiu; Zuozhuan as good history and good doctrine.

Eberhard, Wolfram. A History of China, fourth edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1977.

Egan, Ronald C. Narratives in Zuozhuan, in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. 37.2 (Dec., 1977), pp. 323-352.

Egans essay, like that of John Wang, discusses narrative structure in Zuozhuan, with a particular interest in battle episodes. Issues discussed include the nature and function of speeches in Zuozhuan, the epistemological importance of the reticent narrator, and other literary devices used by the author to draw the audience into the world of Zuozhuan.

Fang, Hong 方虹. "Female Characters in Tso-chuan and Their Significance". Eugene: University of Oregon, unpublished manuscript. 1995.

Fang follows the pattern of Wang, as well as Scholes and Kellogg, by analyzing portions of the Zuozhuan by the four aspects--plot, character, perspective, and meaning. This represents a contribution to both narratology and womens studies. Fang's conclusions differ from those of Xu--although neither their background nor the paradigm for

their respective discussions are intended to be similar--in that Fang sees the portrayal of women in Zuozhuan as something positive, while Xu perceives women as being portrayed as objects or property.

Fung Yu-lan. A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, ed. Derk Bodde. New York: The MacMillan Company. 1960.

Gernet, Jacques. A History of Chinese Civilization, translated by J. R. Foster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1982.

\_\_\_\_\_. Ancient China, translated by Raymond Rudorff. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Gernet provides the Zuozhuan scholar with a general historical background of the time period in which the text is set. The period of time extends back to the "New Stone Age" and forward to the collapse of the Qin dynasty, providing an historical context for the events and writing of the Zuozhuan.

Graham, A.C. Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature. New York: State University of New York Press. 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_. Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China. La Salle, IL: Open Court. 1989.

Graham discusses the "six schools" of early Chinese philosophical thought, relating them to western philosophical thought as a point of departure for a western audience. Chapter 1. "A Conservative Reaction: Confucius" is useful to anyone with interest in Zuozhuan, for both the historical and philosophical background it provides. Graham's philosophy seems to be compatible with the experientialist views of Lakoff and Johnson.

Hirth, Friedrich. The Ancient History of China to the End of the Chou Dynasty. New York, NY: Columbia University Press. 1911.

Hsu, Cho-yun, and Katheryn M. Linduff. Western Chou Civilization. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1988.

Hsu Fu-kuan 徐復觀. Yuan-shih--You Tsung-chiao Tung-hsiang Jen-wen Te Shih-Hsueh Te Cheng-li, 〈原史--由宗教通向人文的史學的成立〉 in Tu Weiyun and Ch'en Mu-chung, comp. 杜維運·陳錦忠編 Chung-kuo Shih-hsueh-shih Lun-wen Hsuan-chi---San 〈中國史學史論文選集三〉 Taipei: Huashi Chubanshe. 1976:6-70.

Hsu is one of the most well-respected scholars in the area of early China studies today. In this extended article, Hsu discusses the changing role of the historian 史 from several perspectives--ethnography, social function, religious function, the relationship between Confucius and the historian, the relationship between Confucius and the Chunqiu text, the contribution Confucius made to early historiography, early problems relating to the acceptance of the Zuozhuan, the didactic function of history as seen in the Zuozhuan, a historical evaluation of the value of Zuozhuan, and arguments that Zuozhuan was written later than is traditionally accepted (i.e. Warring States period). While Hsu is a conservative Zuozhuan scholar, he presents both sides of the issues before arguing for the traditional position. This article presents a strong case for the view that the function of the historian shifted from the metaphysical to the clerical, and that this transition is reflected, at least in part, in the Zuozhuan.

Hu Shih 胡適. "Shuo Ju" 〈說儒〉 (Speaking About Ru), in Hu Shih Wen Ts'un 〈胡適文存〉 (The Collected Works of Hu Shih), vol. 4. Taipei: Far East Books. 1968.

Hucker, Charles O. China's Imperial Past: An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 1975.

Karlgren, Bernhard. On the authenticity and nature of the Tso-chuan, in Gotesborgs hogskolas arsskrift 32 (1926), 3-65.

Published five years after The early history of the Zhouli and Zuozhuan texts (cited below), this article focuses only on the questions of the authenticity of the text (also argued in the former article) and a grammatical analysis of the text, including a prototype for the grammatical system for all works contemporary with the Zuozhuan. In this way, this discussion surpasses the academic value of the former article.

\_\_\_\_\_. The early history of the Chou-li and Tso-chuan texts, in Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. 3 (1921), 1-59.

Karlgren is known for the quality of his scholarship and the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities frequently provided a forum for Karlgren. In this article, Karlgren discusses the problem of dating the Zuozhuan and presents evidence from four early works to support the claim that Zuozhuan is a pre-Han text and as such could not have been written by Liu Xin.

Li, Wai-ye. The idea of authority in the Shih chi (Records of the Historian), in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 54.2 (December, 1994), pp. 345-405.

Li discusses authority as it is presented in Shiji--the end product of a process that occurred during the Eastern Zhou and is portrayed in the Annals and Zuo Commentaries. Li points out a number of literary devices which Sima uses to link his work to the Annals which he assumes to be written by Confucius. According to Li, Sima also introduces other devices, namely the biographical form, which emphasize human experience (which Li says supports her argument that the transition from the magical authority of the historian as shaman/ astrologer to the historian as recounter of human history is complete). Li concludes by asserting that Sima Qian sees the role of the historian as interpreting such mystical notions as the Way of Heaven into the experience of humans.

Li, Xueqin. Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations, trans. K.C. Chang. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1985.

Liu, Wu-chi. A Short History of Confucian Philosophy. New York: Dell Publishing Co. 1964.

Needham, Joseph. Science and Civilization in China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1954.

Plaks, Andrew, ed. Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1977.

A collection of essays on the nature and structure of Chinese Narrative. Plaks article Toward a Critical Theory of Chinese Narrative discusses issues such as the absence of a one-to-one mapping of the narrative genre onto Chinese literature, the influence of historical writing on other genre of Chinese literature, and the novel in

particular, and a number of other critical issues about what we know as Chinese narrative. Also in this volume is the well-known article by John Wang, Early Chinese Narrative: The Zuozhuan as Example. Wang explains how he sees plot, character, perspective, and meaning being used in Zuozhuan; then he uses the battle of Chengpu episode as a case study for his previous statements. The goal of this volume is to position Chinese narrative in the larger framework of narratology and literature as a whole.

Pokora, Timoteus. Pre-Han literature, in eds. Donald D. Leslie, Colin Mackerras and Wang Gungwu Essays on the Sources for Chinese History. Canberra: Australian National University Press. 1971, pp. 23-35.

Pokora presents an article on pre-Han literature in a volume on sources for Chinese history. This is an important contribution to modern scholarship on China for the mere reason that much modern scholarship has presented pre-Han literature as a less than reliable source for historical data. This article is important as a survey of some of the issues related to early Chinese literature. The formatting of the article is according to the nature of the text--historical and non-historical. Each type of literature is surveyed in a chronological fashion. Thus the first part of the essay discusses texts such as Shujing 書經 (The Book of Documents), Chunqiu 春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annals), Zuozhuan 左傳 (Zuo Commentary) and Zhanquo Ce 戰國策 (The Intrigues of the Warring States). The discussion of historical texts includes the influence of early literature on the development of Confucian thought as well as an extended discussion of the three commentary traditions of the Annals. The second section includes a discussion of Shijing 詩經 (The Book of Odes), as well as the early philosophical treatises such as Lunyu 論語 (The Analects), and Mengzi 孟子 (Mencius), and the Daodejing 道德經 (The Tao). The article concludes with a brief section of bibliographical notes--a survey of modern scholarship related to the early period in China's literary history.

Schwartz, Benjamin I. The World of Thought in Ancient China. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press. 1985.

Shaughnessy, Edward L. Sources of Western Zhou History. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press. 1991.

Smith, Kidder, Jr. Zhouyi Interpretation from Accounts in the Zuozhuan, in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. 49.2 (December, 1989), pages 421-63.

Smith provides a textual analysis and a tentative typology for Zhouyi 周易 (The Changes of Zhou) in the Zuozhuan. This article appeals to those who have an interest in statistics and linguistics. Smith discusses ...the technical methods of Zhouyi, the literary nature of the Zuozhuan, and the place of these in the context of Spring and Autumn history... Smith also describes how Zhouyi interpretation changes within the Zuozhuan text. It is this shift in the interpretation of Zhouyi divination which demonstrates the influx of Confucian teachings during the Warring States period.

Smith, Richard J. Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society. Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press. 1991.

Sima Qian 司馬遷. The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume 1: The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr.; tran. Tsai-fa Cheng, Zongli Lu, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., and Robert Reynolds. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. Shiji 史記. vol 2. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. 1982.

Sima Qian wrote in Shiji about the motives of Confucius in compiling the Chunqiu and of Zuozhuan Ming in writing the Zuozhuan. Sima's comments validate both the didactic motives of early Confucian scholarship, including historians, while his inclusion of Chunqiu and Zuozhuan validate their importance in early Chinese history.

Thatcher, Melvin P. Marriages of the Ruling Elite in the Spring and Autumn Period, in eds. Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Ebrey. Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1991, pp.25-57.

Thatcher utilizes the Chunqiu and Zuozhuan texts for ...an overview and preliminary analysis of the marriage practices of the ruling elite in the aristocratic society of the Spring and Autumn period. Thatcher assumes from the beginning that the historical pervue of the texts is reliable. This is a marked departure from much of the criticism that the two texts have received in recent years.

Thatchers discussion includes sections on the hierarchy of women in rulers households and marriage institutions (including violations of institutions such as clan exogamy). Thatchers article ends with a fairly complete bibliography.

Tu, Wei-yun, Chen Chin-chung comp. 杜維運, 陳錦忠編 Chung-kuo Shih-hsueh-shih Lun-wen Hsuan-chi (中國史學史論文選集), vols. 1,3. Taipei: Hua-shih Chu-pan-sheh. 1976,1980.

This volume is a collection of over forty essays by various authors compiled as a survey on the state of the discipline as relates to Chinese history. Topics range from brief discussions of the original form and meaning of the character 史 to the reliability of Ming history. The first ten or so articles have direct bearing on a good understanding of both Chunqiu and Zuozhuan.

Tong, Shuye 童書業. Chunqiu Zuozhuan Yanjiu (春秋左傳研究) (Research on the Annals and the Zuo Commentaries). Shanghai: Shangwu Chbanshe. 1980.

Stephen Durrant describes Tong as this generation's expert on the Zuozhuan. This volume is a collection of brief articles on a range of historical issues related to Zuozhuan. The essays include both theoretical issues, such as how the mythic and semi-mythic characters of high antiquity can be understood, and more specific discussions of battles and other historic events. This volume serves as an encyclopedic index for Zuozhuan related issues.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. 童書業著. Chun-chiu Shih (春秋史) History of the Annals). Hong Kong: Hsiang-kang Tai-ping Shu-chu. 1946.

In this volume, the author presents a broader picture of the history of the Spring and Autumn period than that strictly related to the literary works. The essays provide valuable information about the period and there are specific appendices devoted to the source texts for the work. These appendices are in essay form and, as such, are not as easily accessible to a foreign reader as a list format.

Waley, Arthur. The Analects of Confucius. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1938.

Wang, John C. Y. Early Chinese Narrative: The Tso-chuan as Example, in Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Issues. ed. Andrew Plaks. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1977, pp. 3-20.

Wang analyzes the narratological features plot, character, point of view, and meaning in several Zuozhuan passages, culminating in a textual analysis of these four features in the episode, the battle at Cheng-pu. Wang's method has been utilized by other Zuozhuan scholars, for example Fang Hong, and Wang himself borrows the method from Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg.

Wilhelm, Hellmut. I-ching Oracles in the Tso-chuan and the Kuo-y■, in Journal of the American Oriental Society, 79.4(1959):275-80.

According to Wilhelm, ...This material is presented to throw some light on the textual tradition of the Book of Changes... and discusses some I ching references in Zuozhuan and Guoy■ (Letters of the State). This discussion is specific in nature and deals with variations of texts between Yijing and (supposedly) the same texts quoted in Zuozhuan and Guoy■.

Xu, Ye. "The Significance of Female Characters in Chong Ers Journey". Eugene: University of Oregon, unpublished manuscript. 1995.

Xu's article represents a recent contribution to an ever-growing sub-discipline in China studies--Chinese womens studies. In this article, Xu investigates the role of female characters in the life of Chong Er, who later became one of the hegemony during the Spring and Autumn period. The Zuozhuan functions as her base text. Xu uses examples from the Zuozhuan episodes relating to the character Chong Er to support her thesis that women were treated inequitably by men during the Spring and Autumn period, despite the fact that they were often the intellectual equals of their male counterparts.

Yu, Anthony C. History, fiction and the reading of Chinese narrative, in Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews. 10 (1988), pp. 1-19.

A comparative discussion of Chinese narrative as a class within which the origins of narrative fiction are found in narrative history, as well as formal and functional parallels with western literary development. Yu's thesis is that the narrative history in Chinese literary history is so

Zuozhuan among examples of the former; Honglou Meng (The Dream of Red Mansions) among examples of the latter. Another issue addressed by Yu is the historians expressed role in the writing of history, that is the presence or absence of the writer, as historian, within the text itself. In this, Yu contrasts Zuozhuan with its most-often absent narrator with Shiji (Records of the Historian) with its clearly present narrator.

#### Resources on the World Wide Web

Cassidy, William L. Asian Astrology Homepage Online. July 12, 1996.

This web page, at the address <http://www.delatnet.com/users/wcassidy/astroindex.html>, while not scholarly still has anecdotal value. Cassidys bibliography is fairly useful, as are some of his links to other web-sites.

Duncan, William E. 左傳Homepage Online. July 12, 1996.

This web page, found at the address <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~powrlftr/tsochuan.html>, is an attempt at a digest of information, including bibliographic resources, scholars, programs, libraries, and contemporary issues in the scholarly study of Zuozhuan. The current strong points of the page are its bibliography and use of online access to libraries, programs of study and Chinese scholars; the current weak points are the lack of materials relating to Zuozhuan research.

Felsing, Robert. Chinese Classics Homepage Online. July 12, 1996.

This web page, found at the address <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~felsing/cstuff/classics.html> is an up-to-date source of online resources to classical Chinese literature. The title, Classics, does not mean that the contents are limited to the Confucian classics, but to the wider body of texts from early Chinese literary history, from antiquity through the Han dynasty, and including popular literature as well as literature considered to be classics by the academic community. The site includes links to sources of texts both in Chinese and to English translations. The links to Chinese texts include an indication of the Chinese character code system required to read the Chinese (HZ, GB, B5).

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