

**Again the Túng-Mǐng.** At this time, Chí Hwán-gūng's idea of a security agreement, the túng-mǐng 同盟, was revived, but at first for narrow purposes. An officer of Jìn, Jàu Dùn, acting for the Jìn ruler (who was still a minor), presided over a covenant in 0613 which included neither Chín nor Chí, and had in view a Jìn interest in interfering with the succession in Jū 邾. The next two túng-mǐng were similarly local in scope; any implied "solidarity" was simply an acceptance of Jìn interest by the small states near it. Only in 0586, as a response to Chǔ pressure on Jǐng, did the túng-mǐng covenants resume a collective security function. Nine such covenants were made in the next two decades. Attacks were not made on Chǔ itself, but on states like Jǐng or Chǔn, which had been compelled by Chǔ pressure to *switch allegiance* to Chǔ.<sup>60</sup>

**The End of the Rúng.** The central and western Rúng came under attack at the end of the 07th century. The last mentions of the Rúng in the CC are:

**1:44** (CC 7/3:3, 0606). The Master of Chǔ attacked the Lù-hún Rúng.

**1:45** (CC 8/1:6, 0590). Autumn. The Royal host was disgracefully defeated by the Máu Rúng.

**1:46** (CC 10/17:4, 0525). 8th month. Sywǎn Wú of Jìn led a host and exterminated the Lù-hún Rúng.

And with their extermination, Sinicization moved forward one more step.

**Wú 吳.** The end of Chǔ aggression came not from any northern action (a túng-mǐng covenant in 0548 was not followed up militarily), but from the east. The non-Sinitic coastal power Wú, which had first appeared in the CC in 0584, was attacked by Chǔ as early as 0570. The ruler of Chǔ led another attack on Wú in 0549. In 0548, the ruler of Wú died in attacking the gate of Cháu, a town on the Wú/Chǔ border. This required a response from Chǔ, and in 0546 Chǔ met with northern Jìn, Chí, Lǚ, Jǐng, Wèi, and Tsáu, plus border states Sywǎ, Chǔn, and Tsài. A covenant, in effect a peace treaty, followed. This event marks another great division in Spring and Autumn history. The axis of conflict had shifted from north/south to east/west.<sup>61</sup>

Such was the large geostrategy of the times. But there are other dimensions. What was life like for a typical aspiring late Spring and Autumn warrior?

**Confucius' Father**, whose name was Hǐ 紇, was born in the 6th month of 0592.<sup>62</sup> His grandfather, Kǔng Fáng-shú of Sùng, had offended the Sùng noble Hwà Ywǎn and fled to Lǚ in 0607. But Hwà Ywǎn remained influential in Sùng, and perhaps for that reason, the Kǔngs did not greatly prosper in Lǚ.

<sup>60</sup>For details on this series of covenants, see Brooks **League**.

<sup>61</sup>Chǔ was right to recognize a serious new antagonist. In 0506, Wú defeated a Chǔ land force, and went on to enter Yǐng, the capital of Chǔ.

<sup>62</sup>For the reconstruction of this and associated dates, see Brooks **Analects** 263-268.

Hý, the grandson, took the drastic step of abandoning the surname Kǔng,<sup>63</sup> moving to Dzōu 鄒, south of the capital, and seeking his separate fortune as a nonlanded warrior in the service of Lǔ. His chance came in 0563, in this way:

1:47 (CC 9/10:1-2, 0563).

- 10th year, spring. The Prince joined the Lord of Jìn, the Prince of Sùng, the Lord of Wèi, the Elder of Tsáu, the Master of Jyǔ, the Master of Jū, the Master of T'óng, the Elder of Sywē, the Elder of Chǐ 杞, the Master of Little Jū, and Gwāng, the Heir Apparent of Chí, in meeting with Wú at Jā.

- Summer, 5th month, day #31. Went on to extinguish Bī-yáng.<sup>64</sup>

Between these two entries, much has obviously taken place, which it is not the purpose of the CC to record. A later text . . .

**Dzwo Jwàn 左傳** (DJ). A commentary on the Chūn/Chyōu, written during the 04c (see Brooks **Heaven**). At first it focused on ritual; later layers propose several different theories of morality and government. Attributing DJ stories not to the 04c, but to the period they purport to describe, is a major source of modern confusion. Translated by Legge.

. . . fills in the story with what, in this case, is probably Kǔng family tradition.

One contingent of the allied forces was led by a noble of the Mǔngsūn clan. Serving under him were Chín Jǐn-fǔ, probably of exile stock as the clan name “Chín” implies, and “Hý of Dzōu,” who as we know was also of exile stock.

The direct attack on the city walls having failed, a ruse was attempted:

1:48 (DJ 9/10:2, excerpts, c0355). Chín Jǐn-fǔ, in the service of the Mǔng family, hauled up a heavy cart as though he were a servant. The men of Bī-yáng opened the gate, and the officers of the allies stormed it. The hanging gate was released, but Hý of Dzōu lifted it up again, allowing the attacking party to escape . . .

Chín Jǐn-fǔ then distinguished himself by an *almost* successful exploit:

The inhabitants let down a strip of cloth, and Jǐn-fǔ climbed up it. When he was almost at the top, they cut it. After he had fallen, they let down another. In all, he made the ascent three times, after which the inhabitants desisted. He withdrew, and wearing the cut-off pieces of cloth as a sash, he showed them around the army for the next three days . . .

These were remarkable feats, but of different kinds. The solitary prowess of Chín Jǐn-fǔ led to no military result; Dzōu Hý's exploit saved his companions in the assault party from certain death. This was of advantage to the attackers.

<sup>63</sup>His son would later resume the Kǔng surname, by which he is known to posterity.

<sup>64</sup>Bī-yáng was south of Lǔ, in the zone of possible Chǔ influence.

Bī-yáng was finally taken in an assault by the whole force. H́v's exploit came to the notice of the Sh́u clan,<sup>65</sup> and with that sponsorship, H́v gained a place among the landed warriors of Lǔ. Here is the old Jōu pattern: rewarding prowess with land, and expecting further prowess in return for the land.

His opportunity to display that prowess came soon. In an attempt to break the military stalemate that was setting in by the mid 06c, Chí tried a novel double attack. In autumn 0556, Chí assembled *two* forces. One, led by the Chí ruler, besieged Táu, northwest of the Lǔ capital, while a second, led by a Chí noble, besieged Fáng, *east* of the capital. This was a serious threat. It failed due to the repulse of the attack on Fáng, and this owed something to the enterprise of H́v, plus two members of the Dzāng clan, whose seat was at Fáng:

**1:49** (DJ 9/17:3, excerpt, c0370). In autumn, The Lord of Chí attacked our northern border, and surrounded Táu; Gāu Hòu surrounded Dzāng H́v in Fáng. A force from Yáng-gwān went to meet the head of the Dzāng clan at Lǔ-sūng. Sh́u H́v of Dzōu, Dzāng Chóu, and Dzāng Jyǎ in command of 300 armored men attacked the Chí force at night, escorted him thither, and returned. The Chí host left the place.

The confidence of the Sh́u clan and the Lǔ ruler had been well bestowed. Such was the landed warrior system. Up to this point, it was working well.

**Lull and Resumption.** Spring and Autumn warfare was indecisive. Tiny states vanished, but no large state destroyed another. An equilibrium obtained. If military unification was to be achieved, a new effort would be required.

That effort was a revolutionary reshaping of states and armies. At first there was a lull. After the peace of 0546, in the time of Lǔ Jāu-gūng (r 0541-0510), the tempo of CC military events dropped from 0.28 to 0.17 per year. The states were thinking.<sup>66</sup> The Chí double attack of 0556 was not the answer; something else was needed. When the rate rose again to 0.28 per year, under Dìng-gūng (r 0509-0495), war had changed: there were fewer allies in a typical campaign, and many actions were internal: sieges of clan strongholds and wallings of strategic points. Sieges were quicker: 3 months in 0654 versus 1 month in 0498. These imply more infantry, and thus the beginning of the new military system. Text evidence<sup>67</sup> implies an established bureaucracy in early 05c Lǔ, and thus an earlier beginning for the civil system. The first hint of the military revolution should thus be put, not at the beginning of Warring States as defined by the end of the CC chronicle, but earlier, at the beginning of Dìng-gūng's reign, c0510.

<sup>65</sup>The Sh́u clan was of recent origin; it derived from a brother of Sywān-gūng, a later Lǔ Prince. The Three Clans competed with the Lǔ ruler, but the Sh́u were loyal.

<sup>66</sup>For a European lull, when an old form of state had reached maximum efficiency and a new form of state had not yet emerged, see Strayer **Medieval** 89-111.

<sup>67</sup>For a brief review, see Brooks **Lore**.