GEN LIANG 耿亮

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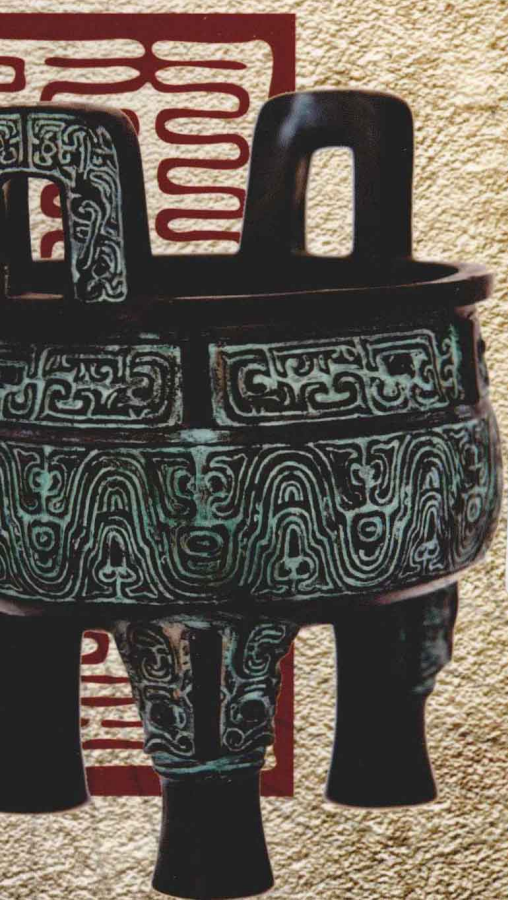
一部被遺忘的著作

春秋穀梁傳

中英對照



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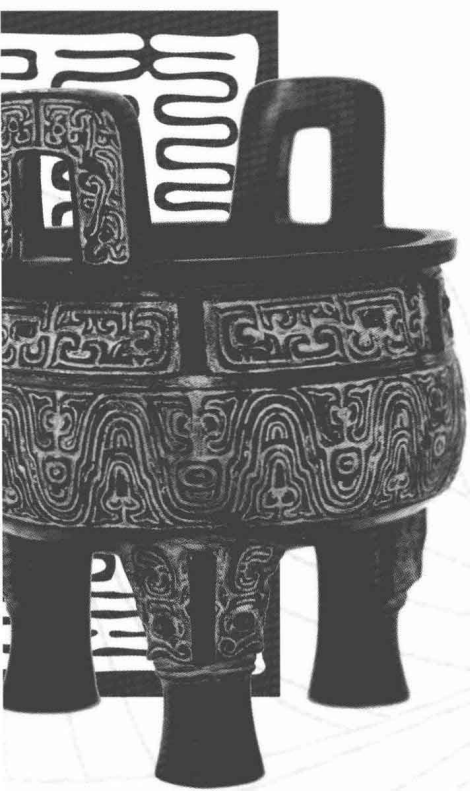

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一部被遺忘的著作

春秋穀梁傳

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PREFACE

GEN LIANG（耿亮） alias Lewis Gen (1900–1969) had translated many Chinese classic literatures like the Four Books, the Book of Change (Yi Ching 易經), Chuan tze (莊子), Lao Tze (老子), Li-zhu (離騷), 300 Poems from Tang Dynasty and others during his life time while he had been a freelance writer in Hong Kong. He had also been an assistant editor to the Eastern Horizon, a high brow English magazine published in Hong Kong in 1960–70 period which had contributions from famous authors like Prof Edmund Blunden of the University of Hong Kong who wrote poems, Han Suyin (韓素音), Joseph Needham etc.

In the late 1950s, he was awarded the 1st prize for his translation of Chinese Literature by the Society of Chinese and English in Hong Kong. He also wrote columns, book reviews at *Eastern Horizon*, *Contemporary Review*, *Eastern World* etc., by the name of Lewis Gen. By memory he interacted with some of the very famous intellectuals in literature discussion, poems and calligraphy with, for example, the late Prof Qian Mu (錢穆), (former Dean of Chinese, New Asia College), Jin Yong (金庸), famous wu-shu fiction writer, Cao Juren (曹聚仁), newspaper columnist, Professor Rao Zongyi (饒宗頤), then professor of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, She Xueman (佘雪曼), the famous calligrapher, to mention a few.

In the final years he had taken to translate the *Guliang Zhuan* (穀梁傳).

This legacy script was fortunately taken care of by his colleague, Mr Miao Kam On (Miao Jin'an, 繆錦安) and with help from Mr and Mrs Tse Lam.

Today as a memory to our beloved and respected father, we decide to publish this legacy script.

We are also indebted to Mr Chow Shek-fai, Mary Lau, H Y Ching and Norman Ching for their help in the production of this book.

Children of Gen Liang

The Editor's Notes

1. The transliteration of Chinese pronunciation into Latin alphabets generally follows that provided by the author of this book.

   The title of this book, however, takes the standard Modern Chinese (or Putonghua) version, i.e. using "Guliang" (a two-character surname) instead of "Ku Liang" as appears in the original script by the author. Elsewhere (e.g. *A Forgotten Book: An Introduction* and *Main Principles and Historiographical Rules*), Putonghua transliteration (along with Chinese characters) of important proper names will be provided inside square brackets right after.

2. The Commentaries: According to the author of this book, "Each Confucian entry is followed by the pertaining commentaries immediately below." As adopted by the author, accounts of a single event are presented within one single entry (numbered in Arabic numerals), while different events are treated in different entries. A Confucian entry can be as short as just several words, or at times so lengthy that they are organized into paragraphs.

   Insertion of the original texts in Chinese follows the corresponding English accounts, presented neither sentence by sentence nor item by item, but rather, paragraph by paragraph. (Paragraphing mainly follows that presented by the author.)

3. On title of nobility: The title used in the text includes: duke (公), marquis (侯), earl (伯), viscount (子) and baron (男). In general, they are presented in lower case (e.g. the marquis of Ch'i齊侯, the earl of Cheng鄭伯), and will be capitalized only when they go with an actual name (e.g. Duke Mu of Sung宋繆公, the Marquis Kao Fu of Tsao蔡侯考父).

   When the "duke" is capitalized without a name, it is understood to be the very duke after whom the period is named (e.g. Since "*In the spring the Duke attacked the Jung* 二十有六年春，公伐戎" appears in the 26th year of Duke of Chuang, it is understood that "the Duke" means Duke of Chuang — being capitalized as a specific duke is being mentioned).

4. On numerals: Following the author's practice, full spelling is used for cardinal numerals up to ten, while for those more than ten, Arabic symbols are used instead (e.g. "11" instead of "eleven"). In presenting years and months, ordinal numbers are presented in short forms (e.g. "3rd" is used instead of "third"), while full spelling is employed in general usage.

5. Certain text in the original script of the author is missing. Since, as the editor judges, it is the author's intention to cover each and every lines of Guliang's original work, those Chinese text where the corresponding English is missing are translated by the editor (appears in italics and ended with an asterisk to differentiate).

6. Sources of text in Chinese: http://ctext.org/guliang-zhuan, http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki. Please note that the presentations sometimes disagree with one another and the editor had exercised his judgement.

A FORGOTTEN BOOK: AN INTRODUCTION

(THE SPRING & AUTUMN ANNALS ACCORDING TO KU LIANG)

It appears to be quite strange that, while numerous Chinese classic works have been translated and retranslated in foreign languages, the most important one still remains little known to the West, though it is the only one penned by Confucius himself. This is Chun Chiu [Chun Qiu春秋], or The Spring and Autumn Annals, which, in the words of Ku Liang [Guliang 穀梁], one of the three classic commentators of the same work, contains words for the government of the world, words for the government of states, and words for the government of the (ruling) house. In another word, it contains a complete body of teachings concerning the relations between states, internal administration, and the family of the ruler.

It is true that change of time has rendered the study of this great work less profitable, but change of time has not diminished its intrinsic value. Though steam power, electricity, jet planes and atomic devices have much changed much of the face of the world, yet viewed from what is unchangeable, the world still remains largely the same, for human nature that underlies international politics and human relations still remains the same. To be convinced of the truth the reader needs only to be reminded that with our modern means of communications and weapons of mass destructions, the world is no more united than it was when these were unknown, nor does it appear to be going so in the predictable future.

No one would assert that what is taught in this book is directly applicable in its entirety to the present state of affairs of the world today; but one would at least say that, having come from the pen of such an extraordinary thinker, the civilizing value is such that its falling into oblivion can only be a loss to the general progress of mankind.

The Original Work and Its Commentaries (1)

Frustrated and disappointed after wandering from state to state for fourteen years, Confucius finally, at the request of the high officers of the state of Lu (魯) , returned to his homeland; and then he decided to put his ideas on government in a book known as Chun Chiu, or The Spring and Autumn Annals. These are the ideas which he had tried hard to persuade the contemporary princes to adopt, but he did not succeed. The materials of this book were taken from the archives of the State of Lu, but each event was reduced into a short sentence, however, was worded in such a manner that his approval or disapproval was imparted therein either expressly or implicitly; and this was so masterly done, by strict choice of words and accurate judgment, that it was said even his best pupils could not help with a single word.

This unique book in Chinese history covers two hundred and forty-two years (722–480 B.C.). Though the book is centred around the state of Lu, it brings in at the meanwhile the main events of the empire known in those days. Altogether the book contains more than 1,800 entries couched in about 16,500 words. It concerns itself only with deeds, containing not a single quotation, direct or indirect. One of its remarkable features is that, apart from names of persons and places, it employs a vocabulary of less than two hundred words, mostly verbs, no adjectives or adverbs. It was simply by using these words and changing the position of these words that the Master achieved a monument in the history of Chinese culture, which had guided the thinking of this ancient nation for more than two thousand years.

On the importance of The Spring and Autumn Annals, perhaps no one has given a better testimony than Mencius, who compared it to the achievement of Yu the Great, King Wu and Duke of Chow — all great man-benefactors before Confucius. "Confucius" he said, "by writing The Spring

and Autumn Annals, makes rebellious ministers and traitorous sons afraid." After Mencius we find great Chinese thinkers and critics almost of every age speaking of this book in superlative terms. These include Tsao Chiu-ming, Sze-ma Chien, Tung Chung-shu, Yang Hsiung, and Wang Chung — all epoch-making representatives in Chinese literature. Lessor illuminators by tens have devoted their lifetime to writing commentaries for the three classic commentators, who are believed to have received the Annals from the Master, or his pupils. The book of Change, Lao Tzu, and The Spring and Autumn Annals — these are the three books that have exercised the best minds of the Chinese people more than any other book; and it is the last one that testifies to the full scope and depth of the intellect of the Master.

However, it would be a great mistake, if a man should consider himself clever enough to understand the hidden significance of the book offhand. For it is rather a manual of hints used by the Master, who conveyed his ideas to his pupils in oral lectures; and for enlightenment we have to rely heavily upon the Three Classic Commentaries, generally attributed to Tso Chiu-ming [Zuoqiu Ming左丘明], Ku Liang Ch'i [Guliang Zi穀梁子] and Kung Yang Kao [Gongyang Gao公羊高]. All of the three commentaries, during the early years, were transmitted from master to pupil, or from father to son; and it was generations before the same was committed to writing.

Tso's Commentary is believed to be the one first committed to writing among the Three Commentaries, probably about one hundred years after the death of Confucius. Being the custodian of the state documents of Lu, Tso Chiu-ming had access to all the historical records he needed. As a history of this period it is, indeed, priceless and matchless; for it is exceedingly rich in information, and magnificent in style. The literary value alone should entitle this work to immortality among Chinese classics; which, along with Mencius, has served as the best models for Chinese scholars for hundreds of years. However, as an interpretation of the Annals itself, Tso's work is apparently inferior to the other two classic commentators — 'beautiful, rich, but superstitious'.

While Tso's Commentary mainly occupies itself with the narration of historical events, Kung Yang's Commentary is devoted to the interpretation of the texts of the Annals itself. It seems quite certain that this book must

have been taken from someone who had personal contact with Confucius himself whose views are largely represented in. Though it was committed to writing later than the other two, it engaged more attention and patronage from the imperial court during the early years of the Han dynasty. Its chief champion in that period was Tung Chung-shu, through whom it exercised a tremendous influence both at the court and among the intellectual class. Towards the end of the same period Ho Hsiu, a very keen thinker of the age, further wrote commentaries for Kung Yang's Commentary; and this confirmed the latter's unrivalled place for many years to come. However, Kung Yang's Commentary, as further commented by Ho Hsiu, is shrouded in a heavy cloud of superstition, known as 'reaction between Heaven and man', evidently resulting from the strong influence of Yin-yang as prevailed in those days. The classic criticism on Kung Yang is that it is strong in logic and judgment, but vulgar.

Ku Liang's Commentary is also believed to have come down from Tzu Hsia [Zi Xia 子夏], one of Confucius' close pupils, but Ku Liang himself lived, according to the best conjecture, about a hundred years after the Master. Strong evidence points to that both Kung Yang and Ku Liang came from the same source; for their interpretations are so much similar. But during the entire Han period, when both Kung Yang's and Tso's Commentaries flourished under the patronage of the imperial court, Ku Liang was much overshadowed, evidently for lack of ornament. It was not until the Chin [Qin 秦] dynasty (265–313), when Fan Ning came to write commentaries for Ku Liang's Commentary that more and more scholars recognized the merits of this commentary work. Though the classic criticism is that it is clear and charming but too short, it is complete in itself. It exhibits a profound knowledge of Confucian Canons and a lucid, terse style characteristic of the Confucian Analects. Now it is generally agreed among the Chinese scholars that Ku Liang represents more Confucian thought than the two other classic commentators, though no one would maintain that every comment in this book is Confucian.

However, it should be pointed out here that the versions the three commentators based upon are by no means exactly identical. They are not only different in many of the personal and geographical names (though they

roughly bear the same sound), but also different in key words in quite a few places. As to the Commentaries, even Kung Yang and Ku Liang hold direct contrary opinions about numerous entries in their interpretation. Therefore, the reader is advised that, after he is familiar with the main principles and rules, he must discover for himself, and deliver his own judgment. Even then he will have to be contented with the insolvency of many questions of secondary importance, to which he will never find a satisfactory answer. This may be either due to some errors in the original texts; or to the fact that the time being remote, there is no determining the related facts; or to interpolations introduced in the commentaries during the long period of oral transmission before they were finally committed to writing.

For a bird's eye view of events that happened during the whole period covered by the Annals, please go to *An Outline of the Story*, the closing chapter of this book.

Main Principles and Historiographical Rules

(THE SPRING & AUTUMN ANNALS ACCORDING TO KU LIANG)

Main Principles (I)

In writing commentaries for Chun Chiu, The Spring and Autumn Annals, Ku Liang deduced therefrom a number of principles which run through the book as the guiding lines. It is, therefore, essential for the reader to make himself familiar with these principles which may be taken as the key to the right understanding of the book. They are:

1. Chun Chiu contains words for the government of the empire, words for the government of the state, and words for the government of the ruling house. (《春秋》有臨天下之言焉，有臨一國之言焉，有臨一家之言焉。) (Ai 7) *[meaning the 7th year of the book on Duke of Ai].*

In these words (or sayings) not only the feudal princes and senior officers but also the emperor were criticized. Therefore, it is said that the main purpose of Chun Chiu was to correct the prevailing anarchic state in those days, and restore it to the right order. Confucius said of himself, "Those who would understand me will understand me through the book of Chun Chiu, and those who would accuse me will accuse me through the book of Chun Chiu." (For it was considered presumptuous for a private scholar to criticize the emperor and the ruling prince).

2. Chun Chiu values rightness (or righteousness) but not generosity; supports the right way, but not the wrong way. (《春秋》貴義而不貴惠，信道而不信邪。) (Yin 1).

Rightness is the key word throughout the book, the purpose of which is to leave a right standard to posterity by criticizing the events of the 242 years in the history of Lu, the Master's native land. What is considered as rightness in the Annals may be compared to the right point as required in a given geometrical problem. It is the way of doing the right thing at the right time and the right place. Chun Chiu recognizes rightness in ordinary situation, and rightness in changed (or extraordinary) situation. The former may be conformed to by following tradition, but the latter must mainly rely upon good initial judgment.

What is not right may be good, but what is good may be not right. Tung Chung-shu [Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒] was quoted by Sze-ma Chien [Sima Qian 司馬遷] as saying, "Many men do not understand appropriateness in their ordinary duties; nor do they understand doing the right thing in changed situation. Being ignorant of the rightness as set in the Annals, they do what seems good in their own eye; and so they cannot defend themselves from the heavy charges made against them." Thus, a prince who gave his throne to a brother in following the secret wish of his father is pronounced not right, though he is said to be generous and kind. On the other hand a prince who barred his father from the throne he received from his grandfather was justified for doing what is right.

3. According to the Annals princes should succeed by the right order and not by personal worthies. (《春秋》之義，諸侯與正而不與賢也。) (Yin 4).

In human society feudal as well as modern, trouble often arises out of the transfer of sovereignty. Only the wisdom of a nation and long evolution can produce a comparatively stable system, by which the sovereign power can be peacefully transferred from one person, or a group of persons, to another. On this vital point the Master's rule is, the ruling princes should succeed by the right order, and not by personal worthies. This rule is effectively expounded by Ku Liang in (Yin 4).

4. A gentleman will not let his respect to his superiors suffer on account of affection for his relations. (君子不以親親害尊尊。) (Wen 2).

In the feudal society of ancient China the ruling family and state were often mixed together, and this tended to give rise to endless broils. According to tradition, younger brothers and uncles of a hereditary sovereign must submit themselves to him as his subjects. A classic instance in question happened in Wen 2, when Duke Hsi's tablet in the ancestral shrine was placed above that of Duke Min whom he had succeeded. This was condemned as contrary to the right order because, though Duke Hsi (born of a concubine) was the elder brother, he succeeded his younger brother Duke Min (born by the first wife of his father) as a subject to his sovereign, and as a son to his father.

In commenting on a similar case (Min 1), Ku Liang said, "In relation he (Tsu Pan) was no father, in office he was no full sovereign (died before formally crowned), yet the Duke succeeded him as father and sovereign, because he received the state from him." (親之非父也，尊之非君也，繼之如君父也者，受國焉爾。) The rule is that, where family relation comes into conflict with public relation, the family relation must be set aside in favour of that of the latter. It was to avoid this kind of entanglement that elaborate devices were made in subsequent ages, though living in modern society we hardly feel the need of it now.

5. Chun Chiu makes the superior correct the inferior, the worthy correct the unworthy, but it does not allow the unlawful to correct the unlawful. (《春秋》之義：用貴治賤，用賢治不肖，不以亂治亂也。) (Chao 4).

The emperor, the feudal princes, and senior officers being the three tiers of the feudal hierarchy, only the emperor can mete out punishment against (or correct) a feudal prince, and only a feudal prince can mete out punishment against his senior officers. But during the Chun Chiu period the emperor had lost control over the numerous territorial princes, who took the law into their own hands and carried on incessant wars against one another on various pretexts. Powerful hegemonic princes, however, emerged in the meanwhile, who, like Duke Huan of Ch'i [Qi齊] and Duke Wen of Chin [Qin秦], acted as a kind of viceroy-general for the emperor, and as such might launch a punitive campaign against an aggressive state, arrest its prince, and bring him to the imperial court to be dealt with accordingly. This is so-called being right in changed situation.

But it is not permissible for one unworthy prince to correct another prince or senior officer. For instance, in Chao 4 "The viscount of Ch'u

attacked Wu, seized Ch'in Feng and killed him." Ku Liang, commenting on this, said: "Ch'in Feng murdered his sovereign but he was not charged with regicide, because Ch'ing Feng was not accountable to the Viscount who was himself a regicide." (慶封弒其君而不以弒君之罪罪之者，慶封不為靈王服也，不與楚討也。) Nor does Chun Chiu recognize a usurper as legitimate ruler who has succeeded in pulling down a usurper. This is but too manifest: a man who robs a robber does not become the lawful owner of the property he has taken from the robber.

6. Chun Chiu fulfills (extends) a man's good wishes, but not his evil ones (《春秋》成人之美，不成人之惡) (Yin 1); and, in condemning a man's evil deeds the gentleman condemns the first one (or only once after it is done), but in praising a man's good deeds, he will praise it to the end. (君子惡惡疾其始，善善樂其終。) (Hsi 17).

For instance, in Yin 1 the omission of Duke Yin's ascension is intended to show that he did not want to be the ruler; he ruled only for the interest of his brother, meaning to give him the throne later. On the other hand, the death of Kungtzu Ya (Chuang 32), who was forced to take poison for plotting to murder the ruling duke, was noted down as if he had died a natural death, thus taking no notice of his evil wishes.

The second point is illustrated in the case of Duke Huan of Ch'i. This prince is the hero in the Annals. He is only condemned once for ousting the rightful heir and causing him killed abroad; but to the end of his life he was, even with the hateful act of destroying Hang, praised by the Master because of his extraordinary contribution to the security and peace of the empire.

7. To disguise humiliation for the emperor, to disguise faults for the virtuous, and to disguise mortification for a brother state (or the sovereign of one's father-land). (為尊者諱恥，為賢者諱過，為親者諱疾。) (Cheng 9).

Euphemism (avoiding direct reference for a person) is by no means an exclusive product of feudal society. It seems to exist in various degrees with every people, being part of human nature. It comes out of reverence for one's superiors, love for one's relations, and admiration for the worthy men. The whole Chinese institution of posthumous titles was based upon this idea. With the exception of extremely few cases they signify only the virtue of the deceased, taking no notice of their faults. The maxim is, remember their good merits, and as to their faults let them be buried with the dead.

The emperor being the supreme head of the empire, to fight against the emperor is too great a shame for the overlord: and therefore, it should not be mentioned as such, though it is not amiss to say the king's army suffered a reverse. But with one's own sovereign the word 'defeat' is to be avoided but not the word 'fight', for a prince has equals. Therefore, the defeat of Lu is usually expressed by the phrase of 'a certain prince came to fight'. This principle is also applied to brother states. For instance, in Cheng 9 Luan Shu of Chin made an attack on Cheng by employing the earl of Cheng whom he had captured and the people of Cheng was forced to put up a fight against their own sovereign. In recording this Chun Chiu only mention the attack but not the shameful fight, because Cheng and Lu were brother states. Again, concerning the destruction of Hang in Hsi 17 by Duke Huan, his name was not given, because, according to Ku Liang, this is done out of respect for the Duke's great meritorious service to the empire.

However, it must be borne in the mind that despite euphemism no fact in Chun Chiu is concealed but it can be discerned either through careful analyzing the sentence itself, or from the context. Indeed, the right method of studying Chun Chiu is to take account of the context, and compare the similar events dressed in different words, or the same words arranged in different order.

Historiographical Rules (II)

The Annals was written in such a peculiar manner that to the unmitigated reader, it is no more than an incoherent mass of headlines. Indeed, as remarked by Kung Yang, even those who were criticized therein might, while reading it, find nothing harmful there. However, when the reader is familiar with the rules, as discovered by the commentator, he will be dismayed with the transcendent intellect of the author, and find more and more truth which hitherto lies hidden from him. These rules, as pointed out by Ku Liang are eight in number.

1. To transmit truth as truth, and doubt as doubt. (《春秋》之義，信以傳信，疑以傳疑。) (Huan 5).

In writing History we must, of course, largely depend upon available records; but where there is doubt, the doubt must be noted. This is intellectual honesty, of which Confucius set an admirable example. For