

21. Hwà Ywǎn of Sùng

The Sùng officer Hwà Ywǎn 華元, c0641-c0571, is nobody special. That is precisely his importance. He is not a standout. He is a reasonably competent person who overcame an initial military disaster to have a useful civic career. He appears in the Lǚ chronicle during a 37-year span from 0607 to 0571. The first recorded event in his life, his 0607 defeat in battle, led to the flight of his subordinate Kǔng Fáng-shú 孔防叔, who founded the Kǔng clan of Lǚ; Confucius was that man's great-grandson. Hwà Ywǎn's later diplomatic standing was high enough that Lǚ did not care to antagonize him by giving positions to descendants of his enemy Kǔng Fáng-shú. The Tale of Confucius has often been told.¹ This is the other half of the story: Hwà Ywǎn himself.

Hwà Ywǎn is part of the story of Sùng. For context, we begin before he appears, and follow his career in terms of Sùng rulers, rather than Lǚ rulers as in most of these profiles. What follows includes every item of information on Sùng in the CC chronicle from 0650 to 0571: eighty years of Sùng history.

Sùng Syāng-gūng 襄公 (r-650-0637)

In Lǚ terms, we are in the 9th year of Syī-gūng. The leadership transition in Sùng appears this way in the Lǚ chronicle for that year:

- 0651. 1mo, day 14. Ywè-ywè, the Prince of Sùng, died.
- Summer. The [Lǚ] Prince, with [a representative of Jōu and the rulers of Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Jìng, Syǔ, and Tsáu] met in Kwéi-chyōu.
- 9mo, day 5. The previously mentioned lords covenanted in Kwéi-chyōu
- Day 1. Gwěi-jū, the Lord of Jìn, died.²
- Winter. Lǚ Kǚ 里克 of Jìn killed his ruler's son Syī.

The Sùng succession was smooth; the new ruler at once took part in interstate affairs. In Jìn, Lǚ Kǚ's killing of the ruler's son was followed the next year by his killing of the Jìn *ruler*. Lǚ Kǚ was then killed by the opposing faction.

The purpose of the 0651 Kwéi-chyōu covenant (not a túng-mǐng) was later thought to be amity, but the presence of a Jōu representative implies something stronger. What was it? The Dí 狄 peoples had attacked Sinitic states in 0662, 0660, and 0652. After the covenant, in 0650 the Dí extinguished Wǎn 濫, whose ruler fled to Wèi. Chí and Syǔ, two Kwéi-chyōu covenanters, attacked the “northern Rúng.” In 0647, the Dí entered Wèi. These doings of the Dí would have been a plausible concern for those who gathered at Kwéi-chyōu.³

¹For our telling, see Brooks **Analects** 267f.

²This CC entry is chronologically out of place; details were learned in Lǚ only later.

³For a possible reason for this pressure from the Dí, see the **Climate** chapter.

Sòng Chǎng-gōng 成公 (r 0636-0620)

Syāng-gōng had died in the 5th month of 0637. That autumn, Chǔ invaded Chǎn, south of Sòng. This was already a threat. The next year, 0636, the Dí invaded Sòng's enemy Jǎng. In 0635, the Lǚ wife of a member of the Dàng 蕩 clan of Sòng⁴ came to Lǚ to fetch a Lǚ bride for her son, implying cordial relations. In 0633, Lǚ sent Gūngdǔ Swèi to Chǔ to ask for an army with which to resist incursions by Chí.⁵ Later that year, Chǔ invaded Sòng. With the aid of that Chǔ force, Lǚ invaded Chí and took Gǔ 穀. In 0633, Chǔ, the border states Chǎn and Tsài, and Sòng's enemy Jǎng, besieged Sòng. In 0632, Jìn, being concerned with the presence of Chǔ, intervened in favor of Sòng, and Sòng (with Chín and Chí) assisted Jìn in the defeat of a Chǔ force in the decisive battle of Chǎng-pú.⁶ Lǚ had sided with Chǔ and the pro-Chǔ faction in Wèi. It joined the Chǎng-pú victory ceremony grudgingly, not least because the Jōu King, who was respected in Lǚ, was there compelled to grant his acceptance of Jìn leadership of the northern states.

Sòng Jāu-gōng 昭公 (r 0619-0611)

This reign began⁷ with a succession dispute, in which supporters of the eventual Prince (including the chief military officer, the Marshal 司馬) were killed by a faction under the widow of Sòng Syāng-gōng, which included members of the Dài 戴 clan.⁸ Escaping this purge, another high Sòng officer, the Warden 司城, fled to Lǚ.

Late in this reign occurs the first appearance of anyone surnamed Hwà:

- 0612. 3mo. Marshal Hwàsūn of Sòng 宋司馬華孫 came and made a covenant.⁹

Covenants were normally made in a neutral location. Visits to the Lǚ capital to make a covenant were either to ratify a previous arrangement, or to establish good relations with a new Lǚ ruler. Marshal Hwà's visit to Lǚ presumably strengthened a covenant of 0613 in which Sòng and Lǚ had both participated, along with rulers or representatives of several other states.¹⁰

⁴Dàng Bwó-jī 蕩伯姬 was the eldest daughter of a Prince of Lǚ. She probably made a socially high marriage in Sòng, but we learn nothing more of the Dàng from the CC.

⁵For Gūngdǔ Swèi, see his profile in this series.

⁶For a narrative of that year, see the **Syī-gōng** chapter.

⁷In the 7th year of Wǎn-gōng, Syī-gōng's successor in Lǚ.

⁸For the later usurpation by this same Dài clan, see Henry **Usurpation**.

⁹He had probably been given the post after the murder of his predecessor in 0619; see above. Such functional titles existed in Sòng as an inheritance from the once powerful Shāng; Lǚ lacked a hegemonic past, and at this time had nothing comparable.

¹⁰Jìn was represented at that covenant by Jāu Dùn; see his profile in this series.

Sùng W'v́n-g'ng 文公 (r 0610-0589)

Sùng Jāu-g'ng was murdered at the end of 0611; his burial went unreported in Lǔ. In the spring of 0610, a joint force of Jīn, Wèi, Ch'v́n, and Sùng's old enemy J'ng, invaded Sùng. We hear nothing further about Sùng until 0608, when it was invaded, this time by a joint force from Chǔ and J'ng. Seemingly not deterred, Sùng struck back at J'ng, invading it with the support of its recent enemies, Ch'v́n, Wèi, and Tsáu. Another Jīn/Sùng joint attack on J'ng occurred in late 0608. It is in the following year, 0607, that we first hear of Hwà Ywán as the leader of a Sùng force in a battle, fought on Sùng territory, against J'ng. The result was a disaster for Sùng, and for Hwà Ywán personally:

- 0607. Spring, 2mo, day 49. **Hwà Ywán** 華元 of Sùng led the host and, with Prince Gwēi-sh'ng of J'ng leading the opposing host, battled at Dà-jí [in Sùng]; the Sùng host was disgracefully defeated,¹¹ and they captured **Hwà Ywán** of Sùng.

Later that year, the former allies Jīn, Sùng, Wèi, and Ch'v́n again invaded J'ng. The leadership of the Sùng force is not specified. From later chronicle entries it is obvious that Hwà Ywán returned from J'ng, perhaps as the result of this action. He was given no position of authority, whether civil or military, for the rest of W'v́n-g'ng's reign.

Hwà Ywán's Age. It is plausible to suppose that Hwà Ywán was the son of the Marshal Hwà who visited Lǔ in 0612, and that the Marshal had backed the winners in any dispute about the accession of Sùng W'v́n-g'ng. To have been given command of the army, Ywán must have been in his thirties; since his defeat suggests inexperience, perhaps not *very far* into his thirties, say 34. If he was 34 in 0607, he would have been 70 when he is last mentioned, at a meeting in 0571. This is a reasonable age for a last public action. The numbers are consistent, and we will assume them to be correct in what follows.

In autumn 606, Sùng besieged Tsáu. In winter 0602, there was a meeting of the rulers of Lǔ, Jīn, Sùng, Wèi, J'ng, and Tsáu. In autumn 0600 there was a meeting of the same parties except for Lǔ, which thus became a possible target of aggression. That winter, Sùng besieged T'ng, which lay between Sùng and Lǔ. In the 6th month of 0599, Sùng again attacked T'ng. Later that summer, a force from Jīn, Sùng, Wèi, and Tsáu invaded J'ng. The allies were now reduced to four, and both Lǔ and J'ng were outside the alliance. Those four allies made a new covenant in winter 0597, probably to discuss recent military pressure from Chǔ. Directly afterward, Sùng invaded Ch'v́n, the buffer state between it and Chǔ. It had apparently overinterpreted its mandate, since its nominal ally Wèi relieved Ch'v́n. Sùng's fears were realized in summer 0596, when Chǔ invaded Sùng. In autumn 0595, Chǔ returned to *besiege* Sùng.

¹¹For this idiom, see the **Defeat** chapter.

For five years there had been no diplomatic contact between Sùng and Lǚ, but in spring 0594, concerned for its own reasons about Chǔ pressure on Sùng, Lǚ sent an envoy to meet with the ruler of Chǔ in Sùng. This led to a peace treaty between Sùng and Chǔ. In summer 0592, Lǚ joined in a mutual security covenant with Jìn, Wèi, Tsáu, and Jū. These were the previous allies of Sùng, but with Sùng left out. To have turned that alliance to Lǚ's advantage was the last triumph of Sywǎn-gūng of Lǚ, who died in winter 0591. His successor, Lǚ Chýng-gūng, made a separate covenant with Jìn in summer 0590, shortly after the burial of Sywǎn-gūng. In spring 0589, Chí invaded Lǚ. That summer, seemingly in reprisal, Lǚ's ally Wèi fought with Chí and lost. A second attempt was made with a joint force from all four allies (Lǚ, Jìn, Wèi, and Tsáu), which severely defeated Chí. Thus did matters stand when Sùng Wýn-gūng died in the 8th month of 0589.

Sùng Gūng-gūng 共公 (r 0588-0576)

As far as the Chūn/Chyōu tells us, Wýn-gūng made no use of Hwà Ywǎn after his defeat in 0607. Twenty years have now passed. Sùng, whose last diplomatic contact with Lǚ was in 0602, has lost to Lǚ what allies it previously had, and under a new ruler, Lǚ has been active in its own interest. Things are not going well for Sùng. Under Gūng-gūng, a change of policy is immediately visible. Before his official first year of reign has even begun, perhaps warned by a joint attack of Chǔ and Jvng on Wèi in winter 0589, Gūng-gūng made a covenant with Lǚ, Chǔ, Chín, Wèi, Jvng, Chí, Tsáu, and several smaller states.¹² This was just 74 days after the death of his precursor, Sùng Wýn-gūng. A sense of urgency is evident.

Lǚ and Sùng (with Jìn, Wèi, and Tsáu) invaded fractious Jvng in spring 0588. Sùng Wýn-gūng was buried in the following month. Lǚ received friendly missions from Jìn and Wèi in the 11th month, and covenanted with both. Then Hwà Ywǎn reappears:

- 0587. spring. The Prince of Sùng sent **Hwà Ywǎn** on a friendly visit.

By our calculation, Hwà Ywǎn is now 54; his visit suggests that he was a member of Gūng-gūng's inner circle. There was a return visit from Lǚ:

- 0586. [Spring]. Jvngsūn Myè went to Sùng.
- [12mo, day 26]. The [Lǚ] Prince met with the Lord of Jìn, the Lord of Chí, the Prince of Sùng, the Lord of Wèi, the Elder of Jvng, the Elder of Tsáu, the ruler of Jū, and the Elder of Chí, and they made a solidarity covenant in Chóng-láu.

The visits of 0587 and 0586 were probably to prepare for the alliance which followed at the end of 0586.

¹²Jìn is conspicuous by its absence, but the other major powers are included.

That alliance, which like most of the solidarity covenants was aimed at Chǔ, brought Chí into the picture, as well as problematic J̀ng.¹³ It did not hold up, since in spring 0585 Wèi invaded Sùng. That autumn, Lǚ also invaded Sùng, and Chǔ invaded J̀ng.¹⁴ After an appeal by a Lǚ envoy, Jìn intervened to relieve J̀ng. Chǔ, not easily deterred, invaded J̀ng again in autumn 0584. This time, J̀ng was relieved by a force from Lǚ, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jyǚ, Jū, and Chǐ. There followed a renewal of the previous covenant. The new covenant seems to have had teeth in it. But from Sùng's point of view, these covenants were proving an uncertain support. Sùng needed something more.

So in the following year,

- 0583. [Spring]. The Prince of Sùng sent **Hwà Ywán** on a friendly visit.
- Summer. The Prince of Sùng sent Gūngsūn Shòu to present marriage gifts.

That is, Hwà Ywán made preliminary arrangements for a state marriage between Lǚ and Sùng; a closer relative of the Sùng ruling house then followed up with the formal marriage gifts. This is a more intimate alliance than those above mentioned. The alliance of 0584 was renewed by the same parties (except for Lesser Jū) in 0582. The state marriage between Lǚ and Sùng had also a sequel, a Lǚ marriage with Jìn:

- 0582. 2mo. Bwó-jī 伯姬¹⁵ went to her new home 歸 in Sùng.
- Summer. Jìsūn Hángfǔ went to Sùng to facilitate the girl's arrival.
- [Summer]. An officer from Jìn came to present bridesmaids.¹⁶

Later in 0582, Chǔ attacked non-Sinitic Jyǚ, and J̀ng separately attacked Syǚ. In 0581 came reprisals from the allies: Wèi attacked J̀ng, followed by a joint attack on J̀ng by Wèi, Lǚ, Jìn, Chí, Sùng, and Tsáu. The latest alliance was holding up. To strengthen the marriage infrastructure of the covenant:

- 0581. [Summer]. An officer from Chí came to present bridesmaids.

This new arrangement links Sùng, Lǚ, Jìn, and Chí.

In 0580, embassies were sent from Lǚ to Jìn, where there was a new ruler, and to Chí. Thus was the political superstructure maintained. In 0578, Jìn asked for a force from Lǚ, and with that plus contingents from Chí, Sùng, Wèi, and several others, mounted an attack on Chín. Though there was no solidarity covenant, the participants were in effect carrying out a northern unity agenda.

¹³For the context of these solidarity covenants, see **League**.

¹⁴J̀ng was the strategic key to the middle Yellow River area; occupying it would split the northern powers and render them unable to arrange concerted military action. It was therefore the ultimate target of almost all Chǔ military activity in this period.

¹⁵Bwó denotes the eldest daughter, -jī is the Jōu clan name, also borne by Lǚ rulers.

¹⁶For the entourage of Bwó-jī in Sùng, but to be presented via Lǚ.

In 0577, there was a marriage between Chí and Lǚ. Jǜng again attacked Syǚ. A formal solidarity covenant was made in 0576 between the rulers of Lǚ, Jìn, and Wèi, the heir apparent of Sùng, and officers of Chí and Jū. The presence of the Sùng *heir* was explained when the *ruler* of Sùng died three months later. Infighting ensued in connection with the succession, and

- 0576. [Autumn] **Hwà Ywǎn** of Sùng fled to Jìn.
- **Hwà Ywǎn** of Sùng returned to Sùng.
- Sùng killed its high officer Shān.
- Yǒ Shí of Sùng fled to Chǔ.¹⁷
- Winter, 10mo. Shúsūn Chyáu-rú [of Lǚ], Shǐ Syè of Jìn, Gāu Wú-jyòu of Chí, **Hwà Ywǎn** of Sùng, Sūn Lín-fǔ of Wèi, Prince Chyōu of Jǜng, and an officer of Jū, met with Wú at Jūnglí.

Thus there entered upon the northern political scene the new coastal power Wú. The effect on Chǔ would be to distract it from its northern adventures.

Sùng Píng-gūng 平公 (r 0575-0532)

The new Sùng ruler's reign began vigorously. In summer 0575, Jǜng invaded Sùng. In the 6th month, Jìn asked for military assistance from Lǚ, which was not granted. Without support, Jìn inflicted so great a defeat on the forces of Chǔ and Jǜng that, as in 0632, the Chǔ general was executed on his return. Lǚ, in disgrace with Jìn, attempted to put itself in a better light:

- 0575. Autumn. The [Lǚ] Prince went to attend a meeting with the Lord of Jìn, the Lord of Wèi, the Lord of Chí, **Hwà Ywǎn** of Sùng, and an officer of Jū at Shā-swéi, but [the Lord of Jìn] would not see him.
- [Autumn]. The [Lǚ] Prince joined the ruler of Yǐn, the Lord of Jìn, Gwó Tswò of Chí, and an officer of Jū, and attacked Jǜng.
- 9mo. An officer of Jìn detained [Lǚ envoy] Jísūn Háng-fǔ and lodged him in Shāu-chyōu.
- Winter. 10mo, day 12. Shúsūn Chyáu-rú [of Lǚ] fled to Chí.
- 12mo, day 22. Jísūn Hángfǔ and Syì Chóu of Jìn covenanted in Hù.
- The [Lǚ] Prince returned from the meeting [in Jìn]
- Day 22. [Lǚ] executed Prince Yěn

That small military effort was not enough to mend Lǚ's relations with Jìn. Internal changes in Lǚ were required: the flight of one Chǔ partisan and the execution of another Chǔ partisan – a kinsman of the Lǚ ruler.

In 0574, Wèi attacked Jǜng, followed by a joint attack on Jǜng in which both Lǚ and Sùng participated. Lǚ joined Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Chí, and Jū in invading Jǜng. In 0573, rulers were killed in Jìn and Chí. Taking advantage of that situation, Chǔ and Jǜng attacked Sùng that summer, and again that winter.

¹⁷The struggle in Sùng was between pro-Jìn and pro-Chǔ factions. Hwà Ywǎn, a member of the Jìn faction, at first fled but soon returned, and the Chǔ faction lost.

Only a few days after the death of the Lǚ ruler, Jìn asked Lǚ for an army, and in the 12th month Jùngsūn Myè of Lǚ met with rulers of Jìn, Sùng, Wèi, Jū, and an envoy from Chí, and made another solidarity covenant. Then:

- 0572. [Spring]. Jùngsūn Myè joined Lwán Yīn of Jìn, **Hwà Ywán** of Sùng, Níng Jí of Wèi, an officer of Tsáu, an officer of Jyǔ, an officer of Jū, an officer of Tǔng, and an officer of Syè, in besieging Pǔng-chǔng in Sùng.

The Sùng rebel Yǔ Shí, supported by Chǔ and Jǔng, had gone to Pǔng-chǔng in 0573. Hwà Ywán would seem to have led the Sùng contingent in person, reminding us that all careers in this period were fundamentally military.

The year 0571 opened with an invasion of Sùng by Jǔng, and an attack on Jǔng by Jìn, Sùng, and Wèi. We now hear of Hwà Ywán for the last time:

- 0571. Autumn, 7mo. Jùngsūn Myè [of Lǚ] met with Syǔn Yíng of Jìn, **Hwà Ywán** of Sùng, Sūn Lín-fǔ of Wèi, an officer of Tsáu, and an officer of Jū in Chyè.
- [7mo] Shúsūn Bàu [of Lǚ] went to Sùng.
- Winter. Jùngsūn Myè met with Syǔn Yíng of Jìn, Tswēi Shū of Chí, **Hwà Ywán** of Sùng, Sūn Lín-fǔ of Wèi, an officer of Tsáu, an officer of Jū, an officer of Tǔng, an officer of Sywē, and an officer of Little Jū in Chyè; they subsequently walled Hǔ-láu.
- [Winter]. Chǔ killed its high officer Prince Shǔn.

In Chǔ also, the success of Jìn and the pro-Jìn party in Sùng – Hwà Ywán's party – had fatal repercussions for those on the wrong factional side.

Summary. Hwà Ywán, a member of the pro-Jìn (and anti-Chǔ) party in Sùng, who had begun his career unsuccessfully opposing an incursion of Jǔng, thus lived to see the moment of his faction's diplomatic triumph. He was now about 70, and it was time to hand the affairs of the Hwà clan to others. In later years several other Hwà names do appear in the CC, in the service of Sùng.

Hwà Ywán never achieved the position which had been held by his father. His military skills were not great. But he had other uses. Ignored by one ruler, he was used in responsible ways by the next ruler, who was probably looking for men who had reason to be loyal to him rather than to his predecessor.

The changing of the guard.