

## Hwà Ywáen 華元

E Bruce Brooks 白牧之

University of Massachusetts at Amherst

*WSWG Note 113 (30 Oct 1996)*

**Abstract.** Among the lives that can be recovered in some detail from the Lǚ chronicle Chūn/Chyōu (CC) is that of the Sùng officer Hwà Ywáen, c0641-c0571, who is often mentioned in a 37-year span from 0607 to 0571. The first recorded event in his life, his 0607 defeat by J̀ng, seems to have resulted in the departure from Sùng of one of his subordinates, Kǔng Fáng-shú 孔防叔, the founder of the Kǔng family of Lǚ; Confucius was his great-grandson.<sup>1</sup> I here focus instead on Hwà Ywáen himself.

**Context.** Hwà Ywáen's life falls in the 0678-0529 period of the túng-m̀ng 同盟 or solidarity alliances of the northern states against the military threat then posed by southern and non-Sinitic Chǔ, at first under the leadership of Chí and later that of Jìn.<sup>2</sup> In the interest of background, I take up the story a bit before Hwà Ywáen enters it, and divide it according to the Sùng rulers under whom he served..

### Sùng Syāng-gūng (r-650-0637)

The leadership transition in Sùng figures this way in the Lǚ chronicle:

- 0651. 1mo, day 14. Ỳ-ywè, the Prince of Sùng, died.
- Summer. The [Lǚ] Prince, with [a representative of Jōu and the rulers of Chí, Sùng, Wèi, J̀ng, Syǔ, and Tsáu] met in Kwéichyōu.
- 9mo, day 5. The previously mentioned lords covenanted in Kwéichyōu
- Day 1. Gwèi-jū, the Lord of Jìn died.<sup>3</sup>
- Winter. Lǐ K̀ 里克 of Jìn killed his ruler's son Syī.

There was no trouble with the accession, and the new ruler immediately takes part in interstate affairs. In Jìn, Lǐ K̀' s killing of the ruler's son was followed the next year by his killing of the Jìn ruler, and his own killing by the opposing faction in Jìn.

The purpose of the 0651 Kwéichyōu covenant (not a túng-m̀ng) was later thought to be mere amity, but the presence of a high-level Jōu representative implies a more specific concern. In 0650, the Dí extinguished small Wǎn 溫, whose ruler fled to Wèi. A Kwéichyōu covenanter, Syǔ, attacked the “northern Rúng,” presumably in accord with that agreement. In 0647, the Dí entered Wèi: these northern tribes were thus the likely concern of those gathered at Kwéichyōu.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Brooks **Analects** 267f. This paper is the same story, but told from Hwà Ywáen's side.

<sup>2</sup>Brooks **League**. We are here in the second period defined in that paper: no “túng-m̀ng” covenants occurred, but the idea of unity against outside threats was nevertheless current.

<sup>3</sup>This entry is out of place because the precise details were learned only later.

<sup>4</sup>For the deep reasons behind this pressure from the north, see Brooks **Climate**.

### Sùng Ch́ng-gūng (r 0636-0620)

Syāng-gūng had died in the 5th month of 0637. That autumn, Chǔ invaded Ch́n, just to the south of Sùng; this was felt in Sùng as a threat. The next year, 0636, the Dí invaded Sùng's enemy J̀ng. In 0635, the Lǚ wife of a member of the Dàng 蕩 clan of Sùng<sup>5</sup> came to Lǚ to fetch a Lǚ bride for her son, implying cordial relations. In 0633, Lǚ asked Chǔ for an army with which to resist incursions by Chí; these Chí attacks did little to win the support of Lǚ against Chǔ. Later that year, Chǔ invaded Sùng. Probably with the support of that Chǔ force, the Prince of Lǚ invaded Chí and took the town of Gǔ 穀. In 0633, Chǔ, the border states Ch́n and Tsài, and Sùng's enemy J̀ng, besieged the capital of Sùng. In 0632, Jìn, concerned with the presence of Chǔ, intervened in favor of Sùng, and Sùng (with Chín and Chí) assisted Jìn in the defeat of a Chǔ force at Ch́ng-pú, a victory so decisive that the Chǔ general was executed upon his return; for eight years, Chǔ undertook no significant military action. Lǚ had sided with Chǔ and the pro-Chǔ faction in Wèi, and joined the Ch́ng-pú victory ceremony only grudgingly, not least because the Jōu King, held in honor in Lǚ, was there compelled to assent to Jìn leadership of the northern states.

### Sùng Jāu-gūng (r 0619-0611)

This reign opened with a succession dispute, in which relatives and supporters of the eventual Prince (including the chief military officer, the Marshal 司馬) were killed by another faction under the widow of Sùng Syāng-gūng, which included members of the Dài 戴 clan.<sup>6</sup> Escaping this purge, another high officer, the 司城, fled to Lǚ.

Toward the end of this reign occurs the first appearance of anyone named Hwà:

- 0612. 3mo. Marshal Hwà of Sùng 宋司馬華孫 came and made a covenant.

Covenants were normally made in a neutral location, not in a state capital. Of six instances in CC where someone comes [to Lǚ] to make a covenant (來盟), two ratify previous events: the J̀ng ruler sent his younger brother in 0697 to make a covenant earlier discussed between the two rulers, and the Chǐ ruler came in 0544 after his city had been walled by Lǚ and others. Two others are prospective: a Chǔ nobleman met with an invading army in 0656, and a kinsman was sent to Lǚ by the Wèi ruler in 0601 (the first contact with Lǚ after that ruler's accession), presumably to cement good relations. The other two occur during succession disturbances, and are *not* said to be officially authorized by their states. The head of the Gāu clan of Chí came in 0660 to make a treaty with the successor of Lǚ Mǐn-gūng (a child ruler who had died earlier that year).<sup>7</sup> Given the continuation as Lǚ ruler of the person with whom the Gāu clan head had covenanted in 0660, his intervention was successful. So, given later events, was that of the Sùng Marshal who came on his own authority to Lǚ in 0612.

<sup>5</sup>Dàng Bwó-jì 蕩伯姬 would be the eldest daughter of a Prince of Lǚ. She is likely to have made a socially high marriage in Sùng, but we learn nothing more of the Dàng from the CC.

<sup>6</sup>For the later usurpation by the Dài clan, see Henry **Usurpation**.

<sup>7</sup>Irregularity is suggested by the departure of two persons of rank in the year of Mǐn-gūng's death, and by the fact that no formal accession is recorded for the next ruler, Syī-gūng, in 0659. Gossip recorded in DJ identifies Syī-gūng as the son of a concubine; see Brooks **Enfiefment**.

## Sùng W'ín-gūng (r 0610-0589)

Sùng Jāu-gūng was murdered at the end of 0611; his burial goes unreported in Lǚ. In the spring of 0610, a joint force of Jìn, Wèi, Ch'ín, 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 Ch'ü and J'ng. Seemingly not deterred, Sùng struck back at J'ng, invading it with the support of Ch'ín, Wèi, and Tsáu. Another Jìn/Sùng joint attack on J'ng occurred in late 0608. In the following year, 0607, we first hear of Hwà Ywáen as the leader of a Sùng force in a battle, on Sùng territory, against J'ng. The result was a disaster for Sùng, and for Hwà Ywáen personally:

- 0607. Spring, 2mo, day 49. **Hwà Ywáen** 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,<sup>8</sup> and they captured **Hwà Ywáen** of Sùng.

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

It is plausible to suppose that Hwà Ywáen was the son of the Marshal Hwà who visited Lǚ on an unofficial mission in 0612, and further that the Marshal had backed the winning side in any dispute about the accession of Sùng W'ín-gūng. Hwà Ywáen was probably trained for a military career, and given those connections, was likely to gain favor in Sùng. To have been given command of the Sùng army, he must have been at least in his thirties, and since his defeat suggests inexperience, perhaps not *very far* into his thirties. He is last mentioned in the Lǚ chronicle at a meeting in 0571. If he was then 70, he would have been 34 in 0607; the numbers are compatible.

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

For five years there had been no diplomatic contact between Sùng and Lǚ, but in spring 0594, concerned for its own reasons about Ch'ü pressure on Sùng, Lǚ sent an envoy to meet with the ruler of Ch'ü in Sùng, which that summer led to a peace treaty between Sùng and Ch'ü. 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..

<sup>8</sup>For this idiom, see Brooks **Defeat**.

To have turned that alliance to Lǚ's advantage was the last triumph of Sywǎn-gūng of Lǚ, who died in the winter of 0591. His successor, Chǔng-gūng, made a separate covenant with Jīn in summer 0590, shortly after the burial of Sywǎn-gūng. In spring 0589, Chí invaded Lǚ. That summer, ill-advisedly but seemingly in reprisal, Wèi fought with Chí and lost. A second attempt was made with a joint force from all four allies (Lǚ, Jīn, Wèi, and Tsáu), which severely defeated Chí. Thus did matters stand when Sùng Wǎn-gūng died in the 8th month of 0589.

### Sùng Gùng-gūng (r 0588-0576)

As far as the Chūn/Chyōu tells us, Wǎn-gūng had made no use of Hwà Ywǎn after the humiliating defeat of 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 Lǚ, under a new ruler, has been active in its own interest. Things are not going well for Sùng. Under the new Sùng ruler, 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 Wèi on Jǔng in winter 0589, Sùng Gùng-gūng covenants with Lǚ, Chǔ, Chí, Wèi, Jǔng, Chí, Tsáu, and several smaller states.<sup>9</sup> This important event occurred exactly 74 days after the death of Wǎn-gūng. A sense of urgency is evident.

Lǚ and Sùng (with Jīn, Wèi, and Tsáu) invaded fractious Jǔng in spring 0588. Sùng Wǎn-gūng was buried in the following month. Lǚ received friendly missions from Jīn 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 previous estimate, he is now 54, a senior member of the Sùng inner circle. There was a return visit from Lǚ:

- 0586. [Spring]. Jǔngsūn Myè went to Sùng.
- [12mo, day 26]. The [Lǚ] Prince met with the Lord of Jīn, the Lord of Chí, the Prince of Sùng, the Lord of Wèi, the Elder of Jǔng, 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. That alliance, which like most of the solidarity covenants was aimed at Chǔ, brought Chí into the picture, as well as problematic Jǔng.<sup>10</sup> It did not hold up well, since in spring 0585 Wèi invaded Sùng. That autumn, Lǚ also invaded Sùng, and Chǔ invaded Jǔng.<sup>11</sup> After an appeal by a Lǚ envoy, Jīn intervened to relieve Jǔng. Chǔ, not easily deterred, invaded Jǔng again in autumn 0584. This time Jǔng was relieved by a force from Lǚ, Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jyǔ, Jū, and Chǐ. There followed a renewal of the previous covenant. The renewed covenant seems to have had some teeth in it. But the interstate covenant was proving an uncertain support. Sùng needed something more.

<sup>9</sup>Jīn is conspicuous by its absence, but the other major powers are included.

<sup>10</sup>Brooks **League** 208 gives the context for these solidarity covenants, which will not be followed in detail here.

<sup>11</sup>Jǔng was apparently considered by all parties to be the strategic key to the middle Yellow River area, and was the ultimate target of almost all Chǔ military activity in this period.

So in the following year,

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

That is, Hwà Ywǎen made preliminary arrangements for a state marriage between Lù and Sùng, and 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 small Jū) in 0582. The state marriage had its own formal sequelae, and so did another marriage with Jìn:

- 0582. 2mo. Bwó-jì 伯姬<sup>12</sup> went to her new home 歸 in Sùng.
- Summer. Jisūn Hángfǔ went to Sùng to facilitate the girl's arrival.
- [Summer]. An officer from Jìn came to present bridesmaids.<sup>13</sup>

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

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

This act now links Sùng, Lǚ, Jìn, and Chí. 0580 saw several embassies from Lǚ to Jìn, where there was a new ruler, and Chí. Thus was the superstructure maintained. On Jìn's part, there were plans to dispute control with Chín in the West. In spring 0578 Jìn requested a force from Lǚ, and this, under pretext of a visit to Jōu, Lǚ provided. So did Chí, Sùng, Wèi, Tsáu, Jū, and Tǐng, and the whole advanced on Chín. The ruler of Tsáu died during the campaign, and was buried in Tsáu that winter. The alliance, under the Jìn leadership, was serving purposes not wholly related to Sùng's troubles, or even to the general problem of Chǔ. It was used for the safety, and success, of Jìn.

In 0577, there was a marriage between Chí and Lǚ. Jǐng again attacked Syǔ. Another 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, and

- 0576. [Autumn] **Hwà Ywǎen** of Sùng fled to Jìn.
- **Hwà Ywǎen** of Sùng returned to Sùng.
- Sùng killed its high officer Shān.
- Yw Shí of Sùng fled to Chǔ.<sup>14</sup>
- Winter, 10mo. Shúsūn Chyáu-rú [of Lǚ], Shè Syè of Jìn, Gāu Wú-jyòu of Chí,<sup>15</sup> **Hwà Ywǎen** of Sùng, Sūn Lín-fǔ of Wèi, Prince Chyōu of Jǐng, and an officer of Jū, met with Wú at Jūnglí.

Thus, in winter 0576, there entered upon the northern political scene the new coastal power Wú.<sup>16</sup> The effect on Chǔ would be to distract it from its northern adventures.

<sup>12</sup>Bwó denotes the eldest daughter, -jì is the Jōu clan name, as also borne by the Lǚ rulers.

<sup>13</sup>For the entourage of Bwó-jì in Sùng, but to be presented via Lǚ.

<sup>14</sup>It is easy to see that the struggle in Sùng was between pro-Jìn and pro-Chǔ factions. Hwà Ywǎen, a member of the Jìn faction, at first fled but soon returned, and the Chǔ faction lost.

<sup>15</sup>As in 0000, the Gāu clan still stand high in Chí, and are diplomatically active.

<sup>16</sup>For the geopolitics, see Brooks **League** 210; for a personal sidelight, see Brooks **Wú**.

In summer 0575, J̀ng invaded S̀ng. In the 6th month, J̀n asked for military support from L̀, which apparently was not granted. Without that or other support, J̀n inflicted so great a defeat on the joint forces of Ch̀ and J̀ng that the Ch̀ general was executed on his return. L̀ was in disgrace with J̀n. It attempted to ingratiate itself:

- 0575. Autumn. The [L̀] Prince went to attend a meeting with the Lord of J̀n, the Lord of Ẁ, the Lord of Ch́, **Hwà Ywǎn** of S̀ng, and an officer of Jū at Shā-swéi, but [the ruler of J̀n] would not see him.
- [Autumn]. The [L̀] Prince joined the ruler of Ỳn, the Lord of J̀n, Gwó Tswò of Ch́, and an officer of Jū, and attacked J̀ng.
- 9mo. An officer of J̀n detained [L̀ envoy] J̀sūn Háng-fǔ and lodged him in Shàu-chyōu.
- Winter. 10mo, day 12. Shúsūn Chyáu-rú [of L̀] fled to Ch́.
- 12mo, day 22. J̀sūn H́ngfǔ and Sỳ Chóu of J̀n covenanted in H̀.
- The [L̀] Prince returned from the meeting [in J̀n]
- Day 22. [L̀] executed Prince Ỳn.

But a later military effort was not enough, and internal changes in L̀ were required (the flight of one partisan and the execution of another: a kinsman of the L̀ ruler).

In 0574, Ẁ attacked J̀ng, followed by a joint attack on J̀ng in which both L̀ and S̀ng participated. L̀ joined J̀n, S̀ng, Ẁ, Tsáu, Ch́, and Jū in invading J̀ng. In 0573, rulers and their supporters were murdered in J̀n and Ch́. Taking advantage of that situation, Ch̀ and J̀ng attacked S̀ng that summer, and again that winter. Only a few days after the death of the L̀ ruler, J̀n asked L̀ for an army, and in the 12th month J̀ngsūn Myè of L̀ met with the rulers of J̀n, S̀ng, Ẁ, Jū, and an envoy from Ch́ and made another solidarity covenant. Subsequently:

- 0572. [Spring]. J̀ngsūn Myè joined Lwán Ỳn of J̀n, **Hwà Ywǎn** of S̀ng, Níng Jr of Ẁ, an officer of Tsáu, an officer of Jyǔ, an officer of Jū, an officer of T́ng, and an officer of Syè, in besieging Ṕng-ch́ng in S̀ng.

The S̀ng rebel Ý Sh́r, with support from Ch̀ and J̀ng, had gone to Ṕng-ch́ng in 0573. Hwà Ywǎn, nearing 70, would seem to have led the S̀ng contingent in person, reminding us that all careers in this period were fundamentally military.<sup>17</sup>

0571 opened with an invasion of S̀ng by J̀ng, and an attack on J̀ng by J̀n, S̀ng, and Ẁ. We now hear of Hwà Ywǎn for the last time:

- 0571. Autumn, 7mo. J̀ngsūn Myè [of L̀] met with Sýn Ýng of J̀n, **Hwà Ywǎn** of S̀ng, Sūn Lín-fǔ of Ẁ, an officer of Tsáu, and an officer of Jū in Chyè.
- [7mo] Shúsūn Bàu [of L̀] went to S̀ng.
- Winter. J̀ngsūn Myè met with Sýn Ýng of J̀n, Tswēi Shū of Ch́, **Hwà Ywǎn** of S̀ng, Sūn Lín-fǔ of Ẁ, an officer of Tsáu, an officer of Jū, an officer of T́ng, an officer of Sywē, and an officer of Little Jū in Chyè; they subsequently walled H̀-łáu.
- [Winter]. Ch̀ killed its high officer Prince Sh́n.

In Ch̀ also, the success of J̀n and the pro-J̀n party in S̀ng – Hwà Ywǎn's party – had fatal repercussions for those on the wrong factional side.

<sup>17</sup>See Brooks **Lore**.

**Summary.** Hwà Ywáén, a member of the pro-Jìn (and anti-Chǔ) party in Sùng, who had begun his career not very successfully opposing an incursion of Jǜng, thus lived to see this moment of his faction's diplomatic triumph. He was now about 70, and it was time to hand the affairs of the Hwà clan over to younger men. In later years several other Hwà names do appear in the diplomatic and military record.

The Dzwǒ Jwàn gives a more elaborate account of these events, full of human and literary interest, but, needless to say,<sup>18</sup> also full of the ritual explanations which are that text's stock in trade, plus its characteristic anachronisms. The Chūn/Chyōu has been faulted for its brevity. But its intent was not novelistic. It was not meant for readers unacquainted with the affairs of the period. It was a reminder for the Lǚ ruler and his officials, who had taken part in these events and did not need to have them spelled out.

Like any individual at any time, Hwà Ywáén's life is not intelligible without a knowledge of his state, and the above pages thus include every bit of information about Sùng in the Lǚ chronicle from 0651 to 0671, Hwà Ywáén's probable lifespan. These give us a picture of a still personalistic state, where all power is from the ruler, and any other aspirations center on his removal. The state in turn is not intelligible without an idea of the larger historical movements of the age, which were military: Who would control the Sinitic heartland? Chǔ's effort to penetrate the disorganized northern states, and the increasingly close cooperation of those states, is the great theme of the period.<sup>19</sup> A reader who grasps that cardinal fact will see readily enough where Hwà Ywáén fits in.

### *Works Cited*

- A Taeko Brooks. Enfeifment Renewal in Lǚ. WSP v1 (2010) 214-215  
 A Taeko Brooks. Evolution of the Bà 霸 "Hegemon" Theory. WSP v1 (2010) 220-226  
 A Taeko Brooks. The Historical Value of the Chūn/Chyōu. WSP v1 (2010) 71-74  
 A Taeko Brooks. The History and Historiography of Jyǔ 莒. WSP v1 (2010) 216-219  
 A Taeko Brooks. The League of the North. WSP v1 (2010) 204-213  
 A Taeko Brooks. The Lǚ Lore Tradition. WSP v1 (2010) 40-42  
 A Taeko Brooks. The Syī-gūng 僖公 Transition. WSP v1 (2010) 201-203  
 A Taeko Brooks and E Bruce Brooks. Defeat in the Chūn/Chyōu. WSP v1 (2010) 189-198  
 E Bruce Brooks. Climate Cycles in Spring and Autumn. WSP v1 (2010) 179-180  
 E Bruce Brooks. Jūng-gwó 中國 in the Dzwǒ Jwàn. WSP v3 (2013) 21-23  
 E Bruce Brooks. Wú Mǜngdǔ 吳孟子. WSP v3 (2012) 192-194  
 Paul R Goldin. The Hermeneutics of Emmentaler. WSP v1 (2010) 75-78  
 Eric Henry. Evidence for a Usurpation in Sùng. WSP v1 (2010) 227-230

<sup>18</sup>Those who find it needful may consult Brooks **Value** and Goldin **Emmentaler** for an elementary contrast; Brooks **Jyǔ** for a detailed comparison of the two works' treatment of a delicate issue, the often positive role of non-Sinitic states in the Sinitic system, a topic which is taboo for the DJ (see further Brooks **Jūng-gwó**), and for military details, Brooks **Defeat**.

<sup>19</sup>See again Brooks **League**, and further Brooks **Hegemon**.