

## The History and Historiography of Jyǔ 莒

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*WSWG Note 117 (27 Dec 1996)*

**Abstract.** Non-Sinitic Jyǔ 莒 was located at 35° 35' N, 118° 50' E, east of the Lǔ capital and astride the upper Shú 洙 River valley, the major north/south route to the lowlands of eastern Chí. Jyǔ appears often in the Lǔ chronicle Chūn/Chyōu 春秋 (CC), but it was not one of the great states of the age. I here compare the treatment of Jyǔ in the CC, which acknowledges it routinely, and in the Dzwǒ Jwàn 左傳 (DJ), which reshapes Jyǔ into a textbook example of misrule and deserved destruction.

**Material.** Of 204 occurrences of Jyǔ in both texts,<sup>1</sup> 80 are in CC and 124 in DJ. The pattern of correspondences is complicated. I distinguish five types, A through E:

Type	A	B	C	D	E
CC	has Jyǔ	has Jyǔ	has Jyǔ	lacks Jyǔ	no passage
DJ	no passage	omits Jyǔ	has Jyǔ	has Jyǔ	has Jyǔ passage
Total	8/0	21/0	51/87	0/32	0/5

29 occurrences (Types A-B) are in CC passages without parallel DJ mention; 138 (Type C) are in passages where both texts mention Jyǔ; 37 (Types D-E) are in passages where DJ has Jyǔ but CC does not, or CC has no corresponding passage. That is, DJ *both adds to and subtracts from* the set of CC mentions of Jyǔ.

**Jyǔ in the CC.** The CC entries, whether or not they possess DJ parallels, give a consistent picture. It is roughly this: Jyǔ was militarily and diplomatically active from the beginning to the end of the period covered by the CC; it was often in conflict with Lǔ to the west and with Chí 齊 to the north; it expanded at the expense of its weaker neighbors, and was itself pressed militarily by Lǔ, and also, especially in later CC reigns, by Chí, Jīn, and Chǔ. I take these CC entries to be a contemporary record, and accurate within the CC's own limits of reportorial propriety.<sup>2</sup>

### Types A and B: Jyǔ is Mentioned Only in CC

The CC mentions of Jyǔ for which DJ lacks a parallel passage (Type A) include these situations: (1) Jyǔ attacks another state: 1/4:1 (Chí 杞) and 9/14:5 (Lǔ). (2) Visit of Lǔ ruler's wife: 3/19:4 and 3/20:1. (3) Marriage of Lǔ ruler's third daughter to an officer of Jyǔ: 3/27:5. (4) Death of Jyǔ ruler: 8/14:1 and 12/14:8, reported as a matter of diplomatic protocol. (5) Lǔ and Chí together attack Jyǔ: 7/11:3. These passages show Jyǔ participating normally in the standard Spring and Autumn interstate activities of war, diplomacy, and intermarriage.

<sup>1</sup>Omitting DJ 9/23:4, where Jyǔ is a personal name.

<sup>2</sup>For the courtly reticence of CC diction, see now Brooks **Distancing**.

All 21 of the Type B cases, where a DJ parallel passage does not repeat the CC mention of Jyǔ, are joint actions by several northern states. Of these, 15 are meetings and 5 are military actions. DJ discussions of these events tend to emphasize the role of Jīn and to downplay that of the smaller states; they also sometimes stress the role of officers at the expense of rulers. These are major DJ themes. For example, the CC reports in 5/28:8 that the ruler of Lǔ met with 7 heads of state, including Jyǔ, and covenanted with them. In the DJ version (5/28:4), the Jōu King is present, confers honors on the Jīn ruler, and appoints him leader of the states (侯伯). It is likely that the DJ story is part of that text's retrospective construction of a bà 霸 or Hegemon theory.<sup>3</sup> In any case, the presence of Jyǔ is a CC detail which the DJ does not see fit to retain.

Again, CC 9/9:5 records that the Lǔ ruler joined with 10 heads of state, including the ruler of Jīn, the heir of Chí, and the ruler of Jyǔ, to invade Jǔng. In the 12th month of that year these rulers made a special type of covenant: an expression of solidarity (tóng-mǐng 同盟).<sup>4</sup> The parallel DJ 9/9:5 omits this meeting altogether (and with it the mention of Jyǔ) and mentions only *officers* of Jīn as granting Jǔng's request for peace. A theory that the source used by DJ did not mention this meeting cannot be sustained: *the one source which we know DJ used, and which DJ often explicitly quotes, is CC.* It would seem that the DJ is here imposing its "officer usurpation" model on CC facts which do not entirely fit that model, and that it is also denying to Jyǔ any participation in the collective security arrangements of the northern states.

### Type C: Jyǔ is Mentioned in Both CC and DJ

The 87 occurrences of this type may be divided into three groups. (1) DJ is favorable or neutral toward Jyǔ (9, or 10%). These are usually short and repeat CC information, sometimes with more detail. They are minor events and do not raise issues of interpretation. (2) DJ is ostensibly favorable but adds details which are subtly critical (17, or 20%), such as DJ 1/2:2 and 6/7:7, which feature women in the background of events, a negative trait in DJ; and 8/7:4, where in both texts Jyǔ participates in a multi-state campaign to relieve Jǔng, but DJ adds that Jyǔ later submitted to Jīn. (3) The DJ is openly unfavorable to Jyǔ (61, or 70%).

The unfavorable aspects of the third group (61 mentions of Jyǔ in 23 passages) are conveyed by DJ material added to the brief CC entry. These are summarized in the table on the next page. I divide them into "external" passages, where events are seen as from the outside, and "internal" ones, which focus on the personality or actions of the Jyǔ ruler or his ministers. What is striking about these passages is that the "external" entries tend to occur in the first nine reigns, while the "internal" ones are largely confined to the last three. It is hard not to notice, in the latter category, actions which are typical of the "bad last ruler" of a failing dynasty: dismissal of worthy ministers, lack of proper feeling between father and son, cruelty toward the people, or refusal to follow good advice. In terms of Warring States historiographical rhetoric, they are an indictment of these Jyǔ rulers, and a prediction of doom for the Jyǔ state.

<sup>3</sup>See now Brooks **Evolution**.

<sup>4</sup>See now Brooks **League**.

## Internal

## External

- 6/18:7A Jyǔ ruler is killed by a son he degraded and people he mistreated
- 9/31:18 tyrannical Jyǔ ruler murdered by people
- 10/1:11 Jyǔ ruler “threw men away” so Chí instals new ruler
- 10/5:6 Jyǔ officer defects with three cities to Lǔ
- 10/14:4 Jyǔ son shows no grief at death of ruler; the people do not follow him
- 10/14:6 Jyǔ ruler flees to Chí
- 10/19:7 Jyǔ ruler suffers for killing an innocent man
- 10/22:1 Jyǔ ruler hated by people, does not heed remonstrance; is defeated
- 10/23:4 Jyǔ ruler practices swordsmanship on people; is expelled
- 3/10:4 Chí extinguishes Tán 譚;  
Tán ruler flees to Jyǔ
- 4/2:3 Lǔ officer flees to Jyǔ;  
has intrigue with ruler’s wife
- 5/1:6 Jyǔ defeated by Lǔ
- 6/8:5 Lǔ officer follows lady to Jyǔ
- 7/4:1 Jyǔ is unreconciled to Tán 鄰,  
and is attacked by Lǔ
- 7/13:1 Jyǔ makes terms with Jìn, and  
is attacked by Chí
- 8/9:10 Jyǔ unprepared; attacked by Chǔ
- 9/12:1 Jyǔ defeated by Lǔ
- 9/14:1 Jìn seizes Jyǔ envoy to Chǔ
- 9/16:1 Jyǔ ordered by Jìn to return  
lands; refuses; Jìn seizes Jyǔ ruler
- 9/23:7 Jyǔ surprised by attack of Chí  
[which refuses Jyǔ bribes]
- 9/24:6 Jyǔ attacked by Chí
- 10/5:7 Jyǔ makes no preparations  
and is defeated by Lǔ
- 10/10:3 Lǔ attacks Jyǔ

• *Internal/External Division of Type C DJ Passages Negative Toward Jyǔ* •

### Types D and E: Jyǔ is Mentioned Only in DJ

I now come to DJ passages which add Jyǔ where CC makes no mention of Jyǔ, or where there is no CC counterpart passage at all. These are clearly DJ inventions.

In Type D, where DJ mentions Jyǔ but the parallel CC passage does not, there are 7 cases of people fleeing to Jyǔ, an event already represented in the material discussed above. The fugitives in these 7 cases come from nearby Láí, Chí, and Lǔ, or from Jìn and the Jōu court. The motives of some of these fugitives are disreputable, and the DJ reader will get the impression that Jyǔ was a haven for the undesirables of other states.

In DJ 10/4:5, Jyǔ had conquered but later ill-treated the small state of Dzǔng 郟, with the result that now Lǔ “takes” 取 the chief city of Dzǔng. DJ editorializes on the ease of the taking, which it says was an acceptance of the offer of the city to Lǔ by one of its commanders. We are here asked to believe that Jyǔ’s mismanagement had first alienated, and then entirely lost, a conquered territory.

The DJ entries without CC counterparts (Type E) include anecdotes of Jyǔ refusing to strengthen its walls (8/8:8) and losing its trophy vessels to Lǔ (10/7:7). Again we see Jyǔ as negligent of its defenses and unable to hold onto its victories.

Types D and E thus add nothing novel, but they do continue the pattern of the previous types. Jyǔ in the DJ is regularly criticized, and in the later years of Spring and Autumn, it is consistently portrayed as oppressive and incompetent.<sup>5</sup>

In Type D and E passages, the DJ is unconstrained by any CC parallel text, and this material should thus show any DJ bias more directly. It turns out to be very much on the lines of the DJ addenda to CC passages (Type C). That is, in extending CC entries, the DJ is as little constrained by earlier information as when it is writing on its own.

### Conclusion

The CC treats Jyǔ simply as an active member of the Spring and Autumn family of states. In the CC account, Jyǔ enters into marriage relations with Lǔ. It has a place at conferences and on the battlefield with (and sometimes against) the northern states. The DJ tends to suppress that record, and in its place to insert material critical of Jyǔ. In the absence of a CC counterpart entry, DJ simply invents negative material. Part of this hostility may be impatience with the presence of a small non-Sinitic state in the Spring and Autumn record. But most of it seems to stem from a DJ historiographical agenda, in which Jyǔ figures only as a state doomed to extinction by its own misrule. Historiography has here not functioned to reveal the meaning of the events of history; it has added to, and subtracted from, those events in order to reach a desired meaning. Historiography has *triumphed over* history.

### Works Cited

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<sup>5</sup>Mwòdž 18 (c0362) says of Jyǔ: “In the east, there was the state of Jyǔ. It was a small state among large states. It did not respectfully serve the large states, and they did not like it or favor it. So on the east, Ywè carved out its richest lands, and on the west, Chí simply annexed it.” This indictment agrees that Jyǔ’s fate is its own fault. It is also contemporary with much of the negative DJ material (see Brooks **Heaven**). Jyǔ was a historiographical problem for the 04th century Sinitic states, a problem which different Sinitic theory texts solved in different ways.