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The research on the *zhong* 忠 Spirit in *The Commentary of Zuo*(*zuozhuan* 左傳)

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1. Introduction

Zhong 忠 is an important moral ethic that has lasted for thousands of years, whose spirit plays a significant role in shaping the social spirit of the past dynasties. The Spring and Autumn Period(c.770–481 BCE) is an important period for the formation of traditional Chinese ethical concepts. In the literature of the time, *zhong* 忠 appeared frequently, which was enough to highlight the influence of the *zhong* 忠 spirit on that era. Studying its spiritual core can better grasp the *zhong* 忠 concept, explore the internal relationship between each subject and *zhong* 忠, and discuss its historical connotation in that period. *The Commentary of Zuo*(*zuozhuan* 左傳) is based on the royal archives of the time, vassals history, etc, which is the best historical material to study the *zhong* 忠 spirit of that period, because it contains not only many *zhong* 忠 characters and interpretations of this character from different classes of people, but also a larger number of behavior and evaluation as a reference. Therefore, this paper will take *zuozhuan* as the main research object and combine the language and character to explore the spiritual core and historical connotation of *zhong* 忠 in the Spring and Autumn Period.

II. The Origin of the *zhong* 忠 Spirit

First, let's see the font structure of the character *zhong* 忠. It's a typical composite Chinese character, which is composed of the upper character *zhong* 中 and the lower character *xin* 心. At present, the academic circle generally believes that while *zhong* 忠 takes the pronunciation of *zhong* 中, it also extends the meaning of *zhong* 中. So

when did the concept of loyalty originate? The origin of "loyalty" in academic circles can be roughly divided into four categories: the ancient times, the *Shang* 商 Dynasty, the Western *Zhou* 周 Dynasty and the Spring and Autumn Period. For the character *zhong* 忠, in the existing relevant records, there are only two annotations of *zhong* 忠 in the *Collected Works of Yin and Zhou Dynasties* 殷周金文集成¹, which are in the inscription of *zhongshan King Tripod* 中山王鼎 in the middle or late Warring States Period. *The Lost Book of Zhou*(*yizhoushu* 逸周書) concludes that there are 28 cases of the character *zhong* 忠 in the works written after the Spring and Autumn Period, and there's no the character *zhong* 忠 in the works written in the Western Zhou Dynasty.

²Therefore, many scholars who advocate the origin of the Spring and Autumn Period take this as proof and assert that three generations have no concept of *zhong* 忠. For instance, in *Tracing the Origin of the Loyalty Concept* (*zhong guannian suyuan* 忠觀念溯源), Mr. Fan Zhengyu believes that *zhong* 忠 is not as old as *xiao* 孝(filial piety), and draws the conclusion that the three generations didn't have the concept of *zhong* 忠 through the evidence of archaeology and philology.³ However, such claims clearly have limitations, because about half of the characters in the oracle bones have yet to be deciphered, and Wang Zijin also pointed out in his *Research On The Concept of Loyalty* (*zhong guannian yanjiu* 忠觀念研究) that even if the current three generations of political literature didn't find the word *zhong* 忠, it cannot be ruled out that the concept of *zhong* 忠 has actually existed.⁴ Therefore, whether speculating the possibility that the concept of *zhong* 忠 emerged before the Spring and Autumn Period from the perspective of genesis, or judging that the concept of *zhong* 忠 was formed in the Spring and Autumn Period from the exact written historical materials, we can see that although the specific time of the rise of the concept of "loyalty" cannot be reached a conclusion, the spirit of the concept was widely developed during the Spring and Autumn Period, which can be confirmed by various studies such as archaeology and philology. In the Spring and Autumn Period, *zhong* 忠 has become a

¹ The Institute of Archaeology CASS 中國社會科學院考古研究所, *yinzhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2007)

² Annotation by Kong Chao 孔晁, *Yizhoushu* 逸周書 (Zhejiang: Zhejiang University Press, 2021).

³ Fan Zhengyu 范正宇, 'Zhong guannian suyuan' 忠觀念溯源, *Shehui kexue jikan*, 5(1992)

⁴ Wang Zijin 王子今, *Zhong guannian yanjiu* 忠觀念研究, (Jilin: Jilin Education Press, 1999)

universal existence of ethics and morality, and has been widely used in the thoughts of various schools. This period is also an important period for the development of the *zhong* 忠 concept, which has gradually developed from the ideological concept and the moral consciousness into a kind of political ethics thought.

The Spring and Autumn Period was a turbulent period in Chinese history. With the gradual disintegration of the patriarchal law system of the Western Zhou Dynasty, its chaos of social order and sharpness of class contradictions made *zhong* 忠, as a very important moral code of conduct, closely followed by the thinkers at that time and set up as a moral category. Among the various classics of the Spring and Autumn Period, *zhong* 忠 appears 18 times in *The Analects of Confucius*(*lunyu* 論語), 52 times in *Discourses of the States*(*guoyu* 國語), and 70 times in *zuozhuan*. *Zuozhuan* explains the connotation of *zhong* 忠 from many angles, and its many places give a clear definition of *zhong* 忠. Therefore, it is an inevitable choice for the research of *zhong* 忠 in the Spring and Autumn Period to study and analyzes the character *zhong* 忠 in *zuozhuan*.

III. The Meaning of *zhong* in *zuozhuan*

Zhong 忠 appears 70 times in *zuozhuan*, including once in *yingong* 隱公, once in *huangong* 桓公, twice in *zhuangong* 莊公, once in *mingong* 閔公, 10 times in *xigong* 僖公, 9 times in *wengong* 文公, 3 times in *xuangong* 宣公, 10 times in *chengong* 成公, 14 times in *xiangong* 襄公, 16 times in *zhagong* 昭公, 2 times in *dingong* 定公, and once in *aigong* 哀公. Among the records of various states, the State of *Jin* 晉 has the highest frequency, with a total of 21 times, followed by the State of *Lu* 魯 with a total of 15 times, and the least distributed is *Zhou* 周 and *Wei* 衛, with only 1 time each. Its meaning is mainly to be honest and sincere to oneself and others, with the meaning of "dedication", both the code of conduct of dealing with people at the personal level, and the moral value in the political field.

i. The Connotation of *zhong* at the Personal Level.

1. *Zhong* 忠 to Others

As a code of conduct for people, the meaning of *zhong* 忠 is more changeable, including meanings of "integrity", "dedication", "diligence". As recorded in *zuozhuan-the second year of xuangong* 宣公,

Always respect the monarch, the backer of the people; it's disloyal to kill the monarch; it's unreliable to against the monarch's orders.

不忘恭敬，民之主也，賊民之主，不忠，棄君之命，不信。⁵

The character *zhong* 忠 here means integrity, which is the principle of being a man. In *zuozhuan-the second year of mingong* 閔公, the politician *yangshe* 羊舌 said to the prince *shensheng* 申生,

Disobeying your orders is unfilial, abandoning your mission is disloyal. Though the monarch is ruthless, you still can't do evil things. You should die for it.

違命不孝，棄事不忠，雖知其寒，惡不可取，子其死之。⁶

The character *zhong* 忠 here means diligence, which has the same meaning as "do I do things for others with diligence" in *lunyu*. At that time, The Duke *xian* 獻 of *Jin* 晉 (676–651 BCE) ordered crown prince *shensheng* 申生 to attack the *gaoluo* 皋落 of *dongshan* 東山, and ordered him to "come back after destroying all the enemies"⁷. Some people advised *shensheng* 申生 to escape, but the politician *yangshe* 羊舌 advised him would rather die than abandon his duty. Obviously, in his opinion, doing his duty and following his father's order to attack the *gaoluo* 皋落 is *zhong* 忠 for the prince.

2. The Virtue of *zhong* 忠

Zhong 忠 is defined as a virtue in many places in *zuozhuan*. For instance, *zuozhuan-the tenth year of chenggong* 成公,

Zhong 忠 is a kind of virtue, but it won't work if its object is wrong, let alone the person himself is not kind.

⁵ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, Annotation by Du Yu 杜預, Commentary by Kong Yingda 孔穎達, Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui 十三經注疏整理委員會, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義(Beijing: Beijing University Press, 2000), p685.

⁶ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu , Commentary by Kong Yingda , Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p360.

⁷ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu , Commentary by Kong Yingda , Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p360.

忠為令德，非其人猶不可，況不令乎。⁸

and *zuozhuan-the eighteenth year of wengong* 文公

Filial piety, respect, loyalty, honesty are virtues; stealing, robbing and harbouring are evildoing.

孝敬忠信為吉德，盜賊藏姦為凶德。⁹

It can be seen that people then believed that *zhong* 忠 was a kind of basic virtue that people must have, which represented a basic moral norm of treating oneself and others, ruling the country and the people, a good virtue. Under such definition, its connotation became extensive and fuzzy, and the objects it restrained were not fixed. In *zuozhuan-the twenty-second year of wengong* 文公,

Loyalty, honesty, respect, filial piety are the same for everyone. It's the way of heaven.

忠信篤敬，上下同之，天之道也。¹⁰

It means that *zhong* 忠 has become a virtue that both the upper class and the bottom people need to observe, a way of heaven.

ii. The Connotation of *zhong* 忠 at the National Level

1. *Zhong* 忠 to the State

During the Spring and Autumn Period, the monarch was clearly separated from the state, emphasizing mostly to be loyal to the state rather than the monarch. As recorded in *zuozhuan-the ninth year of xigong* 僖公,

The Duke *xian* 獻 of *Jin* 晉 asked, “what's loyalty?” Xun Xi answered, “as long as one knows something is beneficial to the state, he will do it. This is loyalty.”

（獻）公曰，何謂忠貞，（荀息）對曰，公家之利，知無不為，忠也。¹¹

⁸ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu, Commentary by Kong Yingda, Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p854.

⁹ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu, Commentary by Kong Yingda, Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p663.

¹⁰ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu, Commentary by Kong Yingda, Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p1126.

¹¹ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu, Commentary by Kong Yingda, Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p411.

People then thought that *zhong* 忠 meant “state”. This passage also shows the idea that these two concepts are one. Also recorded in *zuozhuan-the fourteenth year of xianggong* 襄公, during the war began between the state *Wu* 吳 and *Chu* 楚, Zinang 子囊 of Chu returned from attacking Wu, and was still worried about the security of the state. Then the book wrote,

He was still worried about the state even when he was dying, wasn't he loyal?

Loyalty is the expectation of people.

將死不忘衛社稷，可不謂忠乎，忠，民之望也。¹²

This also shows the importance of the state in the hearts of the people at that time. *Zhong* 忠 to the state shows not only in the battle for the state, but also in the official integrity and integrity. For example, Ji Wenzi 季文子, the minister of Lu State, assisted three generations of monarchs, which gave him the real supreme power. However, after his death, he left “no concubine, no horse, no gold or jade, no treasure”. *Zuozhuan* praised him as “having nothing after assisting three monarchs, he is a really loyal person”. Ji Wenzi has exactly showed his *zhong* 忠 to the country.

2. *Zhong* 忠 to the People

This level mainly involves the monarch virtue. In the Spring and Autumn Period, there were generally high requirements for the virtue of monarch, which required the monarch to have a devotion to public interests and act to benefit both the country and the people. As recorded in *zuozhuan-the tenth year of huangong* 桓公, “The monarch thinks about benefiting the people. This is *zhong* 忠 clearly expresses the meaning of *zhong* 忠 that the monarch devoted himself to benefit the people. Therefore, the monarch's *zhong* 忠 to the people first shows in his virtue of government. It was a kind of devotion that the monarch did for the people, which was also a virtue that was generally expected of a king at that time, and it also became a hope of the people. *Zuozhuan-the fourteenth year of xianggong* 襄公,

¹² Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu , Commentary by Kong Yingda , Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p1069

Zhong 忠 is the expectation of the people. *The Book of Songs*(*shijing* 詩經) said, behaving as the etiquette of the Western Zhou Dynasty is all the people's expectation, namely *zhong* 忠.

忠，民之望也，詩曰，行歸于周，萬民所望，忠也。¹³

The manifestation mode of a monarch's *zhong* 忠 is to rule the country according to the laws of heaven, to care more about the people and pay attention to human dignity and value. *Zuozhuan-the tenth year of zhuanggong* 莊公 said, "Though it's hard to clearly investigate every criminal case, each case must be judged according to the truth", which was called "This is a kind of *zhong* 忠" by Cao Gui 曹刿.¹⁴ Obviously, in *zuozhuan*, *zhong* 忠 is not only specific to a certain class, but is given the idea that both superiors and subordinates should do their best, and is a virtue applicable to both the monarch and his subjects.

3. *Zhong* 忠 to the Monarch

We need to distinguish between the two concepts of "serving the state for the public" and "serving the monarch for the public", which are two different levels of public. As discussed above, in the Spring and Autumn Period, between "state" and "monarch", *zhong* 忠 was more inclined to the former. Of course, the latter was also an important criterion for ministers in that period. As recorded in *zuozhuan-the ninth year of xianggong* 襄公,

The monarch should be wise, the subjects should be loyal, the wise monarchs, the superior should be modest, and the subordinates should be dedicated.

君明臣忠，上讓下競。¹⁵

At that time, the subjects' *zhong* 忠 to the monarch was on the condition of the monarch's so-called virtue, and there was no requirement that a subject could only

¹³ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu , Commentary by Kong Yingda , Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p1069.

¹⁴ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu , Commentary by Kong Yingda , Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p275.

¹⁵ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu , Commentary by Kong Yingda , Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p1000.

sever one monarch for his whole life. Although the monarch-subject relationship was relatively loose then, the so-called "absolute" "loyalty to the monarch" in later generations had actually sprouted, which could be evidenced by "all people should be loyal to the monarch and die for his order" in *zuozhuan-the twelfth year of xuangong* 宣公¹⁶.

Further observing the monarch-subject relationship in *zuozhuan*, we can see that there are certain differences in the concepts of "serving the monarch" and "being loyal to the monarch" then. "Serving the monarch" means to consider public affairs as a link between the king and his subjects, but "being loyal to the monarch" means to be loyal to the monarch. As recorded in *zuozhuan-the fifth year of xigong* 僖公,

It is disrespectful to be in an official position without taking the monarch's order; it is disloyal to fortify the enemy's city. How could one serve the monarch while losing respect and loyalty?

守官廢命，不敬，固讎之保，不忠，失忠與敬，何以事君。¹⁷

It can be seen that officials should be loyal to the state, not to the monarch's private ends.

IV. Historical Connotation of *zhong* 忠 in *zuozhuan*

The concept of *zhong* 忠 is the product of a certain historical stage, and its connotation will also change with the development of time. Different meanings of *zhong* 忠 in *zuozhuan* are a manifestation of this concept under the background of the Spring and Autumn Period. At that time, the original patriarchal hierarchy was greatly weakened, the political system dominated by blood ties was destroyed, and the scholar-official class was separated from the aristocracy. As Confucius began to widely receive and teach disciples, his educational concept of "teaching everyone" spread the royal palace learning that is peculiar to the aristocratic class to the folk, making part of the common people also enter the scholar-official class, and the scholar-official class emerged from this. In this case, politics, economy and culture

¹⁶ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu , Commentary by Kong Yingda , Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p754.

¹⁷ Annotation by Zuo Qiuming, Du Yu , Commentary by Kong Yingda , Collated by Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p390.

and other aspects are facing a huge impact, and using an effective ethical code to regulate the behavior of all classes has become the need of time.

In *zuozhuan*, the evolution of time is reflected in the diversification of the connotation of *zhong* 忠. In the Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Western Zhou 周 dynasties, the subject of officials was mainly from the same clan, but since the Spring and Autumn Period, a large number of guest officials with different surnames had become the subject of officials. Therefore, *zhong* 忠 became a new concept, and became a new relationship norm between the monarch and his subjects. Its original meanings of “sincere” and “diligence” were also put into this new monarch-subject relationship. Meanwhile, with the continuous evolution of the monarch-subject relationship, the concept of *zhong* 忠 has also changed from “the monarch is loyal to the subjects” to “the subjects are loyal to the monarch”. The requirements of *zhong* 忠 to the monarch gradually decreased, and the norm for the subjects became the mainstream.

Additionally, the concept of *zhong* 忠 in the Spring and Autumn Period still contains many historical remains. This period was still roughly under the rule of large families with the emperor as the chief and a distinct hierarchy. In the family rule, the consciousness of safeguarding the authority of the parents was also transplanted into the political rule. At the same time, the ancient aristocratic culture reached its highest point. Although countries have fought each other, they still follow the trend of emphasizing peace and keeping promise. The connotation of *zhong* 忠 still contained the thinking about the interests of the people and the focus on sincerity between two countries. The traditional remains of the aristocratic culture conflicted with the innovation of the scholar-official class culture, which is embodied in the contradiction between the "public loyalty" of the subjects to the state and the "private loyalty" to sever one monarch till death. Hence, in terms of morality and ethics, "being loyal to the monarch" or "being loyal to the state" has become a great test for the subjects to face.

V. Conclusion

To sum up, *zhong* 忠, as an ideological and moral concept, was originally developed from *zhong* 中, expressing the moral requirements such as "dedication" and

"integrity". With the great changes in the external environment of the Spring and Autumn Period, its spiritual connotation also changed. It can be seen from the records of *zuozhuan* that it evolved different moral norms that shared similar cores at both personal and national levels. At the personal level, it continued the original meaning of *zhong* 中, but in some aspects it is more concrete, such as "diligence" and other meanings. At the national level, it enriched the moral norms in the monarch-subject relationship, and met the needs of time for the increase of subjects with different surnames after the rise of the scholar-official class. Meanwhile, over time, there were more and more norms for subjects, and the relationship of "absolute loyalty to the monarch" in later ages was also sprouted in this period. Therefore, it can be seen from the *zhong* 忠 spirit in *Zuo Zhuan* that the concept of *zhong* 忠 developed rapidly in the Spring and Autumn Period, which not only inherited some of the ideas of the previous three dynasties, but also spawned and evolved new ideas in the drastic changes of times. In the process of the overall development and evolution of the *zhong* 忠 spirit, it plays a key role in connecting the preceding and the following.

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摘要

本文以《左傳》當中的語料作為底本，研究“忠”的精神在其中的具體表現以及歷史意義。首先探究了“忠”這個字的來源為何，其作為一種道德觀念，最初的含義是由“中”發展而來，表達了“正直”“盡心”等道德要求，隨著春秋時期外部環境的巨大變化，其精神內涵也產生變化，從《左傳》當中的記載可以看出，在個人層面和國家層面，分別演變出了不同但內核相近的道德規範。在個人層面上，其延續了“中”原有的意涵，並且在某些方面更為具象化，譬如“盡職盡責”等義；國家層面上，則豐富了君臣關係當中的道德準則，滿足了當時由於士階層崛起後，異姓臣子增多的時代需求。同時其內涵隨著時間的推移，對於臣子的規範越來越多，後世“絕對化”的“忠君”關係在這個時期也有所萌芽。因此由《左傳》當中忠的精神可以看出，忠的觀念在春秋時期迅猛發展，既繼承了三代時期的部分觀念，又在時代的劇烈變化當中催生演變出新的理念和精神，在忠的精神整體發展演變的進程當中，起到了關鍵的承上啓下的作用。