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The Last of the Han

Australian National University

Centre of Oriental Studies

Monograph 9

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The Last of the Han

being the chronicle of the years 181-220A.D.
as recorded in chapters 58-68 of the
Tzu-chih t'ung - chien of Ssu-ma Kuang

Rafe de Crespigny

Centre of Oriental Studies

Monograph 9

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The emblem on the cover is based on a bird-dragon design of the third or fourth centuries B.C. from South China.

to Kathleen and Geoff

Foreword

This translation was first begun in the School of Oriental Studies at the Canberra University College, under the guidance of Professor Hans Bielenstein and Mr. Fang Chao-ying, now both of Columbia University, New York. In the course of work since that time, I have been given assistance by many colleagues, but in particular by Professor Liu Ts'un-yan of my own Department of Chinese, who has been an unfailing source of encouragement, and whose meticulous scholarship has eliminated innumerable mistakes.

All the characters in this volume have been written by Mr. David Lu of the Menzies Library of this University, and the two maps were prepared by Mr. H.F. Boltz of the Bureau of Mineral Resources, Canberra.

Rafe de Crespigny
Canberra, 1969.

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Preface:

Ssu-ma Kuang and the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien:

From the time that Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 completed his Shih chi 史記 in the first century B.C., few historians of China were prepared to emulate him by the compilation of another universal history. For a thousand years, while scholars accepted the format of Shih chi, they preferred to follow the example of the Han shu 漢書 "History of the Former Han Dynasty" of Pan Ku 班固 and restricted themselves to dynastic history. As early as the eighth century, in his great theoretical work Shih-t'ung 史通, Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾 of the T'ang dynasty had urged a broader view and a wider approach, and the T'ung tien 通典 "Comprehensive Statutes" of Tu Yu 杜佑 had discussed the development of administrative forms and policies from the legendary age of the Emperors Yao 堯 and Shun 舜; but in all the great work of compilation and commentary inaugurated by the historical offices of Emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung 唐太宗, and continued under his successors, no historian was prepared to break the dynastic tradition and tell the story of the Chinese world from antiquity to the present within the covers of a single book.

For the treatment of historical material, the concentration on dynastic periods has several points in its favour, not least of them the advantage of tabulating an otherwise overwhelming mass of information within a recognised and coherent framework. Nevertheless, by the time of the Northern Sung 宋 dynasty, scholars had begun to view history as a continuous process, and there was increasing criticism of the arbitrary arrangement of the accepted standard histories. The traditional division, inherited from Shih chi, into annals, biographies, treatises and tables, while clearly convenient for many purposes, served also to fragment still further the study of past events. Among the scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries the need was appreciated for a new universal history, to continue the work of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and recount in chronicle form the whole history of the Chinese world. In practice,

however, the very magnitude of such a task was enough to delay its commencement.

Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 was born of a wealthy family in Hsia-hsien 夏縣, in present-day Shansi Province in 1019. He passed the chin-shih 進士 degree, the highest of the imperial examination system, in 1038 or 1039, and in 1064, after some years as an official of the empire, he presented his first historical work to the throne. This, the Li-nien t'u 歷年圖 in five chapters (卷 chüan), was a chronological table of events from the Warring States period of Chou 周 to the end of the Five Dynasties and the beginning of Sung.¹ Two years later, in 1066, he presented Emperor Ying-tsung 英宗 with a more substantial work, eight chapters entitled T'ung-chih 通志 "Comprehensive Record", dealing in detailed chronicle form with the years from 403 B.C. to the last year of the Second Emperor of Ch'in 秦 in 207. Ying-tsung issued an edict that the work should be continued, granted Ssu-ma Kuang the use of research assistants, authorised him to have free use of the imperial libraries, and promised to defray all the costs of paper, writing brushes and other equipment.²

Early in the next year, Ying-tsung died, and in the tenth Chinese month of 1067 Ssu-ma Kuang attended a seminar at the imperial palace to read his work to the young Emperor Shen-tsung 神宗. The new Emperor not only confirmed the interest that his father had shown, but proclaimed his favour by a preface which changed the title from T'ung-chih to the flowery and grandiloquent Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑 "Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government",³ and for the seventeen years of his reign, irrespective of the vicissitudes of politics, he continued to support Ssu-ma Kuang in his project.

Such loyalty is worthy of note, for Ssu-ma Kuang soon became a leader of the conservative faction at court, and in a series of memorials he criticised with increasing bitterness the reforming policy of Shen-tsung's favourite minister, Wang An-shih 王安石. By 1070, rather than share in a government of whose actions he disapproved, Ssu-ma Kuang had refused offers of promotion and retired from the capital. In 1071 he was transferred to Lo-yang 洛陽, where he remained at leisure with an official sinecure

and ample resources to continue his work. Indeed, though Ssu-ma Kuang and his Emperor were in complete disagreement on policies for the present day, the forced period of retirement proved a blessing to the historian and essential for the completion of the work in its final form.

Despite this perhaps unwanted freedom, Ssu-ma Kuang still needed assistance to keep the task within manageable proportions. In 1066 Liu Shu 劉恕 and Chao Chün-hsi 趙君錫, experienced historians, had been seconded to help him, and in the first stages of the project, the construction of a chronological survey (叢目 ts'ung-mu) for the main events of the period, much of the work was organised by an expert astronomer Liu Hsi-sou 劉義叟, who had earlier assisted Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 in the compilation of the "New History of T'ang" 新唐書 (長編 ch'ang-pien) which was fitted into the chronological framework, the work was roughly divided into three major sections: the earliest period, up to the end of Later Han, was organised by Liu Pin 劉攽; Liu Shu was in charge of the Three Kingdoms, the Chin dynasty, and the Period of Division; and Fan Tsu-yü 范祖禹 prepared the chronicle for T'ang and the Five dynasties.⁴ The whole of this work was then edited by Ssu-ma Kuang, who gave it a unity of style and a tightness of presentation which had been too often missing from the collaborative works of official histories in the past. As a measure of his responsibility, the Long Draft had concentrated on including all relevant material from more than three hundred different books, and in its final form it is said to have filled two entire rooms, while in editing the T'ang section Ssu-ma Kuang reduced some six hundred chapters of Fan Tsu-yü's original compilation to no more than eighty. In the final stages, as the manuscript neared completion, he was checking and arranging one chapter every three days.

At the end of 1084, Ssu-ma Kuang announced the completion of his work and presented Tzu-chih t'ung-chien to the throne.⁵ He claimed as he did so that he had "given his all" to the book, but by a strange quirk of fortune the end of his labours in the field of history marked a return to the arena of the imperial court. His literary patron and

political opponent, Emperor Shen-tsung, died four months later, the Empress-dowager, mother of Sheng-tsung, took power as regent for the boy-Emperor Che-tsung 哲宗, and within weeks of the change in government Ssu-ma Kuang had been summoned to the capital and appointed Grand Councillor, highest office of the empire. For eighteen months, till his death in 1086, Ssu-ma Kuang supervised the destruction of all the reform programmes which had been established by his former rival Wang An-shih.

A text history of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien: (1084)

In its final form, as it was presented to the throne, Tzu-chih t'ung-chien contained 294 chapters and covered the chronicle of Chinese history from 403 B.C. to the end of the Five Dynasties in 960 A.D. The starting point was chosen partly because the Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋 and Tso-chuan 左傳 dealt with much of the earlier period, but chiefly because 403 was the year in which the King of Chou acknowledged the division of the ancient state of Chin 晉 between three great families, and this recognition of usurpers marked the beginning of the desperate wars between the states which ended in the destruction of the Chou dynasty and the foundation of Ch'in. With a natural tact, Ssu-ma Kuang halted his history a hundred years before his own time, at the very beginning of the dynasty which he served.

Besides the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien itself, Ssu-ma Kuang also presented two supplementary works: a K'ao-yi 考異 "Examination of Differences", in 30 chapters, which discussed variant readings between the original texts on certain points in the narrative; and a Ts'ung-mu 叢目 "General Outline", also in 30 chapters and evidently based largely on the chronological survey which had been the first stage of compilation. Faced with such a mass of material in nearly three hundred chapters of the main chronicle, some such guide to the history was obviously useful, and in the Southern Sung dynasty the scholar Yüan Shu 袁樞 compiled the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien chi-shih pen-mo 記事本末 "Narratives from Beginning to End" which extracted all the material on 239 different topics and arranged them in chronological order. The text of each "monograph" is taken straight from Tzu-chih t'ung-chien without alteration, and it is useful primarily as a guide to particular

sequences of events without the scattering of extraneous information implicit in a strict chronicle form. As such, Yüan Shu's work is useful, and the example was applied to later histories with similar masses of material.

Of all these guidebooks however, the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu 綱目 of the great philosopher Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) has been far the most popular and influential. In his preface to the 59 chapters of that work, dated 20 May 1172, Chu Hsi claimed his intention was to produce a convenient abridgement to Ssu-ma Kuang's chronicle, and later generations of scholars, both Chinese and European, have recognised his achievement and placed his work by the side of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien.

It should be noted however, that Chu Hsi is a different type of historian from Ssu-ma Kuang. The contrast between the two shows perhaps most clearly in the controversy on the "legitimate succession" (正統 cheng-t'ung) in the time of the Three Kingdoms: Chu Hsi accepted the claim of Liu Pei to be the last representative of Han and dated his years by the reign-titles of Shu-Han; Ssu-ma Kuang, in one of his strongest essays of observation to the text, remarks that:

Your Servant has limited himself to setting forth the rise and decline of different states, recording men's ups and downs and leaving it to the readers themselves to draw lessons as to which is good and which is bad, which wise and which in error, and to draw encouragement or warning therefrom. His intention is quite unlike that of the Ch'un-ch'iu, which set up the norm for praise and blame with the object of rectifying a disorderly age.⁶

This is, indeed, the difference between the two. As Otto Franke remarked, Chu Hsi was writing a new Ch'un-ch'iu, and he gave praise and blame like a second Confucius.⁷ Though there was less than fifty years between the lives of the two men, the political changes from Northern to Southern Sung and the philosophical development of Neo-Confucianism had brought immense alterations to their view of the present world and the events of the past. Ssu-ma Kuang, traditional

and conservative and primarily a historian, studied events and men for themselves. Chu Hsi, essentially a philosopher, and deeply concerned with cosmological speculation and patterns of morality, saw history as the means to illustrate his theories. Their works reveal their disagreement.

For any reader of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien itself, however, the most valuable aid is the commentary of Hu San-hsing 胡三省 (1230-1302). The edition which he compiled was published in the first years of the Yüan 元 dynasty, shortly after the destruction of Sung in 1280. In his work, Hu San-hsing inserted the various entries of Ssu-ma Kuang's K'ao-yi into their appropriate places in the main text, and he also added a great many annotations of his own. For his information he drew extensively on the recognised commentaries to the standard dynastic histories, and his work on the section of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien relating to the Later Han dynasty, for example, often quotes directly from Li Hsien 李賢, Chang-huai t'ai-tzu 章懷太子 of T'ang, who had been responsible for the commentary to the annals and biographies of Fan Yeh's 范曄 Hou Han shu 後漢書. For place-names and administrative terms, Hu San-hsing quotes similarly from the Hsü Han shu 續漢書 of Ssu-ma Piao 司馬彪, whose treatises are now incorporated with the standard Hou Han shu, and from the commentary to that work by Liu Chao 劉昭 of the Liang dynasty. He quoted also from a great number of other works, several of them no longer extant, and he added many notes of his own, particularly dealing with the pronunciation of obscure and difficult characters. Since its first publication, Hu San-hsing's commentary has been regarded as an essential companion to the study of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien.

Besides this work, there have been other commentaries. The T'ung-chien ti-li t'ung-shih 通鑑地理通釋 of Hu San-hsing's contemporary Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223-1296) discusses the historical and military geography of places mentioned in Ssu-ma Kuang's work, and at the end of Ming the great scholar Yen Yen 嚴衍 (1574-1645) compiled an exhaustive commentary entitled Tzu-chih t'ung-chien pu 補, which was not printed until the nineteenth century but which has been an important source of information for modern text criticism. For the most part however, scholars

of Chinese history have quite naturally preferred to concentrate their critical attention on the standard histories and the other early texts which were the primary sources of Ssu-ma Kuang's work.

Tzu-chih t'ung-chien itself was first printed, by imperial edict, in the first years of the reign of Che-tsung. Fragments of a Northern Sung edition remain, but the earliest dateable manuscript, published in the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an, is identified by the scholar Chang Yü 章鈺 as the revised reprint of an edition originally collated and published in 1132-34, reprinted some time after the accession of Emperor Kuang-tsung 光宗 (dates of reign 1190-94).⁸ Besides this however, only one other Sung edition preserves the text of chapters 58-68.

The present translation follows the punctuated moveable-type edition of the Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she 古籍出版社, printed in Peking in 1956. This excellent modern compilation is based on the edition of 1816 by Hu K'o-chia 胡克家 (1757-1816), which reproduced the Yüan edition of Hu San-hsing. The modern editors have also included the text criticism of Chang Yü to the Hu K'o-chia edition, which notes variant readings based on Sung and Ming editions, and also contains a summary of the annotations by Yen Yen.

For Europeans, as for most Chinese, Tzu-chih t'ung-chien and its allied works have been the first source of information on the history of China. The Histoire Générale de la Chine of the Jesuit Father de Mailla, completed in 1737 and first published in Paris in 1777-83, based its early volumes largely on Chu Hsi's Kang-mu, and Henri Cordier's work of the same name, published in Paris in 1920, followed de Mailla's history often word for word. Besides these general works, the chronicle form and the scholarship of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien are so convenient and so reliable that for many periods of Chinese history it stands superior to all other sources. In The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms, Professor Achilles Fang has translated chapters 69-78 of Ssu-ma Kuang's work, being the history of the years 220-265, and in extensive annotations he has shown the sources which were used for the compilation and the manner in which

they were adapted to fit the arrangement of the work. Although Professor Fang was concerned rather with text history than with the actual events described, his translation represents the most detailed history of early third century China in any European language.

It is not the intention of the present work to emulate Professor Fang's research into textual analysis, for such a task, so well and thoroughly performed, needs no repetition. Here, instead, the aim is to present an English version of Ssu-ma Kuang's chronicle with notes sufficient to explain the text to a European reader, and it is hoped that this will represent some contribution to the study of the events which brought the end of China's first great empire.

Tzu-chih t'ung-chien and the history of the fall of Han:

The end of Later Han and the succeeding period of the Three Kingdoms is the heroic age of Chinese history, comparable in the west with the legends and fables surrounding King Arthur of Britain and the great Emperor Charlemagne. Four hundred years of unity and comparative peace under one imperial house, suddenly and disastrously brought to an end within a single generation, and succeeded by four centuries of division, foreign invasion and civil war, left an indelible mark on Chinese history and scholarship. In the west, the empire of Rome staggered towards its final doom for more than a thousand years, and remnants of the tradition survived to modern times; in the Chinese world, the classical grandeur of Han splintered and crumbled to dust in less than forty years. Small wonder, then, that the men who came after saw the leaders of that time rather larger than life. One chieftain, Kuan Yü, was worshipped as a god of war, and the novel called San-kuo chih yen-yi 三國志演義 "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms", ascribed to Lo Kuan-chung 羅貫中 (c. 1330-c. 1400) and certainly completed more than a thousand years after the events it described,⁹ has preserved for all the Chinese people the legends of Liu Pei, righteous heir to Han, Chu-ko Liang, the great magician, and Ts'ao Ts'ao the tyrant and usurper. With stories, fables and plays, the tales of the Three Kingdoms are remembered to the present day.

Of the historical sources on this period, the most reliable are the two great standard histories: Hou Han shu "The History of the Later Han Dynasty", by Fan Yeh of the early fifth century; and San-kuo chih "The Record of the Three Kingdoms", by Ch'en Shou of the third century, with a commentary by P'ei Sung-chih, a contemporary of Fan Yeh, who quoted extensively from parallel works and gave supplementary information to Ch'en Shou's original text. Other histories of the time survive, but none so full and informative as these.

In compiling his chronicle, Ssu-ma Kuang naturally made chief use of the standard histories, but the very form of his work made it impossible to give equal attention to all the information at his hand. The Hou Han shu is divided into imperial annals, biographies and treatises on government and administration, while San-kuo chih is essentially a collection of individual biographies. The organisation of such material into a year-by-year account of events was a tremendous task, and it was inevitable that some stories, which could not be accurately dated, had to be assigned an arbitrary place in the text.

The same problem applies, still more strongly, to the special subjects of government organisation. The geography of the empire, the ceremonial of the court, and the official ranks of the bureaucracy were each described separately by the treatises of Hou Han shu, and Chin shu, the history of the dynasty that succeeded the Three Kingdoms, contains further supplementary information and in particular a treatise on economics which incorporates a survey of the Later Han dynasty as well. By the requirements of the chronicle form, it was impossible for Ssu-ma Kuang to include much of this material; the more striking memorials and debates are represented in summary form, but the basic administrative structure and the constitutional development of the Chinese state must still be studied in the treatises of the standard histories and similar technical works.

This, however, was not Ssu-ma Kuang's real concern. Though the record of men and their deeds is an important subject of its own,

traditional Chinese historians have always looked upon the past as a mirror and a guide to the present: in a practical sense, some account of administration and policy has been preserved so that those who discuss similar questions in time to come may have examples before their eyes and learn the results of each decision; and on a more idealistic plane, tales of great men of the past may serve as an inspiration, or as a warning, to the future. It was with this aim in mind that Ssu-ma Kuang composed his history, that it should present examples of upright and evil behaviour, to show the results of different policies, and to demonstrate the lessons of the past in a Confucian interpretation.

This does not mean that Ssu-ma Kuang falsified the texts that he received, nor even that he distorted their meaning by his edition. The chronicle is admirably organised as a history, and Professor Fang's research has shown how little the basic texts are altered to fit the scheme. Occasionally a point may be made by juxtaposition: as when each promotion of Ts'ao Ts'ao to Duke and King of Wei is followed by the unhappy omen of drought, rain or flood,¹⁰ but more often the faults may be found in the man himself. The events as they are recorded suffice to show the weakness of Ho Chin and how he brought his own destruction at the hands of the eunuchs in 189; and even in his descriptions of men whose intentions and courage were fine, Ssu-ma Kuang is concerned to show the fatal flaws which brought them to disaster.

Wang Yün, for example, the man who arranged the assassination of the tyrant Tung Cho, has been celebrated as a loyal Confucian minister and is a hero of romance. His biography in Hou Han shu supports that image, but Ssu-ma Kuang is concerned to find the reasons for his failure. One incident, not recorded in Wang Yün's own biography, but taken from the life of Ts'ai Yung, tells how Wang Yun killed that inoffensive historian in the first excitement after Tung Cho's death, and such vindictive cruelty brought on distrust and led to his own destruction.¹¹ The arrangement of the chronicle brings out the moral, and Ssu-ma Kuang himself, in a note some pages later, points to the fatal flaws of arrogance and pride in Wang Yün's character.¹²

It was with character and personal conduct that Ssu-ma Kuang was chiefly concerned. With lesser attention to social structure or economics, he saw history as the story of individuals, and many quite minor incidents in his chronicle are illuminated by anecdotes of moral courage and honour.

Just as he was not particularly interested in the details of administration, so he gave small account to the tales of the supernatural which litter the San-kuo chih and the popular fiction based upon this time. In this he followed the tradition of Confucius, who had taught that a sage can show his talents in any situation, and that the gods and spirits are no concern of man. In San-kuo chih, the record of the death of Sun Ts'e in 200 is confused by a story quoted in the commentary which describes the miracles of the Taoist Yü Chi and the curse which he placed on General Sun,¹³ but few such fantasies find a place in Tzu-chih t'ung-chien.

On this line of discussion we should note, too, the contrast with the San-kuo chih yen-yi, for by virtue of translation into English, French and German, the fiction of the Three Kingdoms has received more attention than the historical fact.¹⁴ In the Southern Sung and Yüan dynasties, when the great novel took its final form, the Shu-Han kingdom was regarded as the rightful holder of the Mandate from Heaven, and Liu Pei, Chu-ko Liang and Kuan Yü, leaders of that party, were the heroes of popular imagination and were granted magical powers to emphasize their worth.

One example, from the end of this translation, may show the extent to which Ssu-ma Kuang's record differs from the fictional history. In 219, Lü Meng of Wu attacked Kuan Yü in Ching Province while Yü was fighting Ts'ao Ts'ao, and so he destroyed Yü and captured the province. At the time, Lü Meng was sick, but in order to ensure the success of his attack he accompanied the army on campaign, wore himself out by his exertions, and died within a few weeks of his triumphant return. In the history, Lü Meng was a brave and devoted general; but in the novel, by a somewhat partisan miracle, the unworthy celebrations of Sun Ch'üan's court are interrupted in terrifying manner when the spirit of Kuan Yü takes possession of Lü Meng's body, hurls insults at the multitude, and leaves the treacherous general lifeless on the floor.¹⁵

In his editing, Ssu-ma Kuang has been criticised for a bias towards conservatism, which may be seen as a reflection of his long

political opposition to the reformer Wang An-shih. It has been said that he preferred to quote memorials favouring traditional methods rather than those which advocated change. He supported the authority of the ruler, he preferred men of virtue to men of talent, and yet he remained very much concerned with the way things really were and the way men actually behaved. For this, Chu Hsi and other critics who came after found him perhaps too practical to fit with their ideal view of history and philosophy.

All such questions, however, must seem to cavil before the magnitude of Ssu-ma Kuang's achievement. Here, in convenient arrangement, with perfect classical style, is one of the great works of Chinese historical writing, and in this form, based upon the earliest sources, it is the best and most detailed account of the last years of Han. For a western-trained historian, there are many questions still to answer, but as a beginning to a full discussion of that period, we should first take note how a great Chinese chose to describe its history.

The arrangement of the translation:

The text which is translated here is taken from the 1956 edition of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien by the Ku-chi ch'u-p'an-she of Peking, pages 1860-2174, and the pages of this Chinese text have been used for all index and other references. The beginning of each Chinese page is indicated by a marginal note to the translation.

As is well known, the lunar calendar of China does not fit perfectly with the solar year used in the west, so the Chinese New Year's Day falls in late January or February of Europe. At the beginning of the chronicle for each year, I have indicated the equivalent dates for the first and last days, and each date in the text is identified with the Julian calendar of the west. At the base of each page of the translation there is an abbreviated notation of the Chinese year, together with the western year A.D. which was its major equivalent. Notes to the translation are numbered within the chronicle for each year.

Notes:

1. Li-nien t'u was later incorporated as chapters 11-15 of Ssu-ma Kuang's Chi-ku lu 稽古錄, which is an outline chronology of Chinese history from the mythical Emperor Fu-hsi 伏羲 to the last year of the reign of Emperor Ying-tsung in 1067. On its presentation, see chapter 16 of Chi-ku lu, which is an essay on the Li-nien t'u, and particularly p. 88a of volume 3 in the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an edition.
2. According to the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu 四庫全書總目, Ssu-ma Kuang received the edict authorising him to continue the work in the second year of the Chih-p'ing 治平 reign-period, roughly equivalent to the western year 1065. It is clear, however, from the Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien 續資治通鑑長編 of Li Tao 李燾 (1115-1184) that the edict was issued in the third year of Chih-p'ing, on the hsin-ch'ou day of the fourth month, being equivalent to 14 May 1066. (Chapter 107/2, pp. 2b-3a, in an old manuscript of Li Tao's history among the Rare Books of the National Library of Peking, microfilmed by the Chinese Section of the Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.).

Some scholars have accepted the inaccurate record of the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu editors and have drawn the further conclusion that this represents the first beginning of the work by Ssu-ma Kuang. It is, however, obvious from the presentation of the Li-nien t'u in 1064 that the project had been planned some years before, and the eight chapters of the T'ung-chih, though perhaps not in final form, already covered the same ground as the first eight chapters of the present Tzu-chih t'ung-chien.
3. A note by Ssu-ma Kuang at the end of the imperial preface explains that Shen-tsung composed the piece in 1067, and that he handed it to Ssu-ma Kuang with the order that it should be included when the work was completed in final form. The full form of the title Tzu-chih t'ung-chien is frequently shortened to T'ung-chien.

4. This statement is made by the preface of Hu San-hsing to his annotated edition of Tzu-chih t'ung-chien, and is evidently based on the evidence of Ssu-ma Kuang's son K'ang 康, quoted in Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao 文獻通考 chapter 193. It seems likely, however, that the organisation was less rigid than that would imply, and for a further analysis see note 54 to Professor E.G. Pulleyblank's valuable article on "Chinese Historical Criticism: Liu Chih-chi and Ssu-ma Kuang", in Historians of China and Japan, edited by W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank, London, 1961, pp.135-166.

5. The Chinese year was the seventh of the Yüan-feng 元豐 reign-period, generally equated to the western year 1084. Ssu-ma Kuang's memorial is dated in the eleventh month, but the annals of Sung shih 宋史 (Chapter 16, p. 13a of the Po-na edition) state that it was received at court on the day wu-ch'en of the twelfth month, which was the first of January 1085.

6. TCTC p. 2187, translated by Achilles Fang in The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms, pp. 46-47.

7. Otto Franke, "Das Tse tschi t'ung kien und das T'ung kien kang-mu, ihr Wesen, ihr Verhältnis zueinander und ihr Quellenwert", p. 126. The whole of this article, pp. 103-144 of Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: philosophisch-historischen Klasse, Berlin, 1930, is an essential study for the relationship between the two works.

8. See the discussion of Chang Yü on Hu K'o-chia's edition reproduced on pp. 15-16 of the preface to the 1956 edition of TCTC.

9. On Lo Kuan-chung and his work, see Liu Ts'un-yan, "De l'Authenticité des romans historiques de Lo Guanzhong," to appear in the second volume of Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Damiéville, published for the Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises by the Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.

10. TCTC pp. 2119-20, 2126, and cf. HHS annals 9, pp. 10b, 11a.
11. TCTC pp. 1934 ff. HHS 56, p. 12b and HHS 50B, pp. 19b-20a.
12. TCTC p. 1939.
13. SKWu 1, pp. 16b-17a PC, quoting the Sou-shen chi 搜神記 by Kan Pao 干寶 of the Chin dynasty.
14. Lo Kuan-chung's Romance of the Three Kingdoms (San Kuo Chih Yen Yi) translated by C.H. Brewitt-Taylor, 2 volumes, Tuttle, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan, 1959 (first published Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, 1925); Die Drei Reiche (San Kwo Tschi), Roman aus dem Alten China [übertragen von Franz Kuhn], Kiepenheuer, Weimar, 1952: Les trois royaumes.....traduction originale, notes et commentaires de Nghiêm Toan et L. Ricaud, 3 volumes, Société des Études Indochinoises, Saigon, 1960-63.
The English translation is largely complete, but the German covers no more than the first thirty-eight chapters, and the French has so far reached only Chapter XLV of the whole novel in 120 chüan.
15. Compare TCTC p.2171 below with Brewitt-Taylor, volume II pp. 180-181.

Introduction:

The reign of Emperor Ling:

Liu Hung, known to history as Emperor Ling of Later Han, was born in 157 A.D. and came to the throne in 168. He was a great-great grandson of Emperor Chang 章, who had reigned from 76 to 89, but he came from a cadet branch of the imperial family, and at the time he was called to the throne, he held rank only as Marquis of Chieh-tu t'ing in Ho-chien commandery.

The party which chose Liu Hung to become Emperor was headed by the Empress-dowager née Tou 竇 of Emperor Huan 桓, and she was supported by her father Tou Wu 竇武 and his ally in the bureaucracy, Ch'en Fan 陳蕃. Emperor Huan had died without children, and it was recognised practice that on such occasions the selection of a successor from the male members of the imperial clan was the right of the Empress-dowager. The Lady Tou chose a twelve-year-old boy because by doing so she and her supporters would continue to hold power by a regency for several years to come.

A few years earlier, in 159, Emperor Huan had destroyed the power of the great Liang 梁 clan, who were imperial relatives by marriage but whose influence rivalled the throne and oppressed his rule. In the coup d'état, his chief help had come from the eunuchs of the imperial palace, and in gratitude for their loyal services he treated them as his favourites and allowed them influence in his administration. Since that time, the leaders of the regular Confucian bureaucracy, representatives of the great gentry families of the empire, had attempted to oppose the powers of the palace favourites, and a great purge of 166-167 had seen many of these "men of faction" imprisoned and prescribed as opponents of the Emperor. Now, with the death of Emperor Huan and the accession to power of the Tou clan guided by Ch'en Fan, the opponents of the eunuchs looked forward to a new era of reform.

Their hopes, however, proved vain. One of the first acts of the new government was to be the punishment and execution of the palace

eunuchs, but the Lady Tou was reluctant to see her servants killed, and Tou Wu delayed too long. The eunuchs got wind of the plot, kidnapped the Emperor, and used his authority to destroy Tou Wu and Ch'en Fan. A second purge killed or exiled many of the officials, and great numbers were proscribed from holding office. Within a few months after Ling came to the throne, the government was once more in the hands of eunuchs, and their authority became greater than ever before. With the favour of the young Emperor, they ruled in China for twenty years, and by the year 180 they had reached the acme of their power and influence.

At the time our chronicle begins, Emperor Ling was twenty-four years old and had occupied the throne for twelve years. Some time earlier a concubine née Ho, from humble origins, had been brought to the palace in a general recruitment for the imperial harem and had been introduced to the Emperor's bed. She was a woman of striking appearance, the young Emperor fell into love with her, and in 176 she gave birth to an imperial son, Liu Pien. In the third year of the Kuang-ho reign-period, 180 by western reckoning, the Lady Ho was named as Empress. The eunuchs, who had been influential in her rise to such high rank, had now strengthened their position within the harem and had also gained considerable power over the bureaucracy outside. As the first items of the chronicle reveal, the palace servants and their supporters occupied many positions in the imperial civil service, and regular officials appointed to even the highest ranks were humiliated by the need to pay fines and bribes before they were permitted to enter upon their duties. With the favour of an inexperienced and irresponsible young ruler, and with the gratitude of the Empress and her family, the eunuchs could look forward to a long career of steadily increasing power and wealth.

This apparent peace and security was shattered in 184 by two great rebellions, the Yellow Turbans in the east of the empire and the frontier troops of the northwest. The power of Han, which had seemed so solid, was now shown brittle and hollow, the authority of the central government steadily declined, and in the massacre and chaos that followed the death of Emperor Ling in 189 the unity of the empire was finally destroyed. For thirty years, generals turned China into a battlefield, each claiming that

he sought power only to serve the Emperor as a hegemon king, but each in reality dividing the empire and rendering impossible the restoration of the dynasty. The chronicle translated here begins with the year 181, three years before the outbreak of the Yellow Turban rebellion, and the first pages describe the birth of Liu Pien, younger son of Emperor Ling, who was destined to succeed his father and to preside powerless over the ruin of Han.

Chapter 58:

Kuang-ho 光和 4 (181/182)	TCTC p. 1859
birth of Liu Hsieh, son of Emperor Ling and the Beauty née Wang; murder of the Lady Wang by the Empress née Ho	61
Kuang-ho 5 (182/183)	1862
Kuang-ho 6 (183/184)	1864
Chung-p'ing 中平 1 (184/185)	1865
Yellow Turbans rebel under Chang Chüeh - amnesty for Proscribed Faction	1865 66
destruction of Chang Chüeh	72
rebellion in Liang Province	73
Chung-p'ing 2 (185/186)	1876
rise of the Black Mountain bandits under Chang Yen	78
expedition against the rebels in Liang Province	79
defeat of the Liang-chou rebels at Mei-yang	81
Chung-p'ing 3 (186/187)	1882
Chung-p'ing 4 (187/188)	1884
Liang-chou rebels in Han-yang	84
rebellion of Wu-huan in Liao-hsi	85
rebellion of the Chü-ko tribe of the Hsiung-nu	86

Chapter 59:

Chung-p'ing 5 (188/189)	1887
appointments of Governors for provincial administration	89
the eight Colonels of the Western Garden	90
Chung-p'ing 6 (189/190)	1892
death of Emperor Ling and succession of Liu Pien	94
destruction of the Tung family by the Ho clan	95
murder of Ho Chin by the palace eunuchs	1900
massacre of the eunuchs in Lo-yang	01
✓ Tung Cho takes power in Lo-yang	02
Liu Pien is deposed and Liu Hsieh, Emperor Hsien, comes to the throne	04

destruction of the Ho clan by Tung Cho	1904
alliance in the east against Tung Cho, headed by Yüan Shao	08
Ch'u-p'ing 初平 1 (190/191)	1908
Tung Cho shifts the capital to Ch'ang-an	12
the alliance against Tung Cho breaks up	15
Kung-sun Tu independent in the northeast	17

Chapter 60:

Ch'u-p'ing 2 (191/192)	1918
Sun Chien captures Lo-yang	20
Yüan Shao seizes Chi Province	24
Ts'ao Ts'ao in Tung commandery	25
fighting between Yuan Shao and Yüan Shu	26
Sun Chien killed in an attack on Liu Piao in Ching Province	28
Chang Lu establishes an independent religious state in Han-yang commandery	28
Ch'u-p'ing 3 (192/193)	1931
Yüan Shao defeats Kung-sun Tsan	31
Tung Cho killed by Wang Yün and Lü Pu	34
Ts'ao Ts'ao takes over Yen Province	35
Li Chüeh's party captures Ch'ang-an and destroys Wang Yün	38
Lü Pu flees to Yüan Shao	39
Chu-p'ing 4 (193/194)	1942
Yüan Shu driven into Yang Province	42
Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks T'ao Ch'ien in Hsü Province	45
Kung-sun Tsan destroys Liu Yü in Yu Province	46

Chapter 61:

Hsing-p'ing 興平 1 (194/195)	1949
Liu Pei becomes Inspector of Yü Province	49
Chang Miao and Lü Pu take Yen Province from Ts'ao Ts'ao	50
Liu Chang succeeds Liu Yen as Governor of Yi Province	56

Liu Pei takes over Hsü Province	1957
Liu Yao fights Yüan Shu for Yang Province	59
Hsing-p'ing 2 (195/196)	1959
Liu Chüeh and Kuo Ssu fight in Ch'ang-an	60
Ts'ao Ts'ao recaptures Yen Province	64
the Emperor escapes from Ch'ang-an	65
Sun Ts'e south of the Yangtse	71
Yu Province rebels against Kung-sun Tsan	77

Chapter 62:

Chien-an 建安 1 (196/197)	1979
Yüan Shu, Liu Pei and Lü Pu fight for Hsü Province	80
the Emperor returns to Lo-yang	81
Sun Ts'e independent of Yüan Shu	83
Ts'ao Ts'ao brings the Emperor to Hsü city	85
Sun Ts'e takes K'uai-chi	86
Liu Pei flees to Ts'ao Ts'ao	91
Chien-an 2 (197/198)	1994
Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks Liu Piao in Ching Province	94
Yüan Shu names himself emperor	96
Lü Pu defeats Yüan Shu	98
Ts'ao Ts'ao drives Yüan Shu south of the Hwai	2000
Chien-an 3 (198/199)	2002
Ts'ao Ts'ao destroys Lü Pu in Hsü Province	06
Sun Ts'e takes control of the lower Yangtse valley	10

Chapter 63:

Chien-an 4 (199/200)	2012
✓ Yüan Shao destroys Kung-sun Tsan in Yu Province	12
death of Yüan Shu	14
Yüan Shao prepares to attack Ts'ao Ts'ao	15
Ts'ao Ts'ao settles the land within the passes	18
Sun Ts'e seizes Lu-chiang	20

Sun Ts'e takes Yü-chang	2022
Liu Pei rebels against Ts'ao Ts'ao in Hsü Province	23
Chien-an 5 (200/201)	2024
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Liu Pei	24
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Yüan Shao's forces at Po-ma	26
death of Sun Ts'e, succeeded by Sun Ch'üan	29
Yüan Shao besieges Ts'ao at Kuan-tu	32
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Yüan Shao	35

Chapter 64:

Chien-an 6 (201/202)	2041
Liu Pei flees to Liu Piao in Yi Province	41
Chien-an 7 (202/203)	2044
Yüan Shao dies, succeeded by his youngest son Shang	44
Chien-an 8 (203/204)	2048
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats the Yüan brothers, then withdraws	48
Yüan T'an asks Ts'ao Ts'ao for help against his brother Shang	50
Sun Ch'üan attacks Huang Tsu and destroys his fleet at Chiang-hsia	52
Chien-an 9 (204/205)	2052
Ts'ao Ts'ao besieges Yeh	53
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Yüan Shang and captures Yeh	55
Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks Yüan T'an	57
Kung-sun Tu dies in Liao-tung, succeeded by his son K'ang	57
Chien-an 10 (205/206)	2059
Ts'ao Ts'ao destroys Yüan T'an	60
Yüan Shang and Yüan Hsi flee to the Wu-huan in Liao-hsi	61
Ts'ao Ts'ao drives the Wu-huan across the frontier	61

Chapter 65:

Chien-an 11 (206/207)	2066
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Kao Kan and settles Ping Province	66
Chien-an 12 (207/208)	2070
Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks and defeats the Wu-huan	70
Yüan Shang and Yüan Hsi are killed by Kung-sun K'ang	73
Chien-an 13 (208/209)	2076
Sun Ch'üan defeats and destroys Huang Tsu	78
Ts'ao Ts'ao becomes Lieutenant-Chancellor of Han	79
Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks Liu Piao in Ching Province	80
Liu Piao dies, his son Tsung surrenders to Ts'ao Ts'ao	82
Liu Pei and Sun Ch'üan form alliance to oppose Ts'ao Ts'ao	92
Liu Pei and Chou Yü destroy Ts'ao Ts'ao's army at the Red Cliffs	93

Chapter 66:

Chien-an 14 (209/210)	2097
Sun Ch'üan besieges Ho-fei without success	98
the Wu army takes Nan commandery	98
Chien-an 15 (210/211)	2100
Liu Pei in southern Ching Province	03
Chien-an 16 (211/212)	2106
Han Sui, Ma Ch'ao and others rebel in the northwest	06
Ts'ao Ts'ao defeats Han Sui, Ma Ch'ao and the others and recaptures the territory about Ch'ang-an	08
Liu Chang calls Liu Pei into Yi Province to help against Chang Lu	10
Chien-an 17 (212/213)	2112
Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks Sun Ch'üan	14
Liu Pei quarrels with Liu Chang	18
Chien-an 18 (213/214)	2118
Ts'ao Ts'ao returns from campaign to his capital at Yeh	18
Ts'ao Ts'ao is enfeoffed as Duke of Wei	19
Ma Ch'ao driven from Liang Province to join Chang Lu	23

Chapter 67:

Chien-an 19 (214/215)	2125
Hsia-hou Yüan defeats the rebels in Liang Province	26
Liu Chang surrenders to Liu Pei and Pei takes Yi Province	28
Ts'ao Ts'ao kills the Empress and two imperial children	34
Chien-an 20 (215/216)	2135
Ts'ao Ts'ao's daughter becomes Empress	35
Sun Ch'üan attacks Liu Pei's territory in Ching Province	36
Liu Pei cedes Ch'ang-sha, Chiang-hsia and Kuei-yang to Sun Ch'üan	38
Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks Chang Lu in Han-yang	38
Chang Lu surrenders to Ts'ao Ts'ao	42
Chien-an 21 (216/217)	2144
Ts'ao Ts'ao becomes King of Wei	44

Chapter 68:

Chien-an 22 (217/218)	2148
Ts'ao Ts'ao attacks Sun Ch'üan	48
Sun Ch'üan makes a formal surrender and Ts'ao Ts'ao retires	49
Ts'ao Ts'ao names Ts'ao P'i as his Heir-apparent	50
Chien-an 23 (218/219)	2154
Chien-an 24 (219/220)	2156
Liu Pei defeats Hsia-hou Yüan in Han-chung	57
Liu Pei captures Han-chung commandery	58
Liu Pei proclaims himself King of Han-chung	59
Kuan Yü besieges Ts'ao Jen in Fan city	61
Lü Meng leads the Wu army to attack Ching Province behind Kuan Yü	68
Kuan Yü is defeated and killed, Sun Ch'üan holds Ching Province	70

THE PROVINCES OF THE LATER HAN EMPIRE

Map 1

CHAPTER 58

Kuang-ho 4th year [2.II.181-20.II.182]

1859 In the spring, in the first month, there was appointed for the first time an Assistant of the Stables for Splendid Horses, responsible for collecting horses from among the commanderies and kingdoms. The men of great family exploited the market, and the price of a single horse rose to two million cash.

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day keng-tzu [9.V ?]¹ there was an amnesty for the empire.²

The Wu-hu barbarians of Chiao-chih had long been making trouble, and the provincial and commandery administrators could do nothing to control them.³ Liang Lung and other men of Chiao-chih also made a rebellion, and they attacked and occupied several commanderies and prefectures. An edict appointed Chu Chün of K'uai-chi from Prefect of Lan-ling to Inspector of Chiao-chih.⁴ He attacked Liang Lung and beheaded him, he captured several tens of thousands of men, and in a few weeks everything was settled. Because of this good work, he was enfeoffed as Marquis of a Chief Commune⁵ and was summoned to court as Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant.

In the sixth month, on the day keng-ch'en [18.VII] there were hailstones as big as hens' eggs.

1860 In the autumn, in the ninth month, on the day keng-yin, the first day of the month [26.IX], there was an eclipse of the sun.

The Grand Commandant Liu K'uan left office. The Commandant of the Palace Guard Hsü Yü became Grand Commandant.

In the intercalary month, on the day hsin-yu [27.10] there was a fire in the offices of the Lateral Courts and the Long Lanes,⁶ at the east of the Northern Palace.

The Minister over the Masses Yang Tz'u was dismissed. In the winter, in the tenth month, the Grand Master of Ceremonies, Ch'en Tan became Minister over the Masses.

The Hsien-pi ravaged Yu and Ping provinces. T'an-shih-huai⁷ died and his son Ho-lien succeeded him. Ho-lien was neither so capable nor so strong as his father, and he was greedy and licentious. Later he led a raid on Pei-ti, and a man of that commandery shot him and killed him. His son Ch'ien-man was still a child, so Ho-lien's nephew K'uei-t'ou took the throne. When Ch'ien-man grew up he fought against K'uei-t'ou and the people were scattered. K'uei-t'ou died and his younger brother Pu-tu-ken took the throne.

In this year, the Emperor ordered a market set up in the harem apartments and had all his women trading there. They robbed and fought one another, and the Emperor dressed up as a peddler, joined the crowd, and drank wine and feasted with them. On another occasion, they played with dogs in the Western Garden, and the Emperor put on the Cap of Worthy Advancement with its tassel. He rode in a chariot drawn by four donkeys, managed the reins himself, and raced around the park. All the capital imitated the new fashion, and the price of donkeys rose to equal the price of horses.

61 The Emperor was in the habit of laying by money and treasure for himself. He collected all the valuable goods from the empire and all the tribute sent in from the commanderies and kingdoms, and he had them sent first to the inner palace, taking out a share for himself and calling it his 'commission'. The Palace Regular Attendant Lü Ch'iang sent in a memorial to protest: "The wealth of the empire all comes from the benevolence of nature and then is brought to your majesty. How can you divide it up into public funds and private reserves? Now the Office of the Palace Workshop⁸ appropriates valuable goods sent in by the commanderies and the Office of the Imperial Wardrobe is gathering silk from the tribute of the empire. The offices in the Western Garden⁹ withdraw funds from the treasury of the Minister of Agriculture, and the palace stables take in the horses which should belong to the Grand Coachman.¹⁰ And even from these offices again you subtract your personal

share. You are raising the burden of taxation and making things more difficult for the people, and the local expenditure is increasing without any gain in revenue. Dishonest ministers can make their profits, and the common people of the empire must suffer the loss. Besides, the ministers who flatter you will be only too glad to offer you treasures from their private hoards so that they may ~~carry~~ favour and gain advancement. According to the old regulations, the selection of officials was the particular responsibility of the three Dukes' offices. All that the Masters of Writing were supposed to do was to pass on memorials to the throne. In testing candidates for office, and in appointing officials, they relied on proven worth, and if a man failed to do well he would be handed over to the Masters of Writing for impeachment and was then sent to the custody of the Commandant of Justice. It was the Commandant of Justice who carried out the further investigation and administered punishment. In that way, the three Dukes were always responsible for appointments to office, they constantly consulted their subordinates, and they took note of the conduct and the abilities of their candidates. Even then, despite their care and consideration, there were still cases where officials failed to fulfil their responsibilities and the administration became weakened. Now, however, the only people consulted are the Masters of Writing, and there are some cases where imperial orders are dispatched without the knowledge of the three Dukes nor of the Masters of Writing. This way, the three Dukes have been relieved of their duty for selection and appointment to office, and if anyone behaves badly, the Masters of Writing are no longer concerned. As a result, nobody can be held responsible, and why should officials do a difficult job if there is no incentive of reward or punishment?" ¹¹ The memorial was sent in, but nothing happened about it.

The Empress née Ho was a jealous woman. The Beauty née Wang, in the harem apartments, gave birth to an imperial son, Hsieh. The Empress poisoned her. The Emperor was furious and intended to depose the Empress, but all the eunuchs spoke for her and dissuaded him.

The Grand Prolonger of Autumn ¹² Ts'ao Chieh, Marquis of Hua-jung, died. The Palace Regular Attendant Chao Chung took his place as Grand Prolonger of Autumn.

Kuang-ho 5th year [21.II.182-9.II.183]

2 In the spring, in the first month, on the day hsin-wei [6.III] there was an amnesty for the empire.

Because of rumours, an edict commanded the dukes and the ministers to impeach those of the Inspectors of provinces and heads of commanderies and kingdoms who were corrupt and were exploiting the people. The Grand Commandant Hsü Yü and the Minister of Works Chang Chi always tried to do as the eunuchs would wish, and they regularly took bribes. Relatives and friends of the eunuchs were corrupt and undisciplined, but nothing was asked about them. On the other hand, some twenty-six men of the border commanderies, who were known to be pure and honest and loved by the people, were threatened with punishment. The officers and people came to the capital to plead for them, and the Minister over the Masses Ch'en Tan sent in a memorial saying: "The candidates recommended for office by the dukes and ministers are members of their own factions and they have promoted them to serve their own advantage. This is like setting free the kite and caging the phoenix." The Emperor accordingly condemned Hsü and Chi, and all those who had been summonsed to the capital on account of the rumours were instead made Gentlemen-consultants.

In the second month there was a great plague.

In the third month the Minister over the Masses Ch'en Tan left office.

In the summer, in the fourth month, there was a drought.

The Grand Master of Ceremonies Yüan Wei became Minister over the Masses.

In the fifth month, on the day keng-shen [13.VII] there was a fire in the offices of the Yung-lo Palace.¹

In the autumn, in the seventh month, there was a comet in the T'ai-wei.²

1863 The barbarians of Pan-shun³ were raiding and plundering Pa commandery. Campaigns had been sent against them year after year, but they had not been subdued. The Emperor wanted to make a great levy of troops, and he asked the opinion of Ch'eng Pao of Han-chung, the Reporting Officer from Yi Province.⁴ Pao replied: "The seven clans of Pan-shun have been good allies of the empire since the time of the Ch'in dynasty, and for this reason they have always been exempt from tribute and taxes. Their men are brave and excellent fighters. In the Yung-ch'u period [107-113 A.D.], when the Ch'iang barbarians invaded the Han valley and all the commanderies and prefectures were destroyed, the Pan-shun people came to help us. All the Ch'iang were killed or driven away, and the Ch'iang talked of the Pan-shun soldiers as 'devil troops'. They told the story to their fellow-tribesmen, and warned them never to go south again. Later, in the second year of Chien-ho [148], when the Ch'iang made another great invasions, it was the Pan-shun people who helped us break up their attacks and defeat them. When the General of the Van Feng Kun made his southern campaign into Wu-ling, [in 160],⁵ it was once again the Pan-shun people that helped him to success. Quite recently, when there was trouble in Yi-chou, the Grand Administrator Li Jung had the Pan-shun people to help him put it down. When a people have shown themselves so loyal to us and so valuable as this, they would not rebel without good cause. Now the local and district officials are taking heavy taxes from them and they are sent to labour service and are flogged worse than slaves or criminals. They are forced to give their wives to others and to sell their children, and some even cut their own throat. Though they have complained of the suffering and injustice to their

commandery or provincial offices, the administrators neither forward their petitions nor do anything to help them. They are far from the court and their voice is unheard. They sigh and groan but find no-one to grant them redress. That is why they have gathered in rebellion, not because they have some great leader who wishes to usurp the government and defy the law. All that needs to be done is to choose wise and competent men for the administration and everything will be settled quite simply. There is no cause for a military campaign." The Emperor took his advice. Ts'ao Ch'ien was appointed Grand Administrator and an edict was proclaimed to grant an amnesty. All the people came at once to submit.

In the eighth month it was ordered that an observation tower should be built, four hundred feet high, on the A-t'ing road.

In the winter, in the tenth month, the Grand Commandant Hsü Yü was dismissed from office. The Grand Master of Ceremonies Yang Tz'u became Grand Commandant.

The Emperor went on a hunting expedition to the Shang-lin Park.⁶ He travelled by way of the Han-ku Pass and he also made a tour to the Kuang-ch'eng Park. In the twelfth month he returned to the capital and paid a visit to the Imperial University.

Huan Tien became Attendant Imperial Clerk.⁷ The eunuchs were uneasy at his appointment. Tien always rode a piebald horse and there was a saying about him in the capital:

"Walking, walking, better watch your step,

Beware the Imperial Clerk on the piebald horse."

Tien was a grandson of Yen.

Kuang-ho 6th year [9.II.183-30.I.184]

In the spring, in the third month, on the day hsin-wei [30.IV] there was an amnesty for the empire.

In the summer, there was a great drought.

The mother of the Empress was granted the title Lady of Wu-yang.

In the autumn the Yellow River broke its banks in Chin-ch'eng and flooded more than twenty li.

There was an avalanche in the Wu-yüan mountains.

Before this, Chang Chüeh of Chü-lu had worshipped the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu¹ and had preached magic and devilry among the people, calling his doctrine The Way of Great Peace. He used charmed water to treat illness, and he made those who were sick kneel down and confess their faults. Sometimes they got better, and then people worshipped him and believed him. Chüeh sent out disciples to travel in every part of the empire and to preach his false doctrines. In rather more than ten years they had gained immense influence among the people of the eight provinces of Ch'ing, Hsü, Yu, Chi, Ching, Yang, Yen and Yü. Some people sold up all their property and left their homes to follow him? The pilgrims blocked the roads, and those who became ill and died before they reached him were numbered by the tens of thousands? The officials in the commanderies and prefectures did not understand what was really going on, and instead they reported that Chüeh reformed men by his fine teaching and that this was why the people turned to him.

The Grand Commandant Yang Tz'u was at this time still Minister over the Masses. He sent in a memorial to say: "Chüeh is deceiving and exploiting the common people. When amnesties are granted, instead of repenting himself, he spreads his evil influence even wider. If orders are sent to the provincial and commandery administrations to arrest him and punish him, I am afraid that might only increase the confusion and would hasten on disaster. The first thing to do is to give strict orders to the Inspectors and the heads of commanderies and kingdoms that they must stop people wandering about and send them back to their own territory. This way we will isolate his party and then we can punish the ringleaders. Everything would be settled without trouble." However, it was about this time that Tz'u was dismissed, and so the matter was simply pigeon-holed. Liu T'ao, a Head Clerk under the Minister over the Masses,

5 ~~then~~ sent in another memorial, repeating Ts'u's suggestions, and also:
"Chüeh's secret plans become increasingly dangerous. The empire is full of whispers and rumours, and it is claimed that Chüeh and his followers have gained entry into the capital and have spies within the court. They twitter like birds, they have the hearts of wild beasts, and they make plots together. The provinces and commanderies have put the whole question under a taboo: they compare notes with one another privately, but they are reluctant to say anything in the open. Your majesty should issue a clear edict, calling for the arrest of Chüeh and his supporters, and promising rewards of land from the state for those who capture them. If any should dare to evade your call, they can share the same punishment." The Emperor did not take it seriously, and just at that time an edict commissioned T'ao to write a commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals called Ch'un-ch'iu t'iao-li.

Then Chüeh set up thirty-six Divisions [fang]. A Division was the equivalent of an army under a general. A Large Division had more than ten thousand men, a Small Division had six or seven thousand men, and each of them had appointed leaders. They spread the story that "The blue Heaven is dead, and a yellow Heaven will take its place. When the year is chia-tzu,² great fortune will come to the world." They used chalk to write the characters Chia-tzu on the walls of the capital city and gates of the offices and on the yamen of the provincial and commandery administrations. The Large Division Leader Ma Yüan-yi, with some others, had collected several ten thousand men in Ching and Yang provinces, and they had arranged a date for a rising at Yeh. Yüan-yi came in and out of the capital several times, he gained the support of the Palace Regular Attendants Feng Hsü and Hsü Feng, and they agreed at the fifth day of the third month [3.IV.184] for a coup on the inside and an attack from without.

In the spring, one of Chüeh's disciples, T'ang Chou of Chi-nan, sent a message to the court telling of the plot. Ma Yüan-yi was arrested and was torn asunder by chariots at Lo-yang. An edict ordered the three Dukes and the Colonel Director of the Retainers¹ to arrest and question all those attendants and guards of the palace and the common people of the capital district who were followers of Chang Chüeh's teaching. More than a thousand people were executed. Orders were sent to Chi Province that Chüeh and his followers should be arrested, but Chüeh's people knew that their plans had been discovered, and they sent messengers riding day and night with orders for their Divisions to rise together. They all wore pieces of yellow cloth as a badge, and the people of that time called them the Yellow Turban rebels.

1866 In the second month, Chüeh named himself as Lord of Heaven General, his younger brother Pao was named Lord of Earth General, and Pao's younger brother Liang was named Lord of Man General. Every-
where the government offices were burnt and destroyed and the towns and villages were looted. The provincial and commandery administrations abandoned their offices and most of the officials ran away. In a few weeks the whole empire had joined the rebellion, and the capital was in fear and trembling. The people of An-p'ing and Kan-ling seized their kings and made cause with the rebels.²

In the third month on the day wu-shen [2.IV], the Intendant of Ho-nan Ho Chin was made General-in-Chief and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Shen. He took command of the guards of the divisions of the Right and of the Left and of the Feathered Forest troops, together with the five regiments[of the Northern Army]and led them to camp at Tu-t'ing. There they prepared weapons and equipment to keep order in the capital. Chief Commandants were appointed for the eight passes of Han-ku, T'ai-ku, Kuang-ch'eng, Yi-ch'üeh, Huan-yüan, Hsüan-men, the Meng Ford and the Hsiao-p'ing Ford.³

The Emperor summoned all his ministers to a council. The Grand Administrator of Pei-ti, Huang-fu Sung, gave his opinion that the proscription of officials should be ended,⁴ and that the resources of the palace treasury and the horses in the Western Garden stables⁵ should be distributed to equip the army. Sung was the nephew of Kuei.⁶ The Emperor asked the Palace Regular Attendant Lü Ch'iang what he thought about the proposal, and Ch'iang replied: "The proscription has been maintained for a long time and the people have been made angry and resentful. Unless they are given a pardon, they may be foolish enough to join Chang Chüeh. The rebellion would become very much more serious and it would be too late to do anything about it. I would ask now that you first execute those of your attendants who are greedy and corrupt, issue a complete amnesty for all the men of faction, and examine all the Inspectors and the heads of commanderies and kingdoms to see which are competent to do their job. After that, there will be no more trouble from rebels." The Emperor was frightened and accepted his policy. On the day Jen-tzu [5.IV], an amnesty was issued for all the men of faction in the empire, and those who had been exiled were allowed to return home. Only Chang Chüeh was omitted from the amnesty. Trained soldiers were raised from the empire and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the North Lu Chih was sent to attack Chang Chüeh. Huang-fu Sung, as General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left, and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Right Chu Chün were sent to attack the Yellow Turbans of Ying-ch'uan.⁷

At this time, the Palace Regular Attendants Chao Chung, Chang Jang, Hsia Yün, Kuo Sheng, Tuan Kuei and Sung Tien had all been enfeoffed as marquises and treated with great favour. The Emperor would often say: "Regular Attendant Chang is my father and Regular Attendant Chao is my mother." From this, the eunuchs became completely confident of their position, and they built themselves great houses that rivalled the imperial palace. There was one occasion that the Emperor wanted to climb the look-out tower in the Yung-an Buildings. The eunuchs were frightened that he would see their mansions, and so they sent the harem attendant Shang Tan to say: "The Son of Heaven must never climb high, for if he

should do so his people will be impoverished and scattered." From this time on, the Emperor never climbed a lookout tower again.⁸ However, when Feng Hsü and Hsü Feng were found out, the Emperor turned on his eunuch attendants and said: "You people always said it was the men of faction who plotted rebellion, and you had me proscribe them from office and some of them were executed. But now it appears that the men of faction are servants of the state and it's you people that follow Chang Chüeh. Why shouldn't I have you beheaded?" The eunuchs kowtowed and said: "This was all the fault of Wang Fu and Hou Lan."⁹ Then one by one they asked permission to resign, and they sent messages to recall their relatives and fellow-clansmen who held positions in the provinces and commanderies.

Chao Chung, Hsia Yün and some others made false reports against Lü Ch'iang, saying that he had been discussing affairs of state with the men of faction, that he had read and re-read the biography of Huo Kuang,¹⁰ and that he and his brothers ~~spread dirt and~~ corruption everywhere they went. The Emperor sent the Palace Attendants Within the Yellow Gates, bearing arms, to bring Ch'iang to the court. When Ch'iang received the Emperor's summons, he was angry and said: "When I die, disorder is come. If a man gives all his loyalty to the state, why should he have to answer to a jailer?" He killed himself. Chung and Yün added further slanders: "When Ch'iang was called to court, he had no idea what questions would be put to him, but he went straight outside and killed himself. It's only too clear that he was guilty." All Ch'iang's family were put in prison and their property was confiscated.

The Palace Attendant Hsiang Hsü of Ho-nei sent in a memorandum criticising the Emperor's close attendants. Chang Jang made false accusation against him, saying that he was a supporter of Chang Chüeh and planned to act as traitor within the gates. He was arrested and sent to the Northern Jail of the Yellow Gates¹¹ and was killed there. The Gentleman of the Palace Chang Chün of Chung-shan sent in a memorial: "It is my humble opinion that the reasons Chang Chüeh was able to raise soldiers and make his

8 rebellion are that the people loved him and trusted him, and because your ten Regular Attendants¹² have sent out the members of their family, their relatives and their dependants to take over control of the provinces. They steal the wealth of the people by cruel taxation and they plunder and rob the poor. The people have no way to tell of their grievances, and so they make plans for rebellion and they gather together as bandits. You should cut the heads off your ten Regular Attendants, hang them along the southern walls of the city as a sign of apology to the empire, and send messengers to proclaim the news throughout the country. There would be no further need for an army." The Emperor showed Chün's memorial to his attendants, and they all took off their caps and came barefoot to bow before him. They asked to be sent to the Imperial Jail in Lo-yang, and they offered all their property for the use of the army. The Emperor told them to put their caps and shoes on again and continue to serve him as they had always done. He was angry with Chün, and said: "The man's a fool. How could he say that all my Regular Attendants are bad?" The [Palace Assistant] Imperial Clerk saw the way he felt, so he sent in a false report that Chün had studied the teachings of the Yellow Turbans. Chün was arrested and flogged. He died in prison.¹³

On the day keng-tzu [23.IV]¹⁴ the Yellow Turban of Nan-yang, Chang Man-ch'eng, attacked and killed the Grand Administrator Ch'u Kung.

The Emperor asked the Grand Commandant Yang Tz'u for his opinion of the Yellow Turban outbreak. Tz'u replied straightforwardly and very much to the point, and the Emperor was not pleased. In the summer, in the fourth month, Tz'u left office because of the rebellion. Teng Sheng of Hung-nung was appointed from Grand Coachman to Grand Commandant. Some time later, the Emperor was looking over some earlier records when he found the memorials written by Yang Tz'u and Liu T'ao to warn against Chang Chüeh. He enfeoffed Tz'u as Marquis of Lin-chin and T'ao as Marquis of Chung-ling district.

The Minister of Works Chang Chi was dismissed and Chang Wen was appointed from Grand Minister of Agriculture to Minister of Works.

Huang-fu Sung and Chu Chün had combined forces of more than forty thousand men and they marched together, each with one army, to attack Ying-ch'uan. Chün fought with the rebel Po Ts'ai and was defeated. Sung went forward to hold Ch'ang-she.

1869 The Yellow Turbans of Ju-nan defeated the Grand Administrator Chao Ch'ien at Shao-ling. The Yellow Turbans of Kuang-yang killed the Inspector of Yu Province Kuo Hsün and the Grand Administrator Liu Wei.

Po Ts'ai besieged Huang-fu Sung at Ch'ang-she. Sung had fewer soldiers under his command than his opponent, and everyone in his army was afraid. The enemy had built their camp out of grass and bushes. A strong wind came on to blow, and Sung told his men to mount the walls with tinder-grass in their hands. He sent a forward party of his strongest men to travel by hidden paths and get outside the siege-lines, and then they set great fires and sounded their battle-cry. The men on the walls raised their torches in reply. Sung led soldiers from the city with drums and shouts, and they charged the enemy lines. The rebels were terrified and fled in disorder.

Soon afterwards, the Chief Commandant of Cavalry, Ts'ao Ts'ao of P'ei state, arrived with reinforcements, and in the fifth month Sung, Ts'ao and Chu Chün combined their armies and returned to the attack. They completely defeated the rebels, cut off heads by the tens of thousands, and Sung was enfeoffed as Marquis of a Chief District.

Ts'ao Ts'ao's father Sung was the adopted son of the regular Attendant Ts'ao T'eng. There is no way to tell his family origins, although some said that he was a member of the Hsia-hou clan. When Ts'ao Ts'ao was young he was clever and ingenious and could adapt himself to any situation, but he sometimes took the law into his own hand, and was casual or frivolous, and he paid little attention to his duties. Few people of that time saw anything remarkable about him, and only the Grand Commandant Ch'iao Hsüan and Ho Yung of Nan-yang admired him. Hsüan said to Ts'ao:

"The empire will fall into disorder and only a man with ability to command the age will be able to deal with it. You are the man that will restore the peace." Yung saw Ts'ao and he sighed and said: "The house of Han is falling, and this is the man who will give peace to the empire." Hsüan said to Ts'ao: "You have made no name for yourself yet. You should get in touch with Hsü Tzu-chiang." This Tzu-chiang was Hsü Shao, the nephew of Hsün.¹⁵ He was fond of people and had an appreciative eye for other's good qualities. He and his cousin Hsü Ching had both gained high reputations. They were interested in people from the local communities, and every month they would prepare a new table of merits. As a result, in Ju-nan, at the beginning of each month, all the people joined in moral criticism. At one time Shao became Officer of the Department of Merit in the commandery, and when the officers in the administration heard about it they all became most careful and diligent in their conduct. Ts'ao went to see Shao and asked him: "What sort of man am I?" Shao despised him and refused to answer. Ts'ao pressed him again, and then Shao replied: "You? A good servant in time of peace, a dangerous chieftain in time of trouble." Ts'ao left, feeling very pleased.

When Chu Chün attacked the Yellow Turbans his Major Commissioner over the Army,¹⁶ Fu Hsieh of Pei-ti, sent a memorial to say: "I have heard that the misfortunes of the empire come not from the outside but from within. This is why Yu Shun first banished the four criminals before he appointed the sixteen chancellors.¹⁷ He understood well that if the evil-doers had not been driven away the good men would never come forward. Now Chang Chüeh has led a rebellion in Chao and Wei, and these are illustrations of the way troubles can begin at home and spread through all the world. We have received your commission to attack and destroy the criminals and we obey your commands. Since we first entered Ying-ch'uan we have been successful in every battle. Though the Yellow Turbans are numerous they are nothing to give anxiety to your court. What I am really worried about, however, is that we may be controlling the waters, but we are doing nothing about the source, and the spread of the flood may yet do more damage. Your majesty is loving and

virtuous, generous and forgiving, you cannot bear to be too strict, and so your eunuch servants have usurped power and your loyal ministers are unable to come forward. Even when Chang Chüeh has been beheaded and his followers have returned to plain clothing and submitted to law and order, your servant will still be anxious that things may get worse. How should that be? In just the same way as one vessel should not contain charcoal and ice, so evil men and virtuous men should not share in government. When the evil men realise that a good man's work has been noticed and the signs of their own destruction can be seen from this, they will work deceptions and falsehood and they will combine to create distrust and hypocrisy. A mother will doubt her own true son, and three men will set a tiger in the market-place.¹⁸

Unless you are careful to test whether you are being told truth or lies, your loyal subjects will find themselves in the predicament of Po Ch'i at Yu-yu.¹⁹ Your majesty should remember how Yu Shun dealt with those four wicked men and you should quickly arrange the execution of your false advisers. Then good men will be glad to come forward and evil will naturally disappear." Chao Chung saw this memorial and was most annoyed. When Hsieh attacked the Yellow Turbans he gained great success, and it was felt that he deserved 1871 enfeoffment. Chung, however, made false accusations against him. The Emperor remembered Hsieh's memorial, he did not punish him, but he did not enfeoff him either.

Chang Man-ch'eng had been camped in the vicinity of Wan for about three months, but in the sixth month the Grand Administrator of Nan-yang, Ch'in Hsieh, attacked him and killed him.

The region of Chiao-chih produced many precious commodities, and over the years many of the Inspectors had been dishonest in their administration and then whenever they had grabbed enough money they would transfer to another post. The officers and people were angry and made a rebellion, and they seized the Inspector, and the Grand Administrator of Ho-p'u Lai Ta, and they

named their leader General Who is Pillar of Heaven. The central administration sent the Prefect of Ching, Chia Tsung of Tung commandery, to be Inspector of Chiao-chih. When Tsung reached his province, he enquired about the reasons for the rebellion. Everyone told him: "The taxation requirements were far too heavy and they took everything the people had. The capital is a long way away and there was no-one to hear their complaints. The people had nothing to live on and that's why they have gathered together as rebels." Then Tsung sent round a proclamation to say that everyone was to carry on his own occupation in peace, and he received and comforted the homeless refugees and remitted the taxes and the corvée services. The only people to be executed were the ringleaders who had caused the most trouble. He made careful examination and chose the best officers to show their ability as heads of prefectures. Within a year, the disturbance was settled, and all the people were at peace. There was a popular song in the streets and elley-ways:

"Father Chia came too late,
Or we would never have made rebellion.
Now all is peace and content,
And officials dare not feed at our expense." 20

Huang-fu Sung and Chu Chün followed up their success with campaigns against the Yellow Turbans of Ju-nan and Ch'en state. They chased Po Ts'ai as far as Yang-ti, and they attacked P'eng T'o at Hsi-hua, and they defeated both of them. The remnants of rebels either surrendered or scattered and three commanderies were pacified. Then Sung sent in a report to the throne, giving credit to Chün for his work, and Chün was advanced in fief to be Marquis of Hsi-hsiang and was transferred to General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Maintains the Rebels in Order. An imperial edict ordered Sung to attack Tung commandery and Chün to attack Nan-yang.

Lu Chih, General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the North, had attacked Chang Chüeh and defeated him in one battle after another, and had cut the heads off or taken prisoner more than ten thousand men. Chüeh and his followers fled to take refuge in Kuang-tsung. Chih built

a siege-wall, dug a moat around the city, and constructed scaling ladders. He was all ready for the final attack when the Emperor sent Tso Feng, Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates, to see how things were going. Someone told Chih that he should prepare presents for Feng when he left, but Chih refused to do so. When Feng returned to the capital he said to the Emperor: "It would be easy to destroy the rebels in Kuang-tsung, but General Lu allows his army to rest behind strong defences, just waiting for some punishment from Heaven to befall the rebels." The Emperor was angry, and a cage cart was sent to bring Chih back to the capital. He was sentenced to death but commuted to one degree, and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the East, Tung Cho of Lung-hsi, was sent to take his place.

1872 Chang Hsiu²¹ of Pa commandery had cured people's sickness by magical tricks, and his teaching was in many respects like that of Chang Chüeh. He ordered families where there was sickness to offer up five pecks of rice, and he was called the Five Pecks of Rice Teacher [wu-tou-mi shih].²² In the autumn, in the seventh month, Hsiu gathered his followers and made rebellion and they raided the commanderies and prefectures. The people of that time called them the Rice Rebels.

In the eighth month Huang-fu Sung fought with the Yellow Turbans at Tsang-t'ing and captured their leader Pu Ssu.²³ Tung Cho had attacked Chang Chüeh without success and he was condemned for his failure. On the day yi-ssu [25.IX], an edict ordered Sung to attack Chüeh.

In the ninth month King Hsü of An-p'ing was found guilty of impious conduct and was executed. His state was abolished.

Before this, Hsü had been kidnapped by the Yellow Turbans, and the people of his state had paid a ransom to get him back. The Court was of the opinion that he should be restored to his kingdom, but the Gentleman-consultant Li Hsieh said "Hsü has been found incapable of fulfilling his duty as a vassal lord. He has injured and brought disgrace to your sacred dynasty. He should

not be returned to his kingdom." Hsieh was overruled, he was found guilty of slandering the imperial clan and was made a convict under the Controller of the Left.²⁴ In less than a year, the King had been executed and Li Hsieh was restored to his former post. There was a saying in the capital that "The father was unwilling to set up emperors, the son was unwilling to set up a king."²⁵

In the winter, in the tenth month, Huang-fu Sung fought with Chang Chüeh's younger brother Liang at Kuang-tsung. Liang's forces were well-trained and courageous, and Sung could make no headway. On the following day, he kept the gates of his camp closed, gave his soldiers a rest and waited to see what would happen. He realised that the enemy would now be less keyed-up and ready for him, and so during the night he prepared his men for a sortie. At cock-crow, they charged the enemy lines, they fought through the morning and into the afternoon, and then they completely defeated the rebels. They cut off Liang's head and took thirty thousand others and there were more than fifty thousand people that fled to the Yellow River and drowned. Chang Chüeh was already dead from an illness, but they broke open his coffin and defiled his corpse, and his head was sent post-haste to the capital.

3 In the eleventh month, Sung made an attack on Chüeh's younger brother Pao, at Hsia-ch'ü-yang, and cut off his head and killed or captured more than a hundred thousand others. Then Sung was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left and Governor of Chi Province,²⁶ and he was enfeoffed as Marquis of Huai-li. Sung was a leader that could understand and sympathise with his soldiers. Whenever his army halted to make camp he saw that all the tents were set up in order before he went to his own quarters, and his soldiers were issued with food before he had his own. It was for this reason that he was successful everywhere he went.

The Hsien-lien Ch'iang of Pei-ti joined with the bandits in Fu-han and Ho-kuan to make a rebellion. Pei-kung Po-yü and Li Wen-hou, of the Obedient Barbarians from Huang-chung,²⁷ were elected generals of the combined forces. They killed the Colonel Protector of the Ch'iang Ling Cheng. Pien Chang and Han Sui, men of Chin-ch'eng, were

well-known in the western provinces, and the rebels persuaded them to join their army and gave them positions among the leaders with particular responsibility for military affairs. Ch'en Yi, the Grand Administrator of Chin-ch'eng, was killed, and the commandery and provincial headquarters were attacked and burned.

Before this, the Grand Administrator of Wu-wei was a man who presumed on his high position to indulge his lust and greed. The Attendant Official of Liang Province, Su Cheng-ho of Wu-tu, had sent in a report of his crimes, but the Inspector Liang Ku was frightened and wanted to kill Cheng-ho in order to rid himself of the responsibility.²⁸ He asked the advice of the Chief Clerk of Han-yang, Ho Hsün of Tun-huang. Cheng-ho had once played Hsün a bad turn, and someone suggested to him that now was the time for Hsün to repay the injury. Hsün said: "If my official advice should harm a good man, that would not be loyal. If I took advantage of another's time of danger, that would not be kind." So he dissuaded Ku from his plan, saying: "If you keep a hawk on a string and feed it, it can catch birds for you, but what is the point if you cook the hawk and eat it yourself?" Ku gave up the idea. Then Cheng-ho went to see Hsün to offer him thanks, but Hsün refused to see him, saying: "I gave advice for Commissioner Liang, not for Su Cheng-ho." And he liked him no better than before.

Later, the Inspector Tso Ch'ang embezzled great quantities of grain from the military supplies, and Hsün remonstrated with him. Ch'ang was angry, and he sent Hsün with the Attendant Officials Hsin Tseng and K'ung Ch'ang to make a separate camp and face the rebels near A-yang. He expected that Hsün would make mistakes in military affairs and that he would then be able to punish him, but Hsün instead fought a number of successful battles. When Pei-kung Po-yü was moving to attack Chin-ch'eng, Hsün urged Ch'ang to send troops to their relief, but Ch'ang refused to do so. Ch'en Yi died, and Pien Chang and the others came forward to besiege Ch'ang in Chi. Ch'ang sent orders to Hsün and the other outlying troops to come to help him. Hsin Tseng and the other leaders were doubtful and

unwilling to go, but Hsün was angry with them: "In ancient times, when Chuang Chia was late for his appointment Ssu-ma Jang-chü put him to the sword.²⁹ Do you think you're more valuable than Chuang Chia?" Tseng and the others were frightened, and they followed him. Hsün came to Chi, and he scolded Pien Chang and his followers for their mutiny and their rebellion. All replied: "If Commissioner Tso had listened to what you said the first time and had sent soldiers to us, we might have been able to maintain our allegiance. But now things have gone too far, and we cannot surrender." They broke off the siege and went away.

The rebel Ch'iang were besieging the Colonel Hsia Yü in the Herding Office,³⁰ and Hsün gathered troops from the provinces and the commanderies to relieve him. They came as far as Hu-p'an but there they were defeated by the Ch'iang. Hsün had no more than a hundred men left with him, and he himself had been wounded three times. He sat down and refused to move, and he pointed to a wooden mile-pillar, saying: "Let my body rest here." Tien-wu, of the Kou-chiu tribe of the Ch'iang, held the rest of the enemy at bay with his sword, saying: "Chief Clerk Ho is a worthy man. If one of you should kill him it would be a crime against Heaven." Hsün looked up and cursed him: "You dog of a rebel, what do you know about it? Come and kill me quickly." All looked at one another in amazement. Tien-wu got down from his horse and offered it to Hsün, but Hsün refused to mount and so he was captured by the Ch'iang. The tribesmen admired his loyalty and his courage, and they did him no harm but sent him back to Han-yang. Later, the Inspector Yang Yung recommended him as Grand Administrator of Han-yang.

The remnants of Chang Man-ch'eng's party elected Chao Hung as their leader, and their strength once again increased until they numbered more than a hundred thousand. They occupied Wan city. Chu Chün and other local commanders led by the Inspector of Ching Province, Hsü Ch'iu, collected forces together and besieged the rebels. They had attacked the place from the sixth month to the eighth month without success, and the chief ministers at the capital memorialised that Chün should be recalled. The Minister of Works Chang Wen wrote in to the Emperor: "In ancient times, Ch'in used Po Ch'i and Yen gave office to Yüeh Yi. Both of them

1875 spent years doing nothing, but when it came to the end their enemies were defeated.³¹ Chün has already had considerable success in Ying-ch'uan, and now he is leading his army against the south and his plans are all arranged. All the military writers caution against changing command in the middle of a campaign. We may wait for days of even months, but in the end he will produce results." So the Emperor kept Chün in his command, and then Chün attacked Hung and cut off his head.

The rebel leader Han Chung reoccupied Wan and opposed Chün once more. Chün sent in an attack, with battle-cries and drums, from the southwest, and all the enemy went to deal with it. Chün himself led picked troops secretly to the northeast, and they climbed the wall and got into the city. Chung then retreated to hold the citadel, and he was now frightened and asked to surrender. All the officers thought they should accept his plea, but Chün said: "In warfare, things may look the same but be quite different in reality. In ancient times, when the Hsiang family opposed the Ch'in dynasty, the people had no recognised ruler, and each side gave rewards to encourage new recruits.³² At the present day, all the world is united in our empire, and it is only the Yellow Turbans who make rebellion. If we accept their surrender, it will be no encouragement to people that they should practise virtue; but if we kill them it will be sufficient warning to everyone that they should avoid evil conduct. If we take them in now, we will be opening the way to ideas of rebellion. When bandits see advantage, they will come forward to attack us, and when they feel they are in difficulties, they will simply ask to surrender. The enemies of the state everywhere will become bolder and more dangerous. This would not be a good plan." So he continued to press his attacks, but after several battles he had still not captured the fortress.

Chün climbed a hill of earth to look over the scene, and he turned to his Major Chang Ch'ao and said: "I've got it! The enemy have a tight siege-ring around them, and inside their camp they must be quite desperate. They have asked to surrender and it has been

refused, they want to break out but they find it impossible. So they know they must fight to the death. Ten thousand men with one idea in their minds would be too much to handle, and now we've got a hundred thousand to deal with! The best thing to do is to break off the siege and combine our forces to enter the city. When Chung sees that the siege has opened he will certainly come out, and when he comes out of his defences he will become less vigilant, and that is the way to his destruction." So they opened the siege, and Chung did come out to fight. Chün attacked him and completely defeated him and they took more than ten thousand heads.

Ch'in Hsieh, the Grand Administrator of Nan-yang, killed Chung, and the remaining rebels chose Sun Hsia as their leader. He went back to camp in Wan. Chün pressed his attacks more fiercely, and the Major Sun Chien led his troops and was first to climb the walls. On the day Kuei-ssu [11.I.185], they stormed Wan city. Sun Hsia fled, Chün chased him as far as the Ching Hills in Hsi-e, and he defeated him once more and cut off another ten thousand heads.

At this, the Yellow Turbans were defeated and scattered. The remainder of them were dealt with by the commanderies and provincial governments, thousands of people being executed in each commandery.

In the twelfth month, on the day chi-ssu [16.II.185], there was an amnesty for the empire, and the reign-title was changed.³³

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The Inspector of Yü Province, Wang Yün, defeated the Yellow Turbans and obtained letters written to them from supporters and clients of Chang Jang. He sent them to the Emperor. The Emperor was furious with Jang, but Jang kowtowed and begged for pardon, and in the end he managed to avoid any punishment. As a result of this, Jang found some way to get Yün into trouble, and Yün was sent to prison. Soon afterwards, an amnesty was issued and he was re-appointed Inspector. Little more than a week later he was arrested on another charge. Yang Tz'u, unwilling that he should suffer ignominy and disgrace, sent one of his attendants to Yün to say to him with many apologies: "It is because of Chang Jang that you have been summonsed like this twice in a single month. Evil and difficulty crowd around you and the best thing you can do is to take your own life first." Some of his Attendant Officials thought to bring matters to a

crisis point, and together, with tears in their eyes, they came to offer him a draught of poison. Yün growled to them: "I am the Emperor's servant. If I have done wrong in his eyes, then I must accept his punishment of death and confess my faults before all the world. How can I seek for death by taking poison?" He tossed the cup aside, got up and went out to the cage cart. When he came to the capital, the General-in-Chief Ho Chin sent in a memorial jointly with Yang Tz'u and Yüan Wei to plead for his life, and they obtained a remission of his charges.

Chung-p'ing 2nd year [18.II.185-6.II.186]:

In the spring, in the first month, there was a great plague.

In the second month, on the day chi-yu [28.III] there was a fire in the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace. On the day keng-hsü [29.III] there was a fire at the Lo-ch'eng Gate.

The Palace Regular Attendants Chang Jang and Chao Chung encouraged the Emperor to make a levy of ten cash on every mou¹ of cultivated land in the empire and to use the money for the repair of the palace buildings and for the casting of bronze statues. The Grand Administrator of Lo-an, Lu K'ang, sent in a memorial to protest:

1877 "In ancient times, when Duke Hsüan of Lu set a tax on the arable land, a plague of locusts made their appearance.² When Duke Ai increased the taxes, Confucius himself disapproved of it.³ Surely it will be even worse if you should seize the people's goods to make these useless statues. You would be ignoring the warnings of the sages and you would follow the mistaken patterns of weak rulers." The Emperor's close attendants slandered K'ang, saying that he was comparing the sacred government of the Emperor with the ruined states of the past; utterly disrespectful. A cage-cart was sent to bring him to the Commandant of Justice. The Attendant Imperial Clerk Liu Tai sent in a memorial to explain his case, and K'ang was allowed to retire to his own village. K'ang was a grandson of Lu Hsü.⁴

Another edict demanded that the provinces and commanderies each send a quota of timber and patterned stone to the capital. The eunuchs repeatedly claimed that quantities of the material were sub-standard. They forced the price down to only one-tenth of its original cost, and then they resold it. Again, the eunuchs would delay their acceptance of the goods, so the timber was left in heaps to rot, and for year after year the palaces remained unfinished. The Inspectors and Grand Administrators also took their cut, and the people groaned under the burden. It was further ordered that cavalry-men of the Western Garden⁵ should travel among the provinces and commanderies to speed up the transport. They disturbed the local administrations, and they too collected bribes.

Every official, from Inspector and Grand Administrator down to Accomplished Talent and Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidates, whenever they were appointed or promoted, they had to contribute cash for the army funds or for the repair of the palace buildings. A man appointed to a large commandery had to pay twenty or thirty million cash, and the smaller commanderies were in proportion. Those who were due to receive office had first to go to the Western Garden to negotiate the price before they could take up their posts. The more honest of them begged for permission not to go, but all were compelled to do so. Then Ssu-ma Chih of Ho-nei was appointed the new Grand Administrator of Chü-lü. He was known as a poor and honest man, and so his fee was diminished to three million cash. When Chih received his orders, he sighed and said: "I should be the father and mother of my people, and yet instead I am supposed to rob my flock because of present custom. I can't do that." He made excuses and said he was sick, but the court refused to accept his resignation. He travelled as far as Meng-chin, and from there he sent in a memorial setting out in the strongest terms what was wrong with the whole system, and then he took poison and committed suicide. The memorial came before the throne, and the Emperor called a halt to the collection of money for the palace building fund.

Chu Chün was made General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Right.

From the time of Chang Chüeh's rebellion, bandits and rebels had sprung up everywhere. There was Ox-horn Chang of Po-ling, Flying Swallow Ch'u of Ch'ang-shan, and there were innumerable groups under such leaders as Yellow Dragon, Controller of the Left, Yü Ti-ken, White Horse Chang, Liu Shih, Tso with the Eighty-foot Moustache, Grand Design to Pacify Han, Director of Retainers who climbs the City Wall, Lord of Thunder, Floating Clouds, White Sparrow, Phoenix Yang, Poison Yü, Five Deer, Big-eyes Li, Po Jao, Sui Ku and Dry Crab. The larger of them would control twenty or thirty thousand men, the smaller only six or seven thousand.⁶

Ox-horn Chang and Flying Swallow Ch'u combined their forces to attack Ying-t'ao, but Ox-horn was struck by an arrow and mortally wounded. Before he died, he ordered all his followers to obey Flying Swallow as their leader, and Flying Swallow changed his surname to Chang. Flying Swallow's personal name was Yen [meaning a swallow], but he was quick and agile and brave, and so the men of his army called him Flying Swallow. Many of the bandits and robbers in the hills and valleys came to join him, his forces grew steadily in numbers till they even reached a million, and they were known as the Black Mountain bandits.⁷ All the commanderies north of the Yellow River were exposed to their attacks and the court could do nothing to stop them. Then Yen sent messengers to the capital with a memorial asking to surrender, and he was appointed General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Pacifies Disorder and was given charge of all the affairs of the hills and valleys north of the Yellow River. Every year he was entitled to nominate Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidates and to send in Reporting Officers.⁸

The Minister over the Masses Yüan Wei left office. In the third month the Commandant of Justice Ts'ui Lieh became Minister over the Masses. Lieh was a cousin of Shih.⁹

At this time it was common practice for the three Dukes to obtain their appointments by submitting money to the Western Garden through the Regular Attendants and the imperial nurses. Tuan Chung, Chang Wen and others, although they had great achievements and a

fine reputation, they still had to pay their money before they could receive promotion to the highest rank. Lieh submitted five million cash through a nurse, and only then was he made Minister over the Masses. On the day that he was inaugurated, with the Emperor in attendance and all the court gathered for the ceremony, the Emperor turned to his favourites and said: "I'm afraid we should have kept him waiting a bit longer. We could have got ten million out of him." 379 The Lady Ch'eng,¹⁰ standing beside him, replied: "Lord Ts'ui is one of the leading men of Chi Province, why should he be prepared to buy his office? You don't realise how lucky you are, it was only through my work that you got anything at all." From this time, Lieh's reputation suffered a considerable decline.

Pei-kung Po-yü and his forces plundered in the Three Adjuncts, and an edict ordered Huang-fu Sung, the General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left, to move into Ch'ang-an and attack them.

At this time, the whole of Liang Province was in continual disorder and rebellion, and the court had to call again and again on the corvée services and the taxes. Ts'ui Lieh proposed that Liang Province should be abandoned, and the Emperor called a council of the dukes, ministers and all court officials to discuss the question. The Gentleman-consultant Fu Hsieh spoke most vehemently against the idea, saying: "If only the Minister over the Masses was executed, all the troubles of the empire would be at an end." The Masters of Writing protested to the Emperor that Hsieh had abused a great minister in open court. The Emperor asked Hsieh to justify himself, and Hsieh replied: "Fan K'uai considered Mo-tun to be treacherous, and he gave his opinion very forcefully. In no way did he offend the correct conduct of a subject, but Chi Pu could still say: 'K'uai should be executed.'¹¹ Now Liang Province is one of the most important and valuable districts of the empire, and a bulwark of our state. When Kao-tsu first came to power, he sent Li Shang on a special mission to settle the lands west of the Lung Mountain.¹² When Emperor Wu held the government, he established four commanderies in that region, and all agreed that this was like cutting off the right arm of the Hsiung-nu.¹³ Now the official

administrators have lost control, and they have let the whole province fall into rebellion. Lieh is one of the highest ministers, yet he takes no thought to the real needs of the state and he makes no plan for restoring order. Instead he is prepared to abandon ten thousand li of territory. I have the gravest doubts of his plan. Should this region be occupied by the barbarians, so they could cause trouble by their great military strength, then this would be of the utmost danger to our empire and a serious loss to the nation. If Lieh did not realise the consequences of his proposal, he is a fool. If he knows what he is saying, he is a traitor." The Emperor thought Hsieh's argument excellent, and he rejected Lieh's proposal.

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day keng-hsü [28.V] there was great rain and hail.

In the fifth month the Grand Commandant Teng Sheng was dismissed. The Grand Coachman Chang Yen of Ho-nan was made Grand Commandant.

In the sixth month Chang Jang and eleven other Palace Regular Attendants were enfeoffed as full marquises for their good work against Chang Chüeh.

1880 In the autumn, in the seventh month, there was a plague of locusts in the Three Adjuncts.

When Huang-fu Sung had been fighting Chang Chüeh, he passed through Yeh and saw that the mansion of the Palace Regular Attendant Chao Chung was far more luxurious than the regulations allowed. He sent in a memorial and it was confiscated. On another occasion, the Palace Regular Attendant Chang Jang had privately solicited a bribe of fifty million cash and Sung refused to give it. As a result, both Chung and Jang sent in memorials saying that Sung had been fighting one battle after another, had gained no success, and was wasting his resources. Sung was recalled, his seal and tassel as General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left were taken away from him, and the value of his fief was reduced by six thousand households. In the eighth month the Minister of Works Chang Wen was

made General of Chariots and Cavalry, with the Bearer of the Golden Mace Yüan P'ang as his assistant, and was sent against Pei-kung Po-yü. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household [of the East] Tung Cho was made General Who Rout the Caitiffs and was ordered, with Chou Shen the General Who Terrifies Criminals, to act under Wen's command.

In the ninth month, by special decision of the Emperor, Yang Tz'u became Minister of Works. In the winter, in the tenth month, Yang Tz'u died. He held the marquisate of Lin-chin, and his posthumous title was 'Brilliant cultivation.' The Imperial Household Grandee Hsü Hsiang became Minister of Works. Hsiang was a son of Hsün.¹⁴

The Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant Liu T'ao sent in a memorial to say: "A little while ago the empire suffered the disorders of Chang Chüeh, and more recently we have the rebellion of Pien Chang on our hands. The rebel Ch'iang on our west have already invaded Ho-tung, and I am afraid they may grow so strong they can even attack the capital itself. Our own people are always prepared to flee before them, never to stand and fight. The rebels are advancing steadily, and the Chariots and Cavalry General is isolated and in considerable danger. If he should happen to be defeated, there would be no way to rescue him. I realise that I may be speaking too much on this, and so cause you displeasure, but I feel I must give you my opinion. When the state is at peace, a minister may enjoy the good fortune, and when the state is in danger he must also be prepared to sacrifice himself. I respectfully resubmit these eight immediate and urgent points." In the rest of the document, he set out the general argument that the troubles of the empire all came from the eunuchs.

The eunuchs spoke against T'ao: "When the Chang Chüeh business arose, imperial edicts displayed your majesty and grace, and since that time all the rebels have repented. Now the world is at peace, and yet T'ao casts a slur upon your sage-like government and he takes it upon himself to speak heresy and evil. There have been no reports from the provinces or commanderies, so where does T'ao get his information from? He's probably in league with the rebels." T'ao was arrested and sent to the Northern Jail of the Yellow Gates,¹⁵ and was questioned every day with steadily increasing tortures. He said to the messengers:

1881 "I am sorry that I cannot match the performances of Yi Yin of Shang nor Lü Shang of Chou;¹⁶ it seems my lot resembles the three virtuous men of Yin.¹⁷ Above you kill your ministers who give honest advice, below you cause suffering and distress to your people. If this goes on much longer, it will be too late to repent." He choked and died. The former Minister over the Masses Ch'en Tan was a loyal and upright man, but the eunuchs hated him and slandered him and he died in jail.

Chang Wen led more than a hundred thousand men, horse and foot gathered from several different commanderies, and set his camp at Mei-yang. Pien Chang and Han Sui also brought their troops to Mei-yang, and Wen fought them but without success. In the eleventh month Tung Cho combined forces with Pao Hung of Yu-fu-feng and they attacked Chang and Sui together and completely defeated them. Chang and Sui fled to Yü-chung.

Wen sent Chou Shen to lead thirty thousand men in pursuit of the rebels. Sun Chien, Adviser to the Army,¹⁸ said to Shen: "The enemy have no supplies of grain in the city and they will have to collect it from outside. Let me have ten thousand men and I can cut off their supply routes. You, my general, follow behind me with the main body of the army, and the enemy will be reduced to distress and will not dare to fight. They will run away to the Ch'iang, and then we can combine our forces to attack them and all Liang Province will be settled." Shen would not agree, and he led his whole army to besiege Yü-chung city. Then Chang and Sui sent soldiers out to camp at K'uei-yüan Gorge,¹⁹ and they were able to cut Shen's supply lines instead. Shen took fright, abandoned his baggage train and fled.

Wen also sent Tung Cho forward with thirty thousand men to attack the Hsien-lien Ch'iang, but the Ch'iang and some other barbarians from the north surrounded Cho north of Wang-yüan. His supplies were cut off and running short. There was a river crossing nearby, and there he built a dam as if he was going to use it to catch fish, but instead he quietly moved his army to the other side of the river

By the time the enemy came after them, he had let out the water and there was no way to cross. Then he made his way back to Fu-feng.

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Chang Wen sent orders by imperial authority to call Cho to his presence, but Cho delayed a long time before he went to see him. Wen reprimanded Cho, but Cho answered back. Sun Chien came forward and whispered to Wen: "Cho has no fear that he may be punished, so he acts proud and talks big. Because he failed to answer your summons in time, you should execute him according to military law." Wen said: "Cho has made a great name for himself in the territory between the Yellow River and the Lung Mountain. If I kill him now, we will have no support when our army moves to the west." Chien said: "Your excellency, you are the leader of the imperial army and your authority makes all the empire tremble. Why must you rely on Cho? Look at what he says: he does not even pretend to courtesy towards you. He treats his superiors lightly and has no sense of respect. This is one crime. Pien Chang and Han Sui have defied the law for more than a year and now is the time that we should advance to punish the rebels, yet Cho says we can't go. He delays the army and makes the people uncertain. This is a second crime. Cho holds an official position but he has nothing to show for it, he waited a long time before he answered your summons, he acts with cruelty and holds himself high. This is the third crime. The famous leaders of the past were given an axe to rule their armies, any of them would have cut off a man's head if it served his purpose.²⁰ Yet now you extend your consideration to Cho and you refrain from punishing him. This is where you will lose and destroy the authority of the law." Wen could not bear to act like that, and he said to Chien: "You go back or Cho will get suspicious." So Chien left the hall.

In this year the Emperor built the Golden Treasury Hall in the Western Garden, and brought all the gold and cash and silk of the Ministry of Agriculture to store it there. He also deposited tens of millions of cash with his Junior Attendants of the Yellow Gates and his Regular Attendants so they should store the money for him in their own homes. In Ho-chien he bought land and houses and built a pleasure palace for himself.²¹

Chung-p'ing 3rd year [7.II.186-26.I.187]

In the spring, in the second month, Chao Tz'u, a soldier in Chiang-hsia, led a mutiny and killed the Grand Administrator of Nan-yang, Ch'in Hsieh.

On the day keng-hsü [24.III] there was an amnesty for the empire.

The Grand Commandant Chang Yen was dismissed. A messenger was sent with credentials to go to Ch'ang-an and appoint Chang Wen as Grand Commandant. This was the first occasion that one of the three Dukes had held his appointment outside the capital.

The Palace Regular Attendant Chao Chung was made General of Chariots and Cavalry. The Emperor ordered him to prepare a list of those who had done good work in the wars against the Yellow Turbans. Chen Chü, the Bearer of the Golden Mace, said to Chung: "Fu Nan-jung was with the armies in the east and did well, but he never received a marquisate¹ and many people in the empire were discouraged at such a worthy man failing to gain recognition. Now you, my general, hold a most important post. You should bring this worthy man forward to notice and right the wrong that has been done him. This is the sort of thing that people like to see." Chung accepted this idea, and he sent his younger brother Yen, who was Colonel of the City Gates, to give compliments to Fu Hsieh, and say to him: "Nan-jung, just make a bit of response to my brother, and a marquisate with ten thousand households is all yours." Hsieh, showing no change in his expression, turned him down: "If I did well and no-one took note of it, that's just a matter of luck. But how can I seek for a reward by underhand means?" Chung was extremely angry, but he was afraid of Hsieh's reputation and did not dare to harm him. Hsieh was sent out to be Grand Administrator of Han-yang.

The Emperor told the Prefect Intendant of the Imperial Palace Parks Sung Tien to repair the Jade Hall in the Southern Palace, and he set the Prefect of the Lateral Courts Pi Lan to cast

four bronze statues and four bells, and both officers were issued with two thousand bushels of grain. There were also images cast of heavenly deer and frogs which jetted water and these were set up at the east of the bridge outside the P'ing Gate² to bring water into the palace. He had water wheels and a thirsty crow³ set up at the west of the bridge, and water was sprayed down the north-south roads of the suburbs. The Emperor planned that this should save his people the expense of scattering water to lay the dust.

In the fifth month, on the day jen-ch'en, the last day of the month [4.VII], there was an eclipse of the sun.

In the sixth month the Inspector of Ching Province Wang Min attacked Chao Tz'u and killed him.

The General of Chariots and Cavalry Chao Chung was dismissed.

In the winter, in the tenth month, the barbarians of Wu-ling rebelled. The commandery troops attacked them and defeated them.

Chang Yen, the former Grand Commandant, was slandered by the eunuchs and was sent to prison and died.

In the twelfth month the Hsien-pi raided the two provinces of Yu and Ping.

Chang Wen was recalled to the capital.

Chung-p'ing 4th year [27.I.187-14.II.188]:

884 In the spring, in the first month, on the day chi-mao [16.II] there was an amnesty for the empire.

In the second month the bandits of Jung-yang killed the Prefect of Chung-mou. In the third month the Intendant of Ho-nan, Ho Miao, attacked the bandits and destroyed them. Miao was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry.

Han Sui killed Pien Chang, Pei-kung Po-yü and Li Wen-hou, took over all their forces to command more than a hundred thousand men, and then went forward to besiege the headquarters of Lung-hsi commandery.¹

The Grand Administrator, Li Hsiang-ju, rebelled against the Han and made an alliance with Sui.

Keng Pi, the Inspector of Liang Province, led the troops of six commanderies to attack Sui. Pi had appointed Ch'eng Ch'iu as his Attendant Official at Headquarters, but Ch'iu was in league with a gang of profiteers and extortioners, and the lower officials and the common people hated him. The Grand Administrator of Han-yang Fu Hsieh said to Pi: "Commissioner, you have not had much experience in administration, and the people are not yet accustomed to you. When the rebels hear that your powerful army is approaching, they will all be united against you. Those men from the border country are excellent fighters, and it will be hard to match their attacks. On the other hand, our men have only recently been gathered together, and the officers and soldiers are not yet used to one another. If there should be some trouble within our ranks it will be too late for regrets. The best thing to do is to let the army halt a while and build up morale. Make your rewards clear and your punishments certain. When you take the pressure off the rebels like this, they are sure to say to themselves that we are afraid of them. Evil men such as they are will certainly struggle for power, and they will soon quarrel among themselves. After that, you will be leading people who know what they are fighting for, and bringing them against an enemy who is completely disorganised. You need only sit and wait, and success will come." Pi would not accept his advice. In the summer, in the fourth month, Pi came to Ti-tao, and then his Aide-de-Camp led a mutiny and joined the rebels. First they killed Ch'eng Ch'iu and then they killed Pi. The rebels came forward to besiege Han-yang. In the capital of Han-yang² there were few soldiers and no reserves of food, but Hsieh still held firm.

At this time, there were several thousand barbarian horsemen from Pei-ti who had followed the rebel army and were now involved in the attack on Han-yang. In the past they had been well-treated by Hsieh, and now they came and made the kowtow outside the walls of the city and asked Hsieh to accept their escort back to his

native village. Hsieh's son Kan, thirteen years old, said to his father: "The nation is in confusion and disorder, and that is why you have never received your true deserts from the court. You have too few soldiers now to maintain your defence, and you should accept the invitation of these Ch'iang and other tribes-people and go back to our homeland. Wait until a worthy man appears, and then join him." Even before he had finished speaking, Hsieh sighed miserably and said: "You know that I must die. A sage is equal to any position, and even a lesser man should not fail his responsibilities.³ Chou of Yin was cruel and tyrannical, yet Po-yi died for him because he could not eat the millet of the conquering Chou dynasty.⁴ I have met with a time of disorder and I cannot fulfil my true ambition.⁵ I have taken his salary, so how can I seek to avoid his time of danger? Where else can I go? I must die here! You have talent and understanding, I hope you will do your best. Yang Hui, the Master of Records, will act as my Ch'eng Ying."⁶

Wang Kuo, a man of Ti-tao, sent the former Grand Administrator of Chiu-ch'üan Huang Yen to say to Hsieh: "The empire is gone forever from the government of Han. Magistrate, would you be prepared to become our leader?" Hsieh put hand to his sword and shouted at Yen: "You, an official with a seal, have become the message-boy for a gang of rebels." Then he led out his soldiers in a charge, and he died in the thick of the fray. Ma T'eng of Fu-feng, who had been Major under Keng Pi, also encouraged his troops to rebel, and he joined forces with Han Sui. They made Wang Kuo their leader, and they plundered the Three Adjuncts.

Because the bandits and the rebels had not been pacified, the Grand Commandant Chang Wen left office. The Minister of the Masses Ts'ui Lieh became Grand Commandant. In the fifth month the Minister of Works Hsü Hsiang became Minister over the Masses and the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Ting Kung of P'ei state became Minister of Works.

Before this, Chang Wen had raised three thousand shock cavalry from the Wu-huan of Yu Province to use them against Liang Province. The former Chancellor of Chung-shan, Chang Ch'un of Yü-yang, asked to be given the command, but Wen turned him down and appointed the Prefect of Cho, Kung-sun Tsan of Liao-hsi. When the army reached Chi Territory,

1886 the Wu-huan found that none of their supplies had been issued, and many of them mutinied and went back home. Chang Ch'un, who was annoyed that he had not been given the command, now made an alliance with Chang Chü, a man from the same commandery, who had once been Grand Administrator of T'ai-shan, and with a chieftain of the Wu-huan, Ch'iu-li-chü. Together they raided Chi. They killed the Colonel Protector of the Wu-huan, Kung-ch'i Ch'ou, the Grand Administrator of Yu-pei-p'ing, Liu Cheng, and the Grand Administrator of Liao-tung, Yang Chung. Their forces now numbered more than a hundred thousand, they set their base at Fei-ju, and Chang Chü was proclaimed Emperor. Ch'un took the titles of General Who Governs the Universe and King of An-ting. They sent a letter to the provinces and commanderies to say that Chü was destined to succeed the Han, that the Son of Heaven should leave his place, and that he should send his dukes and ministers to receive the new ruler.

In the winter, in the tenth month, the bandit Ou Hsing of Ch'ang-sha gave himself the title of General. He commanded an army of more than ten thousand men. An edict appointed the Gentleman-consultant Sun Chien as Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha, and he attacked the bandits and pacified them. Chien was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wu-ch'eng.

In the eleventh month the Grand Commandant Ts'ui Lieh was dismissed. The Grand Minister of Agriculture Ts'ao Sung was made Grand Commandant.

In the twelfth month Chü-ko barbarians⁷ rebelled.

In this year Marquisates of the Imperial Domain⁸ were sold for the price of five million cash.

Ch'en Shih, former Chief of T'ai-ch'iu, died. More than thirty thousand men came from every part of the empire to attend his funeral. In his own village, Shih would deal with every problem calmly and equitably. If there was some dispute, people would always come to ask his judgment, he would explain who was right and who was wrong, and no-one ever went away dissatisfied with his decision. People would sigh and say: "It is better to be punished by the law

than to have Master Ch'en despise you." When Yang Tz'u and Ch'en Tan were appointed as dukes and ministers, and all the officials paid them respects, they would sigh that Shih was the man worthy of the highest positions, and they were ashamed to take precedence over him.⁹

CHAPTER 59

Chung-p'ing 5th year [15.II.188-3.II.189]:

1887 In the spring, in the first month, on the day ting-yu [29.II] there was an amnesty for the empire.

In the second month there was a comet in Tzu-kung.¹

Some remnants of the Yellow Turban rebels under Kuo T'ai made a rising at Po-po valley in Hsi-hò.² They ravaged T'ai-yüan and Ho-tung commanderies.

In the third month the Chü-ko barbarians attacked and killed Chang Yi, the Inspector of Ping Province.

The Grand Master of Ceremonies Liu Yen of Chiang-hsia, seeing the many difficulties of the imperial house, made a proposal: "In all directions there are soldiers and bandits. Since the authority of the Inspectors is too slight there is no means of preventing this. Moreover, since unworthy men are appointed to office, this represents further cause for rebellion. The office of Inspector should be changed to Governor, and strong ministers of good reputation should be selected to occupy these posts."

For himself, Yen hoped to be appointed Governor of Chiao-chih.

1888 The Palace Attendant Tung Fu of Kuang-han spoke privately to Yen and said: "The capital district will fall into disorder, and the territory of Yi Province has omens of the Son of Heaven." So Yen changed his plans and asked for Yi Province.

About this time, Ch'ih Chien, the Inspector of Yi Province, was causing unrest by his levies for government service, and reports were heard far off. Then Keng Pi and Chang Yi were killed by bandits; and so the court followed Yen's advice. They chose men of ministerial rank and from the Masters of Writing to be Governors of Provinces, 1889 each to hold office according to his original salary. Yen was made Governor of Yi Province, the Grand Coachman Huang Wan became Governor

of Yü Province, and the Superintendent of the Imperial House Liu Yü of Tung-hai became Governor of Yu Province. The importance of office in the provinces begins from this.³ 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.⁴ Yü had once been Inspector of Yu Province, the barbarians and the people had admired his grace and honesty, and so he was given the post. Tung Fu and the Prefect of the Grand Granary Chao Wei both left their offices and followed Yen into Shu.

An edict ordered that the troops of the Southern Hsiung-nu should be sent to help Liu Yü attack Chang Ch'un, and the Shan-yü Ch'iang-chü sent the Worthy King of the East to lead cavalry to Yu Province. The people of the kingdom were afraid that there would be no end to the levy of soldiers, and for this reason the Yu-pu hsi-lo⁵ 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 Worthy King of the West Yü-fu-lo as Chih-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 Privy Treasurer of the Yung-lo Palace⁶ Fan Ling of Nan-yang became Grand Commandant.

In the sixth month he left office.

Ma Hsiang, Chao Chih and other bandits of Yi Province raised troops at Mien-chu, called themselves Yellow Turbans, and killed the Inspector Ch'ih Chien. 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. Chia Lung, an Attendant Official of the province, 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 troops to receive Liu Yen. Yen shifted his administration to Mien-chu, settled the unrest, and was careful to

act generously and to obtain the support of the people.

Seven of the commanderies and kingdoms had great floods.⁷

The son Yi of the former Grand Tutor Ch'en Fan⁸ met the master of magic Hsiang K'ai⁹ at the residence of Wang Fen, Inspector of Chi Province. K'ai said: "The stars are not favourable to the eunuchs. All the Yellow Gates and the Regular Attendants will surely be destroyed." Yi was glad of it. Fen said: "If that is going to happen, let us take the lead." So they called together the powerful local families and sent a message to the capital to say that the Black Mountain bandits were attacking commanderies and prefectures and that they would need to raise troops. At this time the Emperor was intending to go on a tour of the north, to his old home in Ho-chien. Fen and the other conspirators planned to intercept the party with their soldiers, kill all the Regular Attendants and the officers of the Yellow Gates, and then depose the Emperor and set up the Marquis of Ho-fei.¹⁰ They told their plan to the Gentleman-consultant Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ts'ao said: "Now to depose one emperor and set up another is a most unfortunate business for the empire. In earlier times there were men who calculated success and failure, worked out their policy and followed it through: these were Yi [Yin] and Huo [Kuang].¹¹ Yi and Huo both acted honestly and with complete loyalty, they held position as chief ministers and so held the power of the government, and they were in agreement with the wishes of the people. For these reasons they were able to calculate their following and carry out the enthronement. Now you are looking only at the easy points of the past and you do not recognise the difficulties of the present. So you plan to do something out of the ordinary and you are confident that it will succeed. Isn't that dangerous?" Fen also spoke and discussed plans with Hua Hsin of P'ing-yuan and T'ao-ch'iu Hung. Hung was prepared to join in, but Hsin stopped him, saying: "A coup such as this is a great matter, even Yi and Huo found it difficult. Fen is inefficient, and no fighting man. He is sure to fail." So Hung gave up the idea. About this time, in the middle of the night, there was a red light in the north stretching across the

sky from east to west. The Grand Clerk sent in a memorial: "The north conceals some secret plot, the Emperor should not travel there." The Emperor did not go. Fen was ordered to disband his soldiers, and soon afterwards he was recalled to the capital. Fen was afraid, he left his seal and tassel of office and fled. He came to P'ing-yüan and killed himself.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound Ma Mi-ti became Grand Commandant. Mi-ti was a clansman of [Ma] Jung.¹²

391 In the eighth month there was established for the first time the eight Colonels of the Western Garden: the Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gate Chien Shih was made Colonel of the First Army, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household As Rapid As a Tiger Yüan Shao was made Colonel of the Centre Army, the Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry Pao Hung became Colonel of the Lower Army, the Gentleman-consultant Ts'ao Ts'ao became Colonel Who Arranges the Army, Chao Jung became Colonel of the Left Assisting the Army, Feng Fang became Colonel of the Right Assisting the Army, the Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant Hsia Mou became Colonel of the Left, and Ch'un-yü Ch'iuung became Colonel of the Right. 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 and even the General-in-Chief was under his orders.¹³

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 Guard Tung Chung, Marquis of T'iao, was made General of the Agile Cavalry. Chung was the son of the elder brother of the 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 avoid this and he made a great levy of soldiers from all directions and held manoeuvres below the P'ing-lo Observatory.¹⁴ A great platform was set up, twelve ceremonial umbrellas were put on top of it, with each umbrella a hundred feet high. Northeast of that was a smaller platform, again with nine ceremonial umbrellas, each ninety feet high. Several tens of thousands of infantry and cavalry were drawn up, they made defended camps and formed line of battle. On the day chia-tzu [22.XI], the Emperor himself came out to the army and halted below the great umbrellas, while the General-in-Chief [Ho] Chin took his stand below the smaller umbrellas. The Emperor wore armour and rode a mailed horse, and he was hailed as 'General Supreme'. He went about the army three times, then came back and handed the soldiers over to Chin.

The Emperor asked the Colonel Who Exterminates the Caitiffs.
Ho 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 took no thought of weapons, but now there are bandits far away and an army is raised close at hand. That is no way to show bravery, it is nothing but a waste of effort." The Emperor said: "Excellent. I am sorry you did not come earlier, for not one of my ministers has said this before." Hsün said to Yuan Shao:
1392 "The Emperor has a clear understanding, but he is deceived by those about him", and he made plans with Shao to kill the favourites.
Chien Shih was afraid and sent Hsün off to be Intendant of Ching-chao.

In the eleventh month Wang Kuo besieged Ch'en-ts'ang. An edict ordered that Huang-fu Sung be again appointed as General of the Left, to take command over the General of the Van Tung Cho and to combine forces and oppose Kuo with forty thousand men.

Chang Ch'un and Ch'iu-li Chü plundered in the four provinces of Ch'ing, Hsü, Yu and Chi, and an edict ordered the Chief Commandant of Cavalry Kung-sun Tsan to attack them. Tsan fought them at Shih-men, in the dependent state.¹⁵ Ch'un and his forces were completely defeated and he abandoned his wife and children and fled across the

border. All the men and women that he had kidnapped were recovered. Without waiting for reinforcements Tsan advanced deep into enemy territory but then the tables were turned and he was besieged at Kuan-tzu fortress 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, one may fight a hundred battles and be a hundred times victorious, but it is far better to make the other man's soldiers surrender without any fighting. Although Ch'en-ts'ang is small, its defences are strong and in good order and it will not be easy to capture. Though Wang Kuo is strong, when he has attacked Ch'en-ts'ang and has failed to take 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.

Chung-p'ing 6th year [4.II.189-22.II.190]:¹

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 his men forward 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. At first, I did not attack because I wanted to avoid their early strength. 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 running away and they have no intention of fighting. With disciplined troops we strike at confused ones, and this is no matter of desperate bandits."² He went on alone to attack them and set Cho as the rear-guard. In several battles he completely defeated them, and cut off

more than ten thousand heads. Cho was ashamed and angry, and from this time he had a grudge against Sung.

Han Sui and other leaders deposed Wang Kuo and forced the former Prefect of Hsin-tu, Yen Chung of Han-yang, to take command of all their forces. Chung took ill and died, and Han and Sui and the others struggled for power and began to kill one another. From this they gradually became weakened.

Liu Yü, Governor of Yu Province, arrived in his territory and sent messengers with warnings among the Hsien-pi. 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 his allies heard that Yü had come and were glad of it. Each sent messengers and they all went back home. Chü and Ch'un fled across the border and all their followers surrendered or scattered. Yü sent in a memorial that all the troops in camp should be disbanded, leaving only the Colonel Who Brings the Caitiffs to Surrender 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 planned to bring them to submission by generosity and good faith. As a result 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.III],³ 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.⁴ He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Jung-ch'iu.

Chien Shih hated the General-in-Chief [Hó] Chin, and with all the Regular Attendants he urged the Emperor to send Chin west to attack Han Sui. The Emperor agreed. Chin learnt privately of the plot, and he sent in a memorial that Yüan Shao should be sent to collect the soldiers of the two provinces of Hsü and Yen. In this way he delayed action, because Shao had to come back before he himself went to the west.

Before this, several of the Emperor's children had died in childhood. The Empress née Ho gave birth to a son Pien, and he was brought up at the house of a Taoist named Shih Tzu-miao. He was called Lord Shih. The
94 Beauty née Wang gave birth to a son Hsieh, and the Empress-dowager née Tung brought him up herself. He was called Lord Tung.⁵ All the ministers asked that an Heir-apparent be named. The Emperor held that Pien was frivolous and without dignity, he intended to give the succession to Hsieh, but he had not yet finally decided.⁶ About this time he became very ill, and he entrusted Hsieh to Chien Shih. On the day ping-ch'en [13.V], the Emperor died in the Chia-te Apartments.

At this time Shih was in the palace, and he planned first to kill Ho Chin and then to enthrone Hsieh. He sent an invitation to Chin to come and make plans with him, and Chin immediately mounted his chariot to go to the palace. P'an Yin, a major in Shih's command, was an old friend of Chin. He went to meet him and gave a warning look. Chin took fright, galloped straight back to his quarters and led the soldiers to camp at Po-chün-ti.⁷ There he announced that he was ill and could not come to the palace.

On the day wu-wu [15.V] 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 reign-title was changed to Kuang-hsi. The Emperor's younger brother Hsieh was enfeoffed as King of Po-hai. Hsieh was aged nine sui.⁸ The General of the Rear Yüan Wei was made Grand Tutor and took part in the control of the affairs of the Masters of Writing with the General-in-Chief Ho Chin.⁹

Chin controlled the government of the court. He was angry at Chien Shih's plot against himself, and he secretly planned to kill him. Yüan Shao, through Chin's close dependent Chang Chin, urged Ho Chin to kill all the eunuchs. Because the Yüan clan had been honoured for generation after generation, and because Shao and his younger cousin the General of the Gentlemen of the Household As Rapid As a Tiger [Yüan] Shu were both respected by the great families, Chin trusted them and gave them office.¹⁰ He also made wide levy of men who were wise and able in planning: Ho Jung, Hsün Yu, Cheng T'ai of Ho-nan and others, more than twenty men. Jung was

made Palace Captain of the Northern Army, Yu was Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates, and T'ai became a Master of Writing. Ho Chin trusted these men completely.¹¹ Yu was a great-nephew of Shuang.

1895 Chien Shih was anxious and uneasy. He wrote to the Palace Regular Attendants Chao Chung and Sung Tien: "The General-in-Chief and his relatives have seized the state and usurp authority 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 all our people. He only hesitates because I control the imperial troops. You two should lock the doors of the palace, take him quickly, and kill him." The Palace Regular Attendant Kuo Sheng came from the same commandery as Chin. He had played some part in the fortunes of the Empress-dowager and Chin, and he was a close ally of the Ho clan. He joined the discussions with Chao Chung and his party, persuaded them to reject Shih's plan, and then showed the letter to Chin. On the day keng-wu [27.V] Chin sent the Prefect of the Yellow Gates¹² to arrest Shih and execute him, and then he took over his troops in camp.

The General of the Agile Cavalry Tung Chung had made some opposition to Ho Chin's authority, and the palace officers now made him the figurehead of their party. Whenever the Empress-dowager née Tung wanted to interfere in matters of government the Empress-dowager née Ho always stopped her. The Lady Tung was furious and shouted at her: "Now you are powerful, you rely on your brother! I can order the General of Agile Cavalry to cut off Ho Chin's head as easily as I turn my hand!" The Empress-dowager née Ho heard this, and told Chin of it.

In the fifth month Chin with the three Dukes memorialised: "The Empress Hsiao-jen [i.e. the Empress-dowager née Tung] ordered the former Palace Regular Attendant Hsia Yün and others to communicate to the provincial and commandery governments that they should estimate the taxes and send them all to the western palace.¹³ According to precedent, the retired empress should be ordered to leave the capital

district,¹⁴ and we request now that she shift residence to her own state." The memorial was approved. On the day hsin-ssu [7.VI] 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.VII] the Empress-dowager née Tung died suddenly from grief and fear. Because of this the people no longer accepted the Ho clan.

On the day hsin-yu [17.VII] the Hsiao-ling Emperor was buried at Wen-ling. Ho Chin, taking warning from Chien Shih's plot, announced that he was sick and neither attended the mourning nor accompanied the funeral.

There were great floods.¹⁵

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In the autumn, in the seventh month, King Hsieh of Po-hai was transferred to be King of Ch'en-liu. The Minister over the Masses Ting Kung left office.

Yüan Shao said to Chin: "In the past, Tou Wu planned to kill the palace favourites but he himself came to grief. The only reason was that he allowed word to leak out. The soldiers of the five regiments were all afraid and submitted to the eunuchs, yet Tou relied on them and so brought misfortune to himself."¹⁶ At the moment, you and your brother [Miao] both control strong forces. Your leaders and the officers of divisions are all men of brave and fine reputation, and they are ready to do their utmost in carrying out your orders. Everything is in your hands, this is opportunity sent 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 this chance slip." Then Chin spoke to the Empress-dowager, and he asked to dismiss all the Palace Regular Attendants and those of lower rank, and to appoint Gentlemen of the Household to fill their places.¹⁷ The Empress-dowager would not hear of it, and said: "The eunuchs' control of the forbidden apartments has been a 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, and how can I maintain dignity and respect if I deal with strange men face to face?" Chin found it difficult to disregard the Empress-dowager's

feelings, and yet he still wanted to punish the evil-doers. Shao argued that the eunuchs were close to the Emperor, sending out and taking in orders, and unless this was stopped right away 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 the eunuchs. They knew Chin wanted to kill the attendants, and they spoke several times to the Empress-dowager so that she would give protection. They also said: "If the General-in-Chief takes action on his own authority and kills eunuchs, he will be usurping power and will weaken the government." The Empress-dowager suspected this was true. Chin had only recently come to high position, and up to this time he had always respected the eunuchs. Though outwardly he seemed to be in pursuit of a great name, inwardly he lacked decision, and so the matter remained 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. His Master of Records Ch'en Lin of Kuang-ling said: "There is a proverb about closing the eyes to catch a bird.¹⁸ Now if in small things one cannot use deceit to get what one wants, surely this applies still more strongly in the great affairs of state? How can such things be done by trickery? 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 pumping up a fire in a stove, to singe a hair. You have only to be quick and display the thunder of your power. Use your judgment to make a decision and both heaven and man will approve it. But if you let go your own strength and call in outside help, then great military forces will collect and the strongest will be the best. That can be described as turning a spear against yourself and passing the handle to someone else. Your plans will surely fail, and these are the steps to disorder." Chin would not listen. The Colonel Who Arranges the Army Ts'ao Ts'ao heard of it and laughed, saying: "The offices of eunuchs, both ancient and modern should have them, but the

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✓ lords of the time should not grant them such authority and favour, and so let them come to this. To correct the trouble he must remove the criminals among them. One jail officer is enough for that, so why is he confused and calling soldiers in from outside? If he plans to kill them all, the affair will certainly leak out, and I can already see his failure."

Before this, Emperor Ling had summoned Tung Cho to become Privy Treasurer but Cho sent in a memorial saying: "My Huang-chung auxiliaries¹⁹ and the northern barbarians all came to me and said 'Our wages have not been paid and our supplies have not come through. Our wives and children are hungry and cold.' They pulled at my carriage so it could not move. These barbarians have evil hearts and have as little patience as a dog; I cannot control them, so I have stayed with them to keep them quiet. If there is anything different or unusual, I will report again."²⁰ The court could do nothing. 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 sent another memorial: "Undeservedly I have received 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 they 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 between you and Tung Cho. There is already bad feeling between you, and 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 delay and refuses to come: this is to embrace
898 wrongdoing. These two things are unpardonable. Moreover, he is cruel and perverse and has no loyal friends. His officers and men will not follow him. You are now the senior general. If you punish him by the authority of the state, above you will be brilliantly loyal, below you will wipe out evil and harm. This would be a good thing in every way." Sung replied: "Though it is wrong to disobey commands, to punish on my

own authority would also be worthy of blame. It is best to send up a clear account of this matter, and let the court decide it." He sent in a memorial to report the situation, and the Emperor scolded Cho. Cho paid no attention to the letter but lodged his troops in Ho-tung to wait for the changes of time.

Ho Chin called on Cho to bring officers and men to the capital district. The Attendant Imperial Clerk 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 Make your decision and take action on your own to destroy the criminals. You can't ask help from Cho. Besides, if you delay the thing, changes will come. The example of the Yin is not far off,²² and you must make your mind up soon." The Master of Writing Lu Chih also said not to call on Cho, but Chin would follow neither of them. T'ai resigned 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 Chief Commandant of Cavalry Pao Hsin both came from T'ai-shan. Chin sent them back to their own districts to raise troops, and at the same time he ordered the Grand Administrator of Tung commandery, Ch'iao Mao, to camp at Ch'eng-kao, and he sent the Chief Commandant Who is Martial and Brave Ting Yüan to lead several thousand men to ravage Ho-nei and burn Meng-chin.²³ The fire could be seen from the city. All was under the pretext of punishing the eunuchs.

Tung Cho received the summons and set out at once. He also sent another memorial: "The Palace Regular Attendants Chang Jang and others have usurped favour and played for advantage. They have corrupted and disordered all within the seas. I have heard of men fanning the fire to stop soup from boiling, but it is far better to take away the firewood.²⁴ Though it may be painful to burst an abscess, it is better than a cancerous growth. In ancient times Chao Yang raised

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the armed men of Chin-yang to drive out the evil by the side of his lord. Now I sound the bells and the drums and go to Lo-yang.²⁵

I beg to arrest Jang and the others and so clear out evil and uncleanness." The Empress-dowager still would not approve. Ho Miao spoke to Chin and said: "When we first came from Nan-yang we none of us had much money, and it was through the eunuchs of the inner palace that we came to wealth and honour.²⁶ In affairs of state how can you act lightly? Water tipped out cannot be collected. Think hard about it, and then make peace with the eunuchs."

Cho came to Min-ch'ih, but then Chin became uncertain and sent the Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant Ch'ung Shao with an imperial order that he should halt. Cho refused to accept the order and continued on into Ho-nan. Shao escorted him politely, and then again showed him the order to withdraw his army. Cho suspected there was some trick and sent some of his men to frighten Shao, but Shao was angry and abused them for defying the imperial command. All the soldiers scattered, and then he went on, faced up to Cho and accused him of disloyalty. Cho was quite taken aback, and he led the army away to Hsi-yang village. Shao was the grandson of [Ch'ung] Hao.²⁷

Yüan Shao was afraid Chin would change his plans, so urged him on saying: "The battle-lines are drawn. The plans are known, how can you go on waiting and not make up your mind? If the affair is delayed too long, things will change and you will be a second Tou Wu." Chin made Shao Director of the Retainers and granted him credentials with authority to execute and to decide cases on his own.²⁸ The Gentleman of the General Staff Wang Yün became Intendant of Ho-nan. Shao ordered those military officers of Lo-yang who were expert in strategy to make examination of the eunuchs, and he encouraged Tung Cho and the other leaders to send in memorials post-haste, asking to come forward to the P'ing-lo Observatory. The Empress-dowager was afraid. She dismissed all the Palace Regular Attendants and the Junior Attendants of the Yellow Gates, and ordered them to return to their own homes. There only remained the family retainers, set by Chin to guard the inner apartments. The eunuchs all went to Chin and apologised and said

they would be at his service. Chin said to them: "The empire is in danger, and it's all your fault. Now Tung Cho is coming, and you had better go home quickly." Yüan Shao urged Chin to take the opportunity and settle with them. He repeated three times, but Chin would not have it. Then Shao wrote more letters to all the provincial and commandery governments. He pretended that he was writing at Chin's orders, but had them seize and hold the eunuchs' families.

Chin made plans for several days, something leaked out, and the eunuchs became frightened and thought of rebellion. Chang Jang's son's wife was the younger sister of the Empress-dowager; Jang faced his daughter-in-law and kowtowed and said: "I am old and I am at fault, I should go back with you to a private life. But my family have received imperial favour for generations, and even though I must leave the palace apartments my heart still holds a great attachment to them. I wish to go once more into the forbidden palace, to be able for a moment to behold far off the countenance of her majesty, the Empress-dowager. Then I would retire to the mud of the ditches and die without regret." 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 eunuchs could return to their apartments.

In the eighth month, on the day wu-ch'en [22.IX] Chin went into the Ch'ang-lo Palace,²⁹ spoke to the Empress-dowager and asked that all the eunuchs be executed. The Palace Regular Attendants Chang Jang and Tuan Kuei spoke to one another and said: "The General-in-Chief said he was ill. He did not attend the mourning, and did not accompany the funeral. Now he has suddenly come to the palace, what does this mean? Is the Tou business coming again?" They sent someone to hide and listen and he heard everything that was said. Then they led several tens of men of their party to take weapons and enter quietly from a side-room and hide behind the palace door. Chin came out, and they pretended to have the Empress-dowager's orders to call him back, and he went in and sat by a side-entrance to the apartments. Jang and the others said to him: "The empire's disorders did not come by our fault. When the late Emperor was angry

with the Empress-dowager and she was on the brink of destruction, we managed with tears to save her and each of us gave thousands and tens of thousands of our family wealth to bring harmony and pleasure to the Emperor's mind. All we wanted was to be under the patronage of your house. And now you want to destroy us and our families, isn't this too much?" Then Ch'ü Mu, Supervisor of the Palace Workshop, drew a sword and cut off Chin's head before the Chia-te Apartments. Jang, Kuei and the others composed an edict appointing the former Grand Commandant Fan Ling as Colonel Director of the Retainers and the Privy Treasurer Hsü Hsiang as Intendant of Ho-nan. When the Masters of Writing got the edict block they questioned it: "We ask that the General-in-Chief come out and talk this over with us." The Palace Attendants Within the
901 Yellow Gates took Chin's head and tossed it to the Masters of Writing 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 the palace when they heard that Chin had come to harm. They wanted to lead soldiers inside, but the palace doors were closed. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household As Rapid As a Tiger Yüan Shu joined K'uang and chopped and attacked them. The eunuchs took up weapons and defended the doors. Just then the sun went down, and Shu set fire to the Ch'ing-so Gate of the Southern Palace to frighten out Jang and the others. Jang and his party 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 Office of the Masters of Writing. Then they led the Empress-dowager, the Little Emperor and the King of Ch'en-liu, compelling the subordinate officers of the palace to assist them, and they followed a covered way and fled to the Northern Palace.³⁰ The Master of Writing 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 the Empress-dowager, and she ran through a side-door and escaped.

Yüan Shao and his uncle Wei forged imperial orders, summoned up Fan Ling and Hsü Hsiang and beheaded them. Shao and Ho Miao led troops and camped below the Chu-ch'üeh Tower. They caught Chao Chung

and some others and cut off their heads. 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 issued an order to the army saying: "The man that killed the General-in-Chief was the General of Chariots and Cavalry [Ho Miao]. You officers and soldiers, can't you take revenge on him?" All wept and said: "We would give our lives for it." Then K'uang led troops, with Tung Cho's younger brother Min, Chief Commandant of the Emperor's Equipages, and they attacked Miao and killed him and exposed his body in the park.

Then Shao closed the gates of the Northern Palace and urged his soldiers to seize all the eunuchs, without respect for young or old, and to kill them. Altogether some two thousand people [died]. ✓ Some men with no beards were killed by mistake. Shao sent soldiers forward to clear the palace, and some climbed the Tuan-men Buildings to attack the inner apartments.

On the day keng-wu [24.IX] 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 Gate³¹ and they came by night to the Hsiao-p'ing Ford. [The Emperor had come in such haste he could] not bring the six seals with him.³²

1902 None of the dukes or ministers could follow, only the Master of Writing Lu Chih and the Head of the Central Precinct of Ho-nan³³ Min Kung came by night to the river. With a stern voice Kung confronted Jang and the others, saying: "Now, unless you die quickly, I will kill you." He drew 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: "Now we must die. May your majesty take care of yourself." They threw themselves into the river and drowned.

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 found a commoner's open cart and rode in it together. When they came to Lo-she they stopped. On the day hsin-wei [25.IX] 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. Then some of the dukes and ministers made their appearance.

Tung Cho had come to the Hsien-yang Park and far off he had seen fires rise up. Realising there was a revolt, he led his troops quickly forward and came to the west of the city before it was light. There he learnt that the Emperor was in the north, and with the dukes and ministers he went to offer a welcome below the Pei-mang Slope. The Emperor saw Cho come up suddenly, leading armed men, and he was frightened and wept. 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, what is this about 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 reason for the misfortune and disorder. The King described events from first to last with nothing left out. Cho was very pleased. He was impressed with the King, 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,³⁴ he then had the idea of dismissing the Emperor and setting up the King.

On this day [hsin-wei, 25.IX] 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 State³⁵ had been lost but all the other seals were recovered. Ting Yüan was made Bearer of the Golden Mace. The Chief Commandant of Cavalry 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, and he will be inclined to rebellion. If you don't make plans against him soon you will certainly fall into his hands. When he first comes he will be weary and exhausted, attack him and you can take him." Shao was afraid of Cho and did not dare to act.

903 So Hsin led his soldiers back to T'ai-shan.

When Tung Cho came into the capital his footsoldiers and horsemen were no more than three thousand. He was worried that his soldiers were too few and he was afraid that they would not be widely respected. So

for four or five days on end he sent out the army by night into camp 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 for Ting Yüan's own follower, Major Lü Pu from Wu-yüan, to kill Yüan and take over his forces.³⁶ At this Cho's army became very much stronger. Then he hinted to the court that since it had been raining for a long time the Minister of Works Liu Hung should be dismissed. An order was issued to this effect and Tung Cho was given the vacant post.

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 and younger brother of Wang Fu, reported that Yung had spoken against the court. Yung then fled to the southern rivers and the sea, and he was an exile for twelve years.³⁷ Tung Cho heard his reputation and summoned him, but he pleaded sick and would not come. Cho was angry and swore: "I can destroy a man's family." Yung was afraid and obeyed the order, and when he arrived he was appointed Libationer.³⁸ He was treated with the greatest respect and rose to high rank. In the space of three days he passed through three offices, and he was appointed a Palace Attendant.

Tung Cho spoke to Yüan Shao: "The master of the empire should be worthy and understanding: whenever I think of Emperor Ling I get angry. Lord Tung [Liu Hsieh] seems possible. If I should give him the throne, would he be better than Lord Shih [Liu Pien]? Some men may show a little wisdom in some things but great foolishness in others, yet they always look capable and wise. Perhaps the Liu clan is no longer fit to govern."³⁹ Shao said: "The house of Han has ruled the empire for more than four hundred years, its grace and favour have penetrated all through the realm, and the people look up to it. Now the Emperor is rich in years, and he has not yet shown the empire anything less than perfection. You want to do away with

the son of the legal wife and set in place the son of the concubine, but I am afraid the people will not follow your argument." Cho took his sword and shouted at Shao: "You fool to dare act like this. The affairs of the nation, aren't they my concern? If I want to do it, who shall contradict me? 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 sword from his belt, gave a casual salute, and went straight out. Cho was new come to power, and he realised that Shao came from a great family and so he did not dare to harm him. Shao hung his tokens of office on the Shang-tung Gate⁴⁰ and fled to Chi Province.

In the ninth month, on the day kuei-yu [27.IX] 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 plan to follow the examples of Yi Yin and Huo Kuang and set up the King of Ch'en-liu. What about it?" The dukes, the ministers and the lower officers were all afraid and flustered and no-one dared to oppose it. Cho said again: "Formerly Huo Kuang settled policy and [T'ien] Yen-nien held the sword.⁴¹ Anyone who dared injure the great design was dealt with by military law." All those present were shaken. Only the Master of Writing Lu Chih said: "Formerly T'ai-chia held position and had no understanding, the faults of Ch'ang-yi were more than one thousand, so there was reason for the deposition.⁴² Now the Emperor is rich in years and in his actions there has been no lack of virtue. This does not match the 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 Gentleman-consultant P'eng Po also argued: "Lu the Master of Writing is one of the leading scholars of the empire, and men look up to him. If you harm him the whole country will tremble for fear." So Cho stopped, and did no more than dismiss Chih from office. Chih fled secretly to Shang-ku. Cho showed his arguments for deposition to the Grand Tutor Yüan Wei. Wei said that he approved.

On the day chia-hsü [28.IX] Cho again called together all the officers to the front apartments of Ch'ung-te, and then he compelled the Empress-dowager to arrange the dismissal of the Little Emperor.

He said: "The Emperor in mourning lacked the feeling of a son, his dignity and his manners are not worthy of a ruler. We depose him now to be King of Hung-nung and we establish King Hsieh of Ch'en-liu 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 Lady of the Yung-lo Palace uneasy and miserable and she even had her die of grief, against the true behaviour of daughter-in-law to mother."⁴³ He shifted the Empress-dowager to the Yung-an Palace.

There was an amnesty for all the empire and the era was changed from Chao-ning to Yung-Han. On the day ping-tzu [30.IX] Cho poisoned and killed the Empress-dowager née Ho. The dukes and ministers and other officers did not wear linen clothes and at her burial ceremony there was only white clothing.⁴⁴ Cho also tore 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 of brambles in the park.

The sons and younger brothers of dukes and ministers and lower officials were summoned and appointed as Gentlemen to take the place of the eunuchs and to be in attendance at the palace. ✓

On the day yi-yu [10.X] the Grand Commandant Liu Yü was made Commander-in-Chief⁴⁵ and enfeoffed as Marquis of Hsiang-fei. Tung Cho made himself Grand Commandant and took control of the affairs of the General of the Van. He also took Seal and Credentials of authority, Battle-axe and Ceremonial Axe, and Gentlemen As Rapid As a Tiger.⁴⁶ His fief was changed to the marquisate of Mei.

On the day ping-hsü [11.X] the Grand Palace Grandee Yang Piao was made Minister of Works. On the day chia-wu [19.X] the Governor of Yü Province, Huang Wan, was made Minister over the Masses.

Tung Cho made all the dukes send in memorials to justify the actions of Ch'en Fan, Tou Wu and the other men of faction. All their titles were restored to them, messengers were sent to mourn and make sacrifice, and their sons and grandsons were selected 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.X] they buried the Empress Ssu of Emperor Ling.⁴⁷

The Po-po bandits ravaged Ho-tung and Tung Cho sent his officer Niu Fu to attack them.

Before this, the Southern Shan-yü Yü-fu-lo had come to power, but those of the state who had killed his father made a rebellion and set up Hsü-pu-ku-tu-hou as Shan-yü. Yü-fu-lo came to the capital to ask for help. Shortly afterwards Emperor Ling died and the empire was in great disorder. Yü-fu-lo led several thousand horsemen, joined forces with the Po-po bandits, and plundered commanderies and prefectures. All the people gathered together for protection, there was no profit in plunder, and the soldiers were often defeated and suffered several casualties. They wanted to go back to their own country, but the people there refused to take them in, so they camped at P'ing-yang in Ho-tung. After only one year as Shan-yü, Hsü-pu-ku-tu-hou died. So the southern court had no-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 State,⁴⁸ 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.II.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 Superintendent of the Imperial Household Hsün Shuang became Minister of Works.

Before this, the Master of Writing Chou Pi of Wu-wei and the Colonel of the City Gates Wu Ch'iuang of Ju-nan had suggested to Tung Cho that he should reform the government of Emperors Huan and Ling, and that he should give office to the famous scholars of the empire in order to gain the hearts of the people. Cho followed this advice. He commissioned Pi and

Ch'iong, with the Master of Writing Cheng T'ai and the Chief Clerk Ho Jung, to sift out the dishonest and wicked men and to bring forward those who were unjustly neglected in the past.

Summons were sent to those scholars of local reputation who had yet received no official rank, Hsün Shuang, Ch'en Chi, Han Jung and Shen-t'u P'an. Shuang was appointed Chancellor of P'ing-yüan, he was transferred to Wan-ling and then shifted to be Superintendent of the Imperial Household; in that post he attended to his duties for three days and was then advanced to be Minister of Works. From the time he received the summons to his promotion to ducal rank was altogether ninety-three days. Chi became General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes and Jung became Grand Herald. Chi was the son of Shih, Jung was the son of Shao.⁴⁹ Shuang and the others all feared Cho's cruelty and none dared to refuse. Only Shen-t'u P'an, when he received the order of summons and was urged to go, laughed and made no further reply. In the end Cho could not force him to come: he was over seventy years, and he died of old age. Cho also made the Master of Writing Han Fu Governor of Chi Province, the Palace Attendant Liu Tai Inspector of Yen Province, and K'ung Chou of Ch'en-liu Inspector of Yü 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. Cho's personal favourites were not given important posts, they only became Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household or Colonels.

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].

1907 Tung Cho by nature was cruel and vindictive, he had come suddenly to supreme power and he controlled all the armour and weapons and valuables of the empire. His authority made all men tremble, and his ambitions knew no limit. He said to his attendants: "It is written on my countenance that I should gain the highest honours."⁵⁰ When the Attendant Imperial Clerk Jao-lung Tsung went to Cho to make a report, he failed to take off his sword. He was at once beaten to death. At this time, in Lo-yang the mansions of the nobility and of the imperial

relatives stood one beside another, and every house was filled with treasure of gold and silk. Cho let loose his soldiers to break into their buildings, to rob and plunder their property and to seize and force into marriage their wives and daughters, not sparing high position nor relationship to the Emperor. The people's spirits were fallen in terror and there was no certainty from dawn to dusk.

Cho offered rewards and tried eagerly to capture Yüan Shao. Chou Pi and Wu Ch'iung argued with Cho: "To dismiss one emperor and set up another, these are great matters, quite beyond the powers of ordinary men. Yüan Shao could not appreciate such a great action, and he fled away because he was frightened, not because he had any idea of rebellion. But if you continue to seek him so anxiously this will certainly make him think of opposing you. The Yüan family has been distributing favours for four generations. Their clients, 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, bold warriors will come with him and make a rising, and you will hold nothing to the east of the mountains.⁵¹ Far the best policy would be to pardon him and appoint him Administrator of a commandery. Shao will be pleased to escape punishment and will certainly cause no trouble." Cho accepted this and at once made Shao Grand Administrator of Po-hai and enfeoffed him as Marquis of K'ang-hsiang. He also appointed Yüan Shu as General of the Rear and Ts'ao Ts'ao as Colonel of Resolute Cavalry.

Shu was afraid of Cho and fled to Nan-yang. Ts'ao changed his name and escaped towards the east. As he passed through Chung-mou, the Chief of a commune became suspicious of him. He arrested Ts'ao and sent him to the office of the prefecture. The prefecture had already received Cho's letter, but everything was in confusion and only the Officer of the Department of Merit knew that this man was Ts'ao. He felt it wrong that one of the foremost men in the empire should be a prisoner, and he told the Prefect to release him. Ts'ao came to Ch'en-liu, sold off his family property, and collected together five thousand soldiers.

At this time many of the fighting men of the empire were planning to rebel against Cho. Yüan Shao was in Po-hai, but Han Fu, Governor of Chi Province, sent a number of Attendant Officials to the commandery to keep him under control, and Shao could make no move.⁵²

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 can do nothing to help ourselves. We look eagerly for loyal troops to free the state from harm and danger."

1908 Fu received one of these letters and he asked the members of his staff: "Now, should we help the Yüan clan or the Tung clan?" The Attendant Official at Headquarters Liu Tzu-hui said: "You raise soldiers for the state, how can you talk of Yüan and Tung?" Fu blushed in shame. Tzu-hui went on: "War is bad, and you shouldn't start it. Wait and see what the other provinces do. If they take action, you can join them, and since Chi Province is one of the most powerful, you will always be entitled to a position of importance." Fu agreed. Then he wrote to Shao, discussing Cho's wrong-doing, and approving Shao's levy of troops.

Ch'u-p'ing 1st year [23.II.190-11.II.191]:

In the spring, in the first month, all the provinces and commanderies east of the passes raised troops to attack Tung Cho. Yüan Shao, Grand Administrator of Po-hai, was elected leader of the alliance. Shao named himself General of Chariots and Cavalry, and the other leaders also gave themselves temporary commissions.¹ Shao and the Grand Administrator of Ho-nei, Wang K'uang, camped in Ho-nei, while the Governor of Chi Province, Han Fu, stayed at Yeh to attend to the provisions of the army. K'ung Chou, Inspector of Yü Province, camped in Ying-ch'uan. The Inspector of Yen Province, 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

commandery, 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 of the armies numbered several tens of thousands. Most of the warriors had turned to Yüan Shao, only Pao Hsin said to Ts'ao Ts'ao: "The ability to make good plans is very rare. You are the one man who can end the confusion and bring order in its place. Shao is not the right man, and even though he is powerful, he will come to nothing in the end. But you have come like a sign from heaven."

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On the day hsin-hai [4.III] there was an amnesty for the empire.²

[In the second month] on the day kuei-yu [26.III]³ Tung Cho had the Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace⁴ Li Ju poison and kill King Pien of Hung-nung.

Cho was considering a great levy of troops to attack east of the mountains, but the Master of Writing Cheng T'ai said: "Government lies in virtue, not in armies." Cho was not pleased, and said: "When you talk that way, do you mean that soldiers are useless?" T'ai said: "I didn't say that but I don't think that there is any need to send a large army against the rebels east of the mountains. You came from the western provinces, you commanded soldiers when you were still young, and you are well trained in the arts of war. Yüan Pen-ch'u [i.e. Yüan Shao] is a descendant of great ministers, he was born at the capital and he has always lived there. Chang Meng-cho [i.e. Chang Miao] is an old man from Tung-p'ing. All he knows about is how to sit politely in the halls of audience. K'ung Kung-hsü [i.e. K'ung Chou] has pure conversation and impressive talk, so eloquent that he can bring withered things to life just by breathing on them. But none of them are any use in dealing with military affairs, and now they have taken up arms against you they are simply not in your class. Further, they have no authority from the Emperor, and their ranks are in complete disorder. Each of them will rely on his own strength, and each will stand by like a chess-man to see what happens to the others. They will never agree on plans nor co-operate in their attacks. And besides all this, east of the mountains there has

been peace for a long time and the people have no experience in fighting. West of the passes they have suffered the ravages of the Ch'iang barbarians, and even the women and girls can carry a bow and fight. The men of Ping and Liang and the barbarian auxiliaries are feared throughout the empire. You hold them as teeth and claws, as if you were driving tigers and rhinoceroses against dogs and sheep, or calling up the violent wind to sweep away dead leaves. Who will dare to oppose them? However, if you call up troops unnecessarily to frighten the empire, then you will cause the people who are afraid of being conscripted to collect together and rebel. You would abandon virtue to rely on force,* and so you would lose both majesty and prestige." Cho was pleased.

1910 Because of the strength of the forces east of the mountains, Tung Cho planned to shift the capital away from them. The dukes and ministers did not want it, but none dared to speak. Cho recommended that the Intendant of Ho-nan, Chu Chün, become Grand Coachman and act as his assistant. A messenger brought the summons to office, but Chün excused himself and would not accept. Then he said: "If the Emperor moves west, he will certainly destroy the hopes of the empire, because he will be confirming the rift with the east of the mountains. I don't see any advantage in that." The messenger said: "You were called on to receive an appointment and you have turned it down. Nothing was said about shifting the capital, and yet you talked about it. Why is this?" Chen said: "Assistant to the Chancellor, that is not a position I am competent to fill. Shifting the capital is ill-considered, and that is something important. I excuse myself from what I cannot manage, and I speak of things that are important: such is the duty of a subject." So he was not made assistant.

Cho called a great assembly of the dukes and ministers and said: "Kao-tsu set the capital within the passes,⁵ and eleven generations afterwards Kuang-wu made his palace at Lo-yang. Up to now it is again eleven generations. According to the Shih-pao prophecies⁶ 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 great affairs of the empire. In ancient times P'an-keng shifted to Po and the people of Yin all found fault.⁷ In the past, the land within the passes suffered with the ruin and destruction of Wang Mang, and it was for this reason that Kuang-wu changed the capital to the city of Lo. For years on end the people have been at peace and contented. If you now make plans, without good reason, to abandon the temples of the imperial clan and to leave the imperial tombs, then I am afraid that the people will tremble in fear and it will certainly cause confusion like a boiling broth. The Shih-pao prophecies are nothing but superstition. How can you trust them?" Cho said: "The land within the passes is rich and abundant, and that is why Ch'in was able to destroy all the six rival states. Moreover, west of the Lung mountains there is timber produced and at Tu-ling there is the kiln and furnace of Emperor Wu. If we put some effort into it, we can manage the job in a day. As for the people, who cares about them? If anyone stops I will drive them on with my soldiers, and that way I could make them go all the way to the sea!" Piao said: "To stir up the empire is extremely easy, to soothe it down is extremely difficult. If only you would think it over!" Cho changed colour and said: "Do you obstruct the affairs of the state?" The Grand Commandant Huang Wan said: "This is a question of national importance, shouldn't you pay some thought to Lord Yang's argument?" Cho made no reply. The Minister of Works Hsün Shuang saw that Cho had already made up his mind, and he was afraid he might harm Piao and his supporters. So he spoke soothingly and said: "How can the Chancellor of State have pleasure in this? The soldiers east of the mountains are in rebellion and we can't put them down in a day. We have to shift the capital in order to deal with them. This is just like the time of Ch'in and Former Han." Cho became a little less angry. Wan left the assembly, but he continued to protest.

In the second month, on the day yi-hai [28.III] Cho memorialised that because of disasters and strange happenings, Wan and Piao and some

others should be dismissed. The Superintendent of the Imperial Household Chao Ch'ien was made Grand Commandant and the Grand
1911 Coachman Wang Yün was made Minister over the Masses. The Colonel of the City Gates Wu Ch'uang and the Colonel Who Controls the Army Chou Pi strongly opposed shifting the capital. Cho was very angry and said: "When I first came to court you urged me to use fine scholars. I accepted your advice and all these men came to office, and now they have raised troops against me. You let me down. How can I use people who are untrustworthy?" On the day keng-ch'en [2.IX] he arrested Ch'iuang and Pi and had them beheaded. Yang Piao and Huang Wan were frightened, and they went to apologise to Cho. Then Cho was sorry that he had killed Ch'iuang and Pi and he recommended that Piao and Wan be restored to office as Imperial Household Grandees.

Cho summoned the Intendant of Ching-chao, Ho Hsün, to be Gentleman-consultant. At this time the General of the Left Huang-fu Sung held command of thirty thousand soldiers at camp in Fu-feng. Hsün made secret plans with Sung to attack Cho. Shortly afterwards Cho also called Sung to become Colonel of the City Gates. Sung's Chief Clerk Liang Yen said to Sung: "Tung Cho ravages and plunders the capital city, he dismisses and sets up according to his whim. Now he has called for you. If things turn out badly, you will suffer danger and ill fortune, and at the very least you will surely be humiliated and made miserable. Take your opportunity now, while Cho is still in Lo-yang and the Son of Heaven is coming to the west. Lead your men to receive the Emperor, accept a command to attack the rebels, summon troops and assemble leaders. Then the Yüan will press on the east of him and you will be attacking him from the west. That will catch him!" Sung did not agree, and he went to obey the summons. Because his forces were too weak to stand alone Hsün also went back to the capital district. Cho made Hsün Colonel of the Elite Cavalry. The Intendant of Ho-nan, Chu Chün, spoke to Cho on military matters, but Cho cut him short, saying: "I have fought a hundred battles and gained a hundred victories. My mind is made up. Any more of your nonsense and I will dirty my sword on you." Ho Hsün said:

"In ancient times, Wu-ting had understanding but he still sought wise rebuke.⁸ This is still more true for one like you, but yet you want to silence men's mouths." Cho agreed that he had been wrong.

2

Cho sent an army to Yang-ch'eng. The people had gathered for a village meeting and the soldiers beheaded them all.⁹ They took the heavy carts, loaded on the women and girls, bound the heads to the shafts, and returned singing and shouting to Lo to say that they had attacked bandits and taken a great number of prisoners. Cho set fire to the heads and burnt them, and made the women and girls become maid-servants and concubines for his soldiers.

On the day ting-hai [9.IV] the Emperor moved west. Tung Cho arrested all the men of wealthy houses, put them to death for wrongdoing and evil, and confiscated their property. The dead could not be counted. All the rest of the people, millions of them, were driven to Ch'ang-an. Horsemen and foot-soldiers 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. He burnt all the palaces and temples, the government offices and the people's houses. Every building within two hundred li was destroyed, not a dog or a chicken remained. He also sent Lü Pu to break open the tombs of the emperors and the burial mounds of the dukes, ministers and lower officials, and collect their treasure.

Cho captured some soldiers of the east of the mountains. He took lard and daubed it on 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.IV] the Emperor came to Ch'ang-an and occupied the official residency of Ching-chao commandery. It was only later that the palace buildings were put sufficiently into repair so that he could live in them. Tung Cho had not yet arrived, and the imperial government in matters large and small was left to Wang Yün. Outwardly Yün kept very quiet, but secretly he planned to help the Emperor. He had all the ability worthy of a great minister, and from the Son of Heaven to his courtiers, everyone looked to 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.V], Cho killed the Grand Tutor Yüan Wei, the Grand Coachman Yüan Chi, and their families from babies up, more than fifty people.

1913 Some time 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-ling and Kuei-yang. Because Chien held a military appointment, Jui had spoken somewhat slightly of him. When the provinces and commanderies raised troops to attack Tung Cho, Jui and Chien also raised soldiers. Jui had quarrelled with the Grand Administrator of Wu-ling, Ts'ao Yin, and he had announced that the first thing he would do would be to kill Yin. Yin was frightened. He forged an order from a censor and sent it to Chien. The order listed Jui's crimes and faults and authorised Chien to arrest him, execute him, and then submit a report. Chien received the order and at once led his soldiers against Jui.¹⁰ When Jui heard the soldiers had come, he climbed a tower and looked out, and then 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." Then Jui saw Chien, and he was alarmed and said: "The soldiers may want rewards, but what is Magistrate Sun¹¹ doing here?" Chien said: "A summons has been brought me to execute you." Jui said: "What is my crime?" Chien said: "You are guilty simply for being ignorant of affairs." Jui was in the utmost distress, he scraped gold and drank it and died.

Chien went forward to Nan-yang¹² and his army already numbered several ten thousand men. Chang Tzu, Grand Administrator of Nan-yang, refused to give provisions for the army. Chien tricked him and had him beheaded. In the commandery there was fear and trembling, and they were given everything they asked for. He went on to Lu-yang and joined forces with Yüan Shu, and so Shu gained control of Nan-yang. He recommended Chien as acting General Who Routs the Caitiffs and Inspector of Yü Province.

An edict appointed the Palace Captain of the Northern Army 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 Yüeh to make plans with him, saying: "South of the Chiang there are a great number of clan armies. Each have their own followers, and none have shown any loyalty to the state. If Yüan Shu can make use of them they will cause tremendous trouble. 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 they come, but act unruly, then your justice is not sufficient. All you have to do is to follow the road of humanity and justice and the people will turn to you like water hurrying downwards. What need have you to worry that soldiers may rally to you?" K'uai Yüeh said: "Yüan Shu is arrogant and has no sense of planning. The leaders of private armies are often greedy and cruel and treat their own men badly. If you send someone to explain the advantages to them, the people will come in crowds. If you punish the wicked ones and cherish the others and give them posts, the people of the whole province will feel contented and secure. When they learn of your virtues, they will come with their children strapped to their backs. Your soldiers will assemble and your people will fight for you. South you can hold Chiang-ling, north you will guard Hsiang-yang. You need only give your orders, and the eight commanderies of Ching Province¹³ will be settled. Even if Kung-lu [i.e. Yüan Shu] should come, there will be nothing he can do." Piao said: "Excellent!" So he sent Yüeh to trick the clan leaders to come to him. Fifty-five men who arrived 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 disorder, a great army is already collected, why do you hesitate? In the beginning, if Cho had relied on the royal house, occupied the old

capital [Lo-yang] and turned east to take the offensive against the rest of the empire, though he was acting without the Right it would still make things difficult. But now he is burning the palaces and houses, he has kidnapped and shifted the Son of Heaven, everything within the seas is in disorder and no-one knows where to turn. This is the time when he is condemned by Heaven. One battle and the empire is settled." So he led his soldiers west, intending to occupy Ch'eng-kao. Chang Miao sent his officer Wei Tzu with a detachment 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, but 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 Ts'ao had few soldiers in his command, but they had maintained the battle all through the day. He felt that Suan-tsao would not be easy to attack, and he also drew back.

Ts'ao returned to Suan-tsao. The whole army, hundreds of thousands of men, laid out wine every day to hold feasts, and they made no plans for attack. Ts'ao reproached them. Then he made plans and said: "Listen to what I suggest. Let the Grand Administrator of Po-hai [Yüan Shao] lead the Ho-nei army forward to the Meng Ford. Have the officers at Suan-tsao guard Ch'eng-kao, occupy Ao-ts'ang and 1915 block Huan-yüan and T'ai-ku, so that all the passes are held.¹⁴ Let General Yüan [Shu] lead the Nan-yang armies to Tan[-shui], Hsi and into the Wu Pass to make the Three Adjuncts tremble.¹⁵ Then they can all prepare strong points, and take position behind high walls and deep trenches. We avoid fighting, but we look as if we are on the move. This will show to all the world that we are righteous men destroying the rebels. Then things will settle themselves.¹⁶ Our soldiers came to us because our cause is just, but if we hesitate and delay we will lose the hopes of the empire. I really feel you should be ashamed." Miao and the others would not accept his plans, so Ts'ao went with the major Hsia-hou Tun of P'ei state and others to Yang Province. He made

a levy of troops, collected more than a thousand men, and went back to camp in Ho-nei [with Yüan Shao].

Shortly after this, the armies at Suan-tsao ran out of food and the forces dispersed. Liu Tai was on bad terms with Ch'iao Mao, and Tai killed Mao and appointed Wang Kung Grand Administrator of Tung commandery.

The Inspector of Ch'ing Province, Chiao Ho, had also raised troops to attack Tung Cho. He felt it was essential to join the other leaders in the march to the west, but he made no defence for his own people, and when his soldiers crossed the Yellow River the Yellow Turbans¹⁷ had already entered his borders. Up to this time Ch'ing Province had been wealthy, and protected by armed men, but whenever Ho caught sight of the rebels, he would always make a retreat, and he had never tried the winds and dust of campaigning nor the clash of banners and drums in battle. He liked divination, and he believed in ghosts and spirits. If you pay a visit on a man like that you find excellent talk to reach the clouds; but when you look at his administration 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 settle it.

In the summer, in the fourth month, Liu Yü, Governor of Yu Province, was made Grand Tutor. The roads were blocked, and the letter of authority never reached him. In the past, Yu Province had to deal with the people from outside the frontiers. The expenses were extremely great, and every year more than two hundred million cash was taken from the taxation of Ch'ing and Chi provinces to make up [the deficit of Yu Province]. At this time, all communications were cut off, the grain transport could not arrive, and so Yü wore old clothes and rope sandals, had only a single dish of meat at any meal, and held it essential to maintain a lenient administration. He encouraged the farming of mulberries and he opened a prosperous trade at a market with the barbarians of Shang-ku, and brought in the surplus salt and iron from Yü-yang.¹⁸ The people enjoyed the harvest, and a picul of grain was

thirty cash, and more than a million gentry and commoners of Ch'ing and Hsü fled from the troubles and came to Yü. He took them in and looked to them with warm sympathy, settled them and set them in a
1916 livelihood. All the refugees 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.VIII] the Imperial Household Grandee 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 Bearer of the Golden Mace Hu-wu Pan, the Court Architect Wu Hsiu and Colonel of the Elite Cavalry Wang Kuei to make peace with the east of the mountains and to explain things to Yüan Shao and his allies. Hu-wu 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 coinage¹⁹ and changed to casting small coins. He took the copper images such as Bronze Men from Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an, the Chung-chu, the Fei-lien and the Bronze Horses²⁰ to cast the new coins. From this, things of exchange were held lightly and goods became dear. The price of a picul of grain rose to be several ten thousand cash.

1917 In the winter, Sun Chien and his subordinate officers held a drinking party east of Lu-yang city. Without warning, there arrived several tens of thousands of Tung Cho's horsemen and footsoldiers. Chien still passed the wine and talked and laughed. He gave orders for his men to form their divisions and refused to let them charge the enemy. As the horsemen gradually increased, Chien quietly left his seat to lead his men back into the city. Then he explained: "The reason why I didn't get up straight away 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, they did not dare to attack, and they went back.

Wang K'uang camped at Ho-yang Ford.²¹ Tung Cho made a sudden attack and completely defeated him.

The General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left Ts'ai Yung advised: "The emperors from Hsiao-ho on who possess the temple name 'Exemplar' should all have them removed, in order to honour the earlier records." This was done.²²

The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Hsü Jung recommended Kung-sun Tu, a man of his own commandery, and former Inspector of Chi Province, to Tung Cho. 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-li²³ and in the west he attacked the Wu-huan. He spoke to those officers closest to him, Liu Yi, Yang Yi and some others and said: "The Han reign is about to end. I wish with you to plan for a kingdom."²⁴ At this he divided Liao-tung into Liao-hsi and Chung-liao commanderies and appointed a Grand Administrator to each of them.²⁵ Across the sea he collected all the prefectures of Tung-lai and set up an Inspector of Ying Province.²⁶ He appointed himself Marquis of Liao-tung and Governor of P'ing Province. He set up temples to the two Han ancestors [Kao-tsu and Kuang-wu], took the authority to hold state sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, ploughed the imperial field, rode in a phoenix chariot and established Cavalry of the Yak-tail Banner and the Feathered Forest.²⁷

Ch'u-p'ing 2nd year [12.II.191-31.I.192]:

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 a member of the imperial clan and was worthy and able. They planned to set him up as the ruler. Ts'ao Ts'ao said: "We have raised loyal troops, and people everywhere have supported us. That is only because our cause is just. Now the young ruler is feeble and weak and is controlled by evil ministers. This is not the fault for which Liu Ho forfeited his throne.¹ If there is some sudden change, who in the empire can be at peace? You all look to the north [to Liu Yü], but 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 rightful son of Hsiao-ling. We want to act like [the Marquis of] Chiang and Kuan [Ying] in former times, to punish and depose the puppet and to welcome and establish the King of Tai.² We plan to set up the Commander-in-Chief Liu Yü as Emperor." Secretly, Shu wanted the throne for himself, and he realised that this would become difficult if the state had a strong ruler. As a result, he argued, on the best principles, against the proposal.

1919 Shao wrote again to Shu and said: "Now in the west there is a puppet Emperor, without any relationship by blood to the imperial clan. All the officials, high and low, are serving Tung Cho. How can we continue to trust them? We need only send troops and camp at the passes and strategic points, and 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 we can hope for great peace. How can you

still have doubts? Besides, the people of our clan have been slaughtered. Do you not remember [Wu] Tzu-hsü?³ How can you serve the Emperor?" Shu replied: "The Emperor is wise and capable, with the nature of King Ch'eng of Chou.⁴ The bandit Cho has taken advantage of a temporary confusion and has compelled the officials to obey him, so this is a moment of slight difficulty for the house of Han. Now you say that the Emperor 'has no relationship by blood,' but that is simple slander. You say, 'Our house has been slaughtered, how can you still serve that Emperor?' but this is something that Cho has done, how could the Emperor have anything to do with it? Indeed my mind is to the destruction of Cho, and I refuse to think of anything else!"

In the end, Fu and Shao sent the former Grand Administrator of Lo-lang, Chang Ch'i with a deputation to offer Yü the imperial title. When Yü saw Ch'i and the others, he rebuked them sternly: "The empire has fallen into disorder, and the ruler is forced into exile. I have received great favours from the throne, but yet I cannot clear away the disgrace from our state. You hold provinces and commanderies, and you should join all your forces to save the royal house. Instead, you have made plans of rebellion, and you want to concern me in your shameful dealings!" He firmly refused them. Then Fu and his associates asked Yü to take control of the affairs of the Masters of Writing and to hold the authority to make appointments. Still he would not hear of it, and he was prepared to take refuge among the Hsiung-nu in order not to become involved in such proposals. So Shao and the others stopped.

In the second month, on the day ting-ch'ou [25.III] Tung Cho was made Grand Master, with rank above the kings.⁵

Sun Chien shifted camp to the 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.⁶ Cho sent his Grand Administrator of Tung commandery, Hu Chen, to lead five thousand infantry and cavalry to attack him. Lü Pu commanded the cavalry. Chen and Pu quarrelled. Chien came out to attack them, completely defeated them, and cut off the head of their Chief Controller Hua Hsiung.⁷

Someone said to Yüan Shu: "If [Sun] Chien captures Lo-yang, you will not be able to control him. This is to destroy a wolf and obtain a tiger." Shu became suspicious, 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: "Above I am attacking a rebel for the
1920 Emperor, below I give some help in a private revenge of your house. Those are the reasons I have taken service with you, and I think nothing of my own safety. It's not as if I had any personal quarrel with Cho. Yet you attend to the sneaking words of liars, and now you have become suspicious of me. Why is that?" Shu was embarrassed, and he sent off at once the supplies for the army.

Chien went back to camp, and Cho sent his general Li Chüeh to treat with him and to try to make peace and arrange a marriage alliance. 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 defies the law. Until I have killed you and all your family, and shown your heads to all the four seas, I will 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,⁸ 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. Chien went forward to Lo-yang, attacked Lü Pu, and again defeated him and put him to flight. Then Chien cleared out the imperial temples and held a great sacrifice of the three types of animal.⁹ He found the Great Seal of State in a well in the Pottery Office south of the city.¹⁰ Part of his force was sent on ahead to Hsin-an and Min-ch'ih so as to threaten Cho's defences.

Cho spoke to his Chief Clerk 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 the Major With a Separate Command 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 but I opened it with a small attack. The reason [I could do this so easily] was that they were afraid of the soldiers in An-ting. The enemy thought that An-ting would have several ten thousand men and they didn't realise that only Ching was there. Again, when Sun Chien was with Chou Shen, he suggested that he should lead ten thousand men forward to Chin-ch'eng, while Shen with twenty thousand men acted 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 our suggestions, then 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. So when he was Associate Major, Chien saw things the same way I did, and I respect him for that.¹¹ Yet now for no good reason he has joined the Yüan gang and in the end he will die too."

Cho sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the East Tung Yüeh to camp at Min-ch'ih, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Tuan Wei to camp at Hua-yin, and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Niu Fu to camp at An-yi. The rest of his commanders were spread out among the prefectures to block any attack from the east of the mountains. Fu was Cho's son-in-law. Cho led his own troops away to Ch'ang-an. Sun Chien repaired all the grave-mounds and took 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 Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Huang-fu Sung: "Yi-chen, are you afraid? Sung said: "If your excellency uses virtue to maintain the court, this will indeed be a time

of great blessing, and why should I be afraid? If you act arbitrarily and with an evil rule, why should I be the only one that is frightened?" Cho's party wanted to honour Cho like the T'ai-kung and give him the title of Great Father.¹² 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 we can talk about it." So Cho stopped.

Cho sent the Colonel Director of the Retainers Liu Hsiao to arrest those of the officials and people who had not been respectful sons, loyal subjects, honest officials or obedient younger brothers. All were executed and their wealth was confiscated. At this people made false accusations of one another, and those put to death without good cause were numbered by the thousands. The people were disturbed and frightened and on the roads they did no more than exchange glances [not daring to speak].

1922 In the sixth month, on the day ping-hsü [1.VIII] there was an earthquake.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Minister of Works Ch'ung Fu was dismissed and the Imperial Household Grandee 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, and 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 River.¹³ 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 said to Shao: "You have undertaken a great work and yet you rely on others for assistance. Unless you occupy an entire province for yourself, you can never be self-sufficient." Shao said: "The soldiers of Chi Province are strong and my troops are hungry and weary. If we fail we will be left with nothing." Chi said: "Han Fu is a very ordinary fellow. If we make a secret agreement with Kung-sun Tsan to have him take Chi Province, Fu will certainly be startled and frightened. Then you send someone who can argue a case well, to explain the situation to him. Fu will be under pressure, he will get flustered and he will certainly be willing to yield." Shao wrote at once to Tsan. Tsan approved, and he came up with his troops. He pretended he was going to attack Tung Cho but he really planned to attack Fu. Fu fought him but without success. About this time Tung Cho entered the passes to Ch'ang-an. Shao brought his soldiers back to the Yen Ford and sent his nephew Kao Kan of Ch'en-liu with 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 bringing soldiers from the north¹⁴ and he will follow his success with a further advance. All the commanderies will join him, and you have no match for his strength. Yüan the Chariots and Cavalry General is leading his army east, and we can't tell what he will do. I think that you're in trouble!" Fu was frightened and said: "But what can be done?" Shen said: "You estimate yourself, in generosity and charity, a leader of men, admired by everyone, how do you compare with Yüan?" Fu said: "I cannot compare with him." "For making plans in time of emergency, in wisdom and courage surpassing others: again how do you compare with Yüan?" Fu said: "I cannot compare with him." "Generations of his family have displayed their grace and virtue, and all the empire has received their 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 these three ways are not equal to his fine qualities. For a long time, you have held place above him, but he surely cannot be satisfied to remain your subordinate. 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. But Yüan is an old friend of yours and a sworn ally as well. Here is the right plan for this time: Take Chi Province and cede it to Yüan. He will certainly be grateful to you, and Tsan cannot compete with him. So you will have a reputation for yielding place to a worthier man and you will personally be as safe as Mount T'ai."¹⁵ Fu was timid and so he followed this plan.

Fu's Chief Clerk Keng Wu, his Aide-de-Camp Min Ch'un and his Attendant Official at Headquarters 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, dependent and poor, he relies on us for everything. Like a child on the lap, if you end its suckling then it will 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 that of Pen-ch'u's [i.e. Yüan Shao]. I have taken account of his virtue, and so I cede it to him. The men of ancient times saw honour in this, why do you alone find fault with it?"

Before this, Fu's Attendant Officials Chao Fu and Ch'eng
1924 Huan had led ten thousand Strong Bowmen to camp at the Meng Ford. They heard about what was going on and brought the soldiers quickly back. Shao at this time was by the Ch'ing River in Ch'ao-ko.¹⁶ [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. Shao was very annoyed at it. Chao Fu and his companions came and spoke to Han Fu: "Yüan Pen-ch'u's army has not even a bushel of grain, they are already breaking away and scattering. Though Chang Yang and Yü-fu-lo have joined him they are not willing to take his orders. He is no match for us. We beg to resist them with the troops under our present command. In the space of ten days he will certainly be like fallen earth and flying tiles. You, wise general, can leave your doors open and sleep on a high pillow [in security]. Why should you be depressed, why should you be afraid?" Han Fu still would not listen, and he left his position and went out to live in the former

mansion of the Palace Regular Attendant Chao Chung, and he sent his son to take seal and tassel and hand them to Shao. When Shao was on his way and ten members of Han Fu's staff wanted to leave him, Keng Wu and Min Ch'un alone faced them with swords, but they could not hold them back, and they had to let them go. Shao killed both of them.

Then Shao took over as Governor of Chi Province. He took the authority to make Han Fu General Who Displays Majesty, but Fu had no command and no official subordinates. Shao made Chü Shou of Kuang-p'ing General Who Displays Firmness, set him to oversee all the officers and treated him with great favour. Shen P'ei of Wei commandery and T'ien Feng of Chü-lu had both failed to obtain their ambitions under Han Fu because of their upright conduct. Shao made Feng Aide-de-Camp and P'ei Attendant Official at Headquarters. Hsü Yu of Nan-yang, P'ang Chi and Hsün Shen of Ying-ch'uan all became councillors.

Shao appointed Chu Han of Ho-nei Attendant Over the Officers of the Capital.¹⁷ Han had been badly 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, but Han seized his eldest son and beat him and broke both his legs. Shao immediately arrested Han and killed him, but Fu was still anxious and afraid. He asked Shao for permission to leave, and he went to stay with Chang Miao. Some time later, Shao sent a messenger to Miao to discuss some plans with him, and he whispered in Miao's ear while Fu was sitting there. Fu said that plans were made against him, and soon afterwards he got up and went
25 to the lavatory and killed himself with a stylus.¹⁸

Pao Hsin said to Ts'ao Ts'ao: "Yüan Shao is the leader of the alliance and he uses the authority for his own advantage. He is going to make his own rebellion and become another Tung Cho. If you try to restrain him, you will not be strong enough to keep him under control, and it will only bring on difficulties. What you can do is to get control south of the Yellow River and wait for the changes." Ts'ao thought this an excellent idea. Shortly afterwards the Black Mountain bandits Poison Yü, Po Jao, Sui Ku and their followers plundered in Tung

commandery, and Wang Kung could not keep them out. Ts'ao Ts'ao led troops into Tung Commandery, attacked Po Jao at P'u-yang and defeated him. Then Yüan Shao recommended Ts'ao as Grand Administrator of Tung commandery. He made his capital at Tung-wu-yang.

The Southern Shan-yü [Yü-fu-lo] compelled Chang Yang to join him in rebellion against Yüan Shao, and they camped at Li-yang. Tung Cho appointed Yang General Who Establishes Righteousness and Grand Administrator of Ho-nei.

The Grand Clerk examined the omens, and said that some great minister would be executed. Tung Cho set men to make false accusation that the Commandant of the Palace Guard Chang Wen had been in communication with Yüan Shu. In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day jen-hsü [5.XI] 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 and they planned to join forces with the Black Mountain bandits. Kung-sun Tsan led twenty thousand infantry and cavalry to intercept them, and he 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 to the Yellow River, but Tsan caught up with them when they were half across. The rebels were again 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. The fear of his name spread wide.

1926 Liu Yü's son Ho was a Palace Attendant. The Emperor hoped to return to the east, and he sent Ho to pretend that he was escaping from Tung Cho, to go in secret out the Wu Pass, and take a message to Yü that he should lead troops to come and receive the Emperor. Ho came to Nan-yang, but Yüan Shu held him as a hostage to influence Liu Yü, and he would not let him go on. He promised that when soldiers came they would advance to the west together, and he made 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 urged Yü not to send them, but Yü would not listen. Tsan was afraid that Shu would hear about this and be angry so then he sent his own cousin Yüeh to lead another thousand horsemen to Shu. And secretly he encouraged Shu to keep hold of Ho and take the soldiers for himself. So Yü and Tsan had a grudge against each other. Ho fled from Shu, and got away to the north, and he was kept by Yüan Shao.

By this time, all the rulers of provinces and commanderies east of the passes were trying to take one another's territories and so make themselves more powerful. Yüan Shao and Yüan Shu did not trust one another. Shu had sent Sun Chien to attack Tung Cho, and before he had come back Shao appointed Chou Ang of K'uai-chi as Inspector of Yü province. Ang attacked Chien's camp at Yang-ch'eng and captured it. Chien sighed and said: "Together we raised loyal troops, intending to save the empire. The rebels and bandits are almost destroyed, and yet each can act like this. Who can I work with?" He led his troops to attack Ang, and put him to flight.

Yüan Shu had sent Kung-sun Yüeh to help Chien attack Ang, but Yüeh was hit by a stray arrow and died. Kung-sun Tsan was angry and said: "My cousin is dead, and Shao is to blame." He led out his army and camped at the Pan River.¹⁹ He sent in a memorial to the Emperor telling of Shao's crimes and wrongdoings, and then he led his soldiers forward to attack Shao. Many of the cities of Chi Province rebelled against Shao and followed Tsan. Shao was afraid. He had still kept the ribbon and tassel of the Grand Administrator of Po-hai, so he gave this to Tsan's younger cousin Fan, and sent him out to the commandery,²⁰ but Fan turned against Shao and brought the soldiers of Po-hai to help Tsan. Tsan took the authority to give appointments to his officers: 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. He also changed all the chief posts in the commanderies and prefectures.

Before this, Liu Pei of Cho commandery was a descendant of the
1927 Tranquil King of Chung-shan.²¹ When he was young he was orphaned and
poor, and he and his mother made a living by selling sandals. He was
seven feet and five inches tall, his hands hung below his knees, he
could glance around and see his ears.²² He was a man of great
ambitions but few words, and whether he was pleased or angry it did
not show in his expression. He had once studied with Kung-sun Tsan
under Lu Chih, and for this reason he went to join Tsan. Tsan sent
Pei with T'ien K'ai to attack Ch'ing Province. He did well and was made
Chancellor of P'ing-yüan. When Pei was young he had become good friends
with Kuan Yü of Ho-tung and Chang Fei of Cho commandery. He made Yü
and Fei Majors With Separate Commands and shared his troops with them.
Pei would sleep with these two men in the same bed and he treated them
with the favour of brothers, but when there was a crowd of other people
about, they would stand in attendance all day. They followed Pei
everywhere, and they would undertake anything for him, no matter how
difficult or dangerous.

Chao Yün of Ch'ang-shan brought officers and men from his native
commandery to join Kung-sun Tsan. Tsan said to him: "I have heard
that the men of your worthy province all follow Yüan, why do you alone
urge them the other way?" Yüan said: "The empire is in uproar, one
cannot know who is right, and the people are as miserable as if they
were hanging upside down. In my poor province we discussed affairs,
and we turned to the place where there is fair government. It is not
that we despise Lord Yüan, nor are we particularly biassed towards
you." Liu Pei saw him and admired him, and he showed Yün particular
friendship, Yün followed Pei to P'ing-yüan and commanded cavalry for
him.

Before this, Yüan Shu had gained Nan-yang, with a population of
several million, but he acted wastefully and plundered at will, and he
raised levies without restraint. The people suffered from this, and
they gradually drifted away. When he quarrelled with Shao they each
set up parties to make plans against one another. Shu joined Kung-sun
Tsan, and so Shao made an alliance with Liu Piao. Many of the Yüan

clan retainers went to Shao, and Shu was angry and said: "These worthless fellows do not follow me, but they follow our family slave." He wrote a letter to Kung-sun Tsan saying: "Shao is not a son of the Yüan clan." Shao heard about this and was very angry.

Shu sent Sun Chien to attack Liu Piao. Piao sent his officer Huang
128 Tsu to meet him between Fan and Teng. Chien attacked him and then besieged Hsiang-yang. Piao sent Huang Tsu to make a surprise sortie during the night, but when Tsu was going back Chien faced him and fought with him and Tsu was defeated and fled. He escaped into the Hsien Hills. Chien took advantage of his victory and pursued Tsu by night, but a soldier of Tsu's force hid in a bamboo grove and shot Chien and killed him.

Huan Chieh of Ch'ang-sha, who had been recommended by Chien as Filially Pious and Incorrupt, went to Piao and asked for Chien's body.²³ Piao approved. Chien's elder brother's son Pen led the army back to Yüan Shu, and Shu again recommended that Pen become Inspector of Yü Province. Because of Chien's death, Shu was unable to conquer Piao.

Before this, when Tung Cho entered the passes to Ch'ang-an he left Chu Chün to guard Lo-yang. However, Chün had been in secret communication with the leaders east of the mountains, and he became worried that Cho would attack him and fled to Ching Province. Cho made Yang Yi from Hung-nung Intendant 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 letters to the provinces and commanderies asking for soldiers to attack Cho. T'ao Ch'ien, Inspector of Hsü Province, recommended Chün as acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, and sent three thousand trained soldiers to help him. The other provinces and commanderies also sent troops. Ch'ien was a man from Tan-yang. Since the Yellow Turbans had been plundering and making trouble in Hsü Province, the court made him Inspector. When Ch'ien arrived he attacked the Yellow Turbans, completely defeated them and put them to flight. The territory of the province was at peace.

Liu Yen in Yi Province made secret plans of rebellion. Chang Lu was officially a man from P'ei, but the leadership of the Wu-tou-mi sect had been with his family since the time of his grandfather Ling, and they

had all migrated to live in Shu. Because of her devilish teachings, Lu's mother was a frequent visitor at Yen's house, and Yen made Lu Major Who Controls Justice and appointed Chang Hsiu Major With a Separate Command. These two joined forces to surprise and kill the Grand Administrator of Han-chung, Su Ku, and to block the Hsieh-ku Pass, and they killed the messengers from the Han Court.

Yen sent in a memorial: "The Rice Rebels have blocked the road and there is no way to get through." He took advantage of the rebellion to kill Wang Hsien and Li Ch'üan and several others, the most powerful men of the province, and all the people were afraid of his punishments. The Grand Administrator of Chien-wei, Jen Ch'i, and the Colonel Chia Lung raised troops to attack Yen. Yen attacked Ch'i and Lung and killed them both. Yen gradually became more ambitious, and he had made more than a thousand state coaches and carriages.²⁴ Liu Piao sent in a memorial saying that "Yen is like Tzu-hsia, and the people west of the River mistake him for the sage."²⁵ At this time, of Yen's sons, Fan was General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left, Tan was Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents, and Chang was Colonel Who Serves the Army. All had followed the Emperor to Ch'ang-an. Only the youngest son, the Major With a Separate Command Mao, had stayed with Yen. The Emperor sent Chang to re-establish contact with Yen. 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 China proper fled the disorders and came to him. Kuan Ning of Pei-hai, Ping Yüan and Wang Lieh all joined him. When Ning was young he was a friend of Hua Hsin. On one occasion he was hoeing a vegetable plot with Hsin and they saw some gold in the ground. Ning continued hoeing and did not turn to look at it, as if it was nothing different from a tile or a stone. Hsin picked it up and then threw it away. From this everyone realised their quality. Ping Yüan travelled far off in search of learning, and after eight or nine years he was due to go home. Because he did not drink wine, his teachers and school fellows prepared only rice and meat for the

930 farewell party. Yüan said: "I used to drink wine, but I stopped because it confused my thoughts and prevented me from working. But now that I will be leaving you for such a long time, I can drink and feast just once." So they sat and drank wine, and after a whole day he was not drunk.

Both Ning and Yüan had become well-known for their conduct, and Tu kept an empty lodging-house always ready for them. Then Ning came to Tu, and he built a hut in a mountain valley. At this time those who had fled the dangers generally lived in the south of the commanderies, only Ning lived in the north as a sign that he had no intention of going back. Later, the other refugees gradually came to join him, and in a very short time there was a complete city. Whenever Ning saw Tu, he spoke only of the classics and the histories, he made no mention of the affairs of the day. When he went back to the hills he talked of nothing but the Odes and the Documents and he carried out the worship and the sacrifices. Unless a man was a scholar he refused to see him. Because of this, Kung-sun Tu was pleased at his worth and the people were influenced by his virtue. Ping Yüan had strict principles. He spoke out clearly to set things right, and everyone from Tu down was wary of him. Ning said to Yüan: "A hidden dragon fulfils its virtue by not being seen; [if a hidden dragon calls attention to itself] and if you should make some similar mistake, these are ways to bring on misfortune." Secretly he persuaded Yüan to return home. Tu heard of it but he made no attempt to fetch him back.

Wang Lieh's ability and insight passed that of others and when he was young his fame was higher than either Ning or 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, so long as you don't tell Wang Yen-fang." Lieh heard of this, and he sent a man to thank him, and also gave him a bolt of cloth. Someone asked him why, and Lieh said: "The robber was afraid that I would hear of his wrongdoing. Now that he has a sense of shame then his latent good can be brought to life. So I gave the cloth to encourage his feelings towards virtue." Later there

was an old man who left a sword on the road and a man passed by, and saw it and stayed by 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 Lieh about it. Lieh asked who the man was and it turned out to be the former cattle-thief. All who had quarrels or disputes of right and wrong would have them judged by Lieh. Some would turn back on the way, some would see his house and turn back [because they felt they were in the wrong]. All urged one another to act rightly. They did not dare to have Lieh hear a bad report. Tu wanted to make him Chief Clerk. Lieh refused it. He became a merchant, and so degraded himself, and by this means he escaped the summons to office.²⁶

Ch'u-p'ing 3rd year [1.II.192-18.II.193]:

1931 In the spring, in the first month, on the day ting-ch'ou
[? hsin-ch'ou 12.II]¹ 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 Chüeh of Pei-ti, Kuo Ssu of Chang-yeh and Chang Chi of Wu-wei to lead several ten thousands of foot soldiers and horsemen to attack and defeat Chu Chün at Chung-mou. They plundered all the prefectures in Ch'en-liu and Ying-ch'uan. Wherever they passed they killed and took prisoners and nothing was left.

Before this, Hsün Shu² 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: "Here is talent to aid a king!" When the empire was in disorder Yü spoke to his elders and said: "Ying-ch'uan is exposed to attack from all four sides. We should leave quickly." Many of the people loved their homeland and refused to go, so Yü alone led his family off to join Han Fu. By this time Yüan Shao had already taken over Fu's position, and he treated Yü as an honoured

guest. Yü reckoned that Shao would never be able to gain the empire. Then he heard that Ts'ao Ts'ao was brave and ingenious 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!"³ He made him Major Displaying Firmness. A great number of his fellow-villagers who had stayed behind were killed by Chüeh and Ssu.

Yüan Shao himself led out soldiers to attack Kung-sun Tsan, and they fought with Tsan twenty li south of Chieh Bridge. 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 made no move. Then, when the enemy were still ten or twenty yards away, at once and together they rose up, shouted to shake the ground, and completely defeated Tsan's army. 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 maintained the pursuit to the Chieh Bridge. Tsan collected soldiers to turn and fight, Yi defeated him again. Then they }32 came to Tsan's camp, captured his standard, and all the rest of his army took to flight.

Before this, Liu Tai, Inspector of Yen Province, had been on good terms with both Shao and Tsan. Shao had sent his wife and sons to live with Tai, and Tsan had sent his Attendant Official 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 home. He sent a separate order to Fan Fang: "If Tai does not send Shao's family away, bring the cavalry back. I will deal with Shao first and then bring more troops against Tai." Tai talked things over 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. Yü said: "If you give up the alliance with Shao who is close at hand and look for the distant aid from Tsan, that's like getting help from a man in Yüeh when your son is drowning. Kung-sun Tsan is no match for Shao,

and although he has beaten Shao's army this once, Shao will get him in the end." Tai followed this. Fan Fang led his cavalry back, but before he got there Tsan had been defeated.

Ts'ao Ts'ao was camped at Tun-ch'iu, and Poison Yü with the other bandits attacked Tung-wu-yang. Ts'ao led his soldiers west of the mountains to attack Poison's base camp. All his officers urged him to relieve Wu-yang, but 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." So he marched. Poison heard about it, gave up Wu-yang, and came back. Then Ts'ao moved to Nei-huang and attacked Sui Ku and Yü-fu-lo of the Hsiung-nu. He completely defeated them.

Tung Cho made his younger brother Min General of the Left, and Huang, the son of his elder brother, became Colonel of the Centre Army. 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 his maidservants and concubines, were enfeoffed as marquises and played with gold seals and purple tassels. The ornaments of Cho's chariot were like the Emperor's. He would summon the officials of the three terraces, Masters of Writing and below, and they would all go to Cho's offices for their instructions.⁴ He also built a wall at Mei, seventy feet high and seventy feet broad, and stored grain for thirty years supply. He said: "If things go
1933 well, I shall be master of the empire. But even if I fail, I can still hold out here and enjoy myself till I die of old age."

Cho was relentless in his punishments. If any of his officers said the wrong thing, he was killed on the spot. Everyone was frightened. The Minister over the Masses Wang Yün, with the Colonel Director of the Retainers Huang Wan, the Supervisor Shih-sun Jui⁵ and the Master of Writing Yang Tsan made secret plans to kill Cho. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Lü Pu was an expert with the bow and with a horse, and he was stronger than other men. Because Cho realised that he treated men insolently, he kept Pü

as a guard at all times and in all places, and loved and trusted him completely. They took oath as father and son. However, Cho by nature was pig-headed and overbearing. On one occasion Pu had some slight argument with Cho and Cho grabbed a hand axe and threw it at Pu. Pu ducked quickly and dodged it. Then he changed his tune and apologised and Cho's anger left him. However, Pu now had a grudge against Cho. Moreover, Cho had ordered him to guard the palace doors, and he took the opportunity to seduce one of the maid-servants. So now Pu also had a guilty conscience. Wang Yün had always behaved very well towards Pu, and Pu told Yün how Cho had nearly killed him. Then Yün told him about the plan against Cho and asked him to act as the agent from within. Pu said: "But if we are like father and son?" Yün replied: "You are of the Lü surname, and he is no real relation by blood. And now, when you are afraid of death, how can you talk of father and son? When he threw the axe at you, where was the feeling of father and son?" So Pu agreed to it.

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day ting-ssu [miswritten for hsin-ssu, 22.V] ⁶ when the Emperor had been ill and was just recovered, there was a great assembly in the Wei-yang Apartments. Cho rode up in a chariot and came in wearing his robes of state. 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 and some others were ordered to act as escort in front and behind. Wang Yün had Shih-sun Jui write an imperial order for Pu, and Pu ordered the Chief Commandant of Cavalry Li Su, a man from his own commandery, with the Swordsmen Ch'in Yi, Ch'en Wei and about ten other men, to disguise themselves in guards' uniforms and stand behind the Northern Side-gate to wait for Cho. Cho came to the gate and Su stabbed him with a lance. Cho had hidden armour, so the lance did not go in, but it wounded him in the arm and he fell from his chariot. He looked round, and called out: "Where is Lü Pu?" Pu said: "I have an order to kill a rebel minister." Cho cursed him: "Common dog, you dare to do this?" For reply, Pu stabbed Cho with his spear and ordered the soldiers
34 to cut his head off. The Master of Records T'ien Yi, and the Chief of Cho's

granary went forward to attend his corpse and Pu killed them as well. Altogether, three men were killed.

Pu took the edict-block from his breast and used it to take command of the officers and soldiers, saying: "The order says that Cho must be executed, but that is all. For the rest, there are no questions asked." The officers and soldiers stood fast and made no move, but they all cried out, "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 and their dresses and clothing to buy wine and meat in celebration. Cho's younger brother Min, his nephew Huang and other members of the clan were in Mei, and they were all cut down or shot and killed by the men of their command.

Cho's body was shown in the market-place. The weather began to get hot, and Cho had been big and fat and 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 burned clear and bright till dawn. This went on for several days. All the dependents of the Yüan family collected the corpses of the Tung clan and burnt them and scattered the ashes on the roads. In the enclosure [at 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 put in charge of the affairs of the Masters of Writing, while Lü Pu became General Who Displays Majesty, held credentials, and received the ceremonial of the three Dukes. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wen and shared the administration with Wang Yün.

At Cho's death Ts'ai Yung, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left and Marquis of Kao-yang, was sitting with Wang Yün. He heard the news and he was frightened and sighed. Yün was angry 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 share our hatred for him. But you hold your private friendship, and now you are mourning. Why should you not be considered a rebel as well?" He arrested him and handed him over to the Commandant

of Justice. Yung begged his excuses; "Indeed I am disloyal, but the great principles of ancient times and the present day, these are what the ear is glad to hear and the mouth delights to tell. How then could I work for Cho and neglect my duty to the state? Let me have my face branded and my feet cut off, anything but to interrupt the 'History of the Han'." ⁷ Many of the high officials and grandees were sympathetic and interceded for him, but they could do nothing to save him. The Grand Commandant Ma Mi-ti said to Yün: "Po-chieh has rare and unusual talent among the men of our time, he knows a great deal of the affairs of Han, and he should continue and complete the later history. This is one of the great works of our times. His fault is very slight. If you punish him, won't this cause people to lose regard for you?" Yün said: "In former times Emperor Wu did not kill Ssu-mu Ch'ien, and allowed him to write a book of slander which was passed down to later times. Just now, when the fortunes of the Emperor are in a decline and war-horses are in the suburbs, ⁸ we cannot let a deceitful minister continue to hold his brush among the attendants to a young ruler. It would be no advantage to the sage virtue but would cause our party to suffer from 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?" Yung died in prison.

Before this, the Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates Hsün Yu, the Master of Writing Cheng T'ai and the Palace Attendant Ch'ung Chi and others had made plans and said: "Tung Cho is conceited and relentless and has no allies or friends that he can trust. Although he relies on a strong army he is still only one man, and he can be killed with a single blow." Their plans were almost complete when 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. Soon 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: "The bandit army numbers a million and our people are trembling with fear. Our officers and soldiers have no intention of fighting, and we are no match for the enemy. On the other hand, the bandit force has no baggage, nothing but what they can steal. The best thing to do is to get all your men together 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 army is sure to break up. Let that happen first, then choose your best man to occupy the important places and attack them. This way you can win." Tai would not follow this advice. He fought with them and he was killed.

Ts'ao Ts'ao's divisional commander, Ch'en Kung of Tung commandery, said to him: "The province has no master, and the royal mandate is broken. Let me talk to the subordinate officers of the province, and then your excellency can come and act as Governor. From this base you can receive the empire. This is the method of the hegemon kings."⁹ So Kung went and spoke to the Aide-de-Camp and to the Attendant Official at Headquarters and said to them: "The empire is divided and our province has no master. Ts'ao of Tung commandery has the ability to command the world. If you invite him to become Governor of the province he will certainly give peace and life to the people." Pao Hsin and his colleagues agreed, and with the provincial officers Wan Ch'ien and others they came to Tung commandery and asked Ts'ao to take over as Governor of Yen Province.

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Ts'ao then led his soldiers forward to attack the Yellow Turbans east of Shou-chang, but without success. The rebel army was strong and fierce and Ts'ao's soldiers were few and weak, so Ts'ao looked after them and encouraged them, made open rewards and clear punishments, and took advantage of enemy weaknesses to spring his own

surprises. They fought day and night and each time he fought he captured some prisoners. 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 a piece of wood to look like Hsin, and made sacrifice and mourned before it. An imperial edict had appointed Chin Shang of Ching-chao the Inspector of Yen Province, but before he could enter his territory Ts'ao came to attack him, and he fled to Yüan Shu.

In the fifth month the General Who Subdues the West Huang-fu Sung was made General of Chariots and Cavalry.

Before this, Lü Pu had urged Wang Yün to kill all Tung Cho's followers. Yün said: "I can't. They have done nothing wrong." Pu wanted to take Cho's treasure and divide it among the dukes and ministers and the generals and colonels. Again Yün would not do it. Up to now Yün had treated Pu only as a swordsman, but Pu was proud of his service and often boasted about it. After he had been disappointed he began to look discontented. Yün was a hard, stern man and hated evil. Earlier, he had feared Tung Cho, and so he had humbled himself and obeyed him. Now that Cho was destroyed, Yün felt that he had nothing more to worry about. He began to act arrogantly and the officials did not feel any particular loyalty to him.

At first Yün talked with Shih-sun Jui about a special edict to pardon Cho's followers, but 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 they will simply become uncertain. That is no way to settle them."¹⁰ So he didn't issue the edict. Then he considered disbanding the armies, but someone said to Yün: "Up to now the men from Liang Province have dreaded the Yüan and feared the east of the

passes. If you disband the armies and open the passes, all the people will feel they are in danger. Make Huang-fu Yi-chen [i.e. Huang-fu Sung] a general, put him in command of their forces and let 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 supporters. 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 suspicious. We can't do that."

1937 At this time there were false stories among the people that all the men of Liang Province were to be killed. Cho's former generals and colonels turned to one another in their anxiety, and collected their soldiers to defend themselves. They said to each other: "Ts'ai Po-chieh [i.e. Ts'ai Yung] was found guilty merely because Tung Cho had favoured him. They have issued no pardon for us and yet they want to disband our troops. If we dismiss our soldiers today we'll be fish-meat tomorrow." Lü Pu sent Li Su to Shan with orders to punish Niu Fu, but Fu and his officers rebelled and attacked Su. Su was defeated and fled to Hung-nung and Pu had him arrested and killed him. Then Fu became frightened and lost control, and there was a sudden panic in his camp. Fu tried to run away and he was killed by his own men.

By the time Li Chüeh and the others came back [from Ying-ch'uan and Ch'en-liu] Fu was already dead. Chüeh and the others had nowhere to go, so they sent a messenger to Ch'ang-an to ask for a pardon. Wang Yün said: "There cannot be two amnesties in a single year."¹¹ And he refused them. Chüeh and the others were more and more worried. They did not know what to do, and they were going to scatter and hurry by side paths back to their homes. The Colonel Who Exterminates the Caitiffs Chia Hsü from Wu-wei said: "If you leave your armies and travel alone, then the chief of a single village can arrest you. The best thing to do is to move west together, attack Ch'ang-an and avenge Tung Cho. If we're successful we can serve the royal house and set the empire to rights. If it doesn't work out we can still run away." Chüeh and the others agreed, and they

made a covenant together, and led their forces of several thousands marching west day and night. Both Hu Wen-ts'ai and Yang Cheng-hsiu¹² were important men of Liang Province. Wang Yün ordered them to go east. They were not supposed to make any attempt to be friendly, but simply to call the mutineers to order. Yün said: "Those rats from east of the passes,¹³ what do they want to do? You go and ask them." The two men went off, but all they did was to call up their own soldiers and go back to their province.

Chüeh recruited soldiers as he marched, and by the time he came to Ch'ang-an he had already more than a hundred thousand men. He joined Cho's former followers Fan Ch'ou and Li Meng and they besieged the walls of Ch'ang-an. The walls were too steep for storming, and the city held out for eight days.

Lü Pu's army had soldiers from Shu¹⁴ and these men staged a mutiny inside the city. In the sixth month, on the day wu-wu [28.VI] they brought Chüeh's army in, and the soldiers were let loose to plunder. Pu fought them within the walls but could do nothing to stop them. With Cho's head tied to his horse's saddle and with several hundred horsemen, he fled from the city. He halted his horse below the Ch'ing-so Gate¹⁵ and called Wang Yün to come away with him. Yün said: "If I have received the blessing of the national altars, then my only wish would be to give peace to our country. If I have not received it, then I offer myself to die for him.

38 The Emperor is young and weak, and he trusts in me. When danger comes, I can't run away from it. Try to get help from the leaders east of the passes. Urge them to think of the nation." The Grand Master of Ceremonies Ch'ung Fu said: "We are the chief servants of the state, but we could neither prevent violence nor resist insult. Because of our failure, naked swords face the palace. If I leave here, where can I go?" He died in the fighting.

Li Chüeh and Kuo Ssu camped near the Lateral Gates of the Southern Palace. They killed the Grand Coachman Lu K'uei, the Grand Herald Chou Huan, the Colonel of the City Gates Ts'ui Lieh and the Colonel of the Elite Cavalry 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 Gate¹⁶

to escape the soldiers. Chüeh and the others came to the gate, fell to the ground and made the kowtow. The Emperor said to them: "Gentlemen, you have set loose soldiers everywhere, what do you want?" Chüeh and the others replied: "Tung Cho was loyal to your majesty and Lü Pu killed him without good cause. We avenge Cho, we would not dare to make rebellion. We beg to finish this business and then we will go to the Commandant of Justice for punishment." They surrounded the gate-tower and asked that the Minister over the Masses Wang Yün come out, saying: "What fault had the Grand Master [Tung Cho]?" Yün had no alternative and he went down and saw them. On the day chi-wei [29.VI] there was an amnesty for the empire. Li Chüeh was made General Who Manifests Firmness, Kuo Ssu became General Who Manifests Courage. Fan Ch'ou and the rest all became Generals of the Gentleman of the Household. Chüeh and his men arrested the Colonel Director of the Retainers Huang Wan and killed him.

Before this, Wang Yün had appointed Sung Yi of his own commandery as the Eastern Supporter and Wang Hung was the Western Sustainer. Chüeh and the others wanted to kill Yün but they were afraid the two commanderies would make trouble, so they sent a summons for Yi and Hung. Hung sent a messenger to say to Yi: "The only reason why Kuo Ssu and Li Chüeh have not yet killed Lord Wang is because you and I still at large. If we answer the summons today, they will destroy us all tomorrow. Do you think we should go?" Yi said: "Though it is difficult to decide the rights and wrongs of the case, the first principle is to obey the royal command." Hung said: "The loyal armies east of the passes are bubbling like a cauldron. They always wanted to destroy Tung Cho, and now that Cho is dead it should be easy to deal with his followers. If we raise troops to attack Chüeh and the others, making alliance with the east of the mountains, this is an opportunity to turn ill fortune into good." Yi refused to join him, and Hung could not act alone, so they both obeyed the summons. On the day chia-tzu [4.VII] Chüeh arrested Yün with Yi and Hung and killed them all. Yün's wife and family died too. When Hung came to his fate he cursed and said: "Sung Yi was a weakling, not fit to discuss great plans."

Chüeh left Yün's body in the market-place and no-one dared to collect it. Then Chao Chien of Ching-chao, the Prefect of P'ing-ling, a former officer of Yün, left his office to take it away and bury it. Before this, Yün had claimed all the rewards for killing Cho. Shih-sun Jui refused any credit and rejected a fief as a marquis. So he now escaped misfortune.

Your servant Kuang says: The Yi-ching claims: 'The superior man of humility and merit will maintain his success to the end and will receive good fortune.'¹⁷ Shih-sun Jui had achievement but did not boast of it, and so he preserved his life. Can that not be called wisdom?

Chüeh and the others made Chia Hsü the Eastern Supporter and wanted to make him a marquis. Hsü said: "This was just a plan to save my own skin, what have I done to deserve a reward?" He refused to accept it. Then they made him Supervisor of the Masters of Writing. Hsü said: "Supervisor of the Masters of Writing is the senior office of all, the whole empire looks to it. My name has not been important before, and people will not respect it." He became a Master of Writing.

Lü Pu fled from the Wu Pass to Nan-yang, and Yüan Shu treated him extremely well. But Pu presumed on his credit with the Yüan clan and let his soldiers plunder and rob. Shu was annoyed at this and Pu became uneasy. He went off to join Chang Yang in Ho-nei. Li Chüeh and the others offered a great reward for Pu and Pu fled once more to Yüan Shao.

On the day ping-tzu [16.VII] the General of the Van Chao Ch'ien became Minister over the Masses.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day keng-tzu [9.VIII] the Grand Commandant Ma Mi-ti was made Grand Tutor with control of the affairs of the Masters of Writing.

In the eighth month the General of Chariots and Cavalry
940 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 make peace with the east of the passes.¹⁸

In the ninth month Li Chüeh was made General of Chariots and Cavalry and given command as Colonel Director of the Retainers with credentials. Kuo Ssu became General of the Rear, Fan Ch'ou became General of the Right and Chang Chi became General of the Agile Cavalry.¹⁹ All were enfeoffed as marquises. Chüeh, Ssu and Ch'ou controlled the court government. Chi went out and camped in Hung-nung.

The Minister over the Masses Chao Ch'ien left office.

On the day chia-shen [21.XI] the Minister of Works Ch'un-yü Chia became Minister over the Masses, the Imperial Household Grandee Yang Piao became Minister of Works, and they shared control of the affairs of the Masters of Writing.

Before this, when Tung Cho entered the passes [to Ch'ang-an], he had persuaded Han Sui and Ma T'eng to join him in dealing with the east of the mountains. Sui and T'eng brought their forces to Ch'ang-an. Cho died soon afterwards and Li Chüeh and the others made Sui General Who Maintains the West in Peace and sent him back to Chin-ch'eng, while T'eng became General Who Subdues the West 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 General Who Maintains the South in Peace, Governor of Ching Province, and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Ch'eng-wu.²⁰

In the twelfth month the Grand Commandant Huang-fu Sung was dismissed and the Imperial Household Grandee Chou Chung was made Grand Commandant and shared in the control of the affairs of the Masters of Writing.

Ts'ao Ts'ao pursued the Yellow Turbans to Chi-pei and they all surrendered to him. He gained more than three hundred thousand soldiers and more than a million men and women. He chose out the best fighters and called them the Ch'ing-chou troops.²¹

Ts'ao appointed Mao Chieh of Ch'en-liu as Attendant Official at Headquarters. Chieh said to Ts'ao: "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 less than a year's reserve of food and the people have no sense of security.

Things cannot stay like this. Now, men who are fighting for the right make the best soldiers, and if they can be sure of their supplies they will hold their positions. You must serve the Son of Heaven in order to gain authority over those who would not submit to you otherwise, 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 he sent a messenger to Chang Yang, the Grand Administrator of Ho-nei, asking permission to travel west to Ch'ang-an. Yang refused.

Tung Chao of Ting-t'ao [in Chi-yin commandery] said to Yang: "Though Yüan and Ts'ao are allies, they won't stay together for long. At the moment Ts'ao is weak, but he is still one of the few great men in the empire, and you should look for some opportunity to get on good terms with him. Now you have a really good chance. Send through his memorial, and recommend him besides. If things turn out well there will be a permanent bond between you." So Yang sent Ts'ao's memorial to the capital with a strong recommendation, and Chao wrote on Ts'ao's behalf to Li Chüeh and Kuo Ssu and the others, varying his compliments to suit each man.

Chüeh and Ssu received Ts'ao's messenger, but they were sure that the rebels east of the passes wanted to set up an emperor for themselves, and although Ts'ao had sent for orders they were convinced there was some trick. They considered keeping Ts'ao's messenger back. The Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates Chung Yao spoke to Chüeh and Ssu and said: "At this time all the fighting men rise up together and each claims the mandate to rule on his own. Ts'ao of Yen Province is the only one who cares for the imperial house. If you reject his loyalty this is no way to encourage people to look to you in the future." So Chüeh and Ssu made a generous reply. Yao was the great-grandson of [Chung] Hao.²²

The Inspector of Hsü Province, T'ao Ch'ien, with all the chief officials of his commanderies and kingdoms, sent in a memorial to recommend that Chu Chün become Grand Master.²³ Then they wrote to the other heads of province and urged that they make a joint attack on Li Chüeh and his followers and then offer a welcome to the Emperor. Li Chüeh followed a proposal of the Grand Commandant Chou Chung and the Master of Writing Chia Hsü and summoned Chün

to court. So Chün declined Ch'ien's recommendation and answered the summons instead. He was again made Grand Coachman.

Kung-sun Tsan sent more soldiers to attack Yüan Shao.

1942 They came to Lung-ts'ou and Shao attacked them and defeated them. 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 him and defeated him. Yi fled to P'ei and was killed by his own soldiers. Shu made Ch'en Yü of Hsia-p'i Inspector of Yang Province.

Ch'ü-p'ing 4th year [19.II.193-8.II.194]:

In the spring, in the first month, on the day chia-yin [19.II], the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.

On the day ting-mao [4.III] there was an amnesty for the empire.

Ts'ao Ts'ao's army was at Chüan-ch'eng. Yüan Shu, under pressure from Liu Piao, led his men to camp at Feng-ch'iu, and he was joined by a group of the Black Mountain bandits and also by Yü-fu-lo of the Hsiung-nu. Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked Shu's army and defeated it and then beseiged Feng-ch'iu. Shu retreated to Hsiang-yi and then to Ning-ling. Ts'ao continued the pursuit and defeated him in one battle after another. Shu fled into Chiu-chiang. Ch'en Yü, the Inspector of Yang Province [who had been appointed by Shu] turned against him and refused to let him in. Shu retreated to Yin-ling, collected his forces north of the River Huai and again went forward against Shou-ch'un.¹ Yü took fright and went back to Hsia-p'i.

1943 Then Shu took over his territory and claimed the additional title "Lord of Hsü Province". Li Chüeh wanted to make an alliance with Shu, so he appointed Shu General of the Left and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Yang-ti, granting him credentials.

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 and supplies were completely exhausted on both sides. They had plundered one another's people until the land was a wilderness without a single green plant. Shao made his son T'an Inspector of Ch'ing Province. K'ai fought him but had no success. Then Chao Ch'i came to make peace in the east of the passes, and Tsan accepted a truce with Shao and each side led their troops away.

In the third month Yüan Shao was at the Po-lo Ford. The soldiers in Wei commandery rebelled and joined Poison Yü and the Black Mountain bandits to make a force of several ten thousand men. They stormed Yeh city [the capital of Wei commandery] and killed the Grand Administrator. Shao went back to camp at Ch'ih-ch'iu.

In the summer, Ts'ao Ts'ao led his army back to Ting-t'ao.

Wang Lang of Tung-hai, Attendant Official at Headquarters in Hsü Province, and the Aide-de-Camp Chao Yü of Lang-yeh suggested to their Inspector T'ao Ch'ien: "If you wish to be recognised as a feudal lord, the best way is to take up arms and defend the throne. Now that the Son of Heaven is away in the western capital you should send in a messenger to take tribute." So Ch'ien sent Yü to take a memorial to Ch'ang-an. An imperial edict promoted Ch'ien to be Governor of Hsü Province with the additional title of General Who Gives Tranquillity to the East and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Li-yang. He made Yü Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling and Lang Grand Administrator of K'uai-chi.

Up to this time the people of Hsü had been prosperous, the crops were abundant, and many people had come to take refuge there. But then Ch'ien began to put his trust in slanderers and criminals, granting them official posts and keeping loyal and upright men at a distance. The laws and the government were not well administered, and Hsü Province gradually fell into disorder. Hsü Shao had left his home to come to Kuang-ling and Ch'ien received him with the utmost courtesy. Shao, however, said to his followers: "T'ao Kung-tsu [i.e. T'ao Ch'ien] pretends to admire my reputation, but he is not a really honest man. Though he treats me generously,

he will not always be in such a good mood." So he left him. Later, when Ch'ien arrested all the scholars living in his province, then people admired Shao's foresight.

1944 In the sixth month there was great rain and hail in Fu-feng. There was a rock-fall on Mount Hua.

The Grand Commandant Chou Chung was dismissed. The Grand Coachman Chu Chün became Grand Commandant with control of the affairs of the Masters of Writing.

Ch'üeh 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 Poison Yü, besieged him for five days and defeated him. He cut off the heads of Poison and over ten thousand of his army. Then Shao went north through the mountains, attacked the bandit Tso with the Eighty-foot Moustache and his group and beheaded them all. He also attacked Liu Shih, Green Ox-Horn, Yellow Dragon, Colonel on the Left, Kuo Great-Virtue, Big-Eyes Li and Yü Ti-Ken, and again cut off several ten thousand heads and destroyed all their camps and fortifications. Then he fought in Ch'ang-shan with the Black Mountain 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 and they fought continually for more than ten days. Though many of Yen's troops were killed or wounded, Shao's army was also exhausted, and they both drew back.

1945 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 claimed the authority to appoint Pu Colonel Director of the Retainers, and sent a strong escort to accompany him. Secretly, however, he made plans to kill him. Pu sent a man to strum music in his tent,² but he himself went away into hiding. During the night, the men in the escort got up and hacked the tent and coverlets and

destroyed everything inside. Next day, when Shao learnt that Pu was still alive, he was so frightened that he closed the gates of the city to defend himself. Pu led his army back to join Chang Yang [in Ho-nei].

The former Grand Commandant Ts'ao Sung had taken refuge in Lang-yeh. His son Ts'ao ordered Ying Shao, the Grand Administrator of T'ai-shan, to invite him over. Sung's travelling baggage needed more than a hundred carts. T'ao Ch'ien's subordinates were stationed at Yin-p'ing, and the soldiers were greedy for Sung's treasure. They made a surprise attack on Sung between Hua and Pi and killed him, together with his younger son Te.³

In the autumn, 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 disorders of Tung Cho the people had migrated to the east, and many had come to Hsü. When Ts'ao arrived there were several hundred thousand men and women trapped and killed at the Ssu River, so many that the water did not flow.

Ts'ao attacked T'an but could not take it, and then he went off. He attacked Ch'ü-lu,⁴ Sui-ling, and Hsia-ch'iu and destroyed all of them. Even the chickens and dogs were 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.XII] there was an earthquake in the capital district.

There was a comet in the T'ien-shih.⁵

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The Minister of Works Yang Piao was dismissed. On the day ping-wu [8.XII] the Grand Master of Ceremonies Chao Wen became Minister of Works and controlled the affairs of the Masters of Writing.

Liu Yü and Kung-sun Tsan had been on bad terms for a long time. Tsan had often attacked Yüan Shao, and though Yü had forbidden it he was not able to enforce his orders, so he now cut down a little on Tsan's supplies. Tsan was angry. He repeatedly

disobeyed instructions and he plundered the people. Yü could no longer control him, and he sent a courier to take a memorial to the Emperor setting out [Tsan's] crimes of cruelty and robbery. Tsan on his side complained that Yü was sending inadequate supplies. The two memorials were presented, accusing one another, and the court replied in vaguely favourable terms to each of them, taking no action.

Tsan built a small fort in the southeast of Chi city and occupied it.⁶ Yü asked several times to meet him, but Tsan claimed he was ill and would not accept. Yü suspected he was preparing to rebel, and so he collected the soldiers of his province, a hundred thousand men, and attacked him. At this time, Tsan's forces were scattered, away from their posts. In their haste to retreat, they even tried to break down the eastern wall of the city. Yü's soldiers, however, had no organisation and no training in battle. He respected the houses of the civilians and would not hear of orders to burn them. He warned the officers of his army: "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 straight through the enemy lines. Yü's forces disintegrated. Yü and his officers fled north to Chü-yung, Tsan pursued him and attacked him, and after three days the city fell. He captured Yü and his wife and children and brought them back to Chi, still keeping him in nominal charge of the civil administration of the province.

At this time an edict sent the messenger Tuan Hsün to grant Yü a larger fief with more towns, and to give him command over the government of six provinces. Tsan was to be made General of the Van and enfeoffed as Marquis of Yi. Tsan claimed, falsely, that Yü had once made plans 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, joined the officers Chang Yi and Chang Tsan and went to Yü. They put every curse on Tsan that they could think of and then they died together. Tsan sent Yü's head to the capital. Wei Tun, a former official of Yü,

stole Yü's head from the couriers and brought it back and buried it. By his grace and generosity, Yü had gained the affection of his people, and in the northern province not one of those who had migrated [into Yu] or who were native [to Yu] failed to mourn for him with bitter grief.

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Earlier, when Yü had wanted to send a messenger to take a report to Ch'ang-an, he found it difficult to decide on the right man. Everyone said: "T'ien Ch'ou of Yu-pei-p'ing is only twenty-two, but although he is young he is remarkably able." So Yü sent him a polite invitation and asked him to become his officer. He had already prepared chariots and cavalry for the trip, but Ch'ou said: "The road is blocked and there are robbers and bandits everywhere. If you call me an officer and give me a commission, everyone will notice me. I want to go privately, and with a bit of luck I can get through." Yü agreed. Ch'ou collected twenty horsemen from his own family retainers, they went together up to the western pass, across the frontier, through the northern mountains, then straight to Shuo-fang.⁷ From there they travelled on sideroads to Ch'ang-an and delivered the message.

An edict appointed Ch'ou Chief Commandant of Cavalry. Because the Emperor at that time was a wanderer and had lost the throne, Ch'ou felt this was no time for a subject to receive favours and rewards, and he could not accept the honour. He refused it firmly, and as soon as he had a reply to Yü's message he hurried back. Yü, however, was dead before he arrived. Ch'ou went to Yü's grave and sacrificed there, displayed the message that he had been entrusted with, then wept and went away. Kung-sun Tsan was angry. He offered a reward and captured Ch'ou, and then he asked him: "You did not send the message to me, why?" Ch'ou said: "The Han house is declining and the people have ideas of rebellion. Lord Liu was the only man who never let slip his loyalty or his honour. The message I carried was hardly flattering to you, and I am afraid you would not have been pleased to hear it. So I did not come forward. Besides, you have just

destroyed an innocent lord and you are at war against an honest minister. I am afraid that the men of Yen and Chao⁸ would jump into the Eastern Sea and die rather than follow you." Tsan let him go.

Ch'ou went back north to Wu-chung. There he led several hundred of his clan and others that came to him, cleared the ground and made a covenant to say: "Unless my lord's enemy suffers vengeance I can remain no longer in the world." They went into the Hsü-wu hills⁹, made camp in some flat open land among steep passes and lived there. Ch'ou himself tilled the ground to keep his father and mother. The people came to him, and in several years their numbers grew until there were more than five thousand families.

Ch'ou spoke to the elders and said: "Now the people here are as many as a city, yet there is no single government for them and there are no laws to guide them. I fear this is not the way to keep our peace. Now I have a foolish plan, and with your help I would like to put it to effect. May I do so?" They all said: "Do so." Then Ch'ou made his code. Those who killed or wounded one another, those who robbed and those who quarrelled should answer for their fault according to how serious it was. The heaviest penalty was death, and altogether there were about ten articles. He also set out ceremonies of marriage and the courses taught in the schools. He proclaimed these among the people, and all found them easy to follow. Eventually the government was so good that things found in the road were never touched [but left there for their owners to collect]. All in the north had trust in him and submitted to his authority, while both the Wu-huan and the Hsien-pi sent messengers with presents of food. Ch'ou treated them well and accepted them, and ordered them not to invade the borders.

In the twelfth month, on the day hsin-ch'ou [1.II.194] there was an earthquake.

The Minister of Works Chao Wen was dismissed. On the day yi-ssu [4.II] the Commandant of the Palace Guard Chang Hsi was made Minister of Works.

Hsing-p'ing 1st year [9.II.194-28.1.195]:

In the spring, in the first month, on the day hsin-yu [21.II] there was an amnesty for the empire. On the day chia-tzu [24.II] the Emperor took the cap of manhood.¹

In the second month, on the day wu-yin [10.III] the high officials recommended that a Ch'ang-ch'iu Palace be set up.² An edict said: "The burial ground for my late mother has not yet been settled. How can I bear to talk of choosing for my harem?" On the day jen-wu [14.III] 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.³

T'ao Ch'ien told T'ien K'ai of his danger [from Ts'ao Ts'ao] and K'ai brought him help, with the Chancellor of P'ing-yüan, Liu Pei. Pei himself had several thousand soldiers, and Ch'ien gave him four thousand more stationed at Tan-yang, and then Pei left K'ai and joined Ch'ien. Ch'ien recommended him as Inspector of Yü Province and he camped at Hsiao-p'ei. Ts'ao Ts'ao's supplies were exhausted and he led his men back.

Ma T'eng had some private request of Li Chüeh, but he did not get what he wanted. He became angry, and he planned to raise soldiers and attack the capital. The Emperor sent messengers to bring about a reconciliation, but T'eng would not listen. Han Sui brought up his forces to come and make peace between T'eng and Chüeh, but then he also joined T'eng. The Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant Ch'ung Shao, the Palace Attendant Ma Yü and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left Liu Fan made plans to have T'eng attack Ch'ang-an and then to act as his supporters inside the city and kill Chüeh and his allies. [In the third month] on the day jen-shen T'eng brought his soldiers to camp at Ch'ang-p'ing Observatory.⁴ Shao and his fellow-conspirators were discovered and fled to Huai-li. Chüeh sent Fan Ch'ou,

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. Then the army attacked Huai-li, and Shao and the others were all killed. On the day keng-shen an edict was issued to pardon T'eng and his supporters.⁵

In the summer, in the fourth month, Ma T'eng was made General Who Gives Tranquillity to the Northern Barbarians and Han Sui was made General Who Gives Tranquillity to the Submissive.

Ts'ao Ts'ao sent his Major Hsün Yü, with Ch'eng Yü, the Prefect of Shou-chang, to hold Chüan-ch'eng. He himself again went to attack T'ao Ch'ien. He seized territory as far as Lang-yeh and Tung-hai, and he destroyed everything he passed. Then he turned back and defeated Liu Pei east of T'an. Ch'ien was frightened and wanted to run back home to Tan-yang, but just at this time the Grand Administrator of Ch'en-liu, Chang Miao, rebelled against Ts'ao and called in Lü Pu, and so Ts'ao led his army back.

Before this, when Chang Miao was young, he enjoyed acting as a knight errant.⁶ Yüan Shao and Ts'ao Ts'ao were both good friends of his. When Shao was 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 refused: "Meng-cho [i.e. Chang Miao] is a good friend. Right or wrong, we should show him tolerance. Now, while the empire is still not settled, how can we cause danger to one another?" When Ts'ao first attacked T'ao Ch'ien, feeling sure that he would be killed 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 wept for emotion.

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Kao Jou of Ch'en-liu spoke to his country-men and said: "General Ts'ao only holds Yen Province now, but at heart he has plans to take over everything. He will never be content to stay here. At the same time, Magistrate Chang, with all the wealth of Ch'en-liu, is just waiting for the opportunity to make a rebellion. I think we had better get out of this. What do you say?" Everybody thought that Ts'ao and Chang were close friends and Jou was young, so they would not follow his suggestion. Then Jou's elder cousin [Kao] Kan invited him to come north of the Yellow River [into Chi Province]

and so Jou took his family and went to join him.

When Lü Pu left Yüan Shao for Chang Yang, he stayed with Miao on the way. When he was about to go they held hands and made an oath together. Shao heard about this and was very angry. Miao was afraid that in the end Ts'ao would kill him as a favour to Shao, and he was not easy in his mind. Once before, when the Grand Administrator of Chiu-chiang Pien Jang of Ch'en-liu had criticised Ts'ao, Ts'ao came to hear of it and killed Jang with all his family. Up to that time Jang had been well known for his ability, and so all the leading men of Yen Province were frightened. Ch'en Kung by nature was upright, strong and impetuous. He too was secretly unsure of his position, and with the Gentlemen of the General Staff 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: "The empire is divided and fallen and the brave men rise up together. With the forces of a thousand li you stay in a place open on four sides to war. You hold your sword and you look around proudly, and you are good enough to be a leader of men. Yet you prefer to take your orders from another. Isn't that pretty meanspirited? Now the provincial army is away in the east and this place is empty. Lü Pu is a strong soldier and a superb fighting man. You call him in for a while, rule Yen Province together, watch the situation of the empire and wait for the changes of time and circumstance. This is the very moment for such a strategic move." Miao agreed.

At this time, Ts'ao had ordered Kung to lead a force into camp in Tung commandery. Then Kung took his army and secretly invited Pu to come and take over as Governor of Yen Province. Pu came up, and Miao sent his follower Liu Yi to tell Hsün Yü: "General Lü has come to help Commissioner Ts'ao⁷ attack T'ao Ch'ien. You must quickly get provisions ready for his army." People were doubtful, and Yü realised that Miao planned to rebel. At once, he ordered his men to make preparations and hastily called up the Grand Administrator of Tung commandery, Hsia-hou Tun, from P'u-yang. Tun came and then Pu occupied P'u-yang. At this time Ts'ao's whole army was attacking T'ao Ch'ien, there were few soldiers left on guard and many of the

commanders and senior officials had been in correspondence with Miao and Kung. The same night that Tun arrived, he executed several
1952 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 men below the walls of [Chüan-ch'eng] city. Some said that he was in the plan with Pu, and the people were very frightened. Kung asked to see Hsün Yü. Yü was prepared 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 can't do it." Yü said: "Kung knows almost nothing about Miao's party, because they have had little to do with each other in the past. He has only just arrived and he certainly has not made up his mind what he is going to do. If we talk to him while he is still undecided, even if we can't get him to join us, at least we can persuade him to stay neutral. On the other hand, if we make him suspicious he will only get angry and then he will complete the plan to rebel." Kung saw that Yü was quite unafraid, and he felt that Chüan-ch'eng would be difficult to attack, so he led his men away.

At this time all the commanderies and prefectures of Yen Province followed Pu, only Chüan-ch'eng, Fan and Tung-a stayed loyal. Deserters from Pu's army said: "Ch'en Kung is going to come himself to take Tung-a, and he will send Fan Yi to take Fan." All the officers and people were frightened. Ch'eng Yü was originally a man from Tung-a, and Hsün Yü said to him: "The whole province is in rebellion and only these three cities remain. Kung and his fellows will attack them with a strong force. Unless we have something to hold them, all three will certainly change sides. The people look up to you. You go and make friends with them."

On his way home, Yü passed by Fan. He spoke to the Prefect Chin Yün: "I have heard that Lü Pu holds your mother and your younger brother and your wife and children. As a filial son, how can you accept this? But now the empire is in great disorder, and brave men rise up against one another. What a wise man should judge and choose is the leader who can really take control and can end the

disorders of the empire. The man who finds his true lord will prosper, and the man who makes a bad choice will die. Ch'en Kung has rebelled and brought in Lü Pu, and all the cities have followed. It certainly seems as if they can take everything over, but if you think about it, what sort of a man is Pu? Pu is rough, with little affection for anyone else. He is brutal and arrogant. This is the strength of a common fellow. For the time being, Kung and the others are compelled to be friendly with him, but they will never accept him as a chief. Though he has many soldiers, in the end he will come to nothing. The wisdom and strategy of Commissioner Ts'ao are not of this world, but rather received from Heaven. You must keep Fan firm, I will guard

953 Tung-a, and then we will have achieved the good work of T'ien Tan.⁸ How can you abandon loyalty and follow evil, and so bring mother and son both to die? If you would only think it over." Yün 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. Yün received him, and had him killed by soldiers in an ambush. Then he went back and prepared his troops to defend themselves in Fan.

Hsü Chung's criticism⁹ says: "Yün had no responsibility as Lord Ts'ao's subject, and his mother was his closest relative. According to moral standards, he should have gone away. When 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 own family, how could he care for his ruler?¹⁰ This means that one looks for a loyal official essentially at the door of a filial son. Yün 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.¹¹ A man with imperial ambitions should have sympathy with the feelings of a son. Lord Ts'ao should also have sent Yün away."

Ch'eng Yü also sent a detachment of cavalry to hold the Ts'ang-t'ing Ford, and when Ch'en Kung came up he could not cross. By the time Yü came to Tung-a the Prefect there, Tsao Chih of Ying-ch'uan, had already taken command of the officers and people and trained them to guard the walls and hold firm. So Yü managed to keep all three cities safe for Ts'ao. Then Ts'ao came back, and he took Yü's hand and said: "But for your strength, I would have had no place to return to." He recommended Yü as Chancellor of Tung-p'ing to garrison Fan. Lü Pu had attacked Chüan-ch'eng but could not capture it, and he went back west to camp at P'u-yang. Ts'ao Ts'ao said: "Pu obtained the province in a single day, but instead of seizing Tung-p'ing so as to break the road between K'ang-fu and T'ai-shan and hold the passes and important places against me, he has gone to camp at P'u-yang. Now I know he is incompetent." He went forward and attacked him.

1954 In the fifth month the General Who Manifests Firmness Kuo Ssu was made General of the Rear and the General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire Fan Ch'ou became General of the Right. Both opened offices like the three Dukes, and joined [with the three Dukes and Li Chüeh] to form the six offices.¹² All made selections and recommendations of officials. Li Chüeh and the others always wanted their protégés to be given office, and if anyone opposed them they were angry and had no hesitation in showing it. The people in charge were troubled at this, and they gave office to the candidates in order of preference. First they would take Chüeh's nominees, then Ssu's and then Ch'ou's. None of the men the three Dukes recommended were ever given a post.

The four commanderies west of the Yellow River were a long way from the headquarters of Liang Province¹³ and were cut off by pirates on the rivers. A memorial was sent to ask that they be set up as a separate province. In the sixth month on the day ping-tzu [6.VII] an edict made Han-tan Shang of Ch'en-liu Inspector of Yung Province, to administer this new region.¹⁴

On the day ting-ch'ou [7.VII] there was an earthquake in the capital district, and on the day wu-yin [8.VII] there was another earthquake.

On the day yi-yü [miswritten for yi-ssu]¹⁵ the last day of the month [5.VIII] there was an eclipse of the sun.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day jen-tzu [11.VIII] the Grand Commandant Chu Chün was dismissed.

On the day wu-wu [17.VIII] the Grand Master of Ceremonies Yang Piao was made Grand Commandant and controlled the affairs of the Masters of Writing.

On the day chia-tzu [23.VIII] the General Who Maintains the South in Peace Yang Ting became General Who Gives Tranquillity to the West and opened an office like the three Dukes.

From the fourth month to this [seventh] month there was no rain, and a bushel of grain¹⁶ cost 500,000 cash. People in Ch'ang-an ate one another. The Emperor ordered the Attendant Imperial Clerk Hou Wen to give out grain and beans from the great granary for the people to make gruel, but the people starved and died as before. The Emperor suspected the issue had not been correctly made. Five pints of each of the grain and beans were brought to his presence to make gruel and only two dishes were obtained. Then Wen was beaten fifty times, and after that everyone got full measure.¹⁷

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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, Fan Ch'ou and the others led out their troops and defeated them.

Lü Pu had an outpost to the west of P'u-yang. Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked it by night and destroyed it. Before he had got back to his own lines, Pu came up himself. From daybreak to sunset their soldiers fought time and again, and the battle was desperately even. Ts'ao called for men to break

into the enemy line, and the Major Tien Wei of Ch'en-liu led out a group of volunteers. Pu's bows and crossbows were firing from every direction and arrows were coming down like rain. Paying no attention to them, Wei said to his men: "When the enemy are ten paces away, then report it." The other men said: "Ten paces!" He said again: "Tell me when it's five paces." The others were frightened and shouted at once: "They're here." Holding a halberd, Wei rose up and roared defiance. Whenever he struck there was none could stand against his blow. Pu's forces retreated. Then the sun went down, and Ts'ao was able to draw back and get away. He made Wei Chief Commandant and ordered him always to act as guard on his great tent with several hundred of his own soldiers.

The powerful Tien clan of P'u-yang changed sides, 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, but then he fought and his army was defeated. Some of Pu's cavalry captured Ts'ao but did not realise it. They asked him: "Which is Ts'ao Ts'ao?" and Ts'ao replied: "That man on the bay horse riding away." So Pu's cavalry let Ts'ao go and chased the man on the bay. Ts'ao rushed through the fire and got out. He came to his camp and hastily encouraged the army, ordered the men to make quick preparations for an attack, and went forward again to the charge. He and Pu were face to face for more than three months. Then locusts came and there was a great famine. The supplies in Pu's army were also exhausted, and they both drew away.

In the ninth month Ts'ao returned to Chüan-ch'eng. Pu went to Sheng-shih, but 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 someone to suggest to Ts'ao that he send his family to stay at Yeh. Ts'ao had just lost Yen Province, his army's food was finished, and he was going to accept the offer. Ch'eng Yü said: "It seems, my general, that when the pressure comes on you get flustered. Otherwise, how could you make such stupid plans? Yüan Shao has ambitions

156 for all the empire, but he's not nearly clever enough for that. Could you really put up with him as a leader? You have the majesty of a dragon or a tiger, and are you ready to play the part of Han [Hsin] or P'eng [Yüeh]?¹⁸ Even though Yen Province is lost, you still have the three cities and at least ten thousand fine soldiers. With your military genius, and with Wen-jo [i.e. Hsün Yü] and myself and others to use them for you, you can become a hegemon king. You think it over again." So Ts'ao gave up the idea.

In the twelfth month the Minister over the Masses Ch'un-yü Chia left office. The Commandant of the Palace Guard Chao Wen was made Minister over the Masses and controlled the affairs of the Masters of Writing.

When Ma T'eng attacked Li Chüeh both the two sons of Liu Yen, Fan and Tan, had been killed. The Gentleman-consultant P'ang Hsi from Ho-nan had always been a friend of Yen, and he collected all Yen's grandchildren and brought them into Shu. At that time a fire from heaven had burnt the city [of Mien-chu] and Yen shifted his capital to Ch'eng-tu. A malignant growth appeared on his back and he died. Chao Wei and other senior officials of the province knew that Yen's son Chang was lenient and gentle, so they joined together to set up Chang as Inspector of Yi Province. An imperial edict had appointed Hu Mao from Ying-ch'uan as Inspector, and Chang's officers Shen Mi, Lou Fa and Kan Ning rebelled and attacked Chang. They gained, however, no success, and they fled to Ching Province. Then another edict made Chang the Governor of Yi Province. Chang appointed Wei as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Subdues the East, and he led an army to attack Liu Piao [in Ching Province] and camped at Ch'ü-jen.

T'ao Ch'ien, Governor of Hsü Province, was seriously ill, and he said to his Aide-de-Camp Mi Chu from 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 invite Pei. Pei did

not dare to accept, saying: "Yüan Kung-lu [i.e. Yüan Shu] is close by in Shou-ch'un. Give the province to him." The Colonel in Charge of Agriculture Ch'en Teng of Hsia-p'i said: "Kung-lu is proud and warlike, he is not the ruler to cure disorders. Now we ask the Commissioner [i.e. you, Liu Pei, the Governor] to collect a hundred thousand horse and foot. Above, you will give help to the ruler and relief to the people, below you can share out the land and guard the boundaries. Even though you refuse to listen, I can't let you turn the job down!" The Chancellor of Pei-hai, K'ung Jung, said to Pei: "Yüan Kung-lu, is he the man to care about the state? Can he ever forget his family? Dry bones from a tomb, why bother about them?"¹⁹ The affairs of the present day, the people give them to the able man. If you fail to take this gift from Heaven, you will regret it but it will be too late." So Pei took over Hsü Province.

Before this, the Grand Tutor Ma Mi-ti had come with Chao Ch'i as messengers to Shou-ch'un.²⁰ Ch'i kept his dignity without wavering, and Yüan Shu was afraid of him. But when Mi-ti had some slight request of Shu, Shu browbeat him and jeered at him. He borrowed the imperial credentials from Mi-ti to have a look at them, then kept them by force and refused to give them back. He ordered ten of his soldiers to bully Mi-ti, harry and frighten him. When Mi-ti asked to leave, Shu held him and refused to let him go on. He wanted to force Mi-ti to act as his Master of the Army.²¹ Mi-ti was furious at himself for losing the credentials. 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'e, Ch'üan, Yi and K'uang, and one daughter. When Chien went away with the army he had left his family at Shou-ch'un, and while Ts'e was still in his teens, he had already made friends with well-known men. Chou Yü of Shu [prefecture in Lu-chiang] was the same age as Ts'e, and his ability too came early to fulfilment. He heard Ts'e's reputation, he came from Shu to visit him, and he made friends with him. He urged Ts'e to come to live in Shu, and Ts'e did so. Yü gave a great house beside the road

as a present to Ts'e, he went to Ts'e's home to pay respect to Ts'e's mother, and what they had and what they lacked were shared together. Then Chien died. Ts'e was seventeen, and he went back for the burial at Ch'ü-a. From there he went 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].

958 The Grand Administrator of Tan-yang, Chou Hsin of K'uai-chi, was on bad terms with Yüan Shu. Shu sent Ts'e's maternal uncle Wu Ching to take over as Grand Administrator. He attacked Hsin, seized his commandery, and made Ts'e's elder cousin [Sun] Pen Chief Commandant 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 Yüan Shu. He wept and said: "When my late father came from Ch'ang-sha to attack Tung Cho, he met you at Nan-yang and he made alliance with you and became your friend. Through ill fortune he met with death, and his loyal work could not be completed. In consideration of the past favours to my late father, I would like to offer my services to you. Honourable Commissioner, please examine my sincere request." Shu was most impressed with him, but he was not prepared to give him back his father's soldiers, so he said to Ts'e: "I am using your worthy uncle as Grand Administrator of Tan-yang, and your excellent cousin Po-yang [i.e. Sun Pen] is Chief Commandant. That is the place of the best soldiers, you can go back and join them and collect your own troops."

So Ts'e went with Lü Fan of Ju-nan and his clansman Sun Ho to escort his mother to Ch'ü-a to stay with his maternal uncle's family. Taking whatever was offering, he had slowly got together a few hundred men when he suffered a surprise attack from the chieftain Tsu Lang of Ching prefecture. He was almost killed, and at this he went back again to see Shu. Shu gave him about a thousand of Chien's old soldiers, and recommended him as Colonel Who Cherishes Righteousness. A cavalryman of Ts'e was guilty of some fault, and he ran away to Shu's camp and hid

in the headquarters 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 cause for apology?" From this the men in the army feared and respected him still more.

Before this, Shu had promised to make Ts'e Grand Administrator of Chiu-chiang, but then he changed his mind and appointed Ch'en Chi of Tan-yang. Later, Shu planned to attack Hsü Province and asked some thirty thousand bushels of grain from Lu K'ang, Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang. K'ang turned him down. Shu was very angry and sent Ts'e to attack K'ang and said: "That other time I got confused and used Ch'en Chi, and I have always been 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 once again Shu used his former officer Liu Hsün as Grand Administrator. Ts'e became more and more disillusioned.

1959 The Attendant Imperial Clerk Liu Yao was younger brother of Tai. Earlier, he had made a fine reputation, and an imperial letter had appointed him Inspector of Yang Province. The province administration was originally at Shou-ch'un, but Shu had already occupied it, so Yao planned 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 Yüan and Sun clans would make an alliance against him. He stirred up trouble so that Pen and Ching had to leave, and they went away to camp at Li-yang. Then Yao sent his officers Fan Neng and Yü Mi to camp at Heng-chiang, and Chang Ying to camp at Tang-li-k'ou, to hold them off.²² Shu named his former officer Hui Ch'ü as Inspector of Yang province and appointed Ching General of the Gentlemen of the Household Controller of the Army. Together with Pen, they went to attack Ying and the others.

In the spring, in the first month, on the day kuei-ch'ou [7.II] there was an amnesty for the empire.

Ts'ao Ts'ao defeated Lü Pu at Ting-t'ao.

An edict appointed Yüan Shao General of the Right.¹

When Tung Cho died, the people of the capital district still numbered hundreds of thousands of households. But Li Chüeh and his armies had plundered far and wide, and then there was a famine, and in the space of two years the people had been reduced to eating human flesh and almost all of them had gone away or died of starvation. Li Chüeh, Kuo Ssu and Fan Ch'ou boasted of their achievements and struggled together for power. They were always on the verge of quarrelling. Chia Hsü constantly reminded them to think of the state as a whole, and so although in private they squabbled between themselves, they acted with some restraint towards one another in public.

When Fan Ch'ou attacked Ma T'eng and Han Sui, Li Li [Chüeh's nephew] had fought badly. Ch'ou swore at him: "These men want to cut your uncle's head off. How dare you act like this? Don't I have the authority to execute you?" T'eng and Sui were defeated and fled, and Ch'ou chased them to Ch'en-ts'ang. Sui said to Ch'ou: "We may be fighting a war, but there's nothing personal to it. We both come from the same district² and I would like to have a chat with you in private." They each rode to one side, went forward and held their horses, linked arms and talked for a long time together and apart. The army went back, and Li Li told Chüeh: "Han and Fan met on horseback and talked; I do not know what was said, but they looked very friendly and it was all very private." In any case, Chüeh had always been jealous of Ch'ou because he was brave and had collected a considerable following. Ch'ou wanted to lead soldiers eastwards out of the passes, and he asked Chüeh for more soldiers.

In the second month Chüeh asked Ch'ou to come and talk to him, and then he killed him where he sat. So all the leaders began to distrust one another.

Chüeh often asked Kuo Ssu to come and drink with him and sometimes he would keep Ssu to stay overnight. Ssu's wife suspected that he was having an affair with one of Chueh's servant-girls, and she was determined to break it up. Then Chüeh happened to send a present of food, and Ssu's wife made salted beans into a poisonous drug, and picked them out as if they had come with the present. Showing them to Ssu, she said: "Two cocks can't roost on the same branch. I really don't think you should be so trusting of Lord Li." Soon afterwards, Chüeh invited Ssu again, and Ssu became very drunk. He suddenly suspected that he had been poisoned, so he made an emetic from diluted excrement and drank it.³ At this, each gathered his troops to attack.

The Emperor sent Palace Attendants and Masters of Writing to make peace between Chüeh and Ssu, but neither would agree. Ssu was going to take the Emperor to his camp, but one of his soldiers deserted in the night and told Chüeh.

In the third month on the day ping-yin [22.IV] Chüeh sent his nephew Hsien to lead several thousand men to surround the palace, and to bring three chariots to escort the Emperor. The Grand Commandant Yang Piao said: "Since ancient times, it has been the rule that emperors and kings never reside in other men's houses. You are engaged now in a great cause, and how can you act like this?" Hsien said: "The general's plans are settled." All the ministers walked after the imperial carriage, and the soldiers immediately went into the palace, plundered all the insignia and imperial possessions, and took the palace women away with them. The Emperor came to Chüeh's camp, and Chüeh also took the gold and the silk brocade of the imperial treasury into his own hands. Then he set fire to burn the palaces and apartments, the offices and the people's houses. Everything was destroyed.

Again the Emperor sent dukes and ministers to make peace between Chüeh and Ssu, but Ssu detained Yang Piao, the Minister of Works Chang Hsi, the Master of Writing Wang Lung, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Liu Yüan,⁴ the Commandant of the Palace Guard 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 Court Architect Liang Shao, and the Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry Chiang Hsüan and held them in his camp as hostages. Chu Chün was so furious he became ill and died.

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day chia-tzu [miswritten for chia-wu, 20.V]⁵ the Honoured Lady of the Fu clan from Lang-yeh was made Empress, and the Empress' father the Palace Attendant [Fu] Wan was made Bearer of the Golden Mace.

1961 Kuo Ssu gave a feast to the dukes and ministers, and discussed an attack on Li Chüeh. Yang Piao said: "All the imperial subjects are fighting together, one man has kidnapped the Son of Heaven and another holds the dukes and ministers as hostages. What sort of situation is this?" Ssu was furious, and he was about to take a sword to him. Piao said: "You still think nothing of service to the state. What have I to live for?" but the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Yang Mi protested violently, and so Ssu stopped.

Chüeh recruited several thousand men of the Ch'iang tribes and the northern barbarians. First he gave them imperial goods, silks and embroideries, and promised them women from the palace for their slaves, and then he wanted them to attack Kuo Ssu. Ssu made plans with the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Chang Pao, in Chüeh's party, for a secret attack. On the night of ping-shen [22.V] Ssu led soldiers to attack Chüeh's gates. An arrow came through the curtains of the Emperor's tent and hit Chüeh in the right ear. Pao and the others set fire to houses, but the fires would not take. Yang Feng drove off Ssu's main attack, and Ssu's men retreated. Pao and his friends, with the soldiers under their command, went over to Ssu.

On this day [i.e. 23.V], Chüeh shifted the Emperor once more, to the Northern Fort.⁶ He appointed a colonel to keep the gate and the Emperor was completely isolated. All his personal attendants had the look of hunger on their faces. The Emperor asked five bushels of grain and five sets of cattle-bones to

give to his attendants. Chüeh said: "Morning and evening we have sent up food. What do you want grain for?" And he gave him nothing but old bones. The Emperor was very angry and wanted to shout at him, but the Palace Attendant Yang Ch'i advised against it: "Chüeh knows he is acting like a rebel. He wants to shift Your Majesty to Huang-po-ch'eng in Ch'ih-yang.⁷ I beg your majesty to put up with this insolence." So the Emperor stopped.

The Minister over the Masses Chao Wen sent a letter to Chüeh saying: "You began by killing and plundering in the imperial city and you slaughtered the great ministers. Now you have quarrelled over some trivial insult and have made it a battle of life and death. The court has tried to get you to make peace, but the imperial orders have no effect. You want to shift the Emperor to Huang-po-ch'eng, and I really don't understand it. In the Book of Changes, once is a mistake, twice is going further in, and if the third time there is still no change overwhelming misfortune will come.⁸ The only thing to do is renew the alliance as quickly as possible." Chüeh was very angry and wanted to kill Wen. His younger brother Ying opposed it and after several days he gave up the idea.

1962 Chüeh was a believer in the arts of witches and wizards and in the use of black magic to get rid of people. He often made sacrifice to Tung Cho with the three kinds of animals outside the gate of the palace.⁹ Whenever he advised the Emperor, he always used such terms as: "Wise Majesty" or "Wise Emperor", and he described Kuo Ssu to the Emperor as a rebel and a bandit. The Emperor followed his opinion and made suitable comments. Chüeh was pleased, and thought that he had gained the Emperor's favour.

In the intercalary [fifth] month, on the day chi-mao [4.VII] the Emperor sent the Supervisor of the Internuncios Huang-fu Li to make peace between Chüeh and Ssu. Li went first to Ssu, and Ssu accepted the message. Then he went to Chüeh but Chüeh refused, and said: "Kuo To¹⁰ is a brigand and a horse-stealer. How dare he seek to rank with me? I will certainly punish him. You see my planning and my army. Are they or are they not sufficient to deal with Kuo To? 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: "You know how strong was Tung Cho a little while ago. Lü Pu was his favourite but still he led a plot against him. It was a very short time before Cho's body and his head were in different places. This is the result of bravery without planning. Now you are a great leader, and you possess the favours and the honours of the state. Ssu may hold hostages but you control the Emperor. Which is the more important? Chang Chi and Ssu have made plans together; Yang Feng is no more than a leader of the Po-po bandits but even he knows that what you are doing is wrong. You may have treated them well, but they won't obey your orders." Chüeh cursed him and told him to go. Li went to the palace gate and told the Emperor: "Chüeh is not willing to accept the imperial orders. His words were disobedient." The Emperor was afraid that Chüeh would hear about this, and he ordered Li to go away at once. Chüeh sent Wang Ch'ang, one of the Guards As Rapid As a Tiger, and ordered him to call Li back. He intended to kill him, but Ch'ang knew that Li was loyal and honest, so he let him go and then reported to Chüeh that "We chased him but we could not catch him."

On the day hsin-ssu [6.VII] the General of Chariots and Cavalry Li Chüeh became Commander-in-Chief, with rank above the three Dukes.

Lü Pu's officers Hsüeh Lan and Li Feng were camped at Chü-yeh and Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked them. Pu went to relieve Lan, but he failed to break through and was compelled to retreat. Ts'ao cut off the heads of Lan and his followers. Ts'ao's army came to Sheng-shih. Since T'ao Ch'ien was already dead, someone suggested that Ts'ao should take Hsü Province before he turned back to settle Pu. Hsün Yü said: "In earlier times, Emperor Kao-tsu held the land within the passes, and Emperor 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 when they wanted to go back they could still hold their own. Even

though they were sometimes defeated, in the end they achieved the great work and conquered the empire. Originally, when you were chief in Yen Province, you settled the difficulties of the east of the mountains. All the people turned their hearts to you and were glad to submit. Besides, the Yellow River and the Chi [the borders of Yen] are strategic places of the empire, and although the country is now in ruins, it is still easy to hold yourself there. Here now is your 'land within the passes' and your 'Ho-nei'. You must settle it first. You have already defeated Li Feng and Hsüeh Lan, and if part of your army goes east to attack Ch'en Kung then he will certainly not dare to come over here. Take the opportunity to have the soldiers bring in the harvest, collect the food and store the grain, and with this one move Pu can be defeated. Once you have dealt with Pu, then you can make an alliance in the south with [Liu Yao of] Yang Province, attack Yüan Shu and move to the Huai and the Ssu. .

"But supposing you leave Pu now and go east [to Hsü Province]: if you left many soldiers here you would not have enough to be any use; and if you left only a small defence force then the people will keep to the cities, they will not be able to gather the harvest, and Pu will take advantage of their weakness to rob and to plunder. The people's affections will be more and more uncertain. Only Chüan-ch'eng, Fan and Wei¹¹ would hold, the rest would be lost to us. So you wouldn't have Yen Province, and if you failed to take Hsü Province where would you turn? Besides, though T'ao Ch'ien is dead, Hsü is not so easy. They will take warning from the defeats in the past, and they will be frightened and will join together as closely as a jacket and its lining. The eastern lands have already collected their harvest, and they will be waiting for you with strong walls and empty fields. You won't be able to capture anything, and you will get nothing by plunder. In no more than ten days, an army of hundred thousand men would be in trouble before ever it began to fight. When you attacked Hsü Province before, your majestic punishment was applied too harshly. The sons and younger brothers will remember the shame of their fathers and older brothers. They will guard themselves and they will have no mind

to surrender. You may be able to defeat them but you still won't be able to hold them.

"In every decision, there comes a time when you must take one thing and leave the other. It is always better to take peace rather than danger. And it is always better to judge carefully the situation of the time and to make no move that will endanger your base of operations. Yet your present plan has no connection to these three good principles. If only you would think this over." So Ts'ao gave up the idea.

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Pu came again from Tung-min, joined up with Ch'en Kung and led some ten thousand men to come and fight. Ts'ao's soldiers were all out gathering the harvest, and with no more than a thousand men on the spot, the camp was very lightly defended. West of the camp there was a large dyke, and south of the dyke the woods were very thick. Ts'ao hid soldiers behind the dyke and drew up only half his force in the open. As Pu's army came closer he sent out skirmishers. The moment the two lines met, the men that had been hidden climbed the embankment and charged together horse and foot. They completely defeated the enemy, chased them all the way up to their camp, and then they came back. Pu made a retreat by night. Ts'ao returned to the attack and took Ting-t'ao, and then he sent off detachments to settle all the other prefectures [in Yen Province]. Pu fled east to Liu Pei [in Hsü Province], and Chang Miao followed Pu and sent his younger brother Ch'ao to lead the family forces and hold Yung-ch'iu.

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.¹² I saw that the east of the passes were raising soldiers because they wanted to attack Tung Cho. I was the man who killed Cho. But since I came to the east not one of the leaders there has treated me well. Everyone wants to kill me." He invited Pei to his tent, sat on his wife's bed and ordered his wife to make obeisance. He poured out wine and they ate and drank together, and he called Pei his younger brother. Pei felt that Pu's words were disjointed. He pretended to be pleased to see him but privately he was quite put off.

Li Chüeh and Kuo Ssu had fought each other for months on end, and the dead were numbered in tens of thousands. In the sixth month Chüeh's officer Yang Feng made plans to kill Chüeh. The plot was discovered, but Feng led his men in a mutiny and so Chüeh's army was somewhat weakened. On the day keng-wu[?]¹³ the General Who Maintains the East in Peace Chang Chi arrived from Shan. He wanted to make peace between Chüeh and Ssu and to shift the Emperor to Hung-nung. The Emperor was thinking of the old capital [at Lo-yang], and he also sent messengers to proclaim [his wish for peace]. After ten exchanges, Ssu and Chüeh agreed to make peace, but each was to give his favourite son as a hostage. Chüeh's wife loved her son, so the negotiations came to a standstill. The Ch'iang tribesmen and the other barbarians were constantly coming to look at the gates to the Emperor's lodging, saying: "Is the Son of Heaven there? General Li promised to give us the palace maidservants, but where have they all gone?" The Emperor was troubled by this, and he sent the Palace Attendant Liu Ai to say to the General Who Proclaims Righteousness Chia Hsü: "You used to be a loyal officer and you have received praise and honour. Now Ch'iang and the northern barbarians are everywhere. You should think of something to do about it." So Hsü called in their chieftains and gave them wine and food. He promised to enfeoff them and reward them, and then all the barbarians went away. Because of this, Chüeh was now isolated and weak. When there was further talk of reconciliation, Chüeh agreed to 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.¹⁴ As he was about to cross the bridge, several hundred of Ssu's men blocked the way and said: "Isn't this the Son of Heaven?" Several hundred of Chüeh's men, all holding great halberds, were marching in front of the imperial carriage. The soldiers were about to fight when the Palace Attendant Liu Ai called out in a loud voice: "This is the Son of Heaven!" He had the Palace Attendant Yang Ch'i raise up the curtains of the carriage, and the Emperor said: "You soldiers, how dare you crowd us?" Ssu's men went back, and when the cortege had

crossed the bridge they all cried out: "Ten thousand years!" At night they came to Pa-ling. All the followers were hungry and Chang Chi gave out rations. Chüeh came out and camped at Ch'ih-yang.

On the day ping-yin[?] Chang Chi was made General of the Agile Cavalry, with offices like the three Dukes. Kuo Ssu became General of Chariots and Cavalry, Yang Ting became General of the Rear, Yang Feng became General Who Brings Righteousness to Flourish and all were enfeoffed as marquises. Tung Ch'eng, former retainer of Niu Fu, became General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire.

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 happens to be close to the temple for sacrifices to Heaven. There is nothing to be suspicious about." Ssu would not agree. Then the Emperor refused food for a whole day. Ssu heard about this, but said: "He can still go to a prefecture near by here."

In the eighth month, on the day chia-ch'en [27.IX] the Emperor went to Hsin-feng. On the day ping-tzu [?ping-wu, 28.IX]¹⁵ Kuo Ssu again planned to force the Emperor to come back and take up residence at Mei. The Palace Attendant 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 led his troops away and went into the southern hills.¹⁶

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Ts'ao Ts'ao besieged Yung-ch'iu. Chang Miao went to Yüan Shu to ask help [for his brother Chang Ch'ao in that city] but before he arrived he was killed by his own men.

In the winter, in the tenth month, Ts'ao Ts'ao was appointed Governor of Yen Province.

On the day wu-hsü [20.XI] Kuo Ssu's partisans Hsia Yü, Kao Shih and others were planning to force the Emperor to turn west. The Palace Attendant Liu Ai saw fires flaring up one after another,

and he asked the Emperor to choose one of the camps as a refuge.¹⁷ Yang Ting and Tung Ch'eng led their soldiers to receive the Emperor and escort him to Yang Feng's camp. Hsia Yü and the others urged their men on to stop the Emperor by force. Yang Ting and Yang Feng fought strongly and defeated them, and he was able to get away. On the day jen-yin [24.XI] the Emperor came to Hua-yin.

The General of Peace and Harmony, Tuan Wei, prepared all his clothing and possessions for the Emperor and made ready provisions for the dukes and ministers and officials. He wanted the Emperor to come to his camp. Wei was on bad terms with Yang Ting, and Ting's followers Ch'ung Chi and Tso Ling said that Wei was planning to rebel. The Grand Commandant Yang Piao, the Minister over the Masses Chao Wen, the Palace Attendant Liu Ai and the Master of Writing Liang Shao all said: "Tuan Wei will not rebel. We would stake our lives on it." Then Tung Ch'eng and Yang Ting forced one of the Investigators of Hung-nung¹⁸ to say that Kuo Ssu had come and was in Wei's camp. The Emperor was uncertain, and so he went to stay to the south of the road without shelter.

On the day ting-wei [29.XI] Yang Feng, Tung Ch'eng and Yang Ting intended to attack Wei, and they got Ch'ung Chi and Tso Ling to ask the Emperor for an edict against him. The Emperor said: "There is no evidence that Wei has done anything wrong, yet Feng and the others are going to attack him. And you want me to give an edict for it?" Chi asked persistently, even up to midnight, but he still refused. Then Feng and his friends attacked Wei's camp without any authority, but even after ten days they had not captured it. Wei kept ready provisions for the Emperor and supplies for the officials. He never wavered in his loyalty. An edict ordered the Palace Attendants and the Masters of Writing proclaim to Ting and the others that they should make peace with Wei. Ting and his fellows accepted the edict and went back to their camps.

Li Chüeh and Kuo Ssu were annoyed that the Emperor had gone east. When they heard that Ting had attacked Wei, they came together to help him and they planned to force the Emperor to turn back west.

When Yang Ting heard that Chüeh and Ssu were coming up, he wanted to go back to Lan-t'ien. Ssu cut him off, and he escaped to Ching Province alone and on horseback. Chang Chi had been continually quarrelling with Yang Feng and Tung Ch'eng and he joined up again with Chüeh and Ssu.

967 In the twelfth month [miswritten for the eleventh]¹⁹ the Emperor came to Hung-nung. Chang Chi, Li Chüeh and Kuo Ssu pursued the Emperor together, and there was a great battle at Tung-chien in Hung-nung. Ch'eng's and Feng's armies were defeated. The officials and lower officers and commoners that died could not be counted. They abandoned the imperial insignia and tallies, the tablets for appointment, the records and books. Hardly anything remained. The Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound Chü Chün was wounded and fell from his horse. Chüeh 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 traitors and rebels, none before has acted like this." So Chüeh killed him.

On the day jen-shen [24.XII] the Emperor came without shelter to Ts'ao-yang. Then Ch'eng and Feng pretended to make peace with Chüeh 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 Worthy King of the West of the Southern Hsiung-nu, Ch'ü-pei. All came with their armies, several thousand horsemen. They joined Ch'eng and Feng to attack Chüeh and his allies, completely defeated them, and cut off several thousand heads.

Because of this new defeat of Chüeh and his fellows, Tung Ch'eng and the others could again go east. On the day keng-shen²⁰ 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 Worthy King of the West of the

Hsiung-nu were in the rear as guards. Chüeh and his allies 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 Guard Chou Chung and the Colonel Director of the Retainers Kuan Ko were captured by Chüeh and he was about to kill them. Chia Hsü said: "These are all great ministers, how can you harm them?" So he let them go. Li Lo said: "The situation is serious. Your majesty should get on a horse." The Emperor said: "What have my ministers done wrong that I should desert them and run away?" The soldiers kept up a running fight for forty li, then they came to Shan and made camp to defend themselves.

At this time, after the destruction and defeat, there remained not so many as a hundred men of the imperial Guards As Rapid As a Tiger or the Feathered Forest. The soldiers of Chüeh and Ssu were shouting all round the camp, the officers and soldiers turned pale for fear, and everyone was thinking how to desert and make his escape. Li Lo was frightened, and he wanted the Emperor to take a boat past Ti-chu and out by the Meng Ford.²¹ Yang Piao thought that the Yellow River was dangerous and difficult and the Emperor should not travel it. So he had Lo go across the river at night, get a boat ready quietly and then light a fire as a signal.

The Emperor and his dukes and ministers came out of the camp on foot. The Empress's elder brother Fu Te was escorting the Empress, but with one hand he had taken ten pieces of thin silk. Tung Ch'eng sent the Prefect of Insignia and Credentials Sun Hui to cut him down in the midst of the crowd, [and] they killed one of the attendants and blood splashed on the Empress's clothes.²² The river bank was more than thirty feet high and the people could not get down. A hand carriage was made from the silk, the men in front carried the Emperor, and the rest all scrambled down. Some jumped from above,

and their caps and turbans were all destroyed. Then they came to the river's edge, and officers and soldiers struggled to get into the boat. Tung Ch'eng and Li Lo took dagger-axes to fight them off, and the fingers cut off in the boat could be gathered by handfuls. 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 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 Guard Shih-sun Jui was killed by Li Chüeh.²³

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Chüeh had seen the fire north of the Yellow River, and he sent horsemen to find out about it. They saw the Emperor crossing the river and called out: "You are leading the Emperor away!" Tung Ch'eng was afraid they might shoot, and he made a screen of clothing [to cover the Emperor]. When they came to Ta-yang 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 [27.XII?] the Emperor came to An-yi riding in an oxcart. The Grand Administrator of Ho-tung, Wang Yi, offered tribute of cotton and silk, which was all given to the dukes and ministers and lower officers, and Yi was enfeoffed as a marquis. Hu Ts'ai was made General Who Subdues the East. Chang Yang became General Who Gives Tranquillity to the State, and both held credentials and opened offices.²⁴ Every leader with a troop of soldiers under his command competed in seeking appointments and offices. There was a great demand for seals, and because of the shortage of engravers some were inscribed with an awl.

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

The Emperor once more sent the Grand Coachman Han Jung to go to Hung-nung and make peace with Chüeh and Ssu. Chüeh released and sent off the dukes and ministers and other officials that he had held prisoner, and he gave back some of the palace women, with the carriages, robes, insignia and other goods that had been seized from the court. The supplies of grain had already been used up, and all the attendants ate vegetables and fruit.

On the day yi-mao [?] Chang Yang came from Yeh-wang to pay court, and he planned to escort the Emperor to Lo-yang. The generals would not hear of it, and Yang went back again to Yeh-wang.

By this time Ch'ang-an city had been empty for than forty days. Those who were able to had scattered in all directions, and the starving people 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: "Your clan has given honoured assistants to one ruler after another, and each generation has contributed loyalty and brave deeds. Now the court is wandering and in flight, and the imperial ancestral temples have been destroyed. If you look at the provinces and the commanderies, they pretend to hold their troops for the Emperor, but secretly they are making plans against one another. There is no-one that will care for the national altars and keep them, nor anyone who will give rest to the people. This province [of Chi]: the borders are fairly peaceful, the soldiers are strong and the gentry support you. Go west to receive the imperial carriage, make the palace at Yeh-tu,²⁵ hold the Emperor and so command the lords, and store up men and horses to punish those that will not pay court. Who could dare to oppose it?"

Kuo T'u of Ying-ch'uan and Ch'un-yü Ch'iong said: "The Han house has long been failing. Now you want to restore it, but 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, and whenever they make a move they number their troops by tens of thousands. This is the time that the Ch'in have lost a deer and the first to catch it will rule as king.²⁶

If you take the Son of Heaven to you, then you will have to report everything you do. If you obey him your power will become less, and if you disobey you will be opposing the mandate. This is not the best of plans." Shou replied: "If you receive the court now, you act with justice and you fulfil the needs of the present time. If you do not decide it early, someone else will beat you to it." Shao would not follow his advice.

Chu Chih of Tan-yang had once been a colonel under Sun Chien. He saw that Yüan Shu was governing badly, and he urged Sun Ts'e to go back and take over the east of the Chiang. All this time Wu Ching was attacking Fan Neng, Chang Ying and the others, but after more than a year he had still not defeated them. Ts'e said to Shu: "My family always had some following in the east. I would like to help my uncle attack Heng-chiang, and when Heng-chiang has fallen I will go and raise troops in my home commandery. I could bring thirty thousand soldiers to help your honour, the Commissioner, settle the empire." Shu knew of his resentment. However, since Liu Yao held Ch'ü-a and Wang Lang was in K'uai-chi he felt it unlikely that Ts'e could do very much. So he gave permission and recommended Ts'e as Colonel Who Breaks the Enemy Line. Ts'e led a few thousand soldiers and several tens of cavalry, and he collected more troops as he went. By the time 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 again gave him help with money and food. Ts'e was very pleased and said: "I have found you; it's a match!" They went forward to attack Heng-chiang and Tang-li and captured both places. Fan Neng and Chang Ying were defeated and fled.

71 Ts'e crossed the Chiang and turned and fought, and all who faced him were defeated. No-one dared to match his weapons. When people heard that Young Gentleman Sun had come they all lost heart. The prefects and the civil officers left the cities and fled to hide in the mountains and open country. However, when Ts'e arrived, the men of the army respected orders, they did not dare to

rob or plunder, no chickens or dogs or vegetables were stolen, and then the people were very pleased, and they all brought in cattle and wine as rewards for the army. As a man, Ts'e had a handsome face and he could laugh and talk, 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 for him.

1972 Ts'e attacked Liu Yao's camp at Niu-chu and captured all the grain and military weapons which had been stored there. At this time the Chancellor of P'eng-ch'eng, Hsüeh Li, and the Chancellor of Hsia-p'i, Chai Jung of Tan-yang, both accepted Yao as their leader. Li occupied Mo-ling city and Jung was camped in the south of the prefecture. Ts'e attacked both of them and defeated them. He also defeated Yao's officers stationed 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, had come from Tung-lai to visit him. When Sun Ts'e arrived, someone suggested that Yao make Tz'u a general, but 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 simply sent Tz'u out as a scout. With a single horseman, Tz'u ran into Sun Ts'e at Shen-t'ing. Ts'e had thirteen horsemen with him, men like Chien's former officers Han Tang of Liao-hsi and Huang Kai of Ling-ling, but T'ai-shih Tz'u still went forward to fight, and he actually came face to face with Ts'e. Ts'e wounded Tz'u's horse, and grasped the dagger above Tz'u's neck.²⁷ Tz'u got Ts'e's helmet. A moment later horsemen came up from both sides and they broke off.

Yao fought with Ts'e and his men were defeated and fled to Tan-t'u. Ts'e entered Chü-a and gave rewards to his officers and soldiers. He made generous proclamations to tell all the prefectures: "Of those of Liu Yao's and Chai Jung's fellow-countrymen or former supporters who come and surrender, nothing will be asked. Of those who want to join the army, one man that goes fulfills the requirements for his household. Those that do not want to go will

not be forced to." Within a few weeks, like clouds gathering from the four directions, there appeared over twenty thousand men and more than a thousand cavalry. His authority made tremble the lands east of the Chiang.

On the day ping-ch'en [6.II.196] Yüan Shu recommended Ts'e as acting General Who Destroys the Criminals. Ts'e's officer Lü Fan said to Ts'e: "Every day you become more important and your army grows larger. All the same, there are still a few minor points in your administration which are somewhat slack. I would like to act for a short time as Chief Controller and help you arrange them."²⁸ Ts'e said: "Tzu-heng, as a gentleman of family you have a great number of men under your command, and you have already made a fine reputation for yourself on other campaigns."²⁹ Why should you submit to a small appointment and attend to the petty details of my army?" Fan said: "No, the reason I left my native country and came to you is not because of my family, but because I want to help in the tasks of the world. It is like men sailing in the same boat: if a single thing goes wrong everyone will drown. This is for my advantage, not just for you!" Ts'e laughed and made no more objections. Fan went out and took off his ordinary clothing, put on riding habit, took up a whip, and then went below the council hall to report for duty as the deputy Chief Controller. Then Ts'e gave official notice of his appointment and put him in charge of all the administration of the army. There was respect and good feeling in the army, and all the regulations were properly carried out.

Ts'e made Chang Hung Colonel of Upright Counsel and Chang Chao of P'eng-ch'eng became Chief Clerk. One of the two always stayed at the base while the other followed the army on campaign. Ch'in Sung, Ch'en Tuan and other men of Kuang-ling took part in planning. Ts'e treated Chao as a teacher and a friend, and would always use his advice in affairs of peace or war. Chao often received letters from scholars and gentry in

the north, and they never spoke well of anyone but Chao. Ts'e heard about it and he laughed and said: "In older times Kuan-tzu was Chancellor in Ch'i. In one thing it was Father Chung, in two it was Father Chung, and so Duke Huan became the most distinguished of the hegemon rulers.³⁰ Now Tzu-pu [i.e. Chang Chao] is a worthy man and I can use him, but isn't it true that his achievements and his reputation will always show credit on me?"

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, but 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 musn't go there. The best place is Yü-chang. In the north it joins with Yü territory³¹ and in the west it connects with Ching Province. Collect the officers and people, send messengers with tribute, and get in touch with Ts'ao of Yen Province. Then even though Yüan Kung-lu [i.e. Yüan Shu] stands between you, that man is selfish and cruel as a jackal and cannot last long. When 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.

Earlier, T'ao Ch'ien had made Chai Jung Chancellor of Hsia-p'i and sent him to take charge of the official grain transport to Kuang-ling, Hsia-p'i and P'eng-ch'eng. Jung intercepted the grain transport and took it for himself. He raised a great Buddhist hall of sacrifice, encouraged men to read the Buddhist classics, and brought in people of nearby commanderies who loved the Buddha, more than five thousand households. On the Day of Washing the Buddha there were set out enormous quantities of food and drink, mats were spread on the roads for several tens of li, and the wastage was numbered in hundreds and hundreds of thousands.³² Then Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked and defeated T'ao Ch'ien, and 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, Hsüeh Li,

had been pushed out by T'ao Ch'ien and had camped at Mo-ling. Jung was greedy for the wealth of Kuang-ling, so he killed Yü at a drinking party. He let loose his soldiers for a great plundering, and then he crossed the Chiang to join Li; and later he killed him too.

Liu Yao sent his Grand Administrator of Yü-chang, Chu Hao, to attack Chu-ko Hsüan, the Grand Administrator appointed by Yüan Shu. Hsüan retreated to defend Hsi-ch'eng.³³ Then Yao went west up the Chiang, halted at P'eng-tse, and sent Chai Jung to help Hao attack Hsüan. Hsü Shao said to Yao: "When Chai Jung leads out his army, he cares little about the cause he should fight for. Chu Wan-ming [i.e. Chu Hao] is an honest, trusting man. You should warn him to be on his guard." Jung arrived, he did deceive Hao and killed him, and he took his place as head of the commandery. Yao went to attack him and Jung was defeated. He fled into the mountains and was killed by the people there. An edict appointed Hua Hsin, a former Head Clerk under the Grand Tutor, to be Grand Administrator of Yü-chang.

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Chu Chih, the Chief Commandant of Tan-yang, attacked Hsü Kung, the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery, and occupied his territory.³⁴ Kung went south to take refuge with Yen Po-hu, the bandit of the hills.

Chang Ch'ao was at Yung-ch'iu and Ts'ao Ts'ao besieged him closely. Ch'ao said: "If only Tsang Hung would come and relieve us!"³⁵ Everyone said: "Yüan and Ts'ao are at peace right now, and Hung holds his appointment through Yüan. He will never destroy the good [relations between Yüan and Ts'ao] and bring on the misfortune [of a quarrel]." Chao said: "Tzu-yüan [i.e. Tsang Hung] is one of the most loyal men of the empire. He would never turn his back on me. The one thing I doubt is that he might be kept away by force and could not come to join us." At this time Hung was Grand Administrator of Tung commandery. With bare feet, crying and weeping, he asked soldiers from Shao to go to Ch'ao's relief. Shao refused

him. He asked to lead his own command, but Shao would still not allow it. Then Yung-ch'iu was taken and Chang Ch'ao killed himself and Ts'ao destroyed all his family.³⁶

From this Hung hated Shao. He broke off relations and would have nothing more to do with him. Shao raised his troops to besiege him but a year went by and he still held out. Shao ordered Hung's fellow-townsmen Ch'en Lin to write to him and persuade him to give in. Hung wrote back: "I am a mean fellow, and basically I am poor in both ambition and ability. I happened to meet our master [i.e. Yüan Shao] when I was travelling as an emissary, and ever since then I have received courtesy, 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 my appointment, I thought we would do great things together to aid the imperial house. I learnt that my native province had been invaded and that the leader of my commandery was in danger.³⁷ I asked for an army and I was refused. I asked to go and I was held back. Now my old leader has come to ruin. My sincerity has no way to show itself, and how can I return to the path of true friendship? To do so now would injure still further my sullied 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 look for your own advantage whenever you like. I, Tsang Hung, will devote my life to the
1976 Emperor. You, sir, follow the leader of the alliance [Yüan Shao], I will serve [the Emperor in] Ch'ang-an. You say that I will die and my name will be lost; yet I can laugh at you, for you will live in shame and obscurity."

Shao saw Hung's letter and realised that he had no intention of surrender. He reinforced his men and he pressed attacks hard. Inside the city all supplies were gone, and outside there was no hope of relief. Hung was sure that he would never escape, and he said to his military and civil officers, the soldiers and the people: "Yüan is a man without principle, and he is planning rebellion. Moreover, he would give no help to the leader of my commandery. 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 falls you must lead out your wives and children and go." They all wept and said: "You and Yüan had no reason to quarrel before, and now you have come to distress for the sake of an official who was appointed by our Emperor. Your officers and people, how could we bear to leave you?"

At first, they could still find rats and old bones, but after that there was nothing that could be eaten. The Master of Records said that there were three pints of rice in the inner kitchen and asked a little to make porridge. Hung sighed and said: "How can I enjoy this alone?" He had a thin gruel made from it, and he shared it out to all the army. 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, but no-one went away or turned against him.

The city fell and Hung was captured alive. Shao called a great meeting of all his chieftains to see Hung, and said to him: "Tsang Hung, how could you be so ungrateful? Now, do you submit or not?" Hung was lying on the ground, but he gazed in scorn and said: "All the Yüan served the Han, and in four generations there were five ducal posts. They may be said to have received favour. Now the royal house is declining and weak, but you have no thought of giving support or assistance. You want to follow opportunity, you hope for others' misfortune, and you kill many of the just and the good to set up your rule of evil. I myself heard you call Chang of Ch'en-liu [i.e. Chang Miao]³⁸ your elder brother, and so my commandery leader [Chang Ch'ao] must be your younger brother. You should have joined together to save the state from evil. How could you hold onto your army and watch another man being destroyed? I regret that I am so weak, that I cannot raise my sword to avenge the wrongs of the empire. How can you talk about submission?" Shao was really fond of Hung, and he had wanted to make him submit and then forgive him. He saw Hung's words were firm, and he realised that he would never serve him. 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 stood up and said to him: "You have great plans. You want to end the violence in the empire. Yet you begin by killing a loyal, honest man. How does this fit with the will of Heaven? Tsang Hung took up arms 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. This is pointless." Jung turned and said: "Humanity and justice have rules. If you follow them you are a gentleman. If you disregard them you are a common fellow. I would rather die on the same day as Tsang Hung than live under the same sun as you." He too was killed. Everyone there sighed and murmured to one another: "How could he kill two heroes on one day?"

When Kung-sun Tsan had killed Liu Yü, he held all the territory of Yü 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 he would take his revenge for as little as an angry look. The gentry and the good men and those who were held in greater honour than his own were inevitably injured by his laws, and anyone who had ability was always kept in hardship and sent to stay in poor and bad territory. Someone asked him why, and Tsan replied: "Those gentry all think they are so virtuous that any favour is theirs by right. They are never grateful for anything I do for them." His real favourites were merchants and common fellows, and he treated them like brothers, and some became related by marriage. These men acted like bullies, and the people hated them.

Liu Yü's Attendant Official Hsien-yü Fu of Yü-yang and others collected the soldiers of the province and led them to be revenged on their enemy [Kung-sun Tsan]. Because Yen Jou of Yen State³⁹ had earlier been generous and faithful, he was appointed Major to the Wu-huan.⁴⁰ Jou recruited several ten thousands of the barbarians and Chinese soldiers and he fought a battle north of Lu with Tsou Tan, who had been appointed Grand Administrator of Yü-yang by Tsan. He cut off Tan's head and some four thousand others. King Ch'iao of the

Wu-huan came with his tribesmen, and with another seven thousand horsemen from the Hsien-pi they followed Fu south to meet Liu Yü's son Ho and Yüan Shao's officer Ch'ü Yi. They combined their armies, and a hundred thousand men attacked Tsan together. They
78 defeated Tsan at Pao-ch'iu⁴¹ and cut off more than twenty thousand heads. Then the people of Tai commandery, Kuang-yang, Shang-ku and Yu-pei-p'ing killed their prefects and the officials Tsan had appointed and sent soldiers to join 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;

The gap between them, just the size of a grindstone;

But only there can you take refuge from the world." ⁴²

Tsan believed that this was the territory of Yi and so he moved his headquarters there.⁴³ He made ten moats around, within the moats he built fortresses on hills all fifty or sixty feet high, and on top of these he put up towers. The wall within the centre moat was a hundred feet high, and that was where he lived himself. The gates were made of iron. He sent away all his attendants, no man more than seven years old was allowed in, and he lived there with his concubines. All his files and documents had to be hauled up to him. He ordered his women to practise shouting, so they could be heard several hundred yards away, and that was how he gave his orders. He kept his followers at a distance, there was no-one he would trust, and his best councillors and his generals gradually drifted away. From this time on he seldom went to battle. Someone asked him why. Tsan said: "At first, when I drove the barbarians away beyond the borders, and when I destroyed the Yellow Turbans at the Meng Ford, then it was said that the empire could be settled at the signal of a flag. But now there are soldiers everywhere. Looking at this, it's more than I can cope with. The best thing to do is to leave weapons aside and put work into ploughing to tide things over in these difficult years. In all the rules of

war, no-one attacks a hundred towers. Now my camps have scores of watchtowers and three million bushels of grain. When all the grain is eaten that will be time enough to study 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.

Chien-an 1st year [17.II.196-4.II.197]:

979

In the spring, in the first month, on the day kuei-yu [23.II] there was a great amnesty and the reign-title was changed [to Chien-an].

Tung Ch'eng and Chang Yang wanted to have the Emperor go back to Lo-yang, but Yang Feng and Li Lo would not agree. All the generals were suspicious of each other.

In the second month Han Hsien attacked Tung Ch'eng, and Ch'eng fell back to Yeh-wang [with Chang Yang]. Han Hsien camped at Wen-hsi, Hu Ts'ai and Yang Feng went to Wu-hsiang. Hu Ts'ai wanted to attack Han Hsien, but the Emperor sent a man to tell him not to.

The Yellow Turbans Ho Yi and others from Ying-ch'uan and Ju-nan came in a mass to join Yüan Shu. Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked them and defeated them.

Chang Yang sent Tung Ch'eng on ahead to repair the palaces at Lo-yang. The Grand Coachman Chao Ch'i persuaded Liu Piao to help Ch'eng, and had him send soldiers to Lo-yang to repair the palaces and houses. The transports of the army supplies were now brought forward in a steady stream.

980

In the summer, in the fifth month, on the day ping-yin [15.VI] the Emperor sent a messenger to the camps of Yang Feng, Li Lo and Han Hsien, asking them to escort him to Lo-yang. Feng and the others obeyed the edict.

In the sixth month on the day yi-wei [14.VII] the Emperor came to Wen-hsi.

Yüan Shu attacked Liu Pei to fight for Hsü Province. Pei set his Major Chang Fei to hold Hsia-p'i, and he himself led a force to oppose Shu at Hsü-yi and Huai-yin. They faced one another for a whole month without any result. The Chancellor of Hsia-p'i, Ts'ao Pao, had been an officer under T'ao Ch'ien.

He fell out with Chang Fei and Fei killed him. There were riots in the city. Yüan Shu wrote to Lü Pu to urge him to attack Hsia-p'i, and promised him help with his supplies. Pu was very pleased, and he led his army east down the river by water and land. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Hsü Tan of Tan-yang, one of Pei's officers, opened the gates and received him. Chang Fei was defeated and fled. Pu captured Pei's wife and children and the families of his military and civil officers. Pei heard of this and came back, but by the time he reached Hsia-p'i his army had scattered, and he collected the remnants of his forces and went east to take Kuang-ling. He fought with Yüan Shu, suffered further defeat, and went to camp at Hai-hsi. He was starving and desperate, and his officers and men had turned to cannibalism. His Attendant Official Mi Chu of Tung-hai gave help to the army from his own family property. Pei asked to surrender to Pu. Pu had quarrelled again with Yüan Shu because the supplies for his army had not been maintained, and he called Pei and restored him to his position as Inspector of Yü Province. They joined forces to attack Yüan Shu and Pu sent Pei to camp at Hsiao-p'ei. Pu named himself Governor of Hsü Province.

Pu's officer Ho Meng of Ho-nei attacked Pu by night. Pu fled bareheaded and without his clothing to the camp of his Chief Controller Kao Shun.¹ Shun immediately led soldiers into the offices to attack Meng. Meng was defeated and fled, and when the day came Meng's officer Ts'ao Hsing cut off his head.

1981 On the day keng-tzu [19.VII] Yang Feng and Han Hsien escorted the Emperor back to the east. Chang Yang took supplies to be ready on the road.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day chia-tzu [12.VIII] the Emperor came to Lo-yang, and went to the mansion of the former Palace Regular Attendant Chao Chung. On the day ting-ch'ou [25.VIII] there was a great amnesty.

In the eighth month, on the day hsin-ch'ou [18.IX] the Emperor moved into the Yang-an Apartments of the Southern Palace. Since Chang Yang felt that this was his achievement, he had named these apartments Yang-an. Yang said to all the leaders: "Service

to the Son of Heaven should be shared by everyone in the empire. Since the court has dukes and ministers and great servants, I shall go out to ward off troubles from the outside." He went back to Yeh-wang. Yang Feng also went off to camp at Liang. Han Hsien and Tung Ch'eng stayed together on guard. On the day kuei-mao [20.IX] the General Who Gives Tranquillity to the State Chang Yang was made Commander-in-Chief, Yang Feng became General of Chariots and Cavalry and Han Hsien became General in Chief with authority as Colonel Director of the Retainers. All held credentials and Battleaxes.²

At this time the palaces and houses were all burnt, and the officials had to clear away the thorns and live among the walls. The provinces and commanderies were all crowded with fierce soldiers, and no grain supplies arrived. All the officials were starving and in want, Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing and lower officers went out themselves to gather wild rice. Some died of starvation among the walls, and some were killed by the soldiers.

There was a prophecy which said: "The one that replaces the Han will be 'high road'", and Yüan Shu said that the characters of his personal name and style agreed with it.³ Further, because the Yüan clan came from Ch'en, and were descended from Shun, and because yellow took the place of red, that was the next in the cycle of power.⁴ So he made plans to usurp the throne and rebel against Han. When he learnt that Sun Chien had taken over the Great Seal of State, he had held Chien's wife and stole it.⁵ Now he heard about the defeat of the Emperor at Ts'ao-yang, and he called all his subordinates to discuss taking the imperial title. None of the crowd dared to oppose it, but the Master of Records Yen Hsiang came forward and said: "In earlier times the Chou accumulated virtue and added good works from Hou Chi to King Wen, of the three parts of the empire theirs were two; yet they still submitted to the Yin."⁶ Although you have been successful and prospering for many

1982 generations, that does not yet compare with the abundance of the rulers of Chou; and although the Han house is weak, it does not compare to the cruelty of the Yin." Shu was silent.

Shu invited Chang Fan, a famous scholar in retirement. Fan would not go, but he sent his younger brother Ch'eng to make thanks. Shu said to Ch'eng: "I hold broad lands and a great mass of people and soldiers, I seek to achieve the fortune of Duke Huan of Ch'i and the deeds of Emperor Kao-tsu. What do you think?" Ch'eng said: "Virtue does not lie in strength. If you act with virtue and follow the wishes of the empire, then although you may have only the assistance of the commoners, there would be nothing difficult to achieving the position of hegemon king. But if all you want to do is to usurp the throne, you will be going against the trends of our time, and you will be abandoned by your people. Who could be succesful then?" Shu was not pleased.

Sun Ts'e heard of this and wrote to Shu: "Ch'eng T'ang attacked Chieh and claimed 'The rulers of Hsia have many crimes', King Wu raised an army against Chou and claimed 'Yin has many faults'. Although these two masters had the power of sages, if there had not been at that time the error of losing the Way of right action, then they would have had no cause to come and take over. As to the Emperor now, he has done no wrong to the empire. It is only that he is young and small, and he is at the mercy of mighty subjects. This is different to the time of T'ang and Wu. Besides, Tung Cho was a villain, proud and overbearing, his ambition had no restraint or limit; even he could not do that. All the empire agreed in hating him, and this would apply still more to a man that imitated him and even acted far worse! I have heard that the young Emperor is wise and intelligent, he has a virtue which has come early to fulfilment. Though the empire has not yet received his grace, they all turn their hearts to him. Just as you have five generations succeeding one another as great ministers of the Han, a greatness of honour and favour to which no-one can compare, so you should express your loyalty and hold to your honour

as a subject in order to repay the royal house. Then you would have the good reputation of Tan and Shih and the whole world would look up to you.⁷ There are many people of this time who follow the words of prophecies and try to fit things with unorthodox writings. They think only of pleasing their master, and they pay no attention to reality. That is what all rulers both in ancient times and in the present have always been careful to avoid. Shouldn't this be thought out properly? Loyal words offend the ear, opinions that disagree bring enmity, but if there is advantage to your honour and wisdom, I do not dare excuse myself from speaking." Before this, Shu had believed that he controlled the forces south of the Huai and he had thought that Ts'e would be certain to join him. When he got the letter he was sad and downcast and became ill. He would not accept these words, and so Ts'e broke off with him.

983 Ts'ao Ts'ao was at Hsü, and he planned to receive the Emperor. Many held that: "The east of the mountains is not yet settled, Han Hsien and Yang Feng rely on their good work and look at their rivals with an arrogant air. We won't be able to deal with them quickly." Hsün Yü said: "In earlier times Duke Wen of Chin took in King Hsiang of the Chou, and all the feudal lords admired him and followed him."⁸ Kao-tsu of Han wore mourning for the Provisional Emperor and the people of the empire turned their hearts to him.⁹ Since the Emperor is an exile, and you command loyal troops, then it is only because the east of the mountains has been disturbed and disordered that you have yet had no time to come and help. Now the imperial carriage has returned, but the eastern capital is overgrown and neglected. Loyal men hope to preserve the imperial house, and the people have sad longings for the past. Truly, if you take this opportunity to support the Emperor and follow the expectations of the people, this will be in keeping with the will of Heaven. If you follow the cause of justice and so make the empire submit, that will be the great plan, and if you support the cause of loyalty and so attract the talented men, that will be great virtue. Although there are rebels and

traitors in all four directions, how can they do anything? Why should such men as Han Hsien and Yang Feng be worth considering? If you do not settle it at the right time, the strong men will become ambitious, and although you make plans later you will never have such a chance again." So Ts'ao sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Manifests Firmness Ts'ao Hung to lead troops west and collect the Son of Heaven. Tung Ch'eng and the others held the passes against him, and Hung could make no progress.

1984 The Gentleman-consultant Tung Chao noted that Yang Feng had strong soldiers and cavalry but few supporters at the court. He wrote to Feng on Ts'ao's behalf, saying: "I have heard your reputation and admired your fine deeds, and in all sincerity I offer you my full friendship. You have saved the Emperor from his difficulties and returned the court to the old capital. Your good work in supporting the Emperor stands above all others with no equal. How excellent that is! At this time there are bands of evil people making trouble in China, and the four seas have no peace. The imperial throne is the most important thing, and all our work must go to giving it protection and support. Now is the time for all good men to make clear the imperial way, but this is more than any one man can manage by himself. The heart and the belly and the four limbs really depend on each other, and if one of them is absent, it will certainly be missed. You be the master on the inside, and I will act as your ally abroad. I have supplies and you have soldiers, we complement each other. Whether we live or die, let us act together." Feng received the letter and was pleased. He said to the generals: "The armies of Yen Province are close to Hsü. There are soldiers and there are supplies. These are what the Emperor should rely on." They made a joint recommendation that Ts'ao should become General Who Maintains the East in Peace and succeed his father as Marquis of Pi-t'ing.¹⁰

Han Hsien boasted of his good work and his behaviour had no restraint. Tung Ch'eng disliked it. Secretly he called in Ts'ao Ts'ao, and Ts'ao brought his soldiers to Lo-yang. When he arrived he sent in a memorial on the faults of Han Hsien and Chang Yang. Hsien was afraid of punishment and he fled with a single horse to Yang Feng.

The Emperor ordered that nothing be said, because Hsien and Yang had done good work in helping him. On the day hsin-hai [28.IX] Ts'ao Ts'ao was put in charge as Colonel Director of the Retainers and controlled the affairs of the Masters of Writing. At this, Ts'ao executed Feng Shih and two other Masters of Writing, as punishment for their crimes. He enfeoffed the General of the Guards Tung Ch'eng and twelve others as full marquises, and gave rewards for good work. He gave the posthumous title of Grand Administrator of Hung-nung to the Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound Chü Chün, to show appreciation of his honourable death.

985 Ts'ao invited Tung Chao to sit beside him and asked: "Now that I have come here, what plans should I make?" Chao said: "You raised loyal troops to punish cruelty and disorder, and you have come to pay court to the Emperor and to give help to the royal house. This is the work of the five hegemonies. However, each of the leaders has his own ideas, and there is no way to be sure that they will submit and follow you. If you stay here in Lo-yang, it will not be easy. The only thing to do is to shift the Emperor to Hsü. On the other hand, the court has been homeless and wandering and has only just come back to the old capital. Far and near, the people have been waiting for this, and they all hope that the court may gain peace. If we shift the Emperor again, it will give no relief to the hearts of the people. All the same, only by an extraordinary act can you achieve an extraordinary feat. I want you to decide what is best." Ts'ao said: "This has been my aim from the beginning [i.e. to move the Emperor to Hsü]. But Yang Feng at Liang is quite close, and I have heard that he has good soldiers. How can I manage not to have him bother me?" Chao said: "Feng has little influence and he is allied to you. The appointment as General Who Maintains the East in Peace and the restoration of the Pi-t'ing marquisate were both arranged by Feng. Send a few messengers from time to time with generous presents to return thanks to him, and that will set his mind at rest. Say to him: 'The capital has no provisions so I would like the Emperor to stay for a while at Lu-yang, Lu-yang

is close to Hsü so the transport of supplies would be a little easier, and then there would be no worry about things getting delayed or running short.' Feng is brave but he's not very bright. He will never get suspicious. The plan will be settled as soon as the message is delivered. How can Feng cause any trouble?" Ts'ao said: "Excellent." He sent the messengers to Feng. On the day keng-shen [7.X] the Emperor went out the Huan-yüan Pass to the east. Then he shifted capital to Hsü.

[In the ninth month] on the day chi-ssu [16.X]¹¹ the Emperor entered Ts'ao Ts'ao's camp, appointed Ts'ao General-in-Chief and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Wu-p'ing. For the first time the court and the national altars were established at Hsü.

Sun Ts'e was planning to take K'uai-chi. The men from Wu commandery, Yen Po-hu and his allies, were camped in various positions, each with an army of more than ten thousand men. The officers wanted first to attack Po-hu and his fellows, but Ts'e said: "Po-hu and those others are nothing but mobs of bandits. They have no great ideas and they can certainly be taken." So he led his soldiers across the Che River. Yü Fan, Officer of the Department of Merit in K'uai-chi, said to his Grand Administrator Wang Lang: "Ts'e is a remarkably good general. It would be best to make your escape." Lang would not do this, and he raised soldiers to oppose Ts'e at Ku-ling.

1986 Ts'e several times tried to force a bridge-head over the river, but he could not succeed. Ts'e's uncle [his father's younger brother Sun] Ching said to Ts'e: "Lang is holding to the defences of the city and it is difficult to storm them quickly. Cha-tu is about twenty li south of here. If you go that way and get behind him, then that would be attacking where he is not prepared and breaking out where he does not expect it." Ts'e did this. At night he made a great number of fires to pretend there were soldiers there, and he sent part of his army to go towards the Cha-tu road and attack Kao-ch'ien-t'un.¹² Lang was very startled, and he sent the former Grand Administrator of Tan-yang, Chou Hsin, with other officers and soldiers to oppose them. Ts'e defeated Hsin and the others and cut

987 off their heads. Lang fled, Yü Fan escorted Lang to camp and then they sailed across the sea to Tung-yeh.¹³ Ts'e followed and attacked them and completely defeated them. Then Lang came to surrender.

Ts'e appointed himself Grand Administrator of K'uai-chi. He kept Yü Fan as Officer of the Department of Merit and treated him with all the courtesy of a friend. Ts'e loved hunting, but Fan objected: "You enjoy going out without an escort, and your followers have no time to make suitable preparations. Your officers and soldiers are worried about it. If a person who rules men is not serious, then he will have no authority. It was for this reason that the White Dragon put on fish clothing and was troubled by Yü Chü,¹⁴ and the White Snake acted wilfully and was brought to harm by Liu Chi.¹⁵ Please give some attention to it!" Ts'e said: "You are right", but he would not change.

988 In the ninth month the Minister over the Masses Ch'un-yü Chia,¹⁶ the Grand Commandant Yang Piao and the Minister of Works Chang Hsi all left office.

When the Emperor moved east, Yang Feng had wanted to intercept him from Liang, but could not manage it. In the tenth month Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked Feng, and Feng fled south to Yüan Shu. Then Ts'ao attacked Feng's camp at Liang and captured it.

An imperial letter was sent to Yüan Shao to scold him because "Your lands are broad and your soldiers many, but yet you have set up a party solely for yourself. We do not hear of you as a leader to give help to the true king, we only hear that you have usurped authority and that you attack others." Shao sent in a memorial to defend himself in detail against each charge.¹⁷ [In the eleventh month] on the day wu-ch'en [14.XII]¹⁸ Shao was made Grand Commandant and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Yeh. Shao was ashamed to be lower in rank than Ts'ao Ts'ao and he was angry and said: "Ts'ao Ts'ao was several times on the point of death, and I was quick to help him and keep him. Now he holds the Son of Heaven and gives me orders." He sent up excuses and would not accept the appointment. Ts'ao was worried, and asked

permission to cede the office of General-in-Chief to Shao. On the day ping-hsü [2.I.197] Ts'ao was made Minister of Works and acted as General of Chariots and Cavalry.

Ts'ao made Hsün Yü Palace Attendant to hold office as Prefect of the Masters of Writing. Ts'ao asked Yü about scholars who could make plans, and Yü recommended his cousin Yu, Grand Administrator of Shu commandery, and Kuo Chia of Ying-ch'uan. Ts'ao summoned Yu to be a Master of Writing, spoke with him and was very pleased, saying: "Kung-ta is not a common man. Now that I can plan things with him, what difficulty should the empire present?" He made him Master of the Army.¹⁹

Before this, Kuo Chia had gone to see Yüan Shao, and Shao treated him with the utmost courtesy and he stayed for several weeks. He spoke to Shao's councillors Hsin P'ing and Kuo T'u and said: "A man that is wise takes care to examine his master, and then he will never come to harm and will be able to set up a good reputation. Lord Yüan wants to imitate the Duke of Chou only by being courteous to talented people, but he doesn't know the fine points of using men. He has many ideas but few of the essentials, he loves to make plans but he can never decide anything. You want to work with him to save the empire in its calamity and to help him secure the throne. That will be difficult. I am going to make a new start and look for another master. Why don't you come away too?" The other two said: "Yüan has shown favour and generous deeds to all the world, and many of the people turn to him. Besides, he is very powerful now, and if we leave him, where would we go?" Chia realised they would never see his point, and he went away without saying any more about it. Ts'ao called him and gave audience and discussed the affairs of the empire with him. He was pleased and said: "This is certainly a man who can help me achieve the empire." Chia went out and he was also pleased and said: "This is the master for me." Ts'ao recommended Chia as Libationer to the Minister of Works.²⁰

1989

Ts'ao appointed Man Ch'ung of Shan-yang as Prefect of Hsü. Some retainers of Ts'ao's cousin Hung constantly disobeyed the law in Hsü territory, and Ch'ung arrested them and punished them. Hung wrote to threaten Ch'ung but Ch'ung paid no attention. Hung told Ts'ao and Ts'ao summoned the officers of Hsü prefecture. Ch'ung knew that he would want to pardon the retainers so he executed them at once. Ts'ao was pleased and said: "That's the way a responsible man behaves!"

K'ung Jung, Grand Administrator of Pei-hai,²¹ was a man of haughty bearing, and he hoped to settle the disorders of the time. He was, however, an erratic man and his ideas were too vague. In the end he achieved nothing. Highflown talk about the pure teachings²² became the vogue in his official circle. The words and the style of official documents were so refined and elegant that they were a pleasure to read aloud; but in their discussion of affairs and in the examination of facts they were hard to follow right through. His influence spread wide like a net, but the meshes were extremely loose. For a short time he could get people to follow him, but they were never willing to stay with him for long. When he appointed people to office he loved the unusual and chose the strange. Many of them were quick and frivolous, with small ability. He respected and honoured the famous scholar Cheng Hsüan, treated him with the courtesy of a son or grandson, and changed the name of his village to "Village of Lord Cheng".²³ On the other hand, fine scholars such as Tso Ch'eng-tsu and Liu Yi-hsün were invited to sit with him, but that was all, and he never discussed the affairs of government with them. All the same, he still said: "These are famous men and people look up to them. I must not lose them."

The Yellow Turbans came to plunder, and Jung fought and was defeated. He fled to take refuge in Tu-ch'ang.

At this time [the territories of] Yüan Shao and Ts'ao Ts'ao and Kung-sun Tsan formed a continuous line. K'ung Jung's soldiers were weak and he had few supplies, he occupied a corner by himself and he had no communication with any of them. Tso

Ch'eng-tsu urged Jung to trust himself to some more powerful state, but Jung would not hear of it, and he killed him. Liu Yi-hsün went away. Yüan T'an, the Inspector of Ch'ing Province, attacked Jung and they fought from the spring to the summer. The fighting men that remained to him were only a few hundred, and arrows filled the air; but Jung still lay back on an armrest to study, and he talked and laughed unconcerned. The city fell to a night assault, and he made his escape to the eastern hills while his wife and children were captured by T'an. Ts'ao Ts'ao had an old acquaintance with Jung, and he invited him to take appointment as Court Architect.

When Yüan T'an first came to Ch'ing Province, his territory to the west of the Yellow River extended no further than P'ing-yüan. T'an pushed north against T'ien K'ai, and he defeated K'ung Jung in the east, and he was respected and honoured far and wide. After this he began to trust bad men and give them office. He had great ambitions and extravagant faults, and so his reputation declined.

From the Chung-p'ing era onwards the empire had been disordered and divided. The people had left their work as farmers, armies rose up in rivalry, and all were short of provisions and grain. No-one could be sure of supplies from one year to the next. When men were starving they plundered, and when they had eaten they threw the rest aside. The people were broken like tiles and washed away as a stream, those who destroyed themselves without an enemy could not be numbered. Yüan Shao was north of the Yellow River, and the men of his army ate mulberry fruit, Yüan Shu was by the Chiang and the Huai, and his soldiers took clams and mussels. Many of the people ate one another, and all the country was lonely and desolate.

The Inspector of the Guards of the Feathered Forest Tsao Chih asked that military agricultural colonies should be set up. Ts'ao Ts'ao did this and made Chih Chief Commandant of the Agricultural Colonies, and he made the Chief Commandant of Cavalry Jen Chün General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of Agriculture. He called up people for the agricultural colonies about Hsü, and they produced a million bushels of grain. At this the provinces and

commanderies each set up farming offices, and the granaries were all filled. Ts'ao could make campaigns in every direction and have no trouble with his supplies, and so he could conquer all his rivals. The prosperity of the army and the state began with Chih and was accomplished by Chün.²⁴ ✕

Yüan Shu was afraid that Lü Pu would be a danger to him, so he sought a marriage alliance for his son. Pu agreed to it. Shu sent his officer Chi Ling, with thirty thousand infantry and cavalry, to attack Liu Pei, and Pei asked help from Pu. Pu's officers said to him: "You always wanted to kill Liu Pei. Now you can leave the job to Shu." Pu said: "No. If Shu defeats Pei, then he will join with all the leaders of Mount T'ai in the north²⁵ and I would be surrounded by him. I must give help to Pei." He led some thousand infantry and cavalry to go to him by forced marches. Ling and the others heard that Pu had come, and they collected their troops and halted. Pu camped southwest of P'ei city, and sent one of his orderlies to invite Ling and the others. Ling and his fellows returned the invitation, and Pu went to them, and they drank and ate with Pei. Pu said to Ling and his party: "Hsüan-te [i.e. Liu Pei] is my younger brother. He is in trouble with you, and so I have come to help him. I am not the sort of person that loves to interfere, it is only that I enjoy being a peace-maker." Then he ordered a captain to set up a halberd at the gate of the camp; Pu bent his bow, looked around and said: "You will all see me shoot at the small spike on that halberd. If I hit it you will both draw back your men. If I miss, then you can stay to settle your quarrel." Pu fired a single shot, and hit square on the spike of the halberd. Ling and the others were all amazed, and said: "My general, you have the authority of Heaven." On the next day they met to drink again, and afterwards they each went off.

Pei collected troops, and got more than ten thousand men. Pu became angry at this and he himself led out soldiers to attack Pei. Pei was defeated and fled to Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ts'ao received

him generously, and made him Governor of Yü, but someone said: "Pei is ambitious. Unless you make plans to deal with him right away, he will certainly cause trouble later." Ts'ao asked Kuo Chia about this. Chia said: "There is truth in that. On the other hand, you have called up loyal soldiers to rid the people of oppression. You act with honesty and you rely on good faith to attract brave and able men, but as yet I am afraid you haven't quite managed it. Now Pei has the reputation of a hero. If he comes to us in his need and then we kill him, this would only give us a bad name for injuring a worthy man. If we should behave like that, the wise scholars and officials would become uncertain and would regret their choice of a master. Who will you have left to settle the empire? If you eliminate the danger from one man at the cost of losing the hopes of the four seas, that is a crisis decision, and you must think about it hard." Ts'ao laughed and said: "You've got a point!" Then he added to Liu Pei's soldiers, gave him provisions, and sent him east to P'ei to collect his scattered men and to make plans against Lü Pu.

Before this, Pei had been in Yü Province [as Inspector in 194], and he had recommended Yüan Huan of Ch'en commandery as Accomplished Talent. Huan was held by Lü Pu, and Pu wanted to have him write a letter to insult and abuse Pei. Huan refused. Twice and three times Pu threatened him with force, but Huan would not agree. Pu was furious. He took a sword and shook it at Huan and said: "If you do it you live, if you don't do it you shall die." Huan, unperturbed, laughed and replied: "I have heard it said that only a man of virtue can give disgrace to another, I have heard nothing about common abuse. If Liu Pei is a gentleman he will not be put to shame by what you say. If he is really a mean fellow, he will simply return your insults. So the disgrace will lie here, not with him. Besides, I used to serve General Liu and now I serve you. If I should leave here one day and then curse you, would that be right?" Pu was ashamed and stopped.

Chang Chi led troops from inside the passes into the borders of Ching Province and attacked Jang city. He was hit by a flying

arrow and died. All the officers of Ching Province presented their congratulations. Liu Piao said: "Chi came because he was in want and we, as the host, had no courtesy. The 'shepherd' of his people can never wish to fight them. The shepherd should receive sympathy, not congratulations."²⁶ He sent some of his men to invite [Chang Chi's] army in. The soldiers heard of this and were glad and they all turned their hearts to him. Chi's younger clansman the General Who Establishes Loyalty [Chang] Hsiu took over the command and came to camp at Wan.

Before this, when the Emperor had left Ch'ang-an, the General Who Proclaims Majesty Chia Hsü gave up his seal and tassel and went to stay with Tuan Wei at Hua-yin. Hsü had made a name for himself in the past and had been popular with Wei's army. Wei treated him and received him extremely well, but secretly Hsü planned to go to Chang Hsiu. Someone said: "Wei treats you generously, why should you leave?" Hsü said: "Wei is a very suspicious man, and he is anxious about what I am going to do. Although he acts generously to me, I can't
993 presume on that for long or he will make plans to kill me. If I go he will certainly be pleased, and since he will hope that I can negotiate a good alliance for him outside he is sure to treat my wife and children kindly. Hsiu has no-one to make plans for him, and he will be pleased to have me. So my family and myself will all be safe." Then Hsü went, Hsiu treated him with the ceremony of a son or a grandson, and Wei really did look after his family very well.

Hsü encouraged Hsiu to join Liu Piao, and Hsiu did this. Hsü went to see Piao, and Piao treated him as an honoured guest. Hsü said: "Piao has the abilities worthy of the three dukes in a time of peace, but he does not realise how things change. He has many things uncertain and a few things decided. He won't get anywhere."

Liu Piao loved the people and gave thought to the scholars. He had no difficulty in his government and no trouble

in his territory. Of the scholars from the west of the passes, from Yen and from Yü, those that came to him were numbered by the thousands. Then Piao set up schools to teach the classics, and he ordered the former Gentleman of the Sacred Music²⁷ Tu K'uei of Ho-nan to compose ceremonial music. When the orchestra was ready Piao wanted to hold audience to hear it. K'uei said: "You do not have the title of Son of Heaven. To assemble an orchestra and to play in the court, isn't that improper?" Piao stopped.

Mi Heng of P'ing-yüan was known as a fine debater while he was still young, but he was a proud, arrogant man. K'ung Jung recommended him to Ts'ao Ts'ao; Heng abused Ts'ao, and Ts'ao was angry and said to Jung: "Mi Heng is a fool, I should kill him like a small bird or a rat. But I hear that this fellow has gained some reputation, though quite undeserved, and people everywhere would say that I lacked tolerance." So he sent him to Liu Piao, and Piao received him as an honoured guest. Heng was full of praise for Piao, but he loved to make fun of Piao's attendants and disparage them. The attendants slandered him. Knowing how Heng had behaved in the past, they told Piao: "Heng praises your humanity and says that the Lord of the West does not surpass it,²⁸ but he thinks that you cannot make decisions, and he says that this is the reason you are certain to fail in the end." This really showed up Piao's weakness, though Heng had not said it. Piao was angry, and because Huang Tsu, Grand Administrator of Chiang-hsia, had a quick temper, he sent Heng to him. Tsu also treated him very well, but later Heng insulted Tsu in public and Tsu killed him.

Chien-an 2nd year [5.II.197-25.I.198]:

1994 In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked Chang Hsiu. His army came to the Yü River¹ and Hsiu brought all his forces and surrendered. Then Ts'ao took the wife of Chang Chi as a concubine and Hsiu was very angry. Ts'ao gave gold to one of Hsiu's best officers, Hu Ch'e-erh, and Hsiu heard about it and became worried and frightened. He made a sudden attack on Ts'ao's army,

killed Ts'ao's eldest son Ang, and Ts'ao was hit by a flying arrow and was defeated and fled. The Colonel Tien Wei continued fighting against Hsiu while almost all those about him were killed or injured and he himself was wounded a score of times. Hsiu's soldiers came forward to capture him, Wei grasped two men and killed both of them. Then he died, with an angry glare and a great curse. Ts'ao collected his scattered soldiers and came back to Wu-yin. Hsiu led his cavalry in pursuit, but Ts'ao attacked him and defeated him. Hsiu retired to Jang and again joined up with Liu Piao.

At this time all Ts'ao Ts'ao's forces were in complete confusion, and the Colonel Who Pacifies the Caitiffs Yü Chin of T'ai-shan was the only man able to keep his soldiers together and make an orderly retreat. On the way he came across some Ch'ing-chou troops engaged in looting.² Chin told off their crimes and attacked them. The Ch'ing-chou soldiers fled and went to Ts'ao. When Chin arrived, he set up his camp and defences before he went to call on Ts'ao. Someone said to Chin: "The Ch'ing-chou troops have already made a complaint against you. You should go to the Duke at once to make your defence." Chin said: "Now the enemy are on our tails, and their pursuit will be here in no time. How can we deal with them if we don't make preparations first? Besides, the Duke is intelligent. He won't listen to slander and false accusations." He made sure that the moat was cut deep, and he had the camp completely ready, and then he went in to see Ts'ao and made a full report. Ts'ao was pleased and said to Chin: "In the misfortune at the Yü River I was helpless and confused. But you kept control in the confusion, you have punished cruelty, and you have strengthened our defences. You never fail to maintain good conduct, and how could the most famous generals of the past have done any better?" At this he took note of all Chin's good work, past and present, and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Yi-shou t'ing. Then Ts'ao led his soldiers back to Hsü.

Yüan Shao wrote to Ts'ao, and his words were proud and contemptuous. Ts'ao said to Hsün Yü and Kuo Chia: "Now I want to

punish his disloyalty, but I am still not strong enough. What can I do?" They replied: "You know that Liu [i.e. Emperor Kao-tsu of Han] was no match for the strength of Hsiang [Yü]. In wisdom alone was Han Kao-tsu superior to Hsiang Yü, and although Yü was strong he was taken in the end. There are ten points that Shao is inferior, and there are ten points where you are better, so although Shao may be powerful he will never gain success. Shao has great ceremony and many fine manners, but you show consideration and act naturally; this is a victory in true behaviour. Shao is acting as a rebel, but you serve and obey the Emperor and so command the empire; this is a victory in right action. Since the time of Emperors Huan and Ling the government has declined through excessive leniency. Shao is weak-willed and over-gentle, and so he does not keep the peace, but you keep firm hold on your people, so that everyone knows the rules; this is a victory in good government. Outwardly Shao acts generously but privately he is jealous, he uses men but he is suspicious of them, and he appoints only the sons and younger brothers of his own or his wife's families. Outwardly you are easy and simple but inside you are clever and shrewd, you use men and trust them, it is only their ability that matters and you pay no attention to relationship; this is the victory of a liberal mind. Shao has many plans and few decisions, he lets things slip and acts too late. When you make a plan you take action quickly and you can always cope with any changing situation; this is victory in strategy. Shao has high discussions and rules of ceremony in order to attract men of good name, and many scholars who love words and ornamental show will turn to him. You treat men straightforward and you do not create an empty finery, so that those scholars who have a loyal heart, who can see things clearly and who are sincere, all want to serve you; this is a victory in virtue and power. If Shao sees that a man is hungry or cold then he pities him and it shows on his face, but he only deals with the things he can see. Though you may sometimes disregard the small thing before your eyes, when it comes to a great affair which affects all the empire then you extend your grace and it passes imagination. Though you cannot see everything, your plans are always

complete; this is a victory in humanity. Shao's great officers struggle for power with accusations, confusion and uncertainty, but you treat your subordinates fairly and you pay no attention to slander; this is a victory in understanding. No-one can ever tell what Shao really wants, but you bring forward with ceremony the men that are right, and you correct by the laws the men that do wrong; this is a victory in civil rule. Shao is fascinated by empty show and he does not appreciate the essentials of war, but you can defeat a mass of men with a few and you use soldiers like a spirit. The people of the army trust to you and the men of the enemy fear you; this is a victory in military skill." Ts'ao laughed and said: "How can I be worthy of all this?"

Chia said: "Shao is going to go north to attack Kung-sun Tsan. You can take advantage from his absence and go east to take Lü Pu. If Shao takes the offensive and Pu gives him help, it would be a considerable danger." Yü said: "Unless you deal with Lü Pu first, it will not be easy to make plans for the north of the River." Ts'ao said: "Yes, but what I am worried about is that Shao may invade the lands within the passes and make trouble there. If he can stir up the Ch'iang and the other barbarians in the west and urge on Shu and Han in the south,³ then I would be opposing five-sixths of the empire with only Yen and Yü. What shall I do about that?" Yü said: "The leaders inside the passes are numbered by the score and no-one can get them together. Han Sui and Ma T'eng are the only strong ones, and if they see that there is fighting to the east of the mountains they will certainly collect their forces and stay on the defensive. If you treat them with favour and authority, and send messengers to make an alliance, even though it won't last very long, it will be enough to keep them quiet while you deal with the east. The Palace Attendant and Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Chung Yao has an understanding of plans. If you entrust him with the affairs of the west you will have nothing to worry about." So Ts'ao recommended Yao as Palace Attendant to hold office as Colonel Director of the Retainers, and gave him

credentials of authority over all the armies within the passes. He was given particular instructions [to act on his own initiative and] not to be impeded by rules and procedures. When Yao came to Ch'ang-an he sent letters to T'eng and Sui and the others to explain things to them. Both T'eng and Sui sent their sons to attend the Emperor.

Yüan Shu took the title of Emperor at Shou-ch'un, called his new dynasty the House of Chung,⁴ and made the Grand Administrator of Chiu-chiang the Intendant of Huai-nan.⁵ He appointed his own dukes, ministers and other officials, and he held state sacrifice and worship to Heaven and Earth. The Chancellor of P'ei, Ch'en Kuei, was younger brother's son to [Ch'en] Ch'iu.⁶ When he was young he had travelled with Shu. Shu sent a letter to call Kuei, seized his son as a hostage, and felt sure that he would get him. Kuei replied to the letter: "General Ts'ao has restored administration and he will disperse and pacify cruelty and evil. I believe that you should join forces with him, and think only of helping the house of Han. Instead you have been planning secret rebellion. You will bring disaster on yourself, and yet you want me to flatter you to serve my own advantage. Though death may come I cannot do it." Shu wanted to make Chin Shang, the former Inspector of Yen Province, his Grand Commandant, but Shang would not accept and tried to run away. Shu killed him.

In the third month the Court Architect K'ung Jung was ordered to take credentials to appoint Yüan Shao General-in-Chief, with authority over the four provinces of Chi, Ch'ing, Yu and Ping.

In the summer, in the fifth month, there were locusts.

1997 Yüan Shu sent Han Yin as an envoy to Lü Pu to explain about his imperial claim and to ask for the marriage alliance. Pu agreed to send his daughter. Ch'en Kuei was afraid that Hsü and Yang [provinces, i.e. Lü Pu and Yüan Shu] would join together and make unending trouble. He went and said to Pu: "Lord Ts'ao has received the Son of Heaven and is supporting the government of the state. You should join up with him to preserve the empire. But now that you are making a marriage alliance with Yüan Shu, you will certainly get a reputation for disloyalty. Your position will be no more secure

than a pile of eggs." Then Pu remembered how Shu had failed to take him in before [in 192, after he fled Ch'ang-an], and he became angry. His daughter was already on the road and he sent to bring her back and broke off the marriage. He bound Han Yin and sent him to the court. Yin was executed and his head was exposed in the market-place of Hsü city.

Ch'en Kuei wanted to send his son Teng to Ts'ao Ts'ao, but Pu refused. Then an edict appointed Pu General of the Left, and Ts'ao also sent Pu a letter in his own hand, full of congratulations and praise. Pu was very pleased and at once he sent Teng to make a memorial giving thanks for the favour, and also a reply to Ts'ao's letter. When Teng saw Ts'ao, he described Pu's bravery and lack of planning, how he acted irresponsibly in making decisions of alliance, and how Ts'ao should plan to deal with him early. Ts'ao said: "Pu is like a wolf-cub with a wild disposition, it will certainly be difficult to keep him in hand for long. You are the one man to recognise what he is really like." He raised Kuei's salary to fully two thousand piculs and he appointed Teng as Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling. When he went off, Ts'ao took Teng by the hand and said: "This way I am trusting the affairs of the east to you." He ordered him to gather forces of his own and to act as an ally from the inside.

Before this, Pu, through Teng, had asked to be made Governor of Hsü Province.⁷ He was turned down. When Teng came back Pu was angry. He took up a halberd and chopped the table, saying: "Your father persuaded me to join with Ts'ao Ts'ao and to break off the marriage with Kung-lu [i.e. Yüan Shu]. Now I have not got what I wanted but you and your father both appear important. You have betrayed me." Teng, looking quite unperturbed, replied in dignified fashion: "I saw Lord Ts'ao and said that keeping you was like keeping a tiger. It should be given plenty of meat, otherwise it will bite the man. The Duke said: 'That's not the way to do it. It is like keeping an eagle: if he is hungry then he can be used, but if he is

well-fed he will fly away.' This is exactly what he said." Pu was mollified.

1998 Yüan Shu sent his generals Chang Hsün and Ch'iao Jui to join forces with Han Hsien and Yang Feng. With several tens of thousands of horsemen and footsoldiers they advanced quickly on Hsia-p'i and attacked Pu in seven separate columns. Pu had three thousand infantry and four hundred horse, and he was afraid he was no match for them. He said to Ch'en Kuei: "This is your work, to bring on Shu's army. What am I going to do about it?" Kuei said: "Hsien and Feng have only very recently joined up with Shu. They didn't make plans in advance and so they won't be able to co-operate very well. My son Teng has observed them, and compared them to chickens that can't settle on the same perch. We will separate them."

Pu followed Kuei's advice, and he wrote to Hsien and Feng: "You two gentlemen rescued the Emperor, and I killed Tung Cho with my own hand. We have both made a reputation. Why have you joined as rebels with Yüan Shu? Far better for us to join our forces, defeat Shu, and remove harm from the state." He promised to give them the plunder from Shu's army. Hsien and Feng were very pleased and they changed their plans and joined Pu. Pu brought his army forward to a hundred paces from Hsün's camp. Hsien's soldiers and Feng's shouted together and fell on Hsün's camp. Hsün and his forces were defeated and fled. Pu's soldiers chased them and attacked them and cut off the heads of ten of his officers. Almost all of the soldiers were killed or wounded or fell in the river and died. Then Pu joined forces with Hsien and Feng and they all headed for Shou-ch'un. They advanced by land and water as far as Chung-li and they plundered where they passed. They turned back north of the Huai, leaving a letter in insult to Shu. Shu himself led five thousand cavalry to show his arms at the Huai, but all Pu's cavalry were north of the river, and they laughed and jeered at them and then went back.

Tsang Pa, the bandit leader of T'ai-shan, attacked the Chancellor of Lang-yeh, Hsiao Chien,⁸ at Chü and defeated him. Pa captured Chien's treasure and promised to give it to Pu as a present,

but he did not send it. Pu went to ask for it himself. His commander Kao Shun objected: "Your authority and your reputation are well-known and respected everywhere. How can you ask for something and fail to obtain it? Yet you are going yourself to beg for a present. Just suppose you don't get it. Wouldn't you lose face?" Pu would not agree, and he went to Chü. Pa and the others did not understand why Pu was coming against them, and they defended their positions and forced him away. Pu came back empty-handed.

Shun was a man of honour, with an air of authority and with few words. The soldiers he led were only about seven hundred men, but his orders were clear and whenever they fought they were always successful. They were called Shock Troops.⁹ Later Pu became less friendly with Shun, and because Wei Hsü was a close relation he took Shun's soldiers and gave them to Hsü, but whenever there was a battle then he put Shun in command again. Shun had still no feeling of resentment. Pu was a man who made decisions hastily and his actions were seldom consistent. 99 Shun constantly remonstrated with him, saying: "If you start something, you won't think of its details. You are careless of loss or gain. You are often frivolous in your actions. You make so many mistakes!" Pu appreciated his loyalty, but he could not follow his advice.

Ts'ao Ts'ao sent the Gentleman-consultant Wang P'u with an imperial letter to appoint Sun Ts'e as Chief Commandant of Cavalry and to succeed to the fief of Marquis of Wu-ch'eng,¹⁰ to give him command as Grand Administrator of K'uai-chi and to send him with Lü Pu and the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery Ch'en Yü against Yüan Shu. Ts'e wanted to have the title of general to enhance his position, and so P'u took the authority to make him General Who Glorifies Han.

Ts'e made his preparations and marched to Ch'ien-t'ang. Yü planned a surprise attack on Ts'e, and he had private communication with Tsu Lang and Yen Po-hu and others, to have them act as his allies behind the lines. Ts'e learnt of this,

and sent his officers Lü Fan and Hsü Yi to attack Yü at Hai-hsi. Yü was defeated, and he fled with a single horse to Yüan Shao.

Before this, [Liu] Ch'ung, King of Ch'en, was a brave man and an expert marksman with a crossbow. When the Yellow Turbans made their rebellion [in 184] Ch'ung had commanded his own soldiers. The people of the kingdom were afraid of him and did not dare to rebel. The Chancellor of the kingdom, Lo Chün of K'uai-chi, had also shown his authority and gained favour in the past. At that time the kings and marquises no longer received their revenues.¹¹ They were often robbed, some could eat only once in several days, and some even died in the ditches. Ch'en alone was wealthy and strong, and more than a hundred thousand of the people of the neighbouring commanderies came there. When the soldiers of the provinces and the commanderies rose up, Ch'ung led his forces to camp at Yang-hsia, and he named himself General-in-Chief Who Supports Han. Yüan Shu asked for provisions from Ch'en and Lo Chün refused him. Shu was furious. He sent his retainers to kill Ch'ung and Chün by treachery, and so Ch'en was destroyed.

2000

In the autumn, in the ninth month, the Minister of Works Ts'ao Ts'ao went east to attack Yüan Shu. When Shu heard that Ts'ao was coming, he abandoned his army and fled, leaving his officers Ch'iao Jui and others to face Ts'ao at Ch'i-yang.¹² Ts'ao attacked and defeated Jui and his fellows and beheaded all of them. Shu fled across the Huai. There was a drought at this time and the harvest was spoilt. The gentry and the people were cold and hungry. From this, Shu's power steadily declined.

Ts'ao summoned Ho K'uei of Ch'en state to take a position as one of his Head Clerks, and he asked him what Yüan Shu was like. K'uei replied: "To be aided by Heaven, a man must follow Heaven's will. To be helped by men, he must be worthy of trust. Shu is neither obedient to Heaven nor faithful to men, and so when he looked for aid, where should he find it?" Ts'ao said: "When a state loses its worthy men, it will be destroyed. Shu never gave you a post and it is only appropriate that he should fall." Ts'ao was a strict man, and his officials were sometimes beaten. K'uei always kept poison

by him, swearing that he would die rather than suffer such disgrace, but it never came to that point.

Hsü Ch'u of P'ei state was braver and stronger than other men. He had collected several thousand young people and members of his clan, and had made strong defences and heavy walls to keep out bandits. All between the Huai and the Ju, and Ch'en and Liang, respected him and feared him. When Ts'ao came to the Ju and the Huai, Ch'u brought his forces to Ts'ao. Ts'ao said: "This is my Fan K'uai."¹³ At once he made him Chief Commandant and brought him into be his guard at night, and all Ch'u's retainers were made Tiger Warriors.¹⁴

The former Grand Commandant Yang Piao was a relative by marriage of Yüan Shu. Ts'ao Ts'ao disapproved of it, and falsely accused Piao of planning to supplant the Emperor. He recommended that Piao should be arrested and sent to prison and impeached for treason.¹⁵ The Court Architect K'ung Jung heard of this. Without losing time even to put on court dress, he went to Ts'ao and said: "For four generations the Yang family have clear virtue and they are respected within all the four seas."¹⁶ The Chou shu says, 001 'Father and son, elder and younger brother, their crimes do not affect one another.'¹⁷ How can you blame Lord Yang for Yüan's crimes?" Ts'ao said: "This is the Emperor's idea." Jung said: "If King Ch'eng killed the Duke of Shao, would the Duke of Chou say he did not know about it?"¹⁸ Then Ts'ao set the Prefect of Hsü, Man Ch'ung, to examine Piao's case.¹⁹ Jung and the Prefect of the Masters of Writing Hsün Yü both spoke to Ch'ung and said: "You should only take his words, don't add the examination by flogging." Ch'ung made no reply. He made the examination according to law, and after several days he asked to see Ts'ao and said to him: "Yang Piao has been examined and makes no change in his statement. This man has a name within all the four seas. Unless he is clearly guilty, you will certainly lose a great part of the people's affections if you punish him. It is my humble opinion that you should be careful." Ts'ao pardoned Piao and

released him that same day. Earlier, when Yü and Jung heard that Ch'ung had examined Piao by flogging, they were both angry. However, when this brought about his release, they became even more friendly towards Ch'ung.²⁰ Piao realised that the Han house was weak and in decline and that the government was in Ts'ao Ts'ao's hands. He pretended to be suffering from cramps. For more than ten years, he didn't walk, and by this means he kept himself out of trouble.

When Ma Mi-ti's body was brought to the capital the court met and wanted to give him additional honours. K'ung Jung said: "Mi-ti had high position even above the dukes [i.e. he had been Grand Tutor], and he held the responsibility of a mission with the highest imperial credentials, but he went out of his way to please bad ministers, and he let those people lead him around. He was a great officer of the imperial house, and how can we consider it any excuse to say that he was forced to act as he did? The Emperor may mourn for his former minister and may have pity on him. He may be unwilling to inflict posthumous punishment on him. But he should not give him additional honours." The court accepted this. Chin Shang died and his body was brought to the capital. An edict ordered all the officials to make sacrifices of mourning, and his son Wei was appointed a Gentleman of the Palace.²¹

In the winter, in the eleventh month, Ts'ao Ts'ao made another attack on Chang Hsiu. He stormed Hu-yang and took prisoner Liu Piao's officer Teng Chi. Then he attacked Wu-yin and captured it.

Han Hsien and Yang Feng were in Hsia-p'i and plundered between Hsü and Yang Provinces. Their army was short of supplies and they asked leave of Lü Pu to go to Ching Province. Pu would not hear of it. Feng knew that Liu Pei was an old enemy of Pu, and he made secret communication with Pei, wanting to make an attack on Pu together. Pei pretended to agree. Feng led his army to P'ei and Pei invited Feng into the city. Before the eating and drinking were half through Feng was put under arrest, bound hand and foot, and then beheaded. Hsien had lost Feng and was left alone, he went back to Ping Province with a few score of horsemen, and he was killed by Chang Hsüan,

002 the Prefect of Shu-ch'iu. Hu Ts'ai and Li Lo had stayed in Ho-tung. Ts'ai was killed by an enemy, Lo died of a sickness. Kuo Ssu was killed by his officer Wu Hsi.

Tu Hsi, Chao Yen and P'o Ch'in had fled the troubles and come to Ching Province. Liu Piao received all of them as his guests. Ch'in was favoured by Piao, but Hsi said to him: "When I agreed to come with you, all we planned to do was to keep ourselves in one piece and to wait for better times. Surely you don't think Governor Liu is the ruler who could keep down disturbances? How could you advise your seniors to submit to him? If you go on trying to make an impression on him with your ability, you will no longer be my companion and I will break off from you." Ch'in agreed readily: "I respect and receive your command." When Ts'ao Ts'ao brought the Emperor to his capital at Hsü, Yen said to Ch'in: "Ts'ao the General Who Maintains the East in Peace can surely save the empire. I know where I'm going." So they went back to Ts'ao, and Ts'ao made Yen Prefect of Lang-ling.

Li T'ung of Chiang-hsia was the Chief Commandant of Yang-an²², and his wife's paternal uncle had disobeyed the law. Chao Yen arrested him and sentenced him to death. At this time the final appeal on executions lay with the Governor or Administrator. T'ung's wife and children cried and wept to beg his life, but T'ung said: "Now we are giving all our strength to Lord Ts'ao. It is not right that I should consider private affairs at the expense of public duty." He praised Yen for holding to the law and not acting in servile fashion, and he became friends with him.

Chien-an 3rd year [26.I.198-13.II.199]

In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Ts'ao went back to Hsü.

In the third month [Ts'ao] was going once more to attack Chang Hsiu when Hsün Yü said: "Hsiu and Liu Piao depend on each other for allies, but Hsiu has no established base for his army. The time will come when he will ask Piao for provisions and Piao will not be able to supply him. They will begin to fall out. The best thing is to hold your army back and wait for this, and then find some scheme to trap him. If you act too quickly, you will be forcing them to help one another." Ts'ao would not follow this advice, and he beseiged Hsiu at Jang.

2003

In the summer, in the fourth month, the Supervisor of the Internuncios P'ei Mou was sent with imperial orders for all the leaders within the passes, Tuan Wei and the others, and they killed Li Chüeh and destroyed his family. Wei was made General Who Gives Tranquillity to the South and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Min-hsiang.

Before this, every time Yüan Shao got an edict from the Emperor, he was worried that it would be some disadvantage to him, so now he wanted to bring the Emperor to stay by him. He suggested to Ts'ao Ts'ao that because Hsü was in marshy country, and Lo-yang was destroyed, the capital should be moved to Chüan-ch'eng so as to be closer to the source of supplies. Ts'ao refused. T'ien Feng said to Shao: "Now that this plan of shifting the capital has not worked out, you should make early plans against Hsü and prepare to receive the Emperor yourself. Then you could claim that everything you do follows an imperial order, and in this way you would command the four seas. That is the peak of planning. If you don't do it like that, in the end you will be taken over by someone else, and it will be too late for regrets." Shao would not do this.

At this time some deserters from Shao came to Ts'ao and said that T'ien Feng had urged him to make an attack on Hsü. Ts'ao broke off the seige of Jang and went back, and Chang Hsiu led his forces after him.

In the fifth month Liu Piao sent soldiers to help Hsiu. They camped at An-chung and guarded the passes to block the enemy's retreat. Ts'ao wrote to Hsün Yü and said: "When I come to An-chung I will be certain to defeat Hsiu." He arrived at An-chung, and Ts'ao's army had

enemies in front and rear, and Ts'ao dug in the pass during the night and hid. The armies of Piao and Hsiu came full force in pursuit, but Ts'ao let loose his soldiers from ambush, attacked on both sides with horse and foot and completely defeated them.¹ Many days later Yü said to Ts'ao: "What about that time when you knew that the enemy would be defeated. How could you tell?" Ts'ao said: "The enemy had cut off my army's line of retreat and so they gave me a 'death-place'; because of this I knew that I would win."²

When Hsiu was chasing Ts'ao, Chia Hsü stopped him and said: "You musn't follow him. If you go in pursuit you will certainly be defeated." Hsiu would not listen, and he sent forward his soldiers and joined battle. Then he suffered a great defeat and came back. Hsü climbed the city wall and said to Hsiu: "Follow him again quickly. If you fight this time you are sure to win." Hsiu thanked him: "I did not use your advice and I have come to this. Now I have already been defeated, how can I go in chase again?" Hsü said: "War has its changes, follow him quickly." Hsiu had always believed what Hsü said, so he collected his scattered soldiers and went again in pursuit. He joined battle and he really did win.³ Then he came back and asked Hsü: "I was pursuing a retreating army with good soldiers and you said that I would certainly be defeated. I attacked a victorious army with defeated men and you said I would certainly be successful. Both times it turned out the way you said. How did you manage it?" Hsü said: "This is easy to understand. You are very good at using troops, but you are no match for Lord Ts'ao. Since Lord Ts'ao's army had just begun its withdrawal, he was sure to be leading the rear-guard. So I knew that you would be defeated. Lord Ts'ao had attacked you, nothing had gone wrong with his plans and he was still at full strength. When he suddenly drew back, it could only be some reason of his state. So once he had defeated you he was going to hurry on to Hsü with light-armed troops and leave his officers to hold the rear."

Though his officers are brave they are no match for you, so despite the fact that you were using beaten men you could fight and be sure to win." Hsiu was full of admiration.

Lü Pu renewed his alliance with Yüan Shu and sent his General of the Gentlemen of the Household Kao Shun and the Grand Administrator of Pei-ti, Chang Liao of Yen-men, to attack Liu Pei. Ts'ao Ts'ao sent his general Hsia-hou Tun to help Pei, but he was defeated by Shun's forces.

In the autumn, in the ninth month, Shun and the others captured P'ei city, seized Pei's wife and children, and Pei fled alone.

Ts'ao Ts'ao wanted to go himself to attack Pu, but all his officers said: "Liu Piao and Chang Hsiu are behind you, and if you go away to attack Lü Pu they will certainly become dangerous." Hsün Yü said: "Piao and Hsiu have just been defeated. They won't dare to make a move. Pu is brave and fierce, and he is now allied again with Yüan Shu. If he is allowed to operate at will between the Huai and the Ssu the fighting men there will certainly join him. Now is the time to attack him before his rebellion gets under way and before his army is fully organised. If you go now you can defeat him." Ts'ao said: "Excellent!" As he was marching, the leaders of the camps in T'ai-shan, Tsang Pa, Sun Kuan, Wu Tun, Yin Li, Ch'ang Hsi and others all joined Pu. Ts'ao met Liu Pei at Liang and went forward to P'eng-ch'eng. Ch'en Kung said to Pu: "You should attack them at once. With fresh soldiers to deal with tired ones you cannot fail." Pu said: "It would be better to wait till he comes further forward and then drive him down into the Ssu River."

In the winter, in the tenth month, Ts'ao stormed P'eng-ch'eng. Ch'en Teng, the Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling, led the soldiers of his commandery as advance guard for Ts'ao, and came up to Hsia-p'i. Pu led out his forces and fought with Ts'ao several times, but he was heavily defeated in one battle after another. He went back to hold the city [of Hsia-p'i] and did not dare come out again.

2005 Ts'ao sent a letter to Pu, and pointed out the situation to him. Pu was frightened and wanted to surrender. Ch'en Kung said:

"Ts'ao Ts'ao has come a long way and he can't stay here indefinitely. If you take infantry and cavalry and go and camp outside, I will take command of the rest of the army and hold fast inside the city. If he turns against you, I will lead soldiers to attack his rear. If he only attacks the city, then you can give help from outside. Within very few weeks Ts'ao's supplies will be exhausted. Attack him then and you can defeat him." Pu approved, and was going to set Kung and Kao Shun to hold the city while he led cavalry to cut Ts'ao's line of supply. Pu's wife said to him: "Kung and Shun have quarrelled in the past. Once you have gone they will certainly disagree about how to defend the city. If anything goes wrong how will you keep going by yourself? Besides, Ts'ao treated Kung-t'ai [i.e. Ch'en Kung] like his own son, but he still left him and came back to us. You have treated Kung-t'ai no more generously than Ts'ao did, and yet you are going to leave him the whole city, abandon your wife and children, and go off alone with your army. If there is a sudden change, how would I be your wife any more?" So Pu gave up the idea, and he secretly sent his secretaries Hsü Ssu and Wang K'ai to ask help from Yüan Shu. Shu said: "Pu did not give me his daughter, it is right and natural that he should be defeated, why do you come again?" Ssu and K'ai said: "If our excellency does not help Pu now you will be destroying yourself. When Pu is defeated you will also be defeated." So Shu sent soldiers to give Pu some moral support. Pu was afraid that Shu would not send help because the girl had failed to arrive. He wrapped the girl with silk and tied her to his horse, and he himself took her out of the city by night. They met Ts'ao's guards. They fought and shot arrows and he could not get past, so he came back to the city.

Chang Yang, the Grand Administrator of Ho-nei, had always been a friend of Pu and he wanted to come to his relief. He could not manage this but he led out his men to make a diversion at Tung-shih.⁴

In the eleventh month Chang Yang's officer Yang Ch'ou killed Yang and went over to Ts'ao. The detachment commander Sui Ku killed Ch'ou in his turn and led the army north to join Yüan Shao. Chang Yang, a gentle and peaceful man, did not enforce his punishments. Even when one of his men planned to revolt and it was discovered he would weep for him, pardon him quickly and ask nothing about it. So he came to disaster.

2006 Ts'ao dug a moat around Hsia-p'i. After a long time the officers and soldiers of Ts'ao's army were tired and worn out and Ts'ao planned to go back. Hsün Yü and Kuo Chia said: "Lü Pu is brave, but he has no sense of planning. He has fought several times now and has always had to retreat. He will be getting discouraged. Armies take their leaders as their guide, and if the leader is discouraged then the army will lose heart. Ch'en Kung is wise, but he is slow. Now, before Pu recovers his spirit and while Kung's plans are still unsettled, if you attack them quickly Pu can be overthrown." Then they brought the Yi and the Ssu to flood the city. After more than a month Pu was in greater and greater trouble. He climbed the wall and spoke to an officer of Ts'ao's army and said: "If you don't force me to desperation, I will surrender to your master." Ch'en Kung said: "That rebel bandit Ts'ao Ts'ao, where does he measure up to you? If you surrender to him you will be like an egg thrown at a stone. How do you expect to survive?"

Pu's officer Hou Ch'eng had lost his best horse. After a long time he found it again and all the officers gave a party to congratulate him. Ch'eng shared out the wine and meat and went first to offer a present to Pu. Pu was angry and said: "I have forbidden wine, and now you are all brewing wine. You are using it to encourage people to make plots against me!" Ch'eng was angry and frightened.

In the twelfth month, on the day kuei-yu [7.II.199] Ch'eng and the officers Sung Hsien and Wei Hsü and others kidnapped Ch'en Kung and Kao Shun and led their forces to surrender. Pu and his command climbed the Po-men Tower⁵ and the enemy soldiers were close around them. Pu told his companions to cut off his head and send it

to Ts'ao. They could not bear to do it, and then he came down and surrendered.

Pu saw Ts'ao and said: "Now the time has come and the empire is settled." Ts'ao said: "Why do you say that?" Pu said: "I was the only man to be a danger to you and now I have submitted. If you put me in charge of the cavalry and you take command of the infantry then the empire will present no difficulties." He looked around and saw Liu Pei and said to him: "Hsüan-te, you are a guest in a high place and I am a captive. The ropes are bound tight on me, can't you say one word?" Ts'ao laughed and said: "If I bind a tiger I have to bind him tightly," but he gave orders to loose Pu's bonds. Liu Pei said: "You cannot do that. Don't you remember how Pu treated Ting Chien-yang [i.e. Ting Yüan] and the Grand Master Tung [Cho]?" Ts'ao nodded agreement. Pu looked at Liu Pei and said: "Big-ears, you are very untrustworthy."

Ts'ao said to Ch'en Kung: "Kung-t'ai, all your life you have claimed to know more than others, and now you have ended like this!" Kung pointed to Pu and said: "This fellow would not follow what I said, and so it has come to this. If my words had been followed we would probably not have been taken." Ts'ao said: "How about your old mother?" Kung said: "I have heard that a man who rules the empire by his feelings as a dutiful son will not harm another man's family. Whether my mother lives or not, that rests in you, not in me." Ts'ao said: "How about your wife and children?" Kung said: "I have heard that a man who gives the empire a gentle government will not cut off another man's sacrifices [by killing his heir]. Whether my family lives or not, that rests in you, not in me." Ts'ao said nothing more, and Kung asked to go to execution and he went out without looking back. Ts'ao wept for him. He and Pu and Shun were all killed by strangling, and the heads were sent to be shown in the marketplace in Hsü. Ts'ao summoned Ch'en Kung's mother and looked after her to the end of her life. He arranged a marriage for Kung's daughter and cared for his family. In all things he was

even more generous than before.

The former Prefect of the Masters of Writing Ch'en Chi and his son Ch'ün were both in Pu's army. Ts'ao treated them with courtesy and used them in office. Chang Liao led his force to surrender and was made General of the Gentlemen of the Household. Tsang Pa went into hiding, Ts'ao raised a search and found him. He sent Pa to call Wu Tun, Yin Li, Sun Kuan and others, and they all came to Ts'ao and surrendered. Then Ts'ao divided Lang-yeh and Tung-hai to form Ch'eng-yang, Li-ch'eng and Ch'ang-lu commanderies and made Pa and the others Administrators and Chancellors.⁶

2008 Before this, when Ts'ao was in Yen Province, he had made Hsü Hsi and Mao Hui his officers. When Yen Province came into disorder Hsi and Hui had both rebelled. When Yen Province was settled Hsi and Hui fled to Tsang Pa. Ts'ao told Liu Pei to give orders to Pa to send the two heads. Pa said to Pei: "The reason that I have been able to make a position for myself is because I have never done things like that. I have received the grace of life from our lord and I do not dare oppose his commands, but a lord with royal power can be appealed to for justice, and I ask you to speak for them." Pei told Ts'ao what Pa had said and Ts'ao sighed with admiration and replied to Pa: "This is the behaviour of the men of the past, and now you can follow it. This is also my will." He made both Hsi and Hui Administrators. On account of his good work, Ch'en Teng was promoted to General Who Calms the Waves.

Liu Piao and Yüan Shao were in very close alliance. The Attendant Official at Headquarters Teng Hsi protested to Piao, but Piao said: "Inside I do not neglect the tribute to the throne and outside I do not turn my back to the lord of our covenant. Everyone can see that this is right. Why do you question it?" Hsi said he was sick, and went away.

The Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha, Chang Hsien, was a determined, stubborn man, and Piao did not treat him courteously. Huan Chieh from that commandery suggested to Hsien that he should raise the three commanderies of Ch'ang-sha, Ling-ling and Kuei-yang

against Piao and send a messenger to Ts'ao Ts'ao. Hsien followed this.

Sun Ts'e sent his Colonel of Upright Counsel Chang Hung to take tribute to the court of the things from his district. Ts'ao wanted Ts'e as an ally, and he recommended him as General Who Exterminates the Rebels and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Wu. He sent his younger brother's daughter to marry Ts'e's younger brother K'uang and took Sun Pen's daughter for his son Chang. He sent a special invitation to Ts'e's younger brothers Ch'üan and Yi to come to court and he made Chang Hung an Attendant Imperial Clerk.⁷

19 Yüan Shu had made Chou Yü Prefect of Chü-ch'ao and Lu Su of Lin-huai Prefect of Tung-ch'eng.⁸ Yü and Su both realised that Shu would never succeed, and they left their posts and crossed the Chiang to follow Sun Ts'e. Ts'e made Yü General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Establishes Awe, and Su then went to live at Ch'ü-a.

Ts'ao Ts'ao recommended Wang Lang be summoned to court and Ts'e sent Lang back. Ts'ao made Lang Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant and Adviser to the Army of the Minister of Works.⁹

Yüan Shu sent secret messengers to give seals to the clan leaders of Tan-yang, Tsu Lang and others, that they should rouse the Shan-yüeh¹⁰ and join in attack on Sun Ts'e. When Liu Yao fled to Yü-chang T'ai-shih Tz'u hid among the Wu-hu mountains and styled himself Grand Administrator of Tan-yang. Ts'e had already settled the area east of Hsüan-ch'eng, and only the six prefectures west of Ching had not yet submitted.¹¹ Tz'u led his forces forward to Ching prefecture and he was joined by great numbers of the Shan-yüeh. Then Ts'e led an attack on Tsu Lang at Ling-yang and captured him. Ts'e said to Lang: "Once before you attacked me, and you chopped the saddle of my horse."¹² Now that I am recruiting an army and building a state, I disregard old enmities and I only take those who are able and can be of service. With all the empire it is the same, not just you. You need have no fear." Lang kowtowed and apologised and then they

broke his fetters and had him act as Chief of Police at the Gate.¹³ Then Ts'e attacked T'ai-shih Tz'u at Yung-li, and captured him. He unloosed his bonds and took his hand and said: "Do you still remember the time at Shen-t'ing?"¹⁴ If you had caught me then, what would have happened?" Tz'u said: "I can't imagine." Ts'e gave a great laugh and said: "I intend to share all my present plans with you. I have heard that you are brave and loyal, and that you are one of the wise men of the empire. Up to now you have never found the right man to follow. I am your close friend. From now on you can be sure you have found what you were looking for." He immediately appointed him Commander of the Guard at the Gate. On the way back, Tsu Lang and T'ai-shih Tz'u rode together at the front of the army, and everyone noticed the honour.

2010

Just at this time Liu Yao died at Yü-chang. His army was more than ten thousand men, and they wanted to take the Grand Administrator of Yü-chang, Hua Hsin, as their leader. Hsin considered: "To seize such a chance and dare to command, that is not what a loyal servant should do." The army held him for several months but in the end they let him go and they still had no-one to lead them.

Ts'e ordered T'ai-shih Tz'u to go and settle them, and he said to Tz'u: "Governor Liu always resented the fact that I attacked Lu-chiang for Yüan Shu. My late father had several thousand soldiers and they were all under Kung-lu's [i.e. Yüan Shu's] command. It was my ambition to set up a place of my own, but how could I avoid joining Kung-lu if I was to ask for those soldiers? Later, when Yüan failed to respect the proper conduct of a minister, I objected but he refused to listen. By any code of honour, with such a great reason, I had to leave him. My joining with Kung-lu and my breaking with him were like this from beginning to end. I am sad that I could not have explained [to Yao] while he was still alive. Now his children are in Yü-chang, you go and see to them. Tell of my feelings to his followers, and those that want to come can come with you. Those that do not want to come, make them feel at peace for the time being. At the same time find out how well Hua Hsin manages affairs. How many soldiers will you want? Take as many as you like." Tz'u said: "I have an

unpardonable offence, and you measure with [the great dukes] Huan [of Ch'i] and Wen [of Chin]. I would give my life to repay your kindness. Now that the fighting has stopped, I won't need too many men. Thirty or forty will be enough." Everyone said: "Tz'u is sure to go off north and never come back." Ts'e said: "If Tzu-yi [i.e. T'ai-shih Tz'u] deserts me, who can he follow?" He held a farewell at Ch'ang-men,¹⁵ took Tz'u by the arm as they said goodbye, and asked him: "When can you get back?" Tz'u replied: "No more than sixty days." Tz'u left and people still argued that it had been a bad idea to send him. Ts'e said: "Be quiet. I decided it carefully. T'ai-shih Tzu-yi is brave and has fierce courage, and he is not a turn-coat. His heart is loyal and honest, and he will not give his promise lightly. Once he has given himself to a real friend, he will not go back on the promise while he lives. You need not worry." Tz'u really did come back in the time he had said, and he reported to Ts'e: "Hua Tzu-yü [i.e. Hua Hsin] is a man of virtue, but he has no plans beyond his own territory. He keeps things going and nothing more. T'ung Chih of Tan-yang has seized Lu-ling for himself, and the leaders of the Po-yang people have set up their own clan groups, and say: 'We have established independent commanderies at Hai-hun and Shang-liao.¹⁶ We will not accept any orders.' Tzu-yü just looks at it and does nothing." Ts'e clapped his hands and laughed aloud, and it was then that he decided to take over Yü-chang.

Yüan Shao had attacked Kung-sun Tsan for several years but had not been able to defeat him. He wrote a letter to Tsan suggesting that they end their quarrel and make peace. Tsan did not reply, but increased his preparations for defence. He said to his Chief Clerk Kuan Ching of T'ai-yüan: "Everywhere in the empire men are fighting like tigers. It is quite obvious that no-one can maintain a siege against me for a whole year. So what can Yüan Pen-ch'u do?"

Shao raised great forces to attack Tsan. Before this, the

commander of one of Tsan's outlying forts had been besieged by enemies, but Tsan had sent no help. He said: "If I send help to one man, then my officers will always expect to be relieved and they won't fight so hard." When Shao came to attack, the various camps on Tsan's southern borders had realised that they were too weak to hold against him, and they knew they had no chance of being relieved. Some surrendered and some ran away. Shao's army came straight to the gates [of Tsan's fortress at Yi].

Tsan sent his son Hsü to ask help from the leaders of the Black Mountain bandits. He planned to lead out fast cavalry towards the western hills¹⁷ and join the Black Mountain armies in an attack on Chi Province so as to cut across Yüan's rear. Kuan Ching advised against it: "Your officers and soldiers are on the brink of collapse, and the only reason you can still hold on is that they are concerned for their families, and they rely on you as their leader. If you can withstand the long siege, then Shao may be forced to retreat. If you leave them and go out, then there will be no strong guard and the fortress would fall immediately." So Tsan gave up the idea. Shao gradually pressed his attacks tighter and Tsan's forces were pressed closer every day.

Chien-an 4th year [14.II.199-3.II.200]

012 In the spring, in the third month¹ Chang Yen, the leader of the Black Mountain bandits, joined Kung-sun Hsü and led a hundred thousand soldiers by three routes to relieve him [i.e. Kung-sun Tsan in Yi]. Before they arrived Tsan had sent a secret messenger to take a letter to Hsü telling him to lead five thousand armoured cavalry into the marshes to the north and light a fire as a signal. Then Tsan would make a sortie from inside the city. One of Shao's sentries intercepted the message, and at the appointed time Shao's army lit the fire. Tsan thought his relief had arrived and he came out to fight. Shao laid an ambush to surprise him, and Tsan was completely defeated and went back to take refuge behind the walls. Shao made a tunnel, with wooden supports, under one of the towers. They worked out when it was in the centre, and then set fire to it. The tower collapsed, and part of the ruins even came into the citadel. Then Tsan realised he was doomed. He strangled all his sisters and his wives and children and prepared his own funeral pyre. Shao hurried soldiers to climb the terraces, and they cut his head off. T'ien K'ai died in the battle. Kuan Ching sighed and said: "If I hadn't persuaded the general to stay here, he might have been saved. I have heard that if a gentleman brings men into danger he must share their misfortunes. How can I be the only one to live?" He spurred his horse against Shao's army and died. Hsü was killed by the Chü-ko [clan of the Hsiung-nu barbarians].

013 T'ien Yü of Yü-yang said to his Grand Administrator Hsien-yü Fu: "Ts'ao supports the Son of Heaven and so commands the lords. In the end he will settle the empire. You be among the first to join him." So Fu and all his forces sent messages of allegiance. An edict appointed him General Who Establishes Loyalty and Chief Controller of six commanderies in Yu Province.²

Before this, the King of the Wu-huan, Ch'iu-li-chü, had died. His son Lou-pan was young, and his nephew T'o-tun, who was a warlike man, took his place and held command of the chieftains Nan-lou from Shang-ku, Su-p'u-yen from Liao-tung and Wu-yen from Yu-pei-p'ing. When Yüan Shao attacked Kung-sun Tsan, T'o-tun brought the Wu-huan to help him, and when Tsan had been destroyed Shao took the authority to grant insigna as Shan-yü to T'o-tun, Nan-lou, Su-p'u-yen and Wu-yen. Knowing that Yen Jou had gained the affections of the Wu-huan,³ he granted Jou favours and good treatment in order to keep the northern borders at peace. Later Nan-lou and Su-p'u-yen made Lou-pan the Shan-yü and T'o-tun became a king, but T'o-tun still had charge of planning.

Sui Ku was camped at She-ch'üan. In the summer, in the fourth month, Ts'ao Ts'ao brought his army forward to the Yellow River, and sent his generals Shih Huan and Ts'ao Jen across the River to attack him. Jen was Ts'ao's cousin. Ku led some of his troops north to Yüan Shao to ask for help, but Huan and Jen intercepted him at Ch'üan-ch'eng, attacked him and beheaded him. Then Ts'ao crossed the Yellow River to besiege She-ch'üan. She-ch'üan surrendered and Ts'ao brought his army back to the Ao Granary.

Before this, when Ts'ao was in Yen Province he had recommended Wei Ch'ung as Filially Pious and Incorrupt. Yen Province rebelled and Ts'ao said: "Wei Ch'ung is the only man who will not desert me." Then he heard that Ch'ung had fled, and Ts'ao was angry and said: "Ch'ung, unless you flee as far south as the Yüeh tribes or as far north as the Hu barbarians, you will never escape me!" When he captured She-ch'üan Ch'ung was taken alive. Ts'ao said: "But he's too valuable to kill!" He took off his bonds and used him in office, making him Grand Administrator of Ho-nei and trusting him with affairs north of the Yellow River.

The General of the Guards Tung Ch'eng was made General of Chariots and Cavalry.

After Yüan Shu named himself emperor, he began to act very extravagantly, and his concubines and attendants were numbered by the hundreds. They swathed themselves in silk and stuffed themselves with spiked millet and meat. The poorer people went hungry and distressed, but he took pity on no-one. Then his treasury was empty and he could no longer hold his position. He burned his palace buildings and fled to his followers Ch'en Chien and Lei P'u in the Ch'ien hills,⁴ but Chien and the others all turned him away. He had come to the end of his resources, his soldiers were scattered, and he himself was sad and depressed with no idea what to do next. He sent a messenger to offer the imperial title to his cousin Shao, saying: "Prosperity has long been gone from the house of Han. The Yüan have received the mandate to rule; auspicious influences shine out. You hold four provinces with a population of a million families. I respectfully hand you the great mandate that you may bring it to fulfilment." Yüan T'an came from Ch'ing Province to receive Shu and they hoped to go north by way of Hsia-p'i. Ts'ao Ts'ao sent Liu Pei and his general Chu Ling of Ch'ing-ho⁵ to intercept them. Shu could not get through and was forced to go back to Shou-ch'un.

In the sixth month [Shu] came to Chiang-t'ing, and he sat on a mat-bed and sighed: "Yüan Shu is come to this!" Then he groaned in anger, became ill, spat blood and died. Shu's nephew Yin was afraid of Ts'ao Ts'ao and did not dare stay at Shou-ch'un. With his followers, carrying Shu's coffin and bringing his wife and children, he fled to Liu Hsün, Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang, at Wan city. The former Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling, Hsü Ch'iu, got hold of the Great Seal of State and sent it to the Emperor.⁶

When Yüan Shao had overcome Kung-sun Tsan his heart became still more proud, and his tribute to the Emperor became infrequent and small. His Master of Records Keng Pao suggested privately to Shao that he should follow the will of heaven and man and take the imperial title. Shao repeated Pao's suggestion to his officers in council, but they all said Pao was out of his mind and that he should be punished. There was no help for it, and Shao was forced to kill Pao in order to clear himself.

Shao chose a hundred thousand good soldiers and ten thousand cavalry to make an attack on Hsü. Chü Shou objected: "You have just attacked Kung-sun Tsan and your army has been away for several years. Your people are sick and distressed, the granaries and storehouses are empty. You can't move now. You should pay attention to farming and give the people a rest. First of all, send a messenger to present captives to the Emperor. If he can't get through then report that Ts'ao Ts'ao is blocking our way to the Emperor. Go forward to Li-yang to camp, and gradually set up fortified posts south of the Yellow River. Make more boats, put your engines and equipment in repair, and send out detachments of good cavalry to make raids on the borders, so that the other fellows have no peace and ours can take their ease. This way, we can settle the business at our leisure." Kuo T'u and Shen P'ei said: "With your spiritual warfare, if you lead the strong armies of the north against the Yellow River to attack Ts'ao Ts'ao, that is easy as turning your hand. Why should you act as he says?" Shou said: "Those who give help against rebels and punish oppression, they are called loyal soldiers. Those who rely on numbers and trust to their strength, they are called proud soldiers. The loyal man has no match, but the proud man is the first to be defeated. Now Ts'ao Ts'ao holds the Emperor and so gives orders to the empire. If you raise an army against the south, you will be putting yourself in the wrong. Moreover, the plans of a campaign do not rest in strength or weakness. Ts'ao Ts'ao's laws and orders are strict, his officers and men are fresh and drilled. This is not Kung-sun Tsan, who sat and waited for our attacks. If you leave aside the plans of security and safety, and if you raise an army without good cause, then I am anxious for you." T'u and P'ei replied: "When King Wu [of Chou] attacked Chou [of Shang] that was not disloyalty.⁷ How much more is this true of fighting against Ts'ao Ts'ao. Yet you say there is no good cause! Besides, our lord is strong and his officers and soldiers are in high heart. If we do not settle the affair now, that can be described as 'Heaven gives it and we do not

take it. Disaster will come in return.' This is why Yüeh became the hegemon and how Wu was destroyed.⁸ The Superintendent's [i.e. Chu Shou's]⁹ plan is too conservative. He cannot appreciate opportunity nor can he see how things work out."

Shao accepted what T'u said, and encouraged by this T'u and his fellows spoke against Shou, saying: "Shou supervises things and he has authority both inside and out. His power overawes the army. If he should gradually become greater, how will you keep him under control? If a minister wields the same power as the ruler, disaster is sure to come. This is what the Huang-shih [book] is cautious about.¹⁰ Besides, a man who controls the army outside should not know about decisions within." So Shao divided Shou's command and appointed three Chief Controllers.¹¹ He had Shou and Kuo T'u and Ch'un-yü Ch'iong each command one army. The Chief Commandant of Cavalry Ts'ui Yen of Ch'ing-ho objected: "The Son of Heaven is in Hsü, and
16 all the people look to him. You cannot attack." Shao would not agree.

The officers in Hsü heard that Shao intended to attack, and they were all frightened. Ts'ao Ts'ao said: "I know what sort of a man Shao is: his ideas are big, but he has small wisdom; he looks very stern, but his courage is slight; he is envious and malicious and has small power of command. His soldiers are many but his plans are confused, his leaders are proud but his government is not united. Though his lands are broad and his supplies are plentiful, that simply makes it worth our while to take him over." K'ung Jung said to Hsün Yü; "Shao's lands are broad and his soldiers are strong. T'ien Feng and Hsü Yu are wise men to make plans for him, Shen P'ei and P'ang Chi are loyal ministers to act in his affairs, Yen Liang and Wen Ch'ou are brave generals to rule his army. This difficulty will be hard to overcome." Yü said: "Shao has many soldiers but his rule is not well-ordered. T'ien Feng is stubborn and insubordinate, Hsü Yu is greedy and disobedient. Shen P'ei is self-opinionated and has no ideas, P'ang Chi is obstinate and too independent. People like that will find it very hard to cooperate, and they will certainly cause trouble in Shao's own camp. Yen Liang and Wen Ch'ou have the bravery of common fellows. They can be taken in a single battle."

In the autumn, in the eighth month, Ts'ao brought his soldiers forward to Li-yang, and he sent Tsang Pa and others to lead picked men into Ch'ing Province to guard the east. He left Yü Chin in camp by the Yellow River.

In the ninth month Ts'ao went back to Hsü and left part of his army to hold Kuan-tu.

Yüan Shao sent messengers to call on Chang Hsiu, and he also wrote to Chia Hsü to suggest an alliance. Hsiu was prepared to agree, but Hsü stood over Hsiu as he sat and said openly to Shao's messenger: "Go back and make our apologies to Yüan Pen-ch'u. If he couldn't stay friends with his own cousin, then how can he cope with the leaders of the empire?" Hsiu was startled and frightened, and said: "How did it come to this?" He whispered to Hsü: "Well, now what do we do?" Hsü said: "The best thing is to go to Lord Ts'ao." Hsiu said: "Yüan is strong, Ts'ao is weak, and I have quarrelled with
2017 Ts'ao. How can we follow him?" Hsü said: "This is why you should follow him: Lord Ts'ao holds the Son of Heaven and so commands the empire, that is one reason. Shao is strong, and if we follow him with our small forces he will certainly not treat us with respect; Ts'ao's forces are weak, so if he gets us he will certainly be pleased, that is a second reason. A man who has the ambition of a ruler will certainly forget his private enmities in order to show his virtue to all the four seas, and that is a third reason for us to follow him. Don't you worry."

In the winter, in the eleventh month, Hsiu led his forces to submit to Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ts'ao took Hsiu's hand, gave a banquet, arranged for his son Chün to marry Hsiu's daughter, and appointed Hsiu General Who Manifests Firmness. He recommended that Hsü be made Bearer of the Golden Mace, and enfeoffed as Marquis of a Chief Commune.

The leaders within the passes stayed neutral as Ts'ao and Shao fought, and they watched to see what would happen. The Governor of Liang Province, Wei Tuan, sent his Attendant

Official Yang Fu of T'ien-shui to Hsü. When Fu came back all the leaders west of the passes asked him: "Of Yüan and Ts'ao, who will win and who will lose?" Fu said: "Lord Yüan is lenient but has no decision, he is fond of planning but he cannot make up his mind. If he has no decision then he will have no authority, if he is slow to make up his mind he will fail to keep up with events. Although he is the stronger now he will never achieve the empire. Lord Ts'ao is brave and thinks a long way ahead, he seizes opportunity with no hesitation. His rules are consistent, his soldiers are well trained, he can appreciate the most exceptional men, and every one that he appoints will give all his strength in his service. There is the man who can carry out great plans."

Ts'ao Ts'ao sent the Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents Wei Chi of Ho-tung to keep quiet the lands within the passes. At this time many refugees were trying to return to their former homes, but the leaders within the passes compelled them to enter their service.¹² Chi wrote to Hsün Yü to say: "The rich lands within the passes have quickly turned into a wilderness, and more than a hundred thousand families are wandering in Ching Province. If these people hear that their homeland is at peace they will all be eager to come back. However, those that are returning cannot attend to their own affairs. The local chiefs compete with one another, welcoming them and pressing them to take service with them. The commandery and prefectural administrations are too weak to do anything about this, so the fighting men are getting stronger. If they should suddenly turn against us, they would certainly cause trouble. Now, salt is the great treasure of the state, but since the rebellion it has been left waste. You should appoint a commissioner to supervise its sale the way it was before, and use the profit from this to buy ploughs and cattle. When people come back these can supply them. If we encourage farming, then the grain can be collected to make the land prosper. People will hear about it far away and they will certainly hurry back as fast as they can. And send the Colonel Director of the Retainers to set up his administration there and bring the people

under his control. Every day the military chieftains will become weaker and the officials and the people will become stronger.

2018 This is the way to strengthen ourselves at the expense of our enemies." Yü told Ts'ao about this and Ts'ao followed it. For the first time he sent the Supervisor of the Internuncios to control the salt office and the Colonel Director of the Retainers to set his administration at Hung-nung. By this means the lands within the passes were brought to submit and follow Ts'ao.

Yüan Shao sent men to ask help from Liu Piao. Piao promised it but he never really sent anything. Neither would he help Ts'ao Ts'ao. His Gentleman of the General Staff Han Sung of Nan-yang and his Aide-de-Camp Liu Hsien of Ling-ling said to him: "Now two warriors are at grips with one another and the balance of the empire rests in you. If you want something for yourself, you can rise up and take advantage of their difficulties. Even if you have no ambitions of your own, you should certainly choose one to follow. How can you command a hundred thousand men at arms and sit to watch the result of their contest? They ask for help and you refuse to help them. You know which man is right, but you do not want to turn to him. Both sides will get angry with you, and we are afraid that you will not be able to stay neutral. Ts'ao Ts'ao is very good at using soldiers and many of the worthy men and the brave men turn to him. So he is sure to defeat Yüan Shao. After that, if he moves his men against the Chiang and the Han we are afraid you won't be able to deal with him. The best plan for the present is to bring Ching Province to join Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ts'ao will certainly treat you with respect and favour, you will enjoy fortune and honour for a long time, and you will be able to hand it on to your descendants. This is the perfect plan." K'uai Yüeh also urged this policy.

Piao was uncertain and could not make up his mind. He sent Sung to go to Hsü and said: "It is not possible to know how the empire will be settled, but Ts'ao Ts'ao holds the Emperor in his capital at Hsü. You go and see what weaknesses he may have and then

tell me." Sung said: "A sage can manage the duties of any office, but a lesser man keeps to his own position. I am the man that keeps position.¹³ Once the name of master and servant has been settled one holds to it to the death, and at the moment my name appears on your service-list, I have handed in my pledge, and you are the only person to command me.¹⁴ Though you send me through fire and water I would die without complaint. As I see it, Lord Ts'ao will certainly achieve his designs on the empire. If you wish to support the Son of Heaven above and Lord Ts'ao below, then send me. If you are undecided, and if when I come to the capital the Son of Heaven grants me a single office and I am compelled to accept, then I will become the servant of the Son of Heaven, and only a former officer of yours.¹⁵ When I have a master, I work for him. So if I hold office from the

2019 Son of Heaven it will no longer be fitting to die for you. If only you can remember this and do not turn against me." Piao thought he merely disliked the job and he insisted that Sung go.

Sung came to Hsü and the Emperor appointed him Palace Attendant and Grand Administrator of Ling-ling. When he came back he praised the Emperor and the virtue of Lord Ts'ao, and he urged Piao to send his sons to enter service. Piao was very angry, and called him a traitor. He summoned a great assembly of his officials, drew up soldiers, held his credentials of authority and intended to execute him. Accusing him, he said: "Han Sung, do you dare to betray me?" Everyone was afraid and expected Sung to confess. Sung was quite unmoved, but he spoke seriously to Piao: "You have turned against me, I did not turn from you." Then he explained what he had said before, and Piao's wife of the Ts'ai clan protested; "Han Sung is the hope of the Ch'u state."¹⁶ It is quite true. You have no right to execute him." Piao was still angry. He took the men that had accompanied Sung and examined them by torture until they died. Then he realised that Sung had no thought of treachery, so he did not kill him but only put him in prison.

Cheng Pao, the bandit leader of Yang Province, was planning to force the people living there to go to the south of the Chiang.

Because Liu Yeh of Huai-nan was a famous man from a great family he wanted to force him to set the example. Yeh was angry. About this time Ts'ao Ts'ao sent a messenger to the province to hear court cases. Yeh invited him to his house. Pao came to pay his respects to the messenger, and Yeh kept them for a feast. Then he seized a sword and killed Pao, took off his head and gave orders to his army: "Lord Ts'ao has given instructions that if any dare to make trouble they will share Pao's punishment." The whole army, several thousand men, was frightened and submitted and made Yeh the leader. Yeh turned the army over to the Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang, Liu Hsün. Hsün asked him why, and Yeh said: "Pao ruled lawlessly and his army found profit in plunder. I had no real authority but I have set them in order. They will certainly hate me and my command cannot last long. So I am handing them to you." Hsün also had a great number of Yüan Shu's former followers, but he could not feed them. He sent his cousin Hsieh to ask for rice from the clan leaders of Shang-liao, but they would not give him enough. Hsieh urged Hsün to attack them.

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Sun Ts'e was annoyed that Hsün had such a strong army, and he pretended humility and wrote to Hsün to say: "The clan people of Shang-liao have often invaded my commandery. I want to attack them, but the road is not easy. Shang-liao is extremely rich, I ask you to attack it, and I will bring my own soldiers to act as your support." He also presented Hsün with pearls and jewels and Yüeh cloth.¹⁷ Hsün was very pleased, and everyone congratulated him, all except Liu Yeh. Hsün asked him why. He replied: "Shang-liao may be small, but the walls are strong and the moat is deep. It is difficult to attack and easy to defend, and it will take at least ten days to capture it. When the soldiers are worn out from fighting beyond their borders and when the state has been left empty behind them, then if Sun Ts'e takes the opportunity to attack us we won't be able to manage alone. You will have taken the offensive but gained no success, and you will

seek to retreat and have no place to go. If the army goes out, disaster is coming." Hsün refused to listen, and he attacked Shang-liao. By the time they came to Hai-hun the clan leaders had heard about it. They abandoned their walls and made their escape. Hsün gained nothing.

At this time Ts'e was leading his soldiers west to attack Huang Tsu. He came to Shih-ch'eng and learned that Hsün was at Hai-hun. He sent his cousins Pen and Fu with eight thousand men to camp at P'eng-tse. Ts'e himself led Chou Yü, acting as Grand Administrator of Chiang-hsia, with twenty thousand men in a surprise attack on Wan city. They captured the place, and Ts'e made prisoners of Hsün's family and also Yüan Shu's and more than thirty thousand of their followers. He recommended Li Shu of Ju-nan as Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang, gave him three thousand soldiers to hold Wan city, and brought all the people he had captured east to Wu. Hsün came back to P'eng-tse, Sun Pen and Sun Fu intercepted him and defeated him. Hsün retreated to hold Liu-yi¹⁸ and asked help from Huang Tsu. Tsu sent his son She to lead a fleet with five thousand men to help Hsün. Ts'e came again to attack and completely defeated him. Hsün went north to join Ts'ao Ts'ao and She also fled away.

21 Ts'e collected more than two thousand of Hsün's soldiers and a thousand boats, and then he went forward to attack Huang Tsu.

In the twelfth month, on the day hsin-hai [11.I.200] Ts'e's army came to Sha-hsien. Liu Piao sent his nephew Hu and Han Hsi of Nan-yang to lead five thousand spearmen to help Tsu. On the day chia-yin [14.I] Ts'e fought and completely defeated them, killing Hsi. Tsu ran away, but his family were captured, and six thousand boats. Several tens of thousands of his officers and men were killed or drowned.

Ts'e reinforced his soldiers for an attack on Yü-chang, and he made camp at Chiao-ch'iu.¹⁹ He said to his Officer of the Department of Merit, Yü Fan: "Hua Tzu-yü [i.e. Hua Hsin] has a wide reputation, but he is no match for me. Unless he opens his gates and surrenders the city, there are bound to be people

killed and wounded in the fighting. You go ahead and tell him how I feel." Fan went to see Hua Hsin and said: "I know that you and Magistrate Wang of my own commandery²⁰ both have wide renown in the central provinces. All within the four seas have heard your name and although you have come down to the east everyone looks to you with great respect." Hsin said: "I am not equal to Wang of K'uai-chi." Fan said again: "Have you examined the wealth and resources, the tools and the weapons of Yü-chang? The bravery of the people, how does it compare with my commandery?" Hsin said: "Considerably worse." Fan said: "You say that you are not the equal of Wang of K'uai-chi, and that is extravagant modesty. But your best soldiers not being as good as K'uai-chi, that is very true. Sun, General Who Exterminates the Rebels, is wise in planning and excels the world. He uses soldiers like a spirit. Already he has put Liu [Yao] of Yang Province to flight, and you have seen that for yourself. In the south he has settled my own commandery, and you have heard about that too. Now you hope to hold a single city against him, but you know yourself that your wealth and supplies are too small. Unless you make plans early, you may regret it but it will be too late. A great army now is camped at Chiao-ch'iu. When I go back, unless we have a reply to our summons by midday tomorrow, then I'll say goodbye to you now." Hsin said: "I have been south of the Chiang for a long time and I have always wanted to go back to the north. If Sun of K'uai-chi comes, I will leave." That night he called up his soldiers, and the next morning he sent officers to invite Ts'e in. Ts'e brought his army forward and Hsin received him wearing a head-dress of fine cloth.²¹ Ts'e said to Hsin: "Your name for virtue has been respected for years and everywhere people admire you. I am only young, and I should act like a son or a younger brother." He faced Hsin and bowed, and treated him with the greatest courtesy.

2022

Sun Shen says:²² Hsin lacked the spirit of [Po]-yi and the Four Old Men, for he made no attempt to avoid responsibility. Yet he failed to maintain his honour as a royal minister.²³ He lost heart at the words of a wayward scholar [Yü Fan] and he linked arms with a follower of oppression and plunder [Sun Ts'e]. His position was taken and his reputation was lost. What could be more shameful?

Ts'e divided Yü-chang to make Lu-ling commandery.²⁴ He made Sun Pen Grand Administrator of Yü-chang and Sun Fu Grand Administrator of Lu-ling. T'ung Chih was sick, and so Fu went forward and took Lu-ling, leaving Chou Yü to hold Pa-ch'iu.

When Sun Ts'e captured Wan city he looked after Yüan Shu's family, and when he entered Yü-chang he collected Liu Yao's coffin and treated his family very well. The gentry and the scholars praised him.

Wei T'eng, Officer of the Department of Merit in K'uai-chi, had opposed Ts'e and Ts'e wanted to kill him. Everyone was anxious and at a loss what to do. Ts'e's mother of the Wu clan stood by a great well and said to Ts'e: "You are building up the south of the Chiang, and the task is not yet completed. Now is the time to treat your worthy men well and to be polite to your officers, to forget their faults and to remember their good work. Officer Wei was only doing his duty, and you should kill him today, people will turn from you tomorrow. Before I see disaster come, I would first jump into this well." Ts'e was very startled and he immediately set T'eng free.

2023 Before this, the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery, Sheng Hsien of K'uai-chi, had recommended Kao Tai as Filially Pious and Incorrupt. When Hsü Kung came to take over the commandery [in 195] Tai brought Hsien to refuge at the house of the commander Hsü Chao. Tsou T'o and Ch'ien T'ung of Wu-ch'eng, Wang Sheng of Chia-hsing²⁵ and some other leaders each collected several thousand men, some as many as ten thousand, and they refused to submit to Sun Ts'e. Ts'e brought up his soldiers and defeated them all. He went on to attack

Yen Po-hu. Po-hu's soldiers were defeated and he fled to Yü-hang and went to Hsü Chao. Ch'eng P'u asked to attack Chao. Ts'e said: "Hsü Chao is acting right by his former lord and is faithful to his old friend. This is the heart of a true man." So he left him alone.

Ts'ao Ts'ao again camped at Kuan-tu. Ts'ao's attendants Hsü T'o and others planned to kill Ts'ao. They came into Ts'ao's tent and saw the Colonel Hsü Ch'u. Their faces changed expression, Ch'u realised what they intended and he killed them.

Before this, the General of Chariots and Cavalry Tung Ch'eng claimed to have received a secret edict from the Emperor and made plans with Liu Pei to kill Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ts'ao was talking casually to Liu Pei and said: "You and I are the only brave men in the empire. People like Pen-ch'u [i.e.: Yüan Shao] simply don't count." At that moment Pei was eating, and he dropped his spoon and chopsticks [in his flurry]. Just then there was thunder in the sky and Pei said: "The sage has it: 'On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change composure.' That is very much like me."²⁶ He made plans with Tung Ch'eng, and with the Colonel of the Ch'ang River Encampments Ch'ung Chi and the generals Wu-tzu Lang and Wang Fu. About this time Ts'ao sent Pei with Chu Ling to intercept Yüan Shu. Ch'eng Yü and Kuo Chia and Tung Chao all objected: "You can't send Pei." Ts'ao changed his mind and called him back, but the messenger could not catch him. When Shu turned back to the south Chu Ling returned. Then Pei killed Ch'e Chou, the Inspector of Hsü Province, left Kuan Yü to hold Hsia-p'i and look after the affairs of the Grand Administrator, and he himself went back to Hsiao-p'ei. Ch'ang Hsi, the bandit from Tung-hai, and many of the commanderies and prefectures rebelled against Ts'ao and turned to Pei. Pei's forces numbered several ten thousand men, and he sent messengers to make contact with Yüan Shao for joint operations. Ts'ao sent the Chief Clerk to the Minister of Works Liu Tai of P'ei state and the General of the Gentlemen of the

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Household Wang Chung of Fu-feng to attack him, but they had no success. Pei said to Tai and the others: "I can deal with you and a hundred like you, but if Lord Ts'ao comes then we can't be quite so certain."

Chien-an 5th year [3.II.200-20.II.201]

In the spring, in the first month, Tung Ch'eng's plan was found out. On the day jen-tzu [miswritten for jen-wu, 10.II]¹ Ts'ao Ts'ao killed Ch'eng and Wang Fu and Ch'ung Chi and destroyed their families.

Ts'ao wanted to go himself to attack Liu Pei, but all his officers said: "It is Yüan Shao that is fighting you for the empire, and he may come any moment. If you turn away and go east, so he can come in behind you, what will happen then?" Ts'ao said: "Liu Pei is one of the bravest of men. If I leave him now he will certainly cause trouble later." Kuo Chia said: "Shao is a slow thinker and very hesitant. He will surely not come quickly. Pei only made his rising a short time ago and his army will not be fully under control. If you attack him soon you are certain to defeat him." So Ts'ao went east. The Aide-de-Camp of Chi Province, T'ien Feng, said to Yüan Shao: "Ts'ao Ts'ao has started a fight with Liu Pei and he won't be able to break off easily. If you bring your army against his rear you can settle things at the one move." Shao said that his son was sick, and he would not go. Feng lifted his staff and beat the ground and said: "Alas, in a moment of crisis he throws away opportunity for the sake of a sick child. The pity of it, the chance is gone."

25 Ts'ao attacked Liu Pei, destroyed his army and captured his wife and children. He went on to storm Hsia-p'i, and he captured Kuan Yü. He attacked Ch'ang Hsi and destroyed him. Pei fled to Yüan T'an in Ch'ing Province and so joined Yüan Shao. Shao heard that Pei had come, and he came two hundred li out of Yeh to welcome him. Pei stayed at Yeh for a month, and the officers and men he had lost gradually came back to him.

Ts'ao Ts'ao brought his army back to Kuan-tu, and then Shao discussed an attack on Hsü. T'ien Feng said: "Ts'ao Ts'ao has just destroyed Liu Pei, and so the area around Hsü city will no longer be empty. Besides, Ts'ao is extremely good at using soldiers, and you can never tell what he will do next. Though his army is small he cannot be taken lightly. The best thing to do is to keep him at a distance and make him wait. You occupy the strong places of the hills and rivers and you hold the troops of four provinces. Keep contact with other leaders outside and encourage farming in the territory you already possess. Choose your best soldiers and send out raiding parties. Take advantage of his weak points to break through in one place or another and trouble Ho-nan. If he relieves the right, then attack the left; if he sends help to the left, you attack him on the right. Your enemy will be marching backwards and forwards and his people will have no peace. We will not be tired and the others will already be exhausted. In no more than three years you can win without effort. However, if you don't hold on to this plan of definite victory, if you prefer to decide success or failure in a single battle, then it may turn out the way you don't want. You will regret it, but it will be too late." Shao would not follow this. Feng made strong protests to Shao, Shao thought he would upset the morale of the army, and he had him chained up.

Then Shao sent summons for war to provinces and commanderies, listing Ts'ao's crimes and wrong actions, and in the second month he brought his army forward to Li-yang.

As Chü Shou was about to go he called his clansmen together, divided his possessions among them and said: "If we survive, my authority will certainly be recognised everywhere. If we lose, I shall not escape with my life. The pity of it!" His younger brother Tsung said: "Ts'ao Ts'ao's men and horses are no match for ours. Why are you afraid?" Shou said: "Because Ts'ao has clear plans, and because he holds the Son of Heaven. Although we have defeated Po-kuei [i.e. Kung-sun Tsan], our soldiers are tired and worn out, our master is proud and his officers arrogant.

This will cause the destruction of our army. Yang Hsiung had the saying: 'The six kingdoms were foolish and stupid. They weakened the Chi [family of the Chou dynasty] for the Ying [family of Ch'in].'² These are words for the present time."

2026

The General Who Inspires Awe Ch'eng Yü commanded a garrison of seven hundred men at Chüan-ch'eng. Ts'ao Ts'ao wanted to reinforce him with two thousand soldiers, but Yü refused: "Yüan Shao has an army of a hundred thousand men and he is sure that nothing can stand before him. If he sees that I have very few men, he will certainly pay little attention and he won't come to attack. If you add to my soldiers, then if he passes by he is sure to attack, and if he attacks he will certainly win. You and I will both lose strength. I want you to have no doubts." Shao heard that Yü had few soldiers and he really did not come. Ts'ao said to Chia Hsü; "Ch'eng Yü is braver than [Meng] Pen or [Hsia] Yü."³

Yüan Shao sent his officer Yen Liang to attack Liu Yen, the Grand Administrator of Tung commandery at Po-ma. Chü Shao said: "Liang is too careless and impatient. He is brave, but he can't manage by himself." Shao would not agree.

In the summer, in the fourth month, Ts'ao Ts'ao went north to help Liu Yen. Hsun Yu said: "Our soldiers are few and no match for the enemy. In order to win, you must divide our opponents' strength. When you come to the Yen Ford, pretend to send men across the river against his rear. Shao will certainly come west to face them. Then send light troops to Po-ma and surprise the enemy there. Yen Liang can be taken." Ts'ao followed this. When Shao heard that soldiers had crossed the river he immediately detached men to go west and intercept them. Then Ts'ao led his army and made a forced march on Po-ma. They were still more than ten li away when Liang, very startled, came out to fight. Ts'ao sent Chang Liao and Kuan Yü to go ahead and begin the attack. Yü saw Liang's standard in the distance. He whipped his horse and broke through to Liang among the ten thousand men of his army. He cut off Liang's head and came back, and no-one in Shao's army could resist him. So the seige of Po-ma was broken, and the people were shifted west up the Yellow River.

Shao crossed the river to follow them, but Chü Shou objected, saying: "When you're fighting a war, you must be careful to think of every possibility. The best plan now is to stay in camp at the Yen Ford and send an advance guard towards Kuan-tu. If they can capture the place you will still have time to join up with them. However, if you go forward now and then something goes wrong, none of the army will be able to get back." Shao would not agree. Shou came to the crossing and sighed: "The master is too confident, his servants are too ambitious. O, the distant River, why should I cross it?" He pleaded sick and asked to leave. Shao would not allow it and became angry with him. He abolished Shou's command and gave it to Kuo T'u.

2027

Shao's army crossed the Yen Ford, and Ts'ao had his soldiers in camp under the southern slope. He sent men to look out, and they reported: "Some five or six hundred horsemen." After a short time they reported again: "Horsemen gradually increasing; more footsoldiers than can be counted." Ts'ao said: "No more reports." He ordered his cavalry to get down from their saddles and to let the horses go. At this time the baggage from Po-ma was on the road, and all the officers thought that since there were so many enemy horsemen it would be better to go back and guard the camp. Hsün Yu said: "This is a bait for the enemy, how can you leave it?" Ts'ao looked at Yu and laughed. Shao's cavalry officers Wen Ch'ou and Liu Pei led five or six thousand horsemen and came up together. The officers said again: "Now we can mount." Ts'ao said: "Not yet". There was a short pause, the cavalry came up in greater numbers, and some split off to go for the baggage. Ts'ao said: "Now!" and they jumped on their horses. They had less than six hundred men, but they charged at speed and completely defeated the enemy. They took off Ch'ou's head. Ch'ou and Yen Liang had been Shao's most famous leaders, and in two fights they had both been killed. Shao's army was discouraged.

Before this, Ts'ao had always admired Kuan Yü, but he saw from his expression that he was not going to stay long. He sent

Chang Liao to ask Yü about it, and Yü sighed and said: "I know very well how generously Lord Ts'ao has treated me, but I have received favours from General Liu [Pei] and I swore to die with him. I cannot turn away. In the end I must go. I want to repay Lord Ts'ao by some help, and then I will leave." Liao reported to Ts'ao what Yü had said and Ts'ao saw the justice of it. Then Yü killed Yen Liang and Ts'ao knew that he was sure to go. He had given him great rewards, but Yü sealed up everything he had received. Then he wrote in to make his excuses, and he fled to Liu Pei in Yüan's army. Some of the attendants wanted to chase after him, but Ts'ao said: "That man has chosen his master. Let him go."

2028 Ts'ao brought his army back to Kuan-tu, and Yen Jou sent messengers to Ts'ao. Ts'ao made Jou Colonel Protector of the Wu-huan. Hsien-yü Fu came himself to meet Ts'ao at Kuan-tu. Ts'ao made Fu General of the Right Who Crosses the Liao River and sent him back to settle the territory of Yu Province.⁴

Ch'en Teng, the Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling, had his capital at She-yang. When Sun Ts'e went west to attack Huang Tsu, Teng encouraged the remnants of Yen Po-hu's following to make trouble behind Ts'e. Ts'e came back and attacked Teng. His army came to Tan-t'u and he waited there a short time for supplies. Before this, Ts'e had killed Hsü Kung, the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery. Kung's servants and followers had hidden among the people and hoped to avenge him. Ts'e loved to go hunting and he often went out riding. His horse was a very good one, and none of his escort could keep up.

2029 Suddenly he met with three of Kung's men, and they shot him in the jaw. The escort arrived and struck them down and killed them, but Ts'e was badly hurt. He called Chang Chao and others and said: "The nation is in confusion. With the forces of Wu and Yüeh and the security of the three Chiang [the Yangtse], we can look out on other men's success and failure without getting involved. You all try your best to help my younger brother." He called for Ch'üan, put seal and tassel on his belt, and said to him: "To raise the forces east of the Chiang, to decide the opportunities between two battle-lines and to fight for supremacy in the empire; in that you are not so good as I am.

To raise the worthy and give office to able men, so that each man gives all his efforts to keep the east of the Chiang; in that I am not equal to you." On the day ping-wu [5.V] Ts'e died. He was then twenty-six.

Ch'üan cried for grief and would not attend to affairs. Chang Chao said: "Candidate,⁵ is this a time for weeping?" He changed Ch'üan's mourning clothes, helped him to mount a horse, and sent him out to inspect the army. Chao acted as head of the whole administration. Above he reported to the court, and below he controlled the cities, while all the military commanders were ordered to hold their present positions. Chou Yü brought his soldiers from Pa-ch'iu to come to the funeral, and then he stayed in Wu to act as Commissioner over the Army of the Centre,⁶ and shared with Chang Chao in the government. At this time, though Ts'e had held K'uai-chi, Wu commandery, Tan-yang, Yü-chang, Lu-chiang and Lu-ling, there was still some very difficult country which had not been brought fully under control. And there were many refugees, who came or wandered away whenever they thought they would find good government and peace, and who had no sense of loyalty to any ruler. Nevertheless, Chang Chao and Chou Yü believed that with their help Ch'üan could maintain the state. They gave him their allegiance and served him.

2030

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Emperor's son P'ing became King of Nan-yang. On the day jen-wu [9.VIII] P'ing died.

The Yellow Turban rebel of Ju-nan, Liu P'i, turned against Ts'ao Ts'ao to support Yüan Shao. Shao sent Liu Pei to lead soldiers to help P'i, and many of the commanderies and prefectures joined him.

Shao sent a messenger to appoint the Chief Commandant of Yang-an, Li T'ung, as General Who Subdues the South. Liu Piao had also sent him a secret summons. T'ung rejected both of them. Someone urged that he support Shao, but T'ung put his hand to his sword and swore at him; "Lord Ts'ao is wise and he will certainly

settle the empire. Though Shao is strong, Ts'ao will take him in the end. I would not change for my life." He cut off the head of Shao's messenger and sent to Ts'ao the seal and tassel that he had been offered.

T'ung kept particular check of the silk tax from each family. Chao Yen, Chief of Lang-ling, saw T'ung and said: "All the commanderies are in rebellion and only Yang-an is still obedient. Yet you are urging on the collection of silk, and men of mean spirit will be glad to make trouble. Isn't this a bad policy?" T'ung said: "The Duke and Yüan Shao are fighting with all their force and now the commanderies and prefectures have turned away into rebellion. If the silk isn't collected and sent to the capital, those who hear about it are sure to say that my loyalty is doubtful and that I am waiting for the result." Yen said: "This is certainly a worry for you, but you think it over, delay the tax a little, and I will get you out of trouble." He wrote to Hsün Yü to say: "Now the people of Yang-an commandery are poor and distressed, all the neighbouring cities are in rebellion, and the government could easily be destroyed. This is a time of crisis for the region here. Besides, the people of the commandery have held loyal, and even in time of danger they have never been uncertain. I feel that the state should give them some consideration. Yet we still demand the silk tax from them. What sort of encouragement is that?" Yü spoke to Ts'ao, and all the silk was given back to the people. Everyone was pleased and there was peace in the commandery. T'ung attacked the rebels under Ch'ü Kung and defeated them all, and then he settled the territory of the Huai and the Ju.

At this time Ts'ao made new rulings on the collection of revenue, and orders were sent out to the provinces and commanderies. He increased the punishments for failure, and the collection of the silk tax was strictly enforced. The Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-kuang,⁷ Ho K'uei, said to Ts'ao: "The former kings made distinction between their taxation of the nine tributaries, and they took note of distances. They maintained the three rules [of governing according to conditions] of recent pacification, good administration

or rebellions.⁸ I feel that this commandery should come under the rules for distant areas and new states, and the small affairs of the people should be dealt with by their chiefs and civil officers according to circumstances. Above they will not turn away from the correct models, and below they will be in accord with the feelings of the people. In three years, when the people follow their occupations in peace, then you can govern them equally according to law." Ts'ao agreed.

Liu Pei plundered between the Ju and the Ying. South of Hsü city the officers and people were unsettled and Ts'ao was worried about it. Ts'ao Jen said: "The people of the southern districts know that our army is facing a crisis, and they realise we cannot bring help to them. If Liu Pei comes with a strong force it is quite reasonable for them to turn away in rebellion. But Pei has not held command of Shao's soldiers for very long and he hasn't had time to get used to them. If we attack him we can defeat him." So Ts'ao sent Jen to lead cavalry to attack Pei. He defeated him and put him to flight, re-captured all the prefectures that had rebelled, and then came back.

Pei returned to Shao's army, but he secretly wanted to get away, so he spoke to Shao of a southern alliance with Liu Piao. Shao sent Pei back to Ju-nan with his own men and he joined up with a group of bandits under Kung Tu and gathered a force of several thousand men. Ts'ao Ts'ao sent his officer Ts'ai Yang against Pei, but Pei killed him.

Yüan Shao's army came to Yang-wu and Chü Shou said to Shao: "Although the northern armies are numerous, yet their fighting strength and spirit are not so good as the men from the south."⁹ The supplies of the southern armies are few and their stores are not so good as the north. The south want to fight early, the north will gain advantage from delay. You should wait a while. Do nothing for a few weeks." Shao would not agree.

forward. He established a position on some sandhills stretching several tens of li east and west. Ts'ao also spread out his camps to face him.

In the ninth month on the day keng-wu, the first day of the month [26.IX], there was an eclipse of the sun.

Ts'ao Ts'ao brought out soldiers to fight with Yüan Shao, but he had no success and he was forced back to strengthen his own defences. Shao made high towers, raised a hill of earth and shot into the camp. Inside the camp everyone was covered by shields to walk about. Then Ts'ao made 'thunder cars',¹⁰ to fire stones at Shao's towers and destroyed them all. Shao made a tunnel to attack Ts'ao, but Ts'ao dug a long moat inside his walls to block it.

Ts'ao's army was small and his supplies were exhausted, the officers and soldiers were sick and distressed, the people were troubled by the taxation and levies and many turned away to Shao. Ts'ao was worried about it, and he wrote to Hsün Yü to say that he planned to go back to Hsü and make Shao's army come to fight him. Yü replied: "All Shao's armies are collected at Kuan-tu, he wants to settle victory and defeat with you there. You are opposing great strength with great weakness, and if you cannot control him you will be taken. This is the great crisis of the empire. Besides, Shao is a common man's hero, he can collect men but he can't use them. With your uncanny arts of fighting and your clear understanding, and with the help of Heaven's favour; how can you fail? Although your food supplies are low, you are not yet in the straits of Ch'u and Han between Jung-yang and Ch'eng-kao. At that time neither Liu nor Hsiang were willing to be the first to retreat, and they realised that the first to go would lose his power.¹¹ Your command is only a tenth of his, yet you have marked the ground and hold it. You have him by the throat and he cannot get forward, and you have managed that already for half a year. It is becoming obvious that his strength is exhausted and there will certainly be changes. This is the time to use an extraordinary strategy, don't miss your chance." Ts'ao accepted this, strengthened his defences and held on.

Ts'ao went to welcome the men bringing up supplies, and he cheered them and said: "After fifteen days I will defeat Shao for you and I will trouble you no more." Shao's transports came towards Kuan-tu with several thousand waggons of grain, and Hsün Yu said to Ts'ao; "Shao has supply carts arriving very soon. Their leader, Han Meng, is brave but he does not respect his enemies. If we attack him he will be destroyed." Ts'ao said: "Whom can we send?". Yu said: "Hsü Huang can do it." So they sent the Lieutenant-General Hsü Huang of Ho-tung to go with Shih Huan and intercept Meng. They defeated him, put him to flight and burnt the baggage.

In the winter, in the tenth month, Shao brought up more carts with grain supplies, and he had his commanders Ch'un-yü Ch'ung and others, with more than ten thousand soldiers, to escort them. They halted for the night forty li north of Shao's camp. Chü Shou said to Shao: "You should send Chiang Ch'i out separately to intercept Ts'ao's raids." Shao would not agree.

Hsü Yu said: "Ts'ao Ts'ao has few soldiers, and he has brought his whole army to face us. There can't be many of his troops left at Hsü city. If we send a light force to travel at night and make a surprise attack, Hsü can be taken. Once Hsü is captured, then we would hold the Emperor and attack Ts'ao in his name, and Ts'ao would be an outlaw. Even if he was not destroyed, we could make him rush back and forth and we would be sure to defeat him." Shao would not follow this but said: "The main thing is to take Ts'ao first." About this time one of Yu's family disobeyed the law and Shen P'ei arrested him and bound him. Yu was angry and went off to Ts'ao.

Ts'ao heard that Hsü Yu had come, and he came out bare-foot to welcome him, clapped his hand and laughed: "You have come from a long way off. Now I am sure to succeed." They went in and sat down, and Yu said to Ts'ao: "Yüan has a strong army, how can you stand up to it? And what supplies have you?" Ts'ao

said: "We can still manage for a year." Yu said: "That is not true, say it right!" Ts'ao said: "We can last for half a year." Yu said: "Don't you want to defeat Yüan? Why don't you tell the truth?"

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Ts'ao said: "Before, I was joking. We can actually manage for a month. What shall I do?" Yu said: "You are holding alone with an isolated army. There is no help to come from outside and your supplies are already exhausted. This is a very dangerous time. Yüan Shao has more than ten thousand carts of supplies at Ku-shih and Wu-ch'ao,¹² and the escort that is with them is quite unprepared for attack. If you move with light-armed soldiers and come up in surprise you can destroy their stores, and in no more than three days Yüan will be defeated of himself."

Ts'ao was very pleased. He left Ts'ao Hung and Hsün Yu to hold the camp, and he himself took command of five thousand horsemen and footsoldiers. They all used the Yüan army's flags, they gagged the soldiers and tied the horses' mouths, they went out by night and travelled by sidepaths between the roads. The men carried bound firewood. When they were questioned, they explained: "Lord Yüan is afraid Ts'ao may attack his afterguard, and he is sending soldiers to add to their defences." The people who heard this believed it, and they all went on as before. When they arrived they surrounded the camp and raised a great fire and the enemy inside were surprised and confused. When it was light Ch'iung and the others saw that Ts'ao had few soldiers, and they brought out their line of battle before the gates of the camp. Ts'ao attacked at once, Ch'iung retreated to the shelter of the camp, and Ts'ao followed him and attacked him again.

Shao heard that Ts'ao had attacked Ch'iung, and he said to his son T'an: "Just when Ts'ao is defeating Ch'iung, I will take his camp and he will have nothing to come back to." He sent his officers Kao Lan and Chang Ko to attack Ts'ao's camp. Ko said: "If Lord Ts'ao's best soldiers have gone he is sure to defeat Ch'iung. When Ch'iung is defeated then the affair is lost. I beg to go to help him first." Kuo T'u firmly asked to attack Ts'ao's camp. Ko said: "Lord Ts'ao's camp is strong, if we attack it we will certainly not succeed. If

Ch'iong and the others are taken then we will all be captives." Shao sent only light troops to aid Ch'iong and he attacked Ts'ao's camp with his main force. They could not capture it.

Shao's cavalry came to Wu-ch'ao, and some of Ts'ao's attendants said: "The enemy cavalry is coming closer, we ask to send soldiers to hold them off." Ts'ao was angry and said: "When the enemy are behind our backs, then tell me." The soldiers all fought for their lives, and they quickly defeated the enemy. They cut off Ch'iong's head and others, burnt all the supplies, and killed more than a thousand soldiers. They took all their noses and they cut off the lips and tongues of the cattle and the horses to show to Shao's army.

Shao's officers and the soldiers were nervous and fearful. Kuo T'u was ashamed that his plan had failed, and he spoke to Shao against Chang Ko, saying: "Ko is glad at the army's defeat." Ko was angry and afraid, with Kao Lan he burnt the machines of attack and
2035 went to Ts'ao's camp to surrender. Ts'ao Hung was suspicious and unwilling to receive them, but Hsün Yu said: "Ko's plan was not used. He is angry and he has come away. How can you have doubts?" So they allowed them in.

At this Shao's army was startled and upset and came into great confusion. Shao and T'an and a few companions, wearing silk scarves and riding on horses,¹³ crossed the Yellow River with eight hundred cavalry. Ts'ao chased them but failed to catch them. He collected all their baggage, maps and books, and their treasure. All the rest of the army that surrendered were buried alive by Ts'ao. More than seventy thousand men were killed from first to last.

Chü Shou could not cross with Shao. He was captured by Ts'ao's army and cried out loud: "I do not surrender, I have been captured!" Ts'ao knew him before, and he greeted him: "We have been separated under different mansions of the stars, and it is long since our paths have crossed. It is quite unexpected that we should have captured you today." Shou said: "Chi Province [i.e. Yuan Shao] made bad plans and brought defeat upon himself. I was neither intelligent enough nor strong enough and it is fitting that I should be taken." Ts'ao said: "Pen-ch'u had no ideas and

he did not use your advice. There is still disorder and confusion. I would be glad to have your assistance." Shou said: "My uncle, my mother, and my younger brother are all in Yüan's power. I would be obliged if you were kind enough to kill me quickly." Ts'ao sighed and said: "If I had had you early, the empire would have been no worry." He released him and treated him generously, but later Shou planned to go back to Yüan, and then Ts'ao killed him.

2036

Ts'ao collected all Shao's papers, and he got hold of letters from men in Hsü and in his own army. He burnt them all, saying: "When Shao was strong, even I was not sure of myself, how much more my army."

Many of the walled cities in Chi Province surrendered to Ts'ao. Yüan Shao fled to the north bank by Li-yang, and went to the camp of his General Chiang Yi-ch'ü. He took his hand and said: "I am trusting you with my head!" Yi-ch'ü gave up his tent and set him there and asked him to take over the command. When the army heard that Shao was there they gradually came back.

Someone said to T'ien Feng: "You will certainly become important." Feng said: "Our lord may seem lenient, but he never forgets anything. He doesn't trust me and I have several times angered him with advice or warnings. If he had won he would have been pleased and could even have forgiven me. But now the fight is lost and he is angry. He will think back on all his hidden resentment, and I do not expect to live."

Shao's soldiers all beat their breasts and wept and said: "If T'ien Feng had been here we would never have come to this defeat." Shao said to P'ang Chi: "The people of Chi Province have heard that my army is defeated and they should all remember [how they misled] me. My Aide-de-Camp T'ien was the only one who advised me not to go. He didn't agree with the rest of them and I am still ashamed to face him." Chi said: "When Feng heard that you had retreated he clapped his hands and laughed aloud. He was pleased that things had happened as he said." Shao said to his officers: "I did not use T'ien Feng's advice, and so I am to be laughed at by him!" And he killed him. Before this when Ts'ao Ts'ao heard that Feng had not followed on the campaign, he was pleased and said: "Shao is sure to be defeated."

Later, when Shao fled, he said again: "If Shao had used the advice from his Aide-de-Camp, things would have been in the balance even now."

Two sons of Shen P'ei were captured by Ts'ao, and Shao's officer Meng Tai said to Shao: "P'ei is in a position of particular authority and he is a member of a powerful clan. Now his two sons are in the south he is sure to have plans of rebellion." Kuo T'u and Hsin P'ing thought the same. Then Shao made Tai Superintendent of the Army to take P'ei's place in guarding Yeh. The Commissioner over the Army P'ang Chi¹⁴ had always been P'ei's enemy. Shao asked him about it, and Chi said: "P'ei is fiercely upright and always respects the examples of the ancients. He will never turn traitor just because his two sons are in the south. I would wish you to have no doubts." Shao said: "Don't you dislike him?" Chi said: "Our earlier quarrel, that was private. What we are talking about now is an affair of state." Shao said: "Excellent!" and he did not dismiss P'ei. P'ei became friends with Chi after this. Shao gradually attacked and recaptured all the cities of Chi Province that had rebelled against him.

2037

As a man, Shao was generous and elegant. He was able, and neither pleasure nor anger would show on his expression. Yet he was proud, obstinate and self-satisfied, and he seldom followed the best course. So he came to defeat.

In the winter, in the tenth month,¹⁵ on the day hsín-hai [6.XI] there was a comet in Ta-liang.¹⁶

The Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang, Li Shu, had attacked and killed the Inspector of Yang Province Yen Hsiang, and Mei Ch'ien, Lei Hsü and Ch'en Lan of Lu-chiang each collected forces of several ten thousands between the Chiang and the Huai. Ts'ao Ts'ao recommended Liu Fu of P'ei state as Inspector of Yang Province. At that time Yang Province controlled only Chiu-chiang.¹⁷ Fu rode alone to the empty city of Ho-fei and set up the provincial government there. He called to him Ch'ien and Hsü and the others, and they all gave tribute and made alliance. For

several years he acted with grace and honesty, and the wandering people that turned to him were numbered in the tens of thousands. He extended the military colonies, repaired the embankments and earth-dams, and the officers and the people were able to store up supplies. Then he collected teachers and established schools. He raised the walls of the cities and prepared great stocks of wood and stone, making ready for defence in war.

Ts'ao Ts'ao heard that Sun Ts'e had died, and he wanted to take advantage of the mourning to attack them. The Attendant Imperial Clerk Chang Hung¹⁸ protested: "To take advantage of another man's mourning, that is not in the old ways of justice, while if you should fail, you will have made enemies and ended good feeling. The best thing to do is to treat them generously." So Ts'ao recommended Ch'üan as General Who Exterminates the Caitiffs with command as Grand Administrator of K'uai-chi.

038

Ts'ao wanted to send Hung to encourage Ch'üan to close alliance with him, so he made Hung Chief Commandant of the Eastern Region of K'uai-chi.¹⁹ Hung came to Wu, and as Sun Ch'üan's mother thought Ch'üan was too young, she commissioned Hung and Chang Chao to assist him together. Hung had no other thought but to give help in the supervision and to make sure everything was done correctly. Ch'üan's mother asked the Chief Commandant Who Manifests Firmness Tung Hsi of K'uai-chi: "Can we hold the east of the Chiang?" Hsi said: "The east of the Chiang has the security of mountains and rivers, and the good government and virtue of the General Who Exterminates the Rebels [Sun Ts'e] have already attracted the people. The General Who Exterminates the Caitiffs [Sun Ch'üan] can build on these foundations, so that great and small follow his commands. And Chang Chao can look after the affairs of the people, while the other officers like me act as claws and teeth. Then we will have both strategic advantage and popular support, and there will be nothing to worry about." Ch'üan sent Chang Hung to go to his territory. Because Hung had originally received his appointment from the north, some people suspected that his ideas might go further. But Ch'üan would not hear such suggestions.

Lu Su was thinking of going back north, but Chou Yü stopped him, then recommended him to Ch'üan; "Su has ability which can help us. You should make a wide search for men like him to assist your great work." Ch'üan gave audience to Su and was pleased with him. When the other guests had withdrawn he invited Su to stay back, and they sat with their tables together and drank face to face. Ch'üan said: "The Han house is in danger, and I have it in mind to follow the great examples of Huan and Wen.²⁰ How would you help in this?" Su said: "In earlier times, Emperor Kao [of Han] wanted to honour and serve the Provisional Emperor²¹, but he could not manage it. He had Hsiang Yü as a danger. Now Ts'ao Ts'ao is like Hsiang Yü, and how can you manage like Huan and Wen? As I see it, the Han house is fallen forever and Ts'ao Ts'ao is here to stay. Your best plan is to hold the east of the Chiang and watch the battles of the empire. Take advantage of the north's preoccupations, attack Huang Tsu and drive him away, go forward to attack Liu Piao, and then seize the full length of the Long River, this is the task for a king." Ch'üan said: "Now I concentrate all my strength to one purpose: to help and support the house of Han. What you have suggested is far beyond my ability." Chang Chao spoke against Su, saying he was young and irresponsible, but Ch'üan honoured him and respected him more and more, granted him supplies, and Su became as wealthy as he had been before.²²

2039

Ch'üan held examination of those junior officers who had few soldiers and were therefore less useful, and he combined their troops to make larger units. The Major With a Separate Command Lü Meng of Ju-nan had his squadron looking fresh and well-drilled, and his men were trained. Ch'üan was very pleased, added to his soldiers and promoted him.

The Officer of the Department of Merit Lo T'ung urged Ch'üan to honour worthy men, to welcome scholars and to be diligent in seeking advice on proper conduct. On days when there were feasts and rewards each man should be allowed to come forward and have personal audience. He should ask whether his lodgings were dry and comfortable, should show a personal interest,

and encourage him to talk in order to find out what was on his mind. Ch'üan did this. T'ung was the son of Chün.²³

The Grand Administrator of Lu-ling, Sun Fu, was afraid that Ch'üan would not be able to hold the east of the Chiang, and he sent men in secret with letters to call Ts'ao Ts'ao. A messenger came to report this, and Ch'üan beheaded all Fu's close relations, redistributed his personal followers and exiled Fu to the east.

Ts'ao Ts'ao recommended that Hua Hsin be summoned and appointed Gentleman-consultant and Adviser to the Army of the Minister of Works.

Li Shu, the Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang, refused to submit to Ch'üan and several times took in fugitives and rebels against him.²⁴ Ch'üan told Ts'ao Ts'ao of the situation and said: "Inspector Yen [Hsiang] was appointed by you earlier, and Li Shu harmed him. This was a wanton criminal act. He should be punished and destroyed quickly. Shu is sure to seek help once more, on false pretences. You hold the position of O-heng,²⁵ you are respected by all within the seas; I would wish that you instruct your officers to pay no attention to him." Then he raised troops and attacked Shu at Wan city. Shu asked help from Ts'ao but Ts'ao sent none. Then they stormed the city, cut off Shu's head and exposed it, and took over his forces, more than twenty thousand men.

Liu Piao attacked Chang Hsien,²⁶ but for several years he could make no headway. Then, while Ts'ao Ts'ao was facing Yüan Shao and had no opportunity to help him, Hsien became ill and died. The people of Ch'ang-sha set up his son Yi to succeed him. Piao attacked Yi and also Ling-ling and Kuei-yang and conquered all of them. Piao's territory now extended over several thousand li, his men at arms were more than a hundred thousand. He no longer sent up the tribute of an official, he held state sacrifice and worship to Heaven and Earth and in his lodging and clothing he usurped the regalia of an emperor.

Because Liu Chang was dull and weak, Chang Lu²⁷ refused to take his orders, but attacked his Major With a Separate Command Chang Hsiu, killed him and took over his army. Liu Chang was angry and killed Lu's mother and younger brother. Then Lu seized Han-chung

and made war on Chang. Chang sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household P'ang Hsi to attack him, but without success. Then Chang appointed Hsi Grand Administrator of Pa commandery, to camp at Lang-chung and oppose Lu. Hsi, on his own authority, recruited the Tsung people of Han-ch'ang as soldiers.²⁸ Someone spoke to Chang against Hsi and Chang became suspicious of him. Chao Wei protested several times, but his advice was not heeded, and he too became angry and resentful.

Before this time, several tens of thousands of families from Nan-yang and the Three Adjuncts had wandered into Yi Province. Liu Yen had made them all soldiers, and called them the Tung-chou troops.²⁹ Chang was lenient and weak and had no authority, and when the Tung-chou troops plundered and oppressed the local people he could do nothing to prevent it. Chao Wei had gained the people's affections in the past. He now took advantage of the local resentment and made a rebellion, leading several tens of thousands of soldiers to attack Chang. He gave large bribes to Ching Province [i.e. Liu Piao] and made an alliance with him. Shu commandery, Kuang-han and Chien-wei all joined him.

Chien-an 6th year [21.I.201-11.II.202]:

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In the spring, in the third month, on the day ting-mao [22.III?], the first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.¹

Ts'ao Ts'ao went to gather grain at An-min.² He planned to follow his victory over Yüan Shao with an attack on Liu Piao, but Hsun Yü said: "Shao has just been defeated, and his followers will be discontented. You should follow your advantage and finish with him for good. Yet now you plan to lead the army away to the south. If Shao collects the remnants of his troops and attacks you from behind, you will be done for." So Ts'ao gave up the idea.

In the summer, in the fourth month, Ts'ao manoeuvred his troops along the Yellow River. He attacked Yüan Shao's army at Ts'ang-t'ing and defeated it.

In the autumn, in the ninth month, Ts'ao came back to Hsü.

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Ts'ao led his army to attack Liu Pei in Ju-nan, and Pei fled to Liu Piao. Kung Tu and the others were all scattered. When Piao heard that Pei had arrived he came himself to welcome him outside the city, and he treated him as an honoured guest. He gave Pei extra soldiers and sent him to camp at Hsin-yeh. Pei stayed in Ching Province for several years. On one occasion he was in attendance on Piao and he got up and went to the lavatory, and when he came back he was weeping. Piao was surprised and asked him about it. Pei said: "I never used to leave the saddle, and my thighs were all thin. Now I ride no longer, and they have become fat and flabby. The days and months are like a stream and old age will come, but I have achieved nothing. That is why I am sad."

Ts'ao Ts'ao had sent Hsia-hou Yüan and Chang Liao to besiege Ch'ang Hsi in Tung-hai. After several months their food supplies were finished, and they discussed whether to bring their army home. Liao said to Yüan: "For the last several days, whenever I have walked about the camp Hsi has looked at me very carefully, and there have not been many shots fired. This surely means that Hsi is undecided

and he does not have his heart in the fight. I want to get to talk to him, and maybe I can win him over." He sent someone to say to Hsi: "The Duke [Ts'ao] has a message and has told me to hand it to you." Then Hsi did come down and talk to Liao, and Liao told of Ts'ao's brilliant strategy, how he embraced all the world with his virtue, and how those who joined him early would receive great rewards. So Hsi promised to surrender. Then Liao alone and unescorted went up the San-kung Hill and into Hsi's house to pay his respects to his wife and children. Hsi was pleased and followed Liao to Ts'ao. Ts'ao sent him back [to Tung-hai].

Chao Wei besieged Liu Chang in Ch'eng-tu. The Tung-chou men were afraid they would be punished and destroyed, and they joined forces [with Chang]. So Wei was driven back, and they chased him to Chiang-chou and there they killed him. P'ang Hsi became frightened, and he sent his subordinate Ch'eng Ch'i to go to his father Ch'eng Chi, the Prefect of Han-ch'ang, with orders to send the Tsung soldiers. Chi replied [to his son]: "None of our people have caused any trouble, and no matter what slanders are spoken [to Liu Chang], we must be sure to stay absolutely loyal. If [P'ang Hsi] has any plans for rebellion, I would never dare to follow him," Hsi sent Ch'i a second time to argue with his father, but Chi said: "I have received favour from the Governor [Liu Chang], and I will always remain loyal to him. You are an officer in a commandery, and you should obviously do everything you can for the Grand Administrator. But it is better to die than do something dishonourable." P'ang Hsi became angry and he sent a messenger to Chi to say: "Unless you obey your Grand Administrator, misfortune will come to your family." Chi answered: "When Yüeh Yang ate his child, it was not that he lacked the feelings of a father for his son. There were greater principles at stake that forced him to do such a thing. Even if you made Ch'i into a soup, I would still drink it."³ Then Hsi offered full apologies to Liu Chang and made his peace with him. Chang promoted Chi as Grand Administrator of Chiang-yang.⁴

The court heard that there was trouble in Yi Province. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes Niu Tan was made Inspector of Yi Province and Chang was summoned to become a minister. He refused the appointment.

Chang Lu taught the people superstition. He made those who were sick confess their sins and said prayers for them. In reality, it was no help in curing them, but ignorant masses, confused and foolish, struggled with one another to serve him. Those who offended the laws were allowed three pardons before they were punished. He did not appoint prefects or civil officers, but all were governed by Libationers.⁵ The people and the barbarians were pleased with this, and none of the refugees that came to live in this area dared to disobey his teachings. Later, he attacked and occupied Pa commandery. The court was not strong enough to fight against him, so he was given the title of General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Maintains the People in Peace, and also appointed Grand Administrator of Han-ning.⁶ He sent up tribute, but that was all.

Some of the people came upon a jade seal in the ground, and his followers wanted to honour Lu as King of Han-ning. His Officer of the Department of Merit Yen P'u of Pa-hsi objected: "The people of the Han valley are more than a hundred thousand households. They are prosperous and the soil is rich, on four sides we have strong barriers against attack. If you give aid to the Son of Heaven on the one hand, then you will be playing the part of Huan and Wen. The next best would be to emulate Tou Jung, and you will never lack for wealth or honour."⁷ Now you have the authority to make appointments and you have sufficient power to keep your independence. You have no need for the title of king, and I would wish you not to take it at this time, for you will bring down misfortune if you do." Lu followed this.

2044 In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Ts'ao brought his army to Ch'iao, then to Chün-yi, and he set the Sui-yang Canal in order.¹ He sent messengers to make great sacrifice to Ch'iao Hsüan,² and then he brought the army forward to Kuan-tu.

After his army had been defeated, Yüan Shao was ashamed and angry. He became ill and spat blood and in the summer, in the fifth month, he died.

Before this, Shao had three sons, T'an, Hsi and Shang. Shang was the favourite of Shao's later wife of the Liu clan, and she often praised him to Shao. Shao planned to appoint him his successor, but he had not yet said so openly. He had T'an succeed to the inheritance of his [Shao's] elder brother, and sent him out as Inspector of Ch'ing Province. Chu Shou objected: "There is a common saying that if ten thousand men chase a hare, and one man catches it, the greedy ones will all stop. That is because the thing is settled. T'an is the eldest son, and he should be your successor, but you are sending him away. Trouble will come from this." Shao said: "I want to have each of my sons govern a province in order to see who is the best." Then he made his middle son Hsi Inspector of Yu Province and his sister's son Kao Kan Inspector of Ping Province.

P'ang Chi and Shen P'ei had always been on bad terms with T'an but Hsin P'ing and Kuo T'u both supported T'an, and they had a feud with P'ei and Chi. When Shao died, everyone wanted to set up T'an, since he was the eldest son. P'ei and his party were afraid that T'an would succeed and that P'ing and the others would do them harm. So they forged a will of Shao appointing Shang as his successor. When T'an arrived he failed to gain the inheritance, and he went to camp at Li-yang and styled himself General of Chariots and Cavalry. Shang gave him a few soldiers and sent P'ang Chi to stay with him. T'an asked for more soldiers, but Shen P'ei and the others advised Shang not to give them to him. T'an was angry and killed P'ang Chi.

In the autumn, in the ninth month, Ts'ao Ts'ao crossed the Yellow River and attacked T'an. T'an reported to Shang that he was in trouble. Shang left Shen P'ei to hold Yeh and came himself to help T'an against Ts'ao. T'an and Shang were defeated in one battle after another, and they retreated to positions of defence.

Shang sent Kuo Yüan, his Grand Administrator of Ho-tung, to join with Kao Kan and the Southern Shan-yü of the Hsiung-nu in an attack on that commandery. He sent messengers to make alliance with Ma T'eng and the other leaders within the passes, and T'eng and the others gave secret promises. Every city that Yüan passed fell to him, and only the civil officer of Ho-tung commandery, Chia K'uei, held out in Chiang. Yüan attacked it fiercely, and when the city was about to fall some elders made an agreement with Yüan that they would surrender if he would promise not to harm K'uei. Yüan agreed. He wanted to make K'uei one of his officers, and he took a sword to threaten him. K'uei made no move. The attendants brought K'uei to make the kow-tow, but K'uei swore at them and said: "Why should an officer of the empire bow to a brigand?" Yüan was angry and was going to kill him. Someone laid his body across K'uei and asked that he give pardon. The officers and people in Chiang heard that he was going to kill K'uei, and they climbed on the city walls and cried: "If Kuo Yüan turns his back on the agreement and kills our worthy ruler, then it would be better that we all die." So he put K'uei in prison at Hu-kuan, shut him into a dungeon and closed the top with a cartwheel. K'uei said to his guards: "Is there ~~no~~-one strong here, that you should let a good man die in this?" A certain Chu Kung-tao happened to hear what he said. He came by night, stole in, brought K'uei out and broke his fetters and sent him to escape. He would not [at that time] give his name.

Ts'ao Ts'ao sent the Colonel Director of the Retainers Chung Yao to besiege the Southern Shan-yü at P'ing-yang, but the relief arrived before they had captured the place. Yao sent the Prefect of Hsin-feng, Chang Chi of P'ing-yi, to win Ma T'eng over. T'eng was uncertain and could not decide who to fight for. Fu Kan

said to him: "The men of the past had the saying; 'The one that accords with virtue will prosper, and the one that opposes virtue will lose.'³ Lord Ts'ao supports the Emperor and punishes cruelty and rebellion. His laws are clear and his government is ordered. High and low follow his commands. You could say that he follows the true Way. The Yüan rely on their strength, and they turn their backs on the royal commands. They urge on barbarians to oppress China. You can say that they oppose virtue. Now you have always given loyal service but you have not always used your full strength.⁴ You have kept in touch privately with both sides and you hope to sit back and watch the result. I am afraid that when everything is decided there will be accusations made and punishments carried out, and you will be among the first to be executed!" T'eng was frightened. Then Kan said: "A man that is wise can change bad fortune into good. Now Lord Ts'ao is at grips with the Yüan, and Kao Kan and Kuo Yüan have attacked Ho-tung together. Although Lord Ts'ao has planned for every possibility, he cannot be certain that Ho-tung will be safe. If you send soldiers to attack Kuo Yüan, he will be attacked on two sides [with the forces of Ho-tung and with your own], and his army is sure to be taken. By this one blow you will cut off an arm of the Yüan clan and free a whole district from peril. Lord Ts'ao will certainly feel most grateful to you, and nothing could rival your fine reputation." So T'eng sent his son Ch'ao with more than ten thousand men to join Chung Yao.

Before this, all the officers wanted to abandon P'ing-yang because Kuo Yüan's army was so strong. Chung Yao said: "The Yüan are strong and Kuo Yüan is coming against us. The people inside the passes are in secret communication with him, but the only reason they haven't rebelled is that they still respect our authority. If we give up and go away it will show them that we are weak, and all the people will turn against us. Even if we wanted to go back, how could we make it? This would be defeating ourselves without even fighting. Besides, Kuo Yüan is an unimaginative fellow and he is used to victory. He will

certainly think little of our army. If he crosses the Fen River to camp, and we attack him while he is part-way across, then we can give him a great defeat." Yüan came up, and he really did march straight ahead to cross the Fen. People tried to stop him but he wouldn't listen. While they were still half-way across Yao attacked them and completely defeated them. When the fighting was ended the men of the army all said that Yüan was dead, but they couldn't find his head. Kuo Yüan was Chung Yao's nephew. After dark, P'ang Te of Nan-an, who was a colonel under Ma Ch'ao, brought out a head from his quiver. Yao saw it and wept. Te apologised to Yao, but Yao said: "Though Yüan was my nephew, he was an enemy of the state. What have you to apologise for?" After this, the Southern Shan-yü also surrendered.

1047 Liu Piao sent Liu Pei to make raids in the north. He came to She, and Ts'ao Ts'ao sent Hsia-hou Tun, Yü Chin and other generals to oppose him. Pei suddenly set fire to his camp and went off. Tun and the others set out in pursuit, but the Major-General Li Tien of Chü-lu said: "The enemy had no reason to run away, and I am sure they will lay an ambush. The road to the south is very narrow and the trees and bushes are thick. You shouldn't follow him." Tun and the others refused to listen, and they set Tien to stay behind as guard while they followed the chase. They really did fall into an ambush and their soldiers were completely defeated. Tien went to rescue them, and then Pei went back.

Ts'ao Ts'ao sent a letter to ask Sun Ch'üan to send a son as hostage. Ch'üan called all his ministers into conference. Chang Chao and Ch'in Sung and others were uncertain and could not decide. Ch'üan brought Chou Yü to talk about it to the Lady Wu. Yü said: "In the past, when the Ch'ü state was first made a fief, it had not so much as a hundred li of territory. The men that succeeded to the state were worthy and able. They enlarged the territory and expanded the borders and so they held Ching and Yang as far as the southern sea.⁵ The work was handed on and the fortune continued for more than nine hundred years. Now you have inherited the property of your father and your brother and the people of all six commanderies.⁶ Your soldiers

are good, you have plenty of supplies, and your officers and men obey your commands. You can get copper from the hills and salt from the sea. There is wealth and abundance within your borders and the people have no thought of rebellion. What can threaten you? Why should you send hostages? Once hostages have gone, you will be compelled to stay in close alliance with Ts'ao, and once you are in close alliance, you will be always at his beck and call. In this way you will be under another man's control, and in the end you will have nothing more than the seal of a marquis, ten servants or so, a few chariots and a few horses. Is this the same as a seat facing south and the style of 'the solitary man'?⁷ The best thing to do is to refuse his demand and sit quiet to see what happens. If Ts'ao can lead the loyal men and set the empire to rights there will be plenty of time for you to join him. If he plans oppression and disorder, he will destroy himself very quickly. How can he harm us?" The Lady Wu said: "Kung-chin's advice is right. Kung-chin is the same age in years as Po-fu [i.e. Sun Ts'e], and only one month younger. I look at him as a son, and you should respect him as an elder brother." So Ch'üan sent no hostages.

2048 Chien-an 8th year [31.I.203-17.II.204]:

In the spring, in the second month, Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked Li-yang, and fought with Yüan T'an and Yüan Shang below the walls. T'an and Shang were defeated and fled, and they went back to Yeh.

In the summer, in the fourth month, Ts'ao pursued them to Yeh, and he gathered their harvest. All his officers wanted to follow up their victory and make an attack, but Kuo Chia said: "Yüan Shao loved these two sons, but neither was set up as his heir. Now they are rivals for power, and each has his own party. If we press them hard they will protect one another, but if we go easily they will begin to quarrel. The best thing to do is go south against Ching Province and wait for something to happen.

When they fall out we can attack them and take over at a single blow."

Ts'ao said: "Excellent!"

In the fifth month Ts'ao went back to Hsü, leaving his officer Chia Hsin in camp at Li-yang.

T'an said to Shang: "My equipment is no good. That was why Ts'ao Ts'ao defeated me. Now that Ts'ao's army is in retreat his men will be thinking of going home, and if we take out soldiers to surprise him before he is across [the Yellow River] we can completely upset him. We mustn't miss this chance." Shang had doubts, and he gave him no extra soldiers. Nor did he change his equipment. T'an was very angry. Then Kuo T'u and Hsin P'ing said to T'an: "The thing that made your father send you away and make you heir to your uncle, that was Shen P'ei's planning." T'an brought soldiers to attack Shang, and they fought outside the gates [of Yeh city]. T'an was defeated and brought his soldiers back to Nan-p'i.

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The Aide-de-Camp Wang Hsiu of Pei-hai led civil officers and people from Ch'ing Province to help T'an, and T'an planned to go back again to attack Shang. Hsiu said: "Elder and younger brothers are like left and right hands. If a man is going to fight, and he cuts off his right hand and says, 'I am certain to win', how will that work? If you cannot have affection for your brother, how will the empire have any affection for either of you? There are people who speak slander and want to gain a short-term advantage by involving you in a family quarrel, but I beg you to close your ears and not to listen. If you two would cut the heads off some of your false ministers and become friends again, you could control the whole country and act in the empire as you please." T'an would not follow. T'an's officer Liu Hsün raised troops at T'a-yin to oppose T'an and all the other cities joined him. T'an sighed and said: "Now a whole province has rebelled. What do I do wrong?" Wang Hsiu said: "Kuan T'ung is the Grand Administrator of Tung-lai. Although he is on the coast, this man has not rebelled. He will certainly come to help." About ten days later T'ung really did leave his wife and children and came to help T'an. His wife and children were killed by bandits. T'an made T'ung Grand Administrator of Lo-an.

In the autumn, in the eighth month, Ts'ao attacked Liu Piao and his army came to Hsi-p'ing.

Yüan Shang led an attack on Yuan T'an and completely defeated him. T'an fled to P'ing-yüan and closed the city in a firm defence. Shang besieged him tightly. T'an sent Hsin P'ing's younger brother P'i to go to Ts'ao Ts'ao and ask for help.

2050 Liu Piao sent a letter to T'an to protest: "When a gentleman is in difficulty he does not join up with an enemy state:¹ when a friendship comes to an end, you shouldn't abuse your former comrades.² How can you turn to your father's enemy and abandon your own family? You act against the moral teachings of all the ages and you bring shame on me as sharer in the oath.³ Even if Chi-chou [i.e. Shang] acts insolently and fails to behave as a younger brother, you should still bend your will and lower your body, and think only of bringing the affair to success. After things are settled, have the empire decide the rights and wrongs. Isn't that the most honourable thing to do?" He wrote to Shang and said: "Metal and wood, water and fire, they complement one another by their opposites; only when they have been brought into agreement can they be used by men.⁴ Ch'ing-chou [i.e. T'an] is sensitive and hasty, and he is confused about right and wrong, but you should be broadminded and more than generous. You should be big enough to make allowances for his weaknesses and forgive his misconduct. First get rid of Ts'ao Ts'ao and destroy your father's enemy. When that is done, then you discuss the case properly. Isn't that best? Unless you change your mind, even the barbarians will despise you, and how can I, sharer in the oath, send soldiers to help you in your wars? This is the way that Han Lu and Tung-kuo kept each other occupied and so fell prey to an old peasant."⁵ Neither T'an nor Shang would follow.

Hsin P'i came to Hsi-p'ing. He saw Ts'ao Ts'ao and gave him T'an's message. Many of the attendants held that Liu Piao was strong and that he should be settled first, while T'an and Shang were not enough to bother about. Hsün Yu said: "Things are happening everywhere in the empire, but Liu Piao just keeps

position between the Chiang and the Han. You can see that he has no ambitions anywhere else. The Yüan hold the territory of four provinces and they have nearly half a million men at arms. Shao gained the people's affections by his leniency, and if his two sons would agree and keep the inheritance there would be no end to trouble in the empire. Now the brothers have fallen out and they do not join forces. If they stuck together they would be hard to deal with, but if you take them while they are squabbling then the whole empire can be settled. We musn't lose this chance." Tsao agreed.

A few days later Ts'ao had changed his mind. He now planned to settle Ching Province first, and leave T'an and Shang to wear one another out. Hsin P'i was constantly watching Ts'ao's expression and he realised what he was thinking, so he spoke to Kuo Chia. Chia told Ts'ao, and Ts'ao said to P'i: "Can I trust T'an? Is Shang certain to be defeated?" P'i replied: "Your excellency has no need to worry about T'an's loyalty, you need only consider his military strength. When the Yüan brothers began to fight one another, they never thought they were leaving an opening for anyone else. They think they're going to settle the empire between themselves, but now that one of them has suddenly asked for your help, you can see from this [that they are weak]. Hsien-fu [i.e. Shang] has Hsien-ssu [i.e. T'an] in trouble, but he cannot defeat him. This is because his strength is already exhausted. Their men-at-arms are defeated outside, their ministers of counsel are killed within, the brothers slander and quarrel with each other. Their state is divided into two and they have been at it for a year. Their soldiers' clothes have lice, there is drought, there are locusts and there is famine everywhere. Disaster comes from above, and the affairs of men are fallen in chaos. Anyone can see they are done for. This is the time that Heaven has abandoned Yüan Shang. If you attack Yeh now, Shang must go back to protect his base. When he goes back, T'an will follow on his heels. With your authority, attacking an enemy distressed and desperate, striking against a rebel discouraged and weary, it will be like a stray wind moving the autumn leaves. Heaven has given Shang into your hands.

But if you should neglect this and attack Ching Province! Ching Province is flourishing and content and has a unified government. Chung-hui once said: 'Take the disordered ones and harass the ones that are going to ruin.'⁶ The two Yüan pay no attention to strategy abroad, but they make plans against one another within their own camps. They can be called disordered. The settled folk have no food, the refugees have no provisions. They can be called ruined. In the morning they cannot be sure of the evening, and the people have no means to sustain their lives. However, if you should fail to bring them comfort now and prefer to wait another year, then next harvest there will be grain, and the enemy will realise his mistakes. They will reform their government and revive their virtue and you will have lost the opportunity to use your soldiers. Follow his request and bring him help; nothing could be better for you. Of all your enemies none is greater than those to the north of the Yellow River, and with the north of the River under control then your imperial army will have gained full strength, and all the empire will be shaken." Ts'ao said: "Excellent!" and he promised peace to T'an.

2052

In the winter, in the tenth month, Ts'ao came to Li-yang. Shang heard that Ts'ao had crossed the Yellow River, and he broke off the siege of P'ing-yüan and went back to Yeh. Shang's officers Lü K'uang and Kao Hsiang rebelled and turned to Ts'ao. Ts'ao, but then T'an arranged for generals' seals to be carved in secret and sent them to K'uang and Hsiang. Ts'ao realised T'an was dishonest, but to set T'an's mind at rest he had his son Ts'ao Cheng take T'an's daughter in marriage, and then he led his army back.

Sun Ch'üan went west to attack Huang Tsu. He destroyed Tsu's fleet and only his fortress still held out. Then the hills bandits made another rebellion and Ch'üan had to go back. He went past Yü-chang, and he sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Subdues the Caitiffs Lü Fan to pacify Po-yang.⁷ He sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Terrifies Criminals Ch'eng P'u to attack Lo-an. T'ai-shih Tz'u,

the Chief Commandant of Chien-ch'ang, took command at Hai-hun, sending the Majors With Separate Commands Huang Kai, Han Tang, Chou T'ai and Lü Meng to occupy the important cities as prefects and chiefs and to attack the Shan-yüeh. All were pacified. The people of Chien-an, Han-hsing and Nan-p'ing made trouble, and each district had more than ten thousand men. Ch'üan sent Ho Ch'i, the Chief Commandant of the Southern Region from K'uai-chi, to go forward and attack them.⁸ He pacified all of them, he re-established the prefectures and cities and he levied ten thousand soldiers. He was promoted to Colonel Who Pacifies the East.

Chien-an 9th year [18.II.204-6.II.205]:

In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Ts'ao crossed the Yellow River. He dammed the Ch'i River into the Po Canal to make a road for his supplies.¹

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In the second month Yüan Shang made another attack on Yüan T'an at P'ing-yüan, leaving his officers Shen P'ei and Su Yu to hold Yeh. Ts'ao Ts'ao brought his army forward to the Yüan River.² Su Yu was going to change sides, but the plan was discovered and he fled to Ts'ao. Ts'ao came forward to Yeh and made hills and tunnels to attack it.

Yin K'ai, Shang's Chief of Wu-an, held a camp at Mao-ch'eng to keep the supply road open from Shang-tang. In the summer, in the fourth month, Ts'ao left Ts'ao Hung to face Yeh and went himself to attack K'ai. He defeated him and came back. He also attacked Shang's officer Chü Ku at Han-tan and captured that city.

Han Fan, Prefect of Yi-yang, and Liang Ch'i, Chief of She,³ both surrendered with their prefectures. Hsü Huang said to Ts'ao: "The Yüan are not yet defeated, so all the cities that are thinking of surrender will be listening carefully for news of your decision. You should reward the two prefectures generously to encourage the others." Ts'ao followed this advice, and Fan and Ch'i were both honoured as Marquises of the Imperial Domain. Chang Yen, the leader

of the Black Mountain bandits, sent a messenger to Ts'ao to ask for support, and Ts'ao appointed him General Who Pacifies the North.

In the fifth month Ts'ao destroyed his hills and tunnels, and he dug a moat of forty li right around the city [of Yeh]. At first he had it made shallow, to look as if it could easily be crossed. P'ei looked at it, laughed, and made no move to attack. Then during a single night Ts'ao dug it further, twenty feet wide and twenty feet deep, and he channelled in the water of the Chang River.⁴ More than half the people in the city died from starvation.

2054 In the autumn, in the seventh month, Shang led more than ten thousand men back to the relief of Yeh. Before they arrived, he wanted to have Shen P'ei know about the situation, and he sent his Master of Records Li Fu of Chü-lu to go ahead into the city. Fu broke his staff of authority and tied it at the side of his horse, and he put on a flat-topped turban and he led three horsemen. He went by night to Yeh, he called himself a Chief Controller and passed through the northern camps of the siege, following the signposts towards the east. Every once in a while he gave reprimands to the officers and men on sentry duty and punished them according to their faults.⁵ In this way he passed through Ts'ao's camp and came to the south of the siege emplacements opposite the Chang Gate.⁶ Once again, he found fault with the men on guard, and he arrested them and tied them up. Then he broke away from Ts'ao's lines, rode quickly to the walls and called to the men above. The men on the walls drew him up with a rope, and so he got in. When Shen P'ei and the others saw Fu, they wept for joy and the drums were sounded and they called out "Ten thousand years!" When the news of that came to Ts'ao's army, Ts'ao just laughed and said: "It's not only a matter of getting in; he will soon come out again." Fu realised that the guard outside would now be tighter and he would not be able to play the same trick. He asked P'ei to send all the old people and the weak people out of the city in order to save food.

During the night, they chose several thousand people, made them all carry white flags and sent them off from three gates to surrender. Once again, Fu led his three horsemen. They wore the same clothes as the people that were surrendering, and they went out with them and disappeared into the dark. In this way they broke through the siege and got away.

When Shang's soldiers were coming all the officers said: "This is an army coming home, and they will be fighting for themselves. The best thing to do is to keep away from them."⁷ Ts'ao said: "If Shang comes by the main road we should keep away from him, but if he comes through the western hills we have got him."⁸ Shang came through the western hills, moved east to Yang-p'ing village, seventeen li from Yeh, and made camp by the Fu River.⁹ He lit a fire in the night to be a signal to the city, and the people in the city lit another fire in reply. Intending to join Shang and break up the siege, P'ei made a sortie to the north of the city. Ts'ao faced him and attacked him and he was defeated and went back. Shang was also defeated, and he fled to Ch'ü-chang¹⁰ and made a fortified camp. Ts'ao laid siege to him, but before he had closed the ring Shang became frightened and sent messengers to ask to surrender. Ts'ao would not accept and besieged him still more closely. Shang made his escape by night and took refuge at Ch'i Mountain.¹¹ Ts'ao went forward and besieged him again. Shang's officers Ma Yen and Chang Yi and others came to surrender. Shang's forces were completely scattered, and he fled to Chung-shan. They got all his baggage, his seal and tassel and his insignia and his clothing, and they showed these to the people in the city [of Yeh]. The defenders were very discouraged, but Shen P'ei gave an order to his soldiers: "Hold firm and fight to the end! Ts'ao's army is in trouble and Yu-chou [i.e. Yüan Hsi] is almost here. You need not worry that you have lost your leader." When Ts'ao came out to inspect the siege-works, P'ei had concealed cross-bows to shoot at him, and they only just missed.

P'ei's nephew, [Shen] Jung, was Colonel at the eastern gate. In the eighth month, on the day wu-yin. [13.IX], Jung opened the gates at night and let Ts'ao's soldiers in. P'ei fought them in the streets, but Ts'ao's men captured him alive.

Hsin P'ing's family were held in the jail at Yeh and Hsin P'i rode there at once to set them free, but P'ei had already killed them. Ts'ao's soldiers had tied P'ei up, and as they brought him to their tents they met up with P'i. P'i slashed P'ei across the face with a whip and cursed him and said: "You slave, now you will die." P'ei looked at him and said: "Dog, it is only through you that my Chi-chou has been destroyed. I wish I could kill you. In any event, you will have no say whether I live or die." A little while later Ts'ao had him brought in, and he said to P'ei: "When I was riding around a while ago you fired a lot of shots at me!" P'ei said: "I am sorry they were too few!" Ts'ao said: "You were loyal to the Yüan, what else could you do?" He wanted to let him live, but P'ei was firm and proud and would neither bend nor make excuses, and Hsin P'i and the others never ceased to beg and weep [for his death]. So he was executed. Chang Tsu-ch'ien was a man from Chi Province who had surrendered earlier, and he had long
2056 been an enemy of P'ei. He laughed and said to P'ei: "Cheng-nan, I've done better than you have." P'ei spoke harsh and said: "You are a captive and I am a loyal minister. Even though I must die, I wouldn't change places with you." When he came to execution he swore at the man with the axe and demanded to be allowed to face north, saying: "My master is out there."

Ts'ao went to make sacrifice at Yüan Shao's grave, and he wept for him so that the tears flowed. He comforted Shao's wife, gave their treasures back to his family, and presented them with silk and cloth. They were also given an allowance of grain from the government.

Before this, when Yüan Shao and Ts'ao Ts'ao raised soldiers together [against Tung Cho in 190], Shao had asked Ts'ao: "If this affair should fail, what district would you take?" Ts'ao said. "What would be your idea?" Shao said: "In the south I would hold the Yellow River and in the north I would reach to Yen and Tai. Then I could bring in the barbarians of the north and face south to fight for the empire. That ought to work."

Ts'ao said: "I would use the wise men and the strong men of the empire, and I would govern them loyally and honestly. That way, I could manage anything."

In the ninth month an edict put Ts'ao in command as Governor of Chi Province, but Ts'ao relinquished that office and went back to be Governor of Yen Province.

Before this, Yüan Shang had sent his Attendant Official Ch'ien Chao of An-p'ing to go to Shang-tang and organise the supplies for his army. Before he got back, Shang had fled to Chung-shan. Chao suggested to Kao Kan that they should bring the forces of Ping Province to receive Shang, and then combine their strengths to watch events. Kan would not agree, so Chao went east to join Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ts'ao re-appointed him Attendant Official of Chi Province, and he also appointed Ts'ui Yen as Aide-de-Camp.

Ts'ao said to Yen: "I looked at the household registers, and there are just on three hundred thousand families. This is a big province." Yen replied: "All the empire is fallen asunder, and the two Yüan brothers took up arms against one another. All those people of Chi, their bones were left bleaching in the wilderness. I haven't heard you make any inquiries about the customs of the people nor how you can help them in their distress. Instead, you make calculations about the numbers of their armed men, and you really think that is the most important question. Is this what the men and women of my province must expect from you?" Ts'ao looked shamefaced, and thanked him.

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Because of his good work, Hsü Yu acted proudly and arrogantly. There was a time that he was present in open assembly, and he called Ts'ao by his childhood name and said:¹² "If it hadn't been for me you would never have taken Chi Province." Ts'ao laughed and said: "You're right," but he was really rather annoyed, and in the end he killed him.

In the winter, in the tenth month, there was a comet in Tung-ching.¹³

Kao Kan surrendered Ping Province. Ts'ao re-appointed him as Inspector.

While Ts'ao Ts'ao had been besieging Yeh, Yüan T'an had turned away and seized Kan-ling, An-p'ing, Po-hai and Ho-chien. He attacked Yüan Shang at Chung-shan. Shang was defeated and fled to Yüan Hsi at Ku-an. T'an collected all his forces and came back to camp at Lung-ts'ou. Ts'ao wrote to T'an and accused him of breaking their agreement. He cancelled the marriage alliance, sent back T'an's daughter, and moved to the attack.

In the twelfth month Ts'ao's army was at Ch'i-men. T'an captured P'ing-yüan but then went back to hold Nan-p'i and set his camp at the Ch'ing River. Ts'ao re-entered P'ing-yüan and restored general authority over all the prefectures.

Ts'ao recommended Kung-sun Tu as General Who is Firm and Majestic with enfeoffment as Marquis of Yung-ning district. Tu said: "I rule over Liao-tung like a king. What's this Yung-ning place?" He stored the seal and tassel in his arsenal. In this same year Tu died and was succeeded by his son K'ang. K'ang enfeoffed his younger brother Kung as Marquis of Yung-ning district.

Since Ch'ien Chao had held command of the Wu-huan for the Yüan family Ts'ao now sent him to Liu-ch'eng to keep the barbarians under control. Just at that time King Ch'iao had five thousand horsemen ready to help Yüan T'an, and Kung-sun K'ang also had sent Han Chung to grant King Ch'iao the insignia of Shan-yü. King Ch'iao held a great assembly of his leaders, and Chung was present. King Ch'iao asked Chao: "Once before, Lord Yüan said that he had received the command of the Son of Heaven to make me Shan-yü. Now Lord Ts'ao says that he will tell the Son of Heaven and have me made Shan-yü properly. And besides all this, there is an envoy with insignia from Liao-tung. Which is the right one?" Chao replied: "Lord Yüan used to hold office and had the power to make appointments, but later he opposed the imperial commands, and so Lord Ts'ao has taken his place and is willing to arrange that you be given title as Shan-yü from the proper authority. The miserable commandery of Liao-tung, how dare they claim to grant credentials?" Chung said: "My Liao-tung is east of a vast sea, with millions of soldiers and with the

services of the Fu-yü and the Hui-mo.¹⁴ In the present time, honour goes to the strong. What makes Ts'ao Ts'ao so special?" Chao shouted at Chung: "Lord Ts'ao is sincere and respectful, wise and understanding. He supports the Son of Heaven, he attacks the rebels and he is kind to those who submit. He gives peace to the four seas. You, master and servant, you are stupid and disobedient. You hide away in the furthest corners of the empire and you turn your backs to the royal commands. You want to usurp appointments and you interfere in the powers of the Emperor. You should be killed at once. How dare you rudely and lightly slander a great man!" He seized Chung by the head, brought him to the floor, drew a sword and was just about to cut his head off. King Ch'iao was startled and frightened, and he ran barefoot to hold Chao and to ask mercy for Chung. All his attendants turned pale. Chao went back to his seat, and he told King Ch'iao and the others who would win and who would lose, and what the right course was for them to follow. All came down from their mats and knelt in obeisance and received his words with respect. Then the King made excuses to the messengers from Liao-tung, and he disbanded the cavalry that he had ready for Yüan T'an.

Kuei Lan, the Grand Chief Controller of Tan-yang, and the Commandery Assistant Tai Yüan¹⁵ killed the Grand Administrator Sun Yi. General Sun Ho was in camp at Ching city,¹⁶ and he hurried to Wan-ling. Lan and Yüan killed him too.¹⁷ They sent a man to invite Liu Fu, the Inspector of Yang Province [appointed by Ts'ao Ts'ao] to come and stay at Li-yang so that Tan-yang could join him.¹⁸

Lan went in to take over the commandery offices, and he wanted to compel Sun Yi's widow, a woman of the Hsü clan, to marry him. The Lady Hsü put him off, saying: "I beg to wait until the end of the month. I will arrange the sacrifice and take off my mourning clothes. Then I will attend your orders." Lan agreed. The Lady Hsü secretly sent a man that she trusted to tell Sun Kao, Fu Ying and others, close relatives and former officers of Yi, that they should get rid of Lan. Kao and Ying wept and gave their promise, and they called privately on about twenty men who had served Yi in his time and been favoured by him. They made an oath together and prepared their plans.

When the last day of the month came the sacrifice was arranged. The Lady Hsü wept out all her grief, and when it was finished she took off her mourning clothes and took scented herbs and bathed herself, and she talked and laughed and was happy. Everyone, from the highest rank to the lowest, was sick and sad, and surprised that she could act like this. Lan spied on her in secret and was convinced that he could trust her. The Lady Hsü asked Kao and Ying to stand inside her door, and then she sent someone to call for Lan. She came out of her door to greet him, bowed just once, and then called aloud: "Gentlemen, you can show yourselves!" Kao and Ying came out together and killed Kuei Lan, and the other men went off and killed Tai Yüan. Then the Lady Hsü went back into mourning clothes and offered the heads of Lan and Yüan as sacrifice to Yi's grave. All the army was shaken and afraid.

Sun Ch'üan had heard that there was trouble and turned back from Chiao-ch'iu. He came to Tan-yang and destroyed all the remnants of Lan's and Yüan's supporters. Kao and Ying were made military officers and their companions were given rewards.

Shao, the son of Sun Ho, age seventeen, had collected the remainder of Ho's forces and was camped at Ching city. As Ch'üan was leading his army back to Wu he came to the camp during the night, and he made a feigned attack to surprise them. All the soldiers manned the walls, they sent round the summons and they were prepared and watchful, their shouts shook the earth and they shot several arrows at the men outside. Ch'üan had someone explain who it was, and then they stopped. Next day, he saw Shao and appointed him Colonel Who Upholds Courage, with all Ho's forces under his command.

Chien-an 10th year [7.II.205-26.I.206]

In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked Nan-p'i. Yüan T'an came out to fight and many officers and men

were killed. Ts'ao wanted to break off for a while, but the Gentleman-consultant Ts'ao Ch'un said: "Our army is isolated and we have come far into the enemy territory. It will be difficult to stay here for long, and once we have gone forward and then have to go back without a victory, we will certainly lose face." He beat a drum to lead the soldiers in attack, and the battle was won. T'an ran away and was killed in the pursuit.

Li Fu called himself Master of Records of Chi Province, and he asked to see Ts'ao and said: "In this city, the strong oppress the weak and the hearts of the people are troubled and disturbed. I suggest you give orders for someone who has just surrendered, and who is known and trusted by the people, to announce your policy." So Ts'ao sent Fu into the city to make proclamation to the civil officers and the people, that everyone should quietly carry on as usual, and that there should be no disturbance. The city was at peace. Then Ts'ao cut off the heads of Kuo T'u and the others and all their wives and children.

Yüan T'an had sent Wang Hsiu to Lo-an to supervise grain transport. When Hsiu heard that T'an was in trouble he led the soldiers under his command to come and help him. When they reached Kao-mi they learnt that T'an was dead. Hsiu got down from his horse and wept and said: "Without a master, where shall I turn?" Then he went to Ts'ao Ts'ao and begged to be given T'an's body for burial. Ts'ao agreed, and he sent Hsiu back to Lo-an to take charge of the supplies for the army. All the cities under T'an had submitted and only the Grand Administrator of Lo-an, Kuan T'ung, did not surrender. Ts'ao ordered Hsiu to take off T'ung's head, but Hsiu held that T'ung was a loyal servant to a fallen state, and he loosed his bonds and sent him to Ts'ao. Ts'ao was pleased and pardoned him, and he appointed Hsiu a Head Clerk in[his] offices as Minister of Works.

Kuo Chia encouraged Ts'ao to appoint many of the famous scholars of Ch'ing, Chi, Yu and Ping as clerical officers to increase the support for his administration, and Ts'ao did so. In the fighting at Kuan-tu, Yüan Shao had got Ch'en Lin to write his proclamations, and Lin had accused Ts'ao of crimes and wrongdoing,

had even attacked his family and ancestors, and had thoroughly reviled him and abused him. When the Yüan were defeated, Lin came to Ts'ao, and Ts'ao said: "Before this, you were writing proclamations for Pen-ch'u. You needed only to insult me, so why did you attack my father and my grandfather?" Lin begged pardon for his fault, and Ts'ao forgave him and had him act as the head of his secretariat with Jüan Yü of Ch'en-liu.

2061 Before this, Wang Sung of Yü-yang had occupied Cho commandery, and Liu Fang, a man of that commandery, now persuaded Sung to offer his territory to Ts'ao. Ts'ao appointed Fang Adviser to the Army of the Minister of Works.

Yüan Hsi was attacked by his officers Chiao Ch'u and Chang Nan, and he fled with Shang to the Wu-huan in Liao-hsi. Ch'u proclaimed himself Inspector of Yu Province, and persuaded the Grand Administrators and prefects in all the commanderies to abandon the Yüan and go over to Ts'ao. He drew up his troops, several ten thousands, sacrificed a white horse and prepared a covenant, giving orders that: "Anyone who turns away will be killed." No-one dared to look up, and each in turn smeared the blood on their mouths [in acceptance of the oath]. The Aide-de-Camp Han Hang of Tai commandery said: "I have received great favours from the lords Yüan, father and son. Even though they are defeated and lost, I would be lacking in honour if I was neither wise enough to aid them nor strong enough to give my life for them. To face north to Ts'ao [and honour him as ruler], that I cannot do." All who sat there grew pale for Hang but Ch'u said: "A great affair must be founded on justice. One man will make no difference to our success or failure. Let him keep to his principles, for he is an example of loyal service to everyone." So they left him alone. Ch'u and his fellows went over to Ts'ao, and they were all given fiefs as full marquises.

In the summer, in the fourth month, Chang Yen, the leader of the Black Mountain bandits, led his forces to surrender, more than a hundred thousand men. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of An-kuo t'ing.

Chao Tu, Huo Nu and others of Ku-an killed the Inspector of Yu Province and the Grand Administrator of Cho commandery, and the Wu-huan of three commanderies¹ attacked Hsien-yü Fu at Kung-p'ing.

In the autumn, in the eighth month, Ts'ao attacked Tu and his companions and killed them. He crossed the Lu River to relieve Kung-p'ing, and the Wu-huan fled across the borders.

In the winter, in the tenth month, Kao Kan heard that Ts'ao had attacked the Wu-huan, and he made another rebellion in Ping Province. He arrested the Grand Administrator of Shang-tang and raised troops to hold Hu-kuan-k'ou.² Ts'ao sent his officers Yüeh Chin and Li Tien to attack him. Chang Ch'eng of Ho-nei had some ten thousand men under arms and was plundering between the Hsiao and the Min.³ Chang Yen of Hung-nung raised troops to join him.

Wang Yi, the Grand Administrator of Ho-tung, was recalled, but Wei Ku, a Head Clerk of the commandery, together with the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Fan Hsien and others, all went to the Colonel Director of the Retainers Chung Yao to ask that he stay there. Yao would not approve. Ku and the others were pretending to ask for Yi because of his good reputation, but they were actually in private correspondence with Kao Kan. Ts'ao Ts'ao said to Hsün Yü: "Officially, the leaders in the west of the passes have submitted to us, but they are secretly planning treachery. Chang Ch'eng is plundering and making trouble between the Hsiao and the Min and he has joined up with Liu Piao to the south. If Ku and the others follow his example, they will be a considerable danger. Right now, Ho-tung is a key point in the empire, can you recommend a reliable man to keep the place under control?" Yü said: "The Grand Administrator of Hsi-p'ing,⁴ Tu Chi of Ching-chao, is brave enough to cope with danger and wise enough to deal with any situation." So Ts'ao made Chi Grand Administrator of Ho-tung. Chung Yao urged Wang Yi to hand over the tokens of office, but Yi took the seal and tassel with him and went straight from Ho-pei to present himself at Hsü.

Wei Ku and his party sent several thousand soldiers to block the Shan Ford,⁵ and when Tu Chi came up he was held there for several

months. Ts'ao sent Hsia-hou Tun to attack Ku and the others, but before they arrived, Chi said: "Ho-tung has thirty thousand households, and they can't all want to be rebels. With soldiers holding them down, there is no leader for the ones that wish to stay loyal. Naturally they are frightened, and so they listen to Ku. Ku and his fellows have taken power for themselves, and they will certainly fight to the death.⁶ If we attack them without success there will be no end to the trouble. If we attack them and win, we will destroy the people of a whole commandery. Besides, Ku and the others have not yet made a public break from imperial authority. They claim that they are asking for their former master [Wang Yi], and I am sure they will not harm me if I come as their new ruler. I will go to them direct, without an escort, and take them by surprise. Ku has many ideas, but he cannot make decisions. He will certainly pretend to accept me, and if I can just stay in the commandery for a month that will give me time to arrange some plan to keep them quiet." So he went by side-roads and crossed the Tou Ford.⁷

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Fan Hsien wanted to kill Chi in order to frighten the people, but he waited for the time being to watch what Chi would do. He beheaded the Master of Records and some thirty other officials outside the gate, but Chi showed no change. Then Ku said: "If we kill him it will be no loss to Ts'ao, but will only give us a bad name, and in any case I am sure I can keep him in hand." So they received him. Chi said to Ku and Hsien: "You, Wei and Fan, are the leading clans of Ho-tung. I rely on you for my administration and I have no policy of my own. However, there is a settled code of behaviour between ruler and minister, so we should share things together in success or defeat, and for all important matters we should talk things over." He made Ku Chief Controller, also acting as his Assistant, with command over the Department of Merit. All the officers and soldiers, more than three thousand men, were put under Fan Hsien's command. Ku and the others were pleased, and although they pretended to serve Chi they paid no thought to him. Then Ku planned to make a

great levy of troops. Chi was worried about it and said to him: "A large-scale recruitment is sure to upset the people. It would be much better to raise troops more gradually, and pay them wages." Ku agreed, but he got very few soldiers.⁸ Chi also said to Ku and his fellows: "It's only human nature for a man to look to his family. Let your officers take it in turn to go home on leave and you will have no trouble recalling them whenever you need them." Ku and his party wanted to be popular, so they followed his advice. As a result, while the loyalists outside were making secret plans to support Chi, the rebels were divided and scattered and had all gone back to their homes.

About this time White Horse [Chang Ch'eng]⁹ attacked Tung-yüan and Kao Kan entered Huo-tse. Chi realised that the prefectures would stay loyal to him, and so he went out of the city with a few score horsemen, occupied a strong fort, and set up his defences. Many of the officials and people held their cities on Chi's behalf and after several weeks he had collected more than four thousand men. Ku and the others joined Kao Kan and Chang Ch'eng and attacked Chi together, but they could not overcome him. They went to seize the prefectures, but they could capture none of them. Ts'ao Ts'ao sent the Gentleman-consultant Chang Chi to go west to raise the leaders within the passes, Ma T'eng and his allies, and they all brought soldiers to attack Ch'eng and his group together, and destroyed them. They took the heads of Ku and Yen and some others, but all the rest of their followers were pardoned.

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Then Tu Chi governed Ho-tung, and he was particularly careful to act generously and kindly. When people came to start a lawsuit, Chi would tell them what was right and what was wrong and then would send them back to think it over; and so the elders of the people would blame themselves for any quarrel, and they no longer enjoyed going to law. He encouraged the planting of mulberries and gave advice on rearing cattle, and every family became prosperous and wealthy. After that, he established schools and chose for office only men of filial piety and brotherly love. He kept weapons in repair and he was fully prepared for war, and so Ho-tung had peace. Chi stayed in

Ho-tung for sixteen years, and he was always judged as the best of administrators.

The Supervisor of the Private Library and Palace Attendant Hsün Yüeh wrote the Shen-chien in five sections and presented it to the throne.¹⁰ Yüeh was the son of Hsün Shuang's elder brother. At this time Ts'ao Ts'ao controlled the government and the Emperor was no more than a figure-head. Yüeh wanted to advise the Emperor, but none of his plans could be put into effect, and so he wrote this book. In general outline, it said: "The art of good government lies first in doing away with the four harmful things and in promoting the five good points. Falsehood disrupts custom, selfishness destroys the law, laxity breaks the rules, extravagance ruins government. Unless these four are avoided no administration can be carried on, and these are the four harmful things. Encouraging farming and mulberry-growing in order to nourish the living, judging between good and bad in order to keep the customs well, spreading teaching in order to manifest reform, setting up military preparations in order to maintain authority, making rewards and punishments clear so that the laws will all be in the hand of the ruler; these are the five points of good government. If a man has no fear of death, you cannot make him afraid with punishments, and if a man does not love his life, you cannot encourage him with good treatment. For this reason men who hold high positions should first increase the people's property, and so they settle their ambitions; this is called 'nourishing the living'. The results of a man's work will display his true intention, while slander or praise may be shown up by careful enquiry. [If those who select for office are careful to] listen to reports and also check the facts, to ensure that the reality matches the name, then there would be no chance of officials holding power by deceit and so disturbing the people. Therefore, when customs have no sin or perversity, the people will have no inclination to evil. This is called 'keeping customs well'. Honour and shame are the essence of rewards and punishments. If a gentleman is taught courtesy and trained to distinguish honour

065 or shame, that will change his inner nature; and if a petty fellow is given fetters or the whip, that will change his outward appearance. If teaching and reform are done away with, that pushes the average people down to the level of petty fellows. If teaching and reform are carried on, that brings the average people up to the path of the gentleman. This is called 'manifesting reform'. Men who hold high positions should prepare for war so that they will always be ready for the unexpected. When they are in peace they embody the military system in their internal administration.¹¹ Then if anything should happen their armies will be ready. This is called 'maintaining authority'. Reward and punishment are the handles of good administration. If the rulers of men are sparing in their rewards, that is not because they are greedy of their property; for if rewards are given indiscriminately they can be no encouragement to good behaviour. If they are sparing in their punishments, that is not because they have pity for the people; for if punishments were given indiscriminately they can be no encouragement to good behaviour. When the rewards are no incentive, that is called 'restraining the good', and when the punishments have no effect, that may be called 'setting loose evil'. If those in high positions can manage not to keep their subjects back from the good, and not to drive them onwards to the bad, then the law of the state is established. This may be called 'laws in the hand of the ruler'. If the four harmful things are done away with and the five good points established and if they are practised sincerely and held firmly, acting simply without being casual and lenient without being loose; then the Emperor may sit with clothing draped and hands folded, practising the etiquette and rules of propriety, and all within the seas will be at peace."

Chien-an 11th year [27.I.206-14.II.207]:

2066 In the spring, in the first month, there was a comet in the Pei-tou.¹

Ts'ao Ts'ao led an attack on Kao Kan, leaving his eldest son P'i to guard Yeh, with the Aide-de-Camp Ts'ui Yen to guide him.

Ts'ao besieged Hu-kuan, and in the third month the city surrendered. Kao Kan went to the Hsiung-nu to ask for help, but the Shan-yü would not receive him. Kan fled with a few horsemen, hoping to get away south to Ching Province. Wang Yen, the Chief Commandant at Shang-lo,² arrested him and cut off his head. The whole of Ping Province was pacified.

2067 Ts'ao Ts'ao appointed Liang Hsi of Ch'en commandery as Major With a Separate Command and Inspector of Ping Province. At this time there was still some disorder. The northern barbarians looked threatening, and the officials and people had run away to join the tribes. The families with armed retainers collected forces and plundered all who remained. When Hsi came to office he encouraged the people to come back. He treated the men of great family with courtesy, recommended them for some promotion, and sent them to attend [Ts'ao's] headquarters. When they had gone, he recruited all their fighting men into a military force, and as Ts'ao's main army went out on campaign he arranged for the officers to take them over as recruits. When these had left, he sent their families off to Yeh, and one way or another he transferred tens of thousands of people there. If anyone disobeyed he raised troops to attack them, and he took off more than a thousand heads. Tens of thousands of others surrendered and joined him. The Shan-yü was respectful and obedient, the tribal chieftains bowed to the ground, and they submitted and served the empire just as if they were registered Chinese citizens. The borders were peaceful and the people

extended the cultivated land. Hsi encouraged farming and gave advice on mulberry-growing. Whatever he ordered was done and whatever he forbade was stopped. The elders sang his praise and said that of all the officials they had heard of and known, there had never been an Inspector like Hsi. Hsi gave recommendations to all the scholars who had left their homes and came to take refuge in his territory, men like Ch'ang Lin, Yang Chün, Wang Hsiang and Hsün Wei of Ho-nei, and Wang Ling of T'ai-yüan. Ts'ao made them all prefects, and later every one of them became famous.

Before this, Chung-ch'ang T'ung of Shan-yang was a wandering scholar, and he came to Ping Province and visited Kao Kan. Kan received him very well and asked him about the affairs of the day. T'ung said to Kan: "You want to act the hero, but you lack the ability for it. You would like to be a leader, but you choose the wrong men. I give you strong warning." Kan thought well of himself and he was not pleased at what T'ung said, so T'ung left him. When Kan was dead, Hsün Yü recommended T'ung as a Gentleman of the Masters of Writing. He wrote a treatise called Ch'ang-yen which discussed good government and disorders.³ In general terms what he said was: "The great man who is worthy of the mandate of Heaven starts off without any real claim. Since he has no real claim, all the other leaders will oppose him. When those who contend in wisdom are all exhausted, and when those who contend in force are all defeated, then they come to a situation where they can no longer resist him and their force can no longer compete with his. Then they begin to submit, and they accept his yoke. When there is a regular succession, the leaders have no ambition, and the people's minds are settled. The highest position is held by the same family, and power rests with a single man. At a time like this, even though a man of very poor ability holds the place, he can still be as gracious as heaven and earth, and he will possess the authority of the spirits. Thousands of Dukes of Chou or Confucius could not rival his wisdom, and a million of [Meng]Pen or [Hsia]Yü could not show bravery [against him]. Then a stupid ruler inherits, and he realises that no-one in the empire will dare to oppose him, and he thinks that his government can

never fail. He lets his private desires run away with him, he hastens on his bad purposes, and both ruler and subject show their evil. High and low act wrongly, the government of the people is slack, and everything is abandoned and neglected. The men that he trusts and uses in office and treats as his friends are all persuasive flatterers. Those whom he favours and honours are the relatives of the empress and his various concubines. He burns up the riches of the empire and cuts to pieces the bones and marrows of living people. In resentment and hatred the people have nowhere to turn, and disasters and rebellion come together. The heart of the empire is disturbed and confused, and the barbarians make raids and incursions. The dynasty is like falling earth and broken tiles. It is gone in a single day. The people that I used to care for like children or grandchildren are now all bandits and enemies who will drink my blood. When it comes about that the Mandate is shifted and the power is gone, and yet the ruler still does not awaken and repent; isn't that because wealth and high living foster brutality, and licence and vice cause stupidity and hatred? Survival and fall are the fate of dynasties, and by this it comes that good order and rebellion follow each other. Such is their destiny."

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Chang Meng, Grand Administrator of Wu-wei, killed the Inspector of Yung Province, Han-tan Shang. Soldiers of the province attacked him and killed him. Meng was a son of Huan.⁴

In the eighth month Ts'ao Ts'ao went east to deal with the pirate Kuan Ch'eng. He came to Ch'un-yü, and dispatched his officers Yüeh Chin and Li Tien to attack Ch'eng and defeat him. Ch'eng fled to islands in the sea.

Ch'ang Hsi rebelled again, and Ts'ao sent Yü Chin to attack him and cut off his head.

In this year, the son [Liu] Hsi of the former King Jung of Lang-yeh was made King of Lang-yeh.⁵ The eight kingdoms of Ch'i, Pei-hai, Fu-ling, Hsia-p'i, Ch'ang-shan, Kan-ling, Chi-yin and P'ing-yuan were all disestablished.⁶

The Wu-huan took advantage of the disturbances in the empire, and they made raids that kidnapped more than a hundred thousand Chinese families. Yüan Shao had set up all their chief men as Shan-yü. He had pretended that the daughters of his personal followers were his own children, and he had given them away to be wives for the barbarian chiefs. T'a-tun, the Wu-huan of Liao-hsi, was particularly powerful and had been very well-treated by Shao. So Shang and his brothers turned to him for support, and he made several incursions over the borders in hope of helping Shang regain his former territory. Ts'ao wanted to attack him, but he first dug the P'ing-lu Trench and the Ch'üan Trench to bring up his supplies.⁷

Sun Ch'üan attacked two camps of hills bandits at Ma and Pao and pacified them.⁸

Chien-an 12th year [15.II.207-3.II.208]:

2070

In the spring in the second month Ts'ao Ts'ao came from Ch'un-yü back to Yeh. On the day ting-yu [21.III] Ts'ao suggested to the throne that some twenty ministers of excellent conduct should be enfeoffed, and they all became full marquises. He also reported very favourably on the Marquis of Wan-sui t'ing, Hsün Yü, and in the third month Yü's fief was increased by a thousand households. [Ts'ao] also wanted to have [Yü] rank with the three dukes but Yü sent Hsün Yu to explain very clearly that he would decline such honour. After more than ten attempts, Ts'ao gave up the idea.

Ts'ao Ts'ao was planning his attack on the Wu-huan, but all his officers said: "Yüan Shang is an enemy in flight. The barbarians are selfish and have no feeling of affection for him, so why should they support him? If we attack deep into their territory, Liu Pei is sure to persuade Liu Piao to send a raid against Hsü. Should they make trouble there, you will have no chance for second thoughts." Kuo Chia said: "Although your authority makes the empire tremble, the northern barbarians rely on distance and they will certainly make no preparations. If we take advantage of this weakness and attack

them quickly they can be defeated and destroyed. Besides, Yüan Shao treated the people and the barbarians well and Shang and his brother are still alive. Right now the people of the four provinces obey you only because of your military strength, and they have not yet seen the true grace of your government. If you go off and campaign in the south then Shang will use the resources of the Wu-huan and collect followers willing to die for him. Once the northern barbarians make a move, all the Chinese people and the eastern barbarians will join them. This would give T'a-tun ideas and make it possible for him to plan aggression. If that should happen I am afraid both Ch'ing and Chi would be lost to us. But Liu Piao is just a man who sits and talks, and he knows that his ability is no match for Liu Pei. If he gives Pei an important post he is afraid Pei will get too powerful, and if he gives him a poor position then Pei will be reluctant to serve him. Even though you will be leaving your territory empty and will be fighting far in the distance, you have nothing to worry about." Ts'ao followed this. They marched to Yi, and Kuo Chia said: "In war, speed like a spirit is the best. Now you want to make a surprise attack on people a thousand li away, but if you have a lot of baggage it will be difficult to move really quickly. The enemy will hear about it and will be sure to make preparations. The best thing to do is to leave the baggage and advance at double speed with lightarmed troops. That way, you can catch them unprepared."

2071 Before this, Yüan Shao had sent several messengers to ask T'ien Ch'ou in Wu-chung to take service with him, and he had granted Ch'ou the seal of a general to have him keep the peace. Ch'ou had always rebuffed him. Then Ts'ao Ts'ao settled Chi Province, and Hsing Yung of Ho-chien said to Ch'ou: "For more than twenty years, since the Yellow Turban rising, the land within the four seas has been bubbling like a cauldron, and the people have become homeless refugees. I have heard that Lord Ts'ao's government is firm and strict. The people are weary of disorder, and now that disorder has reached its limit, it will soon be

settled. Let me be the first." Then he packed and went back to his own village. Ch'ou said: "Hsing Yung is the first of the people to awaken." Ts'ao made Yung an Attendant Official in Chi Province. Ch'ou was angry because the Wu-huan had killed many of the leaders of his commandery, but although he wanted to attack them he did not have enough men under his command. Ts'ao sent messengers to summon Ch'ou and Ch'ou hurried his servants to be quick with his packing. The servants said: "Lord Yüan always treated you with respect and courteous orders were brought to you five times, but you very rightly refused to submit to him. Now Lord Ts'ao sends you a single message and you are acting as if you are afraid you will never get there. Why?" Ch'ou laughed and said: "This is something you just don't understand!" So he went with the messengers to Ts'ao's army, he was appointed Prefect of T'iao, and he accompanied the army to Wu-chung.

At this time there were summer rains and floods. The low-lying areas near the sea were flooded, the roads were blocked with mud, and the enemy held the main crossings. The army could not get forward. Ts'ao was worried, and he asked T'ien Ch'ou about it. Ch'ou said: "This road is always flooded in the autumn and the summer. It's too deep for carts or horses, too shallow for boats, and it has been difficult for a long time. In the past, Pei-p'ing commandery was administered from P'ing-kang,¹ and there was a road from Lu-lung through to Liu-ch'eng. Since the Chien-wu period it has been broken up and abandoned for two hundred years, but there is still a small pathway that you can follow. The enemy commanders will be certain that any large army must come from Wu-chung, and that if it cannot get forward it will have to go back. They will be idle and make no preparations. If you quietly turn the army about, and go from Lu-lung-k'ou to the narrow Po-t'an Pass,² you will come out into open ground. The road is near here and easy to get to. You can catch them unawares and T'a-tun will be taken without a fight." Ts'ao said: "Excellent," and he led his army back. He wrote a great sign on wood at the side of the road by the water, saying: "It is the middle of summer, and the road is impassable. We will wait for the autumn or the winter and then come forward once again." Enemy scout-riders

saw it, and they really believed that the great army had gone away.

Ts'ao ordered Ch'ou to lead his forces as guide. They climbed the Hsü-wu range, filling up gorges and gullies for more than five hundred li, passing Po-t'an, then P'ing-kang, through the Hsien-pi camping grounds, and heading east to Liu-ch'eng.³ While they were still two hundred li short, the enemy realised what had happened. Shang and Hsi, with T'a-tun and the Shan-yü of Liao-hsi, Lou-pan, and the Shan-yü of Yu-pei-p'ing, Neng-ch'en-ti-chih, all came with tens of thousands of horsemen to oppose them.⁴

In the eighth month, as Ts'ao climbed Po-lang Mountain, he suddenly came face to face with great numbers of the enemy. His baggage was in the rear and he had few armoured men. All about him were afraid. Ts'ao climbed high up, he saw that the enemy lines were badly arranged, and he loosed his soldiers into the attack. He set Chang Liao in the van, and the enemy force was heavily defeated. They cut off the heads of T'a-tun and many of his tribal chieftains and lower officers. More than two hundred thousand barbarians and Chinese surrendered.

Su-p'u-wan, the Shan-yü of Liao-tung⁵, fled with Shang and Hsi to the Grand Administrator of Liao-tung, Kung-sun K'ang. Their army still numbered several thousand horsemen, and some people urged Ts'ao to follow and attack them again. Ts'ao said: "I am going to arrange for K'ang to cut off Shang's and Hsi's heads and send them to me. No need to bother soldiers."

2073

In the ninth month Ts'ao brought his men back from Liu-ch'eng. Kung-sun K'ang wanted to have the credit for taking Shang and Hsi, so he first hid soldiers inside a stable, and then he invited Shang and Hsi. Before they had sat down K'ang called to the men in hiding to arrest them, and then he took the heads of Shang and Hsi and also Su-p'u-wan's and sent them to Ts'ao. Some of his officers asked Ts'ao: "You went back, and K'ang beheaded Shang and Hsi. How did you manage it?" Ts'ao said: "He was always afraid of Shang and Hsi. When I put pressure on

them they had to join forces but when I eased it they were sure to betray one another. That's all there was to it." Ts'ao exposed Shang's head, and he gave orders to the whole army that "Anyone who dares to weep for him will be executed." Only Ch'ien Chao made sacrifice and wept in grief. Ts'ao admired his loyalty, and recommended him as Accomplished Talent.

By this time the winter had come and there was a drought. There was no water for two hundred li, and the army was also short of food. They killed several thousand horses for their meat, and they dug wells more than three hundred feet deep to get water. Then Ts'ao went back, and he made a list and asked for the names of all those who had given warnings before he began the campaign. No-one knew the reason, and everybody was afraid, but Ts'ao gave them handsome rewards, and said: "When I went before, I was taking risks and hoped for good results. Although I got them I was aided by Heaven, and I realise this should not be repeated too often. The advice I had from you was the plan for complete safety. This is why I give rewards. Don't hesitate to speak up next time."

In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day hsin-mao [10.XI] there was a comet in Ch'un-wei.⁶

On the day yi-ssu [24.XI] the Yellow Turbans killed King Yün of Chi-nan.

In the eleventh month Ts'ao Ts'ao came to the Yi River. The Wu-huan Shan-yü P'u-fu-lo of Tai commandery and No-lou of Shang commandery came to offer congratulations.

The army returned home, and good work was discussed and rewards were given. T'ien Ch'ou was made Marquis of a Commune with five hundred households. Ch'ou said: "When I first sought to avenge Lord Liu [Yü], I led the people away. But now my fine ambition has come to nothing, and instead I gain a personal advantage. This was not what I wanted!"⁷

4 He refused it firmly and would not accept. Ts'ao realised how strongly he felt about it, and so he did not press him.

When Ts'ao was fighting in the north Liu Pei had advised Liu Piao to make an attack on Hsü. Piao would not take his advice.

Then they heard that Ts'ao was coming back, and Piao said to Pei: "I did not do as you said, and so I have let this great chance slip." Pei said: "Now the empire is divided, and warfare renews itself every day. When a chance has gone, why shouldn't it come again? You take it up next time, and there will be no cause for regret."

In this year Sun Ch'üan went west to attack Huang Tsu, and he captured his people and came back.

Ch'üan's mother the Lady Wu was seriously ill, and she called in Chang Chao and the others and entrusted them with the future of the state. And so she died.

Before this, Chu-ko Liang of Lang-yeh had been living at Lung-chung in Hsiang-yang.⁸ He always compared himself to Kuan Chung and to Yüeh Yi,⁹ but at that time there was no-one who would agree with him except Hsü Shu of Ying-ch'uan and Ts'ui Chou-p'ing. Chou-p'ing was a son of Lieh.

Liu Pei was in Ching Province, and he asked Ssu-ma Hui of Hsiang-yang about scholars. Hui said: "The Confucianists and ordinary scholars, what can they know about the important affairs of the day? To know about the important affairs of the day, that is limited to the exceptional men. In this place we have a hidden dragon and a young phoenix." Pei asked who they were. Hui said: "Chu-ko K'ung-ming and P'ang Shih-yüan [i.e. P'ang T'ung]." Hsü Shu saw Pei at Hsin-yeh, and Pei held him in high regard. Shu said to Pei: "Chu-ko K'ung-ming is a dragon at rest, would you like to see him?" Pei said: "Can you bring him with you?" Shu said: "This man you go and visit, you don't force him to visit you. You must be prepared to attend on him yourself."

2075

So Pei went to Liang, and he had to call three times before he was allowed to see him. Then he sent his attendants away and said: "The Han house is almost gone and an evil minister is stealing the mandate. Taking no count of my poor virtue, nor my feeble strength, I wish to extend true justice to the empire. But my wisdom and cleverness are shallow and short, so I have acted wildly and hastily. I have had many failures and now I

have come down to this. Even so, my hopes are not ended. Can you say if I will ever be successful?" Liang said: "Ts'ao Ts'ao has an army of a million men, and he holds the Son of Heaven and so commands the lords. You are no match for him. Sun Ch'üan occupies the east of the Chiang, and three of his family have held that power already.¹⁰ The terrain is difficult, the people are loyal, and he has worthy and able men in his service. You can join with him for help, but you cannot make plans against him. The north of Ching province holds the vital points on the Han and the Mien,¹¹ and it stretches down to the southern sea and gains tremendous profit there. In the east it joins with Wu and K'uai-chi, in the west it reaches to Pa and Shu. This is a country which is valuable in war, and yet its master cannot hold it. It is almost as if Heaven gave it to you. Yi Province has difficult borders, a thousand li of fertile lands, and a soil which is the treasury of Heaven. Liu Chang is dull and weak and Chang Lu holds the north. They have many people and a prosperous country, yet they show no sympathy for their subjects. All the wise and able men will be dreaming of a benevolent ruler. You are yourself a descendant of the Han house and your sense of loyalty and honour are known to all the world. If you bestride Ching and Yi, hold their strategic passes; if you deal well and peacefully with the barbarians of the east and south and make alliance of friendship with Sun Ch'üan; if you keep order and government inside and watch for the changes in the rest of the empire: then the work of a hegemon may be achieved and the house of Han can rise once more." Pei said: "Excellent!" and his affection for Liang became closer every day. Kuan Yü and Chang Fei were jealous, but Pei explained to them: "I need K'ung-ming like a fish needs water. Please do not mention the subject again." So Yü and Fei gave up.

Ssu-ma Hui, in his judgment of men, was sensitive and clear like a mirror. P'ang Te-kung, from the same prefecture, had made a great reputation, and Hui treated him like an elder brother. Whenever

76 Chu-ko Liang came to Te-kung's house he would come forward alone and make his salute at the foot of the bed, and Te-kung never objected.¹² Te-kung's nephew T'ung was a dull fellow when he was young, and no-one

appreciated him except Te-kung and Hui. Te-kung once described K'ung-ming as a dragon at rest, Shih-yüan [i.e. P'ang T'ung] as a young phoenix, and Te-ts'ao [i.e. Ssu-ma Hui] as a mirror of water, and it was for this reason that Ssu-ma Hui used these words when he described them to Liu Pei.

Chien-an 13th year [4.II.208-21.II.209]:

In the spring, in the first month, the Minister over the Masses Chao Wen recommended Ts'ao Ts'ao's son P'i for office. Ts'ao reported: "Wen has recommended one of the junior members of my family. This is not an honest selection." He made the Emperor dismiss him.

Ts'ao Ts'ao came back to Yeh. He built the Hsüan-wu Lake to exercise his fleet.

Before this, Kan Ning of Pa commandery had led eight hundred of his retainers to join Liu Piao. Piao was a weak man and would not practise for war. Ning realised Piao was certain to fail and he was afraid that when Piao's followers scattered he would share the same fate. He wanted to go east into Wu. Huang Tsu, however, was at Hsia-k'ou,¹ and Ning's army could not get past. He had to stay with Tsu for three years, and Tsu treated him like an ordinary soldier. Then Sun Ch'üan attacked Tsu, Tsu's army was defeated and went back, and Ch'üan's Colonel Ling Ts'ao led soldiers in a close pursuit. Kan Ning was expert with bow and arrows, and he led his own men in the rearguard and he shot Ts'ao and killed him. So Tsu was able to escape. However, back in the camp, Tsu still treated Ning the same as before. Su Fei, Chief Controller to Tsu, recommended Ning several times, but Tsu refused to give him a commission. Ning wanted to go away, but he was afraid that he would not be able to escape. Then Fei spoke to Tsu and Ning was made Chief of Chu, so he got away to Sun Ch'üan. Chou Yü and Lü Meng both recommended him and Ch'üan treated him with particular courtesy, just like the oldest servants.

Ning offered a plan to Ch'üan: "The prosperity of the Han declines further every day, and in the end Ts'ao Ts'ao will act the usurper and rebel. The southern part of Ching, with natural barriers of hills and rivers, is the western defence-line of your state. I know Liu Piao. He can't plan far ahead, and his sons are poor quality too. Neither of them is capable of inheriting or maintaining his fortune. Your excellency should plan to deal with them early, before Ts'ao can get at them. The first thing to do is to take Huang Tsu. Tsu is old and senile, his treasure and food are already in short supply, the men about him are greedy and undisciplined, and the officials and soldiers are resentful. His fleet and his weapons of war are damaged and blunted and fallen into disrepair, he pays no attention to farming and his army has neither order nor authority. If your excellency goes to attack him now, his defeat is assured. Once you have destroyed Tsu's army, drum the advance to the west and occupy Ch'u-kuan.² Your power will grow and extend, and eventually you will be able to take over Pa and Shu." Ch'üan was most impressed with this, but Chang Chao, who was in attendance at this time, raised objections: "The people in Wu are unsettled and if the army goes off I am afraid there will certainly be a rebellion." Ning said to Chao: "Our ruler has given you a post like [Kao-tsu of Former Han gave to] Hsiao Ho.³ If you are just going to sit tight and worry about rebellions, why did you accept the job?" Ch'üan raised a cup of wine, gave it to Ning and said: "Hsing-pa, in this year I go to the attack. Like this wine, I have decided to give it to you. You just make all the necessary plans so we are certain to defeat Tsu. Why should you object to anything Chang the Chief Clerk has to say?"

So Ch'üan went west to attack Huang Tsu. Tsu had arranged two boats covered with ox-hide to guard Mien-k'ou across the channel,⁴ and he had a great rope of coir-palm fibre, with stones attached as anchors. Above this there were a thousand men with crossbows to give covering fire. The arrows poured down like rain, and the army could not get forward. The Lieutenant-General Tung Hsi and the Major With a Separate Command Ling T'ung were together in the van, and each led a hundred dare-to-dies⁵ all in double armour. They boarded

a great barge, charged the covered boats, and Hsi himself cut the two ropes with his sword. The enemy boats were swept sidelong downstream and the main body of Ch'üan's forces could now go forward. Tsu had ordered his Chief Controller Ch'en Chiu to lead his fleet into battle, but Lü Meng, Chief Commandant Who Pacifies the North, urged on the van and himself cut off Chiu's head. The officers and soldiers followed up the success and advanced by land and water. They came to the walls, attacked them with all their might, and so they stormed the fortress. Tsu fled and they chased him and cut off his head. Several tens of thousands of men and women were taken prisoner..

Earlier, Ch'üan had two boxes made, intending them for the heads of Huang Tsu and Su Fei. When he held the victory feast for his officers, Kan Ning came before his mat and kowtowed. His blood and tears flowed together, and he said to Ch'üan: "Fei has given me favours in the past. But for him I would now be neglected bones in a ditch and I could never have managed to come under your standard. Even if Fei's crimes deserve his death, I beg you to let him keep his head." Ch'üan was touched and said: "If I leave him to you, what if he runs away?" Ning said: "Fei has escaped the misfortune of his head divided from his body and has received the gift of a new life. Even if we chased him away he would still not go. Why should he plan to escape? If he does go away, my head can take his place in the box." So Ch'üan pardoned Fei. Ling T'ung was angry that Ning had killed his father, Ts'ao. He had always wanted to kill Ning, but now Ch'üan ordered T'ung not to make trouble, and he sent Ning and his soldiers to camp somewhere else.

In the summer, in the sixth month, the offices of the three Dukes were abolished, the posts of Lieutenant-Chancellor and Imperial Clerk Grandee were restored, and on the day kuei-szu [9.VI] Ts'ao Ts'ao was made Lieutenant-Chancellor.⁶ Ts'ao appointed the Aide-de-Camp of Chi Province, Ts'ui Yen, as Head Clerk of the Department of the West under the Lieutenant-Chancellor, and Mao Chieh of Ch'en-liu, who had been Head Clerk of the Department of the East under the Minister of Works, was transferred to hold the

same post under the Lieutenant-Chancellor. The Prefect of Yüan-ch'eng, Ssu-ma Lang of Ho-nei, became Master of Records, his younger brother Yi became Head Clerk for Literary Scholarship, and the Master of Records of Chi Province, Lu Yü, became Consultant Foreman Clerk in the Department of Legal Administration. Yü was a son of Chih.

Ts'ui Yen and Mao Chieh were together in charge of promotions,⁷ and the men that they recommended for office were all scholars of purity and honesty. Although there were many men with fine reputation but without sincerity, none of these gained advancement. They brought forward the honest and the true and they dismissed the flowery and the false; they advanced the quiet and the humble, and they repressed the flatterers and politicians. From this, all the scholars of the empire acted modestly and tried to do their best. Though a minister had honour and favour he did not dare possess a better carriage nor finer clothing than the regulations allowed. When senior officials came back from their posts they had dirty faces and thin clothing and they rode in wood-carts, and when officers of the army came into the administrative offices they wore their court-dress and came on foot. The officials were incorrupt and the people kept good order. Ts'ao heard of it, and he sighed and said: "If the men that hold office are like this, the people of the empire can govern themselves. What more need I do?"

When Ssu-ma Yi was young he was already intelligent, and he had ambitious plans. Ts'ui Yen said to [Yi's] elder brother Lang: "Your young brother has a clear intelligence and a keen sense of justice, firm decision and exceptional bravery. You're not as good as that!" Ts'ao heard about this and appointed Yi to office, but Yi made excuses and said he had rheumatism. Ts'ao was angry and was going to have him arrested. Yi was frightened and took the post.

Ts'ao sent Chang Liao to camp at Ch'ang-she. Just before he set out some men in the army planned a mutiny, and during the night they raised the alarm and started a fire, and the whole army was in confusion. Liao said to the men with him: "Don't move, this is not the whole camp in mutiny. It's only a few men making all that noise

to throw the others into a panic." He gave orders to the army: "Those that are loyal, stay quiet and still." Liao led twenty or thirty soldiers of his body-guard and took his place in the middle of the camp. After a little while everything was settled, and then they got the ring-leaders and killed them.

Liao was camped at Ch'ang-she, Yü Chin was camped at Ying-yin and Yüeh Chin camped at Yang-ti. The three officers acted as they pleased and refused to co-operate. Ts'ao sent the Master of Records under the Minister of Works, Chao Yen, to act as liaison officer to the three armies, and to give counsel on all matters, and then they came to agreement.

Before this, the General of the Van Ma T'eng and the General Who Maintains the West in Peace Han Sui had been sworn brothers, but later there were quarrels between their private retainers and they became enemies. The court sent the Colonel Director of the Retainers Chung Yao and the Inspector of Liang Province Wei Tuan to make peace between them, and T'eng was called in to camp at Huai-li. Ts'ao Ts'ao was intending to attack Ching Province, and he sent Chang Chi to persuade T'eng to leave his followers and come back to the court. T'eng promised to do so, but then he became hesitant, and Chi was afraid that he was going to change his plan. So he sent orders to the prefectures to hurry the preparation to receive [Ma T'eng], and have the chiefs of the commandery administrations ready to welcome him outside their capitals. T'eng could do nothing else but go to the east. Ts'ao recommended him as Commandant of the Palace Guard and made his son Ch'ao a Lieutenant-General with command of all his forces, but he moved all his family and his dependents to Yeh.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Ts'ao Ts'ao went south to attack Liu Piao.

In the eighth month, on the day ting-wei [21.IX] the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Ch'ih Lü of Shan-yang became Imperial Clerk Grandee.

On the day jen-tzu [27.IX] the Grand Palace Grandee K'ung Jung was publicly executed. Jung had relied on his well-known

ability and he had several times abused Ts'ao Ts'ao and sneered at him. He loved to say unusual things and so he acted insubordinate and offensively. Ts'ao pretended to put up with this because Jung had such a great reputation in the empire, but he really thoroughly disliked it. Then Jung sent in a memorial: "The Emperor should follow the regulations for the royal domains of the ancient kings. No feudal ruler should be enfeoffed within a thousand li of the imperial capital."⁸ Ts'ao felt that Jung was beginning to talk too much and he disliked him still more. Jung had quarreled with Ch'ih Lü in the past, and with Ts'ao's encouragement, Lü now built up a case against Jung. He had the Libationer Planner to the Army of the Lieutenant-Chancellor, Lu Ts'ui, send in a memorial: "When Jung was in Pei-hai⁹ he saw that the royal house was in trouble, and he called an army together and wanted to plan against the law. He has spoken to an envoy from Sun Ch'üan and has slandered the court. Moreover, he made wild talk with the worthless scholar Mi Heng, and they praised one another. Heng would say to Jung: 'Chung-ni [i.e. Confucius] is not dead.' Jung replied: 'Yen Hui lives again.'¹⁰ This is great refractoriness and impiety. He should be punished with the utmost rigour." Then Ts'ao arrested Jung and killed him together with his wife and children.

Before this, Chih Hsi of Ching-chao had been on very good terms with Jung and he had always warned him that his firmness to principle went too far, that it would certainly bring him suffering and that he would regret it. When Jung died, no-one in Hsü dared to collect his remains. Only Hsi went and looked after the body, saying: "If Wen-chü has left me and is dead, what have I to live for?" Ts'ao arrested Hsi and intended to kill him, but then he pardoned him.

Before this, Liu Piao had two sons, Ch'i and Tsung. Piao had arranged for Tsung to marry the niece of his later wife of the Ts'ai clan, so the Lady Ts'ai loved Tsung and hated Ch'i. Ts'ai Mao, the younger brother of Piao's wife, and his sister's son Chang Yün had both been favoured by Piao, and every day they would slander Ch'i and praise Tsung. Ch'i was worried. He talked with Chu-ko Liang about some way to make himself secure, but Liang would not reply. A little while later they climbed a high tower, and Ch'i ordered that the ladder

2082 be taken away. Then he said to Liang: "Now, we are not high enough to reach to Heaven nor low enough to reach the ground. Words may come from your mouth and only my ears will hear them. Can't you say something?" Liang said: "Haven't you heard how Shen-Sheng stayed inside and so came into danger, while Ch'ung-erh went away and saved himself?"¹¹ Then Ch'i suddenly got the idea, and he made secret plans to leave the capital. About this time Huang Tsu died, and Ch'i asked to take his post, so Piao made him Grand Administrator of Chiang-hsia. Then Piao became very ill, and Ch'i returned to attend his sick-bed. Mao and Yün were afraid that he would see Piao and that father and son would be reunited, and that Piao would change his mind about the succession. So they said to Ch'i: "The General has commanded you to look after Chiang-hsia, and this is an important post. Now you have left your people and come back without permission. You will only upset him and make his illness worse. This is not the way of filial respect." They stopped him outside the doorway and refused to let him see his father. Ch'i wept and went away. Piao died, and Mao and Yün and their party had Tsung take the succession. Tsung sent the seal of a marquis to Ch'i, but Ch'i was furious and threw the seal on the ground. He intended to go back for the funeral and use the chance to make trouble, but it was at this time that Ts'ao Ts'ao's army came up, and Ch'i fled south of the Chiang.

K'uai Yüeh, Grand Administrator of Chang-ling,¹² Fu Hsün, the Head Clerk of the Department of the East, and other officers urged Tsung to surrender to Ts'ao. They said: "There are important principles for opposition and for obedience, and there are settled situations for strength and for weakness. For a servant to refuse to obey a master, that goes against the Way of right action. With a newly-created Ch'u¹³ to resist China proper, that is sure to be dangerous. And to face up to Lord Ts'ao with Liu Pei, that is no match. You are weak on all three points, how can you cope with him? Besides, are you yourself the equal to Liu Pei? If Pei is no match for Lord Ts'ao, then even if you held all of Ch'u you could not keep your position. If Pei is a match for Lord Ts'ao, then he

will never consent to serve you." Tsung agreed.

In the ninth month Ts'ao came to Hsin-yeh and Tsung surrendered his province. He brought his credentials of office¹⁴ and went to welcome Ts'ao. Ts'ao's officers suspected a trap, but Lou Kuei said: "The empire is fallen into confusion and each leader tries to obtain authority from the Emperor so as to increase his power. But Tsung has brought his credentials, and this shows he is completely reliable." So Ts'ao brought his soldiers forward.

33 All this time Liu Pei was in camp at Fan, and Tsung did not dare to let him know about the surrender. Eventually Pei found out, and he sent one of his close attendants to ask Tsung what was going on. Tsung told one of his subordinate officials, Sung Chung, to go to Pei and tell him the news. By this time Ts'ao Ts'ao had already reached Wan, and Pei was very surprised and startled. He said to Chung: "You people did this, and you gave me no word of warning. Now that everything is finished you finally let me know. Isn't that just the limit!" He drew his sword and turned on Chung and said: "If I cut your head off now, it wouldn't make me feel any better, and since we won't see each other again anyway, a man of honour would be ashamed to kill a fellow like you." He sent Chung away. Then he called his followers to council, and some suggested that if Pei attacked Tsung he could take over Ching Province. Pei said: "When Liu of Ching-chou was about to die, he trusted his orphans to me. To turn my back on this promise and seek my own advantage, that I will not do. When I die, how could I show my face to Liu of Ching-chou?" Pei led his forces away, and as he passed by Hsiang-yang he rode fast on horseback to call out to Tsung. Tsung was afraid and would not show himself. Many of Tsung's attendants and the people of Ching Province turned to Pei. Pei passed Piao's grave and took his leave of him, he wept and went away. When he came to Tang-yang his followers were more than a hundred thousand and his baggage was in several thousand carts. He only moved about ten li in a day, and he sent K'uan Yü separately in a fleet with hundreds of ships to wait for him at Chiang-ling. Someone said to Pei: "You should go quickly to defend Chiang-ling. Although you have a great number of people with you, you do not have many men

with armour. If Lord Ts'ao's soldiers should catch you, how will you cope with them?" Pei said: "In carrying out a great affair, the people are the essential thing. Now that the people are turning to me, how can I desert them?"

Hsi Tso-ch'ih discusses this and says:¹⁵ When Liu Hsüan-te was in difficulty and danger, that was the time he really showed his loyalty and sense of honour. His situation was pressing and his affairs were troubled, but his words never left the right Way. He remembered his last promises to Ching-sheng [i.e. Liu Piao], and the army respected him for his feelings. He would not abandon the people that came to join him, and he was prepared to share their misfortunes. In the end he achieved the great design, and surely he deserved it.

Liu Tsung's officer Wang Wei said to Tsung: "Ts'ao Ts'ao has heard that you are surrendering and that Liu Pei has run away. He will certainly relax his precautions, and he will come to meet you with no more than a light escort. If you give me a few thousand soldiers I will intercept him in the passes and Ts'ao can be taken. When you have captured Ts'ao your authority will make the whole empire tremble. You will be perfectly secure and you can look for even greater things." Tsung would not approve.

2084

On account of the military equipment stored there, Ts'ao was afraid Liu Pei might occupy Chiang-ling, so he left his baggage and went to Hsiang-yang with a light-armed force. There he heard that Pei had already gone past, and he led five thousand picked horsemen in close pursuit. In a day and a night they went more than three hundred li, and they came to the Ch'ang Slope in Tang-yang. Pei left his wife and children and fled with Chu-ko Liang, Chang Fei, Chao Yün and a few score of horsemen, and Ts'ao captured all his army and his baggage.

Hsü Shu's mother was captured by Ts'ao, and Shu made his excuses to Pei. He pointed to his breast and said: "In the

beginning, the reason that I wanted to plan with you for the hegemony was because of this square inch of territory [i.e. his heart]. Now I have lost my mother, and my heart is confused. It is no help to your affairs, and so I beg leave to go". He went over to Ts'ao.

Chang Fei commanded twenty horsemen as rearguard. He held the river and broke the bridges down, he looked angry and waved his lance and shouted: "I am Chang Yi-te. Come and die with me." None of Ts'ao's soldiers dared go near him.

Someone said to Liu Pei: "Chao Yün is already fled to the north." Pei threw a hand-axe at him and said: "Tzu-lung will never desert me." A little while later Yün came up and brought Pei's son Shan with him. They met Kuan Yü's fleet, and so crossed the Mien, and Pei was joined by Liu Tsung and more than ten thousand men of his army and he brought them all to Hsia-k'ou.

Ts'ao Ts'ao led his army forward to Chiang-ling. He made Liu Tsung Inspector of Ch'ing Province and enfeoffed him as a full marquis, and he also made marquises of K'uai Yüeh and others, fifteen men in all. He released Han Sung from prison, treated him with the courtesy of a friend, and set him to make gradings of the good and the bad officials of the province. All his nominees were given posts. Sung was made Grand Herald, K'uai Yüeh became Superintendent of the
35 Imperial Household, Liu Hsien became a Master of Writing and Teng Hsi became Palace Attendant.

Wen P'ing of Nan-yang, a high military officer in Ching Province, had kept his camp apart outside. When Tsung surrendered he called P'ing to join him, but P'ing said: "If I cannot keep the province intact, then I wait for punishment [a phrase of apology and refusal]." Only when Ts'ao crossed the Han did P'ing go to him. Ts'ao said: "Why do you come late?" P'ing said: "Before this, I could not help Liu of Ching-chou to serve the state, but although Ching-chou died, I still hoped to hold the line of the Han and keep the borders intact. Then, if I lived I would not be turning my back on the orphaned and the weak, and if I should die there would be no shame below the ground. Yet the decision did not rest with me, and so it has come to this. Really, I am sad and ashamed and I had no face to come earlier to audience."

He sobbed and wept. Ts'ao was sorry for him, and he called him by his style: "Chung-yeh, you are truly a loyal servant." He treated him with great courtesy, let him keep all his former troops, and appointed him Grand Administrator of Chiang-hsia.

Before this, when Yüan Shao was in Chi Province, he had sent messengers to invite the gentry of Ju-nan to join him. Ho Hsia of Hsi-p'ing considered that in Chi Province the terrain was flat and the people were numerous, that this was what an ambitious man would look for, and that it was a land open on all sides to war.¹⁶ It was not as good as Ching Province, where the territory was difficult and there were few people. It would be better to go there. So he went to follow Liu Piao. Piao treated him as a respected guest, but Hsia said [to his companions]: "The reason I didn't follow Pen-ch'u was that I was keeping out of the area where there was going to be fighting. The chieftains in an age of confusion, once cannot stay near them with safety. If one stays for a long time there are sure to come slander and misfortune." So he went south to Wu-ling.

2086

Piao had called Liu Wang-chih of Nan-yang to become an Attendant Official, but two of Wang-chih's friends were executed by Piao because of false accusations. Since he himself had made honest criticisms and they had not been well-received, Wang-chih sent in a petition asking leave to go home. Wang-chih's younger brother Yi said to him: "When Chao killed Ming-tu, Chung-ni turned away.¹⁷ Now either you take Liu-hsia Hui as a model: stay at court and maintain your virtue regardless of the evil of others¹⁸; or else you follow the example of Fan Li and go away and change your occupation.¹⁹ Just sitting there disapproving, that certainly won't do." Wang-chih would not follow this, and later he too was brought to grief. Yi fled to Yang Province. Han Chi of Nan-yang avoided a summons from Yüan Shu and went to live in the Shan-tu Hills.²⁰ Liu Piao also called him up, and then he moved to Ch'an-ling. Piao was extremely angry, and Chi became afraid and so he obeyed the summons. He was appointed Chief of Yi-ch'eng. P'ei Ch'ien of Ho-tung was also treated

with great courtesy by Piao, but Ch'ien spoke quietly to Wang Ch'ang's son Ts'an²¹ and to Ssu-ma Chih of Ho-nei and said: "Governor Liu has not the ability to rule as a hegemon, but he sees himself as the Lord of the West²². His destruction will come very soon." So they went south to Ch'ang-sha. Ts'ao Ts'ao now made Han Chi Subordinate Clerk of the Department of Officials under the Lieutenant Chancellor, P'ei Ch'ien became Adviser to the Army of the Lieutenant Chancellor, 87 Ho Hsia and Liu Yi and Wang Ts'an all became clerical officers, and Ssu-ma Chih became Prefect of Chien. This was what people wanted.

In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day kuei-wei [27.X], the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.

Before this, Lu Shu heard that Liu Piao was dead, and he said to Sun Ch'üan: "Ching Province is a neighbour touching our state. The Chiang and the mountains are dangerous to approach and secure to defend, there are ten thousand li of fertile territory and the people are prosperous. If we take it and hold it, then this can be the base for an empire. Liu Piao has just died, his two sons are in disagreement, and the leaders of their army are divided in loyalty. Liu Pei is a hero of the empire. He quarreled with Ts'ao and went to stay with Piao, but Piao was jealous of his abilities and never gave him an important post. If Pei wants to join up with Piao's sons, and if they can get their government organised, then we should keep the peace with them and make an alliance of friendship. However, if they continue to disagree, we should make other plans to achieve the great design. I beg permission to take a message of condolence to Piao's two sons. While I'm there, I can show our sympathies and make friends with the people in authority in their army, and persuade Pei to collect Piao's forces and to act with us against Ts'ao Ts'ao. Pei will certainly be pleased and will accept your call. If he agrees, the empire can be settled, but if I don't go right away, I am afraid that Ts'ao will get there first." Ch'üan sent Su off.

He came to Hsia-k'ou, and there he learnt that Ts'ao was already moving into Ching Province. Travelling day and night, he reached Nan commandery, but by that time Tsung had already surrendered and Pei had fled south. Su went straight to intercept him, and caught

up with him at the Ch'ang Slope in Tang-yang. He set out what Ch'üan had said and discussed the situation of the empire to explain why they should be friends. Then he asked Pei: "Yü-chou,²³ where do you plan to go?" Pei said: "I have an old friend, Wu Chü, the Grand Administrator of Ts'ang-wu. I shall go and join him." Su said: "Sun, the General Who Exterminates the Caitiffs, is wise and generous. He respects worthy men and he treats gentlemen with courtesy. All the chief men south of the Chiang have joined him, and he already holds six commanderies. His soldiers are well-trained, he has plenty of supplies, and he is strong enough to maintain his independence. Now I will suggest a plan for you. The best thing to do is to send a friend you can trust to make an alliance with the Sun clan in the east, and that way you can act together in everything. But you want to join Wu Chü. Chü is an ordinary fellow, a long way away in a distant commandery. Sooner or later someone will take him over, and how can you trust yourself to him?" Pei was extremely pleased with this argument. Su also spoke to Chu-ku Liang and said: "I am a friend of Tzu-yü." They immediately became friends. This Tzü-yü was [the style of] Liang's older brother Chin. He had fled the troubles to the east of the Chiang, and he became Chief Clerk to Sun Ch'üan.

Liu Pei followed Su's plan, and he went forward to stay at Fan-k'ou in O prefecture as Ts'ao Ts'ao was about to lead his men down the Chiang eastwards from Chiang-ling.

Chu-ko Liang said to Pei: "The matter is urgent, I beg that you give me authority to ask help from General Sun." So he went with Lu Su to Sun Ch'üan. Liang saw Ch'üan at Ch'ai-sang and said to him: "All within the seas is in confusion. You have raised soldiers east of the Chiang, Liu of Yü-chou has collected an army south of the Han, and together we are fighting Ts'ao for the empire. Ts'ao has cut down his most dangerous rivals, and has settled almost all of them. Now he has destroyed Ching Province, and his authority makes all within the four seas tremble. The hero has no land that he can fight from, and so Yü-chou

[i.e. Liu Pei] has fled here. I would want you to measure your strength and give him a place to defend himself. If you are ever to use the people of Wu and Yüeh against the power of central China, then the sooner you do it the better. If you can't manage it, why haven't you held back your soldiers, curbed your armoured men, and faced to the north to serve Ts'ao Ts'ao? You pretend that you will submit and obey, but you are really quite undecided. Things are pressing, and if you make no decision then misfortune will come very quickly." Ch'üan said: "If things are like you say, then why doesn't Yü-chou submit to him?" Liang said: "T'ien Heng was a single man from Ch'i but he still protected his honour and would not disgrace himself."²⁴ Liu of Yü-chou is a descendant of the royal house, whose bravery and ability are known through all the world, and he is respected and admired by the people and the gentry as naturally as water returns to the sea. If a man like that still cannot succeed, that may be the decision of Heaven, but how could he submit to another?" Ch'üan was furious, and said: "I'm not going to collect the whole of the lands of Wu and an army of a hundred thousand men and put them under someone else's orders. My plans are settled. If Yü-chou can't do it, then no-one can match up to Ts'ao. And now, when Yü-chou has just been defeated, how can he resist this threat?" Liang said: "Though Yü-chou's army has been defeated at the Ch'ang Slope, the fighting men who have come back to him now, together with Kuan Yü's fleet, are ten thousand men, armed and trained. Liu Ch'i has joined, with fighting men from Chiang-hsia, again no fewer than ten thousand men. Ts'ao Ts'ao's forces have come a long way and they are worn out and distressed. I have heard that when they chased after Yü-chou their light cavalry went more than three hundred li in a single day and a night. This is what is called: 'The last flight of a strong crossbow cannot pierce plain silk from Lu',²⁵ and The Art of War forbids it, saying: 'This is sure to bring the greatest general to his downfall.'²⁶ Besides, the men from the north are not trained to fight in the river country, and the people of Ching Province who turn to Ts'ao are compelled to do so by military force, and not by their own will. Now if you give orders to your honest leaders that they should bring several ten thousand soldiers to

join Yü-chou and ally our forces, then Ts'ao's army is certain to be destroyed. When Ts'ao's army has been destroyed he will have to go back to the north, and in this way the power of Ching [under Liu Pei] and of Wu [under Sun Ch'üan] will be greatly increased and we can balance Ts'ao like the three legs of a tripod. The chances of victory and defeat rest in this day!" Ch'üan was extremely pleased, and he discussed it with all his ministers.

At this time Ts'ao sent a letter to Ch'üan to say: "I have lately received the imperial command to attack all criminals. My standards point to the south, and Liu Tsung has bound hands. Now I control a fleet with eight hundred thousand men, and I plan to come hunting with you in Wu." Ch'üan showed this to his ministers and all trembled to hear it and turned pale. The Chief Clerk Chang Chao and others said: "Lord Ts'ao is like a jackal or a tiger. He holds the Son of Heaven to justify his attacks, and whatever he does he claims to have the support of the court. If we oppose him now, we will be acting against the Emperor. Besides, the Long River is your most important line of defence against Ts'ao, but now Ts'ao has occupied Ching Province and all its territory. Liu Piao trained a fleet with thousands of ox-hide boats and ships of war, and if Ts'ao sails all this along the Chiang, and supports it with his foot-soldiers, he will come against us by land and water. In other words he controls the line of defence on the river as much as we do, and in sheer military strength we simply can't compare with him. It is my humble opinion that the best we can do is to receive him." Only Lu Su did not speak.

Ch'üan got up to go to the lavatory, and Su followed him under the eaves. Ch'üan knew what he wanted, and he held Su's hand and said: "What do you have to say?" Su said: "I have listened to what those people suggest, and they only want to deceive you. You can't make any worthwhile plans with them. I could welcome Ts'ao, but you can't. Shall I explain this? If I surrendered to Ts'ao, he would send me back to my home district, and have me graded for name and rank.²⁷ At the moment,

they would still make me a junior Attendant Official. I could ride in an ox-drawn carriage²⁸ with an escort of soldiers and I could mingle with the gentry. Then I would be promoted and I could be certain to finish with a province or a commandery. But if you surrender to Ts'ao, where can you go? I want you to decide on this great plan in plenty of time, and don't take those other fellows' advice." Ch'üan sighed and said: "Those others were a disappointment to me, but now you have described the greater plan and showed me a new ambition. This is just what I was hoping for."

At this time Chou Yü was away on a mission to Po-yang, and Su urged Ch'üan to call him back. Yü arrived and said to Ch'üan: "Though Ts'ao pretends to be a minister of the Han, he is really their enemy. By your spiritual warfare and your heroic talents, and relying on the great work of your father and your brother, you have taken the east of the Chiang. Your territory is several thousand li, your soldiers are well-trained, you have adequate supplies, and your men are glad to serve you. You should march across the empire and act for the house of Han, to do away with oppression and to drive out disgrace. Moreover, Ts'ao is bringing his own destruction, why should you surrender to him? Let me put things this way: the north is in disturbance, Ma Ch'ao and Han Sui are still west of the passes, and they are a danger to Ts'ao's rear. Ts'ao is leaving his saddled horses and taking to boats and oars to contend with Wu and Yüeh. We are in the depths of winter, and his horses will have no fodder. He is forcing an army from central China on long marches to the Chiang and the lakes. His men have no experience of marsh country and they will certainly get sickness. All these points are signs of danger in war, yet Ts'ao is hurrying onwards. Now is the time for you to take him. Give me twenty or thirty thousand trained soldiers, and I will go forward to stay at Hsia-k'ou. I guarantee I will defeat him for you." Ch'üan said: "The old bandit [Ts'ao] has long wanted to end the Han and take the empire for himself. He only had the two Yüan and Lü Pu and Liu Piao and me to worry about. Now the other men are dead, and I am the only one that remains. This old bandit and me, one of us must lose out. You say that I should attack and that is just what

I think. Heaven has sent you to me." He drew his sword and chopped the desk in front of him and said: "Any of my officers who dares to say again that we should surrender will be the same as this desk." Then he dismissed the assembly.

That night Yü saw Ch'üan again and said: "When those men saw Ts'ao's letter about eight hundred thousand soldiers and sailors, they all became afraid. They offered their advice without thinking whether it was fact or whether he was only boasting, and this is quite pointless. Now check the real situation: the men that he led from China proper were no more than a hundred and fifty or a hundred and sixty thousand, and they have been worked hard for a long time. Then he got the men from Liu Piao, seventy or eighty thousand at the most, and their loyalty is still suspect. Now if he is using sick and weary soldiers to keep control of an army with uncertain loyalty, then even though there are big numbers in the army, it is certainly nothing to be afraid of. If I have fifty thousand good soldiers I am sure I have enough to deal with them. I want you to have no worries!" Ch'üan clapped him on the back and said: "Kung-chin, you put things just the way I feel. Tzu-pu [i.e. Chang Chao], Yüan-piao [i.e. Ch'in Sung]²⁹ and the others are all worried about their women and children, and they are thinking of their own interests. They make me disappointed. Only you and Tzu-ching [i.e. Lu Su] agree with me, and it is Heaven that has sent you to help me. Fifty thousand soldiers will be difficult to collect right away, but I have already chosen thirty thousand men, and boats, supplies and armour are all ready. Then do you and Tzu-ching and Lord Ch'eng [P'u] go out in the van, and I will continue to send up men with large amounts of supplies as your reserve. If you can manage him, things will certainly be decided in our favour, but if they turn out badly, come back to me and I will myself fight the deciding battle against Meng-te [i.e. Ts'ao Ts'ao]." So he made Chou Yü and Ch'eng P'u Controllers of the Left and of the Right, leading soldiers to join Pei against Ts'ao. He made Lu Su Colonel Who Assists the Army, to help in

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planning.

Liu Pei was at Fan-k'ou, and every day he sent a patrol by the water to wait and watch for Ch'üan's army. The scouts saw Yü's ships in the distance, and they went fast to tell Pei; Pei sent men to welcome them. Yü said: "I am in command of the army and I cannot leave my post. If Pei will be good enough to come and see me, that would be just what I expect!" Then Pei went in a single boat to see Yü and said: "Now, you have decided to oppose Lord Ts'ao, and that's quite the best thing to do. How many fighting men have you?" Yü said: "Thirty thousand." Pei said: "I'm afraid they're too few". Yü said: "That will certainly be enough. You just watch me defeat him." Pei wanted to call Lu Su and some others for a council of war, but Yü said: "I have received my orders, and I'm not going to avoid responsibility. If you want to see Tzu-ching, you can call on him yourself." Pei was quite put out, but he was also very impressed.

They went forward and met with Ts'ao at the Red Cliffs.

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At this time Ts'ao's army was already weary, and they had sickness. In the first attack, Ts'ao's men got nowhere, and they went back to the north of the Chiang. Yü and his forces were on the south bank, and Yü's subordinate officer Huang Kai said: "The enemy are many and we are few. It will be difficult to hold them off for long. Ts'ao's army has joined his fleet, head touching tail. We can burn them and make them fly." He took ten covered boats, filled them with tinder grass and dried faggots, poured oil inside them, covered them with tent curtains and set up flags on them. He prepared light fast boats and fastened them to the sterns. First he sent a letter to Ts'ao pretending that he wanted to surrender. At this time the wind was blowing strong from the southeast, and Kai collected his ten ships and put them in the front. Half-way across the Chiang he set sail, and all the other boats followed after them in order. The officials and soldiers of Ts'ao's forces all came from the camp to look, and they pointed and said that Kai was coming to surrender. When he was about two li away from the northern army, he set them all on fire. The fire was fierce and the wind was strong, and the ships went like arrows. They burnt all the northern fleet, and the fire

reached the camps on the bank. In a very short time the smoke and flame were stretched across the sky, and a whole multitude of men and horses were burned or drowned and died. Yü and the others led a light-armed force to follow this up, and they beat their drums with a mighty roar and the northern army was utterly smashed.

Ts'ao led his forces on foot in flight by the Hua-jung road. They met with mud and mire and the road was impassable. Heaven sent a great wind, and all the sick soldiers had to carry grass on their backs to fill up the road before the horsemen could get across. They were trodden down by the men and horses, sunk into the mud, and a whole mass of them died together. Liu Pei and Chou Yü came forward by land and water, and they chased Ts'ao to Nan commandery. All Ts'ao's force was starving and sick, and the greater part of them died. Then Ts'ao left the General Who Subdues the South Ts'ao Jen with the General Who Traverses the Open Country Hsü Huang to hold Chiang-ling, and the General Who Breaks the Enemy Line Yüeh Chin to hold Hsiang-yang. He led the rest of his army back to the north.

Chou Yü and Ch'eng P'u had an army of several ten thousand men, but the river held them away from Ts'ao Jen and they had not been able to attack. Kan Ning asked to go forward by an indirect route and seize Yi-ling. He attacked the city successfully and went in to occupy it.

Hsiu Su, an officer from Yi Province, brought his army to surrender, and Chou Yü recommended that Su's soldiers go to increase the command of Lü Meng, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Traverses the Open Country. Meng said generously: "Su is a brave man and can be of good service. Besides, he has looked to us and come from far away. In all fairness we should add to his men, not take them away from him." Chüan admired this, and he gave Su's soldiers back to him.

Ts'ao Jen sent troops to besiege Kan Ning, and Ning was hard pressed and asked help from Chou Yü. The officers held that the soldiers were too few to split them up, but Lü Meng said to Chou Yü and Ch'eng P'u: "Leave Ling Kung-chi [i.e. Ling T'ung] at Chiang-ling. If you and I go we can break up the siege and do away with the danger, and it won't take long. I guarantee Kung-chi can hold out for ten days." Yü followed this. They completely defeated Jen's forces at Yi-ling, captured three hundred horses and came back. The confidence of the officers and the soldiers was doubled, and Yü crossed the Chiang and camped on the northern bank to face up to Jen.

In the twelfth month Sun Ch'üan himself led an army to besiege Ho-fei, and he sent Chang Chao in an attack on Tang-t'u in Chiu-chiang. It was not successful.

Liu Pei recommended Liu Ch'i as Inspector of Ching Province, and he led his soldiers south to occupy four commanderies. Chin Hsüan, the Grand Administrator of Wu-ling, Han Hsüan the Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha, Chao Fan the Grand Administrator of Kuei-yang and Liu Tu the Grand Administrator of Ling-ling all surrendered. Lei Hsü, leader of a force in Lu-chiang, led several ten thousand followers to come to Pei. Pei made Chu-ko Liang General of the Gentlemen of the Household Master of the Army and ordered him to take charge of the three commanderies of Ling-ling, Kuei-yang and Ch'ang-sha and to levy sufficient taxes for the needs of the army. He had the Lieutenant-General Chao Yün take over as Grand Administrator of Kuei-yang.³⁰

Liu Chang, Governor of Yi Province, heard that Ts'ao Ts'ao had captured Ching Province, and he sent his Aide-de-Camp Chang Sung to pay respects to Ts'ao. Sung was a man of short stature and erratic behaviour, but he had insight and he was shrewd and brave. At this time Ts'ao had captured Ching Province and put Liu Pei to flight, and he did not show proper courtesy to Sung. The Master of Records Yang Hsiu told Ts'ao to give Sung some new appointment, but Ts'ao would not agree. So Sung became angry and went back and urged Liu Chang to break with Ts'ao and ally with Liu Pei, and Chang did so.

Hsi Tso-ch'ih discusses it:³¹ In the past, Huan of Ch'i once boasted of his own good work, and so nine states turned rebel.³² For a short time Ts'ao Ts'ao made show of his pride, and so the empire divided into three. Both worked hard for several tens of years, and yet they lost it in a nod. Isn't that sad?

Ts'ao Ts'ao thought again of T'ien Ch'ou's good work, and he was sorry he had allowed him to refuse any honours. He said: "It may have pleased the man himself, but it means that the royal laws fail in their full enforcement." He enfeoffed Ch'ou once more, with the same rank. Ch'ou sent in a memorial to explain how he felt, and he swore that he would turn the offer down though his life depended on it. Ts'ao would not listen, and still wanted him to accept. This was repeated four times, but still Ch'ou refused. The high officials impeached him: "He stands aloof and goes against the right Way of action, and he is wrongfully using this opportunity to build up some petty name for virtue. He should be dismissed from office and punished." Ts'ao referred the question to his eldest son and his chief ministers for their opinion, and Ts'ao P'i held that: "Ch'ou's case is the same as Tzu-wen refusing official salary or Shen Hsü fleeing away from wealth."³³ We should appreciate his feelings and should not force him to accept." The Master of Writing Hsün Yü and the Colonel Director of the Retainers Chung Yao also felt that he should be allowed to refuse, but Ts'ao still wanted to make him a marquis. Ch'ou had been on good terms with Hsia-hou Tun in the past, and Ts'ao sent Tun, because of their friendship, to explain things to him. Tun went to Ch'ou's lodging and stayed all night to persuade him. Ch'ou knew what he was going to say and refused to talk. When Tun was about to go, he made one final attempt, but Ch'ou replied: "I am a man who turned from his honour and ran away like a rat. To receive the favour of life, that is great good fortune. I didn't sell information about the Lu-lung road³⁴ in order to get easy rewards and salary. Even if the state has

given me undue consideration, how can I face up to my own conscience? You know me well, but you still go on like this. Unless you stop, I assure you I would rather cut off my head." Even as he was speaking, his tears flowed down. Tun told all this to Ts'ao, and Ts'ao sighed and realised that he could not be made to yield. He appointed him a Gentleman-consultant.

Ts'ao's young son Ts'ang-shu died, and Ts'ao was extremely hurt and sad. The daughter of Ping Yüan, a Head Clerk under the Minister of Works, had also died young, and Ts'ao asked that she be buried with Ts'ang-shu. Yüan refused and said: "The marriage of dead children would be quite improper. The reason I can face you, and the reason why you can deal with me, that is because we hold to the moral code and we don't change it. If I did what you ask, I would be acting like a common fellow. What would you think of me then?" So Ts'ao gave up the idea.³⁵

Sun Ch'üan sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who is Majestic and Firm Ho Ch'i to attack the bandits of Yi and She in Tan-yang. The leaders of the Yi group, Ch'en P'u and Tsu-shan, with followers numbering twenty thousand families, were camped in the Lin-li Hills.³⁶ There were cliffs on four sides that could not be attacked and the army was held there for a full month. Ch'i quietly gathered light-armed and active men and brought them to a hidden pass. They used iron halberds to climb the mountain and then hung down a cloth to pull up the men below. About a hundred men got to the top, and he ordered them to split up and spread out in every direction and to sound drums and horns. The enemy were very startled and the men who were guarding the road all ran back to their camp. So then the main body of the army was able to get up, and they completely defeated the bandits. Ch'üan divided Tan-yang to form the new commandery of Hsin-tu, and Ch'i was made Grand Administrator.³⁷

Chien-an 14th year [22.II.209-11.II.210]

2097 In the spring, in the third month, Ts'ao Ts'ao brought his army to Ch'iao.

Sun Ch'üan besieged Ho-fei, and his army had surrounded the city for a long time, but it still did not fall. Ch'üan gathered light cavalry, planning to lead a charge against the enemy. Chang Hung, the Chief Clerk, objected: "Weapons are evil and war is a dangerous business. If you follow your inclinations and display your courage, careless of the strength and fury of the enemy, then everyone in the army will be worried. Even if you cut off their leader's head and captured their flag, even though your authority shook the ground beneath their feet, this would still be the job of a lower officer, not something for the commander. I beg you to restrain the bravery of [Meng] Pen and [Hsia] Yü, and maintain your conduct as a hegemon king." So Ch'üan gave up the idea.

Ts'ao Ts'ao sent his general Chang Hsi to lead soldiers to break up the siege, but it was a long time before he could get there. The Aide-de-Camp of Yang Province, Chiang Chi of Ch'u state,¹ spoke secretly to the Inspector and pretended that he had received a letter from Hsi to say that forty thousand horsemen and footsoldiers had already reached Hsü-lü. The Master of Records was sent to receive Chang Hsi and three sets of messengers were despatched, each carrying letters to tell the news to the commander of the garrison at Ho-fei. One group got into the city, but the other two were captured by Sun Ch'üan. Ch'üan believed the story, and he quickly burnt the siegeworks and went away.²

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Ts'ao Ts'ao brought his fleet from the Ko to the Huai, they followed the Fei River to Ho-fei,³ and military colonies were established at Ch'üeh-p'i.

In the winter, in the tenth month, there was an earthquake in Ching Province.

In the twelfth month Ts'ao's army returned to Ch'iao.

The men of Lu-chiang, Ch'en Lan and Mei Ch'eng, occupied Ch'ien and Liu and made a rebellion. Ts'ao sent the General Who Terrifies Criminals Chang Liao to attack and behead them. Then he sent Liao to join Yüeh Chin and Li Tien and lead seven thousand men to camp at Ho-fei.

Chou Yü had been fighting Ts'ao Jen for more than a year, and a great many soldiers were killed or wounded. At last, Jen abandoned the city and fled. Ch'üan named Yü as Grand Administrator of Nan commandery and had him occupy Chiang-ling. Ch'eng P'u was Grand Administrator of Chiang-hsia, with his administration at Sha-hsien.

99 Lü Fan became Grand Administrator of P'eng-tse,⁴ and Lü Meng was made Prefect of Hsün-yang.

Liu Pei recommended Ch'üan as acting General of Chariots and Cavalry with command as Governor of Hsü Province. Then Liu Ch'i died, and Ch'üan arranged for Pei to take over as Governor of Ching Province. Chou Yü handed over all the territory south of the Chiang to Pei.⁵ Pei set his base at Yu-k'ou, and changed the name to Kung-an.

Ch'üan gave his younger sister as wife to Pei. She was quick-witted and brave, with spirit equal to her brothers. She had more than a hundred serving-maids, and they all carried swords in attendance. Pei was frightened every time he went in to see her.

Ts'ao Ts'ao sent Chiang Kan of Chiu-chiang on a secret mission to win Chou Yü to his side. For ability in debate, Kan had no equal between the Chiang and the Huai, and in plain clothing and a linen cap he went to see Yü as if on a private visit. Yü came out to welcome him, and he stood and said to Kan: "Tzu-yi, you must be very tired, for you have come a long way across the rivers and the lakes. Was it just to be a mouthpiece for Ts'ao?" Then he took Kan with him to inspect the whole of the camp. They saw the granary and the stores, the arsenal and the accounts of armour and weapons. They went back to drink and feast, and he showed Kan his attendants and his things of ornament and pleasure. Then he said to him: "A great man in the

world has met the master who can appreciate him. Outwardly, we behave with the courtesy of ruler and subject, but inside we are joined as blood-brothers. He approves anything I suggest and he always agrees to my plans. In fortune or misfortune, we share it. If [Su] Ch'in or [Chang] Yi were born again, could they change my feelings?"⁶ Kan only laughed, and the subject was never mentioned again. He went back to report to Ts'ao, and he praised Yü's behaviour and his high abilities, and said that this was a man whom words could never lead astray.

Ho Hsia, Head Clerk under the Lieutenant-Chancellor, said to Ts'ao Ts'ao: "All men vary in their abilities and their characters, and you can't judge them from only one aspect. Excessive economy and simplicity may be all right for one person, but if you force others to fit the same pattern there will be a great deal of injustice. In your court at the moment, an officer who wears new clothes and who rides in a fine carriage is immediately called corrupt, and those who pay no attention to their appearance and wear worn-out clothing and furs are all considered upright and pure. It's even got to the point where your officials are compelled to dirty their clothes and hide their carriages and fine robes. Even the highest officers of the court or in the government sometimes have to take their own food and drink to eat at the office."⁷ In setting up a teaching or in establishing a custom, it is always best to keep to the middle path, for that is the easiest to follow. But now you are encouraging a form of behaviour that is difficult to follow, and you are using it to keep a check on all sorts of different people. When you force things on people like that, they will certainly get tired and upset. The great teachers of the past always laid emphasis on human nature. Anything that is extreme and difficult will only encourage secrecy and deception." Ts'ao thought this argument very good.

2100

Chien-an 15th year [12.II.210-31.I.211]:

In the spring an ordinance was promulgated, saying: "Meng Kung-ch'o was more than fit to be chief officer of Chao and Wei, but he was not worthy of the highest post in T'eng or Hsieh.¹ If a man must be pure before he can be given office, then how would Huan of Ch'i have become the hegemon?² You people must help me, and bring to light the humble and the obscure. Please recommend people simply for their talents, and I can make use of them."³

In the second month, on the day yi-ssu [13.III], the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.

In the winter Ts'ao Ts'ao built the Copper Bird Terrace [T'ung-chüeh t'ai] at Yeh.

In the twelfth month, on the day chi-hai [1.I.211?]⁴ Ts'ao issued an ordinance: "When I was first recommended as Filially Pious and Incorrupt, I realised that I was no scholar recluse with a fine reputation, and I was afraid that people would think me simple. I wanted to do good work in government and make a name for myself that way. As a result, in Chi-nan I destroyed oppression and drove out evil, and I satisfied myself that my appointment had been justified.⁵ However, because of this, I made enemies of powerful men. I was afraid I would bring misfortune to my family, and so I pleaded sick and went back home. I was still young, I built a fine house fifty li east of Ch'iao, and I planned that I would read books in the autumn and summer, and shoot and hunt in winter and spring. That was my plan for twenty years; to wait until the empire had been reformed, and then to come out and accept office. Yet things didn't work out that way, and I was called to the capital and made Colonel Who Arranges the Army. So I changed my ideas again, and now I wanted to work for the nation, to destroy the rebels and to gain some achievement. I would have had the stone tablet leading to my tomb inscribed with the words: 'The former General Who Subdues the West, the Marquis Ts'ao of the Han', and this was all my ambition. But then there came the trouble with Tung Cho, and I raised up loyal troops. And later I took over in Yen Province, and I destroyed or brought to surrender three hundred thousand

of the Yellow Turbans; and I attacked the rebel Yüan Shu and caused him to die poor and ruined; and I destroyed Yüan Shao and exposed the heads of his two sons; and I also settled Liu Piao. So I have pacified the empire. I am the chief. I have the utmost honour that a subject can hold, and this has already surpassed my hopes. Supposing that the nation had not had me, who can say how many men would have claimed to be emperor or how many men would have sought to rule as kings? Yet some people see my power increasing, and they know that I am not the sort of a man who believes you can leave everything to luck nor rely indefinitely on the favour of Heaven. They may be foolish enough to think I have ambitions for the throne, and this makes me worried. So now I am telling you the way I really feel, and these words come from the bottom of my heart. Even so, if anyone wants me to give up my army, hand over my power to someone else and retire to my marquisate at Wu-p'ing, then that just isn't going to happen. Frankly, I'm afraid that once I left the protection of my soldiers, someone would kill me, and I want to arrange that even my children and grandchildren shall be secure. Besides, if I should be destroyed, the whole nation will be in danger. I am not prepared to give up my life in exchange for a meaningless reputation. All the same, I hold a fief of four prefectures, and I have a tax pension from thirty thousand households; what have I done to deserve so much? Since the rivers and lake-lands of the south are still not settled, I cannot leave my post, but I can certainly give up my cities and lands. So now I hand back the three prefectures of Yang-hsia, Che and K'u, with twenty thousand households, and I shall keep only the pension from the ten thousand households of Wu-p'ing. By doing this, I shall give less cause for the ugly rumours and slander, and I will be easing myself from a few of my responsibilities."

Many of the officials and gentry who had formerly served Liu Piao now turned to Liu Pei. Pei felt that the territory Chou Yü had given him was too small to support his army, so he went himself to Ching city to see Sun Ch'üan and to ask for appointment as chief in command of Ching Province. Yü sent in a memorial to

Ch'üan saying: "Liu Pei is a cruel fierce leader and he has Kuan Yü and Chang Fei as officers like bears or tigers. They will never consent to serve anyone else for very long. I say that the best plan would be to transfer Pei to some appointment in Wu, build him lots of palaces and houses and give him plenty of women and numerous pleasures to rejoice his ears and eyes. Separate the other two so that each holds office in a different place, and have somebody like me to hold them down and force them to fight for us. If we do that, the great affair can be settled. But if you are careless enough to give him land of his own and if you let these three men stay together, then I am afraid that the flood dragon will get to the rain, and in the end he'll be more than just a minnow in a pond!" Lü Fan also urged Ch'üan to keep Pei near at hand. Because Ts'ao Ts'ao was in the north, Ch'üan felt that now was the time he needed all the allies he could find, and he would not follow their advice. Pei came back to Kung-an. A long time afterwards he heard about this, and he sighed and said: "Anywhere in the empire, wise men think alike. K'ung-ming [i.e. Chu-ko Liang] warned me not to go, and that was what he was worried about too. My position was extremely difficult, and I couldn't avoid going, but it was very dangerous, and I almost fell into Chou Yü's clutches."

Chou Yü went to Ching city to see Ch'üan and said: "Ts'ao has just been defeated, and he will be worried about the loyalty of even his closest companions. He can't do anything to you for some time to come. I beg to go forward with the General Who Displays Majesty [Sun Yü], to seize Shu and take over Chang Lu. Then I will leave the General Who Displays Majesty to hold that territory in alliance with Ma Ch'ao, and I will come back to join you and we will seize Hsiang-yang and put the pressure on Ts'ao. After that we can make plans to deal with the north." Ch'üan approved it. The General Who Displays Majesty, that was the son of Sun Chien's younger brother, Sun Yü, who also held the post of Grand Administrator of Tan-yang.

Chou Yü went back to Chiang-ling to pack for the road, but on the way there he became seriously ill, and he sent a message to Ch'üan:

2103 "Whether life is long or short, that is fate, and nothing to make a fuss about. I only regret that my poor ambition is not yet achieved, and that I will never again receive your teaching and your commands. Now Ts'ao Ts'ao is in the north, and our borders are not at peace. Liu Pei is lodging here, and that is like feeding a tiger. We cannot know how things will turn out, for this is a time when the men of the court eat late because they are concerned about trouble to come, and the ruler has continual anxieties. Lu Su is loyal and honest, and he will never shirk his responsibilities. He can take my place. If you accept what I say, I shall not die in vain." He died at Pa-ch'iu.⁶ When Ch'üan learnt of this he mourned and said: "Kung-chin had the ability to assist a ruler and yet he has died so young. Who can I trust now?" He went himself to Wu-hu to accompany the funeral. Yü left a daughter and two sons. Ch'üan had his eldest son Teng marry the girl and he made the son Hsün Chief Commandant of Cavalry and gave him his daughter in marriage. [Yü's other son] Yin became Chief Commandant Who Carries on Tradition and married a woman of the Sun clan.

Before this, Yü had been Sun Ts'e's friend, and Ch'üan's mother always told him to serve Yü as an elder brother. When Ch'üan took position as a General all his officers and attendants still treated him with ordinary courtesy, and Yü was the first to pay him full respects and to observe the ceremonies as his minister. Ch'eng P'u felt that he was senior to Yü [and should therefore be given the higher post]. He often insulted Yü, but Yü disregarded their official ranks and always treated P'u with respect. He never answered the taunts. Later, P'u respected Yü, and obeyed him of his own accord. He became Yü's close friend and admirer, and he would say to people: "Being with Chou Kung-chin is like drinking strong wine without water. You become drunk before you realise it."

Ch'üan made Lu Su Colonel Who Displays Firmness to take over Yü's soldiers, and he appointed Ch'eng P'u as Grand Administrator of Nan commandery. Lu Su urged Ch'üan to lend Ching

04 Province to Liu Pei so they could face up to Ts'ao together, and Ch'üan agreed. He divided Yü-chang to make Po-yang commandery, and Ch'ang-sha to make Han-ch'ang commandery, and Ch'eng P'u came back to be Grand Administrator of Chiang-hsia again. Lu Su became Grand Administrator of Han-ch'ang and camped at Lu-k'ou.

Before this, Ch'üan had said to Lü Meng: "Now you have an official position, you will have to study." Meng said he was too busy with the army. Ch'üan said: "Why should I want you to study the classics like an official scholar? You just browse through some books and get an idea of what has happened in the past. You say you have too many other things to do but you can't be as busy as I am. I always read books, and I think they have had a lot to do with my success." So then Meng began to study. When Lu Su passed by Hsün-yang he talked with Meng, and he was very surprised and said: "Now you are brilliant, you are no longer the A-Meng from Wu!"⁷ Meng said: "When gentlemen have been away from each other for as little as three days, they should still rub their eyes when they meet again [to look carefully how each has changed]. My elder brother, why did you notice this so late?" Then Su paid his respects to Meng's mother, and swore friendship, and went on his way.

Liu Pei appointed his Attendant Official P'ang T'ung to be Prefect of Lei-yang. The prefecture was badly governed and he dismissed T'ung from office. Lu Su sent Pei a letter: "P'ang Shih-yüan is not the man to manage a hundred li, but make him your Attendant Official at Headquarters or your Aide-de-Camp, and then he will be able to find his feet." Chu-ko Liang also advised this. Pei saw T'ung, and had excellent conversation with him. He got a good opinion of his abilities, and so he appointed him Attendant Official at Headquarters. He confided in him and treated him just a little less than Chu-ko Liang, and T'ung and Liang both became General of the Gentlemen of the Household Master of the Army.

Before this, Shih Hsieh of Ts'ang-wu became Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih. The Inspector of Chiao Province, Chu Fu, was killed by rebel barbarians and the province and the commanderies fell into

disorder. Hsieh recommended his younger brothers for office, and Yi took over as Grand Administrator of Ho-p'u, Hui as Grand Administrator of Chiu-chen, and Wu as Grand Administrator of Nan-hai. Hsieh himself was a tolerant and generous man, and many
2105 of the gentry from central China came to him. The whole province, ten thousand li from the court, was under his dominance, and he had no rivals. As time went by, his authority and the soldiers under his command steadily increased, and all the barbarians trembled and served him.

The court sent Chang Chin of Nan-yang to be Inspector of Chiao Province. Chin believed in spirits and worshipped demons. He always wore a purple-red turban, he played drums and lutes, he burnt incense, he read Taoist books and he said that this could help his rule. He was killed by his officer Ou Ching. Liu Piao sent Lai Kung of Ling-ling to take Chin's place as Inspector, and since the Grand Administrator of Ts'ang-wu, Shih Huang, had also died about the same time, Piao sent Wu Chü to take his place. The court awarded Hsieh a sealed document to appoint him General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Comforts the South, to govern the seven commanderies while still keeping his position as Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih. Chü and Kung quarrelled, Chü raised troops to drive Kung out, and Kung fled back to Ling-ling.

Sun Ch'üan appointed Pu Chih of Lin-huai,⁸ the Grand Administrator of Po-yang, as Inspector of Chiao Province. Shih Hsieh led his brothers to attend him and obey his orders, but Wu Chü only pretended to submit and secretly opposed him. Chih made Chü come to him and then cut his head off. His reputation and authority made everyone tremble. Ch'üan promoted Hsieh to General of the Left and Hsieh sent his sons to be hostages. By this means, Ling-nan first came under Sun Ch'üan's control.⁹

Chien-an 16th year [1.II.211-19.II.212]:

2106 In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Ts'ao's eldest son P'i was made General of the Gentlemen of the Household for

All Purposes with subordinate officials, to act as Associate to the Lieutenant Chancellor.¹

In the third month Ts'ao sent the Colonel Director of the Retainers Chung Yao to attack Chang Lu, and he sent the Commissioner over the Army Who Subdues the West Hsia-hou Yüan and others to lead soldiers out from Ho-tung and join up with Yao. The Subordinate Clerk in the Department of Granaries Kao Jou objected: "If great forces go out to the west, Han Sui and Ma Ch'ao will suspect that we are planning to attack them, and they will take joint action to defend themselves. You should first get control of the Three Adjuncts. When the Three Adjuncts are settled, then you can deal with Han-chung." Ts'ao would not agree.

The leaders within the passes did have suspicions, and Ma Ch'ao, Han Sui, Hou Hsüan, Ch'eng Yin, Yang Ch'iu, Li K'an, Chang Heng, Liang Hsing, Ch'eng Yi, Ma Wan and their followers, in ten divisions, all rebelled. Their force was a hundred thousand men, and they made a camp to hold T'ung-kuan. Ts'ao sent the General Who Gives Tranquillity to the West Ts'ao Jen to take command of all operations against the rebels, and an edict ordered the soldiers to strengthen their fortifications and not to join battle. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes Ts'ao P'i was left to hold Yeh with the General Who Displays Firmness Ch'eng Yü as Adviser to his Army. The Commander of the Guard at the Gate Hsü Hsüan of Kuang-ling became Commissioner over the Army of the Left and stayed behind in charge of military affairs. Kuo Yüan of Lo-an became Resident Chief Clerk and maintained the civil administration.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Ts'ao led an attack on Ch'ao and the others. Many of his advisers said: "The soldiers of the west of the passes are trained in the long lance. Unless we train our advance guard and choose them carefully we won't be able to cope with them." Ts'ao said: "I shall be planning this war, not the enemy. Though the bandits are expert with long lances, I can arrange things so they won't be able to use them. Just you watch!"

In the eighth month Ts'ao came to T'ung-kuan and drew up his lines across the pass from Ch'ao and the others. While Ts'ao kept their attention, he quietly sent Hsü Huang and Chu Ling away with four thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers to cross the Po-pan Ford and establish a bridgehead on the west of the Yellow River.

In the intercalary month Ts'ao went north from T'ung-kuan to cross the Yellow River. The main body of the soldiers went across first, and Ts'ao stayed behind with a few hundred Tiger Warriors² on the south bank to hold the rear. Ma Ch'ao led some ten thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers to attack them, arrows came down like the rain, but Ts'ao sat on a folding chair and made no move.³ Hsü Ch'u helped Ts'ao onto a boat. The man who worked the boat was hit by a flying arrow and killed, but Ch'u held a horse's saddle to protect Ts'ao with his left hand and with his right hand he managed the boat. The Colonel Ting Fei let loose cattle and horses to distract the pursuers, the enemy milled about as they rounded the beasts up, and so Ts'ao got across. Then from Po-pan he crossed to Hsi-ho, and he formed a protected road to come south along the Yellow River.⁴ Ch'ao and the others fell back to hold the mouth of the Wei River. Then Ts'ao despatched some of his soldiers on decoy expeditions, but he secretly sent men into the Wei by boat. There they made a pontoon bridge, and at night he sent a detachment to set a post south of the Wei. Ch'ao and the others attacked the camp in the darkness but soldiers from an ambush caught them by surprise and defeated them. Then Ch'ao made camp south of the Wei and sent messengers offering to cede the area west of the Yellow River and asking for peace. Ts'ao would not agree.

In the ninth month Ts'ao brought all his army forward across the Wei. Ch'ao and the others challenged him several times to fight, but he would not accept. They repeatedly offered to cede him the territory and even to send hostages. Chia Hsü said that they could pretend to accept this. Ts'ao asked him why. Hsü said: "Only to divide them." Ts'ao said: "I understand."

Han Sui asked to see Ts'ao face to face. Ts'ao and Sui had known each other in the past, and now they met on horseback and talked for a while. There was no mention of military matters, they only spoke of old times in the capital, and they clasped hands and laughed in pleasure. The soldiers from the west and the barbarians came in groups to watch. Ts'ao laughed and said to them: "You want to see Lord Ts'ao?"

108 He is only a man too, he hasn't got four eyes or two mouths, just a bit of intelligence!" When they parted, Ch'ao and the others questioned Sui: "What did he say?" Sui replied: "Nothing worth repeating." Ch'ao and the others were suspicious of him. A few days later Ts'ao wrote Sui a letter, with many things struck out and altered, as if Sui had changed it, and so Ch'ao and the others became still more doubtful of him.⁵ Then Ts'ao agreed on a day for battle. At first he sent out light troops to skirmish, and when they had fought for some time he let loose his Tiger Cavalry to attack the enemy from both sides. He completely defeated them and cut off the heads of Ch'eng Yi and Li K'an and others. Sui and Ch'ao fled to Liang Province, and Yang Ch'iu fled to An-ting.

His officers said to Ts'ao: "When we first arrived, the enemy were holding T'ung-kuan, and they had no strong guard on the road north of the Wei. You did not go through Ho-tung to attack P'ing-yi, but instead you stayed at T'ung-kuan and it was only after some time that you crossed to the north. Why was that?" Ts'ao said: "The enemy were holding T'ung-kuan, and if I had gone into Ho-tung they would certainly have sent back guards to every crossing. I would never have been able to get over into Hsi-ho. So I reinforced the soldiers facing T'ung-kuan. When all the enemy were facing south the defences of Hsi-ho were left empty and no more than two officers were needed to take Hsi-ho. Later, when I brought back my troops to cross to the north, those two officers kept the enemy from fighting me for Hsi-ho. Then I joined up carriages like a palisade and made a protected road to move south. That way I couldn't be defeated, but it also seemed to show we were weak. I crossed the Wei and made a strong fort, and when the enemy arrived and I didn't come out that was to make them feel superior. So they made no camp or fort of their own, but only asked to cede territory.

I gave them favourable words and promises, and the reason I seemed to accept their proposals was to have them feel at ease and not make any preparations. Then we collected our forces, and the day we attacked them it was like 'when sudden thunder comes there is no time to cover the ears'. The plans of war never follow a single track."

Earlier, as each group of the leaders within the passes came up to fight him Ts'ao had a pleased expression on his face. His officers asked him why, and he said: "The land within the passes is very broad. If the rebels each kept to the difficult country and made us come to attack them, it would take more than two years to settle them. Now they have all come together, and although they make a big army, none of them will take orders from another. So the army will have no accepted leader and they can be destroyed with a
2109 single blow. This makes the job easy, and naturally I am pleased."

In the winter, in the tenth month, Ts'ao went north from Ch'ang-an to attack Yang Ch'iu, and he besieged An-ting. Ch'iu surrendered, and then Ts'ao gave him back his position and had him stay to look after his people.

In the twelfth month Ts'ao came back from An-ting. He left Hsia-hou Yüan to camp at Ch'ang-an and made the Gentleman-consultant Chang Chi Intendant of Ching-chao. Chi received the refugees and looked after them, he restored the prefectural cities, and the people loved him.

When Sui and Ch'ao made their rebellion, many of the prefectural cities of Hung-nung and P'ing-yi joined them, while only the people of Ho-tung had always remained loyal. When Ts'ao fought with Ch'ao and the others on the banks of the Wei, the army supplies were all based on Ho-tung. When Ch'ao and the others were defeated, there were more than two hundred thousand bushels left over.⁶ Ts'ao increased the salary of Tu Chi, the Grand Administrator of Ho-tung, to fully two thousand piculs.⁷

Fa Cheng of Fu-feng was Colonel Consultant of the Army to Liu Chang, but Chang never paid any attention to what he said, and he was held in contempt by all the people of his own district

who had come to take refuge with him in Shu. Cheng was discouraged that he could not realise his ambitions. The Aide-de-Camp of Yi Province, Chang Sung, was a friend of Cheng. He too was confident in his own abilities and felt that Chang had failed to appreciate him, and he was secretly very discontented. Sung urged Chang to join Liu Pei. Chang said: "Who can I send?" Then Sung recommended Cheng, and so Chang gave him the commission. Before he left Cheng made all sorts of excuses so that Chang would think it was only his orders that forced him to go. When he came back he said to Sung that Pei was a man with great ideas. Together they made secret plans to invite Pei in to take over the province.

About this time Ts'ao Ts'ao sent Chung Yao against Han-chung. Chang heard about this and became worried. Then Sung said to Chang: "Lord Ts'ao's soldiers have no match in the empire. If he uses Chang Lu's resources and then takes over Shu territory, who can resist him? Liu of Yü-chou [i.e. Liu Pei] is a fellow clansman of yours and a confirmed enemy of Lord Ts'ao. He is extremely good at using soldiers, and if you send him to attack Lu then Lu is sure to be defeated. Once Lu is defeated then Yi Province will be strong. Even though Lord Ts'ao should come, there would be nothing he could do. Now the officers of this province, P'ang Hsi, Li Yi and the others, are all proud of their good work and they act arrogant and boastful. They aren't really reliable. Unless you get Liu of Yü-chou, then the enemy will be attacking outside and the people will be in rebellion within, and that is the way to certain destruction." Chang agreed with this, and he sent Fa Cheng with forty thousand men to ask Pei to come. The Master of Records Huang Ch'üan of Pa-hsi objected: "Liu the General of the Left has a tremendous reputation for bravery, and now you invite him here. If you treat him as a dependent, that will never satisfy his ambitions. If you treat him with the ceremony of a guest, then it will not be easy for the one state to hold two lords. Even if the guest were as safe as Mount T'ai, yet the ruler has danger like eggs piled up. It would be far better to close your borders and wait till things sort themselves out." Chang would not listen, and he sent Ch'üan out to be Prefect of Kuang-han. The

Attendant Official Wang Lei of Kuang-han hung himself upside down at the gates of the capital in protest, but Chang would not be influenced.

Fa Cheng came to Ching Province and secretly offered his plan to Liu Pei, saying: "With your bravery and ability you can take advantage of Governor Liu's lack of energy. Chang Sung is the legs and arms of that province, and he will be like an echo to you within the court. You can take Yi Province as easily as you turn your hand." Pei was uncertain and could not make up his mind. P'ang T'ung said to him: "Ching Province is in disorder and ruins, people and property are all exhausted. In the east there is Sun the Chariots and Cavalry General and in the north there is Ts'ao Ts'ao. It will be difficult for you to obtain your ambitions. Now Yi Province has a population of a million. The soil is fertile and the people are wealthy. If you can actually get this treasure for yourself, than the great design may be achieved." Pei said: "Ts'ao Ts'ao is the man different from me as water from fire. Ts'ao is mean and I am generous, Ts'ao is cruel and I am kind, Ts'ao is deceitful and I am loyal. If I make myself the opposite of Ts'ao in everything, then the affair can be successful. But now if I take a small advantage, and yet lose my name for faith and honour, what's the good of that? T'ung said: "In times of disorder, you must be adaptable. Besides, you will annex the weak and attack the stupid, and what you may take by rebellion you will keep by good actions. This is what the men of the past have always respected.⁸ Once the business is settled, you can enfeoff him with a great state and that will avoid any charge of disloyalty. If you don't take him today, in the end he will only fall to someone else." Pei felt this was true, so he left Chu-ko Liang and Kuan Yü and others to hold Ching Province, with Chao Yün as Major at the Base Camp, and he himself led several tens of thousands of foot-soldiers into Yi Province.

When Sun Ch'üan heard that Pei had gone to the west, he sent boats to collect his sister, and she planned to take Pei's

son Shan back to Wu. Chang Fei and Chao Yün brought soldiers to intercept them on the river and had Shan go back with them.

Liu Chang ordered preparations to welcome Pei, and Pei entered the borders as if he was coming into his own home. As he passed by, he received tremendous presents amounting to hundreds of millions of cash. Pei came to Pa commandery, and Yen Yen the Grand Administrator laid his hand on his heart and sighed: "This is what is called 'a man who sits on a poor hill alone and lets loose a tiger to defend himself.'" Pei went north from Chiang-chou along the Tien-chiang River to Fu.⁹ Chang led more than thirty thousand horsemen and footsoldiers, with all the chariots and canopies brilliant as the sun, to come and meet him. Chang Sung told Fa Cheng that he should advise Pei to capture Chang by surprise when they met. Pei said: "We can't act so soon." P'ang T'ung said: "If you take the opportunity to seize him at this meeting, then you will never have to fight him and you can settle the whole province at your leisure." Pei said: "I have just come into a strange state and my favour and faith have not yet been shown. I can't do that." Chang promoted Pei to acting Commander-in-Chief with additional office as Colonel Director of the Retainers, and Pei on his side proposed Chang as acting General-in-Chief Who Maintains the West in Peace with command as Governor of Yi Province. The officers and soldiers that they led went to meet one another, and they made merry and drank for more than three months. Chang gave Pei more soldiers to his command, and generous gifts. Then he sent him to attack Chang Lu and ordered him also to take command of the army already at Po-shui. Pei's
12 combined force was more than thirty thousand men, and he had plenty of armour and equipment and supplies. Chang went back to Ch'eng-tu and Pei went north to Chia-meng. Before he went to attack Lu he acted with generosity and grace to win the hearts of the people.

Chien-an 17th year [20.II.212-7.II.213]:

In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Ts'ao returned to Yeh. An edict ordered that Ts'ao might have the right to perform

obeisance without calling his own name, to enter court without hastening step, and to be in the hall of audience with sword and shoes, following the precedent of Hsiao Ho.¹

When Ts'ao was on his campaign in the west, T'ien Yin and Su Po of Ho-chien had made a rebellion, and both Yu and Chi Provinces were disturbed. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes Ts'ao P'i wanted to attack them himself, but Ch'ang Lin, the Officer of the Department of Merit, said: "The civil officers and the people of the north love peace and are weary of disorders. They have long accepted our government, and most of them are loyal. Yin and Po are like dogs or sheep joining in packs, they will never be a danger. Just now, when the main army is far away and there are strong enemies outside, you are the security of the empire. If you move carelessly to make an attack a long way off, it would not be good strategy even if you proved successful." So they sent the General Chia Hsin to attack them, and the rebels were soon defeated and destroyed. Some thousand of the remaining bandits wanted to surrender, but all the advisers said: "The Duke has an established custom: people who surrender only after they have been surrounded are never pardoned." Ch'eng Yü said: "This was made in a time of trouble and only as a temporary expedient. Now that the empire is being set in order, you can't execute them. If you do want to kill them, you should report first and ask about it." The advisers said: "An army must be controlled by one man. There is no reason to ask for approval." Yü said: "When an independent command is given, it is granted only for one particular situation. Now the rebels are in Chia Hsin's hands, and I would not want you to take action in this."² P'i said: "Agreed, very good." He told Ts'ao, and in the event Ts'ao did not have the rebels killed. When Ts'ao learnt of Yü's planning he was extremely pleased and said: "Not only do you understand military matters, you are also an expert in dealing between a father and his son!"

There is the story: In reports of defeats of rebels, one was counted as ten, but when Kuo Yüan sent up his tallies of heads they always followed the actual figures. Ts'ao asked him why. Yüan said: "When I am attacking an enemy from outside our borders, I exaggerate the numbers killed and captured because I want to make it a great military achievement and inspire the people. But Ho-chien is our own
3 territory, and though it is an achievement to announce that Yin and his fellow rebels have been defeated, I am ashamed that the rebellion should have happened in the first place." Ts'ao was very pleased.

In the summer, in the fifth month, on the day kuei-wei [?]³ the Commandant of the Palace Guard Ma T'eng was executed and all his family was destroyed.

In the sixth month, on the day keng-jen [14.VIII], the last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, there were caterpillar moths.

Ma Ch'ao and his remaining forces were camped at Lan-t'ien. Hsia-hou Yüan attacked them and pacified them.

Liang Hsing, the bandit from Fu,⁴ plundered P'ing-yi and all the prefectural officials were afraid. They moved their offices to the shelter of the commandery city, and there were several who thought they should move to some place still more secure in order to escape him. Cheng Hun of Tso-p'ing-yi⁵ said: "If Hsing and his fellows were defeated and scattered, they would hide in the mountains and valleys. Although he has a following, he only holds them together by force. Now we should make it easy for them to surrender, and we should show authority and fair dealing. If we run to the wilderness to save ourselves, that will only be a sign of weakness." So he collected the officers and people together, arranged the walls and outworks and made preparations for defence. And he called on the people to drive away the bandits and to capture their treasure and their women, and he rewarded them with seven-tenths of whatever they got. The people were very pleased, and all wanted to capture the bandits. Those of the bandits who had lost their families came back and asked to surrender, but Hun told them to rescue some more women held by the

other bandits before he returned them their own. At this they turned to fight and steal from each other and the group broke up and scattered. Hun also sent those of the officers and people who were generous and faithful to make proclamations telling of this in all the hills and valleys. People who had run away came back again, and he sent all the prefectural officers back to their own administrations to settle them and collect them. Now Hsing and his fellows were frightened, and they led the remainder of their forces against Fu city. Ts'ao sent Hsia-hou Yüan to help Hun attack them, they took off Hsing's head and the rest of his party were all pacified. Hun was a younger brother of T'ai.

In the ninth month, on the day keng-hsü [2.XI] the Emperor's sons were enfeoffed: Hsi was made King of Chi-yin, Yi became King of Shan-yang, Miao became King of Chi-pei and Tun became King of Tung-hai.

Before this, Chang Hung had urged Sun Ch'üan to put his centre of administration at Mo-ling because it was a fine site among the rivers and hills. When Liu Pei went east he passed Mo-ling, and he also urged Ch'üan to live there. So then Ch'üan built the Shih-t'ou Citadel and shifted his capital to Mo-ling. He changed the name from Mo-ling to Chien-yeh.

Lü Meng heard that Ts'ao Ts'ao was intending to bring soldiers east, and he urged Ch'üan to establish a fortified dockyard near the mouth of the Ju-hsü River. All the officers said: "We climb the bank to attack the enemy, and we wade in the water to go aboard our ships; how can we make use of a dockyard?" Meng said: "Soldiers may win or lose, and war is never a hundred percent certain of success. If something unexpected happens, and the enemy press on us closely, and the men haven't the time to reach the water, then how will they get into the boats?" Ch'üan said: "Excellent." So he built the Ju-hsü Dockyard.⁶

In the winter, in the tenth month, Ts'ao Ts'ao went east to attack Sun Ch'üan. Tung Chao said to Ts'ao Ts'ao: "From ancient times, of all the great ministers who have saved the empire, never has there been an achievement which compares to

5 yours today. With such great work as this, never has there been a man in the past who would consent to serve another for so long. Your excellency is modest, you are afraid to make a mistake you might regret, and you are glad to maintain your honour and loyalty. Nevertheless, if a man stays too long as a great servant, people will always suspect that he is planning to take over. You must consider this carefully." Then there was a discussion among the marquises and the military leaders, and all agreed that the Lieutenant-Chancellor should be raised in honour to be made Duke of the State, and all the Nine Distinctions of imperial favour should show his special merit.⁷ Hsün Yü said: "From the very beginning, when Lord Ts'ao raised loyal troops to save the Emperor and to give peace to the state, he has always kept the faith with loyalty and honesty and has maintained his honour by withdrawing and yielding. A gentleman shows his love for others by his virtuous advice, and so I must speak out now. Our master should not act like this." Ts'ao was not pleased. When he attacked Sun Ch'üan he recommended that Yü should be sent to give rewards to the army at Ch'iao. Then he acted on his own authority to keep Yü back, making him Palace Attendant, Imperial Household Grandee holding credentials, and Adviser to the Army of the Lieutenant-Chancellor. Ts'ao's army came to face Ju-hsü, but Yü stayed behind at Shou-ch'un because of illness. He drank a potion and died.⁸ Yü had always acted with honour, his conduct was upright and he was wise in counsel. He loved to recommend worthy men and to advance scholars. All the people of the time mourned for him.

Your servant Kuang says: When Confucius spoke of humanity and love he gave it great importance. From Tzu-lu, Jan Ch'iu, Kung-hsi Ch'ih, the highest of his followers, the high minister Tzu Wen, Ch'en Wen-tzu and, the worthy grandees of the feudal lords; none of them qualified for that description. He only praised the humanity and love of Kuan Chung. Wasn't that because Kuan Chung was assistant to Huan of Ch'i and gave great relief to living people?⁹ Huan of Ch'i behaved like a dog or a pig, and

yet Kuan Chung did not feel ashamed to act as his Chancellor. It is obvious that he saw Duke Huan as the only way the people could be saved. In the great disorders at the end of Han the people lived in extreme misery, and without unusual ability they could never be given help. And if Hsün Yü had left Emperor Wu of Wei [i.e. Ts'ao Ts'ao], whom should he have served? In the time of Huan of Ch'i, although the house of Chou was weak, it was not as bad as the state of Han at the beginning of Chien-an. At the beginning of Chien-an the whole world was in turmoil and overturned and the Han had not a foot of ground nor a single person under command. Hsün Yü assisted Wu of Wei to restore it. He promoted the worthy and gave work to the able, he trained soldiers and he drilled troops, he seized opportunities and he made plans, he fought and was successful in every direction, and so he was able to make weak into strong and to change disorder into good government. Of the ten parts of the empire the Wei had eight. How does Hsün Yü's achievement fall short of Kuan Chung's? Kuan Chung did not die for [Kung-]tzu Ch'iu, but Hsün Yü died for the house of Han. So his humanity and love are superior to Kuan Chung's.

And yet Tu Mu says:¹⁰ "When Yü encouraged Wu of Wei to take Yen Province he compared him to Kao-tsu and Kuang-wu, when Ts'ao was at Kuan-tu and he didn't want him to come back to Hsü he made the comparison with Ch'u and Han. Then, when the affair was ended and the work was achieved, he wanted to take the credit for the Han dynasty. This is like telling a thief to bore through a wall and empty another man's cupboards but then not helping him carry away the spoil. Isn't that being a robber too?"

I recollect that Confucius said: "Literature over reality, that is a scribe."¹¹ Whenever a historian records men's words he is sure to give them a literary touch. So the comparison of Ts'ao Ts'ao with Kao-tsu and Kuang-wu and with Ch'u and Han is the literary work of some historian.

Are we sure Hsün Yü really said that? To use this to disparage him is hardly fair. Besides, if Wu of Wei had become Emperor, then Yü would have possessed much of the credit for bringing this about and he would have had the same reward as Hsiao Ho.¹² Yet Yü took no advantage from this. Instead, he was prepared to give up his own life that the Han might have the credit. Isn't this rather exceptional conduct?

13

In the twelfth month there was a comet in the Wu-chu-hou.

Liu Pei was at Chia-meng and P'ang T'ung said to Pei: "Now, quietly collect your best soldiers and march direct day and night to surprise Ch'eng-tu. Liu Chang is not a man of war and he had no preparations before, so if a great army comes up fast the affair will be easily settled in a single blow. This is the best plan. Yang Huai and Kao P'ei are famous officers under Chang, each has strong forces guarding Kuan-t'ou."¹⁴ I have heard that they have sent several letters of protest to Chang, that he should send you back to Ching Province. You send reports saying just what they want you to: that Ching Province is in danger and you want to go back to help. Then start packing and pretend you're leaving. These two men will respect your great reputation, they will be pleased that you are going away, and they are sure to come and see you with a very small escort. Take the opportunity to arrest them, go forward and take over their soldiers, and then turn against Ch'eng-tu. This is the second-best plan. Go back to Po-ti,¹⁵ join up with Ching Province, then gradually make plans to return. This would be the worst plan. If you hesitate without making some move, you will bring on great difficulties. You can't wait too long." Pei approved the middle plan.

When Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked, Sun Ch'üan called Pei to help him. Pei sent the letter to Chang and said: "Sun and I are just like lips and teeth, but Kuan Yü's forces are weak. If I don't go to help him now, then Ts'ao will certainly take Ching Province and will turn to invade us here. This danger is more pressing than Chang Lu. Lu is a bandit who will keep to himself, he is not worth worrying about." Then he asked for ten thousand more soldiers and for money and

provisions. Chang allowed him only four thousand soldiers and only half the other things he had asked for. Pei appeared very angry before his soldiers and said: "I have attacked strong enemies for Yi-chou, my officers and men have worked till they are exhausted. Yet he hoards up his treasure and he is mean in rewards. How will this encourage you to die for him in battle?" Chang Sung wrote to Pei and to Fa Cheng: "Everything is ready. How can you leave us now?" Sung's elder brother Su, the Grand Administrator of Kuang-han, was afraid that he would be implicated, and so he revealed the plan to Liu Chang. Chang arrested Sung and beheaded him and sent letters to all the officers guarding the passes that they should not have any further contact with Pei. Pei was very angry. He summoned Yang Huai and Kao P'ei, who were in command of Chang's army at Po-shui, charged them with a lack of courtesy, and cut off their heads. He urged his soldiers to go quickly to Kuan-t'ou, joined the Po-shui forces to his own, and went forward to capture Fu city.

Chien-an 18th year [8.II.213-28.I.214]:

In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Ts'ao advanced to Ju-hsü-k'ou, with footsoldiers and horsemen described as four hundred thousand. He attacked and defeated Sun Ch'üan's camp on the west of the Chiang, and captured his Chief Controller Kung-sun Yang. Ch'üan led a force of seventy thousand to attack him, and they faced one another for more than a month. Ts'ao saw how well-organised were Ch'üan's ships, equipment, weapons and soldiers, and he sighed and said: "Sons should be like Sun Chung-mou. When they are like Liu Ching-ch'eng's children [i.e. Liu Piao's sons Tsung and Ch'i] they are no more than piglets or puppies." Ch'üan sent a message to Ts'ao to say: "The spring floods are rising. You'd better get away from here." And he wrote on a separate page: "Until you are dead I

can never be at peace." Ts'ao said to his officers: "Sun Ch'üan does not take advantage of me." He withdrew his army and went back.

[In the third month] on the day keng-yin [11.IV] an edict combined the fourteen provinces to make nine again.¹

In the summer, in the fourth month, Ts'ao came to Yeh.

Before this, when Ts'ao Ts'ao was still at Ch'iao, he was afraid that the people of the commanderies and the prefectures along the Chiang would suffer from Sun Ch'üan's raids, and he wanted to shift them closer in. He asked Chiang Chi, the Aide-de-Camp of Yang Province, about it: "Once before, when Yüan Pen-ch'u and I faced each other with our armies at Kuan-tu, I shifted the people of Yen and Po-ma. The people couldn't run away, and the enemy did not dare to attack them.² Now I want to shift the people from the south of the Huai. What do you think of it?" Chi replied: "At that time your soldiers were weak and the enemy were strong, and if you hadn't shifted the people you would certainly have lost them. Since the defeat of Yüan Shao, your authority makes the empire tremble and the people have no ideas of opposition. It is in the nature of men that they should love their land, they will not be pleased if you move them about, and I am sure they will become restless." Ts'ao would not accept his advice. Then the people were frightened, and more than a hundred thousand households from Lu-chiang, Chiu-chiang, Ch'i-ch'un³ and Kuang-ling all went east across the Chiang, so that the territory west of the Chiang was left empty. From Ho-fei south there was only Wan city. Later Chi came with some dispatches to Yeh, and when Ts'ao received him he gave a great laugh and said: "I really only wanted to keep the people safe from the enemy, but then they all ran away!" He appointed Chi Grand Administrator of Tan-yang.⁴

In the fifth month, on the day ping-shen [16.VI] Ts'ao Ts'ao was enfeoffed as Duke of Wei,⁵ still continuing as Lieutenant-Chancellor and Governor of Chi Province. He also received the Nine Distinctions: the Great Carriage and the War Carriage, one of each, with two Black Stallions; Clothes and Bonnets of Honour, with Red Slippers to match; Suspended Musical Instruments and the Six Rows of Dancers; the Vermilion Door behind which to dwell; the

2120 Inner Staircases by which to ascend; the Gentlemen as Rapid as Tigers, three hundred men; the Ceremonial- and Battle-axes, one of each; one Scarlet Bow with a hundred Scarlet Arrows, and ten Black Bows with a thousand Black Arrows; one goblet of the Black Millet Herb-flavoured Liquor, with a Jade Libation-cup to match.⁶

There was great rain.

The Attendant Official of Yi Province, Ch'eng Tu of Kuang-han, heard that Liu Pei had raised troops and said to Liu Chang: "The General of the Left [Liu Pei] is attacking us with an isolated army, he has no more than ten thousand soldiers and his officers and men are not yet attached to him. His army has no baggage train and his soldiers must live off the country. The best plan is to drive all the people in Pa-hsi and Tzu-t'ung⁷ to the west of the Nei and Fu Rivers.⁸ Burn all their granaries and destroy all the grain in their fields. We can make firm defences behind high walls and deep ditches, and when the other fellow comes up and offers battle, we shall refuse. When he has to wait without supplies, he will be compelled to retreat of his own accord in no more than three months. When he retreats, then we attack him. This way we can certainly deal with him." Liu Pei heard of this and was worried about it, and he asked Fa Cheng. Cheng said: "Chang will never use such a plan. Don't worry." And in fact Chang said to his followers: "I have heard that one may face the foe to give peace to the people, but I have never heard of shifting the people to avoid an enemy." He would not use Tu's plan.

Chang sent his officers Liu Kuei, Leng Pao, Chang Jen, Teng Hsien, Wu Yi and others to oppose Pei. They were all defeated and came back to hold Mien-chu. Yi went to Pei's camp to surrender. Then Chang sent Li Yen of Nan-yang and Fei Kuan of Chiang-hsia as Commissioners over the Army to take control of all the forces at Mien-chu, but Yen and Kuan also led their armies to surrender to Pei. Pei's army became stronger and stronger, and he despatched some of his officers to pacify and

overcome the subordinate prefectures. Liu Kuei, Chang Jen and [Liu] Chang's son Hsün retreated to hold Lo city, but Pei led his army forward and surrounded them. Jen made a stand at the Yen Bridge,⁹ his army was defeated and he himself was killed.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Wei first set up [altars to the] gods of the earth and grain and a princely ancestral temple.

Duke Ts'ao of Wei had three of his daughters taken to the Emperor's harem as Honoured Ladies.

Before this, when Duke Ts'ao of Wei had chased Ma Ch'ao to An-ting, he heard that T'ien Yin and Su Po were in rebellion, and he drew off his army and came back. Yang Fu, Adviser to the Army of Liang Province, said to Ts'ao: "Ch'ao has the courage of [Han] Hsin and [Ying] Pu¹⁰ and he is extremely popular with the Ch'iang barbarians. If your imperial army should leave before you have made preparations to deal with them, all the commanderies west of the Lung Mountain will fall from our control."¹¹ Ts'ao went back, and Ch'ao did indeed lead the Ch'iang barbarians to attack the commanderies and prefectures west of Lung. All the territories joined him and only Chi city, which contained the headquarters of the province and of [Han-yang] commandery, held firm.

Ma Ch'ao then collected all the forces west of Lung Mountain, and Chang Lu sent his high officer Yang Ang to join him. He had ten thousand men altogether, and they attacked Chi city, and from the first month till the eighth month the relief did not come. The Inspector Wei K'ang sent his Aide-de-Camp Yen Wen to tell of the danger to Hsia-hou Yüan. The siege works lay in several rings about the city, and Wen followed the river to go out secretly under cover of night. Next day Ch'ao's soldiers saw his tracks, and they chased him and captured him. Ch'ao brought Wen below the walls to have him tell the people inside: "There is no help in the east," but Wen faced the wall and shouted: "A great army will be here in no more than three days. Fight your hardest till it comes." All those in the city wept for joy and called out: "Ten thousand years." Though Ch'ao was angry, yet he had been besieging

the city for a long time without success, so he kept himself under control and tried to persuade Wen to change what he had said. Wen said: "If a man serves a lord, he can only die once. I am an old man and you want me to tell a lie." So Ch'ao killed him.

2122 Nevertheless, no help came from outside, and Wei K'ang and the Grand Administrator decided to surrender. Yang Fu wept and cried in protest: "We brought fathers and elder brothers, our sons and younger brothers, and we urged them to fight for glory. We can only die once. We believed that you would hold this city. How can you abandon a good work on the point of success, and get yourselves a name for dishonour?" The Inspector and the Grand Administrator paid no attention, and they opened the gates of the city to receive Ch'ao. Ch'ao came in, and he killed the Inspector and the Grand Administrator. He named himself General Who Subdues the West with command as Governor of Ping Province and Controller of the Military Affairs of Liang Province.

Duke Ts'ao of Wei sent Hsia-hou Yüan to relieve Chi, but before they arrived Chi had fallen, and Yüan was still more than two hundred li from the city when Ch'ao came to fight him. Yüan's attack had no success. Ch'ien-wan, King of the Ti barbarians, rebelled to join Ch'ao and camped at Hsing-kuo. Yüan led his army back.

About this time Yang Fu's wife died, and he went to Ch'ao to ask leave to bury her. Fu's brother-in-law Chiang Hsü was General Who Cherishes the Barbarians commanding troops in camp at Li-ch'eng. Fu saw Hsü and his mother and he sobbed in the extremity of grief. Hsü said: "Why like this?" Fu said: "I was holding a city and I could not keep it, my lords are dead and I did not die. How can I face the world even for a moment? Ma Ch'ao has turned his back on his father and rebelled against his lord. He mistreats and kills the leaders of the province. Am I the only man who feels upset about this? All the gentry of the province are shamed. You hold soldiers with an independent command, and yet you have no intention of attacking those bandits. This was why Chao Tun was recorded as the murderer of his master."¹²

Ch'ao is strong, but he is a dishonourable fellow. There are many people with grievances and it is easy to plan against him." Hsü's mother burst out: "Right! Po-yi, when Commissioner Wei was in trouble you should have done something to help. What man does not die? And to die for loyalty and for honour, that is something you can do. You have only to act quickly, and forget about me. I can decide this for you now and I will be no trouble to you in my remaining years." So Hsü made plans with Chao Ang and Yin Feng of his own commandery and with Li Chün of Wu-tu for a joint attack on Ch'ao. He also sent men to Chi city to make contact with Liang Kuan of An-ting and Chao Ch'ü of Nan-an to have them act as allies from within. Ch'ao had taken Ang's son Yüeh as a hostage, but Ang said to his wife Yi: "I have made my plans, and the affair will certainly be successful. What shall we do about Yüeh?" Yi replied firmly: "If it should clear the shame of one's lord and father, losing one's head is not important. That is even more true for a son."

In the ninth month Yang Fu and Ch'iang Hsü brought their army forward and entered Lu-ch'eng while Chao Ang and Yin Feng occupied Ch'i-shan and attacked Ma Ch'ao. When Ch'ao heard of it he was very angry, and Chao Ch'ü persuaded him to go straight out and attack them. As soon as Ch'ao had gone Ch'ü and Liang Kuan barred the gates of Chi city and killed all his family. Ch'ao had lost his base and had nowhere to move, but then he made a surprise attack on Li-ch'eng and captured Hsü's mother. Hsü's mother abused him: "You are a rebellious son who has turned away from his father, you are a cruel brigand who has murdered his lord. How can Heaven and earth put up with you for long? And unless you die soon, how will you dare to face the sight of men?" Ch'ao killed her, and he also killed Chao Ang's son Yüeh. Yang Fu fought Ch'ao. He was wounded five times, but Ch'ao's forces were defeated, and he fled south to Chang Lu. Lu made Ch'ao Libationer and Expositor.¹³ He intended to give his daughter in marriage, to Ch'ao, but someone said: "A man like this, he does not love his own family, so how can he love others?" Lu gave up the idea. Ts'ao gave honours for the good work of defeating Ch'ao and eleven men were enfeoffed as marquises. Yang Fu was awarded the rank of

Marquis of the Imperial Domain.

2124 In the winter, in the eleventh month, the Wei established for the first time Masters of Writing, Palace Attendants, and six ministers. Hsün Yu was made Prefect of the Masters of Writing, Liang Mao was made their Supervisor, Mao Chieh, Ts'ui Yen, Ch'ang Lin, Hsü Yi and Ho K'uei became Masters of Writing. Wang Ts'an, Tu Hsi, Wei Chi and Ho Hsia became Palace Attendants. Chung Yao became Grand Judge,¹⁴ Wang Hsiu became Grand Minister of Agriculture, Yüan Huan became Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace acting as Imperial Clerk Grandee, and Ch'en Ch'ün became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk.¹⁴

Yüan Huan was given rewards and presents, but he always spent everything. Nothing was ever kept by in his house, and he had constantly to beg things from others. He never made harsh investigations, yet all the people of that time respected his integrity. On one occasion someone reported that Liu Pei was dead. All the ministers gave their congratulations; only Huan refused to do so.

Duke Ts'ao of Wei thought to reintroduce the mutilating punishments, and an ordinance was issued, saying: "Some years ago, the Grand Herald Ch'en argued that the punishment of death was lacking in humanity. Can the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk explain his father's reasoning?" Ch'en Ch'ün replied: "My father Chi pointed out that when the Han did away with the punishment of mutilation they increased it in flogging. The idea began with love and pity, but it actually killed more people. This is a case where: 'the name is light but the reality is heavy'. When the name is light then it is only too easy to offend. When the reality is heavy it will harm people. Besides, when one man kills another he has forfeited his life, and it is fitting that he should have harsh punishment. But sometimes, in a case of simple wounding, the criminal destroys a man's body yet only has his hair cut off. This is not the right pattern."¹⁵ If we used the old punishments, and sent adulterers to the silkworm house for castration and had robbers'

feet cut off, then there would be neither immorality nor burglary for a very long time. At present, although we cannot restore all the grades of three thousand,¹⁶ yet these few proposals may fairly be reintroduced, for a beginning. They are necessary at this time, and you should put them in practice first. According to the laws of Han, when great crimes were punished by death, there was no question of human feeling. Lesser crimes, however, even when they amounted to the death penalty, could still be changed to mutilation. In this way the proportions were maintained between those who were executed and those who were allowed to live. Now, on the other hand, death by flogging has taken the place of a less fatal punishment. This shows respect for a man's limbs but thinks little of his life." Of those who discussed the matter, only Chung Yao agreed with Ch'ün, but no-one else felt his proposals were practicable. Because military affairs were still unsettled, Ts'ao accepted the majority position and took no action.

Chien-an 19th year [29.I.214-16.II.215]

2125 In the spring Ma Ch'ao asked Chang Lu for soldiers so that he could go north and recapture Liang Province, and Lu sent him off to besiege Ch'i-shan. Chiang Hsü told Hsia-hou Yüan of their danger, but Yüan's officers advised that they should wait for Ts'ao's orders. Yüan said: "The Duke is at Yeh and it's four thousand li there and back. By the time a report reaches him, Hsü and his fellows will already be destroyed. That is no way to bring help when it is needed." So he marched, and he sent Chang Ko with five thousand horse and foot as the advance guard. Ch'ao was defeated and fled.

Han Sui was at Hsien-ch'in. Yüan planned a surprise attack to capture him, but Sui fled and Yüan chased him to Lüeh-yang city. He was only about thirty li behind Sui and his officers wanted to maintain the pursuit, but then someone suggested they should attack the Ti barbarians at Hsing-kuo.

2126 Yüan thought: "Sui's soldiers are well-trained and Hsing-kuo has strong walls, whichever we attack, we won't defeat them quickly. It would be much better to attack the Ch'iang at Ch'ang-li.¹ Many of those tribesmen have joined Sui's army, but they will certainly come back to help their families. If Sui lets the Ch'iang go to look after their families by themselves, then he will be left without support. If he goes to help Ch'ang-li, then our government troops will be able to fight him on open ground and we are sure to take him." So Yüan left officers to guard the baggage while he led light-armed troops to Ch'ang-li. They attacked the camp of the Shao-[tang] Ch'iang,² and Sui sent help to Ch'ang-li. All the officers saw the mass of Sui's army, and they wanted to form a camp and make a moat for a defensive battle. Yüan said: "We have marched and counter-marched now for a thousand li."

If we start work again to make camp and a moat, our soldiers will be exhausted and useless. Though the bandits are many, they are easy to deal with." He beat the drums, and completely defeated Sui's army. Then he went forward to besiege Hsing-kuo. Ch'ien-wan, King of the Ti, fled to Ma Ch'ao, and all the rest of his forces surrendered. [Yüan] turned to attack Kao-p'ing and the Chü-ko barbarians and he destroyed both of them.

In the third month an edict established Duke Ts'ao of WEI above all the kings, and changed his insignia to a seal of gold, with a red tassel, and a Cap of Distant Journeys.³

In the summer, in the fourth month, there was a drought.

In the fifth month there were great rains.

Before this, Duke Ts'ao of WEI had sent Chu Kuang, as Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang, to camp at Wan and to set out a great number of paddy fields.⁴ Lü Meng said to Sun Ch'üan: "The fields at Wan are rich and fine, if they are once collected and prepared, our enemy's military strength will be sure to increase. We must destroy them quickly."

In the intercalary fourth month Ch'üan led an attack on Wan city. All his officers wanted to make earth mounds and prepare equipment for assault, but Lü Meng said: "If we organise all these engines and earthworks, it will certainly take several days before we are ready. The city will have made preparations, the relief force will be upon us, and we won't be able to do anything more. Besides, the rain and floods have helped us to move in, but if we stay too long the water will disappear and the road back will be difficult. It is my humble opinion that the whole thing would become dangerous. Now look at this city. It can't be very secure. If our army fights fiercely and attacks on four sides together, we can storm it quite quickly. Then we can get back while there is still water. This is the way to certain victory." Ch'üan

27 approved. Meng recommended Kan Ning take command of the assault force. Ning held a sash in his hand and climbed the walls.⁵ He was the first man into the city. Meng followed close behind with well-trained troops and beat the drum himself. The officers

and soldiers all leaped up. They advanced to the attack just at daylight, and by breakfast they had taken the city, capturing Chu Kuang and several ten thousand men and women. When Chang Liao came to Chia-shih he heard that the city was fallen and he went back. Ch'üan appointed Lü Meng Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang, and he himself went back to camp at Hsün-yang.

Chu-ko Liang left Kuan Yü to hold Ching Province, and with Chang Fei and Chao Yün he led troops upstream to take Pa-tung. They came to Chiang-chou and defeated the Grand Administrator of Pa commandery, Yen Yen, and they captured him alive. Fei shouted at Yen: "When a great army comes up, why do you not surrender. How could you dare to fight against us?" Yen said: "You have no cause to complain. You have invaded our province, but our province has only generals who cut off heads, not generals who surrender." Fei was angry and he ordered his attendants to lead Yen out and cut off his head. Yen kept his expression still without change, and said: "To cut off the head is to cut off the head. Why make such a fuss about it?" Fei recognised his courage, set him free, and kept him as a guest. Chao Yün was sent off along the Wai River to settle Chiang-yang and Chien-wei, and Fei settled Pa-hsi and Te-yang.

Liu Pei besieged Lo city for more than a year. P'ang T'ung was hit by a flying arrow and died. Fa Cheng wrote to Liu Chang, pointed out the situation, and said: "Since the General of the Left [Liu Pei] raised troops he has always thought well of you. He is really not a man with a mean nature. I think it should be possible to organise a transfer of power and still protect your honourable house." Chang made no reply. Lo city was destroyed and Pei went on to besiege Ch'eng-tu. Chu-ko Liang, Chang Fei and Chao Yün brought their soldiers back to come and join him.

2128

Ma Ch'ao realised that Chang Lu would not support him in his plans. Lu's officers, Yang Ang and others, were jealous of him, and Ch'ao was discouraged. Pei sent the Investigator of Chien-ning,⁶ Li Hui, to go and talk to him. Then Ch'ao fled from

Wu-tu to the territory of the Ti barbarians, but he wrote in secret to ask to surrender to Pei. Pei sent men to call him back, and secretly supplied him with soldiers. Ch'ao came, and he was ordered to lead his army into camp north of Ch'eng-tu. Inside the city there was shaking and surprise.

Pei besieged the city for several weeks, and then he sent his Gentleman of the General Staff Chien Yung of Cho commandery to go in to talk to Liu Chang. At this time there were still thirty thousand trained soldiers inside the city, and grain and treasure to last for a year. The officers and people were all prepared to fight to the death, but Chang said: "Father and son, my family has been in the province more than twenty years, yet we have shown the people neither grace nor virtue. The people have suffered warfare three years, and their bodies are scattered in the wilderness. This has happened because of me. How can my mind be at rest?" So he opened the gates and rode out in a carriage with Chien Yung to surrender. All his attendants were weeping. Pei shifted Chang to Kung-an, restored all his treasure and allowed him to wear the seal and tassel of General Who Inspires Awe.⁷

When Pei entered Ch'eng-tu he held a banquet for all his officers and men. He took the gold and silver of the cities of SHU⁸ and divided it out to be rewards for his officers, but he returned the grain and the cloth to their owners. Then Pei took over as Governor of Yi Province. He made the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Master of the Army Chu-ko Liang General Master of the Army, the Grand Administrator of Yi-chou, Tung Ho of Nan commandery, became General of the Gentlemen of the Household Manager of the Army and also deputy in charge of the offices of the General of the Left. The Lieutenant-General Ma Ch'ao became General Who Pacifies the West; the Colonel Consultant of the Army Fa Cheng became Grand Administrator of Shu commandery and General Who Manifests Firmness; the Major-General Huang Chung of Nan-yang became General Who Exterminates the Caitiffs; the Gentleman of the General Staff Mi Chu became General Who Gives Tranquillity to the Han; Chien Yung became General Who Shines in Virtue; Sun Ch'ien of Pei-hai became

General Who Maintains Loyalty; Huang Ch'üan, Prefect of Kuang-han, became a Lieutenant-General; Hsü Ching of Ju-nan became Chief Clerk to the General of the Left; P'ang Hsi became a Major; Li Yen became Grand Administrator of Chien-wei; Fei Kuan became Grand Administrator of Pa commandery; Yi Chi of Shan-yang became Gentleman of the General Staff; Liu Pa of Ling-ling became Head Clerk of the Department of the West; P'eng Yang of Kuang-han became Attendant Official at Headquarters of Yi Province.

Before this, when Tung Ho was in his own commandery, he was honest and temperate, honourable and upright. He was loved and trusted by the people and the barbarians. In Shu he was honoured as an upright official, and so Pei chose him for office. When Pei fled south of the Chiang from Hsin-yeh, the immense majority of the officials from Ching Province had followed him like a cloud. Only Liu Pa went north to Duke Ts'ao of WEI. Ts'ao appointed him a Head Clerk, and sent him to organise the takeover of Ch'ang-sha, Ling-ling and Kuei-yang. Then Pei seized the three commanderies, Pa's work was undone, and he planned to go back to the capital district by way of Chiao Province. At this time Chu-ko Liang was at Lin-cheng, and he wrote to call him, but Pa would not come. Pei was extremely annoyed. From Chiao-chih, Pa went to Shu to join Liu Chang. But then Chang invited Liu Pei, and Pa protested: "Pei is an ambitious man. If he comes here he will certainly cause harm." When Pei came, Pa protested again: "If you send Pei to attack Chang Lu, you will be letting a tiger loose in the mountains and the forests." Chang would not listen, and Pa closed his gates and said he was sick. When Pei attacked Ch'eng-tu he gave orders to his army: "The man that harms Pa will be executed with all his family." So he captured Pa, and he was extremely pleased.

All the commanderies and prefectures had seen how the wind was blowing and had made their peace with Pei. Only Huang Ch'üan closed his city and held firm. He waited until

30 Chang surrendered, and not till then did he submit. Tung Ho, Huang Ch'üan, Li Yen and others who had originally been given posts by Chang; Wu Yi, Fei Kuan and others who were related to Chang by marriage; P'eng Yang who had been expelled by Chang; Liu Pa who had an old enmity; all were given honourable positions by Pei and did their utmost to serve him. Men of ambition vied with one another to join his government, and so the people of Yi Province were very content.

Before this, Liu Chang had made Hsü Ching Grand Administrator of Shu commandery. Just before Ch'eng-tu surrendered, Ching was planning to cross the wall and take sides with Pei. For this reason, Pei thought little of Ching and gave him no post. Fa Cheng said: "Many men obtain an empty reputation and have no real worth. Hsü Ching is one of these. But now that your lordship is beginning to build your government, you cannot go from house to house in the empire to explain yourself. You must show him some respect or many of the people will be surprised and disappointed." So Pei treated Ching with courtesy and gave him office.

When Ch'eng-tu was besieged, Pei had promised his officers and soldiers: "If we should be successful, I have no record of the things in the treasury." When they took Ch'eng-tu, all the men discarded their weapons to go to the storehouses, and they struggled together for the treasure. Money was short for the army and Pei was extremely anxious about it. Liu Pa said: "This is easy. Just coin the chih-po money, bring down the prices, and order your officers to set up official monopolies."⁹ Pei did so, and in a few months the treasury was full.

At this time advisers wanted to share the famous estates about Ch'eng-tu among Pei's officers. Chao Yün said: "Because the Hsiung-nu were not destroyed, Huo Ch'ü-p'ing had no use for a house.¹⁰ Now the enemies of the state are greater than the Hsiung-nu and there is still no sign of peace. Quite soon, when all the empire is settled, each man will be able to go back to his native place and plough his own soil, and that's the way things should be. The people of Yi Province have suffered warfare for the first time.

You must give them back all their fields and houses and order them to live in peace and renew their occupations. Later, you can get labour-service and taxes from them, and you will have their affection, but you cannot steal from them to give presents to your own favourites." Pei accepted this.

2131 When Pei attacked Liu Chang, he left the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Huo Chün of Nan commandery to hold Chia-meng city. Chang Lu sent Yang Ang to pretend to Chün that he was coming to help hold the city. Chün said: "You may have my head, but you cannot have the city." So Ang went back. Later Chang's officers Fu Chin and Hsiang Ts'un and others led some ten thousand men up from the Lang River,¹¹ and they attacked Chün and besieged him for a full year. In the city Chün had only a few hundred men. He waited for a chance when the besiegers were off their guard and chose his best men to make a sortie. They completely defeated the enemy and cut off Ts'un's head. When Pei settled SHU, he divided Kuang-han to make Tzu-t'ung commandery, and he made Chün Grand Administrator of Tzu-t'ung.¹²

Fa Cheng was in charge of the capital domain [Shu commandery], and inside he was counsellor. Favour shown to him as slight as a single meal, hatred as little as a doubtful look, he repaid everything. There were several people that he killed or injured. Someone said to Chu-ko Liang: "Fa Cheng is too powerful in every way. You should tell his lordship to restrain Cheng's authority." Liang said: "When his lordship was in Kung-an, in the north he was facing Ts'ao's strength and in the east he shrank from Sun Ch'üan's oppression, while near at home he was afraid that the Lady Sun would cause trouble in his own house. Fa Hsiao-chih brought him help and had him soar and fly high so that nothing can hold him back. Why should he now restrict and confine Hsiao-chih, and deny him the few things he asks?"

Chu-ko Liang was assistant to Pei in the government of SHU. His rule was stern, and many of the people resented it. Fa Cheng said to Liang: "In the past, when Kao-tsu entered the passes, he made laws of three paragraphs, and the people of Ch'in

recognised his virtue.¹³ Now you take advantage of your power, and you embrace the whole province and hold it. This is the first time that you have governed this state, and you have yet to show any favour or kindness. Besides, the right dealings between host and guest require that the visitor should give way.¹⁴ I ask you to reduce the punishments and ease the restrictions, and so you would soothe the people." Liang said: "You understand one part, but you do not understand both. The Ch'in acted against the true Way. Their government was cruel and the people were angry, so a common fellow gave one cry and their empire was crumbled earth. Kao-tsu was following this and he could use great leniency. But Liu Chang was dull and weak, and since Liu Yen's time father and son have long been favoured [by the court]. The central government has had very loose control, and official dealings have only been formalities. True administration has never got organised, and the majestic punishments fail to command respect. The people of SHU territory do as they please, and the code of behaviour between ruler and subject has gradually come to decline. If we favour them with positions, even the highest ranks will be held in disrepute. If we grant them our grace, the greatest kindness will be held in contempt. The cause of destruction lies in this. I show our authority by use of the law, and when they see the full rigour of law they will appreciate my gracious leniency. I will grade them by the degrees of nobility and when they are granted such ranks they will recognise the honour. When honour and grace are both completed and when high and low have their regulations, these are the essential points of good government."

Liu Pei made Chiang Wan of Ling-ling Prefect of Kuang-tu. Pei happened to go on tour of inspection, and when he came to Kuang-tu, he saw that all Wan's administration was out of order, and right at that time he was dead drunk as well. Pei was furious and was going to execute him. Chu-ko Liang pleaded with him and said: "Chiang Wan is a worthy servant of the state, but he's no good as a local administrator. His government keeps the people at peace, he doesn't pay much attention to superficial things. I beg your lordship to think it over." Pei always respected Liang, so he did

not carry out the punishment. The only thing he did was to dismiss Wan from office on the spot.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Duke Ts'ao of WEI attacked Sun Ch'üan, and he left his younger son, the Marquis Chih of Lin-tzu, to hold Yeh. Ts'ao chose good men as subordinate officers for all his sons, and he made Hsing Yung Household Assistant to Chih. Yung was punctilious on matters of ceremony, he would never let anything slip by him, and he never let Chih get away with anything. The Retainer Liu Chen wrote beautiful essays, and Chih loved him, but Chen wrote to admonish him: "You, Marquis, choose the spring flowers of your Retainer, and you neglect the autumn fruits of your Household Assistant. This will bring slander on you and the penalty will not be light. I am really afraid of it."

2133 Hsün Yu, Prefect of the Masters of Writing of WEI, died. Yu was very quiet, but he was wise and prudent. He always followed Duke Ts'ao of Wei on his campaigns, and made plans with him in his tent. No-one, not even his sons and nephews, ever knew what he proposed. Ts'ao once said: "When Hsün Wen-jo [i.e. Hsün Yü] recommended a good thing, he would keep on until it was done. When Hsün Kung-ta [i.e. Hsün Yu] disapproved a bad thing, he would never stop until it was finished." He also said: "The two prefects Hsün¹⁵ became ever more reliable in their judgement of men. I shall never forget them."

Before this, Sung Chien from Fu-han had taken advantage of the disorders in Liang Province to name himself King of the Sources of the River Who Will Pacify Han. He proclaimed new reign-titles and he appointed the hundred officials, and his rebellion lasted for more than thirty years.¹⁶ In the winter, in the tenth month, Duke Ts'ao of WEI sent Hsia-hou Yüan from Hsing-kuo to attack Chien. They besieged Fu-han and took it and cut off Chien's head. Yüan sent a detachment under Chang Ko to cross the Yellow River into Hsiao-huang-chung.¹⁷ The Ch'iang tribesmen west of the Yellow River all surrendered, and the lands west of the Lung Mountain were pacified.

From the time that the Emperor set his capital at Hsü, he had held his position and no more. His attendants and guards were all men of the Ts'ao clan. The Gentleman-consultant Chao Yen used to tell the Emperor about current affairs and policies, but Duke Ts'ao of WEI disapproved of this and killed him. Later, Ts'ao went to audience with the Emperor in the Palace. The Emperor could not bear the anxiety, so he said: "If you can assist me that would be generous. If you cannot, have pity on me and do not oppress me." Ts'ao turned pale, looked up and down, and asked permission to leave. According to the old system, if [any of] the three Dukes held control of troops, when they came to audience the Guards As Rapid As a Tiger were ordered to hold naked swords against his side.¹⁸ As Ts'ao came out and rejoined his own people the sweat was pouring down his back. From this time on he went no more to audience.

A daughter of Tung Ch'eng had been made an Honoured Lady, and when Ts'ao executed Ch'eng [in 200], he asked for the woman, to kill her. Because she was pregnant, the Emperor interceded with Ts'ao, but it was no avail. From this, the Empress née Fu also became afraid, and she wrote to her father Wan, accusing Ts'ao of oppression and cruelty, and ordering him to make secret plans against him. Wan did not dare to act, but then the story leaked out, and Ts'ao was very angry.

In the eleventh month he sent the Imperial Clerk Grandee Ch'ih Lü with authority to receive the seal and tassel of the Empress. The Prefect of the Masters of Writing Hua Hsin accompanied him and they led soldiers into the palace to arrest the Empress. The Empress closed the doors and hid among the walls, but Hsin broke down the doors, destroyed the walls and led the Empress out. The Emperor was still in the outer courts, giving audience to Ch'ih Lü, when the Empress, with her hair dishevelled, barefoot and weeping, went past and said farewell: "Could you not save me this once?" The Emperor answered: "I don't even know when my turn will come!" He turned to Lü and said: "My lord Ch'ih, how could this happen?" So they led the Empress down to the harem jail and there she pined away. The two imperial children born to her were both poisoned and more than a

hundred of her close relations and her clanspeople died.

In the twelfth month Duke Ts'ao of WEI came to Meng-chin.

Ts'ao made the Gentleman of the Masters of Writing Kao Ju Head Clerk of the Department of Justice.¹⁹ According to the old laws, if the army was on campaign and a soldier deserted, his wife and children were examined with torture. But the desertions still did not stop. Ts'ao wanted to make the punishment heavier, so as to implicate the father, mother and brothers of the deserter, but Jou said: "If a soldier deserts the army, that is certainly wrong. Yet I have heard that some of these men may repent, and I suggest that in future we let the wife and children go free. For one thing this would encourage them to come back. If we keep just the same rule as before, that will certainly discourage them, but if you make the penalties heavier, I am afraid that when the soldiers see one man desert they will be afraid that the executions will reach to themselves, and then they will all run away. You can't kill everyone. Heavier punishments won't stop the desertions, they will only make the situation worse!" Ts'ao said: "Excellent." And so he stopped, and he did not kill.

Chien-an 20th year [17.II.215-5.II.216]

2135 In the spring, in the first month, on the day chia-tzu [6.III] the Honoured Lady née Ts'ao was established as Empress. She was the daughter of Duke Ts'ao of WEI.

In the third month Duke Ts'ao of WEI led an attack on Chang Lu, and he went from Wu-tu into the territory of the Ti barbarians. The Ti people blocked the roads, but Chang Ko, Chu Ling and others were sent to attack them and defeat them.

In the summer, in the fourth month Ts'ao came from Ch'en-ts'ang through the San Pass and reached Ho-ch'ih. Tou-mao, King of the Ti, had a force of more than ten thousand men, he relied on the difficulties of the terrain, and he

refused to submit. In the fifth month they attacked the barbarians and slaughtered them. The leaders in Hsi-p'ing and Chin-ch'eng, Ch'ü Yen, Chiang Shih and others, cut off Han Sui's head and sent it to Ts'ao.

Before this, when Liu Pei was still in Ching Province, Chou Yü, Kan Ning and others had often urged Sun Ch'üan to take over Shu. Ch'üan sent messengers to Pei to say: "Liu Chang is no real leader. He won't last long. If Ts'ao gets Shu, then Ching Province will be in danger. I want to attack Chang first, and when I've dealt with him I will go on and deal with Chang Lu. Once the south is united, then even if there were ten Ts'ao's we would have nothing to worry about." Pei replied: "The people of Yi Province are prosperous, and their territory is hard to approach. Though Liu Chang is weak, he is well able to keep his position. Leading an army into the open spaces of Shu commandery and Han-chung with lines of communication over ten thousand li, and fighting successfully to conquer the whole province all without a reverse, this is something that Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i would have found difficult. Your advisers see that Ts'ao Ts'ao was unsuccessful at the Red Cliffs, and so they say that his power has declined and that he can no longer have any influence on what goes on in the more distant parts of the empire. But Ts'ao already holds two-thirds of the empire. He still plans to water his horses at the ocean shore, and to review his troops in Wu and K'uai-chi. Why should he be willing just to keep what he has and wait for old age? Besides, if allies attack one another without some good reason, they are only giving Ts'ao a lever and letting their enemy take advantage from their quarrel. This is not a far sighted plan. Moreover, Chang and I belong to the same clan, and we hope to use the authority and inspiration of our ancestors to revive the Han dynasty. If Chang should have offended any of your followers, then I am most upset about it. I do not presume to question your judgement but I do ask you to be lenient." Ch'üan would not listen, and he sent Sun Yü to lead a fleet and camp at Hsia-k'ou. Pei refused to let the army go past, and he said to Yü: "If you insist on taking

Shu, then I will go with dishevelled hair into the mountains. I cannot lose faith before the empire." He sent Kuan Yü to camp at Chiang-ling, Chang Fei to camp at Tzu-kuei, Chu-ko Liang to occupy Nan commandery, and he himself stayed at Ch'an-ling. Ch'üan had no choice but to call Yü back. Later, when Liu Pei went west to attack Liu Chang, Sun Ch'üan said: "The cunning slave, that he should dare take advantage of a trick like this!" Pei left Kuan Yü to hold Chiang-ling, and Lu Su had borders touching Yü's territory. Yü often suspected treachery, but Su always behaved in the most friendly fashion.

When Pei had taken over Yi Province, Ch'üan sent his Major Attached to Headquarters, Chu-ko Chin, to ask Pei to hand back all the commanderies of Ching Province. Pei would not agree, and said: "Right now I am making plans for Liang Province. When Liang Province is settled, then I will hand over all of Ching province." Ch'üan said: "This is borrowing and not returning.¹ He's just trying to gain time with empty excuses." He appointed officials for the three commanderies of Ch'ang-sha, Ling-ling and Kuei-yang, but Kuan Yü drove them away. Ch'üan was extremely angry, and he sent Lü Meng with twenty thousand soldiers to seize the three commanderies.

Meng sent letters to Ch'ang-sha, Ling-ling and Kuei-yang, and all those who saw how things were going came to submit. Only the Grand Administrator of Ling-ling, Ho P'u, held to his city² and would not surrender. Liu Pei heard of this, and he came himself from SHU to Kung-an, and set Kuan Yü to fight for the three commanderies. Sun Ch'üan came forward to Lu-k'ou and gave orders to all his armies. Lu Su was sent to lead ten thousand men to camp at Yi-yang to face Kuan Yü, and a letter was sent post-haste telling Lü Meng to leave Ling-ling and come back quickly to help Su. Meng got the letter, but he kept it secret. That night he called his officers and told them his plans: at dawn he would attack Ling-ling. He turned to a former follower of Ho P'u, Teng Hsüan-chih of Nan-yang, and said: "Ho Tzu-t'ai has heard stories of loyalty and honour, and he

wants to imitate them. He doesn't realise what he's up against. Now the General of the Left [Liu Pei] is besieged in Han-chung by Hsia-hou Yüan, Kuan Yü is in Nan commandery and our lord [Sun Ch'üan] is close by him. Everywhere they are hanging in even balance, in desperate situations with nothing to spare. How can they manage anything extra to deal with this? I have reckoned my force and I have made careful plans for attack. In no more than a day the city will be destroyed. After the city has fallen, and Ho P'u is dead, what use is that to anyone? And isn't it pitiful to have old women, perhaps a hundred years old, done to death in such old age? I don't think his people have heard anything from outside. They thought that they would be relieved, but now they have come to this. You go and see him, and tell him what's going to happen." Hsüan-chih saw P'u and gave him all Meng's arguments. P'u was afraid, and he came out and surrendered. Meng welcomed him and took his hand and they went down into a boat together. When they had finished their conference, Meng took out the letter and showed it to him, and he clapped his hands and roared with laughter. P'u saw the letter, and he realised that Pei was at Kung-an and Yü was at Yi-yang, and he was so ashamed he wished for death. Meng left Sun Ho to take charge of things there, and that same day he led his army back to Yi-yang.

Lu Su wanted to talk with Kuan Yü. His officers were suspicious and afraid there would be some trick, and advised him not to go. Su said: "At times like these, men should be prepared to face one another. Liu Pei owes a great deal to our state, our positions are not yet settled, and how could Yü dare to refuse our invitation?" So he invited Yü to a meeting. Each side halted their troops, the generals came forward a hundred paces, and they met alone, armed only with their swords. Then Su scolded Yü that he had refused to hand back the three commanderies. Yü said: "In the campaign at Wu-lin the General of the Left fought in the ranks, destroyed the powerful and defeated the enemy.³ Why should he have his labours for nothing, and not receive a single clod of earth? Yet you have come and want to take his territory." Su said: "That's not true. When I first saw Yü-chou [i.e. Liu Pei] at Ch'ang Slope, his forces were

no more than a colonel's command, he was at the end of his resources and he was extremely worried. His hopes were down, his power was weak, and he was planning to creep off and go far away. He had completely lost heart. My master had pity for Yü-chou, that he had no place to rest. He was generous with land and fighting men, and he let him have what he needed to protect himself and to relieve his danger. But now Yü-chou is acting selfishly and glosses over the facts. He offends virtue and disregards good conduct. He has already put his hand on the western province, and he wants to steal Ching territory from us as well. Even a common fellow would be ashamed to do that, and still more so a ruler who arranges and orders men and things!" Yü had no way to reply. About this time they heard that Duke Ts'ao of WEI was coming to attack Han-chung, and Liu Pei was afraid that he would lose Yi Province, so he sent messengers to ask Sun Ch'üan for peace. Ch'üan sent Chu-ko Chin in embassy of reply, and they renewed their covenant of goodwill. Ching Province was divided, with the Hsiang River as the border. Ch'ang-sha, Chiang-hsia, and Kuei-yang to the east were under Ch'üan, while Nan commandery, Ling-ling, and Wu-ling to the west remained with Pei. Chu-ko Chin was always sent with messages to SHU, but he only spoke to his younger brother Liang in public assembly, and he never asked for a private meeting.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Duke Ts'ao of WEI came to Yang-p'ing. Chang Lu was prepared to surrender Han-chung but his younger brother Wei would not agree. He led several ten thousand men to guard the passes, and he built fortifications for some ten li across the mountains. Ts'ao had relied on reports from the Attendant Officials of Liang Province and from men surrendered in Wu-tu. They said: "It is easy to attack Chang Lu, the northern and southern ridges of the mountains about Yang-p'ing are a long way apart, and the pass is quite indefensible." Ts'ao believed this to be true, but then he came to the place, and it was quite different to the way they said.

He sighed and said: "When other people discuss plans, they seldom look at things the same way as one does oneself." He attacked the camps in the Yang-p'ing hills, but the slopes were steep and difficult to climb and they could not take them on the first assault. Many of the soldiers were killed or wounded, and the supplies for the army were exhausted. Ts'ao's plans were spoilt, and all he had left to do was draw back his men, leave a defence line behind him, and retreat. He sent his General-in-Chief Hsia-hou Tun and the General Hsü Ch'ü to call the soldiers back from the hills. But then the advance guard lost its way in the dark, and they came into one of Chang Wei's pickets by mistake. There was great confusion and the defenders scattered in retreat. The Palace Attendant Hsin P'i and the Master of Records Liu Yeh and others in the rear of these troops reported to Tun and Ch'ü "The official forces have already taken the chief camps of the enemy, and the rebels are scattered in flight." The generals couldn't believe it. Tun went forward to see for himself and then he came back and told Ts'ao, and they sent soldiers forward to attack Wei. Wei and his officers fled during the night.

Chang Lu heard that Yang-p'ing had fallen, and he wanted to surrender. Yen P'u said: "Now if you go under pressure, there will be no great credit for it. The best thing to do is to join up with Tu-hu and go to Fu-hu.⁴ Oppose Ts'ao together, and then send tribute. He will be all the more pleased when you do submit." So they fled by the southern hills into Pa-chung.⁵ Lu's attendants were going to burn all the treasure-stores and granaries, but Lu said: "The thing I really want to do is to hand over government to the central authority, but so far I just haven't been able to arrange it. I am fleeing now to escape from sharp-pointed weapons and I have no intention of making trouble. Treasure and granaries belong to the state." So he sealed up the stores and went away. Ts'ao entered Nan-cheng, and he was extremely pleased with this. He heard that Lu meant well, and he sent men to speak to him and set him at peace.

The Master of Records to the Lieutenant-Chancellor Ssu-ma Yi said to Ts'ao: "Liu Pei has captured Liu Chang by deceit and force, and the people of SHU are not yet attached to him. Now that he is

fighting far away in Chiang-ling, this is too good a chance to miss. You have conquered Han-chung, and Yi Province is trembling. Send your soldiers against them, and their position will disintegrate. The sage does not oppose the time, and he cannot let such opportunity slip." Ts'ao said: "If a man is not satisfied, he will get Lung and look to Shu."⁶ Liu Yen said: "Liu Pei is a hero among men, he has the generosity of a ruler, but he has come too late. He has only held SHU for very few days, and the people do not yet trust him. Now that you have destroyed Han-chung, everyone in SHU will be shaken and frightened and their power will fall of itself. With your spiritual understanding, taking advantage of their own weakness to destroy them, there will be nothing you can't manage. However, if you should delay even for a little while: Chu-ko Liang understands the good ordering of a state and he will be the chancellor, Kuan Yü and Chang Fei excel in bravery over all armies and they will be his officers; the people of Shu will soon be settled, and they will hold the passes and guard the important positions. Then we can never attack them. If we don't take them now, they will certainly cause trouble later." Ts'ao would not agree. They stayed for seven days, and the men from SHU that surrendered said: "In a single day in SHU there are scores of alarms, and although the officers on guard behead the troublemakers they cannot set the people at peace." Ts'ao asked Yeh: "Can we still attack them?" Yeh said: "Now they are already settling down again. You cannot attack." So the army went back. Hsia-hou Yüan was made General and Chief Commissioner, with command over Chang Ko and Hsü Huang and others to hold Han-chung, and the Chief Clerk to the Lieutenant-Chancellor Tu Hsi became Chief Commandant of Attendant Cavalry in charge of the administration. Hsi gave peace and encouragement, and more than eighty thousand of the people were glad to migrate to Lo-yang and Yeh.⁷

2141 In the eighth month Sun Ch'üan led a force of a hundred thousand men to besiege Ho-fei. Chang Liao, Li Tien and Yü Chin commanded some seven thousand men stationed at that city. When

Duke Ts'ao of WEI attacked Chang Lu, he had given instructions to the Commissioner over the Army at Ho-fei, Hsüeh T'i, sending him an envelope labelled: "If enemies come, open this." When Ch'üan came up, they opened the instructions and read: "If Sun Ch'üan should come, Generals Chiang and Li go out and fight, General Yüeh keep guard, the Commissioner over the Army does not fight." The officers felt that their men were too few and no match for the enemy, and they were very dubious. Chang Liao said: "The Duke is on campaign a long way outside, and by the time help reaches us it is certain that the enemy will have destroyed us. This letter is to remind us that if we attack them before they have surrounded the city, we will reduce their early strength and set our own army's mind at rest. Then we will be able to hold out." Chin and the others made no reply. Liao became angry and said: "The chances for victory or defeat are in this one battle. If you are all so hesitant, I will settle it alone." Li Tien had formerly been Liao's enemy, but now he was enthusiastic and said: "This is a great affair of state. When I see you planning like this, how can I maintain a personal grudge and neglect the public good? I beg that I may follow you in the sortie." Then Liao collected volunteers, he got eight hundred soldiers and he killed oxen and held a feast at night.

The next day, wearing armour and carrying a two-point lance, Liao was the first to break the enemy lines. He killed several tens of men, cut off the heads of two high officers, and gave a great shout to make known his name. He crossed the rampart and came to Ch'üan's standard. Ch'üan was very startled, could not think what to do, but ran to a high mound and defended himself with a long lance. Liao called Ch'üan to come down and fight but Ch'üan did not dare to move. Then he looked and saw how few soldiers Liao was leading, and he surrounded Liao with several rings of men. Liao attacked fiercely, broke the circle and made his escape with several score soldiers following his standard. The rest of his men cried out: "Does our general desert us?" Liao returned to the fight, charged the ring and brought out the rest of his company. All Ch'üan's men and horses were scattered and none dared oppose them. They fought

from morning to midday, and the men from WU⁸ lost heart. They went back to reorganise their defences, and so the hearts of the [WEI] forces were set at ease.

2142 Ch'üan stayed at Ho-fei for more than ten days, but the city resisted all his assaults and he finally had to retreat. When the soldiers were on the road, Ch'üan and his officers were halted at the north of the Hsiao-yao Ford. Chang Liao was watching and noticed this, and he led infantry and cavalry in a swift attack. Kan Ning, Lü Meng and others fought strongly to hold the enemy off. Ling T'ung led Companions⁹ to help Ch'üan break out from the circle, and then returned to fight with Liao. All those about him were killed and he himself was wounded. When he thought that Ch'üan had escaped he made his way back. Ch'üan rode a swift horse to the bridge of the ford. The southern end of the bridge had broken down, and there was a gap more than ten feet wide. The Inspector of Companions Ku Li was following him. He told Ch'üan to grasp the saddle and reins, while he used a whip from behind, and in this way they managed to get across. Ho Ch'i led three thousand men to the southern bank to meet Ch'üan, and so he was able to escape.

Ch'üan gave a feast on one of his warships. Ho Ch'i got down from his mat and wept and said: "Your honour is a ruler of men. You should always be heavily guarded. In today's affair, when you almost came to misfortune, your servants were frightened and afraid as if Heaven and Earth were fallen. We beg you take this as the warning for a lifetime." Ch'üan came forward and wiped his tears away for him, saying: "I am grateful and ashamed. Caution is now engraved on my heart, not just written on a girdle."¹⁰

In the ninth month the leaders of the Tsung barbarians of Pa, Fu-hu, Tu-hu and Jen Yüeh, each brought their forces and came to join Ts'ao Ts'ao. Then Ts'ao divided Pa commandery, and made Fu-hu Grand Administrator of Pa-tung, Tu-hu Grand Administrator of Pa-hsi, and Yüeh Grand Administrator of Pa commandery.¹¹ All were enfeoffed as marquises.

In the winter, in the tenth month, there were for the first time appointed Marquises of Title,¹² as a reward for military service.

In the eleventh month Chang Lu led his family and dependents and came to surrender. Duke Ts'ao of WEI welcomed Lu and made him General Who Maintains the South in Peace, treated him with the courtesy of a guest and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Lang-chung with appanage of ten thousand households. He gave marquisates to Lu's five sons and also to Yen P'u and some others.

43 Hsi Tso-ch'ih discusses it:¹³ Yen P'u advised Lu not to name himself king, and Ts'ao remembered this and enfeoffed him. What man of future time will not be inspired to follow the right Way? Block up the source and the furthest end of the stream will stop, isn't this the meaning of it! If the ruler does not appreciate this, but gives all his praise to the man of physical bravery,¹⁴ and if the great fiefs and rich rewards are reserved only for the soldiers, then the people will find advantage in disorders, they will learn to compete in killing and warfare, and they will rely on military power and trust to strength. This means that shields and weapons will never be put away. When Lord Ts'ao enfeoffed Yen P'u, we may say that showed true recognition of the basis for reward and punishment.

Ch'eng Yin, Hou Hsüan and P'ang Te all followed Lu to surrender. Duke Ts'ao of WEI restored Yin and Hsüan to official rank, and appointed Te as General Who Maintains Righteousness.

When Chang Lu fled to Pa-chung, Huang Ch'üan had said to Liu Pei: "Once we lose Han-chung, the Three Pa will be insecure. This would cut off the rump and the back of SHU." So Pei made Ch'üan Commissioner over the Army, to take command of all the officers and receive Chang Lu. Lu had already surrendered, but Ch'üan attacked Fu-hu, Tu-hu and Jen Yüeh and destroyed them.¹⁵ Duke Ts'ao of WEI sent Chang Ko to take command of all the armies in the region of the Three Pa, and he planned that all their people should be shifted to Han-chung. Chang Ko brought his army forward to Tang-ch'ü. Liu Pei sent Chang Fei, the Grand

Administrator of Pa-hsi, to face Ko. After almost two months Fei caught Ko by a surprise attack and completely defeated him. Ko retreated to Nan-cheng, and Pei went back to Ch'eng-tu.

2144 Ts'ao collected some five thousand soldiers who had formerly served Han Sui, Ma Ch'ao and the other generals, and he put them under the command of Yin Shu, as General Who Pacifies Disorder. The Grand Administrator of Fu-feng, Chao Yen, was made Commissioner over the Army Within the Passes and ordered to raise twelve hundred soldiers to help in the defence of Han-chung. With Yin Shu in command, the troops moved off, but the men were angry when they were told to march. Yen escorted them as far as the Hsieh-ku Pass, but as soon as he went back, and before they had even reached their camp, Shu's army mutinied. Following Yen there were a hundred and fifty footsoldiers and horsemen, all of them relatives or fellow-townsmen of the mutineers. When these men heard the news they too were very disturbed, they put on armour and took up weapons, and they would not calm down. Yen carefully explained the situation to them, consoled them and encouraged them, and then they all responded to him and cried: "For life or death we will follow the Commissioner. We would not dare to be disloyal." They all went forward to the rebel camps.

When a count was made it was found that eight hundred of the mutineers had scattered in the countryside, but Yen sent down orders: "Take only the ringleaders for punishment. Ask nothing of the others." Those who had been captured by the commandery and prefectural administrations were sent back, and all the rest came to give themselves up. Yen made a secret report, saying that: "Someone must go to [Ts'ao Ts'ao's] headquarters and ask that experienced and reliable soldiers be sent to garrison the region within the passes." Duke Ts'ao of WEI sent General Liu Chu with two thousand men, and he ordered that no further transfers be made until these men arrived. This became known, and all the camp was in a great fluster, and no words would settle them. So Yen announced: "We will choose one thousand of the peaceable and

trustworthy men among the newly joined soldiers to stay and guard Kuan-chung. All the rest will be shifted east."¹⁶ The officers submitted lists of names of all the soldiers in the camp, and Yen inspected them and made immediate selection. The men that were to stay were quite content and agreed with Yen, and the ones that would have to go did not dare to object. Yen sent them all off along the road in a single day. The thousand men supposed to stay were told off to escort the travellers and keep them in order. Later Liu Chu's soldiers from the east came up and at last Yen could enforce his orders once more. So he shifted the remaining thousand as well, and they caught up with the rest and all went together. In total, he transferred more than twenty thousand people.

Chien-an 21st year [6.II.216-26.I.217]:

In the spring, in the second month, Duke Ts'ao of WEI returned to Yeh.

In the summer, in the fifth month, Duke Ts'ao of WEI was advanced in fief to become King.

Before this, the Commandant of the Capital¹ Ts'ui Yen had recommended Yang Hsün of Chü-lu to Ts'ao. Ts'ao treated him with courtesy and gave him office. When Ts'ao was made King, Hsün published a eulogy of his achievements and his power. Some people sneered at Hsün for a time-server and a hypocrite and said that Yen had made a mistake in his recommendation. Yen borrowed Hsün's draft of the memorial, read it through, and then wrote a letter to Hsün saying: "I have examined your memorial and the thing is excellent. It takes time, it takes time! Soon there will be changes." All Yen meant was that those who had made fun [of Hsün] were carping critics, and were being unreasonable. But there were some people who had been on bad terms with Yen in the past, and they reported: "Yen is arrogant and speaks slander. He does not intend to stay loyal."² Ts'ao was angry. He arrested Yen and put him in prison, his head was shaven and he was sent away to forced labour. The people who had informed against

Yen now reported again: "Even while serving his sentence Yen sticks out his beard and glares at those who visit him. He looks angry." So Yen was granted death.

The Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Mao Chieh held that Yen had been injured without cause, and he was most upset. Once again, someone reported that Chieh had a grudge and spoke slander. Ts'ao arrested Chieh and put him in prison. The Palace Attendants Huan Chieh and Ho Hsia both tried to explain what was happening, but Ts'ao would not listen. Huan Chieh asked for a re-examination of the case, but the King said: "My informants tell me that Chieh has not only criticised me, but that he has regrets for Ts'ui Yen. He rejects the grace and loyalty between master and servant, and he holds unreasonable resentment for the fate of a dead friend. I cannot tolerate such behaviour." Hsia said: "If what they tell you is true, Chieh's fault is extremely serious and an offence to the sight of Heaven and Earth. I could never lie to save Chieh, for I would betray the ruling principles if I did so.³ Yet Chieh has received honour and favour for many years, he has been upright and loyal, and everyone has held him in awe. It is surprising that he should act like this now. True, it is always hard to be sure of a man's real character, but that makes it all the more important to examine the case thoroughly, to hear both sides, and to determine the real facts. At present, in your wisdom and generosity, you cannot bear to hand him over to the judges, but as a result of this there is no way to decide if he is innocent or guilty." Ts'ao said: "The reason I make no investigation is that I want to protect both Chieh and his accusers." Hsia replied: "If Chieh is really speaking against his lord, then his body should be exposed in the market-place or in the court.⁴ If he has not spoken against you, then those who informed have made false accusations against a great minister and have tried to deceive their master. Unless this is fully examined I cannot feel at ease." In the end, Ts'ao never made a complete investigation. Chieh was dismissed, and he died at his own home.

At this time the Head Clerk of the Department of the West, Ting Yi of P'ei state, was in Ts'ao Ts'ao's favour. He had some influence in arranging Chieh's arrest, so all the ministers feared him and eyed him askance. The Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Ho K'uei and the Subordinate Clerk of the Department of the East, Hsü Yi of Tung-kuan,⁵ were the only ones who would not submit to Yi. Ting Yi spoke against Hsü Yi, and Hsü Yi was sent from the court to be Grand Administrator of Wei commandery.⁶ It was only through Huan Chieh's intercession that he escaped serious punishment. The Master of Writing Fu Hsüan said to Ho K'uei: "Ting Yi has already injured Mao Chieh. You should show him a little more courtesy." K'uei said: "To do the dishonourable thing, that only harms oneself. How can he harm other people? Besides, a heart that holds to vice and deceit, if it stands in a brilliant court, how can it last for long?"

Ts'ui Yen's younger cousin Lin once discussed the scholars of the men of Chi Province with Ch'en Ch'ün. Lin praised Yen most highly, but Ch'ün disparaged him, because for all his wisdom he could not save himself. Lin said: "A great man stands firm against misfortune. Can people like you be called great?"

In the fifth month, on the day chi-hai, the first of the month [3.VII], there was an eclipse of the sun.

Three chieftains of the Wu-huan in Tai commandery all styled themselves Shan-yü. They relied on their strength, they acted arrogantly and wilfully, and the Grand Administrator could not keep them under control. King Ts'ao of Wei appointed P'ei Ch'ien, Subordinate Clerk of the Department of Granaries under the Lieutenant-Chancellor, as the new Grand Administrator. He offered him good soldiers, but Ch'ien said: "The Shan-yü know that they have been acting badly. If I go with an army they will certainly be afraid and they will defend the borders against us. If I take only a small escort they will not be frightened. We will have to show some strategy." So he went to the commandery in a single carriage, and the Shan-yü were surprised and pleased. Ch'ien treated them with grace and authority, and the Shan-yü respected and submitted.

Before this, the Southern Hsiung-nu had lived for a long time within the borders. They were much the same as the registered inhabitants, but they did not send in tribute or tax. Many people were afraid that their numbers were becoming too great and that it would become increasingly difficult to keep them under control; some protection should be made against them. In the autumn, in the
2147 seventh month, the Southern Shan-yü Hu-ch'u-ch'üan came to attend the WEI court. King Ts'ao of WEI kept him at Yeh and had the Worthy King of the West Ch'ü-pei look after the state. Each year the Shan-yü was allotted floss-silk, silk cloth, cash and grain like a marquis, and his sons and grandsons inherited the title. The people were separated into five divisions, each with one of their nobles as chief, and a Chinese was chosen as Major to keep control of them.⁷

In the eighth month the Grand Judge Chung Yao became Chancellor of State of Wei.⁸

In the winter, in the tenth month, King Ts'ao of Wei led his army for an attack on Sun Ch'üan, and in the eleventh month they came to Ch'iao.

Chien-an 22nd year [25.I.217-12.II.218]:

8 In the spring, in the first month, King Ts'ao of WEI brought his army to Chü-ch'ao. Sun Ch'üan guarded Ju-hsü. In the second month, Ts'ao went forward and attacked him.

Before this, when the Commissioner over the Army of the Right Chiang Ch'in had been camped at Hsüan-ch'eng, Hsü Sheng, Prefect of Wu-hu, had arrested one of Ch'in's officers and recommended that he be executed. When Ch'üan was at Ju-hsü, Ch'in and Lü Meng held the command of all the armies, and Ch'in always praised Hsü Sheng. Ch'üan asked about it, and Ch'in said: "Sheng is loyal and works hard. He is
9 capable, he has courage and planning, and he could take command of ten thousand men. While the great affair is still not settled, it is my duty to help find competent ministers for you. How could I think of a private quarrel and conceal a worthy man?" Ch'üan thought this excellent.

In the third month, Ts'ao led his troops away, but the General Who Calms the Waves Hsia-hou Tun, in supreme command over Ts'ao Jen, Chang Liao and others, remained behind with twenty-six armies in camp at Chü-ch'ao. Ch'üan ordered the Chief Commandant Hsü Hsiang to go to Ts'ao and ask for terms. Ts'ao agreed to restore friendly relations, and they swore a renewed marriage alliance.¹

Ch'üan appointed the General Who Pacifies the Caitiffs, Chou T'ai, to hold command of Ju-hsü. Chu Jan, Hsü Sheng and others were all under his orders, but because T'ai came from a humble family, they refused to obey him. Ch'üan invited all his officers to a great feast with wine. He ordered T'ai to open his clothing, and with his own hand Ch'üan pointed to the scars of his wounds and asked him how they came. T'ai replied and told frankly of the wars and the fighting. When he had finished Ch'üan had him get dressed again. He took him by the arm and wept, saying: "Yu-p'ing, you are my brother. In time of war you are like a bear or a tiger and you

take no thought for your own safety. You have been wounded scores of times and your skin is like an engraving. In my heart, it is natural that I should look on you as a brother, and surely you deserve your high command." When the feast ended he made his own carriage wait, while T'ai went with soldiers and horsemen in front and behind, beating drums and blowing horns to make a fanfare as he left. Then Sheng and the other generals respected him.

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In the summer, in the fifth month, an edict granted King Ts'ao of WEI the banners and flags of the Son of Heaven; when he went out or in the road should be cleared of all other traffic.

In the sixth month WEI appointed the Master of the Army Hua Hsin as Imperial Clerk Grandee.

In the winter, in the tenth month, it was ordered that King Ts'ao of WEI should have a ceremonial hat with twelve strands of pearls, that he should ride in a gilded chariot drawn by six horses, and have chariots of the five seasons to escort him.²

WEI appointed the General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes, Ts'ao P'i, as Heir-apparent.

Before this, King Ts'ao of WEI had taken a wife of the Ting clan, and they had no children. His concubine née Liu gave birth to a son Ang, and his Lady Pien had four sons, P'i, Chang, Chih and Hsiung. The King had the Lady Ting nurse Ang as if she was his true mother. When Ang died at Jang,³ the Lady Ting refused to stop crying, and Ts'ao became angry and sent her away. He appointed the Lady Pien as his second wife. Chih was cunning and clever, with considerable skill and ability. His literary talents were fine and he was learned and quick witted. Ts'ao loved him. Ts'ao had wanted to give his daughter in marriage to Ting Yi, but since Yi had only one eye, P'i objected and prevented it. So Yi had a grudge against P'i. With his younger brother the Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates I⁴ and the Master of Records to the Lieutenant-Chancellor Yang Hsiu he often praised the abilities of Chih, Marquis of Lin-tzu, and they

all urged Ts'ao to make Chih his successor. Hsiu was the son of Piao.

Ts'ao wrote letters to make a private canvass of opinion, but the Master of Writing Ts'ui Yen sent an open reply: "It is the principle of the Ch'un-ch'iu that in establishing a son you take the eldest.⁵ The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes is loving and filial, intelligent and wise, well worthy to maintain the line of succession. I will hold this to the death." Chih had married the daughter of Yen's elder brother. The Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Mao Chieh⁶ said: "A little while ago, Yüan Shao made no distinction between the sons of the legal wife and those of the concubine. He overturned his clan and destroyed his state. To set aside the rightful heir is a thing of great moment. I don't want to have anything to do with such a plan." Hsing Yung, Head Clerk of the Department of the East said: "To replace the true wife with a commoner, that is what men of ancient times avoided. I beg your majesty to reconsider."

P'i sent a man to ask the Grand Palace Grandee Chia Hsü of a way to keep himself secure. Hsü said: "I ask that you pay great attention to the measure of your virtue, observe the manners of a simple scholar, be diligent day and night, and do not offend against the right conduct of a son. That's all." P'i followed this, and he carefully cultivated a good character. On a later occasion, Ts'ao sent everyone else away and asked Hsü about the succession. Hsü remained silent and made no reply. Ts'ao said: "I spoke to you but you did not answer me. Why is it?" Hsü said: "I was busy thinking of something, and so I did not answer at once." Ts'ao said: "What were you thinking?" Hsü said: "I was thinking of Yüan Pen-ch'u and Liu Ching-sheng, fathers and sons."⁷ Ts'ao gave a great laugh.

On another occasion, Ts'ao was going out on campaign, and P'i and Chih were both present at the farewell ceremony. Chih spoke of merit and virtue, and his speech was elegant. All the attendants turned their eyes to him and Ts'ao was pleased. P'i was upset and at a loss but Wu Chih of Chi-yin whispered to him: "When the King is about to go, you cry." As they said their farewells P'i wept and made obeisance, and Ts'ao and his attendants all wept in sympathy.

Everyone felt that Chih had splendid words but no real feelings to them. Chih often acted on impulse, and paid no attention to his conduct, while the General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes [Ts'ao P'i] could manage situations by trickery and could act against his true nature. The maidservants and attendants of the palace all praised him and spoke for him, and so he was established as Heir-apparent.

2152 The attendants of the harem⁸ congratulated the Lady Pien and said: "The General of the Gentlemen of the Household has been appointed Heir-apparent, and everyone in the empire will be pleased. You should pour out treasure to bestow gifts." The Lady said: "The King named P'i as successor because he is the eldest. I should simply be content to have borne a son without fault in teaching or guidance. How can I give great presents?" The attendants went back and told all of this to Ts'ao, and Ts'ao was pleased and said: "In anger not to change expression, in happiness not to lose control. These are the really difficult things."

The Heir-apparent embraced the Gentleman-consultant Hsin P'i around the neck and said: "Mr Hsin, can you imagine how happy I am?" P'i told this to his daughter Hsien-ying, and she sighed and said: "Heir-apparent, that is a man who must take the place of the lord and master in the ancestral temple and the ceremonies for the gods of the soil and the grain. To take the ruler's place is a serious duty. To be master of a state is a fearful task. He should be sober and anxious, but yet he is happy. How can this survive for long? The WEI, here lies its failure!"

Sometime afterwards, Marquis Chih of Lin-tzu rode a carriage fast on the imperial highway, and he had the Ssu-ma Gate opened to let him out. Ts'ao was very angry, and the Prefect in Charge of Official Chariots was put to death.⁹ The regulations for the feudal lords were made still more strict, and Chih's favour declined every day. Chih's wife wore embroidered clothing, and Ts'ao climbed a tower and happened to see it. Because she was disobeying the sumptuary regulations she was sent back to her home and allowed to commit suicide.

53 Fa Cheng said to Liu Pei: "With a single blow Ts'ao Ts'ao brought Chang Lu to surrender and settled Han-chung, but he did not follow up this advantage to invade Pa and Shu. He has only left Hsia-hou Yüan and Chang Ko as guards, while he himself goes quietly back to the north. It is not that he is foolish, or that he is not strong enough, but he must have some hidden cause for anxiety. Now you think about Yüan and Ko. They are no match for our officers. If you raise an army and go to attack them you will certainly defeat them. When you have defeated them, encourage farming and build up stores of grain, look for some grievance and wait for opportunity. The best you may obtain is to overturn the enemy and preserve the royal house; for second choice, you can make steady encroachment on Yung and Liang provinces to broaden and enlarge your territory; at the least, you can set firm guard on the vital points and make yourself secure for a long time to come. This chance comes from Heaven. You cannot let it slip!" Pei was very pleased at the plan, and he led all his officers into Han-chung, sending Chang Fei, Ma Ch'ao, Wu Lan and others to camp at Hsia-pien. King Ts'ao of WEI sent the General and Chief Commissioner Ts'ao Hung to face them.

Lu Su died, and Sun Ch'üan ordered the Gentleman of the General Staff Yen Chün of P'eng-ch'eng to take Su's place with command of ten thousand men in garrison at Lu-k'ou. All the people were pleased for Chün, but he refused to take office, saying: "I am a simple scholar with no experience in military affairs." He spoke honestly, and even wept. Then Ch'üan appointed the Commissioner over the Army on the Right General Majestic as a Tiger Lü Meng to act concurrently as Grand Administrator of Han-ch'ang and to take his place. The people admired the way Yen Chün declined office with such sincerity.

The Colonel Who Settles Majesty. Lu Hsün of Wu commandery, said to Sun Ch'üan: "To defeat the enemy and to settle disorder we need a great many soldiers. The hills bandits have long made trouble and they take shelter in deep and difficult country. If the belly and heart are not at peace, it is difficult to make plans for distant places. But if we can organise our people into administrative divisions and family groups, we will find good soldiers among them." Ch'üan followed this suggestion and appointed Hsün Controller of the Division

of the Right at Headquarters. When the bandit leader of Tan-yang, Fei Chien, made a rebellion, and encouraged the Shan-yüeh to join him, Ch'üan sent Hsün to attack Chien, and he defeated him. He then arranged the eastern three commanderies¹⁰ in divisions and groups, so that the strong became soldiers and the weak were made to fill up the vacancies in the registers of households. He got several tens of thousands of good soldiers, the evils of the past were ended, and wherever he went all was orderly and clear. He returned to camp at Wu-hu. The Grand Administrator of K'uai-chi, Ch'un-yü Shih, sent in a memorial saying: "Hsün oppresses and kidnaps the people. There is misery and trouble everywhere he goes." Later, Hsün went to the capital, and when he made his report he praised Shih as an excellent official. Ch'üan said: "Shih informed against you, but you recommend him. Why is this?" Hsün replied: "Shih wants to care for the people, and that is why he made accusations against me. If I slandered Shih in return, to confuse your sage's hearing, that would not be right." Ch'üan said: "Very fine. Not many people could be so generous."

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King Ts'ao of WEI put the Chief Clerk to the Lieutenant-Chancellor Wang Pi in command of troops and general administration around Hsü city. At this time Kuan Yü [in Ching Province] was growing stronger. Chin Wei of Ching-chao,¹¹ realising that the Han Emperor was in danger of being deposed, arranged a plot with the Privy Treasurer Keng Chi, the Director of Uprightness¹² Wei Huang, the Prefect Grand Physician Chi Pen, and also Pen's son Miao and Miao's younger brother Mu. They planned to kill Ts'ao, seize the Emperor to attack the Wei, and go south to get help from Kuan Yü.

Chien-an 23rd year [13.II.218-2.II.219]:

In the spring, in the first month, Chi Miao and his party led about a thousand followers to attack Wang Pi by night. They burnt down his gate and shot Pi in the shoulder. One of his command helped Pi escape to the southern part of the city, and when dawn came, Miao's party was in disorder. Pi, with the General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of Agriculture of Ying-ch'uan, Yen K'uang, attacked them and cut off their heads.

In the third month there was a comet in the east.¹

Ts'ao Hung led an attack on Wu Lan and Chang Fei in camp at Ku-shan. There was a rumour that the enemy intended to cut off the rear of the army, and all the military advisers were uncertain. The Chief Commandant of Cavalry Ts'ao Hsiu said: "If the enemy had really cut the road, they would have hidden their soldiers and moved in secret. Since we have already heard of the threat, it is clear that they were incapable of doing such a thing. Now, before they have gathered their forces, hurry to attack Lan. When Lan is destroyed, Fei will have to retreat." Hung did so. He went forward to attack Lan, defeated him and cut off his head. In the third month² Chang Fei and Ma Ch'ao retreated. Hsiu was a junior clansman of King Ts'ao of WEI.

In the summer, in the fourth month, Wu-ch'en-ti and others, the Wu-huan of Tai commandery and Shang-ku, made a rebellion. Before this, King Ts'ao of WEI had summoned the Grand Administrator of Tai commandery, P'ei Chien, to be Head Clerk of the Department of Justice under the Lieutenant-Chancellor. When Ts'ao praised his good government of Tai commandery, Ch'ien replied: "Although I acted generously to the people, I was stern to the barbarians. My successor will certainly think I was too strict, and he will treat them more gently. The barbarians have always acted proudly and wilfully, and too much leniency will make the administration go slack. When things have become slack and then you try to re-apply the law, this will bring hatred and rebellion. Look at the situation in this light, and there will soon be another revolt in Tai commandery." Then Ts'ao regretted that he had brought Ch'ien back so fast. A few weeks later there came the news of

the rebellion of the three Shan-yü. Ts'ao appointed his son Chang, the Marquis of Yen-ling, as acting General of Resolute Cavalry and sent him to attack them. When he was young, Chang was extremely good at archery and at driving a chariot, and he was stronger than most men. Ts'ao cautioned him: "We live at home as father and son, but we attend to affairs as ruler and subject. If anything goes wrong, I will punish you by the royal law. Be careful."

Liu Pei camped at the Yang-p'ing Pass. Hsia-hou Yüan, Chang Ko and Hsü Huang faced up to him. Pei sent his officers, Ch'en Shih and others, to cut the road to Ma-ming-ko. Hsü Huang attacked them and defeated them. Chang Ko camped at Kuang-shih. Pei attacked him but had no success, and he hurriedly sent back orders to call up all the forces in Yi Province. Chu-ko Liang asked the Attendant Official Yang Hung of Chien-wei about it. Hung said: "Han-chung is the vital thoroughfare into Yi Province. This is the turning point of survival or destruction, for unless we have Han-chung, we haven't got SHU. Here is a danger at the very door of the house, and how can you have doubts about raising soldiers?" At this time Fa Cheng was with Pei's army, so Liang recommended Hung act for him as Grand Administrator of Shu commandery. All the affairs of the people were well-managed, and he then gave him permanent appointment.

2156 Before this, the Grand Administrator of Chien-wei, Li Yen, had appointed Hung Officer of the Department of Merit. Before Yen left Chien-wei, Hung was already at Shu. Hung recommended his Assistant Clerk at the Gate Ho Chih as a man of ability in planning.³ While Hung was still in Shu commandery, Chih was already Grand Administrator of Kuang-han. This is why the western lands admired Chu-ko Liang's ability to put the talents of all men into service.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, King Ts'ao of Wei came himself to lead an attack on Liu Pei, and in the ninth month he reached Ch'ang-an.

Ts'ao Chang attacked the Wu-huan of Tai commandery, and he himself joined the battle. His armour was hit by several arrows but his spirit was relentless. He followed his victory with pursuit, and he came to the north of Sang-kan. He completely defeated the rebels and the men whose heads he cut off and the people that he captured were numbered by the thousands. The chieftain of the Hsien-pi, K'o-pi-neng, had brought several ten thousand cavalry to watch events. He saw Chang's might in battle, and how those that he faced were all destroyed. He asked to submit, and all the north was pacified.

The civil officers and people of Nan-yang were suffering under the forced labour services. In the winter, in the tenth month, the officer of the garrison at Wan, Hou Yin, rebelled. The Grand Administrator of Nan-yang, Tung-li Kun, and the Officer of the Department of Merit Ying Yü fought fiercely and managed to escape. Yin sent horsemen to pursue them and arrows came from every direction. Yü protected Kun with his body, he was wounded seven times, and he died. Yin's horsemen captured Kun and came back. At this time the General Who Subdues the South Ts'ao Jen was camped at Fan to guard Ching Province, and King Ts'ao of WEI ordered him to go back and attack Yin. The Officer of the Department of Merit Tsung Tzu-ch'ing⁴ said to Yin: "You accord with the people's hearts, and you have taken up a great affair. All men far and near attend to your actions. Yet you still hold the leader of the commandery. That is an act of rebellion which gains you nothing. Why not send him away?" Yin followed this. Then Tzu-ch'ing climbed the city wall by night, joined the Grand Administrator, and together they collected the rest of the people to besiege Yin. Soon afterwards Ts'ao Jen's army also arrived to reinforce the attack.

Chien-an 24th year [3.II.219-21,II.220]

In the spring, in the first month, Ts'ao Jen stormed Wan and sacked the city, cut off Hou Yin's head, and returned to camp at Fan.

Before this, Hsia-hou Yüan had been successful in many battles, but King Ts'ao of WEI always warned him: "The commander of an army should sometimes be timid and weak; you cannot always rely on your courage. The commander should take courage as the basis, but he must always act with wisdom and planning. If he thinks only of physical bravery, a common fellow will be match for him." When Yüan and Liu Pei had faced one another for more than a year, Pei came south from Yang-p'ing across the Mien River. He climbed the hills, brought his army a little further forward, and then made camp at Ting-chün Mountain. When Yüan led soldiers to contest the position, Fa Cheng said: "We can attack." Pei sent the General Who Exterminates the Caitiffs Huang Chung to attack them from above with drums and war-cries, and Yüan's army was utterly defeated. They cut off Yüan's head and also the head of Chao Yung, the Inspector of Yi Province [appointed by Ts'ao Ts'ao].

Chang Ko led the army back to Yang-p'ing. They had only lately lost their leader, and the soldiers were troubled and could not think what to do. The Controller of the Army Tu Hsi and Yüan's Major Kuo Hai of T'ai-yüan collected the scattered troops and gave orders to all the army: "General Chang is a famous leader of the state and Liu Pei is afraid of him. With the whole situation becoming more and more critical every day, our minds cannot be at rest unless General Chang takes command." So for the time being Chang Ko became head of the army. He went out to encourage the soldiers and inspect the lines, all the officers accepted his orders, and the morale of the soldiers was restored. The next day Pei wanted to cross the Han River and come to attack. The officers held that the army was weak and no match for the enemy, and they wanted to form ranks to guard the river bank against him. Kuo Hai said: "This shows our weakness but still fails to give us a strong enough position against the enemy. It is not well planned. The best thing to do is to form the lines some distance from the river to entice

them across. When they are half over we can attack them. This way, Pei can be defeated." When they drew up their line of battle, Pei was suspicious and did not come across. Then Huai set a firm guard to show that he had no intention of retreat and he sent a report of the situation to King Ts'ao of WEI. Ts'ao fully approved. He sent messengers to grant Ko credentials and he confirmed Huai's position as Major.

In the second month, on the day jen-tzu [2.IV], the last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.

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In the third month King Ts'ao of WEI came through the Hsieh-ku Pass from Ch'ang-an and had his army cover the important points on the approaches to Han-chung. Liu Pei said: "Even if Lord Ts'ao does come there is nothing he can do. We have captured the Han River." He collected his forces to face the passes, but no fighting took place. Ts'ao's grain supplies came down through the mountains in the north, and Huang Chung planned to intercept them. He was away longer than he had said and he had still not returned, so Chao Yün, General of the Flying Army, led several score horsemen out of the camp to look for him. Just at this time Ts'ao had brought out a considerable number of soldiers, and Yün suddenly met up with this force. He went forward to charge their lines and then fought his way back. The WEI soldiers scattered and formed again, and pursued him to his camp. Yün went into the camp, threw open the gates, put the flags away and kept the drums silent. The WEI soldiers suspected that Yün had set an ambush, so they went away. Then Yün had the drums beaten to shake the heavens, and he ordered his men to shoot only with strong bows, to take the WEI soldiers from behind. The enemy were startled and terrified, and they trampled one another down. A great number of them fell into the Han and died. The next day, when Pei came himself to Yün's camp, he saw the battle-field and said: "Tzu-lung is all bravery!"

Ts'ao and Pei faced one another for several months, and many of the soldiers of Ts'ao's army deserted. In the summer, in the fifth month, Ts'ao drew off all his armies in Han-chang and returned to Ch'ang-an. So Liu Pei held Han-chung.

Ts'ao was afraid that Liu Pei would come north, take over the Ti barbarians of Wu-tu, and so threaten the lands within the passes. He asked the Inspector of Yung Province, Chang Chi, about it. Chi said: "Encourage the people to go north for harvests and to keep away from the enemy. Give generous rewards to the ones that arrive first. When the first-comers appreciate the advantages, others will be sure to follow them." Ts'ao did this. He sent Chi to Wu-tu to transfer some fifty thousand of the Ti into the territory of Fu-feng and T'ien-shui.¹

2159 Yen Chün of Wu-wei, Ho Luan of Chang-yeh, Huang Hua of Chiu-ch'üan and Ch'ü Yen of Hsi-p'ing each controlled their own commanderies. They called themselves generals and they fought one another. Chün sent his mother and his children as hostages to King Ts'ao of WEI and asked help. Ts'ao asked Chang Chi. Chi said: "Chün and the others pretend to respect the authority of the state, but inwardly they are proud and rebellious. When they have decided their plans and when they feel strong enough, they will all rebel together. Now, while you are still occupied with SHU, you should keep both sides fighting. Just like Pien Chuang-tzu destroying tigers,² sit and wait till they are worn out." The King said: "Excellent." In the course of that year Luan killed Chün and was in turn destroyed by Wang Pi of Wu-wei.

Liu Pei sent the Grand Administrator of Yi-tu,³ Meng Ta of Fu-feng, to go north from Tzu-kuei to attack Fang-ling.⁴ The Grand Administrator of Fang-ling, K'uai Ch'i, was killed. Then Pei sent his adopted son Liu Feng to go downstream from Han-chung along the Mien River, to take command of Ta's army, and join Ta in an attack on Shang-yung. The Grand Administrator of Shang-yung, Shen Tan, surrendered with all his commandery.⁵ Pei promoted Tan to be General Who Subdues the North with command as Grand Administrator of Shang-yung, and he made Tan's younger brother, Yi, General Who Establishes Trust and Grand Administrator of Hsi-ch'eng.⁶

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Liu Pei named himself King of Han-chung. He set up an altar at Mien-yang, drew up his soldiers and collected a crowd, all the ministers were set in place. He read out a memorial to Heaven, he took up seal and tassel, and he put on a cap of royalty. Then he sent couriers to return the seals and tassels of the General of the Left and Marquis of Yi-ch'eng which he had been granted [by Ts'ao Ts'ao's government]. He made his son Shan Heir-apparent to the kingdom. He promoted the General of the Standard, Wei Yen of Yi-yang,⁷ to be General Who Maintains Distant Lands in Peace with command as Grand Administrator of Han-chung to guard the Han River. Pei went back and set up his administration at Ch'eng-tu. He appointed Hsü Ching Grand Tutor, Fa Cheng became Prefect of the Masters of Writing, Kuan Yü became General of the Van, Chang Fei became General of the Right, Ma Ch'ao became General of the Left and Huang Chung became General of the Rear. All Pei's officers were granted some promotion.

The Major of the Forward Division of Yi Province, Fei Shih of Chien-wei, was sent to take the seal and tassel to Kuan Yü. When Yü heard that Huang Chung had been given the same rank as himself he was very angry and said: "I'm better than that dunderhead!" He refused to accept the appointment. Shih said to Yü: "When a man must establish a royal work, he cannot make use of only one comrade. In earlier times Hsiao [Ho] and Ts'ao [Ts'an] were Kao-tsu's boyhood friends, and Ch'en [P'ing] and Han [Hsin] were refugees who came later. When their ranking was discussed, Han occupied the highest place, but I have never heard that Hsiao or Ts'ao were angry about it."⁸ If the King of Han-chung rewards good work, to honour the house of Han, why should you feel he is treating you just like the others? You and the King are so close that you might have a single body, you feel the same joys and the same sorrows, in fortune or misfortune you share it. I say that you should not judge his feelings by the highs and lows of official titles nor by the size of fiefs and gifts. I am a mere errand-boy, a man acting on orders. If you refuse the appointment, I will simply go back. But all the same, I will be sorry about it, and I am afraid that you will regret

it, too." Yü appreciated his advice, and he immediately accepted the appointment.

An edict appointed the wife of King Ts'ao, the Lady Pien, as Queen of WEI.

Sun Ch'üan attacked Ho-fei. The soldiers of several [WEI] provinces were stationed on the frontiers in Huai-nan. The Inspector of Yang Province Wen Hui said to the Inspector of Yen Province P'ei Ch'ien: "Though the enemy come against us, there is nothing to worry about here. On the other side, however, with the river floods rising, Tzu-hsiao [i.e. Ts'ao Jen] still keeps his army hanging about and has no plans made in advance. Kuan Yü is brave and cunning. If he should attack I am afraid that the General Who Subdues the South [Ts'ao Jen] will be in trouble."⁹ In the event, Kuan Yü sent the Grand Administrator of Nan commandery, Mi Fang, to guard Chiang-ling, the General Fu Shih Jen¹⁰ to guard Kung-an, and he himself led an army to attack Ts'ao Jen at Fan. Jen stationed the General of the Left Yü Chin with the General Who Maintains Righteousness P'ang Te and others in camps north of Fan.

2161 In the eighth month there were great rains, the Han River flooded and the level ground was several score feet under water. All seven armies under Yü Chin and his fellows were flooded out. Chin and his officers climbed high ground to avoid the water, and Kuan Yü's soldiers sailed in great ships to attack them. Chin and the others were completely exhausted, and they surrendered. P'ang Te was on an embankment. He carried armour and held a bow, and he hit his mark with every shot. From morning till the sun had passed midday he continued the battle. Kuan Yü attacked more and more fiercely, Te's arrows were finished and he continued the struggle hand to hand. He fought on, quite unafraid, but the water rose further and his officers and soldiers all surrendered. Te took a small boat to go back to Jen's camp, but the water rose still higher, and the boat overturned. He lost all his weapons and he held on alone to the upturned boat in the water. He was captured by Kuan Yü, but he

still carried himself straight and would not bow. Yü said:
"You have a cousin in Han-chung,¹¹ and I would like to have you
as one of my officers. Why didn't you surrender earlier?" Te cursed
him and said: "Slave, why speak of surrender? The King of WEI holds a
million men in armour, and his authority shakes the empire. Your
Liu Pei is nothing special, and how can he match my master? I would
rather be a martyr of my state than a leader of rebels." Yü killed
him. King Ts'ao of WEI heard of this and said: "I knew Yü Chin for
thirty years, and I never believed that when danger came he would
show himself inferior to P'ang Te." He enfeoffed Te's two sons as
marquises.

Yü attacked Fan city hard. The fortifications were affected
by water, and they gradually crumbled and fell. All the army was
nervous and afraid. Some people said to Jen: "This is more than we
can cope with. Yü's siege-circle is not yet joined, so take the
chance, get on a light boat and escape in the night." The Grand
Administrator of Ju-nan, Man Ch'ung, said: "The mountain waters came
fast, and we can hope they will not last too long. I have heard
that Yü has already sent a detachment towards Chia, and the people
are in disturbance everywhere south of Hsü. The reason Yü doesn't
want to go forward is that he is afraid our army would cut off his
rear. Once we run away, we will have lost everything south of the
Yellow River. You must stay here." Jen said: "Excellent." He
drowned a white horse and made covenant with his troops that they
should join hearts and hold firm. The men and the horses in the
city were several thousands, but the fortifications stood only a few
feet above the water.¹² Yü sailed his ships to the walls, set up
several lines of siege, and the city was cut off from outside. Yü
also sent detachments to besiege the General Lü Ch'ang at Hsiang-yang.
The Inspector of Ching Province, Hu Hsiu, and the Grand Administrator
of Nan-hsiang,¹³ Fu Fang, both surrendered to Yü.

Before this, Wei Feng of P'ei state had made a great show to
impress people, everyone at Yeh admired his brilliance, and
the Chancellor of State of WEI, Chung Yao, appointed him Head Clerk
of the Department of the West. Jen Lan of Jung-yang was a very good

friend of Feng, but Cheng Mao, from the same commandery,¹⁴ a son of T'ai, had always said to him: "Feng is a master of deceit. He will certainly cause trouble." In the ninth month Feng collected secret followers and made plans to attack Yeh with Ch'en Wei, the Commandant of the Ch'ang-lo Palace Guard. Before the appointed time had come Ch'en Wei became frightened and told about it. The Heir-apparent [Ts'ao] P'i executed Feng, several thousand men died because they were implicated, and Chung Yao was dismissed from office.

Before this, the Master of Records under the Lieutenant-Chancellor, Yang Hsiu, with Ting Yi and his brother, had planned to arrange for Ts'ao Chih to succeed his father. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes, Ts'ao P'i, was anxious about it. He took a chariot, filled it with empty baskets, and had the Prefect of Ch'ao-ko, Wu Chih, hide in it to come and advise him. Hsiu told King Ts'ao of Wei about it but Ts'ao made no immediate investigation. P'i was afraid and asked Chih, but Chih replied: "Nothing to worry about." Next day they had baskets containing silk and sent them in, Hsiu reported it again, the baskets were examined, and there was no-one inside. Ts'ao became suspicious of Hsiu. Some time later, when Ts'ao Chih became estranged from his father because of his pride and foolish behaviour, he began to rely more and more on Yang Hsiu, and Hsiu dared not fail to help him. Whenever there was something Chih did not understand they would try to work out what Ts'ao wanted, and prepare ten or more paragraphs for reply. [Chih] said to his attendants: "When [my father] gives instructions, choose the appropriate answer and send it in." By this means the order was scarcely out when the answers had already come back. Ts'ao was amazed at the speed, he made investigations, and the trick was discovered. Ts'ao had always disliked Hsiu because he was a nephew of Yüan Shu, and when he found out that Hsiu had been passing on everything that he said, and had been communicating with the feudal lords [i.e. with Chih], he arrested him and killed him.

King Ts'ao of WEI made Tu Hsi Chief Clerk on Station for the land within the passes. Hsü Yu, commander of a small force in that territory, refused to submit to Ts'ao and sent insulting messages

instead. Ts'ao was very angry. He wanted to attack Yu, but all his officers objected: "You should invite him to join you, and together you can attack stronger enemies." Ts'ao laid his sword across his knee, coloured up, and refused to speak. Hsi came in and wanted to protest, but Ts'ao interrupted him and said: "My plans are decided. Don't you say anything more." Hsi said: "If your majesty's plans are right, I will help you perfect them. If your majesty's plans are wrong, even though they are decided you should still change them. Yet your majesty interrupts me and orders me not to speak. Isn't that an unworthy way to behave to your servants?" Ts'ao said: "Hsü Yu has insulted me, how can I disregard that?" Hsi said: "Will your majesty say what sort of a man is Hsü Yu?" Ts'ao said: "A common fellow." Hsi said: "Now only a worthy man can recognise a worthy man, only a sage can recognise a sage. How can a common fellow appreciate his true superior? Now when wolves are on the road and the fox is taken first, then people will say that your majesty is avoiding the strong to attack the weak. You cannot show your courage if you attack him, and you are not unduly generous if you leave him alone. I have heard that a crossbow of thirty thousand catties is the wrong weapon to shoot a mouse, and a bell weighing five hundred tons does not sound to the touch of a stem of grass.¹⁵ Now this miserable Hsü Yu, is he enough to trouble your spiritual warfare?" Ts'ao said: "Excellent." He treated Yu generously and behaved well to him, and Yu submitted at once.

In the winter, in the tenth month, King Ts'ao of WEI came to Lo-yang.

Sun Lang, a man from Lu-hun, made a rebellion. He killed the Master of Records of the prefecture and went south to join Kuan Yü. Yü granted Lang a seal and gave him soldiers, and he came back as a bandit. In the area from Hsü southwards there were also others who acted as allies to Yü behind the enemy lines. Yü's power made central China tremble. King Ts'ao of WEI even considered shifting the capital from Hsü to avoid his attacks, but the Major to the Army of the Lieutenant-Chancellor Ssu-ma Yi and the Head Clerk of the Department of the West Chiang Chi said to Ts'ao: "Yü Chin and the others were destroyed by water, they were not lost in war. There is no real

injury to the great plans of our state. Liu Pei and Sun Ch'üan may seem to be close allies, but they are privately estranged. If Kuan Yü has ambitions, Ch'üan will never be willing that he should achieve them. Send a man to encourage Ch'üan to close on his rear, and promise in return to enfeoff him with all the lands south of the Chiang. The siege of Fan will certainly be broken." Ts'ao followed this.

Before this, Lu Su had urged Ch'üan that so long as Ts'ao Ts'ao lived he should stay in harmony with Kuan Yü and maintain the alliance. They should never break off with him. Then Lü Meng took Su's place and camped at Lu-k'ou. He held that Kuan Yü had always been an ambitious general, that he planned to take over everything, and that he already controlled the upper reaches of the state. It would be difficult to accept this situation for long. Secretly he said to Ch'üan: "Order the General Who Subdues the Caitiffs [Sun Chiao] to hold Nan commandery, P'an Chang to go to Po-ti, and send Chiang Ch'in with ten thousand soldiers raiding up and down the Chiang to harass the enemy wherever he turns. I will go forward and occupy Hsiang-yang for our state. After that, what have we to fear from Ts'ao Ts'ao and why should we trust ourselves to Kuan Yü? Besides, though Yü and his master may boast of their pretended strength, they are very unstable and we can't trust them. The reason that Yü has not yet turned against us, that is because of your honour's spiritual understanding, and because I and some others are still here. If you fail to act while we are strong, then one day we may be gone and if you wanted to muster your forces again, how would you manage it?" Ch'üan said: "I meant first to go and take Hsü Province, then deal with Yü. How about that?" Meng replied: "Now Ts'ao is a long way off to the north of the Yellow River, collecting Yü and Chi provinces. He has not yet had time to look to the east. I have been told that the soldiers guarding Hsü territory are too few to be of any significance. If you go you can take them. But that is all dry land, and good cavalry can gallop there. If your honour now

takes Hsü Province, then in ten days time Ts'ao will certainly come to fight for it. Even if you defended it with seventy or eighty thousand men it would still be a worry. The best thing to do is to take Kuan Yü and seize all the Long River. We can extend our territory even wider, and it will always be easy to defend." Ch'üan thought this was excellent.

Ch'üan once asked a marriage alliance for his son with Yü, but Yü insulted his messenger and refused the marriage. Ch'üan was angry. When Yü attacked Fan, Lü Meng sent in a memorial: "Yü has attacked Fan but he has left a great number of soldiers on guard. He must be afraid that I will make plans against his rear. I am often sick, and I beg to bring some of my forces back to Chien-yeh. We can pretend that it's for reason of my health. When Yü hears of this, he will certainly call his guard troops back to Hsiang-yang. If a great army sails fast day and night up the Chiang and attacks his empty places, then Nan commandery can be captured and Yü can be taken." So he announced that he was dangerously ill, and Ch'üan sent an open summons to call him back, and made plans with him in secret.

Meng came down as far as Wu-hu, and the Colonel Who Settles Majesty Lu Hsün said to Meng: "You guard the border against Kuan Yü, why come such a long way down here? Won't that cause us worry later?" Meng answered: "What you say is true, but I am very ill." Hsün said: "Yü boasts of his courage, and he oppresses others. He has lately gained great success, and now he has proud ideas and unbridled ambition. He thinks only of advancing to the north, and he has yet no suspicion of us. When he hears that you are sick, he will certainly make no preparations, and if we break out now when he is not expecting us, that is the way to capture him. When you go down to see his honour [Sun Ch'üan] you should make good plans." Meng said: "Yü is brave and fierce, so it is difficult to match him. He already holds Ching Province and he governs with great favour and loyalty. Now he has started to have success, and his courage and strength are growing. It will not be easy to deal with him." Meng came to the capital, and Ch'üan said: "Who could take your place?" Meng replied: "Lu Hsün thinks deep and far, and he could bear heavy responsibility. I have

seen how he plans things, and he will be able to hold great office. But he is not yet widely known, and Yü will give little thought to him. He would be quite the best choice. If you use him, tell him to stay very quiet, but to make secret reconnaissance. Then we can win." So Ch'üan summoned Hsün and appointed him Lieutenant-General and Controller of the Division of the Right to replace Meng.

Hsün came to Lu-k'ou, and he wrote a letter to Yü to praise the beauty of his achievements. He was very humble and restrained and sounded utterly reliable and loyal. Yü felt quite easy in his mind, he had nothing to be suspicious of any longer, and he drew more and more soldiers away to Fan. Hsün found out all the situation, and he prepared a master-plan how Yü should be taken.

When he captured Yü Chin and the other generals, Kuan Yü had also taken several tens of thousand men and horses, and his supplies of food were now running low. Without asking permission, he seized Ch'üan's grain store at Hsiang-kuan.¹⁶ Ch'üan heard about it, and then he raised troops to attack Yü. He planned to appoint the General Who Subdues the Caitiffs Sun Chiao to act with Lü Meng as Chief Controllers of the Left and Right Divisions. Meng said: "If you feel the General Who Subdues the Caitiffs is the right man, then give him the job. If you think that I am suitable, then use me. Once before, when Chou Yü and Ch'eng P'u were controllers of divisions on the left and right, they led
2166 soldiers to attack Chiang-ling.¹⁷ Though affairs were decided by Yü, P'u relied on his long experience and shared the command. They often disagreed and they almost ruined the affairs of our state. This is a warning for you." Ch'üan took the point, thanked Meng and said: "I give you full command, and I will order Chiao to act as your support in the rear."

When King Ts'ao of WEI came back from Han-chung, he had sent the General Who Pacifies Criminals Hsü Huang to camp at Wan and help Ts'ao Jen. When Yü Chin and the others were destroyed, Huang went forward to the Yang-ling Slope. Kuan Yü had sent soldiers to camp at Yen-ch'eng, but as soon as Huang came up he made ramparts and ditches on a side-path to show that he planned

to cut off their rear, and Yü's soldiers burnt their camp and fled. Huang gained Yen-ch'eng, made a line of camps and slowly moved forward. Ts'ao sent Chao Yen to accompany Huang as Gentleman-consultant and Adviser to the Army of Ts'ao Jen. The other detachments had not arrived and Huang's command was too small to break the siege, but all his officers kept urging him to hasten to Jen's relief. Yen said to them: "The enemy have set a strong siege and the river floods are still rising. I brought very few soldiers with me and Jen is quite cut off and can't join forces with us. An attack now will only cause difficulty both inside and outside. The best thing to do for the time being is to bring the army forward to keep pressure on the besiegers, and send spies through to Jen so that he knows relief is coming and can encourage his officers and men. I reckon that the northern army will arrive in no more than ten days, and he can hold out that long. Then we can make a joint attack inside and out, and the enemy are sure to be defeated. If there is any punishment on us for bringing help too late, I will take all responsibility." The officers were pleased, and Huang set his camp no more than thirty feet from Yü's siegeworks. He dug tunnels into the city itself and shot letters to Jen on arrows, and news and reports were exchanged several times.

Sun Ch'üan sent a letter to King Ts'ao of WEI, offering to attack Kuan Yü with his own forces, but asking him to keep it quiet so that Yü would have no chance to make preparations. Ts'ao asked his ministers, they all agreed he should keep it secret, then Tung Chao said: "Military affairs must work on expediency, and we should choose the most suitable plan. Let us promise Ch'üan to keep it secret, but privately let the news out. When Yü hears Ch'üan is coming, he will go back to protect himself and the siege will soon be broken. We will get the advantage, and we can harness the two enemies against each other and sit and wait till they are weakened. If we keep quiet, then Ch'üan will get what he wants. This is not the best plan. Besides, the officers and soldiers in the siege do not know if there is any relief on the way, and I suspect their

supplies are low enough to make them worried. If they decide to surrender, that will cause considerable trouble. Much best let it be known. Moreover, Yü is a stubborn man, and he thinks he can hold two places at once. He will not retreat quickly." Ts'ao said: "Excellent." So he ordered Hsü Huang to publish Ch'üan's letter both to the men inside the siege and to those in Yü's camp. The people in the siege heard about it and their spirits were doubled a hundred times, but Yü actually thought it was a trick and he did not go away.

King Ts'ao of WEI planned to come south from Lo-yang to help Ts'ao Jen, and all his servants said: "Unless the King goes quickly, they will be defeated." Only the Palace Attendant Huan Chieh said: "Does your majesty consider that Jen and the others can deal with the matter?" Ts'ao replied: "It is possible." "Is your majesty afraid that those two men [Ts'ao Jen and Hsü Kuang] will not use their utmost strength?" Ts'ao replied: "No." "Then why go yourself?" Ts'ao replied: "I am afraid the enemy have a great army, and that Hsü Kuang's force is in danger." Chi said: "Now Jen and the others are placed in a heavy siege, they hold to the death and they do not turn traitor. This is because your majesty shows strength for them in a distance. They hold a place with only one chance in ten thousand of life, and surely they have spirit to fight to the death. If inside they have spirit to fight to the death, and if outside there is strong help, then let your majesty hold back the imperial army and display the power you possess in reserve. Why be so anxious of defeat that you go yourself?" Ts'ao thought his words excellent, so he halted his army at the Mo Slope. One after another he sent Yin Shu, Chu Kai and ten other divisions to go to Huang.

Kuan Yü had a camp at the chief point of the siege, and he also had separate camps on four small hills. Huang made a rumour that he was going to attack the principal camp, and then he made repeated attacks on the four hills. Yü saw that the four hill camps were in danger and he himself led five thousand

8 horsemen and footsoldiers to defend them. Huang attacked them and chased them away. Yü's siege-moat had ten rings of abatis¹⁸ but Huang pursued Yü right into the siege-works and defeated him. Fu Fang and Hu Hsiu both died. Then Yü broke off the siege and retreated. His boats, however, still controlled the Mien River, and Hsiang-yang remained isolated with no communication.

When Lü Meng reached Hsün-yang, he hid all his best troops in barges and had men in plain clothes rowing so they looked like traders. They travelled day and night, and one by one they captured the outposts that Kuan Yü had set to guard the river banks. Yü learnt nothing of it. Mi Fang and Shih Jen both resented the casual way Yü had treated them, but when Yü went off with his army Fang and Jen were left in charge of transport arrangements. The supplies did not arrive regularly, and Yü said: "When I come back I will deal with them." So Fang and Jen were both afraid. Lü Meng ordered Yü Fan, former Chief Commandant of Cavalry,¹⁹ to write to Jen, setting out the situation. Jen got the letter and surrendered at once. Fan said to Meng: "This is a tricky business. We should bring Jen back with us and leave soldiers to guard the cities." So they brought Jen to Nan commandery. Mi Fang held the city,²⁰ but Meng showed Jen to him, and Fang opened his gates and surrendered.

Lü Meng entered Chiang-ling, released Yü Chin and captured the families and dependants of Kuan Yü and of his officers and soldiers. He comforted them all and looked after them, and gave orders to his army: "No plundering of private houses". One man under Meng's command, who came from the same commandery, took a straw rain-hat from a family of the people to protect a coat of mail belonging to the government. Though the government armour was public property, Meng still held that he had disobeyed orders. He would not remit the law simply because the man came from his own district, so he wept and beheaded him. In the army there was fear and trembling, and no-one even dared to pick things up that were dropped on the roads. Meng sent Companions morning and evening to ask after the old people, to enquire what they lacked. He gave medicine to the sick, and clothing and food to the hungry and cold. All valuable things in Kuan Yü's treasury were closed

with a seal to wait till Sun Ch'üan arrived.

2169 Kuan Yü heard that Nan commandery had fallen, and he hurried back south at once. Ts'ao Jen collected all his officers to discuss plans, and everyone said: "Yü is in danger and anxiety. We can chase him and capture him." Chao Yen said: "Ch'üan took advantage of Yü's difficulty when he had soldiers committed elsewhere, and he made a surprise attack on Yü's rear. When he sees Yü coming back to the relief he will be afraid we will take advantage of both of them, so he will speak very politely to us and hope for our full support. Then he will let our people do the fighting and simply watch the result. Now Yü is isolated and in flight. We should preserve him as a menace to Ch'üan. If we push his retreat too hard, then Ch'üan will change his plans and will turn against us. The King will certainly give deep thought to this question." So Jen cancelled his orders. King Ts'ao of WEI heard that Yü had fled, and he was afraid that his officers would pursue him. He actually sent orders to Jen post-haste just the way Yen had said.

Kuan Yü sent several messengers to Lü Meng to exchange news, and Meng treated them very generously. He took them around the city and every household sent word [to their relatives with Yü's army], some writing in their own hand to show it was trustworthy. Yü's men went back, and they also told what they had seen to their friends. All knew that their families had come to no harm, and were even treated better than in peacetime. So Yü's soldiers became less interested in fighting.

About this time Ch'üan came to Chiang-ling, and all the military and civil officers of Ching Province came to him. Only the Attendant Official At Headquarters P'an Chün of Wu-ling said that he was sick and refused to come to audience. Ch'üan sent men with a stretcher to go to his house and bring him, but Chün lay face down on the mattress of his bed and would not come out. His tears flowed in all directions, he wailed and could not

control himself. Ch'üan called to him, spoke to him by his style, comforted him in sincerity, and ordered Companions to wipe his face with a hand-cloth. Chün sat up, bowed down to the ground, and asked for pardon. He was at once reappointed Attendant Official at Headquarters, and his advice was sought on all the military affairs of Ching Province.

Fan Chou, the Attendant Official in Wu-ling, allied with the barbarians and planned to take the commandery for the King of Han-chung, [Liu] Pei. Someone suggested that a high-ranking officer should be chosen and sent to attack him with ten thousand men. Ch'üan was reluctant, and he made particular point of calling Chün in to ask him about it. Chün replied: "Send five thousand men. That will be enough to deal with Chou." Ch'üan said: "How can you treat him so lightly?" Chün said: "Chou comes from an old family
70 in Nan-yang. He makes good speeches, but he has absolutely no idea about planning. The reason I know this is that Chou once arranged a feast for some people of the province. It came to midday, there was no food to be had and more than ten of the guests have to make apologies and leave. Like a dwarf's performance on the stage, you see one part of his act and you immediately know the rest." Ch'üan laughed aloud, and he sent Chün off with five thousand men, and they cut off heads and pacified Wu-ling.

Ch'üan appointed Lü Meng Grand Administrator of Nan commandery and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Ch'an-ling. He awarded him a million cash, and five hundred catties of gold. Lu Hsün was appointed Grand Administrator of Yi-tu.

In the eleventh month Fan Yu, the Grand Administrator of Yi-tu appointed by King Pei of Han-chung, fled the commandery. The prefects and civil officers and the leaders and elders of the barbarians all surrendered to Hsün. Hsün asked for gold and silver and bronze seals to bestow on those who came to him first. He attacked Chan Yen and other officers of SHU and also the great clans of Tzu-kuei. All were defeated and surrendered. From start to finish, those who were killed or captured or brought to submit were numbered by the tens of thousands. Ch'üan made Hsün Commissioner over the Army of the Right

and General Who Maintains the West in Peace. He was advanced in fief to be Marquis of Lou. He camped at Yi-ling to guard Hsia-k'ou.

Kuan Yü realised he was cut off and went west to hold Mai-ch'eng. Sun Ch'üan sent envoys to win him over. Yü pretended to surrender, set pennons and flags on the wall to look like men, and then fled away. All his soldiers scattered, he had hardly more than ten horsemen with him. Ch'üan had already sent Chu Jan and P'an Chang to cut off every sidepath of escape, and in the twelfth month Chang's Major Ma Chung captured Yü and his son P'ing at Chang-hsiang, and beheaded them. So Ching Province was settled.

2171 Before this, the Lieutenant-General Ch'üan Tsung of Wu commandery had sent in a memorial with a plan by which Kuan Yü might be defeated. Ch'üan was afraid that the affair would leak out, so he kept it and made no reply. Later, when Yü had been taken, Ch'üan set out a feast at Kung-an. He turned and said to Tsung: "You planned this too, and although I did not reply, today's success is your good work as well." He enfeoffed Tsung as Marquis of Yang-hua t'ing. Ch'üan also made Liu Chang Governor of Yi Province, with temporary residence at Tzu-kuei. Not long afterwards Chang died.

Before Lü Meng had received the fief his sickness broke out violently. Ch'üan took him in, set him next to his own lodging and sought for every way that could cure him. When acupuncture was applied, Ch'üan was miserable for him. He often wanted to see Meng's face, but he was afraid to be a bother, so he would peer through a hole in the wall to look at him. If he saw that Meng could eat something he would turn and smile to those about him and talk and laugh. If Meng refused his food, Ch'üan would sigh, and at night he could not sleep. Then Meng got better, an amnesty was given for it and all Ch'üan's ministers sent in their congratulations. But in the end he died, forty-two years old. Ch'üan was in the greatest grief

and pain, and three hundred families were set to maintain Meng's tomb.

Years later, Ch'üan talked with Lu Hsün about Chou Yü, Lu Su and Lü Meng. He said: "Kung-chin [i.e. Chou Yü] was brave and fierce, his courage and planning surpassed others. So he defeated Meng-te [i.e. Ts'ao Ts'ao] and extended our territory into Ching Province. He stands alone and no-one can match him. Tzu-ching [i.e. Lu Su] was introduced to me by Kung-chin. I spoke with him at a banquet and he talked of the great plan for imperial rule. This was one thing that caused me pleasure. Later, when Meng-te had seized Liu Tsung's power and boasted that he would lead hundreds of thousands of sailors and soldiers together down the river, I asked my officers what I should do, and not one of them came forward to reply. Chang Tzu-pu [i.e. Chang Chao] and Ch'in Wen-piao [i.e. Ch'in Sung] both said we should send tribute and receive Ts'ao. Tzu-ching contradicted them and said we mustn't do any such thing. He urged me to call Kung-chin and give him command of the army to face them and attack them. This was his second thing that caused me pleasure. Though he later encouraged me to cede territory to Hsüan-te [i.e. Liu Pei], this was his only weakness, and not enough to discount his two fine actions. The Duke of Chou did not look for everything in one man,²¹ and so I disregard Su's shortcomings and only remember his greatness. I always compare him to Teng Yü.²² When Tzu-ning [i.e. Lü Meng] was young, I always said that he was not a man to hesitate whether a task would prove difficult or easy. He had bravery and courage, and as he grew up his learning steadily increased. In making plans and schemes he was particularly good, and I would set him next to Kung-chin. Only in argument and debate did he fall short of him. It was he who planned the destruction of Kuan Yü, and in this he was better than Tzu-ching. Tzu-ching would always reply to my letters: 'When an emperor comes to power, someone must clear the way for him. Kuan Yü is nothing to worry about.'²³ This was only because Tzu-ching felt that he could not cope with Kuan Yü, so he showed off and talked big. Still I can excuse him and I do not blame him. In his management of armies in camp, he never failed to have his orders acted on, and when

he prohibited something it always stopped. In the territory under his command no-one could evade their duties, and things that were dropped on the roads were not picked up. He was certainly a fine commander."

Sun Ch'üan rode together with Yü Chin. Yü Fan said to Chin: "You are a surrendered prisoner. How dare you keep your horse's head level with our lord's?" He raised a whip and was going to strike Chin, but Ch'üan called out and stopped him.

When Sun Ch'üan returned to his allegiance,²⁴ King Ts'ao of WEI called Chang Liao and the others back [from Ho-fei] to relieve Fan. Before they had arrived the siege was broken. Hsü Huang brought his troops in order back to the Mo Slope, and Ts'ao came seven li from the camp to welcome him. The King held a great banquet, raised a toast to Huang and said: "It was your good work that saved Fan and Hsiang-yang." He also gave generous rewards to Huan Chieh and appointed him Master of Writing.

Ts'ao was suspicious of the people still under his control in Ching Province and of the men in the military colonies along the Han River. He wanted to shift all of them. Ssu-ma Yi said: "The southerners are fickle and easily influenced. Now Kuan Yü is so newly defeated, all the trouble-makers are keeping their distance. You will be shifting the loyal ones, you will make them resentful, and the ones that have gone away will never dare to come back." Ts'ao said: "That is true." Later, all those who had run away came out of hiding and returned.

2173 King Ts'ao of WEI recommended Sun Ch'üan as General of the Agile Cavalry, granted him credentials as Governor of Ching Province, and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Nan-ch'ang. Ch'üan sent the Colonel Liang Yü to take in tribute, and he sent back Chu Kuang and the others. He also sent up a message calling himself subject to Ts'ao, and discussing the mandate of heaven. Ts'ao showed Ch'üan's letter around and said: "This boy wants to put me on top of the fire."²⁵ The Palace Attendant Ch'en Ch'ün and others all said: "The honour of Han is ended, and the dynasty is now quite meaningless. Your majesty's achievements and virtue, how truly imposing! Everyone

looks to you. Even Sun Ch'üan, so far away, calls himself your subject. This is the accord of Heaven and man, differing spirits sounding in harmony. Your majesty should take the great position. How can you hesitate?" Ts'ao said: "If the mandate of heaven rests with me, then I am King Wen of Chou."²⁶

Your servant Kuang says: Teaching, that is of great importance to the state, yet common officials treat it with contempt. Custom, that is the great matter for the empire, yet a stupid ruler will neglect it. Only a gentleman wise and understanding, with a deep insight and planning far ahead, only such a man can recognise the greatness of their advantages and the far-reaching effects of their achievement. Kuang-wu met a time of decline in the middle of Han, with all the bold men bubbling up like a porridge. He raised up from among the common people and he carried the greatness of the past.²⁷ He waged war in all four directions, and he took no free time on any day; but he could still appreciate the learning of the classics. He invited scholars to be his guests, he opened schools everywhere, he restored the rites and music and made them clear. His achievements in war were complete, and his virtue in civil pursuits in harmony. One after another Hsiao-ming and Hsiao-chang²⁸ followed the ideals of the past. They came to school buildings and paid respect to the great teachers, and they would study the classics and enquire the Way of right action. For ducal ranks, ministers, grandees, down to the civil officers of commandery and prefecture, men were chosen for appointment by their understanding of the classics and by the quality of their bearing. The palace Guards As Rapid As a Tiger were all learned in the Classic of Filial Piety, and the sons and younger brothers of the Hsiung-nu barbarians came to the Imperial University for education. This was teaching established above and custom completed below. The scholars of loyalty and generosity, purity and culture, not only were they respected by the ministers and gentry, but they were

appreciated even among the common people. Men of stupidity and meanness, dirt and disgrace, not only were they kept from the court, but they were banished from the villages and districts. From the time that the three dynasties were destroyed,²⁹ the beauty of teaching and custom had never reached to the bloom of Eastern Han. But then, from Hsiao-ho onwards,³⁰ the imperial relatives by marriage seized power, and eunuchs had control of affairs. Rewards and punishments were without any rule, bribery was a public business, worthy men and fools were mixed together, right and wrong were confused. This may be called disorder. The reason that the state continued and did not fall into destruction, above there were dukes, ministers and grandees, such men as Yüan An, Yang Chen, Li Ku, Tu Ch'iao, Ch'en Fan and Li Ying,³¹ who would argue in the imperial presence and stand against their danger with justice and honour. And below there were the scholars of plain clothing, such as Fu Jung, Kuo T'ai, Fan P'ang and Hsü Shao,³² who held private discussions to help in this time of chaos. So, although the government was corrupt, the customs were not in decline. They would even come against axe and halberd, and loyal honourable men followed in each other's footsteps on the road to execution. They saw death as a return. Was it just the courage of these few worthy scholars? No. It was the inherited influence of Kuang-wu and Ming and Chang that brought such sense of duty. Just at that time, if only an understanding ruler had appeared to save them, then the fortune of the Han clan could still be unmeasured. Yet sadly enough the remnant of ruin and disorder which was handed down was only added to by the stupid tyranny of Huan and Ling.³³ They protected and nourished the evil-doers and the vicious ones as if they were their own flesh and blood. They killed and destroyed the loyal and the good more diligently than rebels and enemies. The gentry stored up anger, and hatred

was bred within all four seas. Then Ho Chin made call to fighting, Tung Cho took advantage of grievances, and men like Yüan Shao made trouble everywhere. So the Emperor came to be a homeless wanderer, the temples of the imperial house were laid waste, the royal clan was destroyed and overturned and all the people were in mud and ashes. The great mandate was fallen and ended never to be restored. Nevertheless, the men of the provinces and commanderies who held troops in their own territories, although they swallowed one another up they had to take the honour of Han as their excuse. Though Wu of Wei [i.e. Ts'ao Ts'ao] was cruel and strong, with great achievements in the empire, and though he long had planned to be his own master, yet even to his death he did not dare do away with Han and set himself upon the throne. That was surely what he wanted, but he still respected the honour of the name, and he curbed himself.³⁴ We can see it from this: how can teaching be neglected? How can custom be despised?

NOTES, INDEX and GLOSSARY

Notes to Kuang-ho 4:

1. There was no keng-tzu 庚子 day in the fourth month of this year. There was a keng-tzu day in the third month, being equivalent to the western 9 April, and another in the fifth month (8 June). However, since TCTC and HHS annals are clear that this event took place in the summer and in the fourth month, it seems most likely that the character tzu 子 is an error for wu 午. Such a mistaken transcription is fairly common, for the two characters are easily confused, and a keng-wu day appears in the fourth month of this year, being equivalent to the western 9 May.
2. On the significance of the amnesty and its function in Han China, see Hulsewé, Remnants of Han Law, pp. 225-250. Although it is clear that the proclamation gave some general remission of punishment throughout the empire, the effect of any one amnesty is impossible to determine. As Hulsewé has remarked (pp.244-5): "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."

Earlier in the dynasty, amnesties had been relatively uncommon, but by the end of the reign of Emperor Ling they had effectively become an annual event, and their value was very likely debased by this frequency. In the sixth year of Chung-p'ing (189/190), admittedly under unusual circumstances, there were three amnesties in a single year, and this spate of generosity continued until Ts'ao Ts'ao, who disapproved of the practice, gained control of the person of the Emperor in 196. For the last years of the dynasty, no further amnesties are recorded.

In his discussion, as cited above, Hulsewé made some attempt to

distinguish between "great amnesties" (大赦 ta-she) and simple "amnesties" (赦 she). In the texts of this time, however, there does not appear to be any particular distinction in the historians' minds, and the two terms are used indiscriminately.

3. Under the Han dynasties, the characters Chiao-chih denoted two geographical entities: firstly, the southernmost province of the empire, occupying roughly the area of present-day Kwangtung, Kwangsi and northern Vietnam; secondly, a commandery within that province, occupying roughly the area of the Red River basin around Hanoi in present-day North Vietnam.

The Wu-hu barbarians gained their name from a mountain now in Henghsien 橫縣 in Kwangsi, and thus although their rebellion may have had repercussions over a wide area, their territory was officially under the control of the commandery of Yü-lin 鬱林. The rebellion had begun three years earlier, in the first year of Kuang-ho (178/9).

4. Under the Han dynasties, Inspectors of provinces held comparatively low rank: their nominal salary was 600 piculs, while the head of a commandery or kingdom was ranked at 2000 piculs. An Inspector was primarily appointed to supervise the administration, and in most provinces he could report to the throne on any wrongdoing but could not take action without further authority. In Chiao-chih, however, the Inspector was granted special credentials (節 chieh), which gave him the right to make executive and legal decisions and take action on his own initiative (Han shu 28A, p.10b, commentary quoting Hu Kuang 胡廣 [91-172]).

Apart from these civil arrangements, in all provinces the Inspector was responsible for the raising of an army to deal with any rebellion or banditry which might be more than an individual commandery could handle.

5. Under the Han dynasties, marquis (侯 hou or 列侯 lieh-hou) was the highest rank of nobility that could be granted to a man who was

not a close imperial relative. The title carried no feudal power, but a marquis received a proportion of the tax revenue from his fief, and on occasion the value of the fief was stated by the number of households that were to be taxed for his pension.

In many cases, a marquis was enfeoffed with a prefecture, but there were lesser units of territory, districts and communes, and this marquisate of a chief commune awarded to Chu Chün indicates that the fief comprised a village or township larger than average, probably the headquarters of a district or a prefecture.

6. The Prefect of the Lateral Courts and the Prefect of the Long Lanes were eunuch officials, responsible for the good order of the imperial harem.
7. T'an-shih-huai had been chief of the Hsien-pi, a barbarian people whose homelands at this time were about the borders of present-day Mongolia and Manchuria. T'an-shih-huai himself had conquered an empire described as stretching from Manchuria to Lake Balkash, he had defeated several Chinese armies, and he had led constant and devastating raids into the northern provinces (HHS 80, pp.8a-11b).
8. The term shang-fang is rendered by Dubs as the office of "Recipes". It describes, in fact, the palace workshop where articles were prepared for the use of the Emperor and of his palace. For this reason, I have here given it a more straightforward translation and I do not follow Dubs.
9. The Western Garden was evidently an enclosed pleasure-ground attached to the harem apartments of the imperial palace, and the preceding paragraph describes an occasion when the Emperor used it for just that purpose. However, at this time the Emperor had also established administrative offices connected to the Western Garden and taking their name from it, and he was using these offices as a private treasury for himself and

his eunuch favourites. In the chronicle that follows, successive references to the Western Garden describe how the sale of offices was organised from this centre, and finally, in 188, a palace army of eight regiments was set up. It seems that Emperor Ling planned the Western Garden administration to be under his personal control, organised by his favourites, and in some respects to rival the official bureaucracy of the imperial capital.

10. The Grand Minister of Agriculture was the public treasurer of the empire. The Grand Coachman was responsible for the horses of the imperial stables and also for the cavalry supplies of all the imperial armies.
11. The three Dukes are the Grand Commandant, the Minister over the Masses and the Minister of Works, the highest administrative officers of the empire. The Masters of Writing are the imperial secretariat, responsible for drafting and publishing imperial decrees. The Commandant of Justice is the minister responsible for all legal administration and for prisons. What Lü Ch'iang is complaining about is that the Emperor, through his personal attendants, is making appointments and sending out orders without due process through the proper channels. By removing their proper duties from his high officials, he is frustrating them in their work and encouraging them to be irresponsible.
12. The Grand Prolonger of Autumn was the official, generally a eunuch, who acted as chamberlain to the Empress. He arranged for her instructions to be carried out within the palace, he arranged audience for her relatives on the occasions they were allowed to see her, and he accompanied her when she went out (HHS treatise 27, p.2a). The residence of the Empress was called Ch'ang-ch'iu 長秋, meaning literally "Long Autumn". Ch'ang was used as a favourable omen of long life; ch'iu was used either because growing things come to fruition in the autumn, or else because autumn is the season when all things close up for winter, and the harem apartments are the most secluded section of the palace. See the commentary

of the Ch'ing scholar Hui Tung to HHS treatise 27, quoting the Shih ming 釋名 of Liu Hsi 劉熙 of the second century A.D. and the supplementary commentary (pien 辨, also written 辨) of Wei Chao 韋昭 (also known as Yao 曜) of SKWu.

1. The Yung-lo Palace (lit. Perpetual Joy) was the residence of the Lady Tung, the mother of Emperor Ling.
2. The T'ai-wei 太微 constellation is composed of ten stars in the western groups of Virgo and Leo (Schlegel 363). In Chinese astrology this constellation represented the emperor and his court. HHS treatise 12, p.4b, refers to the comet and interprets it as "the empire changing rulers".
3. The Pan-shun barbarians have a short memoir in HHS 76, pp.10a ff. According to that text, they lived in and around the Yü 渝 River in Lang-chung 閬中 prefecture in Pa commandery, now Langchung in Szechwan. These people had served Kao-tsu 高祖, first Emperor of Former Han, and the seven leading families had been exempted from taxation as a reward (see text below). As Ch'eng Pao says, the Pan-shun people had been valuable allies of the imperial armies in several campaigns in the south and west of the empire.
4. Each year, every province and commandery in the empire was required to send in a report and account of its administration. (HHS treatise 28, pp.2b and 4b).
5. The campaign of Feng K'un 馮異 (biography in HHS 28) against the rebel barbarians of Wu-ling took place in 160 A.D. (HHS annals 7, p.10a). It appears that the Pan-shun people were prepared to accompany the imperial armies some distance from their native districts, presumably as mercenaries like the Gurkas in the modern British army.

6. The Shang-lin Park was the great hunting reserve and pleasure ground of the emperors of Former Han and it lay west of Ch'ang-an in the valley of the Wei River. With the transfer of the capital to Lo-yang under Later Han, the park was naturally used less often and became less important, but it was still to some extent maintained.
7. The Attendant Imperial Clerk was an officer of the censorate, whose duties required him to report irregularities and wrongdoing in official documents and public conduct.
8. These two lines, the first of four characters, the second of five, rhyme. The character 止 was sounded t̂iag/t̂si:/chĩ (GSR 961) and the character 史 was sliag/si:/shĩ (GSR 975).
9. Huan Yen 桓焉 had been Grand Commandant in the reign of Emperor Shun.

Notes to Kuang-ho 6:

(1864-65)

1. The punctuation here indicates Huang(-ti) 黃帝 and Lao(-tzu) 老子 as two separate deities in Chang Chüeh's religion, and this translation follows. Many scholars, however, argue that the early popular Taoists worshipped a composite god called Huang-lao to whom they ascribed the attributes of the legendary sages and supernatural powers beside. (See, for example, Maspero, *Le Taoisme*, p.121).
2. The characters chia-tzu 甲子, being the first of the "ten celestial stems" combined with the first of the "twelve earthly branches", represent the first position in the sexagenary era used by the Chinese for their calendars. The year after Kuang-ho 6, 184 A.D. by western reckoning, was attributed with the characters chia-tzu and thus marked the beginning of a new cycle. For a millenary doctrine such as Chang Chüeh's, this was a most suitable omen for the beginning of the rebellion that was to overthrow the established order of the world.

1. The Colonel Director of the Retainers (ssu-li hsiao-wei) was responsible for the supervision and censorate of the seven commanderies about the imperial capital of Lo-yang and the city of Ch'ang-an. He had authority to investigate and impeach any inhabitants of this territory, including the officials of the court and the attendants of the palace. His powers, though more extensive, were thus analogous to those of an Inspector in a province, and this area under his supervision was sometimes referred to as the province of Ssu-li 司隸 .
2. By the time of Later Han, the government of a kingdom was as much under the control of the central administration as that of a commandery. Only members of the imperial clan could be enfeoffed as kings, and such a ruler was normally given a commandery as his fief. The kings were required to live on their states, and they were granted a proportion of the tax revenue, but they had no authority in the government. Where a Grand Administrator was the civil head of a commandery, a Chancellor was appointed by the imperial court to govern a kingdom, and a few minor changes were also made in the titles of lower officials in the local administration, but for all practical purposes there was no real difference between a commandery and a kingdom.

Liu Hsü 劉續, King of An-p'ing, and Liu Chung 忠, King of Kan-ling, were both descendants of Emperor Chang. Until 146 A.D., when the name was changed, Kan-ling had been known as Ch'ing-ho 清河 .
3. The General-in-Chief was the senior ranking general of the imperial army and had authority to command the Northern Army (北軍 pei-chün), which was the central strategic reserve of the empire, comprising five regiments (五營 wu-ying) under the command of the Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry, the Colonel of the Elite Cavalry, the Colonel of the Ch'ang River Encampments, the Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound

(qq.v. index) and the Colonel of Footsoldiers (步兵校尉 pu-ping hsiao-wei). The divisions of the Right and of the Left and the Feathered Forest troops were part of the Southern Army (南軍 nan-chün), and were primarily responsible for guarding the palace and person of the Emperor.

Ho Chin was the brother of the Empress née Ho, and it had become accepted practice under the Later Han dynasty for the head of the clan of the imperial relatives by marriage to be appointed General-in-Chief.

The tu-t'ing 都亭 referred to here was probably an area of open ground outside the walls of the city which acted as a staging post and terminus for travellers to Lo-yang. It had been used as an assembling place for an army in the past, for example on the occasion of Tou Wu's attempted coup in 168 (HHS 59, p.5a).

The eight passes were natural defensive positions surrounding Lo-yang and guarding the approaches to the capital. In normal times they could serve as customs barriers, but their fortifications were now put into repair and their garrisons were reinforced. Chief Commandant was the title of a military administrator, such as the head of a dependent state (屬國 shu-kuo), chief military assistant in a commandery on the frontiers of the empire, or, as here, officer in command of a local fortress and garrison.

4. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, following an unsuccessful resistance to the power of the eunuch attendants of the Emperor, edicts had been issued to prohibit members of the opposition faction from holding office in the bureaucracy. A list of these proscribed men was kept in the offices of the three dukes (HHS 57, p.3b). Since that time, the accusation of faction (黨 tang) had often been sufficient to bring about the exile or punishment of other officials whom the eunuchs felt could be a threat to their privileged position. By this time, more than ten years after the earliest proscriptions, there were many leading scholars and gentry in the empire who had been barred from office in this way, and as Lü Ch'iang points out, their disaffection could be dangerous to the government if they decided to join with the Yellow Turban rebels.

5. TCTC commentary to this passage identifies the Western Garden stables with those under the control of the Assistant of the Stables for Splendid Horses, appointed in the fourth year of Kuang-ho (see p.1859 above).
6. Huang-fu Kuei 皇甫規, biography in HHS 55, had been one of the great Chinese generals against the barbarians of the northern borders in the reign of Emperor Huan and the early years of Emperor Ling.
7. According to HHS treatise 25, pp.3b-5a, there were five Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household, being the General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes and his colleagues on the Right, on the Left, As Rapid As a Tiger (qq.v. index) and of the Feathered Forest (羽林 yü-lin chung-lang-chiang); each was in charge of a group of palace guardsmen. This dispatch of Lu Chih, Huang-fu Sung and Chu Chün was unusual for two reasons: firstly, because it was not common for Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household to take active military command outside the capital; and secondly, because General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the North was not a recognised title of the Later Han system. The appointment and the title, however, were to prove a popular precedent, and from this time on General of the Gentlemen of the Household could be the title of a chief of the palace guards or, generally with some distinguishing attribute, a commander of troops in the field.
8. The commentary to HHS 68, pp.20af, notes that the apochryphal book Ch'un-ch'iu ch'ien-t'an pa 春秋潛潭巴 had the saying: "The Son of Heaven should not climb a tall tower. If he climbs a tall tower a revolt will break out below". This may have been the basis for Shang Tan's warning.
9. Wang Fu 王甫 and Hou Lan 侯覽 (biographies in HHS 68) were two eunuchs who dominated the court in the early years of

Emperor Ling. Hou Lan had been impeached and compelled to commit suicide in 172 and Wang Fu had been imprisoned on a charge of corruption in 179 and died in jail. The Emperor's attendants are evidently using their dead and discredited colleagues as scape-goats, implying that Feng, Hsü and the other traitors were Wang's and Hou's protégés and had no connection with themselves.

10. Huo Kuang 霍光, as General-in-Chief in 74 B.C., arranged the deposition of the heir to the throne, Liu Ho 劉賀, and his replacement by Emperor Hsuan 宣 of Former Han (see Dubs II, pp.181-184 and 203-204).
11. Huang-men pei-ssu yü, the Northern Jail of the Yellow Gates, was the prison controlled by the eunuchs. Several official styles of the palace eunuchs contained the phrase "Yellow Gates", for the imperial harem, with which eunuchs were particularly concerned, had gates and doorways painted yellow.
12. Ten Regular Attendants: the highest rank that could be held by a eunuch was Palace Regular Attendant (chung-ch'ang-shih, translated by Dubs as Regular Inner Palace Attendant), and there were twelve such posts at this time. In his memorial, as TCTC commentary points out, Chang Chün is giving only an approximate number.
 It may be noted here that the phrases "Regular Attendants" (ch'ang-shih) and "Yellow Gates" (huang-men, see note 11 above) were used at this time either separately or in combination as a general description of the eunuch officials of the imperial palace.
13. The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was head of the consorate, with power to impeach any official for wrongdoing.
14. Both TCTC and HHS annals 8, p.11a, agree that the day should be in the third month, but in this year the third month had no keng-tzu day. It seems likely that keng-tzu 庚子 should read keng-wu 庚午; the keng-wu day in the third month is equivalent to the western 23 April, 184 (cf. note 1 to KH4).

15. Hsü Hsün had held ducal rank some ten years earlier.
16. From his title, Fu Hsieh was probably serving Chu Chün as an adjutant.
17. Yü 虞 was the dynastic designation of the legendary Emperor Shun 舜. In the Shu ching, Part II, Book I, Chapter III, translated by Legge III, pp.39-40, it is said that "He banished the minister of Works to Yew island; confined Hwan-tow on Mount Tsung; drove the chief of San-meaou and his people into San-wei, and kept them there; held K'wan till death a prisoner on mount Yu. These four criminals being thus dealt with, universal submission prevailed throughout the empire."

In the Tso-chuan, eighteenth year of Duke Wen, it is told how sixteen worthy descendants of ancient rulers were given office by the future Emperor Shun at the time he came to serve as minister to Yao 堯. The text notes: "when Yaou died, all under heaven, as if they had been one man, with common consent bore Shun to be emperor, because he had raised to office those sixteen helpers, and had put away the four wicked ones." (See Legge V, pp.282/2-282/1).

18. TCTC chapter 3, p.102, contains an anecdote of the mother of Tseng Ts'an 曾參, a man of Lu 魯. Someone else, with exactly the same name as her son, killed a man. As she was weaving outside her house, three passers-by in succession told her that "Tseng Ts'an has killed a man". At first the mother refused to believe it, but when she heard the mistaken take for the third time, she threw down her shuttle in belief and despair (See also Chan-kuo ts'e 3, p.22a).

In Chan-kuo ts'e 7, pp.6b-7a, an adviser asks a ruler: "If a man says there is a tiger in the market-place, would you believe him?" The king replies: "No". Then the sage asks: "If three men came and said so?" The king replies: "Yes". Even if a story is false, enough liars can sometimes make it appear true.

19. Po Ch'i 白起 (biography in Shih chi 73) was a general of the state of Ch'in 秦 in the third century B.C. In 257 he fell out of favour with the king and was degraded to become a common soldier. Later, he was sent out from the capital to Tu-yu 杜郵, a village outside the wall. The king and his advisers convinced themselves that Po Ch'i must feel resentment for the way they had treated him and they satisfied themselves that some of his statements had shown a rebellious spirit, so they sent him a sword and compelled him to commit suicide. (See TCTC chapter 5, pp.182-3, where Po Ch'i is described by his title as Lord of Wu-an 武安君.)
20. The first, second and fourth of these lines rhyme, the final characters being 晚 (GSR 222: miwan/miwan:/wan), 反 (GSR 262: piwan/piwan:/fan) and 飯 (GSR 262: b'iwan/b'iwan:/fan).
21. In his k'ao-yi commentary to this passage, Ssu-ma Kuang has observed that there is considerable disagreement on the identity of Chang Hsiu and on his significance in the wu-tou-mi rebellion. The sources may be summarised as follows:
1. HHS annals 8, p.11b, refers to Chang Hsiu of Pa commandery as the leader of the wu-tou-mi sect in rebellion in this year;
 2. the Ling-ti chi 靈帝紀 of the contemporary historian Liu Ai 劉艾 (quoted in the commentary to the passage in 1. above) and the Tien lüeh 典略 of Yü Huan 魚豢 of the third century (quoted in SKWei 8, pp.23a-b) refer to Chang Hsiu as a leader of the wu-tou-mi both in the reign of Emperor Ling (Liu Ai) and during the Hsi-p'ing period (Yü Huan);
 3. the main text of the biography of Chang Lu 張魯 in SKWei 8, p.22b, states that Chang Lu was actually a man from P'ei state, but that his grandfather Ling 陵 migrated to Shu, and had been the leader of the wu-tou-mi sect. When Ling died,

his son Heng 衡 had carried on (行 hsing) the teaching,
and when Heng died, Lu had taken over.

Based on the statements in 3. above, P'ei Sung-chih, compiler of the commentary to San-kuo chih, has added a note to his citation of Tien lüeh (2. above) saying that the personal name Hsiu has been miswritten and should read Heng. He thus assumes that Chang Heng, father of Chang Lu and leader of the wu-tou-mi sect, was also the leader of rebellion, and that his name has been miswritten by Yü Huan, Liu Ai, and presumably Fan Yeh.

Ssu-mu Kuang, noting that there are several further references to Chang Hsiu, that he was an associate of Chang Lu, and that he was finally killed by Lu (TCTC p.2040), naturally doubts that he could be the father from whom Chang Lu was supposed to inherit authority over the wu-tou-mi sect. On TCTC p.1928, however, he appears to accept the idea that Chang Lu had inherited authority from his grandfather Ling, and he adapts the version of SKWei 8 without mentioning Chang Heng.

The problem may be resolved, perhaps, by interpreting the character hsing in SKWei 8, p.22b (in 3. above) as indicating that Chang Heng had merely maintained the teachings of the wu-tou-mi sect but had not been an active leader; and that Chang Hsiu, who was perhaps no close relation (he came, according to HHS annals and Liu Ai, from Pa commandery, not from P'ei state or Shu commandery), had usurped authority among the rebel group. Later, Chang Heng died, and Chang Lu, as the direct descendant of the founder of the sect, might well resent Chang Hsiu's authority, and would seek, with gradual success, to restore his own.

For further discussion of this question, see, in particular, Fukui Kōchun, Dōkyō no kiso teki kenkyū, pp.2-8.

2. TCTC here gives the traditional account of the origins of the name of the wu-tou-mi 五斗米 sect. However, in his Hai-jih lou cha-ts'ung, p.230, Shen Tseng-chih notes that the Chinese

recognise five constellations called tou (the Pei-tou 北斗 is the western Big Dipper), and he suggests that wu-tou refers to the five groups of stars and not to a measure of grain. Wu-tou rice was then "rice offered in sacrifice to the five constellations".

23. This edition of TCTC mistakenly writes 巳 Ssu for the personal name of the rebel, but HHS 61, p.2b, and also the Po-na edition, clearly give the character as 己 Yi.
24. Prefect Controller of the Left (左校令 tso-hsiao ling) was one of the officers in charge of convict labourers under the Court Architect (HHS treatise 27, p.5b).
25. Li Hsieh was the son of Li Ku 李固, who held the position of Grand Commandant in 144. On the death of Emperor Shun, Liang Chi 梁冀, who was General-in-Chief and brother of the Empress-dowager, used his authority to set children on the throne in order that he might rule as regent with his sister. Li Ku objected to this, and urged that one of the adults of the Liu clan should be chosen. Shortly after the appointment of Emperor Huan, Li Ku and his candidate were destroyed by Liang Chi. Li Ku's biography is in HHS 53.
26. Until the reforms of Liu Yen were adopted in 188 (see TCTC pp.1887-8 below), the head of a province was an Inspector and the title of Governor was not officially recognised. The appointment of Huang-fu Sung as Governor of Chi Province was a mark of particular favour, but it is unlikely that the title gave him any greater power than an ordinary Inspector.
27. The Obedient Barbarians from Huang-chung was a force of Ch'iang tribesmen who acted as mercenary auxiliaries to the imperial army in the northwest. Huang-chung described an area southeast of the Koko Nor in Tsinghai. See also note 17 to CA19.
28. Though an Inspector had the power to report to the throne on the misconduct of a Grand Administrator, his rank was very much lower (see note 4 to Kh4). It can readily be imagined that some

inspectors would be afraid to present adverse reports against their superiors lest they make powerful enemies who would harm them later. On the other hand, Liang Ku would be extremely embarrassed if his own junior officer sent in a report when he himself had been afraid to do so.

29. Ssu-ma Jang-chü 司馬穰草 (biography in Shih chi 64) was made general of the armies of the state of Ch'i 齊 in the fifth century B.C. Chuang Chia 莊賈 was a courtier appointed to the army. Jang-chü waited to receive him, but he arrived late and Jang-chü had him executed by military law. When messengers arrived from the Duke of Ch'i to ask for mercy, Jang-chü answered them: "When a commander is with his army, he need not accept all the orders of his sovereign."
30. According to HHS treatise 25, p.10a, there was a park for horses in Han-yang commandery which was administered by the department of the Grand Coachman. The Herding Office was presumably the administrative compound attached to this park.
31. Po Ch'i 白起 and Yüeh Yi 樂毅 were generals of the warring states period at the end of the Chou dynasty. Po Ch'i served the state of Ch'in 秦, and in a military career of thirty-five years he captured more than seventy cities from the neighbours and rivals of that state. Yüeh Yi served the northern state of Yen 燕. The King of Yen wanted to make an attack on Ch'i 齊, but Yüeh Yi first went round on embassy to other states to gain allies for the campaign, and only then did he lead a combined army to a great victory for his master. The biography of Po Ch'i is in Shih chi 73, the biography of Yüeh Yi is in Shih chi 80 (on Po Ch'i see also note 19 above).
32. The Hsiang family, of whom the greatest was Hsiang Yü 項羽 (biographies in Shih chi 7 and Han shu 31), took command of the rebellion which overthrew the empire of Ch'in in 207 B.C.

Hsiang Yü was eventually defeated by Kao-tsu 高祖, first Emperor of the Han dynasty.

33. Up to this time, the current year had been counted as the seventh of the Kuang-ho period. It was only now, two days before the end, that the reign-title (年號 niên-hao) was changed and the year became known as the first of the Chung-p'ing period.

The proclamation of a reign-title was an imperial prerogative and these slogans could be adopted on any occasion that seemed suitable. An emperor would expect to proclaim his first reign-title as soon as he entered the first full year of his reign, but the title could be changed on any such occasion as the coming of age of the emperor, the appearance of a favourable omen or some other event important to the dynasty. It was not until the beginning of the Ming dynasty in the fourteenth century that the principle was established whereby each emperor had one niên-hao for the whole of his reign.

In this year, the adoption of the title Chung-p'ing 中平, which may be translated as "Achieving Peace", marked the triumph of the imperial armies over the main forces of the Yellow Turbans of Chang Chüeh.

Notes to Chung-p'ing 2:

(1876-82)

1. Under the Han dynasty the area of a mou (written 畝 or 晦) was 0.11391 English acres. (See Swann, p.364).
2. Kung-yang 公羊 commentary to the Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋 chronicle for the fifteenth year of Duke Hsüan ascribes a plague of locusts to the Duke's increased taxes (see Shih-san ching chu-su 7, pp.208-9, and also Legge V, p.329/2).
3. In the Tso-chuan, eleventh year of Duke Ai, it is told how the Duke of Lu on the advice of his minister Chi-sun 季孫, proposed to increase the land tax and sent a messenger to ask Confucius for his opinion. Confucius gave no official reply, but said privately

to the messenger: "...If [Ke-sun] be not governed by the rules of propriety, but by a covetous daring and insatiableness, though he enact this taxation of the lands, it will still not be enough. If you and Ke-sun wish to act according to the laws, there are the statutes of the duke of Chow still existing. If you wish to act in an irregular manner, why do you consult me?" (Legge V, p.826/2).

4. Lu Hsü 陸績 was a junior officer in the reign of Emperor Ming 明 who was arrested on a charge of treason. His mother came to the prison but was prevented from seeing her son and could only send in some food for him. Although Lu Hsü had remained unmoved by the torture which was applied to him, he wept when he saw the dish of food, for he recognised his mother's style of preparing it. In respect for this mark of filial piety, pardon was granted to Hsü and his associates, although they were proscribed from holding office again for the rest of their lives. Lu Hsü's biography is in HHS 71.
5. These cavalry-men of the Western Garden were members of a corps of eunuch guards which had been in existence for some years: early in the reign of Emperor Shun, the eunuch Ts'ao Chieh 曹節 had been a member of this body, known as Hsi-yüan chi 西園騎 or Hsi-yüan tsou 馬奴 (cf. HHS 68, p.12b).
6. With the possible exception of Ox-horn Chang and Flying Swallow Ch'u, the names and nicknames of these bandit leaders indicate fairly clearly that they were of peasant origin.
The rendering of these styles presents some difficulties: tso-hsiao, translated as Controller on the Left, probably reflects the man's earlier career as a convict labourer under the Court Architect (see note 24 to CP1), although it could be a corruption of the military title tso hsiao-wei Colonel on the Left. Ti-ken 狄根 was almost certainly a nickname given to the man whose surname was Yü, but it is

difficult to translate: ti may refer to one of the Five Barbarian tribes of that name in the time of the Shang dynasty, but it may also be translated simply as "foundation", or something "hanging down". With this latter meaning, in combination with ken, it can refer to a root, and the nickname was perhaps a reference to Yü's genitals.

The characters wu-lu 五鹿, here translated as "Five Deer" and regarded as a nickname, were also known as a double-character surname under the Han, held in particular by Wu-lu Ch'ung-tsung 充宗, who became Privy Treasurer in 38 B.C. (Han shu 19B, p.13b). In this text, however, the immediately following three characters 李大目 cannot possibly be treated as a personal name, so Wu-lu must refer to one of the leaders, perhaps in reference to some badge that he bore.

7. Hei-shan 黑山, or Black Mountain, describes a ridge of the Taihang shan near present-day Hopi 鶴壁 in Honan. It may be noted that the term "Black Mountain bandits" was used not only for the forces under the direct control of Chang Yen but also the assorted minor groups described in the preceding paragraph.
8. The Reporting Officer, as mentioned in note 4 to KH5, was a junior official of a province or commandery who was sent to the capital with the annual report. Where Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidates were official nominees for office, the Reporting Officer could also be noticed and gain appointment at the capital. Thus Chang Yen, leader of bandits, had the power to place his nominees into the imperial administration just as if he was the Grand Administrator of a commandery.
9. Ts'ui Shih 崔寔, author of the Cheng-lun 政論, has a biography in HHS 42. On the legalist philosophy of the Cheng-lun, see the article by Balazs, "La crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des Han".
10. From the context, the Lady Ch'eng had evidently nursed the Emperor when he was a child, she was now treated with favour similar to that

of the eunuchs, and she had acted as the intermediary in extracting the fee from Ts'ui Lieh for his appointment as a duke.

11. TCTC p.413 tells how Mo-t'u 冒頓, Shan-yü of the Hsiung-nü, sent an insulting letter to the court of Emperor Hui 惠 of Former Han. Fan K'uai 樊噲 urged that the imperial armies should attack the Hsiung-nu, but Chi Pu 季布 pointed out that the last time they tried that, when Fan K'uai was one of the generals, they had not been successful. What Fu Hsieh means is that when a minister suggests a really stupid and dangerous policy, suggestions for his execution, even from the body of the court, are quite justifiable.
12. On the expedition of Li Shang 酈商 see his biographies in Shih chi 95 and Han shu 41.
13. The four commanderies of Chiu-ch'uan 酒泉, Chang-yeh 張掖, Wu-wei 武威 and Tun-huang 敦煌 were all established in the reign of Emperor Wu 武 of Former Han (commentaries to Han shu 28B, pp.3a, 2a, 2a, and 3b). Epochal Exemplar (世宗 Shih-tsung) was the temple-name of Emperor Wu.
14. Hsü Hsün 許訓 had been Minister over the Masses from 169 to 171.
15. On the Huang-men pei-ssu yü, the jail controlled by the eunuchs of the imperial palace, see note 11 to CP1.
16. Yi Yin 伊尹 was the great minister and counsellor of King T'ang 湯, founder of the Shang dynasty. Lü Shang 呂尚 was a great minister of kings Wen 文 and Wu 武, founders of the Chou dynasty.
17. Analects, Book XVIII, Chapter I reads: "The viscount of Wei withdrew from the court. The viscount of Chi became a slave to Chau. Pi-kan remonstrated with him and died. Confucius

said, 'The Yin dynasty possessed these three men of virtue'." (Legge I, p.331).

18. TCTC here has the characters ts'an-chün-shih 參軍事, which is a title appearing frequently towards the end of Han and during the Three Kingdoms. It is discussed briefly, as ts'an-chün, in Chin shu 24, p.3a. TCTC commentary quotes Tu Yu, author of the T'ung tien, who suggests (p.189/3) that this is an early reference to the office, and HHS 62, p.2a, would appear to support that interpretation.

However, in SKWu 1, p.2b, it is said that Chang Wen recommended Sun Chien yü 與 ts'an chün-shih, and this means "to take part in the affairs of the army". Thus Sun Chien was a member of Wen's staff, but ts'an-chün-shih was not necessarily an official military title at this time.

T'ung tien, as cited above, and also the T'ung chih of Cheng Ch'iao (p.693/2) both refer also to the appointment of T'ao Ch'ien as ts'an-chün-shih under Chang Wen at about this time, following the text of SKWei 8, p.9a (參車騎將軍張溫軍事). This, too, could be read simply as a sentence and not as a formal title, though it is certainly possible that Chang Wen was the first to appoint officials with this style.

19. TCTC here follows HHS 62, p.2a, but the Shan-yang kung tsai-chi 山陽公載記 of the Chin dynasty historian Yüeh Tzu 樂資, quoted in the commentary to SKWu 1, p.6b, has the name as Ts'ai-yüan 蔡園. There is no way to tell which alternative is correct, and the place cannot now be precisely identified.
20. An axe 鉞 yüeh was the ancient symbol of military authority; see, for example, the Shu ching Part V, Book II, Chapter I, translated by Legge III, p.300. Axes were among the Nine Distinctions (九錫 chiu hsi) awarded to Tung Cho in 189 (HHS 62, p.5a) and to Ts'ao Ts'ao in 213 (SKWei 1, p.27a), and, according to the commentator Sung Chung 宋衷 of SKWei, those who were granted them

had the right to execute on their own initiative. (See also the introduction to Tjan Tjoe Som's translation of the Po hu t'ung 白虎通, volume I, pp.24-29.)

1. Emperor Ling came originally from Ho-chien commandery, where he had been Marquis of Chieh-tu t'ing 解渚亭 (now northeast of Ankwo 安國 in Hopeh) before his accession to the throne.

otes to Chung-p'ing 3:

(1882-83)

- For this incident, see above TCTC pp.1870-71.
- The P'ing Gate here indicates the P'ing-ch-eng 平城 gate, the main gate in the south wall of Lo-yang, leading directly to the Southern Palace of the Emperor (HHS treatise 27, p.6a). The Heavenly Deer (天祿 t'ien-lu) are described by the third century commentator Meng K'ang 孟康, quoted in Han shu 96A, p.13b, as similar to ordinary deer, but with long hair and only one horn.
- The "thirsty crow" (渴烏 k'o-wu) is evidently some device for lifting water. It is traditionally described as a form of syphon, but in this context it was most probably some form of pump, possibly an Archimedes screw. (cf. Needham and Wang Ling, Science and Civilisation in China, volume IV, Part 1, p.323, and IV, 2, p.131).

otes to Chung-p'ing 4:

(1884-86)

- The capital of Lung-hsi commandery was at Hsiang-wu 襄武, now southwest of Lungsi 隴西 in Kansu.
- The capital of Han-yang commandery was at Chi 冀, now south of Kanku 甘谷 in Kansu.
- From the Tso-chuan, sixteenth year of Duke Ch'eng, translated by Legge V, p.388/2: "a sage is equal to the duties of all positions; ...a man of the second class maintains the duty of his positions; ...one of the lowest class fails in the duty of his."

4. Po-yi 伯夷 is the posthumous title of the elder son of the King of Ku-chu 孤竹, who reigned towards the end of the Shang dynasty. According to legend, Po-yi's father said that the younger son should succeed to the kingdom, and Po-yi faithfully carried out the instruction. In the event, the younger son, known as Shu-ch'i 叔齊, refused to take the throne from his brother, and they both resigned their inheritance. Later, when King Wu of Chou attacked the Shang, the brothers protested, and when the conquest was complete they died of hunger rather than live under the new dynasty. (biography in Shih chi 61). For Confucius' admiration of them, see the Analects, translated in Legge I, p.181, but for Mencius' opinion, see Legge II, pp.193-4.
5. The phrase here: 養浩然之氣, is discussed by Mencius, Book II, Part I, Chapter II. The phrase is rendered by Legge II, pp.189-191, as "nourishing my vast, flowing, passion-nature."
6. Shih chi 43, p.4b, tells how Ch'eng Ying 程嬰 preserved the infant heir of the noble Chao 趙 family after the head of the clan had been assassinated. Thus Yang Hui was to act as guardian of Fu K'an.
- It may be noted that thirteen sui 歲 by Chinese reckoning indicates only eleven or twelve years of age by western count. In China, a child is regarded as one sui at the time it is born, and one sui is added to a person's age on the first day of each new year.
7. The Chü-ko (written 屠各 or 著各) were a clan of the Southern Hsiung-nu.
8. Marquisates of the Imperial Domain (kuan-nei hou) were one rank lower in the nobility than Full Marquises (lieh-hou) which are discussed in note 5 to KH4. The term kuan-nei 關內, literally "land within the passes", refers to the territory about the imperial capitals of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang. Unlike Full Marquises, the Marquises of the Imperial Domain were not necessarily granted a tract of land as a titular fief, although it seems probable that they were generally awarded a pension from the imperial revenues.

- 1). Ch'en Shih had been involved in the proscriptions at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, so he had been out of office for almost twenty years at the time of his death. According to his biography in HHS 52, pp.12b ff., Ch'en Shih had once attended the funeral of the father of Chang Jang, the powerful eunuch, when other officials had boycotted the ceremony, and Chang Jang was grateful to him. When the accusations of faction were made in 169, and Ch'en Shih was in prison awaiting execution, Chang Jang arranged his reprieve and release.

Chief of T'ai-ch'iu was the highest rank that Ch'en Shih obtained in the imperial service, but his native prefecture was Hsü ^許 in Ying-ch'uan commandery, and it was there that most of his good work and influence were displayed.

Notes to Chung-p'ing 5:

(1887-92)

1. TCTC commentary identifies the Tzu-kung ^{紫宮} constellation with the T'ai-wei-huan ^{太微垣}, being ten stars in western Leo and Virgo (Schlegel 363); normally, however, Tzu-kung is recognised as the Tzu-wei-huan ^{紫微垣}, a large group of stars about the area of Cepheus, Draco and the Great Bear (Schlegel 699). In Chinese astrology, the constellation represents the emperor and his court, and HHS treatise 12, p.5a, interprets this comet as "the empire changing rulers".
2. TCTC here miswrites for Hsi-ho, a commandery in Ping Province; Po-po is now southeast of Fencheng in Shansi.
3. The nine Ministers were the Grand Master of Ceremonies, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household, the Commandant of the Palace Guard, the Grand Coachman, the Commandant of Justice, the Grand Herald, the Superintendent of the Imperial House, the Grand Minister of Agriculture and the Privy Treasurer (qqv). Next to the three Dukes, the nine Ministers were the highest posts in the imperial bureaucracy. The Masters of Writing, also referred to in Liu Yen's memorial,

held much lower rank, but their responsibility and importance as members of the emperor's secretariat have been discussed in note 11 to KH4.

All these first three Governors had held ministerial posts, and they outranked the heads of commanderies and kingdoms. From this time on, where a Governor was appointed, the provinces became recognisable political units rather than loose circuits of inspection, and where individual heads of commanderies or local bandits had often defied the government, the new heads of the provinces were able to mobilise greater resources and authority to crush rebellion.

Under Former Han, the office of Provincial Governor (translated by Dubs as Shepherd) had been adopted from time to time towards the end of the dynasty, but Emperor Kuang-wu had reverted to the inspectorate system. Even after this restoration in 188, the office of Inspector continued to be used where a unified provincial government did not appear necessary or desirable, or where a semi-independent ruler such as Yüan Shao or Kung-sun Tsan appointed a subordinate to control a separate provincial district.

4. The Respectful King of Lu. 魯恭王 was Liu Yi 劉翼, the fifth successor to a kingdom granted posthumously to Liu Chung 仲, the elder brother of Emperor Kuang-wu 光武, in 39 A.D. The Respectful King of Tung-hai 東海恭王 was Liu Ch'iang 彊, son of Emperor Kuang-wu, who was enfeoffed in 43 A.D.
5. The Yu-pu Hsi-lo were the clan of the Hsi-lo-shih-chu-ti Shan-yü 醯落尸逐鞞單于, personal name Pi 比, who was supported by the Han as Southern Shan-yü in 50 A.D. The clan took their name from his style and adopted the prefix yu-pu 右部 from their position in the western part of the Hsiung-nu territory.
6. The Privy Treasurer of the Yung-lo Palace was the officer in charge of the residence of the Empress-dowager, the Lady Tung.

(cf. the Privy Treasurer of the Ch'ang-lo 長樂 Palace, described in HHS treatise 27, p.3b).

7. According to the Hou Han shu 後漢書 of Yüan Shan-sung 袁山松 of the fourth century these commanderies and kingdoms were Shan-yang, Liang, P'ei P'eng-ch'eng, Hsia-p'i, Tung-hai and Lang-yeh. HHS treatise 15, p.4b., mentions only six commanderies, but HHS annals has seven.
8. Ch'en Fan 陳蕃 (biography in HHS 56) had shared the government with Tou Wu 竇武 at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, and had been destroyed with Tou Wu when the eunuch's coup succeeded.
9. Hsiang K'ai was famous for his ability to foretell the future. His biography is in HHS 20B, with other experts in divination.
10. The city of Ho-fei is now north of Hofei in Anhwei, and the marquisate had been granted to Chien Hsin 堅鐔, a supporter of Emperor Kuang-wu, in the early years of Later Han. Only four successors are recorded after Hsin's death in 50 A.D., the last being Hsin's great-grandson. Thus although there was a Marquis of Ho-fei in 188, it seems most likely that the Chien line had died out and some cadet of the imperial Liu clan had been appointed. There are no further details of Wang Fen's candidate for the throne.
11. Yi Yin 伊尹 was chief minister to T'ang 湯, the first ruler of the legendary Shang dynasty, and Huo Kuang 霍光 was chief minister during Former Han. Yi Yin banished T'ai-chia 太甲, the Heir-apparent to the throne, and Huo Kuang deposed Liu Ho 劉賀 from the imperial position and gave his place to Emperor Hsüan 宣. (See Legge III, p.203; note 10 to CP1 above.)
12. Ma Jung 馬融 (79-166 A.D.), a great scholar and influential teacher of Later Han, has a biography in HHS 50A.

13. The various sources in HHS do not all agree on the titles of the eight Colonels of the Western Garden. TCTC has followed the list of the Shan-yang kung tsai-chi 山陽公載記 (Parallel Annals of the Duke of Shan-yang, which was the title of Emperor Hsien of Han after his abdication in favour of Wei in 220), a work composed by Yüeh Tzu 樂資 of the Chin dynasty. This book no longer survives, but it is quoted by the commentary to HHS annals 8, p.14b. In HHS 59, p.6b, two titles are given differently, and in HHS 64A, p.2a, Yüan Shao appears as Colonel Aiding the Army (佐軍 tso-chün hsiao-wei). This latter version is followed by HHS 48, p.12a and HHS treatise 13, p.4a, but the Shan-yang kung tsai-chi is the only source that gives a list of all the eight officers.

There is a discussion of the Western Garden regiments as a palace army in the commentary to Table XLVII of the Li-tai chih-kuan piao. It may be noted that Chien Shih, a eunuch, could now hold supreme military command in the capital by virtue of his position as the senior colonel. The seven other colonels were all full men.

14. According to Shui-ching chu 16, p.21a, the P'ing-lo Observatory was outside the Shang-hsi 上西 Gate, to the west of the city of Lo-yang.
15. The dependent state of Liao-tung lay north of the Gulf of Liaotung, between the two commanderies of Liao-hsi and Liao-tung. Commentary to HHS 63, p.5a, explains Shih-men as hills lying southeast of Liu-ch'eng 柳城, near present-day Chaoyangchen 朝陽鎮 in Kirin.

Notes to Chung-p'ing 6:

(1892-1908)

1. In this one calendar year three reign-titles were proclaimed. In the fourth month, on the day wu-wu (15 May), the year was proclaimed as the first of the Kuang-hsi 光緒 period. In the eighth month, on the day hsin-wei (25 Sep.), the reign-title was changed to Chao-ning 昭寧. In the ninth month, on the day chia-hsü (28 Sep.), the title was changed to Yung-han 永漢.

Finally, in the intercalary twelfth month, on the day wu-hsin (19 Feb. 190), these three reign-titles were all cancelled and the year was again calculated as the sixth of the Chung-p'ing period. (See TCTC p.1906.)

2. According to the commentary to HHS 61, p.5b, Tung Cho is here quoting from the Ssu-ma Ping-fa 司馬兵法 (also known as Ssu-ma fa) being the book of the art of war ascribed to Ssu-ma Jang-chü 穰苴 of the fifth century B.C. (See note 29 to CP1.) These words, however, are missing from the present-day text of that work.

The disagreement between Tung Cho and Huang-fu Sung came because Tung Cho claimed that the bandits were defeated, but not broken, and that they were retreating to their home ground. If the imperial army pursued them, the bandits would have the advantage of the terrain and would fight the more fiercely as they were pressed harder on the defensive. Huang-fu Sung, however, believed that the enemy were so demoralised they could now offer no effective resistance, and it was important to follow the pursuit and crush them completely. (For other examples of these opposing strategical theories at different times, see TCTC pp.2003-4 and note 2 to CA3, and also TCTC p.2054 and notes 7 and 8 to CA9.)

It may be noticed that this is the second campaign that Tung Cho has shown himself reluctant to engage the enemy (cf. TCTC pp.1881-2 and Tung Cho's self-justification on pp.1920-21). The historian, probably by design, shows the future usurper as a soldier guilty on occasion of caution verging towards cowardice. The interpretation may not be entirely fair.

3. This eclipse is mentioned in HHS treatise 18, p.8b, and also in HHS annals 8, and in both places the day is given as ping-wu, which was the first day of the fourth month of this year. TCTC has confused the two characters tzu 子 and wu 午.

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

4. Like Chang Wen in 186, Liu Yü held the office of Grand Commandant without leaving his post as Governor of Yu Province (cf. TCTC p.1882 above).

Under Former Han, Jung-ch'iu had been a prefecture in Tung-hai (Han shu 28A, p.31b), though it does not appear in the Later Han treatise. The city had evidently lost its prefectural status in 140 A.D., but it is likely that it had been restored by the time Liu Yü was awarded the territory as a marquisate.

5. Although infant mortality was naturally high, when a number of children died it was sometimes suspected that an evil influence might be operating, and children were sent to live somewhere else for a time in order that they might escape it.

On the birth of Liu Hsieh and the murder of his mother the Lady Wang, see TCTC p.1861.

6. Although it was common for the heir-apparent to be the eldest son of the emperor by his chief wife, the emperor had undisputed authority to choose whichever of his sons he preferred.
7. Po-chün-ti 百郡邸 : ti were the lodging houses kept by the governments of commanderies and kingdoms for their messengers to the capital. These were grouped together in one part of Lo-yang, and it was to this quarter that Ho Chin brought his troops.
8. Liu Pien was born in 176 and was twelve or thirteen years old by western calculations. Liu Hsieh, born in 181, was seven or eight years old.
9. The expression lu shang-shu shih 錄尚書事 "to control the affairs of the Masters of Writing" is the Later Han equivalent of the Former Han Intendant of the Affairs of the Masters of Writing (執 chih shang-shu shih). Dubs II, pp.10f, explains how the Masters of Writing were responsible for all official communication between the emperor and the outside administration, while the authority of this imperial secretariat developed even further

during the Later Han dynasty (and see note 11 to KH4). As a result, the power of any high-ranking official lay in his authority "to control the affairs of the Masters of Writing", no matter what other title he might hold. The man that controlled the imperial secretariat could issue commands in the emperor's name and was thus empowered to govern the empire. (See also Li-tai chih-kuan piao, commentary to Table II.)

According to the commentary to TCTC p.1802, the character ts'an 參 in this context, which I have translated as "to take part (in the control of the affairs of the Masters of Writing)", indicates only that the authority was shared.

10. In the official administration of Later Han, the Yüan family of Ju-nan commandery had risen to extraordinary heights. In 86 A.D. Yüan An 袁安 was first appointed to ducal rank as Minister of Works (HHS annals 3, p.16b). Later, his son Ch'ang 敞 also became Minister of Works, and his grandson T'ang 湯 held all three ducal offices. T'ang's son Feng 逢 became Minister of Works, and a younger son Wei 隗 became Minister over the Masses. These promotions to the very highest official ranks give an indication of the influence that the Yüan clan held in the bureaucracy and in the empire as a whole.

Yüan Shu was the son of Feng. Yüan Shao was a grandson of T'ang, father of Feng, but his parenthood is a matter of dispute. At the beginning of his biography in HHS 64A, the main text states that he was the son of Ch'eng 成, who was the eldest son of T'ang. The commentary to this passage, however, notes that other sources, the Wei shu 魏書 of the third century historian Wang Shen 王沈 (quoted in the commentary to SKWei 6, p.12a) and the Hou Han shu 後漢書 of Yüan Shan-sung 袁山松 of the fourth century, describe Shao as the adopted son of Ch'eng and add that he was really the son of Feng by a concubine.

On TCTC p.1927, quoting the main text of HHS 65, p.6b, it is recorded that Yüan Shu described Yüan Shao as the "family

slave" (家奴 chia-nu) and that he wrote a letter of Kung-sun Tsan saying that Shao was not a true son of the Yüan clan. If this text is correct, and if Shu had any grounds for his accusation, it seems that Shao must have been the son of a concubine, and he may have been Shu's half-brother by birth and his cousin only by adoption. (Compare, however, the alternative view of the Ch'ing scholar Hung Liang-chi in his commentary to HHS 64A.)

11. The Palace Captain of the Northern Army was responsible to the General-in-Chief for the five regiments of regular troops stationed at the capital (see note 3 to CP1). The Gentlemen in Attendance of the Yellow Gates were among the few officials of the outside bureaucracy who were granted right of access to the palace. We have already discussed the importance of the Masters of Writing, the imperial secretariat (see note 9 above). These three officials, though comparatively low in rank, were essential to the maintenance of Ho Chin's chain of command in the palace and the army.
12. The Prefect of the Yellow Gates had police and disciplinary authority over all the eunuchs of the imperial palace (HHS treatise 26, p.5b).
13. The Empress-dowager née Tung had been given the title of Hsiao-jen 孝仁 Empress at the beginning of the reign of her son Emperor Ling. Ling's father, the former Marquis of Chieh-tu t'ing, was honoured posthumously as Emperor Hsiao-jen, and his widow became the Hsiao-jen Empress-dowager (HHS annals 8, pp.2a-2b).

The western palace was the Yung-lo Palace, the residence of the Lady Tung.

14. The retired empress 藩后 fan-hou: commentary to HHS annals 10B, p.8b, identifies this as a reference to the concubine née Wei 衛, mother of Emperor P'ing 平 of Former Han. She was implicated in a plot against Wang Mang 王莽 in 3 A.D. and was kept in exile in Chung-shan (see Dubs III, pp.47-48).

15. The floods recorded here and the rain mentioned on TCTC p.1905 below are both referred to by HHS treatise 13 (the Treatise on the Five Elements 五行志), p.4a, where they are seen as a portent of the massacre of the eunuchs.
16. The five regiments (五營 wu-ying) were the troops of the Northern Army (北軍 pei-chün), normally stationed at the capital (see note 3 to CP1). All were under the formal command of the General-in-Chief, but when the eunuchs organised their coup against General-in-Chief Tou Wu and Grand Tutor Ch'en Fan early in the reign of Emperor Ling, the soldiers had refused to support Tou Wu.
17. The phrase used is 三署郎 san-shu lang (Gentlemen of the Three Divisions). The term describes the court attendants commanded by the three Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes, on the Right and on the Left. These court attendants were young men on probation for office in the bureaucracy. None of them were eunuchs.
18. The proverb "closing 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 uses.
19. The territory of Huang-chung 皇中, southeast of the Ko Ko Nor in Tsinghai, was inhabited during Han times by Ch'iang barbarians, and auxiliary troops, known as Obedient Barbarians (義從 yi-ts'ung), were recruited from the tribesmen.
20. TCTC commentary notes several examples of the expression tseng-yi fu-shang 增異復上 or some similar phrase as a formula for the end of a memorial.

Chief Commandant was normally a title for the head of a military administration, as in a dependent state (屬國 shu-kuo), or the chief military assistant in a commandery on the frontiers

of the empire. It could, however, be a military rank on active service, as a Chief Commandant of Cavalry, and it appears here that Ting Yüan held his title simply as the commander of a military force.

21. O-heng 阿衡: the title held by Yi Yin 伊尹 chief minister at the beginning of the legendary Shang 商 dynasty.
22. The example of the Yin is not far off 殷鑒不遠: the Tang poem of the Greater Odes in the Shih ching reads (Legge IV, p.510):

"The beacon of Yin is not far-distant:-

"It is in the age of the [last] sovereign of Hëa."

According to Chinese tradition, Chieh 桀, the last king of the Hsia 夏 dynasty, ruled as a tyrant, and he was destroyed by T'ang 湯, first king of the Shang dynasty, in 1766 B.C. Six centuries later, T'ang's successor King Chou 紂 of Shang (also known as the Yin dynasty) again ruled badly, and the dynasty was ended by King Wu 武 of Chou 周. Thus the fall of Hsia was a warning of the fate that would come to Shang/Yin, and Cheng T'ai is saying that the fate of Tou Wu shows Ho Chin what can happen to him.

23. Meng-chin: the settlement by the Meng Ford, a crossing of the Yellow River now south of Menghsien 孟縣 in Honan.
24. Tung Cho is here referring to a memorial of Mei Sheng 枚乘 to King P'i 平 of Wu 吳 on the eve of the rebellion of the Seven States in 154 B.C: "If you want to cool soup, and one man blows on it while a hundred others are fanning the fire, you will get nowhere. The best thing to do is to take away the firewood so as to stop the fire" (Han shu 51, p.22b).
25. Chao Yang was a servant of the Chin 晉 state during the Chou dynasty. Two wicked ministers Hsün Yin 荀寅 and Shih Chi-she 士吉射 (also known as Fan 番 Chi-she) controlled the government, but in 497 B.C. Chao Yang seized the armoury at Chin-yang 晉陽, attacked the two ministers and drove them into exile. Though his action

was virtuous, it was technically regarded as a rebellion, for he had no proper orders. (See the Tso-chuan chronicle for the thirteenth year of Duke Ting, translated by Legge V, p.784/2, and also the Kung-yang 公羊 commentary in Shih-san ching chu-su.) The Han dynasty set up a prefecture called Chin-yang, now Taiyuan 太原 in Shansi.

The bells and drums were a symbol of punishment. In the Analects, Book XI, Chapter XVI, 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 their crimes.

26. The Lady Ho and her family were descended from butchers. For an account of their origins, see HHS annals 10B, p.9b. The future Empress was brought into the palace by a common recruitment, and gained the Emperor's favour when she bore him a son. Obviously, the influence of the eunuchs would be most important to any ordinary concubine seeking to share the Emperor's bed long enough to conceive by him, and on TCTC p.1895 it is said that the eunuch Kuo Sheng had played some part in the fortunes of the Ho clan; this may have been the occasion. Later, in 181, when the Lady Ho murdered the Beauty née Wang, it is described how the eunuchs persuaded the Emperor to pardon her (TCTC p.1861).
27. Ch'ung Hao 种高, biography in HHS 46, had been Minister over the Masses in the reign of Emperor Huan.
28. The Colonel Director of the Retainers supervised the officials and people of the seven commanderies about the imperial capital, but for most of Later Han he had been employed to report misdeeds to the throne and had no right to take direct action.

The grant of imperial credentials (節 chieh) meant that Yüan Shao could carry out sentence against any criminal without prior approval from the court.

29. The Ch'ang-lo 長樂 Palace was the residence of the Empress-dowager (HHS treatise 27, p.3a).
30. At this time, in Lo-yang, there were two imperial palaces, one in the north and one in the south of the city. These complexes of buildings were connected to each other by fu-tao 複道, which were elevated passage-ways, like the Bridge of Sighs, giving a private route from one palace to the other and removing the need for an imperial progress through the city. (See also TCTC p.1810 commentary.)
31. The Ku Gate was the main north gate of the city of Lo-yang.
32. The six imperial seals of Han were carved from white jade and were used for various classes of documents: 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 (六璽 liu hsi) did not include the Great Seal of State (傳國璽 ch'uan-kuo-hsi), which was inherited from the Ch'in empire and was the mark of imperial rank. (See also my translation of The Biography of Sun Chien, pp.48ff and 78ff.)
33. TCTC commentary quotes the Han kuan yi 漢官儀 of Ying Shao 應劭 of the second century A.D., which notes that each commandery administration appointed Investigators (督郵 tu-yu) to supervise the prefectures of the commandery, and in each commandery there were five such officers, controlling precincts north, south, east, west and one in the centre. In the capital commandery of Ho-nan, however, the officer of the central precinct was not called tu-yu, but yüan 掾. Thus Min Kung held a police appointment under the Intendant of Ho-nan.

34. Tung Cho was actually no close relation of the Empress-dowager née Tung. His family came from Lung-hsi and the Empress-dowager came from Ho-chien; the surname was probably the only thing they had in common.
35. On the Great Seal of State, compare note 32 above.
36. Ting Yüan had been Inspector of Ping Province, had favoured Lü Pu, and had given him rank under his command. The text here has the phrase pu-ch'ü 部曲, implying that Lü Pu owed some personal loyalty to Ting Yüan as well as his military allegiance.
37. Wang Fu 王甫 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 智 held a banquet in his honour. Yung treated him very rudely, and it was for this reason that Chih reported against him (HHS 50B, p.18a). Yung's first exile was in 175, his amnesty and the beginning of his second exile, in the south, were in 176.
38. At this period, the office of Libationer was not usually awarded without further definition. Ts'ai Yung was probably appointed Erudit Libationer (博士祭酒 po-shih chi-chiu), a senior post at the Imperial University. (HHS treatise 25, p.2a).
39. As TCTC commentary remarks, Tung Cho hopes to remove the Han and set himself up instead.
40. The Shang-tung Gate was the northernmost gate on the east wall of Lo-yang city. Up to this time, Yüan Shao had continued in the post of Colonel Director of the Retainers which he had held from Ho Chin.
41. T'ien Yen-nien 田延年 supported Huo Kuang when it was first suggested that Liu Ho be deposed (Dubs II, p.182, and see note 11 to CP5 above).

42. T'ai-chia 太甲 was the grandson of King T'ang of Shang and was banished by Yi Yin to reform him. Ch'ang-yi 昌邑 was the royal fief of Liu Ho, who was deposed by Huo Kuang in 73 B.C., and replaced by Emperor Hsüan (see also note 11 to CP5 above).
43. The Lady of the Yung-lo Palace refers to the Empress-dowager née Tung. 婦 fu is the term for a man's wife; 姑 ku is a term for his mother. By rites the wife should serve her mother-in-law, and her wishes would be subordinated to her mother-in-law's. The persecution of the Empress-dowager née Tung by the Empress-dowager née Ho was utterly unfilial.
44. For the death of an empress the court was expected to wear plain linen instead of silk during the time of mourning, but on this occasion they made no attempt to do so. At the burial ceremony the members of the court simply wore white, they did not put on coarse and rough clothes, nor disarray themselves to show their grief.
45. In the first years of Later Han, the title of Commander-in-Chief had been held by the highest of the three dukes, but in 51 A.D. the title Grand Commandant had taken its place. The appointment of Liu Yü appears to have been intended as an honour to keep him quiet and as a means to clear the Grand Commandant's office for Tung Cho. Although Liu Yü had been appointed Grand Commandant in the fourth month (TCTC p.1893), he held the office without coming to the capital.
46. The Battle-axe and the Ceremonial Axe (斧鉞 fu-yüeh) and the Gentlemen As Rapid As a Tiger (虎賁 hu-pen) are two of the Nine Distinctions (九錫 chiu hsi). Dubs III, pp.208-211, translating Han shu 99A, describes the grant of the Distinctions to Wang Mang in 5 A.D. Among the awards at that time were a vermilion axe of authority (yüeh) to be held on the left and a metal battle-axe (戚 ch'i) to be held on the right (p.209), together with three

hundred men of the Gentlemen As Rapid As a Tiger
(hu-pen) to guard the gates of his office and
residence. In TCTC p.2119 below, there is an extract
from an edict granting the Nine Distinctions to Ts'ao
Ts'ao in 213; the original source is SKWei 1, p.27a.
There the battle-axe is called 鉞fu.

In the introduction to Tjan Tjoe Som's translation of
the Po hu t'ung 白虎通, volume I, pp.24-29 and 37-39, he
discusses the various versions and explanations of the Nine
Distinctions with reference to the edict granted to Ts'ao
Ts'ao in 213 and to the commentary of Sung Chung 宋衷
of SKWei. For further details and discussion, see Dubs III,
p.211, note 23.3 and Tjan Tjoe Som I, loc.cit. In general
terms, it may be noted that the award of the axes conferred
the right to execute without reference back to the throne
(cf. note 20 to CP2), and Gentlemen As Rapid As a Tiger was
the title of a corps of the imperial guards.

As for the Seal and Credentials of Authority (節傳
chieh-ch'uan), chieh is equivalent to tallies and credentials,
while ch'uan originally meant a password. The two characters
here have no particular significance, but indicate that Tung
Cho had taken special powers normally reserved to the emperor
along.

47. Ssu 思 "Thoughtful" was the posthumous title awarded to the
Empress-dowager née Ho.
48. Chancellor of State was a title held by Hsiao Ho 蕭何 under
Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Former Han. The name of the office
was later changed to Lieutenant-Chancellor. The Later Han
dynasty did away with the office of Lieutenant-Chancellor and
had the three Dukes, the Grand Commandant, the Minister Over the
Masses and the Minister of Works, as the joint chiefs of the
administration. Tung Cho's appointment changed the previous
practice of the dynasty and proclaimed his extraordinary powers.

49. On Ch'en Shih 陳寔, see TCTC p.1887. Han Shao 韓韶 was another famous scholar who never rose to high office. Both men have biographies in HHS 52, and they were two of the "Four Masters of Ying-ch'uan" 潁川四君 (see also notes 2 and 22 to ChP3, concerning Hsün Shu 荀淑 and Chung Hao 鍾皓).
50. Tung Cho claimed that his physiognomy foretold he was worthy of the throne.
51. East of the mountains (山東 shan-tung): the mountains referred to are the Taihang Shan 太行山, and "east of the mountains" is a general term for the Yellow River plain and the eastern parts of the empire. The same area is also known as the "east of the passes" (關東 kuan-tung), being east of the passes which protected the imperial city of Lo-yang. (Note that this area is far larger than the present province of Shantung, which takes its name from the massif about Mount Tai 泰山).

For the next few years, "east of the mountains" refers to the armies gathered in the great plain of the Yellow River to attack Tung Cho.

52. Attendant Officials were subordinate officers of a provincial administration, and it was established practice that some should be sent out to supervise the commanderies and kingdoms (HHS treatise 27, p.8b). Han Fu is using these officers to keep Yüan Shao in check.

Notes to Ch'u-p'ing 1:

(1908-17)

1. Since Tung Cho controlled the Emperor, Yüan Shao and his allies had no imperial authority to take these titles. They claimed that they did no only for the duration of the campaign.

It may be noted here that from this point onwards the whole system of appointments to office gets quite out of hand, and new titles are invented or adapted whenever some warlord finds them appropriate. In almost every case, however, the appointments are

dignified by the use of the term piao 表 "recommended to the throne". In fact, the expression was meaningless, since the Emperor could do nothing about recommendations made by men who were technically in rebellion. Nevertheless, the warlords evidently felt that such a harmless formality gave a tint of legality to their naked power.

2. Although neither TCTC nor HHS annals indicate when the new reign-title of Ch'u-p'ing was proclaimed, it seems very likely that the announcement took place at the same time this amnesty was issued.
3. Although the beginning of the second month is not mentioned in TCTC until the end of p.1910, and although this date is listed in HHS annals under the first month, the kuei-yu day was actually the third day of the second month.
4. The Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace was the supervisor of the household of a king (HHS treatise 28, p.12a).
5. The land within the passes (關中 kuan-chung) refers specifically to the territory about the Former Han capital of Ch'ang-an in modern Shensi province. However, in the same way as the complementary expression kuan-tung (east of the passes), it can in some contexts also be used as a description of the territory about both capital cities, Lo-yang as well as Ch'ang-an (cf. note 51 to CP6). In this discussion, Tung Cho is using the term in its more restricted sense.
6. Shih-pao shih ch'an 石包室識 : a work of fortune-telling, not one of the apochryphal books (緯 wei) to the Confucian canon of the New Text scholars, but evidently very popular at the end of Han. The work appears in none of the bibliographies of the standard histories and is no longer extant today.

7. P'an-keng 盤庚, traditional dates of reign 1401-1373 B.C., changed the title of his dynasty from Shang 商 to Yin 殷. He transferred the capital of the kingdom from Keng 耿 to Po 亳, and with the change of capital and the change of name the dynasty gained a new lease of life.

Shu ching, Part IV, Book VII, tells of the people's opposition to the move of the capital, and records P'an-keng's rebuke to them (Legge III, pp.220 ff). The point that Yang Piao makes here is that the common people object to such unsettling changes even when there is good reason for them. They would object very strongly to an unnecessary move.

8. Wu-ting 武丁 was a king of the Shang/Yin dynasty. Traditionally, his dates of reign are given as 1324-1265 B.C. In the Yüeh-ming 說命 chapter of Shu ching (Part IV, Book VIII) it is told how Wu-ting (also named Kao-tsung 高宗) appointed his minister Fu Yüeh 傅說 and commanded him to give advice to make him act correctly (Legge III, pp.259 ff).

Hu San-hsing, in his commentary to TCTC, suggests that Wu-ting should read Wu-kung 武公, being a reference to Duke Wu of Wei 衛 (reigned 812-757 B.C.) who was humble enough to accept criticism even though he was ninety-five years old and well experienced in government (Kuo yü 17, p.11b). Hu San-hsing's main argument is that a loyal minister such as Ho Hsün could hardly have compared the usurper Tung Cho to the great King Wu-ting of Shang. However, the parallel passage in HHS 48, p.13b also refers to Wu-ting, and it is difficult to support a change in the text on such a delicate interpretation of Ho Hsün's politics.

9. This was the second month of spring, a time for sacrifice to the God of the Soil (see Po hu t'ung, translated by Tjan Tjoe Som, II, p.380). It appears that the soldiers interrupted the ceremony.
10. The headquarters of the Inspector of Ching Province were at Han-shou 漢壽 in Wu-ling commandery, now northeast of Changteh in Hunan.

11. Magistrate (fu-chün) was a term of address for the Grand Administrator of a commandery.
12. The capital of Nan-yang commandery was at Wan 宛, now Nanyang 南陽 in Honan.
13. 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. However, in the commentary to HHS treatise 28, pp.1b-2a, there is an extract from the Hsien-ti ch'i-chü-chu 獻帝起居注, which describes the alterations in the province proclaimed by Ts'ao Ts'ao in 213 A.D. This list says that before 213 Ching Province had eight commanderies: the seven mentioned above and also Chang-ling 章陵. Chang-ling is listed in HHS treatise 22 as a prefecture in Nan-yang, but it appears that at some time towards the end of Later Han a new commandery was set up which was based on that prefecture. The ancient site of the prefectural city is now east of Tsaoyang 棗陽 in Hupeh.
14. It may be remembered that these passes about Lo-yang were positions of some military strength, and they had been newly fortified at the time of the Yellow Turbans rebellion (TCTC p.1866).
15. Three Adjuncts (三輔 san-fu, also translated as Three Capital Districts): the territory about the Former Han capital of Ch'ang-an, being the three commanderies of Ching-chao, Yu-fu-feng and Tso-p'ing-yi.
16. Ts'ao Ts'ao's plan is to keep up the pressure on Tung Cho without committing the allied armies to any major assault. After a time, Tung Cho's government, deprived of the initiative, will become overstrained and collapse.
17. Obviously, although Chang Chüeh's rebellion had been crushed and the leaders killed, there were still several groups of bandits who took the badge and the name of Yellow Turbans. This is a tribute

to the influence of Chang Chüeh's party, but it is hard to tell how much of his religious and philosophical teaching was remembered or respected by these later disciples.

18. Shang-ku commandery was on the frontier of the empire with the northern barbarians. Yü-yang commandery had its chief prefecture at Yü-yang, now southwest of Miyun 密雲 in Hopeh. The two prefectures of Yü-yang and Ch'üan-chou (now southeast of Wutsing 武清 in Hopeh) both produced iron (HHS treatise 23B, pp.17a f), and there was a salt office in Ch'üan-chou under Former Han (Han shu 28B, p.8a).
19. The five-shu 五銖 cash was the traditional currency of Han. It was first circulated in 118 B.C. under Emperor Wu 武, and was restored after Wang Mang 王莽 by Emperor Kuang-wu 光武 in 40 A.D. (For discussion and description, see Dubs II, pp.66-67, Dubs III, pp.482 ff, and Swann pp.377-384).
20. The Tung-jen 銅人 were bronze human figures which had first been made under the Ch'in dynasty. The Chung-chu 鍾虞 were bronze images of mythical creatures. The Fei-lien 飛廉 were also images of mythical animals, described as having a deer's body, a snake's tail and a panther's skin; they were cast at Ch'ang-an in 109 B.C., when the Fei-lien Lodge was built for Emperor Wu 武 (Dubs II, p.90). The Tung-ma 銅馬 were bronze horses.
21. TCTC commentary identifies the Ho-yang Ford with the Meng Ford.
22. The character tsung 宗 "Exemplar" is identified by the Po hu t'ung with tsun 尊 "to honour" (Tjan Tjoe Som II, p.574). Ts'ai Yung is suggesting that Emperors Ho, An, Shun and Huan, who had been awarded temple-names 廟號 miao-hao, did not in fact deserve them, that they should not be ranked with the great rulers of the past, and that they should be known simply by their posthumous titles. Since this was the mood of the court, Emperor Ling was presumably never even considered for a temple-name. For details of the temple-names of

these rulers, see the record of the discussion and the commentary in HHS annals 9, p.2b. (Besides these temple-names, the posthumous titles awarded to the mothers of Emperors Ho 和, An 安 and Shun 順 were also removed.)

23. Kao-chü-li here refers to a barbarian kingdom about the north of modern Korea. The capital of Hsüan-t'u 玄扈 commandery was also called Kao-chü-li, but this prefecture took its name from the barbarian state close by.
24. TCTC here has the character cheng 正 which means "[to plan] to correct the situation". The two Sung editions, however, have the character wang 王, and this reading is supported by SKWei 8, p.13a, so I have followed it here.
25. It appears from this passage that there were now two commanderies called Liao-hsi: the commandery under the Han dynasty, on the western shore of the Gulf of Liaotung; and the commandery set up by Kung-sun Tu in his independent state, close to the Liaotung Peninsula, but probably separated from the Liao-hsi of Han by the barbarian territories of the dependent state of Liao-tung (on which, see note 15 to CP5).
26. Tung-lai commandery, under Ch'ing Province of Later Han, was on the northern coast of the Shantung Peninsula.
27. The sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, the ploughing of the imperial field, the phoenix chariot and the Cavalry of the Yak-tail Banner and the Feathered Forest were all imperial prerogative.

For a discussion of the ploughing of the sacred field as a ceremony to open to agricultural season and ensure good harvests, see Dubs I, pp.281-283.

The phoenix (鸞 luan) was a fabulous bird, and the phoenix chariot was a princely carriage with bells hanging from it. When the chariot moved the bells were believed to give the same sound as the bird.

The Feathered Forest Cavalry (羽林 yü-lin) were part of the imperial body-guard of Han. The men of the Yak-tail Banner (旄頭 mao-t'ou) had been the title of a group of imperial guards under Ch'in, and according to HHS annals 1B, the right to such guards was granted to the King of Tung-hai in 52 A.D. Commentary to that passage quotes the Han kuan yi 漢官儀 by Ying Shao 應劭 of the second century A.D., saying that these men were a troop of soldiers distinguished by their long and unkempt hair who rode at the front of the royal carriage.

By these actions and appointments Kung-sun Tu set himself in defiance of the central government, although by taking up the worship of the two great ancestors of Han he evidently planned to make his government appear a legitimate successor to that dynasty.

Notes to Ch'u-p'ing 2:

(1918-30)

1. On the fate of Liu Ho, see note 11 to CP5.
2. The Marquis of Chiang 絳侯 refers to Chou Po 周勃 (biographies in Shih chi 57 and Han shu 40). In 180 B.C., Chou Po and Kuan Ying 灌嬰 (biographies in Shih chi 95 and Han shu 41), who had been one of the chief generals of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖, were two leaders in the conspiracy which destroyed the Lü 呂 clan and restored the Han under Emperor Wen 文. King of Tai 代王 was the title held by Emperor Wen before his accession. 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, but the success of Chou Po's coup re-established the power of the Han dynasty. It was this precedent that Han Fu and Yüan Shao proposed to follow against the "illegitimate" Emperor Hsien. (On the conspiracy against the Lü clan, see Dubs I pp.172-173.)
3. Tzu-hsü 子胥: the style of Wu Yün 伍員. Wu Yün was a subject of the Ch'u 楚 state of the Ch'un-ch'iu period, but his father and brother were put to death by King P'ing 平 (528-515) and he himself

fled to Wu 吳. He came to high office in that state, and he arranged for a war against Ch'u. King P'ing had died, but the Wu forces captured the Ch'u capital, and Wu Yün had the body of his enemy dug up and publicly flogged.

4. King Ch'eng of the Chou dynasty 周成王, traditional dates of reign 1115-1078 B.C., was the son of the first king of the Chou dynasty, King Wu 武. He succeeded to his father while still a child, and the Duke of Chou 周公, his uncle, acted as regent.
5. The title Grand Master had been used under Wang Mang, but it was not continued by the Later Han dynasty. However, in the commentary to the office of Grand Tutor, in HHS treatise 24, p.2a, there is mention of Tung Cho's appointment as Grand Master, ranking higher than the Grand Tutor or the three dukes. The change was made rather for an increase in prestige than for administrative purposes.
6. Commentary to HHS 62, p.7a, says that the settlement of Yang-jen lay to the west of Liang.
7. The office of Chief Controller was at this time generally a fairly low-ranking post, responsible for the internal discipline and administration of an army in the field.
8. Ta-ku 大谷 is another name for the T'ai-ku Pass, south of Lo-yang.
9. The t'ai-lao 太牢 sacrifice (or suavetaurilia) consisted of a bull, a ram and a pig. For a discussion in Po hu t'ung, see Tjan Tjoe Som II, p.380.
10. The Great Seal of State had been lost in 189 (TCTC p.1902 and note 32 to CP6).
11. For an account of this campaign, see TCTC pp.1881 f. The basis of Tung Cho's and Sun Chien's strategy was that the enemy

should be tied down by a large and unknown force kept in reserve while the smaller striking force could then gain freedom to manoeuvre unopposed. (According to SKWu 1, p.2a, Sun Chien was actually a Major with a Separate Command at the time of the Liang Province expeditions, not an Associate Major.)

12. According to tradition, the Grand Duke Wang (太公望 T'ai-kung Wang), also known as Wang from Lü (呂望) or Grand Duke Ch'iang (姜 Ch'iang being the surname of his clan), was chief minister to Kings Wen and Wu or Chou, and aided them at the time of the conquest of Shang Yin. He was also honoured with the title Great Father (尚父 shang-fu).
13. The Chang (or Cho-chang 濁漳) River runs from the Taihang Shan 太行山 east to join the Yellow River, and one of its upper courses flows from the vicinity of Changtze 長子 in Shansi. In Han times, the chief prefecture of Shang-tang commandery, Chang-tzu, lay west of the modern town, and the city of Yeh, where Han Fu had his headquarters, was on the lower reaches of the river.
14. The text here reads Yen and Tai 燕代, which were northern states during the Chou dynasty; here they indicate the general area of northeast China.
15. T'ai Shan 泰山 in Shantung is the great sacred mountain of China.
16. TCTC commentary notes that the Ch'ing River 清水 rises in Ho-nei but does not pass Ch'ao-ko. The river that is intended is the Ch'i 淇, and Ch'ao-ko stood at the junction of the Ch'i with the Yellow River; now northeast of Chihhsien in Honan.
17. As TCTC commentary points out, an Attendant Over the Officers of the Capital was not normally appointed in a provincial government, but was used only under the Colonel Director of the Retainers in Ssu-li (HHS treatise 27, p.8b). Perhaps Yüan Shao was also reclaiming his former authority as Colonel Director of the Retainers, which he had held until he fled Tung Cho in 189.

18. TCTC commentary describes the stylus (書刀 shu-tao) as a means of writing. Although paper was in use at this time, some writing was still done by engraving on a wooden board.
19. The Pan River 般河 (also written 磐) was a branch of the old course of the Yellow River. Shui-ching chu 5, p.24a, says that the Yellow River flowed northeast and passed the old city of Hsi-p'ing-ch'ang 西平昌 to the north. There it divided, and one branch flowed into the territory of Pan 般 prefecture: this was the Pan River. The site of Hsi-p'ing-ch'ang is now northwest of Tehping 德平 in Shantung; Pan prefecture is now northeast of Tehping. Shui-ching chu notes that this Pan River was the place where Kung-sun Tsan had defeated the Yellow Turbans.
20. Yüan Shao had been appointed Grand Administrator of Po-hai by Tung Cho just before he made his rebellion at the end of Chung-p'ing 6 (TCTC p.1907). Although he had taken to himself the titles of General of Chariots and Cavalry and later of Governor of Chi Province, he had still kept the Po-hai insignia with him. Now he gave it to Kung-sun Fan, in an unsuccessful attempt either to make peace or to cause division in the Kung-sun family.
21. Liu Pei claimed to be descended from Liu Chen 貞, Marquis of Lu-ch'eng t'ing 陸城亭, who was a son of Liu Shang 勝. Shang was the ninth son of Emperor Ching 靖 of 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. (For further details of Liu Pei's family, see SKShu 2,p.1a.)
22. By Chinese measure, there were 10 ts'un 寸 inches to one ch'ih 尺 foot, and Swann, p.362, gives the value of a Han foot as 9.094 English inches. Liu Pei was therefore about five feet eight inches tall. In descriptions of this kind, some historians will

often emphasise or invent curious physical appearance for the future rulers of an empire, and these are usually rather colourful exaggerations than accurate pieces of reporting.

23. Filially Pious and Incorrupt was the formal title of a candidate recommended for office by the head of his commandery. Huan Chieh had been recommended by Sun Chien while Chien was Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha before 190. Although he was now serving Liu Piao, he was still under obligation to Chien, and it was very suitable that he should negotiate the recovery of Chien's body.
24. The ch'eng-yü 乘輿 and the chü-chü 車具 were imperial carriages whose use was reserved to the imperial court.
25. Tzu-hsia 子夏 was the style of Pu Shang 卜商, disciple of Confucius. In the Li chi 禮記, Chapter II, Part I, Article I, as translated by Couvreur, volume I, p.138, it is told how Tzu-hsia's son died, and he wept so much that he himself lost his eyesight. Another of Confucius' disciples, Tseng Ts'an 曾參, went to see him to commiserate; however, when Tzu-hsia exclaimed that he had done nothing to deserve such misfortune, Tseng Ts'an became angry and reproached him, saying: "Chang, comment (pouves-vous dire que) vous n'avez commis aucune faute? Vous et moi nousavons reçu les leçons du Maître (Confucius) dans le pays compris entre la Chou et la Seu (dans la principauté de Lou). Vous vous êtes retiré et vous avez veilli (au tournant de la) partie occidentale du Fleuve-Jaune. Vous avez laissé ignorer aux habitants de ce pays si la doctrine que vous enseignez était de vous ou de votre maître, (vous n'avez pas rendu gloire à votre maître)." (See also Legge, Li chi, p. 135.) It is to this passage that Liu Piao's report refers: Liu Yen was taking the attributes and the prestige of the Emperor and was confusing the people of his territory about who was running the government and to whom they should owe allegiance.

26. In the tradition of China, a merchant was of the lowest class, and a man who became a merchant would disqualify himself as too base for office. Wang Lieh was prepared to submit to this indignity rather than serve Kung-sun Tu.

Notes to Ch'u-p'ing 3:

(1931-42)

1. Both TCTC and HHS annals give this day as ting-ch'ou, but there was no ting-ch'ou day in the first month of this year. When the character hsin 辛 is defaced in an old manuscript, it is sometimes misread as ting 丁, and the day hsin-ch'ou in this month was 12 February (cf. note 6 below).
2. Hsün Shu 荀淑, biography in HHS 52, a great scholar of Later Han, was known as one of the Four Masters of Ying-ch'uan (cf. note 49 to CP6 and note 22 below).
3. Tzu-fang 子房 was the style of Chang Liang 張良 (died 187 B.C.), a great minister of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 at the beginning of Former Han. His biographies are in Shih chi 55 and Han shu 40.
4. The three terraces 三臺 were the offices of the Masters of Writing, the office of Insignia and Credentials and the censorate under the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk. The officials were supposed to report direct to the Emperor and should have remained within the palace.
5. From the fact that Shih-sun Jui later composed an imperial order for Tung Cho's assassination, it seems that he was Supervisor of the Masters of Writing.
6. 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 (cf. note 1 above).
7. 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 東觀漢記 ("The Han Record

of the Eastern Observatory", so called from the Tung-kuan library of the Southern Palace at Lo-yang). Ts'ai Yung on his own had composed several treatises for the history. (See Bielenstein I, p.11).

8. cf. Tao te ching 46: 天下無道，戎馬生郊：

When the empire has lost the Way, warhorses are reared in the suburbs.

9. Hegemon (霸 pa) describes a vassal lord who gains supremacy among his fellows and uses his power to support the rightful ruler.

Tradition generally refers to five hegemonies, but there is more than one list. According to the Po hu t'ung, translated by Tjan Tjoe Som I, p. 236f, the so-called Five Hegemonies of the Three Dynasties were K'un-wu 昆吾, hegemon under the legendary Hsia dynasty, Ta-p'eng 大彭 and Shih-wei 豳 of Shang/Yin, and Dukes Huan of Ch'i 齊桓公 and Wen of Chin 晉文公 under the Chou. In further discussion, however, Po hu t'ung gives an alternative set of names, the Five Hegemonies of the Ch'un-ch'iu Period, being Duke Huan of Ch'i (who reigned 685-642 B.C.), Duke Wen of Chin (635-628), Duke Mu of Ch'in 秦穆公 (659-621), King Chuang of Ch'u 楚莊王 (613-591) and King Ho-lü of Wu 吳王闔閭 (514-496).

In later writings, it appears to be the Five Hegemonies of the Ch'un-ch'iu Period that are most commonly referred to, particularly Dukes Huan of Ch'i and Wen of Chin, although scholars sometimes differ over the identity of the other three. For example, Po hu t'ung notes that there are some who substitute Duke Hsiang of Sung 宋襄公 for King Ho-lü of Wu; the book of the philosopher Hsün-tzu (in the Wang-pa 王霸^x section, chapter 7, p.4a) adds King Kou-chien of Yüeh 越王句踐 (496-465) in place of Duke Mu of Ch'in; and the commentator Yen Shih-ku, in a note to Han shu 14, p.1b, has Huan of Ch'i, Wen of Chin, Mu of Ch'in, Hsiang of Sung and King Fu-ch'ai of Wu 吳王夫差 (496-473).

All these rulers were celebrated for their military success, save one, Duke Hsiang of Sung, whose chief claim to fame was a disastrous defeat at the hands of the army of Ch'u in 638 B.C. Though he several times had the foe at his mercy, he refused to take advantage of them, faced them on even ground, and succumbed to superior numbers (see, for example, Tso-chuan, twenty-second year of Duke Hsi, translated in Legge V, p.183 /1, and Shih chi 38, translated in Chavannes IV, p.239). His inclusion in the lists evidently reflects the concern of the Confucian school that might should also be morally right: though a hegemon was admired for his power, he was expected to show virtues in government only a little less than a consecrated king or emperor. Most theorists, however, leaving personal morality aside, were chiefly concerned with the realities of power (and see also Ssu-ma Kuang's opinion of Duke Huan of Ch'i in TCTC p.2116 below).

In the time of disorder at the end of Han, the comparison with the traditional history of Eastern Chou was very tempting, and few of the contending warlords failed to claim that they sought only to show their loyalty to the Emperor by defeating his enemies and bringing them back into obedience. Officially, they showed respect for the Han, and there was nothing in the theory to embarrass them in seeking their own aggrandisement.

10. Yün felt that since the army had only followed orders, they did not need to be pardoned, and a pardon would in fact imply that they had done something wrong. Such a suggestion would upset the whole structure of military discipline and Wang Yün hoped to keep the soldiers from questioning their orders on political grounds.
11. It is difficult to see why Wang Yün should have said this. Three years before, in Chung-p'ing 6, three reign-titles had been proclaimed and three amnesties granted, and it is

arguable that the destruction of Tung Cho could have been the occasion of another reign-title and another amnesty. Moreover, twice before in Han history there had been two amnesties in a year: once in 205 B.C., when the future Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖, then King of Han, had proclaimed amnesties in the first and sixth months (Dubs I, pp.74 and 81); and once in 87 B.C., when Emperor Wu 武 had proclaimed an amnesty in the second month, and then he died and Emperor Chao 昭 succeeded him and proclaimed an amnesty in the sixth month (Dubs II, pp.118 and 152). If Wang Yün had wanted to grant the amnesty, he could easily have found a precedent or an excuse.

It may be noted that HHS annals 9, p.3b, has record of an amnesty in the fifth month of this year, but in his k'ao-yi commentary to TCTC p.1936, Ssu-ma Kuang has pointed out this statement of Wang Yün, and observed that since there was an amnesty in the first month of this year, Yün would never have granted another in the fifth. In fact, a major reason for the rebellion of Li Chüeh and his allies was that Wang Yün refused to grant any amnesty at this time. (See also note 10 above).

12. According to the commentary of Hui Tung of the Ch'ing dynasty to HHS 62, p.10b, Yang Cheng-hsiu is another name of Yang Ting.
13. In this context, "east of the passes" refers to Li Chüeh and his group, who had been guarding the eastern approaches to Ch'ang-an and the land within the passes, not to the original alliance against Tung Cho (cf. note 51 to CP6).
14. During Han, the character 豸 sou commonly describes the region of Shu, in the west of the empire.
15. The Ch'ing-so Gate was an entrance to the imperial palace in Ch'ang-an, so called for the dark colours of its decoration.
16. The Hsüan-p'ing Gate was the north gate on the east wall of Ch'ang-an city.

17. Ssu-ma Kuang is quoting here from the Book of Changes, Yi ching 易經, Hexagram 15 Ch'ien 謙 Modesty, line three undivided, translated by Legge, p.90, as "...the superior man of (acknowledged) merit. He will maintain his success to the end, and have good fortune".

A related passage in the Hsi-tz'u 繫辭 appendix is translated by Legge, pp.362-363: 'He toils with success, but does not boast of it; he achieves merit, but takes no virtue to himself from it.... he who is so humble, carrying his respectfulness to the utmost, will be able to preserve himself in his position.'

Cf. also Wilhelm II, p.102 and Wilhelm I, p.330.

18. The mission of Ma Mi-ti and Chao Ch'i is similar to the embassies sent out by the Keng-shih 更始 Emperor in 23 A.D. to gain support for his government from wavering local officials. Bielenstein II, pp.35-40, has described the methods of these expeditions, and Ma Mi-ti and Chao Ch'i appear to have been given very much the same task and authority. The credentials (節 chieh, or "Staff of Authority") gave them special plenipotentiary powers and a theoretical legal authority to decide cases and order executions on their own initiative. However, it is obvious that the way such a mission was received depended very much on the personal quality of the emissary, and the different treatment of Ma Mi-ti and Chao Ch'i at the hands of Yüan Shu shows how little real strength the imperial messengers could gather to their support once they had left the immediate vicinity of the capital. (See TCTC p.1957.)

19. HHS annals and HHS 62 say that Chang Chi was made General Who Maintains the East in Peace, not General of the Agile Cavalry. TCTC here has followed SKWei 6, p.8a, but it seems more likely that the HHS versions are correct. Li Chüeh, as the leader of his party, should take the highest rank, and according to

HHS treatise 24, p.6b, the General of the Agile Cavalry took precedence over the General of Chariots and Cavalry.

20. From the rewards and honours granted to Liu Piao, it can be seen how eager the new regime was to gain even token acknowledgement.
21. Ch'ing-chou 青州 troops from the fact that these rebels had originally come from Ch'ing Province (TCTC p.1935 above).
22. Chung Hao 鍾皓, biography in HHS 52, was a famous scholar of Later Han, one of the Four Masters of Ying-ch'uan (see note 2 above and note 49 to CP6).
23. This suggested appointment of Chu Chiün as Grand Master follows Tung Cho's revival of the title in 191 (TCTC p.1919). The Grand Master ranked higher than the Grand Tutor and would be, in theory, the chief adviser to the Emperor.

Notes to Ch'u-p'ing 4:

(1942-48)

1. Shou-ch'un was the headquarters of Ch'en Yü as Inspector of Yang Province.
2. The instrument referred to here is the cheng 箏 zither of twelve strings, a specialty of the northwestern part of China from which Lü Pu came.
3. The punctuation of this edition of TCTC suggests that the name of Sung's son was Te-ch'iu, but the Wei-chin shih-yü 魏晉世語 by Kuo Sung 郭頌 of the Chin dynasty, quoted in SKWei 1, p.9a PC, makes it clear that the name was Te, and the character ch'iu belongs to the next sentence.
4. Ch'ü-lu prefecture was in Hsia-p'i commandery. The punctuation of TCTC here indicates only the character lu as a place-name; this is wrong.
5. T'ien-shih 天市 (The Heavenly Market) can refer to three Chinese constellations; Fang-hsiu 房宿, being the stars $\beta \delta \pi \rho$ of western Scorpio; Wei-hsiu 危宿, being the stars α of Aquarius

and ϵ and θ of Pegasus; and Ts'an-hsiu 參宿, being the major stars of Orion (Schlegel 55, 711 and 647).

This comet is described in HHS treatise 12, p.5b, which says that it first appeared between Liang-chüeh 兩角, moving northeast to disappear in the T'ien-shih. These "Two Horns" are the constellation Chüeh-hsiu, being the two stars α and ξ of western Virgo (Schlegel 165). Aquarius and Pegasus are roughly northeast of Virgo, so T'ien-shih here refers to the Wei-hsiu.

The prognostication for this comet in HHS treatise says that it shows the Emperor will shift his capital. At this time the Emperor was in Ch'ang-an, but 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.

6. Chi was the chief prefecture of Kuang-yang commandery, and the headquarters of the Governor of Yu Province. Kung-sun Tsan evidently built a fortified post actually within the walls of the city.

It may be remembered that military authority in Yu Province was divided between Liu Yü and Kung-sun Tsan. As Governor, Liu Yü had considerable civil powers and also the right to raise troops in time of rebellion or other disturbance. Kung-sun Tsan, however, had been in charge of the regular military forces stationed in Yu Province since 189 (TCTC p.1893) and he had been promoted to General after his defeat of the Yellow Turbans in 191 (TCTC p.1925 and HHS 63, p.5b).

7. TCTC commentary identifies the western pass as the Chü-yung Pass 居庸關, northwest of Peking on the road from Changping towards Yenking 延慶. The southern end of the pass is known as Nankow 南口.

TCTC commentary identifies the northern mountains with Yin Shan 陰山 range of Inner Mongolia.

Shuo-fang commandery was in the region of the Ordos, about the far northern loop of the Yellow River.

8. Yen 燕 and Chao 趙 here refers to the north of the empire. The expression comes from the names of two feudal states which occupies the northern part of China during the late Chou.
9. Hsü-wu prefecture in Yu-pei-p'ing is now north of Yutien in Hopeh. The hills rise from the coastal plain east of Peking towards the line of the Great Wall.

Notes to Hsing-p'ing 1:

(1949-59)

1. The phrase used here, literally "to put on a black robe" (加元服 chia yüan-fu) refers to the ceremony of coming of age, see Yi li 儀禮, the Confucian classic of etiquette and ceremonial, Chapter 1, "On the Capping of a Gentleman". For a reconstruction of the ceremony as it was performed for the emperors of Later Han, see HHS treatise 4, p.4b.

According to the Po hu t'ung, translated by Tjan 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." Emperor Hsien, however, was at this time aged only fourteen sui, and such youthful coming of age had been common for the emperors of Later Han: Emperor Ho had been capped at thirteen, Emperor An at sixteen, Emperor Shun at fifteen, Emperor Huan at seventeen and Emperor Ling at fifteen. So the arrangements for the emperors did not follow the theories of the Po hu t'ung.

2. Ch'ang-ch'iu 長秋 was the title of the palace of the empress and her attendants (HHS treatise 27, pp.2a f and see also note 12 to KH4). In other words, the Emperor had now come of age and it was time for him to get married.
3. TCTC commentary here quotes from the Hsiao ching 孝經 (The Classic of Filial Piety), translated by Legge in Texts of Confucianism, Part I, pp.487-488: "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 auspicious site of the tomb. In the case of the Lady Wang, however, through the enmity of the late Empress née Ho and by subsequent neglect, the final burial had been inordinately delayed. Now, at the urging of Emperor Hsien, the Lady Wang was formally interred and was given the posthumous title of Huai 懷 "Affectionate".

4. Commentary to HHS 46, p.12b, says that the Ch'ang-p'ing Observatory was fifteen li west of Ch'ang-an.
5. The fighting between Li Chüeh's party and Han Sui and Ma T'eng is described in HHS annals for the third month of this year, and also in HHS 46 (the biography of Ch'ung Shao), HHS 62 and SKWei 6 (the biographies of Tung Cho and his successors). None of these texts, however, give details of particular days.

In the Hou Han chi 後漢書 of Yüan Hung 袁宏 of the fourth century, ch.27, p.14a, the two days jen-shen and keng-shen are given, in the same order as this TCTC passage. Both were in the third month, but keng-shen actually came before jen-shen, and it seems probable that Hou Han chi has reversed the order of the two. This would mean that Ma T'eng came to the Ch'ang-p'ing Observatory on the day keng-shen (21 Apr.), and the edict of pardon which ended the skirmishing was issued on the day jen-shen (3 May).

6. yu-hsia 游俠 "knight-errant" is a general term for free-lance fighters; as in the tradition of the west, the knight-errant claimed to follow a code of honour. 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". Although an impartial observer would often have found it difficult to tell the difference between

a knight-errant and a romantic thug, the ideal and the legend have left their mark on Chinese history and literature, just as they have in Europe. See, in particular, the recent work by James J.Y. Liu.

7. Commissioner (shih-chün) was a term of address for the ruler of a province, Inspector or Governor.
8. T'ien Tan 田單 was an officer of the Ch'i 齊 state in the third century B.C. His country was invaded by the armies of Yen 燕, and T'ien Tan was in the defence of Chi-mo 即墨, one of the few Ch'i cities which had not been captured. He defeated the invaders and so led to the recovery of seventy cities of Ch'i.
9. This comment by the fifth century historians Hsü Chung 徐眾 is taken from his San-kuo p'ing 三國評 quoted in the commentary to SKWei 14, p.2b.
10. TCTC commentary here quotes 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.'"
11. This affair is described by TCTC p.2084, in the chronicle for Chien-an 13, 208 A.D.
12. TCTC p.1940 has already said that Kuo Ssu and Fan Ch'ou were appointed General of the Rear and General of the Right in Ch'u-p'ing 3, in 192. For this extra promotion, the present text follows the Hou Han chi of Yüan Hung, ch.27, pp.14b-15a, but the Hou Han chi also records the earlier change in Ch'u-p'ing 3. Kuo Ssu and Fan Ch'ou are not described anywhere else as General Who Manifests Firmness and General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire, so the record is probably mistaken.

The important change that took place in this fifth month of Hsing-p'ing 1 was not a change of title but a change of function, for

this appears to be the first time that Li Chüeh and his allies had taken full powers to rival the chiefs of the civil administration by "opening offices like the three dukes"

(開府如三公 k'ai fu ju san-kung).

13. The headquarters of the Inspector of Liang Province had been at Lung隴 prefecture in Han-yang commandery (HHS treatise 23A, p.30b), but from the Chung-p'ing period on the headquarters was shifted to Chi冀, the capital of Han-yang (HHS treatise 23A, p.30a). Lung was north of Tsingshui清水 in Kansu and Chi was south of Kanku甘谷 in Kansu. Both sites are in the Wei River valley, south and east of the upper reaches of the Yellow River.
14. Both TCTC and the parallel passage in HHS annals 9, p.5a, refer to the separation of four commanderies west of the Yellow River to form Yung Province, but there is disagreement as to which these commanderies were. Commentary to HHS annals says that the commanderies were Chin-ch'eng, Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang and Chang-yeh, but TCTC commentary says that the headquarters of the new province was in Wu-wei.

On this point, TCTC commentary appears to be following a story of uncertain authenticity preserved in the Tien lüeh 典略 of Yü Huan 魚豢 of the third century, quoted in the commentary to the biography of Han-tan Shang in SKWei 18, p.12b. From the map, however, five commanderies, including Wu-wei, form a logical unit of administration, and the concept of five commanderies is supported by Chin shu 14, p.17a: "The Han set up Chang-yeh, Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang and Wu-wei commanderies. Later they also set up Chin-ch'eng, and they called these the 'five commanderies west of the River' (河西五郡 Ho-hsi wu-chün)". TCTC commentary's identification of the capital cannot be certain, but it is clear that by the end of Later Han the "four commanderies west of the River" were actually five.

The administrative geography of the northwest at the end of Later Han is quite confused: in 194 the commanderies west of the

Yellow River were separated from Liang Province and grouped as Yung Province; in 213, Ts'ao Ts'ao made a new organisation and combined Yung Province, Liang Province and part of Ssu-li to form an enlarged Yung Province; in 220, Ts'ao P'i again divided off the five commanderies west of the Yellow River, this time calling them Liang Province and settling the Inspector's headquarters at Ku-tsang 姑臧, the chief prefecture of Wu-wei commandery (and now Wuwei 武威 in Kansu).

Thus the commanderies west of the Yellow River were grouped in a separated province between 194 and 213 and again after 220; the first time the province was called Yung, and the second time it was called Liang. The fact that the headquarters of the province was in Wu-wei after 220 is further evidence, though still inconclusive, to support TCTC commentary's statement concerning 194.

15. Both HHS annals and HHS treatise 18, p.9a refer to this eclipse, and both give the day as yi-ssu, which was in fact the last day of the month.

In his commentary to the treatise, Ch'ien Ta-hsin of Ch'ing cites the general prognostication that an eclipse on an yi-ssu day tells of a military rising in the east.

16. 10 bushels (斗 tou) equalled 1 picul (石 shih). A bushel was therefore 12.1856 cu.in. See Yang Lien-sheng, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty", p.137, note 90.
17. 10 pints (升 sheng) equalled 1 bushel (斗 tou), which was 12,1856 cu.in. See Yang Lien-sheng, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty". p.137, note 90.

On p.157 of the same article, Yang Lien-sheng translates the parallel passage from Chin shu 26, p.2b. In that version the Emperor simply had the food given out in his presence and so prevented pilfering. TCTC has followed the story in HHS annals 9, while Chin shu agrees with the story in HHS 62, p.12a.

18. Han Hsin 韓信 and P'eng Yüeh 彭越 were supporters of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 at the beginning of Former Han. Han Hsin was a great general, but he was executed for treason after the dynasty was established. P'eng Yüeh aided the Liu clan and was made King of Liang, but he was suspected of treason and was executed with all his family. Both are examples of great servants of a ruler removed once their usefulness is past. Han Hsin's biographies are in Shih chi 92 and Han shu 34, P'eng Yüeh's in Shih chi 90 and Han shu 34.
19. K'ung Jung is saying that Yüan Shu is proud of himself and of his great family, and he will consider his own ambitions before the good of the empire; yet the great officials of his family are dead, and the fame of the past is no use for the present.
20. Ma Mi-ti and Chao Ch'i had been sent out from the capital in 192 as envoys from the imperial government, bearing credentials, to settle the lands east of the passes (TCTC p.1940).
21. Master of the Army is not listed by HHS treatise as a regular official post. Early in Later Han a certain Fang Wang 方望 held the title from the war-lord Wei Ao 隗囂, and TCTC p.1988 describes how Ts'ao Ts'ao in 196 summons Hsün Yu to be Master of Writing and also Master of the Army. At this time, "Master of the Army" may not have indicated a formal position but rather a general term for an adviser on policy.
22. Heng-chiang and Tang-ti-k'ou (also known as Tang-li-p'u 浦) are reaches and crossing-places of the Yangtse River southeast of Hohsien in Anhwei.

It appears that Liu Yao pretended friendship with Wu Ching and Sun Pen, but that he privately stirred up trouble between the men of his army and theirs. As a result, the other two led their troops out of Ch'ü-a, and set up camp on the other side of the Yangtse. Only then did Liu Yao show his true colours by sending officers to guard the two main crossings and keep them from coming back.

1. It is hard to see why Yüan Shao should have received this title at this time. TCTC here follows Shao's biography in HHS 64A, p.7b, but if an edict was issued, it must have been with the consent of Li Chüeh's party at Ch'ang-an, and one of those generals, Fan Ch'ou, already held the title General of the Right (TCTC p.1953). Moreover, although Li Chüeh and his friends had made some overtures to the leaders east of the passes, they were now in alliance with Yüan Shu (TCTC p.1943), and Shao and Shu were declared enemies.

The Hou Han shu 後漢書 of Yuan Shan-sung 袁山松 of the fourth century and the Hou Han chi 後漢紀 of his contemporary Yüan Hung 袁宏, ch.28, p.1a, give Yüan Shao's title as General of the Rear, and Yüan Hung adds that Shao was also enfeoffed as Marquis of K'ang-hsiang. This, however, is still more unlikely, for the title of General of the Rear was currently held by Kuo Ssu in Ch'ang-an, and HHS 64A, p.3b, makes it clear that the fief of K'ang-hsiang had been granted to Yüan Shao by Tung Cho early in 190 (TCTC p.1907).

The edict may have represented some overture of friendship from the generals at Ch'ang-an towards Yüan Shao; but it is also possible that Yüan Shao took the title for himself and only pretended to have been granted it by imperial decree. The records are too confused to judge any political significance from the action, and there is no way even to decide which general's title was involved.

2. Han Sui was from Chin-ch'eng commandery, and Fan Ch'ou was also from Liang Province. The exact prefectures they came from are unknown.
3. It seems that Kuo Ssu strained water through a cloth containing human faeces, and then drank the mixture to make himself vomit up the suspected poison.
4. This name should read Teng Yüan 鄧淵. TCTC here follows Yüan Hung's Hou Han chi 28, p.2b, which reads Liu Yüan 劉淵, but on p.1967 below, TCTC gives the surname as Teng. In HHS annals 9, p.6b the Superintendent of the Imperial Household is called Teng Ch'üan 鄧泉, but HHS treatise 13, p.8a has the name as Teng Yüan. The commentary

to HHS annals by Ch'ien Ta-hsin of Ch'ing explains that the reading was changed in the seventh century to avoid the tabu on the personal name of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of the T'ang dynasty and later editors had failed to restore the original text at this point.

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

6. The Northern Fort (北塢 Pei-wu) had been built by Li Chüeh as a strongpoint inside Ch'ang-an. As TCTC commentary points out, the Emperor did not leave the city until the seventh month (TCTC p.1965 below). So the Northern Fort was an earthworks inside the walls of the capital, similar to that constructed in Chi city by Kung-sun Tsan in 193 (cf. TCTC p.1946).

7. Shui-ching chu 19, p.24b, notes that Huang-po-ch'eng was the site of the Ch'ü-liang 曲梁 Palace of the Ch'in dynasty. It lay several li north of Ch'ang-an, and the site is now northeast of Sanyuan 三原 in Shensi.

8. This is based on the Yi ching 易經 hexagram 28 Ta Kuo 大過 Preponderance of the Great, line six divided, translated by Legge, p.117, as "The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with extraordinary (boldness) wading through a stream, till the water hides the crown of his head. There will be evil, but no ground for blame". See also Wilhelm I, p.121.

The characters here, 過, 涉, 滅, 頂, 凶, are used in the Yi ching to describe a man who continues his labours, for the highest motives, beyond the point of safety and prudence, and although he may fail he is given credit for his fine intentions. Chao Wen, however, has adapted the expression to describe stubborn stupidity bringing on disaster.

9. The text says literally that the sacrifices were made with the "three different kinds of beasts" (三牲 san-sheng), cattle, sheep and pigs.

10. Ying-hsiung chi 英雄記, by the contemporary historian Wang Ts'an 王粲, quoted in the commentary to SKWei 6, p.8a, says that Kuo Ssu had a second personal name of To 多.
11. TCTC commentary identifies Wei 衛 with P'u-yang 濮陽 prefecture in Tung commandery, and supports this by reference to Tu Yü 杜預 of the third century, quoted in commentary to HHS treatise 21, p.4a. However, since Wei was also the name of a prefecture in Tung commandery, there seems no particular reason why Hsün Yü should not have referred directly to that city, rather than making an allusion to P'u-yang.
12. Lü Pu was from Wu-yüan in Ping Province; Liu Pei was from Cho commandery in Yu Province. Both provinces were on the northern frontiers of the empire.
13. In both TCTC and HHS annals, the dates given for this and the next two days referred to do not fit with their supposed months; keng-wu 庚午 is number seventeen in the sexagenary cycle, the day chia-tzu 甲子 mentioned below is the first of the cycle, and the day ping-yin 丙寅 is number three. In this year, the sixth month began on the thirty-seventh day of the cycle, and the seventh month began on the seventh day. So keng-wu cannot have fallen in the sixth month, and chia-tzu and ping-yin were not in the seventh month.
- It seems most likely that keng-wu has been miswritten for keng-shen 庚申, the fifty-seventh day of the cycle, which did fall in the sixth month. It is also possible that the characters 秋七月 "In the autumn, in the seventh month" are a mistaken addition, so the days chia-tzu and ping-yin are correctly cited, but should be in the sixth month.
- Thus all three days were in the sixth month: keng-shen, 14 August; chia-tzu, 18 August; ping-yin, 20 August.
15. There was no ping-tzu 丙子 day in the eighth month of this year, but tzu can be mistaken for wu 午, and the day ping-wu follows next after the day chia-ch'en.

16. TCTC commentary explains that the "southern hills" refers to the high ground southeast of Ch'ang-an, evidently the lower slopes of Chin Ling Shan and Hwa Shan.
17. Liu Ai is giving the Emperor an open choice, whether he should join Yang Feng, Yang Ting and Tung Ch'eng, who are prepared to take him to the east, or whether he should go to Kuo Ssu, who plans to lead him back towards Ch'ang-an. The Emperor chose Yang Feng's party.
18. In HHS treatise 28, p.6b, the commentary quotes the Han-kuan yi 漢官儀 of Ying Shao 應劭 of the second century A.D., which says that each commandery appointed Investigators (tu-yu) to supervise the prefectures. Five such officers acted as police controllers with precincts north, south, east and west, and one in the centre.
19. The dating for all this period is somewhat uncertain, but HHS annals 9, p.6a, says that the Emperor came to Hung-nung and the battle was fought on the keng-wu 庚午 day of the eleventh month (22 Dec).
20. The day keng-shen cannot be correct. It is number fifty-seven of the sexagenary cycle and has no relevance to the other dates recorded here. Indeed, all the dates on the next two pages are difficult to read in a meaningful pattern.

We may accept that the Emperor reached An-yi on the day yi-hai 乙亥 (cyclical number 12), which fell in the eleventh month and was equivalent to 27 December in the west (TCTC p.1969). However, if Chang Yang came from Yeh-wang to see the Emperor on the day yi-mao 乙卯 (cyclical number 52), this would indicate a very long delay, for the next yi-mao day was not until the twelfth month, on 3 February, 196. It is possible that yi-mao is a mistake for chi-mao 己卯 (cyclical number 16), for that day fell on 31 December.

In such a chronology, the day keng-shen is quite out of place. It is possible that keng-shen 庚申 is miswritten for keng-wu 庚午 and that this date in turn has been mistakenly put into the text for the battle at Ts'ao-yang instead of for the battle at Tung-chien (cf. note 19 above).

In this way, a modified chronology for the Emperor's flight to the east would run:

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

The battle at Ts'ao-yang must have taken place on 26 December, and the preliminary defeat of Li Chüeh and his party on the day before. Hung-nung commandery joined the south of Ho-tung, so it was possible for Tung Ch'eng and Yang Feng to have called in their new allies between their defeat on the 22nd and their short-lived victory on the 25th.

21. Ti-chu is the name of a mountain east of Pinglu 平陸 in Shansi. The course of the Yellow River runs both sides of the mountain, and the Meng Ford, gateway to the eastern plains, is well downstream.
22. TCTC has here combined two variant accounts of the same incident. HHS annals 10B, p.12a, says that the Empress herself was carrying some cloth, and Sun Hui was sent to threaten her and steal it; in doing so, he killed one of her attendants. This version has been followed by Chin shu 24, translated by Yang Lien-sheng in his "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty", p.158, but Yang adds a note casting doubt in this story, since it throws an unfavourable light on the loyalty of Tung Ch'eng to the imperial family.

The Han shu 漢書 of Hua Ch'iao 華嶠 of the third century says that the cloth was seized from Fu Te in order to make the sling for the Emperor to get down the bank; there is no reference

to the threat to the Empress, nor to any killing. This text is preserved in T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 817, pp.1a-1b, and is cited in the commentary by the Ch'ing scholar Wang Wen-t'ai to HHS annals 9,p.6b.

The biography of the Empress née Fu in HHS annals 10B obviously shows the imperial relatives in the most favourable light, while Hua Ch'iao's version clearly justifies the actions of the Tung Ch'eng and Sun Hui and makes no mention of any brutality. In combining the two stories, TCTC has thoroughly confused them, leaving the strong impression that Sun Hui killed both Fu Te and the unknown attendant. Certainly Fu Te is not heard of again, but there is no proof that he was killed by Sun Hui; and it was, after all, a dark and confusing night.

23. This reference to the death of Shih-sun Jui is misplaced. According to HHS annals 9, p.6b, Shih-sun Jui was killed in the battle at Tung-chien, and TCTC p.1967 above refers to Chou Chung as Commandant of the Palace Guard, obviously as replacement to Shih-sun Jui.
24. Credentials (chieh) gave the right to make decisions in criminal cases and to carry out executions without first reporting to the throne. The right to open offices (開府 k'ai fu) implies the authority to nominate candidates for posts in the administration (cf. TCTC p.1954 and note 12 to HP1).
25. Yeh-tu 鄴都: Yeh prefecture, the capital of Chi Province.
26. "The Ch'in have lost the deer, and the first to catch it will rule as king": in one form or another the phrase was in common use in Han times, being first coined at the end of the Ch'in dynasty, when the power of the imperial house had gone, and anyone in the empire could try to gain the throne. (See, for example, Shih chi 92, translated by Watson I, p.231.)
27. Soldiers at this time often wore small daggers in a sheath at the back of the neck.

28. Chief Controller here describes an officer responsible for the internal administration and discipline of an army, similar to an adjutant in a modern regiment. Compare, however, the higher rank and responsibilities associated with the same title in the armies of Ts'ao Ts'ao and Yüan Shao as TCTC pp.2013 and 2015 below.
29. Lü Fan's biography, in SKWu 11, p.7b, says that Fan had brought more than a hundred retainers to join Sun Ts'e. Later, he became Prefect of Wan-ling 宛陵 in Tan-yang commandery and there defeated a force of bandits.
30. Chung was the personal name of the great minister Kuan Chung of the ancient state of Ch'i 齊 in the seventh century B.C., and Chung-fu 仲父 (Father Chung) was a term of respect for him.
- Sun Ts'e is quoting from the Hsin hsü 新序 of Liu Hsiang 劉向 of the first century B.C. Chapter 4, p.1b, reads: "The chief ministers asked Duke Huan of Ch'i 齊桓公 about the appointment of an official. The Duke said: 'Talk to Father Chung about it.' The chief ministers asked about something else. The Duke said: 'Talk to Father Chung about it.' Someone standing by said: 'In one thing it is Father Chung, in a second thing it is Father Chung; surely it is easy to be a ruler.' The Duke said: 'Before I had Father Chung I had troubles, now I have got Father Chung why shouldn't it be easy?' So a man that rules as king puts his energy to looking for a good man, and he takes his ease when he has found him."
31. Since Yü-chang was south of the Yangtse and the commanderies of Yü Province were north of the Hwai, the connection was not very good, but it was certainly better than the communications from K'uai-chi, and, as Hsü Shao foretold, the power of Yüan Shu between the Yangtse and the Hwai was soon to fail.
32. The biography of Chai Jung is given as a supplement to that of Liu Yao in SKWu4. Zürcher, in Chapter 2, pp.27-28 and notes 48 to 56, uses the sources of HHS 63 and SKWu 4 to discuss Chai Jung as an

early example of popular Buddhism. As he points out, Chai Jung did not follow many of the present forms of that religion, and in the early fourth century the career of Chai Jung was "triumphantly mentioned" by opponents of Buddhism "as an example of moral depravity coupled with Buddhist devotion".

33. According to TCTC commentary, Hsi-ch'eng describes a fortified town west of Nan-ch'ang 南昌, the capital of Yü-chang commandery (now east of Nanchang in Kiangsi).
34. According to SKWu 11, p.1b, Chu Chih was Chief Commandant of Wu commandery. The Chief Commandant was responsible for all military operations, under the Grand Administrator, and since Chu Chih came from Tan-yang it would be unusual for him to hold such a high post in his native commandery. TCTC is probably mistaken here, and Chu Chih actually led a mutiny in Wu commandery against his own Grand Administrator.
35. Tsang Hung had once held office under Chang Ch'ao when Ch'ao was Grand Administrator of Hung's native commandery Kuang-ling.
36. The penalty of "destruction of the three clans" (三族 san tsu) has been discussed by Hulsewé, Remnants of Han Law, pp.112-122. The term "three clans" has various explanations, but Hulsewé suggests that in Han times the term means: "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."

In the bloody history of this period, however, the expressions tsu or san tsu seldom refer to legal formalities but rather to a general slaughter of any relatives unfortunate enough to be available. Chang Ch'ao, brother of Chang Miao, had been closely involved in the mutiny of Yen Province against Ts'ao Ts'ao in 194, and although Miao was now dead, most of the surviving members of the family were inside Yung-ch'iu (TCTC p.1964). So Ts'ao had material for his vengeance.

37. Tsang Hung is referring first to Ts'ao Ts'ao's attack on Hsü Province and secondly to Ts'ao's siege of Chang Ch'ao, who had evidently retained his title of Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling. Yung-ch'iu itself was a prefecture of Ch'en-liu in Yen Province, so Tsang Hung's proposed relief expedition would not in fact have had very much connection with his homeland, Kuang-ling commandery in Hsü Province.
38. Chang Miao had been Grand Administrator of Ch'en-liu in 189 (TCTC p.1906).
39. There was no kingdom or commandery called Yen 燕 in the official geography of this time, so the term here is a general reference to the northeast of the empire. 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.
40. TCTC commentary quotes here from the Han kuan yi 漢官儀 (sometimes abbreviated as Han kuan) by Ying Shao 應劭 of the second century A.D., which refers to two majors under the Colonel Protector of the Wu-huan (quoted in commentary to HHS treatise 28, p.10a). However, although Yen Jou gained his title from this, he does not appear to have had an immediate superior officer and he was able to frame his own policy and act independently.
41. Pao-ch'iu is the name of a river in modern Hopeh. Shui-ching chu 14, p.7b, notes that the place where the river passes to the

south of the old city of Yü-yang 漁陽 was the site of the battle. Yü-yang was at that time the chief prefecture of Yü-yang commandery; now southwest of Miyun 密雲 in Hopeh.

42. In this verse there are three rhyming lines, the first of six characters and the second and third of seven characters each.

The final characters are 際 (GSR 337, tsiad/tsiäi-/tsi)

碣 (GSR 340, liad/liäi-/li)

and 世 (GSR 339, siad/siäi-/shi).

43. Yi prefecture was in Ho-chien commandery in Chi Province; now northwest of Hiunghsien 雄縣 in Hopeh. Kung-sun Tsan had been enfeoffed as Marquis of Yi in 193.

Notes to Chien-an 1:

(1979-93)

1. Kao Shun's position as Chief Controller under Lü Pu was probably similar to the administrative post held by Lü Fan under Sun Ts'e in the previous year (TCTC p.1972 and note 28 to HP2).
2. The Battleaxe (鉞 yüeh) was a distinction which, like the imperial credentials (節 chieh) gave the right to carry out judgment and execution without prior reference to the Emperor. (See also notes 20 to CP2 and 46 to CP6).
3. The two characters of the prophecy are t'u 塗 ("mud", and hence "road") and kao 高 ("high"). The character shu 術 can mean a road or path, and Yüan Shu's style was Kung-lu 公路 ("public road", and hence "high-road"). So Shu thought the prophecy referred to himself. Commentary to this passage notes that the character Wei 魏, the name of the dynasty founded by Ts'ao Ts'ao, has the meaning of "high", and this can also fit the prophecy.
4. According to Shih chi 36, translated by Chavannes IV, p.169, the descendants of the legendary Emperor Shun 舜 had been enfeoffed with the state of Ch'en 陳 at the beginning of the

Chou dynasty. The Yüan family claimed their descent from a grandee of Ch'en named Yüan T'ao-t'u 袁濤塗.

In the order of production of the five elements (五行 wu-hsing), fire was said to produce earth, and so the red of fire should eventually give way to the yellow of earth. The colour associated with Emperor Shun was yellow, and the colour adopted by the Han dynasty was red. The usurper Wang Mang 王莽 at the end of Former Han had claimed to rule by the colour of yellow, and when Emperor Kuang-wu 光武 ascended the throne he reaffirmed the Han colour of red (see Bielenstein II, p.233).

5. The Great Seal of State (傳國璽 ch'uan-kuo-hsi) had been recovered by Sun Chien at Lo-yang in 191 (TCTC p.1920).
6. Hou Chi 后稷 (lit: Prince Millet) was the title of the Minister of Agriculture under the legendary Emperor Shun 舜. The office was held by a man called Ch'i 棄, who had been given the post by Emperor Yao 堯 and was continued in it by Emperor Shun. Shun gave Ch'i the fief of T'ai 邰, and so he could be described as a prince. The house of the kings of Chou claimed descent from him (see Shih chi 4, translated by Chavannes I, pp.209ff).

In the Analects, Confucius said: "King Wān possessed two of the three parts of the empire, and with those he served the dynasty of Yin. The virtue of the house of Chāu may be said to have reached the highest point indeed" (Book VIII, Chapter XX, translated by Legge I, p.215).

7. Tan 旦 and Shih 詵 were the personal names of the Duke of Chou and the Duke of Shao 召公. The Duke of Shao was the son of a concubine, and half-brother of King Wu 武 of the Chou dynasty and to the Duke of Chou. With the Duke of Chou he took part in the regency for King Ch'eng 成, son of King Wu.
8. Duke Wen of Chin 晉文公 ruled from 636 to 628 B.C. In 636 King Hsiang 襄 of Chou (reigned 651-618) was forced from his capital by a revolt and came to Chin for help. In 635 Duke Wen escorted him

back to his kingdom (Shih chi 39, translated by Chavannes IV, pp.294ff).

9. The "Provisional Emperor" 義帝 was the title of Hsin 心, a grandson of King Huai of Ch'u 楚懷王 (reigned 328-299), who was set on the throne of Ch'u by the Hsiang 項 clan, to be figure-head for the fight against Ch'in when that dynasty fell at the end of the third century B.C. In 208 B.C. he was also proclaimed as King Huai, and in 206 the warlord Hsiang Yü 項羽 raised him to be Provisional Emperor (yi in this context is equivalent to chia 假 "temporary").

Soon afterwards, on Hsiang Yü's orders, the Provisional Emperor was murdered, and in the third month of 205 the King of Han (later to become Emperor Kao-tsu) learnt of the news. He proclaimed mourning for three days, and announced his campaign against Hsiang Yü as an act of vengeance against an assassin. (See Chavannes II, p.364; Watson I, pp.96f; Dubs I, pp.75-77).

10. The marquissate of Pi-t'ing was first awarded to the eunuch Ts'ao T'eng 曹騰 in 147, and it passed to Ts'ao T'eng's adopted son Sung, Ts'ao Ts'ao's father.
11. Both TCTC and HHS annals 9 have the day chi-ssu 己巳 before the beginning of the ninth month. However, the first day of the month was kuei-hai 癸亥 number 60 in the sexagenary cycle; and since the day chi-ssu is the sixth of the cycle it must have fallen in the ninth month.
12. Cha-tu is now identified with Cha-p'u 查浦, a crossing of the Fuchun river near Siaoshan 蕭山 in Chekiang. In his commentary to the original passage in SKWu 6, pp.1a-1b, P'ei Sung-chih notes that there was a Kao-ch'ien Bridge in the prefecture of Yung-hsing 永興. Yung-hsing prefecture was earlier known as Yü-chi 餘暨, the name being changed at the end of Later Han. The former city is now west of Siaoshan.

13. For the identification of Tung-yeh, I follow Bielenstein's article on "The Chinese Colonisation of Fukien until the end of T'ang". He notes on pp.121-122 that Tung-yeh had been founded under Former Han, that the reference to the prefecture in HHS treatise 22, 47a, had been partially omitted, but the prefecture actually existed until the second half of the third century. Its site is now unknown, but Bielenstein observes on p.103, note 1, that SKWu 15, p.1b, describes how the Prefect of Hou-kuan 侯官 gave support to Wang Lang after his flight. Tung-yeh was evidently quite close to Hou-kuan, and Hou-kuan is now west of Foochow. So it appears that Wang Lang sailed south along the coast after his defeat near Hangchow, and that he landed near the Min River in Fukien.
14. According to an anecdote in the Shuo yüan 說苑 of Liu Hsiang 劉向 of the first century B.C., ch.9, p.23b-24a, Yü Chü was a fisherman of the state of Sung 宋 in Ch'un-ch'iu times. The White Dragon came down to the water in the form of a fish and Yü Chü shot him in the eye with an arrow. When the dragon asked vengeance of the ruler of Heaven, he was told that it was only natural for men to attack fish, and that if he had kept his true shape he would have come to no harm. (Cf. Shih chi 128, pp.6a ff.)
15. Liu Chi 劉季 was the name of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Former Han (who later took the personal name Pang 邦). In the annals of Han shu (translated by Dubs I, pp.34-36), it is told how the future Emperor was crossing a marsh one night when he was drunk, and he killed a magic serpent, described as the son of the White God, which had blocked his path. When he became Lord of P'ei in 209 B.C. he had standards and penons of red "because the serpent he had killed was the son of the White god and the killer was the son of the Red god" (Dubs I, p.41).
16. This reference to Ch'un-yü Chia leaving the office of Minister of Works is not correct. TCTC p.1956 above mentions Chia leaving

office and Chao Wen taking his place in the twelfth month of Hsing-p'ing 1, and in this it follows the Hou Han chi 後漢紀 of Yüan Hung 袁宏, ch.27 p.15b. HHS annals 9 agrees that Chia left office in Hsing-p'ing 1, but says his departure took place in the ninth month. No source supports this entry for Chien-an 1, and it seems that it must be a mistaken repetition of the incident two years earlier.

17. The text of Shao's letter is given in his biography in HHS 64A, pp.8b ff.
18. Both the day wu-ch'en and the day ping-hsü below should be in the eleventh month. They are numbers 5 and 23 of the sexagenary cycle, and the eleventh month of this year began on the fifty-ninth day (jen-hsü). HHS annals 9 has the day ping-hsü in the eleventh month, but TCTC has omitted the indication.
19. Master of the Army was a general advisory post. See also note 21 to HP1.
20. As commentary to this passage points out, Kuo Chia's appointment is mentioned in SKWei 14, p.6b, as "Libationer to the Army of the Minister of Works" (ssu-k'ung chün 軍 chi-chiu). The title is described in Chin shu 24, p.1b, and it is said there that when the Wei government of the Ts'ao family took over the empire, they had an officer called Master of the Army and Libationer (chün-shih chi-chiu) to assist in military organisation. Kuo T'u, like Hsün Yu, was an adviser on Ts'ao Ts'ao's staff.
21. K'ung Jung is here described as Grand Administrator of Pei-hai, but the kingdom of Pei-hai was given to the nephew of Emperor Kuang-wu 光武, Liu Hsing 劉興, and the succession was maintained until the state was ended in 206 (HHS annals 9, p.9b). K'ung Jung should therefore be called Chancellor, and he is always given that title in HHS.

22. This appears to be a reference to the ch'ing-tan 清談 school of "pure conversation" taught by the Neo-Taoist Hsüan-hsüeh 玄學, the "Mysterious Learning". The philosophy was most influential in the third century A.D., and the technique of "pure conversation", the art of discussing nothing but philosophy and abstract subjects, as a feature of the school. See, for example, Fung Yu-lan II, p.206.
23. The Village of Lord Cheng: 鄭公鄉 Cheng-kung hsiang. There is a village of this name in the present-day county of Ankiu 安丘 in Shantung.
24. This appointment is also mentioned in Chin shu 26, translated by Yang Lien-sheng in "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty", p.163. According to the Wei shu 魏書 of Wang Shen 王沈 of the third century, quoted in HHS treatise 26, p.2a, the post of General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of Agriculture under Ts'ao Ts'ao had the high salary of 2000 piculs. In fact, there had been earlier appointments of officials concerned with agricultural production: in 194, Ch'en Teng was Colonel in Charge of Agriculture under T'ao Ch'ien in Hsü Province (TCTC p.1956). The most important point of Ts'ao Ts'ao's policy at this time was not the official posts that he created, but the expansion of military agricultural colonies to develop the lands laid waste by war. The t'un-t'ien 屯田 had been used as early as the Warring States period at the end of Chou, and under the Han this system was the basis for Chinese military settlement in the Western Regions (西域 hsi yü) in Central Asia. The technique was now adapted to the devastated territory of China Proper.
25. Tsang Pa, Sun Kuan, Wu Tun, Yin Li and others commanded various groups of bandits in the region of Mount T'ai, in the western part of the Shan-tung peninsula. According to his biography in SKWei 18, p.5a, Tsang Pa was originally a man from T'ai-shan commandery, but he quarrelled with the administration and fled to Tung-hai. By now he was the chief of the bandits in this territory, with his base at K'ai-yang 開陽, the chief prefecture of Lang-yeh (now north of

Lini 臨沂 in Shantung). So Mount T'ai in the text refers in general terms to the mountain massif in the west of present-day Shantung province rather than to the Later Han commandery called T'ai-shan. (See also below TCTC p.2007 and note 6 to CA3.)

26. This is a play on the literal meaning of "Shepherd" for the character mu 牧, here translated as the official title "Governor".

27. TCTC commentary here cites Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 of the second century A.D., who said that the Han dynasty had four styles of music; for state sacrifice and worship of Heaven; for the ritual archery, sacrifice to the lesser gods and sacrifice to the gods of the soil and grain; for the state banquets; and for the army. Of these, the second was called Chou-sung ya-yüeh 周頌雅樂.

The office of Gentleman of the Sacred Music (ya-yüeh lang) does not appear in HHS treatise, but it is listed in Li-tai chih-kuan piao, Table X/4, and the commentary to that table suggests that a number of the music offices are missing from the surviving text of HHS. HHS treatise 25, p.2b, mentions only one officer of music and his assistant, under the Grand Master of Ceremonies, but it is possible that the details of other officers of music were omitted or lost from HHS treatise.

28. Lord of the West (西伯 hsi-po) refers to Wen 文 of Chou, father of King Wu. The title was awarded him by King Chou 紂 of the Shang/Yin dynasty (see Chavannes I, pp.203 and 217).

Notes to Chien-an 2:

(1994-2002)

1. According to Shui-ching chu 31, p.9b, the Yü River flowed to the south of Wan prefecture (present-day Nanyang), and it was here that Ts'ao Ts'ao met Chang Hsiu.
2. The Ch'ing-chou troops were the force formed by Ts'ao Ts'ao from the Yellow Turban rebels he had defeated in 192 (TCTC p.1940 above).
3. Shu 蜀 and Han 漢 is here a general term (Shu commandery and the Han River) for the territory of Yi Province, controlled by Liu Chang.

4. Chung 仲 was the name of Yüan Shu's new dynasty in the same way that Han was the name of the dynasty of the Liu clan, and Hsin 新 and Ch'eng 成 were the titles of the dynasties proclaimed by the usurper Wang Mang 王莽 and the warlord Kung-sun Shu 公孫術 during the interregnum between the two Han dynasties. All these three names, however, had been based on territorial possessions of the founder of the house: Emperor Kao-tsu had been King of Han, Wang Mang had been Marquis of Hsin-tu 新都, and Kung-sun Shu had his capital at Ch'eng-tu 成都 (HHS 3, p.15a commentary). Yüan Shu, on the other hand, had no apparent connection with any place called by the character Chung.

Commentary to Yüan Shu's biography in HHS 65, p.8a, suggests that chung 仲 is sometimes written as 冲, though the first reading is confirmed by the Tien lüeh 典略 of Yü Huan 魚豢 of the third century, quoted by SKWei 6, p.34a PC. This second alternative, equally, seems to have no territorial significance for Yüan Shu.

There is, then, no obvious reason for Yüan Shu's choice of Chung as a dynastic title. It is possible that since the character 仲 means the second brother, it was intended as a sign of respect to the fading house of Han.

5. Intendant was the title given to the head of the commandery containing an imperial capital. Yüan Shu's headquarters were at Shou-ch'un, chief prefecture of Chiu-chiang, so the name of the commandery was changed and the Grand Administrator was given a new title.
6. Ch'en Ch'iu 陳球, biography in HHS 46, had been a man of Tou Wu and Ch'en Fan's party, and was killed by the eunuchs in the purge of 168.
7. After his defeat of Liu Pei in the previous year, Lü Pu had given himself the title Governor of Hsü Province (TCTC p.1980). He now expected Ts'ao Ts'ao to arrange for the title to be confirmed by the Emperor.

8. Hsiao Chien should probably be described as Grand Administrator, not Chancellor, of Lang-yeh. According to HHS annals 9, p.5a, the King of Lang-yeh had died in Ch'u-p'ing 4 (193), and HHS 32, p.21a, says that he had no children by his proper wife and so the state was ended. Later, in Chien-an 11 (206), the son of one of the late King's concubines was made King of Lang-yeh and so the state was restored (HHS annals 9, p.9b, and TCTC p.2068). However, there was no king of Lang-yeh between 193 and 206, and the title of the head of that territory should have been Grand Commandant.

The Ying-hsiung chi 英雄記 of the contemporary historian Wang Ts'an 王粲, quoted in the commentary to SKWei 7, p.6a, mistakenly describes Hsiao Chien as Chancellor, but adds the information that Lü Pu had earlier written to him to demand support and alliance. Hsiao Chien had been reluctant, so Lü Pu had a grudge against him and evidently felt he had some claim on his treasure.

9. Shock Troops 陷陳營 hsien-chen ying describes a force which breaks into the battle-line of the enemy and fights completely surrounded, quite cut off.
10. The marquisate of Wu-ch'eng had been awarded to Sun Chien, Sun Ts'e's father, for his successes against the rebels of Ch'ang-sha commandery in 187 (TCTC p.1886).
11. The term tsu-lu 租祿 refers to the revenue of a king or marquis, which was a proportion of the taxes collected from his fief and returned to him by the imperial government.
12. TCTC commentary suggests that the character yang 陽 is a mistaken addition, and that the place of Ts'ao Ts'ao's victory was actually Ch'i prefecture in P'ei. This will be correct. Ch'i-yang (or Ch'i-ch'un 蕪春) is now close to Kichun in Hupeh in the valley of the Yangtse. Ch'i prefecture is now Suhsien 宿縣 in Anhwei. According to the history, Yüan Shu fled from Ch'en south across the Hwai, so his rear-guard must have been left north of the river.

13. Fan K'uai 樊噲 (biographies in Shih chi 95 and Han shu 41) was one of the great lieutenants of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 at the beginning of the Former Han dynasty.

14. Tiger Warriors was evidently the title of Ts'ao Ts'ao's personal guard.

15. On the significance of the expression ta-ni 大逆 (lit. "Great Refractoriness", here translated simply as "treason"), see Hulsewé, Remnants of Han Law, pp.156 ff. He remarks (p.156): "Mostly we find [this and other similar terms] ... added to qualify a crime which is fully mentioned, though sometimes we find the terms used by themselves. They give the impression of being not so much indications of well-defined transgressions, but rather of categories". Here, Yang Piao was accused of plotting against the Emperor, and his accusers claimed that his crime was of "great refractoriness" in order to have him punished more severely.

16. Four generations: Yang Piao's great-grandfather Chen 震, grandfather Ping 秉, father Tz'u 賜 and Piao himself. All four had held the post of Grand Commandant, the highest in the bureaucracy. Their biographies are in HHS 44.

17. This quotation comes by a somewhat roundabout route. The Tso-chuan chronicle for the twentieth year of Duke Ch'ao, translated by Legge V, p.682/2 reads "In the Announcement to the prince of K'ang, it is said, The crimes of father or son, younger or elder brother, do not reach beyond the individual's self". In a note to the translation, Legge remarks that the words quoted are not in the text of the Shu ching as cited (i.e. The Books of Chou 周書, Part V, Book IX) and they are a very roundabout deduction from what it says. Indeed, the only part of that chapter that refers to family relationships is Section 16, which discusses "cases in which severe punishment may be inflicted without hesitation - the case of the unfilial and the unbrotherly" (Legge III, p.392).

Thus the speech by K'ung Jung quotes the Tso-chuan, which claims to paraphrase a teaching of the Shu ching; yet those characters do not appear in the present-day text of that classic.

The traditional Confucian attitude towards the involvement of relatives was uncertain. The Shu ching, in The Books of Hsia 夏書, "The Speech at Kan." (Part III, Book II, translated by Legge III, p.155), says: "...you who disobey my orders shall be put to death before the spirits of the land, and I will also put your children to death." Mencius, more humane, describes the golden age of King Wen 文 of Chou as a time when "the wives and children of criminals were not involved in their guilt" (Book I, Part II, Chapter V, translated by Legge II, p.162). In fact, in the Han dynasty, it was recognised in practice that men could be involved in the crimes of their relatives and often shared their punishments. See for example, note 36 to HP2 on the penalty of "destruction of the three clans".

18. On the relationship of these gentlemen, see note 7 to CA1.
19. Hsü was now the capital of the empire, and the Prefect of the capital prefecture had particular responsibility for the imperial court of justice.
20. Man Ch'ung had given Yang Piao the full legal examination, evidently including some torture, and had shown him no special consideration. As a result, when he spoke to Ts'ao Ts'ao in Yang Piao's favour, Ts'ao had no reason to suspect him of bias and was prepared to listen to his argument.
21. Chin Shang had been offered the post of Grand Commandant in the rebel government of Yüan Shu and was killed when he refused (TCTC p.1996). Position as Gentleman of the Palace gave Chin Wei his formal entry at the lowest rank of an official career. (On Chin Wei, see also note 11 to CA22.)
22. The biography of Li T'ung in SKWei 18, p.2a, says that early in the Chien-an period Ts'ao Ts'ao separated two prefectures

(Lang-ling and Yang-an, formerly in Ju-nan) and formed Yang-an commandery from them, putting Li T'ung in charge as Chief Commandant. Commentary to HHS treatise 28, pp.1b-2a, quotes the Hsien-ti ch'i-chü-chu 獻帝起居注, which lists the commanderies of the empire in the year 213, and there is no mention of Yang-an. It appears that the commandery was set up on the borders of Ts'ao Ts'ao's territory with Ching Province, and that it was naturally done away with after the conquest of Ching Province in 208.

As Chief Commandant, Li T'ung was primarily responsible for the military defence of his locality, but there were occasions (e.g. HHS 71, p.6b) when a commandery could be governed by a Chief Commandant in the absence of a Grand Administrator. In a marcher territory such as Yang-an at this time, it is very likely that there was no Grand Administrator appointed and Li T'ung, as Chief Commandant, was the head of a military administration. As a result, the appeal against a death sentence, referred to later in the chronicle, naturally lay with Li T'ung.

(The Wei lüeh 魏略 by Yü Huan, 魚豢 of the third century, quoted in SKWei 23, p.11a, describes Li T'ung as Grand Administrator of Yang-an, but in the light of the discussion above this is probably not correct.)

Notes to Chien-an 3:

(2002-11)

1. An-chung prefecture was in Nan-yang; now southwest of Chenping in Honan. Shui-ching chu 29, p.24b, remarks that a dam had been made in the Nieh 涅 River, forming a lake called the An-chung chiang 安眾港. The Nieh River joined the T'uan 端 below An-chung, and Shui-ching chu says that it was between these two rivers that the battle took place.
2. A "death-place" (死地 ssu-ti): where a retreating army's road is cut off, the soldiers have to fight for their lives, and through desperation they are more likely to win. See for example,

"The Book of the Art of War" (兵法 Ping-fa), ascribed to the general Sun Wu 孫武 of the fourth century B.C., ch.10, translated by Griffith, p.133: "In death ground I could make it evident that there is no chance of survival. For it is the nature of soldiers to resist when surrounded; to fight to the death when there is no alternative, and when desperate to follow commands implicitly". On the other side to this policy, TCTC commentary also quotes chapter 7, translated by Griffith, p.109: "Do not thwart an enemy returning homewards". The theory of the "death-place" is discussed in several other places of that work, and also in particular in the biography of the great general Han Hsin 韓信 in Shih chi 92, translated by Watson I, p.217.

3. TCTC commentary notes that this was only a small success in comparison with Chang Hsiu's earlier defeat at An-chung.
4. According to TCTC commentary, this Tung-shih 東市, or Eastern Market, was in the prefecture of Yeh-wang in Ho-nei commandery.
5. According to Shui-ching chu 25, p.20b, the Po-men Tower was the south gate-tower of the city wall of Hsia-p'i.
6. According to SKWei 1, p.14a, the three new commanderies were organised from prefectures formerly controlled by the commandery of Tung-hai and the kingdoms of Lang-yeh and Pei-hai. It seems, then, that this re-arrangement affected all the west of the present Shantung peninsula, the eastern slopes of the massif about Tai Shan.

Ts'ao Ts'ao was actually doing no more than giving formal recognition to the territorial possessions of the bandit groups under the general hegemony of Tsang Pa. At this time, the Shantung peninsula from the Tai Shan range eastwards was largely under the control of rebels and bandit groups, but they were no real threat to Ts'ao Ts'ao's position in central China, and his appointment of Tsang Pa and the others secured their alliance and stabilised the frontier. (On the earlier history of these

"Bandits of Mount T'ai", see TCTC p.1991 and note 25 to CA1.)

The biography of Tsang Pa, in SKWei 18, p.5b, says that Pa became Chancellor of Lang-yeh, while Wu Tun, Yin Li, Sun Kuan and Sun Kuan's elder brother Sun K'ang 康 became Grand Administrators of Li-ch'eng, Tung-kuan 東莞, Pei-hai and Ch'eng-yang respectively. Li-ch'eng (now east of Lini 臨沂 in Shantung) had been a prefecture under Tung-hai commandery and Ch'eng-yang was the name of a kingdom under Former Han which had been absorbed into Tung-hai early in Later Han. However, SKWei 1, p.14a, refers to a new Ch'ang-lu commandery, and is followed by TCTC, while SKWei 18, p.5b, refers to Tung-kuan commandery. Ch'ang-lu was a prefecture in Tung-hai (now southeast of Tenghsien 滕縣 in Shantung), while Tung-kuan was in Lang-yeh (now Ishui 沂水 in Shantung). It seems most likely that the three former territories of Lang-yeh, Pei-hai and Tung-hai were in fact divided into seven new commanderies or kingdoms: three with the original names, together with Li-ch'eng, Ch'eng-yang, Ch'ang-lu and Tung-kuan. These seven formed a line from the north of the Shantung peninsula to the south, but it is not possible to tell the exact sites of their capitals nor the prefectures that they controlled.

7. As TCTC commentary remarks, Ts'ao Ts'ao planned to hold Sun Ch'üan and Sun Yi as hostages. From their biographies in SKWu 2 and SKWu 6, it does not appear that they accepted the invitation. Chang Hung, however, did go to the north and took the post of Attendant Imperial Clerk under Ts'ao Ts'ao at Hsü.
8. According to Lu Su's biography in SKWu 9, he was a man from Tung-ch'eng prefecture in Lin-huai commandery. Under Later Han, Tung-ch'eng was in Hsai-p'i, and Hsai-p'i had been called Lin-huai until 72 A.D. (HHS treatise 21, p.22a). It appears that the old name for the commandery was still in occasional use at this time.

It may be observed that Yüan Shu appointed Lu Su head of his native prefecture; this was contrary to Han custom.

9. Wang Lang was the former Grand Administrator of K'uai-chi defeated by Sun Ts'e in the previous year (TCTC p.1987). Adviser to the Army (ts'an-chün-shih, lit. "to take part in the affairs of the army") is a title which appears frequently in Ts'ao Ts'ao's command from this time on. It is discussed and described in Chin shu 24, p.3b, and was evidently an advisory post on the general staff. Ts'ao Ts'ao at this time held the title of Minister of Works. (For a possible earlier occurrence of this title, see TCTC p.1881 and note 18 to CP2.)
10. Shan-yüeh 山越: hill tribes of barbarians south of the Yangtse.
11. Sun Ts'e thus controlled all the territory south of the Yangtse, north of the mountain massif about Hwang Shan 黃山, and east of the path of the modern railway line south of Wuhu 蕪湖 on the Yangtse. T'ai-shih Tz'u was operating in the foothills of the Hwang Shan range.
12. For this earlier attack, in 195, see TCTC p.1958.
13. The prefix "at the Gate" was sometimes added to the titles of certain posts at central offices of a commandery or prefecture. Here, both Tsu Lang and T'ai-shih Tz'u (see below) were trusted with command of guards at Sun Ts'e's own headquarters.
14. For Sun Ts'e's earlier encounter with T'ai-shih Tz'u in 195, see TCTC p.1972.
15. The gates called Ch'ang-men were the northwestern gates of the wall of Wu city, and a Ch'ang-men gate still stands in Soochow in Kiangsu.
16. Po-yang and Hai-hun prefectures were both in Yü-chang, on either side of the Poyang Lake. Shui-ching chu 39, p.17b, remarks that the Liao River was called Shang-liao 上繚 where it flowed near Hai-hun prefecture.
17. Western hills here refers to the main range west of Yi, the Taihang Shan 太行山.

1. Some editions omit the characters for "the third month", but they are included in the earliest available texts of TCTC and supported by the parallel passage in HHS annals 9, p.8a.
2. Chief Controller in this instance is evidently a high office with authority as a military governor. Elsewhere (e.g. TCTC p.1972) the title has described a comparatively low rank in the administration of an army. The office does not appear in the system described by HHS treatise of officials, and there was obviously at this time wide variation in the possible significance of an appointment with this style. Later, during the Three Kingdoms period, Chief Commandant generally indicates a high military and territorial authority, and not the lower rank that has been noticed before.
3. Yen Jou had a good name with the Wu-huan, and he had joined in the earlier rebellion against Kung-sun Tsan in 195-196 (TCTC p.1977).
4. These Ch'ien hills are the eastern extension of the Tapieh Shan in Anhwei. Ch'ien prefecture is now northeast of Hwoshan 霍山 in Anhwei, and the mountains, also known as Hwoshan, are south of that county and northeast of Tsienshan 潛山.
5. During the reign of Emperor Huan, the name of the kingdom of Ch'ing-ho had been changed to Kan-ling, and it was not until the very last years of Chien-an that the former name was restored. For this period, the reference to the place of origin of Chu Ling is an anachronism.
6. The Great Seal of State (傳國璽 ch'uan-kuo-hsi) had been lost in the disturbance of 189 (TCTC p.1902) and found by Sun Chien at Lo-yang in 191 (TCTC p.1920). Later, it was seized by Yüan Shu (TCTC p.1981).

It should be noted that TCTC is mistaken in describing Hsü Ch'iu as a former Grand Administrator of Kuang-ling. Ch'iu actually came from Kuang-ling, and he had held posts as Grand Administrator and Chancellor, but never in his native commandery (see his biography in HHS 38, pp.17a-18a).

7. The conquest of the Shang 商 (also known as Yin 殷) dynasty by King Wu 武 of Chou 周 is the traditional example of a just war in China, and Chou 紂, last King of Shang, is an archetype of the evil tyrant.
8. In 494 B.C. the kingdom of Wu 吳 defeated the kingdom of Yüeh at the battle of Fu-chiao 夫椒, pursued the remnants of the Yüeh forces to the mountain of Huichi 會稽, and held them completely at their mercy. The King of Yüeh managed to beg for peace and escape his predicament, and with the advice of his minister Fan Li 范蠡 he waited the opportunity to attack Wu. After more than twenty years, when Wu had been weakened by wars to the north, Yüeh made a great attack and destroyed her enemy. When the King of Wu asked for quarter, Fan Li replied that at the time of Huichi, Heaven had given Yüeh into the hands of Wu, and Wu had rejected the gift. Now that Heaven had put Wu into the hands of Yüeh, how could Yüeh oppose the will of Heaven? Disaster would surely come to Yüeh instead. So Wu was destroyed by Yüeh in 473. (See Chavannes IV, pp.421 ff and 430 f.)
9. Chü Shou had been appointed by Yüan Shao as Superintendent and Commissioner for all the leaders of his army (監護諸將 chien-hu chu-chiang). Here he is called chien-chün 監軍 "Superintendent".
10. Chang Liang 張良 (biographies in Shih chi 55 and Han shu 40), was a man from the state of Han 韓 at the end of the third century B.C. who made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the First Emperor of Ch'in 秦始皇帝. He fled to Hsia-p'i, where he met an old man, who tested him for his courtesy, and then gave him a book called "The Grand Duke's Art of War" (太公兵法 T'ai-kung ping-fa). With this as his guide, Chang Liang became a leading adviser to Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Former Han. Thirteen years after the first meetings, the old man was revealed to Liang in the form of a yellow stone (黃石 huang-shih) at the

foot of Mount Kucheng 穀城 (also known as Hwang Shan 黃山) in Shantung. Liang worshipped the stone and had it placed in his tomb.

11. Chief Controller here describes the high-ranking head of an army group. Compare earlier references, as TCTC p.2013 with note 2 above and TCTC p.1972.
12. The term used here is pu-ch'ü 部曲, which originally referred to a military organisation, but here seems to indicate a form of servitude. On the development of pu-ch'ü as a description of serfs or household slaves, see the article by Yang Chung-yi on the evolution of the status of "dependants".
13. From the Tso-chuan, fifteenth year of Duke Ch'eng, translated by Legge V, p.388/2: "It is contained in the books of an earlier time, that a sage is equal to the duties of all positions; that a man of the second class maintains the dignity of his position; and that one of the lowest class fails in the duties of his."
14. From the Tso-chuan, twenty-third year of Duke Hsi, translated by Legge V, p.186/1: "The ancient rule was that when a son was fit for official service, his father should enjoin him to be faithful. The new officer, moreover, wrote his name on a tablet, and gave the pledge of a dead animal to his lord, declaring that any wavering in his fidelity should be punished with death."
15. What Han Sung means is that he has held office under Liu Piao only as a subordinate minister of the Han Emperor. If the Emperor gives him another office independent of Liu Piao, Sung will no longer be under Piao's authority and any direct link between them will be broken.
16. Ch'u 楚 is a literary reference to the territory of the middle Yangtse valley, from the state of that name in the time of the Chou dynasty.
17. Yüeh cloth (葛越 ko-yüeh): a light cloth woven in the south of China from the dolichos plant (cf. Legge IV, p.6).

18. Liu-yi is identified by TCTC commentary as a district near Sisai Shan 西塞山, now east of Tayeh 大冶 in Hupeh.
19. The capital of Yü-chang commandery was at Nan-ch'ang 南昌, now east of Nanchang in Kiangsi. Chiao-ch'iu, now west of Sinkien 新建, was a few miles west of Nan-ch'ang, on the bank of the Kan River (Shui-ching chu 39, p.16b).
20. Magistrate Wang: i.e. Wang Lang, the Grand Administrator of K'uai-chi defeated by Sun Ts'e in 196. Yü Fan had formerly served Wang Lang as Officer of the Department of Merit in K'uai-chi. (TCTC p.1987).
21. The term ko-chin 葛巾 describes a shawl made out of light cloth (see note 17. above) and draped loosely about the head. This was elegant, but not part of official costume, and Hua Hsin wore it to show that his meeting with Sun Ts'e was an affair between gentlemen and that he was now in retirement from public life.
22. Sun Sheng 孫盛 (c.302-373), wrote several books and essays on the history of the Three Kingdoms. This opinion is quoted in the commentary to Hua Hsin's biography in SKWei 13, p.9b, probably from his "Miscellaneous Essays" (雜記 Tsa-chi).
23. Po-yi 伯夷 and the Four Old Men of the Shang Mountains (商山四皓 Shang-shan ssu-hao) were famous for their rejection of the world. On Po-yi and his cession of the throne of Ku-chu, see note 4 to CP4.

The Four Old Men of the Shang Mountains were T'ang Hsüan-lang 唐宣朗 (or Tung-yüan kung 東園公), Ts'ui Kuang 崔廣 (or Hsia-huang kung 夏黃公), Ch'i Li-chi 綺里季 and Chou Shu 周術 (or Lu-li hsien-sheng 甬里先生). At the end of the Ch'in dynasty they retired into the mountains, now northeast of Shanghsien 商縣 in Shensi, and remained there as hermits. Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖

of Han was known to admire them, and at the end of his reign, through a plan of Chang Liang 張良 and the Empress née Lü 呂, they were persuaded to come to the capital in support of the Heir-apparent against rivalry for the succession from one of his brothers (Shih chi 55, translated by Watson I, p.146, and Han shu 40, p.8b f).

Sun Sheng is saying that an honourable man in Hua Hsin's position had two courses open to him: he could follow the example of Po-yi and the Four Old Men by retiring from the world; or, if he continued to hold office, he should fully accept the responsibilities. Failure to maintain honour as a royal minister 王臣匪射 is a reference to the Yi ching, hexagram 39 Chien 蹇 Obstruction, line two divided, translated by Legge, p.142, as

"...the minister of the king struggling with difficulty on difficulty, and not with a view to his own advantage" (王臣蹇蹇, 匪射之故). Cf. also Wilhelm II, p.228.

24. It seems most likely that the capital of the new commandery of Lu-ling was at the prefecture of that name, now south of Kian in Kiangsi. The territory around Lu-ling had earlier been taken under the control of the warlord T'ung Chih and had for some time been independent of the central administration of Yü-chang commandery (TCTC p.2011).
25. Chia-hsing 嘉興 was the name given by SKWu to the former Yu-ch'üan 由拳 prefecture of Later Han in Wu commandery. In 232 Sun Ch'üan changed the name from Yu-ch'üan to Ho-hsing 禾興, but in 245 the name was changed to Chia-hsing in order to avoid to close a resemblance to the personal name of the newly-appointed Heir-apparent, Sun Ho 孫和. The text here is describing the place by its later name. The prefecture is now south of Kashing in Chekiang.
26. This phrase appears in the Analects of Confucius, Book X, Chapter XVI, translated by Legge I, p.236. Liu Pei was startled at Ts'ao Ts'ao's words because he felt that Ts'ao regarded him as a rival and because he already had a guilty conscience about the plot with Tung Ch'eng.

1. There was no jen-tzu 壬子 day in this month. HHS annals has jen-wu 壬午, and this would be correct.
2. Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (53 B.C. - 18 A.D.) was the author of the Fa-yen 法言. This quotation is from chapter 10, p.3a, of that work. The six kingdoms were Han 韓, Chao 趙, Wei 魏, Ch'i 齊, Ch'u 楚 and Yen 燕 of the Warring States. They quarrelled among themselves and weakened the power of the royal house of the Chou dynasty, and so they fell a prey to the new empire of Ch'in. Chi 姬 was the surname of the house of Chou, Ying 嬴 was the surname of the rulers of Ch'in.
3. Meng Pen 孟賁 from the state of Ch'i 齊 and Hsia Yü 夏育 from the state of Wei 衛 were both men of the Chou period, famous for their feats of strength and daring.
4. During Later Han, the General Who Crosses the Liao River was responsible for the defences against the Hsiung-nu (HHS treatise 24, p.8a). The Liao River flows through southern Manchuria, but the title had long ceased to have any specific geographical significance, and the general could station his troops anywhere along the northern borders.
5. Sun Ch'üan had been given two recommendations as a candidate for government office: Filially Pious and Incorrupt by his commandery and Accomplished Talent by the provincial administration (SKWu 2, p.1a). Chang Chao here addresses him by the former title.
6. In the military organisation under the Sun family there were Commissioners over the Army of the Centre, of the Right (e.g. Lu Hsün in SKWu 13, p.3a) and of the Left (e.g. Lü Meng in SKWu 9, p.15a). (Compare the position of Pang Chi under Yuan Shao, note 14 below).
7. Ch'ang-kuang commandery was set up by Ts'ao Ts'ao in the early years of Chien-an. Under the Chin dynasty, the capital of the commandery was at Pu-ch'i 不其 (Chin shu 15, p.1b), which is now southwest of Tsimo 即墨, near Tsingtao on the southern coast of the Shantung

peninsula. This new establishment represented an extension of Ts'ao Ts'ao's authority into the confused and disordered territories of the peninsula, and was evidently a very recent expansion from the marcher territories controlled by Tsang Hung and his allies (see note 6 to CA3).

8. TCTC commentary here quotes from the Confucian classic Chou li 周禮, chapter 33, translated by Biot II, pp.276-277, describing the division of the empire into nine regions, each more distant from the capital.

With reference to the three rules of governing, TCTC commentary quotes from Chou li 35, translated by Biot II, pp.307-308:

"Ce fonctionnaire [i.e. the Grand Director Against Brigands 大司寇 ta-ssu-k'ou] est chargé d'établir les trois règlements spéciaux, relatifs aux royaumes, pour aider l'empereur à punir les royaumes feudataires, à instruire les quatres régions de l'empire.

"Le premier (de ces trois) est appelé, châtement des nouveaux royaumes. On leur applique le règlement le plus léger.

"Le second est appelé, châtement des royaumes à l'état de paix. On leur applique le règlement moyen.

"Le troisième est appelé châtement des royaumes troublés par les désordres. On leur applique le règlement le plus sévère."

9. In this context, north refers to the army of Yüan Shao and south to the forces of Ts'ao Ts'ao.

10. Thunder cars 霹靂 p'i-li: ballistas on wheels, given the name because of the roar like thunder that they produced when they were fired (commentary to HHS 64A, p.18b).

11. Jung-yang 滎陽 and Ch'eng-kao 成皋 were near the modern places of the same name in Honan. A decisive campaign between the King of Han, the future Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖, and Hsiang Yü 項羽, then King of Ch'u 楚, was fought in 203 with battles and sieges at both cities.

12. Ku-shih had been a prefecture under Former Han, but the prefecture was discontinued by Later Han. The city was north of Chengchow 鄭州 in Honan. Wu-ch'ao Marsh is now southeast of Yentsing 延津 in Honan.
13. The text has the characters fu-chin 幅巾. The commentary quotes the Fu-tzu 傅子 of Fu Hsüan 傅玄 of the third century, which explains that commanders and high military officers of that time wore silken cloth for elegance and distinction.
14. The office of Commissioner over the Army had been used in the civil war early in Later Han, but it does not appear in HHS treatise of officials and was evidently not a regular post in the Han military organisation. In Yüan Shao's army it seems that P'ang Chi served as a high military adviser but did not command forces in the field. (Compare the system under Sun Ch'üan in the south, note 6 above.)
15. This sentence has been lifted complete from HHS annals 9, p.8b, but since winter and the tenth month have already been chronicled on p.2033 above, they should not have been repeated here.
16. The Ta-liang 大梁 (The Great Bridge) constellation (Schlegel 349) is the same group of stars as the Wei-hsiu 胃宿 (Schlegel 710), represented in western astronomy by the small group Musca Borealis, east of Hamal in Aries.

This comet is mentioned in HHS treatise 22, p.5b, where the Ta-liang constellation is equated with Chi Province, and the comet is held to foretell the defeat of the Yüan family by Ts'ao Ts'ao and the later conquest of the province.
17. Lu-chiang, and all the commanderies south of the Yangtse nominally under Yang Province, were now controlled by Sun Ch'üan.
18. Sun Ts'e had sent Chang Hung with tribute to Ts'ao Ts'ao two years before, and at that time Ts'ao had appointed Hung Attendant Imperial Clerk (TCTC p.2008).

19. Although a Chief Commandant was generally appointed as the military head of a whole commandery under the Grand Administrator, some border areas, K'uai-chi in particular, had Chief Commandants appointed to regions within the commandery as a means of strengthening the defence of the frontier.

The headquarters of the Chief Commandant of the Eastern Region of K'uai-chi were probably at Chang-an 章安 prefecture, which is now southeast of Linhai 臨海 in Chekiang (see SKWu 3, p.3a, and Chin shu 15, p.7a sub Lin-hai).

20. Duke Huan of Ch'i 齊桓公 (ruled 685-643 B.C.) and Duke Wen of Chin 晉文公 (636-628) were two of the great hegemons (pa 霸) of the Eastern Chou period, so called because they achieved pre-eminence among the other feudal lords and used their authority to maintain and support the weakened royal house of Chou. At this time, in the civil war at the end of Later Han, this romantic tradition was frequently cited for propaganda purposes by the rival warlords (see also note 9 to ChP3).
21. On the Provisional Emperor, see note 9 to CA1.
22. Lu Su's biography in SKWu 9, p.7a, says that his family had been very rich but they lost their property in the troubles. Su was a man from Tung-ch'eng 東城 prefecture in Hsia-p'i commandery (anachronistically cited as Lin-huai 臨淮 in his biography).
23. Lo Chün was the Chancellor of Ch'en kingdom assassinated at Yüan Shu's orders in 197 (TCTC p.1999).
24. Li Shu had been appointed Grand Administrator of Lu-chiang by Sun Ts'e in 199 (TCTC p.2020).
25. O-heng 阿衡 : the title held by Yi Yin 伊尹, chief minister at the beginning of the legendary Shang dynasty.
26. Chang Hsien, Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha, had rebelled against Liu Piao and allied with Ts'ao Ts'ao in 198 (TCTC p.2003).

27. Chang Lu was the leader of the Wu-tou-mi rebels of Yi Province (TCTC pp.1928-29).
28. The Tsung people 賓民 were barbarians of the hill country on the eastern borders of Yi Province, so called because they presented tribute of cloth to the Han government each year, and this tribute was known as tsung (HHS 76, p.2b, and see also the discussion of T'ang Chang-ju in his Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao shih lun ts'ung, p.4).
29. Tung-chou troops 東州兵: i.e. soldiers from the eastern provinces.

Notes to Chien-an 6:

(2041-43)

1. The eclipse is recorded in these terms in HHS annals 9, but HHS treatise 18, p.9a, says it took place on the kuei-wei day of the tenth month. The commentary of the Ch'ing scholar Hung Liang-chi points out, however, that HHS treatise has duplicated the date given in the immediately succeeding entry, describing an eclipse in the thirteenth year of Chien-an; so it seems HHS annals are largely correct.

However, the text should probably read "second month" 二月 instead of "third month" 三月. There was no ting-mao day in the third month, but the second month did begin with a ting-mao day, equivalent to 22 March, 201, in the western calendar.

2. TCTC commentary quotes Shui-ching chu 8, p.7a, to show that An-min t'ing was to the west of Shou-chang 壽張 prefecture. Shou-chang is now the southwest of Tungping in Shantung.
3. Yüeh Yang 樂羊 was a military commander of the Marquis Wen of Wei 魏文侯 in the time of the Chou dynasty. He besieged Chung-shan 中山, and his son was in the city. The ruler of Chung-shan killed Yang's son, boiled the body and sent the soup to Yang. Yang drank it. The city was taken and Yang was rewarded for his loyalty. (Chan-kuo ts'e 7, 2a).

4. It appears that Chiang-yang commandery was now set up for the first time. Under Later Han, Chiang-yang 江陽 prefecture was in Chien-wei commandery; now Luchow 瀘州 in Szechwan.
5. The office of Libationer (chi-chiu) reflects the religious nature of Chang Lu's government. The title, however, had been used already under the Han administration, and Ts'ao Ts'ao established several new offices with that style (e.g. TCTC p.2081).
6. Chang Lu changed the name of this commandery from Han-chung to Han-ning, and until his surrender to Ts'ao Ts'ao in 215, either name could be used to describe the independent state. In 215, the territory again appears as Han-chung, but, according to the Hou Han shu 後漢書 of Yüan Shan-sung 袁山松 of the fourth century, as quoted by TCTC commentary, Han-chung was divided, and a new commandery called Han-ning was then set up about An-yang 安陽 prefecture, now east of Chengku 城固 in Shensi.
7. On Dukes Huan of Ch'i and Wen of Chin, see note 20 to CA5. Tou Jung 竇融 biography in HHS 13, ruled the northwest of the Empire as a warlord at the time of the civil war at the beginning of Later Han. He allied himself with Emperor Kuang-wu 光武 in 29 A.D. and was recognised as one of his most valuable supporters. His family held great power for generations afterwards.

Notes to Chien-an 7:

(2044-48)

1. Sui-yang prefecture was in Liang; now south of Shangkiu 商丘 in Honan. TCTC commentary explains that Sui-yang Canal (渠 ch'ü) was the name for the Sui River where it flowed east past that prefecture. Ts'ao Ts'ao was re-establishing his lines of communications with the east and south.
2. Ch'iao Hsüan came from Sui-yang prefecture, and his biography is in HHS 41. He held all three ducal offices in the reign of Emperor Ling, and he had recognised Ts'ao Ts'ao early in his career and favoured him (TCTC p.1869).

3. These are the words of the San-lao 三老 of Hsin-ch'eng 新城 to the future Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Han in 205 B.C. (Dubs I, p.75).
4. At this point in the text, two Sung editions include the characters 不盡其力. This translation follows.
5. At this point in the text, two Sung editions include the characters 至於南海. This translation follows. Ch'u 楚 was the name of the great southern kingdom in the Yangtse valley at the time of the Chou dynasty.
6. Six commanderies: K'uai-chi, Wu, Tan-yang, Lu-chiang, Yü-chang and Lu-ling.
7. The ruler of an independent state sat in court with his back to the north. In referring to himself, he used the term ku 孤, "the solitary man", like the royal "we" in the west.

Notes to Chien-an 8:

(2048-52)

1. This phrase follows the Tso-chuan chronicle for the eighth year of Duke Ai, translated by Legge V, p.816/2: "When a superior man leaves his own state, he does not go to one that is at enmity with it."
2. This phrase comes from a letter of Yüeh Yi 樂毅 to his former master King Hui of Yen 燕惠王, quoted in Shih chi 80, p.6a. On Yüeh Yi, see also note 31 to CP1.
3. Sharer in the oath: the oath of alliance against Yüan Shao and Liu Piao against Tung Cho in 191 (TCTC p.1927).
4. In the theory of the "Five Elements" (五行 wu-hsing), metal can cut wood and water can put out fire. However, a metal axe is incomplete without a wooden handle; and moreover if there was no wood to chop an axe would be much less useful. Similarly, if there was no fire, water could not be boiled for cooking. The essence of the passage is to show that opposing elements may also be complementary.

5. Han Lu 韓盧 was the finest dog in the world and Tung-kuo Suan 東郭綬 was the most cunning rabbit. Han Lu chased Tung-kuo Suan over hill and dale until they both collapsed of exhaustion. A farmer working in the fields saw them fall, and he was able to walk up and take them both (Chan-kuo ts'e 4, p.11a).
6. From the Shu ching, Part IV, Book II, translated in Legge III, p.181, in "The Announcement of Chung-hwuy": "take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin."
7. TCTC here reads "Po-yang and K'uai-chi", following SKWu 2, p.2b, but this translation omits the reference to K'uai-chi and follows the alternative reading in SKWu 11, p.8b. K'uai-chi was too far from Po-yang for the appointment to be meaningful.
8. Ho Ch'i was a native of K'uai-chi commandery, and a particular ally of the Sun family in that area. The headquarters of the Southern Region of K'uai-chi commandery was probably at the newly established prefecture of Chien-an now Kienow in Fukien. (SKWu 3, p.9b, records that the Southern Region of K'uai-chi was made into Chien-an commandery in 260, and Chin shu 15, p.6b, notes that the capital of Chien-an commandery was at the prefecture of that name.)

Although the text of this paragraph seems to indicate that Ho Ch'i and the other leaders were engaged in putting down rebellion, the territory had been until very recently outside the borders of Chinese control. This campaign and settlement was an early state in a steady progress of military expansion and colonisation on the southern frontiers that was to be a feature of the later development of the state of Wu.

Notes to Chien-an 9:

(2052-59)

1. According to Han shu 28A, p.16a, the Ch'i River at this time joined the Yellow River near Li-yang 黎陽 (now northeast of Sunhsien 濬縣 in Honan. According to Shui-ching chu 9, p.24b, the Ch'i flowed to the south of Nei-huang (now northeast of Neihwang in Honan) and then

formed the Po Canal. Ts'ao Ts'ao made a dam on the Ch'i River to direct some of the water into the Po Canal, and used that route to carry his supplies towards Yeh (now west of Linchang in Honan).

2. According to Shui-ching chu 9, p.36a, the Yüan River at this time flowed just south of Yeh.
3. She was the name given to Sha沙 prefecture in Wei commandery at the end of Later Han; now northeast of Shehsien涉縣 in Honan. (In this I follow Wang Hsien-ch'ien's commentary to HHS treatise 20, p.20b, and not TCTC commentary, which suggests that She was in Shang-tang commandery, near Lu潞 prefecture which is now northeast of Lucheng潞城 in Shansi.)
4. According to Shui-ching chu 10, p.6a, the Chang River flowed to the west of Yeh.
5. The office of Chief Controller in Ts'ao Ts'ao's army, to which Li Fu pretended, was evidently a minor post responsible for discipline in the camp, similar to the position of Lü Fan under Sun Ts'e in 196 (TCTC pp.1972f). Both Ts'ao Ts'ao and the Yüan family, however, had sometimes appointed Chief Controllers with much higher authority and rank (cf. TCTC pp.2013 and 2015).
6. The city of Yeh had seven gates. The Chang Gate, also called the Chung-yang中陽 Gate, was the main gate of the southern wall.
7. The Book of the Art of War (兵法 Ping-fa) ascribed to Sun Wu孫武 of the fourth century B.C. says: 歸師勿遏. This is translated by Griffith, p.109: "Do not thwart an enemy coming homewards".
8. TCTC commentary explains Ts'ao Ts'ao's meaning: if Yüan Shang brought his men by the main road, his army would be in the open and making a direct attempt to retrieve their territory; but if they came through the hill, then they would think of the advantages of the terrain, they could choose whether to advance or to retire, and so they would become more concerned with their own safety and would be less desperate in attack.

9. The Wei-tu fu 魏都賦 of Tso Ssu 左思 in Wen hsüan 6, p.118, says that the Fu River was north of the city of Yeh.
10. Ch'ü-chang 曲漳: a bend of the Chang River.
11. At this point the parallel text in SKWei 1, p.22b, has the place as Ch'i-shan 祁山; but SKWei 6, p.30a, has Lan-k'ou 濫口, and HHS 64B, p.5b, has Lan-k'ou 藍口. Commentary to HHS notes that there is a Lan-ts'o shan 藍嵯山 close to Yeh, and the Ch'ing scholar Ku Tsu-yü says that the hill lay west of the city and was also called Ch'i-shan.
12. The text at this point has the characters mou-chia 某甲 "so-and-so". The chronicler evidently respected the taboo on Ts'ao Ts'ao's name and showed his respect by not recording it. According to the Ts'ao Man chuan 曹瞞傳, by an anonymous author of the state of Wu of the Three Kingdoms, quoted in the commentary to SKWei 1, p.1a, Ts'ao Ts'ao's childhood name (小字 hsiao-tzu) was A-man 阿瞞.
13. This comet is recorded in HHS treatise 12, p.5b, but it is dated there in the eleventh month, while HHS annals 9 has the tenth month. According to the treatise, the comet appeared in the area of the Tung-ching 東井 and Yü-kuei 輿鬼 constellations, and then went into the Hsüan-yüan 軒轅 and T'ai-wei 太微. Tung-ching is the Ching-hsiu 井宿, about the western group Gemini; the Yü-kuei constellation is the Kuei-hsiu 鬼宿, about the western group Cancer; Hsüan-yüan is in the western group Leo, with Regulus as the principal star; T'ai-wei-huan 太微垣 is ten stars in Leo and Virgo (Schlegel 642, 754, 93 and 363).
14. The Fu-yü and the Hui-mo were barbarian peoples in the area of Hsüan-t'u commandery. There is a description of them in SKWei 30.
15. From the context, it seems that Kuei Lan, as Grand Chief Controller, held a post in Tan-yang commandery similar to that of a Chief Commandant, responsible for military and police work under the Grand Administrator. As Commandery Assistant, Tai Yüan was the second-in-command to the Grand Administrator for civil affairs.

16. Ching-ch'eng 京城, about this time, was the name for the Han prefecture of Tan-t'u 丹徒 in Wu commandery; now southeast of Tantu in Kiangsu. Although Sun Ch'üan at one stage had his capital in this city, it appears that the alternative name was taken from the nearby hills called Ching-hsien shan 京岷山.
17. According to SKWu 6, p.8b, Sun Yi was actually killed by his attendant Pien Hung 邊鴻, and then Sun Ho was killed by Kuei Lan and Tai Yüan. The full story is told in the biography of Sun Shao in SKWu 6, pp.10b-11a, and in the commentary to that passage on pp.11a-11b, quoting the Wu li 吳歷 of Hu Ch'ung 胡沖 of the Chin dynasty.
18. Li-yang, a prefecture in Chiu-chiang, now Hohsien in Anhwei, was on the northern bank of the Yangtse, just across from Tan-yang commandery. When Liu Fu took up his appointment in 200, he had set his headquarters at Ho-fei (TCTC p.2037).

Notes to Chien-an 10:

(2059-65)

- Three commanderies: Liao-hsi, Liao-tung and Yu-pei-p'ing.
- The pass called Hukwan is now south of Changchih 長治 in Shansi.
- The Hsiao 穀 hills are northeast of Loning 洛寧 in Honan and south of the Min 滎 River.
- Hsi-p'ing commandery had been set up about this time from the area of Chin-ch'eng. Chin shu 14, p.15a, lists the capital as Hsi-tu 西都, now Sining 西寧 in Tsinghai.
- The Shan Ford, also called the Mao Ford 茅津, was a crossing of the Yellow River near Shanhsien 陝縣 in Honan.
- At this point in the text, two Sung editions include the characters 必以死戰. This translation follows.
- According to Shui-ching chu 4, p.19a, the Tou Ford 豆津(or豆) crossed the Yellow River northeast of the city of Hu 胡, which is now east of Wensiang 閿鄉 in Honan.

8. TCTC commentary points out that if the soldiers were to be paid, their numbers would be limited by the money available to the commandery administration; and there was not much money left.
9. SKWei 18, p.7b says that White Horse Chang, who was mentioned earlier as one of the bandit leaders at the end of Emperor Ling's reign (TCTC p.1878), now made a rebellion in Hung-nung. White Horse Chang was evidently the nom-de-guerre of Chang Ch'eng.
10. The Shen-chien 申鑒 of Hsün Yüeh was originally written in five p'ien 篇. Modern editions are divided into five chüan 卷, and the work is essentially complete. The Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an edition is based on the text and commentary of Huang Hsing-tseng 黃行曾 (1490-1540), published in 1519.
11. This refers to the policy of Kuan Chung 管仲, the great minister of Duke Huan of Ch'i 齊桓公 in the seventh century B.C. See Kuo yü 6, p.6a.

Notes to Chien-an 11:

(2066-69)

1. This comet is recorded in HHS treatise 12, p.6a; it appeared in the Pei-tou 北斗, with the head in the middle of the constellation and the tail stretching into Tzu-kung 紫宮 and Pei-chen 北辰. The Pei-tou is the seven stars of the Big Dipper in the constellation of the Great Bear; Tzu-kung, or Tzu-wei-huan 紫微垣, is a large group of stars about the area of western Cepheus, Draco and the Great Bear; Pei-chen is the present Pole Star, in the Little Bear. (Schlegel 280, 699 and 274).
The prognostication claims that the comet foretold the seizure of the empire by the Ts'ao family.
2. Shang-lo was a prefecture in Ching-chao; now Shanghsien in Shensi. The Yao Pass 峽關 was in the northwest of the prefecture, and a Chief Commandant was stationed there.
3. The Ch'ang-yen 昌言 of Chung-ch'ang T'ung was originally written in thirty-four p'ien 篇. No more than two chapters (卷 chüan)

now survive in the Yü-han shan-fang chi yi shu compiled by Ma Kuo-han of the Ch'ing dynasty.

For a discussion of Chung-ch'ang T'ung's philosophy, see Balazs' article on "La crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des Han."

4. Chang Huan 張奐 was one of the great border generals in the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling. His biography is in HHS 55.

On the establishment of Yung Province in Hsing-p'ing 1, see TCTC p.1954.

5. Liu Jung 劉容 was the great-great-grandson of Liu Ching 京, who was the son of Emperor Kuang-wu 光武 of Later Han. When Jung died in 193, his kingdom had been ended, but it was now restored and Jung's son was granted the succession. Liu Jung's biography in HHS 32, p.21a, tells how when Ts'ao Ts'ao was Grand Administrator of Tung commandery (191-192), Jung's brother Miao had visited Ch'ang-an and recommended Ts'ao's loyalty to the Emperor. Ts'ao Ts'ao was grateful, and the family was now given its reward.

6. In HHS annals 9, p.9b, this list of kingdoms is given as Chi-pei, Pei-hai, Fu-ling, Hsia-p'i, Ch'ang-shan, Kan-ling, Chi-yin and P'ing-yüan, but the commentary of Ch'ien Ta-hsin of the Ch'ing dynasty notes that the text should read Ch'i 齊 for Chi-pei. This is confirmed by the Palace Edition (武英殿 Wu Ying Tien) and agrees with TCTC. Ch'ien Ta-hsin further notes that Chi-yin was not a kingdom at that time; there had been no such enfeoffment since Liu Pao 劉保, King of Chi-yin, became Emperor Shun 順 of Later Han in 126. Ch'ien suggests that Chi-yin should read Chi-pei; and this amendment is confirmed by HHS 45, p.7b, which says that Chi-pei was ended as a kingdom in this year.

All but one of the kingdoms were of commandery size. Fu-ling, however, was the name of a prefecture in Chiu-chiang. In 87 A.D.

Liu Yen 劉延, Marquis of Fu-ling and a son of Emperor Kuang-wu, was finally promoted, after a chequered career, to be King of Fu-ling, with five prefectures in his state and Shou-ch'un as his capital (HHS 32, p.17a). The kingdom of Fu-ling therefore comprised a part of Chiu-chiang commandery.

7. SKWei 1, p.25a says that the P'ing-lu Trench was built to connect the Hu-ch'ih 呼池 and the Ku River 孤水. The Hu-ch'ih can be identified as a widening of the Hu-t'o River 呼沱河 (first character also written 滹) near the city of Jao-yang 饒陽 (now southeast of Jaoyang in Hupeh), for the commentary to HHS 1A, p.9b, notes that Ts'ao Ts'ao carried out works at this point to bring the course of the river from the south of the city to the north. The Ku River, according to the Shuo-wen dictionary, ch.11A, p.3b, line 9, rose in the Shu-fu Shan 成夫山 (also known as the T'ai-hsi Shan 泰戲山), now northeast of Fansze 繁峙 in Shansi, and flowed northeast to the sea.

SKWei, in the same citation, says that the Ch'üan-chou Trench ran from the mouth of the Chü River 洹河 into the Lu River 潞河, while according to Shui-ching chu 14, p.11a, the two rivers were joined near P'ing-ku 平谷 (now northeast of Pingku in Hopeh), and the Ch'üan-chou Trench carried them further to meet the Ju River 濡水 near Hai-yang 海陽 (now southeast of Lwanhsien 瀋縣 in Hopeh).

By this means, Ts'ao Ts'ao had arranged a system of water transport to bring his supplies from central Hopeh to the foot of the high ground in the north of the province near the borders of modern Manchuria.

8. According to Shui-ching chu 35, p.5a, these camps were close to the Yangtse east of Lu-k'ou 陸口 (now southwest of Kiayu in Hupeh).

Notes to Chien-an 12:

(2070-76)

1. P'ing-kang was a prefecture under Former Han and the capital of Yu-pei-p'ing commandery, but it was disestablished under Later Han. The city is now Pingchuan in Hopeh.

2. Po-t'an had been a prefecture under Former Han, but was disestablished in Later Han. The city was west of Chengtehshih in Hopeh.
3. Ts'ao Ts'ao's forces had been halted by the floods while they were attempting to make their way northeast along the coast by Shanhaikwan. Under T'ien Ch'ou's direction, instead of leading his men back to the south, Ts'ao Ts'ao marched north into the high ground now known as the Yen Shan, crossed the line of the Great Wall, reached the old road near present-day Chengtehshih and then turned east to come down again to the coastlands well north of Shanhaikwan and behind the main body of the Wu-huan.
4. TCTC commentary here notes that the chief of the Wu-huan in Yu-pei-p'ing was called Wu-yen (TCTC p.2013), and suggests that Neng-ch'en-ti-chih was another name or title for the same man.
5. Su-p'u-wan 速僕丸 is a variant for the name of Su-p'u-yen 蘇僕延.
6. This comet is recorded in HHS treatise 12, p.6a. Ch'un-wei 鶉尾 is the constellation Yi-hsiu 翼宿, a group of stars in the western constellations Crater and Hydra (Schlegel 51). The treatise says that this part of the sky indicates Ching Province, and the comet is seen as an omen of the death of Liu Piao, Governor of Ching, and the loss of his territory.
7. On T'ien Ch'ou's earlier career, see TCTC pp.1947 f.
8. A mountain called Lungchung is west of present-day Siangyang.
9. On the great ministers Kuan Chung 管仲 of Ch'i 齊 and Yüeh Yi 樂毅 of Yen 燕, both in the time of the Chou dynasty, see their biographies in Shih chi 62 and 80, and also notes 30 to HP2 and 31 to CP1.
10. "Three of his family", literally three generations in succession 三歷世, but actually two: Sun Chien and his sons Ts'e and Chüan. This, of course, is not quite correct, for although the family came from that region, Sun Chien never held any territorial power in the region of the lower Yangtse.

11. Han and Mien refer to the same stream. The river was generally called Mien above Han-chung and Han below it, but either name could be used to describe the whole length.
12. P'ang Te-kung and Chu-ko Liang greeted one another as superior men. P'ang Te-kung, as the senior, was prepared to receive obeisance from Chu-ko Liang.

Notes to Chien-an 13:

(2076-96)

1. Hsia-k'ou 夏口 was the place where the Han River entered the Yangtse; Hsia was a name sometimes given to the lower reaches of the Han.
2. Ch'u-kuan, also known as Han-kuan 扞關, is now west of Changyang 長陽 in Hupeh. Kan Ning was urging that Sun Chüan should occupy the whole course of the middle Yangtse as far as the Gorge Mountains in western Hupeh.
3. On Hsiao Ho 蕭何, Chancellor of State to Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Former Han, see his biographies in Shih chi 53 and Han shu 39.
4. Mien-k'ou is an alternative name for Hsia-k'ou, at the mouth of the Han River (see note 1 above and note 11 to CA12).
5. Dare-to-dies: a term often used for soldiers who have volunteered for dangerous duty.
6. During Later Han, the highest posts of the state had been the three Dukes: the Grand Commandant, the Minister over the Masses and the Minister of Works. Ts'ao Ts'ao now restored the positions of Lieutenant-Chancellor and Imperial Clerk Grandee from the system of Former Han administration. The three Dukes had generally shared responsibility, but the Lieutenant-Chancellor held supreme power over the whole imperial government.
7. Under the three Dukes, the Head Clerk of the Department of the West was responsible for the recommendation and promotion of officials in the central administration, and the Head Clerk of the Department

of the East was responsible for all other clerical and military posts (HHS treatise 24, p.3b). This was continued under Ts'ao Ts'ao's government, and from examples below (eg. TCTC pp.2082 and 2129) it appears that local provincial war-lords were also setting up similar departments.

8. According to Chou li 周禮 (translated by Biot II, p.167), territory for a thousand li around the royal capital was known as the zone of the state (délimitation de l'état principal 國畿 kuo-chi) and the next five hundred li outside this district was the zone of supervision (délimitation de surveillance 侯畿 hou-chi). The commentator Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 of the second century A.D. explains that the character hou was equivalent to hsien 限 (limit, restriction), and says that according to the system no enfeoffment was to be held within one thousand li of the imperial capital. By this, Ts'ao Ts'ao had no right to live at Yeh.
9. K'ung Jung had been Chancellor of Pei-hai in the early years of Chien-an (TCTC pp.1957 and 1989).
10. Chung-ni 仲尼 was the style of Confucius; Yen Hui 顏回 was one of Confucius' great disciples.
11. Shen-sheng 申生 was the elder son of Duke Hsien of Chin 晉獻公, and he was slandered and destroyed by the duke's concubine née Li 驪. Ch'ung-erh 重耳 was the younger son, and he went away to avoid the danger and only came back when his father had died. Ch'ung-erh became Duke Wen 文 of Chin, one of the great hegemony of the Chou period. (See Legge V, pp.141, 144 and 186, ff.)
12. It seems most likely that Chang-ling commandery was established in Ching province in the time of Liu Piao. The prefecture of Chang-ling, formerly in Nan-yang, is now east of Tsaoyang in Hupeh. See also note 13 to ChP1.
13. Ch'u 楚 is used here as a general term for the southern lands about the Yangtse, referring to the state of that name in the time of the Chou dynasty.

14. Credentials 節 chieh: Liu Tsung's insignia as ruler of Ching Province for the Han dynasty, which he had inherited from his father Piao.
15. This is a summary of Hsi Tso-ch'ih's 習鑿齒 comments to the biography of Liu Pei, quoted in SKShu 2, p.7b PC. Hsi Tso-ch'ih, who died about 383, has a biography in Chin shu 82. He wrote several books on the Han, Three Kingdoms and Chin periods, but P'ei Sung-chih's commentary does not indicate the source of this quotation.
16. At this point in the text, some editions have the characters 四單之地 this translation includes the phrase.
17. The biography of Confucius in Shih chi 47, translated by Chavannes V, pp.351-353, tells how the master was planning to visit the state of Chin 晉 when he heard that the great minister Chao Chien-tzu 趙簡子 had killed the counsellor Tou Ming-tu 賈鳴犢. Confucius turned back, and explained to his disciples that "le sage s'éloignera de celui qui fait du mal à ceux qui lui sont semblables...".
18. Liu-hsia Hui 柳下惠 : from Mencius, Book III, Part I, Chapter IX, translated by Legge II, p.207: "Hui of Liu-hsia was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When neglected and left without office, he did not murmur. When straitened by poverty he did not grieve. Accordingly he had a saying, 'You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?' Therefore, self-possessed, he companied with men indifferently, at the same time not losing himself."
19. Fan Li 范蠡 was minister of the state of Yüeh 越 in the fifth century B.C. and masterminded the conquest of Wu 吳 in 473. After the final victory, he retired into private life, explaining that while the ruler of Yüeh was a good man to deal with and to serve in

difficult times, he would be hard to manage now that success had come. He went to live in the state of T'ao 陶, near the great lakes by the junction of the Han River and the Tangtse, and there he made himself a great fortune. His biography is in Shih chi 129, with another reference in Han shu 91.

20. Shan-tu prefecture was northwest of Siangyang.

21. The text criticism of Chang Yü notes that the character tzu 子 "son" should read sun 孫, "grandson" (cf. SKWei 21, p.1a). Wang Ts'an's grandfather Ch'ang 暢 and Ch'ang's father Kung 龔 both rose to ducal office under the Later Han; their biographies are in HHS 46.

22. Hegemon 霸 pa was a term used in Chou times to describe the rulers of great states who gained supremacy among their fellow feudatories and compelled them to keep the peace and support the royal house. (see note 9 to ChP3).

Lord of the West 西伯 hsi-po refers to King Wen of Chou 周文王, of whom it is said that he held two-thirds of the empire but still served the rightful King of the Shang (商 or Yin 殷) Dynasty so long as he ruled with justice and virtue (eg. Legge I, p.215).

23. Liu Pei had been made Inspector of Yü Province by T'ao Ch'ien in 194 (TCTC p.1949) and was recognised as Governor by Ts'ao Ts'ao in 197 (TCTC p.1991), hence this term of address.

24. T'ien Heng 田橫 styled himself King of Ch'i 齊 in the time of disorder at the end of the Ch'in dynasty. He was brought to surrender to Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Former Han in 202 B.C., but he committed suicide before he reached the capital, and all his attendants and followers took his example. His biography is in Han shu 33.

25. The quotation is from Han shu 52, pp.18a-b: "the fading breath of a rushing wind cannot stir fur or feathers; the last flight of a strong crossbow has not the strength to pierce plain silk

from Lu". Yen Shih-ku's commentary to the Han shu passage notes that the people of Ch'ü-fu 曲阜, in the ancient territory of the state of Lu 魯 of the Chou period, wove a particularly fine silk.

26. TCTC text and commentary here quote the Ping-fa 兵法 book ascribed to the fourth century general Sun Wu 孫武, but the passage is not quite the same in present-day editions. Griffith, p.103, translated the modern text as "...marching at double time for a hundred li, the three commanders will be captured".
27. On this passage, and its significance for the study of the chiu-p'in chung-cheng 九品中正 system of recruitment of the Wei state, see Holzman's article on "Les débuts du système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires: Les neuf catégories et l'Impartial et Juste", pp.392-3.
28. During the Han dynasty, a carriage drawn by oxen 犢牛 was one of the privileges of an official.
29. TCTC here writes Yüan-piao 元表, but this is a mistake for the style of Ch'in Sung, actually Wen-piao 文表 (SKWu 8, p.4b).
30. We may note here, from the preceding paragraphs, that the allies had gone separate ways after their defeat of Ts'ao Ts'ao at the Red Cliffs. Sun Ch'üan's main force, under Chou Yü and Ch'eng P'u, had fought its way up the valley of the Han but was now brought to a halt by the defences of Ts'ao Ts'ao's rear-guard under Ts'ao Jen at Hsiang-yang. Sun Ch'üan had led a second army to besiege Ho-fei and attempt a breakthrough in Chiu-chiang commandery in the east, but the campaign was not proving successful. In contrast, Liu Pei had turned to the south of Ching Province, and he was successfully mopping up isolated commanderies and prefectures around the Tung Ting Lake and the valley of the Siang.
31. This is quoted from Hsi Tso-ch'ih's comments to the biography of Liu Chang, in SKShu 1, p.4b PC. On Hsi Tso-ch'ih, see note 15 above.

The source of this quotation is not indicated by P'ei Sung-chih's commentary.

32. The Kung-yang commentary to the Ch'un-ch'iu chronicle for the ninth year of Duke Hsi 僖 (650 B.C.) reads: "At the assembly of K'uei-ch'iu 葵丘, Duke Huan bullied the other rulers and then boasted of it. Nine states rebelled." (Shih-san ching chu-su 7, p.134).

33. Tzu-wen 子文 was the style of Tou-ku-wu-t'u 鄧穀於菟, who was chief minister of the state of Ch'u 楚 in the seventh century B.C. Kuo yü 18, p.7a, tells how Tzu-wen was offered honours and rewards but would always refuse them. He was asked why he rejected all these things that other men sought for, and he replied that it was the duty of a minister to care for his people, that there were many people still in need of care, that if he accepted gifts he would be profiting himself at the expense of others, and that such action would soon bring destruction. "I am turning away from death, not from wealth." In fact, in the great purge at the time of King Chuang 莊 of Ch'u (613-591 B.C.), the descendants of Tzu-wen were left unharmed.

According to the Tso-chuan chronicle, translated by Legge V, p.757/2, when the state of Ch'u was defeated by Wu 吳 in 506 B.C., and the capital Ying 郢 was lost to the invaders, Shen Pao-hsü 申包胥 went to Ch'in 秦 and succeeded in getting an army to bring help. When Wu had been driven off, Shen would have been rewarded, but he said: "I acted for the ruler, and not for myself. Since you are now [re]-established what have I to seek?"

34. On T'ien Ch'ou's earlier career, see TCTC pp.1947 f and 2071 f.

35. Though Ping Yüan disapproved, it may be noted that the marriage of deceased children was regarded at this time as a practicable custom.

36. The Lin-li Hills, southeast of Ihsien in Anhwei, are part of the Paitsi Shan.
37. According to SKWu 15, p.3a, the new commandery comprised six prefectures with the capital at Shih-hsin 始新, now west of Shunan 淳安 in Chekiang. The territory of the commandery controlled the valley of the Sinan River south of Hwang Shan.

TCTC commentary suggests that the capital of the commandery was called Hsi-hsin 徙新, but this is an error. SKWu 15 is quite clear, and is confirmed by Chin shu 15, p.6b.

Notes to Chien-an 14:

(2097-2100)

1. Chiang Chi's biography in SKWei 14, p.28a, describes him as a man of P'ing-a 平阿 in Ch'u state 楚國. Under Later Han P'ing-a was in Chiu-chiang commandery. In 197 Yüan Shu changed the name of Chiu-chiang commandery to Huai-nan (TCTC p.1996) and Wei continued the new name. In 232 Ts'ao Ts'ao's son Piao was made King of Ch'u with this territory as his fief (SKWei 20, p.10b). The kingdom was ended in 249 and the name was restored to Huai-nan (SKWei 20, p.11a). Thus Ch'u state here refers to the territory also known as Huai-nan or, formerly, Chiu-chiang.
2. As the text stands in TCTC, it is hard to see what Chiang Chi was doing, and translation is not helped by the fact that the editors have here made one of their few mistakes and indicated two clauses, quite wrongly, as direct speech.

The passage from which this text is taken, the beginning of Chiang Chi's biography in SKWei 14, p.28a, explains that Chang Hsi had actually only a thousand horsemen under his command, so the relief force was not only slow to arrive, but it would have been quite inadequate to deal with Sun Ch'üan's army camped outside Ho-fei.

Although Liu Fu 劉馥 had made Ho-fei his headquarters while he was Inspector of Yang Province, he had died in the previous year (SKWei 15, p.1b), and it seems that Chiang Chi arranged for the new Inspector, whose name is not known, to carry out the deception. This

new appointee had obviously no opportunity to get into Ho-fei while the siege was still on, but was evidently camped some distance outside. So Chiang Chi told a false tale to his superior, presumably to make the deception more effective, and as a result letters were sent to the commander of the garrison in Ho-fei. The whole manoeuvre served a double purpose, for those messengers who got through encouraged the defenders of the city, and those who were captured brought convincing misinformation to Sun Ch'üan.

3. According to Shui-ching chu 23, p.8b, the Ko River flowed into the Huai at Sui-ling prefecture in Hsia-p'i, and according to Shui-ching chu 32, p.8a, the Fei River flowed north from Ho-fei to join the Huai near Shou-ch'un.
4. This new commandery of P'eng-tse was probably no more than a temporary arrangement to guard communications at the junction of the Po-yang Lake and the Yangtse. The capital was presumably at P'eng-tse prefecture, now east of Hukow 湖口 in Kiangsi.
5. The commanderies of Ching Province south of the Yangtse were Wu-ling, Ch'ang-sha, Ling-ling and Kuei-yang.
6. Su Ch'in 蘇秦 and Chang Yi 張儀 (biographies in Shih chi 69 and 70) were great strategists and politicians of the Warring States period at the end of the Chou dynasty.
7. Ho Hsia's criticism of the new and excessive official morality is a contrast to the praise which had been given Ts'ui Yen and Mao Chieh for their work of reform in the previous year (cf. TCTC p.2079).

Notes to Chien-an 15:

(2100-05)

1. This is based on the Analects, Book XIV, Chapter XII, translated by Legge I, p.279. Legge's note to the passage explains that the government of the state of Chin 晉 was then controlled by the three great clans of Chao 趙, Wei 魏 and Han 韓, which later

divided the whole state among themselves. At this time, however, they were not states, and Meng Kung-ch'o 孟公綽 was competent to manage their internal affairs. T'eng 滕 and Hsieh 薛, however, were small independent states, and their chief officers would also be responsible for foreign policy and relations with the powerful states around them. Meng Kung-ch'o was not equal to that kind of responsibility.

Meng Kung-ch'o was a member of a great family in Confucius' own state of Lu 魯, and in Chapter XIII of the same book in the Analects, Confucius praises him as a man free from covetousness.

2. Kuan Chung 管仲 the great minister of the state of Ch'i 齊, was wealthy and extravagant. Duke Huan 桓, however, used him in office without concern for his moral behaviour, and so Ch'i became the most powerful state under the Chou dynasty. For Confucius' disapproval of Kuan Chung's extravagance, see Analects, Book III, Chapter XXII, translated by Legge I, pp.162-163.
3. It may be seen from this ordinance that Ts'ao Ts'ao has adopted the policy of recruitment proposed by Ho Hsia in the previous year, and is largely rejecting the system encouraged by Ts'ui Yen and Mao Chieh (see note 7 to CA14).
4. There was no chi-hai 己亥 day in the twelfth month of this year, but the chi-hai day (number 38 in the sexagenary cycle) was the second-last day of the eleventh month.
5. Ts'ao Ts'ao had been appointed Chancellor of Chi-nan about the time of the Yellow Turban uprising in 184 (SKWei 1, p.2b).
6. TCTC commentary quotes P'ei Sung-chih's notes to the biography of Chou Yü (SKWu 9, p.6b), pointing out that this Pa-ch'iu is not the same place as the Pa-ch'iu prefecture set up in Lu-ling in 198 (TCTC p.2022). That was near Siakiang in Kiangsi, and Chou Yü was travelling from Tantu in Kiangsi to Kiangling in Hupeh. He died near Pa-ch'iu Mountain, which is now southeast of Yoyang 岳陽 in Hunan.

7. "A-meng from Wu" 吳下阿蒙 : the character A is a meaningless prefix to a personal name. Lü Meng originally came from Ju-nan commandery, but Lu Su is evidently referring to the time he and Lü Meng had known each other in the early years with Sun Ts'e and Sun Ch'üan.
8. SKWu 7, p.18a, says that Pu Chih came from Huai-yin 淮陰 in Lin-huai 臨淮. Huai-yin prefecture is listed in HHS treatise 21, p.23a, under Hsia-p'i, and Hsia-p'i commandery had been known as Lin-huai until 72 A.D. It appears that the old name was still in occasional use at this time, and Chin shu 15, pp.2a-b, lists both a Hsia-p'i commandery and a Lin-huai.
9. Ling-nan 嶺南 is the region south of the Nan Ling Range, the modern provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Sun Ch'üan now controlled most of the Later Han Yang Province together with Chiang-hsia commandery in Ching Province. Liu Pei controlled the rest of Ching Province. In Chiao-chih, however, through the agency of Pu Chih and the alliance of Shih Hsieh, Sun Ch'üan had extended his influence in despite of Liu Pei and the imperial court controlled by Ts'ao Ts'ao.

Notes to Chien-an 16:

(2106-12)

1. According to the system described in HHS treatise 25, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes commanded a troop of guards under the Superintendent of the Imperial Household and had no administrative subordinates. The post was now raised to be directly under the Lieutenant-Chancellor, and was provided with a secretariat.
2. Tiger Warriors was the style of Ts'ao Ts'ao's own bodyguard.
3. Hu-ch'uang 胡牀 was a light folding chair. See Fitzgerald, Barbarian Beds, particularly p.23. Ts'ao Ts'ao was showing his unconcern to reassure his troops.

4. Yung-tao 甬道: a defensive system which guarded the flanks as the the army marched in enemy territory. In this instance, Ts'ao Ts'ao was marching his force south along the Yellow River, protected on the east by the river itself and on the west by a heavy screen of waggons.
5. It seems only fair that Han Sui should suffer this suspicion, for years earlier, in 194, he had brought about the destruction of Fan Ch'ou by similar means (TCTC p.1959). There is the possibility, however, that the two similar stories in fact refer to the same incident, and that some early historian took the occasion of Han Sui's meeting with Fan Ch'ou, altered it, and added the anecdote as an embellishment to the legend of Ts'ao Ts'ao.
6. A hu 斛, the term used here, was a measure of capacity one-tenth of a tou 斗 bushel, and a bushel was 12.1856 cu.in. See Yang Lien-sheng, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty", p.137, note 90.
7. Two thousand piculs 二千石 erh-ch'ien shih was the salary of the civil head of a commandery or kingdom. This award to Tu Chi kept him at his post as Grand Administrator of Ho-tung, but raised his salary to the level of a minister 卿 ch'ing.

According to HHS treatise 28, p.14b, the salary of fully two thousand piculs 中 chung erh-ch'ien shih paid the equivalent of 180 hu 斛 of grain a month, half in cash, half in grain. The salary of two thousand piculs paid 120 hu. Commentary on p.15a quotes the Chin Po-kuan piao 晉百官表 by Hsun Ch'o 荀綽, which says that in the Yen-p'ing 延平 period (the one year 106/107) officials at fully two thousand piculs were paid 9,000 cash 錢 ch'ien and 72 hu of grain each month, while those at two thousand piculs were paid 6,500 cash and 36 hu of grain.

Note that according to Yang Lien-sheng, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty", p.137, note 90, a hu and a shih were both one-tenth of a bushel; hu was a measure of capacity and shih was a measure of weight. See note 6 above and also Swann, pp.364-5.

8. From the "Announcement of Chung-hwuy", Shu ching Book II, Chapter IV, translated by Legge III, p.181: "Absorb the weak and punish the wilfully blind."
9. The Tien-chiang River 墊江水 refers to the Fou 涪 River, taking that name from the former Tien-chiang prefecture, now Hochwan 合川 in Szechwan.

Notes to Chien-an 17:

(2112-18)

1. Hsiao Ho 蕭何 was one of the great ministers of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖, founder of the Former Han dynasty. His biographies are in Shih chi 53 and Han shu 39.
2. What Ch'eng Yü is saying is that the question of executing the surrendered rebels should either be left to Chia Hsin, as the man on the spot, or should be referred to Ts'ao Ts'ao, since he is the supreme authority. In no circumstances should Ts'ao P'i take the responsibility on himself. P'i was responsible for the central administration at Yeh, but he would be exceeding his instructions if he interfered in a military and political decision outside.
3. The day kuei-wei 癸未, which is number 20 in the sexagenary cycle, did not fall in the fifth month of this year, for the first day of the fifth month was jen-yin 壬寅, cyclical number 29. TCTC has followed HHS annals 9, p.10a, but there is obviously some error.
4. Under Former Han, Fu had been a prefecture in Tso-p'ing-yi, but it was not maintained by Later Han. The site of the city is now southeast of Lochwan in Shensi.
5. Cheng Hun is described below as the younger brother of Cheng T'ai, who was a man from Ho-nan, and Hun's own biography in SKWei 16, p.21a, confirms that Ho-nan was his native commandery. The reference to Tso-p'ing-yi is therefore mistaken.

6. The Ju-hsü Dockyard was established at the junction of the Ju-hsü River with the Yangtse at Ju-hsü-k'ou 濡須口; now Yukikow in Anhwei. This fortified post on the northern bank of the Yangtse, some sixty miles from Ts'ao Ts'ao's city of Ho-fei, became an essential base for Sun Ch'üan's military operations against Wei.
7. On the Nine Distinctions 九錫 chiu hsi see Tjan Tjoe Som I, pp.25-29 and TCTC p.2119 below.
8. There is some disagreement among the histories whether Hsün Yü was poisoned by Ts'ao Ts'ao or merely died of discouragement and frustration.
9. TCTC commentary here cites passages from the Analects, which are severally translated by Legge I, pp.175, 179, 180, 282 and 283.
 On his disciple Tzu-lu 子路 (also named Yu 由), for example, Confucius said: "In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, Yu might be employed to manage the military levies, but I do not know whether he be perfectly virtuous" (Analects, Book V, Chapter VII, in Legge I, p.175).
 On the other hand, when one of his disciples criticised Kuan Chung 管仲 for serving Duke Huan of Ch'i 齊桓公 after Huan had killed his own brother Kung-tzu Ch'iu (Prince Ch'iu) 公子糾, Confucius replied: "Kwan Chung acted as prime minister to Duke Hwan, made him leader of all the princes, and united and rectified the whole kingdom. Down to the present day, the people enjoy the gifts which he conferred.... Will you require from him the small fidelity of common men and common women, who would commit suicide in a stream or ditch, no one knowing anything about them?" (Analects, Book XIV, Chapter XVIII, in Legge I, pp.282-3).
10. Tu Mu 杜牧 (803-852), a scholar and poet of the T'ang dynasty; biographies in Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書 147 and Hsin T'ang shu 新唐書 166.
11. From the Analects, Book VI, Chapter XVI, translated by Legge I: "where the accomplishments are in excess of the solid qualities, we have the manners of a clerk." Legge explains the clerk (史 shih) as

"one that is of a class sharp and well-informed, but insincere."

12. On Hsiao Ho, see note 1 above.

13. The comet is recorded in HHS treatise 12, p.6a. The Wu-chu-hou 五諸侯 (The Five Feudal Lords) can describe either of two groups of five stars, one in the western constellation of Gemini, the other in Coma Berenicis (Schlegel 718 and 719). It is probably the former that is referred to here.

HHS treatise suggests that the comet foretold the destruction of independent war-lords in the west: Liu Chang in Yi Province, Chang Lu in Han-chung, Han Sui in Liang Province, and Sung Chien at Fu-han.

14. Kuan-t'ou: the head of the Po-shui Pass 白水關 in Po-shui prefecture; northwest of Chaohwa 昭化 in Szechwan.

15. Po-ti was the chief city of Yü-fu 魚復 prefecture in commandery, now east of Fengkieh 奉節 in Szechwan, on the Yangtse and close to the border of Hupeh. In the early years of Later Han, Kung-sun Shu 公孫述 had proclaimed himself as the White Emperor 白帝, and the name of the city was taken from his title.

Notes to Chien-an 18:

(2118-24)

1. This reorganisation was proclaimed in the third month, and the new arrangement is described in Hsien-ti ch'i-chü-chu 獻帝起居注, quoted in the commentary to HHS treatise 28, pp.1b-2a. The main effect of the changes was to make Chi Province very much larger than before, thus setting new territory under Ts'ao Ts'ao's direct control as Governor. It should be noticed, however, that an edict issued by the Emperor in Ts'ao Ts'ao's control would have no effect on the territories outside Ts'ao Ts'ao's borders, and much of the system preserved by Hsien-ti ch'i-chü-chu represents little more than a juggling with place-names and a belated recognition of changes already carried out by independent war-lords.

2. For these manoeuvres in Chien-an 5, see TCTC pp.2026f. Yen and Po-ma were neighbouring prefectures in Tung commandery.

3. Under Later Han, Ch'i-ch'un prefecture was in Chiang-hsia commandery in Ching Province, but it seems that by this time there was a commandery established near the border between Ts'ao Ts'ao's territory and Sun Ch'üan's. The site of the prefecture is now northwest of Kichun in Hupeh.

4. This appointment of Chiang Chi by Ts'ao Ts'ao may have been intended as a compliment, but since Tan-yang was in the hands of Sun Ch'üan the title gave Chiang Chi no real authority.

5. The fief of the Duke of Wei comprised the ten commanderies of Ho-tung, Ho-nei, Wei, Chao, Chung-shan, Ch'ang-shan, Chu-lu, An-p'ing, Kan-ling and P'ing-yuan.

Note that from this point in the translation the name WEI written in capital letters refers to the state governed by Ts'ao Ts'ao and not just to the commandery of that name.

6. On the Nine Distinctions 九錫 chiu hsi, see Tjan Tjoe Som I, pp.25-29, and compare also Dubs III, pp.208-210.

7. On the establishment of Pa-hsi commandery, see note 11 to CA20 below. Under Later Han, Tzu-t'ung had been a prefecture in Kuang-han commandery, but although TCTC p.2131 below seems to refer to the first establishment to a Tzu-t'ung commandery under Liu Pei, it is very likely that a commandery of that name had already been divided off from Kuang-han in the time of Liu Chang. The city is now Tzetung in Szechwan.

8. Nei is another name for the Fou River 涪水 in Szechwan.

9. The Yen Bridge was in the south of Lo prefecture.

10. Han Hsin 韓信, biographies in Shih chi 93 and Han shu 33, was a great general of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Former Han. Ying Pu 英布 (also known as Ching 黥, "Branded" Pu), was another fighting man of the time at the end of Ch'in and early Han, who served both Hsiang Yü 項羽 and his rival, the future Emperor. His biographies are in Shih chi 91 and Han shu 34.

11. Under Later Han, the group of commanderies in the region of Lung-shang 隴上, also known as Lung-yu 隴右, west of the Lung Mountain, were Lung-hsi, Nan-an and Han-yang.
12. Chao Tun 趙盾 was chief minister of the state of Chin 晉 in the seventh century B.C. Marquis Ling 靈侯 of Chin tried three times to kill him, but Chao Tun fled the capital. In 606 B.C. the Marquis was killed by Chao Tun's cousin Chao Ch'uan 穿, and Tun came home. In the Tso-chuan, translated by Legge V, p.290/2, the story continues: "The Grand Duke wrote this entry, - 'Chao Tun murdered his ruler,' and showed it in the court. Seuen [i.e. Chao Tun] said to him, 'It was not so;' but he replied, 'You are the highest minister. Flying from the state, you did not cross its borders; since you returned, you have not punished the villain. If it was not you who murdered the marquis, who was it?' "
13. TCTC p.2043 described how Chang Lu established a religious government in Han-chung commandery, with officials called Libationers. The phrase tu-chiang 都講, translated here as Expositor, was used at this time as the description of a teacher, and TCTC commentary states that Ma Ch'ao, with this rank, was second only to Chang Lu.
14. Grand Judge was the equivalent of the Later Han Commandant of Justice; Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Household was equivalent to the Superintendent of the Imperial Household. On the Imperial Clerk Grandee, see note 6 to CA3; the phrase ts'an...shih (參...事) used here indicates that Yüan Huan held the powers of the office without the rank. Under the Han dynasty, the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was the chief of the censorate.
15. Emperor Wen 文 of Former Han had abolished the mutilating punishments in 167 B.C. (see Hulsewé, Remnants of Han Law, pp.124 and 334-6). What Ch'en Ch'un objects to is that those who used to lose only a limb or some other physical feature are now punished by flogging or bastinado, and such a beating too

frequently results in death. On the other hand some cases of assault, nominally liable to the death penalty, are in practice commuted to convict service, which costs a man his freedom, and means that his head is shaven, but still does not award the criminal any injury comparable to that which he has inflicted.

16. Grades of three thousand 三千之屬 san-ch'ien chih shu: in the Lü-hsing 呂刑 chapter of the Shu ching (Part V, Book XXVII) there is account of the numbers of crimes which can fall under the five categories of punishments, but which can be remitted by fines. Legge III, pp.605-606, has: "Of crimes that may be redeemed by the fine in lieu of branding [黥刑] there are 1000, and the same number of those that would incur cutting off the nose [劓刑]. The fine in lieu of cutting off the feet [非刑] extends to 500 cases; that in lieu of castration [宮刑] to 300; and that in lieu of death [大辟] to 200. Altogether, set against the five punishments there are 3000 crimes." This system of fines, an early record of money commutation, was to be applied when there was some doubt of the justice of inflicting the punishment itself.

Of the five punishments listed above, the first only three were recognised as the "mutilating punishments" (肉刑 jou hsing).

Castration was regarded as a special category (Hulsewé, Remnants of Han Law, p.127).

Notes to Chien-an 19:

(2125-34)

1. The Ch'ang-li Hills are now in Tsinan 秦安 in Kansu.
2. Shao-tang 燒當 was the name of a tribe of the Ch'iang barbarians.
3. The Cap of Distant Journeys 遠游冠 yüan-yu kuan, with the gold seal and the red tassel, was one of the insignia of a king under the Han empire. The cap is described in HHS treatise 30, p.6b.
4. When Sun Ts'e died in Chien-an 5, he had controlled Lu-chiang through his nominee, Li Shu. After Ts'e's death, Li Shu rebelled against Sun Chüan, but Ch'üan stormed Wan city, killed Li Shu, and presumably re-established his own authority (TCTC p.2039). In

Chien-an 18, when Ts'ao Ts'ao made his campaign against the east, TCTC p.2118 records that all Sun Ch'üan's camps north of the Yangtse were destroyed, and this must mean that Lu-chiang was lost once more. Shortly afterwards, when Ts'ao attempted to migrate the people forcibly to the north, they fled instead across the Yangtse to Sun Ch'üan, and only Wan city remained in Ts'ao Ts'ao's possession (TCTC p.2119). Ts'ao Ts'ao was now attempting to restore his position by a new settlement with government works.

5. The sash 練 lien was a strip of cloth with a hook at one end. It was thrown up to catch on the ramparts of a city and so used to scale the wall.
6. Chien-ning was the name given by the Shu state to the Later Han commandery of Yi-chou in 225. As TCTC commentary points out, the use of the name here is an anachronism.
7. SKShu 1, p.4a, notes that when Ts'ao Ts'ao invaded Ching Province in 208, Liu Chang sent messengers to him, and Ts'ao awarded Chang the title of General Who Inspires Awe (cf. TCTC p.2095).
8. From this point on, where the translation has SHU in capitals, it refers to the state founded by Liu Pei in Yi Province, and not only to the commandery of that name.
9. The chih-po 直百 money was inflationary. The coins had a face value of 100 cash (錢 ch'ien), but they did not have that intrinsic value. The inflation which resulted was controlled by a price-fixing scheme.
10. Huo Ch'u-p'ing 霍去病, biographies in Shih chi 111 and Han shu 55, commanded armies for Emperor Wu 武 of Former Han against the Hsiung-nu. TCTC p.644 records the anecdote that on one occasion Huo Ch'u-p'ing was offered a residence by the Emperor as a reward for his good work, but refused the gift, saying: "The Hsiung-nu have not yet been destroyed, what would I do with a house?"
11. Lang River describes the Kialing River 嘉陵江 where it flows by Langchung in Szechwan.

12. It is, in fact, quite likely that Tzu-t'ung commandery had already been established in the time of Liu Chang. Compare TCTC p.2120 and note 7 to CA18.
13. Liu Pang 劉邦, Lord of P'ei 沛公 and later Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Former Han, captured the land within the passes in 206 B.C., and he agreed with the elders that the cruel laws of the Ch'in 秦 dynasty should be done away with, and a straightforward code of three articles (三章 san chang) should be proclaimed in their stead, to deal simply with cases of murder, wounding or robbery. Then the people "only feared lest the Lord of Pei should not become king of Ch'in" (Dubs I, pp.58-59).
14. Fa Cheng means that Chu-ko Liang has come from outside the province and should pay respect to the local custom and the lenient system of government that he has taken over.
15. Hsün Yü had been Prefect of the Masters of Writing of Han, and Hsün Yu had been Prefect of the Masters of Writing at the Wei court.
16. Sung Chien had maintained his independence since the great rebellion in Liang Province in 185 and 186 (see TCTC p.1873 and also Haloun, "The Liang-chou Rebellion", p.123).
17. The territory called Hsiao-huang-chung is the same region as Huang-chung (note 27 to Chung-p'ing 1), southeast of the Koko Nor in Tsinghai. The name is taken from the Huang River, which flows from the Koko Nor to the Yellow River, and the prefix Hsiao is sometimes added on account of the barbarian people known as the Hsiao Yüeh-chih 小月氏, who at one time inhabited the area.
18. When a high official of the civil administration also held military command, there was always danger that such great power in the hands of one man might encourage him to attempt a coup. To avert any chance of treachery when the Emperor and his minister were face to face, and also to show the imperial authority, the officer was escorted in such a way that the slightest false move would cause his death.

19. Later Han had various organisations to deal with legal administration, in particular the ministry under the Commandant of Justice, but there was no specific Department of Justice among the offices of the three dukes. The post appears to have been introduced by Ts'ao Ts'ao as a means to centralise his control of the administration.

1. From Mencius, Book VII, Part I, Chapter XXX, translated by Legge II, p.466: "Having borrowed them long and not returned them, how can it be known that they did not own them?"
2. The capital of Ling-ling at this time was Ch'üan-ling 泉陵; now north of Lingling 零陵 in Hunan.
3. This refers to the Battle of the Red Cliffs in Chien-an 13, 208 A.D. Wu-lin is the name of the northern bank of the Yangtse opposite the Red Cliffs.
4. Tu-hu was a leader of the Tsung barbarians (see note 28 to CA5), and Fu-hu was chief of the seven clans of the Pan-shun people in Pa commandery (see note 3 to KH5).
5. Pa-chung refers to the mountainous region in the territory of the Later Han Pa commandery. Chinese settlement in this area was largely confined to the valleys of the Yangtse and Kialing rivers and their tributaries (cf. note 11 below), but there was a considerable area which was still inhabited by barbarians. Chang Lu evidently crossed the Mitsang hills south of Hanchung and took refuge with the non-Chinese people living about the headwaters of the Chu River.
6. This follows the words of Emperor Kuang-wu 光武 of Later Han to Ts'en P'eng 岑彭 and others (cf. HHS 7, p.15a).
7. This was a common policy of Ts'ao Ts'ao, to move people from his border areas back to profit his central bases of power, leaving his frontiers bare and unrewarding to attack (cf. TCTC pp.2118-19).

8. From this point in the translation, the name WU written in capital letters refers to the state governed by Sun Ch'üan, and not just to the commandery of that name.
9. Companions was the title of the personal bodyguard of Sun Ch'üan and his generals. Ku Li, mentioned below as Inspector of Companions, was an officer in this corps.
10. Analects, Book XV, Chapter V, translated by Legge I, p.296, describes how the disciple Tzu-chang 子張 noted down Confucius' teachings on the end of his sash.

11. Ts'ao Ts'ao did not control these "Three Pa" commanderies, and the reorganisation merely gave formal recognition to a re-arrangement which had begun in the time of Liu Chang and had been continued by Liu Pei. The changes are described in Hua-yang kuo chih 1, p.9b:

In 190, Ch'u-p'ing, the Later Han Pa commandery was divided into three: Ku-ling 固陵, with its capital at Yü-fu 魚復 prefecture (or Po-ti 白帝 city q.v.), controlled the territory of the Yangtse River just west of the gorges; Yung-ning 永寧, with its capital at Chiang-chou 江州, the headquarters of the Later Han Pa commandery, controlled the Yangtse River around present day Chungking; the third commandery, still called Pa, with its capital at An-han 安漢, now north of Nanchung, controlled the Kialing Kiang and its tributaries.

In 201, Chien-an 6, the name of Ku-ling was changed to Pa-tung 巴東, Yung-ning was now called Pa 巴 commandery, and the Pa commandery which had been set up in 190 was now known as Pa-hsi 巴西.

12. Marquises of Title held the rank of nobility, and probably received some pension from the government, but they had no rights to any specific territory as a fief. See SKWei 1, p.41b, and the commentary of P'ei Sung-chih quoting the Wei shu 魏書 of Wang Shen 王沈.
13. This is a summary of Hsi Tso-ch'ih's comments to the biography of Chang Lu, in SKWei 8, p.25a PC. On Hsi Tso-ch'ih, see note 15 to CA13. The source of this quotation is not indicated by P'ei Sung-chih's commentary.

14. The phrase used here, chiao-lan chih kung 焦火蘭之功, literally "the achievements of (those who have) received burns", refers to a story quoted in TCTC, pp.819-820 from Han shu 68, pp.19b-20a. A certain man was warned about the dangerous way he stored his firewood, close to a fierce-burning stove, and later his house caught alight. His neighbours came and helped him put the fire out. When he gave a feast to reward those who had assisted him, he graded their rank at table by the number of burns they had received in fighting the blaze. He was rebuked, because he forgot the men who warned him of the danger in the first place, and if he had attended to that advice in the beginning he would have suffered no fire and no loss and would have been saved the expense of the feast. The comparison is drawn between soldiers, who put down rebels and enemies, and wise councillors, who prevent rebels and enemies from appearing.
15. On the Three Pa, see note 11 above. Tu-hu and Jen Yüeh, the one clearly non-Chinese and the other bearing a Chinese-style name, were leaders of the Tsung people. With Fu-hu, leader of the Pan-shun people, they had been made Grand Administrators of Pa-tung, Pa and Pa-hsi commanderies in Ts'ao Ts'ao's service (TCTC pp.2139 and 2142 and note 4 above).
16. Chao Yen felt that if these new recruits from former rebel armies were left in the west, they would always be liable to mutiny. If they were moved to the east, out of the passes, they would be isolated from their own country and people, they could be kept under the eye of Ts'ao Ts'ao's central government, and they would be less likely to rebel. So the defence of the frontier in Han-chung commandery could not be maintained with levies from Liang Province, and experienced soldiers had to be brought in from the east to control the potential rebels and mutineers and to take the place of the unreliable soldiers who were being shifted out.

1. In Ch'in and early Han, the Commandant of the Capital had been a high official of the imperial court, but from the time of Emperor Wu 武 of Former Han, the title had been changed to Bearer of the Golden Mace, and under Later Han a Commandant of the Capital was chief of the military administration in a kingdom, the equivalent of a Commandant in a commandery. At this time, however, it appears that Ts'ao Ts'ao had restored the old title, and Ts'ui Yen's post was now the same as that formerly called Bearer of the Golden Mace, responsible for the police and guard outside the imperial palace.
2. Commentary explains that Ts'ui Yen meant there would be changes in the attitude of the critics and the fuss would die down. It was suggested by his enemies, however, that he was really thinking of a change of government through rebellion.
3. From Mencius, Book II, Part I, Chapter II, translated by Legge II, p.212: "In the family, there is the relation of father and son; abroad, there is the relation of prince and minister. Between father and son the ruling principle is kindness. Between prince and minister the ruling principle is respect." Ho Hsia is explaining that his loyalty to Ts'ao Ts'ao takes precedence over his friendship for Mao Chieh.
4. Analects, Book XIV, Chapter XXXVIII, translated by Legge I, p.289, has the phrase "expose his corpse in the market-place and in the court." Legge notes that "Exposing the bodies (陳尸) of criminals, after their execution, was called 肆. The bodies of great officers were so exposed in the court, and those of meaner criminals in the market-place. 市朝 came to be employed together, though the exposure could take place only in one place..." Compare also Li chi, translated in Couvreur, Mémoires sur les bienséances et les cérémonies, volume I, p.238.
5. Tung-kuan 東莞 commandery had been established in Hsü Province early in the Chien-an period. The capital was at Tung-kuan prefecture, in the Later Han commandery of Lang-yeh, now Ishui 沂水 in Shantung.

6. Yeh, Ts'ao Ts'ao's capital, was also the chief prefecture of Wei commandery. As a result, the character ch'u 出, "to go out", which appears in this text, does not actually mean that Hsü Yi was sent out of Yeh. He was dismissed from the central offices under the Lieutenant-Chancellor, and became an official of the provincial administration. Under the Later Han system, a Grand Administrator was much higher in rank than a Subordinate Clerk, but the Department of the East had responsibility for all imperial appointments outside the central administration (note 7 to CA13) and so carried great influence. Even as Grand Administrator, Hsü Yi had been removed from the centre of affairs, and he was now only one of many officials in the outer administration.
7. For further details of the division and settlement of the Southern Hsiung-nu, see Boodberg, "Two Notes on the History of the Chinese Frontier", p.292.
8. It can be seen from this and other similar appointments that Ts'ao Ts'ao is steadily building a Wei administration under his own control to supplant the formal Han administration of which he is the nominal head. The government of the state is carried on more and more by Ts'ao Ts'ao as King of Wei, and less and less by Ts'ao Ts'ao, Lieutenant-Chancellor of Han.

Notes to Chien-an 22:

(2148-54)

1. This surrender of Sun Ch'üan was no more than a formality, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Han government under Ts'ao Ts'ao's administration, and putting the state of Wu in a position of vassalage. The relationship officially continued until Sun Ch'üan proclaimed his independence of Ts'ao P'i, successor to Ts'ao Ts'ao and Emperor of Wei, by proclaiming his own reign-period in 222 (Huang-ch'u 黄初 3 of Wei, Huang-wu 黄武 1 of Wu). Cf. note 24 to CA24, and also Fang I, p.109.
2. The ceremonial cap 冕 mien was rather like a mortar-board, with the flat upper surface rounded at the front, straight at the back, and

longer than it was wide. The twelve strands 旒 liu of white jade beads, hung six at the front and six at the back, were the prerogative of the emperor. High nobility and the three Dukes had a total of seven strands and the beads were green in colour. (HHS treatise 30, p.4b).

The gilded chariot, and the six horses to pull it, were also imperial prerogatives, together with the escort of chariots of the five seasons 五時車 wu-shih chū, being five pairs of carriages, each painted and decorated in one colour of the five elements (五行 wu-hsing), green, red, yellow, white and black. (HHS treatise 29, p.7b, and Chin shu 15, p.5b).

3. Ts'ao Ang was killed in battle against Chang Hsiu in Chien-an 2, 197 (TCTC p.1994).
4. The characters for the personal names of the two brothers Ting can be written in modern transcription with the same syllable, although they are sounded in different tones. Originally, the sounds were quite distinct, for GSR 2 reconstructs the elder brother's name 儀 as ngia/ngjie-/yi, now sounded in the second tone of Mandarin, and the younger brother's name 虞, now sounded in the fourth tone, is reconstructed in GSR 954 as giək/iək/yi. In this translation, the elder brother's name is given as Yi and the younger brother's as I.
5. The Kung-yang commentary to the Ch'un-ch'iu chronicle for the first year of Duke Yin reads: "When setting up an heir from the sons of the true wife, take the eldest and do not make comparison of their virtue; when choosing between sons, take the children of the true wife and do not make comparison of their age." (See Shih-san ching chu-su 7, p.11, with Legge V, Prolegomena, pp.54-55.)
6. Since Ts'ui Yen had been killed and Mao Chieh had been dismissed in disgrace during the previous year (TCTC p.2145), Ts'ao Ts'ao must have begun his enquiry about the succession a considerable time before he took the final decision to appoint Ts'ao P'i.
7. On the unfortunate precedents of Yüan Shao and Liu Piao, see TCTC pp.2044 and 2081-82.

8. TCTC commentary notes that ch'ang-yü 長御 at this time describes the attendants of the inner palace of Wei.
9. The Ssu-ma Gate was a palace gate at Yeh, guarded by a detachment of soldiers under a Major (ssu-ma). Ts'ao Chih rode in the centre of the highway and had the main gate opened to let him through: both were imperial prerogatives (cf. Ts'ao Chih's biography in SKWei 19, p.4a, and also the commentary quoting the anonymous Wei-wu ku-shih 魏武故事).
10. The eastern three commanderies: Tan-yang, Hsin-tu and K'uai-chi.
11. TCTC commentary notes that the personal name of Chin should be pronounced wei (吁韋 fan-ch'ieh), and this may be the same man as Chin Wei 金瑋, the son of Shang 尚 from Ching-chao who was appointed a Gentleman of the Palace in 197 (TCTC p.2001).

The present text is based on the San-fu chüeh-lu chu 三輔決錄注, being the commentary and continuation by Chih Yü 摯虞 (d. about 312) to the San-fu chüeh-lu of Chao Ch'i 趙岐 (d. 201 A.D.), and the extract is preserved in the commentaries to HHS annals 9, p.11b and to SKWei 1, p.44b; both citations have the personal name as 禕. The text of p.2001 above is based on the Tien lüeh 典略 of Yü Huan 魚豢 of SKWei, and is quoted in SKWei 7, p.4b PC; this gives the personal name as 瑋. However, though there is no clear reference from one text to the other, it seems possible that one of the sources may have miswritten the radical of the personal name.

12. The Director of Uprightness was an officer of the censorate under the Lieutenant-Chancellor.

1. This was Halley's comet. HHS treatise 12, p.6b, says that it shone brightly and moved from east to west for more than twenty days and nights. It appeared successively in the constellations Wu-chü 五車 (in western Auriga and Taurus), Tung-ching 東井

(in Gemini), Wu-chu-hou 五諸侯 (in Gemini), Wen-ch'ang 文昌 (in the Great Bear), Hsüan-yüan 軒轅 (in Leo), Hou-fei 后妃 (in the Little Bear), T'ai-wéi 太微 (in Virgo and Leo), and the tail reached to Ti-tso 帝坐, which is Ras Alhague in Ophiucus. (Schlegel 716, 642, 718, 712, 93, 86, 363 and 426).

The prognostication in the treatise says that the comet shows the old giving place to new.

2. Since the previous paragraph has already indicated the third month, the phrase is unnecessary here.
3. Assistant Clerk at the Gate was a junior secretarial post at the headquarters of the commandery.
4. Tsung Tzu-ch'ing had evidently been appointed Officer of the Department of Merit immediately after Ying Hsü's death. He was Hou Yin's own nominee, but his advice and subsequent conduct soon showed his loyalties lay elsewhere.

Notes to Chien-an 24:

(2156-74)

1. Until 72 A.D., Han-yang commandery had been known as T'ien-shui, and Chin shu 14, p.16a, notes that the name was later changed back. It seems likely that T'ien-shui here is a direct reference to Han-yang commandery.
2. Pien Chuang-tzu 卞莊子 was a man of Lu 魯 in the Ch'un-ch'iu period of the Chou dynasty and was famous for his strength and courage. On one occasion, with the advice of Kuan Shu-tzu 管豎子, he killed two tigers at the same time. He set an ox as bait, and the tigers came and fought over it. The strong tiger killed the weaker one, but it was so wounded after its victory that Pien easily dispatched it. (Shih chi 70, pp.21a-b, where Pien is written 辨).
3. At the time of Ts'ao Ts'ao's conquest of Ching Province in 208, he established a new commandery named Lin-chiang 臨江, with its capital as Yi-tao 夷道, now northwest of Itu 宜都 in Hupeh. After the Battle of the Red Cliffs, the commandery was taken by Liu

Pei, renamed Yi-tu, and remained in the possession of the Shu state until the defeat of Kuan Yü in 219 (TCTC p.2170). The territory of the commandery controlled the course of the Yangtse River east of the Gorges. (See Shui-ching chu 34, p.10b, and Chin shu 15, p.3b)

4. Under Later Han, Fang-ling was a prefecture in Han-chung; now Fanghsien 房縣 in Hupeh. Ts'ao Ts'ao had evidently established this commandery, in the mountainous country south of the middle course of the Han River, to reinforce his border defences against Shu.
5. Under Later Han, Shang-yung was a prefecture in Han-chung; now southeast of Chushan 竹山 in Hupeh. The new commandery lay northwest of Fang-ling, and was evidently established by Ts'ao Ts'ao for the same reasons. With the capture of Fang-ling and Shang-yung, the armies of Shu had now gained control of the high ground north of the Yangtse and had access to the middle reaches of the Han River above Siangyang.
6. Under Later Han, Hsi-ch'eng was a prefecture in Han-chung; now northwest of Ankang 安康 in Shensi. The new commandery, with its capital on the Han River, controlled the eastern approaches to the Hanchung valley.
7. Yi-yang 義陽 was the name of a commandery established in the reign of Ts'ao P'i, Emperor Wen of Wei (Sung shu 36, p.39b), and also a prefecture which was the capital of that commandery; now east of Tungpeh 桐柏 in Honan. During the Han dynasty, the territory of Yi-yang had all been under Nan-yang, and there is a slight anachronism in citing Wei Yen's native commandery by the later name.
8. Both Hsiao Ho 蕭何 and Ts'ao Ts'an 曹參 came from P'ei 沛, as did Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of Former Han. They joined his party early, and later they became Chancellors of the State, one after another. Ch'en P'ing 陳平 and Han Hsin 韓信 came to Emperor

Kao-tsu from the Ch'u ^楚 party of the Hsiang ^項 clan. Han Hsin became King of Ch'i ^齊 and then King of Ch'u ^楚 under the Han, but Hsiao Ho and Ts'ao Ts'ao were never given higher rank than marquis. The biographies of Hsia Ho are in Shih chi 53 and Han shu 39, of Ts'ao Ts'an in Shih chi 54 and Han shu 39, of Han Hsin in Shih chi 93 and Han shu 33; of Ch'en P'ing in Shih chi 56 and Han shu 40.

9. Ho-fei was in Chiu-chiang commandery, also known by Wei as Huai-nan, in Yang Province, and Wen Hui was confident that he would be able to defend his position in the valley of the Hwai against any attack from Sun Ch'üan. The area he was concerned about was the Han valley, far to the west, where he suspected that Ts'ao Jen was insufficiently prepared for an attack by Kuan Yü, who controlled the Shu armies in this theatre from a base near Hankow.
10. The name is written here as ^{傅士仁} : on p.2168 below there is mention of Shih Jen ^{士仁} and also a reference to the single personal name Jen ^仁. SKShu 6, p.3b, gives the name as ^{傅士仁}, and the same page refers to the single personal name Jen. SKShu 15, p.18a, SKWu 2, p.6b, and SKWu 9, p.22a, all refer to Shih Jen. It seems possible that the character ^傅 is a mistaken addition, that the man's surname was Shih and his personal name Jen.
11. According to the Wei lüeh ^{魏略} by Yü Huan ^{魚豢} of the third century A.D. quoted in the commentary to SKWei 18, p.15b, P'ang Te had a cousin, P'ang Jou ^柔, who was a subject of Shu.
12. The unit of measurement used here, ^{pan}板, was the height of two ^{ch'ih}尺 feet, about 18 English inches.
13. Under Later Han, Nan-hsiang was a prefecture in Nan-yang; now southeast of Sichwan ^{淅川} in Honan. The commandery appears to have been set up in 208, being at that time on the borders of Ts'ao Ts'ao's territory with Ching Province under Liu Piao.
14. Jung-yang prefecture was in Ho-nan. The Cheng family came from K'ai-feng ^{開封} prefecture in Ho-nan.

15. The text refers to a bow of a thousand chün 鈞 and a bell of ten thousand tan 石. Such measurements, of course, are purely rhetorical; but TCTC commentary notes that 30 catties (斤 chin) made a chün, and 120 chün made a tan. In Han times, a catty was equivalent to 8.6 ounces avoirdupois.
16. The Hsiang River had been recognised as the border between Wu and Shu by the treaty of 215 (TCTC p.2138). Hsiang-kuan was a frontier post of Sun Ch'üan's state.
17. Lü Meng refers to the campaign of the Red Cliffs and after, in 208 and 209, when Ch'eng P'u and Chou Yü were appointed joint commanders (TCTC p.2092). Though Ts'ao Ts'ao's great army was destroyed at the Red Cliffs, and the Wu forces captured Chiang-ling, their campaign was not so successful as the victory seemed to deserve, there were several dangerous incidents (TCTC p.2093-94), and Ts'ao Jen maintained a successful rearguard action for more than a year (TCTC p.2098).
18. An abatis (鹿角 lu-chüeh, literally: "deer-horns") is an obstacle formed of trees cut down whole and laid with their top branches against the enemy.
19. Yü Fan had formerly been Chief Commandant of Cavalry, but had later been dismissed and sent to Tan-t'u. Lü Meng asked that he be pardoned and allowed to join him, but Yü Fan had not yet received a new commission (SKWu 12, p.3b).
20. The capital city of Nan commandery was Chiang-ling.
21. In the Analects of Confucius, Book XVIII, Chapter X, translated by Legge I, p.338, it is said that the Duke of Chou 周公 told his son the Duke of Lu 魯公: "The virtuous prince....does not seek in one man talents for every employment."
22. Teng Yü 鄧禹, whose biography is in HHS 16, advised Emperor Kuang-wu 光武 of Later Han on the conquest of the empire, but he suffered several defeats at the hands of the Red Eyebrows rebels in 26 A.D. (Bielenstein II, p.117).

23. Lu Su meant that Kuan Yü's victories were doing Sun Ch'üan's work for him, and Kuan Yü himself could always be dealt with later.
24. The phrase used here, ch'eng fan 稱藩, means literally "to name oneself as subject". In theory, Sun Ch'üan had surrendered to Ts'ao Ts'ao some two years earlier (TCTC p.2149). This was never more than a formality, for no hostages were exchanged, Sun Ch'üan gave up none of his powers and he still made attacks on the Wei positions near Ho-fei, but in theory at least Wu remained a vassal of Wei until Sun Ch'üan's formal proclamation of his own reign-title and his independence from the empire of Ts'ao P'i in 222 A.D. (Hung-ch'u 3 of Wei, Hung-wu 1 of Wu; see TCTC p.2208, translated by Fang I, p.109).
25. As in the western proverb, Ts'ao Ts'ao's words could readily be interpreted as implying that Sun Ch'üan's suggestion put him in the hot seat, an uncomfortable position. In the theory of the five elements (五行 wu-hsing), however, the Han dynasty had ruled by the element of fire, so Ts'ao also implies that he might take over the throne. He is using the letter from Sun Ch'üan as a means of suggesting to his ministers that the Han dynasty should be replaced by Wei.
26. According to the Analects of Confucius, Book VIII, Chapter XX, translated by Legge I, p.215, King Wen of Chou 周文王 held two-thirds of the empire, but he did not take the throne from the dynasty of Shang/Yin. Only when the last king of Yin acted as a tyrant was it time for the ruler of the Chou state, Wen's son King Wu 武, to take over. Ts'ao Ts'ao is saying that although he holds the greatest power in the empire, he has no good cause to claim the throne for himself. In the first month of the next year, Ts'ao Ts'ao died, his son Ts'ao P'i succeeded him as King of Wei, and in the tenth month Ts'ao P'i accepted the abdication of Emperor Hsien of Han and proclaimed himself Emperor of the Wei dynasty. (See TCTC pp.2175 and 2182, translated by Fang I, pp.1 and 10).

27. Emperor Kuang-wu 光武, founder of the Later Han dynasty, reigned from 25 to 57 A.D.
28. Emperor Ming (full posthumous title Hsiao-ming 孝明) reigned 58-76 A.D. Emperor Chang 章 reigned 76-89. The prefix Hsiao "Filial" was added to the posthumous titles of all emperors of the Han dynasties except Kao-tsu and Kuang-wu, the two founders.
29. The three dynasties (三代 san-tai): the legendary Hsia 夏 and Shang 商 (or Yin 殷), and the Chou 周 dynasty.
30. Emperor Ho 和 reigned 89-106 A.D.
31. Yüan An 袁安, biography in HHS 35, Yang Chen 楊震, biography in HHS 44; Li Ku 李固, biography in HHS 53; Tu Ch'iao 杜喬, biography in HHS 53; Ch'en Fan 陳蕃, biography in HHS 56; Li Ying 李膺, biography in HHS 57.
32. Fu Jung 符融 and Kuo T'ai 郭泰, biographies in HHS 58; Fan P'ang 范滂 biography in HHS 57, Hsü Shao 許劭, biography in HHS 58.
33. Emperor Huan 桓 reigned 146-167 A.D.; Emperor Ling 靈 reigned 168-189.
34. In the following year Ts'ao Ts'ao died, and his son P'i succeeded him as King of Wei. A few months later, when Ts'ao P'i proclaimed himself Emperor of Wei, he gave his father the posthumous title Emperor Wu 武 of Wei.

Introduction to the Index:

The Index is divided into three parts, dealing with Personal Names, Official Titles and Place-names. References are made to the pagination of the Chinese text of TCTC, as indicated in the margin of the translation.

Each entry in the Index of Personal Names is arranged to present information, where possible, on the individual's surname and personal name, followed (in brackets) by his style, when it has actually appeared in the present text, the chapters of HHS or SKC which contain his biography, and the commandery, family or barbarian tribe from which he came. Citations are made only to those people who were alive at the time of the chronicle; references after a semi-colon are posthumous.

The Index and Glossary of Official Titles is arranged by alphabetical order of the translated titles, and these renderings, with few exceptions, follow the system of Professor H.H. Dubs. Many of them are self-explanatory, but where appropriate there is a reference to the Treatise of Officials (po-kuan chih 百官志) of HHS treatise 24-28, with a brief explanation of the functions of the office, or a reference to the notes.

The Gazetteer and Index of Place-names shows the significance of each place as a unit of local administration, a physical feature, or some other nature. Where identification to the modern map is straightforward, this appears in brackets, but where some discussion has been necessary in the notes, the reference is given. For a few smaller places, it is impossible to supply further details of their site than those already contained in the body of the text.

Of the place-names to appear in this index, by far the most common are prefectures, which are indicated as P and then cited by the commandery and the province where they are listed in the geographical treatise (chün-kuo chih 郡國志) of HHS treatise 19-23B. Modern identifications for the chief cities of prefectures

are based on the geographical dictionary Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'u-tien, and references to place-names of the present day, as is the practice in the whole of this work, are given for distinguishing purposes in the transcription system of the Chinese Post Office, as used in The Times Atlas of the World. Commanderies and kingdoms (indicated as C) are cited, where appropriate, by the province under which they are listed in HHS treatise, and Map 2 of this work shows the sites of the capitals of each commandery in the empire at the beginning of the sixth year of the Chung-p'ing reign period (189 A.D.), the last year of Emperor Ling. Entries for provinces, in the same way, include a reference to HHS treatise, and Map 1 shows their approximate area of control.

Besides references in the Glossary, certain official titles of local importance are also cited in the Gazetteer; thus Governors (Gov) and Inspectors (Ins) are indexed under their respective provinces, Grand Administrators (GA) and Chancellors (Ch) under their commanderies and kingdoms, prefects and chiefs under their prefectures, and kings and marquises appear with their fiefs.

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- Ho, the Lady 何 I (HHS annals 10B, Nan-yang Empress of Ling, posthumous title Ssu 思, mother of Liu Pien) 1861,93-96,99,1900-01,04,1905
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- Kung-sun Tsan 公孫瓚 (Po-kuei 伯珪, HHS 63, SKWei 8, Liao-hsi) 1886, 92-93, 1922-23, 25-27, 31-32, 41-43, 46-47, 77-78, 90, 95, 2011-15; 2025
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Yü Ti-ken 于根 1878, 1944

Yü Chin 于禁 (SKWei 17, T'ai-shan) 1994, 2016, 47, 68, 80, 2160-61, 64-66, 68, 72

Yü Fan 虞翻 (SKWu 12, K'uai-chi) 1985-87, 2021-22, 2168, 72

Yü Mi 于糜 1959

Yü, Poison 于毒 1878, 1925, 32, 43-44

Yü-fu-lo 於扶羅 (Hsiung-mu, son of Ch'iang-ch'ü) 1889, 1905, 22, 24-25, 32, 42, 78

Yüan Chi 袁基 (Ju-nan) 1912

Yüan Hsi 袁熙 (son of Shao) 2044, 55, 57, 61, 72-73

Yüan Huan 袁渙 (SKWei 11, son of P'ang) 1992, 2124

Yüan P'ang 袁滂 (Ch'en) 1880

Yüan Shang 袁尚 (Hsien-fu 顯甫, SKWei 6, youngest son of Shao) 2044-45, 48-56, 2061, 69-70, 72-73

Yüan Shao 袁紹 (Pen-ch'u 本初, HHS 64A, SKWei 6, Ju-nan) 1891, 93-94, 96, 99-1904, 1907-09, 11-12, 14-16, 18-19, 22-27, 31-32, 39, 42-46, 51, 55, 59, 69-70, 75-77, 88-90, 94-96, 99, 2003, 05, 08, 11-18, 23-27, 30-37, 39, 41, 44; 2056, 85, 2101

- Yüan Shu 袁術 (Kung-lu 公路,
HHS 65, SKWei 6, cousin/
half-brother? of Shao)
1894, 1901, 07-08, 13-19, 18-20,
25-28, 39, 42-43, 56-59, 66, 70,
72-73, 79-82, 88, 90-91, 96-
2000, 04-05, 09-10, 14; 2020,
22, 24, 2101
- Yüan T'an 袁譚 (Hsien-ssu 顯思,
HHS 64B, SKWei 6, eldest
son of Shao) 1943, 90, 2014,
25, 34-35, 44-45, 48-53, 57, 59
- Yüan Wei 袁隗 (uncle of Shao)
1862, 76, 78, 94, 1901, 04, 12
- Yüan Yi 袁遺 (cousin of Shao)
1908, 42
- Yüan Yin 袁胤 (cousin of Shu)
1973, 2014
- Yüeh Chin 樂進 (SKWei 17, Wei)
2061, 68, 80, 93, 98, 2141

Index and Glossary of Official Titles:

- Accomplished Talent 茂才
mou-ts'ai (candidate for office recommended by a province or by one of the three Dukes) 1877, 1992, 2073
- Adviser to the Army 參軍事
ts'an chün shih (note 18 to CP2) 1881, 2106, 66
- Adviser to the Army of Liang 涼 Province 2121
- Adviser to the Army of the 丞相 Lieutenant-Chancellor 2086, 2115
- Adviser to the Army of the 司空 Minister of Works 2009, 39, 61
- Aide-de-Camp 別駕從事
pieh-chia ts'ung-shih (assistant to the head of provincial administration while on tour: HHS treatise 27, p.8b) 1884, 1923-24, 35, 43, 56, 2018, 24, 36, 49, 56, 61, 66, 79, 95, 2104, 09, 18, 21
- Assistant Clerk at the Gate 門下書佐
men-hsia shu-tso (note 3 to CA23) 2155
- Associate to the Lieutenant-Chancellor 副丞相
fu ch'eng-hsiang 2106
- Associate Major 左軍司馬
tso chün ssu-ma 1921
- Attendant Imperial Clerk 侍御史
shih-yü-shih (officer of the censorate: HHS treatise 26, p.11a) 1863, 77, 98, 1907, 54, 58, 2008
- Attendant Official 從事
ts'ung-shih (member of staff in a provincial administration; included Aide-de-Camp, Attendant Official at Headquarters, Attendant Over the Officers of the Capital, Officer of the Department of Merit qq.v.: HHS treatise 27, p.8b and 28, p.3a) 1873, 89, 1907, 23, 32, 77, 80, 2017, 56, 71, 86, 90, 2104, 10, 20, 38, 55, 69
- Attendant Official at Headquarters 治中從事 chih-chung ts'ung-shih (in a provincial administration, responsible for recommendations to office; HHS treatise 28, p.3a) 1884, 1908, 23-24, 34, 40, 43, 2008, 2104, 29, 69
- Attendant Over the Officers of the Capital 都官從事 tu-kuan ts'ung-shih (note 17 to ChP2; HHS treatise 27, p.8b) 1924
- Bearer of the Golden Mace 執金吾
chih-chin-wu (commander of the imperial guard outside the palace; HHS treatise 27, p.1a) 1880, 82, 1902, 16, 60, 2017
- Beauty 美人 mei-jen (imperial concubine, third in rank to the Empress; HHS annals 10A, p.2b) 1861, 94
- Captain 單侯 chün-hou (HHS treatise 24, p.8a) 1991
- Chancellor 相 hsiang (civil head of a kingdom, equivalent to a Grand Administrator in a commandery; note 2 to CP1; HHS treatise 28, p.4b) 1885, 1906, 08, 27, 35, 46, 49, 53, 57, 71, 74, 80, 96, 99, 2007
- Chancellor of State 相國 hsiang-kuo (note 48 to CP6) 1906, 10, 2147, 62
- Chief 長 chang (civil head of a prefecture with less than 10,000 households; HHS treatise 28, p.7a) 2052, 61, 67 and see under individual prefectures in Gazetteer

Chief of a Commune 亭長
t'ing-chang (HHS treatise
28,p.8b) 1907

Chief Clerk 長史 chang-shih
(assistant to the three
Dukes, to a general, or to
the head of a commandery
administration in time of
war; HHS treatise 24,
passim) 1873-74,1906,11,
20,23,30,73,2011,24,78,
88-89,97,2154

Chief Clerk to the General of the
Left 2129

Chief Clerk to the Lieutenant-
Chancellor 2140,54

Chief Clerk on Station 留府
liu-fu chang-shih 2162

Chief Commandant 都尉 tu-wei
(head of a military
administration; notes 3 to
CP1, 23 to CP6 22 to CA2,
34 to HP2; HHS treatise 28,
pp.5aff) 1866,1955,58,75,
2000,02,30,38,2149 and also
with ornamental titles as
listed below:

...of Attendant Cavalry 駙馬
fu-ma tu-wei 2140

...Who Carries on Tradition 興業
hsing-yeh 2103

...Who Manifests Firmness 揚武
yang-wu 2038

...Who is Martial and Brave 武猛
wu-meng 1898

...Who Pacifies the North 平北
p'ing-pei 2078

Chief Commandant of the Agricult-
ural Colonies 屯田都尉
t'un-t'ien tu-wei (note 24
to CA1) 1990

Chief Commandant of Cavalry 騎都尉
ch'i-tu-wei (HHS treatise
25, p.6a) 1869,92,1902,33,
47,90,99,2015,2103,54,68

Chief Commandant of the Emperor's
Equipages 奉車都尉 feng-chü
tu-wei (HHS treatise 25,p.5b)
1901

Chief Commandant at Shang-lo 上洛
(note 2 to CA11) 2066

Chief Commandant of the Southern
Region (南部 nan-pu) of
K'uai-chi (note 8 to CA8) 2052

Chief Controller 都督 tu-tu (notes
7 to ChP2, 28 to HP2, 2 to CA4,
etc) 1919,72-73,80,2013,15,54,
63,77-78,2118

Chief of Police at the Gate 門下賊曹
men-hsia tse-ts'ao 2009

Colonel 校尉 hsiao-wei 1874,1906,
29,31,36,61,70,94,2023,46,77,
2107,73 and also with ornamental
titles as listed below:

...of the Archers Who Shoot at a
Sound 射聲 she-sheng hsiao-wei
(note 3 to CP1; HHS treatise 27,
p.7b) 1890,1967,84

...Who Arranges the Army 典軍 tien-
chün (note 13 to CP5) 1891,97,
2101

...Who Assists the Army 贊軍
tsan-chün 2092

...Who Breaks the Enemy Line 折衝
che-chung 1970

...Who Brings the Caitiffs to
Surrender 降虜 hsiang-lu 1893

...of the Centre Army 中軍 chung-chün
(note 13 to CP5) 1891,1932

...of the Ch'ang River Encampments 長水
Ch'ang-shui (note 3 to CP1; HHS
treatise 27, p.7a) 2023

...Who Cherishes Righteousness 懷義
huai-yi 1958

...Consultant of the Army 軍議 chün-yi
2109,28

...Who Controls the Army 督軍 tu-chün
1911

[Colonel] Who Displays Firmness 奮武
fen-wu 2103

...of the Elite Cavalry 越騎
yüeh-chi (note 3 to CP1);
 HHS treatise 27, p.7a)
 1911,16,38

...Who Exterminates the Caitiffs 討虜
t'ao-lu 1891,1937

...of the First Army 上軍
shang-chün (note 13 to CP5)
 1890

...of the Garrison Cavalry 屯馬騎
t'un-chi (note 3 to CP1; HHS
 treatise 27, p.6b) 1891,1960

...of the Left 左 tso (note 13 to
 CP5) 1891

...of the Left Assisting the Army
 助軍左 chu-chün tso (note 13
 to CP5) 1891

...of the Lower Army 下軍 hsia-
 chün (note 13 to CP5) 1891

...Who Pacifies the Caitiffs 平虜
p'ing-lu 1994

...Who Pacifies the East 平東
p'ing-tung 2052

...of Resolute Cavalry 驍騎
hsiao-chi 1907

...of the Right 右 yu (note 13 to
 CP5) 1891

...of the Right Assisting the Army
 助軍右 chu-chün yu (note 13
 to CP5) 1891

...Who Serves the Army 奉軍
feng-chün 1929

...Who Settles Majesty 定威
ting-wei 2153,65

...Who Upholds Courage 承烈
ch'eng-lieh 2059

...of Upright Counsel 正議
cheng-yi 1973,2008

Colonel in Charge of Agriculture 典農
tien-nung hsiao-wei 1956

Colonel of the City Gates 城門
ch'eng-men hsiao-wei (in
 charge of the gates of the
 capital; HHS treatise 27,p.5b)
 1883,1906,11,38

Colonel Director of the Retainers 司隸
ssu-li hsiao-wei (notes 1 to
 CP1, 28 to CP6; HHS treatise
 27,p.8a) 1865, 99-1900,21,33,
 38,44,81,84,96,2017-18,45,62,
 80,95,2106,11

Colonel at the eastern gate (東門
tung-men) at Yeh 2055

Colonel Protector of the Ch'iang 護羌
hu-Ch'iang hsiao-wei (HHS
 treatise 28,p.10a) 1873

Colonel Protector of the Wu-huan 護烏桓
hu Wu-huan hsiao-wei (HHS
 treatise 28,p.10a) 1886,2028

Colonels of the Western Garden 西園
hsi-yüan hsiao-wei (note 13
 to CP5) 1890

Commandant of the Ch'ang-lo Palace
 Guard 長樂衛尉 Ch'ang-lo
 wei-wei (note 29 to CP6) 2162

Commandant of Justice 廷尉
t'ing-wei (one of the nine
 ministers, responsible for the
 legal administration of the
 empire; HHS treatise 25, p.10a)
 1861,78,1934,38,60,67

Commandant of the Palace Guard 衛尉
wei-wei (one of the nine
 ministers; HHS treatise 25,
 p.8a) 1860,91,1925,48,56,60,
 67-68,2080,2113

Commander-in-Chief 大司馬 ta-ssu-ma
 (note 45 to CP6) 1905,18,62,81,
 2111

Commander of the Guard at the Gate 門
 下督 men hsia tu (note 13 to CA3)
 2010,2106

Commandery 郡 chün; passim

- Commandery Assistant 都丞 chün ch'eng (chief civil official under a Grand Administrator; HHS treatise 28, p.4a) 2058,63
- Commissioner 使君 shih-chün (term of address for the head of a provincial administration) 1873,1951-52,57-58,70,2122
- Commissioner over the Army 護軍 hu-chün 2036,2120,41,43-44
- Commissioner over the Army of the Centre 中護軍 chung hu-chün (note 6 to CA5) 2029
- Commissioner over the Army of the Left 2106
- Commissioner over the Army of the Right 2148,70
- Commissioner over the Army Who Subdues the West 征西 cheng-hsi hu-chün 2106
- Commissioner over the Armies Within the Passes 關中 kuan-chung hu-chün 2143
- Companions 親近 ch'in-chin (note 9 to CA20) 2142,68-69
- Inspector 監 chien 2142
- Controller of the Army 督軍 tu-chün 2157
- Controller of the Division of the Right 右都督 yu-pu tu 2165
- Controller of the Division of the Right at Headquarters 帳下右都督 chang-hsia yu-pu tu 2153
- Controller of the Left 左校 tso-hsiao (note 24 to CP1; HHS treatise 27, p.5b) 1872
- Controller of the Left 左督 tso tu 2029
- Controller of the Military Affairs of Liang Province 督涼州軍事 tu Liang-chou chün shih 2122
- Controller of the Right 右督 yu tu 2092
- Consultant Foreman Clerk in the Department of Legal Administration 法曹議令史 fa-ts'ao yi-ling-shih 2079
- Court Architect 將作大匠 chiang-tso ta-chiang (HHS treatise 27, p.5a) 1916,60,90,96,2000
- Credentials 節 chieh (i.e. the right to take legal decisions and carry out execution without prior reference to the throne; notes 28 to CP6, 18 to ChP3) 1899,1934,40,43,57,69,81,96,2001,19,2115,72
- Dare-to-dies 敢死 kan-ssu (volunteers) 2078
- Director of Uprightness 司直 ssu-chih (note 12 to CA22) 2154
- Division 方 fang (military unit of the Yellow Turban rebels) 1865
- Duke of the State 國公 kuo-kung 2115
- Duke of Wei 魏公 i.e. Ts'ao Ts'ao 2119-44 see Index of Personal Names
- Dukes, the Three 三公 san kung (i.e. Grand Commandant, Minister over the Masses, Minister of Works qq.v.; note 11 to KH4) 1861,78,82,95,1902,49,54,2079
- Offices of the Three Dukes 三府 san-fu 1861
- Offices like the Three Dukes (note 12 HP1) 1953-54,65,69
- Eastern Supporter 左馮翊 tso-p'ing-yi (administrator of Tso-p'ing-yi commandery; HHS treatise 27, p.9a) 1938-39 and see Gazetteer
- Emperor 皇帝 huang-ti: see Index of Personal Names
- Empress 皇后 huang-hou 1893-94,1905,60,68,2133-35

Empress-dowager 皇太后 huang-t'ai-hou 1891,94-96,99-1901, 04

Filially Pious and Incorrupt 孝廉 hsiao-lien (candidate recommended for office by a commandery or kingdom; notes 8 to CP2 and 23 to ChP2; HHS treatise 28, p.4b) 1877-78,1928,2013,23, 29,2100

Five Regiments 五營 wu ying (of the Northern Army; note 3 to CP1) 1866,96

General 將軍 chiang-chün 1886, 1915,20,24,36,51,64,92,96-97,99,2013-14,23,27,36,52, 58,71,97,2112,41,44,62 and also with ornamental titles as listed below:

...of the Agile Cavalry 驃騎將軍 p'iao-chi chiang-chün (second ranking general; HHS treatise 24,p.6b) 1891,95, 1940,65,2172

...Who Breaks the Enemy Line 折衝 che-chung 2093

...Who Brings Righteousness to Flourish 興義 hsing-yi 1965

...Who Calms the Waves 伏波 fu-po 2008,2149

...of Chariots and Cavalry 車騎 chü-chi (third ranking general; HHS treatise 24, p.6b) 1873, 80,82-84,1901,08,22,36,40,62, 65,81,88,2014,23,44,99,2110

...of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left 左車騎 tso chü-chi 1879-80

...of Chariots and Cavalry on the Right 右車騎 yu chü-chi 1877

...Who Cherishes the Barbarians 撫夷 fu-yi 2122

[General] and Chief Commissioner 都護 tu-hu 2140,53

...Who Destroys the Criminals 殄寇 t'ien-k'ou 1972

...Who Displays Firmness 奮武 fen-wu 1924,2106

...Who Displays Majesty 奮威 fen-wei 1924,34,2102

...Who Establishes Loyalty 建忠 chien-chung 1992,2013

...Who Establishes Righteousness 建義 chien-yi 1925

...Who Establishes Trust 建信 chien-hsin 2159

...Who Exterminates the Caitiffs 討虜 t'ao-lu 2037-38,87, 2128,57

...Who Exterminates the Rebels 討逆 t'ao-ni 2008,21,38

...Who is Firm and Majestic 武威 wu-wei 2057

...of the Flying Army 翔軍 yi-chün 2158

...Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire 安集 an-chi 1953,65

...Who Gives Tranquillity to the East 安東 an-tung 1943

...Who Gives Tranquillity to Han 安漢 an-Han 2128

...Who Gives Tranquillity to the Northern Barbarians 安狄 an-ti 1950

...Who Gives Tranquillity to the South 安南 an-nan 2003

...Who Gives Tranquillity to the State 安國 an-kuo 1969,81

...Who Gives Tranquillity to the Submissive 安降 an-hsiang 1950

[General] Who Gives Tranquillity
to the West 安西 an-hsi
1954,2106

...Who Glorifies Han 明漢 ming-
Han 1999

...Who Governs the Universe 彌天
mi-t'ien 1886

...of the Guards 衛 wei (fourth
ranking general; HHS
treatise 24, p.6b) 1984,
2014

...Who Inspires Awe 振威 chen-
wei 2026,2128

...of the Left 左 tso (HHS
treatise 24,p.6b) 1892,1911,
32,43,97,2105,10,20,27,37,
59-60

deputy in charge of the
offices of the General of
the Left (署左將軍府事
shu tso chiang-chün fu shih)
2128

...Who Maintains Distant Lands
in Peace 鎮遠 chen-yüan
2159

...Who Maintains the East in
Peace 鎮東 chen-tung 1964,
84-85,2002

...Who Maintains Loyalty 秉忠
ping-chung 2129

...Who Maintains Righteousness
立義 li-yi 2143,60

...Who Maintains the South in
Peace 鎮南 chen-nan 1940,54,
2142

...Who Maintains the West in
Peace 鎮西 chen-hsi 1940,
2080,2170

...Majestic as a Tiger 虎威
hu-wei 2153

...Who Manifests Courage 揚烈
yang-lieh 1938

...Who Manifests Firmness 揚武
yang-wu 1938,53,2017,2128

[General] Master of the Army
軍事 chün-shih 2128

...Who Pacifies the Caitiffs 平虜
p'ing-lu 2149

...Who Pacifies the Criminals 平寇
p'ing-k'ou 2166

...Who Pacifies Disorder 平難
p'ing-nan 2143

...Who Pacifies the North 平北
p'ing-pei 2053

...Who Pacifies the West 平西
p'ing-hsi 2128

...of Peace and Harmony 寧輯
ning-chi 1966

...Who is Pillar of Heaven 柱天
chu-t'ien 1871

...Who Proclaims Majesty 宣威
hsüan-wei 1992

...Who Proclaims Righteousness 宣義
hsüan-yi 1964

...of the Rear 後 hou (HHS treatise
24,p.6b) 1894,1907-08,40,53,
65,2160

...of Resolute Cavalry 驍騎
hsiao-chi 2155

...of the Right 右 yu (HHS treatise
24,p.6b) 1940,53,59,2160

...Who Routs the Caitiffs 破虜
p'o-lu 1880,1913

...Who Shines in Virtue 昭德
chao-te 2129

...of the Standard 牙門 ya-men 2159

...Who Subdues the Caitiffs 征虜
cheng-lu 2164-65

...Who Subdues the East 征東 cheng-
tung 1969

...Who Subdues the North 征北 cheng-
pei 2159

...Who Subdues the South 征南 cheng-nan
2030,93,2156,60

...Who Subdues the West 征西 cheng-hsi
1936,40,2122

[General] Supreme 無上 wu-shang
1891

...Who Terrifies Criminals 湯寇
tang-k'ou 1880,2098

...Who Traverses the Open Country
橫野 heng-yeh 2093

...of the Van 前 ch'ien (HHS
treatise 24, p.6b) 1892,1905,
39,46,2080,2160

General-in-Chief 大將軍 ta chiang-
chün (first rank general; HHS
treatise 24, p.6b) 1866,76,0
91,93-94,96,1900-01,81,85,88,
96,2139 and also with
ornamental titles as listed
below:

...Who Maintains the West in Peace
鎮西 chen-hsi ta-chiang-
chün 2111

...Who Supports Han 輔漢 fu-Han
1999

General of the Gentlemen of the
Household 中郎將 chung-lang-
chiang (note 7 to CP1; HHS
treatise 25, pp.3bff) 1906,
17,21,38,61,80,2004,07,24,40,
62,2130 and also with
ornamental titles as listed
below:

...for All Purposes 五官中郎將
wu-kuan chung-lang-chiang
notes 7 to CP1, 1 to CA16,
HHS treatise 25, p.3b) 1906,
2043,2106,50-51,62

...Who Comforts the South 綏南
sui-nan 2105

...Controller of the Army 督軍
tu-chün 1959

...of the East 東 tung 1872,80,1921

...Who Establishes Awe 建威
chien-wei 2009

...on the Left 左 tso (note 7 to CP1;
HHS treatise 25, p.4a) 1866,1917,
29,34,50

[General of the Gentlemen of the
Household] Who Maintains the
People in peace 鎮民 chen-min 2043

...Who Maintains the Rebels in
Order 鎮賊 chen-tse 1871

...Who is Majestic and Firm 威武
wei-wu 2096

...Manager of the Army 掌軍
chang-chün 2128

...Who Manifests Firmness 揚武
yang-wu 1983

...Master of the Army 軍師
chün shih 2094,2104,2128

...of the North 北 pei (note 7 to
CP1) 1866,71

...Who Pacifies Disorder 平難
p'ing-nan 1878

...As Rapid As a Tiger 虎賁
hu-pen (note 7 to CP1);
HHS treatise 25, p.4b) 1891,
94,1901

...on the Right 右 yu (note 7 to CP1;
HHS treatise 25, p.4a) 1866

...Who Subdues the Caitiffs 征虜
cheng-lu 2052

...Who Subdues the East 征東 cheng-
tung 1956

...Who Terrifies Criminals 湯寇
tang-k'ou 2052

...Who Traverses the Open Country
橫野 heng-yeh 2094

General of the Gentlemen of the
Household in Charge of
Agriculture 典農 tien-nung
(note 24 to CA1) 1990,2154

General of the Right Who Crosses the
Liao River 右度遼將軍
yu tu-Liao chiang-chün (note
4 to CA5) 2028

Gentleman 郎 lang (imperial courtier;
note 17 to CP6) 1896,1905.

Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates 黃門侍郎
huang-men shih-lang (note 11 to CP6) 1894, 1935, 41, 2150

Gentleman-consultant 議郎
yi-lang (imperial courtier; HHS treatise 25, p.7a) 1862, 72, 79, 86, 90-91, 1904, 11, 56, 83, 99, 2039, 59, 96, 2109, 33, 52, 66

Gentleman of the General Staff 從事中郎
ts'ung-shih chung-lang (adviser to a general; HHS treatise 24, p.7b) 1899, 1951, 2018, 2128-29, 53

Gentleman of the Palace 郎中
lang-chung (imperial courtier; note 17 to CP6; HHS treatise 25, p.4a) 2001

Gentleman of the Sacred Music 雅樂
ya-yüeh lang (note 27 to CA1) 1993

Governor 牧 mu (notes 26 to CP1, 3 to CP5) 1887-89 and see under particular provinces in the Gazetteer

Grand Administrator 太守 t'ai-shou (civil head of a commandery; HHS treatise 28, p.4a) see under particular commanderies in the Gazetteer

Grand Chief Controller 大都督
ta-tu-tu (note 15 to CA9) 2058

Grand Clerk 太史 t'ai-shih (responsible for astrology and the calendar, and for examination of omens; HHS treatise 25, p.1b) 1890, 1925

Grand Coachman 太僕 t'ai-p'u (note 10 to KH4; HHS treatise 25, p.9a) 1861, 68, 79, 89, 1909-10, 12, 38, 40-41, 44, 60, 69, 79

Grand Commandant 太尉 t'ai-wei (most senior of the three Dukes q.v.; HHS treatise 24, p.2b) 1860, 62-64, 68-69, 79, 82-83, 85-86, 89-90, 93, 1900, 05-06, 10, 22, 34, 39, 40-41, 44-45, 54, 60, 66, 88, 96, 2000

Grand Cranary, Prefect of the 太倉令
t'ai-ts'ang ling (HHS treatise 26, p.2a) 1889

Grand Herald 大鴻臚 ta-hung-lu (one of the nine ministers, responsible for relations with vassal kings and with non-Chinese states; HHS treatise 25, p.10b) 1906, 16, 38, 60, 2084

Grand Judge 大理 ta-li (note 14 to CA18) 2124, 47

Grand Master 太師 t'ai-shih (note 5 to ChP2) 1919, 38, 41, 2007

Grand Master of Ceremonies 太常
t'ai-ch'ang (one of the nine ministers, responsible for state religion and education; HHS treatise 25, p.1a) 1860, 62-63, 87, 1922, 38, 46, 54, 67

Grand Minister of Agriculture 大司農
ta-ssu-nung (note 10 to KH4; HHS treatise 26, p.1b) 1861, 68, 82, 1960, 67, 2124

Grand Palace Grandee 太中大夫
t'ai-chung ta-fu (imperial courtier; HHS treatise 25, p.6b) 1905, 2081, 2151

Grand Prolonger of Autumn 大長秋
ta-ch'ang-ch'iu (note 12 to KH4; HHS treatise 27, p.2a) 1861

Grand Tutor 太傅 t'ai-fu (appointed at the beginning of an emperor's reign, in rank above the three Dukes, to guide the new ruler's administration; HHS treatise 24, p.1b) 1894, 1904, 12, 15, 39-40, 57, 2160

Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant

諫議大夫 chien-yi ta-fu

(imperial courtier; HHS

treatise 25, p.6b) 1859,80,91,
99,1950,2009

Guards of the Feathered Forest 羽林

yü-lin (note 3 to CP1) 1866,
1968

Inspector 監 chien (HHS
treatise 25, p.6b) 1990

Guards of the division of the Left
左 tso (note 3 to CP1) 1866

Guards As Rapid As a Tiger 虎賁
hu-pen (note 3 to CP1) 1962,
68,2133

Guards of the division of the
Right 右 yu (note 3 to CP1)
1866

Head of the Central Precinct 中
部 掾 chung-pu yüan [of Ho-nan]
(note 33 to CP6) 1902

Head Clerk 掾 yüan (head of a
department 曹 ts'ao in the
central administration or a
senior clerical assistant in
a commandery) 1864,1974,2000,
60,62,96,99

Head Clerk of the Department of
the East 東曹掾 tung-ts'ao
yüan (note 7 to CA13) 2079,82,
2151

Head Clerk of the Department of
Justice 理曹掾 li-ts'ao yüan
2134,54

Head Clerk of the Department of the
West 西曹掾 hsi-ts'ao yüan
(note 7 to CA13) 2079,2129,45,
62

Head Clerk for Literary Scholarship
文學掾 wen-hsüeh yüan 2079

Heir-apparent 太子 t'ai-tzu [of
Han] 1894

Heir-apparent [of Han-chung] 2159

Heir-apparent [of Wei; i.e. Ts'ao
P'i] 2150-52,62

Honoured Lady 貴人 kuei-jen
(imperial concubine, second
in rank to the Empress; HHS
annals 10A, p.2b) 1960,2121,
33,25

Household Assistant 家丞 chia-
ch'eng (at the court of a
feudal lord; HHS treatise 28,
p.13b) 2132

Imperial Clerk Grandee 御史大夫
yü-shih ta-fu (note 6 to CA13)
2079-80,2124,34,50

Imperial Clerk Preparer of
Documents 治書御史 chih-shu
yü-shih (an officer of the
censorate supervising judicial
and legal administration; HHS
treatise 26, p.11a) 1929,2017

Imperial Household Grandee 光祿大夫
kuang-lu ta-fu (senior imperial
courtier; HHS treatise 25,
p.6a) 1880,1911,16,22,40,2115

Imperial Jail 詔獄 chao-yü 1868

Imperial Palace Parks, Prefect
Intendant of the 鉤盾令
kou-shun ling (HHS treatise
26, p.7a) 1883

Imperial Wardrobe, Office of the
御府 yü-fu (HHS treatise 26,
p.6b) 1861

Insignia and Credentials, Prefect of
符節令 fu-chieh ling (note 4
to ChP3; HHS 26,p.10b) 1968

Inspector 刺史 tz'u-shih (note 4
to KH4; HHS treatise 28, p.1a)
see under particular provinces
in the Gazetteer

Intendant 尹 yin (note 5 to CA2; HHS
treatise 27, p.9a) see under
Ching-chao, Ho-nan and Huai-nan
in Gazetteer

Investigator 督郵 tu-yu (notes.33
to CP6; 18 to HP2; HHS treatise
28,pp.6a) 1966,2128

- King 王 wang (note 2 to CP1) 1866, 72,94,96,01-02,04,09,19,99 2030,68,73,2113; also listed under specific kingdoms in the Gazetteer
- King of An-ting 安定 [rebel] 1886
- King of Han-chung 漢中 [i.e. Liu Pei q.v.] 2159 on
- King of the Sources of the River Who Will Pacify Han 河首平 漢王 ho-shou p'ing-Han wang 2133
- King of the Ti 氏 barbarians 2122, 26,35
- King of Wei 魏 [i.e. Ts'ao Ts'ao q.v.] 2144 on
- King of the Wu-huan 烏桓 1977, 2013,57-58
- Kingdom 國 kuo; passim
- Lady of Wu-yang 舞陽君 [i.e. the Lady Ho II] 1864 and see Index of Personal Names
- Lateral Courts 掖庭 yi-t'ing (note 6 to KH4) 1860
Prefect 令 ling (HHS treatise 26, p.6a) 1883
- Libationer 祭酒 chi-chiu (notes 38 to CP6, 5 to CA6) 1903,2043
- Libationer and Expositor 都講 tu-chiang chi-chiu (note 13 to CA18) 2123
- Libationer to the Minister of Works 1989
- Libationer Planner 謀祭酒 mou-chi-chiu [to the Army of the Lieutenant-Chancellor] 2081
- Lieutenant-Chancellor 丞相 ch'eng-hsiang (note 6 to CA13) [i.e. Ts'ao Ts'ao] 2079,2119 and see Ts'ao Ts'ao in the Index of Personal Names
- Lieutenant-General 偏將軍 p'ien-chiang-chün 2033,78,80,95, 2128-29,65,71
- Long Lanes 永巷 yung-hsiang (note 6 to KH4) 1860
- Lord 伯 po [of Hsü Province] 1942
- Lord of Earth General 地公將軍 ti-kung chiang-chün 1865
- Lord of Heaven General 天公將軍 t'ien-kung chiang-chün 1865
- Lord of Man General 人公將軍 jen-kung chiang-chün 1865
- Magistrate 府君 fu-chün (term of address for a Grand Administrator) 1913,51,2021
- Major 司馬 ssu-ma (HHS treatise 24, pp.7a f) 1975,85,94,1903,15,50, 55,80,2129,57,70 and also with ornamental titles as listed below:
- ...to the Army of the Lieutenant-Chancellor 丞相軍司馬 ch'eng-hsiang chün ssu-ma 2163
- ...Attached to Headquarters 中 chung 2136
- ...at the Base Camp 留營 liu-ying 2111
- ...Commissioner over the Army 護軍 hu-chün (note 16 to CP1) 1870
- ...Who Controls Justice 督義 tu-yi 1928
- ...Displaying Firmness 奮武 fen-wu 1931
- ...of the Forward Division 前部 ch'ien-pu 2160
- Major [at the Hsiung-nu courts] 2147
- Major [under the Colonel Protector of the Wu-huan] (note 40 to HP2) 1977
- Major With a Separate Command 別部 司馬 pieh-pu ssu-ma (HHS treatise 24,p.8a) 1920,27-29, 2039-40,52,66,78
- Major-General 裨將軍 pi-chiang-chün 2047,2128

Marquis 侯 hou (note 5 to KH4)
1880,82-83,1932,39,40,65,
69,2047,70,84,2115,42,47,61
and with varying fiefs, as
below:

Marquis of a Chief Commune 都亭侯
tu-t'ing hou 1859,2017

Marquis of a Chief District 都鄉侯
tu-hsiang hóu 1869

Marquis of a Commune 亭侯
t'ing hou 1984,85,94,2073,
2159,71

Marquis of a District 鄉侯
hsiang hou 1868,71,1907,
2003,57

Marquis of the Imperial Domain 關內侯
kuan-nei hou
(note 8 to CP4) 1886,2053,
2123

Marquis of a Prefecture 縣侯
hsien hou 1861,66,68,73,79,
80,86,91,93,1905,17,34,43,
46,85,88,99,2008,61,2101,
32,42,50,52,55,70,72; also
listed under place-names
in the Gazetteer

Marquis of Title 名號侯
ming-hao hou (note 12 to CA20)
2142

Master of the Army 軍師 chün-shih
(note 21 to HP1) 1957,88,2150

Master of Records 主簿 chu-pu
(secretary to the head of a
commandery or a high court
official) 1885,96,33,76,81,
2014,53,60,63,79-80,95,98,
2110,39-40,50,62-63

Masters of Writing 尚書 shang-shu
(imperial secretariat; notes
11 to KH4 and 9 to CP6; HHS
treatise 26,p.8b) 1861,79,
88,94,98,1900-02,04,06,09,
32-33,35,39,60,66,84,88,
2085,95,2123-24,46,50,72

Gentleman 郎 lang 1981,2067,
2134

Prefect 令 ling (HHS treatise
26,p.7b) 1988,2001,07,23,32,
34,60

Supervisor 僕射 p'u-yeh (HHS
treatise 26,p.8a) 1933,39,96,
2123,45,51

Masters of Writing, to control the
affairs of the 錄尚書事
lu shang-shu shih (note 9 to
CP6) 1894,1919,34,39-40,44,46,
54,56,84

Ministers 卿 ch'ing (i.e. Grand
Master of Ceremonies, Super-
intendant of the Imperial
Household, Commandant of the
Palace Guard, Grand Coachman,
Commandant of Justice, Grand
Herald, Superintendent of the
Imperial House, Grand Minister
of Agriculture, Privy Treasurer
qq.v.; note 3 to CP5) 1888,2043

Minister over the Masses 司徒
ssu-t'u (second of the three
Dukes; HHS treatise 24, p.4a)
1860,62,64,78,81,85,91,96,
1905-06,10-11,33,38-40,56,61,
66-67,88,2076

Minister of Works 司空 ssu-k'ung
(third of the three Dukes; HHS
treatise 24,p.5b) 1862,68,74,80,
85,91,1903,05-06,10,16,22,40,46,
48,60,88,2000

Northern Jail of the Yellow Gates
黃門北寺獄 huang-men pei-ssu yu
(note 11 to CP1) 1867,80

Obedient Barbarians of Huang-chung
皇中義從胡 Huang-chung yi-ts'ung
hu (note 27 to CP1) 1873

Officer of the Department of Merit 功曹
從事 kung-ts'ao ts'ung shih (under
the Colonel Director of the
Retainers, responsible for
selection and recommendation for
office in the capital province;
also an officer in a commandery
with the same function; HHS
treatises 27, p.8b and 28, p.6a)
1869,1907,85,87,2021-22,39,43,
63,2155-56

Official Chariots, Prefect in
Charge of 公車令
kung-chü ling 2152

Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk
御史中丞 yü-shih chung-
ch'eng (chief of the
censorate; note 14 to CP1;
HHS treatise 26, p.10b)
1868,1921,2124

Palace Attendant 侍中 shih-chung
(honorary title, no partic-
ular duties, held concurrently
with substantive office; HHS
treatise 26, p.4a) 1867,87-88,
1903,06,25,35,50,60-61,64-66,
88,96,2109,64,85,2115,23-24,
39,45,67,73

Palace Captain of the Northern Army
北軍中候 pei-chün chung-hou
(note 11 to CP6; HHS treatise
27,p.6b) 1894,1913

Palace Commandant 中尉 chung-wei
(note 1 to CA21) 2144

Palace Regular Attendant 中常侍
chung-ch'ang-shih (note 12 to
CP1; HHS treatise 26, p.5a)
1861,65-66,68-69,76,78-80,82,
90,93-96,98-1900,24,81

Palace Workshop, Office of the 尚方
shang-fang (note 8 to KH4) 1861
Supervisor 監 chien (HHS
treatise 26, p.12a) 1900

Prefect 令 ling (head of a prefect-
ure with population more than
10,000 households; HHS
treatise 28, p.7a) 1926,2052
and see under individual
prefectures in Gazetteer

Prefect of the Gentlemen of the
Palace 郎中令 lang-chung ling
[at the court of a vassal king]
(note 14 to CA18; HHS treatise
28, p.12a) 1909

Prefect of the Gentlemen of the
Palace 郎中令 lang-chung-ling
(note 14 to CA18) 2124

Prefect Grand Physician 太醫令
t'ai-yi ling (HHS treatise
26, p.3b) 2154

Prefecture 縣 hsien; passim

Privy Treasurer 少府 shao-fu
(one of the nine ministers,
responsible for the finance
and administration of the
imperial household; HHS
treatise 26, p.3a) 1897,1900,
16,67,2154

Privy Treasurer of the Yung-lo
Palace 永樂少府 Yung-lo shao-fu
(note 6 to CP5) 1889

Province 州 chou; passim

Queen 王后 wang-hou [of Wei] 2160

Recipes, Office of: see Palace
Workshop

Reporting Officer 計吏 chi-li
(note 4 to KH5; HHS treatise
28, p.4b) 1862,78

Resident Chief Clerk 居府長史
chü-fu chang-shih 2106

Retainer 庶子 shu-tzu (at the
court of a feudal lord; HHS
treatise 28, p.13b) 2132

Shan-yü 單于 of the Southern
Hsiung-nu (or Southern [南
nan]Shan-yü) 1889,1905-06,
22,25,78,2045-46,66-67,2146

Shan-yü 單于 of the Wu-huan
2013,57,58,69,72-73,2146,55

Stables for Splendid Horses,
Assistant of the 駉馬廐丞
lu-chi chiu ch'eng 1859

Subordinate Clerk of the Department
of the East 東曹屬 tung-ts'ao
shu (note 7 to CA13) 2145

Subordinate Clerk of the Department
of Granaries 倉曹屬
ts'ang-ts'ao shu 2106,2146

Subordinate Clerk of the Department
of Officials 士曹屬
shih-ts'ao shu 2086

Superintendent of the Army 監軍
chien-chün 2015,36

Superintendent of the Imperial
House 宗正 tsung-cheng
(one of the nine ministers,
responsible for discipline
of the imperial clan; HHS
treatise 26, p.1a) 1889

Superintendent of the Imperial
Household 光祿勳 kuang-lu-
hsün (one of the nine
ministers, responsible for
the personal protection of
the Emperor; HHS treatise
25, p.3a) 1885,91,1906,10,
60,67,2080,85

Supervisor of the Internuncios
謁者僕射 yeh-che p'u-yeh
(responsible for the
ceremonial of the Emperor
receiving visitors and
messages; HHS treatise 25,
p.7a) 1962,2003

Supervisor of the Private Library
秘書監 mi-shu chien 2064

Tiger Warriors 虎士 hu-shih
(Ts'ao Ts'ao's bodyguard;
note 14 to CA2) 2000,2107

Tiger Cavalry 騎 chi 2108

Western Garden 西園 hsi-yüan
(note 9 to KH4) 1861,66,77-78

Cavalrymen 騎 tsou 1877

Colonels 校尉 hsiao-wei (note
13 to CP5) 1890

Western Sustainer 右扶風 yu-fu-feng
(administrator of Yu-fu-feng
commandery; HHS treatise 27,
p.9a) 1938 and see Gazetteer

Worthy King of the East 左賢王
tso hsien wang [of the Southern
Hsiung-nu] 1889

Worthy King of the West 右賢王
yu hsien wang [of the Southern
Hsiung-nu] 1889,1967,2147

Yellow Gates, Junior Attendant
of the 小黃門 hsiao huang-men
(notes 11 and 12 to CP1; HHS
treatise 26, p.5b) 1871,82,90,
99

Yellow Gates, Palace Attendant
Within the 中黃門 chung
huang-men (notes 11 and 12 to
CP1; HHS treatise 26, p.6a)
1867,1900

Yellow Gates, Prefect of the 黃門令
huang-men ling (note 12 to
CP6; HHS treatise 26, p.5b)
1895

Yung-lo Empress-dowager 永樂皇太后
Yung-lo huang-t'ai-hou [i.e.
the Lady Tung] (note 1 to KH5)
see Index of Personal Names

Gazetteer and Index of Place-names:

A-yang 阿陽 P in Han-yang,
Liang (S of Tsingning 靜寧,
Kansu) 1873

An-chung 安衆 P in Nan-yang,
Ching (SE of Chenping 鎮平,
Honan) 2003

An-kuo t'ing 安國亭 marquis 2061

An-min 安民 (note 2 to CA6) 2041

An-p'ing 安平 C in Chi 1866, 2057;
king 1866, 72

An-ting 安定 C in Liang 1886,
1920, 2108-09, 21

An-yi 安邑 P in Ho-tung, Ssu-li
(near Anyi, Shansi) 1921, 69

Ao Granary, the 敖倉 (S of
Szechui 沔水, Honan) 1914,
2013

Black Mountain 黑山 (note 7 to
CP2) 1878 and see Index of
Personal Names

Capital district, the 京師 1862-
63, 65-66, 71-72, 76-77, 80, 82,
91, 95-96, 98, 1902-03, 05, 09-11,
45-46, 54, 59, 61, 69, 2129 and
see Lo-yang, Ch'ang-an, Three
Adjuncts, Hsü

Cha-tu 查讀 (note 12 to CA1) 1986

Ch'ai-sang 柴桑 P in Yü-chang,
Yang (SW of Kiukiang 九江,
Kiangsi) 2088

Ch'an-ling 屏陵 P in Wu-ling,
Ching (S of Kungan 公安,
Hupeh) 2086, 2136; marquis
2170

Chang River 漳水 (note 13 to ChP2)
1922, 2053

Chang-hsiang 章鄉 (NW of Tangyang
當陽, Hupeh) 2170

Chang-ling 章陵 commandery (note
12 to CA13) GA 2082

Chang-yeh 張掖 C in Liang 2158

Ch'ang Slope 長坂 (NE of Tangyang
當陽, Hupeh) 2084, 87, 98, 2137

Ch'ang-an 長安 P in Ching-chao,
Ssu-li (NW of Sian 西安, Shensi)
1879, 82, 1910, 12, 16, 21, 40-41, 43,
45, 47, 50, 54, 69, 76, 92, 96, 2109, 56,
58 and see Capital district,
Three Adjuncts, (within the)
Passes

Ch'ang-kuang 長廣 commandery (note 7
to CA5) GA 2030

Ch'ang-li 長離 (note 1 to CA19) 2126

Ch'ang-lo 長樂 Palace at Lo-yang 1900

Ch'ang-lu 昌慮 commandery (note 6 to
CA3) 2007

Ch'ang-men 昌門 Gates at Wu 2010

Ch'ang-p'ing Observatory 長平觀
(note 4 to HP1) 1950

Ch'ang-sha 長沙 C in Ching 1886, 1958,
2008, 39-40, 86, 94, 2103, 29, 36, 38;
GA 1886, 1912, 2008, 2094

Ch'ang-shan 常山 C in Chi 1927, 44,
2068; Ch 1946

Ch'ang-she 長社 P in Ying-ch'uan,
Yü (W of Changko 長葛, Honan)
1868-69, 2080

Chao 趙 C in Chi 1870

Chao Chung 趙忠 mansion of, at
Lo-yang 1981

Chao Chung 趙忠 mansion of, at Yeh
1880, 1924

Ch'ao-ko 朝歌 P in Ho-nei, Ssu-li
(NE of Chihhsien 淇縣 Honan)
1924, 44; chief 2162

Che 柘 P in Ch'en, Yü (N of Checheng
柘城, Honan) marquis 2101

Che River 浙水 1985

- Ch'en 陳 C in Yü 1871, 1999, 2000;
king 1999; Ch 1999
- Ch'en-liu 陳留 C in Yen 1907,
31, 51; king 1896, 1901-02,
04; GA 1906, 08, 50-51
- Ch'en-ts'ang 陳倉 P in Yu-fu-
feng, Ssu-li (E of Paoki
寶雞, Shensi) 1892, 1959,
2135
- Cheng-kung hsiang 鄭公鄉 1989
- Ch'eng-kao 成皋 P in Ho-nan,
Ssu-li (NW of Szeshui 汜水,
Honan) 1898, 1914
- Ch'eng-tu 成都 P in Shu, Yi
(Chengtu, Szechwan) 1956,
2042, 2112, 17, 27-30, 43, 59
- Ch'eng-wu 成武 P in Chi-yin,
Yen (Chengwu, Shantung)
marquis 1940
- Ch'eng-yang 城陽 commandery (note
6 to CA3) 2007
- Chi Province 冀州 (HHS treatise
20) 1864-65, 79, 92, 1904, 08, 15,
22-23, 70, 96, 2011, 24, 36-37,
56, 60, 70-71, 79, 85, 2112, 19, 64;
Gov 1873, 1924, 2056, 2119; Ins
1906-07, 17, 26, 31
- Chi 冀 P in Han-yang, Liang (S of
Kanku 甘谷 Kansu) 1874,
2121-22
- Chi 薊 P in Kuang-yang, Yu (SW of
Tahing 大興, Hopeh) 1885-
86, 1946
- Chi River 濟水 1962
- Chi-nan 濟南 C in Ch'ing 2100;
king 2073
- Chi-pei 濟北 C in Yen 1940, (2068);
king 2113; Ch 1908, 35
- Chi-yin 濟陰 C in Yen 2068; king
2113
- Ch'i 齊 C in Ch'ing 2068
- Ch'i 新 P in P'ei, Yü (Suhsien 宿
縣, Anhwei) 2000 (miswritten
Chi-yang)
- Ch'i Mountain 祁山 (note 11 to
CA9) 2055
- Ch'i River 祁河 1924 (miswritten
Ch'ing), 2052
- Ch'i-ch'un 蕪春 commandery (note
3 to CA18) 2119
- Ch'i-shan 祁山 (NW of Siho 西和,
Kansu) 2123, 25
- Ch'i-men 祁門 2057
- Chia 郊 P in Ying-ch'uan, Yü
(Kiahsien, Honan) 2161
- Chia-hsing 嘉興 (note 25 to CA4)
2023
- Chia-meng 葭萌 P in Kuang-han, Yi
(SE of Chao-hwa 昭華,
Szechwan) 2112, 17, 30
- Chia-shih 夾石 (N of Tungcheng
桐城, Anhwei) 2127
- Chia-te 嘉德 Apartments at Lo-yang
1894
- Chiang 江 (i.e. the Yangtse) 1903,
71, 74, 90, 2009, 18, 29, 37, 41, 50,
88, 91, 93-94, 2118-19, 64-65
south of the Chiang 1913-14,
2019, 21-22, 82, 2129
east of the Chiang 1970, 72,
2029, 38-39, 75, 88, 90
beyond the Chiang (江表
Chiang-piao) 2088
- Chiang 絳 P in Ho-tung, Ssu-li
(SW of Kuwo 曲沃, Shansi)
2045
- Chiang-ch'eng 江乘 P in Tan-yang,
Yang (N of Chujung 句容,
Kiangsu) 1972
- Chiang-chou 江州 P in Pa, Yi
(Kiangpei 江北, Szechwan)
2042, 2111, 27
- Chiang-hsia 江夏 C in Ching 1882,
2084, 89, 2138; GA 1993, 2082, 85, 98,
2104
- Chiang-ling 江陵 P in Nan, Ching
(Kiangling, Hupeh) 1914, 2083-84,
88, 93-94, 98, 2102, 36, 40, 60, 68-69

- Chiang-t'ing 江亭 2014
- Chiang-tu 江都 P in Kuang-ling, Hsu (SW of Kiangtu, Kiangsu) 1957
- Chiang-yang 江陽 commandery (note 4 to CA6) 2127; GA 2043
- Chiao Province 交州 (HHS treatise 23B) Ins 2104-05 and see Chiao-chih I
- Chiao-chih 交趾 I (i.e. Chiao Province q.v.) 1859, 71; Gov 887
- Chiao-chih 交趾 II (commandery) in Chiao 2129; GA 2104-05
- Chiao-ch'iu 椒丘 (N of Sinkien 新建, Kiangsu) 2021, 59
- Ch'iao 雋 P in P'ei, Yü (Pohsien 亳縣, Anhwei) 2044, 97-98, 2100, 15, 18, 47
- Chieh Bridge 界橋 (N of Weihsien 威縣, Hopeh) 1931
- Chien 管 P in Chi-nan, Ch'ing (NW of Changkiu 章丘, Shantung) prefect 2087
- Chien-an 建安 (part of Kienow 建甌, Fukien) 2052
- Chien-ch'ang 建昌 P in Yü-chang, Yang (W of Fengsin 奉新, Kiangsi) 2052
- Chien-ning 建寧 (i.e. Yi-chou commandery q.v.) 2128
- Chien-wei 犍爲 C in Yi 1889, 2040, 2127, 55; GA 1929, 55
- Chien-yeh 建業 2114, 65 and see Mo-ling
- Ch'ien 潛 or 濡 P in Lu-chiang, Yang (NE of Hwoshan 霍山, Anhwei) 2014, 98
- Ch'ien-t'ang 錢唐 city (Hangchow, Chekiang) 1999
- Ch'ih-ch'iu 丘 P in Wei, Chi (SE of Chengan 成安, Hopeh) 1943
- Ch'ih-yang 池陽 P in Tso-p'ing-yi, Ssu-li (NW of Kingyang 涇陽, Shensi) 1961, 65
- Chin-ch'eng 金城 C in Liang 1864, 73, 1920, 40, 2135; GA 1873
- Chin-ch'eng 金城 P in Chin-ch'eng, Liang (SW of Lanchow 蘭州, Kansu) 1921, 40
- Ching Province 荊州 (HHS treatise 22) 1864-65, 1914, 28, 40, 56, 66, 73, 92, 2001-02, 17-18, 42, 48, 51, 66, 74-75, 77, 83, 85, 87-89, 95, 98, 2110-11, 17, 27, 35-36, 38, 56, 65, 69-70, 72; Ins 1874, 83, 1912-13, 40, 2094, 2162; Gov 1940, 2099, 2172
- Ching 京 P in Ho-nan, Ssu-li (SW of Yingyang 滎陽, Honan) prefect 1871
- Ching 涇 Pin Tan-yang, Yang (W of Kingsien, Anhwei) 1958, 2009
- Ching Hills 精山 1875
- Ching-chao 京兆 C in Ssu-li Intendant 1892, 1911, 2109 official residency (at Ch'ang-an q.v.) 1912
- Ching-ch'eng 京城 (i.e. Tan-t'u q.v. note 15 to CA9) 2058-59, 2101-02
- Ch'ing Province 青州 (HHS treatise 22) 1864, 92, 1915, 25, 27, 35, 90, 96, 2014, 16, 25, 49, 60, 70; Ins 1915, 26, 43, 90, 2044, 84
- Ch'ing River 清水 2057
- Ch'ing-ho 清河 (i.e. Kan-ling q.v., note 2 to CP1)
- Ch'ing-so 青瑣 Gate at Lo-yang 1901
- Ch'ing-so 青瑣 Gate at Ch'ang-an 1937
- Chiu-chen 九真 C in Chiao GA 2104
- Chiu-chiang 九江 C in Yang 1942, 2037, 2119; GA 1951, 58, 96 and see Huai-nan

Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 C in Liang
2158; GA1885

Cho 涿 C in Yu 2061; GA2061

Cho 涿 P in Cho, Yu (Chohsien,
Hopeh) prefect 1885

Chu 邾 P in Chiang-hsia,
Ching (NW of Hwangkang 黃岡,
Hupeh) chief 2077

Chu-ch'iu Tower 朱雀閣 at
Lo-yang 1901

Ch'u-kuan 楚關 (W of Changyang
長陽, Hupeh) 2077

Ch'un-yü 淳于 P in Pei-hai,
Ch'ing (NE of Ankiu 安丘,
Shantung) 2068,70

Chung-li 鍾離 P in Chiu-
chiang, Yang (NE of Fengyang
鳳陽, Anhwei) 1998

Chung-liao 中遼 commandery 1917

Chung-ling district 中陵鄉
marquis 1868

Chung-mou 中牟 P in Ho-nan,
Ssu-li (E of Chungmou, Honan)
1907,28,31; prefect 1884,1907

Chung-shan 中山 C in Chi 2055-57;
Ch 1885

Ch'ung-te 崇德 Palace at Lo-yang
1904

Chü 宮 P in Lang-yeh, Hsü
(Chuhsien, Shantung) 1998

Chü-ch'ao 居巢 P in Lu-chiang,
Yang (NE of Chaohsien 巢縣,
Anhwei) 2148-49; chief 2009

Chü-lu 鉅鹿 C in Chi 1864; GA.1877

Chü-yeh 鉅野 P in Shan-yang,
Yen (S of Kuyeh, Shantung) 1962

Chü-yung 居庸 P in Shang-ku, Yu
(E of Yenking 延慶, Hopeh)
1946

Ch'ü-a 曲阿 P in Wu, Yang
(Tanyang 丹陽, Kiangsu)
1957-58,70,72,2009

Ch'ü-chang 曲漳 (note 10 to
CA9) 2055

Ch'ü-jen 駒忍 P in Pa, Yi
(W of Yunyang 雲陽,
Szechwan) 1956

Chüan-ch'eng 甄城 P in Chi-yin,
Yen (E of ruhsien 濮縣,
Shantung) 1942,50,52-53,55,
63,2003,26

Ch'üan-ch'eng 犬城 2013

Ch'üan-chou Trench 泉州渠
(note 7 to CA11) 2069

Ch'üeh-pi 芍陂 (S. of Showhsien 壽
縣, Anhwei) 2098

Chün-yi 浚儀 P in Ch'en-liu, Yen
(NW of K'ai-feng 開封, Honan)
2044

Cloud Terrace 雲臺 at Lo-yang 1876

Copper Bird Terrace 銅爵臺 at Yeh
2100

Fan 范 P in Tung, Yen (SE of Fanhsien,
Shantung 1952-53,63; prefect
1952

Fan 樊 city in Nan-yang, Ching
(N of Siangyang 襄陽, Hupeh)
1927,2083,2156,60-61,64,66,72

Fan-k'ou 樊口 2088,92

Fang-ling 房陵 commandery (note 4
to CA24) 2159; GA 2159

Fei-ju 肥如 P in Liao-hsi, Yu
(N of Lutung 盧龍, Hopeh) 1886

Fen River 汾水 2046

Feng-ch'iu 封丘 P in Ch'en-liu, Yen
(Fengkiu, Honan) 1942

Fu 浯 P in Kuang-han, Yi (Mienyang
縣陽, Szechwan) 2111,18

Fu 郛 (SE of Lochwan 洛川,
Shensi) 2112

Fu River 逢水 2054

Fu-feng see Yu-fu-feng

Fu-han 枹罕 P in Lung-hsi, Liang
(Linsia 臨夏, Kansu) 1873,
2133

Fu-ling 阜陵 kingdom (note 6 to
CA11) 2068

Hai-hsi 海西 P in Kuang-ling, Hsü
(S of Tunghai 東海, Kiangsu)
1980, 99

Hai-hun 海昏 P in Yü-chang, Yang
(Yungsiu 永修, Kiangsi)
2011, 20

Han River 漢水 2018, 41, 51, 75, 85,
2157-59, 72; south of 2088; and
see Mien River

Han-ch'ang 漢昌 commandery 2103;
GA 2104, 53

Han-ch'ang 漢昌 P in Pa, Yi (N of
Tsangki 蒼溪, Szechwan)
2040; prefect 2042

Han-chung 漢中 C in Yi 2040, 2106,
209, 38, 40, 43, 52-53, 55, 58-59, 66;
GA 1929, 2159; king 2159 and see
Han-ning

Han-hsing 漢興 prefecture (Pucheng
浦城, Fukien) 2052

Han-ku Pass 玉谷關 (SW of Lingpao
靈寶, Honan) 1863, 66

Han-ning 漢寧 commandery (note 6
to CA6) GA 2043 and see
Han-chung

Han-tan 邯鄲 P in Chao, Chi (SW
of Hantan, Hopeh) 2053

Han-yang 漢陽 C in Liang 1873-74,
84; GA 1874, 83, 2121 and see
T'ien-shui

Heng-chiang 橫江 (note 22 to HP1)
1959, 70-71

Herding Office, the 畜官 (note 3
to CP1) 1874

Ho-chien 河間 C in Chi 1882, 90,
2057, 2112

Ho-ch'ih 河池 P in Wu-tu, Liang
(W of Hweihhsien 徽縣,
Kansu) 2135

Ho-fei 合肥 P in Chiu-chiang,
Yang (N of Hofei, Anhwei)
2037, 94, 97-98, 2119, 41, 60;
marquis 1890

Ho-kuan 河關 P in Lung-hsi, Kiang
(W of Linsia 臨夏, Kansu)
1873

Ho-nan 河南 C in Ssu-li 1899, 1902,
28, 2025; Intendant 1866, 84,
1900, 09, 11, 28

Ho-nei 河內 C in Ssu-li 1898, 1908,
15-16, 22, 39, 62; GA 1908, 25, 41,
69, 2005, 14

Ho-pei 河北 P in Ho-tung, Ssu-li
(NW of Juicheng 芮城, Shansi)
2062

Ho-p'u 合浦 C in Chiao GA 1871,
2104

Ho-tung 河東 C in Ssu-li 1880, 87,
98, 1905, 28, 67, 2002, 45-46, 62-
64, 2106, 09; GA 1969, 2045, 62,
2109

Ho-yang Ford 河陽津 (i.e. the
Meng Ford q.v.) 1917

Hsi 析 P in Nan-yang, Ching (NW of
Neisiang 內鄉, Honan) 1915

Hsi-ch'eng 西城 commandery (note
6 to CA24) GA 2159

Hsi-ch'eng 西城 1974

Hsi-e 西鄂 P in Nan-yang, Ching
(S of Nanyang 南陽, Honan)
1875

Hsi-ho 西河 C in Ping 1887, 2107-08

Hsi-hsiang 西鄉 marquis 1871

Hsi-hua 西華 P in Ju-nan, Yü (S of
Sihwa, Honan) 1871

- Hsi-p'ing 西平 commandery (note 4 to CA10) 2153,58; GA.2062
- Hsi-p'ing 西平 P in Ju-nan, Yü (W of Siping, Honan) 2049
- Hsi-yang t'ing 夕陽亭 (W of Loyang 洛陽, Honan) 1899
- Hsia-ch'iu 夏丘 P in Hsia-p'i, Hsü (Szechsien 泗縣, Anhwei) 1945
- Hsia-ch'ü-yang 下曲陽 P in Chü-lu, Chi (W of Chihnsien 晉縣, Hopeh) 1873
- Hsia-k'ou 夏口 (note 1 to CA13) 2076,84,87,91,2136,70 and see Mien-k'ou
- Hsia-p'i 下邳 C in Hsü 1942,44,74,97,2001,14,68; Ch 1971,74,80
- Hsia-p'i 下邳 P in Hsia-p'i, Hsü (E of Pih sien 邳縣, Kiangsu) 1980,2004-05,23-24
- Hsia-pien 下辨 P in Wu-tu, Liang (W of Chenghsien 成縣, Kansu) 2153
- Hsiang River 湘水 2138
- Hsiang-fei 襄貲 P in Tung-hai, Hsü (SW of Linyi 臨沂, Shantung) marquis 1905
- Hsiang-kuan 湘關 (note 16 to CA24) 2165
- Hsiang-yang 襄陽 P in Nan, Ching (Siangyang, Hupeh) 1914,28,2074,83-84,93,2102,62,64-65,68,72
- Hsiang-yi 襄邑 P in Ch'en-liu, Yen (W of Suihsien 睢縣, Honan) 1942
- Hsiao 嶠 hills (note 3 to CA10) 2062
- Hsiao-huang-chung 小湟中 (note 17 to CA19) 2133
- Hsiao-p'ei 小沛 (alternative name for P'ei prefecture q.v.) 1949,80,2023
- Hsiao-p'ing Ford 小平津 (near Menghsien 孟縣, Honan) 1866,1901-02
- Hsiao-yao Ford 逍遙津 (E of Hofei 合肥, Anhwei) 2141
- Hsieh-ku Pass 斜谷關 (SW of Meihsien 郿縣, Shensi) 1929,2143,58
- Hsien Hills 峴山 (S of Siangyang 襄陽, Hupeh) 1928
- Hsien-ch'in 顯親 P in Han-yang, Liang (NW of Tienshui 天水, Kansu) 2125
- Hsien-lien 先零 (note 11 to ChP2) 1920
- Hsien-pi t'ing 鮮卑庭 (i.e. the territory of the Hsien-pi) 2072
- Hsien-yang Park 顯陽苑 1902
- Hsin-an 新安 P in Hung-nung, Ssu-li (E of Mienchih 涵池, Honan) 1920
- Hsin-feng 新豐 P in Ching-chao, Ssu-li (E of Lintung 臨潼, Shensi) 1965; prefect 2045
- Hsin-tu 新都 commandery (note 37 to CA13) 2096; GA.2096
- Hsin-tu 信都 P in An-p'ing, Chi (Chih sien 冀縣, Hopeh) prefect 1893
- Hsin-yeh 新野 P in Nan-yang, Ching (Sinyeh, Honan) 2042,82,2129
- Hsing-kuo 興國 (NE of Tsinan 秦安, Kansu) 2122,25-26,33
- Hsü Province 徐州 (HHS treatise 21) 1864,92-93,1928,41,43,45,56-58,62-63,74,80,96,2001,2164; Ins 1928,41,43,2023; Gov 1943,56,80,97,2099
- Hsü 許 P in Ying-ch'uan, Yü (SW of Hsuchang 許昌, Honan) 1983-85,89-90,94,96,2001-04,07,15-19,25,31-33,36,41,48,70,74,2133,54,6164; prefect 1989,2001

Hsü Chao 許昭 house of, in
Yü-hang 2023

Hsü-lü 雒婁 P in Lu-chiang,
Yang (NE of Shangcheng
商城, Honan) 2097

Hsü-wu 徐無 P in Yu-pei-p'ing,
Yu (N of Yutien 玉田,
Hopeh) 1947, 2072

Hsü-yi 盱眙 P in Hsia-p'i, Hsü
(NE of Chuyi, Anhwei) 1980

Hsüan-ch'eng 宣城 city (E of
Nanling 南陵, Anhwei)
2009, 2148

Hsüan-men 旋門 pass (near
Szeshui 汜水, Honan) 1866

Hsüan-p'ing 宣平 Gate at Ch'ang-
an 1938, 65

Hsüan-wu Lake 玄武池 at Yeh
2076

Hsün-yang 尋陽 P in Lu-chiang,
Yang (N of Hwangmei 黃梅,
Hupeh) 2104, 27, 68, prefect
2099

Hu-kuan 壺關 P in Shang-tang,
Ping (SE of Changchih
長治, Shansi) 2045, 66

Hu-kuan-k'ou 壺關口 (note 2 to
CA10) 2061

Hu-p'an 狐槃 1874

Hu-shu 湖孰 P in Tan-yang,
Yang (SE of Nanking,
Kiangsu) 1972

Hu-yang 湖陽 P in Nan-yang,
Ching (S of Piyuan 泌源,
Honan) 2001

Hua Mountain 華山 (S of Hwayin
華陰, Shensi) 1944

Hua 華 city (NE of Feihhsien
費縣, Shantung) 1945

Hua-jung 華容 P in Nan, Ching.
(NW of Kienli 監利,
Hupeh) 2093; marquis 1861,
2093

Hua-yin 華陰 P in Hung-nung, Ssu-li
(SE of Hwayin, Shensi) 1921, 66,
92

Huai River 淮水 1942, 63, 90, 98, 2000,
04, 30, 37, 98; south of 1982, 2119

Huai-li 槐里 P in Yu-fu-feng,
Ssu-li (SE of Hingping 興平,
Shensi) 1950, 2080;
marquis 1873

Huai-nan 淮南 (i.e. Chiu-chiang q.v.
note 9 to CA24) 2160; Intendant
1996

Huai-yin 淮陰 P in Hsia-p'i, Hsü
(SE of Hwaiyin, Kiangsu) 1980

Huan-yüan 環輦 Pass (near Tengfeng
登封, Honan) 1866, 1914, 85

Huang-chung 皇中 (note 27 to CP1)
1873, 97

Huang-po-ch'eng 黃白城 (note 7 to
HP2) 1961

Hung-nung 弘農 C in Ssu-li 1940,
64-67, 69, 2109; king 1904, 09

Hung-nung 弘農 P in Hung-nung, Ssu-li
(S of Lingpao 靈寶, Honan 1937,
65, 2018

Huo-tse 獲澤 P in Ho-tung, Ssu-li
(W of Yangcheng 陽城, Shansi)
2063

Imperial University 太學 at Lo-yang
1863

Jade Hall 玉堂 at Lo-yang 1883

Jang 襄 P in Nan-yang, Ching
(Tenghsien 登縣, Honan) 1992,
94, 2002-03, 2150

Ju River 汝水 2000, 30-31

Ju-hsü 濡須 Dockyard (note 6 to
CA17) 2114-15, 18, 48-49

Ju-nan 汝南 C in Yü 1868-69, 71, 1979,
2030-31, 41, 85; GA 1868, 2161

Jung-ch'iu 容丘 P in Tung-hai, Hsü
(near Pihhsien 邳縣, Kiangsu)
marquis 1893

- Jung-yang 滎陽 P in Ho-nan,
Ssu-li (SW of Yingtse 滎澤,
Honan) 1884, 1914
- Kan-ling 甘陵 C in Chi 1866, 2057,
68; king 1866
- K'ang-fu 亢父 P in Jen-ch'eng,
Yen (S of Tsining 濟寧,
Shantung) 1953
- K'ang-hsiang 亢鄉 marquis 1907
- Kao-ch'ien-t'un 高遷屯 (note 12
to CA1) 1986
- Kao-chü-li 高句驪 (note 23 to
ChP1) 1917
- Kao-ling 高陵 P in Tso-p'ing-yi,
Ssu-li (SW of Kaoling, Shensi)
1965
- Kao-mi 高密 P in Pei-hai, Ch'ing
(SW of Kaomi, Shantung) 2060
- Kao-p'ing 高平 P in An-ting,
Liang (Kuyuan 固原, Ningsia
Hui Autonomous Region) 2126
- Ku Gate 穀門 at Lo-yang 1901
- Ku-an 故安 P in Cho, Yu (SE of
Kuyuan 固原, Ningsia Hui
Autonomous Region) 2057
- Ku-ling 固陵 (W of Siaoshan 蕭山,
Chekiang) 1985
- Ku-shan 固山 2154
- Ku-shih 故市 (note 12 to CA5) 2034
- K'u 苦 P in Ch'en, Yü (E of Luyi
鹿邑, Honan) marquis 2101
- K'uai-chi 會稽 C in Yang 1969, 73,
85, 2021, 29, 38, 75; GA. 1943, 85, 87,
99, 2037, 2153
- Kuan-t'ou 關頭 (note 13 to CA17)
2117
- Kuan-tu 官度 (NE of Chungmou 中牟,
Honan) 2016, 23, 25-26, 28, 32-33,
44, 2119
- Kuan-tzu ch'eng 管子城 fortress 1892
- Kuang-ch'eng Park 廣成苑 (W of Linju
臨汝, Honan) 1863
- Kuang-ch'eng Pass 廣城關 (W of
Linju 臨汝, Honan) 1866
- Kuang-han 廣漢 C in Yi 2040,
2131; GA. 2118, 56
- Kuang-han 廣漢 P in Kuang-han,
Yi (NE of Suining
Szechwan) chief 2110, 29
- Kuang-ling 廣陵 C in Hsü 1943,
74, 2119; GA. 1908, 43, 74, 97,
2004, 14, 28
- Kuang-ling 廣陵 P in Kuang-ling,
Hsü (NE of Kiangtu 江都,
Kiangsu) 1980
- Kuang-shih 廣石 2155
- Kuang-tsung 廣宗 P in Chü-lu,
Chi (E of Weihsien 威縣,
Hopeh) 1871-72
- Kuang-tu 廣都 P in Shu, Yi (SE
of Chengtu 成都, Szechwan)
2132; chief 2132
- Kuang-yang 廣陽 C in Yu 1869,
1978; GA. 1869
- Kuei-yang 桂陽 C in Ching 1912,
2008, 40, 94, 2129, 36, 38; GA
2094-95
- K'uei-yüan Gorge 葵園峽 (note 19
to CP2) 1881
- Kung-an 公安 (NE of Kungan, Hupeh)
2099, 2102, 28, 31, 36-37, 60, 71
- Kung-p'ing 廣平 P in Yü-yang, Yu
(NE of Miyun 密雲, Hopeh)
2061
- Lan-ling 蘭陵 P in Tung-hai, Hsü
(E of Yihsien 嶧縣,
Shantung) prefect 1859
- Lan-t'ien 藍田 P in Ching-chao
(W of Lantien, Shensi) 1966,
2113
- Lang River 閿水 (note 11 to CA19)
2130
- Lang-chung 閿中 P in Pa, Yi (W of
Langchung, Szechwan) 2040;
marquis 2142

- Lang-ling 朗陵 P in Ju-nan, Yü (SW of Kioshan 確山, Honan) chief 2002, 30
- Lang-yeh 琅邪 C in Hsü 1945, 50, 2007; king 2068; Ch 1998
- Lei-yang 來陽 P in Kuei-yang, Ching (Leiyang, Hunan) prefect 2104
- Li-ch'eng 利城 commandery (note 6 to CA3) 2007
- Li-ch'eng 歷城 (N of Chenghsien 成縣, Kansu) 2122-23
- Li-yang 黎陽 P in Wei, Chi (NE of Sunhsien 濬縣, Honan) 1925, 2015-16, 25, 36, 44, 48, 52
- Li-yang 潞陽 P in Tan-yang, Yang (NW of Liyang, Yang) marquis 1943
- Li-yang 歷陽 P in Chiu-chiang, Yang (Hohsien 和縣, Anhwei) 1958, 70, 2058
- Liang Province 涼州 (HHS treatise 23A; note 14 to HP1) 1873, 79, 81, 85, 1909, 21, 36-37, 50, 54, 2108, 21-22, 25, 33, 36, 38; Ins 1873-74, 84; 2080, 2121-22; Gov 2017
- Liang 梁 C in Yü 2000
- Liang 梁 P in Ho-nan, Ssu-li (E of Linju 臨汝, Honan) 1919, 81, 85, 88, 2004
- Liao-hsi 遼西 C in Yu 1892
- Liao-hsi 遼西 commandery (note 25 to ChP1) 1917
- Liao-tung 遼東 C in Yu 1917, 2057-58; GA.1886, 1917; marquis 1917
- Liao-tung dependent state 遼東屬國 in Yu 1892
- Lin-cheng 臨城 city (Hengyang 衡陽, Honan) 2129
- Lin-chin 臨晉 P in Tso-p'ing-yi (Tali 大荔, Shensi) marquis 1868, 80
- Lin-huai 臨淮 (alternative name for Hsia-p'i q.v.; note 8 to CA3)
- Li-li Hills 林歷山 (note 36 to CA13) 2096
- Lin-tzu 臨菑 P in Ch'i, Ch'ing (Lintze, Shantung) marquis 2132, 52
- Ling-ling 零陵 C in Ching 1912, 2008, 40, 94, 2129, 36-38; GA.2019, 94, 36
- Ling-nan 嶺南 (note 9 to CA15) 2105
- Ling-yang 陵陽 P in Tan-yang, Yang (NE of Shihtai 石埭, Anhwei) 2009
- Liu 六 (also called Liu-an 六安) P in Lu-chiang, Yang (N of Liuan, Anhwei) 2098
- Liu-ch'eng 柳城 (SW of Hingcheng 興城, Liaoning) 2057, 71
- Liu-yi 洸沂 (note 19 to CA4) 2020
- Lo 雒 P in Kuang-han, Yi (Kwanghan 廣漢, Szechwan) 2120, 27
- Lo-an 樂安 C in Ch'ing 2049, 60; GA.1876, 2060
- Lo-an 樂安 city (E of Tehhing 德興, Kiangsi) 2052
- Lo-ch'eng 樂城 Gate at Lo-yang 1876
- Lo-lang 樂浪 C in Yu GA.1919
- Lo-yang 洛陽 P in Ho-nan, Ssu-li (NE of Loyang, Honan) 1865, 99, 1907, 10-12, 14, 16, 19-20, 28, 44-45, 64, 79-81, 83-85, 2003, 2140, 63, 76 and see Capital district
- Lou 婁 P in Wu, Yang (NE of Kunshan 崑山, Kiangsu) marquis 2170
- Lu 潞 P in Yü-yang, Yu (E of Tungchow 通州, Hopeh) 1977
- Lu 盧 city (SW of Ishui 沂水, Shantung) 1945

Lu River 潞水 2061

Lu-ch'ang 鹿腸 Hills 1944

Lu-ch'eng 雨城 2123

Lu-chiang 廬江 C in Yang 1958,
2010, 29, 37, 2119; GA. 1958,
2014, 19-20, 39, 2126-27

Lu-hun 陸渾 P in Hung-nung,
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Lu-k'ou 陸口 (SW of Kiayu 嘉魚,
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Lu-ling 廬陵 commandery (note 24
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Lu-ling 廬陵 P in Yü-chang, Yang
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Lu-lung 廬龍 (NW of Tsienan
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Lu-yang 魯陽 P in Nan-yang, Ching
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Lung-hsi 隴西 C in Liang 1884;
GA. 1884

Lung-ts'ou 龍溪 city (NE of
Tehchow 德州, Shantung)
1942, 2057

Lüeh-yang 略陽 P in Han-yang,
Liang (NE of Tsinan 泰安,
Kansu) 2125

Ma 麻 (note 8 to CA11) 2069

Ma-ming-ko 馬鳴閣 (NW of Chaohwa
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Mai-ch'eng 麥城 (NE of Tangyang
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Mao-ch'eng 毛城 (W of Wuan 武安,
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Mei 郿 P in Yu-fu-feng, Ssu-li
(NE of Meihhsien, Shensi)
1932, 34, 40; marquis 1095

Mei-ling 梅陵 1971

Mei-yang 美陽 P in Yu-fu-feng,
Ssu-li (SW of Wukung 武功,
Shensi) 1881

Meng Ford 孟津 (S of Mengtsing,
Honan) 1866, 1914, 24, 68, 78

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Mien-chu 緜竹 P in Kuang-han, Yi
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Mien-k'ou 沔口 (note 4 to CA13)
2078

Mien-yang 沔陽 P in Han-chung, Yi
(SE of Mienhsien, Shensi) 2159

Min 泃 River (note 3 to CA10) 2062

Min-ch'ih 泃池 P in Hung-nung,
Ssu-li (Mienchi, Honan) 1899,
1920-21

Min-hsiang 閿鄉 (W of Wensiang
閿鄉, Honan) marquis 2003

Mo-ling 秣陵 P in Tan-yang, Yang
(Nanking, Kiangsu) 1971, 74,
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Nan-ch'ang 南昌 P in Yü-chang, Yang
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marquis 2172

Nan-cheng 南鄭 P in Han-chung,
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Nan-hai 南海 C in Chiao 2075;
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Nan-hsiang 南鄉 commandery
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Nan-p'i 南皮 P in Po-hai, Chi
(E of Nanpi, Hopeh) 2048,57,
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Nan-p'ing 南平 prefecture (SW of
Nanping, Fukien) 2052

Nan-yang 南陽 C in Ching 1868,71,
99,1907,13,26-27,39,58,2040,
2156; GA1868,71,75,82,1906,
13,2156; king 2030

Nei River 內水 (note 8 to CA18)
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Nei-huang 內黃 P in Wei, Chi
(NW of Neihwang, Honan) 1932

Ning-ling 寧陵 P in Liang, Yü
(S of Ningling, Honan) 1942

Niu-chu 牛渚 mountain (W of
Tangtu 當塗, Anhwei) 1971

Northern Fort 北塢 at Ch'ang-an
1961

Northern Palace 北宮 at Lo-yang
1860,1901

Northern Side-gate 北掖 at
Ch'ang-an 1933

O 鄂 P in Chiang-hsia, Ching
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eries, note 11 to CA20) 2143

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to CA20) 2120,27; GA 2142-43

Pa-ling 霸陵 P in Ching-chao,
Ssu-li (E of Sian 西安,
Shensi) 1965

Pa-tung 巴東 commandery (note 11
to CA20) 2127; GA 2142

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Passes, within the 關西 or west of
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Pei-hai 北海 C in Ch'ing 2068,81;
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Pei-ti 北地 C in Liang 1884,60,73;
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P'ei 沛 C in Yü 1942,92; Ch.1996

P'ei 沛 P in P'ei, Yü (E of Peih sien,
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P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 C in Hsü 1973;
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P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 P in P'eng-ch'eng,
Hsü (Suchow 徐州, Kiangsu)
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P'eng-tse 彭澤 commandery (note 4
to CA14) GA 2098

- P'eng-tse 彭澤 P in Yü-chang,
Yang (E of Hukow 湖口,
Kiangsi) 1974, 2020
- Pi 費 P in T'ai-shan, Yen
(NW of Feih sien,
Shantung) 1945
- Pi-kuei Park 畢圭苑 at Lo-yang
1912
- Pi-t'ing 亭 (NW of Yutai
魚臺, Shantung) marquis
1984-85
- Pien River 汴水 1914
- Ping Province 并州 (HHS treatise
23B) 1860, 82, 1909, 22, 96,
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Ins 1887, 2044, 57, 66-67;
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- P'ing Province 平州 (established
by Kung-sun Tu in Liaotung)
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- P'ing 平 Gate at Lo-yang 1883
- P'ing-kang 平岡 (Pingchuan 平泉,
Hopeh) 2071-72
- P'ing-ling 平陵 P in Yu-fu-feng,
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Shensi) prefect 1939
- P'ing-lo Observatory 平樂觀
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- P'ing-lu Trench 平虜渠 (note 7 to
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- P'ing-yang 平陽 P in Ho-tung, Ssu-li
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- P'ing-yi see Tso-p'ing-yi
- P'ing-yüan 平原 C in Ch'ing 1927,
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- P'ing-yüan 平原 P in P'ing-yüan,
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- Po Canal 白溝 (note 1 to CA9) 2052
- Po-chün-ti 百郡邸 at Lo-yang (note 7
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- Po-hai 勃海 C in Chi 1907-08, 25-26,
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- Po-lang Mountain 白狼山 (SW of
Lingyuan 陵源, Liaoning) 2072
- Po-lo Ford 薄落津 across the Chang
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廣宗, Hopeh) 1943
- Po-ma 白馬 P in Tung, Yen (E of
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- Po-men 白門 Tower at Hsia-p'i 2006
- Po-pan Ford 蒲坂津 crossing of the
Yellow River (W of Yuntsi 永濟,
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- Po-po valley 白波谷 (note 2 to CP5)
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- Po-shui 白水 P in Kuang-han, Yi
(NW of Chaohwa 昭化, Szechwan)
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- Po-t'an 白檀 (note 2 to CA12) 2072
- Po-ti 白帝 (note 14 to CA17) 2117,
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- Po-yang 番陽 commandery 2103; GA2105
- Po-yang 番陽 P in Yü-chang (E of
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- Pottery Office 甄官 at Lo-yang 1920
- P'u-yang 濮陽 P in Tung, Yen (S of
Puyang, Hopeh) 1925, 51, 53, 55
- Red Cliffs 赤壁 (on the Yangtse NE
of Kiayu 嘉魚, Hupeh) 2092
- San-fu 三輔 see Three Adjuncts
- San Pass 散關 (SW of Paoki 寶雞,
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- San-kung Hill 三公山 2042
- Sang-kan 桑乾 P in Tai, Yu (NE of
Yuhsien 蔚縣, Hopeh) 2156
- Sha-hsien 沙羨 P in Chiang-hsia,
Ching (SW of Wuchang 武昌,
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- Shan 陝 P in Hung-nung, Ssu-li (Shanhsien, Honan) 1920, 31, 36-37, 64, 68
- Shan Ford 陝津 (note 5 to CA10) 2062
- Shan-tu 山都 hills (note 20 to CA13) 2086
- Shan-yang 山陽 C in Yen 1955; GA.1908; king 2113
- Shang-ku 上谷 C in Yu 1904, 15, 78, 2154
- Shang-liao 上僚 (note 16 to CA3) 2011, 19-20
- Shang-lin Park 上林苑 (note 6 to KH5) 1863
- Shang-lo 上雒 P in Ching-chao, Ssu-li (Shanghsien 商縣, Shansi) 2066
- Shang-shu 尚書 Gate at Lo-yang 1901
- Shang-tang 上黨 C in Ping 1922, 2053, 56; GA.2061
- Shang-tung 上東 Gate at Lo-yang 1904
- Shang-yung 上庸 commandery (note 5 to CA24) 2159; GA.2159
- Shao-ling 邵陵 P in Ju-nan, Yü (E of Yencheng 鄧城, Honan) 1868
- She 葉 P in Nan-yang, Ching (S of Yehsien, Honan) 2047
- She 沙 (also written Sha 沙) P in Wei, Chi (NW of Shehsien, Hopeh) chief 2053
- She 歙 P in Tan-yang, Yang (Sihsien, Anhwei) 2096
- She-ch'üan 射犬 (NE of Tsinyang 沁陽, Honan) 2013
- She-yang 射陽 P in Kuang-ling, Hsü (SE of Hwaian 淮安, Kiangsu) 2028
- Shen 慎 P in Ju-nan, Yü (NW of Yingshang 潁上, Anhwei) marquis 1866
- Shen-t'ing 神亭 (NW of Kintan 金壇, Kiangsu) 1972
- Sheng-shih 乘氏 P in Chi-yin, Yen (SW of Kuyeh 鉅野, Shantung) 1955, 62
- Shih-ch'eng 石城 P in Tan-yang Yang (W of Kweichih 貴池, Anhwei) 2020
- Shih-men 石門 (note 15 to CP5) 1892
- Shih-t'ou Citadel 石頭城 at Mo-ling/Chien-yeh 2114
- Shou-chang 壽張 P in Tung-p'ing, Yen (SW of Tungping 東平, Shantung) 1935; prefect 1950
- Shou-ch'un 壽春 P in Chiu-chiang, Yang (Showhsien 壽縣, Anhwei) 1943, 56-58, 96, 98, 2014, 2115
- SHU 蜀 (i.e. the state of Liu Pei in Yi Province: note 8 to CA19) 2129, 31-32, 36, 38, 40, 43, 55, 58, 70
- Shu 蜀 C in Yi 1889, 1828, 37, 56, 2077, 2102, 09, 28-29, 31, 35, 55; GA.1988, 2128-29, 55,
- Shu 舒 P in Lu-chiang, Yang, (W of Lukiang 廬江, Anhwei) 1957
- Shu-ch'iu 舒秋 P in P'ei, Yü (E of Tangshan 碭山, Anhwei) 2001
- Shuo-fang 朔方 C in Ping 1947
- Sou 叟 (alternative name for Shu Commandery q.v.) 1937
- Southern Palace 南宮 at Ch'ang-an 1938
- Ssu River 泗水 1945, 63, 2004, 06
- Ssu-li 司隸 (note 1 to CP1) and see Colonel Director of the Retainers in Official Titles
- Suan-tsao 酸棗 P in Ch'en-liu, Yen (N of Yentsing 延津, Honan) 1908, 14-15

Sui-ling 睢陵 P in Hsia-p'i,
Hsü (Suining 睢寧,
Kiangsu) 1945

Sui-yang Canal 睢陽渠
(note 1 to CA7) 2044

Ta-ku 大谷 (i.e. T'ai-ku Pass
q.v.) 1920

Ta-yang 大陽 P in Ho-tung,
Ssu-li (NE of Pinglu 平陸,
Shansi) 1969

T'a-yin 隰陰 P in P'ing-yüan,
Ch'ing (W of Lini 臨邑,
Shantung) 2049

Tai 代 C in Yu 1978, 2146, 54-55;
GA 2146, 54

T'ai, Mount 泰山 (note 25 to
CA1) 1991

T'ai-ch'iu 太丘 P in P'ei, Yü
(NW of Yungcheng 永城,
Honan) chief 1886

T'ai-ku 太谷 Pass (S of Loyang
洛陽, Honan) 1866, 1915
and see Ta-ku

T'ai-shan 泰山 C in Yen 1898,
1902-03, 53, 98, 2004; GA 1886,
1945

T'ai-yüan 太原 C in Ping 1887

Tan-shui 丹水 P in Nan-yang,
Ching (W of Sichwan 淅川,
Honan) 1915

Tan-t'u 丹徒 P in Wu, Yang
(SE of Tantu, Kiangsu) 1972-
73, 2028 and see Ching-ch'eng

Tan-yang 丹陽 C in Yang 1949, 58,
75, 2009, 29, 58-59, 96, 2153;
GA 1957-58, 70, 73, 86, 2009, 2102,
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Tan-yang 丹陽 P in Tan-yang, Yang
(E of Tangtu 當塗, Anhwei)
1950

T'an 鄭 P in Tung-hai, Hsü (SW of
Tancheng 鄭城, Shantung)
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Tang-ch'ü 宕渠 P in Pa, Yi
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Tang-li-k'ou 當利口 (note 22 to
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Tang-t'u 當塗 P in Chiu-chiang,
Yang (SE of Hwaiyuan 懷遠,
Anhwei) 2094

Tang-yang 當陽 P in Nan, Ching
(E of Tangyang, Hupeh) 2083-
84, 87

Te-yang 德陽 P in Kuang-han, Yi
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Szechwan) 2127

Teng 鄧 P in Nan-yang, Ching
(N of Siangyang 襄陽,
Hupeh) 1927

Three Adjuncts 三輔 (i.e. Ching-
chao, Tso-p'ing-yi and
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note 15 to ChP1) 1879-80, 85,
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Ti-chu 砥柱 mountain (note 21 to
HP2) 1968

Ti-tao 狄道 P in Lung-hsi, Liang
(SW of Lintao 臨洮, Kansu)
1884

T'iao 條 or 條 P in Po-hai, Chi
(near Kingsien 景縣, Hopeh)
marquis 1891; prefect 2071

Tien-chiang River 墊江水 (note 9
to CA16) 2111

T'ien-shui 天水 (note 1 to CA24)
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Ting-chün Mountain 定軍山 (NE of
Mienhsien 沔縣, Shensi) 2157

Ting-t'ao 定陶 P in Chi-yin, Yen
(NW of Tingtao, Shantung) 1943,
59, 64

Tou Ford 邱津 (note 7 to CA10) 2062

Ts'ang-t'ing 蒼亭 (N of Fanhsien 范縣, Shantung) 1872

Ts'ang-t'ing Ford 蒼亭津 across the Yellow River (NE of Fanhsien 范縣, Shantung) 1953, 2041

Ts'ang-wu 蒼梧 C in Chiao CA 2087, 2105

Ts'ao-yang 曹陽 (E of Lingpao 靈寶, Honan) 1967

Tso-p'ing-yi 左馮翊 C in Ssu-li 1955, 2108-09, 2113 and see Eastern Supporter in Official Titles

Tu-ch'ang 都昌 P in Pei-hai, Ch'ing (W of Changi 昌邑, Shantung) 1990

Tu-ling 杜陵 P in Ching-chao, Ssu-li (SE of Sian 西安, Shensi) 1910

Tu-t'ing 都亭 at Lo-yang 1866

Tuan-men 端門 Buildings at Lo-yang 1901

Tun-ch'iu 頓丘 P in Tung, Yen (SW of Tsingfeng 清豐, Honan) 1932

Tung 東 C in Yen 1871, 1925, 51; GA 1898, 1908, 15, 19, 25, 51, 75, 2026

Tung-a 東阿 P in Tung, Yen (NE of Yangku 陽穀, Shantung) 1952-53, 55; prefect 1952

Tung-ch'eng 東成 P in Hsia-p'i, Hsü (SE of Tingyuan 定遠, Anhwei) chief 2009

Tung-chien 東澗 1967

Tung-hai 東海 C in Hsü 1950, 2007, 24, 42; king 2113

Tung-kuang 東光 P in Po-hai, Chi (E of Tungkuang). Hopeh 1925

Tung-lai 東萊 C in Ch'ing 1917, 72, 2049

Tung-min 東緡 P in Shan-yang, Yen (NE of Kinsiang 金鄉, Shantung) 1964

Tung-p'ing 東平 C in Yen 1953; Ch 1953

Tung-shih 東市 (note 4 to CA3) 2005

Tung-wu-yang 東武陽 P in Tung, Yen (W of Chaocheng 朝城, Shantung) 1925, 32

Tung-yeh 東冶 P in K'uai-chi, Yang (note 13 to CA1) 1956

Tung-yüan 東垣 village E of Yüan prefecture in Ho-tung, Ssu-li (near Yuanku 垣曲, Shansi) 2063

T'ung-kuan 潼關 pass (NE of Tungkwan, Shensi) 2106-08

Tzu-kuei 梓歸 P in Nan, Ching (Tzekwei, Hupen) 2136, 59, 70-71

Tzu-t'ung 梓潼 commandery (note 7 to CA20) 2120, 31; CA 2131

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Wan 宛 P in Nan-yang, Ching (Nan-yang 南陽, Honan) 1871, 74-75, 1992, 2014, 20, 22, 39, 83, 2156, 66

Wan 皖 P in Lu-chiang, Yang (Tsienshan 潛山, Anhwei) 2015, 23, 2119, 26

Wan-ling 宛陵 P in Tan-yang, Yang (Suancheng 宣城, Anhwei) 2058

Wang-yüan 望垣 P in Han-yang, Liang (NW of Tienshui 天水, Kansu) 1881

WEI 魏 (i.e. the state of Ts'ao Ts'ao: note 5 to CA18) 2121, 23, 46-47, 50, 54, 58, 61

Wei 魏 C in Chi 1870, 1943; GA 2146

- Wei 衛 P in Tung, Yen (W of Kuancheng 觀城, Shantung) 1963
- Wei River 渭水 2107-09
- Wei-k'ou 渭口 (mouth of the Wei River) 2107
- Wei-yang 未央 Apartments at Ch'ang-an 1933
- Wen 溫 P in Ho-nei, Ssu-li (SW of Wenhsien, Honan) marquis 1934
- Wen-hsi 聞喜 P in Ho-tung, Ssu-li (Wensi, Shansi) 1979-80
- Wen-ling 文陵 (burial place of Emperor Ling, NW of Lo-yang) 1895
- Western Garden 西園 at Lo-yang 1860, 66, 82 and see Official Titles
- Western Palace 西宮 at Lo-yang 1895 and see Yung-lo Palace
- WU 吳 (i.e. the state of Sun Ch'üan in the south: note 8 to CA20) 2141
- Wu 吳 C in Yang 1975, 85, 2020, 29, 38, 75, 77, 2102, 11; GA 1975, 99, 2023, 28
- Wu 吳 P in Wu, Yang (Soochow 蘇州, Kiangsu) 2059; marquis 2008
- Wu Pass 武關 (E of Shanghsien 商縣, Shensi) 1915, 25
- Wu-an 武安 P in Wei, Chi (Wuan, Honan) 2053
- Wu-ch'ao 烏巢 marsh (SE of Yentsing 延津, Honan) 2034
- Wu-ch'eng 烏程 P in Wu, Yang (S of Wuhing 吳興, Chekiang) 2023; marquis 1886, 1999
- Wu-chung 無絳 P in Yu-pei-p'ing, Yu (Kihhsien 荊縣, Hopeh) 1947, 2071
- Wu-hsiang 鳩鄉 (S of Yenshih 偃師, Honan) 1979
- Wu-hu 蕪湖 P in Tan-yang, Yang (E of Wuhu, Anhwei) 2009, 2103, 53, 65; prefect 2148
- Wu-hu 烏許 (note 3 to KH4) 1859
- Wu-lin 烏林 (note 3 to CA20) 2137
- Wu-ling 武陵 C in Ching 1863, 83, 2085, 2138, 69; GA 1913
- Wu-p'ing 武平 P in Ch'en, Yü (NW of Luyi 鹿邑, Honan) marquis 1985, 2101
- Wu-tu 武都 C in Liang 2128, 35, 38 58
- Wu-wei 武威 C in Liang 2158; GA 1873, 2068
- Wu-yang 舞陽 P in Ying-ch'uan, Yü (W of Wuyang, Honan) Lady of (君 chün) 1864, 96, 1900, 04
- Wu-yin 舞陰 P in Nan-yang, Ching (NW of Tsinyang, 沁陽, Honan) 1994, 2001
- Wu-yüan 五原, C in Ping 1864; GA 1903
- Yang Province 揚州 (HHS treatise 22) 1864-65, 1915, 42, 59, 63, 96, 2001, 19, 21, 86, 97, 2118; Ins 1942-43, 58-59, 2037, 58, 2160
- Yang-an 陽安 commandery (note 22 to CA2) 2002, 30
- Yang-an 楊安 Apartments at Lo-yang 1981
- Yang-ch'eng 陽城 P in Ying-ch'uan, Yü (SE of Tengfeng 登封, Honan) 1912, 26
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- Yang-hua t'ing 陽華亭 marquis 2171

- Yang-jen 陽人 (note 6 to ChP2) 1919
- Yang-ling Slope 陽陵陂 2166
- Yang-p'ing 陽平 Pass (NW of Mienhsien 沔縣, Shensi) 2138-39, 55, 57
- Yang-p'ing t'ing 陽平亭 2054
- Yang-ti 陽翟 P in Ying-ch'uan, Yü (Yuhsien 禹縣, Honan) 1871, 2080; marquis 1943
- Yang-wu 陽武 P in Ho-nan, Ssu-li (SE of Yangwu, Honan) 2031
- Yeh 鄆 P in Wei, Chi (W of Linchang 臨漳, Honan) 1865, 80, 1908, 43, 55, 70, 2045, 48, 51-53, 66, 70, 2100, 06, 12, 18-19, 25, 32, 40, 44, 47, 62; marquis 1988
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- Yellow River 河 1864, 72, 82, 1902, 15, 62, 68-69, 90, 2013, 16, 26, 35, 41, 52, 2107, 33
north of the 1878, 1951, 95, 2014-15, 51, 66
south of the 1925, 2161
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- Yen Province 兗州 (HHS treatise 21) 1864, 93, 1908, 35-36, 51-52, 55-56, 63, 73, 84, 93, 96, 2008, 13, 2100; Ins 1926, 32, 36, 96, 2160; Gov 1906, 35, 41, 51, 96, 2056
- Yen 燕 P in Tung, Yen (E of Yentsing 延津, Honan) 2119
- Yen Bridge 鴈橋 (note 9 to CA18) 2120
- Yen Ford 延津 crossing of the Yellow River (N of Yentsing, Honan) 1922, 2026-27
- Yen-ch'eng 偃城 (N of Siangyang 襄陽, Hupeh) 2166
- Yen-ling 鄆陵 P in Ying-ch'uan, Yü (NW of Yenling, Honan) marquis 2155
- Yi Province 益州 (HHS treatise 23A) 1863, 88, 1928, 56, 2040, 42-43, 75, 94-95, 2109-11, 20, 29, 35-36, 38, 40, 46, 55, 60; Ins 1888, 1956, 2043, 2157; Gov 1889, 1956, 2095, 2111, 28, 71
- Yi 易 P in Ho-chien, Chi (NW of Hsiunghsien 雄縣, Hopeh) 1978, 2011, 70; marquis 1946
- Yi 黟 P in Tan-yang, Yang (E of Ihsien, Anhwei) 2096
- Yi River 沂水 2006
- Yi River 易水 2073
- Yi-ch'eng 宜城 P in Nan, Ching (S of Icheng, Hupeh) 1913; marquis 2159; chief 2086;
- Yi-chou 益州 C in Yi 1863, 2128; GA.1863
- Yi-ch'üeh 伊闕 Pass (SW of Loyang 洛陽, Honan) 1866
- Yi-ling 夷陵 P in Nan, Ching (E of Ichang 宜昌, Hupeh) 2093-94, 2170
- Yi-shou t'ing 益壽亭 marquis 1994
- Yi-tu 宜都 commandery (note 3 to CA24) GA.2159, 70
- Yi-yang 易陽 P in Chao, Chi (W of Yungnien 永年, Hopeh) prefect 2053
- Yi-yang 益陽 P in Ch'ang-sha, Ching (W of Yiyang, Hunan) 2136-37
- Yin-ling 陰陵 P in Chiu-chiang, Yang (NW of Tingyuan 定遠, Anhwei) 1942
- Yin-p'ing 陰平 P in Tung-hai, Hsü (NW of Shuyang 沐陽, Kiangsu) 1945
- Ying Province 營州 (established by Kung-sun Tu over Tung-lai commandery in Shantung) Ins 1917
- Ying River 潁水 2031

Ying-ch'uan 潁川 C in Yü 1866,
68,70,75,1908,31,79,2154

Ying-t'ao 瘦陶 P in Chü-lu,
Chi (SW of Ningtsin 寧晉, Hopeh) 1878

Ying-yin 潁陰 P in Ying-ch'uan,
Yü (Hsüchang 許昌, Honan) 2080

Yu Province 幽州 (HHS treatise 23B) 1860,64,83,85,1892-93, 1915,42,46,77,96,2013,28, 60,2112,64; Ins 1869,2044, 61; Gov 1889,93,1915,18

Yu-fu-feng 右扶風 C in Ssu-li 1881,1911,1943,2158;
GA.2143 and see Western Sustainer in Official Titles

Yu-k'ou 油口 2099 and see Kung-an

Yu-pei-p'ing 右北平 C in Yu 1893, 1978,2071; GA.1886

Yung Province 雍州 (note 14 to HP1) Ins 1954,2068,2158

Yung-an 永安 Palace at Lo-yang 1867,1904

Yung-ch'iu 雍丘 P in Ch'en-liu, Yen (Kih sien 杞縣, Honan) 1964,66,75

Yung-li 勇里 (NW of Kingsien 涇縣, Anhwei) 2009

Yung-lo 永樂 Palace at Lo-yang 1862 and see Western Palace

Yung-ning hsiang 永寧鄉 2057; marquis 2057

Yü Province 豫州 (HHS treatise 21) 1864,1973,92-93,96; Ins 1876,1906,08,13,26,28,49, 52,80; Gov 1889,1905,91

Yü River 潁水 (note 1 to CA2) 1994

Yü-chang 豫章 C in Yang 1973,2009-10,21-22,29,52,2103; GA.1974, 2010

Yü-chung 榆中 P in Chin-ch'eng, Liang (NW of Yuchung, Kansu) 1881

Yü-hang 餘杭 P in Wu, Yang (Yuhang, Chekiang) 2023

Yü-yang 漁陽 C in Yu 1915; GA.1977, 2013,22

Yüan River 洹水 (note 2 to CA9) 2053

Yüan-ch'eng 元城 P in Wei, Chi (E of Taming 大名, Hopeh) prefect 2079

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Corrections

page	line	for	read
402	6	兔	菟
439	18	賜	賜
444	28	繚	繚
451	27	榮	榮
461	11	行	省
463	22	灤	灤
467	10	單	戰
470	8	穀	穀
552	13	東	棟
553	32	百	白

page	column/item	for	read
501	1/22	哀	衰
502	1/11	奔	牽
508	1/15	催	催
513	1/8	璫	瑜
520-528	<u>saepe</u>	督	督
528	2/18	裨	裨
534	2/5	榮	榮
539	1/10	穀	穀
540	1/16	蒸	蒸
541	1/9	盧	盧
547	1/2	渭	渭
548	2/8	甲	伊
548	2/17	穎	穎
549	1/1-3	穎	穎

Commanderies and Kingdoms at the death of Emperor Ling (189 A.D.)

Three commanderies in the south of the empire are not shown on the map: Chiao-chih, Chiu-chen and Jih-nan in Chiao Province. Their territory ran southwards along the coast of present-day Vietnam, but the exact sites of their capitals cannot now be determined.

Another commandery, Kao-liang 高凉, was established in 170 A.D. (HHS 76, p.8b), probably on the West River south of Yü-lin. The capital, however, cannot be identified, and the commandery is not mentioned again in Han records. It seems likely that it was abolished soon after this first foundation, and was only restored by the state of Wu. It is therefore not included on the map.

In the northwest of the empire, within the loop of the Yellow River, evidence can be seen of the Chinese retreat before barbarian raiding and encroachment. Since 140 and 141, Shuo-fang commandery had been administered from Wu-yüan, while Shang and Pei-ti commandery headquarters had been brought back to prefectures in Tso-p'ing-yi (HHS annals 6, pp. 11b-12a). The capital of Hsi-ho was still in the territory of that commandery, but had been shifted southeast across the Yellow River. All four administrations had ceased to exist by the end of the dynasty.

The capital of An-ting commandery, however, which had also been shifted southeast into Yu-fu-feng, appears by 189 to have been restored to its former territory. In the time of Emperor Huan there are references to a Dependent State of An-ting, (e.g. HHS annals 7, p.7b, HHS 55, p.7b). This was probably an emergency arrangement until the commandery could be re-established, and it is not likely that the Dependent State was maintained once the capital of the administration had returned to the north.

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