PORTENTS OF THE REIGN OF EMPEROR AN (106-125)

By CHNG KHIN YONG

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Chng Khin Yong
This thesis is the result of original research conducted by the author at the Australian National University.

CHNG KHIN YONG
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<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>BMFEA</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCHHS</td>
<td>Ch'i-chia Hou Han shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESWSP</td>
<td>Erh-shih-wu-shih pu-pien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HFHD</td>
<td>History of the Former Han Dynasty</td>
</tr>
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<td>HHS</td>
<td>Hou Han shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HJAS</td>
<td>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>Ho Peng Yoke, The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin Shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HWTS</td>
<td>Han Wei ts'ung-shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSYY</td>
<td>Kuo-li Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an 国立中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFEH</td>
<td>Papers on Far Eastern History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPPY</td>
<td>Ssu-pu pei-yao 四部備要 edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCTC</td>
<td>Tzu chih tung-chien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKHC</td>
<td>Tung-kuan Han chi</td>
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<td>TP</td>
<td>T'oung Pao</td>
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INTRODUCTION

As Etienne Balazs, a major figure in the world community of Chinese scholars, has well pointed out, one of the distinctive characteristics of Chinese historiography is its stereotype: the sense that it lacks of historian's personal touch and his generalisation of observed facts. The accuracy of this comment is clear when we consider the Treatise of Astronomy and the Treatise of the Five Elements in some of the official histories. In the Treatise of Astronomy, a great series of observations concerning general astronomical and natural or supernatural phenomena, such as the appearance of comet and the movements of the five observable planets, are recorded each with their correlation to earthly affairs. In the Treatise of the Five Elements, a great number of disasters and portents are arranged chronologically under various categories such as fire, drought, earthquake, plague and solar eclipse, again accompanied by interpretations from events of the time.

The interpretations of the celestial phenomena and earthly disasters and portents were based on the theories of Yin and Yang, and of the Five Elements, the two metaphysical principles which underlie Chinese astrology as well as medicine, alchemy and other aspects of Chinese intellectual framework. One of the most ancient literary sources on the doctrine of Yin and Yang can perhaps be found in the text excavated recently at Ma-wang-tui in Ch'ang-sha, Hunan province. This text, which appears together with the book of Lao-tzu, has been identified by the celebrated philologist T'ang Lan as the
ancient book Huang-ti ssu-ching (The Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor) written in about fourth century B.C. and subsequently lost until this discovery. It is believed to be a work written by an unknown philosopher of the Ch'u State in South China. In the Chapter on Balancing (Ch'eng) of this classic, it says,

All discussions should be aimed at the great principle of Yin and Yang. Heaven is Yang; earth is Yin... The Lord (of men) is Yang; (his) ministers are Yin... Man is Yang; woman is Yin... The one who rules the people is Yang; the people who are ruled by others are Yin. All Yang imitates Heaven (and) Heaven values justice... All Yin imitates the Earth: the virtues of Earth are silent and tranquil, gentle... and excellent by reason of its lack of contentiousness. These are the rules of the Earth and the etiquette of the female.3

The second textual evidence on Yin and Yang can be found in a fragment known as Chi jan, which appears to be part of a lost book dated about the fifth century B.C. In this fragment, it is said that a certain gentleman Chi Ni-tzu, who based himself on the concept of the Yin and the Yang, once advised the king of the southern State of Yueh, Kou Chien, concerning the affairs of state. He said,

You must observe the chi of Heaven and Earth, trace the (activities of the) Yin and the Yang, and know the ku-hsu. You must understand survival and death. Only then can you weigh up your enemy....4

This text certainly represents a Naturalist (Yin-Yang chia
As to the date of origin of the concept of the theory of the Five Elements, scholars used to trace it back to the Hung-fan (Grand Norm) chapter in Shang shu (Book of History). But, as Liu Chieh in Hung-fan shu-cheng has pointed out, this particular chapter was in fact a later interpolation, written sometime between the latter phase of the Warring States period (403-222 B.C.) and the unification of the Ch'in empire in 221 B.C. Since Hung-fan is the earliest literary reference we have on the theory of the Five Elements, we must therefore rely upon archaeological evidence. In his Wu-hsing chih ch'i-yuan (The Origin of the Theory of the Five Elements), Ch'en Meng-chia, based on the inscription of a jade sword-handle believed to have come from the State of Ch'i in present-day Shantung, put the date of the birth of the theory of the Five Elements further back to the beginning of the Warring States period. That is about the fourth century B.C.

In Han times, the theories of the Yin and the Yang and of the Five Elements exercised great influence upon the thought of Confucianists such as Tung Chung-shu, Liu Hsiang, and scholar-officials who used them as a political weapon for criticising the misrule of the government. As such, the portents they memorialised to the throne were later recorded in the Han shu by Pan Ku and the Hsu Han shu by Ssu-ma Pi. For the portents recorded in the Han shu, the scholars Hans Bielenstein and Wolfram Eberhard have produced the result of their research.
in the articles entitled "An Interpretation of the Portents in the Ts'ien-Han-shu" and "The Political Function of Astronomy and Astronomers in Han China". It is not my intention here to discuss or review their views but rather I follow their line to examine the portents memorialised during the reign of Emperor An (r. 106-125) of Later Han dynasty, as recorded in the Hsü Han shu of Ssu-ma Piao.

According to the Treatises of Ssu-ma Piao, there was a total of 151 inauspicious portents (105 items in the Treatise of the Five Elements and 46 in the Treatise of Astronomy) memorialised to the throne within the nineteen years' reign of Emperor An, an average of 7.9 cases a year. This is the highest rate of portents memorialised in the whole of the Later Han dynasty. Moreover, if we examine the portents recorded in Table 3 closely, we may find a few more significant characteristics. Firstly, for instance, out of 151 portents, 115 cases were memorialised during the rule of Lady Teng, with an average of 8.2 cases a year; while 36 were reported at the time Emperor An exercised his personal government from 121 to 125, with an average of 7.2 cases a year. Secondly, if we read these figures together with the number of auspicious portents recorded in the annals of Emperor An in Fan Yeh's Hsiao Han shu, we find that there are two contrary pictures. The annals recorded only one auspicious omen during the fifteen years' regency of Lady Teng while 11 in the short span of five years of Emperor An. Moreover, if we read the number of auspicious omens, together with the historical appraisals given in the Later Han time, we again find that the
portents, inauspicious and auspicious, do not agree with one and other. The annals of Emperor Hsien in Hou Han shu says that in 190, on the suggestion of court officials, the court decided to take away Emperor An's prestigious posthumous title, Kung-tsung "Respectable Ancestor", because of the misrule during his reign. In his Ch'ien-fu lun 虛史論, Wang Fu (ca.90-165) severely criticised Emperor An for giving ear to slanders from his eunuch attendants, but on the other hand Wang Fu admired Lady Teng for her deep devotion to the problems of the state. Surely, to this major contradiction, there must be some interpretation. Historians of today usually recognise that there is no uninterpreted history. History is not a series of naked facts, such as inauspicious and lucky portents arranged in chronological order like beads on a string, and it is also absurd to suppose that an event is like a kind of "thing in itself" which can be recovered after all interpretation is stripped away.

The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is twofold: First, to present my reader with some interpretations of the portents recorded during the time of Emperor An in relation to the political and philosophical situation at that time. In doing so, I have to examine the sources of the Treatises of Ssu-ma Piao, with the particular attention to the Treatise of the Five Elements, and I must also consider the history of the reign of Emperor An. The second purpose is to present an English translation of all portents recorded in the Treatise of the Five Elements concerning the reign of Emperor An. This may serve as a sample of the style of composition of the Treatise of the Five Elements in early Chinese official histories.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION


2. Of the twenty-five Chinese official histories, the majority contain a Treatise on Astronomy (T’ien-wen chih 天文志) and a Treatise of the Five Elements (Wu-hsing chih 五行志). The exceptions are the San-kuo chih 三國志, Liang shu 梁書, Ch’en shu 陳書, Pei-ch’i shu 北齊書 and Liao shih 遼史, which do not contain either treatise, and the Wei shu 魏書 and Hsin Wu-tai shih 新五代史, which lack a treatise on the Five Elements.


9. HHS annals 9, 3b.

10. Ch’ien-fu lun 9, 26a. (SPPY)
CHAPTER I: SOURCES OF THE TREATISES OF SSU-MA PIAO

Ssu-ma Piao, a member of the imperial clan during the Chin dynasty (265-419), styled Shao-t'ung, was born about 240. He was the elder son of the King of Kao-yang, Ssu-ma Mu. His biography in the Chin shu tells us that he was fond of women while he was young, but after being severely punished by his father for this fault, he devoted himself industriously to his studies and became a famous scholar. He was first appointed as a Chief Commandant of Cavalry and was then promoted as Gentleman of the Imperial Library during the T'ai-shih reign-period. He reached the peak of his official career as an Assistant-Director of the Imperial Library. Besides the major work Hsü Han shu (Continuation of the Han History) he also wrote a Hou Han tsa-shih (Miscellaneous Matters in the Later Han Dynasty), Han-shu yin-yi (A Phonological Commentary on the Han History), Chiu-chou ch'un-chiu (Spring and Autumn Annals of the Nine Provinces), Chan-l'ueh (Military Strategy) and compiled a commentary to the philosophical work Chuang-tzu. He died about 305.

In his own time, Ssu-ma Piao's Hsü Han shu was a very successful private work. We may attribute this to several factors: he was "widely read in many books" (po-lan ch'un shu); his official career gave him access to the archives of the Later Han preserved in the Imperial Library; and he possessed keen individual insight into historiography.

In 281, a work entitled Chu-shu chi-nien (The Bamboo Annals), which had been compiled for the ruler of
Wei State during the years of the third century B.C., was found in the tomb of King An-li (d. 245 B.C.) of the Wei State in the Warring States period. This newly-discovered bamboo document was immediately collated by the Supervisor of Palace Writers, Hsü Hsiü, and the Prefect of Palace Writers, Ho Ch'iao, and was kept in the Imperial Library. On the basis of this archaeological find Ssu-ma Piao pointed out some mistakes made by the Three Kingdoms period historian Ch'iao Chou in his Ku-shih k'ao (Investigation into Ancient History), a critical work on Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Shih-chi (Historical Records). We do not know exactly Ssu-ma Piao's comments, but it is clear that in his historiographical work he was prepared to employ archaeological documents to question canonized history and the methods of literary historians such as Ch'iao Chou. With such training, we may imagine that Ssu-ma Piao had no difficulty in producing a "comprehensive and authentic" history.

Originally, Hsü Han shu contained altogether eighty-three chüan. By the time of the Northern Sung dynasty, however, only the eight treatises, which had been incorporated into the Hou Han shu of Fan Yeh by a sixth century commentator Liu Chao, were extant. It is known that Fan Yeh did intend to compose ten treatises beside the ten imperial annals and eighty biographies of his Hou Han shu. He was, however, executed in January 446 for a political crime before he had completed more than five. The five treatises which had been completed were Po-kuan chih (Treatise on Officialdom), Li-yüeh chih (Treatise on Rites and Music), Chü-fu chih (Treatise on Clothing),
(Treatise on Chariots and Garments), *Wu-hsing chih* 行志, (Treatise on the Five Elements) and *T'ien-wen chih* 天文志 (Treatise on Astronomy). They were still extant during the Ch'ing dynasty (479-501) but later they completely disappeared. Noting this omission in Fan Yeh's *Hou Han shu*, Liu Chao took the eight treatises of Ssu-ma Piao's *Hsü Han shu*, divided them into thirty *chüan*, added his own commentary, and included them in Fan Yeh's history.

Both the works of Fan Yeh and Ssu-ma Piao, however, continued to be published separately and individually. It was not until 1022, after the eight Treatises obtained official recognition as part of the *Hou Han shu* from the court, that the two works were printed as a single book.

Although all seventy-five *chüan* of the imperial annals and biographies of the *Hsü Han shu* have been lost, nevertheless some fragments have been recollected by Wan Wen-t'ai (1796-1844) in his *Ch'i-chia Hou Han shu* 七家後漢書 (Later Han Histories of Seven Scholars), and we may safely conclude from these that most of the reference works and Later Han archives employed by Fan Yeh were also the sources used by Ssu-ma Piao. The major materials are: *Tung-kuan Han-chi* 東觀漢紀 (The Chronicle of the Han from the Eastern Pavilion), Hou Chin's *Huang-te chi* 黃帝紀 (The Record of Virtue of Han Emperors), Wang Ts'an's *Hsü-mo ying-hsiung chi* 襄武英雄記 (A Record of Heroes of the End of the Han), Ts'ai Yung's *Tu tuan* 獨斷 (Independent Judgements), *Hsien-tsung ch'i-ch'ü-chu* 顯忠起居注 (Diary of Activity and Repose of Emperor Ming) and *Ho-hsi Teng-huang-
What then are the principal sources for the eight Treatises?

I present the detailed results from my research in a single table (See Table I). There is one question which a reader might raise after reading this table: In the Hou Han shu chih 13, 1a-b, there is only the laconic statement saying,

In the past, the Grand Administrator of T'ai-shan, Ying Shao, the Official Serving Within the Palace Tung Pa, and the Cavalier Attendant in the Department of the Regular Attendants Chiao Chou together compiled (the records of) disasters and portents of the time since the Chien-wu reign-period. I now combine (all their materials) and add a discussion, in order to continue the earlier treatises (of the Ch'ien Han shu by Pan Ku).

There is no clue here as to which of these authors Ssu-ma Piao was referring to. Why then do I say that they come from Ying Shao's Feng-su tung-yi (Comprehensive Meanings of Customs), Tung Pa's Ts'ai-yi chih (Treatise on Disasters and Portents) and Chiao Chou's Wu-hsing chih (Treatise on the Five Elements). Let me present a detailed explanation.

Ying Shao, a native of Nan-tun in Ju-nan commandery, styled Chung-yuan, was a son of the historian and former Colonel Director of the Retainers, Ying Feng. He was said to be an excellent debater, and he became Grand Administrator of T'ai-shan in 189. He probably died in 204 at Yeh, a city near Lin-chang in present-day Hopei.

According to Ssu-ma Piao, Ying Shao compiled the Chung Han
### TABLE I: SOURCES OF SSU-MA PIAO'S EIGHT TREATISES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Treatise</th>
<th>Sources</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lü-li chih (Treatise on the Musical Pitch-pipes and the Calendar)</td>
<td>Liu Chao's preface to the Treatise of the Hou Han shu (HHS chih 1, 1b). Yuan Shan-sung's Hou-Han shu quoted in HHS chih 2, 2a. See also HHS chih 3, 34a.</td>
<td>Hsieh Shen's Hou-Han shu (quotation in HHS chih 4, 1b) Wang Ming-sheng's Shih-ch'i shih shang-ch'ueh 十七史商榷 32, 1b. Also Hou K'ang's &quot;Pu Hou-Han yi-wen chih&quot;, EWSPP, II, 2123.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Li-yi chih (Treatise on Ritual)</td>
<td>Ts'ai Yung's Treatise on Ritual: Hu Kuang's Han chih-tu 漢制度 (Institutions of the Han Dynasty) and Ch'iao Chou's revision of Ts'ai Yung's Treatise.</td>
<td>See Liu Chao's commentary on HHS chih 7, 1b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chi-ssu chih (Treatise on Sacrifices)</td>
<td>Ts'ai Yung's Treatise on Sacrifices</td>
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<td>T'ien-wen chih (Treatise on Astronomy)</td>
<td>Ts'ai Yung's Treatise on Astronomy and Ch'iao Chou's Continuation of Ts'ai Yung's Treatise.</td>
<td>See citation from Hsieh Shen's Hou-Han shu at HHS chih 10, 3a.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Wu-hsing chih</strong> (Treatise on the Five Elements)</td>
<td>Ying Shao's <em>Peng-su t'ung-yi</em>; Tung Pa's <em>Tsai-yi chih</em> (Records on Disasters and Portents) and Ch'iao Chou's Treatise on the Five Elements.</td>
<td><strong>HHS chih 13, 1a-b.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chün-kou chih</strong> (Treatise on Administration)</td>
<td>Archives of an official census of 140 A.D. with additional material from <em>Ch'un ch'iu</em> 春秋 (Spring and Augum Annals); <em>Shih-chi</em> 史記 (The Grand Records); <em>Han shu</em> (The former Han History) and the <em>Tung-kuan Han-chi</em>.</td>
<td><strong>HHS chih 19, 1a-b.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Po-kuan chih</strong> (Treatise on Officialdom)</td>
<td>Based on old archives, also Wang Lung's <em>Hsiao-hsüeh Han-kuan pien</em> 小學漢官箴, Yin Shao's <em>Han-kuan yi</em> 漢宮儀 and Hu Kuang's 胡廣 commentary to Wang Lung's work.</td>
<td><strong>HHS chih 24, 1a.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yü-fu chih</strong> (Treatise on Chariots and Garments)</td>
<td>Tung Pa's <em>Ta-Han yü-fu chih</em> and Ts'ai Yung's <em>Treatise on Chariots and Garments</em>.</td>
<td>Liu Chao's preface to the Treatises of <em>HHS</em> (HHS chih 1, 1b).</td>
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chi-hsü, Han kuan-yi and other books regarding old records on
ritual observances, a total of eleven books with 136 chüan in
all. With the aid of Hou K'ang's 侯康 (1797-1837) Pu Hou Han
shu yi-wen-chih 佈後漢書文志 (A Supplement to the
Bibliographical Treatise of the Hou Han shu) I list here all
eleven works:

1. Han-shu chi-chieh yin-yi 漢書集解音義 (A Compila-
tion of Phonetic and Etymological Study of the Han
History), 24 chüan.

2. Hsün Yüeh Hou-Han chi chu 華嶽後漢紀注 (Commentary
to Hsün Yüeh's Chronicle of the Later Han)

3. Feng-su t'ung-yi, 31 chüan, a book dealing with aspects
of every-day life, including popular superstitions and
good beliefs.

4. Chung Han chi-hsü 中漢輯序 (Collected Essays of the
Middle Han), a work discussing current affairs during
Han times.

5. Han kuan yi 漢官儀 (Han Official Observances), 10
chüan, a book dealing with the administrative systems
of the Later Han.

6. Han kuan chu 漢官注 (Commentary on Han kuan), 5 chüan.
This is a sub-commentary on Hu Kuang's 侯廣 (19-172)
commentary on Wang Lung's 興隆 (early first century A.D.)
Han kuan chieh-ku 漢官解詁 (Explanations on Han kuan).

7. Chuang-jen chi 狀人紀 (Description of Men).

8. Han-ch'ao po-yi 漢朝駁議 (Disputes Made at the Han
Court), a series of law arguments presented by Ying Shao.

9. Shih-san chou chi 十三州記 (The Records of the Thirteen
Provinces), a geographical work similar to Pan Ku's
"Treatise on Geography" in Han shu.

10. **Ti-li feng-su chi** (Records on Geographical Characteristics and Customs), a topographical work similar to *Shih san chou chi*.

11. **Huai-nan tzu chu** (Commentary on the Book of Huai-nan tzu).

Which of these works then was the principal source for Ssu-ma Piao when he wrote his Treatise of the Five Elements? From the summary of the many books of this prolific author, relying upon the books' titles, we may omit all except the Feng-su t'ung-yi from consideration. This conclusion is strongly supported by the frequent citations of the book by Liu Chao in his commentary on the Treatise. Furthermore, in the *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* (Excerpts of Writings in the Northern Hall), the compiler Yü Shih-nan (588-638) has preserved a fragment of Feng-su t'ung-yi about the use of reed-made square boxes as dressing-cases by the leading people in the imperial capital during the Chien-ning (168-171) period. This story appears also in the Treatise of Ssu-ma Piao. In *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, an encyclopaedic work compiled during the tenth century A.D., fragments of Feng-su t'ung-yi say that Emperor Ling of Later Han was fond of the costume of the northern barbarians (hu) and that he liked to ride donkeys in his Western Park, these being symbols of the future rebellion of the general Tung Ch'ou. Again, these episodes can also be found in the Treatise of Ssu-ma Piao. In a T'ang work entitled *Yi-lin* (Forest of Opinion) by Ma Tsung 馬融, there are fragments of Feng-su t'ung-yi. For instance, it tells how the women during the Yüan-chia (151-152) period
of Emperor Huan liked the fashion of 'frowning eyebrows' (ch'ou-mei) make-up and 'falling from the horse' (chui-ma) hair-do. It preserves a children's song circulated at the imperial capital towards the end of the reign of Emperor Shun, saying, "Those people (whose characters) are as straight as a strings die at the road-path; but those who are as bent as a hook, they are enfeoffed as marquises"; and another children's song saying, "How luxuriant is a thousand miles of grass, on the tenth day (of a particular month) we make a divination: 'He cannot survive'." If we read through the Treatise of Ssu-ma Piao we find that all these three items have been recorded.

However, we must note that not all the portents recorded in the main text of the Treatise, in Liu Chao's commentary, Yi-lin, Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao and T'ai-p'ing yü-lan can be found in the present ten chüan text of Feng-su t'ung-yi. The answer is that originally the Feng-su t'ung-yi had thirty-one chüan, being one chüan of contents and thirty chüan of main text. This thirty-one chüan was still intact when Ma Tsung, Yü Shih-nan and Li Fang and his collaborators compiled their works, but sometime after the Sung dynasty, twenty-one chüan (that is, twenty chüan of the main text and the table of contents) were lost. There remain only the present ten chüan. It is therefore quite evident that those fragments incorporated into Liu Chao's commentary to the Treatise of the Five Elements or cited in Yi-lin, Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao and T'ai-p'ing yü-lan came from the lost twenty chüan of Feng-su t'ung-yi.

During the Ch'ing dynasty, two scholars Sun Hsing-yen 隋景亨...
(1753-1818) and Lu Wen-ch'ao 廖文弨 (1717-1796), basing themselves on the citations in T'ai-p'ing yü-lan and the Treatise of the Five Elements, suggested that one of the lost twenty chüan of the main text must have been entitled Ts'ai-yi 災異 (Catastrophes and Portents), and it is from this text that the information in the Treatise came. This suggestion, however, was rejected by Ts'eng P'u 鄭穆. In his Pu Hou-Han shu yi-wen-chih ping k'ao 渠僞漢書藝文志考 (Critical Examination of the Supplementary Treatises on Literature of the Hou-Han shu), Ts'eng noted that the titles of all 30 chüan of the Feng-su t'ung-yi are listed in Yi-lin, which has been quoted in Chiao-cheng Feng-su t'ung-yi hsü 校正風俗通義序 (Preface to the Collated Text of Feng-su t'ung-yi) in the anthology of Su Wei-kung chi 蘇魏公集 as below:

1. Huang-pa 霸王 (Kings and Hegemons)
2. Cheng-shih 正史 (Right and Wrong)
3. Ch'ien-li 聖禮 (Ceremony and Discourtesy)
4. Kuo-yü 業禮 (Fame and Infamy)
5. Shih-fan 反 (Ten Contrary Things)
6. Sheng-yin 聲音 (Sound and Music)
7. Ch'iung-t'ung 喬遷 (Failure and Success)
8. Ssu-tien 社祭 (Sacrifice and Ceremony)
9. Kuai-shen 怪神 (Supernatural Beings and Spirits)
10. Shan-tse 山澤 (Mountains and Marshes)
   (The above ten chüan are all preserved in the present text).
11. Hsin-cheng 心政 (Governing the Mind)
12. Ku-chih 古制 (Ancient Institutions)
13. *Ying-chiao* 陰教 (Secret Teachings)
14. *Pien-huo* 辨惑 (Resolving Doubts)
15. *Hsi-tang* 斬堂 (Elucidating the Right Way)
16. *Shu-tu* 容度 (Forgiving Faults)
17. *Chia-hao* 嘉號 (Auspicious Names)
18. *Hui-ch'eng* 機稱 (An Evil Reputation)
19. *Shih-yü* 亨遇 (Seizing Opportunities)
20. *Hsing-shih* 姓氏 (Surnames and Clan Names)
21. *Wei-pien* 謹製 (Taboos)
22. *Shih-wang* 習志 (Elucidation on Forgiveness)
23. *Chi-shih* 集事 (Collected Stories)
24. *Fu-yao* 服妖 (Improper Fashions in Clothing)
25. *Sang-chi* 喪祭 (Mourning Sacrifice)
26. *Kung-shih* 宮室 (Palace and Chamber)
27. *Shih-ching* 市井 (Market-place)
28. *Shu-chi* 數紀 (Numerical Sequence)
29. *Hsin-ch'i* 新章 (On the Death of Prince)
30. *Yü-fa* 法 (Criminal Law)

Ts'eng therefore pointed out that the title suggested by Sun and Lu is entirely wrong. With this discovery, we may safely conclude that at least part of the portents recorded under the category of 'Improper Fashions in Clothing' *Fu-yao* 服妖 in *Hou Han shu chih* 13 are abstracted from the *Fu-yao* chapter of the *Feng-su t'ung-yi*.

Moreover, the Treatise of Ssu-ma Piao has also summarised two stories from the *Feng-su t'ung-yi*. The first tells of a native of Lo-yang named Yeh Lung 叶隆 being arrested for shooting
arrows at the Northern Portal. But if we read the full passage from *Feng-su t'ung-yi*, cited in the commentary of Liu Chao, we find that this incident took place when Ying Shao was a departmental clerk under the Grand Commandant. Ying Shao was ordered to investigate the case and he revealed that the incident arose out of a quarrel between Yeh Lung and his first cousin Yeh Yang, who had given Yeh Lung only a thousand cash to celebrate the New Year day. The second story concerns the rumour of a yellow man found in the wall of the building of the guards Rapid As Tigers. This, according to the citation of *Feng-su t'ung-yi* in the commentary of Liu Chao, happened in July 173 when Ying Shao was a Gentleman (lang 郎). After Ying Shao had personally examined the situation, he explained that the so-called yellow man had actually appeared as a result of rain leaking, which caused part of the wall to drop off and leave a shape like a man. But in his *Feng-su t'ung-yi*, he interpreted it as a sign given by heaven that there would be disturbance in the east (and the comment to this portent in *Hou Han shu* relates it to the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184). It would be reasonable to surmise that these two stories were taken by Ssu-ma Piao from the *Pien-huo* (Resolving Doubts) or *Chi-shih* (Collected Stories) chapters of *Feng-su t'ung-yi*. But the main point is that the incidents recorded in the Treatise of Ssu-ma Piao, as we have discussed above, whether they were abstracted from chapters *Fu-yao, Pien-huo, Chih-shih* or others, surely came from *Feng-su t'ung-yi*.

Next we come to Tung Pa (fl. 220). Little is known about
this figure of the Han-Wei transition period because neither the 
Hou Han shu nor the San-kuo chih devote a biography to him. We 
do know that he was an Erudite in the Chien-an (196-219) and 
Huang-ch' u (220-226) reign-periods, and in 220, together with 
the Palace Attendant, Liu Y e h, Prefect of the Masters of 
Writing, Huan Chiai, and the Master of Writing, Ch'en 
Ch' un, he submitted a memorial to Ts'ao P'i advising him 
to take the imperial power from the House of Han. 

From the bibliography of T'ai-p'ing yU-lan we know only 
that Tung Pa produced two works: Han chung-kuan chuan (Biographies of Han Eunuchs) and Han yü-fu chih (Treatise on Chariots and Garments of Han Dynasty). It is 
unlikely that either of these works provided material for Ssu-ma 
Piao's Treatise on the Five Elements. In view of this, in both 
his San-kuo yi-wen-chih (Treatise on Literature 
of the Three Kingdoms Period) and Sui-shu Ching-chi-chih k'ao-
ch'eng (Investigations on the Treatise of 
Bibliography of the Sui-shu), Yao Chen-tsung suggests 
that Tung Pa may have written a Hou-Han shu, of which both the 
Han yü-fu chih and Han chung-kuan chuan formed a part. In order 
to let the reader to have a clear picture of Yao's arguments, I 
reproduce them here: 

In the commentary to the Hou Han shu, Li Hsien (655-684), the second son of T'ang Kao-tsung, and from 675 to 680 his heir 
apparent, has cited a sentence from Tung Pa's Yü-fu chih: 

The Forbidden Apartments are called the Yellow Gates, 
and the person in charge of the people inside is named
This sentence has been quoted by Shen Yüeh (沈約 441-513) in his Sung shu (宋書, Sung History) and by Hsü Chien 彭堅 (700) in his Ch‘ü-hsueh chi (初學記, Encyclopaedia for Entry into Learning) as coming from Tung Pa’s Han shu (漢書, Han History) (named by Yao as Hou-Han shu). However, for the following reasons I do not agree with Yao:

First, apart from the fact that Li Hsien clearly states that the sentence is cited from the Yü-fu chih, the T’ai-p’ing yü-lan also gives the same title.27

Second, Liu Chao, a contemporary of Shen Yüeh, does not give the source as Tung Pa’s Han shu but indicates it merely as a saying of Tung Pa.28

Third, if Tung Pa really had a Han shu, it would surely have been cited at least once or twice in such classical commentaries and works as Li Tao-yüan (d. 527) Shui-ching chu (水經注), P‘ei Sung-chih’s commentary on the San-kuo chih, Liu Yi-ch‘ing’s Shih-shuo hsin-yü (世説新語, Records of the Sayings of the Southern and Northern Dynasties), Hsiao T‘ung’s Wen hsüan (文選, Selections of Writings) or the T’ai-p’ing kuang chi (太平廣記, General Records of the Taiping) edited by Li Fang. A check through these books, however, shows no evidence of such a work by Tung Pa.29

Fourth, in Yi-wen lei-chü (Literary Writings Grouped According to Categories) compiled by Ou-yang Hsün (557-641) and others, there can be found only Tung Pa’s Han yü (漢興, an abbreviation of Han yü-fu chih).30
In view of this, I conclude that Tung Pa did not compose a private Han shu (or Hou Han shu). The suggestion of Yao is based on a mistake made by Shen Yüeh, who wrongly attributed a quotation to Tung Pa's Han shu and this error was followed by the T'ang compiler Hsü Chien. The material which Ssu-ma Piao used in his Treatise of the Five Elements may have been a work of Tung Pa entitled Ts'ai-yi chih.\(^{31}\)

Having determined these two sources of the work of Ssu-ma Piao, we shall lastly deal with the case of Ch'iao Chou (199-270). Ch'iao Chou, styled Yü-nan, was a scholar and astronomer of the Three Kingdoms and early Chin period. He was a native of Hsi-ch'ung-kuo in the western part of Pa Commandery. Although an orphan, he took great pleasure in studying books, so much so that he forgot to sleep and eat. He was greatly admired by his contemporaries, and was enfeoffed as marquis of Yang-ch'eng. In 269 he predicted he would die in the following autumn, and he did so.

As to his works, his biography in San-kuo chih gives us only a very brief account: "He wrote and compiled Fa-hsün, Wu-ching lun, Ku-shih k'ao all together more than 100 pien".\(^{32}\) With the help of Hou K'ang's Pu San-kuo yi-wen chih\(^{33}\) a list of the works of Ch'iao Chou is given here for reference:

1. **Sang-fu t'u** (Sketch of Mourning Garments)
2. **Lun-yü chu** (Commentary on the Analects), 5 chüan.
3. **Wu-ching jan-fou lun** (= Wu-ching lun) (A Discussion of Right and Wrong in the Five Classics)\(^{34}\)
4. **Ku-shih k'ao** (An Investigation on Ancient History)
Based on the statement of Ssu-ma Piao in the caption of the Treatise of the Five Elements, Hou K'ang suggests that Ch'iao Chou might have written a Ts'ai-yi chih, which together with the other three Treatises make up the corpus of writings bearing the name of Hou-Han chi (The Chronicle of the Later Han). He further suggests that the reason why the book is not mentioned in the Ch'i lu (Bibliography of the Seven Classes of Books) of Yuan Hsiao-hsü (ca. 523) is that it was lost during the Yung-chia Disturbance in 311.

It is difficult to determine the validity of the suggestion of Hou K'ang. One thing, we know for sure, however, is that Ch'iao Chou did write a Ts'ai-yi chih which later became part of the present Treatise of the Five Elements of Ssu-ma Piao. And from the fact that Ch'iao Chou was the only astronomer among the three authors to whom Ssu-ma Piao has referred, we may assume that the whole chapter of HHS chih 18 (Wu-hsing 6) dealing with solar eclipses, haloes, sunspots and lunar eclipses occurring in the wrong month is taken from the Ts'ai-yi chih of Ch'iao Chou.

Finally, I think a note should be made here as to the main origin of the Ts'ai-yi chih of Ch'iao Chou. Historical sources
have indicated that Ch'iao Chou continued and revised the
Treatises of Ts'ai Yung (133-192) and produced his three
Treatises entitled T'ien-wen chih, Li-yi chih, and Chi-ssu chih.
Yet there is no discussion of any connection between the Ts'ai-
yi chih of Ch'iao Chou and the Wu-hsing yi of Ts'ai Yung. In other words, we do not know whether or not the first-hand information in the Ts'ai-yi chih of Ch'iao Chou came in part from the Wu-hsing yi of Ts'ai Yung. We know that Ts'ai Yung composed ten treatises which were submitted to the throne in the winter of 178. These Treatises were: Lü-li yi, Li yi, Yüeh yi, Ch'iao-ssu yi, T'ien-wen yi, Chü-fu yi, Wu-hsing yi, Po-kuan yi, Chün-kuo yi, and Chao-hui yi. However, from the anonymous Ts'ai Yung pieh-chuan, it seems that during retreat from the imperial city of Lo-yang by Tung Cho in 191, the Wu-hsing yi, together with other treatises such as Chün-kuo yi and Chao-hui yi, were lost. Because of this, we may conclude that Ch'iao Chou was unable to base his work on the Wu-hsing yi composed by Ts'ai Yung or to produce his continuation and revision as he did for the other three Treatises. It seems certain that he must have had to compose his work from materials in the Imperial Archives.
1. Chin shu 82 (lieh-chuan 52), 3a-3b (Po-na edition); also Yü Yü 虞詔, Chin shu in (Huang-shih yi-shu k'ao), 7a-b.

2. This comment follows that of Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (ca. 465-522), a most celebrated literary critic, in his Wen-hsin t'iao-lung 文心雕龍 4, 2a. (Shanghai: Shao-yeh-shan-fang, 1915) where he discusses the HsÜ Han shu in comparison with the historical works of Yuan Shan-sung 袁山松 (fl. 401), Chang Ying 張嶽, Hsüeh Ying 薛頴 (d. 282) and Hsieh Ch'eng 謝承. See Vincent Yü-chung Shih (tr.), The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons. (N.Y. 1959), p.122.

3. The biography of Lin Chao is in Liang shu 49 (lieh-chuan 43), 9b-10b (Po-na edition).

4. See the preface of Wang Hsien-ch'ien to Hou-Han shu chi-chieh, 1a.

5. See Bielenstein I, 16-17; Hu Yü-chin 胡玉奇, Ssu-ku chuan-shu chung-mu ti-yao pu-cheng 四庫全書總目提要補正, pp.327-332; also Yü Chia-hsi 余嘉錫, Ssu-ku ti-yao pien-cheng 四庫提要補正, pp.123-125.

6. For the sources of Fan Yeh's HHS, see Bielenstein I, 9-12.

7. See the commentary of Huang Shu-ling 黃叔琳 to Liu Hsieh, Wen-hsin tiao-lung 5, 10a.


9. See Yao Chen-tsung, Hou Han yi-wen-chih in ESWSSP, II, 2351.

10. Ssu-ma Piao, HsÜ Han shu cited in the commentary of P'ei Sung-chih 濟東在 to San-kuo chih Wei-shu 21 (lieh-chuan 21), 4b, (Po-na edition).

11. Fragments of Shih-san chou chi and Ti-li feng-su chi have been recollected by Wang Mo 王摩 in his Han Wei yü-shu ch'ao 漢魏譔善錄 reproduced in Han T'ang ti-li shu ch'ao 漢唐地理善錄 (Peking, 1961), pp.131-134.

12. See, for example HHS chih 13, 10a, 20a, and 23a; HHS chih 14, 10a; HHS chih 17, 2b-3a and 15a.
13. *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 135, 7b; the same story of *Feng-su t'ung-yi* also quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 711, 2b.

14. *HHS chih* 13, 8a-b.

15. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 699, 4a-b; 706, 8b.


17. See Ma Tsung, *Yi-lin* 4, 6b-7a (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.). The work *Yi-lin* (preface by Tai Shu-lun 賈叔倫 dated 786) was based on Yu Chung-yung's 庾仲容 (ca.475-548) *Tzu-shu ch'ao* 子書鈔.

18. *HHS chih* 13, 6b-7a, 18b and 23a-b.

19. See, for instance, the edition in *Han Wei ts'ung-shu* printed by Ch'eng 東晉 in 1592.

20. The compilers (Centre Franco-chinois d'Etudes Sinilogiques) of *Le Fong Sou T'ong Yi* (Peking, 1943) accepts this view.


22. *HHS chih* 17, 2b-3a.

23. *HHS chih* 17, 6a-b.

24. See P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to *SKC* (Wei shu) 2, 7a-8b.

25. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 230, 3b; 684, 1a. Yen K'o-chun, *Ch'uan San-kuo wen* 29, 6a, says that the work of *Han yü-fu* was only one chúan. This work was used by Ssu-ma Piao when he compiled his *Yu-fu chih*. See also Table 1.

26. See *HHS* 78 (*lieh-chuan* 68), 3a. Scholars have traditionally placed the date of the birth of Li Hsien as 651, but this is not correct. I here follow Li Hsien's memorial tablet, unearthed between 1971-1972, which clearly states that he died in 684 at the age of thirty-one sui. Hence, both *Hsin T'ang shu* 81 (*lieh-chuan* 6), 4a (Po-na edition), and Chiu T'ang shu 86 (*lieh-chuan* 36), 6b (Po-na edition) remark that Li Hsieh died at the age of thirty-four sui or thirty-two are mistaken. If this is the case then Li Hsien must have been born in Yung-hui 永徽 5 (654/
655) instead of Yung-hui 2 (651/652). This is verified by the Chiu T'ang shu 4 (Annals 4), 5a, which says that Li Hsien was born in the twelfth month of Yung-hui 5 (13.I-11.II.655).

Moreover, it is curious that the memorial tablet does not mention Li Hsien's commentary on HHS. See "T'ang Chang-huai t'ai-tzu mu fa-chüeh chien-pao", Wen-wu 1972, 7,19.

27. T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 221, 1b-2a.

28. HHS chih 26, 6a.

29. See Ma Nien-tsu, Shui-chung chu teng pa-chung ku-chi yin-yung shu-mu hui-pien (Shanghai, 1959).


31. This title was suggested by Hou K'ang in his Pu San-kuo yi-wen chih, ESWSP, II, 3176.

32. The biography of Ch'iao Chou is in SKC 42 (Shu-shu 12), 10a-17a (Po-na edition). The Hua-yang kuo-chih 12,11a, remarks that his father Chieniv was a cheng-shih/ i%k^'i , a scholar summoned to the court.

33. Hou K'ang, Pu San-kuo yi-wen chih, in ESWSP, II, 3167, 3170, 3171, 3176, 3177, 3182 and 3183.

34. Fragments of Wu-ching jan-fou lun have been recollected by Wang Mu in his Han Wei yu-shu ch'ao.

35. See also Table 1.

36. Bielenstein I, 12-13, has accepted this suggestion.

37. Ts'ai Yung called his Treatise as yi instead of chih in order to avoid the taboo of the personal name of Emperor Huan, Liu Chih fa.

38. See the commentary to TKHC 21, 5a; Nan-Ch'i shu 52 (lieh-chuan 33), 4a (Po-na edition); Yao Chen-tsung, Hou-Han yi-wen chih, p.2305, and his Sui-shu ching-chi-chih k'ao-cheng, p.5238.
CHAPTER II: THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF EMPEROR AN

In order to read and appreciate the second half of this thesis, it is necessary for me to add a brief historical setting of the reign of Emperor An.

Learning from the lessons of the past, and particularly from the events which led to the fall of Former Han and the seizure of power by Wang Mang, both Emperor Kuang-wu and his successor Emperor Ming refused to allow members of their consort families to involve themselves in any way with politics. This decision preserved their government from interference by the imperial relatives by marriage and made their reigns a 'honey-moon' of power. However, in 77, the policy was broken. In the summer of this year, it happened that there was a drought. Probably encouraged by members of the Ma family, officials at the court interpreted the drought as a sign of warning to the emperor for not following the old tradition of Former Han - the granting of enfeoffment to members of the imperial consort family. This astrological interpretation influenced Emperor Chang, and he soon enfeoffed several members of the Ma family marquises. From that time onwards the power of the imperial relatives by marriage rose to dominate the historical stage of Later Han so much so that many historians suggest that the history of the Later Han may be seen as the history of powerful families.

The Rise of the Lady Teng

The Empress-dowager née Teng, widow of Emperor Ho (r.89-105)
was the second woman in the history of Later Han to govern the empire as a regent. The earliest female ruler in Later Han was Empress-dowager nee Tou who held power from the accession of Emperor Ho in 89 until a coup d'etat in 92 which brought the downfall of her family.

The Empress-dowager née Teng, personal name Sui, was born in 81 into a celebrated family of Hsin-yeh prefecture in Nan-yang at present-day Honan. If we read the history closely her rise to power may be shown less a coincidence than natural, well-based progress. Her grandfather Teng Yi (2-58) rose to power as a warlord in the northwest and then held the high honourary appointment of Grand Tutor to Emperor Ming, and another member of her clan Teng Piao occupied the same post at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ho. Both men had exercised effective power in the government by "taking part in the affairs of imperial secretariat" (lu shang-shu shih). The Lady Teng's father Teng Hsün (40-92) was a Colonel Protector of the Ch'iang, and her natural mother, the Lady Yin, was a distant relative of the Empress nee Yin, consort of Emperor Kuang-wu. The Yin family, originally from Ch'i in present-day Shantung, had been prominent and powerful for several hundred years. During the third century B.C. they had migrated southwest to Hsin-yeh in Nan-yang, and in this region they acquired marriage relationships with the Teng and the imperial Liu families and thus rose to special importance in Later Han.

The chronicles tell us that through the whole of the Later
Han time the great family of the Yin supplied the court with twenty-nine marquises, two dukes, thirteen generals and colonels, fourteen officials with nominal salary of fully two thousand piculs, twenty-two full commandants, forty-eight province governors and commandery administrators, and countless junior officials. No other family at the imperial capital of Lo-yang was able to match this record.

Teng Sui entered the harem apartment in 95 and in the following year, at the age of sixteen, she was appointed Honoured Lady. In 102, when Empress Yin (r. 96-102), also a relative of Teng Sui, was deposed by Emperor Ho on an accusation of witchcraft and black magic (wu-ku 武術), the Lady Teng was named as Empress. From that time on, she monopolised the favours of Emperor Ho.

On 13.II.105, when Emperor Ho died at the age of twenty-seven sui, the widowed Empress, now 26, emerged as a central figure on the scene of history. Empowered by Han tradition, she decided the imperial succession with her brother the General of Chariots and Cavalry Teng Chih 順, inside the harem apartment (ting-ts'e chin-chung 定寝寢中). She disqualified the elder son of Emperor Ho, Liu Sheng 順, from succeeding to the throne on the grounds that he was suffering from an incurable illness, and in his stead she placed the three-month-old younger son Liu Lung 順 on the throne. Unexpectedly, however, the child died seven months later, and he was granted the posthumous title of Emperor Shang 順 'The Emperor who died prematurely'. Once again Liu Sheng was passed
over, and the Empress-dowager née Teng now selected a nephew of Emperor Ho, Liu Hu, son of the King of Ch'ing-ho. Liu Ch'ing. Liu Hu is known in history as Emperor An.

Since the new emperor was only a boy of thirteen, the Empress-dowager was authorised to govern the state. The historian Fan Yeh has recorded that during the ceremony in the Hall of High Virtue (Ch'ung-te Tien), where Liu Hu was enfeoffed as a Marquis of Ch'ang-an, before he officially ascended the throne, the Empress-dowager was in charge of the ceremony, and the ministers at court acted only as witnesses. Of the nineteen years that Emperor An reigned, fifteen were occupied by the rule of the Empress-dowager. The emperor himself exercised personal government over his empire only for the short span of four years, after the death of the Lady Teng in 121.

The Coup d'état in the Capital

The disasters of nature, and the politics and economics of the empire did not appear to favour the Lady Teng. Immediately after her regency, she faced a chain of problems. First, her dominating of Emperor An's political life and her arrangement of the imperial succession had caused widespread dissatisfaction and a storm of protest from Confucian-trained bureaucrats. A few months after Emperor An's accession a major coup d'état, headed by the Grand Minister of Works Chou Chang and his associates Wang Tsun and Shu Yuan-mou, was planned at
the imperial capital Lo-yang. They plotted to kill Teng Chih and his brothers and to dethrone both Emperor An and the Lady Teng. When that was done they would be able to place Liu Sheng upon the throne. The conspiracy, however, was detected in December 107 and Chou Chang committed suicide.10

This sort of activity was not ended with the death of Chou Chang. At about the same time, a Gentleman of the Palace Tu Ken, a leader among his colleagues, sent in a severe memorial of criticism, petitioning the Lady Teng to return power to the emperor. The memorial nearly cost him his life. Furious, the Lady Teng ordered him to be put into a heavy silk bag and beaten to death in the court.11 Although Tu Ken was able to escape, the penalty served as a warning to all political opponents of Lady Teng.

The Economic Problems

Despite her difficulties, it appeared that Lady Teng could cope with the opposition in the bureaucracy which was pitting against her family, but she still had to deal with an insoluble issue - a great decline in the economy and in state finance. As the Marquis of P'ing-wang Liu Yi remarked in his memorial of 118, during the period of 105-106 the state finance was already in a stage of depletion.12 And as a result at the time of great Ch'iang wars, the state appeared utterly in a state of disability. Hence, in May 109 the three Dukes had to suggest to the throne to sell the official titles in order to gain money and grain in aid of state finance,13 and the King
of Tung-hai 东海, for instance, had to make a contribution of 20,000,000 cash and 10,000 rolls of silk to pay for military expenses. As to the economy, the historians say that few years after the beginning the price of grain rose to more than 10,000 cash a shih 石, and the people in the imperial capital and Ping and Liang provinces turned to cannibalism. Why was the situation so bad in the beginning of the second century A.D.? Below I attempt to offer a brief analysis.

One should be reminded that from the economic point of view apart from a brief period of glory in the time of Emperor Ming (58-75) the financial position of Later Han was never able to achieve a position as strong as that of Former Han. This may be attributed to the fact that the natural disasters occurred more often in Later Han than before, but other factors such as economic policy were far more important.

As early as Former Han time, trade and commerce were booming. Not only the common people liked to be a merchant and industrialist but also the rulers themselves. As the most celebrated scholar Yü Ying-shih has pointed out, the Han ruler has developed a considerable interest in overseas trade so much so that an Interpreter of the Office of Yellow Gate, an office belonged to the Privy Treasurer, was commissioned to take charge of this business affairs. The Han shu tells us that the sea-trade of Han had penetrated as far south as Sumatra in Southeast Asia and even southwest to the western coast of India Peninsula. From this far and wide business network, one certainly can imagine how much profit the Han
court could make. It has been estimated that ever since the reign of Emperor Hsüan (73-47 B.C.) the total income of the Privy Treasurer reached a total of 8.3 million cash. This huge figure must be attributed to the domestic and overseas trade. In view of the government policy, the trade and commerce was still thriving. By the end of the Former Han time, the influence of the rich industrialists and wealthy merchants in the society and politics rose to its climax.

The rise of power of Emperor Kuang-wu, the founder of Later Han, was said to have received great supports from these rich industrialists and wealthy merchants. Hence, in drawing up economic policies, Emperor Kuang-wu and his future successors naturally dared not hurt the benefit and interest of those powerful families whose influence was able to control the fortune of the empire. Not long after his enthronement, Emperor Kuang-wu of course realised the problems of landlordism but it was impossible for him to do anything at this time. About a decade later, in 39, when he discovered that most of the census on arable land was untrue, he ordered local officials to conduct the first land-surveying project. The result, however, was most unsatisfactory.

The Tung-kuan Han-chi, says that:

Inspectors resorted to crafty schemes in many cases, and were not faithfully carrying out their duties. In the name of measurement of the cultivated land, they summoned the peasants to the middle of the land (so that they would not interrupt the survey), and even a
hut was included in the cultivated land. People in the villages obstructed the path of the inspectors and lamented. 21

The *Hou Han shu* also says:

Inspectors and Grand Administrators are not fair in many cases. They gave favourable treatment to the influential people and were aggressive towards the poor. All the people bitterly complained, and they obstructed the inspector's path and cried out loudly. 22

The reason that made the local authorities dare not faithfully carry out their land-surveying duty perhaps can best be explained in the most dramatic story that took place in the court. The story says that when Emperor Kuang-wu heard the reports from various representatives from the commanderies, he saw an official from Ch'en-liu commandery holding a wooden official board. Out of curiosity, he read the following words: "(The lands in) Ying-ch'uan and Hung-nung can be (faithfully) checked; while that in Ho-nan and Nan-yang cannot be checked." Emperor Kuang-wu asked the official to explain the case but the latter declined it by saying that the document board was picked up by him along the Long Life Street. This made the emperor furious. His son, the future Emperor Ming, then said,

The people living in the imperial city in Ho-nan were all favourites of the emperor, while in Nan-yang, the native place of the emperor, were mostly the close relatives of the emperor. Hence, even though their
lands and mansions were over the limit (allowed by the law), the officials dared not report the truth (to the throne). 23

The most unsuccessful land survey ended up with peasant rebellions breaking out in Ch'ing 靑, Hsü 休 and Chi州 Provinces. Facing this crisis, Emperor Kuang-wu had the Grand Minister over the masses Ou-yang Hsi 欧阳歙 indicted of corruption involving more than ten million cash, being dishonest at land-surveying, together with more than ten Grand Administrators all put to death to cover up his inability to control the powerful families annexing land. 24 And, historically speaking, the event in 39 turned out to be the first and the last in the history of Later Han.

Landlordism and the failure of household and land surveys not only resulted in a control of land price by the powerful families but also caused some loss of inland revenue. According to Han Wu Meng-tzu mai-t'ien yü-chüan 漢武孟子買田云 謹 dated 81, a piece of land with twenty-three mou and one hundred and sixty-four pu cost 102,000 cash. This means that one mou of cultivated land cost 4,250 cash. However, if we see the T'ang-yi ling Pi Feng pei 唐邑令龐鳳碑 dated 177, one mou of cultivated land rose to 10,000 26, about 130 per cent more than that in 81. Based on these two mark-points, although we do not know how much the price on one mou of land in the time of Emperor An, it certainly must be somewhere in the price rising curve, particular in the time when the empire was haunted by the spectre of inflation.
The failures of land and household survey in 39 marked the victory of the powerful families over the court in controlling the state economy. This victory had reached its first culmination in the very beginning of the reign of Emperor An. According to the imperial edict issued by the court in 106, there were rebellious bandits summoned by the court to surrender. Instead, these bandits together with those people who due to natural disaster, civil war and heavier tax in their native commanderies and emigrated to a new commandery, submitted themselves to the local powerful families for protection. The powerful families, however, did not register them for the household census held by the central government, and they collected revenues and taxes privately from these refugees, which were supposed to be collected by the state treasury. As the Later Han historian Hsün Yüeh in his Han chi (Chronicle of Han) has already said,

In ancient times, the tax was a tithe which was regarded reasonable. The present one hundredth under the House of Han must be said to be too small. However, there is excessive ownership of land by the powerful and rich to whom goes more than one half of fu tax. Thus, the government taxes only one per cent and the major part of fu tax is retained by the powerful and rich.

This was of course one of the important factors that made the state economy of Later Han become weaker and weaker.

Another chief element that made the state finance of Later Han weaker than that of Former Han was the abolition of
the national monopolies on salt and iron. Salt and iron industries in Han time were enterprises of great benefit to the state. The facts that a small iron-producing district of Lei-yang in Kuei-yang commandery was able to supply the local Office of Iron with an annual income of 5,000,000 cash and the Emperor Wu of Former Han had used revenues from national monopolies on salt and iron to meet most of his huge military expenditure clearly illustrated what paramount important place of this income had occupied in the central government treasury. Ever since the restoration, salt and iron industries had been opened to private competitions. In 84, the Master of Writing, Chang Lin suggested to the court to reintroduce the national monopolies on salt and iron in order to overcome the deficiency of state finance. But his suggestion was opposed by the Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Chu Hui and powerful families. It was not until sometime during the Yuan-ho reign-period (84-86), that the unexpected military expenditure forced the court to re-enforce the national monopolies on the two beneficial industries. Expectantly, within a couple of years of Emperor Chang's re-establishment of the system, Ma Leng, a member of a great gentry family, memorialised that it should be removed. Emperor Chang did not withdraw his decision and he died two years later. In 88, while the first female Empress-dowager née Tou held state power, in order to gain the silent consent from the powerful families for her rule, she ordered the abolition of the institution. As far as finance was concerned, the removal
of national control on salt and iron represented an important step towards weakening the public finance of the Later Han government. As the contemporary historian Fan Wen-lan has said that this is "a signal of a weakness of the central government... and also a signal that the politics of the last days of the Later Han were entering upon an age of darkness".33

Now let us look at the characteristics of the state economy of Later Han dynasty. As early as 27—28, a few years after Emperor Kuang-wu came to power, the Gentleman-consultant Serving within the Palace Huan T'an (40 B.C.-30 A.D.) suggested to the throne that a policy to restrict trade was necessary in order that people might be encouraged to engage in agriculture. Huan T'an saw that the full development of the activities of great merchant would certainly create a shortage of agricultural output. He says,

Now, the rich traders and great merchants amass land and goods. The young people of families of intermediate (ranks) serve as guarantors for them (in these transactions).... The ground tax (which these merchants levy) yields an income comparable that of the enfeoffed rulers. Therefore the masses follow their example, they try to eat without ploughing and to have access to luxuries in order to indulge their ears and eyes.

Therefore, all the traders and merchants should be ordered to control each other and to report (on one another's wealth). If there is something which they have not obtained by their own effort, the illicit profit should be given to the informer. In this way
(the traders and merchants) will concentrate to their services and they will not dare to give goods to the people (for transactions). When their affairs have been reduced and their (economic) power has become weak then the people's work will be transferred to the fields. If the fields are cultivated, the income from grain will be large and the labour on the land will be valuable.  

Emperor Kuang-wu of course understood the existence of the problem of disequilibrium between agriculture and the secondary occupations. But his relatives were all great landowners and rich merchants, he therefore did not attempt to solve the problem. And the agricultural-based economic policy suggested by Huan T'an met with the same fate as the land-surveying program. The failure of the anti-merchant economic policy not only made the people abandon the fundamental occupation (agriculture) and throw themselves into trade but also created a shortage of grain in the time of natural disaster. In the eye-witness account from the second century A.D. Wang Fu (ca.90-165) remarks,

The number of those engaged in the fundamental occupation diminishes, while those who earn their living through frivolous occupation increases in numbers.... If one looks at Lo-yang today, those engaged in one of the secondary occupations outnumber the peasants ten times.... Thus one man ploughs and a hundred consume the product;... How can one single person supply the needs of a hundred? There are in the empire one hundred commanderies, one thousand sub-prefectures, and tens of thousands of towns and villages, and everywhere it is the same.
The ignorance of the disequilibrium between agriculture and trade sowed the seeds of trouble which began to surface at the beginning of the second century A.D. According to the Ku-chi chu of Fu Wu-chi, the registered population of the empire had rapidly multiplied from 21,007,820 individuals in 57 to 53,256,229 individuals in 105. The increase of population undoubtedly required more people to cultivate the land so as to produce more grain. Yet the real situation showed that not only the area of the arable land did not increase but decreased by 950,366 ch'ing if compared against the number of 1-2 it has only 7,320,170 ch'ing instead of 8,270,536 in 1-2. The yield of the land was estimated from 1.5 to 3 shih per mou. From these figures it may be calculated that the annual yield was between 1,098,125,500 and 2,196,251,900 shih, or between 20.5 and 41 shih per head of the registered population. According to the wooden slips the rate of consumption of the servicemen and their families which varied, depending on sex and status, between 19.2 and 39.6 shih annually. This means that the grain product was just sufficient to feed the population at that time, provided that all registered cultivated land was fully utilized and there was no natural disaster to destroy the crops.

More often than not, there were devastating floods in 106, 107, 108 and 109 which severely destroyed the harvests of the eastern part of the empire, and the great Ch'iang rising of 107 turned the land in northwest China barren. As a result of this sudden attack on the economy of the state, many
people died of starvation and turned some of the provinces into a land of cannibalism.

With the serious shortage of grain in addition to the terrible depleted state finances brought the empire to a crisis point which had long been in ferment. In the autumn of 109 the first large scale native Chinese rebellion of Later Han led by Chang Po-lu 張伯路 broke out. Although this revolt was put down within a short period it had completely shattered the imperial facade of peace.

Economic Recovery Programs

Facing these financial and economic crises, Empress-dowager née Teng had to find some ways out. She, of course, did not intend and also was unable to reverse the traditional economic policies. What she attempted was no more than some stop-gap and saving measures. She introduced a series of cutbacks in the imperial budget. For example, expenses for the Office for Provision and for Liquors, were all limited to what was essential, which resulted in a sharp fall from the original 200 millions to a few tens of millions; animals such as eagles and dogs which had been maintained in the great imperial hunting reserve, the Shang-lin 林 Park, were now subjected to auction and the park itself together with the Kuang-ch'eng 廣成 Park, were open for cultivation by those peasants who had suffered from natural disasters; the presentation of dramatics or performance of music which were supposed to be presented at the Ta-no 太 尋 'Great Exorcism' festival at the end of the year was cancelled; and the salaries of both central and local officials were heavily reduced; the figure of money and cloth given for funeral
expenses of the kings was reduced; the court urged the common people to have a simple burial instead of an elaborate one. Beside these cutbacks in imperial spending and other saving measures, there was one other important item which claimed her attention; - the withdrawal from Central Asia.

The Withdrawal from Chinese Turkestan

Geographically speaking, today although the Tarim Basin in Sinkiang is dominated by the Takla Makan, a waterless desert of stones and sandunes, two thousand years ago it was a comparatively fertile region, with oasis cities irrigated by melting glaciers on surrounding ranges, 6,000 metres high, in the Tien Shan and Tibet. As a result, in the second century B.C., when those small oasis-states fell into the hands of the Hsiung-nu, the most hostile neighbour of the Han Chinese, this territory became a constant supplier of grain and formed a strong "right arm of the Hsiung-nu". It was due to this situation that the Former Han court launched diplomatic and military campaigns to seek for allies in that region, hoping to cut off the supply sources of the Hsiung-nu building a flanking strategy against them. The Former Han succeeded in the strategy and gained the submission of thirty-six states. But the position as suzerin was lost in the wake of the downfall of the empire of Wang Mang.

It is not until 73 that an active policy towards Central Asia was restored, when Emperor Ming had consolidated his government and built up his state economy. In that year Chinese soldiers had roundly defeated the Hsiung-nu. The policy, however, was again forced to a halt in the reign of Emperor Chang (76-88) when the state finances entered upon their decline.
91 to 94 the control of Tarim Basin was firmly established by the Later Han court. As such, a long defensive line along the Northern Route of the Silk Road was prepared. Outside the Kansu panhandle the major passes were held by the Chief Clerk of the Protector-General in the Western Frontier Regions, Hsü Kan, stationed at Shu-le (Kashgar); the Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions Pan Ch'ao at Ch'ü-tz'u (Kucha); a Wu Colonel with a force of 500 troops at Kao-chang-pi (Karo-Khojo) of the Anterior Kingdom of Chu-shih (Turfan), a gateway for Hsiung-nu advance into Central Asia, and a Wu Marquis of a Command at Hou-ch'eng in the Posterior Kingdom of Chu-shih (Jimsa), and the Associate Protector-General and Colonel of the Western Frontier Regions Yen P'an at Yi-wu (Hami).

From the viewpoint of foreign and military affairs, this is a great success. But the maintenance of finance certainly created a headache for the government. Earlier, at the beginning of Later Han, Huan T'an had pointed out that the revenue tax the court collected was some 400,000,000 cash a year. Out of this amount, half went to the wages of officials. Now, according to the memorial of 91 by Yuan An, the fixed annual expenditure in Chinese Turkestan was 74,800,000, which was eighteen percent of the remaining 200,000,000 revenue tax. Yet one should further be borne in mind that this amount did not include the expenses of the military agricultural colonies (t'un-t'ien 屯田). In his Hsi-Han t'un-hsü yen-chiu 西漢屯戍研究 (Studies on the Military Colonies in the Western Han), Ch'en Chih 陳直 estimated from documents discovered at Chu-yen 鄭 (Etsingol)
that the court had to make a supplement of 5,800 cash per head for a soldier's food and wage after their land rental had been collected, to say nothing of other expenses of the commissariat, such as arms and military equipment, fodders for horses and maintenance of members of the soldiers' families.\footnote{58}

In the light of the huge amount needed in maintaining the Chinese Turkestan affair and of the poor state finance at the beginning of the reign of Emperor An, it is evident that the possession of Chinese Turkestan was a great burden to the Han court and a considerable strain on the government.

In October 106, the unpopular and severe measures of the third Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions in Later Han Jen Shang brought about the revolt of the king of Shu-le (kashgar), the place where his own administrative headquarters laid. Jen Shang was not only unable to put down the revolt but had been placed under siege. He therefore had to ask the Han court for reinforcements. A first batch of a heterogeneous force of 5,000 from both the Ch'iang and other non-Chinese (Hu) people, commanded by the Chinese general Liang Ch'in was consequently sent out by the court from the China Proper to assist Jen Shang. However, before the arrival of Liang Ch'in, Jan Shang had successfully escaped from the ambush and withdrew his troops to Ch'ü-tz'u (kucha). The King of Ch'ü-tz'u (Kucha), Pai-pa who was set on the throne by Pan Ch'ao in 91, continued to be loyal to the Han court and acted in concert with Jen Shang and Liang Ch'in who just arrived. However, his officials and subjects went over to the enemy and united with Wen-shu.
(Ouch-Tourfan) and Ku-mou (Aksou) with armies numbering several ten thousands. A combined force of 8,000 to 9,000, Jen Shang and Liang Ch'in appeared evidently far weaker than the forces of the rebel city states. Yet after several months of hard battles, the Chinese soldiers were finally breaking through the surroundings killing more than ten thousand men and capturing several thousand more. But then it was impossible for them to maintain communication with China Proper.

The court now called for an emergency grand conference. It had realised that "the Western Regions were too far away (from China Proper) and there were constant revolts; while the expenses of maintaining civil officials and soldiers in the military agricultural colonies were endless" and "the control of the Western Regions had served no purpose to China". The court then finally decided to withdraw all its garrisons from Central Asia. For the time being, at least, the court felt that the threat of Northern Hsiung-nu was removed, for in 104 and 105 twice the Shan-yü of Northern Hsiung-nu had surrendered himself and paid his homage to the Han court expressing his willingness to send a hostage prince to China if the court was kind enough to favour them with an imperial envoy. In addition to this, the court had also realised that the economy of the Northern Hsiung-nu had collapsed so much so that in the second homage the Shan-yü complained to the court that they could not afford to present tribute. In this case, the long defensive line along the Northern Route of the Silk Road of course became useless. In these circumstances, why should the court at this
time of poverty still need to maintain a military position and an establishment of over six hundred officials there while the court had decided to cut down the wages of all officials in the central government? Why should the court take such a pain to keep the way over the states of Tarim Basin whose submission appeared to be based on obtaining presents from the Han court and commercial profit motives rather than political allegiance?

Accordingly on Yung-ch'u 1:6, jen-hsiü (29.VII.107), the decision was made to abolish the office of Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions, a step which symbolised the abandonment of Chinese interest in Central Asia, and the Chinese garrison was entirely withdrawn.

The Devastating Revolt of the Ch'iang Barbarians

The period between 107 and 118, when the Empress Dowager née Teng was regent, is characterised by a high incidence of warfare in the northwest of China Proper against the tribes known as Ch'iang. Today, the Ch'iang tribesmen, speaking a Tibeto-Burman language, are living in the upper valley of the Min River and the hill country along the Tsa-ku-nao River in the northwest of Szechwan, where a Mao-wen-Ch'iang autonomous county has been established. However, the Ch'iang known to Han Chinese did not live in the same area. It appears from a surviving fragment of Hsi-jung chuan 西戎傳 (Accounts of the Western Barbarians) from the lost Wei lüeh 魏略 (written during 239-265) of Yu Huan 羲 禧 and archaeological evidence that there were various tribes of Ch'iang living in the present
Sinkiang, starting from the Richthofan Range westward to Pamir. While according to the *Hou Han shu*, there were Ch'iang living in Tsinghai around Koko Nor and also in Kansu and Shensi. The latter, because they were living within the Chinese territory, were the Ch'iang with whom the Han Chinese had constant contact and also those who gave trouble to them.

As represented in history, the Ch'iang made a living from their herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, wandering in the hill country and constantly concerned with pasturage and springs. They were not primarily peasants, therefore, but nomads. It is stated in many Chinese histories that they played an important role in assisting the Chou people to destroy the ancient Shang state in China and the bestowal of the Ch'iang-po tui (Ritual Vessel Presented to a Ch'iang Holding Official Rank of Earl) by the Chou ruler is one piece of archaeological evidence that the Ch'iang were active participants in that great war.  

In the Former Han, there were great numbers of Ch'iang already living amongst the Chinese in the region of Kansu. During the civil war their power increased, new Ch'iang tribes entered the border, and at least one commandery was for a while completely dominated by them. This process accelerated after the Chinese withdrew more and more to the other areas, leading to depopulation in the northwest corner. This affected the northwestern region, where the Ch'iang exerted great pressure. By the beginning of the first century A.D. there were already Ch'iang flooding in and resettling in Lung-hsi, T'ien-shui, An-ting, and the Three Adjuncts region. Due
to their differing language and customs, they were frequently exploited by junior officials, tricksters and powerful families. This made them upset and angry and with the passing of time feelings ran higher and higher. They began to seek means of expressing their resentment against the oppression of the Han Chinese.⁷²

Before discussing the great Ch'iang war, it is essential to pause here in order to survey Later Han military organisations. Although the ruling family was still the house of Liu, this does not mean that all governmental, political and military systems of Later Han were all taken over from the former dynasty without change. In the case of military organisation, in Former Han times, the central government enforced a regular system of conscription by which men of twenty-three (sometimes twenty) to fifty-six were obliged to provide three kinds of national service for the state. First, everyone was to train as an infantryman, cavalryman or marine for a year in his lifetime so that he could be called upon to fight in time of emergency. Secondly, men were required to perform a year's duty as a guard in the imperial capital or borderland in their lifetime. And thirdly, they had to serve in the government's labour crops one month annually.⁷³

It had been estimated by Dr. Michael Loewe in his recent article "The Campaigns of Han Wu-ti" that the number of conscripts was between 269,347 and 1,077,388 in 140 B.C. and between 288,357 to 1,153,428 during A.D. 1-2; and the number of those doing labour corps duty was from 10,773,914 to 13,467,393 in 140 B.C. or from 11,534,280 to 14,417,850 during A.D. 1-2.⁷⁴ These huge figures
at least indicate the strength of Former Han force. But this is not the case of Later Han.

In his most stimulating article Tung-Han keng-yü hsü-te fei-chih (The Abolition of the National Corvee System in Later Han Dynasty), Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün has illustrated how the national corvee system was totally abandoned, when the first ruler of Later Han, Emperor Kuang-wu, had gained control of the Yellow Plain, in order to permit the common people to be able to rest and increase agricultural production after the long devastating civil wars. The immediate consequence of this policy was the sharp decline in the military power of Later Han force. From the figures given in Han kuan, one might be astonished to find that the central empire reserve the Northern Army had only 3,750 including officers and soldiers while the Southern Army had 2,317 guards, a figure which was not more than one quarter of the guards sent as security guards for the various imperial funerary parks in Former Han. As to provincial forces, there were no conscripts except when there was some local rebellion, then the local government recruited soldiers on a volunteer basis. It is this situation which made the Later Han court use barbarians as auxiliaries from time to time. This is the background to the development of foreign and frontier policies characterised by "using barbarians to control the other barbarian" (yi-yi chih-yi 以夷制夷). It was under this policy that when the oasis-state of Shu-le (kashgar) revolted against Han in 106, the first batch of a...
heterogeneous force from both the Ch'iang and other non-Chinese people was sent out under the command of Liang Ch'in in order to reinforce the Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions, Jen Shang. And in the summer of 107 while the court decided to abandon Central Asia the Chief Commandant of Cavalry Wang Hung was commissioned to recruit about a thousand Ch'iang auxiliaries from Chin-ch'eng, Lung-hsi and Han-yang and lead a second army to escort the Chinese garrisons back to China Proper.  

The conscription was nasty and cruel. The Ch'iang were alarmed that they were being exiled on military service without knowing when they would return, and when they had marched to Chiu'ch'uan commandery, northwest in the Kansu corridor, they mutinied. This flame of rebellion, kindled by the long-continued oppression from the Han Chinese, burst forth like a consuming fire over two of the provinces in the northwest of China Proper, and it brought the nation, already in danger of being engulfed by economic crisis, into an ever more critical situation.

The local authorities attempted to force the Ch'iang back, and began a general persecution of the non-Chinese. With this followed an ever more determined large-scale revolt under the leadership of Tien-ling, chieftain of a small group of the Hsien-lien Ch'iang, who obtained the support from the Chung tribe. They cut the Lung Road, the great commercial and strategic lifeline to the oasis-states in Central Asia. This move blocked communications between the Chinese army in Central Asia and the empire.
The court now determined to put large forces in the battlefield. The brother of the Empress-dowager, Teng Chih, General of the Chariots and Cavalry, and Jen Shang, the former Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions, were ordered to lead five regiments of imperial regular troops and to recruit soldiers from Ho-tung 河東, Ho-nei 河內, Ho-nan 河南, the Three Adjuncts, Ju-nan 汴南, Nan-yang, Ying-ch'uan, T'ai-yüan 太原, and Shang-tang 上黨 commanderies with a total of 50,000 men to suppress the rebels. Before the local troops had arrived, however, Teng Chih was defeated by the Chung tribe in the west of Chi 良 (present-day Kan-ku 甘谷 in Kansu) with a loss of 1,000 men. A few months later, in the winter, the army commanded by Jen Shang was also defeated by Tien-ling in P'ing-hsiang 平襄 (southwest of present-day T'ung-wei 渭 , Kansu) and sustained 8,000 casualties.

With this triumph, early in 108, Tien-ling proclaimed himself as Son of Heaven in Pei-ti 北地. The war began to widen, with more tribes in Wu-tu 武都, Shang Commandery 上黨 and Hsi-ho 西河 taking up arms against the court. They raided and plundered the inner territory of China. To the east they marched into Chao Kingdom 趙國 and Wei Commandery 魏郡. To the south another invasion led to Han-chung and brought the death of the Grand Administrator Tung Ping 董炳. They again turned in the direction to the Three Adjuncts region about Ch'ang-an. This attack destroyed the southeastern part of the Lung Road and the main supply line Pao-yeh Road 薛斜路, making the transportation of grain to Koko Nor region extremely difficult. The price
of grain rose to 10,000 cash a shih, and many people died of starvation. At the same time, the eastern part of the empire suffered disastrous floods. The court at this time appeared unable to meet the dilemma, and decided to place the chief attention on the alleviation of the people's calamity and reconstruction in the eastern part of the empire, rather than on the northwest battlefield. Teng Chih was therefore summoned back to the capital, leaving Jen Shang alone in Han-yang to command the whole army.

But the court policy remained harassed and unsuccessful. Not long afterwards, the state was again embroiled in wars. In the seventh month (14.VIII-11.IX) of 109 a large-scale rebellion headed by Chang Po-lu broke out along nine commanderies along the coast. Two months later, in the ninth month (12.X-9.XI), taking advantage of the Han preoccupation with the east, the Southern Hsiung-nu rebelled and attacked the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Hsiung-nu, Keng Chung, who acted as a representative and military agent for the Han court, in the vicinity of Mei-chi prefecture in Hsi-ho commandery, now close to Tung-sheng in Inner Mongolia. This trouble was finally put down by the Grand Administrator of Liao-tung, Keng Kuei, who stirred up the Hsien-pi tribes against the Hsiung-nu. The Southern Hsiung-nu, however, harried northern Shansi until Liang Ch'in compelled them to make peace in 110.

Meanwhile, in the west, the Han army was far too weak to take the offensive. The Chief Commandant of Cavalry Jen Jen
who was supposed to guard the Three Adjuncts region, was several
times defeated by the Ch'iang. The Chief Commandant of the
Southern Region of Lung-hsi was captured by the Ch'iang. Relying
upon this victory, the Ch'iang rebels again marched into the
territory of Han-chung and another Grand Administrator of Han-
chung, Chen Ch'in, was killed in the district of Pao-
chung, now Pao-ch'eng in Shensi.\(^8\) In April 110
the court announced that the capital of Chin-ch'eng commandery
be moved southeast to Hsiang-wu in Lung-hsi, a sign that the
Han army was driven from the Kansu region to the southern bank
of the Wei River. For the failure in this campaign, the two
important military figures Jen Shang and Jen Jen were punished by
the court: Jen Shang being dismissed while Jen Jen was actually
executed.

This series of defeats had been dramatic, stunning to those
who had entertained exalted notions of Han power. As Wang Fu in
his Ch'ien-fu lun put it, the Ch'iang in the east had been so long
at peace within the borders that they possessed no weapons or
armours. Some of the rebels had nothing but wooden staves and
spears made from bamboo, some carried wooden boards to act as
shields, and some brought bronze mirrors so that their reflection
in the sun might appear like the shining of weapons at a distance.\(^8\)
Regardless how exaggerated this statement may be, it puzzled
observers who have made too much of Han might and of the Ch'iang
weakness. The Three Kingdoms official Wang Lang (d.256) in
his memorial submitted to Emperor Wen of Wei speaks of the
notorious incompetence of the regular troops of the Later Han
empire central reserve. He says:

(They all came) from either indolent men from the merchant families, or men of low intelligence from the countryside. Although in some ways they could be controlled, they were not taught tactics and had no training and also lacked of experience in overcoming difficulties. These facts were not in accord with their reputation (as central regular forces). It was hard to meet emergencies. 87

The local provincial forces were no better. The Later Han historian Ying Shao says in his Han kuan-ji 漢官制,

After the abolition of training for infantrymen and cavalry-men (in 31), the authority maintained no military precautions. This indeed aroused the thoughts of bandits. Whenever there was an emergency in one corner, rescue came from the other three directions. The raising and recruitment of soldiers appeared (as an unexpected misfortune) like a thunder stroke, a rising of vapour, or the swiftness of light. The common people, when all of a sudden they were called up, felt uncertain and surprised. There was no time to train them in shooting and chariotsry so as to defend themselves, and when they were made to encounter with a vigorous enemy, it was like a pigeon or magpie trying to catch an eagle or sparrow-hawk or like a pig or a sheep attempting to threaten a wolf or a tiger. This was why they often deserted...

Without giving them any training, but requiring them to fight, this was equivalent to throwing them away. 88
Hou Han shu even remarks that on the advice of some scholars the Empress-dowager née Teng eliminated the regular ceremony of the hunting (Sou-shou chih-li) which was similar to a grand military review and stopped all teaching on military tactics. When these points are observed, one may not be surprised at the failure of the imperial army to defeat the initial rebellion of the Ch'iang.

Moreover, the poor morale of military leaders, soldiers and the local civil administrators also played a part in the failure of the war against the Ch'iang. In Ch'ien-fu lun, Wang Fu criticised their cowardice and faint-heartedness. He said that they dared not attack the Ch'iang, but instead they raided the property of the common people.

Seeing that the local authorities were by no means unanimously or zealously determined to suppress the rebellion, the court decided to abandon the northwest territory for the time being and draw back the defensive line southeastward to the central heart of Shensi, west of the Yellow River, in order to guard the imperial funerary tombs at Ch'ang-an, the former imperial capital of Former Han. They also built fortifications in Hopeh. The date Yung-ch'u 4:2:yi-hai (28.III.110) marked the turning point of this decision. On that day, an edict was issued to effect that all criminals who had been exiled to the border commanderies were now permitted to return back to their home town. Following this came the decision to shift the administrative seats of the five frontier commanderies (Chin-ch'eng, Lung-hsi, An-ting, Pei-ti and Shang Commandery) south-
eastwards further into the empire. Jen Shang was summoned by the court back to station at Ch'ang-an with his main army of the Wei Valley. The conscripts from the inner commanderies such as Nan-yang, Ying-ch'uan and Ju-nan were now allowed back to their own homes. Famous generals such as Pan Hsiung 留雄 and Ch'en Shan 陳禑, a successful opponent of the Ch'iang, were appointed by the court as Intendant of Ching-chao 京兆 and Grand Administrator of Tso-p'ing-yi, respectively. 

Ch'en Shan was received in person by the emperor, a move which symbolised the emperor had pinned his hope on him.

In the north, the commanderies along the T'ai-hang 太山 Mountains were ordered to build a long defence line with more than six hundred forts in order to halt attacks of the Ch'iang, who were now plundering the commanderies of Ho-tung and Hsi-ho. The Palace Captain of the Northern Army Chu Ch'ung 朱充 was commissioned to lead five regiments of central strategic reserve to camp at Meng Crossing 孟津, now Meng 孟 county in Honan, about forty kilometres northeast of Lo-yang, to defend the capital against the attack. His troops, however, were later transferred to the command of Jen Shang, former commander at Ch'ang-an. Jen Shang recorded the first victory of Chinese army over the Ch'iang rebels, at the Yang-tou Mountain 羊頭山, near Ku-yuan 欽遠 in Shang-tang commandery, capturing and killing some two hundred men. Although this was not the major victory of the Chinese army yet it certainly provided the Han court with some confidence.

Now, the court began to review the previous negative and defeatist policy of Teng Chih to abandon Liang Province. The
Gentleman of the Palace Yü Hsü suggested to the court two positive policies to rectify the sad situation. He said that it was evidently wrong to give up Liang Province, not only because this territory had been gained by the former Han rulers but, more important, it would cause the loss of a major source of manpower from the people living there, known for their martial qualities. In order to regain this territory, the court would have to stir up the morale of local authorities, by dismissing all the useless generals and local administrative heads and, reappointing new ones to take over their places. His advice gained favour from the court, and policy towards the Ch'iang rebellion turned from pessimism into active counter-attack. On Yung-ch'U 5:7:chi-ssu (13.IX.111), the court ordered the three dukes, nine ministers and colonels to recommend people who were expert in military tactics to the central government, as commanders in the campaign against the Ch'iang. At the same time, the court dismissed the corrupt Grand Administrator of Pa Commandery and replaced him with the worthy Wang T'ang. Ch'en Shan was appointed to be the new Grand Administrator of Han-chung. From this time onwards, the Chinese army gradually gained the upper hand in the war.

About one month after the court's firm decision to pacify the Ch'iang revolt, in the ninth month (20.X-18.XI.111), the two brothers Tu Chi-kung and Tu Chi-kung, Chinese natives of Han-yang commandery together with a certain Wang Hsin, rebelled against the Han court and joined forces with the Ch'iang. The cause of their rebellion, though not indicated
in the history, was evidently due to local resentment of the
scorched earth policy of the Han court when they had decided
to withdraw the defence line southeastward further into the
d by the historian Fan Yeh tells us in his Hou
Han shu how

The peasants were attached to the soil and were unwilling
to leave their old home, so their crops were cut down, their
houses razed, their defensive dykes broken down and their
stores destroyed. At the time there followed drought,
locusts and famine and they were driven out, kidnapped, and
wandered off and were scattered, and died on the roads.
Some abandoned the old and weak, others were made slaves.
More than half were lost. 100

Tu Ch'i and his associates first seized Shang-kuei (上郡)
prefecture in Han-yang. Not long afterwards, however, Tu Ch'i
was assassinated by Tu Hsi (杜尸) who was sent out by the
Grand Administrator of Han-yang Chao Po (趙博) and Wang Hsin was
killed by the Attendant Imperial Clerk T'ang Hsi (唐喜). 102

The band of Chinese rebels had now left only Tu Chi-kung who had
fled north to join Tien-ling, the leader of the Ch'iang, in Pei-ti.

In 112 came the turning point of the war. In that year
Tien-ling died at his headquarters in Ling-chou (零州). His young
son Ling-ch'ang (零昌) succeeded him as chief, assisted by a regent
Lang-mo (狼莫). From the military and strategic point of view,
however, their abilities were not equal to Tien-ling, and the
power of the rebellion declined.

The leadership of the Ch'iang in the north was now held by
a triumvirat. Ling-ch'ang and Lang-mo in Ling-chou, and Tu Chi-kung in the neighbouring city of Ting-hsi in Pei-ti.

In the summer of 113, the Chinese soldiers, led by the Colonel Protector of the Ch'iang Hou Pa and the Chief Commandant of Cavalry Ma Hsien, won the first battle over the Ch'iang on the east bank of the Yellow River in An-ting. In 114, Chinese soldiers recorded a further two victories in Han-chung and Wu-tu. In that year, Hao-to led the Tang-chien and Lo-chieh tribes in two divisions to raid Han-chung and Wu-tu. The invasion in Han-chung was repulsed by the local commander Ch'en Hsin, with aid from the Pan-shun barbarians living in and around the Yü River in Lang-chung prefecture (present-day Lang-chung in Szechwan) in Pa commandery. In the following year, the invasion in Wu-tu was also driven back by the Chinese soldiers led by the Grand Administrator Yü Hsu.

This defeat forced Hao-to to withdraw from the south and seek some communication with Ling-ch'ang in the north. During his retreat, he was again beaten by Hou Pa and Ma Hsien at Fu-han (N.E. of present-day Han-chia-chi, Kansu) in Lung-hsi.

Not long after the victory at Fu-han, the Protector Hou Pa died. His command of the campaign against the Ch'iang passed on to Pang Ts'an, who now employed a new strategy by attempting to obtain support among the Ch'iang with negotiation and good faith. His strategy gained some success and he achieved the submission of Hao-to. Pang Ts'an then shifted the head-
quarters of the Protector eastwards to Lien-chü (now N.W. of Yung-teng, Kansu) in Chin-ch'eng.

The Han court, encouraged by these triumphs, decided upon a major attack in Pei-ti. Pang Ts'an was ordered to lead a heterogeneous force of surrendered Ch'iang and Hu totalling seven thousand men. He would be supported by the acting General Who Subdues the West Ssu-ma Chün (司馬眞) who commanded another troop of some eight thousand, moving from the east. But the plan did not work. Before Pang Ts'an could join forces with Ssu-ma Chün, he was first checked by Tu Chi-kung in the east of Yung-shih (雍州), now Yü-chung county in Kansu. And, although Ssu-ma Chün succeeded in occupying Ting-hsi city on several occasions, due to disagreements between the commanders, on 17.XI.115 his forces were also defeated by the Ch'iang. Some of the Chinese generals, such as Keng P'u and Tu Hui died in the battle.107

Due to the losses in these battles, the two leaders were severely punished: Pang Ts'an being dismissed and Ssu-ma Chün was put in prison, later committing suicide. Pang Ts'an was succeeded in office by Ma Hsien, assisted by the General of the Gentleman of the Household Jen Shang. These two new commanders again adopted new strategies: the deliberate assassination of the leaders of rebels, and the use of cavalrymen rather than the infantry that had been employed before. This, in 115, Jen Shang with his lightarmed horsemen defeated Tu Chi-kung in a raid on Ting-hsi city, killing more than four hundred enemies and capturing several thousand heads of cattle, horses and sheep. And in 117-118, the leaders of the Ch'ang revolt, Ling-ch'ang,
Lang-mo, and Tu Chi-kung, were assassinated one after another.

The deaths of these chieftains marked the end of the war after more than ten years. The court granted big reward to Teng Tsun, the cousin of the Empress-dowager, though his military achievement was not so great than that of Jen Shang. This caused the dissatisfaction of Jen Shang and the friction between Teng Tsun and him aroused. Jen Shang was victimized by his enemy lastly. He was arrested and executed for a crime of corruption involving ten million ch'ien (cash). This made the credit for his achievement transferred to Teng Tsun.

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The Disturbances in the South

The greatest and most spectacular age of the Former Han dynasty was just before and after 100 B.C. Those were the days of the colourful and energetic figure Emperor Wu, who brought Chinese Turkestan, Korea, the Pearl River Delta and Vietnam into the territory of the empire and in an incredibly short time made China the major power of the contemporary world. The expanding of Han influence into the south of Yangtse followed to a considerable extent the pattern of enterprise in Chinese Turkestan. The court was concerned rather with the trade than with colonisation.

At that time, sea routes were established from Chiao-chih along the coast of Fukien to the north, and it is clear that
there was a prosperous trade between South China and the lands of South-East Asia and even as far as the western coast of India peninsula. Hence, in dealing with the southern and southwestern barbarians, the court introduced a "Loose Rein" (chi-mi) frontier policy. This means that no despotic control was imposed over them. Although the areas were organised politically as administrative divisions, at least on paper, the control of barbarians was left to their native tribal chieftains who in return were asked to pay certain symbolic tribute of local products.

However, this policy was not entirely and effectively followed by the local Han officials. The story that a certain Grand Administrator of Yung-ch'ang Chen Shun was accepted by local barbarians and praised by Emperor Ming for his uncorrupted administration was after all one of the exceptional cases. And the fact that Han officials who were appointed by the central government to rule the western part of Yi Province generally ended up with wealth sufficient for ten generations was one of the many pieces of evidence for general corruption among the local governments to the south of the Yangtse, in the Red River basin and the mountainous areas of Szechwan. Many submissions by barbarians in the south, were actually of no important political significance but merely devices to seek large amounts of silk, cloth, wine and food. As a result of colonisation, the local people were required to pay tax to the Han court. In view of this, when the Han government introduced heavy impositions, the natural reaction of the
native people was either warfare against the incoming Chinese
or escape beyond the borders of the empire.

Both the Chin shu ti-tao chi and the
Wu-shih wai-kuo chuan by K'ang T'ai of
the third century A.D. record that the barbarians in Chu-wu
prefecture in Jih-nan in Han time emigrated further southward to set up their own independent state of Ch'ü-tu-k'an to avoid the heavy burden of Han taxation. Other barbarians on the frontiers would certainly hope to follow the example of the people of Chu-wu. But the barbarians further inside the expanding fractions could not escape, and instead they rebelled and killed the local administrators. The chronicle of HHS records a total of ten rebellions of barbarians in Kuang-tung, Kuang-hsi, Hunan, Szechwan and Yunan within a short period of nine years (114-123). Out of this there are two that deserve our special attention.

In 116 the barbarians of Ts'ung-wu, Yu-lin and Ho-p'u revolted. The Attendant Imperial Clerk Jen Cho was sent out to pacify them, but it took almost ten months to put down the rebellion. One year later, in the eleventh month of Yüan-ch'u (12.XII.117-9.I.118), protesting against the regours of taxation from the Chinese officials, the Ta-niu-chung barbarians of Chüan-yi in Yüeh-sui commandery revolted. Led by Feng Li, they killed the Prefect of Sui-chiu, and their rebellion was joined by other groups in the adjoining Yung-ch'ang, Yi-chou and Shu commanderies. Their forces numbered more than one hundred thousand, and they destroyed more than twenty prefectures. They
killed local officials, burned the cities, plundered and seized the common people. The historian describes that the result of this rebellion as "the dried bones piled up and within ten thousand li no living person could be seen". The court appointed the inspector of Yi Province, Chang Ch"iao, to deal with the matter, and Chang Ch"iao selected the general Yang Sung to command his troops. In fighting at Yeh-y"u (present-day Yun-nan county in Yunnan), Yang Sung crushed the rebels, slaughtered more than three thousand of them, captured one thousand five hundred and secured forty million cash. The rebel leader Feng Li, frightened by this, beheaded his fellow-conspirators and surrendered to Yang Sung. The other thirty-six tribes also submitted to the Han court. In winding up the revolt, Yang Sung memorialised to the court that ninety corrupt prefects and other junior officials should be punished. This was approved and these officials were sent to convict labour.

The Downfall of the Teng Family

The troubles outside the court had now been put down. However, political instability within the court returned and the situation remained unsettled until the end of the reign of Emperor An in 125.

Holding power for more than a dozen years, the star of the Teng family had reached its zenith of glory, but the fall to oblivion was like a meteor. The prosperity and political power of the Teng group began to be overshadowed by that of eunuch officials and women of the harem. The Lady Teng herself, being a woman, could not act directly in the government and administra-
tion of state affairs, but had to rely heavily upon eunuchs. Eunuchs therefore acted as intermediaries between this female ruler and the court bureaucrats, passing on orders from above and receiving memorials from below. They were trusted with "the life of the state". It was through this kind of service that the state authority gradually came into their hands. And their rise to power naturally constituted a threat to the imperial relatives by marriage especially when this group was in their decline.

By 118, four of the mainstays of the Teng family had died; Teng Ching in 105, Teng Hung in 115, Teng Hui and Teng Ch'ang in 118. Coupled with this there were now internal divisions. In 120 Teng K'ang, a cousin of the Empress-dowager, criticised his aunt for not relinquishing her interest in the government. The first reaction from the eunuchs and palace women at this stage was to attempt to attack and destroy the influence of the Teng family.

It is said that Lady Teng had been deeply impressed with the promise shown by Emperor An as a child, but as he grew older he proved a disappointment. In 119, the Empress-dowager invited the sons of other kings to the capital for study on the Confucian classics, a move which may have been a first step in planning to dethrone the emperor. In the following year she ordered that Liu Yi, the son of the King of Ho-chien, Liu K'ai, should succeed to the throne of the late King of P'ing-yüan, Liu Te (d.119), the grandson of Emperor Chang, who had left no heir. The reason for this grant was that Liu Yi had
earned the Lady Teng's high opinion. Grasping this chance, the eunuchs headed by Li Jun and the wet-nurse of the emperor Wang Sheng slandered the Lady Teng to the emperor. When this news reached the ears of the Lady Teng, the eunuchs were punished.

On Chien-kuang 1:3:kuei-ssu (17.IV.121), the Lady Teng died. Shrewdly, the eunuchs and the palace women made use of this opportunity to seek revenge. They claimed that Teng Hui, Teng Hung and Teng Ch'ang all of whom were now dead, together with another family member the Master of Writing Teng Fang, had previously conspired to dethrone the emperor and place Liu Te in his place. Emperor An immediately ordered that the Teng group be charged as "greatly refractory and impious" (ta-ni pu-tao 大逆不道), the most serious accusation that could be made. As punishment, all the sons of Teng Hui, Hung, and Ch'ang were reduced to the rank of commoners, and Teng Fan and his family were exiled to a distant commandery. Liu Yi, who had succeeded Liu Te as King of P'ing-yuan, was ordered to return to his fief. As to Teng Chih, the only surviving brother of the Lady Teng, since he was not involved he was only removed from his prestigious rank as Specially Advanced (te chin 特進) and was sent back to his marquisate. Other connections of the Teng family were dismissed from office and ordered back to their native territory.

Under the humiliation of the family, the loss of favour at court, and persecution from the local authorities Teng Chih with his son Feng, Teng Kuang-tsung (son of Teng Hui), Teng
Chung (son of Teng Ch'ang), together with their three cousins the Intendant of Ho-nan Teng Pat, the General Who Crosses the Liao River Teng Tsun, and the Court Architect Teng Ch'ang, all committed suicide. With this combination of exile, disgrace and self-destruction, the power of the Teng family was ended with a bath of blood, and a new chapter began in the reign of Emperor An.

The Dismissal of the Grand Commandant Yang Chen

The eunuch party was now at the height of power. The leaders were granted marquisates, and in order to maintain their positions, they moved to eliminate their oppositions from the central bureaucracy. The Colonel Director of Retainers Ch'en Chung, chief of the censorate in the region about the capital, who had made accusations against dependents and clients of eunuchs and the imperial relatives by marriage, was now expelled from the court and exiled to be a Grand Administrator of Chiang-hsi. Other officials, such as the Grand Administrator of Liao-tung Ch'en Shan, the junior official Ts'ui Yuan, and others who had been introduced into the government service through the recommendations of members of the Teng family were compelled to leave their posts. The most blatant case arose through the eunuchs persecution of their leading opponent at court Yang Chen.

According to the stele T'ai-wei Yang Chen pei erected in memory of this great statesman by his grandson Yang T'ung, Yang Chen was first recommended by the General-in-Chief Teng Chih as Accomplished Talent (mou-ts'ai 茂才).
and was successively appointed to be Prefect of Hsiang-ch'eng, Inspector of Ching Province and Grand Administrator of Tung-lai and then of Cho commenderies. Gaining the appreciation of Emperor An, he was appointed Grand Coachman, a ministerial office responsible for the horses of the imperial stables and also for the cavalry supplies of the imperial armies.  

In 121, as a Minister over the Masses, he presented two severe attacks upon female influence in the court. His specific targets were Wang Sheng, the emperor's former wet-nurse, and her daughter Po-jung, a lewd woman who indulged herself in sexual license and arranged the bribery of officials. Yang Chen's attacks, however, were dismissed by the emperor with a smile.

On 14.XI.123 Yand Chen reached the peak of his career with appointment as Grand Commandant. Now the most senior of the three dukes at the head of the government, he remained a political opponent to the party of eunuchs. He showed no cooperation and gave no room for compromise in his fight against the corruption of the eunuchs and their supporters. Recommendations of the Grand Herald Keng Pao and the Bearer of the Golden Mace Yen Hsien, that a brother of the Regular Palace Attendant Li Jun and other favourites should be accepted into government service were directly rejected by Yang Chen, and his conflict with the eunuch group intensified.

Towards the end of the second year of Yen-kuang, an edict was issued by the emperor that a private mansion should be built for Wang Sheng within the Chin Gate at the southwestern
corner of the imperial city. This project was rejected by Yang Chen. He argued that it would be unwise to carry out this costly project since the state economy had been recently depleted by the rebellion of the Ch'iang and by plagues of locusts. But memorial of protest was put aside by the emperor, and this sign of negligence made the eunuchs still more aggressive.

Obviously, Emperor An had given his trust to the eunuchs. He was ready to accept anything they pleased to do, and he was not prepared to listen to his regular officials who, in any case, brought about impeachment against the favoured eunuch. With this sense of immunity, Fan Feng, Hsieh Yun and others even forged imperial documents to obtain money and grain from the Grand Minister of Agriculture and convict labour from the Court Architect in order to build their own private mansions, parks and terraces.

The Grand Commandant Yang Chen was stubborn. In 124, he submitted another memorial of impeachment to the throne, hoping that the emperor might regret and desert his favourites. Using as a weapon the earthquake of 7.I.124, which rocked the imperial capital, he cited the disaster as a warning of the power of the eunuchs and their illegal building programs. A few months later, when the emperor was away from the palace on his eastern inspection trip, the eunuchs took advantage of his absence and competed with each other in renovating their mansions at government expense. On 15.III.124, however, Yang Chen sent his Head Clerk K'ao Shu to summon the Foreman Clerk of the Court Architect to investigate the case. The investigators seized the forged documents made by the eunuchs, and prepared to submit them to
the emperor on his return.

For their personal safety, the eunuchs now had to seek means of counter-attack. Some time before this, a certain gentleman Chao Teng 趙騰 of Ho-chien 河間 had come to the court to submit a memorial. He pointed out some items of misgovernment, but the emperor was angry and had him sent to the imperial jail for attempted deception. Yang Chen, considering his loyalty to the throne, filed an appeal for him, but was unsuccessful, and Chao Teng eventually suffered public execution. With this case as an excuse, together with the recent report of an "abnormal" retrograde motion of the planets^{134}, made by the Grand Clerk from the Astronomy Bureau, the eunuchs arranged an accusation that astronomical phenomenon should be taken as a warning of the rebellion of Yang Chen who was nursing grudges against the court for the unjust punishment of Chao Teng, and who was himself an official recommended by the Teng family.

On 30 April, Emperor An had returned from his inspection trip and was waiting at the Imperial University for a lucky hour to enter the palace. On that very night, after hearing the accusation of the eunuchs, he ordered the official seal of Yang to be taken from him. Further to this accusation, the General-in-Chief Keng Pao now memorialised that Yang refused to comply with the imperial order. Yang was therefore ordered to be sent back to his home territory in Hua-yin華陰 (now south-east of Hua-yin in Shensi). On the road, thinking that he was unjustly punished, he drank poison and died at Hsi-yang-ting 夕陽亭 (present-day Shan 陝 county in Honan).^{135} His office
was filled by Feng Shih, a former Palace Attendant, who was visited personally by Emperor An when the office was awarded him.

The Dismissal of Liu Pao as Heir-apparent

In 114 a lady named Yen Chi had been brought to the palace in a general recruitment for the imperial harem. Her charms delighted the emperor. In her very first year she was named as Honoured Lady, the second highest grade in the hierarchy of the harem, and in the next year she became Empress. She does not, however, appear to have entirely held his interest for the emperor distributed his attentions also to another girl who is known to history only by her family name of Li. Still worse, this concubine née Li bore the emperor an imperial son, Liu Pao. Out of jealousy, the Empress née Yen had her rival poisoned.

Five years later, in 120, Liu Pao as the emperor's only son, was proclaimed as Heir-apparent. Noting the potential catastrophe when this Heir-apparent became the effective ruler, the Empress née Yen sought any opportunity to forestall the threat. In 124 the time came. It happened that the Heir-apparent, now about ten years old, suffered from epilepsy. He was brought to the care of the emperor's former wet-nurse Wang Sheng in her newly repaired and renovated mansion. Based on the superstitious belief that this might bring misfortune through the activities of evil spirits disturbed by the recent work (fan t'u-chin), both Wang Nan and Ping Chi, the wet-nurse and Supervisor of Kitchen of the Heir-apparent strongly opposed the
plan, and there followed a quarrel and mutual criticism. Wang Sheng, with her great influence in the harem and a support from the eunuchs such as the Grand Prolonger of Autumn Chiang Ching and the Regular Palace Attendant Fan Feng, slandered her rivals and later brought about their death in prison. When this news reached the ears of the Heir-apparent, he sighed and lamented for Wang Nan and Ping Chi. Now the party of Wang Sheng was joined to that of the Empress née Yen in fear of Liu Pao, and the two groups joined in self-protection. They extended the attack by putting blame on Liu Pao, and roused the anger of Emperor An against him.

On 2.X.124, a special court conference was called to consider the future of the Heir-apparent. The Empress née Yen and the party of Wang Sheng made a strong attempt to depose the Heir-apparent, though they were opposed by the Grand Coachman Lai Li, the Grand Master of Ceremonies Huan Yen, and the Commandant of Justice Chang Hao, who argued from the legal point of view that Liu Pao should not be punished or dismissed. Firstly, according to the Canon of the Statutes (Lü ching), no blame should be attached to a boy under the age of fifteen who commits a crime; and secondly, the Heir-apparent was very probably completely ignorant and innocent of the quarrel between Wang Sheng and his wet-nurse Wang Nan. The appeal, however, proved vain, and the meeting ended with the official announcement read out by Keng Pao, the emperor's maternal uncle, that Liu Pao was dismissed as Heir-apparent with the effect from that day, and was appointed as the King of Chi-yin instead.
In response to the court decision, a deputation came to the Grand Metropolitan Gate (Hung-tu Men 潘都門) in the imperial city. Participants included Lai Li, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Tai Feng 彈諫, the Superintendent of the Imperial House Liu Wei 劉瑋, the Court Architect Hsüeh Hao 蕭皓, the Prefect of Insignia and Credentials Chang Ching 張政, the Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents Kung T'iao 蘇謗 and others, altogether nineteen persons. The spokesman was the Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents Kung T'iao, an official of the censorate supervising judicial and legal administration, who argued from the legal point of view that Liu Pao should not be involved in the offences committed by Wang Nan and Ping Chi. The emperor was frightened by them, and he ordered his close attendants to read out an edict to the gathering.

Human nature and disposition take father and son as a single body. However, in the cause of justice I have abandoned my personal affections for the sake of the nation. (Lai) Li and (Tai) Feng and others failed to measure the worth of my decision, and with other mean-spirited officials they have created disorder. From the surface, they looked loyal and upright, but inwardly they hoped for future advantage. They have glossed over their wickedness and have opposed righteousness. Are these the men of proper propriety to serve their ruler? Because the court has opened the way wide for discussion and criticism, on this occasion their behaviour is forgiven. However, should
they persist in error and not repent, the law will be enforced upon them.

The edict had its effect. The deputation fell silent and dispersed quietly. Only the determined Lai Li stayed at the gate alone for several days. As a conclusion, the emperor dismissed Lai Li and his brothers from all official posts, cut off their salaries and pensions, and prohibited Lai Li's mother Liu Hui 處 , the daughter of Emperor Ming, to attend the court. 140

The Death of Emperor An and the Downfall of the Yen Family

Seven months after the deposition of Liu Pao, on 30.IV.125, Emperor An died at the age of thirty-two. The role that had been acted by the Empress-dowager née Teng in 106 was now played again by the Empress née Yen. Since there was no Heir-apparent, the Lady Yen with the party of eunuchs and members of her own family chose Liu Yi 處 (or Tu 紲 ), 141 a son of the King of Chi-pei 濟北 and a grandson of Emperor Chang, to succeed to the throne. Like Emperor Shang, after a reign of little more than half a year, this 'Little Emperor' 少帝 died on the throne on 10 December. The Yen party attempted to conceal his death in order to select another candidate, but at this moment, rival parties were formed among the eunuchs and the scholar-officials at court. The second eunuch party was headed by the Palace Attendant within the Yellow Gate Sun Ch'eng 孫程 142 with support from his colleague Wang K'ang 王康, the Assistant Grand Provisioner of the Ch'ang-lo Palace Wang Kuo 王国 and others, while the court officials were led by the Minister of Works Li Ho 李<dd> 郭 with the backing from the Privy Treasurer of Ho-nan T'ao Fan 陶.
Four days later (14 December), before the imperial candidate newly chosen by the Yen party had arrived at the capital, a coup d'état had been planned in the West Bell Hall, where the deposed Heir-apparent lived. On the night of 16 December, Sun Ch'eng and others met at the Hall of High Virtue. They entered the Chang-t'ai Gate, and seeing their rivals Chiang Ching, Liu An, Ch'en Ta, and Li Jun they killed them. Only Li Jun, who had great influence in the harem apartments, was arrested as hostage. Holding a knife to his throat, they forced Li Jun to agree to the establishment of Liu Pao upon the throne. Liu Pao accepted the call, and he was brought with guards to the West Bell Hall where the officials proclamation was made that the King of Chi-yin was now established as Emperor Shun. The emperor was then escorted to the Cloud Terrace (Yün T'ai), the imperial library of the Southern Palace.

The Yen party attempted a counter-attack, but it proved too late. Yen Ching and Yen Hsien, the brothers of the Empress-dowager née Yen, were killed, and their defeat ushered in a new age dominated by the eunuchs, turning the last phase of Later Han politics into a period of complete corruption.
CHAPTER II

1. HHS annals 2, 27a-b, and the fragment of TKHC cited in the commentary to this passage by Li Hsien.

2. It should be noted that this drought is not mentioned in either HHS annals 3 or HHS chih 13.

3. HHS annals 10A, 15a-18b.

4. Ying Shao, Han kuan yi (P'ing-chin-kuan ts'ung-shu ed.) 1, 1b.

5. The home commandery of Emperor Kuang-wu was also in Nan-yang.

6. HHS 16 (lieh-chuan 6), 22b-23a.

7. Liu Sheng, a brief biography in HHS 55 (lieh-chuan 45), 16a, was enfeoffed as King of P'ing-yüan in 106 and died on 31.V.113.

7a. Here one would note that the ground for Empress-dowager née Teng to disqualify Liu Sheng from succeeding to the throne is said to have been his 'incurable illness'. However, according to HHS annals 5, 13b, Liu Sheng survived until Yung-ch'u 7:4:yi-wei (31 May 113), and HHS chih 14, 3a-b (translated at pp.155-156), clearly says that Liu Sheng was not seriously ill, and that there was a general expectation that he would be enthroned. It, therefore, is obviously that it was the machinations of the Empress Teng that had led to Liu Sheng's exclusion.

8. Ying Shao, Han kuan yi (P'ing-chin-kuan ts'ung-shu ed.) 1, 1b. see de Crespigny, ‘The Harem of Emperor Huan: A Study of Court Politics in Later Han’, note 4 on p.5.

10. HHS 33 (lieh-chuan 23), 22b-23a; HHS chih 11, 12a-b.

11. HHS 57 (lieh-chuan 47), 1b-2a. We are informed by his biography that after he was thrown outside the imperial city, he pretended to be dead for three days and later fled to Yi-ch'eng where he worked as a
waiter for fifteen years in a wine-shop. In 121, after the death of
Lady Teng, he identified himself and Emperor An honoured him by
appointing him as Attendant Imperial Clerk.

12. HHS annals 10A, 32b.
13. HHS annals t, 8b-9a.
14. TKHC 7 (lieh-chuan 2), 3a-b.
15. HHS 51 (lieh-chuan 41), 6a.
16. HHS annals 5, 8a-b and 9a.
17. HHS annals 2, 19b, says that during the time of Emperor Ming "The empire
was in joy and peace, and no one was sent for forced labour. Year after
year there were good harvests and the common people were prosperous.
A hu of grain cost (only) thirty cash. Cows and sheep were spread
across the open countryside".
18. In his Hsien-Ch'in Liang-Han ching'chi shih kao (pp.162-163), Li Chien-
nung gives a statistical figure on natural catastrophe of flood, drought,
and plagues of locust as below: Out of 214 years in the Former Han there
were only thirty-two years the empire suffered the natural disasters
while to the contrary in the 195 years of Later Han the empire suffered
these disasters in 119 years. Although we must be careful in taking
recorded portents as a complete record of historical facts, the contrast
may be significant.

19. Yu Ying-shih, Trade and Expansion in Han China, pp.172-174. It is
interesting to note that there were a considerable number of Han Chinese
sepulchral pottery vessels unearthed in Sumatra, Java and Borneo, and
one of them, from Sumatra bore an inscription dated 45 B.C. See, for
instance, R. Heine-Geldern, "Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands
Indies", in Pieter Honig (ed), Science and Scientists in the Netherlands
Indies (N.Y., 1945), p.147.

21. **TKHC** 1, 8b, translated in Reiji Hiranaka, "*T'ien-tsu* or Land Tax and Its Reduction and Exemption in Case of Natural Calamities in the Han Period, Part I" in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 31 (1973), 55056. I amend the official titles following the system of de Crespigny in his *Official Titles of the Former Han Dynasty*.


24. **HHS** annals 1B, 15b-16b; **HHS** 29 (*lieh-chuan* 19), 11b; **HHS** 79A (*lieh-chuan* 69A), 12b-13a.


26. In *Li-shih* 9, 18b.

27. **HHS** annals 4, 28b; see also **HHS** 46 (*lieh-chuan* 26), 17a-19a.


30. **HHS** 76 (*lieh-chuan* 66) 3b-4a.

31. **HHS** 43 (*lieh-chuan* 33), 4b-5b.

32. Ma So, biography in **HHS** 24 (*lieh-chuan* 14), 37a-38a, was the *tsu-sun* of Ma Yüan, the father and grandfather of the consorts of Emperor Ming in Later Han. See also | TABLE 4 |


35. **HHS** 49 (*lieh-chuan* 39), 5a.

37. Cited in *HHS chih* 23, 23a-b.

38. For the calculation of grain product and consumption and the area of land in 1-2 A.D., see Michael Loewe, "The Campaigns of Han Wu-ti", pp.81-83.

39. *HHS* annals 5, 3a, 6a, 6b and 9b.

40. The Kuo san-lao Yuan Liang pai (Stele of the Thrice Venerable Yuan Liang) in *Li shih* 6, 6a, has the name of the leader of the bandits as Chang Lu instead of Chang Po-lu.

41. Ts'ai Yung, *Ts'ai Chung-lang chi* 8, 1b-2a.

42. *HHS* annals 10A, 28a-b.

43. *HHS* annals 10A, 28b; see also note to Portent Item No. 20. The Shang-lin Park was at Wo-tou-chai in Ch'ang-an county, Shensi, where roof-tiles bearing inscription "Shang-lin" were excavated. See Anonymous, "Ch'ang-an Wo-tou-chai Han-tai ch'ien-fan yi-chih t'iao-cha" in *K'ao-ku* 1972.5, 32.

44. *HHS* annals 5, 3b.

45. *HHS* annals 10A, 30a; also Ssu-ma Piao, *Hsü Han shu* 1, 4a. For the content of the Ta-no festival, see Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China*, pp.75-138.

46. *HHS* annals 5, 10a-b. No detail of actual deduction of the salaries is given. For the salaries of officials in 50 and 105, see *HHS chih* 28, 16b, and Hsü Ch'ao quoted in the commentary of Liu Chao to *HHS chih* 28, 17a-b.

47. *HHS* 55 (*lieh-chuan* 45), 11b-12a.

48. *HHS* annals 5, 4b.


50. See the memorial of Pan Ch'ao submitted to the court in 78 in *H.H.S. 47* (lieh-chuan 37), 7a-b.


52. There are two locations bearing the same name Shu-le in *H.H.S.* The first one, identified by Tung Yu-ch'eng in his commentary to *Shui-ching chu* 2, 10b, as K'o-shih'k'o-erh (Kashgar) is situated at the conjunction point of the Northern and Southern Routes at the western end of the Tarim Basin. The other, referred to as Shu-le-ch'eng (see, for instance *H.H.S. 19* (lieh-chuan 9), 21a, is identified by Hsiang Ta as present-day Ch'i-mu-sha-erh in Sinkiang. (See his "Hsi-yü chien-wen so-chi" 西域見聞紀 , *Wen-wu* 7 & 8 (1962), 106.

*H.H.S. 47* (lieh-chuan 37), 23b-24a, says that in 125 Pan Yung led the troops recruited from Tun-huang, Chang-yeh, Ch'iu-ch'üan, Shan-shan, Shu-le and the Anterior Kingdom of Chu-shih to attack Chün-ch'iu, the king of the Posterior Kingdom of Chu-shih (Jimsa). It appears that *H.H.S.* has omitted the character ch'eng here, for it is impossible that Pan Yung would have recruited soldiers in the kingdom of Kashgar and then marched back to the other end of the Tarim Basin. The place Shu-le is a mistake for Shu-le-ch'eng.

53. The pronunciation of 蜥蜴 is suggested in the commentary to *Shui-ching chu* 2, 13a, as Ch'ü-tz'u 蟾.
54. The Wu Colonel was an important position under the Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions. During the reign of Emperor P'ing (1-5 A.D.) when the office of the Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions was abolished, both Wu and Chi Colonels were appointed to take over his duty (See Ying Shao, Han-kuan yi cited in Yen K'o-chün, Ch'üan Hou Han wen 35, 7a).

The text in HHS 88 (lieh-chuan 78), 2a, remarks that there were Wu and Chi Colonels stationed at K'ao-chang-pi. But, Liu Pin in his Tung-Han k'an-wu 4, 6b-7a, has already suggested that there was only a post of Wu Colonel recreated in the time of Emperor Ho in Later Han. Therefore, he added, the character chi in this text is an interpolation. Cf. Lao Kan, "Han-tai ti hsi-yu Tu-hu yu Wu-chi Chiao-wei" LSYY Vol.33 (1962).

55. Identified by A. von Le Coq, Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan, p.56.

56. Huan T'an, Hsin lun in Yen K'o-chün, Ch'üan Hou-Han wen 14, 2b-3a.

57. HHS 45 (lieh-chuan 35), 6b.


59. HHS 47 (lieh-chuan 37), 12b.

60. For the identification of Ku-mou, see P. Pelliot, "Tokharian et Koutcheen" in Journal Asiatique 1 (1934), translated into Chinese by Feng Ch'eng-chün in Tu-huo-lo yü k'ao koukao (Peking, 1957), p.126.

61. HHS 47 (lieh-chuan 37), 25b-26a.

62. HHS 47 (lieh-chuan 37), 26a.

63. HHS 47 (lieh-chuan 37), 26a.

64. HHS 89 (lieh-chuan 79), 24b-25a.

65. For the number of officials in the administration of Central Asia, see Huang Wen-pi, Lo-pu-nao-erh k'ao-ku chi, pp.61-66.
66. *HHS* 47 (lieh-chuan 37), 22b; *HHS* 51 (lieh-chuan 41), 1b-2a, records that when Li Hsün 李恂 was the acting Associate Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions during the time of Emperor Chang the barbarian hostage princes from various states in Tarim Basin and the merchants on several occasions presented slaves, Ferghana horses, gold, silver, incense and carpets to him. This presentation of gifts means, of course, that the kings and the merchants of various oasis-states did this with an intention to buy or bribe Li Hsün in order they could continue the normal trade relationship with Han Chinese. This suggestion is strongly supported by archaeological evidences. Take for instance, there were quite a number of copper coins found in the neighbourhood of Kashgar and Khotan bearing inscription in both Kharosthi and Chinese characters. The purpose for adopting Chinese characters strongly indicates that the merchant in Central Asia wanted to show the Chinese traders regarding the coin's weight and value. See E.J. Rapson, *Indian Coins* (Strassburg, 1897), p.10; also Kazuo Enokifū雄, "Iwayuru Shino-Karoshuti sen ni tsuite" 所謂ミノ＝カロシュテイに銭について in *Toyo Gakuho* 東洋學報 XLII, no.3 (December, 1959), 1-56.

67. *HHS* annals 5, 4b.


69. Cited by P'ei Sung-chih in his commentary to *SKC* 30 (Wei 30), 31b.

For the relationship between two works *Tien luèh* 天略 and *Wei luèh* 威略 by Yü Huan, see de Crespigny, *The Records of the Three Kingdoms*, pp.75-76.

The existence of the Ch'iang tribes people in the Tarim Basin is attested by linguistic evidence. F.W. Thomas has suggested that the
ancient language of Khotan (Yü-tien) prior to the period of Kharosthi documents, a language originated in the northwest of India, was mono-syllabic of the Tibeto-Burmese type. See his "The Language of Ancient Khotan", in Asia Major 2 (1925), 251-271, and "Tibetan Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan IV, Part II", in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1930, 251-300, especially p.297.


72. See Bielenstein I, pp.

73. Lao Kan, "Han-tai ping-chih chi Han-chien chung ti ping-chih", LSYY 10 (1948), 23-55.


75. Han kuan, quoted in the commentary to HHS chih 27, 7b-8b.

76. Han kuan, quoted in the commentary to HHS chih 25, 8b-10a.

77. Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün, "Tung-Han Keng-yi hsü-yi chih-tu te fei-chih" in Li-shih yen-chiu 歷史研究 1962.2, 96-115; also Sun Yü-t'ang 童錫堂 "Tung-Han ping-chih te yen-pien" 東漢兵制的演變 in Chinese Social and Economic History Review 中國社會經濟史集刊 6 (1939), 1-34.

78. HHS 87 (lieh-chuan 77), 21a-b; HHS 47 (lieh-chuan 37), 26a-b.

79. For the routes in Han China, see, for instance, Albert Herrmann, Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, p.20.

80. See the inscription of the stele of Ssu-li hsiao-wei Yang Meng-wen shih-men sung 司隸校尉陽孟文石門頌 (erected in 148) in Li shih 4, 3b-4a; Hua-yang kuo-chih 2, 1b-2a.

The Pao-yeh Road started from present-day Pao-ch'i 魯山 in Shensi,
passed through the Ch'in-ling range, and then followed the Pao River to Han-chung (See Ch'en Ming-ta "Pao-yeh tao shih-men chi ch'i shih-k'o" in Wen-wu 1961, Nos. 4/5, 57).

The destruction of the Pao-yeh Route by the Ch'iang barbarians must be considered serious. According to HHS annals 6, 3a, it was not until 125, after the reconstruction of the road had finished, that the court decided to re-use it.

81. See the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Fan Chun's memorial submitted to the throne during the beginning of Yung-ch'u (107-113) in HHS 32 (lieh-chuan 22), 10a-11b.

82. HHS 87 (lieh-chuan 77), 21a-22a; HHS 16 (lieh-chuan 6), 17b-18a.

83. See p.37.

84. HHS annals 5, 9b; HHS 89 (lieh-chuan 79), 25a-b; HHS 47 (lieh-chuan 37), 27a-28b.

85. Hua-yang kuo-chih 2, 2a.

86. Wang Fu, Ch'ien-fu lun 5, 27b-28a.

87. This memorial was edicted in the collection of memoirs entitled Wei ming-ch'en tsou by Ch'en Shou (233-297) and was quoted by P'ei Sung-chih in his commentary to SKC 13 (Wei 13), 18b-19a.

For the Wei ming-ch'en tsou, see de Crespigny, The Records of the Three Kingdoms, pp.81-82.

88. Ying Shao, Han Kuan yi, quoted in the commentary to HHS chih 28, 6a.

89. HHS 60A (lieh-chuan 50A), 1b-2a. See also Hsün Yuê, Shen chien 中篇 2, 2a-b (CPPY).

90. Wang Fu Ch'ien-fu lun 5, 23b-24a; 5, 28a-b.

91. Ch'ien-fu lun 5, 16b-17a.
92. HHS annals 5, 10b.

93. HHS 51 (lieh-chuan 41), 3a.

94. HHS devote no biography to Chu Ch'ung. His life perhaps can be understood through the geography of Teng Chih in HHS 16 (lieh-chuan 6), 18a-22b, and the inscription at the stele Sung-yueh t'ai-shih shih-ch'ing ming preserved in Chin-shih ts'ui pien 6 (Han 2) 2b.

95. HHS 58 (lieh-chuan 48), 1b-3a.

96. HHS annals 5, 12b.

97. HHS 31 (lieh-chuan 21), 16a; Hua-yang kuo-chih 1, 4b.

98. Hua-yang kuo-chih 2, 2a.

99. HHS annals 5, 12b-13a.


101. TKHC 3, 1b.

102. Hua-yang kuo-chih 2, 8b, has another version of this story, which says Tu-ch'i revolted in Kuang-han 蘇漢 instead of Han-yang commandery, and set up his position at Chia-ming 華明 (southwest of present-day Chao-hua 南化 county in Szechwan). T'ang Hsi was then ordered to put down the rebellion, and when he failed he was ordered to commit suicide. His office was taken by the Gentleman of the Household Yin Chiu, but he did no better than his predecessor.

This version appears wrong. Firstly, since TKHC 3, 1b, has clearly stated that Tu Ch'i was a native of Han-yang, it is hard to understand why he revolted in Szechwan and then marched northward to join with the Ch'iang and seize Shang-kuei. Secondly, HHS annals 5,
13a-b, clearly records that T'ang Hsi did kill the rebel Wang Hsin in July 112. It seems that Ch'ang Ch'u has confused the story of T'ang Hsi with that of Jen Jen, who was punished by the court with death in 110 for failing in his military duty. See p.53.

103. HHS annals 5.14a, has the season as autumn instead of summer.

104. Hua-yang kuo-chih 2, 2a. The text here misprints the date of the invasion of Han-chung as the second year of Yüan-ho 元和 (85). It should read the first year of Yüan-ch'u (114).

105. HHS 58 (lieh-chuan 48), 4b-6a.


107. TKHC 3, 1b; HHS 19 (lieh-chuan 9), 25a-b.

108. See Chang Wei張維, Lung-yu chin-shih lu pu 隆月金石錄補 (collated by Kan-su sheng wen-hsien ch'en-chi wei-yuan-hui甘省文獻徵集委員會, 1948) 1, 5a-b. This mirror was discovered in Wu-wei武威, Kansu. The editor Chang Wei does not publish the inscription, but says that it is similar to the Ching-yang 青羊 Mirror in Feng Yun-p'eng's Chin-shih-so金石索 6, 38, 7a. (Shanghai, 1893).


110. For the characteristics of the "Loose Rein" policy, see Yang Lien-sheng, "Historical Notes on the Chinese World Order" in John K. Fairbank (ed.),
111. See for example HHS 86 (lieh-chuan 76), 15b-16a and 17a-b. For the Han court permission of native tribal chieftains leading their men, see, for example, Hsü Chung-shu, "Pa Shu wen-hua ch'u-lun", p.36.

112. HHS 86 (lieh-chuan 76), 26b.

113. Hua-yang kuo-chi 4,

114. Yu Yung-shih, Trade and Expansion of Han China, p.81. These poems preserved in TKHC 22, 1b-2a, have been studied by Wang Ching-ju who arrived at a conclusion that it was translated from the language belongs to Lolo-moso group of the Tibetan-Burmese family. See his "Tung-Han Hsi-nan yi Po-liang mu Han ko shih pen yu yi-cheng", Hsi-hsia yen-chiu, Vol. I, pp.15-53.

115. Quoted in Shui-ching chu 36, 24a.

116. The work Wu-shih wai-kuo chuan has been lost ever since the end of the tenth century A.D. Fragments of it have been collected by several scholars. The text I refer to here is in a new collection by Hsu Yun-ch'iao entitled K'ang T'ai Wu-shih wai-kuo chuan at p.28.

117. The identification of the location of Ch'u-tu-k'an has been a subject of great controversy. Hsu Yun-ch'iao in the commentary to the Wu-shih wai-kuo chuan here identifies it as a location similar to a Tu-yüan-kuo mentioned in Ti-li chih of HS which is believed to be at present-day Kuala Dungun of Tingaru in eastern coast of Malaya peninsula. This identification in fact differs from his previous article entitled "Ku-tai Nan-yang han-ch'eng chung chih ti-hsia yu ti-ch'i" in Nan-yang Hsüeh-pao Vol. 5, No.2 (p.27) in which he associates Tu-yüan-kuo as present-day Satyrorum Island belonging to Borneo.
The second view is presented by Ts'en Chung-mien in his

*Hsi-Han tui Nan-yang te chiao-t'ung* (p. 148).

He claims that Ch'u-tu-k'an must be somewhere at Htayan near Kra Isthmus.

The third view is held by a Japanese scholar Fujita Toyohachi who asserts that the Chinese name was a transliteration of the place Kataha in northern shore of Sumatra in Indonesia.

All these arguments are rejected by Han Chen-hua. Han bases his argument on the *Chin shu* statement that in the fourth century A.D. Ch'u-tu-k'an was annexed by the King of Lin-yi (Vietnam: Lam-ap) Fan Wen 芸文. Since the territory of Lin-yi has been identified by H. Maspero as present-day Champa in Vietnam, it is therefore unreasonable to suggest that the King of Lin-yi led troops to conquer Sumatra. He therefore concluded that Ch'u-tu-k'an must refer to a place near Annan. Furthermore, from the linguistic point of view, he argues that the Chinese characters Ch'u-tu must be a transliteration of the Sanskrit Kauthara, a name for Nhatrang in southern part of Vietnam, while k'an is an abbreviated transliteration of the Sanskrit (Na)gar(a) which means a city. See Han Chen-hua, *ibid*, p. 196.

118. *HHS* 86 (*lieh-chuan* 76), 10b.

119. *HHS* 86 (*lieh-chuan* 76), 30b; also *Hua-yang kuo-chih* 10A, 6b; 4,2b.

120. *HHS* 78 (*lieh-chuan* 68), 3b.

121. Li Hsien in his commentary to *HHS* 16 (*lieh-chuan* 6), 16a, gives the *fan-ch'ieh* pronunciation of this personal name as *Hui* (GSR 110a K'u/k'ou + GSR 542a g'wêr/yu¢i/huei = Hui).


123. *HHS* annals 10A, 34b.

125. HHS 16 (lieh-chuan 6), 20a-b.

126. Instead of 阮, the Hou Han chi 17, 1a, of Yuan Hung has 阮.

127. For the crime Ta-ni pu-tao, see A.F.P. Hulsewe, Remnants of Han Law: Volume 1, Introductory Studies and an Annotated Translation of Chapters 22 and 23 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty (Leiden, 1955), pp.156-204.

128. Wan Ch'eng-ch'ang 藻承倉 suggests that the text should read Liu Yi instead of Liu Te, because the court later removed the kingship of Liu Yi. However, Chung-hua shu-chu editors of Hou Han shu disagree with him. They hold that since the eunuchs accused Teng Hui, Teng Hung and Teng Ch'ang for plotting to set the King of P'ing-yuan on the throne and these three Teng family members all died in 115 and 118 respectively, therefore the King of P'ing-yuan referred to must be Liu Te, who died in 119. The fact that Liu Yi's kingship was removed in 121 was due to his predecessor Liu Te (see p.636).

129. HHS 16 (lieh-chuan 6), 20b-21a.

130. HHS 46 (lieh-chuan 36), 25a.

131. HHS 51 (lieh-chuan 41), 4a; HHS 52 (lieh-chuan 42), 18a.

132. Hung Kuo, Li shih 12, lb-2b; also Wang Ch'ang, Chin-shih tsui-pien 15 (Han 11), 1a-2a.

133. For the location of the Chin Gate, see the preface of Yang Hsien-chih to his Lo-yang chia-lan chi 陽加蓝記, Vol. 1, 2a.

134. Astronomers evidently regarded the retrogression, correctly, as a natural phenomenon, and it does not appear in the treatise at this time. However, since the observations were presumably generally available to members of the court, the protector group opposed to Yeng Chen, took the excuse of this regular change of apparent motion to bolster their attack at this time.
135. HHS 54 (lieh-chuan 44), la ff; HHS annals 5, 27b-28b. The tomb of Yang Chen has been excavated by the archaeologist team of Shensi in 1959 at Tung-kuan 漏関, Shensi. See Wang Chung-shu, "Han Tung-ting Hung-nung Yang-shih chung-mu k'ao-lüeh" 漏潼亭的農楊氏家墓譜略 in K'ao-ku 1963.1, 30-33.

136. Hsieh Ch'eng, Hou Han shu 1, 10b-11a; Yuan Hung, Hou Han chi 17, 10a.

137. HHS annals 5, 16a; HHS annals 10B, 1a-b.

138. Chang Ching receives no mention in HHS. His biography may be recorded on a fragmentary Cheng-Ch'iang hou tuan pei 徵羌侯斷碑 preserved in Ch'iu-shih-chai chin-shih pa 汝是齊侯碑 (in Shih-yuan ts'ung-shu ti-shih chi) in K'ao-ku 1963.1, 12a-13a, by Ting Shao-chi 丁紹基. However, Ting mistakes it as a stone memorial tablet belonged to a certain official in the Wei dynasty in the Three Kingdoms period. For an excellent commentary on this stele, see Yu Chia-hsi 余嘉錫, "Han Ch'ih-yang ling Chang chun ts'an-pe'i" 漏池陽令張君祔碑 in Yu Chia-hsi lun-hsueh tsa-chu Vol. II, 593-599.

139. Both HHS 15 (lieh-chuan 5), 21a, and the T'ang commentary give the official title of Kung T'iao as ch'ih-shu shih-yu-shih 招置御史 which is evidently wrong for no such title existed in Han time. However, the title chih-shu shih-yu-shih listed in HHS chih 26, 11a. The text of Fan Yeh originally read chih-shu shih-yu-shih and the character chih was altered to ch'ih by the commentator Li Hsien on account of the taboo on the personal name of his father Emperor K'ao-tsung, Li Chih.

140. HHS 15 (lieh-chuan 5), 20a-22a; HHS 56 (lieh-chuan 46), 1b-2a; Hua-yang kuo-chih 10B, 10b.
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141. The personal name of Emperor Shao is somewhat confused. In TKHC, as pointed out by Li Hsien in his commentary to HHS annals 5, 30b, and HHS chih 14, 9a, it is given as Tu, while in the main text in the annals and HHS chih 11, 16a, it appears as Yi.

142. In 1954, a tomb at Pao-ting-shih, eighty li south of Wang-tu county, Hopei, was unearthed. It is believed to belong to Sun Ch'eng, the important figure in the coup d'etat of 125. For details, see Yao Chien, "Ho-pei Wang-tu-hsien Han-mu te mu-shih chieh-kou ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao" in Wen-wu 1954.12, 47-63, particularly p.56.

143. HHS 82A (lieh-chuan 72A), 16a-b.

144. HHS 78 (lieh-chuan 68), 7b-13b.

145. See, for instance, Ts'ai Yung, "Shu hsing fu hsü" in Ts'ai Chung-lang chi (Wai-chi), 4b-8a.
CHAPTER III: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PORTENTS IN THE REIGN OF EMPEROR AN

As far as political philosophy was concerned, during the Han dynasty there were two conflicting ideas. The discrepancy can perhaps be understood best through the heated debate in the presence of Emperor Ch'ing (156-140 B.C.) of Former Han, on the question of the rise of T'ang of the Shang dynasty and achievement of King Wu of the Chou dynasty.¹ One school, which was represented by the scholar Huang Sheng and was favoured by Emperor Hsüan, advocated that the actions of T'ang and King Wu, bringing the downfall of Chieh Kuei (tr. 1818-1763 B.C.) and Chou Hsin (tr. 1154-1122 B.C.), last rulers of Hsia and Shang, should be condemned. This school claimed that the authority of the ruler should never be challenged. Thus Huang stipulated that even if the governments of both Chieh Kuei and Chou Hsin had been in a state of corruption, T'ang and King Wu, being subordinates, should not have revolted or put their rulers to death (shih). This school of thought, attributed as Huang-Lao Taoism, was in fact a sect of the School of Legalists. Borrowing the term coined by Michael Loewe, we may classify Huang Sheng and his clients as "Modernists".²

The opposing school of thought was represented by the Confucianist Yuan Ku-sheng. Yuan held that it was correct for T'ang and King Wu to overthrow the throne of Chieh Kuei and Chou Hsin, firstly because they had received heavenly mandates to do so,³ and secondly the people of Chieh and Chou had all turned toward them, wishing to become their subjects.
This historical interpretation derived, as a matter of fact, from the early Confucianism, particularly the tradition of Mencius. The idealistic Confucianist Mencius (371 ?-289? B.C.) had bitterly attacked authoritarianism, and believed that the killing of an unjust ruler was neither rebellion nor murder. In the Book of Mencius there is the following story: On one occasion, the philosopher was questioned by King Hsüan of Ch’i whether ministers could put their ruler to death (shih) as in the case of Chou Hsin. The answer was quite startling. Mencius said, "He who outrages the benevolence proper to his nature, is called a robber; he who outrages righteousness, is called a ruffian. The robber and ruffian we call a mere fellow. I have heard about the killing of the fellow Chou (Hsin), but I have not heard, for his case, of anyone putting a sovereign to death." This school of political thought, Loewe’s "Reformists", believed that the ruler had a primary responsibility to Heaven and that, though, ‘Heaven sees as the people see, and hears as the people hear’. They believed that the right to rule remained valid only so long as the ruler was effective, otherwise he should give his throne up to a virtuous successor. Above all, the Reformists left the ultimate decision in the hands of the people, while the Modernists looked upon the ruler as unchallengable, complete and sole arbiter of government.

For the first part of Western Han, the Modernists held the upper hand against the Reformists. Their ideas received great favour from the rulers, especially Emperor Wen (179-157 B.C.). The Empress-dowager née Tou, wife of Emperor Wen, not only followed her husband in reading the doctrines of Huang-Lao
Taoism, but also asked her son, the future Emperor Ching, and her grandson, Emperor Wu (140-87 B.C.) to study them. In addition to this, the fact that one of the most important doctrines of Huang-Lao Taoism Huang-ti ssu-ching 黃帝四經 (The Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor) found in the tomb of an imperial Liu family member, believed to be of the son of the Marquis of Ti 蒂 L"iu Li-ts'ang 劉利蒼 (d. 186 B.C.), illustrates that this was a time when the philosophy of Modernists reached its zenith. Members of the imperial clan were encouraged to study the doctrines in detail as some sort of political handbooks. However, after the death of the Empress-dowager née Tou in 136 B.C. the fortunes of the Modernists began to wane. During the reign of Emperor Wu, a famous Reformist Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (179? - 140? B.C.) was the first to come out to curb the rising tide of the Modernists' authoritarianism.

With the spirit of the Reformist, Tung Chung-shu borrowed some of the concepts from the theories of the Yin-Yang, and of the Five Elements producing his Mutual Influence between Heaven and Man (t'ien-jen kan-ying shuo 天人感應說). In his Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu 春秋繁露 (Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn) Tung says that all portents and omens appear in the sky or the earth are the warnings of Heaven in response to the misgovernment and errors of the state. As a result the ruler should therefore be grateful to receive these signs from Heaven, while at the same time he should also be fearful, and make his best effort to avert the reoccurrence of such portents by listening to the remonstrances of his ministers. Obviously, the primary purpose of Tung's theory was to restrict and circumscribe
imperial action. It was indeed this theory that brought the ruler from a position of autocrat to one where he was able to be checked by Heaven, through portents, as interpreted by officials. This tradition passed later to the Confucianists of the New Text School, which was reflected in the apocryphal literature (ch' an-wei). Consider, for example, the apocryphal book Shang shu chung hou which puts the rise of T'ang and of King Wu into the framework of belief in portents. The work describes how Heaven sent down unfavourable omens, as signs of wrath against the corrupted administration of Chieh Kuei and Chou Hsin, and how Heaven gave its mandates to T'ang and King Wu to overthrow the kingdoms of Chieh and Chou by manifesting a series of auspicious omens. This indicates that a ruler, even on his imperial throne, is subject to the supernatural control from Heaven. If he wishes his throne to last then he must act in accord with the moral standard set up by Heaven, that is to ensure the basic necessities of a worthy and peaceful life for all the people in his empire. As Wang Fu (ca.90-ca.165) in his Chapter on Fundamentals of Government (Pen-cheng) in Ch'ien-fu lun has remarked, the most important issue among the government of a ruler is harmonising the Yin and the Yang. He says, Heaven takes the people in the empire as his heart. If a ruler is able to look after the common people and offer them happy life, then he certainly satisfies the heart of Heaven. In this case, Heaven will harmonise the Yin and Yang. Should this not be the case, then this cosmic disequilibrium will occur, showing the dissatisfaction of Heaven towards the ruler.

Throughout the whole of the Later Han period, the rulers consciously attempted to discourage the teaching of New Text
School and replace it with the Old Text Confucianism. They desired to introduce the main doctrine of Old Text School Tso-chuan, in which the proper relationships of superior and inferior and the appropriate place of everyone in the society and politics are demonstrated. However, these attempts proved they desired to introduce the doctrine of Tso-chuan in order to reconfirm the tradition that they were the descendants of Emperor Yao, which had been questioned following the circulation of Shih-chi (see also pp. 119-120).

According to the Treatises of Astronomy and of the Five Elements in the Hsu Han shu of Ssu-ma Piao, a total of 151 cases of unfavourable portents were memorialised during the reign of Emperor An and the short lived seven-months reign of Emperor Shang in 106 (see Tables 2 and 3). This is the highest figure in any reign of Later Han, equal to about twenty-six per cent of the total number of portents recorded in the whole of Later Han. To put it more specifically, it represents an average of 7.9 cases per year, some five more than the highest rate in the time of Emperor Ai in the Former Han; and the maximum of thirteen and fourteen entries memorialised in the years 116 and 117 is seven to eight more than the portents reported against the usurper Wang Mang in two of the last years of his rule. Certainly, these statistical figures are striking. There are a few quest-
ions which we may ask. To what extent can we place our trust in the reality of the portents reported at this time? Was the weather really so bad that there was more flood, drought, and excessive rain at that time? Was it coincidental that there were more fires at the imperial tombs than in any other reign in Later Han beside that of Emperor Huan? Were it a coincidence that the five observable planets travelled more often into the lunar mansion Yü-kuei "The Chariot of the Spirits" (Western θ, δ, Ω and ω Cancris) (twelve cases within the short span of nine years from 110-119) predict the death of Lady Teng and the destruction of her family? When we have considered these points, we may then be able to explain why the unfavourable portents memorialised to the throne reached such a striking figure.

To answer these questions, we must first look at the authenticies and reliabilities of the portents.

In his Chugoku Kodai no Densei to Zeiho (The Landownership and the Tax System of Ancient China), Professor Reiji Hiranaka has pointed out that there were some cases of heads of local government being charged and dismissed by the court on account of flood and other natural disasters. And, he added, this caused some local administrative officials to suppress memorials of natural disasters or to report untruthfully about the damage caused by the disaster, in order to avoid dismissal and maintain a good record. This phenomenon was particularly serious during the rule of Lady Teng, so much so that the court had to issue two edicts in 106 and 115 respectively, criticising the concealment and under-reporting of natural disasters by the local governments and urging them to correct this fault in order
to allow the central government to be able to relieve the people of suffering from them. This of course tells us that the number of natural disasters recorded in the Annals of Emperor An or The Treatise of Five Elements may be slightly less than the actual happenings. When we consider that Palace Writer Inter-nuncios had been specially dispatched by the court following the imperial edict of 106, with the sole intention of checking the accuracy of disaster reporting by the local authorities, we may reasonably conclude that the cases of concealment were fairly important.

This evidence for the under-reporting and concealment of natural calamities does confirm the reality of the natural calamities that are recorded for the time of Emperor An. There were eight major floods, seven plagues of locusts, eleven cases of drought, five occasions of excessive rains. All these seriously affected the economy of the state, especially the disasters of flood and drought of the Yung-ch'u period (107-113) which turned the eastern part of the empire into barren land and made the common people emigrate to other parts of the empire. And this at least indicates that the weather at that time was really bad by comparison with that of during the reigns of Emperors Kuang-wu, Ming or Chang.

Then, what about the other kinds of portents such as fire, strong gales that uprooted the trees and others? Did they take place more often than in any other reign in Later Han and can they be taken as trustworthy and independent of human manipulation? This cannot be checked by any means now available. But when we look at the frequency of fires in the imperial tombs and
palace, we may take it that at least some of them were deliberately set in order to create a portent.\textsuperscript{17} In Later Han, there were officials such as Chiefs of the Funerary Parks to guard the tombs of imperial ancestors from being robbed. Yet cases of robbing at the imperial tombs were reported again and again. The annals of Emperor Ch'ung in \textit{Hou Han shu} says that the Hsien Mausoleum 寜陵 (tomb of Emperor Shun) was robbed not long after the emperor was buried.\textsuperscript{18} The \textit{Han-kuan tien-chih yi-shih hsūan-yung} 漢官典職儀式選用 (Administrative Observances of Han Officialdom Selected for Use) of Ts'ai Chih 蔡質 (probably d.178) remarks that the Hsien Mausoleum was again robbed by knights-errant during the Yen-hsi 延熹 (158-166) period.\textsuperscript{19} The robbers even had their loot sold in the market. Again, in the \textit{Wei Wen-ti lieh-yi chuan} 魏文帝列異傳 records another story of robbing at the tomb of Lady Feng 婁 of Emperor Huan.\textsuperscript{20} The frequent occurrences of imperial tomb robbings indicate that the security guard on the funerary parks was quite loose, so that outsiders could slip in to rob, and fires could be set to provide a portent against the government or their political rivals. There is at least one case of arson. On Yang-chia 阳嘉 (20 February 133), the Kung Mausoleum 葛陵, Emperor An's tomb, was deliberately set on fire by someone with the intention of creating a portent in protest against the big building projects of repairing the Imperial University and for renovation of the Western Garden 西苑 designed by the government of Emperor Shun in 131.\textsuperscript{21} When Emperor Shun came to realise that the fire was set by someone he was furious and ordered an extensive arrest hoping to find out the \textit{arsonist} . This however, was
criticised by the celebrated astrologist Lang Yi, a follower of the Ching Fang school of studies upon the Yi chuan, who suggested that it was unnecessary and the only way to prevent this sort of thing happening was the self-reflection from the ruler.

There were five fires memorialised to the throne during the time of Emperor An, about fourteen percent of the number of that category reported in Later Han. One of them, on Yung-ch'u 2:4:chia-yin (16.V.108) at A-yang city (Portent No. 12) is clearly described as an accidental case but, as for the other we have no direct evidence to identify whether they were cases of arson. Moreover, from the words Ssu-ma Piao employed in describing them, we may obtain an indirect answer. In recording the portent of fire, Ssu-ma Piao used mostly two characters: huo 'fire' or ts'ai 'visitation (of fire)'. The chronicle Ch' un-ch'iu 'The Spring and Autumn Annals' has used the word huo to record a fire started by human agencies and ts'ai to denote the fire started by natural or spiritual means. This regulation has been followed by Pan Ku in composing his Treatise of the Five Elements. In view of this, even though Ssu-ma Piao does not clearly indicate his historical writing technique as to whether or not he has followed the tradition of both Ch' un-ch'iu and Han shu, it is possible that he does. And if this is the case then out of the five fires recorded in the Treatise of the Five Elements three (Items No. 13, 14 and 15) appeared to be cases of arson.

To some extent, even though the portents recorded in the
Treatise of Astronomy may not be created like the fires, they were much the same as the fires in the sense that they could be selected by man. As we have noted, more often than not, during the short period of nine years (110-119), it has been reported that the five visible planets had travelled in the lunar mansion Yü-kuei on no less than twelve occasions, more than one fourth of the astronomical portents recorded in the reign of Emperor An in the Treatise of Astronomy. Though these observations are generally accurate, one must also realise that "all the five planets were visible to early Chinese astronomers for the most part of every year, and it was therefore possible for any memorialist to choose which movements and positions would be reported as portents to the throne". Thinking of the astrological belief that when Yü-kuei was visited by the planets it was a sign of misrule, the death of a female ruler or of a powerful military general, and a change of ruler and government, one would tend to regard this as a disapproval of the regency of Lady Teng, who was several times asked to return the government to Emperor An.

It seems appropriate to assess here the facts which we have discussed. So far we find two different attitudes in memorialising the unfavourable portents. At least to first sight, they appear contradictory. If we think further, however, such contradiction may disappear. The Grand Administrators of the local government felt reluctant to report major natural disasters in the interests of their personal official career, but they felt free to memorialise other categories of portents
to the throne: for portents such as strong gales uprooting trees and solar eclipses did not have any immediate effect on their official career. Hence, when they disapproved of the central government, they undoubtedly tried to memorialise unfavourable portents in order to voice their protest. It is only when we appreciate this fact that we are able to understand why there were still so many unfavourable portents recorded in the Treatises within the reign of Emperor An even though local administrative heads tended not to report portents of natural disaster.

In Table 3, I produce a histogram showing the number of portents memorialised each year of the reign of Emperor An. From this chart we find that in 107 the unfavourable omens rose sharply from three entries in 106 to eleven. Most of them were connected with the Ch'iang war, the regency of Lady Teng and her arrangement of the imperial succession. From 108 to 115, there is a slight easing off with five to seven cases a year. Then came another surge in the years 116 and 117, with thirteen and fourteen respectively. This can be interpreted as a reflection of the distress after years of the Ch'iang revolt in the northwest. From the very beginning of the regency of Lady Teng, there was resentment against her rule among the court officials. This symptom became more evident some years after the outbreak of the Ch'iang war, which brought great inflation and discontent. The price of rice rose to 10,000 cash a shih, and the war seriously depleted the state finance. The court had to take contributions from members of the imperial clan, and the local government had to borrow money
amounting to one hundred million ch'ien (cash) in aid of this crisis. Yet the worst was that the local government took the opportunity to rob and add still more burdens of levy on the common people. The people were faced with increased economic hardship, and soaring inflation and government levies continued to generate mounting social tension. In addition to the financial crisis, the Ch'iang war also cost hundreds of thousands of lives. The Han-kuan yi of Ying Shao says that in 105 the population of the empire had 53,256,229 individuals, and, surprising enough, two decades later, in 125, the rate of population not only did not grow up but decreased about 3.5 million to 49,690,789. All these hardships are reflected in the huge surge of portents memorialised from 116 to 117.

Between 118, when the Ch'iang war was over, and 123, the scholar-officials in the court appeared quite happy with the government. For the court was now launched on a program of reconstruction for the war-worn empire and its economy. The government was planning a return to Central Asia, and the illegitimate rule of the Lady Teng had been ended with her death in 121. In view of this, there were very few portents (from three to six cases a year) reported to the throne. The exceptional year was 119, with eleven items, mostly attributed to the death of Lady Teng and the downfall of her family.

However, not long afterwards, in the last two years (124 and 125) of the reign of Emperor An, he received not only a huge number of unfavourable portents but also several auspicious ones. One party memorialised a series of auspicious omens so
as to honour the government of Emperor An, while the other party, based on unfavourable portents, sent in a steady barrage of critical memorials and provocative demonstrations against the unwise trust which Emperor An placed on the palace eunuchs, Fan Feng and his associates, and the wet-nurse Wang Sheng. They strongly criticised the unjust decision to dethrone the Heir-apparent Liu Pao and to dismiss the loyal Grand Commandant Yang Chen.

The above analysis is largely based on the interpretations given by Ssu-ma Piao in his Treatises of Astronomy and on the Five Elements, which is the generally accepted answer about this peak in the reign of Emperor An. It should, however, be borne in mind that not all the interpretations by Ssu-ma Piao in the Treatises would have agreed with the initial interpretations offered by astrologers or scholar-officials at the time. Generally speaking, an unlucky portent may be taken as a warning against the misrule of the central government, but the ruler could easily remove the responsibility onto the shoulders of his ministers and the administrative heads of the local government. For the Shang-shu ta-chuan says,

When there are inauspicious vapours, and the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth are neglected, mountains and rivers not prayed to; wind and rain not in season, and frost and snow fail to come down, the minister of Heaven is held answerable. When officers frequently assassinate their prince, and illegitimate sons murder their progenitor, the five relationships being in discord, the minister of Men is made responsible. When the city walls are not refitted,
and ditches and moats in bad repair, the springs not flowing, and the people visited with floods, then the minister of Earth bears the responsibility.\(^30\)

The minister of Heaven refers to the Grand Commandant, the minister of Men indicates the Minister over the Masses, and the minister of Earth suggests the Minister of Works.\(^31\) Hence, this passage provides the ruler a theoretical base in redirecting a portent, which in fact was designed as a warning to him, to his Three Dukes. During the reign of Emperor An, there were a total of six dukes dismissed on accounts of portents.

And again, the *Yen-t'ieh lun* says that, "When ministers are not ministers, then the Yin and the Yang are out of harmony, and there are disturbances of the sun and moon".\(^32\) This supplies the ruler with means to divert the warnings of portents against them to the local government. In view of this, we are informed that Huang Hsiang, who was appointed as Grand Administrator of the Wei Commandery in 106, was later dismissed on account of a flood.\(^33\)

Furthermore, there is one good instance which may illustrate how a unfavourable portent against misrule could be converted as a means to gain credit for the government. In the summer of 108, there was a drought. This drought was first regarded as a warning against the cruel government of Lady Teng for not burying the bodies of convicted labourers and for allowing them to be exposed outside the imperial Lo-yang city. The *Hou Han shu* says that after the Intendant of Ho-nan Chou
Ch'ang collected and buried these exposed bodies, a great rain fell in torrents. As a result Chou Ch'ang was promoted as the Superintendent of the Imperial Household.

However, if we read the biography of Lady Teng and the annals of Emperor An, we discover that the rain was claimed to be the result of the kindness shown by Lady Teng when she visited the Lo-yang and the Hunting Dog (jo-lu yu) Prisons and settled some of the unjust cases. With skilful technique the Empress-dowager née Teng reversed a portent against her misgovernment proclaiming how well she looked after the welfare of the convicts in the prison. It is obvious that the latter interpretation in favour of Lady Teng derived from the Ch'ang-lo kung chu (Records of the Ch'ang-lo Palace) and Shen-te sung (Hymn to Wisdom and Virtue), which were compiled sometime after 118 in order to honour the merits of Lady Teng. The historian Fan Yeh, while composing his history, evidently adopted two different sources: in both the annals and the biography of Lady Teng he used the records of Ch'ang-lo kung chu and Shen-te sung, while in the biography of Chou Ch'ang he used other source, probably the Tung-kuan Han-chi.

The case of major contradiction in the numbers of favourable and unfavourable portents in the last two years of the reign of Emperor An is an illustration of how two rival political parties used portents as their political machinery in a power struggle. We have already mentioned that the unfavourable portent memorialised during the time of Emperor An
did not in fact reflect the disorder of the nature, for they were manipulated by man. This can also apply to the memorialising of auspicious portents, and Fan Yeh himself, in his *Hsü-li* 'Introduction' to the *Hou Han shu*, says,

Speaking about auspicious responses, those memorialised before the reign of Emperor Ho appeared to be true because the governments were generally good. I therefore record that such a lucky omen appeared at a certain place (chien yü mou ch'ü 見於某處). From the time of Emperor An onwards, however, they appeared to be false because the Way of these rulers was declining and deficient. I therefore record them as memorialised from certain place (mou-ch'ü shang-yen 處某上言). 36

In the annals of Emperor An, twelve auspicious portents are recorded. Of these, only one case was memorialised during the fifteen years' rule of Lady Teng. That was from the local authority of Tung-p'ing-lu 東平陸, who memorialised about an omen of trees with interlocked branches (mu liang-li 杉連理) in 116. The remaining eleven cases took place within the short span of four years, while Emperor An was effective ruler. This is a contrast to the historic appraisals on the merits of the two rulers given by Wang Fu (ca.90-Ca.165) in his *Ch'ien-fu lun*. Wang Fu admired Lady Teng for her devotion and sacrifice to the state and the common people, especially in the great economic depression. On the other hand, he strongly criticised the misrule of Emperor An. 37 What then, is the explanation for the favourable portents?
In his *Ho-hsi Teng-hou shih-yi* and *Shi hsi hou shih*， the Later Han historian Ts'ai Yung (133-192) remarks that there were auspicious omens reported from various commanderies and kingdoms during the regency of Lady Teng. But, he added, Lady Teng stopped them and therefore did not announce them. Considering the nature of eulogistic writing we should have some doubt on the authentic value of this story. The *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shan-sung (d.401) has preserved an interesting item which in fact illustrates how eager Lady Teng was to seek astrological support for her family's control of the empire. Lady Teng first showed her favour to Yang Hou, a celebrated expert in prognostication and apocryphal books of that time, for his excellent interpretations of the flood and a celestial prodigy in 109 B.C. and appointed him as a Gentleman of the Household. On a later occasion, however, Lady Teng asked him in court whether or not her brother Teng Chih corresponded to the *Fu-hsin* (81 Ursae Majoris), a star that encloses the head of the *Pei-tou* constellation. Astrologically, this star was believed to be the one that assisted *Pei-tou* to fulfil its function, and it thus symbolises a prime minister. The history informs us that Yang Hou rejected the suggestion, and Lady Teng had him dismissed from office. This is good evidence that although Lady Teng attempted to discourage the portent astrology advocated by the New Text Confucianism (see below) she still looked for something to support her family's control of the empire.

The second evidence which discredits the statement of
Ts'ai Yung can perhaps be found in *Hou Han shu* of Fan Yeh. The history records that in 119 there were fabulous plants (*chih-ts'ao*) sprouting in Yü-chang commandery. The Grand Administrator Liu Chih regarded it as a lucky omen and wished to memorialise it to the throne, presumably in the hope of receiving some reward. He asked T'ang T'an, a graduate of the Imperial University and an expert in astrology and prognostication, to confirm the favourable interpretation. T'ang T'an objected that the omen was not auspicious because it happened at a time when power was illegally taken by Lady Teng and her family. Heeding the advice of T'ang T'an, the Grand Administrator did not memorialise that portent to the court.

Obviously, it was difficult for Lady Teng to receive auspicious portents to support her rule. Not only did the local administrative heads such as Liu Chih refuse to report auspicious portents to her, even if there were any, but the apocryphal texts provided no theoretical backing for a female ruler.

From this point of view, the case of Emperor An was not too bad. What he needed to do was encourage local government to report fortunate omens and make an interpretation in accordance with the apocryphal texts in order to honour his reign and at the same time cancel out the mass of unfavourable portents that flooded in from his opponents. The *Hou Han shu* of Hsieh Ch'eng says that when the Chancellor of Chi-nan Po-li Sung memorialised the fall of sweet dew (or *manna*) in his commandery, Emperor An rewarded him by
promoting him as Grand Herald. This strategy certainly invited responses from the court flatterers and, as a result, a series of lucky omens were memorialised one after another from 123 to 125, with a notable peak in 124 (eight entries).

There is, of course, a major question in interpreting portents. In order to judge what is auspicious, the memorialist must first define the unlucky. And the criterion depends entirely on the political situation and the political stance of the interpreter and the memorialist at that time. Hence, the interpretation of portents reflected the power struggle of two rival parties and was a very subjective matter. In the Roman empire, the appearance of a comet was generally regarded as a omen of grave event. For instance, an astrologer Balbillus interpreted the comet of 60 A.D. as an unlucky sign. But in 64 A.D., on the very eve of massive military rebellions the court flatterer Seneca produced an optimistic interpretation of a comet as a sign of the good things which "have been seen in the most happy reign of Nero". And the case in the reign of Emperor An in China, especially regarding the portents memorialised in the year 124, was not dissimilar.

In that year, Emperor An, thinking to rid himself of the oppression of the late Lady Teng and her family, intended to restore the prestige of the imperial Liu house. As he was preparing for his first imperial tour of inspection to the eastern part of the empire, a dramatic story was announced. On the day Yen-kuang 3:2:chi-ch'ou (28.III.124), the local government of Chi-nan commandery memorialised that phoénixes
had alighted on the trees in the mansion of Huo Shou, a Prefect of T'ai Prefecture. The day of the event strongly attracts our attention, for it was the same day that Emperor An arrived at the Ling-t'ai (Spiritual Tower), the imperial astronomical observatory, and the day before the emperor paid his sacrifice to Emperor Yao, a legendary ruler who was claimed as a forefather of the Liu family. This is certainly no coincidence. Considering that the apocryphal text *Shang-shu chung-hou* describes how auspicious omens appeared when Emperor Yao made his tour of inspection to the east, one may believe that Emperor An felt it necessary to retell the old anecdote of Emperor Yao in order to reconfirm his legendary prestige and use them as a sign of heavenly approval for his rule. If we allow this explanation, it is axiomatic to believe that the event was deliberately arranged for political propaganda. The *Tung-hsün sung* (Eulogy on the Eastern Imperial Tour) by the courtier Chang Heng (78-139), who was then a Prefect of the Major in Charge of Official Chariots, has preserved a detailed and dramatic description of how Emperor An arrived at the Ming-t'ang (Sacred Hall), a locus for important state sacrifices, on the day *jen-ch'en* (31.III.124: three days after the report of the phoenixes) he emphasised the auspicious omens by submitting his thanks to the Sovereign on High:

*Alas! A worthless man (such as me) has become a lord of Heaven and Earth. Trembling with fear, I govern hundreds of officials. My heart (secretly asks:) "Was this my merit?" The spirit of the Sovereign on High has not*
disapproved of my authority. How can I dare not to receive the responsibility with reverence? All the officials who make sacrifice with me at this altar have said, "(We) cherish our lord of the state. Indeed, may the imperial ancestors and forefathers of the imperial family support him.

After the prayer, all the ministers praised the rule of the emperor,

The Way of the emperor flows over all, even across the surface of the seas. When a man has the right Way (to govern the empire), hundreds of thousands of people will rely upon him. Those who follow on the tour of inspection and assist at the sacrifices all regard (the appearance of phoenixes) as an auspicious sign.

Then they sang,

How magnificent the phoenixes.
Linked to the mystery, they know its time.
They gathered together at the foot of the mountain,
to meet the emperor's coming.
Auspicious events must have a sign,
and this is the blessing of Han.

The thanksgiving ceremony ended with a statement by Emperor An.

(Although) I dare not venture (to admit that I am a worthy ruler), yet I also dare not to conceal the auspicious orders from Heaven.

From this description we may note how greatly Emperor An valued portents as a political weapon of propaganda for his rule.
On the other hand, the opposition group of scholar-officials, who protested the misrule of the emperor, interpreted this portent as inauspicious. Basing themselves on the apocryphal text Yüeh-wei hsieh-t'ü-cheng (The Apocryphal Treatise on Music: a Graphic Representation of Its Harmonies), they argued that it had come as a sign of the unjust decisions made by Emperor An, to dethrone his Heir-apparent and dismiss the Grand Commandant Yang Chen. This is a typical instance of how the interpretation of a portent could be used for different political interests by memorialists or by the court flatterers.

In memorialising and interpreting the portent, the Prefect Grand Clerk played an important role. He appears to have been a person with some control and influence on the memorialising of portents. To a certain extent, he could conceal the fabrication of a portent, and he was the official who interpreted a portent to the throne. Hence, the political stand of the Prefect Grand Clerk at least had influenced his astrological interpretation. After correlation of the record of lunar eclipses recorded in the Hou Han shu and Oppolzer's Canon, Nathan Sivin in his 'Cosmos and Computation in Early Chinese Mathematical Astronomy' arrives at the conclusion that at least in the second half of the second century A.D. (notably in the reign of Emperor Huan) the memorialising of portents was manipulated by political groups and could be disregarded at will. His conclusion is supported by Rafe de Crespigny. In his Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty: the
Memorials of Hsiang K'ai to Emperor Huan, Dr. de Crespigny has mentioned the invention of a solar eclipse of 19.VII.152, presumably used by court officials as a criticism of the usurpation of the power of the Liang consort family, and in the biography of Yang Ping, I find another fabrication.

According to this text, after the destruction of the powerful Liang family in 159, the government of Emperor Huan was dominated by eunuchs and their relatives. Sometime in 160, the Intendant of Ho-nan Yang Ping, effective controller of the civil administration inside the Lo-yang city and in charge of regular police duty, arrested Jen Fang, who had been sent by Shan K'uang to kill the Attendant Official of Yen Province Wei Yü. To prevent a thorough investigation by Yang Ping, Shan K'uang secretly ordered Jan Fang to escape from the prison. Jen Fang did succeed in his escape and fled away. This brought Yang Ping to be punished by the court as a convict under the Controller of the Left for delinquency in duty. However, the punishment of Yang Ping brought protest from the scholar-officials who stood against the party of eunuchs. Not long afterwards, therefore, the Grand Administrator of T'ai-shan, Huang-fu Kuei, basing himself on a recent solar eclipse, filed an appeal on behalf of Yang Ping. His appeal was heeded. Yang Ping was released from the convicted labour camp and took the office of Grand Master of Ceremonies, most probably sometime after the fourth month (13.V-10.VI) of 161.

The date when Huang-fu Kuei submitted his memorial must be sometime in between the eleventh month (16.XII.160-14.I.161)
of the third year of Yen-hsi, when Huang-fu Kuei became the
Grand Administrator of T'ai-shan, and the fourth month of the
fourth year of Yeh-hsi (13.V-10.VI.161) when Yang Ping accepted
the office of Grand Master of Ceremonies. This means that
the solar eclipse referred to by Huang-fu Kuei should be dated
between 16.XII.160 and 10.VI.161. Checking Oppolzer's Canon,
we find that only one eclipse took place within the period in
question, and that was eclipse No. 3283 which was visible from
North America on 12.V.161.51 So we may be sure that the
eclipse used by Huang-fu Kuei was a fabrication, or perhaps based
on theoretical calculations, without actual observation.
Such fabrications indicate that the memorialists must first
have obtained agreement from the Prefect Grand Clerk before
they mentioned such a dubious portent in memorials. And the
only reason for the Prefect Grand Clerk to accept the use of
an invented eclipse was his common political stand against the
eunuchs.

This case, however, may not be applied to the reign of
Emperor An. Modern astronomical calculations show that the
twelve eclipses memorialised during the time of Emperor An were
all faithfully recorded. No fabrication has been detected.
This can perhaps be attributed to the attitude of the Prefect
Grand Clerk of that time. Except for Chang Heng, we do not
know who held the office of the Prefect Grand Clerk in the reign
of Emperor An. According to Sun Wen-ch'ing, Chang Heng
occupied the office of Prefect Grand Clerk from 115 till 121,
when the Teng family was destroyed. Politically, he appeared
to have no strong objection to the monopoly of harem politics
by the Teng family, a suggestion that is attested by the fact that after the downfall of the Teng family he was soon removed from the office of Prefect Grand Clerk.\textsuperscript{52} By understanding this, one would not expect there to be any fabrications allowed by Chang Heng for use as warnings against the regency of Lady Teng, which was, after all, the main cause of resentment among the scholar-officials of that time.

Conclusion:

So we have come to the conclusion of this thesis. The reader who has followed so far may ask himself to what extent the memorialists and their rulers believed that portents were sent down by Heaven in response to the good and bad government in the terrestrial world? To answer this question we must first examine how much they placed their trust in the beliefs of portent astrology advocated by the apocryphal literature of New Text Confucianism.

One of the most important points of the apocryphal literature, which in fact was the chief reason that the Later Han court favoured these works and accepted them as inner or esoteric study (\textit{nei-hsüeh 内學}), concerned the preparation of the Heavenly mandate by Confucius and its transmission to the future imperial Liu house. Focusing on this political propaganda, the New Text Confucianists pictured Confucius as an extraordinary man both in birth and in life. The stories feel that Confucius' mother had intercourse with the Black Emperor and later gave birth to Confucius in a hollow mulberry-tree. Though born to be a king, Confucius did not actually
hold power in the empire only because the theory of Coming into Being and Passing Away of the Five Elements (Wu-te chung-shih shuo 五德终始说) required that he who possessed the power of Wood could succeed to the Chou dynasty while Confucius had the power of Water. So Confucius was the Titular King (Su-wang 素王), and he composed the chronicle Ch'un-ch'iu, which established the mandate for the imperial Liu family to rule the empire in future.53

All this supernatural authority of Confucius, however, was utterly destroyed during the first years of Later Han. The key reason may be attributed to the spread of the great history Shih-chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. During Former Han time, the history was regarded as a work dangerous to the interests of the court and was therefore banned to the officials and the common people. In the 80s B.C. there was only one duplicate manuscript kept in the T'ien-lu Pavilion 天禄阁 or the Shih-ch'ii Pavilion, and officials who wished to read it have to ask for special permission from the court. The Han shu of Pan Ku records one case when the Thoughtful King of Tung-p'ing 東平思王, Liu Yu 魯, was turned down by the court when he applied to study the Shih-chi.54 This ban was still maintained in the time of Emperor Kuang-wu, and the Hou-Han shu says that Tou Jung 富高, once a powerful warlord in the western part of the Kansu corridor, was granted special imperial favour to read a few chapters of Shih-chi concerning ancestors of his family.55 Not long afterwards, however, the ban appears to have been lifted, probably in the reign of Emperor Chang, who sympathized with the Old Text teachings. The reason was that Ssu-ma Ch'ien had adopted material from
Tso-chuan, a doctrine introduced by the Old Text Confucianists. And, as a result, copies of the Shih-chi began to appear in the bookshops of the imperial city of Lo-yang, and scholars such as Yen Tu (83-167), Fu Ch'ien (fl. 189) and Ying Shao were able to write commentaries on it.56

Certainly, the circulation of Shih-chi produced a direct and positive effect in encouraging the growing rationalist tendencies shown by the general interest in the Old Text School and by the writings of Chia K'uei and Wang Ch'ung. At the same time, the supernatural authority of both Confucius and the imperial Liu family was crushed. In his chapter on the Hereditary House of Confucius in Shih-chi, Ssu-ma Ch'ien supplies his readers with a shocking story, saying that the birth of Confucius came as the result of an illicit connection (yeh-ho) between his father Shu-liang Ho and a girl of the Yen family. Probably because of this illegitimate relationship, his mother concealed from him this fact, so that Confucius was ignorant of his father and also of his father's burial place.57 This story was a heavy blow to the fundamental base of the whole theory of the New Text School. It is strongly reflected in the Lun heng, a work of the famous skeptic and rationalist Wang Ch'ung. In his chapter entitled Shih-chih (The Real Nature of Knowledge) Wang Ch'ung bases himself on the record of Shih-chi and announces that if Confucius did not even know who his father was then how could he have prophesied the rise and fall of the Ch'in empire or the writing of Tung Chung-shu who followed the tradition laid down in his Ch'un-ch'iu.58
Another heavy blow to the New Text School and its apocryphal texts through the circulation of *Shih-chi* was in relation to their claim that the imperial Liu family was the descendent of Emperor Yao 耸 who had possessed the power of Fire. At the very beginning of *Shih-chi*, Ssu-ma Ch'ien gives the sequence of the five emperors as below: 1) Yellow Emperor 2) Chuan Hsü 顓頊 3) Emperor K'u 謙 4) Emperor Yao and 5) Emperor Shun 尧. If this was the case, and since the Yellow Emperor was believed to have the power of Earth, then when it came to Emperor Yao, he would be in possession of Wood rather than of Fire. And if Emperor Yao was not in possession of the power of Fire, neither was the imperial Liu house. This was clearly pointed out by the Old Text scholar Chia K'uei (fl.30-101) in the reign of Emperor Chang. Chia K'uei suggested to the throne that the only way to solve this historic problem was to encourage the teaching of the *Tso-chuan*. The reason presented by him was very simple: Since the *Tso-chuan* has claimed that the one who succeeded to the throne of the Yellow Emperor was Shao Hao 少皞, it was therefore correct to insert Shao Hao in the imperial succession as the equivalent of Emperor Hsüan 孝宣 in the apocryphal text, and this would return Emperor Yao to the place with the power of Fire. Chia K'uei's suggestion gained the favour of Emperor Chang. Three years later, however, the Old Text School appeared to be overcome by the New Text School at the imperial conference held at the White Tiger Hall in 79. As a result, about half a century later, Chang Heng had again suggested to Emperor An that there were more than ten instances of statements in *Shih-chi* and *Han shu* (many of
whose chapters were closely related to those of Shih-chi) which appeared to have conflicts with other works. And one of the instances Chang Heng remarked upon was that, according to a statement of the Chou shu (a work now lost), Shao Hao was the direct successor of the Yellow Emperor. He urged the court to make an official amendment of the record of Shi-chi and Han shu. 61

After seeing how the record of Shi-chi had destroyed the base of the New Text School and its apocryphal literature, one would tend to think that there must have been some bad effect on the development of the New Text superstitions. Surprising enough, however, the facts seem quite the opposite. In terms of favourable omens, one may come to the conclusion that the supernatural belief was not only not suppressed by the growing tendencies of the rationalists, but even continued to develop and became more systematic. In the Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu, attributed to Tung Chung-shu, only a few categories of favourable omens were mentioned, but in 79 the official conference at the White Tiger Hall increased the number to twenty-eight, and the stone relief of Wu Liang Shrin (ca. 147) and the wall painting at the tomb in Ho-lin-ko-erh added to a total of forty-nine. 62 This was a sign of the victory of the moral position of the New Text School, and of the success of the Reformists in establishing a moral position as critics. The continuing development of portent astrology in Later Han confirmed the rights to criticise the ruler with impunity. It was a meaningful triumph for the Reformist officials, and
secured for them a recognition of moral and censorial authority.

Apart from the purpose of maintaining the right to censure the ruler, there was still another reason which made supernatural belief, however unfounded and discredited intellectually, to extend and develop. More often than not, officials could use portents and astrology as a means to get promotion and imperial approval. The stele *Ssu San-kung shan pei* says that when the Chancellor of Ch'ang-shan Mr Feng was appointed to rule that commandery in 117, the economy had been devastated by the revolt of the Ch'iang and by natural disasters, but because he gained the favour of the spirits of the mountains, timely rains brought his territory a good harvest, so much so that a tou of grain costed only three cash. The memorial tablet *Li Hsi hsi-hsia sung* erected in 171, states that when the Grand Administrator of Wu-tu Li Hsi was in office, his good and kind government resulted in the occurrence of favourable portents such as a yellow dragon, auspicious grain, trees with interlocked branches and sweet dew. This was actually quite untrue. The *Hou Han shu* tells us that Li Hsi was a cruel and undisciplined administrator. He killed surrendered Ch'iang tribesmen; he relied upon his influence to break the law; and he was eventually impeached by Huang-fu Kuei and dismissed from office. Obviously, the local officials, whether good or bad, knew that an effective way to gain the appreciation of the emperor depended on the reporting of favourable portents (even though the emperor himself did not believe in them). The case of the Chancellor of Chi-nan Po-li Sung, who achieved the high
opinion of Emperor An and was therefore summoned to the court as Grand Herald surely became a precedent for other local officials to follow.

So we may observe that the supernatural authority of the Later Han ruler, which had been built upon the mysterious stories of Confucius and the imperial Liu house as descendents of Emperor Yao, had been severely discredited by the spread of Shih-chi. And in the first years of the Later Han dynasty, the people began to distrust the whole theory of apocryphal Confucianism. Yet the custom of critising the government through unfavourable portents and obtaining awards from the court in the case of favourable portents was still carried on and even expanded.

Next, we may consider the rulers' attitudes towards portents and astrology. Since there were two effective rulers during the reign of Emperor An and their attitudes appeared somewhat different with each other, I discuss them separately.

It may be suggested that there are two significant keynotes in the apocryphal texts. These are: first, a full and strong support for the imperial Liu house by legitimising the descent from Emperor Yao and the prophesy of Confucius; and second, a full and strong objection to women assuming political control of the state. For Lady Teng, the second point was a stumbling-block to the regency.

We may note that the T'and Empress Wu Chao, natural mother of the commentator of Hou Han shu Li Hsien, was able to discover a Mahayana sutras Ta-yün-ching 大雲經 (The Great Cloud Sutras, Mahamegha-sutra) to justify her assuming
acts for becoming an effective female ruler after the death of Emperor Kao-tsung in 683. In this Ta-yün-ching, there are two stories. One says that Buddha allowed a female divinity named Ching-kuang 釈光 to be reborn as a universal ruler. The other says Buddha predicted that seven hundred years after his achievement of nirvana, a girl would be chosen to be a ruler after the death of her father the king. It was these two stories that made the monk Huai-yi 惠義 suggest to the Empress that she was the incarnation of Maitreya on earth and therefore qualified to hold the government. The T'ang history says that Empress Wu Chao then ordered the Ta-yün-ching to be circulated throughout the empire and a Ta-yün Temple to be built under official auspices in each of the two capitals and in all the prefectures of the empire. 66

The Lady Teng of Later Han, of course, was unable to seek such splendid authority from the Buddhist canons. Although Buddhism had been introduced into China at least one century before the time of Lady Teng, 67 the Chinese translation of the Ta-yün-ching was not produced until the fourth century A.D. by Dharmakshema and another Chinese monk Chu Fo-nien 竺佛念. 68 Hence, Lady Teng had to find some way to remove the influence of this philosophical objection to her regency, and at the same time to introduce some other school of thought to fill the vacuum of the official orthodox cult.

The Han history has clearly indicated that immediately after the regency of Lady Teng, she totally discarded the teachings of New Text Confucianism. The Imperial University, where the doctrines of New Text Confucianism were taught, was
left to moulder into serious disrepair. It was not until 131 that a large-scale renovation, involving 112,000 convicts and workmen, was ordered by Emperor Shun. The immediate consequence of the neglect by Lady Teng was a decline in the scholarly activities of Confucianists, both quality and quantity. The Gentleman in the Office of the Masters of Writing Fan Chun witnessed the lack of vitality. He worried about the situation and protested to the court:

... Now scholars (in the capital) are generally few in number and in distant regions the situation is even more severe. The Erudits lean on their mats without lecturing. The Confucianists quarrelsomely discuss frivolous elegancies. They have forgotten candid loyalty (but) they study flattering phraseology. And as for the civil officials, they discard the laws and regulations and they study deception....

Anciently Emperor Wen's Empress Tou by nature was fond of Huang-Lao and the influence of purity and quietude extended to the times of Emperors Ching and Wu. Your servant stupidly considers that you ought to send down an enlightening decree to seek broadly for those who are darkly hidden (so as to have them) leave their mountains and caves. You should (also) favour and advance outstanding Confucianists such as....

The intention of Fan Chun's memorial was two-fold: first, he suggested to Lady Teng, that she should follow the Empress-dowager née Tou in adopting the teaching of Huang-Lao as an applied political principle; and secondly, he suggested a
resurrection of Confucianism (not in the sense of New Text Confucianism but that of Old Text). His suggestion did inspire Lady Teng to inflict a further attack on New Text Confucianism. Immediately after hearing the memorial of Fan Chun, the court began to extend its influence with summons for officials and scholars with good qualities such as Sincere and Upright (fang-cheng 方正), Sincere and Straightforward (tun-p'u 模謨) and Benevolent and Capable (jen-hsien 仁賢).

And the court embarked on its patronage of Huang-Lao teaching to such an extent that the bureau of history Tung-kuan was referred to by scholars as Mr. Lao's Repository and as the P'eng-lai Mountains of the Taoists. So the scholars and officials at that time neglected the study of New Text Confucianism and followed that of Taoism as advocated by Modernist politicians and officials. In other words, when an official such as Chang Heng wished to obtain a position in the Tung-kuan he had to give praise for cultural policy of the court. Fragments of the application letter of Chang Heng to the Specially Advanced (presumably Teng Chih) says, P'eng-lai is the mysterious office of the (Prefect) Grand Clerk. It is regarded highly by Taoists. It will be excellent if I may be re-employed (in the bureau).

As we have already noted, the Huang-Lao Taoism emphasised monolithic unanimity and the unchallengeable position of a ruler. This was the major reason for Lady Teng to reintroduce such a school of thought after its neglect by the court for some two and a half centuries. Huang-Lao Taoism was a replacement
for New Text Confucianism, and became a useful political instrument against the apocryphal literature.

However, when Emperor An exercised personal government after the death of Lady Teng, he entirely reversed this policy. The annals of *Hou Han shu* remark that while on his way for the inspection tour to the eastern part of the empire, Emperor An sent envoys to offer sacrifice to Emperor Yao at Ch’eng-yang. A few days later, on Yen-kuang 3:3:wu-hsü (6.IV.124), the emperor personally offered worship to Confucius and his seventy-two disciples. All these strongly indicate that Emperor An was attempting to restore the official orthodox position of the New Text Confucianism, which provided the imperial Liu family with a supernatural authority prophesied by Confucius. Yet we should bear in mind that this does not mean Emperor An believed in portents as signs of approval or disapproval from the Heaven towards his government. Instead, he simply took them as a political vehicle to run his empire.

From the above analysis, we may now draw a conclusion. As far as the first half of the second century A.D. was concerned, though we find no direct evidence about any fabrication of portents, it is obvious that the memorialising of a portent was controlled less by the actual event than by the decision of the memorialist. In view of this, one can take the number of portents appearing in the histogram as an indication of the social and political stability of the empire. The greater the number of portents memorialised, the greater the unpopularity of the government and the disorder and weakness of the state.

Moreover, the highest number of portents memorialised
during the reign of Emperor An signalled the victory of the officials who based themselves on the theory of New Text Confucianism. And this naturally constituted a potential threat to the throne, which certainly forced the ruler, whether a female ruler from the imperial consort family or the legitimate male ruler from the imperial Liu family, to attempt some counter-attacks. In these counter-attacks, Lady Teng and Emperor An employed different strategies. The female ruler adopted a direct and radical policy by attempting to expel New Text Confucianism from its official and orthodox place and to replace it with another school of thought. This strategy was later followed by the regent Empress-dowager née Liang and her brother Liang Chi when they controlled the government at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan from 147 to 150. During her rule, Lady Liang totally discarded the teachings of Confucianism and introduced Taoism instead, so much so that a temple to Lao-tzu was constructed under imperial auspices at the legendary birthplace of the sage in Hu^" prefecture in Ch'en kingdom. And in contrast, the Liang group quite neglected the temple of Confucius and the worship to him. The stele K'ung-miao chih shou pai-shih K'ung Ho pei reveals that on Yüan-chia 3 (=Yung-hsing 1);3:jen-yin (5.V.153) the Grand Minister over the Masses Tso Hsiung and the Grand Minister of Works Chao Chiai had to file an appeal to the throne complaining about the disregard for the maintenance of Confucius' temple and the sacrifice to the sage.

Again, this strategy was followed by Empress-dowager née Tou of Emperor Huan, who was backed by her father Tou Wu.
and his allies in the bureaucracy, and acted as a regent from 168 to 172. The Lu-hsiang Shih Ch'en ssu k'ung-miao tsou-ming stone inscription, erected in 170, presents another picture of how the female ruler deserted the temple of Confucius and the sacrifice to him. On Chien-ning 2:3: chi-yu (21.IV.169) the Chancellor of Lu kingdom Shih Ch'en together with the Chief Clerk Ch'ien submitted a joint memorial about the sad situation of the Confucius' temple. They claimed that when Ch'ien paid the autumn sacrifice to Confucius in 168, he saw no wine and meat offered by the court, and so he had to offer some money from their own salaries in order to supplement the sacrifice to the sage.

Emperor An and other legitimate rulers of the Liu family could use different lines of strategy. Undoubtedly, these rulers realised that there deficiencies in the theories of New Text Confucianism and apocryphal literature. Yet, to use an analogy, the imperial Liu house was like a man with only one threadbare garment. As we know, from Emperor Chang onwards, the rulers of Later Han tried to improve their clothing by introducing the Old Text Confucianism to replace the threadbare doctrines of the New Text. But they proved too weak in their struggle against the New Text scholars, so, they had no way but to follow the current, and try to arrange favourable portents to assist their shattered claims for supernatural authority.

This situation, came to its end in 220, when the prestige of Later Han was exhausted and claim to virtue and power was seized by Ts'ao P'i, who established the state of Wei. In the stone inscriptions Wei kung-ch'in shang tsun-hao tsou 魏公卿
sought to cover his naked political ambition with the same
doubtful garment, announcing that hundreds of thousands of
auspicious portents had clearly indicated that his seizure of
his throne was favoured by Heaven. An in that very year he
ordered the temple of Confucius to be repaired, and appointed
an official with salary of one hundred shih to be in charge of
the premises. K'ung Hsien 魯, descendant of Confucius in the
twenty-first generation, was appointed as Marquis of the
Ancestral Sage (tsung-sheng hou 宗聖侯). 80

Finally, let me end up my thesis in the following
terms. The greatest number of both favourable and unfavourable
portents memorialised during the time of Emperor An indeed
present a major contradiction. This contradiction should be
seen as a consequence of the political and philosophical
struggle between two changing rivalries, the female regent and
male emperor who governed in turn, the various scholar-officials
who supported their rule and the memorialists who disapproved of
the government.
CHAPTER III

1. Shih-chi 121 (lieh-chuan 61), 6b-7a.

2. Michael Loewe, Crisis and Conflict in Han China, pp.11-14.

3. This view was followed by New Text Confucianists, for example, in one of the apocryphal literature Shang-shu chung-hou 為書中候. See Pi Hsi-jui 皮錫瑞, Shang-shu chung-hou shu-cheng 炎煌, 20b, 22a, 23a-b, and 25a.


6. See, for example, Tung Chung-shu, Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu 30, 8:13b-14b, translated in Wn. Theodore de Bary and others, Sources of Chinese Tradition (Columbia U.P., New York, 1961), pp.187-188. Some modern scholars have questioned the authenticity of Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu as an early Han text, but the teachings of Tung Chung-shu are well known through the three memorials preserved in his biography in Han shu.

7. P'i Hsi-yui 皮錫瑞, Shang-shu chung-hou shu-cheng 20b-30a. The personal name of T'ang given in the text as T'ien-yi 天乙 which is evidently wrong. The oracle bone inscription of Yin-Shang dynasty so far have been unearthed clearly that it should be Ta-yi 大乙. See Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin pu-tz'u chung so-chien hsien-kung hsien-wang 景卜辞中所見先公先王" in Kuan-t'ang chi-lin 9, 10a-b.


10. HHS chih 11 and HHS chih 13 to 18.
11. For the figures of the portents memorialised during the reigns of Emperor Ai and Wang Mang, see de Crespigny, Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-167 A.D., note 39 on p.xii.

12. HHS chih 11, 12b-15b, records Ying-huo 火 (Mars) entered five times into the constellation Yu-kuei in 115, 116, 117 and 119; while the Sui-hsing 威星 (Jupiter) twice in 116 and 117; T'ai-pa 右日 (Venus) three times in 110, 117 and 119; Ch'en-hsing 启星 (Mercury) and Chen-hsing 銮星 (Saturn) once in 118.

13. R. Hiranaka, Shugoku Kodai no Densei to Zeicho, pp.174-180, translated into English in "T'ien-tsu or Land Tax and Its Reduction and Exemption in Case of Natural Calamities in the Han Period (III)" in Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko 33 (1975), 152-158.

14. HHS annals 5, 3a.

15. HHS chih 13 records only five droughts took place in the time of Emperor An, I add five more according to Ku-chin chu cited in the commentary and one from HHS annals 5, 18a.

16. See, for instance, HHS 32 (lieh-chuan 22), 10a; "Ssu san-kung shan pei" 睦山碑 in Wang Ch'ang, Chin-shih ts'ui-pien 6 (Han 2), 1a-2a, and also note to the portent Item No. 9.

17. de Crespigny, Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty, pp.12 and 14.

18. HHS annals 6, 23b.


20. Wei Wen-ti lieh-yi chuan cited in Ma Hsü-lun 葛修倫, Tu Liang-Han shu chi (Shanghai, 1930), p.36. See also HHS 56 (lieh-chuan 46), 20b, and the T'ang commentary; and HHS 65 (lieh-chuan 55), 29b.

21. HHS 30B (lieh-chuan 20B), 12b. This fire appeared in HHS annals 6, 12a-b and HHS chih 14, 4a-5a.
Archaeology tells us that there were at least 522 convicted labourers that died from 9.VI.107 till the beginning of 121 during which Lady Teng was the effective ruler. Out of these tombs, there were 78 convicts that died during 29.V. to 22.VIII of 107. I presume that the tombs excavated by the Archaeologists Team of the Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica in 1964, 2.5 kilometres south of the imperial Lo-yang city, is an undeniable fact of the disregard of the health and welfare of the convicts. See Anonymous, "Tung-Han Lo-yang ch'eng nan-ch'iao
ti hsing-t'u mu-ti" 东汉洛阳城南部的刑徒墓地  in K'ao-ku
1972.4, 2-19.

35. *HHS* annals 5, 6a; *HHS* annals 10A, 29b-30a.

The compositions of *Ch'ang-lo kung chu* and *Shen-ti sung* were
approved by Emperor An in 118 following the suggestion of the Marquis
of Ping-wang Liu Yi. See *HHS* annals 10A, 32a-34a.

36. The *Hsü-lí* to the *HHS* does not survive today. It was still available
in T'ang time which allowed Li Hsieh to cite this fragment in his
commentary to *HHS* annals 5, 17b. See Tai Fan-yü, *Fan Yeh yü chi Hou
Han shu*, p.21.

37. Ch'ien-fu lun 9, 26a.

38. See *Ho-hsi Teng-hou shih-yi* in *Ts'ai Chung-lang chi* 8, 3a.

39. See note to Item No. 22.

40. Yüan Shan-sung, *Hou Han shu* 1, 11a.

41. *HHS* 82B (lieh-chuan 72B), 1b-2a.

42. Hsieh Ch'eng, *Hou Han shu* 5, 6a.

The appearances of both comets can also be found in *HHS* chih 11, 1b and 2a.

44. *HHS* annals 5, 27b, dated the event Yen-kuang 3:2:wu-tzu (27.III.124)
while the Tung-hsun sung (in *Chang Ho-chien chi* 2, 30a) has the
day chi-ch'ou (28.III). Here I follow the latter. For the explanation
of this discrepancy, see note to Item No. 18.


46. See *Chang Ho-chien chi* 2, 30a-b. The text of *Tung-hsun sung* itself does
not give the year. Sun Wen-ch'ing in his *Chang Heng nien-p'u* (p.90)
takes it as being written in 124 in honour of this particular event.
His suggestion is supported by, first, the history of HHS, and, second, by the internal evidences in the text. According to the annals of HHS, Emperor An made only one imperial tour of inspection to the east of the empire, and that was in 124. Secondly, the text of Tung-hsün sung gives the date that the emperor led his officials in offering a tsu sacrific e at the Tung Gate 東門 as being on the ping-yin day, third day of the second month (p'ei 萬). Calculation shows that the third day of the second month of Yen-kuang 3 was ping-yin. Thirdly, the text says that the emperor worshipped Shang Ti 上帝 'The Sovereign on High' at the Ming t'ang 明堂 (Sacred Hall) on the jen-ch'en day (31.III) which also accords with the annals of HHS.

47. See note to Portent Item No. 18.
49. de Crespigny, Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty, pp.44-46.
50. HHS 54 (lieh-chuan 44), 4b-5a; HHS annals 7, 16b.

Since HHS annals 7, 17a, dates the former Grand Master of Ceremonies Liu Chü 劉矩 was promoted as Grand Commandant in the fourt month of 161, the date when Yang Ping took his office should therefore be dated sometime after this.

51. See Oppolzer, Canon, p.132 and chart no. 66.
52. Sun Wen-ch'ing, Chang Heng nien-p'u, p.94.
53. See some of the fragments of apocryphal texts cited in the stone inscriptions such as Lu Hsiang Han Lai tsao k'ung-miao li-ch'i pei 魯相韓造孔廟禮器碑 (erected in Shantung in 156) Lu hsiang Shih Ch'en ssu k'ung-miao chou-ming 魯相王晨記孔廟朝奎銘 (erected in Shantung in 169) and K'ung-miao chih shou pai-shih k'ung Ho pei 孔廟志首貳史孔霍碑.
54. HS 80 (lieh-chuan 50), 26b.

55. HHS 23 (lieh-chuan13 ), 9a.

56. HHS. See Ch'en Chih 陳直, "Han Chin jen tui Shih-chi ti chuan-po chi ch'i p'ing-chia" 習普及史記的傳播及其評價 in Ssu-ch'uan ta-hsueh hsüeh-pao四川大學學報 (She-hui k'o-hsüeh 西蜀科學) 3 (1957), 41-57.

57. Shih-chi 47 (shih-chia 17), 1b-2b.

For the problem of whether or not Confucius was an illegitimate child, see, for example, Chang Shun-hui 張舜徽, Chung-kuo ku-tai shih-chi ch'iao-tu fa 中國古代史籍校譯法, pp.16-18 and Hu YU-chin 胡玉臨, Hsü-ch'ing hsüeh-lin 張騫與林 (Shanghai, 1961), pp.368-369.

58. Wang Ch'ung, Lun-heng p.519, translated by Alfred Forke, Lun Heng, Part II. Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung, pp.114-115. Forke has mistranslated the phrase 蓬仲舒亂政書 as "Tung Chung-shu carries confusion into my book". The word luan 諾 here should be read as chih 書 'study' based on the method of fan-hsün 反訓 in the study of exegesis.

59. Shih-chi 1 (pen-chi 1), 1a-3la.

60. HHS 36 (lieh-chuan 26), 21b-23a.

61. See the preface of Ku Chieh-kang 蘇頌唐 to Ku-shih pien 業, Vol. 5, pp.15-17; HHS 59 (lieh-chuan 49), 16a-b.

62. Wu Yung-ts'eng 吳榮曾, Ho-lin-k'o-erh Han-mu pi-hua chung so fa-yin ti Tung-Han she-hui sheng-huo"和林格爾漢墓壁畫中所反映漢墓社會生活 in Wen-wu 1974.1, 29. For the dating of the tomb, I follow Chin Wei-no 金維諾, "Ho-lin-k'o-erh Tung-Han pi-hua mu nien-tai ti t'an-so"和林格爾漢
63. See Chin-shih ts'ui-pien 6 (Han 2), la-2a.
64. See Chin-shih ts'ui-pien 14 (Han 10), la-2b.
65. HHS 65 (lieh-chuan 55), 6a-b.
66. See Ch'en Yin-k'o, Wu Chao yu fo-chiao in LSYY 5 (Part II) (1935), 137-147.
69. See de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China: the Great Proscription of Later Han, 167-184", p. 17.
70. See HHS annals 6, 9a. It took about ten months to complete the repairing work. The Shui-ching chu 16, 25a, cited the inscription of a stele erected in the campus of the university saying that the work involved 112,000 men and convicts. But the text miswrites the year as Yang-chia 8 (陽嘉八
年). Since the reign-period lasted only four years and the construction work actually finished in Yang-chia 1, I therefore presume that it is an error of the latter.
71. HHS 32 (lieh-chuan 22), 9a-b, translated by Jack Dull in his The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism, p. 27.
72. For the identification of the thought of Fan Chun as of Old Text Confucianism, see Jack Dull, ibid, pp. 26-28.
73. HHS 23 (lieh-chuan 13), 29a.

It may be observed that there was a current tradition which associated Lao Tzu both with the state archives and with the office of
the t'ai-shih 史 . His biography in Shih chi 63 (lieh-chuan 3), 1b, identifies him with the chief of the archives (Shou tsang shih chih shih 中藏室之史) of the Chou dynasty under King Yu (ca. B.C. 780) and also with the Grand Astrologer Tan 亖 of B.C. 350. This tradition is also followed in the Lao tzu ming (in Li shih 3, 1b) of 166. See Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu dans le Taoisme des Han, pp. 44 and 122.

75. HHS annals 5, 28a. According to Shui-ching chu 24, 14a, the tomb of Emperor Yao was situated two li west of Ch'eng-yang. During the end of Later Han the steles Meng Yu hsiu Yao-miao 逢勃修尧廟 and Ch'eng-yang ling-t'ai 陈列靈泰山 were erected in that location in memory of the so-called forefather of the imperial Liu family. The chief purpose was that of political propaganda. For the steles, see Li shih 1, la-13a.


77. Li shih 1, 25a-29a.

78. Li shih 19, 3b-10a.

79. Li shih 19, 10b-11b.

80. Li shih 19, 11b-14a.
TRANSLATION OF THE PORTENTS IN THE REIGN OF EMPEROR AN

FROM THE TREATISES OF THE FIVE ELEMENTS OF THE HOU HAN SHU

With Amendments and Annotations
The theory presented in the *Commentary to the Five Elements* and the confirmation of its prognostication have been recorded in detail in the Treatises of the Five Elements of *The Official History of the Former Han Dynasty*. In the past, the Grand Administrator of T'ai-shan Ying Shao (fl.178-196), the Official Serving Within the Palace Tung Pa (fl.220), and the Cavalier Attendant in the Department of the Regular Attendants Ch'iao Chou (199-270) together had compiled the records of disasters and portents of the time since the Chien-wu reign-period (25-55). And I am now combining (all their materials) presenting a discussion of them in order to continue the former Treatise (of *The Official History of the Former Han Dynasty*).

The *Commentary to the Five Elements* says, "(If the ruler) goes out hunting and stays away for days on end, or if he enjoys wine and feasts but offers no sacrifice (to heaven), or if his going and coming in do not accord with the proper times, or if he interferes with the seasons of farming of the people, then there will be wicked plots; in these circumstances the virtue of the element of Wood does not hold its form". This means that Wood has lost its true Nature and brings forth disasters.

The text also says, "When behaviour is disrespectful, this may be called a lack of proper gravity. The first sign is unruly behaviour; its punishment is constant rain; and if it goes too far, the final result is
ugliness. At such a time there will appear improper fashions in clothing; at such a time there will appear monstrosities among tortoises; at such a time there will appear unfortunate omens from hens; at such a time there will appear deformities which would cause the lower part of a human body to appear at its upper part when born; at such a time there will appear diseases and inauspicious portents from the colour green. In these cases, the element of Metal is attacking Wood." The exposition comments, "When (two opposite) forces contradict each other, it is termed as t’ien 'to attack'."

1. This quotation from the Wu-hsing chuan (Commentary to the Five Elements) also appears in other texts under different titles. In HS 27A (chih 7A), 36b, the same quotation is attributed simply to a work entitled Chuan. In po-hu t'ung A, 60a, a fragment of the same quotation is attributed to the Shang-shu ta-chuan. These texts evidently refer to the work known simply as Chuan, in 41 p’ien, which is listed in the Treatise of Bibliography of HS 30 (chih 10), 15a, in the Shu ching section of the classics.

Another fragment of the Wu-hsing chuan which is cited in this Treatise of the Five Elements HHS chih 17, 1b, translated on p.204 also appears in the Hou Han shu, and the same piece appears again in HS 75 (lieh-chuan 45), 19b, where it is also
attributed to the Hung-fan chuan by Hsia-hou Sheng 夏秀勝, which is an abbreviated name for Hung-fan wu-hsing chuan. Since Hung-fan is the title of a chapter of the Shu ching, it seems most probable that the Hung-fan chuan and the Hung-fan wu-hsing chuan are alternative titles for the same commentary in one section of the book entitled Shang-shu ta-chuan.

The work known as Wu-hsing chuan, then, formed a part of the commentary to the Shu ching and was scattered at appropriate points among the various sections of the Shang-shu ta-chuan.

The authorship of the Wu-hsing chuan is a question of some controversy. In his Nien-erh shih tsa-chi 2, 14a-b, Chao Yi suggests that the work was compiled by Hsia-hou Shih-ch'ang 夏秀勝. However, though HS 27 (chih 7BA), 2a, and HS 75 (lieh-chuan 45), 19a-b, tells us that Hsia-hou Shih-ch'ang was skilled in following and extending the train of argument of the Wu-hsing chuan and that he taught this to his disciple Hsia-hou Sheng, nevertheless, the Treatise of Bibliography in HS does not say that Hsia-hou Shih-ch'ang produced a Wu-hsing chuan. It refers only to his Ta Hsia-hou Chang-chü 夏秀勝, with a total of 29 chüan.

The second suggestion, from Kung Tze-chen in his Kung Tze-chen chuan-chi, p.131, argues that Wu-hsing chuan is a work of Liu Hsiang and his son Liu Hsin. This again is challenged by the evidence
of HS. HS 30 (chih 10), 15a, lists only a Wu-hsing chuan lun 論 (Discussion of the Wu-hsing chuan) by Liu Hsiang in 11 chüan. In HS 36 (lieh-chuan 6), 19b, and HS 27 (chih 7A), 36a, Pan Ku says that Liu Hsin expounded (fa-ming 發明) the (Shang-shu) ta-chuan and that he and his father taught the Wu-hsing chuan. We may note that Liu Hsiang on one occasion cited the Hung-fan chuan to criticise the Grand Astronomer at the court of King K'ang of Sung of the Warring State period for having misinterpreted a portent as being a sign of hegemony for the Sung state in future (See Hsin hsü 4, 15a-16a). However, though Liu Hsiang may have used and commented on these works, there is certainly no statement and no evidence to show that he wrote them.

In view of the weakness of these arguments, I agree with Ch'ên Shou-ch'i who follows the old tradition in concluding that the Hung-fan wu-hsing chuan was written by Fu Sheng 伏勝 (fl. 185 B.C.) and absorbed into the Shang-shu ta-chuan. There are two items of evidence to support his conclusion. First, from the Wu-hsing chuan, phrases such as shih tse yu kuei-nieh 與局和 and shih tse yu fuyao 與假亦 as cited in HHS 103 (chih 13), 2a-b, under that title are also cited in the Po-hu t'ung edited by Pan Ku as quotations from the Shang-shu ta-chuan: and I presume that this discrepancy comes
simply from the fact that Pan Ku is referring to the title of the book, not to the chapter Wu-hsing chuan by its specific name. Secondly, in Shui-ching chu 5, 41a-b, Li Tao-yüan also attributes the Shang-shu ta-chuan to Fu Sheng.

See also the same view held by Shen Chia-pen in his Hsü Han shu pa-chih pu-chu so-yin shu-mu 續漢書八志補注所引書目 in Ku-shu mu 6, 2a-3b.

2. The primary source for Pan Ku to compose the Treatise of the Five Elements of HS was a work entitled Wu-hsing chuan shuo 五行傳說 (or Hung-fan wu-hsing chuan, or Hung-fan wu-hsing chuan lun 興簡五行傳說) by Liu Hsiang 劉向 (B.C. 80-9) and his son Liu Hsin 劉歆 (d.10 A.D.) who employed the Five Elements theory to discuss disasters and portents from the Ch'un-ch'iu period (B.C.722-480) up to their own time.

3. Hunting was a common sport and amusement for the imperial and powerful families in ancient China. Stone reliefs portraying hunting scene of the Later Han time may be seen in the recent unearthed tomb at Mi-chih 米邸 in Shensi (See Anon., Mi-chih Tung-Han hua-hsiang shi-mu fa-chüeh chien-pao in Wenwu 1973: 3, 70).

There was a specific time for the emperor to hunt. According to Shuo yuan 說苑 (18,2b), a work attributed to Liu Hsiang, the imperial hunting
period was in winter and he could not take away the people's farming time in other three seasons throughout the whole year. In Tai Te's *Ta-Tai li-chi*, 2, 10a, there is reference to a still more limited time, that the imperial hunting month was the eleventh month. However, the emperors of Han followed Liu Hsiang's statement rather than the regulations of the *Ta-Tai li chi*. In Former Han, hunting expeditions were sometimes in the twelfth month and in Later Han the majority of hunts took place in the tenth month. On imperial hunting, see for example Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China*, pp.381-387.

4. In citing the text *Hung-fan* (wu-hsing) chuan, Pan Ku in his *Po-hu t'ung* (A, 60a) used the same character, $nieh$, referring to monstrosities among beasts and insects, as the text here. The primary connotation of this character, according to Hsü Shen's *Shuo-wen chieh-tze* 14B,12a, is *shu-tzu* 'son of a concubine'.

In his *Yi-chieh ching yin yi* (also known as *Ta-ch'ang yin-yi* 大繭音義) 11, 2b, Hui Lin (fl.1649) suggests that the correct word for monstrosities among beasts and insects, cited in the *Shuo-wen chieh-tze*, is $nieh$, with a $ch'ung$ 'insect' radical instead of $tze$ 'son'. The *fan-ch'ieh* pronunciation is $nieh$, which Bernhard Karlgren reads as ngaät/ngiät/nie (GSR 289h). Since the reading is the same for $nieh$, it appears that the character
was a loan word for 雨.

Item No. 1

In the reign of Emperor An, in the fourth year of Yüan-ch'u (117), in the autumn, ten of the commanderies and kingdoms had excessive rains which injured the harvest. (5a)

The compound yin雨 (= 雨) yū雨, according to the commentary given by Kuo P'u 歌璞 (276-324) in the ancient dictionary Erh ya 隱雅 5, 9b (SPPY) refers to rain lasting more than three days.

HHS annals 5, 19a, states that this excessive rain took place in the autumn in the seventh month (15.VIII-2.IX).

According to Yi hou易候 of Ching Fang成房, cited in Ch'u-hsüeh chi 2, 1a, "there will be one fall of rain within ten days' time and thirty-six rains within a year in time of peach and this is a response of good omen". The same statement can also be found in Ch'un-ch'iu wei 春秋維說 (in Yü-han-shan fang chi-yi之孫 56, 37b). In other words, excessive rain was regarded as an extraordinary event: the Hung fan chapter of Shang shu describes it as due to the disrespectful behaviour of the ruler. When excessive rain takes place in the seasons of spring and autumn, it is because of the incorrect dignity and demeanour of the ruler and usurpation
by his close and favourite ministers. It is also a result of the Yang force being unable to reject the attack of the Yin force (HHS 46 (lieh-chuan 36), 22a). Taking this interpretation, the rain must be viewed as a warning concerning the control of the empire by the Lady Teng.

However, in her edict issued in the wake of the excessive rain (HHS annals 5, 19a-b), Lady Teng averted the warning to refer to misrule by military and civil officials, to their disregard of the ceremony of entertaining the aged (yang lao), and to their disregard of the practice of registration of households.

For the ceremony of entertaining the aged, see Derk Bodde, Festivals in Classical China, pp.361-380.

Item No. 2

In the first year of Yung-ning (120), thirty-three of the commanderies and kingdoms had excessive rains which injured the harvest.

(5a)

According to HHS annals 5, 22b, this rain lasted for seven months, from the third month (16.IV-14.V) till the tenth month (9.XI-7.XII) of that year.
Item No. 3

In the first year of Chien-kuang (121), the imperial capital and twenty-nine of the commanderies and kingdoms had excessive rains which injured the harvest. At that time, the Ch'iang barbarians had started a revolt. It continued a long time before it was put down. There was no end to the misery and sufferings of the common people and the frontier guards.

(5a)

This happened in the autumn. It caused the court to issue an edict on 26.XII to reduce the land tax for common people according to the degree they had lost. See HHS annals 5, 24b-25a.

Item No. 4

In the first year of Yen-kuang (122), twenty-seven of the commanderies and kingdoms had excessive rains which injured the harvest.

(5a)

This excessive rain together with strong gales, caused major damage in some parts of the empire and cost a number of people's lives. The authorities issued an edict calling on local governments to (1) grant two thousand cash each as compensation for people aged more than seven years being killed and drowned; (2) to distribute grain three hu per head for those who had lost their homes and food; (3) to exempt from land tax those whose fields had been destroyed; and (4) where all the adults of a family had died in the calamity, to bury the bodies on behalf of their young
HHS 46 (lieh-chuan 36), 21a-24a, says that in the wake of this calamity, the then Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Ch'en Chung 領忠 (d.125) had availed himself this opportunity to attack the rise to power of the female elements in the harem, particularly pointed against Po-jung 伯榮, the daughter of Wang Sheng the wet-nurse of the emperor. In his hostile memorial presented to Emperor An, he criticised the improper move made by the emperor in choosing Po-jung as his representative to offer worship to his late father the King of Ch'ing-ho Liu Ch'ing 靈 on his behalf. As a woman, she now enjoyed the favour equal to that of the emperor. She was greeted with the same etiquette as the ruler and enormous labour was wasted in preparing for her progress by repairing roads and preparing rest-houses. Ch'en Chung then concluded that the only cause for the occurrence of excessive rain must be attributed to this excessive prestige granted to Po-jung and the only way to alleviate the calamity was to put a stop to this kind of inappropriate trust. His words however, fell on deaf ears.

Item No. 5

In the second year (of Yen-kuang, 123), five of the commanderies and kingdoms had continual rains which injured the harvest. (5a)

According to HHS annals 5, 27a, this took place in the ninth month (8.X-5.XI).
The Commentary on the Five Elements says, "(If the ruler) is fond of attacks and war and disregards the life of the ordinary people, or if he builds up his city walls and invades the border regions; in these circumstances the virtue of the element of Metal will not be malleable and changeable." This means that Metal has lost its true nature and brings forth disasters.

The text also says, "(If the ruler's) speech is not in accordance with propriety, this may be called a lack of good order. The first sign is presumption; its punishment is excessive sunshine; and if it goes too far, the final result is misery. At such a time there will appear inauspicious omens in verse; at such a time there will appear monstrosities among scaly creatures; at such a time there will appear unfortunate omens from dogs; at such a time there will appear diseases of the mouth and tongue; at such a time there will appear misfortunes and inauspicious portents from the colour white. In these cases the element of Wood is attacking Metal." In his Commentary (on the Five Elements in the Grand Norm Chapter), Liu Hsin suggests that the characters chiai ch'ung 'f "scaly creature" should be mao ch'ung "beast". The word yi means chih "well-governed".

Item No. 6

During the reign of Emperor An, in the first year of Yung-ch'u, the eleventh month (3.XII.107), the people used false stories to frighten one another. In Ssu-li, Ping and Chi provinces, the common people were wandering scattered or migrating to other places. At that time, the Empress-dowager née Teng came to supreme power. The right conduct for a woman should be
obedience; therefore there is an ordinance in the *Records of Rites* that after the husband's death, a widow should obey her son. However, now she automatically directed the state affairs. This was not being obedient; she was usurping power.

There is no detail of this frightening rumour given in the history. It apparently, however, appears to have close connection with the revolt and plunder of the Ch'iang in the middle of that year. From *HHS* 89* (lieh-chuan 79)*, 25b, one may note a fact that there were hundreds of thousands of the Chinese had been kidnapped by the Ch'iang who sold them to the chieftain of the Southern Hsiung-nu in Inner Mongolia Wan-shih shih-chu-ti Shan-yü during their rebellion between 107-110. Therefore, the refugees from Ssu-li, Ping and Chi provinces fled to the other parts of the empire perhaps can be seen as an act that the common people were afraid of becoming captives of the raiding Ch'iang.

This mass emigration must have worried the court considerably. An edict is preserved in *HHS* annals 5, 5b, issued by the court on Yung-ch'u 1:11:wu-tzu (22.XII.107), ordering the Colonel Director of the Retainers, and the Inspectors of both Chi and Ping provinces to urge personally all the people to return to their homes.

**Item No. 7**

During the reign of Emperor An, in the sixth year of Yung-ch'u (112), in the summer, there was a drought.

The apocryphal book *Ch'un-ch'iu k'ao-yi-yu* 春秋考異粋
cited in the commentary to *HHS chih* 13, 15a, says that "When the state has a serious drought, it is because law cases remain unsettled and justice has not been done."

Because of this belief, on 8.VII that year the Empress-dowager paid a visit to the incarcerated convicts in Lo-yang Prison with the intention of reviewing some of the unjust punishments (*HHS annals* 5, 13a).

The Treatise here omits a few entries on drought. According to *Ku-chih chu*, quoted in the commentary to this passage, there had been droughts one after another in 107, 109, 110 and 111. The *Hou-Han shu* of Hsieh Ch'eng (5,13a) also lists another drought in 108 which caused the Intendant of Ho-nan Chou Ch'ang had to collect and bury the dried bones beside the imperial Lo-yang city in an attempt to alleviate the disaster. This measure must come from the belief recorded in *Kuan-tzu*, cited in the commentary of Liu Chao, where a passage says that "If dried bones have not been collected (and buried) in the spring season. . . . then there will be drought in the summer".

The drought of 108 also resulted in the Lady Teng once again visiting the Lo-yang and Hunting Dog (Jo-lu yu 劉司 羅) Prisons on 28.V.108 (*HHS annals* 5, 5a-b; *TKHC* 6, 3a). This move was regarded as some kind of amnesty which caused the liberation of a number of prisoners. For the nature of the so-called "inspection of incarcerated convicts" lu ch'iu-t'u 錦囚徒, see A.F.P. Hulaewe, *Remnants of Han Law* I, 247-248.
Item No. 8

In the seventh year (of Yung'ch'u, 113), in the summer, there was a drought. (16a)

Item No. 9

In the first year of Yüan-ch'u (114), in the summer, there was a drought. (16a)

HHS annals 5, 14b, dates this drought together with the plague of locusts (Item No. 48) which happened in the fourth month (22.V-20.VI) of that year. The chronicler also adds that these natural disasters struck the imperial capital and five of the commanderies and kingdoms.

Following these disasters there was an imperial edict asking for nomination of persons whose behaviour was Sincere and Honest (tun-hou) and Simple and Straightforward (chih-chih) from each of the Three Dukes, the chiefs of the central bureaucracy nine ministers, (officials with the privileged rank of) Specially Advanced (te-chin), Full Marquises and Grand Administrators of the local governments.

Item No. 10

In the second year (of Yüan-ch'u, 115), in the summer, there was a drought. (16a)

This drought, together with the plague of locusts (Item No. 49), according to HHS annals 5, 16a, took place in the fifth month (10.VI-9.VII) of that year. The drought in fact affected the region of the imperial city while the plague of locusts covered Ho-nan and nineteen of the
the commanderies and kingdoms.

In the Later Han time, there were cases of local officials being dismissed on the ground that floods or drought had taken place in their territories. An outstanding case can be found in the biography of Huang Hsiang in *HHS 80A* (*lieh-chuan* 70A), 16a-18b, where we are told how Huang Hsiang, who had been Grand Administrator of Wei Commandery since 106 was dismissed from office after being found guilty on account of floods. In view of this, one would imagine that some natural disasters were concealed by the local administrative heads in order to avoid dismissal. The case of the drought and plague of locusts in this year provides evidence of such deliberate concealment. On *Yüan-ch'u* 2:5:*chia-hsū* (29.VI.115), following these disasters, the court issued a warning to the local government saying that,

"It is now seven years since the plagues of locusts. Yet the regions and provinces conceal the matter and mention nothing but areas of cultivated land. Now that [the locusts] are flying in swarms that blot out the sky, and doing damage far and wide, should there not be a correspondence between what is said and what is seen?" (translated by R. Hiranaka in his "T'ien-tsu or Land Tax and its Reduction and Exemption in Case of Natural Calamities in the Han Period (III)", p.155).

These droughts (Items No. 8,9 & 10), and plagues of locusts (Items No. 48 & 49) had most serious effect upon the economy
of some provinces. The stele Ssu San-k'ung shan pei 三公山碑 in Chin-shih ts'ui-pien 6 (Han 2), la-2a, for instance, tells us that when the new Chancellor of Ch'ang-shan 常山 Mr. Feng 汝 arrived to report his office in 117, he found that the province had been almost ruined by the calamities. The stele, discovered during the Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 period (1736-1795) of the Ch'ing dynasty, reads at one point as follows:

"Because of sufferings the disasters (隔佪) of raid of the Ch'iang and of drouhts and plagues of locusts, the people had migrated (to other places) and the roads were barren." 维遭离荒寇蝗旱隔

Wang Ch'ang has transcribed the compound 隔佪 as K'o-wo 鬼戎 which does not make any sense in the content here, I therefore follow the reading of Shen T'ao 沈濤 in his T'ung yün-tou chai sui-pi 銅熨斗齧隨軍 4, 18a-b (1857 edition).

Item No. 11

In the sixth year (of Yüan-ch'u, 119), in the summer, there was a drought.

HHS annals 5, 21b, and Hou Han chi 16, 11a of Yüan Hung, date this drought in the fifth month (27.V-25.VI).
The Commentary on the Five Elements says, "(If the ruler) ignores the codes and laws, or if he exiles meritorious courtiers, or if he kills the heir-apparent, or if he makes a humble woman his wife; in these circumstances the element of Fire does not burn in the normal way." This means that Fire has lost its true nature and it brings forth disasters.

The text also says, "If his understanding is not sufficiently clear, this may be called a lack of intelligence. The first sign is laziness; its punishment is excessive heat; and if it goes too far the final result is plague. At such a time there will appear inauspicious omens from plants; at such a time there will appear monstrousities among feathered creatures; at such a time there will appear unfortunate omens from sheep; at such a time there will appear misfortunes and inauspicious portents from the colour red. In these cases, the element of Water is attacking Fire." (As to the term) lo-ch'ung 'solitary wasp', in his Commentary (on the Five Elements in the Grand Norm Chapter) Liu Hsin suggests that it should be yü-ch'ung 'feathered creature'.

Item No. 12
During the reign of Emperor An, in the second year of Yung-ch'u, in the fourth month, on the day chia-yin (16.V.108), the city in A-yang prefecture of Han-yang had caught fire accidently. The conflagration burned and killed three thousand five hundred and seventy people. Before this, when Emperor Ho died, he left two imperial sons. The imperial son (Liu) Sheng was fully grown. The Empress née Teng thought greedily of the
youth of Emperor Shang. She intended to bring him up by herself and place him on the throne. In the first year of Yen-p'ing (106), Emperor Shang died. Although he had a malady, (Liu) Sheng was not seriously ill, so all the courtiers wanted to set him up as emperor. However, since the Empress-dowager had earlier refused to establish (Liu) Sheng, she now put the son of the King of Ch'ing-ho on the throne instead. That was Emperor An. The Minister of Works Chou Chang and others in their hearts did not agree with this. They planned and desired to execute the Teng clan and dethrone the Empress-dowager and Emperor An and to establish Liu Sheng as the alternative. In the first year (of Yen-p'ing) in the seventh month (13.XII.106-11.I.107), their plot was revealed. (Chou) Chang and his associates were executed. After this, the ravages of the rebellious Ch'iang barbarians in Liang province rose to a peak. All the government offices in all the commanderies of Liang province were temporarily moved to the territories of (Tso-) p'ing-yi and (Yu-)fu-feng. When the empress-dowager died, the members of the Teng family were executed.

(3a-3b)

The text has the place-name as Ho-yang 河陽 which is evidently wrong, for there was no such prefecture in Han-yang Commandery. I follow here the amendment of Chien Ta-hsin quoted in HHS chih 14, 2a (chi-chieh edition), and alter it to A-yang.

The prefecture of A-yang lay to the south of present Ching-ning in Kansu.
Item No. 13

In the fourth year (of Yung-ch'u), in the third month, on the day wu-tzu (10.IV.110), there was a fire in the funerary park at Tu Mausoleum 杜陵.

Tu Mausoleum, the tomb of Emperor Hsüan 信 of Former Han (reigned 74-49 B.C.), was southeast of present-day Ch'ang-an 長安 county in Shensi.

Item No. 14

In the fourth year of Yüan-ch'u, in the second month, on the day jen-hsu (7.IV.117), there was a fire at the arsenal. At that time, the barbarian Ch'iang were in revolt and they plundered widely and harmed many people. The throne mobilized troops from the whole empire to attack and defend against them. Though the campaign against them had lasted for more than ten years, it was still not ended, and the empire was exhausted by military service.

This fire was predicted by the occurrence of an annular solar eclipse on 21.III.117. In HHS chih 18, 8b, the prognosis claims that there will be a fire in the imperial arsenal later because the sun was in the K'uei 呂 constellation, which governs the military equipment in the arsenal (See also Ho, p.100).

According to the sketched map on the Later Han imperial city reproduced from an edition of Yung-lo ta-tien 永樂大典 9561 kept by Chao Wan-li 趙萬里, the arsenal was situated at the northwest corner of the Lo-yang city. (See Anon., "Lo-yang chien-ping Tung-Chou ch'eng chih fa-chueh pao-kao 陽洛東周城址發掘報告. K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao 1959. 2,
This fire was indeed very serious, for according to a report preserved in *TKHC* (3, 2a), it destroyed 215 different types of military weapons and arms, worth altogether more than ten million cash.

**Item No. 15**

In the first year of Yen-kuang, in the eighth month, on the day wu-tzu (4.X.122), there was a fire at the funerary chamber of the funerary park at Yang Mausoleum. Visitations of fire at a former (emperor's) mausoleum are always a presage of the heir-apparent being dismissed. In effect, the emperor dismissing his heir-apparent and so cutting off his own succession is like fire destroying the funerary chambers of the former rulers. Neither of them should happen. In the next year, the emperor, because of slanders, deposed the imperial heir-apparent and made him King of Chi-yin. Two years later, the emperor died. The Palace Attendant within the Yellow Gate Sung Ch'eng and others, nineteen persons in all, raised troops from the palace, killed the evil courtiers and set the King of Chi-yin upon the throne as emperor.

(Y4a)

Yang Mausoleum was the tomb of Emperor Ching Liu Ch'i 史, son of Emperor Wen 文, whom he had succeeded in 156 B.C. as fifth ruler of the Former Han dynasty. He died in 140 B.C. The tomb was situated in the north of the present-day Hou-k'an-ts' un 右陵村 in Hsien-yang-shih 陽 市, Shensi, with an area of 350 mou and believed to have required more than 300,000 working days for its
construction. See also Ch'in Chung-hsing "Han Yang-ling fu-chin ch'ien-tu ti fa-hsien" in Wen-wu 1972.7, 51-3.

**Item No. 16**

In the autumn of the fourth year (of Yen-kuang), in the seventh month, on the day gi-ch'ou (26.VII.125), there was a visitation of fire in the tower over the city gate in Yü-yang.

The prefecture of Yü-yang, now southwest of Mi-yün, county in Hopeh, was the capital of Yü-yang commandery. (HHS chih 23,18b).

**Item No. 17**

During the reign of Emperor An, in the third year of Yüan-ch'u (116), there were melon-vines that grew together with different roots and eight melons were born with a common stem. At that time, they were taken as auspicious melons. But some people asserted that the nature of melon is to trail outwards, deserting its root to bear fruit. (Thus) it is a sign of a woman maintaining association with her relatives. At that time, the Empress née Yen had just been established. Later, the Empress née Yen together with the maternal relatives Keng Pao and others slandered the heir-apparent which resulted in him being deposed and made King of Chi-yin; furthermore, they welcomed from outside (Liu) Tu, the son of the King of Chi-pei, and set him up as emperor. This is an instance of inauspicious omens from plants. (8b-9a)
Items No. 18 and 19

During the reign of Emperor An, in the third year of Yen-kuang, in the second month, on the day wu-tzu (27. III. 124) there were large birds of many colours which alighted at the Tai prefecture in Chi-nan. In the tenth month (26. X-23. XI) they again alighted at Hsin-feng. At that time they were believed to be phoenixes. Some asserted that the appearance of phoenixes is a response to the brightness of Yang, and therefore they only appear when there is an enlightened lord. (However), the large birds of many colours which resemble the phoenix are generally inauspicious birds.

At that time, Emperor An trusted in the slanders from the Regular Palace Attendants Fan Feng and Chiang Ching, his wet-nurse Wang Sheng and his distant relative Keng Pao, and he dismissed the Grand Commandant Yang Chen and deposed the heir-apparent to be King of Chi-yin. This was a sign of lack of intelligence. Towards the end of the reign of Emperor Chang, there had appeared a hundred and forty-nine creatures which were described as phoenixes. At that time the upright minister Ho Ch'ang had suggested that these were inauspicious birds which resemble the phoenix, and the fact that they were flying and soaring above the imperial apartments was a sign that there was a lack of proper examination (into state affairs). The historian regarded the later death of Emperor Chang as the substantiation of this portent.

During the reigns of Emperors Hsüan (73-49 B.C.) and Ming (58-75) there were flocks of birds of many colours flying and soaring above the imperial apartments and buildings. Chia K'uei took this as an augury that the northern barbarians were going to
surrender. The emperor was generally maintaining an excellent government, and although there were shortcomings, it was not in any state of weakness or decline. Towards the end of the reign, two hundred thousand of the northern barbarians surrendered. This is the substantiation of the portent.

During the reign of Emperor An, (however,) outside the empire the Ch'iang and other barbarians in the north made rebellion while inside the empire slanders and wickednesses arose. This was the time when monstrosities appeared among feathered creatures. The (Apocryphal Treatise on) Music: A Graphic Representation of its Harmonies remarks that there are five (types of) phoenixes, each with many-coloured feathers. One of them is a symbol of good omen, and four of them are signs of misfortune.

1. According to Tung hsün sung 蒲松齡 written by Chang Heng 蒲尊 in 124, the day should be chi-ch'ou (28.III), one day later than the text and the annals of Fan Yeh. The discrepancy can perhaps be explained by the fact that the phoenixes arrived on 27.III but it was reported only on the next day, when the emperor was in Ch'i. Chang Heng therefore follows the date when the news reached the emperor.

HHS annals 5, 27b-28a, records that the phoenixes alighted on some trees within the mansion of Huo Shou 霍說, the Assistant of Tai Prefecture (northeast of Li-ch'eng 历城 county in Shangtung) in Chi-nan. Following the precedent set up on Yuan-ho 2:9: jen-ch'en (22.X.85), the court granted Huo Shou twenty rolls of silk, the Chief fifteen (Amending from fifty to fifteen in accordance to Yang Shu-ta, "Tu
Hou-Han shu tsa-chi\textsuperscript{1} (in Chi-wei-chü tu-shu-chi, p.87), the Commandant ten and three each for the junior officials. And the common people where the phoenixes had by passed were exempted from paying land-tax for a period of one year.

This grace, especially the land-tax exemption for the common people, had a political purpose behind it. Considering that Emperor An had only just taken over the reins of state from the Teng family and now ruled the empire in person, he certainly needed some favourable omens to glorify his reign. The grace of exemption from land-tax was a very good way to advertise the good omen among the common people and to secure the popularity of his government.

2. According to HHS annals 5, 29b, the gathering of phoenixes at Hsin-feng was reported to the court on Yen-kuang 3:10:jen-wu being equivalent to the western 16.XI.124.

Hsin-feng was a prefecture of Ching-chao. It was in the east of the present-day Lin-t'ung in Shensi.

3. On the identification of feng-huang 'phoenix', there are several suggestions.

1. Scholars such as James Legge and E. Chavannes believe that the feng-huang are to be the male and female phoenix.

2. Professor A. Forke suggests that it is a kind of bird related to ostrich.

3. H.A. Giles concludes that the feng was a bird invented by artists through their imagination.
after they had seen the peacocks, especially the species *Pavo cristatus* of India. His view is shared by a Japanese scholar Yoshihiko Izushi.


In ancient China, *feng-huang* was regarded as sacred animal. In *Han-shih wai-chuan* it is recorded that in honour of the good government of the Yellow Emperor, *feng-huang* "stopped in his eastern park, perching in *wu-t'ung* trees and eating the Emperor's bamboo seeds. There they stayed to the end of their lives without leaving". (James Robert Hightower, *Han shih wai chuan*, pp.259-261). The same belief can also be found in *Po-hu t'ung*. It says that "when lucky omens appear one after another, (it is a sign that) they have come in response to the spiritual influence (exercised by the king)... When the spiritual power affects the birds and quadrupeds, then the *feng-huang* begins to fly" (translated by Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po-hu t'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, I, p.241).
In view of this, these occurrences of *feng-huang* were considered by the court as favourable omens. (*HHS* annals 5, 27b-28a and 29b). However, the officials in opposition disapproved the interpretation offered by the court. They believed that *feng huang* should appear only at a time when the government is good otherwise it is a sign of misfortune. This is a good example to illustrate the varying interpretations of portents depending on the political opinion of the commentators, and the debate is reflected in the Treatise.

This case is similar to that of the Yellow River running clear in the time of Emperor Huan. The court, based on the *Yi-chuan* of Ching Fang, interpreted this event as a lucky omen, while scholars such as Hsiang K'ai, who disapproved of the government, interpreted it as inauspicious. See the memorial of Hsiang K'ai submitted to the court in 166, translated in de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty*, p. 27.

*HHS* chih 15

The Commentary on the Five Elements says, "(If the ruler) shows disrespect to the ancestral temples, or if he does not supplicate and worship (his ancestors), or if he neglects other worship and sacrifice, or if he goes counter to the seasons ordained by Heaven; in these circumstances Water does not flow in the normal way." This means that Water has lost its true nature and it brings forth disasters.
The text also says, "If decisions on matters of state are unwise, this may be called thoughtlessness. The first sign is hastiness, its punishment is excessive cold, and if it goes too far the final result is poverty. At such a time there will appear inauspicious omens from drums; at such a time there will appear monstrosities among fishes; at such a time there will appear unfortunate omens from pigs; at such a time there will appear misfortunes and inauspicious portents from the colour black. In these cases, the element of Fire is attacking Water." (As to the term) Yu-nien "monstrosities among fishes", in his Commentary (on the Five Elements in the Grand Norm Chapter) Liu Hsin suggests that it should be chiai-ch'ung chih nieh 畏擬 "monstrosities among scaly creatures", which would include the category of locusts. (1a-2a)

The compound employed for "thoughtlessness" in the text here is pu-che 不懇. According to Shuo-wen chieh-tze, the character 懇, is a variant of 懇, a character with the radical k'ou 口 "mouth", which means chih 知 "understand" "wisdom" or "knowledge". Tuan Yu-ts'ai 段玉裁 in commenting the character 懇 believes that the variant 懇 given in Shuo-wen chieh-tze after 懇 is an interpolation because the definitions of these two characters are different from each other. The character 懇 means chin 敬 "respect" while the other 懇 means "understand" or "wisdom" (See his Shuo-wen chieh-tze chu 3, 18a; 19, 27b). His suggestion, however, proved wrong, for Wei Hung (fl. ca.25) in his Ku-wen kuan-shu 古文觀書 (in Yu-han-shan-fang chi-yi shu 60, 48b) has clearly said that the character 懇 used in his time has
two other various written forms 惡 and 惡. In view of this, we are safe to conclude that the character 惡 is an ancient form of 惡.

Item No. 20

During the reign of Emperor Shang, in the first year of Yen-p'ing, in the fifth month (19.VI-18.VII.106) thirty-seven of the commanderies and kingdoms had great floods which injured the harvest. Tung Chung-shu (1797-104 B.C.) says, "The flood is a sign that the Yin force is flourishing." At that time, the emperor was a baby and the Empress-dowager née Teng held the chief authority in the government. (4b)

Instead of the fifth month, HHS annals 4, 27b, has sixth month (19.VII-16.VIII), and the event was followed by an imperial edict proposing measure to reduce expenses and palace luxuries in order to relieve the people's suffering.

As a matter of fact, there were a further two floods occurring in this year which the Treatise does not record. The first one took place in the ninth month (15.X-13.XI) which is recorded in the annals as involving six provinces (HHS annals 5, 3a). The Hou Han shu of Yüan Shan-sung (5b) adds the information that the floods affected the six provinces Ssu-li, Yen, Yu, Hsü, Chi and Ping due to the overflow of the Yellow, Chi, Wei, Lo, and Wei Rivers. The court was compelled to order Chief Commandants to aid people in the disaster-stricken region.

The second incident was in the tenth month (14.XI-12.XII) when flooding took place in four provinces and was recognised
by an official distribution of grain (*HHS annals* 5, 3a-b).

**Item No. 21**

During the reign of Emperor An, in the first year of Yung-ch'u, in the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *hsin-yu* (25.XI.107) a mountain stream at Hsin-ch'eng in Ho-nan suddenly burst forth, dashed against the farmers' fields and destroyed them. At the spring where the water gushed out the depth reached thirty feet. At this time, because the Empress-dowager née Teng had not established the imperial heir-apparent (Liu) Sheng but had placed the son of the King of Ch'ing-ho on the throne, the Minister of Works Chou Chang and others were conspiring together to depose the emperor and replace him. In the eleventh month (3.XII-31.XII.107) their plot was discovered. (Chou) Chang and his associates were executed. In this year, in forty-one of the commanderies and kingdoms there were floods that swept people away and drowned them. The prophecy says,

> The flood is the essence of the pure Yin force. The flourishing and excess of the Yin force are brought about by mean men who act on their own authority to usurp power, who show jealousy of worthy men, who seek private ends in public business, and who browbeat and oppress true gentlemen. Just as a mean man, made confident by his successes, seeks to fulfil his own devices without any sense of moral restraint, so the water gushes forth and becomes a disaster. (4b-5a)
The *Hou-Han shu* (1, 2a) of Hsieh Shen claims that thousands of people died in this flood. In his *Hou-Han chi* (16, 2a), Yuan Hung says that it was because of this disaster that the court dismissed the Grand Commandant Hsü Fang and the Minister of Works Yin Cn'ün.

As to the area affected by the disaster, *HHS chih* 11, 12b, mentions not only forty-one commanderies and kingdoms, but also refers to 315 prefectures.

In the beginning of the reign of Emperor An, a series of floods in the east of the empire devastated and depleted the harvests and the economy of the state. In view of this, the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Fan Chun submitted a memorial to the Empress-dowager née Teng. He first cited the *Yi-chuan* of Ching Fang which read "If there is a famine but (the ruler) does not try to reduce it, this is known as extremity (t'ai). Its visitation is flood" (Li Hsien mistakingly assumes that this passage came from the *Hung-fan wu-hsing chuan*). Fan Chun then urged the court to cut back expenses for the offices of Provision, for the Palace Workshop, for the offices of the Complete Workman and for the Superintendent of the Ten Lakes in the Shang-lin Park, so as to reduce the burden of the common people. He further attacked the government for not giving effective aid to the people in the affected commanderies, and he urged that the court should pay more attention to the economics problem in the east than to the war in the northwest. *HHS 32 (lieh-chuan 22)*, 11b, remarks that the
Empress-dowager paid some attention to this policy for economic recovery. See also pp.37-38.

Item No. 22

In the second year (or Yung-ch'u, 108) there were great floods. (5a)

This disaster occurred in the sixth month (26.VI-25.VII). According to HHS annals 5, 6b, the imperial city and forty of the commanderies and kingdoms were affected.

Item No. 23

In the third year (of Yung-ch'u, 109) there were great floods. (5b)

This flood affected the imperial city of Lo-yang and forty-one of the commanderies and kingdoms (HHS annals 5, 9b).

The interpretation given in the Treatise for this portent, and other flood which took place in succeeding years, refers to the continuation of power in the hands of the Empress-dowager née Teng. This, however, was not the original prognostication. According to HHS 30A (lieh-chuan 20A), 7b-8a, Yang Hou, son of the former Palace Attendant Yang T'ung and an expert in prognostication and the apocryphal books, interpreted this flood together with a celestial prodigy (Venus entered into the constellation Nan-tou or Southern Dipper, Sagittarius on Yung-ch'u 3:1:chi-hai(25.II.109)) as an omen that there
would be portents because the imperial sons and kings were sojourning in the imperial city. He suggested that the Empress-dowager née Teng should correct the situation by sending these members of the imperial family back to their own kingdoms. The Lady Teng followed his advice, and the portents ceased.

The date of this flood given in HHS 30A (lieh-chuan 20A), 7b-8a, is incorrect. It should be amended to Yung-ch'ü 3 instead of Yung-ch'ü 2 (See the collated note in Chung-hua edition at p.1051).

**Item No. 24**

In the fourth year (of Yung-ch'ü, 110) there were great floods. (5b)

**Item No. 25**

In the fifth year (of Yung-ch'ü, 111) there were great floods. (5b)

**Item No. 26**

In the sixth year (of Yung-ch'ü, 112) the colour of the water in the lake at Ho-tung changed, and all became as red as blood. At that time, the Empress-dowager née Teng still acted on her own authority in control of the government (5b)

The Hou Han chi 16, 8a, of Yüan Hung dates this event happened on the day ping-shen of the sixth month, equivalent to 5.VIII.112, in the Western calendar.
Item No. 27

In the third year of Yen-kuang (124) there was a great flood which swept people away and killed them (as well as) injuring the grain crops. At this time, Emperor An had trusted in the slanders of Chiang Ching, Fan Feng and his wet-nurse Wang Sheng. He dismissed the Grand Commandant Yang Chen and deposed the imperial heir-apparent (the future Emperor Shun).

(5b-6a)

Item No. 28

During the reign of Emperor An, in the first year of Yung-ch'u (107) there was a hail-storm.

(8b)

Item No. 29

In the second year (of Yung-ch'u, 108), there was a hail-storm. The hailstones were as big as hens' eggs.

TKHC 3, la, lists the hailstorm happened in the sixth month (26.VI-25.VII) of that year and adds that the hail was not only as big as hens' eggs, but even as big as taro roots.

(8b)

Item No. 30

In the third year (of Yung-ch'u, 109) there was a hail-storm. The hailstones were as big as geese's eggs, and they injured the crops. Liu Hsiang asserts that the catastrophe of hailstones appears when the Yin is threatening the Yang. At this time, the Empress-dowager née Teng, as a woman (i.e. Yin) had usurpted the authority that a man (i.e. Yang) should have held in the government.

(9a)
In Po-hu t'ung A, 60b, it says that "pao" 'hail' means ho合 'to coagulate'. The very essence of the Yin-fluid accumulates and coagulates to become hail" (Tjan, II, p.490). This kind of explanation can also be found in the statements of Tung Chung-shu and the Hung-fan wu-hsing chuan. The Hsi-ching tsa-chi (Miscellaneous Records of the Western Capital), a work traditionally attributed to Liu Hsin and to Ko Hung, tells that on one occasion Tung Chung-shu was questioned by a certain Pao Pi on what hail was; he answered that it is a thing produced as a result of the Yang force being threatened by the Yin force (quoted in Ch'u hsueh chi 2, 6b). The Hung-fan wu-hsing chuan, also cited in Ch'u hsueh chi 2, 6a, says that "When both the Yin and Yang forces threaten each other, then hail and sleet will flourish.... The production of sleet is due to the Yang force threatening the Yin force, and hail is due to the Yin force threatening the Yang force." The same kind of belief can also be found in Ch'un-ch'iu wei shuo-ti-tzu (in Yü-han shan-fang chi-yi-shu 56,37b). With this interpretation in mind, one would tend to believe that the occurrence of hailstorms in 107, 108, 109, and 117 were first taken as a warning of the rise to power of the Teng family, particularly the control of state affairs by Lady Teng.
Item No. 31

In the fourth year of Yuan-ch'u, in the sixth month, on the day wu-ch'en (11.VIII.117) there were hailstones as big as cups and hens' eggs in three of the commanderies and kingdoms. It killed all kinds of domestic animals.

(9a)

Item No. 32

In the first year of Yen-kuang, in the fourth month (24.V-21.VI.122) there were hailstones as big as hens' eggs in twenty-one of the commanderies and kingdoms, and they injured the harvest. At this time, Emperor An trusted in slanders and many innocent people were executed.

(9a)

According to Chang Yü, two Sung and one Ming edition of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien and Chang Yin-tzu's Tzu-chih t'ung-chien chiao-k' an chi record this portent on the day kuei-wei, which is equivalent to the western 1.VI (TCTC p.1619). The disaster of hail was serious in the four prefectures in Ho-nan commandery and Ho-hsi commandery. In Ho-nan, the hailstones were as big as a wooden bowl and cup (ch' uan-pei), or even as big as a peck measure (tou) and they killed domestic animals and the young autumn rice-plants. In Ho-hsi the hailstones were said to be as big as a peck.

HHS 79A (lieh-chuan 69A), 20b, and K'ung ts'ung-tzu 6, 17b-18b, say that because of this disaster Emperor An issued a decree calling for men Skilled in Political
Techniques (yu tao-shu chih shih 有道術士) to be recommended to the court so that they might offer an interpretation of the portent. At this time, it happened that K'ung Chi-yen 孔志彦 (78-124) was visiting the imperial capital, and he was therefore recommended to see the emperor in person at the Te-yang 滎陽 Chamber. K'ung Chi-yen explained:

"This is a sign of the yin force invading the yang force. Now powerful officials have usurped authority and the adherents of the Empress-dowager have been strong. (In order to avert the disaster), your majesty should cultivate your sage virtue and keep a watch upon these two groups."

After hearing his interpretation, however, Emperor An kept silent.

The event, however, is wrongly dated in K'ung ts'ung-tzu 孔通度 as in the summer of 108: at that time Emperor An was still a child, the empire was in the hands of the Lady Teng, and Emperor An would therefore not have been able to grant K'ung Chi-yen a personal audience.

Item No. 33

In the third year (or Yeng-kuang, 124) there were hailstones as big as hens' eggs. (9a)

Item No. 34

During the reign of Emperor Shang, in the first year of Yen-p'ing, in the ninth month, on the day yi-hai (15.X.106) there
were thunder-storms in Ch'en-liu and four meteorites fell upon the earth.  

Item No. 35

During the reign of Emperor An, in the sixth year of Yung-ch'ü, in the tenth month, on the day ping-hsü (23.XI.112) there were thunder-storms in winter time in the six of the commanderies.

Item No. 36

In the seventh year (of Yung-ch'ü), in the tenth month, on the day wu-tzu (20.XI.113) there were thunder-storms in winter time in three of the commanderies and kingdoms.

Item No. 37

In the first year of Yu'an-ch'ü, in the tenth month, on the day kuei-ssü (20.XI.114), during the winter season, there were thunder-storms in three of the commanderies and kingdoms.

Item No. 38

In the third year (of Yüan-ch'ü), in the tenth month, on the day hsin-hai (27.XI.116), during the winter season, there were thunder-storms in Ju-nan and Lo-lang.

The commandery of Lo-lang (Korean, Nangnang) was created by Emperor Wu of the Former Han after his great conquests of 108 B.C. Its administrative headquarters were at Ch'ao-hsien, now north of Pyang-yang in North Korea. (HHS chih 23, 19b). The administrative headquarters of Ju-nan Commandery was P'ing-yü, now Ju-nan county in Honan. (HHS chih 20, 3a).
Item No. 39

In the fourth year (of Yüan-ch'ü), in the tenth month, on the day hsìn-yü (2.XII.117), during the winter season, there were thunder-storms in five of the commanderies and kingdoms.

(10b)

Item No. 40

In the sixth year (of Yüan-ch'ü), in the tenth month, on the day ping-tzu (7.XII.119), during the winter season, there were thunder-storms in five of the commanderies and kingdoms.

(10b)

Item No. 41

In the first year of Yung-ning, in the tenth month (9.XI-7.XII.120), during the winter season, there were thunder-storms in seven of the commanderies and kingdoms.

(11a)

Item No. 42

In the first year of Chien-kuang, in the tenth month (29.X-27.XI.121), during the winter season, there were thunder-storms in seven of the commanderies and kingdoms.

(11a)

Item No. 43

In the fourth year of Yen-kuang (125), during the winter season, there were thunder-storms in nine of the commanderies and kingdoms. At this time, the Empress-dowager (née Yen) held the regency and the emperor had no opportunity to take part in state affairs. Then, after the empress-dowager had died, the wet-nurse Wang Sheng together with the elder brother of the
empress, Yen Hsien, and his brothers again seized power. So the emperor did not personally take charge of the myriad affairs (of state). He was easy-going and lenient, and he trusted his subordinates and inferiors.

Item No. 44

During the reign of Emperor An, in the fourth year of Yung-ch'ü, in the summer (110) there were plagues of locusts. At that time the barbarians of Western Ch'iang were raiding and plundering. Armies were sent out against them, and the campaigns lasted more than ten years.

This plague, as recorded in HHS annals 5, 11a, took place in the fourth month (7.V-4.VI.110). It struck, according to the TKHC quoted in the commentary to this passage in the annals, six provinces: Ssu-li, Yü, Yen, Hsü, Ch'ing and Chi, which were situated in the eastern part of the empire. This catastrophe must have affected the harvests of these provinces, since Yung-ch'ü 5: int. 4:wu-hsü (11.VI. 111) the court issued an edict taking responsibility for the disaster, and asking officials in both central and local government to recommend men who were Capable and Good (hsien-liang 賢良), Sincere and Upright (fang-cheng 方正), Skilled in Political Techniques (yu tao-shu chih shih 有道術士) and able to Speak Frankly and Admonish Unflinchingly (ch'i-yen chi-chien chih-shih 極言諫士) each for the throne.

The men who were recommended in this way were for the
most part too insignificant to be mentioned in the history and therefore their names are unknown. However, there is one stone inscription written about 115 which refers to the man who was recommended as Hsien-liang and Fang-cheng. He was a native of Yeh 烏 (west of Lin-chang 隆 安 Honan) in Wei commandery, but is known only by his personal name Yün 允, with the style Tzu-yu 子恕. This stone inscription has been broken into two fragments: the upper part may be found in Lo Chen-yü 郭 柳 Han-Chin shih-k'o mu-yin 漢晋石刻墨影, p.3402, plate at pp.3453-3464 while the lower part is in Wang Ch'ang 王 迤, Ching-shih ts'ui-pien 金石萃编 19 (Han 15), 5a-b.

Item No. 45

In the fifth year (of Yung-ch'un), in the summer (111) there were plagues of locusts in nine provinces.

(12b)

Item No. 46

In the sixth year (of Yung-ch'u), in the third month (14.IV-13.V.112) another generation of locusts appeared in those places which had suffered the plague in the previous year.

(13a)

Item No. 47

In the seventh year (of Yung-ch'u), in the summer (113) there were plagues of locusts.

(13a)

This plague of locusts had severely damaged the harvest in the eastern part of the empire including Nan-yang 南陽, Kuang-ling 廣陵, Hsia-p'i 下邽, P'eng-ch'eng 彭城.
Shan-yang 山陽, Lu-chiang 廬江 and Chiu-chiang 九江. In order to provide relief to the disaster victims, the court had to transport the rice collected by the land tax from Ling-ling 龍陵, Kuei-yang 桂陽, Tan-yang 南陽, Yü-chang 楚章 and K'uai-chi 會稽, all lying to the south of the Yangtze River.

Moreover, reductions and exemptions for land tax were also granted to the stricken people on Yung-ch'ü 永州 on 7:8:ping-yin (30.VIII.113). An edict issued on that day said that noble ranks would be granted to the common people, and those commanderies and kingdoms which had suffered losses of half or more of their crops were exempted from tax this year. Those who have lost less than this figure would be granted exemption based on their actual loss (HHS annals 5, 14a-b).

For the nature and characteristics of the measures of tax reduction and exemption due to natural disaster, see Reiji Hiranaka, Chugoku Kodai no Densei to Zeiho, pp. 97-180.

**Item No. 48**

In the first year of Yüan-ch'u, in the summer (114) there were plagues of locusts in five of the commanderies and kingdoms. (13a)

See note in Item No. 9.

**Item No. 49**

In the second year (of Yüan-ch'u), in the summer (115) there were plagues of locusts in twenty of the commanderies and kingdoms.

See note in Item No. 10. (13a)

**Item No. 50**

In the first year of Yen-kuang, in the sixth month (22.VII-19.VIII.122) there were plagues of locusts in the commanderies and kingdoms. (13a)
The Commentary on the Five Elements says, "(If a ruler) builds fine palaces and dwellings, or if he constructs decorated terraces and pavilions, or if his inner apartments are licentious and disorderly, if he neglects his family and his clan, or if he is discourteous to his father and elder brothers, then the farmers' work will not be successful." This means that Earth has lost its true nature and brings forth disasters.

The text also says, "When heart and mind are not profound and wise, this may be called a lack of intuitive wisdom. The first sign is confusion; the punishment is excessive wind; if the evil goes too far, the final result is an early death. At such a time there will appear inauspicious omens of excessive sexuality; at such a time there will appear unfortunate omens from cattle; at such a time there will appear diseases of the heart and stomach; at such a time there will appear misfortunes and inauspicious portents from the colour yellow. In these cases, the element Metal, Water, Wood and Fire are attacking Earth." In his (Hung-fan wu-hsing) chuan Liu Hsin suggests that hua-nieh 'monstrosities among flowers' should be lo-ch'ung chih nieh 'monstrosities among wasps' and related it to the category of grubs.

During the reign of Emperor An, in the first year of Yung-ch'u (107) there were earthquakes in eighteen of the commanderies and kingdoms. Li Ku says, "The earth is (a symbol of) Yin, by nature it should be tranquil and silent. When some-
one oversteps the due responsibilities of the Yin and usurps the government that should be the duty of Yang, that is the occasion for the earth to respond with trembling and tremors". At that time the Empress-dowager née Teng held control of the government and dominated the affairs of state. It was not until the Chien-kuang period, after the empress-dowager had died, that Emperor An was able to govern in his own right. Because of this, all things of the Yin category became more powerful and the Western Ch'iang barbarians made trouble in China for more than ten years.

The Hou Han chi (16,2a) of Yuan Hung lists this event in the twelfth month, which was January 108 by the Western calendar.

Li Ku (94-147) was a famous scholar-official in the time of Emperors Shun and Huan. He was one of the political opponents of the monopoly of power and control of imperial succession developed after the death of Emperor Shun in 146 by the great Liang family, and as a result he was put into prison and killed by Liang Chi on the false charge of plotting rebellion against the throne (See de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China: the Great Proscription of Later Han, 167-184", p.6 note 3).

The astrological interpretation by Li Ku on the earthquake, cited by both Ssu-ma Piao in the text here and by Yuan Hung in his Hou Han chi, however, can not be found in the memorial submitted by Li Ku to the throne in
in replying to the seismic disaster. One may therefore assume that it must be quoted from other memorials of Li Ku which have not been preserved.

There is a text presenting a similar argument in the Chapter on Balancing (Ch'eng 福) in a lost ancient classic identified as Huang-ti ssu-ching 黄帝四经 excavated recently at Ma-weng-tui 望 Orth Changsha. This work is believed to be written by a philosopher of the Legalist School, who may have been a subject of either Ch'u 楚 or Cheng 鄭 in the Warring States period. A few lines read as follows:

All the discussions should be aimed on the great principal Yin and Yang. Heaven is Yang; earth is Yin.... The Lord (of men) is Yang (and his) ministers are Yin.... Man is Yang; woman is Yin.... The one who rules the people is Yang; the people who are ruled by other people are Yin (I here follow the reading of Yü Ying-shih in his "Fan chih-lun yü Chung-kuo cheng-chih chuan-t'ung, Part II", 31, presuming three characters chih jen che 割人者 in front of chih yü jen che 割於人者 as an interpolation).

All Yang imitates the Heaven (and) the Heaven values justice.... All Yin imitates the Earth: the virtues of Earth are silent and tranquil, gentle... and excellent by reason of its lack of contentiousness. These are the rules of the Earth and the etiquette of female. (See T'ang Lan, "Ma-wang-tui ch'u-t'u

The parallels suggest that there are some concepts in the Confucianist doctrine borrowed and influenced by Legalist philosophy. It therefore is illogical to discuss in too great detail about the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism in Han time, as recent scholars in China have done. See also Yü Ying-shih, "Hsüeh-shu ho-yi pi-hsu chih-yu " 學術何必自由" Ming Pao 100 (April, 1974), 8.

Item No. 52

In the second year (of Yung-ch' u, 108) there were earthquakes in twelve of the commanderies and kingdoms.

(3a)

The Hou Han chi (16, 3a) of Yuan Hung has ten (shih 什) instead of twelve (shih erh 什耳). However, since HHS annals 5, 8a, also has shih erh, it is most likely that the chronicle of Yuan Hung has omitted the character erh.

Item No. 53

In the third year (of Yung-ch'u), in the twelfth month, on the day hsìn-yu (13.I.110) there were earthquakes in nine of the commanderies and kingdoms.

(3a)

Item No. 54

In the fourth year (of Yung-ch'u), in the third month, on the day kuei-ssu (15.IV.110) there were earthquakes in four of
the commanderies and kingdoms. (3a)

According to HHS annals 5, 11a, the disaster affected nine of the commanderies and kingdoms not four as stated here.

Item No. 55

In the fifth year (of Yung-ch'u), in the first month, on the day ping-hsu (2.II.111) there were earthquakes in ten of the commanderies and kingdoms. (3a)

This seismic disturbance together with the eclipse of 27.I.111 (Item No. 95) caused the dismissal of the Grand Commandant Chang Yü 張禹 on 5.II that year. See HHS annals 5, 11a-b, and HHS 44 (lieh-chuan 34), 5b.

Item No. 56

In the seventh year (of Yung-ch'u), in the first month, on the day jen-yin (7.II.113) and in the second month, on the day ping-wu(?) there were earthquakes in eighteen of the commanderies and kingdoms. (3a)

According to HHS annals 5, 13b, only one earthquake took place, on the day ping-wu 丙午 of the second month. Ch'ien Ta-hsin therefore suspects that another date being cheng-yüeh jen-yin 证月寅寅 given in the text here is an interpolation. Wang Shan 黃山, however, holds a different view. In his Hou-Han shu chiao-pu 校補, he suggests that the date cheng-yüeh jen-yin is correct and the date erh-yüeh ping-wu 二月丙午 is an interpolation. His view is seconded by the editors of the Hou-Han shu published
However, after checking through the Hou-Han chi of Yüan Hung and the Ch'i-chia Hou-Han shu reconstructed by Wang Wen-t'ai, I find no direct clue which can support the above mentioned views.

There was no ping-wu day in the second month of this year. There was a ping-tzu day being equivalent to the Western 13.III, and another jen-wu (19.III). Since the annals indicate that the event took place in the second month, it seems most likely that the character wu is an error for tzu, or ping has been mistaken for jen. Such mistakes in transcription are fairly common, for these characters are easily confused.

Item No. 57

In the first year of Yüan-ch'u (114) there were earthquakes in fifteen of the commanderies and kingdoms.

(3a)

Item No. 58

In the second year (of Yüan-ch'u), in the eleventh month, on the day keng-shen (12.XII.115) there were earthquakes in ten of the commanderies and kingdoms.

(3a)

The Hou Han chi (16, 10a) of Yüan Hung has the number of disaster-stricken regions as eleven. However, since HHS annals 5, 17a, agrees with the present text and gives the number as ten, it is most probable that the character yi — 'one' after shih 'ten' in the text of
Yüan Hung is an interpolation.

**Item No. 59**

In the third year (of Yüan-ch'u), in the second month (2.III-30.IV.116) there were earthquakes in ten of the commanderies and kingdoms. (3a)

**Item No. 60**

(In the third year of Yüan-ch'u), in the eleventh month, on the day kuei-mao (18.I.117) there were earthquakes in nine of the commanderies and kingdoms. (3a)

**Item No. 61**

In the fourth year (of Yüan-ch'u, 117) there were earthquakes in thirteen of the commanderies and kingdoms. (3b)

**Item No. 62**

In the fifth year (of Yüan-ch'u, 118) there were earthquakes in fourteen of the commanderies and kingdoms. (3b)

**Item No. 63**

In the sixth year (of Yüan-ch'u), in the second month, on the day yi-ssu (11.III.119) there were earthquakes at the capital and in forty-two of the commanderies and kingdoms. In some places the earth was cracked and broken and water burst out. (The tremors) demolished city walls and the houses of the people and many people were crushed to death. (3b)

On the date and area of this earthquake, a memorial submitted by the Minister of Works Li Ho  in the
twelfth month of Yüan-ch'u 6 (18.I-16.II.120) supplies additional information. Quoted in the commentary of Liu Chao to HHS chih 18, 9a-b, and also preserved in Li-shih chia-shu, the memorial states that the seismic disaster took place in the second month (28.II-28.III) of 119 (I follow Shen Chia-pen's amendment in his Hou Han shu so-yen 12,8a, believing that two characters ch'ü-nien (i.e. 118) is an interpolation), and it affected not only fourteen of the commanderies and kingdoms but also the imperial capital region.

In a lengthy passage of interpretation, Li Ho associates this catastrophe with the total solar eclipse of Yüan-ch'u 6:12:wu-wu (18.I.120) (Item No. 102), and attributes this portent as a sign of the secret plot made by the imperial Teng family by marriage and the eunuchs against the imperial house of Liu. He urged the emperor to dismiss the brothers of Lady Teng and their associates.

It appears that this memorial was heeded. After the death of Lady Teng in 121, the emperor ordered the arrest and examination of the eunuchs Chao Jen and others. Li Ho, however, probably due to his opposition of the Teng family, was dismissed from office a few months later, on 24.XI.120.

Li Ho was the father of Li Ku, a scholar-official who was executed for his opposition to the General-in-Chief Liang Chi. Fan Yeh has included his biography in the Fang-shu lieh-chuan in HHS 82A (lieh-
chuan 72a), 15a-17a.

Item No. 64

(In the sixth year of Yüan-ch'u, 119), in the winter, there were earthquakes in eight of the commanderies and kingdoms. (3b)

Item No. 65

In the first year of Yung-ning (120), there were earthquakes in twenty-three of the commanderies and kingdoms. (3b)

Item No. 66

In the first year of Chien-kuang, in the ninth month, on the day yi-ch'ou (10.X.121), there were earthquakes in thirty-five commanderies and kingdoms.

In some places the earth was cracked and broken, city walls and houses collapsed, and the people were crushed to death. At that time Emperor An had no clear insight (in state affairs). He trusted in slanders from the eunuchs and his wet-nurse (Wang) Sheng and others, and he destroyed the family of the Empress-dowager née Teng. From this time on, he gave his sole attention and trust to (Wang) Sheng and the eunuchs. The Regular Palace Attendants Chiang Ching, Fan Feng and others were all able to exercise power.

(3b-4a)

There is some disagreement as to the date of this disaster. The text here refers to the ninth month, but HHS annals 5, 24b, has the eleventh month, and the Hou Han chi (17, 3b) of Yüan Huüng has the twelfth month.
The information supplied by Yuan Hung is clearly wrong, for there was no chi-ch'ou day in the twelfth month. Concerning the date in the annals, Shen Chia-pen, based on the formulas of the chronicler, asserts that the four characters tung shih-yi yueh 冬十一月 before the day chi-ch'ou is an interpolation and that the earthquake should have taken place in the ninth month on the day chi-ch'ou (10.X.121), one day after the emperor paid his visit to the mansion of the Commandant of the Palace Guard Peng Shih 馮石 (HHS annals 5, 24b).

Because of this portent, the Minister of Works Ch'en Pao 陳蕡 was dismissed on Yen-kuang 1:4:kuai-su (11.VI.122). The decision was met with protest by the Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Ch'en Chung 陳忠 (d.125). In his memorial he argued that Ch'en Pao being a Minister of Works should not be responsible for the appearance of the portent because, politically speaking, he was merely a titular figure and held no power in civil administration. He further cited the case of how Emperor Ch'eng (32.7 B.C.) paid attention to the Gentleman-Consultant Li Hsin's astrological interpretation, dismissed the innocent Lieutenant Chancellor Chai Fang-chin 戴方進, and so caused him to commit suicide (HS 84 (lieh-chuan 54, 18a-19a). With this precedent, he urged the emperor to reconsider the practise of dismissing any of the three dukes on the occasion of a portent (HHS 46, (lieh-chuan 36), 24a-25a). Naturally, the protest of Ch'en Chung did
not change the court's policy. While the portent which was regarded as a warning from heaven to the misgovernment of the ruler, the emperor naturally sought some way to distract people's attention. This, of course, was to put the blame for the occurrence of the portent on the misrule of three dukes. For the dissatisfaction of the three dukes being dismissed for the occurrence of portents, see also the Chapter on Law and Ordinances (Fa-chieh pien 法誠備 in Ch'ang-yen 傳 3 of Chung Ch'ang-t'ung 仲長統 (HHS 49 (lieh-chuan 39), 32a-35a).

Again, there is another mistake made by Yuan Hung in his Hou Han chi (17, 4b). He associates the dismissal of Ch'en Pao with an earthquake which took place in the fourth month of Yen-kuang 1 (24.V-21.VI.122). This date cannot be justified by the annals of HHS nor by the treatise of Ssu-ma Piao.

Item No. 67

In the first year of Yen-kuang, in the seventh month, on the day kuei-mao (20.VIII.122) there were earthquakes at the capital and in thirteen of the commanderies and kingdoms.  

(4b)

Item No. 68

(In the first year of Yen-kuang), in the ninth month, on the day wu-shen (24.X.122) there were earthquakes in twenty-seven of the commanderies and kingdoms.  

(4a)
In the second year (of Yen-kuang) there were earthquakes at the imperial capital and in thirty-two of the commanderies and kingdoms.

HHS 54 (lieh-chuan 44), 7a-b, dates this catastrophe took place on the wu-ch'en day, the fourth day of the eleventh month. However, as Ssu-ma Kuang in his T'ung-chien k'ao-yi (TCTC, p. 1629) has pointed out, the wu-ch'en day did not fall on the fourth day of the eleventh month but on the fourth day of the twelfth month. It seems most likely that the character yi is an error for erh. Therefore the actual date for this event was on Yen-kuang 2:12:wu-ch'en, equivalent to the Western 7.I.124.

The area affected by the earthquake in this year, as described by both HHS annals 5, 27b, and the Hou-Han chi of Yüan Hung 17, 8b, both differ from the text here. The annals refer to the imperial capital and three of the commanderies: Shen Chia-pen suggests this may be due to the omission of two characters shih erh after san 'three' (See HHS of Chung-hua edition, p. 247). On the other hand, Yüan Hung's chronicle has the imperial capital and thirty-seven commanderies and kingdoms, five more commanderies and kingdoms than the text here; this is probably due to a misreading of ch'i 'seven' for erh 'two'.

The then Grand Commandant Yang Chen is said to have associated this evidently considerable event with
the exercise of power by the eunuchs Fan Feng, Chou Kuang (扈艶), and Hsieh Yü. He severely attacked them for forging imperial summons to ask the Grand Minister of Agriculture to distribute grain and money and the Court Architect to provide criminal labourers and building material for their own private mansions. HHS 54 (lieh-chuan 44), 8a, tells us that although Emperor An read this criticism, he made no comment on it.

Item No. 70

In the third year (of Yen-kuang, 124) there were earthquakes at the capital and in twenty-three of the commanderies and kingdoms. At that time, because of the slanders against them, (the emperor) dismissed the Grand Commandant Yang Chen and deposed the heir-apparent.

(4a)

Instead of twenty-three of the commanderies and kingdoms, the Hou Han chi (17, lla) of Yuán Hung has twenty-two (erh-shih-erh =+---).

Item No. 71

In the fourth year (of Yen-kuang), in the tenth month on the day ting-ssu there were earthquakes at the capital and in sixteen of the commanderies and kingdoms. At that time, Emperor An had died and the Empress-dowager née Yen controlled the government. Her brother Yen Hsien and others all had authority in the affairs of state. They drove the son of Emperor An from the palace and they summoned the sons of kings from various
states (in order to select their own candidate for the throne). However, before they had arrived, the Palace Attendants within the Yellow Gate had killed Yen Hsien and his brothers.

(4a-b)

The text here reads the tenth month, but this is obviously wrong for it did not contain a ting-ssu day. Following the suggestion of Shen Chia-pen in his Hou Han shu so-yen, 6b, I believe it should read the eleventh month. The ting-ssu day of the eleventh month was 16.XII.125.

Item No. 72

During the reign of Emperor Shang, in the first year of Yen-p'ing, in the fifth month, on the day jen-ch'en (4.VII.106) there was an avalanche at the mountain in Yüan prefecture in Ho-tung. At that time the Empress-dowager née Teng had taken supreme power in the government. In the autumn, in the eighth month (16.IX-14.X.106) Emperor Shang died.

The text here gives the name of the prefecture as Heng恒, which is evidently wrong for there was no such prefecture in the Ho-tung commandery. I therefore amend it, following Hung Liang-chi, to Yüan垣 which lay west of the present-day Chiu-yüan-ch'u垣垣 in Shansi.

HHS 109 (chih 19), 12a-b, notes that there was a Wang-wu-shan 厉山 in the east of Yüan prefecture. In his excellent annotation to the ancient geographical work YÜ kung 瑣 in Shang 'shu, Ku Chieh-kang 謙謙 identifies this mountain laying northeast 100 li of
Chiu-yüan-ch'ü connected with the Hsin-ch'eng Mount Ch'eng in Yang-ch'eng 阳城. (See his "Yü kung" in Chung-kuo ku-tai ti-li min-chu hsüan-tu I, p.33).

The Ku-chin chu, cited in the commentary at HHS annals 4, 27b, describes the magnitude of this landslide as "seven chang 長 long and four chang in width".

According to K'ung ts'ung-tzu B, 18a, Kung Chi-yen 九章彦 (78-124), recommended as Leaders of Political Thought in 122, interpreted this portent as a result of the control of the government by the Lady Teng. Note that the K'ung ts'ung-tzu text has some mistakes. It omits a character Ho 河 before Tung 東 and wrongly gives the name of the mountain as Chü-wu-shan 城武山.

Beside this avalanche, there is another which does not appear in either the annals of HHS nor the treatise of Ssu-ma Piao. It is recorded in Shui-ching chu 33, 1b, which says that in 107 the Min Mountain 延山 (also known as Hung Chung 鴻салон, Yao Chiao 永佳 or T'ieh-pa Ling 鐵豹陵) in Chien-ti-tao 漳川道 (northwest of Sung-pan 汕平 in the north of Szechwan) of Shu Commandery had collapsed and blocked the flow of the Min River for three days.

Item No. 73

During the reign of Emperor An, in the first year of Yung-ch'u, in the sixth month, on the day ting-ssu (24.VII.107) there was a fall of earth in Yang 阳 prefecture in Ho-tung. The fault was one hundred and forty paces from east to west,
and one hundred and twenty paces from north to south, and it was thirty-five feet deep. (8a)

Yang prefecture was fifteen li southeast of present-day Hung-tung county in Shansi.

Item No. 74

In the sixth year (of Yung-ch'u), in the sixth month, on the day jen-ch'en (23.VII.112) there were avalanches in sixty-three places on the Yuan Mountain of Yüan-ch'i in Yü-chang. (8a-b)

The Yuan Mountain, now called Mount Tsung, situated at seventy li southeast of Lai-wu county in Shantung.

Item No. 75

In the first year of Yuan-ch'u, in the third month, on the day chi-mao (10.V.114) the earth at Jih-nan was torn open for one hundred and eighty-two li. Three years later, in the first month (19.II-20.III.117) the bandits of Ts'ang-wu and Ho-p'u rose up together and kidnapped and plundered the officials and the common people. (8b)

A description of this disaster given in Tung-kuan Han-chi, cited in HHS annals 5, 14b, says that the crack was one hundred and eighty-two li long and fifty-six li in width.

Jih-nan was one of the commanderies of Ch'iao Province. It was colonised by Emperor Wu of Former Han in 111 B.C. It contained four prefectures: Chu-wu,
Pi-ching 比景, Lu-yung 廈容, Hsiang-lin 象林 and
Hsi-chüan 西僩, of which the latter was the capital
of the commandery. In commenting to a fragment of a
lost work Wu-shih wai-kuo chuan 吳外國傳 of K'ang
T'ai 尊泰 (third century A.D.), Hsü Yün-chiao cites the
identification on Hsi-chüan made by L. Aurousseau as
present Long-the, a location somewhere near Hue in the
middle of Vietnam. (See his K'ang T'ai Wu-shih wai'kuo
chuan chi-chu, pp.25-26).

In the K'ai-yuan chan-ching 開元占經 4, 7b, (a
work by an Indian astronomer Ch'u-t'an Hsi-ta 翁幾
ि (Gautama Siddhartha) who served the T'ang, which was
discovered in a Taoist Temple in 1617), a fragment of an
apocryphal literature Ch'un-ch'iu yen-k'ung-t' u 春秋演
孔圖 is quoted saying:

A cracking of the earth (is a sign of) the Yin
force being rebellious and not in tranquillity,
of the Yang force being not displayed, and of
subordinates' behaviour having no restraint, which
results in the people in the empire plotting to
dethrone their king. (地坼,陰畔不靜,陽不施,
臣下挾私,故天下以謀去主)

Based on this interpretation, one may suspect that the
portent was first used by court officials as a warning
of Lady Teng's control over the empire but that inter-
pretation was later removed, so that Ssu-ma Piao takes
it as a foreshadow of the rebellion of Ts'ang-wu, Yü-lin
and Ho-p'u in 117.
Item No. 76
In the second year (of Yüan-ch'u), in the sixth month (10.VII-7.VIII.115) there was a rendering of the earth at Lo-yang and Hsin-ch'eng in Ho-nan. (8b)

Item No. 77
In the second year of Yen-kuang, in the seventh month (10.VIII-7.IX.123) there were avalanches in forty-seven places among the mountains of Tan-yang. (8b)

Tan-yang was in Tan-yang commandery in Yang Province, in the area of present-day southern Anhwei. The mountains referred to are the northern ridges of the Huang Shan range.

Item No. 78
In the third year (of Yen-kuang), in the sixth month, on the day keng-wu (7.VII.124) there was an avalanche in the mountains of Lang-chung in Pa Commandery. (8b)

The prefecture of Lang-chung lay to the west of present-day Lang-chung in Szechwan.

Item No. 79
In the fourth year (of Yen-kuang), in the tenth month, on the day ping-wu (5.XII.125) there was an avalanche among the mountains of Yüeh-sui in Shu Commandery that killed more than four hundred people. The day ping-wu was the day on which the Son of Heaven met his ministers. At that time the Empress-dowager née Yen held power. In the eleventh month of that year,
the Regular Palace Attendant Sun Ch'eng and his associates killed Chiang Ching and set up Emperor Shun and executed the brothers of the Empress née Yen. In the following year (126) the Empress née Yen died. (8b-9a)

The Lady Yen died on Yung-chien l:1:hsin-wei (28.II.126). She was granted the posthumous title of An-ssu安思, "Peaceful and Thoughtful" Empress.

**Item No. 80**

During the reign of Emperor An, in the first year of Yung-ch'ü (107) there were strong winds which uprooted trees. At that time the Empress-dowager née Teng held power. Because the son of the King of Ch'ing-ho who was still young was said to be intelligent and able, she therefore placed him on the throne. That was Emperor An. She did not set up the imperial heir-apparent (Liu) Sheng for she thought that Emperor An was worthy and would certainly show favour to the members of Teng clan. Later, however, Emperor An trusted in slander and he deposed and dismissed the members of Teng clan. He ordered officials of the commanderies and prefectures to oppress them so that eight to nine of the clan died and the family came to ruin. This was a case of confusion. After this the Western Ch'iang barbarians also made great trouble in Liang Province for more than ten years. (10b)

**Item No. 81**

In the second year (of Yung-ch'ü), in the sixth month (26.VI-25.VII.108) in the imperial capital and forty of the
commanderies and kingdoms there were strong winds which uprooted trees.  

Item No. 82

In the third year (of Yung-ch'u), in the fifth month, on the day kuei-yu (?) in the imperial capital there was a strong wind which uprooted ninety-six catalpa trees along the roads in southern suburbs.  

There was no kuei-yu day in that month. According to HHS annals 5, 9a, the strong wind happened on the day kuei-ch'ou 9.VII.109.

Item No. 83

In the seventh year (of Yung-ch'u), in the eighth month, on the day ping-yin (30.VIII.113) in the imperial capital there was a strong wind which uprooted trees.

Item No. 84

In the second year of Yuan-ch'u (115), in the second month, on the day kuei-hai (?) in the imperial capital city there was a strong wind which uprooted trees.

There was no kuei-hai day in the second month. Shen Chia-pen in his Hou Han shu so-yen 12, 7b, has pointed out that the character erh ysi 'second' before yueh 3  'month' must be an error for san 3L 'three' for HHS annals 5, 16a, says there was a strong wind in the imperial capital on Yuan-ch'u 2:3:kuei-hai (19.IV.115).
Item No. 85

In the sixth year (of Yüan-ch'ü), in the summer, in the fourth month (28.IV-26.V.119) in P'ei Kingdom and Po-hai there were strong winds which uprooted more than thirty thousand trees.

The P'ei Kingdom was a commandery in Yü Province; now northwest of Shu county in Anhwei.

The Po-hai was a commandery in Ch'i Province; its capital was Nan-p'i, now northeast of Nan-p'i county in Hopei.

Item No. 86

In the second year of Yen-kuang, in the third month, on the day ping-shen (?) in Ho-tung and Ying-ch'uan there were strong winds which uprooted trees. In the sixth month, on the day jen-wu (?) in eleven of the commanderies and kingdoms there were strong winds which uprooted trees. At that time Emperor An trusted in slander and did not distinguish right from wrong.

There was no ping-shen day in the third month nor jen-wu day in the sixth month of the second year of Yen-kuang. Since this omen does not appear in either HHS annals 5 nor the Hou Han chi of Yüan Hung, we have no way to identify them but have to make some assumptions. First if we presume that the year should be changed to first instead of the second, then only the day jen-wu in the sixth month could be identified as 30.VII.122. Secondly, if we take the year as third, then both dates could be
justified: ping-shen in the third month equals to 4.IV.124 and jen-wu in the sixth month 19.VII.124. Hence, it is most likely that the year erh = 'second' is an error for san = 'three'.

The Ho-tung commandery was at present-day Shansi while Ying-ch’uan in Honan.

Item No. 87

In the third year (or Yen-kuang, 124) in the imperial capital and thirty-six of the commanderies and kingdoms there were strong winds which uprooted trees.

(HHS chih 17

The Commentary on the Five Elements says, "(If) the sovereign does not administer well, this may be called lack of construction. The first sign is poor eyesight; the punishment is excessive cold; and if it goes too far the final result is weakness. At such a time there will appear inauspicious omens in archery; at such a time there will appear monstrosities among dragons and snakes; at such a time there will appear unfortunate omens from horses; at such a time there will appear evil occasions where men of low position attack their superiors; at such a time the sun and moon will move in disorder and stars and planets move in retrogression." The character huang means ch’ün 'ruler'; chi means chung 'right'; and mao means pu-ming 'dim'. The exposition remarks, "This is attack upon Heaven". But the text here does not say it is an attack upon
Heaven because Heaven is the more honourable (and the five elements would never attack it). The Annals of Spring and Autumn says, "The loyal army lost merit", showing that the defeat was brought upon the army by itself (not by the activities of the contemptible enemy).

(1a-2a)

Item No. 88

During the reign of Emperor An, in the third year of Yen-kuang (124), it was reported from Chi-nan that a yellow dragon had appeared at Li-ch'eng.

(3a)

It was reported to the throne on Yen-kuang 3:9:hsin-hai (16. X.124). Li-ch'eng is at present-day north of Ch'eng-hsien, Kansu.

Item No. 89

(In the third year of Yen-kuang) it was (also) reported from Lang-yeh that a yellow dragon had appeared at Chu. At that time, Emperor An gave ear to slander and dismissed the Grand Commandant Yang Chen from office, and Yang Chen committed suicide. Moreover, the emperor had only one son, and had made him heir-apparent. Now, because of his belief in the slander, he deposed him. This is (a case that) the sovereign does not administer well and so there appeared monstrosities among dragons. At this time many of the officials employed at court were deceitful and flattering, and so these portents were interpreted as auspicious signs.

(3a-3b)
It was reported to the throne on Yen-kuang 3:12:yi-wei (28.I.125). The prefecture of Chu was southwest of present-day Chu-ch'eng in Shantung.

**Item No. 90**

In the first month of the next year (21.II-21.III.125) it was also reported from Tung Commandery that two yellow dragons had appeared at P'u-yang.

(3b)

It was reported to the throne on Yen-kuang 4:1:jen-wu (16.III.125). The annals describe not only the appearance of two yellow dragons but also the appearance of ch'i-lin 'unicorn'. The sacred animal ch'i-lin is believed to appear only when there is an intelligent ruler. See de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty*, note 54 at pp.72-73.

P'u-yang is now southwest of P'u-yang in Honan.

**Item No. 91**

During the reign of Emperor An, in the sixth year of Yüan-ch'ü, in the eleventh month, on the day wu-tzu (22.XII.107) the people fell into a panic and ran away. They abandoned their goods and chattels and left their homes.

(5b)

See note to Item No. 6.

**Item No. 92**

During the reign of Emperor An, in the sixth year of Yüan-ch'ü, in the summer, in the fourth month (28.IV-26.V.119) there was a great plague in K'uai-ch'i.
This pestilence must have been quite serious, and resulted in the deaths of many people. The court commissioned the Imperial Household Grandee to lead a team of imperial physicians to inspect and succour the refugees in the stricken region. Orders were given for coffins to be granted to people in order that they might bury their relatives. At the same time, exemptions of land tax and poll-tax were granted. See Ssu-ma Piao Hsu Han shu 1, 4a, and HHS annals 5, 21b.

K'uai-chi was one of the commanderies in Yang Province situated close to the Hangchow Bay.

Item No. 93

In the fourth year of Yen-kuang, in the winter (125), there was a great plague in the imperial capital district.

This pestilence caused the court anxiety because so many people died. As a result, on Yen-kuang 4:12:hsin-hsi (8.II.126), an edict was issued calling ministers in the central government and administrators from the local authorities to recommend men who were Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright, and Able to Speak Frankly and Admonish Unflinchingly each for the throne.

In Yung-chien 1 (126-7), just after Emperor Shun had been set upon the throne by his eunuch attendants, the Prefect Grand Clerk Chang Heng memorialised the throne with regard to this plague. He attributed the occurrence of the calamity to two events: first, the concealment of the death of Emperor An and the unsuccessful attempt on
the imperial succession by the imperial consort Yen family; and second, the unsuitable time for the construction of the tomb of Emperor An, that is at the Winter Solstice, which was tabooed by the early Chinese calendar Yueh ling (月令 'Monthly Ordinances'), a work written about 240 B.C. (See the commentary to the text here and also Chang Ho-chien chi (張衡傳記 2, 31a-32a).

In his Chang Heng nien-p'u (張衡年譜 (pp.92-93), Sun Wen-ch'ing says that while Chang Heng presented this interpretation, he still held the post of Prefect of the Major in Charge of Official Chariots and it was not until after the appreciation by Emperor Shun for this interpretation that he was transferred back as the Prefect Grand Clerk. This is obviously wrong, for in his memorial Chang Heng clearly says that "the responsibility of your servant is to scrutinize portents and seek to avert calamity, and the object of my thoughts is to guard and give assistance. If no reason has been discovered [for the appearance of the portent] morning and evening (I) will tremble in fear". This undoubtedly implies that Chang Heng must be the Prefect Grand Clerk, for it was this office, according to the Treatise on Officialdom (HHS chih 25, 1b-2a), which dealt with portents and their interpretation.
During the reign of Emperor An, in the first year of Yung-ch'u, in the third month, on the day kuei-yu (11.IV.107), the second day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was two degrees in the constellation Wei 'Stomach'. The constellation Wei presides over granaries. At that time the Empress-dowager née Teng held supreme power. In the previous year there had been great floods which injured the harvest and made the granaries empty.

This was an annular solar eclipse (Oppolzer No. 3150) which was visible over the Malay Archipelago at about 8.00 a.m. Lo-yang local time.

The lunar mansion Wei 'Stomach' is the Western 41, 39 and 35 Aries (Ho, p.95)

Besides this eclipse, the commentary of Liu Chao cites a fragment from the lost Ku-chin chu of Fu Wu-chi (fl. 136-152), the grandfather of Fu Wan who married the daughter of Emperor Huan, saying that there was an eclipse of the sun in the third month of Yung-ch'u 3 (109). Chu Wen-hsin in his Li-tai jih-shih k'ao (p.35) suggests that this record of an eclipse must refer to the one which took place on Yung-ch'u 3:7:chi-ch'ou (14.VIII.109), being Oppolzer No. 3157. It was a total eclipse over Siberia at about 8.00 a.m. local time.

The work Ku-chin chu has been wrongly attributed by
H.H. Dubs in his *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, III, p.556 as a work written about 300. Dubs probably confused this with work bearing the same title by Ts'ui Pa, a subject of the Chin dynasty.

**Item No. 95**

In the fifth year (of Yung-ch'u), in the first month, on the day keng-ch'en (27.I.111), the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was at eight degrees of the constellation Hsü 'Emptiness'. The first month (of a year) is the correct day for a king to be in command of the government. The constellation Hsü represents empty fame. At that time the Empress-dowager née Teng held power and Emperor An was not able to direct the government. Neither of them were acting correctly. It was as if the throne of the king was empty, and thus the Yang force was unable to overcome the Yin force had infiltrated and oppressed the Yang force, so the barbarians Yi and Ti together plundered and harmed people, and the various commanderies at the western border were all empty.

(7b)

This was a total eclipse (Oppolzer No. 3160) with its central zone passing through from southwest to northwest in the sky of China at about 2.00 p.m. Lo-yang local time.

The constellation Hsü is identified as Western β Aquarius and α Equuleus (Ho, p.95).

This eclipse together with the earthquake on 2.II.111 (Item No. 55) resulted in the dismissal of the Grand Commandant Chang Yü.
In the seventh year (of Yung-ch'u), in the fourth month, on the day ping-shen (1.VI.113), the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was at one degree of the constellation Tung-ch'ing 'Eastern Well'.

(7b)

This eclipse is catalogued in Oppolzer's Canon at No. 3167. Calculation shows that it was a total eclipse visible from Lo-yang at about 6.15 p.m. local time.

The lunar mansion Tung-ch'ing 'Eastern Well' contains stars of μ, ν, γ, ε, 36, ζ and λ Gemini (Ho, p.95).

In the first year of Yüan-ch'u, in the tenth month, on the day wu-tzu (15.XI.114), the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was at ten degrees of the constellation Wei 'Tail'. The Wei constellation denotes the harem and the succession. At that time the emperor showed great favour to the Honoured Lady née Yen and intended to establish her as empress. Therefore heaven displayed this bad omen to indicate that it would be a disaster to the succession. In the fourth month of the next year (the Lady Yen) was established as empress. Later she and Chiang Ching, Keng Pao and others slandered the heir-apparent and caused him to be deposed.

(7b-8a)

This annular eclipse (Oppolzer No. 3170) occurred at about 2.00 p.m. Lo-yang local time, which according to
Chu Wen-hsin's calculation in his *Li-tai jih-shih k'ao* (p.35) must have had its central zone over Thailand and Vietnam. It was evidently visible in China.

The lunar mansion Wei 'Tail' corresponds with the Western \( \epsilon, \mu, \xi, \eta, \theta, j, k, \lambda \) and \( \upsilon \) in the constellation Scorpio (Ho, p.95).

Besides this eclipse, *HHS* annals 5, 14b, also records another in the same year on the day kuei-yu of the third month (4.V.114) being the twelfth day of that month. This however, is impossible, for no eclipse can take place in the middle of a lunar month. Li Tz'u-ming in his *Hou Han shu tsa chi* 1, 7a-b, (included in *Yüeh-man-t'ang tu-shu tsa-chi*) suggests that this is simply a duplication, wrongly included by the annalist Fan Yeh, and repeating the eclipse of Yung-ch'u 1:3:kuei-yu (11.IV.107) in the text here.

**Item No. 98**

In the second year (of Yuan-ch'u), in the ninth month, on the day jen-wu (4.XI.115), the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was at four degrees of the constellation Hsin 'Heart'. The constellation Hsin denotes the king, and it shows that Emperor An by this time had long failed to exercise his rightful authority.

This eclipse is catalogued in Oppolzer's *Canon* at No. 3173. Calculation shows that it reached its greatest phase of the magnitude of 2.5 at 4.00 p.m. Lo-yang local time.
The lunar mansion Hsin 'Heart' contains stars of α, δ, τ Scorpio (Ho, p.97).

The astrological interpretation of constellation Hsin as denoting the king perhaps can be found in the Treatise of Astronomy in Chin shu. It says that the three stars of Hsin form the throne of the king of the heavens and the central star Ming-t'ang 明堂 (Antares) symbolises the throne of the Son of Heaven (See Ho, p.97).

Item No. 99
In the third year (or Yuan-ch'u), in the third month, on the day hsin-hai (1.IV.116) the second day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was five degrees of the constellation Lou 皷 'Bond'. It was not observed by the office of astronomy but was reported from Liao-tung 遼東.

This eclipse is confirmed by Oppolzer's calculation, with catalogue No. 3174. It was an annular eclipse and would have been effective in China at dawn, reaching its apparent ecliptic conjunction at about 10.00 p.m. G.M.T. on 31.III, or 6.00 a.m. on 1.IV in China.

The text here says that the phenomenon was not noticed by the astronomical bureau at the capital, possibly due to the early hour and/or local clouding, but it was reported from Liao-tung, in southern Manchuria. Oppolzer charts the moon's umbra as passing through present-day Liaoning province.

The lunar mansion Lou 'Bond' is identified as Western β, γ and α Aries (Ho. p.95).
Item No. 100

In the fourth year (of Yüan-ch'ū), in the second month, on the day yī-hai, the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was nine degrees of the constellation K'uei 女 'Legs'. It was not observed by the office of astronomy but was reported from seven commanderies. The constellation K'uei presides over the arms in the arsenal. On the day jen-hsū, the eighth day of the tenth month, there was a fire in the Arsenal which burned arms and equipment.

(8b)

There was no yī-hai day in the second month of this year. Since HHS annals 5, 18b, dates this eclipse on the day yī-ssu, being equivalent to the western 21.III.117, and modern calculation confirms that there actually was an annular eclipse (Oppolzer No. 3176) on that day about 10.00 a.m. Lo-yang local time, it is therefore evident that the day yī-hai was a mistake for yī-ssu.

This astrological interpretation can perhaps be found in Ch'ūn-ch'iu wei ho-ch'eng-t'u 春秋繫合編盟 国 and Ch'ūn-ch'iu wei tso-chu-ch'i apocryphal literatures circulated towards the end of the Former Han, which says: "The constellation K'uei presides over the military equipment in the arsenal" (recollected by Ma Kuo-han in his Yū-han shan-fang chi-yi-shu 55, 45a and 56,9b).
The constellation K'uei is identified with the Western Pisces $\phi^2$, $\tau$, $\nu$, $\phi$, $\psi$, $\varpi$ and Andromeda $\eta$, $\zeta$, $i$, $\epsilon$, $\delta$, $\pi$, $\nu$, $\mu$, $\beta$ and 32. (Ho. p.95).

The day jen-hsü on which the fire took place in the Arsenal is modified in the text here as the eighth day of the tenth month 'ch'i shih yüeh pa-jih' 輀月八日 which is obviously incorrect. Both HHS annals 5, 18b, and HHS chih 14, 3b, clearly dates this event on the day jen-hsü day in the second month of 117 (7.IV). If we take yi-ssu as the first day of the second month, then the day jen-hsü will be the eighteenth day. In view of this, Chou Shou-ch'ang suggested that the text here should read ch'i yüeh shih pa jih 輀月十八日 'the eighteenth day of the month', inverting the characters yüeh and shih.

**Item No. 101**

In the fifth year (of Yüan-ch'u), in the eighth month, on the day ping-shen (3.IX.118), the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was at 18 degrees of the constellation Yi 翼 'Wings'. It was not observed by the office of astronomy but was reported from Chang-yeh 張掖.

(8b)

This eclipse is catalogued in Oppolzer's Canon at No. 3179.

The text here says that the phenomenon was not noticed by the astronomical bureau at the capital, but
it was reported from Chang-yeh in the northwest.

Modern calculations show that the eclipse was invisible not only from Lo-yang but also from Chang-yeh. Since Oppolzer charts the moon's umbra as passing through present-day Thailand, we may suspect that this eclipse must have been reported from the southern provinces, perhaps Jih-nan in present-day Vietnam, and Ssu-ma Piao has mistakenly cited the place as Chang-yeh.

The lunar mansion Yi 'Wing' contains stars α and γ Crater and 20 others (Ho, p.95).

Item No. 102

In the sixth year (of Yuan-ch'u), in the twelfth month, on the day wu-wu (18.1.120), the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was almost a total eclipse making the earth as dark as in the evening. It was at 11 degrees of the constellation Hsü-nü 'Serving Maid' which is a sign of danger for a female ruler. Two years later, in the third month, the Empress-dowager née Teng died.

(8b-9a)

Calculation shows that this eclipse (Oppolzer 3184) reached totality over Lo-yang about 1.30 p.m. local time.

The lunar mansion Hsü-nü 'Serving Maid' is identified as Western ε, μ, 4 and 3 Aquarius.

The compiler of the Treatises, Ssu-ma Piao, takes this eclipse as a sign of the future death of Lady Teng. But this was not the initial astrological explanation. From a memorial preserved in Li-shih chia-shu (Family Letters of the Li Clan), cited in Liu Chao's
commentary to this text, we note that the then Minister of Works Li Ho 郭, basing his argument upon this portent, foretold a plot by eunuchs against the court. See note to Item No. 63.

**Item No. 103**

In the first year of Yung-ning, in the seventh month, on the day yi-yu (12.VIII.120), the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was 15 degrees of the constellation Chang extensions. It was not observed by the office of astronomy but was reported from Chiu-ch'uan.

(9b)

Both HHS annals 5, 22b, and the text here give the date as Yung-ning 1:7:yi-yu 优 (12.VIII.120) which is evidently wrong because, according to Oppolzer, no eclipse took place on that particular day. In view of this, Chu Wen-hsin in his Li-tai jih-shih k'ao (note 14 on p.41) suggests that the date may be rendered to Yung-ning 1:5:yi-mao (13.VII.120). His suggestion, I think, is supported not only etymologically but also astronomically. It is certainly possible to confuse the character mao 萬 and yu 父 and Oppolzer 3185 confirms that there was an eclipse on 13.VII.120 which was hardly visible from the imperial capital Lo-yang but was observable from Chiu-ch'uan in the northwest. It was a total eclipse at Chiu-ch'uan local time about 5.30 p.m.
Item No. 104

In the year of Yen-kuang, in the ninth month, on the day keng-yin, the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was at 15 degrees of the constellation Ti 'Root'. The constellation Ti denotes the palace of residence (Su-kung 宿宮). The character kung 'palace' refers to chung-kung 'Inner Palace'. At that time the emperor listened to the slanders from the Regular Palace Attendants Chiang Ching, Fan Feng and the wet-nurse Wang Sheng and their associates, and deposed the imperial heir-apparent.

(9b)

The text here gives the cyclical day as keng-yin which is definitely wrong for there was no such day in that month. The HHS annals 5, 29b, has the day keng-shen 庚申, the thirtieth day of that lunar month, being equivalent to Western 25.X.124, and according to Oppolzer's Canon an eclipse No. 3195 did occur on the day. Calculation shows that it was a total eclipse at 10.00 a.m. Lo-yang local time.

The constellation Ti 'Root' contains the stars of α, 1, γ and β Libra.

Item No. 105

In the fourth year (of Yen-kuang), in the third month, on the day wu-wu (21.IV.125), the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. It was at 12 degrees of the constellation Wei 'Stomach'. The commanderies Lung-hsi, Chiu-ch'üan 酋 and shuo-fang 洲 each submitted memorials about it, though the office of astronomy (at the capital)
had not been aware of it. (9b-10a)

This was an annular eclipse and is listed No. 3196 in the catalogue of Oppolzer's Canon. It happened at about 4.30 p.m. Lo-Yang local time, over the sky of Mongolia and was therefore visible, as the chronicler says here, from the three commanderies Lung-hsi, Chiu-ch'Uan and Shuo-fang, in present-day Kansu province and Inner Mongolia.

There is a lengthy astrological interpretation by Ma Jung on this eclipse, which is cited by the commentator Liu Ch'ao, who states that it was submitted by Ma on the day keng-shen 复中 of the fourth month while he was Prefect of Hsü 許 (southwest of Hsü-ch'ang 許昌, Honan). This citation, however, is put on the wrong place. First, there was no keng-shen day in the fourth month of 125. Second, according to HHS 60A (lieh-chuan 50A), 17b, after he composed the T'ung hsün sung 諉頌 praising the annual hunting trip of Emperor An in March-May 124, Ma was appointed as a Gentleman of the Palace, and he remained in that post till the enthronement of Emperor Shao on 18.V.125, when he became an Officer of the Department of Merit. There is no suggestion that Ma Jung could have been Prefect of Hsü between March 124 and May 125. Third, the text of Ma Jung chi quoted here contains an astrological interpretation presented by Ma Jung at Tuan Gate 端門.
in the Northern Palace concerning future raids by the Wu-huan barbarians at Shang Commandery and by the Ch'iang. If we read this against HHS 60A (lieh-chuan 50A), 17b-19a, and the Hsu Han shu cited by Li Hsien, we find that the interpretation referring to an appearance of a comet in the constellation of Shen (Orionis), was in 133, not 125. In other words, from this internal evidence, the interpretation in Ma Jung chi cited by the commentator should be placed sometime after 133.

On the other hand, the commentary of Liu Ch'ao at HHS chih 18, 11a, cites another fragment of a memorial of Chang Heng (78-139):

In the third month of this year, a solar eclipse was noticed by Shuo-fang. (I am) afraid that there will be military calamities in that commandery. Your servant suggests that orders should be given to the prefectures and commanderies on the northern frontier to prepare beacon (fires for warning), and to keep watch (upon the enemy) from the distance. Grains and domestic animals should be hidden well and strongly guarded. They should not be exposed (to the risk of capture).

This fragment has been recollected by Chang Fu in Chang Ho-chien chi (p.92) Sun Wen-ch'ing suggests that the
memorial is referring to this eclipse of 125, but offers no reason.

Apart from the fact that the month agrees with this eclipse, two items in *HHS* annals 6, 4b-5b, strongly support his suggestion. First, on 7.VII.126, an imperial edict was issued urging Inspectors of Yu, Ping and Liang Provinces to give a name list of those officials with nominal salary of two thousand *shih* to the lower positions such as Prefect and Commandant who were old and weak and did not do the military service. The edict also ordered major military preparations for enemy attacks. This may have been a consequence of the memorial of Chang Heng. Two months later, the Hsien-pi started to raid the northern frontier of the Han empire.

Eulogy

When the government acts properly and constructively, the five events (presided over by the five elements) will certainly be in order. However, when punishment and signs appear and it comes to a stage that the five elements are attacking each other, this is a result of rebellion and trouble, usurption or transgression. In these circumstances, Fire will burn downwards (instead of flaring up), Water will leap up (instead of soaking down), Wood will become soft (instead of being solid), and Metal will sour in taste (instead of acrid). Surely these strange phenomenon do not occur without good cause. It is the Essence (of the universe) surging forth and displaying itself to our view.
Appendix: A Re-examination on the Dates Appeared in the Later Han Bamboo Documents Excavated in the Twelfth Century A.D.

From present extant written records, we know that there were some occasions of discovery of Later Han bamboo documents before the beginning of twentieth century A.D. The earliest such find is recorded from as far back as the Chin dynasty. At that time a bamboo document was discovered at the foot of Mount Sung-kao, in present-day Teng-feng county in Honan, a location where the Han rulers often offered their worship to heaven. After an expert investigation by the Erudit Shu Hsi (ca. 265-ca. 306), it was believed to be an elegiac bamboo tablet written on the death of Emperor Ming of Later Han. The second discovery, in the beginning of the Ch'ung-ning reign-period of the Northern Sung dynasty, has been reported by Shao Po in his Ho-nan Shao-shih wen-chien hou lu. In a very brief survey of some eighty words, Shao Po informs us that the documents dated Chang-ho reign-period concern distribution of silk and grain presumably to the northwest frontier. There is no other information come down to us, and the documents are unavailable for our studies now.

The other excavation appears to have taken place sometime between A.D. IIII and IIII. In his Tung-kuan yu lun (Supplementary Notes from the Eastern Pavilion), the eminent archaeologist and connoisseur Huang Po-ssu (d.1118) narrates that a mass of bamboo documents had been unearthed at Kuan-yu, region in the west of Han-ku Pass, when a certain man was digging in the earth. Most of these Later Han
bamboo slips, he adds, could not be studied because of their disordered condition. The only exception was an order for the suppression of the Ch'iang revolt in the beginning of the second century A.D. The content of this order in the first sight appears most interesting for it supplies us with a few minute and informal details which historical literature lacks. It reads as follows:

The day ting-wei was the first day of the sixth month of the second year of Yung-ch'u (108). On the twentieth day ping-yin the official dispatch from the headquarters of the General of the Chariots and Cavalry had arrived (at the office of) the assistant to the Chief Commandant of the dependent state of Shang Commandery. On the day ting-wei of the tenth month, the Prefect of T'ing-yi, San-shui (?) came to headquarters to receive the seal and orders in order to mobilise men for the suppression of the rebellious Ch'iang. Compliance should be taken as urgently as that accorded to statues and ordinances.

Basing on these slips, Huang Po-ssu brings forth the following three arguments against the validity of the history of Fan Yeh.

1. If a ting-wei day was the first day (shuo) of the sixth month of the second year of Yung-ch'u, then the twentieth day would naturally be a ping-yin day, as the slips show, and the twenty-second day of the same month would be a wu-ch'en day. However, the annals of Hou Han shu have recorded another wu-ch'en day in the seventh month and thus seems impossible.
2. On the other hand, if we accept the ting-wei day as the first day of the sixth month in the second year of Yung-ch'ü, then, according to calendric calculation, two further ting-wei days will appear within 120 days. And the slips do refer to a ting-wei day in the tenth month, which is perfectly right. But the annals of Hou Han shu indicate an intercalary seventh month in that year, 8 which makes the ting-wei day would fall in the ninth month instead of the tenth. Accepting without question the validity of the slips, Huang Po-ssu suggests that Fan Yeh was wrong to insert an intercalary seventh month in the second year of Yung-ch'ü.

3. Again, taking these slips as evidence, Huang Po-ssu compares them with the information given in the biography of Teng Chih in Hou Han shu. In the history, the retreat of Teng Chih from the war against the Ch'iang on the northwest battlefields is dated in the first year of Yung-ch'ü (107). Huang believes that the actual date should be sometime in the winter of the second year of Yung-ch'ü (108), as the slip clearly indicates that the General of Chariots and Cavalry (Teng Chih) was still involved in the war. This argument has been followed by the Ch'ing scholar Shen Ch'in-han 沈欽韓 (1775-1832) and it was quoted by Wang Hsien-ch'ien in his commentary. 9

Now we are put in a difficult position. Which calendric order is correct? Can one accept the arguments of Huang Po-ssu to discredit the record of Fan Yeh? It is true that the dates in other bamboo slips and stone inscriptions from the Han period have been of great value in reconstructing the lists of the first day of the months and the intercalary months (shou jun piao 節次编排). The reasons are very simple: first,
unearthed bamboo slips were official documents at that time in their original form, unlike the historical records handed down to us through various copyists, and secondly, the system of dating is given in far more detailed than in the histories.\textsuperscript{10} But there must have been some exceptional cases and the case of the text we discuss here seems to be one of them.

By checking all the dates in the document against the calendric table set up by Hsueh Chung-san and Ou-yang Yi in their \textit{A Sino-Western Calendar for Two Thousand Year 1-2000 A.D.}, we find that none of them fit with the year Yung-ch'u 2 (108-109), but they do match with the years Yen-p'ing 1 (106-107) and Yung-ch'u 1 (107-108). Below I give the Western equivalents and the numbers in the month.

A. Yen-p'ing 1:6:ting-wei (19.VII.106), the first day of the month.
   Yen-p'ing 1:6:ping-yin (7.VIII.106), the twentieth day of the month.
   Yen-p'ing 1:10:ting-wei (16.XI.106), the third day of the month.

B. Yung-ch'u 1:6:ting-wei (14.VII.107), the seventh day of the month.
   Yung-ch'u 1:6:ping-yin (2.VIII.107), the twenty-sixth day of the month.
   Yung-ch'u 1:10:ting-wei (11.XI.107), the ninth day of the month.

From the above tables we find that all dates for days and months in the bamboo text agree totally with those of Yen-p'ing 1 in both number and cyclical term, while for Yung-ch'u 1 the
months are in agreement, but not position of the days in the month. At first thought, one could tend to assume that the year in the text may be a mistake for Yen-p'ing 1. However, since the revolt of the Ch'iang broke out only in the summer of Yung-ch'u 1 it discredits the hypothesis. If the year is not a mistake for Yen-p'ing 1 then it must be an error for Yung-ch'u 1. Yet how are we to explain the disagreement of the position of the days in the month?

In answering this problem, one must appreciate the form of calendar that the people of Han China constructed. There was no calendar for the counting of days such as we have today. A day was indicated by its sexagenary term and its number in the month, then by the month, and then the year of a particular reign-period. This was the way that people kept track of the time, and there are a number of excellent Han calendars excavated in the northwest frontier at Tunhuang and Chüyen (Etsingol). One year's calendar, described by Michael Loewe, is displayed in thirty strips; each strip has a caption in the form yi-jih ~ "day one", erh-jih ~ etc., followed by the twelve or thirteen cyclical terms for the day specified as it occurs in each of the months of the year. Considering this form of calendar, I arrive at the conclusion that the writer of the bamboo text we are currently discussing quoted the calendar from the previous year. He intended to refer to the days of the sixth month of Yung-ch'u 1, but he gave instead the positions of the days according to the old calendar of the previous year Yen-p'ing 1. If we assume that the year was actually Yung-ch'u 1 then the ting-wei day in the tenth month is perfectly
possible: and since the strip was written at that time, we would expect it to be so.

All this amendment, of course, requires that we assume the character erh referring to the second year of Yung-ch'u has been misread for yuan "the first year". Given the state of many slips excavated in this century, but in drier conditions, it is very possible that the bottom of the character had been erased by time. It is, moreover, easier to believe in the loss of the two strokes on an unearthed document than to throw the whole dating system of Fan Yeh's annals into confusion and delay the campaign of Teng Chih against the Ch'iang by a year!

With this conclusion, I totally reject the suggestions of Huang Po-ssu. The bamboo text that he used could not be treated as evidence to question the chronicle of Fan Yeh or to amend the biography of Teng Chih in Hou Han shu. Instead, this document can only be regarded as evidence that before the court issued an amnesty for the revolted Ch'iang on Yung-ch'u 1:6:ting-mao (3.VIII), military preparations were already in progress for a full scale counter-attack if Ch'iang refused to respond to the amnesty.

Archaeology is a most useful instrument in helping us to understand the history. Yet the study of archaeology sometimes leads the historian to a considerable and unavoidable risk when the discoveries of an excavation throw a confused light upon other records. In treating and studying the results of archaeological excavations, one needs to be very careful.
Footnotes to Appendix

1 See the commentary of Liu Chao to HHS chih 6, 7b.

2 Shao Po, Ho-nan Shao-shih wen-chien hou lu (in Chin-tai pi-shu) 27, 4a-5a.

3 In his Yün-lu man ch'ao (p.105), Chao Yen-wei dates this excavation occurred to the Hsüan-ho reign-period (1119-1125) which is evidently incorrect because at that time Huang Po-ssu had already died. It appears that the reign-title Hsüan-ho is an error for Ch'ung-ho (1118) or Cheng-ho (1111-1117) with the chief probability for the former, since the characters hsüan and ch'ung are easily confused in written form.

Chao Yen-wei further reveals that the document was later in the hands of a certain Palace Attendant (nei-shih) Liang Shih-ch'eng and was witnessed by a scholar Wu Shih-tao. Unfortunately, it disappeared after the death of Liang Shih-ch'eng.

4 Huang Po-ssu has received no mention in the official Sung shih. His life, however, is recorded in a biographical sketch on his memorial tablet preserved in Li Kang's Liang Hsi hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi (1821-1850 edition) 168, 2a-7b.

The book Tung-kuan yü-lun, two chüan in all, is an edited work of colophons and comments on bronze ritual vessels, stone inscriptions and other items. It was edited by one of Huang Po-ssu's sons after Huang's death. The bamboo document I discuss here is cited under the sub-title "Han chien p'ien" in chüan A, 45a-47a.

5 The text here is very corrupt. The Yün-lu man ch'ao (p.105) has 'Commandant' instead of chung at this point after the character tu 部. After the phrase shu-kuo tu-wei 部, the Yün-lu man ch'ao has erh-ch'ien shih shou which the editor of Chin-tai pi-shu adds to the text here.
The collection of a seal and orders must refer to the institution of hu-fu 'Tiger tallies', by which a Chief Commandant should obtain a tally before he mobilised a force of troops. This institution had been abolished at the end of Former Han, but it was re-established in about A.D. 38, following the advice of the Grand Administrator of Nan-yang Tu Shih. See HHS 31 (lieh-chuan 21), 7a-8a.

The office of Chief Commandant of Shang Commandery was restored on Yung-yuan 2:2:chi-hai (6.IV.90) with headquarters at Ch'ü-tz'u-hsien, now northwest of Yü-lin in Shensi, probably on the occasion of the great campaign against the Northern Hsiung-nu led by Tou Hsien in that year. See HHS annals 4, 5a-b, and the T'ang commentary.

After chi-chi ju lu-ling the Yun-lu man-chao has eleven more characters ma ssu-shih-ssu p'i lu erh-pai tou jih ch'i. After this, HHS annals 5, 6b.

HHS annals 5, 7a.

HHS 16 (lieh-chuan 6), 12a (The chi-chieh edition of Wang Hsien-ch'ien).

See Ch'en Meng-chia, "Han chien nien-li piao hsü", in K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao 1965:2, 104.

Michael Loewe, "Some Notes on Han-time Documents from Chu-yen", T'oung Pao XLVII, 3-5, (1959), 312; see also Lao Kan, Chu-yen Han-chien (k'ao shih chih-pu), pp. 205-206.

One may observe, of course, that the reference to the ting-wei day of the sixth month occurs only because the scribe wished to formalise his calendar by referring to the first day of the month. The text should have referred to the hsin-ch'ou day.
Pages 45a - 46b of Tung-Kuan yu-lun (Additional Notes from the Eastern Pavilion), chuan A, in Chin-tai pi-shu edition, showing a comment on an Eastern Han inscribed bamboo document made by a famous Sung connoisseur Huang Po-seu.
Table 2: Portents including general portents from the Treatise of the Five Elements and astronomical phenomena from the Treatise of Astronomy recorded in Later Han
### TABLE 3: Portents recorded 106-125 A.D.

| Category          | 106 | 107 | 108 | 109 | 110 | 111 | 112 | 113 | 114 | 115 | 116 | 117 | 118 | 119 | 120 | 121 | 122 | 123 | 124 | 125 |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| General Portents  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| ASTRONOMICAL PHENOMENA | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FAVOURABLE OMENS  | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

(ON THE RIGHT HAND SIDE)
TABLE 4: The Interrelationship Between the Consort Families and the Imperial Liu Families

Marquis of Yang-ch'uan, Liu X

Chia Wu-chung

daughter D

Chu Yu

daughter C

Hsien-ch'ieh y'ien Honoured Lady née Ma (d.79)

Honoured Lady née Shen

Liu K'ai

Liu Yi (King of P'ing-y'dan)

Liu Shou (d.121)

Liu Yi (d.122)

Liu K'ang (d.93)

Liu Ch'ung (or Liu Pu-hu)

Emperor Ming

Lady X

Honoured Lady née Chia

Emperor Chang

Emperor Ho

Kung-huai Empress née Liang

Liu Sheng (King of P'ing-y'dan)

Lady X

Ho-hsi Empress - Dowager née Teng

Honoured Lady née Keng

Liu Ch'ing (b.78)

Lady Li

Emperor Shun (b.115)

Liu Pao (b.115)

Lady Li

Emperor An

Honoured Lady née Yen (A)

Lady Li

Empress née Yen (Yen Chi &Y ) (d.126)

Honoured Lady née Yen (B)

Yen Chang (d.117)

Yen Chang (d.117)

Lady Li

Honoured Lady née Yen (A)

Honoured Lady née Yen (B)

Hsien-ch'ieh y'ien Honoured Lady née Chia [B]

Hsien-ch'ieh y'ien Honoured Lady née Chia [A]
Sources to Table 4:

1. *Hou Han shu*

2. *Tung-kuan Han-chi* 12, la-5b.

3. *Han Chia-fu-jen Ma Ch'iang mu-shih* 漢員夫人馬姜墓石

4. "*Han Chia Wu-chung fu-jen Ma Ch'iang mu-men shih chi-pa*” 漢員武
   夫人馬姜墓石門記跋 by Yang Shu-ta 楊樹達,
   *Chi-wei-chu hsiao-hsüeh chin-shih lun-ts'ung* 積微居小學會論叢 (Shanghai, 1955), pp.303-305.

Symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marriage relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parents / child's relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer of kingship of King of P'ing-yüan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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(a) Po-na edition. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations appearing in the thesis are from this edition.

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(The Names of Kingdoms are Underlined)