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Abstract	The wang 王 (king) mentioned in the Chunqiu 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals), on which the Lu 魯 chronicles are supposedly based, all refer to wang of the Zhou 周 dynasty who reigned at the same time as the monarch of Lu, and no other wang are mentioned. For Lu historians, it was self-evident that simply writing the word wang meant the king of Zhou, and this was established as a historical record of Lu. We have examined wang in the Zuozhuan 左伝 on the assumption that the original source material of the Zuozhuan was written in this way, and also with reference to the classification of the Zuozhuan by Yoshihiko Ogura. As a result, it became clear that in the case of the Zuozhuan, wang is always used to refer to the king of Zhou, and conversely, when the king of Chu 楚, Wu 吳 or Yue 越 is referred to as wang, the state's name is always mentioned somewhere in the relevant entry. However, for lords who were enfeoffed by the Zhou dynasty, wang refers to the king of Zhou, and it is not possible to specify which state is being recorded. Therefore, we analyzed the state names in the entries where wang is mentioned, and found that Lu is a state whose name is almost never mentioned. From this, it is thought that at least the entries containing the word wang are based on the records of Lu. If Lu's records are used in the Zuozhuan, then, as with the entries in the Chunqiu 春秋, there is a possibility that they are contemporaneous sources. If the original sources include contemporaneous materials, the Zuozhuan could be a useful source for the study of the history of the Spring and Autumn period.
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Wang in the Chunqiu and Zuozhuan : **As a Clue to Exploring the Original Source Material of** **the *Zuozhuan***

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Abstract

The *wang* 王 (king) mentioned in the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals), on which the Lu 魯 chronicles are supposedly based, all refer to *wang* of the Zhou 周 dynasty who reigned at the same time as the monarch of Lu, and no other *wang* are mentioned. For Lu historians, it was self-evident that simply writing the word *wang* meant the king of Zhou, and this was established as a historical record of Lu. We have examined *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* 左伝 on the assumption that the original source material of the *Zuozhuan* was written in this way, and also with reference to the classification of the *Zuozhuan* by Yoshihiko Ogura. As a result, it became clear that in the case of the *Zuozhuan*, *wang* is always used to refer to the king of Zhou, and conversely, when the king of Chu 楚, Wu 吳 or Yue 越 is referred to as *wang*, the state's name is always mentioned somewhere in the relevant entry.

However, for lords who were enfeoffed by the Zhou dynasty, *wang* refers to the king of Zhou, and it is not possible to specify which state is being recorded. Therefore, we analyzed the state names in the entries where *wang* is mentioned, and found that Lu is a state whose name is almost never mentioned. From this, it is thought that at least the entries containing the word *wang* are based on the records of Lu.

If Lu's records are used in the *Zuozhuan*, then, as with the entries in the *Chunqiu* 春秋, there is a possibility that they are contemporaneous sources. If the original sources include contemporaneous materials, the *Zuozhuan* could be a useful source for the study of the history of the Spring and Autumn period.

Keywords

Zuozhuan 左伝, *Chunqiu* 春秋, *wang* 王, appellation of the monarch, original source material

Introduction

In the study of the history of the Spring and Autumn period, the *Chunqiu Zuoshizhuan* 春秋左氏伝 (hereafter: *Zuozhuan* 左伝) (Biographies of the Left Clan of the Spring and Autumn Period) has been used as a basic historical source. While it is important

to clarify various points concerning this work, what should be given priority in the study of the history of the Spring and Autumn period is its archival value.¹ In other words, it is important to determine whether or not the *Zuozhuan* truly describes the history of the Spring and Autumn period.

However, there is no definitive way to verify at this point whether or not the account given in the *Zuozhuan* describes the Spring and Autumn period. Therefore, we have no choice but to adopt a roundabout method, and what we would like to focus on is the origin of each entry in the *Zuozhuan*. Basically, it is assumed that a compilation of historical books of various states had already existed prior to the *Zuozhuan*,² and it is not believed that the entire work was “written” anew. If this is the case, clarifying which state the original source material³ originated from will indicate that the *Zuozhuan* was compiled on the basis of records of the Spring and Autumn period, and if the material is to some extent contemporaneous, the *Zuozhuan* could be a useful historical resource for the study of the history of the Spring and Autumn period.

In this paper, I would like to explore the records of each state that were used as sources for entries in the *Zuozhuan*. When doing so, I will use the appellation of the monarch as a lead. I have been examining appellations of the monarch in the *Zuozhuan* from the viewpoint of the historian who recorded the events of the time, or his “subjectivity.”⁴ For example, I have pointed out that the appellation expressed by “state name + posthumous name + *gong* 公,” such as “*Qi Huan Gong* 齐桓公,” was necessary because he was a historian of a state other than Qi, and the posthumous name Huan was necessary because he served a monarch after *Huan Gong* 桓公.

¹ The biggest issue concerning the *Zuozhuan* has been the debate, going back to the Qing dynasty, Karlgren (1926) is a representative study in Europe and the United States. About whether or not it is a forgery, which is discussed in detail in Kamata (1963). For more recent developments in the study of *Zuozhuan*, see Noma (2010).

² Ogura (2003) introduced the views of Gu (1988), who posited an “original” *Zuozhuan* (*Yuanben Zuoshishu* 原本左氏書), a compilation of histories of various states, especially Chu 楚 and Jin 晋, and Ogura himself posited a *Guwen Zuoshizhuan* 古文左氏伝, consisting of histories and traditions of various states. In recent years, Asano (2013) has also mentioned the historical materials available to the editors of the *Zuozhuan* (p. 72).

³ Ogura (2003) uses the term *sozai* 素材 to refer to original source material. In the present author’s previous articles, this term has also been used, but here the term “original source material” will be used instead, taking into consideration the meaning as understood in English.

⁴ Mizuno (2016), (2022) and (2023). On the point that the *Chunqiu* is based on the records of historians, see Takagi (1993). In previous articles, we have used the word *chengwei* 称谓 to refer to how the monarch is referenced in the *Chunqiu* and *Zuozhuan*. Here, however, the word “appellation” will be used for the sake of clarity.

Referring to the results of these earlier studies, this paper will consider which state's records are used as materials for the *Zuozhuan* in terms of the historian's subjective view of the appellation *wang* 王 (king) in the *Zuozhuan*.⁵

Please note that the Chinese texts cited in this paper will not be translated into English and will be quoted in the original Chinese. This is because this paper will focus on the method of description rather than the content of the historical documents.

1. *Wang* in the *Chunqiu*

In considering the position of the historian in historical sources, the *Chunqiu* is an excellent source on the Spring and Autumn period. In the preface to the *Zuozhuan*, Du Yu 杜預 of the Jin 晉 dynasty states that the *Chunqiu* is a “chronicle of Lu 魯,” and it is generally believed that the *Chunqiu* is based on the chronicles of Lu.⁶ Of course, the chronicle of Lu may have undergone some rearrangement, but if it is based on the chronicle of a single state, we can find the subjective view of the chronicler of that state, in this case Lu, by looking at how he recorded the appellation of the monarch.

With regard to *wang* in the *Chunqiu*, most cases are usages such as *wang zhengyue* 王正月, but since there has been much debate about this *wang*,⁷ I would like to leave it out of consideration here. If we limit ourselves to entries in which *wang* is thought to refer to a specific person,⁸ we can find four cases of *wang* in the *Chunqiu*. All of these are references to the king of Zhou (hereafter: Zhou king), but *tianwang* 天王 is the most common appellation used to refer to the Zhou king in the *Chunqiu*. Therefore, several studies have been published on the origin of the designation *tianwang*, and the “conception” that people at the time must have had in mind when

⁵ In this paper, I have used the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* (*Shisan jing zhushu*) [Correct meaning of the *Zuozhuan*] (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2000) for the original text.

⁶ For more information on the history of research on the *Chunqiu*, see Noma (2001). Hong (1937) and Sagawa (1983) have stated that the *Chunqiu* in the *Zuozhuan* tradition is the oldest form of the *Chunqiu*. Therefore, in this paper, too, I will use the *Chunqiu* of the *Zuozhuan* tradition.

⁷ Yoshinaga (2005) presents an exhaustive case study of *wang* in the *Chunqiu* and introduces the following view on *wang* in *wang zhengyue* 王正月. Du Yu's 杜預 commentary on the *Zuozhuan* and Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 subcommentary both refer to the Zhou kings of that period. On the other hand, the *Gongyangzhuan* 公羊伝 refers to King Wen 文王 of the Zhou dynasty, and there are various divergent views.

⁸ If we focus only on the character *wang* in the *Chunqiu*, we can find the word *wang shi* 王師, as in the 1st year of Chenggong (成公元年): 秋, 王師敗績于茅戎。 However, since it is impossible to determine whether this *wang* refers to a specific king or simply refers to the army of the Zhou king, it will be left out of consideration here.

they used this appellation has been analyzed in depth.⁹ However, there has been no study of whose actions the historians were referring to when using *wang* or *tianwang*, nor of whom readers recognized as acting as *wang* or *tianwang*.

So, if we focus on *wang* and *tianwang* from this perspective, first, *wang* is used when referring to the actions of King Huan 桓王, King Zhuang 莊王, and King Xiang 襄王 of Zhou, as in the following entries (hereafter, when quoting an entry from the *Chunqiu*, it will be indicated by the wording “○公○年經” to distinguish it from an entry cited from the *Zuozhuan*).

秋，蔡人、衛人、陳人從王（周桓王）伐鄭。（桓公 5 年經）
 王（周莊王）使榮叔來錫桓公命。（莊公元年經）
 五年，春，王正月，王（周襄王）使榮叔歸含且賵。（文公 5 年經）
 三月辛亥，葬我小君成風，王（周襄王）使召伯來會葬。（文公 5 年經）

If we consider this from the standpoint of a historian who recorded the *Chunqiu*, for example, a historian of the Huangong 桓公 period of Lu, the Zhou king at that time was King Huan, and by simply writing *wang* it was self-evident that he was King Huan. It was the same for historians of the Zhuangong 莊公 and Wengong 文公 periods of Lu, and because King Zhuang and King Xiang were reigning at the same time, simply writing *wang* sufficed as a record of Lu.

The same can be said about *tianwang*. For example, the death of a Zhou king is indicated by the word *beng* 崩. But as is shown in the following entries, all deaths are recorded with the appellation *tianwang*.

三月庚戌，天王（周平王）崩。（隱公 3 年經）
 三月乙未，天王（周桓王）崩。（桓公 15 年經）
 冬，十有二月丁未，天王（周惠王）崩。（僖公 8 年經）
 冬，十月乙亥，天王（周匡王）崩。（宣公 2 年經）
 冬，十有一月己酉，天王（周定王）崩。（成公 5 年經）
 九月辛酉，天王（周簡王）崩。（襄公元年經）
 十有二月甲寅，天王（周靈王）崩。（襄公 28 年經）
 夏，四月乙丑，天王（周景王）崩。（昭公 22 年經）

For example, *beng* in the 3rd year of the reign of Yingong (隱公 3 年經) refers

⁹ In the Qing 清 Dynasty, Gu Yanwu's 顧炎武 *Rizhilu* 日知錄 discussed the *tianwang* issue, and in recent years Yoshinaga (2005) and Matsui (2019) have analyzed the issue.

to King Ping 平王 of Zhou, and *beng* in the 22nd year of the reign of Zhaogong (昭公 22 年經) refers to King Jing 景王 of Zhou, both of whom are referred to as *tianwang* with a certain Zhou king in mind. What is interesting is that in entries referring to a specific Zhou king the appellation “posthumous name + *wang*” is used, as shown in the following entries:

五月，葬桓王。(莊公 3 年經)

二月，叔孫得臣如京師。辛丑，葬襄王。(文公 9 年經)

葬匡王。(宣公 3 年經)

二年，春，王正月，葬簡王。(襄公 2 年經)

夏，四月乙丑，天王崩。六月，叔鞅如京師，葬景王。王室亂。(昭公 22 年經)

The posthumous name as an appellation for lords and princes in the *Chunqiu* has been examined from its conceptual aspect by Saitō Michiko.¹⁰ But what happens if we look at this from the practical aspect of the historian as the recorder? In reality, it is the current Zhou king who succeeded the previous Zhou king who performs the *zang* 葬, and if one were to write only *wang* or *tianwang*, it would refer to the Zhou king who was reigning at that point in time. Therefore, it is thought that the specific Zhou king was identified by adding an epithet.

Thus, *wang* and *tianwang* in the *Chunqiu* are used with a specific Zhou king in mind, and a unique concept of that time may have been behind this. But for the Lu chroniclers who recorded the entries in the *Chunqiu*, there was no need to identify the Zhou king reigning at the same time as the monarch of Lu whom they served. Therefore, they wrote only *wang* or *tianwang*. As for the difference between *wang* and *tianwang*, only King Xiang is sometimes referred to as both *wang* and *tianwang*. It is possible to find some kind of meaning in this,¹¹ but the following entries show that the same action is also ascribed to a *wang* and a *tianwang*, and so we can find no difference between them, at least not from the wording of the *Chunqiu* alone.

天王 (周襄王) 使叔服來會葬。(文公元年經)

三月辛亥，葬我小君成風。王 (周襄王) 使召伯來會葬。(文公 5 年經)

¹⁰ Saitō (2004) considers the posthumous names given to lords during the Spring and Autumn period as a kind of “sign (code)” and examines how they were perceived by people at the time.

¹¹ According to Matsui’s summary (2019), Gu Yanwu’s *Rizhilu* states that the Zhou king adopted the title *tianwang* in opposition to the title of king assumed by lords of the Spring and Autumn period, and Yoshinaga (2005) argues that the *tianwang* was established among the “barbarians” who were trying to counter the authority of the *tianzi* 天子 and that the *tianwang* was, so to speak, reinterpreted by the compiler of the *Chunqiu* to refer to the Zhou king, the king of “China” (p. 260).

Since there is no need to distinguish between them, at least in terms of which Zhou king the recorder or reader had in mind, in the following *wang* will also encompass *tianwang*.

2. *Wang* in Entries Distinctive of the *Zuozhuan*

It has been confirmed that *wang* and *tianwang* in the *Chunqiu* referred to the Zhou king, especially the Zhou king who was reigning at the same time as the monarch of Lu. It is important to note that *wang* in the *Chunqiu* refers only to the Zhou king, which is consistent with the point that the *Chunqiu* takes a position of reverence towards the royal family of Zhou, as is noted by Noma Fumichika when he writes, “We can find a sense of reverence for the royal family of Zhou in the *Chunqiu*.”¹² Let us consider *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* with reference to this point.

As for the *Zuozhuan*, if we limit ourselves to entries in which *wang* is thought to refer to a specific person, excluding cases such as *wang zhengyue* 王正月,¹³ the first *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* can be confirmed in an entry in the first year of the reign of the 1st monarch of Lu, Yingong 隱公, as shown in the following entries:

元年，春，王周正月，不書即位，攝也。（隱公元年）
 秋，七月，天王使宰咺來歸惠公、仲子之賵，緩。且子氏未薨，故名。
 （隱公元年）

However, it is possible that these entries were written in line with “元年，春，王正月” and “秋，七月，天王使宰咺來歸惠公、仲子之賵” in the *Chunqiu*. On the other hand, the following cases, which are also entries from the same period of Yingong, are unique to the *Zuozhuan* and are not found in the *Chunqiu*, and are at least not considered to have been influenced by the *Chunqiu*.

曲沃莊伯以鄭人、邢人伐翼。王使尹氏、武氏助之。翼侯奔隨。（隱公 5 年）

¹² Noma (2001), p. 23.

¹³ Yoshinaga (2005) states that “there are 562 cases of the use of *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* (including a small number of cases referring to kings other than the Zhou king)” (p. 3), and that “there are cases of the use of *wang* as the presiding entity of three different calendar systems,” i.e., *wang zhengyue* 王正月 (26 cases), *wang eryue* 王二月 (4 cases), and *wang sanyue* 王三月 (3 cases) (p. 3). Since there are divergent views on this type of usage, as indicated in note 7, we will leave it out of consideration here.

Regarding the correspondence of such entries with the *Chunqiu*, Ogura Yoshihiko's translation (hereinafter referred to as the Ogura translation) is very informative.¹⁴ For example, with regard to the two entries in the 1st year of Yingong (隱公元年) and the 5th year of Yingong (隱公 5 年) in Lu of the *Zuozhuan* mentioned earlier, the Ogura translation has the following numbers and letters at the start of the entries:

- 1 元年，春，王周正月，不書即位，攝也。(隱公元年)
 4 秋，七月，天王使宰咺來歸惠公、仲子之暱，緩。(隱公元年)
 A 曲沃莊伯以鄭人、邢人伐翼。王使尹氏、武氏助之。翼侯奔隨。
 (隱公 5 年)

According to the explanatory remarks at the start of the Ogura translation, entries in the *Zuozhuan* that correspond in content to entries in the *Chunqiu* are given the same number as those in the *Chunqiu*, and entries in the *Zuozhuan* that do not correspond to entries in the *Chunqiu* are numbered with a letter at the start of the entry.¹⁵ In other words, entries numbered with a letter are entries unique to the *Zuozhuan* that have not corresponding entry in the *Chunqiu*. For example, there are seven cases of *wang* in the *Zuozhuan*, starting with the entry in the 5th year of Yingong (隱公 5 年) mentioned above and other entries unique to the *Zuozhuan* during the Yingong period (hereafter, alphabetical entries in the Ogura translation will be written, for example, as “○公○年 A”).¹⁶ However, the following entries show that Pingwang 平王 is preceded by Huanwang 桓王 in the case of the 3rd year of Yingong (隱公 3 年 A) and the 6th year of Yingong (隱公 6 年 D). Therefore, *wang* seems to have been used on the assumption that these epithets were used.

鄭武公、莊公爲平王卿士。王 (周平王) 貳于虢，鄭伯怨王。(隱公 3 年 A)
 鄭伯如周，始朝桓王也。王 (周桓王) 不禮焉。周桓公言於王曰……
 (隱公 6 年 D)

¹⁴ Ogura (1988), (1989). Yang (1936) and Zhang (1998) were the first to classify the entries in the *Zuozhuan* before and after Ogura's translation, respectively.

¹⁵ Ogura (1988), p. 3. This classification is also explained in the “Afterword” (pp. 523, 524) of Ogura (2003).

¹⁶ If we focus only on the character for *wang* in the *Zuozhuan*, the word *wangshi* 王師 is also found in the 4th year B of Huangong and the 10th year A of Huangong (in the following notes, the text will not be given and only the alphabetical and numbered entries in the Ogura translation will be noted). However, as mentioned in note 8, it is not possible to determine whether *wang* in *wangshi* refers to a specific king, and so such cases will be excluded from this study.

Excluding such entries in which *wang* is not the first appellation of a monarch, the following five entries are the first instances of the appellation *wang* as the name of a monarch in the Yingong period, including the entry in the 5th year of Yingong (隱公 5 年 A) mentioned above, all of which refer to the Zhou king as *wang*.

曲沃叛^王 (周桓王)。秋，^王命虢公伐曲沃，而立哀侯于翼。(隱公 5 年 C)

八月丙戌，鄭伯以齊人朝^王 (周桓王)，禮也。(隱公 8 年 C)

^王 (周桓王) 取鄆、劉、蔿、邾之田于鄭，而與鄭人蘇忿生之田，溫、原、緄、樊、隰郕、欒茅、向、盟、州、陘、懷。(隱公 11 年 A)

On the other hand, when we look at the reign of Aigong 哀公, the last monarch of Lu in the *Zuozhuan*, we can find a total of eight entries in which *wang* is written in entries unique to the *Zuozhuan*. However, in the following two cases, *wang* is preceded by “Wu king” 吳王, which is the name of a state and its king, indicating that *wang* is here used in reference to the king of Wu.

今，吳王 (夫差) 有墨。國勝乎。天子死乎。且夷德輕，不忍久，請少待之。乃先晉人。吳人將以公見晉侯。子服景伯對使者曰，^王 (吳夫差) 合諸侯，則伯帥侯牧以見於王。(哀公 13 年 A)

〔楚隆〕告于吳王 (夫差) 曰，寡君之老無恤，使陪臣隆敢展謝其不共。黃池之役，君之先臣志父得承齊盟曰，好惡同之。今君在難。無恤不敢憚勞，非晉國之所能及也。使陪臣敢展布之。^王 (吳夫差) 拜稽首曰，寡人不佞，不能事越。以爲大夫憂。拜命之辱。(哀公 20 年 C)

Apart from the above, there are some entries in which *wang* is used as the appellation of the monarch for the first time, such as the following, in which *wang* is used to refer to the Zhou king (Jingwang 敬王), as it was in the Yingong period.

衛侯使鄆武子告于周曰，蒯聵得罪于君父君母，逋竄于晉，晉以王室之故，不棄兄弟，寘諸河上。天誘其衷，獲嗣守封焉。使下臣肸敢告執事。^王 (周敬王) 使單平公對曰…… (哀公 16 年 A)

However, the rest of the entries below show that *wang* is used to refer to the king of Chu 楚 (hereafter: Chu king), king of Wu 吳 (hereafter: Wu king), and king of Yue 越 (hereafter: Yue king), as shown in the following entries:

吳將伐齊，越子率其眾以朝焉。^王 (吳夫差) 及列士皆有饋賂。(哀公 11 年 A)

楚大子建之遇讒也，自城父奔宋……勝謂石乞曰，王（楚惠王）與二卿士，皆五百人當之，則可矣。乞曰，不可得也。（哀公 16 年 C）

王（楚惠王）與葉公枚卜子良以爲令尹。沈尹朱曰，吉。過於其志。（哀公 17 年 E）

巴人伐楚，圍鄢。初，右司馬子國之卜也，觀瞻曰，如志。故命之。及巴師至，將卜師。王（楚惠王）曰，寧如志。何卜焉。（哀公 18 年 B）

期告王（越句踐），王命取之。期以眾取之。公怒。殺期之甥之爲大子者。遂卒于越。（哀公 26 年 A）

Therefore, basing ourselves on the premise presented so far, i.e., limiting ourselves to entries that are unique to the *Zuozhuan* and in which *wang* is the appellation of the monarch who first appeared, the number of instances of *wang* and *tianwang* in the entire *Zuozhuan* and the states to which they refer are shown below for each period of a Lu ruler's reign.

5 cases in the Yingong 隱公 period (Zhou king: 5 cases)

5 cases in the Huangong 桓公 period (Zhou king: 4 cases, Chu king: 1 case)

8 cases in the Zhuangong 莊公 period (Zhou king: 8 cases)

0 cases in the Mingong 閔公 period

9 cases in the Xigong 僖公 period (Zhou king: 8 cases, Chu king: 1 case)

1 case in the Wengong 文公 period (Zhou king: 1 case)

2 cases in the Xuangong 宣公 period (Chu king: 2 cases)

4 cases in the Chengong 成公 period (Zhou king: 3 cases, Chu king: 1 case)

7 cases in the Xiangong 襄公 period (Zhou king: 6 cases, Chu king: 1 case)

13 cases in the Zhaogong 昭公 period (Zhou king: 8 cases, Chu king: 4 cases)

3 cases in the Dingong 定公 period (Zhou king: 2 cases, Wu king: 1 case)

6 cases in the Aigong 哀公 period (Zhou king: 1 case, Chu king: 3 cases, Wu king: 1 case, Yue king: 1 case)

In most of these 64 cases, *wang* refers to the Zhou king, but there are 14 cases in which the Chu king is referred to as *wang*, as in the following entries:

楚屈瑕將盟貳、軫……莫敖曰，盍請濟師於王（楚武王）。（桓公 11 年 A）

晉陽處父侵蔡。楚子上救之，與晉師夾泚而軍……大子商臣譖子上曰，受晉賂而辟之，楚之恥也。罪莫大焉。王（楚成王）殺子上。（僖公 33 年 C）

In addition, as shown below, there are two instances where the Wu king is referred to as *wang* and one instance where the Yue king is referred to as *wang*.

申包胥以秦師至。秦子蒲、子虎帥車五百乘以救楚。子蒲曰，吾未知吳道。使楚人先與吳人戰，而自稷會之，大敗夫槩王于沂……九月，夫槩王歸，自立也，以與王（吳闔閭）戰而敗，奔楚，爲堂谿氏。（定公 5 年 B）

吳將伐齊，越子率其眾以朝焉。王（吳夫差）及列士皆有饋。賂吳人皆喜。
（哀公 11 年 A）

司徒期聘於越。公（魯哀公）攻而奪之幣。期告王（越句踐），王命取之。期以眾取之。（哀公 26 年 A）

In the past, the author has pointed out that the point about the state's name not being recorded was that it was not necessary to bother to record the state's name because the recorder was a person who served that state.¹⁷ For example, for the Lu chronicler who recorded the chronicle of Lu called the *Chunqiu*, it was natural that the name of the state of the Lu monarch was Lu, and so there was no need to write the state's name Lu, and it was sufficient to write *wang*. If this was the case, the fact that the state's name is not written for this *wang* also makes it highly likely that this is a record of that state. However, the cases of Chu, Wu, and Yue mentioned here show that when *wang* is used to refer to a king of Chu, Wu or Yue, the name of the state is written before the title of the king. In all cases of Chu kings not mentioned here, the state's name, Chu, is also written in the entry.¹⁸ In other words, these are not necessarily records of Chu, Wu or Yue, since the account of the *wang* is based on the assumption that it concerns Chu, Wu, or Yue. Ultimately, it can be said that the only time *wang* is written without a state's name is when referring to the Zhou king.¹⁹

¹⁷ See Mizuno (2022).

¹⁸ In addition to the two cases of Chu mentioned in the text, *wang* in these entries (4th year A of Xuangong, 11th year A of Xuangong, 3rd year A of Chenggong, 26th year F of Xianggong, 1st year A of Zhaogong, 6th year C of Zhaogong, 14th year C of Zhaogong, 19th year F of Zhaogong, 27th year B of Zhaogong, 16th year C of Aigong, 17th year E of Aigong, 18th year B of Aigong) refers to the Chu king. However, we can identify 12 cases in which both are accompanied by the state name Chu.

¹⁹ Yoshinaga (2005) states that the 7 cases of *tianwang* in the *Zuozhuan* are “exclusively used as a concept directly referring to the Zhou kings of the period” (p. 3), suggesting that the entries containing *tianwang* are contemporaneous sources. However, based on the discussion in the text, it is also possible that *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* refers to a Zhou king of the period. In addition, the article for the 16th year A of Aigong (哀公 16 年 A) of the Zhou king, which is mentioned in the text as a case of *wang* referring to a Zhou king, has the state name Zhou at the start, and it is possible that *wang* was written on the assumption that Zhou was the name of the state.

3. *Wang* in the *Zuozhuan* Entries Corresponding to the *Chunqiu*

An examination of *wang* found in entries unique to the *Zuozhuan* reveals that all *wang* without state names refer to the Zhou king who was reigning at the same time as the monarch of Lu. In the previous section, we discussed two entries in the 1st year of Yingong as the first cases of *wang* in the *Zuozhuan*, and these are entries numbered in the Ogura translation, so to speak, that correspond to entries in the *Chunqiu* (hereafter, numbered entries in the Ogura translation are written, for example, “○公○年3”). If we look at the classification of Hirase Takao,²⁰ who developed Ogura’s classification, an interesting point can be found. Hirase gives a more detailed classification of the two entries of the first year of Yingong, as follows:

(左伝隠公一一一)【経文引用】元年，春，王周正月。【経解】不書即位，攝也。
 (左伝隠公一一四)【経文引用】秋，七月，天王使宰咺來歸惠公、仲子之賵。
 【経解】緩，且子氏未薨。故名。

This indicates that the entries in the *Zuozhuan* that include *wang* are quotations from the *Chunqiu* (*jingwen yinyong* 経文引用). If this is the case, then it would seem that even if an entry corresponds to the *Chunqiu*, if it is not a quotation from the *Chunqiu*, it could be an entry unique to the *Zuozhuan*. As is shown below, in these *Zuozhuan* entries, *wang* is mentioned in the *Chunqiu*,²¹ although the sentence containing *wang* is not a quotation from the *Chunqiu*.²²

王奪鄭伯政，鄭伯不朝。秋，王以諸侯伐鄭。鄭伯禦之。(桓公5年6)
 秋，蔡人、衛人、陳人從王伐鄭。(桓公5年6経)
 會于首止，會王太子鄭，謀寧周也。(僖公5年4)
 公及齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衛侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯會王世子于首止。
 (僖公5年4経)

²⁰ See Hirase (1998).

²¹ Although the subject of this study, in the entries in the *Zuozhuan* for the 9th year 3 of Xuanguong, the 13th year 2 of Chenggong, the 15th year 3 of Chenggong, and the 32nd year 5 of Zhaogong there appear in the *Chunqiu* Jingshi 京師 and Chengzhou 成周, respectively, which refer to the capital of the Zhou dynasty. It is possible that *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* may have been premised on Jingshi and Chengzhou in the *Chunqiu*.

²² For example, the *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* entries for the 24th year 4 of Xigong, the 28th year 15 of Xigong, the 30th year 4 of Xianggong, the 23rd year 8 of Zhaogong, and the 26th year 7 of Zhaogong may have been written by quoting *tianwang* used in the *Chunqiu*.

Since these are not quotations from the *Chunqiu*, it is possible that they are entries unique to the *Zuozhuan*, but it is not impossible that they were influenced by the text of the *Chunqiu*. Therefore, I would like to exclude entries in the *Zuozhuan* that correspond to entries in the *Chunqiu* in which *wang* is mentioned.

In addition, as pointed out in the previous section, we should be careful about entries such as the following, in which the person referred to as *wang* is referred to by a different appellation.²³

冬，楚子（莊王）伐蕭。宋華椒以蔡人救蕭。蕭人囚熊相宜僚及公子丙。王（楚莊王）曰，勿殺。吾退。蕭人殺之。（宣公 12 年 5）

戊辰晦，戰于雞父。吳子（王僚）以罪人三千先犯胡、沈與陳。三國爭之。吳爲三軍以繫於後。中軍從王（吳王僚），光帥右，掩餘帥左。（昭公 23 年 7）

In these cases, *wang* is written after the titles Chuzi 楚子, Jingwang 敬王, and Wuzi 吳子, and so it is difficult to say that *wang* is the first occurrence of the title.

Excluding the entries in the *Zuozhuan* that correspond to entries in the *Chunqiu* in which the title *wang* appears, and limiting ourselves to entries in the *Zuozhuan* in which *wang* is the appellation of the monarch who first appeared, the following list shows the number of cases and the state indicated by them for each period of the Lu monarch, as before.

3 cases in the Yingong period (Zhou king: 3 cases)

0 cases in the Huangong period

1 case in the Zhuangong period (Zhou king: 1 case)

0 cases in the Mingong period

9 cases in the Xingong period (Zhou king: 8 cases, Chu king: 1 case)

3 cases in the Wengong period (Zhou king: 3 cases)

2 cases in the Xuangong period (Chu king: 2 cases)

4 cases in the Chenggong period (Zhou king: 2 cases, Chu king: 2 cases)

4 cases in the Xiangong period (Zhou king: 2 cases, Chu king: 2 cases)

12 cases in the Zhaogong period (Zhou king: 6 cases, Chu king: 6 cases)

²³ In addition, the following entries appear to be about Chu: 1st year 10 of Wengong, 10th year 3 of Wengong, 11th year 5 of Xuangong, 15th year 2 of Xuangong, 16th year 6 of Chenggong, 9th year 7 of Xiangong, 4th year 2 of Zhaogong, 4th year 3 of Zhaogong, 5th year 8 of Zhaogong, 11th year 3 of Zhaogong, 11th year 10 of Zhaogong, 12th year 9 of Zhaogong, 13th year 2 of Zhaogong, 21st year 6 of Zhaogong, 24th year 6 of Zhaogong, 4th year 15 of Dingong, and 6th year 6 of Aigong. Wu also appears in the following entries: 27th year 2 of Zhaogong and 11th year 3 of Aigong. However, in each case the designation *wang* is derived from the name of another monarch mentioned before *wang* was used.

0 cases in the Dinggong period

2 cases in the Aigong period (Wu king: 2 cases)

Of these 40 cases, 27 refer to the Zhou king, 11 to the Chu king, and 2 to the Wu king. However, in 9 of the 13 cases of *wang* referring to the Chu king or the Wu King, the state name of Chu or Wu is mentioned at the beginning of the entry, as shown below:²⁴

楚圍宋之役，師還。子重請取於申、呂以爲賞田。王（楚莊王）許之。

（成公 7 年 7）

楚人將殺之。請寘之。既又請私，私於幄，加絰於頰而逃。使穿封戌爲陳公曰，城麇之役不詔。侍飲酒於王（楚靈王）。（昭公 8 年 11）

楚費無極害朝吳之在蔡也，欲去之。乃謂之曰，王（楚平王）唯信子。故處子於蔡，子亦長矣。而在下位辱。必求之。吾助子請。（昭公 15 年 3）

吳爲邾故將伐魯，問於叔孫輒。叔孫輒對曰，魯有名而無情。伐之必得志焉。退而告公山不狃。公山不狃曰……今子以小惡而欲覆宗國。不亦難乎。若使子率，子必辭。王（吳夫差）將使我。子張疾之。（哀公 8 年 2）

In addition, as shown below, in two of the remaining four cases, state names such as Chu and Wu can be seen before the epithet *wang*, although not at the beginning of the entry.

壬午，宋公兼享晉、楚之大夫……乙酉，宋公及諸侯之大夫盟于蒙門之外。子木問於趙孟曰，范武子之德何如。對曰，夫子之家事治。言於晉國無隱情。其祝史陳信於鬼神，無愧辭。子木歸以語王（楚康王）。（襄公 27 年 5）

丁亥，入吳。吳人告敗于王（吳夫差）。王惡其聞也，自劉七人於幕下。（哀公 13 年 5）

Additionally, one of the remaining two cases appears in the following entry:

觀從謂子干曰，不殺棄疾，雖得國，猶受禍也。子干曰，余不忍也。子玉曰，人將忍子。吾不忍俟也。乃行。國每夜駭曰，王（楚靈王）入矣。（昭公 13 年 3）

However, if we look at the beginning of the entry that precedes this one, we see

²⁴ In addition to the four cases mentioned above, there are 5 other cases where the state's name is written at the beginning of the entry (28th year 5 of Xigong, 16th year 7 of Chenggong, 22nd year 6 of Xianggong, 1st year 10 of Zhaogong, and 11th year 8 of Zhaogong).

that the appellation of the monarch, including the name of the state, is given below, and *wang* is not mentioned by itself.

楚子（楚靈王）之爲令尹也，殺大司馬薳掩而取其室。（昭公 13 年 2）

In this sense, the remaining one case, as shown below, does not have the state name Chu at the beginning or just before, and *wang* seems to be the first occurrence of the monarch's appellation, but this entry for the 13th year of Zhaogong (昭公 13 年) includes many topics related to Chu, including the 13th year 3 of Zhaogong (昭公 13 年 3) mentioned above, and may have been part of a series of discourses on Chu.

吳滅州來。令尹子期請伐吳。王（楚平王）弗許曰……（昭公 13 年 11）

On the other hand, in the 27 cases referring to the Zhou king, there are also cases where the state's name can be seen before the *wang* designation, as shown below:

齊人城郕。穆叔如周聘，且賀城。王（周靈王）嘉其有禮也，賜之通路。
（襄公 24 年 12）

衛齊惡告喪于周，且請命。王（周景王）使臣簡公如衛弔。（昭公 7 年 5）

In this sense, the following entries may need to be considered, since the state name of Zhou is not found in these entries:

單子欲告急於晉。秋，七月戊寅，以王（周悼王）如平時，遂如圃車，次于皇。
（昭公 22 年 7）

冬，十月丁巳，晉籍談、荀躒帥九州之戎及焦、瑕、溫、原之師，以納王（周悼王）于王城。（昭公 22 年 8）

However, if we look at the immediately preceding entry, we see that it is about Zhou, as follows:

丙寅，伐之，京人奔山。劉子入于王城。辛未，鞏簡公敗績于京。乙亥，甘平公亦敗焉。叔鞅至自京師，言王室之亂也。閔馬父曰，子朝必不克。其所與者，天所廢也。（昭公 22 年 6）

Therefore, these four cases cannot be said to be the first occurrences of the appellation of a monarch, but the remaining 23 cases all refer to the Zhou king as the

first occurrences of the appellation of the monarch.²⁵ From the above, it can be pointed out that in entries of the *Zuozhuan* corresponding to entries in the *Chunqiu* all entries in which the appellation *wang* is mentioned refer to the Zhou king.

4. The Mentioning of State Names in *Wang* Entries in the *Zuozhuan*

From the above discussion, it has become clear that all *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* refer to Zhou kings, although the entries covered by the *Zuozhuan* are limited, and when referring to Chu, Wu or Yue kings, the state's name is given or other conditions are indicated to identify the *wang*. The fact that all *wang* refer to Zhou kings can be considered to be based on Zhou records. However, as we confirmed in Section 1, all *wang* in the *Chunqiu* referred to the Zhou king. Regardless of the actual situation in the Spring and Autumn period, this world was centred on the Zhou king and the lords enfeoffed by him, and so for Lu, which was enfeoffed by the Zhou king, the *wang* was only the Zhou king. Therefore, it is only natural that *wang* in the *Chunqiu*, which is based on Lu's chronicle, refers to the Zhou king, and there is no mention of a Chu king or a Wu king, at least not as a king.

If this is the case, the presence of *wang* in the *Zuozhuan* does not necessarily mean that it is a record of Zhou, and it is highly likely that the Zhou king was referred to as *wang* in the records of the feudal states enfeoffed by the Zhou dynasty. However, not that there are no clues as to the state where the entries containing *wang* were recorded. The state names appearing in entries that include the appellation *wang* are given below.

In terms of entries unique to the *Zuozhuan* (alphabetical entries in the Ogura translation), since the names of the states of Zheng 鄭, Qi 齊, and Wei 衛 can be seen in the entry for the 7th year A of Huangong (桓公 7 年 A) listed below, it is possible that it is a record of a state other than these three, and the entry for the 19th year C of Xianggong (襄公 19 年 C) is also a record of a state other than Zheng, Jin 晉, and Qin 秦.

²⁵ A breakdown of the remaining 23 cases, by the period of the Lu monarch, is as follows, all of which refer to the Zhou king: 3 cases in the Yingong period (3rd year 4, 4th year 6, 9th year 6), 0 cases in the Huangong period, 1 case in the Zhuangong period (21st year 2), 0 cases in the Mingong period, 8 cases in the Xigong period (5th year 4, 5th year 5, 9th year 2, 10th year 2, 24th year 2, 28th year 7, 30th year 3, 33rd year 1), 3 cases in the Wengong period (1st year 6, 14th year 11, 15th year 10), 2 cases in the Xuangong period (9th year 3, 16th year 1), 2 cases in the Chenggong period (13th year 2, 15th year 3), 1 case in the Xianggong period (21st year 4), 3 cases in the Zhaogong period (23rd year 4, 25th year 2, 32nd year 5), 0 cases in the Dingong period, and 0 cases in the Aigong period.

秋，鄭人、齊人、衛人伐盟、向。王（周桓王）遷盟、向之民于郟。
（桓公 7 年 A）

於四月丁未，鄭公孫蠆卒。赴於晉大夫。范宣子言於晉侯，以其善於伐秦也。六月，晉侯請於王（周靈王）。王追賜之大路，使以行，禮也。（襄公 19 年 C）

As for entries that correspond to the *Chunqiu* (numbered entries in the Ogura translation), it can be said that the entries for the 5th year 5 of Xigong (僖公 5 年 5) listed below are records of states other than Zheng, Chu, Jin, and Qi, and the entries for the 1st year 6 of Wengong (文公元年 6) are records of states other than Jin, Wei, and Zheng.

秋，諸侯盟。王（周惠王）使周公召鄭伯曰，吾撫女以從楚，輔之以晉。可以少安。鄭伯喜於王命，而懼其不朝於齊也。故逃歸不盟。（僖公 5 年 5）
晉文公之季年，諸侯朝晉。衛成公不朝。使孔達侵鄭，伐綿、訾及匡。晉襄公既祥，使告于諸侯而伐衛，及南陽。先且居曰，效尤，禍也。請君朝王（周襄王）。臣從師。晉侯朝王于濫。（文公元年 6）

Thus, since the state name is considered to be, to some extent, a clue for the recorded state, we would like to consider the entries we have examined so far in relation to the state name, again limiting our examination to entries based on the following indicators:

Entries in which *wang* is the first mention of the appellation of the monarch.

Entries in which the state name is not mentioned at the beginning or immediately before the entry containing *wang*.

Table 1 at the end of this paper shows how these entries are related, using as one criterion the state names listed in the “Shi’er zhuhou nianbiao” 十二諸侯年表 in the *Shiji* 史記. Of these, there are several instances in which the state name of Zhou is mentioned, as can be seen in the following entries:²⁶

夏，揚、拒、泉、皋、伊、雒之戎，同伐京師，入王城，焚東門。王子帶召之也。
秦、晉伐戎以救周。秋，晉侯平戎于王（周襄王）。（僖公 11 年 B）

²⁶ There are several other cases in which the state name Zhou is written along with the title *wang* (13th year A of Xigong, 16th year C of Xigong, 14th year B of Wengong, 2nd year C of Chenggong, 11th year C of Chenggong, 26th year H of Xianggong, 9th year A of Zhaocong, and 15th year C of Zhaocong).

衛侯使鄆武子告于周曰，蒯聵得罪于君父君母，逋竄于晉，晉以王室之故，不棄兄弟，實諸河上。天誘其衷，獲嗣守封焉。使下臣肸敢告執事。王（周敬王）使單平公對曰……。 （哀公 16 年 A）

If the records of Zhou were used, the question arises as to whether the chroniclers of Zhou bothered to write the state name Zhou. In fact, as mentioned in Section 1, there is no mention of the state name Lu in the *Chunqiu*, which is said to be based on Lu's chronicle. In this sense, at the very least, the entries in which the state name Zhou is mentioned should be considered to be records of a state other than Zhou, even though *wang* refers to the Zhou king.

If this is the case, it is states such as Chen 陳, Cai 蔡, Cao 曹, Yan 燕, Wu, and Yue that should be noted, as none of their names are mentioned, and if the previous point regarding the existence of state names is taken into account,²⁷ it means that the records of these states were used. However, since detailed information on these states is not preserved in the *Zuozhuan* or *Shiji*, it is difficult to assume that the records of each of these states were used as the basis for the records of these states. What remains, then, is a state that is not mentioned in any of the other works, namely, Lu. Certainly, the following entry in the *Zuozhuan* on Lu indicates that it inherited the virtues of Zhou, and it is highly possible that entries in the *Zuozhuan* in which *wang* refers to the Zhou king are based on entries on Lu.

二年，春，晉侯使韓宣子來聘，且告爲政而來見，禮也。觀書於大史氏，見易象與魯春秋曰，周禮盡在魯矣。吾乃今知周公之德，與周之所以王也。
（昭公 2 年 1）

Regarding this point, Asano Yūichi writes, “It is thought that the author of the *Zuozhuan*, identified as one Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, used the historical records of Lu and other states as primary historical sources and produced the *Zuozhuan* in Lu to support the fiction that Confucius made corrections to the *Chunqiu*, showed his great cause by means of slight words, and acted as an agent for the work of the *tianzhi* 天子 of Zhou.”²⁸ It is difficult to determine whether the *Zuozhuan* was produced in Lu, but at least the fact that the Lu records are assumed to be one of the primary historical sources for the *Zuozhuan* is consistent with the previous discussions.

However, what is of concern is that, in relation to entries mentioning *wang*, the state names of the Chu, Wu, and Yue kings are deliberately recorded, but they are also

²⁷ See Mizuno (2022).

²⁸ Asano (2013), p. 69.

referred to as *wang* without posthumous titles. Table 2 at the end of this paper summarizes the entries that refer to the Chu, Wu, and Yue kings as *wang* in relation to their state names. First, it can be seen that only Cao and Yan are not once mentioned by name. It is difficult to imagine that Cao and Yan had abundant information about Wu and Yue, let alone about Chu, and it is difficult to suppose that records of these countries were used. What about Lu, then, on which we have been focusing so far? As shown below, the state name Lu is recorded in only one instance, where *wang* refers to the Wu king.

吳爲邾，故將伐魯……子必辭。王（吳夫差）將使我。子張疾之。王問於子洩。
（哀公 8 年 2）

It is possible that this entry is a record of a state other than Lu, but it is noteworthy that none of the other entries mention the state name of Lu.

For example, *wang* refers to the Chu king, both in entries unique to the *Zuozhuan* and in entries corresponding to the *Chunqiu*, after the period of Xigong of Lu,²⁹ but when we look at the *Chunqiu* regarding the relationship between Lu and Chu, there are entries from the Zhuanggong period,³⁰ given below, indicating that information about Chu was brought to Lu from this time onward.

秋，九月，荊敗蔡師于莘，以蔡侯獻舞歸。（莊公 10 年經）杜注“荊，楚本號”

Also, while *wang* refers to the Wu king from the Zhaogong period onward, the relationship between Lu and Wu is also mentioned from the Chenggong period, as shown below in the *Chunqiu*.

吳伐邾。（成公 7 年經）

Furthermore, although *wang* only refers to the Yue king in the Aigong period, the relationship between Lu and Yue is also mentioned in the Zhaogong period in the *Chunqiu*, as follows:

²⁹ However, as shown in the following entry, there is only one case in the Huangong period (11th year A of Huangong) in which *wang* is used to refer to the Chu King. Since the contents are related to the internal affairs of Chu, it is not certain that Lu had access to this information, but since the state name Chu is used, it seems that the records are at least based on records from countries other than Chu.

³⁰ In the main text, the case of Jing 荊 is mentioned, but as for cases of Chu, it is also mentioned from the beginning of the Xigong period (1st year A of Xigong in the *Chunqiu*).

冬，楚子、蔡侯、陳侯、許男、頓子、沈子、徐人、越人伐吳。（昭公5年經）

In other words, the entries in the *Zuozhuan* that refer to the monarch of Chu, Wu, and Yue as *wang* were all written after Lu began to keep records of these countries in the *Chunqiu*, and it is highly possible that the author obtained information from all of these states.³¹ In light of these points, it can be said that the *wang* entries in the *Zuozhuan* were basically based on Lu's records, which in turn served as material for the *Zuozhuan*.

Conclusion

This study has examined the title *wang*, the appellation of the monarch, in the *Chunqiu* and *Zuozhuan* from the perspective of the historian. All instances of *wang* in the *Chunqiu*, said to be based on the chronicles of Lu, referred to *wang* of the Zhou dynasty who reigned at the same time as the monarch of Lu, and never to any other *wang*. In other words, it was self-evident to Lu historians that *wang* was the Zhou king, and except for *zang*, which could refer to two Zhou kings, simply writing *wang* was sufficient for Lu's historical records.

With this point as a reference, we undertook an examination of *wang* in the *Zuozhuan*. However, since the entries in the *Zuozhuan* may have been influenced by the *Chunqiu*, on the basis of Ogura's classification we distinguished between entries unique to the *Zuozhuan* (alphabetical entries in the Ogura translation) and those that correspond to the *Chunqiu* (numbered entries in the Ogura translation) but are not quotations from it. In the case of the *Zuozhuan*, in addition to the Zhou king, there were also cases where *wang* was used to refer to the Chu king, the Wu king, and the Yue king. But after a careful examination, taking into consideration the fact that *wang*

³¹ It is not impossible that the entries in the *Chunqiu* merely introduced developments in Chu, Wu, and Yue and did not provide detailed information. However, as Kobayashi (2015), who conducted a comprehensive analysis of entries about the confederation in the *Chunqiu*, points out, the entries about the confederation for Lu and Chu can be found from the 15th year of Xuangong in the *Chunqiu*, and for Lu and Wu from the 15th year of Chenggong in the *Chunqiu*. As Kobayashi writes, "The political influence of the confederation is an essential issue when considering diplomatic relations" (p. 315), and it is thought that by the time the confederation was formed, information about each other had been brought to each state. As for Yue, although it is not mentioned in the *Chunqiu*, there is an entry in the *Zuozhuan* that describes a confederation during the Aigong period (26th year A of Aigong). Above all, as can be seen in the following entry, Aigong of Lu left for Yue, which suggests that the relationship was closer at the end of the Spring and Autumn period (27th year D of Aigong) and that information about Yue was easier to obtain.

is the appellation of the first-mentioned monarch and that no state name is mentioned at the beginning or just before *wang*, *wang* is used to refer to the Zhou king in all cases, whenever Chu, Wu or Yue is referred to as *wang*, the name of the state is always mentioned somewhere in the entry.

However, in the *Chunqiu*, *wang* signified the Zhou king for the lords who had been enfeoffed by the Zhou dynasty, and it is possible that the records could be from any of these states. Therefore, we analyzed the state names of the entries in which *wang* is mentioned with reference to the fact that the state name “Lu” is not mentioned in the *Chunqiu*, which is said to be based on the Lu chronicles, and found several states that are almost never mentioned by name. Among them, the most notable is Lu, which is said to have inherited the virtues of Zhou, and it is thought that at least the entries that include *wang* are based on Lu’s records.

In this study, we limited our examination of entries quite strictly by presenting several indicators. Therefore, we were able to cover only a small portion of the entries in the *Zuozhuan*, and further examination of the original source material of the *Zuozhuan* will be necessary in the future. However, the fact that Lu’s record was found to have served as source material for the *Zuozhuan* may, in a sense, be connected to the way in which *wang* is used in the *Chunqiu*. In other words, if *wang* in the *Chunqiu* refers to the Zhou king who reigned at the same time as the monarch of Lu, and is thus a contemporaneous record, then the *Zuozhuan* also used records of the same nature as its source material. Of course, later modifications should be taken into consideration,³² but if the source material of the *Zuozhuan* was contemporaneous records, then it can be said that the *Zuozhuan* is a useful source for research on the history of the Spring and Autumn period.

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³² In this regard, Asano (2013) writes, “It is reasonable to assume that the majority of the historical records recorded in the *Zuozhuan* are approximately contemporaneous with the time of the incident in question, although they include later revised and adjusted portions” (p. 72).

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Table 1 : Relationship between the article in “Zuozhuan” and the country name, in which “Wang” refers to Zhou King (Cont.)

		<i>Zhou</i>	<i>Lu</i>	<i>Qi</i>	<i>Jin</i>	<i>Qin</i>	<i>Chu</i>	<i>Song</i>	<i>Wei</i>	<i>Chen</i>	<i>Cai</i>	<i>Cao</i>	<i>Zheng</i>	<i>Yan</i>	<i>Wu</i>	<i>Yue</i>
Original article in the “Zuozhuan”	The 2nd year C of Chenggong	○			○											(成公2年C)
	The 11th year C of Chenggong	○			○				○							(成公11年C)
	The 5th year A of Xianggong				○											(襄公5年A)
	The 10th year C of Xianggong				○											(襄公10年C)
	The 14th year D of Xianggong			○												(襄公14年D)
	The 19th year C of Xianggong				○	○							○			(襄公19年C)
	The 26th year H of Xianggong	○			○											(襄公26年H)
	The 28th year D of Xianggong															(襄公28年D)
	The 1st year C of Zhaogong															(昭公元年C)
	The 9th year A of Zhaogong	○			○											(昭公9年A)
	The 15th year A of Zhaogong															(昭公15年A)
	The 15th year B of Zhaogong															(昭公15年B)
	The 15th year C of Zhaogong	○			○											(昭公15年C)
	The 21th year A of Zhaogong															(昭公21年A)
	The 24th year E of Zhaogong															(昭公24年E)
	The 26th year C of Zhaogong															(昭公26年C)
	The 6th year D of Dinggong															(定公6年D)
	The 7th year D of Dinggong				○											(定公7年D)
	The 16th year A of Aigong	○			○				○							(哀公16年A)

Table 1 : Relationship between the article in “Zuozhuan” and the country name, in which “Wang” refers to Zhou King (Cont.)

		<i>Zhou</i>	<i>Lu</i>	<i>Qi</i>	<i>Jin</i>	<i>Qin</i>	<i>Chu</i>	<i>Song</i>	<i>Wei</i>	<i>Chen</i>	<i>Cai</i>	<i>Cao</i>	<i>Zheng</i>	<i>Yan</i>	<i>Wu</i>	<i>Yue</i>
Articles corresponding to “Chunqiu”	The 3rd year 4 of Wengong															(隱公3年4)
	The 4th year 6 of Wengong															(隱公4年6)
	The 9th year 6 of Wengong							○					○			(隱公9年6)
	The 21th year 2 of Zhuanggong												○			(莊公21年2)
	The 5th year 5 of Xigong				○		○						○			(僖公5年5)
	The 9th year 2 of Xigong			○												(僖公9年2)
	The 10th year 2 of Xigong								○							(僖公10年2)
	The 24th year 2 of Xigong								○				○			(僖公24年2)
	The 28th year 7 of Xigong				○								○			(僖公28年7)
	The 30th year 3 of Xigong				○				○							(僖公30年3)
	The 33th year 1 of Xigong				○	○										(僖公33年1)
	The 1st year 6 of Wengong				○				○				○			(文公元年6)
	The 14th year 11 of Wengong			○												(文公14年11)
	The 15th year 10 of Wengong			○												(文公15年10)
	The 9th year 3 of Xuangong	○														(宣公9年3)
	The 16th year 1 of Xuangong				○											(宣公16年1)
	The 13th year 2 of Chenggong															(成公13年2)
	The 15th year 3 of Chenggong				○								○			(成公15年3)
	The 21th year 4 of Xianggong															(襄公21年4)
	The 24th year 12 of Xianggong	○		○												(襄公24年12)
	The 27th year 5 of Xianggong				○			○								(襄公27年5)
	The 7th year 5 of Zhaogong	○			○					○						(昭公7年5)
	The 22th year 7 of Zhaogong				○											(昭公22年7)
	The 22th year 8 of Zhaogong															(昭公22年8)
	The 23th year 4 of Zhaogong				○											(昭公23年4)
	The 25th year 2 of Zhaogong															(昭公25年2)
	The 32th year 5 of Zhaogong				○											(昭公32年5)
		周	魯	齊	晉	秦	楚	宋	衛	陳	蔡	曹	鄭	燕	吳	越

Table 2 : Relationship between the article in “Zuozhuan” and the country name,
in which “Wang” refers to Chu King, Wu King, and Yue King

	<i>Zhou</i>	<i>Lu</i>	<i>Qi</i>	<i>Jin</i>	<i>Qin</i>	<i>Chu</i>	<i>Song</i>	<i>Wei</i>	<i>Chen</i>	<i>Cai</i>	<i>Cao</i>	<i>Zheng</i>	<i>Yan</i>	<i>Wu</i>	<i>Yue</i>
Original article in the “Zuozhuan”	The 11th year A of Huangong					○									(桓公11年A)
	The 33th year C of Xigong			○		○				○					(僖公33年C)
	The 4th year A of Xuangong					○									(宣公4年A)
	The 11th year A of Xuangong					○	○								(宣公11年A)
	The 3rd year A of Chenggong			○		○									(成公3年A)
	The 26th year F of Zhuanggong					○				○					(襄公26年F)
	The 1st year A of Zhaogong														(昭公元年A)
	The 6th year C of Zhaogong			○		○						○			(昭公6年C)
	The 14th year C of Zhaogong					○									(昭公14年C)
	The 19th year F of Zhaogong					○								○	(昭公19年F)
	The 27th year B of Zhaogong					○									(昭公27年B)
	The 11th year A of Aigong		○											○	○ (哀公11年A)
	The 16th year C of Aigong					○	○								(哀公16年C)
	The 17th year E of Aigong														(哀公17年E)
	The 18th year B of Aigong					○									(哀公18年B)
	The 26th year A of Aigong						○	○							○ (哀公26年A)

Table 2 : Relationship between the article in “Zuozhuan” and the country name,
in which “Wang” refers to Chu King, Wu King, and Yue King (Cont.)

	<i>Zhou</i>	<i>Lu</i>	<i>Qi</i>	<i>Jin</i>	<i>Qin</i>	<i>Chu</i>	<i>Song</i>	<i>Wei</i>	<i>Chen</i>	<i>Cai</i>	<i>Cao</i>	<i>Zheng</i>	<i>Yan</i>	<i>Wu</i>	<i>Yue</i>
Articles corresponding to “Chunqiu”	The 28th year 5 of Xigong					○									(僖公28年5)
	The 7th year 7 of Chenggong					○	○								(成公7年7)
	The 16th year 7 of Chenggong					○									(成公16年7)
	The 22th year 6 of Zhuanggong					○									(襄公22年6)
	The 27th year 5 of Zhuanggong			○			○								(襄公27年5)
	The 1st year 10 of Zhaogong					○						○			(昭公元年10)
	The 8th year 11 of Zhaogong					○	○		○						(昭公8年11)
	The 11th year 8 of Zhaogong	○		○		○				○					(昭公11年8)
	The 13th year 8 of Zhaogong														(昭公13年8)
	The 13th year 11 of Zhaogong													○	(昭公13年11)
	The 15th year 3 of Zhaogong					○				○				○	(昭公15年3)
	The 8th year 2 of Aigong		○											○	(哀公8年2)
	The 13th year 5 of Aigong													○	(哀公13年5)
	周	魯	齊	晉	秦	楚	宋	衛	陳	蔡	曹	鄭	燕	吳	越