***SHI JI* 5: THE BASIC ANNALS OF QIN**

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**Boyi, the ancestor of Qin, assisted Emperor Yu. Duke Mu, mindful of righteousness, mourned for those who fought at Yao; but when they used men to accompany him in death, the poem on the “Yellow Birds” was sung. King Xiaoxiang opened the way for an emperor. Thus I made “The Basic Annals of Qin”.**4

The forbears of the Qin were descendants of Emperor Zhuan Xu.5 Zhuan Xu’s granddaughter was named Nüxiu. When Nüxiu was weaving, a swallow happened to drop an egg. Nüxiu swallowed the egg and gave birth to a son, Daye. Daye took as his wife a daughter of Shao Dian named Nühua, and Nühua gave birth to Dafei.6

Dafei joined the sage ruler Yu in pacifying the waters and the land, and when the work had been completed, Emperor Shun presented Yu with a black jade baton. When Yu accepted it, he said, “I could not have done this if Dafei had not acted as my helper.”

Emperor Shun said, “Ah, Fei! You assisted Yu in his task. You shall be given a black banner. Your descendants will hereafter prosper greatly.” He also gave him as a wife a beautiful daughter of the Yao clan.

Dafei, bowing and accepting these gifts, aided Shun in subduing and training the birds and beasts, and many of the birds and beasts became submissive. This was the man known as Boyi. Shun bestowed on him the surname Ying.7

Dafei had two sons. One was called Dalian and was the founder of the Bird-custom family. The other was called Ruomu and was the founder of the Fei family. His great-great-grandson was Fei Chang. Some of Fei Chang’s descendants lived in China and some lived among the Yi and Di tribes.

In the time of Jie, the last ruler of the Xia dynasty, Fei Chang deserted the Xia dynasty and went over to the side of the Shang. King Tang, founder of the Shang, made him his carriage driver when he defeated Jie at Mingtiao.

Dalian’s great-great-grandsons were Mengxi and Zhongyan. Zhongyan had the body of a bird but spoke like a human being. Emperor Taiwu, hearing of him, divined to see if he should employ him as his carriage driver. The response being favourable, he employed him as such, and also gave him a wife. From the time of Emperor Taiwu on, the heirs of

Zhongyan won merit generation after generation by assisting the state of Shang. Hence many members of the Ying family gained prominence and in time became feudal lords.

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Zhongyan’s great-great-grandson was Zhongjue. He lived among the Western Rong people and guarded the western border. Zhongjue sired Feilian, and Feilian sired Elai. Elai was very strong and Feilian was skilled at running; both father and son offered their strength and ability in the service of Zhou, the last ruler of the Shang or Yin dynasty. When King Wu of the Zhou dynasty attacked and killed Zhou of the Yin, Elai was killed at the same time.

Feilian at this time had been sent by Zhou on a mission to the northern region. When he returned, he had no one to report to, so he built an altar on Mt. Huotai and there made his report. He found a stone coffin with an inscription that read: “The emperor orders you, Chufu, not to take part in Yin’s disorders, but presents you with a stone coffin to bring glory to your family.”8 When Feilian died, he was accordingly buried on Mt. Huotai.

Feilian had another son named Jisheng, and Jisheng had a son named Mengzeng. Mengzeng enjoyed favour with King Cheng of the Zhou dynasty and is known as Zhai Black Wolf. Zhai Black Wolf sired Hengfu and Hengfu sired Zaofu. Zaofu won favour with King Mu of the Zhou dynasty because of his skill as a carriage driver. King Mu acquired a team of four, made up of a chestnut, a light grey, a dappled red, and a green ear, and embarked on a hunting tour to the west, enjoying himself so much he forgot to return. When the rebellion of King Yan of Xu broke out, Zaofu was acting as carriage driver for King Mu and he raced over the long road back to the Zhou capital, covering 1,000 *li* in one day, in order to put down the rebellion.9

King Mu enfeoffed Zaofu in the city of Zhao, and Zaofu’s kin from this time on were known by the surname Zhao. It was five generations from Feilian and his son Jisheng down to Zaofu. Zaofu lived away from the court in Zhao; Zhao Cui was his descendant. 10

Feilian’s son Elai or Ge died at an early age. He had a son named Nüfang, who sired Panggao. Panggao sired Taiji, Taiji sired Daluo, and Daluo sired Feizi. Because of the favour enjoyed by Zaofu, all these persons were permitted to be counted as members of the Zhao family of the city of Zhao.

Feizi lived at Quanqiu or Dog Hill. He loved horses and domestic animals and was skilled at raising and breeding them. The people of Dog Hill mentioned him to King Xiao of the Zhou dynasty, and King Xiao summoned him and ordered him to pasture the royal horses in the area between the Qian and Wei rivers. The horses increased greatly in number.

King Xiao wanted to see Feizi designated as the heir of Daluo. But Marquis Shen had given his daughter to Daluo as a wife and she had borne him a son named Cheng who had been designated as heir. Marquis Shen said to King Xiao, “Long ago an ancestor of mine, a woman of Mt. Li, married a man of the Rong people named Xuxuan and bore a son named Zhongjue. Because of his parentage Zhongjue paid allegiance to the Zhou dynasty and guarded the western border for it. As a result, there was peace and harmony on the western border. Now I have given my daughter to Daluo as a wife and she has borne him a son, Cheng, who has been designated heir. The Shen and Daluo families are thus doubly related, and all the Western Rong people have submitted to you. That is why you are able to reign as king. Your Majesty would do well to consider this.”

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King Xiao replied, “Long ago Boyi supervised the raising of animals for Emperor Shun, and the animals multiplied greatly. Therefore he was assigned a domain and presented with the surname Ying. Now his descendant in later ages is raising horses for me. I therefore propose to set aside land for him so he may become a dependant domain, assigning him the town of Qin and instructing him to carry on sacrifices to the Ying family.” He gave Feizi the title Qin Ying and refrained from removing Daluo’s son by the daughter of Marquis Shen from the position of heir in order to remain at peace with the Western Rong.

Qin Ying sired Qin Hou, who died after ten years of rule. Qin Hou sired Gongbo, who died after three years of rule. Gongbo sired Qin Zhong. Three years after Qin Zhong assumed power, King Li of the Zhou dynasty acted in an unprincipled manner and many of the feudal lords turned against him.11 The Western Rong also revolted against the royal house and wiped out the descendants of Daluo in Dog Hill.

When King Xuan came to the throne of Zhou, he made Qin Zhong a grandee and sent him to punish the Western Rong, but they killed him. Qin Zhong thus died among the Rong after holding his position for twenty-three years.

Qin Zhong had five sons, the eldest of whom became Duke Zhuang. King Xuan summoned Duke Zhuang and his four brothers, gave them a force of 7,000 men, and sent them to attack the Western Rong, whom they defeated. The king then once more presented to Duke Zhuang the domain that had belonged to Qin Zhong, as well as the area of Dog Hill that had belonged to his ancestor Daluo, decreeing that he hold possession of both regions and act as grandee of the western border. Duke Zhuang resided in the west, in the old region of Dog Hill.

Duke Zhuang had three sons, of whom the eldest was named Shifu. Shifu said, “The Rong killed our grandfather Qin Zhong. Until I have killed the

ruler of the Rong, I will not venture to enter my domain.” He accordingly led his forces in a surprise attack on the Rong, turning over his domain to his younger brother, Duke Xiang. Duke Xiang thus became the heir apparent.

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After Duke Zhuang had ruled for forty-four years he died and the heir apparent, Duke Xiang, succeeded him as ruler.

In the first year of his rule, Duke Xiang gave his younger sister, Muying, to be the wife of King Feng.12

In the second year of Duke Xiang’s reign the Rong besieged Shifu at Dog Hill. Shifu attacked them but was taken prisoner. A year or so later Shifu was returned to his domain.

In the spring of Duke Xiang’s seventh year, King You of the Zhou dynasty, heeding the wishes of his favourite, Baosi, removed the heir apparent and set up Baosi’s son in his place, and several times deceived the feudal lords. The feudal lords revolted against him, and the Western Rong and Dog Rong peoples, joining forces with Marquis Shen, attacked the Zhou capital and killed King You at the foot of Mt. Li. Duke Xiang of Qin led his forces to the rescue of the Zhou, fighting bravely in battle and winning merit. In order to avoid harassment from the Dog Rong, the Zhou dynasty moved its capital east to the city of Luoyang.13

Duke Xiang led his troops to escort King Ping to the new capital. King Ping enfeoffed Duke Xiang as one of the feudal lords, bestowing on him the land from Mt. Qi on west. “The Rong have behaved in an unprincipled manner, invading and seizing our lands of Qi and Feng,” he said. “But Qin has succeeded in attacking and driving out the Rong, and therefore he shall possess these lands.” Thus the king swore an oath with Duke Xiang, bestowing a fief and title on him.

Duke Xiang thus for the first time became the possessor of a feudal state and observed the rites appropriate to the exchange of embassies and official visits and banquets. He used a set of three sacrificial animals, a red colt with a black mane, a yellow ox, and a ram, to sacrifice to the Lord on High at the Altar of the West. In the twelfth year of his rule, he attacked the Rong and advanced as far as Mt. Qi, where he died. He was succeeded by his son, Duke Wen.

In the first year of his rule, Duke Werrresided in the Western Border Palace. In his third year he took a force of 700 armed men and went east to hunt. In his fourth year he arrived at the confluence of the Qian and Wei rivers. “In ancient times,” he said, “the Zhou dynasty gave my ancestor Qin Ying this land to dwell in, and his descendants have at last succeeded in becoming feudal lords.” He carried out divination by the tortoise shell to see if he should settle there. The answer being favourable, he proceeded

to build a town in which he took up residence.

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In his tenth year he established the Altar of Fu, using a set of three sacrificial animals in the rites there.14 In his thirteenth year the historians for the first time began to keep a record of events, and many of the inhabitants changed their ways.15 In his sixteenth year Duke Wen led his forces in an attack on the Rong, who fled in defeat. Duke Wen thereupon gained possession of the land as far as Mt. Qi, where the remnants of the Zhou people lived. He presented the area east of Mt. Qi to the Zhou dynasty.16 In his nineteenth year he gained possession of the Treasures of Chen.17

In his twentieth year the law stipulating that a criminal’s three sets of relatives should be put to death along with the criminal himself was first promulgated.18 In his twenty-seventh year he attacked Daxin, Feng, and Date in the Southern Mountains. In his forty-eighth year Duke Wen’s heir apparent died and was given the posthumous title of Duke Jing. Duke Jing’s eldest son, the grandson of Duke Wen, was designated heir apparent.

In his fiftieth year of rule Duke Wen died and was buried on the Western Mountain. Duke Jing’s son was set up as ruler and is known as Duke Ning.

In his second year of rule Duke Ning moved his residence to Pingyang. He dispatched troops to attack Dangshe. In his third year he fought with Hao, the ruler of Dangshe, and Hao fled to the Rong people. Thus the settlement at Dangshe was wiped out. In his fourth year Hui, a ducal son of the state of Lu, assassinated his lord, Duke Yin.19 In his twelfth year Duke Ning attacked the Dang family and took them prisoner.20 Duke Ning became ruler in his tenth year and died in his twelfth year of rule, being buried on the Western Mountain.

Duke Ning had three sons, of whom the eldest, who became Duke Wu, had been designated heir apparent. The second son, who had the same mother as the first, became Duke De. The third, Chuzi, was the son of a woman from the ruling family of the state of Lu.

When Duke Ning died, the militia leaders Fuji, Weilei, and Sanfu deposed the heir apparent and set up Chuzi as ruler. In the sixth year of Chuzi’s rule, Sanfu and the others joined in arranging to have someone attack and kill Chuzi. Thus Chuzi became ruler at the age of five and died in the sixth year of his rule. Sanfu and the others then set up the former heir apparent as ruler, who became Duke Wu.

In the first year of his rule Duke Wu attacked Pengxi, advancing as far as Mt. Hua. He took up residence in the Feng Palace in Pingyang. In his third year he punished Sanfu and the others, wiping them out along with their three sets of relatives. This was because they had killed Chuzi. Gao Qumi of the state of Zheng killed his lord, Duke Zhao (695 BC). In his tenth year

Duke Wu attacked the Rong people of Gui and Ji and for the first time established a district (*xian*) in the area. In his eleventh year he set up the districts of Du and Zheng and wiped out the settlement of Xiaoguo.

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In Duke Wu’s thirteenth year Guan Zhifu, Lian Cheng and other men of Qi killed their lord, Duke Xiang, and set up the ducal grandson Wuzhi as ruler.21 The state of Jin wiped out the states of Huo, Wei, and Geng. Yong Lin of Qi killed Wuzhi, Guan Zhifu, and the others and set up Duke Huan of Qi. Jin and Qi thus became powerful states. In Duke Wu’s nineteenth year the ruler of Quwo in Jin for the first time assumed the title of marquis of Jin. Duke Huan of Qi became an overlord (*ba*) at Juan. Duke Wu of Qin died in his twentieth year of rule and was buried at Pingyang in Yong. For the first time there were persons to accompany him in death, in this case sixty- six persons.22

Duke Wu had only one son, named Bai. Bai was not set up as ruler but was enfeoffed in Pingyang. Instead, Duke Wu’s younger brother became ruler and is known as Duke De.

In the first year of his rule Duke De took up residence in the Dazheng Palace in the city of Yong. He used 300 sets of sacrificial animals to sacrifice at the Altar of Fu. Divining by the tortoise shell to see if he should reside at Yong, he was told that his sons and grandsons in ages to come would water their horses at the Yellow River. The earls of Liang and Rui came to pay their respects at the Qin court.

In the second year of Duke De’s rule the *fu* was observed for the first

time, dogs being used to suppress evil influences.23

Duke De became ruler at the age of thirty-three and died after two years of rule. He had three sons; the eldest became Duke Xuan, the second became Duke Cheng, and the youngest became Duke Mu.

After the death of Duke Wu, his eldest son became ruler and is known as Duke Xuan. In the first year of Duke Xuan’s rule the states of Wey24 and Yan attacked the Zhou court, drove out King Hui, and set up Prince Tui as ruler. In Duke Xuan’s third year the earl of Zheng and Shu of Guo killed Prince Tui and put King Hui back on the throne.

In the fourth year of his rule Duke Xuan set up the Mi Altar. He fought with the state of Jin at Heyang and was victorious. In his twelfth year Duke Xuan died. He had nine sons but none of them became ruler. Instead Duke Xuan’s younger brother was set up and is known as Duke Cheng.

In the first year of Duke Cheng’s rule the earls of Liang and Rui came to the Qin Court. Duke Huan of Qi attacked the Mountain Rong and encamped at Guzhu. Duke Cheng died in the fourth year of his rule. He had seven sons but none of these became ruler, the rule passing to Duke Cheng’s younger brother, who became Duke Mu.

In the first year of Duke Mu (659 BC), whose personal name was Renhao, the duke led an attack on Maojin and defeated it. In his fourth year he took a bride from the state of Jin; she was an elder sister of Shensheng, the heir apparent of Jin. This year Duke Huan of Qi attacked the state of Chu, advancing as far as Shaoling.

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In Duke Mu’s fifth year, Duke Xian of Jin wiped out the states of Yu and Guo and took prisoner the ruler of Yu and the grandee Baili Xi. He did this by bribing the men of Yu with jade disks and horses. After taking Baili Xi prisoner, he sent him to Qin to act as an attendant to Duke Mu’s bride. Baili Xi escaped from Qin and fled to Wan, where he was seized by villagers of the state of Chu. Duke Mu had heard that Baili Xi was a man of worth and was anxious to buy him back from his captors, but he was afraid that the people of Chu would not hand him over. He therefore sent a messenger to say to Chu, “Baili Xi, one of the attendants to my bride, is there with you. I am prepared to offer five black ram skins as ransom for him.” The people of Chu agreed to this and handed him over. At this time Baili Xi was over seventy years old.

Duke Mu untied his bonds and began questioning him on affairs of state. But Baili Xi declined to answer, saying, “I am an official from a state that has perished — how could I be worth consulting?”

Duke Mu said, “The ruler of Yu failed to make use of you and so he perished. That is no fault of yours.” He persisted in his questioning, and they talked for three days. Duke Mu was overjoyed and wanted to hand over the governing of the state to him, entitling him Lord Five Ram Skins. But Baili Xi declined, saying, “I cannot compare to my friend Jian Shu. But no one in the world recognizes Jian Shu’s worth. Once, when I was travelling and found myself in difficulty in the state of Qi, I had to beg food from the people of Zhi, and Jian Shu took me in. I wanted to use the opportunity to enter the service of Wuzhi, who was the ruler of Qi at that time, but Jian Shu dissuaded me, and so I was able to escape the difficulties that attended Wuzhi’s downfall.

“Later I went to the Zhou capital. Prince Tui of Zhou liked cattle, and so I tried to gain his attention by my skill in raising cattle. But when Prince Tui tried to employ me, Jian Shu stopped me from accepting. So I left, and was thus able to avoid being wiped out along with Prince Tui’s other supporters.

“When I took service under the ruler of Yu, Jian Shu once more tried to stop me. I knew that the ruler of Yu would never heed me, but to tell the truth, I was hoping to profit from the salary and rank and so I stayed on. If I had once more listened to Jian Shu’s advice, I would have escaped, but because I failed to do so, I was involved in the ruler’s downfall. Because of

this I have come to understand his worth.”

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Duke Mu thereupon dispatched an envoy with generous gifts to invite Jian Shu to take office, making him a grandee of the upper rank.

In the autumn of this year Duke Mu led his troops in an attack on Jin, fighting with the Jin forces at Hequ. Lady Li fomented trouble in Jin, and as a result the heir apparent Shensheng killed himself at New City and Chonger and Yiwu fled to Ben.25

In the ninth year of Duke Mu’s rule, Duke Huan of Qi called the other feudal lords together for a meeting at Sunflower Hill. Duke Xian of Jin died, whereupon Lady Li set up her son Xiqi as ruler of Jin. Li Ke, a Jin official, killed Xiqi, and when Xun Xi set up another of the duke’s sons, Zhuozi, as ruler, Li Ke killed him too, along with Xun Xi. Yiwu then sent an envoy to Qin asking if Qin would help him to become ruler of Jin. Duke Mu agreed to this and ordered Baili Xi to lead a force of troops and escort Yiwu to Jin.

Yiwu said, “If I succeed in becoming ruler, I would like to take eight of Jin’s cities lying west of the Yellow River and present them to Qin.” Once he had reached Jin and become ruler, however, he sent Pi Zheng to Qin with excuses, reneging on his promise and failing to hand over the cities west of the Yellow River. Moreover, he put Li Ke to death.

When Pi Zheng received word of this, he was frightened and began scheming with Duke Mu, saying, “The people of Jin do not want Yiwu as their ruler. The one they really want is Chonger. This going against the promise to Qin and putting Li Ke to death is all a plot by Lü Sheng and Xi Rui.26 I advise you to offer some inducement and send an urgent summons to Lü and Xi. Once they are here, it will be easy to have Chonger made ruler of Jin.”

Duke Mu agreed to this and sent someone to return with Pi Zheng to Jin and invite Lü Sheng and Xi Rui to come to Qin. These two men, suspecting that Pi Zheng was acting in collusion with Qin, advised Yiwu to have Pi Zheng put to death. Pi Zheng’s son Pi Bao fled to Qin, where he advised Duke Mu, saying, “The ruler of Jin is unprincipled and his people do not support him. He is ripe for attack!”

But Duke Mu said, “If the people do not support him, then how is he able to put to death a chief minister such as Pi Zheng? The fact that he can do so shows that he and his people are in accord.” So he refused to heed Pi Bao’s advice, though he secretly made use of him.

In Duke Mu’s twelfth year, Guan Zhong and Xi Peng of Qi died.27 The state of Jin, being afflicted with drought, came to Qin to request grain. Pi Bao advised Duke Mu not to give Jin any grain but instead to take advantage of the famine to launch an attack on it. Duke Mu asked Gongsun Zhi for his opinion. He replied, “Years of dearth and plenty simply go in a

cycle. You cannot refuse the request.” And when the duke questioned Baili Xi, he said, “Yiwu has acted wrongly toward you, but what wrong have his people done?” So in the end the duke heeded the advice of Gongsun Zhi and Baili Xi and sent grain to Jin, transporting it in boats and carts that stretched in a continuous line all the way from the Qin capital at Yong to the Jin capital at Jiang.

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In Duke Mu’s fourteenth year there was a famine in Qin and the duke sent a request to Jin for grain. The ruler of Jin consulted his chief ministers. Guo Shi said. “Take advantage of the famine and attack Qin. You can win great merit!” The Jin ruler decided to follow this advice.

In Duke Mu’s fourteenth year the ruler of Jin called out his troops and led them in an attack on Qin. Duke Mu dispatched his own troops, appointing Pi Bao to lead them, and he himself took part in the attack. On the day *renxu* of the ninth month, he joined in battle with Yiwu, Duke Hui of Jin, in the region of Han.

The Jin ruler, abandoning the main body of his troops, fought for the advantage with the Qin forces, but as he turned his carriage around, his horses became bogged down. Duke Mu and the men under him chased after in pursuit, but they were unable to capture the Jin ruler and instead found themselves surrounded by the Jin army. The Jin forces attacked Duke Mu and had wounded him when 300 men who had earlier eaten horse flesh at Mt. Qi raced to his rescue, braving the Jin forces. The Jin forces broke their encirclement, so that Duke Mu was able to escape and return to his own forces, and in addition the Jin ruler was taken prisoner.

Sometime earlier, Duke Mu lost one of his prize horses. It was discovered that a group of 300 or more rustics in the region of Mt. Qi had captured the horse and eaten it. The Qin officials in time apprehended the men and were about to punish them, but Duke Mu said, “A gentleman does not allow his domestic animals to injure people. I have heard that if one eats good horseflesh but fails to drink wine, it will lead to illness.” He therefore had wine passed out to all the men and pardoned their offence. Later, when the 300 men heard that Qin was about to attack Jin, they all asked to join in the attack. They were thus among the troops accompanying the duke, and when they saw him hard pressed, they all brandished their spears and fought to the death in order to repay the kindness he had shown them with regard to the horseflesh. Thus Duke Mu was able to take the ruler of Jin prisoner and return with him to Qin.

He circulated an order throughout the state, saying, “Fast until tomorrow. I am going to offer the Jin ruler as a sacrifice to the Lord on High.” When the Zhou Son of Heaven heard of this, he exclaimed, “Jin belongs to the same clan as myself!” and begged Duke Mu to spare the Jin

ruler.28

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Duke Mu’s wife was an older sister of Yiwu, the Jin ruler, and when she heard of the proposed sacrifice, she donned mourning garments and appeared barefoot before the duke, saying, “I was unable to instruct my younger brother properly and so have occasioned you this inconvenience.”

Duke Mu said, “I supposed it was an illustrious feat to have captured the Jin ruler. But now the Son of Heaven speaks on his behalf, and my wife is grieved.” He therefore swore an oath of alliance with the Jin ruler and gave him permission to return to his own state, shifting him to better quarters and feasting him with seven sets of sacrificial animals.

In the eleventh month the Jin ruler Yiwu returned to his state. He presented Qin with the territory west of the Yellow River and sent the heir apparent Yu to be a hostage in Qin. Duke Mu gave the heir apparent Yu one of his daughters for a wife. At this time, therefore, the Qin territory extended all the way east to the Yellow River.

In Duke Mu’s eighteenth year, Duke Huan of Qi died. In his twentieth year Qin wiped out the states of Liang and Rui.

In Duke Mu’s twenty-second year the heir apparent Yu, hearing that the Jin ruler was ill, said to himself, “Liang was my mother’s state, and now Qin has destroyed it. I have many brothers, and if my father, the ruler of Jin, should pass away, Qin is certain to detain me here. Then Jin will ignore my claim to the throne and set up one of my brothers instead!” He therefore escaped from Qin and made his way back to Jin.

In Duke Mu’s twenty-third year Duke Hui of Jin died and his son Yu was set up as ruler. Duke Mu of Qin, angry at Yu for having escaped, thereupon invited the ducal son Chonger to come to Qin from the state of Chu, and offered him as a wife his daughter who had previously been married to Yu. Chonger at first declined the offer but later accepted her as his wife. Duke Mu treated him with increasing respect and generosity.

In Duke Mu’s twenty-fourth year he sent an envoy to inform the high ministers of Jin that he wished to place Chonger on the throne of Jin; the ministers of Jin gave their consent. Duke Mu accordingly sent men to escort Chonger to Jin, and in the second month he was set up as ruler of Jin. He is known as Duke Wen. Duke Wen then dispatched men to kill Yu. Yu is known posthumously as Duke Huai of Jin.

In the autumn of this year Dai, the younger brother of King Xiang of the Zhou dynasty, led the Di people in an attack on the king. The king fled from the capital and took up residence in the state of Zheng. In the twenty-fifth year of Duke Mu the Zhou king sent envoys to Jin and Qin to inform them of his difficulties. Duke Mu of Qin led his troops and assisted Duke Wen of Jin in restoring the Zhou king to his throne and killing his younger brother Dai.

In Duke Mu’s twenty-eighth year Duke Wen of Jin defeated the state of Chu at Chengpu.

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In his thirtieth year Duke Mu aided Duke Wen of Jin in besieging the state of Zheng. Zheng sent an envoy to say to Duke Mu, “Destroying Zheng and increasing the power of Jin will benefit Jin, but hardly be to the profit of Qin. The stronger Jin becomes the greater the worry for Qin!” Duke Mu thereupon called off his troops and returned to Qin, and Jin likewise abandoned the siege.

In Duke Mu’s thirty-second year Duke Wen of Jin died (628 BC). Some men of Zheng offered to betray Zheng to Jin, saying, “We have charge of the city gate — Zheng can be taken by surprise attack.”

Duke Mu consulted Jian Shu and Baili Xi, but they replied, “No one who has to pass through numerous states and journey 1,000 *li* to carry out a surprise attack is likely to have much success. Moreover, if these men betray Zheng’s secrets to us, how do we know that people of our own state are not secretly informing Zheng of our plans? The idea is impossible!”

But Duke Mu replied, “You understand nothing of this. I have already made my decision!” Then he called out his forces, appointing Baili Xi’s son Mengming Shi, Jian Shu’s son Xiqi Shu, and Bai Yibing to lead the troops. The day the troops set out, Baili Xi and Jian Shu both wept over the departure. Duke Mu accosted them angrily, saying, “Now that my troops are setting out, what do you mean by weeping and trying to detain the army?”

The two old men replied, “It is not that we would dare to detain your army. But when the army goes, our sons go with it. We are old, and if the army is long in returning, we fear we will never see them again. That is the only reason we weep.”

When the old men had withdrawn from the duke’s presence, they said to their sons, “If the army you are with is defeated, it will surely be at the narrow defile of Yao.”

In the spring of Duke Mu’s thirty-third year Qin’s forces set out for the east. As they passed the northern gate of the Zhou capital on their way through Jin, the royal grandson Man said, “The Qin army has no sense of propriety. How could it help but suffer defeat?”29

The Qin troops had advanced as far as Hua when they encountered Xian Gao, a travelling merchant of Zheng who was taking twelve oxen to the Zhou capital to sell. Seeing the Qin troops, he became fearful that he would be put to death or taken captive, and so he presented his oxen, saying, “The ruler of Zheng, hearing that your great state was coming to punish him, has respectfully taken measures for his defence, and at the same time has sent me with these twelve oxen for the provisioning of your officers.”

The three Qin generals conferred together, saying, “We had intended to make a surprise attack on Zheng, but now Zheng already knows about it. Better to abandon the mission than to go any farther.” They proceeded to wipe out Hua, a city on the Jin border.

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At this time the burial of Duke Wen of Jin had not yet been carried out. His heir, Duke Xiang, was enraged. “Qin thinks nothing of the fact that I am newly bereaved and takes advantage of our mourning to wipe out our city of Hua!” he said. Then he dyed his white mourning garments black and called out his troops to cut off the Qin forces at Yao. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Qin army, not allowing a single man to escape. He took the three Qin commanders prisoner and returned with them to Jin.

The widow of Duke Wen of Jin was a daughter of the Qin ruling house, and she spoke to her son regarding the three captive Qin generals, saying, “The hatred Duke Mu bears these men eats into his very bones and marrow! I beg you to send them back to Qin so that my lord of Qin may have the pleasure of boiling them alive!”

The Jin ruler consented to this and sent the three generals back to Qin. When they arrived, Duke Mu donned white mourning garments and went out to the suburbs to greet them. Addressing them, he wept and said, “I failed to heed the advice of Baili Xi and Jian Shu and so brought shame on you three. What fault have you committed? I ask only that you give all your thought to how we may wipe out this disgrace, never slacking your efforts!” He then restored the three men to their posts and ranks and treated them with even greater favour.

In Duke Mu’s thirty-fourth year Shangchen, the heir apparent of the state of Chu, murdered his father, King Cheng, and became ruler in his place. Duke Mu once more ordered Mengming Shi and the other commanders to lead the Qin forces in an attack on Jin. They engaged in battle at Pengya but, failing to win the advantage, withdrew their troops and returned home.

The ruler of the Rong people sent You Yu to Qin. You Yu’s forbears were people of Jin who had fled from Jin and gone to live among the Rong. You Yu could therefore speak the language of Jin. The Rong ruler, having heard that Duke Mu was a worthy man, dispatched You Yu to observe the situation in Qin.

Duke Mu showed You Yu the goods and possessions heaped up in his palace, but You Yu said, “If these were made by ghosts, it must have exhausted the spirit world, and if they were made by human beings, it must have been bitter for the people!”

Duke Mu, puzzled, questioned him, saying, “China employs the Odes and Documents, its rites and music, its laws and regulations to govern the land,

but even so there are times of chaos. Now the Rong and Yi people have none of these, so how can they bring about order? It must be very difficult, is it not?”

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You Yu laughed and replied, “It is precisely because of these that China is in chaos! In ancient times when the sage rulers such as the Yellow Emperor created rites and music, laws and regulations, they took the lead in observing and carrying them out, and a small measure of order was achieved. But the rulers of later ages grow daily more arrogant and licentious, scrutinizing and berating their subjects in the name of the law, while their subjects, utterly exhausted, angrily reproach their superiors in the name of benevolence and righteousness. So superior and inferior wrangle and revile one another, usurping and murdering until whole clans are wiped out. And all because of such things as rites and music, laws and regulations!

“The Rong and Yi people are not like this. Superiors treat their inferiors with simplicity and thoughtfulness, while inferiors serve their superiors with loyalty and good faith, and the governing of the whole state is like the ordering of a single individual. No one knows why order comes about — such is the ordering of a true sage.”

When Duke Mu retired from the interview, he questioned his internal secretary Liao, saying, “I have heard that a sage in a neighbouring state can be a source of worry to that state’s rivals. Now this worthy man You Yu could be a threat to me. What should I do?”

The internal secretary Liao replied, “This Rong ruler lives hidden away in the borderlands and has never heard the music of China. You could try sending him some women musicians to distract his attention. Meanwhile you could make various requests of You Yu in order to cause dissension between him and his ruler, detaining him here and failing to send him back when the date for his return comes. The Rong ruler will wonder at this and will surely begin to suspect You Yu. Once dissension is sown between ruler and subject, we can make You Yu our captive. And if the Rong ruler likes our music, he is bound to neglect affairs of government.”

Duke Mu approved this plan and accordingly seated You Yu on a mat close by his side, pressed one dish after another on him, and questioned him about the topography of the Rong territory and the strength of its armed forces, till he had learned all about them. Then he ordered the internal secretary to send two sets of eight women musicians each to the Rong ruler. The Rong ruler accepted the musicians, found them to his liking, and by year-end had still not sent them back. Qin then sent You Yu back to his own country.

You Yu repeatedly admonished the Rong ruler, but his advice went

unheeded. Meanwhile, Duke Mu several times sent persons to speak to You Yu in secret and invite him to come to Qin. In the end You Yu left the Rong ruler and came over to the side of Qin. Duke Mu treated him with the courtesy due a guest and questioned him on how to go about attacking the Rong.

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In his thirty-sixth year Duke Mu once more bestowed favours on Mengming and the other commanders and sent them to lead troops in an attack on Jin, burning their boats behind them when they crossed the Yellow River. They inflicted a crushing defeat on the men of Jin, seizing the cities of Wangguan and Jiao and thus repaying Jin for the battle of Yao. The people of Jin all kept to their cities and did not venture forth.

Then Duke Mu in person crossed the Yellow River at Reed Ford and raised a grave mound for the dead who had fallen in the battle of Yao, proclaiming mourning and carrying out lamentations for three days.

He then swore this oath with his army: “You, my officers and men, hearken and cease your clamour! I declare this oath to you. The men of old consulted with their grey-haired ones, the hoary-headed, and thus they were without error. But I keep recalling how I failed to heed the counsels of Jian Shu and Baili Xi. Therefore I take this oath, so that ages hereafter may remember my error.”30

When gentlemen heard of this, they all wept tears of admiration, saying, “Ah, Duke Mu of Qin did right by others. So in the end he achieved a felicitous outcome through Mengming.”

In his thirty-seventh year Duke Mu employed You Yu’s advice to carry out an attack on the Rong ruler, acquiring twelve new states, extending his territory 1,000 *li*, and making himself overlord of the Western Rong. The Son of Heaven dispatched Guo, the Duke of Shao, to congratulate Duke Mu and present him with a golden drum.

In his thirty-ninth year (621 BC) Duke Mu died and was buried at Yong. He was accompanied in death by 177 persons. Three good ministers of the Ziyu family, Yanxi, Zhonghang and Zhenhu, were among those who followed him in death. The people of Qin, grieved at this, composed for them the song in the *Book of Odes* known as “Yellow Birds”.31

The gentleman remarks: Duke Mu of Qin broadened his territory and increased his state, in the east humbling the powerful Jin, in the west making himself overlord of the Rong barbarians. But he never became a leader of the alliance, which is only right.32 For when he died, he cast aside his people and instead enlisted his good ministers to accompany him in death. When the kings of antiquity passed away, they left virtue behind them and laws to be handed down. How could they ever snatch away their best men and good ministers, causing their people to grieve? So we know

that Qin will never again be able to march east in conquest.33

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Duke Mu had forty sons. The heir apparent Ying succeeded him as ruler and is known as Duke Kang.

Duke Kang first year: in the previous year, when Duke Mu died, Duke Xiang of Jin also died. Duke Xiang’s younger brother was named Yong and, his mother being of the state of Qin, he was living in Qin. Zhao Dun, a high official of Jin, wanted to make him ruler of Jin and therefore dispatched Sui Hui34 to go to Qin to fetch him. The Qin armed forces had escorted Yong as far as Linghu when the people of Jin, having meanwhile set up Duke Xiang’s son as their new ruler, instead sent a force to attack the Qin army. The Qin army was defeated and Sui Hui fled back to Qin.

In Duke Kang’s second year Qin attacked Jin and seized the city of Wu to retaliate for its defeat at Linghu.

In Duke Kang’s fourth year Jin attacked Qin and seized Shaoliang. In his sixth year Qin attacked Jin and seized Jima, fighting at Hequ and inflicting a great defeat on the Jin army. The men of Jin, worried that Sui Hui, having gone over to Qin, would make trouble for Jin, sent Wei Shouyu to go to Qin and, pretending that he had turned against Jin, to plot with Sui Hui. By this ruse he was able to capture Sui Hui and take him back to Jin.

Duke Kang died twelve years after assuming the throne and was succeeded by his son, Duke Gong. In Duke Gong’s second year, Zhao Chuan of Jin murdered his ruler, Duke Ling. In Duke Gong’s third year, King Zhuang of Chu, being very powerful at this time, marched north with his troops as far as Luoyang and asked about the cauldrons of Zhou.35

Duke Gong died after five years of rule and was succeeded by his son, known as Duke Huan. In Duke Huan’s third year Jin defeated one of Qin’s generals. In Duke Huan’s tenth year King Zhuang of Chu conquered Zheng and advanced north to defeat the Jin forces at the Yellow River. At this time Chu, acting as overlord, called the other feudal rulers together to a conference to conclude an alliance.

In Duke Huan’s twenty-fourth year, Duke Li became ruler of Jin. He concluded an alliance with Duke Huan of Qin, the two states occupying opposite sides of the Yellow River, but once the Qin ruler had returned to his capital, he violated the alliance and joined with the Di people in plotting and carrying out a surprise attack on Jin. In Duke Huan’s twenty-sixth year Jin led the other feudal lords in an attack on Qin. The Qin army fled in defeat, its enemies pursuing it as far as the Jing River before turning back. Duke Huan died in his twenty-seventh year of rule and was succeeded by his son, Duke Jing.

In Duke Jing’s fourth year (573 BC) Luan Shu of Jin murdered his ruler, Duke Li. In Duke Jing’s fifteenth year Qin went to the rescue of Zheng,

defeating the Jin troops at Li. At this time Duke Dao of Jin was acting as the leader of the alliance.

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In Duke Jing’s eighteenth year Duke Dao of Jin, being very powerful at this time, several times called the other feudal leaders together and led them in an attack on Qin, defeating the Qin army. When the Qin army fled, the Jin forces pursued them, eventually crossing the Jing River and advancing as far as Yulin before turning back.

In his twenty-seventh year of rule Duke Jing went to Jin and concluded an alliance with Duke Ping, but having done so, he proceeded to violate it.

In Duke Jing’s thirty-sixth year (541 BC) the ducal son Wei of Chu murdered his ruler and set himself on the throne. He is known as King Ling. Duke Jing of Qin had a younger brother by the same mother as himself named Houzi or Qian. He enjoyed favour with Duke Jing and was very rich, but when someone slandered him to the duke, he fled to the state of Jin, fearing punishment. He was accompanied by an entourage of 1,000 carriages. Duke Ping of Jin said, “If you are this rich, why do you run away?” Houzi replied, “The ruler of Qin is unprincipled and I am afraid of being put to death. I would like to wait till there has been a change of ruler before going home.”

In Duke Jing’s thirty-ninth year King Ling of Chu, who was powerful at this time, summoned the other feudal leaders to a meeting at Shen, where he acted as leader of the alliance and put Qing Feng of Qi to death. Duke Jing of Qin died in his fortieth year of rule and was succeeded by his son, who became Duke Ai. At this time Houzi returned to Qin.

In Duke Ai’s eighth year (529 BC) the ducal son Qiji of Chu murdered his lord, King Ling, and set himself up as ruler. He is known as King Ping. In Duke Ai’s eleventh year King Ping of Chu asked the ruler of Qin for one of his daughters as a bride for his son, the heir apparent Jian. But when the woman arrived in Chu and he saw how beautiful she was, he took her for himself.

In Duke Ai’s fifteenth year King Ping of Chu was about to put to death his heir apparent Jian, but Jian escaped, and the Chu minister Wu Zixu fled to the state of Wu. The ducal house of the state of Jin had sunk very low at this time, power being in the hands of the six great ministerial families who struggled for supremacy within the state.36 For this reason Qin and Jin for a long time refrained from attacking each other.

In Duke Ai’s thirty-first year King Helü of Wu and Wu Zixu attacked Chu. King Zhao of Chu fled to the state of Sui and the Wu forces eventually entered the Chu capital of Ying. The Chu grandee Shen Baoxu went to Qin to report the emergency, refusing to eat for seven days and for seven days and nights wailing and lamenting. Finally Qin agreed to dispatch a force of

500 war chariots to rescue Chu. They defeated the Wu army, which returned to Wu, and King Zhao was at last able to re-enter the capital city of Ying (505 BC).

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After thirty-six years as ruler, Duke Ai died. The heir apparent, Duke Yi, had died previously and never actually became ruler. Duke Yi’s son was set up as the new ruler and is known as Duke Hui (I). In the first year of Duke Hui’s rule Confucius carried out the duties of the prime minister of Lu.37

In Duke Hui’s fifth year the Jin ministerial families Zhonghang and Fan revolted against Jin. Jin ordered the Zhi family and viscount Jian of Zhao to attack them, whereupon the Fan and Zhonghang families fled to Qi. Duke Hui died in his tenth year and was succeeded by his son, Duke Dao.

In Duke Dao’s second year the Qi minister Tian Qi murdered his sovereign, Ruzi, and set up Ruzi’s elder brother, Yangsheng, as ruler of Qi; he is known as Duke Dao of Qi.

In the sixth year of Duke Dao of Qin the state of Wu defeated the Qi army. The people of Qi murdered Duke Dao and set up his son as Duke Jian. In Duke Dao’s ninth year Duke Ding of Jin and King Fuchai of Wu swore an alliance at Huangchi. They quarrelled as to which should take precedence, but in the end Wu went first since its power exceeded that of the central states of China.

In Duke Dao’s twelfth year Tian Chang of Qi murdered Duke Jian and set up Duke Jian’s younger brother as Duke Ping, with Tian Chang as prime minister. In Duke Dao’s thirteenth year Chu wiped out the state of Chen. Duke Dao of Qin died in the fourteenth year of his rule and was succeeded by his son, who became Duke Ligong. Confucius died in the twelfth year of Duke Dao’s rule (479 BC).

In the second year of Duke Ligong’s rule the people of Shu came to Qin with gifts.38 In Duke Ligong’s sixteenth year a canal was dug that ran parallel to the Yellow River and 20,000 troops were dispatched to attack the area of Dali and seize the city of Wangcheng. In Duke Ligong’s twenty- first year Pinyang was made into a district. Jin seized the region of Wucheng.

In Duke Ligong’s twenty-fourth year rebellion broke out in Jin, Zhi Bo was killed, and his lands were divided up among the Zhao, Hann, and Wei families. In Duke Ligong’s twenty-fifth year Zhi Bo’s son Zhi Kai fled with the people of his city to Qin. In Duke Ligong’s thirty-third year Qin attacked the Yiqu people and captured their ruler. In Duke Ligong’s thirty- fourth year there was an eclipse of the sun. Duke Ligong died and was succeeded by his son, Duke Zao.

In Duke Zao’s second year the region of Nanzheng revolted. In his thirteenth year the Yiqu people came to attack Qin, advancing as far as the

area south of the Wei River. In the fourteenth year Duke Zao died and was succeeded by his younger brother, known as Duke Huai.

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In Duke Huai’s fourth year the militia leader Chao joined with the chief ministers of Qin in besieging Duke Huai, whereupon the duke committed suicide. Duke Huai’s heir apparent was named Zhaozi, but as he had died at an early age, the chief ministers set up his son as ruler. He is known as Duke Ling and was the grandson of Duke Huai.

In Duke Ling’s sixth year Jin walled the city of Shaoliang, whereupon Qin attacked the city. In Duke Ling’s thirteenth year Qin walled Jigu. Duke Ling died, but his son, Duke Xuan, did not succeed him. Instead he was succeeded by his paternal uncle Daozi, who became Duke Jian. Duke Jian was a son of Duke Huai and younger brother of Zhaozi.

In Duke Jian’s sixth year officials were for the first time ordered to wear swords. The Luo canal was dug and the city of Chongquan walled. Duke Jian died in his sixteenth year and was succeeded by his son, Duke Hui (II).

In Duke Hui’s twelfth year his son Chuzi was born. In Duke Hui’s thirteenth year Qin attacked Shu and seized Nanzheng. Duke Hui died and was succeeded by his son Chuzi, but in Chuzi’s second year of rule the militia leader Gai escorted Duke Ling’s son, Duke Xian, from the region of Hexi and set him up as ruler. He killed Chuzi and his mother and sank their bodies in the depths of the river. From this time on, Qin underwent frequent changes of rulership, ruler and subject clashing and contending with one another. As a result, Jin was able to regain power and to seize Qin’s lands west of the Yellow River.

In Duke Xian’s first year he prohibited the practice of “following in death”. In his second year the city of Yueyang was walled.

In the first month of his fourth year, the day gengyin, the future Duke Xiao was born. In Duke Xian’s eleventh year Dan, the grand historian of the Zhou court, had an interview with Duke Xian and said, “The states of Zhou and Qin were originally joined together, but later they separated. Five hundred years after the separation they will join together again, and seventy-seven years after they join together a dictator king will appear.”39

In Duke Xian’s sixteenth year peach trees blossomed in winter, and in his eighteenth year it rained gold on Yueyang. In his twenty-first year Qin fought with Jin at Shimen and cut off the heads of 60,000 of the enemy. The Zhou Son of Heaven congratulated Qin by presenting it with an embroidered sacrificial dress. In Duke Xian’s twenty-third year Qin fought with Wei and Jin at Shaoliang and captured their leader Gongsun Cuo. Duke Xian died in his twenty-fourth year of rule and was succeeded by his son, Duke Xiao, who was twenty-one years of age at the time.

Duke Xiao first year (361 BC): In the area east of the Yellow River and

the mountains, six powerful states were in existence, the ruler King Wei of Qi, King Xuan of Chu, King Hui of Wei, Duke Dao of Yan, Duke Ai of Hann, and Duke Cheng of Zhao being ranged side by side, while in the region of the Huai and Si rivers there were ten or more smaller states. Chu and Wei adjoined Qin’s borders. Wei had built a long wall extending from Zheng along the Luo River and then north, where Wei held the region of Shangjun, while Chu held possession of Ba and Qianzhong south of the Han River. The Zhou royal house had sunk into insignificance and the feudal lords ruled by force, wrangling with one another and annexing each other’s lands. Qin was situated far out on the border in the old province of Yong and did not participate in the alliances of the feudal lords of the central states, being treated instead like a barbarian people.

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Duke Xiao thereupon began to exercise kindness in his rule, assisting the orphaned and widowed; he invited fighting men, clarified the awards they would receive for their accomplishments, and circulated an order throughout his realm, saying: “In past times our Duke Mu, residing in the region of Mt. Qi and Yong, cultivated virtue and practised the martial arts, in the east pacifying the troubles in Jin and fixing his borders along the Yellow River, while in the west he became overlord of the Rong and Di people and extended his territory 1,000 *li*. The Son of Heaven acknowledged his leadership and the feudal lords all offered congratulations — so glorious was the manner in which he opened the way for future accomplishment!

“But then came the time of dukes Ligong, Zao, and Jian, the disquiet of the Chuzi affair, when the state was beset by internal woes and there was no leisure to tend to outside affairs. Then the Three Jin40 attacked and wrested from us the lands west of the Yellow River that had belonged to our former ruler, and the feudal lords looked down on Qin. No shame could have been greater than ours!

“As soon as Duke Xian assumed rule, however, he brought order to the borderlands and moved his capital to Yueyang, hoping to march east in attack and to recover the old territories held by Duke Mu, and to carry out the kind of government measures that Duke Mu had. When I recall these intentions cherished by the former ruler, my heart is constantly pained. If among the visitors to our state or the various officials there is anyone who can devise some effective plan for strengthening Qin, I will honour him with office and apportion lands to him.”

Duke Xiao then called out troops and sent them east to besiege the city of Shan, and west to cut down the leader of the Rong people of Huan. When Wei Yang heard of the order which Duke Xiao had circulated throughout his state, he journeyed west to Qin and sought an interview

with Duke Xiao through the introduction of Jing Jian.41

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Duke Xiao second year: the Son of Heaven sent him a gift of sacrificial meat.

Duke Xiao third year: Wei Yang spoke to the duke, urging him to change the laws, impose penalties, encourage agricultural pursuits within the state, and on the foreign front to reward those who would fight and die in battle. Duke Xiao approved of these proposals. Gan Long, Du Cui, and others disagreed, and an argument ensued, but in the end the duke put Wei Yang’s laws into effect. The people at first complained bitterly, but after three years had passed, they acknowledged the suitability of the laws, and Wei Yang was elevated to the rank of *zuoshuzhang*.42 An account will be found in the chapter on Lord Shang.

Duke Xiao seventh year: the duke met with King Hui of Wei at Duping. Eighth year: he fought with Wei at Yuanli and proved successful. Tenth year: Wei Yang was promoted to the rank of *daliangzao*43 and led the troops to besiege the Wei city of Anyi, forcing it to surrender. Twelfth year: the city of Xianyang was laid out and the Memorial Gate was constructed.44 The Qin ruler moved his capital to Xianyang. The smaller hamlets and villages were grouped together to form large districts, with a magistrate to head each district. There were thirty-one districts. The ridges that bounded the fields were opened up, and in the east the Qin territory extended beyond the Luo River.

Duke Xiao fourteenth year: the *fu* tax was first established. Nineteenth

year: the Son of Heaven recognized the duke as a hegemon. Twentieth year: the other feudal lords all extended their congratulations. Qin dispatched Gongzi Shaoguan to lead the troops and convene the feudal lords for a meeting at Fengze and then pay respects at the court of the Son of Heaven. Twenty-first year: Qi defeated Wei at Maling. Twenty-second year: Wei Yang attacked Wei and captured the Wei leader Gongzi Ang. Wei Yang was enfeoffed as a marquis and given the title of Lord Shang.

Duke Xiao twenty-fourth year: the Qin army fought with Jin (Wei) at Yanmen, capturing its leader Wei Cu. Duke Xiao died and was succeeded by his son, the ruler Huiwen. This year Wei Yang was put to death (338 BC).

Earlier, when Wei Yang first promulgated the new laws for Qin, the laws were not effective, with even the heir apparent violating the prohibitions. Wei Yang said, “The reason the laws are not effective is that those in high position take the lead in violating them. If you want the laws to work, then begin by punishing the heir apparent!” Since the heir apparent could not be subjected to the punishment of tatooing, his tutor was tatooed in his place. After this the laws were heeded and the people of Qin were well ordered. But when Duke Xiao died and the heir apparent was set up, there

were many members of the ruling family who hated Wei Yang. Wei Yang fled from the state and was accordingly accounted a traitor. In the end he was torn apart by carriages to serve as a warning to the state of Qin.

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First year of the ruler Huiwen (337 BC): the men of Chu, Hann, Zhao, and Shu came to the court of Qin to pay their respects. Second year: the Son of Heaven sent congratulations. Third year: the ruler donned the cap of manhood.45 Fourth year: the Son of Heaven presented the ruler with meat from the sacrifices to the Zhou ancestors Wen and Wu. The rulers of Qi and Wei took the title of king. Fifth year: the xishou, a native of Yinjin, was promoted to the rank of *daliangzao*.46 Sixth year: Wei handed over the region of Yinjin to Qin. Yinjin was renamed Ningqin.

Seventh year: Gongzi Ang fought with Wei, capturing the Wei general Long Jia and cutting off 80,000 heads.47 Eighth year: Wei handed over the territories west of the Yellow River to Qin. In the ninth year, Qin crossed the Yellow River and seized Fenyin and Pishi, met with the king of Wei at Ying, and besieged the city of Jiao, forcing its surrender. Tenth year: Zhang Yi became prime minister of Qin. The state of Wei handed over the fifteen districts of Shangjun to Qin. Eleventh year: the region of Yiqu was made into a district; Qin returned the cities of Jiao and Quwo to the state of Wei. The ruler of Yiqu acknowledged fealty to the Qin ruler, and Shaoliang was renamed Xiayang. Twelfth year: the la festival was celebrated for the first time.48 Thirteenth year: on the day *mouwu* of the fourth month, the Wei ruler took the title of king, and the ruler of Hann also became a king. Qin dispatched Zhang Yi to seize the city of Shan; its inhabitants were driven out and handed over to Wei.

Fourteenth year: the Qin ruler began numbering the years of his rule again, and this became the first year of the new numbering.49 Second year: Zhang Yi met with the chief officials of Qi and Chu at Niesang. Third year: the heirs apparent of the states of Hann and Wei came to Qin to pay their respects. Zhang Yi became prime minister of Wei. Fifth year: the king of Qin journeyed to the northern bend of the Yellow River. Seventh year: Yue Chi became prime minister of Qin. Hann, Zhao, Wei, Yan, and Qi, leading a force of Xiongnu, joined in attacking Qin. Qin dispatched the militia leader Shuli Ji to do battle with them at Xiuyu. He captured their general Shen Cha, defeated the ducal son Ke of Zhao and the Hann heir apparent Huan, and cut off the heads of 82,000 of the enemy.50

Eighth year: Zhang Yi once more became prime minister of Qin. Ninth year: Sima Cuo attacked the state of Shu and wiped it out. Qin also attacked and seized the Zhao cities of Zhongdu and Xiyang. Tenth year: Cang, the heir apparent of the state of Hann, came to Qin as a hostage. Qin attacked and seized the Hann region of Shizhang, attacked and defeated

the Zhao general Ni, and attacked and seized twenty-five cities of Yiqu. Eleventh year: Shuli Ji attacked the Wei city of Jiao and forced it to surrender. Qin defeated Hann at Anmen and cut off 10,000 enemy heads; the Hann general, a xishou, fled from the field. Tong, a son of the Qin ruler, was enfeoffed in Shu. The ruler of the state of Yan ceded his throne to his minister Zi Zhi.

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Twelfth year: the king of Qin met with the king of Liang at Linjin.51 The militia leader Shuli Ji attacked Zhao and captured the Zhao general Zhuang. Zhang Yi became prime minister of Chu. Thirteenth year: the militia leader Zhang attacked the forces of Chu at Danyang, captured the Chu general Qu Gai, and cut off the heads of 80,000 of the enemy. He also attacked the Chu region of Hanzhong, seized an area of 600 *li*, and set up the province of Hanzhong. When Chu besieged the Hann city of Yongzhi, Qin dispatched the militia leader Shuli Ji to go to the assistance of Hann and proceed east to attack Qi. Qin also ordered Dao Man to assist Wei in attacking in Yan. Fourteenth year: Qin attacked Chu and seized Shaoliang, and Dan and Li acknowledged fealty to Qin. Zhuang, the prime minister of Shu, killed the marquis of Shu and came to surrender to Qin.

King Huiwen died and was succeeded by his son, King Wu. Hann, Wei, Qi, Chu, and Zhao all came to Qin as guests to offer their support.

In his first year (310 BC) King Wu met with King Hui of Wei at Linjin.52 He put to death Zhuang, the prime minister of Shu. Zhang Yi and Wei Zhang both left Qin and went east to Wei. Qin attacked Yiqu, Dan and Li. Nangong Jie died. Second year: the office of chancellor was set up.53 Shuli Ji and Gan Mou were appointed chancellor of the right and left respectively. Zhang Yi died in Wei. Third year: King Wu met with King Xiang of Hann outside the city of Linjin. Shuli Ji became prime minister of Hann. King Wu said to Gan Mou, “I want to send my war chariots through the region of the three rivers and call on the Zhou royal house.54 Then I can die without regret.” That autumn he dispatched Gan Mou and the militia leader Feng to attack Yiyang. Fourth year: they overran Yiyang, cutting off 60,000 enemy heads, and then crossed the Yellow River and built defensive walls around Wusui. The heir apparent of Wei came to the Qin court.

King Wu of Qin was a very powerful man who loved feats of strength. Persons noted for their physical strength such as Ren Bi, Wu Huo, and Meng Yue all rose to high office under him. The king joined Meng Yue in a cauldron-lifting contest and broke his knee-cap. In the eighth month King Wu died and Meng Yue and his family were all put to death.

King Wu had taken a daughter of the Wei ruling house as his queen, but as she had borne him no sons, his younger brother by a different mother

was set up as ruler to succeed him. This was King Zhaoxiang. King Zhaoxiang’s mother, a member of the Chu ruling family, bore the surname Mi and the title Queen Dowager Xuan. When King Wu died, King Zhaoxiang was a hostage in the state of Yan, but the men of Yan escorted him back to Qin so he could become ruler.

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In King Zhaoxiang’s first year (306 BC) Shuli Ji or Lord Yan became prime minister. Gan Mou left Qin and went to Wei. Second year: a comet appeared. The militia leader Zhuang joined with the high ministers, marquises, and ducal sons of Qin in carrying out a revolt, but all were put to death. Even including the consort of King Hui, all died unnatural deaths. The consort of King Wu left Qin and returned to her native state of Wei.

King Zhaoxiang third year: the king assumed the cap of manhood. He met with the king of Chu at Huangji, handing over the region of Shangyong to Chu. Fourth year: Qin seized the city of Puban. A comet appeared. Fifth year: the king of Wei came to pay his respects to the Qin court at Yingting, and Qin returned the city Puban to Wei. Sixth year: Hui, the marquis of Shu, revolted. Sima Cuo restored order to Shu. The militia leader Huan attacked Chu and cut off 20,000 enemy heads. The ducal son Shi, Lord Jingyang, was sent to Qi as a hostage. There was an eclipse of the sun and it grew dark at midday. Seventh year: Qin captured the city of Xincheng. Shuli Ji died.

King Zhaoxiang eighth year: Qin sent its general Mi Rong to attack Chu and seize Xinshi. Qi dispatched Zhang Zi, Wei dispatched Gongsun Xi, and Hann dispatched Bao Yuan to make a joint attack on the Chu city of Fangcheng, in which they seized the Chu general Tang Mei. Zhao destroyed the state of Zhongshan and its ruler fled, eventually dying in Qi. The ducal son Jing of Wei and the ducal son Chang of Hann became marquises.

King Zhaoxiang ninth year: Xue Wen, Lord Mengchang, came to Qin to become its prime minister. Huan attacked Chu and seized eight cities, killing the Chu general Jing Kuai. Tenth year: King Huai of Chu came to pay his respects at the Qin court, where Qin detained him. Xue Wen resigned the post of prime minister because of Jin Shou and Lou Huan became chancellor.55

King Zhaoxiang eleventh year: the five states of Qi, Hann, Wei, Zhao, and Song, along with Zhongshan, joined in an attack on Qin, advancing as far as Yanshi before withdrawing. Qin handed over the regions of Hebei and Fengling to Hann and Wei in order to make peace. A comet appeared. King Huai of Chu escaped and fled to Zhao, but Zhao refused to grant him asylum and sent him back to Qin, where he died. His body was returned to Chu for burial. Twelfth year: Lou Huan resigned and Wei Ran, marquis of

Rang, became prime minister. Qin gave Chu 50,000 piculs of grain. Thirteenth year: Xiang Shou attacked Hann and seized Wushi. The *zuogeng* Bai Qi attacked Xincheng.56 The fifth rank counsellor Lü Li left Qin and fled to the state of Wei.57 Ren Bi became governor of Hanzhong Province. Fourteenth year: the *zuogeng* Bai Qi attacked the Hann and Wei forces at Yique, cutting off 240,000 enemy heads, taking Gongsun Xi prisoner, and capturing five cities.

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King Zhaoxiang fifteenth year: the *daliangzao* Bai Qi attacked Wei and

seized Yuan, but then returned it. He attacked Chu and seized Wan. Sixteenth year: Sima Cuo seized Zhi and Deng. Wei Ran resigned the post of prime minister. Qin enfeoffed the ducal son Shi in Wan, the ducal son Kui in Deng, and Wei Ran in Tao, making them all marquises. Seventeenth year: Lord Chengyang came to the Qin court to pay respects, and the Eastern Zhou ruler also came to court. Qin exchanged the city of Yuan for Puban and Pishi. The king of Qin went to Yiyang. Eighteenth year: Sima Cuo attacked Yuan, Heyong, and Jueqiao and seized them.

King Zhaoxiang nineteenth year (288 BC): the king of Qin became Western Emperor and the ruler of Qi became Eastern Emperor. Both rulers then abandoned the titles.58 The fifth rank counsellor Lü Li returned to Qin. Qi destroyed the state of Song and the king of Song took up residence in Wei. He died at Wen. Ren Bi died. Twentieth year: the king of Qin visited Hanzhong. He also visited Shangjun and the northern bend of the Yellow River.

King Zhaoxiang twenty-first year: Sima Cuo attacked the Henei area of Wei. Wei presented the city of Anyi to Qin. Qin expelled the inhabitants and moved its own people to the area east of the Yellow River, bestowing noble ranks and pardoning criminals in order to facilitate the move. The ducal son Shi, Lord Jingyang, was enfeoffed in Wan. Twenty-second year: Meng Wu attacked Qi. Nine districts were created in the area east of the Yellow River. The Qin ruler met with the king of Chu at Wan, and with the king of Zhao at Zhongyang. Twenty-third year: the Qin commandant Sili joined Hann, Wei, Zhao, and Yan in an attack on Qi, destroying Jixi. The Qin king met with the king of Wei at Yiyang, and with the king of Hann at Xincheng. Twenty-fourth year: the Qin ruler met with the king of Chu at Yan and again at Rang. Qin seized the Wei city of Ancheng and advanced as far as Daliang, but Yan and Zhao came to its rescue and the Qin army withdraw. Wei Ran resigned as prime minister.

King Zhaoxiang twenty-fifth year: Qin captured two of Zhao’s cities. The Qin ruler met with the king of Hann at Xincheng, and with the king of Wei at Xinming city. Twenty-sixth year: Qin pardoned criminals and moved them to the region of Rang. Wei Ran resumed the post of prime minister.

Twenty-seventh year: Sima Cuo attacked Chu. Qin pardoned criminals and moved them to the region of Nanyang. Bai Qi attacked Zhao and seized the city of Guanglang in Dai. Qin also sent Sima Cuo to set out with troops from Longxi and, proceeding through Shu, to attack Qianzhong, which he overran. Twenty-eighth year: the *daliangzao* Bai Qi attacked Chu and seized Yan and Deng. Criminals were pardoned and transported to those areas. Twenty-ninth year: the *daliangzao* Bai Qi attacked Chu and seized the Chu capital of Ying, which was made into Nan Province. The Chu king fled. The Zhou ruler came to Qin. The king of Qin met with the king of Chu at Xiangling. Bai Qi was made Lord Wuan.

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King Zhaoxiang thirtieth year (277 BC): Ruo, the governor of Shu, attacked Chu and seized Wujun and Jiangnan, which were made into Qianzhong Province. Thirty-first year: Bai Qi attacked Wei and seized two cities. The people of Chu revolted in Qin’s region of Jiangnan. Thirty- second year: the prime minister Wei Ran attacked Wei, advancing as far as Daliang. He crushed the forces of Bao Yuan, cutting off 40,000 enemy heads; Bao Yuan fled. Wei presented Qin with three districts in a bid for peace. Thirty-third year: Hu Shang, a “guest minister” of Qin,59 attacked the Wei cities of Juan, Caiyang, and Changshe and seized them. He carried out a surprise attack on Mang Mao’s forces at Huayang, defeating them and cutting off 150,000 enemy heads. Wei offered Nanyang to Qin in a bid for peace. Thirty-fourth year: Qin gave Wei the Hann region of Shangyong and made it into a province. Officials who had been removed from office in Nanyang were transported there to take up residence.

King Zhaoxiang thirty-fifth year (272 BC): Qin aided Hann, Wei, and Chu in an attack on Yan. The province of Nanyang was set up. Thirty-sixth year: Zao, a guest minister of Qin, attacked Qi and seized Gang and Shou; these were handed over to Wei Ran, the marquis of Rang. Thirty-eighth year: the *zhonggeng* Hu Shang attacked the Zhao city of Eyu but was unable to seize it.60 Fortieth year: the Qin heir apparent Dao died in Wei. His body was returned for burial in Zhiyang. Forty-second year: Bai Qi, Lord Wuan, attacked Hann and captured nine cities, cutting off 50,000 enemy heads. Forty-fourth year: Qin attacked Hann’s Nan Province and seized it. Forty- fifth year: the fifth rank counsellor Ben attacked Hann and seized ten cities. The ducal son Kui, Lord Sheyang, left the capital to proceed to his fief, but died before arriving.

King Zhaoxiang forty-seventh year (260 BC): Qin attacked Hann’s region of Shangdang, which surrendered to the state of Zhao. Qin then launched an attack on Zhao. Zhao dispatched troops to meet the attack, and for a time they were stalemated. Qin then dispatched Bai Qi, Lord Wuan, to press the attack, and he inflicted a crushing defeat on Zhao at Changping,

killing the entire force of over 400,000 men. Forty-eighth year: Hann presented the city of Yuanyong to Qin. The Qin army was divided into three parts. Bai Qi returned to Qin. Wang He led the forces of Qin in an attack on Zhao’s cities of Wuan and Pilao and captured them. Sima Geng proceeded north to take control of Taiyuan, gaining possession of all of Hann’s region of Shangdang.61 In the tenth month the fifth rank counsellor Ling attacked Zhao’s city of Handan. Forty-ninth year: in the first month Qin dispatched more troops to assist Ling, but Ling was unsuccessful in battle and was relieved of his command, Wang He replacing him as commander. In the tenth month the Qin general Zhang Tang attacked Wei, but his commander Cai abandoned his post and failed to stick by it; on return to Qin he was executed.

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King Zhaoxiang fiftieth year (257 BC): in the tenth month Bai Qi, Lord Wuan, was accused of a crime, reduced to the rank of common soldier, and exiled to Yinmi. Zhang Tang attacked Zheng and captured it. In the twelfth month more troops were sent to reinforce the army outside the city of Fencheng. Bai Qi, Lord Wuan, was accused of further crimes and put to death. Wang He attacked Handan but failed to capture it. He withdrew and fled with his troops to the army at Fencheng. Two or more months later he attacked the Wei army, cutting off 60,000 enemy heads. The bodies of 20,000 men of Wei and Chu washed down the Yellow River. Wang He attacked Fencheng and then joined Zhang Tang in capturing Ningxinzhong. Ningxinzhong was renamed Anyang. For the first time a bridge was built across the Yellow River.

King Zhaoxiang fifty-first year (256 BC): the Qin general Jiu attacked Hann, seized Yangcheng and Fumai, and cut off 40,000 enemy heads. He attacked Zhao and seized twenty or more districts, beheading or capturing 90,000 of the enemy. The Western Zhou ruler revolted against Qin and, entering into alliance with the other feudal rulers, led a force of crack troops drawn from all over the empire out of Yique in an attack on Qin, preventing Qin from maintaining contact with Yangcheng. Qin thereupon dispatched its general Jiu to attack Western Zhou. The Western Zhou ruler hastened to Qin to acknowledge his submission, bowing his head in recognition of guilt and offering his entire territory of thirty-six cities and 30,000 inhabitants to Qin. The Qin king accepted the gift and sent the Zhou ruler back to his capital in Zhou. Fifty-second year: the Zhou people fled to the east and their sacred vessels, including the nine cauldrons, passed into the hands of Qin.62 Thus the Zhou dynasty came to an end.

Fifty-third year: the various rulers of the empire came to Qin as guests, but the ruler of Wei was the last to do so. Qin dispatched Jiu to attack Wei, seizing Wucheng. When the king of Hann came to the Qin court, the state

of Wei turned over its internal affairs to the direction of Qin. Fifty-fourth year: the king of Qin carried out the suburban sacrifice to the Lord on High at Yong. Fifty-sixth year: in the autumn King Zhaoxiang died and was succeeded by his son, King Xiaowen. King Xiaowen honoured his deceased mother Tang Bazi with the title Queen Dowager Tang and had her body interred with that of the former king. The king of Hann donned mourning garments and came to Qin to offer condolences and sacrifice. The other feudal rulers all sent their prime ministers to Qin to offer condolences and sacrifice and to be present at the burial ceremony.

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King Xiaowen first year (250 BC): criminals were pardoned, meritorious ministers of the former ruler were treated with generosity, and prohibitions on the use of parklands were relaxed. His mourning duties completed, King Xiaowen ascended the throne on the day *jihai* of the tenth month. Three days later, on the day *xinchou*, he died. He was succeeded by his son, King Zhuangxiang.

King Zhuangxiang first year (250 BC): many criminals were pardoned. meritorious ministers of the former ruler were honoured, generous awards were handed out to the ruler’s kin, and the people were treated with kindness. The Eastern Zhou ruler plotted with the other feudal lords to attack Qin, but the Qin prime minister Lü Buwei had him put to death and confiscated all his lands. Qin did not cut off the Zhou sacrifices, however, but bestowed the region of Yangren on the Zhou ruler so that he could carry on the sacrifices to his ancestor.63 Qin ordered Meng Ao to attack Hann; Hann handed over the regions of Chenggao and Gong. Thus Qin’s eastern boundary extended as far as Daliang and it set up the province of Sanchuan or Three Rivers. Second year: Qin ordered Meng Ao to attack Zhao and bring Taiyuan under control. Third year: Meng Ao attacked the Wei cities of Gaodu and Ji and captured them. He also attacked the Zhao cities of Yuci, Xincheng, and Langmeng, seizing thirty-seven cities. In the fourth month there was an eclipse of the sun.

King Zhuangxiang fourth year (247 BC): Wang He attacked Shangdang and the province of Taiyuan was set up. The Wei general Wuji led the forces of five feudal states in an attack on Qin and Qin was forced to withdraw beyond the Yellow River.64 Meng Ao suffered defeat and his forces scattered and fled. In the fifth month, the day *bingwu,* King Zhuangxiang died and was succeeded by his son, Zheng, who became the First Emperor of the Qin.

In the twenty-sixth year of his rule (221 BC), King Zheng unified the empire, set up thirty-six provinces, and took the title *Shihuangdi* or First Emperor of the Qin dynasty. He died in the fifty-first year of his rule (210 BC) and was succeeded by his son Huhai, who is known as the Second

Emperor. In the third year of his rule (207 BC) the feudal lords all rose in revolt against the Qin. Zhao Gao put to death the Second Emperor and set up Ziying. After Ziying had been ruler for a little over a month, the feudal lords executed him and thus wiped out the Qin dynasty. A discussion will be found in “The Basic Annals of the First Emperor”.

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The Grand Historian remarks: Qin’s ancestors belonged to the Ying family, but later they were enfeoffed in various regions and took the names of their respective fiefs as their surname. Hence there was the Xu family, the Tan family, the Ju family, the Zhongli family, the Yunyan family, the Tuqiu family, the Jiangliang family, the Huang family, the Jiang family, the Xiuyu family, the Baiming family, the Feilian family, and the Qin family. But because the ancestor of the Qin family, Zaofu, had been enfeoffed in the city of Zhao, the last became known as the Zhao family.