

29. The Historiography of Jyǔ 莒

The contrast between the way Jyǔ appears in the Chūn/Chyōu, and the way it is made to appear in the Dzwǔ Jwàn, reveal the agenda of the Dzwǔ Jwàn, and effectively disqualify it to be considered a historical source. In the CC, Jyǔ is routinely acknowledged as one of the states of the period. DJ reshapes Jyǔ into a textbook example of misrule and deserved destruction.

Non-Sinitic Jyǔ 莒 was located at 35° 35' N, 118° 50' E, east of the Lǔ capital and astride the upper Shú 沭 River valley, the major north/south route to the lowlands of eastern Chí. Jyǔ appears often in the Lǔ chronicle, but it was not one of the great states of the age. Of 204 occurrences of Jyǔ in both texts,¹ 80 are in CC, 124 in DJ. The correspondences between them are complicated. We 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 (C) are in passages where both texts mention Jyǔ; 37 (D-E) are in passages where either DJ has Jyǔ but CC does not, or CC has no corresponding passage. That is, DJ *both adds to and subtracts from* the CC mentions of Jyǔ.

Jyǔ in the CC. The CC entries, whether or not they possess DJ parallels, give this picture: Jyǔ was militarily and diplomatically active from the beginning to the end of the period; 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. We regard these CC entries as a contemporary record, and accurate within the CC's own limits of reportorial propriety.²

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 (Chǐ 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 standard Spring and Autumn activities: war, diplomacy, and intermarriage.

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

²For the courtly reticence of CC diction, see **Nuances**.

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 Jìn 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 Jìn 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.³ 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 Jìn, the heir of Chí, and the ruler of Jyǔ, to invade J̀ng. In the 12th month of that year these rulers made a special type of covenant: an expression of solidarity (tóng-m̀ng 同盟).⁴ The parallel DJ 9/9:5 omits this meeting altogether (and with it the mention of Jyǔ) and mentions only *officers* of Jìn as granting J̀ng'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 J̀ng, but DJ adds that Jyǔ later submitted to Jìn. (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. We 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.

³See the **Hegemon** chapter.

⁴See the **League** chapter.

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 typical of the “bad last ruler” of a failing dynasty: lack of proper feeling between father and son, cruelty toward the people, dismissal of worthy ministers, 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 their state.

Internal	External
	3/10:4 Chǐ extinguishes Tán 譚; Tán ruler flees to Jyǔ
	4/2:3 Lǚ officer flees to Jyǔ; has intrigue with ruler’s wife
	5/1:6 Jyǔ defeated by Lǚ
	6/8:5 Lǚ officer follows lady to Jyǔ
6/18:7A Jyǔ ruler is killed by a son he degraded and people he mistreated	
	7/4:1 Jyǔ is unreconciled to Tán 鄰, and is attacked by Lǚ
	7/13:1 Jyǔ makes terms with Jīn, and is attacked by Chǐ
	8/9:10 Jyǔ unprepared; attacked by Chǔ
	9/12:1 Jyǔ defeated by Lǚ
	9/14:1 Jīn seizes Jyǔ envoy to Chǔ
	9/16:1 Jyǔ ordered by Jīn to return lands; refuses; Jīn seizes Jyǔ ruler
	9/23:7 Jyǔ surprised by attack of Chǐ [which refuses Jyǔ bribes]
	9/24:6 Jyǔ attacked by Chǐ
9/31:18 tyrannical Jyǔ ruler murdered by people	
10/1:11 Jyǔ ruler “threw men away” so Chǐ instals new ruler	
10/5:6 Jyǔ officer defects with three cities to Lǚ	
	10/5:7 Jyǔ makes no preparations and is defeated by Lǚ
	10/10:3 Lǚ attacks Jyǔ
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 Chǐ	
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	

Types D and E: Jyǎ is Mentioned Only in DJ

We now come to DJ passages which add Jyǎ where CC makes no mention of Jyǎ, or where there is no CC counterpart passage at all. This material can only be a free DJ invention, and as unconstrained by any CC precedent, it should show the hand of the DJ writers with unusual clarity.

In Type D, where DJ mentions Jyǎ but the parallel CC passage does not, there are 7 cases of people fleeing to Jyǎ, an event already represented in the material discussed above. The fugitives in these 7 cases come from nearby Lá, 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 Jyǎ was a haven for the undesirables of other states.

In DJ 10/4:5, Jyǎ had conquered but later ill-treated the small state of Dzǎng 鄆, with the result that now Lǔ “takes” 取 the chief city of Dzǎng. 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 Jyǎ’s mismanagement had first alienated, and then had entirely lost, a conquered territory.

The DJ entries without CC counterparts (Type E) include anecdotes of Jyǎ refusing to strengthen its walls (8/8:8) and losing its trophy vessels to Lǔ (10/7:7). Again we are given a picture of Jyǎ 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. Jyǎ in the DJ is regularly criticized, and in the later years of Spring and Autumn, consistently portrayed as oppressive and incompetent.⁵

In Type D and E passages, the DJ is unconstrained by any CC parallel text, and we look to it for direct evidence of DJ bias. This it does reveal. The DJ bias in this free context turns out to be the same as the bias seen in the DJ addenda to CC entries (Type C). It thus turns out that in extending existing CC entries, the DJ is as little constrained by earlier information as when writing on its own. The DJ agenda comes through in all combinations.

⁵Mwòdž 18 (c0362) says of Jyǎ: “In the east, there was the state of Jyǎ. 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 Mician indictment, written when the conquest fever had begun to affect the previously antiwar Micicians, and the agenda of unification allowed no valid place for the smaller states, agrees with the DJ, that Jyǎ’s fate is its own fault. It is contemporary with the negative DJ material (see Brooks **Heaven**). Jyǎ was a historiographical problem for the 04th century Sinitic states, a problem which different Sinitic texts solved in different ways. Here, we see two Sinitic texts solving the problem of non-Sinitic states in approximately the same way.

Conclusion

What is that agenda?

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,⁶ it has a place at conferences and on the battlefield with (or 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. Since Jyǔ is still heard from at the end of the CC (its last mention is a 12/14:8 entry on the death of its ruler), that analysis can only be a future prediction.

It is not entirely clear that, in reality, a misruled state must inevitably perish, but if we accept that apparent premise of DJ thought, then the example of Jyǔ, which lasted as long as CC is any witness, would seem to *refute* DJ thought.

Dzwoǔ Jwàn historiography has not here functioned so as to interpret the events of history; it has added to and subtracted from events to reach a desired interpretation. Historiography in the Dzwoǔ Jwàn has triumphed over history. That triumph disqualifies the Dzwoǔ Jwàn from being taken seriously as history. Those who wrote it knew a lot about the period, and some of that information can be reclaimed for history by our careful examination. But as it stands, the Dzwoǔ Jwàn is an interpretation packaged for the 04c Sinitic self-consciousness.

It will not do.

⁶Yes it does. In CC 3/27:5 (莒慶來逆叔姬) Chìng, a named officer of Jyǔ, comes to fetch the Lǔ ruler's second daughter as a bride for his own ruler. This was in 0667. The usually garrulous Dzwoǔ Jwàn maintains a simply thunderous silence at this point: it has no entry corresponding to CC 3/27:5. Does it perhaps disapprove of the mixing of races? That is its privilege. But in the Spring and Autumn period, a much more matter-of-fact approach seems to have obtained.

There is much to be said about marriage relations between Lǔ and the non-Sinitic states to the south of it, which unfortunately this footnote is too small to contain. For part of the missing material, see again the stories of **Chǐng Fǐng** and **Wú Mǐngdǔ**.