

The League of the North

A Taeko Brooks 白妙子
 University of Massachusetts at Amherst
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Abstract. Among the 104 “covenants” (mǐng 盟) in the Chūn/Chyōu (CC) chronicle, what distinguishes the 16 túng-mǐng 同盟 (Legge “covenanted together”)? The commentaries give no convincing answer.¹ But there must have been some feature that made these covenants different for those entering into them. On considering the political context, I find that the túng-mǐng covenants were a sort of collective security agreement, meant to enforce solidarity among the northern states against the military threat from southern and non-Sinitic Chǔ. I also note that this north/south polarity virtually defines the middle period of Spring and Autumn.

Data. I will distinguish three phases: one in which túng-mǐng first appear, as an innovation of Chí Hwán-gūng (0678, 0667); a second in which Hwán-gūng (0656) and then Jìn Wǎn-gūng (0632) take the lead in directly opposing Chǔ, supported by alliances but *not* by túng-mǐng; and a third where túng-mǐng are revived by later Jìn rulers to enforce Jìn dominance and maintain cohesion among the northern states. Only the last of the 16 túng-mǐng occurs after the peace agreement with Chǔ in 0546.



¹DJ 1/1:5 uses the term 同盟 in the meaning “those with whom [the deceased ruler] had covenanted.” At the first occurrence of 同盟 in the special sense discussed here, it paraphrases as 鄭成, which is enigmatic. Gūngyáng 3/16:4 says that túng-mǐng means 同欲也 “that they had a common desire,” which could apply to any covenant; Gūlyáng specifies that 有同 “they had a common purpose, which was 同尊周也 to honor Jōu.” Since Jōu is not represented, either in the context or at the meeting, this too seems enigmatic.

First Period: 0684-0660

Chǔ first appears in the CC in 0684. Chǔ (then called Jīng 荆) defeated Tsài and took its ruler back to Chǔ; it again entered Tsài in 0680. This probably secured Chǔ against Tsài interference with any Chǔ northward movement. The natural target of such an attack was J̀ng; it was nearest, there was good chariot ground between, and controlling it would split the north into eastern and western groups.

J̀ng and S̀ng had been at odds since at least 0719. In autumn 0679, J̀ng invaded S̀ng. As if in response, Chí and Wèi joined S̀ng in attacking J̀ng in summer 0678. Then came the previously prepared attack of Chǔ. Here are the relevant CC entries:

1 (CC 3/16:2-4, 0678).

- Summer. A man of S̀ng,² a man of Chí, and a man of Wèi attacked J̀ng.
- Autumn. Jīng [Chǔ] attacked J̀ng.
- Winter, 12th month. [The Lǚ Prince] met with the Lord of Chí, the Prince of S̀ng, the Lord of Ch́n, the Lord of Wèi, the Elder of J̀ng, the Leader of Syǎ 許, the Elder of Hwá, and the Master of T́ng. They made a túng-ḿng at Yōu 幽 [in S̀ng territory].

Tsài, which had been intimidated by Chǔ, is not included in the túng-ḿng, but many states north of it are present; **Chí Hwán-gūng** was evidently the leader. The size of the covenant (nine states) is unprecedented: the largest previous covenant was of three persons.³ Its purpose is situationally obvious: not just to end the conflict between J̀ng and S̀ng, but to secure unity among the northern states, no one of which was strong enough to stand against Chǔ militarily. It is this common interest in resisting Chǔ which seems to be meant by the distinctive label túng 同.

There was a pro-Chǔ party in J̀ng, and the CC record for 0677 is mostly taken up with the removal of a certain Jǎn, apparently the leader of that party:

CC 3/17:1-3 (0677):

- 17th year, spring. A man of Chí seized Jǎn of J̀ng.
- Summer. A man of Chí was slaughtered in Swèi [previously extirpated by Chí; the “man of Chí” was apparently the head of the Chí occupation force].
- Autumn. Jǎn of J̀ng escaped from Chí and came [to Lǚ].

Lǚ's reception of the fugitive irritated Chí, a situation which was finally resolved by a punitive raid of Chí and S̀ng into the western border of Lǚ in 0675. In 0671, Chǔ sent a friendly mission to Lǚ. Lǚ and Chí met shortly thereafter, and covenanted that winter. Chǔ may have been sounding out a possible Lǚ/Chí division. None occurred; a state marriage between Chí and Lǚ took place in 0670.

2 (CC 3/27:2, 0667). The rulers of Lǚ, Chí, S̀ng, Ch́n, and J̀ng met in summer 0667 and made a túng-ḿng covenant, again at Yōu 幽. In 0666 Chí attacked Wèi, which had not been a party to that covenant, and may instead have been its target.

²In CC usage, a leader who is not the ruler or a close relative. In what follows, I will usually ignore these details, and simply list military contingents by the state from which they come.

³Of the 20 covenants for the period 0722-0679, 4 (20%) involved three parties (CC 1/8:5, 2/11:1, 2/11:5, and 2/12:2); the other 16 (80%) were between two parties.

That autumn, Chǔ again invaded J̀ng. Lǔ, Chí, and S̀ng, all parties to the 0667 covenant, joined in relieving J̀ng. In 0665, the external danger being seemingly past, local expansion agendas were resumed. J̀ng invaded Syǎ. Lǔ fortified some of its border towns. In 0664 the Lǔ host made camp in Ch́ng 成, apparently to deter Chí. Notwithstanding which, Chí presently forced the surrender of Jāng 鄆.⁴

In winter 0660, Wèi was beset by the Dí people, who entered its capital.⁵

Second Period: 0659-0627⁶

In 0659, Chí, S̀ng, and Tsáu went to relieve Sýng 邢, which had been invaded by the Dí; their efforts were limited to helping wall the new capital to which Sýng now moved. Chǔ again invaded J̀ng. A meeting of the rulers of Lǔ, Chí, S̀ng, J̀ng, Tsáu, and Jū led to no covenant. Instead, Lǔ attacked Jū 郟 and defeated Jyǎ 莒.⁷

In 0658, Chí and S̀ng made a covenant with officers from the small Chǔ border states Jyāng 江 and Hwáng 黃. Chǔ renewed its expansion threat further north, by again invading J̀ng in the winter of that year. In autumn 0657, the covenant of 0658 was renewed by the same parties; that winter, Lǔ sent an envoy to covenant with Chí. Evidently undeterred, Chǔ immediately invaded J̀ng.

In 0656 came Chí Hwán-gūng's masterpiece, a long-distance joint attack by Chí, Lǔ, S̀ng, Ch́n, Wèi, J̀ng, Syǎ 許, and Tsáu. They first entered the capital of Tsài, which potentially threatened their southward advance on its flank. Having dispersed the population of Tsài, they went on to make camp in Chǔ territory. After a month, a representative of Chǔ made a covenant with the invaders in their camp. On the way back, members of the allied force dealt other problems of the same kind: Chí seized Ywǎn Tāu-chú of Ch́n, and the Lǔ ruler, with forces led by men of the Chǔ border states Jyāng and Hwáng, also attacked Ch́n. At the end of winter, Lǔ, with Chí, S̀ng, J̀ng, Syǎ, and Tsáu again invaded Ch́n. It seems that both Ch́n and Tsài were at this time considered to be potentially favorable to Chǔ.

The effects of this allied attack on Chǔ and its perceived allies were minor. In autumn 0655, Chǔ extinguished the small border state of Syén 弦, whose ruler fled to Hwáng. In autumn 0654, a Chǔ force besieged Syǎ 許, and several northern allies, who were then involved in a punitive invasion of J̀ng, came to raise the siege. Chǔ invaded Hwáng in the winter of 0649, and extinguished that state in summer 0648. Thus was resolved one part of the appeal which had been made by Hwáng and Jyāng to the northern states back in 0658.

⁴Jāng was a dependency of Jì 紀, a state toward which Lǔ had been consistently well disposed. For Chí and Lǔ cooperation in suppressing the Rúng peoples, which was relevant to the control of their own territory, and about which the two had covenanted at the end of 0664, see Brooks **Point**.

⁵For one factor behind this new pressure from the Dí, see Brooks **Climate**.

⁶This period includes the great exploits of Chí Hwán-gūng and Jin Ẃn-gūng. I have chosen its boundaries to coincide with the reign of Lǔ Syī-gūng, the greatest of the Lǔ Princes; for further information, see Brooks **Syī-gūng**.

⁷For a more consecutive account of Jyǎ than can here be given, see Brooks **Jyǎ**.

Of longer-lasting effect was the defeat administered to Chǔ on northern territory in 0632, by a geographically wide northern force assembled by **Jìn Wǎn-gūng**. This time the alignments were somewhat different. Lǚ, itself on the Chǔ side, had backed one party in Wèi; Jìn and some other northern states supported another party. The brother of the Lǚ ruler had been sent to take charge of preventing incursions into Wèi in support of that other party. He failed, and was brought back to Lǚ and executed. Chǔ then intervened by sending a force to relieve Wèi.⁸ Chǔ made the mistake of lingering too long on the scene, and Jìn was able to assemble a force from the entire north (Chín on the west, Jìn itself in the center, and Chí on the east, along with Sùng), and defeat the Chǔ force at Chǎngpú 城濮. This was Wǎn-gūng's great achievement. On the strength of it, he compelled the Jōu King to recognize his position as chief among the Lords.⁹ Chǔ executed its commander on his return, and for eight years thereafter, Chǔ made no major military effort. In 0624 it besieged Jyāng.

Neither action against Chǔ invoked the túng-mǐng idea. It had been abandoned by Chí Hwán-gūng for more direct methods, and was never used by Jìn Wǎn-gūng.

Third Period: 0626-0529¹⁰

The next Jìn ruler was **Syāng-gūng** (r 0627-0621). Attacks by Chín troubled Jìn in this period, but there were no equally worrisome initiatives from Chǔ. The next ruler, **Líng-gūng** (r 0620-0607), came to the throne as a child. Effective power in Jìn came to be wielded by the minister Jàu Dùn. It was apparently at Jàu Dùn's initiative that the túng-mǐng covenant reappears in the CC record.

The ruler of Jū 郟 had died in 0614; in 0613 Jū and Lǚ had attacked each other. The Lord of Chí died in the summer of 0613. In the following month, Jàu Dùn arranged a túng-mǐng among many parties to the original túng-mǐng back in 0678.

3 (CC 6/14:4, 0613). The rulers of Lǚ, Sùng, Chǎn, Wèi, Jǐng, Syǎ 許, and Tsáu, and Jàu Dùn of Jín, made a túng-mǐng. Jìn then tried, but unsuccessfully, to introduce its candidate for the Jū succession into Jū. It may be that Jàu Dùn, as the only minister among rulers, lacked the prestige to carry the túng-mǐng states with him. No further túng-mǐng were made in that reign or the next (that of **Chǎng-gūng**, r 0606-0600), despite Chǔ invasions of Jǐng in 0606 and 0605. In response to the Chǔ invasion of Jǐng in 0604, Jàu Dùn led a Jìn force and invaded Chǎn in spring 0603. In 0602, the Prince of Lǚ met with Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, and Tsáu, but no covenant resulted.

In 0601, Jìn and its Dí allies invaded Chín; later that year, Chǔ invaded Chǎn. In 0600, the rulers of Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, Jǐng, and Tsáu (but not Lǚ) met at Hù, but no covenant followed; an unsupported Jìn force invaded Chǎn. Meanwhile, the ruler of Jìn died at Hù. That winter, presumably relying on unsettled conditions in Jìn, Chǔ invaded Jǐng. But Jìn was *not* unsettled, and promptly sent a force to relieve Jǐng.

⁸For its probable size, and other numerical aspects of the battle, see Brooks **Numbers**.

⁹For this event and its later overinterpretation, see Brooks **Hegemon**.

¹⁰0529 is the date of the last túng-mǐng covenant, 17 years after the peace with Chǔ (0546); 0546 perhaps has a better claim to represent the end of the period here in question.

The next Jìn ruler, **Jǐng-gūng** (r 0599-0581), five times made use of túng-mǐng, the points of concern being strategic Chǔn and perpetual target Jǐng.

In 0599, forces from Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, and Tsáu attacked Jǐng. Chǔ responded by invading Jǐng. In 598 Chǔ, Chǔn, and Jǐng made a covenant. Factions in Chǔn were of two minds about this: that winter, Chǔ executed one Chǔn notable, and entered Chǔn to restore two others to power. North and south were both strengthening their respective key states. In 0597, Chǔ besieged Jǐng. A Jìn force, without allies, fought a battle with Chǔ, and lost.¹¹ That winter, Chǔ extinguished the state of Syāu 蕭. The futility of opposing Chǔ with only one northern army had become obvious, whence:

4 (CC 7/12:6, 0597). Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, and Tsáu made a túng-mǐng. Sùng attacked the common enemy Chǔn, but then Wèi went to the defense of Chǔn, and Chǔ invaded Sùng in 0596. Jìn executed the officer who had represented Jìn at the túng-mǐng of 0597, and justly so, since the implementation of that covenant had clearly been faulty.

Jìn invaded Jǐng in 0595; Chǔ responded by besieging Sùng that autumn. Lǚ made contact with the occupying Chǔ force in spring 0594, and as a result, Chǔ and Sùng made peace that summer. Jìn was attacked by Chín that year, and the next year Jìn exterminated several Dí tribes. These things distracted Jìn. Perhaps for that reason:

5 (CC 7/17:6, 0592). The rulers of Lǚ, Jìn, Wèi, Tsáu, and Jū made a túng-mǐng. The main result was that Jìn and Wèi made a joint attack on nonsignatory Chí.

The Lǚ ruler died in 0591, and Lǚ covenanted with Jìn in 0590, presumably to confirm the 0592 covenant. This was well considered, since nonsignatory Chí invaded the Lǚ northern border in 0589. Wèi fought with Chí in response, and was defeated, but a joint Lǚ, Jìn, Wèi, and Tsáu force presently defeated Chí in a set-piece battle. Chí made a covenant with the invaders, and in compensation, Lǚ received from Chí certain lands north of the Wǎn 汶 River, its northern boundary.

The túng-mǐng allies of 0592 invaded Jǐng in 0588; Jǐng in response invaded smaller Syǎ 許. Jìn and Wèi together invaded the Chyáng-gāu-rú 麇咎如, a tribe of the Dí, continuing the extermination program of 0594; ethnic simplification was part of a Jìn policy of political homogenization. Jìn and Wèi sent friendly missions to Lǚ, and two covenants followed. Jǐng invaded Syǎ. It did so again in 0587. Then:

6 (CC 8/5:7, 0586). The rulers of Lǚ, Jìn, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Jǐng, Tsáu, Jū, and Jì made a túng-mǐng. Now Chí was included in the agreement, as was errant Jǐng. This was better, but it did little to bring stability: in 0585, Wèi invaded Sùng, and Lǚ itself followed suit some months later. Chǔ invaded Jǐng, and a force from Jìn relieved Jǐng, apparently keeping a promise to guarantee its safety if it joined with its northern neighbors. In 0584, the ruler of Tsáu visited Lǚ, as though keeping contact between two túng-mǐng signatories. Chǔ again invaded Jǐng. In almost immediate response:

7 (CC 8/7:6, 0584). The rulers of Lǚ, Jìn, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jyǎ 莒, Jū, and Chí 杞 went to the relief of Jǐng; in the 8th month, they made a túng-mǐng. There were factional tensions in Wèi, and a member of one party fled from Wèi to Jìn.

¹¹For the definition of “battle,” see Brooks **Defeat**; for this particular battle, see p194.

In 0583, Jìn persuaded Lǚ to return the Wǔn-yáng territory to Chí, apparently the price of keeping Chí in the túng-mǐng group. A Jìn force invaded Tsài; later, Jìn killed two members of the still powerful Jàu clan, a sign of internal tensions in Jìn. Few states were free of them; as we have seen, many factions in one state had external allies in another state, and policy changes often entailed the flight of the losers.

8 (CC 8/9:2, 0582). The rulers of Lǚ, Jìn, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Jǐng, Tsáu, Jyǔ, and Chí 杞 made a túng-mǐng. Of the 0584 covenanters, only Jū is here missing.

Jìn seized the ruler of Jǐng, and a separate Jìn force invaded Jǐng. Chǔ invaded Jyǔ, and went on to enter Yǔn 鄆, on the Lǚ border. In 0581, a Wèi force invaded Jǐng; later, the rulers of Lǚ, Jìn, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, and Tsáu together invaded Jǐng.

The túng-mǐng seems to have evolved, in Jìn Jǐng-gūng's reign, into an effective instrument for enforcing northern unity. Differences between the parties could be settled by diplomacy, as with Lǚ's return of the Wǔn-yáng lands.

Jìn Lì-gūng (r 0580-0573) held off Jìn's external enemies, but internally he tended to monopolize power, and in 0573 he was killed by the leading elements in the state. He had received the túng-mǐng instrument from Jǐng-gūng in good condition, and used it twice toward the end of his short reign. Soon after taking the throne, he sent an envoy to Lǚ (0580). Lǚ met with Jìn and Wèi in 0579, and later that year Jìn defeated the Dí. The other Jìn project, an invasion of Chín, was prepared by requesting a force from Lǚ. Under pretext of visiting the Jōu King, the Lǚ force joined the rulers of Jìn, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jū, and Tǐng in an invasion of Chín; the ruler of Tsáu died during the campaign. Except for the absence of Jǐng, the participants largely overlap with the most recent list of covenanters; it seems that the túng-mǐng is here being used not to maintain solidarity against Chǔ, but more precisely to aid Jìn against Chín.

In autumn 0577, Jǐng again invaded Syǔ 許. The rulers of Jyǔ, Wèi, and Chín all died within this year, and there seems to have been a disputed succession in Tsáu, whose ruler had died the previous year. General instability of this sort was unwelcome to the states, and what looks like a move to firm up the situation was made in 0576:

9 (CC 8/15:3, 0576). The rulers of Lǚ, Jìn, Wèi, Jǐng, and Tsáu, the designated heir of Sùng (the ruler of Sùng was then ill, and died soon afterward), and officers of Chí and Jū made a túng-mǐng. A total of eight states were thus represented, some of them by non-rulers. Chǔ invaded Jǐng. There were succession difficulties in Sùng; one high officer was put to death, and another fled to Chǔ. It seems that the anti-Chǔ party in Sùng had prevailed. It was undoubtedly a core expectation of the previous covenant that such factions should generally prevail.

In 0575, a Jǐng force invaded Sùng. Jìn asked a force from Lǚ. Later that year, no Lǚ force having been sent, Jìn alone defeated a joint Chǔ and Jǐng force; Chǔ killed its general on his return. In autumn, the Lǚ prince went to meet with representatives from Jìn, Chí, Wèi, Sùng, and Jū, but the ruler of Jìn would not see him. With allies Yǐn 尹, Jìn, Chí, and Jū, the Lǚ ruler took part in an attack on Jǐng. This did not mollify Jìn, which seized and imprisoned a Lǚ envoy. A Lǚ notable fled to Chí. A covenant was finally made between representatives of Lǚ and Jìn. Shortly thereafter, Lǚ executed one of its notables, doubtless to resolve a Lǚ factional dispute in favor of the Jìn party. Thus was a delicate situation finally patched up between Lǚ and Jìn.

In 0574, Wèi alone invaded J̀ng, and shortly thereafter, Wèi took part with Lǔ, Yǐn, Shàn 單, Jìn, S̀ng, Tsáu, and Jū in once again invading J̀ng. The next month:

10 (CC 8/17:3, 0574). The above allies made a *tung-m̀ng*. This covenant followed a military event. The usual Spring and Autumn covenant *precedes* such an event; it is an agreement to do something in the future. But the future was also in the minds of the parties in 0574: that autumn, Jìn asked a force from Lǔ, which took part with Jìn (and with Shàn, S̀ng, Wèi, Tsáu, Chí, and Jū) in invading J̀ng. Chǔ, its attention being directed elsewhere, extinguished Shū-ỳng, on its eastern border.

In 0573: a notable of Jìn, followed by the Jìn ruler himself, and a high officer of Chí, were killed in factional disputes. Exploiting the confusion, Chǔ and J̀ng invaded S̀ng. The ruler of Lǔ went to Jìn, probably for ceremonies attendant on the death of the old ruler, and shortly after his return to Lǔ, the new ruler (**Dàu-g̀ng**, r 0572-0558, but already in charge) sent a friendly mission to Lǔ. What will be the new Jìn policy?

Dàu-g̀ng turned out to be effective in both internal and external affairs, and his policy was largely the same. In winter, a joint Chǔ and J̀ng force invaded S̀ng. Jìn at once asked a force from Lǔ. The Lǔ ruler had recently died, but . . .

11 (CC 8/18:14, 0573). A Lǔ representative made a *tung-m̀ng* with the rulers of Jìn, S̀ng, Wèi, Jū, and an officer of Chí. This preceded a joint siege of the strategic city P̀ng-ch̀ng, near S̀ng; its members being the above covenanters plus several small states. That summer, Jìn alone invaded problematic J̀ng, and to coordinate with that expedition, a force from Lǔ, Chí, Tsáu, Jū, and Chǐ 杞, took up a static position near to J̀ng.¹² The allies being thus occupied, Chǔ invaded S̀ng. Both Jìn and Wèi sent friendly envoys to Lǔ.

In 0571, J̀ng invaded S̀ng, but presently the ruler of J̀ng died, and a joint force from Jìn, S̀ng, and Wèi invaded J̀ng. Chǔ, which had been foiled in its recent intentions, executed the officer it held responsible, one Prince Shv̄n 公子申.

Just as Jìn had to worry about Chín on the west, so did Chǔ at this period have to take measures to counter the rising power of Wú on the east. Chǔ invaded Wú in 0570. Lǔ and Jìn made a two-party covenant that summer, and a few months later . . .

12 (CC 9/3:5, 0570). The rulers of Lǔ, Shàn, Jìn, S̀ng, Wèi, J̀ng, Jyǔ, Jū, and the heir to the throne of Chí, made a *tung-m̀ng*. Strategically located Ch̀n, which had not been included in the meeting, sent a representative, and the contracting parties covenanted with him, thus adding him to their list. That winter, Jìn invaded Syǔ.

Wú was a problem for Chǔ, but also for the Sinitic states. In 0568, envoys from Lǔ and Wèi met with Wú; later that year there was a meeting of the rulers of Lǔ, Jìn, S̀ng, Ch̀n, Wèi, J̀ng, Tsáu, Jyǔ, Jū, T̀ng 滕, Sywē 薛, the Chí heir, and officers of Wú and Dz̀ng. No covenant resulted, but that winter, a force from Lǔ went to guard Ch̀n. Ch̀n was promptly attacked by Chǔ, but a joint force from Lǔ, Jìn, S̀ng, Wèi, J̀ng, Tsáu, and Chí went to the relief of Ch̀n. The collective security system was working well.

¹²For this tactic, compare the maneuver of Lǔ in 0573, above; a static position (in effect, a defensive position assumed by a normally offensive force) taken up in *opposition* to an attack.

Not that its working inhibited the normal expansion policies of the northern states, small and large: in 0567, Jyǔ extinguished Dzǔng 鄩, and Chí, having several times previously attacked Láí 萊, to its east, now extinguished and absorbed it.

In winter 0566, Chǔ besieged Chǔn, and a large meeting was held in Wèi, attended by Lǔ, Jìn, Sùng, Chǔn, Wèi itself, Tsáu, Jyǔ, and Jū. No covenant resulted. The ruler of Jǔng sought to join the meeting, but died before he reached the site. In spring 0565, Jǔng attacked strategic Tsài and captured the ruler's son. That winter, Chǔ invaded Jǔng, this being the familiar reprisal of Chǔ when Jǔng acts with the northern states.

13 (CC 9/9:5, 0564). Lǔ, Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jyǔ, Jū, Tǔng, Sywē, Chǐ 杞, Little Jū 小邾, and Chí, attacked Jǔng, and in the now familiar pattern, followed up their action by making a túng-mǔng. At year end, Chǔ again invaded Jǔng.

Another large meeting between Wú and northern states (but not including Jǔng) was held at the beginning of 0563. In answer, Chǔ and Jǔng invaded Sùng. Jìn, not responding to this familiar provocation, attacked Chín; Jyǔ attacked Lǔ. Finally, at the end of autumn, Lǔ, Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jyǔ, Jū, Chí, Tǔng, Sywé, Chǐ 杞, and Little Jū joined in invading Jǔng. There ensued the murders of several nobles of Jǔng, by rogues within Jǔng, probably in an effort to change sides and so raise the attack. From outside, Chǔ sent a force which succeeded in relieving Jǔng. In summer 0562, feeling once again strong enough to act against its northern neighbors, Jǔng invaded Sùng.

14 (CC 9/11:5, 0562). Lǔ, Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jyǔ, Jū, Tǔng, Sywē, Chǐ, and little Jū joined forces and invaded Jǔng; in autumn, those parties made a túng-mǔng. Chǔ and Jǔng then invaded Sùng, whereupon the above parties again invaded Jǔng.

In 0561, Chǔ made an incursion into Sùng. Another large meeting of northern states with Wú was held in early 0559. Many of the túng-mǔng participants, though not under that aegis, joined Jìn in invading Chín. Chǔ attacked Wú. In 0558, Chí infringed Lǔ territory in invading Jǔng; Lǔ sent a force partway to relieve Jǔng, and Lǔ forces assisted in the walling of outlying parts of the Jǔng capital.

Píng-gūng (r 0557-0532) succeeded to the rulership of Jìn in 0557. Early in his reign, a covenant (not a túng-mǔng) was made between Jìn, Lǔ, Sùng, Wèi, Jǔng, Tsáu, Jū, Jyǔ, Sywē, Chǐ 杞, and Little Jū; the rulers of Jū and Jyǔ were taken into custody by Jìn. Chí, conspicuous by its absence from that meeting, presently invaded the Lǔ northern border. The link between the great states of the east and center had now been broken. Covenanters Lǔ, Jǔng, Chí, Wèi, and Sùng joined to attack Syǔ, but Chí again invaded the Lǔ northern border on its way to besiege Jǔng.

In 0556, Chí led *two* forces across the Lǔ northern border, striking simultaneously at two strongpoints, a dangerously innovative tactic.¹³ Chǔ attacked Lǔ again in 0555. In response, virtually all the 0557 covenanters joined in besieging the capital of Chí. Chǔ, seeing an opportunity in the absence of the northern states in Chí, attacked Jǔng. At the end of the Chí siege, Jìn arrested the ruler of Jū, and Lǔ was given lands at the expense of Jū, in compensation for those Lǔ had been compelled to return to Chí.

¹³This is one of two occasions on which Confucius's father is said to have distinguished himself for his bravery. See Brooks **Analects** 268, and now Brooks **Emergence** 36-37.

In 0553, pro-Chu notables fled from both Ch'vn and Tsài to Ch'ũ, indicating that the previous actions, though not solemnized by a new túng-m'vng, showed the continuing effect of the old túng-m'vng, when interpreted and implemented with sufficient vigor.

Ch'í ceased to attack L'ũ, but in 0550 it invaded W'èi, and went on to attack J'ìn; L'ũ sent a force to relieve J'ìn. Ch'í made a surprise attack on Jy'w̃.¹⁴

In 0549, L'ũ invaded Ch'í; that summer, Ch'ũ invaded W'ú. Ch'í, passing up L'ũ, instead invaded Jy'w̃, south and east of L'ũ. That autumn, there was a meeting of J'ũ, J'ìn, S'ùng, W'èi, J'vng, Ts'áu, Jy'w̃, J'ũ, T'vng, Syw'ē, Ch'í 杞, and Little J'ũ, not issuing in a túng-m'vng but evidently meant to rally the members of the previous túng-m'vng. In response, that winter Ch'ũ combined with Ch'vn and Tsài to invade J'vng.

In 0548, Ch'í renewed its attacks on L'ũ's northern border. An officer of Ch'í killed the ruler of Ch'í. East-west stability was once again in serious doubt, and the usual states met: L'ũ, J'ìn, S'ùng, W'èi, J'vng, Ts'áu, Jy'w̃, J'ũ, T'vng, Syw'ē, Ch'í, and Little J'ũ. A force from J'vng, again operating on behalf of northern security, entered Ch'vn.

15 (CC 9/25:5, 0548). The above states then made a túng-m'vng. Evidently it was felt that the old agreement was in need of formal renewal. And on the opposing side, Ch'ũ extinguished another of its small eastern neighbors. J'vng again invaded Ch'vn.

Of great importance was the last event of 0548: The ruler of W'ú perished in an assault on the gate of a Ch'ũ city he had attacked. This and the Ch'ũ attack on W'ú in the previous year were naval expeditions; the Yángdž River had now become the highway of W'ú expansion, just as the level ground between Ch'ũ and J'vng had previously defined an opportunity horizon for Ch'ũ. With both W'ú and Ch'ũ now exploiting that east/west road, the north/south axis came to be less important to Ch'ũ. Ch'ũ had never been in danger of invasion from the north (the incursion under Ch'í Hwán-g'vng was a demonstration that could not be developed militarily), but it was now facing a serious threat from another southern power equipped with maritime skills. In 0547, Ch'ũ with Ch'vn and Tsài again invaded J'vng, but in the interest of attending to first priorities, these northern expeditions now had to be quietly abandoned.

Peace between Ch'ũ and the north came with a covenant of 0546 between Ch'ũ, Ch'vn, and Tsài for the Ch'ũ side, and J'ìn, L'ũ, W'èi, J'vng, Sy'w̃, and Ts'áu for the other; the meeting was held in S'ùng territory. These were the states making up the central north/south corridor; neither Ch'ín nor Ch'í (which had provided the military edge in the great northern victory of Ch'vng-p'ú in 0632) were present. The men of J'ìn might well congratulate themselves; under their leadership, the always fragile and ever fluid league of the north had held, as much and as long as it had needed to. Was it for this role in bringing stability to a long-contested area that the J'ìn ruler of this time was given the posthumous epithet P'íng 平, or Peacebringer?

The peace did not endure to the end of the reign. The heir of Ch'vn was murdered in 0534. The ruler died. One officer fled to Ch'ũ, and another was executed by Ch'vn. Evidently a contest between pro- and anti-Chu factions was in progress. That winter, Ch'ũ extinguished Ch'vn altogether, and banished the Ch'vn heir to Yw'è.

¹⁴Sy'í 襲, a surprise attack, made by forces ostensibly on another mission.

Jìn Píng-gūng died in 0532 and was succeeded by **Jāu-gūng** (r 0531-0526). On the occasion of the death of a previous Jìn ruler, Chǔ had sensed an opportunity for bold ventures. Continuing the previous already bold venture, it now lured the ruler of Tsài to Shǎn 申, killed him, and besieged the capital of Tsài. That winter, it extinguished Tsài, carried the Tsài heir back to Chǔ, and there sacrificed him. In 0530, Chǔ invaded Syw 徐. This sudden northward initiative from previously quiescent Chǔ caught the forces of Jìn attending to another matter: invading the Syēn-yw 鮮虞 people.

What Chǔ expected to accomplish by this drastic reversal of policy is not clear. It may also have been unclear to a member of the ruling clan of Chǔ, who at this point returned to Chǔ from Jìn and killed the Chǔ ruler; he was himself promptly killed. That autumn, the túng-mvng made its final appearance in the CC record:

16 (CC 10/13:5, 0529). Lǚ, Lyóu 劉 [representing the Jōu King], Jìn, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Jvng, Tsáu, Jyǎ, Jū, T'vng, Sywē, Chǐ, and Little Jū met in Jìn territory, and the following month made a túng-mvng. No military action was taken by the redefined league of states, but within a matter of weeks, rulers were returned to Chvń and Tsài, and those states were restored. Wú, seeing an opportunity in this sudden Chǔ setback, took the strategically located small state of Jōu-lái 州來.

The End of the Affair. The buffer zone between Chǔ and the north had now been re-established, and the previous peace had been stabilized. It would hold, with only minor interruptions, for the rest of Spring and Autumn; Those remaining years are a subperiod of their own. The purpose of the túng-mvng, to maintain northern solidarity in the face of the threat of Chǔ, had been sufficiently achieved.

Summary. What was unique about the túng-mvng? It was not an agreement to attack, like most covenants, but an agreement to *resist* attack, on the part of states recognizing a common interest: that none of them imperil the others by siding with the aggressor. The túng-mvng expressed the collective anxiety of the states, as distinct from their normal mutual hostility. Once the outside threat which created the anxiety had receded, the collective interest was no longer articulated, and the basic hostility, the wish of each to conquer the others, alone remained.

That wish would continue. It would dominate the doings of the states all through the centuries of the succeeding Warring States period, until it finally burned itself out in the establishment of the unified Chín Empire.

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