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Fact and Fiction in Spring and Autumn
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Handout

I. FABLE

1. Gwǎn Jùng 管仲 in 04c Texts

- DJ 3/8:3. Gwǎn Jùng had supported another heir in Chí, and had previously fled to Lǚ. (0686)
DJ 3/9:5. Gwǎn Jùng is sent as a prisoner to Chí at Chí's request; is there made minister. (0685)
DJ 3/32:1. [Lǚ?] walls a city for Gwǎn Jùng. (0662)
DJ 4/1:2. Gwǎn Jùng advises Chí to give aid to Syíng 邢, which was attacked by the Dí. (0661)
DJ 5/4:1. Chí invades Chǔ. Gwǎn Jùng claims a mandate of Chí to keep peace in the Jōu states. He speaks on behalf of Jōu, as though Chí were the agent (hegemon) of Jōu. (0656)
DJ 5/7:3. Gwǎn Jùng advises the Chí ruler to treat the other states kindly
DJ 5/12:4. Gwǎn Jùng virtuously declines honors higher than his humble status entitles him to. (0648)
DJ 5/17:5. Succession dispute arises in Chí after the death of Gwǎn Jùng and Hwán-gūng. (0644)
DJ 5/24:1. [Cites the example of Hwán-gūng making Gwǎn Jùng his minister]. (0636)
DJ 5/33:6. [Cites the example of Hwán-gūng making Gwǎn Jùng his minister]. (06270)
DJ 10/11:10. [Recalls Hwán-gūng giving Gwǎn Jùng charge of a city]. (0531)

Analects (LY) 14:16-17 (c0310). Excuses Gwǎn Jùng's change of loyalty, appreciates his statesmanship.

This reflects the Gwǎn Jùng myth more or less as it had been presented in the Dzwo Jwàn

Gwǎndž (GZ) 18-20 (c0300). Three versions (some of them of later date) of state strengthening under Gwǎn Jùng

These give in detail the agricultural, military, and grand strategy aspects of the plan attributed to Gwǎn Jùng

II. FACT

2. The First and Last of the 16 Túng-mǐng 同盟 Covenants (with related events)

0684. First appearance of Chǔ in the CC; it attacks Tsài
0678. Autumn: Chǔ attacked Jǜng
0678. **Túng-mǐng #1**: Lǚ, Chí, Sùng, Chǐn, Wèi, Jǜng, Syǔ, Hwá, Tǐng. Hwán-gung evidently the leading figure.
0677. Leader of the pro-Chǔ party in Jǜng is seized by Chí, later escapes to Lǚ.
0675. Chí in reprisal invades Lǚ
0671. Friendly mission from Chǔ to Lǚ; Chí and Lǚ subsequently covenant.
0670. State marriage between Chí and Lǚ..
0667. **Túng-mǐng #2**: Lǚ, Chí, Sùng, Chǐn, Jǜng.
0666. Chí attacks Wèi [which was not included in the previous túng-mǐng]
0666. Chǔ attacks Jǜng; all parties to the 0667 túng-mǐng join in relieving Jǜng.
0664. Local hostilities resume; Jǜng invades Syǔ, a Lǚ force encamps in Chǐng 成, etc
0659-0627. No túng-mǐng in this period; great exploits of Chí Hwán and Jìn Wèn.
0656. **Chí** leads allied penetration into Chǔ, a covenant is made between Chǔ and the allied forces.
0655. Chǔ extinguishes the small border state of Syén 莜.
0648. Chǔ extinguishes Hwáng 黃.
0632. **Jìn** leads allies in defeat of Chǔ at Chǐngpú.
0624. Chǔ besieges Jyāng 江
0620. Child ruler in Jìn, Jàu Dùn takes power
0613. **Túng-mǐng #3**: Lǚ, Sùng, Chǐn, Wèi, Jǜng, Syǔ, Tsáu, and Jàu Dùn of Jìn.

2 (Continued). The First and Last of the 16 Túng-mǐng 同盟 Covenants (with related events)

0562. Lǚ, Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jyǔ, Jū, Tǐng, Sywē, Chǐ 杞, and little Jū invaded Jǐng.
0562. **Túng-mǐng #14** made that autumn, by those parties.
0561. Chǔ invades Sùng.
0559. Meeting of northern states with Wú; many join Jìn in invading Chín. Chǔ attacked Wú.
0558. Chí invades Jǐng, Lǚ sends a force to relieve Jǐng, and Lǚ soldiers help wall outlying parts of the Jǐng capital.
0557. Píng-gūng succeeds to the rulership of Jìn. A covenant is made by several states excluding Chí. Chí invades Lǚ.
The link between the great states of the center and east has now been broken
0556. Chí attacks Lǚ at two points simultaneously. Chǔ, seeing its opportunity, again attacks Jǐng.
0549. Lǚ invades Chí, Chǔ invades Wú. Several northern states meet. No túng-mǐng. Chǔ, Chǐn, and Tsài invade Jǐng.
0548. **Túng-mǐng #15** made by the above northern states; Jǐng again invades Chǔ ally Chǐn.
0548. Wú attacks Chǔ, and reaches Chǔ capital. This drastic threat turns Chǔ attention from the north.
0547. Chǔ with Chǐn and Tsài again attacks Jǐng, but for the last time.
0546. Peace covenant between Chǔ (with Chǐn and Tsài) and northern Jìn, Lǚ, Jǐng, Syǔ, and Tsáu (Chí or Wèi).
0534. Chǔ extinguishes the state of Chǐn.
0532. Jìn ruler dies; Chǔ extinguishes Tsài.
0530. Chǔ unwisely invades northern Syǔ 徐. Chǔ ruler is assassinated; his assassin is killed.
0529. **Túng-mǐng #16** between Lǚ, Lyóu 劉 (representing the Jǒu King), Jìn, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Jǐng, Tsáu, Jyǔ, Jū, Tǐng, Sywē, Chǐ, and Little Jū.. No military action is taken, but within months Chǔ restores Chǐn and Tsài.
The buffer zone between north and south has been re-established, and will persist to the end of the period

III. CONCLUSION

The Túng-mǐng 同盟 covenants are the only sign in Spring and Autumn of anything like a collective strategic consciousness among the northern states; other covenants are agreements between a small number of allies to pursue an aggressive intention against their neighbors. The túng-mǐng arose in response to the military threat of southern Chǔ. To discern this situation, contemporary documents like the Chūn/Chyōu are preferable to later histories like the Dzwō Jwàn, which retell Spring and Autumn history in their own way, and for their own purposes. Such later sources are witnesses, but they are witnesses to the issues of their own time, and not to the time which they purport to describe.

Related Reading

- A Taeko Brooks. Distancing Jí 及 in the Chūn/Chyōu. WSP v1 (2010) 27-39
A Taeko Brooks. Evolution of the Bà 霸 “Hegemon” Theory. WSP v1 (2010) 220-226
A Taeko Brooks. Heaven, Li, and the Formation of the Zuozhuan. Oriens Extremus v44 (2003) 51-100
A Taeko Brooks. The Historical Value of the Chūn/Chyōu. WSP v1 (2010) 71-74
A Taeko Brooks. The History and Historiography of Jyǔ 莒. WSP v1 (2010) 216-219
A Taeko Brooks. The League of the North. WSP v1 (2010) 204-213
A Taeko Brooks. The Lǚ 魯 Lore Tradition. WSP v1 (2010) 40-42
A Taeko Brooks. Military Capacity in Spring and Autumn. WSP v1 (2010) 183-188
A Taeko Brooks and E Bruce Brooks. Defeat in the Chūn/Chyōu. WSP v1 (2010) 189-198
E Bruce Brooks and A Taeko Brooks. The Emergence of China (Massachusetts 2010)
E Bruce Brooks. Sūn Wǔ. WSP v1 (2010) 242-244
E Bruce Brooks and John V Lombardi. Peace in Multi-State Systems. WSP v1 (2010) 245-248
Paul R Goldin. The Hermeneutics of Emmentaler. WSP v1 (2010) 75-78

Journal

Warring States Papers 辨古集 (WSP)
<http://www.umass.edu/wsp/journal/index.html>