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with

FIRST CLASS HONOURS
THE LAST OF THE HAN

A translation of chapters 59 to 63 of the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien of Ssu-ma Kuang.

by Rafe de Crespigny.

First volume.
THE LAST OF THE HAN

being a translation of the chronicle of the reign
of Emperor Hsien of the Later Han, 189 to 220 AD,

漢獻帝

as recorded by chapters 59 to 68 of the Tzu-chih
t'ung-chien of Ssu-ma Kuang (1019 to 1086) -

司馬光資治通鑑

part I, chapters 59 to 63; presented as thesis for
the degree of Master of Arts (Oriental Studies) of
the Australian National University at Canberra in
My work in this field began under the encouragement and the guidance of Professor Hans Bielenstein and Dr Wang Ling, then at the School of Oriental Studies in the Canberra University College. This translation has been prepared in the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the School of General Studies in the Australian National University, under the direction of Professor N.G.D. Malmquist and under the supervision of Mr Fang Chao-ying, Dr Wang Ling and Associate Professor O.B. van der Sprenkel; Dr Liu Ts'un-yan and Dr Igor de Rachewiltz have given me help and courtesy.

The maps attached to the translation have been drawn by Mr Hans Boltz, of the Bureau of Mineral Resources, Canberra.

I am very grateful for the help that has been given me.

Rafe de Crespigny
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Map of the Commanderies and Kingdoms at the beginning of the sixth year of Chung-p'ing (189 AD) at the end
INTRODUCTION
Introduction:

Under the Han dynasty the Chinese empire was united for four hundred years, and the destruction of the Han at the end of the second century AD was the beginning of almost four centuries of division. During the first years of division, for most of the third century AD, the empire was partitioned among the three kingdoms of Wei, Shu and Wu. The period of the Three Kingdoms marks a great break in Chinese history, and the division of the empire at that time patterned the economic and political divisions of the Northern and Southern dynasties. So a study of the events of this time could describe the end of one of China's great dynasties and the origins of a long period of division.

The history of the end of the Han as told by the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien is the best account of the period in any language. No western work deals with the period in such detail, and no other reliable Chinese history arranges its material in chronological order. Achilles Fang, in his study of the Chronicle of the Wei, has shown how Ssu-ma Kuang compiled his history from the sources of the San Kuo chih and its parallel texts. Mr Fang has translated the chapters of the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien which deal with the period from 220 AD to 265 AD, and has published his work on the first chapters, chüan 69 to 74. My translation covers the account of the first part of the reign of Emperor Hsien of
the Later Han, the years 187 to 201, and Tzu-chih t'ung-chien chüan 59 to 63. I hope that it will be possible to continue the work and deal with the second five chapters, 64 to 68. Once that is done, we will have an account of the end of the Han as it was seen by a Chinese historian.

The Tzu-chih t'ung-chien is the most satisfactory Chinese history of the Three Kingdoms. The two standard dynastic histories, Hou Han shu and San Kuo chih, tell their story through individual biographies rather than by a chronological arrangement. The chapter of the basic annals of the Hou Han shu which deals with the reign of Emperor Hsien presents only an outline history. As the Emperor lost power, history passed him by, and the annals of the Emperor have very little to tell. So the records of the history of the time are scattered among the biographies of the Hou Han shu and the San Kuo chih.

Achilles Fang has demonstrated how the chronicle of the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien is collected from the scattered references in the dynastic histories, their commentaries, and the other surviving histories and documents. He has shown the methods and materials that Ssu-ma Kuang used. It has not been my idea to parallel his work. This translation is an attempt to treat the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien as a straightforward account of the history of the period as Ssu-ma Kuang decided to tell it. The notes that I have added are intended to enlarge upon problems in the text; and for this it is often necessary to
make reference to the earlier histories which Ssu-ma Kuang took as his base. But the purpose of the translation is quite different to Achilles Fang's; where he looked for the original sources that Ssu-ma Kuang had drawn upon, this deals with the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien as a chronicle of events. As a first step in a full discussion of the period, it seems only right to discover how a great Chinese described its history.
Liu Hung, Emperor Hsiao-ling of the Later Han, was born in 157 AD and came to the throne in 168. He was descended from Emperor Chang, who had reigned from 76 to 89. Hsiao-chang's son Liu K'ai had been made King of Ho-chien. A younger son of Liu K'ai, Liu Shu had been enfeoffed as marquis of Chie-tu t'ing, and the title passed to Shu's son Ch'ang and to Ch'ang's son Hung. Hung's father died while he was still young, and it was as marquis of Chie-tu t'ing that he became emperor. Emperor Huan, who reigned from 147 to 167, left no children, and his empress née Tou took power with her family and arranged the succession of Liu Hung.

Emperor Ling's government was largely controlled by the eunuchs of the imperial palace. He had been brought to the throne by the dowager-empress of the Tou clan, her father Tou Wu, and the Grand Commandant Ch'en Fan. But in the year of his accession Tou Wu planned to remove the eunuchs. The eunuchs learnt of this, accused their opponents of 'factionalism', and used the imperial authority to destroy the Tou clan and the Ch'en. Although the Emperor owed his accession to these two great clans, he allowed the eunuchs to exercise his power and to control his government for all the years of his reign.

In 176 the Honoured Lady née Ho gave birth to an imperial son Liu Pien. In 180 the Lady Ho was made Empress. Her half-brother Ho Chin rose in office through her influence,
and was made General-in-Chief in 184. In 181 the Beauty née Wang also gave birth to an imperial son, Liu Hsie. The Empress née Ho had the Lady Wang poisoned. The Emperor was furious and was going to discard her, but the eunuchs spoke for her and she kept her place. The child was brought up by the Empress-dowager née Tung Mou.

The Empress-dowager née Tung was the mother of Emperor Ling, and the wife of the former Marquis Ch'ang of Chie-tu t'ing. When Emperor Ling came to the throne his mother was brought to Lo-yang, given the title of Hsiao-jen empress, and set in apartments to the west of the southern palace, which were known as the Yung-lo palace. When the Empress-dowager née Tou died in 172, the Empress née Tung took part in the government. She had the emperor arrange the sale of offices, and she herself stored the money. In 187 her nephew Tung Chung was promoted to be General of the Agile Cavalry, with some thousand soldiers under his command.

In this way, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Ling, the power in Lo-yang was shared by the palace eunuchs, the Ho clan of the Empress, and the Tung clan of the emperor's mother.

The Yellow Turban rebellion:

Between 175 and 184 floods and drought were reported throughout the empire year by year, and epidemics caused further suffering and unrest. A certain Chang Chüe in Chi
province used a form of debased Taoism to cure sick people by the confession of their sins and by faith-healing. A great number of people followed him, and he and his two brothers Pao and Liang built up a plan for rebellion against the Han. They told their followers that the blue sky of the Han dynasty was ended, and that a yellow heaven and a new dynasty would replace them. Their followers in battle wore a yellow cloth on their heads as a badge, and from this there came the name 'Yellow Turbans'. They had an immense popular following in the Yangtsu valley, the Yellow River plain, and the north-east, and they were able to organise their forces while the provincial authorities were either unaware of their intentions or intimidated by their power. At the same time the rebels were able to make contacts within the imperial court itself, and it was planned that the rebellion would break out both in the capital and in the provinces on one day of April 184.

But early in 184 the plan was given away, the Yellow Turban sympathisers in Lo-yang were arrested, and the rebellion in the provinces had to be called ahead of time. The response was violent and enthusiastic, and the imperial armies were at first forced on the defensive. But by the end of the year the generals Huang-fu Sung, Chu Chün and Lu Chih had destroyed the Yellow Turban armies and the three Chang brothers were dead.

The great battles of the rebellion were fought largely in Honan and Hopei, but the revolt itself disrupted provincial administration, and the memory of it continued to cause unrest
for the remainder of Emperor Ling's reign. There were repeated uprisings in Honan between 185 and 188, and the neo-Taoism of the Yellow Turbans continued a useful philosophy and a useful badge of popular rebellion.

The Northern Barbarians:

In the second half of the second century AD the Chinese empire had four major foreign peoples on the northern borders. West in modern Kansu, the Ch'iang Tibetans lived in great numbers among the Chinese settlers. The Southern Hsiung-nu under their shan-yü occupied some part of Chinese territory inside the great bend of the Yellow River in North Shensi. The Hsien-pi were about the borders of Manchuria and Mongolia, and the Wu-huan were in southern Manchuria.

During the reign of Emperor Kuang-wu, a combination of famine and a succession dispute had brought a division of the Hsiung-nu empire. The Han had recognised one of the rival claimants as Southern shan-yü, and had allowed part of the horde to settle on Chinese territory. The Southern shan-yü was to give one of his sons as hostage every year, to keep peace on the borders, and to supply troops for the imperial armies. But the barbarian settlement among the Chinese in Shensi was a continual cause of disturbance; within the empire the Hsiung-nu maintained their own state, and the Chinese settlers were leaving the north throughout the Later Han. Under the pressure of disturbance from the Ch'iang in Kansu
and the Hsiung-nu in Shensi, the Chinese population in the northeast declined by more than six million individuals between the censuses of 2 AD and 140.\(^3\)

In this very year of 140 AD a great raid of the Hsiung-nu had forced the Chinese to bring the administrations of Shuo-fang, Shang and Hsi-ho commanderies back to the south, and though the main Hsiung-nu force surrendered at the end of the year, continual raids rendered An-ting and Pei-ti untenable and their administrators were also moved south. Their prefectures were gradually abandoned.\(^4\)

The unrest continued, and in 155 the Hsien-pi attacked and conquered the Northern Hsiung-nu, who had occupied the area about the Orkhon in Outer Mongolia. By the beginning of Emperor Ling's reign the leader of the Hsien-pi, T'an-shih-huai controlled an empire which the Chinese described from Lake Balkash to Manchuria. Throughout the reign of Emperor Ling the border commanderies of Yu, Ping and Liang provinces were yearly invaded by the Hsien-pi forces, and Ping province was almost completely ruined. In 177 a major Chinese attack, supported by the Southern Hsiung-nu, was completely and seriously defeated.

By good fortune for the Chinese, T'an-shih-huai died about 180; his son Ho-lien, a less able man, was killed in a raid; and the Hsien-pi empire fell into quarrels over the succession. Despite their former losses, the Chinese made sufficient recovery to hold the situation fairly stable during the years of the Yellow Turban rebellion. Though some of the
Ch'iang took the Yellow Turbans as an excuse for their rebellions, the Southern Hsiung-nu, after two abortive risings in 155 and 158, remained loyal to the Han and gave help against the Hsien-pi. But at the end of Emperor Ling's reign some rebel groups of the Wu-huan, whose chief leader was Ch'iu-li Chü of Liao-hsi, were active in the north-east provinces, and were being joined by renegade Chinese.

The period covered in this translated text begins in the year 188, the fifth year of the Chung-p'ing period and the last full year of the reign of Emperor Ling. The Yellow Turban rebellion had devastated the empire, but four years afterwards the Han dynasty still held the government. There was continual disturbance in the provinces, and some anxiety in the capital, but the forms of imperial power seemed outwardly intact. Within six months of the death of Emperor Ling the pretensions of imperial power were gone.
notes to the introduction:

1. From the time of Kao-tsu, first emperor of the Former Han, it was common practice for the Han emperors to have their posthumous titles with the prefix 'Hsiao' (filial). During the Later Han almost all the emperor's, with the exception of Kuang-wu, the founder of the dynasty, and the two child-emperors, followed this pattern. Hence Emperor Ling actually received the fuller posthumous title of Hsiao-ling.

2. The increased number of reports of these calamities need not necessarily indicate that they had actually increased in number. In this period, unfavourable events were seen as portents against the emperor and the government. The fact that so many natural disasters were reported need not indicate that any more took place than usual; it could show only that the officials responsible for the reports were unhappy with the administration of the empire and used this opportunity for indirect criticism.

3. see Bielenstein, 'The Census of China during the period 2 - 742 AD', p. 140, and 'Emperor Kuang-wu and the Northern Barbarians', p. 23. This decrease was not due entirely to the barbarian problem; the transfer of the capital from Ch'ang-an to Lo-yang made the land within the passes less important and less well-populated.

   Note here that in translation and discussion, I use the term 'barbarian' as a straight description of those tribes or peoples which did not accept the Han Chinese society.

Characters in the introduction:

Liu Hung

(Emperor) Chang

(Liu) K'ai

(Liu) Shu

(Liu) Ch'ang

(Emperor) Huan

Tou Wu

Ch'en Fan

Beauty née Wang

Chang Chüe

(Chang) Pao

(Chang) Liang

T'an-shih-huai

Ho-lien
A table of the chief events described in the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien chronicle for this period:

Chung-p'ing fifth year (188/189) - 
appointment of Governors for provincial administration [TCTC p. 1889/page 26]
appointment of the eight Colonels of the Western Garden [TCTC p. 1890/page 29]

Chung-p'ing sixth year (189/190) -
death of Emperor Ling and succession of the Little Emperor [TCTC p. 1894/page 47]
destruction of the Tung family by the Ho [TCTC p. 1895/page 50]
murder of Ho Chin by the eunuchs [TCTC p. 1900/page 59]
destruction of the eunuchs at Lo-yang [TCTC p. 1901/page 61]
Tung Cho takes power in Lo-yang [TCTC p. 1902/page 63]
the Little Emperor is deposed and Emperor Hsien comes to the throne [TCTC p. 1904/page 67]
destruction of the Ho clan by Tung Cho [TCTC p. 1904/page 68]
alliance in the east against Tung Cho, headed by Yuan Shao [TCTC p. 1908/page 74]

Ch'u-p'ing first year (190/191) - 
the campaign against Tung Cho [TCTC p. 1908/page 91]
Tung Cho shifts the capital to Ch'ang-an [TCTC p. 1912/page 98]
the alliance at Suan-tsao against Tung Cho breaks up [TCTC p. 1915/page 104]
Kung-sun Tu independant in the northeast [TCTC p. 1917/page 108]
Ch'u-p'ing second year (191/192) -

- Liu Yu refuses the imperial title
- Sun Chien captures Lo-yang
- Tung Cho at Ch'ang-an
- Yuan Shao seizes Chi province
- Ts'ao Ts'ao in Tung commandery
- Fighting between Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu
- Sun Chien attacks Liu Piao and Huang Tsu in Ching province - killed
- Liu Yen and the western Yellow Turbans independent in Yi province

Ch'u-p'ing third year (192/193) -

- Yuan Shao defeats Kung-sun Tsan
- Tung Cho killed by Wang Yun and Lu Pu in Ch'ang-an
- Ts'ao Ts'ao takes over Yen province
- Li Ch'ie's party captures Ch'ang-an and destroys Wang Yun
- Lu Pu flees to Yuan Shao

Ch'u-p'ing fourth year (193/194) -

- Yuan Shu occupies Yang province
- Lu Pu escapes from Yuan Shao
- Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks T'ao Ch'ien in Hsü province
Ch'u-p'ing fourth year - continued

Kung-sun Tsan destroys Liu Yu in Yu province  
TCTC p. 1946/page  

Hsing-p'ing first year (194/195) - 

Liu Pei is made Inspector of Yu province  
TCTC p. 1949/page  
Chang Miao and Lu Pu take Yen province from Ts'ao Ts'ao  
TCTC p. 1950/page  
Liu Chang succeeds as Governor of Yi province  
TCTC p. 1956/page  
Liu Pei takes over Hsu province  
TCTC p. 1957/page  
Liu Yao fights Yuan Shu for Yang province  
TCTC p. 1959/page  

Hsing-p'ing second year (195/196) -  

Li Chue fights with Kuo Ssu in Ch'ang-an  
TCTC p. 1960/page  
Ts'ao Ts'ao recaptures Yen province  
TCTC p. 1964/page  
the Emperor escapes from Ch'ang-an  
TCTC p. 1965/page  
Sun Ts'e south of the Chiang  
TCTC p. 1971/page  
Yu province rebels against Kung-sun Tsan  
TCTC p. 1977/page  

Chien-an first year (196/197) -  

Yuan Shu, Liu Pei and Lu Pu fight for Hsu province  
TCTC p. 1980/page  
the Emperor returns to Lo-yang  
TCTC p. 1981/page  
Sun Ts'e independant of Yuan Shu  
TCTC p. 1983/page  
Ts'ao Ts'ao brings the Emperor to Hsu city  
TCTC p. 1985/page  
Sun Ts'e takes K'uai-chi  
TCTC p. 1986/page  
Liu Pei flees to Ts'ao Ts'ao  
TCTC p. 1991/page
iv.

Chien-an second year (197/198) -

Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks Liu Piao and Chang Hsiu in Ching province
Yüan Shu names himself emperor
Lü Pu defeats Yüan Shu
Ts'ao Ts'ao drives Yüan Shu south of the Huai

Chien-an third year (198/199) -

Ts'ao Ts'ao destroys Lü Pu in Hsü province
Sun Ts'e in Tan-yang, Wu and K'uai-chi

Chien-an fourth year (199/200) -

Yüan Shao destroys Kung-sun Tsan in Yu province
death of Yüan Shu
Yüan Shao prepares to attack Ts'ao Ts'ao
Ts'ao Ts'ao settles the land within the passes
Sun Ts'e seizes Lu-chiang
Sun Ts'e takes Yu-chang
Liu Pei rebels from Ts'ao Ts'ao in Hsü province

Chien-an fifth year (200/201) -

Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Liu Pei
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Yüan Shao's forces at Po-ma
Chien-an fifth year - continued

dearth of Sun Ts'e, Sun Ch'üan succeeds him
Yüan Shao besieges Ts'ao Ts'ao at Kuan-tu
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Yüan Shao's army
Liu Piao in Ching province
Chang Lu and Chao Wei rebel against Liu Chang
in Yi province
SKETCH MAP OF THE PROVINCES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH YEAR OF CHUNG-P'ING (189 A.D.)
TZU-CHIH T'UNG-CHIEN

Chapter 59
Chung-p'ing fifth year - 188/189:

the first day of the first month was 15 Feb, 188, and cyclical day 20,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Western Date</th>
<th>Cyclical Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>16 Mar</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>14 Apr</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fourth</td>
<td>14 May</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifth</td>
<td>12 Jun</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixth</td>
<td>12 Jul</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventh</td>
<td>11 Aug</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighth</td>
<td>9 Sep</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninth</td>
<td>9 Oct</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenth</td>
<td>7 Nov</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eleventh</td>
<td>7 Dec</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twelfth</td>
<td>5 Jan, 189</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: this table, and each table at the beginning of the chronicle for a year, gives western equivalents for the first day of each Chinese month. Thus, here, the first day of the first month of the year, Chinese reckoning, was the 15 February, 188 AD by western reckoning. The cyclical characters for that day were kuei-wei 赤未, the twentieth combination in the sexagenary cycle.
In the spring, in the first month on the day ting-yu (29 Feb), there was an amnesty for the empire. ¹

In the second month there was a comet in Tzu-kung. ²

Some remnants of the Yellow Turban rebels under KUO T'AI rose at Po-po valley ³ in Ho-hsi ⁴ – they ravaged T'ai-yüan and Ho-tung commanderies.

In the third month the Chü-ko barbarians ⁵ attacked and killed CHANG YI, the Inspector of Ping-chou.

The Grand Master of Ceremonies LIU YEN of Chiang-hsia saw that the royal house had many difficulties, and proposed: "In all directions there are soldiers and bandits; since the authority of the Inspectors is treated lightly there is no means of preventing this; moreover, we are using the wrong men, and so causing rebellions. The office should be changed to mu-po, and strong ministers of good reputation should be selected to occupy these posts." YEN privately wanted to ask for the office of Governor of Chiao-chih. ⁶

The shih-chung TUNG FU of Kuang-han spoke privately to YEN and said: "The capital district is going to have disorders, and the territory of Yi-chou has omens of the Son of Heaven." And so YEN changed and tried for Yi province. About this time the Inspector of Yi province, CH'I LIEN called up levies and made trouble, and reports of it were heard far off. Then KENG PI ⁷ and CHANG YI were killed by bandits;
and so the court followed YEN's advice. They chose men of ministerial rank and from the shang-shu to be Governors of Provinces, each to hold office according to his original salary. YEN was made Governor of Yi-chou, the Grand Coachman HUANG WAN became Governor of Yü-chou, and the Superintendent of the Imperial House LIU Yü of Tung-hai became Governor of Yu-chou. The importance of office in the provinces begins from this. 8) YEN was a descendant of the Respectful King of Lu, Yü was a grandson in the fifth generation from the Respectful King of Tung-hai. 9) Yü had once been Inspector of Yu-chou, and the barbarians and the people loved his grace and honesty, and so he was given the office. TUNG FU and the t'ai-ts'ang-ling CHAO WEI both left their offices and followed YEN into Shu.

An edict ordered that the troops of the Southern Hsiung-nu be raised to help LIU Yü attack CHANG CH'UN10) - the shan-yü CH'IANG-CHü sent the tso-hsien king to lead cavalry to Yu-chou. The people of the kingdom were afraid that there would be no end to the levy of soldiers, and for this the Yu-pu hsi-lo 11) rebelled, joined up with the Chü-ko barbarians, more than a hundred thousand men altogether, and attacked and killed CH'IANG-CHü. The people of the kingdom set up his son the yu-hsien king Yü-FU-LO as T'e-chih-shih-chu-hou shan-yü.

In the summer, in the fourth month the Grand Commandant TS'AO SUNG left office.
In the fifth month the Yung-lo shao-fu of Nan-yang became Grand Commandant.

In the sixth month he left office.

MA HSIANG, CHAO CH'I and other bandits of Yi province raised troops at Mien-chu, called themselves Yellow Turbans, and killed the Inspector CH'I LIEN. They went forward and attacked Pa commandery and Chien-wei, and in the space of ten days to a month they had defeated and destroyed (the forces of) three commanderies. Their army was several ten thousand men, and HSIANG called himself Son of Heaven. The ts'ung-shih officer of the province, CHIA LUNG, led officers and people to attack HSIANG and the others. After several days the rebels were defeated and fled, the territory of the province was at peace, and LUNG collected his officers to receive LIU YEN.

YEN shifted his administration to Mien-chu, received the rebels, and was careful to act generously and so obtain the support of the people.

Seven of the commanderies and states had great floods.

The son YI of the former Grand Tutor CH'EN FAN met with the master of magic HSIANG K'AI at the residence of WANG FEN, Inspector of Chi-chou. K'AI said: "The stars are not favourable to the eunuchs, the huang-men and ch'ang-shih will certainly be destroyed." YI was glad of it.
FEN said: "If that is so, I want to take part in this."
And so they called some members of powerful families
together and sent up a message to say that the Hei-shan
bandits were attacking commanderies and prefectures
and that they would want to raise troops. About this time
the Emperor intended to go on a tour of the north to his
old home in Ho-chien; FEN and the others planned to
intercept the party with their soldiers, kill all the
ch'ang-shih and huang-men, and then depose the Emperor
and set up the marquis of Ho-fei. They told their plan
to the yi-lang TS'AO. TS'AO said: "Now to depose
and to set up is a most unfortunate business for the empire.
In earlier times there were men who calculated success and
failure, calculated things and carried them out - these
were YI (YIN) and HO (KUANG). YI and HO both acted
honestly and with complete loyalty, they held the power of
chief ministers and so held the power of the government,
they were in agreement with the wishes of the people -
and for this reason they were able to calculate their
following and carry out the enthronement. Now you all see
only the easy points of the earlier times, you do not
recognise the difficulties of the present. And so you
are doing something out of the ordinary and you expect
it will certainly succeed. Isn't that dangerous?" FEN also
spoke to HUA HSIN of P'ing-yüan and T'AO-CH'IU HUNG, and
settled a plan for them. HUNG wanted to act, but HSIN
stopped him, saying: "Deposing and setting up are great matters, even YI and HUO would find them difficult. FEN's nature is slack and not warlike, this will certainly not be successful." So HUNG stopped. About this time there was a red light in the northern sky in the middle of the night - it covered the sky from east to west. The t'ai-shih sent in a memorial: "The north has some secret plot, the Emperor should not travel north." The Emperor did not go. FEN was ordered to disband his soldiers, and after a short time he was called for. FEN was afraid, he left his seal of office and tassel and fled - he came to P'ing-yüan and killed himself.

In the autumn, in the seventh month the she-sheng hsiao-wei MA MI-TI became Grand Commandant. MI-TI was a clansman of (MA)JUNG.

In the eighth month there were established for the first time the eight Hsi-yüan hsiao-wei: the hsiao-huang-men CHIEN SHIH was made shang-chün hsiao-wei, the hu-pen chung-lang-chiang YUAN SHAO was made chung-chün hsiao-wei, the t'un-chi hsiao-wei PAO HUNG became hsia-chün hsiao-wei, the yi-lang TS'AO TS'AO became tien-chün hsiao-wei, CHAO YUNG became chu-chün tso-hsiao-wei, FENG FANG became chu-chün yu-hsiao-wei, the chien-yi ta-fu HSIA MOU became tso hsiao-wei,
and CH'UN-Yü CH'IUNG became yu hsiao-wei. All were under the command of CHIEN SHIH. From the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion the Emperor had paid attention to military affairs. SHIH was strong and active and good at planning for war, the Emperor himself appointed him; even the General-in-Chief was under his orders.27)

In the ninth month the Minister over the Masses HSÜ HSIANG left office, the Minister of Works TING KUNG was made Minister over the Masses, and the Superintendant of the Imperial Household LIU HUNG of Nan-yang became Minister of Works.

The Commandant of the Palace Guards TUNG CHUNG, marquis of T'iao,28) was made General of the Agile Cavalry. CHUNG was the son of the elder brother of Yung-lo Empress-dowager.

In the winter, in the tenth month, the Yellow Turbans of Ching and Hsü made another rising, and ravaged commandery and prefecture.

Those who studied omens considered that the capital district would have great military affairs, and that the two palaces would flow in blood. The Emperor wanted to suppress it, and he made a great levy of soldiers in all directions, held training below the P'ing-lo observatory;29) there was set up a great platform, twelve ceremonial umbrellas
were put on top of it, each umbrella ten chang high. Northeast of that was a smaller platform, again with nine ceremonial umbrellas, each nine chang high. Several ten thousand infantry and cavalry were drawn up, they made defended camps and formed line of battle. On the day chia-tzu (22 Nov) the Emperor himself came out to the army and halted below the great umbrellas, the General-in-Chief (HO) CHIN halted below the smaller umbrellas. The Emperor put on armour and rode a mailed horse - he was styled 'wu-shang chiang-chün'. He went about the army three times, then came back and handed the soldiers over to CHIN.

The Emperor asked the t'ao-lu hsiac-wei KO HSÜN:
"If I practise for war like this, what do you think of it?"
He replied: "Your subject has heard that the former kings were brilliant in their virtue, and did not consider weapons. Now there are bandits a long way off and an army is set up near at hand - that is not enough to show bravery. It is only wasting the soldiers' spirits." The Emperor said:
"Excellent. I am sorry that you came late; of all my ministers no-one has said this before." HSÜN said to 1892 YüAN SHAO: "The Emperor has a clear understanding, but he is deceived by those about him." With SHAO he planned to kill the favourites. CHIEN SHIH was afraid and sent HSÜN off to be yin of Ching-chao.
In the eleventh month WANG KUO\textsuperscript{30}) beseiged Ch'en-ts'ang.\textsuperscript{31}) An edict ordered that HUANG-FU SUNG be again appointed as General of the Left\textsuperscript{32}) and take command of the General of the Van TUNG CHO and join forces, opposing him (KUO) with forty thousand men.

CHANG CH'UN and CH' IU-LI CHÜ plundered in the four provinces of Ch'ing, Hsū, Yu and Chi - an edict ordered the chi-tu-wei KUNG-SUN TSAN to attack them. TSAN fought them at Shih-men, in the dependant kingdom.\textsuperscript{33}) CH'UN and his forces were thoroughly defeated, he abandoned his wife and children and fled across the border. The men and women he had kidnapped were all recovered. TSAN advanced deep, without communications, but then the tables were turned and he was beseiged at Kuan-tzu ch'eng\textsuperscript{34}) in Liao-hsi by CH' IU-LI CHÜ and his army. In more than two hundred days, with his army scattered and his supplies exhausted, five or six out of ten of his officers and men died.

TUNG CHO said to HUANG-FU SUNG: "Ch'en-ts'ang's position is extremely dangerous, I beg to go quickly to relieve it." SUNG said: "No, in a hundred battles, I have been a hundred times victorious - but it is not as good as not fighting and making the other man's soldiers surrender. Although Ch'en-ts'ang is small, its defences are strong and in good order, they are not easy to capture. Although WANG KUO is strong, he has attacked Ch'en-ts'ang and has
not taken it - his army will certainly be in low spirits; when they are discouraged we will attack them. That is the way to complete success. Why would you relieve the city?" Kuo attacked Ch'en-ts'ang for more than eighty days, but he did not capture it.
notes:

1. The significance of the amnesty and its function in Han China has been discussed in detail by Hulsewé in his 'Remnants of Han Law', pp. 225 to 250. In his article 'The Orders of Aristocratic Rank in Han China' Loewe has also some mention of them, and he attaches a list of the amnesties granted throughout the Former and Later Han dynasties.

However, the listing that is given by Loewe does not agree with my own references for the period 188 to 196. In these years Loewe lists ten amnesties; in TCTC there are thirteen recorded, and each of these thirteen is supported by HHS annals. In this table below I give an index of the amnesties for this period, with page references to TCTC; those entries marked (L) are listed by Loewe:

| (L) | Chung-p'ing 5     | (188/189), Chinese first month | p. 1887 |
| (L) | Chung-p'ing 6     | (189/190), fourth              | 1894   |
| (L) | Chung-p'ing 6     | (189/190), eighth              | 1902   |
| (L) | Chung-p'ing 6     | (189/190), ninth               | 1904   |
| (L) | Ch'u-p'ing 1      | (190/191), first               | 1909   |
| (L) | Ch'u-p'ing 2      | (191/192), first               | 1918   |
| (L) | Ch'u-p'ing 3      | (192/193), first               | 1931   |
| (L) | Ch'u-p'ing 4      | (193/194), first               | 1942   |
| (L) | Hsing-p'ing 1     | (194/195), first               | 1949   |
| (L) | Hsing-p'ing 2     | (195/196), first               | 1959   |
| (L) | Chien-an 1        | (196/197), first               | 1979   |
|     |                   |                                | 1981   |

From this listing it is apparent that there was an amnesty in the first month of every year except 189/190. Throughout the first years of Emperor Hsien's reign the amnesty was an annual event, and this tendency had been noticed for a number of years
before; there were few years in the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling that had no amnesty.

So for this period it seems unnecessary to look, as Loewe has done, for any particular explanation why the amnesty was granted. Amnesties were commonly proclaimed at the beginning of each year, and when the name was changed the amnesty was often announced on the same day. (TCTC pp. 1894, 1902, 1904, 1979 and HHS annals 9, p. 5a/2). During these years all the recorded proclamations of new names were accompanied by an amnesty. (The Ch'u-p'ing period has no record of its proclamation in TCTC or HHS.) But in any case the first month of the year seems often to have provided occasion for an amnesty without any further reason.

Five times there were amnesties granted later than the first month. The year 189/190 had three of these, and all were proclaimed at the same time as a new reign-period - although the abolition of the three era-names in the twelfth month was not accompanied by an amnesty. (TCTC p. 1906). The extra amnesty in 192/193 was proclaimed after Li Chie and his forces had seized power; and a big reason for their revolt was that Wang Yun had refused them an amnesty in the previous month. (TCTC p. 1937). In the seventh month of the first year of Chien-an the Emperor came back to Lo-yang from the west, and this event was celebrated by an amnesty. In the ninth month of the same year the Emperor came to Ts'ao Ts'ao's capital at Hsu - there was no amnesty for that event, and from that time on, while the Emperor was in Ts'ao's hands, no further amnesties were issued. For the rest of the Chien-an period, the only general imperial grant was an award of aristocratic rank made when Ts'ao's daughter was proclaimed Empress in 215. (TCTC p. 2135).

In earlier times amnesties had been connected to imperial marriages, coming of age or appointment of an heir-apparent. An award of aristocratic was granted for the Empress née Ts'ao in 215, but no such honour was given for Emperor Hsien's first Empress née
Fu when she was exiled in 195. (TCTC p. 1960). Emperor Hsien took his cap of manhood in 194, three days after the amnesty. It would seem that the amnesty and the capping could have been made to coincide, but the authorities at that time did not arrange it. (TCTC p. 1949). As to the Heir-apparent, Emperor Ling did not appoint one, but the matter was being discussed just before his death in 189. (TCTC p. 1894). It is just possible that the reason there was no amnesty at the beginning of that year was because the announcement was delayed to coincide with the expected ceremony of appointment of an Heir-apparent; in the event the amnesty came with Liu Pien's accession, and the usual amnesty for his first reign-period.

As to the practical significance of the amnesty, its effect obviously varied with the extent of the emperor's power. Under Hsien these proclamations were probably of very little effect and would be more of a formality. The value of an amnesty at the end of the Later Han must have been debased by their frequency, and although they gave general remissions of punishment the effect of any one amnesty is impossible to determine. As Hulsewé says (pp. 244 and 245); "Of course we should not forget that we are dealing with historical works, not collections of documents, and that when the historian notes that on a certain date there was an amnesty, he actually summarises in very few words a complete edict of a form and content which may have been current knowledge among the historian's contemporaries and which it therefore was unnecessary to quote literally."

There is one other question which can be discussed here; the difference between 'great amnesties' 大赦 ta-shē and ordinary amnesties she. Hulsewé (loc. cit.) makes some attempt to distinguish between them. In the table I have given above, TCTC describes the last two amnesties as 'great'; the other eleven are all simple amnesties. But in HHS annals every one of the
thirteen is described by the phrase 大赦天下 'there was a great amnesty for the empire'. It seems that Ssu-ma Kuang, in dealing with this period, saw no need to distinguish classes of amnesty.

2. The constellation Tzu-kung 紫宫 (or T'ai-wei-yüan 大微垣) is recognised as ten stars in Leo and Virgo (Schlegel table 363). In Chinese astrology this constellation represented the emperor and his court. HHS treatise 12, p. 5a/7 mentions this comet and interprets it as 'the empire changing rulers'.

3. Po-po valley is now about Yung-ku village 永固, southeast of Fen-ch'eng 汾城 in Shansi.

4. Ho-hsi 河西 is here a mistake for Hsi-ho commandery in Ping province.

5. The Ch'u-ko were a clan of the Hsiung-nu.

6. Chiao-chih was the name of a commandery in Chiao province, but at this time it was also a name for the province itself.

7. Keng Pi, Inspector of Liang province, had been killed by rebels in 187 (TCTC p. 1884).

8. This change from Inspector tzu-shih to Governor 虎mu in the provincial administration was to bring a great deal of local independance to the provinces; it soon made the provincial authorities potential rivals to the capital. During the greater part of the Later Han, the provinces were each under an Inspector, whose salary was 600 piculs. His duties were no more than supervision and report, and his independant power was slight. The heads of commanderies and kingdoms, Grand Administrators and Chancellors, had salaries of 2000 piculs, and while they were
nominally under the Inspector's reports, they ranked high enough to dispute and often to defy his ostensible authority. As the central government became weaker, the power of the Inspectors that served it steadily declined. When Liu Yen recommended the change, the deaths of Keng Pi and Chang Yi showed how low the Inspectors' authority had become. The restoration of the office of Governor was designed to raise provincial unity. It did this, and the provinces became recognisable political units; where individual heads of commanderies or local bandits had formerly defied the government, the great provincial administrations tended to eliminate these fragmentary rebellions. But the provinces in their turn became organised rivals to the central government.

Under the Former Han the office of Provincial Governor had been adopted at intervals under Emperors Ch'eng and Ai, but it was done away with after the restoration. The term mu-po that Liu Yen used (TCTC p. 1887) was taken from the legendary official titles of the Chou dynasty and the Shang/Yin dynasty; mu in the Chou and po in the Shang were both titles of the heads of regional divisions. In Dubs's translation, the title chou-mu is rendered Shepherd of a Province; but in this translation I have followed the reading 'Governor', which is used by Achilles Fang.

Liu Yen recommended that the Governors be selected from the ranks of the nine ministers, whose salary was fully 2000 piculs, and from the shang-shu, whose salary was listed by HHS treatise 26, p. 8b/4 as 600 piculs. The authority of the shang-shu officers had been growing throughout the dynasty. The shang-shu was the emperor's private secretariat, and it was through the shang-shu that official documents and correspondence passed between the emperor and his administrative officers. Dubs II, pp. 10 and 11 describes how the power of this secretariat increased under Emperor Wu of the Former Han dynasty, and the same tendency was maintained throughout the Later Han. By the end of the second
century AD the shang-shu officers rivalled the nine ministers in power, and the three dukes, who had lost a great part of their direct authority, exercised power chiefly through their 'control of the affairs of the shang-shu' (On this development, see Li-tai chih-kuan piao, commentary to table II, and note 9 to TCTC p. 1894 below).

The first governors appointed in 188 were three of the nine ministers, who in salary and rank were higher than the Grand Administrator of a commandery or the Chancellor of a state. Where these new officers were set up, the control of the province was in the Governor's hands.

But although Liu Yen's suggestion was accepted, the Governors were not appointed for all provinces. Throughout the period of this history the office of Inspector continued to be used where unified provincial government was not needed or wanted, or where a semi-independent ruler such as Yüan Shao or Kuang-sun Tsan appointed a subordinate to govern a separate provincial district.

9. The Respectful King of Lu was Liu Yi, the fifth successor to the kingdom granted posthumously to Kuang-wu's elder brother Liu Chang in 39 AD; the Respectful King of Tung-hai was the son Ch'iang of Kuang-wu, enfeoffed in 43 AD.

10. Chang Ch'ün and Chang Ch'ü had joined the Wu-huan Ch'iu-li Chü in rebellion during the previous year. (TCTC p. 1886). They operated in Liao-hsi, and Chang Ch'ü had named himself emperor.

11. The Yu-pu hsi-lo were the clan of the Hsi-lo-shih-chu-ti shan-yü, personal name Pi, who was supported by the Han as Southern shan-yü in 50 AD. The clan took the name from his style and took the prefix yu-pu from its position in the division of the West. (TCTC commentary).
12. The Yung-lo shao-fu, Privy Treasurer to the Yung-lo Palace, was the officer in charge of the palace of the Empress-dowager nee Tung. His office was similar to the Ch'ang-lo shao-fu's, described in HHS treatise 27, p. 3b/3.

13. Mien-chu is now north of Te-yang in Szechwan.

14. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions have interpolated the character Hsiang, and Chang Tun-jen's criticism agrees with it.

15. According to the Hou Han shu of Yüan Shan-sung these commanderies and states were Shan-yang, Liang, P'eng-ch'eng, Hsia-p'i, Tung-hai and Lang-ya. HHS treatise 15, p. 4b/7 mentions six commanderies, but HHS annals have seven.

16. Ch'en Fan was made Grand Tutor at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, but he was killed in the executions of 168.

17. Hsiang K'ai was famous for his ability to foretell the future.

18. Huang-men and ch'ang-shih here and hereafter refers to all the eunuch attendants of the Emperor.

19. These mountains called Hei-shan are northeast of Ch'ü in Honan; the bandits mentioned here were a large loose group, taking their name from this area, but strong enough to range much further afield and plunder the commanderies north of the Yellow River. (see TCTC p. 1878).

20. Before his accession, Emperor Ling had been marquis of Chie-tu t'ing, which was in Ho-chien; Chie-tu is now northeast of An-kuo in Hopei. For a discussion of a t'ing-ho, marquis of a thing, see p. 460 below.
21. The marquisate of Ho-fei was granted to Chien Hsin, a supporter of Emperor Kuang-wu. The city was north of Ho-fei in Anhwei. Only four successors are recorded after Hsin's death in 50 AD - the last record is of Hsin's great-grandson. But the abolition of the state is not recorded after that, so it seems that there was still a marquis of Ho-fei in 188; though the name of Wang Fen's candidate to the throne is nowhere mentioned.

22. Yi Yin was chief minister to T'ang, the first ruler of the legendary Shang dynasty; and Ho Kuang was chief minister during the Former Han. Yi Yin banished the Heir-apparent to the throne, T'ai-chia; and Ho Kuang deposed Liu Hsü from the imperial position and gave his place to Emperor Hsüan (see Dubs II, pp. 182 and 183).

23. This omen and its interpretation are not mentioned in the treatises of HHS.

24. P'ing-yüan was the chief prefecture of P'ing-yüan commandery in Ch'ing; now south of P'ing-yüan in Shantung.

25. Ma Jung (79 to 166 AD), a great scholar of the Later Han, has a biography in HHS 50A.

26. The various sources in HHS do not all agree on the titles of the eight Colonels of the Western Garden, and although the names of the eight officers seems clear, the actual titles each one held is not always certain.

The listing given in TCTC is the version of Yue Tzu in his Shan-yang kung tsai-chi which is quoted by primary commentary to HHS annals 8, p. 14b/9. This book is listed in the bibliographies of the Sui shu and the Hsin T'ang shu, but does not appear again after the T'ang.
In the biography of Ho Chin, HHS 59, p. 6b, Chao Jung appears as chu-chün hsiao-wei 助軍, and Ch'ün-yü Ch'üng is tso-chün hsiao-wei 佐軍; these two titles are not in the Yüe Tzu version. In the biography of Yuan Shao, HHS 64A, p. 2a, Shao appears as tso-chün hsiao-wei, and this is followed by the biography of Ko Hsin in HHS 48, p. 12a and by the treatise of the five elements, HHS treatise 13, p. 4a.

So there is some disagreement about the titles, but the Yüe Tzu quotation is the only version that gives a listing for all the eight officers.

The forces under the colonels were known as the Hsi-yüan army, and there is a discussion of their use as a palace army in the Li-tai chih-kuan piao, commentary to table XLVII.

27. Chien Shih was an officer of the huang-men. So a eunuch was now given supreme military command in the capital.

28. T'iao was a prefecture under Po-hai; now in Ching 景 prefecture in Hopei.

29. According to SCC 16, p. 21a, the P'ing-lo Observatory was outside the Shang-hsi gate 西, to the west of Lo-yang.

30. The rebel Wang Kuo had been responsible for the death of the Inspector of Liang province, Keng Pi, in 187 (TCTC p. 1884).

31. Ch'en-ts'ang prefecture was in Yu-fu-feng in Ssu-li; now east of Pao-chi 堊 in Shensi.

32. Huang-fu Sung had retired from the post of General of the Left of Chariots and Cavalry in 185; he had a great reputation against the Yellow Turbans — and he was now given a new appointment.
33. These Shih-men are described by primary commentary to HHS 63, p. 5a, as hills southeast of Liu-ch'eng柳城. This would be close to modern Hsing-ch'eng新城 in Liao-ning. The dependant state is the Liao-tung dependant state, north of the Gulf of Liao-tung and set between the commanderies of Liao-hsi and Liao-tung.

34. This Kuan-tzu ch'eng (fortress) has no further record of its position.
Chung-p'ing sixth year - 189/190:

the first day of the first month was 4 Feb, 189, and cyclical day 15,

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In this one calendar year three year-names were proclaimed.

In the fourth month on the day wu-wu (15 May) the year-name was changed to Kuang-hsi. In the eighth month on the day hsin-wei (25 Sep) the year-name was changed to Chao-ning. In the ninth month on the day chia-hsü the year-name was changed to Yung-Han.

Then, in the intercalary twelfth month on the day wu-hsiu (19 Feb, 190), these three year-names were all done away with and the year was again calculated as Chung-p'ing sixth year.
In the spring, in the second month KUO's army was discouraged and worn out; he raised the siege and went off. HUANG-FU SUNG sent forward his men to attack him. TUNG CHO said: "You cannot do that. By the rules of warfare, a desperate bandit is not pressed, a retreating army is not pursued." SUNG said: "No - before I did not attack because I wanted to avoid their early spirit. Now I am attacking them to take advantage of their weakness. What I am attacking is an army that is discouraged, not an army that is in retreat. Moreover, KUO's army is going to run away without any idea of fighting; with our disciplined troops we strike at confused ones - this is not a matter of desperate bandits." And so he went on alone to attack them and set CHO as the rear-guard. In several battles he thoroughly defeated them, and cut off some ten thousand heads. CHO was ashamed and angry - from this time he had a grudge against SUNG.

HAN SUI and others together deposed WANG KUO and forced the former prefect of Hsin-tu, YEN CHUNG, to take command of all their divisions. CHUNG took ill and died; and SUI and the others struggled with each other for power and began to kill one another. From this they gradually became weakened.

LIU Yü, Governor of Yu province, reached his territory and sent messengers among the Hsien-pi to advise them of
the situation - he demanded that they send the heads of CHANG CHÜ and CHANG CH'UN, and they would be well rewarded. CH'IU-LI CHÜ and the others heard Yü had come and were glad of it - each sent a messenger to offer allegiance. CHÜ and CH'UN fled across the border and the others all surrendered or scattered. Yü memorialised that all the troops in camp be disbanded, leaving only the hsiang-lu hsiao-wei KUNG-SUN TSAN in command of ten thousand horse and foot camped in Yu-pei-p'ing.

In the third month WANG CHENG, a retainer of CHANG CH'UN, killed CH'UN and sent his head to Yü. KUNG-SUN TSAN wanted to destroy the Wu-huan completely, but Yü wanted to bring them to submission by generosity and trust. From this there was enmity between him and TSAN.

In the summer, in the fourth month on the day ping-tzu (which is a mistake for ping-wu, 3 May), the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.  

The Grand Commandant MA MI-TI was dismissed: messengers were immediately sent to appoint LIU Yü, the Governor of Yu province, as Grand Commandant - he was enfeoffed as marquis of Jung-ch'iu.

CHIEN SHIH hated the General-in-Chief (HO) CHIN, and
with all the ch'ang-shih he urged the emperor to send CHIN west to attack HAN SUI - the Emperor followed this. CHIN privately knew of the plot, and memorialised that YÜAN SHAO be sent to collect the soldiers of the two provinces of Hsü and Yen - making it necessary that SHAO come back before he went west, and so delaying action.

Before this, the Emperor had lost a number of his sons (by death): the Empress née HO gave birth to a son PIEN, who was brought up at the house of a Taoist SHIH-TZU MIAO - he was called LORD SHIH; the Beauty née WANG gave birth to a son HSIE, and the Empress-dowager née TUNG brought him up herself - and he was called LORD TUNG. All the ministers asked that an Heir-apparent be named. The Emperor held that PIEN was frivolous and without dignity, he wanted to establish HSIE, but he had still not yet decided. About this time he became very ill, and entrusted HSIE to CHIEN SHIH. On the day ping-ch'en (13 May) the Emperor died in the Chia-te apartments. SHIH at this time was in the presence, and he wanted first to kill HO CHIN and to enthrone HSIE. He sent men to receive CHIN (and say) he wanted to make plans with him. CHIN immediately got in a chariot and went. SHIH's asu-ma P'AN YIN was an old friend of CHIN - he met him and warned him with his eyes. CHIN was afraid, he quickly rode back to his camp by the shortest route and led the soldiers to camp at Po-chün-ti - there he announced that he was ill
and could not attend.

On the day wu-wu (15 May) the Prince PIEN was established as emperor. His age was fourteen sui. The Empress was honoured as Empress-dowager and held court. An amnesty was proclaimed for the empire and the year-name was changed to Kuang-hsi. The Emperor's younger brother HSIE was enfeoffed as king of Po-hai. HSIE was aged nine sui. The General of the Rear YUAN WEI was made Grand Tutor and took part in the control of the affairs of the shang-shu with the General-in-Chief HO CHIN.

CHIN then held the government of the court. He was angry at CHIEN SHIH's plot against himself, and secretly planned to kill him. YUAN SHAO, through CHIN's close dependant CHANG CHIN, urged CHIN to kill all the eunuchs. Because the Yuan clan had been honoured for generation after generation, and because SHAO and his younger cousin the hu-pen chung-lang-chiang SHU were both respected by the great families, CHIN trusted them and used them. He also made wide levy of men who were wise and able in planning: - HO JUNG, HSUN YU and CHENG T'AI of Ho-nan and others, more than twenty men. He made JUNG pei-chün chung-hou, YU huang-men shih-lang, and T'AI shang-shu. And he trusted them completely. YU was a great-nephew of Shuang.

CHIEN SHIH was anxious and uneasy - he wrote to the chung-ch'ang-shih CHAO CHUNG and SUNG TIEN; "The General-in-Chief and his relations hold the state and act alone in
the court. Now, with the men of faction in the empire, they plan to kill the attendants of the late Emperor and to destroy us officials. He only hesitates because I control the soldiers. Now you should together lock the doors of the palace and take him quickly and kill him."

The chung-ch'ang-shih Kuo Sheng was a man of the same commandery as Chin. He had played some part in the fortunes of the Empress-dowager and Chin, and therefore trusted to the Ho clan. He discussed things with Chao Chung, but he did not agree with Shih's plan, and showed the letter to Chin. On the day keng-wu (27 May) Chin sent huang-men ling to arrest Shih and execute him, and then he took over his troops in camp.

The General of the Agile Cavalry Tung Chung had opposed Ho Chin's authority, and the palace officers accused Chung of partisan activities. Whenever the Empress-dowager nee Tung wanted to interfere in matters of government the Empress-dowager nee Ho always stopped her. The Tung empress was furious at this, and abused her and said: "Now you are powerful, you rely on your brother! I can order the Agile Cavalry (General, Tung Chung) to cut off Ho Chin's head as easily as I turn my hand!" The Empress-dowager nee Ho heard this, and told Chin of it.

In the fifth month Chin with the three dukes memorialised:
"The Empress Hsiao-jen has caused the former chung-ch'ang-shih
HSIA YEN and others to communicate with provincial and commandery governments (to have them) estimate the taxes and sent it all to the western palace. On a former occasion the empress was not allowed to remain in the capital district — we beg that she (the Empress-dowager née TUNG) may shift her palace to her own state." The memorial was approved. On the day hsin-ssu (7 Jun) CHIN raised troops and surrounded the office of (the General of) Agile Cavalry. He captured TUNG CHUNG, stripped him of his appointment, and CHUNG killed himself.

In the sixth month on the day hsin-hai (7 Jul) the Empress-dowager née TUNG, in grief and fear, died suddenly. Among the people, because of this, there was no longer acceptance of the Ho clan.

On the day hsin-yu (17 Jul) the HSIAO-LING Emperor was buried at Wen-ling. HO CHIN took warning from CHIEN SHIH's plot, announced that he was sick, and did not attend the mourning nor accompany the funeral.

There were great rains.

1896 In the autumn, in the seventh month King HSIE of Po-hai was shifted to be king of Ch'en-liu. The Minister over the Masses TING KUNG left office.
Yüan Shao again spoke to Chin, saying: "Formerly, the reason Tou Wu wanted to kill the palace favourites but was himself brought to harm by them, that was only because he allowed word to leak out. The soldiers of the five camps were all afraid and submitted to the eunuchs and yet Tou used them and so brought misfortune upon himself. Now your family all control strong forces, your leaders and officers of divisions are all men of brave and fine reputation, and are glad to give their best to carry out your orders; affairs are in your hands, this is a chance aided by heaven. You, my general, should at one stroke remove the evil from the empire, and so leave a name for later generations. You cannot let the chance slip." Chin then told the Empress-dowager, and asked to dismiss all the chung-ch'ang-shih officers and those of lower rank, and to appoint lang of the three divisions to fill their places. The Empress-dowager would not hear of it, and said: "The eunuchs' control of the forbidden apartments has been an old custom of the Han house from ancient times until now. You cannot do away with it. Moreover, the late emperor has only just left the world, how can I openly join in affairs with men?" Chin found it difficult to disregard the Empress-dowager's feelings, and yet he still wanted to punish those who had behaved badly. Shao held that the eunuchs were close to the Emperor, sending out and taking in orders; if it was not
stopped completely it would certainly cause trouble later. But the mother of the Empress-dowager, the lady of Wu-yang, and HO MIAO often received bribes and gifts from all the eunuchs; and they knew that CHIN wanted to kill them, and they often spoke to the Empress-dowager so she would give protection. And they also said: "If the General-in-Chief takes action on his own authority and kills the attendants, he assumes power and weakens the nation." The Empress-dowager suspected this was true. CHIN had newly come to honour, hitherto he had respected and avoided the eunuchs; although outwardly he seemed to be in pursuit of a great name, inwardly he lacked decision. And so the matter was for a long time unsettled.

SHAO and the others again made plans, and called out the brave leaders and the fighting men from all parts (of the empire), and had them lead troops towards the capital, to threaten the Empress-dowager. CHIN approved it. The chu-pu CH'EN LIN of Kuang-ling said: "A proverb has it, 'close the eyes to catch a bird'. 17) Now if in small things one still cannot use deceit to get one's aim, how much more is this true of great affairs of state? How can they be set up by trickery? Now you hold all the imperial authority, you hold all the essential military strength; with the leap of a dragon and the paces of a tiger, you may act as you will. It is like blowing up a fire in a stove to singe a hair. You have only to be quick and display
1897 thunder, use your judgement to make a decision—then
heaven and man will approve it. But if on the other hand
you abandon and let go the weapons, and call in outside
help, then great military forces will collect and the
strongest will be the best. That is what is called turning
a spear against yourself and passing the handle to someone
else; your work will certainly not be successful, these
are only the steps to disorder." CHIN did not listen.
The tien-chün hsiao-wei TS'AO TS'AO heard of it and laughed,
saying: "The offices of eunuchs, both ancient and modern
should have them, but the lords of the time should not grant
them authority and favour, and so let it come to this.
Now to correct this fault, he should cut out the basic evil—one jail officer is enough (for that); why should he be so
confused and call in soldiers from outside? If he wants to
kill them all, the affair will certainly leak out—I see
its failure."

Before this, Emperor LING had called TUNG CHO to be
Privy Treasurer and CHO sent up a message saying: "The
loyal troops I led in Huang-chung and the Ch'in and Hu
barbarians all come to me and say: 'The rations and supplies
are not ready, if our supplies are cut off our wives and
children will starve and freeze.' They pulled at my carriage
so it could not move. The Ch'iang and the Hu have evil
hearts and act like dogs; I cannot control them, so I put
up with them to soothe them. If there is anything different
or unusual, I will report again."20) The court could not prevent it. Then the Emperor became seriously ill and an imperial letter made CHO Governor of Ping Province and ordered him to put his soldiers under HUANG-FU SUNG. CHO again sent a memorial saying: "I have received undeservedly your heavenly favour, I have held military command for ten years, my officers and soldiers great and small have been close (in affection) for a long time. They are fond of my generous care, and would perform my commands at any emergency. I beg to lead them to the northern provinces, to work in the defence of the border." SUNG's nephew LI said to SUNG: "The control of the soldiers of the empire rests in you and in TUNG CHO. Now there is already bad feeling between you, one of you must lose out. CHO has been ordered to hand his men over, but he has sent a message to beg himself off — this is disobeying an imperial order. He counts on the disordered government of the capital and therefore he dares to hesitate and does not come forward — this is to embrace wrongdoing. These two things are unpardonable. Moreover he is cruel and perverse and has no affectionate friends: his officers and men will not follow him. You are now the senior general; if you rely on the authority of the state to punish him, above you will be brilliantly loyal, below you will wipe out evil and harm. This could be a good thing in every way." SUNG replied:
"Although it is wrong to disobey commands, to punish on my own authority would also be worthy of blame. It would be better to send up a clear report of this matter, and have the court decide it." So he sent up a memorial to tell of it, and so the Emperor scolded CHO. And CHO did not respect the letter but lodged his troops in Ho-tung to wait for the changes of time.

HO CHIN called CHO to send officers and men to the capital district. The shih-yü-shih CHENG T'AI protested, saying: "TUNG CHO is very hard and not very just, his ambitions have no limit; if you use him for the imperial government and entrust him with great affairs you will lose control over his evil intentions and you will certainly endanger the court. You yourself, by the force of your close relationship to the throne and your virtue, hold the authority of an O-heng;²¹) keep to your resolve and act alone to destroy and wipe out all those with crimes - truly you should not use CHO to bring help. Moreover, if you delay the thing, changes will come, the example of the Yin is not far off;²²) you should decide quickly." The shang-shu LU CHIH also said not to call on CHO, but CHIN would follow neither of them. T'AI then left his office and went away, and he said to HSÜN YU: "It is not easy to assist Lord HO!"

CHIN's departmental officer WANG K'UANG and the chi-tu-wei PAO HSIN were both from T'ai-shan. CHIN sent
them back to their own districts to raise troops, and he also at the same time ordered the Grand Administrator of Tung commandery, CH'IAO MAO to camp at Ch'eng-kao; and he sent the wu-meng tu-wei TING YUAN to lead several thousand men and ravage Ho-nei and burn Meng-chin. The fire lit up the city — and all was under the pretext of punishing the eunuchs.

TUNG CHO heard the summons and set out at once. He also sent a message: "The chung-ch'ang-shih CHANG JANG and others have usurped favour and played for advantage; they have corrupted and disordered all within the seas. I have heard that men may fan soup to stop it boiling, but there is nothing like taking away the firewood. Although it is painful to burst an abscess, it is better than a cancerous growth. Formerly CHAO YANG raised the armed men of Chin-yang to drive out the evil by the side of his lord; now I will sound the bells and the drums and go to Lo-yang. And I beg to arrest JANG and the others and so clear out evil and uncleanness." The Empress-dowager still did not approve. HO MIAO spoke to CHIN and said: "When we first came from Nan-yang we neither had much money, and it was by the (eunuchs of) the inner palace that we came to wealth and honour. In affairs of state how can you act lightly? Water tipped out cannot be collected — you should think hard about it, and make peace with the
eunuchs." CHO came to Min-ch'ih and CHIN then became uncertain and sent the ch'ien-yi ta-fu CH'UNG SHAO to take an imperial order to halt him. CHO would not accept the order and so advanced to Ho-nan. SHAO accompanied him and received him, and then again showed the order to take back his army. CHO suspected there was some change, and sent men of his army to overawe SHAO. SHAO was angry, took up the order and swore at them. The men of the army all scattered then he went on and confronted CHO and upbraided him. CHO lost the argument and took back the army to Hsi-yang t'ing. SHAO was grandson of (CH'UNG) HAO.

YÜAN SHAO was afraid CHIN would change his plans, and so urged him, saying: "The design is already complete, the affair is already disclosed, how can you still want to wait and not decide it early? If the affair is delayed too long, there will be changes (that you will not like). You will be a second Tou!" At this CHIN made SHAO Colonel of Censure, and granted him credentials to have authority to execute and to make decisions on his own. The ts'ung-shih chung-lang WANG YÜN became yin of Ho-nan. SHAO sent the officers of Lo-yang who were able in military strategy to control and to examine the eunuchs, and urged TUNG CHO and the others to send a memorial post-haste, asking to come forward to the P'ing-lo observatory. The Empress-dowager was afraid, dismissed all the chung-ch'ang-shih and hsiao-huang-men, and sent them to return to their own homes.
There were left only those private men that CHIN had to guard the inner apartments. All the chung-ch'ang-shih and hsiao-huang-men went to CHIN and apologised and said they would be at his disposal. CHIN said to them: "The empire is in a bad position, truly the trouble is in you. Now TUNG CHO is about to come, why do you not all go quickly to your states?" YüAN SHAO urged CHIN to take advantage of this and settle with them. He repeated three times, but CHIN would not have it. SHAO also wrote letters to tell all the provincial and commandery (offices), he pretended to announce CHIN's ideas, but had them seize and hold the eunuchs' families.

CHIN made plans for several days, something leaked out, and the eunuchs became afraid and thought of rebellion. CHANG JANG's son's wife was the younger sister of the Empress; JANG faced his son's wife and kowtowed and said: "I am old and I am at fault, I should go back with you together to a private life. But my family have received imperial favour for generations, and now I ought to go away from the palace apartments but my heart holds a great attachment (to them). I want to go in again to the forbidden palace, and to be able for a moment to behold far off the countenance of her majesty, the Empress-dowager. Then I would not regret going back to the mud of the ditches to die." His son's wife spoke to the Lady of Wu-yang, and she went in and told the Empress-dowager, and then it was ordered that all the ch'ang-shih could return to the apartments.
In the eighth month, on the day wu-ch'en (22 Sep) CHIN went into the Ch'ang-lo palace, spoke to the Empress-dowager and asked that all the ch'ang-shih be executed. The chung-ch'ang-shih CHANG JANG and TUAN KUEI spoke to one another and said: "The General-in-Chief said he was ill and did not attend the mourning, he did not accompany the funeral - now he suddenly comes to the palace, what does this mean? Is TOU's affair really coming again?" They sent (someone) to hide and listen and all heard his words. Then they led several tens of men of their party to take weapons and quietly enter from a side-room and hide below the palace door. CHIN came out, and they pretended to have the Empress-dowager's orders to call for him, and he went in and sat by the door to the apartments. JANG and the others questioned CHIN: "The empire's disorders are not only by our faults. When the late Emperor was not pleased with the Empress-dowager and she almost came to complete destruction, we managed with tears to save her; and each of us gave out thousands and ten-thousands of family wealth for presentation, to give harmony and pleasure to the Emperor's mind. We wanted only to be under the patronage of your house. Now you want to destroy us and our families, isn't this too much!" At this the shang-fang-chien CH'U MU drew his sword and cut off CHIN's head before the Chia-te apartments. JANG, KUEI and the others made an edict to appoint the former Grand
Commandant PAN LING as Colonel of Censure and the Privy Treasurer HSü HSIANG as yin of Ho-nan. The shang-shu got the edict block and seal, and doubted it, and said: "We ask that the General-in-Chief come out and talk this over with us." The chung-huang-men took CHIN's head and tossed it to the shang-shu and said: "HO CHIN planned to rebel, he has already been executed."

WU K'UANG and CHANG CHANG, officers of CHIN's forces were outside and heard that CHIN had been harmed. They wanted to lead soldiers into the palace, but the palace doors were closed. The hu-pen chung-lang-chiang YüAN SHU joined K'UANG and chopped and attacked them; the chung-huang-men took up weapons and defended the doors. Just then the sun went down, and SHU then set fire to the Ch'ing-sou gate of the southern palace to frighten out JANG and the others. JANG and the others went in to tell the Empress-dowager, and said that the troops of the General-in-Chief were in rebellion, burning the palace and attacking the gate of the shang-shu. Then they led the Empress-dowager, the Little Emperor and the King of Ch'en-liu to compel the subordinate officers of the palace, and they followed a covered way and fled to the northern palace. The shang-shu LU CHIH held a halberd below the window on the path and looked at TUAN KUEI and told out his crimes. KUEI was afraid and let go of the Empress-dowager, the Empress-dowager went to the door and escaped. YüAN SHAO and his uncle WEI
pretended to have imperial orders to call up FAN LING and HSÜ HSIANG and beheaded them. SHAO and HO MIAO led troops and camped below the Chu-Ch'iu tower. They caught CHAO CHUNG and others and beheaded them. WU K'UANG had earlier been angry that HO MIAO had not agreed with CHIN, and he also suspected that he had planned things with the eunuchs, so he sent an order to the army saying: "The man that killed the General-in-Chief was the Chariot and Cavalry (general, MIAO). You officers and soldiers, can't you take revenge on him?" All wept and said: "We would give our lives for it." K'UANG then led troops with TUNG CHO's younger brother the feng-chü tu-wei MIN and attacked and killed MIAO and exposed his body in the park. SHAO then closed the northern palace gates and urged his soldiers to seize all the eunuchs, without respect for young or old, and to kill them all - altogether some two thousand men (died). Some had no whiskers; they were killed by mistake. Then SHAO sent forward soldiers to clear out the palace - some climbed the Tuan-men buildings to attack inside the inner apartments. 

On the day keng-wu (24 Sep) CHANG JANG, TUAN KUEI and others were in difficulty and distress, so they led the Emperor and the King of Ch'en-liu and several tens of men on foot out of the Ku gate and by night they came to the
Hsiao-p'ing ford (The Emperor had come in such haste he had not even the time and could not bring the six seals with him. None of the dukes or ministers could follow, only the shang-shu LU CHIH and the chung-pu tuan of Ho-nan MIN KUNG came by night to the river. KONG with a stern voice confronted and upbraided JANG and the others, and he also said: "Now, unless you die quickly, I will kill you." Then he took his sword and beheaded several men. JANG and the others, in fear and dread, clasped fingers and bowed twice and kowtowed towards the Emperor and said: "We die for love of your majesty's person." And so they threw themselves into the river and died.

KUNG helped the Emperor and the King of Ch'en-liu to go on foot, following the light of glow-worms, southwards by night. They wanted to return to the palace, and after several li they got a commoner's open cart and rode in it together. When they came to Lo-she they stopped. On the day hsin-wei (25 Sep) the Emperor rode by himself on one horse, the King of Ch'en-liu and KUNG rode together on another and they went south from Lo-she. Some of the dukes and ministers arrived. TUNG CHO had come to the Hsien-yang park and far off he had seen fires rise up. He knew there was a revolt and led his troops quickly forward. It was not yet light when he came to the west of the city and heard that the Emperor was in the north. So with the dukes and ministers he went to offer a welcome below the Pei-mang
bank. The Emperor saw CHO arrive suddenly leading armed men, he was afraid and alarmed and wept. All the dukes said to CHO: "There is an imperial order to withdraw troops." CHO said: "You are all great ministers of the state, but you cannot put the royal house in order. You have brought the Emperor to be a homeless wanderer, how is there withdrawing troops?" CHO spoke with the Emperor, but could not get a clear explanation; then he spoke with the King of Ch'en-liu, and asked the cause of the misfortune and disorder. The King described events from first to last with nothing left out. CHO was very pleased. He considered the King worthy, and moreover since he had been brought up by the Empress-dowager née TUNG, and since CHO himself was of the same clan as the Empress-dowager, he then had the idea of dismissing (the Emperor) and setting up (the King).

On this day (hsin-wei, 25 Sep) the Emperor returned to the palace. There was an amnesty for the empire and the era Kuang-hsi became Chao-ning. The great seal of state had been lost but all the other seals were recovered. TING YÜAN was made chih-chin-wu. The chi-tu-wei PAO HSIN had enlisted soldiers from T'ai-shan and had just come back. He spoke to YÜAN SHAO and said: "TUNG CHO holds a strong force, he will be inclined to rebellion. Now if you do not soon make plans (against him) you will certainly be under his control. When he first comes he will be weary and exhausted, attack him and you can take him." SHAO was afraid of CHO and
1903 did not dare to act. So HSIN led his soldiers back to T'ai-shan.

When TUNG CHO came into (the capital) his infantry and cavalry were no more than three thousand; he was worried that his soldiers were too few and he was afraid that they would not be respected far and near. So for four or five days on end he sent out the army by night into the camps and then at daybreak they returned in great array with flags and drums, to look as if further troops were coming up from the west. Nobody in Lo realised (the trick). In a short time the followers of HO CHIN and his brother MIAO had all turned to CHO, and CHO also arranged in secret that TING YüAN's pu-ch'ü ssu-ma Lü PU of Wu-yüan would kill YüAN and seize his forces. At this CHO's army became very much stronger. Then he suggested to the court that since it had been raining for a long time he planned to dismiss the Minister of Works LIU HUNG and replace him.

Before this, TS'AI YUNG had been banished to the north; shortly afterwards there was an amnesty and he was able to return. WANG CHIH, Grand Administrator of Wu-yüan was FU's younger brother; he reported that YUNG had spoken against the court. YUNG then fled to the Chiang and the sea, and was a fugitive for twelve years. TUNG CHO heard his reputation and summoned him. He pleaded sick and did not come. CHO was angry and swore: "I can destroy a man's family." YUNG was afraid and obeyed the order, he arrived
and was appointed (po-shih) chi-chiu, and treated with extreme respect and rose to a high rank. In the space of three days he passed through three offices and was shifted to be shih-chung.

TUNG CHO spoke to YüAN SHAO and said: "The master of the empire should be worthy and understanding; whenever I think of Emperor LING I get angry. Lord TUNG seems possible. Now if I want to set him up, would he be better than Lord SHIH? Among men (there are those who) have small wisdom and great foolishness; so how can I know what is the best? If it is like this, then the Liu clan is not fit to succeed (to the empire)." SHAO said: "The Han house has ruled the empire for more than four hundred years, its grace and favour have deeply enriched (the realm), and people honour it. Now the Emperor is rich in years, he has not yet shown anything less than perfect to the empire. You want to do away with the son of the legal wife and set in place the son of the concubine — I am afraid the people will not follow your argument." CHO took his sword and abused SHAO, saying: "You fool to dare act like this. The affairs of the nation, how do they not rest in me? If I want to do it, who dares not agree? Are you saying TUNG CHO's sword is not sharp?" SHAO flew into a rage:
"The strong men of the empire, are they only Lord TUNG?"
He drew the knife at his waist, saluted brusquely, and went straight out. CHO was new come to power, and he realised that SHAO was of a great family and so he did not dare to harm him. SHAO hung his tokens of office on the Shang-tung gate and fled to Chi-chou. 48)

In the ninth month on the day kuei-yu (27 Sep) CHO held a great assembly of the officials, raised his head and said: "The Emperor is ignorant and weak, he cannot maintain the imperial temples nor act as master of the empire. Now I want to follow the examples of YI YIN and HO KUANG and set up the King of Ch'en-liu. What of it?" The dukes, the ministers and the lower officers were all afraid and flustered and no-one dare to oppose it. CHO said again: "Formerly HO KUANG settled policy and (T'IEN) YEN-NIEN held the sword. 50) Those who dared injure his great designs were all dealt with by military law." All those present were shaken. Only the shang-shu LU CHIH said: "Formerly T'AI CHIA held position and had no understanding, the faults of CH'ANG-YI were more than one thousand - therefore there was the affair of deposing and setting up. 51) Now the Emperor is rich in years, in his actions there has been no lack of virtue - this is not like those affairs of the
past." CHO was extremely angry and left his seat. He was going to kill CHIH but TS'AI YUNG pleaded for him and the yi-lang P'ENG PO also argued: "LU the shang-shu is a great scholar of the land, men look up to him. Now if you harm him the empire will shake for fear." So CHO stopped and only dismissed CHIH from office. CHIH then fled secretly to Shang-ku. CHO showed his arguments for the dismissal and appointment to the Grand Tutor YüAN WEI. WEI declared the same opinion.

On the day chia-hsü (28 Sep) CHO again called together all the officers to the front apartments of Ch'ing-te, and then compelled the Empress-dowager to arrange the dismissal of the Little Emperor. He said: "The Emperor in mourning had not the feeling of a man's son, his dignity and his manners are not the style of a ruler of men; now we dismiss him to be king of Hung-nung and we establish King HSIE of Ch'en-liu as emperor." YüAN WEI then took off the Emperor's seal and ribbon and presented them to the King of Ch'en-liu. He assisted the King of Hung-nung to descend the hall, face to the north and proclaim himself subject. The Empress-dowager muffled her sobs, all the ministers restrained their grief, and no-one dared to speak.

CHO also announced: "The Empress-dowager made the Yung-lo Palace (Empress, i.e. the Empress-dowager née TUNG) uneasy and embarrassed and she even had her die of grief, against the true behaviour of daughter-in-law to mother. So he shifted
the Empress-dowager to the Yung-an palace. There was an amnesty for all the empire; the era was changed from Chao-ning to Yung-Han. On the day ping-tzu (30 Sep) CHO poisoned and killed the Empress-dowager née HO — the dukes and ministers and other officers did not wear linen clothes (for her mourning) and at her burial ceremony there was only white clothing. CHO also broke up HO MIAO's coffin, took out his body, broke up the joints and abandoned it on the roadside; he killed MIAO's mother the Lady of Wu-yang and abandoned her body in a hedge in the park.

The sons and younger brothers of dukes and ministers and lower officials were summoned and appointed lang officers, to fill up the eunuch offices and to be in attendance in the palace.

On the day yi-yu (10 Oct) the Grand Commandant LIU Yū was made ta-ssu-ma and enfeoffed as marquis of Hsiang-fei. TUNG CHO made himself Grand Commandant, took control of the affairs of the General of the Van, and added seal of authority, fu-yüe and hu-pen and changed his fief to the marquisate of Mei.

On the day ping-hsü (11 Oct) the t'ai-chung ta-fu YANG PIAO was made Minister of Works. On the day chia-wu (19 Oct) the Governor of Yū-chou, HUANG WAN, was made Minister over the Masses.
TUNG CHO had all the dukes send up letters to praise in retrospect CH'EN FAN, TOU WU and all the men of faction, to restore all their ranks of honour, to send messengers to mourn and make sacrifice, and to select their sons and grandsons for office.

From the sixth month until this month it was raining.

In the winter, in the tenth month on the day yi-ssu (29 Oct) they buried the Empress SSU of Emperor LING (Posthumous title of the Empress-dowager née HO).

The Po-po bandits ravaged Ho-tung; TUNG CHO sent his officer NIU FU to attack them.

Before this, the Southern shan-yü Yü-FU-LO had come to power, and those of the state who had killed his father then rebelled and set up HSÜ-FU-KU TU-HOU as shan-yü. YüFU-LO came to the capital to ask justice for himself. Shortly afterwards Emperor LING died and the empire was in great disorder. Yü-FU-LO led several thousand horsemen to join forces with the Po-po bandits and to plunder commandery and prefecture. The people of this time had all collected together for protection, there was no profit in plunder, and so the soldiers were exhausted and in distress. They wanted to go back again to their country, but their people would not take them in, and so they stopped
1906 at P'ing-yang in Ho-tung. HSü-PU-KU TU-HOU was shan-yü for one year and then died. So the southern court had one-one in the office and an old king carried out the affairs of the state.

In the eleventh month TUNG CHO was made Chancellor of the State, (with authority) to perform obeisance without calling his own name, to enter court without quickening step, and to be in the hall of audience with sword and shoes.

In the twelfth month on the day wu-hsü (19 Feb, 190) the Minister over the Masses HUANG WAN was made Grand Commandant, the Minister of Works YANG PIAO became Minister over the Masses and the Superintendant of the Imperial Household HSün SHUANG became Minister of Works.

Before this, the shang-shu CHOU PI of Wu-wei and the ch'eng-men hsiac-wei WU CH'IUNG of Ju-nan spoke to TUNG CHO of reforming the rule of HUAN and LING, of appointing to office the famous scholars of the empire in order to attract the hope of the people. CHO followed it. He commissioned PI and CH'IUNG, with the shang-shu CHENG T'AI and the ch'ang-shih HO JUNG and others to sift out the unclean and evil and bring to light and expose hidden obstructions.
At this time there were called up the local scholars Hsün Shuang, Ch'en Chi, Han Jung and Shen-T'U P'an. Shuang was further promoted to be Chancellor of Ping-yüan, he was transferred to Wan-ling, shifted to be Superintendent of the Imperial Household; he served for three days and he was advanced to Minister of Works. From the time he received the summons to his promotion to ducal rank was altogether ninety-three days. And Chi became Wu-kuan chung-lang-chiang and Jung became Grand Herald. Chi was the son of Shih, Jung was the son of Shao. Shuang and the others all feared Cho's cruelty and none dared not to come. Only Shen-T'U P'an, when he received the summons and was urged to go, laughed and would not reply. In the end Cho was not able to force him - he was over seventy years, and he died of old age. Cho also made the shang-shu Han Fu Governor of Chi Province, the shih-chung Liu Tai Inspector of Yen Province, K'ung Chou of Ch'en-liu Inspector of Yu Province; Chang Miao of Tung-p'ing became Grand Administrator of Ch'en-liu, Chang Tzu of Ying-ch'uan became Grand Administrator of Nan-yang. Those Cho chiefly cared for were not placed in important positions, only (chung-lang)-chiang, hsiao(-wei Colonel)

An edict abolished the three era-names of Kuang-hsi, Chao-ning and Yung-Han (so the year was again counted as the sixth of Chung-p'ing).
TUNG CHO by nature was cruel and vindictive, he had come suddenly to sole power and he held all the armour and weapons and valuables of the empire. His authority made all men tremble. His ambitions knew no limit, he spoke to his attendants and said: "My character and signs deserve the highest honour."

The shih-yü-shih JAO-LUNG TSUNG went to CHO to report something and did not leave off his sword. He was at once beaten to death. At this time in Lo the houses of the imperial relatives by marriage looked out on one another (i.e. one palace after another), and every house was filled up with their treasure of gold and silk. CHO let loose his soldiers to break into the houses, to rob and plunder their property and to seize and force into marriage their wives and daughters, not sparing high position or relationship to the Emperor. The people's spirits were fallen in terror, there was no certainty from dawn to dusk.

CHO offered a reward and tried eagerly to capture YÜAN SHAO. CHOU PI and WU CH'IUNG argued with CHO: "Now the dismissal and setting up (of an emperor) are great matters, they are not what an ordinary man can reach to. YÜAN SHAO cannot understand (such) a great thing, he is afraid and has fled away - it is not that he has any idea of rebellion. Now if you seek him so anxiously this will certainly bring on ideas of opposition. The YÜAN family has been distributing favours for four generations,
their pupils and people who have served under them are everywhere in the empire. If he calls for fighting men to collect and for an army to follow him, then bold warriers will come with him and make a rising, and then you would hold nothing east of the mountains. There is nothing better than to pardon him and appoint him Administrator of a commandery. SHAO will be pleased to escape punishment and will certainly be no trouble." CHO accepted this and at once appointed SHAO Grand Administrator of Po-hai and enfeoffed him as marquis of K'ang-hsiang.\footnote{62} He also made YüAN SHU General of the Rear and TS'AO TS'AO hsiao-chi hsiao-wei.

SHU feared CHO and fled away to Nan-yang. TS'AO changed his name and escaped towards the east. He passed through Chung-mou\footnote{63} and was suspected by the head of a t'ing. He held (TS'AO) and sent him to the office of the prefecture. At this time the prefecture had already received CHO's letter, but only the kung-ts'ao privately knew that it was TS'AO, because the time and place (described in the letter from the capital) were confused. He did not feel it was right to hold one of the foremost men of the empire, and he told the prefect to release him. TS'AO reached Ch'en-liu, scattered his family and property, and collected together five thousand soldiers.
At this time there were many of the fighting men of the empire who wanted to rise up and attack CHO. YüAN SHAO was in Po-hai, HAN FU, Governor of Chi-chou, sent several (men as) ts'ung-shih of the commandery 64) to guard him. SHAO could make no move. The Grand Administrator of Tung commandery, CH'IAO MAO, forged letters as sent by the three dukes in the capital to the provinces and commanderies, setting out CHO's faults and crimes, and saying: "We are oppressed and cannot help ourselves. We look eagerly for loyal troops to release the state from harm and difficulty." FU got hold of such a message and asked all his ts'ung-shih: "Now should we help the Yüan clan or the Tung clan?" The chih-chung ts'ung-shih LIU TZU-HUI said: "Now you raise soldiers for the state, how can you talk of Yüan and Tung?" FU blushed in shame. TZU-HUI said again: "Arms are bad business, you should not start anything. Now you should go and look at the other provinces; if there is action then join with them. In that event Chi-chou will not be considered as weaker than others; on the other hand, when merits are counted, other provinces will have no greater claim." FU agreed. FU also wrote a letter to SHAO, discussing CHO's wrongdoing, and accepting his raising troops.
notes:

1. Hsin-tu was the chief prefecture of An-p'ing commandery in Chi province; now Chi prefecture in Hopei.

2. Kung-sun Tsan had been appointed hsiang-lu hsiao-wei from chi-tu-wei after his victory at Shih-men (HHS 63, p. 5a).

3. This eclipse is mentioned in HHS treatise 18, p. 8b/9 and also in HHS annals 8 — in both places the day is given as ping-wu. According to the tables, the ping-wu day was the first day of the month; so TCTC has confused the two characters and wu.

   The treatise remarks that the Emperor died ten days after the eclipse.

4. Jung-ch'iu prefecture was in Tung-hai; now in P'i in Kiangsu.

5. The Beauty née Wang had been poisoned by the Empress née Ho in 181, after Liu Hsie was born; the Empress-dowager had taken over the care of her grandchild. (HHS annals 10B, p. 10a/7)

6. The Chia-te apartments were in the Southern palace.

7. Po-chün-ti were the lodging-houses kept by the commanderies' and states' governments for their messengers to the capital. These lodging-houses were grouped together in one part of Lo-yang, and it was to this quarter that Ho Chin led his troops.

8. These figures for the ages of Liu Pien and Liu Hsie are given by the Chinese reckoning. In China, a child is considered age one at birth, and is automatically reckoned one sui year older at the beginning of each year. So in this case Liu Pien, born in 176, would be twelve or thirteen years old by Western calculations; and Hsie, born in 181, was eight or nine years old.
Here and hereafter ages will be given by the Chinese reckoning.

9. The expression lu shang-shu shih 錄尚書事 'to control the affairs of the shang-shu' is the Later Han equivalent of the Former Han's Intendant of the Affairs of the Masters of Writing 錄文書事. It was explained in note 8 to TCTC p. 1889 that the shang-shu office, as the emperor's secretariat, held very great power. Dubs II, pp. 10 and 11, explains how the shang-shu officers were responsible for all official communication between the emperor and the outside administration; and the situation that he describes for the Former Han was even more effective in the Later Han. As a result, the effective power of any high-ranking official lay in his authority 'to control the affairs of the shang-shu', no matter what other title he might hold. The man that controlled the shang-shu controlled the emperor's commands and so controlled the state.

The prefix ts'an �� in this context, which I translate as 'to take part in (the control of the affairs of the shang-shu)', presents some uncertainty. In later times ts'an definitely implies a subordinate assistant office; it is not certain here whether the Later Han history understands it in that sense. It may mean no more than sharing on equal terms in the control of the imperial secretariat. In the text of these chapters the expressions 'lu shang-shu shih' or 'ts'an lu shang-shu shih' occur ten times, as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Minister over the Masses</td>
<td>(lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Grand Tutor</td>
<td>(lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Minister over the Masses and Minister of Works</td>
<td>(lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Grand Commandant (Chou Chung)</td>
<td>(ts'an lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Grand Commandant</td>
<td>(lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Minister of Works</td>
<td>(lu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1954  Grand Commandant (lu)
1956  Minister over the Masses (lu)
1984  Colonel of Censure (Ts'ao Ts'ao) (lu)

All these references are recorded in the same terms in HHS annals, but in HHS 35, p. 17a/4, Chou Chung is mentioned as becoming Grand Commandant and 'lu shang-shu shih'. This seems to support the idea that the prefix ts'an implies no major administrative difference. Since in this one case, as recorded in TCTC p. 1940, the Minister over the Masses and the Minister of Works were already 'lu shang-shu shih', it seems reasonable to suggest that 'ts'an' here only means that Chou Chung joined them in this office. Of the three dukes, the Grand Commandant was the senior; it would be somewhat surprising to find him acting with less authority. So for this period I suggest that the two terms 'to control the affairs of the shang-shu' and 'to take part in the control of the affairs of the shang-shu' had no real difference in function.

10. In the official administration of the Later Han, the Yuan family had risen to extraordinary heights. In 86 AD Yuan An was first appointed to ducal rank as Minister of Works (HHS annals 3, p. 16b). Later his son Ch'ang also became Minister of Works, and his grandson T'ang held all three ducal offices. T'ang's son Feng became Minister of Works and the younger son Wei became Minister over the Masses. These promotions to the very top of the official ranks give an indication of the influence that the Yuan clan held.

Yuan Shu was the son of Feng. Shao was a grandson of T'ang, but his descent was a matter of some dispute. At the beginning of his biography in HHS 64A the main text says that he was the son of Ch'eng, eldest son of T'ang; but the primary commentary notices that other sources, the Hou Han shu of Yuan Shan-sung and the Wei shu quoted by primary commentary to SKWei 6 p. 12a, describe Shao as the adopted son of Ch'eng, that he was really the son of Feng by a
concubine. But in the chi-chie to HHS 64A, p. 1a, Hung Liang-chi brings evidence to indicate that Shao was actually the son of Ch'eng, not of Feng.

11. The Empress-dowager née Tung had been given the title of Hsiao-jen Empress at the beginning of the reign of her son Emperor Ling. Ling's father, the former Marquis of Chie-tu t'ing, was honoured posthumously as Emperor Hsiao-jen, and his widow became the Hsiao-jen Empress-dowager (HHS annals 8, pp. 2a and 2b). The western palace was the Yung-lo palace, the residence of the Empress-dowager née Tung.

12. The empress ; HHS primary commentary identifies this as a reference to the concubine née Wei, the mother of Emperor P'ing of the Former Han; she was implicated in a plot against Wang Mang in 3 AD and was kept by Wang Mang in exile in Chung-shan. (see Dubs III, pp. 47 and 48).

13. According to the primary commentary to HHS annals, Wen-ling was 20 li northwest of Lo-yang.

14. This great rain recorded here and also on TCTC p. 1905 is referred to by HHS treatise 13 (treatise of the five elements), p. 4a/9. The treatise has a connection of this rain with the slaughter of the eunuchs.

15. The five camps were the troops of the Northern Army at Lo-yang, commanded by the five colonels t'un-chi, yue-chi, pu-ping, ch'ang-shui and she-sheng. They formed the regular imperial guard of the capital district. (see HHS treatise 27, p. 6b).

16. lang of the three divisions - a term for the court gentlemen commanded by the wu-kuan chung-lang-chiang, the tso chung-lang-chiang and the yu chung-lang-chiang.
17. The proverb 'to close the eyes to catch a bird' implies self-deception. A man closes his eyes in the hope that as he cannot see the bird, the bird cannot see him - the same argument as an ostrich.

18. Huang-chung 湳中 - the area southeast of present-day Tsinghai; during Han times it was inhabited by Ch'iang barbarians.

19. This passage is reported in Tung Cho's biography in HHS 62, p. 3a/7; the primary commentary says that the character lao 滋 means supplies of food.

20. TCTC commentary notes several examples of the expression 增易 or a similar phrase at the end of memorials about this time. It seems to have been a common form of words.

21. O-heng the title held by Yi Yin, chief minister of the Shang dynasty under T'ang. The Ch'ang-fa ode of the Shang-sung in the Shih-ching reads; '...there was sent down to us a minister, that was O-heng; he assisted the king of Shang.' (Karlgren, Ode 304, section 7, p. 266).

22. The example of the Yin is not far off - The Tang ode of the Ta-ya in the Shih-ching reads; '... the mirror for Yin is not far off, it is in the age of the lords of Hia.' (Karlgren, Ode 255, section 8, p. 216). According to Chinese tradition, Chie^£ , the last king of the Hsia夏 dynasty, ruled as a tyrant; and so he was destroyed by T'ang, first king of the Shang商, in 1766 BC. Then King Chou紂 of Yin殷 (or Shang) again ruled badly; and that dynasty was ended by King Wu of the Chou周. The fall of the Hsia was a warning of what would come to the Yin/Shang dynasty. And Cheng T'ai is saying that the fate of Tou Wu shows Ho Chin what can happen to him.
23. Ch'eng-kao prefecture was in Ho-nan commandery in Ssu-li; now northwest of Ch'eng-kao in Honan.

24. Meng-chin - the settlement by the Meng ford; now south of Meng in Honan.

25. Chao Yang was a servant of the Chin state during the Ch'un-ch'iu period. In the Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan, thirteenth year of Duke Ting (497 BC) it is recorded that Chao Yang came to Chin-yang and made a rebellion. He attacked and drove out the two ministers Hsun Yin and Shih Chi-she (also named Fan Chi-she). (Legge V, p. 764/2). The Han set up a prefecture called Chin-yang, which is now T'ai-yUan in Shansi.

26. The drums and bells were a symbol of punishment. In the Analects, book XI, ch. 16, translated by Legge I, p. 243; 'The Master said, "He is no disciple of mine. My little children, beat the drum and assail him."' Legge explains that this refers to the practice of executing criminals in the market-place and beating a drum to have the people collect and hear of his crimes.

27. Min-ch'ih prefecture was in Hung-nung commandery in Ssu-li; now Min-ch'ih in Honan.

28. Hsi-yang t'ing is to the west of Lo-yang in Honan.

29. Ch'ung Hao, biography in HHS 46, was Minister of the Masses under Emperor Huan.

30. Dubs and Bielenstein both translate this title ssu-li hsiao-wei as Colonel Director of the Retainers, but in this case I feel that Wang Yu-ch'dan's version 'Colonel of Censure' may give a better
reading. Wang has discussed the office and function of the Colonel of Censure on pp. 156 to 158 of his article in HJAS.

For the Later Han, HHS treatise 27, pp. 8a and 8b, describes the Colonel of Censure as the provincial governor for the province about the capitals, ssu-li - the commanderies of Ho-nan, Ho-nei, Ho-tung, Hung-nung, Ching-chao, Yu-fu-feng and Tso-p'ing-yi. He could inspect and investigate wrongdoing, and then he reported it; but without holding credentials he could not act on his own authority and give punishment. Under the Former Han the Colonel of Censure was first established under Emperor Wen, and the officer had held credentials until the time of Emperor Yüan; in 45 BC this extra authority ceased to be granted. So the appointment of Yüan Shao is the first time in the Later Han that the Colonel of Censure had the power to act on his own authority in administering the law.

This change in the function of the Colonel of Censure is similar to the change in the authority of the rulers of the outside provinces which was made in the previous year (TCTC p. 1887 ff). But throughout the Later Han, the Colonel of Censure had ranked higher than the provincial Inspectors. He held a salary of almost 2000 piculs, and his responsibilities and powers extended over all the officials and members of the imperial house or relatives by marriage that were in the capital province. Although he was ultimately responsible to the Emperor, and hence in this case to the regent Ho Chin, Yüan Shao's authority as Colonel of Censure with credentials was very great indeed.

The authority of the credentials does not always appear with the Colonel of Censure even after this restoration. In the history after this there are several references to the Colonel of Censure, sometimes with credentials mentioned and sometimes without; the index of titles distinguishes these references. But there are places where the office is mentioned as a title (e.g. 'the Colonel of Censure Huang Wan') and there is no indication whether that officer held credentials or not. The credentials were not an
essential part of the office, but from this time on they could be added to it.

Again, the Colonel of Censure was not the only officer who could be given this authority to act on his own; the index of titles gives the references to the authority of holding credentials, and these are discussed in notes to each appearance in the text.

31. The Ch'ang-lo 長樂 palace was the name of the apartments of the Empress-dowager (HHS treatise 27, p. 3a).

32. This refers to the time in 181 when the Empress née Ho had the Beauty née Wang poisoned, and Emperor Ling was angry and intended to send her away.

33. The expression pu-ch'ü chiang 部曲牌, translated here as 'officers of (Chin's) forces' cannot be explained with certainty. The meaning of the term pu-ch'ü was changing at about this time (cf. the article of Yang Chung-yi), and it is hard to say what was the relationship between Ho Chin and Wu K'uang and Chang Chang. But it is possible to make some analogy to the similar description of Lu Pu (see note 44 to TCTC p. 1903 below); and it is suggested that Wu K'uang and Chang Chang held rank in Ho Chin's forces, but also regarded themselves as proteges or clients of Ho Chin himself. (for a brief summary of the uses of the term pu-ch'ü at this time, and of Yang Chung-yi's article, see the introduction to the indexes, below).

34. The covered ways 禦道 fu-tao were a raised and roofed causeway or bridge within the palace to allow members of the court to cross from one set of apartments to another without coming down to the courtyards.

35. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions read the character
得te (managed to) for乃nai. K'ung T'ien-yin's Ming edition has this also.

36. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions have interpolated the character 秦 (the person who). K'ung T'ien-yin's Ming edition has this also, and the criticism of Chang Tun-jen agrees. This translation follows.

37. TCTC commentary notes that the Tuant^3 gate was due south of the Southern palace and that the harem apartments were behind it.

38. The K'ung gate was the north gate of Lo-yang.

39. The Hsiao-p'ing ford is north of presentday Meng-chin宦津 in Honan.

40. The six imperial seals of the Han were made of white jade and were used separately for the enfeoffment of kings, the enfeoffment of other feudal lords, for raising troops, for writing to ministers, for writing to foreign nations and for seals on sacred documents. These six seals (liu hsi^v vrlf?) were distinct from the ch'uan-kuo-hsi', or great seal of state, which was inherited from the Ch'in and was the mark of imperial rank.

41. In HHS treatise 28, p. 6b/4, the primary commentary quotes the Han kuan yi, which says that each commandery administration appointed tu-yu督邮 (post-keepers) as officers to supervise the prefectures of the commandery. In each commandery there were five such officers, controlling precincts east, west, north and south, and one in the centre. But in the capital commandery of Ho-nan, the officer of the central precinct was not called tu-yu, but tuan協. So Min Kung, Head of the Central Precinct, held a minor police appointment in the capital under the yin of Ho-nan.

42. The Hsien-yang park was laid out under Emperor Huan, and was to the west of Lo-yang.
43. Tung Cho was actually no close relation to the Tung family of the
Empress-dowager. His family came from Lung-hsi and the Empress-
dowager came from Ho-chien. The surname was the only thing they
had in common.

44. The significance of this description of Lu Pu as pu-ch'ü ssu-ma
is not easy to determine. The term pu-ch'ü was varying in meaning during this period (see the introduction to the
indexes and also the article by Yang Chung-yi). Lu Pu held
rank in the imperial forces as a ssu-ma Major, and Pu's biographies
in HHS 65, p. 9b and SKWei 7 p. 1a both describe how he was
favoured by Ting Yuan when Yuan was Inspector of Ping province.
Yuan brought Pu to the capital with an office under his command,
and then Tung Cho persuaded Pu to remove Yuan. So the description
pu-ch'ü here seems to indicate that Pu had some personal obligation
to Yuan, but that he also held an official post in the imperial
army.

45. Wang Fu was one of the eunuchs that destroyed Tou Wu at the
beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling; when Ts'ai Yung had been
pardoned and was about to return, Wang Chih gave him a banquet.
Yung did not behave courteously to him, and it was for this reason
that Chih reported against him. (HHS 30B, p. 18a/5). Yung's first
exile was in 175, his amnesty and the beginning of his second
banishment were in 176.

46. There is no detail of this first office held by Ts'ai Yung either
here or in HHS. The office of chi-chiu 'Libationer' does not occur
by itself in the HHS treatise. It is possible that Tung Cho
designed the officer on this occasion, but it is very likely that
a famous scholar such as Ts'ai Yung would be appointed po-shih
chi-chiu 博士祭酒 'Erudite Libationer', an office ranking at
600 piculs. It is described in HHS treatise 25, p. 2a/3 as the
senior post of the imperial school of the classics.
47. As TCTC commentary remarks, Cho hopes to remove the Han and set himself up instead.

48. The Shang-tung 上京 gate was the northernmost gate on the east wall of Lo-yang city. Up to this time, Shao had continued in the post of Colonel of Censure which he held from Ho Chin.

49. Although TCTC and HHS annals put the kuei-yu day in the ninth month, the tables have this day as the last of the eighth month, and begin the ninth month with the next day, chia-hsü.

50. T'ien Yen-nien 四延 supported Ho Kuang when it was first suggested that Liu Ho be deposed from the throne (Dubs II, p. 182).

51. T'ai Chia was the grandson of King T'ang of the Shang, banished by Yi Yin to reform him. Ch'ang-yi 長邑 was the royal fief of Liu Ho, who was deposed from the Han empire by Ho Kuang in 73 BC, and replaced by Emperor Hsüan.

52. Yung-lo palace here refers to the person of the Empress-dowager nee Tung. 素 fu is the term for a man's wife; 素oku is the term for his mother. By rites the wife should serve her mother-in-law, and her wishes should be subordinated to her mother-in-law's. So the persecution of the Empress-dowager nee Tung by the Empress-dowager nee Ho went against any form of morality.

53. For the death of an empress the court was expected to avoid wearing silk during the time of mourning - on this occasion they made no particular effort to wear linen clothing as a mark of respect. At the burial ceremony the court wore white clothing - they did not put on coarse and rough clothes, nor disarray themselves to show their grief.

54. In the first years of the Later Han, the title of ta-ssu-ma 'Commander-
in-Chief had been held by the highest of the three dukes. In 51 AD the title t'ai-wei 'Grand Commandant' had taken its place. This appointment of Liu Yu appears intended as an honour to keep him quiet and as a means to clear the Grand Commandant office for Tung Cho. Although Liu Yu had been appointed Grand Commandant in the fourth month (TCTC p. 1893), he seems never to have left his province to take up the position in the capital.

55. Hsiang-fei was in Tung-hai commandery in Hsü province; now southwest of Lin-yü in Shantung.

56. The fu-yâe and hu-pen are two of the Nine Distinctions; Ceremonial axe and Battle-axe, and (Gentlemen as) Rapid as Tigers. In Dubs III, pp. 208 to 211 there is described the award of the nine distinctions to Wang Mang in 5 AD. Among the awards at that time were a vermilion axe of authority to be held on the left and a metal battle-axe to be held on the right (p. 209) and three hundred men of the Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers to guard the gates of his office and residence (p. 210). Since the name of one of the Emperor's guards was hu-pen, this was an imperial prerogative that was transferred. As to the axes, the Han shu account has yâe for the ceremonial axe, the same character as appears here; but the battle-axe is written ch'i and this TCTC passage has fu. In TCTC p. 2119 below, there is an extract from the edict granting the nine distinctions to Ts'ao Ts'ao in 213 - the original reference is to SKWei 1, p. 27a. There the axes are described as fu and yâe. The same distinction is indicated.

In the introduction of Tjan Tjoe Som's translation of Po hu t'ung, volume I, pp. 25 to 29, he discusses the various versions and explanations of the nine distinctions. Po hu t'ung has made use of the edict conferring the distinctions on Ts'ao Ts'ao, and has also used a version ascribed to Sung Chung of SKWei. According to the edict, Ts'ao was granted the Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers
because 'you have maintained the balance in the State, aiding by
dispersion and equanimity, possessing only infinitesimal vice,
so that none (so wicked but can) be repulsed by you.' And the
Ceremonial axe and the Battle-axe were awarded because 'you have
respected the Penal Code (approved) by Heaven, and manifested it
to the evil-doers, so that among the criminals and law-offenders none
escapes his punishment' (p. 27). But the version which follows
Sung Chung says: 'Those whose martiality is forbidding, and whose
sternness and consideration for others are strong and unyielding,
are granted (Gentlemen as) Rapid as Tigers, that they may prepare
themselves against extraordinary events. Those who can regulate
their joy and anger, who chastise (according to) the (correct)
penal (rules), are granted Ceremonial- and Battle-axes, and given
the right to execute on their own initiative.'

As to the term chie-chuan, which I have translated here
as 'Seal of Authority', it seems most likely that this also was an
award similar to the distinctions. The term chie-chuan has a
classical reference in the Chou-li, translated by Biot I, pp. 332
and 333. It appears there in the description of the duties of the
ssu-kuan officer in charge at the passes. In that context
the merchants pass the barriers by a 'sceau imperial et une
declaration'. And officers on royal business are also given
'sceau impérial et la déclaration'.

In the Later Han, the term appears three other times in HHS.
In 26 AD Kuo Tan, a loyal servant of the Keng-shih Emperor, went
to return his chie-chuan (symbols of authority) to the Emperor's
widow and children (HHS 17, p. 8b). In the great defeat of the
Chinese armies by T'an-shih-huai of the Hsien-pi in 177, the
Chinese leaders lost their chie-chuan and their baggage (HHS 80,
p. 11a). And in the biography of Kung-sun Tsan, Tsan says against
Yuan Shao that he had left his chie-chuan and fled away from Tung
Cho (HHS 63, p. 6a).

From these examples, it is obvious that chie-chuan does not
refer to a particular article of ceremonial, but rather to badges and insignia in general. In this instance here, where Tung Cho takes chie-ch'uan as a mark of honour, it seems to be used to describe some seal of authority and distinction - with the same significance as the Ceremonial axe, the Battle-axe and the Gentlemen as Rapid as Tigers.

57. Mei was a prefecture in Yu-fu-feng; now northeast of Mei in Shensi. Before this, Cho had been enfeoffed in 185/186 as marquis of Tai-hsiang (HHS 62, p. 2b/7). Tai-hsiang was a district in Mei prefecture (HHS treatise 19, p. 27a/1).

58. P'ing-yang prefecture is now south of Lin-fen in Shanxi.

59. The title of Chancellor of the State, hsiang-kuo, had been held by Hsiao Ho under Emperor Kao-tsun of the Former Han; the name of the office was later changed to ch'eng-hsiang 'Lieutenant Chancellor'. The Later Han did away with the title of Lieutenant Chancellor, and had the three dukes, Grand Commandant, Minister over the Masses and Minister of Works, as the joint chiefs of the administration. So Tung Cho's appointment was a change from the previous practice of the dynasty and an advertisement of his extraordinary powers.

60. Ch'en Shih and Han Shao both have biographies in HHS 52. They were two of the 'Four Masters of Ying-ch'uan' (see also note 4 to TCTC p. 1931 and note 54 to TCTC p. 1941).

Han Shao was a great scholar who died in prefectural office. Ch'en Shih was a partisan of Tou Wu. He was put in jail in 168, but because of his personal friendship with the eunuch Chang Jang he was able to arrange the release of many of the Confucian scholars.

61. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions substitute the character chien (mean, worthless) for the character ch'i.
supplement to note 56:

chie-ch'uan;
chie is equivalent to tallies and credentials, while ch'uan had the original meaning of a password. Both terms could be used separately; as in TCTC p. 1975 'Then Ts'E sent (official) notice (of appointment), or in the phrase chia-chie 'to hold credentials' (TCTC p. 1899 and note 30). The whole point of the term chie-ch'uan here is to show that TUNG CHO had special powers normally reserved to the emperor alone.
Kung T'ien-yin's Ming edition has this also, and Chang Tun- Jen's criticism agrees. But in this context the compound kuei-chien (honourable and mean) fits very badly with the character pi, which definitely implies respect - so this translation follows the main text.

62. The marquisate of K'ang-hsiang has now no known position.

63. Chung-mou prefecture was in Ho-nan; now east of Chung-mou in Honan.

64. HHS treatise 27, p. 8b/12 notes that ts'ung-shih attendent officers could be sent out by the provincial administration to supervise the commanderies. Han Fu is using these officers to keep Yuan Shao in check.
Ch'u-p'ing first year - 190/191:

The first day of the first month was 23 Feb, 190, and cyclical day 39.

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Note:

During this year the year-name was changed to Ch'u-p'ing, but neither the TCTC nor the HHS annals say on what day this change took place. It was possibly on the hsin-hai day of the first month (4 Mar), when there is an amnesty mentioned.
In the spring, in the first month all the provinces and commanderies east of the passes raised troops to attack (TUNG) CHO. They chose YüAN SHAO, Grand Administrator of Po-hai, to be leader of the alliance. SHAO named himself General of Chariots and Cavalry. All the leaders formally adopted official styles. SHAO and the Grand Administrator of Ho-nei, WANG K'UANG, camped at Ho-nei; the Governor of Chi-chou, HAN FU, stayed at Ye to attend to the provisions of the army. K'UNG CHOU, Inspector of Yü-chou, camped at Ying-ch'uan. The Inspector of Yen-chou, LIU TAI; the Grand Administrator of Ch'en-liu, CHANG MIAO; MIAO's younger brother CH'AO, the Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling; the Grand Administrator of Tung, CH'IAO MAO; the Grand Administrator of Shan-yang, YüAN YI; the Chancellor of Chi-pei, PAO HSIN; with TS'AO TS'AO all camped at Suan-tsao.

The General of the Rear YüAN SHU camped at Lu-yang—each force was several ten-thousands. Most of the warriors turned to YüAN SHAO; only PAO HSIN said to TS'AO TS'AO: "Now (ability in) planning is very rare. The one who is able to remove confusion and bring order in its place, that is you. If he (SHAO) is not the right man, even though he is strong, certainly he will die. You are just what heaven reveals."

On the day hsin-hai (4 Mar) there was an amnesty for the empire.
(In the second month) on the day kuei-yu (26 Mar)⁵) TUNG CHO sent the lang-chung-ling LI JU to poison and kill King PIEN of Hung-nung.

CHO discussed a great levy of troops to attack east of the mountains.⁶) The shang-shu CHENG T'AI said: "Now government is in virtue, not in armies." CHO was not pleased, and said: "If you speak like this, do you mean that soldiers are no use?". T'AI said: "I didn't say that; I consider the (forces) east of the mountains are not worth a great army. When you came from the western provinces you were a commander when you were still young, and you are well trained in the arts of war. YÜAN PEN-CH'U (YüAN SHAO) is the descendant of great ministers, he was born and has lived in the capital district. CHANG MENG-C’HO (CHANG MIAO) is an old man from Tung-p'ing, he sits in hall and does not glance about (he behaves correctly as a civil servant). K'UNG KUNG-HSÜ (K'UNG CHOU) has pure conversation and impressive talk, (so eloquent) he breathes on withered things and brings them to life. But none of them have ability in military affairs, when they approach weapons to decide the match they are not in your class. Further, they have no royal appointment, high and low are without order; if they trust to their masses and rely on strength they will each stand by like chess-men to wait for victory or defeat.
They will not be willing to act with the same mind nor to go forward or back in step with (their leader). Moreover, east of the mountains there has been peace for a long time, the people are not used to fighting. West of the passes they have lately had the ravages of the Ch'iang, the women and girls are able to carry a bow and fight. What the empire fears most are the people of Ping and Liang, who are like the Ch'iang and Hu barbarians. And you hold them as teeth and claws, as if you urged on tigers and rhinoceroses to go against dogs and sheep, or raised a violent wind to sweep away dead leaves. Who will dare to oppose it? If without cause you call up troops to frighten the empire, you will cause people afraid of conscription to assemble together and rebel; you will abandon virtue and rely on force, and so you would lose majesty and prestige." CHO was pleased.

Because of the strength of the forces east of the mountains, TUNG CHO wanted to shift the capital to avoid them. The dukes and ministers did not want it, but none dared to speak. CHO recommended that the yin of Ho-nan, CHU CHÜN, become Grand Coachman and act as his assistant. A messenger brought the summons to office. CHÜN excused himself and would not accept. Then he said: "If the
Emperor moves west, he certainly disappoints the hopes of the empire because he makes a reality of the rift with the east of the mountains. I do not know how that could be right." The messenger said: "You are summoned to receive an appointment and you oppose it; no mention is made of the matter of the transfer and yet you discuss it - why is this?" CHÜN said: "To assist the Chancellor, that is not what I am worthy of; to shift the capital is ill-considered, that is a dangerous matter. I excuse myself from what I cannot manage, and I speak of what is of concern - such is the right of a subject." And so he stopped and did not become assistant.

CHO called a great assembly of the dukes and ministers and said: "KAO-TSU set the capital in Kuan-chung; eleven generations (afterwards) KUANG-WU made his palace at Lo-yang. Up to now it is again eleven generations. According to the Shih-pao prophecies we should shift the capital to Ch'ang-an to follow the will of heaven and man." All the officers were silent. The Minister over the Masses YANG PIAO said: "To shift the capital and to change the laws are the great affairs of the empire; formerly P'AN KENG shifted to Po and the people of Yin all found fault. In the past Kuan-chung met with the ruin and destruction of WANG MANG, and for this reason KUANG-WU changed the capital to the city of Lo. For years on end the people have been
at peace and contented; now for no reason (you want) to renounce the clan temples (of the emperors of Later Han) and to leave the imperial tombs. I am afraid that the people will tremble in fear; certainly it will bring on confusion like a boiling broth. The Shih-pao prophecies are a magical and heterodox work, how can you trust and use it?" CHO said: "Kuan-chung is rich and abundant, and therefore Ch'in consumed the six states together. Moreover in Lung-yu¹⁰ there is timber produced and at Tu-ling¹¹ there is the kiln and furnace of Emperor Wu. If we double the effort in working at it, we can do the job in a day. The people, who cares about them? If anyone stops going forward I will drive them on with my soldiers, and I could make them go all the way to the sea!" PIAO said: "To move the empire is extremely easy, to calm it down is extremely difficult - if only you would think it over!" CHO changed colour and said: "Do you want to obstruct the affairs of the state?" The Grand Commandant HUANG WAN said: "This is a great affair of the state; when LORD YANG speaks, don't you think (his words) are worthwhile considering?" CHO did not reply. The Minister of Works HSÜN SHUANG saw that CHO was determined on it, and he was afraid he would harm PIAO and the others.
So he spoke soothingly and said: "How can the Chancellor of the State have pleasure in this? The soldiers east of the mountains have risen and we cannot suppress them in a day. So we should shift and plan for it. This like the time of Ch'in and of (the Former) Han." CHO became a little more relaxed. WAN withdrew but continued to protest.

In the second month on the day yi-hai (28 Mar) CHO memorialised to Dismiss WAN and PIAO and others on account of disasters and strange happenings and the Superintendant of the Imperial Household CHAO CH'IEN was made Grand Commandant and the Grand Coachman WANG YüN was made Minister over the Masses. The ch'eng-men hsiao-wei WU CH'UANG and the tu-chün hsiao-wei CHOU PI strongly opposed shifting the capital. CHO was very angry and said: "When I first entered the court you two urged me to use fine scholars, and I followed this and all these men came to office, and raised troops against me. In this matter you two let me down, how can I use people who are untrustworthy?" On the day keng-ch'en (2 Apr) he arrested CH'IUNG and PI and had them beheaded. YANG PIAO and HUANG WAN were afraid and went to apologise to CHO. CHO then was sorry that he had killed CH'IUNG and PI and he again recommended that PIAO and WAN be made kuang-lu ta-fu.

CHO summoned the yin of Ching-chao, KO HSüN, to be yi-lang. At this time the General of the Left HUANG-FU SUNG
led thirty thousand soldiers and camped in Fu-feng.  
HSüN made secret plans with SUNG to attack CHO. Shortly afterwards CHO also called SUNG to become ch'eng-men hsiao-wei. SUNG's ch'ang-shih LIANG YEN said to SUNG: "TUNG CHO ravages and plunders the capital city, he dismisses and sets up according to his whim. Now he calls for you. If it is a great (office) then there is danger and ill fortune, if it is small then it is poor and disgraceful. Now you should take the opportunity that CHO is still in Lo-yang and the Son of Heaven is coming to the west. If you lead your men and receive his majesty, accept a command to attack the rebels, summon troops and assemble leaders; then the Yuan will press on the east of him and you will be pressing against him to the west. This will succeed in taking him!" SUNG did not do this, and so he went and obeyed the summons. Because his forces were weak and could not stand alone HSüN also went back to the capital district. CHO made HSüN yüe-chi hsiao-wei. The yin of Ho-nan CHU CHÜN spoke to CHO on military matters; CHO cut him short, saying: "I have fought one hundred times and been victorious one hundred times. My mind is made up. You are not to talk loosely or you will dirty my sword." KO HSÜN said: "In former times WU TING had understanding, but he still sought wise rebuke. This is still more true for one like you, but yet you want to silence men's mouths." So CHO pardoned him.
CHO sent an army to Yang-ch'eng. Just then people were gathered at the village temple and (the soldiers) beheaded them all. They took the heavy carts, loaded on the women and girls, bound the heads to the shafts of the carts, and returned singing and shouting to Lo to say that they had attacked bandits and taken a great number. CHO set fire and burnt the heads, and made the women and girls become the maid-servants and concubines of the soldiers.

On the day ting-hai (9 Apr) the Emperor moved west. TUNG CHO arrested all the men of wealthy houses and put them to death for wrongdoing and evil. He confiscated their property. The dead could not be counted. He drove all the rest of the people, several hundred ten thousands, to Ch'ang-an. Cavalry and infantry hurried them on, they trod one another down in confusion. Starving and hungry they ravaged and plundered, piled up corpses filled the roads. CHO himself stayed on in camp in the Pi-kuei park, burnt all the palaces and temples, the government offices and the people's houses. All the buildings within two hundred li were destroyed, not a dog or a chicken remained. And he also sent Lü PU to break open the tombs of all the emperors and the burial mounds of the dukes and ministers and lower officers and collect their treasure.
CHO captured some soldiers of the east of the mountains. He took lard and daubed it on some ten pieces of cloth, bound the cloth to their bodies and then lighted them, beginning from the feet and going up.

In the third month on the day yi-ssu (27 Apr) the Emperor came to Ch'ang-an and occupied the official residency of Ching-chao commandery. It was later that the palace buildings were slightly more in repair and then he lived in them. At this time TUNG CHO had not yet arrived, and the imperial government in matters large and small was all left to WANG YüN. Outwardly YüN administered well, secretly he planned for the royal house. He had all the capacity of a great minister; from the Son of Heaven to his courtiers, all trusted in YüN. YüN hid his feelings and served CHO, CHO in turn treated him well and trusted him.

Because of YüAN SHAO, on the day wu-wu (10 May), CHO killed the Grand Tutor YüAN WEI, the Grand Coachman YüAN CHI and their families from babies up, more than fifty people.

Before this, WANG JUI, Inspector of Ching province, had joined with the Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha, SUN CHIEN, to attack the bandits of Ling and Kuei. 16) Because CHIEN held a military appointment (JUI) had
spoken somewhat slightingly of him. When the provinces and commanderies raised troops to attack TUNG CHO, JUI and CHIEN also both raised soldiers. JUI had earlier not been able to get on well with the Grand Administrator of Wu-ling, TS'AO YIN. He had announced that he would kill YIN first. YIN was afraid and made up a false order (as from) censors to send to CHIEN. It set out JUI's crimes and faults and ordered (CHIEN) to arrest him, and after executing him, to submit a report. CHIEN received the order and at once brought on his soldiers to attack JUI.17) JUI heard the soldiers had come, he climbed a tower and looked out, and sent to ask: "What do you want?" CHIEN's advance division replied: "The soldiers have been suffering the toil of fighting and labour for a long time, they want to ask you for reward." When JUI saw CHIEN he was alarmed and said: "The soldiers themselves want rewards, but why is SUN fu-chün18) among them?" CHIEN said: "A summons has been brought me to execute you." JUI said: "What is my crime?" CHIEN said: "You are guilty and you do not know what it is." JUI was in the utmost distress, he scraped gold and drank it and died. CHIEN went forward to Nan-yang19) and his army was already several ten thousand men. CHANG TZU, Grand Administrator of Nan-yang, was not willing to give him provisions for the army. CHIEN tricked him and had him beheaded. In the commandery there was fear and trembling, there was nothing looked for which
was not found. He went on to Lu-yang and joined forces with YUAN SHU. And so SHU could occupy Nan-yang; he recommended CHIEN as acting p'o-lu chiang-chün and made him Inspector of Yü province.

An edict appointed the pei-chün chung-hou LIU PIAO as Inspector of Ching province. At this time robbers and bandits ranged in all directions and the roads were blocked. PIAO rode a horse alone to Yi-ch'eng and asked the famous scholars of Nan-yang K'UAI LIANG and K'UAI YüE to make plans with him, saying: "Now south of the Chiang the bandits are extremely many, each in a confused mass without attachment to anyone. If YÜAN SHU follows this situation (and recruits them) misfortune will certainly come. I want to raise soldiers, but I am afraid that I will not be able to collect them. What shall I do?"

K'UAI LIANG said: "If the people do not come to you that is because your humanity is not sufficient. If only you follow the road of humanity and of justice the people will turn to you like water hurrying downwards. How should you be troubled by levied troops not assembling?"

K'UAI YüE said: "YÜAN SHU is arrogant and has no planning, the leaders of private armies are often greedy and cruel and are a trouble to the commoners. If you send someone to show them there is an advantage, certainly they will come with their people. If you punish those without the right and cherish (the others of) them and use them,
the people of the whole province will have a feeling of pleasure and security. When they hear that you have majestic virtue, certainly they will strap (their children) on their backs and come. Soldiers will assemble, your army will be in order. South you can hold Chiang-ling,\textsuperscript{23} north you will guard Hsiang-yang\textsuperscript{24}—the eight commanderies of Ching province\textsuperscript{25} can be settled by just transmitting an order. Although KUNG-LU (YüAN SHU) should come, there would be nothing he could do." PIAO said: "Excellent!"

So he sent YüE to attract the leaders of the private armies by some strategem. Fifty-five men who came up were all beheaded and their forces were taken over. Then he shifted his government to Hsiang-yang, kept the commanderies and prefectures in order and looked after them, and all south of the Chiang was settled.

TUNG CHO was at Lo-yang and YüAN SHAO and the other armies were all afraid of his strength and none dared to go forward. TS'AO TS'AO said: "You have raised loyal forces to destroy oppression and disorders, a great army is already collected, why do you all hesitate? Up to now, (even if) CHO had relied on the royal house, occupied the old capital (Lo-yang) and turned east to approach the empire itself, although he was acting without the right it would still be enough to make trouble. (But) now he is burning palaces and houses, he has kidnapped and shifted the Son of Heaven, everything within the seas is in
movement and does not know where to turn. This is the time when he is condemned by Heaven - one battle and the empire is settled." And so he led his soldiers west, intending to occupy Ch'eng-kao. CHANG MIAO sent his officer WEI TZ'U with a part of his troops to follow him. He went forward to the Pien River at Jung-yang and met with CHO's officer HSü JUNG of Hsüan-t'u - they fought and TS'AO's men were defeated. (TS'AO) was hit by a stray arrow, and his horse was wounded under him. His younger cousin HUNG gave his horse to TS'AO; TS'AO would not accept it. HUNG said: "The empire can do without me, it cannot do without you." Then he followed TS'AO on foot and they withdrew by night. JUNG saw that the soldiers TS'AO led were few, but (TS'AO) had struggled to fight all day, and he thought that Suan-tsao would not be easy to attack, and he also drew back and returned.

TS'AO came to Suan-tsao; the whole army of several tens of ten thousands of men laid out wine every day and held feasts. They made no plans to advance or capture (enemy positions). TS'AO reprimanded them and made a plan and said: "You can all hear my plan. Have (the Grand Administrator of) Po-hai (YüAN SHAO) lead the Ho-nei forces forward to the Meng ford; have all the officers at Suan-tsao guard Ch'eng-kao and occupy Ao-ts'ang,
block Huan-yüan and T'ai-ku to completely stop those passes; let General Yuán (SHU) lead the Nan-yang armies to Tan, Hsi and into the Wu pass to make the san-fu (the area about Ch'ang-an) tremble. When there is a strategic place (against us), high walls or steep cliffs, we would avoid fighting, (but) make more and more feint attacks, to show the world that the situation is on the side of those who follow the right and is against the rebels. This can be settled without fuss. Now the soldiers were moved by the right; if we have doubts and do not go forward we will lose the hopes of the empire. I consider you should all be ashamed of it." Miao and the others could not use (his plans). So Ts'ao went with the ssu-ma Hsia-Hou T'un of P'ei state and others, to Yang province. He made a levy of troops, collected over a thousand men, and went back to camp in Ho-nei (with Yuán Shao).

Shortly after this all the armies at Suan-tsao ran out of food and the forces dispersed. Liu Tai was on bad terms with Ch'iao Mao, and T'ai killed Mao and made Wang Kung Grand Administrator of Tung commandry. The Inspector of Ch'ing province, Chiao Ho, also raised troops to attack Tung Cho. He held it essential to reach all the (other) officers (at Suan-tsao) and then march west. He made no defence for the common people, and when his
soldiers crossed the Yellow River the Yellow Turbans had already entered his borders. Up to this time Ch'ing province had been well-off, the armed men were very many. HO always hoped that the robbers would flee north; he had not yet tried the winds and dust (of campaigning) nor the clash of banners and drums (in battle). By nature he liked divination and he believed in ghosts and spirits. Go in and see such a person (and you find) excellent talk to reach the clouds; go out and look at his administration (and you find) the rewards and punishments are confused and the province is bleak and desolate, with wilderness everywhere. Shortly afterwards HO took ill and died. YüAN SHAO sent TSANG HUNG of Kuang-ling to govern Ch'ing province and look after it.

In the summer, in the fourth month LIU Yü, Governor of Yu province, was made Grand Tutor. The roads were blocked, and in the end the letter of authority could not reach him. Before this the Yu province dealt with (the people from) outside the frontiers; the expenses were extremely great, and every year there was taken from the taxation of Ch'ing and Chi provinces more than two hundred thousand to make up (the deficit of Yu province). At this time communications everywhere were cut off, the grain transport could not arrive, and so Yü wore old clothes and rope
sandals, ate meat not twice a week, and held it essential to maintain a lenient administration. He urged and directed the farming of mulberries, and opened a prosperous trade at a market with the barbarians of Shang-ku,34) and brought through the surplus salt and iron from Yü-yang.35) The people enjoyed the harvest, a shih of the grain was thirty;36) the gentry and commoners of Ch'ing and Hsü who escaped the troubles and came to Yü were more than a hundred ten-thousands. Yü took them in and looked to them with warm sympathy, settled them and set them in a livelihood— the refugees all forgot their exile.

In the fifth month the Minister of Works Hsün Shuang died.

In the sixth month on the day hsin-ch'ou (21 Aug) the kuang-lu ta-fu Ch'ung Fu became Minister of Works. Fu was the father of Shao.

Tung Cho sent the Grand Herald Han Jung, the Privy Treasurer Yin Hsiu, the chih-chin-wu Hsu Mu Pan, the chiang-tso ta-chiang Wu Hsiu, the yüe-chi hsiao-wei Wang Kuei to settle and collect the east of the mountains, and explain things to Yüan Shao and the others. Hsu Mu Pan, Wu Hsiu and Wang Kuei came to Ho-nei. Yüan Shao sent
WANG K'UANG and he captured them all and killed them. YüAN SHU also killed YIN HSIU, only HAN JUNG escaped because he was known for his virtue.

TUNG CHO destroyed the wu-shu coinage and changed to casting small coins. He took the copper images such as Tung-jen from Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an, the Chung-chü, the Fei-lien and the Tung-ma to cast (the new coins). From this things of exchange were held lightly and goods became dear. A shih of grain came to be several ten thousand cash.

1917 In the winter, SUN CHIEN and his subordinate officers met and drank to the east of Lu-yang city. Several ten-thousands of TUNG CHO's horsemen and infantry came up unexpectedly. Just then CHIEN was passing the wine and talking and laughing — he gave orders to arrange his divisions, nothing was done without order. Later the horsemen gradually increased, CHIEN slowly left his seat, led his men back into the city, and then said: "Beforehand, the reason why I did not get up at once was that I was afraid the soldiers would rush and trample on one another and you would not be able to get in." CHO's soldiers saw the discipline, and did not dare to attack, and went back.

WANG K'UANG camped at Ho-yang ford. TUNG CHO made a sudden attack and greatly defeated him.
The tso-chung-lang-chiang TS'AI YUNG advised:
"The emperors from HSIAO-HO on who had temple names
called 'tsung' should all have them removed, in order
to honour the earlier records."\(^41\) It was done.

The chung-lang-chiang HSü JUNG recommended to
TUNG CHO KUNG-SUN TU, a man of the same commandery, and
former Inspector of Chi province. CHO made him Grand
Administrator of Liao-tung. TU came to office, and
punished by law and wiped out more than a hundred of the
great and famous families in the commandery. The
commandery trembled for fear. In the east he attacked
Kao-chü-li and in the west he attacked the Wu-huan.
He spoke to those officers closest to him, LIU YI and YANG YI
and others and said: "The Han reign is about to end.
I would wish with all of you to plan for a kingdom."\(^43\)
At this he divided Liao-tung into Liao-hsi and Chung-liao
commanderies and appointed a Grand Administrator to each
of them.\(^44\) Across the sea he collected all the prefectures
of Tung-lai\(^45\) and set up an Inspector of Ying province.
He made himself marquis of Liao-tung and Governor of P'ing
province. He set up temples to the two Han ancestors
(i.e. KAO-TSU and KUANG-WU), took the authority to hold
state sacrifice and worship to Heaven and Earth, ploughed
the imperial field, rode in a luan chariot, set up mao-t'ou
and yü(-lin) horsemen. \(^46\)
1. Since Tung Cho had control of the Emperor, Yuan Shao and his allies had no direct command to attack, and no imperial authority to adopt military titles. They did so 'formally' and as temporary appointments.

2. Ye was the chief prefecture of Wei commandery in Chi province; now west of Lin-chang in Honan.

3. Suan-tsao prefecture was in Ch'en-liu in Yen province; now north of Yen-chin in Honan.

4. Lu-yang prefecture was in Nan-yang in Ching province; now Lu-shan in Honan.

5. Although the second month is not mentioned in TCTC until the end of page 1910, and although this date is also in HHS annals under the first month, the kuei-yu day should be the third day of the second month in this year. The second month began on the hsin-wei day.

6. In this context, the 'east of the mountains' or 'east of the passes' should refer to the forces brought against Tung Cho and his successors by the allies under the nominal leadership of Yuan Shao. The mountains referred to are generally taken to be the complex about Mount Hua, and the passes refer to the group about Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, such as the Wu pass, the Huan-yuan and the Han-ku. But the two terms 'east of the mountains' and 'east of the passes' are almost completely interchangeable, general terms for the Yellow River plain and the eastern parts of the empire. (For a discussion of this point, see Serruys, pp. 79 to 82.)

7. Kuan-chung; here and hereafter this refers to the territory about
the old capital at Ch'ang-an, modern Shensi province - the 'land within the passes'. (And compare note 6 above.)

8. The Shih-pao prophecies, a work of fortune-telling, not included in the apocryphal books to the Confucian canon, but apparently very popular at the end of the Han. (TCTC commentary). The work appears in none of the bibliographies of the standard histories.

9. Pan Keng, traditional dates of reign 1401 to 1373 BC, changed the title of his dynasty from Shang to Yin. He shifted the capital of the kingdom from Feng to Po, and with the change of capital and the change of name the dynasty gained a new lease of life.

Feng is supposed to be now to the south of Chi in Shansi; Po, or Hsi-po, had been the capital of Shang under the first ruler T'ang, and it is now supposed to be to the west of Yen-shih in Honan.

In the Shu ching, the Pan Keng chapter tells of the people's opposition to the move of the capital, and reports Pan Keng's rebuke of them. The point of the reference here is that the people object to such unsettling changes even when they have a good purpose - they would object very strongly to an unnecessary shift.

10. Lung-yu, the area west of the Lung mountains in Shensi.

11. Tu-ling prefecture was in Ching-chao in Ssu-li; now southeast of Ch'ang-an in Shensi.

12. Fu-feng or Yu-fu-feng; one of the three adjuncts (san fu) commanderies of the Former Han - west of the capital Ch'ang-an, and formerly part of the imperial capital district. During the Former
Han, the commandery was administered from Ch'ang-an, but after the capital was shifted to Lo-yang only Ching-chao commandery kept offices in the former capital. Throughout Later Han, Fu-feng was administered from Huai-li prefecture, now southeast of Hsing-p'ing in Shensi.

13. Wu Ting 武丁; king of the Yin dynasty, traditional dates 1324 to 1265 BC. In the Yüe ming chapter of the Shu-ch'ing it is told how Wu Ting (also named Kao-tsung) appointed his minister Fu Yue and commanded him to give advice to make him act correctly.

14. Yang-ch'eng was in Ying-ch'uan commandery; now southeast of Teng-feng in Honan.

15. It seems that this raid on Yang-ch'eng interrupted the local ceremony of sacrifice to the god of the earth. Tjan Tjoe Som II translated the Fo hu t'ung; "In spring (the sacrifice) means a request for prosperity, ... Therefore the Yüeh ling says: 'In the middle month of spring (the Son of Heaven) chooses a favourable day, and orders the people to sacrifice to the God of the Earth.'"

16. Ling and Kuei; Ling-ling commandery and Kuei-yang commandery, both in Ching province.

17. The headquarters of the Inspector of Ching province was at that time at Han-shou in Wu-ling commandery, now northeast of Ch'ang-te in Hunan (常德).

18. Fu-chün 府君 was a term of address for the Grand Administrator of a commandery.

19. Nan-yang's capital was at Wan, now Nan-yang in Honan.
20. There was nothing looked for which was not found; the administration was so stern and so effective that nothing left lying about was stolen.

21. Yi-ch'eng prefecture was in Nan commandery; now south of Yi-ch'eng in Hupei. Nan commandery was in Ching province.

22. Here, and throughout this history, the Chiang 江 is the term used for the Yangtzu river.

23. Chiang-ling was the chief prefecture of Nan commandery; now Chiang-ling in Hupei.

24. Hsiang-yang prefecture was in Nan commandery; now Hsiang-yang city in Hupei.

25. As TCTC commentary points out, HHS treatise 22 lists only seven commanderies under Ching province; Nan-yang, Nan, Chiang-hsia, Ling-ling, Kuei-yang, Wu-ling and Ch'ang-sha. But in the primary commentary to HHS treatise 28, pp. 1b and 2a, there is an extract from the Hsien-ti ch'i-chü 肇圖, and this gives a list of the alterations in the provinces which were made in 215 AD. This listing says that before 215 Ching province had eight commanderies - the seven given above and Chang-ling. Chang-ling is listed in HHS treatise 22 as a prefecture under Nan-yang, but it appears that at some stage towards the end of the dynasty there was a new commandery set up which was based on that prefecture. The prefecture is now east of Tsao-yang in Hupei.

26. Jung-yang prefecture was in Hsian 濟南; now southwest of Ying-che in Honan.
27. Ao-ts'ang, the Ao granary established by the Ch'in; on Ao mountain now west of Yin in Honan.

28. The Huan-yuntan pass was given its name from the Huan-yun mountain; southeast of Yen-shih in Honan. It may be noted here that these passes referred were military defences of some strength. At the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184, a pa-kuan tu-wei "Chief Commandant of the Eight Passes" had been appointed to take part in the defence of Lo-yang (HHS annals 8, p. 10b). His command had included this Huan-yuntan pass, the T'ai-ku pass, the Meng ford and the Hsiao-p'ing ford. The defences prepared six years before against the Yellow Turbans would now be available to Tung Cho to oppose Yuan Shao's army.

29. The T'ai-ku pass is now south of Lo-yang in Honan.

30. Tan; i.e. Tan-shui prefecture in Nan-yang; now west of Hsi-ch'uan in Honan. (According to TCTC commentary Tan-shui prefecture was at this time in Hung-nung in Ssu-li - but HHS treatise 22 lists it under Han-yang, noting that it was under Hung-nung during the Former Han. The commentary has no mention of any move back to Hung-nung.)

31. Hsi prefecture is now northwest of Nei-hsiang in Honan. (Also in Nan-yang commandery, the same remarks apply as to Tan-shui in note 30 above.)

32. Wu pass is now east of Shang in Shensi.

33. The san-fu (Dubs: Three Adjuncts); the capital district of the Former Han about Ch'ang-an, being the three commanderies of Ching-chao, Yu-fu-feng and Tso-p'ing-yi.

34. Shang-ku commandery, in Yu province, bordered with the barbarian territories.
35. Yü-yang commandery, in Yü province, had its chief prefecture at Yü-yang, now southwest of Mi-yün in Hopei. The two prefectures of Yü-yang and Ch‘an-chou (now southeast of Wu-ch‘ing in Hopei) both produced iron (HHS treatise 23B, pp. 17a and 17b). In chi-chie, Hung Liang-chi notes that there was a salt office in Ch‘an-chou under the Former Han, and TCTC commentary to this passage says that Yü-yang had a salt office.

36. This probably means that the price of a shih picul (6 lb, 8.8 oz.) of grain was thirty cash. (Compare the price for Ch‘ang-an given on the next page.)

37. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions read chi (to bind) for chi (to attack). The criticism of Chang Ying agrees. This translation follows.

38. The five-shu cash was the traditional currency of the Han. It was first circulated in 118 BC under Emperor Wu, and was restored after Wang Mang by Emperor Kuang-wu in 40 AD. (For discussion and description, see Dubs II, pp. 66 and 67, Dubs III, pp. 482 ff, and Swann pp. 377 to 384.)

39. The Tung-jen were bronze human figures which had first been made under the Ch‘in. The Chung-chi were bronze images of magical creatures. The Fei-lien were also images of mythical animals, described with a deer’s body, a bird’s head with horns, a snake’s tail and a panther’s skin; they were made in Ch‘ang-an in 109 BC, when the Fei-lien lodge was built (Dubs II, p. 90). The Tung-ma were bronze horses.

40. TCTC commentary identifies the Ho-yang ford with the Meng ford.

41. The character tsung is identified by the Po hu t‘ung with tsun ‘to honour’ (Tjan Tjoe Som II, p. 574). In this way it was
used during the Later Han as part of the temple-names of the emperors; thus Emperor Ming is given the temple-name of Hsien-tsung 显宗 and Emperor An is recorded in HHS annals 5 with the temple-name of Kung-tsung 恭宗.

But apart from this temple-name for Emperor An, no other emperor of the Later Han after Ho (who died 106 AD) is credited with a temple-name in HHS annals. It appears from Ts'ai Yung's suggestion here that temple-names with the tsung suffix had been awarded to these later emperors, but that at this time they were not considered worthy of the honour, and the titles were generally eliminated.

42. Kao-ch'u-li here would refer to the barbarians about the territory of modern Korea. The capital prefecture of Hsüan-t'u commandery was called Kao-ch'u-li, but this prefecture took its name from the barbarian state close by.

43. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions have wang • in place of cheng •. The Ming edition of K'ung T'ien-yin follows it, and the criticism of Hsiung Lo-su agrees.

44. It appears from this passage that there were at this time two commanderies called Liao-hsi 蓄西; the commandery under the Han dynasty itself, on the western shore of the Gulf of Liao-tung - and the other an unofficial district with the same name set up by Kung-sun Tu in his independent state, and somewhere near the Liao-tung peninsula.

45. Tung-lai commandery in Ch'ing province was on the Shantung peninsula.

46. The sacrifice and worship of Heaven and Earth, the imperial field ploughing for each year's harvests, the luan chariot and the mao-t'ou and yü-lin horseman were all imperial prerogatives.
For a discussion of the ploughing of the sacred field—a ceremony to open the agricultural season—see Dubs I, pp. 281 to 283.

The luan^p bird was a fabulous creature described like a phoenix. The luan chariot was a princely carriage with bells hanging from it; when the chariot travelled the bells were supposed to give the same sound as the luan bird.

The yü-lin cavalry were a part of the imperial bodyguard in the Later Han. Mao-t'ou was the name for a body of imperial guards under the Ch'in. According to HHS annals 1B, p. 19b, the right to hu-pen and mao-t'ou guards was granted to the King of Tung-hai in 52 AD. The primary commentary to that passage quotes the Han kuan yi, saying that mao-t'ou were a section of guards who had no authority to raise troops under such names without imperial authority.

By these actions and appointments Kung-sun Tu set himself in defiance of the Han.
TZU-CHIH T'UNG-CHIEN

Chapter 60
Ch'u-p'ing second year - 191/192:

the first day of the first month was 12 Feb, 191 and cyclical day 33.

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<th>Day</th>
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<tr>
<td>second</td>
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<td>third</td>
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<td>fourth</td>
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<td>twelfth</td>
<td>3 Jan, 192</td>
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1918 In the spring, in the first month, there was an amnesty for the empire.

All the leaders east of the passes held council: since the Emperor was young and weak, was oppressed by TUNG CHO, and was far off and separated by the passes, they did not even know whether he was still alive. LIU Yü, Governor of Yu Province, was of the imperial house and was worthy and able; they wanted to join in appointing him ruler. TS'AO TS'AO said: "The reason that we have raised loyal troops, and that no-one far or near has failed to respond, that is because we act for the right. Now the young ruler is feeble and weak and is controlled by evil ministers. This is not the fault for which Ch'ang-yi (i.e. LIU HO of the Former Han) lost his state. If there is sudden change who in the empire will be at peace with it? You all look to the north (to LIU Yü), I turn to the west (to the Emperor at Ch'ang-an)." HAN FU and YüAN SHAO wrote to YüAN SHU to say: "The Emperor is not the (true) son of HSIAO-LING; we want to act like (the marquis of) Chiang and KUAN (YING), 1 to punish and depose the Little Lord and to welcome and set up the King of Tai as in former times. 2 (We want to) make the ta-ssu-ma LIU Yü emperor." SHU secretly had no intention of acting as a subject, he saw no advantage if the state had a strong ruler, and so outwardly he appealed to public justice to oppose this.
SHAO wrote again to SHU and said: "Now the (imperial) name in the west has a young lord, without relationship by blood (to the Liu clan); the high and low officials all serve (TUNG) CHO - how can you still have trust? You need only send troops to go and camp at the passes and strategic points - all (the supporters of TUNG CHO and the Emperor) would be cramped and die. If a sage ruler is set up in the east then a great peace can be hoped for - how can you have doubts? And our house has been slaughtered. Do you not remember (WU) TZU-HSü? How can you still face the north?" SHU replied and said: "The sage ruler (i.e. the Emperor) is clever and wise, with the nature of (King) CH'ENG of Chou. The bandit CHO is taking advantage of a dangerous and disordered time, he awes and brings the officials to submit. This is a moment of slight difficulty for the house of Han; and now you say that the Emperor 'has no relationship by blood' - how is that not false? And you say, 'Our house has been slaughtered, how can you still face the north?'. This is what CHO has done, how could the Emperor have anything to do with it? Indeed, my mind is to the destruction of CHO, I know of nothing else!"

In the end, FU and SHAO sent the former Grand Administrator of Lo-lang, CHANG CHI, and others together to offer Yü the imperial title. Yü saw CH'I and the others and with a stern face he scolded them, saying: "Now the empire has fallen into disorder and the ruler is forced to take to
the road. I have received great favour, but I cannot yet clear away the disgrace of the state. You each hold provinces and commanderies, you should join forces and give all your effort to the royal house; but instead you make plans of rebellion and want to disgrace me!" And he firmly refused it. FU and the others then asked Yü to take control of the affairs of the shang-shu, to use his authority to make appointments. Still he would not hear of it; and he was going to flee to the Hsiung-nu to cut himself off (from them). So SHAO and the others stopped.

In the second month on the day ting-ch'ou (25 Mar) TUNG CHO was made t'ai-shih, with rank above the kings.

SUN CHIEN shifted camp to east of Liang, and was defeated by CHO'S officer HSü JUNG. He reassembled his scattered troops and went forward to camp at Yang-jen. CHO sent the Grand Administrator of Tung commandery, HU CHEN, to lead five thousand infantry and cavalry to attack him. He set Lü FU in command of the cavalry. CHEN and FU could not get on with each other; CHIEN came out to attack them, thoroughly defeated them, and cut off the head of their tu-tu HUA HSIUNG.

Someone said to YUAN SHU: "If (SUN) CHIEN captures Lo, you will not be able to control him. This is to destroy a leopard and obtain a tiger." SHU and he did not send the army supplies. CHIEN rode fast by
night to see SHU, drew on the ground to show his plans, and said: "The reason why I came out to offer myself, without thought (for my safety), above I am attacking a rebel for the emperor, below I give help in a private revenge of your house. CHO and I have no enmity of our own families; but you attend to words biased (against me) and you turn around and have suspicions of me. Why is that?" SHU was embarrassed and at once sent off the supplies for the army.

CHIEN went back to camp, and CHO sent his general LI CH'üE⁹) to argue with him, to try to make peace and arrange a marriage alliance with him. He told CHIEN to recommend his relatives for appointment as Inspector or as Grand Administrator and promised to urge that they be given office. CHIEN said: "CHO opposes Heaven and is without the Way (of right action). Now unless I kill you and all your family, and show your heads to all (within) the four seas, then I would not be able to die and close my eyes (in peace). How can there be peace and marriage with you?" He went forward to Ta-ku,¹⁰) ninety li from Lo(-yang). CHO came out himself and fought with CHIEN among the burial-mounds. CHO was defeated and fled, he took back his camp to Min-ch'ih and collected soldiers in Shan.¹¹) CHIEN went forward to Lo-yang, attacked Lü PU, and again destroyed him and put him to flight. Then CHIEN cleared out the imperial temples and held a great sacrifice.¹²)
He found the great seal of state (ch'uan-kuo-hsi) in a well in the Pottery Office south of the city. He sent part of his force to go on ahead to Hsin-an and Min-ch'ih to cut CHO off.

CHO spoke to the chang-shih LIU AI and said: "The armies east of the passes have often been defeated, and all are afraid of me. There is nothing they can do. Only SUN CHIEN, the little fool, is quite good at using men. You should speak to all the officers to let them know they should be careful of him. I once went west with CHOU SHEN to attack PIEN (CHANG) and HAN (SUI) at Chin-ch'eng; I spoke to CHANG WEN and wanted to lead my soldiers as a rearguard for SHEN. WEN would not allow it. Then WEN sent me to attack the rebel CH'IANG of Hsien-lien. I knew it wasn't possible but I couldn't avoid it, and so we marched. I left my pie-pu ssu-ma LIU CHING to lead four thousand horse and foot and camp in An-ting to give a show of strength. The rebel Ch'iang were going to cut off my road back but I opened it with a small attack. The reason (I could do this so easily) was that they were afraid there were soldiers in An-ting. The enemy thought that An-ting would have several ten thousand men, they didn't realise that only CHING was there. And SUN CHIEN followed CHOU SHEN. He spoke to SHEN and wanted to go on first to lead ten thousand men forward to Chin-ch'eng, with SHEN and twenty thousand men to act as rearguard. PIEN and HAN would have been afraid of Shen's great force. They would
not have dared to hurry into a fight with CHIEN; but CHIEN'S troops would be enough to cut their line of supplies. If the officers had used these words (of mine and of SUN CHIEN) then perhaps Liang Province could have been settled. As (CHANG) WEN could not use me, so (CHOU) SHEN could not use CHIEN; and in the end they were defeated and went back. As tso-chün ssu-ma CHIEN'S strategy was generally no worse than others, he wasn't hopeless. But for no reason he follows the YÜAN children; and in the end he will die too." Then CHO sent the tung chung-lang-chiang TUNG YüE to camp at Min-ch'ih, the chung-lang-chiang TUAN WEI to camp at Hua-yin, the chung-lang-chiang NIU FU to camp at An-yi; and the rest of his officers were spread out among all the prefectures to block the (armies from) east of the mountains. FU was CHO'S son-in-law. CHO led his troops back to Ch'ang-an. SUN CHIEN repaired and filled up all the grave-mounds and led his army back to Lu-yang.

In the summer, in the fourth month TUNG CHO came to Ch'ang-an; the dukes and ministers all welcomed him and bowed before his carriage. CHO clapped his hands and said to the yü-shih chung-ch'eng HUANG-FU SUNG; "YI-CHEN, are you afraid?" SUNG said: "By your virtue, your excellency maintains the court and we have just come to a time of great blessings, how should I fear it? If you
act arbitrarily and with an evil rule, why should it only be me (that is afraid)?" CHO'S party wanted to honour CHO like the T'ai-kung and call him shang-fu. CHO asked TS'AI YUNG about it. YUNG said: "Your excellency's majesty and virtue, truly how imposing! But comparison with the T'ai-kung, that in my humble opinion is not yet possible. You should wait until the east of the passes is settled and at peace, and the Emperor is returned to his former capital - and then discuss it." So CHO stopped.

CHO sent the Colonel of Censure LIU HSIAO to arrest those of the officials and people who had not been respectful sons, loyal subjects, or obedient younger brothers. All such were executed and their wealth was confiscated by the office. At this people made false accusations of one another, and those put to death unjustly were numbered by the thousands. The people were disturbed and frightened and (only) glanced (at one another) on the roads, (not daring to speak or look straight).

1922 In the sixth month, on the day ping-hsü (1 Aug) there was an earthquake.

In the autumn, in the seventh month the Minister of Works CH'UNG FU was dismissed and the kuang-lu-ta-fu CH'UN-Yü CHIA of Chi-nan was made Minister of Works. The Grand
Commandant CHAO HSIEN left office and the Grand Master of Ceremonies MA MI-TI was made Grand Commandant.

Before this, HO CHIN had sent CHANG YANG of Yün-chung to go back to Ping Province and raise troops. Shortly afterwards CHIN came to grief, YANG stayed at Shang-tang with a force of several thousand men. When YüAN SHAO was in Ho-nei YANG went to join him and camped with the Southern shan-yü Yü-FU-LO at the Chang-shui. HAN FU was jealous because many brave men turned their affections to YüAN SHAO, and he secretly cut down on his military supplies, hoping that his army would separate and scatter. Shortly afterwards FU'S officer CH'ü YI rebelled, FU fought him and lost, and SHAO then made an alliance with YI.

SHAO'S follower P'ANG CHI spoke to SHAO and said: "You have taken up a great affair and yet you rely on others for assistance. If you don't occupy one province, there is nowhere for you to be self-sufficient." SHAO said: "The soldiers of Chi Province are strong and my soldiers are hungry and weary. If we were not successful we would be left with no place to stand." CHI said: "HAN FU is of mediocre ability; if we can make a secret agreement with KUNG-SUN TSAN to have him take Chi Province, FU will certainly be startled and afraid. Then you send to set out advantages and disadvantages - FU will be in difficulties and flustered and will certainly be willing to yield." SHAO did so and wrote at once a letter to TSAN. TSAN then brought troops and came up -
outwardly to attack TUNG CHO but secretly planning to attack FU; FU fought him but without success. About this time TUNG CHO entered the passes (to Ch’ang-an). SHAO brought back his soldiers to the Yen ford and sent his nephew KAO KAN of Ch’en-liu, FU’S friends HSIN P’ING of Ying-ch’uan, HSÜN SHEN and KUO T’U and others to say to FU: "KUNG-SUN TSAN is leading the soldiers of Yen and Tai (i.e. of the north) and is taking advantage of his success to come south – and all the leaders have joined him. His weapons cannot be matched. YÜAN the Chariots and Cavalry (General) is leading his army east – his intentions cannot be calculated. I would consider that you are in danger!" FU was afraid and said: "But what can be done?" SHEN said: "You estimate yourself, in generosity and charity, able with the people and looked up to by the world – how do you compare with YÜAN?" FU said: "I cannot compare with him." "For approaching danger and making plans, in wisdom and courage surpassing others – again how do you compare with YÜAN?" FU said: "I cannot compare with him." "The world displays his grace and virtue, the empire has received his favour – again how do you compare with YÜAN?" FU said: "I cannot compare with him." SHEN said: "YÜAN is the hero of the time, your abilities in three ways are not equal to his qualities. If you hold a place above him for a long time, he will surely not stay below you. Now Chi Province is an important property of the empire. If he and KUNG-SUN TSAN
join forces to seize it then danger and loss can be expected any moment. Now YüAN is an old friend of yours and a fellow-covenanter as well. The right plan for this time is: if you take Chi Province and cede it to YüAN he will certainly treat you generously — and TSAN cannot argue with him. So you will have a reputation for acting worthily and generously and you yourself will be as safe as Mount T'ai.26) "FU was timid and so he followed this plan.

FU'S chang-shih KENG WU, his pie-chia MIN CH'UN and his chih-chung LI LI heard of this and objected, saying:
"Chi Province has a million armed men and supplies of grain to last for ten years. YüAN SHAO leads an army isolated and dependant and poor, he relies on us for everything; like a child on a lap — if you end its suckling then it can starve and die. Why do you want to give him the province?" FU said: "I am a former officer of the Yüan; and my ability is not equal to PEN-CH'U'S (YüAN SHAO) — I have taken account of his virtue, and so I cede (it to him). What those of the past would honour (i.e. ceding power to a more worthy successor), why do you alone find fault with it?" Before this FU'S ts'ung-shih CHAO FU and CH'ENG HUAN led ten thousand Strong Bowmen to camp at the Meng ford. They heard about this and brought the soldiers quickly back. At this time SHAO was at the Ch'ing-shui in Ch'ao-ko26) (CHAO) FU and the others came behind him with several hundred boats and a force of over ten thousand men, and they set their weapons and drums in order and passed
SHAO'S camp by night - and SHAO was very annoyed at it. (CHAO) FU and the others arrived and spoke to (HAN) FU and said: "Yüan PEN-CH'U'S army has not even a bushel of grain, they are already splitting up and scattering. Although CHANG YANG and Yü-FU-LO have just joined him they are not willing to take his orders. He is no match (for us). I, your humble ts'ung-shih, and my companions beg to show our weapons and oppose them. In the space of ten days he will certainly be like fallen earth and flying tiles. You, wise general, should only open the door and sleep on a high pillow (in security). Why should you be depressed, why should you be afraid?" (HAN) FU would still not attend, and he left his position and went out and lived in the former residence of the chung-ch'ang-shih CHAO CHUNG, and he sent his son to take the seal and tassel and hand it to SHAO. SHAO was about to come up and ten of (HAN FU'S) ts'ung-shih tried to abandon FU and leave - only KENG WU and MIN CH'UN opposed them with their swords. They could not hold them back, and so they stopped. SHAO killed all of them. SHAO then took over as Governor of Chi Province, and took the authority to make (HAN) FU fen-wei chiang-chün - but he had no command and no official subordinates. Shao made CHü SHOU of Kuang-p'ing fen-wu chiang-chün, set him to oversee all the officers and gave him very considerable favour. SHEN P'EI of Wei commandery and T'IEN FENG of Chü-lu had both failed to obtain their ambitions (in office) under HAN FU because of their upright
conduct. SHAO made FENG pie-chia and P'EI chih-chung; and HSÜN YU of Nan-yang, P'ANG CHI and HSÜN SHEN of Ying-ch'uan all became councillors.

SHAO made CHU HAN of Ho-nei tu-kuan ts'ung-shih. HAN had not been well-treated by FU in the past, and he wanted to anticipate SHAO'S intentions. Without authority he raised troops and surrounded FU'S house, took up a sword and climbed into the building. FU fled to the upper storey - (HAN) seized FU'S eldest son, and beat and broke both his legs. SHAO immediately arrested HAN and killed him. FU was still anxious and afraid - he followed SHAO and asked to go away, and he went to stay with CHANG MIAO. Later SHAO sent a messenger to go to MIAO (and say) that he had something to plan with him, and he whispered in MIAO'S ear. FU was sitting there and he said that plans were made against him. A little later he got up and went to the lavatory and killed himself with a

PAO HSIN spoke to TS'AO TS'AO and said: "YüAN SHAO is the leader of the alliance and he uses his authority for his own advantage. He will himself make a rebellion - this is to have another (TUNG) CHO. If you (try to) restrain him, your strength will not be able to control him - it will only bring on difficulties. But you can organise the south of the T'ai-ho (the Yellow River) and wait for the changes." TS'AO thought this excellent. Shortly afterwards the mobs of Hei-shan, Yü TU, PO JAO and SUI KU and others plundered in Tung commandery. WANG KUNG could not resist them.
TS'AO led troops into Tung and attacked PO JAO at P'u-yang and defeated him. YÜAN SHAO then recommended TS'AO become Grand Administrator of Tung commandery - his capital was at Tung-wu-yang.

The Southern shan-yu (YÜ-FU-LO) forced CHANG YANG to rebel against YÜAN SHAO, and they camped at Li-yang. TUNG CHO made YANG chien-yi chiang-chün and Grand Administrator of Ho-nei.

The t'ai-shih examined the omens, and said that there would be a great minister disgraced and die. TUNG CHO set men to make false accusation against the Commandant of the Palace Guards CHANG WEN (to say that) he had been in communication with YÜAN SHU. In the winter in the tenth month on the day jen-hsü (5 Nov) WEN was flogged to death in the market-place to fulfil (the prophecy).

The Yellow Turbans of Ch'ing Province ravaged Po-hai with a force of three hundred thousand men. They wanted to join with the Hei-shan (bandits). KUNG-SUN TSAN led twenty thousand infantry and cavalry and faced them and attacked them south of Tung-kuang. He completely defeated them and cut off more than thirty thousand heads. The rebels left their baggage and fled across the Yellow River. TSAN came on them when they were half across. The rebels were again greatly defeated, the dead were several ten thousands, blood flowed and the water was red. He captured more than
seventy thousand alive, and it was impossible to count the quantity of chariots and armour and treasure. His prestige was fierce and caused men to shudder as at thunder.

LIU Yü's son HO was shih-chung, and the Emperor thought to return east. He sent HO to steal away from TUNG CHO, go out the Wu pass in secret and go to Yü and give orders that he should lead troops to come and receive (the Emperor).

HO came to Nan-yang. YüAN SHU thought to get an advantage from Yü and kept HO and would not send him on. He promised that when soldiers came they would go west together, and had HO write a letter to Yü. Yü got the letter and sent several thousand cavalry to go to HO. KUNG-SUN TSAN knew that SHU had ideas of rebellion and (tried to) stop (him sending them), but Yü would not listen. TSAN was afraid that SHU would hear and be angry about it (i.e. his attempt to stop Yü sending soldiers), and he too sent his cousin YüE to lead a thousand cavalry to SHU. And he secretly told SHU to keep hold of HO and take over his soldiers. From this Yü and TSAN had a feud. HO fled north from SHU, and he was kept by YüAN SHAO.

At this time the provinces and commanderies east of the passes were all anxious to take one another over and so make themselves great and powerful. YüAN SHAO and YüAN SHU did not trust one another. SHU sent SUN CHIEN to attack TUNG CHO, and he had not yet come back when SHAO appointed CHOU ANG of K'uai-chi Inspector of Yü province.
He attacked and took CHIEN'S (base at) Yang-ch'eng\(^{34}\) CHIEN sighed and said: "Together we raised loyal troops, intending to relieve the nation. The rebels and bandits are almost destroyed, and yet each (can act) like this. Who am I going to co-operate with?" He led his troops to attack ANG, and put him to flight. YüAN SHU sent KUNG-SUN YüE to help CHIEN attack ANG. YüE was hit by a flying arrow and died. KUNG-SUN TSAN was angry and said: "My cousin is dead, and the misfortune came through SHAO." And he led out his army and camped at the Pan river.\(^{35}\)

He sent up a memorial (to the Emperor) telling of SHAO'S crimes and wrongdoing, and he sent forward his soldiers to attack SHAO. Many of the cities of Chi Province rebelled against SHAO and followed TSAN. SHAO was afraid; he took the ribbon and tassel (of the office) of Grand Administrator of Po-hai which he kept at his waist and gave it to TSAN'S younger cousin PAN, and sent him to the commandery; but PAN turned against SHAO and brought the soldiers of Po-hai to help TSAN. TSAN on his own authority appointed his commanders YEN KANG as Inspector of Chi Province, T'IEN K'AI as Inspector of Ch'ing Province, and SHAN CHING as Inspector of Yen Province. And he also changed all the posts of Administrator and prefect in the commanderies and prefectures.

Before this, LIU PEI of Cho commandery was a descendant of the Tranquil king of Chung-shan.\(^{36}\) When he was young
he was orphaned and poor, and he and his mother made a living by selling sandals. He was seven chi'ih feet and five tsun inches tall, his hands hung below his knees, he could glance around and see his ears.\(^{37}\) He was a man of great ambitions and few words, whether he was pleased or angry it did not show in his expression. He once studied with KUNG-SUN TSAN under LU CHIH, and because of this he went to follow TSAN. TSAN sent PEI with T'IEH K'AI to help with Ch'in-chou, and he did well, and he was then made Chancellor of P'ing-yüan. When PEI was young he had made very good friends with KUAN Yü of Ho-tung and CHANG FEI of Cho commandery. He made Yü and FEI pie-pu ssu-ma, and divided the command of his divisions (with them). PEI would sleep with these two men in the same bed, and he treated them with the favour of brothers; but when they were in a crowd and there were others about, they would stand and wait for a whole day. They followed PEI around, and would avoid no danger or difficulty.

CHAO YÜN of Ch'ang-shan led officers and men from his native commandery to go to KUNG-SUN TSAN; TSAN said: "I have heard that the men of your worthy province all look to the YüAN, how do you alone lead them the other way?"

YÜN said: "The empire is in uproar, one cannot know who is right, the people are as miserable as if they were hanging upside down. In my poor province we discussed affairs, and followed where there was fair government - it is not that we despise Lord YüAN, nor are we privately
inclined to you." LIU PEI saw and admired this, he showed YüN particular friendship, and YüN then followed PEI to P'ing-yüan and commanded cavalry for PEI.

Before this YüAN SHU gained Nan-yang, with a population of several million; but SHU acted wastefully and plundered at will, and the people found this bitter and gradually went away and scattered. When he had a quarrel with SHAO each set up parties to help make plans against one another. SHU joined KUNG-SUN TSAN, and so SHAO made alliance with LIU PIAO. Many of the fighting men went to SHAO. SHU was angry and said: "These worthless fellows do not follow me, but follow our family slave." And he wrote a letter to KUNG-SUN TSAN to say: "SHAO is not a son of the Yüan clan." SHAO heard of it and was very angry.

SHU sent SUN CHIEN to attack LIU PIAO. PIAO sent his officer HUANG TSU to oppose (him) and fight between Fan and Teng. CHIEN attacked and defeated him and then besieged Hsiang-yang. PIAO sent HUANG TSU by night to go secretly and bring out the soldiers (in Hsiang-yang); TSU led those men and was going to go back when CHIEN faced him and fought with him and TSU was defeated and fled. He escaped into the Hsien-shan. CHIEN took advantage of his victory and pursued TSU by night. A soldier of TSU'S force hid in a bamboo grove and shot CHIEN and killed him. HUAN CHIE of Ch'ang-sha, who had been recommended by CHIEN as hsiao-lien, went to
PIAO and begged CHIEN'S corpse. PIAO held it right and allowed it. CHIEN'S elder brother's son PEN led his army to go to YüAN SHU, and SHU again recommended that PEN become Inspector of Yü Province. Because of this, SHU could not overcome PIAO.

Before this, TUNG CHO had entered the passes (to Ch'ang-an) and left CHU CHÜN to guard Lo-yang. But CHÜN made secret plans with the leaders east of the mountains. He was afraid CHO would attack him, and went off in flight to Ching Province. CHO made YANG YI of Hung-nung yin of Ho-nan. CHÜN led soldiers back to Lo, attacked YI and put him to flight. Ho-nan was in ruins and had nothing of value so CHÜN went east and camped at Chung-mou. He sent round a letter to the provinces and the commandery offices asking for soldiers to attack CHO. T'AO CH'IEN, Inspector of Hsü Province, recommended CHÜN be temporary General of Chariots and Cavalry, and sent three thousand good soldiers to help him. The other provinces and commanderies also sent help. CH'IEN was a man from Tan-yang. Because the Yellow Turbans had plundered and made rebellion in Hsü Province, the court made him Inspector. When CH'IEN arrived he attacked the Yellow Turbans, greatly defeated them and put them to flight; and the territory of the province was at peace.

LIU YEN in Yi Province made secret plans of rebellion. CHANG LU was from P'ei. (The leadership of) the Wu-tou-mi
sect had been in his family since the time of his grandfather LING, and they had migrated to live in Shu. On account of her unnatural teachings, LU'S mother often came and went in YEN'S house; and YEN made LU tu-yi ssu-ma, and made CHANG pie-pu ssu-ma. (These two) joined forces to surprise and kill the Grand Administrator of Han-chung, SU KU, and to block the Hsie-ku pass, and they killed and injured the messengers of the Han (imperial court). YEN sent up a memorial to say: "The 'Rice' rebels have blocked the road and there is no way to get through." And he took advantage of the rebellion to kill WANG HSIEN and LI CH'üAN and others, more than ten of the powerful men of the province, and set up his authority and rule. The Grand Administrator of Chien-wei, JEN CH'I, and the Colonel CHIA LUNG raised troops to attack YEN because of this. YEN attacked and killed CH'I and LUNG. YEN'S ideas gradually grew bigger and he had made more than a thousand ch'ang-yü and chü-chü carriages. LIU PIAO sent up an account of how 'YEN is like TZU-HSIA, and in Hsi-ho he is suspected to be a sage.' At this time, of YEN'S sons, FAN was tso-chung-lang-chiang, TAN was chih-shu yü-shih and CHANG was feng-chün hsiao-wei - all had followed the Emperor to Ch'ang-an. Up to now only the youngest son the pie-pu ssu-ma had followed YEN. The Emperor sent CHANG to speak to YEN and report of him - YEN kept him and did not send him back.
KUNG-SUN TU'S authority was respected beyond the seas, and many of the men of the middle kingdoms who fled the disorders came to him. KUAN NING of Pei-hai, PING YüAN and WANG LIE all went to depend on him. When NING was young he was a friend of HUA HSIN. There was a time he was hoeing (vegetables) with HSIN and they saw that there was gold in the ground. NING continued hoeing and did not turn to look at it, as if it was nothing different to a tile or a stone; HSIN took it and then threw it away - and from this others realised their quality. PING YüAN travelled far off in search of learning - and after eight or nine years he was going back. His teachers and schoolmates, because he did not drink wine, had prepared rice and meat to send him off. YüAN said: "Originally I could drink wine, but I stopped because it disordered my thoughts and made me give up my work. Now I am going away from you for a long time, and I can drink and feast once (with you)." At this they sat together and drank wine, and after a whole day he was not drunk. NING and YüAN both had become well-known for their conduct. TU kept an empty office to wait for them. Then NING saw TU, and built a hut in a mountain valley. At this time those who had fled the dangers mostly lived in the south of the commanderies. NING alone lived in the north to show that he had no intention of going back. Later they (the other refugees) gradually came and followed him - in ten days to a month there was a complete city. Whenever NING saw TU, he spoke
only of the classics and the records, he made no mention of the affairs of the day; when he went back to the hills he discussed only the Shih(-ching) and the Shu(-ching) and taught the worship and the sacrifices – if a man was not a scholar he would not see him. Because of this TU was pleased at his worth and the people changed by his virtue. PING YüAN'S nature was firm to principle, he spoke out clearly to set things right; and everyone from TU down was wary of him. NING spoke to YüAN and said: "A hidden dragon fulfils its virtue by not being seen; (if a hidden dragon calls attention to itself) or if you speak at the wrong time, these are both ways to bring on misfortune." And he secretly sent YüAN to flee back. TU heard of it but he did not WANG LIE*S ability passed that of others; when he was young his fame was higher than NING and YüAN. He was extremely good at reforming by his teaching. There was a man in his village who stole cattle, and the chief caught him. The robber confessed and said: "The punishment of death would be sweet, but please don't let WANG YEN-FANG (i.e. WANG LIE) know." LIE heard of this, and he sent a man to thank him, and sent a bolt of cloth. Someone asked him why, and LIE said: "The robber was afraid that I would hear of his wrongdoing, and since I know his shame at evil then this good spirit can be brought to life. And so I gave the cloth to encourage his feelings towards goodness." Later
there was an old man who left a sword on the road and a man passed by and saw it and guarded it. When it was dusk the old man came back and looked for the sword and found it. He thought this was remarkable (of the man to have looked after his sword for him) and he told LIE about this. LIE went to look, and it was the former cattle-thief. All who had quarrels or disputes of right and wrong would have them judged by LIE; some would turn back on the way, some would see his house and turn back (because they felt they were in the wrong). All influenced one another to the right, they would not dare to have LIE hear of it. TU wanted to make him chang-shih - LIE excused himself; he became a merchant, and so degraded himself - and by this means he escaped (the summons to office). 47)
The marquis of Chiang, Chou P'o, refers to Chou P'o, who had been one of Kao-tsu's chief generals, were two of the important figures in the conspiracy which destroyed the Lü clan and restored the Han under Emperor Wen. Under the reign of the Empress-dowager née Lü of Kao-tsu, there was a definite threat that the imperial Liu clan would be deposed by the Lü. The success of Chou P'o's conspiracy reestablished the Han; and it was this precedent that Han Fu and Yuan Shao proposed to follow against the 'illegitimate' Emperor Hsien. (On the conspiracy against the Lü, see Dubs I, pp. 172 and 173.)

King of Tai 代王; the title held by Emperor Wen of the Former Han before his accession. According to Shih chi (Chavannes II, p. 443) the capital of Tai was at Chung-tu 中都; now northwest of P'ing-yao in Shansi.

Tzu-hsin 子巽; the style of Wu Yün伍员 of Ch'un-ch'iu times. Yün was from Ch'u state, but his father and brother were put to death by King P'ing平 and he himself fled to Wu. He came to high office in Wu, and arranged for that state to attack Ch'u. King P'ing had died before this, but the Wu forces captured Ch'u capital and Wu Yün had his body dug up and publicly flogged.

King Ch'eng of the Chou dynasty 旋成王; traditional dates of reign 1115 to 1078 BC, was the son of the first king of the Chou dynasty, King Wu 武. He succeeded to his father while he was still young, and his uncle the Duke of Chou 周公 acted as regent.

The title of t'ai-shih 太師 Grand Master had been used under Wang Mang, but was not mentioned in the system in HHS treatise. However, in the primary commentary to the office of t'ai-fu
Grand Tutor, in HHS treatise 24, p. 2a/9, there is mention of Tung Cho's appointment as Grand Master, in office above the Grand Tutor, and so above the three dukes. This appears rather for an increase in prestige than for an administrative change.

6. Liang prefecture was in Ho-nan; now east of Lin-ju in Honan.

7. Primary commentary to HHS 62, p. 7a, says that the settlement of Yang-jen was to the west of Liang.

8. This office tu-tu, which may be translated as Chief Controller, appears here as a minor military appointment, but became much higher during SKWei. It was not a regular Han office. (Compare the occurrences in the armies of Sun Ts'e and Yuan Shao, on TCTC pp. 1972 and 2015.)

9. According to the fan-ch'ie spelling given by TCTC commentary, this Li Ch'udle is not the same man as the Li Chüe who first appears on TCTC p. 1931. Although the characters for the names are identical, the spelling given for the first is (GSR 903 k'ak/k'ak/k'ow and 1225 kâk/kâk/kâle) and for the second (GSR 49 ko/kuo:/ku and 1227 nguk/ngâk/yüe). From the context it seems possible that they could be two different men, since this first Li Ch'udle appears in 191 as a chiang-chün general, and the second Li Chüe first appears in 192 as a hsiao-wei colonel under Niu Fu.

10. Ta-ku is the same as T'ai-ku, the pass now south of Lo-yang in Honan.

11. Shan prefecture was in Hung-nung; now Shan in Honan.

12. This t'ai-lao（suovetaurilia）consisted of a bull, a ram and a pig for sacrifice. For a discussion in Po hu t'ung, see Tjan Tjoe Som II, p. 380.
15. The great seal of state had been lost in 189 (see TCTC p. 1902).

14. Hsin-an prefecture was in Hung-nung; now east of Min-ch'ih in Honan.

15. Chin-ch'eng commandery was in Liang province, and in the commandery there was Chin-ch'eng prefecture, which is now southwest of Kao-lan in Kansu.

16. Hsien-lien; a territory and a tribe of the Ch'iang barbarians; now the area west from Lin-hsia in Kansu as far as Tsinghai of the Kokonor.

17. What Cho is saying here is that on similar occasions he and Chien had similar plans of attack, based on the use of a strong rear-guard; and that these plans were rejected by their superior commanders, Chou Chen and Chang Wen. There was one time that Cho was able to use a strong rear-guard for a sortie of his own, and on that occasion it was a complete success. With a large and unknown force kept in the background, the enemy could not move freely nor commit all his strength against the attacks of the imperial forces. For this reason Cho in Hsien-lien was able to retire his army against superior odds — and if the same principle had been used when Cho and Chien advised it against Chin-ch'eng, the rebel army would have been pinned down while a smaller attacking force cut their communications. The idea was not used, but Cho respected Chien's military planning. (There is an account of the campaign against Pien Chang and Han Sui, which actually took place in the third year of Chung-p'ing, 185/186, in HHS 62, pp. 1b f and in TCTC pp. 1881 f).

18. Sun Chien had been appointed tso chün-ssu-ma by Chang Wen in 184. The office is obviously related to the chün-ssu-ma, which is described in HHS treatise 24, p. 7b/12 as the second-in-command of
a paragraph. The prefix tso Associate to this office occurs only in SKWu 1, p. lb/11 in this context.

19. Hua-ying prefecture was in Hung-nung; now southeast of Hua-ying in Shensi.

20. An-yi prefecture was the chief of Hung-nung commandery; now the territory of Hsia and An-yi in Shansi.

21. Tai-kung Jiang was the chief of Duke Wang, or Li Wang of Li, or Chi-kung (Chiang lying the clan).

22. An-yi prefecture was the chief of Hung-nung commandery; now the territory of Hsia and An-yi in Shansi.

23. This earthquake is mentioned in HHS treatise 16 (treatise of the five elements), on p. 4b/3.

24. The river called Cho-chang shui rose in Chang-tzu, the chief prefecture of Shang-tang commandery in Ping province. From there it flowed east and passed Ye, where at that time Han Fu had his headquarters (SCC 10, p. 6a/9). Chang-tzu is now west of Chang-tzu in Shansi.

25. Yen and Tai were northern states during the Chou dynasty; here they indicate the northern regions of the empire.

26. TC(TC commentary notes that the Ch'ing river rises in Ho-nai but does not pass Ch'ao-ko. The river that is intended is the Ch'i, and Ch'ao-ko stood at the mouth of the Ch'i where it joined the Yellow River. Chao Fu and his force were coming down the Yellow
River from the Meng ford and passed Shao where he was camped at
the junction of the Ch'i and the Yellow River. Ch'ao-ko is
now northeast of Ch'i Prefecture in Honan.

27. As TGTG commentary points out, tu-kuan ts'ung-shih was not an
office normally appointed in a provincial government. The title
was only used under the Colonel of Censure in the capital province
(HHS treatise 27, p. 8b). So it appears that Shao was acting on
his former authority as Colonel of Censure.

28. TCTC commentary describes the 紙 as a means of writing.
Although paper was in use at this time, some writing was still
done by engraving on a wooden board.

29. P'u-yang was the chief prefecture of Tung commandery; now south of
P'u-yang in Hopei.

TGTG commentary gives the spelling of 備 as 博( GSR 771
pak/pak/po and 1212 muk/muk/mu) so it seems that the sound should
be P'u. But in this translation I will follow the usage of
Bielenstein and Dubs, and give the sound of the modern reading P'u.

30. Tung-wu-yang is now west of Ch'ao-ch'eng in Shantung. The
chief prefecture of Tung commandery was formerly at P'u-yang.

31. Li-yang prefecture was in Wei; now northeast of Ch'ü in Honan.

32. Tung-kuang prefecture was in Po-hai commandery; now east of Tung-
kuang in Hopei.

33. At this point in the text, the two eleven-line Sung editions add the
character hsiang; the Ming edition of K'un T'ien-yin agrees.
The addition makes no difference to the meaning.
34. Yang-ch'eng prefecture was in Ying-ch'uan in Yu; now southeast of Teng-feng in Honan.

35. The Pan River was a branch of the old course of the Yellow River. TCTC commentary quotes SCO 5, p. 24a, which says that the Yellow River flowed northeast and passed the old city of Hsi-p'ing-ch'ang to the north. There it divided, and a branch flowed into the territory of Pan prefecture - this was Pan River. The site of Hsi-p'ing-ch'ang is now northwest of Te-p'ing in Shantung; the Pan prefecture is now northeast of Te-p'ing. On the same page SCO remarks that this Pan-ho was the scene of Kung-sun Tsan's defeat of the Yellow Turbans.

36. Liu Pei claimed to be descended from Liu Chen, marquis of Lu-ch'eng t'ing, who was a son of Liu Shang. Shang was the ninth son of Emperor Ching of the Former Han; he was made king of Chung-shan, and had the posthumous title of Ching 'Tranquil'. The relationship is possible, but without any real dynastic significance - it is described at the beginning of Pei's biography in SKShu 2.

37. Swann, p. 362, gives the value of a Han ch'ih foot as 9.094 inches; there were ten tsun inches in a ch'ih. Liu Pei was therefore about 5' 8" tall. In descriptions of this kind, some historian will often emphasise or invent curious appearances for the future rulers of an empire. Such descriptions are usually rather a colourful exaggeration than an accurate piece of reporting.

38. Teng prefecture was in Nan-yang; the old city is now north of Hsiang-yang in Hupei. Fan was the name of a city near Teng, also now north of Hsiang-yang, and on the northern bank of the Han River.
39. Hsiang-yang prefecture was in Nan-yang; now Hsiang-yang in Hupei.

40. The Hsien hills are nine li south of Hsiang-yang.

41. At this point, in the phrase pu-ch'ü, the two eleven-line Sung editions leave out the character ch'ü. I have taken the full phrase pu-ch'ü in its general sense of a military force - in this case there is little difference in the readings.

42. The Wu-tou-mi 李斗米: Five-bushels-of-rice sect - for details of this western sect of Chang Ling and his followers, and for their connection with the eastern Yellow urbans of Chang Ch'üe, see Michaud and Levy.

43. In the chi-chie to this record of appointment in HHS 65, p. 2a, Hui Tung remarks that Liu Yen was devising his own titles independant of the official Han system. This tu-ssu-ma may be translated as Major Who Controls Justice.

44. The Hsie-ku pass is now southwest of Mei in Shensi.

45. The chü-chù 軍 were an imperial prerogative. The chü-chù appear only in this one context (SKShu 1, p. 2b/5) and there is no commentary. But they would also have been some carriage reserved to the emperor.

46. Tzu-hsia 子夏 was the style of Pu Shang , disciple of Confucius.

In the Li chi translated by Couvreur, volume I, part 1, p. 138 section 12, the translation reads; "Tseng tseau（仲子）indigne lui dit: 'Chang, comment (pouvez-vous dire que) vous n'avez commis aucune faute? Vous et moi, nous avons reçu les leçons du Maître (Confucius) dans le pays compris entre la Chou et la Seu (dans la
Vous vous êtes retiré et vous avez vieilli (au tournant de la) partie occidentale du Fleuve-Jaune. Vous avez laissé ignorer aux habitants de ce pays si la doctrine que vous enseigniez était de vous ou de notre maître, (vous n'avez pas rendu gloire à votre maître)." Il est à ce passage que Liu Piao's report refers - Liu Yen was taking the attributes and the prestige of the emperor and confusing the people of his territory about who was running the government and to whom they should pay respects.

47. In the tradition of China, the merchant was of the lowest rank. A man who became a merchant would disqualify himself as too base for office. And so Lie was determined enough to take this shameful way of avoiding Tu's summons.
Ch'u-p'ing third year - 192/193:

the first day of the first month was 1 Feb, 192, and cyclical day 27.

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In the spring, in the first month on the day ting-ch'ou, there was an amnesty for the empire.

TUNG CHO sent NIU FU to lead troops and camp at Shan. FU divided his army and sent the Colonels LI CHÜE of Pei-ti, KUO SSU of Chang-ye and CHANG CHI of Wu-wei to lead several ten thousands of infantry and cavalry to attack and defeat CHU CHÜN at Chung-mou. Then they plundered all the prefectures in Ch'en-liu and Ying-ch'uan - where they passed they killed and took prisoners and nothing was left.

Before this HSÜN SHU had a grandson called Yü, who was well-known for his ability when he was still young. HO JUNG saw him and admired him and said: "(this is) the talent to aid a king!" When the empire was in disorder Yü spoke to his elders and said: "Ying-ch'uan is a land (open on) all four sides to war - we should leave it quickly." Many of the people loved the land and would not go, Yü alone led his family off to join HAN FU. At this time YÜAN SHAO had already taken over FU'S position, and he treated Yü with the courtesy of a high guest. Yü calculated that in the end SHAO would not be able to settle the great affair (of the empire), he heard that TS'AO TS'AO was brave and ingenious (in planning) and so he left SHAO and followed TS'AO. TS'AO spoke with him and was very pleased and said: "(You are) my TZU-FANG!" He made him fen-wu ssu-ma; of his fellow-villagers who had stayed, many were killed by CHÜE and SSU and the others.
YüAN SHAO himself led out soldiers to attack KUNG-SUN TSAN, and fought with TSAN twenty li south of Chie-ch'iao. 

TSAN had thirty thousand soldiers and his attack was very fierce. SHAO ordered CH'ü YI to take command of eight hundred good soldiers and go up first. A thousand Strong Crossbows supported them from two sides. TSAN thought little of (YI'S) few soldiers, and set loose his cavalry to put them to flight. YI'S men hid below their shields and did not move, when they had not yet come up, some ten paces (away), at once and together they rose up, shouted to shake the ground, and TSAN'S army was very thoroughly defeated. They cut off the head of YEN KANG, the Inspector of Chi Province appointed by TSAN, and they took more than a thousand armour and heads. They pursued to Chie-ch'iao. TSAN collected soldiers to turn and fight, YI defeated him again. Then they came to TSAN'S camp, plucked up the ya-men standard and all the rest of the army took to flight.

Before this, LIU TAI, Inspector of Yen Province, had had good terms with SHAO and with TSAN. SHAO had sent his wife and sons to live with TAI, and TSAN had sent his ts'ung-shih Fan Fang to lead cavalry to help TAI. Then TSAN attacked and defeated SHAO'S army and told TAI to send SHAO'S wife and children. He sent a separate order to FAN FANG: "If TAI does not send SHAO'S family, bring the cavalry back. I will settle SHAO and bring more troops against TAI." TAI talked of it with his subordinates,
and for days on end they could not decide. They heard that CH'ENG Yü of Tung commandery was wise in planning, and they called him and asked him about it. Yü said: "If you give up the close help of SHAO and look for the distant aid of TSAN, that is the story of making use of a man in Yüe to help a drowning son. KUNG-SUN TSAN is no match for SHAO, and although now he has broken SHAO'S army, SHAO will yet take him in the end." TAI followed this. FAN FANG led his cavalry back; he had not yet arrived and TSAN was defeated.

TS'AO TS'AO camped at Tun-ch'iu. Yü TU and the other (bandits) attacked Tung-wu-yang. TS'AO led his soldiers west of the mountains to attack the base camp of TU and the others. The officers all begged him to relieve Wu-yang. TS'AO said: "If the enemy hear that I have gone west and so come back, Wu-yang will automatically be relieved; if they do not come back, then I can destroy their base camp and they will certainly not be able to take Wu-yang." And so he marched. TU heard about it, gave up Wu-yang, and came back. TS'AO then attacked SUI KU and Yü-FU-LO of the Hsiung-nu at Nei-huang, and thoroughly defeated both of them.

TUNG CHO made his younger brother MIN General of the Left, and (TUNG) HUANG, the son of his elder brother, became chung-chün hsiao-wei. Both had control over military affairs. All the members of the clan or relations by marriage held rank at court. CHO'S sons, even in the
arms of waiting-maids, were enfeoffed as marquises and
played with the gold (seal) and purple (tassel). The
ornaments of CHO'S chariot were like the Emperor's, he
called out (the officers of) the three terraces, shang-
shu and below — and they all went to CHO'S offices for
instructions. He also built a wall at Mei, seven chang
high and seven chang broad, and stored grain for thirty
years supply. He said: "If the affair is successful, I
will be on top of the empire; if it is not successful (and
the empire remains divided), then holding this is enough
to last my life."

CHO was relentless in his punishments, and if any one
of his officers said the wrong thing, he had him killed in
front of him. As a result, everyone was miserable. The
Minister over the Masses WANG YÜN secretly planned to kill
CHO with the Colonel of Censure HUANG WAN, the p'U-ye
SHIH-SUN JUI and the shang-shu YANG TSAN. The chung-
lang-chiang Lü PU was an expert with the bow and with a
horse, he was stronger than other men; and CHO, because
he kept PU as a guard at all times and in all places, and loved and trusted him
completely. They took oath as father and son. But CHO
by nature was stubborn and mean; on one occasion PU had
a slight disagreement with CHO and CHO grabbed a hand axe
and threw it at PU. PU was strong and quick and he dodged
it. And then he changed his attitude and apologised and
CHO'S anger left him again. From this PU had a grudge
against CHO. And CHO told PU to keep the palace doors so that he could have an intrigue with a bedroom serving-maid. And so he (FU) became more and more discontented. Up to this time WANG YūN had behaved very well towards PU, and PU saw YūN and told him how CHO had several times seemed like killing him. Then YūN told him about the plan to kill CHO and gained his sympathy. PU said: "But if we are like father and son?" (YūN) replied: "You are of the Lü surname, and basically you have no relationship by blood. Now, at a time when you are afraid of death, how can you talk of father and son? When he threw the dagger, how was this the feeling of father and son?" And so PU agreed to it.

In the summer, in the fourth month of the day ting-ssu (miswritten for hsin-ssu, which was the 22 May), when the Emperor had been ill and was just recovered, there was a great assembly in the Wei-yang apartments. CHO rode a chariot in court clothes and entered. Soldiers were drawn up to line the road from the camp to the palace, with foot soldiers on the left and horsemen on the right, and with camps and guards all around. Lü PU was ordered with others to act as guard in front and behind. WANG YūN had SHIH-SUN JUI himself write an imperial order to PU, and PU ordered the chi-tu-wei LI SU, a man from his own commandery, with the yung-shih bravos CH'IN YI and CH'EN WEI and others, some ten men, to put on disguise of guards' uniform and stand guard inside the Baishuang gate to wait for CHO. CHO came to
the gate and SU stabbed him with a lance. CHO had hidden armour, it did not go in but it wounded him in the arm and he fell from the chariot. He looked around, and called out: "Where is Lü FU?" FU said: "There is an order to kill a rebel minister." CHO cursed him: "Common dog, you dare to do this?" For reply, FU stabbed CHO with his spear and ordered the soldiers to cut his head off. The chu-pu T'IEN YI, and the chief of CHO'S granary went forward to attend his corpse and PU killed them as well. In all three men were killed. Then PU took out the tablet from his breast and used it to take over the officers and soldiers, saying: "An edict ordered that CHO be executed, and that is all. For the rest, nothing is asked." The officers and soldiers all stood fast and did not move, there was a great cry of 'Ten thousand years!' The people sang and danced in the streets, the shops in Ch'ang-an were filled with men and women who sold their pearls and jade, their dresses and clothing and bought wine and meat in their joy together. (CHO'S) younger brother MIN and HUANG and others were in Mei, and they were all cut down or shot and killed by the crowd. CHO'S body was shown in the market-place; the weather began to be hot, and CHO had been big and fat - his fat flowed onto the ground. The men guarding the corpse made a great lamp and set it up on CHO'S navel and lit it, and it shone clear and bright and was like this for several days. All the dependants of the Yuan family collected the corpses of the Tung clan
and burnt them and scattered the ashes on the roads. In the enclosure (of Mei) there were twenty or thirty thousand catties of gold, eighty or ninety thousand catties of silver, and brocade and fine silk and rare ornaments piled up like mounds and hills. WANG YÜN was set in control of the affairs of the Shang-shu, LÜ PU became fen-wei chiang-chün, held credentials,\(^{15}\) and received the ceremonial of the three dukes. He was enfeoffed as marquis of Wen,\(^{16}\) and joined in the imperial government.

At CHO'S death, the tso-chung-lang-chiang and marquis of Kao-yang, TS'AI YUNG, was sitting with WANG YÜN. He heard it, and was frightened and sighed. YÜN was annoyed and scolded him: "TUNG CHO was the great bandit of the empire and almost destroyed the Han house; you are a royal servant and should have had the same hatred. But you hold to your private friendship, and now you are mourning. Why should you not be considered a rebel as well?" And he arrested him and handed him over to the Commandant of Justice. YUNG begged excuses, saying: "Although I was not loyal, the great duties of ancient times and modern, those are what the ear is satisfied to hear and what the mouth always enjoys (to tell) - how should I turn my back on the state and incline to CHO? I would have my face branded and my feet cut off rather than interrupt the 'History of the Han'.\(^{17}\) Many of the officers and grandees were sympathetic and interceded for him, but they could manage nothing. The Grand Commandant MA MI-TI said to YÜN:
"PO-CHIE (i.e. TS'AI YUNG) has rare and unusual talent, he knows a great deal of the affairs of the Han, and he should continue and complete the later history — this is the great work of our time; what he has done wrong is very slight, if you punish him, wouldn't this cause people to lose regard for you?" YūN said: "In former times Emperor WU did not kill SSU-MA CH'IEN, and allowed him to write a book of slander which was passed down to later times. Just now the fortunes of the Emperor are in a decline, war-horses are in the suburbs — we cannot let a deceitful minister hold the brush among the attendants to a young ruler. It would be no advantage to his sage virtue but would cause our party to suffer from his argument and slander." MI-TI went out and said to others: "LORD WANG will have no descendants! Good men are the foundation of the state, history is the code of the nation — if he destroys the foundations and does away with the code, how can he last for long?" And so YUNG died in prison.

Before this, the huang-men shih-lang HSūN YU and the shang-shu CHENG T'AI and the shih-chung CH'UNG CHI and others had made plans and said: "TUNG CHO is conceited and relentless and has no feelings of affection. Although he relies on a strong army he is really only one man, and he can be killed with a single blow." The affair leaked out and was discovered, YU was arrested and put in prison and T'AI fled to YüAN SHU. YU spoke and ate and drank as usual; shortly afterwards CHO died and he was released.
The Yellow Turbans of Ch'ing Province plundered in Yen. LIU TAI wanted to attack them, but the Chancellor of Chi-pei, PAO HSIN, argued: "Now the bandit army numbers a million and the people are shaken for fear. The officers and soldiers have no intention of fighting - you cannot be a match for them. But the bandit force has no baggage, they have only their plunder for wealth: the best thing to do is to gather the strength of all your men and first make a firm defence - the enemy will want to fight and will not be able to, they will attack and they cannot succeed. Their strength will certainly be scattered. Then choose your best men, occupy the important places and attack them - in this way you can win." TAI did not follow this, and so he fought with them and he actually was killed.

TS'AO TS'AO'S divisional leader CH'EN KUNG of Tung commandery spoke to TS'AO and said: "Now the province has no master, and the royal mandate is broken. I beg to speak with the subordinate officers of the province; then your excellency can come and act as Governor for it, and use this to accept the empire - this is the affair of the hegemon kings." So KUNG went and spoke to the pie-chia (ts'ung-shih) and chih-chung (ts'ung-shih) and said; "Now the empire is divided and split, and the province has no master. TS'AO of Tung commandery has the ability to command the world; if you welcome him as Governor of the province he will certainly give peace and life to the people." PAO HSIN and the others also agreed, and with the province officer WAN CH'IEN and
others they came to Tung commandery and invited TS'AO to take control as Governor of Yen Province. TS'AO then sent on his soldiers to attack the Yellow Turbans east of Shou-chang, but without success. The rebel army was strong and fierce, TS'AO'S soldiers were few and weak; (but) TS'AO looked after them and encouraged them, made open rewards and clear punishments, and took advantage of enemy weaknesses and set up his own surprise moves. They fought day and night, each time he fought he captured some prisoners, and the rebels retreated and fled. PAO HSIN died in battle. TS'AO looked for his body but could not find it, and then he carved wood to look like HSIN, and made sacrifice and mourned before it. An edict appointed CHIN SHANG of Ching-chao the Inspector of Yen Province. He was about to go to his territory when TS'AO faced him and attacked him, and SHANG fled to YüAN SHU.

In the fifth month the cheng-hsi chiang-chün HUANG-FU SUNG was made General of Chariots and Cavalry.

Before this, Lü PU urged WANG YÜN to kill all TUNG CHO'S followers. YÜN said: "These have no fault, I cannot." PU wanted to take CHO'S treasures and divide them among the dukes and ministers and chiang(-chün Generals) and hsiao(wei Colonels); again YÜN would not do it. Up to now YÜN had treated PU only as a guardman; PU was proud of his own good service and often boasted of himself. After he had been disappointed he gradually showed his dissatisfaction.
YüN by nature was hard and stern and hated evil. Formerly he had feared TUNG CHO and so he had humbled himself to submit to him. When CHO was destroyed, (YüN) had said that he had no further trouble or difficulty, and he inclined to act arrogantly - and for this reason the officials (at the court) were not closely attached to him.

YüN first discussed with SHIH-SUN JUI a special edict to be sent down to pardon CHO'S followers; and then he became doubtful and said: "The army followed their master, and that was all. If we now name them as evil and rebellious and then pardon them, I am afraid that this will only make them feel extremely uncertain - that is not the way to settle them." And so he stopped. And he discussed disbanding the armies, but someone said to YüN: "Up to now the men from Liang Province have dreaded the Yüan and feared the (forces) east of the passes - certainly the people will be in danger from one another if you now break up the armies and open the passes. You can make HUANG-FU YI-CHEN (i.e. HUANG-FU SUNG) a general, put him in command of their forces, and then have him stay in Shan to keep them peaceful and secure." YüN said: "No, those from the east of the passes who have raised loyal troops are all our followers; if we now block the passes and camp in Shan, although we would settle the people of Liang Province, yet we would make the people east of the passes uncertain - we cannot do that."
At this time there were false stories among the people that all the men of Liang Province were to be killed. CH'OU's former chiang(-chün generals) and hsiao (-wei colonels) then helped one another in their anxiety, and they all collected their soldiers to defend themselves. They said to one another: "TS'AI PO-CHIE (i.e. TS'AI YUNG) had only a vague connection with TUNG CHO, and yet he was accused; now they have made no pardon for us officers and yet they want to disband our troops. If we disband our forces today we will be fish and meat tomorrow." LÜ FU sent LI SU to Shan with an order to punish NIU FU, and FU and the others rebelled and fought with SU. SU was defeated and fled to Hung-nung and FU had him arrested and killed him. FU was afraid and lost control, and in a short time there was a groundless panic in the camp. FU wanted to flee and he was killed by his attendants. When LI CHÜE and the others came back (from Ying-ch'uan and Ch'en-liu) FU was already dead. CHÜE and the others had no-one to join with, and so they sent a messenger to Ch'ang-an to ask pardon. WANG YÜN said: "There cannot be two amnesties in a single year." And he would not allow it. CHÜE and the others were more and more afraid. They did not know what to do, and they were going to scatter and hurry back to their own villages. The t'ao-lu hsiao-wei CHIA HSÜ of Wu-wei said: "If you all leave your armies and travel alone, then the chief of a single t'ing can arrest you. There is nothing better than to all go west together and
attack Ch'ang-an and avenge TUNG CHO — if the affair is a success we can serve the royal house and set the empire to rights. If it doesn't work out it is still not too late to run away." CHÜÉ and the others agreed, and they made a covenant together, and led their forces of several thousands, marching west day and night. Because both HU WEN-TS'AI and YANG CHENG-HSIU²³) were important men of Liang Province, WANG YÜN called them to go east, not to make any attempt to be friendly, (but) to explain things to them; he said: "Those rats from east of the passes, what do they want to do? You go and ask them." At this the two men went, but they really called up their soldiers and went back (to Liang).

CHÜÉ collected soldiers along the road, and when he came to Ch'ang-an they numbered already more than a hundred thousand men. He joined with CHO'S former followers FAN CH'OU and LI MENG to besiege the walls of Ch'an-an. The walls were steep and could not be attacked, they held out for eight days.

Lü FU'S army had Sou soldiers (i.e. soldiers from Shu in the west)²⁴) and these gave help from the inside. In the sixth month, on the day wu-wu (28 Jun) they brought CHÜÉ'S army within the walls. They loosed their weapons and plundered. FU fought them within the walls but he could not win; and he led several hundred cavalry, with CHO'S head tied to his horse's saddle and went out and fled.
He halted his horse below the Ch'ing-sou gate and called WANG YÜN to come away with him. YÜN said: "If I have received the grace of the national altars, to give peace to the Emperor, this is my wish; if I have not received it then I offer myself to die for him. The Emperor is young and weak, he trusts in me. When danger comes, to shrink from it and escape, I cannot endure that. Try to get help from the leaders east of the passes, urge them to think of the Emperor." The Grand Master of Ceremonies CH'UNG FU said: "We are great servants of the state, we are not able to prevent violence nor to resist insult — we have caused naked swords to face the palace; if I leave there, where will I go?" And so he fought and died.

CHÜE and SSU camped near the gates of the southern palace. They killed the Grand Coachman LU K'UEI, the Grand Herald CHOU HUAN, the ch'eng-men hsiao-wei TS'UI LIE, the yüe-chi hsiao-wei WANG CH'I - the officials and commoners that died were more than ten thousand and bodies were scattered in the streets. WANG YÜN helped the Emperor to climb the tower of the Hsüan-p'ing gate to escape the soldiers; CHÜE and the others fell to the ground and kowtowed below the gate. The Emperor said to CHÜE and his followers: "You have set loose your soldiers in all directions — what do you want?" CHÜE and the others replied: "TUNG CHO was loyal to your majesty and he was killed without cause by LÜ PU. We avenge CHO, we would not dare to make a
rebellion. We beg to finish this business and then come to the jail for punishment." CHüE and the others surrounded the gate tower, and they asked together that the Minister over the Masses WANG YÜN come out, saying: "What fault had the t'ai-shih (TUNG CHO)?" YÜN had no alternative and he went down and saw them. On the day chi-wei (29 Jun) there was an amnesty for the empire: LI CHÜE was made yang-wu chiang-chün, KUO SSU became yang-lie chiang-chün, FAN CH'OU and the others all became chung-lang-chiang. CHüE and the others arrested the Colonel of Censure HUANG WAN and killed him.

Before this, WANG YÜN had made SUNG YI of his own commandery tso-p'ing-yi and WANG HUNG was yu-fu-feng. CHüE and the others wanted to kill YÜN but they were afraid the two commanderies would make trouble, and so they sent for YI and HUNG. HUNG sent a messenger to say to YI: "KUO SSU and LI CHüE have not yet endangered LORD WANG, and that is because we are outside (the capital). If today, tomorrow they will destroy us all - what are we going to do about it?" YI said: "Although it is difficult to distinguish good and ill, nonetheless a royal command cannot be disobeyed." HUNG said: "The loyal armies of the east of the passes are bubbling like a cauldron. They wanted to destroy TUNG CHO, and now that CHO is dead his party should be easy to control. If we raise troops and attack CHüE and the others together, and make alliance with the east of the mountains, this is an opportunity to turn
ill fortune into good." Yi would not follow, and Hung could not stand by himself, and so they both came. On the day chia-tzu (4 Jul) Chüe arrested Yun with Yi and Hung and killed them all. Yun's wife and family all died. When Hung came to his fate he cursed and said: "Sung Yi was a worthless scholar, not fit to discuss great plans." Chüe set Yun's body in the market-place and no-one dared to collect it. (Then) a former officer (under Yun) Chao Chien of Ching-chao, the prefect of Ping-ling, left his office to collect it and bury it. Before this, Yun alone had assumed the reward for killing Cho - Shih-Sun Jui had refused the credit and would not become a marquis. And so he escaped from the calamity.

Your servant Kuang says: "The Yi-ching says, "Though the reward be humble, the true man has always happiness." Shih-Sun Jui had an achievement and did not boast of it and so he preserved his life - can that not be called wisdom?"

Chüe and the others made Chia Hsu tso-p'ing-yi and wanted to make him a marquis. Hsu said: "This was a plan to help the empire, what work have I done?" He firmly excused himself and would not take it. Then they made him shang-shu p'u-ye. Hsu said: "Shang-shu p'u-ye is the senior office of all, the empire looks to it. My name has not been important before, it will not make men respectful." And he became shang-shu.
Lü Pu fled from the Wu Pass to Nan-yang, and Yuan Shu treated him extremely well. Pu trusted to his services to the Yuan clan and let his soldiers plunder and rob. Shu was annoyed at this and Pu became uneasy in his mind; he went off to follow Chang Yang in Ho-nei. Li Chu'e and the others offered an urgent reward for Pu and Pu again fled to Yuan Shao.

On the day ping-tzu (16 Jul) the General of the Van Chao Ch'i'en became Minister over the Masses.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day keng-tzu (9 Aug) the Grand Commandant Ma Mi-ti was made Grand Tutor and controlled the affairs of the shang-shu.

In the eighth month the General of Chariots and Cavalry Huang-Fu Sung was made Grand Commandant. An edict ordered the Grand Tutor Ma Mi-ti and the Grand Coachman Chao Ch'i to take credentials and to pacify the east of the passes. 30)

In the ninth month Li Chu'e was made General of Chariots and Cavalry and given command as Colonel of Censure with credentials. Kuo SSu became General of the Rear, Fan Ch'ou became General of the Right 31) and Chang Chi became General of the Agile Cavalry 32) all were enfeoffed as marquises. Chu'e and SSu and Ch'ou controlled the court government. Chi went out and camped in Hung-nung.

The Minister over the Masses Chao Ch'i'en left office.
On the day chia-shen (21 Nov) the Minister of Works CH'UN-Yü CHIA became Minister over the Masses, the kuang-lu ta-fu YANG PIAO became Minister of Works, and they controlled the affairs of the shang-shu.

Before this, when TUNG CHO entered the passes (to Ch'ang-an), he persuaded HAN SUI and MA T'ENG to work together with him in dealing with the east of the mountains. SUI and T'ENG led their forces to Ch'ang-an. Shortly afterwards CHO died and LI CHÜE and the others made SUI chen-hsi chiang-chün and sent him back to Chin-ch'eng, and T'ENG became cheng-hsi chiang-chün and was sent to camp at Mei.

In the winter, in the tenth month LIU PIAO, Inspector of Ching Province, sent up tribute. PIAO was made chen-nan chiang-chün, Governor of Ching Province, and enfeoffed as marquis of Ch'eng-wu.33)

In the twelfth month the Grand Commandant HUANG-FU SUNG was dismissed and the kuang-lu ta-fu CHOU CHUNG was made Grand Commandant - he took part in the control of the affairs of the shang-shu.

TS'AO TS'AO pursued the Yellow Turbans to Chi-pei and they all surrendered to him. He gained over three hundred thousand armed men and over a million men and women; he took the best fighters among them and called them the Ch'ing-chou troops.
TS'AO appointed MAO CHIE of Ch'en-liu as chih-chung ts'ung-shih; CHIE spoke to TS'AO and said: "Now the empire is divided and falling, the Emperor is in exile and the people have left their occupations - they hunger and wander and die. The government has no store from past years (with which to feed them) and the people have no security - they cannot hold on for long. Now the soldiers that are loyal are the best, and they are held in their positions by unending supplies; you should support the Son of Heaven in order to command those who do not act as subjects, and you should put farming in order so as to store up military supplies. If you do this you can achieve the position of a hegemon king." TS'AO accepted what he said and sent a messenger to go to CHANG YANG, the Grand Administrator of Ho-nei, and ask permission to travel west to Ch'ang-an. YANG would not hear of it.

TUNG CHAO of Ting-t'ao said to YANG: "Although YÜAN and TS'AO are on the same side, circumstances will not keep them together for long. Although TS'AO is weak now, he is nevertheless one of the really great men of the empire, you should find an opportunity to get in with him. Particularly now there is this chance - you should send through his memorial, and recommend him as well. If this business is successful there will be a permanent bond (between you)." At this YANG sent on TS'AO'S memorial and recommended TS'AO; CHAO wrote a letter for TS'AO to LI CHÜE and KUO SSU and the others, and arranged his words
CHÜE and SSU saw TS'AO'S messenger. They considered that the east of the passes wanted to set up an Emperor themselves, and that although TS'AO had sent for orders it was not his real intention. They discussed keeping back TS'AO'S messenger. The huang-men shih-lang CHUNG YAO spoke to CHÜE and SSU and said: "Just now all the brave men are rising up together, each pretending to a mandate to rule on his own. TS'AO of Yen-chou is the only one who cares for the imperial house - if you turn against his loyalty this is no way to help (people) look to you in the future." So CHÜE and SSU made a generous reply. YAO was the great-grandson of (CHUNG) HAO.

The Inspector of Hsü Province, T'AO CH'IEN, with all the (commandery) Administrators and (state) Chancellors, sent up a message to recommend that CHU CHÜN become t'ai-shih, and then called up the Governors, intending to attack LI CHÜE and the others together, and offer a welcome to the Emperor. At that time LI CHÜE used a plan of the Grand Commandant CHOU CHUNG and the shang-shu CHIA HSÜ and summoned CHÜN to court. CHÜN then refused to follow CH'IEI'S SUGGESTION and answered the call, and he was again made Grand Coachman.

KUNG-SUN TSAN again sent soldiers to attack YÜAN SHAO. They came to Lung-ts'ou and SHAO attacked them and defeated them. Then TSAN went back to Yu Province and did not dare come out again.
CH'EN WEN of Ju-nan, Inspector of Yang Province, died; and YüAN SHAO sent YüAN YI to take over Yang Province. YüAN SHU attacked and defeated him - YI fled to P'ei and was killed by the soldiers. SHU made CH'EN Yü of Hsia-p' i Inspector of Yang Province.
notes:

1. Both TCTC and HHS annals give this day as ting-ch'ou, but according to the tables there was no ting-ch'ou day in the first month of this year. ting-ch'ou may be a mistake for hsin-ch'ou - a similar error was made by TCTC for a date in the fourth month (see note 14 below). The day hsin-ch'ou of the first month was 12 Feb.

2. Shan prefecture was in Hung-nung commandery; now Shan in Honan.

3. Chung-mou prefecture was in Ho-nan; now east of Chung-mou in Honan.

4. Hsten Shu biography in HHS 52, a great scholar of the Later Han, known as one of the Four Masters of Ying-ch'uan (see note 60 to TCTC p. 1906 and note 34 to TCTC p. 1941).

5. Tzu-fang; the style of Chang Liang (died 187 BC), a great minister of Kao-tsu at the beginning of the Former Han.

6. Chie-ch'iao; a crossing of the Yellow River now north of Wei in Hopei.

7. The ya-men standard was the symbol of the whole army, and the badge of its general's success.

8. Tun-ch'iu prefecture was in Tung commandery; now southwest of Ch'ing-feng in Hopei.

9. Nei-huang prefecture was in Wei commandery; now northwest of Nei-huang in Honan.

10. TCTC commentary at this point identifies the three terraces as the shang-shu, the yu-shih (office of censorate under the
yü-shih chung-ch'eng) and the fu-chie (office of tallies and credentials).

All these officers were set as the personal servants of the emperor, in the same fashion as the shang-shu Masters of Writing, and they should not be called to attend on any officer of the administration.

11. Mei was the marquisate held by Tung Cho - the prefecture was in Yu-fu-feng; now northeast of Mei in Shensi.

12. A chang is ten ch'ih - i.e. about 7'6" or 7'7" during the Han. Seven chang were therefore about fifty-three feet.

13. The title of p'u-ye Supervisor should have some indication of the department the office was held in; such as shang-shu p'u-ye Superintendent of the Masters of Writing or ye-che p'u-ye Superintendent of the Internuncios. But here and in HHS there is no more detail of the office Shih-sun Jui held at this time.

14. The fourth month of this year had no ting-ssu day. In HHS annals the day is given as hsin-ssu, and this would be correct.

15. Here LU Pu is holding credentials to act on his own authority to decide legal and criminal cases and to execute on his own. The powers are the same as those given to the Colonel of Censure Yuan Shao on his first appointment in 189 (see note 30 to TCTC p. 1899).

16. Wen prefecture was in Ho-nei; now southwest of Wen in Honan.

17. Ts'ai Yung, with Lu Chih and Yang Piao, had been working on the continuation of the basic annals and biographies of the work which became the Tung-kuan Han-chi 東漢 漢記, and Yung on his own had composed several treatises for the history. (see Bielenstein I, p. 11).
18. Shou-chang prefecture was in Tung-p'ing commandery; now southwest of Tung-p'ing in Shantung.

19. At this point HHS annals mentions a great amnesty, but the k'ao-yi commentary by Ssu-ma Kuang points out Wang Yün's words below, 'There cannot be two amnesties in a single year' (p. 1937) and observes that since there was an amnesty in the first month, Yün would never have given another in the fifth. In fact, a chief reason for the rebellion of Li Chüe and the others was that Yün refused them an amnesty just at this time. There was certainly no amnesty in the fifth month.

20. Yün felt that since the army had only followed orders, they did not need to be pardoned, and in fact if they were granted a pardon it would imply that they were guilty to begin with. He didn't want to suggest that the army had been guilty in obeying orders, for that would upset the whole structure of military discipline - it would compel soldiers to decide for themselves whether an order should be carried out or whether they should disobey it. Certainly his motives were good, but his method made everyone uncertain.

21. Hung-nung was the chief prefecture of Hung-nung commandery; now south of Ling-pao in Honan.

22. It is difficult to see quite why Wang Yün should have said this. Three years before, in 189/190, there had been three amnesties granted, though it is true that each had been given at the beginning of a new reign period, and so they could have been technically described as officially different years. On the other hand, by the same argument, the destruction of Tung Cho could have been considered an event worthy of notice by proclamation of another era-name with an amnesty to fit. Apart from this immediate instance, two amnesties to a year had occurred twice in Han history. In 87 BC Emperor Wu proclaimed an amnesty in the second month;
then he died and Emperor Chao succeeded him and proclaimed an
amnesty in the sixth month (Dubs II, pp. 118 and 152). In
205 BC, while the future Emperor Kao-tsu was still king of Han,
he proclaimed amnesties in the first and sixth months (Dubs I,
p. 74 and 81). There seems no reason why Wang Yün should have
taken no notice of all these examples.

23. According to the commentary of Hui Tung in the chi-chie to HHS 62,
p. 10b/12, Yang Ch'eng-hsiu indicates Yang Ting 定.

24. During the Han the character sou was quite commonly used for
the area of Shu in the west.

25. The Ch'ing-sou gate was a gate to the Ch'ang-an palace, so-called
for the dark colour of its decoration.

26. The Hsüan-p'ing gate was the northernmost gate of the east wall of
Ch'ang-an city.

27. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions add the characters
hsia-yü 下獄 (sent to prison).

28. P'ing-ling prefecture was in Yu-fu-feng; now northwest of Hsien-
yang in Shensi.

29. TCTC commentary cites here a passage from the Hsi-tz'u appendix of the Yi ching; translated in Wilhelm I, p. 330; "The
Master said: When a man does not boast of his efforts and does not
count his merits a virtue, he is a man of great parts. It means
that for all his merits he subordinates himself to others.
Noble of nature, reverent in his conduct, the modest man is full
of merit, and therefore he is able to maintain his position."
TCTC commentary also quotes the commentary to this Yi ching
passage by Ch'eng Yi 程頴, which summarises Ssu-ma Kuang's words.
30. This mission of Ma Mi-ti and Chao Ch'i is similar to the missions of the Keng-shih Emperor sent out in 23 AD to gain recognition and support for his dynasty from wavering local officials. Bielenstein II pp. 35 to 40, has described the purpose and the methods of these missions, and Ma Mi-ti and Chao Ch'i seem to have been given very much the same task and authority. The credentials they carried are described by Bielenstein II, p. 35, as the 'Staff of Authority', and this was to show that they had special powers of decision normally reserved to the emperor. The authority would be similar to that given the Colonel of Censure in the capital province (see note 30 to TCTC p. 1899), but as Bielenstein remarks, the success of their missions depended on their own personality and their diplomatic ability. The differing treatment of Chao Ch'i and Ma Mi-ti at the hands of Yuan Shu shows out well how much the messengers had to depend on their own personal authority once they had left the area controlled by their government (TCTC p. 1957).

31. This account of the promotion of Kuo Ssu and Fan Ch'ou is supported by HHS annals and by HHS 62, p. 11a. But on TCTC p. 1953 below, there is a second mention to the same promotion, taking place in the fifth month of Hsing-p'ing first year (194). This earlier mention here seems to be correct; the importance of the second reference is in their opening offices like the three dukes, not their military promotion.

32. In the parallel passages, HHS annals and HHS 62 say that Chang Chi was made chen-tung chiang-chün, not General of the Agile Cavalry. TCTC here has followed the version of SKWei 6, p. 8a/13. It seems most likely that the HHS versions are correct. Li Chüe appears as the leader of his party, and would take the highest rank. According to HHS treatise 24, p. 6b, the General of Chariots and Cavalry was officially ranked after the General of the Agile Cavalry.

33. Ch'eng-wu prefecture was in Chi-yin in Yen province; now Ch'eng-wu in Shantung. It is obvious from the promotions and the rewards
given to Liu Piao how much the Ch'ang-an government felt the need for recognition from the provinces, and how they hoped to bribe encouragement.

34. Chung Hao was a famous scholar of the Later Han, one of the Four Masters of Ying-ch'uan (see note 60 to TCTC p. 1906 and note 4 to TCTC p. 1931).

35. This suggested appointment for Chu Chün as t'ai-shih, or Grand Master, follows Tung Cho's revival of the title in 191 (see TCTC p. 1919). The Grand Master held an office higher than the Grand Tutor, and so would be ostensibly the chief adviser to the emperor.

36. Lung-ts'ou was a city between Po-hai and P'ing-yüan commanderies, at an important river crossing; now northeast of Té in Shantung.
Ch'u-p'ing fourth year - 193/194:

the first day of the first month was 19 Feb. 193, and cyclical day 51.

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In the spring, in the first month on the day chia-yin (19 Feb), the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. 1)

On the day ting-mao (4 Mar) there was an amnesty for the empire.

TS'AO TS'AO'S army was at Chüan-ch'eng. 2) YüAN SHU was under pressure from LIU PIAO and led his men to camp at Feng-ch'iu. 3) A detachment from the Hei-shan (bandits) and YÜ-FU-LO of the Hsiung-nu both joined him. TS'AO TS'AO attacked SHU'S army and defeated it and then besieged Feng-ch'iu - SHU fled to Hsiang-yi 4) and then to Ning-ling. 5) TS'AO pursued him and attacked him and repeatedly defeated him. SHU fled into Chiu-chiang. CH'EN Yü, the Inspector of Yang-chou (appointed by SHU) opposed SHU and would not allow him in. SHU retreated to protect Yin-ling, 6) collected his forces north of the Huai (river) and again went forward against Shou-ch'un. 7) Yü was afraid and went back to Hsia-p'i. Then SHU took over his province and combined his titles with PO (LORD) of Hsü-chou. LI CHUE wanted to join with SHU as an ally - he made SHU General of the Left and enfeoffed him as marquis of Yang-ti, 8) granting him credentials. 9)

YüAN SHAO and T'IEN K'AI, the Inspector of Ch'ing Province appointed by KUNG-SUN TSAN, had fought continually for two years. The soldiers were tired and weak, supplies were completely exhausted on both sides - they plundered one another's people (until it was) a wilderness without a green plant. SHAO made his son T'AN Inspector of Ch'ing
Province - K'AI fought him but could not win. Shortly afterwards CHAO CH'I came to unite the east of the passes, and TSAN then made peace with SHAO and each led his troops away.

In the third month YÜAN SHAO was at Po-lo-chin. The soldiers in Wei commandery rebelled, joined with YÜ TU and other bandits of Hei-shan for a force of several ten thousand men, and defeated Ye city (the capital of Wei commandery) and killed the Grand Administrator. SHAO went back and camped at Ch'ih-ch'iu.

In the summer TS'AO TS'AO led back his army to Ting-t'ao.

WANG LANG of Tung-hai, chih-chung of Hsü Province, and the pie-chia CHAO YÜ of Lang-ya spoke to the Inspector T'AO CH'IEN and said: "If you want to be enfeoffed as a lord, the best thing is to take up arms to defend the throne. Now the Son of Heaven is away in the western capital, you should send a messenger to take tribute." CH'IEN then sent YÜ to take Z & t'pi'xi to Ch'ang-an. An imperial edict appointed CH'IEN Governor of Hsü Province, added the title of an-tung chiang-chün, and enfeoffed him as marquis of Li-yang. He made YÜ Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling and LANG Grand Administrator of K'uai-chi.

At this time the people of Hsü were prospering, the crops were more abundant, and many of the refugees turned there. But CH'IEN trusted and used slanderers and evil
men and kept loyal and upright men at a distance. The law and the government were not well administered, and from this Hsü Province quickly fell into disorder. Hsü SHAO left his land for Kuang-ling and CH'IEN received him with the utmost courtesy. SHAO said to his followers "T'AO KUNG-TU (i.e. T'AO CH'IEN) outwardly respects my reputation, but inwardly he is not an upright man. Although he treats me generously he will not be respected by the people." And so he left him. Later CH'IEN indeed arrested all the scholars living in his territory — and people admired SHAO'S foresight.

In the sixth month there was great rain and hail in Fu-feng. There was a rock-fall on Hua-shan.

The Grand Commandant CHOU CHUNG was dismissed; the Grand Coachman CHU CHÜN became Grand Commandant, and controlled the affairs of the shang-shu.

CH'ÜŒ HSüAN of Hsia-p'i collected a force of several thousand men and named himself Son of Heaven. T'AO CH'IEN attacked him and killed him.

There were great rains day and night for twenty days and more, and the floods destroyed people's houses.

YüAN SHAO led out his army and entered the Lu-ch'ang hills in Ch'ao-ko (prefecture). He attacked Yü TU, besieged and attacked him for five days and defeated him. They cut off the heads of TU and over ten thousand of his army. Then SHAO went north through the mountains, advanced
and attacked the bandit TSO TZÜ-CHANG-PA and others and beheaded them all. He also attacked LIU SHIH, CH'ING OX-HORN, YELLOW DRAGON and TSO HSIAO, KUO GREAT-VIRTUE, LI BIG-EYES, Yü BARBARIAN-BEARD and others, and again cut off several ten thousand heads and destroyed all their camps and walls. Then he fought in Ch'ang-shan with the Hei-shan bandit CHANG YEN and four detachments of the Chü-ko and the Wu-huan from Yen-men. YEN had several ten thousand good soldiers and several thousand horsemen; SHAO and Lü PU attacked YEN together and fought continually for more than ten days. Although many of YEN'S men were killed or wounded, SHAO'S army was also exhausted, and they both drew back. 16)

Many of Lü PU'S officers and soldiers had acted cruelly, and SHAO was angry about it. Then PU asked to go back to Lo-yang. SHAO took the authority to make PU Colonel of Censure, and sent strong soldiers to accompany PU - but he secretly made plans to kill him. PU set men to beat out drum music in his tent (but he himself) secretly went away. The people accompanying him got up at night, hacked the tent and coverlets and destroyed them all. The next day SHAO heard that PU was still alive, and he was frightened and closed the city to defend himself. PU led his army back again to CHANG YANG (in Ho-nei).

The former Grand Commandant TS'AO SUNG had avoided the dangers in Lang-ya - his son TS'AO ordered YING SHAO, the Grand Administrator of T'ai-shan, to receive him. SUNG'S baggage was in over a hundred carts. T'AO CH'IEN'S sub-
ordinates held Yin-p'ing, the soldiers were eager for SUNG'S valuables. They made a surprise attack on SUNG between Hua and Pi and killed him, together with his younger son TE-CH'IU. TS'AO led his men to attack CH'IEN, stormed more than ten cities, and came to P'eng-ch'eng. There was a great battle, CH'IEN'S army was defeated and he fled to guard T'an.

Before this, when the capital (Ch'ang-an) and Lo(-yang) had suffered the troubles under TUNG CHO the people had migrated to the east, and many had come to the Hsü territory. When TS'AO arrived there were a hundred thousand men and women trapped and killed at the Ssu river, and the river did not run because of it.

TS'AO attacked T'an but could not take it and then went off. He attacked and captured Lu, Sui-ling and Hsia-ch'iu and destroyed all of them. The chickens and dogs were also gone — he laid waste the cities and there were no living men any more.

In the winter, in the tenth month on the day hsin-ch'ou (3 Dec) the capital district had an earthquake.

There was a comet in the T'ien-shih.

The Minister of Works YANG PIAO was dismissed. On the day ping-wu (8 Dec) the Grand Master of Ceremonies CHAO WEN became Minister of Works and controlled the affairs of the shang-shu.

LIU Yü and KUNG-SUN TSAN had been on bad terms for a
long time. TSAN had often attacked YüAN SHAO, and Yü had forbidden it but been unable to enforce it; so he cut down (TSAN'S) supplies. TSAN was angry and repeatedly disobeyed orders and furthermore he extorted from the people. Yü could not control him, and he sent a courier to take a memorial setting out (TSAN'S) crimes of cruelty and robbery. TSAN also sent (a complaint) that the supplies Yü sent were not complete. The two memorials were presented, accusing one another, and the court noted the difference but did nothing more. Then TSAN built a small fort southeast of Chi city and occupied it. Yü asked several times to meet him, but TSAN claimed he was ill and would not accept. Yü suspected he would finally rebel, and so he collected the soldiers of his division, a hundred thousand men to attack him. At this time TSAN'S forces were scattered about outside - they hurriedly dug the eastern fort and wanted to retreat. Yü'S soldiers had no organisation and no training in battle; and he respected the people's cottages and would not hear of orders to burn them. He warned the army officers: "We are not to harm other people, we are only to kill one PO-KUEI (i.e. KUNG-SUN TSAN)." They attacked and besieged (the fort) but could not capture it. Then TSAN picked several hundred of his best men, took advantage of the wind to set a fire, and charged them straight. Yü'S forces were completely scattered. Yü and his officers fled north to Chü-yung - TSAN pursued him and attacked him. After three days the city fell and he captured Yü and his wife and children and
brought them back to Chi, still keeping him in charge of the civil administration of the province. Shortly afterwards an edict sent the messenger TUAN HSÜN to give Yü some more and command over the government of six provinces, and to appoint TSAN General of the Van with enfeoffment as marquis of Yi. TSAN falsely claimed that Yü had planned earlier with YÜAN SHAO to take the imperial title; and he forced HSÜN to have Yü and his family executed in the market-place at Chi. SUN CHIN, former Chancellor of Ch'ang-shan, the officers CHANG YI and CHANG TSAN and others joined up and went to Yü together—they cursed TSAN as thoroughly as they could and then they died together. TSAN sent off Yü'S head to the capital. The former civil officer (under Yü) WEI TUN stole Yü'S head on the road and went back and buried it. Yü had obtained the people's hearts by his grace and generosity; in the northern province not one of those who had migrated (into Yu) or who were native (to Yu) did not mourn for him.

Before this, Yü wanted to send a messenger to take the report to Ch'ang-an, but he found it difficult (to decide on) the right man. All the people said: "T'IEN CH'OU of Yu-pei-p'ing is age twenty-two, but although he is young he is remarkably able." Yü then prepared to receive him and asked him to become his officer. He made ready chariots and cavalry for the trip—CH'OU said: "Now the road is blocked and there are robbers and bandits on all sides—if you call (me) an officer with a commission, I will be pointed out by
people. I want to go privately, and I expect I will be able to get through." Yü accepted this. CH'OU called out twenty riders from his own family retainers. They went together up to the Western pass, crossed the borders, came near the northern hills, then went straight to Shuofang, followed between the roads and came to Ch'ang-an and delivered the message.

An edict appointed CH'OU chi-tu-wei. Because the Emperor at that time was a wanderer and had lost the throne and there was nothing at peace, CH'OU could not accept the honour and refused it firmly and would not take it. He got a reply (to Yü's message) and hurried back. But when he arrived Yü was already dead. CH'OU went and made sacrifice at Yü's grave, and made his report, and wept and went away. KUNG-SUN TSAN was angry, offered a reward and captured CH'OU, and asked him: "You did not send the report to me, why not?" CH'OU said: "The Han house is declining and the people have ideas of rebellion. There was only Lord LIU who did not let slip his loyalty and his honour. The report I made out was not flattering to you, and I am afraid you would not be pleased to hear it. And so I did not come forward. Besides, you have just now destroyed an innocent lord and have opposed a minister who held to the right. I am afraid that the men of Yen and Chao (would rather) jump into the Tung-hai and die, and there will be no-one to follow you."

Then TSAN released him.

CH'OU went back north to Wu-chung, led several
hundred of his clan and others that came to him, cleared
the ground and made a covenant to say: "If my lord's
enemy does not suffer vengeance I cannot stand in the world."
Then they went into the Hsü-wu mountains\(^{32}\) and camped
among steep passes in flat open land and lived there. CH'OU
himself tilled the ground to keep his father and mother.
The people turned to him, and in several years they numbered
more than five thousand families. CH'OU spoke to their
elders and said: "Now the people are enough for a city,
yet no-one unites them and there are no laws to govern
them. I, CH'OU, have a stupid plan, I would wish to show
it to all of you together - may I do so?" They all said:
"Do so." CH'OU then made his code - that those who killed
or wounded one another, those who robbed and those who
quarrelled should answer for their fault according to its
importance or lightness - the heaviest penalty was death;
there were some ten articles altogether. And he also set
out ceremonies of marriage and the courses taught in the
schools. He proclaimed these among the people, who found
them easy to follow. Eventually things found in the road
were not kept back. All in the north submitted to his
majesty and faithfulness. Both the Wu-huan and the Hsien-
pi sent messengers to bring (presents of) food; CH'OU
treated them well and accepted them, and ordered them
to stay in the house.
In the twelfth month on the day hsin-ch'ou (1 Feb, 194) there was an earthquake.

The Minister of Works CHAO WEN was dismissed. On the day yi-ssu (4 Feb) Commandant of the Palace Guards CHANG HSI was made Minister of Works.
notes:

1. This eclipse is mentioned in HHS treatise 18, p. 8b/11. The treatise relates it to the rebellion of Li Ch'ê and Kuo Ssu.

2. Ch'ên-ch'êng prefecture was in Chi-yin; now east of P'u in Shantung. HHS treatise 21, p. 14b has the characters as 郊城 and in the chi-chie Hui Tung notes that the two characters 郊 and 開 were interchangeable.

   In the two eleven-line Sung editions, the character 郊 is written 開.

3. Feng-ch'iü prefecture was in Ch'en-liu; now Feng-ch'iü in Honan.

4. Hsiang-yi prefecture was in Ch'en-liu; now west of Sui in Honan.

5. Ning-ling prefecture was in Liang; now south of Ning-ling in Honan.

6. Yin-ling was the chief prefecture of Chiu-chiang; now northwest of Ting-yüan 端 in Anhwei.

7. Shou-ch'un was in Chiu-chiang, and at that time the headquarters of the Inspector of Yang province; now Shou 廣 in Anhwei.

8. Yang-ti was the chief prefecture of Ying-ch'uan; now Yü in Honan. 禹.

9. These credentials would be similar to those granted the Colonel of Censure in the capital province, and gave Yuan Shu the right to decide judicial and criminal cases on his own authority and to execute his judgments without reference higher. (see note 30 to TCTC p. 1899).

10. The Po-lo ford crossed the Cho-chang River to the west of Ching
prefecture in An-p'ing commandery in Chi province (HHS treatise 20, p. 26b and SCC 10, p. 16b). Ching is now east of Kuang-tsung in Hopei.

11. The site of the old city of Ch'ih-ch'iu is now lost, but it was somewhere south of Ch'eng-an in Hopei. TCTC commentary says that the prefecture was under Ch'Ü-lu commandery, but HHS treatise 20, p. 20b, lists it under Wei commandery.

12. Ting-t'ao was the chief prefecture in Chi-yin; now northwest of Ting-t'ao in Shantung. Chi-yin was in Yen province.

13. Li-yang prefecture was in Tan-yang; now northwest of Li-yang in Kiangsu.

14. HHS treatise 15 (treatise of the five elements) mentions this hail on p. 6b/5.

15. T'ai-hua shan 太華山, which is to the south of Hua-yin prefecture in Shensi, is one of the five great mountains of China.

16. TCTC p. 1878 describes how these loosely organised bandit groups, of varying sizes and strengths, had sprung up after the Yellow Turban rebellion of Chang Chüe. The existence of the nicknames indicates that the bandits were mainly led by commoners.

17. Yin-p'ing prefecture was in Tung-hai commandery; now northwest of Shu-yang in Kiangsu.

18. Pi prefecture was in T'ai-shan commandery; now northwest of Pi in Shantung. Hua prefecture was also in T'ai-shan under the Former Han, but it was later merged with Pi; the city was northeast of modern Pi.
19. P'eng-ch'eng was the chief prefecture of P'eng-ch'eng; now T'ung-shan 鎮 in Kiangsu.

20. T'an was the chief prefecture of Tung-hai; now southwest of T'an-ch'eng 鄉城 in Shantung.

21. The prefecture of Lu was established in the Former Han, but done away with in the Later Han; the city was southwest of Yi-shui 汀水 in Shantung.

22. Sui-ling prefecture was in Hsia-p'i; now Sui-ning 無寧 in Kiangsu.

23. Hsia-ch'iu prefecture was in Hsia-p'i; now Ssu泗 in Anhwei.

24. The T'ien-shih 天市 can be a name for three of the Chinese hsiao constellations. It can refer to the Fang-hsiu 房, which is the stars β δ ρ of western Scorpio, to the Wei-hsiu 步, which is the stars α of western Aquarius and ζ and θ of western Pegasus, or it can refer to the Ts'an-hsiu 参, which is ζ and ξ of western Orion (Schlegel tables 55, 711 and 647). But this comet is described in HHS treatise 12, p. 5b/7. There it says that the comet first appeared between the Liang-chü 星 and moved northeast to disappear in the T'ien-shih. These Two Chü are the constellation Chüe-hsiu, the two stars α and ξ of western Virgo (Schlegel table 165). Of the three possible T'ien-shih constellations, Aquarius-Pegasus are northeast of Virgo; so T'ien-shih here appears to refer to the Wei-hsiu.

In the HHS treatise the prognostication for this comet says that it shows the emperor will shift and change his capital. At this time the Emperor was in Ch'ang-an; in the seventh month of the next year he came east to Lo-yang, and in the eighth month Ts'ao Ts'ao received him and set the capital at Hsü.
25. Chi was the chief prefecture of Kuang-yang commandery, and the headquarters of the Governor of Yu province; now southwest of Ta-hsing in Hopei.

26. Chü-yung prefecture was in Shang-ku; now east of Yen-ching in Hopei.

27. Yi prefecture was in Ho-chien in Chi province; now northwest of Hsiung in Hopei.

28. TCTC commentary here identifies this Hsi-kuan (western pass) with the Chü-yung pass, fifty li north of Yen-ching.

29. TCTC commentary here identifies this Pei-shan (northern mountains) with the Yin mountains in Inner Mongolia.

30. Yen and Chao here describes the north of the empire as a general term. The name comes from the two states of the Chou times, which occupied the northern part of the Chinese territory.

31. Wu-chung prefecture was in Yu-pei-p'ing in Yu province; now Chi in Hopei.

32. The Hsü-wu mountains were in Hsi-u-wu prefecture in Yu-pei-p'ing; they are now north of Yu-t'ien prefecture in Hopei.
TZU-CHIH T'UNG-CHIEN

Chapter 61
Hsing-p'ing first year - 194/195:

the first day of the first month was 9 Feb, 194, and cyclical day 46.

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according to HHS annals 9, P.5a/27, the year-name was changed to Hsing-p'ing on the hsin-yu day of the first month, which was 21 Feb, 194.
In the spring, in the first month on the day hsin-yu (21 Feb) there was an amnesty for the empire. On the day chia-tzu (24 Feb) the Emperor took the cap of manhood. 1)

In the second month, on the day wu-yin (10 Mar) the high officials recommended that a Ch'ang-ch'iu palace be set up (for an empress for HSIEN). 2) An edict said: "The burial ground for my late mother has not yet been settled; 3) how can I bear to talk of choosing for my harem?" On the day jen-wu (14 Mar) the three dukes recommended that the grave of the Emperor's dead mother the Lady WANG be changed, and that she be given the posthumous title of Empress HUAI of Emperor LING.

T'AO CH'IEN told T'IENT K'AI of his danger (from TS'AO TS'AO) and K'AI brought him help, with the Chancellor was reinforced with four of P'ing-yüan, LIU PEI. PEI had several thousand soldiers of CH'IEN's troops stationed at Tan-yang, and PEI then left K'AI and joined CH'IEN. CH'IEN recommended him as Inspector of Yü province and he camped at Hsiao-p'ei. 4) The supplies of TS'AO TS'AO's armies were also exhausted, and he led his men back.

MA T'ENG had some private request of LI CHÜE, and he did not get what he wanted and he was angry. He intended to raise soldiers and attack. The Emperor sent a messenger
to bring an understanding, but he would not obey. HAN SUI led his forces to come and make peace between T'ENG and CHÜE, and then he also joined with T'ENG. The chien-yi ta-fu CH'UNG SHAO, the shih-chung MA Yü and the tso-chung-lang-chiang LIU FAN planned to set T'ENG to attack Ch'ang-an and to act themselves as supporters inside to kill CHÜE and the others. (In the third month) on the day jen-shen\(^5\) T'ENG then brought his soldiers to camp at Ch'ang-p'ing observatory.\(^6\) SHAO and the others' planning was found out, they fled from (Ch'ang-an) to Huai-li.\(^7\) CHÜE sent PAN CH'OU and KUO SSU and his elder brother's son LI to make an attack. T'ENG was defeated and fled, and went back to Liang province. They also attacked Huai-li, and SHAO and the others all died. On the day keng-shen an edict pardoned T'ENG and the others.

In the summer, in the fourth month (MA) T'ENG was made an-Ti chiang-chün and (HAN) SUI was made an-hsiang chiang-chün.

TS'AO TS'AO sent his ssu-ma HSÜN Yü and CH'ENG Yü, the prefect of Shou-chang, to hold Chüan-ch'eng; and he again went to attack T'AO CH'IEN. He seized territory up to Lang-ya and Tung-hai, and he destroyed where he passed. He returned to attack and defeat LIU PEI at T'an-tung.\(^8\) CH'IEN was afraid and wanted to fly back
to Tan-yang. Shortly afterwards the Grand Administrator of Ch'en-liu, CHANG MIAO, rebelled against TS'AO and received Lü PU, and so TS'AO led his army back.

Before this, when CHANG MIAO was young, he enjoyed being a yu-hsia [knight errant]. YUAN SHAO and TS'AO were both good friends of his. When SHAO became the leader of the alliance (against TUNG CHO) he became arrogant, and MIAO spoke straight and told him so. SHAO was angry and told TS'AO to kill him. TS'AO would not obey, and said: "MENG-CHO (i.e. CHANG MIAO) is a good friend. Right or wrong he should be allowed (to act as he likes). Now the empire is not yet settled, how can we cause danger to one another?" When TS'AO had attacked T'AO CH'IEN before, his mind was on certain death, and he gave orders to his family: "If I do not return, go and attend MENG-CHO." Later he came back and saw MIAO, and they met in tears.

KAO JOU of Ch'en-liu spoke to his country-men and said: "General TS'AO, although he holds Yen-chou, at heart he has plans for all territories - he will not be content to stay here. But CHANG the fu-chün (i.e. Grand Administrator) holds the wealth of Ch'en-liu and he will wait the opportunity to make a rebellion. I want, with all of you, to get out of this. What about it?" The people all held that TS'AO and CHANG were close friends,
and JOU was young, and so they would not do what he said. JOU's elder cousin (KAO) KAN\textsuperscript{11} called JOU from north of the Yellow River (in Chi province), and Jou took his family and followed him.

When Lü PU left YÜAN SHAO to follow CHANG YANG, he passed by MIAO, and when he was about to go they took hands and made an oath together. SHAO heard of it and was very angry. MIAO was afraid that in the end TS'AO would kill him on SHAO's account, and he was not easy in his mind. Before this, the Grand Administrator of Chiu-chiang, PIEN JANG of Ch'en-liu, had once criticised TS'AO and TS'AO heard of it and killed him with all his family. Up to that time JANG had been well known for his ability, and from this the scholars and gentry of Yen province were all in fear. CH'EN KUNG by nature was upright, strong and impetuous; he also was secretly unsure of his position, and with the ts'ung-shih chung-lang HSü SSU, WANG K'AI and MIAO's younger brother CH'AO he made plans for a rebellion against TS'AO. KUNG said to MIAO: "Now the empire is divided and fallen, the brave men rise up together; with the forces of a thousand li you are staying in a place open to attack on four sides, you hold your sword looking about arrogantly and that is enough to make you stand out among men and yet you would rather take orders from another - isn't that a poor way of acting? Now the army of the
province is fighting in the east, the place is empty. Lü PU is a strong soldier, for excellence in war he has no-one better; if you welcome him for a while to rule Yen province together and look out on the situation of the empire and wait the changes of time and circumstance—this again is the one time for this strategic move."

MIAO followed this.

At this time, TS'AO sent KUNG to lead soldiers to stay and camp in Tung commandery; and he then took his army and secretly welcomed PU as Governor of Yen province. PU came up, and MIAO then sent his follower LIU YI to tell HSün Yü: "General Lü has come to help TS'AO shih-chün\textsuperscript{12}) attack T'AO CH'IEN; you should quickly prepare provisions for his army." People were doubtful, and Yü realised that MIAO planned to rebel, and at once he ordered his men to make preparations and hastily called up the Grand Administrator of Tung commandery, HSIA-HOU TUN, at P'u-yang. TUN came and PU then occupied P'u-yang. At this time TS'AO's whole army was attacking T'AO CH'IEN and the soldiers left on guard were few, and many of the military commanders and the senior civil officers were in correspondence with MIAO and KUNG. TUN came up and that night he executed several tens of those who had planned rebellion; and the army was settled.

The Inspector of Yü province, KUO KUNG, brought an army
of several ten thousand below the walls of (Chüan-ch'eng). Some said that he was in the plan with PU, and the people were very frightened. KUNG asked to see HSÜN Yü, Yü was intending to go, but TUN and the others said: "You are the guard of the whole province. If you go you will certainly be in danger; you cannot do it." Yü said: "KUNG and MIAO's party - in their careers they have no long-standing connection. Now he has come quickly and his plans are certainly not decided, and it is sure that if we take the chance of this unsettled state and talk to him, even if we cannot use him, we can cause him to be neutral. If we first make him suspicious, he would be angry and would complete the plan (to rebel)." KUNG saw that Yü had no fear, and he said that Chüan-ch'eng would not be easy to attack, and so he led his men back.

At this time all the commandery and prefectures of Yen province followed PU, only Chüan-ch'ang, Fan and Tung-a were not affected. Deserters from PU's army said: "CH'EN KUNG wants to lead men himself to take Tung-a, and also to send FAN YI to take Fan." The officers and people were all afraid. CH'ENG Yü was originally a man from Tung-a, and (HSÜN) Yü spoke to (CH'ENG) Yü and said: "Now all the province is in rebellion; there are only these three cities. KUNG and the others will attack them with a strong force. If we don't have something to hold them fast, then these
three cities will certainly be shifted (in their allegiance). You, the people look up to you; you should go and make friends with them." Yū then went back and passed by Fan, and said to the prefect CHIN YUÈN: "I have heard that Lü PU holds your mother and your younger brother and your wife and children. As a filial son, you certainly cannot have a heart (in this). Now the empire is in great disorder, brave men rise up against one another; and what a wise man should judge and choose is the man who really has the mandate and can end the disorders of the empire. The man who finds a lord will prosper, and the man who makes a bad choice of a lord will die. CH'EN KUNG has rebelled and brought in Lü PU, and all the cities have followed. It seems that they can take over; but if you consider it, what sort of a man is PU? Now PU is rough and has few affections (for others). He is hard and without courtesy — he is the strength of a common fellow. KUNG and the others pretend to his friendship because of circumstances, they cannot accept him as a chief. Although he has many soldiers, in the end he will have no success. TS'AO shih-chün's wisdom and strategy are not of this world, but rather received from heaven. You must keep Fan firm, I will guard Tung-a, and then the good work of T'IEN TAN can be set up. Who could abandon loyalty to follow evil, and so bring mother and son both to die? If you would only think it over."
YuN wept and said: "I do not dare to have a double heart (and act unfaithfully)." At this time Fan Yi was already in the prefecture, so YuN saw Yi, hid the soldiers hidden who stabbed him and killed him. Then he went back and had the soldiers defend themselves (in Fan).

HSü Chung in criticism says: 16) 'YuN had not the position of subject and ruler with Lord Ts'ao, and his mother was his closest relation. According to the moral standard he should have gone away. K'ai Fang, the kung-tzu of Wei, went to office in Ch'i and did not return for several years; Kuan Chung held that as he did not care for his relations, how could he care for his ruler? 17) This means that one looks for a loyal official essentially at the door of a filial son. YuN should first have rescued his closest relative. When HSü SHU's mother was held by Lord TS'AO, LIU PEI sent SHU back to the north, as a man with imperial ambitions would have sympathy with the feelings of a son. 18) Lord TS'AO should also have sent YuN away.'

'(Ch'eng) Yu also sent a detachment of cavalry to cut the Ts'ang-t'ing ford. 19) CH'EN KUNG came up and could not cross. Yu came to Tung-a and the prefect of Tung-a, TSAO CHIH of Ying-ch'uan, had already led and trained the officers and people to guard the walls and hold firm. He succeeded in preserving the three cities to wait for TS'AO. TS'AO came back and took (Ch'Eng) Yu's hand and said: "But for your strength,
I would have had nothing to return to." He recommended Yü become Chancellor of Tung-p'ing, and camp at Fan. Lü PU attacked Chüan-ch'eng but could not overcome it. He went west to camp at P'u-yang. TS'AO TS'AO said: "PU obtained the province in a single day; he did not occupy Tung-p'ing and break the road between K'ang-fu and T'ai-shan and hold the passes and important places against me, but he camped at P'u-yang. I know he is incapable." And he went forward and attacked him.

In the fifth month the yang-wu chiang-chün KUO SSU was made General of the Rear and the an-chi chiang-chün FAN CH'OU became General of the Right. Both opened offices like the three dukes, and joined (with the three dukes and LI CHÜE) to form the six offices. All made selections and recommendations of officials. LI CHÜE and the others each wanted their protégés to be given office. If anyone opposed them then they were angry and had no hesitation in showing it. The people in charge (of appointments, i.e. the shang-shu) were troubled at this, and they gave office to their recommendations according to an order of preference. First they would follow CHÜE's (proposals), then SSU's and then CH'OU's - the men the three dukes recommended were never taken up.
The four commanderies west of the (Yellow) River were a long way from the government of Liang province, \textsuperscript{22} and they were cut off by the river pirates. So a message was sent to ask that they be set up as a separate province. In the sixth month on the day ping-tzu (6 Jul) an edict made HAN-TAN SHANG of Ch'en-liu Inspector of Yung province, \textsuperscript{23} to take charge of the government there.

On the day ting-ch'ou (7 Jul) there was an earthquake in the capital district, and on the day wu-yin (8 Jul) there was another earthquake. \textsuperscript{24}

On the day yi-yu (mistake for yi-ssu) the last day of the month (5 Aug) there was an eclipse of the sun. \textsuperscript{25}

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day jen-tzu (11 Aug) the Grand Commandant CHU CHÜN was dismissed.

On the day wu-wu (17 Aug) the Grand Master of Ceremonies YANG PIAO was made Grand Commandant and controlled the affairs of the shang-shu.

On the day chia-tzu (23 Aug) the chen-nan chiang-chün YANG TING became an-hsi chiang-chün and opened an office like the three dukes.

From the fourth month to this (seventh) month there was no rain, and a tou of grain cost 500,000 cash - in Ch'ang-an men ate one another. The Emperor ordered the shih-yü-shih HOU WEN to give out grain and beans from the great granary for the poor people to make gruel - the
people (that) starved and died (more) as before. The Emperor suspected the issue had not been correctly made. Five sheng of each of the grain and beans were brought to his presence to make gruel — two dishes were obtained. Then WEN was beaten fifty times; and after this everyone got full measure.26)

1955 In the eighth month the Ch'iang of P'ing-yi (i.e. Tso-p'ing-yi commandery) plundered in the subordinate prefectures. KUO SSU and FAN CH'OOU and others led troops and defeated them.

Lü PU had a separate camp to the west of P'u-yang. TS'AO TS'AO attacked it by night and destroyed it. Before he had got back, just then PU came up and himself made an attack; and from daybreak to sunset several tens of times and held one another in a critical fight. TS'AO called for men to break into the enemy line, and the ssu-ma TIEN WEI of Ch'en-liu led recruits forward to fight. PU's bows and crossbows were firing at random, and arrows came down like the rain. WEI did not turn his head, but said to some other men: "When the enemy come to ten paces, then report it." The other men said: "Ten paces!" He said again: "Five paces, and then tell me." The others were afraid and quickly cried out:
"The enemy are coming." WEI held a halberd and made a great cry and rose up—where he struck there was none could stand against his blow. PU's forces went back. About this time the sun went down, and TS'AO was able to draw back and get away. He made WEI tu-wei and ordered him always to lead several hundred of his own soldiers and guard his great tent to the left and right.

The great T'IEN clan of P'u-yang turned traitor, and TS'AO was able to get into the city. He set fire to the east gate to show he had no intention of turning back; then he fought and his army was defeated, and PU's cavalry captured TS'AO but did not realise it. They asked: "Which is TS'AO TS'AO?" TS'AO answered: "The man riding a yellow horse and running away." So PU's cavalry let TS'AO go and chased the man on the yellow horse. TS'AO rushed through the fire and got out, came to the camp and hastily encouraged the army, ordered the men of the army to make quick preparations for an attack, and went forward and attacked them again. He and PU held out against one another for more than a hundred days. Then locusts came up and the people had a great famine. The supplies in PU's army were exhausted as well, and they both drew away.

In the ninth month TS'AO went back to Chüan-ch'eng and PU came to Sheng-shih;27) and he was defeated by LI CHIN of that prefecture, and he went east to camp in Shan-yang.
In the winter, in the tenth month TS'AO came to Tung-a. YüAN SHAO sent a man to speak with TS'AO, wanting to have TS'AO send his family to stay at Ye. TS'AO had just lost Yen province, his army's food was finished, and he was going to agree to it. CH'ENG Yü said:

"I should imagine that you, my general, are rather inclined to be afraid when you have to face up to things. If this is not true, then why do you make plans so carelessly? Now YüAN SHAO has a mind to all the empire, but his wisdom cannot be sufficient (for such a design). Do you consider you could bear to be his subordinate? You have the majesty of a dragon and a tiger, and can you act as a HAN (HSIN) or a P'ENG (YÜE)? Now, although Yen province is destroyed, you have still the three cities, and no less than ten thousand warriors able to fight. With your military genius, and with WEN-JO (i.e. KO HSÜN) and myself and others to receive and use them, the achievement of a hegemon king can be completed. I want you to consider it again." So TS'AO stopped.

In the twelfth month the Minister over the Masses, CH'UN-Yü CHIA left office. The Commandant of the Palace Guards CHAO WEN was made Minister over the Masses and controlled the affairs of the shang-shu.
When MA T’ENG attacked LI CHÜE the two sons of LIU YEN, FAN and TAN, had both died. The yi-lang P’ANG HSI of Ho-nan had formerly been on very good terms with YEN, and he collected and led all of YEN's grandchildren into Shu. At that time a fire from heaven burnt the city (of Mien-chu) and YEN shifted his capital to Ch'eng-tu. 29) A cancer appeared on his back and he died. The senior civil officer of the province, CHAO WEI, and others hoped that YEN's son CHANG would be lenient and kind (as a ruler) and they joined together and set up CHANG as Inspector of Yi province. An imperial edict appointed HU MAO of Ying-ch'uan as Inspector. CHANG's leaders SHEN MI, LOU FA and KAN NING rebelled and attacked CHANG, but had no success, and fled into Ching province. An edict then made CHANG Governor of Yi-chou. CHANG appointed WEI as chang-tung chung-lang-chiang, and he led an army to attack LIU PIAO (in Ching province) and camped at Ch'ü-jen. 30)

T'AO CH'IEN, the Governor of Hsü-chou, was seriously ill, and he said to the pie-chia (ts'ung-shih) MI CHU of Tung-hai: "No-one but LIU PEI can ever give peace to this province." CH'IEN died, and CHU led the people of the province to receive PEI. PEI did not then dare to accept, and said: "YÜAN KUNG-LU (i.e. YÜAN SHU) is near in Shou-ch'un, you can give the province to him." The tien-nung hsiao-wei CH'EN TENG of Hsia-p'i said:
"KUNG-LU is proud and warlike, he is not the ruler to cure disorders. Now we want the shih-chün (i.e. you, the Governor) to collect a hundred thousand horse and foot; above you can help the ruler and relieve the people, below you can divide the lands and guard the boundaries. If you will not listen and agree, I will not dare to let you (refuse)!

The Chancellor of Pei-hai, K'UNG JUNG, spoke to PEI and said: "YüAN KUNG-LU, is he a man that will be anxious over the state and forget his family? Dry bones from a tomb, why bother about them? The affairs of the present days, the people give them to the able man; if you do not take the gift of Heaven, you will regret it but it will be too late." And so PEI took over Hsü province.

Before this, the Grand Tutor MA MI-TI and CHAO CH'I came as messengers to Shou-ch'un. CH'I kept to his determination, without wavering; YüAN SHU treated him with awe and respect. MI-TI had some slight request of SHU, and SHU browbeat him and jeered at him; he borrowed the credentials from MI-TI to have a look at them, then kept them by force and would not give them back. He called out some ten men from his army and had them harry him and frighten him. MI-TI asked to leave SHU, but SHU held him and would not send him on. And he wanted to force MI-TI to act as his chün-shih (adviser in military
MI-TI was angry at himself for losing the credentials, and he vomited blood and died.

Before this, SUN CHIEN had married a woman of the WU clan from Ch'ien-t'ang, and had four sons, TS'EI, CH'ÜAN, YI and K'UANG, and one daughter. When CHIEN followed the army abroad he left his family at Shou-ch'um. TS'EI was in his teens, and he had already made friends with well-known men. CHOU Yü of Shu was the same age as TS'EI, and his ability too came early to fulfilment. He heard TS'EI's reputation, and came from Shu to visit him, and then joined and became friends with him. He urged TS'EI to come to live in Shu, and TS'EI did so. Yü gave a great house beside the road as a present to TS'EI; he went to TS'EI's home to pay respect to TS'EI's mother; what they had and what they lacked were shared together. Then CHIEN died. TS'EI was seventeen, and he went back to the burial at Ch'ü-a. Then he went himself across the Chiang, settled in Chiang-tu, made friends with fighting men, and kept still to his aim of revenge (for his father's death from HUANG TSU).

The Grand Administrator of Tan-yang, CHOU HSIN of K'uai-chi, was on bad terms with YÜAN SHU - SHU sent up TS'EI's maternal uncle WU CHING to take over as Grand Administrator of Tan-yang. He attacked HSIN and seized his commandery, and made TS'EI's elder cousin (SUN) PEN...
tu-wei of Tan-yang. TS'E entrusted his mother and younger brothers to CHANG HUNG of Kuang-ling and went straight to Shou-ch'un to see YUAN SHU, and he wept and said:

"Formerly my dead father came from Ch'ang-sha to attack TUNG CHO, and he met you at Nan-yang, and he made alliance and he was your friend. Through ill fortune he met with death, and the honours for his loyal service were not fulfilled. In consideration of the past favours of my dead father, I would like to offer my services to you. Would you please discern my sincerity."

SHU was most impressed with him, but he was not yet willing to give him back his father's soldiers, and he said to TS'E: "I am using your honourable uncle as Grand Administrator of Tan-yang, and your worthy cousin PO-YANG (i.e. SUN PEN) is tu-wei. That is the place of the best soldiers, you can go back to join them and collect your own troops."

So TS'E escorted his mother to CH'ING prefecture with Lü FAN of Ju-nan and his clansman SUN HO of CH'ING prefecture, and he gradually collected several hundred men. But he suffered a surprise attack from the chieftain TSU LANG of Ching prefecture, and he was almost killed, and at this he went again to see SHU. SHU gave back some thousand of CHIEN's old soldiers, and recommended him as huai-yi hsiao-wei. A cavalryman of TS'E was guilty of some fault,
and he ran away to SHU's camp and hid in the inner stables. TS'E sent men to go and behead him, and when it was done he went to SHU to apologise. SHU said: "Soldiers love to make mutiny, and we should both be angry at it, how is there any apology?" From this the men in the army feared and respected him still more. Earlier, SHU had promised to make TS'E Grand Administrator of Chiu-chiang, but in the event he changed and appointed CH'EN CHI of Tan-yang. Later SHU wanted to attack Hsü province and asked some thirty thousand tou of grain from LU K'ANG, Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang. K'ANG would not give it. SHU was very angry and sent TS'E to attack K'ANG and said: "Before, I was confused and used CH'EN CHI, I was always annoyed that my original idea did not work out; now if you get K'ANG then Lu-chiang will certainly be yours." TS'E attacked K'ANG and captured him; but SHU again used his former officer LIU HSÜN as Grand Administrator - and TS'E became still more disillusioned.

The shih-yü—shih LIU YAO was younger brother of TAI. Earlier he had come to fame, and an imperial mandate had made him Inspector of Yang province. Formerly the province administration had been at Shou-ch'un, but SHU had already occupied it, and YAO wanted to go south across the Chiang.
WU CHING and SUN PEN received him and set him up at Ch'ü-a. Then TS'E attacked Lu-chiang, and YAO heard of it, and because CHING and PEN had originally been appointed by SHU he was afraid that the Yuan and the Sun would take him over. And so he planned a quarrel, forced PEN and CHING back, and CHING and PEN retreated to camp at Li-yang. YAO sent his officers FAN NENG and Yü MI to camp at Heng-chiang and CHANG YING to camp at Tang-li-k'ou in order to oppose them. SHU then named his former officer HUI CH'ü as Inspector of Yang province, made CHING tu-chün chung-lang-chiang, and they joined with PEN and went to attack YING and the others.
notes:

1. At this time Emperor Hsien was age fourteen sui. According to Po hu t'ung (T'jan Tjoe Som II, p. 613); "A male belongs to the yang, (but) completes (his manhood) in (the number of) the yin. Therefore he is capped at twenty." Dubs II, p. 169, mentions the capping of Emperor Chao of the Former Han, and notes that this was the only emperor of the Han dynasties to be capped after he was married. In this case of Emperor Hsien, the question of marriage was raised very soon after he had taken the cap of manhood. As to the ages of the emperors who were reigning at the time they were capped - in the Later Han dynasty Emperor Ho was capped in 91 AD at the age of thirteen sui, Emperor An was capped in 109 at the age of sixteen sui, Emperor Shun was capped in 129 at the age of fifteen sui; Emperor Huan was capped in 148 at the age of seventeen sui (HHS annals 7, p. 2a) and Emperor Ling was capped in 171 at the ge of fifteen sui (HHS annals 8, p. 3b). So the arrangements for the capping of the emperors of the Later Han do not appear to have followed the indications of the Po hu t'ung - they were rather a matter of convenience.

As to the ceremony of capping, there is some description given in HHS treatise 4, p. 4b. But the terms of the ceremony cannot now be translated with accuracy or value, and it is by no means certain that the description in the treatise written by Ssu-ma Piao is a valid account of the Han ritual on every occasion. For another description, cf. Yi li 裔理 ch. 1.

2. Ch'ang-ch'iu 長秋 was the title of the palace of the empress and of her attendants. (HHS treatise 27, pp. 2a f).

3. TCTC commentary here quotes from the Hsiao ching (Classic of Filial Piety), translated by Legge in 'Texts of Confucianism', part I, pp. 487 and 488; "They consult the tortoise-shell to determine the grave and the ground about it, and there they lay the body
in peace." Traditional China had the custom of a temporary burial before omens were taken to determine the final and auspicious site of the tomb.

4. Hsiao-p'ei, or Little P'ei, refers to the prefecture of P'ei, distinguishing it from P'ei state. The prefecture was in P'ei; now east of P'ei in Kiangsu.

5. This fighting between Li Ch'ieh's party and Han Sui and Ma T'eng is mentioned in HHS annals for the third month; it also appears in HHS 46 (biography of Ch'ung Shao) and in HHS 62 and SKWei 6 (biographies of Tung Cho and his successors). The days are not mentioned in HHS or SKWei.

   In the Hou Han chi of Yuan Hung, ch. 27, p. 14a, the two days jen-shen and keng-shen are given in the same order as this TCTC passage. Both days were in the third month, but keng-shen (cycle 57) came before jen-shen (cycle 9).

   It seems possible that the Hou Han chi reversed the order of the two days - this would mean that T'eng came to the Ch'ang-p'ing observatory on the day keng-shen (21 Apr), and the edict of pardon was issued on the day jen-shen (3 May).

6. Primary commentary to HHS 46, p. 12b/5 says that the Ch'ang-p'ing observatory was fifteen li west of Ch'ang-an.

7. Huai-li was the chief prefecture of Yu-fu-feng; now southeast of Hsing-p'ing in Shensi.

8. T'an-tung 吴东: east of T'an prefecture in Tung-hai, which is now southwest of T'an-ch'eng Shantung.

9. T'ao Ch'ien came from Tan-yang prefecture in Tan-yang commandery; the prefecture is now east of Tang-t'u in Anhwei.
10. The yu-hsia 侠客 knight errant is a general term for free-lance fighters; but as in the tradition of the west, the knight errant did claim some code of right action. The introduction to Shih chi 124, translated by Watson II, p. 453, described the Wandering Knights; "Saving others in distress, helping those who cannot help themselves - is this not what a benevolent man does? Never betraying a trust, never going back on one's word - this is the conduct of a righteous man." C.f. also: James Liu, 'The Knight Errant in Chinese Literature,' pp 30-41, Bulletin of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch, 1961 (Vol. 1, Number 1).

11. Kao Kan was a follower of Yuan Shao.

12. shih-chün 使臣; a term in Han times to refer to the ruler of a province.

13. Fan prefecture was in Tung commandery; now southeast of Fan in Shantung.

14. Tung-a prefecture was in Tung commandery; now northeast of Yang-ku in Shantung.

15. T'ien Tan 田單 was an officer of the Ch'i state in the third century BC. His country was invaded by the armies of Yen, and T'ien Tan was in the defence of Chi-mo 齊墨, one of the last Ch'i cities which had not been captured. He defeated the invaders and so led to the recovery of seventy cities of the Ch'i state.

16. This comment by Hsü Chung 徐藐 is taken from his San kuo p'ing, 三國評, which is quoted in the primary commentary to SKWei 14, p. 2b. The San kuo p'ing is mentioned in the bibliographical treatises of both the T'ang histories, but does not appear again after them.

17. TCTC commentary quotes here a passage from Shih chi 32, translated in Chavannes IV, p. 58; "Le duc reprit: 'Que diriez-vous de K'ai-fang?' (Koan Tchong) répondit: 'Il a abandonné ses parents pour
plaire à Votre Altesse; ce ne sont pas là des sentiments humaines; il serait difficile de l'admettre dans votre intimité."

18. This affair is described by TCTC on page 2084, year 208 AD, Chien-an 13.

19. The Ts'ang-t'ing ford crossed the Yellow River northeast of Fan. (SCC 5, p. 28a).

20. K'ang-fu prefecture was in Jen-ch'eng commandery; now south of Chi-ning in Shantung. Jen-ch'eng was in Yen province.

21. In note 31 to TCTC p. 1940 it was suggested that Kuo Ssu and Fan Ch'ou had actually been appointed General of the Rear and General of the Right in the ninth month of Ch'u-p'ing third year. The change that took place in this fifth month of Hsing-p'ing first year was not a change of title but a change of function. Ch'ou and Ssu now joined Li Chüe in the highest council of the state, serving offices like the three aunts.

As to the titles yang-wu chiang-chünn and an-chi chiang-chünn, there is no other record in TCTC or HHS of Ssu and Ch'ou holding these titles. In 192, when the successful rebels gave themselves rank as generals, Li Chüe became yang-wu chiang-chünn and Kuo Ssu was yang-lie chiang-chünn (TCTC p. 1938). Fan Ch'ou was chung-lang-chiang. The title an-chi chiang-chünn does not appear in HHS until it was given to Tung Ch'eng in Hsing-p'ing second year (HHS annals 9, p. 6a). In its reference to this confused promotion, TCTC agrees with the Hou Han chi of Yüan Hung, ch. 27, pp. 14b and 15a; but there seems to be no other evidence, and the Hou Han chi itself records the earlier account of the promotion (ch. 27, p. 7b).

This record of the promotion does not appear to be correct.

22. The headquarters of the Inspector of Liang province had been in Lung prefecture in Han-yang commandery (HHS treatise 23A, p. 30b);
but from the Chung-p'ing period to the end of Chien-an the capital of the province was shifted to Chi, the chief prefecture of Han-yang (HHS treatise 23A, p. 30a). Chi is now south of Kan-kū谷 in Kansu, Lung is now north of Ch'ing-shui 清水 in Kansu. Both sites are east of the upper reaches of the Yellow River.

23. Both TCTC and HHS annals 9, p. 5a, refer to four commanderies west of the River. But the commentaries disagree which the commanderies were. Primary commentary to HHS annals says that the commanderies were Chin-ch'eng, Chiu-ch'üan, Tun-huang and Chang-ye; and in a different context, when the expression Ho-hsi ssu-chün 河西四郡 occurs in HHS 37, p. 14b/10, primary commentary gives the same identification. But TCTC commentary to this passage says that the headquarters of the province were in Wu-wei.

In HHS treatise 23A there is no mention of this province, although it is noted that Ku-tsang, the chief prefecture of Wu-wei (and now Wu-wei 武威 in Kansu) became the capital of Liang province. This is not the Liang province of the Later Han, but a smaller division set up under SKWei. The administrative geography of this area at this time is confused; in this year 194 the commanderies west of the Yellow River were separated from Liang province and grouped as Yüng province. In 213 Ts'ao Ts'ao arranged a new organisation and combined Yüng province, Liang province and part of Ssu-li to form an enlarged Yüng province. And in 220, after the death of Ts'ao Ts'ao, his son P'i created a new province, again called Liang, over the five commanderies west of the River (SKWei 15, biography of Chang Chi, p. 9b).

Because of the short life and the isolation of the smaller Yüng province, there are few references to it in the histories; and these references frequently contradict one another. The disagreement between TCTC commentary and HHS primary commentary on the commanderies of Yüng province presents an immediate problem. With the evidence available now, and with the indications of a map
of the commanderies, all five commanderies appear as a possible provincial unit. In fact, the geographical treatise Chin shu 14, p. 17a/8 reads: "The Han set up Chang-ye, Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang and Wu-wei commanderies. Later they also set up Chin-ch'eng; and they called them the 'five commanderies west of the River' 五郡. The Han changed the Yung province of the Chou and made Liang province ..... (line 10) In the time of Emperor Hsien there were frequent disturbances in Liang province, and the five commanderies west of the River were cut off and a long way from the (headquarters of the) province. And for this Yung province was set up separate. At the end (of the Han) they again followed the old system and settled nine provinces, and joined the (territory) west of the passes together into Yung province. In the time of the (San Kuo) Wei it was again divided and they made an Inspector of Liang province." This text clearly implies that the province of Yung set up in 194 comprised the five commanderies of Chang-ye, Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang, Wu-wei and Chin-ch'eng commanderies.

The only source now extant which mentions the appointment of Han-tan Shang as Inspector for four commanderies west of the River, and which seems to imply headquarters in Wu-wei, is the Tien lüe of Yu Huan, quoted in the primary commentary to SKWei 18, p. 12b/6. The relevant text reads: "At the beginning of Chien-an, (Chang) Meng held commandery office as a kung-ts'ao. At this time the four commanderies west of the River sent up a memorial to the capital asking that a separate province be set up, since they were a long way from the headquarters of Liang province and were cut off by river baiits. An edict appointed Han-tan Shang, a man of Ch'en-lui, as Inspector of Yung province, to be in separate charge of the four commanderies. At this time the position of Grand Administrator of Wu-wei was vacant, and because Meng's father had earlier had a fine reputation west of the River an edict had Meng fill this office. Shang and Meng travelled west together. Before this, Meng and Shang were the same age, and always made fun
of one another (but) when they were going to their offices together they quarrelled while they were on the road. After they had arrived Shang wanted to punish (i.e. kill) Meng. Meng learnt about it, and so he brought soldiers to attack Shang. Shang had set his residence close to Meng, and when he heard that Meng's soldiers were coming he was frightened and he climbed to the top of the house and called to Meng by his style: 'Shu-wei叔威, do you want to kill me? If I die and still have consciousness (i.e. as a ghost or a spirit) then (I would bring) you too to death with all your family. I ask for friendship, is it still possible?' So Meng called out: 'Come.' Shang jumped from the roof and came to Meng, and then Meng scolded him, and when he had finished he gave Shang over to the tu-yu (post-master). The tu-yu registered Shang (as a criminal) and locked him in the post-house. Later Shang tried to escape, it was found out, and so they killed him. This year was the fourteenth of Chien-an (209/210)...

The first point obvious here is that the Tien lüe story bears little relation to the version of HHS annals. The dates are completely different. Tien lüe appears to set the establishment of the province, the appointment of Han-tan Shang and his murder all at about the same time, in 209/210 AD. HHS annals says that the province was set up in 194, but does not mention Han-tan Shang until his murder in 206 (p. 9b). In a biography of Chang Meng in HHS 55, p. 11b, the murder is mentioned again, but the date is just 'during the Chien-an period'. It seems that the HHS annals dating is the more circumstantial. TCTC p. 2068 follows HHS annals.

If the Tien lüe dating is disregarded, the story implies that Han-tan Shang was appointed to the province at the same time Chang Meng was made Grand Administrator of Wu-wei. (This cannot have been before 195, since Chang Ya張雅 is recorded as Grand Administrator of Wu-wei at that time by Chin shu 14, p. 18a/2). Shang and Meng were travelling to their offices together, and when they quarrelled it is possible that Shang was not yet at his headquarters
but still on the way there. Wu-wei is on the main route from the capital to the commanderies of Chang-ye, Chiu-ch'üan and Tun-huang. The story refers to Shang's intention to 'punish' Meng, but this could have been a personal attack, not an official one. Again, there is mention of Shang's 'setting up residence', but this need not refer to the quarters of an official in his own territory but only to the lodgings of an official travelling between posts. There is a suggestion that Shang may have had his headquarters at Wu-wei, but it is not said directly - it is possible to see how commentary could assume the headquarters of Yung province were there, but there is actually no direct evidence for it. In fact, it is surprising to find that an Inspector in the middle of his own capital could be attacked and murdered without any force of his own to help him.

But the chief part of the Tien lüe story is the question of its origin. The story continues to tell how Chang Meng died in the next year at Wu-wei, and so he fulfilled a dream and a prophecy; and the story is sufficiently curious without this addition of the supernatural. When a Grand Administrator killed an Inspector it was not very likely that the full facts would be published; and the detail contained in Tien lüe seems too much to be true. It seems likely that Shang and Meng quarrelled while Shang was visiting Wu-wei, and Shang was killed. It is very doubtful whether any more of the story is reliable.

From the evidence above, it seems most likely that Yung province, set up in 194, actually included five commanderies - Chin-ch'eng, Wu-wei, Chang-ye, Chiu-ch'üan and Tun-huang. Han-tan Shang was one of the Inspectors, but need not have been the first; and it is not certain where the headquarters of the province were set, though Wu-wei is a possible site.

24. The first of these earthquakes is mentioned in HHS treatise 16, p.455.
25. The day yi-yu is a mistake for yi-ssu; both HHS annals and HES treatise 18, p. 9a/4 have reference to this eclipse, and they read yi-ssu. According to the tables, yi-ssu was the last day of this month.

In the chi-chie to the treatise, Ch'ien Ta-hsin quotes the forecast that an eclipse on an yi-ssu day tells of a military rising in the east.

26. Yang Lien-sheng, in Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty translates the parallel passage (Chin shu 26, p. 2b) on p. 157; but in that version the Emperor had the food given out in his presence. TCTC here has followed the story in HHS annals 9; the version in HHS 62, p. 12a reads like the Chin shu. But the expression 'two dishes' gives no idea whether this was large or small. If the measure of grain and beans produced two dishes, and two dishes was considered a large amount, then Hou Wen had obviously not been giving out the full measure. If two dishes was a small amount, then the sheng pint measure that Wen was serving with had been made too small. From the text as it stands, it cannot be said which was the case.

A tou bushel was 10 sheng. A sheng was one hundredth of a hu or shih, and so 12.1856 cu-in. (Yang p. 137, note 90).

27. Sheng-shih prefecture was in Chi-yin; now southwest of Chi-ye in Shantung. Chi-yin was in Yen province.

28. Han Hsin and P'eng Yue were both great supporters of Emperor Kao-tsu of the Former Han. Han Hsin was the great general of the Han, but he was executed for treason after the dynasty was established. P'eng Yue aided the Liu and was made king of Liang, but he was executed with all his family for the suspicion of treason. These two men are examples of great servants of a ruler who are removed when their usefulness is past. P'eng Yue's biographies are in
Shih chi 90 and Han shu 34; Han Hsin's biographies are in Shih chi 92 and Han shu 34.

29. Ch'eng-tu was the chief prefecture of Shu commandery; now Ch'eng-tu in Szechwan.

30. Ch'U-jen prefecture was in Pa commandery; now west of Yun-yang in Szechwan.

31. K'ung Jung is saying that Yuan Shu id proud of himself and of his great family, and he will not think of the good of the empire before his own advantage; and yet the great officials of his family are dead, and the fame of the past is of no use in the present.

32. Ma Mi-ti and Chao Ch'i had been sent out from the capital to settle the east of the passes in 192 (TCTC p. 1940).

33. These were the imperial credentials, or Staff of Authority, granted to Ma Mi-ti for his mission to the east (see note 30 to TCTC p. 1940).

34. ch'in-shih or 'Master of the Army' is not listed by HHS treatise as a regular title. It occurs as the position held early in the Later Han by a certain Fang Wang, who acted as the adviser to the war-lord Wei Ao, and in that context Bielenstein gives the rendering 'Master of the Army'. And it appears twice in these chapters of TCTC; once here, and again on p. 1988, where Ts'ao Ts'ao summons Hsün Yu to be shang-shu (Master of Writing) and also appoints him ch'in-shih. In both cases here, ch'in-shih need not be meant as an official position, but may be no more then a general term for an adviser on military affairs.

35. Shu prefecture was in Lu-chiang; now west of Lu-chiang in Anhwei.
36. Ch'ü-a prefecture was in Wu commandery; now Tan-yang in Kiangsu.

37. Chiang-tu prefecture was in Kuang-ling; now southwest of Chiang-tu in Kiangsu.

38. Ching prefecture was in Tan-yang commandery; now west of Ching in Anhwei.

39. Li-yang prefecture was in Chiu-chiang; now Ho in Anhwei.

40. Heng-chiang here refers to Heng-chiang-p'u, a reach and a crossing of the Yangtzu; now southeast of Ho in Anhwei.

41. Tang-li-k'ou is now Tang-li-p'u, a reach and a crossing of the Yangtzu southeast of Ho in Anhwei.
Hsing-p'ing second year - 195/196:

the first day of the first month was 29 Jan, 195, and cyclical day 40.

second  28 Feb   10
third   29 Mar   39
fourth  28 Apr   9
fifth   27 May   38
intercalary fifth  26 Jun   8
sixth   25 Jul   37
seventh 24 Aug   7
eighth  22 Sep   36
ninth   22 Oct   6
tenth   20 Nov   35
eleventh 20 Dec   5
twelfth 18 Jan, 196   34
In the spring, in the first month on the day kuei-ch'ou (7 Feb) there was an amnesty for the empire.

TS'AO TS'AO defeated Lü PU at Ting-t'ao.

An edict went to appoint YüAN SHAO General of the Right.¹)

When TUNG CHO had died the people of the capital district still numbered some hundreds of thousands of households. LI CHÜE and the others let loose their soldiers to pillage, and there was added a famine; and in the space of two years the people were eating one another and had almost all (gone away or died of starvation). LI CHÜE and KUO SSU and FAN CH'OU each boasted of their achievements to one another and struggled together for power - and they were often willing to quarrel. CHIA HSü often reminded them (to think of) the state as a whole - so although they could not get on privately, they acted with some restraint towards one another in public.

When FAN CH'OU attacked MA T'ENG and HAN SUI, LI LI (CHÜE'S nephew) had fought without using all his strength; and CH'OU swore at him and said: "(These) men want to cut off your uncle's head, how dare you act like this? Don't I have the authority to execute you?" Then T'ENG and SUI were defeated and fled, and CH'OU followed them up to Ch'en-ts'ang. SUI spoke to CH'OU and said: "The origin of our quarrel is not in any private feud, it is an affair of the royal house. I come from the same district as you,²)
and I would like to speak to you friendly and apart." Then they both rode to one side, and went forward and held their horses, and joined arms together and spoke for a long time together and apart. The army went back, and LI LI told CHÜE: "HAN and FAN met on horseback and talked; I do not know what was said, but there was good feeling and it was very secret." In any case CHÜE was jealous of CH'OU because he was brave and had collected a following. CH'OU wanted to lead soldiers east out of the passes, and he asked for more soldiers from CHÜE.

In the second month CHÜE asked CH'OU to come to a conference, and then he killed him where he sat. From this all the leaders came to distrust one another.

CHÜE would often set out wine and invite KUO SSU, and sometimes he would keep SSU to stay overnight. SSU'S wife suspected that SSU was having an affair with a servant-girl of CHÜE, and she had it in mind to separate them. About this time CHÜE sent a present of food, and (SSU'S) wife made salted beans into a (poisonous) drug, and then picked them out (as if they had come with the present) and showed them to SSU and said: "One perch cannot take two cocks - I really doubt your trust in Lord LI." On another day CHÜE again invited SSU, and they drank and became very drunk. SSU suspected that he had been poisoned, so he made a drink of diluted excrement and drank it. And at this each gathered his troops to attack.
The Emperor sent shih-chung and shang-shu officers to make peace between CHÜE and SSU. CHÜE and SSU would not obey. SSU planned to take the Emperor into his camp, but a man deserted by night and told CHÜE.

In the third month on the day ping-yin (22 Apr) CHÜE sent his elder brother's son HSIEN to lead several thousand men to surround the palace, and take three chariots to escort the emperor. The Grand Commandant YANG PIAO said: "From ancient times the emperors or kings are never in another man's house - you are all taking part in affairs, how can you do this?" HSIEN said: "The general's plans are decided." At this all the ministers followed the imperial carriage out on foot; and the soldiers at once went into the palace and plundered all the palace people and the imperial property. The Emperor came to CHÜE'S camp, and CHÜE also shifted the gold and brocade of the imperial treasury and placed them in his own camp. And then he set fire to burn the palaces and apartments, the offices and the people's houses - all were destroyed. The Emperor again sent the dukes and ministers to make peace between CHÜE and SSU. SSU kept back YANG PIAO and the Minister of Works CHANG HSI, and the shang-shu WANG LUNG, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household LIU YüAN, the Commandant of the Palace Guards SHIH-SUN JUI, the Grand Coachman HAN JUNG, the Commandant of Justice HSÜAN FAN, the Grand Herald JUNG KO, the Grand Minister of Agriculture
CHU CHÜN, the chiang-tso ta-chiang LIANG SHAO, the t'un-chi hsiao-wei CHIANG HSüAN and others and held them in his camp as hostages. CHU CHÜN was furious, and he became ill (with rage) and died.

In the summer, in the fourth month on the day chia-tzu (which is a mistake for chia-wu, 20 May)\(^5\) the Honoured Lady of the FU clan from Lang-ya was set up as Empress, and the Empress' father the shih-chung (FU) WAN was made chih-chin-wu.

KUO SSU gave a feast to the dukes and ministers, and discussed an attack on LI CHÜE. YANG PIAO said: "All the ministers are fighting together, one man has kidnapped the Son of Heaven, one man holds the dukes and ministers as hostages - how can this work?" SSU was angry and wanted to take a sword to him; PIAO said: "The ministers still cannot serve the emperor, how should I seek to live?" The chung-lang-chiang YANG MI made strong objection, and so SSU stopped. CHÜE called out several thousand men of the Ch'iang and the Hu barbarians; and first he gave them imperial goods and various silks and promised them men and women from the palace (for their slaves) and then he wanted them to attack KUO SSU. SSU made secret plans with the chung-lang-chiang CHANG PAO of CHÜE'S party to attack CHÜE. On the day ping-shen (22 May) SSU led soldiers by night to attack CHÜE'S gates; and an arrow came through the curtains of the emperor's tent and went through CHÜE'S right ear. PAO and the others set fire to houses, but the fires would not take. YANG FENG
opposed SSU outside, and SSU's men retreated. PAO and the others led the soldiers under their command and went to SSU.

On this day, CHÜE again shifted the Emperor to the Pei-wu, and he sent a colonel to keep the gate of the fort - the government personnel were cut off from the Emperor. The personal attendants all had the look of hunger on their faces. The Emperor asked five tou of grain and five bowls of cattle-bones to give to his attendants. CHÜE said: "Morning and evening we have sent up food. What would you use grain for?" And he gave him old bones. The Emperor was very angry and wanted to abuse him, but the shih-chung YANG CH'I advised against it: "CHÜE knows that he is acting like a rebel; he wants to shift your majesty to Huang-po-ch'eng in Ch'ih-yang. I would ask your majesty to put up with this." So the Emperor stopped. The Minister over the Masses CHAO WEN sent a letter to CHÜE to say: "Before this, you killed and destroyed in the imperial city and slaughtered the great ministers; now you are fighting over an angry look to make it a fight of life and death. The court wants to have you come to an understanding. The imperial orders do not prevail, and yet now you want to shift the Emperor to Huang-po-ch'eng - I really cannot understand this. In the Yi(-ching), once is a mistake, twice is going further in, and if the third time there is still no change there will come overwhelming misfortune. There is nothing better than to renew the alliance quickly." CHÜE was very angry and wanted to kill
WEN - his younger brother YING opposed it and after several days he stopped.

CHÜE believed in the arts of witches and wizards and in spells. He often made sacrifice with animals to TUNG CHO outside the gate of the palace. Whenever he faced the Emperor, he always said: "Wise majesty" or "Wise emperor", and spoke to the Emperor of KUO SSU as a man without good behaviour — and the Emperor followed his opinion and answered accordingly. CHÜE was pleased and thought that he had gained the Emperor's favour.

In the intercalary (fifth) month, on the day chi-mao (4 Jul) the Emperor sent the ye-che p'u-ye HUANG-FU LI to reunite CHÜE and SSU. LI went first to SSU, and SSU obeyed the message. Then he went to CHÜE, but CHÜE was not willing, and said: "KUO TO is a brigand that steals horses. How dare he want to rank with me? I will certainly punish him; you see my planning and my army — are they enough to deal with KUO TO or are they not? Besides, KUO TO has kidnapped the dukes and ministers and holds them as hostages. He acts like this and you still want to help him?" LI said: "A little while ago, you know how strong TUNG CHO was; LÜ PU received his favour and yet he still made plans against him — in a short time CHO'S body and his head were in different places. This is having bravery and having no planning. Now you are a great leader, and you bear the favour and the honour of the state. SSU holds hostages
and you control the lord - who is light and who is heavy? CHANG CHI and SSU have made plans together; and YANG FENG is no more than a leader of the Po-po bandits but yet he still can realise that what you are doing is wrong. Although you have given them favour, still they do not render you service." CHÜE cursed him and told him to go. LI went off and went to the palace gate and told (the Emperor): "CHÜE is not willing to accept the imperial order; his words were abusive. The Emperor was afraid that CHÜE would hear of it, and he quickly told LI to go away. CHÜE sent the hu-pen WANG CH'ANG to announce that he wanted to kill him - CH'ANG knew that LI was loyal and honest, and he released him and set him free and then went back and said to CHÜE: "We chased him but we could not catch him."

On the day hsin-ssu (6 Jul) the General of Chariots and Cavalry LI CHÜE became ta-ssu-ma, (with rank) above the three dukes.

Lü PU'S officers HSIE LAN and LI FENG camped at Chü-ye. TS'AO attacked them - PU went to relieve LAN and the others, could not win through and retreated. Then TS'AO cut off the heads of LAN and the others. HSÜN Yü said: "In earlier times KAO-TSU held within the passes, and KUANG-WU occupied Ho-nei. Both set their control of the empire on deep roots and a secure base. When they
advanced they could defeat their enemies, and they wanted to go back they could hold their own. And so, although they were put in distress and defeated on occasion, in the end they achieved the great work (of the empire). Originally, because you were chief in Yen Province, you settled the difficulties of the east of the mountains. There were none of the people that did not turn their hearts (to you) and were glad to submit. Moreover the Yellow River and the Chi (the borders of Yen) are the strategic places of the empire, and although they are now in ruins, it is still easy to hold yourself there. Here again is your Kuan-chung and your Ho-nei. You must settle it first. Now you have already defeated LI FENG and HSÜE LAN, and if part of your army goes east to attack CH'EN KUNG then KUNG will certainly not dare to come west and look about. Take this opportunity (to have the soldiers)\textsuperscript{13}) collect the ripe wheat, collect the food and store the grain - and with one move PU can be defeated. Defeat PU and then go south to join with Yang-chou (i.e. with LIU YAO) and attack YÜAN SHU together so as to approach the Huai and the Ssu. If you leave PU and go to the east (to Hsü Province) - if you leave many soldiers you will not have enough to be any use; and if you leave few soldiers then the people will keep to the cities and they will not be able to gather the harvest, and PU will take advantage of the empty places to rob and plunder, the people's affections will be more and more in danger. Only Chüan-ch'eng, Fan and Wei\textsuperscript{14}) would hold, the rest of them
would not be in our hands. This is not to have Yen-chou. If Hsü province were not settled where would you turn? Besides, although T'AO CH'IEN is dead, Hsü is not easy to overthrow. They will take warning from the defeats in the years past, and they will be afraid and join together to make a common front. Now all the east has collected the wheat already, and they will certainly wait for you with strong walls and empty fields. If you attack them you will not capture them, you may plunder them and you will get nothing. In no more than ten days an army of a hundred thousand men would be in trouble even before it was fighting. When you attacked Hsü-chou before, your majestic punishment was applied - the sons and younger brothers will remember the shame (and the fate) of their fathers and older brothers - certainly they will guard themselves and they will have no mind to surrender. So you may be able to defeat them but you still cannot hold them. Now in affairs there really are cases where you must take one thing and leave the other - it is advisable to take the great thing in place of the small thing; it is advisable to take peace rather than danger; and to suit the situation of the time it is also advisable not to worry over the uncertainties of your base (i.e. be prepared to move and not sit tight on the defensive.). Now there is nothing better than these three (good principles) - if only you would reconsider it!" So T'S'AO stopped.
1964  PU came again from Tung-min\textsuperscript{16} and joined CH'EN KUNG and led some ten thousand men to come and fight. TS'AO'S soldiers were all out gathering the harvest. There can have been no more than a thousand men on the spot, and the camp was not secure. West of the camp there was a large dyke, and to the south the woods were very thick; TS'AO hid soldiers within the dyke, and set out half his force outside it. PU came up further and then sent lightly armed men to pick a fight. As soon as they joined, then men that had been hidden all climbed the embankment and charged together horse and foot. They completely defeated them, and followed the pursuit\textsuperscript{17} up to their camp, and then they came back. PU made a retreat by night, and TS'AO attacked again and took Ting-t'ao, and sent off detachments to settle all the prefectures. PU fled east to LIU PEI, and CHANG MIAO followed PU and sent his younger brother CH'AO to lead the family forces and hold Yung-ch'iu.\textsuperscript{18}

When PU first saw PEI he treated him with the utmost respect. He said to PEI: "You and I are both men of the borders.\textsuperscript{19} I saw that the east of the passes were raising soldiers and wanted to attack TUNG CHO. I killed CHO and came out to the east; and of all the leaders of the east of the passes there is none that has treated me peacefully. They all want to kill me." He asked PEI into his tent, and sat on his wife's bed and ordered his wife to make obeisance. He poured out wine and drank it and ate, and he called PEI
as his younger brother. PEI saw that PU'S words were disjointed - and outwardly he approved him but privately he was not pleased.

LI CHüE and KUO SSU fought each other for months on end - and the dead were numbered by tens of thousands. In the sixth month CHüE'S officer YANG FENG made plans to kill CHüE - the affair came out, and so he led his men to mutiny against CHüE and CHüE'S army was somewhat weakened. On the day keng-wu (?)\(^20\) the \textit{chen-tung chiang-chün} CHANG CHI arrived from Shan and wanted to make peace between CHüE and SSU and to shift the Emperor to Hung-nung. The Emperor also thought of the old capital (at Lo-yang) and sent messengers to proclaim (his wish for peace). After ten exchanges, SSU and CHüE agreed to make peace, but they wanted hostages of their favourite sons. CHüE'S wife loved her son, and the plan for peace was not settled. Then the Ch'iang and the Hu barbarians came several times to spy out the gates of the palace, and were saying: "Is the Son of Heaven there? General LI promised us his palace people; where are they all now?" The Emperor objected to it, and sent the \textit{shih-chung} LIU AI to speak to the \textit{hsüan-yi chiang-chün} CHIA HSü and say: "You used to hold office and you acted loyally and so you were acclaimed and honoured. Now the Ch'iang and the Hu fill the roads, and you should think of a plan." So HSü called the great leaders of the Ch'iang and Hu and gave them wine and food. And he promised to enfeoff them and
reward them; then the Ch'iang and the Hu all went away. From this CHüE was isolated and weak, and at this there was again talk of the plan for reunion. CHüE approved it. Each took a daughter as hostage.

In the autumn in the seventh month, on the day chia-tzu (?) the Emperor came out of the Hsüan-p'ing gate and was going to cross the bridge. Several hundred of SSU'S men blocked the bridge and said: "Is this the Son of Heaven?" Several hundred of CHüE'S men were all holding great halberds and were in front of the imperial carriage; and the soldiers were going to fight when the shih-chung LIU AI called out in a loud voice: "This is the Son of Heaven!" He had the shih-chung YANG CH'I raise up the curtains of the carriage, and the Emperor said: "You soldiers, how dare you all crowd me?" Then SSU'S soldiers went back, and when they crossed the bridge all the officers and men called out: "Ten thousand years!" At night they came to Pa-ling all the followers were hungry and CHANG CHI gave out various rations. CHüE came out and camped at Ch'ih-yang.

On the day ping-yin (?) CHANG CHI was made General of Agile Cavalry and his office was like the three dukes. KUO SSU became General of Chariots and Cavalry, YANG TING became General of the Rear, YANG FENG became hsing-yi chiang-chün, and all were enfeoffed as marquises. And TUNG CH'ENG, former follower of NIU FU, became an-chi chiang-chün.
KUO SSU wanted to have the Emperor go to Kao-ling. The dukes and ministers and (CHANG) CHI thought he should go to Hung-nung. There was a great meeting to discuss it, but nothing was decided. The Emperor sent a messenger to say to SSU: "Hung-nung is near the temple for sacrifices to Heaven, there is nothing to be suspicious about." SSU would not agree. Then the Emperor did not eat for a whole day. SSU heard of it and said: "He can still go to a prefecture near here."

In the eighth month, on the day chia-ch'en (27 Sep) the Emperor went to Hsin-feng. On the day ping-tzu (which may be a mistake for ping-wu, (28 Sep) KUO SSU again planned to force the Emperor to come back to make his capital at Mei. The shih-chung CH'UNG CHI learnt of it, and secretly told YANG TING, TUNG CH'ENG and YANG FENG to meet at Hsin-feng. KUO SSU realised his plan had been found out and then he left the army and went into the Nan-shan.

TS'AO TS'AO beseiged Yung-ch'iu. CHANG MIAO went to YUAN SHU to ask help (for his brother) but before he arrived he was killed by his subordinates.

In the winter, in the tenth month TS'AO TS'AO was made Governor of Yen Province.

On the day wu-hsü (20 Nov) KUO SSU'S partisans HSIA Yü and KAO SHIH and others planned to force the Emperor to go west. The shih-chung LIU AI saw a fire appear and not go
out, and he asked the Emperor to go out to one of the camps to avoid the fire. YANG TING and TUNG CH'ENG led soldiers to receive the Emperor and escort him to YANG FENG'S camp. HSIA Yü and the others urged their men and wanted to stop the Emperor. YANG FENG fought strongly and defeated them and he was able to get out. On the day jen-yin (24 Nov) the Emperor went to Hua-yin.

The ning-chi chiang-chün TUAN WEI prepared all his clothing and possessions for the Emperor and prepared provisions for the dukes and ministers and officials. He wanted the Emperor to come to his camp. WEI had a quarrel with YANG TING, and TING'S followers CH'UNG CHI and TSO LING said that WEI wanted to rebel. The Grand Commandant YANG PIAO, the Minister over the Masses CHAO WEN, the shih-chung LIU AI and the shang-shu LIANG SHAO all said: "TUAN WEI will not rebel. We dare to put our lives on it." TUNG CH'ENG and YANG TING forced the tu-yu (post-keeper)²⁸ of Hung-nung to say that KUO SSU had come and was in WEI'S camp. The Emperor was uncertain, and so he went to the south without shelter.

On the day ting-wei (29 Nov) YANG FENG, TUNG CH'ENG and YANG TING intended to attack WEI, and they had CH'UNG CHI and TSO LING ask the Emperor for an edict against him. The Emperor said: "WEI'S crime is not yet known; yet FENG and the others attack him; and do you want me to give an edict for it?" CHI asked persistently, even up to midnight, but he still was not heard. FENG and the others then attacked
WEI'S camp without the authority, but in more than ten days they could not capture it. WEI prepared provisions for the Emperor and supplies for the officials - he was never doubtful in his loyalty. An edict ordered the shih-chung and the shang-shu to make proclamation to TING and the others that they should make peace with WEI. TING and his fellows accepted the edict and went back.

LI CHÜE and KUO SSU were annoyed that the Emperor had gone east; they heard that TING had attacked WEI and they came together to help him and wanted to force the Emperor to turn to the west. YANG TING heard that CHÜE and SSU were coming up, and he wanted to go back to Lan-t'ien. He was blocked by SSU and escaped to Ching Province alone and on horseback. CHANG CHI could not keep the peace with YANG FENG and TUNG CH'ENG and he again joined up with CHÜE and SSU.

In the twelfth month (miswritten for the eleventh) the Emperor went to Hung-nung. CHANG CHI, LI CHÜE and KUO SSU pursued the Emperor together, and there was a great battle at Tung-chien in Hung-nung. CH'ENG'S and FANG'S armies were defeated, the officials and officers and commoners that died could not be counted; they left the imperial insignia, appointment and records - there was hardly anything that remained. The she-sheng hsiao-wei CHÜ CHÜN was wounded and fell from his horse. CHÜE said to his attendants: "Can he still live?" CHÜN cursed him and said: "You and your fellows have brought evil and rebellion, you press on the
Emperor and kidnap him, you have brought harm to the dukes and ministers, the people of the palace are wandering and scattered, of all the traitors and rebels - none has acted like this." So CHÜE killed him.

On the day jen-shen (24 Dec) the Emperor came without shelter to Ts'ao-yang. Then CH'ENG and FANG pretended to make peace with CHÜE and the others, but they sent away secretly to Ho-tung, to call on the former leaders of the Po-po bandits LI LO, HAN HSIEN and HU TS'AI, and the yu-hsien king of the Southern Hsiung-nu, CH'Ü-PEI; they all led their armies of several thousand horsemen and came. They joined with CHANG and FENG and attacked CHÜE and the others, thoroughly defeated them, and cut off several thousand heads.

Because of this new defeat of CHÜE and his fellows, TUNG CH'ENG and the others could again go east. On the day keng-shen the Emperor came out and went east (from Ts'ao-yang). TUNG CH'ENG and LI LO guarded the imperial carriage, HU TS'AI, YANG FENG, HAN HSIEN and the yu-hsien king of the Hsiung-nu were in the rear as guards. CHÜE and his party came again and fought, and FENG and the others were utterly defeated. The dead were more than at Tung-chien. The Superintendent of the Imperial Household TENG YÜAN, the Commandant of Justice HSÜAN FAN, the Privy Treasurer T'IEN FEN, and the Grand Minister of Agriculture CHANG YI all died. The Minister over the Masses CHAO WEN, the Grand Master of Ceremonies WANG CHIANG, the Commandant of the Palace Guards
CHOU CHUNG and the Colonel of Censure KUAN KO were captured by CHüE and he wanted to kill them. CHIA HSü said: "These are all great ministers, how can you harm them?" And so he stopped. LI LO said: "The situation is serious, your majesty should get on a horse." The Emperor said: "I cannot desert my ministers and run away, what have they done wrong?" The soldiers' line of march straggled for forty li, then they came to Shan and then they set camp to defend themselves.

At this time, after the destruction and defeat, there were not fully a hundred men remaining of the hu-pen and yü-lin (guards to the emperor). The soldiers of CHüE and SSU called all about the camp, the officers and soldiers lost colour, and each had the thought to scatter and desert. LI LO was afraid, and wanted to have the Emperor take a boat past Ti-chu and out of the Meng ford. YANG PIAO thought that the road by the Yellow River was dangerous and difficult the Emperor should not travel it. And so he had LI LO go across the river by night and secretly get a boat ready, and then light a fire as a signal. The Emperor and his dukes and ministers got out of the camp on foot. The Empress's elder brother FU TE helped the Empress, and with one hand he grasped ten pieces of thin silk. TUNG CH'ENG sent the fu-chie-ling SUN HUI to take him apart and kill him. They killed people waiting at the side - and blood splashed on the Empress's clothes. The river bank was
more than ten chang high and the people could not get down. Then they made a hand carriage from silk, had a man in front to bear the Emperor, and the rest all scrambled down. Some - they were dirty (even to) their caps and their turbans. Then they were at the river's edge, and the officers and soldiers struggled to get into the boat. TUNG CH'ENG and LI LO took dagger-axes to fight them, and the fingers cut off could be gathered by handfuls in the boat. Then the Emperor got into the boat, and those that crossed with him were the Empress, and YANG PIAO, and a few tens of others. Those palace women and officers and people that could not get across were all robbed by the soldiers. All their clothing was taken and even their hair was cut off. More people died of the cold than could be counted. The Commandant of the Palace Guards SHIH-SUN JUI was killed by (LI) CHüE.36)

CHüE saw there was a fire north of the Yellow River, and he sent horsemen to ask about it. They happened to see the Emperor crossing the river and called out: "You are leading the Emperor away!" TUNG CH'ENG was afraid and, and he made a screen of clothing (to cover the Emperor). When they came to Ta-yang37) the Emperor went to LI LO'S camp. The Grand Administrator of Ho-nei, CHANG YANG, sent several thousand men to bring grain as tribute and food. On the day yi-hai (?) the Emperor rode an oxcart, and so came to An-yi. The Grand Administrator of Ho-tung, WANG YI, offered tribute of silk — it was all
given to the dukes and ministers and lower officers, and YI was enfeoffed as a marquis. HU TS'AI was made cheng-tung chiang-chün, CHANG YANG became an-kuo chiang-chün; and all had insignia and opened offices. All these commanders of ramparts and walls competed in seeking appointments and offices; there was a great demand for seals. Because of the shortage of insignia and seals to give the officers, some were inscribed with an awl.

The Emperor lodged among thorns and wattles and the gates could not be fastened. The Son of Heaven met with all his ministers, and the soldiers would hide in the wattles to watch, and push and press at each other to make a laugh.

The Emperor again sent the Grand Coachman HAN JUNG to go to Hung-nung to make peace with CHÜE and SSÜ and the others. CHÜE released and sent off the dukes and ministers and other officials (that he held prisoner), and he gave back some of the goods and clothing that had been seized from the palace people and the court. The supplies of grain had already been used up, and the palace people all ate vegetables and fruit.

On the day yi-mao (?) CHANG YANG came from Ye-wang to pay court, and he planned to go back with the Emperor to Lo-yang. The leaders would not hear of it, and YANG went back again to Ye-wang.

At this time Ch'ang-an city was empty for more than forty days - the strong ones had scattered in all directions,
and the starving ate one another. In the space of two or three years there was no more trace of man within the passes.

CHÜ SHOU spoke to YÜAN SHAO: "You are the honoured assistance to successive ages (of the Han), and each generation has contributed loyalty and brave deeds. Now the court is wandering and in flight, and the imperial ancestral temples are destroyed. If you look at the provinces and the commanderies they ostensibly hold loyal troops, but secretly they are making plans against one another. There is no-one that intends to care for the national altars and keep them nor a mind to give rest to the people. Now this province (of Chi) - its borders are fairly well settled, the soldiers are strong and the gentry stick with you; (you can) go west to receive the imperial carriage and then make a palace at Ye-tu. (You would) hold the Emperor and so command the lords, and store up men and horses to punish those that do not pay court. Who could dare to oppose it?" KUO T'U of Ying-ch'uan and CH'UN-YÜ CH'IUNG said: "The Han house has been on the decline for a long time; now you want to restore it - isn't that too difficult? And brave men are rising everywhere, each holds a province or a commandery, they join their followers and collect their forces, whenever they make a move they count (their armies) by the tens of thousands - (this can) be described (as a time when) the Ch'in have lost a deer, and the first to catch it rules as king."
Now if you take the Son of Heaven to you; then every move you make will have to report (for approval) without authority naturally bound to know, if you obey him your power will become less, and if you disobey him you will be opposing the mandate. This is not the best of plans." SHOU said: "If you receive the court now, you obtain it with justice and you accord with the time – if you do not decide it early there will certainly be someone else to do it first." SHAO would not follow (his advice).

Before this, CHU CHIH of Tan-yang had once been a colonel under SUN CHIEN. He saw that the virtue of YUAN SHU'S administration was not established, and he urged SUN TS'E to go back and take the east of the Chiang. At this time WU CHING attacked FAN NENG and CHANG YING and the others, but in more than a year he had not overcome them. TS'E spoke to SHU: "Before now, my family had favours from the east – I would wish to help my maternal uncle attack Heng-chiang; when Heng-chiang is taken then I would go to my own commandery to raise troops – and I could get thirty thousand soldiers to help your lordship settle the empire." SHU knew of his resentment, but because LIU YAO held Ch'ü and WANG LANG was in K'uai-chi he thought that there was no certainty that TS'E could succeed – and so he gave permission. He recommended TS'E as che-ch'ung hsiao-wei. (TS'E) led some thousand soldiers and several tens of cavalry, and went on the mission to collect troops. When he came to Li-yang his force was five or six thousand.
At this time CHOU Yü's uncle SHANG was Grand Administrator of Tan-yang. Yü led soldiers to welcome (TS'E), and he gave him help with money and food. TS'E was very pleased and said: "I have found you; it is a match!" They went forward to attack Heng-chiang and Tang-li and captured both of them. PAN NENG and CHANG YING were defeated and fled.

TS'E crossed the Chiang and turned and fought, and all who faced him were defeated. There was no-one that dared to match his weapons. The people heard that young gentleman SUN had come, and they all lost spirit. The prefects and the civil officers left the cities and fled to hide in the mountains and open country. Then TS'E arrived, and the men of his army respected orders, and did not dare to rob or plunder, no chickens or dogs or vegetables were stolen; then the people were very pleased, and they all joined to bring cattle and wine to be rewards for the army. As a man, TS'E had a handsome face and he could laugh and talk; by nature he was generous and prepared to listen, very good at managing men. That was why the soldiers and people who saw him were all devoted to him and would gladly give their lives.

TS'E attacked LIU YAO'S camp at Niu-chu, and he captured all the grain and military weapons which had been stored there. At this time the Chancellor of P'eng-ch'eng, HSIE LI, and the Chancellor of Hsia-p'i, CHAI JUNG of Tan-yang, obeyed YAO as lord of the alliance. LI occupied
Mo-ling city and JUNG camped in the south of the (Mo-ling) prefecture. TS'E attacked both of them and defeated them. He also defeated others of YAO'S officers at Mei-ling. He turned and attacked Hu-shu and Chiang-ch'eng and over-ran both of them. Then he went forward and attacked YAO at Ch'ü-a.

T'AI-SHIH TZ'U, from the same commandery as YAO, came from Tung-lai to see YAO. When TS'E arrived, and someone suggested that YAO make TZ'U a general. YAO said: "If I use TZU-YI (i.e. T'AI-SHIH TZ'U), HSÜ TZU-CHIANG (i.e. HSÜ SHAO) would laugh at me." He only set TZ'U as a scout. About this time (TZ'U) was with a single horseman, and he ran into (SUN) TS'E at Shen-t'ing. TS'E had thirty cavalry with him, all such men as CHIEN'S old officers HAN TANG of Liao-hsi and HUANG KAI of Ling-ling. Then TZ'U went forward to fight and actually came face to face with TS'E. TS'E wounded TZ'U'S horse, and grasped the dagger which was above TZ'U'S neck - TZ'U got TS'E'S helmet. In a moment the horsemen of the two parties came up, and at this they broke off.

YAO fought with TS'E and his men were defeated and fled to Tan-t'u. TS'E entered Chai-a and gave rewards to his officers and soldiers. He made generous proclamations and told all the prefectures that: "Of those of LIU YAO'S and CHAI JUNG'S former local followers who come and surrender, nothing will be asked; of those who want to
follow the army, one man that goes makes good (the government levy) for his household; those that do not want (to go) will not be forced to." In the space of ten days to a month there appeared over twenty thousand men and over a thousand cavalry like clouds gathering from the four directions. His authority shook the lands east of the Chiang.

On the day ping-ch'en (6 Feb, 196) YuAN SHU recommended TS'E as acting t'ien-k'ou chiang-chün. TS'E'S officer Lu FAN spoke to TS'E and said: "Now your affairs grow greater every day and your army grows larger every day - yet there are still some small points in your administration which are not correct, and I would wish to take over as tu-tu for a short time and help you arrange them." 51)

TS'E said: "Tzu-heng, as a gentleman of family you added to you subordinates and you had a great number (under your command), and outside (in provincial office) you established success; 52) why should you submit to a small appointment and attend to the little matters of the army?" FAN said:

"No, the reason I have left my native country and come to you is not for my family, it is because I want to help in the tasks of the world. It is like men riding in the same boat; if one thing is not secure all will drown. This is a plan for me, it is not just for you!" TS'E laughed and could not reply. Then FAN went out and took off his simple clothing, put on riding habit, took up a whip, and he went
Then TS'E sent (official) notice (of appointment) and gave charge of the affairs of the army.
From this, in the army there was respect and good feeling, and the authority and regulations had full effect.

TS'E made CHANG HUNG cheng-yi hsiao-wei and CHANG CHAO of P'eng-ch'eng became chang-shih; one man was always ordered to stay on guard, and one man was to follow the army on campaign. CH'IN SUNG of Kuang-ling and CH'EN TUAN and others took part in planning. TS'E treated CHAO with the courtesy of a teacher and a friend, and would always use CHAO (for advice) in affairs of peace or war. CHAO often received letters from scholars and gentry in the north, and they only spoke well of CHAO. TS'E heard about it and he laughed and was glad and said: "In older times KUAN-TZU was Chancellor in Ch'i - in one thing it was CHUNG-FU, in two it was CHUNG-FU, and so DUKE HUAN became the most distinguished of the hegemon rulers (of the Chou). Now TZU-FU (i.e. CHANG CHAO) is a worthy man and I can use him. Don't his career and reputation depend on me (using him)?"

YÜAN SHU made his younger cousin YIN Grand Administrator of Tan-yang. CHOU SHANG and CHOU Yü both went back to Shou-ch'un.

LIU YAO was going to retreat from Tan-t'u to K'uai-chi. HSü SHAO said: "K'uai-chi is rich, and that is what
TS'E wants; and it is pressed into a corner of the sea -
you should not go there. There is nothing better than
Yü-chang - in the north it joins with Yü territory and in
the west it connects with Ching-chou. If you collect the
officers and people, and send messengers with tribute, and
have some communication with TS'AO of Yen-chou (i.e. TS'AO
TS'AO); then even though YüAN KUNG-LU (i.e. YüAN SHU) is in
between you and separating you, that man is selfish and cruel
and cannot last long. As you receive the royal mandate (by
sending tribute to the Emperor), then MENG-TE (i.e. TS'AO
TS'AO) and CHING-SHENG (i.e. LIU PIAO) will certainly send
help." YAO followed this.

Before this, T'AO CH'IEN had made CHAI JUNG Chancellor
of Hsia-p'i and sent him to take charge of the grain
transport to Kuang-ling, Hsia-p'i and P'eng-ch'eng. Then
JUNG cut off the official grain transport and brought it
in for himself. He raised a great Buddhist hall of sacrifice,
encouraged men to read through the Buddhist classics, and
brought in people of nearby commanderies who loved the
Buddha, more than five thousand households. Then TS'AO TS'AO attacked and defeated
T'AO CH'IEN, and the Hsü territory had no peace. So JUNG
led ten thousand men and women to Kuang-ling. The Grand
Administrator of Kuang-ling, CHAO Yü, received him with the courtesy of a guest. Before this the Chancellor of P'eng-ch'eng, HSIE LI, had been pressed by T'AO CH'IEN and had camped at Mo-ling. YUNG found profit in the wealth of Kuang-ling and so he took the opportunity of a feast of wine to kill Yü. He let loose his soldiers for a great plundering, and then he crossed the Chiang to join LI—and then he killed him too.

LIU YAO sent the Grand Administrator of Yü-chang, CHU HAO, to attack CHU-KO HSÜAN, the Grand Administrator appointed by YÜAN SHU. HSÜAN went back to defend Hsi-ch'eng; then YAO went west up the Chiang and halted at P'eng-che, and he sent CHAI JUNG to help HAO attack HSÜAN. HSÜ SHAO said to YAO: "CHAI JUNG, when he leads troops into the field he does not care whether it is for a just cause. CHU WEN-MING (i.e. CHU HAO) treats people with honesty and trust. You should tell him to be on guard. JUNG arrived, and he really did deceive HAO and kill him, and took his place in charge of the affairs of the commandery. YAO advanced to attack him, JUNG was defeated and fled. He went into the mountains and was killed by the people. An edict made the former officer under the Grand Tutor HUA HSIN the Grand Administrator of Yü-chang.

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CHU CHIH, the tu-wei of Tan-yang, attacked HSÜ KUNG, the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery, and occupied his commandery. KUNG went south to take refuge with YEN PO-HU the hills bandit.
CHANG CH'AO was at Yung-ch'iu and TS'AO beseiged him closely. CH'AO said: "If only TSANG HUNG would come and relieve me!" They all said: "Just now YüAN and TS'AO are at peace, HUNG is recommended and appointed by YüAN - he would certainly not destroy the good (relations between YüAN and TS'AO) and bring on the misfortune (of a quarrel)." CH'AO said: "TZU-YüAN (i.e. TSANG HUNG) is one of the just men of the empire - to the end he would not turn his back on me. I only doubt whether he would be kept back by force and so we will not be able to join up." At this time HUNG was the Grand Administrator of Tung commandery; with bare feet and crying and weeping he sought for soldiers from SHAO to go to (CH'AO'S) relief. SHAO would not give them to him. He asked to lead his own command and go; SHAO still would not allow it. Then Yung-ch'iu was taken and CHANG CH'AO killed himself and TS'AO destroyed his three clans.58)

From this HUNG hated SHAO and broke off relations and had nothing to do with him. SHAO raised troops to beseige him but a year went by and he was not defeated. SHAO ordered HUNG'S fellow-townsmen CH'EN LIN to write to him; HUNG wrote back: "I am a poor fellow, and basically I am poor in ambition and in ability. Through opportunity, I acted as a servant, I received your master's courtesy (i.e. YüAN SHAO'S), great favour and generous kindness. So I (hold office in this) great province. Do you think I like it, to go back now and join swords with him? When
I first received appointment I thought of myself as dealing in great affairs, and that we would together honour the royal house. I learnt that my native province was invaded and that the leader of my commandery was in danger. I asked for an army and I was opposed; I asked to go and I was held back - and so my old leader came to ruin. My sincerity and loyalty have nowhere to express themselves; how could I still fulfil the correct conduct of friendship and fail so much in my name for loyalty? This is why I bear my grief and wave a weapon (in farewell), hold back my tears and end our relationship. Go away, K'UNG-CHANG (i.e. CH'EN LIN), you may find advantage outside; I, TSANG 1976 HUNG, will devote my life to the Emperor. You, sir, trust yourself to the leader of the alliance (YüAN SHAO), I make a name for (The Emperor in) Ch'ang-an. You say that I will die and my name will be lost; I can laugh at you - you live with no reputation."

SHAO saw HUNG'S letter and realised that he had no intention of surrender. He added to his men and he pressed attacks hard. In the city the provisions were already gone, and there was no strong relief (to come from) outside. HUNG calculated that he would certainly not escape, and he said to his military and civil officers, soldiers and people: "YüAN is a man without principle, and he is planning rebellion; furthermore he would not give help to the leader of my commandery - and for my own honour I cannot fail to die. I realise that none of you have any concern (in this) and
you will suffer this calamity for nothing. Before the
city has fallen you can lead out your wives and children
and go." They all wept and said: "You and YüAN had
originally no quarrel, and now you have come to distress
because of a commandery leader appointed by our court.
Officers and people how can we bear to leave you and go?"
At first they still picked out rats and bones, then there
was nothing that could be eaten. The chu-pu said that there
was three sheng pints of rice in the inner kitchens and
asked a little to make porridge. HUNG sighed and said:
"How can I alone enjoy this?" He had made a thin gruel,
and he gave it out to all the army; and he killed his
favourite concubine to feed the officers. The officers
were all in tears, there was not one that could look up.
Seven or eight thousand men and women lay dead one on
another. There was no-one that went away or turned against
him. The city fell and HUNG was captured alive. SHAO
called a great meeting of all the leaders to see HUNG, and
said: "TSANG HUNG, how could you be so ungrateful? Now,
do you submit or not?" HUNG bent down (but) stared in
scorn and said: "All the Yüan served the Han, and in
four generations there were five ducal posts. They can
be said to have received favour. Now the royal house is
decaying and weak; (but) there is no thought of giving
support or assistance. You want to follow the opportunities,
you hope for the unexpected, and you kill many of the just
and the good in order to set up your rule of evil. I
personally saw you call CHANG CH'EN-LIU (i.e. CHANG MIAO) your elder brother, and so my commandery leader (CHANG CH'AO) should also be your younger brother. You should join forces together to do away with evil for the state. How can you hold onto your own army and watch another man being destroyed? I regret that I am too weak - and cannot stretch out my sword to avenge the wrongs of the empire. How does one speak of submission?" SHAO really loved HUNG, and he wanted to have him submit and then forgive him. He saw HUNG'S words were firm, and he realised that in the end he would not serve him - and so he killed him.

CH'EN JUNG was a man from the same town as HUNG, and when he was young he had admired HUNG. At this time he was with SHAO, and he got up and said to SHAO: "You have taken up a great affair; you want to do away with the violence in the empire - and yet first you kill the loyal and the just. How does this accord with the will of Heaven? TSANG HUNG made a rising for the leader of his commandery - why should you kill him?" SHAO was ashamed; he had men lead (JUNG) out, and he said to him: "You are not one of TSANG HUNG'S friends, you have no concern with this." JUNG turned and said: "How do humanity and justice have limits, (so that if you) follow them you are a gentleman and if you disregard them you are a common fellow? Now I would rather die on the same day as TSANG HUNG than live under the same sun as you." And so he also was killed. All those who were there sighed and murmured to one another: "How could he kill
two heroes on one day?"

When KUNG-SUN TSAN killed LIU Yü, he held all the territory of Yu Province, and his ambition became greater. He took advantage of his ability and his strength, he had no pity for the people, he recorded faults and forgot good work, and staring in anger he would take his revenge. The gentry and the good men and those who were held in were inevitably injured by his laws, and those who had ability were always kept in hardship and sent to stay in poor and bad territory. Someone asked him why; TSAN replied: "The gentry all they should be distinguished by virtue. And so those he took pleasure in were usually merchants and common fellows, and he treated them as brothers, and some became related by marriage - and they acted everywhere without any restraint - and the people hated them.

LIU Yü'S ts'ung-shih HSIEN-Yü FU of Yü-yang and others collected the soldiers of the province and led them to be revenged on their enemy together. Because YEN JOU of Yen state had earlier been generous and faithful, he was promoted to be ssu-ma of the Wu-huan (ssu-ma to the hu-Wu-huan hsiao-wei). JOU recruited several ten thousands of the barbarians and Chinese soldiers and fought north of Lu with TSOU TAN, who had been appointed Grand Administrator of Yü-yang by TSAN. He cut off the heads of TAN and some
four thousand others. King CH'IAO of the Wu-huan also led his tribe, and with over seven thousand horsemen from the Hsien-pi he followed FU south to meet Yü'S son (LIU) HO and Yüan Shao's officer CH'ü YI. They combined their armies, and a hundred thousand men attacked TSAN together. They defeated TSAN at Pao-ch'iü and cut off over twenty thousand heads. At this Tai commandery, KUANG-YANG, SHANG-KU and YU-PEI-P'ING each killed the prefects and civil officers that TSAN had appointed and joined their troops to HSIEN-Yü FU and LIU HO. TSAN'S army was defeated again and again.

Before this, there was a jingle that ran: "Yen falls to the south, Chao extends to the north; they are separated in between. The gap between them, is just the size of a grindstone; but only in there can you take refuge from the world." TSAN himself said that the territory of Yi should be this, and so he moved to hold Yi. He made ten moats around, and within the moats he built hills all five or six chang high - and he made towers on top of those. The centre moat was made especially ten chang high, and he lived there himself. The gates were made of iron. He sent away his attendants, men of more than seven sui (i.e. over six or seven years old) were not allowed in, and he lived there with his concubines. His women were all pulled up to him. He ordered his women to practise making loud cries, so as to be heard at several hundred paces - in order to announce his commands. He kept his
followers at a distance, there was no-one he would trust, and his wise servants and brave officers gradually drifted off. From this time on he seldom attacked or fought. Someone asked him why. TSAN said: "Earlier, I drove the barbarians away outside the borders and I destroyed the Yellow Turbans at the Meng ford. At that time it was said that the empire could be settled at the signal of a flag. Up to this day arms and men have started up everywhere; when I look at this, it is not anything that I can cope with - the best thing to do is to leave my weapons and put work into ploughing so as to help in the difficult years. In the rules of war, one does not attack a hundred towers. Now all my camps have several tens of watchtowers and there are collected three million tou of grain - when all this is eaten that will be (time) enough to wait for the affairs of the empire."

The Southern shan-yü Yü-FU-LO died; his younger brother HU-CH'U-CH'üAN took his place and lived at P'ing-yang.
notes:

1. This appointment of Yuan Shao seems curious. It is unlikely that an edict to appoint Shao as general could have been issued without the approval of Li Ch'ue's party at the capital, and yet an appointment of General of the Right meant that there were two Generals of the Right in this month. Fan Ch'ou had been General of the Right for at least eight months (TCTC p. 1953), and his murder by Li Ch'ue was not until the second month of this year. It is very surprising that Li Ch'ue and the others should have given Shao a title that one of them already held. In HHS 64A, p. 7b, the appointment is mentioned, and the chi-chie quotes Hui Tung, who notes that Yuan Shan-sung has the appointment as General of the Rear. The Hou Han chi of Yuan Hung also has General of the Rear. (ch. 28, p. 1a). This alternative seems still more unlikely, as the office of General of the Rear was held at that time by Kuo Ssu, and he did not leave the post until the seventh month of this year (TCTC p. 1965).

The record of this appointment is made even more confused by the Hou Han chi; that book says that at the same time as Shao became General of the Rear, he was enfeoffed as marquis of K'ang-hsiang. But HHS and TCTC agree that Shao had been made marquis of K'ang-hsiang by Tung Cho in Chung-p'ing sixth year (TCTC p. 1907 and HHS 64A, p. 3a).

It does not seem likely that Yuan Shao received the title of General of the Right or General of the Rear from the court. It is doubtful whether at this time the Ch'ang-an party would issue Shao with any honours. TCTC p. 1943 notes that Li Ch'ue and the others tended to ally with Yuan Shu in Ch'u-p'ing fourth year, when they named him General of the Left and gave him a marquisate — and at this time Shao and Shu were enemies. It is possible that Shao gave himself the title and claimed it came from the Emperor; though there seems no reason why he should duplicate a title held in Ch'ang-an and no reason why the marquisate of K'ang-hsiang should be mixed up
in the Hou Han chi report.

The accounts of this promotion appear too confused to come to any conclusion of the reality; but the confusion over this one detail in the records gives an indication of the confusion and the uncertainty of the details of the events that this history describes.

2. Han Sui was from Chin-ch'eng commandery, and Fan Ch'ou was also from the (larger) Liang province. There is no more recorded of the prefectures they came from.

3. It seems that Ssu strained water through a cloth containing excrement, and then drank the water as an emetic so he could vomit up the poison.

4. In HHS annals 9, p. 6b, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household is called Teng Ch'Uan; but at that point the chi-chie quotes Ch'ien Ta-hsin, who remarks that HHS treatise 13, p. 8a/8, has the name as Teng YUan, and that this is correct. Ch'ien Ta-hsin explains that the HHS annals reading was changed during T'ang (Emperor Kao-tsu of T'ang had the personal name YUan). As to the surname, TCTC here agrees with the Hou Han chi of YUan Hung (ch. 28, p. 2b/4) which reads Liu YUan, but on p. TCTC reverts to the reading Teng - it seems that the name was really Teng YUan.

5. HHS annals has chia-wu, and this would be correct, since there was no chia-tzu day in the fourth month of this year.

6. This Pei-wu, the Northern Fort, had been built by Ch'iie as a base and a defense inside Ch'ang-an. As TCTC commentary points out, the Emperor went out from Ch'ang-an by the Hsuan-p'ing gate in the seventh month (TCTC p. 1965), and presumably he was in the capital until that time. So the Pei-wu would be an earthworks inside the walls of the capital.
7. Ch'ih-yang prefecture was in Tso-p'ing-yi; now northwest of Ching-\_yang in Shensi. Huang-po-ch'eng is now northeast of San-\_yuan in Shensi. SCC 19, p. 24b, notes that Huang-po-ch'eng was the site of the Ch'u-liang palace of the Ch'in.

8. This is based on the sixth line of the Ta-kuo hexagram of the Yi ching, translated in Wilhelm I, p. 121: "Six at the top means: One must go through the water. It goes over one's head. Misfortune. No blame." Wilhelm adds the comment: "One is courageous and wishes to accomplish one's task no matter what happens. This leads into danger. The water rises over one's head. This is the misfortune. But one incurs no blame in giving up one's life that the good and right may prevail."

As TCTC commentary points out, Chao Wen has changed the Yi ching expression 通涉害頂凶 and read it to indicate obstinacy carried to extremes and to disaster.

9. The text here says that the sacrifices were made with the san-sheng; i.e. with cattle, sheep and pigs.

10. The Ying-hsiung chi, quoted in primary commentary to SKWei 6, p. 8a/12, says that Kuo Ssu had another personal name of To多.

11. This office of Commander-in-Chief taken by Li Chüe is based on the title used in the earlier part of the Later Han. But in 51 AD the title ta-ssu-ma大司馬 was changed to Grand Commandant, as the first of the three dukes, and the earlier title was done away with. Since that time, Liu Yu had been made Commander-in-Chief by Tung Cho (TCTC p. 1905), but the title held honourable rank rather than administrative significance. Li Chüe controlled the capital and could choose whatever title he liked.

12. Chü-ye prefecture was in Shan-yang; now south of Chü-ye in Shantung.
13. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions add the two characters le ping (to order soldiers). The Ming edition of K'ung T'ien-yin follows, and the criticism of Chang Tun-jen agrees. This translation includes the addition.

14. TCTC commentary identifies Wei with P'u-yang prefecture; the primary commentary to HHS treatise 21, p. 4a/12, cites Tu Yu, who says that P'u-yang prefecture was the old territory of Wei.

15. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions have the character ku in place of the character ku. The Ming edition of K'ung T'ien-yin agrees. The ku as in the main text would read 'in the judgment of affairs'; this translation takes the ku in the amendment - in an overbival sense, 'certainly' or 'really'.

16. Tung-min prefecture was in Shan-yang; now northeast of Chin-hsiang in Shantung.

17. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions have the character chin (to go forward) in place of the character chui (to pursue). The Ming edition of K'ung T'ien-yin follows and the criticism of Hsiung Lo-su agrees. This translation keeps to the main text - there is small difference.

18. Yung-ch'iu prefecture was in Ch'en-liu; now Ch'i in Honan.

19. Lü Pu was from Wu-yuan in Ping province; Liu Pei was from Cho commandery in Yu province. Cho commandery territory was actually not on the borders of the empire, but Yu province did have contact with the northern barbarians.

20. The dates given for this and the next two days referred to do not fit with their supposed months. The day keng-wu is cycle number 17,
the day chia-tzu mentioned below as cycle number 1, and the day ping-yin is cycle number 3. But the sixth month began on the 37th day of the cycle, and the seventh month began on the 7th day. Thus keng-wu cannot be in the sixth month, and chia-tzu and ping-yin do not fall in the seventh month.

HHS annals agrees with TCTC, and so any attempt at correction can only be a guess. But it may be that keng-wu should be keng-shen, which is a possible mistake for a copyist, and then the 57th day would fall in the sixth month. And it might be suggested further that the characters 秋七月 'in the autumn, in the seventh month' are a mistaken addition, and that the days chia-tzu and ping-yin can be left as they stand, but in the sixth month.

Thus the three days would all be in the sixth month; the day keng-shen, which was 14 Aug; the day chia-tzu, which was 18 Aug; the day ping-yin, which was 20 Aug.

21. The Hsüan-p'ing gate was the northernmost gate of the east wall of Ch'ang-an city.

22. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions have the character 河 (soldiers) in place of the character 聲 (you). The character 聲 seems rather too polite as a term of address from the Emperor to common soldiers; this translation follows the amendment, reading ping as a term of address, 'You, soldiers!'

23. Pa-ling prefecture was in Ching-chao; now east of Ch'ang-an in Shensi.

24. Kao-ling was the chief prefecture of Tso-p'ing-yi; now southwest of Kao-ling in Shensi.

25. Hsin-feng prefecture was in Ching-chao; now east of Lin-t'ung in Shensi.
26. There was no ping-tzu day in the eighth month of this year, but the
day ping-wu could be mistaken for it, and the day ping-wu falls next
after the day chia-ch'en above.

27. TCTC commentary explains that Nan-shan Southern Hills describes
the mountain country between the Li-shan and the Chung-nan
shan, southeast of Ch'ang-an.

28. In HHS treatise 28, p. 6b/4, the primary commentary quotes the Han-kuan
yi of Ying Shao, which says that each commandery appointed tu-yu
postkeepers as officers to supervise the prefectures of the
commandery. In each commandery there were five such officers, acting
as police controllers in precincts west, east, south and north, and
one in the centre.

29. Lan-t'ien prefecture was in Ching-chao; now west of Lan-t'ien in
Shensi.

30. The dating for all this period is somewhat uncertain. HHS annals 9,
p. 6a, has the eleventh month and the day keng-wu (22 Dec); chi-chie
quotes Hui Tung, who cites the Hsien-ti ch'un-ch'iù this agrees on the day keng-wu for the battle, but also mentions the
day ping-yin (cycle 3) of the eleventh month. Since the eleventh
month began on the day wu-ch'en (cycle 5), this must be an error.

31. The site of Tung-chien is not now known.

32. Ts'ao-yang is now east of Ling-pao in Honan.

33. The day keng-shen cannot be correct. It is day 57 of the cycle
and has no relevance to the times described here. The days
recorded on the next two pages are also difficult to reconcile.
On the day yi-hai (cycle 12) the Emperor came to An-yi, and on the
day yi-mao Chang Yang came from Ye-wang to see the Emperor. The day yi-mao is cycle number 52, and fell in the twelfth month, on 5 Feb, 196. If this date is correct, Chang Yang took a very long time to come. It is possible that yi-mao is a mistake for chi-mao, and that is cycle number 16, and the day fell on 31 Dec, 195 - which is a more likely date. The day yi-hai (27 Dec) is probably correct for the Emperor's arrival at An-yi. The day keng-shen does not fit at all. It is possible that it has been miswritten for keng-wu, and that this date in turn was mistakenly put into the text for the battle at Ts'ao-yang, instead of for the battle at Tung-chien. So a modified chronology would be;

eleventh month, day keng-wu (22 Dec), battle at Tung-chien
day jen-shen (24 Dec), Emperor to Ts'ao-yang
day yi-hai (27 Dec), Emperor to An-yi
day chi-mao (31 Dec), Chang Yang visits An-yi.

The battle at Ts'ao-yang would then take place on 26 Dec, and the preliminary defeat of Li Ch'e and the others on the day before. Hung-nung commandery joined the south of Ho-tung, and so it is possible for Ch'eng and Fang to have called in their allies between their defeat on the 22nd and the brief victory on the 25th.

34. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions add the character to the office which appears in the main text as kuang-lu. The Ming edition of K'ung T'ien-yin agrees, and the criticism of Chang Ying follows. Since Teng Yüan appears as kuang-lu-hstn Superintendent of the Imperial Household in HHS annals, this is the correct addition.

35. Ti-chu is the name of a mountain east of P'ing-lu in Shansi and bordering with Shan prefecture in Honan. The Yellow River divides and flows on both sides of the mountain, and the Meng ford is well downstream.

36. This reference to the death of Shih-sun Jui is misplaced. According
to the HHS annals 9. p. 6b, Shih-sun Jui was Commandant of the Palace Guards and was killed in the first battle, at Tung-ch'ien. Then TCTC says that in the second battle, near Ts'ao-yang, Chou Chung had become Commandant of the Palace Guards, and he was captured. This sequence would be correct. Although Chou Chung was captive, he remained Commandant of the Palace Guards, and so Shih-sun Jui must have held the office before Chou Chung. When Jui had died, Chung had been appointed. TCTC description here implies that there were two men Commandant of the Palace Guards at the same time, and this is most unlikely.

37. Ta-yang prefecture was in Ho-tung; now northeast of P'ing-lu in Shansi.

38. The credentials that these officers held would be similar to those sometimes granted to the Colonel of Censure (see note 30 to TCTC p. 1899). They transferred the authority to make decisions in judicial and criminal cases and to execute judgement without reference higher.

39. Ye-wang prefecture was in Ho-nei; now Ch'in-yang in Honan.

40. Ye-tu; i.e. Ye prefecture, the capital of Chi province.

41. The Ch'in have lost the deer, and the first to catch it rules as king; the phrase in one form or another was used quite commonly in Han times, in Shih chi and Han shu and HHS - the power of the imperial house had gone, and anyone in the empire could try to rule. It was first used of the end of the Ch'in dynasty and the rise of the Liu Han. (c.f. also: Tso-chuan, fourteenth year of Duke Hsing, translated in Legge V. p. 464/1.)

42. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions add the character hsing (nature, character). The Ming edition of K'ung T'ien-yin
follows and the criticism of Chang Tun-jen agrees. This translation follows.

43. Niu-chu is the name of a mountain now northwest of Tang-t'u in Anhwei. At that time it was in the south of Mo-ling prefecture in Tan-yang commandery (HHS treatise 22, p. 39b).

44. Mo-ling prefecture is now south of Chiang-ning in Kiangsu. Under the name of Chien-ye, this was the capital of the Wu state from 211 to 220 and again from 229.

45. The site of Mei-ling is now lost, but it was probably close to Mei-ken in Anhwei.

46. Hu-shu prefecture was in Tan-yang; now southeast of Chiang-ning in Kiangsu.

47. Chiang-ch'eng prefecture was in Tan-yang; now north of Chu-jung in Kiangsu.

48. Shen-t'ing is now northwest of Chin-t'an in Kiangsu.

49. At this time, soldiers often wore small daggers in a sheath at the back of the neck.

50. Tan-t'u prefecture was in Wu commandery; now southeast of Tan-t'u in Kiangsu.

51. This office tu-tu, Chief Controller, appears a low administrative post here, but became very much more important during the SKWei. It does not appear in the HHS treatise. Compare the references on TCTC pp. 2013 and 2015 - the office was used higher by Ts'ao Ts'ao and Yuan Shao.
52. Liù Fan's biography, in SKWu 11, p. 5b, says that Fan had brought more than a hundred men in a private force to join Ts'e. Later he became prefect of Wan-ling (the chief prefecture of Tan-yang, now Hsüan-ch'eng 宣城 in Anhwei) and had there defeated a force of bandits in Tan-yang commandery.

53. The personal name of the great minister Kuan-tzu of Ch'i was Chung, and the expression Chung-fu was a term of respect for him.

Sun Ts'e is quoting here from the Hsin hsü 历年 of Liu Hsiang 劉向, ch. 4, p. 1b, which reads: "The chief ministers asked Duke Huan of Ch'i about the appointment of an official. The duke said; 'Talk to Chung-fu about it.' The chief ministers asked again. The duke said; 'Talk to Chung-fu about it.' People standing by said; 'In one thing it is Chung-fu, in a second thing it is Chung-fu; surely it is easy to be a ruler.' The duke said; 'Before I had Chung-fu I had troubles, now I have got Chung-fu why shouldn't it be easy?' Thus a man that rules as a king puts his energy to looking for a good man, and he takes his ease when he has found him."

Note that in TCTC commentary quotation the last phrases read 勞於求賢; 佚於得人 in SPTK text the characters 賢 and 人 are interchanged. There is small difference in the meaning.

As to the term pa hegemons under the weak kings of the Later Chou: Duke Huan of Ch'i, who ruled in his state from 685 to 643 BC; Duke Wen of Chin 文公 (635 to 628); Duke Hsiang of Sung 宋襄公 (650 to 637); Duke Chuang of Ch'u 楚莊公 (613 to 591); and Duke Mu of Ch'in 秦穆公 (659 to 621). This tradition of the great subject bringing his rivals under military control in order to serve
his ruler became a slogan and a policy for the war-lords and their advisers at the end of the Later Han.

54. Chai Jung has a biography in a supplement to Liu Yao's biography in SKWu 4. Zürcher, in chapter 2, pp. 27 and 28, and notes 48 to 56, takes the sources of HHS 63 and SKWu 4 and discusses Chai Jung as an example of popular Buddhism at a rather early date. As he points out, the sect did not follow the present forms of Buddhism; and in the early fourth century the example of Chai Jung was 'triumphantly mentioned' by opponents of Buddhism 'as an example of moral depravity coupled with Buddhist devotion.'

55. Hsi-ch'eng(西城), according to TCTC commentary describes a city in the west of Nan-ch'ang prefecture in Yu-chang commandery. Nan-ch'ang prefecture is now east of Nan-ch'ang in Kiangsi.

56. P'eng-che prefecture was in Yu-chang; now east of Hu-k'ou(湖口) in Kiangsi.

57. At this point the two eleven-line Sung editions read yi(should) in place of keng(更), a conjunction. The Ming edition of K'ung T'ien-yin agrees, and the criticism of Chang Ying follows. This translation makes the change.

58. This penalty of 'destruction of the three clans' 三族, was the extermination of the guilty person and his relatives - discussed by Hulsewé pp. 112 to 122. The 'three clans' referred to have varying explanations, but Hulsewé suggests that in Han times the term meant: "the extermination of the extended family, including the culprit's parents, presumably also his paternal grandparents; his wife and children, and presumably his grandchildren; his brothers and sisters, and presumably even his married sisters; of course all depending on the age and situation of the person concerned.... It remains possible that the extermination of the three clans did
actually embrace even more persons than those enumerated above; in that case the limit which suggests itself is the group affected by the rules for mourning, which may include an important part of the culprit's own clan and members of both his mother's and his wife's clan."

59. Chang Miao was Grand Administrator of Ch'en-liu in 189 (TCTC p. 1906).

60. There was no Yen state in official geography at this time, so it seems that Yen state here is a general term for the north. According to HHS 80, p. 4b, Yen Jou came originally from Kuang-yang commandery in Yu province, but he had lived among the Wu-huan and the Hsien-pi when he was young, and so he was trusted by them.

61. At this point TCTC commentary quotes Ying Shao's Han-kuan (from HHS treatise 28, p. 10a/6 primary commentary), which refers to two ssu-ma Majors under the Colonel Commissioner to the Wu-huan.

62. Lu prefecture was in Yu-yang; now east of T'ung in Hopei.

63. Pao-ch'iou is the name of a river in modern Hopei; SCC 14, p. 7b, notes that the place where it passes to the south of the old city of Yu-yang was the site of the battle. The Yu-yang prefecture of that time is now southwest of Mi-yung in Hopei.

64. In this jingle there are three rhyming lines, the first of six characters and the second and third of seven characters each. The final characters are 独(GSR 337, ts'aiad/t'ai-) /世(GSR 340, li'ad/li-) and 世(GSR 339, si'ad/si-). The territory of Yi here refers to Yi prefecture, at that time in Ho-chien commandery in Chi province; now northwest of Hsiung in Hopei. Tsan had been made marquis of Yi in 193.